THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLAM

THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF ISLAM

NEW EDITION

PREPARED BY A NUMBER OF
LEADING ORIENTALISTS

EDITED BY

E. VAN DONZEL, B. LEWIS AND CH. PELLAT

ASSISTED BY †C. DUMONT, GENERAL SECRETARY, G. R. HAWTING
AND MISS M. PATERSON, EDITORIAL SECRETARIES (pp. 1-256)

C. E. BOSWORTH, E. VAN DONZEL, B. LEWIS AND CH. PELLAT

ASSISTED BY †C. DUMONT, GENERAL SECRETARY,
AND MISS M. PATERSON, EDITORIAL SECRETARY (pp. 257-768)

ASSISTED BY F. TH. DIJKEMA, MLLE M. LEFORT AND MME S. NURIT (pp. 769-1188)

UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF
THE INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ACADEMIES

VOLUME IV

IRAN—KHA

THIRD IMPRESSION

TUTA SUB AEGIDE PALLAS 1683

LEIDEN
E. J. BRILL
1997

AUTHORS OF ARTICLES IN VOLUME IV

For the benefit of readers who may wish to follow up an individual contributor's articles, the Editors have decided to place after each contributor's name the numbers of the pages on which his signature appears. Academic but not other addresses are given (for a retired scholar, the place of his last known academic appointment).

In this list, names in square brackets are those of authors of articles reprinted or revised from the first edition of this Encyclopaedia or from the *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*. An asterisk after the name of the author in the text denotes an article reprinted from the first edition which has been brought up to date by the Editorial Committee; where an article has been revised by a second author his name appears in the text within square brackets after the name of the original author.

the late A. ABEL, Université Libre, Brussels. 128.
A. M. ABU-HAKIMA, McGill University, Montreal. 314.
C. ADLE, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris. 702.
AZIZ AHMAD, University of Toronto. 171.
FEROZ AHMAD, University of Massachusetts, Boston. 284, 286, 857.
S. MAQBUL AHMAD, Aligarh Muslim University. 994, 1083.
the late M. AKDAĞ, Ankara. 499, 595.
MÜNİR AKTEPE, University of Istanbul. 194, 901.
HAMID ALGAR, University of California, Berkeley. 167, 696, 852, 854, 856, 857, 865.
J. W. ALLAN, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. 1105.
ALİ ALPARSLAN, University of Istanbul. 1125, 1126.
GÜNAY ALPAY, University of Istanbul. 192.
A. ALTMANN, Brandeis University, Waltham. 111.
G. C. ANAWATI, Institut Dominicain, Cairo. 86, 277, 283.
A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI, Central Institute of Islamic Research, Karachi. 93, 177, 178, 197, 279, 280, 282, 283, 287, 508, 544, 545.
[A. J. ARBERRY, Cambridge]. 1074.
[C. VAN ARENDONK, Leyden]. 453, 1087.
RACHEL ARIÉ, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris. 355.
M. ARKOUN, University of Paris. 119.
R. ARNALDEZ, University of Paris. 120, 121, 255, 988.
[T. W. ARNOLD]. 368.
E. ASHTOR, Hebrew University, Jerusalem. 463, 520, 627, 774.
O. ASLANAPA, University of Istanbul. 1159.
W. ATALLAH, University of Nancy. 496.
D. AYALON, Princeton University. 1100.
[F. BABINGER, Munich]. 737, 885.
G. BAER, Hebrew University, Jerusalem. 206, 835, 894.
J. M. S. BALJON, University of Leyden. 916.
N. A. BALOCH, Islamabad. 535.
[W. BARTHOLD, Leningrad]. 113, 213, 611, 613, 627, 632, 671, 694, 699, 849, 850, 1020, 1181.
[H. BASSET, Rabat]. 656.
[R. BASSET, Algiers]. 316.
A. F. L. BEESTON, University of Oxford. 748, 819.
M. A. J. BEG, National University of Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur. 548, 1100, 1162.
IRÈNE BELDICEANU-STEINHERR, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris. 777.
J. E. BENCHEIKH, University of Paris. 719, 929, 1009.
[MOH. BEN CHENEB, Algiers]. 327, 528, 964.
A. BENNIGSEN, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris. 724, 850.
M. BERGER, Princeton University. 1153.
NIYAZI BERKES, McGill University, Montreal. 170.
P. BERTHIER, Rabat. 684.
[H. BEVERIDGE]. 523, 915, 1022.
W. BJÖRKMAN, Uppsala. 409, 743, 807.
J. BLAU, Hebrew University, Jerusalem. 303.
LUCIE BOLENS, University of Geneva. 660.
S. A. BONEBAKKER, University of California, Los Angeles. 81, 252, 327, 414, 864.
P. N. BORATAV, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris. 271, 603.
J. BOSCH-VILÁ, University of Granada. 117, 478, 665, 718, 739.
W. BOSWELL, Stanford University. 746.
C. E. BOSWORTH, University of Manchester. 107, 189, 208, 210, 218, 269, 350, 357, 358, 411, 467, 511, 538, 542, 547, 551, 573, 583, 584, 659, 669, 696, 754, 808, 815, 892, 910, 918, 989, 1060, 1065, 1068, 1097, 1143, 1160, 1182, 1188.
A. BOUDOT-LAMOTTE, University of Paris. 803.
G. H. BOUSQUET, University of Bordeaux. 280.
CH. BOUYAHIA, University of Tunis. 523, 867.
J. A. BOYLE, University of Manchester. 512, 553, 613, 809, 811, 915, 1010, 1029, 1133.
M. BRETT, University of London. 785.
[C. BROCKELMANN, Halle]. 377, 506, 515, 596, 737.
J. T. P. DE BRUIJN, University of Leyden. 52, 75, 445, 703, 1010, 1022, 1059, 1074.
[FR. BUHL, Copenhagen]. 1113.
R. M. BURRELL, University of London. 1172.
J. BURTON-PAGE, University of London. 277, 368, 513, 514, 534, 538, 667, 752, 908, 1024, 1159.
H. BUSSE, University of Kiel. 294, 295, 818.
CL. CAHEN, University of Paris. 276, 324, 377, 456, 484, 558, 628, 660, 692, 754, 815, 817, 818, 913, 1029, 1034, 1084, 1086.
J. CALMARD, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris. 695, 851.
M. CANARD, University of Algiers. 91, 684.
J. CARSWELL, University of Chicago. 1060.
Mme J. CHABBI, University of Paris. 1026.
M. ABDULLAH CHAGHATAI, Lahore. 1128.
P. CHALMETA, University of Madrid. 673, 712, 713.
K. N. CHAUDHURI, University of London. 455.
J. CHELHOD, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris. 79, 335, 372, 407, 596, 819, 1149.
M. CHOUÉMI, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris. 411.
D. COHEN, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris. 302.
the late G. S. COLIN, Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, Paris. 217, 456, 523.

C. S. Coon, Gloucester, Mass. 11.
R. Cornevin, Académie des Sciences d'Outre-mer. 314, 352, 539.
Patricia Crone, University of Oxford. 929.
Yolande Crowe, London. 1171.
Mme B. Cvetkova, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia. 92, 122.
F. Dachraoui, University of Tunis. 460.
U. Dann, Tel-Aviv University. 719.
R. H. Davison, George Washington University, Washington, D.C. 461.
U. Dehghan, Pahlavi University, Shiraz. 763, 773, 910.
G. Deverdun, Lycée Marcel Pagnol, Marseille. 379, 635, 686.
A. Dietrich, University of Göttingen. 418, 773, 1084.
S. Digby, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. 210, 219, 419, 818.
A. A. Dixon, Baghdad University. 494, 836, 856, 912.
B. Djurdjev, University of Sarajevo. 575.
C. H. Dodd, University of Hull. 792.
G. Doerfer, University of Göttingen. 918.
the late J. Eckmann, University of California, Los Angeles. 528.
C. J. Edmonds, Heronden, Kent. 377.
A. S. Ehrenkreutz, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. 419.
N. Elisséeff, University of Lyons. 484, 724, 727, 728, 779, 1017.
J. van Ess, University of Tübingen. 372, 1164.
T. Fahd, University of Strasbourg. 92, 260, 264, 265, 270, 291, 406, 422, 763, 804, 1130, 1134.
[B. Farès, Cairo]. 78.
Ravan Farhadi, Kabul. 1102.
A. Faure, University of Rabat. 775.
G. Fehérvári, University of London. 292.
the late W. J. Fischel, University of California, Berkeley. 312.
[A. Fischer, Leipzig]. 839.
H. J. Fisher, University of London. 567, 750.
H. Fleisch, Université St. Joseph, Beirut. 123, 182, 255, 273, 285, 400, 732, 895, 896.
Barbara Flemming, University of Leyden. 211.
C.-H. de Fouchécour, Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, Paris. 715
B. Fragner, University of Freibourg im Breisgau. 758.
G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, Sheriff Hutton, York. 892.
the late J. W. Fück, University of Halle. 91, 111, 289, 493.
F. Gabrieli, University of Rome. 1027.
A. Gallotta, Istituto Universitario Orientale, Naples. 1158.
T. Gandjeï, University of London. 188.
L. Gardet, Paris. 174, 272, 279, 367, 471, 488, 509, 616, 694, 698, 795, 806, 1109.
J. G. Giannopoulos, Athens. 777, 893.
Orhan Şaik Gökyay, Çapa Eğitim Enstitüsü, Istanbul. 762.
P. B. Golden, Rutgers University, Newark. 1181.
L. Golvin, University of Aix-Marseille. 478, 481.
Nejat Göyünç, Hacettepe University, Ankara. 574, 882, 885.
H. L. Gottschalk, Vienna. 521.
O. Grabar, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 289.
[A. Grohmann, Vienna]. 420, 471, 780, 1131, 1135.
A. H. de Groot, University of Leyden. 970, 972.
A. Guimbretière, Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, Paris. 598, 711.
U. Haarmann, University of Freiburg im Breisgau. 965.
[T. W. Haig]. 672, 696.
Sylvia G. Haim, London. 776.
Abdul-Hadi Hairi, University of California, Berkeley. 1028.
T. S. Halman, Princeton University. 545.
L. Hambis, Collège de France, Paris. 989, 1024, 1027.
S. Moinul Haq, Karachi. 924, 1019, 1020.
G. S. Harris, Washington. 125.
W. Hartner, University of Frankfort. 811.
Mohibbul Hasan, Aligarh. 710, 962.
G. R. Hawting, University of London. 927.
J. A. Haywood, University of Durham. 525.
G. Hazai, Humboldt University, Berlin. 701, 849.
[W. Heffening, Bonn]. 690, 863.
[J. J. Hess]. 741.
C. J. Heywood, University of London. 540, 589, 592, 658, 671, 739.
M. H. El-Hila, Tunis. 356.
R. M. Hillenbrand, University of Edinburgh. 863.
M. Hiskett, University of London. 551.
Mlle M. Hoexter, Hebrew University, Jerusalem. 835.
P. M. Holt, University of London. 462, 553, 568, 687, 723, 853, 893, 953.
[E. Honigmann, Brussels]. 639.
J. F. P. Hopkins, University of Cambridge. 482.
[J. Horovitz, Frankfort]. 806.
[Cl. Huart, Paris]. 420, 471, 706, 808, 813, 816.
the late A. Huici Miranda, Valencia. 254, 384, 467.
J. O. Hunwick, American University, Cairo. 754.
H. R. Idris, University of Bordeaux. 341.
C. H. Imber, University of Manchester. 871, 969.
H. İnalcik, University of Chicago. 140, 179, 211, 248, 562, 566, 569, 571.
A. K. Irvine, University of London. 79, 449, 1074, 1135.
J. Irwin, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. 472.
Riazul Islam, University of Karachi. 760.
H. Isnard, Nice. 360.
F. İz, Bosphorus University, Istanbul. 191, 196, 296, 599, 637, 682, 812, 853, 874, 884, 916, 933, 936, 988, 1137.
K. Jaouiche, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris. 629.
M. A. Jazayeri, University of Texas, Austin. 733.
R. Jennings, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign. 846.
[B. Joel]. 528.
T. M. Johnstone, University of London. 681, 752.
J. Jomier, Institut Dominicain, Cairo. 177, 322, 444.
F. de Jong, Leyden. 952, 993.
G. H. A. Juynboll, University of Exeter. 896, 1135, 1136.
[Th. W. Juynboll, Utrecht]. 377.
Gy. Káldy-Nagy, Budapest. 365, 375, 376.
Abdülkadir Karahan, University of Istanbul. 716, 972.
A. G. Karam, American University, Beirut. 968.
E. Kedourie, University of London. 966.
A. Kelidar, University of London. 198.
J. B. Kelly, London. 954.
H. Kindermann, University of Cologne. 870.
M. J. Kister, Hebrew University, Jerusalem. 833, 897.
C. M. Kortepeter, New York University, New York. 500, 630.
[T. Kowalski, Cracow]. 836.
[J. H. Kramers, Leyden]. 572, 970.
[F. Krenkow]. 714, 912, 913.
G. S. van Krieken, Haarlem. 1155.

E. KURAN, Hacettepe University, Ankara. 113, 323, 456, 461, 611, 1153.
SUBHI Y. LABIB, Hamburg. 137, 643.
M. LAKHDAR, Rabat. 325, 373, 380, 522, 639, 736, 1085.
Mlle A. K. S. LAMBTON, University of London. 33, 105, 399, 476, 532, 790, 862, 950, 979, 1053, 1092.
J. M. LANDAU, Hebrew University, Jerusalem. 1137.
H. LANDOLT, McGill University, Montreal. 991.
H. LAOUST, Collège de France, Paris. 990.
J. LASSNER, Wayne State University, Detroit. 87, 384, 387, 653, 676, 725, 729, 731, 832, 898.
G. LAZARD, University of Paris. 313.
G. LECOMTE, Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, Paris. 714.
Mme CH. LEMERCIER-QUELQUEJAY, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris. 848.
the late R. LE TOURNEAU, University of Aix-Marseille. 179, 364, 482.
[G. LEVI DELLA VIDA, Rome]. 753, 1077, 1106.
T. LEWICKI, University of Cracow. 78, 867, 920.
B. LEWIS, Princeton University. 900, 919.
Y. LINANT DE BELLEFONDS, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris. 254, 264, 269, 286, 355, 373, 377, 404, 405, 557, 690, 917.
M. LINGS, The British Library, London. 326.
D. P. LITTLE, McGill University, Montreal. 1187.
[M. LONGWORTH DAMES, Guildford]. 364, 534, 666, 908.
M. LOUCEL, Institut National des Langues et Civilisations orientales, Paris. 928.
A. LOUIS, Institut des Belles Lettres Arabes, Tunis. 652.
[D. B. MACDONALD, Hartford, Conn.]. 509, 664, 673.
D. N. MACKENZIE, University of Göttingen. 351, 527.
K. S. MCLACHLAN, University of London. 7.
W. MADELUNG, University of Chicago. 108, 184, 206, 457, 610, 665, 703, 712, 838, 847, 1084, 1133.
J. MAJED, University of Tunis. 907.
J. MANDAVILLE, Dhahran. 680, 681.
R. MANTRAN, University of Aix-Marseille. 568, 619, 717.
[D. S. MARGOLIOUTH, Oxford]. 383.
[L. MASSIGNON, Paris]. 1133.
R. MAUNY, University of Paris. 777.
R. DI MEGLIO, Rome. 925.
the late V. MELKONIAN, Basra. 906.
V. L. MÉNAGE, University of London. 601, 657, 881, 891.
[T. MENZEL]. 186, 966.
A. MERAD, University of Lyons. 163.
J.-L. MICHON, Geneva. 95.
the late G. C. MILES, American Numismatic Society, New York. 191, 222.
A. MIQUEL, Collège de France, Paris. 132, 223, 273, 402, 654, 685.
M. MOHAGHEGH, University of Tehran. 399, 762.
M. MOKRI, Paris. 13.
H. MONÉS, University of Kuwait. 87.
[J. H. MORDTMANN, Berlin]. 109, 138, 292, 580.
S. MOREH, Hebrew University, Jerusalem. 856, 936.
S. H. NASR, Imperial Iranian Academy of Philosophy, Tehran. 279.
L. NEMOY, Dropsie University, Philadelphia. 608.
[R. NICHOLSON, Cambridge]. 283.
P. NWYIA, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris. 114, 467, 513.
the late C. ORHONLU, University of Istanbul. 570, 594, 599, 679, 722, 736, 766, 870, 894, 902, 909, 1055, 1093, 1097, 1100, 1131, 1186.
SOLANGE ORY, University of Aix-Marseille, Aix-en-Provence. 76.
S. ÖZBARAN, University of Istanbul. 572.
R. PARET, University of Tübingen. 185, 259, 824, 839.
İSMET PARMAKSIZOĞLU, University of Istanbul. 299, 720.
the late V. J. PARRY, University of London. 186, 274, 517, 546.
[J. PEDERSEN, Copenhagen]. 690, 1111.
CH. PELLAT, University of Paris. 190, 254, 269, 291, 315, 468, 472, 614, 735, 748, 824, 919, 927, 928, 937, 1069, 1092, 1148, 1150, 1160.
S. PINES, Hebrew University, Jerusalem. 96.
D. PINGREE, Brown University, Providence. 259, 341, 515.
X. DE PLANHOL, University of Paris. 577, 580, 629.
the late M. PLESSNER, Hebrew University, Jerusalem. 445.
H. RABIE, University of Cairo. 486.
MUNIBUR RAHMAN, Oakland University, Rochester. 507, 954, 1136.
H. A. REED, University of Connecticut, Storrs. 617.
B. REINERT, University of Zurich. 916.
M. REKAYA, University of Paris. 647.
G. RENTZ, Hoover Institution, Stanford University. 717, 746, 765, 778, 906, 1057, 1073, 1085, 1133.
R. C. REPP, University of Oxford. 884.
[A. RICHTER]. 515.
the late H. RITTER, University of Istanbul. 207.
U. RIZZITANO, University of Palermo. 112, 194, 195, 276, 497, 721, 733.
FRANCIS ROBINSON, Royal Holloway College, Egham. 794.
J. ROBSON, Glasgow. 207.
M. RODINSON, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris. 333, 519.
J. M. ROGERS, British Museum, London. 441.
[PH. S. VAN RONKEL, Leyden]. 540.
F. ROSENTHAL, Yale University. 414.
R. RUSSELL, University of London. 716.
D. A. RUSTOW, City University, New York. 298.
Mme L. SAADA, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris. 1072.
A. I. SABRA, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1069.
J. SADAN, Hebrew University, Jerusalem. 998.
T. SAGUCHI, Kanazawa. 553.
K. S. SALIBI, American University, Beirut. 255.
H. SALIHOĞLU, Istanbul. 325, 597.
A. I. SĀLIM, University of Nairobi. 891.
J. SAMSÓ, Facultad de Filosofia y Letras, Tenerife. 1059, 1162, 1183.
R. M. SAVORY, University of Toronto. 43, 118, 131, 187, 188, 282, 722.
M. SAYADI, Tunis. 924.
[A. SCHAADE, Hamburg]. 839, 848.
[J. SCHACHT, New York]. 772, 1102.
[M. SCHMITZ]. 317.
[P. SCHWARZ]. 654, 1025.
R. SELLHEIM, University of Frankfort. 502, 757, 964, 1112.
C. SHACKLE, University of London. 711.
IRFAN SHAHID, Georgetown University, Washington. 840.
M. SHAKI, Orientálny Ústav, Prague. 313, 516.
M. SHARON, Hebrew University, Jerusalem. 447, 842, 961.
S. J. SHAW, University of California, Los Angeles. 80.
I. H. SIDDIQUI, Aligarh Muslim University. 1019.
A. DE SIMONE, University of Palermo. 980.
ABDULLAHI SMITH, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria. 542.
P. SMOOR, University of Amsterdam. 1188.
[M. SOBERNHEIM, Berlin]. 614.

M. Souissi, University of Tunis. 477, 726.
D. Sourdel, University of Bordeaux. 77, 88, 127, 213, 378, 379, 424, 458, 482, 609, 610, 757, 947, 1094.
Mme J. Sourdel-Thomine, University of Paris. 107, 354, 1122.
O. Spies, University of Bonn. 111.
B. Spooner, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. 1030.
B. Spuler, University of Hamburg. 213, 503, 612, 613, 632, 671, 672, 694, 699, 808.
[M. Streck, Jena]. 222, 384, 387, 402, 468, 499, 502, 533, 556, 653, 655, 676, 725, 731, 841, 856.
G. Strohmaier, Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin. 110, 130.
Abdus Subhan, Calcutta. 966, 1056.
F. Sümer, University of Ankara. 387, 578, 588, 625, 706, 722, 813, 1097.
[H. Suter, Zurich]. 1162.
G. W. Swanson, Nathaniel Hawthorne College, Antrim, N.H. 298.
M. Talbi, University of Tunis. 290, 340, 404, 417, 423, 741, 805, 832.
Mme F. A. Tansel, University of Ankara. 879.
M. C. Şehabeddin Tekindağ, University of Istanbul. 88.
the late H. Terrasse, Paris. 118.
G. R. Tibbetts, Oxford. 97.
G. Troupeau, Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, Paris. 546, 672.
E. Tyan, Université St. Joseph, Beirut. 184, 374.
M. Ullmann, University of Tübingen. 930, 1098.
V. Vacca, University of Rome. 519.
J. C. Vadet, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris. 489.
G. Vajda, University of Paris. 79, 212, 307.
P. J. Vatikiotis, University of London. 126, 193, 263, 784.
Mme L. Veccia Vaglieri, Istituto Universitario Orientale, Naples. 387, 1143.
J. Vernet, University of Barcelona. 600, 703, 1071, 1186.
F. S. Vidal, University of Texas, Arlington. 897, 994.
F. Viré, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris. 216, 492, 650, 745, 1146.
[Ph. C. Visser]. 612.
W. Vycichl, University of Fribourg. 512, 680.
J. R. Walsh, University of Edinburgh. 544.
W. Montgomery Watt, University of Edinburgh. 110, 127, 315, 316, 820, 834, 899, 1020, 1187.
W. F. Weiker, Rutgers University, Newark. 854.
[A. J. Wensinck, Leyden]. 211, 293, 322, 749, 781, 824, 839, 895, 899, 905, 997, 1109.
G. E. Wheeler, Epsom. 113, 512, 793.
[E. Wiedemann, Erlangen]. 805, 1059, 1086.
J. C. Wilkinson, University of Oxford. 501.
J. R. Willis, Princeton University. 774.
R. Wixman, University of Oregon, Eugen. 571, 611, 627, 631, 847, 1029.
A. N. al-Wohaibi, University of Riyadh. 680.
M. E. Yapp, University of London. 524.
Tahsin Yazici, University of Istanbul. 190, 473, 474.
Gholam Hosein Yousofi, University of Mashhad. 705.
Hüseyin G. Yurdaydin, University of Ankara. 334.
[A. Yusuf Ali]. 626.
[G. Yver, Algiers]. 75, 541, 729, 730.
H. Zafrani, University of Paris. 308.
W. Zajączkowski, Jagiellonian University, Cracow. 609.
S. Zakkar, University of Damascus. 749.
[E. von Zambaur, Vienna]. 248.
A. H. Zarrinkoob, University of Tehran. 462, 516, 640.
[K. V. Zetterstéen, Uppsala]. 464.

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

VOLUME I

P. 8ᵇ, **ʿABBĀS I,** *add to the Bibliography*: Hans Müller, *Die Chronik* Ḫulāṣat at-tawārīḫ *des Qāżī Aḥmad Qumī. Der Abschnitt über Schah ʿAbbās I.*, in *Akad. der Wiss. und der Lit., Veröffentl. der Oriental. Kommission*, xiv, Wiesbaden 1964.

P. 212ᵇ, **ʿAḌUD AL-DAWLA,** l. 11, *for* al-Maḳdisi *read* al-Muḳaddasī; l. 13, *for* al-Maḳdisī, 499 *read* al-Muḳaddasī, 449; l. 21, *for* Maḳdisī *read* Muḳaddasī

P. 300ᵃ, **AḤMADĪ,** *add to the Bibliography*: Tunca Kortantamer, *Leben und Weltbild des altosmanischen Dichters Aḥmedī unter besonderer Berücksichtigung seines Diwans*, in *Islamkundliche Untersuchungen* xxii, Freiburg 1973.

P. 317ᵇ, **AKBAR,** *add to the Bibliography*: Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic culture in the Indian environment*, Oxford 1964, 167-81; S. A. A. Rizvi, *Religious and intellectual history of the Muslims in Akbar's reign, with special reference to Abu 'l-Fazl (1556-1605)*, New Delhi 1975; A. R. Khan, *Chieftains in the Mughal empire during the reign of Akbar*, Simla 1977.

P. 1347ᵇ, **BUSTĀN,** *add to Bibliography*: James Dickie, *The Hispano-Arab garden: its philosophy and function*, in *BSOAS* xxxi (1968), 237-48; idem, *The Islamic garden in Spain*, in *The Islamic garden* (*Fourth Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium in the History of Landscape Architecture*), Washington D.C. 1976, 89-105. See also IBN LUYŪN in Suppl.

VOLUME II

P. 239ᵃ, **D̲H̲Ū 'L-HIMMA,** *add to the Bibliography*: Udo Steinbach, *Ḏāt al-Himma. Kulturgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu einem arabischen Volksroman*, Wiesbaden 1972.

P. 523ᵃ, **AL-D̲J̲AZARĪ,** l. 5, *for* at Wāsiṭ *read* outside Damascus
Add to the Bibliography: Donald P. Little, *Introduction to Mamlūk historiography*, Wiesbaden 1970, 53-7; U. Haarmann, *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit*, Freiburg 1969, 12-60, 92-116; the same, *Édition de la chronique mamelouke syrienne de Šams ad-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ǧazarī*, in *BÉO* xxviii (1975); C. Cahen, *Addenda sur al-Djazari*, in *Israel Oriental Studies* ii (1972), 144-7; the same, *Rectificatif, ibidem*, iii (1973).

P. 537ᵃ, **DJIDJELLI,** l. 3, *for* west *read* east

P. 966ᵃ, **FUTUWWA,** l. 2 from bottom, *after aʿs̲h̲ā*, *add* xii,

VOLUME III

P. 70ᵃ, **ḤAḤĀ,** *last l. but one before the Bibliography, for* Ibn Ḳunfūd̲h̲ *read* Ibn Ḳunfud̲h̲

P. 82ᵃ, **AL-ḤĀKIM BI-AMR ALLĀH,** *add to Bibliography*: J. van Ess, *Chiliastische Erwartungen und die Versuchung der Göttlichkeit. Der Kalif al-Ḥākim (386-411 H.)*, in *Abh. der Heidelberger Akad. der Wiss.*, Phil.-Hist. Kl. (1977), 2. Abhandlung.

P. 167, **HANSALIYYA,** *read* Ḥanṣaliyya *throughout the article.*

P. 390ᵇ, **AL-ḤILLĪ,** l. 20, *for* 638/1240-1, died 726/1326 *read* 602/1205, died 676/1277

P. 719ᵇ, **IBN AL-AS̲H̲ʿAT̲H̲,** *add to Bibliography*: Redwan Sayed, *Die Revolte des Ibn al-Ašʿaṯ und die Koranleser. Ein Beitrag zur Religions- und Sozialgeschichte der frühen Umayyadenzeit*, Freiburg-im-Breisgau 1977.

P. 744ᵇ, **IBN AL-DAWĀDĀRĪ,** *add to the Bibliography*: *Die Chronik des Ibn ad-Dawādārī*, vii (ed. Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ʿĀs̲h̲ūr, Cairo-Freiburg 1972; cf. P. M. Holt in *BSOAS* i (1974)), viii (ed. U. Haarmann, Cairo-Freiburg 1971); U. Haarmann, *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit*, Freiburg 1969, *passim*, esp. 61-84, 107-118; the same, *Altun Ḫān und Čingiz Ḫān bei den ägyptischen Mamluken*, in *Der Islam* li (1974), 1-36.

P. 751ᵃ, **IBN AL-D̲J̲AWZĪ,** l. 5, *for* 510/1126 *read* 511/1116

P. 812ᵇ, **IBN IYĀS,** l. 22 from bottom, *for* 1421-5102 *read* 1421-1502

P. 825ᵇ, **IBN K̲H̲ALDŪN,** l. 2, *for* 732-84/1332-82 *read* 732-808/1332-1406

P. 940ᵃ, **IBN S̲H̲UHAYD,** *add to Bibliography*: a new edition of his poetry by James Dickie, *El Dīwān de Ibn Šuhayd al-Andalusī 382-426 H = 992-1035 C*, Cordova 1975.

P. 1068ᵃ, **AL-IK̲H̲WĀN,** l. 10 from bottom, *instead of* Rīḥānī *read* Rayḥānī

P. 1157ᵃ, **ILYĀSIDS,** *add to Bibliography*: C. E. Bosworth, *The Banū Ilyās of Kirman (320-57/932-68)*, in *Iran and Islam. In memory of the late Vladimir Minorsky*, ed. C. E. Bosworth, Edinburgh 1971, 107-24; A. H. Morton, *A dirham of Muḥammad b. Ilyās of Kirmān*, in *Iran. Journal of the British Inst. of Persian Studies* xv (1977), 152-6.

P. 1170ᵇ, **ĪMĀN,** l. 16 *from below, for* Cairo n.d., i, 327 *read* Cairo n.d., i, 320-5

P. 1204ᵇ, **INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS,** l. 15 from bottom, *for* M. A. Djināḥ *read* M. A. Jheeṇā

VOLUME IV

P. 39ᵃ, **IRAN,** ll. 8-12, *for the sentence* Consequently . . . that city *read* Consequently, when Iranian troops on three separate occasions attempted to recapture Harāt, Britain either despatched armies to prevent them (1837; 1856), or exerted diplomatic pressure to secure their withdrawal (1852).

P. 174ᵇ, **ISLAM,** *add to Bibliography*: H. Rizzitano, *Islam, Aslama and Muslim*, Upsala 1949, and D. Z. M. Baneth, *What did Muhammad mean when he called his religion "Islam"; the original meaning of* aslama *and its derivatives*, in *Israel Oriental Studies*, i (1971), 183-90.

P. 188ᵃ, **ISMĀʿĪL I,** *add to the Bibliography*: E. Glassen, *Die frühen Safawiden nach Qāżī Aḥmad Qumī*, in *Islamkundliche Untersuchungen* v, Freiburg 1970.
P. 369ᵃ, **ḲADARIYYA,** l. 1, *for* der *read* under
P. 371ᵃ, l. 18 from bottom, *for* his *read* the latter's; l. 12 from bottom, *for* they *read* the anti-Ḳadarites; l. 5 from bottom, *for* Abū ʿUbayd's *read* ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd's
P. 371ᵇ, second paragraph, l. 3, *for* the *Ḥadīth*s speak *read* the *Ḥadīth* quoted above speaks
P. 372ᵃ, *Bibliography*, l. 23: for *ʿAbd-alʿazīz* read *ʿAbdalʿazīz*; ll. 24 and 27, *for* 1973 *read* 1974
P. 379ᵇ, AL-**ḲĀDIRĪ,** ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ṬAYYIB, *add to the Bibliography*: al-Ḳādirī's *Lamḥat al-bahdja al-ʿaliyya fī baʿḍ ahl al-nisba al-Ṣiḳilliyya* has been published by U. Rizzitano, *Un trattatello di storia dinastica sui "Siciliani" di illustre discendenza nel Marocco*, in *Mélanges Islamologiques*, iii, Cairo 1957, 85-127.
P. 388, **ḲĀDJĀR,** ll. 2-3, *change the genealogical tree so as to make Muḥammad Ḥasan, not Muḥammad Ḥusayn, the father of Āḳā Muḥammad and his brothers.*
P. 411ᵃ, **KĀFIRISTĀN,** *add to Bibliography*: S. Jones, *An annotated bibliography of Nuristan (Kafiristan) and the Kalash Kafirs (Chitral)*, in *Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab*, Hist.-Fil. Med., xli/III, xliii/I (Copenhagen 1966-9); K. Jettmar (ed.), *Cultures of the Hindukush. Selected papers from the Hindu-Kush cultural conference held at Moesgård 1970*, in *Beiträge zur Südasien-Forschung*, Südasien-Institut, Heidelberg (Wiesbaden 1974).
P. 455ᵇ, *After article* **ḲAHWA** *add*: **KAHYA** [see KETKHUDA].
KAḤYĀ or **DJENĀZE ḤASAN PASHA,** l. 1, *for* Kaḥyā *read* Kahyā
P. 509ᵃ, **KALIMANTAN,** *after* Supplement *add* s.v. BORNEO.
P. 511ᵃ, AL-**ḲALḲASHANDĪ,** *add to Bibliography*: Muṣṭafā al-Shakʿa, *al-Uṣūl al-adabiyya fī Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, Beirut 1971; Aḥmad ʿIzzat ʿAbd al-Karīm, ed., *Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Ḳalḳashandī wa-kitābuhu Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā* (collection of essays), Cairo 1973.
P. 532ᵃ, **ḲANĀT,** I, IN IRAN, *add to the Bibliography*: C. Braun, *Teheran, Marrakesch und Madrid*, Bonn 1974.
P. 610ᵇ, AL-**KARAKĪ,** *add to the Bibliography*: M. T. Dānishpazhūh, *Yak parda az zindigānī-yi Shāh Ṭahmāsb Ṣafawī*, in *Madjalla-yi Danishkada-yi Adabiyyāt wa-ʿUlūm-i Insānī-yi Mashhad*, vii (1972), 967-75.
P. 616ᵇ-617ᵃ **ḲARĀMĀN,** *read* Ḳaramān *throughout.*
P. 619-625 **ḲARĀMĀN-OGHULLARĪ** (ḲARĀMĀNIDS), *read* Ḳaramān-oghullarī *and* Ḳaramānids *throughout.*
P. 629ᵇ, AL-**ḲARASṬŪN,** Bibliography, ll. 10-12, *for* K. Jaouiche ... (Paris doctoral thesis, 1972) *read* K. Jaouiche, *Le livre du Qarasṭūn de Ṯābit ibn Qurra. Étude sur l'origine de la notion de travail et du calcul du moment statique d'une barre homogène*, Leyden 1976
P. 669ᵇ, **KARRĀMIYYA,** *add to Bibliography*: J. Chabbi, *Remarques sur le développement historique des mouvements ascétiques et mystiques au Khurasan IIIᵉ/IXᵉ siècle-IVᵉ/Xᵉ siècle*, in *SI* xlvi (1977), 5-72.
P. 706ᵇ, **ḲĀSHḲĀY,** for additional bibliography on this tribe, see the *Bibliography* to BISĀṬ, 3. Tribal rugs, in the Supplement.
P. 721-2, **ḲĀSIM-I ANWĀR,** *instead of* Ḳāsim-i Anwār *read* Ḳāsim-i Anwar *throughout the article.*
P. 730ᵇ, AL-**ḲAṢR** AL-**ṢAGHĪR,** *add to the Bibliography*: G. Gozalbes Busto, *Datos para la historia de Alkazar Seguer*, in *Cuad. de la Bibl. esp. de Tetuan*, xii (Dec. 1975), 55-77.
P. 746ᵇ, **ḲATABĀN,** l. 28 from bottom, *between* Wādī *and* but *insert* There exists a text (RES 3958) dealing with a Sabaean farm in the Wādī,
P. 747ᵃ, ll. 15-16, *after* Somewhat further *add* south
P. 748ᵃ, l. 27 from bottom, *for* verb-system *read* verb-stem
P. 777ᵇ, **KAWĀR,** l. 5, *instead of* 1-54 *read* i, 54
P. 794ᵇ, **ḲAWMIYYA,** Section vi, end of the Bibliography, *instead of* (F. ROBINSON) *read* (FRANCIS ROBINSON)
P. 834ᵃ, **ḲAYS ʿAYLĀN,** Section ḲAYS AND YAMAN IN THE OTTOMAN PERIOD, end of the first alinea, *add* (ED.)
P. 870ᵇ, **KELEK,** Bibliography, *add* J. Henninger, *Zur Verbreitung des Schlauchflosses*, in *Anthropos* xxxv-xxxvi (1940-1), 975.
P. 893ᵇ, **KESRIYE,** *add to the Bibliography*: V. D. Demetriades, Ἡ Κεντρικὴ καὶ Δυτικὴ Μακεδονία κατὰ τὸν Ἐθλεγιὰ Τσελεμπή, Salonica 1973.
P. 916ᵇ, **KHĀKSĀR,** *add to the Bibliography*: Shan Muhammad, *Khaksar Movement in India*, Meerut 1973.
P. 950ᵃ, **KHALĪFA,** l. 43, for *Tanḳīh* read *Tanḳīḥ*; l. 50, *for* Khalf *read* Khalaf
P. 952ᵃ, ll. 26-27 of Bibliography, for *Beiträge zur Kenntnisse der ägypt. Derwischordens* read *Beiträge zur Kenntnis eines ägyptischen Derwischordens*
P. 952ᵇ, ll. 3 and 7, *for* al-Ḥalawānī *read* al-Ḥalwānī
P. 991ᵇ, **KHALWATIYYA,** l. 2, *for* ʿUmar *read* Yaḥyā; l. 24 from below, *for* al-Ḳasṭamūnī *read* Ḳasṭamūnī
P. 992ᵃ, l. 6 from below, for *Sahar* read *Saḥar*
P. 993ᵃ, l. 3, for *Warrādihi* read *Wurrādihi*
P. 993ᵇ, *add to Bibliography*: Yūsuf b. Yaʿḳūb, *Menāḳib-i Ṭarikat-i ʿAliyye-yi Khalwetiyye*, Istanbul 1290/1873.
P. 1171ᵃ, **KHAZAF,** *add to the Bibliography, section "China and Islam"*: Y. Crowe, *Early Islamic pottery and China*, in *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, xlii, London 1978.

I

CONTINUATION

IRAN

i.—Geography

1. The geological background: The alignments of Iran's principal topographic features, represented by the Kūhhā-yi Alburz and the Zagros Chain, are west to east and north-west to south-east, respectively. In broad context, the Alburz is a continuation of the European Alpine structures, while the Zagros chain has been linked through Cyprus with the Dinaric Alps (Fisher, 1956). The structure of the mountain rim of the country has been influenced strongly by tectonic movements which have not only caused considerable folding, giving rise to the mountain ridges, but have also resulted in overthrusting of the anticlines and complex step-faulting, particularly in the east and north-east. Lying between the two mountain systems of the north and south is the block of the central Iranian plateau, though even here large areas have been affected by the powerful movements which created the Alpine Himalayan orogenic systems.

Structural characteristics have an appreciable influence on the extreme regionalism of Iran. The Caspian basin may be regarded as a down-faulted area in sharp contrast to the adjacent main Alburz range, itself discerned as a main northern range, a southern range or Anti-Alburz (Rivière, 1934) with an internal tertiary basin between the two. The Zagros exhibits two structurally characteristic regions including the area of large-scale over-thrusting, as exemplified in the zone between ʿAlī Gūdarz and Shahr-i Kurd, and the area of lower altitude, where elongated anticlines and synclines are arranged in sub-parallel lines as for example around Do Gunbadān

The main period of earth movements has been established for the Alburz and the north-east region as belonging to the pre-Cretaceous era, when the permocarboniferous beds were widely affected. Further movement began in post-Eocene times and continued through to the end of the Miocene, while the close of the Cretaceous saw increased volcanic activity. The major period of folding is attributed to the Pliocene, especially the late Pliocene (Gansser, 1955). The Zagros was influenced considerably by epeirogenic movements dated to Paleozoic and early Mesozoic times with orogenic disturbances beginning in the Upper Cretaceous (Lees and Richardson, 1940). Prolonged folding in the late Miocene and Pliocene saw the emergence of elongated anticlines and synclines compressed against the resistant Arabian Shield.

2. Location and frontiers: Covering some 164 million hectares, Iran stretches from Bāzārgān (39° 20′ N-44° 20′ E) in the north-west to Sarakhs (36° 30′ N-61° 10′ E) in the north-east and from Ābādān (30° 20′ N-48° 15′ E) in the south-west to Gvātar (25° 05′ N-61° 30′ E) in the extreme south-east.

The land frontiers of Iran total approximately 4,400 kilometres much of which is aligned along natural features and the subject of established international agreements with the notable exception of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab boundary with ʿIrāḳ. The 460-kilometre border with Turkey runs south from the Rūd-i Aras through the eastern foothills of the Büyük Ağri Daği and thence roughly along the watershed between the Reżāʾiyeh basin and the Van Golü basin. Of the 900-kilometre frontier with ʿIrāḳ, the northern section follows the watershed of the Zagros and then the low-lying foothills of Mesopotamia before cutting across on arbitrary alignments to the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab upstream of the confluence with the Rūd-i Kārūn. Iran's border with the U.S.S.R. in Ādhārbāydjān is coincident with the Rūd-i Aras over much of its length except for the eastern extremity, where from approximately 48° E it swings southwards through the Dasht-i Moghān to the foothills of the Kūh-i Ṭālish, which it follows to the Rūd-i Āstārā which forms the boundary to the Caspian Sea (Daryā-yi Māzandarān). The Trans-Caspian border with the U.S.S.R. follows the line of the Rūd-i Atrāk upstream from the Caspian Sea to the confluence with the Rūd-i Sūmbār and then crosses the Kopet Dāgh to arc round to the Harī Rūd along the north facing slopes of the northern Alburz ridges including the Golūl Dāgh and the Kūh-i Hazār Masdjed. Although the Irano-Afghān border runs south along the Harī Rūd over the first section of its 800 kilometres length, the rest of the boundary is more arbitrarily aligned, traversing the inland drainage sumps east of the Ḳāyin-Bīrdjand highlands and the western rim of the Dasht-i Nā Umīd before cutting east through the Daryāčeh Sīstān to include much of the lowland around the Daryāčeh Hāmūn-i Ṣābarī before swinging south-west towards Zāhidān. After following the watershed of the hill range east of Zāhidān, the frontier with Pakistan is coincident with the Tahlāb Rūd south to the Hāmūn-i Mashgel. Thereafter the frontier trends more or less due south with an abutment eastwards to take in the valley of the Rūd-i Mashgel as far as Kūhak, from whence it swings south-west, in parts along tributaries of the Nehang Rūd, to the coast of the Gulf of Oman at the Khalīdj-i Gvātar.

3. Physical geography: The heartland of Iran is regarded by geographers as a plateau defined in the north by the Alburz system and to the south-west and south by the Zagros Mountains, though continuing eastwards into Afghānistān without firm

delineation. This vast triangular plateau is far from homogeneous and includes not only the extensive desert lands of the Dasht-i Kavīr and Lūṭ but also large, though discontinuous, areas of well watered and fertile soils lying between the enclosing mountains and the desert basins which are the centres of the introspective drainage systems. Whereas the great deserts contain few, if famous, settlements, many of the country's richest agricultural areas are located in the lands bordering the plateau, including among others the Dasht-i Ḳazvīn, Dasht-i Varāmīn, the extended oases of Mashhad, Sabzavār, Nīshābūr, Simnān, Tehran, Ḳumm, Yazd and Kirmān and the rich valleys of Arāḳ and Hamadān.

The two principal mountain systems add further regional diversity. The Alburz Mountains dominate the topography of northern Iran even in their eastern extensions where many subsidiary ranges give rise to local micro-climates and permit specialised agricultural activities. No less important, the Zagros chain imposes its own regional influences throughout its length from Kurdistān to Balūčistān, with altitudes sufficient in the west and for a considerable distance south-east to give rise to reliable orographic rainfall capable of supporting forest cover and, in places, a rich agriculture.

Outside the plateau and its surrounding rim lie limited but economically significant lowlands including the Caspian Plain, the Turkoman Ṣaḥrā, the inland sumps of the Harī Rūd and Rūd-i Hīrmand and the great plain of Khūzistān.

In view of the very considerable regional diversity of the country, detailed review of the main geographic areas is necessary.

3.i. The Plateau:

(a) The Central deserts: The central deserts of Iran fall naturally into two groupings separated by the mountain range running from the south-east of the highland belt of Khurāsān from Dastgerdān to Ardestān, the northern section known as Dasht-i Kavīr and the southern as Dasht-i Lūṭ. Both areas are themselves slit into a series of sub-basins. separated by hill ridges, many rising to over 1,500 metres. Dasht-i Kavīr is often presented as a series of ten basins (British Admiralty, 1944), the largest known as Kavīr-i Buzurg, in which the main characteristics are clayey, salty soils and extremely brackish groundwater in parts giving rise to ooze flows (Fischer, 1968), namakzar and temporary salt lakes (Mostofi, 1970). Most settlements are located on higher ground about 1,000 metres in altitude and represent for the most part staging posts on the ancient caravan routes linking northern Khurāsān and even the Caspian area via Simnān and Djandaḳ (MacGregor, 1871) with Yazd and Iṣfahān. Agricultural life is primarily based on oasis cultivation in which the date palm, other fruits and grains and fodders play a major role. The supply of dyes for the carpet industry, formerly of some importance, is now in decline. Mining for lead and other non-ferrous metals retains an albeit smallscale industrial base in the Anārak-Nā'īn area.

Dasht-i Lūṭ forms an elongated basin set between the Kirmān and the Ḳāyin-Bīrdjand highlands and contains many complex geographical features, some only recently studied (Mostofi, 1970). The so-called high northern Lūṭ lies between the Dastgerdān-Yazd axis and the Dehūk-Nayband-Rāvar col and is sometimes taken to include the highlands around Anārak. The southern Lūṭ or Lūṭ-i Zangi Aḥmad is defined in the south by the line of the Bam-Zāhidān road and traditionally and economically excludes Narmāshīr, the Kirmān Desert and Rīgān, though physically this zone, extending up to the Kūh-i Taftān, is included within the Lūṭ proper. Among the characteristic features of Dasht-i Lūṭ is the extensive namakzar-i Shahdād occupying a long trough extending on a serpentine 170-kilometre alignment from north-west to south-east, though formerly of greater extent (Gabriel, 1938). In the shallow centre of the Lūṭ adjacent to the namakzar complex fluvial and later aeolian erosion has produced areas of spectacularly dissected country having much the appearance of ruined towns called Shahr-i Lūṭ. In addition to a series of hill, valley and plain areas, of which six separate units have been recognised (Mostofi, 1970), the other dominating feature of the Lūṭ is the dune mass of the east running from Dih Salm on a NNE-SSW axis almost to Kahūrak on the Bam-Zāhidān road and in parts exceeding 80 kilometres in width.

Production from the region of Dasht-i Lūṭ is small and poor communications discourage active export of most goods. Agricultural output from the oases tends to be subsistence orientated, though oranges from Shahdād and dates from Shahdād and Dih Salm do find their way to markets in Kirmān and Bīrdjand. Mining has more than local importance with lead at Nayband, Kūh-i Garmāb and Seh Čangī and copper at Ḳalʿa Zarī and Ḳollehā (Bariand et al., 1965).

(b) The plains of the Zagros Slopes: A series of fertile plains and basins surround the central deserts lying along the north-eastern edge of the Zagros Mountains. The most extensive areas are those surrounding Iṣfahān, Yazd and Kirmān, though many other smaller centres exist with prosperous agricultural bases. Throughout the zone the principal means of water supply is the *ḳanāt* [*q.v.*], with river water retaining local importance especially in the Iṣfahān region. Drainage within the basins is largely internal and a number of salt-lake basins altitudinally and physically accordant with the Dasht-i Kavīr (Fischer, 1968) stretch from Sīrdjān via Gāvkhūnī to Iṣfahān. Outside the namakzar soils are generally deep and fertile, supporting a varied agriculture mainly irrigated but with a significant area of dryland grains and a rich associated livestock economy. Traditional craft industries are still important employers of labour in this region, with the hand-made carpets of Iṣfahān, Nā'īn, Kāshān and Kirmān accounting for a major portion of Iran's non-oil exports.

One of the factors permitting the early growth of sophisticated urban centres in this area of Iran has been the existence of readily accessible and varied mineral deposits, particularly the lead-zinc occurrences associated with the Jurassic and Cretaceous limestones around Iṣfahān, Kāshān and Yazd and orientated with the line of the Zagros overthrusting (Bariand, 1965). It is an interesting fact that many of the modern mine enterprises in the area represent new workings on ancient sites. Copper mining also has ancient origins in this area, the deposits to the south of Kirmān at Kūh-i Baḥr Āsmān and Tal-i Maʿdan near Rafsendjān both having been exploited at an early date. More recently, the Sar Čashma copper deposit has been proved and developed. Although iron deposits were not valued so highly or subject to such early exploitation as copper, iron workings dating from Archemenian times have been recorded in this area. Among the largest known ironfields in Iran is the magnetite iron bearing area around Bafḳ occurring along the contact lines of the grano-dioritic intrusions with the Upper Cretaceous sediments.

(c) North-West Iran: North-west Iran including East and West Ādhārbāydjān, Kurdistān and Hamadān with its geological continuation through the regions of Malāyer, Golpāyegān, Shahreżā and Balūčistān is considered at the present time to be an integral part of central Iran. The area was intensely folded and faulted during the Alpine orogeny and intrusive processes, localised metamorphism and widespread volcanism are characteristic throughout the zone. Despite the underlying geological similarities, the north-west remains geographically distinct from the areas further east. Topographically, the area has been likened to a series of irregular tablelands (Fisher, 1968), where altitudes attain between 4,811 metres in the main peak of the Sapālān Dāgh, 3,700 metres in Kūh-i Sahand and 3,306 metres in the Kūh-i Boz Ghūsh. Drainage of the north-west area is intricate in pattern. The Rūd-i Aras drains the north-flowing tributaries running from the Ḳareh Dāgh and the Büyük Ağri Daği as well as the Khūy and Ardabīl basins. Much of the south-west of the area is drained by the tributaries of the Rūd-i Zandjānčāy, which eventually joins the Ḳizil Uzon and the Safīd Rūd system. Other radial drainage lines include those streams west of Mahābād which link in the Āb-i Zāb, cross the ʿIrāḳī frontier, and link with the Zāb al-Asfal. Introspective drainage in Western Ādhārbāydjān centres on the Daryāčeh-i Reżāʾiyeh fed by the Zarīneh Rūd and Sīmīneh Rūd from the south and the Adjī Čāy from the east.

Ādhārbāydjān is among the better watered areas of Iran and average annual rainfall at Tabrīz is 285.6 millimetres, though the surrounding highlands receive heavier rainfall, much of it in the form of winter snows. Dryland grain cultivation is possible over large areas and deciduous fruits are universally important together with the vine and almond. Irrigated culture is found throughout the region, with the most productive areas located in the major river valleys around the towns of Ardabīl, Khūy, Mahābād, Miyāneh, Reżāʾiyeh, Tabrīz and Zandjān, where soils are rich and deep and where some shelter is available from harsh winds, frosts and prolonged snow cover.

Ādhārbāydjān is extremely mineral rich in two main areas including the Ahar-Gūlān-Marand area, where large and medium scale deposits of lead-zinc, copper, gold, arsenic and molybdenite exist and the southern Ādhārbāydjān region lying in the Angūrnā-Takāb-Marāgheh area, where large and medium-scale deposits of lead-zinc, copper, arsenic, gold, bismuth and other minerals have been located. Small-scale iron fields are worked at Afshārābād and Goldjūk, while lead-zinc and copper deposits are found between Zandjān and Fīrūzābād.

The southern rim of the central Iranian plateau land running south-east from southern Ādhārbāydjān through Kurdistān and Hamadān to Shahreżā is geologically similar to Ādhārbāydjān, as noted above, though here a larger element of Mesozoic and Tertiary metamorphism is apparent, especially in the Hamadān-Dārān belt. The rim takes the form of a broken mountain system beginning in the west with the Kūh-i Čehel Časmeh (3,163 metres) and continuing in the Kūh-i Alvand (3,548 metres) and in Ashfarān Kūh (4,176 metres). South-west of Nadjafābād the ridge is less distinct. The areas as far east as Nadjafābād are agriculturally well-endowed with deep soils in the valleys and reliable rainfall (Hamadān 385.2 millimetres annual average). Both *ḳanāt* and river water irrigation supplies are utilised for sedentary agriculture, especially favoured centres for which are Malāyer, Arāk, Golpāyigān, ʿAlī Gūdarz and Nadjafābād. Livestock is generally important, with a strong transhumant tradition affecting mainly the Kurdistān area. Sizeable mineral deposits occur in the area of Mesozoic and Tertiary metamorphism and lead-zinc is found at Lākān, Ḥusaynābād and Darreh Noḳreh south-east of Arāk and at Andjīreh, Vīdjīn, Khāneh Sormeh and Shāhkūh in the area west and south of Iṣfahān.

(d) Balūčistān: The mountains of Balūčistān, formerly regarded as continuations of the main Zagros system, are now recognised as a south-east limb of the central Iranian zone. To the north, the area is clearly defined by the Kūh-i Bazmān which, reaching its greatest elevation at 3,489 metres, effectively separates the depression of Dasht-i Lūṭ from the Djaz Moriyān Hāmūn. The mountains of Kūh-i Bazmān are made up of extrusive material with a series of geologically youthful volcanic peaks dominating the range. A north-south syncline running from north of Īrānshahr to the region of Nuṣratābād divides the Kūh-i Bazmān from the Kūh-i Taftān, a geologically mixed region, with extrusive igneous and metamorphic rock in the area of Kūh-i Taftān volcanic peak, a complex zone of ophiolite-radiolarite rocks with ultrabasic masses located west of Taftān and a surrounding mass of Cambrian to Paleogene sedimentaries. Topography throughout the region is irregular and mainly above an altitude of 1,000 metres. In addition to the mountain ridges traversing the area, and noted above, two plateaux lie to the north and south of the Kūh-i Taftān centred on Zāhidān and Khāsh, respectively, though the former is not endowed with sufficient soil or water resources to offer a base for a strong sedentary agriculture. The Khāsh plateau presents a strong contrast, with settled cultivation developed over large areas dependent upon adequate if not abundant subterranean water resources and rich and deep soils, where grains, fodder crops, vegetables and orchard fruits give generally reliable returns (Plan Organisation 1960).

Although the Iranian Makrān shows geological similarities with western Balūchistān, intense overthrusting along a roughly west-east alignment has given the northern Makrān distinctive topography, extremely broken in places and difficult of access and agricultural utilisation. Separating the Djāz Moriyān Hāmūn from the Makrān is the Kūh-i Bashāgerd, the main west-east ridge of which rises to over 1,500 metres, where the ophiolite-radiolarite areas form a more resistant mass than the surrounding sedimentaries. Coastal Makrān, beginning from Rāʾs al-Shīr in the west and continuing into Pakistan in the east, forms yet another distinctive zone of relatively regular anticlines and succeeding synclines aligned more or less parallel with the coastline. The area is pre-eminently one of sedimentaries, geologically forming a depression zone of which the larger part lies below the Gulf of Oman, though the regular folding of the anticline structures gives coastal Makrān a character much different from other major depressions and internal basins in the country. Rapid and intensive erosion of the ridges near the coast by fast-running north-south streams has dissected the anticlines into small hill groups of low elevation except where the geologic outliers of the Cambrian-Paleogene series are exposed to stand out as resistant blocks occasionally attaining more than 1,000 metres in altitude. Despite the occurrence of monsoon rainfall in coastal districts and the existence of ancient *ḳanāt* systems, agricultural deve-

lopment has been inhibited by the unreliability of rainfall, the poor condition of the ḳanāts and, not least of all, by the low levels of technical knowledge of the predominantly Balūč population in both water utilisation and cultivation skills (Spooner, 1968).

Lying between the mountain rims of Balūčistān is the Djāz Moriyān depression, structurally an internal basin and now filled with recent alluvial deposits brought from the hills by numerous streams seasonally flowing to the centre of the basin where *kavīr* and swamp lands cover a considerable area. Away from the Hāmūn itself, the plains of Bampūr and Djīruft, and particularly the latter, offer scope for settled agriculture, though geographic isolation and preoccupation with livestock herding have been constraints on effective use of available land and water resources. Nonetheless, the Bampūr-Īrānshahr area produces grains, including rice, fodders and tree crops utilising *ḳanāt* water supplies and temporary 'bands' or earth dams across the major drainage channels to trap water and silt for cultivation purposes. Djīruft has been developed in the very recent period as a major crop and livestock area under government auspices.

Large deposits of chromite have been located in Balūčistān and the adjacent areas between Bāft and Djīruft, occurring in the area of ultrabasic rocks where magmatic segregation has taken place. The most important deposits are established at Shahriyār and Amīr, north-east of Mīnāb, though scattered sites as distant as Ābdasht and Khāsh are known.

(e) The East Persian Highlands: The East Persian highland system runs from the Kūh-i Surkh south of Mashhad and links up with the Kūh-i Taftān in northern Balūčistān. Kūh-i Surkh is separated from the hill area to the south by the Great Kavīr Fault, which arcs across from west to east fading out near ʿAlamdār. The Kūh-i Surkh attains an altitude of 3,020 metres north-west of Turbat-i Ḥaydarī, though much of its continuation east in the Kūh-i Bīzak and Kūh-i Khvāf rises to over 2,000 metres. South of these highlands a large depression forms a west to east trough, through the foothills of the highlands between Kāshmar and ʿAlamdār including the Turbat-i Ḥaydarī region which act as an intermediate zone, where areas of good soils and fair underground water resources permit cultivation of grains, vegetables and mixed tree crops. In years of above average rainfall, dayīn, or dryland, cultivation is important and some villagers augment their irrigated lands by damming small streams. South of the foothills, soils are poor and namakzar formations characterise the basin bottom from Kavīr-i Namak to the Afghān borders, where marshes are also found. Drainage from the Kūh-i Bīzak, the northern Ḳāyin-Bīrdjand highlands and the Dastgerdān flows to the namakzar formations.

West-east faulting in the north Ḳāyin-Bīrdjand highlands separates the Kūh-i Kalāt from Ḳāyināt proper by a high col. Gunābād village group and its related *yaylāḳ*, Kākhk, form a relatively prosperous agricultural area on the foothills and north-facing slopes of the Kūh-i Kalāt reliant on *ḳanāt* water supply. Crustal instability is marked both here and in the areas as far south as Bīrdjand and many settlements suffer periodic earthquakes of which the last occurred in 1968 affecting Kākhk and Ferdaus particularly.

The Ḳāyin-Bīrdjand Mountains achieve their greatest height in the Kūh-i Āhangerān at 2,877 metres, while the north-west to south-east ridge east of Bīrdjand also runs for some 100 kilometres at altitudes above 2,000 metres. Drainage of the highlands is to the namakzar in the north and to the small western basins and the Dasht-i Lūṭ in the west. Southwards the situation is more complex and the line of the hill ranges and the major streams is strongly affected by faulting trending north-west to south-east in the south-east sector and north to south in the south-west sector, with drainage fed to the Daryāča-i Hāmūn-i Hīrmand in the former and to the Dasht-i Lūṭ in the latter case. Agriculture in the Ḳāyināt and Bīrdjand is based on *ḳanāt*, pump and earth dam systems with subterranean aquifers replenished by the irregular, though at times heavy, rainfall and snows on the mountain ridges. Some hill villages are famous for saffron and vegetable dye cultivation on small artficial terraces, and there is a considerable export of these products from the region to other parts of the country. The southern col reaching from the main mountain area around Khūsf to Nuṣratābād is faulted to both west and east and carries little settlement or cultivation with the exception of the lower east-facing slopes around Neh which sustain minor pockets of cultivation where shelter from the 120-day wind (*bād-i ṣad-u-bīst rūz*) is possible. Further west, oasis date palm culture is found on the fringes of Dasht-i Lūṭ.

(f) The Sīstān Depression: Centring on Zābul is a large depression clearly marked in the east by north-south faults and running east to the foothills of the Hindu Kush ranges. The principal features of the lowland within Iranian territory are the two permanent lakes of the Hāmūn-i Hīrmand and Daryāča-i Hāmūn-i Ṣābarī, which seasonally link with the Hāmūn-i Pūsak in Afghānistān to form a single sweet water lake. The lake is fed by the Rūd-i Hīrmand, having its catchment in Afghānistān, while drainage is to the south via the Shalaḳ Rūd to Gūd-i Zarra on the Afghānistān-Pakistan frontier. Despite the ample supplies of water available for irrigation, settled agriculture is poorly developed, not least of all as a result of structural problems affecting ownership and tenancy of land in the area (Lambton, 1953 and 1969). Distance from urban markets and poor roads have also inhibited development, though severe constraints on summer cropping are imposed by the *bād-i ṣad-u-bīst rūz*, which tends to have a scorching effect on crops. Main products of the area are grains and some vegetables and cotton.

3.ii. The Bordering Mountain Ranges:

(a) The Alburz: Comprising one of the world's greatest mountain systems, the Kūh-i Alburz has an average height estimated at 3,100 metres, the highest point being the volcanic cone of Kūh-i Damāvand overlooking Tehran at an altitude of 5,654 metres. Although strongly related to Central Iran and affected by the faulting and thrusting of the Alpine orogeny, the Alburz Mountains were little involved in the phase of late Jurassic-early Cretaceous folding. Folding intensity decreases appreciably in the northern foothills of the range (Bariand, 1965). The range carries a heavy snow cover through the winter and the northern slopes attract heavy orographic rainfall throughout the year with the seasonal maximum varying with altitude. Abundant water maintains a dense and self-regenerating forest cover on the north slopes of the Alburz above the Caspian Plain, though extremely narrow valleys and absence of broad and well-watered plains in the intermontane basins has limited agricultural life in the mountain areas to small valley defiles and terraces. Drainage patterns in the Alburz are aligned to the Caspian coast or to the central

basins, with streams mainly falling in torrents down the deep slopes. A more intricate pattern exists in the case of the Safīd Rūd, where the north-south stream has captured the Ḳizil Uzon and the Shahrūd which occupy an elevated trough in the central basin of the Alburz. Land communications across the Alburz are difficult and hazardous even at the present time. Except for the Ḳazvīn-Mandjīl-Rasht route using the Safīd Rūd gap, all other routes are subject to temporary closure in winter as a result of snow-blockage, flooding and landslips. The Tehran-Āmul crossing using the Rūd-i Harāz valley is especially notorious in this respect.

Although the Alburz tend to be of lower altitude in the east, there is a large element of geological continuity between the main Alburz and the eastern ranges of Kūh-i Hazār Masdjid and Kūh-i Bīnālūd than specialists formerly believed, the basic folded sedimentaries of the Cambrian to Paleogene of the Alburz system giving an underlying unity (Bariand, 1965). As noted, however, intensity of folding declines in the northern foothills and has given rise to a more regular series of hill ranges and intervening troughs with topography rather different, therefore, from the main Alburz. The main lines of drainage run along the central valley lying between the northern ranges, including the Kūh-i Golūl, Kūh-i Allāh Akbar and Kūh-i Hazār Masdjid and the southern ridges of Kūh-i Alā Dāgh and Kūh-i Bīnālūd. From a watershed in the Ḳūčān-Kalāteh area, the region is drained westwards by the Rūd-i Atrāk and its tributaries towards the Turkoman Ṣaḥrā, while the Kashaf Rūd drains to the south-east joining the Harī Rūd north of Garmāb ʿAliyā. Livestock herding is important in the hill areas of northern Khurāsān, while the major areas of settled agriculture occur both in the lower Atrāk region and the broad plain around Mashhad and in the extended oases of Nīshābūr and Sabzavār. The vast but poorly watered and isolated Djuvayn plain supports a number of formerly prosperous but now depressed villages reliant on *ḳanāt* and spring water supply for agriculture and on livestock herding.

The Alburz is poorly endowed with minerals compared to other areas of the country, though exploration is far from complete. In addition to lead-zinc deposits at Donā, Kalār Dasht, Sarbisheh, Reżāābād and Tūyeh, barite is found at Sīrā, while small deposits of iron ore have been located at Simnān. Old-established coal workings are still actively exploited by addit mining in the high Rūd-i Harāz valley north of Polūr. East of Damghān, the Alburz proper offers no mineral wealth. The sedimentaries of the central Iranian group and the internal Neogene basins between Miyāndasht and Nīshābūr are better endowed, with copper deposits at Dāman Djālā, Buzurg and Čoghondar Sar and turquoise found in the Nīshābūr district.

(b) The Zagros: The Zagros Mountains bound the Iranian plateau on the south, running from the Irano-ʿIrāḳī border at Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn to the Tangeh-i Hurmuz. A clear boundary marks the break between the Zagros and the plateau on the continuous north-west to south-east line of the main Zagros thrust zone which runs in a roughly 50-70 kilometre belt. The belt may be regarded as the deep central trough of the Zagros basin of former times and exhibits areas of thinbedded red cherts containing radiolaria (Harrison, 1968) in the west around Kirmānshāh and southern Kurdistān and in the east around Nīrīz. Considerable areas lie above 3,000 metres with Zard Kūh at some 4,540 metres and Kūh-i Kalar at some 4,300 metres.

The main Zagros is distinguished from the zone of overthrusting and its associated imbricate zone (Oberlander, 1965) by a discontinuous major line of overthrusting running from slightly south of Kirmānshāh in the north-west to Kūh-i Čashma north of Mīnāb in the south-east and including a 200-kilometre wide zone taking in the whole of south-west and south Iran as far east as Rāʾs al-Shīr with the sole exception of the Plain of Khūzistān. In the main Zagros, conformably laid Cambrian to late Tertiary sedimentary rocks have been folded during Plio-Pleistocene times into extended parallel folds now much eroded and dissected by deep gorges through which the major rivers flow to the Persian Gulf in a complex longitudinal/transverse pattern. The major rivers, all of them perennial, include the Karkha, Kārūn, Hendidjān, Ḥelleh, Mond and Mihrān systems, though several small streams make a direct but seasonal route to the Persian Gulf.

Although few minerals other than hydrocarbons have been found in the main Zagros, oil and gas fields abound, especially in the dome formations of the Asmari and Cretaceous limestones, which have been the basis for the development of the Iranian oil industry since the early twentieth century, first in the northern fields of Masdjid-i Sulaymān and Lālī and later in the more prolific structures such as Āghā Djārī, Ahwāz, Gač Sārān and Mārūn further to the south. Overlying the Asmari limestone in the oilfield zone are the lower Fārs beds which contain plastic evaporite deposits acting as a seal for the oil-bearing structures (Harrison, 1968).

Despite a relatively heavy and reliable rainfall in the area of the western Zagros (Khurramābād, 504.0 and Shīrāz 384.6 milimetres) sedentary agriculture is not well developed except around Shīrāz, most of the area falling under tribal group herding systems of land utilisation. Central government control in the area was tenuous until comparatively recent years since access was difficult and tribal control absolute outside the major towns. The main tribal groups occupying this vast area include Kurds, Lūrs, Bakhtiyārī, Kūhgīlu, Boyer Aḥmad and Ḳashḳāy, all of which are still concerned with transhumant herding, though growing government pressure on the tribes to settle through enforced security, the establishment of agricultural extension services and a road construction programme is having some effect towards increasing the area under sedentary cultivation. Protection of the extensive oak forests on the higher ridges and valleys of the Zagros is helping to conserve timber resources in tribal areas of the zone. The eastern Zagros is an area of poorer rainfall than the west but a prosperous sedentary agriculture is developing in the major river valleys and plains, particularly around Iṣṭahbānat, Fasā and Nīrīz, with grains, including millet, and sugar beet of importance. Livestock, often under a nomadic regime, remain the basis of the economy of the area, exploiting seasonal grasslands of the Garmsīr and Sardsīr.

The long coastline of the Persian Gulf permits of widespread smuggling activity of luxury goods from the trade entrepôts of the Gulf for the Iranian market. Fishing, on the other hand, is little developed and is of only local significance. Of the ports of the coast between Bandar Daylām and Bandar ʿAbbās, none has yet risen to national importance other than the oil terminals of Djazīra-i Kharg, Baḥregān and Djazīra-i Lavān. The agriculture of the coastal strip is extremely poor, limited to grazing and shifting cultivation with the exception of the oases around Bandar ʿAbbās and Mīnāb.

3.iii. The Iranian Lowlands:

(a) The Khūzistān Lowlands: The lowlands of Khūzistān have been described by Fisher (1968) as the largest single expanse of true lowland in Iranian territory and the area does present a sharp contrast to the rest of the country where mountains are rarely out of view. Structurally, the plain is regarded as part of the Arabian platform with a deep cover of Paleozoic-Mesozoic-Tertiary sedimentary rocks under more recent layers of alluvial material making up a continuation of the Mesopotamian region to the foothills of the Zagros (N.I.O.C., 1959). A high rate of deposition of alluvium still exists in the headwaters of the Persian Gulf dependent on the silt load brought down by the Tigris-Euphrates and Kārūn systems. De Morgan's (1905) classical theory on the infilling of the headwaters of the Persian Gulf and the gradual advance of the land surface there has been widely accepted though Lees and Falcon (1952) have offered an alternative hypothesis on the assumption that the lowlands represent a gradual downwarping of the land surface under the weight of accumulated sediments and that the coastline is therefore more or less in stable equilibrium.

Topographically, the plain is virtually unbroken with a slow rise in altitude from the coast to the abrupt slopes of the Zagros foothills. Not until Andīmeshk is reached, 130-kilometres north of Ahvāz, do altitudes rise above 150 metres. The area is drained by the Rūd-i Karkha in its north-west sector towards the Rūd-i Kārūn, which is not reached before the Karkha peters out in salt and mud flats. The north and north-east is served by the Rūd-i Kārūn and its tributaries, while the east is drained by the Rūd-i Djarrāḥi system. Although much of the water is fed to the Persian Gulf through the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab, a number of narrow creeks known as *khūr* also distribute the river waters of both systems. The largest of these creeks, the Khūr Mūsā, serves as a sea-way to the ports of Bandar Shāhpūr and Māh Shahr, the former rising to importance as a major Gulf port and the latter acting as a terminal for oil product exports from the Ābādān refinery. Khurramshahr lies at the junction of the Rūd-i Kārūn and Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab (the latter officially referred to as the Arvand Rūd in Iran) and is the major commercial goods port for international trade. Ābādān lies downstream from Khurramshahr and is the former oil products port for the Ābādān refinery. The city retains its position as an oil processing centre but is no longer a port of any significance. Ahvāz, situated on the Rūd-i Kārūn 125 kilometres from Ābādān, is the provincial capital and an expanding centre of the oil industry from which most administration and servicing of the field areas is carried on. Until the early 1950s, the agricultural state of the Khūzistān lowland was extremely poor, contrasting sharply with the former prosperity of Archaemenid and Sasanian times. Much of the plain was cultivated by tribal groups under shifting agriculture with only minor pockets of sedentary agriculture in the palm groves around Ābādān and Khurramshahr and the gardens fed by the waters of the Kārūn around Ahvāz. Control of the Āb-i Dīz following construction of the Muḥammad Reżā Shāh dam above Dezfūl has permitted rapid growth of newly reclaimed agricultural areas on the plain of which Haft Tappeh sugar cane plantation is an important early example.

In addition to the activities associated directly with oil production and export, a number of modern industries utilising natural gas have grown up in Ābādān and Bandar Shāhpūr, while new industries processing heavy and bulky imported raw materials, particularly steel, have developed near Ahvāz. The region is favoured by the existence of excellent rail links which run through the Dīz-Sehzar gap in the Zagros to Tehran and northern Iran.

(b) The Caspian Lowlands and Turkoman Ṣaḥrā: The Caspian Lowlands and the Turkoman Ṣaḥrā reach from the Irano-Soviet frontier at Āstārā in a belt of radically varying width (from two to three kilometres to 50 kilometres) to the east of Gunbad-i Ḳābūs. The lowlands are seen as the southern edge of the Asiatic foreland (Harrison, 1968) or as areas of young depressions (Bariand, 1965). Much of the Caspian lowland represents the area left by the recession of the Caspian Sea and the characteristic soil cover is nonsaline alluvial soils and, in the Bandar Pahlavī-Lāhīdjān region, peat and grey soils (Dewan, 1961). In the Gurgān-Gunbad-i Ḳābūs area of the Caspian piedmont, soils are extremely fertile and include deep horizons of podzolic soils. Such fertility combines with heavy rainfall over much of the plains, with the Bandar Pahlavī-Lāhīdjān area receiving an annual average of no less than 1,800 millimetres, though precipitation amounts decline very steeply southwards and more gradually to the east, Bābulsar receiving 819.7 millimetres and Gurgān 649.8 millimetres.

Drainage is highly variable in type. Many short streams run down to the Caspian Sea between Āstārā and Riẓvāndeh and between Rūdsar and Nūr. The plain is also traversed by the braided distributaries of the Safīd Rūd, some water of which is diverted artificially by tunnel to the Fūmenāt district. Flooding of the Safīd Rūd delta was a usual occurrence until the construction of the Safīd Rūd (Shāhbānū Farāh) dam and its associated re-regulation works and present-day river levels are only fractionally below those of the plain itself, thereby permitting direct off-take of irrigation water for the inundation of rice-paddies which form the major item of land use in this zone. Further east, the rivers tend to be more incised, making irrigation more difficult, though rice remains the dominating crop of the lowlands proper as far east as Galūgāh.

Although rice has become increasingly important in the modern period, often on land reclaimed from the sea, swamps and lower slopes of the Alburz, and tea plantations have taken over the undulating land above the Caspian plain, other crops have considerable national importance, including tobacco, citrus fruits (particularly in the Shahsavār-Čālūs region), and sunflower seeds. Mulberry trees are present in large numbers and a small-scale silk industry survives as a fractional legacy of the former traditional economic basis of the area. The Gurgān and Gunbad-i Ḳābūs plains produce large quantities of cotton and grains on lands only recently reclaimed to arable use. Forestry activity on the higher slopes of the Alburz, where the Hyrcanian forest survives over a considerable acreage, is economically important, though the timber resource has been abused in the past by random cutting for construction and charcoal burning purposes. A flourishing fishing industry exists in the small Caspian ports and coastal villages and along the rivers of the region. The state-controlled caviar interest has had international significance for many years and is of continuing importance despite rigorous supervision of sturgeon fishing made necessary by fears of over-rapid depletion of the species. Local and Tehran markets are supplied with fresh-water fish caught in the rivers, particularly the Safīd Rūd. Although the Caspian

ports suffered eclipse following the end of World War II as a result of restrictions on trade with the U.S.S.R., the many problems posed by the silting up of the harbours and the recession of the coastline, the expansion of the Irano-Soviet trade since 1965 has led to the reinvigoration of trade and communications sectors in the area. Bandar Pahlavī handles both Irano-Soviet exchanges and an increasing volume of international transit trade.

4. Summary: Geology, soils and climate combine to give Iran an extremely varied face. Within the broad regions of the Plateau, the Mountain Chains and the Lowlands, very considerable contrasts in land, water and mineral resource endowment are to be found between localities even in close geographical proximity. Differing responses to these underlying variations in natural conditions and isolation of areas from the mainstream of the nation's life caused by strong physical barriers to movement between the regions have accentuated Iran's regional diversity.

Bibliography: Bariand *et al.*, *Preliminary metallogenic map of Iran*, Geological Survey of Iran, No. 7, 1965; British Admiralty, *Persia*, Naval Intelligence, London 1944; M. L. Dewan, *Soil map of Iran, 1 : 2, 500,000*, Soil Dept., FAO, Tehran 1961; W. B. Fisher, *The Middle East*, London 1956; idem, *Cambridge History of Iran*, Chap. 1, 1968, Vol. 1; A. Gabriel, *The Southern Lut and Iranian Baluchestan*, Geogr. Jour., lxxx (1938); A. Gansser, *New aspects of the Geology of central Iran*, Proc. 4th Petr. Congr. Rome, 1955; J. V. Harrison, *Cambridge History of Iran*, Chap. 2, Vol. 1, 1968; Iranian Government, Ministry of Roads, Meteorological Service, *Meteorological Yearbooks*, various years; A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, London 1953; eadem, *Persian Land reform 1962-66* London 1969; G. M. Lees and N. L. Falcon, *The geological history of the Mesopotamian plains*, Geogr. Jour., cviii (1952); G. M. Lees and F. D. S. Richardson, *The geology of the oilfield belt of south-west Iran*, Geol. Mag., lxxvii (1940); C. M. MacGregor, *Gazeteer of Persia*, G.S.H.Q., India, Simla, Vol. 1, 1871; idem, *Narrative of a journey through the province of Khorasan and on the north-west frontier of Afghanistan* in *1875*, London 1879; J. de Morgan, *Mission Scientifique en Perse*, Paris 1905; A. Mostofi, *Lūṭ-i zangī aḥmad*, Gozāreshhā-yi D̲j̲ogrāfīyā'ī, Tehran 1348; J. Murray, *Iran To-day*, Tehran 1950; National Iranian Oil Company, *Geological map of Iran, 1 : 2, 500,000, with explanatory notes*, Tehran 1959; T. M. Oberlander, *The Zagros streams*, New York 1965; Permanent Committee on Geographical Names for Official Use, Persia, 1955; M. Pūrkemāl, *Bar-rasīhā-yi kartōgrāfī dar janūb-i sharqī-yi Īrān*, Gozāreshhā-yi D̲j̲ogrāfīyā'ī, Tehran 1349; Plan Organisation, *Socio-economic development plan for the south-eastern region*, Italconsult, 1960; A. Rivière, *Contribution à l'étude géologique de l'Elbourz*, Révue Géogr. Phys. et Géologie Dyn., vii (1934); University of Tehran, *Climatic Atlas of Iran*, Tehran 1348.

(K. S. McLachlan)

ii.—Demography and Ethnography

The distribution of population in Iran, and the ways in which its peoples make their livings, are to a considerable extent a function of its geography (see above). A horseshoe-shaped arc of varying width containing habitable mountains and other arable and pastoral lands, encloses the nucleus of a desert. Because this arc points northwestward, where it merges into the highlands of ʿIrāḳ and Turkey, the bulk of the Iranian population is concentrated near its borders. Since Achaemenian times this habitation pattern has posed an administrative problem to the successive Iranian governments.

Geography has thus also contributed to a diversity of peoples, a problem which the Achaemenians solved by creating the first empire, one in which minorities were allowed local autonomy in dress, religion, speech, and other aspects of culture within a single political framework. This diversity has continued until modern times. To the southwest, Iran touches Arab country, with many Arabs living on contiguous ʿIrāḳī soil, as well as on Baḥrayn Island (which Iran once claimed). To the northwest the crest of the Zagros splits the Kurdish people, and the northwestern corner of Iran, bordering on Turkey and Soviet Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān, contains populations speaking Āzarī Turkish, while other Turks are found on Iranian territory east of the Caspian Sea as well as in the southern Zagros. To the east, Iran's borders with Afg̲h̲ānistān and Pakistan are overlapped by Persian-speaking Čahār Lang Mongols, Balūčis, and a few Brāhuīs.

The population of Iran, most recently (1967-9) estimated at 26,284,000 persons, may be divided as follows (see Table I):
4,783,000 inhabitants of cities of over 50,000, or about 18% of the total; 1,110,000, or about 4%, living in smaller cities; and 18,660,000, or about 71%, living in more than 40,000 villages; plus about 1,742,000 "others", including tribal nomads and Gypsies.

As Table II indicates, one sixth of the population of Iran is still tribally organized, whether nomadic or sedentary. In the tribes designated by (f) on Table II the count was made by families, households, or tents, rather than by individuals. Because most tribal "families" are extended households, the number of such units has been multiplied by ten in each case. Although most of these counts were made over twenty years ago, if the number of houses has increased and the number of persons per household has decreased, the tribal populations may not have changed much, especially as some of the tribal people have been lost to the cities.

TABLE I

Population by types of settlement

Cities		
Tehran	2,317,116	
Tabrīz	387,803	
Iṣfahān	339,909	
Mas̲h̲had	312,186	
Ābādān	302,189	
S̲h̲īrāz	229,761	
Hamadān	114,610	4,003,574
Kirmāns̲h̲āh		
Ahvāz	said to be over 100,000 in 1964.	
Ras̲h̲t		ca. 330,000
Arāk		
Ardabīl		
Dizfūl	said to be between 50,000 and 100,000 in 1964.	
Ḳazvīn		
Yazd		
Ḳumm		ca. 450,000
	Total urban = ca.	4,783,357 = 18.2% of population

Towns

Towns of 5,000—50,000, ca.	1,109,000 =	4.2% of population
Villages*, numbering over 40,000	ca. 18,661,640 =	71.0% of population
"*Others*"**	ca. 1,740,860 =	6.6% of population
Total	ca. 26,284,000 =	100%

* Includes tribal and non-tribal, sedentary and seasonally nomadic.
** Probably includes full nomadic.

TABLE II
Tribal Peoples

Zagros			
Kurds (Kurdistan)	600,000		K
Lurs	300,000		P
Ba<u>kh</u>tiyārīs	300,000		P
Kuh Galus	150,000	f	P
Mamassanis	55,000	f	P
Ka<u>sh</u><u>gh</u>āī	625,000	f	T
<u>Kh</u>amsehs	525,000	f	PTA
Northwest, Alburz, and East Caspian Plain			
<u>Sh</u>āhsavans	200,000		T
W. Elburz	30,000	f	KT
E. Elburz	280,000	f	KT
Turkomans	100,000	f	T
Kir<u>gh</u>iz	500		T
Southern Coast and Southeast			
Arabs	1,200,000		A
Balūčīs	120,000		B
Brāhūīs	10,000	f	D
Sīstān	42,000	f	PBD
Total	4,537,500 or 16.5% of whole		

K = Kurdish P = Persian T = Turkish
B = Balūčī A = Arabic D = Dravidian
f = count by families.

Except for about 15,000 Zoroastrians remaining in and about Yazd and Kirmān, the ethnic Persians, including the tribal ones, are <u>Sh</u>īʿī, and so are most of the Arabs living in Iran. Over two million more of the <u>Sh</u>āh's subjects are Sunnīs, particularly the migratory Kurdish tribes of the northwest, the Turkomans, and the Balūčīs. Ismāʿīlīs and Bahāʾīs still persist in Iran, and the Lur tribesmen were, and may secretly still be, ʿAlī Ilāhīs.

In 1960 there were still some 60,000 Jews in Iran, engaged mostly in the professions and trade, whereas many of the Kurdish Jews of Sananda<u>dj</u> and Saḳḳiz had already migrated to Israel. Almost equally scattered were over 50,000 Armenians, although some had left Iran for Soviet Armenia. Armenian villages may still be seen in the northwest, and the entire suburb, or half-city of <u>Dj</u>ulfā-Iṣfahān is Armenian.

Armenians and Georgians, both used to cold weather, occupy throughout the year villages in the summer pastures of the Ka<u>sh</u><u>gh</u>āī. Like the Jews, the Armenians specialize in the professions, in trade, and also in truck-driving. A colony of Nestorian Christians who call themselves Assyrians and speak Syriac are concentrated in and about Reżāʾiyye. They number over 20,000. Many others have migrated to the United States. Both the Armenians and the Assyrians have undergone strong American and British missionary influence.

Except for the addition of a certain amount of modern industry, the cities of Iran are essentially commercial. In them handicrafts flourish and imported as well as local products are sold in modern shops and in covered bazaars. During the last thirty or forty years Tehran has replaced Tabrīz as the largest city, and has drawn to itself persons from all over the nation, including gardeners from Zabol, Turkoman truckdrivers, an intellectual élite educated mostly abroad, the absentee owners of thousands of villages, and a host of public servants. In summer those who can afford it move to the mountain slopes north of the city or to resorts on the Caspian shore.

The usual Iranian village is an assemblage of mudbrick or pisé dwellings roofed with poplar poles covered with earth. The poles are cut from the closely packed rows of quick-growing poplars that line nearly every canal and stream. In regions lacking such watercourses a row of circular mounds, like hollow molehills, stretches from the hills across the sloping plain to the village. These mounds mark the course of a deep, manmade, underground stream called a *ḳanāt* [*q.v.* & see MĀʾ]. Sheltered from evaporation, it is the product of highly skilled labour. *Ḳanāt*-diggers are specialists from the Gurgān region who go wherever their services are needed.

Apart from the aforementioned poplars and fruit trees, the typical landscape is almost bare of vegetation taller than short grass, for the goats and sheep keep it down and every day women and children go out to collect low bushes and twigs for fuel. There is usually one carpenter in the village, but most of the men are engaged in agriculture, while the boys tend the flocks.

In the absence of the landlord, whom many of the villagers may never have seen, the community is run by his agent, the *katk<u>h</u>udā*, who allocates the land, provides most of the tools, and collects the rent. This usually consists of four-fifths of the grain produced by each man, unless he is the lucky owner of an ox used in ploughing, in which case he may receive the share of five men and may not need to work.

In tribal territory the village may belong to the tribe as a whole, and in non-tribal territory there were, even twenty years ago, a few "free" villages owned by the villagers themselves, and ruled by their own headmen who paid taxes directly to the government. Under the current land reforms instituted by the present <u>Sh</u>āh, the number of such villages has increased.

The principal respites from the dreary, impoverished routine of most villagers' lives come from weddings and other rites of passage, from the celebration of the *ʿā<u>sh</u>ūrā* [*q.v.*], and particularly from *Nawrūz*. Beginning at the vernal equinox, this holiday lasts twelve days. In the balmy spring weather, families move out to the fields to picnic and to disport themselves. Each family collects seven plants and foods whose Persian names begin with S, as does the word for green, the colour of spring. They are apples, malt, sweet biscuits, chives, garlic, vinegar, and hyacinth. These offerings are placed in a prominent place in each house, and thrown out on the thirteenth day.

The Persians are fond of athletic competitions such as wrestling and weight-lifting, and in the cities specially clothed men in need of exercise practise with Indian clubs and dumb-bells, in special gymnasia, to the beat of drums and recitations from the *<u>Sh</u>āh-nāma*. Such a gymnasium is called a *zūr<u>kh</u>āna* [*q.v.*].

The northern Kurds live in villages ruled by their own chiefs during the winter, but in spring it was their habit, until forbidden by the government, to migrate each spring to high pastures across the ʿIrāḳī border, and return before snowfall. They are Sunnis and prefer the type of marriage common among Arabs, in which a young man marries his paternal uncle's daughter. They have three cities, Mahābād, Sanandadj, and Saḳḳiz, of which the third, until recently, included a considerable Kurdish-speaking Jewish population. Around Kirmānshāh the local Kurds have become detribalized tenant farmers and Shīʿī.

In the mountains south of the Kurds live the Lurs, who speak an aberrant form of archaic Persian. Although nominally Shīʿī, they were formerly openly ʿAlī Ilāhīs. Like the Zoroastrians, they revere bread and fire. Being split up into numerous tribes and sections, they migrate to their summer pastures as separate bands without overall command. In 1936 Reżā Shāh's army conquered them, with much bloodshed and starvation, forcing many of the survivors to settle in villages under landlords.

Next to the south are the Bakhtiyārīs, who speak a dialect similar to that of the Lurs. They are a powerful confederation under the command of a paramount chief called the Īlkhānī. In their annual migrations they move simultaneously over five routes from their winter to their summer pastures, crossing the Shustar River partly by fording and partly on inflated skins. Their winter pasture lies on the lowlands and foothills of the lower course of the Kārūn river in Khūzistān, their summer pasture in the long alpine valley of the Upper Kārūn. In both places they have permanent villages, the summer ones occupied by Armenians and Georgians. In between, the Bakhtiyārī chiefs own many of the villages through which they pass. Their migrations require much organization, accurate planning, and exact timing, and armed horsemen police the migrants and their flocks on the way. Kinship ties are strong and succession to the chieftainship is by primogeniture.

Very little is known about the Kuh Galus, who live south and east of the Bakhtiyārīs, except that they are organized into some six tribes, some sections of which speak Turkish, the others Persian. They are under the control of four families which, unlike the ruling élite of the Bakhtiyārīs, include (or did so until recently) few if any men with modern education. The same generalizations may be made of the Mamassanis, about whom even less information is to be found in the pertinent literature.

Beyond the Mamassanis are the Kashghāys, members of a powerful confederation divided into twelve tribes. Their Turkish-speaking ancestors moved out of the Central Asiatic grasslands about 700 years ago, crossing Iran to their present home in the southern Zagros. About half are still nomadic. Every year the latter make the longest biennial migration in Iran, some 350 miles in each direction. They winter between the Fahlian River on the north and the encircling Mand River on the northeast, east, and south; westward it reaches the coast. It is split into two sections by a tongue of Mamassani territory on the Upper Shāhpūr River. Their summer pastures lie in two adjoining regions. One is in the Nīrīz basin, the hills flanking the headwaters of the Upper Pulvar River and the great bend of the Upper Kūr River. The other is on the western side of the Zagros watershed on the plateau between Abādeh and Shāhreżā. These summer pastures are verdant but treeless, ideal country for breeding horses, in which the Kashghāy specialize, importing stallions from Arabia.

Although they follow several routes on the lower and upper parts of their migration, all must converge at a place called Guyum some twenty miles north of Shīrāz, and a vulnerable spot. In Shīrāz is their tribal headquarters, a palace occupied by four brothers who rule the tribe, and who can reach Guyum in less than hour by jeep. On the march the Kashghāy ride both horses and camels along the valley bottoms, while along the ridges to either side mounted men drive their seven million or so sheep, mostly fat-tailed.

Although nominally Shīʿī, the Kashghāy rulers govern by the Turkish *ʿādat*, or customary law, instead of by the *sharīʿa*. The four brothers hold their power in common because, in order to survive, the confederation needs tight organization, run like clockwork. The brothers must constantly make the rounds of the followers, listen to complaints, administer *ad hoc* justice, officiate at ceremonies, and make their presences known and felt. Like that of the Bakhtiyārī, their ruling family includes men educated in Europe and America. As might be expected, from time to time their autonomy has been challenged by the central government.

The easternmost of the Zagros nomads are the Khamsehs, so-called because they consist of five units, brought together over 100 years ago under the leadership of the Ḳavām family of merchants in Shīrāz. One unit, the Bāṣirī tribe, is Persian-speaking. A second, consisting of the Jebbara and Shaybānī and other Arab tribes, all speak Arabic, while the third is made up of the Turkish-speaking Aynalu, Baharlu, and Nafar. The first two are now settled while the third has joined the Bāṣirī. In winter the Khamseh nomads live on the coastal plain east of the Kashghāy. They move to and from their summer pastures, also located east of the Kashghāy's, via the Persepolis plain and over different routes. On both migrations, but not in winter or summer quarters, the Bāṣirī are accompanied by Gypsies who provide them with services in return for protection.

Returning to northwestern Iran, in the country bordering Soviet Ādharbāydjān, we are next concerned with the Turkish-speaking Shāhsavans, or King's Guards. North of Menab and near Khūy, they occupy about 100 villages with about 100,000 inhabitants, and an equal number of seasonal nomads are organized into four main tribes, living farther east. These tribesmen are seasonally nomadic, living during the summer in felt-covered yurt-like portable dwellings, with their roofs reaching a peak rather than being domed. They are first-rate horsemen, and long served the Shāhs as guardians of the Russian border.

The two northernmost tribes spend their summers on the Savālān Dāgh between Ahar and Ardabīl, and winter on the Mughān Steppe, a lowland area shared by the Ādharbāydjān SSR and Iranian Ādharbāydjān. The other two summer in the hills north of Sāwa and Hamadān and move in winter to the inner side of the central plateau, on the northern edge of the Dasht-i Kavīr, which is snow-free at that season.

In the western Alburz mountains live a few other tribes, both Turkish and Kurdish speaking, who dwell in black tents in high pastures during the summer, and winter lower down, but not far enough down to avoid deep snow; in winter some of their sheep freeze and wolves devour them.

In the eastern Alburz, east of a line between

Gurgān and Dāmghān, the crest of the range divides, forming the walls of a valley whose waters flow into both the Atrak River and the canals of Mashhad. Both Kurds and Turks have lived in this valley ever since Shāh ʿAbbās moved them there from the Zagros in about 1031/1622. While the Turks have since become sedentary, the Kurds are still partly pastoral, and live in black tents.

A different type of pastoral nomadism is practised by the Yamut Turkomans who live in domed, felt-covered yurts north of Gurgān from the southeastern corner of the Caspian Sea to Gunbad-i Ḳābūs. Beyond the Russian border, more than 600,000 more Turkomans are found in the Turkmen SSR and in Afghanistan. The Turkomans are typical Central Asiatic nomads, who raise horses, cattle, sheep, and hardy one-humped camels. They drive four-wheeled wagons, as well as riding horseback, and many now drive cooperatively-owned trucks.Their women weave the famous rugs known to the trade as Bokharas.

On the outskirts of Gurgān city is a refugee camp of about 500 Kirghiz who fled from the Soviet Union in 1935 and 1936. They are mostly employed by the Highway Department in moving earth in their high, two-wheeled carts.

Moving to the Persian Gulf, we find Arabs scattered all the way from the ʿIrāḳī border to Pakistan, except for a stretch of shore held by the Kashghāy and the Persian port of Bushire, out of which Persian dhows sail as far afield as Aden and the African coast. Most of the Arab population of Iran is tribally organized, whether sedentary or nomadic, and Shīʿī, although one tribe, the Banū Tamīm, is Sunnī. The two largest tribes are the Āl Kathīr and the Banū Lam.

Most of the semi-settled tribes keep cattle, sheep, and camels, cultivate rice and other cereals, and either own or work in date groves. This mixed economy sets complicated time-tables for some of them. For example, the Muḥaysin leave their palm groves on the east bank of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab in November to sow their grain fields along the banks of the Kārūn River, return in February to pollinate their date-palms, and are off again in May to reap their grain, going back once more to harvest their dates in July and August. Like their brethren west of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab, they are in every sense unacculturated ethnic Arabs, although none are full-time camel nomads like the bedouin.

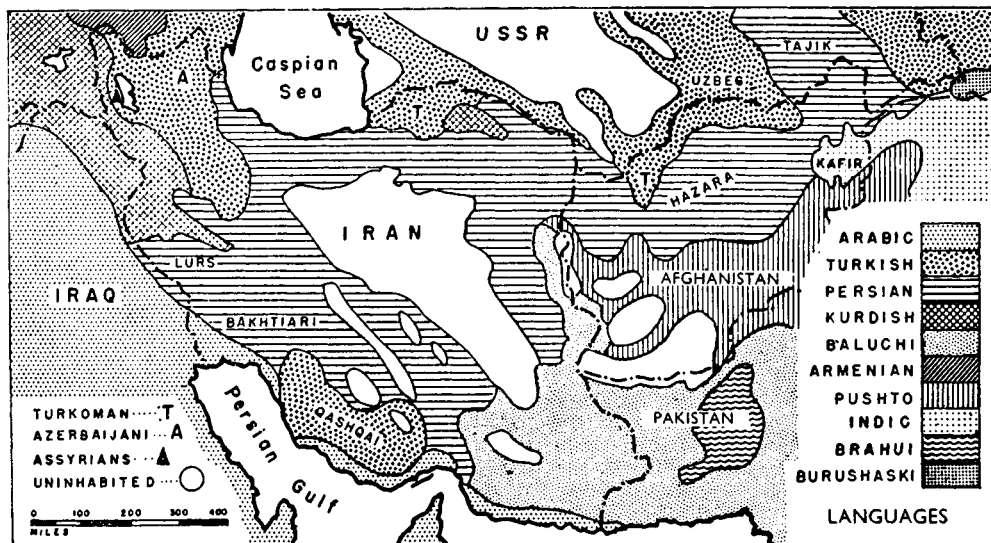
Farther east along the coast are maritime settlements of Arab seamen who ply their dhows and *būms* to both sides of the Indian Ocean. Lingeh is their principal port. Nomadic, tentdwelling Arabs also live in small groups scattered along the eastern edge of the Dasht-i-Lūṭ and beyond Mashhad into Soviet territory.

Except for the coast, the southeastern corner of Iran is principally occupied by Balūčis, whose territory also extends northward between the edge of the desert and the Afghān border to Lake Hāmūn, fed by the Helmand River. Others live in Afghānistān and Pakistan; in the latter country they are most numerous. Their economic adaptation is to desert country where grass grows in winter. In summer they camp near permanent water; along *ḳanāt*s serving dependent Persian villages and along the banks of the Helmand and Harī Rūd. Divided into more than a dozen tribes, the Balūčis are Sunnīs, but they also revere the graves of *pīr*s, or holy men.

Like the Kurds, they speak an Iranian language of their own. They breed horses, asses, mules, camels, and sheep. Considering themselves a warrior caste, the Balūčis used to keep the caravan roads open for a fee, to draw rent from villages that they own, and to raid each other for slaves.

Scattered among the Balūčis are Dravidian-speaking Brāhūīs, whose home is in Kalat in Pakistan. They live in small groups of families all the way up the eastern side of Iran to Mashhad and Sarakhs. Many of the Brāhūī men serve in the police and the national gendarmerie.

Near Lake Hāmūn in Sīstān live four tribes of nomadic Persians, the Sarbandīs, Shārekis, Khimars, and Herātīs, totalling about four thousand families. About them we have no detailed information. In the swamps and along the aquatic labyrinth of the mouths of the Helmand is a small population of fishermen and fowlers called Ṣayyād ("hunters"). They catch both fish and ducks in nets, and appear to be the residue of an earlier hunting people.

Viewing the demography and ethnography of Iran

Languages of Iran and Afghanistan
From *Caravan, the Story of Middle East*, by Carleton S. Coon, London 1952.

as a whole, it would be hard to find another Islamic country of its size as decentralized as Iran is geographically and containing as many different peoples and languages. Yet since Achaemenian times it has remained, with a few interruptions, a nation, the world's oldest empire, and with the help of modern transportation and communication, it seems so destined to remain.

Bibliography: F. Barth, *Nomads of South Persia: the Basseri tribe of the Khamseh Confederacy*, Bulletin No. 8, Universitets Etnografiske Museum, Oslo 1961; Baron C. A. de Bode, *On the Yamud and Gokland tribes of Turkomania*, in *Journal of the Ethnological Society of London*, (Edinburgh 1848), 60-78; E. G. Browne, *A year amongst the Persians, 1887-1888*, London 1950; M. C. Cooper and E. B. Schoedsack, *Grass*, New York 1925; J. P. Ferrier, *Caravan journeys and wanderings in Persia, Afghanistan, Turkistan, and Beloochistan*, London 1856; E. R. Leach, *Social and economic organization of the Rowanduz Kurds*, London School of Economics and Political Science Monographs on Social Anthropology, No. 3, London 1940; S. B. Miles, *Countries and tribes of the Persian Gulf*, 2 vols., London 1919; Youel Mirza, *Stripling*, New York 1940; Sir Percy Sykes, *A History of Persia*, Oxford 1922; D. L. Wilber, *Iran, past and present*, Princeton 1948; Sir Arnold Wilson, *The Persian Gulf*, London 1928; S. G. Wilson, *Persian life and customs*, New York 1895

(C. S. Coon)

iii.—Languages- [see suppl.]

iv.—Pre-Islamic Mythology

The chief sources for Iranian mythology are the *Avesta* and the deeds of kings and heroes collected by the historians and poets of the early centuries of Islam. Their information doubtless came from the "ancient annals" of Iran, the *K͟hudāy-nāmak*. The longest of these works is the famous *S͟hāh-nāma* of Firdawsī (330/941-411/1020 [*q.v.*]). The evidence of ancient Greek historians, rock inscriptions and some Mazdaean books and literary works, rich in pre-Islamic materials but often compiled in Islamic times, are also very valuable. Besides the *Avesta* attributed to Zoroaster, there may be mentioned the *Denkart* (a vast commentary on the *Avesta*, completed in the 3rd/9th century), and the great *Bundahis͟hn* (Book of the Creation). Numerous Mazdaean works written in Pahlavi, the bearers of the ancient tradition, have in large measure only been known for less than two centuries, and the Islamic Iranian world was dependent on traditions recorded in Persian and Arabic by early Muslim writers for its knowledge of a history that was partly only mythology. Ancient Iran continued for a long time to elaborate its mythology from pre-Mazdaean and Mazdaean sources. In the course of centuries chivalrous exploits and an exalted human dignity were grafted on to them. This elaboration in its popular form, written down in Persian, came to an end in the 5th/11th century when the pre-Islamic sources and the oral traditions gave birth to several "books of kings" and historical summaries culminating in the *S͟hāh-nāma* of Firdawsī.

Iranian mythology, rich as it is, has some common features and some undeniable affinities with that of India, but the power and preponderant role of some Indian gods are relegated to a secondary level in Iran.

The analogies and differences between the myths of Iran and those of the Indo-European world are particularly worthy of interest and reveal some relationship between their systems of thought. The tripartite idea of society (priests, warriors and cattle-breeders/agriculturalists) which G. Dumézil remarkably demonstrated in the mythology of India and the Indo-European peoples is at present held in great favour. These three hierarchical functions which are confirmed in the *Avesta* (Y. xi, 6, xiii, 3; Yt xiii, 88-9, xix, 8, xxiv, 16; Vt iv, 28, 57-8, xiii, 44-6, etc.) and to which the *Yasna* xix, 17, adds a fourth, that of the artisans, continued with some slight modifications (priests, *dabīrān* officials, warriors and artisans-peasants) to make up the social order of Iran until the end of the Sasanid period. There is every reason to believe that the tetramerous division of society, whether it was due to the *Yasna* or to the social reorganization of the Sasanid period, follows this triad of hierarchical functions.

Certain memories preserved in the *Gathas* (the oldest part of the *Avesta*) and several *Yas͟hts* of the *Avesta* betoken a pre-Mazdaean mythology. The two primordial spirits, Spənta mainyu (Holy Spirit) and Ahra mainyu (Spirit of Evil) correspond to the two antithetic aspects of *Vayu*, at the same time the good and the bad wind which is the breathing-spirit and the motive force of the Universe. The Indian counterpart of Vayu is Vāyu who stands at the head of a series of functional divinities. In the same manner, but by a reversal of the Indian position, the Iranians contrasted the nature of the ahura (Indian asura) with that of the daēva (Indian déva). These latter, whom the Indians considered as good, take on a malignant character in Iran, while the malignant asura make way for the benignant Iranian ahura. The Indian god Indra, who is assigned the function of a warrior, sees his role reversed in Iran where he becomes a demon in the *Vidêvdât* (the part of the *Avesta* dealing with canonical law and exorcism) x, 9 and xix, 43.

The series of the great Mazdaean divinities is made up of Ahura Mazda, the supreme god, and six entities called Aməsha Spənta (Holy Immortals) who surround him: 1) Vahu Manah (Good Spirit), an entity protecting the conscience of just men and to whom the ox is connected. Her auxiliaries are Māh (the Moon), Geus͟h Urvan (the spirit of the primordial ox) and Rām, a helping divinity which guides the soul after death. 2) As͟ha (Order-Justice), an entity guaranteeing cosmic and moral order. She is seconded by Atar (the divinity of Fire), VrIragna (a god who embodies the victorious attack) and Sraos͟ha (a god of Vigilance and Obedience). 3) K͟hs͟haθra (Kingdom), the entity presiding over metals and thus over arms and the army. She fills the role of warrior or rather of defender of the poor, and she is helped by the Sun, the Sky and Mithras whom a remarkable rise made a rival of Ahura Mazda and who became the object of a cult in the west, the cult of Mithraism. 4) Armaiti (Moderation), the goddess of fecundity and mercy, to whom the earth is linked. The secondary divinities accompanying her are Ardvisura Anahita (the waters) and in second place Daēna (or Dēn in Pahlavi), Religion. 5) Haurvatāt (Integrity) whose associated divinities are Tis͟htriya (Sirius), Vāta (the Wind), and the Fravas͟hī (protective spirits). 6) Amərətāt (Immortality), the guardian of plants, around whom are gathered Ras͟hnu, the infernal Judge, and the two divinities who lead dead souls over the bridge of Činvat: As͟htāt and Zām. Finally, considered as seventh, there is again Sraos͟ha who is added to this but who does not strictly belong to the category of the holy Immortals. In addition, a

multitude of Yazata and Fravashi, who are considered as divinities with less well defined roles, fill out the Iranian pantheon, and hence the idea arises that the origin of angels might be linked to them and to the holy Immortals. A malignant spirit belonging to the train of Ahra Mainyu is opposed to each divinity in the cortege of Ahura Mazda.

If the tripartite division of G. Dumézil is borne in mind, the entities Vahu Manah and Asha correspond to the Indian gods Mitra and Varuṇa and they fulfil, along with Ahura Mazda, the first function—the priesthood and sovereign order. The function of warrior is incumbent upon the Iranian Khshaθra as it is upon the Indian Indra. Finally, the function of production and wealth is shared between Armaiti (goddess of fertility, the Earth) and the Haurvatāt and Amərətāt who are related to the Indian divinities, the goddess Sarasvati, the twins Nāsatyas, and others.

The Mazdaean holy Immortals are at the same time abstract representations giving Ahura Mazda his fullness and beings who, although superior to creatures, remain inferior to Ahura Mazda. They are shown both as personal Agents and personified Powers. The antagonism which sets the Spirit of Good and the Spirit of Evil in opposition, the basis for Iranian dualism, is the metaphysic and the morality of this mythology. According to the great *Bundahishn* (ch. 1), the Upper World, spiritual and luminous, has been the domain of Hormazd (Ahura Mazda) since the beginning of creation, while the nether region is the shadowy world of Ahriman (Ahra Mainyu). An intermediate space divides these two worlds, a mixed world in which good and evil do battle. In this continuous conflict the force of Ahriman faces the army of Hormazd and finally the Spirit of Good triumphs over the Spirit of Evil. Each being must take part in this struggle and it is thanks to his meritorious actions, his good thoughts and words, that Man participates in the final victory.

Ahura Mazda has gradually taken the place of Spənta Mainyu, his own emanation, so as to confront the Spirits of Evil himself. He has granted Ahra Mainyu a respite of 12,000 years and knows his plans in advance.

Alongside this divine mythology, there is a human mythology related to it. In large measure it is presented in the form of historical epics situated (with some exceptions such as the longevity of certain heroes) on the human plane. They tell of a succession of events which are linked together by their own chronology. The first man, Gayomart, directly succeeding the creation of the primordial ox, his source of food, gives birth to an androgynous plant which divides into two, Mashya and Mashyānī, the ancestors of human beings. According to the *Avesta* the first sovereign is not Gayomart, as the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī states, but Yima (or Djamshīd in Persian). A latent force, described as a victorious light (Khᵛarnah), a witness of celestial favour, protects Iran and numerous sovereigns and ancient heroes. The Khᵛarnah abandons Yima who has committed a sin (falsehood or pride) and thus Azhi Dahāka, a foreign tyrant, defeats Yima and steals his kingship. Θraitauna (= Farīdūn), an Iranian hero who has become king thanks to the protection of Khᵛarnah, triumphs over Azhi Dahāka (Y. ix, 8; Yt xiv, 40, xix, 92; Vt i, 17) and puts him in chains on mount Damāvand. He is at the beginning of the universal genealogy of races and human peoples since he shared out the world among his three sons: to Īradj went Iran and India; to Salm the countries to the west of Iran, *i.e.*, the lands of the Semites and the blacks; and to Tūr the countries to the east of Iran, the lands of the Turks (Central Asia) and the Chinese (the Far East). This division of the world is not without echoes of Noah's giving the country of the Turks to Japheth, the tropical countries to Ham, and the lands of the Semites to Shem.

Several kings of this Pēshdādī dynasty, the descendants of Īradj, reign in succession in Iran and then make way for the second mythical dynasty, that of the Kayānī (Kayānids). *Yasht* xix (*Zamyad Yasht*) and *Yasht* xiii (*Farvardīn Yasht*) of the *Avesta* mention a list of Pēshdādī and Kayānī heroes and kings on the occasion of praises addressed to their Khᵛarnah and their Fravahr (or Fravashī), *i.e.*, their protective spirits. Among them may be mentioned the Kayānids Kavi Usan (Persian Kay Kāvūs), Kavī Haosravah (Kay Khosraw), and Kavī Vīshtāspa (Kay Goshtāsp). It was under Vīshtāspa that Zoroaster preached his doctrine. The Pēshdādī and Kayānī kings are personal-types of Iranian mythology. Moreover, it is to be noted that, if the figures of the first dynasty are common with those of India, the Kayānids who make up the second dynasty are specifically Iranian heroes.

These historicised myths recount the main facts which occurred in an era without archives. This human mythology mingles with the other divine one and, by a cyclical conception of time, the Pahlavi Mazdaean books explain the reappearance of certain ancient heroes and kings, Pēshdādids and Kayānids, who are to play their definitive role at the end of time. The three sons of Zoroaster are to succeed each other every three thousand years from the beginning of the fourth millennium. The last of these sons, Saoshyant, will, together with Kay Khosraw, put an end to the corruption and iniquity of the world. The champion Saoshyant will finally give way to Zoroaster, and the king Kay Khosraw to Goshtāsp. Thus there will be established eternal life and the return to cosmic origins.

An apocalyptic literature, enriched by elements of myth and folklore, flourished in the Mazdaean books and expressed the hopes of believers.

On the margin of Mazdaean orthodoxy was to be found the belief in a god of time, Zurvān, who engendered two sons, Ohrmazd and Ahriman, whose struggle began even in the womb. Ahriman, conceived of doubt, struggled to come into the world before Ohrmazd, but Zurvān made his plans miscarry. The cult of Mithras (propagated about the beginning of the Christian era) and Manichaeism (preached after the 3rd century A.D.) preserved the dualist nature of Iranian religious thought, and it was not until its encounter with Islam that the mythical antagonism of Mazdaism was directed towards an absolute monotheism by the accentuation of its moral and transcendental values.

Bibliography: Ch. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, (2. Unveränderte Auflage, Berlin 1961); J. Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, Paris 1892-3, 3 vol.; A. Meillet, *Trois conférences sur les Gâthâ de l'Avesta*, Paris 1925; J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *Zoroastre. Étude critique avec une traduction des Gatha*, Paris 1948; E. Benveniste and L. Renou, *VṚTRA et VṚΘRAGNA. Étude de mythologie indo-iranienne*, Paris 1934; Ervad Bamanji Nusserwanji Dhabhar, *The Persian Rivayats of Hormazyar Framarz*, Bombay 1932; B. T. Anklesaria, *Zand-Ākāsīh Iranian or Greater Bundahišn*, Bombay 1956; E. W. West, The Sacred Books of the East, vol. xxxvii (Pahlavi texts:

Dînkard, Book v, vii), Delhi 1892 (New Ed. 1965); H. S. Nyberg, *Questions de cosmogonie et de cosmologie mazdéennes*, in *JA*, April-June 1929; J.-P. de Menasce, *Une encyclopédie mazdéenne, le Dēnkart*, Paris 1958; idem, *La mythologie mazdéenne*, in *Mythologie de la Méditerranée au Gange*, Paris 1963, 202-19; M. J. Dresden, *Dēnkart. A Pahlavi text*, Wiesbaden 1966; A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*[2], Copenhagen 1944; idem, *Le premier chapitre du Vendidad et l'histoire primitive des tribus iraniennes*, Copenhagen 1943; F. Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, Brussels 1896-8; H. Ch. Puech, *Le Manichéisme, son fondateur, sa doctrine*, Paris 1949; R. C. Zaehner, *Zurvān, a Zoroastrian dilemma*, Oxford 1955; G. Dumézil, *Mythes et épopées*, Paris 1968; H. Massé, *Firdousi et l'épopée nationale*, Paris 1932; G. Widengren, *Les religions de l'Iran*, (trans. from German by L. Jospin), Paris 1968; M. Mokri, *La légende de Bīžan-u Manīja, version populaire du Sud du Kurdistan en langue gouranie* (épisode du *Shāhnāma*, épopée iranienne), Paris 1966; idem, *L'ange dans l'Islam et en Iran*, in *Anges, démons et êtres intermédiaires*, Paris 1969, 65-87. (M. Mokri)

v.—History:
(a) To the Turkoman Invasions

The history of Persia is marked by a number of breaks in political continuity. The most significant is, perhaps, the Islamic conquest, which brought Persia's existence as an independent state to a temporary end. She did not become an independent political unit again until Ṣafavid times. During the intervening period she formed part of the Umayyad and then the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, and when that fragmented, after the period of the minor dynasties, she became the centre of successively the Great Saldjūḳ, Īlkhān, and Tīmūrid empires, the frontiers of which extended beyond the geographical frontiers of Persia. In this article attention will be concentrated on events in Persia, but reference will inevitably be made frequently to a wider area, and in particular to ʿIrāḳ and Transoxania.

The Arab conquest swept away the political framework of the Sasanian empire. The ruling family, the territorial princes and feudal magnates disappeared, and the power of the Zoroastrian clergy, which had been closely associated with the Sasanian empire, was broken. Nevertheless, the new civilization which grew up in the eastern provinces of the caliphate owed much to Sasanian Persia and the Persians played an important part in its development. There was, indeed, a two-fold movement of change, which took some time to work out. On the one hand Islamic theory reacted upon and influenced the development of Persian political, social, and economic institutions, while on the other hand Islamic theory was itself in part moulded and modified by the institutions and attitudes of mind which prevailed in Persia.

When the prophet Muḥammad was born the Sasanian empire under Anūshīrawān (A.D. 531-79) had every appearance of strength, but it no longer preserved its original form. Consequent upon the suppression of the revolt of Mazdak it had become a military despotism. The social discontent manifested by that revolt had been suppressed but not allayed. The prolonged wars with Rome and inroads by nomads from Central Asia had greatly weakened it. The rule of the later Sasanian monarchs was marked by anarchy and the persecution of Christian, Jewish, and Sabean minorities. The disappearance of the Lakhmids, a dynasty of Southern Arabian origin who were Persian vassals, moreover, left the western border of the Persian empire unprotected.

The first attack on the Sasanian empire by the Muslim Arabs began as a raid. Al-Muthannā b. Ḥāritha al-Shaybānī, after the *ridda* wars on the Eastern Arabian coasts, led an expedition into the delta of the Tigris amd Euphrates. He encountered little opposition and won much booty. Abū Bakr then sent Khālid b. al-Walīd with reinforcements to join him. By 13/634-5, when Khālid was recalled to Syria, several towns, including Ḥira, had capitulated or been captured. No permanent administration was established by the Arabs. Tribute was fixed upon the town and freedom of worship accorded. In return the people agreed not to commit hostile acts or aid the Persians. Similar terms were made with some other towns, but in the case of those taken by war, some of the inhabitants were killed, others sold into slavery, and tribute was exacted from the remainder.

The Persians, mounting a counter-offensive, defeated the Arabs at the battle of the Bridge and retook Ḥira. In 14/635 al-Muthannā temporarily reoccupied it. Yazdigird III, the last of the Sasanian kings, had meanwhile succeeded to the throne. With the defeat of Heraclius at the battle of the Yarmūk (15/636) and the collapse of Byzantine resistance in Syria, a large body of troops was made available for operations against the Sasanians. ʿUmar sent these east under Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ. The Persians were defeated at the battle of Ḳādisiyya and the Arabs occupied Ḥira for the third time. They then took Madāʾin, one of the Sasanian capitals, and shortly afterwards again defeated Yazdigird's army at Djalūlā (16/637).

The conquest of Persia which followed was undertaken mainly from the garrison cities of Baṣra and Kūfa. The area to the north of Nihāvand, taken by the Kūfans, was known as Māh Kūfa, while the territory further south round Dīnavar was taken by their Baṣran rivals and known as Māh Baṣra. The occupation of Khūzistān (17/638—21/642) was organized by the governor of Baṣra, Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī, who also took part in the conquest of Mesopotamia (18/639—20/641). Expeditions also set out towards Ādharbāydjān from Mawṣil. Ardabīl capitulated about 20/641. The final defeat of the Persian army took place at Nihāvand in 21/642. Hamadān made peace and further conquests were made in the direction of Ādharbāydjān (variously recorded under the years 18/639—22/643). Expeditions were also sent against Ḳazwīn, Abhar, and Zandjān, and efforts made to take Daylam and Gīlān. Hamadān appears to have broken the terms of the peace, for it is recorded as being stormed in 24/645. Rayy and Ḳūmis fell also about 24/644-5.

Although the battles of Ḳādisiyya, Djalūlā and Nihāvand were decisive in the overthrow of the Sasanian empire, the conquest, which took place piecemeal, was not completed for many years and the conversion of its people took much longer. The conquest was carried out mainly from the garrison cities by Muslim Arabs, who were by this time far removed from their nomadic background. There was some settlement of Arabs chiefly in the towns; and also of some nomadic groups mainly in southern Persia and Khurāsān. Much of the former system of administration continued in operation. The tax records were kept in Pahlavī by local scribes until the time of Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*], and many of the *dahāḳīn* continued to carry out on behalf of the Arabs the

functions they had fulfilled under the Sasanians (see also M. Sprengling, *From Persian to Arabic*, in *A.J.S.L.*, lvi-lvii (1939-40)). From the account of Ṭabarī it appears that prior to Anūs͟hirawān the land tax was assessed on a cropsharing basis. This led to abuses, and Anūs͟hirawān replaced crop-sharing by measurement as the basis for assessment. He also reformed the poll-tax, grading it according to the taxpayer's income. The seven great families (including the royal family), the leading officials, soldiers, priests, and officials in the service of the king were exempt. The payment of poll-tax was, therefore, regarded as degrading.

After the defeat of the Persian army at D̲j̲alūlā, ʿUmar was faced with the problem of the administration of the conquests in the Sawād. He could not conclude treaties as K̲h̲ālid had done, because large areas had been abandoned by the ruling classes and had remained without a government. He therefore decided to immobilize the land and to levy land and poll taxes on the inhabitants, the revenue therefrom to be *fay*ʾ for the profit of the Muslim warriors and those who came after them. In the name of the Muslim state, he assumed full ownership of the estates and villages which had formerly belonged to the Sasanian royal family and the nobility who had been killed or fled, leaving the peasants on the land, and of deserted and "dead" lands. This assumption of ownership carried with it the right to cultivate the lands for the state, give them away, sell them, or grant them as assignments, and to impose on the holders *k̲h̲arād̲j̲* or *ʿus̲h̲r*. In the case of estates and villages still in the possession of their former owners, ʿUmar considered that the legal title belonged to the Muslim state, on the grounds that their holders had resisted conquest, but he allowed them to remain in possession on condition that they paid to the Muslim state the taxes which had formerly been paid to Anūs͟hirawān, and acted as the agents of the Muslim state in their collection. This category of land was probably the largest. Alterations were later made in the rates of taxation paid and the crops on which taxes were levied. This arrangement differed from the case of Ḥira and other towns which had treaties providing for the payment of a fixed sum. In such cases the population raised this sum by whatever means they wished, and after its payment were released from further interference by the Arab government.

In addition to land tax, the non-Muslims paid a graded poll-tax, except that in towns which had treaties they paid such tax only as their own officials assessed it. In 20/641 a *dīwān* on the Persian model was set up, and in it were recorded receipts, expenditure, and stipends. It was not, however, until the reign of Muʿāwiya that the foundations of the future bureaucratic system were really laid, when Ziyād, the governor of Baṣra (45/665—50/670) and of ʿIrāḳ (50/670—53/673), established *dīwān*s and appointed Arabs and *mawālī* as secretaries. Several *dahāḳīn* became Muslims after the battle of D̲j̲alūlā and various groups in south Persia joined with the Arabs, but there is no evidence of widespread conversion after the early conquests. It also seems that some of those who were exempt from the payment of poll-tax in Sasanian times became Muslims rather than pay poll-tax to the Muslims, since to pay such was considered degrading.

The circumstances of conquest varied in different provinces and from this stemmed differences in the tax administration. Towns which did not capitulate before conquest, but asked for an armistice after resistance had seemed hopeless, were required to pay a poll-tax in money and a contribution in kind, which could be increased or decreased as the population changed. The land, having been taken by force, was placed at the disposal of the *imām*, but in contradistinction to land which had capitulated before conquest (*ʿahd* land) the terms of the agreement (*ṣulḥ*) could be changed. *Ṣulḥ* and *ʿahd* lands had their own local administration, whereas *k̲h̲arād̲j̲* lands were closely regulated by the Arab *dīwān*s. (For a discussion of these problems see D. C. Dennett, *Conversion and the poll tax in early Islam*, Harvard University Press and Oxford University Press, 1950).

Although Yazdigird's supporters were still active in northern Fārs, organized resistance ceased with the defeats suffered by the royal army. Some local communities and *marzbān*s with their troops continued to resist. Others concluded treaties with the Arabs on their own account. Many of the Persian captives became *mawālī* and some of Yazdigird's army joined the Arabs. About 23/643 ʿUt̲h̲mān b. Abi 'l-ʿĀṣ T̲h̲aḳafī made advances into southern Fārs from Baḥrayn, supported by Abū Mūsā from Baṣra. Tawwād̲j̲ fell and raids were made on other towns in Fārs. Further advances were made during the caliphate of ʿUt̲h̲mān and between 25/644 and 27/647-8 ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir, who had been appointed governor of Baṣra, took Arrad̲j̲ān, S̲h̲āhpūr, S̲h̲īrāz, Sīnīz, Dārābd̲j̲ird, and Fasā. Iṣṭak̲h̲r fell in 28/648-9 and Gūr (Fīrūzābād) shortly afterwards. In the following year ʿAbd Allāh set out for K̲h̲urāsān. Yazdigird, pursued by a Muslim force, had meanwhile fled via Kirmān to Marv. Sīrd̲j̲ān, Bam, and D̲j̲īruft were conquered, and Hurmuz fell in 30/650-1. Skirmishes with the inhabitants of the mountain districts of Kirmān continued for many years.

From Kirmān the Arabs under Rabīʿ b. Ziyād al-Ḥārit̲h̲ī pushed north-eastwards into Sīstān. His successor was expelled from the country, but another expedition was sent by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Samura, who penetrated to Zamīn Dāwar, Bust, and Zābul. ʿAbd Allāh had meanwhile reached Ṭabasayn and sent Aḥnāf b. Ḳays to take Ḳūhistān, whence he pressed on to Marv, which surrendered. Yazdigird fled to Balk̲h̲ and over the Oxus to Tirmid̲h̲. In 31/651-2 he was murdered in flight near Murg̲h̲āb. The Muslims under Aḥnāf took D̲j̲ūzd̲j̲ān and Balk̲h̲ and advanced to K̲h̲ʷārazm. ʿAbd Allāh had meanwhile set out for Nīs̲h̲āpūr, which surrendered. Bayhaḳ, Nisā, and Sarak̲h̲s also fell. Another group went to Harāt (32/653). ʿAbd Allāh then returned, leaving Ḳays b. al-Hayt̲h̲am as governor of K̲h̲urāsān.

ʿUt̲h̲mān died in 35/656. The conquests in Persia were not yet secure, and during the civil war the Arab advance was stayed. In K̲h̲urāsān fighting broke out between Muḍar and Rabīʿa. The disorders spread throughout the province and enabled the Transoxanian leaders to regain their independence which had been on the point of being extinguished. Balk̲h̲ for a brief period fell under Chinese control. Numerous outbreaks of resistance also occurred in other parts of Persia. In 42/662 Muʿāwiya reappointed ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir governor of Baṣra and the east. He sent ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Samura to restore Arab rule in Sīstān and K̲h̲urāsān. Balk̲h̲ was reconquered in 43/663, Sīstān reoccupied and Kābul taken. The reconquest of K̲h̲urāsān, begun by Ḳays b. al-Hayt̲h̲am, was continued under Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, who established a strong Arab garrison in Marv and shortly afterwards settled 50,000 Arab colonists in K̲h̲urāsān. Buk̲h̲ārā was captured in 54/674 and Samarḳand fell in 56/676.

In Khurāsān the local leaders had mainly capitulated by treaties (*ʿahd*) which stipulated that a fixed sum should be paid annually to the Arabs. Local administration remained in the hands of the local leaders. The inhabitants, for the most part, continued to pay land, trade, and poll taxes as they had under the Sasanians; local officials kept the registers and collected the taxes, paying the stipulated amount to the Arabs and keeping the remainder. Conversion in Khurāsān, partly because of the large number of Arabs who had migrated there, was probably higher than elsewhere. Large numbers of *mawālī* are mentioned as accompanying the Arabs on their campaigns against the Turks of Central Asia. The local tax-collectors do not appear to have released all converts from poll-tax, or, if they did, they increased the converts' other taxes to compensate for the loss to the revenue of their poll-taxes. This led to discontent and rebellion. (See further Dennett, *op. cit.*).

ʿIrāḳ meanwhile had been reduced to a state of turmoil by the activities of the Khāridjites and the Shīʿa. In 66/685 Mukhtār, launching a revolt in the name of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, seized Kūfa. There were *mawālī*, many of whom were Persians, among his followers but his main support came from the dissatisfied Arabs of Kūfa. They were not defeated until 67/687. (See M. A. Shaban, *The ʿAbbāsid Revolution*, Cambridge 1970, 145-6.) In 65/684-5 the Azāriḳa branch of the Khāridjites withdrew from ʿIrāḳ to Khūzistān, and created many disorders in the territory between Baṣra and Ahwāz. After Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra defeated them in 66/686 they retreated to Fārs. Regrouping themselves, they returned to ʿIrāḳ and sacked Madāʾin, but on the advance of an army from Kūfa they withdrew. They next attacked Iṣfahān, but were defeated and fled in disorder to Fārs and Kirmān (68/687-8). Once more they reassembled, reoccupied Ahwāz and advanced on Baṣra. ʿAbd al-Malik had meanwhile recovered control of ʿIrāḳ and appointed Ḥadjdjādj governor of the province in 75/694. Al-Muhallab, whom Ḥadjdjādj sent against the Azāriḳa, forced them to retreat to Kāzirūn and then to evacuate Fārs. Retiring to Djīruft, they maintained themselves there for some years, but finally split among themselves. One group took refuge in Ṭabaristān, where they were defeated in 78-9/698-9, while a second remained in Kirmān, to be extirpated by al-Muhallab. The last remnants of the Azāriḳa were finally rooted out near Ḳūmis.

Civil war broke out in Khurāsān among the Arabs after the death of the caliph Yazīd in 64/683. In 78/697, after a renewed outbreak of disorder, ʿAbd al-Malik added Khurāsān and Sīstān to Ḥadjdjādj's government. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ashʿath [see IBN AL-ASHʿATH], who was sent by Ḥadjdjādj from Kirmān to Sīstān, recovered part of the province. After Ḥadjdjādj had reproached him for not pushing his advance with greater vigour, he returned to ʿIrāḳ, and attacked Ḥadjdjādj in Baṣra, but was defeated in 82/701. Khurāsān was then entrusted to al-Muhallab, but it was not until Ḥadjdjādj sent Ḳutayba b. Muslim to Khurāsān as governor in 85/705 or 86/705 that the Muslim advance was resumed. Lower Tukhāristān was recovered in 86/705, Bukhārā between 87/706 and 90/709, and Arab authority consolidated in the Oxus valley and extended to Sughd between 91/701 and 93/712. Finally from 94/713 to 96/715 expeditions were sent into the Jaxartes province. (See further H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, and W. Bartold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[3], London 1968). In 98/716, Yazīd b. Muhallab, who had succeeded Ḳutayba as governor of Khurāsān, took Gurgān and invaded Ṭabaristān.

It appears that the status of *ʿahd* land in Khurāsān had meanwhile been altered to *kharādj* land, though exactly when this happened is not entirely clear. Converts were thus freed from the poll-tax, but this reform was not extended to Transoxania, where the tax system was probably not identical with that of Khūrāsān. In 110/728-9 Abū Ṣaydāʾ b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ṭarīf was sent to Transoxania by al-Ashras, the governor of Khurāsān, to summon the people to Islam. He appears to have promised exemptions from land and trade taxes to converts. When al-Ashras disregarded these promises and ordered these taxes to be taken from everybody regardless of their religion and position, revolt broke out. (The details of these events are not entirely clear. See further Shaban, *op. cit.* 111-2)., The next ten years or so were occupied by military operations of a somewhat confused nature (see Bartold, *op. cit.*, 189 ff.). Arab dominion was not fully restored until the governorship of Naṣr b. Sayyār (121/738—131/748). He decreed that Muslims and non-Muslims must pay *kharādj* but only unbelievers poll-tax. To enforce this without damage to the revenue, he reclassified *kharādj* and assessed the stipulated tribute according to the treaty of capitulation. (See further Dennett, *op. cit.*). Although Naṣr b. Sayyār brought a measure of prosperity to the province and corrected some of the abuses in the tax administration, he failed to restore order fully or to remove the grievances of the Arab settlers, while the resentments of the *mawālī* were also not entirely removed. It was among these two groups in Khurāsān that ʿAbbāsid propaganda achieved its success.

Umayyad rule, for different reasons, antagonized various groups of people. The hegemony of the Syrians was resented by the ʿIrāḳīs and others, pious Muslims were alienated by the profanity and worldliness of the Umayyads, the Shīʿat ʿAlī, whose alleged wrongs culminated at Karbalā, were disaffected, as also were the Khāridjites and many of the *mawālī* because of their position of inferiority. Persians, however, were to be found mainly only amongst the last named group. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, a grandson of al-ʿAbbās, the prophet's uncle, who had become the leader of the Hāshimiyya on the death of Abū Hāshim in 98/716, sent missionaries from Kūfa to the Persian provinces. The first to have any considerable success was Khidāsh (first mentioned under the year 109/727-8). He obtained a following in Marv among Arabs, *mawālī*, Khurramiyya, and Rāwandiyya, uniting these disparate groups by the wish to overthrow the Umayyads. He was executed in 118/736 and disavowed for his extremist views by Muḥammad b. ʿAlī. The latter died in 125/743 and was succeeded by his son Ibrāhīm, who sent Abū Muslim, a *mawlā* from Kūfa, to Khurāsān. His main appeal was to the Arab settlers in Khurāsān and his movement was primarily directed against Umayyad and Syrian rule. But he also won support from the Persian *mawālī* and some Zoroastrian and Buddhist *dahāḳīn*. In the new society promised by the revolution all members were to be regarded only as Muslims with the same rights and responsibilities regardless of their racial origins and tribal connections (Shaban, *op. cit.*, 153 ff.). Revolt broke out in 130/747. The Arabs, preoccupied with their intertribal feuds, made little effort to check it. Marv was seized and the whole of Khurāsān fell. Advancing via Rayy and Nihāvand, ʿAbbāsid forces crossed the

Euphrates nd defeated the Umayyads near Kūfa (132/749). Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ was proclaimed caliph shortly afterwards. Another ʿAbbāsid army had meanwhile defeated an Umayyad force near Shahrazūr in 131/749, and the fate of the Umayyads was sealed by a second engagement, the battle of the Greater Zab, in 132/750. ʿAbbāsid troops advanced to Syria, occupied Damascus and pursued Marwān to Egypt, where he was killed (see further Shaban, *op. cit.*).

The ʿAbbāsid victory was followed by the transfer of the centre of the caliphate from Syria to ʿIrāḳ. With this the importance of Persia and the Persians in the development of Islamic civilization greatly increased. Syrian *mawālī* in the entourage of the caliph were replaced by *mawālī* from Persia and ʿIrāḳ. Whereas the Umayyads had been first and foremost representatives of the Arabs, the ʿAbbāsids succeeded to a much greater extent in creating an amalgam of the diverse ethnic and social elements included in their empire. The concept of the universal empire of the Sasanians had already made its influence felt under the Umayyads. Under the ʿAbbāsids, Sasanian traditions of government and administration were increasingly in evidence. (Cf. H. A. R. Gibb, *Evolution of government in early Islam*, in *SI*, iv, 5-17). As warriors, merchants, and *ʿulamāʾ* travelled along the great trunk roads which fanned out through Persia, there grew up, in due course, among its people a sense of sharing in a common heritage. This had two components, Islam and *īrāniyyat*, and was handed down on the one hand by the *ʿulamāʾ* and on the other by the *udabāʾ*. This reassertion of Persian consciousness first found expression in the Shuʿūbiyya movement [*q.v.*], which was in Persia primarily a literary movement, and in due course the Persian language and Persian literature played an important role in keeping it alive.

ʿAbbāsid propaganda only temporarily united the heterogenous elements which were opposed to the Umayyads. Once victory had been achieved, the responsibilities of government prevented the ʿAbbāsid leaders from satisfying the aspirations of all their followers (cf. Bartold, *op. cit.*, 194). Rebels arose on every side. In Khurāsān Abū Muslim had to contend with movements of unrest among both Arabs and Persians. In Nīshāpūr Bihʾāfrīd led a movement against the Zoroastrian priesthood and Abū Muslim aided the Magians in suppressing him. In Bukhārā, Sharīk b. Shaykh al-Mahrī headed a revolt of Arabs in favour of the ʿAlids (133/750-1); Abū Muslim sent Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ to suppress this revolt. Ziyād also frustrated an attempt by the Chinese to reassert their authority in Transoxania in 133/751. Meanwhile, Abū Muslim's success in Khurāsān aroused the apprehension of the ʿAbbāsids. In 135/752-3 Al-Saffāḥ secretly ordered Sibāʿ b. Nuʿmān and Ziyad b. Ṣāliḥ, whom Abū Muslim had appointed governors in Transoxania, to revolt against him. They were defeated. Eventually, Abū Muslim was induced by Manṣūr to come to Baghdād, where he was treacherously murdered in 137/755. This, together with the suppression of the Rāwandiyya, alienated the extremist followers of the ʿAbbāsids.

Between 137/755 and 163/780 there were five uprisings in Persia against ʿAbbāsid rule connected with the name of Abū Muslim. The first was led by Sinbād in Nīshāpūr (137/755), the express purpose of which was to avenge the death of Abū Muslim. It spread from Nishāpūr to Rayy and was eventually stamped out near Hamdān. The second, an outbreak under Barāz in 142/759 in Khurāsān, was more easily quelled. A third rising, which started almost simultaneously in Transoxania, was led by Isḥāḳ the Turk (so-called because Abū Muslim had sent him on a mission to the Turks); it had a semi-secret organization devoted to the cult of Abū Muslim and proclaimed the imminent return of Zoroaster. Its followers wore white garments and were therefore known as the *safīd-djāmagan* (or *al-mubayyaḍa*). A fourth rising was led by Ustād Sīs in Harāt in 150/767. He obtained a large following in Sīstān and Khurāsān but was defeated. The fifth, that of al-Muḳannaʿ in 159/776, was the most serious. He declared that he had succeeded Abū Muslim under whom he had previously served, and that Abū Muslim had succeeded Jesus as the incarnate deity. The movement, which was inspired by extremist Shīʿī ideology and also had 'social' aspects, won many followers in eastern Khurāsān and Transoxania. It was not put down until 163/780. This was not all. There was also a series of Kharidjite disturbances in Khurāsān, Sīstān and Transoxania, notably that led by Yūsuf al-Barm in Bukhārā about 160/777. On the other hand, in Ṭabaristān the Arabs made considerable advances and from about 141/758 appointed governors over the province.

Meanwhile it was not only in Khurāsān that there was turmoil. In ʿIrāḳ there was intellectual ferment and social unrest. This was expressed in a movement generally known by the term *zandaḳa* [*q.v.*]. Its general purpose appears to have been partly at least to curtail the range of Islam and to keep alive Persian cultural traditions. The *zindīḳs* were thought to have retained, in spite of conversion, their former Manichean convictions and to wish to encompass the downfall of Islam (*Cambridge History of Islam*, Cambridge 1971, i, 114). The movement also spread among the lower classes as a revolutionary movement. By the time of the accession of Hārūn al-Rashīd (170/786), the Persian provinces were in a state of unrest, and ʿAbbāsid authority was challenged in Khurāsān and the Caspian provinces. Harūn made his secretary and tutor, Yaḥyā b. Khālid (whose father had served al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr) his vizier. For some seventeen years until their fall in 187/803 Yaḥyā and his two sons played a prominent role in the affairs of the caliphate, and continued the work started under al-Manṣūr of creating a balance between the two main elements in the empire, the Arab and the Persian.

In the east, the rapacity of the governor of Khurāsān, ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān, had meanwhile caused considerable discontent, and in 180/796-7 Hārūn set out himself to investigate affairs. ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā came to meet him at Rayy and secured his position by gifts. Hārūn returned to Baghdād, leaving the causes of discontent unremedied. Rāfiʿ b. Layth, the grandson of Naṣr b. Sayyār, put himself at the head of the malcontents, made an agreement with the Turkish tribes and killed the son of ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā (191/807). Hārūn then sent Harthama b. Aʿyān to seize ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā and confiscate his possessions, and dispatched a free pardon to Rāfiʿ in the vain hope that he would submit. Rāfiʿ, who had won support in Khwārazm, Bukhārā, Farghāna, and Ushrūsana, and among the Ghuzz, remained to all intents and purposes master of Transoxania. In 192/808 a revolt also broke out in Ādharbāydjān, to be followed later by widespread and prolonged disorders by the Khurramdīnīs under Bābak [*q.v.*].

Finally, Hārūn, having sent Maʾmūn in advance to Marv, set out against Rāfiʿ, but died *en route* at Ṭūs in 193/809. Civil war broke out almost at once

between al-Amīn, Hārūn's son by an Arab wife, who had been declared *walī ʿahd* in 175/792, and al-Maʾmūn, the son of a Persian slave-girl, who had been made the next heir to al-Amīn in 183/799, and whose sovereignty over the eastern part of the empire had been recognized by al-Amīn in 186/802 [see AL-AMĪN]. Hārūn's vizier, Faḍl b. Rabīʿ, led the troops back to Baghdād and read the *khuṭba* in the name of al-Amīn first and then of al-Maʾmūn. In the following year al-Amīn introduced the name of his son Mūsā after that of al-Maʾmūn. The latter, apparently on the advice of his vizier, Faḍl b. Sahl, a convert to Islam from Zoroastrianism, refused to be inveigled by his brother into going to Baghdād and remained in Marv. In 195/810 Faḍl b. Rabīʿ induced al-Amīn to drop al-Maʾmūn's name from the *khuṭba* and substitute for it that of Mūsā, and to send an army against al-Maʾmūn. The latter made peace with Rāfiʿ b. Layth, leaving him virtually master of Transoxania, struck coins in his own name, took the Shīʿī title, *imām al-hudā*, and sent his general Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn against al-Amīn.

After defeating al-Amīn's forces near Hamadān, Ṭāhir marched on Baghdād and laid siege to the city. It fell in 198/813. Al-Amīn was murdered; Maʾmūn then appointed Ṭāhir over the whole of ʿIrāḳ. Later Ḥasan b. Sahl, the brother of Faḍl, was entrusted with the governorship of the Djibāl, Fārs, Khūzistān, and ʿIrāḳ, and Ṭāhir was given the Djazīra with the frontier regions, Syria and Egypt. Ḥasan b. Sahl had to contend with various revolts. One of the most serious was in 199-200/815 in Kūfa led by Abū Sarāyā, who raised the standard of revolt in the name of an ʿAlid, Ibn Ṭabāṭabā (whom he poisoned in due course). There were also increasingly frequent riots in the city of Baghdād. In 201/817 al-Maʾmūn, on the advice of Faḍl b. Sahl, and probably in the hope of putting an end to ʿAlid movements of revolt, declared ʿAlī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā, the eighth *imām*, his *walī ʿahd* and married him to his daughter. In the following year, the people of Baghdād, who had already supported an abortive movement in favour of Manṣūr b. al-Mahdī, read the *khuṭba* in the name of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī. Rebellion meanwhile had broken out in Egypt, and the disturbances of the Khurramdīnīs under Bābak in Ādharbāydjān and Arrān, which had begun in 201/816, were assuming threatening proportions.

It was now clear that al-Maʾmūn, if he was to control his empire, must move from Marv to the centre. In 202/818 he set out for Baghdād but did not enter the city until 204/819. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī fled. Faḍl b. Sahl had meanwhile been murdered at al-Maʾmūn's instigation and ʿAlī b. Mūsā poisoned near Ṭūs (203/818). In 205/821, al-Maʾmūn appointed Ṭāhir governor of Khurāsān and Sīstān. He succeeded in making himself virtually independent in Khurāsān and founded the first of the semi-independent dynasties in Persia after the Islamic conquest. Ṭāhir's son ʿAbd Allāh was given Ṭāhir's government in the Djazīra and remained in the western provinces until about 213/828-9. Other members of the family also held office in Baghdād until 270/883-4, which facilitated the rise of the family to semi-independence as governors of Khurāsān. It was not only in Khurāsān that al-Maʾmūn's power was shrinking. Riots occurred in the Djibāl in 210/824 and rebellion in Mesopotamia in 214/829 and in Ḳumm in 216/831. Repeated efforts to suppress the rebellion of Bābak also failed and his revolt had spread to the Djibāl by the end of al-Maʾmūn's reign.

A new period was now beginning in the history of Persia. By this time she had been fully incorporated into the Islamic world. The Arab settlers had been largely assimilated to the local population. Conversion had proceeded throughout the country, though Zoroastrianism was still, to some extent, tolerated. The former ruling classes, so far as they had survived, had been converted to Sunnī Islam, as too had the mass of the people, though there were enclaves of Shīʿism from an early period in some districts, notably Ḳumm, Ahwāz, Kāshān, Rayy, and Sāva. As the central government in Baghdād declined old political and social tendencies began to reassert themselves more strongly and new centres of power began to emerge.

In the field of political thought, there was a strong continuity. The Sasanian concept of the universal empire was greatly strengthened under the ʿAbbāsids. The caliph came to be regarded as the Shadow of God upon earth (though the strictly orthodox never accepted this view). In the course of time this concept was transferred to the temporal rulers, with consequences detrimental to the freedom and dignity of the subject. Similarly, the *imām*'s rights in regard to the ownership of land passed tacitly to the temporal rulers, and his power to delegate authority. Other Sasanian concepts, such as the identification of the state with the social order and the hierarchical nature of society, also came to be increasingly accepted. *Dīn* and *dawla* were two sides of one coin, with the result that non-conformity and political opposition were inseparable. Hostile movements against the government and the ruling classes thus tended to manifest themselves under the guise of Shīʿism.

Most of the dynasties which arose as the caliphate fragmented came to power within the general political framework of the Muslim world and accepted the prevailing administrative traditions and political concepts, or if they did not before their assumption of power, they rapidly conformed once they had seized power—as in the case of the ʿAbbāsids, who quickly abandoned any messianic or extremist tendencies they may have entertained before their victory over the Umayyads. There was, it is true, alongside the "conservative" tendency of society and government a messianic tendency, but its manifestations were usually fleeting. Its most striking expression in ʿAbbāsid times was the Ismāʿīlī movement, which at one time threatened the existence of the Great Saldjūḳ empire and was only finally extinguished as a political movement by Hūlāgū. Broadly speaking, however, the rise of new dynasties did not materially alter the structure of society, but merely the composition of the ruling class and, sometimes, the relative importance of the different classes. From Saldjūḳ times onwards the balance between the settled and semi-settled elements of the population was a delicate one. After the Mongol invasion there was a widespread expansion of nomadism accompanied by a dislocation of rural and urban life.

By the death of al-Maʾmūn in 218/833 the balance between the civil and military arms of the administration had been upset. In an attempt to increase the revenue, the tax-farm became increasingly common, but the money received from the farming of the taxes soon ceased to be sufficient to pay the army leaders and their troops. The practice then arose of assigning the taxes not to taxfarmers but to the military themselves, a practice which made it easy for the military, when the central government was weak, to establish their semi-independence. The result of this was, on the one hand, the ruin of the land, and

on the other the failure of the military to support or defend the central government. This militarization of the state and the growing tendency of the military to be occupied not only with the arts of war but also with administration became marked not only in ʿIrāḳ and the western provinces but also in the east under the Sāmānids and more especially the Ghaznavids.

Under the Būyids the military did not normally live on their assignments or *iḳṭāʿ*s, but sent their agents to collect the revenue. In return for his *iḳṭāʿ* the soldier had to perform military service and was in theory subject to detailed regulations and inspection. A provincial governor could distribute the area under his jurisdiction as *iḳṭāʿ*s but he did this as an official of the state. Legally the possession of an *iḳṭāʿ* did not give the holder rights of jurisdiction over the inhabitants, but in practice it contributed to the spread of patronage and under the Būyids there were widespread acts of usurpation by the military. Further, the tendency for the function of the provincial governor, provincial military commander, tax collector, taxfarmer, and *muḳṭaʿ* to be combined in one person led to the emergence of large properties virtually independent of the central government. Under the Būyids the military *iḳṭāʿ* was the dominant type. Under the Great Saldjūḳs there took place an assimilation of the military *iḳṭāʿ* to the governorate or administrative *iḳṭāʿ* and the tendency was for the *iḳṭāʿ* to be defined not by fiscal value but by service and to become by usurpation a hereditary domain over which the *muḳṭaʿ* had governmental prerogatives (see further, A. K. S. Lambton, *Reflections on the iqṭāʿ*, in *Arabic and Islamic studies in honor of Hamilton A. R. Gibb*, ed. G. Makdisi, Leiden 1965 and C. Cahen, *L'évolution de l'iqta' du IXe au XIIIe siècle* in *Annales, E.S.C.*, 1953).

Throughout, though especially from Saldjūḳ times onwards, four strands were closely interwoven: administration, taxation, tenure, and military service (though society was *not* feudal in the technical sense). The main burden of supporting the government rested upon the peasantry. Agriculture, especially in the pre-Mongol period, showed an astonishing recuperative power. This is probably to be explained in part by the fact that the local village communities formed relatively stable and, to some extent, self-governing communities under their own *kadkhudās*, and in part to the fact that in the pre-Mongol period, although wars were frequent, the numbers engaged were, on the whole, small and the destruction which accompanied campaigns was, for the most part, localized and as such was incidental to the movement of armed bands through the countryside.

In spite of the succession of empires, Saldjūḳ, Īlkhān and Timurid, there was a persistence of administrative tradition from the ʿAbbāsid period and more especially from Saldjūḳ times onwards. This is not to say that there were no changes or new developments: of course, there were, but the element of continuity is more striking than that of change. The Mongol conquest caused a temporary break, but after the conversion of the Īlkhāns to Islam there was a reassertion of Islamic government, though the spread of administrative practices based on custom continued under the Īlkhāns and the Timurids, perhaps to a more marked extent than formerly.

One of the reasons for the persistence of administrative tradition is that the conquerors, whether Arab, Saldjūḳ Turk, Mongol, or for that matter Ṣafavid or Ḳādjār, lacked administrative experience; the original basis of their power was, in all cases, tribal, the officials of the bureaucracy had the "expertise" and so successive dynasties relied upon them. The great families of viziers, the Barmakids under the ʿAbbāsids, the Djayhānīs, Balʿamīs and ʿUtbīs under the Sāmānids, Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād under the Būyids, Niẓām al-Mulk and his sons and grandsons under the Saldjūḳs, and the Djuwaynīs and Rashīd al-Dīn and his family under the Īlkhāns, played a significant role in the transmission of this tradition, as also did the families of *mustawfī*s. The religious classes, at another level, also played an immensely important part in the maintenance of continuity. The *ʿulamāʾ*, as the guardians of tradition, enjoyed high status and prestige, and were a stabilizing force. In times of political upheaval they carried on as local administrators and often acted as peacemakers. This was particularly true of the *ḳāḍī*s, among whom there was a strong hereditary tendency.

Alongside this conservatism and continuity, there was also a marked provincial particularism, partly because difficult communications tended to foster isolation, and partly because ethnic differences made for a different ethos of society. The successive empires tended to fragment broadly along similar geo-political lines. Khurāsān, the Caspian provinces, Sīstān, Fārs, Kirmān, Kurdistān, and Ādharbāydjān, all tended at one time or another to become centres of local power, though it must not be supposed that within these different provinces there was necessarily uniformity. Some of these local movements had special and distinguishing characteristics. At the same time, the various movements arising in the different parts of Persia did not develop in isolation, but often reacted upon each other.

Under the Umayyads the Central Asian frontier was re-established broadly where it had been under the Sasanians. They handed on their function as wardens of the marches to the ʿAbbāsids. With the decline in the power of the caliphate, the local dynasties which governed Khurāsān, first the Ṭāhirids, then the Sāmānids, and later the Ghaznavids, took over this task. The first two, broadly, represented the landowning classes and orthodoxy. Although they established virtually independent dynasties, they sought the authorization of the caliph, as did later dynasties, and there was no implication of revolution in their rise to power. Maḥmūd of Ghazna also ruled within the previously existing Muslim political framework. In the latter half of the 4th/10th century the Īlak Khāns broke into Transoxania while the Ghuzz moved into Transcaspia, and finally into the *dār al-islām*. The Saldjūḳs, who established themselves as the leaders of the Ghuzz, in due course found themselves in possession of an empire centred on Persia, and became themselves the wardens of the marches. Towards the end of the reign of Sandjar those Ghuzz who had remained in Central Asia overran Khurāsān. The Khwārazmshāhs, who succeeded the Saldjūḳs in the east, failed to hold the marches against the Mongols in the 7th/13th century.

Although the maintenance of a stable border in the north-east was a condition for the stability of the interior of Persia, Khurāsān was not itself a suitable centre from which to exercise dominion over the whole area. Al-Maʾmūn was forced to move from Marv back to Baghdād, and the Saldjūḳs transferred their capitals progressively westwards and southwards, from Nīshāpūr to Rayy and Iṣfahān. Sandjar, the only one of the Great Saldjūḳ sultans to attempt to rule permanently from Khurāsān, was unable effectively to control ʿIrāḳ. In Ṣafavid and Ḳādjār

times the maintenance of the north-east frontier against encroachments by the Uzbegs and Turkomans was a perennial problem. The frontier finally established in the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh was far to the south and west of the mediaeval frontier.

The Caspian provinces with their forests and mountain valleys and difficult communications proved hard to conquer. During the early Islamic period Ḳazvīn remained a frontier district. From the reign of ʿUmar to that of al-Maʾmūn, seventeen expeditions are recorded against Daylam. From about 250/864 the mountain fastnesses of Daylam served as a refuge for the ʿAlids against the ʿAbbāsids, where they formed a new centre of resistance hostile to both Baghdād and Khurāsān, the governors of which sought to extend their dominion over the Caspian provinces. Conversion in the Caspian provinces had been slow. In 259/873 a large number of Zoroastrians were converted by Nāṣir al-Ḥaḳḳ Abū Muḥammad in Daylam, and in 299/912 Ḥasan b. ʿAlī is said to have converted the inhabitants of Ṭabaristān and Daylam, who were still partly idolators and partly Magians, to Islam (Masʿūdi, viii, 279). Many of the movements which originated in the Caspian provinces were characterized by Shīʿī tendencies. Here, as elsewhere, the Shīʿī movement tended to be associated with social movements and to draw into its ranks the discontented. It was not a clear-cut anti-Arab movement supported by Persians. Shīʿism was rather a convenient banner under which to unite in hostility to the ruling class, whether this was Arab in the person of governors appointed by the caliphs, or local rulers who had retained their Zoroastrian faith and who, when they did not feel strong enough to throw off control, either out of fear of local rivals or of rebellion by their subjects, co-operated with the caliphs. The Būyids, who came from Daylam, professed Ithnā-ʿAsharī Shīʿism, though the earlier ʿAlid movements in the province were Zaydī. The Caspian provinces were not only difficult to conquer: they were also difficult to unite. Numerous local dynasties flourished, often simultaneously, sometimes paying tribute to the central government, but more often withholding it, and sometimes extending as far as Ādharbāydjān (see also V. Minorsky, *La domination dailamite*, in *Soc. des études iraniennes*, iii (1932), and DAYLAM).

The neighbouring province of Gurgān, of a rather different physical character, had been a frontier province in Sasanian times over against the nomads from the north. In the 3rd/9th century the ʿAlids of Ṭabaristān extended their influence over it, but in 316/928 Mardāwīdj b. Ziyār, by origin a Gīlakī in the service of the Daylamite leader Asfār b. Shīrūya, whom he overthrew in 319/931, founded a kingdom, which lasted for about a hundred years, nominally dependent, first on the Sāmānids and then on the Ghaznavids. In Saldjūḳ times Gurgān came more fully under the control of Khurāsān and one of the main concentrations of Ghuzz was to be found in its steppes with their plentiful grazing. In the late 18th century it became of importance as the province from which the Ḳādjārs [*q.v.*] drew their main support.

Sīstān (which included much of the modern Afghānistān), partly surrounded by a desert barrier, tended to be isolated from the developments in other parts of Persia, except for a brief period under Yaʿḳūb b. Layth and ʿAmr b. Layth. The special characteristic of political movements in Sīstān in the early centuries of Islam was their Khāridjite tendency. Under the Ghūrids [*q.v.*] Sīstān tended to look east. After the break-up of the Īlkhān empire, Harāt became the centre of the Karts, who had acted as governors on behalf of the Īlkhāns in the heyday of their power. Still later, after the death of Tīmūr, it became the centre of the eastern Timurid empire. (See also C. E. Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs from the Islamic conquest to the rise of the Saffarids, 30-250/651-304*, Rome 1968).

Fārs, which had been the original seat of power of both the Achaemenids and the Sasanians, tended to be somewhat isolated from the rest of Persia in the early years of the Islamic period. This was perhaps partly due to the fact that much of it was difficult mountain country occupied by a tribal population, which formed an obstacle to its conquest and control [see ĪLĀT]. Conversion appears to have been slow. Iṣṭakhrī, writing in the 4th/10th century, states that the *madjūs* were more numerous in Fārs than in any other province. Under the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla (338/949—372/982), Fārs enjoyed prosperity and importance. After the break-up of the Great Saldjūḳ empire Fārs was ruled by the Salgharid dynasty (543/1148—686/1287). Later in the 8th/14th century Fārs became the centre of the Muẓaffarid dynasty, and in the 18th century of the short-lived Zand dynasty.

Kirmān was bounded on the north and east by the great desert. The mountain districts of the province stubbornly resisted the Arab advance and gave much trouble to later rulers also [see ĪLĀT]. Under the Saldjūḳs of Kirmān it formed a prosperous and semi-independent kingdom but suffered in the disorders committed by the Ghuzz at the end of the Great Saldjūḳ period.

Kurdistān was ethnically separate from the rest of Persia. Both the physical configuration of the country and the tribal nature of society there militated against political unity. It looked to Mawṣil. Like the Caspian provinces, parts of Fārs and Kirmān, it was difficult campaigning country, and proved a "thorn in the flesh" of the caliphate and the subsequent empires. Few of their rulers succeeded fully in controlling it, and it tended to break away the moment there was a weakening of the central government. The Arab Dynasty of the Ḥamdānids in the 4th/10th century (see M. Canard, *Histoire de la Dynastie des H'amdânides de Jazîra et de Syrie*, i, Algiers—Paris, 1951), the Kurdish dynasty of the Marwānids who superseded them in Diyār Bakr in the 5th/11th century, and the ʿUkaylids, who held Mawṣil from 380/991 to 489/1096, attained some importance and exercised influence beyond the borders of Kurdistān. Under the Saldjūḳs Mawṣil looked increasingly westwards. It became under the Zangids one of the most important states of Western Asia, but with little influence on the history of Persia. With the rise of the Ottoman and Ṣafavid empires, Kurdistān became disputed frontier territory.

The neighbouring province of Ādharbāydjān was also partly inhabited by Kurds. It was the scene of the Khurramdīnī disorders in the first half of the 3rd/9th century. Subsequently a number of minor local ruling families held sway: first the Sādjids (276/889—317/929), then the Kurd, Daysam, who was a Khāridjite, followed by the Muṣāfirids, who had Bāṭinī leanings, and others. In 513/1136, towards the end of the Great Saldjūḳ period, the atabeg Ildiguz established himself and founded one of the succession states to the Saldjūḳ empire. Under the Mongols, after the destruction of Baghdād, the political and economic centre of the empire shifted from ʿIrāḳ and the Djibāl, where it had been under the Buyids and Saldjūḳs, to Ādharbāydjān. Iṣfahān,

which had been the main city of Persia under the Great Saldjūḳs, although it became one of the centres of power of the Indjuids, one of the succession states to the Īlkhān empire, did not fully recover its importance until the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās. Numbers of Ghuzz had settled in Ādharbāydjān in Saldjūḳ times, and from Mongol times onwards it was inhabited predominantly by Turkish tribes. On the break-up of the Īlkhān empire, the main centre of activity tended to move from Ādharbāydjān to Fārs, Kirmān, and ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjam, perhaps partly because Ādharbāydjān was becoming at this time subject to raids by the Kipchaks. A succession state was established by the Djalāʾirids, who ruled intermittently over Ādharbāydjān and ʿIrāḳ.

In the second half of the 9th/15th century Ādharbāydjān became the centre of the rising Ṣafavid power, and Tabrīz became the capital in the early years of the 10th/16th century. Just as the Saldjūḳs moved their capitals westwards from Khurāsān to the centre of Persia, so also the Ṣafavids moved progressively eastwards, from Tabrīz to Ḳazwīn and Iṣfahān. In the 19th century Ādharbāydjān, with the advance of Russia through the Caucasus, succeeded Khurāsān as the crucial frontier area. Here, too, the frontier eventually established after Persia's defeat by Russia in 1828 was considerably inside the mediaeval border.

The period from the death of al-Maʾmūn up to the Mongol invasion falls into three periods, those of the minor dynasties, the Great Saldjūḳ empire (447/1055—552/1157), and the Khʷārazmshāhs, ending with the sack of Baghdād by the Mongols in 656/1258. During the first of these, the western provinces dominated by Baghdād developed along rather different lines from Khurāsān and the east, although there was a certain influence of the one on the other. This was partly because of the difference in society in the two areas and partly because of differences in political development. Baghdād and the neighbourhood had experienced all the vicissitudes of the political and economic decline of the caliphate after the death of al-Maʾmūn. In Khurāsān, on the other hand, the old structure of society had maintained itself to a greater extent: the local ruling families still retained a good deal of their former influence and there was a rich merchant class engaged in the caravan trade with China and other countries. On the other side of the frontier there were still a number of independent principalities, often at war with each other. Under the Ṭāhirids, who came to power in the east, and their successors the Sāmānids, there was a reassertion of old social tendencies, whereas under the Būyids, society was in an advanced stage of disintegration. The Ghaznavids, the successors of the Sāmānids, were in due course overthrown by the Saldjūḳs, under whom the lands of the eastern caliphate were re-integrated and a new system of government worked out, combining features found in both the eastern and western provinces in a new symbiosis.

The Ṭāhirids during their fifty or sixty years' rule based their power on a community of interest of the *dihḳāns*, though the influence and rights of this class were not so rigidly enforced as they had been in Sasanian times. Externally their main problem was to hold the frontier against the nomad Turks from Central Asia and prevent their intervention in the disorders which occurred in Transoxania. Ṭāhir, whose father and grandfather had been governors of Bushang, reached Khurāsān as governor in 206/821-2. His rule, apart from some Khāridjite disturbances, was brief and uneventful. By 207/822 he had consolidated his power. In that year he omitted al-Maʾmūn's name from the *khuṭba*, but providentially died the same night (or shortly afterwards) (see D. Sourdel, *Les circonstances de la mort de Tahir*, in *Arabica*, 1958). In spite of this act of overt rebellion, al-Maʾmūn recognised Ṭalḥā b. Ṭāhir as his successor. Khāridjite disturbances, especially in Sīstān, continued during his governorate. On his death in 213/828-9 al-Maʾmūn, perhaps with a view to regaining some of his lost authority in the eastern provinces, appointed his favourite, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir, who was at that time conducting operations against the Khurramdīnīs in Dīnavar, to succeed Ṭalḥā. He advanced to Nīshāpūr and put down the Khāridjite disturbances which had become widespread. Al-Muʿtaṣim, who succeeded to the caliphate in 218/833, confirmed ʿAbd Allāh in his government.

Unrest meanwhile spread throughout the ʿAbbāsid empire. The Turks, whom al-Muʿtaṣim had enrolled in greater numbers in his bodyguard than had former caliphs, increased in power and violent quarrels between them and the people of Baghdād occurred repeatedly. In Ādharbāydjān Bābak and the Khurramdīnīs were still in a state of rebellion. In 220/835 the Afshīn [*q.v.*] was placed in charge of the campaign against them and eventually defeated them in 222/837. In Ṭabaristān Māziyār b. Ḳārin, the last of the Ḳārinwand dynasty, who, after being deprived of his possessions by the Bāwand, the Ispahbud Shahriyār, had taken refuge with al-Maʾmūn, embraced Islam and been sent back to Ṭabaristān as governor, apostasized and rebelled. The Afshīn, who was sent against him, appears to have encouraged him to rebel. Al-Muʿtaṣim then sent ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir from Khurāsān against him; Māziyār was captured and executed in 226/841, and ʿAbd Allāh made his uncle, Ḥasan b. Ḥusayn, governor of Ṭabaristān.

ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir's rule in Khurāsān and Transoxania appears to have been enlightened. There are indications that he encouraged agriculture and fostered the spread of learning. He was succeeded in 230/844-5 by his son Ṭāhir, who had become governor of Ṭabaristān in 228/842-3 in succession to his great uncle. Ṭāhir II received diplomas from successive caliphs. He ruled until 248/862-3. Trouble from the Khāridjites in Sīstān continued, and during his reign the *ʿayyār* under Yaʿḳūb b. Layth, the Ṣaffārid, increased in power. Under Ṭāhir's successor, Muḥammad, Ṭabaristān was lost to the Ṭāhirids, when the Ṭāhirid governor, after being defeated in 250/864 by Ḥasan b. Zayd, the ʿAlid, abandoned the province in 252/866. Family quarrels also broke out among the Ṭāhirids, and one branch made common cause with the Ṣaffārids in Sīstān.

Yaʿḳūb b. Layth, the son of a peasant of Ḳarnīn, who became apprenticed to a coppersmith — hence the name of the dynasty he founded—subsequently, with his brothers, joined a band of *muṭaṭawwiʿa* led by the Ṭāhirid governor, Dirham b. Naṣr b. Ṣāliḥ, and took part in operations against the Khāridjites. He was then made amir of Bust, but in 247/861 drove out the Ṭāhirid governor and made himself master of Sīstān. Yaʿḳūb's relations with the Khāridjites are not entirely clear. According to some accounts he was a Khāridjite at the beginning of his career. Later attributions of Shīʿī sympathies to the Ṣaffārids would appear to be unfounded. He extended his rule to the Kābul valley, Sind and the Mikrān, and in 253/867 he conquered Harāt and Bushang from Ṭāhir b. Ḥusayn b. Ṭāhir.

Meanwhile al-Muʿtazz, who had succeeded to the caliphate in 252/866, was unable to control his go-

vernors in the east, and was threatened by the Zandj rebellion in lower ʿIrāḳ in 254/868. Hoping to rid himself of at least one of his troublesome governors, he granted a diploma for Kirmān to both Yaʿḳūb and the governor of Fārs, ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn. Yaʿḳūb was the victor and took not only Kirmān but also Fārs. In 257/871 al-Muʿtamid, following a somewhat similar policy, appointed Yaʿḳūb over the Ṭāhirid provinces of Tukhāristān and Balkh. According to another group of sources, however, Yaʿḳūb had already taken Tukhāristān and Balkh together with Ghazna, Gardīz, and Kābul in 256/870, when the caliph gave him a diploma for Tukhāristān, Balkh, Fārs, Kirmān, Sīstān, and Sind. Finally in 259/873 he marched on Khurāsān, took Nīshāpūr, and made Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir prisoner.

Yaʿḳūb then turned his arms against Ḥasan b. Zayd, the ʿAlid, in Gurgān. The latter fled without giving battle. In 261/874-5 Yaʿḳūb went again to Fārs, and in 262/875-6 he sent an envoy to the caliph al-Muʿtamid. Alarmed by Yaʿḳūb's growing power, al-Muʿtamid, or the regent al-Muwaffaḳ, had given in that year a diploma for Transoxania to the Sāmānid, Naṣr b. Aḥmad, no doubt in the hope that he would counter the spread of Yaʿḳūb's influence. Weakened by the rebellion of the Zandj, who by 264/877 were raiding within seventeen miles of Baghdād, the caliph now gave Yaʿḳūb a diploma for Transoxania, Khurāsān, Ṭabaristān, Gurgān, Fārs Kirmān, Sind and Hind, and made him military governor of Baghdād, and titular governor of the holy cities. Yaʿḳūb, nevertheless, continued his advance on Baghdād, but was worsted by the caliph in an engagement outside the city (265/879). Yaʿḳūb's defeat, however, was not decisive. By the terms of the peace the Ṣaffārids were recognized as the rulers of the provinces mentioned in the diploma already given to Yaʿḳūb, and in return they were to pay an annual tribute of 20 million *dirhams*.

Yaʿḳūb died shortly after this. He was succeeded by his brother ʿAmr, who made ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir his deputy in Baghdād, perhaps in the hope of enlisting Ṭāhirid support against the growing power of the Sāmānids. ʿAmr's succession was contested by his brother ʿAlī. He was defeated and held captive by ʿAmr. The provincial governors also began to throw off their allegiance, while in the holy cities ʿAmr's rights of precedence were challenged by the Ṭūlūnids. ʿAmr's life, like that of Yaʿḳūb, was largely spent in expeditions from one part of the empire to another, to deal with rebellious governors, and in particular in wars on the eastern frontier of Sīstān.

With the defeat of the Zandj in 269/883 by al-Muwaffaḳ, pressure on the caliphate began to lessen and intrigues against ʿAmr at the caliph's court began. An envoy was sent to him to demand the tribute due and the despatch of his son to Baghdād as a hostage. ʿAmr retired from Fārs to Kirmān, followed by al-Muwaffaḳ. In 271/885 Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir was again declared governor of Khurāsān and was represented by Rāfiʿ b. Harthama, who had conquered Nīshāpūr in 268/882. Matters did not yet reach breaking-point. In 275/888-9 ʿAmr agreed to pay 10 million *dirhams* tribute for Kirmān, Fārs and Khurāsān, sent presents to al-Muwaffaḳ, and retired to Fārs. About this time ʿAlī b. Layth escaped from captivity and joined Rāfiʿ b. Harthama in Khurāsān against ʿAmr. In 276/889-90 al-Muwaffaḳ seized the occasion offered by this embarrassment to ʿAmr to withhold from him the privileges of the military governor of Baghdād, to which office he had appointed him earlier that year. ʿAmr in retaliation dropped al-Muwaffaḳ's name from the *khuṭba* in Shīrāz in 277/890-1 and advanced on Khūzistān. Al-Muwaffaḳ meanwhile died in 278/891. His son al-Muʿtaḍid, who became caliph on the death of al-Muʿtamid in 279/892, made peace with ʿAmr, confirmed him in his governorships and ordered him to set out for Khurāsān against Rāfiʿ b. Harthama in 279/892-3. After a long-drawn out campaign Rāfiʿ was eventually put to flight, and ʿAmr entered Nīshāpūr in 283/896-7. Rāfiʿ, after briefly joining the ʿAlids in Ṭabaristān, fled to Khʷārazm, where he was killed in the same year. With his death disturbances in Khurāsān subsided.

Not much is known of the civil administration of Yaʿḳūb and ʿAmr, but their military organization is reputed to have been excellent. A distinction seems to have been made between public and private revenue. ʿAmr apparently had three treasuries, onc for revenue from land and other taxes, which was utilized for the upkeep of the army, a second for revenue from the personal property of the ruler, which was expended upon the upkeep of the court, and the third for revenues from occasional taxes (*aḥdāth*), and confiscations, the proceeds of which were largely used to reward faithful servants, followers and envoys. The army was the object of special care, and paid every three months through the *ʿāriḍ* (see Bartold, *op. cit.*, 220-22; and C. E. Bosworth, *Armies of the Saffarids*, in *BSOAS*, 1968).

In origin the Ṣaffārid movement seems to have been a "popular" movement and to have been regarded by the landowners and merchants of Khurāsān and Transoxania as a threat to the established order. Opposition was directed against Yaʿḳūb's alleged Khāridjite tendencies, but it may be that the real grounds for it was the "popular" nature of the movement. Once Yaʿḳūb, and after him ʿAmr, had extended their power beyond Sīstān it seems probable that the "popular" nature of their movement was to some extent lost. They retained their influence in Sīstān, however, and reappeared after the death of Maḥmūd of Ghazna and still existed as a local ruling house when the Mongols invaded in the 7th/13th century.

The Ṣaffārids were faced not only with a revival of the power of the caliphate under al-Muʿtaḍid, but also by the rise of a new power in the east, the Sāmānids, who were extending their influence in Transoxania. Their ancestor, Sāmān, appears to have been a small landowner from the neighbourhood of Bukhārā. During the caliphate of al-Maʾmūn, the sons of Asad b. Sāmān were ordered to help Harthama against the rebellious Rāfiʿ. In return they received governorships in Khurāsān. Under the Ṭāhirids Nūḥ b. Asad was in Samarḳand and in 261/874-5 the caliph al-Muʿtamid gave Naṣr b. Aḥmad a diploma for Samarḳand. When Bukhārā was sacked by Ḥusayn b. Ṭāhir al-Ṭāʾī from Khʷārazm in 260/873-4, Naṣr b. Aḥmad, in response to an appeal from the people of the city, sent his brother Ismāʿīl to their aid. In the same year the caliph gave Ismāʿīl a diploma for Bukhārā. Having restored order in Bukhārā, Ismāʿīl turned his army against Naṣr. Ismāʿīl is represented as the victor and as acting with great moderation in victory. This may or may not be true. What probably happened is that they arrived at a deadlock, neither able to defeat the other. In any case, Naṣr remained governor of Transoxania until his death in 279/892, when he was succeeded by Ismāʿīl, who received a diploma from the caliph in 280/893.

In 285/898 ʿAmr demanded a diploma as governor of Transoxania, in return for which he offered to overthrow the ʿAlid ruler of Ṭabaristān. Al-Muʿtaḍid, anxious for the decline of ʿAmr, probably saw in his demand an opportunity to weaken him by playing him off against Ismāʿīl. Whether ʿAmr was over-confident of his ability to overthrow Ismāʿīl, or whether he feared that Ismāʿīl would, as his power grew, intervene in Khurāsān, and thought it better to forestall him, is not clear. In 286/899 ʿAmr's commander Muḥammad b. Bashar was defeated by Sāmānid forces, and in the following year ʿAmr himself was captured and sent to Baghdād. His sons retired to Sīstān. For some years they continued operations against the Sāmānids in Sīstān and the local rulers in Fārs, but were unable to restore Ṣaffārid fortunes.

By 289/902, when al-Muktafī succeeded to the caliphate, the Sāmānids had gained the whole of Khurāsān, and in the diploma which Ismāʿīl received from al-Muktafī Rayy Ḳazwīn, and Zandjān were added to Khurāsān. The Sāmānids were, however, unable to establish effective control over the western regions and disputed them with the Sādjids, who had come to power when al-Muwaffaḳ had appointed Muḥammad Afshīn Abū ʿUbayd b. Abi'l-Sādj governor of Ādharbāydjān in 276/889-90. The rapid extension of Sāmānid territory put a certain strain on Sāmānid organization, although this was not immediately felt. Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl, who succeeded in 295/907, established his claim by force of arms. He extended the Sāmānid domains still further by temporarily occupying Sīstān in 298/910-11. Ṭabaristān, on the other hand, was lost to the ʿAlids when Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Uṭrush (al-Nāṣir al-Kabīr) staged a successful revolt, making skilful use of the discord existing among the local rulers in the Caspian provinces.

The Sāmānids, like the Ṭāhirids, had a certain affinity with the *marzbān*s on the eastern frontiers of the Sasanian empire. Theirs was the last attempt to maintain the old social system against the general levelling tendencies of Turkish military government. The two centres of their kingdom were Samarḳand and Bukhārā; on the periphery there were a number of states which acknowledged Sāmānid overlordship and in some cases paid a nominal tribute. Among them were Khwārazm, Ghardjistān, al-Shār, Djūzdjān, Isfīdjāb and Ṣāghāniyān. The bureaucracy under the Sāmānids was well-developed and on a somewhat similar model to the bureaucratic administration of the caliphs at Baghdād. Narshakhī mentions nine government offices or *dīwān*s, those of the vizier, *mustawfī*, *ṣāḥib shurṭ*, *ṣāḥib muʾayyid*, *mushrif*, and *muḥtasib*, and the *dīwān-i mamlaka-i khāṣṣ*, the *dīwān-i awḳāf*, and the *dīwān-i ḳaḍā* (*Taʾrīkh-i Bukhārā*, ed. Riḍawī, p. 31).According to Bartold there was a tenth *dīwān*, the *dīwān-i barīd*. The chief civil official was known as the *khwādja-i buzurg*. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Djayhānī, who held this office under Naṣr. b. Aḥmad, was, perhaps, a more important figure than his sovereign.

The army was composed of a nucleus of Turks, mainly puchased or captured on the frontiers and brought up as slaves, and levies supplied by the *dihḳān*s. The leading military commander had the title *sipahsālār* and from Nīshāpūr administered Sāmānid territories south of the Amū Daryā. The chief military offices and provincial governments were held by members of local ruling families and by Turkish slaves. The court was elaborately organized with a hierarchy of officials. The main offices were held by the military classes. The domestic affairs of the court were under an official known as the *wakīl*. In the provincial governments many of the same offices and departments were found as at the centre, though there was no uniformity throughout the empire. In the early period of Sāmānid rule, the civil power held the upper hand: the army was subordinate and the troops were paid in cash, but were not debarred from acquiring land. Ibn Hawḳal states that taxes were lower in the Sāmānid empire than anywhere else and wages higher. The taxes, levied in two instalments, totalled some 40 million *dirhams*. Officials were paid quarterly and their pay amounted to about half the revenue. This favourable position of income in relation to expenditure allowed considerable mildness to prevail in the tax administration. Trade and industry were highly developed. Muḳaddasī gives an extensive list of exports from the various towns. Trade with the nomads of Central Asia was also important (ii, 468 ff.; see further, Bartold *op. cit.*, 235 ff.).

Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl, after a reign of nearly six years, was murdered by his Turkish guards in 301/913. His 8-year-old son Naṣr succeeded. During his reign the spirit of revolt entered the Sāmānid house itself and Naṣr spent much of his long reign, which lasted until 331/942, in putting down the revolts of his cousins and brothers. About 318/930 three of his brothers, who were imprisoned in Bukhārā, were liberated with the help of seditious elements in the city, including Shīʿis and Khārīdjites, and one of them, Yaḥyā, proclaimed amir. The movement was abortive.

In the west the Sādjids had maintained themselves against further Sāmānid advance. In 305/917-18 Yūsuf b. Abi'l-Sādj defeated a force sent against him by the caliph al-Muḳtadir, but was forced, in spite of this, to give up Rayy, and some two years later, although he defeated an army led by the caliph's general Mūnis, retired to Zandjān. Mūnis followed him, defeated him near Ardabīl and brought him to Baghdād. In 310/922, he was set free and given the government of Rayy and Ādharbāydjān. Later he was defeated and killed by the Carmathians (314/926). Ādharbāydjān was then disputed between the Khāridjite Kurd, Daysam b. Ibrāhīm, and the Muṣāfirids, who in the end prevailed.

More important than the attempts by provincial governors to seize the opportunity to establish their independence was the spread of the Carmathian movement, which was eventually captured by the Ismāʿīlīs, who founded the Fāṭimid anti-caliphate in 297/910. Between 318/930 and 328/940 Fāṭimid propaganda made great strides in Khurāsān and Transoxania. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nasafī (al-Nakhshabī), a Fāṭimid missionary, won over a number of prominent officials and eventually Naṣr himself. The *ʿulamāʾ* and the Sunnī notables were unable to meet this challenge alone and were forced to turn for help to the Turkish nucleus of the army. Naṣr, following a plot to overthrow him, abdicated in favour of his son Nūḥ and was thrown into prison in 330/942. Al-Nasafī and his supporters were massacred. Henceforward the army decided the course of events. Joining in the struggles for supremacy between the rival claimants, they eventually brought the state to ruin.

Khwārazm revolted in 332/943-4 and in the following year Abū ʿAlī Čaghānī, governor of Khurāsān, rebelled. By this time also, the favourable financial position which had prevailed earlier had changed for

the worse. There were acute shortages of funds and the army's pay was often in arrears. There were desertions to Abū ʿAlī, who also obtained support from some of the tributary states. Nūḥ fled to Samarḳand and Abū ʿAlī entered Bukhārā in 335/947 with Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad, Nūḥ's uncle. Abū ʿAlī was unable, however, to maintain himself in Bukhārā and returned to Ṣaghāniyān, whence he encouraged the tributary rulers along the Amū Daryā to rebel. Sāmānid prestige declined rapidly and the Sāmānid princes played less and less part in the struggles which ensued between the rival amirs and governors.

With the decline of the Sāmānids and the failure of the caliphate to maintain its temporary revival under al-Muʿtaḍid, the northern provinces of Persia became the scene of the exploits of a series of Daylamite leaders who were little more than robber barons, the common characteristics of whose rule were love of money, extortion, and cruelty. In 308/920 Laylā b. Nuʾmān seized Nīshāpūr from the Sāmānids on behalf of Ḥasan b. Ḳāsim, the ʿAlid, who succeeded Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-ʿUṭrush in 304/917. He failed to hold it. Some years later Kākī took Rayy, but, unable to establish his independence, entered Sāmānid service. Meanwhile Asfār b. Shīrūya had proclaimed himself in Sārī but was defeated by Mākān b. Kākī. He then took refuge with the Sāmānid governor of Khurāsān, Abū Bakr b. Ilyās. When the latter died, Asfār received the allegiance of his troops and seized Rayy, Ṭabaristān, Ḳazwīn, Ḳumm, Kāshān, and Lur-i Kūčik. He was overthrown in 319/931 by one of his own generals, Mardāwīdj. b. Ziyār, the founder of the Ziyārid dynasty. Mardāwīdj, who, according to Ibn Miskawayh, appears to have had visions of restoring the old Persian empire (vii, 5, 489; cf. also Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 226), took Ḳazwīn, Rayy, Hamadān, Kangavar, Dīnavar, and Burūdjird, and then turned back to invade Ṭabaristān and Gurgān, which had been seized by Mākān. Among Mardāwīdj's followers were the three sons of Būya, ʿAlī, Ḥasan, and Aḥmad. They had originally been in the service of Mākān, but had deserted him for Mardāwīdj. When the latter extended his conquests southwards, he appointed ʿAlī b. Būya governor of Karadj.

At first ʿAlī appears to have considered entering the service of the caliph, who was by now a puppet in the hands of the *amīr al-umarāʾ*, but his overtures were ignored. He then took Iṣfahān, but retired to Arradjān when Mardāwīdj sent his brother Wushmgīr against him, and seized Fārs in 321/933, while his brother Aḥmad occupied Kirmān in 322/934. Mardāwīdj, on receipt of this news, set out himself for Iṣfahān and sent another army from Khūzistān to march on the Būyids. ʿAlī thereupon renewed his allegiance to Mardāwīdj and sent his brother Ḥasan to him as a hostage. Mardāwīdj meanwhile appears to have conceived the plan of conquering Baghdād, but before he could put the plan into operation he was assassinated by his Turkish slaves in 323/935. He was succeeded in part of his domains by Wushmgīr, who spent his reign in a constant state of war with the Sāmānids, Būyids, and others and eventually accepted Sāmānid overlordship.

Ḥasan b. Būya rejoined ʿAlī on the assassination of Mardāwīdj and they occupied Iṣfahān. Mākān had meanwhile taken Kirmān and acknowledged Sāmānid overlordship. Later he left Kirmān in an attempt to regain Gurgān and Ṭabaristān. About 329/940-1 he threw off Sāmānid allegiance and when the Sāmānid governor of Khruāsān sent an army against him he appealed to Wushmgīr for help. Ḥasan b. Būya, profiting from the preoccupations of his rivals, seized Rayy and made himself master of the surrounding district.

In Baghdād the struggles between the Turkish amirs and between the Turks and Daylamites had reduced the city and the neighbourhood to anarchy. In 334/945 Aḥmad b. Būya, encouraged by Inal Kūsha, governor of Wāsiṭ, (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 337) set out for Baghdād and took it without battle. The caliph al-Mustakfī welcomed him and gave him a diploma and bestowed *laḳabs* on the three brothers: ʿAlī became ʿImād al-Dawla, Aḥmad, Muʿizz al-Dawla, and Ḥasan, Rukn al-Dawla. Muʿizz al-Dawla treated the caliph with the greatest contempt. Eleven days after his arrival in Baghdād, he accused him of seditious correspondence with the Ḥamdānids and made al-Muṭīʿ caliph in his place. Although the caliphate reached its lowest ebb during the period of Būyid supremacy, the Būyids did not attempt to overthrow it altogether. There were probably two main reasons for this. In the first place, they may have hoped to use for their own political ends such prestige as the ʿAbbāsids still possessed, and secondly, the existence of a Sunnī caliphate left them with a free hand: had they set up a Shīʿī caliph their troops might well have supported the caliph against them [see further BUWAYHIDS or BŪYIDS]. The consequence of the retention of the caliphate under their dominion was important: it discredited Ithna ʿAsharī Shīʿism as a serious alternative to it with the result that it was the Ismāʿīlīs to whom the discontented turned in the 5th/11th century in the hope of overthrowing the existing order (see further B. Lewis, *The Assassins*, London 1967, especially 29 ff.).

The main Būyid centres were Shīrāz, Rayy and Baghdād. ʿAlī during his lifetime was looked upon as the head of the family. He ruled Fārs and the area extending to Iṣfahān and Ahwāz, while Rukn al-Dawla ruled in the west from Rayy to Hamadān and Iṣfahān, and Muʿizz al-Dawla in ʿIrāḳ. On the death of ʿImād al-Dawla the rest of the family deferred to Rukn al-Dawla, who proved totally unable to control his Daylamite troops, who robbed and plundered wherever they went. After his death there was a repeated subdivision of Būyid territories and their partial reunification by force of arms by one member of the family or another. An abortive attempt was made by the Muṣāfirids to regain Rayy in 336/947-8. The Muṣāfirid Marzbān was defeated near Ḳazwīn in 338/949, but the Būyid force then sent to Ādharbāydjān was unable to make permanent gains and returned to Rayy.

The rule of Muʿizz al-Dawla in ʿIrāḳ did nothing to improve conditions. He had no care for the local population and introduced the custom of quartering the troops on the local population, which caused them serious annoyance. He also made a practice of giving lands to his troops, the result of which was to bring agriculture into a hopeless state of disorganization (*Eclipse*, ii, 96). Quarrels between Daylamites and Turks continued. In every Būyid army there was a bitter feud between the Turks and the Daylamites, to which much of the indecisive fighting of the period is due. From the time of Muʿizz al-Dawla onwards, however, the Turkish element became increasingly important. Muʿizz al-Dawla, not surprisingly in these circumstances, found himself in constant difficulties for money. Confiscations of the property of officials on death or dismissal were common, and offices were put up to the highest bidder. His reign was largely occupied by internal rebellions and a series of expeditions against the Ḥamdānids, the last of

which was in 353/964. The balance of these was in his favour, and from time to time he exacted tribute from them, but he failed to crush them entirely. When finally the Ḥamdānids became increasingly engaged in Syria in a struggle with the Fāṭimids, pressure on the western flank of the Būyids ceased. Muʿizz al-Dawla also undertook various operations against the Barīdīs [*q.v.*] in Khūzistān, and finally extinguished them in 349/960-1. He was succeeded in 356/967 by his son Bakhtiyār ʿIzz al-Dawla, who was an ineffective ruler.

When Bakhtiyār's Turkish mercenaries revolted and seized power, ʿAḍud al-Dawla, the son of Rukn al-Dawla, who had been ruling in Shīrāz since 338/949, set out for Baghdād in 364/974 to restore order. He forced Bakhtiyār to abdicate, but because of the protests of Rukn al-Dawla he re-established Bakhtiyār and returned to Shīrāz. In 366/976 Rukn al-Dawla died and was succeeded by his son Muʾayyid al-Dawla in Rayy and by another son Fakhr al-Dawla in Hamadān. Bakhtiyār took the opportunity to march on Shīrāz and provoke a conflict with ʿAḍud al-Dawla. He was defeated. ʿAḍud al-Dawla occupied Baghdād in 367/977 and seized Fakhr al-Dawla's territories also, but allowed Muʾayyid al-Dawla to rule as his subordinate.

Under ʿAḍud al-Dawla, who ruled first in Fārs (338/949—366/977) and then in Fārs and ʿIrāḳ (366/977—372/983), the Būyids reached their height. Būyid troops occupied Balūčistān and the Mikrān and even operated in ʿOmān. On the Khurāsān border, where there had been constant conflicts with Sāmānid governors usually ending in a Sāmānid victory, there had been a sudden weakening of the Sāmānids, who were defeated towards the end of 371/982. ʿAḍud al-Dawla's death at the critical moment prevented any further Būyid advance into Khurāsān. ʿAḍud al-Dawla, the only real figure of a ruler among the Būyids, established an effective administration. He reorganized the postal system, put down brigandage, and fostered commerce. He followed a policy of religious toleration and suspended the public celebration of sectarian ceremonies which had been introduced by Muʿizz al-Dawla in Baghdād. He was a great builder and patronized men of learning and theologians. He did not, however, entirely lose the characteristics of his race: old taxes were increased and new ones introduced. (See further H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig*, Beirut 1969).

After the death of ʿAḍud al-Dawla the Būyid dynasty declined rapidly. Until the reimposition of orderly government by the Saldjūḳs the western provinces were torn by internecine strife and almost interminable conflicts. The administration was completely broken up, agriculture ruined, and the old money economy destroyed beyond repair. A contributory factor in this decline was the change in the flow of trade connected with the rise of the Fāṭimids (see ʿABBĀSIDS, and B. Lewis, *Fāṭimids and the route to India*, in *Istanbul Iktisat Fak. Mecm.*, 1950, 355-66).

In due course Khurāsān fell, not to the Būyids, but to the new power rising in the east, the Ghaznavids. Two favourable circumstances attended their rise: first the absence of any strong power in western Persia able to fill the vacuum created by the decline of the Sāmānids, and secondly the existence on their frontier of the decaying empire of the Hindū Shāhīs, which offered to them a new field of operations. Alptakīn, the commander of the Sāmānid forces in Khurāsān, after an abortive rising in favour of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Nūḥ in 350/961, withdrew to the eastern frontiers and took Busṭ and Ghazna. After an interregnum following his death in 352/963, Sebuktegīn, one of his *ghulāms*, assumed power in 366/977. He regarded himself as governing on behalf of the Sāmānids but paid no tribute to them. In 383/993 Nūḥ b. Naṣr summoned him to Transoxania to aid him against rebels. After a successful campaign Sebuktegīn was given the governorships of Balkh, Ṭukhāristān, Bāmiyān, Ghūr, and Ghardjistān in 384/994, and his son Maḥmūd was made commander of the army with his headquarters in Nīshāpūr. When the Ḳarakhānids invaded Transoxania in 386/996, Nūḥ again appealed to Sebuktegīn for help. By the peace which was concluded with the Ḳarakhānids the frontier was established on the Ḳaṭwān steppe.

Sebuktegīn died in 387/997. He left his domains to various members of his family, but by 388/998 Maḥmūd, temporarily abandoning Khurāsān, had made himself master of the territory held by his father. In the following year he seized Khurāsān and read the *khuṭba* in the name of al-Ḳādir, whose succession the Sāmānids had not recognised, continuing to read the *khuṭba* in the name of his deposed predecessor, al-Ṭāʾiʿ. In return Maḥmūd was granted a diploma by al-Ḳādir for Khurāsān (389/999). In 390/1000 Maḥmūd made an expedition into India, capturing some fortresses near Lamghān. The following year he invaded India again, defeated Jaipal, and took a great quantity of booty. Subsequently he made several successful expeditions into India, the most famous of which was in 416/1025-6 when he destroyed the idol temple at Sumnath. The attempts made by the last of the Sāmānids, Abū Ibrāhīm Ismāʿīl (d. 395/1005) to recover Khurāsān were in vain. The former Sāmānid territories were now divided between the Ghaznavids and the Ḳarakhānids. In 398/1008 Maḥmūd defeated Ilig Naṣr and Ḳādir Khān Yūsuf near Balkh. He then extended his authority over Ghardjistān, Khwārazm, Sīstān, Ghūr, Ṭabaristān and Gurgān. The conquest of Khwārazm in 408/1017 gave him a preponderance over the Ḳarakhānids, and when civil war spread in the Ḳarakhānid kingdom, he invaded Transoxania in 415-16/1025, but does not appear to have made permanent gains. In 417/1026 Maḥmūd received a diploma from the caliph al-Ḳādir for the conquered provinces. The caliph moreover bound himself not to enter into relations with the Ḳarakhānids except through Maḥmūd.

Maḥmūd was a strict Sunnī, and since at the time of his rise the Fāṭimids were pressing in through Syria towards Baghdād, where the caliph was a puppet in the hands of the Būyids, considerable glamour attached to him as the first ruler who came to the rescue of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, though in fact it was not until Ṭughril Beg arrived in Baghdād that it was relieved of tutelage to the Būyids. So far as Maḥmūd's administration is concerned there was outwardly little change, but the spirit of the imperial organization was changing. The state was no longer a civil power which maintained an army. The court was to a greater degree than had formerly been the case military and tribal. The army had become the state and its commander the sultan, and the only function and duty of the people was to pay taxes. Maḥmūd did not, however, solve the problem of how to support the army: the new system was to be worked out, not by the Ghaznavids, but by the Saldjūḳs. In 420/1029 Maḥmūd entered Rayy, which had been in the hands of the Būyid, Madjd al-Dawla, and left his son Masʿūd there with orders to complete the conquest of Būyid territories. Hamadān and Iṣfahān fell, but in 421/1030 Maḥmūd died and

Masʿūd hastened back to Khurāsān to claim the throne. The early years of Masʿūd's reign were occupied by struggles for power between rival factions. With his withdrawal from Rayy, the local branch of the Būyids, the Kākūyids, threw off their allegiance. The real threat to the Ghaznavids, however, was to come from elsewhere. During the reign of Maḥmūd, groups of Ghuzz had passed into Khurāsān and the interior of Persia. The first considerable movement was in 420/1029, when Maḥmūd ordered the tribes under Isrāʾīl b. Saldjūḳ, whom he had seized, to migrate into Khurāsān. In 425/1033-4, two brothers, Ṭughril Beg and Čaghrī Beg Dāʾūd, the sons of Mīkāʾīl b. Saldjūḳ, and their uncle Yabghū b. Saldjūḳ moved from Transoxania to the borders of Khwārazm, but were obliged to move again in 426/1034-5 on the death of Hārūn the Khwārazmshāh. A number of them crossed the Oxus into Khurāsān and asked permission to live under Masʿūd's protection. During the next few years they were constantly on the move in search of new pastures, harried by and harrying the Ghaznavids, until finally they met in battle at Dandanḳān in 431/1040. Masʿūd was decisively defeated. Ghaznavid rule was brought to an end in Khurāsān, though the Ghaznavids continued to rule in Ghazna until dispossessed by the Ghūrids [*q.v.*] in 569/1173-4. Further weakened, they retired first to Kābul and then to Lahore.

The Saldjūḳ period in some ways represents a culmination of previous developments, in others a new departure. There had been from the 3rd/9th century onwards much recruitment of Turkish slaves in western and eastern Persia, and the Ghaznavids were, by origin, a slave dynasty. During their rule there was an increased militarization of the state, but no major change in its structure. The Ghuzz movement was different: it was a tribal migration, and the Saldjūḳs who emerged as its leaders became, almost by chance, the rulers of a vast empire. This, at its height, stretched from Transoxania to Syria and Anatolia, though the last two were never under the effective control of the Great Saldjūḳ sultan, and included Khurāsān and the rest of Persia, ʿIrāḳ-i ʿArab, and the Djazīra. The numbers involved in this migration were not large: those taking part were to be counted, perhaps, in tens of thousands. They seem to have caused remarkably little dislocation economically [see ILĀT]. Small though their numbers were, they altered the balance of the population in two ways: henceforward the two main elements were Persian and Turkish—the dichotomy of the early centuries between *ʿarab* and *ʿadjam* was replaced by that between *turk* and *tādjīk*, and secondly there was an expansion of nomadism and a more strongly marked dichotomy between settled and semi-settled. This dichotomy, in the early period of Saldjūḳ rule, coincided, to some extent, with that between Turk and non-Turk, and this in turn corresponded, in large measure, with the dichotomy between the military and the rest of the population.

The Saldjūḳ leaders were not simply the leaders of a nomad tribal group. They were also familiar with urban life, and from the very beginning of their transformation into the rulers of an empire they had settled capitals. As heirs to an empire and to the civilization which had developed in the lands of the Eastern Caliphate, they became the defenders of Sunnī Islam and under them a great revival took place, which made possible the unification of the Sunnī world, against which the Crusaders were unable to achieve lasting success. As heirs to an empire it was not long before a conflict developed between them and the Turkoman nomads, whose main concern was for new pastures and who, in religion, had the attitude of the *ghāzī*. Since many of the Turkomans pushed on to the Georgian, Armeno-Byzantine and Caucasian frontiers to undertake the activities of *ghāzī*s, it was in Anatolia rather than Persia, however, that this Islam took root. Support for Sunnism was imposed upon the Saldjūḳs by political circumstances: opposition to the Būyids dictated a pro-Sunnī and an anti-Shīʿī policy. From the time of Malikshāh onwards, i.e. after the Būyids had been deprived of their political power, the strict orthodoxy of the Saldjūḳ sultans was modified. A pro-Sunnī attitude was also imposed upon them by their need to win the support of the *ʿulamāʾ* in order, in turn, to gain the support of the masses—though they failed to carry with them those who were discontented with the established order, and who were to be found among all classes.

Under the Saldjūḳs, al-Ghazālī [*q.v.*] worked out a new relationship between caliph and sultan, from which stemmed a series of interconnected jurisdictions, whose stability depended upon orthodoxy or right religion, and the personal loyalty of the sultan to the caliph, and of subordinate officials to the sultan. The power of the Saldjūḳs was thus given a *sharʿī* basis and differed from that of the Būyids, which had been usurped. Since Islam still had relevance to the daily life of the people this reformulation was of more than theoretical importance: it made possible the preservation of the religious life of the community and enabled political life to run its course within the framework of Islam. That the sultan's rule was given a *sharʿī* basis did not, of course, stop the arbitrary use of power, but it tempered its use and, generally speaking, prevented it reaching lengths which were felt to be intolerable by the people.

The Saldjūḳ theory of state, as well as its primary Islamic basis, had another basis, which derived its inspiration from Sasanian theory and was expressed by Niẓām al-Mulk, the vizier of Alp Arslān and Malikshāh. According to this theory the sultan was directly appointed by God. His power was absolute and required no justification, and against it the population had no rights and no freedom. This theory, like the Islamic theory, also emphasized the interdependence of kingship and religion, and of stability and right religion. It rested, however, on justice rather than right religion. This was to be achieved by the maintenance of each in his rightful place. To these two bases the Saldjūḳs brought a third, which derived from the practice of the steppe: the practice of consultation. This was, perhaps, never very strong, and as the power of the central government was strengthened and the Saldjūḳs came to rely less on the Turkoman tribes and more on an army composed of slaves and freedmen, so the Islamic theory tended to be superseded by the conception put forward by Niẓām al-Mulk, while the element of consultation weakened and virtually disappeared.

The establishment of a strong central government provided order and discipline, secured the defence of the Muslim community and Muslim lands, and created conditions in which Muslim life could be lived and the various classes carry on their occupations in relative security. But it failed to remove the underlying dissatisfactions, and the Saldjūḳ period is also marked by the appearance of a new phase of the Ismāʿīlī movement, known to Arab historians as the "new propaganda" (*al-daʿwa al-djadīda*) in contradistinction to the "old propaganda" (*al-daʿwa al-ḳadīma*) of the Fāṭimids, and its followers as the Bāṭiniyya.

In the field of administration there was a long continuity of practice stretching back beyond the Saldjūḳs, but, consequent upon the changed political, economic, and social circumstances which prevailed, certain developments which had begun before their arrival took definite shape and provided a pattern which was to persist in its essentials down to the 20th century. The two main aspects of the sultan's administration were the *dargāh* or court and the *dīwān* [*q.v.*], which was the chief department of the bureaucracy. The former was essentially military, composed of amirs, slaves, and freedmen, though it was also frequented by the chief officials of the bureaucracy, the religious classes and learned men. The relations between the *dargāh* and the *dīwān* were not clearly formulated. The vizier, the chief bureaucratic official, bridged the gap between the two. In the reigns of Alp Arslān (455/1063—465/1072) and Malikshāh (465/1072—485/1092), the vizirate reached its height under Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.v.*], who supervised all aspects of the administration. Later the vizier declined in importance and there was an increased militarization of the state and a contraction in the area of its direct operation. (See further A. K. S. Lambton, *The internal structure of the Saljuq empire*, in *The Cambridge history of Iran*, ed. J. A. Boyle, 1968, v, 203-82).

This was accompanied by the emergence of what tended to become a "hereditary" domain or *iḳṭāʿ* over which the *muḳṭaʿ* had governmental prerogatives, which included the collection of taxes (in the details of the local arrangements for the assessment and collection of which there is a striking continuity), the holding of the *maẓālim* court, and the general supervision of security and religious affairs. This development coincided with and was partially the consequence of the change in the military forces of the state. As the army became composed not of Turkoman tribes but mainly of slaves and freedmen, the problem of providing their pay and of financing the administration in general became urgent. The *iḳṭāʿ* was simply a device to solve the problem. Under a strong ruler it did not necessarily involve a relaxation of the control of the central government or decentralization, but in the long run it made for a decline in the power of the sultan relative to that of the amirs and finally under the series of weak rulers who succeeded Muḥammad b. Malikshāh contributed to the political disintegration of the empire.

This tendency was further agravated by the atabegate, an institution peculiar to the Saldjūḳ period, which had a social and a political aspect. The atabeg [*q.v.*] was placed in charge of a prince's education and normally married to his mother. If the young *malik* was assigned a province, the atabeg attached to him was responsible for its administration. Politically one of the objects of the atabegate was to control the *malik* and prevent his rebellion, but as the power of the amirs increased relative to that of the sultans, the atabegate was used, not so much to prevent the rebellion of a Saldjūḳ *malik* as to retain the nominal allegiance of a powerful or rebellious amir (see further *The internal structure of the Saljuq empire*, *op. cit.*). This was the origin of the various atabeg dynasties which arose on the decline of the Great Saldjūḳ empire.

After the battle of Dandanḳān, as the Saldjūḳs consolidated their conquests in Khurāsān and moved westwards, the majority of the Ghuzz became associated with them, though full control was never established over the movement as a whole. Outlying groups, although acknowledging the nominal overlordship of the Saldjūḳs, continued to act independently. Many of them pushed on into Syria and Asia Minor. The geographical extent of the operations of the Ghuzz was thus wider than the area over which the central government exerted control. Politically the Great Saldjūḳ empire was a loose confederation of semi-independent kingdoms. Of these, the Saldjūḳ kingdoms of Rūm and Syria broke away at an early date and developed along more or less independent lines, while the Saldjūḳ kingdom of Kirmān, whose founder Ḳāwurd b. Čaghrī Beg was appointed governor of the province by Ṭughril Beg in 433/1041, also became virtually independent and exerted little influence on the general course of events. During the reign of Ṭughril Beg (429/1037—455/1063) the power the Saldjūḳs was based on the Turkoman tribes. Alp Arslān and Malikshāh, during whose reigns the Great Saldjūḳs were at the height of their power, relied increasingly on armies composed, not of Turkomans, but of Turkish slaves and freedmen. After the death of Malikshāh, these slaves and freedmen as *muḳṭaʿ*s and *atabeg*s, became the dominant class, and eventually, as the power of the central government waned, set up virtually independent kingoms.

Under Ṭughril Beg there was on the one hand an expansion northwestwards, which was facilitated by the weakness of the Byzantine empire, and on the other a consolidation of the gains made in Persia. Čaghrī Beg remained in Khurāsān and ruled in the east until his death in 452/1060. In 440/1048 Ibrāhīm Ināl, Ṭughril's half-brother, undertook a campaign into Armenia, and in 446/1054 Ṭughril captured Ardjish and besieged Manzikert. In the following year Ṭughril entered Baghdād. Already in 429/1038, when the Saldjūḳs had first entered Nīshāpūr, al-Ḳāʾim had sent an envoy to them, and in 431/1040 after Dandanḳān, when they had written to the caliph asking him to bestow upon them the sovereignty of the lands they had already conquered, the caliph in reply had invited Ṭughril to Baghdād. Other preoccupations prevented his coming until 447/1055-6. Shortly after his entry, al-Raḥīm, the Būyid general, was seized and the rule of the Būyids brought to an end, although a branch of the family continued to rule in Yazd as Saldjūḳ governors for several years. On this occasion, however, Ṭughril was not granted an audience by the caliph: this honour was reserved until his second visit to Baghdād in 449/1058. Meanwhile in 448/ 1056 Arslān Khātūn, Dāʾūd's daughter, was betrothed to the caliph.

Al-Basāsīrī, the Shīʿī Turkish general, to whom power had passed in Baghdād on the fall of the Būyids, fled on Ṭughril's entry. He was joined by many of the Arab Shīʿī tribes on the Syrian border, and appealed to the Fāṭimids for help. Ṭughril followed him and operations took place between them in northern ʿIrāḳ in 450/1058. Ibrāhīm Ināl seized this opportunity to rebel a second time—the first had been in 441/1049-50, when he had refused to hand Hamadān over to Ṭughril. The latter was forced to leave Mesopotamia to deal with Ibrāhīm Ināl. Al-Basāsīrī thereupon marched on Baghdād and proclaimed the Fāṭimid al-Mustanṣir caliph. Al-Ḳāʾim, who had sent an urgent message to Ṭughril to return to Baghdād, took refuge with Ḳuraysh, the ʿUḳaylid, who entrusted him to Muhārish b. Badrān. Ṭughril, after he had overcome Ibrāhīm Ināl's revolt with the help of Dāʾūd's sons, Yāḳūtī and Ḳāwurd, retook ʿIrāḳ. Al-Basāsīrī was killed and the ʿAbbāsid caliph restored, but the administration of Baghdād was taken over by Ṭughril.

The caliph's function was henceforward to occupy himself with religious leadership: temporal affairs were delegated to the sultan, though in Bag͟hdād itself there was, to some extent, a conflict of authority.

By 451/1059 Ṭughril was master of Mesopotamia up to Syria and the Byzantine frontier, though on his death there were outbreaks of disorder by the bedouin of ʿIrāḳ. His ambitions were meanwhile growing and in 453/1061 he demanded the hand of the caliph's daughter in marriage. This caused the caliph great annoyance—even the Būyids had not demanded this of him—but after negotiations and threats the marriage contract was eventually ratified in 454/1062 outside Tabrīz. When Ṭug͟hril came to Bag͟hdād in the following year the caliph's daughter was taken to his residence, and when he left Bag͟hdād in 456/1064 she accompanied him.

So far as the relations of the Sald͟jūḳs with local ruling families were concerned, in the early period of their expansion, the local rulers probably looked upon them as a reserve of mercenaries to draw upon in their quarrels. The payments received by them were not tribute (as they are often represented in the sources) but payments to mercenaries for their services, and when the G͟huzz left the district these payments naturally ceased. As the Sald͟jūḳ conquests spread in some cases the local rulers were driven out, but in many cases they were confirmed in all or part of their possessions in return for tribute. By the end of Ṭug͟hril's reign, however, administration by Sald͟jūḳ officials was becoming increasingly common. In due course the former ruling familes were merged into the Sald͟jūḳ imperial structure. Marriage alliances were made with them and hostages were often taken to lessen the likelihood of rebellion.

The loose confederation over which Ṭug͟hril had established some kind of central control was far from being firmly united at his death in 455/1063. In accordance with his will, Sulaymān b. Dāʾūd was declared his successor by his vizier al-Kundurī. Seeing, however, that the amirs opposed his accession, al-Kundurī proclaimed Alp Arslān, another of Dāʾūd's sons, who had been his father's chief lieutenant in the east. Yabg͟hū b. Sald͟jūḳ, governor of Harāt, and Ḳutulmis͟h, a grandson of Sald͟jūḳ, both rebelled and were defeated in 456/1063-4. These events probably mark a turning point in the position of the sultan: if control of the empire was to be retained, it was clear that a standing army loyal to the sultan was necessary. As the conception of an autocratic ruler replaced that of the ruling k͟hān, and the moral basis of Sald͟jūḳ authority weakened, some substitute had to be found for the former tribal loyalties. To some extent the central government supplied an element of unity, but this could be effective only as long as it was supported by a strong central army. This condition was fulfilled under Alp Arslān (455/1063—465/1072) and Maliks͟hāh (465/1072—485/1092), and the latter in particular succeeded in imposing a measure of control throughout the empire.

Under Alp Arslān conquests in the northwest continued. Partly to co-ordinate and partly to control the various groups operating on the Byzantine frontier, Alp Arslān intervened himself and took Ani in 457/1065 and laid waste Cilicia and stormed Caesarea in 459/1067. Romanus IV Diogenes mounted a counter-offensive and had some success in campaigns in 460/1068 and 461/1069, but a third campaign ended in a crushing defeat at Manzikert and his capture in 463/1071 (see C. Cahen, *La campagne de Manzikert d'après les sources musulmans*, in *Byzantion*, ix (1934), 613 ff.). In 465/1072 Alp Arslān was assassinated while on an expedition against the Ḳarak͟hānids. He had appointed Maliks͟hāh his *walī ʿahd* in 458/1066 and with a view to safeguarding his accession had allocated different parts of his kingdom in the form of *iḳṭāʿ*s to various of his relatives. Nevertheless Maliks͟hāh's accession was disputed by Ḳāwurd, the Sald͟jūḳ ruler of Kirmān. He was defeated and killed, but his descendants continued to rule in Kirmān. In 466/1073-4 Maliks͟hāh marched east and turned the Ḳarak͟hānids out of Tirmid͟h and assigned Balk͟h and Ṭuk͟hāristān to his brother Tekis͟h. The latter rebelled in 473/1080-1 and again in 477/1084-5. In 470/1077-8 Maliks͟hāh assigned Syria to another brother, Tutus͟h. Although Maliks͟hāh's nominal authority appears to have been recognized in Syria, he twice had to intervene in person (see H. A. R. Gibb, *The Damascus chronicle of the Crusades*, London 1932, 20-1), but in 484/1091 Tutus͟h came to Bag͟hdād to pay homage to him. In 482/1089-90 Maliks͟hāh made an expedition to the east to deal with disturbances there. During this he received the submission of the K͟hān of Kās͟hg͟har. Further consolidation took place inside Persia. The S͟habānkāra [*q.v.*] of Fārs were subdued, the states of northwestern Persia, except S͟hirwān, were annexed, and the Kurdish dynasty of the Marwānids, which had played an active role in the earlier struggles between Ṭug͟hril, Ibrāhīm Ināl and the Būyids, was brought to an end in 478/1085-6, although the last Marwānid possession was not finally lost to the Artuḳid, Husām al-Dīn Taymūrtās͟h b. Īlg͟hāzī, until 532/1137-8. Various operations were undertaken against the ʿUḳaylids, with whom earlier Ṭug͟hril's relations had been marked by a spirit of compromise. They had by this time begun to expand westwards, but with the death of S͟haraf al-Dawla Muslim b. Ḳurays͟h at Antioch in battle with Sulaymān b. Ḳutulmis͟h in 478/1085 their power disappeared.

The decline of the ʿUḳaylids facilitated the rise of another Arab dynasty, that of the Mazyadids in Ḥilla. They were S͟hīʿis, as were the majority of the Arab tribes in the region, and were, generally speaking, ready to support ʿAlid movements against the Sald͟jūḳs, as were the Kurds of this region, who also had S͟hīʿī leanings. Moreover, it was the natural tendency of the tribes to support a distant ruler, in this case the Fāṭimid, rather than a near one. The Mazyadid ruler, Sayf al-Dawla Ṣadaḳa b. Dubays, who succeeded his father in 479/1086, became a powerful figure in ʿIrāḳ, and became the leader of an Arab revolt against the Sald͟jūḳs.

An attempt to exercise a stricter control over the caliph was made by Niẓām al-Mulk, who sought to control him through the appointment of his own nominee to the caliph's vizirate. Relations with the caliph became further strained when Maliks͟hāh's daughter, who was betrothed to al-Muḳtadī, complained of his neglect after being taken to the caliph's residence in 480/1087-8. In 484/1091 when Maliks͟hāh came to Bag͟hdād, he ignored the caliph's presence and demanded that he should revoke the nomination of his eldest son in favour of his son by Maliks͟hāh's daughter and retire to Baṣra (or according to some accounts to Damascus or the Ḥid͟jāz). The caliph demanded a delay and was relieved of Maliks͟hāh's demand by his assassination in 485/1093.

An important step towards strengthening and regimenting the religious institution—apart from the reaffirmation of the caliph's position as the head of the Islamic community by the early sultans, and

the limitation of his functions to the religious sphere—was the development of the *madrasas* [*q.v.*]. The initiator of this movement was Niẓām al-Mulk, whose intentions were presumably to provide government officials trained in the tenets of orthodoxy to implement his political policies and to use the *ʿulamāʾ* educated in the *madrasas* to control the masses and combat the spread of the Ismāʿīlīs. He did not found the *madrasas*, as is sometimes claimed, but he was responsible for the era of brilliance which began for them in the reign of Malikshāh and caused the new *madrasas* to eclipse all other contemporary institutions of learning. Numerous *madrasas* were built by Saldjūḳ rulers, their ministers, and others, partly for the reasons mentioned above, but partly also to gain the support of the *ʿulamāʾ*, in order, through them, to gain the support of the masses (see further *The interval structure of the Saljuq empire, op. cit.*)

With the failure of al-Basāsīrī to establish Fāṭimid power in Baghdād, Shīʿī propaganda apparently ceased or was carried on in secret, and when the Saldjūḳs invaded Syria, the Fāṭimids went on the defensive. In the reign of Malikshāh a revival of the Ismāʿīlī movement took place, not, perhaps, unconnected with the vigorous steps taken to strengthen the orthodox institution. His reign had brought a measure of order but it had not removed all the old discontents, and by its stricter control and insistence on greater uniformity of thought had probably brought new ones. The "new propaganda" broke away from the old over a dynastic dispute (see further B. Lewis, *The Assassins*). Its founders regarded Nizār as the successor of al-Mustanṣir instead of al-Mustaʿlī. A grandson of Nizār, who with his son was murdered in prison in Egypt, was allegedly brought up at Alamūt by Ḥasan-i Sabbāh (see M. G. Hodgson, *The order of the assassins*, the Hague 1955, 66-7). The latter and his two successors, Kiyā Buzurg Umīd (518/1124—532/1138) and Muḥammad (532/1138—557/1162) claimed only to be emissaries of the imām, but the fourth grandmaster, al-Ḥasan ʿalā Dhikrihi ʾl-Salām (557/1162—561/1166), proclaimed himself to be the son of the infant brought from Egypt and the first of a new cycle of imāms. Politically the methods of the new propaganda were marked by extreme violence. The first assembly of the followers of the new propaganda took place, according to Ibn al-Athīr, in Sāva in the reign of Malikshāh. In 483/1090 they gained possession of Alamūt, in the neighbourhood of Ḳazwīn, which became their headquarters. In the following year they established themselves in Ḳūhistān in east Persia. Malikshāh in 485/1092 sent expeditions against them in both districts. The one despatched against Alamūt was routed by a sally by the garrison. Niẓām al-Mulk was assassinated by a Bāṭinī shortly afterwards. When Malikshāh's death followed a few weeks later, the expedition withdrew. The other sent to Ḳūhistān also failed to make headway and on Malikshāh's death broke up.

Malikshāh and the sultans after him all left young, or fairly young, boys to succeed them, and the death of the sultan was almost always followed by struggles for supremacy among his surviving uncles, brothers, and cousins, The size of the sultan's standing army after the death of Malikshāh decreased, whereas those of the amirs increased. This change in their relative strength was an invitation to the amirs to assert their independence, and especially from the death of Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad (525/1131) onwards the internal political history of the Saldjūḳ empire consists largerly of a series of struggles by the amirs and atabegs to establish their supremacy over the sultan and set up virtually independent governments. Further, since the road to Asia Minor had become blocked by the Turkomans already there, and a stable Christian kingdom had been established in Georgia, the Turkomans had fewer outlets for their activities and were the more ready to join in the struggles for the throne. The incorporation into the state of the Turkoman tribes, to whom the Saldjūḳs for family reasons were under special obligation, had proved an intractable problem. Some had been enrolled in the service of the sultan, but the majority continued to live a semi-nomadic existence, with a general tendency to move westwards. As the basis of the power of the Saldjūḳ state shifted from the Turkomans to slaves and freedmen, the position of the Turkomans in relation to the rest of the population worsened. Apart from Syria and Anatolia, the main concentrations of Turkomans were to be found in Gurgān, the Djazīra, ʿIrāḳ and Ādharbāydjān, and to a lesser extent Khūzistān. The weakening of the Great Saldjūḳ empire on the death of Malikshāh and the subsequent dissolution of the kingdom created by Tutush in Syria to some extent restored the freedom of the Turkomans and several of them succeeded, within a few years, in founding independent principalities. The fact that some of them, such as Īlghāzī b. Artuḳ [see ARTUḲIDS] were officers of the sultan, helped them to transform themselves quickly into small territorial princes when the central authority declined.

On the death of Malikshāh, his wife Turkān Khātūn succeeded in putting her son Maḥmūd on the throne. He was nominally sultan for some two years (485/1092—487/1094), but Turkān Khātūn was ultimately unable to defeat the opposition which gathered round Barkyāruḳ. Ismāʿīl b. Yāḳūtī, Barkyāruḳ's maternal uncle, in response to an appeal from Turkān Khātūn, marched against Barkyāruḳ with an army from Ādharbāydjān and Arrān, of which provinces he had been governor under Malikshāh. He was defeated. Turkān Khātūn's death in 487/1094 was followed shortly afterwards by that of Maḥmūd. Tutush also made a determined effort to obtain the sultanate, but was finally defeated and killed by Barkyāruḳ in 488/1095. This was the last attempt to unite Syria with Persia and the eastern provinces. The Great Saldjūḳ sultan continued for a time to be recognized nominally in Syria, but the control he exercised was negligible. By 490/1097 Barkyāruḳ had obtained possession of Khurāsān, of which his uncle, Arslān Arghū, had made himself master on the death of Malikshāh, and was recognized over the whole of Persia except Kirmān, and in ʿIrāḳ. In 492/1098-9 his brother Muḥammad rebelled. After many vicissitudes, in 497/1103-4, Barkyāruḳ established a slight superiority but at the cost of disorder throughout the country and a decline in the prestige of the sultanate. By the terms of the peace Muḥammad's status was virtually that of an independent ruler in Arrān, Ādharbāydjān, Diyār Bakr, the Djazīra, Mawṣil and Syria. Sandjar in Khurāsān was also to read the *khuṭba* in his name.

The internecine strife between the Saldjūḳ princes on the death of Malikshāh enabled the Bāṭinīs to strengthen their position. In 489/1096 they obtained possession of Girdkūh, situated near Damghān on the main route from Khurāsān to western Persia. About the same time they also seized Shāhdiz just outside Iṣfahān, whence they threatened the capital itself. About 493/1100 they infiltrated Barkyāruḳ's court and army. Eventually the sultan (who had him-

self been accused of Ismāʿīlī sympathies) gave permission for measures to be taken against them. In 494-5/1101 he came to an agreement with Sandjar, who had been governor of Khurāsān since 492/1098, for combined action against them, and an expedition was sent by Sandjar to Ḳūhistān, which achieved some success, as did another expedition three years later.

On the death of Barkyāruḳ in 498/1105, although he had nominated his son Malikshāh as his successor, his brother Muḥammad soon established himself as sultan. The Great Saldjūḳ sultanate once more extended over the whole of Persia with the exception of Kirmān, which continued under the Saldjūḳs of Kirmān. Muḥammad's reign did something to restore the prestige of the sultanate, but the unity of the empire was never again effectively imposed. Fārs was pacified by Čawlī Saḳao, who was governor from 498/1104—500/1106 and 502/1109—510/1117. Sandjar nominally governor of Khurāsān on behalf of Muḥammad, was, in fact, all but independent, and engaged in consolidating his position, which was to enable him to make himself sultan after the death of Muḥammad. Ṣadaḳa b. Dubays, who had encouraged the internal dissensions of the Saldjūḳ empire in order to establish his own independence, rebelled in 501/1107 but was killed in battle. With his death the Arab revolt collapsed. That his son Dubays was appointed to succeed him, although in keeping with the Saldjūḳ policy of toleration and compromise, is, perhaps, also indicative of the inability of the Saldjūḳs to administer the Arab tribal districts except through their own leaders.

Operations against the Bāṭinīs, which under Barkyāruḳ had not been seriously pressed, were prosecuted vigorously. In 500/1106-7 Muḥammad undertook in person successful operations against them in the neighbourhood of Iṣfahān. Shāhdiz was captured after a prolonged siege. Muḥammad then sent an expedition to Alamūt. Operations continued for eight years and the castle was on the point of falling when it was saved by Muḥammad's death. Ismāʿīlī fortresses near Arradjān in Fārs were also taken.

On the death of Muḥammad, although he had nominated his son Maḥmūd as his successor, Sandjar was generally regarded as the head of the family. Maḥmūd ruled in the west from 511/1118 to 525/1131, but his rule was disputed at different times and in different districts by his brothers, Masʿūd, Tughril, and Sulaymān Shāh and their atabegs, and in 513/1119 Sandjar intervened and defeated him at Sāva. Sandjar, however, returned to Khurāsān and allowed Maḥmūd to rule in the west. Although he and his successors used the title sultan, their status was that of *maliks*. Various Saldjūḳ princes on their own initiative, or on the initiative of different amirs and atabegs, rebelled against Maḥmūd and his successors. Sandjar was forced to interfere on a number of occasions, but proved unable to restrain the increasing ambitions of the amirs and atabegs or to prevent the ultimate fragmentation of the empire, preoccupied as he was by the increasing pressure on the eastern frontier from the Ḳarā Khitāys and the growing strength of the Khʷārazmshāh. He suffered a heavy defeat at the hands of the former in 536/1141, and ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Atsiz, who had succeeded his father Muḥammad b. Anūsh Takīn as governor of Khʷārazm in 521/1127, temporarily occupied parts of Khurāsān after Sandjar's defeat.

The caliphs also took part in the family quarrels of the Saldjūḳs, and as the caliph emerged again as a military power the amirs began to join him as they joined the other temporal leaders. After the death of Muḥammad b. Malikshāh a triangular struggle took place for the possession of ʿIrāḳ between the caliph and al-Bursuḳī against Dubays, who was later joined by the atabeg ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī, ruler of Mawṣil since 521/1127, with the sultan playing an uneasy part in the background. The first caliph to assemble an army and lead it in person in Saldjūḳ times was al-Mustarshid (512/1118-529/1135). Finally, on the death of Masʿūd b. Muḥammad in 547/1152, al-Muktafī established himself as the dominant power in ʿIrāḳ, exercising both temporal and religious power.

During the disorders which followed the death of Muḥammad, the Ismāʿīlīs were to some extent able to recover their position in Ḳūhistān and northern Persia, though Ḥaṣan-i Sabbāḥ died in 518/1124. In 520/1126 Sandjar resumed operations against them in Ḳūhistān. These were only partially successful, and the Ismāʿīlīs, benefiting from the preoccupations of Sandjar on the eastern frontiers and with the Ghuzz in Khurāsān, were able again to increase their power. The fact that the Ghuzz became increasingly restive and intractable towards the end of Sandjar's reign was partly due to an increase in their numbers brought about by a southward movement of the Ghuzz who had remained in Central Asia, which was occasioned by the expansion of the Ḳarā Khitāy into Transoxania. The control of the frontier against the inroads of the Ghuzz became increasingly difficult, and in 548/1153 battle was joined with them. Sandjar was defeated and held captive for over two years, during which the central government in Khurāsān broke down and the province was overrun by the Ghuzz. Sandjar escaped in 551/1156 but died the following year.

With the death of Sandjar, the Khʷārazmshāh Īl Arslān, who succeeded his father Atsiz in 551/1156, emerged as the most powerful ruler in the eastern provinces. He was, however, unable to establish his undisputed rule against the Ghuzz who had defeated Sandjar, and was nominally a tributary of the Ḳarā Khitāy. In the west the Saldjūḳ empire had split into warring principalities. In Mawṣil the Atabegs looked west and were largely occupied in a struggle with the Crusaders. In ʿIrāḳ the caliph was disputing supremacy with the Saldjūḳs of ʿIrāḳ, while in Luristān and Ādharbāydjān atabeg dynasties were establishing themselves, and in Fārs the Salgharids came to power. The last named, whose rule in Fārs began about 543/1148, were descended from Salghar, a Turkoman chief who had been one of Ṭughril Beg's *ḥādjib*s. They were a successful and popular local house under whom considerable prosperity prevailed.

Īl Arslān's death in 567/1172 was followed by civil war. His son, Tekish, finally established himself as Khʷārazmshāh and when the power of the Ḳarā Khitāys weakened towards the end of the 6th/12th century, he became independent. About 588/1192 the caliph al-Nāṣir appealed to Tekish for help against Ṭughril, the last of the Saldjūḳ sultans of ʿIrāḳ. They defeated him in 590/1194 near Rayy. Tekish proved a more formidable rival to the caliph than Ṭughril, and towards the end of his reign he demanded that the *khuṭba* should be read in Baghdād in his name. In 592/1196 fighting took place between the Khʷārazmshāh's army and the caliph's to the disadvantage of the latter and skirmishes continued between them for the next few years until Tekish's death in 596/1200.

This conflict with the caliph played a part in alienating the religious classes and the population from the Khwārazmshāh.

Muḥammad b. Tekish, who succeeded, came into collision with the Ghūrids, who invaded Khurāsān about 597/1200-1. They were eventually worsted and by 612/1215-16 their territories had been annexed by the Khwārazmshāh. Some years earlier, about 607/1210-11, the Ḳarā Khitāy were turned out of Transoxania, and in 612/1215-16 the Khwārazmshāh undertook a campaign against the Kipchaks. On this occasion Muḥammad came into contact with the Mongol vanguard for the first time. Meanwhile Muḥammad reiterated Tekish's demand that the *khuṭba* be read in Baghdād in the name of the Khwārazmshāh, but met with an uncompromising refusal. He then declared the caliph a usurper and marched on ʿIrāḳ. In 614/1217 he defeated successively the Salgharids of Fārs and the atabegs of Ādharbāydjān, but in the winter of that year an army sent from Hamadān to Baghdād was annihilated by the Kurds. The threat of trouble in Khwārazm, led by the religious classes, forced Muḥammad to leave the west before he could make good his defeat. After his return to Khwārazm, hostility between him and his mother, Turkān Khātūn, who had placed herself at the head of the opposing faction, became open. The army, composed largely of Kipchaks and Kangli Turks (who were not, as had been the slave troops of the Saldjūḳs, thoroughly familiar with Islam), was also riddled with faction, and there was a standing opposition between them and the Persian element.

In, or about 615/1218 Čingiz Khān sent a body of merchants to gather information about the empire of the Khwārazmshāh. When they reached Uṭrār they were plundered and put to death by the local governor with the connivance of the Khwārazmshāh. Čingiz sent envoys to Muḥammad's court to protest, threatening war if satisfaction was not given. One of the envoys was murdered and the other two were sent back with their beards shaved off. This action precipitated the Mongol invasion. In the subsequent operations the Khwārazmshāh retreated before the Mongols, and many of his troops deserted to the Mongols. Uṭrār, Bukhārā, Uzkand, Djand, Banākat, Khudjand, Samarḳand, Balkh, and Marv were sacked and their inhabitants massacred. Nishāpūr fell in 618/1221. Muḥammad had meanwhile retired to Ḳazwīn, and thence to Gīlān and Māzandarān. He eventually fled to the island of Abasgūn in the Caspian where he died in 617/1220-1.

Dissension and faction prevailed in Khwārazm. Muḥammad's son, Djalāl al-Dīn Mengubirdi, was unable to establish himself. Fighting a rearguard action, he eventually crossed the Indus (618/1221). The Mongols pushed on through northern Persia and left through the Caucasian Gate near Darband in 620/1223. Djalāl al-Dīn, having failed to deprive the slave kings of Delhi of their kingdom, returned some three years later from India to Kirmān, and thence to Fārs and the Djibāl. He clashed with the caliph and the atabeg of Ādharbāydjān, and having defeated the latter made a foray into Georgia, and embarked on a struggle with the Ayyūbids, who were split by internal dissensions. He seized Akhlāṭ, but was defeated in 627-8/1230 near Erzindjān. With the accession of Ogedei in 626/1229 the respite given by the death of Čingiz in 624/1227 came to an end and a new Mongol attack was launched in 627/1230. Djalāl al-Dīn, unable to regroup his forces, fled to Diyār Bakr, and was murdered by a Kurdish peasant in 628-9/1231.

By the death of Ogedei in 638/1241 the Mongols had overrun northern Persia and had made further conquests in northern Mesopotamia, Georgia, Arrān and Armenia. After his death, the Mongol advance was temporarily held up by dissensions. At the *kuriltay* in 649/1251 Hūlāgū (Hülegü) was appointed to lead an expedition to occupy all the territories between the Oxus and the extreme limits of Egypt, and entrusted with hereditary rights of sovereignty as the representative of the Great Khān in the conquered lands. After lengthy preparations he set out and crossed the Oxus in 653/1256. He was joined at Kish in 654/1256 by Arghūn Āḳā, who had been appointed governor of Persia by Möngke. One of the Hūlāgū's first steps to consolidate Mongol domination in Persia was to exterminate the Ismāʿīlīs, who had by this time become virtually territorial princes, and as such made and changed alliances with other local rulers. He overthrew their strongholds in Ḳūhistān and in 654/1256 took Alamūt and sent Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh, the grandmaster, to Karakorum, where he was put to death. Thenceforward the Ismāʿīlīs survived in Persia only as a minor sect (see further B. Lewis, *op. cit.*).

From Hamadān Hūlāgū called upon the caliph al-Muʿtaṣim to surrender to the Mongols. His reply was considered unsatisfactory, and Hūlāgū marched on Baghdād. After a siege of some fifty days it fell and was sacked. The caliph and those of his family who could be found were put to death. Hūlāgū then pushed on to Ādharbāydjān and made his headquarters at Marāgha. In 657/1259 he set out for Syria and took Aleppo in 658/1260, and Damascus surrendered. On news of the death of Möngke (657/1259), Hūlāgū returned to Mongolia, leaving an army in Syria. Its defeat at ʿAyn Djālūt by the Mamlūks in 658/1260 stayed the Mongol advance on Egypt. The Mongol empire now split up. Berke, who ruled in the Kipchak steppe, sought to assert his supremacy over Hūlāgū and invaded Persia via Darband and Shirwān, but was defeated in 660/1262. In the following year Abāḳā, Hūlāgū's son, invaded Berke's territory but was defeated and retired to Dāghistān. Hūlāgū meanwhile died in 663/1265 (for details of the Mongol invasion see Bartold, op. cit., and J. A. Boyle, *Dynastic and Political History of the Il-Khans*, in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, v).

The Mongol invasion was carried out by a horde organized for war with the deliberate intention of imposing political domination. Its immediate effect was the devastation and depopulation of the eastern provinces of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. ʿIrāḳ, once the metropolitan province of the ʿAbbāsid empire, did not recover for centuries. (See further I. P. Petrushevsky, *The socio-economic condition of Iran under the Il-Khāns*, in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, v). Only Fārs partially escaped by the timely payment of tribute. The invasion also altered the balance of population by introducing new Turkish tribes, brought about a widespread extension of nomadism leading to the destruction of agriculture and urban life, and sharpened the dichotomy between *turk* and *tādjīk* and between settled and semi-settled. In the early period of Mongol domination the conquerors lived apart from the local population in tents and encampments. The Mongol leaders and their ministers owned large flocks, which were placed under the care of officials called *ḳāʾānčīs*. Their depredations were a constant source of anxiety to the settled people. The practice of reserving pasturage for the Mongol army was also a burden on the local people. A new feature of society was the extent to

which the Mongol leaders personally indulged in trade (cf. *Dastūr al-Kātib*, 203 ff.). The Yāsā of Čingiz Khān was followed by the early Īlkhāns, as the rulers of the dynasty founded by Hūlāgū were called, and quoted by the later rulers. New practices and taxes, notably *ḳubčūr*, originally a cattle tax and later a fixed tax on peasants and nomads, *ḳalān*, a land tax, possibly levied partly in the form of labour service, and *tamghā*, a tax on trade and urban crafts, possibly originally a poll-tax on urban dwellers and merchants, were introduced. The Mongol leaders, or some of them, and their wives, and the religious leaders enjoyed certain immunities from taxation. The administration was largely in the hands of officials who had served preceding dynasties, and the new customs were in due course to a large extent assimilated to existing Islamic and customary usages. With the conversion of the Mongols to Islam there was a reassertion of the traditional theory and practices of government. The head of the bureaucratic administration was known as the *ṣāḥib dīwān*, whose duties were similar to those of the traditional vizier.

As Persian rulers, the Īlkhāns were subject to the same limitations as other dynasties which ruled in Persia. They were faced with the problem of defence against the peoples of Central Asia and Turkistān in spite of the fact that there were now Mongols on both sides of the Oxus. They were also confronted with a second problem of defence, namely the maintenance of the Caucasus frontier. This region formed a bulwark in the defence of the region to the north and the south of it and was repeatedly fought over by the Īlkhāns and the Golden Horde, and later from the 10th/16th century to the 12th/18th by the Ṣafavids, and in the 19th century was disputed by Russia, the heir to the Golden Horde, and finally obtained by her (see further B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, 2nd ed., Berlin 1955). In the west the Īlkhāns sought to expand by overthrowing the Mamlūks in Syria and Palestine, but they were unable to establish their domination outside the western frontier of Mesopotamia, which became the geo-political boundary of Persia.

The reign of Abāḳā, who succeeded Hūlāgū, was spent in ceaseless campaigns against the Golden Horde, in repelling attacks from Transoxania, and operations against the Mamlūks, which ended in a Mongol defeat at Mardj al-Safar in 680/1281. Abāḳā's successor, Tegüder, the seventh son of Hūlāgū, announced his conversion to Islam after his accession and took the name Aḥmad. It is possible that this was a political gesture to be seen against the failure of the Mongols to take Syria (see Spuler, *op. cit.*, 78). Whether this is so or not, Tegüder Aḥmad's policy of favouring Islam caused unrest among the Mongol leaders to whose support he owed his accession. Civil war broke out and Arghūn seized the throne in 683/1284. During his reign, an abortive attempt was made to enlist support in Europe for a common crusade against Islam. Internally there was a marked improvement in the position of the Christian and Jewish communities and an increase in their influence. Arghūn was succeeded by his brother Gaykhātū in 690/1291. His reign, which is marked by numerous rebellions and losses to the Mamlūks, is chiefly remarkable for growing financial stringency, and the disastrous attempt to solve this by the introduction of paper money known as *čao*. Baydū, a grandson of Hūlāgū, governor of ʿIrāḳ, seized power in 694/1295, but was eventually overthrown by Ghāzān, who was then governor of Khurāsān, in 694/1295. Ghāzān made a public profession of Islam after his victory.

Under Ghāzān (694/1295—703/1304) the Īlkhāns reached their height. The links between them and the Great Khān, which had already been greatly weakened though still borne witness to on the coinage and in documents, were finally broken. This was partly because of Ghāzān's conversion and partly because of the disintegration of the Mongol empire on the death of Kubilay in 694-5/1294. In 695/1295-6 the Čaghatay Khān Duwa b. Baraḳ invaded Khurāsān from Transoxania. Financial stringency had not been relieved and a compulsory loan had to be made on the inhabitants of Tabrīz to enable a force to be sent to expel the invaders. Duwa subsequently seized Ghazna and part of Sīstān and Balkh, whence he invaded India. In 698/1298-99 he invaded Fārs and penetrated to Kāzirūn. An attack by the Mamlūks on Asia Minor in 697-8/1298 was followed by a Mongol invasion of Syria. The Mamlūks were defeated near Ḥimṣ in 699/1299 and Damascus temporarily occupied. In 700/1301 the Mongols of the Golden Horde attacked from the Caucasus via Darband but were repulsed. In 703/1303 another expedition was made against the Mamlūks, ending in defeat at Mardj al-Safar. This was the last attempt by the Īlkhāns to extend their borders to include Syria.

Ghāzān's reign, although a period of military expeditions, was also a period of reform and reorganization, but his reign was too short fully to subordinate the Turko-Mongol tribal element to settled government or to repair the ravages committed during the rule of the earlier Īlkhāns, which had brought about the ruin of agriculture. During the reign of Arghūn there had been an increase in maladministration and extortion. By the accession of Ghāzān, the administration had fallen to a low ebb and the finances of the state were in a critical condition. Farming of the revenue was common, as also were confiscations, extraordinary levies (*nemarī*), and the demand of taxes in advance. Peculation was widespread. Officials of all kinds lived on the country, and the requisitions by *ilčīs*, *i.e.*, envoys and officials despatched by the central government on official business, who travelled through the country with large trains, were a crying evil. Owing to the fact that the treasury was usually empty, the practice of writing drafts on the country had reached unprecedented proportions, and as their realization became increasingly difficult it became the custom to send military expeditions to collect them. Public order also fell to a low ebb: large numbers of fugitive slaves and disaffected elements roamed the countryside (Rashīd al-Dīn in the *Taʾrīkh-i Ghāzānī* gives a vivid account of contemporary conditions).

Realising the difficulty of altering established habits, Ghāzān attacked abuses gradually. He first prohibited the writing of drafts on the peasantry, and reorganised the assessment and collection of taxation. Rashīd al-Dīn, who in all probability played an important part in initiating these policies, claims that as a result the revenue came in and civil and military expenses were paid. The improvement, however, did not last after Ghāzān's reign (cf. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, transl. G. Le Strange, pp. 32-3). The Mongol invasion had brought about great insecurity in matters of tenure and a new expansion of crown lands in the form of *dalāy* lands, *i.e.*, lands which were the property of the ruler, and *indjū* lands, *i.e.*, the appanages of his relatives and the Mongol leaders. Ghāzān attempted to give security of tenure to those in undisputed

possession of land by obtaining a *fatwā* giving validity to the provision in Čingiz Khān's *yāsā*, by which all land claims lapsed after thirty years, and by putting a stop on transactions in land the tenure of which was disputed. The pay of the army was also reorganized and in 703/1303 he reintroduced with modifications the old system of land assignments (*iḳṭāʿ*s) to the soldiery (see further *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, and I. P. Petrushevsky, *op. cit.*).

With the death of Ghāzān in 703/1304 decline set in. There were no more expeditions to Syria. The Turkish rulers in Asia Minor began to throw off Mongol rule. Fārs and Kirmān became increasingly independent. Öljeytü (703/1304—716/1316), who transferred his capital to Sulṭāniyya, failed to complete the reforms of Ghāzān. The empire was divided into rival factions, the most powerful of which were the Čūpānids [*q.v.*] and the Djalāʾirs [*q.v.*]. Ghāzān was succeeded by a child, Abū Saʿīd (716/1316-736/1335), after whose reign the Īlkhān empire broke up, various amirs and provincial governors asserting their independence. (For details of the rule of the Īlkhāns see further J. A. Boyle, *op. cit.*). A period of restless strivings and repeated expeditions by the different leaders to extend their domains at the expense of their rivals ensued. In the east in Harāt there were the Karts [*q.v.*] and in Luristān the Atabegs, also called the Hazāraspids [*q.v.*], both of whom pre-dated the Īlkhāns and acted as their governors in the heyday of Īlkhān power. In ʿIrāḳ and Ādharbāydjān there were the Djalāʾirs, whose founder Ḥasan-i Buzurg first attempted to rule through a series of puppet khāns, and in Fārs and ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjam the Indjūids *q.v.* and the Muẓaffarids [*q.v.*], who were perhaps the most successful of the succession states, although internecine strife eventually caused their decay. Their main centres of power were Fārs, Yazd and Kirmān. In the last-named province they succeeded the Ḳutlugh Khāns (the Ḳarā Khitāyiyān), whose founder, Baraḳ Ḥādjib, had established himself in Kirmān after the overthrow of the Khwārazm-shāh by the Mongols. He and his successors ruled as Mongol governors. The last of the Ḳutlugh Khāns, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Shāh Djahān, died in 703/1303-4. One of the most interesting of the succession states was the Sarbadārid in Sabzawār. They, like the Sayyids of Marʿash, who also established themselves as small local rulers, appear to have based their power partly on a "popular" movement (see further, I. P. Petrushevsky, *Sarbadārids*, translated by Muḥammad Karīm Kishāvarz, in *Farhang-i Īrān Zamīn*, x, 1-4 (1962). All of these local rulers, except the Djalāʾirs, who survived in Lower Mesopotamia until 835-6/1432, were extinguished by Tīmūr, if they had not already disappeared.

The Čaghatāy khānate, which bordered the Īlkhān kingdom on the north-east, had been temporarily usurped by Ḳaydū, Ogedei's grandson. It was recovered by Duwa b. Baraḳ on Ḳaydū's death in 700-1/1301. It consisted of two parts: the western part formed by the oases of the Oxus-Jaxartes basin, excluding the lower course of the Oxus in Khwārazm which belonged to Djoči's khānate, and the eastern part, comprising the Zungarian steppes and known as Mughulistān. In the former the Mongols ruled over a sedentary Muslim population, but in the latter the Čaghatāy khāns were the leaders of pagan nomads. In Mughulistān the Mongol khāns retained their domination, but in Transoxania power passed into the hands of the local Turkish amirs, the most influential of whom in the 9th/14th century was Ḳazaghān, who seized power in 747/1346-7 and ruled some twelve years. His death was followed by an uninterrupted period of war and strife between the Turkish and Mongol khāns of western Turkistān. About 761/1360 Tughluḳ Tīmūr, the newly converted Eastern Čaghatāy khān, sought to assert his dominion over the western as well as the eastern part of the Čaghatāy khānate.

Among the conflicting parties and interests, Tīmūr gradually established himself as the defender of the Islamic borderlands against these renewed attacks from Central Asia. At first, not strong enough to show uncompromising resistance to the invaders, he made terms with Tughluḳ Tīmūr, who gave him Kish as a *suyūrghāl*. He then entered into an alliance with Amīr Ḥusayn, the ruler of Balkh. The next few years (763/1362—769/1367) were a period of great confusion, in which the struggle between the Mongol and Turkish leaders ebbed and flowed. In 766-7/1365 Tīmūr and Amīr Ḥusayn, after being defeated by Ilyās Khwādja Tughluḳ Tīmūr's successor, abandoned Samarḳand, which was, however, successfully defended by the townspeople under the leadership of the *ʿulamāʾ*. When they eventually returned to Samarḳand,, conflict broke out between them. Tīmūr was forced to retire to Khurāsān, but when a new Mongol attack threatened, Amīr Ḥusayn was reconciled to him. The Mongol threat proved to be only temporary, and Tīmūr now turned against his erstwhile ally and took Balkh in 771-2/1370. Although Tīmūr's military power was based on the nomads of western Turkistān, since they were closely linked to the settled population through commercial interests and the protection of the caravan routes, and their chiefs were beginning to acquire property in the towns and to be more fully islamicized, he served, at this period, the interests of both the nomads and the settled population: to the former, who had been rent by squabbles among themselves, he gave cohesion and unity and to the latter security to pursue their commercial activities and to continue their religious life.

Tīmūr's next step was to take the offensive against the nomads of eastern Turkistān, and in a series of campaigns between c. 771/1369—782/1380 he defeated both them and the Kipchaks in Khwārazm. He then turned his arms against the interior of the *dār al-islām*. In 782/1380-1 he invaded Persia, subduing Khurāsān, Māzandarān, and Sīstān. In 786/1384-5 he made a second expedition into Persia, invading Māzandarān again and pushing on to Ādharbāydjān, ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjam, and Georgia, coming back via Shīrāz and Iṣfahān. In 790/1388, the Kipchaks under Tukatmish overran the oases of the Oxus-Jaxartes basin up to Samarḳand, but withdrew when Tīmūr returned from Fārs. Two years later, he pursued them into the Kipchak steppe and defeated them at Urtapa in 793/1391. He then went again to Fārs and thence to ʿIrāḳ, Armenia, and Georgia, which he subjugated (795/1393 to 798/1396), before returning once more to Samarḳand. From the spring of 800/1398 to the spring of 801/1399 he was occupied in his Indian campaign and the following autumn (802/1399) he set out for Asia Minor on his most famous campaign, which culminated in the defeat of the Ottomans at the battle of Ankara in 804/1402 and the capture of the Ottoman sultan, Bāyazīd. In the following year Tīmūr raided Georgia and in 806-7/1404 returned to Samarḳand, whence he set out for China, but died en route at Uṭrār in 807/1405 (see further H. Hookham, *Tamburlaine the conqueror*, London 1962, and R. Grousset, *Les empires Mongoles*).

Tīmūr's empire looked back to the Mongols, but although many of its institutions derive from

Mongol practice, his administration had an Islamic veneer and alongside the begs (or amirs), *nā'ib*s, *yasaḳlik* (public guards), *yasā'ul*s (officers charged with the keeping of the public peace), *dārūghā*s, falconers, hunters, and so on, were the whole range of officials known in pre-Mongol times. Under Ḥasan Bāyḳara a sophisticated bureaucratic administration existed, at the head of which was the *dīwān-i aʿlā*, responsible for military and civil affairs. A special *dīwān*, the *dīwān-i buzurg-i imārat* under a *dīwānbegī*, dealt with Turkish and military affairs (see further, ʿAbd Allāh Marwārdī, *Sharaf-nāma*, ed. H. R. Roemer, Wiesbaden 1952). In military affairs Tīmūr carried on Mongol tradition but introduced certain innovations. Although he started his career as the defender of the sedentary Islamised population of western Turkistān against the nomads of eastern Turkistān these terms are relative: the basis of Tīmūr's military power was the nomadic tribes, who made regular summer and winter migrations in which the whole horde took part. Clavijo gives a vivid description of Tīmūr and his horde (*Clavijo: Embassy to Tamerlaine*, 1403-1406, ed. G. Le Strange, Broadway Travellers, 1928, 191 ff.). Their flocks were numbered for taxation. Tradesmen and craftsmen followed the armies, supplying their needs, and the booty obtained in campaigns was bartered and sold in these bazaars. Colonies of workmen were transplanted to Tabrīz and Samarḳand from Syria, China, and other parts of Persia. Artisans were organised in guilds. Some of these were forced to give free labour for the ruler, and in time of war were requisitioned. Samarḳand became under Tīmūr a great industrial and commercial centre. Silk, glass, ceramics, and paper were manufactured there. Trade, which had fallen off since the conversion of the Mongols to Islam, was encouraged with China, India, Persia and Syria. Tabrīz became an important entrepôt.

Tīmūr's religious policy appears to have been dictated by political expediency. In Khurāsān he supported strict orthodoxy but in Syria he appeared as the defender of ʿAlī and the *imām*s. Two important darwish orders, the Niʿmatullāhī and the Nakhshbandī, were founded during his reign. There was a trend towards a closer control of the religious institution which was continued under the Turkoman dynasties of the Black Sheep and the White Sheep and reached its culmination under the Ṣafavids. *Sharʿī* officials were placed under the supervision of a new official known as the *ṣadr*, who was entrusted with their dismissal and appointment, the upkeep of mosques, *madrasas*, graveyards, and *khānḳāh*s, and whose duty, in general, was to further right religion (see especially document 9 in the *Sharaf-nāma*, *op. cit.*).

On Tīmūr's death internecine strife broke out, from which two main kingdoms emerged. Mīrān Shāh, the third son of Tīmūr, and his sons Abū Bakr and Muḥammad ʿUmar, obtained western Persia, with their main centres at Tabrīz and Baghdād, and Shāhrukh, Tīmūr's fourth son, Khurāsān, to which he subsequently added Transoxania. The Tīmūrid state in western Persia did not last long: the Djalā'irs recovered Baghdād and the Turkomans of the Black Sheep, whom Tīmūr had driven out of Armenia, returned to that province and in 810-11/1408 invaded Ādharbāydjān and defeated Mīrānshāh near Tabrīz. Two years later they took Baghdād from the Djalā'irs and found themselves masters of the western part of Tīmūr's empire. The eastern branch ruled rather longer. Shāhrukh (807/1404—850/1447) took Transoxania from one of his nephews and ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjam and Fārs from another, thus uniting eastern Persia under his rule. He subsequently attacked the Black Sheep, occupied Ādharbāydjān, and penetrated Armenia, but was unable to defeat the Black Sheep decisively and was forced to leave them in effective possession of Armenia, Ādharbāydjān, and Baghdād (see further below). Shāhrukh was faced by numerous revolts and on his death his kingdom rapidly disintegrated, to fall in part to the Black Sheep and in part to the Uzbegs, who invaded Transoxania at the turn of the 9th/15th century. In spite of the political decline, a brilliant cultural revival took place in Harāt under the successors of Tīmūr and continued down to the end of the dynasty.

Bibliography: In view of the general character of the above article, for detailed bibliographical information reference should be made to the historical, geographical, ethnological, and religious articles dealing with Persia. (A. K. S. Lambton)

(b) Turkomans to Present Day

The devastating campaigns of Tīmūr in Iran between 783/1381—807/1404 swept away the minor dynasties which had sprung up in various parts of the country after the Mongol invasions, and left a political and social vacuum from the Oxus to the Euphrates. In this vacuum, various rival forces fought for supremacy for nearly a century. The establishment of the Ṣafawid dynasty in 907/1501-2 led to the re-integration of Iran and ʿIrāḳ-i ʿArab under one stable administration, certainly for the first time since the break-up of the Īlkhānid empire, *ca.* 736/1335, and, if one takes into consideration the important city of Harāt, virtually for the first time since the invasions of Čingiz Khān [*q.v.*].

At the time of the death of Tīmūr in 807/1405, his descendants found themselves in secure possession only of Khurāsān and ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjam, outside Transoxania itself. In the course of the next fifteen years, however, Shāhrukh b. Tīmūr successively annexed the provinces of Gurgān and Māzandarān (809/1406-7), Fārs (817/1414-15), and Kirmān (819/1416-17), and in 823/1420-1 felt strong enough to invade Ādharbāydjān, which had passed into the hands of the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu (Black Sheep) Turkomans.

The Ḳara Ḳoyunlu group of nomadic Turkoman tribes, like their rivals the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu (White Sheep) Turkoman group, had settled in Saldjūḳ times in Armenia, Upper Mesopotamia and Anatolia. In the second half of the 8th/14th century, the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu moved eastwards into north-west Iran, and established themselves in the region of Lake Van as vassals of the Djalā'irids [*q.v.*]. In about 792/1390 the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu *amīr* Ḳara Yūsuf seized Tabrīz and declared his independence of the Djalā'irid sultan. Both rulers were dispossessed by Tīmūr, but regained control of Ādharbāydjān and ʿIrāḳ-i ʿArab respectively within a few years of the death of Tīmūr.

Ḳara Yūsuf rapidly enlarged the area under Ḳara Ḳoyunlu control. In 812/1410 he subjugated Diyār Bakr, held by the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu. In 813/1410 he defeated Sultan Aḥmad Djalā'ir and annexed the whole of ʿIrāḳ-i ʿArab except for a small area of southern ʿIrāḳ. He asserted his authority over various local rulers in Shīrwān and Georgia. In 822/1419 he invaded ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjam and expelled the Tīmūrid officers from the cities of Sulṭāniyya, Ṭārum, Ḳazwīn and Sāwa. Ḳara Yūsuf had made the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu the dominant power in western Iran, ruling directly over Ādharbāydjān,

ʿIrāḳ-i ʿArab, and parts of ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjam, while the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu of Diyār Bakr, and the Shīrwānshāh, acknowledged their suzerainty.

Ḳara Yūsuf's death in 823/1420 was followed by dissension among his sons, and Shāhrukh was able to subjugate Ādharbāydjān. The Ḳara Ḳoyunlu carried on a guerrilla war against the Tīmūrids, and in 832/1429, and again in 839/1435, Shāhrukh was forced to return to Ādharbāydjān to stabilise the situation. The Tīmūrid governor was replaced by a Ḳara Ḳoyunlu prince subservient to Shāhrukh.

Shāhrukh [*q.v.*], whose reign had represented a measure of stability and reconstruction, died in 850/1447. The Ḳara Ḳoyunlu leader Djahānshāh immediately went over to the offensive and, taking advantage of divisions among the Tīmūrids, extended the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu empire to its greatest extent. He seized Sulṭāniyya and Ḳazwīn in 850/1447, overran the whole of ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjam and Fārs within the space of a few months in 856/1452, and in 862/1458 occupied Harāt, the capital of Tīmūrid Khurāsān. A revolt in Ādharbāydjān forced Djahānshāh to cede Khurāsān to the Tīmūrid Abū Saʿīd, who transferred his capital from Samarḳand to Harāt, but Djahānshāh continued to rule over Ādharbāydjān, the two ʿIrāḳs, Fārs, the shores of the Sea of ʿUmān, Kirmān, Sarīr, Armenia, and Georgia, until his death in 872/1468.

During the reign of Djahānshāh a new contender for power in Iran appeared in the shape of the Ṣafawids. Under the leadership of Djunayd [*q.v.*] (851/1447—864/1460), the now strongly Shīʿī Ṣafawid movement entered a new militant phase, and for the first time its leaders aspired to temporal power. Djahānshāh considered the threat so real that he ordered Djunayd to disperse his forces and depart from Ardabīl; should he fail to comply, Ardabīl would be destroyed. Djunayd fled, and ultimately took refuge at the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu court in Diyār Bakr (861-3/1456-9). The political advantages of an alliance against their mutual enemy, the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu, led the militantly Shīʿī Djunayd and the zealously orthodox Aḳ Ḳoyunlu ruler Uzun Ḥasan to sink their religious differences, and to cement their alliance by the marriage of Djunayd to Uzun Ḥasan's sister. Djunayd was killed in battle in Shirwān in 864/1460, but his successor Ḥaydar maintained the close alliance between the Ṣafawids and the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu by marrying Uzun Ḥasan's daughter.

In 872/1468 the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu ruler Djahānshāh attacked Uzun Ḥasan. He was defeated, and the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu empire was overthrown. The Tīmūrid ruler Abū Saʿīd saw this as an opportunity to extend his authority westwards from Khurāsān, but he too was defeated by Uzun Ḥasan, and put to death. The Aḳ Ḳoyunlu thus succeeded to the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu empire in Iran, ʿIrāḳ-i ʿArab, Diyār Bakr and Armenia, but an attempted Aḳ Ḳoyunlu *coup* at Harāt was frustrated by Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā [*q.v.*], whose occupation of Harāt in 875/1470 inaugurated a period of some thirty-five years of relatively stable and prosperous Tīmūrid rule in Khurāsān. Uzun Ḥasan also had aspirations to extend his empire westwards, but, after some initial success against the Ottomans, he was decisively defeated in 878/1473.

The death of Uzun Ḥasan in 882/1478 marked the beginning of Aḳ Ḳoyunlu decline, as rival princes, supported by, and sometimes dominated by, ambitious *amīrs*, successively contested the throne. In the twenty-five years which remained before the last Aḳ Ḳoyunlu ruler, Murād, was expelled from Iran in 908/1503 by Shāh Ismāʿīl I [*q.v.*], the only thread of continuity is the inexorable progress of the Ṣafawid movement towards its goal of achieving power in Iran by revolutionary means. This progress was marked by the death in battle of two more Ṣafawid leaders (Ḥaydar [*q.v.*], in 893/1488, and ʿAlī in 899/1494), and by the breakdown of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu-Ṣafawid alliance. Once the mutual enemy, the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu, had disappeared from the scene, it was only a matter of time before the political and military ambitions of the Ṣafawids came into conflict with those of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu. In 893/1488 Aḳ Ḳoyunlu troops were the major factor in the defeat of Ḥaydar, and in 899/1494 the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu sultan Rustam, having released ʿAlī from imprisonment because he needed his help against a rival prince, then had to crush him when support for him developed on an alarming scale. ʿAlī's brother, Ismāʿīl, escaped, and for five years directed from his refuge in Gīlān the final stages of the Ṣafawid revolution. His emissaries went to and fro between Gīlān and their bases in Anatolia, Syria and the Armenian highlands. It was from these areas that Ismāʿīl derived the élite of his fighting men, his most fanatical adherents, men of the Rūmlū, Ustādjlū, Takkalū, Dhu'l-Ḳadar, Warsāḳ, Shāmlū, Turkmān, Afshār, Ḳādjār and other Turkoman tribes. These men considered Ismāʿīl to be both their *murshid-i kāmil*, as head of the Ṣafawid Order, and their *pādishāh*; *i.e.*, Ismāʿīl was both their religious leader and their temporal ruler. They had acquired the celebrated soubriquet of *ḳizil-bāsh* ("red-heads", T. *ḳızıl-bash*), by virtue of the distinctive crimson hat, with the twelve folds denoting the Ithnā ʿasharī *imāms*, which had been devised for them by Ḥaydar.

In 905/1499 Ismāʿīl made his bid for power; by the autumn of 1500 he had been joined by 7,000 ḳizilbāsh at his rendezvous at Erzindjān. He turned aside to crush the Shīrwānshāh, who had killed both his father and his grandfather, and then, at the battle of Sharūr, he routed Alwand Aḳ Ḳoyunlu. Ismāʿīl entered Tabrīz (907/1501), had himself crowned as the first shāh of the Ṣafawid dynasty, and proclaimed the Djaʿfarī rite of Ithnā ʿasharī Shīʿism to be the official religion of the new Ṣafawid state. He had two main reasons for taking this step: first, he wished clearly to differentiate the Ṣafawid state from the Ottoman Empire, into which it might otherwise have been absorbed; second, he aimed at creating by this means a sense of unity among his subjects, a sense of separate identity which would permit the evolution of a national state in the modern sense of the term. The change to Shīʿism seems to have been accepted by the people at large without any serious display of opposition. Ṣafawid propagandists had, of course, been active for a long period, but there are other factors which may have helped to produce a climate of religious opinion favourable to Ṣafawid Shīʿism, for example, the activities of heterodox and antinomian groups such as the Ḥurūfīs, and the activities of other Ṣūfī Orders in Persia, some of which were unquestionably permeated by Shīʿī ideas. Many, but not all, of the *ʿulamāʾ* resisted the change. Some who did were put to death, notably at Shīrāz; others fled first to the Tīmūrid court at Harāt, and later, after the conquest of Khurāsān by the Ṣafawids, to the Uzbek capital at Bukhārā. To impose doctrinal unity, the Ṣafawids appointed an official termed the *ṣadr*, who was the head of the religious institution, but in practice derived his authority from the political institution.

The first ten years of Ismāʿīl's reign were spent in conquering the rest of Iran and Mesopotamia: In 908/1503 a victory over the remaining Aḳ Ḳoyunlu forces under Sultan Murād, near Hamadān, gave him control of central and southern Iran; Māzandarān and Gurgān were subjugated in 909/1504; Diyār Bakr was annexed in 913/1507, Baghdād was captured in 914/1508, and Khurāsān was annexed in 916/1510 after a crushing defeat of the Uzbeks at Marw. The victory at Marw, however, did not solve the problem of the defence of the eastern marches against the nomads, and, only two years later, a Ṣafawid army was routed at Ghudjuwān, just east of the Oxus, and the Uzbeks swept across Khurāsān as far as Mashhad. Ismāʿīl restored the situation, and an uneasy truce with the Uzbeks followed.

The Sunnī Uzbeks in the east and the Sunnī Ottomans in the west were the principal enemies of the Ṣafawid state. The existence on the borders of Anatolia of a powerful Shīʿī state, which claimed the allegiance of large numbers of Turkoman tribesmen living within the borders of the Ottoman Empire itself, was a threat which the Ottomans could not ignore, and in 920/1514 Selīm I launched what proved to be the first of a long series of invasions of Iran by Ottoman forces. On 2 Radjab 920/23 August 1514 the Ṣafawid army, composed almost entirely of cavalry, was defeated with heavy losses at Čāldirān [*q.v.*] by the fire-power of the Ottoman muskets and artillery. Selīm had to withdraw from Tabrīz after a short occupation, but the Ottomans annexed the province of Diyār Bakr, and the regions of Marʿash and Albistān.

The Ṣafawid defeat at Čāldirān had important repercussions. Ismāʿīl lost his faith in his own invincibility, and during the remaining ten years of his life never again led his men into battle. The ḳizilbāsh, who had revered their ruler as the Shadow of God upon earth and had worshipped him as the manifestation of God, were disillusioned. The actions of the kizilbāsh after Čāldirān, and particularly after the death of Ismāʿīl, show clearly that, although they preserved the outward forms, they considered the concept of their leader as the Shadow of God upon earth, immortal and infallible, to be a polite fiction. From this time, too, the term Ṣūfī, implying a relationship between *murshid* and *murīd* which the ḳizilbāsh had in practice, though not in theory, repudiated, occurs less and less frequently in the sources. The status of Ṣūfīs declined, and the term "Ṣūfī" acquired a definitely pejorative significance under the later Ṣafawids.

Shāh Ismāʿīl died on 19 Radjab 930/23 May 1524, and was succeeded by his son Ṭahmāsp, then ten and a half years of age. The extent to which the theocratic concept of the early Ṣafawid state had broken down in practice was demonstrated by the ten years of civil war between rival ḳizilbāsh factions which marked the beginning of his reign. The authority of the shah was usurped by ḳizilbāsh chiefs, who were the *de facto* rulers of the state during this period. In 940/1533-4, however, Shāh Ṭahmāsp made clear his intention to rule in fact and not in name only, and, for most of the remainder of his long reign of fifty-two years, he maintained a precarious ascendancy over the turbulent ḳizilbāsh

Most Western and Oriental sources give us a totally unfavourable picture of Ṭahmāsp [*q.v.*]. They portray him as a miser, as a melancholy recluse who swung between extremes of abstinence and intemperance, as a man capable of great cruelty. Nobody has given Ṭahmāsp credit for holding the Ṣafawid state together for more than half a century, in the face of the most determined onslaughts by the Ottomans under their greatest conqueror, Süleymān the Magnificent, and by the Uzbeks under one of their greatest leaders, ʿUbayd Allāh Khān. Between 930/1524 and 944/1538, the Uzbeks launched five major attacks on Khurāsān. Between 940/1533-4 and 961/1553, the Ottomans made four full-scale assaults on Ādharbāydjān. Baghdād was captured by the Ottomans in 941/1534, and thereafter ʿIrāḳ-i ʿArab remained in Ottoman hands, except for a brief interlude between 1032/1623—1048/1638. Tabrīz was occupied on several occasions, and Ṭahmāsp transferred the capital to Ḳazwīn, which was not so close to the Ottoman frontier. Attacks by foreign enemies were not the only problem confronting Ṭahmāsp. During the first decade of his reign, Iran was gravely weakened by ḳizilbāsh inter-tribal rivalries and by the defection of groups of ḳizilbāsh to the Ottomans; moreover in 941/1534-5, and again in 955/1548, Ṭahmāsp had to deal with rebellious brothers. In 962/1555 Ṭahmāsp negotiated the Treaty of Amasya, and Iran obtained a respite from Ottoman attack for thirty years.

The reigns of Ismāʿīl I and Ṭahmāsp I represent a period of change and adjustment. Under Ismāʿīl, an attempt was made to reconcile the Ṣūfī organization inherited from the Ṣafawiyya Order with the administrative organization of the Ṣafawid state. The failure of this attempt posed problems in regard to which Ṭahmāsp temporized and to which ʿAbbās I provided solutions which were effective only as short-term measures. The failure precisely to define the scope and function of the principal offices of state during this period produced some degree of conflict between the holders of these offices, and meant that the boundary between the "political institution" and the "religious institution" was never clearly demarcated. The movement away from the theocratic form of government which obtained after the establishment of the Ṣafawid state was noticeable even before the death of Ismāʿīl, and this tendency was reflected in changes in the scope and function of the principal offices of state, and in their relative importance. In particular, the status of the *wakīl-i nafs-i nafīs-i humāyūn*, the *alter ego* of the *shāh* and his vicegerent both in his religious and his political capacity, declined until his position was little different from that of the vizier, the head of the bureaucracy; the power of the *ṣadr*s, once their primary task of imposing doctrinal unity had been achieved, also declined; and the shah himself attempted to restrict the power of the *amīr al-umurāʾ*.

In 982/1574, Shāh Ṭahmāsp became seriously ill, and the Ṣafawid state was once again involved in a crisis. At first, the dissensions which broke out among the ḳizilbāsh appeared to be merely a recrudescence of the factional struggles which had imperilled the Ṣafawid state fifty years previously. But the new crisis was, in fact, of a very different nature. The question from 982/1574 onwards was not which of the ḳizilbāsh tribes should achieve a dominant position over its rivals, but rather, whether the ḳizilbāsh as a whole could maintain their privileged position as the military aristocracy in the Ṣafawid state, in the face of the challenge from new ethnic elements in Ṣafawid society, namely, the Georgians and Circassians. The majority of these people were the offspring of prisoners taken during the course of four campaigns waged in the Caucasus by Ṭahmāsp between 947/1540-1 and 961/1553-4. In addition,

a certain number of Georgian noblemen voluntarily entered Ṣafawid service during Ṭahmāsp's reign. By the time of the death of Ṭahmāsp in 984/1576, the power of the Georgian and Circassian women in the royal *ḥaram* was such that they intervened in political affairs and engaged in active intrigue with a view to securing the throne for their own sons. In this way, they introduced into the Ṣafawid state dynastic rivalries of a new kind.

The struggle for power between the ḳizilbā<u>sh</u> and the Georgians and Circassians, continued during the reigns of Ismāʿīl II (984/1576—985/1577) and Sulṭān Muḥammad <u>Sh</u>āh (985/1578—996/1588), and was finally settled in favour of the latter by the measures taken by <u>Sh</u>āh ʿAbbās I [*q.v.*] (996/1588—1038/1629) — measures which radically altered the social basis of the Ṣafawid state.

The situation which ʿAbbās faced at his accession was critical in the extreme. The Ottomans had resumed operations in Ā<u>dh</u>arbāy<u>dj</u>ān, and the citadel at Tabrīz had been in their hands since 993/1585. In the east, the Uzbeks stormed Harāt in 997/1589, and swept on across <u>Kh</u>urāsān as far as Ma<u>sh</u>had. To free his hands to deal with the Uzbeks, ʿAbbās was forced to negotiate a humiliating peace with the Ottomans which left more Persian territory in Ottoman hands than ever before (998/1589-90). The events of his youth had led him to place no faith in the loyalty of the ḳizilbā<u>sh</u> and he set about creating a standing army which would be paid direct from the Royal Treasury and would be loyal only to himself. From the ranks of the Georgians and Circassians (thereafter termed *<u>gh</u>ulāmān-i <u>kh</u>āṣṣa-yi <u>sh</u>arīfa*) he formed a cavalry regiment of some 10,000 men, and a personal bodyguard of 3,000 men. A regiment of musketeers, 12,000 strong, recruited from the Persian peasantry, and an artillery regiment, also of 12,000 men, completed the new standing army of 37,000 men. In order to pay these new troops, ʿAbbās resorted to the device of increasing the extent of the crown lands (*<u>kh</u>āṣṣa*) at the expense of state lands (*mamālik*). The *mamālik* provinces were in general governed by ḳizilbā<u>sh</u> *amīr*s, who consumed in the areas under their jurisdiction most of the taxes which they levied, but whose self-interest to some extent militated against extortion. Once such provinces were converted to *<u>kh</u>āṣṣa* lands, they were placed in the hands of a comptroller or intendant of the Crown, who had no interest in maintaining their prosperity but whose sole concern was to remit to the Royal Treasury the maximum amount of money possible, in order to ingratiate himself with the shah. Under <u>Sh</u>āh Ṣafī (1038/1629—1052/1642) and <u>Sh</u>āh ʿAbbās II (1052/1642—1077/1666), this process was accelerated to such an extent that even the frontier provinces were brought under the direct administration of the Crown, except in time of war, when ḳizilbā<u>sh</u> governors were reappointed. Ultimately, this policy impaired the economic health of the country and weakened it militarily. Every increase in the extent of crown lands at the expense of *mamālik* lands meant a corresponding decrease in the power of the ḳizilbā<u>sh</u>, and, in practice, the new *<u>gh</u>ulām* regiments did not possess the fighting qualities of the old ḳizilbā<u>sh</u> tribal forces.

In the short term, however, the creation of the *<u>gh</u>ulām* regiments enabled ʿAbbās gradually to reassert the authority of the ruling institution, and so to stabilize the internal situation in Iran. Even so, it was not until 1007/1597 that he dared to commit his forces to a pitched battle against the Uzbeks. In that year, ʿAbbās gained a great victory over the Uzbeks, and liberated Harāt after ten years of Uzbek rule. With the north-eastern frontier at least temporarily secure, ʿAbbās turned his attention to the Ottomans, and by 1016/1607 the last Ottoman soldier had been expelled from Ṣafawid territory as defined by the Peace of Amasya in 1555.

Throughout his reign, ʿAbbās continued his policy of weakening the position of the ḳizilbā<u>sh</u> and strengthening that of the *<u>gh</u>ulām*s, on whom he principally relied for support. He sought to break up ḳizilbā<u>sh</u> tribal groupings, and he constantly replenished his *<u>gh</u>ulām* forces by fresh drafts of Georgian, Circassian, and (from 1013/1604 onwards) Armenian prisoners. The revolution in the social structure of the Ṣafawid state which he thus effected was reflected in changes in the highest levels of the political institution and the religious institution. The titles of *wakīl* and *amīr al-umarāʾ*, which were so closely associated with the organization of the early Ṣafawid state and with the period of ḳizilbā<u>sh</u> supremacy, were no longer used. The *ḳūrčibā<u>sh</u>ī*, as the commander-in-chief of the drastically reduced ḳizilbā<u>sh</u> forces was henceforth usually termed, was still one of the highest officers of state, but his power was balanced by that of the commanders of the new non-ḳizilbā<u>sh</u> regiments, the *tufangči-āḳāsī* and the *ḳullar-āḳāsī*. The influence of the *ṣadr*, who was a political appointee, decreased once doctrinal unity had been imposed throughout the Ṣafawid dominions, and, with the increasing crystallization of I<u>th</u>nā ʿa<u>sh</u>arī theology, the *mu<u>dj</u>tahid*s became the most powerful members of the religious classes. Finally, with the increasing separation between temporal and religious powers, and the growing tendency towards centralization of the administration, the vizier, as head of the bureaucracy, became one of the most influential officials in the state, and frequently adopted the grandiose titles of *iʿtimād al-dawla* and *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*.

The reign of ʿAbbās I in many ways marks the highest point of Ṣafawid achievement. Commercial rivalry in the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean between the Dutch, the Portuguese, and the English, meant the development of diplomatic relations between Iran and the West. Spain, Portugal, and England sent ambassadors to ʿAbbās's court, and foreign monastic orders, such as the Carmelites, the Augustinians, and the Capuchin friars, were given permission to found convents in Iran. In 1007/1597 ʿAbbās transferred the capital from Ḳazwīn to Iṣfahān; the more central location of the latter city made it a more satisfactory base for operations against either the Ottomans or the Uzbeks. ʿAbbās addressed himself with characteristic energy to the task of transforming Iṣfahān into one of the most beautiful cities in the world. He embarked on a huge programme of public works, which included mosques, *madrasas*, caravansarais, and *ḥammāms*. The Mas<u>dj</u>id-i <u>Sh</u>āh (begun in 1020/1611) and the Mas<u>dj</u>id-i <u>Sh</u>ay<u>kh</u> Luṭf Allāh (begun in 1012/1603), situated in the famous *maydān* of Iṣfahān known as Naḳ<u>sh</u>-i <u>Dj</u>ahān, are two masterpieces of Iranian architecture. The reign of ʿAbbās also marks the highest point in the renaissance of Iranian arts which had begun under the Tīmūrids in the 9th/15th century and which continued throughout the Ṣafawid period. Except perhaps in painting, in which the productions of the Tabrīz school during the reign of Ṭahmāsp are superior, the artistic productions of the period of ʿAbbās are unsurpassed. In book painting and the illumination of manuscripts, in ceramics, textiles, and the manufacture of carpets and rugs, the Iranian genius achieved its finest expression.

The Ṣafawid state, as rebuilt by S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās, had an imposing façade, behind which the decay which spread with increasing rapidity during the second half of the 11th/17th century was not immediately apparent. Of the Ṣafawid rulers who followed ʿAbbās, only his great-grandson, ʿAbbās II (1052/1642—1077/1666), was a ruler worthy of the name. The degeneration of the dynasty must be attributed to the pernicious practice, instituted by ʿAbbās I himself, of incarcerating the royal princes in the *ḥaram* and never allowing them any contact with the outside world. Prior to ʿAbbās I, it had been the custom to place the royal princes, and in particular the heir-apparent, in the charge of one of the ḳizilbās̲h̲ provincial governors. Such a governor, termed *lala* or *atabeg*, was responsible for the physical and moral welfare of his charge, and for training him for his future responsibilities. Occasionally, an ambitious or rebellious *lala* would use the young prince committed to his care as the focal point of a revolt against the ruler. But this possibility was infinitely to be preferred to the certainty that a prince, brought up by the court eunuchs, in the debilitating atmosphere of the *ḥaram*, would be totally unfitted to rule when the time came to place him on the throne. The increasing control of political and administrative affairs exercised by the officers of the *ḥaram*, in association with the vizier, and the dynastic struggles for the succession resulting from the intrigues of the women of the *ḥaram*, are indeed two of the main features of the later Ṣafawid period and two of the principal reasons for the decline of Ṣafawid power. A third reason, the increase of *k̲h̲āṣṣa* lands at the expense of *mamālik* provinces, which reduced both the economic prosperity and the military strength of the country, has already been mentioned.

Under S̲h̲āh Sulaymān (1077/1666—1105/1694), who was an alcoholic, and under the pious but uxorious S̲h̲āh Sulṭān Ḥusayn (1105/1694—1135/1722), neither of whom took any interest in state affairs, the progressive breakdown of the central administration was marked by increasing inefficiency and corruption at all levels of government. The military machine had been allowed to run down to such an extent that the S̲h̲āh had to turn to the Georgians for help in dealing with a band of Balūči marauders in 1110/1698-99. This warning went unheeded, and in 1121/1709 a group of G̲h̲alzai Afg̲h̲āns seized Ḳandahār, which had been in Ṣafawid hands since 1058/1648. Further north, the Abdālī Afg̲h̲āns ravaged large areas of K̲h̲urāsān, and the whole eastern frontier was in jeopardy. In 1131/1719 the G̲h̲alzai chief, Maḥmūd, having subdued the Abdālīs, temporarily seized Kirmān. Emboldened by the lack of resistance, he returned to the attack two years later, and routed a pathetically weak Ṣafawid force at the battle of Gulnābād, 18 miles east of Iṣfahān, on 20 D̲j̲umādā I 1134/8 March 1722. Too weak to storm the city, Maḥmūd blockaded it. Treachery within the city, and incompetence and irresolution on every side, delivered the Ṣafawid capital to the Afg̲h̲āns in October 1722. Some 80,000 people are said to have perished during the siege from starvation and disease, and the population of Iṣfahān today is probably only one-third of what it was in Ṣafawid times.

The Afg̲h̲āns, though they never subjugated the north and west of the country and though their hold on the remainder was precarious, ruled at Iṣfahān for seven years, 1134/1722—1142/1729. At Ḳazwīn, Ṭahmāsp, a son of S̲h̲āh Sulṭān Ḥusayn, proclaimed himself S̲h̲āh Ṭahmāsp II. In 1138/1726 the Ottomans broke the long peace with Iran which had existed since 1048-9/1639, and the Afg̲h̲ān ruler As̲h̲raf was forced to give *de facto* recognition to the Ottoman occupation of west and north-west Iran. About the same time the Afs̲h̲ār chief Nādir K̲h̲ān emerged as the most powerful of the tribal chiefs lending their support to the Ṣafawid house, and in 1142/1729 he drove the Afg̲h̲āns from Iṣfahān and re-established the Ṣafawid monarchy in the person of Ṭahmāsp II. It soon became clear, however, that Nādir K̲h̲ān's support of the Ṣafawids was only a device to enable him to use pro-Ṣafawid sentiment for his own ends. In 1145/1732 he deposed Ṭahmāsp II in favour of the infant ʿAbbās III, for whom he acted as regent. Four years later, he abandoned this fiction, and had himself crowned as Nādir S̲h̲āh. This marked the extinction of the Ṣafawid dynasty, which had existed only in name since 1134/1722.

Nādir S̲h̲āh (1148/1736—1160/1747) consciously modelled himself on Tīmūr, and there are some points of similarity between his career and that of his exemplar. Like Tīmūr, Nādir was primarily, indeed solely, a soldier, and, like Tīmūr, he was totally unable to administer the territories overrun by his armies. As a result, just as the campaigns of Tīmūr had left a vacuum in south-west Asia, so those of Nādir disrupted the administrative system inherited from the Ṣafawids, impoverished the state, and led to a general breakdown of law and order. The result was half a century of civil war as the Zands and the Ḳād̲j̲ārs fought for supremacy in the vacuum created by Nādir. Nādir restored national dignity and prestige after the humiliation of the Afg̲h̲ān episode, and recovered Iranian territory which had been usurped by the Ottomans, the Russians, and the Afg̲h̲āns. After an ineffectual siege of Bag̲h̲dād in 1145/1733 (the Iranian army still had no proper siege artillery), and an initial defeat at the hands of the Ottoman relief army, Nādir turned the tables on the Ottomans on 1 D̲j̲umādā II 1146/9 November 1733, and the Ottoman commander, Ṭopal ʿOt̲h̲mān Pas̲h̲a, was killed. A provisional treaty between Nādir S̲h̲āh and Aḥmad Pas̲h̲a, the Ottoman governor of Bag̲h̲dād, provided for the return to Iran of all territory seized by the Ottomans in the previous ten years, but the treaty was never ratified by the Porte. In 1147/1735 Russia surrendered Bākū and Darband, and Nādir struck further blows against the Ottomans. ʿAbd Allāh Pas̲h̲a Köprülü-zāde, governor of Ḳārs, was killed at the battle of Aḳ Tepe : ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a surrendered at Gand̲j̲a, and Isḥāḳ Pas̲h̲a at Tiflis; Erivan fell soon afterwards.

Had Nādir S̲h̲āh at this point devoted his efforts to reorganizing the administration of the country on a firm basis Iran might have entered the 19th century better equipped to deal with the internal and external problems of that period. Instead, his growing megalomania led him to invade India, as Tīmūr had done before him. A necessary preliminary was the capture of Ḳandahār, a frontier city which had been held alternately by the Ṣafawids and the Mug̲h̲als during the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries, and had been in Afg̲h̲ān hands since 1121/1709. To raise money for his Indian campaign, Nādir levied taxes with more than usual ruthlessness, and Kirmān suffered particularly severely. Ḳandahār surrendered to Nādir in D̲h̲u'l Ḳaʿda 1150/March 1738, G̲h̲azna was occupied in June, and Nādir, crossing the K̲h̲aybar Pass, entered Peshawar. Lahore paid a large indemnity, and thus escaped the sack. After an engagement with the Mug̲h̲al

army at Karnāl in Dhu'l-Ḳaʿda 1151/February 1739, Nādir made his triumphal entry into Delhi on 9 Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 1151/20 March 1739, and let his troops loose to pillage the city. In this, too, he faithfully followed the actions of his model, Tīmūr, who had sacked Delhi in 801/1398. After levying the enormous sum of 20,000,000 rupees in tribute from the Mughal Empire, Nādir returned to Iran laden with his spoils, which included the fabulous Peacock Throne and the Kūh-i Nūr diamond. The Mughal Emperor Muḥammad Shāh ceded to Nādir Shāh all his territory west of the Indus. On their return from India, Nādir's armies overran Turkistān, the ancient Transoxania and Khwārazm, and Nādir signalled this eastward expansion of his empire by transferring his capital from Iṣfahān to Mashhad. Mashhad had fewer associations with the Ṣafawids—although of course the shrine of the *imām* ʿAlī al-Riḍā was one of the principal places of pilgrimage for the Ithnā ʿasharī Shīʿis—and was nearer the centre of his empire with its new extensions in Turkistān, India and Afghānistān.

In 1153/1741 Nādir Shāh was at the height of his power, but signs of approaching insanity were already visible. His madness was characterized by an overweening lust for power and the most extreme avarice. He became subject to ever more violent fits of rage, associated with the inflicting of ever more terrible punishments. Instead of using his Indian treasure to replenish the exchequer, which he had exhausted by his endless campaigns, he hoarded it in a special treasure-house at Kalʿat-i Nādirī [*q.v.*] in Khurāsān, and imposed further crippling tax burdens on the people to finance expeditions which had no strategic justification, such as his disastrous campaign in Dāghistān in 1154-55/1741-2. Revolts broke out in various parts of his empire, and his attempt to effect a reconciliation with the Sunnī *ʿulamāʾ* did not add to his popularity. On 1 Djumādā II 1160/20 June 1747 he was assassinated by a group of his own officers. His death was followed by a period of anarchy and civil war. In the south, the Zand dynasty gave that part of the country at least a brief respite in the form of orderly, and on the whole good, government. After the death (1193/1779) of Karīm Khān Zand, however, the Zands were weakened by dynastic feuds, and this gave the Ḳādjārs, who from their base at Astarābād had gradually brought most of northern Persia under their control, their chance. Āḳā Muḥammad Khān Ḳādjār escaped from Zand captivity at Shīrāz and embarked on a sixteen-year struggle to assert his authority over that of rival Ḳādjār chiefs, and to overthrow the Zands. By 1209/1795 he had achieved both objectives.

The new rulers of Iran, the Ḳādjārs, were of Turkoman stock. Like the Afshārs, they had formed part of the group of Turkoman tribes which had brought the Ṣafawids to power, and which had constituted the military aristocracy of the Ṣafawid state. The Ḳādjārs, however, like two other Trans-Caucasian Turkoman tribes, the Afshārs and the Bayāts, did not come into prominence until the middle of the 10th/16th century. The first ruler of the new dynasty, Āḳā Muḥammad Shāh, possessed undoubted administrative ability. Making Tehran his capital, he restored security and public order, and reunited Iran under a strong and efficient central administration for the first time for more than half a century. But he maintained his position by the fear which he inspired in all. The castration which he had suffered as a boy at the hands of Nādir's nephew, ʿĀdil Shāh, had rendered him vicious and cruel. In an age when the qualities of mercy and compassion were rare, he became a byword for bloodthirstiness. His ruthless elimination of all possible rivals caused rifts within the Ḳādjār ranks, and militated against the stability of the dynasty. The succession was disputed both in 1250/1834, and again in 1264/1848. Outwardly pious, he cared nothing for an oath, and did not hesitate to obtain his ends by treachery. On 21 Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 1211/17 June 1797, two years after his coronation, he was assassinated by two of his soldiers. He was succeeded by his nephew, Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh.

Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh [*q.v.*] had scarcely ascended the throne when he was forced to recognize that a major change had occurred in the relations between Iran and her neighbours in general, and between Iran and the Great Powers in particular. The advent of the 19th century saw the beginnings of Great Power rivalry in Persia which directly or indirectly affected the political, social and economic life of the country. Already Āḳā Muḥammad Shāh, by his atrocities in Georgia, had caused that country to abandon its traditionally Persian orientation and turn to Russia. Russia had eagerly seized this opportunity to resume that southwards movement toward the Persian Gulf which had been a cardinal point in Russian policy since the time of Peter the Great. Already Russia had demonstrated that, in the military sciences, Iran had fallen behind the West to an alarming extent during the 18th century. If Iran was to preserve its independence, it needed modern weapons and an army trained on modern lines. This point was emphasized when the Russians annexed Georgia in 1800. Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's political naïveté and ignorance of world affairs led him to sign the Treaty of Finkenstein (4 May 1807) with Napoleon. Article 4 pledged France to work for the restitution of Georgia to Persia. In return, Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh promised to declare war on Great Britain (art. 8), and to allow French troops the right-of-way across Iran as part of Napoleon's Grand Design for the invasion of India. The Treaty of Finkenstein, however, was rendered a dead letter almost immediately by the Treaty of Tilsit (2 July 1807), which brought to an end hostilities between France and Russia, and gave Russia a free hand to resume her aggression against Iran. Russia lost no time in pressing her advantage. By the Treaty of Gulistān [*q.v.*] (12 October 1813), Iran lost all her rich Caucasian provinces, and only Russian naval vessels were allowed to operate on the Caspian Sea. A border dispute caused war to break out again in 1826, and the Treaty of Turkomanchai (22 February 1828) imposed even more severe terms on Iran. Iran ceded Erivan and Nakhčiwān, and the Aras river was fixed as the Russo-Iranian border. Iran had to pay a heavy indemnity, but the most significant clause in the Treaty was that concerning "capitulations", *i.e.*, extra-territorial rights for Russian officials resident in Iran. The "capitulations" [see IMTIYĀZĀT] infringed the rights of Iran as a sovereign and independent nation, and marked a new phase in the relations between Iran and the Great Powers. Other countries, including Britain, hastened to follow the Russian example and to demand extra-territorial rights for their nationals in Iran, and the direct penetration of Iran by foreign influences may be said to date from this time.

Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's grandson, Muḥammad Shāh, who succeeded to the throne in 1834, attempted to recover territory which had been lost in the east

to the Afghāns. Britain went to the aid of the Afghāns, and Muḥammad Shāh had to abandon the siege of Harāt. Throughout the 19th century, British policy was dominated by one obsession, the defence of India. To achieve this, Afghānistān had to be maintained as a buffer-state, and Iran could not be allowed to regain the territory which had been taken from her by the Afghāns. Consequently, British armies were dispatched from India in 1837, when Iranian troops threatened to recapture Harāt, and in 1852 and 1856, when they succeeded in re-taking that city. Finally, by the Treaty of Paris in 1856, Iran was forced to recognize the independence of Afghānistān and to reconcile itself to the permanent loss of a city which in Tīmūrid and Ṣafawid times had been one of the great cities of Khurāsān.

During the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, the first rumblings of social protest found expression in the politico-religious revolt which followed the manifestation of the Bāb (1844). The Bāb declared himself to be the Hidden Imām (the Mahdī or *ṣāḥib al-zamān*), and in 1848 the Bābīs declared their secession from Islam and the *sharīʿa*. The revolt was harshly repressed by the government, and the Bāb himself was executed at Tabrīz in 1850. An unsuccessful attempt on the life of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh in 1852 led to further persecution of the Bābīs. The movement split into two groups, termed Bahāʾīs and Azalīs, of which the former is the more important. Its leader, Bahāʾ Allāh, was banished from Iran, but Bahā'ism was later widely disseminated in Europe and America [see BĀB; BĀBĪS; BAHĀʾ ALLĀH; BAHĀʾĪS].

Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, who came to the throne in 1848, and whose long reign was ended only by his assassination in 1896, was a more able man than either of his two immediate predecessors. He appreciated the need for change, if Iran was to retain her independence and to break the political stranglehold which was being exerted by Britain and Russia. During his reign, however, the other half of the Russian pincer gripping Iran lengthened inexorably. In 1865 the Russians captured Tashkent, and extinguished the khānate of Khoḳand. In 1868 they took Bukhārā and, from their new base at Krasnovodsk on the eastern shore of the Caspian, pushed steadily forward into Central Asia. They put an end to the khānate of Khiva in 1873, crushed for ever the Turkoman tribes of the steppe at the battle of Gök Tepe [*q.v.*] (1881), and completed the conquest of Trans-Caspia by occupying Marw in 1884. The Atrek river was established as the new Russo-Iranian frontier in the east.

Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh instituted a policy of granting concessions to European powers, in the hope that this would improve the economic prosperity of the country. The net result, however, was that by the end of the 19th century, most of Iran's economic resources were exploited or directed by foreign concessionaires, who obtained sweeping concessions in return for paltry sums of money which satisfied the shah's immediate needs. In 1872, for example, a British subject, Baron Julius de Reuter, obtained the exclusive right to exploit all minerals in Iran (except gold and precious stones), to build factories, to construct railways, canals and irrigation works, to exploit the forests, to create a national bank and public utilities (such as a telegraph system), and to control the customs. Strong Russian pressure led the shah to rescind the concession, and, as compensation, the British received a concession to establish the Imperial Bank of Persia (1889). The Russians followed suit with their Banque des Prêts, or Loan and Discount Bank. In 1890, the celebrated Tobacco Concession was awarded to a British company. A letter written by Sayyid Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī [*q.v.*] to the chief *mudjtahid* at Sāmarrā, caused the latter to issue a *fatwā* prohibiting the use of tobacco by all believers until such time as the shah cancelled the concession. The *mullās* and *mudjtahids* organized demonstrations in Shīrāz, Iṣfahān, and Tabrīz, and the shah had to revoke the concession in December 1891. This was a significant occasion : for the first time popular opinion had openly opposed the shah, and the shah had had to give way. As usual, popular opinion had been voiced through the medium of the religious classes, who could, in certain circumstances, be counted on to take the lead in opposing the shah and the government.

Growing discontent with the incompetence and corruption of the government, and resentment at foreign political pressure and economic control, found expression during the last quarter of the 19th century in the form of a challenge to the traditional pattern of society. Secret societies (*andjumans*) were formed whose members discussed the ideas of Western liberalism and problems of social reform [see DJAMʿIYYA]. Out of this social ferment grew the Constitutional or Nationalist movement, which began by demanding a measure of social and judicial reform, the dismissal of certain tyrannical officials, and the expulsion of certain foreign concessionaires, notably the much disliked Belgian Director of Customs, and ended by demanding the promulgation of a Constitution and the establishment of a National Consultative Assembly [see DUSTUR: iv.—Iran]. Although the Fundamental Law was not signed by Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh until 30 December 1906, the first National Assembly (Madjlis) was convened on 7th October 1906.

The victory over despotism, far from being won, had in fact barely begun, and the Nationalists, absorbed in their struggle with the shah, were unable to prevent Iran falling even further under foreign domination. Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh, who came to the throne in 1907, tried by every means to subvert the Constitution and to prevent the implementation of bills passed by the Madjlis. The religious classes, who up to this point had supported the Constitutionalists, mainly from patriotic motives, began to be alarmed by the views of some of the more radical deputies, and this portended a fatal split in the ranks of the Nationalists. On 31 August 1907 the terms of the Anglo-Russian Convention, a treaty inspired by the fear of resurgent German militarism, were made public. Iran was to be divided into a Russian and a British sphere of influence, separated by a neutral zone. In June 1908 the shah declared martial law in Tehran and closed the Madjlis. Despite strong pressure from the Russians, whose troops occupied Tabrīz, the Nationalists mounted in the provinces a counter-offensive which resulted in the deposition of the shah in July 1909. His eleven-year-old son Aḥmad was proclaimed shah. In July 1911 an abortive attempt by the exiled Muḥammad ʿAlī to reinstate himself in Iran led to further direct Russian intervention, and on 3 Muḥarram 1330/24 December 1911 the Madjlis was again forcibly closed.

During World War I, although Iran was a neutral, her territory became a battlefield for Turkish, Russian and British forces, and Iran emerged from the war in a state of administrative and financial chaos. Lord Curzon's solution was an independent

Iran firmly under British tutelage, and the Anglo-Iranian Treaty of 1919 provided for the appointment of British advisers to the Iranian Government. The treaty was never ratified by Iran. The Bolsheviks, after the collapse of the short-lived Soviet Socialist Republic of Gīlān [see DJANGALĪ], concluded the Soviet-Iranian Treaty of 26 February 1921, by the terms of which they renounced the imperialist policies of the former Tsarist regime. Five days before the signature of this treaty, Reżā Khān seized power by *coup d'état*. Reżā Khān was the commander of the Cossack Brigade, created in 1879 by Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh as a royal bodyguard and used by Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh to suppress the Nationalists in the period 1907-9. The atmosphere of the post-war period was favourable to Reżā Khān's attempt to re-establish national integrity and independence: the Constitution had been suspended; there had been a complete breakdown of government authority; the treasury was empty, and famine conditions prevailed. Riḍā Khān first thought of abolishing the monarchy and establishing a republic, but, faced with strong opposition from the *ʿulamāʾ* and other traditional elements, he abandoned the idea. Aḥmad Shāh was deposed in 1923, and Reżā Khān was proclaimed shah in December 1925 and crowned on 25 April 1926 as the first ruler of the new Pahlavī dynasty.

Reżā Shāh was determined to launch Iran into the 20th century. Prior to his accession, despite the fact that Iran had been officially converted from a mediaeval Islamic state to a modern constitutional monarchy by the granting of the Constitution in 1906, there were few signs of change in the traditional structure of society. The far-reaching programme of westernization, modernization, and centralization of the administration, on which Reżā Shāh embarked, involved a major upheaval of the traditional social order, and the abolition or modification of many traditional Islamic institutions. Without possessing an ideology, he succeeded in carrying out a revolution. He was impatient with the intellectuals, whom he blamed for Iran's weak and divided state. Unlike Atatürk, he made no long statements of policy, wrote no articles. His failure adequately to explain his objectives to the people was, in fact, a source of weakness. In so far as he succeeded in his objectives, his policies were beneficial to Iran. He completely reorganized the army and created the first unified standing national army in Iran. Between 1921 and 1941, on average one-third of the national budget was allocated to the armed forces. He reorganized the Civil Service on Western lines. In successive phases he laid the foundations of a modern judiciary system: the Penal Code was promulgated in 1926 and the Civil Code in 1928, the year which saw the abolition of the much hated capitulations. Each step necessarily meant a further blow at the position of the *sharīʿa* and at the power of the religious classes in general. In the field of education, the *maktabs*, where pupils of all ages were taught in one room by an *ākhūnd*, were swept away. Compulsory state education for both sexes was introduced (it has not yet been fully implemented, particularly in rural areas), and the curricula were modernized. Teachers' Training Colleges were established, and the University of Tehran was founded in 1935. In 1940 all foreign missionary schools were taken over by the government. In the field of commerce, Reżā Shāh established a number of state monopolies, partly to strengthen the Iranian economy vis-à-vis Britain and Russia, and partly to provide additional revenue. The entire cost of the Trans-Iranian Railway, constructed from the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf between 1926-38, was defrayed by means of a tax on tea and sugar, which were state monopolies. Reżā Shāh did much to develop industry in Iran, and his efforts to develop an Iranian textile industry succeeded in making Iran to a large extent independent of Russian textiles. On the debit side, Reżā Shāh, as his reign progressed, showed increasingly despotic tendencies. He became impatient of all criticism, and virtually suppressed political parties, trade unions, and the Press. The Madjlis was reduced to the status of a rubber-stamp. Two areas in which Reżā Shāh failed signally were agriculture and relations with the tribes. Not until 1937 did he make any attempt to improve the lot of the peasants or to introduce legislation to encourage landlords to improve methods of cultivation. Even then, because the implementation of the legislation was entrusted to the very landowners at whose interests it was aimed, nothing was achieved. In regard to the tribes, his policy of enforced resettlement, often in unsuitable regions, failed, and his severe treatment of many tribal leaders left a legacy of bitterness.

During Reżā Shāh's reign, German political and economic influence in Iran increased to a marked degree. Since the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, Iran had been psychologically prepared to accept the friendship of a third power which might act as a buffer against British and Russian pressure. Germany, which had no previous history of interference in Iran's affairs and which seemed to be at a safe distance, was welcomed by Reżā Shāh as the "third power". Germany's share of Iranian trade jumped from 8% in 1932 to 45% in 1940. Much of the machinery and heavy equipment needed for Reżā Shāh's programme of industrial expansion was supplied by German, and after Germany's annexation of Czechoslovakia, by Czech firms. German architects designed many of the new government and public buildings in Tehran. In 1936 the German Minister Dr. Schacht visited Iran, and expressly exempted Iranians, as being "pure Aryans", from the provisions of the Nuremburg race laws. On the heels of German technicians came German cultural officials and "tourists", who soon constituted an effective Fifth Column in Iran. In 1941 Britain and Russia presented an ultimatum to Reżā Shāh, calling on him to expel large numbers of these Germans from Iran. Reżā Shāh refused, and on 25 August British and Russian forces simultaneously invaded Iran. Reżā Shāh abdicated and went into exile; he died at Johannesburg in 1944. His son, Muḥammad Reżā Shāh, succeeded to the throne.

The position faced by the young shah was one of the utmost difficulty. There was a dearth of leaders—one consequence of Reżā Shāh's concentration of power in his own hands. Effective government was in any case virtually impossible while the country was occupied by foreign troops. The liberalizing of internal conditions released forces of an illiberal character—forces of the extreme right, such as the *fidāʾiyyān-i islām* [*q.v.*], a terrorist organization which came into being about 1943 and which was later protected by the religious leader Āyat Allāh Kāshānī, and forces of the extreme left, such as the Tudeh party, which was formed in 1942. Initially, the Tudeh party attracted many frustrated intellectuals of leftish sympathies who were not

necessarily Communists, but the party fell more and more under Communist influence and direction, and in 1945 the Tudeh, in close co-operation with the Russians, engineered the overthrow of the authority of the central government in Ādharbāydjān and Kurdistān. By the terms of the Tripartite Treaty of Alliance (29 January 1942), the Allies had promised to withdraw their troops from Iran within six months from the termination of hostilities with Germany and its associates, but Russian troops did not leave until May 1946. Deprived of Russian support, the Autonomous Republic of Ādharbāydjān and the Kurdish People's Republic collapsed before the advance of the Iranian army in October 1946.

German influence in Iran came to an abrupt end in 1941, and the United States now became the "third power" in Iran. American involvement rapidly increased after the formation in 1942 of the Persian Gulf Command, which developed the port facilities at Khurramshahr, Bandar ʿAbbās and Bandar Shāhpūr, and assisted in the supply of war material to the Soviet Union through Iranian territory. The United States also furnished Iran with military and financial advisers. Among the latter was Dr. Millspaugh, who had functioned in a similar capacity in Iran from 1922-27. Finally, in 1947, the United States extended the "Truman doctrine" to include Iran as well as Turkey and Greece, and was thus definitely committed to the maintenance of Iran's independence.

The Tudeh Party rapidly recovered from its defeat in Ādharbāydjān in 1946, and its increased militancy caused widespread insecurity and unrest. On 4 February 1949 a Tudeh Party member made an attempt on the life of the shah. This action was at once followed by the outlawing of the Party and by the reimposition of martial law. The second important event of 1949 was the inauguration of the First Seven-Year Plan for Economic Development. The third significant event of 1949, a year which in many respects marks a turning-point in the history of modern Persia, was the formation by Dr. Muṣaddiḳ of the National Front. This was a coalition of groups of every political hue, from the neo-Fascist *Sumka* Party and the extreme right-wing *fidāʾiyyān-i islām* led by Kāshāni, through the centre block of the Iran Party, composed of bourgeois nationalists and the intelligentsia, to left-wing intellectual groups such as Khalil Māliki's "Third Force". The only common ground shared by these disparate political groups was xenophobia, and fear of the re-imposition of royal dictatorship. There were clear signs that the shah, frustrated by the persistent failure of the Madjlis to pass urgently needed legislation, and desirous of pressing ahead with social and economic reforms, was considering assuming a greater degree of executive power, and each group had its own reasons for opposing such a move.

In 1950 the shah took the first positive steps in the direction of social and economic reform when he established the Imperial Organization for Social Welfare, and transferred to this organization, for distribution to the peasants, the crown lands. He further appointed to the office of Prime Minister General ʿAlī Razmārā, an honest, patriotic and energetic man. General Razmārā immediately launched an anti-corruption drive which was so effective that still more individuals arrayed themselves against him and the shah. On 7 March 1951 General Razmārā was assassinated by a member of the *fidāʾiyyān-i islām*, an act which put an end to orderly progress towards reform. Dr. Muṣaddiḳ introduced into the Madjlis a bill calling for the nationalization of the oil industry. On 29 April, Dr. Muṣaddiḳ became Prime Minister, and at once implemented the oil nationalization law and appropriated the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's installations. Muṣaddiḳ's National Front supporters, deprived of the principal target for the xenophobia which had held them together, soon showed signs of disunity. Muṣaddiḳ, in the absence of oil revenue, faced a financial crisis; furthermore, once he had achieved his "negative equilibrium", the poverty of his political thinking became apparent. Far from ushering in a social revolution, Muṣaddiḳ found himself obliged to demand plenary powers and to resort to unconstitutional means in order to maintain his own position. The dissolution of the Senate (the upper house of the Iranian Parliament, provided for in the 1906 Constitution but not convened until 1950), in July 1952, was followed by that of the Supreme Court (November 1952) and of the Madjlis itself (August 1953). In addition, Dr. Muṣaddiḳ imposed martial law and curbed the Press. After January 1953, when Muṣaddiḳ insisted on an extension of his plenary powers, he found himself in a position of increasing isolation as National Front leaders such as Makkī, Baḳāʾī and Kāshānī successively broke away from him. On 13 August the shah issued a *farmān* dismissing Muṣaddiḳ and appointing General Zāhidī Prime Minister. Muṣaddiḳ refused to take cognisance of the *farmān*, and the shah temporarily left the country. On 28 Murdād 1332 s./ 19 August 1953 Zāhidī suppressed the Tudeh mobs over which Muṣaddiḳ no longer had any control, and succeeded in establishing himself in Tehran. The Shāh returned to Iran, and in November 1953 Muṣaddiḳ was brought to trial on a charge of treason, on the grounds that he had defied an imperial *farmān* and had abrogated the constitutional procedures and basic laws of the land. He was sentenced to three years' solitary confinement, from which he was released in August 1956.

After the fall of Muṣaddiḳ, the oil dispute was settled (August 1954) by the formation of a consortium of British, American, Dutch and French companies, which ran the industry on behalf of the National Iranian Oil Company. On 3 November 1955 Iran joined the Baghdād Pact, with Great Britain, Turkey, Pakistan and ʿIrāḳ; ʿIrāḳ withdrew in 1959, and the alliance was renamed the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO). The shah, advocating a policy of "positive nationalism", indicated that he intended to exercise greater personal control over the administration of the state than he had prior to the dictatorship of Muṣaddiḳ. In 1957 the National Security Organisation (SAVAK) was formed. The shah attempted to check corruption. In 1958 the Imperial Investigation Organization was set up to receive and investigate complaints from the public against any official of the bureaucracy, judiciary, or army, and this was followed by the passage of several bills designed to discourage bribery and peculation by government officials. In 1958 the Pahlavī Foundation (*Bunyād-i Pahlavī*) was set up to administer certain resources of the Crown and to expend the income accruing from these assets on social services. On 5 October 1961 the shah handed over to the Pahlavī Foundation property valued at more than £ 47,500,000, comprising farms, villages owned by the shah, hotels, the shah's holdings in the Iranian oil tanker fleet,

and all stocks and shares held by the shah. These funds and assets were constituted into a *wakf*, or trust, for charitable, social, educational and health services. In this way, the shah has virtually divested himself of the personal fortune which he had inherited from his father. The birth of a son and heir (Reżā) to the shah and the Empress Faraḥ on 31 October 1960 was a stabilizing factor in Iranian affairs, in that it assured the continuance of the Pahlavī dynasty (succession is through the male line only). Nevertheless, the political outlook continued to be uncertain. The shah's policy of "repolitization" had resuscitated the National Front, which contained many of Muṣaddiḳ's former supporters. The shah's experiment in "controlled democracy", in which two artificially-created parties known as *Milliyūn* and *Mardum* were to represent the government party and the "loyal opposition" respectively, predictably failed. The shah had to annul the elections of August 1960, and the new elections, begun in January 1961, were accompanied by such widespread disorders that on 9 May 1961 the shah, using powers which had been granted to him in 1949, dissolved the Madjlis and the Senate. He took this action not only "for the protection of the nation's rights and interests, and to safeguard the Constitution", but also in order that "no obstacles should hinder the strong Government which had been appointed to institute fundamental reforms."

As an earnest of his intentions, the shah promulgated the Agrarian Reform Bill (15 January 1962). Prior to this, all legislation designed to break up the large estates, and thus make land available for distribution to the peasants, had consistently been blocked in the Madjlis. The shah had completed his programme, begun in 1951, of distributing crown lands to the peasants, but his example had not been followed by the large landowners. Under the provisions of the Agrarian Reform Bill, no landowner was to be allowed to own more than one village, regardless of size; all villages in excess of this allowance were to be bought by the State and sold to the peasants. Considerable progress was made during 1962 in implementing the new regulations, and land reform was a major item in the shah's six-point programme which was approved by national referendum in January 1963; other radical reforms were the enfranchisement of women, and the creation of the "Literacy Corps" to combat illiteracy, particularly in rural areas. This six-point programme was opposed by the National Front, and opposition from the religious classes culminated in serious rioting in the capital and the major provincial cities in June 1963. In September 1963, after an interval of more than two years during which the shah ruled by decree, general elections were held, and the newly-formed National Union Party, a coalition pledged to give full support to the shah's reform programme, gained a strong majority in the Madjlis. The elections were boycotted by the National Front. The election of six women to the Madjlis no doubt reflected the fact that, in these elections, women for the first time were able to vote.

Since 1963, the shah has made steady progress with his "white revolution", or "revolution from above," despite further acts of violence by those opposed to his policies. On 21 January 1965, for instance, the Prime Minister Ḥasan ʿAlī Manṣūr, whose New Iran Party, formed in December 1963, commanded a large measure of support in the Madjlis, was shot and mortally wounded by a supporter of an extreme right-wing *mudjtahid*. In April 1965 yet another attempt was made to assassinate the shah. The greatest hope for the future, perhaps, lies in the achievements of the Plan Organization. The First Seven-Year Plan was launched in 1949, but the preliminary surveys and blueprints had hardly been completed before Muṣaddiḳ's nationalization of the oil industry deprived the Plan Organization of its principal source of revenue, and consequently many of the projects remained unrealized. The Second Seven-Year Plan (1956) provided for the expenditure of $ 850,000,000 (to be obtained partly from oil revenue and partly from foreign loans) on communications, agriculture and irrigation; industry and mines; and public works. The Second Plan brought positive benefits, including the completion of major hydro-electric and irrigation projects like the Karadj dam (1961), the Safīd River dam (1962), and the Diz River dam (1963). This last is the largest Iranian development project to date. It is designed to irrigate 325,000 acreas of Khūzistān which were once fertile, but which for centuries have been arid; the hydro-electric project associated with the dam has a potential capacity of 520,000 Kw. It is only one of fourteen major projects scheduled for Khūzistān. During the period of the Second Plan, too, the capacity of the Gulf ports was increased, highways were built, and the production of sugar, construction materials, and textiles was increased. The Third Economic Development Plan, inaugurated in 1962, has been severely hampered by drastic cuts in the budget of the Plan Organization, but in October 1963 the shah pledged more money for this purpose. On 29 July 1963 Iran and the Soviet Union signed an Economic and Technical Co-operation Agreement for the construction of a barrage on the River Araxes which will irrigate 148,000 acres on both sides of the frontier. The oil industry, under the control of the National Iranian Oil Company, continues to expand, and production increases as new oil-fields are discovered.

There has been a gradual détente between Iran and the Great Powers as the latter have relaxed their political and economic pressure. Simultaneously, relations between Iran and its immediate neighbours have become closer as a result of the establishment in 1965 of the Regional Co-operation for Development Corporation (R.C.D.). The participants in this corporation are Pakistan, Iran and Turkey, and already joint schemes are in progress in such fields as communications, industry, education and health.

The stability of the dynasty has been further assured by the birth of a second royal prince, ʿAlī Reżā, on 28 April 1966, and particularly by an amendment to the Constitution effected on 7 September 1967. This amendment provides that, if the shah dies before Crown Prince Reżā comes of age, or if the shah is unable to carry out his duties, the Empress Faraḥ will act as Regent until the crown prince reaches the age of twenty. In such a case, the Regent will be assisted by a Council of Seven, including the Prime Minister, the Presidents of the Madjlis and the Senate, and the President of the Supreme Court. On 26 October 1967, the shah, then in the twenty-seventh year of his reign, was officially crowned. This was a symbolic act, since the shah had repeatedly declared that he did not wish to be crowned as long as Iran was under foreign domination. There is no doubt that Iran today (1971) is more truly independent than at any time since 1800. The reforms introduced by the shah have already brought about radical changes in the struc-

ture of Persian society, and this trend is likely to become more marked in the years to come.

(R. M. SAVORY)

vi.—RELIGIONS

When the Arabs destroyed the Sasanian empire they also dealt a heavy blow to the national religion of ancient Iran, Zoroastrianism. As the official cult of the state, the Mazdean church had become dependent on the support of the political body and had identified itself to a large extent with the existing social order. As a result of this the clergy had lost touch with the broad masses of the population. Although our knowledge of the religious situation during the last days of the Sasanids is very limited, it seems certain that Zoroastrianism was no longer a very vital force, at least not in the orthodox form of the religion. Sectarian movements, the true nature of which is still rather difficult to ascertain, provided alternatives to the official doctrines and practices. The most important of these was Zurvānism.

In the Islamic theocracy, which during the first century of its existence was dominated by the Arabs, the Zoroastrians could only retain their identity as one of the tolerated religious minorities. In general, the Arab conquerors did not insist on an immediate conversion of their foreign subjects. In most cases, they were satisfied with the conclusion of a treaty which guaranteed freedom of cult to the non-Muslims in exchange for tribute. Originally the Zoroastrians (*Madjūs* [*q.v.*]) were not included among the "people of the Book" (*Ahl al-Kitāb* [*q.v.*]), but very soon the doctrine was adapted in such a manner as to extend the contractual protection (*dhimma* [*q.v.*]) to the Zoroastrian communities as well. Traditions containing decisions made by the Prophet in favour of the Zoroastrians in Baḥrayn and Yaman were adduced in support of this new interpretation.

Thanks to the tolerant attitude of Islamic officialdom, the Mazdeans were able to consolidate their position by retreating into small close communities standing aside from the life of the Islamic commonwealth. In this way they were able to survive the coming of Islam for several centuries, especially in rural districts and in those provinces where the Arabs did not settle in great numbers. Fire-temples continued to function in many parts of the country. The main centre of intellectual activity of the Zoroastrian theologians was Fārs. The archaic Pahlavi was used to commit the whole body of religious knowledge to writing after it had been transmitted chiefly by oral tradition during the pre-Islamic period. In some of the Pahlavi books there are traces of a confrontation with Islam, more specifically with the speculative *kalām* of the Muʿtazila. Important in this respect is the apologetic work *Shkand Gumānīk Vičār* ("The decisive solution of doubts") (edited by P.-J. de Menasce, Freiburg 1945). Citations from the Ḳurʾān occur in the Zoroastrian encyclopaedia *Dēnkart* (cf. A. Bausani, *Persia religiosa*, 138 ff.). This renaissance of Mazdean religious culture reached its peak in the 8th-9th centuries. Afterwards, the pressure exerted by the Muslim environment, which by that time had already been strongly iranized, became too strong. Those who did not want to follow the majority of the people in their conversion to Islam began to leave Iran. This exodus to Gudjarāt seems to have started in the 10th century A.D. [See PĀRSĪS]. Only a small minority continued to adhere to the religion in Iran. In later times they were chiefly concentrated in Yazd and Kirmān. They were rather contemptuously designated as *gabrs* [*q.v.*].

Already the Sasanian empire had had its religious minorities. Its policy with regard to these groups had been subject to many changes resulting from the vicissitudes of foreign and internal political events. Generally speaking, the minorities were far better off under Islamic rule. This is especially true of the Manichaeans who had fled from Sasanian persecution to Central Asia but partly returned to the homeland of their creed, Mesopotamia, in the early Islamic period. Little is heard of them until ʿAbbāsid times when they began to exert a considerable intellectual influence which was countered both by Muʿtazilī apologists and by an official inquisition [see further *s.v.* ZINDĪḲ]. As far as Iran is concerned, there are only scattered references to Manichaean communities in the north-eastern provinces. A *Khānḳāh-i Manāviyān* directed by a *nigōshak* is still mentioned by the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (p. 113) in 372/982-3. Persian literature has preserved numerous references to Manichaean painting.

The Christians in Iran belonged in the main to the Nestorian church which had sought here a refuge from persecution in the Byzantine Empire. Its missionary activity did not have much success in Iran. The evidence relevant to the early Islamic period points to the existence of a limited number of bishoprics with a relatively great density in Fārs. In the north-east, Marv was the see of a Metropolitan.

The settlement of Jews in Iran goes back to antiquity. They enjoyed a large amount of tolerance in the country both before and after the coming of Islam. Their communities, often living in separate Yahūdiyya-quarters, were to be found in many of the larger cities, but were particularly important in Khūzistān, Hamadān and Iṣfahān. At an early stage, the Iranian Jews started to use Persian for their writings, using the Hebrew-Aramaic alphabet. A small but interesting Judaeo-Persian literature [*q.v.*], consisting mainly of religious works, has been preserved.

Since the 2nd century B.C., Mahāyana Buddhism had penetrated those parts of Central Asia which were inhabited by Iranian peoples. Already in pre-Islamic times it had to retreat before Zoroastrianism but it continued to be of some importance in the region of Gandhara and Balkh during the first few centuries of the Islamic era. The Buddhist convent of Naw Bahār (from Sanskrit *nōva vihāra* "new monastery") was very renowned and figures often in early Persian poetry. The Barmakids, the Iranian viziers of Hārūn al-Rashīd, were descended from an abbott (*parmak*) of the convent [cf. AL-BARĀMIKA].

The process of Islamization which eventually made Iran a thoroughly Islamic country took several centuries to be completed. The great historians of the Arab conquest (*e.g.*, al-Balādhurī, al-Ṭabarī), as well as a number of local histories (*e.g.*, the *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān*, al-Narshakhī on Transoxania and Ibn Isfandiyār on the Caspian provinces), have transmitted a great variety of reports on the conversion of groups or individuals originating from different regions and scattered over a large period of time. It is hardly possible to form a coherent picture of the process as a whole out of incidents which not unfrequently seem to contradict each other. Undoubtedly, the chaotic character of the evidence corresponds with the nature of the actual historical development. As there was no consistent policy on the part of the government, local conditions as well as social differences usually decided the course of events. The individual arbitrary decisions of local officials were often a very important factor.

The first report about the acceptance of Islam dates from as early as the battle of al-Ḳādisiyya [*q.v.*] when Daylamī cavalry troops (*asāwira*, also designated as Ḥamrā Daylam) deserted from the Imperial army and came to terms with the Arabs. This included conversion to the new religion as well as the settlement of these mercenaries in the recently founded *miṣr* of Kūfa (cf. L. Caetani, *Annali*, iii/2, 916-20). On some occasions Iranian notables were deported to the centre of the Caliphate to serve in the Umayyad administration and were remembered by later generations as the pride of their regions (cf. e.g. *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān*, ed. M. T. Bahār, 18 ff.).

Conversions of this kind required a complete assimilation to the way of life of the conquerors, including the adoption of Arabic names. Reports of forced conversions or the violation of the sanctuaries of the protected religions are rare, but this may be partially due to the predominantly Islamic bias of the sources.

The pattern of Arab settlement [see AL-ʿARAB, iii] largely determined the pace of the Islamization of the different regions. In the cities of Khurāsān and of northern al-Djibāl, later also in those of Transoxania, large Arab garrisons were stationed which had a great influence on the rate of conversion among the townspeople. It has been suggested by several scholars that the urban class of artisans and tradesmen adopted the new religion so easily because in Sasanian society they had been discriminated against on account of their low status in the Mazdean scale of social values. Of the other social classes, the peasants were least open to outside influences and accepted Islam only very slowly. This cannot be explained exclusively by their isolation and the conservatism usually found among a rural population, but equally by their economic situation. The dependence of the state finances on the revenues of the land-tax, which was levied only on the non-Muslims, one of the most thorny problems of the young Islamic empire, put a great restraint on missionary activity directed towards the peasantry. In the administration of the great mass of non-Muslim subjects the Arab rulers for a long time used the services of the local aristocracy who had survived the downfall of the Sasanian empire. Although the *dihḳān*s [*q.v.*] and *marzpān*s were sometimes invited to become Muslims, their symbiosis with the Islamic government was not dependent on a religious affiliation but was essentially a political and economic necessity.

Massive conversions could still take place in Iran as late as the 5th/11th century. The rise of Ṣūfism did much to bridge the gap between the broad masses and the bearers of the religious tradition who mainly belonged to the upper classes of society. Members of the pietist Karrāmiyya sect were also very active as missionaries. The Shīʿī propaganda of the Zaydiyya is to be credited with the Islamization of the Caspian provinces.

Being a Muslim brought many social advantages to a non-Arab subject of the Islamic theocracy, but during the period of Arab hegemony which lasted till the downfall of the Umayyads in the middle of the 2nd/8th century, the convert could only aspire to the status of a second-class citizen. As a client or *mawlā* (pl. *mawālī* [*q.v.*]), the non-Arab Muslim enjoyed the protection of an Arab tribe or family but was subject to certain disabilities

Although the Iranian *mawālī* often participated with great enthusiasm in the wars against unbelievers (*e.g.*, at the time of the conquest of Soghdia and afterwards in the struggle with the pagan Turks), the disadvantages of their status made them a potential ally to any politico-religious movement that came out in revolt against Umayyad rule.

The participation of Iranian *mawālī* in a sectarian movement is recorded for the first time in the accounts of the rebellion of al-Mukhtār [*q.v.*] who in 66-7/685-7 defended the claims to the imāmate of Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyya [*q.v.*] and demanded revenge for the death of al-Ḥusayn. His personal guard was recruited from the Ḥamrā *mawālī* in Kūfa. They are designed as *kāfirkūbāt* ([*q.v.*] literally "unbeliever clubs"), a designation which reappears in the sources when they mention the Iranians who took part in the ʿAbbāsid revolt. [See also KAYSĀNIYYA]. The Azāriḳa [*q.v.*], a Khāridjite group which, after having been defeated in ʿIrāḳ, continued its opposition in various parts of Iran (66/685-78/698-9), was also supported by many Iranian clients. Another Shīʿī pretender, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya [*q.v.*], was equally forced to retreat into Iranian territory after the failure of his rising in Kūfa (127/744). Taking advantage of the general atmosphere of discontent prevailing in the later Umayyad period, he succeeded in uniting dissenters of quite different religious and political parties under his command. Among them were Zaydīs, Khāridjīs and even prominent members of the ʿAbbāsid family. This sect, known as al-Djanāḥiyya [*q.v.*], displays doctrinal features that are common to many other early Shīʿī heterodoxies (*e.g.*, esoteric knowledge invested in the *imām* and the concealment (*ghayba*) and eventual return (*radjʿa*) of the founder of the sect). None of these movements, however, originated in Iran. They were the products of the syncretistic religious culture of ʿIrāḳ where Iranian ideas formed only one of several constituant elements. [See further s.v. GHULĀT].

From 116/734-128/746, the Soghdians were in open revolt over the poll-tax. This rebellion acquired a religious dimension through the collaboration of a group of pious Arabs like Abu 'l-Ṣaydāʾ Ṣāliḥ b. Ṭarīf, who had been a successful missionary among the Soghdians, and al-Ḥārith b. Suraydj [*q.v.*]. In the interests of Islam, they supported the claim of the *mawālī* to full rights as Muslims and they summoned the Umayyad government to return to the ordinances of the Ḳurʾān and the *sunna*. The secretary of al-Ḥārith, Djahm b. Ṣafwān [*q.v.*], was one of the earliest Islamic theologians working in Iran.

The non-Muslim subjects showed a remarkable restraint towards the strife among the different factions of the Muslim community. The orthodox Mazdeans, the most numerous group, made no attempts to take advantage of this confusion. The movement of Bihʾ āfrīd b. Farwardān [*q.v.*], who proclaimed himself a Prophet about 129/747 in Khʷāf (near Nīshāpūr), originated in a sectarian environment. He claimed to be sent from heaven in order to reform the Mazdean religion. His message, which is said to have been laid down in a book written in Persian, was mainly concerned with religious practice. The prescriptions he gave were aimed at an adaption of Zoroastrianism to the moral and ritual code of Islam. The most outspoken opposition to his activities came from the orthodox Zoroastrian clergy.

In the last years of the first century A.H., the ʿAbbāsid family, through the famous testament of Abū Hāshim [*q.v.*], had acquired the leadership of the most active section of the early Shīʿī movement. From Kūfa, the traditional centre of politico-religious opposition against the Umayyad regime, an effective propaganda was organized, focused on the province of Khurāsān where conditions seemed especially favour-

able for stirring up a massive revolt. The activities of the ʿAbbāsid missionaries were directed to all the groups, whether Arab or Iranian, who had reason to be discontented with the present situation. To Iranian participants, the problem of equality within the Muslim community provided the main incentive. Another issue of a religious nature was the claim of revenge for the Zaydī pretender Yaḥyā b. Zayd [*q.v.*], who had been killed in battle with Umayyad troops in 125/743 when he was trying to win support in Khurāsān. The religious motivation of the ʿAbbāsids themselves is not quite clear [see AL-HĀSHIMIYYA], but it is certain that they did not desire any emphasis on extreme points of doctrine, as is apparent from their disavowal of one of the prominent agitators, Khidāsh, when he was tried and executed on the grounds of spreading "khurramī" heresies, as well as from the vehement action taken by Abū Muslim, the architect of ʿAbbāsid victory, against several heretical movements.

In retrospect, the founding of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate appears to be a turning point in the development of Islam in Iran. Iranian Muslims, whose numbers were rapidly increasing, could now partake on an equal footing in the affairs of the Islamic community. The theocracy itself, on the other hand, became to a certain extent "iranized" as a result of the infiltration of a great number of Iranians into all the branches of its central administration. Many cultural traditions of ancient Iran were integrated into Islamic culture. There was also a large measure of participation by the Iranian Muslims in the elaboration of the great theological and juridical systems of Islam which took place in the early ʿAbbāsid period. The cities of Khurāsān and Transoxania developed into important centres of Islamic learning.

The immediate effects of the revolt which brought the ʿAbbāsids into power seemed at first to point to a quite different line of development. A wide-spread discontent with social conditions, as well as a receptiveness to heterodox religious ideas, notably among those sections of the population which had only been touched very slightly by Islam, the very elements on which the leaders of the revolution had built their success, continued to form an obstacle to political stability in the Iranian provinces. The severance by the ʿAbbāsids of their former relations with sectarian groups and, more specifically, the crude disposal of the popular leader of the movement in Khurāsān, Abū Muslim, provided the incentive for a long series of politico-religious risings. They were often headed by former collaborators of Abū Muslim, who made him the object of a messianic expectation similar to those current among the early Shīʿī *ghulāt*. It was believed that after a period of occultation (*ghayba*) he would return in the company of the pre-Islamic heretic Mazdak and of the Mahdī. A pronounced anti-Islamic tendency was expressed in the prophecy of a return of Zoroaster and the destruction of the Kaʿba. The idea of metempsychosis (*tanāsukh*) was also present: a divine element was thought to have been transmitted to Abū Muslim's daughter Fāṭima and to his son Fīrūz Mahdī. Collectively these movements are designated as the Abū-Muslimiyya. Another general term used in reference to a variety of these sects is Khurramiyya or Khurramdīniyya [*q.v.*]. This appellation is used in particular to characterize a number of customs, among which community of goods and wives are cited as the most objectionable, deviating from the Islamic way of life. A historical connection with the movement of Mazdak in Sasanian times has often been suggested but cannot be substantiated by the available evidence.

Most of these movements manifested themselves in the rural districts of eastern Iran and Transoxania. The leaders of the revolts were Sinbādh, Isḥāḳ al-Turk, Ustādhsīs and the "veiled Prophet", al-Muḳannaʿ [*q.v.*], whose followers were known as the *Mubayyiḍa* or *Safīd-djāmagān* on account of their white garments. The most dangerous rebellion was led by Bābak [*q.v.*], and took place in Ādharbāydjān. It was only subdued after a long campaign directed by the best generals of the ʿAbbāsid army. The Rāwandiyya [*q.v.*], which projected spiritual leadership, based on a divine incarnation, in the person of the caliph al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*], also originated in Iran, but its main activity was in ʿIrāḳ. The geographers and historians of the 4th/10th century still make mention of remnants of these sects in isolated parts of the country [for historical details see IRAN, HISTORY and the references given there].

Among the early ʿAbbāsid caliphs who still had a direct control over all the Iranian provinces, al-Maʾmūn [*q.v.*] showed a special interest in this part of his empire. His attempt to make an alliance with the Ḥusaynī branch of the ʿAlids by appointing the *imām* ʿAlī al-Riḍā as his heir to the caliphate was little more than an episode. Yet it left permanent traces in Iran in the form of the two most venerated shrines of the Iranian Shīʿa: the Āstān-i ḳuds-i Raḍawī, the grave of the *imām* ʿAlī al-Riḍā [*q.v.*], who died under suspicious circumstances in Ṭūs (the present-day Mashhad [*q.v.*]) in 203/818, and the tomb of his sister Fāṭima al-Maʿṣūma in Ḳumm. The religious disputes held at the court of this caliph in Marv, in which representatives of various Islamic and non-Islamic denominations took part, show the great differentiation of religious opinion prevailing at this time as well as the relatively tolerant attitude adopted by the government.

In the long run, however, Iran developed into a predominantly Sunnī country, which it remained until the end of the Middle Ages. The rise of semi-independent dynasties in the eastern parts from the early 3rd/9th century onwards in no way checked this general trend. Both the Ṭāhirids and the Sāmānids acted as guardians of Sunnism and continued to acknowledge the suzerainty of the ʿAbbāsids as the ultimate source of legitimate rule within the Islamic community. The same seems to hold true of the Ṣaffārids in spite of the intimation of heterodox leanings put forward by Niẓām al-Mulk (*Siyāsatnāma*, ed. H. Darke, Tehran 1340 *sh.*, 20; transl., idem, London 1960, 15). They had come to power as the leaders of a popular movement against the Khāridjites who had managed to obtain a foothold in Sīstān. Even the growth of a distinctive Iranian self-awareness, expressing itself in the use of Persian for literary purposes and the creation of Persian literature, was not connected with a tendency to depart from Islamic orthodoxy. Among the earliest works that became accessible in Persian were such classics of Sunnī Islām as the *Taʾrīkh* and the *Tafsīr* of al-Ṭabarī.

The religious situation in Iran during the second half of the 4th/10th and the beginning of the next century can be reconstructed to some extent from scattered pieces of information which have been transmitted by the geographers and historians of this period. The *Kitāb Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm* of al-Muḳaddasī, written in 375/985, is a particularly rich source as far as the geography of religion is concerned (cf. the compilation of these references in P. Schwarz, *Iran*, *passim* as well as B. Spuler, *Iran*, 145 ff. and the *Karte III* with *Erläuterungen* at the end of this work).

Together these data point to a confusing diversity, even within the community of the people of the Sunna. It is therefore difficult to trace the main lines of division between the various doctrinal and juridical schools. In general there was a preference for the Ḥanafī school of law in the eastern provinces, especially among the lower classes. The Shāfiʿiyya had strongholds in Kirmān, Ṭabaristān and in several parts of Transoxania. The position of the *madhāhib* in the western provinces is less clear. For some period of time smaller schools like the Ẓāhiriyya [*q.v.*] founded by Dāʾūd al-Iṣfahānī [*q.v.*] and the Thawriyya of Sufyān al-Thawrī [*q.v.*] had a fair number of followers in Iran. The doctrinal school of the Muʿtazila had, from the time of its efflorescence under the protection of the early ʿAbbāsids onwards, penetrated the Iranian provinces with much success. It managed to hold its ground there for a very long time after the reaction of the Ḥanbalī traditionalists had put an end to its dominant position in ʿIrāḳ. The struggle with the emerging neo-orthodox schools founded by al-Ashʿarī and al-Māturīdī continued at least till the time of the Saldjūḳs. The *kalām* of the Muʿtazila became of lasting significance to Iranian Islam on account of its influence on the doctrinal system of the Ithnā-ʿasharī branch of the Shīʿa. The larger cities usually contained a number of different religious minorities who lived in continuous rivalry and strife. The antagonism of social groups designated as *ʿaṣabiyyāt* [*q.v.*] merged with the controversies among the adherents of the various ritual or doctrinal schools. Not unfrequently, this took the form of small-scale civil war within the cities (cf. Cl. Cahen, *Mouvements populaires et autonomisme urbain dans l'Asie musulmane du moyen âge*, in *Arabica*, vi (1959), 27 ff.).

The sect of the Karrāmiyya [*q.v.*] originated in Khurāsān out of the teachings of Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Karrām (d. 255/869). It found its following chiefly among the artisans. The most remarkable traits of the Karrāmiyya as far as practical religious life is concerned were the emphasis on traditionalist piety, the foundation of *khānḳāh*s or small convents which may have supplied the models for later institutions of religious education, and the vehement missionary zeal of the sect, directed as much to the heterodox groups within Islam as to the non-Muslims. The height of its development was reached at the beginning of the 5th/11th century when they acquired a considerable influence on the Ghaznavid rulers as well as on the early Ghūrids [*q.v.*].

Ṣūfism appears in Iran for the first time in the second half of the 4th/9th century. One of the earliest representatives was the great Ṣūfī *shaykh* Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī [*q.v.*]. The foundation of the school of the Malāmatiyya [*q.v.*] is attributed to Ḥamdūn al-Ḳaṣṣār [*q.v.*] of Nīshāpūr. The emphasis on absolute sincerity and indifference to all outward appearances of piety, characteristic of the Malāmatiyya, became a distinctive mark of the mysticism of Khurāsān as compared with the Ṣūfism of ʿIrāḳ. In the first half of the 5th/10th century pupils of the ʿIrāḳī schools settled in eastern Iranian towns, e.g. Mūsā al-Anṣārī (d. *ca.* 320/932) in Marv and al-Thaḳafī (d. 328/940) in Nīshāpūr. The great extension of Ṣūfism in Khurāsān was recorded a century later by al-Hudjwīrī [*q.v.*] in his *Kashf al-maḥdjūb*.

A second centre of early Ṣūfism was Fārs where the first important *shaykh* was Ibn al-Khafīf [*q.v.*] (d. 371/981). His teaching had a profound influence in this province which lasted for many centuries. It was continued by Shaykh Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Shahriyār (d. 426/1033) [*q.v.*] of Kāzarūn, the eponym of the Isḥāḳiyya or Kāzarūniyya, one of the very first Ṣūfī orders not only of Iran but of Islam in general.

Until the rise of the Ṣafawids about 1500 A.D., the Shīʿa remained a religious minority in Iran. As a matter of fact, it did not constitute a homogeneous group but consisted of quite different parties which were opposed to each other as much as the Sunnīs were opposed to all of them together. The small but militant movements of the *ghulāt*, which were particularly active during the Umayyad period, as a rule did not originate in Iran but emanated from southern ʿIrāḳ. The great majority of the Shīʿites living in Iran adhered to the quietist attitude in the matter of the political leadership of the community which had been adopted by the Ḥusaynī branch of the ʿAlids after the tragic failure of al-Ḥusayn's expedition to ʿIrāḳ at Karbalāʾ. Apart from their views on the doctrine of the Imāma [*q.v.*], they did not differ significantly, either in doctrinal or in ritual questions from the Sunnīs. This large moderate group of the Shīʿa, originally referred to by the general name of al-Rāfiḍiyya [*q.v.*], was from an early date strongly represented in the northern cities of al-Djibāl or ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjamī. Shīʿism was brought here by the Arabs who settled in this area when this part of the country was still a frontier with the not yet Islamized Caspian regions. Ḳumm, in particular, is an old stronghold of the Shīʿa in Iran. Scattered Shīʿa communities were to be found in other provinces as well. In Khurāsān, Nīshāpūr, Harāt and Ṭūs significant Shīʿī minorities were living together in separate quarters, generally tolerated by the Sunnī majority although from time to time they became involved in *ʿaṣabiyyāt* struggles. A rural district with a long tradition of Shīʿism was Bayhaḳ, with the city of Sabzawār. Khūzistān and Fārs also contained a fair number of Shīʿites.

The Zaydiyya [*q.v.*], for whom the active assertion of his claim had become an important pre-requisite of the rightful *imām*, were moderate in doctrine but not deficient in political zeal. In 250/864 a Zaydī pretender belonging to the Ḥasanī branch of the ʿAlids, Sayyid Ḥasan b. Zayd, entitled *al-dāʿī al-kabīr*, succeeded in driving the Ṭāhirid governor out of Māzandarān, and founded there a Shīʿī state which in spite of successive reverses held its ground for several centuries. The Zaydites did a great deal to spread Islam in the Caspian regions, extending their influence both to Gurgān in the East and to Gīlān and Daylam in the West. Al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Utrūsh [*q.v.*] was very active as a missionary of Shīʿī Islam.

The mountains of Daylam, the inhabitants of which owed their acquaintance with Islam mainly to Zaydī missionaries, were the place of origin of the clan of the Būyids [*q.v.*]. As rulers of western Iran and ʿIrāḳ they did not put an end to the Sunnī caliphate of Baghdād, although it had been deprived completely of its political power. On the other hand they gave much stimulus to the further development of Shīʿī doctrines and customs, especially among the followers of the Ḥusaynī *imāms* who began to form a more defined denominational entity as the Imāmiyya or Ithnā-ʿashariyya [*q.v.*]. The celebration of the most important Shīʿī festivals such as the remembrance of the investiture of ʿAlī at Ghadīr al-Khumm [*q.v.*] and the mourning (*taʿziya*) of the martyrs of Karbalāʾ in the month of Muḥarram [*q.v.*] is for the first time recorded in the Būyid period.

The mission (*daʿwa*) of the Ismāʿīliyya [*q.v.*] in Iran had already started before the end of the 3rd/9th century. The initiative was taken by the Ḳarma-

ṭians [*q.v.*] who, in addition to their centres in the Arabian territories bordering on the Persian Gulf, had a footing in Khūzistān as well. From here the missionary Khalaf was sent to the Shīʿī areas in al-Djibāl. From their base near Rayy, the Ismāʿīlīs, who in this part of Iran were known for a long time as Khalafiyya, tried to extend their influence to the Caspian regions, and to Khurāsān and Transoxania. After the establishment of the Fāṭimid caliphate in Egypt propaganda was directed from Cairo. Missionary activity in Iran was on the whole not very fruitful, in spite of the frequently outstanding intellectual capacities of the *dāʿīs*. The efforts were chiefly directed to the conversion of influential men of the ruling classes. Some spectacular but not very permanent achievements were made, e.g., the conversion of the Sāmānid *amīr* Naṣr II b. Aḥmad by the *dāʿī* Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nasafī, which led to the former's forced abdication in 331/942-3, and of one of the latest Būyid rulers, Abū Kalidjar, who was won over to the Fāṭimid cause by al-Muʾayyad fi 'l-Dīn [*q.v.*]. The latter, by winning over a Turkish commander in the Būyid service, al-Basāsīrī [*q.v.*], almost succeeded in establishing Fāṭimid suzerainty in Baghdād. But this was frustrated by the intervention of the Saldjūḳ chief Ṭughril Beg, who rescued the ʿAbbāsids from their imprisonment in a Shīʿī state. More permanent results of the early Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* were the strongholds in isolated parts of the country like Ḳuhistān and Badakhshān. The literary output of the Ismāʿīlī communities, both in Arabic and Persian, was not inconsiderable. (See further S. Stern, ***The early Ismāʿīlī missionaries in North-West-Persia and in Khurasan and Transoxania***, in *BSOAS*, xxiii (1960), 59-60; on the literature of the early period: W. Ivanow, *Studies in early Persian Ismailism*, Bombay 1955²; idem, *A Guide to Ismaili Literature*, London 1933; idem, *Ismaili Literature. Bibliographical Survey*, Tehran 1963).

The propagandist activities of the Ismāʿīliyya, usually referred to as Bāṭiniyya, became a great concern of the Sunnī rulers in Iran. This led to increasing intolerance with regard to religious minorities. Especially under the rule of the Ghaznavids and the Saldjūḳs in the 5th/11th—6th/12th centuries, a hardening of the relationship between the denominations can be observed. The situation grew worse towards the end of the 5th/11th century. The leadership was taken by Ḥasan-i Sabbāḥ [*q.v.*], who in 483/-1090 made himself master of the impregnable fortress of Alamūt [*q.v.*] in Daylam. This became the residence of an Iranian Ismāʿīlī dynasty in open rebellion against the Saldjūḳ sultan. Almost at the same time the supporters of the Fāṭimids split over the succession to the imāmate after the death of the caliph al-Mustanṣir (487/1094). The party who lost the struggle in Cairo, the Nizārīs [*q.v.*], had won the support of most of the Ismāʿīlīs in Iran under the guidance of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ. In Western reports on this movement they are referred to as the Assassins, a name originating in Syria [see ḤASHĪSHIYYYA]. In the doctrines of this new sect great emphasis was laid on the necessity of a continuous teaching (*taʿlīm*) by a present *imām* in order to make the esoteric meaning of the revelation accessible to the believers. The breach from all the other sections of the Islamic community became absolute when in 559/-1164 the "resurrection" (*ḳiyāma*), by which the *sharīʿa* was abolished for the Nizārī community, was proclaimed. Half a century later the community reconciled itself to its Islamic environment and placed itself again under the rule of the religious law. After the final destruction of its strongholds during the campaign of the Mongol prince Hülegü (654/1256), the Ismāʿīliyya in Iran ceased to exist as an independent force but lived on in the form of a religious minority for which the *imām* acted as spiritual guide (*pīr*).

Through the victory of the Saldjūḳs over the Būyids Sunnism had again acquired supremacy in most parts of Iran. Although the sultans adhered to the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, the Shāfiʿiyya, to which the most prominent theologians belonged, became very influential thanks to the personal adherance of the powerful vizier Niẓām al-Mulk. The class of the theological and juridical scholars began to infiltrate the administration of the central government. To this end the extension of traditional academic education was fostered by the foundation of *madrasas* [*q.v.*] in the larger cities of the empire, known by the name of Niẓāmiyya.

The representatives of the Ithnā-ʿashariyya were, at the beginning of the Sunnī restoration in Western Iran, regarded with great suspicion. This attitude both on the part of the sultans and of the great vizier is clearly expressed in several anecdotes of the latter's *Siyāsatnāma*. In the 6th/12th century, when Niẓām al-Mulk no longer put his stamp on religious policy, the Shīʿites were able to take a greater share in the affairs of the state. Some of them even reached the rank of vizier. The altercations between Sunnis and Shīʿa continued, however, in disputes and literary polemics, as well as outbursts of physical violence. An invaluable source for our knowledge of these controversies is the *Kitāb al-Naḳḍ* or *Baʿḍ mathālib al-nawāṣib fī naḳḍ faḍāʾiḥ al-Rawāfiḍ* by Naṣr al-Dīn Abu 'l-Rashīd ʿAbd al-Dhalīl al-Ḳazwīnī al-Rāzī, an apology for the Shīʿa in reply to a Sunnī literary attack.

In the course of the 5th/11th century Ṣūfism was well on its way towards becoming one of the dominant forms of Islam in Iran. Its greatest progress was made among the predominantly Sunnī population of the eastern provinces while the Shīʿa, in general, took a critical stand towards mysticism. The numerous Ṣūfī *shaykhs* of this period still lived and worked within the small circles of their pupils, established usually in convents (*ribāṭ, khānḳāh*) but without organizational ties. They taught by their words as well as by the example of their spiritual life, and did not pay much attention to the scholastic elaboration of Ṣūfī doctrine, to which, in the schools of ʿIrāḳī Ṣūfism, the name of al-Djunayd [*q.v.*] is especially connected. The ideas of the great *shaykhs* of Khurāsān living in this period are best known from the hagiographic works written by their followers (*e.g.*, Abū Saʿīd b. Abi 'l-Khayr [*q.v.*], Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Kharakānī [*q.v.*] and Aḥmad-i Djāmī [*q.v.*]). One of the first theoreticians of mysticism in eastern Iran was ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī [*q.v.*] of Harāt (d. 481/1089). The reconciliation of Ṣūfism with the doctrines of Sunnī orthodoxy which took place in this century was largely due to the efforts of eminent Khurāsānī mystics like al-Ḳushayrī [*q.v.*] and Muḥammad al-Ghazālī [*q.v.*]. On the whole, the Turkish rulers of Iran, as well as their Iranian bureaucrats, favoured the Ṣūfī *shaykhs*, chiefly out of respect for the miracles (*karāmāt*) attributed to these holy men.

One of the most decisive influences of Iranian mysticism, spreading to the farthest corners of the Islamic world, was the formation of Ṣūfī brotherhoods known as *ṭarīḳas* [*q.v.*]. Apart from the Kāzarūniyya of Fārs already mentioned, most of the early orders were formed in the 6th/12th century. Among them was the fraternity of the Khʷādjagān founded by

Kh^wādja Yūsuf al-Hamadhānī (d. 555/1160) in Khurāsān but better known through its Transoxanian branch, the Yasawiyya, named after the Turkish Ṣūfī *shaykh* Aḥmad Yasawī [*q.v.*] (d. 562/1166). With the expansion of the Turks to the West the Yasawī type of Ṣūfism was introduced in Anatolia where it was continued by the Bektashiyya.

Towards the end of this century two great *ṭarīḳa*s emerged almost simultaneously at opposite sides of Iran. In ʿIrāḳ and western Iran the Suhrawardiyya, which was based on the teachings of Abū Ḥafṣ al-Suhrawardī [*q.v.*] (d. 632/1234-5), was raised for a short time to the position of an official Ṣūfī organization by the caliph al-Nāṣir. A secondary branch of the Suhrawardiyya was established in Multān on the Indian subcontinent. The order of the Kubrawiyya goes back to the Kh^wārazmian *shaykh* Nadjm al-Dīn Kubrā [*q.v.*] (d. 617 or 618/1220-2). The majority of the later Ṣūfī orders of Iran derive their *silsila* from this order. Both the founder and the many eminent scholars among his pupils made a great contribution to mystical thought in Iran. The order of the Čishtiyya [*q.v.*] was also formed in Iran but reached its greatest development in India. Although it was founded in Anatolia, the Mawlawiyya [*q.v.*] should also be mentioned in this connection on account of the deep roots it had in the religious environment of eastern Iran.

The attempts of the caliph al-Nāṣir [*q.v.*] to assert the secular power of the ʿAbbāsids as well as their leading position in the religious matters of the Sunnī community led to sharp conflict with the Kh^wārazm-shāhs, who were supported by Shīʿīs seeking revenge for the repression suffered under Sunnī rule. As a part of this struggle Shāh Muḥammad tried to establish a rival caliphate for which he put forward, as his candidate, a member of the ʿAlid family. This scheme was frustrated by the Mongol invasion.

The effects of the Mongol conquest decisively changed religious conditions in Iran. Retrospectively, these changes appear to form a prelude to the establishment of a Shīʿī state a few centuries later. The disappearance of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate had weakened the position of the Sunnīs, who were deprived of this living symbol of the unity of the Islamic community, without having any theological expedient to account for the vacancy of its leadership such as the Shīʿa possessed in the doctrine of the *ghayba*. The secular power had, moreover, for the first time since the Arab conquest, passed into the hands of unbelievers. Up to the time of the conversion to Islam of Ghāzān Khān and the Mongol aristocracy (694/1295), the Īlkhāns, with the sole exception of the Muslim Aḥmad Tegüder (681/1283-683/1285), were either Shamanists, Buddhists or Nestorian Christians. Temples and churches had been erected in various places and Buddhist bakhshīs came to Iran from Central Asia and India. An interesting example of their spiritual influence is provided by the conversations with Buddhist ascetics recorded in the biography of the famous Kubrawī *shaykh* ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla [*q.v.*] al Simnānī. Other groups of non-Muslims were able to acquire a greater political influence than had previously been possible. The rise to power of the Jewish vizier Saʿd al-Dawla during the reign of Arghūn Khān (683/1284-690/1291) and the prominent place he gave to many of his co-religionists provoked at the time of his downfall one of the rare instances of an anti-Jewish outburst in the history of Iranian Islam.

In so far as the early Ilkhāns showed any interest in the religious affairs of their Muslim subjects, they not unfrequently favoured the cause of the Shīʿa. Already under Hülegü the prominent Shīʿī scholar Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī [*q.v.*] reached a position of great influence at the Mongol court. Apart from his many other intellectual pursuits, he founded a school of Shīʿī theology which flourished throughout the Mongol period. Although Ghāzān officially adhered to the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, on several occasions he showed his devotion towards the ʿAlid family, e.g., by making the pilgrimage to the holy shrines in ʿIrāḳ and by founding "houses of the *sayyids*" (*dār al-siyāda*) in many of the larger towns providing shelter and support to indigent and wandering descendants of the *ahl al-bayt*. His successor Öldjäytü (703/1304-716/1316) even temporarily joined the Shīʿa after earlier having shifted his allegiance from the Ḥanafiyya to the Shāfiʿiyya.

During the interval between the decline of Il-khānid power after the death of Abū Saʿīd in 736/1336 and the rise of Tīmūr, the discontent of the population with Mongol rule found an outlet in the revolt of the Sarbadārids [*q.v.*] in Khurāsān. A religious dimension was given to this movement by the collaboration of the Shaykhiyya-Djūriyya, a Shīʿī order of Ṣūfīs established in Sabzawār by Shaykh Khalīfa (d. 736/-1335) and his pupil Ḥasan Djūrī (d. *ca.* 739/1338). To a branch of this order belonged Mīr Ḳiwām al-Dīn al-Marʿashī, a *sayyid* who in the same period founded a small Shīʿī state in Māzandarān. His dynasty, residing in Āmul, is known as the Sādāt-i Marʿashī.

Tīmūr and his successors were without exception Sunnīs. The great conqueror, however, often subordinated his religious allegiance to political interests. His son Shāhrukh (807/1405-850/1446) was an excellent example of the righteous Sunnī ruler, but a much more relaxed attitude was adopted by the provincial government in Transoxania under Ulugh Beg [*q.v.*]. It was supported by the aristocratic *ʿulamāʾ* of Samarḳand and Bukhārā who by tradition exerted secular power. But, on the other hand, it provoked a fierce reaction from the Naḳshbandiyya [*q.v.*]. This Ṣūfī order regarded itself as the defender of the lower social classes as well as of the strict observance of the *sharīʿa*. With the rise to power of the Tīmūrid Sultan Abū Saʿīd [*q.v.*] (855/1452-872/1469) in Samarḳand the leading Naḳshbandī *shaykh*, Kh^wādja Aḥrār, acquired a predominant influence in political affairs. Simultaneously, the Naḳshbandiyya became also the main spiritual force at the court of the Tīmūrids in Harāt during the reign of Ḥusayn Bayḳara [*q.v.*] (872/1468-911/1504). But here the *ṭarīḳa*, led by such eminent cultured men as Djāmī [*q.v.*] and his *murīd* Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī [*q.v.*], did not display the obscurantism which characterized the Transoxanian branch. The sultan himself was not entirely free from Shīʿī sympathies. His deportment at the rediscovery of the alleged tomb of ʿAlī near Balkh, where he founded the shrine that became known as Mazār-i Sharīf [*q.v.*], was a remarkable instance of this.

At the end of the 8th/14th century the Ḥurūfiyya [*q.v.*], a sect originating in a milieu of Ṣūfīs and *sayyid*s, and owing its name to its grammatolatrous tendencies, was initiated by Faḍl Allāh [*q.v.*] Astarābādī. Very soon it was subdued in Iran by Mīrān Shāh, a son of Tīmūr. The further history of the sect was enacted chiefly in Syria and Anatolia. Another heretic leader, Nūrbakhsh [*q.v.*] (d. 869/1464), who during the reign of Shāhrukh repeatedly asserted himself to be Mahdī in various parts of Iran, was through his teacher Isḥāḳ al-Khuttalānī connected with the Kubrawiyya order which up to his time had adhered

to the Sunnī sharīʿa in spite of a considerable influence of Shīʿī ideas.

The dynasties which dominated Western Iran during most of the 9th/15th century were based on confederations of Turkoman tribes. Among these still only superficially Islamized nomads an intensive religious propaganda was spread in the course of this period. It radiated from Ardabīl in Ādharbāydjān, which from the early 8th/14th century onwards was the centre of a Sunnī mystical order founded by Shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn [*q.v.*] (d. 735/1335). Under the leadership of his descendants, this *ṭarīḳa* won great support among the tribes living in the borderland between Anatolia and Iran. This expansion was accompanied by a shift in the religious orientation of the Ṣafawid family towards Shīʿī concepts, which included the belief in a divine incarnation in the spiritual leader (*murshid*) of the order. This change seems to have taken place when it was guided by Shaykh Djunayd [*q.v.*] (851/1447-864/1460), and became particularly clear at the time of his successor Shaykh Ḥaydar [*q.v.*] (864/1460-893/1483). From this time onwards the Ṣafawids claimed descent from the line of Ḥusaynī *imāms*. The politico-religious confederation of Turkoman tribes which they formed was known as the Ḳïzïlbash [*q.v.*]. Similar traces of extreme Shīʿī doctrines, though far less clear than in the case of the Ḳïzïlbash, appear among the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*], especially during the reign of Sultan Djahān Shāh (841/1438-872/1467) (cf. V. Minorsky, *BSOAS*, xvi/2 (1954), 271-97). The other Turkoman power in this area, the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu [*q.v.*] was, however, unquestionably Sunnī.

Two other Shīʿī movements with *ghulāt* doctrines, focused on the concepts of incarnation and messianism, and not unsimilar to those of the 15th century Ṣafawiyya, were the sect of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ [*q.v.*], which spread from its place of origin in the area of Shahrazūr into western Iran, and the Mushaʿshaʿ [*q.v.*], which recruited its following among the Arab tribes in Khūzistān and southern ʿIrāḳ. The latter started with the appearance as Mahdī of Sayyid Muḥammad b. Falāḥ in about 840/1436. He formed a small theocratic state which under the suzerainty of the Ṣafawid shāhs continued to exist for a considerable period as a buffer state between Iran and Ottoman ʿIrāḳ.

The great expansion of Ṣūfism is one of the main characteristics of spiritual life during the three centuries separating the Mongol invasion from the rise of the Ṣafawids as rulers of Iran. The most obvious signs of this in religious practice were the pious devotion offered by men of quite different social status to the mystical *shaykhs* and the growth of the Ṣūfī brotherhoods. The orders which came to flower in the course of this period have maintained themselves in Iran up to the present day in spite of a dramatic reversal of their success in the subsequent period. The Kubrawiyya [*q.v.*] produced a number of outstanding mystical philosophers like ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla [*q.v.*] al-Simnānī (d. 736/1335-6) and Sayyid ʿAlī al-Hamadhānī [*q.v.*] (d. 786/1385). A gradual convergence of the lines of thought of Sunnī mysticism and Shīʿī imāmology is the most interesting feature of their works. The main theme is the identification of the doctrine of the *ghayba* of the Imām-Mahdī with the concept of the permanent existence of a hidden *ḳuṭb* [*q.v.*] at the top of a hierarchy of Ṣūfī saints. (See further M. Molé, *Les Kubrawiya entre sunnisme et shiisme aux huitième et neuvième siècles de l'hégire*, in *REI*, xxix (1961), 61-142).

The second great organization of Iranian Ṣūfism, the Niʿmat Allāhī Order, was founded by Shāh Niʿmat Allāh [*q.v.*] Walī (d. 834/1431). Although this *ṭarīḳa* has split into many independent branches in later times, its spiritual centre is still the shrine of the founder at Māhān in Kirmān. The individual wandering *darwīsh* [*q.v.*], a well-known figure of Iranian social life until quite recently, had his prototype in the members of *ḳalandarī* [*q.v.*] groups.

Among the Shīʿa, who in this period were still a minority, the tendency towards a reconciliation with Sunnī Ṣūfism can also be observed. Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī (d. after 787/1385) in his main work, *Djāmiʿ al-Asrār*, laid great emphasis on the fundamental unity of both strains of esoteric thought in Islam. They converge in the acknowledgement of a common source of religious inspiration: the teaching of the *imāms*, who appear at the beginning of nearly all the chains of tradition (*silsila*s [*q.v.*]) of the Ṣūfīs. (Cf. H. Corbin, in *Mélanges Henri Massé*, Tehran 1963, 72-101; see also the edition of the *Djāmiʿ* by H. Corbin and Osman Yahya, *La philosophie shi'ite*, Tehran-Paris 1969).

As elsewhere in the Islamic world of that day, the pantheistic philosophy of Ibn al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*] did not fail to have a profound influence on metaphysical thinking in Iran. It found a particularly fertile soil as quite similar ideas were already current in Persian mystical poetry although they had not yet been synthesized into a coherent system of doctrine. This congeniality, which is notable especially with the great mystical poets of the 7th/13th century, made it very easy for the commentators of subsequent generations to interpret their works in terms of the scholastic patterns of the philosophy of *waḥdat al-wudjūd*. Beginning with the poets of the early 8th/14th century like Shāh Niʿmat Allāh Walī and Maḥmūd-i Shabistarī [*qq.v.*], these models were consciously applied in all Ṣūfī poetry. The impact of Ibn al-ʿArabī affected both Sunnīs and Shīʿīs. To the latter belonged the earliest writers on mystical philosophy who can be regarded as his adepts in Iran: Saʿd al-Dīn Ḥamūya (d. 650/1252) and his pupil ʿAzīz al-Dīn Nasafī.

The proclamation issued by Shāh Ismāʿīl in 907/1501 on his ascent to the throne in Tabrīz as the first Ṣafawid ruler marks the most decisive turning-point in the history of Iranian Islam. The population of the newly conquered empire was enjoined to adopt the Shīʿī form of the call to prayer and to practise the cursing of the first three patriarchal caliphs. The former kaleidoscopical pattern of religious allegiances, which up to that time had always shown a predominance of Sunnism, was now replaced by theocratic unity based on the claim of the exclusive sovereignty in matters spiritual and secular of the ʿAlid *imāms*. In its earliest stage the Ṣafawid state was dominated by the Turkoman tribal chiefs of the Ḳïzïlbash who at the same time constituted the leading caste of the religious body. The shah, who was also the *murshid* of the Ṣafawī order, was according to contemporary reports of European observers worshipped as God. This is confirmed by allusions to a divine incarnation made by the shah himself in his Turkish poems (cf. V. Minorsky, in *BSOAS*, x (1942), 1007 ff.).

Apart from the belief in the mission of their religious guide, the intellectual content of the Ḳïzïlbash movement seems to have been very limited. Before long the movement proved to be unequal to the task of converting the majority of the people of Iran, with its ancient Sunnī traditions, into a homogeneously Shīʿī community. The initiative was taken over by the *ʿulamāʾ* of the Ithnā-ʿashariyya [*q.v.*], the only

section of the Shīʿa numerous and sophisticated enough to provide religious leadership on an adequate level. The indigenous tradition of Shīʿī scholarship was considerably reinforced by the emigration of *ʿulamāʾ* from centres outside Iran like Djabal ʿĀmil in Syria and al-Baḥrayn. A powerful clergy came into being which gradually extended its influence and endeavoured to eliminate the traces of the heterodox origins of the Ṣafawids. At the same time, however, the emergence of this class posed the fundamental question of ultimate sovereignty within the theocracy. According to the Ithna-ʿasharī doctrine of the *imāma* [*q.v.*], the Hidden Imām continues to govern the world during his *ghayba* and his sovereign rights cannot be shared by any secular power. In the 11th/17th century it had become a point of discussion whether the interpretation of the will of the *imām* was entrusted to one of the living members of the ʿAlid house (which implicitly meant the Ṣafawid shāh) or whether it was the prerogative of the collective opinion of the community as interpreted by the doctors of the Shīʿa. About the same time shah ʿAbbās I was, for political reasons, forced to break the military power of the Ḳïzïlbash. For a short while the shah tried to find a new base for his position as a spiritual leader in the Nuḳtawiyya [*q.v.*], a sect in Khurāsān in which remnants of various earlier Shīʿī movements seem to have reassembled. At the time of the last Ṣafawid ruler, Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn (1105/1694-1135/1722), the theologians virtually dominated the state.

The central religious official in the Ṣafawid state was the *ṣadr* [*q.v.*], whose function had existed already in the Timūrid period. He was charged with the supervision of religious affairs and institutions in general. At the local level he was represented by the *shaykh al-Islām* [*q.v.*], who was appointed in most of the larger cities and controlled more directly the jurisdiction of the *sharīʿa* courts. Towards the end of the 11th/17th century the office of the *ṣadr* declined and was replaced by that of a *mullābāshī* (Turkish: head mullah). The members of the clergy were mainly dependent on the revenue of *waḳf*s, but some of them also acquired great personal wealth which enhanced their prestige among the populace and made them more or less independent of the support of the political power. The shahs, for their part, took a great interest in the maintenance of the pious foundations and the embellishment of the holy places of the Shīʿa, both inside and outside Irān. Shāh ʿAbbās I, who transformed his own landed property into *awḳāf*, assumed the title of administrator (*mutawallī*) of the extensive possessions of the shrine of the *imām* al-Riḍāʾ, the actual duties of which were performed by a *mutawallībāshī* residing in Mashhad. The Shīʿī clergy was hierarchically divided into the higher group of the *ʿulamāʾ* and the lower one of the *mullās* [*q.v.*]. The duties of the latter were restricted to education and some functions deriving from the practical application of the *sharīʿa*. Among themselves the *ʿulamāʾ* constituted two opposing theological schools, the Akhbārīs who rejected all speculative theology and demanded a strict adherence to the *ḥadīth* of the Prophet and the *imāms*, and the Uṣūlīs [*q.v.*] who claimed a right of direct resort to the ultimate sources (*uṣūl*) of the faith for the fully qualified scholars of Islam. On the basis of this claim these scholars could call themselves *mudjtahid*. From this emerged the later institution of the *Mardjaʿ-i taḳlīd* [*q.v.*].

The history of the conversion of the people of Iran to Shīʿism is still largely unknown in its details. Apparently, it was not quite completed before the 12th/18th century. The victims of the first wave of actual persecution at the time of the conquest by Shāh Ismāʿīl and his Ḳïzïlbash were predominantly Sunnī theologians. Among the Ṣūfīs, the order of the Kāzarūniyya in Fārs suffered very great losses as a result of this persecution. Outbursts of violence against dissenters continued to take place throughout the Ṣafawid period. During the reign of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn the powerful *mullābāshī* Muḥammad Bāḳir al-Madjlisī [*q.v.*] intensified the persecution of Ṣūfism in which the Ḳïzïlbash were not spared. Most of the Iranian *ṭarīḳas* had virtually ceased to exist at the beginning of the 12th/18th century.

Religious topics were very much in prominence in the intellectual life of Ṣafawid times. In Persian poetry the preoccupation with mysticism was replaced by the cultivation of Shīʿī themes such as the elegies on the holy martyrs. These products of classical literature also influenced the various forms of a rich religious folk-literature. Traces of this can, for instance, be found in the libretti used for the recitals of the *rawḍakhʷān* [*q.v.*]. According to the autochthonous tradition, the passion plays (*taʿziya* [*q.v.*]), the occurrence of which is not documented before the late 12th/18th century, were instituted by Shāh Ismāʿīl as a means of propagating Shīʿī sentiment among the Iranians. Whatever the historical value of this assertion, it shows at least the important part played by religious literature in this respect. Through the efforts of the expanding religious class a large theological literature written in Arabic came into being, the magnum opus of which is the *Biḥār al-anwār* of Muḥammad Bāḳir al-Madjlisī. In addition to these scholarly works, many books on religious subjects were composed in Persian for the propagation of Shīʿī doctrines.

The most important contribution of Ṣafawid Iran to Islamic culture was the philosophical school of Iṣfahān which resuscitated the philosophy of *ishrāḳ* [*q.v.*], first elaborated by Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī [*q.v.*] al-Maḳtūl in the 7th/12th century. Forerunners of this school were the eminent Shīʿī scholars, Shaykh Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī [*q.v.*] and Mīr Muḥammad Bāḳir al-Dāmād [*q.v.*], but the actual founder, as well as its foremost representative, was Mullā Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī [*q.v.*], usually known as Mullā Ṣadrā. Other notable members were Mullā Muḥsin-i Fayḍ-i Kāshānī, Mullā ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ-i Lāhīdjī and Mīr Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim-i Findariskī. A late 13th/19th century follower of the Iṣfahān school was Ḥadjdjī Mullā Hādī-i Sabzawārī (1212/1797-8—1295/1878). The strong gnostic element in their philosophy made them suspicious in the eyes of the orthodox *mudjtahid*s. They did in fact have an impact on the development of new religious tendencies deviating from the mainstream of the Ithnā-ʿashariyya such as the school of the Shaykhiyya and the Bābī religion.

Since the establishment of the Shīʿī theocracy in Iran, the allegiance of the political power to this form of Islam has only been interrupted twice. The first occasion was the short reign of Ismāʿīl II (984/1576-985/1577), the second the period of Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*] (1148/1736-1160/1747). Notwithstanding the fact that his tribe, the Afshārs, had taken part in the original Ḳïzïlbash confederation, he pledged himself at the time of his election as *Shāhinshāh* of Iran in 1148/1736 to an attempt at a reconciliation between the Ithnā-ʿasharī Shīʿa and the Sunnism of the surrounding Islamic peoples. To this end he suggested a transformation of the Shīʿa into a fifth school of Islamic law, the Djaʿfariyya, which would share in the state of

mutual recognition existing between the four Sunnī *madhāhib*. Although this proposal was favourably received by a council of Sunnī and Shīʿī scholars held at Nadjaf in 1156/1743, it was rejected by the leading Sunnī power, the Ottoman sultan.

Under the rule of the Zand dynasty, the government returned to a strict observance of orthodox Shīʿism. One of the signs of this was the reinstatement of a *shaykh al-Islām* in Shīrāz. During this period a revival of Ṣūfism came about as a result of the missionary activities of Maʿṣūm ʿAlī Shāh, who was sent to Iran by the "pole" (*ḳuṭb*) of the Indian branch of the Niʿmat Allāhī order. This provoked a fierce persecution end with the execution of Maʿṣum ʿAlī Shāh in 1212/1797-8. The driving force behind this was the dominating *mudjtahid* of this time, Āḳā Muḥammad Bāḳir-i Bihbihānī (1117/1705-1208/1803). Living in Karbalāʾ, as a leading scholar of the Uṣūlī school, he succeeded in bringing to an end the predominance of the Akhbārīs at the holy shrines (*ʿatabāt*) in ʿIrāḳ, a predominance which had existed there since the end of the Ṣafawid period. At the same time, the Shīʿī theory of the *uṣūl al-fiḳh* was being elaborated and greater emphasis was laid on the right of *idjtihād*. These developments were of great significance for the relationship between the dynasty of the Ḳādjārs and the clergy during the 13th/19th century. The latter came to hold the spiritual leadership whereas the shahs could no longer point to an ʿAlid descent as a counterweight. The situation of the chief centres of Shīʿī learning outside the boundaries of the Iranian state did very much to strengthen the position of the clergy whenever they opposed the policy of the Ḳādjārs. But even inside Iran they enjoyed a large measure of immunity, an important part of which was the traditional right of asylum (*bast* [*q.v.*]) accorded to places of religious importance.

During the reigns of the early Ḳādjārs, the Shīʿī clergy was able to exert a considerable influence on the affairs of the state. Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh (1211/1797-1250/1834), who in all possible ways endeavoured to foster the growth of the religious body, showed himself especially amenable to pressure from the *mudjtahids*. On more than one occasion they actually interfered with his foreign policy. Under his successors relations between the state and the religious leaders became more strained. The latter's fierce opposition to the growing impact of western influences in Iran finally led to their active support of the popular protests against foreign monopolies like the tobacco concession of 1891-1892 and their involvement in the struggle against the authoritarian rule of the Ḳādjār shahs during the constitutional revolution at the beginning of this century. The Iranian government, on the other hand, as it more and more assumed the attitudes of a modern secular state, became less willing to respect the traditional privileges of the religious class.

Almost at the same time as the controversy between Akhbārīs and Uṣūlīs was settled in favour of the latter, a new schism divided the Shīʿī theologians. The doctrines of Shaykh Aḥmad al-Aḥsāʾī [*q.v.*], which were mainly concerned with the role of the Hidden Imām as a mediator in men's striving towards moral perfection and with problems of eschatology, were condemned as heretical by the *mudjtahids*. As a result of this the sect of the *Shaykhīs* [*q.v.*] was formed out of what had only been a school of Shīʿī theology. After the death of al-Aḥsāʾī in 1241/1826, his teaching was continued by Sayyid Kāẓim-i Rashtī (d. 1259/1843) who, from his residence in Karbalāʾ, was able to exert his influence through the Iranian pilgrims. Afterwards the Shaykhī sect split into three branches of which only the Āḳāʾī's are of any significance today. The centre of the present community is the *madrasa* of Kirmān. Larger groups of Shaykhīs are also to be found in Tehran, in Ādharbāydjān and Fārs, as well as among the employees of the oil industry in Khūzistān. (Cf. G. Scarcia, *Stato e dottrine attuali della setta sciita degli shaikhi in Persia*, in *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni*, xxix (1958), 215-41).

In 1260/1844 Sayyid ʿAlī Muḥammad of Shīrāz revealed himself as the Bāb [*q.v.*] or "gateway" who had come to inaugurate a new prophetic cycle. This meant no less than a breach with the Islamic *sharīʿa*, as was explicitly confirmed by a convention of the followers of the Bāb in 1264/1848 at Badasht. The first stage of this new religion was a period of persecution to which the early believers often reacted with violence. The Bāb himself was executed in 1266/1850. After an attempt on the life of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh in 1266/1852, the persecution reached a climax and the movement was wiped out as far as public life in Iran was concerned. Although it continued to have its secret sympathizers, especially among merchants and other groups of the middle class of Iranian society, its further development as an organization could only take place in exile. The succession to the Bāb was for some time a matter of contention between Mīrzā Ḥusayn ʿAlī Nūrī and his brother Mīrzā Nūrī, who, among their following, were respectively known as Bahāʾ Allāh [*q.v.*] and Ṣubḥ-i Azal. The former, who was able to get the support of the large majority, initiated a reform of the Bābī religion, which, as the religion of the Bahāʾīs [*q.v.*], extended its aspirations and activities far beyond the limits of Iranian religious life.

The renaissance of Ṣūfism in Iran, which had started in the late 12th/18th century, had continued during the Ḳādjār period in spite of the often violent opposition of the *mudjtahids*. During the reign of Muḥammad Shāh (1250/1834-1264/1848), it even received official backing as the shah had become an adept of Ṣūfism under the influence of his vizier Ḥadjdjī Mīrzā Āḳāsī. Up to the present time the *ṭariḳas* have been able to hold their ground and even to expand the number of their adherents, which are to be found almost exclusively among the urban population. They have also displayed a considerable literary activity. Modern Shīʿī Ṣūfism in Iran chiefly consists of three big orders: 1. The Dhahabiyya, which is a recent appelation of that branch of the Kubrawiyya that separated itself from the main body at the time of the appearance of a Mahdī of Nūrbakhs in the 9th/15th century. It was also called Dhahabiyya-i ightishāshiyya, the "Dhahabiyya of the rebels". The modern revival dates from the middle of the 19th century and is due to the activities of the *ḳuṭb* Ḥaḍrat-i Rāz (d. 1286/1869-70). His descendants, the Sharīfīs, are still at the head of a smaller branch of this *ṭariḳa*, whereas the majority follows the tradition of Waḥīd al-awliyāʾ (d. 1374/1954). Both sections of the Dhahabiyya have their centre at Shīrāz. 2. The Niʿmat Allāhiyya have since the middle of the 19th century been divided into three independent groups which each have a separate chain of *ḳuṭbs*. The most numerous and influential branch is the Gunābādiyya, named after the Khurāsānian town of Gunābād near which the spiritual leadership has its residence. It has many followers among the higher classes. The other branches are the line of Dhu 'l-riyāsatayn, starting with Munawwar ʿAlī Shāh

(d. 1301/1884), and that of Ṣafī ʿAlī Shāh (d. 1342/-1924). The majority of the latter's adherents have, after his death, abolished the principle of guidance by one single *ḳuṭb* and have replaced this by the form of a brotherhood (*ukhuwwat*) with a collective leadership. 3. The Khāksār *darwīsh*es, who recruit their following chiefly from the lower classes, continue the traditions connected with the mystical life of the ancient Malāmatis and Ḳalandar *darwīsh*es. They have no reliable tradition about their origins. They regard as their founder a Shaykh Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn Ḥaydar who may be identical with Shaykh Djalāl al-Dīn of Bukhārā (d. 690/1291). This would mean that they go back to the Djalāliyya branch of the Suhrawardī order. In recent times the Khāksārs have abandoned the way of life of wandering *darwīsh*es and have adopted almost completely that of the other Ṣufī orders of Iran. The *faḳr-i ʿadjam*, an organization of artisans of the *futuwwa* type, is closely related to the Khāksār order. Among the Sunnī population of Kurdistān, the Ḳādiriyya and the Naḳshbandiyya are still of some importance. (See further R. Gramlich, *Die schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens. Erster Teil: Die Affiliationen, Abh. K.M.*, xxxvi, 1, Wiesbaden 1965).

The Iranian Constitution of 1906 and the Supplementary Fundamental Law of 1907 confirmed the privileged position of Ithna-ʿasharī Shīʿism as the religion of the state. The *mudjtahid*s acquired a right of veto on legislation as far as any proposals violating the prescriptions of Islamic law were concerned. [See further DUSTŪR, iv. - IRAN]. The policy of modernization pursued by the founder of the Pahlavī dynasty, Reżā Shāh (1924-1941), greatly affected the religious life of the country. Although he had yielded to the opposition of the *ʿulamāʾ* against the establishment in Iran of a republic modelled on the modern Turkish state, Reżā Shāh embarked on a vigorous programme of secularization in education, and civil and penal law which to a large extent reduced the clerical predominance in public life. The political power granted to the *ʿulamāʾ* under the Constitution was suspended. Regulations regarding the celebration of religious festivals, the emancipation of women and the use of European dress very much changed the outer appearance of the Islamic society of Iran. The introduction of the Djalālī [*q.v.*] era, a solar hidjrī calendar based on pre-Islamic traditions, is only one example of the vivid interest in ancient Iranian civilization which constitutes an essential element of modern nationalism. Although the impact of these developments on the attitude towards Islam among the educated was very considerable, its effects on the broad masses were still only superficial. After the abdication of Reżā Shāh in 1941, many of the old religious sentiments and customs were revived. Political groups based on a reaction against secularization and foreign influence took part in the turbulent political life of the early post-war years. The most prominent of these organizations were the *fidāʾiyyān-i islām* [*q.v.*], led by Nawāb-i Ṣafawī, and the *mudjāhidīn-i islām* of Āyat Allāh Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Kāshānī [*q.v.*]. The publication of religious literature was also revived (cf. Y. Armajani, *Islamic Literature in post-war Iran*, in *The World of Islam. Studies in honour of Philip K. Hitti*, ed. by J. Kritzeck and R. Bayly Winder, London 1959, 271-82).

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text of this article only a few works of general character can be mentioned here. For more detailed bibliographies see the individual articles relating to each of the manifold aspects of Iranian Islam.

A. de Gobineau, *Trois ans en Asie*, Paris 1859; idem, *Les religions et les philosophies dans l'Asie Centrale*, Paris 1865; T. W. Arnold, *The preaching of Islam*, London 1896, 206 ff.; E. G. Browne, *A literary history of Persia*, *passim*; S. M. Iqbal, *The development of metaphysics in Persia*, London 1908; D. M. Donaldson, *The Shi'ite religion. A history of Islam in Persia and Iraq*, London 1933; L. Massignon, *Sâlman Pâk et les prémices spirituelles de l'Islam au IIIe siècle de l'hégire*, Paris 1938; B. Spuler, *Der Verlauf der Islamisierung Persiens*, in *Isl.*, xxix (1950) x, 63-76; idem, *Iran in frühislamischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 133-224; idem, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, Berlin 1955, 167-249; G. M. Wickens, *Religion*, in *The legacy of Persia*, Oxford 1953, 148-73; Dh. Ṣafā, *Taʾrīkh-i adabiyyāt dar Īrān*, i, ii and iii/1, Tehran 1332-41 *sh.*, *passim*; V. Minorsky, *Iran: opposition, martyrdom and revolt*, in *Unity and variety in Muslim civilization*, Chicago 1955, 183-201; idem, *Iran Islamico*, in *Civilità Orientali*, Rome 1956, 461-513; A. K. S. Lambton, *Quis custodiet Custodes: Some reflections on the Persian theory of government*, in *Stud. Isl.*, v (1956), 125-48; vi (1956), 125-46; eadem, *A reconsideration of the position of the Marjaʿ al-taqlīd and the religious institution*, in *Stud. Isl.*, xx (1964), 115-35; A. Bausani, *Persia religiosa da Zaratustra a Bahâ'u'llâh*, Milan 1959; idem, *Religion in the Saljuq period*, in *Cambridge History of Iran*, v, 1968, 283-302; idem, *Religion under the Mongols*, *ibid.*, 538-49; Scarcia, *Iran ed eresia musulmana nel pensiero del Corbin. (Spunti di une polemica sul metodo)*, in *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni*, xxix (1958), 113-27; H. Corbin, *Terre céleste et corps de résurrection*, Paris 1960; B. J. Spooner, *The function of religion in Persian society*, in *Iran*, i (1963), 83-97; Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Ithnā ʿAsharī Shīʿism and Iranian Islam*, in *Religions of the Middle East*, Cambridge 1969, ii, 96-118; *Le shî'isme imâmite*, Paris 1970 (with contributions by W. Madelung, H. Corbin, R. Gramlich, Y. Linant de Bellefonds, Seyyed Hossein Nasr, J. Aubin, A. K. S. Lambton, H. Massé and E. Cerulli on subjects directly related to Iranian Shīʿism); Nikki R. Keddie, *Religion and irreligion in early Iranian nationalism*, in *Comparative studies in History and Society*, iv (1962), 265-95; eadem, *The roots of the Ulema's power in modern Iran*, in *Stud. Isl.*, xxix (1969), 31-53; H. Algar, *Religion and state in Iran*, 1785-1906: *the role of the Ulama in the Qajar period*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1969; H. Corbin, *En Islam iranien, aspects spirituels et philosophiques*, i, *Le Shîisme duodécimain*, ii, *Sohrawardî et les Platoniciens de Perse*, Paris 1971; A. Gabriel, *Religionsgeographie von Persien*, Vienna 1971.

(J. T. P. DE BRUIJN)

vii.—LITERATURE

As the literature of Iran in its widest sense can not be surveyed in this article, a preliminary definition of its contents is necessary. Essentially, the article is restricted to Persian literature, by which we will understand the poetry and belletristic prose works composed in the New Persian literary language in as far as they have been produced by the Muslim population of Iran from the 3rd/9th century onwards. After a treatment of the origins of this literary tradition and of some of its main characteristics, a historical survey will be given encompassing both the

literary works of the past and of the present. This definition excludes the literatures of pre-Islamic times, the writings of the non-Muslim communities (*e.g.* Judaeo-Persian literature [*q.v.*]), the learned prose works, the literatures of other New Iranian languages and folk-literature. The cultivation of Persian letters outside the boundaries of present-day Iran is taken into consideration only as far as and as long as it has been directly connected with the literary life of *l'Iran intérieur*. Some references to general works about most of these excluded branches of Iranian literary activity have, however, been entered into the Bibliography.

I. General Aspects.

a. *The origins of Persian literature.*

About the beginnings of Persian poetry, several different traditions have been handed down. According to one of them, the first Persian poem was composed by the Sasanian king Bahrām V Gūr (421-439 A.D.). This initiative remained fruitless, it is said, on account of the opposition by the Zoroastrian clergy who regarded all forms of poetic speech as being based on falsehood and as a dangerous tool in the hands of heretics. Whatever the historical value of this story might be, it is at any rate significant in as far as it perfectly illustrates the literary conditions in pre-Islamic Iran during the last few centuries preceding the Arab conquest. The fact that the same monarch is credited with Arabic poems as well, moreover, points to the complex origin of Persian literature: on the one hand, from patterns of linguistic art as they are known to have existed in pre-Islamic Iranian culture; on the other, from Arabic literature as it had developed during the first two centuries of Islam out of the Bedouin poetry of the D̲j̲āhiliyya. The traditional literary critics of the Middle Ages, like ʿAwfī [*q.v.*] and S̲h̲ams-i Ḳays [*q.v.*], have denied this double ancestry. To them, Persian poetry was entirely a product of Islamic culture. Its formal and thematic conventions were either taken over from Arabic poetry or newly invented by the first Persian poets. An important role as a creator of new forms in assigned to Rūdakī [*q.v.*]. The information concerning literary activity in Sasanian times that was available to these mediaeval critics was not accepted as evidence of the existence of a pre-Islamic poetry in Iran but was interpreted as referring only to a kind of rhymed prose set to music, not to be confused with serious literature.

Modern scholarship has established beyond doubt that Iran did have an independent literary tradition from ancient times onwards. This included poetry with a set of prosodic and metrical rules of its own, the historical development of which can be traced up to a certain extent. The oldest documents of Iranian literature, the *Gathas*, have been found to be partly poetical texts with an arrangement into stanzas of different length and with a metrical system based on the number of syllables. Within this system at least five variants are known. This prodosy is quite similar to that of the Vedic texts. Poetical fragments have also been discovered in the younger parts of the Avesta. A new metrical principle seems to be involved in these last texts, viz. the fixed number of accents. Most of the Middle Iranian languages were also used for writing poetry. The Manichaean hymns in Parthian and Middle Persian that have been found among the Turfan-manuscripts are partly translations from Syrian models, partly original compositions. Many of them are acrostic poems based on the order of the Semitic alphabet. In some of these hymns there are evocations of nature at the time of spring which are very much reminiscent of later Persian lyrical poetry. In the so-called Book-Pahlavi literature a number of texts have been shown to be original poems disguised by later Zoroastrian traditions as prose works. They represent different strains of Middle Iranian literary culture: the *Ayyātkār* (or *Yādgār*)-*ī Zarērān* belongs to the national epic (cf. E. Benveniste, *JA*, ccxiv (1932), 245-93), the allegorical tenzone *Drak̲h̲t-i Asūrīg* to the literature of wisdom (cf. idem, *JA* ccxvii (1930), 193-225). In both cases, linguistic evidence points to a Parthian origin. There are also remnants of religious poetry like the hymn on Zurvān discovered by H. S. Nyberg in the *Bundahis̲h̲n* (*JA*, ccix (1929), 214-5) and a number of other Zoroastrian poems of a didactical or visionary nature (cf. E. Benveniste, *RHR*, cvi (1932), 337-80; J. C. Tavadia, *Indo-Iranian Studies*, i (1950), 86-95; idem, *JRAS* (1955), 29-36; W. B. Henning, *BSOAS*, xiii (1950), 641-8). The metrics of Middle Persian verse presents considerable difficulties as a result of the corrupted state of the available material. According to W. B. Henning (*l.c.*), the predominant principle is not syllabic but accentual; there are also unmistakable traces of rhyme, although this was not used with great consistency, while the dating of the known specimens is still uncertain. Imitation of Persian models is, therefore, not excluded. In addition to these specimens of poetry, some examples of *belles-lettres* in prose have been preserved as well. Furthermore, a number of Pahlavi works have survived in Arabic translations or at least in the New Persian versions based on the latter. Extremely popular were the collections of Indian stories such as the *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [*q.v.*], *Bilawhar wa-Yūdāsaf* [*q.v.*] and the book of Sindibād [*q.v.*]. They had been introduced in Iran during the later Sasanian period. Their preservation is due to the translators of the 2nd/8th century among whom Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [*q.v.*] is the most prominent. References to a fairly extensive novelistic literature in Middle Persian are to be found in Arabic sources of which the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm should be mentioned in particular. Nearly all of this literature has disappeared in Islamic times but not without leaving behind numerous traces both in Arabic and Persian literature. In this way, most of its subject-matter has in fact been incorporated into Islamic culture. This process of assimilation took place at such an early date that this ancient Iranian lore could play an important role in shaping the typical Islamic civilization of the Middle Ages. Instances of this cultural influence are: the legendary or semi-historical tales about the Iranian kings which through the late Sasanian codification in the *K̲h̲watāy-nāmak* not only reached its definite form in the *S̲h̲āhnāma* of Firdawsī [*q.v.*] but also became a part of Islamic world-history; the gnomic literature of the *andarz* surviving in numerous didactical works in poetry and prose, more specifically in collections of maxims like the one put to the name of the vizier Buzurgmihr [*q.v.*]; finally, a number of romantic themes both with and without a historical background, a famous example of which is the Parthian romance of *Wīs u Rāmīn* adapted from a Pahlavi model by Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn Gurgānī [see GURGĀNĪ]. The Arabic sources also tell us something about the activities of court minstrels and musicians at the time of the last Sasanian kings. The names of some of these artists like Barbād, Sarkas̲h̲ and Nigīsa remained famous far into Islamic times and we know a few titles of their songs.

From this and similar materials it has been possible to reconstruct a long tradition of minstrel poetry going back to Parthian times and perhaps even

earlier. As a form of oral literature closely connected with the art of music, it continued to flourish up to the time of the Arab conquest. Even after that event it did not vanish completely but left its influence on the popular poetry of Iran as well as on the practice of the Persian poets of the classical tradition. The minstrel tradition was clearly distinct from the written literature that was mainly cultivated by the class of professional scribes who monopolized the difficult writing system of Pahlavi. The Zoroastrian clergy, whose bias against poetry is exemplified by the anecdote about Bahrām Gūr cited above, adhered for a very long time to an oral tradition of the religious texts (see further Mary Boyce, *The Parthian gōsān and Iranian minstrel tradition*, *JRAS* (1957), 10-45).

Several modern scholars have tried to correct the traditional view of the origins of Persian poetry by making use of this new evidence for the existence of a pre-Islamic poetry in Iran. Special attention has been given to the possible connections between the quantitative metrics of classical poetry, described by the theoreticians of the Islamic period in terms of the Arabic system of al-Khalīl [see ʿARŪḌ], and older indigenous metrical patterns. According to some, the later prosody is nothing but an adaptation of earlier syllabic or accentuated metres. Although this conclusion seems too rash in view of the limitations and uncertainties of our knowledge of Middle Iranian prosody, there are on the other hand a few indications that make a more complex origin of the New Persian metres at least plausible. One could point, e.g., to the great differences in the frequency of certain metres or metrical variants between Arabic and Persian poetry, and to the fact that some of the most popular metres, at least as far as the Persian *mathnawīs* are concerned, seem to fit into an eleven-syllable scheme that could very well be related to an older autochthonous metre (cf. J. Rypka, *History*, 132 f. with further references). On the evidence of two late Middle Persian or early New Persian poetical fragments Chr. Rempis has tried to establish an Iranian lineage for two forms of Persian poetry. In a hymn on the firetemple of Karkōy, preserved in the local history *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān*, he recognized a stanza of a strophic poem comparable to the later *tardjīʿband* or *mukhammas*; in the ceremonial address of the *mōbadhān mōbadh* to the King of Kings at the New Year festival, transmitted in the *Nawrūz-nāma*, a work ascribed to ʿUmar-i Khayyām, a specimen of the double rhymed *mathnawī* in Pahlavi (*ZDMG*, ci (1951), 233 ff.).

No matter how great a continuity can be reconstructed in Iranian literature, the fact remains that the minstrel poetry dissolved as a self-conscious artistic tradition after the coming of Islam, together with many other elements of ancient Iranian culture. Since the time of the Umayyad caliph ʿAbd al-Malik [*q.v.*] Arabic had replaced Pahlavi and Greek in the chancelleries of the Muslim empire. The religious minorities continued to have literary languages of their own. In Iran the Zoroastrian clergy continued to cultivate the archaic Pahlavi whereas the Jews started at a very early date to write in a form of Persian that was close to the actual speech of those days. Within the Muslim community, however, Arabic dominated all literary activity during the first few centuries of Islam. At a very early date the Iranian *mawālī* appear to have taken an active part in Arabic poetry. A few names are even known from Umayyad times: Abū Ziyād b. Salmā (d. after 100/718) used Persian words in Arabic lines; Ismāʿīl b. Yasār, of Ādharbāydjānian extraction, dared to sing the praise of the Persians in front of the caliph Hishām (cf. V. A. Eberman, *Persī sredi arabskikh poetov epokhi Omeyyadov*, in *Zapiski kollegii vostokovedov Akad. Nauk*, Leningrad, ii (1927), 113-53; *GAL*, I, 60 ff. and S I, 92 ff.; Dh. Ṣafā, *Taʾrīkh*, I[4], 190-4). The hazardous action of this last poet, which nearly costed him his life, can be regarded as an early instance of the Shuʿūbiyya [*q.v.*], the struggle for equality of Arabs and non-Arabs—in particular the Iranian *mawālī*—that in the early ʿAbbāsid period was fought out on the field of literary culture (*adab*). It should be pointed out that the question of the use of the vernacular in literature did not enter at all into this controversy. It is a wellknown fact that several of the great poets of Baghdād who created the new style of Arabic poetry during the 2nd/8th century were of Iranian descent. The oldest of these was Bashshār b. Burd [*q.v.*]. Abū Nuwās [*q.v.*] actually used Persian words and expressions in some of his poems (cf. M. Mīnowī, *Madjalla-i Dānishkada-i Adabiyyāt, Dānishgāh-i Tihrān*, i, 3 (1333 sh.), 62-77). It is likely, though difficult to assess in detail, that the emergence of new trends in the poetry of the multiracial urban society of ʿIrāḳ during this period owed much to Iranian influences. More evident is this impact in Arabic prose literature as well as in such a short-lived phenomenon as the adaptation of Middle Persian prose works in epic *radjaz* or *muzdawidj*-verses as practised by Abān b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Lāḥiḳī [*q.v.*]. Arabic poetry was also cultivated with great intensity in the great cities of Khurāsān and Transoxania. A rich documentation about the poets in the Iranian provinces who wrote in Arabic from the 4th/10th century onwards has been brought together by al-Thaʿālibī [*q.v.*] in the 3rd and 4th volumes of his anthology *Yatīmat al-dahr* and its numerous supplements, like the author's own *Tatimmat al-Yatīma* (ed. by ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1313 sh.), the *Dumyat al-ḳaṣr* by al-Bākharzī [*q.v.*], the *Zīnat al-dahr* by Abu 'l-Maʿālī Saʿd b. ʿAlī al-Ḥarīrī (d. 518/1172), and the *Kharīdat al-ḳaṣr* by ʿImād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī (d. 597/1201; for the subsequent centuries see *GAL*, I, 251-4; S I, 445-9; II, 245; S II, 255-7). Arabic coexisted for a considerable time with Persian as an idiom for poetry. This is expressed in the honorific *dhu 'l-lisānayn*, "master of the two tongues", bestowed on some poets.

The very first signs of the use of the vernacular in poetry are a few scattered pieces that have come to light from a number of different Arabic sources as well as from the Persian *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān*. Dating from the first two centuries A.H., they do not yet follow the quantitative metrics of later times, but on the other hand they do have rhyme in some sort. They can be regarded as late examples of the old minstrel poetry, or, rather, as specimens of popular literature from the time when Arabic poetry still reigned unrivalled among the educated classes. Often quoted and much discussed by modern researchers are the satirical lines put into the mouth of Yazīd b. Mufarrigh (cf. Fr. Meier, *Die schöne Mahsatī*, i, Wiesbaden 1963, 9. f. with further references). Also satirical are the four lines the people of Balkh addressed to the governor of Khurāsān, Asad b. ʿAbd Allāh, at the moment of his return after having been defeated in battle (*ibid.*, 10). See further on these fragments: Th. Nöldeke, *Das iranische Nationalepos*[2], 91; M. Ḳazwīnī, *Bīst Maḳāla*, i, Bombay 1928, 26-36; S. Ḥ. Taḳīzāda, *Hazāra-i Firdawsī*, Tehran 1944, 46-9; Muh. Taḳī Bahār, *Mihr*, v, 1316-7 sh., *passim* (reprinted as *Sabkshināsī*, iv/1 by ʿAlī-ḳulī Maḥ-

mūdī Bakhtyārī, n.p. 1342 sh.); Dh. Ṣafā, *Ta'rīkh*, i[4], 147-51. The distich attributed to Abū Ḥafṣ Sughdī might very well be a citation from his lexicon (cf. G. Lazard, *Les premiers poètes persans*, i, Tehran-Paris 1964, 10 f.). A more serious claim to precedence as the author of a Persian poem composed according to the rules of Arabic prosody can be held by ʿAbbās or Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Marwazī, who is named by ʿAwfī (*Lubāb*, i, 21) as the author of a *ḳaṣīda* in honour of the caliph al-Ma'mūn composed at the occasion of the latter's arrival in Marw in the year 193/809. This account is rejected by most modern scholars, mainly on stylistic grounds. The lines quoted by ʿAwfī show a dexterity of poetical diction that suggests a much later time of origin (cf. G. Lazard, *l.c.*, 12 and the references there; for contrary opinions see Chr. Rempis, *l.c.*, 221 and J. Rypka, *History*, 135).

Whether this notice of ʿAwfī is to be accepted as historical or not, the rise of Persian poetry appears to us essentially as one aspect of a larger development of political and cultural emancipation in the Iranian provinces of the caliphate. It has often been styled an "Iranian renaissance" though it should be understood that this may not be interpreted as a return to pre-Islamic culture. As the final outcome of that process of Iranization which was facilitated by the ʿAbbāsid revolution, it really meant the acceptance of the Iranian element as an integrated part of the Islamic commonwealth and its civilization. In politics, this found its expression in the short intermezzo of *de facto* independent rule of Iranian dynasties between the periods of Arab and Turkish domination; in the domain of culture, in the elevation of Persian to the rank of a literary language. In its oldest form it was known as *darī* [*q.v.*], originally a south-western dialect which since the later Sasanian period had spread over the whole area where Iranian languages were spoken [see further IRAN. LANGUAGES]. The eastern parts of Iran took the lead in the use of the vernacular in writing. In the west and the south, Arabic retained its supremacy even under the rule of the Daylamite Būyids.

From the time of the Ṭāhirids, only a few names of Persian poets are known to us and next to nothing of their work has been preserved, although it is recorded that at least one of them, Ḥanẓala of Bādghis, had his poems collected into a *dīwān*. Thanks to the data transmitted by the *Ta'rīkh-i Sīstān* we are somewhat better informed about the poetry at the court of the Ṣaffārids. This source contains a detailed account of the birth of Persian poetry which presents a convincing picture of the way it actually happened, even if similar occurrences can easily be imagined to have taken place in the entourage of other local rulers as well. The notice has the form of an anecdote situated at the court of Yaʿḳūb b. Layth when he was being hailed by the poets after the capture of Harāt and the victory over the Khāridjites. As the amīr expressed his annoyance on account of the fact that he could not understand anything of these Arabic panegyrics, one of his secretaries, by the name of Muḥammad-i Waṣīf, started to compose poetry in Persian. "And he made the first Persian poetry addressed to Iranians. Before him, no one had done such a thing for, as long as they were *pārsīs* (*i.e.* before they became Muslims, both in a religious and in a cultural sense), lyrics used to be sung to them at the sound of the lute (*rūd*) in the *khusrawānī* manner. When the Iranians were defeated and the Arabs came, poetry among them was in Arabic and they all had knowledge and understanding of it. No one amongst the Iranians rose to such a greatness that they would sing poems to him, before the time of Yaʿḳūb. The only exception was Hamza b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Shārī, but he was a learned man and knew Arabic." (ed. Muḥ. Taḳī Bahār, Tehran 1314 sh., 210). The expression *bar ṭarīḳ-i khusrawānī* in this passage corresponds to the terms *surūd* or *nawā-i khusrawānī* as they occur in the descriptions of the minstrel and his art at the Sasanian court in other sources. Scattered pieces of afew other poets of the Ṣaffārid period have also been preserved but this material is too limited to give us more than a vague idea of the poetry of this time. The poets made use of Arabic prosody though the lack of technical perfection they display characterizes them as first trials at handling a new linguistic medium of literary expression. The real history of Persian literature only began with the next period, the time of the Sāmānids of Transoxania.

b. *General traits of the Persian literary tradition.* Already from the earliest phase of its history Persian literature presents itself as a clearly defined tradition that guides as well as limits the artist in his creative work. Within this traditional pattern there are not only strict rules for prosody but also stringent prescriptions with regard to the choice of themes, images and metaphors. In spite of the dramatic developments that occurred in the course of time in Iranian society, its artistic traditions displayed a remarkable resistance to fundamental changes, at least until the overwhelming influence of Western civilization made itself felt with all its force in the present century. In the preceding section we have referred to some of the elements out of which this tradition has been built up. Ancient Iranian literature may have played a much greater role than has been thought before. Undoubtedly there have also been indirect influences from Indian and from Hellenistic culture. As a typical product of mediaeval Islamic culture Persian literature was syncretistic. It was able to absorb these heterogeneous elements and give them a place in a new harmonious unity. This adaptability can also be observed in other forms of Persian art. The mould in which this literary tradition was cast was, however, Arabic literature. In the 3rd/9th century the latter had already gone through the most dynamic stages of its history. It had developed a formal and conceptual idiosyncrasy that would determine the literary activity of the Arabs for many centuries to come [see further ʿARABIYYA. B. ARABIC LITERATURE, especially the sections i and ii]. This determined also to a large extent the Persian tradition. The work of the early Persian poets was in particular influenced by the "new poetry" of the early ʿAbbāsid period, although some Persian poets still tried their hands at imitations of the old Bedouin *ḳaṣīda* and its repertoire (e.g. Manūčihrī, Muʿizzī). The poets of the Ḥamdānid school equally should be mentioned in this respect. In particular al-Mutanabbī was very much admired in Iran. The nature poetry of al-Ṣanawbarī [*q.v.*] and the genre of the prison ballad of Abū Firās al-Ḥamdānī [*q.v.*] also provided models for the Persian poets (cf. U. M. Daudpota, *The influence of Arabic poetry on the development of Persian poetry*, Bombay 1934; Viktūr al-Kik, *Ta'thīr-i farhang-i ʿArab dar ashʿār-i Manūčihrī-i Dāmghānī*, Beirut 1971).

The faithfulness of the artist to the established patterns was greatly favoured by the methods of training recommended to the beginner. He was advised to learn the craft by memorizing large quantities of verse from the works of the great masters of the

preceding generations. In addition to this he was urged to become a scholar since learning was considered to be a great asset in poetry. Finally he should study the different branches of literary theory and criticism. The censure of the critics, either the professionals in their learned works on *naḳd-i shiʿr* or the educated public in its informal reactions, will have done its share to contain any attempt to go too far beyond the accepted bounds of tradition.

A similar restraint was put on the poet by his social status. Until the end of the 19th century most Persian poets were in some way or the other dependent on patronage. Literary life was mainly centred at the courts of greater or smaller monarchs. If the position of the poet as a craftsman was economically based on the favours of the princely maecenas, he was at the same time indispensable to the court. His task was not confined to entertaining but included also the advertizing of the virtues and exploits of the ruler. From the eagerness with which poets were attracted tc the courts it can be concluded that this form of political propaganda was regarded as effective. Apart from the sultans, the amīrs and the atabegs, the poets sang the praise of lower members of the ruling class as well: viziers, generals or prominent jurists and theologians. From the 5th/12th century onwards the patronage was also assumed by the urban aristocracy. The persistance of this relationship between poet and maecenas (*mamdūḥ*) is illustrated by the continuous use of titles like *amīr* or *malik al-shuʿarāʾ* (poet laureate) from the times of Maḥmūd of Ghazna (ʿUnṣurī) to the last days of the Ḳādjārs (Bahār). A counterpart to the panegyrical function of poetry was formed by satire [see HIDJĀʾ, ii]. If poetry had the power to enlarge the prestige of a patron it could equally well serve to damage a reputation. This weapon might be used against the enemies of the patron or of the poet himself, but it could also be wielded against the former when he disappointed the poet's expectations. This social function of Persian court poetry certainly did not hinder its reaching at times a high degree of artistic perfection. Sometimes the symbiosis of political power and literary talent may even have stimulated the endeavours towards an ever more refined use of the poetical means. The effectiveness of a literary work as a medium for social and political publicity depended to a large degree on its artistic value. (Several authors have left explicit statements of the opinions concerning the poet and the function of his profession in society prevailing in their times, *e.g.*: Niẓāmī-i ʿArūḍī, *Čahār maḳāla*, ed. M. Ḳazwīnī-M. Muʿīn, Tehran 1955-7, text, 42 ff.; tr. by E. G. Browne, JRAS (1899), 661 ff.; Kay-Kāʾūs, *Ḳābūsnāma*, ed. Ghulām-Ḥusayn Yūsufī, Tehran 1345/1967, 198-92; Shams-i Ḳays, *al-Muʿdjam fī maʿāyīr ashʿār al-ʿadjam*, *khātima*, ed. M. Ḳazwīnī, Leiden-London 1909, 415 ff.; ed. M. Raḍawī, Tehran 1338 sh., 445 ff.; see also Naṣr Allāh Falsafī, *Zindagānī-i shāʿirān-i darbārī*, in *Čand maḳāla-i taʾrīkhī wa-adabī*, Tehran 1342 sh., 327-51).

Next to its other functions literature has in Iran always served as a medium for instruction and edification. Didactical works were among the first manifestations of Persian literature. Even the heroic epic, as we know it from the *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsī and the works of his imitators, is full of moralising asides. Religious themes also appear at a vefy early date. At first they consisted of ascetic warnings (*mawāʿiẓ*) which had their parallels already in Arabic literature in the *zuhdiyyāt* of poets like Abū Nuwās and Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya [*qq.v.*]. Gradually ecstatic mysticism found a way of expression in most forms of literature whether poetry or prose. This conquest by Ṣūfism is by far the most decisive development that took place in the history of Persian literature. Some poetical forms became almost completely absorbed by it. The line of development A. Bausani has sketched for the Persian *ghazal* [*q.v.*]—from the address to the *mamdūḥ* through an identification with the *maʿshūḳ*, the beloved as the object of an erotic poem, to the *maʿbūd*, the transcendental Beloved—can very well serve to characterize this whole process of transformation. The attitude of absolute loyalty towards the maecenas which had to be expressed by the panegyrical poet was already in the early court poetry often associated with the total submission of the lover to his beloved as a metaphorical device. For a mystical application of this poetry with all its conventions this fundamental attitude did not need, therefore, to be changed. All that was necessary was a new interpretation of the symbols used. One of the results of this was a great amount of ambiguity in Persian poems. It is by no means always clear whether a poem is addressed to a venerated person in this world or in a transcendental sphere. This ambiguity constitutes one of the greatest problems of the interpretation of the work of a poet like Ḥāfiẓ, who seems to fuse the panegyric, the erotic and the mystical intention into one. This case may not be as unique as it is sometimes presented. Although some of the Ṣūfī poets certainly did withdraw from all attachments to this world in actual life and projected their poetically phrased veneration exclusively to the mystical object, or perhaps to the person of their spiritual leader (*pīr*), it is undeniable that mystical ecstasy did turn out to be not always incompatible with the relationship to an earthly maecenas. In the course of time the flavour of Ṣūfism to such an extent permeated lyrical poetry that its absence was felt as an aesthetic defect (cf. the remark of Shiblī Nuʿmānī, cited by J. Rypka, *History*, 233).

Another characteristic that made Persian verse a pliable medium for the expression of mystical ideas was its idealism. Quite often, and not least by modern Iranian critics, the early poetry in the so-called Khurāsānī-style is qualified as realistic. This misunderstanding arises from the fact that the poet seems to speak about things in the outer world whereas in fact he evokes a poetical world in which the objects of his description possess an ideal and immutable form. His vernal garden is more akin to paradise than to any specific garden on earth, his idolized beauty is more like a *ḥūrī* than like any particular human being. Even when he speaks about topical events such as a military campaign, a hunting-party or a festival he does not depict them as concrete events, but treats them on an abstract level. In the same way his often very detailed attention for natural phenomena does not concern the things themselves but rather the metaphorical possibilities they offer him as symbols. Together they form a fixed stock of images that tend to acquire stereotyped symbolic values. A great number of these have been accepted as tropic expressions in the ordinary use of the language, *e.g.* narcissus (*nargis*) for the eye, ruby (*laʿl*) for lips, cypress (*sarw*) for slim stature.

The originality of an artist can only be evaluated within the framework of the artistic tradition which defines the boundaries of his work. In the case of Persian lyricism with its pronounced classicism this means that creative invention can only be applied on

the smallest elements of the poem, *i.e.* the individual lines (*bayts*) and the images and metaphors on which they are based. The poets vie with each other in formal perfection and refinement of expression, not in novelty of ideas. Sometimes this takes the form of citation (*taḍmīn*) which consists in incorporating a line of another poet into one's poem in order to be able to add an original line expressing the same idea in a still subtler way. This preoccupation with the single line of poetry has resulted in a remarkable loose structure, in particular of the *ghazal*. Recent research on the *ghazals* of Ḥāfiẓ [*q.v.*] has for a great deal been concentrated on attempts to ascertain the structural principle of these poems which is thought to be of an associative character.

c. *Forms and themes.*

The most obvious mark of its ties to Arabic literature is the prosodic system that governs classical Persian poetry. At least theoretically all poetical forms, whatever their origin, have been defined in terms of the flexible system of *ʿarūḍ* [*q.v.*] as formulated by al-Khalīl. Both quantitative metres and, to a lesser extent, the use of rhyme were novelties to Iranian literature. Differences in linguistic structure between the two languages presented the first Persian poets with many difficulties as can be noticed in the technical deficiencies (from the point of view of scholastic theory) in their works (cf. Th. Nöldeke, *Das iranische Nationalepos*², Berlin-Leipzig 1920, 95 ff.; G. Lazard, *Les premiers poètes*, i, 45 f.; M. Dj. Maḥdjūb, *Sabk-i khurāsānī dar shiʿr-i fārsī*, Tehran 1345/1967, 35, 40 ff.). Before long a strict observance of the rules became imperative for the professional poet. It came also to play an important role in indigenous criticism. In practice there exist many differences between Arabic and Persian prosody. Apart from the striking diversity in the use of certain metres referred to already there is also a contrast in the manner in which the metres are applied within the bounds of a single poem. Whereas Arabic poetry permits of a wide range of variants to be chosen as derivative forms (*azāḥīf*, *ʿilal*) from the ideal metrical patterns (*buḥūr*), the Persian poets restrict themselves to one fixed (usually a derivative) form with only small room for alternatives (in most cases the substitution of two short syllables for one long syllable or *vice versa*). The rules of scansion allow a limited number of anceps syllables—the enclitic denoting the *iḍāfa*, the conjunction *u*, the words *tu* and *du* and the ending *-a*—and leave it to the poet to decide whether he wants to treat a vowel at the beginning of a word independently or whether he connects it with a preceding consonant. The enclitic forms of the singular personal pronouns can be treated as open short syllables. The most characteristic trait of Persian scansion is, however, the extended long syllable. This feature is disregarded in the contemporary practice of reciting poetry. A peculiarity of Persian rhyme is the *radīf*, *i.e.*, the adjunction of a word or a short phrase to the rhyming sound (*ḳāfiya*) and its repetition throughout the poem. It is very frequently used in *ghazals*. [See further ʿARŪḌ, ii].

The forms of poetry can be divided into two groups, the lyrical and the epic forms. The first group is characterized by patterns of rhyme that can all, again in theory, be reduced to the monorhyme pattern of the *ḳaṣīda*: aa, ba, ca, etc. The second consists only of one form: the *mathnawī* in which each distich has a different internal rhyme (aa, bb, cc, etc.). In other respects as well, the *ḳaṣīda* [*q.v.*] can be regarded as a basic form. It is the most unquestionable piece of the Arabic legacy. True to its origin it is first and foremost a medium for panegyric poetry and therefore closely connected with the social role of many Persian poets. The *ḳaṣīda* usually consists of three parts: the prologue (*nasīb*, *tashbīb*), the actual panegyric (*madīḥ*) and the concluding appeal to the generosity of the patron (*duʿāʾ*). The literary convention required that the poet should give special attention to the embellishment of the opening (*maṭlaʿ*) and concluding lines (*maḳṭaʿ*) of the poem as well as of the passage where he turns from the prologue to the panegyric (*gurīzgāh*, *makhlaṣ*, *takhalluṣ*). The most interesting part is undoubtedly the prologue. A great variety of topics can be used as themes. The choice is often decided by the topical occasion of the poem. Descriptions of nature in spring or in autumn were current in odes to be recited at the *nawrūz* or the *mihragān* festivals. The fire festival (*djashn-i sada*) at the end of winter called for descriptions of bonfires. Another famous theme was provided by wine and viniculture. The life of the court gave opportunities to chant the hunting parties or the campaigns of the patron or to describe the symbols of his royal status (*e.g.* the sword, the pen, the horse). A special branch of *ḳaṣīda* poetry was formed by the elegy (*marthiya*). A more personal note seems also to be struck in complaints about old age or about imprisonment as well as in the favourite subject of love (*taghazzul*). All of these are conventional themes which can be traced back to the tradition of Arabic poetry. Very soon the *ḳaṣīda* was equally used for the expression of secular moralism, religious topics and even mysticism. The most common form of the prologue was that of a description (*waṣf*), but sometimes other devices were applied as well, such as semantic riddles (*lughz*, *čīst*), tenzons (*munāẓara*) or plays of question and reply (*suʾāl wa-djawāb*). Until the time of the Mongol invasion the *ḳaṣīda* was the most important lyrical form. It reached a height of rhetorical perfection in the hands of the poets of the Saldjūḳ court (Muʿizzī, Anwarī) and in the school of Ādharbāydjān (Khāḳānī). From the 7th/13th century till the classicist renaissance of the middle of the 12th/18th century it was relegated to the background, although the intervening period still produced some outstanding poets of the *ḳaṣīda* like Salmān-i Sāwadjī [*q.v.*] and ʿUrfī [*q.v.*]. At the time of the Ṣafawids the elegiac *ḳaṣīda* was used for religious poetry mourning the holy martyrs of the Shīʿa. The decline of the *ḳaṣīda* in the Mongol period coincided with the full development of the *ghazal*. It succeeded as the principal form of lyrical poetry. The prosodic characteristics of the *ghazal* are identical with those of the prologue of a *ḳaṣīda*; it has approximately the same length and exactly the same pattern of rhyme. Although no specimens that can be attributed with certainty to Sāmānid and early Ghaznavid times (4th/10th-middle of the 5th/11th century) have survived, the occurrence of *ghazals* in a romantic *mathnawī*, *Warḳa u Gulshāh* by ʿAyyūḳī, proves that it was known already as a separate form during the latter period. At a later stage of its development the use of the poet's nom de guerre (*takhalluṣ*) in the *maḳṭaʿ* became an inseparable element of the *ghazal*. Some researchers have tried to relate the origin of this usage to the origin of the Persian *ghazal* itself, in particular in its function as a mystical poem (cf. e.g. E. E. Bertel's, *Istoriya*, 519; A. Ateş, İA, s.v. *gazel*). This view is incompatible with the evidence. Its use is from the earliest period onwards attested in the panegyrical *ḳaṣīda*. In the *dīwān* of Sanāʾī, one of the oldest poets who has left an extensive collection of

ghazals, the takhallus occurs far more frequently in the kasida than in the latter form. In addition to its use as a poem of profane and mystical love it could also serve as a subtle medium for panegyrism. [See further s.v. GHAZAL, ii]. Other lyric forms, far less frequently used, are the strophe-poems, *tardjiʿ-band* and *tarkib-band*, the multiple poem, *musammat*, which most often consists of four (*murabbaʿ*), five *mukhammas*) or six lines (*musaddas*), and the increment poem *mustazād*. [See also ʿARŪḌ, ii]. Most collections of poetry contain a section of fragmentary pieces (*kiṭʿa*, pl. *kiṭaʿāt* or *mukaṭṭaʿāt*). They are classified as unfinished poems because of the omission of a regular *maṭlaʿ* with internal rhyme. They range from a half verse or a single line (*fard*) to a poem of the length of a *kaṣīda*. Very often these *mukaṭṭaʿāt* are topical poems, such as elegies, chronograms (*taʾrīkh*) and satires.

The Persian quatrain (*rubāʿī* [*q.v.*], also named *du-baytī* or *tarāna*) is not only defined by the number of lines but also by its pattern of rhyme (aaba, less commonly aaaa) and by its metre, to be described as a series of variants of the ideal metre *hazadj* according to traditional theory. This is undoubtedly an artificial construction but the real origin of this form of short epigrammatic poems is still uncertain. Various themes can be chosen as a subject for the *rubāʿī*. At an early date they occur in the sermons and the biographies of Ṣūfī *shaykhs* and in mystical treatises. Best known to Western readers is the philosophical quatrain. Erotic and anacreontic themes were by no means imcompatible with this form. It is also frequently used for topical poetry, for inscription on buildings, tombstones etc.

The possibilities offered by the much simpler rhyme of the *mathnawī* [*q.v.*] have been exploited to the full in Persian literature. A rich epic poetry has been based on it, comprising many works of great extent. The only rarely used *muzdawadj* [*q.v.*] of Arabic poetry can hardly be compared with it. Although the factual evidence pointing to an Iranian origin for the Persian *mathnawī* is very limited, the importance this form has had from the very beginning makes it at least likely that it continues some kind of older indigenous literary form. Three main groups can be distinguished in the Persian epic: (a) the heroic epic, based on ancient Iranian mythology, the legendary as well as the historical lives of the kings of Iran and other heroic cycles that became attached to this [see further ḤAMĀSA, ii]. (b) The romantic epic, elaborating in most cases famous stories about a pair of lovers whose names provide the title of the poem. These stories come from quite different origins. Some of them are episodes taken from the heroic epic (e.g. *Khusraw u Shīrīn*), others go back to Iranian (e.g. *Wīs u Rāmīn*), Hellenistic (e.g. *Wāmiḳ u ʿAdhrā*) and Arabic sources (e.g. *Laylā u Madjnūn*), or are derived from the *Ḳurʾān* (*Yūsuf u Zalīkhā*). Nearly all of them developed into literary models which were imitated by successive generations of poets. The poetical language of the romantic *mathnawī* is more rhetorical than that of the heroic epic. Lyrical intermezzi often interrupt the intrigue. There are always a few passages added with moralistic aphorisms. With the growing influence of mystical philosophy on literature, the romantic tales acquired an allegorical meaning. (c) The didactic *mathnawī* includes a diversity of works the main purpose of which is instruction of one kind or another. This can be the vulgarization of science, moral precepts of a secular nature or the exposition of philosophical, religious or mystical truth. The poems of this category belong to epic literature in as far as they make use of narratives to typify the theoretical subject-matter. Frame-stories are also used to wrap the contents in an attractive epic form (cf. e.g. Rūdakī's *Kalīla u Dimna* and several of the mystical *mathnawīs* of ʿAṭṭār). In the great tradition of the so-called Ṣūfī *mathnawī* anecdotes became particularly important. In these last works stories can be found that were taken from the Ḳurʾān, from *Ḥadīth*, from the *ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* and the hagiography of Ṣūfī saints as well as from a great number of other sources. (Of some of the most important among these works the narrative elements have been analysed and related to their sources; cf. on Sanāʾī: M. Raḍawī, *Taʿlīḳāt-i Ḥadīḳat al-ḥaḳīḳa*, Tehran 1344 sh.; on ʿAṭṭār: H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, Leiden 1955; on Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī: R. H. Nicholson, *The Mathnawī* of *Jalálu'ddín Rúmí*, vols. vii and viii (*Commentary*), London 1937-40; Badīʿ al-Zamān Furūzānfar, *Maʾākhidh-i ḳiṣaṣ wa tamthīlāt-i Mathnawī*, Tehran 1333 sh.: idem, *Sharḥ-i Mathnawī-i sharīf*, 3 vols., Tehran 1346-8 sh., left unfinished). A favourite allegorical technique is the *zabān-i ḥāl*, "the speech of state". This means that animals, things, or even metaphysical and legendary beings are introduced as speakers illustrating through a description of their own mode of existence the abstract ideas put forward by the author.

As metre and rhyme were, in the classical tradition, regarded as almost indispensable to a genuine literary composition, prose could only play a modest role in Persian literature. It had, moreover, to compete with the *mathnawī* in most narrative genres. Still, when considered from a more impartial point of view, a rich and varied literature of prose works of artistic value appears to exist. Anecdotes are also a favourite instrument of prose-writers even if their works are of an entirely utilitarian intent. It is, for that reason, not always possible to draw a clear line between artistic and non-artistic prose. A survey of different genres of story-telling in prose is given s.v. ḤIKĀYA, ii.

Conspicuous traits of the stylistic development of Persian prose are the interspersion of prose with poetical fragments and the increasing abundance of rhymed prose for which full advantage was taken of the possibilities offered by the vocabulary of Arabic. From the Mongol conquest onwards the tendency towards formal embellishment went to such extremes that meaning became almost completely subordinated to form. A trend to simplify the language of literary compositions started early in the 13th/19th century. For a detailed history of Persian prose style see M. T. Bahār, *Sabkshināsī, yā taʾrīkh-i taṭawwur-i nathr-i fārsī*, 3 vols. Tehran 1321 sh.

In the course of this survey there has been occasion to refer to several of the genres current in Persian literature, in particular in as far as they were connected with one of the poetical forms. In addition to this, some reference should be made to the genre of the *ḳalandariyyāt*, named after the *ḳalandar* [*q.v.*], a type of wandering *darwīsh* who practices in its extreme form the antinomian way of life of *malāmatiyya* [*q.v.*] mysticism. Poems of this genre can be quatrains (Bābā Ṭāhir, ʿAṭṭār) or may have a form intermediate between the *ḳaṣīda* and the *ghazal* (cf. esp. Sanāʾī). It seems to have absorbed the literary tradition of provocative identification of the poet with forms and symbols of non-Islamic religions (*kufriyyāt*) which is attested already in Arabic poetry of ʿAbbāsid times and in Persian poetry appears as early as Daḳīḳī [*q.v.*]. The *ḳalandariyyāt* later on

merged with the mystical *ghazal* (cf. H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, 487 ff.; idem, *Oriens*, xii (1959), 14 ff.). Another genre worth mentioning here is the *shahr-āshūb* or *shahr-angīz*, short poetical witticisms on young artisans, usually quatrains but also occuring as *ḳaṣīdas* In the latter case, they have been worked out to a satire on a whole town. Although themes of this kind can be found at quite an early date they really became popular only from the 10th/16th century onwards. The importance of the *shahr-āshūb* poems as documents of social conditions has been overrated (cf. A. Mirzoev, *Sayyido Nasafi i ego mesto v istorii tadžikskoy literaturi*, Stalirabad 1955, 143 f., cited by J. Rypka, *History* 297, 302 f. See also on this genre: M. Dj. Maḥdjūb, *Sabk-i Khurāsānī*, 677-99; A. Gulčin-i maʿānī, *Shahr-āshūb dar shiʿr-i fārsī*, Tehran 1346 sh.). There are also genres that are strictly bound to prosodic forms, e.g. the *Sāḳī-nāma*, a short *mathnawī* piece in the metre *mutaḳārib* on themes belonging to the topic of wine-drinking. The oldest specimens date from the 8th/14th century (Salmān-i Sāwadjī, Ḥāfiẓ). An anthology of works of this type was compiled by ʿAbd al-Nabī Fakhr al-Zamānī Ḳazwīnī in 1028/1619 (*Tadhkira-i Maykhāna*, ed. by Gulčin-i maʿānī, Tehran 1340 sh.).

The poetical language, its images and metaphors have only been explored to a limited extent so far. The nature themes in the early court poetry have been inventorised and analysed by C.-H. de Fouchécour, *La description de la nature dans la poésie lyrique persane du XIe siècle. Inventaire et analyse des thèmes*, Paris 1969. Especial attention is given to the symbolism of the erotic-mystical *ghazal* in the chapter on *Motivi e forme della poesia persiana* of A. Bausani's *Storia*, 239-95; cf. idem, *Persia religiosa*, Milan 1959, 298-354; Manūčihr Murtaḍawī, *Maktab-i Ḥāfiẓ yā muḳaddama bar Ḥāfiẓ-shināsī*, Tehran 1344 sh. The Zoroastrian background of many themes is examined by M. Muʿīn, *Mazdayasnā wa taʾthīr-i ān dar adabiyyāt-i pārsī*, Tehran 1326 sh., 1338 sh.[2]. On various topics of lyrical poetry see further: A. Schimmel, *Die Bildersprache Dschlelâladdin Rûmîs*, Walldorf-Hessen 1950; eadem, *Schriftsymbolik im Islam*, in *Aus der Welt der islamischen Kunst, Festschrift E. Kühnel*, Berlin 1957, 244-54; eadem, *Rose und Nachtigall*, in *Numen*, v/2 (1958), 85-109; E. Yarshater, *The theme of wine-drinking and the concept of the beloved in early-Persian poetry*, in *Stud. Isl.*, xiii (1960), 43-53. The fundamental study by H. Ritter, *Über die Bildersprache Niẓāmīs*, Berlin-Leipzig 1927, deals in particular with the use of metaphor in Persian poetry. A new approach to the study of the language of poetry and literary prose makes use of the method of statistical wordcount: cf. R. Koppe, *Statistik und Semantik der arabischen Lehnwörter in der Sprache Alawi's*, in *Wissensch. Zeitschrift d. Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, gesellsch. u. sprachwiss. Reihe*, ix (1959-60), 585-619; W. Skalmowski, *Ein Beitrag zur Statistik der arab. Lehnwörter im neupersischen*, in *Folia Orientalia*, iii (1961), 171-5 (on Saʿdī and Ḥāfiẓ) and M. N. Osmanov, *Častotniy slovar' Unsuri*, Moscow 1970. Some aspects of literary technique have been studied by G. Richter, *Persiens Mystiker Dschelâl-Eddîn Rumi: eine Stildeutung*, Breslau 1933; W. Lentz, *Beobachtungen über den gedanklichen Aufbau einiger zeitgenössischer Prosastücke*, in *Isl.*, xxx (1952), 166-208; idem, *ʿAṭṭār als Allegoriker*, in *Isl.*, xxxv (1960), 52-96.

The rhetorical schemes played an important part in the style of Persian lyricism, especially in the art of the panegyric *ḳaṣīda*. Poems based on an intensified use of these figures were called *ḳaṣīda-i muṣannaʿ*. A specimen of this is the poem designed by Ḳiwāmī of Gandja (6th-12th century) as a textbook on the subject (cf. Browne, ii, 47-76). An analysis of one of the masterpieces of poetical rhetoric has been given by J. Rypka, *Ḫāqānīs Madāʾin-Qaṣīde rhetorisch beleuchtet*, in *ArO*, xxvii (1959), 199-205. The exposition of the schemes by Persian theoreticians is derived from the Arabic works on *badīʿ* and *balāgha* [*qq.v.*]. The oldest extant work is the *Tardjumān al-balāgha* by Muḥ. b. ʿUmar al-Rādūyānī (probably second half of the 5th/11th century; ed. with facsimile of the unique MS. by A. Ateş, Istanbul 1949). It was adapted about a century later by Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāṭ in his *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-shiʿr*. The most authoritative work dealing with the disciplines of prosody as well is *al-Muʿdjam fī maʿāyīr ashʿār al-ʿadjam* by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḳays al-Rāzī, Shams-i Ḳays for short (ed. by E. G. Browne and M. Ḳazwīnī, London 1909; ed. by Mudarris-i Raḍawī, Tehran 1314 sh., 1338 sh.).[2] For a survey of works on the theory of literature see the introduction by M. Ḳazwīnī to the last-mentioned work and F. Tauer, in J. Rypka et. al., *History*, 432 ff.

II. Historical Survey.

a. *Periodization of Persian literary history.*

Most histories of Persian literature derive the arrangement of their subject-matter largely from the divisions of dynastic history. This method is to a certain extent justified by the fact that royal courts have always been very important in the literary life of Iran. Schools of poetry can quite conveniently be identified and labelled by reference to the political centres on which they depended. Apart from the theoretical objections that can be brought forward against the exclusive use of a political frame of reference, one of the main practical disadvantages is that it cannot account for literary developments that intersect the boundary lines of political history. An arrangement based on a classification of forms and genres, as has been chosen for instance by H. Ethé and, more recently, by A. Bausani, can do more justice to the intrinsic history of literature as an autonomous artistic tradition. In the present survey, a broad historical scheme has been adopted which leaves sufficient room to trace out at least the most essential lines of the purely literary development. Within each historical section a secondary arrangement according to the main genres of literature (lyric poetry, epic poetry, prose) has been followed as far as possible.

Several attempts have been made to work out a more fundamental theory of periodization. A. Zarre has based his trifold division of Iranian literature as a whole on the principles of Marxist literary theory. The feudal period encompasses both the classical Persian literature and the literature of the Middle Iranian period (cf. *Očerk* in *Vostok, sbornik*, ii, 26). Suggestions for a much more refined scheme based on autonomous literary developments as well as on political and economic factors have recently been made by A. N. Boldîrev and I. S. Braginskiy (cf. I. S. Braginskiy et. al., *Problemî periodizatsii istorii literaturî narodov Vostoka*, Moscow 1968, containing reprints of articles published earlier in *Narodî Azii i Afriki*, 1963/6, 290-314 and *ibid.*, 1965/2, 100-10; see also the summary in *Central Asian Review*, xii (1964), 132-9). S. Nafîsî has borrowed the terms of his scheme (realism, naturalism, symbolism, etc.) from the historians of European literatures (cf. *Shāhkārhā-i nathr-i Fārsī-i muʿāṣir*, i, 23 ff.). A quite different system, developed by Oriental students of Persian literature, both in Iran and on the Indian subcontinent, makes use of a geographical nomen-

clature but is essentially based on stylistic criteria. This theory distinguishes three different styles each of which is typified by the poetry of a specific region during a certain period of time. (a) The style of Khurāsān or Turkistān (*sabk-i Khurāsānī, sabk-i Turkistānī*), *i.e.*, the comparatively simple and balanced style of early Persian poetry up to the Saldjūḳ period. It is ruled by the principle of harmonious use of images and metaphors within the limits of one line (*murāʿāt al-naẓīr*). The language both of prose and verse is still the old *darī* which has not yet been overloaded with Arabic loanwords and expressions. The main forms of poetry are the *ḳaṣīda* and the *mathnawī*, especially the heroic genre. (b) The style of ʿIrāḳ (*sabk-i ʿIrāḳī*) is characterized by a development towards a rhetorically more sophisticated type of poetry, the language of which is much more influenced by Arabic. There is also a tendency to use difficult learned allusions. In the course of the period of the *ʿIrāḳī* style, the *ghazal* and the romantic epic become the most prominent forms of poetry. It is equally the time of the rise of Ṣūfī literature in all its various forms. Most of these developments affect prose literature as well. There exists some uncertainty about the exact beginnings of this style. The shift of the main centre of literary life to the west during the second half of the 6th/12th century is reflected in its name, but unmistakable traces of similar stylistic trends can be found in the literature produced in the eastern parts of the country from the end of the preceding century onwards. (c) The Indian style (*sabk-i Hindī* [*q.v.*]) is in its origin as a clearly defined poetical style more narrowly associated with historical and geographical factors than the two others. These factors are the radical changes in Iranian society resulting from the victory of the Ṣafawids in the 11th/16th century and the migration of many Persian poets to Indian courts, which took place simultaneously. The characteristic traits, as they have been described by A. Bausani, are: deviations from the rule of harmonious use of imagery, leading to a "baroque" extension of the stock of images and metaphors allowed in poetry, the predominance of mystical-philosophical themes, and an extreme tendency towards allegory. This style reached its full development with the Indian poets, but was also followed for some time by poets in Iran until the middle of the 12th/18th century when a return to the classical models (*bāzgasht*) took place. This neo-classicism prevailed in traditional poetry and criticism until quite recently. (For a general survey of the theories of periodization see J. Rypka, *History*, 112 ff. See also M. Dj. Maḥdjūb, *Sabk-i Khurāsānī dar shiʿr-i fārsī*, Tehran 1345/1967 and, on the *sabk-i Hindī*, A. Mirzoev, *Sayyido Nasafi i ego mesto v istorii tadžikskoy literaturī*, Stalinabad 1955; E. E. Bertel's *K. voprosu ob "indiyskom stile" v persidskoy poezii*, in *Charisteria orientalia praecipue ad Persiam pertinentia Ioanni Rypka ... sacrum*, Prague 1956, 56-9; A. Bausani, *Contributo a una definizione dello "stile indiano" della poesia persiana*, *AIUON*, *NS*, vii (1957), 167-78).

b. *From the Sāmānids to the Mongol invasion (4th/10th—beginning of the 7th/13th centuries)*

As has been observed already in the section on the beginnings of Persian literature, the poetry of the time of the Ṭāhirids and the Ṣaffārids has been almost completely lost. Only from the early 4th/10th century onwards does the available material gradually increase, although our documentation remains scanty till the beginning of the next century, from which time date the oldest *dīwāns* that have been preserved. For the earlier period our knowledge entirely depends on the fragments transmitted by a number of sources of quite different nature. The most important categories are the anthologies (*tadhkira* [*q.v.*]), foremost the *Lubāb al-albāb* by ʿAwfī [*q.v.*], lexicographical works, the oldest extant work being the *Lughat al-Furs* by Asadī [*q.v.*], and works on literary theory. Usually the fragments do not amount to more than one or two lines. Complete lyric poems of the 4th/10th century are very rare. Perhaps the most ancient specimen is a *ḳaṣīda* on the cultivation of wine by Rūdakī preserved in the *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān*. The first attempt to reassemble these scattered pieces was made by H. Ethé in a series of monographs published between 1872 and 1875. Several scholars both inside and outside Iran have continued this line of research (cf. G. Lazard, *Les premiers poètes persans (ixe-xe siècles), Fragments rassemblés, édités et traduits*, 2 vols., Tehran-Paris 1964, with further references).

The court of the Sāmānid *amīrs* in Bukhārā in the 4th/10th century is the first great centre of literature about which some detailed information is available. Both the *amīrs* and the prominent men of their entourage, like the Balʿamīs [*q.v.*] and the members of the military clan Sīmdjūr, encouraged men of learning and poets to use the vernacular as a literary language. There was much interest in Iranian lore but on the whole the literary tradition conformed to the existing patterns of Islamic culture. A particularly splendid episode was the reign of Naṣr II (301/914-331/942), the patron of Rūdakī [*q.v.*] (d. 329/940-1), who was the most distinguished figure of Sāmānid literature. More than 100 *bayts* from his works have been retrieved, considerably more than of any of his contemporaries. He cultivated a great variety of forms but the traditional accounts that ascribe to Rūdakī the invention of several forms of poetry are certainly unhistorical. There are indications that the literary activities of the Ismāʿīliyya [*q.v.*] exerted some influence on the intellectual circles at the Sāmānid court. The anonymous commentary on a didactical *ḳaṣīda* by Abu 'l-Haytham Gurgānī (ed. by H. Corbin and M. Muʿīn, Tehran-Paris 1955; cf. G. Lazard, *op. cit.*, i, 24) contains references to the interest taken in the doctrines of this Ismāʿīlī philosopher by Rūdakī and two other poets: Shahīd of Balkh, who himself is also known as a philosopher, and Muṣʿabī, one of the viziers of Naṣr II. Another notable poet of the earlier Sāmānid period was Farālāwī. To a later generation belong Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Rabindjanī, Abū Shuʿayb of Harāt, Maʿrūfī of Balkh and Daḳīḳī [*q.v.*]. This last, who is best known through his epic work, was also a great master of the early lyrical style. Much attention has been paid to his allusions to Zoroastrianism, which are best explained as early instances of the topic of the *kufriyyāt* and should not be taken at their face-value. From the increasing number of poets of the last decades of this century, special mention should be made here of Kisāʾī (born 341/952), the first to write religious poems showing his Shīʿite sympathies. Other names are Abu 'l-Ḥasan Lawkarī, Sipihrī, Badīʿ Balkhī, Khusrawānī, Abu 'l-Mathal, Shākir, Djullāb, ʿAmmāra Marwazī, Amīr Āghādjī and Ismāʿīl Muntaẓir, the last two mentioned being members of the Sāmānid house.

The local rulers of Čaghāniyān, the Āl-i Muḥtādj, were equally interested in Persian poetry. They patronized Daḳīḳī during a part of his career and later Mundjīk Tirmidhī as well as some of the great poets of the Ghaznavid period. To the west, Persian poetry penetrated to the court of the Ziyārids in Gurgān and even to the residence in Rayy of the Būyid vizier

"Ṣāḥib" Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbbād al-Ṭālakānī [see IBN ʿABBĀD] (326/938-385/995), who is also renowned as a writer and a patron of Arabic letters. Among the first poets at these courts were Manṭiḳī Rāzī (d. between 367/977 and 380/991) and Khusrawī Sarakhsī (d. before 383/993). The popularity of poetry in dialects (Ṭabarī, Gīlakī) in northern Iran during this period is worthy of note.

The Turkish Ghaznavids inherited the cultural traditions of their former masters, the Sāmānids. Their remote capital, Ghazna, was, during the first half of the 5th/11th century, the most brilliant centre of intellectual and literary life in Iran. All this was the result of a conscious policy pursued by the early Ghaznavids to attract scholars—the most celebrated among them being al-Bīrūnī [*q.v.*]—and poetical talents to their court. It was inspired by a keen sense of the propagandist value of patronage. The writers and poets of this time put great emphasis on the glory of the dynasty and on its legitimacy. Poets accompanied the sultans on their campaigns, particularly on the raids into Indian territories, and celebrated their victories (e.g. the destruction of the temple of Shiva at Sōmnāth in 416/1026). Sultan Maḥmūd himself entered into literature on account of the stories about him and his favourite slave Ayāz [*q.v.*].

Thanks to a much fuller documentation of the literary production, we can for the first time study the lyricism of the Khurāsānī style in all its details in the works of the poets of the early Ghaznavid school. The period is dominated by three poets who exerted an influence on Persian poetical style that lasted throughout the centuries: ʿUnṣurī [*q.v.*] (d. 431/1039-40), Farrukhī [*q.v.*] (d. 429/1037-8) and Manūčihrī [*q.v.*] (d. about 432/1040-1). ʿUnṣurī, the poet laureate of the court of Sultan Maḥmūd, is first of all a great panegyrist, which made his work a favourite source for the older writers on the rhetorical schemes. The descriptive art of the prologues is more fully developed in the poetry of Farrukhī, especially in the formalized descriptions of nature. His style is characterized by the use of parallelism in the structure of the two parts of the distich. Manūčihrī shows a certain amount of individuality within the common tradition in the choice of his images. He is especially famous on account of his strophic poems.

The works of the other poets of the period have only been transmitted in a very imperfect way. We can have at least some idea about the poetry of Labībī [*q.v.*] (d. after 429/1037-8) and ʿAsdjadī (d. *ca.* 432/1040-1). Rābiʿa Ḳuzdārī of Balkh is probably the earliest female poet of Iran, although the chronology of her life is uncertain. She became the heroine of a popular romance (cf. Fr. Meier, *Die schöne Mahsati*, 27-42). The poet Bahrāmī is known to have composed some treatises on prosody which were used as textbooks for a considerable time but have not been preserved. Abu 'l-Fatḥ Bustī (d. between 400/1009 and 403/1013 is said to have left two *dīwāns*, one in Arabic and one in Persian.

A second centre of patronage was the residence of Amīr Naṣr, a brother of Sultan Maḥmūd and governor of Khurāsān. In Rayy lived the poet Ghaḍāʾirī (d. 426/1034-5) who, in spite of his service to the Būyid court, was in close contact with the Ghaznavid sultan as well.

The defeat of Sultan Masʿūd I at the hands of the Saldjūḳs in the battle of Dandānḳān (432/1040) divides the history of the Ghaznavids into two parts. After this event they lost control over the western parts of their empire and drew back upon the eastern half, *i.e.*, the present-day Afghānistān and the conquered areas on the Indian subcontinent. They did not abandon their cultural interest, however. Poetry was now also patronized at the court of the Ghaznawid viceroy in Lahore. This can be regarded as the starting-point of Indo-Persian literature. Quite prominent names are to be found among the first poets at the court of the Pandjāb: Abu 'l-Faradj Rūnī (d. after 492/1098-9) and Masʿūd-i Saʿd-i Salmān [see MASʿŪD-I SAʿD] (438/1046-7—515/1121-2). The former brought many new elements in the style of the panegyric *ḳaṣīda* which anticipated later developments finally resulting in the style of ʿIrāḳ. His work is known to have influenced Anwarī. Masʿūd-i Saʿd is especially famous because of his prison-poems, reflecting personal experiences, although as a genre the *ḥabsiyyāt* were already a part of the Arabic-Persian tradition. The importance attached to poetry in the capital itself is demonstrated by the large frieze containing poetical inscriptions that has been unearthed in the ruins of the palace of the sultan (cf. A. Bombaci, *The kûfic inscription in Persian verses in the court of the Royal Palace of Masʿûd III at Ghazni*, Rome 1966). The reign of Sultan Bahramshāh (512/1118-552/1151) was very fruitful. Mukhtārī (d. probably 554/1159 [*q.v.*]) was a versatile writer of *ḳaṣīdas*. The fame of Sanāʾī [*q.v.*] (d. about 535/1140-1) is particularly based on his religious and moralistic poetry. A great number of his *ḳaṣīdas* belong to the genres of the "ascetic poems" (*zuhdiyyāt*) and the *ḳalandariyyāt*. A similar preoccupation with religious and ethical themes is to be found in the *dīwān* of the great Ismāʿīlī poet and philosopher Nāṣir-i Khusraw [*q.v.*] (d. about 465/1072-470/1077). Sanāʾī's extensive collection of *ghazals* has been mentioned already on account of its significance for the history of this poetical form. Another notable poet of the *ghazal* was Sayyid Ḥasan-i Ghaznawī Ashraf (d. 556/1160-1).

The foundation of the Saldjūḳ sultanate in Iran reunified the country both politically and in a religious sense This new situation gave the cause of Persian letters a better chance to win the western provinces. Asadī [*q.v.*] of Ṭūs compiled his dictionary *Lughat al-Furs* in order to make the writers in other parts of Iran acquainted with the vocabulary of the eastern literary language. He himself emigrated to Ādharbāydjān where he found a patron in Abū Dulaf, the ruler of Nakhčuwān. The first prominent poet born in the west was Ḳaṭrān [*q.v.*] (d. after 465/1072-3). He attended the local courts of Tabrīz and Ghazna. Local centres of power emerged also in other parts of the country and offered the poets a greater variety of chances. Best known among the provincial panegyrists was Azraḳī [*q.v.*] (d. before 465/1071-3), who glorified the governor of Harāt as well as the Saldjūḳ Sultan of Kirmān. The central seat of power, the court of the Great Saldjūḳs, was during the 5th/11th century not very conspicuous for its interest in poetry. We know a few names such as Lāmiʿī (d. *ca.* 455/1063) and Burhānī (d. 465/1072-3), but the one truly great poet was the latter's son Muʿizzī [*q.v.*] (d. between 519/1125 and 521/1128), who later on joined the group of poets at the court of Sandjar in Marw. Here the art of the *ḳaṣīda* was elaborated with great rhetorical refinement. A great master of this art was Anwarī [*q.v.*] (d. probably 585/1189-90). Other lyricists of great talent were Adīb-i Ṣābir (d. between 538/1143 and 542/1148) and Djabalī (d. 555/1160).

In Central Asia Turkish dynasties continued to favour Persian panegyrism. Under the Ilek-Khāns, Bukhārā had its own school of poets led by the rivals ʿAmʿaḳ (d. *ca.* 543/1148-9) and Rashīdī of Samar-

ḳand. The most interesting figure was the satirist Sūzanī [*q.v.*] (d. 562/1166-7) who directed his ridicule against several of his colleagues. In the time of the Khwārazm-shāhs the most influential man of letters was Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāṭ [*q.v.*] (d. 573/1177-8 or 578/1182-3). Besides being a poet, he was a prolific writer in Arabic and Persian prose.

The growing insecurity of life in Khurāsān from the middle of the 6th/12th century onwards, mainly a result of fresh invasions of Turkish Ghuzz tribes, caused an increasing number of poets to emigrate to the west. This trend is exemplified in the career of Athīr-i Akhsikatī (d. *ca.* 570/1174-5) and Ẓahīr-i Fāryābī [*q.v.*] (d. 598/1201-2), who both travelled to the Saldjūḳ court in ʿIrāḳ and further to the Ildegizid atabegs in Ādharbāydjān. At the same time there emerged a short-lived but not insiginificant school of poets in Iṣfahān dependent on the patronage of local aristocrats such as the Āl-i Khudjand and the Āl-i Saʿid. To this group belonged Djamāl al-Dīn Iṣfahānī (d. 588/1192-3) and his son Kamāl al-Dīn Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*] (d. 635/1237-8) as well as the lesser known Sharaf al-Dīn Shufurwa. Closely related to the work of these poets was the school of Ādharbāydjān. It comprised the encomiasts of the many local rulers of north-western Iran, among whom the Ildegizids and the Shirwānshāhs were the most prominent. The outstanding lyrical poet was Khāḳānī [*q.v.*] (d. 595/1199), the last great poet of the *ḳaṣīda* of pre-Mongol times. Mention should also be made of Falakī Shirwānī [*q.v.*] (d. about 550/1155-6), whose *dīwān* contains a number of remarkable *ḥabsiyyāt*, and Mudjīr-i Baylaḳānī (d. about 594/1197-8), one of Khāḳānī's pupils.

The *ghazal* continued its development into one of the majors forms of lyricism throughout the 6th/12th century. The course of this process since late Ghaznavid times can be traced in the *dīwāns* of Adīb-i Ṣābir, Anwarī, Djalāl al-Dīn Iṣfahānī, Ẓahīr Fāryābī and Khāḳānī. The mystical application of the symbolism of the *ghazal* shows itself in an unequivocal form only at the very end of this century in the work of Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār [*q.v.*].

Another form that became a favourite of Saldjūḳ times was the *rubāʿī*. We find it in the 5th/11th century often used for the expression of mystical thoughts. The poems are ascribed to famous Ṣūfī *shaykhs* like Abū Saʿīd b. Abi 'l-Khayr [*q.v.*], Anṣārī [*q.v.*] and Abu 'l-Ḥasan Kharaḳānī (d. 425/1033-4). The *du-baytīs* of Bābā Ṭāhir ʿUryān [*q.v.*] (d. 401/1010) contain early examples of the *ḳalandarī* themes. They show their affinity to popular poetry by the use of dialect forms. At the end of the period the mystical quatrain is again well represented in the *Mukhtārnāma* of ʿAṭṭār, a huge collection of *rubāʿiyyāt* arranged according to topics by the poet himself (cf. H. Ritter, *Philologika* xvi, in *Oriens*, xiii-xiv (1961), 195-228). The philosophical agnosticism of the famous quatrains of ʿUmar-i Khayyām [*q.v.*] (d. probably 515/1121-2) has some affinity to this mystical trend but cannot be identified with it. This short poem lent itself to the expression of quite profane topics as well. Anacreontic and erotic themes closely related to those of the *ghazal* are to be found in the poems of the female poet and singer Mahsatī [*q.v.*]. Like Rābiʿa, she is historically a rather vague personality and appears also as the heroine of a popular novel. It should be noted that most Persian poets have left collections of quatrains.

Among the fragments of Sāmānid poetry there is a remarkably large number of *mathnawī*-lines, but it is very often impossible to define the exact nature of the poems from which they originate. It is clear, however, that in addition to the versions of the heroic epic in prose, already at the turn of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries an attempt was made to treat the same subject-matter in the form of a *mathnawī*. The poor remnants of this work by Masʿūdī of Marw just permit the conclusion that it comprehended the whole range of the royal epic as we know it in the classical form of the *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsī [*q.v.*], which was completed about 400/1009-10. Through the latter work a fragment from the unfinished *mathnawī* of Daḳīḳī has been preserved. After Firdawsī the heroic epic continued in the form of monographic poems dealing with the adventures of individual heroes. Especially favourite were the members of the Sīstānian dynasty of vassals to which Rustam belonged. The most important writer of this genre is Asadī [*q.v.*] (the theory of the two Asadīs now has few defenders) with his *Garshāspnāma*. The strong influence of the romance of Alexander shows itself in the emphasis on philosophical discussions and journeys to far and mysterious countries. The tales about Alexander [see ISKANDARNĀMA] formed the only part of the epic of the kings that ultimately survived as a separate genre in the literature of the *mathnawī*. The classical model of this branch was provided by the double *Iskandarnāma* of Niẓāmī [*q.v.*]. [See further ḤAMĀSA, ii].

The earliest subject of a romantic *mathnawī* that can be identified is the story of *Yūsuf u Zalīkhā* [*q.v.*], based on the 12th sūra of the Ḳur'ān. Of the several versions known to have been composed in pre-Mongol times only one has been preserved. This poem used to be ascribed to Firdawsī but recent research has rejected this and attributed it to a certain Amānī who wrote it after 476/1083 for a Saldjūḳ prince (cf. J. Rypka, *History*, 157 f.). It contains references to two versions of the 4th/10th century by Abu 'l-Mu'ayyad and Bakhtiyārī. The same story was later treated by ʿAmʿaḳ. From the romances written by ʿUnṣurī [*q.v.*], *Wāmiḳ u ʿAdhrā*, a story going back to Hellenistic sources, has been partly recovered recently. Two others, *Khing-but u surkh-but*, inspired by the statues of Buddha at Bāmiyān, and *Shādbahr u ʿAyn al-Ḥayāt* have been lost. Another recent discovery is *Warḳa u Gulshāh* by ʿAyyūḳī, a contemporary of Sultan Maḥmūd. It is a love story, situated in Arabia in the lifetime of the Prophet, and not unlike the European romance of Floire and Blancheflor. Towards the middle of the 5th/11th century Fakhr al-Dīn Gurgānī [*q.v.*] elaborated an ancient Parthian tale, transmitted up to his times by Pahlavi literature, in the *mathnawī*, *Wīs u Rāmīn*. The significance of this work for the history of Persian literature lies not only in its origin, thoroughly investigated by V. Minorsky, but equally in the influence it exerted on the further course of courtly romance. Several stylistic conventions and topics were introduced by Gurgānī and afterwards developed by a long line of imitators. A particularly close relationship appears to exist between this work and *Khusraw u Shīrīn* of Niẓāmī [*q.v.*] (d. 605/1209). While Gurgānī's story itself was abandoned, Niẓāmī set the pace for future generations both as far as the subject-matter and the formal conventions are concerned. The same can be said of his other romances: *Haft Paykar*, the romanticized lifestory of Bahrām Gūr, serving also as a frame-story for seven splendidly told fairy tales, and the celebrated Arabian story of *Laylā u Madjnūn*. Niẓāmī treated these subjects with great psychological depth. On the other hand he enriched the romantic *mathnawī* by using the imagery of lyric poetry to the full, treating it with all the rhetorical

ingenuity characteristic of the ʿIrāḳī style. He is justly regarded as the real founder of the Persian romantic epic. The *Khusrawnāma* by ʿAṭṭār [*q.v.*] also belongs to this category.

The *mathnawī* was from the earliest times onwards used for didactic purposes as well. Rūdakī composed versions of the Indian collections of fables and tales *Kalīla u Dimna* [*q.v.*] and *Sindibādnāma* [*q.v.*]. They were both repeatedly remodelled by later writers both in prose and in verse.To the same group of works belongs the *Bilawhar u Yūdāsaf* (*Būdāsaf*) [*q.v.*], fragments of which have been recovered form the Turfan manuscripts. Although written with Manichaean characters, the language of this text shows unmistakable signs of a New Persian original which can be dated in the Sāmānid period (cf. W. B. Henning, *Persian poetical manuscripts from the time of Rūdakī*, in *A Locust's Leg. Studies in honour of S. H. Taqizadeh*, London 1962, 89-104). Narratives of this kind were from pre-Islamic times onwards especially valued on account of the element of moral instruction they contained. They can therefore be classified as a branch of the didactic epic. Another type is represented by the *Āfarīnnāma* of Abū Shakūr of Balkh completed in 336/947-8. Quite a number of fragments have been retrieved which can be ascribed to this work with some certainty. As far as we can judge from these remnants, it consisted of a series of aphorisms predominantly of a moralistic nature and illustrated by the use of inserted anecdotes. If this description is correct, it would mean that the *Āfarīnnāma* prefigured a structural type on which most later works of secular or mystical didacticism were based. The first and perhaps most important instance of this is the *Ḥadīḳat al-Ḥaḳīḳa* of Sanāʾī [*q.v.*], usually regarded as the beginning of a long tradition of Ṣūfī *mathnawīs*. The anecdotes in this work are very short and entirely subordinated to the theoretical contents they serve to exemplify. Although the poem has sometimes been described as an encyclopaedia of Ṣūfism, the *Ḥadīḳa* contains, in fact, besides mystical elements, a wide range of other themes such as philosophy, ethics, science and even panegyrics. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that diverging lines of development originate from this point in the history of the genre. On the one hand, the *Makhzan al-asrār* of Niẓāmī, dealing mainly with secular ethics, is notwithstanding its different metre and the far more rigid composition, according to the statement of the poet himself written in competition with the work of Sanāʾī. On the other hand, ʿAṭṭār's *Asrārnāma*, built on the same principle, is entirely devoted to mysticism. In both works the narrative has become a fully elaborated element in its own right. Quite a different type of structure is revealed by the "frame-story" *mathnawīs* of ʿAṭṭār [*q.v.*], the most famous of which are the *Ilāhīnāma*, the *Manṭiḳ al-ṭayr* and the *Muṣībatnāma*

Some of the *mathnawīs* produced in this period cannot be classified into any of the three categories outlined above. Still to the Sāmānid period belongs the *Dānishnāma* of Ḥakīm Maysarī composed between 367/978 and 370/981. It gives a popular exposition of medical theory and practice and therefore hardly belongs to literature proper (cf. G. Lazard, *Premiers poètes*, i, 36 ff.). Metaphysical doctrines combined with ethical maxims and some amount of gnostic speculation are to be found in the *Rawshanāʾīnāma* of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, in which no anecdotes have been used. A number of short *mathnawīs* has been ascribed to Sanāʾī, but only two of these can with certainty be regarded as authentic: *Karnāma-i Balkhī* containing both eulogy and satire, the latter directed against some of the Ṣūfīs and poets of Ghazna, and *Sayr al-ʿibād ila'l-Maʿād* depicting the gnostic's journey through the cosmos followed by a panegyry. To a similar type belongs the *Hunarnāma* of Mukhtārī. A very original work is the *Tuḥfat al-ʿIrāḳayn* of Khāḳānī. Conceived as the poetical journal of a pilgrimage, it contains a variety of other materials as well, out of which the repeated addresses to the sun deserve to be noted.

Among the many cultural achievements of the Sāmānid period, the creation of a Persian prose literature takes a very prominent place. Nearly all the works of this early time that have been handed down are non-artistic writings and cannot concern us here. Still, some information is available which points to the existence of a number of works in prose that, at least on account of their subject-matter, are relevant to literary history. To this group belong the prose versions of the epic of the kings, three of which are known to have existed although no more than the introduction to one of them, composed in 346/957 by Abū Manṣūr al-Maʿmarī (or Muʿammarī), has been preserved. It is not quite certain whether the fragments dealing with the hero Garshāsp, cited in the *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān* and attributed there to Abu 'l-Muʾayyad of Balkh, have been taken from the Shāhnāma version of this prolific writer or from a separate "Book of Garshāsp". Monographs of this last type were written about several heroes who play some role in the epic cycles. They have all disappeared, but to a large extent their contents have been transmitted by way of the numerous *mathnawīs* of the same genre produced during the 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries. In prose, heroic themes are further developed in an extensive literature of popular novels. To the 6th/12th century belong the works of Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. Ḥasan Ṭarsūsī (or Ṭarṭūsī). His *Dārābnāma* elaborates the legends about the last of the ancient Iranian kings with many fantastic details. It ends with a treatment of the history of Alexander, one of the favourite subjects of this narrative literature. Another novel of Ṭarṣūsī deals with a hero of Islamic times, Abū Muslim (cf. I. Mélikoff, *Abu Muslim, le Porte-Hache du Khorassan, dans la tradition épique turco-iranienne*, Paris 1962). The chivalrous romance *Samak-i ʿAyyār*, which was originally written by Ṣadaḳa b. Abi 'l-Kāsim of Shīrāz, but has only been preserved in a later version dated 585/1189, is entirely a work of fiction.

An alternation between versions in prose and in verse is equally observable in the tradition of the Indian collections of fables and stories. For two of these there is evidence of Persian prose renderings in the Sāmānid period (*Kalīla wa Dimna, Sindibādnāma* [*qq.v.*]). They have been replaced by later adaptations made with an intent to make these works more palatable to the literary taste of a later generation. The principle of the frame-story, so characteristic of these Indian books, was borrowed for a Persian imitation in the *Bakhtiyārnāma* [*q.v.*], while the animal fable introduced by the *Kalīla wa Dimna* was cultivated in the collection entitled *Marzbānnāma*, which was originally composed in the Ṭabarī dialect. [See further ḤIKĀYA, ii].

The fashion of embellishing prose by the application of rhymed and measured phrases was known already from the early 5th/11th century from the sayings attributed to the Ṣūfī *shaykh* Abū Saʿīd b. Abi 'l-Khayr [*q.v.*] and, more particularly, from a string of *risālas* usually ascribed to Anṣārī [*q.v.*] (cf. on the philological problems attached to these texts and their authenticity, G. Lazard, *La langue des plus*

anciens monuments, 111 f.), of which the small collection of prayers called *Munādjāt* has become quite celebrated. The style of Arabic prose, as it had developed in the time of the Būyids in the hands of such masters of the *risāla* as Ibn ʿAbbād [*q.v.*] and al-Hamadhānī [*q.v.*], very much affected the style of elegant Persian prose. A clear instance of this influence is the introduction of the genre of the *maḳāma* [*q.v.*] into Persian literature by the *ḳāḍī* Ḥamīd al-Dīn of Balkh or Ḥamīdī [*q.v.*] (d. 559/1164). One of the best examples of the sophisticated style of pre-Mongol times, still very much appreciated in present-day Iran, is the version of *Kalīla wa Dimna* by Naṣr Allāh b. Muḥammad [*q.v.*], a secretary to the late Ghaznavid Sultan Bahrāmshāh. Other specimens of the style current among secretaries, theologians and men of learning and letters include pieces of official or personal correspondence preserved from the hands of several prominent men (e.g. the *Faḍāʾil al-Anām* by Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, the correspondence between his brother Aḥmad al-Ghazālī and ʿAyn al-Ḳuḍāt al-Hamadhānī, and further the letters handed down from poets such as Sanāʾī, Khāḳānī and Rashīd-i Waṭwāṭ).

The characteristic traits of artistic prose are not confined to those works that can be classified as *belles lettres* in the strict sense of the term but occur in many works of a more "utilitarian" purpose as well. The same can be said of the art of narrative, whether of pointed anecdotes or of short stories. They are especially abundant in works of history and biography. It need not surprise, therefore, if a work like the *Taʾrīkh* of Bayhaḳī [*q.v.*] is reckoned among the masterpieces of early Persian prose. Even a listing of all the writings that in some way or the other are interesting from the aesthetic point of view would by far exceed the limits of this article. Only one group of prose-works cannot be left unmentioned here. In spite of great individual differences, these works share a common feature in that, as a kind of *Fürstenspiegel*, they have been written for the instruction of those in power and they abundantly make use of anecdotes and tales functioning both as illustrative examples and as a means to enliven the theoretical exposition. To this group belong the *Ḳābūsnāma* by ʿUnṣur al-Maʿālī Kay-Kāʾūs [*q.v.*] (d. 492/1098-9), the *Čahār Maḳāla* by Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī [*q.v.*] (d. about 560/1164-5), the *Siyāsatnāma* by Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.v.*] (d. 485/1092) and the *Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk* by al-Ghazālī [*q.v.*] (d. 505/1111). All these works were written in a comparatively sober style.

Mainly on account of the relevance of its subject-matter to the study of certain themes of lyric poetry, mention should also be made of the *Nawrūznāma*, a treatise on the origins and customs of the ancient Iranian New Year's festival. It contains, among other things, a reference to the ceremonial use of poetry at the Sāsānian court and an account of the legendary origins of the cult of wine. The authorship of ʿUmar-i Khayyām [*q.v.*] is denied by most scholars.

Apart from the wealth of narratives contained in such works as the commentaries on the Ḳurʾān, the biographies of prophets and Ṣūfī saints, and mystical treatises, there is little in the religious prose literature of the pre-Mongol period that needs to be mentioned on account of its great artistic value. An exception, however, should be made for the allegorical tales, describing the spiritual journey of the gnostic, by Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā Suhrawardī [*q.v.*] (d. 587/1191). Another famous mystic, Aḥmad al-Ghazālī [*q.v.*] (d. 520/1126), examined the psychology of love in a string of concise and subtle aphorisms entitled *Sawāniḥ*. As it is presented in this work, the theory of love can be applied both to the earthly and to the mystical beloved.

c. *From the Mongol period to the rise of the Ṣafawids (7th/13th-9th/15th centuries).*

The successive invasions of the Mongols, resulting in the founding of the empire of the Īlkhāns, did not fail to affect the course of literary history just as it affected all other sections of Iranian society. The destruction of the great cities of Transoxania and Khurāsān, the enormous loss of life, the sharp decline of the economy, the disappearance of dynastic centres, all brought to an end the predominance of the north-eastern provinces in the Islamic civilization of Iran that had lasted for so many centuries. Not before the 9th/15th century could these areas for a short while regain some of their old cultural importance under the reign of the Tīmūrids. The shift of literary activity from the east to the western parts of the country, already in process from the middle of the 6th/12th century onwards, became definite as a result of these events, but it was no longer the north-western part that profited from this development. The Mongol Khāns, who established the centre of their rule in this area, assimilated far less easily to Persian culture than their Turkish predecessors. They were willing to accept and support those products of Islamic civilization that they regarded as useful, such as historiography and the natural sciences, but never developed any taste for the aesthetic achievements of its literature. The few instances of patronage to poetry known from the court of the Īlkhāns did not emanate from the rulers themselves but from erudite high officials of Persian descent in their service, like the Djuwaynīs [*q.v.*]. While the vocabulary of the great historians of this period was very much influenced by Mongol and Turkish (cf. G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, 4 vols., Wiesbaden 1963-71 and H. H. Zerinezade, *Fars dilinde Azerbaydjan sözleri*, Baku 1962) the language or artistic literature shows hardly any trace of this. The *ḳaṣīda* on an earthquake in Nīshāpūr of Pūr-i Bahā-i Djāmī, a deliberate attempt to introduce loanwords from the language of the conquerors into the poetical idiom, is an isolated phenomenon (cf. V. Minorsky, *Charisteria Orientalia... Ioanni Rypka... hoc volumen sacrum*, Prague 1956, 186-201; *BSOAS*, xviii/2 (1956), 262-78).

In spite of all this, some of the greatest works of Persian literature were produced during these centuries. Favourable conditions for a continuation of the literary tradition were present in those parts of the country that had escaped from the devastations of Mongol warfare. For the first time, southern Iran, more specifically Shīrāz, began to take part in the history of Persian poetry. A strong impulse was given by the arrival of many refugees, among whom the prominent theoretician of literature Shams-i Ḳays [*q.v.*] should be mentioned. New centres also arose outside the boundaries of Iran. The capital of the Saldjūḳs of Rūm, Konya, became the seat of a major school of mystical literature established there by immigrants. The cultivation of Persian letters on the Indian subcontinent became more and more independent after the foundation of the Sultanate of Dihlī in 602/1206.

In those days, however, poetry was no longer exclusively dependent on the economic and social support provided by patronage. From the 5th/11th century onwards, Ṣūfism penetrated Persian literature just as it gradually permeated Persian society as a whole. As a social phenomenon, this meant that a new

public and a new environment had come into being which created a wider range of functions for the poet and his art. Poetry could serve to express the ineffable experiences of the mystic through an ever more refined use of its symbolic language, or illuminate the subtleties of mystical doctrines from its vast resources of narrative material and techniques. It could also be used as a liturgical element in the "musical sessions" (*samāʿ*, [*q.v.*]) of the Ṣūfī circles. The traditional place of the *mamdūḥ* could be taken either by the spiritual leader (*pīr*) or by a human manifestation or "witness" (*s̲h̲āhid*) of the Eternal Beloved. For the poet who wanted to devote himself entirely to mysticism without any attachment to secular patronage, this new environment was provided by the communities of mystics, out of which the Ṣūfī fraternities (*ṭarīḳas*) developed in the course of this period. The first notable example of this withdrawal of poetry from the world is Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār, of whom no relation to any maecenas is known.

The most striking resnlt of these developments to be noticed in literature is the sharp decline of the *ḳaṣīda* as the main form of lyric poetry. To some extent this can be explained by the lack of interest in panegyrics shown by the chief court of the times. But the same trend can be observed at those courts where the traditions of courtly lyricism were continued on similar lines as before. In many instances the *g̲h̲azal*, which had now become the favourite poetic form, seems to have taken over the panegyric functions of the *ḳaṣīda*.

The ubiquity of the *g̲h̲azal* in Persian literature between the 7th/13th and 12th/18th centuries tends to obscure the fact that the *ḳaṣīda* never quite disappeared from the scene. At the beginning of this period Saʿdī [*q.v*.] of S̲h̲īrāz (d. 691/1292) cultivated the ode, which he largely used for religious and moral admonition on the lines of Nāṣir-i K̲h̲usraw and Sanāʾī. Apart from Salmān-i Sāwad̲j̲ī [*q.v.*] (d. 778/1376), who glorified the D̲j̲alāʾirids of Bag̲h̲dād, in the 9th/15th century D̲j̲āmī should also be mentioned as a prominent poet of the *ḳaṣīda*. Most other poets also wrote at least some poetry in this form, although it is true that the production of *ḳaṣīdas* during this period lags far behind that of the *g̲h̲azal*.

In the main line of the history of lyric poetry two strains, which seem to be distinguished by the different demands put upon the poets by their social environment, became visible. One of these strains is the purely mystical *g̲h̲azal* which leaves no room for any ambiguity concerning its fundamental meaning. Its model was provided by the *dīwān* of ʿAṭṭār (see, for an analysis of his *g̲h̲azals* in comparison to those of the earlier Sanāʾī and the later Ḥāfiẓ: H. Ritter, *Oriens*, xii (1959), 1-88). The foremost representative of this type of the *g̲h̲azal* after ʿAṭṭār is D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn [*q.v.*] Rūmī (d. 672/1273), in Iran usually known as Mawlawī. His life as a spiritual leader and a poet in the community of mystics at Konya is the best documented instance of the entourage in which an uncompromisingly mystical literature could flourish. His immense collection of *g̲h̲azals*, the *Kulliyyāt-i S̲h̲ams*, is attributed by the poet himself to S̲h̲ams al-Dīn al-Tabrīzī as an act of identification with the person regarded as the *s̲h̲āhid*. These poems are either expressions of mystical love, formulated under emotional stress without much care for formal perfection, or they serve to illuminate essential topics of mystical doctrine by means of a rich and sometimes very original imagery. In spite of this idiosyncrasy of Mawlawī's poetry, it became in its turn a model for the literary tradition of the fraternity of the Mawlawiyya [*q.v.*], which was formed out of the spiritual community of Konya after his death. This is especially noticeable in the lyrical poetry of his son Sultan Walad [*q.v.*] (d. 712/1312) and his grand son Ulu ʿĀrif Čelebī (d. 719/1320). Another poet who cultivated this type of *g̲h̲azal*, though with a greater technical sophistication, was ʿIrāḳī [*q.v.*] (d. 688/1289). In the course of his eventful life he practised the way of life of the *ḳalandar darwīs̲h̲es*, the traces of which can be found in his works.

The second type of *g̲h̲azal* was cultivated by those poets who did not abstain from the established conventions of courtly poetry even if their works display the all-pervasive influence of Ṣūfism. The double character of the *g̲h̲azal*-style, referred to above, is characteristic of this type. Although there are great differences in the intensity of mystical influence, some overtones of a transcendental connotation can be noticed in nearly all erotic poetry written in this period. The S̲h̲īrāzi school is particularly famous on account of the full development of this kind of *g̲h̲azal*. The oldest of the two great poets of the *g̲h̲azal* who flourished in this city was Saʿdī. His lifetime covered most of the 7th/13th century when S̲h̲īrāz was ruled by the Salg̲h̲urid Atabegs. Nearly all his *g̲h̲azals* are contained in three large collections, the *Ṭayyibāt*, the *Badāyiʿ* and the *K̲h̲awātim*. They show Saʿdī's perfect mastery of all the themes connected with the *g̲h̲azal* as a genre as well as of their associative interplay. Mystical notes can be observed, but they are harmoniously fused with secular themes. His graceful style, which also pervades the other literary works of this very versatile author, influenced the idiom of Persian more than the work of any other writer. Among his contemporaries, the names should be mentioned of Imāmī of Harāt (d. 667/1268-9 or 676/1277-8) who attended the court of Kirmān, Mad̲j̲d al-Dīn Hamgar (d. 686/1287), a citizen of S̲h̲īrāz, and Humām al-Dīn [*q.v.*] of Tabrīz (d. 714/1314), who glorified the members of the D̲j̲uwaynī family.

During the 8th/14th century, S̲h̲īrāz was in turn ruled by the Ind̲j̲ūs and by the Muẓaffarids. The names of these two dynasties are forever connected with that of Ḥāfiẓ [*q.v.*] (d. 792/1390), often nicknamed K̲h̲ʷād̲j̲a or Lisān al-G̲h̲ayb. He was much more a specialist of the *g̲h̲azal* than Saʿdī, as his not very extensive *dīwān* contains only a few poems in other forms. Of these, the short *mat̲h̲nawī* piece *Sāḳīnāma* has acquired some celebrity. According to A. J. Arberry, Ḥāfiẓ developed in the course of his career the refined art of the *g̲h̲azal*, as he inherited it from Saʿdī, by introducing the device of contrapuntal interaction of several themes within one single poem. Very often no more than a short allusion in one or two lines was applied to evoke, in the mind of the hearer who was familiar with the literary tradition, associations with a whole thematic complex. This technique was the essential novelty of Ḥāfiẓ's art (cf. *BSOAS*, xi (1943-6), 699-712; *Fifty Poems of Hafiz*, Cambridge 1953, 28 ff.). The most characteristic themes he employed—e.g. the cult of wine, the tavern, the cup-bearer, the *pīr-i mug̲h̲ān* who reveals esoteric wisdom from the cup of D̲j̲ams̲h̲īd (*d̲j̲ām-i D̲j̲am*), the disdain of the antinomian mystic for the hypocritical piety of the ascetic, showing itself in a provocative playing with non-Islamic religious symbols—were derived from such traditional topics of Arabic and Persian literature as the *k̲h̲amriyyāt*, the *ḳalandariyyāt* and the *kufriyyāt*. Outstanding features of the style of Ḥāfiẓ are also his frequent use of ambiguity (*īhām*) and his irony. In spite of his pre-

dilection for mystical subjects, several of his *ghazals* have proved to be designed as panegyric poems.

There were several other prominent poets of the *ghazal* in the time of Ḥāfiẓ: ʿUbayd-i Zākānī [*q.v.*] (d. 772/1371), more renowned as a satirist, left a small but exquisite collection of lyrics. He shows a preference for short poems usually of seven lines, a trait also observable with Kamāl-i Khudjandī [*q.v.*] (d. probably 803/1400-1). The *ghazals* of Khwādjū-i Kirmānī [*q.v.*] (d. 753/1352 or 762/1361) and Salmān-i Sāwadjī are of particular importance on account of the influence they exerted on Ḥāfiẓ, as has been acknowledged by the poet himself.

In the early 9th/15th century, the unambiguously mystical *ghazal* is cultivated again by Muḥammad Shīrīn Maghribī [*q.v.*] (d. 809/1406-7). By this time the poetical symbolism of the genre had been reduced to a system of fixed emblems denoting elements of the pantheistic philosophy of Ibn al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*], which had become predominant in Persian mystical thought. They lend themselves quite easily to a more or less mechanical interpretation, as often applied in commentaries or other essays on the allegorical language of Ṣūfī poetry. Of a quite similar nature is the poetry of Shāh Niʿmat Allāh [*q.v.*] of Kirmān (d. 834/1431), the founder of one of the most important Ṣūfī orders of Iran, and of Shāh Ḳāsim al-Anwār [*q.v.*] (d. 837/1433-4), who also wrote some poetry in Turkish and in the Gīlakī dialect.

The first sign of a revival of Persian letters in Khurāsān was the literary activity at the local courts that asserted themselves during the interval between the decline of the Īlkhānid empire and the rise of Tīmūr: the Shīʿite Sarbadārs of Sabzawār and the Kurts of Harāt. This short period produced a notable poet in Ibn-i Yamīn [*q.v.*] (d. 769/1368), who together with Anwarī, is reckoned among the best writers of the fragmentary poem (*ḳiṭʿa*). The old traditions of courtly poetry were more completely restored in the times of the Tīmūrids of the 9th/15th century. The wide range of cultural activities being cultivated in this period, as well as the active interest shown by several princes of the Tīmūrid house, are very reminiscent of the European renaissance. As far as literature is concerned, the flowering of all the visual arts connected with the production of manuscripts (calligraphy, miniature-painting, bookbinding) and philological projects such as the redaction of the *Shāhnāma*, usually attributed to the prince Bāysonghor [*q.v.*], should be mentioned in this connection. The main trait of literature itself is its classicist attitude. The Tīmūrid writers apply themselves to an ever more refined use of the transmitted forms and genres without adding much new to it. Some amount of novelty may, however, be granted to a genre of a rather bizarre kind introduced by Būsḥāḳ [*q.v.*] (first half of the 9th/15th century) of Shīrāz, who wrote a number of literary parodies on famous poets using culinary themes in his *Dīwān-i Aṭʿima*. On the same lines Ḳārī of Yazd (prob. 2nd. half of the 9th/15th century) composed a series of parodies based on terms current in the craft of the tailor (*Dīwān-i Albisa*). Other rhetorical devices like the enigma (*muʿammā*) and topical verses such as the chronogram (*taʾrīkh*) enjoyed a great popularity.

The most splendid centre of Tīmūrid culture was Harāt during the reign of Sultan Ḥusayn [*q.v.*] Bayḳara (873/1469-911/1506). Two great personalities dominated the literary scene of this court. ʿAlī-Shīr Nawāʾī [*q.v.*] (d. 906/1501), counsellor of the sultan and himself a patron of literature, wrote some Persian poetry under the pen-name Fānī but his main significance lies in the many works he composed in the eastern-Turkish literary language, known as Čaghatay. In addition to a great number of non-artistic writings, they comprehended the complete range of literary forms current in Persian poetry. In this way Nawāʾī created a series of classical models for the Turkish literature of subsequent ages, both in Central Asia and in the Ottoman empire [see further TURKS-LITERATURE]. Closely associated with Nawāʾī was the Persian poet and Ṣūfī *shaykh* Djāmī [*q.v.*] (d. 898/1492), whose productivity and versatility were even greater than those of his patron. He has often been called the last classical poet of Persian literature, a qualification based on the presumption that with the rise of the Ṣafawids a period of decadence began, lasting for nearly three centuries. But it is true that the works of Djāmī can be regarded as a vast summary of the entire mediaeval literature of Iran, comprising both its courtly and its mystical traditions. His lyrical work has been collected in three volumes, the first containing the poetry of his youth (*Fātiḥat al-Shabāb*), the second that of his middle age (*Wāsiṭat al-ʿIḳd*) and the third the production of his later days (*Khātimat al-Ḥayāt*). With this arrangement he imitated the Indian poet Amīr Khusraw [*q.v.*] (d. 725/1325) who, together with Saʿdī and Kamāl-i Khudjandī, also provided models for his *ghazals*. Other *ghazal*-poets of the Tīmūrid period worthy of note are Kātibī [*q.v.*] of Turshīz (d. 838/1434-5) and Amīr Shāhī of Sabzawār (d. 857/1453).

In the *mathnawī*-literature of the post-Mongol period, the five poems of Niẓāmī, joined by a later tradition into an artificial unity known as the *Khamsa* [*q.v.*], had become a conventional model that constituted an irresistible challenge to numerous poets both in Persian and in Turkish literature. The first of the long line of imitators was Amīr Khusraw. He kept himself strictly to the scheme of Niẓāmī, reproducing most of its structural features, but showed his originality by laying special emphasis on certain elements of the stories or by choosing new subsidiary tales in *Hasht Bihisht*, his imitation of *Haft Paykar*. The *Khamsa* of Khwādjū Kirmānī deviates much farther from the original pattern. It comprises two romantic epics with new stories (*Humāy u Humāyūn*, *Nawrūz u Gul*) as well as three didactical poems of a mystical and ethical nature. Djāmī enlarged the scheme to seven poems in his *Haft Awrang*. The most celebrated of these is his version of *Yūsuf u Zalīkhā* in which the Ḳurʾānic story has been elaborated into an extensive allegory. Another of his new subjects is the philosophical novel *Salāmān u Absāl*. Many poets readapted only single poems of the Niẓāmian canon. The *Laylā u Madjnūn* of Maktabī of Shīrāz, written in 895/1489-90, one of the most successful instances among the works of this kind. (A full list of the known imitators of the *Khamsa* has been compiled by H. Ethé, *Gr. I. Ph.*, ii, 245-8; see also the following works on the tradition of the individual poems, usually dealing with the Turkish versions as well: (1) on *Makhzan al-Asrār*—E. E. Bertel's, *Izbrannie Trudi. Nizami i Fuzuli*, Moscow 1962, 204-14. (2) on *Laylā u Madjnūn*—H. Araslı, *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı, Belleten* 1958, 17-39; A.-S. Levend, *Arap, Fars ve Türk Edebiyatlarında Leylâ ve Mecnun hikâyesi*, Ankara 1959; E. E. Bertel's, *op. cit.*, 275-313. (3) on *Khusraw u Shīrīn*—H. W. Duda, *Ferhad und Shirin. Die literarische Geschichte eines persischen Sagenstoffes*, Prague 1933; G. Y. Aliyev, *Legenda o Khosrove i Shirin v literaturakh narodov Vostoka*, Moscow 1960. (4) on *Haft*

Paykar—Hikmet T. Ilaydın, *Behram-i Gûr menkabeleri*, *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, v (1935) 275-90. (5) On *Iskandarnama*—E. E. Bertel's *Roman ob Aleksandre i ego glavnie versii na Vostoke*, Moscow-Leningrad 1949, reprinted in *Izbrannîe Trudî. Navoi i Dîami*, Moscow 1965, 283-413).

In spite of the overwhelming influence of these models, new ways were also sought for the further development of epic literature in the *mathnawī* form. Amīr Khusraw introduced items taken from contemporary history, either romances or glorious events in the reigns of the sultans of Dihlī. This example was followed by Salmān-i Sāwadjī in his *Firāḳnāma*, whereas the *Djamshīd u Khwarshīd* of the same author is in its outline related to *Khusraw u Shīrīn* of Niẓāmī. An important new development was also the growing tendency to allegorize the courtly romance. In analogy to the semantic transformation that had been applied to the themes and images of the *ghazal*, the plots and characters of epic literature could equally be exploited for an allegorical representation of mystical ideas, such as the relationship of the mystic and his transcendental Beloved, or the purification of the human soul in the course of its journey through the cosmos. It is difficult to assess when and where the transformation of a particular narrative theme has actually taken place. The process affected old favourite tales of Persian literature like *Laylā u Madjnūn* and *Yūsuf u Zalīkhā*. But new protagonists acting according to more or less stereotyped plots were introduced as well. This allegorical fashion became particularly prominent during the Tīmūrid period, although a forerunner can already be found in ʿAṣṣār [*q.v.*] (d. 779/1377-8 or 784/1382-3), who attended the court of the Djalāʾirid Sultan Uways. A very influential writer, at least as far as the history of Persian literature outside Iran is concerned, was Fattāḥī [*q.v.*] (d. 852 or 853/1448-50), in whose main work, *Dastūr-i ʿUshshāḳ*, the protagonists are the abstract concepts Beauty (*Ḥusn*) and Heart (*Dil*). ʿĀrifī of Harāt (d. *ca.* 853/1449) construed his *Ḥālnāma* or *Gūy u Čawgān* on symbols provided by the game of polo as well as on the equally conventional theme of the king and the beggar. To this last feature of his work refers the title of an imitation by Hilālī [*q.v.*] (d. 936/1529-30), *Shāh u Gadā*. The theme of the candle and the moth, another commonplace of mystical lyrics, was treated by Ahlī of Shīrāz (d. 942/1535-6) in his *Shamʿ u Parwānā*.

The history of the mystic *mathnawī* after the Mongol invasion opens with the *Mathnawī-i Maʿnawī* of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, the most impressive work of its kind. It is especially renowned for the riches of its narratives, the complicated style of its composition, consisting of an endless associative concatenation of primary and secondary tales, and for the kaleidoscopical structure of its ideological contents. The doctrinal background of this great work, by traditional commentators usually identified with the pantheism of Ibn al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*], is far from being fully understood. The poet consciously attached himself to the tradition of Sanāʾī and ʿAṭṭār. Together these three poets had a very great impact on the subsequent generations of mystical poets and writers, but it is not possible to survey completely those compositions which develop one aspect or another of their works since only a few have been published. (See for the most complete survey: H. Ethé, *Gr. I.Ph.*, ii, 298-301).

The earliest follower of Mawlawī's work was his son Sulṭān Walad who explained the meaning of his father's works in a series of *mathnawīs* giving at the same time invaluable information about his life. Among these poems the *Waladnāma* is the most celebrated. In the *ʿUshshāḳnāma* of ʿIrāḳī, characterized by the insertion of *ghazals*, the theme of mystical love is elaborated. The topic of the *Miṣbāḥ al-arwāḥ* is the visionary journey of the mystic through the cosmos. The authorship of this interesting work is uncertain. Old manuscripts attribute it either to the well-known Ṣūfī *shaykh*, Awḥad al-Dīn Kirmānī, or to a certain Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Bardsīrī Kirmānī (cf. the edition by Badīʿ al-Zamān Furūzānfar, Tehran 1349 sh.). A pupil of the former, Awḥadī [*q.v.*] (d. 738/1337-8), wrote his once very popular *Djām-i Djam* as an imitation of Sanāʾī's *Ḥadīḳa*. Its more ethical than mystical spirit is also reminiscent of another masterpiece of the didactic *mathnawī*, the *Būstān* of Saʿdī. Written almost simultaneously with Rūmī's *Mathnawī*, with all the brilliance and clarity of the style of Saʿdī, the *Būstān* certainly surpassed the latter's celebrity, but nowhere does it even approach Rūmī's depth of thought. Although some of its chapters deal with mystical topics, on the whole the work seems to be designed for little more than elegantly presented moral admonition. From the 8th/14th century three other writers of mystical *mathnawīs* are worthy of note: Ḥusaynī Sādāt [*q.v.*] (d. after 729/1328), ʿImād al-Dīn Faḳīh, a contemporary of Ḥāfiẓ, (d. 773/1371), and Maḥmūd-i Shabistarī [*q.v.*] (d. about 720/1320-1). The last mentioned wrote *Gulshān-i Rāz*, which among other things contains an explanation of the symbolic language of Ṣūfī poetry.

An interesting personality, standing more or less aside from the trodden paths of Persian literature, is Nizārī [*q.v.*] (d. 720/1321). Being an Ismāʿīlī, he incurred the condemnation of orthodox critics which the vehement sarcasm often displayed in his works did nothing to prevent. He wrote three *mathnawīs*: a love-story, *Aẓhar u Maẓhar*, a short but highly original parody on the customary didacticism, *Dastūrnāma*, and a versified book of travel, *Safarnāma*.

Among the prose-works produced in these centuries, again a work by Saʿdī, *Gulistān*, stands out as the most perfect example of classical Persian style for which it serves as a textbook up to the present day. It treats of much the same subjects as the *Būstān* but presents them in a more entertaining form. The anecdotes are told in a terse, rhythmic prose sometimes approaching the metrical patterns of poetry. The poet's moralising reflections upon the narratives are mostly put into the form of Persian or Arabic poetical fragments. Like so many other great works of Persian literature, it very soon became a model that was a copied by a long row of imitators. One of these was Djāmī, in whose *Bahāristān* even more room is given to poetry than in Saʿdī's work. The stylistic type of the *Gulistān* was the target of parody in some of the best works of ʿUbayd-i Zākānī, by far the greatest satirist Iran has ever produced (*Akhlāḳ al-Ashrāf*, *Rīshnāma*); [see also HIDJĀʾ, ii].

The tendency towards an ever more prolix rhetorical embellishment of Persian prose came to its full strength in Mongol times and continued to dominate the style of prose-writing for several centuries to come. It gave most works on history, the sciences, ethics, religion and other scholarly subjects the appearance of artistic writings. The *Taʾrīkh* of Waṣṣāf [*q.v.*] (d. 735/1334), the last of the great historians of the Īlkhāns, has become proverbial for this extremely florid style. Another work that set the pace in the use of a literary idiom inflated with Arabic words was the *Anwār-i Suhaylī*, another

version of the *Kalila wa Dimna* written by Ḥusayn Wāʾiẓ-i Kāshifī [see KĀSHIFĪ] (d. 910/1504-5), a very prolific and versatile author attending the Tīmūrid court of Harāt.

d. ***From the rise of the Ṣafawids to the late Ḳādjār period*** (***beginning 10th/16th-end 13th/19th centuries***). The establishment of the Ṣafawid state in Iran was not merely a political event. Through the introduction of Imāmī Shīʿism [see ITHNĀ ʿASHARIYYA] as the official religion of Iran, radically new conditions were created which were not very favourable to the flourishing of literature. Especially during the 10th/16th century neither the theocratic rulers nor the powerful Shīʿite clergy, which had acquired a great influence on official policy, were particularly interested in the traditional court literature. The cultivation of religious poetry was, on the other hand, greatly encouraged. The founder of the dynasty, Shāh Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*], was himself a writer of Turkish poems, in which he expressed ideas related to the doctrines of extreme Shīʿite sects. As soon as religious policy was firmly in the hand of the Imāmī *ʿulamāʾ*, deviations of this kind were no longer possible. The themes of Ṣafawid religious poetry were mainly taken from the stories about the martyrdom of the *imāms*. Devotion to the ʿAlid family is very often expressed in pre-Ṣafawid literature as well. It can even be found with authors whose Sunnī persuasion is beyond doubt. At least from the Būyid period onwards, the Shīʿite communities in Iran had tried to win more support by sending around the bazaars popular reciters of poems on the "virtues" of ʿAlī (*manāḳibkhwānān*, *manāḳibiyyān*) who made use of the works of Shīʿite poets like Ḳiwāmī of Rayy (6th/12th century). These texts were mainly *ḳaṣīda*s (cf. Dh. Ṣafā, *Taʾrīkh*, ii³, 192 ff.). A. Shīʿite epic, modelled on the style of the *Shāhnāma*, was introduced by Muḥammad b. Ḥusām (d. 875/1470) with his *mathnawī*, *Khāwarān*-(or *Khāwar*-)*nāma* [see further ḤAMĀSA, ii]. Another work of the Tīmūrid period, the collection of tales about the holy martyrs, *Rawḍat al-Shuhadāʾ*, written in artistic prose by Muḥammad Wāʿiẓ-i Kāshifī [*q.v.*], was used as a textbook for the Muḥarram celebrations and even lent its name to the function of a reciter of religious poetry, the *rawḍakhwān*.

The most important Ṣafawid poet of this genre was Muḥtasham [*q.v.*] of Kāshān (d. 996/1587-8). He is especially famous on account of a *marthiya* on the holy martyrs known as the *haft-band*, *i.e.*, a poem consisting of twelve seven-line stanzas. The *ḳaṣīda* was also used for this kind of elegy. *Mathnawī*s on the *imām*s were composed by Ḥayratī (d. 961/1553-4 or 970/1562-3) and by Fārigh of Gīlān who wrote his work in 1000/1591-3 to celebrate the conquest of Gīlān by Shāh ʿAbbās I. There was, in fact, a subtle connexion between the praise of the ʿAlid family and the glorification of the dynasty, as the Ṣafawids regarded themselves as descendants of the *imāms*. Shīʿite literature both in poetry and prose continued to be extremely popular till the present day. It has a solid base in religious sentiment as well as in the demand for liturgical texts to be used on various occasions.

The propagation of Shīʿite traditions and doctrines among the population of Iran could not be achieved by means of poetry alone. While the learned theological works continued to be written in Arabic, there was a growing need for works of a more popular kind in Persian on the different branches of religious science. A number of theologians set themselves this task. The comparatively simple style they used favourably contrasts with the verbosity still current in the literary prose of this period. Notable among these writers were Muḥammad Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī or Shaykh-i Bahāʾī [see AL-ʿĀMILĪ] (d. 1031/1622), who should also be mentioned on account of his Persian poetry, and Muḥammad Bāḳir al-Madjlisī [*q.v.*] (d. 1111/1699-1700).

Ṣūfism as a form of religious life was declining in Ṣafawid times as a result of the enmity of the religious leaders, which sometimes took the form of actual persecution. As mysticism and poetry had become very closely connected during the preceding centuries, this could not but unfavourably affect literary production. Yet the mystical strain could never be deleted entirely from Persian poetry. It is particularly evident in the poetical works of the members of the flourishing school of philosophy founded by Mullā Ṣadrā of Shīrāz, e.g. Muḥsin-i Fayḍ of Kāshān (d. 1090/1679), Mīr Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Findariskī (d. *ca.* 1050/1640-1) and the teacher of Mullā Ṣadrā, Mīr Muḥammad Bāḳir-i Dāmād [see AL-DĀMĀD] (d. 1040/1630). The poet Saḥābī of Astarābād (d. 1010/1601-2), who spent most of his life at the holy shrine of Nadjaf, expressed pantheistic mysticism in a *dīwān* which consisted almost entirely of quatrains.

Secular poetry suffered not only from the changes in the intellectual atmosphere but also from political changes. The disappearance of local courts reduced the market for the professional poet to one dynastic centre. Apart from the successive residences of the Ṣafawids, only Shīrāz remained as an important literary centre. Yet there was a great deal of continuity with the preceding Tīmūrid period. Just like the painters of the school of Bihzād [*q.v.*], the poets travelled to the west as soon as the new power had established itself there. That the royal family was not completely averse to court poetry is shown by Sām Mīrzā (d. 974/1566-7), a son of Shāh Ismāʿīl I, who described the history of poetry during the first half-century of Ṣafawid rule in his *tadhkira*, *Tuḥfa-i Sāmī*. Even the court of Shāh Ismāʿīl had its encomiast in Umīdī (d. 935/1519). The genre of *shahrāshūb* poems on the young artisans of a particular city was revived by Lisānī (d. 940/1533-4). It became a great fashion both with the Persian poets of his time and with the contemporary Ottoman poets (*e.g.* Medīḥī [*q.v.*]). The historical connection between these two schools is still uncertain. Another favourite topic was short poems on a single dramatic incident, under the heading "*ḳaḍā u ḳadar*". Some scholars have interpreted these genres as indications of a growing tendency towards realism in poetry (cf. J. Rypka, *History*, 296).

During the long reign of Ṭahmāsp I (930/1524-984/1576) courtly poetry gradually regained more ground. Waḥshī [*q.v.*] of Bāfḳ (d. 991/1583) excelled in the didactic and romantic *mathnawī* as well as in strophe poems. Even Muḥtasham did not shun panegyrism and Ḥayratī combined his religious art with satire.

To the most ambitious young talents, however, Iran did not offer sufficient opportunities for a literary career. Far better prospects offered themselves on the Indian subcontinent where the Mughal emperors resumed the splendid cultural traditions of their Tīmūrid ancestors. From the second half of the 10th/16th century onwards, an increasing number of Persian poets went to India and gave there a new impulse to the tradition of Indo-Persian letters. The most decisive literary development of the Ṣafawid period is connected with this migration of poets: the emergence of a new poetical style which in modern criticism has received the name *Sabk-i Hindī* [*q.v.*].

This Indian style, the main characteristics of which have been sketched above in the section on the periodization of Persian literature, distinguishes itself markedly from the earlier poetical styles. The causes of this greater amount of independence from the established literary canons have been sought in changes in the social conditions (A. Mirzoev) or in a relaxation of critical attention to the work of the poets especially in Ṣafawid Iran (A. Bausani). Under the influence of the negative verdict given almost unanimously by neoclassicist literary critics since the 12th/18th century, the characteristics of this style have for a long time been regarded as symptoms of a general poetical decadence. The rich imagery and the often highly original use of metaphors in the poems influenced by the Indian style has only quite recently become more appreciated. There is still a great deal of uncertainty about the actual beginnings of this new stylistic trend. Traditionally, an important role as an initiator is assigned to Bābā Fig̲h̲ānī [*q.v.*] (d. 925/1519), a poet of the *g̲h̲azal* continuing the style of Ḥāfiẓ who attended the court of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu in Tabrīz. It is certain, anyhow, that from the second half of the 10th/16th century onwards its characteristics can be detected almost everywhere in Persian poetry. The works of ʿUrfī [*q.v.*] of S̲h̲īrāz (d. 999/1590-1), one of the earliest poets who went to India, and of his patron at the court of Akbar, Fayḍī [*q.v.*] (d. 1004/1595), although their renown was much greater in Indo-Persian and Turkish literature than in Iran, were very influential. Many of the prominent representatives of this style were Iranian by birth but made their literary careers at Indian courts (e.g. Naẓīrī of Nīs̲h̲āpūr (d. 1021/1612-3), Ẓuhūrī [*q.v.*] of K̲h̲ud̲j̲and (d. 1024/1615), Ṭālib of Amul (d. 1036/1626-7), Abū Ṭālib Kalīm of Hamadān (d. 1061/1651)). The Ṣafawid poets who remained in Iran, or returned there after a stay in India, applied the devices of the Indian style as well but generally with a great deal of moderation. By far the most talented among them was Ṣāʾib [*q.v.*] of Tabrīz (d. 1088/1677-8). Other notable poets in Iran during the 11th/17th century were Zulālī [*q.v.*] (d. 1024/1615), who wrote the *Sabʿ sayyāra*, a set of seven didactic and romantic *mat̲h̲nawīs*, Faṣīḥī-i Anṣārī of Harāt (d. 1046/1636-7), D̲j̲alāl-i Asīr (d. 1049/1639-40 or 1069/1658-9), who was famous as a "drunken" (*rind*) poet, and Nāẓim of Harāt (d. 1080/1670). Some independence from the current literary fashion was shown by S̲h̲ifāʾī (d. 1037/1628), the physician of S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās I, who wrote satires as well as *mat̲h̲nawīs* in the style of Sanāʾī and K̲h̲āḳānī.

The Ṣafawid period did not produce any artistic prose work of great value. Mention might be made of *Laṭāʾif al-ṭawāʾif*, a collection of anecdotes about the various social classes by Ṣafī [*q.v.*] (d. 939/1532-3), the son of Ḥusayn-i Wāʿiẓ-i Kās̲h̲ifī. A typical man of letters of this time was also Kās̲h̲if-i Kumayt [*q.v.*]. Much more fertile in this respect was again Indo-Persian literature. Already in the 8th/14th century it had produced a major work in the *Ṭūṭīnāma* of Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Nak̲h̲s̲h̲abī [*q.v.*] which was adapted in this period by Muḥammad Ḳādirī. The interaction of Hinduism and Islam in the culture of the Mug̲h̲al empire resulted in translations of the classical works of Sankrit literature, *Mahābhārata* and *Ramāyana*, as well as in the religious writings of Dārā S̲h̲ukōh [*q.v.*]. The poet Ẓuhūrī achieved fame with a series of short sketches written in a highly affected form of prose. The poor state of Iran during the first few decades of the 12th/18th century, the time of the Afg̲h̲ān invasion and the subsequent downfall of the Ṣafawid dynasty, is reflected in the *Tad̲h̲kirat al-aḥwal* or *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Ḥazīn*, a book of memoirs by S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿAlī Ḥazīn [*q.v.*] (d. 1180/1766-7). Under the rule of Nādir S̲h̲āh national pride was restored in Iran, which showed itself in a flowering of panegyrism on the great conqueror. The leading man of letters was Mahdī K̲h̲ān [*q.v.*], secretary as well as historiographer to Nādir. He used the bombastic style of Waṣṣāf in his main work, *Durra-i Nādirī*, but wrote his various other works in a much simpler fashion.

About the middle of the 12th/18th century a new school of poetry asserted itself in Iṣfahān and S̲h̲īrāz. The poets of this school, headed by Mus̲h̲tāḳ (d. 1171/1757-8) and S̲h̲uʿla (d. 1160/1747), turned their backs on the Indian style and proclaimed a literary return (*bāzgas̲h̲t-i adabī*) to the more harmonious standards of the earlier styles. They looked, for the models of their poems, to the *dīwāns* of the great poets of the pre-Mongol period. The *ḳaṣīda* was restored to its former prominence as a poetical form. This movement very soon dominated the literary scene and its aesthetic ideals have governed traditional poetry in Iran up to the present day. (See further M. T. Bahār, *Bāzgas̲h̲t-i adabī*, in *Armag̲h̲ān*, xiii-xiv (1311-2 s̲h̲.), *passim*; idem, *Sabks̲h̲ināsī*, iii, 318 f.; J. Rypka, *History*, 306-8).

To the first generation of neo-classicist poets belonged Muḥammad ʿĀs̲h̲iḳ (d. 1181/1767-8), Hātif [*q.v.*] (d. 1198/1783), S̲h̲ihābī of Turs̲h̲īz (d. 1215/1800-1) and Luṭf ʿAlī Beg Ād̲h̲ar (d. 1195/1780-1), the author of the *tad̲h̲kira Ātas̲h̲kade*, a first-hand source on the *bāzgas̲h̲t*-movement. After the founding of the Ḳad̲j̲ār dynasty, Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh (reigned 1212/1797-1250/1834) tried to revive the ancient traditions of the royal maecenate at his court in Tehran. The centre of the circle of poets gathered here, who all emulated the classics, was Ṣabā [*q.v.*] (d. 1238/1822-3). He was highly appreciated in his own days on account of his panegyric *ḳaṣīdas* and of his *mat̲h̲nawī*, *S̲h̲āhans̲h̲āhnāma*, picturing the contemporary wars with Russia in the style of the old heroic epic. Worthy of note are also Ṣabāḥī Bīdgulī (d. 1218/1803), Saḥāb (d. 1222/1807-8), Mid̲j̲mar (d. 1225/1810) and Nas̲h̲āṭ (d. 1244/1828-9). A peculiarity of this period was the formation of small literary societies (*and̲j̲umans*) [see D̲J̲AMʿIYYA]. In the next generation the cultivation of classicism reached its richest development in the work of Ḳāʾānī [*q.v.*] (d. 1270/1854), a virtuoso of the poetical language. He showed, however, his awareness of the reality of his time in satirical poems and in his prose-work, *Kitāb-i paris̲h̲ān*. Ḳāʾānī was the first Persian poet who had some knowledge of European languages.

The tradition of the mystical *g̲h̲azal* was resumed by Furūg̲h̲ī [*q.v.*] (d. 1271/1857-8) of Bisṭām, who also used the pen-name Miskīn. A remarkable personality was Yag̲h̲mā [*q.v.*] (d. 1276/1859) of D̲j̲andaḳ. He lived both as a *darwīs̲h̲* and as a panegyrist of the Ḳad̲j̲ār court while he was at the same time a redoubted satirist. His independent frame of mind showed itself in the invention of a new type of religious elegy in a style related to popular songs, known as *nawḥa-i sīnazan*. An interesting trait of his use of the language is the puristic effort to replace Arabic words by Iranian equivalents. Several poets of this century founded literary dynasties as their sons continued to work on the same lines as their fathers. Besides Ṣabā and Yag̲h̲mā, a famous instance of this is the family of Wiṣāl [*q.v.*] (d. 1262/1846), a learned poet living in S̲h̲īrāz.

During the last period of the unchallenged rule of classical poetry, the long reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh

(1848-96), the institution of the encomiast of the court was already declining. Only a few names are worthy of mention: the religious poet Surūsh (d. 1285/1868), Humā (d. 1290/1873-4), a poet of the *ghazal*, and the mystic Shaybānī [*q.v.*] (d. 1308/1890), in whose pessimistic lyrics an element of social criticism can be noticed. Minor poets, who distinguished themselves in other fields of literary activity or in public life, were the historian Muḥammad Taḳī Siphir [*q.v.*] (d. 1297/1880) and Riḍā Ḳulī Khān [*q.v.*] (d. 1288/1871). The latter, who used Hidāyat as his poetical name, was the leading literator of his time. He wrote a number of authoritative works on political, literary and religious history as well as a lexicon. The *Madjmaʿ al-Fuṣaḥāʾ*, the last great *tadhkira* of the old style, in which most of the materials on literary history contained in earlier works of this kind was compiled, became particularly famous.

e. *Modern literature (19th-20th centuries).*

The impact of western civilization, which began to affect life in Iran in the course of the 19th century, did not leave its solid literary tradition untouched. The ancient structure of Persian literature was attacked by the forces of change from several sides. Political developments put an end to the system of court poetry and caused a fundamental change in the attitude of the poet towards his art. The modern poet, whether he continued to work on traditional lines or not, could no longer make a living out of poetry. He had become, in a certain sense, an amateur who composed his poems on his own account. This led, on the one hand, to a much greater involvement of literature in the political and social vicissitudes of the nation, on the other, to a more individual form of poetical expression, the models of which were provided by European literature. New concepts like nationalism, democracy and social justice demanded the attention of the modern intellectual. The earliest poets of the modern period who, during the struggle for the Iranian constitution [see IRAN, HISTORY], had to express these ideas with some urgency, could only make use of the classical forms of poetry, which proved to possess a remarkable adaptability. Eventually, however, the formal system could not remain unchallenged. Especially in poetry a long battle was waged on the question whether it was permissible to evolve a new type of poetry (*shiʿr-i naw*) through experiments with prosody, or even to use entirely free verse (*shiʿr-i āzād*), or not. In this struggle the classical style of poetry was shown to have deep roots in Iranian culture. Perhaps the most important formal innovation was the emergence of a genuine prose literature based on the forms of the novel and the short story, which were borrowed from modern European literature.

While the actual birth of the modern literature of Iran took place during the turbulent years between 1890 and the beginning of the First World War, the process leading up to fundamental changes started early in the Ḳādjār period. Simultaneously with the classicist renaissance at the court of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, a much more progressive attitude could be observed in the entourage of ʿAbbās Mīrzā [*q.v.*], the heir-apparent and governor of Ādharbāydjān. Confronted with the necessity of military reform on account of successive defeats in the wars with Russia, several measures were taken which proved to be of great consequence to the future course of cultural life in Iran. For the first time students were sent to Russia and Western Europe. One of their tasks was to study typographical techniques. A printing-press was founded in Tabrīz in 1816-7. Very soon typography (*čāpi-surbī*) was replaced by lithography (*čāp-i sangī*), which remained the principal form of printing during most of the 19th century. In 1834 the first Iranian newspaper was published in Tehran, the *Rūznāma-i akhbār-i waḳāyiʿ* which had only a limited circulation. A more direct influence on literature was exerted by the efforts to simplify the style of official correspondence, a good example of which was given by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Farahānī (1799-1835), better known by his title Ḳāʾim-maḳām [*q.v.*], *i.e.*, deputy-minister of ʿAbbās Mīrzā

A second episode of cultural modernization was the short term of office of Mīrzā Taḳī Khān [*q.v.*], also known as Amīr-i Kabīr or Amīr-i Niẓām, as prime-minister of the young Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh. It ended abrubtly with the execution of the Amīr-i Kabīr in 1852. The publishing of a newspaper was resumed in 1851 (*Rūznāma-i waḳāyiʿ-i ittifāḳiyya*, in 1860 renamed *Rūznāma-i dawlat-i ʿaliyya-i Īrān*). In the following decades the number of periodicals rapidly increased. Although they were all more or less mouthpieces of the government, they helped to spread new ideas through the information they provided about the world outside Iran. During the last few decades of the century political emigrants spread pan-Islamic or liberal ideas in a number of papers published in Istanbul, Cairo, Calcutta and London. [See DJARĪDA, ii, with further references].

Another initiative of the Amīr-i Kabīr was the founding of a polytechnic school (Dār al-Funūn) in Tehran (1852), which provided a modern education in technical and natural sciences with some attention to the humanities as well. The staff of the school, directed by Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, consisted mostly of European teachers. The Dār al-Funūn formed the beginning of modern academic education in Iran [see DJĀMIʿA]. An immediate effect was an increased demand for the translation of books from European languages, among which French was by far the best known in Iran. The list of the earliest translations contains, besides textbooks and scientific works, also *belles lettres*, e.g. works by Al. Dumas, Daniel Defoe and Bernardin de Saint-Pierre (cf. E. G. Browne, *The press and poetry of modern Persia*, Cambridge 1914, 154-66). Many translations are attributed to Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān [*q.v.*] (d. 1896) who successively used the titles Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla and Iʿtimād al-Salṭana, but they were chiefly made by a corps of translators working under his direction in the government's printing office (Dār al-Ṭibāʿa) and the bureau of translators (Dār al-Tardjama).

Among the preliminaries to the modern period mention should also be made of the religious movement of the Bāb [*q.v.*], which manifested itself for the first time in 1844. From the very beginning the Bābīs displayed a great literary activity, encompassing theological and historical writings as well as poetry. The most celebrated figure is the female poet and martyr of the Bābī cause, Ḳurrat al-ʿAyn [*q.v.*] (d. 1851). (See further E. G. Browne, iv, 198-220; idem, *Materials for the study of the Bábí Religion*, Cambridge 1918, 341-58).

The heralds of modern "committed" poetry were Muḥammad Bāḳir Bawānātī (d. 1891-2), who as early as 1882 published a *ḳaṣīda* attacking the imperialist policies of Britain and Russia, and Aḳā Khān Kirmānī (d. 1896), a prominent political exile in Istanbul and a follower of Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī [*q.v.*]. The latter contrasted the decadence of Iran in the late Ḳādjār period with its ancient splendour in his historical *mathnawī*, *Sālārnāma* or *Nāma-i bāstān*. An interesting feature of this work was the attack launched

on classical literature (with the single exception of Firdawsī whose *Shāhnāma* stood as a model for the poem), which was considered as a principal source of degeneration in the Islamic history of Iran. The political movement against the despotism and misrule of the Ḳādjārs and the foreign forces that supported it brought quite different groups of the population together. Several eminent erudites of the old cultural tradition contributed to the creation of a patriotic poetry: e.g. Sayyid Aḥmad Adīb-i Pīshāwarī (*ca.* 1845-1930), ʿAbd al-Djawād Adīb-i Nīshāpūrī (1864-5—1926), and especially Mīrzā Ṣādiḳ Khān, better known by his pen-name Amīrī or his honorific Adīb al-Mamālik (1860-1917), who abandoned a successful career as a court-poet in 1898 to become a journalist. In the first decade of the 20th century the proliferating press became the chief medium for the publication of poetry. One of the best periodicals was the *Nasīm al-Shimāl* edited in Rasht by Ashraf-i Gīlānī (1871-about 1930), a writer of satirical poems (*fukāhiyyāt*) criticizing in particular the conservative Shīʿite *ʿulamāʾ* in a simple language full of colloquial expressions. ʿAlī Akbar Dihkhudā (about 1880-1956) published his poems under the name Dakhaw in the *Ṣūr-i Isrāfīl*. Besides his great merits in other fields of literature andscholarship, he was the first to try some formal experiments. Muḥammad Taḳī Bahār [*q.v.*] (1886-1951), a master of the classical forms who already in his early years had earned the title *malik al-shuʿarāʾ* as a panegyrist, put his great talents entirely at the service of the constitutional movement, successfully applying the old forms to the expression of new contents. Throughout the first half of this century Bahār was the leading modern poet of Iran. Forms of popular poetry like the folk-song (*surūd*) and the ballad (*taṣnīf*), usually recited to the accompaniment of music, became favourites with the political poets. A famous composer, as well as an impressive performer of *taṣnīfs*, was Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿĀrif of Ḳazwīn (about 1880-1934).

The core of the new nationalist ideology was Iranism, *i.e.*, the glorification of the pre-Islamic past of Iran, of which the Iranian intelligentsia had become conscious mainly through the results of western philological, historical and archaeological research. Zoroastrianism very often appeared as the enlightened counterpart ot the obscurantism that was felt to be fostered by traditional Islam. Those works of the classical literature that seemed to express a similar feeling of nostalgia for the glorious past, like the *Shāhnāma* and the *ḳaṣīda* on the ruins of al-Madāʾin (Ctesiphon) by Khāḳānī, enjoyed a great popularity. The foremost philo-Iranian poet was Ibrāhīm Pūr-i Dāwūd (1886-1968), who later in his life became a distinguished student and translator of the *Avesta*.

To Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Lāhūtī (1887-8—1957) a revolutionary change of social conditions was the main goal of the political struggle in which he took a most active part until he was forced to flee to the Soviet Union in 1922. There he wrote the long poem (*manẓūma*), *Kiriml*, as a tribute to communism. Afterwards, he became the leading poet of the Soviet Republic of Tādjikistān [*q.v.*]. Farrukhī Yazdī (1889-1939) continued to fight for his socialist ideals in Iran. His best poetry is to be found among his *ghazals*, written in a conventional style in spite of their quite modern contents.

Although his short life was filled with radical political action, Muḥammad Riḍā ʿIshkī [*q.v.*] (1894-5—1924) is more significant in the history of literature on account of his formal and thematical innovations. He has been styled the first romantic poet of Iran, because of the strong influence of French romantic and symbolist poetry on his work. This is particularly noticeable in his greater poems, *Kafan-i siyāh*, *Īdeāl* and *Rastākhīz*. His experiments with prosody were chiefly concerned with the strophe-poem (*musammaṭ*). Many other poets endeavoured to extend the possibilities of the *ʿarūḍ* system, but, until the period after the Second World War, few dared to follow the example of a complete rupture from traditional forms given by Muḥammad Isfandiyārī, better known as Nīmā Yūshīdj [*q.v.*] (1897-1960). His *Afsāna* (1921) marks the beginning of his efforts to create a type of free verse that was no longer bound by the old rules of metre and rhyme but was based directly on the rhythm and music of the language.

During the period between the wars contemporary politics almost completely disappeared as a theme of literature. All the same, many poets displayed a concern with individual social problems, most prominent among which was the position of women in Iranian society. This was the main topic of Īradj Mīrzā (1874-5—1925), a prince of the Ḳādjār house, whose simple yet graceful style made him one of the most beloved poets of modern times. The talented female poet Parwīn-i Iʿtiṣāmī (1906-7 or 1910-1941) showed a deep concern with the miseries of the poor. Satirical verse was still very popular but had to respect the bounds set by official censorship. Especially renowned for their satirical poems were Ḳulzum (b. 1891), Rūḥānī (b. 1896) and Muḥammad ʿAlī Nāṣiḥ (b. 1898).

The mainstream of Persian poetry still consisted of the poets who applied in varying degrees modern elements in their works but remained essentially faithful to tradition. A point of focus of literary life was the *andjuman-i adabī-i Irān* founded by Waḥīd-i Dastgardī (1880-1942), who, since 1919, edited the authoritative literary periodical of this period, *Armaghān* (cf. F. Machalski, *Vahid Dastgardi and his "Armaġān"*, in *Folia Orientalia*, iv (1963), 81-103). M. T. Bahār established a circle of poets of his own as well as the journal *Naw-Bahār* (1921-51). *Wafā* (1923-5) was edited by the popular poet Niẓām-i Wafā (b. 1887-8). The progressive writers expressed themselves in *Āyanda* (1925-40). The most brilliant poet among the many who first appeared on the literary stage between 1920 and 1040 was Muḥammad Ḥusayn Shahriyār (b. 1906-7). In his *ghazals* inspired by Ḥāfiẓ he displays a remarkable ability to blend the old poetical idiom with a modern sentiment.

From 1941 till about 1950 there was a great increase in political and literary activities. In 1946 the first congress of Iranian writers was held in Tehran (cf. *Nukhustīn Kongre-i nawīsandagān-i Īrān*, Tehran 1325 sh.). Several new periodicals were started, e.g. *Sukhan* (1943), the organ of the progressive poets and prose writers, edited by Parwīz Nātil Khānlarī (b. 1913), and *Yaghmā* (1948), edited by the poet Ḥabīb-i Yaghmāʾī (b. 1901). Among the scholarly journals which pay much attention to the study of literature mention should be made of *Yādgār* (1944-9), *Farhang-i Irān-zamīn* (since 1953), and of the periodicals of the Faculties of Arts of the Iranian universities e.g. *Madjalla-i Dānishkada-i adabiyyāt*, Tehran (since 1953), *Nashriyya-i Dānishkada-i adabiyyāt-i Tabrīz* (since 1948), *Madjalla-i Dānishkada-i adabiyyāt*, Iṣfahān (since 1964), and *Madjalla-i Dānishkada-i adabiyyāt*, Mashhad (since 1965).

The most conspicuous feature of the poetry of the post-war period is the acceptance by an expanding groups of poets and literary critics of the ideas on free verse as they had been put forward by Nīmā

Yūs͟hīd͟j. The debate between modernists and the defenders of the classical tradition was resumed with great intensity in the literary journals. The leading advocates of a modernized prosody were Farīdūn Tawallulī, who published a manifesto as an introduction to his volume of verse *Rahā* (1951), P. N. K͟hānlarī and Nadīr-i Nādirpūr. They also belong to the most prominent poets of the new style. The criticism of the classicists is not only directed against deviations from the traditional forms but equally against the unusual metaphors applied by these poets. (See further on the latest developments of Persian poetry: V. B. Klyas͟htorina, *Sovremennaya persidskaya poeziya. Očerki*, Moscow 1962; B. Alawi, *Geschichte und Entwicklung*, 225-35; Fr. Machalski, *New Poetry in Iran*, in *New Orient*, iv (1965/4), 33-6; Mansour Shaki, *Modern Persian Poetry*, in *Yádnáme-ye Jan Rypka*, Prague-The Hague 1967, 187-94; Dāryūs͟h S͟hāhīn, *Rāhiyān-i s͟hiʿr-i imrūz. Djungī az nawsarāyān-i s͟hiʿr-i imrūz*, Tehran 1349 s͟h.[s]).

The tendency towards a simplification of the language and style of prose writing continued to become stronger throughout the 19th century. Whereas the Ḳāʾim-maḳām still wrote in a style that was very close to the classical concept of literary elegance, the growing necessity to express new impressions and ideas demanded the creation of a much more direct way of writing and the use of a form of language that was understandable to a greater number of people. Abundant material for a study of the modernization of prose is to be found in the works of the translators and journalists of the second half of the century. But already before 1850 an example of a graceful sober new style had been given by ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Ṭasūd͟jī in his translation of the Thousand and One Nights. A similar concern for directness of expression is displayed by several memoirs and books of travel written by prominent men of the Ḳād͟jār period. The most celebrated example of this was given by Nāṣir al-Dīn S͟hāh [*q.v.*] in the books of travel he composed after each of his many journeys to Europe, to ʿIrāḳ, and to the provinces of Iran.

The propagation of new ideas on political, social and scientific issues was the principal aim of many early writers of modern prose. A number of political essays was composed by Malkum K͟hān [*q.v.*] (1833-1909), e.g. *Kitābča-i g͟haybī* of 1859, a proposal for a radical reform of the public institutions of Iran addressed to the shah. He made great efforts to adapt Persian to its modern functions and even suggested a change of the writing system. The Ād͟harbāyd͟jānian writer ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Nad͟jd͟jārzāda, better known as Ṭālibof [*q.v.*] or Ṭālibzāda (*ca.* 1845-1910), devoted himself in particular to the vulgarization of modern science in an attractive literary form (e.g. the dialogue between a father and his son in *Kitāb-i Aḥmad*, the device of an imaginary journey in *Masālik al-Muḥsinīn*). Mīrzā Āḳā K͟hān Kirmānī should also be named among these pioneers, especially on account of his *Āʾina-i Iskandarī*, a history of ancient Iran.

On the eve of the constitutional revolution two works were written that are usually regarded as the beginning of modern fiction in Iran. The picaresque novel of James Morier, *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan*, was adapted in Persian by Mīrzā Ḥabīb Iṣfahānī (d. 1897-8), a teacher of Persian living in exile in Istanbul (cf. H. Kamshad, *Modern Persian Prose*, 21 ff.). In spite of its pitiless criticism of traditional Persian life, the work became extremely popular in Iran. The second work is *Siyāḥatnāma Ibrāhīm Beg*, an original novel by Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Marāg͟haʾī [*q.v.*] (d. 1910). The first volume was completed in 1887 and published in 1888 at the press of the emigrant paper *Ak͟htar* in Istanbul (cf. the introduction to the reprint, Calcutta 1910, by Āḳā Muḥammad Ḳāẓim-i S͟hīrazī). It is a fictitious book of travel describing the deplorable state of Iran in late Ḳād͟jār times. The narrative structure is rather loose and dissolves in the two subsequent volumes (published in Calcutta, 1907 and 1909) into a string of instructive and moralistic excursions. In this respect, the author follows an ancient indigenous tradition of moralizing prose writings, the influence of which can be traced in many later Persian novels as well.

During the years of the revolution, political journalism became militant in Iran. The best specimens of this are the satirical sketches contributed to the journal *Ṣūr-i Isrāfīl* by Dihk͟hudā under the heading *Čarand-parand*. He frequently used colloquial words and expressions, by which he led the way for the *avant garde* writers of a later generation. An anonymous work of this period is *Ruʾyā-i ṣādiḳa*, written by a group of supporters of reform about 1900. It contains an attack on those in power in Iṣfahān clothed in the form of a vision of doomsday.

The first genre of fictional prose to become fully developed and achieve a great popularity was the historical novel. The earliest was *S͟hams u Ṭug͟hrā* of Muḥammad Bāḳir K͟husrawī, the first part of a trilogy situated at the time of the Mongol rulers of Iran, published in 1909. It was followed in 1919 by *ʿIs͟hḳ u Salṭanat* of S͟hayk͟h Mūsā Nat͟hrī, a novel about Cyrus the Great. The same period was treated by Ḥasan Badīʿ in *Dāstān-i bāstān* (1920-1). The ruin of the Sāsānids and the Arab conquest provided the background to *Dāmgustarān yā Intiḳām-k͟hʷāhān-i Mazdak*, which in 1921 opened a long series of novels by ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Ṣanʿatīzāda. The best writers of this genre took pains to base their works on historical research. Sometimes they even supplied notes with references to their sources. The choice of the subjects, taken either from pre-Islamic or Islamic history, was dictated by nationalistic sentiments. Occasionally, contemporary history provided the material, e.g. in *Dalīrān-i Tangistān* of Ḥusayn Ruknzāda Adamiyyat, which is situated in southern Iran during the First World War. Quite often, these works show the influence of European novels of the romantic period. (See further on the historical novel: E. E. Bertel's *Persidskiy istoričeskiy roman XX veka*, in *Problemī literatur' Vostoka, Trudī Moskovskogo Instituta vostokovedeniya*, i (1932), 111-26; B. Nikitine, *Le roman historique dans la littérature persane moderne*, in *JA*, cciii (1933), 297-33; Fr. Machalski, *Historyczna powieść perska*, Krakow 1952 (in Polish with a French summary); H. Kamshad, *op. cit.*, 41-53).

From 1920 onwards the range of fictional prose became considerably wider. Many novelists began to pay attention to the social problems which were either caused or brought to the moral consciousness by the accelerated process of westernization. Themes like the inferior position of women in Iranian society, the disorientation and immorality of modern youth, prostitution and corruption were taken as subjects for a long series of novels most of which had very little artistic value. Among the best works of this kind is *Tihrān-i mak͟hūf* (1922) of Murtaḍā Mus͟hfiḳ Kāẓimī, giving a gloomy picture of modern life in the capital. Worthy of note are also *Man ham girya karda-am* (1933) of D͟jahāngīr D͟jalīlī (1909-38) and *Tafrīḥāt-i s͟hab* (1932) of Muḥammad Masʿūd (d. 1947), whose pen-name was Dihātī. The latter was much criticized on account of his negativism. In

1942 he started to publish a series of autobiographical novels of great interest, beginning with *Gulhā-ī ki dar djahannam mīrūyad*, which was left unfinished. The most popular writer of the period between the wars was Muḥammad Ḥidjāzī (b. 1899). His novel *Zībā* (1931) is distinguished by the clever description of a corrupt bureaucracy. He also published many short stories and essays with a strong element of didacticism. ʿAlī Dashtī opened his career as a writer with *Ayyām-i maḥbas* (1921), a collection of sketches and essays written in prison, which was later on enlarged with recollections of his life as a politician during the reign of Reżā Shāh Pahlavī. In recent years Dashtī has become a successful novelist as well as an important critic of the classical poets (e.g. *Naḳshī az Ḥāfiẓ*, 1957).

The most significant contemporary writers have shown a distinct preference for the short story and the novelette. These forms were developed to a much higher level of artistic perfection than the longer novel. An event of major importance in the history of modern Persian prose was the appearance in 1921 of *Yakī būd yakī nabūd*, a volume of satirical stories by Sayyid Muḥammad ʿAlī Djamālzāda (b. 1891-2). It was the first completely successful attempt to apply the narrative technique of European literature. The first edition was accompanied by a manifesto advocating the right of existence of a realisitc literature,, the value of which as a means of public education is particularly stressed. In order to be able to reach the broad masses of the people, the literary language should not only be simplified but also made more democratic by the assimilation of elements from living speech which were not regarded as correct forms according to the prevailing standards of literary culture. In spite of the fact that he has lived in Europe during most of his life, Djamālzāda never lost his interest in the exploration of the resources of colloquial Persian, which eventually resulted in the compilation of a special dictionary of colloquial words (*Farhang-i lughāt-i ʿāmmiyāna*, edited by M. Dj. Maḥdjūb, Tehran 1341 sh.). His later novels and short stories were not published before 1941. The autobiographical work *Sār u tah-i yak karbās* (1956) is of popular interest.

The principles laid down by Djamālzāda were applied with great talent by Ṣādiḳ Hidāyat [*q.v.*] (1903-51) in his early stories collected in the volumes *Zinda bi-gūr* (1930), *Si ḳaṭra khūn* (1932) and *Sāya-rawshan* (1933), as well as in the novelette *ʿAlawiyya Khānum* (1933). This can be observed especially in the stories which portray the life of the middle and lower classes of Iranian society. The most celebrated aspect of his work is the analysis of mental suffering for which Hidāyat made use of the literary technique of surrealism. The novelette *Būf-i kūr* (1937) received international attention when a French translation was published in 1953. The short novel *Ḥādjdjī Āḳā*, which was published in 1945, is his best satirical work.

To the same school of writers belongs Buzurg ʿAlawī (b. 1907). He is, however, much more involved in politics than the preceding authors. The collection *Čamadān* (1934) earned him an early recognition as an important writer. His *Čashmhāyash* (1952) is one of the best modern Persian novels. Among the writers who made their debut after the Second World War the outstanding writer of the short story is Ṣādiḳ Čūbak (b. 1916) whose first collection *Khayma shab-bāzī* was published in 1945. His latest works are the novels *Tangsīr* (1963) and *Sang-i ṣabūr* (1966). Other notable writers of the last few decades are Muḥammad Iʿtimāzāda (Bihādhīn), who is especially known on account of his novel *Dukhtar-i raʿiyat* (1951), Djalāl Āl-i Aḥmad (1923-69) and Taḳī Mudarrisī. The extensive novel *Shawhar-i Ahū Khānum* (1961) of ʿAlī-Muḥammad Afghānī (b. 1925) was received with great enthusiasm both by the public and the critics in spite of its technical defects. (See on the latest development of modern prose: B. Alawi, in *Yádnáma-ye Jan Rypka*, Prague-The Hague 1967, 167-72; M. Zavarzadeh, in *MW*, lviii (1968), 308-16).

Drama (*numāyish*) has never been a part of the classical tradition but has existed on the level of folk literature for a long time in many different forms (cf. J. Cejpek, *Dramatic Folk-literature in Iran*, in J. Rypka *et. al.*, *History*, 682-93). Much attention has been given to the Iranian passion plays (*taʿziya*) [*q.v.*]), the development of which culminated in the Ḳādjār period. Modern playwriting in Iran is entirely derived from European literature. The oldest specimens are translations of some of the most famous comedies of Molière. Of greater importance were the modern comedies of Ākhundzāda [*q.v.*], written in Azeri Turkish and adequately translated into Persian by Muḥammad Djaʿfar Ḳarāčadāghī. They were published for the first time in 1874 (reprinted Tehran 1349 sh.). The plays of Ākhundzāda inspired the first original dramatic works: a series of comedies said to have been written by Malkum Khān [*q.v.*], although his authorship of at least some of these has been denied recently (cf. *Central Asian Review*, xv (1967), 21-6). Interesting features of these early comedies are the element of social criticism they contain and the use of colloquial expressions in the dialogues. From the First World War onwards play writing became a great fashion in Iran. From the vast production of plays only the historical dramas *Parwīn dukhtar-i Sāsān* (1930) and *Māziyār* (1933) of Ṣādiḳ Hidāyat are named here because of their importance for the history of literature [See further MASRAḤIYYA].

Bibliography: in addition to the references in the text, only works of a general character can be mentioned here. For monographs, editions of texts and translations see especially the bibliographies in H. Ethé's contribution to *Gr.I.Ph.*, *passim* and, for works published after 1900, in J. Rypka, *History*, 757-808. The articles in Iranian periodicals have been recorded in Īradj Afshār, *Fihrist-i maḳālāt-i Fārsī*, i: 1328 ḳ.—1338 sh., Tehran 1340 sh., ii: 1339-1345 sh., Tehran 1348 sh. For books published in Iran see Khān-Bābā Mushār, *Fihrist-i kitābhā-i čāpī-i Fārsī*, 2 vols., Tehran 1337-42 sh., supplemented by Karāmat Raʿnā Husaynī, *Fihrist-i kitābhā-i čāpī-i Fārsī. Dhayl-i Fihrist-i Mushār*, Tehran 1349, sh.; cf. also Ī. Afshār and Ḥ. Banī-Ādam, *Kitāb-shināsī-i dahsāla-i* (1333-1342) *kitābhā-i Īrān*, Tehran 1346 sh. The current production of books can be followed in the periodical *Rāhnumā-i kitāb* (since 1337 sh.), as well as in the annual surveys *Kitābhā-i Īrān*, edited by Ī. Afshār, and *Kitābshināsī-i millī*-i *intishārāt-i Īrān*, a publication of the Wizārat-farhang wa hunar.—As no comprehensive bio-bibliographical survey of the classical literature exists, reference to the catalogues of Persian manuscripts is still indispendable. A bibliography of catalogues has been compiled by Ī. Afshār in *Kitābshināsī-i fihristhā-i nuskhahā-i khaṭṭī-i Fārsī*, Tehran 1337 sh., which has been supplemented by O. F. Akimushkin and Yu. E. Borshčevskiy in *Narodî Azii i Afriki*, 1963/3, 169-74 and *ibid.*, 1963/6,

228-41. Several important new catalogues have been published during the last decade; a) in Iran: M. T. Dānish-pazhūh, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-i khaṭṭī-i kitābkhāna-i Dānishkada-i adabiyyāt, Tihrān*, Tehran 1339 sh.; idem and ʿAlī-Naḳī Munzawī, *Fihrist-i kitābkhāna-i Sipahsālār*, iii-iv, Tehran 1340-6 sh.; Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh Anwār, *Fihrist-i nusakh-i khaṭṭī-i kitābkhāna-i millī*, 2 vols., Tehran 1342-7 sh.; the cataloguing of the Kitābkhāna-i markazī-i Dānishgāh-i Tihrān, the Kitābkhāna-i Madjlis-i Shūrā-i millī and the Kitābkhāna-i Astān-i ḳuds-i Raḍawī, Mashhad, has been carried on by several scholars. A systematically arranged synopsis of Persian manuscripts is being supplied by ʿAlī-Naḳī Munzawī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-i khaṭṭi-i Fārsī*, i-ii, Tehran 1348-9 sh. b) in other countries: A. M. Mirzoev and A. M. Boldïrev, *Katalog vostočnikh rukopisey AN Tadžikskoy SSR*, 2 vols., Stalinabad/Dushanbe 1960-8; F. E. Karatay, *Topkapı sarayı müzesi kütüphanesi, Farsča yazmalar kataloğu*, Istanbul 1961; H. W. Duda, *Die persische Dichterhandschriften der Sammlung Es'ad Ef. zu Istanbul*, in *Isl.*, (1964), 38-70; S. de Beaureceuil, *Manuscrits d'Afghanistan*, Cairo 1964; N. D. Miklukho-Maklay, *et. al.*, *Persidskie i tadžikskie rukopisi Instituta Narodiv Azii AN SSSR, Kratkiy alfabetniy katalog*, Moscow 1964; A. Ateş, *İstanbul kütüphanelerinde Farşça manzum eserler*. i: *Universite ve Nuruosmaniye kütüphaneleri*, Istanbul 1968; G. M. Meredith Owens, *Handlist of Persian manuscripts*, 1895-1966, The British Museum, London 1968; W. Heinz and W. Eilers, *Persische Handschriften* (*Verzeichnis der orient. Handschr. in Deutsland*, xiv/1), Wiesbaden 1968.—The traditional works of literary history, the *tadhkira*s, have been recorded by Storey, i/2, 781-923 and A. Gulčīn-i Maʿānī, *Ta'rīkh-i tadhkirahā-i Fārsī*, i, Tehran 1348 sh.—The most important modern surveys are: J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte der schönen Redekünste Persiens*, Vienna 1818; Sir Gore Ouseley, *Biographical notices of Persian poets*, London 1846; H. Ethé, *Die höfische und romantische Poesie der Perser*, Hamburg 1877; idem, *Die mystische, didaktische und lyrische Poesie der Perser und das spätere Schriftthum der Perser*, Hamburg 1887; idem, *Neupersische Literatur*, in *Gr.I.Ph.*, ii, 212-68; I. Pizzi, *Storia della poesia persiana*, 2 vols., Turin 1894; P. Horn, *Geschichte der persischen Literatur*, Leipzig 1901, 1909[2], enlarged Persian translation by Riḍāzāda Shafaḳ, Tehran 1349 sh.[2]; E. G. Browne, *A literary history of Persia*, i: *From the earliest times until Firdawsi*, London 1902, Persian translation by ʿAlī-Pāshā Ṣāliḥ, Tehran 1334 sh.; ii: *From Firdawsi to Saʿdi*, London 1906, Persian translation by Fatḥ Allāh Mudjabā'ī, Tehran 1341 sh.; iii: *The Tartar dominion (1265-1501)*, Cambridge 1922, Persian translation by ʿA. A. Ḥikmat, Tehran 1327 sh.; iv: *Modern times (1500-1924)*, Persian translation by Sayf-pūr Fāṭimī, Iṣfahān 1310 sh. and R. Yāsimī, Tehran 1329 sh.[4]; Shiblī Nuʿmānī, *Shiʿr al-ʿAdjam*, i-iv, ʿAlīgaṙh 1906-12, v (unfinished), Aʿẓamgaṙh 1919 (in Urdu), Persian translation by M. T. Fakhr-i Dā'ī Gīlānī, Tehran 1316-8 sh.; A. Krïmskiy, *Istoriya Persii, ego literaturï i dervisheskoy teosofii*, 3 vols., Moscow 1909-17; E. E. Bertel's, *Očerk istorii persidskoy literaturï*, Leningrad 1928; Djalāl al-Dīn Humā'ī, *Ta'rīkh-i adabiyyāt-i Īrān*, 2 vols., Tabrīz 1348/1929-30, Tehran 1342 sh.[3]; Badīʿ al-Zamān Furūzānfar, *Sukhan wa Sukhanwarān*, 2 vols., Tehran 1308-12 sh.; Riḍāzāda Shafak, *Ta'rīkh-i adabiyyāt-i Īrān*, Tehran 1313 sh., 1321 sh.[2]; A. Zarre, *Očerk literaturï Irana*, in *Vostok*, ii: *Literatura Irana X-XV v.*, Moscow-Leningrad 1935; E. E. Bertel's, *Persidskaya poeziya v Bukhare v X veke*, Moscow-Leningrad 1935; Dh. Ṣafā, *Ta'rīkh-i adabiyyāt dar Īrān*, i: *Az āghāz-i ʿahd-i Islāmī tā dawra-i Saldjūḳī*, Tehran 1332 sh., 1342 sh.[4]; ii: *Az miyān-i ḳarn-i pandjum tā āghāz-i ḳarn-i haftum-i hidjrī*, Tehran 1336 sh., 1339 sh.[3]; iii/1: *Az awā'il-i ḳarn-i haftum tā awākhir-i ḳarn-i hashtum-i hidjrī*, Tehran 1341 sh.; J. Rypka, *et. al.*, *Dějiný perské a tadžické literatury*, Prague 1956, 1963[2]; idem, *Iranische Literaturgeschichte*, Leipzig 1959; idem, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968; A. J. Arberry, *Classical Persian literature*, London 1958; Dh. Ṣafā, *Gandj-i sukhan*, 3 vols., Tehran 1339 sh. (in Vol. i, *yak-nuwad u čahār*: *muḳaddama dar ta'rīkh-i zabān wa shiʿr-i Īrān*); E. E. Bertel's, *Izbrannïe trudï. Istoriya persidsko-tadžikskoy literaturï*, Moscow 1960 (unfinished work, posthumously published); A. Bausani, *Letteratura neopersiana*, in A. Pagliaro and A. Bausani, *Storia della letteratura persiana*, Milan 1960, 1968[2]; I. Braginskiy and D. Komissarov, *Persidskaya literatura. Kratkiy očerk*, Moscow 1963; F. Machalski, *Persian court poetry of the Ḳāğār epoch*, in *Folia Orientalia*, vi (1964), 1-40; S. Nafisi, *Ta'rīkh-i naẓm wa nathr dar Īrān wa dar zabān-i Fārsī tā pāyān-i ḳarn-i dahum-i hidjrī*, 2 vols., Tehran 1344 sh.; M. I. Zand, *Six centuries of glory: essays on medieval literature of Iran and Transoxania*, Moscow 1967; J. Rypka, *Poets and prose writers of the late Saljuq and Mongol periods*, in *Cambridge History of Iran*, v, Cambridge 1968, 550-625; Dh. Ṣafā, *Gandjīna-i Sukhan*, 3 vols., Tehran 1348 sh. (in vol. i, 1-156: *muḳaddama dar ta'rīkh-i taḥawwul-i nathr-i pārsī*); G. Scarcia, *Letteratura persiana*, in *Storia delle letterature d'oriente*, ii, Milan 1969, 245-455; Zahrā Khānlarī (Kiyā), *Farhang-i adabiyyāt-i Fārsī*, Tehran 1348 sh.; R. Levy, *An introduction to Persian literature*, New York-London 1969.—On contemporary literature only: K. Čaykin, *Kratkiy očerk noveyshey persidskoy literaturï*, Moscow 1928; M. Ishaque (Isḥāḳ), *Sukhanwarān-i Īrān dar ʿaṣr-i ḥāḍir*, 2 vols., Delhi 1933-7; Dinshah J. Irani, *Poets of the Pahlawi Regime*, Bombay 1933; Rashīd-i Yāsimī, *Adabiyyāt-i muʿāṣir*, Tehran 1316 sh.; M. Ishaque, *Modern Persian Poetry*, Calcutta 1943; R. Lescot, *Le roman et la nouvelle dans la littérature iranienne contemporaine*, in *B. Ét. Or.*, ix (1943), 83-101; S. Nafīsī, *Shāhkārhā-i nathr-i Fārsī-i muʿāṣir*, 2 vols., Tehran 1330-2 sh.; M. Bāḳir Burḳāʿī, *Sukhanwarān-i nāmī-i muʿāsir*, 3 vols., Tehran 1329-38 sh.; B. Nikitine, *Les thèmes sociaux dans la littérature persane moderne*, in *OM*, xxxiv (1954), 225-37; Munibur Rahman (Munīb al-Raḥmān), *Post-Revolutionary Persian verse*, Aligarh 1955; idem, *Social satire in modern Persian literature*, in *Bulletin of the Institute of Islamic Studies* (Aligarh), ii-iii (1958-9), 63-91; idem, *Djadīd Fārsī shāʿirī*, Aligarh 1959 (in Urdu); G. S. Komissarov, *Očerki sovremennoy persidskoy prozï*, Moscow 1960; Fr. Machalski, *Principaux courants de la prose persane moderne*, in *RO*, xxv (1961), 121-30; V. B. Kljashtorina, *Imagery in 20th Century Persian poetry*, in *Central Asian Review*, xiii/3 (1965), 205-15 (translated from *Narodï Azii i Afriki*, 1956/1, 124-34); R. Gelpke, *Die iranische Prosaliteratur im 20. Jahrhundert*, i: *Grundlagen und Voraussetzungen*, Wiesbaden 1962; Bozorg

Alawi, *Geschichte und Entwicklung der modernen persischen Literatur*, Berlin 1964; Fr. Machalski, *La littérature de l'Iran contemporain.* i: *La poésie persane de l'époque du "réveil des Iraniens" jusqu'au coup d'état de Reḍā Ḫān (environ 1880-1921)*; ii: *La poésie de l'époque de Reḍā Šāh Pahlavī (1921-1941)*, Wroclaw-Warsaw-Krakow 1965-7; H. Kamshad, *Modern Persian prose literature*, Cambridge 1966; Věra Kubíčková, *Persian literature of the 20th Century*, in J. Rypka *et. al.*, *History*, 353-418, bibliography 809-13.—On the history of Persian literature outside Iran: A. Bausani, *L'eredità persiana*, in *Letteratura del Pakistan*, Milan 1968[2], 37-81; J. Marek, *Persian literature in India*, in J. Rypka *et. al.*, *History*, 711-34, bibliography 832-8; G. Yu. Aliyev, *Persoyazičnaya literatura Indii. Kratkiy očerk*, Moscow 1968; Muẓaffar Ḥusayn Shamīm, *Shiʿr-i Fārsī dar Hind wa Pākistān*, Tehran 1349 sh. (anthology); G. L. Tikku, *Persian poetry in Kashmir (1339-1864). Introduction*, Berkeley 1971; E. E. Bertel's, *Literatura na persidskom yazîke v Sredney Azii*, in SO, 1948, 199-228, German translation by I. Engelke, in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*, iii/2 (1955), 180-223; J. Bečka, *Tajik literature from the 16th century to the present*, in J. Rypka *et al.*, *History*, 483-605, bibliography 814-31; H. J. de Dianous, *La littérature afghane de langue persane*, in *Orient*, xxvi (1963), 47-63; *ibid.*, xxvii (1963), 129-43; *ibid.*, xxxi (1964), 137-71; G. Scarcia, *Poeti e prosatori afghani moderni*, *OM*, xlxi (1966), 254-67; J. Rypka, *History*, 808 (short bibliography on Persian letters in Afghanistan); A. Ateş, *Hicrî VI.-VIII. (XII.-XIV.) asîrlarda Anadolu'da Farsça eserler*, in *TM*, vii-viii (1945), cüz ii, 94-135.—On learned prose: C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature. A bio-bibliographical survey.* i: *Qurʾānic literature*; *history and biography*, London 1927-39; ii/1: *A. Mathematics*; *B. Weights and measures. C. Astronomy and astrology. D. Geography*, London 1958; ii/2: *E. Medicine*, edited by J. D. Pearson, London 1971 (parts i and ii of an enlarged Russian translation, in 3 parts, by Yu. E. Bregel' was published in 1972: *Persidskaya literatura, bio-bibliografičeskiy obzor*; cf. also Yu. E. Borshčevskiy and Yu. E. Bregel' in *Narodî Azii i Afriki*, 1970/3, 105-19); G. Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*, Paris 1963, 36-134; F. Tauer, *Persian learned literature from its beginnings up to the end of the 18th century*, in J. Rypka *et al.*, *History*, 419-82; B. Spuler, *Die historische und geografische Literatur in persischer Sprache*, in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, i/4; *Iranistik*, ii/1: *Literatur*, Leiden-Cologne 1968, 100-67.—On popular literature: J. Cejpek, *Iranian folk-literature*, in J. Rypka *et al.*, *History*, 609-709, bibliography 839-54.
On the literature of Persian Jews see JUDAEO-PERSIAN LITERATURE.

(J. T. P. DE BRUIJN).

viii.—ART AND ARCHITECTURE, [see Supplement].

ĪRĀNĪ [see Mughals].

IRATEN (Ayt > Ath Yiratən; Ar. Banū Ratən), a Berber tribal group of Great Kabylia, whose territory is bounded on the north by the Sebaw, in the west by the Wādī Aïssi (Wādī ʿAysī), which separates them from the Ayt Yenni, in the south by the Ayt Yaḥyā and in the east by the Ayt Frawsen. It is a hilly country from 3000 to 3500 feet in height, producing olives and figs and some cereals. The inhabitants are settled in several villages, of which the most important are Adni, Tawrirt Amekkran, Usammer and Agemmun. The Iraten numbered some ten thousand, belonging to the *commune mixte* of Forth-National.

We know little about the history of the Iraten. Ibn Khaldūn (*Berbères*, tr. de Slane, i, 256) mentions them as inhabitants of "the mountain between Bidjāya [Bougie] and Tedellys [Dellys]". They were nominally under the governor of Bougie and were on the list of tribes liable to *kharādj*, while being in fact independent. At the time when the Marīnid al-Ḥasan undertook his campaign in Ifrīḳiya, they were subject to a woman called Shamsī, of the family of the ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, from whom their chiefs came.

Throughout the Turkish period, the Iraten maintained their independence, secure behind their mountains. They formed one of the most powerful federations in Kabylia, which comprised five *ʿarsh*: Ayt Irdjen, Akerma, Usammer, Awggasha and Umalu, and could put in the field a force of 2800 men. They kept their independence until in 1854 the French, under Marshal Randon, for the first time penetrated into the Kabylian mountains. To prevent an invasion of their territory the Iraten agreed to give hostages and to pay tribute. Nevertheless, their land remained a hotbed of intrigues against French rule, so that Randon in 1857 decided to subdue them completely. The French troops, leaving Tizi-Ouzou on 24 May, conquered all the Kabyl villages in succession and on 29 May defeated the army of the Iraten and their allies on the plateau of Sūḳ al-Arbʿā. To keep them in check Random at once began to build Fort-Napoléon (later Fort-National) in the heart of their country and thus placed "a thorn in the eye of Kabylia". The Iraten were then quiet for 14 years, but in 1871 they again took to arms and participated in the siege of Fort-National, which however the rebels did not succeed in capturing. (For subsequent events, see ALGERIA).

Bibliography: See references given in art. KABYLIA; for the Iraten, more especially: S. Boulifa, *Le K'anoun d'Ad'ni*, in *Recueil de mémoires et de textes publié en l'honneur du XIV[e] Congrès international des Orientalistes*, Algiers 1905; Carette, *Etudes sur la Kabylie (Exploration scientifique de l'Algérie, Sciences historiques et géographiques)*, Paris 1848, ii, 287; E. Carrey, *Récits de Kabylie, Campagne de 1857*, Algiers 1858; Clerc, *Campagne de Kabylie*, Paris 1857; Devaux, *Les Kabaïles du Djerdjera*, Marseilles 1859; (Maréchal) Randon, *Opérations militaires en Kabylie. Rapport au ministre de la guerre*, Paris 1854; Hanoteau and Letourneux, *La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles*, Paris 1893, 3 vols., i, 238-41. On the dialect of the Ath Iraten: Hanoteau, *Poésies populaires de la Kabylie du Jurjura*, Paris 1867, 123-47; S. Boulifa, *Recueil de poésies kabyles*, Algiers 1904; idem, *Méthode de langue kabyle*, 2[e] année, Algiers 1913; idem, *Recueil de compositions*, Algiers 1913; A. Basset and A. Picard, *Eléments de grammaire berbère*, Algiers 1948; idem, *Sur berbère yir "mauvais" chez les Irjen*, in *RAfr.*, xciii (1949), 291-313; A. Picard, *Textes berbères dans le parler des Irjen*, Algiers 1958; idem, *De quelques faits de stylistique dans le parler berbère des Irjen*, Algiers 1960. (G. YVER).

IRBID, the name of two places:

I: (Irbid/Arbad), the centre of the *ḳaḍāʾ* of ʿAdjlūn [*q.v.*] in Transjordania (32° 33′ N., 35° E.). According to al-Ṭabarī, the Umayyad caliph Yazīd II died at Irbid which, the chronicler states, at that time formed part of the region of the Balḳāʾ [*q.v.*].

Several traditions place the residence of Yazīd II at Bayt Rās [*q.v.*], situated about 3 km. to the north of Irbid. In the Mamluk period, Irbid was a halting-place of the *barīd* [*q.v.*]. Today it is a small town of about 3000 inhabitants with basalt houses.

II: (Khirbat Irbid, Arbad, Erbed), vestiges of the ancient Arbela, west of Lake Tiberias, in the ravine formed by the Wādī 'l-Ḥamām. The most noteworthy of the ruins is a synagogue which dominates the ravine. On the sides of the ravine some caves are situated, connected by steps cut from the rock. It is in one of these caves that tradition places the tomb of the mother of Moses (Mūsā b. ʿImrān), and also those of four sons of Jacob (Yaʿkūb)— Dān, Isākhār, Zabūlūn and Gād.

Bibliography: I: Ṭabarī, ii, 1463; J. Sauvaget, *Poste aux chevaux*, Paris 1941, 72-6. II: Yāķūt, s.v.; Harawī, *Ziyārāt*, ed. J. Sourdel-Thomine, Damascus 1953, 19-20; Le Strange, *Palestine*, 457; Marmardji, *Textes géographiques*, Paris 1951, 4; F. M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, Paris 1933-8, i, 410, ii, 249; Clermont-Ganneau, in *RAO*, i, 324; *ZDPV*, xix (1896), 222-3, xxviii (1905), 22-4.

(S. Ory)

IRBIL, a town in Upper Mesopotamia, situated about 80 km. east-south-east of al-Mawṣil (36° 11′ N., 42° 2′ E.), in the centre of a region known as Adiabene, bounded on the north by the course of the Great Zāb and on the south by that of the little Zāb. Irbil is a site which has been inhabited since very early times, being referred to in cuneiform inscriptions under the name Arbailu; the religious centre of the kingdom of Assyria with a sanctuary of the goddess Ishtar, it was also a centre of communications and a point of intersection of caravan routes. It was near to this spot, later known as Arbeles, that in 331 B.C. Darius III was defeated by Alexander. In dispute between the Parthians and the Romans, the town, then known as Arbira, became Christian at an early date, though it is not possible to determine to what extent Christianity penetrated the region. The seat of a governor in the Sāsānid period, Irbil was the scene of persecutions of the Christians, who by an edict of 340 were subjected to a capitation tax and various other tribulations; the resistance of certain Christians led to their execution, and some years later, in 358, the governor Kardagh suffered martyrdom when he became a convert to Christianity.

The conquest of the town by the Muslims, apparently achieved without serious resistance, did not prevent its remaining an active Christian centre, the seat of a bishopric which was held by several outstanding figures. However, for reasons that elude the historian, Irbil was swiftly eclipsed by al-Mawṣil, to which the metropolitan moved in the 3rd/9th century. At that time, Irbil was referred to by the Arab geographers merely as a leading town of the district of Ḥulwān. Irbil again became a town of some importance when, in 563/1167, it was the capital of the Kurdish *amīr* Zayn al-Dīn ʿAlī Küčük Begtegin, the former lord of Sindjār, Ḥarrān and Takrīt, who was soon replaced by his son. The most famous sovereign of this dynasty was Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kökbürī [see BEGTEGINIDS], the brother-in-law of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, who ruled Irbil from 586/1190 until 630/1232 and made his capital a place of some importance, in particular by the creation of new districts at the foot of the upper town. This lower town was embellished with various public buildings, hospitals, a *madrasa* known as al-Muẓaffariyya, and a *ribāṭ* for the use of the Ṣūfīs. It was there, every year, that Kökbürī had the *mawlid* celebrated with particular solemnity, in commemoration of the Prophet's birth. On the death of Kökbürī, the state of Irbil passed into the hands of the caliph al-Mustanṣir, to whom Kökbürī had bequeathed it, but he was compelled to lay siege to the town to gain possession of it.

In 633/1235, the town was attacked and partly pillaged by the Mongols, who succeeded in capturing the citadel only in 656/1258, after the fall of Baghdād, and with the help of Kökbürī's old rival, Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ, upon whom the town was conferred. For some years, despite a massacre which took place on the occasion of the unsuccessful revolt of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl, son of Luʾluʾ, in 659/1261, the Christian community of Irbil experienced a period of relative prosperity, and was strengthened by the arrival of new elements. In fact, the town was given a Christian governor, Tādj al-Dīn Mukhtaṣ, who encouraged some Jacobite country-people to move to Irbil and, with the agreement of the Nestorian metropolitan Denḥa, allowed them to build a church there. The new Jacobite community succeeded, some years later, in being granted their own bishop. Denḥa, for his part, was appointed catholicos in Baghdād in 663/1265, but he had to leave that town in 666/1266 and take refuge in Irbil, from which he also fled in 669/1271, this time settling in Ādharbāydjān, as a result of a dispute with the governor. In 687/1289 the recall and torturing of Tādj al-Dīn marked the beginning of a period of persecution and harrassment for the Christians of Irbil. In 693/1295, three churches were destroyed on the orders of the Mongols and, in 708/1310, following some incidents provoked by Christian mercenaries, the Christian population of the lower town, and later that of the upper town also, were in part exterminated and several churches sacked. From that time the Christian community of Irbil lost all its importance and the few survivors gradually emigrated. Under Ottoman rule Irbil, which belonged to the *pashalïķ* of Baghdād, had to endure the campaign of Nādir Shāh into Turkey in 1156/1743. In 1892 the town possessed only 3,200 inhabitants, of whom 457 were Jews, but this estimate was considered too low by travellers who visited it at the beginning of the present century. Today Irbil is the chief town of a province which, in 1935, contained some 100,000 inhabitants. It is a commercial centre, and still dominated by its upper town. A little way outside the lower town there still stands a minaret with a cylindrical shaft and octagonal base which may be attributed to the end of the 6th/12th century and which probably belonged to the Muẓaffariyya *madrasa*.

Bibliography: L. Dilleman, *Haute-Mésopotamie orientale et pays adjacents*, Paris 1962, 112; J. M. Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, Beirut 1965, 31-97; Le Strange, 92; *BGA*, vi, 6, 235; Ibn Khallikān, no. 558; Ibn al-Athīr, index; Yāķūt, i, 186-9; Bar Hebraeus, *Taʾrīkh mukhtaṣar al-duwal*, Beirut 1890, 436-72; idem, *Chronography*, tr. Budge, London 1932, index; idem, *Chronicon syriacum*, ed. Bedjan, Paris 1890, in particular 466, 506, 525, 528-9, 557; idem, *Chronicon ecclesiasticum*, ed. Abbeloos and Lamy, Paris 1872-7, *passim*; *La Chronique des Ayyoubides d'al-Makīn b. al-ʿAmīd*, ed. Cl. Cahen, in *B. Et. Or.*, xv (1955-7), 119, 140-1; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarridj al-kurūb*, iii, Cairo n.d., index; Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān*, viii, *passim*, in particular *s.a.* 586. Of the various Western accounts of travels and modern des-

criptions, the following may be consulted: C. Niebuhr, *Reiseberichte nach Arabien*, ii, Copenhagen 1778, 342-5; C. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, iv, 691-4; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii, Paris 1892, 847-8, 856-8. For archaeological remains: F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, Berlin 1920, ii, 313-8.

(D. Sourdel)

ʿIRḌ (pl. *aʿrāḍ*), Arabic term corresponding approximately to the idea of honour, but somewhat ambiguous and imprecise, as the hesitations of the lexicographers testify. It does not appear in the Ḳurʾān, and the contexts in which it figures in *ḥadīth* do nothing to clarify its precise meaning. Al-Djāḥiẓ does not seem to have attempted to analyse the idea of *ʿirḍ*, while Ibn Ḳutayba sees in it a reference sometimes to the soul, sometimes to the body, an interpretation attacked by al-Ḳālī, *Amālī*, Cairo 1323, i, 118. In fact, apart from such material meanings as "strong army", "valley covered with palm trees", etc. (see *TA*, s.v.; *LA*, s.v.), *ʿirḍ* seems to imply also, in *ḥadīth* and in poetry, the body of animals, or even of men; the parts of the body which sweat; and the smell of a man or a woman. In the abstract, the lexicographers accept the following notions; distinction of one's ancestors or personal nobility (*ḥasab* [*q.v.*]), good character (*khalīḳa maḥmūda*) or soul (*nafs*). Now the expressions, very common in Arabic, relating to the protection (*ṣāna* and its synonyms) or the insulting (*shatama* and its synonyms) of *ʿirḍ* obviously cannot apply either to the soul, considered as a metaphysical entity, or to good character, which can claim only praise; hence, whereas the identification of *ʿirḍ* with *ḥasab* is correct in itself, yet the first implies more than the second, which is merely one of its manifestations.

From the semantic point of view, the radical letters of *ʿirḍ* can give useful guidance. Several derivates from this root imply the notion of something "laid across" (*taʿarraḍa*, *iʿtaraḍa*), and a *ʿarḍ* is a cloud which obstructs the horizon. Since the Arabs used the expression *hatak al-ʿirḍ* "to tear the *ʿirḍ*" as one tears a veil, and since *hatīka*, from the same root, meant "dishonour", it is legitimate to consider *ʿirḍ* as a sort of partition or curtain separating the individual from the rest of mankind; behind this veil were concealed personal characteristics or characteristics relating to ancestors which the Arabs of old were assiduous to keep safe from insult; one of the aims of *hidjāʾ* [*q.v.*] was to tear down this veil and to expose the dishonourable characteristics of the person attacked.

The elements of *ʿirḍ* may be classed under three headings: the tribal group, the family and the individual. Under the heading of the group come the number of its members, the qualities of the poet and the orator, victories and independence; under the head of the family: the sons; of the individual: the group. Other elements like rebellion, courage, liberty, vendetta, chastity of the wife, liberality, faithfulness to one's word, *ḥasab*, protection of the weak, hospitality, invulnerability of the abode, belong sometimes to the group and the individual, sometimes to the family and the individual, sometimes to the group, family and individual.

We find the explanation of the various elements of *ʿirḍ* in the warlike life led by the ancient Arabs. Indeed any sign of failure in fighting or of loss of independence humiliated the Arab and dishonoured him. Now humiliation (*dhilla*) is the opposite of power (*ʿizza*) simply because it implies weakness; hence weakness is the condition of dishonour, while power is the foundation of honour or *ʿirḍ*. In other words, everything that contributes to power is an element of honour, while all that causes weakness is an element of dishonour. It is evident then that *ʿirḍ* was in its origin associated with fighting.

ʿIrḍ moreover had an important social function; it was the guiding motive in the acts and deeds of all the Arabs except those of the Yaman, and so took the place of religion at the gatherings held for contests of honour called *mufākhara* and *munāfara* [*qq.v.*], and *ʿirḍ*, on account of its sacred nature, was entitled thus to take the place of religion, since the Arab put it in the highest place and defended it arms in hand.

The consequences to be drawn from the above are the following: being subjected in their everyday life to the controlling influence of an ethical principle, namely honour (*ʿirḍ*), the Arabs were not an anarchical nor truly individualist, nor primitive people, nor one at heart materialist; on the contrary, *ʿirḍ*, regarded as an ethical principle, was found to be at the root of various aspects of the moral life, of manners and even of social institutions. It was at the basis of the social hierarchy or of the non-egalitarian social structure; the poet, the orator, and, in a certain sense, the *sayyid*, enjoyed a special respect. The son was superior to the daughter, the *sharīf* to the *waḍīʿ*, the *ḥurr* to the *ʿabd*, the vigorous tribe to the weak tribe, etc.

The *ʿirḍ* which we have analysed refers to the *djāhiliyya*. Yet Muḥammad still regarded *ʿirḍ* as sacred; it even ranks as equal to religion. Islam maintained many of its elements, which found a place in it in the form of obligations: protection, largesse, courage, etc., form part of Muslim practice. These elements lost their original character: they are no longer capable of being the cause of boastfulness (Islam opposing *taḳwā* to *ḥamiyya*); they are rather connected with religion or with a moral principle emanating from religion. Other elements have been rejected by Islam (like *ḥasab* and *sharaf*) because they were incompatible with its spirit. Some of them, on the other hand, still survive and sometimes are intensified. Among the modern Bedouins we still find *ʿirḍ* with almost all its pre-Islamic force (the *ḥuḳūḳ* of the Arabs of Transjordania and Moab).

At a later date these elements underwent more than one transformation, or even became extinct, especially in the cities. Yet the use of the term *ʿirḍ* in its traditional sense, though less rich in meaning, continued, especially in the Umayyad period, keeping its sacred character and its relation with insult (cf. Ibn Durayd, *Djamhara*, Būlāḳ ed., 166; *Aghānī*, xi, 49; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, i, 293; al-Thaʿālibī, *Mirʾāt al-muruwwāt*, Cairo 1898, 22, 31; Abū Tammām, *Dīwān*, Cairo 1875, 93; al-Buḥturī, *Dīwān*, Beirut 1911, 441, 442, 449, 652; al-Mutanabbī, *Dīwān*, ed. Dieterici, 416; Mihyār al-Daylamī, *Dīwān*, Cairo 1929, ii, 4). Its place has been partly taken by the term *sharaf*, which has received the simple meaning of honour, without the complicated shades of the *djāhiliyya* attached to this idea (Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 314; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, i, 246; al-Mutanabbī, *Dīwān*, 342; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, Beirut ed. 1900, 396; cf. al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr*, ed. Zakī Mubārak, i, 135 and the lexicons).

At the present day, the meaning of the word *ʿirḍ* has become restricted, relating particularly to women: in Transjordania it is associated with the virtue of a woman or even with her beauty. In Egypt the *ʿirḍ* of a man depends in general on his wife's reputation and that of all his female relatives. In Syria the reputation of every member of a tribe reflects on a man's *ʿirḍ*.

Bibliography: B. Farès, *L'honneur chez les Arabes avant l'Islam*, Paris 1932, where the subject is fully treated; see also SHARAF. (B. FARÈS*)

AL-**IRDJĀNĪ**, ABŪ YAḤYĀ ZAKARIYYĀʾ, chief of the Berber tribe of Nafūsa and last Ibāḍī-Wahbī *imām* in North Africa. He is probably the same person as R. Basset refers to in error as Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā al-Irdjānī, confusing him with his son, Abū Zakariyyāʾ b. Abī Yaḥyā al-Irdjānī, who also was chief (*ḥākim*) of the Djabal Nafūsa. According to the Ibāḍī document known under the name of *Tasmiyat shuyūkh Djabal Nafūsa wa-ḳurāhum* (6th/12th century), Abū Zakariyyāʾ (error for Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyaʾ) of Irkān (Irdjān) was elected *imām* after Abū Ḥātim (that is Abū Ḥātim Yūsuf b. Abi 'l-Yaḳẓān Muḥammad b. Aflaḥ b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam). As the latter was in office until 294/906-7, the election of Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā al-Irdjānī cannot have taken place until after that date, perhaps not until after the fall of the Rustamid imāmate of Tāhert in 296/909. In a passage in his *Kitāb al-Siyar* (also entitled: *Kitāb Siyar mashāyikh Nafūsa*), quoted by al-Shammākhī, Maḳrīn b. Muḥammad al-Bughṭūrī refers to Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyāʾ al-Irdjānī as *ḥākim* or *imām mudāfiʿ*, "the *imām* of defence". In another passage in al-Shammākhī's work, Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyāʾ is given the title of *al-ḳāḍī al-ʿādil al-ʿālim al-kāmil al-imām al-fāḍil*. He was thus *imām* and judge at the same time. He lived at Irdjān or Ardjān (also Irkān or Arkān), a village in the eastern region of the Djabal Nafūsa (today the ruins of Khirbat Ardjān near Mezzu, in the region of Fossaṭo), whence he travelled each day to the town of Djādū, at that time the political and administrative centre of this region and perhaps of the whole of the Djabal Nafūsa.

The rule of Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyāʾ al-Irdjānī, which lasted for about fifteen years and which extended over the whole of the Djabal Nafūsa, was disturbed by civil wars which took place between two Ibāḍī-Wahbī factions of the region—the Banū Zammūr and the people of Ṭermīsa. It was in the middle of these civil wars, which ravaged all the eastern part of the Djabal Nafūsa and in which the family of Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyāʾ al-Irdjānī could not avoid becoming involved, that, in 310/922-3, there occurred the invasion of the Djabal Nafūsa by Fāṭimid troops. According to Ibn ʿIdhārī, these troops were under the command of the general ʿAlī b. Salmān al-Dāʿī, and, according to the Ibāḍī chronicles, they consisted of Kutāma warriors, the bravest and most loyal supporters of the Fāṭimid dynasty. The Fāṭimid troops attacked al-Djazīra, the main stronghold of the Djabal Nafūsa, but they were defeated by the Ibāḍīs. In the course of a second battle between the Nafūsa and the troops of ʿAlī b. Salmān, which took place near Tirakt (apparently on the territory which is now al-Rudjebān in the east of the Djabal Nafūsa), Abū Yaḥyā was killed by an Ibāḍī soldier in vengeance for some act of injustice.

In Ibn ʿIdhārī, the chief of the Nafūsa who fought against ʿAlī b. Salmān al-Dāʿī is called Abū Baṭṭa. There is no doubt that this was one of the by-names of Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyyāʾ al-Irdjānī.

Bibliography: R. Basset, *Les sanctuaires du Djebel Nefousa*, in *JA*, May-June 1889, 433, 454; Fournel, *Berbers*, ii, 144; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, i, 187; T. Lewicki, *Études ibāḍites nord-africaines*, Part 1, *Tasmiya šuyūḫ Ǧabal Nafūsa wa-qurāhum*, Warsaw 1955, 97-8; idem, *Ibāḍitica*, 2: *Les Ḥākims du Ǧabal Nafūsa*, in *RO*, xxvi/2 (1962), 99-101; Shammākhī, *Kitāb al-Siyar*, Cairo 1301.

(T. LEWICKI)

ʿIRḲ, an Arabic word which, etymologically, has the basic meaning of "root", but other acceptations have been grafted on to this original meaning so that it eventually approximates to the idea of race. It is clear, as far as can be judged from the rare documents which can be collected, that such a concept is nowhere clearly attested, and it would be more correct, in this respect, to speak of a stock: "I trace my origins (*ʿurūḳ*) to the root (*ʿirḳ*) of the land" said Imruʾ 'l-Ḳays (*LA* s.v. *ʿrḳ*). But the idea of race seems to be present in outline behind this substantive which also designates blood, understood as a factor of heredity.

ʿIrḳ is nowhere used in the Ḳurʾān. In *ḥadīth* it is not unknown but is only used sporadically. There, first of all, the general sense of root is to be noted: "whoever brings back to life uncultivated land becomes the owner of it; but a root which unjustly grows there does not give any right to this land" (al-Bukhārī, *K. al-Wakāla*, Cairo 1376, iii, 93). Besides the idea of a nerve which strikes man in his head, there is also to be found in *ḥadīth* the indiscriminate sense of artery and vein: "When he finished massacring them, his "artery" burst and he died" (see Wensinck, *Concordance*). It also designates the blood: "his soul left with the *ʿurūḳ*" (see Wensinck), alluding to the liquid soul, *al-nafs al-sāʾila*; regarding a woman whose period is unusually long, it is said: "it is not a question of menses, but of blood (*ʿirḳ*)" (Bukhārī, vii, 46). Finally, and it is this acceptation which especially interests us here, an *ʿirḳ*, the function of which is imprecise, seems to be at the origin of certain anomalies of birth. A man came to the Prophet and said to him "Oh Messenger of God, I have had a black child".—"Do you have any dromedaries?", Muḥammad asked him. "Yes."—"What colour are they?"—"Red."—"Are there no grey ones among them?"—"Indeed yes."—"How did that happen?"—"Perhaps an *ʿirḳ* attracted it towards him."—"Then for your son too, perhaps an *ʿirḳ* attracted him." (Bukhārī, vii, 46). Thus the concept is made to relate to descent and birth. The *ḥadīth* in question would seem to go even further since it seems to invoke, in order to explain an irregularity, a factor as uncontrollable as heredity. According to this hypothesis, *ʿirḳ* would here, too, be a synonym for blood. It is exactly this idea which modern bedouins express when they announce: *ʿirḳ al-khāl lā yanām* (the blood of the maternal uncle does not lie dormant). Classical Arabic also seems to confirm this interpretation when it says: *fī fulān ʿirḳ min al-ʿubūdiyya* (so and so has some slave blood). In the final analysis, then, we are faced with a notion which, in spite of its ambiguity, seems related to the concept of race, since it appeals to the purity of blood.

It is well known that the ancient Arabs made much of the purity of their genealogy [see NASAB], to the extent that they only grudgingly recognized a child born of a slave woman. The purer their blood, the greater the esteem they enjoyed. The social inferiority of those who could not boast of a noble extraction, who were neither *ṣarīḥ* nor *maḥḍ*, was in direct relation to the dubiousness and obscurity of their origins. The Ḳurʾān attempted, not unsuccessfully, to substitute religious ties for tribal and to affirm the supremacy of Islamic values in everything. In advising his followers to marry a believing slave rather than a woman of the polytheists (II,

221), Muḥammad struck a blow at the old preoccupations concerning race. But, nevertheless, these survived among the bedouins. The same concern is shown among the *sharīf*s and the *sayyid*s, both because of the nobility of their stock and the *baraka* which they have received from their illustrious ancestor Muḥammad.

Bibliography: On racial attitudes in Islam see G. Rotter, *Die Stellung des Negers in der islamisch-arabischen Gesellschaft bis zum XVI. Jahrhundert*, Bonn 1967; B. Lewis, *Race and color in Islam*, New York 1971. (J. CHELHOD)

ʿIRḲ, [see ṢAḤRĀʾ].

ʿIRḲ AL-**LUʾLUʾ**, [see ṢADAF].

ʿIRḲA (ARḲA), township and district on the southern coast of Arabia, situated just within the Ḥaḍramawt [*q.v.*], about midway between Aḥwar and Ḥawra [*q.v.*]. The population of about 500 depend mainly on fishing for their livelihood. Prior to the creation of the People's Republic of Southern Yemen, ʿIrḳa formed an independent shaykhdom within the territories of the Wāḥidī sultanates, and came under the protection of the Aden authorities under an agreement concluded in 1888. According to Landberg the town was the residence of the *shaykh* of Bā Dās, a division of the Dhiʾāb [*q.v.*], who were the largest tribe of the Eastern Ḥimyar, though in Hamdānī's time it belonged to the banū ʿĀmir of Kinda. Of ʿIrḳa's history little is known and it is not mentioned in the inscriptions. The Dhiʾāb, however, probably feature in the inscription *R.E.S.* 3945/4, where the cities and irrigated lands of ḤBN (Ḥabbāb, [*q.v.*]) and ḌYB are seized by Karabʾil Watar of Sabaʾ from the kingdom of Awsān. In more recent times ʿIrḳa contained the sanctuary of a woman of the same name who was venerated by the local *mashāʾikh* and passing sailors.

Bibliography: A. Grohmann in N. Rhodokanakis, *Altsabäische Texte I*, *Sitzungsb. Akad. Wiss. Wien*, 106/2, Vienna 1927, 123-4; Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, 96; Admiralty, Naval Intelligence Division, *Western Arabia and the Red Sea*, (London), 1946; C. Landberg, *Arabica IV, V*, Leiden 1897-98; idem, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale II : Datīnah*, Leiden 1905-13.

(A. K. IRVINE)

IRMIYĀ (the name is also written Armiyā and Urmiyā, with or without *madd*), the prophet Jeremiah (Yirmĕyāhū) of the Old Testament, is not mentioned in the Ḳurʾān although the legends concerning him are connected by traditional exegesis with sura II, 261/259, a "récit édifiant" (R. Blachère), inspired by the apocryphal book "the Paralipomena of Jeremiah" or III Baruch (ed. R. Harris, *The Rest of the Words of Baruch*, London 1889; G. tr. P. Riessler, *Altjüdisches Schrifttum ausserhalb der Bibel*, Augsburg 1928, 903-19; reconstruction (in Hebrew) by J. Licht *Séfer maʿasey Yirmeyāhū*, in *Shenaton Bar-Ilan*, i (1963), 63-80), perhaps also by the Talmudic legend of "Ḥōnī the drawer of circles", and related in its general theme to the legend of the "Seven Sleepers".

Two versions of the Muslim legend, transmitted on the authority of Wahb b. Munabbih and Kaʿb al-Aḥbār, make wide but free use of the details in the Bible concerning Jeremiah. In the first (al-Ṭabarī, i, 658 ff.) the oracles attributed to the prophet consist of a cento of scriptural passages drawn not only from the Biblical book which bears his name but also from that of Isaiah. According to this account, the destruction of Jerusalem was not actually to take place until the prophet had himself pronounced judgment on the faithless city.

The second version (al-Ṭabarī, i, 646 f.) has as its main theme the relations between Irmiyā and Bukht-Naṣṣar [*q.v.*] Nebuchadnezzar; it corresponds roughly to the Biblical account in Jeremiah XXXIX-XLIII. The tomb of Irmiyā was pointed out in Alexandria: al-Harawī, *Guide des lieux de pèlerinage*, ed. J. Sourdel-Thomine, Damascus 1957, 47, tr. 111. On the other hand, al-Yaʿḳūbī (*Taʾrīkh*, ed. Houtsma, i, 70 = G. Smit, *Bijbel en Legende*, 83) echoes the Aggadic tradition, according to which the Ark of the Covenant had been hidden before the destruction of the Temple by the Babylonians; however, no other source, apocryphal or rabbinic, attributes (as Yaʿḳūbī does) this precaution to Jeremiah: cf. L. Ginzberg *The Legends of the Jews*, vi, 377 (n. 118) and 410 (n. 61).

Finally, it is Jeremiah who, in a story also recorded by al-Ṭabarī (i, 666) and repeated many times by later authors, is the hero of the episode of the man of God (according to another version this was ʿUzayr [*q.v.*]) who slept for a century and was miraculously restored to life, in order to demonstrate God's power to bring the dead to life. It is said that, after this return to life, Irmiyā became one of the mortals endowed with exceptional longevity: thus there is a tendency to confuse him with al-Khaḍir (Khiḍr [*q.v.*]), as is attested by a passage of al-Djāḥiẓ (*Tarbīʿ*, ed. Pellat, § 40).

Bibliography: The legends briefly summarized above are analysed in more detail in the article Irmiyā, by A. J. Wensinck, *Handwörterbuch des Islam*, 214 ff. = *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 172 ff. In addition to the sources mentioned in the article, see Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, new ed. v, 438-84; *Chronique de Tabari* (Balʿamī), i, 492, 494 ff.; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 117 f., tr. Pellat, i, § 113; *al-Badʾ waʾl-taʾrīkh*, iii, 114/117 f.; Thaʿlabī, *ʿArāʾis al-madjālis*, 195-8 (old ed., 192 ff.); Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, ii, 33-8; Mudjīr al-Dīn al-Ḥanbalī, *al-Uns al-djalīl*, Cairo 1283/1866, i, 138 ff.; I. Friedlaender, *Die Chadhirlegende und der Alexanderroman*, 269 f.; H. Speyer, *Die biblischen Erzählungen im Qoran*, 425. (G. VAJDA)

IRŌN [see OSSETS].

IRSĀLIYYE or MĀL-I IRSĀLIYYE, an Ottoman financial term applied to the annual "remittances" of cash and kind sent to the personal treasury of the sultan (*Djeyb-i hümāyūn* or *Ḥarem-i Hümāyūn khazinesi*) in Istanbul by the holders of the non-feudal *sandjaḳ*s as well as by the governors of the non-feudal Arab provinces. The former usually were remitted under names such as *Nevrūz Irsāliyyesi* (New Years Remittance) or *Aghustos Irsāliyyesi* (August Remittance). The latter were called *Irsāliyye Khazīnesi* (Remittance Treasury), sometimes shortened to *Khazīne*, and consisted of the balance left in each provincial treasury (*Khazīne-i ʿAmire*) after the provincial expenditures and governor's salary (*sāliyāne*) were paid.

Such remittances came regularly to the sultan from Damacus, the Yemen, Baṣra, and Baghdād, but by far the largest and best-known of them was that sent by the governors of Ottoman Egypt from the time of its conquest until well into the 13th/19th century. The Egyptian *irsāliyye* was fixed at sixteen million *paras* shortly after the conquest. It was raised to 20 million *paras* annually in 1005/1596 and to 24 million *paras* in 1009/1601, and it remained at between twenty and thirty million *paras* during the remainder of the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries.

While the dispatch of the Remittance, whether by caravan through Syria or by sea, was always the occasion for a lavish ceremony, only a small part of the *irsāliyye* was actually sent to Istanbul. The remainder was kept in Egypt and used as a permanent deposit, applied to meet special obligations of the sultans, such as provisioning Ottoman naval units at Alexandria, Damietta and in the Red Sea, supplying Ottoman pilgrims and troops passing through Egypt on their way to southern Arabia, and paying for the purchase of Egyptian commodities and supplies used in the Sultan's palace kitchen in Istanbul and in the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina. Starting in the late 17th century, the Mamlūk factions in Egypt assumed control of the Ottoman administrative structure in the country, including the Treasury, and managed to divert an ever-increasing proportion of the *irsāliyye* sums to their own accounts in addition to collecting much of the Treasury's tax revenues, thus further lowering the amount left for the *irsāliyye*. Periodic efforts were made to correct this situation and restore the *irsāliyye*, with the administrative reforms introduced in 1081/1670, 1106/1695, 1156/1743, 1175/1761 1180/1767, and 1200/1786 being most important, but their effects were short-lived due to the continued Mamlūk power. During most of the 12th/18th century, however, the Ottoman governors were largely able to replace the lost *irsāliyye* funds by using Mamlūk rivalries, supporting those parties which agreed to allow the Treasury to confiscate and sell the properties of their defeated rivals and to use the resulting revenue, called *māl-i ḥulwān*, to pay for the expenditures formerly provided by the *irsāliyye*.

Irsāliyye payments were completely suspended during the reign of the Mamlūk rebel ʿAlī Bey al-Kabīr [*q.v.*] (1170/1757-1178/1765, 1180/1767-1186/1772) and the French Expedition to Egypt (1798-1801), but they were resumed, on a reduced scale, upon the restoration of the Ottoman power and were retained by Muḥammad ʿAlī, not only for Egypt but also for his Syrian possessions, except during the time of his two wars with the Porte.

Bibliography: Detailed references to sources and secondary works concerning the Egyptian *irsāliyye* can be found in S. J. Shaw, *The financial and administrative organization and development of Ottoman Egypt, 1517-1798*, Princeton, New Jersey 1962, 283-315; idem, *Ottoman Egypt in the age of the French Revolution*, Cambridge, Massachusetts 1964, 152-3; and idem, *The budget of Ottoman Egypt, 1005-1006/1596-1597*, The Hague and Paris 1968, 13-14, 202-5. See also H. A. R. Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic society and the West*, 1 vol. in 2, London and New York 1950-57, vol. i, part 1, 148-9, vol. i, part 2, 17, 18; Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanli devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, 391; idem, *Osmanli devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948, 363, 371; Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlügü*, 3 vols., Ankara 1946-56, vol. ii, 81-2; L. Fekete, *Die Siyâqat-Schrift in der Türkischen Finanzverwaltung*, 2 vols., Budapest 1955, vol. i, 74 on; Uriel Heyd, *Ottoman documents on Palestine, 1552-1615*, Oxford 1960, 114n, 118n., 123-4; Ömer Lütfi Barkan, *1079-1080 (1669-1670) Mālī yılına ait bir bütçesi ve ek'leri*, in *Instanbul Üniversitesi Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, xvii (Ekim 1955-Temmuz 1956), 225-303; idem, *1070-1071 (1660-1661) Tarihli Osmanli bütcesi ve bir mukayese*, in *Istanbul Üniversitesı Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, xvii, 304-38, particularly 324, 334-338 (where the supplies purchased with the Egyptian *Irsāliyye* funds are itemized.

(S. J. Shaw)

IRTIDJĀʿ [see RADJʿIYYA].

IRTIDJĀL, improvising, extemporizing a poem or a speech. Ibn Rashīḳ (*ʿUmda*, i, 131), followed by Azdī (*Badāʾiʿ*, p. 5 of the Būlāḳ ed.) connects the term with the meaning "to be easy", "to flow down" implied in the expression *shaʿr radjil*, "lank hair", or with *irtidjāl al-biʾr*, "descending into a well on one's feet", *i.e.*, without the help of a rope, and the synonym of *irtidjāl*, *badīha*, with the root *badaʾa*, "to begin", substituting *hāʾ* for *hamza*. According to these two authors, the difference between *irtidjāl* and *badīha* is that whereas in the case of *irtidjāl* the poet does not prepare his poem in advance, in the case of *badīha* he allows himself a few moments of thought. Of the other synonyms of *irtidjāl* mentioned in the dictionaries only the term *iḳtiḍāb* is used occasionally. For an explanation of the etymology of this last term see Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *K. al-Ṣināʿatayn*, 39-40 (cf. also the expression *kalām ḳaḍīb*, "unprepared, unpolished speech", as used by the poet Baʿīth and in a famous saying by the Khāridjī leader ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb al-Rāsibī in Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥ. Hārūn, Cairo 1367/1948, i, 204-5).

According to R. Blachère (*Litt.*, 87-8, 364, 369-73), the metre used for improvisations in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times was mostly, though not exclusively, the *radjaz*. In addition to songs by camel drivers (*ḥidāʾ*), cradle songs, etc. which in the nature of things are often improvised, there were improvisations on solemn occasions: curses or satires directed against the enemy, war songs, and dirges (see also the catalogue of *radjaz* themes in M. Ullmann, *Untersuchungen zur Rağazpoesie*, Wiesbaden 1966, 18-24). The corresponding verbs *radjaza* and *irtadjaza* are therefore often used in the sense of "to improvise in *radjaz*" (often also with the secondary meaning "to deride", "to sneer", see I. Goldziher, *Abhand. zur arabischen Philologie*, Leiden 1896, i, 79-81). For a *radjaz* improvisation on a victory won by the ʿAbbāsid caliph Mutawakkil see *Aghānī*[1], ix, 119 (= *Aghānī*[3], x, 231-2).

On the other hand the terms *irtidjāl* and *badīha* (as well as *badīhan*, "extemporaneously") seem to have been used mostly of improvisations in metres other than *radjaz* (for exceptions see the above-cited passage in the *Aghānī* and Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 178). These terms are commonly found in texts dating from the first half of the 3rd/9th century, but many anecdotes suggest that they existed earlier. Except for the chapter by Ibn Rashīḳ there is little discussion of either term in the handbooks on rhetoric. ʿAlī b. Ẓāfir al-Azdī (d. 613/1216) may therefore be correct when he claims that his *K. Badāʾiʿ al-badāʾih* (Būlāḳ 1278/1862 and on the margin of ʿAbbāsī, *Maʿāhid al-tanṣīṣ*, Cairo 1316/1898) is the only work on the subject. The *Badāʾiʿ* contains a wealth of anecdotal material and improvisations on an almost unlimited variety of humorous, sometimes also serious, themes arranged roughly in chronological order, as well as a detailed discussion of various types of the *idjāza* [*q.v.*] which, since metre and rhyme are suggested by somebody else, is the only form of improvisation which does not allow the poet to compose any part of his poem in advance. Some of these anecdotes may well be authentic (*e.g.*, the anecdote on pp. 90-2 of the Būlāḳ ed.) as is shown by the fact that individuals capable of improvising compositions of some length are found in the Arab countries to this day.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *K. al-Shiʿr*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leiden 1902, 26-28; Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *K. al-Ṣināʿatayn*, Cairo 1371/1952, 39-41; Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, Damascus 1302/1885, iv, 167; Ibn Rashīḳ, *K. al-ʿUmda*, Cairo 1352/1907, i, 126-31; Rāghib al-Iṣbahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabāʾ*, Cairo 1326/1908, i, 38-9; Niẓāmī-i ʿArūḍī, *Čahār Maḳāla*, ed. Mīrzā Muḥammad, London 1910, 31, 35-6, 42, 43, 47, 53 (= idem, tr. E. G. Browne, London 1921, 32, 38, 47, 53, 60); Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ruʿaynī, *Barnāmadj*, Damascus 1381/1962, 101-2, 195; A. H. Layard, *Discoveries in the ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, London 1853, 319-20; G. Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*, Berlin 1897, 177; J. Lecerf, *Littérature dialectale et renaissance arabe moderne*, in *B. Ét. Or.*, ii (1932), 218-20, 234 (quotes *Mashriḳ*, xxviii [1930], 501-3). (S. A. Bonebakker)

For improvisation in Persian and Turkish, [see Supplement].

IRTIFĀʿ [see falak, ʿilm al-hayʾa].

IRTISH [see Supplement].

ʿĪSĀ, Ḳurʾānic name for Jesus; the Ḳurʾān refers to him in 15 sūras and devotes to him 93 verses which are the foundation for Muslim Christology. Various traditions, containing additions drawn from the apocryphal gospels of the childhood of Jesus, or from mystic Christian literature, have enriched this Christology and, in certain respects, brought it nearer to the Christian Christology. Islamo-Christian polemic has tended through the years to harden the positions; most of these positions have become classic and are to be found unchanged in present day Muslim writers.

I. Etymology of the word ʿĪsā: Certain western writers (Marracci, ii, 39; cf. Landauer and Nöldeke in *ZDMG*, xlvi, 720) consider that the Jews induced Muḥammad to use the form ʿĪsā and he did so in good faith. In fact the Jews, in hatred, referred to Jesus as Esau (עֵשָׂו) maintaining that the spirit of Esau had passed into him (cf. Lammens, in *Machriq*, i, 334). Others (cf. J. Derenbourg, in *REJ*, xviii, 126; Frankel, in *WZKM*, iv, 334; Vollers, in *ZDMG*, xlv, 352; Nestle, *Dict. of Christ and the Gospels*, i, 861) state that Yasūʿ derives, by a phonetic change, from the Syriac Yeshūʿ (ܝܫܘܥ), itself coming from the Hebrew Yeshuaʿ, with harmonization with Mūsā. But it should be pointed out that it is used only five times with Mūsā, while it is mentioned 25 times altogether (cf. Parrinder, *Jesus in the Qurʾan*, London 1965, 16-7; Henninger, *Spuren christlicher Glaubenswahrheiten im Koran*, Freiburg 1951, 32-3). Finally some modern scholars have seen it as a reference to an ʿĪsā mentioned in the pre-Islamic inscriptions, *ytʿ*: a dialectical variant of *hysʿ*, a theory which has been strongly rejected by G. Ryckmans who disputes the reading in *Analecta Bollandiana*, lxvii (1949), 62 and in *Les religions arabes préislamiques*, 1951, 48. For the Muslim writers, see al-Bayḍāwī on III, 45 (ed. Fleischer, i, 156, l. 2).

II. The various names of Jesus in the Ḳurʾān (see below for a study of the terms):—a) al-Masīḥ (eleven times).—b) *Nabī*, prophet (XXIX, 30).—c) *Rasūl*, "envoy, messenger" (IV, 157, 171, V, 75).—d) Ibn Maryam, "son of Mary" (33 times: 16 times ʿĪsā ibn Maryam, 17 times Ibn Maryam alone or with another title, while in the Gospels the expression appears only once; cf. E. F. F. Bishop, *The Son of Mary*, in *Moslem World*, 1934, who considers that the name came from the Church of Ethiopia after the return of the second group of emigrants. The expression appears five times in the Arabic Gospel of the Childhood, and fifteen times in the Syriac version of this Gospel.—e) *Min al-muḳarrabīn*, "among those who are close to God" (III, 45), later explained by the fact of his "ascension" (*ṣuʿūd, rafʿ*).—f) *Wadjīh*, "worthy of esteem in this world and the next" (III, 45); al-Bayḍāwī explains this: on earth as a prophet and in Heaven as an intercessor.—g) *Mubārak*, "blessed" (XIX, 31): "a source of benefit for others" (al-Bayḍāwī), probably a bringer of *baraka*.—h) *Ḳawl al-ḥaḳḳ* (XIX 34), "sure word", an obscure expression which is perhaps not a title but refers to the preceding statement; cf. al-Bayḍāwī, i, 580, l. 25.—i) ʿAbd Allāh, "Servant of God" (see below).

III. The annunciation, conception and birth of Jesus. There are in the Ḳurʾān certain features which, more or less directly, reflect the Gospels. Some writers, for example P. Hayek (*Le Christ de l'Islam*, Paris 1959, 65) go so far as to state that apart from the dogma that Mary is the mother of God, rejected by the Muslims since they formally deny the divinity of Jesus, "all the other dogmas defined by the Church or transmitted by its traditions of worship, find a support in the Ḳurʾān, rather weak it is true, but certainly real: the Immaculate Conception, the Presentation in the Temple, the Annunciation, the Virgin Birth, Christmas and even the Assumption" [cf. maryam].

The Annunciation made to Mary is related with a touching freshness and recalls the scene in the Gospels. Mary, withdrawn into the Temple, receives the visit from the "Spirit of God" [see rūḥ allāh], "then We sent unto her Our Spirit that presented himself to her a man without fault", (XIX, 17), which tradition identifies with the Archangel Gabriel. He announces to her the miraculous birth of Jesus; miraculous because Mary has vowed her virginity to God and intends to retain it (LXVI, 22; XXI, 91). The Angel reassures her: this is easy for the Lord, who wishes to make of her a sign (*āya*) for men and a mercy (*raḥma*) from Him (XIX, 21). "So she conceived him, and withdrew with him to a distant place".

It seems that in the Ḳurʾān the distinction between the Annunciation and the Conception is not precisely made. According to Luke I, 26-38, the angel of the Lord who appears to Mary is distinct from the Holy Spirit who performs the miracle. The Ḳurʾān seems to unite these two ideas. In fact, while in XIX, 17, there is mentioned an angel who appears to Mary in the form of an actual mortal, in two other texts (LXVI, 12 and XXI, 9) where God mentions the Spirit ("Our Spirit"), there is no reference to the angel. The confusion between the annunciation and the conception led to the Angel Gabriel's being considered as the father of Jesus, a thesis supported by Gerock, *Versuch einer Darstellung der Christologie des Koran*, Hamburg-Gotha 1839, 36-46; cf. Michaud, *Jésus selon le Coran*, Neuchatel 1960, 20, a thesis based on the interpretation of certain Muslim exegetists stating that the angel breathed into a slit in Mary's cloak which she had taken off; when she put it on again, she conceived Jesus (cf. al-Thaʿālibī, *Ḳiṣaṣ*, 381).

In fact, the conception of Jesus was the result of a creative decree made by God: the creation of Jesus by God was after the example of that of Adam. The creation of Adam was at least as marvellous as that of Jesus, conceived by a virgin (cf. III, 52).

Mary was overtaken by the pangs of childbirth be-

side the trunk of the palm tree. To reassure Mary's fears of a scandal, the child addressed her from the cradle. She shows the child to her family. In order to silence their reproaches he declares: "Lo, I am God's servant; God has given me the Book, and made me a Prophet. Blessed he has made me, wherever I may be; and He has enjoined me to pray, and to give alms, so long as I live, and likewise to cherish my mother" (XIX, 16-35).

It is known that Islam does not admit the idea of an "original sin" transmitted to the descendants of Adam (cf. G. Anawati, *Islam and the Immaculate Conception*, in *The dogma of the Immaculate Conception*, ed. E. D. O'Connor, University of Notre Dame Press, 1958, 447-61). Concerning Mary and her son however, there is a tradition, accepted by al-Bukhārī and Muslim, which states that they were granted an extraordinary privilege: that of both having been preserved from any contact with the devil at the instant of their birth. "Every son of Adam when newly born", says the *ḥadīth*, "is touched (or probably squeezed) by Satan, except for the Son of Mary and her mother; it is at this contact that the child utters his first cry".

IV. The mission of Jesus: Jesus is a Prophet (*nabī*; XIX, 31) and the Envoy (*rasūl*; IV, 156, 169, LXI, 6). Like all prophets, he has a mission to fulfil, for to each separate people God has sent a special prophet. Of the son of Mary and of his mother He has made a sign, "and He has given them refuge on a quiet and dewy hill" which the commentators have identified with Jerusalem or Damascus. On the different interpretations concerning this topography (the influence of Byzantine iconography [Ledit], reference to the Assumption of Mary [Rudolph, Ahrens, Henninger], Srinagar [Aḥmadiyya]), cf. Michaud, 29, n. 3.

The "miraculous sign" shown by Jesus and his mother is apparently his miraculous birth. But he himself was to perform "signs", proving through miracles his prophetic mission. Among these "proofs" (*bayyināt*) (cf. II, 254 and 81, III, 43, V, 110, XLIII, 63, LXI, 6), should be mentioned the following:—1. Jesus spoke even in the cradle (XIX, 30) and already with the authority of a grown man (III, 41).—2. He made small clay models of birds, breathed life into them, and "it will be a bird, by the leave of God" (III, 43). The modelling of birds is found in the apocryphal gospels: the Gospel of Thomas, ch. 2, the Gospel of the Childhood in Arabic, ch. 36, 46, 1; the Armenian book of the childhood, 18, 2. The Aḥmadiyya give a symbolic interpretation to this miracle: it signifies the spiritual flight of the Galilean peasants under the influence of Jesus (cf. Parrinder, *Jesus in the Qur'an*, 6).—3. Jesus cured the man blind from birth and the leper (V, 110).—4. He raised the dead, always "with God's permission" (III, 43; V, 110).—5. At the request of the Apostles (*ḥawāriyyūn*, [*q.v.*]), he made to come down from the sky a "Table prepared" (*māʾida*); for them it was a feast (*ʿīd*), a meal and a proof (*āya*) of his mission (V, 111-14); cf. Bayḍāwī, i, 280; Hayek, 220-2; Gerock (46), followed by Rudolph, thought that this was either a reminiscence of the Last Supper or of the vision of Peter related in the Acts of the Apostles, X, 9). According to the traditional material collected by al-Ṭabarī, 86 (Hayek, 220-2) this is an echo of the miracle of the loaves and fishes (Matthew, XIV, 17 f.; XV, 32 f.). Michaud (56-7), following Masson (328-9), produces texts from the Old and the New Testament in favour of interpreting it as referring to the Last Supper. On the sources of the commentaries on this passage cf. Sidersky, 328-9. It is possible that the Ḳurʾānic passage was influenced by some apocryphal tradition of which nothing has survived. (cf. G. Rosch, *Die Jesusmythen*, 447).

Jesus comes to declare the truth of what has been given before him in the Torah (III, 44). The Scripture which belongs to Jesus is the Gospel [cf. INDJĪL] which is judged favourably because it fills the hearts of those who follow it with meekness and pity (V, 82). Jesus covers with his prophetic authority not only the Gospel and the Torah but also the earlier writings, all of them taught by God to the Son of Mary (III, 43, V, 110).

V. Jesus the Messiah: We must here define certain terms applied to Jesus which, in Christianity, have a fundamental value: the terms Messiah and Servant of God. Concerning the first, in the structure of the New Testament the revelation was gradual and Jesus did not reveal himself to the disciples as the promised Messiah until after a long psychological preparation. This historical perspective is not found in the Ḳurʾān: the term Messiah is given to Jesus from the time of his birth, though in a narrow sense which in no way corresponds to the Christian concept. Jesus the Messiah in the Ḳurʾān is only one in a series of prophets which ends with Muḥammad. Like all the prophets he is only an ordinary man; the Ḳurʾān is entirely opposed to any doctrine of Jesus the Messiah the Son of God (IX, 30-1). It reproaches Christians for having taken "their scholars and their monks as lords apart from God, and the Messiah, Mary's son" (IX, 31). The uncompromising dogma of the unity of God removes any Christian overtones from the word Messiah.

The word Masīḥ is used eleven times in the Ḳurʾān, in passages all of which are Medinan (III, 40, IV, 156, 169, 170, V, 19 (twice), 76 (twice), 79, IX, 30, 31). The word is of Jewish origin, transmitted through Syriac. It seems to have been known in the north and the south of Arabia in the pre-Islamic period. The Hebrew *mashiaḥ* was used of the kings and the patriarchs and especially for the awaited Saviour. The Septuagint translates it by Christos. Al-Zamakhsharī and al-Bayḍāwī admit that the word is foreign and al-Fīrūzabādī states that there are fifty explanations for this word [see MASĪḤ]. In the Ḳurʾān the word is used only to signify Jesus.

The Arabic writers found two roots for it: 1. the verb *masaḥa*, to rub with the hand, to anoint; in the passive sense Jesus is Messiah, a) because he was anointed by means of blessings and honours (XIX, 32), b) because he was covered, from birth, by the wing of Gabriel to shield him from the bite of Satan, c) because he was anointed in Adam, like all men, but in a particularly way in order to be inplanted in Mary. In the active sense, Jesus is Messiah, a) because he anointed the eyes of those born blind in order to cure them (III, 43), b) because he rubbed sick people with his hand, c) because he anointed with a holy oil. 2. The second root is the verb *sāḥa*, to travel, go on a pilgrimage, to wander. Jesus became for the Muslim mystic writers "the model of the pilgrims", "the imām of the wanderers", the example of the mystics. Cf. Abd El-Jalil, *Marie et l'Islam*, 59, based on the Commentary of al-Alūsī, iii, 142.

VI. Jesus the servant of God: *ʿAbd*, literally "slave", means in theological terms, "the creature". Man is not only the "servant" of God but also his "property". Cf. *ʿebedh* in the Old Testament (Isaiah, XLII, 1, LII, 13-LIII, 12, the fourth song of the Servant of Yahweh) and δοῦλος in the New Testament (Phil., II, 7). In the Ḳurʾān IV, 170, the angels

are also called *ʿabd*. The basic meaning of adoration is found, with various nuances, in all the derived meanings (cf. Jeffery, *Foreign vocabulary of the Qurʾan*, 209). What must be remembered is that the Ḳurʾān insists on the status of Jesus as no more than that of a created being (XLIII, 59); it reacts against any belief in the divinity of Jesus. "Thus the first word he uttered was to recognize his character as a servant, to make more decisive the argument against any who might claim that he was God" (Hayek, 84; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, i, 220-1; al-Ṭabarī, i/2/, 733-4; al-Thaʿālibī, *Ḳiṣaṣ*, 386). Thus it would be wrong to exaggerate the meaning of this term (as does Ledit, *Mahomet, Israel et le Christ*, 145) and to interpret it in the Judaeo-Christian sense: everywhere in the Ḳurʾān the word means a being created by God and subject to Him (cf. III, 52, 73).

VII. Jesus and Muḥammad: According to the Muslim commentators, who base themselves on LXI, 6, Jesus announced the coming of one who would come after him. According to the recension of Ubayy, this was "the seal of the Prophets" and of the messengers; in the Vulgate, it is "a Messenger" named Aḥmad. On the meaning of the variant of Ubayy, cf. Blachère, tr. 909. Islam recognizes Muḥammad in Aḥmad, both names deriving from the root *ḥ.m.d.* In St. John's Gospel Jesus announces the sending of the Paraclete (XIV, 16; XIV, 26; XVI, 7). The main early versions of the Gospels have merely transcribed the term without translating it: *parakletos* has given *fāraḳlīt*.

Sale, in his *Preliminary Discourse*, 1877, iv, 53 (quoted by H. A. Walter, *The Aḥmadiya Movement*, 30), following up a suggestion of Marracci, suggests that the Gospel text on which these are based had something like περικλυτός, meaning famed, illustrious, and rendered in Arabic by Aḥmad. The same explanation is found in C. F. Gerock, 109 and Zwemer, *The Moslem Christ*, 139, n. 1: the Muslim commentators accuse the Christians of having substituted παράμλητος for περιμλυτός which stood in the original. Cf. Michaud, 36-7; Henninger, 313; Parrinder, 96-100; L. Bevan-Jones in *Muslim World*, x, 112 ff.; A. Guthrie and E. F. F. Bishop, *ibid.*, xli, 251 ff.; M. Watt, *His Name is Aḥmad*, *ibid.*, xliii, 110 ff.; J. Schacht, in EI², s.v. AḤMAD.

VIII. Jesus and the Word of God: On the use of the word *kalima* in the Ḳurʾān see the thesis by Th. O'Shaughnessy, *The koranic Concept of the Word of God*, Rome, Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1948. On its origin and possible borrowing from the Christian Logos, cf. Gardet-Anawati, *Introduction à la théologie musulmane*, Paris 1948, 88 ff. For Pretzl, (*Die Frühislamische Attributenlehre*, Munich 1940, 26-7), the question of the Logos and that of the nature of the Ḳurʾān share earlier common sources.

As to the Muslim exegesis of the Ḳurʾānic texts referring to the "Word" coming from God to Jesus, four possible exegeses may be distinguished (cf. Abd El-Jalil, 39, using al-Alūsī, iii, 141):—1. Jesus is the fulfilment of the creating word of God, uttered at the moment of his conception (IV, 169, XIX, 30, III, 42).—2. Jesus is the prophet announced in the word of God, received and preached by the earlier messengers.—3. Jesus is the word of God because he speaks on behalf of God and thus leads men in the right way.—4. Jesus is a word of God because Jesus is, in his own person, "good tidings".

IX. Jesus and the Spirit of God: In order to accomplish his mission, Jesus was fortified by the Holy Spirit (*Rūḥ al-ḳudus*) (V, 109, XIX, 30-3), first at his birth, and then during his adult ministry among the Jews (II, 81, 254). The complete formula: "we have ... confirmed him with the Holy Spirit" is used in the Ḳurʾān only for Jesus. However the Ḳurʾān uses an almost identical formula in connection with the believers whom God confirms "with a Spirit from Himself" (LVIII, 22). On the Holy Spirit in the Ḳurʾān, cf. Henninger, 4-6, which is based, among others, on the article by Macdonald in *Moslem World*, xxii (1932).

X. Jesus and the Trinity: In the passage III, 40, Jesus is mentioned as being among those "close" to the Lord (*min al-muḳarrabīn*). Jesus will be glorious, honoured both in the present world and in the world to come. This privilege of being close to God is shared by Jesus with the angels (IV, 170). But, however sublime they may be, both they and he remain created beings. The unity of God is stated in III, 52-5 in a passage dealing with the person of Jesus. The reference is probably to the reply made to the Christian delegates of Nadjrān in 631 (cf. Blachère, 865). In spite of his great veneration for the Son of Mary, Muḥammad is quite clear that he is in no sense divine. The Christians who insist on this divinity are "Liars".

From the same period is the passage V, 19-21, in which Muḥammad once again insists on the entirely human condition of Jesus: "They are unbelievers who say, 'God is the Messiah, Mary's son' ". And the Christians are no more the sons of God than is Jesus himself.

It will be clear that with such a perspective, the Ḳurʾān formally rejects any doctrine of the Trinity. It should however be pointed out that the Trinity as understood and rejected is not the same as that which is taught by Christian dogma, and defined by the councils which were held before the revelation of the Ḳurʾān. The Ḳurʾānic Trinity seems to be a triad composed of Allāh, of Mary his consort and of Jesus their child (cf. V, 116); a concept which is reminiscent on the one hand of the stellar triads of the pre-Islamic Pantheon (cf. T. Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie centrale à la veille de l'Hégire*, Paris 1968), and on the other hand of the cult of Mary verging on idolatry practised by certain Christian sects of Arabia, the Mariamites and the Collyridians.

It is important to note that the formal denials of the Ḳurʾān are directed towards these views, which are "heretical" from the point of view of Christian orthodoxy itself. Certain modern Muslim writers, taking note of the explanations provided by their Christian informants, are inclined to recognize the basic monotheism of the Christian religion, without however admitting its revealed nature, (cf. J. Jomier, *Le commentaire coranique du Manār*, 308). For all this section, cf. Michaud, 77-83.

XI. Jesus and the problem of the crucifixion. On the subject of the death of Jesus, two questions require to be answered: (1) was Jesus really crucified and did he therefore die on the cross? (2) supposing that this was not the case, did he die a natural death?

Concerning the first question, the Ḳurʾān states its position categorically: against the Jews who claimed "we slew the Messiah, Jesus son of Mary, the Messenger of God", it states "yet they did not slay him, neither crucified him, only a likeness of that was shown to them (*walākin shubbiha lahum*). Those who are at variance concerning him surely are in doubt regarding him; they have no knowledge of him except the following of surmise; and they slew him not of a certainty (*yaḳīnan*)—no indeed; God raised him up to Him"; (IV, 156-7). Muslim tradition com-

pletes the statements of the Ḳurʾān. According to some, Christ was replaced by a double, according to others it was Simon of Cyrene or one of the Apostles (Judas).

On the different modern explanations of the *walākin shubbiha lahum*, cf. Michaud, 64-5, who mentions them and himself agrees with Hayek (41) in understanding "it seemed thus to them", which this writer considers to be the most plausible interpretation. Certain *falāsifa* and some Ismāʿīlī commentators have interpreted this passage thus: the Jews intended to destroy the person of Jesus completely; in fact, they crucified only his *nāsūt*, his *lāhūt* remained alive; cf. L. Massignon, *Le Christ dans les Évangiles selon Ghazāli*, in *REI*, 1932, 523-36, who cites texts of the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* (ed. Bombay, iv, 115), a passage of Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (about 934), and another of the Ismāʿīlī Muʾayyad Shīrāzī (1077). But this interpretation was not generally accepted and it may be said that there is unanimous agreement in denying the crucifixion. The denial, furthermore, is in perfect agreement with the logic of the Ḳurʾān. The Biblical stories reproduced in it (*e.g.*, Job, Moses, Joseph etc.) and the episodes relating to the history of the beginning of Islam demonstrate that it is "God's practice" (*sunnat Allāh*) to make faith triumph finally over the forces of evil and adversity. "So truly with hardship comes ease", (XCIV, 5, 6). For Jesus to die on the cross would have meant the triumph of his executioners; but the Ḳurʾān asserts that they undoubtedly failed: "Assuredly God will defend those who believe"; (XXII, 49). He confounds the plots of the enemies of Christ (III, 54).

On the origins of the Ḳurʾānic concept of the crucifixion (gnostic and docetic Christianity, as maintained by H. Gregoire, seeing here a concession to certain docetic Monophysites, in *Mélanges Charles Diehl*, Paris 1930, i, 107-19; a rejection of Ledit's view in *Mahomet, Israël et le Christ*, 151-6, where he attempts to find texts of the Ḳurʾān which refer symbolically to the mystery of the redemption) cf. Michaud, 68-71.

Concerning the second question (the death of Jesus and his ascension to God), an examination of the Ḳurʾānic texts XIX, 34, III, 48, XXXIX, 43, and in particular the key text IV, 155-7 (which throws light on the preceding ones and reveals the true Islamic attitude to the death of Jesus), shows (1) that the resurrection referred to in XIX, 84 is the general resurrection which the Ḳurʾān proclaims for the end of the world; there was a special resurrection for Jesus, since Jesus did not die on the cross. Later tradition (cf. Hayek, 265-8) stated that it would be at the end of time, when Jesus returned again, that he would die the natural death announced in XIX, 34. (2) The word *tawaffā* usually means a death which is blessed, a return to God for the final judgement, but it is also used in VI, 60 for God's recalling the souls of those who sleep while they are asleep and returning them when they awake (cf. Fränkel, in *ZDMG*, lvi, 77). The verb is twice used of Jesus, in III, 48 and V, 119. The first passage could imply an elevation of the living Jesus to God. The second is ambiguous. The question is settled by the passage IV, 155-7, in which it is stated that Jesus was not killed by the Jews but was raised up to heaven. In other words, we have the following succession of events: apparent death, ascension, second coming, natural death, general resurrection. For all this section, cf. Michaud, 60-4.

XII. The return of Jesus: The only authority is the passage XLIII, 61, which contains some variant readings: the first reading, that of the Vulgate: *wa-innahu la-ʿilm*[un], "He (Jesus) is truly a knowledge of the Hour", *i.e.*, he by whose descent the approach of the Hour is known; the second reading, the canonical variant: *wa-innahu la-ʿalam*[un], "And he (Jesus) is truly a sign for the Hour"; the third reading, in the recension of Ubayy: *wa-innahu la-dhikr*[un], "And he (Jesus) is truly a warning of the hour"; fourth reading: *wa-innahu*: the *hu* refers to the Ḳurʾān.

If the second coming of Christ is taken as established, his death is placed after the Hour, as mentioned above, and then the references in IV, 159 and XIX, 33 are easily explained. Similarly, the expression *kahl*[an] in III, 46 becomes clear, because when he was "raised" he was still *shābb*, young, and had not attained *kuhūla*; cf. al-Bayḍāwī, in loco. On the positions of various commentators, cf. Hayek, 244-51.

On these few facts tradition has succeeded in accumulating a mass of detail (cf. al-Bayḍāwī on XLIII, 61, ed. Fleischer, ii, 241) and in producing books devoted specifically to this subject, among them: *al-Taṣrīḥ bi-mā tawātara fī nuzūl al-Masīḥ*, of Muh. Anwar Shāh al-Kashmīrī al-Hindī (published in 1965 in Aleppo by Abu 'l-Fattāḥ Abū Ghudda). Some of these details are as follows: Jesus, on returning to the earth, will descend on to the white arcade of the eastern gate at Damascus, or, according to another tradition, on to a hill in the Holy Land which is called ʿAfīḳ; he will be clothed in two *muṣarra*; his head will be anointed. He will have in his hand a spear with which he will kill the Antichrist (al-Dadjdjāl). Then he will go to Jerusalem at the time when the dawn prayer is being said, led by the *imām*. The latter will try to give up his place to him, but Jesus will put him in front of him and will pray behind the *imām* following the prescription of Muḥammad. Then he will kill all the pigs, will break the cross, destroy the synagogues and the churches, and will kill all the Christians except those who believe in him (following IV, 159). Once he has killed the false Messiah (al-Masīḥ al-Dadjdjāl), all the Peoples of the Book will believe in him, and there will be only one community—that of Islam. Jesus will make justice to reign. Peace will be so complete that it will extend also to the animals among themselves and to man's relations with the animals. Jesus will remain for forty years and then will die. The Muslims will arrange his funeral and will bury him at Medina, beside Muḥammad in a place left vacant between Abū Bakr and ʿUmar.

There has come to be grafted on to the belief in the second coming of Christ, sometimes merging which it, the doctrine of the Mahdī. This term, which at first had a mainly honorific meaning, gradually came to indicate the very person of him who, at the end of time, is to restore the lost faith. On this doctrine, [see MAHDĪ].

Finally, it may be mentioned that the Aḥmadiyya sect holds that Jesus, after his apparent death on the cross and resurrection, emigrated to India, to Kashmir, to preach the Gospel there. He lived there until the age of 120. His tomb is at Srinagar. They believe that the Mahdī is an incarnation simultaneously of Jesus, Muḥammad and an avatar of Krishna [see AḤMADIYYA].

XIII. Jesus and the Last Judgement: At the time of his nocturnal ascension (XVII, 1), Muḥammad met Abraham, Moses and Jesus. Questioned concerning the Final Hour, Jesus announced: "To me has been confided the knowledge of what will precede its occurrence. As to the occurrence itself, only God can determine this". This verse enables us to

understand the passages where Jesus is called "Knowledge of the hour": he knows of its existence, but not the exact time, this being reserved to God alone. In spite of his ascension to God's side and his purification (III, 48), Jesus will not assist God in the Judgement which will follow the Hour: it is God alone who decides, He is the only Judge. On the day of the universal Resurrection, Jesus will be a witness against the Christians, accusing them of having regarded him and his mother as equal with God, but he will not be their judge (cf. *infra*, the different position of Ibn ʿArabī).

XIV. Jesus in tradition and in the mystic writers: The Christological elements contained in the Ḳurʾān, listed systematically above, have been the subject of meditation by ascetics and mystics. There has gradually grown up around the figure of Jesus an abundant hagiographic literature stressing the poverty of the Son of Mary, his detachment from the world, his teaching, his power of performing miracles, his devotion to prayer. These elements, with anecdotes, sermons and advice attributed to Jesus, are found in the classical works of the mystics such as the *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ* of Abū Nuʿaym, the *Rawḍ al-rayāḥīn* of al-Yāfiʿī, the *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb* of al-Makkī, the *Nawādir* of al-Tirmidhī, and especially in the works of al-Ghazālī: *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn, al-Durra al-fākhira, Mukāshafāt*. Even in the "secular" writers like al-Damīrī in his *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* and Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih in his *ʿIḳd*, there may be found interesting details on Christological literature. Fifty years ago, Asín Palacios had collected and translated the texts concerning Jesus in the works of al-Ghazālī and had published them under the title of *Logia et agrapha Domini Jesu*, in *Patrologia orientalis* (xiii (1919), 335-431; xix (1926), 532-624). In his turn, Father Michel Hayek collected and translated texts about Jesus and classified them systematically in a complete Christology (*Le Christ de l'Islam*, Paris 1959; Arabic text: *Al-Masīḥ fi 'l-Islām*, Beirut 1961). A large part of the work is occupied with Jesus's teaching; it includes *logia* on poverty, on detachment from the life of this world, denunciation of false wisdom and of the specious sureties of this world, dialogues, pilgrim stories, the resurrection of the dead who bear witness against the vanity of the world against which Jesus constantly warned his Companions, his Apostles, the Children of Israel and his listeners in general. His description is based on that of the Christian ascetics and monks: wearing a woollen habit, detachment, a life of solitude, the power of the initiate to perform cures.

When, later, the Ṣūfīs came into direct contact with the Gospels, they took from them the elements which corresponded to their ascetic ideas, which they themselves attributed to Jesus: "this explains the gospel background of certain *logia* and accounts which are here almost always taken out of their original context" (Hayek, 136). Ibn ʿArabī (d. 638/1240) went even further: he stated that it is Jesus who merits "the Seal of universal Holiness" because he possesses the quality of faithfulness in the faith (*amāna*), because he holds in his hands the keys of living breath and because he is at present in a state of deprivation and journeying" (cf. Hayek, 262-3). "And", he adds, "know that without doubt Jesus will descend and will be our judge, according to the law of Muḥammad" (*ibid.*).

XV. Islamo-Christian polemic concerning Jesus: The central place in the Christian religion of the dogmas of the Incarnation and the Redemption made inevitable doctrinal conflict between Christian and Muslim theologians. The latter worked out fairly rapidly a system of apologetics which became accepted as classic and the features of which have been repeated without variation until the present time; cf. INDJĪL where a substantial bibliography is given. On the most recent Muslim books on Christ see the article by J. Jomier im *MIDEO*, v (1958), *Quatre ouvrages en arabe sur le Christ*, 367-86, and G. C. Anawati, *Polémique, apologie et dialogue islamo-chrétiens, Positions classiques médiévales et positions contemporaines*, in *Euntes docete*, Rome 1969.

Two works published in Cairo show a new tendency in the Muslim approach to the problem of Christ. The first (1952) is by the Egyptian essayist ʿAbbās Maḥmūd al-ʿAḳḳād and is entitled *The spirit of the Messiah* (*ʿAbḳariyyat al-Masīḥ*). This work, which enjoyed wide success, may be described thus: the writer approaches Christ with great respect—the Christ of the actual Gospels and not only the ʿĪsā of the Ḳurʾān; he defends vigorously the historicity of Jesus and the authenticity of the Gospels, the only sources for our knowledge of Christ; he rejects nationalist prejudice against the miracles but, following a method which he has worked out for himself, he does not make use of them in his exposition. Finally, al-ʿAḳḳād has a clear grasp of certain aspects of Christ's teaching: the insistence on love, the complementary role of the Gospel counsels, the primarily spiritual character of Christianity: this is essentially a demand for perfection made of the conscience and not a religious law bristling with texts. From the Christian side he has been criticized for announcing arbitrarily when he approaches the account of the Passion and death of Jesus: "This is where history ends and belief begins", whereas the remainder of the book rests on the authenticity of the Gospels, which he defends vigorously. Furthermore, the dogmatic teaching of Christ is left in the background.

The second book (1954), *An iniquitous city* (*Qarya ẓālima*) is by a doctor, Dr. Kāmil Ḥusayn, former rector of the University of ʿAyn Shams (Cairo). It is presented rather as a work of imagination than a historical biography, being a personal meditation on the trial and condemnation of Christ, a trial considered as the greatest crime in history.The whole thread of the story unwinds on Good Friday and the work is conceived in the form of a triptych describing successively, in a style both sober and elegant, the attitudes of the Jews, the Apostles and disciples, and finally of the Romans. Concentrating on this or that scene (Calvary, the meeting of the Apostles), on this or that person (Caiaphas, Lazarus, Pilate, Mary Magdalene) the author is able to stress profound psychological details and to discuss great metaphysical or moral problems: liberty, authority, the existence of God, the relations between religion and the state, conscience etc. Without being described anywhere, the face of Christ is present everywhere. The essential part of his mission is to remind men that conscience, which is a participation in the divine light, must be above everything, above even religion if need be. Very skilfully, in order to distress neither Christians nor Muslims, the author leaves the problem of the Crucifixion in the background. Although to a certain extent the whole book converges on this main event (all the characters speak of it, all the movement of the book leads to it, nature herself is covered with darkness on the afternoon of Good Friday), the author does not actually state that Christ was crucified. Nor however does he deny it. He merely repeats a Ḳurʾānic saying: "God has raised Jesus to Himself", a saying which in the context can receive

an acceptable interpretation from Christian readers. Finally, in one of the last chapters. "Return to the Sermon on the Mount", the author movingly develops the words of Christ. He summarizes them for the modern world into the three following points: one should reject with all one's might all the false gods of money, the state, religion or the common good; one should truly live according to the precept of brotherly love; finally one should free oneself of any passion which might stifle the voice of conscience. The book has been translated into English by Kenneth Cragg under the title *City of Wrong. A Friday in Jerusalem.* Djambatan-Amsterdam 1959 and into Spanish by José Maria Fornéas; the Spanish translation has as an introduction the long article on the book by G. C. Anawati in *MIDEO*, ii (1959), 71-134, entitled *Jésus et ses juges d'après "La Cité inique" du Dr. Kamel Hussein.*

On a portrait of Jesus by a contemporary Persian writer, Shīn Parto, in a short book entitled *Haft čehrè* (*Sept visages*), cf. the article by P. de Beaurecueil in *MIDEO*, ii, (1955), 310-2.

Bibliography: A large part of the bibliography has already been given in the article itself and in the article INDJĪL where are listed the works of Ahrens, Blachère (tr. of the Ḳur'ān), Fritsch, Goldziher, Henninger, Horovitz, Jomier, Masson, Steinschneider, Tor Andrae, etc. We give here only the books and articles devoted more especially to Ḳur'ānic Christology (in chronological order):

C. F. Gerock, *Versuch einer Darstellung der Christologie des Koran*, Hamburg and Gotha 1839; M. Manneval, *La christologie du Coran*, Toulouse 1867 (a thesis based on the above book); G. Rosch, *Die Jesusmythen des Islam*, in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1876, 409-54; E. Sayous, *Jesus-Christ d'après Mahomet*, Paris-Leipzig 1880; E. Blochet, *Le Messianisme dans l'heterodoxie musulmane*, Paris 1903; F. W. von Herbert, *The Moslem tradition of Jesus' second visit on earth*, in *Hibbert J.*, vii (1909), 27-48; C. H. A. Field, *Christ in Mohammedan tradition*, in *MW*, i, (1911), 68-73; S. M. Zwemer, *The Moslem Christ, An essay in the life, character and teachings of Jesus Christ according to the Koran and orthodox tradition*, Edinburgh-London 1912; Muhammad Din, *The Crucifixion in the Koran*, *MW*, xiv (1924), 23-9; E. J. Jenkinson, *Jesus in Moslem Tradition*, *ibid.*, xviii (1928), 263-9; E. J. Robson, *Christ in Islam*, 1929; H. Gregoire, *Mahomet et le monophysisme*, in *Mélanges Charles Diehl*, Paris 1930, i, 107-19; L. Massignon, *Le Christ dans les Evangiles selon Ghazâlî*, in *REI*, 1932, 523-36; Th. Monod, *Le Christ des Musulmans*, in *Le Monde non-chrétien*, *Cahiers de Foi et Vie no.* 5, December 1933, 7-26; E. F. F. Bishop, *The Son of Mary*, in *MW*, xxiv (1934); Ign. di Matteo, *La divinità di Cristo e la dottrina della Trinita in Maometto e nei polemisti musulmani*, Rome pont. Ist. Bibl. 1938; Ghazālī *Réfutation excellente de la divinité de Jésus-Christ d'après les Évangiles*, ed. and tr. by R. Chidiac, Paris 1939; J. Robson, *Muhammadan teachings about Jesus*, in *MW*, xxix (1939), 37-54; F. V. Winett, *References to Jesus in pre-islamic Arabic inscriptions*, in *MW*, xxxi (1941), 341-53; J. Robson, *Stories of Jesus*, *ibid.*, cl (1950); E. Littmann, *Jesus in a pre-islamic inscription*, *ibid.*, xl, (1950); J. Abd El-Jalil, *Marie et l'Islam*, Paris 1950; W. M. Watt, *His name is Aḥmad*, in *MW*, xlii (1953); F. L. Bakker, *Jesus en de Islam*, The Hague 1955; E. F. F. Bishop, *The Qumran Scroll and the Qur'an*, in *MW*, xlviii (1958); G. Farès, *Le Christ et l'Islam contemporain*, in *Méditerranée, carrefour de religions*, 31-52 (Cahier no. 28 of *Recherches et débats du centre catholique des intellectuels français*, September 1959); K. Cragg, Introduction to his translation of Ḳāmil Ḥusayn, *City of Wrong*, Djambatan-Amsterdam 1959; M. Hayek, *Le Christ de l'Islam*, Paris 1959 (2nd Arabic edition, Beirut 1961); ʿAbd al-Tafāhum, *The Qur'an and the Holy Communion*, in *MW*, xlix (1959); Ishaq al-Husaynī, *Christ in the Qur'an in modern arabic literature*, Tokyo 1960; H. Michaud, *Jésus selon le Coran*, Cahiers Theologiques 46, Neuchatel 1960; M. Hayek, *L'origine des termes ʿĪsā, al-Masīḥ (Jesus-Christ) dans le Coran*, in *l'Orient chrétien*, vii (1962), 223-54 and 365-82; Geoffrey Parrinder, *Jesus in the Qur'an*, London 1965; Ali Mérad, *Le Christ selon le Coran*, in *R.O.M.M.*, v (1968/1-2), 79-93.

For Muslim works in Arabic, see the articles by J. Jomier and G. C. Anawati mentioned in paragraph XV above. (G. C. ANAWATI)

ʿĪSĀ, NAHR, in full NAHR ʿĪSĀ IBN ʿALĪ, was in the Middle Ages one of the four major canals leading to the general vicinity of Baghdād, the others being Nahr al-Malik, Nahr Ṣarṣar and Nahr al-Ṣarāt (Muḳaddasī, 124). Watering the district of Fīrūz Sābūr, Nahr ʿĪsā flowed past the villages and domains situated along both banks until it reached the town of al-Muḥawwal west of Baghdād, and from there into the Tigris (*Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, i, 111-2; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, Map III). A tributary of the Euphrates, it was deep enough to allow large boats coming from al-Raḳḳa to deliver foodstuffs from Egypt and Syria (Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 250). Since the canal emptied into the Tigris, below Ḳaṣr ʿĪsā, it connected both these major waterways (Iṣṭakhrī, 84-5; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 164-5). As a result the city was strategically situated amidst the major inland water routes of the empire, as well as on the great highways leading to the East and the Arabian Peninsula. When the construction of dams along the Ṣarāt made it impossible for large boats to reach the Tigris, the ʿĪsā alone remained open to heavy traffic. The course of Nahr ʿĪsā is reported by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071), whose account is identical with that of Suhrāb (*ʿAdjā'ib*, 123) and is the same as the text published by Le Strange as *Ibn Serapion, Description of Mesopotamia and Baghdad*, London 1895, 13. The text of Suhrāb can be dated on internal evidence to *ca.* 925 A.D. He lists nine locations along the canal, all of which are apparently identified by masonry bridges (*ḳanṭara*) spanning the water. The course of the canal is also described by Yāḳūt (d. 622/1225), whose account is based on that of the Khaṭīb (*Muʿdjam*, iv, 842). He adds, however, that in his time only Ḳanṭarat al-Zayyātīn and Ḳanṭarat al-Bustān remained standing, the other seven bridges having apparently fallen into disuse. However, the *Marāṣid* indicates that these bridges must have been destroyed before then, and that the only bridges standing in the time of Yāḳūt were Ḳanṭarat al-Yāsiriyya, Ḳanṭarat al-Shawk, and Ḳanṭarat Banī Zurayḳ (iii, 250). See also Yāḳūt (*op. cit.*, 190, 191, 839). However, Ibn al-Djawzī, writing in the 6th/12th century, reports that Ḳanṭarat Banī Zurayḳ collapsed into Nahr ʿĪsā in 433/1042. There is no indication that the bridge was repaired then (*Muntaẓam*, viii, 108). Furthermore, a century earlier (323/935) Ḳanṭarat al-Ushnān and its environs were reported to have been ravaged by fire. According to al-Ṣūlī it was not rebuilt in his time (*Akhbār*, 68). To what extent the destruction of individual bridges

reflects the decline of the surrounding area bearing the same name is not clear. Nahr ʿĪsā in the Middle Ages formed the southern boundary of the suburb of al-Karkh and thus marked the southern limits of Baghdād. No real trace remains of it in modern times.

Bibliography: In the text. (J. LASSNER)

ʿĪSĀ B. **ʿALĪ** [see ʿALĪ B. ʿĪSĀ].

ʿĪSĀ B. **DĪNĀR** B. WĀFID AL-GHĀFIĶĪ, one of the three major founders of Islamic jurisprudence and theology in Spain, the other two being Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā (d. 234/848) and ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb (d. 238/852). ʿĪsā is considered the most learned and important of the three, and is described as *ʿālim al-Andalus.* He was born in Toledo, most probably around 155/771, because when he arrived at Medina to study with Mālik b. Anas he found he had "recently" died (in 179/795). He went back to Fusṭāṭ and made all his studies under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ķāsim (d. 191/806) who was considered the most eminent disciple of Mālik. He attended also the lectures of the other two distinguished Mālikī scholars of Fusṭāṭ: ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb (d. 197/812) and Ashhab b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 204/819). While Yaḥyā b. Yaḥyā boasted that he had made some of his studies with Mālik and completed them afterwards at Fusṭāṭ, and while the flamboyant ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb was always keen to show that he had obtained his knowledge from the four Medinan disciples of Mālik—namely al-Mughīra b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Makhzūmī (d. 188/804), Abu 'l-Muṣʿab al-Zuhrī (d. 242/856), ʿAbd al-Malik b. al-Mādjishūn (d. 212/827) and al-Muṭarrif b. ʿAbd Allāh (d. 220/835)—ʿĪsā b. Dīnār proved that better results could be achieved by studying with one good professor if the student possessed superior talent and character. ʿĪsā b. Dīnār was nominated, a short time after his return from Egypt, the Mufti [*q.v.*] of Cordova and stayed in that office until his death in 212/827. Only then could Yaḥyā, who was older than ʿĪsā but lived longer, obtain the post. ʿĪsā wrote a large work of Mālikī jurisprudence called *al-Hidāya*, in which he collected the knowledge he had got from Ibn al-Ķāsim and added his personal points of view. He arranged its material according to the branches of *fiķh* and dedicated a volume to the questions of each branch. A student of his read the volume about sales (*masāʾil al-buyūʿ*) to Ibn al-Mādjishūn, who could not help repeating time and again: "By God! that ʿĪsā of yours has indeed made an excellent thing! (*aḥsana wa-'llāhi ʿĪsāka hādhā!*) The *Hidāya* was considered superior in quality to the ten Books of Yaḥyā (*ʿasharat Yaḥyā*) and *al-Wāḍiḥa* of Ibn Ḥabīb. While these two were mere manuals of Mālikī law, *al-Hidāya* was a substantial contribution to the making of Spanish Mālikī doctrine.

Besides his vast knowledge of law and theology, ʿĪsā had his own personal views that sometimes contradicted those of the government and the rest of the *fuķahāʾ*. He was accused of taking part in the Rebellion of the Suburb of Cordova (*haydj al-rabaḍ*) in 203/818 and had to escape and hide when the rebellion was suppressed. Al-Ḥakam I pardoned him later, and he regained his post and prestige. Towards the end of his life he grew weary of the rigidity of the Mālikī *madhhab* and the servile manner in which the jurists applied the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*. He decided to abandon both, and go back to the original sources of the faith: the Ķurʾān and the *sunna.* The idea had been given to him long before by ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb, when he was studying at Fusṭāṭ. Ibn Wahb had always warned against the dangers of regarding the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* as the ultimate source of legal rulings. ʿĪsā however did not live to fulfil his desire. The *Muwaṭṭaʾ* continued to be the unique source of jurisprudence in Muslim Spain until it was successfully challenged by Baķī b. Makhlad (201/816-276/889) and Muḥammad b. Waḍḍāḥ (199/814-287/900) fifty years later. ʿĪsā b. Dīnār was moderate in his judgements, especially when they concerned the inflicting of punishment. For instance, while ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb ruled that the Khāridjīs and the Muʿtazilīs should be sentenced to death without mercy, ʿĪsā insisted that they should first be given the opportunity to disavow their doctrines and rejoin the *sunna.* Here ʿĪsā b. Dīnār was more consistent than Mālik himself, because this last had said in the treatise called *Bāb al-nahy ʿan al-ķadar* that the Muʿtazilīs should be accorded the opportunity to disavow *iʿtizāl* before any punishment was inflicted on them; but when he was asked about them in the mosque he shouted: "Heretics, infidels, kill them!"

Bibliography: Ibn al-Faraḍī, *ʿUlamāʾ*, Madrid 1890-92, 973; Ḥumaydī, *Djadhwa*, Cairo 1952, 678; Ibn al-Ķūṭiyya, *Iftitāḥ*, Madrid 1926, 35; Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, 389; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī* photocopy, Cairo Library, V/3, 615; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, Cairo 1956, ii, 24; Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībādj*, Cairo 1932, 177; Maķķarī *Nafḥ*, Cairo 1949, ii, 215, iv, 161-2; ʿIyāḍ, *Shifāʾ*, Cairo n.d., ii, 273; idem, *Madārik*, ed. A. Bakir, Beirut 1967-9, index; José López Ortiz, *La recepción de la Escuela Malekī en España*, in *Anuario de historia del derecho español*, vii (1930), 1-169: Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 148, ii, 473; M. A. Makki, *Ensayo sobre las aportaciones orientales en la España Musulmana*, Madrid 1968, Index. (H. MONÉS)

ʿĪSĀ B. **MUHANNĀ**, d. 683/1248, appointed *Amīr al-ʿArab* by the Mamlūk sultan, was the chief of the Āl Faḍl, a Bedouin clan of Bādiyat al-Sha'm. His genealogy is usually given as ʿĪsā b. Muhannā b. Māniʿ b. Ḥadītha b. ʿAṣaba (var. ʿUķba) b. Faḍl b. Rabīʿa; his *laķab* was Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ṭā'ī. The Āl Faḍl, connected to the Rabīʿa and hence to the Ṭayy (for their early history see Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, Cairo 1284, v, 436 f.; al-Ķalķashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, Cairo 1914, iv, 203 f., 206), were very wealthy (see al-ʿUmarī, *al-Taʿrīf*, Cairo 1312, 79) and ranged from Ḥimṣ as far as Ķalʿat Djaʿbar and Raḥba (*Ṣubḥ*, iv, 204, 231; al-Khālidī, *al-Muķṣid al-rafīʿ*, Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS. 4439, 155). ʿĪsā himself, with his immediate followers (Āl ʿĪsā) dwelt in Bādiyat al-Sha'm, occasionally crossing the Euphrates at Raḥba into ʿIrāķ.

ʿĪsā played an important role in the battles between the Mamlūks and the Mongols in the second half of the 7th/13th century. With the other Bedouin, he fought beside Ķuṭuz [*q.v.*] at the battle of ʿAyn Djālūt [*q.v.*] in 658/1260, and he (or his father) was rewarded with the grant of the *iķṭāʿ* [*q.v.*] of Salāmiyya [*q.v.*]. Although in general he enjoyed good relations with the neighbouring amirs, especially Djalāl al-Dīn al-Kalālī of Irbil (see Ķāḍī Muḥyī al-Dīn b. ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *al-Rawḍ al-ẓāhir*, ed. S. F. Sadeque, 1956, 112), he was on bad terms with Baybars [*q.v.*]; the sultan however, was obliged to appoint him Amīr al-ʿArab over all the Bedouin in 663/1264, in succession to his cousin ʿAlī b. Hudhayfa b. Māniʿ, whose bloodthirsty tyranny had reduced the region to chaos (*al-Rawḍ*, 123). Contemporary sources report that he did much to restore order, by his good administration and justice (*e.g.*, Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾrīkh*, Beirut 1939, viii, 12 f.). ʿĪsā led the way in Baybars's invasion of Asia Minor in 675/1277; and, together with Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī, *nāʾib* of Aleppo, prevented the

Mongols from infiltrating into Syria (see *Baybars tarihi*, T. tr. Ş. Yaltkaya, Istanbul 1941, 85). Under Ḳalāwūn, however, he allied himself with Sunḳur al-Ashḳar, who had rebelled at Damascus taking the title al-Malik al-Kāmil, and entered into contact with ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAṭāʾ Malik Djuwaynī, who was governing Baghdād for the Ilkhānid ruler: in 679/1280 he and Sunḳur began a correspondence with Abāḳā, to whom, through the intermediary of Djuwaynī, he sent his son. Abāḳā presented the son with a *khilʿa* and granted to him part of the revenues of Baghdād (D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongoles*, iii, 522). This rapprochement did not, however, last long: ʿĪsā visited Cairo in 680/1281, was pardoned by Ḳalāwūn, and, at the battle of Ḥimṣ [*q.v.*], commanded all the Bedouin levies as leader of the vanguard of the right wing of the Mamlūk army (see Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar*, Istanbul 1286, iv, 15; D'Ohsson, iii, 526). ʿĪsā died in Rabīʿ I 683/May 1284, the *ṣalāt al-ghāʾib* being performed for him in the Great Mosque of Damascus on the 9th of the month/ 26 May (see Ibn al-Furāt, viii, 13). During his twenty years of rule, ʿĪsā, in spite of his approaches to the Ilkhānids, followed a sound policy, ensuring internal peace and order in his territories, and he is praised by the sources as a good and pious man (Ibn al-Furāt, viii, 13; al-Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt al-djinān*, Ḥaydarabād 1338, iv, 199).

His son and successor as leader of Āl ʿĪsā, Husām al-Dīn Muhannā, the lord of Tadmur, pursued his father's policy; but in 692/1293, the Mamlūk Sultan Khalīl had him arrested at Ḥimṣ, together with his brothers Muḥammad and Faḍl and his son Mūsā, and brought to Cairo, where they were imprisoned in Ḳalʿat al-Djabal (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, iv, 29; Ibn Khaldūn, v, 438; *Ṣubḥ*, iv, 206). Two years later, however, he was restored as Amīr al-ʿArab. He performed the Pilgrimage, with much pomp, in 697/1298 (Wüstenfeld, *Chron. der Stadt Mecca*, ii, 275). Soon afterwards he fell out with al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, and in 712/1312, 716/1316, and especially 720/ 1320, allied himself with the Ilkhānids (Ibn Khaldūn, v, 439). As a result, the Āl ʿĪsā were fiercely persecuted by the *nāʾib* of Damascus and by one party of Bedouins, and his *iḳṭāʿ*s were taken away (Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, iv, 91-3; al-ʿUmarī, 79). Nevertheless, when the Mamlūks and the Ilkhānids made peace in 723/ 1323, Muhannā returned to Syria. During his emirate the clan was divided into two branches, Bayt Muhannā b ʿĪsā and Bayt Faḍl b. ʿĪsā (al-ʿUmarī, 79; *Ṣubḥ*, iv, 205, 208; *Muḳṣid*, 155), and a third branch, named the Āl-Muhannā, came into existence under Muhannā's grandson Nuʿayr (Muḥammad b. Djabbār b. Muhannā) (for Nuʿayr, see M. C. Sehabeddin Tekindağ, *Barḳūḳ devrinde Mamlūk Sulṭāniği*, Istanbul 1961, 59, 65, 72-3, 75, 81-2, 95-6). These families seem to have retained the post of Amīr al-ʿArab until 879/1474.

Bibliography: further to references in the text: Maḳrīzī, *K. al-Sulūk*, Cairo 1939, i/3, 725-6; Weil, *Chalifen*, iv, 12 f.; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, 186 f.; Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, v, 296.

(M. C. ŞEHABEDDİN TEKİNDAĞ)

ʿĪSĀ B. **MŪSĀ** B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. AL-ʿABBĀS. ʿAbbāsid prince, nephew of the first two caliphs of the dynasty. Governor of al-Kūfa in the reign of al-Saffāḥ [*q.v.*], he was then designated as the second heir after Abū Djaʿfar, and it was he who, at al-Anbār, administered the oath of allegiance on behalf of al-Manṣūr, who was in Mecca at the time when al-Saffāḥ died.

ʿĪsā b. Mūsā kept his post of governor during the reign of al-Manṣūr. He directed military operations against the ʿAlids Muḥammed b. ʿAbd Allāh, and then Ibrāhīm, who were in revolt. In Dhu'l-Ḳaʿda 145/ February 763 he won the victory of Bākhamrā [*q.v.*] but was obliged to renounce his rights as heir apparent in favour of al-Mahdī in 147/764-65. Again in Muḥarram 160/October-November 776, al-Mahdī, who had become caliph, put pressure on ʿĪsā, so that he would renounce his rights in favour of his own son, Mūsā, the future al-Hādī. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā died in 167/783-4 at Kūfa aged 85.

It seems he took an active part in the planning of Baghdād (the reason, according to certain sources, for the name of Nahr ʿĪsā [*q.v.*]), and the chroniclers mention a palace which had belonged to him and which became the property of the descendants of the Caliph al-Maʾmūn. Moreover, the foundation of the castle of al-Ukhayḍir is generally attributed to him. This castle is situated in the steppe not far from al-Kūfa and has, as has recently been remarked, a strategic importance. Its construction seems to have been related to the repression of the ʿAlid movements in the region.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, iii, index; Ibn al-Athīr, index; Yaʿḳūbī, index; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, index; *Aghānī*, Tables; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, Ms. Istanbul Aṣir Ef. 597, fol. 569; L. Caetani, *Cronografia*, Rome 1923, fasc. i, *passim*; Le Strange, 66 and index; K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture*, ii, Oxford 1940; W. Caskel, *al-Uḥaiḍir*, in *Isl.*, xxxix (1964), 28-37.

(D. SOURDEL)

ʿĪSĀ B. AL-**SHAYKH** B. AL-SALĪL, ABŪ MŪSĀ AL-DHULĪ AL-SHAYBĀNĪ no doubt belonged to the Rabīʿa (Bakr) tribe of the Banū Shaybān of Djazīra (for which see al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Nihāyat al-arab fī maʿrifat ansāb al-ʿArab*, Baghdād 1332, 259; idem, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, i, 338; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, ii, 335-6; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Kitāb al-maʿārif*, Cairo 1300, 32-3, ed. Okāsha[2] 1969, 97; cf. M. Canard, *Hist. de la dynastie des H'amdānides*, 134 ff., 141). We do not know the exact name of his father, who was called al-Shaykh or Shaykh, and elsewhere Aḥmad (Ibn Taghribirdī, iii, 46 note, and Defrémery, *Recherches*...) or ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 134). ʿĪsā's early history is shrouded in obscurity. He seems to have made his first appearance in 234/848 during the reign of al-Mutawakkil, in the following circumstances. There was a member of a Rabīʿa tribe of Ādharbāydjān, Muḥammad b. al-Baʿīth (or Buʿayth), whose father and grandfather had set up for themselves a fief in Marand and around the lake of Urmiya, and who, at certain times as the ally of Bābek and at other times as his adversary, had been imprisoned in Sāmarrā; he had taken flight, and had then returned to Marand and fortified himself there. An army was sent against him, under the command of Bughā al-Sharābī. ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh was a member of this force. Bughā used him to negotiate with the besieged, and since these were for the most part of Rabīʿa like himself, ʿĪsā secured the surrender of a certain number of the companions and relations of Ibn al-Baʿīth. The latter escaped, but was captured and taken to Sāmarrā [see MARAND].

It does not appear to be true that ʿĪsā was governor of Damascus in 247/861, as is suggested by Zambaur (*Manuel de chronologie*, 28), who confused him with ʿĪsā b. Muḥammad al-Nawsharī. Under the year 251/865, two items of information relating to ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh are to be found in al-Ṭabarī. The first states that he fought against a Khāridjī named al-Muwaffaḳ and took him prisoner. According to

the second, ʿĪsā requested the caliph al-Mustaʿīn to send him arms and equipment, in order to consolidate his power in the country and to allow him to conduct a campaign against the Byzantines (*al-ghazw*); furthermore, he asked the caliph to give orders to the commandant of the garrison at Tyre (Ṣūr) to place four armed vessels at his disposal, in addition to those he could already count on. This would suggest that ʿĪsā at that time held a command in the Syrian frontier region.

If al-Yaʿḳūbī is to be believed, when al-Muʿtazz ascended the throne on 7 Muḥarram 252/29 January 866 and asked the various governors to recognise him, certain of them did so immediately, but others, among them ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh in Palestine, bided their time. This ʿĪsā would have been governor of Palestine as early as 251. It was perhaps as a result of this incident that al-Nawsharī, governor of Damascus, marched against ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh, joined battle with him by the Jordan and compelled him to flee, first to Palestine, later to Egypt, while al-Nawsharī entered Ramla. An envoy from al-Muʿtazz came to Egypt and received the oath of loyalty from the governor and his entourage, and also from ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh. It appears that al-Muʿtazz had not given his consent to the occupation of Ramla by al-Nawsharī, since he sent against him into Palestine the Turk Muḥammad b. al-Muwallad who drove out al-Nawsharī. ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh left Egypt, and then established himself in a *ḳaṣr* between Ramla and Ludd. Muḥammad b. al-Muwallad could do nothing against him, and finally both of them returned to ʿIrāḳ, according to al-Yaʿḳūbī.

According to al-Ṭabarī, at the end of 252/December 866, ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh was nominated by al-Muʿtazz as governor of Ramla in Palestine. He was said to have obtained this appointment by paying, or guaranteeing, a sum of 40,000 dinars to Bughā al-Sharābī who, in 252, still possessed considerable influence, since it was not until 254/868 that he was imprisoned and put to death.

According to al-Masʿūdī, he was said to have been appointed by al-Muʿtazz as governor of Palestine because he had come from Egypt to Sāmarrā bearing huge sums of money (perhaps the proceeds of taxes) and bringing with him a group of seventy ʿAlids who had fled from the Ḥidjāz as a result of disturbances there.

The occasion of this nomination marks the appearance of a figure who is later to be found at the side of ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh; this is Abu 'l-Maghrā' ibn Mūsā b. Zurāra, of a family which held an important fief in southern Armenia in the region of Arzanene. It was this man whom ʿĪsā sent to represent him as his deputy in Ramla.

From this time onwards, the career of ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh is described in greater detail. The anarchy then prevailing in ʿIrāḳ allowed him to extend his area of authority by seizing Damascus. The caliph al-Muhtadī, who succeeded at the end of Radjab 255/July 869, granted an amnesty to all those who had taken part in disturbances or had usurped power, and he wrote in this sense to ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh, ordering him to hand over the money which he was keeping in Egypt and other countries. ʿĪsā refused, and kept the proceeds from the taxes for himself, thus making himself financially independent. According to al-Kindī (*The Governors and Judges of Egypt*, ed. Guest, 214), he embezzled a sum of 750,000 *dīnārs*. No doubt it is to this episode that Ibn al-Muʿtazz was alluding in his *ḳaṣīda* (*urdjūza*) in praise of al-Muʿtaḍid, when he states (verse 41 ff.) that ʿĪsā and his son (that is to say Aḥmad, see below) are robbers, that they never give a single coin to the caliph and extort money from their subjects. The caliph al-Muʿtamid in 256/870 sent emissaries to him, to demand this money. ʿĪsā replied that he had used it to pay his troops. He was then offered the governorship of Armenia on condition that he recognised al-Muʿtamid, which he had not hitherto done. ʿĪsā consented, thinking that he would be able to retain Syria while at the same time becoming governor of Armenia. Al-Muʿtamid did not regard it in the same way, but instead of leaving it to the new ruler of Egypt, Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn (from September 868), to expel ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh from Syria, he himself sent an army commanded by the Turk Amādjūr, who was appointed governor of Damascus. In the battle which he fought outside Damascus, ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh lost his son al-Manṣūr who was killed, and he himself was defeated and fled to Armenia by the coast road (256/870, or, according to al-Yaʿḳūbī, 257/871).

The governorship of Armenia no doubt also included Diyār Bakr in Djazīra and Ādharbāydjān. In Armenia, ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh responded to an appeal from the Arab colonies established in the Lake Van region, the ʿUthmānids (Utʿmanikkʿ) and the Ḳaysīs (Kaisikkʿ), who were threatened by Ashot Artsruni, prince of Vaspurakan, who was about to besiege Amiwk, a fortress of the ʿUthmānids on the east shore of the lake. Thanks to his armed intervention, the siege was raised. An agreement was reached, and ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh went to Ādharbāydjān where he established one of his officers, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Tamīmī al-Yamāmī (cf. Yāḳūt, ii, 58, 740), whom the Armenian historians call Yamamik or Ememik. In Armenia, which was partitioned between the Bagratuni and the Artsruni and which was in fact independent, the authority of ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh diminished constantly, and all the more when his deputy in Ādharbāydjān revolted against him, thus involving him in a fruitless struggle for a whole year, probably in 877-8; afterwards, he had to return to "Syria" (according to the Armenian historians), that is to say to Āmid in Diyār Bakr. In fact, in 266/879-80 there is no record of his presence anywhere save in that region, although the Armenian historians consider that he remained governor of Armenia until his death in 269/882-3.

In 266, he was involved in hostilities with Isḥāḳ b. Kundādjīḳ (Kündäčik: see Markwart, *Südarmenien* . . . , 315, n. 4), who was claiming the governorship of the Djazīra and some neighbouring territories and who was established in Mosul. Ibn Kundādjīḳ was in conflict with a powerful Khāridjī movement, one of whose leaders was Isḥāḳ b. Ayyūb of Naṣībīn, supported by the Taghlibī Ḥamdān b. Ḥamdūn (for incidents see M. Canard, *H'amdānides*, 294 ff.). Ibn Kundādjīḳ won a victory over them, but Isḥāḳ b. Ayyūb sought the help of ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh of Āmid and of Abu 'l-Maghrā' ibn Mūsā b. Zurāra of Arzan; defeated by this new coalition, Ibn Kundādjīḳ returned to Mosul. There, he received from the caliph the governorship of Mosul, Diyār Rabīʿa and Armenia. In view of this strengthening of their adversary's forces, ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh and Abu 'l-Maghrā' determined to seek peace by offering Ibn Kundādjīḳ a tribute of 200,000 *dīnārs*, on the condition that they retained their possessions. After refusing at first, Ibn Kundādjīḳ later accepted, when threatened with a renewal of hostilities. Nevertheless in the following year, 267, a coalition of his various enemies, Khāridjīs and others, was once again formed.

A battle took place in Ramaḍān 267/April-May 881: Ibn Kundādjīḳ was the victor and pursued his foes as far as Āmid, then returned, leaving a contingent outside Āmid to lay siege to ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh. Some indecisive battles were fought.

ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh died in 269/882-3, and Ibn al-Athīr, in placing his death at this date, still described him as governor of Armenia and Diyār Bakr, but we do not know what part he played in Armenia between 267 and 269. It is possible that he may have recovered some measure of influence, for Ibn Kundādjīḳ seems to have had no authority there and in 269 he is described by al-Ṭabarī (iii, 2037) merely as governor of Mosul and Djazīra. Moreover, following the attempted flight of al-Muʿtamid which was foiled by Ibn Kundādjīḳ, the latter went to receive from the regent, al-Muwaffaḳ, the governorship of Egypt and the Ṭūlūnid lands, and from then onwards all his efforts were aimed at gaining control of the Syrian possessions of the Ṭūlūnids.

Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh succeeded his father as ruler of Diyār Bakr where, like him, he was almost independent and was regarded by the historians, like many other princelings of the time, as exercising power *ʿalā sabīl al-taghallub* (through usurpation) Aḥmad was never officially governor of Armenia, but nevertheless he played a part in the affairs of the country. His ambition, incidentally, was to extend his possessions to the furthest possible limits and even to make himself master of the whole of Armenia. To this end, he seized the fortress of Mārdīn, which dominates the plain of Djazīra, from Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ b. Kundādjīk, the successor to Isḥāḳ (d. 278/891-2) as ruler of Mosul and Diyār Rabīʿa. In about 890, after taking Abu 'l-Maghrāʾ ibn Mūsā b. Zurāra prisoner, he occupied Arzanene in southern Armenia, as far as the Sim Mountain which separates Arzanene from Taron (Ṭarūn; Arm. Tarawn). After treacherously securing the assassination of Gurgēn, the son of the prince of Taron, Ashot the Curopalatine the son of David, Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā took possession of the whole territory of Taron, in 895 or early in 896. The king of Armenia, Sembat Bagratuni (890-914), requested Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā to restore Taron to its lawful possessor, promising Aḥmad that he would secure for him his nomination by the caliph as governor of Armenia. When Aḥmad refused, Sembat gathered an army, but he was defeated in a battle to the south-west of Lake Van in which Gagik Artsruni, prince of Vaspurakan, who was in league with Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā, betrayed Sembat. Thus Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā remained in possession of Arzanene and Taron, which were added to Diyār Bakr.

Moreover he endeavoured to win the trust of the caliph. When al-Muʿtaḍid had demonstrated the full extent of his power to the Khāridjīs and rebels, by his expedition in 280/893-4 against the Banū Shaybān and Mosul, Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā complied readily with the request made to him by the caliph, on his return to Baghdād, that he should send him all the money he had taken from Ibn Kundādjīḳ, and indeed he included numerous presents, in addition to the money. At the same time he sent to al-Muʿtaḍid a Khāridjī who had fled to Āmid and whom he had taken prisonner. This submissiveness on the part of Aḥmad is noted in the *ḳaṣīda* of Ibn al-Muʿtazz in praise of Al-Muʿtaḍid (verses 177-80). But it seems doubtful whether, to escape death, he contemplated crossing into Byzantine territory and becoming a Christian, as Ibn al-Muʿtazz claims in the same passage.

Although he was not a governor of Armenia, it was Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā who, in the time of al-Muʿtamid, was entrusted in 887 with the task of carrying the royal crown to the new king of Armenia, Ashot I, for it was certainly not his father ʿĪsā (d. 882) who was charged with this mission, as might be thought from the account of the Armenian historian John Catholicos who confused the son with the father (see Vasmer, *Chronologie* . . ., 99-100 and Thopdschian, *Die inneren Zustände* . . ., 125).

Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh died in 285/898. His history formed the subject of a detailed account by al-Masʿūdī in his lost work *Akhbār al-zamān* (see *Murūdj*, viii, 112).

His successor as ruler of Āmid and the other territories he held, still *ʿalā sabīl al-taghallub*, was his son Muḥammad who built the minaret of the principal mosque of Mayyāfāriḳīn. With him was to end this minor Shaybānī dynasty of Djazīra. In 286/899, al-Muʿtaḍid decided to have Āmid brought back under his own authority, and for this purpose set out with a large expeditionary force, accompanied by his son the future al-Muktafī. Muḥammad shut himself up in the town which was besieged from April-May until June 899. Siege engines were used on both sides. Finally Muḥammad surrendered, begging for clemency for himself and his men as well as for the inhabitants of Āmid, which was granted. He was treated with consideration by the caliph, who made him a ceremonial gift of clothing, but he was taken away to Baghdād. In al-Masʿūdī, viii, 134 ff., will be found a long account for which the source is a person whom al-Muʿtaḍid sent to Muḥammad to ask him to surrender; in this passage, an aunt of the rebel, a talented poetess, advises her nephew to obey the caliph. She herself wrote a letter to al-Muʿtaḍid, in verse. The caliph admired her talent, and this influenced his decision to treat his prisoners generously. Muḥammad was given the Ṭāhirids' palace as his residence in Baghdād. In Muḥarram 287/January 900, the vizier ʿUbayd Allāh b. Sulaymān discovered that he was planning to escape. He informed the caliph, who ordered the vizier to have Muḥammad arrested. The historians do not record what became of him after his arrest.

In the 4th/10th century a figure appears named Aḥmad b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿĪsā b. Shaykh, a worthy if somewhat dull-witted fellow who, during the vizirate of Ibn al-Furāt, was the victim of a practical joke on the part of certain secretaries in the vizirate. They presented him with a diploma (*tawḳīʿ*), conferring on him the right to farm taxes for Āmid and the lands which had been subject to ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh. The vizier's son, al-Muḥassin, heard a rumour about the incident and reported it to his father, who questioned the man. He seemed to regard the favour which had been granted him as something entirely natural. The vizier let the matter rest, and it went no further. It seems that the man in question was in fact a descendant of ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh (see Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, *Wuzarāʾ*, 146).

As the defender and panegyrist of al-Muʿtaḍid, Ibn al-Muʿtazz judged ʿĪsā and Aḥmad with severity. Basically, in the disturbed period in which these Mesopotamian Arabs lived, they were no worse in their behaviour than the other soldiers of fortune of the ʿAbbāsid regime. In any event, ʿĪsā had a certain reputation for magnificence and generosity, as is born out by an anecdote related by Ibn al-Djawzī and recorded by Defrémery in his work on ʿĪsā b. al-Shaykh.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, iii, 1382, 1585, 1685, 1841, 1991-2, 2048, 2134, 2137, 2185-7, 2191; Yaʿḳūbī, Beirut 1379/1960, ii, 500, 501, 506,

508; Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 14, 53, 57, 78-9, 110, 120, 132, 152-3, 162-3; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-dhahab*, vii, 395-6, viii, 134 f.; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, iii, 7, 46, 116. Modern works: Defrémery, *Recherches sur un personnage appelé Iça fils du Cheikh et sur sa famille*, in *Mémoires d'Histoire Orientale* (1854), i, 1-14; Wüstenfeld, *Die Statthalter von Ägypten...*, in *Abh. der könig. Ges. d. Wiss. Göttingen*, xx/3 (1876), 10; Thopdschian, *Die inneren Zustände von Armenien unter Aschot I*, in *MSOS*, vii/2 (1904), 118 ff., 124 ff.; idem, *Politische und Kirchengeschichte Armeniens unter Aschot I und Sembat I*, in *MSOS*, viii/2 (1905), 172 ff., 188 ff.; J. Laurent, *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam...*, Paris 1919, 223, 233, 273, 329, 347 and *passim*; J. Markwart, *Sudarmenien und die Tigrisquellen*, Vienna 1930, 306, 309, 315 ff., 325, 331 ff..; Vasmer, *Chronologie der arabischen Statthalter unter den Abbasiden ... bis zur Krönung Aschots I, 750-887*, Vienna 1931, 98-101, 104; Zaky Mohamed Hassan, *Les Tulunides*, Paris 1933, 46-50; R. Grousset, *Hist. de l'Arménie*, Paris 1947, 381 f., 385, 394, 397.—For the allusions contained in the *urdjūza* of Ibn al-Muʿtazz, see C. Lang, *Muʿtaḍid als Prinz und Regent. Ein historisches Heldengedicht von Ibn al-Muʿtazz*, in *ZDMG*, xl (text), 563 ff., xli (trans.) 232 ff., and the different editions of the *Dīwān*, or the separate edition of this work with the *Rasāʾil*, Cairo 1946, 80 ff. (M. CANARD)

ʿĪSĀ B. ʿUMAR AL-THAḲAFĪ AL-BAṢRĪ, an early Arabic grammarian, and Ḳurʾān-reader, d. 149/766. He was a client (*mawlā*) of Khālid b. al-Walīd al-Makhzūmī al-Ḳurashī [*q.v.*], but was called al-Thaḳafī because at Baṣra he had settled amongst the Thaḳīf. He had a brother, Ḥādjib, d. 158/774-5 (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, ii, 133). Their mother was the daughter of Ziyād, who owned the estate Ziyādān in Baṣra (Balādhurī, 362); her sister was the mother of Muʾnis b. ʿImrān, who belonged to the circle of Djaʿfar b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī. ʿĪsā studied the Ḳurʾān under ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*], Ibn Kathīr [*q.v.*], al-Djaḥdarī (see Ibn Djazarī, i, 349), and Ibn Muḥayṣin (*ibid.* ii, 167, 10). In his own *ikhtiyār* he did not follow blindly the language of the Bedouins, but criticized their poets and, like Ibn Abī Isḥāḳ, applied the principles of logical reasoning (*ḳiyās*). Even in ordinary conversation he always applied *iʿrāb*, and his biographers give some specimens of his affected style. Amongst his pupils were al-Aṣmaʿī, Khalīl b. Aḥmad, and Sībawayh (who mentions him several times in his *Kitāb*). It is said that he wrote two books on grammar, but they have not come down to us. His readings were objected to and considered exceptional (*shawādhdh*).

This ʿĪsā b. ʿUmar is not to be confounded with his namesake al-Hamdānī of Kūfa, who died in 156/773 (see *Fihrist*, 31, 1; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, viii, 222; Ibn Djazarī, *Ghāya*).

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 264, 268; *Fihrist*, 41 f., 51, 22; Ibn Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 25-9; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, vi, 100-3; Ibn Khallikān, No. 523; Ibn Djazarī, *Ghāya*, i, 613; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, viii, 223; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 370. See also the indices to Djumaḥī, *Ṭabaḳāt*; Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*; Ḳālī, *Amālī*; Marzubānī, *Muwashshah* and *Muḳtabas*; Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorans*, iii, 120; Brockelmann, I, 99; S I, 158; Sezgin, I, 29. (J. W. FÜCK)

ʿĪSĀ BEG [see ÜSKÜB].

ISAAC [see ISḤĀḲ].

ISĀF WĀ-NAʾILA, a pair of gods worshipped at Mecca before Islam. Several orientalists of the last century, such as Rudolph Krehl and Francois Lenormant, saw in them, not unreasonably, replicas of Baʿl and Baʿla. Indeed Isāf and Nāʾila do display the essential characteristics distinguishing this pair of gods from the many avatars known in the various Semitic religions: physical representation by two sacred stones erected close to each other, or by two parallel hills; symbolic representation of the fertility of living beings and of the earth; and the euhemeristic expression of the myth of divine loves such as those of Hippomenes and Atlanta in Greek mythology who dared to embrace in the temple of Demeter and were changed by her into a pair of lions harnessed to her chariot. Certain details of the legend of Isāf and Nāʾila recall the myth of the loves of Adonis and Astarte, avatars of Baʿl and Baʿla.

These characteristics stand out from the material from which the stories about these idols are composed, although these stories are clearly conceived with an edifying aim. Thanks to this laudable aim this pagan legend had come down to us through the early Islamic sources.

Hishām al-Kalbī (d. 204/819 or 206/821), to whom we owe the preservation of numerous traces of pagan Arabia, reporting a saying attributed to Ibn ʿAbbās, transmits this legend to us in its most basic form (*K. al-Aṣnām*, ed. and tr. W. Atallah, Paris 1969, 6; cf. Klinke-Rosenberger, *Das Götzenbuch*, Leipzig 1941, 6 and 18): Isāf b. Yaʿlā and Nāʾila bint Zayd, both of Djurhum (cf. other genealogies in *Aghānī*, xiii, 109), originally from the Yemen, were passionately in love. They came on pilgrimage to Mecca and, finding themselves alone for a moment in the Kaʿba hidden from view, committed fornication there (*fadjara bihā*); according to another opinion reported in *Aghānī*, *loc. cit.*, they only embraced (*ḳabbalahā*). They were immediately changed into stones (*famusikha*—a verb usually meaning metamorphosis of a man into an animal, as in the myth of Hippomenes and Atlanta, but the context requires, and the same author further on and other sources add, *ḥadjarayn*), and were erected there on the spot. They were worshipped by Khuzāʿa, Ḳuraysh, and all the pilgrims.

It seems that originally these two sacred stones were separated: one adjoining (*bi-liṣḳ*) the Kaʿba, the other on the site (*fī mawḍiʿ*) of the well of Zamzam. Ḳuraysh reunited them close to Zamzam and they slaughtered the sacrificial victims nearby. But al-Azraḳī (*Akhbār Makka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 49) places them at the foot of al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa, the two parallel hills separated from the Kaʿba by the depression of Mecca.

According to the same author (78), ʿAmr b. Luḥayy, the Khuzāʿī reformer of idol worship in Arabia, also set up two idols on these two hills: Nahīk Mudjāwid al-Rīḥ on al-Ṣafā and Muṭʿim al-Ṭayr on al-Marwa. These two divine epithets which could have referred to Isāf and Nāʾila and to the Baʿl and Baʿla which they stood for, applied, according to their significations, the first to a god of the winds and the rain, the second to a goddess of fertility assuring the birds of the valley of their subsistance (cf. details in *Panthéon*, 107). If this hypothesis is correct, the agricultural character of this pair of gods, already suggested by their Yemenī origin, will be confirmed. Their relationship with Zamzam and the meanings suggested for their names would reinforce this confirmation. Indeed the Hebrew *āsāf* (to store up, to gather) and the Aramaic *nawlyl* (to receive gifts) suggest that Isāf and Nāʾila,

positioned at Zamzam where the treasure of the sanctuary was stored, received the offerings and kept guard over them (details in *Panthéon*, 108).

Bibliography: T. Fahd, *Le Panthéon de l'Arabie centrale à la veille de l'hégire*, Paris 1968, 103-7, with a fuller bibliography. (T. FAHD)

ĪSĀGHŪDJĪ, the *Isagoge* of Porphyry [see FURFŪRIYŪS]. According to Ṣāʿid al-Andalusī (*Ṭabaḳāt al-umam*, ed. Cheikho, Beirut 1912, 49, tr. Blachère, Paris, 1935, 101), it seems that Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [*q.v.*] was the first person to translate this introduction to logic into Arabic. The *Fihrist* (i, 244), on the other hand, maintains that it was Ayyūb b. al-Raḳḳī, who based himself on a Syriac translation. Among the Arabic adaptations of the *Isagoge* we possess that of Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibrāhīm b. ʿUmar al-Biḳāʿī al-Shafiʿī (see Brockelmann, S II, 177). with a commentary by al-Sanūsī (ms. Algiers no. 1362) and that of al-Abbarī, which is the best known and most commented upon; al-Abbarī's adaptation of the Isāghūdjī was put into verse by al-Akhḍarī [*q.v.*]. On the translation by Dimashḳī and the commentary by Ibn al-Ṭayyib, see FURFŪRIYŪS. (ED.)

ISAIAH [see SHAʿYĀ].

ISAKČA, a place in modern Rumania, the origins of which go back to antiquity, known in the Middle Ages as Oblučica. In the time of the Turks it was a fortress of great strategic importance, serving them as a base from which to attack Moldavia and, later, for their campaigns against Poland. As early as 889/1484 Bāyezīd II with his troops had crossed the Danube by a bridge near Isakča and conquered Kilia (Kili) and Cetatea Alba (Aḳ Kermān). The Ottoman government gave particular attention to the upkeep of the fortress and the provision of supplies for the garrison. Isakča constituted an important transit centre for cereals and livestock sent from Wallachia and Moldavia to Istanbul, and for merchandise going in the opposite direction.

The centre of a *ḳażāʾ* in the 11th/17th century, Isakča was not very large, with a population, according to Ewliyā Čelebi, composed of Wallachians, Moldavians, Greeks, Armenians and Bulgars. The port was the centre of a very active river traffic. The local governors and the State Treasury received considerable revenues from the taxes and port dues. There was also some trading in Isakča; the shops were fairly numerous, but there was no *bezistān*. The whole market, together with the fortress, the inn, the mosque, the *ʿimāret* and the baths was the *waḳf* of the *ḳapudān* Ḥasan Pasha. In the 11th/17th century it was his heirs who were receiving the revenues.

In the course of the Russo-Turkish wars of the 18th and 19th centuries Isakča was occupied more than once by Russian troops advancing, by way of Dobrudja, towards the Ottoman territories in the Balkans.

Bibliography: Neshrī, *Djihānnümā*, ed. T. Menzel and Fr. Taeschner, Leipzig 1951, i, 224; *Cronici turçesti privind Ţarile Romîne*, Bucharest 1966, 544; Ewliyā Čelebi, v, 359-61; J. v. Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosna*, Vienna 1812; *Istoria Romîniei*, ed. Ac. Republ. Popul. Romîne, ii, 806, 811, 814, iii, 602, 926; N. Beldiceanu, *La campagne ottomane de 1484; ses préparatifs militaires et sa chronologie*, in *Revue des études roumaines*, v-vi, Paris 1960, 75-7; A. Kuzev, *Prinosi kăm istoriyata na srednovekovnite kreposti po Dolnija Dunav. V. Izvestiya na Narodniya muzei Varna*, vii (1971), 77-87; M. Guboglu, *Turetskiy istočnik 1740 o Vlachii, Moldavii i Ukraine. Vostočnie istočniki po istorii narodov yugo-vostočnoy i tsentral noy Evropi*, Moscow 1964, 147; Bibl. Nat., Sofia, Oriental dept., fonds 176. (B. CVETKOVA)

ʿIṢĀMĪ, *takhelluṣ* and family surname of a Persian poet who flourished in the 8th/14th century in India and composed in 750-1/1349-50 an epic poem dealing with the exploits of the Muslim conquerors and rulers of India and their military commanders from the Ghaznawids down to the date of composition. Practically nothing is known about ʿIṣāmī, as no biographical work on Indian poets mentions him; the present article is based mainly on the scattered references which he makes about himself in the text of the poem. One of his ancestors, Fakhr al-Mulk ʿIṣāmī, a vizier to the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, migrated to India during the reign of Iltutmish [*q.v.*] and settled at Multan. Later he migrated to Delhi, the capital city. The family enjoyed royal favour and some of its members held high offices of state. ʿIṣāmī himself was born at Delhi in about 711/1310-11 and was brought up by his grandfather ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿIṣāmī, a *sipāhsālār* under Balban (664/1266-684/1285). He makes no mention of his father, which suggests that he lost him while still very young. In 726/1326, when Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ [*q.v.*] ordered the transfer *en masse* of the population of Delhi to Dēvgīr (Dawlatābād), ʿIṣāmī also accompanied his 90-year-old grandfather to the Deccan. The latter died on the way, unable to stand the fatigue of the journey, but the young ʿIṣāmī reached Dēvgīr safely: for the next 24 years he remained a little known and neglected man of letters, bitter and frustrated. Still unmarried and disgusted with the manners and morals of his contemporaries, he decided to migrate to the Ḥidjāz. Accordingly, he left for Arabia in 751/1350, soon after the completion of the poem, settled there, and most likely died at Medina. The year of his death is not known.

His fame rests mainly on his only surviving work, the *Futūḥ al-Salāṭīn* (ed. Agra 1938, Madras 1948; Eng. tr. with a commentary by Agha Mahdi Husain, i, Bombay 1967), which he composed under the patronage of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḥasan Bahman Shāh, the founder of the Bahmanī dynasty. Composed in about five months, the poem comprises 11,693 verses, written in the metre of Firdawsī's *Shāhnāma*, which he intended to emulate, and narrates historical events in a clear, simple style drawn from all available sources. Although not rated very high as a source for the period it covers, its value as an historical narrative cannot be denied. One of its remarkable features is its regard for factual information and its avoidance of poetic licence or freedom. Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, the author of *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, Firishta and Ṭabāʾṭabāʾī, the author of *Burhān-i Maʾāthir*, a history of the Deccan, as well as Badāʾūnī [*q.v.*] used his works as one of their sources. A talented poet, gifted with imagination and power of expression, ʿIṣāmī used simple and straight-forward language, devoid of rhetorical flourishes and verbal juggling. He acknowledged his debt to Niẓāmī [*q.v.*] whom he followed as a model, but failed to reach the heights attained by Niẓāmī. His work, dedicated to Bahman Shāh, "offers . . . not critical history but historical evidence", for the simple reason that his ambition was to produce an epic poem rather than a work of history.

Bibliography: *Futūḥus Salāṭīn*, ed. A. S. Usha, Madras 1948. Editor's preface and a foreword by M. H. Nainar; Ethé, i, 559 (no. 895); *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore xiv/1 (Nov. 1937), 89-90; ʿIṣāmī-nāmah by S. Yūshaʿ, Madras 1937; Ṣabāḥ al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, in *Maʿārif* (Urdu monthly)

Aʿẓamgaṙh, August 1939, 109 ff., September 1939, 201 ff.; P. Hardy, *Historians of Medieval India*, London 1960, 94-110 (the first critical treatment of ʿIṣāmī and his work in English); *Futūḥu's Salāṭīn, or Shāh Nāmah-i Hind of ʿIṣāmī*, (tr. into English by Agha Mahdi Husain), i, Bombay 1967, preface and xiii-xviii, 74-6; S. Moinul Huq, *Barani's History of the Tughluqs*, Karachi 1959, 114-6; (Agha) Mahdi Husain, *Tughluq Dynasty*, Calcutta 1963, 50, 72-3, 113, 122-3, 161, 168, 183-4, 199, 202-3, 214, 218-9, 221, 224, 241, 252, 299, 302-3, 307, 358, 502, 570, 572-3, 595-6, 642.

(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

ĪSAR-DĀS (or Īshwar-dās), one of the two Hindu historians of the reign of Awrangzīb [*q.v.*], was a Nāgarā Brahmaṅ of Paṫan (Nahrawālā or Anhalwaṙa [*q.v.*] of Muslim historians). Born in 1066/1655 he seems to have received a good education in Persian language and belles-lettres at his native town. Up to 1096/1684 he was employed, most probably, as letter writer and scribe, with the *ḳāḍī* Shaykh al-Islām b. *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, who was *Ḳāḍī al-lashkar* from 1086/1675 to 1096/1683. On account of certain differences with the Emperor Awrangzīb, Shaykh al-Islām resigned his post and went on the Pilgrimage to Mecca in Muḥarram 1095/December 1684. Īsar-Dās having thus been thrown out of employment sought service with Shadjāʿat Khān, the governor of Gudjarāt from 1098/1686-7 to 1113/1701, who employed him as an *amīn* (revenue collector) of certain *maḥall*s in the *parganah* of Djōdhpūr [*q.v.*]. It was here that he came to develop friendly relations with the Rāṫhors, who resented some features of the religious and state policies of the emperor, and ultimately procured the submission of Durgādās Rāṫhor, the rebel chieftain of Djōdhpūr. He successfully performed the diplomatic mission, with which he was entrusted by Shadjāʿat Khān, of recovering the young princess Ṣafiyat al-Nīsāʾ, a daughter of Awrangzīb's son, Muḥammad Akbar, from the custody of the Raṫhors, with whom her father had left her when he fled to Persia in 1099/1687 following his unsuccessful rebellion in 1092/1681. For this service to the imperial household the emperor raised his rank from 200 to 250 horsemen and also awarded him a robe of honour (*khilʿa*). His immediate master Shadjāʿat Khān, too, conferred upon him a *djāgīr* [*q.v.*] in Mēṙtha, west of Adjmēr (not Meerut, near Dehli, as stated by Storey, i/I, 587). Thereafter nothing is known about him, except that he lived at least to the age of 75.

His only claim to fame rests on his Persian work *Futūḥāt-i ʿĀlamgīrī* (still in Ms., Rieu, *CPM*, Additional 23884, Edinburgh 218), completed on 21 Rabīʿ I 1143/4 October 1730, when he was 75 years of age. It is a contemporary account of Awrangzīb's reign beginning with the illness of Shāhdjahān [*q.v.*] and ending with the submission to the Imperial Court of Durgādās Rāṫhor in 1110/1698 and the author's audience with the emperor for the award of the *khilʿa*. Its value lies in the fact that it is written by a non-Muslim who, during the course of his official duties, came to have access to first-hand sources of information and was himself an eyewitness of many events. Although the author completed it in 1730 it does not go beyond 1698 for reasons still unknown: most probably it was in the latter year that he gave up imperial service, lost touch with events and retired to his *djāgīr*. He wrote it as a memorial to himself and for the benefit of his grandson Khʷushḥāl Rāʾi, son of Bradja Rāʾi; (it is also, incidentally, a refutation of the allegation that Awrangzīb had forbidden the writing of contemporary history).

Bibliography: Jadunath Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, Calcutta and Cambridge 1919, 242-9 (*An old Hindu historian of Awrangzib*); idem, *History of Awrangzib*, ii, 305; idem, *Short history of Awrangzib*[2], Calcutta 1954, 373; Storey, i/I, 587-8; Rieu, *CPM*, i, 269 a. (A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

ʿĪSĀWĀ, ʿĪsāwiyya, collective name (sing. *ʿĪsāwī*) denoting the confraternity or "path" (*ṭarīḳa*) founded at the beginning of the 10th/16th century by Shaykh Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Ṣufyānī al-Mukhtārī (other ethnics—al-Miknāsī, al-Fahrī or al-Fahdī), named "the Perfect Master" (*al-Shaykh al-Kāmil*).

The founder.—Stripped of the very abundant growth of hagiographic legend, the biography of Sīdī Ibn ʿĪsā consists merely of a number of well-established facts. Born in 842/1467-8 in Sūs or Gharb, probably of a family of Idrīsid *sharīf*s (though this connection is disputed by some historians, including al-Salāwī), he applied himself to Ḳurʾānic studies from a very early age and travelled with his father, a man of great piety and modest circumstances, through the north of Morocco among the Banū Ṣufyān, the Banū Mukhtār (where he married) and the Banū Ḥassān; he stayed in Fās and then in Miknās where he attached himself to an eminent teacher of mysticism, Shaykh Aḥmad al-Ḥārithī al-Ṣufyānī, a ṣūfī of *Shādhiliyya* [*q.v.*]-*Djazūliyya* obedience. After the death of this teacher, to complete his education he went to two other continuators of al-Djazūlī [*q.v.*], Sīdī ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Tabbāʿ of Marrākush, and Muḥammad al-Ṣaghīr al-Shiʿlī, of Khandaḳ al-Zaytūn (a suburb of Fās), who taught him the *Dalāʾil al-khayrāt* in detail. Having finally settled at Miknās, he taught in the chief mosque of the town and then, since a constant stream of disciples came to him, attracted by his saintliness, he bought a property which he set up as a *waḳf* for use as a cemetery and where he had the *zāwiya* built which still exists. It was there that he was buried after his death, which took place in 930, 932 or 933/1523-7.

Sīdī Ibn ʿĪsā was an accomplished mystic "whose asceticism and devotion were unassailable" (R. Brunel) and whose love of God was combined with constant practice of the virtues and a charity that communicated itself to others. Gifted with an aptitude for penetrating men's thoughts, he also possessed remarkable powers of healing, and countless miracles are attributed to him. Although he lived at a time of great turmoil—the period which followed the end of the Marīnid dynasty (869/1465) and witnessed the reigns of four Waṭṭāsid sultans and the rise of the Saʿdid dynasty—he does not appear to have taken any part personally in the dissensions between local chieftains or to have participated in the struggle against the Christian invaders. Nevertheless, his popularity made him suspect to the authorities, and at one time he was compelled to go into exile from Miknās, with a group of his disciples; it was on this occasion, according to the legend, that he is said to have obtained for his companions the gift of immunity from the poison of scorpions and snakes and from the barbs of cactus. He was then recalled to Miknās in triumph and became the patron saint of the town

The literary output of Ibn ʿĪsā is sparse. It consists of several invocations (*awrād*), some litanies (*aḥzāb*), including the very popular *Ḥizb Subḥān al-Dāʾim* which is a compilation of works of al-Djazūlī, al-Ḥārithī and al-Suhaylī, some *ḳaṣīda*s which the ʿĪsāwā sing at their meetings, and a spiritual testament (*waṣiyya*), in which are incorporated numerous teachings of the Shādhilī authors.

Dissemination and organization of the *ṭarīḳa*. Ibn ʿĪsā had great numbers of disciples, six hundred of whom were said to have achieved the state of perfection; particularly prominent among them is the figure of his immediate successor, Abu 'l-Rawāʾin. This man belonged to the class of Ṣūfis known as "the reprehensibles" (*malāmatiyya* [*q.v.*]), who conceal their wisdom beneath an extravagant exterior. He never married and, even today, women avoid approaching his tomb, which is situated alongside that of his master, for fear of a curse. He was given the name *al-Mukadhdhib* (the Contester) on account of his anti-conformist behaviour; he used to contrive to sell to some rich or powerful man a town or a whole territory to which he had no claim whatsoever; anyone who refused to pay him this strange tribute found himself struck down with some misfortune; if on the other hand he completed the transaction, God granted him the advantages promised by the Saint, who indeed himself distributed as alms the sums of money thus acquired. Abu 'l-Rawāʾin played an important part in supporting the first Saʿdids in their struggle against the Portuguese, in preparing the way for their proclamation as sultans in Marrākush (951/1544), and later in stirring up the people of Fās against the Waṭṭāsids. After his death (963/1556), control of the *ṭarīḳa* reverted to the descendants of Ibn ʿĪsā and remained with them by hereditary succession. Thereafter the ʿIsāwā hardly appeared on the political scene.

During the actual lifetime of the founder, several *zāwiya*s were founded outside Miknās, one of them at Figuig (south-eastern Morocco), from which the confraternity spread out towards Algeria and Tunisia. According to various censuses and estimates, the *Ṭarīḳa ʿĪsāwiyya* at the present day is said to include about 50,000 active members divided as follows:

Morocco: according to Drague (1939), 21, 591 affiliated members, 3,181 of these being in the region of Miknās; but, in the opinion of Brunel (1926), Miknās alone included "more than ten thousand affiliated members of both sexes"; numerous *zāwiya*s in the whole country, particularly in Fās, Tiṭwān, Tangier, in all the towns on the Atlantic seaboard, in Tāza, in the Rif, the Tafilālt, etc.—Algeria: approximately 4,000 members and about a dozen *zāwiya*s, including those at Blida and Uzara (dépt. of Algiers), Remshi and Tlemcen (dépt. of Oran), Bône, Bougie and Constantine.—Tunisia: according to H. R. Idris (*Initiation à la Tunisie*, Paris 1950), 11,290 members and 87 *zāwiya*s.—Other *zāwiya*s, in Libya, Syria, Cairo and Mecca.

The *Ṭarīḳa ʿĪsāwiyya* possesses a fairly homogeneous though decentralised structure. A superintendant (*mazwār*), chosen from the founder's descendants and confirmed by the *makhzen*, administers the mother-*zāwiya* of Miknās and divides the income from it between the *shaykh*'s descendants living in Miknās and Fās, but it is in fact the *muḳaddam* of the mother-*zāwiya* who exercises the spiritual authority and the principal temporal functions in Miknās, while the *awlād al-shaykh* perform the same functions in their respective *zāwiya*s. There is consequently a division of authority, and also very pronounced individual features in the practices of the order. Every year, however, a meeting is held in Miknās when the ʿIsāwā of all lands come together at the tomb of their patron saint at the time of the *mawlid*, the anniversary of the Prophet's birth. It is then that, for three days, one can witness the processions, the ecstatic dances, the blood-stained feasts (*frīsa*) and *faḳir*-like performances which have fascinated and often shocked observers. (A detailed study of the *mawlid* ceremonies has been made by Brunel; a literary but fairly accurate description appears in the novel of H. Ardel, *Colette Bryce au Maroc*, Paris 1937, 91-101).

Doctrine and method.—On the question of the doctrine of union with God and the fundamental methods of attaining spiritual perfection, the *Ṭarīḳa ʿĪsāwiyya* stands directly in the line of classical orthodox Ṣūfism which takes as its basis the common religious law (*sharīʿa*) and leads the aspirant (*murīd*), thanks to the appropriate training that he undergoes under the direction of his spiritual guide (*murshid*)—a training which constitutes the "path" (*ṭarīḳa*), strictly speaking—into direct contact with the divine Reality (*ḥaḳīḳa*). The chain of transmission (*silsila*) of the esoteric teachings of Ibn ʿĪsā goes back beyond al-Djazūlī and Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī, to ʿAbd al-Salām b. Mashīsh [*q.v.*], Abū Madyan [*q.v.*], ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī [see ḲĀDIRIYYA], and al-Djunayd [*q.v.*], to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and the Prophet. Like his predecessors, Ibn ʿĪsā exhorted his disciples to detach themselves from worldly desires, passions and individual ambitions in order to attain the state of total dependence or "poverty" in relation to God, *faḳr* (hence the word *faḳīr* [*q.v.*] to denote the adept of the mystical path). Just as the Prophet did in regard to the whole body of the Faithful, Ibn ʿĪsā assumed for his disciples the role of model and intercessor: "He who in this world keeps company with me, or watches me, even though only in a dream, goes to paradise at my intercession", he says, and "My hand is above my initiates, alive or dead, just as the heaven is above the earth". Hence the importance of *adab*, the norms of conduct which govern relations between master and disciples, and those between the disciples themselves. Ibn ʿĪsā places particular emphasis on love (*maḥabba*), in which he sees "the fullest degree of perfection", and he states explicitly that "There are four kinds of love: love from the intelligence, love from the heart, love from the soul, mysterious love . . . Love from the intelligence or spiritual love is the perpetual love of God; it gives rise to the desire to merge oneself with the object that is loved, to possess it, to pray to it . . . Love from the heart, which is called passion . . . reveals itself through languor, regrets, lamentations, neglect of the world, the desire for God. . . Love from the soul is shown by perplexity, astonishment, regret, sobs, thirst, frenzy, by prostrating oneself within God, . . . by poverty. Secret love consists in enclosing oneself within God, in losing oneself in His praise, through the study of oneself, in abasing oneself in contemplation of the essence of God, in such a way as to allow oneself to be entirely absorbed into the Divine Being" (quoted by Rinn). The initiatory bond (*ʿahd*) is given by a clasping of hands, and women are admitted to the *ṭarīḳa* on the same footing as men.

The basic method for the approach to God is the practice of invocation (*dhikr* [*q.v.*]). This can take different forms:—a) the recital, individually or collectively, of liturgical formulae (*wird*; pl. *awrād*) peculiar to the *ṭarīḳa*; three of these exist—the short *wird*, the medium *wird*, and the long *wird*, corresponding to the increasingly exalted stages of initiation.—b) rhythmical intoning of litanies, among them being the *Ḥizb Subḥān al-Dāʾim*, peculiar to the *ṭarīḳa*, and the *aḥzāb* of al-Djazārī, al-Djazūlī, Al-Nawāwī, al-Shādhilī and Zarrūḳ, common to almost all the confraternities of North Africa, and also prayers on the Prophet, like the *Mashīshiyya*, and poems by Ṣūfī authors.—c) metrical repetition of the *shahāda*, the divine Names and the *ism al-mufrad* ("the supreme

Name", *Allāh*);—d) ecstatic dancing, to which the ʿĪsāwā give the name of *taḥayyur*, *ḥayra* or *idjdhāb* ("ravishment"). This is accompanied by various instruments—drums (*ṭabl*, *bandīr*) and tambourines (*daff*), reed-flutes (*geṣba* [*ḳaṣaba*]) or clarinets (*ghayṭa*) —and songs. It consists of a rather slow introductory section, the *rabbānī*, during which the dancers, standing in line, hold hands and perform vertical bending movements together with lateral motions; and a more rapid section made up of supple complex movements, the *mudjarrad* ("denuding"), for which the dancers remove their djallāba and form a circle round their *muḳaddam*. The dances often end in displays of fakirism in which the disciples, apparently anaesthetized, walk on glowing coals, take burning brands in their hands and between their lips, swallow fragments of broken bottles or strike themselves with swords.

Particular practices.—The explicitly devotional character of the teaching of Ibn ʿĪsā and the dynamism of the *ḥaḍra ʿĪsāwiyya* (the sessions for invocation and dancing) favoured the spread of the *ṭarīḳa* among the common people—artisans in the towns, Berbers in the country, negro slaves brought back from the Sudan by Sultan Aḥmad al-Dhahabī at the time of the Timbuktoo expedition (1591) and grouped together at Miknās by Mawlāy Ismāʿīl after 1672. In the course of this expansion, the confraternity absorbed a certain number of local customs (in particular, borrowings from Berber carnivals) and survivals of ancient pagan or animistic worship which gave it a highly individual aspect. The most characteristic elements of this magico-religious complex are as follows:—a) the horror of black, which is revealed only during festivities and which sometimes incites affiliates to throw themselves on persons wearing clothing of this colour, strip off their garments and tear up the material;—b) the wearing of the *gaṭṭāya*, a kind of mat of plaited hair, which is worn very long and grown only from the top of the cranium, the remainder of the head being shaved;—c) the practice of healing by the recitation of formulae, by trampling the sick man under foot, or by placing the patient in contact with snakes;—d) the association with snakes which are regarded as a friendly race, with whom al-Shaykh al-Kāmil is said to have concluded a pact; this allows a special category of affiliates, the *Ḥnayshiyya*, to charm these creatures, to heal the bites they inflict and even to grant to others immunity from their venom;—e) the practices of conjuration and exorcism, for which the *ṭallāʿ* uses a flat basket, the *madjmāʿ al-asyād* or "assembly of the Great Masters", on which are placed pebbles, shells, and various other objects representing protective saints and familiar *djinns*; according to the relative position in which these objects are found, the magician foretells the future or makes a diagnosis; to cure a patient who is nervous or possessed, he can order him to drink the blood of a newly sacrificed animal; —f) representations of animals. In each *ṭāʾifa*, a certain number of *fuḳarāʾ* embody some animal species whose behaviour they mimic in a very realistic manner, particularly during feasts and at gatherings. The animals thus represented are:—lions and lionesses which, with jackals and panthers, have a part in some ritual feasts (*frīsa*), during which they lacerate an animal, a sheep or goat, sacrificed earlier, tear it to pieces, smear themselves with its blood and eat the raw flesh; wild boars (*ḥallūf*) and dogs which come face to face in ferocious fights; cats, which perform thefts and acrobatic feats; camels, which carry enormous burdens and do not hesitate to devour cactuses, thistles and barley; lastly, hyenas, gloomy carnivorous creatures which appear more rarely. If the existence of these animal clans seems to derive from negro totemism (Van Gennep, *Religion, Moeurs et Légendes*, Paris 1908), the elements of communal sacrifice have nonetheless been profoundly changed, particularly in a moderating sense, by Islamic influence. It has also been noted (Brunel) that, for the idea of filiation stemming from an animal ancestor, there has been substituted that of a covenant (*ʿahd*), on account of the *baraka* of Sīdī Ibn ʿĪsā: thanks to his domination (*taṣarruf*) over created beings, this master seems to have succeeded in achieving in his *ṭarīḳa* a kind of fraternity between men, animals and *djinns*.—g) Finally, many *ʿĪsāwiyya* meetings have their clown, the *ʿaṭṭār* or mock pharmacist, who amuses everyone with his ridiculous stories and behaviour.

The unusual aspects of the *Ṭarīḳa ʿĪsāwiyya* have not failed to arouse the indignation of the anti-mystical *ʿulamāʾ* and to stir up lively criticism. An expression of such views is to be found, for instance, in an order which the ʿAlawid sultan Mawlāy Sulaymān caused to be read in all mosques in Morocco in 1815 and which stated in particular: "Cast far from you the *moussem*... and these innovations... Times have been fixed for these practices and considerable sums are thus spent for love of Satan. The people devoted to these innovations, the Aissaoua, the Jilala and other confraternities attracted to novelty and error, folly and ignorance, hasten to them..." (quoted by Drague, 89-91). As for the attitude of an élite among the Ṣūfīs, of a gnostic contemplative tendency, this is well illustrated by the case of the Algerian *shaykh* Ibn ʿAlīwa [*q.v.*] who was himself an ʿĪsāwī before becoming an affiliate of the Darḳāwā [*q.v.*]: while recognising the authenticity of the ʿĪsāwī mystical teaching and the excellence of the masters in the *ṭarīḳa*, Ibn ʿAlīwa regrets that affiliates should attach so much importance to the search for prodigies and to the practices of fakirism (cf. M. Lings, *A Moslem saint of the twentieth century*, London 1961, 50-1). This opinion is corroborated by the works of rientalists who have made a close study of the ʿĪsāwā.

Bibliography: The fundamental work still remains the monograph of R. Brunel, *Essai sur la Confrérie religieuse des Aissaoua au Maroc*, Paris 1926, which takes into account not only all the earlier works, in particular those of Cat, Delphin, de Neveu, Depont and Coppolani, Doutté and above all L. Rinn (whose *Marabouts et Khouans*, Algiers 1884, chap. XXI contains translations of texts not reproduced by Brunel), etc., but also some printed Arabic sources (the *Istiḳṣāʾ* of Salāwī, the *Salwat al-anfās* of Djaʿfar al-Kittānī, among others) and several unpublished manuscripts. It is only possible here to refer the reader to the bibliography contained in this work (p. vii-x).

Among the more recent studies, that of E. Dermenghem in *Le Culte des Saints dans l'Islam maghrébin*, Paris 1954, 303-18, is of special interest in that it allows some of Brunel's oversevere criticisms of the ʿĪsāwā of Algeria to be rectified; it contains abundant extracts from the liturgical formulae used at meetings and includes interesting musical notations (from Léo-Louis Barbès in *R. Afr.*, 1951). Consult also the following works: —P. J. André, *Contribution à l'étude des Confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1956; A. Bernard, *La religion musulmane en Berbérie*, Paris 1938; G. Drague, *Esquisse d'histoire religieuse du Maroc*, Paris 1951, *passim*.

(J. L. Michon)

ʿĪSĀWĪ [see NAṢĀRĀ].

AL-**ʿĪSĀWIYYA**, a Jewish sect, the followers of Abū ʿĪsā al-Iṣfahānī [*q.v.*], also known as ʿObhadya and ʿObhedel. The sect is also referred to as the Iṣfahāniyya.

Abū ʿĪsā was the leader of a Jewish uprising, which occurred either in the reign of the Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, as is reported by the Ḳaraite author al-Ḳirḳisānī, or in the reign of the last Umayyad caliph as is stated by al-Shahrastānī (followed on grounds of general probability by I. Friedlaender). On the available evidence no definitive solution can be given to this chronological problem.

Abū ʿĪsā claimed to be a prophet (*nabī*: al-Ḳirḳisānī) and, as al-Shahrastānī puts it, one of the five messengers (*rusul*) of the expected Messiah (*al-masīḥ al-muntaẓar*), charged by God with the deliverance of the Children of Israel. Al-Bīrūnī too refers to his describing himself as a messenger of the Messiah (*al-Āthār al-Bāḳiya*, ed. E. Sachau, 15). Al-Shahrastānī also mentions that Abū ʿĪsā considered that "the missionary" (*al-dāʿī*; it may be legitimate to consider that he referred to himself) could be regarded as, in a sense, identical to the Messiah, a conception reminiscent of the doctrines of certain extremist Shīʿī sects. There can be hardly any doubt, however, that Hadassi's statement that he put forward the claim to be the Messiah is due to a misapprehension. In proof of his prophethood, his partisans adduced the fact, that, in spite of being illiterate (*ummī*, a word used by Muḥammad), he produced books and scriptural scrolls (*muṣḥaf*). At the head of his followers he joined battle with soldiers of the Caliphate and was killed (or as his followers reported, vanished in the cleft of a rock). The number of his followers (who were few to begin with) dwindled constantly. In Ḳirḳisanī's time (4th/10th century) there were approximately twenty in Damascus and possible also a few in Iṣfahān. Those who were personally known to Ibn Ḥazm were probably not members of the sect in the strict sense of the word.

According to Ḳirḳisānī, Yūdghān, who was regarded by his followers the Yūdghān(iyya) as the Messiah, was reported to have been a disciple of Abū ʿĪsā.

Abū ʿĪsā taught (in common with other Jewish sects, for instance, the Mūshkāniyya, said to stem from the Yūdghāniyya) that Jesus and Muḥammad were true prophets, each of whom was delegated to bring a distinctive law to a community of his own —in the case of Muḥammad to the Arabs. But in spite of their prophethood, the observance of the Mosaic law continued to be incumbent upon the Jews. (In consequence of this thesis Muslim theologians such as al-Bāḳillānī and ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī discussed the question whether the ʿĪsāwiyya, who believed in the prophethood of Muḥammad and whose beliefs authorized them, according to al-Baghdādī, to profess the *shahāda*, could be regarded as Muslims; their answer was negative). Al-Ḳirḳisānī mentions that Abū ʿĪsā promulgated a prohibition against drinking wine and eating meat and al-Shahrastānī speaks of his forbidding the eating of any animate being. He also prohibited divorce.

Friedlaender finds points of similarity between the ʿĪsāwiyya and Shīʿī sects and to some extent his remarks may be valid (see also above), but they do not account for the strange fact that on the one hand Abū ʿĪsā showed great regard for the rabbinical interpretation and observance of the law (and in consequence the Rabbanites allowed the members of their community to intermarry with the ʿĪsāwiyya: al-Ḳirḳisānī, i, 52) and that, on the other hand, Abū ʿĪsā acknowledged the prophethood of Jesus and Muḥammad. A possible explanation might be that the ʿĪsāwiyya stemmed from Jewish Christians, *i.e.*, from a community which believed in the validity of Mosaic law and considered Jesus as a prophet. For some members of such a community the acknowledgement of the prophethood of Muḥammad after the advent of Islam need not have presented insuperable theological difficulties. The existence of Jewish Christians in Jerusalem at the time of Muʿāwiya is attested by contemporary evidence. Ibn Ḥazm's statement, contradicted by other sources, that the ʿĪsāwiyya believed that Jesus was a prophet sent to the Children of Israel, would, if accepted as correct, reinforce this hypothesis. This hypothesis could account for Abū ʿĪsā's prohibition of divorce (which is compared by al-Ḳirḳisānī with the similar Christian ordinance) and for the fact that the Yūdghāniyya, the followers of Yūdghān, who is reported to have been a disciple of Abū ʿĪsā, appears to be classified by Muṭahhar al-Maḳdisī as a Christian sect (*al-Badʾ wa 'l-taʾrīkh*, ed. Cl. Huart, reprinted Tehran 1942, iv, 42, 46; the reading Yudghaniyya necessitates a very slight emendation). Abū ʿĪsā's description of himself as a *rasūl* of the *masīḥ* may be a transposition of the Christian nomenclature referring to Christ and the apostles.

Bibliography: al-Ḳirḳisānī, *Kitāb al-anwār wa 'l-marāḳib*, (Code of Ḳaraite Law), New York 1939-1940, i, 12-13, 51-52, ii, 283 ff. (cf. 307). The passages in vol. i are translated by L. Nemoy in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, vii, Cincinnati 1930, 328 and 383-384; Hadassi, *Eshkol Hak-kopher*, 1836, 41 b; al-Shahrastānī, *Milal*, Cairo 1948, ii, 23-25; al-Bāḳillānī, *Tamhīd*, Cairo 1942, 131, 147-148; al-Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, Cairo 1948, 141-142, 168; Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, i, 99; al-Isfarāʾīnī, *al-Tabṣīr fi 'l-dīn*, Cairo Baghdad 1955, 133; I. Friedlaender, *Jewish Arabic Studies* in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, N.S. i (1910-1911), 183-215, N.S. ii (1911-1912), 481-515, iii (1912-1913), 235-300, *passim*; R. Brunschvig, in *Homenaje a Millas-Valicrosa*, Barcelona 1954, i, 226-227. (S. PINES)

IṢBAʿ (A.), also AṢBAʿ, "finger", as a measurement of length the breadth of the middle joint of the middle finger, conventionally one twenty-fourth of the cubit, *dhirāʿ*. See DHIRĀʿ, penultimate paragraph and bibliography. (ED.)

In Arab navigational texts *iṣbaʿ* is unit of measurement of star altitude (*ʿilm al-ḳiyās*). Latitude on the Ocean was indicated by the altitude of certain stars, usually the Pole Star or one of the Bears, above the horizon at certain times. Complete tables of Pole Star, Little Bear and Great Bear altitudes of ports in the Indian Ocean are given by Arab navigational texts and partial tables of altitudes of the Southern Cross and several other stars. The *iṣbaʿ* was considered to be the angle subtended by the width of a finger held at arm's length against the horizon. Four fingers, *i.e.*, the measurement of one hand (the thumb could not be used) were one *dhubbān*, a word of unknown origin. The *dhubbān* was the width of the standard measuring instrument, the *khashabat al-arbaʿ* and a universal standard could be obtained by comparing the stars α and β Aurigae which were 4 *iṣbaʿ* apart. The *iṣbaʿ* was divided by the navigators into eighths known as *zām*, which was a "watch" of 3 hours. It is explained in the navigational texts of Ibn Mādjid and Sulaymān al-Mahrī that a ship sailing one *zām* due north raised the Pole Star $^1/_8$ *iṣbaʿ*, therefore assuming that the average ship sailed one

iṣbaʿ due north in 24 hours. A *tirfa* was the distance sailed on any rhumb to raise the Pole Star's altitude one *iṣbaʿ* and varied according to the rhumb. A *tirfa* due north or south was 1 *iṣbaʿ*.

The actual value of the *iṣbaʿ* in terms of European measurements varied somewhat. Originally it varied with the finger of the navigator, but by the time of the surviving Arab navigational texts (1450-1513) the *iṣbaʿ* had become standardized. There were however variations, which may have been national or regional, and other variations in the stellar altitude of a particular port may have been due to inaccurate observation. The standard measurement used by the Arabs was 224 *iṣbaʿ* in 360° (*i.e.*, 1 *iṣbaʿ* = 1°36′) but this was a figure of convenience, for it made 7 between each rhumb of the compass rose and 8 to each lunar mansion. Sulaymān al-Mahrī used the fact that the diameter of the circle made by the Pole Star round the Pole was 4 *iṣbaʿ* (the navigator's usual figure) and showed by astronomical means hat this was $6\frac{6}{7}$ degrees. Therefore 1 *iṣbaʿ* was $1\frac{5}{7}$ degrees (1°43′) or 210 in 360°. However for practical purposes he used the figure of 224 in 360°.

European scholars have followed up the equation given that the Pole Star's polar distance is 2 *iṣbaʿ* and produced values. Princep, allowing for precession, gave values for the year 1394 of 1°56′ and for 1550 of 1°33′. Ferrand working for 1500 produced the figure of 1°45′. The Arabs however never gave an epoch to their figures—most of their figures were probably inherited from previous centuries and not all from the same time, so that it seems fruitless to speculate too much on actual values of the measurement.

Bibliography: G. Ferrand, *Instructions nautiques et routiers arabes et portugais*, Paris 1921-8; i and ii contain the texts of Aḥmad ibn Mād͟jid and Sulaymān al-Mahrī; iii "Introduction à l'astronomie nautique arabe", contains the theory of L. de Saussure and Ferrand. J. Princep, *Note of the nautical instruments of the Arabs*, in *J. Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, 1836, 784-94, attached to Hammer-Purgstall's translation of the work of Sidi Čelebi "Extracts from the Moḥîṭ, that is the Ocean, a Turkish work on navigation in the Indian seas", in *J. As. Soc. Bengal* (1834-39). G. R. Tibbetts, *Arab navigation in the Indian Ocean before the coming of the Portuguese* (forthcoming).

(G. R. Tibbetts)

IṢFAHĀN (in Arabic Iṣbahān), a town and province in Persia, whose name, according to Hamza al-Iṣfahānī, means "the armies" (Māfarruk͟hī, *Kitāb Maḥāsin Iṣfahān*, ed. Sayyid D͟jalāl al-Dīn Tihrānī, Tehran n.d., 5-6).

1. History

The province, whose precise boundaries have varied at different times, is bounded on the north-east and east by the central desert. In the south-east by Yazd and Fārs, in the south and south-west by the Bak͟htiyārī mountains, with peaks rising to over 11,000 ft., in the north-west by Luristān, Kazzāz, Kamara, and Maḥallāt, and in the north by the districts of D͟jaws͟haḳān and Natanz, which have an elevation of 5-7,000 ft., with peaks rising considerably higher. Under the Sasanians it was an important province, holding a central position (Cf. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*[2], Copenhagen 1944, 506). Hurmuzān, when consulted by ʿUmar b. al-K͟haṭṭāb on his plans for further conquest, advised him to march on Iṣfahān, which he compared to the head whose fall would be followed by that of the two wings, Ād͟harbāyd͟jān and Fārs (Balād͟hurī, *Futūḥ*, Cairo 1957, ii, 371-2; Abū Nuʿaym, *Geschichte Isbahans*, ed. S. Dedering, Leiden 1931, i, 21; Māfarruk͟hī, 6). Balʿamī likened Fārs and Kirmān to the two hands of Iṣfahān and Ād͟harbāyd͟jān and Rayy to its two feet (*Tard͟juma-i taʾrīk͟h-i Ṭabarī*, ed. Muḥammad D͟javād Mas͟hkūr, Tehran 1959-60, 326).

After the Arab conquest Iṣfahān formed part of the province of the D͟jibāl, which corresponded to the earlier Media, and which became known in the 6th/12th century as ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAd͟jam (G. Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 5, 185). According to Ḥamza, Iṣfahān extended from Hamadān and Māh Nihāwand to Kirmān, and from Rayy and Ḳumis to Fārs and K͟hūzistān, and consisted, in pre-Islamic times, of three *ustān*s, 30 *rustāḳ*s, 120 *tasūd͟j*, 5,000 villages, and 7 cities. Four of these became ruined, the province then comprising two *kūra*s, 27 *rustāḳ*s, and 3, 313 villages. When the Arabs came, two more cities were ruined, leaving only D͟jay (Abū Nuʿaym, 14). In 189/804-5 Hārūn al-Ras͟hīd separated the *kūra* of Ḳumm, which consisted of four *rustāḳ*s, from Iṣfahān together with what he added to it from the *rustāḳ*s of Hamadān and Nihāwand, after which Iṣfahān consisted of 23 *rustāḳ*s (Abū Nuʿaym, 14; Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan Ḳummī, *Taʾrīk͟h-i Ḳumm*, translated by Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Malik Ḳummī, ed. Sayyid D͟jalāl al-Dīn Tihrānī, Tehran 1935, 24-5, 28 ff., 57, 101). Al-Muʿtaṣim made further changes, constituting Karad͟j into a *kūra*, taking four *rustāḳ*s from Iṣfahān and some estates from Nihāwand and Hamadān, after which Iṣfahān consisted of 19 *rustāḳ*s, 1 *kūra*, and 2,500 villages (Abū Nuʿaym, 14).

Under the Mongols the province of Iṣfahān contained three main cities, Iṣfahān, Fīrūzān in the *bulūk* of Lind͟jān, and Fārifāʾān in Rūdas͟ht, and consisted of 8 *bulūk*s, and 400 villages, together with many cultivated lands belonging to these villages. The *bulūk*s were D͟jay (which included the town of Iṣfahān and its environs), with 75 villages, Karārid͟j with 23 villages, Ḳuhāb with 40, both to the south of the town, Barāʾān with 80 villages and Rūdas͟ht with 60 to the east, Burk͟hʷār with 32 to the north, and Mārbīn with 58 and Lind͟jān with 20 to the west (Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, ed. G. Le Strange, London 1919, 48, 50-1). In the 19th century Iṣfahān formed an extensive province divided into 9 *bulūk*s, the ninth being Karvan, north of Lind͟jān, 8 *maḥall*, namely Rār, Kiyār, Mīzdad͟j, and Gandumān (which together formed Čahār Maḥall), Simīrum, D͟jarḳūya, Ardistān, and Ḳuhpāya (south of Ardistān, and east of Iṣfahān, on both sides of the Zāyanda-rūd river), two *ḳaṣaba*s, Nad͟jafābād and Ḳumis͟ha (the modern S͟hahriḍā), and 5 *nāḥiya*s, Čādagān, Varzaḳ, Tuk͟hmāḳlū, Gurd͟jī, and Čināṛūd, which together formed Firaydan (Muḥammad Mihdī b. Muḥammad Riḍā al-Iṣfahānī, *Niṣf-i d͟jahān fī taʿrīf āl Iṣfahān*, ed. Manūčihr Sutūda, Tehran 1962-3, 21-2, 296-336; A. Houtum-Schindler, *Eastern Persian Irak*, London 1898, 125-9). The number of villages in all the *bulūk*s except Karārid͟j and Barāʾān, which had declined, and Rūdas͟ht, which was unaltered, had increased by the 19th century (Ḥasan K͟hān S͟hayk͟h D͟jābirī Anṣārī, *Taʾrīk͟h-i niṣf-i d͟jahān va hama-i d͟jahān*, lith., n.d., 168 ff.). Under Riḍā Shāh Iṣfahān was reduced to a district or sub-province (*s͟hahristān*) and formed part of the Tenth Ustān, which also included, as separate *s͟hahristān*s, S͟hahr-i Kurd, S͟hahriḍā, Firaydan, Yazd, Ardistān, and Nāʾīn (Ḥasan ʿĀbidī, *Iṣfahān az liḥāẓ-i id͟jtimāʿī va iḳtiṣādī*, Iṣfahān 1956-7, 6). Its population according to the census of 1319 (A.H.S.)/1941-2 was 240, 598. By 1956-7 the

population of the *s͟hahristān*, which comprised the town of Iṣfahān, Sidih, Falāvard̲j̲ān, Nad̲j̲afābād, and Kūhpāya (Ḳuhpāya), was 880,027 (*ibid.*, 53).

Physically and climatically Iṣfahān is a varied province ranging from the mountain districts of Firaydan and Čahār Maḥall, with their extensive pastures where transhumance is practised, the plateau in the north and north-west where oasis-farming prevails, the immensely fertile riverain plain of Iṣfahān, and districts in the east and north-east bordering the *kavīr*. Rainfall is heaviest in the mountain districts of Firaydan and Čahār Maḥall, where it is *c.* 10 inches with heavy snowfalls in winter. In the town of Iṣfahān the annual rainfall is *c.* 5 inches and falls mainly from November to April. The prevailing winds are north-west in winter and south-east in summer. Temperature varies with altitude. Extremes of heat and cold occur in August and January. In the mountain districts the cold is intense in winter, but the heat is not very great in summer. In the neighbourhood of the town of Iṣfahān the seasons are extremely regular. The mean monthly maximum temperature in the town in August is 36.1° C. and the mean monthly minimum temperature in January is -2.2° C. Humidity is low. Outbreaks of plague are recorded in 324/936, 344/955-6, (von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, Vienna 1875, ii, 492), and 423/1031-2, when 4,000 people died (Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, ix, 290), and 810/1407-8 (ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, *Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn*, ed. Muḥammad S̲h̲afīʿ, Lahore 1941, i, 110). The only severe earthquake recorded in Iṣfahān took place in Rabīʿ I 239/950, when many people were killed (Houtum-Schindler, 124; Muḥammad Mihdī, 96).

Except in Firaydan and Čahār Maḥall, where dry farming is practised, all cultivation is irrigated by river water, *ḳanāt*s, or wells. Water in the Iṣfahān plain is found at a depth of 12-15 ft. (Muḥammad Mihdī, 83). In recent years a large number of machine-operated wells have been sunk, which has been a contributory factor in the lowering of the water-table which has taken place. The Zāyanda-rūd River, or Zanda-rūd (also called by Ibn Rusta, Māfarruk̲h̲ī and others the Zarīn-rūd), which rises on the eastern slopes of the Zarda Kūh, receives various tributaries from Firaydan and Čahār Maḥall and then flows south-east through the town of Iṣfahān and finally disappears in the Gāvk̲h̲ʷānī (Gāvk̲h̲ūnī) marsh to the east of the town. Between Lind̲j̲ān, where the Zāyanda-rūd enters the Iṣfahān plain and the Gāvk̲h̲ʷānī, it waters the *bulūk*s of Lind̲j̲ān, Mārbīn D̲j̲ay, Karārid̲j̲, Barāʾān, and Rūdas̲h̲t, by means of 105 canals, known locally as *mādī*s. The original distribution of the water was attributed by Ibn Rusta to Ardas̲h̲īr b. Bābak (155). The modern division of the water goes back, according to tradition, to S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās. Between Lind̲j̲ān and the Gāvk̲h̲ʷānī the river was crossed by twelve permanent and two temporary bridges. Below the last of these at Varzana there are three dykes or dams for the purpose of raising the water to irrigate the land on either side. One, the Band-i Marwān, was built in Umayyad times (Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 365-6; Muḥammad Mihdī, 16-17, 94-104; Houtum-Schindler, 17-18; Ḥusayn K̲h̲ān Taḥwīldār-i Iṣfahān, *D̲j̲ug̲h̲rāfiyā-yi Iṣfahān*, ed. Manūčihr Sutūda, Tehran 1964-5, 37 ff.; A. K. S. Lambton, *The regulation of the waters of the Zāyanda Rūd* in *BSOAS*, ix/3 (1937-9), 663-73). In 1954 a tunnel connecting the Zāyanda-rūd with the R. Kārūn was opened at Kūhrang, which materially increased the flow of water in the Zāyanda-rūd. This plan was first conceived by S̲h̲āh Ṭahmāsp. His successor, S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās, began to cut through the mountains near Kūhrang, but the work was abandoned before completion. New plans were made during the reign of Riḍā S̲h̲āh to tunnel through the Kūhrang in order to join the two rivers (ʿĀbidī, 74). In 1970 the S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās the Great dam was opened in the Kavand district. This dam enables the flow of water to be regulated throughout the year so that surplus water no longer flows into the Gāvk̲h̲ʷānī marsh, which was reported to be drying up.

Many of the early Islamic geographers, Māfarruk̲h̲ī, his Persian translator, Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Riḍā Āvī (*Tard̲j̲uma-i Maḥāsin-i Iṣfahān*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1949-50), and numerous other writers speak of the excellent climate, fertility and abundant crops of Iṣfahān. These included wheat, barley, millet, opium, which became an important export in the 19th century (Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, ii, 42; Muḥammad Mihdī, 125), rice (in Lind̲j̲ān and Alind̲j̲ān), cotton, tobacco, various oilseeds, pulses and legumes, beet, madder, saffron, many kinds of vegetables and herbs, melons, grapes, fruits of various kinds, almonds and nuts (Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 363-7; Muḳaddasī, 386-9; Iṣtak̲h̲rī, 198-200; Ḥusayn K̲h̲ān Taḥwīldār, 43 ff.; S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ D̲j̲ābirī Anṣārī, 168 ff.; Muḥammad Mihdī, 19-20, 113-25). The Iṣfahānī peasant is known for his thrift and good farming (A. K. S. Lambton, *The Persian Land Reform 1962-1966*, Oxford 1969, 145). Animal manure, sewage and pigeon manure collected in pigeon-towers, a characteristic feature of the landscape of the Iṣfahān plain, noted by many travellers (see Curzon, ii, 19-20), have traditionally been used in agriculture round Iṣfahān. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī mentions excellent pastures in the neighbourhood of Iṣfahān (*Nuzhat*, 49). In many parts of the province flocks are a supplementary source of livelihood, and in Firaydan and Čahār Maḥall the main source. From these two districts abundant meat supplies also were available to Iṣfahān. Formerly horse-breeding and mule-breeding were important in Čahār Maḥall (S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ D̲j̲ābarī Anṣārī, 182-3), and camels were kept in the Ardistān district (*ibid.*, p. 191). Rugs and carpets are woven in different parts of the province. Iṣfahān was also noted for its textiles (cf. Olearius, *The voyages and travels of the ambassadors....*, London 1669, 225), armour and brass-work. Small mineral deposits were formerly worked in Ḳuhistān and Taymara (Abū Nuʿaym, i, 32; Māfarruk̲h̲ī, 18, 39), but had fallen out of use by the second half of the 19th century (Muḥammad Mihdī, 20).

The city of Iṣfahān, situated on longitude 51°35 east and latitude 32°40 north at an altitude of some 5,200 ft. above sea-level, is an old foundation, centred originally on the village of D̲j̲ay, otherwise called S̲h̲ahristān or S̲h̲ahristāna, two miles to the west of which was Yahūdiyya, where Jews are supposed to have been settled by Nebuchadnezzar (Schreiber, *Rev. des Études Juives*, xii, 259; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 261), or under Yazdigird I at the request of his Jewish wife S̲h̲ōs̲h̲anduk̲h̲t (E. Blochet, *Liste des villes*, para. 54 in *Receuil des travaux*, xvii, 1895; J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 29). Ancient legends, transmitted by Ibn Rusta, attribute the building of the citadel to Kay Kāʾūs [*q.v.*]. Yahūdiyya later became the centre of the city while S̲h̲ahristān became a suburb.

The province of Iṣfahān, in view of its central position, has experienced most of the vicissitudes undergone by Persia since the Arab conquest. The population is nevertheless remarkably homogenous, apart from certain well-marked geographical areas, notably Firaydan and Čahār Maḥall, which are inhabited chiefly by Bak̲h̲tiyārī tribes [*q.v.*], and small Jewish

and Christian minorities mainly in the town of Iṣfahān. For the rest the various settlers brought in by different dynasties which successively ruled the province have been absorbed into the local population (cf. Ḥusayn Khān Taḥvīldār, 91-2). Jews, as stated above, have been settled in Iṣfahān from ancient times. Benjamin of Tudela, writing in the 6th/12th century, states that there were 15,000 Jews in the town (Elkan Adler, *Jewish Travellers*, London 1930, 53). By the 19th century their numbers had fallen. Curzon puts them at only 3,700 (i, 510; see further W. J. Fischel, *Isfahān, the story of a Jewish community in Persia*, in *The Joshua Starr Memorial Volume*, New York 1953, 111 ff.). Under Shāh ʿAbbās Armenians were brought from Djulfā and settled south of Iṣfahān in a suburb which came to be known as New Djulfā. Towards the end of the 11th/17th century their numbers reached 30,000. After the fall of the Ṣafawids, because of oppression and persecution, their numbers were greatly reduced. In 1889 there were only some 2,000 Armenians in Djulfā (Curzon, ii, 51-3; L. Lockhart, *The fall of the Safavi dynasty and the Afghan occupation of Persia*, Cambridge 1958, 484-5). Small settlements of Armenians and Georgians in Firaydan and Čahār Maḥall are also said to go back to the time of Shāh ʿAbbās (Curzon, ii, 284).

Iṣfahānīs are noted for their vigour, quickness of intellect, and good craftmanship. Māfarrukhī states that the best Iṣfahānīs were very good but the bad very bad (21). Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Abī 'l-Riḍā Āvī also mentions their intelligence and skill as craftsmen (78; cf. also Muḥammad Mihdī, 126). Al-Ḳazwīnī similarly praises their craftsmanship and learning in *fiḳh*, *adab*, astronomy and medicine (*Āthār al-bilād wa-akhbār al-ʿibād*, Beirut 1960, 297). Māfarrukhī relates that Anūshīravān preferred Iṣfahānī troops, especially those of Firaydan, over all others (42). The city has produced many scholars, divines, and literary men (for accounts of these see Abū Nuʿaym; Māfarrukhī; Shaykh Djābirī Anṣārī; ʿAbd al-Karīm Djazī, *Ridjāl-i Iṣfahān ya tadhkirat al-ḳubūr*, ed. Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Mahdawī, Iṣfahān 1949 (2nd ed.); and Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Mahdawī, *Tadhkira-i Shuʿarā-yi Iṣfahān*, Iṣfahān 1966-7).

Factional and sectarian strife between Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanafīs appears to have been a common feature of Iṣfahānī life in medieval times (cf. the verses by Kamāl al-Dīn Iṣfahānī quoted by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat*, 49-50, and others). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who visited Iṣfahān in 727/1326-7, states that the people of Iṣfahān had fine figures and clear white skins tinged with red, and were brave, pugnacious, and generous, and given to much hospitality, and also to sectarian strife. "The city of Iṣfahān is one of the largest and fairest of cities, but is now in ruins for the greater part, as the result of the feud there between the Sunnīs and Rāfiḍīs" (*The travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa A.D. 1325-1354*, Hakluyt, ed. H. A. R. Gibb, ii, 294-5). Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī also mentions their courage and the prevalence of faction. He states that the majority were Sunnīs of the Shāfiʿī rite and that they performed their religious duties very exactly (*Nuzhat*, 56). After the adoption of Shīʿism under the Ṣafawids, Shāfiʿī-Ḥanafī strife disappeared, but a new form of factional strife between Ḥaydarīs and Niʿmatīs, popularly supposed to have been started and encouraged by Shāh ʿAbbās, began. It was still strong in the 19th century (Ḥusayn Khān Taḥwīldār, 89; Chardin, *Voyages*, ed. Langlès, Paris 1811, additions by the editor, viii, 155-6; *The travels of Monsieur de Thevenôt into the Levant*, London 1687, ii, 108 bis.). Curzon, writing in the late 19th century, gives an unfavourable account of the Iṣfahānīs. He alleges that they enjoyed an unenviable reputation for cowardice and morals, and were niggardly and close in business matters, and that the *lūṭī*s of Iṣfahān were regarded as the biggest blackguards in Persia (ii, 43).

Iṣfahān in the early Islamic centuries. There are two versions of the capture of Iṣfahān by the Muslims. According to the Kūfan school, it took place in 19/640. On the order of the caliph ʿUmar, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿItbān marched on Djay, which was commanded by one of the four *pādhospān* of the Persian empire (see Nöldeke, *Gesch. der Perser und Araber, etc.*, 151, no. 2; cf. Christensen, *L'empire des Sassanides*, 87), who, after several battles, capitulated on condition that *djizya* was replaced by an annual tribute. Ṭabarī gives the date as 21/641-2 (ed. Leiden, i, 2637 ff.). The Baṣran school state that in 23/644 Abū Mūsā al-Ashʿarī [*q.v.*], after Nihāwand, took Iṣfahān, or that his lieutenant ʿAbd Allāh b. Budayl received the capitulation of the town on the usual conditions of the establishment of *kharādj* and *djizya* (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, Cairo 1957, ii, 383-4; on these varying versions see Caetani, *Annali*, v, yr. 23, para. 4-25). Māfarrukhī states that the *djizya* and *kharādj* of Iṣfahān in the first year of the conquest amounted to 40,000,000 *dirhams* (p. 12).

Under the Patriarchal Caliphs and the Umayyads, Iṣfahān came under the jurisdiction of the governors of Baṣra and ʿIrāḳ, who usually appointed the governors of Iṣfahān. It did not entirely escape the disturbances committed by the Khāridjīs. In 68/687-8 the town was besieged by the Azāriḳa branch, who were defeated by ʿItāb b. Warḳa and fled to Fārs and Kirmān. From 75/694 Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf [*q.v.*], who had become governor of ʿIrāḳ, appointed governors over Iṣfahān. During his government there appears to have been some settlement by Banū Tamīm in Djay, Banū Ḳays in the *rustāḳ* of Anār and Taymara, Banū ʿAnaza in Djāpalaḳ and Barḳrūd, and Ashʿarīs in Kumīdān, the *rustāḳ* bordering Rayy and Ḳumīs (*Taʾrīkh-i Ḳumm*, 264). Arab settlement in Ardistān also traditionally goes back to early Islamic times, and in the late 19th century Ardistānīs still traced back their genealogies to Arab ancestors (Shaykh Djābirī Anṣārī, [*q.v.*] 191).

In 127/744-5 ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya, the ʿAlid rebel, seized Iṣfahān and held it for some two years until he was put to flight by ʿĀmir b. Ḍabāra, who recovered Iṣfahān for the Umayyads. After the ʿAbbāsid revolt broke out in 130/747, Ḳaḥṭaba, Abū Muslim's general, defeated an Umayyad force in the neighbourhood of Iṣfahān and in 131/748-9 a second and larger force under ʿĀmir b. Ḍabāra was defeated near the town. From 132/749-50 ʿAbbāsid governors were appointed over Iṣfahān. On the whole, the history of Iṣfahān under the early ʿAbbāsids appears to have been uneventful, apart from its abortive seizure in 138/755-6 by Djumhūr b. al-ʿIdjlī, who rebelled against al-Manṣūr. Under Hārūn al-Rashīd, as stated above, Ḳumm was separated from Iṣfahān in 189/804-5. Its *kharādj* after this amounted to some 12,000,000 *dirhams* (*Taʾrīkh-i Ḳumm*, 31). After the civil war, Iṣfahān became part of the government of Ḥasan b. Sahl. In 200/815-6 and 201/816-17 there was a severe famine. Whether this had anything to do with an apparent decrease in the revenue or not, it had fallen to 10,500,000 *dirhams* in the year 204/237 according to Ḳudāma (von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, i, 337). In 221-2/836-7 it was still lower, being only 7,000,000 *dirhams* according to Ibn Khurradādhbih

(*ibid.*, 364). This may, perhaps, have been due in part to the fact that about 218/833 the Khurramdīnī movement, which had caused dislocation in Ādharbāydjān for many years, spread to Iṣfahān. An army sent by al-Muʿtaṣim put the disturbances down. According to Yaʿḳūbī, the revenue had again risen towards the end of the century to 10,000,000 *dirhams* (*ibid.*, 377) while Ibn Rusta puts it at over 10,300,000 *dirhams* (154).

In 253/867 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Dulaf was appointed to the government of Iṣfahān, which remained in the hands of the Banū Dulaf until 282/895-6 when al-Muʿtaḍid seized Ibn Abī Dulaf's property (Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 327). In 260/873-4 Yaḥyā b. Harthama appears to have reassessed Iṣfahān (*Taʾrīkh-i Ḳumm*, 185). In the following year, Iṣfahān passed briefly under the control of the Ṣaffārid, Yaʿḳūb b. Layth. The Banū Dulaf, who had been reinstated, continued, however, to hold the government of the province, as they did also under ʿAmr b. Layth, who succeeded in 265/879. In due course, when al-Muwaffaḳ felt strong enough to move against ʿAmr, he ordered Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Dulaf in 271/884-5 to attack ʿAmr. The latter was defeated and Iṣfahān once more came under the control of the caliphate. In 284/897-8 ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā was sent to the Djibāl and ordered to reassess Iṣfahān and abrogate the assessment (*dastūr*) of Yaḥyā b. Harthama (*Taʾrīkh-i Ḳumm*, 184-5). Ibn Rusta, who lived in Iṣfahān and probably wrote his account of the town about 290/903, described Djay as measuring half a league across and covering an area of 2,000 *djaribs* (*ca.* 600 acres). It had four gates and 100 towers (152).

ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Mismaʿī, who had been appointed governor in 290/902-3, rebelled in 295/907-8 with the support of Kurds from the mountain regions to the south-west. He was subdued by a force sent by al-Muḳtadir under Badr al-Ḥammāmī, who became governor of Iṣfahān (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 9). The latter was succeeded by ʿAlī b. Wahsūdān, the Daylamite, who, when he was appointed governor of Fars in 300/912-3, also became governor of Iṣfahān. In 301/913, Iṣfahān passed for a brief period under the nominal rule of the Sāmānids, but in 304/916-17 it was again under an ʿAbbāsid governor, Aḥmad Ṣaʿlūk, during whose tenure of office Ḥamīd, the vizier of al-Muḳtadir in 307/919-20, farmed the *kharādj* of Iṣfahān on a *muḳāṭaʿa* contract. In 311/923-4 Aḥmad rebelled but was defeated and killed.

The Būyids. A troubled period now began for Iṣfahān. In 315/927 Mardāwīdj b. Ziyār [*q.v.*] took the city and appointed Aḥmad b. Kayghulugh governor. In 319/931 the Daylamite Lashkarī took Iṣfahān from Aḥmad, who subsequently recovered the city and killed Lashkarī (*The eclipse of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate*, ed., tr. and elucidated by H. F. Amedroz, Oxford 1921, iv, 239-40). Muẓaffar b. Yāḳūt, whom al-Muḳtadir had appointed governor of Iṣfahān in the same year, does not appear to have gone there (*ibid.*, 236). Mardāwīdj meanwhile returned to the city where he billeted large numbers of troops. Some two years later in 321/933 ʿAlī b. Būya ʿImād al-Dawla, who had been appointed by Mardāwīdj over Karadj, took Iṣfahān, but retired when Mardāwīdj sent his brother Wūshmgīr against him. In the same year al-Ḳāhir appointed Muḥammad b. Yāḳūt governor of Iṣfahān after he had written to Mardāwīdj bidding him to evacuate the city in return for recognition as ruler of Rayy and the Djibāl, and to Wūshmgīr to retire from Iṣfahān. Al-Ḳāhir was deposed shortly afterwards (*ibid.*, 307). Mardāwīdj retained Iṣfahān and in the following year, after ʿAlī b. Būya had seized Fārs and his brother Aḥmad had occupied Kirmān, set out again for Iṣfahān, where he was assassinated by his Turkish troops. ʿAlī b. Būya and his brother Ḥasan Rukn al-Dawla then occupied Iṣfahān, turning out Wūshmgīr. The latter recovered Iṣfahān in 327/938-9, but in the following year Ḥasan retook it and continued to rule it until his death in 366/976, though a Khurāsānī force under Manṣūr b. Ḳarātegīn temporarily took the city in 339/950-1. In 343/954 Iṣfahān again suffered a Khurāsānī incursion, and was plundered by Bū ʿAlī Čaghānī.

On the death of Rukn al-Dawla Iṣfahān went to his son Muʾayyid al-Dawla, who, from 367/977, ruled as ʿAḍud al-Dawla's subordinate. He was followed in 372/982-3 by his brother Fakhr al-Dawla. The latter died in 387/997, and was succeeded by his four-year-old son Madjd al-Dawla, whose mother became the effective ruler of the kingdom. Madjd al-Dawla, resenting his mother's interference, made an abortive attempt in 397/1006 to throw off her control. In the following year ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad b. Dushmanziyār, the maternal uncle of Fakhr al-Dawla's wife, became governor of Iṣfahān, which he ruled intermittently until his death in 433/1041-2. He was turned out by the Būyid, Ibn Fūlād, in 407/1016-17 but regained the city in 411/1020-1. In 418/1027-8 he was besieged for four months by ʿAlī b. ʿUmrān the Ispahbud and Manūčihr b. Ḳābūs. In 420/1029 he lost Iṣfahān to Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd the Ghaznavid. Having appointed a governor over the city, Masʿūd went away, but when the Iṣfahānīs rose and killed the Ghaznavid governor, he returned and massacred a large number of the inhabitants. In the following year ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla recovered the city, but Anūshīravān b. Ḳābūs, with the help of Ghaznavid troops, put him to flight. In 423/1032 he returned to Iṣfahān and in 424/1032-3 Masʿūd gave him the government of Iṣfahān in return for a sum of money. In the following year ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla was again defeated by a Ghaznavid force. He retired to Firaydan and Khwānsār. After collecting reinforcements he retook Iṣfahān in 427/1035-6.

In spite of repeated disorders in Būyid times, Iṣfahān became a flourishing and extensive city, especially during the vizirate of Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbbād to Muʾayyid al-Dawla and Fakhr al-Dawla (Māfarrukhī, 40). The Ṭabara or Ṭabarak quarter was added by the Būyids, its fortress being built according to tradition by Rukn al-Dawla or Muʾayyid al-Dawla. In 429/1037-8 ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla built a wall round the city, for which purpose he laid heavy impositions on the people (Māfarrukhī, 81, 113). The city under the Būyids contained splendid private and official residences, stables, baths, gardens, and fine well-stocked bazaars (Māfarrukhī, 83 ff.). Ibn Ḥawḳal mentions the wealth and trade of Iṣfahān and its export of silks and textiles to other provinces. No other city between ʿIrāḳ and Khurāsān except Rayy had more trade. There was a Friday mosque in Shahristān and Yahūdiyya, which was more than twice the size of the former and bigger than Hamadān (ii, 362-3; Iṣṭakhrī, 198-9; Le Strange, 203-4; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, translated and explained by V. Minorsky, London 1937, 131). Māfarrukhī records that formerly nearly 2,000 sheep and goats and 100 head of cattle were slaughtered daily in Iṣfahān (86-7). If these figures are at all accurate, even allowing, in view of the high prosperity, for a much heavier meat consumption than in later times, the population, on a conservative estimate, would have been over 100,000.

The Saldjūḳs. During the reign of Maḥmūd, the Ghuzz [*q.v.*] had begun to move into Persia. They

were active to the north and north-west of Iṣfahān but do not appear to have penetrated to Iṣfahān itself, though in 430/1038-9 ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla marched from Iṣfahān against bodies of Ghuzz who had been operating in the neighbourhood of Dīnawar and defeated them (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 217). It was not until some years after the battle of Dindinḳān (431/1040) that the Saldjūḳs took Iṣfahān. In 434/1042-3 Ṭughril Beg advanced on the city. Farāmurz, who had succeeded his father ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla in the previous year, bought him off and agreed to read the *khuṭba* in his name (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 349). Farāmurz later allied himself with the Būyid Abū Kālīdjār and omitted Ṭughril's name from the *khuṭba*. In 438/1046-7 Ṭughril once more advanced on Iṣfahān and on this occasion laid siege to the city. Farāmurz submitted, agreeing to pay an annual tribute and to read the *khuṭba* in Ṭughril's name, but once Ṭughril left the district he again withdrew his allegiance.

In 442/1050 Ṭughril besieged the city for the second time. It fell after nearly a year, in Muḥarram 443/1051 (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 385). Ṭughril appointed a young Nīshāpūrī over the city and ordered that no taxes should be demanded for three years. His conciliatory policy was successful. The city rapidly recovered its prosperity and those who had been scattered abroad during the years of disorders and famine returned. Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who came to Iṣfahān via Khān Lindjān in 444/1052, wrote that the people there were secure and at peace and went about their own business. Speaking of Iṣfahān, he states that it was the most populous and flourishing city that he had seen in Persian-speaking lands. Describing the thriving condition of the town, he states that it had a large Friday mosque and many bazaars, including one occupied by 200 *ṣarrāf*s, and caravansarais in which many merchants were to be found. The town had a strong wall with battlements, said to be 3½ *farsakh*s in circumference; the quarters of the town were divided from each other by gates (*Safarnāma*, ed. C. Schefer, Paris 1881, Persian text, 92-3).

Ṭughril Beg is alleged to have been much attached to the city. He moved his capital there from Rayy and made it his chief residence for the last twelve years of his reign. He spent over 500,000 *dīnār*s on public buildings and improvements in the city and its environs (Māfarrukhī, 101). It continued throughout the Great Saldjūḳ period to be one of the main centres of the empire and to be directly administered (whereas much of the empire was alienated from the control of the central government as *iḳṭāʿ*s). Alp Arslān also treated the people of Iṣfahān with favour (Māfarrukhī, 101-2). Malikshāh received the caliph's investiture as *walī al-ʿahd* there in 464/1071-2 (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 48). On the death of Alp Arslān, Ḳāwurd b. Čaghrī Beg, in an abortive attempt to assert his claim to the throne, briefly occupied Iṣfahān. During the reign of Malikshāh, Iṣfahān reached great heights and became an important Sunnī centre (see A. Bausani, *Religion in the Saljuq period*, in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Cambridge 1968, v, 283-302). Both he and his vizier Niẓām al-Mulk exerted themselves in its development. Māfarrukhī relates that it was exempted during the reign of Malikshāh from *ḳisma* and *taḳsīṭ* and extra-ordinary dues. Announcements to this effect were made in the mosques and tablets put up at the gates and on the walls of the bazaars (103-4). The Gulbār quarter, in which is situated the square now known as the Maydān-i Kuhna, with government offices and residences was added. New mosques were built and additions made to old ones, notably the old Friday mosque (see A. Godard, *Historique du Masdjid-é Djum'a d'Isfahan*, in *Āthār-i Īrān*, i, ii, and iii, 1936-8; A. Gabriel, *Le Masdjid-i Djumʿa d'Iṣfahān*, in *Ars Islamica*, ii, 1935). A fortress was made in Diz Kūh (Shāhdiz) where Malikshāh kept his armoury and treasury. Niẓām al-Mulk built a Niẓāmiyya in the Dardasht quarter. The annual revenue of the property which he constituted into *waḳf* for it was over 10,000 *dīnār*s (Māfarrukhī, 104-5). According to Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Riḍā Āvī the *madrasa* was still in existence in 729/1328-9, but its endowments had been usurped (p. 142).

With the death of Malikshāh in 485/1092, Iṣfahān ceased to prosper, though as the capital of the empire its possession was of importance to those who contended for power. The townspeople were probably not closely engaged in these struggles, but it is likely that the prevailing insecurity and the coming and going of troops dislocated their lives to some extent and engendered discontent. The balance between order and disorder in the city was always delicate, as the following incident which happened about this time shows. A report was spread that a certain blind man, alleged to be a Bāṭinī, had lured unsuspecting people to their death. The populace rioted and seized and burnt all who were accused of being Bāṭinīs (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 214-5). This did not, however, end the activities of the Bāṭinīs. ʿAbd al-Malik ʿAṭṭāsh, the *dāʿī*, had laid the foundations of the movement carefully during the reign of Malikshāh, and in the disorders following his death the movement spread.

Tādj al-Mulk and Turkān Khātūn, Malikshāh's wife, read the *khuṭba* in Baghdād, where Malikshāh had died, in the name of her four-year-old son Maḥmūd and hastened to Iṣfahān. Barkyāruḳ, the son of Zubaydā Khātūn, who had been seized by the supporters of Turkān Khātūn, but later freed by the Niẓām *mamlūk*s, left the city on the approach of Turkān Khātūn, but subsequently returned and besieged her there (*ibid.*, x, 146-7). In 487/1094, on the sudden death of Turkān Khātūn, who had meanwhile distributed to her followers all the treasure and stores which had been accumulated in Iṣfahān, Barkyāruḳ re-entered the city. He remained in possession for some years, although mainly absent from it dealing with rebellions in other parts of his empire. From about 490/1097, however, when the struggle with his half-brother Muḥammad began, his position in the city was no longer secure. In 492/1098-9, after numbers of his army had deserted to Muḥammad, he was refused entry and forced to retire to Khūzistān (*ibid.*, x, 195). The struggle between the brothers continued for the next five years or so, during which time the Bāṭinīs greatly increased their power in Iṣfahān and the neighbourhood. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Malik ʿAṭṭāsh, who had succeeded his father as *dāʿī* at Iṣfahān, obtained entry to the fortress of Shāhdiz (according to one account as schoolmaster to the garrison), won them over and seized the fortress. By 494/1100 the Bāṭinīs were collecting taxes in its neighbourhood and had also gained possession of the fortress of Khān Lindjān. Barkyāruḳ, who had been, rightly or wrongly, accused of Bāṭinī sympathies, now decided to move against the Bāṭinīs. The Shāfiʿī *ḳāḍī*, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Khudjandī, roused the populace, and a large number of persons accused of being Bāṭinīs were rounded up and burnt (*ibid.*, x, 214-5). The Bāṭinīs, however, remained in possession of Shāhdiz.

In 495/1102, Muḥammad, having been defeated near Rayy by Barkyāruḳ fled to Iṣfahān, where he was besieged by his brother for some nine months. During this period he was forced twice to ask loans of

the prominent people of the city to satisfy the demands of his troops (*ibid.*, x, 228). When the city finally became short of food, Muḥammad escaped and fled to Ādharbāydjān, where he was pursued by Barkyāruḳ (*ibid.*, x, 227-8). The struggle continued until 497/1103-4 when peace was made and Barkyāruḳ returned to Iṣfahān (*ibid.*, x, 253-4). On Barkyāruḳ's death in the following year Muḥammad re-entered the city (*ibid.*, x, 273). One of his first tasks was to reduce the Bāṭinīs in Shāhdiz and the neighbourhood. For some time Aḥmad b. ʿAṭṭāsh negotiated successfully to be allowed to remain as chief of the garrison, and it was not until 500/1107 that a capitulation was agreed to. Some of the garrison accepted a safe conduct, but the remainder fought to the end. Aḥmad was finally captured, paraded through the town and skinned alive (see further M. G. S. Hodgson, *The order of the Assassins*, The Hague 1955, and idem, *The Ismāʿīlī state*, in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, v, 422-82). There does not appear to have been any renewal of Bāṭinī activities after this apart from isolated incidents, such as the burning of the Friday mosque and its library in 515/1121-2, which was attributed to them (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 420).

From 500/1106-7 until Muḥammad's death in 511/1118 Iṣfahān remained the main centre of the Great Saldjūḳ empire. Thereafter power moved to Khurāsān, where Sandjar ruled as the Great Saldjūḳ sultan, while Iṣfahān and the western provinces were disputed by the Saldjūḳs of ʿIrāḳ and their atabegs. There were renewals of sectarian strife, notably an outbreak in 560/1164-5 between the Khudjandī faction and others accompanied by arson, destruction of property and loss of life (*ibid.*, xi, 210). In 590/1194 Iṣfahān was taken by the Khwārazmshāh Tekish, to whom the caliph al-Nāṣir had appealed about 588/1192 for help against Ṭughril, the last of the Saldjūḳs of ʿIrāḳ. Iṣfahān changed hands several times in the subsequent campaigns between the caliph and the Khwārazmshāh. In 623/1226 the Mongol armies under Djurmāghūn reached the neighbourhood of Iṣfahān and in 625/1228 Djalāl al-Dīn Khwārazmshāh defeated them outside the city (J. A. Boyle, *Dynastic and political history of the Īl-Khāns*, in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, v, 330). Although he was unable to sustain his victory, Iṣfahān did not finally fall until about 638/1240-1, when it was delivered into the hands of the Mongols by treachery within the walls (Minhādj al-Dīn al-Djuzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, Calcutta 1824, 422-3).

Īlkhāns and Tīmūrids. In addition to the disorders and extortion which everywhere accompanied Mongol rule, the fact that the centre of the kingdom was moved to Ādharbāydjān was also to the detriment of Iṣfahān. The Iṣfahānīs did not easily accept Mongol rule and proved a tough proposition for the conquerors. Bahāʾ al-Dīn b. Muḥammad Djuwaynī, who was appointed governor of Iṣfahān and ʿIrāḳ by Abāḳā, took a strong line because of the reputation of the Iṣfahānīs for rioting and disorder. He placed heavy impositions upon them and broke them by his severity. Thieves and disturbers of the peace were reduced to obedience and security was established in the city and countryside (Banākatī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Djaʿfar Shiʿār, Tehran 1970-1, 427; Muḥammad Mufīd, *Djāmiʿ-i mufīdī*, ed. Iradj Afshār, Tehran 1961, iii, 119-21).

By the 8th/14th century the natural advantages of Iṣfahān had enabled it to regain some cf its former prosperity. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī states that the price fixed for corn and other grain was always moderate and fruit extremely cheap (*Nuzhat*, 49). In 735/1335 *dīwānī* taxes levied as *tamghā* [*q.v.*] amounted to 350,000 currency *dīnārs* in Iṣfahān while 500,000 currency *dinars* were levied as *dīwānī* taxes from the surrounding districts. Fīrūzān, one of the three main cities of the Iṣfahān province in his time, paid 134,500 currency *dīnārs* as *dīwānī* taxation (*ḥuḳūḳ-i dīwānī*, *ibid.*, 50-2). It is difficult to compare these figures with the figures for earlier periods because of the different methods of raising revenue and fluctuations in the value of the coinage. Ḥamd Allāh, however, maintains that there had been a marked decrease in the revenue in Mongol times and that the improvement made under Ghāzān Khān was not sustained. There is no reason to suppose that Iṣfahān was exempted from this general tendency. Ḥamd Allāh also mentions that there were many *madrasas*, *khānḳahs*, and *awḳāf* in Iṣfahān (*ibid.*, 49), though, as stated above, some of them had been usurped. From the account of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, the craft guilds appear to have been in a thriving condition (ii, 295-6), though we have unfortunately little information about the internal and external trade of Iṣfahān at this time.

With the break-up of the Īlkhān empire, Iṣfahān fell to the Čubanids [*q.v.*]. In 742/1341-2, Shāh Shaykh Abū Isḥāḳ the Īndjūid [see Īndjū] took it from them and later lost it to the Muẓaffarids, when Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad Muẓaffar obtained possession of it in 758/1357. The Muẓaffarids, although much split by internecine strife, were the most successful of the succession states. Their main centres, however, were in Fārs and Kirmān, and their rule did not restore Iṣfahān to its central position. The city was besieged several times and frequently changed hands (Muʿīn al-Dīn Naṭanzī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, ed. J. Aubin, Tehran 1957, 183 ff.). When, during Tīmūr's second expedition to Persia in 786-9/1384-7, the Muẓaffarid Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn b. Shāh Shudjāʿ refused a summons to join him, Tīmūr marched on Iṣfahān, which he reached in 789/1387. The *ʿulamāʾ* sued for peace. Tīmūr sent *muḥaṣṣils* into the town to collect the money which they had promised. A riot ensued in which the *muḥaṣṣils* were killed, together with many soldiers who had entered the town on their own affairs. Tīmūr in retaliation massacred 70,000 of the inhabitants (Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī, *Ẓafarnāma*, ed. F. Tauer, Prague 1937, i, 104-5).

Prosperity did not return to Iṣfahān under Tīmūr's successors. Shāhrukh besieged Mīrzā Iskandar there in 817/1414 from 4 Rabīʿ I to 2 Djumādā I when the city fell by assault and was looted (*Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn*, i, 269 ff.). In 856/1452 Iṣfahān was taken by Djahānshāh of the Black Sheep and in the following year was sacked by him. In due course it passed under the control of the White Sheep, who ruled from Ādharbāydjān. The Venetians, Josapha Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini, visited Iṣfahān when Uzun Ḥasan was there in 879/1474-5, and the former estimated the population to be only 50,000 (*Travels to Tana and Persia by Josafa Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini*, Hakluyt, 1873, 71-2; cf. G. Berchet, *La Repubblica di Venezia e la Persia*, Turin 1865). Even allowing for the roughness of the estimates, it is clear that there had been a big decline in population since Māfarrukhī wrote.

The Ṣafawids. Shāh Ismāʿīl, the founder of the Ṣafawid empire, took Iṣfahān in 908/1502-3. Both he and Shāh Ṭahmāsp made token gestures of favour to the Iṣfahānīs. The former in 911/1505-6, according to an inscription in the Friday mosque, forbade the writing of drafts on the districts of Iṣfahān and their inhabitants (Luṭf Allāh Hunarfar, *Gandjīna-i āthār-i*

ta'rīkh-i Iṣfahān, Iṣfahān 1966-7, 76-7), and the latter, also according to inscriptions in the Friday mosque, remitted various taxes on the guilds and certain dues and tolls in 971/1563-4, and *rāhdārī* on foodstuffs, except imported sugar (*ibid.*, 153-7, 89-90), and also forbade the quartering of troops in the city (*ibid.*, 75-6). In 955/1548 during the rebellion of Ilḳās Mīrzā, Iṣfahān was for a brief period taken by the Ottomans, and for some years prior to the accession of Shāh ʿAbbās great disorder appears to have prevailed in the city (Iskandar Beg, *ʿAlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, lith., Tehran 1896-7, 265). By the beginning of the 11th/17th century the Ṣafawid empire extended from Georgia to Afghānistān and from the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf. Iṣfahān was its natural political, administrative, and commercial centre, as it had been of the Saldjūḳ empire, and in 1005/1596-7 Shāh ʿAbbās made it his capital. He replanned and largely rebuilt the city. Later additions were made by Shāh ʿAbbās II and Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn. Here the Ṣafawid shāhs were visited by embassies from European powers, factors of the great trading corporations, and representatives of the religious orders of Christendom. Many of these foreign visitors resided for long periods in the city, where "a life of gorgeous ceremonial mingled with holiday festivity rendered Isfahan the most famous and romantic city of the East" (Curzon, ii, 22 ff., 546 ff.; see also Lockhart. *The fall of the Ṣafavī dynasty*, app. III, 473-85).

Chardin, who visited Persia from 1664-70 and 1671-77 calls Iṣfahān "the greatest and most beautiful town in the whole orient", in which there were to be found inhabitants of all religions, Christians, Jews, Mahommedans, gentiles, and fire-worshippers, and merchants from the whole world (*Voyages*, ed. Langlès, Paris 1811, viii, 134). He states that there were 162 mosques, 48 colleges, 1,802 caravansarais, 273 baths and 12 cemeteries within its walls. The caravansarais were full of Armenians, who traded in cloth (vii, 367), while the place of the *ṣarrāf*s of earlier times had been taken by *banians*, of whom there were, according to Thévenôt, 1,500 in 1665 (ii, 111; see also Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Voyages en Perse 1632-67*, ed. Pascal Pia, Paris 1930, 176 ff.). The city by this time had grown enormously. Estimates of the population varied from 600,000 to 1,100,000. Chardin who records that 2,000 sheep were killed daily in the city, 500 in the suburbs, and 90 in the shah's kitchens (viii, 135), while giving no precise figure for the population, believed Iṣfahān to be as populous as London. This suggests that its population was between 600,000 and 700,000. Muḥammad Mihdī gives the latter figure for the population by the death of Shāh ʿAbbās and estimates it at 1 million under Shāh Ṣafī and still higher under Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn (176-8; see further Lockhart, *op. cit.*, 476-7).

Administration under Shāh ʿAbbās and his successors was highly centralized. The different departments, with their elaborate procedures, had their offices in Iṣfahān (see further Mīrzā Rafīʿā, *Dastūr al-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Taḳī Dānish Pazhūh, *Rev. de la faculté des lettres et des sciences humaines*, Univ. of Tehran, xv, 5-6 and xvi, 1-4, which in some respects gives a fuller account of the organization of the state than the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, tr. and explained by V. Minorsky, London 1943). The city and neighbouring districts came under the *khāṣṣa* administration. Most of the land had been converted into *khāliṣa* and some into *wakf* (see ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Sipintā, *Ta'rīkhča-i awḳāf-i Iṣfahān*, Iṣfahān 1968-9, 35 ff., 44-5, 51 ff., 64 ff., 111-2; *Gandjīna*, 729-30; Muḥammad Takī Dānish Pazhūh, *Asnād-i wakf-i Khāndār-i Khalīfa Sulṭān*, in *Nāma-i Āstān-i Ḳuds*, ix, 1-2, 97-117; A. A. Salmāsīzāda, *Ta'rīkh-ča-i wakf dar Islām*, Tehran 1964). The vizier of Iṣfahān arranged for the cultivation of the former and the *wazīr-i mawḳūfāt* (also called the *wazīr-i fayḍ āthār*) for the latter (*Dastūr al-mulūk*, xvi, 3, 319-21), while a special department under the *wazīr-i ḥalāl* administered Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn's *awḳāf* (*ibid.*, xvi, 3, 322).

In addition to land and property taxes, dues and tolls, the people were subject to *ad hoc* levies, while many local officials, such as the *mīrāb* (*ibid.*, xvi, 4, 432), collected dues and fees as the whole or part of their emoluments. Drafts on the revenue were common practice and certain sums, especially for the payment of officials of the central government, were made a charge on different groups of taxpayers. For example 50 *tūmān*s was levied on the Armenians of Djawlāha (in Djulfā) on account of the *inʿām-i hamasāla* of the *amīr shikārbāshī* (*ibid.*, xvi, 1-2, 89). These practices were known under previous governments, but were less widespread than under the Ṣafawids.

The craft guilds were assessed by the *naḳīb al-ashrāf* in a lump sum, which was subsequently allocated among the individual members, subject to the acceptance of the assessment by two-thirds of the members. The *naḳīb al-ashrāf* also appointed the elders (*rīsh-sifīdān*) of the dervishes and certain other guilds (*ibid.*, xvi, 5-6, 549). Prices were under the control of the *muḥtasib al-mamālik* (*ibid.*, xvi, 4, 418). Some of the guilds performed *corvées* for the court and some from time to time were granted exemptions from taxation. (Tavernier, 239; Chardin, iv, 95, vi, 119-20; A. K. S. Lambton, *Islamic society in Persia*, inaugural lecture, School of Oriental and African Studies, London 1954, 22 ff.; *Gandjīna*, 434-6, for a firman of Shāh ʿAbbās dated 1038/1629 inscribed in the Shāh mosque in Iṣfahān forbidding the writing of drafts on the barbers for any kind of due). Public order within the city was under the *dārūghā* [*q.v.*], who carried out summary punishment for disorders and acts contrary to the *sharīʿa* (*ibid.*, xvi, 4, 428-30). The *ʿasas*, who belonged to the *dārūghā*'s office, patrolled the city with his men (*ibid.*, xvi, 5-6, 551).

The *kalāntar* [*q.v.*] was the main link between the population and the government, corresponding in part to the earlier *ra'īs*. It was his duty to reconcile the interests of the two parties. He was usually recruited from among the notables of the town. He had general oversight of the *kadkhudā*s of the districts and the craft guilds. Together with the vizier, he appointed the *kadkhudā*s (*ibid.*, xvi, 4, 421-2; see also A. K. S. Lambton, *The office of kalantar under the Safavids and Afshars*, in *Mélanges Massé*, Tehran 1963).

Under Shāh ʿAbbās Iṣfahān again became an important religious centre, with this difference that orthodoxy was now Ithnā ʿAsharī Shīʿism. Shīʿī divines were brought to Iṣfahān from other centres and taught and disputed there, but there is unfortunately little information on the course of the conversion of its inhabitants. By the middle of the 17th century religious festivals such as the *ʿīd-i ḳurbān* (see Thevenôt, ii, 107-8 *bis*) and the Muḥarram ceremonies were performed with passion and vigour. Under Shāh ʿAbbās there was strong supervision of religious affairs as there was over other aspects of the life of the city. The religious classes were organised into corporations under the general oversight of the *ṣadr* (*Dastūr al-mulūk*, xvi, 1-2, 64). Under Shāh

Sulṭān Ḥusayn a new office, that of *mullā-bās̲h̲ī* was created, and its holder made head of all the religious classes (*ibid.*). The decision of *s̲h̲arʿī* cases was in the hands of the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-islām* and the *ḳāḍī* (*ibid.*, xvi, 1-2, 69). S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās and his immediate successors treated other religions with toleration, but persecution began under S̲h̲āh Sulaymān and in the time of S̲h̲āh Sulṭān Ḥusayn was directed, not only against other faiths, but also against Sunnīs and Ṣūfīs (see further Lockhart, *op. cit.*, 32-5, 70-9).

The wellbeing of Iṣfahān, as the capital of the empire, was closely bound up with the fortunes of the Ṣafawid dynasty, as it had been earlier with those of the Sald̲j̲ūḳ dynasty, whose capital it had also been. The fall of the Ṣafawids, however, proved far more disastrous for Iṣfahān than that of the Sald̲j̲ūḳs. By the reign of S̲h̲āh Sulṭān Ḥusayn, a marked decay in standards of public and private life and administrative competence had taken place (Muḥammad Hās̲h̲im Āṣif Rustam al-Ḥukamāʾ, *Rustam al-tawārīk̲h̲*, ed. Muḥammad Mus̲h̲īrī, Tehran 1969, 82-3, 90 ff., 98-9, 102 ff.; L. Lockhart, *op. cit.*). Security in the town was also at a low ebb. Rustam al-Hukamāʾ gives a list of bloodthirsty "toughs" (*pahlavānān va zabardastān va gurdān s̲h̲abraw va ʿayyār*), and alleges that the s̲h̲āh was unable to punish them because the "pillars of the state protected and aided them" (106).

The 12th/18th and 13th/19th centuries. Eventually the Afg̲h̲āns rebelled and invaded central Persia. In 1134/1722 after the Ṣafawid army had been decisively beaten at Gulnābād near Iṣfahān, the city was besieged (see Lockhart, *op. cit.*, 144 ff. for a detailed account of the siege; and also *Rustam al-tawārīk̲h̲*, 133 ff. on the intrigues and disunity prevailing in Iṣfahān during the siege). It was reduced to appalling straits and fell after six months. Some 20,000 persons were killed by enemy action and it is estimated that four times as many died from starvation and pestilence. The city was declared to have been conquered by force (*ʿanwatan*) and orders given for all land to be declared *k̲h̲āliṣa*. Many of those who had escaped in the siege fled to India and the Ottoman empire (S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ D̲j̲ābirī Anṣārī, 32-3, 113-14). Sunnism once more, for a brief period, became the official religion.

The Ṣafawid restoration which began when Nādir entered Iṣfahān in 1141/1729 with Ṭahmāsp after defeating the Afghans near Murčak̲h̲ʷart was short-lived. Iṣfahān was only a shadow of its former self. Many of the inhabitants who had survived the siege perished in the subsequent massacres. Heavy impositions were laid upon those who survived to pay the soldiery, by whom they were treated with great cruelty (Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, London 1938, 39 ff.). When Nādir finally assumed the crown in 1148/1736, he moved the capital to Mas̲h̲had. Iṣfahān, like other parts of Nādir's empire, suffered heavy exactions. More land was confiscated for the state, and orders were given for the resumption of *awḳāf*. ʿĀdil S̲h̲āh on his accession in 1160/1747-8 revoked Nādir's land decrees, but confusion continued to exist because there had been many cases of falsification of title deeds, destruction of land registers and usurpation (S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ D̲j̲ābirī Anṣārī, 35 ff., 122 ff., A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, 131-2).

On Nādir's death, the people rose against the governor, who took refuge in the fortress of Ṭabarak, where he was besieged. He was eventually killed by one of his own *g̲h̲ulāms*. Ibrāhīm S̲h̲āh then sent a new *beglarbegī* to the city in the person of Abu ʾl-Fatḥ K̲h̲ān Bak̲h̲tiyārī, who on Ibrāhīm S̲h̲āh's death shortly afterwards ruled in the name of Abū Turāb Mīrzā, the eight-year old grandson (through the female line) of S̲h̲āh Sulṭān Ḥusayn. An abortive attack on the city was made shortly afterwards by ʿAlī Mardān K̲h̲ān Bak̲h̲tiyārī, who retired to Luristān. After collecting reinforcements and allying himself to the Zands, he marched a second time on Iṣfahān in 1164/1750. Abu ʾl-Fatḥ K̲h̲ān, having failed to raise any money from the townspeople, was unable to muster an army to oppose him. ʿAlī Mardān K̲h̲ān entered the city, which was thereupon looted by his troops, (*Rustam al-tawārīk̲h̲*, 244 ff.). For a brief period ʿAlī Mardān K̲h̲ān, Karīm K̲h̲ān Zand and Abu ʾl-Fatḥ K̲h̲ān ruled the city and its neighbourhood jointly. The latter was then killed by ʿAlī Mardān K̲h̲ān who was, in turn, dispossessed in 1165/1751-2 by Karīm K̲h̲ān, who then appointed his brother Ṣādiḳ K̲h̲ān as governor. For the next few years Iṣfahān was fought over by marauding bands of Zands, Afg̲h̲āns and Ḳād̲j̲ārs. Its miseries were added to by famine in 1170/1756-7, which carried off 40,000 persons. Finally, in 1172/1758-9 Karīm K̲h̲ān took the city. A period of peace now began and under the government of Muḥammad Rinānī, a local man whom Karīm K̲h̲ān appointed governor in 1173/1759, the city recovered somewhat from the ravages of the previous years (S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ D̲j̲ābirī Anṣārī, 127 ff.; Muḥammad Mihdī, 279). Iṣfahān, however, did not regain its former pre-eminence: S̲h̲īrāz became the capital in 1180/1766-7.

On the death of Karīm K̲h̲ān, anarchy broke out once more. In 1199/1774-5 Iṣfahān was looted for three days when Bāḳir K̲h̲ān, the *kadk̲h̲udā* of K̲h̲ʷurāskān, who had made himself governor, lost control on the advance of D̲j̲aʿfar K̲h̲ān Zand (*Rustam al-tawārīk̲h̲*, 59; Ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Zandiyya*, ed. E. Beer, Leiden 1888, 30). In the following year Āḳā Muḥammad K̲h̲ān Ḳād̲j̲ār appointed his brother D̲j̲aʿfar Ḳulī K̲h̲ān governor of Iṣfahān (S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ D̲j̲ābirī Anṣārī, 126 ff.). Under the Ḳad̲j̲ārs the capital was moved to Tehran. Iṣfahān for a time remained the chief commercial city of the empire (J. Macdonald Kinneir, *A geographical memoir of the Persian Empire*, London 1813, 113), but gave way to Tabrīz in the second half of the 19th century (Curzon, ii, 41). The events of the 18th century had taken a heavy toll on Iṣfahān. Olivier, who visited the city in 1796, describes its ruined condition and states that its population did not exceed 50,000 (*Voyage dans l'Empire Othoman, l'Égypte et la Perse*, Paris 1807, iii, 101). Morier in 1811, revising his own earlier estimate, which had been much higher, put the population at probably about 60,000, on the basis of a daily slaughter of 300 sheep (*A second journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor*, London 1818, 141-2).

After the death of Āḳā Muḥammad Khān, an abortive attempt was made in 1212/1797-8 by Muḥammad K̲h̲ān Zand to seize the city. This was followed by the rebellion of Ḥusayn Ḳulī K̲h̲ān Ḳād̲j̲ār, who, however, fled the city in 1216/1801-2 on the approach of Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh. In 1219/1804-5 there was a further setback to the wellbeing of the city in the shape of a severe famine caused by the ravages of locusts. About this time (or possible earlier) Muḥammad Ḥusayn K̲h̲ān Nāẓim al-Dawla was made governor. He was a native of Iṣfahān, a self-made man who acquired great riches, largely in land, some of which he constituted into *waḳf*. Under him and his son, Amīn al-Dawla, who succeeded him when he became *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*, Iṣfahān began once more to prosper (S̲h̲ayk̲h̲

Djābirī Anṣārī, 41 ff., 137 ff.; Muḥammad Mihdī, 281; Sipinta, 398 ff., 408 ff.; Macdonald Kinneir, 113; Morier, *Second Journey*, 132; *Rustam al-tawārīkh*, 212-3; Gandjīna, 743-4). On the death of Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān in 1239/1823-4, Āṣif al-Dawla, who succeeded him as *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*, demanded a large sum in arrears (which was later remitted) from Iṣfahān and Amīn al-Dawla was dismissed. In 1242/1826-7 he returned to favour and became vizier to Sayf al-Dawla, the new governor of Iṣfahān. He was made *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* in the following year, but fell on the death of Fatḥ ʿAlī, which took place in 1250/1834-5 in Iṣfahān when he was on his way to Fārs. Farmān-Farmā, governor of the province, made a bid for the throne but was defeated near Iṣfahān.

Renewed outbreaks of rioting in 1252/1836-7, 1254/1838-9, and 1255/1839-40, during which much damage was done, forced Muḥammad Shāh to come to Iṣfahān in 1256/1840-1 to deal with the disturbances. About 150 *lūṭīs* were seized and order restored (Shaykh Djābirī Anṣārī, 48 f., 143 ff.). Riots broke out again in 1265-6/1848-9 during the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn. After his visit to the city in 1267/1859 conditions began to improve, but severe famine in 1288/1871-2 and 1289/1872-3 once more arrested its growth. The population declined steeply (Ḥusayn Khān Taḥvīldār, 65; Muḥammad Mihdī, 281-2; Shaykh Djābirī Anṣārī, 158-9). Ẓill al-Sulṭān was appointed governor in 1874, and by 1881 had become the virtual ruler of most of southern Persia. His government was severe and autocratic. Disorders were not tolerated. The city again began to flourish and the population to increase. According to a census taken in 1882 it was 73,654. Eleven years later Houtum-Schindler considered it had risen, by natural increase and immigration, to close on 82,000 (119-20; Muḥammad Mihdī and Shaykh Djābirī Anṣārī, however, give higher estimates). In 1888 when Ẓill al-Sulṭān fell from power, he was deprived of all his governments except Iṣfahān. During the reign of Muẓaffar al-Dīn, who succeeded in 1896, there were various outbreaks of violence in the city, including an attack on the Bābīs in 1903-4 (Shaykh Djābirī Anṣārī, 182). Winds of change were meanwhile blowing in Iṣfahān as elsewhere. Discontent with the government and its policies was spreading, and when the Constitutional Revolution came, Iṣfahān played a prominent part [see DJAMʿIYYA].

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the text: Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Marāghaʾī Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla (Iʿtimād al-Salṭana), *Mirʾāt al-buldān*, Tehran 1877-80; Shaykh Ḥasan Djābirī Anṣārī, *Taʾrīkh-i Iṣfahān va Rayy*, Tehran 1944; ʿAlī Djawāhir Kalām, *Zanda-rūd yā Djughrāfiyā-yi taʾrīkhī-i Iṣfahān va Djulfā*[2], Tehran 1970-1; *Mudjmal al-tawārīkh*, ed. Malik al-Shuʿarā Bahār, Tehran 1940-1; B. Spuler, *Iran in frühislamischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1952; Muḥammad ʿAlī Ḥazīn, *Taʾrīkh-i Ḥazīn*[3], Iṣfahān 1964-5; idem, *Tadhkira-i Ḥazīn*[2], Iṣfahān 1966-7; *A chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia and the Papal Mission of the xviith and xviiith centuries*, 2 vols. London 1939; E. Aubin, *La Perse d'aujourdhui*, Paris 1908; E. E. Beaudouin, *Ispahan sous les grands chahs, xviie siècle*, in *Urbanisme*, x, Paris, 1932; A. Godard, *Isfahan*, in *Āthār-é-Īrān, Annales du Service Archeologique de l'Iran*, Paris 1937, ii, fasc. 1; A. V. Pope (ed.), *A survey of Persian Art*, Oxford 1938; P. Sykes, *History of Persia*, London 1915, ii; J. Aubin, *Études Safawides I. Šāh Ismāʿīl et les notables de l'Iraq persane*, in *JESHO*, ii/1 (1959); S. M. Stern, E. Beazley and A. Dobson, *The fortress of Khan Lanjan*, in *Iran* (Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies), ix (1971); Muḥammad Mihryār, *Shāhdiz kudjāst*, in *Rev. de la fac. des lettres*, University of Iṣfahān, i (1965); C. O. Minasian, *Shahdiz of Ismaʿili fame its siege and destruction*, London 1971. Iṣfahān is mentioned in the works of numerous travellers. In addition to those mentioned in the text the following are some of the more important: Cornelius de Bruyn, *Travels into Muscovy, Persia and part of the East Indies*, translated from the original Dutch, 2 vols., London 1737; J. Fryer, *Travels into Persia begun in 1672, finished 1681*, London 1693; Sir Thomas Herbert, *Some years travels*, London 1638; E. Kaempfer, *Amoenitatum exoticarum politica physico-medicarum fasciculi* v ...., Lemgo 1712; Raphael du Mans, *Estat de la Perse en 1660*, Paris 1890; *Sir Antony Sherley and his Persian adventure*, ed. E. D. Ross, London 1933; J. Struys, *Les voyages de Jean Struys, en Muscovie, en Tartarie, en Perse, aux Indes, et plusieurs etc.*, par M. Glanius, Amsterdam 1681; P. della Valle, *Viaggi di Pietro della Valle*, Rome 1650; J. Hanway, *An historical account of the British trade over the Caspian Sea*[3], London 1762, ii; T. J. Krusiński, *Histoire de la dernière revolution de Perse*, 2 vols., the Hague 1728, tr. anonymously into English under the title *The history of the revolution of Persia taken from the memoirs of Father Krusiński* ....., London 1728, Dublin 1729; J. Otter, *Voyage en Turquie et en Perse*, Paris 1748; A. Arnold, *Through Persia by caravan*, London 1877, i; R. B. M. Binning, *A journal of two years travel in Persia, Ceylon, etc.*, London 1857, ii; E. L. Bishop, *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan*, London 1891, 2 vols.; C. A. de Bode, *Travels in Luristan and Arabistan*, London 1845, i; Mme. J. Dieulafoy, *La Perse*, Paris 1887; A. V. Williams Jackson, *Persia Past and present*, New York 1906; Ker Porter, *Travels*, London 1821, i; J. Morier, *A journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor to Constantinople, in the years 1808 and 1809*, London 1812; F. Stack, *Six months in Persia*, London 1882, ii; *Gazetteer of Persia*, Simla 1918, ii, 239-49.

(A. K. S. LAMBTON)

2. MONUMENTS

The Islamic monuments of Iṣfahān today constitute one of the most significant and complete architectural complexes preserved at the heart of a modern city which owes them much of its prestige. Carefully restored, the most important amongst them dominate the developing urban landscape in the midst of which they stand, while the old quarters, both in the built-up area of Iṣfahān itself and in the many surrounding villages, still harbour numerous modest structures, often partially ruined, which remain insufficiently studied. Some idea of the richness of this complex may be gathered from the fact that more than fifty structures of various kinds figure in the brief archaeological inventory drawn up about forty years ago by André Godard, and that this figure is still minute compared with that of the 162 mosques, 48 colleges, 1802 caravanserais, and 273 baths enumerated at the end of the 11th/17th century by that trustworthy traveller and observer, Chardin.

All these various buildings, however, famous and less known alike, on account of their nature and especially their date, bear but incomplete witness to the past of a city which from the 1st/7th century onwards has played an important role in the Islamic history of Iran. Belonging for the most part to the

11th/17th century, which saw the installation at Iṣfahān of the Ṣafavid Shāh ʿAbbās I, and with the oldest parts not going back beyond that 5th/11th (Saldjūḳ) century in which the imperial vocation of the city was established by Malikshāh and his ministers, they are insufficient to allow us to retrace on the ground with any degree of certainty the stages of the city's development, which began soon after the Arab conquest and for which the literary sources provide most of the evidence. The general outline both of the plan of the twin cities of Djay and al-Yahūdiyya, between which from the beginning of the ʿAbbāsid period the population of an already prosperous trading centre was divided, and of the locality used as a residence by the Buwayhid princes, can be seen only in such indications as the permanence of the site of the great mosque and a mud-walled citadel, itself completely rebuilt several times, and the recent discovery of a doorway which probably belonged to the mosque of al-Ṣāḥib ibn ʿAbbād. The evidence is almost as vague regarding the organisation of a Saldjūḳ capital, in which we can locate with difficulty, apart from the great mosque and citadel already mentioned, the situation of a few sanctuaries still marked by minarets, and the probable site of the great *maydān*, by which, in earlier times, the royal palace and the Niẓāmiyya *madrasa* stood. This situation, so inimical to any methodical approach to the architectural school of Iṣfahān, can in fact be attributed to the very conditions in which the town has survived, partially ruined more than once, and then rebuilt according to the unchanged techniques of an impermanent method of building in mud- or baked brick, or even in puddled clay, which was traditional in that area, and dictated by geography. Thus either side by side or the one above the other, urban nuclei replaced each other, comparable in their evolution to the large villages also situated in the oasis, which were themselves from time to time the object of intense architectural activity. And similar difficulties of identification, due both to the paucity and the frailty of archaeological landmarks, hinder the study of the older districts of present-day Iṣfahān, as well as that of the settlements, thriving or half-ruined, around the city, such as Būzūn, Barsyān, Gār, Sīn, Ziyār, Lindjān/Pir-i Bakrān—or Ashtardjān, to mention but a few among the best known, where significant remains dating from the Saldjūḳ and Ilkhānid periods survived until recently and in some cases are still preserved.

In the centre as a whole, we must give particular attention to the Great Mosque, which by its antiquity and extent provides us with an archaeological document of exceptional value: the *Masdjid-i Djumʿa* where authentic traces of the period of Malikshāh between 465/1072 and 485/1092 have survived in the midst of later constructions or modifications no less worthy of interest. Here are abundant inscriptions from the 5th/11th century onwards, and noteworthy decorative elements such as the brick ornamentation in the interior of two Saldjūḳ domed halls, or the stucco *miḥrāb* of the Mongol ruler Öldjeytü, are preserved there behind the *īwān*s and façades entirely covered in faience which give the courtyard its Ṣafavid appearance. But the very variety of the pieces of evidence found together in this venerable yet disparate building, where the necessary sondages and investigations have never been carried out, prevents us from reconstructing its history with any degree of certainty. For this history contradictory hypotheses suggest widely differing interpretations, and there have even been produced more general theories, such as that of the "kiosk-mosque", resting on assumptions as impossible to prove as to refute.

In effect then it is the Ṣafavid achievements, either in isolation or taken in conjunction with earlier buildings of secondary importance reworked in the Ṣafavid period (numerous small more or less disguised Saldjūḳ or Ilkhān sanctuaries are in this position), which make up the architectural landscape of the monuments in Iṣfahān today. This landscape, whose uniformity so well conceals the achievements of earlier periods, gives but an inadequate impression of the totality of the grandiose design for an imperial city once conceived by Shāh ʿAbbās I. However, it retains enough of the earlier features to enable one still to distinguish the overall plan which made the Maydān-i Shāh—the royal square in front of the ruler's palace—into the majestic centre of the city; this centre led on one side to the older thoroughfare linking the Great Mosque both with the Citadel and the Pūl-i Khadjū, or at least with the bridge which had preceded the present bridge-barrage built by Shāh ʿAbbās II; it was completed on the other side of the royal palace and gardens by the new Čahār Bāgh avenue which led from these gardens to the Allāhwardī Khān bridge, which like the Čahār Bāgh itself dates from the monarch's first series of architectural undertakings in 1006/1598.

The Maydān-i Shāh itself, 510 metres long by 165 metres wide, framed by a wall of blind arcades concealing a trading street full of shops, was a monumental work of art, splendidly complemented by the imposing perspective of the tree-lined Čahār Bāgh bordered with canals of running water over more than one and a half kilometres. But the buildings which surrounded this square towards the end of the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās I, to the south the majestic royal mosque of Masdjid-i Shāh (probably begun in 1021/1612-13), to the east the Masdjid-i Shaykh Luṭf Allāh (begun 1012/1603), to the north of the royal bazaar with its monumental gateway (built in 1029/1620), could be seen above all as worthy companions to the ʿAlī Kapu palace which had been constructed by Shāh ʿAbbās I on the basis of a Tīmūrid pavilion, and which gave the monarch a panoramic view of the esplanade and its surroundings from the raised terrace of its talar. This latter place, together with the Čihil Sutun palace which was soon erected not far away and inside the same enclosure, and whose construction must also have been started in 1006/1598, thus formed the essential preliminary starting-point in Shāh ʿAbbās' plan to convert Iṣfahān above all into a "jewel box city" for his own residence.

Moreover, the importance of this "royal city" situated between the Maydān-i Shāh and the Čahār Bāgh continued to be strengthened under succeeding monarchs by the building of other sumptuous pavilions. But one last Ṣafavid building for religious purposes from the 12th/18th century remains to be noted with the construction between 1118/1706 and 1126/1714 of the Mādar-i Shāh *madrasa* and the adjoining caravanserai, which has also survived until today. Mention must be made too of those Armenian churches of the New Djulfā district, in which can still be seen the fundamental characteristics of the imperial style dominant at the time when they were founded by an emigré colony.

The various buildings briefly listed here in order to recreate a panorama of Ṣafavid Iṣfahān all possess as their prime quality the ability to serve as living testimony to a refined art form which caused the city to be described, as the expression of Gobineau's admiring critical appreciation, as "a triumph of

elegance and model of prettiness", but which in effect makes it above all a museum the size of a city. Travellers and writers to whom it owes its fame have served it well up to now; it is to be hoped that such a complex of Ṣafavid monuments will henceforth give rise to precise scientific and aesthetic studies which will provide a clearer view of a distinctive historical epoch sharply defined in time and in space.

Bibliography: To the accounts of earlier travellers and late 19th century descriptions already mentioned, there must be added, for specifically archaeological or epigraphical interest: P. Ceste, *Monuments modernes de la Perse*, Paris 1867, 5-36; F. Sarre, *Denkmäler persischen Baukunst*, Berlin 1901-10, 73 ff.; A. U. Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art*, ii, 1939, esp. 954-64, 1030-2, 1077-80, 1179-1201, 1235-9, 1404-10; M. B. Smith, *The Minārs of Iṣfahān*, in *Athar-é Iran*, i (1936), 313-58; A. and Y. Godard, *Notes épigraphiques sur les minarets d'Iṣfahān*, *ibid.*, 361-5; A. Godard, *Iṣfahān*, in *Athar-é Iran*, ii (1937), 7-176; idem, *Le Tombeau de Baba Kasem et la Madrasa Imami*, in *Athar-é Iran*, iv (1949), 165-83; G. Wiet, *Inscriptions koufiques de Perse*, in *Mélanges Maspéro*, iii, 1940, 127-36; M. Siroux, *La Mosquée Sha'ya et l'Imam-Zadeh Ismael à Ispahan*, in *Mélanges Islamologiques*, i, 1954, 1-51; D. N. Wilber, *The Architecture of Islamic Iran, the Ilkhanid period*, Princeton 1955, esp. 119-24, 138, 141-45, 149-54, 161-72, 179-80, 182-8.—On the Great Mosque see particularly M. van Berchem, *Une Inscription du sultan mongole Uldjaitu*, in *Mélanges Hartwig Dérenbourg*, Paris 1909, 367-78; A. Gabriel, *Le Masdjid-i Djumʿa d'Iṣfahān*, in *Ars Islamica*, ii (1935), 7-44; A. Godard, *Historique du Masdjid-é Djumʿa d'Iṣfahān*, in *Āthār-é Iran*, i (1936), 213-82, ii (1937), 350-51, iii, (1947), 315-26; J. Sauvaget, *Observations sur quelques mosquées seldjoukides*, in *A.I.E.O.*, iv, 1938, 81-120. On the Armenian churches, see J. Carswell, *New Julfa, the Armenian churches and other buildings*, Oxford 1968.

(J. SOURDEL-THOMINE)

AL-**IṢFAHĀNĪ** [see ABU 'L-FARADJ; IBN DĀWŪD; ʿIMĀD AL-DĪN].

ISFARĀYĪN, a district, and in earlier Islamic times a town, in northwestern Khurāsān. It lies on the northern edge of the long plain which extends from Bisṭām and Shāhrūd in the west almost to Nīshāpūr in the east and whose central section is drained by the Kāl-i Shūr river before it turns southwards into the Dasht-i Kawīr. In mediaeval Islamic times, the route from Nīshāpūr to Gurgān ran across this plain, and the geographers place Isfarāyīn at roughly the midpoint, five stages from Nīshāpūr and five from Gurgān.

Though allegedly founded by Isfandiyār, little is known of Isfarāyīn's pre-Islamic past except that it was under a *dihkān* (Thaʿālibī, *Ghurar al-siyar*, ed. Zotenberg, 591). A popular etymology, given e.g. by Yāḳūt, derives its names from *ispar-āyīn* "shield-like", and this may have influenced the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*'s spelling as *Siparāyīn*. It is also said that it used earlier to be called Mihradjān, a name surviving in later times as a village in the *rustāḳ* of Isfarāyīn.

The 4th/10th century geographers describe Isfarāyīn as being administratively one of the *rustāḳs* of Nīshāpūr, its town being, according to Muḳaddasī, the most prominent of the towns of these *rustāḳs*. It had five markets and a well-fortified citadel called "the golden castle", *ḳalʿa-yi zar*. The inhabitants were Shāfiʿīs; Isfarāyīn was one of the remaining pockets in Khurāsān of Shāfiʿism, which was then retreating under the advance of the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, The surrounding district contained 40 or 50 villages. and cereals, rice, grapes and other fruit were grown there. Samʿānī and Yāḳūt name a large number of scholars from Isfarāyīn, of whom the most notable were the theologian and jurist dealt with in the next article and Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad al-Isfarāyīnī (d. 471/1078-9), a protégé of Niẓām al-Mulk and author of a Ḳur'ān commentary in Persian, the *Tādj al-tarādjim*, one of the earliest after the Persian adaptation of Ṭabarī's commentary, cf. G. Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*, Paris 1963, 94-6. Another famous son of Isfarāyīn was Maḥmūd of Ghazna's vizier Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Faḍl b. Aḥmad al-Isfarāyīnī (d. 404/1013-14), to whose exactions in Khurāsān the historian ʿUtbī attributes much economic distress (cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 287).

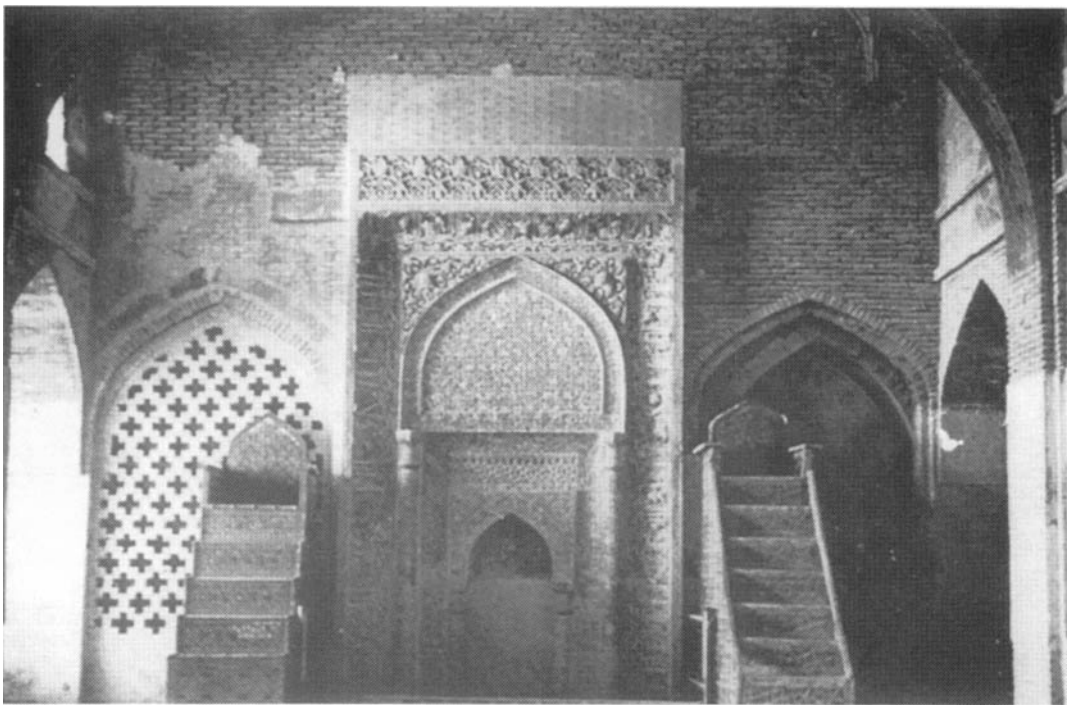
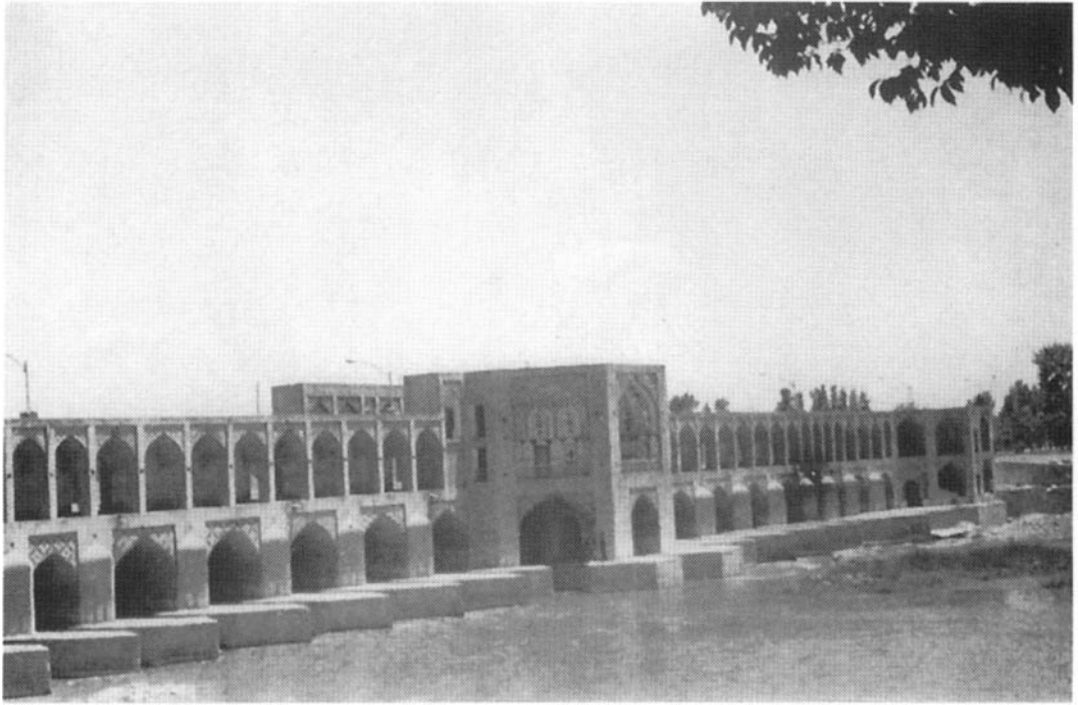
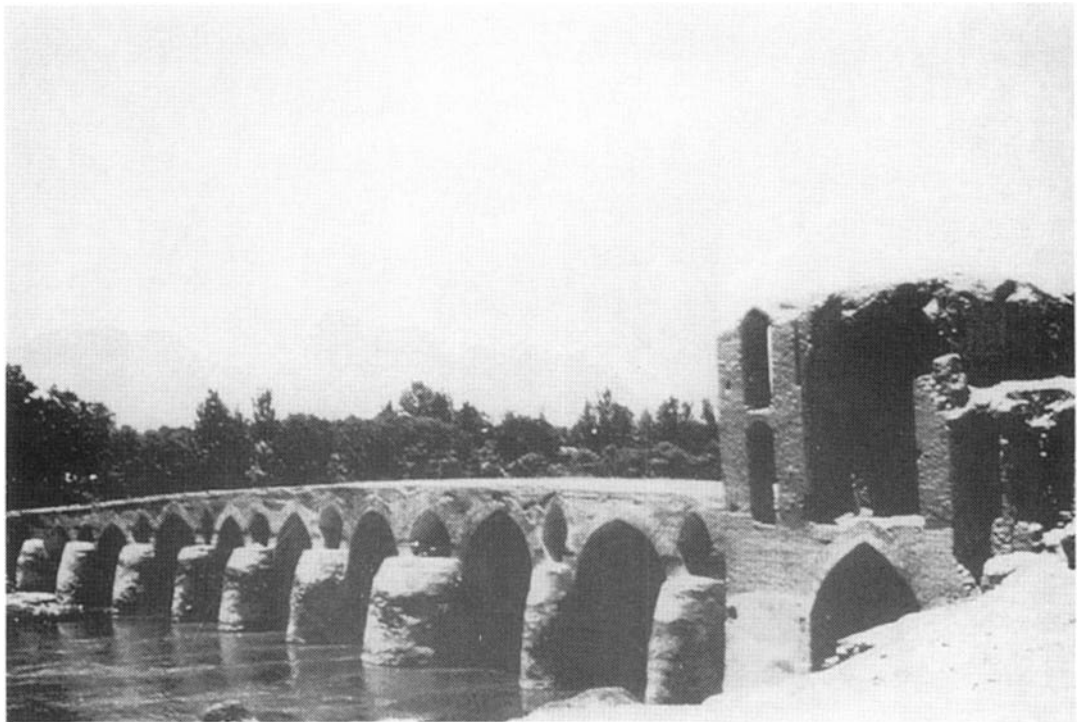
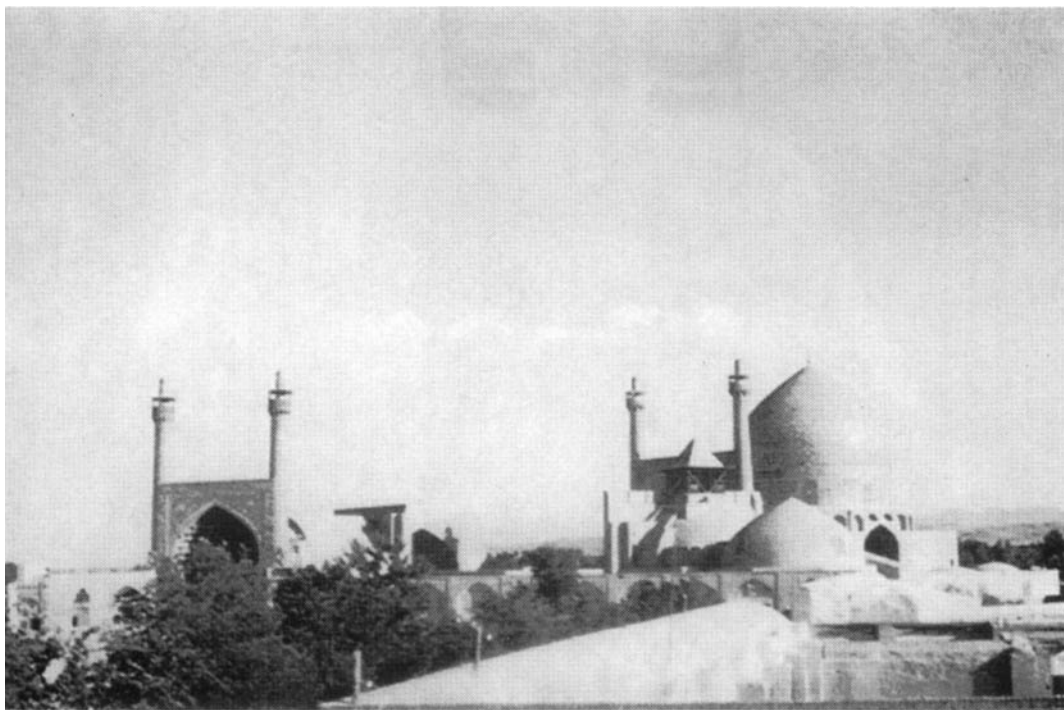
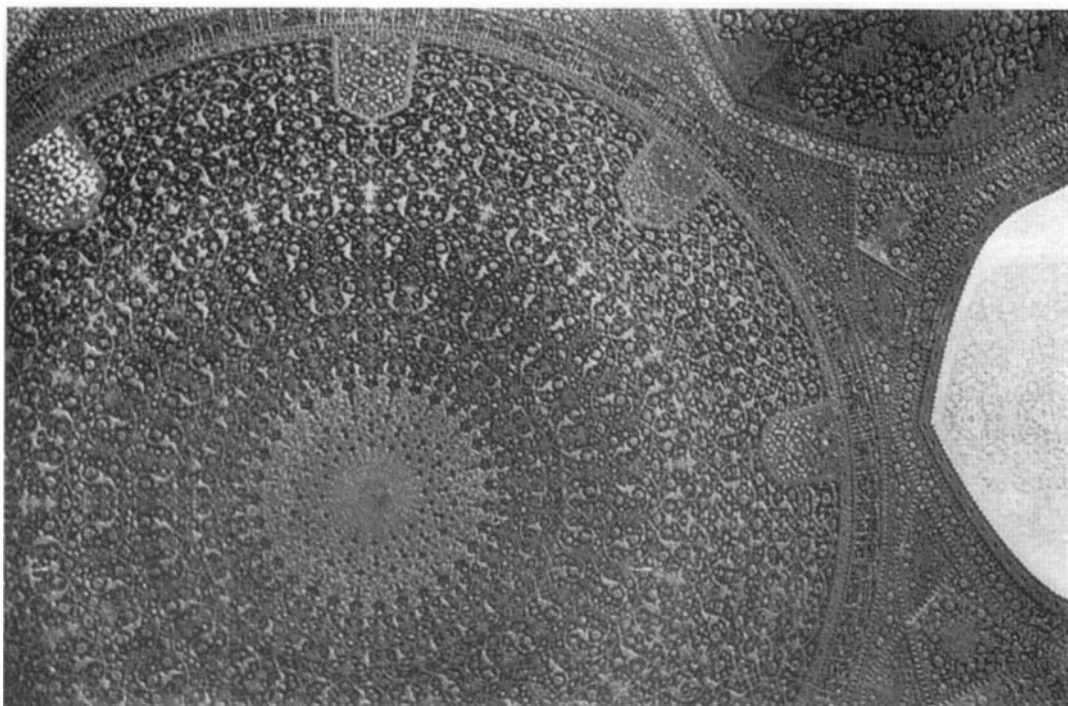
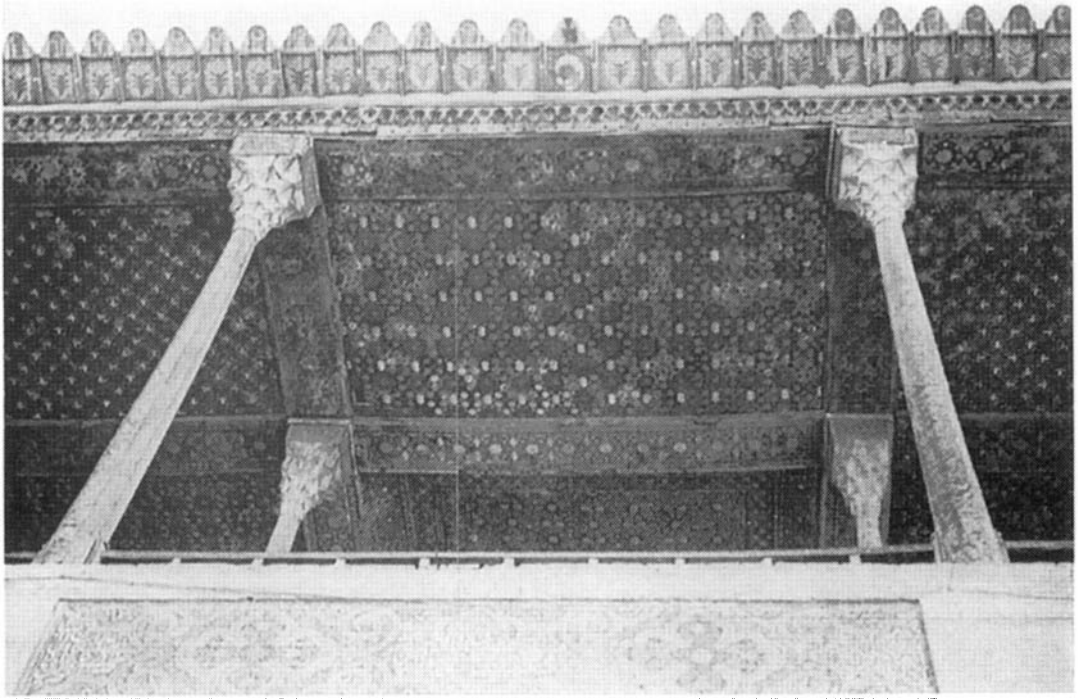
During the Mongol invasions of Persia, the commander Sübetey came from Nīshāpūr in 617/1220 and sacked Isfarāyīn; but the northwestern region of Khurāsān, including Djuwayn, Djādjarm and Arghiyān, seems to have suffered less than the province in general, and was in 630/1233 placed under the rule of a local *malik* subordinate to the Mongol governor of Khurāsān, Čin-Temür (Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 146, ii, 487). In Mustawfī's time a century later, there was still a flourishing town and agricultural hinterland at Isfarāyīn, with the town itself getting water from an adjacent river and the villages dependent on *ḳanāts*; we hear, too, of coins being minted there under the Ilkhānids, as later under the Ṣafavids.

In Ṣafavid times, Isfarāyīn was only just within the northern frontier of the province of Mashhad, and suffered repeatedly from Özbek incursions, with a particularly severe devastation just before 1006/1597; during the 12th/18th century there was a further destruction by the Afghāns. The site of the mediaeval town is probably now represented by the ruins called Shahr-i Bilḳīs (cf. Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, 378-9). Today, the region of Isfarāyīn is prosperous and fertile, being famed for its fruit; since 1958 it has formed a separate district or *shahristān* in the province of Khurāsān. The main town of the district is Miyānābād.

Bibliography: Scattered references in the 4th/10th century geographers (Yaʿḳūbī, Ibn Ḥawḳal, Muḳaddasī, *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*), see indices; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, i, 246; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ff. 33b-34a, 545b; Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, tr. 148; Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire géographique, historique et littéraire de la Perse*, Paris 1861, 34-5, 552; C. E. Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, Edinburgh 1900, 383 ff.; Le Strange, 393; B. R. Spooner, *Arghiyān. The area of Jājarm in western Khurāsān*, in *Iran, J. of the British Institute of Persian Studies*, iii (1965), 97-108.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

AL-**ISFARĀYĪNĪ**, ABŪ ISḤĀḲ IBRĀHĪM B. MUḤAMMAD B. IBRĀHĪM B. MIHRĀN AL-MIHRDJĀNĪ, Ashʿarī theologian and Shāfiʿī jurist, was along with Ibn Fūrak [*q.v.*], the chief propagator of Ashʿarī theology in Nīshāpūr at the turn of the 5th/11th century. Originating from Isfarāyīn, he studied mainly in Baghdād, where he must have arrived before 351/962. He attended the lectures of Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Bāhilī in Ashʿarī theology at the same time as al-Bāḳillānī [*q.v.*] and Ibn Furāk. After leaving Baghdād, he taught in Isfarāyīn. Later he accepted an invitation to Nīshāpūr, where a *madrasa* was built for him. He engaged in disputations with Karrāmī scholars at the court of Maḥmūd

1. Friday-mosque: Interior of northern dome.

2. Friday-mosque: *miḥrāb* of Uldjaytu
miḥrāb and *minbars*.

3. Khadjū Bridge: facing upstream.

4. Shahristān Bridge: facing downstream.

5. Masdjid-i Shāh: seen from the Kapi palace.

6. Masdjid-i Shāh: dome in front of the *miḥrāb*.

7 Ala Kapi palace: reception room, 1st floor.

8. *Madrasa* Mader-i Shāh: dome seen from the inner court.

Photos D. Sourdel.

of Ghazna. From 411/1020 he also held sessions teaching *ḥadīth* in the congregational mosque of Nīshāpūr. After his death in Muḥarram 418/February 1027, his body was brought to Isfarāyīn. His tomb continued to attract pious visitors in the 6th/12th century.

None of his works on Shāfiʿī law, principles of law (*uṣūl al-fiḳh*), and theology is extant, but the numerous references to his doctrine in later works attest their popularity for several generations after his death. He played a leading role in the elaboration of Ashʿarī doctrine in his generation, which in several areas covered new ground not touched by the founder of the school. In the struggle against the anthropomorphism of the Karrāmiyya he, like Ibn Fūrak, supported a more abstract view of God closer to Muʿtazilī doctrine as compared with al-Ashʿarī, who had been mainly concerned with the defence of the traditionalist view of God against Muʿtazilism. In the theory of knowledge, prophethood, the nature of the Ḳurʾān, human acts, his views are frequently contrasted in the sources with those of al-Bāḳillānī and are often closer to Muʿtazilī doctrine. He ascribed wider immunity [see ʿISMA] from falsehood to the prophets than did al-Bāḳillānī and held that the extraordinary acts of saints (*karāmāt*) do not reach the degree of miracles of prophets (*muʿdjizāt*). In the words of al-Djuwaynī, he inclined to a position close to the Muʿtazilī rejection of the miracles of saints. In substantial agreement with al-Bāḳillānī he distinguished between the eternal speech (*kalām*) of God, which according to his doctrine could not be heard, and the Ḳurʾān. Against al-Bāḳillānī's view that the miraculous inimitability of the Ḳurʾān resides in its superior composition and rhetorical perfection, he supported the view of the Muʿtazilī al-Naẓẓām that God prevents man from imitating the Ḳurʾān. Like al-Bāḳillānī he attempted to define the concept of *kasb* referring to human acts, which had been of no significance in the doctrine of al-Ashʿarī, which exclusively stressed divine omnipotence. Also in agreement with Muʿtazilī doctrine and against the prevaling Ashʿarī view he held that man's first duty was to reach knowledge of God through reason, independently of the mission of prophets, and he opposed the doctrine that God may impose on man obligations which are beyond his power (*taklīf mā lā yuṭāḳ*).

Bibliography: al-ʿAbbādī, *K. Ṭabaḳāt al-fuḳahāʾ al-Shāfiʿiyya*, ed. G. Vitestam, Leiden 1964, 104; Abu ʾl-Muẓaffar al-Isfarāyīnī, *al-Tabṣīr fi ʾl-dīn*, ed. ʿIzzat al-ʿAṭṭār al-Ḥusaynī, Cairo 1940, 66; Abū Isḥāḳ al-Shīrāzī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-fuḳahāʾ*, Baghdād 1356, 106; Samʿānī, fol. 33v; al-Ṣarīfīnī, *al-Muntakhab min Kitāb al-Siyāḳ li-taʾrīkh Nīsābūr*, ed. R. N. Frye, *The Histories of Nishapur*, The Hague 1965, fol. 25 f.; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tabyīn kadhib al-muftarī*, ed. al-Ḳudsī, Damascus 1347, 234 f.; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*, Cairo n.d., iii, 111-4; Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bayāḍī, *Ishārāt al-marām*, ed. Yūsuf ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, Cairo 1947, 54, 84, 249; Ibn Khallikān, no. 4; Brockelmann, S I, 66. Concerning his doctrine: M. Horten, *Die philosophischen Systeme der spekulativen Theologie im Islam*, Bonn 1912, 556 f.; A. S. Tritton, *Muslim theology*, London 1947, 184; in addition to the references given there: al-Djuwaynī, *al-Shāmil*, ed. H. Klopfer, i, Cairo 1961, *passim*; idem, *al-Irshād*, ed. M. Y. Mūsā and A. A. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo n.d., 316, 333. On his doctrine of knowledge: J. van Ess, *Die Erkenntnislehre des ʿAḍudaddīn al-Īcī*, Wiesbaden 1966, index s.v. Isfarāʾīnī. (W. MADELUNG)

ISFENDIYĀR OGHLU, the name of a Turkoman dynasty, which founded the independent kingdom of Ḳasṭamonu on the decline of the Saldjūḳ kingdom of Ḳonya, at the end of the 7th/13th century, in N.W. Asia Minor, in the ancient Paphlagonia. The name is taken from that of the best known ruler of this dynasty, Isfendiyār Bey; in the 10th/16th century we find the name Ḳīzīl Aḥmedlu, from Ḳīzīl Aḥmed, the brother of Ismāʿīl Bey. The Byzantines called the Isfendiyār Oghlu "the sons of Amurias" or of Omur. The founder of the dynasty appears to have been Shams al-Dīn b. Taman (Timūr?) Djāndār, who held a grant of the district of Affānī; he went to war with Masʿūd II (681/1282-697/1298), captured the town of Ḳastamonu and in 690/1291 (Münedjdjimbāshī) was appointed governor of the districts seized by him by the Īlkhān prince Gaykhātū. He seems to be identical with Sungur Bey Shamsī Pasha, who conquered Bōlu according to Ewliyā, ii, 173. His son, Shudjāʿ al-Dīn Sulaymān Pasha (700/1301-740/1340), at first acknowledged the suzerainty of the Īlkhāns, but afterwards made himself independent and conquered Sinope, which was still in possession of a daughter of Masʿūd II. He is mentioned in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii, 343 ff.), Shihāb al-Dīn (*Not. et Extr.*, xiii, 340 and 361 f.) and Abu'l-Fidāʾ (*Géographie*, ed. Reinaud, ii, 1, p. 35; 2, p. 142, 145); Pachymeres, ii, 345 ff. and 456 f., knows him by the name Σολυμάμπαξι. His successors were: his son Ibrāhīm Pasha; ʿĀdil Bey, son of the Emīr Yaʿḳūb and grandson of Shams al-Dīn (about 746/1345); Djalāl al-Dīn Bāyazīd, son of ʿĀdil Bey, called Kötürüm by the Ottomans, died 787/1385; Sulaymān Bey, son of Bāyazīd, from 787/1385-795/1393; Sultan Bāyazīd I killed him and seized the land (according to *Rev. Hist.*, 389; the Ottoman chronicles make no mention of Sulaymān Bey and make Bāyāzīd Kötürüm reign till 795/1393). Mubāriz al-Dīn Isfendiyār, son of Bāyāzīd, was restored by Tīmūr in 805/1402-3. He died on 22 Ramaḍān 843/26 Feb. 1440. About 820/1417 he had to cede the towns of Ṭosya, Čankīrī and Ḳalʿedjiḳ and the district of Djānīk to Meḥemmed I and later the rich copper mines to Murād II; Ibrāhīm, son of Isfendiyār, 843/1439-857/1443; Ismāʿīl, son of Ibrāhīm, was deposed by Sultan Meḥemmed II at the instigation of his brother Ḳīzīl Aḥmed in 864/1460 and died in Philippolis, which was allotted to him as a residence by the sultan. He wrote a widely circulated book, *Ḥuluwiyyāt-i Sulṭānī*, on the ritual prescripts of Islām. His brother Ḳizil Aḥmed fled to Uzun Ḥasan after the confiscation of Ḳastamonu, returned to Constantinople after the death of Meḥemmed II, and was honourably received by Bāyazīd II; his son Mīrzā Meḥemmed married a daughter of the sultan and his grandsons Shamsī and Muṣṭafā Pasha filled high offices under Selīm II and Murād III; Shemsī Pasha in particular had great personal influence as the confidant (*muṣāḥib*) of Murād III. He fabricated a genealogy of the "Ḳīzīl Aḥmedlu Isfendiyār-Oghlu" which went back to Khālid b. al-Wālid, and invented the name Ḳīzīl Aḥmedlu for the dynasty of Isfendīyār-Oghlu. Descendants of this family still exist and, when at the beginning of the 11th/17th century it was feared that the Ottoman ruling house might become extinct, the Ḳīzīl Aḥmedlu were considered amongst others as possible claimants to the throne on account of their frequent marriages with relatives of the sultans.

On this genealogy cf. that of Ismāʿīl Bey, in the *Ḥuluwiyyāt-i Sulṭānī* in Rieu, *Catal. of Turkish MSS*,

GENEALOGY OF THE ISFENDIYĀR-OGHLU

1. Yaman Djāndār (for Yaman b. Djāndār?)

2. Shams al-Dīn (= Sungur Shamsī Pasha?)

3. Shudjā' al-Dīn Sulaymān Pasha

4. Emīr Ya'ḳūb

5. Ibrāhīm Pasha

6. 'Alī Bey

7. Nastratios (= Nāṣir al-Dīn ?)

8. 'Ādil Bey ('Alī)

9. Bāyazīd Kötürüm (Valī)

10. Sulaymān Pasha

11. Mubāriz al-Dīn Isfendiyār (reg. 795-843 A.H.)

12. Iskandar

13. (daughter)

14. daughter, married to Murād I.

15. Ḳara Yaḥyā

16. Ibrāhīm, reg. 843-847/1439-43

17. Ḳawām al-Dīn Ḳāsim Bey, married (828/1425) a sister of Murād II.

18. Khiḍir Bey

19. Murād

20. Ḥalīma, married 828/1425 Sultan Murād II

24. Iskandar, called Mīrzā Bey

25. Ḥasan, killed 855/1451

21. Kamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ismā'īl; reigned 847-864/1443-60; in 844/1440 married a daughter of Murād II.

22. Ḳîzîl Aḥmed

23. Khadīdja

26. Ḥasan

27. Meḥemmed, called Mīrzā, married a daughter of Bāyazīd II.

28. Shamsī Pasha

29. Muṣṭafā Pasha

in the British Museum, II, and that of Shamsī Pasha in Pečewī, ii, 10 ff.; 4 perhaps the brother of Sulaymān Pasha, called al-Efendi by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa; the sons of Sulaymān Pasha, 5-7, in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 340, 348, Shihāb al-Dīn, and Pachymeres, ii, 327 ff., 611; 8 according to Münedjdjimbāshī, son of Sulaymān Pasha; 13 according to Sa'd al-Dīn, i, 192; another sister of Isfendiyār and her son is mentioned by Clavijo, 92, but without giving her name; 14 according to *Ta'rīkh-i Ṣāf*, i, 39 f.; on 17 see Sa'd al-Dīn, i, 277 f., 318 f., Ḥamīd Wahbī, 1350 f.; on 18 Sa'd al-Dīn, i, 287; on 19 Sa'd al-Dīn, i, 318 f.; 21, the epithet in Ferīdūn, i, 250; on his marriage with a daughter of Murād II: Dukas 243; Sa'd al-Dīn, i, 343; on 23 cf. *Rev. Hist.*, 390 f.; on 24 Ḥamīd Wahbī, 1354; on 26 Sa'd al-Dīn, i, 474, 476.

Bibliography: Münedjdjimbāshī, *Ṣaḥā'if al-Akhbār*, iii, 29 f.; Ḥamīd Wahbī, *Meshāhīr-i Islām*, no. 43 (= p. 1329-1358 of the whole series); *Revue Historique publiée par l'Institut d'Histoire Ottomane*, 382-392 (monograph by Aḥmed Tewḥīd); the Byzantine historians Pachymeres, Dukas, Chalkokondyles, Phrantzes; Clavijo. On the coins of the Isfendiyār-Oghlu: Ismā'īl Ghālib, *Taḳwīm-i Meskūkāt-i Seldjūḳiye*, 120-1; Aḥmed Tewḥīd, *Meskūkāt-i ḳadīme-i Islāmiye*, iv, 400 ff.

(J. H. Mordtmann*)

ISFĪD DIZ [see kal'a-yi safīd].

ISFĪDJĀB [see Supplement].

'ISHĀ' [see ṣalāt].

ISḤĀĶ, the Biblical Isaac, mentioned in fifteen passages of the Ḳur'ān. God gives Abraham "good tidings of Isaac, a prophet, of the righteous", and blesses them both (XXXVII 112 f.). In a fuller description, when messengers concerning Lot come to Abraham; his wife "laughed, and we gave her good tidings of Isaac, and after Isaac of Jacob" (XI, 71/74); and it is explained that this will happen despite their age. Several verses speak of Isaac and Jacob being given to Abraham (VI, 84; XIX, 49/50; XXI 72), and XXIX, 27/26 adds that God "made prophethood and the Book to be among his offspring" (cf. XXXVIII, 45 f.). Ishmael is joined to Isaac in XIV, 39/41, where Abraham praises God for giving him the two although he was old. Elsewhere the name only occurs in lists: Joseph follows the creed of his fathers Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (XII, 38), and speaks of God's favour to them (XII, 6); Jacob's sons serve the God of his fathers, Abraham, Ishmael and Isaac (II, 133/127); and revelations are given Abraham, Ishmael, Isaac, Jacob and the Patriarchs (II, 136/130, 140/134; III, 84/78; IV, 163/161). In the account of Abraham's would-be sacrifice of his son (XXXVII, 102/100-107), the name of the son is not mentioned; and there was a fierce controversy among Muslim scholars over the identity of the son. At first most Muslims probably considered the "sacrifice" (*dhabīḥ*) was Isaac (cf. Goldziher, *Koranauslegung*, 79-81). This is explicitly stated of 'Umar and 'Alī by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn (Wüstenfeld, *Chron. Mekka*, ii, 37). A story is told of how a convert told 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz that the Jews had substituted Isaac (their ancestor) for Ishmael (the Arabs'). Actually the controversy came to be more concerned with Persian than with

Jewish rivalry for the Arabs (Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, i, 144 f., Eng. tr., i, 135), since the Persians claimed descent from Isaac. Al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, ii, 146 f.) quotes a Persian poet in 290/902 who boasted that his descent from Isaac the *dhabīḥ* was superior to that of the Arabs. Later representatives of the Isaac-party were Ibn Ḳutayba (*Maʿārif*, 18 f. ed. ʿUkāsha², Cairo 1969, 30 f.) and al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr* on XII, 6 and XXXVII, 107; vol. xii, 86; xxiii, 46-9); they argued that God's perfecting his mercy on Abraham and Isaac (in XII, 6) referred to his making Abraham his friend and saving him from the burning bush and to his rescuing Isaac. The other party held that the promise to Sarah of Isaac followed by Jacob (XI, 71/74) excluded the possibility of a sacrifice of Isaac. Although Ibn Ḳutayba, for example, had seen Isaac mentioned in the Old Testament, Muslim opinion eventually gave full endorsement to the view that the son in question was Ishmael, the ancestor of the Arabs (cf. al-Bayḍāwī on XXXVII, 102/101). In the works entitled *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* by al-Thaʿlabī (Cairo 1312, 48-60) and al-Kisāʾī (Leiden 1922, 150-3) the story of Isaac is elaborated along lines reflecting extra-Biblical Jewish tradition.

Bibliography: there are a number of further references in the works of I. Goldziher cited, and also in *ZDMG*, xxxii, 359, n. 5 (*Schriften*, ii, 19); cf. also commentaries on the verses quoted; C. H. Becker, *Islamstudien*, i, 437 (= *ZA*, xxvi, 182). (W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

ISḤĀḲ B. **ḤUNAYN** B. ISḤĀḲ AL-ʿIBĀDĪ, ABŪ YAʿḲŪB, like his father Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*] an eminent translator of ancient science and philosophy, well versed in the Greek, Syriac, Arabic, and Persian languages. Some authors, such as Ibn al-Nadīm and Ibn al-Maṭrān, assert that his Arabic style is superior to that of his father, and like other well educated persons of his surroundings he even indulged in writing poetry. He followed the medical profession of his father, who dedicated to him some of his translations of Galen. It is interesting to note that these were made into Syriac and not into Arabic. A talk between Ḥunayn and Isḥāḳ about pre-Socratic philosophy was included in Abū Sulaymān's *Ṣiwān al-ḥikma* (see F. Rosenthal, in *Orientalia*, N. S. x (1941), 395). Isḥāḳ served as a physician at the court of the caliphs; al-Bayhaḳī further represents him as a boon companion and astrological adviser of al-Muktafī [*q.v.*] and also as a good Muslim. Isḥāḳ was on familiar terms with the notorious vizier al-Ḳāsim b. ʿUbayd Allāh, with whom he exchanged witty epigrams (cf. C. Elgood, *A medical history of Persia*, Cambridge 1951, 115). After suffering a stroke he died in Baghdād in Rabīʿ I or II 289/November or December 910 or January 911 (Ibn Khallikān also gives the year 299).

As a translator Isḥāḳ was less concerned with medicine; he left the numerous works of Galen [see DJĀLĪNŪS] to the other members of his father's school and himself rendered only two of them into Syriac and nine into Arabic, *e.g.*, *De partibus artis medicativae*, where he completed the version which Ḥunayn had left unfinished at his death (cf. M. Lyons, *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum*, Suppl. Orient. ii, Berlin 1969, 8 f.). It was by his many translations of Aristotle [see ARISṬŪṬĀLĪS] that he rendered his greatest services (cf. F. E. Peters, *Aristoteles Arabus*, Leiden 1968). Other philosophers he was concerned with are Plato [see AFLĀṬŪN], pseudo-Plato (see *Mashriq*, ix (1906), 677), Nicolaus of Damascus (*De plantis*, cf. B. Hemmerdinger, in *Philologus*, cxi (1967), 58), Alexander of Aphrodisias [see AL-ISKANDAR AL-AFRŪDĪSĪ], Porphyry [see FURFŪRIYŪS], Themistius, Nemesius of Emesa (see P. Sbath, *Bibliothèque de manuscrits Paul Sbath*, Cairo 1928, no. 1010) and Proclus [see BURUḲLUS]. Moreover he translated many standard works on mathematics and astronomy, *e.g.*, those of Euclid (cf. G. P. Matvievskaya, *Učenie o čisle na srednevekovom bližnem i srednem vostoke*, Tashkent 1967, 100 f.), Autolycus of Pitane, Archimedes, Theodosius of Bithynia, Menelaus of Alexandria (cf. Max Krause, in *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, *phil.-hist. Kl.*, *Dritte Folge*, no. 17, 1936, 21, 23) and Ptolemy [see BAṬLAMIYŪS]. Some of these translations were revised by Thābit b. Ḳurra [*q.v.*] (cf. M. Bouyges, in *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, ix (1923-4), 77-81); there exists also a fragment of a letter on astronomical matters sent to him by Thābit (see F. J. Carmody, *The astronomical works of Thabit b. Qurra*, Berkeley, Los Angeles 1960, 20, 45 f., 229).

Isḥāḳ's own writings were mainly on medical and pharmacological subjects. In 290/903 he composed at the request of al-Ḳāsim (see above) his *Taʾrīkh al-aṭibbāʾ* (ed. F. Rosenthal, in *Oriens*, vii (1954), 55-80; cf. *JAOS*, lxxxi (1961), 10 f.). This book is the first known attempt to write about the beginnings of medicine in connexion with the history of philosophy and religion.

Bibliography: *Ḥunain ibn Isḥāq über die syrischen und arabischen Galen-Übersetzungen*, ed. G. Bergsträßer, Leipzig 1925, *Abh. K. M.* xvii/2, cf. *Abh. K. M.* xix/2; *Fihrist* (index); Ibn Djuldjul, *Ṭabaḳāt al-aṭibbāʾ wa 'l-ḥukamāʾ*, ed. F. Sayyid, Cairo 1955, 69; ʿAlī b. Zayd al-Bayhaḳī, *Tatimma ṣiwān al-ḥikma*, ed. M. Shafīʿ, Lahore 1935, i, 4 f.; Ibn al-Maṭrān, *Bustān al-aṭibbāʾ wa-rawḍat al-alibbāʾ*, Ms. Bethesda, Md, A8, fol. 117ʳ f.; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ*, ed. J. Lippert, Leipzig 1903 (index); Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ fī ṭabaḳāt al-aṭibbāʾ*, ed. A. Müller, Cairo 1882, i, 200 f., 203, 218; Ibn Khallikān, no. 87, translation by de Slane, i, 187; M. Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters*, Berlin 1893 (repr. Graz 1956), 1056 (index); idem, *Die arabischen Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen*, repr. Graz 1960, p. (269 f.) (index); Suter, 39; I. Pollak, *Die Hermeneutik des Aristoteles in der arabischen Übersetzung des Isḥāḳ ibn Ḥonain*, Leipzig 1913, *Abh. K. M.* xiii/1; L. Cheikho, *Catalogue des manuscrits des auteurs arabes chrétiens depuis l'Islam*, Beirut 1924, 31; G. Sarton, *Introduction to the history of science*, i, Baltimore 1927; J. Tkatsch, *Die arabische Übersetzung der Poetik des Aristoteles*, 2 vols., Vienna and Leipzig 1928, 1932; Brockelmann, I, 277, S I, 369, 956, S III, 1203 f.; G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, ii, Vatican City 1947 (*Studi e testi* 133), 129 f.; Khalil Georr, *Les catégories d'Aristote dans leurs versions syro-arabes*, Beirut 1948; Roger Paret, *Notes bibliographiques sur quelques travaux récents consacrés aux premières traductions arabes d'oeuvres grecques*, in *Byzantion*, xxix-xxx (1959-60), 387-446; R. Walzer, *Greek into Arabic*, Oxford 1962; W. Kutsch, Khalīl al-Djurr (Georr), *Al-Maḳāla al-ūlā min Kitāb al-samāʿ al-ṭabīʿī li-Arisṭūṭālīs*, in *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, xxxix (1964), 266-312. (G. STROHMAIER)

ISḤĀḲ B. **IBRĀHĪM** AL-**MAWṢILĪ**, the son of IBRĀHĪM AL-MAWṢILĪ [*q.v.*], and like him the greatest musician of his time, was born in 150/767 in Rayy and died in Ramaḍān 235/850 in Baghdād. He received an excellent education, studying Ḳurʾān, *ḥadīth*, and *adab* under Hushaym b. Baṣīr, al-Kisāʾī,

al-Farrā', al-Aṣma'ī, and Abū 'Ubayda. His teachers in music were his father, his brother-in-law Zalzal, and 'Ātika bint Shu'ba. He had a magnificent voice, and made use of the headvoice (*takhnīth*); he was also an excellent composer. He was highly appreciated by the caliphs from Hārūn to al-Mutawakkil, and especially by al-Wāthiḳ; al-Ma'mūn permitted him to wear the costume of a *faḳīh* and placed him among the *'ulamā'* (see also Ḳālī, *Amālī*[1], iii, 90). In the controversy between the modernists, who followed the theories of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī [*q.v.*], and those who adhered to the music of the Ḥidjāz, Isḥāḳ was a stout defender of the old style and systematized its musical modes. He showed the same predilection for ancient poetry, following its language, style and topics in his own poems, whilst he criticized modern poets like Abū Tammām and Abū Nuwās. He was a very learned man and took many books with him when travelling; he paid the philologist Ibn al-A'rābī an annual stipend. Many of his own works deal with music and musicians. Already his father, together with Ibn Djāmi' and Fulayḥ b. Abi 'l-'Awrā' had selected for Hārūn al-Rashīd 100 songs (cf. Agh.[3] i, 4-5, 7). Later on Isḥāḳ, by order of al-Wāthiḳ, made a new edition of the one hundred selected melodies, keeping the finest of them, and replacing those of minor quality by better ones (Aghanī[3], i, 8 ff.). This is the *Ikhtiyār min al-Aghānī li 'l-Wāthiḳ* (Fihrist, 141, 4; Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, ii, 223, 9). He also composed books on the biographies and compositions either of a single musician or a group of them, *e.g.*, *akhbār 'Azza* (*Fihrist*, 141), *akhbār al-Hudhaliyyayn* (see *Aghānī*[1], iv, 152 ff.), *al-Makkiyyīn* (see Yāḳūt, l.c. ii, 223, 7), *al-Ḳiyān*. These monographs are directly or indirectly sources for the corresponding sections in the *Aghānī*. There existed also a book of songs containing Isḥāḳ's own compositions; but it had been compiled without Isḥāḳ's permission by one of his copyists. Most of our information about Isḥāḳ goes back to his son Ḥammād, who also published the genuine book of Isḥāḳ's songs. A book about Isḥāḳ was written by his pupil 'Alī b. Yaḥyā Ibn al-Munadjdjim (*Fihrist*, 143, 22), whilst the latter's son Yaḥyā b. 'Alī devoted to Isḥāḳ a chapter in his anthology *al-Bāhir* (*Fihrist*, 143, 27). His death was mourned in many elegies (*Aghānī*[3], v, 256 and 431-4). Isḥāḳ had many pupils and his fame has lasted up to this day. He is mentioned in the "Assemblies" of al-Ḥarīrī and in the Arabian Nights.

Bibliography: in the article; our main source is *Aghānī*[3], v, 268-435; see also *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* no. 3380; Ibn Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 227-32; Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, ii, 197-225; Ibn Khallikān, no. 86; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, i, 350-2; consult the indices of *Aghānī*, *Fihrist*; Marzubānī, *al-Muwashshaḥ*; Ḳālī, *Amālī*; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Ma'ārif* and *'Uyūn*; *al-Kāmil*; *Yatīmat al-dahr*; the works of H. G. Farmer; E. Neubauer, *Musiker am Hof der frühen 'Abbasiden*, Frankfurt am Main 1965, 187-9 with a full bibliography; Brockelmann, S I 223; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 371.

(J. W. FÜCK)

ISḤĀḲ B. MURĀD, Turkish physician who lived in Gerede in Anatolia in the time of Sultan Bāyezīd I. Little is known of his life: he practised medicine and also wrote on the subject. His chief work is *Kitāb Edwiye-i müfride*, "The book of simple remedies", which he completed in 792/1390. In the first section he deals with the medicinal plants of his native land (giving the Arabic and Persian names of each beside the Turkish name) and, at the end, gives prescriptions for various illnesses. The second section describes the illnesses in detail. The work, surviving in various manuscripts in Turkey, is also of linguistic interest, in that it presents many early features of orthography, grammar and vocabulary.

Bibliography: Bursalı Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *'Othmanlı mü'ellifleri*, iii, 203; A. Adnan-Adıvar, *Osmanli Türklerinde ilim*, Istanbul 1943, 6-7; O. Spies, *Das Türkische Drogen- und Medizinbuch des Isḥāq b. Murād*, in *Studia orientalia in memoriam Caroli Brockelmann*, Halle 1968, 185-92.

(O. SPIES)

ISḤĀḲ B. SULAYMĀN AL-ISRĀ'ĪLĪ, ABŪ YA'ḲŪB (*ca.* 243/855 - *ca.* 343/955), physician, medical writer and philosopher, was born in Egypt and appointed court physician by 'Ubayd Allāh al-Mahdī after his emigration to Ḳayrawān at about the age of fifty. His high reputation among his fellow-Jews is attested by Sa'īd (Se'adya) al-Fayyūmī's letters consulting him on philosophical and scientific matters. His medical works were translated into Latin by Constantine the African (1087) and enjoyed great esteem in the Middle Ages (printed in *Omnia opera Ysaac*, Lyons 1575). Of his philosophical writings the *Kitāb al-Ḥudūd wa 'l-rusūm* was popular among the Latin schoolmen, who know it in two versions (edited by J. T. Muckle in *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen age*, xii-xiii, Paris 1937-38). Mediaeval Jewish writers were equally familiar with the work. It was twice translated into Hebrew (see A. Altmann, in *JSS*, ii (1957), 232 ff.). The *Kitāb al-Djawāhir* has survived only in fragments discovered by A. Borisov and edited by S. M. Stern (*Journal of Jewish Studies*, vii (1956), 13-29). The most extensive treatise is the *Kitāb al-Usṭuḳuṣṣāt*, extant in a Latin version (contained in *Omnia opera Ysaac*) and in two Hebrew ones by Abraham ibn Ḥasday (ed. by S. Fried, 1900) and by Moses ibn Tibbon (?) respectively. The "Chapter on the Elements" preserved in a Hebrew Ms (*Sha'ar ha-yesodoth*) has been shown by A. Altmann, following a suggestion by Gershom G. Scholem, to be another work of al-Isrā'īlī's (*Journal of Jewish Studies*, vii (1956), 31-57).

Al-Isrā'īlī, the father of Jewish Neoplatonism, is largely influenced by al-Kindī and by a pseudo-Aristotelian neoplatonic source which Altmann discovered in the "Chapter on the Elements" and which Stern has identified as underlying also such works as the Long Version of the *Theology of Aristotle* (discovered by Borisov) and Ibn Ḥasday's *Prince and Ascetic* (see *Oriens*, xiii-xiv (1961), 58-120).

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the text: J. Guttmann, *Die philosophischen Lehren des Isaak b. Salomon Israeli*, Münster 1911; A. Altmann and S. M. Stern, *Isaac Israeli, a Neoplatonic philosopher of the early tenth century*, Oxford 1958; reviewed by M. Plessner, in *Ḳiryat Sefer*, xxxv (1960), 457 ff.; J. D. Latham, *Isaac Israeli's* Kitāb al-Ḥummayāt *and the Latin and Castilian Texts*, in *JSS*, xiv (1969), 80-95.

(A. ALTMANN)

ISḤĀḲ, ADĪB, journalist and scholar of Syrian origin and Catholic by religion, but Egyptian by adoption. Born in 1856 at Damascus, where he studied under the Lazarist Fathers, he was, while still very young, obliged to accept a modest post in the Customs office in order to help his family, though he did not cease to pursue his Arabic studies more deeply and to extend his knowledge of French and Turkish, in which he obtained a high degree of proficiency. His family's removal to Beirut gave him the opportunity of forming fruitful contacts with the representatives of the Arab cultural awakening which

was taking place at that time. They were impressed by his lively mind and his remarkable knowledge of classical Arabic, which contributed to his appointment as editor of the periodical *al-Taḳaddum*. From this time on, Adīb Isḥāḳ devoted himself entirely to his work as a writer, poet and essayist; in this field mention should be made of his *Nuzhat al-aḥdāḳ fī maṣāriʿ al-ʿushshāḳ* and of several articles in *Āthār al-adhār*, edited by Salīm Djubrāʾīl al-Khūrī and Salīm Mīkhāʾīl Shiḥāda. In 1876, during the reign of the Khedive Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*], he settled in Alexandria at the suggestion of Salīm al-Naḳḳāsh [*q.v.*] from Beirut, the creator of the modern Arabic theatre, who was anxious to escape from the pressure of the Ottoman authorities in the countries of the Middle East, and had come to Egypt in order to pursue his theatrical activity in a more sympathetic political and literary climate. The two compatriots then collaborated in the work of the development of Arabic drama, which was then beginning, and to which Adīb Isḥāḳ had already contributed with his Arabic adaptation of Racine's *Andromaque*, which he had written at the suggestion of the French consul in Beirut, and with the translation from French of an historical play called *Charlemagne*.

But the event which marked the beginning of a new phase in Adīb Isḥāḳ's Egyptian career was his contact with the famous reformer Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī [*q.v.*], whose lectures at al-Azhar he attended and who proposed the foundation, in 1877, of the political weekly *Miṣr*, which Adīb Isḥāḳ published at first in Cairo and later in Alexandria. Around this periodical there very soon gathered the best writers and the most able politicians of the time; among them should be mentioned al-Afghānī himself and Muḥammad ʿAbduh, his most famous pupil. But this publication, and also the daily paper *al-Tidjāra*, to which Adīb Isḥāḳ had given a financial and commercial, and later a political character, were suppressed in 1880, and their editor was banished from Egypt because of his extremist revolutionary ideas and his opposition to the government.

Adīb Isḥāḳ then went to Paris, where, in order to continue his patriotic action on behalf of his adopted country and compatriots, he founded the periodical *Miṣr al-Ḳāhira* (known also as *Miṣr* or *al-Ḳāhira*), formed contacts with the literary and political circles, and published a series of articles in the Paris press. Nine months later, he returned to Beirut for a year, during which he agreed to resume the editorship of *al-Taḳaddum*, and at the end of 1881, encouraged by the improvement in the political situation, he returned to Egypt, where he was appointed *nāẓir* ("supervisor") in the Editorial and Translation section of the Ministry of Education; he was later made second secretary of the Chamber of Deputies, and at the same time obtained permission to resume the publication of his journal *Miṣr*, which he entrusted to his brother. But, as a result of the revolution of ʿUrābī Pasha [*q.v.*] in 1881, he fled to Beirut and did not return to Egypt until after the British occupation in 1882; but being unable to resume his government post, he went back to Beirut, where he accepted for the third time the editorship of *al-Taḳaddum* and published in 1884 the translation of *La belle parisienne*, *al-Bārīsiyya al-ḥasnāʾ* by Comtesse Dash, of which he had produced an Arabic version in his youth. Adīb Isḥāk died at al-Ḥadath (Lebanon), after a last stay of some weeks in Cairo and Alexandria, in 1885.

It is stated in *al-Durar* (extracts from his poems, articles, lectures, tracts, Arabic adaptations of plays, etc., Beirut 1909, collected by his brother, ʿAwnī Isḥāḳ) that he is also the author of the play entitled *Gharāʾib al-ittifāḳ* (which was several times performed in Alexandria), and of the collection of biographies made during his stay in Paris, *Tarādjim Miṣr fī hādha 'l-ʿaṣr*, but the first of the two manuscripts was stolen from him and the other is lost.

Bibliography: To the references in Brockelmann, II, 759, add Ibrāhīm ʿAbduh, *Aʿlām al-ṣaḥāfa al-ʿarabiyya*, Cairo 1948, 116-24; M. Y. Nadjm, *Al-Masraḥiyya fi 'l-adab al-ʿarabī al-ḥadīth, 1847-1914*, Beirut 1956, 58, 100-1, 215-6; J. M. Landau, *Studies in the Arab theater and cinema*, Philadelphia 1958, 61, 63, 64, 71. H. Pérès has noted the translation of *La belle parisienne*, in *Le roman, le conte et la nouvelle dans la littérature arabe moderne*, in *AIEO Alger*, iii (1937), 294, no. 207. (U. Rizzitano)

KHODJA **ISḤĀḲ EFENDI**, Ottoman mathematician and engineer in Maḥmūd II's reign. He was born at Arta in the province of Janina (Yanya) in 1774 (?), the son of a Jew converted to Islam (Faik Reşit Unat's thesis in *Başhoca Isḥāḳ Efendi* (*Bell.*, xxviii (1964), 89-115) that Khodja Isḥāḳ Efendi and Sulṭān-zāde Isḥāḳ Bey, the favourite of Selīm III, were the same person is far from convincing). After the death of his father he came to Istanbul, where he studied mathematics privately and learned various Oriental and Western languages. Appointed instructor (*khodja*) of mathematics at the Military School of Engineering (*Mühendiskhāne-i Berrī-i Humāyūn*) in 1816, he became interpreter of the *Dīwān-i Humāyūn* [*q.v.*] in Dhu'l-Ḳaʿda 1239/July 1824, in addition to his position at the *Mühendiskhāne*. He was dismissed from his post at the *Dīwān* in 1245/1828-9 and sent to the Balkans to supervise the construction of fortresses there. It seems that his dismissal was due to Pertev Efendi (later Pasha) [*q.v.*], the *reʾīs al-küttāb* of the time, who saw in him a potential rival. Isḥāḳ Efendi continued his teaching at the *Mühendiskhāne*, where he became Chief Instructor (*Bash-khodja*) in Radjab 1246/December 1830-January 1831. He succeeded in reforming the curriculum and improving the teaching staff at the *Mühendiskhāne*, but his predecessor in the office, Seyyid ʿAlī Efendi (later Pasha), was influential enough to have him removed and sent to Medina to supervise the restoration of various sacred buildings. While on his way back to Istanbul, he died at Suez in 1251/1835 and was buried there.

Isḥāḳ Efendi's main work, entitled *Madjmūʿa-i ʿulūm-i riyāḍiyye* (4 vols., Istanbul 1247-50/1831-34), consists largely of translations from French books on mathematics, physics, chemistry, geology and their applications. Although a school manual of no great scientific value, it is the first work in Turkish on the modern physical and natural sciences (see *Tanzimat I*, Istanbul 1940, 479 f., 492 f., 554 f.). Furthermore the scientific terminology, based on Arabic, which was used in Turkey up to the 1930's and in some Arab countries still later, was mainly Isḥāḳ Efendi's creation. Through his teaching and publications he contributed much to the introduction of Western sciences to Turkey and the Arab countries

Bibliography: Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, Istanbul 1306-16, ii, 899; *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, i, 328; Meḥmed Esʿad, *Mirʾāt-i mühendiskhāne-i berrī-i humāyūn*, Istanbul 1312, 34-42, 49, 58-61; Osman Ergin, *Türkiye maarif tarihi*, Istanbul 1939-43, ii, 277 f.; A. Adnan-Adıvar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde ilim*, Istanbul 1943, 196 f.; B. Lewis, *The emergence of modern Turkey*[2], London 1968, 86-8; N. Berkes,

The development of secularism in Turkey, Montreal 1964, index. For a contemporary account see [J. de Kay], *Sketches of Turkey in 1831 and 1832*, New York 1833, 138-44. For the list of his publications see *ʿO̲t̲h̲mānlī Müʾellifleri*, iii, 255. See also İbrahim Alâettin Gövsa, *Türk meşhurları*, Istanbul 1946, 191; Çağatay Uluçay and Enver Kartekin, *Yüksek Mühendis Okulu*, Istanbul 1958, index.

(E. KURAN)

ISḤĀḲ PAS̲H̲A [see Supplement].

ISḤĀḲ SÜKŪTĪ, a Young Turk leader, was born in 1868, probably of Kurdish extraction. As a student at the Military Medical School in Istanbul, he was in May 1889 one of the original group of founders of the Secret Committee, which eventually developed into the Committee of Union and Progress [see ITTIḤĀD WE-TERAḲḲĪ D̲J̲EMʿIYETI]. Later, in 1895, he was exiled to Rhodes but managed to escape and went to Paris, where he associated with the Young Turk émigrés. In 1897, with others, he founded the anti-government journal *Osmanlı* (*ʿUt̲h̲mānlī*), which was published in Geneva. In 1899, under combined pressure and blandishments from the Sultan, the journal ceased publication and several of its sponsors received official appointments.

Isḥāḳ Sükūtī became medical officer to the Ottoman Embassy in Rome. He did not, however, sever his connection with the Young Turks and when a group of them moved to London to continue the publication of *Osmanlı* there, he underwrote the expenses of publication and continued to do so until his death in San Remo in 1903. In 1909, after the revolution in Turkey, his friend Dr. Riḍā Nūr [*q.v.*] brought his remains to Istanbul and had them buried in the garden adjoining the tomb of Sultan Maḥmūd.

Bibliography: E. E. Ramsaur, *The Young Turks: prelude to the revolution of 1908*, Princeton N. J. 1957; Şerif Mardin, *Jön Türklerin siyasî fikirleri*, Ankara 1964; Ahmed Bedevi Kuran, *Osmanlı Imparatorluğunda inkılâp hareketleri ve millî mücadele*, Istanbul 1956, especially 212 ff.

(ED.)

ISḤĀḲIYYA [see KĀZARŪNĪ].

ISHAKOVIČ [see ÜSKÜB].

IS̲H̲ĀN. 3rd pers. plur. of the Persian personal pronoun. The word, which has always had an honorific significance, was formerly used in Central Asia (*i.e.*, what is now Soviet Central Asia and the Sinkiang-Uygur Autonomous Region of China) in the sense of *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲* or *murs̲h̲id* (teacher or guide) in contrast to *murīd* (disciple or pupil). It has still to be established when the term first appeared in this sense. It certainly existed in the middle ages; the celebrated K̲h̲ʷād̲j̲a Aḥrār (died 895/1490 in Samarḳand) is always referred to as *is̲h̲ān* in his biography. The rank of *is̲h̲ān* was frequently hereditary. An *is̲h̲ān* lived with his followers in a dervish monastery (*k̲h̲ānḳāh*), and sometimes at the tomb of a saint. Most *is̲h̲ān*s made journeys from time to time into the Kazakh steppe where they had more adherents and received richer presents than in the settled districts. Greater attention was drawn to the *is̲h̲ān*s by a revolt started at Andizhan in 1898 by a certain Dukchi Is̲h̲ān. Literature on the subject is scanty and, since the very existence of *is̲h̲ān*s is strongly disapproved of by the Soviet and Chinese authorities, the term is now obsolescent, if not obsolete.

Bibliography: J. Geijer, *Materialî k izučeniyu bîtovîk̲h̲ čert musulʾmanskogo naseleniya Turkestanskogo kraya. I. Is̲h̲anî* (*Sbornik materialov dlya statistiki Sir-Darʾinskoy oblastyi*, vol. i); *Sbornik materialov po musulʾmanstvu*, St. Petersburg 1899; Sattar-Chan, *Musulʾmanskie is̲h̲anî* (*Pravoslavnîy Sobesednik*, Sept. 1895, and later N. P. Ostroumov, *Sartî*, izd. 3ᵉ, Tas̲h̲kent 1908, 206 f.); Prince V. Masalʾskiy, *Turkestanskiy kray*, St. Petersburg 1913, 355 f.; Fr. v. Schwarz, *Turkestan*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1900, 198.

(W. BARTHOLD—[G. E. WHEELER])

IS̲H̲ĀRA (A.), "gesture, sign, indication", has acquired in rhetoric [see BADĪʿ] the technical meaning of "allusion" but, in its early connotation, a gesture of the hand, a sign of the head, of the elbow, the eyes, the eyebrows etc., is considered by al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ (*Bayān*, i, 80; *Ḥayawān*, i, 33), together with speech, writing, *nuṣba* and computation on the fingers [see ḤISĀB AL-ʿAḲD where other gestures to indicate numbers are also dealt with], as one of the five methods by which a man may express his thoughts [see BAYĀN]. Whether combined with words or not, a gesture (*is̲h̲āra* and also *imāʾ*) allows a man to make his meaning clear without revealing his thoughts entirely (*Bayān*, i, 77 ff.) and may even be necessary in order to explain the meaning of a concrete idea which is unknown to the listener; it is sometimes more expressive than words, and carries further than the voice; a gracious movement of the hand or the head (*ḥusn al-is̲h̲āra*) elegantly emphasises the expression of an idea, in spite of those who consider that absolute immobility is necessary for dignity (*ḥilm* [*q.v.*]). Love poetry often refers to the language of the eyes, which express intimate feelings better, and less dangerously than words; lovers have a complete code, the scope of which is summarised by Ibn Ḥazm (*Ṭawḳ*, ch. ix, *bāb al-is̲h̲āra bi'l-ʿayn*) thus: [a sign made with the eye] "cuts off and brings together, it promises, it threatens, refuses harshly, fills with contentment, commands and forbids, strikes the servants, warns against the watcher, makes laugh and causes grief, asks and answers, holds back and grants generously" (tr. A. R. Nykl, 44); he describes some of these signs and gives their meaning ("to close the eyelid in a wink signifies consent", etc.), but admits that the majority of them cannot be described, though he implies that everyone should be able to grasp their meaning.

In fact the Arabs considered anyone who did not understand the language of gestures and obliged his interlocutor to express his thoughts in words to be a fool (cf. the proverb: *inna man lā yaʿrif al-waḥy*ᵃ *aḥmaḳ*, *waḥy*/*waḥī* also meaning sign; see al-Maydānī, i, 15; *LA*, s.v. *WḤY*). They had a collection of signs with their own meaning: agreement, refusal, indifference, etc., which were used in everyday life, and according to contemporary witnesses, the Prophet used to accompany his words with gestures whose meaning was not always clear. There existed also ritual or symbolic gestures made when a contract or an alliance was concluded, when an oath of allegiance was sworn or act of allegiance made, etc., [see BAYʿA; ḤILF AL-FUḌŪL; ṢAFAḲA; YAMĪN; etc.]. With the question of the gesture with the uncovered hand is connected that with a staff, the symbol of authority [see ʿANAZA] held by orators and preachers; al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ devoted in his *Bayān* a long section to the manifold ways of using the baton, which also served, together with the whip or the sword, to express threats.

More research needs to be done on the ritual or symbolic gestures, which with the Arabs go back to remote antiquity, to complete and amplify the observations of I. Goldziher and to verify the opinions he has advanced in a number of publications: *Orient. St. . . . Th. Noeldeke*, Giessen 1906, i, 303 ff.; *ZDMG*, 1, 495 ff.; *Abhand. zur arab. philologie*, i, 55-7, ii, p. cv

(analysis by G. H. Bousquet, in *Arabica*, vii (1960), 22-3, viii (1961), 269-72).

The magic value of certain gestures can be detected behind some *ḥadīths*, in particular the prohibition of using the hand to indicate a flash of lightning (Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, v, 266) or of greeting a person with one finger only (al-Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, ii, 162), in the same way that it survives for example in the gestures to protect against the evil eye [see ʿAYN]. As for *hidjā'* [*q.v.*], I. Goldziher points out the imprecatory meaning of the index finger pointing at an enemy, and the importance of this finger in Islamic ritual [see TASHAHHUD] where it has acquired the characteristic names of *sabbāba, musabbiḥa, muhallila, daʿʿā'a*; it was thus that the Prophet's habit of extending the index finger during prayer, after having been interpreted as a magic survival, became the symbol of the unity of God [see ṢALĀT]; in the *ḳunūt* [*q.v.*] the act of raising the hands with the palms turned towards the face was the subject of long discussions by the *fuḳahā'* whereas, in invocation (*duʿā'* [*q.v.*]), the palm turned towards the sky may have had originally a magic force [on the North African *fātḥa*, of a different type, see FĀTIḤA].

Many other gestures have still to be studied, but it is enough to mention here those given above plus a brief reference to the game of "mora" (see G. Lemoine, *Les anciens procédés de calcul sur les doigts* in *REI*, 1932/1, 4-8); in this game the partners, facing each other, at a given signal open the fist (or fists), raising whatever number of fingers they choose and speaking at the same time the number indicated by the total number of fingers raised (or else saying simply "odd" or "even"), the winner is the one who has guessed correctly. This process can be used to arrange different types of sharing out, which are known by various names: *muḳāraʿa, mukhāradja, munāhada, musāhama* [see MUKHĀRADJA]. For *ism al-ishāra* "demonstrative", [see ISM].

Bibliography: in the text. (ED.)

The Ṣufīs frequently use the word *ishāra* in a very technical sense, but when one attempts to define its meaning exactly, one finds that they give few satisfactory definitions or explanations. "Allusion" or "allusive language" would be a literal translation. But whereas these English words refer to a symbolical language which brings the object to mind by suggestion rather than by direct reference (Mallarmé), the Arabic word does not necessarily have this meaning which the Ṣūfīs prefer to render by the term *ramz* (pl. *rumūz*) (see *Lumaʿ* of al-Ṭūsī, 338). When the Ṣūfīs call themselves the *ahl al-ishāra* (the allusionist school) or when they say that their science consists of *ʿulūm al-ishāra*, they are attempting to define not only the way in which they express themselves, but also the content of an experience which can only be evoked by this method. *Ishāra* is in this sense the opposite of *ʿibāra*, not in the way that symbolical language is opposed to "realistic" language or in the way that a parable cannot be translated into abstract language, but in the way that something incommunicable is opposed to something communicable. All knowledge acquired by natural means falls within the domain of the *ʿibāra* in that it can be "expressed" and communicated to others in their language. In mystical experience, however, the bonds of natural knowledge are burst, and man reaches a new world to which his concepts and words cannot be applied. He can only talk about it by "allusion" (*ishāra*), that is to say not symbolically, but by approximation, always aware that his language can only really be understood by those who have experienced that of which he talks (al-Kalābādhī, *Taʿarruf*, Cairo ed., 87-9). And thus it is, that by the very nature of the experience, the language of the *ishāra* tends, on the one hand, to become an *esoteric* language not understood by the uninitiated or deliberately made incomprehensible to them, and on the other hand, tends to destroy itself as inadequate and as a veil between the Ṣūfī and the object of his experience: God. The novice, remarked Djunayd, must find God at the same time as his allusion, but he who has attained the highest of mystical states (*aḥwāl*) must find God in the abolition of the allusion (*Lumaʿ*, 224). And al-Ḥalladj: "As long as you attempt an *ishāra*, you are not yet a *muwaḥḥid*,—not until the moment when God takes over your allusion by annihilating your self-consciousness. Then He leaves neither the subject of the allusion (*mushīr*) nor the allusion itself" (*Essai*, 361, no. 11).

Ishāra, which we have just described as the esoteric language of the inexpressible mystical experience, acquired this full and complex meaning about the 3rd/9th century, in the Baghdād and Khurāsān schools. Previous texts use it differently, in a way related to Ḳur'ānic exegesis. Thus when the *Tafsīr* attributed to Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (died 148/765) says that the Ḳur'ān is at once expression (*ʿibāra*) and allusion (*ishāra*), that the first is for the vulgar believers and the second for the privileged (*khawāṣṣ*), *ishāra* and *ʿibāra* refer to the *ẓāhir* and the *bāṭin* of the Book: the vulgar believer stops at the external beauty of the text, while the privileged goes beyond it towards the interiority of the text, towards the allusion which the heart discovers (see P. Nwyia, *Exégèse coranique*, 167). The definition of *ishāra* given by Ibn ʿArabī should also be noted. Replying to Ḥakīm Tirmidhī's question: "What is revelation (*waḥy*)?", he writes: "It is that in which is born the allusion which replaces the expression (*ʿibāra*) without expression. In the *ʿibāra*, one "passes" from it to the sense which it aims at; and this is why it is called *ʿibāra*, passage, while the allusion which is revelation is the very essence of that which is alluded to" (*dhāt-al-mushār ilayhi*; *Khatm al-awliyā*, ed. O. Yahya, 220). The *ishāra* is thus the language which effects the maximum reduction of the distance between the saying and what is said. This is why al-Shiblī could declare that the true allusion to God is God Himself, and this allusion eludes the mystic (see *Lumaʿ*, 223).

Bibliography: In the article. (P. NWYIA)

ISHBĪLIYA, the name used by the Arabo-Muslim authors to denote Seville, the ancient Romano-Visigothic Hispalis, situated 97 km. from the coast on the Guadalquivir.

1.—HISTORY

The Muslim geographers locate Ishbīliya at a distance of 60 miles from the sea, and describe it as a *madīna* and capital of the *kūra* which bore the same name or was sometimes known as Ḥimṣ, from the Syrian *djund* established there in 125/742-3. The boundaries of the *kūra* are fixed fairly precisely by al-ʿUdhrī, who said that the dependencies (*aḥwāz*) of Ishbīliya were contiguous 30 miles to the west with the *kūra* of Niebla, 25 miles to the south and south-east with that of Shadhūna, 40 miles to the east with the territories of Córdoba, the capital of which was 90 miles away, and that they extended for 50 miles to the north as far as the *kūra* of Mérida. The richness of its lands was particularly noted by al-ʿUdhrī, Ibn Ghālib, al-Idrīsī and al-Ḥimyarī, who call attention to the excellence and fertility of the soil, both for plantations and orchards and also for irrigated land

and pasturages. The name Aljarafe (al-Sharaf) applies to the natural region, both the district and the mountain (*iḳlīm* and *djabal al-Sharaf*), and it recurs constantly in descriptions of Ishbīliya; bordering on the *iḳlīm* of Shadhūna, it extends in all for 40 miles, according to al-Idrīsī, starting about three miles to the north of Ishbīliya and including the prosperous, densely inhabited territories situated between Ishbīliya, Niebla and the sea. The economy of Ishbīliya was based essentially on vast plantations of olive and fig trees, mainly in Aljarafe, and in particular on the production of oil of high quality, used throughout al-Andalus and also exported to the East. Of similar importance economically was the cultivation of cotton, here again of excellent quality, which was sent to other parts of al-Andalus and to Ifrīḳiya. Safflower (*Carthamus tinctorius*) was a product that was exported and also widely distributed within the country. Cereals, an abundance of fruit of varied kinds, herds of cattle and horses, game and fish of high quality, sugar cane, honey, medicinal plants and other vegetable produce, especially the *ḳirmiz* (*Quercus coccifera*), constituted other natural riches of the *kūra* of Ishbīliya, which included 12 *iḳlīms* or agricultural districts; the names of these are enumerated by al-ʿUdhrī and al-Bakrī, who record that the total figure of the *djibāya* at the time of the amir al-Ḥakam b. Hishām amounted to 35,100 *dīnārs*.

In the spring of 94/713, after occupying Medina Sidonia, Alcalá de Guadaíra and Carmona, Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [*q.v.*] annexed Ishbīliya to the other possessions of Islam, entrusting it to the protection and supervision of the Jews and of an Arab detachment. Shortly afterwards, the populace rebelled and had to be put down with severity by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Mūsā, who established his residence there as *wālī*; the town was the seat of the Arabo-Muslim government of al-Andalus until the time when the *wālī* al-Ḥurr transferred it to Córdoba in 99/717-8. During the period preceding the establishment of the Umayyad dynasty, Ishbīliya witnessed a modification of its social structure as a result of Arabo-Berber ethnic and religious influence, particularly after the Syrian *djund* of Ḥimṣ had been installed there. The original Visigothic nobility was replaced by an Arab nobility or military caste, mainly Yemenī, which began to dominate the town and countryside and to exploit the indigenous population and the agricultural wealth of the province. In his *Djamhara*, Ibn Ḥazm has left a very clear eye-witness account of the Arab families established in Ishbīliya and the region (Elías Terés, *Linajes árabes en al-Andalus*, in *al-And.*, xxii (1957), index, 376).

The history of Ishbīliya under the amirate is characterized by constant rebellions. The chronicles, and above all the account of al-ʿUdhrī, make particular reference to all those, whether Arab or *mawālī*, who revolted in the *kūra* of Ishbīliya. Under the administration of governors nominated by Córdoba, Ishbīliya had to endure revolts by members of the *djund* and of the "noble" families, which were repressed with severity by the amir's troops. One revolt, which broke out in 149/766 under the leadership of Saʿīd al-Yaḥṣubī al-Maṭarī in the Niebla district and then spread to Ishbīliya, is noteworthy, as is also the rebellion of the former governor of the town, Abu 'l-Ṣabbāḥ ibn Yaḥyā al-Yaḥṣubī, who had been disgraced. In 154/771 according to al-ʿUdhrī, or in 156/773 according to Ibn ʿIdhārī and others, Ḥaywa or Ḥayāt b. Mulāmis al-Ḥaḍramī, aided by the Yemenīs of Ishbīliya and acting in concert or almost simultaneously with ʿAbd al-Ghaffār al-Ḥimṣī (who started his activities to the north-west of Ishbīliya and in the neighbourhood of Córdoba), with other rebels overran the south-western districts of al-Andalus, claiming to enjoy complete autonomy in Ishbīliya and the adjacent territories. It seems that, until the amirate of ʿAbd Allāh, no other serious subversive movement occurred in Ishbīliya. After the revolts just referred to and those recorded by al-ʿUdhrī, Ishbīliya was to experience several decades of peaceful existence, disturbed only in 230/844 by the invasions of the Vikings (*Madjūs* [*q.v.*], concerning which new information is provided by the manuscript of the *Muḳtabis* of Ibn Ḥayyān utilized by E. Lévi-Provençal (*Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 218-25), and also by al-ʿUdhrī, whose statements have been collected by A. A. El-Hajji in his article *The Andalusian diplomatic relations with the Vikings during the Umayyad Period*, in *Hespéris-Tamuda*, viii (1967), 67-105. During the amirate of ʿAbd Allāh, from the start rebellion proved to be the keynote of the time, both in Ishbīliya and throughout al-Andalus. Apart from the early rebellions at the time of the nomination of Muḥammad, son of ʿAbd Allāh, as governor of Ishbīliya, the disturbances which most gravely threatened the peace of this *kūra* were those provoked by the ambitions of two powerful Arab families, the Banū Ḥadjdjādj and the Banū Khaldūn, who owned vast estates between Carmona and Ishbīliya in and Aljarafe and who were the instigators of the conflict between Arabs and *muladies*, which for several years brought bloodshed to the south-western territories of al-Andalus. From 276 to 301/889-913, the dynasty of the Banū Ḥadjdjādj set up a small independent state in Seville and Carmona, nominally subject to the amir of Córdoba. It is probable that complementary information on Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥadjdjādj is to be found in volume v of the *Muḳtabis* of Ibn Ḥayyān, relating to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III (cf. on the contents of this vol. M. ʿA. ʿInān in *RIEI*, xiii (1965-6), 127-38).

Under the caliphate, Ishbīliya, which had been conquered by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III in 301/913, enjoyed some years of peace and prosperity, broken only in 363/974 by the revolt of a group in which some members of the Banū Ḥadjdjādj were implicated and during its course the prison was attacked. Then, at the time of the *fitna*, the nomination of the son of al-Ḳāsim b. Ḥammūd, Muḥammad, as the personal delegate of the caliph to the government of Ishbīliya, led the townsfolk, on hearing of the rising of the people of Córdoba against the Ḥammūdid caliph, to revolt in their turn against Muḥammad and besiege him in the Alcázar.

But the period of greatest prosperity for Ishbīliya, in the political, economic and cultural spheres alike, was that of the dynasty of the Banū ʿAbbād [see ʿABBĀDIDS] after the rising of the *ḳāḍī* Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Muḥammad b. ʿAbbād in the middle of Shaʿbān 414/early November 1023 (al-ʿUdhrī gives some particulars regarding his activities which Lévi-Provençal was unable to utilize in his article on the ʿAbbadids). After the death of Muḥammad b. ʿAbbād in Djumādā I 433/January or February 1042, his son ʿAbbād al-Muʿtaḍid undertook a vigorous policy of expansion which resulted in the annexation of Niebla, Huelva-Saltés, Carmona, Arcos, Ronda and other adjacent territories and in the considerable enlargement of his kingdom. On the death of al-Muʿtaḍid (461/1068-9), his son Muḥammad al-Muʿtamid, in face of the mounting military and economic pressure exerted by King Alfonso VI of

Castile, with the onerous system of *parias*, decided to seek the aid and intervention of the Almoravid *amīr* Yūsuf b. Tās͟hfīn; the latter finally dispossessed al-Muʿtamid of his kingdom, as a result of the military action of Sīr b. Abī Bakr, who captured Is͟hbīliya by storm on 20 or 22 Rad̲j̲ab 484/7 or 9 September 1091, and remained there as governor until his death in D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 507/April-May 1114. Under Almoravid rule for 55 years and four months, Is͟hbīliya became crowded with new inhabitants who wore the veil—a foreign element in the social context—and the town developed a special atmosphere which is vividly described by Ibn ʿAbdūn in his treatise on *ḥisba*. Seville had fourteen governors, perhaps more, who were related to the Tās͟hfīn family, one of whom, Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. al-Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲, tried to halt the invading force which, in the time of Alfonso VII, sacked the whole Is͟hbīliya region and killed the Almoravid governor in Rad̲j̲ab 526/May-June 1132. Is͟hbīliya was a place of assembly for troops arriving from the Mag͟hrib and for Andalusian soldiers recruited by the *fuḳahā'* and *ʿulamā'* of Córdoba and Seville, until the time when Barrāz b. Muḥammad al-Masūfī, acting in the name of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, annexed the town to the Almohad empire (13 S͟haʿbān 541/18 January 1147). The Sevillans sent a delegation headed by the *ḳāḍī* Ibn al-ʿArabī to express their gratitude to ʿAbd al-Muʾmin. Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf, who was governor of Is͟hbīliya from 551 to 558/ 1156-63, from the time when he became caliph and above all from 567/1171-2, made the town the second capital of his empire and the administrative centre of al-Andalus. He strengthened the city's fortifications and completed many other important undertakings; the population increased considerably, prosperity was enjoyed for several years, and the town took on a new appearance. However, Is͟hbīliya was destined to suffer various attacks, particularly in 553/1158, by forces from Avila under Ibn Mardānīs͟h [*q.v.*] and Ibn Hamus͟hk. These were a source of anxiety for the Almohad governor of Is͟hbīliya for two or three years. In the last quarter of the 6th/12th century, the town was subjected to raids by Alfonso Enriques and the Infante Sancho of Portugal, and also by Alfonso VIII of Castile, which caused considerable damage in Aljarafe and in the Vega. At the beginning of the 7th/13th century there were serious floods, an endemic danger from which Is͟hbīliya suffered frequently, as a result of the Guadalquivir overflowing its banks (D̲j̲umādā II 597/February-March 1200), and a great number of houses was destroyed by the inundations. This catastrophe, the pressure from the Christians and the political crisis in the Almohad empire brought about the start of a decline from which Abu 'l-ʿUlā' Idrīs, the son of Yūsuf I, succeeded in temporarily rescuing Is͟hbīliya in 617/1220-1. The last years of Muslim life in Is͟hbīliya are full of sad incidents, in particular the attack by forces from Léon in 622/1225, when heavy losses were inflicted on the Sevillans, the siege of the town by al-Bayyāsī, who held the castles of Tajada and Aznalcázar, and the rising of al-Maʾmūn, son of Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr. All these happenings coincided with the increasing military and economic pressure exerted by Ferdinand III, which compelled al-Maʾmūn to conclude honourable truces, and with the insurrection of Ibn Hūd against the Almohads. On 11 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥid̲j̲d̲j̲a 626/31 October 1229 the people of Seville renounced their obedience to the Almohad empire and accepted the authority of Ibn Hūd. Ferdinand III harassed Is͟hbīliya increasingly and kept the town under siege for 17 months, from D̲j̲umādā I 645/September 1247, according to the Almohad *Bayān*, until the moment when it fell into his hands on 1 S͟haʿbān 646/19 November 1248 or, more probably, according to the *Crónica general*, on 25 November 1248 (for all these events, see J. González, *Las conquistas de Fernando III en Andalucía*, in *Hispania*, xxv (1946), 98-121). The attempts made by the Marīnid sultans to restore Is͟hbīliya to Islam failed, though their devastations in the region caused much damage, especially in 674/1275, the year of the siege of the town, and in 676/1278, when Aljarafe was pillaged. After this unhappy chapter, Seville remained in Christian hands, never again to be placed in danger or even threatened. It had been in the possession of the Muslims for 535 years.

Bibliography: for geography and history until al-Muʿtaḍid, see in particular ʿUd̲h̲rī, *Fragmentos geográfico-históricos de al-Masālik ilà d̲j̲amiʿ al-mamālik* (ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ahwānī, Madrid 1965), 95-109; Bakrī, *The geography of al-Andalus and Europe from the book "al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik"*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿAlī al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ī, Beirut 1387/1968, 107-13, 164, containing some interesting and partly new material; Zuhrī, *K. al-D̲j̲aʿrafiyya*, ed. M. Hadj Sadok, in *B.Ét.Or.*, xxi (1968), 219; Idrīsī, *Maghrib*, 178 in text, 215 in trans.; Yāḳūt, s.v.; Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī *al-Rawḍ al-Miʿṭār*. In addition to the vol. of Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muḳtabis*, ed. M. M. Antuña, Paris 1937, see also the ed. by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿAlī al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ī, Beirut 1965, and the trans. by E. García Gómez, *Anales palatinos del califa de Córdoba al-Ḥakam II, por ʿIsā Ibn Aḥmad al-Rāzī*, Madrid 1967, 208, 109; Ibn Id̲h̲ārī, ii, 14, 15, 23 *passim* (trans. Fagnan, index) iii, index. For the Almoravid and Almohad periods, see the treatise on *ḥisba* of Ibn ʿAbdūn published by E. Lévi-Provençal, *Un document sur la vie urbaine et les corps de métiers à Séville au début du XII siècle*: *Le Traité d'Ibn ʿAbdūn*, in *JA*, April-June 1934, 177-299, and tr., *Séville musulmane au début du XII siècle*: *Le traité d'Ibn ʿAbdūn*, Paris 1947. For political history, see Ibn ʿId̲h̲ārī, *Bayān*, iv (ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1967, trans. A. Huici, as Ibn Idhari, *al-Bayan al-Mugrib. Nuevos fragmentos almorávides y almohades*, Valencia 1963), index, v, *Bayān almohade* (ed. A. Huici, Muḥ. b. Tāwīt and Muḥ. Ibrāhīm al-Kittānī, Tetuan 1963, trans. A. Huici, vols. ii and iii of *Colección de Crónicas árabes de la Reconquista*, Tetuan 1953 and 1954), index; partial translation, for 533/1139—568/1172-3, by A. Huici, *op. cit.* above, Valencia 1963; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, with trans. Fagnan, index; Marrākus͟hī, *al-Muʿd̲j̲ib* (ed. Dozy, trans. Fagnan, trans. A. Huici, *Colección de Crónicas árabes de la Reconquista*, vol. iv, Tetuan 1955), index; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 99; Ibn Abī Zarʿ, *Rawḍ al-ḳirṭās*; Ibn K̲h̲aldūn-de Slane; Ibn al-Kaṭṭān, *Naẓm al-d̲j̲umān* (ed. Maḥmūd ʿAlī Makkī, Tetuan, n.d.), index; Ibn Ṣāḥib al-Ṣalāt, *al-Mann bi 'l-imāma* (ed. ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Tāzī, Beirut 1383/1964), index; *al-Ḥulal al-maws͟hiyya* (ed. I. S. Allouche, Rabat 1936, trans. A. Huici Miranda, *Crónicas árabes de la Reconquista*, i, Tetuan 1951), index. For the Almohad period, al-Bayd̲h̲aḳ (ed. and trans. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Docs. inéd. d'hist. almohade*, Paris 1928) and Zarkas͟hī (ed. Muḥammad Māḍūr, Tunis 1966, trans. E. Fagnan, Constantine 1895), index, are of less interest, with only brief references to Seville. For historical and literary aspects, see *Mug͟hrib* (ed. S͟hawaḳī Ḍayf, Cairo n.d.), index, and biographical dictionaries. In

addition to the *Hist. Mus. d'Esp.*, and to *Notices* and *Recherches*, all works of R. Dozy, see E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*; A. Prieto Vives, *Los reyes de taifas*, Madrid 1926; J. Bosch Vilá, *Los almorávides*, Tetuan 1956, index; A. Huici Miranda, *Historia política del Imperio almohade*, 2 vols., Tetuan 1956-7, index; F. García Gómez, *Un eclipse de la poesía en Sevilla. La época almorávide*, in *al-And.*, x (1945), 285-343, and literary sources listed in app. II, 342-3; idem, *Nuevos testimonios sobre "el odio a Sevilla" de los poetas musulmanes*, in *al-And.*, xiv (1949), 143-8. Notices on Seville, and its baths, houses and palaces, in L. Torres Balbás, *Notas sobre Sevilla en la época musulmana*, in *al-And.*, x (1945), 177-96. Some economic and social questions are discussed in J. Ma. Lacarra, *Aspectos económicos de la sumisión de los reinos de taifas (1010-1102)*, in *Homenaje a Jaime Vicens Vives*, i, Barcelona 1965, 255-77; G. Vajda, *A propos de la situation des Juifs et des Chrétiens à Séville au début du XII siècle*, in *REJ*, xcix (1935), 127-9.

(J. Bosch Vilá)

2.—Historic Buildings

From its long Muslim history, Seville has retained only a few historic buildings; nevertheless, it was one of the great art cities of al-Andalus. But the prosperity it has enjoyed during the modern period when, from the 16th century, it came to be the great port and commercial centre safeguarding the links between Spain and her empire in the New World, has endowed Seville with new buildings which have replaced those which adorned the city at the time of the Christian reconquest.

1). Fortifications.—a) *The town wall.* For Seville, situated in a plain on the banks of a large navigable river, a fortified enceinte was indispensable. The Arabic texts refer to this at a very early date: after the Norman invasion of 230/844, the wall had to be repaired, at the command of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II who appointed one of his Syrian *mawālī*, ʿAbd Allāh b. Sinān, to direct the works. On several occasions the waters of the Guadalquivir damaged the south face of this wall, at the edge of the river. Moreover, after the deposition of ʿAbd Allāh, the Zīrid amir of Granada, al-Muʿtamīd had the ramparts strengthened, in view of the imminence of an Almoravid attack.

But this enceinte seems to have been repaired or completely reconstructed under the second Almoravid sultan ʿAlī b. Yūsuf. The geographer al-Idrīsī, who was writing between 541 and 548/1147-54 and who had seen Andalusia before the Almohad conquest, said that the town wall of Seville was very strong. It survived the Christian reconquest. After having surrounded the town for seven centuries, it was demolished between 1861 and 1869. It measured six kilometres in circumference and was flanked by 116 towers. One small section of the wall still survives, between Córdoba and the Macarena gates. The lofty curtain wall of solid concrete is constructed in courses 83 cm. high. Seven towers have been preserved, one of which is polygonal, the Torre Blanca, the other six being rectangular. All of them are decorated on their outer faces with bands of brickwork in relief. An outer wall stands 35 m. outside the main ramparts. The gates, in themselves strong and massive constructions, contained angled passages. When built, this Almoravid enceinte represented the latest development of Muslim fortifications in Spain, and it retained its efficacy throughout the Middle Ages. In 647/1239, after a siege, the town surrendered to the king of Castile; it was not taken by storm.

Under the Almohad Abū Yaʿḳūb, the wall along the bank of the river must have been repaired again.

In 617/1220-1, the governor of the town, the Almohad Abu 'l-ʿUlā', built an angled defensive outwork, a *coracha*, which extended from the Alcazar to the river and ended in a strong twelve-sided bastion, the Golden Tower. The two lower storeys of this tower have been preserved, but the upper lantern has been rebuilt. The walls are constructed of rough stone and concrete. Like all the great Almohad bastions, the Golden Tower contains vaulted rooms, in this instance roofed with groined arches, alternately triangular and rectangular in plan and occupying three storeys. The arched windows which give light to these rooms are ornamented on the outer side with blind arcades bordered with ceramics.

The Golden Tower greatly strengthened the defence of the Guadalquivir bank. Between this and another bastion built on the left bank, it was possible to fasten a chain, to bar the river.

b). *The Alcazar.* Like all large towns in al-Andalus, Seville had its citadel, the Alcazar, the residence of the sovereign or governor. Its rectangular towers, ornamented with a double band in relief at the top, led to the belief that this fortification was the work of the Almohads. But recent restoration work of the west face has revealed that, beneath their outer covering, the curtain wall and towers were built of cut stone, following the characteristic technique of the 3rd/9th century. In its oldest form, the Alcazar thus dates back to the construction works ordered by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II. In the 4th/10th century, an alteration was made with a gate in this rampart, with a handsome facade of cut stone. The Almohads must have contented themselves with restoring the whole structure and repairing the upper part of the towers.

2). Palaces.—Of the Muslim palaces contained in the Alcazar, and particularly the one adorned by the ʿAbbādids, nothing remains from before the 6th/12th century. From the Almohads' buildings there only survive one section of the arches and interlaced lattice-work panels which surrounded the Patio de Yeso, and a ribbed vault in the Patio de Banderas. All the rest of the Alcazar was rebuilt and altered in the Christian period: today, as a whole, it represents a great monument of mudéjar art. However, in the Hall of the Ambassadors, the triple semicircular horseshoe-shaped archway, under a large arch of the same form, may represent an architectural arrangement dating from the caliphal period.

3). Mosques.—a). *The first chief mosque.* Although all that survives is a section of the minaret, which now forms the base of the clock-tower in the old collegiate church of S. Salvador, we are fairly well informed regarding the first chief mosque in Seville. The foundation inscription which was carved on a pillar has been discovered; the mosque was built in 244/829 under the direction of the *ḳāḍī* of the town, Ibn ʿAdabbās. With a width of 48.5 metres, it contained eleven aisles, at right angles to the wall of the *ḳibla*. Arches of brick-work rested on stone pillars. In 471/1079, the upper part of the minaret was repaired by al-Muʿtamīd.

Despite its handsome size, the mosque has become too small. In another quarter of the town, near the Alcazar, the second Almohad caliph, Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf, had a new sanctuary built. Nevertheless, in 592/1195 his son Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb ordered the restoration of the former chief mosque which, at the reconquest, was transferred into a church. In 797/1395, an earthquake undermined the top of the tower. Shortly afterwards, a bell-tower of cut stone

was erected, and this still forms the second section of the present bell-tower. The mosque underwent various alterations and was demolished in 1671.

The base of the minaret—the oldest Muslim building in Spain, after the mosque of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I at Córdoba—measures 5.8 m. in width. It is built of rough stone, of large size. In the interior, a spiral staircase mounts round a cylindrical central shaft. This arrangement, unknown in the Muslim East, occurs again in two ancient minarets in Córdoba. This peculiarly Andalusian feature is perhaps of Roman origin.

b). *The Almohad chief mosque.* The Almohad caliph Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb wished to endow his favourite town with an immense and beautiful chief mosque. The oratory and the *ṣaḥn* would appear to have been built during this sovereign's long visit to Andalusia, from 566 to 571/1171-6. It was a large building, measuring approximately 150 m. by 100 m. The prayer court had 17 aisles, in the shape of a T, and probably there were 5 domes in the bay along the wall of the *ḳibla*. In length, there were 14 bays. In its plan, it conformed with the earliest Almohad mosques, though the dimensions were increased.

The *ṣaḥn*, which extended for a distance of eight bays, has been preserved in part. It was surrounded by lofty arcades of brick-work. Rectangular buttresses occurred at intervals along the outside walls, their summits crowned with toothed merlons, as in the great mosque of Córdoba. Two of the doorways of this *ṣaḥn* have survived, the Puerta del Perdón, in the main axis of the building, and the Puerta de Oriente, on one side of the courtyard.

Although nothing now survives from one of the most immense prayer courts built by the Muslim West, the minaret of this Almohad chief mosque, now known as the Giralda, still dominates the town. This minaret was started in 551/1156 by the overseer Aḥmad b. Baṣo, who built the foundations and the base of the tower with cut stone which had been used before. The death of the caliph for a time suspended work, which was resumed on the orders of Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr by the architect ʿAlī of Gomara. The *dja'mūr*, the work of Abū Layth al-Siḳillī, was erected in 589/1198.

This great Almohad minaret, second only to the Kutūbiyya of Marrākush, measures 16.1 m. in width, while the height of the tower is 50.85 m. It was built of brick; around a central block, occupied by seven rooms placed one above the other, a ramp—not a staircase—mounted at a gentle angle, giving access to the upper part of the tower. The lantern was remodelled and surrounded by a gallery for the bells, between 1520 and 1568. Each of the faces of the tower is divided vertically into three sections. In the centre, panels of blind arcades with floral spandrels frame the twin apertures which give light to the ramp. On each side, the wall, which is left plain at its base, is decorated for two storeys with a mesh design in brick-work. All this ornamentation is of great richness and rare subtlety of design.

Reminders of Marrākush, more distant echoes of Córdoba, the natural richness and the light colour of Seville—these were the features that were noted in the Almohad chief mosque. Today, the minaret still bears witness to Seville as a great centre of art, second only to Córdoba.

4). Mudéjar art in Seville. Further testimony, indirect but convincing, is provided by mudéjar art in Seville. The churches erected in the town until the end of the 15th century largely employed Muslim forms and techniques. They were almost always built of brick; the doorways are in the form of large projecting blocks, often decorated with Muslim motifs, and the naves are roofed with *artesenados*. In design and form, their bell-towers are so close to minarets that it has sometimes been thought that they dated back to the Muslim period. Their panels of blind arcades and their floral decoration reproduce, in a simpler style, the motifs of the Giralda.

The palaces of the Alcazar are almost mudéjar: but with the local traditions is also mingled the influence of the art of Granada. It is in the mudéjar churches and in the Giralda that the richness of the tradition of Seville is best appreciated.

Bibliography: H. Terrasse, *L'art hispano mauresque des origines au XIIIe siècle*, Paris 1932; L. Torres Balbás, *Arte almohade, arte nazari, arte mudéjar*, in *Ars Hispaniae*, iv, Madrid 1949; idem, *La primitiva mezquita de Sevilla*, in *al-And.*, 1946, 425-39; idem, *El arte de al-Andalus bajo los Almorávides*, in *al-And.*, 1952, 403-23; H. Terrasse, *La grande mosquée almohade de Séville*, in *Mémorial Henri Basset*, 1928, 249-66; L. Torres Balbás, *Reproducciones de la Giralda anteriores a su reforma en el siglo XVI*, in *al-And.*, 1941, 216-29; idem, *La Torre del Oro en Sevilla*, in *al-And.*, 1934, 272-3.

(H. Terrasse)

ĪSHĪK-ĀḲĀSĪ, Ṣafawid administrative term = "usher". The *īshīk-āḳāsī*s were minor court officials who operated in two different branches of the administrative system, namely, the *dīwān* [*q.v.*] and the *ḥaram* [*q.v.*]. The officers in charge of the two sections were known as *īshīk-āḳāsī-bāshī-yi dīwān-i aʿlā*, and *īshīk-āḳāsī-bāshī-yi ḥaram* respectively. Both officers had categories of officials other than *īshīk-āḳāsī*s under their command. There was a great difference between the status and power of these two officers:

(1) *īshīk-āḳāsī-bāshī-yi dīwān-i aʿlā.* This officer, called by Kaempfer *supremus aulae Mareschallus*, is not listed among the officers of the early Ṣafawid state. The office is first recorded (985/1577-8) during the reign of Ismaʿīl II (Iskandar Beg Munshī, *Tā'rīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, i, 163), and from then on is mentioned frequently in the sources. The holder of this office was usually a ḳizilbāsh *amīr*. During the time of ʿAbbās I (996/1588—1038/1629), when the composition of the central administration was changed, the *īshīk-āḳāsī-bāshī-yi dīwān-i aʿlā* was elevated to be one of the six principal officers of state, and consequently became a member of the supreme council of amirs (*dīwān*; *djānḳī*). Under ʿAbbās II (1052/1642—1077/1666), he was a powerful official indeed, and, although his position declined thereafter and his duties became largely ceremonial, he is still listed by the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* (p. 47), written *ca.* 1138/1726, among the high-ranking (*ʿālī-djāh*) *amīr*s.

(2) *īshīk-āḳāsī-bāshī-yi ḥaram.* An officer of lesser rank, who was in charge of that category of officials known as *muḳarrab al-ḥaḍrat*, that is to say, those officials whose duties lay at the entrance to, or outside the *ḥaram*.

Bibliography: *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, translated and explained by V. Minorsky, London 1943, index, *s.vv.*, and *passim*. (R. M. Savory)

ʿISHḲ (A.), love—passion. Although non-ḳur'ānic, this word attained a considerable importance in Arabic literature in the broad sense. In analysing it, we come to recognize the conditions in which Arabic-Islamic sensibility and thought evolved. As al-Daylamī says (*ʿAṭf*, §§ 5, 87 ff.), all kinds of minds have their opinions (*maḳālāt*) on love (*maḥab-*

ba) and on ʿ*i__sh__ḳ*, which is its most dynamic form. Desert Arabs, men of letters, great intellectuals (*al-fuḍalāʾ*), theologians, sages, mystics, etc., have all made statements on the causes, the manifestations, the degrees and the aims of love. One of the earliest attempts to define ʿ*i__sh__ḳ* is the *Risāla fi 'l-ʿi__sh__ḳ* of al-__Dj__āḥiẓ (*11 Risāla*, 161-9; *Rasāʾil*, ed. Sandūbī, 266-75), and the question so preoccupied men's minds that a discussion on this theme had already been held in the presence of Yaḥyā b. __Kh__ālid al-Barmakī; thirteen representatives of various religious tendencies, one of them a *mōbadh*, took part, according to al-Masʿūdī, who produces their definitions in the *Murū__dj__* (vi, 368-86), giving in addition quotations from Galen, Hippocrates and others; al-Daylamī repeats some of them.

In its most general acceptation, ʿ*i__sh__ḳ* describes the irresistible desire (*__sh__awḳ, ta__sh__awwuḳ*) to obtain possession of a loved object or being (*maʿ__sh__ūḳ*). It betrays, therefore, in one who experiences it (the ʿ*ā__sh__iḳ*), a deficiency, a want, which he must supply at any cost in order to reach perfection (*kamāl*). That is why it admits of hierarchical degrees (*marātib*), like the perfections aspired to by the soul and the body. Its apparently multiple motivations, however, all come down to one ideality, or consistency of meaning (*maʿnā*), which haunts all beings more or less insistently and clearly: it is the aspiration (*tawaḳān*) towards the Beauty (*al-ḥusn*) which God manifested in the world when He created Adam in His own likeness (ʿ*Aṭf*, §§ 18, 24). Because of this, the eyes and the ears are the noble organs, since they perceive the supports of the beautiful (*al-ḥasan*): a face, a head of hair, a heavenly landscape, melodious sounds, etc. If one adds, as the Greeks taught, that Beauty, Good (*__kh__ayr*) and Truth (*al-ḥaḳḳ*) go back to one indissoluble Unity (*waḥda*), all of the complexity of the convergences, interferences, and contaminations arising in the concept of ʿ*i__sh__ḳ* will be perceived. In the classical authors, from al-Daylamī to Lisān al-Dīn b. al-__Kh__aṭīb, three main lines of development may be discerned. In ascending order, they are: 1) natural love (*maḥabba ṭabīʿiyya*), 2) intellectual (ʿ*aḳliyya*) love, and 3) divine (*ilāhiyya*) love.

All natural beings (*maw__dj__ūdāt*) are moved by the desire to raise themselves to the degree of existence immediately above them. This dynamism, which runs through the whole of the universe, is the universal ʿ*i__sh__ḳ* (Miskawayh, *Tah__dh__īb*, 64 ff.). Between human beings, affection (*mawadda*) grows into passion-love (ʿ*i__sh__ḳ*), the most searching and realistic analysis of which is the *Ṭawḳ al-ḥamāma* of Ibn Ḥazm [*q.v.*]. It gives rise to psycho-physiological states, which are described with the aid of clichés used especially in poetry (cf. *ṣabāba*, ʿ*alāḳa*, *kalaf*, *__sh__a__gh__af*, *__sh__aʿaf*, *taṭayyum*, *tatabbul*, *walaʿ*, *__gh__arām*, *huyām*, *walah*, *tadalluh*, . . .). Purified of all carnal demands, this passion is sublimated into an attitude of adoration which provokes a mental imbalance (*i__kh__tilāṭ*). It is a state of spiritual servitude to an idealised female figure, upon which the "courtly" sentiments of a soul in ebullition (*__gh__alayān*) crystallize. The literary formalization of these sentiments in ʿIrāḳī circles in the 2nd/8th-3rd/9th centuries went so far that it is difficult to determine the differing roles, in their development, of social custom, an oppressive ethical system, and the basic impulse towards the beautiful.

With the *falāsifa*, ʿ*i__sh__ḳ* became intellectualised. It became the spontaneous, lucid, and methodical stretching out towards supreme happiness (*al-saʿāda al-ḳuṣwā*), which, for the intellect freed from the illusions of knowledge transmitted through the senses, takes on the meaning of the pure good (*al-__kh__ayr al-maḥḍ*). The more the wise man advances in his passionate quest for the one True One (*al-wāḥid al-ḥaḳḳ*), the more he feels growing within him the ineffable joy (*ibtihā__dj__*), the absolute pleasure (*al-la__dh__dha al-muṭlaḳa*), which are secured through the contemplation (*mu__sh__āhada*) of the perfection and beauty of the necessary Being (*wā__dj__ib al-wu__dj__ūd*).

With the Ṣūfīs the amorous ardour of ʿ*i__sh__ḳ*, in spite of some resistance, becomes a part of the life of faith as a natural development of the measured affection (*maḥabba*) mentioned in the Ḳurʾān (III, 31, XX, 39, etc.). The substitution of ʿ*i__sh__ḳ* for *maḥabba* to describe the "essential Desire" for God and the love of God as an essential attribute, which fills the heart of the mystic, seems to have been due to al-Ḥallā__dj__ (al-Daylamī, ʿ*Aṭf*, §§ 163-5). Love is no longer merely an expression of gratitude for the blessings of God; it is no longer content with rigorous ascetism and meticulous ritual observance. It becomes an absolute necessity, entailing neither enjoyment nor alleviation, but intensifying as the reciprocity of perspectives between the lover and the Loved comes into effect. This evolution of the pair ʿ*i__sh__ḳ/maḥabba* is not without echoes of that *erôs/agapè*, but in Islam the relationship between the two ideas is complicated by the concurrent development of the "courtly" and mystical tendencies. When contact with Greek texts came to an end, there was a return to a legalistic conception of love in the works of, for example, al-__Gh__azālī or Ibn Taymiyya, or to the exaltation of a perfect and pure Idea in, for example, al-Suhrawardī or even Ibn ʿArabī. Whatever the differences of opinion about its content, ʿ*i__sh__ḳ* is one of the characteristics of mediaeval self awareness, obsessed with the quest for the eternal, the transcendant and the sacred.

Bibliography: Wa__sh__shāʾ, *Muwa__sh__shā*, 59 ff.; Muḥammad b. Dāwūd, *Kitāb al-Zahra*, ed. Nykl; Daylamī, *Kitāb ʿAṭf al-alif al-maʾlūf ʿala 'l-lām al-maʿṭūf*, ed. J. C. Vadet, Cairo 1962; Miskawayh, *Tah__dh__īb al-a__kh__lāḳ*, ed. C. Zurayk, Beirut 1967, Fr. tr. M. Arkoun, *Traité d'éthique*, Damascus 1969; Ibn Sīnā, *Risāla fi 'l-ʿI__sh__ḳ*, ed. Mehren in *Traités mystiques*, fasc. 3, Leiden 1894; Ibn al-__Dj__awzī, *Ṣayd al-__Kh__āṭir*, 105-7; Ibn al-Ḳayyim al-__Dj__awziyya, *Rawḍat al-Muḥibbīn*, ed. Aḥmad ʿUbayd; Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-__Kh__aṭīb, *Rawḍat al-taʿrīf bi 'l-ḥubb al-__sh__arīf*, ed. Aḥmad ʿAṭāʾ, Cairo 1968; L. Massignon, *Interférences philosophiques et percées métaphysiques dans la mystique ḥallagienne : notion de l'"essentiel Désir"*, in *Opera minora*, ii, 226-53; H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, Leiden 1955; J. C. Vadet, *L'esprit courtois en Orient dans les cinq premiers siècles de l'Hégire*, Paris 1968.

(M. ARKOUN)

I__SH__KĀ__SH__IM [see BADA__KH__SH__Ā__N].

I__SH__KODRA [see Supplement].

I__SH__RĀḲ, the name given to illuminative Wisdom, advocated by __Sh__ihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī (d. 587/1191) who himself indicated its sources (cf. table). By "sources" should be understood not so much the historical origins of his ideas as the springing forth of a Wisdom which, in the field of mysticism, has inspired lines of initiates comparable with the initiatory *isnāds* of the Ṣūfīs, though without the explicit granting of any "delegation" by the Masters to the disciples. However that may be, one can discern Western, Greek elements, as well as Eastern elements deriving from the traditions of classical Persia and ancient Egypt. As a result of this observation, H. Corbin has been enabled to resolve a

problem: we know that Ibn Sīnā had conceived the project of an "Eastern" philosophy, a very incomplete testimony to which has survived in his book on the "Logic of the Easterners" (*Manṭiḳ al-Mas̲h̲riḳiyyīn*), and that Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn al-Rāzī had written the *Mabāḥit̲h̲ al-Mas̲h̲riḳiyya*. Some read this as *mus̲h̲riḳ* and thought that it was concerned with an illuminative philosophy. Nallino has criticised this reading and shown that it was necessary to make a distinction between a Western philosophy and an Eastern philosophy. Neoplatonism was already charged with Eastern ideas, in contrast with pure Aristotelianism which was far more attached to rationalism. H. Corbin admits this criticism, but gives it a quite different interpretation. If this philosophy is "Eastern", this is so not merely because it is that of the peoples of the East, but primarily because it regards Being and Knowledge as irradiations of the Pure Light which rises in the East. "One may say that it is a question of a Knowledge which is Eastern because it is to the East of thought". There is thus a close link between illumination (*is̲h̲rāḳ*) and Eastern Wisdom (*Ḥikma mas̲h̲riḳiyya*). Here is a clear indication of the value of *is̲h̲rāḳ*: it is not reduced to the general notion of illumination which confers upon the spirit a Truth inaccessible to the abstract concepts of reason; it is, more fundamentally, a delight in the source of all light, whence proceed all beings and all authentic knowledge.

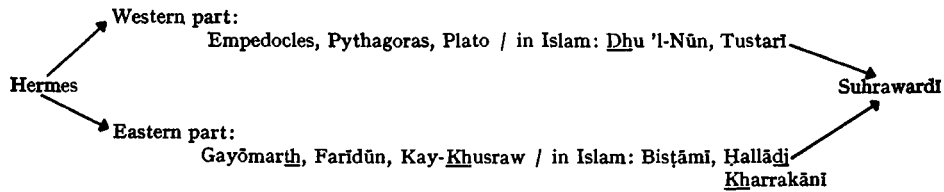
It is through Plato that one can best approach this philosophy which, by its nature, eludes any didactical exposition. In the *Republic*, the Good is presented under the symbol of the Sun, without which nothing which is would exist. This source of all being and all thought is ἐπέκεινα τῆς οὐσίας beyond the essence, beyond the Ideas themselves. To it, man should turn σὺν ὅλῃ τῇ ψυχῇ with his entire soul. It seems that the Wisdom of *is̲h̲rāḳ* is a meditation upon these two propositions. Being, in the sense of existence, is there presented in effect as the source of all reality. If it is not conceptualisable, and if it is not reduced to a purely equivocal denomination, as Aristotle saw clearly, it does not thereby follow that the solution necessarily lies in an analogical theory which would make substance the first analogue of being. To recognise that rational expressions cannot encircle existence, that one cannot define it as a concept, is not to imply that it can be grasped only when it is engaged in relations with the different categories of beings (in an analogy of proportionality), and that it is devoid of a for-self and an in-self. This is to recognise that there is a knowledge superior to reason, set apart from all the activities of definition and reasoning. It is here that the symbol of light comes into the question. On the physical plane, what is more universally *present* than light? But what is more indefinable, since in light all is clarity, and effulgence, without any shadow to trace recognisable contours upon it? Thus one is led to think of existence as a spiritual light, the Light of Light from which, by irradiation, emanate the *Anwār ḳāhira*, the "victorious" or "archangelical" lights. This rendering is by H. Corbin, who writes: "By this epiphany, the whole hierarchy of the *Anwār ḳāhira*, from degree to degree, illumines the presence of each lower degree". Authentic Knowledge too renders its object present while illuminating it, after being itself revealed, when every material veil has fallen away, as a Light-being. There is here an "illumination of presence" (*is̲h̲rāḳ ḥuḍūrī*) which makes a clear distinction between knowledge by representation of the object (*ʿilm ṣūrī*) and unitive knowledge (*ittiṣalī*) of intuitive experiences vision (*s̲h̲uhūdī*), that is to say *ʿilm ḥuḍūrī*. In this connection, one thinks of the part played by *Existenzerhellung* in the philosophy of Karl Jaspers, and of the very current ideal of knowledge through engagement experienced not merely by dry reason alone, but by "the entire soul". It is the Spirit (*rūḥ*), the Angel Gabriel, which illumines while dissipating the insoluble antinomies of reason which Suhrawardī, in his *Ḥikmat al-is̲h̲rāḳ*, is pleased to develop while criticising the Peripatetics, in a condensed style which recalls the opening of the *Parmenid*. Thus rational knowledge is not a preparation for illuminative knowledge, although negatively it can convey through teaching that the insoluble difficulties which it contains within itself melt away in *is̲h̲rāḳ*: the problems raised by conceptual thought remain ceaselessly and indefinitely (*tasalsul*) without ever finding a solution, or fall hopelessly into a vicious circle (*dawr*). But man cannot by himself emerge from this inextricable situation: he must have a revelation, a call, for "the Spirit proceeds from the Command of my Lord" (Ḳurʾān, XVII, 85).

Such seems to be the fundamental intuition of *is̲h̲rāḳ*. An exposition of the details of this Wisdom would be tantamount to an exposition of the details of Suhrawardī's thinking. The play of Light and shadow, the conception of *barzak̲h̲* (screen, separation, which is utter darkness), the modes of procedure, the production of the world, all these together form a whole which can be expounded, as by Suhrawardī himself, in the terminology of the Plotinian or Avicennian philosophy of emanation, Intellects and spheres. But in that there is merely a barren, discursive expression which remains divorced from Reality and which only becomes valid if it is gathered up into a higher unitive vision which makes it "cohere", when the *ʿaḳl* is assumed by the Spirit, in which it receives the *sakīna*, "the placing in the direct presence on the threshold of the transcendental Being" (H. Corbin).

(R. Arnaldez)

IS̲H̲RĀḲIYYŪN, adepts of illuminative Wisdom. The question arises whether this term can be applied to the representatives of the spiritual family to which Suhrawardī belonged, who preceded him in time. If that were so, the "Hermetists", the "Sethists" who, from the 4th century in Egypt, saw in Seth (S̲h̲īt̲h̲) the first *uriya* (from the Hebrew *ōr* = light), the sages of Persia, disciples of Zarathustra, and the Manichaeans would already be *is̲h̲rāḳiyyūn*. H. Corbin has recorded a text of Ibn Waḥs̲h̲iyya, relating to Hermes-Thoth of ancient Egypt, in which the word figures. The discovery is interesting, but it must be seen in the context of the author's preoccupation with alchemy. Here is a summary of the whole of this text:—the successors of Hermes form four groups; the first two, direct descendants of Hermes and his brother, have not mixed with any strangers and have preserved the pure secret doctrine so well that no one apart from themselves knows it. The third is that of the sons of the sister of Hermes; they have had contacts with strangers, and certain men are familiar with their *iṣṭilāḥāt* and can interpret their symbols (*wa-fakka rumūzahum*). Finally, the fourth group is composed of strangers who have mingled with the Harāmisa. To these last two groups, Ibn Waḥs̲h̲iyya gives respectively the names *is̲h̲rāḳiyyūn* (and *is̲h̲rāḳiyya*) and *mas̲h̲aʾiyya* (Peripatetics). These are the only ones to have come down to us. It seems that all that can be deduced from this text is that, in alchemical circles in the 4th/10th century, emphasis was placed upon a hermetic

TABLE

Hermes	Western part: Empedocles, Pythagoras, Plato / in Islam: Dhu 'l-Nūn, Tustarī	Suhrawardī
	Eastern part: Gayōmarth, Farīdūn, Kay-Khusraw / in Islam: Bisṭāmī, Ḥallādj, Kharrakānī	

tradition whose holders, while not claiming to have a perfect knowledge of the Great Work, had received some illumination which had placed their works above those of the Peripatetics, "worshippers of the astral forms", says the text. It therefore seems doubtful if Suhrawardī can be placed among the *ishrāḳiyyūn* of Ibn Waḥshiyya. Moreover, the *falāsifa* for their part had spoken of the irradiation of light and illumination. But in its technical sense, the term *ishrāḳī* can be applied with exactness only to the Master of *ishrāḳ* and his spiritual posterity. However numerous the sources upon which he has drawn materially, his conception of *ishrāḳ* is so personal that it seems it was first illustrated in him by the fact that he received it directly from that being of light which, for each man, constitutes his "Perfect Nature".

In addition, some thinkers may have undergone Suhrawardian influences, although one cannot properly speaking rank them as *ishrāḳiyyūn*. Thus, in Ibn ʿArabī, illumination seems to be reduced, as in Plotinus, to the symbol of the mode of procession of the beings forming the *khalḳ*, while the theory itself of Being is markedly dialectical. Ṭūsī was able to take inspiration from Suhrawardī to interpret Ibn Sīnā, though without thereby being *ishrāḳī*. To sum up, H. Corbin writes very justly: "It remains to discover the influence which the theories of *ishrāḳ* exerted for example on Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, Ibn ʿArabī and the Iranian Shīʿī commentators on the last-named writer".

On the other hand, the term *ishrāḳiyyūn* will be applied without hesitation to all Suhrawardī's Iranian followers, whose numbers were very great until the 18th century and who still exist in Iran today. Two great names are outstanding, Shams al-Dīn al-Shahrazūrī (d. 1243) who, in his History of the Philosophers, gave the biography of his Master, commented on two of his treatises and wrote a personal work, and Mollā Sadrā Shīrāzī (d. 1840) who stated: "I have followed the doctrine of *ishrāḳ* of Suhrawardī, until God made me see its foundations clearly". It will be understood from these words that his fidelity to the *shaykh* did not prevent him from writing a most original work.

Bibliography: Carra de Vaux, *La philosophie illuminative d'après Suhrawardi Maqtul*, in *J.A.*, xix (1902); M. Ikbal, *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, London 1916; C. A. Nallino, *Filosofia "orientale" od "illuminativa" d'Avicenna*, in *RSO*, x/4 (1925); M. Horten, *Die Philosophie der Erleuchtung nach Suhrawardi*, Halle 1912; idem, *Das philosophische System von Schirazi*, Strasbourg 1913; H. Corbin, *Le bruissement de l'aile de Gabriel*, in *J.A.* 1935; idem, *Les motifs zoroastriens dans la philosophie de Suhrawardi*, Tehran 1946; idem, Ed. of *Œuvres philosophiques et mystiques de Shihabaddin Yahya Sohrawardi*, I, Bibl. Iran. 2, Tehran-Paris 1952; II, Bibl. Iran. 17, Tehran-Paris 1970; idem, Ed. of *Kitāb al-Mashāʿir* (*Le Livre des Pénétrations métaphysiques*) of Mollā Sadrā Shīrāzī, Bibl. Iran. 10, Tehran-Paris 1964; idem, *Histoire de la Philosophie islamique*, Paris 1964; Ibn Waḥshiyya, *Ancient alphabet and hieroglyphic characters*, ed. J. Hammer, London 1806, 90-101.

(R. Arnaldez)

ISHTIB (Štip), a town situated to the south-east of Skopje, in Macedonia, Yugoslavia. In antiquity, it was an important town in Paeonia, on the Roman road from Serdica to the Danube, known as Astibo; by the Byzantines it was called Stipion, by the southern Slavs Štip and by the Turks Ishtip. In the 14th century it was a fortress and district in the principality of Constantine Dejanovitch (Dragaš), in northern Macedonia (between the Vardar and the Strouma). After the battle of Čirmen (1371), the principality became tributary to the Ottomans. On the death of Constantine in 1394, at the side of the Turks at the battle of Rovine, the principality became a sandjaḳ (Kostand-ili = Küstendil). In the 9th/15th century it was the centre of a *vilāyet*, in the 10th/16th the centre of a *ḳaḍā*, attached to the *khāṣṣ* of the sanjakbey and administered by his voivoda. In Štip and its environs, Turkish colonization was not very extensive. Some *yürük*s of the "ovče pole" group were established there—81 *odjaḳ*s in the *ḳaḍā* of Štip in 1566. The population was principally Christian. In 1489-91 the non-Muslim families in the *ḳaḍā* of Štip and Novkerič numbered 8,434. In the 11th/17th century there were 24 Muslim *maḥalle*s in the town. Traces of islamization were insignificant.

A centre of commerce and craft-work, the town was famous for the manufacture of penknives and knives. Sheep-rearing was highly developed in the region, while in the town artisans devoted themselves to the preparation of the wool and to dairy and meat products. In the market there were local traders, as well as Jewish merchants and others from Dubrovnik. According to Evliyā Čelebi, there were 450 shops in the *čarshī*. The town's trading and craftwork activity was also served by a *bezestān*, caravanserai and seven inns (*khān*s).

The town had acquired a Muslim appearance owing to the public buildings—the numerous mosques, among them that of Sultan Murād (Fetḥiyye), the former Christian church of the Archangel Michael, transformed into a mosque, as was the case with the church of St. Elias; two public baths, and, in the 11th/17th century, a palace belonging to a local Turkish dignitary. There were also some Christian churches; Štip formed part of the diocese of the bishopric of Kolassia. In the 19th century the town was attached to the Bulgarian eparchy of Küstendil.

During the war of 1683-99, Austrian troops reached Štip. In the 19th century, Amy Boué found Štip to be a flourishing centre of commerce and craft-work, with 15-20,000 Turks and Bulgarians and a Jewish community. In about 1894 the population of Štip included 10,900 Bulgarians, 8,700 Turks, 800 Jews and 500 gypsies—in all, 20,900.

Bibliography: Neshrī, *Kitâb-i Cihan-nümâ*, ed. Unat and Köymen, ii, Ankara 1949, 267; M. T. Gokbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-i Fâtihân*. Istanbul 1957, 81, 266, 329; idem, *XV-XVI asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa livâsı*..., Istanbul 1952, 156; idem, *Kanunî Sultan Süleyman devri başlarında Rumeli eyaleti*... in *Belleten*, xx, 28 (1956), 256; J. v. Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosnia*, Vienna 1812, 92; Evliyā Čelebi, vi, 1318, 118-23; Gl. Elezović, *Iz carigradskih turskih arhiva*, Belgrade 1950, ii, 67, 1255; I. Ivanov, *Severna Makedonija*, Sofia 1906; A. Boué, *Recueil d'itinéraires*, i, 248; V. Kănĭov, *Makedonija, etnografija i statistika*, Sofia 1900, 230; D. Šopova, *Iz carigradskih turskih arhiva*, Skopje 1955, i, 25, 43, 55, 56; P. Zavoev, *Grad Štip*, Sofia 1943. Several Ottoman documents in the Bibl. Nat., Sofia, Fonds 137. (Bistra Cvetkova)

ISHTIĶĀĶ, a technical term in Arabic grammar, translated approximately as "etymology"; *shaḳḳa 'l-shay'* "he split the thing", *ishtaḳḳa 'l-shay'* "he took the *shiḳḳ*, half of the [split] thing" (Lane, *Lex.*, 1577a): *ishtiḳāḳ*, inf. of *ishtaḳḳa*, in the technical sense of etymology, derives from the first sense, a word being thought of, so to speak, as split open so that the *mushtaḳḳ*, the derivative that it contains, may be extracted. *Ishtiḳāḳ* in its general sense, in fact, signifies: *nazʿ lafẓ min ākhar*, "taking one word from another", under certain defined conditions (al-Djurdjānī, *Taʿrīfāt*, 17).

Many ancient authors wrote special studies of *ishtiḳāḳ*; al-Suyūṭī (*Muzhir*[3], i, 351, l. 4-6) lists twelve: al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī (d. 170/786), Ḳuṭrub (d. 206/821), al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 216/831), al-Akhfash (d. 215/830), Abū Naṣr al-Bāhilī (d. 231/846), al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898), al-Zadjdjādj (d. 310/922), Ibn al-Sarrādj (d. 316/929), Ibn Durayd (d. 321/933), Ibn al-Naḥḥās (d. 338/949), Ibn Khālawayh (d. 370/980), al-Rummānī (d. 384/994). Since all these studies are lost, except that of Ibn Durayd (but which only contains examples of *ishtiḳāḳ*), we are obliged to have recourse to the data that are given in passing in various works: a chapter of the *Muzhir*[3] of al-Suyūṭī (i, 345-54), quoting Ibn Diḥya (d. 633/1236); the preamble of Ibn Djinnī to *al-Munṣif sharḥ Kitāb al-Taṣrīf li'l-Māzinī* (i, 3-4), the *Khātima* of the editors (Cairo 1373/1954, iii, 278-9); also the definitions of al-Djurdjānī (*Taʿrīfāt*, 17) and the account in the *Dict. of Technical Terms* (i, 766-70).

Ishtiḳāḳ: "etymology"; it must, however, be understood how the Arab grammarians practised this etymology. According to Ibn Djinnī, *taṣrīf* occupies a position intermediate between *lugha* and *naḥw* (*yatadjādhabānih*,"they tear it between them").There is considerable affinity (*nasab ḳarīb*) and connexion (*ittiṣāl shadīd*) between *ishtiḳāḳ* and *taṣrīf*, but *ishtiḳāḳ* has more to do with *lugha* (*aḳʿad fi 'l-lugha min al-taṣrīf*, *Munṣif*, i, 3, line 17-4, line 10). *Lugha* is concerned with vocabulary itself; *naḥw* deals with *iʿrāb*: it studies the variations of the *ḥarakāt* at the end of the words of the *lugha* and the morphological formations of the *taṣrīf* (as inacc. of the verb), in terms of the different *ʿawāmil* (things governing) [see iʿrāb]. *Taṣrīf* analyses the great number of forms (called *wazn*, pl. *awzān*, or *binā'*, pl. *abniya*, or *ṣīgha*, pl. *ṣiyagh*) found in the words of the *lugha* and in the morphological formations mentioned above. *Ishtiḳāḳ* deals with the same material as *taṣrīf*, but considers it from the point of view of its origin: *ukhidha min*... "it is taken from..." is the information that it gives.

To understand the great affinity and connexion that Ibn Djinnī saw between *ishtiḳāḳ* and *taṣrīf*, it is necessary first to be introduced to *taṣrīf*. *Taṣrīf* was practised in two ways. The first, that of Sībawayhi and the ancients, was concerned only with *masā'il al-tamrīn* "training questions", and its object was *al-riyāḍa wa'l-tadarrub* "practice and habituation". An *imaginary* word was formed on the pattern of an *existing* Arabic word, and the peculiarities of the form (*binā'*) of the existing word were exactly reproduced in the imaginary word; see Sībawayhi, title of ch. 511 (ii, 343) and ch. 557 (ii, 436-42). In order to carry out this operation it was necessary to know the morphological data, set out, interspersed with *naḥw*, in the *Kitāb*. The exercises in question were a means of remembering these and making oneself familiar with them.

The second method thought of *taṣrīf* as a discipline to be studied in its own right and made an independent science of it; this is done in the *K. al-Taṣrīf* of al-Māzinī (d. 247/861). This *taṣrīf* takes as its object existing Arabic words and studies their forms. It regroups the necessary data in this way; Ibn Djinnī, in the *Mukhtaṣar al-taṣrīf al-mulūkī* (ed. G. Hoberg, 8, l. 9-10), systematizes them according to the following divisions: *ziyāda*, *badal*, *ḥadhf*, *taghyīr bi-ḥaraka aw sukūn*, *iddighām* [see taṣrīf].

The affinity and connexion of *ishtiḳāḳ* with *taṣrīf*. We have seen above that Ibn Djinnī asserts that there is a great affinity and connexion between *ishtiḳāḳ* and *taṣrīf*. The method that he adopts to demonstrate the functioning of *ishtiḳāḳ* with respect to *taṣrīf* is instructive here; Ibn Djinnī considers then *taṣrīf* as did Sībawayhi and the ancients, working with imaginary words, and he uses for this conception of *ishtiḳāḳ* exactly the same examples as for the account of *taṣrīf* (see *Munṣif*, editors, iii, 278, l. 15-279). In *taṣrīf*, the object of these examples is to demonstrate the accidents that occur to *ḥurūf al-uṣūl* (the radical consonants) in roder to constitute the forms: *ziyāda*, *badal*, etc. *In ishtiḳāḳ*, the object of these examples is to show *how a form is taken from another* and they presuppose a knowledge (and a use) of the accidents referred to and the processes of *taṣrīf*. In these circumstances, Ibn Djinnī takes as his starting point the *maṣdar*, the origin of the verb, *ḍarb*, and he lists all that can be taken and formed from this *maṣdar*: *māḍī* (*ḍaraba*), *muḍāriʿ* (*yaḍribu*), active participle (*ḍārib*), etc. This is a good illustration of the affinity and the connexion that Ibn Djinnī sees between *ishtiḳāḳ* and *taṣrīf*. *Ishtiḳāḳ*, however, is less general then *taṣrīf* (see below).

Ishtiḳāḳ and *lugha*. Ibn Djinnī says, besides, that *ishtiḳāḳ* is based more than *taṣrīf* on *lugha*. A chapter of the *Muḳtaḍab* of al-Mubarrad (Cairo 1386, iii, 185) helps us to understand this; al-Mubarrad distinguishes first of all the nouns (*asmā'*) that are *ghayr* (non-) *mushtaḳḳ*, such as *ḥadjar* "stone", *djabal* "mountain". *Ishtiḳāḳ* is silent concerning these, for no original form is found from which their form can be taken; they are simply common nouns (*asmā' al-adjnās*). As far as the *Taṣrīf* is concerned, it places them in the form *faʿal*; *taṣrīf* is thus seen to be more general than *ishtiḳāḳ*, as the Arab grammarians state (*e.g.*, Ibn Diḥya, *Muzhir*[3], i, 351, l. 1); al-Mubarrad then gives the *mushtaḳḳ* nouns that are *naʿt* (qualifying); these are adjectives that are connected with a verb where their meaning is found again: *ṣaghīr* "small" with *ṣaghura*, *djāhil* "ignorant" with *djahila*, *aḥmaḳ* "stupid, foolish" with *ḥamiḳa*; then the *mushtaḳḳ* nouns that are not used as *naʿt* (qualifying); the examples given are proper names:

ḥanīfa, muḍar, ʿaylān. Their *ishtiḳāḳ* varies according to the semantic links to be found between these nouns and others from the same root; *ḥanīfa* is said simply to come from *ḥanīf* (the word is explained), *muḍar* from *maḍara 'l-laban* "the milk became sour" and *ʿaylān* from *ʿayla*, the inf. of *ʿāla* "to be poor", form *faʿlān*. Thus *ishtiḳāḳ* deals with vocabulary, seeking for the point of departure, the *mushtaḳḳ minhu*, while remaining, according to the rule, within one single root and its forms, whereas *taṣrīf* does not go beyond the word whose *wazn* it has to determine.—Other examples of *ishtiḳāḳ* are to be found in the indices to the *Muḳtaḍab*, iv, 149-50, in the discussion on the *ishtiḳāḳ* of the *ism* and the verb taken from the *maṣdar* (Ibn al-Anbārī *K. al-Inṣāf*, ed. Weil, disputed questions 1 and 28). Ibn Durayd devoted his *K. al-ishtiḳāḳ* (ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1854) to the names of the Arab tribes (but without any preliminaries about methodology).

The Arab grammarians practised *ishtiḳāḳ* only for *Arabic* words; see Ibn al-Sarrādj's warning as reported by al-Djawālīḳī (*K. al-Muʿarrab*, ed. Sachau, 3, l. 10-4, l. 3) and al-Suyūṭī (*Muzhir*[3], i, 351, l. 7-9). This Arabic *ishtiḳāḳ* introduces no historical perspective into the study of the language. The relations or origin that are detected form merely part of the revealed language and are given with it (cf. *Dict. of Technical Terms*, i, 766, l. 15-6). The explicative value of this *ishtiḳāḳ* is meagre; first, depending exclusively as it does on the Arabic grammatical system, it suffers from the deficiencies of this (*e.g.*, the two disputed Questions mentioned above); then, the derivation of one term from another is stated merely when the conditions are satisfied. Thus al-Djurdjānī gives the definition of *ishtiḳāḳ*: *nazʿ lafẓ min ākhar bi-sharṭ munāsabatihimā maʿnan wa-tarkīban wa-mughāyaratihimā fi 'l-ṣīgha* (*Taʿrīfāt*, 17) "taking one word from another, on condition that they are related in sense and in composition [of the radical consonants] and that they differ in form". There is no concern to demonstrate the linguistic processes that legitimate this derivation; al-Mubarrad says that *ṣaghīr* comes from the verb *ṣaghura* (see above), but how does this come about? The mind must be continuously alert to notice the cases in which this *ishtiḳāḳ* gives acceptable information. It is particularly useful, too, by reason of the studies on vocabulary that it has involved, as in the *K. al-ishtiḳāḳ* of Ibn Durayd.

Ishtiḳāḳ is called: a) *al-ṣaghīr* "the small", when, for the *tarkīb* of al-Djurdjānī's fore-going definition, the order of succession of the *same* radical consonants remains identical in the two terms; this is the normal *ishtiḳāḳ*. b) *al-kabīr* "the large", when the *maʿnā*, the actual sense of the root, is preserved, but not the order of succession for the *tarkīb*, *e.g.*,: *djabadha* [metathesis of *djadhaba*], taken from the *maṣdar*: *djadhb*. c) *al-akbar* "the largest", when neither the actual sense of the root nor the order of succession are preserved. This *ishtiḳāḳ* was invented by Ibn Djinnī and set out in the *Khaṣāʾiṣ* (Cairo 1371/1952, i, 5-17 and Cairo 1374/1955, ii, 133-9); he considered all the relative positions of the three consonants of a root, *e.g.*, for *ḳ w l*: *ḳ l w, w ḳ l, w l ḳ, l ḳ w, l w ḳ*, combinations existing in the language, with their special meanings, and he extracted from them a sense common to all: *al-khufūf wa-'l-ḥaraka* "haste and movement". The Arab world admired his force and ingenuity of mind but did not follow him in normal studies of the language (see Ibn Diḥya, *Muzhir*[3], i, 347, l. 4-348, l. 2).

Remarks: a) al-Djurdjānī sees *al-ishtiḳāḳ al-akbar* in the case in which the identity of the radical consonants in the two terms is reduced to that of their *makhradj*, as with *naʿaḳa*, derived from the *maṣdar*: *naḥḳ* (cf. *Dict. of Techn. T.*, i, 767, l. 6-8). b) For the difference between *al-ishtiḳāḳ al-ṣaghīr* and *al-ʿadl*, see *ibid.* 767, 2 ff.

Bibliography: in the text. ʿAbd Allāh Amīn, *al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, Cairo 1376/1956, a personal study, in order to regroup under one concept of *ishtiḳāḳ* the three divisions that have been discussed, and also *naḥt*. This study is useful, too, by reason of its full documentation of the denominative verbs and *naḥt*. Fuʾad Ḥannā Ṭarazī, *al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, Beirut 1968, application of *ishtiḳāḳ* to nouns and verbs, preceded by a criticism of the preceding and of the doctrines of the ancients. (H. Fleisch)

ISHTIĶĀĶ, rhetorical term [see TADJNĪS].

ISHTIRĀK [see TAWRIYA].

ISHTIRĀKIYYA, from *ishtirāk*, sharing, the modern Arabic term for socialism. The word seems to have been first used in this sense in 19th century Turkish, in the form *ishtirāk-i emwāl*, literally "sharing of property", whence *ishtirakdjī*, a socialist, and *ishtirākī*, socialistic. In Turkish the term fell into disuse, and was replaced by *Sosyalist*. Adopted in Arabic, it soon gained universal currency in the Arab lands. (Ed.)

The Ottoman Empire and Turkey: Among Turks interest in socialism began toward the end of the 19th century, but it was only after the 1908 revolution that this cause could be openly advocated in the Ottoman Empire. The European, particularly the French, socialist movement served as the inspiration and model for socialist activity in Turkey. Always small-scale and élitist, socialist organizations were not able to play much role in their own right in the turbulent politics of the Young Turk era. The Ottoman Socialist Party (*ʿOthmānlı Sosyalist Fırḳası*) set up by Hüseyn Ḥilmī in 1910 was suspended after three months; it re-emerged for a year in mid-1912 during a momentary lull in governmental repression. Its Paris branch under Dr. Refiḳ Nevzāt operated more freely and conducted a virtually independent liaison with the Second International until France entered the First World War.

More important than this organizational activity was the impact of socialist concepts on the Turkish nationalist movement that began to gather impetus after the 1908 revolution. Ziya Gökalp and his "Turkist" followers had connexions with the active multicommunal socialist current in Salonika during the years before 1911. Thereafter in Istanbul Parvus (Alexander Helphand) continued to indoctrinate the "Turkists" with socialist ideas, stressing anti-imperialism. Moreover, an acquaintance with Marxism was relatively common in both civil and military schools during the Young Turk era. Many nationalist leaders, including Muṣṭafā Kemāl [Atatürk] himself, showed the influence of socialist doctrine.

Turkey's defeat in the First World War stimulated renewed efforts to organize socialist parties. In 1919 Ḥilmī revived his old organization under the name of the Turkish Socialist Party (*Türkiye Sosyalist Fırḳası*), again with a Paris branch. This party was so successful in securing benefits for workers through strikes and demonstrations that in 1921 its membership numbered close to 7,000, including a branch in Eskişehir. But as a result of internal conflicts, the party had all but vanished by the time of Ḥilmī's murder in November 1922.

More lasting was the Turkish Worker and Peasant Socialist Party (*Türkiye Ishči ve Čiftči Sosyalist

Firkasi) set up in September 1919 as the continuation of a similarly named organization formed by Turkish students in Germany. Initially this party had far more in common with French radical socialism than with Bolshevism, and it drew much of its inspiration from Henri Barbusse's *Clarté* movement. But with the end of the Allied occupation of Istanbul in 1923, it fell under the direct influence of Moscow. The party published a monthly theoretical journal (until March 1920, *Ḳurtulush*; from 1921 to 1925, *Aydinliḳ*), which soon became the rallying point for elements who were later to play a major role in Turkey's ideological development. Dr. Shefīḳ Ḥüsnü [Deymer], a founding member of the Istanbul organization, was the acknowledged leader of the Turkish communist movement until his death in 1959. In 1923 the Turkish Worker and Peasant Socialist Party leaders were tried on charges of treason, but were soon acquitted. After the Law for the Maintenance of Order (*Taḳrīr-i Sükūn*) was enacted in 1925, Atatürk closed *Aydinliḳ* and prosecuted a number of the party's leaders for carrying on subversive activity.

The Turkish Communist Party (*Türkiye Komünist Partisi*) proper emerged from several diverse sources: the communists clustered around the Turkish Worker and Peasant Socialist Party, the emigré movement of Muṣṭafā Ṣubḥī in Russia, and the People's Communist Party of Turkey (*Türkiye Khalḳ Ishtirākiyyūn Firḳasi*), organized in Ankara in December 1920 by Nāẓim, the deputy for Tokat. Muṣṭafā Ṣubḥī's organization fell apart after his murder in January 1921 during his return to Anatolia. The Ankara communists from the first came into conflict with Atatürk, who had formed his own "Official" Communist Party in October 1920 in an effort to bring the burgeoning communist movement under his control. In February 1921 the People's Communist Party suspended its activity, though as a result of Soviet pressure it was permitted to revive. From March until October 1922 this party published the weekly *Yeñi Ḥayāt*, a periodical that became increasingly critical of the government. But with victory over the Greeks, Atatürk no longer felt the need to tolerate this opposition, and in October 1922 he suppressed the Ankara party. The remnants of this organization followed Ṣubḥī's supporters in joining the Turkish Communist Party, that was apparently organized clandestinely in Istanbul in the fall of 1920 by Deymer and Ṣadreddīn Djelāl [Antel]. This party was in contact with communists among the non-Turkish communities in Istanbul and sent representatives to gatherings of the Third International in Moscow. It attempted to organize youth groups and trade unions, but without much success. Since its leaders were arrested or forced to flee abroad in 1925, it carried on only underground activity inside Turkey. Deymer convened a party congress in Vienna in 1926; another seems to have been held in 1933 somewhere outside Turkey. The party's main overt activities consist of publishing pronouncements in Soviet and other communist publications and since the mid-1950s in broadcasting its views over "Bizim Radyo" located in Eastern Europe.

From 1932 to 1935 a group of former communists made important contributions to Kemalist ideology through debate in the monthly *Kadro*, which sought to adapt Marxist ideas to serve Turkish nationalism. Even though the government closed *Kadro* in 1935 at the urging of more conservative Turkish nationalists, the ideas espoused by *Kadro* undergirded the famous "Six Arrows" of the Republican People's Party (*Djumhūriyyet Khalḳ Firḳasi* [*q.v.*]), which were enshrined in the constitution in 1937.

With the relaxation of political restrictions after the Second World War came new efforts to form socialist and communist-oriented parties. The Turkish Socialist Worker and Peasant Party (*Türkiye Sosyalist Emekçi ve Köylü Partisi*) that Deymer set up in 1946 and the Turkish Socialist Party (*Türkiye Sosyalist Partisi*) of Esat Adil Mustacaplıoğlu were closed within the year by the government, however, on charges of promoting communism. In this atmosphere of suspicion, even moderate socialists met a chilly reception; until the end of the *Demokrat Parti* [*q.v.*] regime in 1960 socialism was generally regarded as virtually illegal by the Turkish élite.

The military revolt in 1960 stimulated ferment that gave socialism and communism new relevance. In the new constitution of 1961 a more favourable climate toward socialism was apparent. Also, for example, central planning by the government was ordained as the remedy for the excesses of the *Demokrat Parti* era; labour unions received the right to strike. Under these circumstances, the periodical *Yön*, which began in December 1961, attracted much attention in intellectual circles with its increasingly anti-(Western)imperialist pronouncements in favour of state-directed development. Books and publications on socialism flooded the market and were read especially by students, who were attracted by the emphasis on social justice. A Socialist Cultural Association (*Sosyalist Kültür Derneği*) was formed in Ankara in 1963 to propagate these views.

This activity saw the emergence on the political scene in February 1961 of the Turkish Labour Party (*Türkiye İşçi Partisi*) as the culmination of efforts in train even before the 1960 military revolt. When the small group of labour officials who dominated this organization were unable to arouse enough popular support to qualify to take part in the 1961 elections, they sought the co-operation of some prominent leftist intellectuals. In 1962 Mehmet Ali Aybar became President General of the party. By 1965 the Turkish Labour Party was able to run candidates in 51 provinces and received some 276,000 votes, electing 15 deputies to the lower house that year. While the party increased somewhat its percentage of the vote cast in the senatorial elections in 24 provinces in June 1968, it failed to elect a single senator.

The Turkish Labour Party promotes an essentially Marxist line, but seeks to come to power by exclusively parliamentary means. From the first it has been rent by factionalism. At its congress in February 1964 there was dispute over the balance between workers and intellectuals in the ruling organs of the party. This problem was intensified when the party leaders selected a preponderance of intellectuals as deputies in the 1965 elections. Differences within the party led to a revolt against Aybar's leadership at the party congress in November 1968, necessitating an extraordinary conclave at the end of December of the same year. This did not completely heal the rift. Moreover, the party is challenged on the left by individuals advocating a more revolutionary line.

Bibliography: Hilmi Özgen, *Türk Sosyalizminin ilkeleri*, Ankara 1962; A. Cerrahoğlu, *İslamiyet ve Osmanlı Sosyalistleri, İslamiyet ve Yön'cü Sosyalistler*, Istanbul 1964; idem, *Türkiye'de Sosyalizm*, Istanbul 1965-1967, vols. i-iii; Hilmi Ziya Ülken, *Türkiye'de çagdaş düşünce tarihi*, Konva 1966, vols. i-ii; Kemal H. Karpat, *The Turkish Left*, in *Journal of Contemporary History*, i (1966),

169-186; idem, *Socialism and the Labor Party of Turkey*, in *MEJ*, Spring 1967, 157-172; idem, *Political and social thought in the contemporary Middle East*, New York 1968; G. S. Harris, *The origins of communism in Turkey*, Stanford 1967; Mete Tunçay, *Türkiye'de sol akımlar*, Ankara 1967; Fethi Tevetoğlu, *Türkiye'de Sosyalist ve Komünist Faâliyetler (1910-1960)*, Ankara 1967; Aclan Sayılgan, *Solun 94 yılı (1871-1965)*, Ankara 1967.

(G. S. Harris)

2. *The Arab lands*: As early as the first decade of this century members of the Egyptian intelligentsia (*e.g.*, S͟hiblī S͟humayyil, Salāma Mūsā and Ismāʿīl Maẓhar) discussed aspects of Socialism in its European, and particularly British Fabian and French Continental sense and tradition. They considered it in the context of scientific rationalism, social reform and state welfare doctrines. A Socialist Party of Alexandria Workers was formed in 1920 by Maḥmūd Ḥusnī al-ʿArabī, followed by a Communist Party in Alexandria two years later. Several Communist parties also appeared in the Fertile Crescent and the Levant.

In the nineteen-thirties, the success of National Socialism in Europe (Nazism in Germany, Fascism in Italy, Spain, Greece and elsewhere) indirectly encouraged the rise of radical national socialist groups, parties and movements in the Arab countries. All of them, to one degree or another, proposed some form of "state socialism". Among these were the Young Egypt Association of Aḥmad Ḥusayn in Egypt, later renamed the Socialist Democratic Party; the *Parti Populaire Syrien* of Anṭūn Saʿāda in the Levant; the *Ahālī* group of Kāmil al-Chādirchī in ʿIrāḳ (many of its adherents or members coming from the Fascist-oriented *al-Mut͟hanna* Club), later renamed the National Democratic Party; the Progressive Socialist Party in Lebanon; and others.

After the Second World War, attention concentrated on what was called Arab Socialism (*al-is͟htirākiyya al-ʿarabiyya*) the main exponent of which was the Arab *Baʿt͟h* Party, founded by Michel ʿAflaḳ and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Bīṭār in 1941-3, which ten years later in 1953 merged with Akram Ḥūrānī's Arab Socialist Party. In the periods 1955 to 1961 and 1961 to 1967, Arab Socialism had two major advocates: President ʿAbd al-Nāṣir (Nasser) of Egypt, and the various *Baʿt͟h* party organisations and regimes in the Fertile Crescent countries, particularly Syria and ʿIrāḳ. In Egypt, under ʿAbd al-Nāṣir, even the official religious establishment of the Azhar was recruited (massively after the Azhar Reorganisation Law of June 1961) to the task of expounding, explaining and justifying the link between Arab Socialism and Islam. The slogan, "Islam, the religion of justice and equality," was followed by "Muḥammad, the first socialist". The Islamic religion was identified as a "revolution which first laid down the socialist principles of justice and equality". After 1967, new and violent revolutionary groups appeared especially among the Palestinians and South Arabians professing a Marxist-Leninist and Maoist-oriented Arab Socialism.

Algeria after independence in 1962 also adopted Arab Socialism as the political and economic basis of its revolution; so too did the Yemen after the Sallāl coup in September 1962; the new People's Republic of South Yemen under its National Liberation Front rulers; the Sudan after the coup led by Colonel D͟jaʿfar al-Numayrī in May 1969; and the new Republic of Libya when the military coup led by Colonel Muʿammar al-Ḳad͟hāfī overthrew King Idrīs in September 1969.

Arab Socialism as expounded by the *Baʿt͟h* Party or other so-called Arab revolutionary leaders and regimes has little in common with European or Marxist Socialism. Its principles are rather linked to those of pre-nationalist and radical nationalist ideologies, and particularly an interpretation of the ethical and moral teachings of Islam. Its emphasis is on social justice in a traditional Islamic sense, and on economic and social reform. It rejects both the materialist philosophy and historical determinism of Marxist Socialism. It is opposed to the class struggle and the dictatorship of the working class or the proletariat. Instead it proclaims the eradication of class divisions with a view to achieving a harmonious "democratic, cooperative society", in which classes cooperate with, not oppose or antagonise, one another. It does not share socialism's opposition to private property, even though it accepts and, in certain cases, practices state ownership of the major means of production and state control of the economy. Because the economies of many of these countries are mainly agricultural their socialists pay greater lip service to the impoverished masses of peasants and less to the urban working classes or proletariat. The latter group on the whole is still a small one in these countries, where industrial development is in its early stages. Finally, Arab Socialism rejects Marxist Socialism because the latter is theoretically opposed to nationalism.

It can be argued that Arab Socialism as articulated by the regime of ʿAbd al-Nāṣir and that of his successor in Egypt, or by the *Baʿt͟h* in the Fertile Crescent, is a primitive socialism: it is for the confiscation of wealth by its expropriation from the small wealthy landed and old official or governing classes, but not for its abolition. It wishes to eradicate poverty by the nationalisation of capital and other productive wealth and by its redistribution in order to level society; but so far it has only managed to further generalise poverty. Basically it claims that it wishes to share out property, not to abolish it. And as property in most Arab countries implies the ownership of land, there have been several, not very successful, agrarian reform measures in Egypt, ʿIrāḳ, Syria and Algeria.

If one examines the utterances and policies of President ʿAbd al-Nāṣir of Egypt (the nationalisation decrees of July-November 1961, his National Charter of 1962, and the Expropriation measures of 1963-4), or those of the *Baʿt͟h* (for example, ʿAflaḳ's writings, and the proceedings and resolutions of the Party Congresses, especially those of the Sixth Congress), one observes that Arab Socialism is the "radical" expression of Arab nationalism. It is also the justification of radical state economic policies, characterised by central planning and greater centralised state control over all aspects of national economic activity and life. Any structural social changes introduced by the so-called socialist measures of Arab rulers have not so far also envisaged changes in the power structure. Nor does the Arab Socialism of these states envisage any uniform regulation of the consumption of material goods on the basis of strict equality.

Arab Socialism is useful when one wishes to indicate and identify the domestic, regional or inter-Arab, and international policies of individual Arab states. In Egypt, for example, Arab Socialism became a term applied to President ʿAbd al-Nāṣir's domestic economic, Arab and international policies after 1955, and more so after 1961. By 1962, Arab Socialism in Egypt, as well as in other Arab states

which identified or associated their regimes with it, came to be an amalgam of nationalism, of involvement in inter-Arab state conflict, state political control by the military, state ownership and control of the economy, and an orientation in international politics towards the Soviet Union. Beginning as a protest movement against the concentration of political and economic power in the hands of a small governing class in *anciens régimes* in Egypt, ʿIrāḳ and Syria for instance, Arab Socialism under military regimes and in the conditions of inter-Arab and international events moved towards an association with the new influential superpower in the Middle East, the Soviet Union. At home, and in practice, it became a bureaucratic, police socialism in the service of the regimes in power, without a firm basis either in a working class proletariat, or its more populist aspiration for a base among the agrarian peasant masses. Socialist parties were proscribed, and local, or native, socialists were persecuted and politically neutralised. Single parties, such as the Arab Socialist Unions in Egypt and ʿIrāḳ or the *Baʿth* parties in Syria and ʿIrāḳ, and the FLN in Algeria were also at variance with socialism properly defined and understood. These single parties never controlled government; rather government controlled the parties which served the security and other purposes of the state.

It is difficult for example to adduce anything about the meaning of Arab Socialism from the voluminous writings of ʿAflaḳ or the proceedings and resolutions of the *Baʿth* Party Congresses beyond the suggestion that the Party considered economics important and relevant to politics; or that one of the Party's goals is the expansion of the economic opportunities for the lower classes of society and the enhancement of their social status.

Domestically then Arab Socialism has meant the opposition by military regimes and those who aspire to overthrow regimes in their respective countries to the dynastic or other governing and official classes, which are often identified as "feudalist". Arab Socialists link the interests of these classes to those of outside powers (mainly those they refer to as Imperialist, *i.e.*, the Western powers), so that their overthrow and dispossession are justified on the grounds that they are the agents of Imperialism. In the context of inter-Arab politics Arab Socialism also serves as the slogan of so-called radical rulers and regimes in their conflicts with so-called conservative and reactionary rulers and regimes for influence, primacy, prestige or domination in the Arab Middle East. Generally, therefore, on the level of international politics, Arab Socialism has been associated with the opposition of Arab states to what remained of Western influence in their area and with radical Arab nationalism and its manifestation in heightened inter-Arab struggle. This coincided with the entry of the Soviet Union into the Middle East in 1955 and its offers of massive economic and military assistance to several Arab states. Inevitably, the orientation of Arab Socialist regimes towards the Soviet bloc followed, gradually at first (1955-62), and rapidly after 1962.

Bibliography: S. A. Hanna and H. Gardner (edd.), *Arab Socialism: A documentary survey*, Leiden 1969; Djamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir, *National Charter*, Cairo 1962; H. Kerr, *The emergence of a Socialist ideology in Egypt*, in *MEJ*, xvi/2 (Spring 1962), 127-44; Gebran Majdalani, *The Arab Socialist Movement*, in W. Z. Laqueur (ed.), *The Middle East in Transition*, New York 1958, 337-50; G. H. Torrey and J. F. Devlin, *Arab Socialism*, in J. H. Thompson and R. D. Reischauer (edd.), *Modernization of the Arab world*, New York 1966, 178-29; P. J. Vatikiotis, *Islam and the Foreign Policy of Egypt*, in J. Harris Proctor (ed.), *Islam and International Relations*, New York 1965, 120-57; L. Binder, *The ideological revolution in the Middle East*, New York 1964; Hisham B. Sharabi, *Nationalism and revolution in the Arab world*, New York 1966; W. Z. Laqueur, *Communism and Nationalism in the Middle East*, London 1956; P. K. O'Brien, *The revolution in Egypt's Economic system*, London 1966; L. Z. Yamak, *The Syrian Social Nationalist Party*, Cambridge, Mass. 1966; Kamel S. Abu Jaber, *The Arab Baath Socialist Party: history, ideology and organization*, Syracuse 1966.

(P. J. Vatikiotis)

ÎSHWAR-DÂS [see ĪSAR-DĀS].

AL-**ISKÂFÎ**, Abu 'l-Faḍl Djaʿfar b. Maḥmūd, official in the ʿAbbāsid administration and the first vizier of al-Muʿtazz (251/866); he held this post for only a short time, but the Caliph was obliged to give in to Turkish pressure and reinstate him in 255/869. He kept the post at the beginning of al-Muhtadī's caliphate, but real power was in the hands of Ṣāʿid b. Makhlad [*q.v.*]. Though al-Ḥuṣrī (*Zahr*, 873) lets it be understood that al-Iskāfī was friendly with al-Muʿtazz before the latter acceded to the caliphate, Ghars al-Niʿma (*Hafawāt*, 273) maintains that he was imposed on the caliph by the Turks. The *Fakhrī* (333-4, 335) confirms this point of view, adding that al-Muʿtazz did not like him at all, that it was suspected he had Shīʿī sympathies, that he was completely uncultured and only attracted sympathy by his generosity. Lines of poetry quoted by al-Djāḥiẓ (*Rasāʾil*, ed. Hārūn, ii, 58) suggest that he occupied important posts long before his accession to the vizirate.

Bibliography: Besides the references quoted, Ṭabarī, iii, 1550, 1707, 1709; Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, ed. Ṣāwī. 316, 318, ed. de Goeje, 365 (Djaʿfar b. Muḥammad); idem, *Murūdj*, vii, 365, 366, 370 (Djaʿfar b. Muḥammad); D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, index.

(Ed.)

AL-**ISKÂFÎ**, Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, a Muʿtazilī of the Baghdād branch and a native of Samarḳand. The date of his birth is unknown, but he is known to have reached a great age and to have died in 240/854. He began life as a tailor, and his parents prevented him from continuing his studies, but Djaʿfar b. Ḥarb [*q.v.*] took him under his care and initiated him in the *Iʿtizāl*. Possessing a lively intelligence, knowledge of many subjects, and a lofty moral sense, he enjoyed the esteem and respect of al-Muʿtaṣim, who seems to have used him as a propagandist for the Muʿtazilī doctrine. In general, he adhered to the opinions of his master Djaʿfar, departing from these only over some details, but he certainly seems to have been one of the most productive of the Muʿtazilīs. Like the other members of the school, he maintained that the Ḳurʾān was created, but that it existed wherever it was read, written and heard. God existed outside time, and His existence could be deduced from the existence of things. In his view, bodies consisted of a combination of two elements. He established a distinction between the created action and the free action which derived directly from man's free-will. In politics, although he seems to have recognized the legitimacy of ʿUthmān as caliph and supported the imāmate of the *mafḍūl*, he declared himself in favour of the superiority of ʿAlī to Abū Bakr, and refuted at some length the *Kitāb al-ʿUthmāniyya* of al-Djāḥiẓ, in a text preserved in part by Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ*

Nahdj al-Balāgha, and reproduced at the end of the refuted work (Cairo 1374/1955, 282-343). This text, which is not expressly referred to by Ibn al-Nadīm, seems to be the only one to have survived; the other works attributed to him are:— *K. al-Laṭīf*; *K. al-Badal*; *K. ʿala ʾl-Naẓẓām fī anna ʾl-ṭabʿayn al-mukhtalifayn yafʿal bi-himā faʿlan wāḥidan*; *K. al-Maḳāmāt fi tafḍīl ʿAlī*; *K. Ithbāt khalḳ al-Ḳurʾān*; *K. al-Radd ʿala ʾl-Mushabbiha*; *K. al-Makhlūḳ, ʿala ʾl-Mudjbira*; *K. Bayān al-mushkil, ʿalā Burghūth*; *K. al-Tamwīh, naḳḍ K. Ḥafṣ*; *K. al-Naḳḍ li-K. al-Ḥusayn al-Nadjdjār*; *K. al-Radd ʿalā man ankar khalḳ al-Ḳurʾān*; *K. al-Sharḥ(?) li-aḳāwīl al-Mudjbira*; *K. Ibṭāl ḳawl man ḳāl bi-taʿdhīb al-aṭfāl*; *K. Ḥaml ḳawl ahl al-ḥaḳḳ*; *K. al-Naʿīm*; *K. mā'khtalafa fī-hi al-Mutakallimūn*; *K. ʿalā Ḥusayn fi ʾl-istiṭāʿa*; *K. Faḍāʾil ʿAlī*; *K. al-Ashriba*; *K. al-Ḳuṭub* (?); *K. ʿalā Hishām*; *K. Naḳḍ K. Ibn Shabīb* (?) *fi ʾl-waʿīd*.

Bibliography: Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, index; Malaṭī, 27, 30, 33; Khayyāṭ, *Intiṣār*, index; Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, 155; Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, index; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, v, 416; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, v, 221; Ibn al-Nadīm, ed. Fück, in *Prof. Muḥ. Shafīʿ Presentation Vol.*, Lahore 1955, 66-7; Ṭūsī, *Fihris*, 254; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, 35; Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Muʿtazila*, index; A. N. Nader, *Le système philosophique des Muʿtazila*, Beirut 1956, index.

His son, ABU ʾL-ḲĀSIM DJAʿFAR B. MUḤAMMAD AL-ISKĀFĪ, was also a Muʿtazilī but he took up an administrative career and was appointed head of a *dīwān* by al-Muʿtaṣim. Regarded as a talented scribe, he is the author of a *Kitāb al-Miʿyār wa ʾl-muwāzana fi ʾl-imāma*. (Not to be confused with the vizier to al-Muʿtazz; see preceding art.).

Bibliography: Ibn al-Nadīm, in *Muḥ. Shafīʿ Pres. Vol.*, 67 (which calls him simply Ibn al-Iskāfī). (ED.)

AL-ISKĀFĪ, ABŪ ISḤĀḲ MUḤAMMED B. AḤMAD AL-KARĀRĪṬĪ secretary and vizier during the ʿAbbāsid era. Born in Iskāf on the Nahrawān, in ʿIrāḳ, he appears for the first time in 320/932 as the secretary of the police chief of Baghdād, Ibn Yāḳūt; he was arrested at the same time as his master, in Djumādā I 323/April 935, and had to pay a large fine. He was appointed vizier by the Caliph al-Muttaḳī in Shawwāl 329/July 941, but was dismissed by the great *amīr* Kūrankīdj as early as Dhu'l-Ḳaʿda 329/July-August 941.

Having regained his post under Ibn Rāʾik after the flight of the *amīr*, he was arrested soon afterwards in Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 329/September 941. Al-Iskāfī regained his vizirate when the supreme emirate was entrusted by the caliph to the Ḥamdānid Nāṣir al-Dawla, who, on his arrival in Baghdād in Shawwāl 330/June-July 942, found the new vizier already installed. But, after eight months, al-Iskāfī was once more dismissed (Radjab 331/March-April 943) and obliged to pay a fine; he seems to have been the victim of intrigues woven in the *amīr*'s entourage by two Barīdī agents. We know little of the end of his career: it seems he was the secretary of Sayf al-Dawla in Aleppo in circumstances which have never been explained, and then that he returned to Baghdād in the time of the vizier al-Muhallabī and died in 357/968.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Athīr, viii, *passim*; Miskawayh, *Tadjārib al-umam*, i, 236, 318-9, ii, 28-9, 38 and n.; M. Canard, *Akhbâr ar-Râdi billâh*, Algiers 1946-50, i, 79 n. 3, ii, 26 n. 1; idem, *Histoire de la dynastie des H'amdanides*, Algiers 1951, 429. (D. SOURDEL)

AL-ISKANDAR, Alexander the Great. It is generally agreed both by Muslim commentators and modern occidental scholars that Dhu ʾl-Ḳarnayn, "the two-horned", in Sūra XVIII, 83/82-98 is to be identified with Alexander the Great. The story is told in reply to questioners, often said to be Jews. Dhu ʾl-Ḳarnayn was given power on earth, and made his way to the furthest west and furthest east; and in response to an appeal from oppressed people built a wall or rampart of iron and brass against the incursions of Yādjūdj and Mādjūdj [*q.v.*]. The origin and precise significance here of the name Dhu ʾl-Ḳarnayn has been much discussed (cf. al-Bayḍāwī, *ad loc.*; Nöldeke-Schwally, i, 140, note 5). The name had been previously applied to the Lakhmid al-Mundhir al-Akbar (III) ibn Māʾ al-Samāʾ (cf. Imruʾ al-Ḳays, 60.3; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Munammaḳ*, 340; J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, 111-3, with further references). Dhu ʾl-Ḳarnayn was accepted as a believer or Muslim since he spoke to the people of the west about God's punishment of wrongdoers and his reward for the upright; but it was disputed whether he was a prophet. Al-Wāthiḳ is said to have sent a man to explore the wall (*BGA*, vi,1 62-70; quoted by G. von Grunebaum, *Medieval Islam*, 26, note 63).

Bibliography (in addition to works cited): commentaries on Ḳurʾān, XVIII, 83/82 ff.; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 359, 365, 393; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 26; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, al-Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ*, (Cairo, 1310), 226, (Singapore, 1382) 483-99. (W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

ISKANDAR NĀMA, the Alexander Romance. i. Arabic. Sura XVIII (59 ff.) shows that the Arabs have known of the Alexander Romance (pseudo-Callisthenes) from early times, since what is said about Mūsā in this Ḳurʾānic passage is in fact derived from this romance. On the earlier history of the Romance, see Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alexanderromans*, in *Denkschriften der Kais. Akad. d. Wiss.*, Vienna, xxxiii. According to this scholar, the source of the Syriac and Arabic stories is to be found in a primitive Pahlavi version, the author of which, according to Fraenkel (*ZDMG*, xlv, 319), may have been a Syriac Christian who wrote in Persian. The oldest Arabic versions, provided by the *ḥadīth*, have been collected by Friedländer in *Die Chadhirlegende und der Alexanderroman*, 67 ff. [see AL-KHAḌIR]. On more recent versions in Arabic, see Friedländer's article and also E. García Gómez, *Un texto arabe occidental de la leyena de Alejandro*, Madrid 1929. (ED.)

ii. Persian. The "Book of Alexander", consisting of two parts, the *Sharaf Nāma* and the *Iḳbāl Nāma*, is the fifth poem of the *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī [*q.v.*]. It constitutes the fullest synthesis of the image which Muslim Iran conceived and assimilated of the Macedonian conqueror, who at the start was regarded as the most odious of enemies and who, in the last analysis, became the model of the Muslim hero, the Iranian knight, through his own merits worthy of acceding to the rank of prophet of the One God.

The *Sharaf Nāma* (6,896 verses) is the story of the hero, in its main outlines conforming with the traditional accounts going back to the pseudo-Callisthenes, but altered in many of the details and, what is more, assuming a highly original character from the manner in which Niẓāmī treats it. The *Iḳbāl Nāma*, where the individual stamp of the author's genius is even more apparent, is a shorter work, with less embellishment but with a greater wealth of reflection, and in it the image of excellence of the hero is subordinated to that of the wise man, the

model ruler who through the constancy of his meditation deserves to be invested with a true prophetic mission. (For the Arab tradition, Iskandar—Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn already combines [see above] the characteristics of the warlike hero with those of the prophet of universality).

For Iranian tradition, he is essentially "the wretched Mar, inspired by the Druj (the spirit of discord)", guilty of the destruction of the good religion, its altars and its books (M. Molé, *Culte, Mythe et cosmologie dans l'Iran ancien*, Paris 1963, 211; cf. Pagliaro, *Letteratura persiana*, Milan 1950, 38, 96). But in islamised Iran the idea, which was fixed by the commentary of al-Ṭabarī on the Ḳur'ān, XVII, 82 ff. (*Tafsīr*, xvi, 6 ff.) and by the same author's *Annales* (I, 692-702), of a universal mission made manifest through his conquests, is substituted for this pejorative image.

In the *Shahnāma*, Firdawsī already makes Iskandar an exemplary figure, whom the companionship of Aristotle helps to rise still higher, by the path of wisdom and moderation, in the direction of abstinence and contempt for this world. And Firdawsī laid stress on the defeat of Dārā (the Darius of the Greeks) as something desired by "the rotation of the Heavens".

Already, too, for Firdawsī, Alexander bears on his brow the marks of the Kayānids and, thereby, a quality of legitimacy which Niẓāmī emphasizes by making him, as his predecessor and as al-Ṭabarī had done, a son of Dārāb and consequently a half-brother of Dārā who is thus able to transmit power over Iran to him, and to see in him the just king, the successor of the Kayānids.

At the time of Niẓāmī, however, Islam is from then onwards well established in Iran, and it is the prophetic and ecumenical aspect of his destiny that the poet makes evident in his hero. As a learned Iranian poet, Niẓāmī, who demonstrates his eclecticism in the information he gives (he says, "I have taken from everything just what suited me and I have borrowed from recent histories, Christian, Pahlavī and Jewish . . . and of them I have made a whole"), locates the story of his hero principally in Iran. He makes him the image of the Iranian "knight", peace-loving and moderate, courteous and always ready for any noble action. Like all Niẓāmī's heroes, he conquers the passions of the flesh, and devotes his attention to his undertakings and his friendships. These features appear in the account, which follows ancient tradition, of his conduct towards the women of the family of Darius, in his brotherly attitude on the death of that ruler, in his behaviour towards queen Nushaba (the Kaydaf of Firdawsī, the Kandake of the pseudo-Callisthenes) whom he defends against the Russians. And if he subdues the king of China, the Khāḳan, and the Indian king Kayd (Porus), it is to establish a deep and lasting friendship with them.

In the *Sharaf Nāma* particularly, the itineraries of his expeditions are Iranian and Muslim. It is in Egypt that he introduces the rule of justice, after delivering the country from the threat of the Zandj, and it is the religion of the One God of Abraham that, in the *Sharaf Nāma*, he makes it his mission to spread, and for which he was to eliminate from Mecca the family of Khuzāʿa, who had distorted the religious tradition of the Kaʿba. And it is through Armenia that he starts his march to the East, on the way founding Tiflis and Bardaʿ, occupying the legendary castle of Dar Band, and finding in the castle of Sakīr the fabulous relics of Kay Khusraw. He traverses Rayy, Khurāsān and central Asia, to reach India and then China. He was to return to Bardaʿ, in this same Ādharbāydjān, the homeland of Niẓāmī, to rescue Queen Nushaba when she was attacked by the Russians (there was in fact an invasion in 946-7).

Niẓāmī did not fail, afterwards, to crown the *Sharaf Nāma* with the theme of the vain quest for the source of life, in which may be seen a foreshadowing of the nihilist philosophy which was to be that of the *Iḳbāl Nāma*.

The *Iḳbāl Nāma* is a hymn to wisdom—that of the Greeks, that which Iskandar would have derived from the old Iran—to that also which the hero, dedicated to Prophecy, was to elaborate, before his death in the company of the wise, and in regard to which Niẓāmī, after reviewing the final solutions of the old sages, was to recall the primordial role of celestial reason, *Khrat*, already sung by Firdawsī before him.

The encyclopaedic character of the *Iskandar Nāma*, far more than the treatment of the legendary subject, is perhaps what most strikes the reader: the passion for and justification of asceticism, for which on several occasions Iskandar emphasises his respect; the geographical and historical recollections relating particularly to the Byzantines; the pronounced taste for the mysterious sciences, where the episode of Mary the Copt and her authentic conception of speculative alchemy administers a corrective to the episodes where the hero creates a magic mirror or takes pleasure in conversations with the semi-legendary Bālīnās (Apollonius).

Study of the *Iskandar Nāma* is not yet wholly complete, and it holds in store rich and important discoveries, not only for historians of literature but also for those engaged in comparative studies, for historians of the history of religious ethics in Iran, and for students of folklore.

Bibliography: Bertels, *Selected works: Niẓāmī and Fuḍūlī*, (in Russian) Moscow 1962 (C. vi, *Iskandar Nāma*, 342-93); *Kulliyyāt Dīwān-i Ḥakīm Niẓāmī Djandja'y*, Tehran 1937 (*Sharaf-nāma*, 838-1162, *Iḳbal-nāma*, 1164-1338); Bausani, *Letteratura neopersiana*, Milan 1960, 675-95 (bibliogr. note, 696 and 888); A. Abel, *Dhū'l Qarnayn, prophète de l'Universalité*, Brussels, *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Or. et Slaves*, xi (1951), 6-18; idem, *Le Roman d'Alexandre, légendaire médiéval*, Brussels 1955, 82-9; idem, *La figure d'Alexandre en Iran*, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Convegno sul tema La Persia e il mondo greco-romano, Rome 1966, 120-34.

(A. ABEL)

iii. In classical Ottoman literature the Alexander legend was used relatively rarely, perhaps (as E. J. W. Gibb suggested, *HOP*, i, 284) because its subject-matter gave little scope for the allegorical treatment of the theme of love. The one famous and very popular poem on the subject is the *Iskendernāme* of Aḥmadī [*q.v.*] (d. 815/1412-3) (the story as related by Aḥmadī is summarized by Gibb, *HOP*, i, 270-84; for its character, as a kind of encyclopaedia, see Fr. Taeschner, in *Hb. der Orientalistik*, I. Abt., V/1, 1963, 276; for the most up-to-date list of Mss., see B. Flemming, *Verzeichnis der or. Handschriften in Deutschland*, xiii/1, Wiesbaden 1968, p. 36). Some Mss. are half in verse, half in prose (see, *e.g.*, Nihad Sami Banarlı, in *TM*, vi (1936-9), 110). There are also prose versions, some anonymous, some attributed to Aḥmadī's "brother" Ḥamzevī (*HOP*, i, 255; cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 1327; see also F. E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı . . . Türkçe yazmalar kat.*, nos. 2744-69, some or all of which are presumably Ḥamzevī's prose version); their connection, if any,

with Aḥmedī's poem remains to be investigated.

A certain Fighānī of Karaman (flor. ca. 906/1500) is reported to have composed a verse *Iskendernāme* (Laṭīfī, 266-7), but it seems not to have survived. An *Iskendernāme* composed by Aḥmed Riḍwān (Sehī, p. 36; Laṭīfī, p. 88), *i.e.*, the *defterdār* "Tütünsüz" Aḥmed Beg (flor. under Bāyezīd II) and closely following Aḥmadī, survives in a single Ms. in Ankara (see Agâh Sırrı Levend, *Aḥmed Rizvān'ın İskendernāmesi*, in *Türk Dili*, vol. i, no. 3 (Dec. 1951), 23-31, where (p. 24) the author mentions another verse *Iskendernāme* in his private library, by a certain Ḥayātī). His contemporary Bihishtī [*q.v.*] completed an *Iskendernāme* in 909/1503-4 (Ushaw College MX).

In Čaghatay Turkish literature the Alexander-legend provided the theme for the fifth poem in the *Khamsa* [*q.v.*] of Navāʾī [*q.v.*], on which see J. Eckmann, in *Philologicae Turcicae Fundamenta*, ii, 346-8 and (bibliography) 355-7.

Bibliography: Th. Seif, *Vom Alexanderroman nach orientalischen Beständen der Nationalbibliothek*, in *Festschrift der Nationalbibliothek in Wien*, Vienna 1926, 745-70; Kenan, *İslâmî edebiyatta Iskendernāme mesnevisi*, Istanbul Un. Lib., Tez no. 187 (1933-4); E. Bertel's, *Roman ob Aleksandre i ego glavnïe versii na Vostoke*, Moscow and Leningrad 1948; *İA*, art. *İskender-nâme* (with additions by Orhan Şaik Gökyay); A. Bombaci, *Storia della letteratura turca*[2], Milan 1969, index, s.v. Alessandro Magno (Fr. tr., I. Melikoff, Paris 1968). (ED.)

AL-**ISKANDAR** AL-**AFRŪDĪSĪ**, Alexander of Aphrodisias (about 200 A.D.), Peripatetic philosopher. In mediaeval Europe and at the time of the Renaissance he was regarded as the most authoritative of the ancient commentators of Aristotle. He had the same influence in Islamic countries. A certain illuminism, his concept of the active intellect coming from outside to the human soul, fitted in with the Neoplatonic trend prevailing in Arabic philosophy. On the other hand his materialistic arguments against the immortality of the human soul gave rise to wide discussions which spread from Islamic to Christian learned circles; the difference between Aristotle and Alexander over this question is a major theme in the correspondence between Emperor Frederick II Hohenstaufen and the Ṣūfī Ibn Sabʿīn [*q.v.*] (see *JA*, 7e série, xiv (1879), 404-49).

Little being known about Alexander's life, the Arabic biographical tradition considerably exceeds what can be derived from the Greek sources. It calls him al-Iskandar al-Afrūdīsī al-Dimashkī, thus identifying him with a certain Alexander of Damascus, who quarrelled in Rome with Galen [see DJĀLĪNŪS] and was afterwards appointed professor of Peripatetic philosophy at Athens (see Galen xiv, 627-9 and ii, 218, ed. Kühn). Just the same honour was awarded to Alexander of Aphrodisias, and we do not know whether the identification is due to some erroneous reasoning or is based on better information than we nowadays possess. Chronological considerations are of no value here: Alexander of Aphrodisias was called to Athens in or after 198 A. D., and though Galen wrote the chapter of *De anatomicis administrationibus* where the relevant remark on Alexander of Damascus is found before 180 A. D., he may have inserted this statement later, at the end of his life, for he often used to complete his earlier works with new references (cf. K. Bardong, in *Nachrichten von der Akad. d. Wissensch. in Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1942, 604, 631, 633). Besides Galen's account of his quarrel with Alexander of Damascus, the Greek sources reveal nothing about any such strife with Alexander of Aphrodisias; the Arab authors, however, even know the nickname "mule's head", which their Iskandar al-Afrūdīsī al-Dimashkī bestowed on the philosophizing physician (for some literary refutations of Galen as extant in Arabic see below). In this context it is interesting that the Arabic tradition gives Galen the same teacher of Peripatetic philosophy as Alexander of Aphrodisias, viz. Herminus, and this statement can surely be accepted as correct (cf. Heinrich Schmidt, *De Hermino Peripatetico*, Phil. Diss. Marburg 1907, 6; F. Rosenthal, in *Oriens*, vii (1954), 69, 79; S. Pines, in *Isis*, lii (1961), 23).

The works of Alexander were made accessible to the Arabs by various translators, such as Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*], Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn [*q.v.*], Abū ʿUthmān Saʿīd al-Dimashḳī, Abū Bishr Mattā b. Yūnus, Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī, and others. The Arab bibliographers refer to most of his expanded commentaries on the writings of Aristotle, but only some quotations of them are still extant in Arabic translation (cf., *e.g.*, A. Dietrich, *Medicinalia Arabica*, *Abhandlungen der Akad. d. Wissensch. in Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl.*, *Dritte Folge*, no. 66, 1966, 181 f.), the most voluminous being those preserved by Ibn Rushd [*q.v.*] (see J. Freudenthal, in *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1884; cf. M. Bouyges, in *Revue du moyen âge latin*, iv (1948), 280). On the other hand over 35 small treatises on various subjects are found in Arabic manuscripts the edition and study of which has begun only in the last decades. About 15 can be identified with the Greek text of the so-called *quaestiones* (ed. Bruns, ii/2) or parts of them (see Dietrich, *Differentia specifica*, 94-9; van Ess, 153; Gätje, *Überlieferung*, 261-4, 274-8). Three other tracts are found in the collection *De Anima Libri Mantissa* (*Fi 'l-ʿaḳl ʿalā raʾy Arisṭūṭālīs*, ed. Finnegan; *Fī kayfa yakūnu 'l-ibṣār ʿalā madhhab Arisṭāṭālīs*, see Gätje, *Überlieferung*, 267-70, 272 f.; *Fi 'l-radd ʿalā man yaḳūlu inna 'l-ibṣār yakūnu bi-'l-shuʿ-āʿāt al-khāridja min al-baṣar*, Ms. Tashkent 2385, lxxxv = Bruns ii/1, 127, 28-130, 12). The titles of these Arabic treatises are certainly not original; they also differ sometimes in the lists of the bibliographers and in the various manuscripts, where they may even be left out, the result being a confusion with the preceding tracts (see Gätje, *Überlieferung*, 261 f.—the same coherent text in Ms. Tashkent 2385, lxxxiv). A number of these secondary headings indicate a polemic against Galen (cf. J. Ch. Bürgel, in *Nachrichten der Akad. d. Wissensch. in Göttingen, I. phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1967, 282 f., 387), but it remains for further investigation to decide whether these refutations are really directed against him in each case.

Sometimes the Arabic version appears to be merely a shortened paraphrase of the Greek with occasional additions. In one case two Arabic tracts on the *differentia specifica* (ed. Dietrich) are so similar, that one of them seems to be the paraphrase of the other (cf. van Ess, 154-9). It is difficult if not impossible to get an idea when all these alterations were introduced, whether by Alexander himself or in which stage of the Greek-(Syriac-) Arabic tradition. A similarly puzzling problem is posed by the second part of the commentary to Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, as extant in Greek and commonly regarded as a forgery, and its relation to the quotations made by Ibn Rushd (cf. Moraux, *Alexandre d'Aphrodise*, 14-9). It should further be noted, that in the Arabic tradition passages of Proclus's *Elements of theology* [see BURUḲLUS] appear among Alexander's genuine writings and under his name

(see van Ess, 159-68). The bilbiographers give also the titles of two medical tracts ascribed to Alexander (*Fi 'l-mālīkhūliya* and *Fi 'l-ʿilal allati taḥduthu fi fam al-miʿda*); they are quoted, apparently, by al-Rāzī [*q.v.*] in his *al-Ḥāwī* (cf. Th. Puschmann, *Alexander von Tralles*, i, Vienna 1878, 94 f.).

Bibliography: *Fihrist* (index), cf. the German translation by August Müller, *Die griechischen Philosophen in der arabischen Überlieferung*, Halle a. S. 1873, 23 f.; Abu 'l-Wafā' al-Mubashshir b. Fātik, *Mukhtār al-ḥikam*, ed. ʿA. Badawī, Madrid 1958, 291, German tr. by F. Rosenthal, *Das Fortleben der Antike im Islam*, Zurich and Stuttgart 1965, 55; al-Shahrastānī, 344 f., German tr. by Th. Haarbrücker, Halle a. S. 1851, ii, 207 f.; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Ta'rīkh al-ḥükamā'*, ed. J. Lippert, Leipzig 1903 (index); Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbā' fi ṭabaḳāt al-aṭibbā'*, ed. A. Müller, Cairo 1882, i, 69-71, 84; al-Shahrazūrī, *Rawḍat al-afrāḥ wa-nuzhat al-awāḥ*, Ms. Berlin, Landberg 430, fol. 4v and 33r; M. Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi, Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg*, 7e série, xiii, no. 4 (1869); idem, *Die hebräischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters*, Berlin 1893 (repr. Graz 1956), 1049 (index); idem, *Die arabischen Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen*, repr. Graz 1960, p. (251) (index); *Alexandri Aphrodisiensis praeter commentaria scripta minora*, ed. I. Bruns, Berlin 1887, 1892 (*Supplementum Aristotelicum* ii); G. Sarton, *Introduction to the history of science*, i, Baltimore 1927, 318 f.; P. Kraus, in *MIE*, xlv (1942), 324 f.; P. Moraux, *Alexandre d'Aphrodise. Exégète de la noétique d'Aristote*, Liège and Paris 1942 (*Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège*, xcix), on the authenticity of the *quaestiones* cf. now *Hermes*, xcv (1967), 161; ʿA. Badawī, *Ariṣṭū ʿind al-ʿarab*, pt. 1, Cairo 1947 (*Dirāsāt islāmiyya* v), contains the edition of eleven treatises of Alexander; J. Finnegan, *Texte arabe du περὶ νοῦ d'Alexandre d'Aphrodise*, in *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph*, xxxiii (1956), 157-202, cf. Roger Paret, in *Byzantion*, xxix-xxx (1959-60), 410-5; H. Ley, *Studie zur Geschichte des Materialismus im Mittelalter*, Berlin 1957; P. Thillet, *Un traité inconnu d'Alexandre d'Aphrodise sur la Providence dans une version arabe inédite*, in *L'homme et son destin d'après les penseurs du Moyen Âge*, Louvain and Paris 1960, 313-24, deals with Ms. Escurial 798, the same text in Ms. Carullah 1279 is examined by S. Pines in *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Âge*, 34e année, xxvi (1959), 295-9, for some Greek fragments quoted by Cyril of Alexandria cf. R. M. Grant, in *The Journal of Theological Studies*, N. S. xv (1964), 275-9; S. Pines, *A new fragment of Xenocrates and its implications*, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, N. S. li/2 (1961); idem, *Omne quod movetur necesse est ab aliquo moveri: A refutation of Galen by Alexander of Aphrodisias and the theory of motion*, in *Isis*, lii (1961), 21-54; R. Walzer, *Greek into Arabic*, Oxford 1962; Moses Maimonides, *The guide of the perplexed*, transl. S. Pines, Chicago 1963, p. lxiv-lxxv; A. Dietrich, *Die arabische Version einer unbekannten Schrift des Alexander von Aphrodisias über die Differentia specifica*, in *Nachrichten der Akad. d. Wissensch. in Göttingen, I. phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1964, no. 2, see p. 92-100 a list of manuscripts and treatises still extant; J. van Ess, *Über einige neue Fragmente des Alexander von Aphrodisias und des Proklos in arabischer Übersetzung*, in *Isl.*, xlii (1966), 148-68, contains comprehensive additions to the list given by Dietrich; H. Gätje, *Zur arabischen Überlieferung des Alexander von Aphrodisias*, in *ZDMG*, cxvi (1966), 255-78, at p. 278 is to be added that the Tashkent Ms. has the full text; idem, *Die arabische Übersetzung der Schrift des Alexander von Aphrodisias über die Farbe*, in *Nachrichten des Akad. d. Wissensch. in Göttingen. I phil.-hist. Kl.*, 1967 no. 10; F. E. Peters, *Aristoteles Arabus*, Leiden 1968; P. Moraux, *Der Aristotelismus bei den Griechen*, pt. 1, ii (forthcoming). (G. Strohmaier)

ISKANDAR AGHA b. Yaʿḳūb b. Abkār, an Armenian of Beirut, better known by the name Abkaryus (d. 1885). Becoming devoted to the study of Arabic literature, he endeavoured to provide his readers with anthologies based upon works still unpublished and thereby rendered great service to orientalism in the 19th century. His best known work is the *Nihāyat al-arab fī akhbār al-ʿArab* (Marseilles 1852; revised ed. under the title *Tazyīn Nihāyat al-arab*, Beirut 1867). In Beirut he also edited (1864, 1881) the *Dīwān* of ʿAntara (*Munyat al-nafs fi ashʿār ʿAntar ʿAbs*), and published in the same town *Rawḍat al-adab fī ṭabaḳāt shuʿarā' al-ʿArab* (1858), and *Rayḥanat al-afkār...* (1880). His stay in Egypt from 1873 inspired several of his writings, notably a biography of Ibrāhīm Pasha, *al-Manāḳib al-Ibrāhīmiyya* (Cairo 1299/1882), and some articles published in *Djinān* in 1874; it was also in Cairo that he published, in 1883, his *Dīwān*, under the title *Nuzhat al-nufūs wa-zīnat al-ṭurūs*, in which he gave particular praise to the Khedives Tawfīḳ and Ismāʿīl.

Finally, he is the author of a narrative of the events which marked the history of Lebanon from 1860 to 1869, *Nawādir al-zamān fi waḳā'iʿ djabal Lubnān*; several Mss. of this work exist (see *D.M.*): the text has been published in 1920 in New Haven, by J. P. Scheltema, under the title: *The Lebanon in turmoil; Syria and the powers in 1860; Book of the marvels of the time concerning the massacres in the Arab country*. His brother Yūḥannā, d. 1889, was also interested in history and literature; his principal works are *Ḳaṭf al-zuhūr fī ta'rīkh al-duhūr* (Beirut 1883), *Nuzhāt al-khawāṭir* (Beirut 1877), and an English-Arabic dictionary printed several times in Beirut (wrongly attributed to his brother by Brockelmann, in EI[1], s.v. Abkāriūs).

Bibliography: F. Bustānī, in *Dā'irat al-maʿārif* ii, 258. (Ed.)

ISKANDAR BEG al-shahīr bi-**MUNSHĪ**, born *ca.* 968/1560, died probably *ca.* 1042/1632, author of the *Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, one of the greatest works of Persian historiography. The *muḳaddima*, on the origins of the Ṣafawids and the reigns of Ismaʿīl I and Ṭahmāsp I, is followed by a detailed history of the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās I. The bulk of the work (*Ṣaḥīfas* I and II, or, according to another reckoning, *Ṣaḥīfa* I and *Ṣaḥīfa* II, *Maḳṣad* i) was completed in 1025/1616. A later portion, variously termed *Ṣaḥīfa* III, or *Ṣaḥīfa* II, *Maḳṣad* ii, was completed in 1038/1629, the year of Shāh ʿAbbās's death. In the same year, Iskandar Beg, at the age of seventy, commenced a history of Shāh Ṣafī, but probably only the first four years of this chronicle are the work of Iskandar Beg. For a discussion on the authorship of this so-called *Dhayl-i Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, see Storey, i/I, pp. 312-14, and V. Minorsky's observations in *BSOAS*, x (1940-2), 540-1.

Iskandar Beg began his professional career as an accountant, but soon abandoned accountancy for *inshā'*. He obtained an appointment in the royal sec-

retariat, and rose rapidly to the rank of *munshī-yi ʿaẓīm*. From 1001/1592-3 onwards, he was an eye-witness of many of the events he describes.

Bibliography: Storey, i/I, pp. 309-313; Fr. von Erdmann, *Iskender Munschi und sein Werk*, in *ZDMG*, xv (1861), 457-501. Printed edition of the *Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, 2 vols. Tehran, 1334-5 s./1955-6. (R. M. SAVORY)

ISKANDAR BEG [see ISKENDER BEG].

ISKANDAR KHĀN [see Supplement].

AL-**ISKANDARIYYA**, the name of a great number of towns of which Alexander (al-Iskandar) was the founder, real or legendary, or for which he was chosen as eponymous protector when they were built after his death. The relevant ancient texts are listed in the *Real-Encyclopädie* of Pauly-Wissowa (i, 1377-98 and Suppl., i, 54) and, in less detail, by M. Besnier, *Lexique de géographie ancienne*, Paris 1914, 32-4. These towns are:

1. Alexandria in Egypt [see following article]. - 2. Alexandria Arion: Harāt (cf. Suhrāb, *Kitāb ʿAdjāʾib al-akālīm al-sabʿa*, ed. von Mžik, Leipzig 1930, 29). - 3. Alexandria in Margiana, in the region of Mraw. - 4. Alexandria Eschate: Khodjand; in this region, the permanence of the legendary memory of Alexander finds expression also in the name of the town of Iskander, 50 km. north-east of Tashkent (cf. *Times Atlas of the world*, ii, London 1959, map 43). - 5. Alexandria of the Paropanisades: Ghazna or, more probably, Begrām, to the north of Kābul. - 6. Alexandreia Opiane, on the east bank of the Indus (Besnier appears to confuse this with the last-named locality). - 7. Alexandria apud Oritas, on the coast of Gedrosia, near Cocala: Sonmiani, at the mouth of the Pourali. - 8. Alexandria in Macarene, in the Makrān, on the river Mashkil. - 9. Alexandria in Carmania: known to the Arab geographers as Walāsh-djird (cf. Yākūt, s.v.). - 10. Alexandria in Arachosia: Kandahār. - 11. Alexandria in Susiana (Alexandria ad Tigrim) between the Tigris and the Eulaeus (Kārūn). - 12. Alexandria in Troas: Eski Stabul. - 13. An Alexandria in Assyria (according to Pliny, *Histoire naturelle*, vi, 42). - 14. Alexandria in Syria: Alexandretta [see AL-ISKANDARŪN]. - 15. An Alexandroskene 16 km. south of Tyre. This Iskandarūna (Skandelion) was in fact built by Alexander Severus, but legend subsequently attributed it to Alexander, who was said to have set up his tent (*skene*) there during the siege of Tyre (cf. Besnier, 34; *Guide Baedeker Palestine-Syrie*, Leipzig 1893, 274; *Guide bleu Moyen-Orient*: *Liban, Syrie, Jordanie, Iraq, Iran*, Paris 1965, 160). On the other hand, alexandrine legend does not appear to have annexed the fortress of Alexandrium, to the south-east of Nābulus, built by Alexander Jannaeus (102-76), cf. Strabo, xvi, 2, 40, and *Guide bleu*, 480. 16. An Alexandria in Latmos, to the south of Magnesia ad Maeander. - 17. An Alexandria in Cyprus. - 18. An Alexandria in Thrace. - 19. An Alexandria in the Gulf of Saros (Melas sinus, to the north of the Chersonesus). - 20. An Alexandria in Armenia. - 21. An Alexandropolis in Thrace. - 22. An Alexandropolis in Parthia (Khurāsān), in the region of the Nasā of the Arab geographers. - 23. Alexandreia Boukephalos, on the right bank of the Hydaspe, near the modern Djalālpur, in the North of the Pundjāb. - 24. An Alexandria on the Acesines (Čenāb), near its confluence with the Indus. - 25. Alexandria of the Sogdians (of India), to the south of the preceding locality. - 26. An Alexandreia "para Sorianois" (perhaps that of Diodorus Siculus, xvii, 102 ?), in India. - 27. Alexandri portus, at the mouth of the northern arm of the Indus: Karāčī. - 28. Alexandria near Bactra (Balkh). - 29. Alexandreia Oxiane (on the Oxus: Djayḥūn). - 30. Alexandreia Eschate (different from No. 4, on the Upper Oxus, in the Khuttal; the Sikandara of the Arab geographers (cf. Ibn Ḥawkal-Kramers-Wiet, 432, 434; Mukaddasī, 291). - 31 to 35, or 31 to 39, according to the authors, various other Alexandrias in Bactria and Sogdiana.

The memory of these towns has been preserved in an erratic and uncertain manner: Ibn Rusta, for example, claims for his own city, Iṣfahān, the honour of having been founded by the hero (Ibn Rusta - Wiet, 186; Ibn Ḥawkal - Kramers - Wiet, 355; another trace of this onomastic tradition is in the name Eskandarī, a locality 110 km. west of Iṣfahān). Kudāma, for his part, names as towns built by Alexander (*BGA*, vi, 265): Samarkand, al-Dabūsiyya (modern Ziandin in the region of Bukhārā; cf. *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 113, 352), al-Iskandariyya al-Kuṣwā (Khudjand), Bukhārā, Marw, Harāt, Zarandj, al-Rayy, Iṣfahān and Hamadhān. It is apparent that the Iranian tradition tends to monopolize the memory of the hero. But it is Ibn al-Fakīh who represents the starting-point of the most interesting links. No doubt, apart from the Alexandria in Egypt, he knew merely of Alexandretta (p. III) and the tradition of the founding of Marw by Alexander (71; al-Mukaddasī, 298). But Yākūt, who had at his disposal the complete version of Ibn al-Fakīh's work, states that in it he found traces of thirteen Alexandrias, out of all those that Alexander founded "almost everywhere" and to which he gave his name, a name "which was later to be changed". In fact, Yākūt's text enumerates twelve towns mentioned by Ibn al-Fakīh, to which he adds three others. The whole of this information is repeated by Muḥammad Murtaḍā (*Tādj al-ʿarūs*, iii, 276).

These Alexandrias are: - A. An Alexandria "on the bank of the great river" (*TA* defines this—"namely, the Djayḥūn") = 29. - B. An Alexandria "in the country of Babylon (Bābil)": this is Iskandariyya, a small township 68 km. South of Baghdād, according to popular tradition founded by Alexander; the same name is also borne, in the same region, by a canal (cf. *Guide bleu*, 626; *Iraq and the Persian Gulf, September 1944*, Geographical Handbook Series of the Naval Intelligence Division, Oxford 1944, s.v.; *Times Atlas of the world*, map 34). - C. An Alexandria "in the country of Sogdiana (Ṣughd): this is Samarkand" (*TA*: "in the Ṣughd of Samarkand") = 4. - D. An Alexandria which "is called Marghabulūs: this is Marw" (*TA*: "at Marw"). No doubt, in the name Marghabulūs we may detect the association of two traces, referring respectively to Margus (the river of Margiana: Murghāb) and *polis* = 3. - E. An Alexandria "called Kūsh, and which is Bactra (Balkh)" (*TA*: "this is the name borne by Balkh, for it was Alexander who founded it") = 28. - F. An Alexandria "in the basin of the rivers, in India" (*TA* adds: "which are five in number and known by the name Pundjāb") = 6, 23 or 24. - G. An Alexandria (*TA* gives the name al-Iskandara and adds: "large") "in the country of India", with no further details = 6 or 23-27. This onomastic tradition has remained strong in India (see the many occurrences of the name Sikandara in northern India: *Times Atlas of the world*, s.v. and map 30). - H. Alexandria in Egypt, known as "the Great". - I. Alexandretta, if this is indeed the town denoted by the poor description given by Yākūt, "a small town between Aleppo and Ḥamāt". *TA*, on the other hand, leaves no

doubt on the subject. - J. An Alexandria, "which is a small town on the Tigris, opposite al-Djāmida, 15 parasangs from Wāsiṭ", the home of the Shāfiʿī Abū Bakr al-Iskandarānī (for whom see Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, ii, 98) = 11. - K. An Alexandria which is "a small town between Mecca and Medina, mentioned by the *ḥāfiẓ* Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Nadjdjār in his dictionary" (Kaḥḥāla, *op. cit.*, xi, 317).

The *Tādj al-ʿarūs* adds, without further details, that five other Alexandrias also exist, to make up the total number mentioned at the beginning of the passage, of sixteen towns "commemorating the name of Alexander". In fact, this figure takes into account the mistake made by Yāḳūt over the number of cities given by Ibn al-Faḳīh (twelve, not thirteen); the true total is therefore fifteen, the same as that of Yāḳūt.

The four towns which figure in Yāḳūt, and whose names disappear in *TA*, for the evident reason that they are more difficult to locate, are: - A. A town which Alexander founded *fī Bāūrnaḳūs*; at first sight indecipherable, this name may be read as Bārūnaḳūs, a possible corruption of Paro(pa)nisos, the land of the Paropanisades = 5. - B. A town called the Fortified (al-Muḥaṣṣana): cf. 26, where Diodorus says: *ektise polin Alexandreian* (Latin, *oppidum condidit Alexandriam*). - C. An Alexandria *fī Djaliḳūs*: the epithet Gallicus may here refer (cf. Propertius, 2, 13, 48) to the Gallus, a river of Phrygia or Galatia, or to the Glaucus, a small river in the North of Armenia or the gulf between Lycia and Caria (Strabo, xiv, 2, 2) = 20 or 16. - D. An Alexandria "in the country of al-Saḳūyāsīs": in this name it is possible to detect a corruption of Satnioeïs (Satniols, Saphnioïs: Strabo, vii, 7, 2, xiii, I, 50 and 3, I), a river which flows to the South of Alexandria of Troas = 12.

Bibliography: In the text. (A. Miquel)

AL-ISKANDARIYYA (also al-Askandariyya), the principal seaport of Egypt, in Ptolemaic times the second city of the world. One of the few important seaports on the African shore of the Mediterranean, Alexandria enjoys a particularly important position. With a population of about 1,576,234 (in 1960), the city lies at the Western angle of the Delta in latitude 30°11′N. and longitude 29°51′E. It was founded in 332 B.C. by Alexander the Great. When it came into Arab hands, though its glory had diminished, it was still a great and splendid city.

When Alexandria was surrended to the Arabs in 21/642 a considerable number of Greeks left the city. The new rulers, on taking possession, did not molest the inhabitants. The well-known story of the burning of the great library by order of the Caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, which is related by a 7th/13th-century Arabic author, cannot be accepted as historical. The Arab newcomers were at first overwhelmed by the city of Alexandria, whose buildings and monuments must have seemed to them the work of a superhuman power. Time and again we are told by the traditions that the city shone so brightly by night that the tailor needed no artificial light to thread his needle. The famous 12th-century Arab geographer, Yāḳūt, refuted this same assertion when he declared that the town was as dark as any other during the night. Its houses shone simply because they were coloured white, while the façades and throughfares were built of marble. Accounts by Arab writers of the 3rd/9th to 7th/13th centuries, when pieced together, give only a general description of Alexandria and materials for reconstructing the plan of the city are quite insufficient. It seems fairly certain, however, that the city retained its overall layout through the Middle Ages and up to the present time. Eight straight streets intersect eight more at right angles, producing a chess-board pattern of direct and continuous throughfares. The riches of antiquity were utilized by the new rulers as when, for example, during a monetary crisis at the beginning of the 2nd/8th century, the governor of Egypt allowed a copper statue to be melted down to provide metal with which to strike money. In the reign of the Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn, the government made use of lead from an underground tunnel, which still existed at that time in the city, in building the canal of Alexandria. A remarkable feature of medieval Alexandria, and one that was taken over from ancient times, was that the houses were built on columns, rising above one another in as many as three tiers. In this way, the city made full use of the land while securing its water supply by means of a carefully planned subterranean system of canals, cisterns and wells. In winter Alexandria had and still has a fairly considerable rainfall, while in summer the waters of the Nile were directed and stored there.

The city of Alexandria was well fortified. There is no precise information about the origins of the medieval fortifications. When ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ met with resolute resistance to his siege of the city, after the invasion of Manuel in 25/645, he swore to destroy the city's walls after its reconquest. The authenticity of such reports, however, may well be doubted despite their widespread repetition. A soldier with the circumspection of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ could scarcely, seriously, have wished to leave a frontier city as important strategically as Alexandria without the protection of a wall. We learn, moreover, that the ʿAbbāsid Caliph al-Mutawakkil (234/848-247/861) had Alexandria furnished with a city wall. Since the Arabic word *banā*, in medieval times, meant restore as well as build, we can draw no firm conclusions from this. Similar statements are made about Ibn Ṭūlūn (254/868-270/884), Saladin (567/1172-589/1193), al-Ẓāhir Baybars (659/1260-674/1277), al-Ashraf Shaʿbān (764/1363-778/1376) and others after them. Hence we may well question the assertion that ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ left the city walls razed and assume that al-Mutawakkil, Ibn Ṭūlūn and the other rulers gradually added improvements to them. At the same time, the view that the walls were built in pre-Islamic times gains credence. It is particularly important for the history of the city that the new walls, supposedly erected by al-Mutawakkil, included about half the area of those which dated from the Hellenistic-Roman period. About a hundred towers were built along the walls in the Middle Ages and fitted out with suitable equipment including cannon. In addition, the city was protected by a moat in front of the walls.

The medieval seaport of Alexandria consisted of an eastern and a western harbour. The original island of Pharos was flanked by these harbours and joined to the mainland by a causeway seven stadia in length, and hence known as the Heptastadium, which separated the harbours. On the north-eastern point of the island stood the Pharos, the great lighthouse begun in the time of Ptolemy Soter. This famous building, the prototype of all our lighthouses and one of the wonders of the ancient world, survived the Arab conquests by several centuries. The Arab writers call it the *manāra*, *manār* or *fanār* and we are indebted to al-Balawī for a precise

description of it dating from the year 561/1165. When the Pharos was destroyed in the course of various earthquakes, the port came, in the later Middle Ages, to be watched over from a knoll, Kom al-Nadura (*Kawm al-Nāẓūra*), where the arrival and departure of the ships was noted. In 882/1447, under Sultan Ḳā'it Bay [*q.v.*], a tower was built on the ruins of the Pharos which still bears his name.

It is worth remembering the remark of al-Masʿūdī that the imperial anchorage on the eastern side of the eastern harbour, renowned in ancient times, was not used in the Middle Ages. For closer supervision of the eastern harbour, a second lighthouse was built. Construction began in the time of Sultan Ḳalāwūn or in that of his son, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn, and was completed in 767/1365.

The eastern harbour was strengthened by this addition. The western harbour, on the other hand, was protected by an iron chain. On grounds of security, the eastern harbour was reserved for Christian shipping and that from the *dār al-ḥarb*, while the western harbour was for Muslim vessels. Entering the eastern harbour required particularly careful navigation. To reach the anchorage protected from wind and rough sea, ships had to sail close by the Pharos and hold hard to the western bank of the eastern harbour lest they plunge into the danger zone of submerged rocks. It was impossible to avoid these rocks by sailing around the eastern side because of the shallow water. The harbour authorities had pilots and launches to accompany the great Frankish ships to their anchorage. A wooden landing-stage connected the anchorage to the shore, by means of which the vessels could be loaded and unloaded. Anchoring in the western harbour raised no technical difficulties.

Apart from al-Abdarī's book of travel (7th/13th century), none of the known oriental sources provides a detailed description of the city gates of Alexandria. Impressed by the achievement of the pre-Islamic period, al-Abdarī describes them as follows: "Their uprights and lintels, despite the extraordinary size of the gates, are made of hewn stone of wonderful beauty and solidity. Every door-post is formed of a single stone as is every lintel and step. There is nothing more astonishing than the collection of these stones in view of their immense size. The passage of time has not affected them or left any trace on them; they remain still in all their freshness and beauty. As for the panels of the gates, they are tremendously strong, clad inside and out with iron of the most delicate, most beautiful and most solid workmanship possible."

The city had four main gates: Bāb al-Baḥr led to the Heptastadium and the eastern harbour while Bāb Ras̲h̲īd (the Rosetta gate) was the eastern gate with the road leading to Rosetta and Fuwwa. The southern gate was called Bāb Sidra (also called Ṣadr in the late Middle Ages), known to the western sources as Port du Midi or Meridionale, also as the Gate of Spices, Bāb al-Bahar, or Gate of St. Mark. The caravans from the Mag̲h̲rib and the Egyptian hinterland came and went through this gate. The fourth, Bāb al-Ak̲h̲dar or Bāb al-K̲h̲idr, in the northern section of the wall led to one of the city's three large cemeteries and was opened only once a week for visitors, on Fridays. There were to be found innumerable places of pilgrimage (*mazārāt*) and the graves of scholars and pious men. In the western area of the city lay the royal buildings like the Dār al-Sulṭān (a magnificent complex going back to antiquity), Dār al-ʿAdl, Dār al-Imāra, Ḳaṣr al-Silāḥ and Dār al-Ṭirāz. Near the Dār al-Ṭirāz and opposite Bāb al-Baḥr lay the famous Arsenal of Alexandria which, however, by the later Middle Ages, no longer played any important part in the history of warfare. By this time it was used simply as a customs house.

Alexandria was at some distance from the Rosetta branch of the Nile and governments were faced with the difficult problem of linking the city with the river, of securing the supply of Nile water, and of permitting and maintaining traffic with the Nile valley. In 331 B.C. a canal was dug between Alexandria and Schidia (present day al-Nas̲h̲ al-Baḥrī) and, indeed, by using the Kanope branch of the Nile, joined Alexandria to the next branch of the Nile at the same time. Since the Kanope branch dried up, as a result, and could no longer supply the canal of Alexandria with water, the bolbitine branch took over this function. This means that this development was complete some time before the Arab conquest of Egypt. The mouth of the canal which opened into the Nile became silted up from time to time. The duty of the Muslim administration to keep the canal in good order was fulfilled only to a limited extent, and at times the people of Alexandria had to rely on their cisterns for their water supply as they had done in ancient times. In the 3rd/9th century, the canal was only twice cleaned out. Information about the canal of Alexandria during the Fāṭimid period is very scarce. We are rather better informed about the canal in the period of Ayyūbid rule. In this period too, however, no decisive steps were taken for the utilization of the canal throughout the year for irrigation and transport. The Sultan al-Ẓāhir Baybars, and, to a greater extent, Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalawūn, gave special consideration to the significance of the canal for Alexandria and for state trade as well as for the fertility of the surrounding area. In the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, from 710/1310 until 770/1368, the waters of the Nile flowed to Alexandria all the year round. Sultan al-As̲h̲raf Barsbay, too, took care to keep the canal in good condition and make it navigable throughout the year, partly with an eye to his own policy of trade monopolies. In the second half of the 9th/15th century, however, once again less attention was paid to the upkeep of the canal.

The journey by Nile from Cairo to Alexandria usually took seven days. During the flood season, the Nile boats plied between Alexandria and the other towns of the Nile valley, especially Cairo and Ḳūṣ-the assembly points for goods from the Orient.

It is difficult to give an estimate of the population of Alexandria. When the Arabs invaded the city some 40,000, or, according to other reports, 70,000, Jews were living there. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam puts the number of Greeks living there, after the conquest, at some 600,000 men (women and children not included), although he gave the total number of Greeks, without counting women and children, as 200,000, at the time of the conquest. Both these figures are unreliable. Bishop Arculf, who visited the city some 25 years after the beginning of Arab rule, wrote of the numerous population housed within the city, without giving any estimate as to its size. More reliable figures have come down to us from later times. The Jewish travellers, particularly, show a keen interest in establishing the number of their co-religionists in Alexandria. Benjamin of Tudela (5th/12th century) puts the number of Jewish residents, at this time, at 3,000, while E. Ashtor notes that this figure includes only those

from whom taxes were levied and assumes that the total number of Jews may be estimated at about 9,000. According to the writings of another traveller, dating from 886/1481, their number seems to have diminished to some sixty families. A few years later, another Jewish traveller put the number of the Jewish community at about 25 families (cf. E. Ashtor, *The number of Jews in mediaeval Egypt*, in *Journal of Jewish Studies*, xix (1968) 8-12).

In the 13th century, the total population of the city was estimated at 65,000, which, however, decreased sharply in the middle of the 8th/14th century. In the years between 748/1347 and 751/1350, on several days people died at the rate of one to two hundred a day and the number rose to seven hundred at the height of the plague. The Dār al-Ṭirāz and Dār al-Wikāla were closed because of the lack of manpower and the absence of commercial traffic. The markets and customs houses, too, ceased to function. The city, however, was able to survive this catastrophe and the population, once more, rapidly increased. Frescobaldi put its number at 60,000 (786/1384), while in the same year Simon Sigoli estimated the population at about 50,000. These figures, despite their variations show that the population was again on the increase. It is important to remember that the growth of the population of Alexandria was dependent, in the first place, on the development of the city's trade and was greater than that of any other city or region of Egypt, with the exception of Cairo where most of the army was stationed. As early as 788/1386, then, Alexandria was returning to prosperity after the plague.

In the medieval city, the central government, whose powers had accumulated in the course of time, was the source of authority. In the earlier Middle Ages, Alexandria had enjoyed a special position, as it had in former times before the Arab invasion. Henceforward, however, its governors were appointed by the central administration. Nevertheless, in these circumstances, the city remained either a polis, a self-contained administrative area, or was included in the western Egyptian coastal area (to which Libya also sometimes belonged). The governor of Egypt soon came to reside, for some of the time at least, in Alexandria. As a polis or provincial centre, Alexandria had a treasury which was usually administered by a Muslim. Not infrequently at this time, however, the financial and civil administration was given over to Copts. From the documents which date from the first century of Arab rule, it is apparent that Copts were also nominated as governors of Alexandria; thus, for example, the Christian Theodosius was appointed to this office by the Caliph Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya.

During the governorship of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn (from 256/870), Alexandria was "independent". The special position of Alexandria lasted from that time until the 3rd/10th century and Grohmann rightly recognizes in this some reflection of the position in Roman law whereby Alexandria, as a polis, lay outside the *kūra* of Egypt. It is in this light that we must understand the division of the ʿAbbāsid budget for Egypt in 337/958 into Miṣr and Alexandria, as reported by Ḳudāma.

Under the Fāṭimids, the governor of Alexandria went even further towards taking on the role of the erstwhile Augustalis by extending his authority over the province of Buḥayra. On this point, Grohmann's observations are at one with the historical development of the city. His view that the Crusades served so to diminish the importance of the city that an appointment as governor there should be understood as an indication of royal disfavour, is not, on the other hand, consonant with the facts. Certainly the city continued to lose its independent position after the fall of the Fāṭimids but from the commercial and strategic point of view it regained its earlier importance. Through the international transit trade the city became a market for East and West.

Some demonstration of all this is provided by the fact that up to about the 3rd/10th century a kind of public meeting was occasionally held in Alexandria concerning the acceptance of government precepts or to choose a Coptic Patriarch. In the first half of the 4th/11th century the Coptic Patriarch had to transfer his seat from Alexandria to Cairo. In the later medieval period it was not unusual for the city to be given as an *iḳṭāʿ* [*q.v.*]

The governor was a military official while the *ḳāḍī* was both a civil official and a judge in the religious sphere. He is sometimes referred to in the chronicles as *raʾīs al-madīna* (town chief) and in times of crisis had sometimes to govern the city himself, though this in no way altered the status of the city. In Mamluk times, the governor of Alexandria had the rank of an *amīr ṭablkhāna*. After the attack of Peter of Lusignan in 766/1365, the Mamluk government paid more attention to the city and established an *amīr miʾa* there; *i.e.*, the governor of Alexandria had the same rank as those of Tripoli, Ṣafad and Ḥamāt in Syria.

In Alexandria, the Mālikī school was prevalent. This resulted from the proximity to North Africa and the activity of the Maghribīs and Spanish Muslims who settled in Alexandria in the later Middle Ages, driven before the *Reconquista* in Spain and the upheavals in North Africa. In the later Middle Ages, the *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt* was almost always a Mālikī. In a few instances the government choice fell on a Shāfiʿī. Nevertheless, the three schools, Mālikī, Shāfiʿī and Ḥanafī were all represented in the administration of justice. Several sultans saw to it, in addition, that foreign as well as native merchants had legal protection as far as their persons and goods were concerned. Thus, for example, it was said of the Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalawūn, with regard to the judge of Alexandria, Ibn Miskīn, that he supported a Frank in 735/1334 in opposition to his own official. Sometimes the diplomas of appointment for *ḳāḍīs* give prominence to these responsibilities in respect of the merchants as well as the usual stipulations about the just treatment of citizens. The *muḥtasib* was ranged alongside the governor and *ḳāḍī* with responsibility for the supervision of the market and those concerned in it, producers as well as retailers, though his powers were, *de facto*, restricted to the sphere of smaller transactions.

Alexandria was an important source of revenue for the state or rather for those in power. Besides the high duties paid by the Kārimīs and the foreign merchants, the state authorities made money from almost every transaction and every shop in the city. The state profited too from the mint, Dār al-Ḍarb, where native and foreigner alike had their metal coined. Particular groups of participants in trade, such as money-changers, sailors, brokers, interpreters, auctioneers and donkey-drivers made good profits in this city and paid high taxes. Camel-drivers, or rather the leaders of caravans, had to pay their tax, the so-called *Maks al-Manākh*, outside the city where their camels were halted. As we have no statistics regarding this tax, we must be content

with a single example. According to the Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil, the annual revenue of the city from duties came to 28,613 *dīnārs*, not an exaggerated claim in view of other reports from the 14th and 15th centuries. The sultan's *dīwān* levied some 50,000 *dīnārs* in tolls, duties, etc. from ships entering Alexandria in 721/1321 and this, according to the text, did not even include all the ships that arrived. Fidenzio of Padua's observation (dating from the 8th/14th century) coincides with the information given by a governor of Alexandria in the 9th/15th, that Alexandria was worth 1,000 *frinti* or *dīnārs* a day to the sultan in the 8th/14th century. This, of course, was during the trading season. Al-Maḳrīzī writes of a Frankish vessel which paid 40,000 *dīnārs* duty on its cargo, in Alexandria, in 703/1303, an incredible sum when one thinks of the total naval fleet of a single Frankish merchant republic. It seems no exaggeration to estimate the total duties brought to Alexandria, for the state, by the foreign trade, at about 100,000 *dīnārs* a year.

Alexandria was always an important centre for cloth manufacture. Its products reached as far as India. It is believed that much of the fabric donated by the popes to Italian churches in the 8th and 9th centuries was produced by workers in Alexandria. Besides the looms (for linen, silk, wool and cotton), *buyūt al-g͟hazl*, there were also workshops for raw silk, *buyūt al-ḳazzāzīn*. The city housed a large public workshop for brocade, Dār al-Ṭirāz, which produced primarily for the luxury requirements of the court, not least for official gifts such as those to the Mongol K͟hān or for the annual clothing of the Kaʿba with costly material. In 767/1365, the Dār al-Ṭirāz was burnt down in a Crusader raid but was restored again by the government. Private individuals too played an important part in the commercial life of the city by virtue of the fabrics they produced. We have a representative example: an 8th/14th century loom owner, the *faḳīh* Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. Abī Bakr al-Damāmīnī, had invested his capital in the production of silk fabrics. Made bankrupt by a fire at his home, he fled to Upper Egypt for fear of his creditors and there was arrested and brought back to Cairo. His creditors met together to come to some arrangement. Al-Damāmīnī later went off to India to find better opportunities for advancement. He died there in 827/1423.

The outstanding achievements of the Alexandrian weavers were widely recognized. When the government of Yemen planned to expand their production of silk they asked for an Alexandrian weaver to be sent there. The authorities in Egypt agreed to this request and in 788/1386 sent a mission to Yemen. According to one report there were some 14,000 looms in Alexandria at the beginning of the 9th/15th century. By 837/1434, in the course of the general decline of the city, the number had fallen to 800. At that time, imports of cheaper fabrics rose, in particular those of cloth from Flanders and England from which the Venetians made considerable profit.

That glass was manufactured in Alexandria cannot yet be established from the medieval Arabic sources. Nevertheless, a page of the famous Atlas compiled by French scholars who accompanied Gen. Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt in 1789, shows that glass was produced in Alexandrian workshops. Excavations at Alexandria, at Kom al-Dikka, prove that besides local products, ceramics were imported from North Africa, Iran and elsewhere. Chinese porcelain too was brought to Alexandria. In contrast to Damietta, the production of Egyptian sugar had no place in Alexandria, though during the later Middle Ages sugar was exported by way of Alexandria to the West. Not all the wine handled in Alexandria was imported; Egypt's own wine production (namely in Cairo) developed to such an extent that in the 9th/15th century it came to occupy an important place in the state commerce of Alexandria. From Alexandria, the only Egyptian outlet for the substance, the Matd͟jar al-Sulṭānī exported about 5,000 *ḳanṭārs* of alum a year. Ibn Mammātī, in his capacity of inspector of the alum monopoly, sold some 13,000 *ḳanṭārs*, in 588/1192, to the Christian buyers who had come to Alexandria; a record in the selling of Egyptian alum. There was a state monopoly too on natron (sodium hydroxide), essential for cloth manufacture, which was sold to weavers in Cairo and Alexandria at prices which were kept very high.

Alexandria enjoyed a special place in international trade. While it is still difficult to establish the existence of this international trade with regard to Alexandria before the 5th/12th century, it can be seen quite clearly in this century itself. Natives of various Christian countries were to be found gathered there. Benjamin of Tudela names 28 Christian cities or countries alleged to have commercial representation there. William of Tyre says that Alexandria, in the second half of the 12th century, had become the emporium of East and West. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa wrote that Alexandria was one of the most important ports in the world: "In the whole world I have not seen its equal, save only those of Kaulam and Ḳālīḳūṭ in India, that of the infidels at Sudāḳ in the land of the Turks, and the harbour of Zayṭūn in China." Neither the establishment of the Crusader states nor that of the Mongol empire affected its position in world trade or detracted from it.

Close supervision was exercised over the three main gates of the city. Ibn D͟jubayr could only enter Alexandria after the harbour authorities had taken his name and his goods had been investigated by customs officials. Similarly, the foreign Christians had to be identified by the consul of their country. Their possessions too were examined by the authorities of Alexandria. Once the customs formalities were completed, the oriental merchant made for the *funduḳ* of his countrymen, whenever a particular *funduḳ* was assigned to them; otherwise, he might find accommodation in a private *funduḳ* or *k͟hān*. The western merchant was restricted to the *funduḳ* designated for his country and to which he could bring his merchandise. After the establishment of these *funduḳs* for foreign states, the trade of Alexandria was no longer simply a commerce of the coast. The foreign merchants enjoyed exterritorial privileges [see IMTIYĀZĀT]. As a result, these *funduḳs* were administered by officials or consuls of the friendly nations which stood under Egyptian protection. Venice, as the leading commercial power, gained a second *funduḳ* in the course of the 13th century. In addition, the merchants were able to rent shops and storerooms in the vicinity of their *funduḳs*. Besides Christians from the West, from the Byzantine Empire and from Ethiopia, there came to Alexandria Muslims from Spain, North Africa, Mesopotamia, Syria and the neighbourhood of India.

Al-Nuwayrī, who lived in Alexandria in the 7th/14th century, has left us the longest account of the city that has yet come to light. But he was not as concerned with the trade of this cosmopolitan city as was al-Maḳrīzī with that of Cairo. The short accounts which have come down to us, however, give us a clear and detailed picture of the markets of

the city. First of all, it must be noted that the customs house with its 30 storerooms was not simply concerned with the imposition of duties and with harbour control but was also used for public auctions. The Dār al-Wikāla, too, served business in a special capacity. Notices of this Dār in Alexandria can be traced back as far as the 4th/11th century. It is the Dār Wikālat Bayt al-Māl which is meant, a public administration which ensured the imposition and collection of taxes for the head of state, supported state trade and took a decisive role as an intermediary, selling only, in principle, imported merchandise to the Muslim entrepreneurs. As in every major Islamic city, in Alexandria each essential trade had its own market. Among the most important markets in the city were the Sūḳ al-ʿAṭṭārīn and al-Bahār, the pepper and spice market, probaby the centre of the Kārimī merchants in Alexandria. The Sūḳ al-Murdjāniya, the market of the coral-workshops and of the dealers in coral, was one of the most important coral markets in the whole of the Mediterranian area. The coral was worked in Alexandria: in its home port, a pound of coral cost 5 silver *dirhams*; after being worked in Alexandria its price rose to three or four times this amount. The chief outlets in the south were Aden and Ḳālīḳūṭ. The coral brought from Alexandria found good markets in the Ḥidjāz, in Yemen, in India, and, particularly, in the Far East.

The linen trade had its own special *sūḳ*, the Wikālat al-Kittān, where dealers handled large transactions. The slave market of Alexandria was no less important than that of Cairo. The money-changers, fruit-merchants, druggists (perfumers), sellers of sugared almonds or nuts, confectionary, dried fruits etc. always found a ready market. Alexandria had, in addition, like Cairo, a Sūḳ al-Kashshāshīn (flea-market = bric à brac bazaar), like the so-called Funduḳ al-Djawkandar and Funduḳ al-Damāmīnī, which were private *funduḳ* undertakings. The city's requirements of grain were met by imports supplementing home-grown supplies, as can now be shown from the documents. The bazaars of the candle and wax-dealers, like those of the dealers in wood, were especially important. Individual markets and bazaars were designated according to the race or nationality of the merchants. Thus, for example, the Sūḳ al-Aʿādjim was that of the Iranian merchants concerned, notably, with the import of silk fabrics and costly goods to Alexandria. Alongside these important and specialized markets and *funduḳs*, Alexandria was provided with a number of lesser, more general markets where pedlars with their tables and stalls, their cooking vessels and saucepans, sold their comestibles to the passers-by. Some dealers had old-established businesses on the Pharos peninsula and along the canal of Alexandria, where the ships entered, as well as in the town.

We should not overlook the fact that big business in the city was not completely monopolized by the state, nor confined to men; women too participated in commerce. We know of a woman of such standing among the merchants of Alexandria that she was known, as a result, by the nickname of Sitt al-Tudjdjār (lady of the merchants). She died of plague in 749/1348.

In Islamic history, political office and participation in business were by no means mutually exclusive. Leading members and high officials of the governments of Egypt were closely involved in big business. The organization of the *Matdjar al-Sulṭānī* (state trade), supposed to have been founded in the time of the famine which occurred under the reign of the Fātimid Caliph al-Mustansīr, had in fact already existed and played a particularly important part during the Ayyūbid and Mamluk periods. Besides slaves and wood, the *Matdjar* imported iron and sheet metal, tin, silver and copper (later gold as well), and offered in return monopoly goods such as alum, natron, corn, flax, and later spices, sugar and soap. Egyptian mummies, too, found a ready market in Alexandria. Still, the principal line of business was the pepper trade. Frederic C. Lane has established that, before the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope, Venetian vessels loaded, on average, about 1,500,000 pounds of pepper a year.

The merchant always made a good living. No less a person than the renowned *faḳīh* and ascetic, al-Ṭurṭūshī, came to Alexandria to preach against the money-lenders. It was not just by chance that the Alexandrian moneychangers were in a position to lend the Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalawūn the sum of 10,000 *dīnārs* in the year 737/1337: sufficient proof, in itself, of the profitable nature of the business conducted by these brokers whose operations were not restricted to the changing of money.

Lively trade and flourishing crafts allowed the city to amass wealth. The "guilds", or, more exactly, the social groups involved in trade, did not function as independent entities with certain rights, which would have permitted them to defend their rights against the aggression of the city governor or the central authority. In fact, it was the central government who kept the power of decision and solved their problems while promulgating the laws and the regulations according to the juridical principles of Islam. Although the form of government and religious ideology hemmed in the dynamic development of Alexandria, it was commerce, with its traditions, its methods and its "code of honour", which determined the rhythm of city life. It is possible to construct a picture of attitudes prevalent among foreigner and native in the city and in regard to the city, not simply from the chronicles and treaties but from references in the most belletristic forms of literature like, for example, *The Thousand and One Nights* and Boccaccio's *Decameron*, and hence to draw inferences as to forms of government, methods of taxation, and the sort of risks involved in business.

In Alexandria the state was the primary ruler and rule was exercised in the interest of the state rather than that of the community. There is no clearer demonstration of this than the revolt of 727/1326 and the events leading up to it. Heavy tax burdens led to a rebellion which was put down with the utmost severity. It is worth noting the penalties which the government inflicted on the Kārimī merchants (among them the sons of al-Kuwaik or al-Kawbak, a respected Kārimī merchant), as well as on the silk dealers and producers. In addition to the fines and confiscations which were exacted, totalling about 260,000 *dinars*, the leaders of the revolt were crucified.

The diminishing power of the ruler and the weakness of the army in the city, nevertheless, came to be felt to the disadvantage of business and the execution of trade for, in troubled times, soldiers and mercenaries had extended their protection, *ḥimā*, to those involved in business, for large sums of money. Alexandria came to concentrate primarily on long-distance trade. Those who conducted this trade, the government officials, the long-distance dealers or big businessmen, were far removed from the retail dealer with his shop in the bazaar supervised by the *muḥtasib*.

The early and later Middle Ages formed two clearly distinct periods in the religious and scholarly life of Alexandria. In the early Middle Ages, the Christian and Jewish elements were supreme. After the Arab conquest the Greek Patriarch was forced to leave the city, the Coptic Patriarch entered and the Copts supported the Arabs in their later struggle with the Byzantine Empire and fell in with their plans for expansion. This period prepared the ground in Alexandria for the development of Islamic science —here a centre was established for the translation of the cultural works of antiquity which were of immense value, providing a basis for Islamic culture and its spiritual achievements. In respect of purely Islamic science, which, as al-Sakhāwī maintained, began first with al-Silafī, Alexandria was dependent on Fusṭāṭ and Cairo. At that time, men journeyed to the capital of Egypt to study the Ḳur'ān and *ḥadīth*. The *wazīr* Riḍwān b. al-Walakhshī founded a Sunnī *madrasa* in Alexandria in 531/1137 (before the end of the Fāṭimid period) in which the *faḳīh* Abū Ṭāhir b. ʿAwf taught *ḥadīth*. Scarcely fifteen years later al-ʿĀdil b. al-Sallār established a second Sunnī *madrasa* in Alexandria for the famous al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Silafī. As is well known, Saladin himself later studied the *Muwaṭṭa'* of the *imām* Mālik with him. It was Saladin too who, after his assumption of power, had a school, a hospital and a hostel built for the Maghribīs, where they could find free lodging, teachers of various subjects, medical care and financial support.

The sources refer repeatedly to the names of various *ribāṭs* in the city, while the *faḍā'il* literature on Alexandria expounds the strategic importance for Islam of this border harbour.

It was not only statesmen and warriors, however, who contributed to Islamic culture, the merchant too played a part. Several wealthy merchants of Alexandria were famous by virtue of their generosity and donations. They built mosques, schools and other religious foundations and encouraged Muslim learning. From the circle of famous Muslim Kārimī merchants of Alexandria we may take as an example ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. Rushayd al-Takrītī (d. 714/1314). He had a mosque and *madrasa* built, called after him Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Takrītiyya, a place of learning for *ḥadīth* and Shāfiʿī *fiḳh* (the school is known today as the Masdjid Abī ʿAlī). The contemporary sources write with delight of the Kārimī merchant family of Kuwayk who could provide the cost of building a mosque or school with the profits of a single day's business.

Alexandria can look back on many renowned legal and religious scholars, poets and poetesses, Ṣūfīs and *murābiṭūn* housed within its walls: Ibn Ḳalāḳis, Ibn ʿAṭā' Allāh, al-Sakandarī, al-Shāṭibī, Ibn al-Munayyar, Ibn al-Mudjāwir, Ibn al-Ṣawwāf, Ibn Sulaym, Ibn Ḳāsim al-Nuwayrī, Abu 'l-Ḥādjib, al-Ḳabbar and al-Būṣīrī.

Of the famous mosques of Alexandria, mention should be made of the Masdjid al-ʿUmarī or Djāmiʿ al-Gharbī (the former Theonas Church) and the Masdjid al-Djuyūshī or al-ʿAṭṭārīn (formerly the Church of St. Athanasius). Various details are known too about the *ribāṭs* of the city such as the Ribāṭ al-Wāsiṭī (d. 672/1274), to the east of the mosque of Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Mursī, (outside the city wall on the northern side), now a *zāwiya*, and also the Ribāṭ Siwār, where Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Shāṭibī (d. 672/1274), a *muḳri'* and *zāhid*, had his quarters. Outside the city and in the vicinity of the Rosetta gate the scholar and *mutawallī al-thaghr*, Ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Hakkārī (d. 683/1284), built a *ribāṭ* which was called after him. He was also buried nearby. Towards the end of the 7th/13th century the *khānḳāh*, Bīlīk al-Muḥsinī, was built by the *darwīsh* order of the city.

Bibliography: The materials for a history of medieval Alexandria are widely scattered. Contributions are to be found in almost every one of the principal Arabic histories of Egypt: see the article MIṢR. To be noticed particularly are Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. C. Torrey, New Haven 1922; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*; *BGA*, i-viii; al-Idrīsī, ed. Dozy and De Goeje, Leiden 1866; Ibn Djubayr (*GMS*, v); Yāḳūt; ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, *Kitāb al-Ifāda wa 'l-iʿtibār*, Oxford 1800, Cairo 1232, tr. de Sacy, Paris 1810; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'iʿ al-zuhūr fī waḳā'iʿ al-duhūr*; al-Balawī, *Kitāb Alif Bā'*, 2 vols., Cairo 1287; al-ʿAbdarī, *Al-Riḥla al-maghribiyya*, ed. Muḥ. al-Fāsī, Rabāṭ 1968 (see also W. Hoenerbach, *Das nordafrikanische Itinerar des ʿAbdarī*, in *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, xxv/4 (1940)). The Christian writers Severus Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ and al-Makīn [*qq.v.*] supply a few facts not to be found elsewhere. Benjamin of Tudela (many editions) has a brief but important notice. European travellers and accounts in European languages include Arculf (680), Bernard the Wise (870), Ludolf von Suchem (1350), all three in *Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society's Series*; M. Baumgarten (1507) in Churchill's *Travels*; Leo Africanus (1517), Hakluyt Soc. 92-4; various articles in Hakluyt's *Voyages*, vol. v, relating to the 16th century; Sandy's (1610) *Travels*; Blount (1634) in Pinkerton's *Voyages*, vol. x; Maillet (1692); Pococke (1737); Volney (1783); and others.

Modern works: *Description de l'Égypte, État Moderne*, tome ii (2e partie), 270 ff., contains a full description of Alexandria in 1800, and, Planches 84-91, map 1:10,000, views and plans, also *Antiquités*, tome ii; T. D. Néroutsos, *L'ancienne Alexandrie*, Paris 1888, with map; A. J. Butler, *Arab conquest of Egypt*, Oxford 1902, 308 ff. contains a careful and full description of Alexandria at the conquest, with remarks on the subsequent period; map of Alexandria by R. Blomfield in *Bulletin de la Societé Archéologique d'Alexandrie* (*BSA*), viii (1905); ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadīda*, section vii; M. Asín Palacios, *Una descripción nueva del Faro de Alejandria*, in *al-Andalus*, i/2 (1933), 241-92; E. Lévi Provençal, *Une description arabe inédite du Phare d'Alexandrie*, in *Mélanges Maspero*, iii, *Orient Islamique*, Cairo 1940; Et. Combe, *Alexandrie Musulmane*: *notes de topographie et d'histoire* . . . , Cairo 1933, ii; idem, *Alexandrie au Moyen Age*, Alexandria 1928; idem, *Les sultans mamluks Ashraf Shaʿbān et Ghouri à Alexandrie*, in *BSA*, (1936); idem, *De la colonne Pompée au Phare d'Alexandrie*, in *BSA*, (1940); idem, *Notes sur les forts d'Alexandrie*, in *BSA*, (1940); idem, *Notes de topographie d'Alexandrie*, in *BSA*, (1940); idem, in *Bulletin du Faculté des Arts, Université d'Alexandrie*, (1943); idem, *Notes de topographie et d'histoire d'Alexandrie*, in *BSA*, (1946); A. Grohmann, *Studien zur historischen Geographie und Verwaltung des frühmittelalterlichen Ägypten*, in *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften*, lxxvii/2 (1959); W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen age*, Leipzig 1936; S. Labīb, *Ta'rīkh tidjārat al-Iskandariyya fī 'l-ḳarn al-rābiʿ ʿashar*, (M. A. Thesis, University of Alexandria, 1949); Djamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, *Ta'rīkh Madīnat al-Iskandariyya fī 'l-ʿaṣr al-Islāmī*, Alexandria 1967. (S. LABIB)

ISKANDARŪN, Alexandretta, a port in the eastern Mediterranean, the ancient Ἀλεξάνδρεια κατὰ Ἰσσόν, the Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἡ μικρά in Malalas (ed. Bonn, 297), known to the Arabs as al-Iskandariyys or Iskandarūna (diminutive Aramaic form); from this last form came the Ἀλεξανδρῶν of Skylitzes (ii, 677) which in its turn gave rise to ἡ Ἀλεξανδρός (Michael Attal., 120; Zonaras, iii, 691; Georgius Cyprius and the list of bishops in *Byz. Zeitschr.*, i, 248). The diminutive Romance form Alexandretta was already in use among western pilgrims during the Middle Ages. Iskandarūna (which must not be confused with another place of the same name, situated between Tyre and Saint-John of Acre) formed part of the *d̲j̲und* of Ḳinnasrīn; the castle is said to have been built under the caliph al-Wāt̲h̲iḳ (Abu 'l-Fidā', ed. Reinaud, ii, 2,33). During the wars between the Byzantines and the Arabs, the town was captured by the former on several occasions (Muralt, *Chronogr. Byz.*, a. 1068; Ibn Ḥawḳal, index) and in the time of Abu 'l-Fidā' it was deserted. Later it regained some importance as a port for the then flourishing city of Aleppo, though it was unable to develop on a very large scale. It was the centre of a *ḳaḍā'* and at the beginning of the 20th century it contained from 10 to 15,000 inhabitants. The population according to the census of 1960 was 62,061.

Bibliography: Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xvii (2), 1816 ff.; Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, ii, 201-8; Tomaschek, *Zur histor. Topographie von Kleinasien in Mittelalter*, 71 ff.; Ewliyā Čelebi, iii, 46 ff.; Kātib Čelebi, *D̲j̲ihānnumā*, 597; Tavernier, *Les six Voyages*, i, 129 ff.; Cornelis de Bruyn, *Reizen*, Delft 1698, 364 (with an engraving); P. Lucas, *Voy. dans la Grèce, l'Asie Mineure* . . . , i, 248-9; R. Pococke, *Descr. of the East*, ii, 1, 178; C. Niebuhr, *Reisebeschr.*, iii, 18-9; Walpole, *Travels in various parts of the East*, 351-2; Ottoman *Sālnāme* of the vilayet of Aleppo; *IA*, s.v. (by Besim Darkot). (J. H. Mordtmann)

On 27 November 1918, the French military administration in Syria created the "Sand̲j̲aḳ of Alexandretta" from occupied territories over which Turkey had to abandon her rights under the Treaty of Lausanne; it included the towns of Alexandretta, Antioch and Kïrïk K̲h̲ān, and contained over 120,000 inhabitants. It had an autonomous regime providing, in particular, for the use of the Turkish language and the employment of Turkish officials. From 1928, national feeling began to develop among the Turkish community in the Sand̲j̲aḳ; in 1928 the *Genç Spor Klübü* (Sports Club for the Young) was founded, its aims being cultural and later political, rather than sporting. In the same year, some young joiners tried to transform the traditional guilds, in accordance with Kemalist ideas. In the spring of 1934, members of the Arab and Turkish communities reciprocally abstained from buying each other's produce; some Turks became bakers and butchers, traditionally trades of the Nuṣayrīs. On 26 March 1934, the visit to Antioch of a senior Turkish official triggered off a series of pro-Kemalist demonstrations—the celebration of Turkish national festivals, the wearing of the Turkish colours, etc. On 7 July 1936, Turkish d monstrators in Antioch clashed with Syrian troops of Nuṣayrī and Armenian origin. The Turkish press asserted that "deturkification" was in progress—restrictions in the teaching and the use of Turkish, in the employment of Turkish officials, etc.

The negotiations leading up to the Franco-Syrian Treaty and then its signature on 9 September 1936, and the statements by M. Hās̲h̲im al-Ātāsī (Ankara, 23 September 1936) confirming that Syria, now independent, would uphold the autonomy of the Sand̲j̲aḳ, unleashed a vigorous campaign in Turkey; national opinion refused to contemplate the idea that this Turkish community should pass under the exclusive domination of Syria. Negotiations between France and Turkey were then started, and the matter was brought before the Council of the League of Nations; a status for the Sand̲j̲aḳ was laid down in the Geneva Agreement of 29 May 1937 and brought into force on 29 November, although the Syrian Chamber had rejected it, and the Turkish flag was hoisted in Alexandretta. After some disturbances, a Turkish notable was elected president of the Sand̲j̲aḳ, which from then on took the name Hatay, and new Franco-Turkish negotiations finally led, on 23 June 1939, to the cession of the Hatay to Turkey.

Bibliography: Official texts:—Arrêtés du Haut Commissaire de la République française en Syrie et au Liban concernant le Sandjak d'Alexandrette, nos. 330 of 1 September 1920, 403 of 9 October 1920, 987 of 8 August 1921, 1135 of 5 December 1921, 1881 of 4 March 1923, 2980 of 5 December 1924, 3017 of 31 December 1924, 4415 of 14 February 1925, 3112 of 14 May 1930; Accord franco-turc de Genève du janvier 1937 portant l'affaire du Sandjak d'Alexandrette devant la S.D.N. Décision de l'Assemblée Générale de la S.D.N. du 29 mai 1937 dotant le Sandjak d'un statut international spécial et d'une loi fondamentale; Traité franco-turc du 23 juin 1939 portant rattachement du Hatay à la Turquie.—Studies: R. de Gontaut-Biron and L. L. Le Révérend, *D'Angora à Lausanne*, Paris 1924, 39-44, 56-68; R. de Fériet, *L'application d'un mandat, la France puissance mandataire en Syrie et au Liban*, Beirut 1926, 86; R. de Gontaut-Biron, *Sur les routes de Syrie, après neuf ans de mandat*, Paris 1928, 84-90; F. Bazartey, *La pénétration de l'enseignement dans le Sandjak d'Alexandrette*, Beirut 1935; idem, *Enquête sur l'artisanat à Antioche*, Beirut 1936; idem, *La communauté turque dans le Sandjak d'Alexandrette*, Archives du CHEAM, Paris, no. 1835, n.d., 64 p. typescript; A. Alexandre, *Le conflit syro-turc du Sandjak d'Alexandrette, d'octobre 1936 3 juin 1937, vu d'Antioche* in *Entretiens sur l'évolution des pays de civilisation arabe*, 2nd year, Paris 1938, 104-41; *Journal Officiel de la S.D.N.*, years 1936 to 1939; Irfan Jabry, *La question d'Alexandrette dans le cadre du Mandat syrien*, Lyons 1940; P. du Véou, *Le désastre d'Alexandrette, 1934-1938*, Paris 1938; G. Puaux, *Deux années au Levant, souvenirs de Syrie et du Liban, 1939-1940*, Paris 1952, 49-56; A. K. Sanjian, *The Sandjak of Alexandretta (Hatay), its impact on Turkish-Syrian relations (1939-1956)*, in *Middle East Journal*, 1956, 379-94; R. Massigli, *La Turquie devant la guerre*, Paris 1964. (Ed.)

ISKENDER BEG, Ottoman name for George (Gjergj) Kastriota (b. 808/1405, d. 872/1468), in Western sources Scanderbeg, etc., hero of the Albanian "resistance" to the Turks in the mid-9th/15th century.

By the first half of the 9th/15th century the Kastriota family, with their centre at Matia, had supplanted the Bashas as the most influential power of Northern Albania. They had acknowledged Ottoman suzerainty since 787/1385; Iskender's father John/Ivan (in Ottoman sources Yovan) had been a buffer between the Venetians installed in Scutari (Is̲h̲kodra [*q.v.*]) and the Ottomans, ready to flee to Venetian protection in the event of an Ottoman attack and

dependent upon Venetian goodwill for the crucial import of salt. A document in the archives of Topkapı Sarayı (E 6665) shows that he had attempted to seize Kruje/Croia (T. Akčaḥiṣār) to the south of his territories, which, for a time under Bāyezīd I and continuously since 818/1415, had been the centre of an Ottoman *subas̲h̲ilik*.

The statement of Barletius that his son George Kastriota had been sent to the Ottoman palace as a hostage (at the age of nine) is confirmed by Ottoman historians (Tursun Beg, Idrīs). During the war with Venice of 826/1423-833/1430 Ottoman pressure was increasingly put upon his father John (N. Iorga, *Notes et extraits* . . . , i, 435), who, in Rad̲j̲ab 831/April 1428, informed Venice of his growing anxiety that his Muslim son would be ordered by the sultan to occupy his territory The son, raised in the palace as an *ič-og̲h̲ani*, was, by the normal procedure of *čikma* [see g̲h̲ulām], granted a *timār* near to his father's territories of "Yuvan-éli" (Topkapı Sarayı Archives, E 6665), and in 842/1438 he was appointed *Subas̲h̲i* of Aḳčaḥiṣār (H. Inalcık, ed., *Sûret-i defter-i sancak-i Arvanid*, *timār* no. 314). In the same year nine villages of his in Yuvan-éli were made over to Andre Karlo (*ibid.*, no. 335). His father's centre of Mus (Mysja) was made a *zi*ʿ*āmet*, and Iskender asked for it to be granted to himself (Topkapı Sarayı Archives, E 6665, undated), but a *sand̲j̲aḳ-begi* (? of Okhri) objected to the granting of this important district, adjacent to the sea, to John's son. This refusal may have been one of the reasons for Iskender's throwing off his allegiance to the sultan. The extension to areas of Albania of the Ottoman *timār*-system had induced various prominent seigneurs in the south—Ghin Zenebissi, Andre Thopia and, especially, George Araniti—to revolt (from 835/1431), and Iskender joined them in S̲h̲awwāl 847/December 1444. After Ottoman authority was weakened by the battle of Izladi (Zlaticá) (3 Ramaḍān 847/25 December 1443), members of the former ruling families were encouraged to attempt to recover their lost lands and independence (Chalcocondyles, ed. Darko, ii, 96; Iorga, *op. cit.*, ii, 145). The story that Iskender, fleeing from the camp of Ḳāsim, the *beglerbegi* of Rūméli (who had been defeated near Niš), seized Aḳčaḥiṣār (Gegaj, 45-6) is probably true (cf. *G̲h̲azavātnāme-i Sulṭān Murād*); he certainly threw off Islām and re-embraced Christianity (see especially the contemporary historian Tursun Beg, ed. in *TOEM* p. 136), to be known henceforth to the Ottomans as "*k̲h̲ā*ʾ*in* (treacherous) Iskender". On 11 D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 847/1 March 1444, under the patronage of Venice, he summoned the Albanian leaders to a meeting at Alessio (a typical *Kuvend* in accordance with Albanian tribal custom, see M. Hasluck, *The unwritten law in Albania*, Cambridge 1954, 148), and was there recognized as the leader of the struggle against the Ottomans. The pope later recognized him as a crusading hero; in the 19th century Albanian nationalists depicted him as a national hero working for the unification and the independence of his homeland; and Venice regarded him as a valuable *condottiero*. In reality, he was a combination of Albanian tribal chief and medieval feudal lord, the other Albanian leaders being bound to him primarily by links of kinship. The importance which he attached to his own family is revealed in the terms of his alliance with the King of Aragon, made with "Georgio Castrioti, S^re^ dela dita citate de Croya e de soi parenti, baruni in Albania" (Radonić, no. 38). Hence it is not surprising to find other Albanian lords frequently allied with Venice or with the Ottomans against him. Since 818/1415 the introduction of the Ottoman *timār*-system and tax-structure had caused widespread discontent among both the feudal families and the mountain tribesfolk; Iskender was merely taking over, in Northern Albania, the leadership of this movement of revolt, favoured, however, unlike his predecessors, by the support of the pope, the King of Naples, and Venice. He was able to muster a following of perhaps 8-10,000 men, his own numbering no more than 2-3,000 (Gegaj, p. 125); he owed his success to guerilla tactics, based on a few fortresses in remote mountain regions (Stelush, Letrella, and especially Kruje, his capital), these fortresses being held for him by troops, trained in the use of firearms, who were provided by his foreign allies, although he could rely on some revenue from his flocks of sheep and the trade in salt.

His long struggle with the Ottomans—maintained over a quarter of a century—falls into several phases.

Until 852/1448, the Ottomans were content to ignore him. In this period he fought against Venice over the possession of Dagno (851/1447), and indeed there are indications that he co-operated with local Ottoman forces (the sultan also claiming this territory) (Iorga, *op. cit.*, ii, 227; Venice, it should be noted, still regarded him as a vassal of the sultan: *op. cit.*, ii, 226). He abandoned his claim to Dagno by the treaty signed on 4 October 1448. In the summer of 852/1448 Murād II's army took Svetigrad (Ḳod̲j̲ad̲j̲ik Ḥiṣāri) (ʿAs̲h̲iḳpas̲h̲azāde 119 and the chroniclers dependent on him erroneously relate these events to Aḳčaḥiṣār), and so opened the way into northern Albania. Murād then laid siege to Kruje, but was obliged to withdraw to Sofya by Hunyadi's invasion of Ottoman territory.

In 853/1449 an attempt by Iskender and Mois Dibra to re-take Ḳod̲j̲ad̲j̲iḳ was repulsed, and in the following summer Murād again besieged Kruje. The fortress held out, and Iskender, retreating to the mountains, harried the besieging troops. The abandonment of the 4½ month siege made Iskender the hero of all Christendom, and Pope Nicholas V called on all the Christian powers to assist him. But Kruje was still under blockade (Iorga, iii, 260-1), and Iskender offered to hand it over to Venice. He finally won the effective support of Alfonso V of Naples: by the agreement of 26 March 1451 he acknowledged the suzerainty of the king and agreed to hand Kruje over to his forces, Neapolitan troops occupying Kruje in June. Alfonso was at this time attempting by diplomatic and military measures to establish a front against the Ottomans throughout Albania and Epirus. The Neapolitan troops consisted only of small detachments trained in the use of firearms, the mass of soldiery being composed of Iskender's Albanians (Iskender and other Albanian leaders were also receiving money subsidies from Alfonso, Iskender's share being 1500 ducats). This arrangement weakened Iskender's authority in Albania, and Alfonso's rival Venice and the Ottomans were able to induce some Albanian chieftains to come over to them; thus Pavlo Dukagin, who in 853/1449 had been proclaimed a rebel and deprived of his *timār*, recovered it in Ṣafar 855/March 1451 (see *Sûret* . . . *Arvanid*, no. 154), and other memberis of this family threw in their lot with Venice. Mois Dibra, Gjergj Balsha and Iskender's nephew Ḥamza went over to the Ottoman side. In 857/1453 Iskender visited Alfonso in Italy. In the summer of 859/1455, assisted by about 1000 Neapolitan troops, Iskender besieged Berat (Belgrade), but a relieving force under Evrenos-og̲h̲lu ʿĪsā Beg defeated them,

the Neapolitans being killed almost to a man (10 Shaʿbān 859/26 July 1455). Although Iskender's biographers speak of a great victory in the next year (the Ottomans losing 10,000? men), Mois Dibra and Ḥamza once more went over to the Ottomans and the fortress of Modric (in the Dibra region) was sold to the Ottomans. This disaffection probably arose from Iskender's attempts to win control of the territory of the other Albanian chieftains and to extend his authority over them. When in 861/1457 a certain ʿĪsā Beg (probably the son of Isḥāḳ Beg of Üsküp) marched against Kruje, Iskender attacked his camp at Albulena near Mount Tumenish and took Ḥamza prisoner; this success was celebrated in Italy as a great victory: the pope proclaimed him the "Captain-General of the Holy See" (Radonić, no. 163) and presented him with 500 ducats.

The death of Alfonso in 862/1458, however, deprived Iskender for a time of foreign support (the new king Ferdinand wanted him to come to Italy to aid him against rebels), so that in 864/1460 he and the other Albanian leaders were obliged to recognize Ottoman suzerainty. By his treaty with the sultan (which he called "treuga per tre anni", see V. Makušev, *Monumenta Hist. Slav. Merid.*, ii, Warsaw 1874, p. 123) he agreed to send troops to join Ottoman campaigns, to pay an annual tribute (in sheep) and to supply lads for the Janissaries (Critoboulos, Eng. tr. by C. T. Riggs, Princeton 1954, p. 147, where the date given is 1459; cf. Neshrī, ed. Taeschner, i, 201). In 865/1461 Iskender, as the loyal vassal of Ferdinand, went to aid him against the rebels, returning to Albania on 11 February 1462. His truce with the sultan was renewed on 7 Shaʿbān 867/27 April 1463 (see Gegaj, p. 132), but that summer, with the outbreak of the Ottoman-Venetian war, Iskender found a new patron and ally (for the text of his pact with Venice, of 20 August 1463, see Radonić, no. 248). The Ottoman sources (Tursun, p. 123; cf. Critoboulos, 147) emphasize Iskender's "breaking of faith" as the reason for the Ottoman operations against him from 868/1464 onwards. By permitting Venetian troops to garrison Kruje he had created a real threat to the Ottoman forces in Albania. In 868/1464 and 869/1465 the neighbouring *sandjak-begis*, and especially the governor of Okhri, Balaban, launched swift attacks; Iskender seems to have countered them by guerilla raids launched from the mountains, although the leading Albanian chieftains, including Mois Dibra, were taken. Meḥemmed II, who since 867/1463 had been intending to march against Iskender (Tursun, p. 123), finally moved in the spring of 871/1466. In the *fetḥnāme* which he sent to his son Bāyezīd (N. Lugal and A. Erzi, *Münşeât Mecmuası*, Istanbul 1956, 63-4), he announced that the campaign had been undertaken because of the Albanians' "breach of faith", that he had taken six important fortresses and that he had built a fortress (Elbasan) to ensure his hold over the land. In this year Meḥemmed did not press the siege of Kruje (defended by a Venetian commander), but left Balaban to continue the blockade. Elbasan [*q.v.*] was built in 25 days. Seeking help from Italy, Iskender visited Rome (12 December 1466; he received 5000 ducats from the pope) and Naples. On hearing that he was proposing to attack Elbasan, the Sultan wintered at Filibe (Tursun, p. 136). Iskender returned to Albania in early April 1467 and began to raid Balaban's blockading force at Kruje and his supply lines (it was reported in Italy that Balaban had been killed and the Ottoman force dispersed [Radonić, nos. 359, 360], but Balaban was still alive in September [Radonić, no. 379]). Meḥemmed II entered Albania with a great army in June 1467 and, by fierce pursuit in the steep mountain region of Buzurshek south of Elbasan, gained control of the pass. He marched against Durazzo, sending Maḥmūd Pasha against Ishkodra, and then advanced on Kruja, but did not undertake a determined siege (end of July). According to Tursun (who was on the campaign), Iskender fled to the coast: he had taken refuge in the Venetian fortress of Alessio, where he died on 21 Djumādā II 872/17 January 1468.

Ishkender's name lived on in Albanian folklore as the type of native heroism (see the articles of Q. Haxhihasani and A. Fico in *Studia Albanica*, iv/2 (1967), 135-55, and G. Marlekaj, in *Atti 5. convegno intern. di studi albanesi*, 221-38) and he is a leading character in the national literature of modern times inspired by Barletius's biography.

Bibliography: 1. Bibliographical works: G. T. Pétrovitch, *Scanderbeg (Georges Castriota), essai de bibliographie raisonnéee*, Paris 1881, re-edited by R. Trofenik, Munich 1967; E. Legrand and H. Gûys, *Bibliographie albanaise*, Paris 1902; V. Malaj, *Necessità d'un coordinamento bibliografico Castriotano*, in *Atti V Conveggno Internazionale di Studi Albanesi*, Palermo 1959, 19-49.

(2) Collections of documents: L. Thallóczy, C. Jireček and M. Šufflay, *Acta et diplomata res Albaniae mediae aetatis illustrantia*, 2 vols., Vienna 1913-18; J. Radonić, *Djuradj Kastinot Skenderbeg i Arbanija u XV veku*, Belgrade 1942; J. Valentini, *Acta Albania Veneta saeculorum XIV et XV*, 12 vols. (in progress), Palermo and Münich 1967-71; F. Pall, *I rapporti italo-albanesi intorno alla metà del secolo XV*, in *Archivio Storico per le Provincie Napolitane*, 3rd ser., iv (Naples 1965, 123-226).

(3) Biographies and chronicles: M. Barletius (Barlezio), *Historia de vita et gestis Scanderbegi Epirotarum principis*, Rome (?) 1510 (for translations see Pétrovitch, *op. cit.* above; for the character of the work see F. Pall, *Marino Barlezio uno storico umanista*, in *Mélanges d'histoire générale*, ii (Cluj 1938), 135-319). References in the Ottoman chronicles are assembled in Selami Pulaha, *Lufta Shqiptaro-Turke ne shekullin XV*, Tirana 1968, which contains also the fascimile of the *taḥrir* register of 871/1467 for Dibra and district and two documents concerning Iskender. For references in Byzantine, Italian and Slav chronicles, see Radonić, *op. cit.* above, pp. 219-35.

(4) Studies: F. S. Noli, *George Castrioti Scanderbeg*, New York 1947; A. Gegaj, *L'Albanie et l'invasion turque au XVe siècle*, Louvain et Paris 1937; K. Frasheri, *George Kastriote Skanderbeg*, Tirana 1962; C. Marinesco, *Alphonse V, roi d'Aragon et de Naples, et l'Albanie de Scanderbeg*, in *Mélanges de l'École Roumaine en France*, Paris 1932, 1-135; F. Pall, *Die Geschichte Skanderbegs im Lichte der neuern Forschung*, in *Leipziger Vierteljahrschrift für Süd-osteuropa*, vi (1942), 85-98; A. Serra, *L'Albania e la Sante Sede ai tempi di G. C. Scanderbeg*, Cosenza 1960. On the 500th anniversary of Iskender's death a series of articles was published in *Studia Albanica*, iv/2 (Tirana 1967); for the congresses held at Tirana and Prishtina, see R. Schwanke, *Ergebnisse der Kongresse in Tirana und Prishtina*, in *Atti V. Conv. Int. di Studi Albanesi*, Palermo 1969, 283-303. See also H. İnalcık, *Arnavutluk'ta Osmanlı hakimiyetinin yerleşmesi ve İskender Bey isyanının menşei*, in *Fatih ve Istanbul*, i/2 (1953), 153-75.

(H. İnalcık)

IṢLĀḤ (A.), reform, reformism.

i.—The Arab world

In modern Arabic, the term *iṣlāḥ* is used for "reform" (cf.: *RALA*, xxi (1386/1966), 351, no. 15) in the general sense: in contemporary Islamic literature it denotes more specifically orthodox reformism of the type that emerges in the doctrinal teachings of Muḥammad ʿAbduh, in the writings of Rashīd Riḍā, and in the numerous Muslim authors who are influenced by these two masters and, like them, consider themselves disciples of the Salafiyya (see below). *Iṣlāḥ* will be examined under the following general headings: A. Historical; B. Fundamental principles; C. The principal doctrinal positions; D. *Iṣlāḥ* in the contemporary Arab world.

A.—Historical.—1.—Background.—The idea of *iṣlāḥ*, so widespread in modern Islamic culture, is also very common in the vocabulary of the Ḳurʾān, where the radicals *ṣ-l-ḥ*. cover a very wide semantic field. Amongst the derivatives of this root employed in the Ḳurʾān are: a) The verb *aṣlaḥa* and the corresponding infinitive, *iṣlāḥ*, used sometimes in the sense of "to work towards peace (*ṣulḥ*)", "to bring about harmony", "to urge people to be reconciled with one another" and "to agree" (cf. II, 228, IV, 35, 114, XLIX, 9, 10), and at others in the sense of "to perform a pious act (*ʿamal ṣāliḥ*)", "to perform a virtuous act (*ṣalāḥ*)", "to behave like a holy man (*ṣāliḥ*, plur. *ṣāliḥūn*/*ṣāliḥāt*)" (cf. II, 220, IV, 128, VII, 56, 85, 142, XI, 46, 90); b) The substantive *muṣliḥ*, plur. *muṣliḥūn*: those who perform pious acts, who are saintly in spirit, who preach peace and harmony, who are concerned with the moral perfection of their neighbours, and strive to make men better. It is precisely in this sense that the modern Muslim reformists can be defined, reformists who proudly claim the title of *muṣliḥūn*, upon which Revelation confers a certain prestige (cf. Ḳurʾān, VII, 170, XI, 117, XXVIII, 19) The adherents of *iṣlāḥ* consider themselves in the direct line of the reformer-prophets whose lives are quoted as examples in the Ḳurʾān (cf. especially *sūras* VII, X, XI, XX); but they claim to be influenced above all by the example of the mission of the Prophet Muḥammad, whom they consider to be the Reformer par excellence (cf. *al-Shihāb*, May 1939, 183: *Muḥammad, al-muṣliḥ al-aʿẓam*). Thus *iṣlāḥ* is deeply rooted in the basic soil of Islam, and cannot therefore be viewed solely in relation to the intellectual trends that appeared in the Muslim world at the beginning of the modern period.

2.—The historical continuity of *iṣlāḥ*.—In so far as it is on the one hand an individual or collective effort to define Islam solely in relation to its authentic sources (*i.e.*, the Ḳurʾān and the *Sunna* [*q.v.*] of the Prophet) and on the other an attempt to work towards a situation in which the lives of Muslims, in personal and social terms, really would conform to the norms and values of their religion, *iṣlāḥ* is a permanent feature in the religious and cultural history of Islam. This two-fold approach characterizing *iṣlāḥ* is quite justified from a ḳurʾānic point of view. For a) Islam is simply that which Revelation contains, as it is transmitted and explained by the Prophet (see below: *The return to first principles*). b) To work for the Good, and aspire to improve (*aṣlaḥ*), is simply to attempt to restore Islamic values in modern Muslim society. From this point of view, *iṣlāḥ* can be seen as an intellectual, and frequently practical, response to the injunction of "commanding what is good and prohibiting what is evil" (see on this subject the two fundamental references, Ḳurʾān III, 104, 110). This canonical obligation (*farḍ*, *farīḍa*)—a major obligation on the head of the Community (*imām*)—is constantly invoked by the reformers, both as a justification for their action, and as an appeal to the faithful, who are also bound, each according to his social standing and means, to play his part in "commanding the good". (On this important question of Muslim ethics see the classic text of al-Ghazālī in *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* chap.: *Kitāb al-amr bi 'l-maʿrūf wa 'l-nahy ʿan al-munkar*, trans. L. Bercher, *De l'obligation d'ordonner le Bien et d'interdire le Mal selon al-Ghazālī*, in *IBLA*, 1st and 3rd trim. 1955; the neo-Ḥanbalite doctrine (so illuminating for reformist teaching) in H. Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines ... d'Ibn Taymīya*, 601-5; the position of Muḥ. ʿAbduh in: *Risālat al-tawḥīd*, 113 (Fr. trans., 121), and *Tafsīr al-Manār*, ix, 36; a complete account of the question by Rashīd Riḍā: *ibid.* iv, 25-47 on *sūra* III, 104, and 57-64, on *sūra* III, 110; L. Gardet, *Dieu et la destinée de l'homme*, Paris 1967, 445 ff.).

Like all Muslims who cherish an ideal of the pious and virtuous life (*ṣalāḥ*), the reformists like to refer to the many ḳurʾānic verses which praise "those who do works of *iṣlāḥ*" (VI, 42, VII, 170, XXVIII, 19) and particularly to XI, 90, which they hold to be the perfect motto of Muslim reformism: "Ô mon peuple! ... Mon unique désir est de vous rendre meilleurs" (trans. Savary)—"Je ne veux que réformer" (trans. Blachère)—"I desire only to set things right." (trans. Arberry). These scriptural statements are illustrated by the tradition that the Prophet intimated that Islam would need to be revitalized periodically and that in each century Providence would raise up men capable of accomplishing this necessary mission of moral and religious regeneration. (On this tradition, cf. Wensinck, *Handbook*, 204 b: "At the end..").

The Community has never lacked men willing to assume precisely this prophetic mission. In its early stages and also in its later developments, *iṣlāḥ* has been identified with the service of the *Sunna*, which is thought to provide the best model for the Islamic way of life (cf. Ḳurʾān, XXXIII, 21), as well as supplying the essential elements which lie at the base of the earliest orthodoxy of Islam. The Ḳurʾān is without doubt the most important point of reference for modern *iṣlāḥ*; yet, in its earliest manifestations, it appears to be above all the expression of a total allegiance to the Prophet's Tradition. This active, sometimes militant, allegiance is best expressed in its defence of the *Sunna* against "blameworthy innovations" (*bidaʿ* [*q.v.*]) which are judged incompatible with the objective facts of the Book, the unquestionable teachings of the Prophet, and the testimony of the "pious forefathers" (*al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*). Upholders of strict primitive orthodoxy were particularly aware of the increase of *bidaʿ*: a) at the dogmatic level: cf. the speculation nurtured by the dawning rationalist theology (*kalām* [*q.v.*]); ḳurʾānic exegesis of Bāṭinī tendency; the theses of extremist Shīʿism; and b) in the sphere of worship: asceticism, excessive piety, paraliturgical practices inspired by Ṣūfism (*taṣawwuf* [*q.v.*]), all of which they believed indicated a spirit of exaggeration (*ghulū*) contrary to the essence of Islamic spirituality Such innovations were held to be blameworthy because they were looked upon as sources of error and seeds of heresy; they therefore seemed to constitute a serious threat to the confessional unity and moral and political cohesion of the *Umma*.

The historical development of *iṣlāḥ* must, it seems,

be related to that new spirit which gave rise to *bida*ʿ throughout the cultural evolution of the Community. The following are a few milestones:—1. The political and moral crisis following the battles of Ṣiffīn (37/657 [*q.v.*]) and Nahrawan (38/658 [*q.v.*]) engendered ardent political and religious polemics between the Khawāridj [*q.v.*] and the Shīʿa [*q.v.*] on the one hand and the supporters of the established authority on the other. In this climate of schism the doctrinal tendencies which classical Sunnism decried as heretical to a greater or lesser extent began to grow (cf. al-Shahrastānī, *Milal*, i, 27). The period of the Prophet's companions was hardly over (*ca.* 90/708) when the theologico-philosophical speculations which were to disturb the Muslim conscience for many years began to appear.—2. At the end of the 1st/7th century, the general evolution of the Muslim community was sufficiently advanced for the unity of faith and monolithic convictions of the first decades to be replaced by a diversity of intellectual and religious attitudes towards the ḳur'ānic revelation and the problems posed by it (predestination and free will, the problem of evil, the attributes of God, the nature of the Ḳur'ān, etc.). Despite its dominant position (at least in theory), official Sunnism was neither dynamic nor homogeneous enough to condition effectively the moral and religious behaviour of the new generations. Many factors (especially sociocultural and political ones) gradually weakened the religious and cultural impact of the *Sunna*, whose sociological base was anyway being diluted among the diverse populations of the vast empire. It is worth noting in this respect the geographical dispersion and gradual extinction of the main witnesses of primitive Islam, those who were later called the "pious forefathers". These were essentially the Prophet's Companions (*ṣaḥāba*)and the most eminent of their immediate successors (*tābiʿūn*) —3. Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (died 110/728 [*q.v.*]) marks the end of the *Sunna*'s first era, before the spread of the great controversies which were to divide the Muslims (in the field of ḳur'ānic exegesis, and as a result of a free philosophical enquiry on the revealed Book). The famous break between al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and Wāṣil b. ʿAṭā (d. 131/748 [*q.v.*]) prefigures the doctrinal disputes and later conflicts which resulted above all in the creation of a Traditional Party (*ahl al-sunna*), the "pious forefathers" (*ṭā'ifat al-salaf*), as a reaction against the new sects and tendencies (Shīʿa, Khawāridj, Djahmiyya, Muʿtazila, etc.) which were judged more or less heretical (cf. H. Laoust, *Schismes*, 84 ff.).—4. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855 [*q.v.*]) represents a strongly entrenched Sunnism ready to fight the new schools of thought which questioned the dogma of the primitive orthodoxy (cf. his *Radd ʿala 'l-zanādiḳa wa 'l-djahmiyya*).

The desire to refute the errors of their century, to combat those sects believed to have introduced blameworthy innovations into Islam, to bring the faithful back to the purity of primitive faith and worship, and to restore the *Sunna* by the study and imitation of the Prophet's Tradition, these are the aspirations of many reformers who appear periodically in the religious history of Islam from the very beginnings of Sunnism. For Rashīd Riḍā, in each generation men emerge who are firmly committed to the defence of the *Sunna* and the struggle against *bidʿa* (*Tafsīr*, vii, 143); each century has produced a "regenerator" (*mudjaddid*) of the faith and the *Sunna*, men like "the *imām* Ibn Ḥazm [*q.v.*], the *mudjaddid* of the 5th century..., the doctor of Islam, Aḥmad b. Taymiyya [*q.v.*], the *mudjaddid* of the 7th century..., the great traditionist (*ḥāfiẓ*) Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalānī [*q.v.*] in the 9th century..., and the famous *imām* Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Shawkānī (1173/1760-1260/1834), the Yemeni *mudjaddid* in the 12th century." (*Tafsīr*, vii, 144-5). All these men, and each in his own way, were indisputable architects of *iṣlāḥ*; among the many others who share this honour, al-Ghazālī springs to mind. Rashīd Riḍā notes with regret (*Tafsīr*, vii, 143), however, that such exceptional men were generally alone (*ghurabā'*) in the world, like Islam itself. (Cf. the *ḥadīth*: "Islam was born alone, and will become alone again, as at its beginning. Happy the solitary men. Those are they who will come to reform that which will be debased after me" [cf. Wensinck, *Handbook*, 114 A: "·Originated"]). Although solitary, because of their opposition to the spirit of their times, and often the butt of authoritarian arrogance, worldly scepticism, and the hostility of conformist *ʿulamā'* and sycophants, the reformers nonetheless committed themselves to safeguarding the *Sunna* and, through it, the continuity of the original values of Islam. It is in this spirit, that of the reformers and renovators who animated the religiouis and cultural evolution of the *Umma*, and in tune with the defenders of the *Sunna* and the community's cohesion, that modern Muslim reformists are attempting to carry out their mission, over and above all ideologies, tendencies, and sectarianism. On the historical continuity of *iṣlāḥ* from the age of the Salaf to the dawn of the modern era, cf. ʿAlī al-Ḥasanī al-Nadawī, *Ridjāl al-fikr wa 'l-daʿwa fi 'l-islām*, Damascus 1379/1960 (ends with Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī 672/1273); ʿAbd al-Mutaʿāl al-Ṣaʿīdī, *Al-Mudjaddidūn fi 'l-islām...* (100-1370 H.), Cairo 1382/1962; A. Merad, *Le Réformisme musulman...*, 29 ff.; H. Laoust, *Schismes*.

3.—*Iṣlāḥ* in modern Islam.—Viewed as part of the historico-cultural process outlined above, the modern reformism of the Salafiyya is an exceptionally fruitful period. In the breadth of its first manifestations, the diversity and stature of the talents it employed, the energy of its apostolate, and the relative speed of its diffusion in the Arab world and even far beyond, *iṣlāḥ* constitutes one of the most remarkable phenomena in the evolution of Islam since the end of the 19th century. It is a result of the cultural movement born of the renaissance (*nahḍa* [*q.v.*]) which marked the reawakening of the Arab East (along with that of the Muslim world in general) as a consequence of the influence of Western ideas and civilization. This awakening has been interpreted as a direct result of the actions of several forceful Muslim personalities living in the second half of the 19th century. Those most frequently mentioned are Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (1839-97 [*q.v.*]), Muḥammad ʿAbduh (1849-1905 [*q.v.*]) and Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī (1854?-1902 [*q.v.*]). However, the awakening of Arabo-Muslim consciousness was preceded by a period of gestation which was encouraged by a combination of internal and external factors; most decisive of these were:

a) *The pressure of Wahhābism* [*q.v.*], which aimed (initially in Arabia) at restoring Islamic piety and ethics to their original purity and cultivated a sort of idealization of the primitive Islamic social organization, that of the "pious forefathers" *al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ* (hence the tendency called Salafiyya). Despite their zeal (which sometimes seemed excessive) in defence of their conception of the *Sunna*, their intransigence and their occasionally intolerant strictness, the Wahhābīs never lost sight of the need for a moral and political renewal of modern Islam. While

appealing to their co-religionists to recognize only the authority of the Ḳur'ān and the *Sunna* in matters of religion (*dīn*), they urged them to abandon superstitions inherited from the Middle Ages and countered the general tendency to fatalistic resignation, reacting against the spirit of *taḳlīd* [*q.v.*] which predominated at that time (end of the 18th- beginning of the 20th century). Through these efforts and their attempt to modernize the values of primitive Islam, *djihād* [*q.v.*], in particular, in the hope of rousing Muslims to a political dynamism equal to their past greatness, the Wahhābīs played an important role in the evolution of modern Islam, thus deserving a place among "the first of those who worked together towards the Arab renaissance" (L. Massignon, in *RMM*, xxxvi (1918-19), 325).

b) *The development of the printed word* through the press and publishing, principally in the Arabic language. In this respect the remarkable role played by the Egyptian printing house at Būlāḳ [see MAṬBAʿA] must be stressed. From 1822 onwards, this became one of the most important tools of the Arab intellectual renaissance. The Egyptians and Syro-Lebanese contributed to the growth of a serious and informative press which reflected the political and cultural aspirations of the nationalist and pro-reformist sectors of the population. (Cf. ʿAbd al-Lāṭif al-Ṭībāwī, *American interests in Syria 1800-1901*, Oxford 1966, 247-53; Ph. K. Hitti, *Lebanon in History*[3], New York 1967, 452-64).

c) *The influence of Western culture.* European penetration of the Arab world in the first decades of the 19th century soon made itself felt, especially at an intellectual level. Cf. H. Pérès, *Les premières manifestations de la renaissance littéraire arabe en Orient au 19e siècle*, in *AIEO Algiers* (1934-5), 233-56; A. Hourani, *Arabic thought* (Bibl.); the succinct statement of the problem by Ḥusayn Mu'nis *La renaissance culturelle arabe*, in *Orient*, nos xli-xlii (1967), 16-27; J. Heyworth-Dunne, *An introd. to the hist. of education in modern Egypt*[1], London 1939, reprinted 1968, 96-287.

d) *The liberal evolution of the Ottoman regime.* This first occurred under the sultan ʿAbd al-Madjīd I [*q.v.*], who inaugurated a policy of reforms (*tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*]) with the *Khaṭṭ-i sherif* of Nov. 3 1839 which granted his peoples the first imperial charter guaranteeing civil liberties. Despite the opposition of the traditionalists, these Western-inspired reforms were progressively put into effect, particularly after the *Khaṭṭ-i hümāyūn* of Feb. 1 1856, which finally opened the Near East to the ideas and influences of the modern world. Cf. TANẒĪMĀT; F. M. Pareja, *Islamologie*, 339 ff., 583.

e) *The structural renovation of the Eastern churches* and their awakening to Western spirituality and ideas. Cf., *e.g.*, on the exemplary case of the Uniate churches, the monograph by Joseph Hajjar, *Les Chrétiens uniates du Proche-Orient*, Paris 1962. As well as the renewal of local Christianity, thanks to a favourable concourse of religious and diplomatic events, the energy of Catholic and (above all) Protestant missions must be taken into account. On these missionary activities on Islamic soil, see the important material in *RMM*, xvi (1911), *A la conquête du monde musulman* (1 vol.); Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A hist. of the expansion of Christianity*, vi: *The great century* (1800-1914), London 1944, chap. II (*Northern Africa and the Near East*), 6-64; A. al-Ṭībāwī, *American interests in Syria*, 316-24).

This missionary activity did not simply provoke a defensive reaction in the Muslim world. In the eyes of many *ʿulamā'*, it was exemplary from two points of view: it was a remarkable example of zeal in the service of a faith, and the actual content of its preaching was of value. Thus, in imitation of the Protestants, the reformists attached paramount importance to the Scriptures, though without ever losing sight of cultural needs and working towards an ethical and spiritual renewal of Islam. At the same time they aimed at the social and intellectual emancipation of the Muslim population by tirelessly advocating the popularization of modern knowledge.

These different factors (which must be placed in the general context of the Eastern question) gave rise to the intellectual ferment which led to the *nahḍa*. After centuries of cultural stagnation, the Arab renaissance provoked a lively intellectual curiosity in the East. From the beginning of the 19th century, the Arab élites began to acquire modern knowledge, some through translations, others by direct contact with European scientific culture and techniques. A decisive role was played by Arab student missions in Europe, by Western schools (religious and secular) in the Near East, and by national institutions organized on the European model. Cf. on this subject: C. Brockelmann, S II, 730 ff.; Djurdji Zaydān *Ta'rīkh ādāb al-lugha al-ʿarabiyya*[2], Cairo 1914, iv 186-217; Jāk Tādjir, *Ḥarakat al-tardjama fī miṣr khilāl al-ḳarn al-tāsiʿ ʿashar*, Cairo [1944]: the important study by J. Heyworth-Dunne, *An introd. to the hist. of education in modern Egypt*; Ph. K. Hitti, *Lebanon in History*, chap. xxxi.

For Arab writers this intellectual activity was accompanied by a historical and sociological enquiry in an attempt to analyse their social and cultural situation in order to determine the exact causes of their backwardness, naturally with a view to remedying it. This is the dominant theme of articles in *al-ʿUrwa al-wuthḳā* (1884), then in *Manār* (from 1898 on), especially those by Rashīd Riḍā and Muḥammad ʿAbduh (cf. for instance, the series of articles in vol. v (1902), under the general title: *al-Islām wa 'l-Naṣrāniyya maʿa 'l-ʿilm wa 'l-madaniyya* (136 p.). This is also the central topic of *Umm al-ḳurā*, in which al-Kawākibī attempts a precise diagnosis of the evils and that sort of general indolence (*futūr*) which characterized the Muslim community at the end of the 19th century (cf. the 7th session, 109 ff. *passim*); on the theme of the "backwardness" of the Muslim peoples, see also two accounts: Muḥammad ʿUmar (d. 1337/1918), *Ḥāḍir al-miṣriyyīn wa-sirr ta'akhkhurihim*, Cairo 1320/1902; Shakīb Arslān, *Limādhā ta'akhkhara 'l-Muslimūn wa-limādhā taḳaddama ghayruhum?* (Cairo ed. 1939).

The situation of Islam in the modern world thus became one of the most important themes in reformist writings. After Ernest Renan's famous lecture on *L'Islamisme et la Science* (Sorbonne, March 29 1883) and the subsequent controversy between Renan and Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (cf. on this subject Homa Pakdaman, *Djamâl-Ed-Din*, 81 ff.), one of the major preoccupations of reformist authors was to refute the thesis that Islam is contrary to the scientific spirit and can thus be held responsible for the cultural backwardness of the Muslim peoples. "We wore out our pens and our voices", cries Rashīd Riḍā "through writing and repeating that the misfortunes of Muslims cannot be blamed on their religion, but rather on the innovations that they have introduced into it, and on the fact that they 'wear' Islam like a fur coat turned inside out" (*Manār*. iii (1900), 244). Cf. also the pleas of Muḥammad ʿAbduh, *al-Islām wa 'l-Naṣrāniyya*, and Muḥammad

Farīd Wadjdī, *Taṭbīḳ al-diyāna al-islāmiyya ʿala 'l-nawāmīs al-madaniyya*, Cairo 1316/1898.

Having established their view of the situation, the reformists planned ways to stir up a new spirit in their co-religionists and to arouse in the Community the will to break out of its cultural and social stagnation. For this purpose, they continually referred to the kurʾānic verse: "Allāh altereth not what is in a people until they alter what is in themselves" (cf. *al-ʿUrwa al-wuthḳā*, no. xvii (Sept. 1884), editorial reproduced by Rashīd Riḍā in his *Tafsīr*, x, 46-52; Muḥammad ʿAbduh, *Risālat al-tawḥīd*, 178 (Fr. trans., 121); Rashīd Riḍā, *Tafsīr* x, 41-5, on *sūra* VIII, 54). From this point of view, reformist thought seems to have crystallized around the idea of improvement (*iṣlāḥ*) of the existing situation. To achieve this goal, the adherents of *iṣlāḥ* advocated a struggle against those religious forces (in particular the brotherhoods) and social groups (conservative and traditionalist forces) which they saw as the incarnation of obscurantism. They also supported the reform of archaic teaching methods and courses and the popularization of scientific disciplines and modern techniques. Since they had no training in these last two fields, the reformists could do no more than stress the usefulness of Western sciences and techniques as essential instruments for the material and intellectual progress of the Muslim peoples. However, they devoted the greater and most effective part of their efforts to action in the moral and social fields, where they had more ready access to an adequate vocabulary.

Reformist appeals for social and intellectual evolution (*taḳaddum, taraḳḳī*) concentrated on the need to improve, correct, reorganize, renovate and restore: all these infinitives corresponding, *grosso modo*, to the different meanings of the *maṣdar, iṣlāḥ* (cf. Lane, i/4, 1714: *ṢLḤ*). From then on *iṣlāḥ* became a sort of leitmotiv in reformist literature. In the texts of Muḥammad ʿAbduh, for example, we frequently find this term used as the mark of an impelling idea even in his earliest writings; cf. his first articles in the paper *al-Ahrām* (1st year, 1876) reproduced by Rashīd Riḍā in *Taʾrīkh al-ustādh al-imām*, ii, 20, 22, 34; his articles in the official paper *al-Waḳāʾiʿ al-miṣriyya*, 1880-1 (*ibid.*, 175-81). *Iṣlāḥ* also appears at every opportunity and in its different meanings in the review *al-Manār* (whose first no. dates from 22 Shawwāl 1315/16 March 1898). We find, for example, the following usages: *al-iṣlāḥ al-dīnī wa 'l-idjtimāʿī* ("religious and social reform", i (1898), 2); *iṣlāḥ kutub al-ʿilm wa-ṭarīḳat al-taʿlīm* ("improvement of textbooks and reform of teaching methods", *ibid.*, 11); *iṣlāḥ dākhiliyyāt al-mamlaka* ("reform (or reorganization) of the internal affairs of the Empire", *ibid.*, 736); *iṣlaḥ al-nufūs* ("regeneration of souls", *ibid.*, 737); *iṣlāḥ al-ḳaḍāʾ asās al-iṣlāḥ* ("law reform, as a basis for general reform", *ibid.*); in the editorial of the 40th no. (1898), Rashīd Riḍā calls for a "renovation from the pulpit eloquence" (*iṣlāḥ al-khiṭāba*); in no. 42, p. 822, he proposes: *muḥāwara fī iṣlāḥ al-Azhar* ("exchange of views on the reform of al-Azhar").

These few references show the variety of uses to which the concept *iṣlāḥ* was put. However, the following areas seem particularly to have attracted the attention of reformist authors: a) *Teaching*. The question of the reorganization of Muslim teaching, especially in institutes of higher education like al-Azhar, occupied an important place in the work of Muḥammad ʿAbduh and Rashīd Riḍā (cf. the account of the action carried out in this sphere by *shaykh* ʿAbduh in *Taʾrīkh al-ustādh al-imām*, i, 425-567). This problem can be linked to that of the reorganization of the mosques and *waḳf* possessions. Better management of these would supply the educational system with increased means and new buildings. (Cf. Rashīd Riḍā, *op. cit.*, i, 630-45; *al-Manār wa 'l-Azhar, passim*). b) *Law*. The reform of the Muslim legal system was also one of the constant preoccupations of the reformists (see the numerous articles in *Manār* on this subject and the *Report* made by Muḥammad ʿAbduh, Muftī of Egypt, *Taḳrīr muftī al-diyār al-miṣriyya fī iṣlāḥ al-maḥākim al-sharʿiyya*, Cairo 1318/1900; cf. on this subject *Taʾrīkh al-ustādh al-imām*, i, 605-29). c) *The Religious Brotherhoods*. The reformists never ceased to press for the reform (if not for abolition pure and simple) of the brotherhoods, which they accused of maintaining blameworthy innovations in religious life, of encouraging the people in superstitious beliefs and practices, and of continuing to use a reactionary system of teaching in their educational establishments (cf. the articles in *Manār*, under the heading: *al-Bidaʿ wa'l-khurāfāt*; Rashīd Riḍā, *al-Manār wa 'l-Azhar, passim*). In their attempt to reform Muslim educational and legal systems and religious practice, the supporters of *iṣlāḥ* were aware that they were attacking the traditional structures of Muslim society, yet they felt it was essentially to renovate these structures so that a new much-needed social and cultural dynamism should be given to the Community. But their task did not stop there. For the *iṣlāḥ* advocated by Muḥammad ʿAbduh and his close supporters necessitated a vast movement of renovation which would embrace all sectors of Muslim life. Thus we see them advocating *iṣlāḥ* in purely secular domains (for example, language and literature, the organization of schools, the administration, the military regime, etc.). They believed that the *ʿulamāʾ* worthy of the name should devote themselves to an overall reform of Muslim social organization, and not just to a limited religions reformism.

These calls for a general *islāḥ* were fairly well received in Arab and Muslim intellectual circles at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. From the period of *al-ʿUrwa al-wuthḳā* (1884) on, the combined efforts of al-Afghānī and ʿAbduh, and other propagandists of the quality of al-Kawākibī, succeeded in definitively integrating the idea of *iṣlāḥ* into modern Muslim thinking. From then on, no intellectual in the Arab world could remain indifferent to the reformist phenomenon (cf. *al-Manār*, i, (1899), 949: *al-iṣlāḥ al-islāmī wa 'l-ṣiḥāfa*: *iṣlāḥ* had become one of the principal and most topical subjects in the Arab and Turkish press; *Umm al-ḳurā*, 3). In literary circles, many profoundly secular writers and poets joined forces with the advocates of *iṣlāḥ*. Their sympathies did not lie with the religious movement, but with the powerful ferment that it then represented for Muslim society and for Arabs in general. For them, *iṣlāḥ* signified an appeal for progress, a breath of renewal and the promise of a better future for the Arab nation. Its fundamental call for religious renovation and moral regeneration was blurred in the eyes of many intellectuals by its social and cultural implications. Gradually *iṣlāḥ* acquired the shape of a sort of myth which attracted all, believers and unbelievers, Muslims or not, who were struggling for the social and cultural emancipation of their people. (The impact of *iṣlāḥ* in non-Muslim circles is apparent in writers like Salāma Mūsā; cf. *Tarbiyat Salāma Mūsā*,

Cairo 1944, 52 [Eng. trans. Schuman, *The education of Salāma Mūsā*, Leiden 1961, 35]). This is why, concurrently with the religious reformists (the Salafiyya), some concerned secular intellectuals took up the cry for *iṣlāḥ*, though with a purely social and cultural connotation. The most typical figure of this secular reformist current is the ʿIrāḳī poet Djamīl Ṣidḳī al-Zahāwī (1863-1936 [*q.v.*]), who advocated a form of *iṣlāḥ* devoid of any religious content (his beliefs are expressed in: *nashartu fi 'l-nāsi arā'an urīdu bi-hā/iṣlāḥa dunyā-humū lā 'l-ṭaʿna fi 'l-dīni*).

The relative receptivity of Arab intellectual circles (more or less influenced by Western culture) was a determining factor in the diffusion of *iṣlāḥ*. The reformists found allies, if not true sympathizers, among publicists and men of letters who were exasperated by the conservatism of the "old turbans", the defenders of clerical and university tradition (of al-Azhar, al-Zaytūna, etc.), by the apathy of the masses, and by the sluggishness of the political and administrative machine. Thus in the East as in the Maghrib, the younger progressive intellectuals drew close to the reformists, who in their eyes represented a dynamic party which, in the face of different forms of foreign domination, proclaimed the right of their peoples to education, progress and national dignity.

But *iṣlāḥ* also benefited from a measure of support in liberal Sunnī circles. Frightened by the prospect of society drifting away from Islam in the more or less distant future, and by the dynamism of Christian missionary work in Muslim lands, they were happy to witness the birth of a movement which was profoundly attached to the *Sunna*, and firmly committed to the defence of the faith, while at the same time recognizing the need for social evolution and modern scientific and technical development in the Arab world.

Yet, despite the interest that it aroused in the young progressive generation and enlightened Sunnīs, *iṣlāḥ* encountered some difficulties at the outset. From its inception, the movement was suspect to the powers then ruling the major part of the Arab world (Turkey, England, France), because of its cultural and political orientation (exaltation of Arabism, Panislamism). Its social and political stand brought down on it the hostility of the ruling classes and the administrative authorities of the *status quo* (university, magistrates, religious hierarchy, brotherhoods). By its declarations of war on every sort of *bidʿa*, on magical and religious superstitions, on customs "worthy of paganism" (*djāhiliyya*), and by the rigorously monotheist theology (*tawḥīd*), which led it to see manifestations of *shirk* in many naive forms of popular piety, *iṣlāḥ* distressed conformist circles. For the same reasons is was mistrusted by ordinary people, who were attached to traditions and rites that they regarded as an integral part of religion.

Inevitably, *iṣlāḥ* was strongly attacked on several fronts (cf. for example, the long quarrel between supporters of *iṣlāḥ* against the defenders of the educational and doctrinal traditions of al-Azhar, in Rashīd Riḍā, *al-Manār wa 'l-Azhar*). After all, it was a movement vowed to political resistance (anti- imperialist, if not anti-Ottoman) and social change (aimed at the traditional framework of Muslim society), and geared to moral and spiritual reform, attacking in particular certain ecclesiastical structures which were held as sacred (notably the brotherhoods and religious orders) and certain aspects of popular religiosity. Lacking a single magistrature amongst the *umma* and unable to invoke the moral authority of a reforming Church, the Salafiyya were open to the charge that they were changing and destroying the holy Sunnī tradition. They had to wage an unceasing struggle for acceptance of the sincerity of their intentions and what they saw as the eminently Islamic character of their attempts at reform. Nevertheless, neither the traditionalist Sunnīs nor the members of the brotherhoods were disposed to recognize the legitimacy of their efforts (cf. *Manār*, i, 807, 822; Rashīd Riḍā attacked by his adversaries; Rashīd Riḍā, *Ta'rikh al-ustādh al-imām*, *passim*: the difficulties Muḥammad ʿAbduh met with when he was Muftī of Egypt; Ẓāfir al-Ḳāsimī, *Djamāl al-Dīn al-Ḳāsimī*, 594; the bad reception given to Rashīd Riḍā by the *ʿulāma'* of Damascus, 603-4; the lack of success of the Salafiyya in Syria; A. Merad *Le Réformisme musulman* . . . Book i: *the resistance of Algerian Sunnism and brotherhoods to reformist propaganda*). Whether presented as a "road to damnation" (*ḍalāla*) in the wake of the Wahhābī "heresy", or hastily assimilated to the progressive trends that were more or less favourable to the secularization of Muslim society, the Salafiyya movement met with strong opposition in Egypt and Syria, as in Algeria and Tunisia. Its adversaries rejected it in the name of the *Sunna*, which, in their eyes, could have no other form than that of classical Sunnism. The real meaning of *iṣlāḥ* appears when we examine its fundamental principles and its main doctrinal lines.

B.—Fundamental Principles.—In origin, *iṣlāḥ* is a religiously inspired movement. Yet an examination of the roots of the movement reveals that the arguments put forward by its proponents sounded a less profoundly moral and spiritual note than a social and cultural one. In the first reformist manifestos—the articles of Muḥammad ʿAbduh (and al-Afghānī) in the paper *al-ʿUrwa al-wuthḳā* (1884)—social, cultural and even political considerations are more important than religious ones. In his *Umm al-ḳurā* and in his *Ṭabā'iʿ al-istibdād*, al-Kawākibī made similar efforts. In the early stages of his review *al-Manār* (1898), Rashīd Riḍā also paid a great deal of attention to social and cultural questions. Like his masters, he wished to persuade Muslims that the improvement of their moral and material condition depended upon a regeneration of Islam; this was to be accomplished by a "return to first principles", in order to rediscover Islamic teachings and values in all their authenticity and richness. The whole of the later reformist debate hinges on this essential theme.

The Return to First Principles.—The theme of the return (*rudjūʿ*) to first principles is omnipresent in reformist literature. This constant reference to the beginnings of Islam is one of the most striking characteristics of *iṣlāḥ*, and the reason why the reformists of the Salafiyya have sometimes been accused of "addiction to the past". The need for a return to first principles is justified, in the doctrine of *iṣlāḥ*, by arguments of a canonical and historical nature. The former, drawn from the Ḳur'ān, can be resumed as follows: Islam in its entirety is contained in the Scriptures (Ḳur'ān, V, 3, VI, 38); the teaching of the Prophet—inspired by God (LIII, 3-4)—is the natural complement of revelation. The Religion can be received only from the hands of God and his Messenger (IV, 59), and Muslims must abide by what the Messenger of God has transmitted, in all matters of command and interdiction (LIX, 7). For the reformists, consequently, fidelity to Islam

is essentially defined by faithfulness to the two Sources, Revelation and the Prophet's *Sunna*.

The canonical argument, supported by an argument borrowed from historical tradition, is in fact a maxim attributed to Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795 [*q.v.*]): "The later success of this Community will only ensue through those elements which made for its initial success" (*lā yaṣluḥu āk̲h̲iru hād̲h̲ihi 'l-umma illā bi-mā ṣaluḥa bihi awwaluhā*). Now, we are told, the objective basis of the historical success of the Arabs was Islam (that is the Ḳur'ān and the *Sunna*) authentically received and fully accepted (cf. Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā, *Tafsīr*, x, 437, xi, 210 (important) ix, 293; *S̲h̲ihāb*, March 1939, 58). Like their far-distant predecessors (*Salaf*), Muslims of today could achieve temporal power (*siyāda*) and know the happiness of moral well-being (*saʿāda*), provided that they armed themselves with those moral convictions that constituted the strength and grandeur of the Salaf, and that they strove to demonstrate to contemporary Muslim society the values of faith and the general teachings of Islam, in their authentic purity (cf. Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā, *Tafsīr*, ii, 339-41, x, 210; A. Merad, *Le Réformisme musulman*, 287 ff.). What exactly is this authenticity? The reformist reply is clear and simple: the whole of Islam is contained in the Scriptures and the *Sunna*, with the addition, solely as a guide and not as a canonical source, of the tradition of the Salaf. This position is not fundamentally different from that of traditional Sunnism. What distinguishes *iṣlāḥ* from the classical doctrine in this respect is the meaning given by the reformists to each of these three basic references.

1.—The reference to the Ḳur'ān.—On this point, *iṣlāḥ* has, in principle, the same position as the Salaf. This is true of the nature of the Ḳur'ān, its status as a canonical source, and the way of approaching its exegesis.

a) *Iṣlāḥ* identifies the Ḳur'ān with the Word of God, uncreated, intangible, unalterable (Ḳur'ān, XLI, 42, XV, 9), and affirms the eternity and universality of its message (XXXIV, 28, VI, 90; *Manār*, i, 1; Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā, *Tafsīr*, ii, 163, iii, 289). Holding stringently to the dogma of the "uncreated Ḳur'ān" it rejects the harmonizing synthesis of As̲h̲ʿarism, since this does not simply reaffirm the stance of the Salaf (cf. Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā, *Tafsīr*, ix, 178). This explains why the Salafiyya have never been able to supply the Muslims of their time with an original interpretation of the Ḳur'ān, despite the return to favour of reason in modern Islam (cf. R. Caspar, *Le renouveau du Moʿtazilisme*, in MIDEO, iv (1957), 141 ff.), and despite the historical investigations and psychological analyses made in the light of the *Sīra* by European orientalists and a few contemporary Muslim authors which have given us a better knowledge of the Prophet's personality. Their doctrine, immobilized by a desire to remain faithful to the past and to the positions—sometimes negative—of the Salaf, has prevented them from acquiring a deeper knowledge of the historical, sociological and psychological discoveries which would have given them a truer understanding of the problems of revelation and inspiration. (On the subject of the *waḥy* [*q.v.*], cf. the decisive statement by Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā, *Tafsīr*, xi, 146-94, in which he reaffirms the thesis of the revelation "that came down from God", without attempting to introduce any nuances into the traditional explanation; hence his long rebuttal (*ibid.*, 169-78) of the ideas expressed on this subject by certain authors, notably by E. Dermenghem (in *La Vie de Mahomet*, Paris 1929, chap. xviii)).

When discussing the nature of the Ḳur'ān, Muḥammad ʿAbduh attempted to go further than traditional dogma in the original edition of his *Risālat al-tawḥīd* (Būlāḳ 1315/1898). The original text (28, Fr. trans., 33, 1.2, to 34, 1.4), expurgated at this point by Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā (2nd ed., Cairo 1316/1908), is once more available in the ed. of the *Risālat al-tawḥīd* prepared by Maḥmūd Abū Rayya (Cairo 1966, 52-2). Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā himself vigorously affirmed the divine character of the Book (*Tafsīr*, i, 132-3, 220, vi, 71, viii, 10, 280, 303, ix, 178, xii, 499), wholly discounting any rationalist interpretation. The same stance is clear in the works of Ibn Bādīs, in his ḳur'ānic commentary on the *S̲h̲ihāb*: "The Ḳur'ān is the Word of God and His Revelation" (Jan. 1934, 55).

b) *The Ḳur'ān, primary canonical source.* The Ḳur'ān is "the foundation of the religion" (*asās al-dīn*, *Tafsīr*, i, 369, vii, 139, 198, ix, 326; Ibn Bādīs, *S̲h̲ihāb*, Feb. 1936, 95); more than that, it really constitutes religion in all its richness, *bal huwa 'l-dīn kulluhu* (*Tafsīr* vi, 154-67, vii, 139, 198, ix, 326). With the ḳur'ānic revelation, religion was accomplished, according to the divine proclamation: "Today I have perfected your religion . ." (V, 4). By "religion", explains Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā (taking up "the opinion of Ibn ʿAbbās and the majority of the Salaf"), is meant the following: "matters of faith (*ʿaḳā'id*), legal injunctions (*aḥkām*) and ethical ones (*ādāb*)" (*Tafsīr*, vi, 166, at the foot of the page).

The Ḳur'ān is thus the supreme source of the religion. Moreover, it contains, in prototypal form, everything needed for the historical life of the Community. Paraphrasing XVII, 13, Ibn Bādīs concludes: "All that the servants of God have need of to acquire happiness in the two worlds, that is true beliefs, solid moral virtues, just laws, generous sentiments, all this has been clearly expressed in the Ḳur'ān" (*S̲h̲ihāb*, Dec. 1929-Jan. 1930, 7). As far as the political organization of Muslim society and the running of its affairs are concerned, the Ḳur'ān only gives general indications, leaving to the lawful rulers of the Community, the *ūlu 'l-amr*, the task of making decisions according to circumstances and in the best interest (*maṣlaḥa*) of Muslims (cf. *Manār*, iv (1901), 210; *Tafsīr*, iii, 10-1, 12 (important), iv, 199-205 (important), vi, 123, vii, 140-1, 191, xi, 264). The Ḳur'ān is the supreme authority of Islam, and, as such, the problem of its understanding (and consequently of its exegesis) is of capital importance, for the way in which the Revelation is understood governs the manner in which the message is translated into action.

c) *The exegesis of the Ḳur'ān.* Linguistically, the content of the Ḳur'ān is presented in two categories (cf. III, 7). Most of the verses have a self-evident meaning (*muḥkam*) and pose no problems of interpretation. Certain other verses can be the cause of some uncertainty (*mutas̲h̲ābih*) if their apparent sense is adhered to. In this case, the Believer must accept the revealed fact as it is presented (*imrār*) in its most literal sense, showing a confident belief in the truth it contains, a truth which transcends the immediately perceptible linguistic message (cf. *Tafsīr* viii, 453, x, 141). God being the only one to know the reality of the *mutas̲h̲ābih*, the Believer must have the wisdom and humility to commend himself to Him (*tafwīḍ*, *taslīm*). In the eyes of Muḥammad ʿAbduh this act of faith acquires the value of a canonical obligation (*Tafsīr*, i, 252). This is also the position of Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā and Ibn Bādīs (cf. *Tafsīr*, iii, 167, iv, 256, vii, 472, viii, 453, ix, 513, x, 141, xii, 378; *S̲h̲ihāb*, Jan. 1934, 6 June 1939, 206).

The reformist doctrine on the subject of ḳurʾānic exegesis can be defined in relation to the problems of interpretation, *taʾwīl* [*q.v.*], and commentary, *tafsīr* [*q.v.*].

Iṣlāḥ severely condemns subjective interpretation *taʾwīl*), which claims to analyse a "hidden" sense beyond the literal sense, and a more or less gratuitous symbolism beyond the apparent images. On the subject of III, 7, Rashīd Riḍā clearly defines the reformist position (*Tafsīr*, iii, 166 ff.). *Taʾwīl* is a typical example of *bidʿa* (*ibid.*, x, 141), since it cannot be justified either by the *Sunna* or by the tradition of the Salaf, who avoided interpreting uncertain passages (*mutashābih*) of the Scripture by relying on their own understanding (see also Muḥammad ʿAbduh, *Risālat al-tawḥīd*, 7 [Fr. trans., 8]). The Salafiyya's distrust of *taʾwīl* includes all esoteric and mystical interpretations and those of the supporters of a rational explanation at any cost. Cf. *Tafsīr*, i, 252-3, iii, 172-96: an explanation of the reformist doctrine of the subject of the *taʾwīl*, with lengthy quotations from Ibn Taymiyya; criticism of the tendentious exegesis of the "men of *bidaʿ*" (Djahmiyya, Ḳadariyya, Khawāridj, Bāṭiniyya, Bābiyya, Bahāʾiyya, etc.), ix, 131-2; the "heretical" exegesis of the Bāṭiniyya and of excessive Ṣūfism; iv, 191; exegesis which is "orientated" in favour of one sect or another, and which in fact results in giving a purely arbitrary sense to the revealed statement. This is *taḥrīf* itself [*q.v.*], a concept applied in the Ḳurʾān to the "Possessors of the Scriptures" (*ahl al-kitāb*) and applied by the modern reformists to stigmatize the use of the ḳurʾānic exegesis for partisan ends (cf. *Tafsīr*, i, 430, iv, 97, 282, vii, 506; *Shihāb*, Sept. 1935, 344-5). Included in the term *taḥrīf* are pseudo-erudite commentaries which embroider the text with "false legends" (*abāṭīl wa-khurāfāt*), in the style of the *isrāʾīliyyāt* [*q.v.*] so frequently denounced by the reformist authors (*Tafsīr*, i, 8, 18, 347, ii, 455, 471, iv, 466, vi, 332, 355-6, 449, ix, 190, 414, x, 384, xi, 474; *Shihāb*, July 1939, 254). The same warnings were issued against interpretation of the ḳurʾanic passages dealing with the unknowable, *ghayb* [*q.v.*] (cf. *Tafsīr* i, 252, iii, 166 ff., iv, 254 ff. on III, 173, IX, 513; *Shihāb*, Oct. 1930, 534; Jan. 1934, 1-9).

Reformist exegesis tends to banish *taʾwīl* in favour of simple commentary, *tafsīr*, and lays down the principle that, apart from a few verses containing a certain mystery (particularly on the subject of divine attributes, *ṣifāt*, and the states of future life, *aḥwāl al-ākhira*), ḳurʾānic revelation can be made just as comprehensible to contemporary Muslims as it was to the Salaf. Thus, the function of *tafsīr* is revitalized. Freed from its historico-legendary husk and from commentaries of a largely grammatical and rhetorical nature, *tafsīr* becomes a preparation for reading and meditating upon the Ḳurʾān. Those commentators whose primary interest was in the didactic aspect of *tafsīr* have woven a veritable screen (*ḥidjāb*) between Muslims and their sacred book (*Tafsīr*, iii, 302). According to the reformists, the essential aim of *tafsīr* is to elucidate the moral values and spiritual "direction" (*hady*) which nourish religious feeling and guide the piety of the faithful (*ibid.*, i, 25); it must not be seen as a demonstrative discipline capable of establishing scientific and verifiable truths and satisfying the modern mind which is avid for rationality. The reformist commentators (and above all Rashīd Riḍā and Ibn Bādīs) were in no way tempted by scientific exegesis, and, with the odd exception, did not give in to the fashion for compromise which was widespread in their day (cf. the typical case of a Ṭanṭāwī Djawharī (1862-1940), in *MIDEO*, v (1958), 115-74). Consequently Rashīd Riḍā criticizes the lack of discernment with which Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī [*q.v.*] appeals to the scientific culture of his time to pad out his important commentary. He deplores an identical tendency amongst "contemporary commentators [. . .] who display so much seemingly scientific erudition in their *tafsīr*s that they succeed in diverting the reader from the object of the Revelation" (*Tafsīr*, i, 75). Moreover, when speaking of the biblically inspired stories recounted in the Ḳurʾān, Rashīd Riḍā, quoting Muḥammad ʿAbduh, criticizes those who would like to base the truth of the Book on the veracity of the facts it offers to the meditation of the Believers. "The Ḳurʾān is no more a historical work (*taʾrīkh*) than a narrative work (*ḳaṣaṣ*): it is only a moral guide and a source of edification" (*Tafsīr*, ii, 471). The historicity of the ḳurʾānic story is less important than its moral content and its virtue as a source of inspiration. The role of the reformist commentator is above all to bring the ḳurʾānic message as close as possible to the minds and hearts of Muslims. In his task, his goal will of course be to establish the meaning of the verses as exactly as human understanding permits. This implies a profound knowledge of all the resources of Arab lexicography and philology. There are some verses whose message is readily apparent; in some cases, what is revealed can be made more explicit with the help of references and parallels found in the Ḳurʾān itself (*tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān bi 'l-Ḳurʾān*); in other cases it is necessary to employ early exegesis by returning to the versions given by the Great Companions and their principal disciples amongst the *tābiʿūn*, following the explanations supplied by the Prophet in person as part of the revelation. Any exegesis not based on proofs (*dalāʾil*) taken from the *Sunna* (in the absence of explicit scriptural reference) is suspect and thus unacceptab e (Muḥammad ʿAbduh, *Risālat al-tawḥīd*, 129 (Fr. trans., 137); *Tafsīr* i, 8, 174-5, iii, 327). Hence the idea of the fundamentally complementary nature of the Scripture and the *Sunna*.

2.—The Sunna.—From the standpoint of *iṣlāḥ* the *Sunna* must be placed next to Revelation as second canonical source. However, reformist teaching is not in complete agreement on whether it is a constitutive source, like Revelation, or simply an explanation of the latter. The following are the main doctrinal positions:

The Sunna is of the same essence as the Ḳurʾān.—This is the point of view of Ibn Bādīs, who affirms the profound unity that links the *Sunna* and the Scriptures. "The expression: 'Revelation of the Lord compassionate', [Ḳurʾān, XXXVI, 58] means that the religion is, in its entirety, a revelation from God . . . for the source of Islam . . . is the Ḳurʾān, which is a divine revelation, and the *Sunna*, which is also a revelation, as these words of the Almighty prove [quotation of LIII, 4]" (*Shihāb*, Feb. 1936, 95). This radical position is similar to that of the Ẓāhirite Ibn Ḥazm, who also held the *Sunna* to be on a par with Revelation (cf. his *Iḥkām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām*, Cairo 1345/1927, i, 121-2. *Ḥadīth* provides an argument in favour of this thesis (cf. Wensinck, *Handbook*, 223 A: "—revealed to Muḥammad by Djibrīl just as the Ḳurʾān was revealed"). It was only partially shared by Rashīd Riḍā, but he admits that "revelation is not limited to the Ḳurʾān" (*Tafsīr* . . ., ii, 139, v, 279, 470). Some of the Prophet's teachings, on the inspiration of the Holy Spirit (*al-rūḥ al-ḳudus*)

have the same importance as the Ḳur'ān, but their level of expression does not assume the inimitable nature of the latter (*ibid.*, v, 279, § 3).

The Sunna makes Revelation explicit.—All the reformist authors agree on this point. The Ḳur'ān clearly says that the Prophet's mission is to make manifest to men (*li-tubayyina li 'l-nās*) the true meaning of the Scriptures (*Tafsīr* . . ., ii, 30, vi, 159, 472, vii, 139, viii, 255, 309; *S̲h̲ihāb*, Oct. 1930, 532; Feb. 1932, 73). The *Sunna* is second in importance to the Book, since it is an explanatory instrument (*Tafsīr* . . ., iv, 18, on III, 101); the Ḳur'ān constitutes the totality of the religion, and the *Sunna* is an integral part of the latter only in the sense that it explains what was revealed (*ibid.*, ix, 326). Herein lies the status of the *Sunna* as the second canonical source.

By *Sunna* is meant only the texts of *Ḥadīt̲h̲* the authenticity of which has been duly established (cf. Muḥammad ʿAbduh, *Risālat al-tawḥīd*, 129 [Fr. transl., 132]), a very limited number of traditions which refer above all to the dogmas of faith and the forms of worship (e.g. prayer, pilgrimage). Beyond these descriptive traditions of holy acts, the remaining traditions about which there is no doubt (e.g. those with a moral content) "do not number more than a dozen" (*Risālat al-tawḥīd*, ed. Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā 202 note 2; *Tafsīr* . . ., v, 365). A tradition is not necessarily to be believed just because it is attributed to the Prophet, even if it carries the authority of an eminent traditionist or famous teacher. Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā cites the example of G̲h̲azālī, who gave as authentic traditions which were "insignificant or simply invented" (*Tafsīr*, vii, 31). He was also severely critical of the apocryphal traditions (*mawḍūʿ*), attributing their origin to various factors: *zandaḳa* [*q.v.*], sectarianism, flattery towards rulers, human error, and senile forgetfulness. Moreover, rigorism and puritanism encouraged the traditionists to incorporate into *Ḥadīt̲h̲* moral maxims which they considered just as edifying as certain traditions called "weak".

The problem of the authenticity of *Ḥadīt̲h̲* is extremely important from the reformist point of view, for the authenticity of a *sunna* is the basis of its authority as a canonical source. All that is transmitted by the Prophet originates from God and must therefore be an article of faith for Believers (Ḳur'ān, IV, 80: "Whoever obeys the Messenger has obeyed Allāh"). Thus Muslims have every right to reject any normative tradition the authenticity of which is not absolutely beyond doubt, as is the Ḳur'ān. Hence the necessity of great care in distinguishing between the *Sunna*, which carries the same authority as Scripture, and the traditions whose authenticity has not been completely established, even if they are in harmony with the "spirit" of the Salaf. In fact, the Salafiyya only recognize the normative value of a very small number of *ḥādīt̲h̲s* which are held to be rigorously authentic: *aḥādīt̲h̲ mutawātira, wa-ḳalīlᵘⁿ mā hī* (*Manār*, iii, 572). By stating that Muslims are obliged to follow "the Ḳur'ān and the *Sunna*, and them alone" (al-Kawākibī, *Umm al-ḳurā*, 73; Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā, *Tafsīr* . . ., *passim*; Ibn Bādīs, *S̲h̲ihāb*, Feb. 1936, 95), the reformists based their doctrine on the teachings of the Prophet (cf. Wensinck, *Handbook*, 130 A: "Clinging to Ḳur'ān and *Sunna* alone"; 223 A: "Confining oneself to Ḳur'ān and *Sunna*"). But, bearing in mind their very limitative conception of the *Sunna*, they maintain in fact that Islam as a religion (*dīn*) can essentially be reduced to the Ḳur'ān.

The doctrine of *iṣlāḥ* tends to attach a greater importance to the Ḳur'ān as a source than to *Ḥadīt̲h̲* as it has generally been accepted in classical dogmas. This trend is taken to its logical conclusion in the works of recent authors, who reduce the authority of *Ḥadīt̲h̲* almost out of existence in favour of the Ḳur'ān and *id̲j̲tihād* [*q.v.*] (cf. Maḥmūd Abū Rayya, a former disciple of Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā: *Aḍwā ʿala 'l-sunna al-muḥammadiyya*, Cairo 1958; and on present positions on the subject of *Ḥadīt̲h̲*: *REI*, 1954, *Abstracta*, 117-23; G. H. A. Juynboll, *The authenticity of the tradition literature*, Leiden 1969).

Logically, Islam could no doubt be defined exclusively in relation to the Ḳur'ān, a thesis upheld by another disciple of Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā, Muḥammad Tawfīḳ Ṣidḳī, in his work *al-Islām huwa 'l-Ḳur'ān waḥdahu* which is a programme in its own right (*Manār* ix (1906), 515-25, 906-25). For this author, the foundations of Islam are the Book of God and Reason. Any doctrinal element imputed to Islam which satisfies neither the criterion of the given facts of the Ḳur'ān nor the fundamental demands of reason must be declared unacceptable. Elsewhere, M. T. Ṣidḳī demands complete freedom in evaluating the *Sunna*. It must be limited in so far as it is in disagreement with the objective facts of the Book, but where it puts forward principles of wisdom (*ḥikma*) there is nothing to prevent the Believer from referring to it, as he might to any (profane) source. The Salafiyya certainly do not go to quite these lengths. The thesis of Muḥammad Tawfīḳ Ṣidḳī (presented with some reservations by Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā) was immediately refuted by a defender of the classical doctrine (cf. Ṭāhā al-Bis̲h̲rī, *Uṣūl al-Islām*: *al-Ḳur'ān, al-Sunna, al-id̲j̲māʿ, al-ḳiyās*, in *Manār*, ix, 699-711). In the eyes of the Salafiyya Islam cannot be reduced to matters of faith and canonical obligation (*ibādāt*) which can only be held to be true in so far as they originate from Revelation and the very small number of *ḥadīt̲h̲s* shown to be authentic (*mutawātir*). Islam is also a political and social system, a complex of ethical values, a culture. In matters of usage (*ʿādāt*) and human relations (*muʿāmalāt*) determined by a socio-cultural framework which is not ruled by scriptural dispositions (*naṣṣ*), the *Sunna* and the traditions of the Salaf are helpful and instructive; they are indeed exemplary and worthy of the attention of Muslims as an excellent reference for both action and moral life. Beside these two sources, *iṣlāḥ* attaches great value to the tradition of the Salaf, which it holds to be eminently representative of the Prophet's tradition and thus indispensable for anybody who wishes to grasp the authentic message of Islam at its source.

3.—The tradition of the Salaf.—To a large extent, *iṣlāḥ* appeals to the tradition of the Salaf as an explanatory source for the *Sunna* and an important reference point for understanding the general meaning of Islam. The term *salaf* designates a fact that is both historical and cultural. It implies firstly the idea of anteriority (cf. Ḳur'ān XLIII, 57), which in classical usage is naturally linked with the idea of authority and exemplariness. The Salaf are precisely the "virtuous forefathers" (*al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*), the predecessors whose perfect orthodoxy, piety, holiness, and religious knowledge make them men worthy of being taken as models and guides. But, in the absence of sure and sufficient biographical references, these are difficult to ascertain. It is not so much their personal qualities, however striking, that make for the authority of the Salaf, but rather their historical experience, their contact with the

Prophet in some cases and with his Companions and Successors in others. Among the innumerable witnesses of primitive Islam, the Salaf are exemplary. They represent a certain form of Islamic orthodoxy at a given period of history. Hence the need to sketch the historical context of the Salaf. The chronological points of reference are inexact and often contradictory. By *salaf* was meant, for example:—a. the "Mother of the Believers", ʿĀʾis̲h̲a, and the Patriarchal Caliphs, as well as Ṭalḥa and Zubayr (Lane, Book iv, 1408 C);—b. the principle *tābiʿūn* (*ibid.*);—c. the Prophet's Companions (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, ed. Maʿārif, i, 93);—d. The Companions and their successors (*tābiʿūn*, on the one hand in relation to the founders of the four *mad̲h̲habs* (cf. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal who talks of "our pious forefathers", *salafūna al-ṣāliḥ*, Wensinck, *Concordances* . . . ., i, 505 B); and on the other the latter and their immediate disciples in relation to succeeding generations (al-Tahānawī, *Kas̲h̲s̲h̲āf iṣṭilāḥāt al-funūn*, ed. K̲h̲ayyāṭ, iii, 676-7). In the works of modern reformist authors the definition of the Salaf is just as vague. For Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā they are the most eminent representatives of the primitive Islamic community, *al-ṣadr al-awwal* (*Tafsīr*, ii, 81, vii, 143, 198), those of the "first epoch", *al-ʿaṣr al-awwal* (*ibid.*, vi, 196, iii, 572), which covers the first three generations, *ḳarn* (this term is not to be taken in the modern sense of "century" but in that of a "generation of men" (*d̲j̲īl*) who lived during the same period of seventy to eighty years [*ibid.*, xi, 314, xii, 190]). In the works of Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā and Ibn Bādīs we find the same traditional definition of the three first generations; *i.e.*, that of the Prophet and his Companions (*ṣaḥāba*), that of their Followers (*tābiʿūn*) and that of the Successors of the latter, *atbāʿ al-tābiʿīn* (*Tafsīr*, viii, 50; *S̲h̲ibāb*, April 1937, 434), generations "which surpass in excellence (*k̲h̲ayriyya*) all others, as is witnessed by the Impeccable [*i.e.*, Muḥammad]" (S̲h̲ihāb, Feb. 1932, 66, allusion to the *ḥadīt̲h̲*: "the best of generations is mine, then the following, then that which comes after", cf. Wensinck, *Handbook*, 48A, lg. 40: "the best. . .". This is worth comparing with the other *ḥadīt̲h̲*, quoted by al-S̲h̲āfiʿī, *Risāla*, ed. A. M. S̲h̲ākir, 474, no. 1315: "Honour my Companions and those who follow them and those who follow these; after which untruth will appear", cf. Wensinck, *Handbook* 48 B "Muḥammad admonishes. . .").

A few chronological points of reference will serve as rough definitions of the three groups which make up the Salaf:—a) The *ṣaḥāba* (or *aṣḥāb*), who date from the first conversions (at Mecca in 610 and Medina in June 621) until the death of Anas b. Mālik (91/710 or 93/712), considered to be the last survivor of the Prophet's Companions (cf. Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar al-ʿAsḳalānī, *Iṣāba*, i, 138; Ibn Ḥazm, *Iḥkām*, iv, 152);—b) The *tābiʿūn*: a large number of these were contemporaries of the Prophet's Companions; some might even have been alive during the Prophet's lifetime but without satisfying the conditions which would have permitted them to be classed among the *ṣaḥāba*. The last of the *tābiʿūn* died around 180/796 (*e.g.*: Hus̲h̲aym b. Bas̲h̲īr al-Sulamī, d. 183/799. He transmitted to Mālik and Sufyān al-T̲h̲awrī among others).—c) The *atbāʿ al-tābiʿīn*. There are no sufficiently precise criteria enabling us to define exactly this group of men; the reformists refer to them less frequently than to the other two, especially on the important question of ḳurʾānic exegesis (cf. *Tafsīr*, iii, 179, 208). In fact, they are essentially the most eminent disciples of the great *tābiʿūn*, *kibār al-tābiʿīn* (like al-Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, 101/720; al-S̲h̲aʿbī, d. 104/723; al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, d. 110/729; Ibn Sīrīn, d. 110/729). The middle of the 3rd/9th century can be taken as the *terminus ad quem* of this last group of Salaf. Also covered by the term Salaf are "the doctors of the second and third generations" (*Tafsīr*, ii, 82), notably the founders of the four Sunnī *mad̲h̲habs* and a certain number of their contemporaries, the strongest religious personalities from the early days of Islam, such as al-Awzāʿī (d. 157/774), Sufyān al-T̲h̲awrī (d. 161/778), al-Layt̲h̲ b. Saʿd (d. 175/791) and Isḥāḳ b. Rāhwayh (d. 238/853, cf. *Tafsīr*, vii, 552, viii, 453). Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) would appear to be one of the last representatives of the age of the Salaf.

In reformist usage, the Salaf are sometimes mentioned in opposition to the *K̲h̲alaf* or "later generations", under whose influence the message of Islam has been obscured, if not distorted, by innovation, the fanaticism of the Schools, and the mushrooming of sects (cf. *Tafsīr* viii, 269). This conception might appear simplistic, implying that reformists should cut themselves off from the cultural current which has never ceased to refresh the body of the *Umma* throughout the centuries. In fact the position of the Salafiyya is more subtle: outside the period of the Salaf defined above, the modern reformists do not refuse to take into consideration the contributions made by the "independent" (*mustaḳill*) doctors —independent of the Schools and Parties—who, following the example of the Salaf, were free from all sectarianism and all narrowmindedness, and whose only concern was to safeguard the integrity of the *Sunna* and the unity of the Community. Thus Abū Isḥāḳ al-S̲h̲āṭibī (d. 790/1388) is highly esteemed by Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā (cf. the eulogistic article that he devoted to him in *K. al-Iʿtiṣām*, Cairo 1332/1914, i, 1-9; *Tafsīr*, vi, 156-63, vii, 193). Moreover, the Salafiyya venerate a number of outstanding Sunnī teachers and mystics such as al-G̲h̲azālī (d. 505/1111), al-D̲j̲uwaynī (d. 438/1047), his son the Imām al-Ḥaramayn (d. 478/1085), and Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328), even though they came later than the Salaf (cf. *Tafsīr*, xi, 378). These they consider as "guides to salvation" (*aʾimmat al-hudā*), seeing them as bearers of the light which brought about the periodic revival of Muslim spirituality. In the line of such men who rejuvenated Islam and faithful transmitted the ideas of the Salaf is Muḥammad ʿAbduh; to the supporters of modern reformism he is the master (*al-ustād̲h̲ al-imām*) the one who really inaugurated the renewal of Islam at the dawn of the 20th century.

Fidelity to the moral and religious tradition of the Salaf is a fundamental demand of *iṣlāḥ*. Besides the two sources, the reformists proclaim this tradition as their only basic point of reference, justifying their attitude by the following arguments:—a) *The Salaf received the sacred inheritance from the Prophet* (the dogmas of the faith, the form of worship), and transmitted it faithfully, in word and deed, *ḳawl^an^ wa-ʿamal^an^* (*Tafsīr*, vi, 277). They are the guarantors of the *Sunna* (*ibid.*, ii, 30, 82), and their liturgical tradition must be adhered to as an ideal norm, in the sense that it actualizes the spirituality of the Prophet, and to imitate this must be the highest ambition of every Muslim.—b) *The Salaf best understood and followed the ḳurʾānic message*, as it was handed down to them fresh from the Revelation (*g̲h̲aḍḍ^an^ kamā unzila*). After the Prophet, they are most qualified to interpret the Scriptures (*Tafsīr*, iii, 178, 182, vi, 196; cf. R. Blachère, *Introd. au Coran*, 225 ff.). Their reading and their meditations on the Book are indispensable for a modern understanding of the Ḳurʾān, which must avoid being both too literal or too subjective—and thus arbitrary—

12 years before the Hidjra	Beginning of Muḥammad's preaching	610
	First conversions at Mecca	
15 months before the Hidjra		VI. 621
	First conversions at Medina	
The Hidjra		IX. 622
	Death of the Prophet	
Year 10		VI. 632
	The last Companions (I)	
Death of Anas 91-3		710/12
	The last of the *tābiʿūn* (II)	
c. 180		c. 796
	The last of the *atbāʿ al-tābiʿīn* (III)	
Death of Ibn Ḥanbal 241		855

Class I · Class II · Class III

approximate limit of the age of the Salaf

c) *The Salaf are the best source of information we have about the life* of the Prophet and about the way he put the Revelation into practice. On many factual points their unanimous accounts (*idjmāʿ*) are irreplacable, rounding off information given by the two sources. The Salaf thus provide the necessary framework for an understanding of the Revelation and the *Sunna*.

A complement to the *Sunna* and a source of inspiration in Islamic life (in spiritual matters as well as in secular acts), the tradition of the Salaf is more than an object of veneration for the modern reformists. The Salafiyya do not wish to be a group frozen in admiration of an ideal image of Islam reflected by the Salaf. They aspire rather to live Islam within modern society, in a simple and true manner, following the example of the Salaf. Moreover, for the theoreticians of *iṣlāḥ*, this ideal expresses their desire to rebuild the Muslim personality, not by copying foreign values and cultures but by drawing from the moral and cultural tradition of early Islam. It is this ideal that Ibn Bādīs defended in his column in *Shihāb*: *Ridjāl al-Salaf wa-nisāʾu-h* ("[famous] Men and Women in early Islam"): "Our aim is to make our readers aware of a number of our pious forefathers—men and women—underlining the eminent qualities they owed to Islam and the lofty acts they performed in its service; for their example can strengthen the hearts of Muslims, contribute to their moral improvement, inspire them with great projects, and breathe new life into them. There is no *life* for the generation of today without the *life* of the Salaf, which is nothing but their living history and the everlasting memory of them" (*Shihāb*, Jan. 1934, 14). In like manner, reformist authors tended to exploit systematically the historical and literary facts relating to the Salaf in order to point moral as well as social and political lessons. (Cf. the examples given in *Tafsīr*, iii, 92: ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, 374: Abū Ṭalḥa Zayd b. Sahl; 375: ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar; 376: ʿAbd Allāh b. Djaʿfar; vii, 21-23: ʿUthmān b. Maẓʿūn and ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib; viii, 225: Zayd b. ʿAlī and his companions, cited as martyrs (*fidāʾiyyūn*) of religious and political *iṣlāḥ*; x, 654-5: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf; see also the examples presented in A. Merad, *Le Réformisme musulman*, 287 ff.; ʿUbāda b. al-Ṣāmit and his wife Umm Ḥarām, Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī, Bilāl b. Rabāḥ, al-Nuʿmān b. ʿAdī al-ʿAdawī; 325-6: Laylā al-Shifāʾ bint ʿAmr). Biographical literature concerning the beginnings of Islam (beyond that of the *Sīra* itself) became an inexhaustible mine of historical and moral meditation for the reformists (cf. the column of *Manār*: *Āthār al-salaf ʿibra li 'l-khalaf*: that of *Shihāb* (already referred to): *Ridjāl al-salaf wa-nisāʾu-h* (from 1934 on); the lyrical and moralizing odes to the glory of the Patriarchal Caliphs like the *ʿUmariyya* (Feb. 1918, 190 lines) by Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm (d. 1932) and the *ʿAlawiyya* (Nov. 1919, more than 300 lines) by Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib (d. 1931); Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, *Maʿa 'l-raʿīl al-awwal*[2], Cairo, 1378/1958).

The historico-cultural importance of the Salaf in the methodology of *iṣlāḥ* is considerable. Even though the Salafiyya give priority to the two sources, they put forward the principle that the Revelation and the *Sunna* inaugurated a new order in human history, and that that order became a complete living reality in and through the acts of the Salaf. Thus the reformist conception of Islam could be summarized in a statement of the following type: "The constituents of Islam are the ḳurʾānic revelation, Muḥammad's *Sunna*, and the tradition of the pious forefathers (*wa-mā kāna ʿalayh al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ*)", viewing this tradition from the aspect of its moral and dogmatic content (*Tafsīr*, vii, 143, 198, ix, 132, xi, 378; Ibn Bādīs, *Shihāb*, Feb. 1934, 99). Because they felt it was the concrete expression of the ideal "way" of Islam, the reformists continually cite the tradition of the *Salaf* in support of their missionary activity (*daʿwa*) and their teaching in matters of ḳurʾānic exegesis or social and political ethics. This fidelity to the Salaf governs one of the main doctrinal premises of *iṣlāḥ*.

C.—The Principal Doctrinal Positions.— *Iṣlāḥ* aims at a total reform of Muslim life.

1.—*For the reform of worldly matters*, *iṣlāḥ* employed oral teaching (*waʿẓ*, *irshād*) in mosques and through cultural circles well-disposed toward the Salafiyya movement. Screened by their educational and scholastic (*al-tarbiya wa 'l-taʿlīm*) or charitable (*khayriyya*) works, these associations attempted to implement the great aims of the reformists. In addition, *iṣlāḥ* was diffused by means of many publications and periodicals, some of which, like the *Manār* in the East (1898-1935), run by Rashīd Riḍā, or the *Shihāb* in the Maghrib (1924-39), edited by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Bādīs, had a deep and lasting influence.

The general reformist themes propagated among the masses can be summarized as follows: the restora-

tion of worship to its original form (which entailed certain liturgical changes, minor in themselves, but extremely irritating to traditionalist Sunnīs); preaching against a host of practices which seemed religious but had no foundation either in the Prophet's *Sunna* or in the tradition of the Salaf (funeral rites such as the public recitation of the Ḳur'ān over the tomb, the celebration of the *mawlid* [*q.v.*] etc.); and warning against pious beliefs and practices which the Salafiyya felt bore traces of the survival of paganism or the manifestation of *s̲h̲irk* [*q.v.*] (cult of the saints, invocation of the dead, etc.). The reformers also exhorted the faithful to unite, to worship in solidarity aside from the divergences of Schools and to overcome the traditional opposition between Sunnism and S̲h̲īʿism; and they encouraged the development of a moral censorship designed both to ensure the canonical obligation to obey God and eliminate Evil, and also to cleanse Muslim society of vice, gambling, the use of alcoholic beverages and drugs, etc. The education of Muslim men (and especially women) in elementary hygiene and domestic economy (including the encouragement to save) was important, as was the cultivation of a taste for order and work well done. Other educational aims were the awakening of the Muslims' intellectual curiosity, so that they might study modern science and foreign languages; and the support of projects for youth such as scouting, artistic activities, cultural activity within the many circles (*nādī*) and associations of Young Muslims (*d̲j̲amʿiyyat al-s̲h̲ubbān al-muslimīn*). All this comprised an attempt to hasten the birth of new Muslim men, capable of facing fearlessly—and without the risk of alienation—the problems of the contemporary world.

2.—*For theoretical reform.* It is important to stress that the principal reformist authors were above all men of action who did not have the time to elaborate well-developed doctrinal works. The main religious ideas of Muḥammad ʿAbduh are set out in his *Risālat al-tawḥīd*, in 133 small pages. The rest of his teachings can be found scattered piecemeal through the bulky *Tafsīr* by Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā, where his work cannot easily be distinguished from his disciples'. Al-Kawākibī (who died prematurely in 1902) produced no more than two essays: *Ṭabāʾiʿ al-istibdād* and *Umm al-ḳurā*, which contain only a small proportion of theoretical thought. The Algerian reformer, Ibn Bādīs, who, like ʿAbduh, introduced many new ideas throughout his life, left no more than a series of articles of ḳur'ānic commentary (that is, about 500 octavo pages), published in the *S̲h̲ihāb* (cf. A. Merad, *Ibn Bādīs, commentateur du Coran*). There remains the considerable work of Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā, in particular his *Tafsīr* (*Tafsīr al-Manār*), which is the most important source for the study of the dogmatic positions of modern *iṣlāḥ*. The many secondary reformist authors simply developed the ideas of their masters when they were not simply imitating their writings and teaching.

The efforts of the Salafiyya centered particularly on criticism of the fashionable doctrines of their time, either on the grounds that they were a rigid form of classical doctrine (that of the Sunnī schools), or that they were rash analyses and formulations, the result of a modernism that was dubious in principle and incompatible with the criteria of orthodoxy which *iṣlāḥ* had set up. At the same time, the reformists attempted to work out "ideal" Islamic positions, bearing in mind the objective facts given in the two sources and the fundamental conceptions of the Salaf; the latter were essentially viewed through the interpretation of Ibn Taymiyya and his pupil Ibn Ḳayyim al-D̲j̲awziyya (d. 751/1350), whom they considered the soundest authorities on the tradition of the Salaf (cf. *Tafsīr*, i, 253: it is thanks to these two that the author adhered so serenely (*iṭmaʾanna ḳalbī*) to the doctrines attributed to the Salaf). From the critical works and commentaries of the reformists (cf. *Bibliography*) we can distinguish the following doctrinal positions:

I.—*Methodology.*—The dominant Sunnī doctrine based canonical knowledge (*ʿilm*) on four fundamental sources (*uṣūl* [*q.v.*]): the Ḳur'ān, the *Sunna*, the *id̲j̲māʿ* and the *id̲j̲tihād* (cf. al-S̲h̲āfiʿī, *Risāla*, 478-9, nos. 1329-2; J. Schacht, UṢŪL, in *EI*[1]; idem, FIKH, in *EI*[2]). Starting from these four sources, juridical and moral rules (*aḥkām*) are deduced according to well-defined criteria which are the subject-matter of the science of the *uṣūl*. *Iṣlāḥ* adheres to the classical theory of the four sources (*Tafsīr* v, 187, 201, xi, 267), without accepting traditional criteria in their entirety (*ibid.*, v, 187, 201, 203, 208, 417). The reformist stance can be summarized under the following headings: the authority of the two Sources; the rejection of *taḳlīd*; a new conception of *id̲j̲tihād* and *id̲j̲māʿ*; and the necessary distinction between the *ʿibādāt* and the *ʿādāt*.

1.—*The two Sources* (Ḳur'ān and *Sunna*) constitute the basis of the whole legal system in Islam. Their authority frees Muslims from exclusive submission to traditional doctrinal authorities, thus effectively wiping out the divergences (*ik̲h̲tilāf*) between Schools (*mad̲h̲āhib*), the secular opposition between Sunnis and S̲h̲īʿism, and the hatred nurtured in Sunnī circles for sects felt to be heretical (particularly all K̲h̲arid̲j̲ism, in its present form of the Ibāḍiyya [*q.v.*]). By returning to first principles, Muslims will be able to overcome the divisive effect of the Schools but will still be able to take up all that is best from each of the many contributions (Ibn Bādīs, *S̲h̲ihāb*, March 1936, 654, Nov. 1938, 230). This would permit, for example, the possibility of an eventual unification of Muslim legislation. By preaching tirelessly for a return to first principles, the reformists were led to voice severe criticism of the orthodox Schools and their teachers, the *fuḳahāʾ* (cf. al-Kawākibī, *Umm al-ḳurā*, 72 ff.; Muḥ. ʿAbduh, *Risālat al-tawḥīd*, 15, 101, (Fr. trans. 19, 107); Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā, *Tafsīr*, ii, 258-9, iii, 9-11, iv, 49, 280, vii, 145 and following references). In their eyes, the Schools generally identified themselves with trends hostile to reason and science (*Tafsīr*, ii, 91-3); they hindered the research carried out by *id̲j̲tihād* and consequently helped to stop the cultural progress of the Community; they in fact gave priority to the study of *fiḳh* over knowledge based on the Ḳur'ān and on the Prophet's *Sunna* (*ibid.*, v, 106, 120, ix, 129-30, x, 429); they placed the authority of the "doctors" higher than the authority of the only legitimate and worthwhile *mad̲h̲hab*: that of the Salaf (*ibid.*, ix, 133). By encouraging the unconditional submission of the masses to their doctors, the Schools ignored ḳur'ānic teaching, which says that Muslims must cling together (*d̲j̲amīʿan*) to the one and only rope of salvation, the rope of Allāh (*ḥabl Allāh*), which is the Ḳur'ān (cf. the commentary of Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā on this ḳur'ānic ref. (III, 98): *Tafsīr*, v, 20 ff.). The return to the two sources (and to the tradition of the Salaf) would thus be a unifying and reconciling factor for Muslims. Freed of their fanaticism and mutual prejudices, Muslims could reunite in the fundamental unity of their *Umma*, rediscovering their original fraternity, over and above their ethnic and cultural ties. (The theme of the return to first principles was a powerful argument in favour of pan-Islamism, an idea dear to the reformist authors).

Can the return to first principles advocated by the Salafiyya be seen as reactionary? The reformists were not trying to restore to the old symbols (such as *sunna, umma, djamāʿa, imām, dār al-islām, idjmāʿ, idjtihād*) the exact same significance they had had at the time of the Salaf. Rather, such a return expresses their desire to take the two sources as an essential (but not exclusive) basis for their reflection, in order to solve the moral problems that the modern world poses to Muslims. The use to which they put certain symbols found in the Ḳurʾān or the *Sunna* sometimes corresponds to preoccupations arising from daily life in the modern world. Behind what appears to be a fundamentalist return to the sources of Islam, the Salafiyya are in fact attempting to work towards a moral and doctrinal renewal by searching for subtle concordances between the Scriptures and present-day realities (see, *e.g.*, the concepts of *shūrā* (Ḳurʾān, II, 233; III, 159) and of *ūlū 'l-amr* (Ḳurʾān, IV, 59) and their respective interpretations by Rashīd Riḍā, *Tafsīr* ii, 414, iv, 199-205, v, 180-190). A logical consequence of the principle of a return to the sources is the rejection of *taḳlīd* [*q.v.*] and the search for new ways of practising *idjtihād*.

2.—*Taḳlīd*. The reformists vigorously criticized the spirit of servile dependance upon traditional doctrinal authorities (notably in the orthodox Schools). The concept of *taḳlīd* obviously does not apply either to the pious imitation of the Prophet, which is held to be a canonical obligation (cf. Ḳurʾān IV, 59, XXXIII, 21), nor to the trusting acceptance of the tradition of the Salaf, whose moral and doctrinal authority is loudly proclaimed by the reformists (see above). In these cases, the word *ittibāʿ* (active fidelity) to the traditions of both the Prophet and the Salaf was used instead of *taḳlīd*. (Cf. in this respect the distinction made by Rashīd Riḍā, *Tafsīr*, v, 238). Such a fidelity regulates and inspires the general mission of *iṣlāḥ*, which offers the imitation of the Prophet as an "ideal of knowledge and action" (H. Laouist, *Essai*, 226). For Ibn Bādīs, the better the imitation the better is the reformist mission (*daʿwa*) accomplished (*Shihāb*, April 1935, 8). *Ittabāʿ* is the attempt to reach authenticity; it is the opposite of the spirit of speculation and innovation (*ibtidāʿ*), which is as reprehensible at a religious level as is the passive acceptance of the teachings of authority. In any case, *taḳlīd* is quite different from the attempt to model one's life on the exemplary lives (*iḳtidāʾ*) of people who, because of their piety or holiness, are worthy of imitation (*Tafsīr*, vi, 415). Finally, the considered acceptance of interpretations supplied by the most eminent *mudjtahid* cannot be described as *taḳlīd*, since they do not claim to be legislators (*shāriʿūn*) independent of God and His Prophet, but only sound guides to a better understanding of the divine Law and the *Sunna* (*ibid.*, v, 238). The same applies to the obedience which is normally due to the *ūlū 'l-amr* (Ḳurʾān, IV, 59), who work together in explaining the Law, in applying it and, generally, in putting ḳurʾānic values into practice at every level of Muslim life. The reformist criticism of *taḳlīd* is aimed both at mindless conformism and the deliberate support given to social and political structures which prevent progress and personal initiative in the name of a static vision of religion and culture. For the *muḳallid*, the reformists feel, religious life is merely the expression of acquired habits and the passive acceptance of the *status quo*; their worship is reduced to verbal formulae which have no profound meaning; and religious rites dwindle to mechanically repeated acts which have no reforming and sanctifying value. Looked at in this light, *taḳlīd* is the opposite of the spiritual and ethical demands made by the Ḳurʾān.

The Ḳurʾān contains many statements condemning mindless submission to those who went before, to the "fathers" (*ābāʾ*), a theme much used by reformist writers: *Tafsīr*, i, 425, iv, 63 (the refusal to see *taḳlīd* as the distinctive mark of Islam); viii, 21, (ref. to *sūra* XC), ix, 570, x, 428 (*taḳlīd* is condemned by the Ḳurʾān); i, 425, ii, 83, vii, 143 (it is strongly discouraged by the Salaf and the first great thinkers); v, 296, viii, 30, 144 (it is a source of error); i, 448, iii, 236, v, 296 (it is an obstacle to personal meditation on Revelation); ii, 76, viii, 169, ix, 179, x, 432 (it encourages a new form of idolatry: the excessive veneration of authorities and masters); i, 429, iii, 202, 258, iv, 49, vii, 145 (it leads to sectarianism and fanaticism); ii, 76, 108, viii, 399 (it is a cause of disunion and weakness in the Community). Since it sets greater store on arguments from authority than on personal thought and experience, *taḳlīd* is contrary to the spirit of Islam, which recognizes in reasoning beings the faculty of taking decisions in all conscience (*ibid.*, xii, 220-1; see also Muḥammad Iḳbāl's remarks in *The Reconstruction* . . ., 125-9 [Fr. trans., 136-41]). The reformist argument makes continual appeals to this sort of objection when denouncing the illegitimate (*buṭlān*) and illicit (*taḥrīm*) nature of *taḳlīd* and stressing its negative effects on Muslim teaching and ethics. *Taḳlīd* is also blamed for the cultural stagnation of Islam and the passive submission of the Muslim masses to traditional religious structures (*ʿulamāʾ* and *shaykh*s of the brotherhoods); cf. *Tafsīr*, iii, 325-7, x, 425-35, xii, 221; Rashīd Riḍā, *al-Waḥda al-islāmiyya*, *passim*; Ibn Bādīs, *Shihāb*, Nov. 1932, 552-57; A. Merad, *Le Réformisme musulman*, 275-6. In the reformist view, the concept of *taḳlīd* inevitably brings to mind that of *idjtihād*, with which it forms one of the antithetical couples (*tawḥīd*/*shirk*, *sunna*/*bidʿa*, *ittibāʿ*/*ibtidāʿ*, *salaf*/*khalaf*) around which the doctrine of *iṣlāḥ* is firmly articulated.

3.—*Idjtihād*. *Iṣlāḥ* affirms the necessity and legitimacy of the use of the *idjtihād*, which Rashīd Riḍā sees as "a life-force in religion" (*ḥayāt al-dīn*, *Tafsīr*, ii, 399). The fiction of the "closing of the gate" of *idjtihād* (from the 4th/10th century on) is thus abandoned and with it the whole heritage of interdictions and myths which weighed heavily on the Muslim conscience for so long. But the reformists did not regard the opening of the mind to *idjtihād* as absolute freedom for the critical spirit to call everything into question. Complete liberty of conscience in religious matters would lead to speculation without end (*ibid.*, viii, 317), which was not what the Salafiyya wanted. Conservative Sunnism nevertheless blamed *iṣlāḥ* for encouraging innovation and favouring doctrinal "anarchy" (*ibid.*, ii, 273, xi, 253). The theme of *taḳlīd* has been a constant source of misunderstanding between the reformists and their traditionalist adversaries, because neither agreed on the definition of this principle nor on the extent to which it can be applied. The traditionalists, who thought of religion (in its broadest sense) as a divine work which is perfectly complete (Ḳurʾān, V, 5), were afraid that modern criticism might use *idjtihād* to undermine the essential foundations of Islam. But the reformist conception of *idjtihād* also had its limiting conditions.

Firstly, *iṣlāḥ* defined an intangible sphere, which included the dogmas of the faith (*ʿaḳāʾid*), fundament-

al worship (*ʿibādāt*) and canonical prohibitions (*taḥrīm dīnī*), which are all based on the Scriptures, either because of their explicit and formal nature or because of the irrefutable authenticity of their interpretation (*mā huwa ḳaṭʿī 'l-riwāya wa 'l-dalāla*: *Tafsīr*, i, 118 (bis), xi, 268, 265; *al-Waḥda al-islāmiyya*, 136). In this domain there is no room for *idjtihād* (*Tafsīr*, v, 211, viii, 217, x, 432, xi, 268), for it would be intolerably presumptuous to attempt to question fundamental religious facts, which form "a divine institution, revealed by God" (*ibid.*, ii, 18, x, 432). Apart from these sacred matters, *iṣlāḥ* permits the use of *idjtihād*, while placing it on two distinct planes, each with a particular significance.

a)—As an effort to understand the two sources, *idjtihād* is part of the right—and duty—of every Muslim to seek to understand by himself Revelation and the *Sunna* (*ibid.*, ii, 399). One of the fundamental ideas of reformist preaching was that Muslims must feel personally concerned with the Word of God and the teaching of the Prophet which illuminates it. Constant meditation on the Scriptures, patient efforts to analyse and understand all the resources that it offers, should permit every Muslim to steep himself in the divine message and draw from it principles of moral and spiritual conduct (*hidāya*). This purely interior form of *idjtihād* helps to nourish the Muslim's spirituality and guide his conscience in his moral judgements and practical choices. Its implications are largely personal (cf. *Tafsīr*, i, 118,: the individual *idjtihād* in matters of worship, *ʿibādāt shakhṣiyya*). *Idjtihād* is also very important for the Community, which should employ a constant effort to interpret the two sources to determine the general principles of its "politics" (social, economic, foreign, etc.), in accordance with the fundamental commands of the Ḳur'ān and the *Sunna*.

b)—In so much as it is a constructive effort with implications both for the Community and in practical affairs, at a legislative rather than dogmatic level, *idjtihād* comes under the authority of the *ūlū 'l-amr* [*q.v.*]. These latter are the legitimate holders of authority (Ḳur'ān, IV, 59) and because of their responsibilities, their religious knowledge, and their particular abilities are in charge of "binding and unbinding" (*ahl al-ḥall wa 'l-ʿaḳd*), that is the right to decide in the name of the Community and in its best interests. (On the definition and role of the *ūlū 'l-amr*, cf. H. Laoust, *Essai*, 596, and *Traité de Droit Public d'Ibn Taymiyya* (on the latter's point of view); al-Kawākibī, *Umm al-ḳurā*, 58; Rashīd Riḍā, *Tafsīr* ii, 492, iii, 11-12, iv, 199-205 (important), v, 180-1 Muḥammad ʿAbduh's position), 211-2, vii, 140, 198, viii, 102, xi, 164). The acts of the *ūlū 'l-amr* should aim to bring about the moral good (*iṣlāḥ*) and material welfare (*maṣāliḥ*) of the Community. Their competence extends to affairs that are normally the responsibility of political leaders, but does not include matters of worship and personal status (*ibid.*, v, 211). In these matters, *idjtihād* would constitute a veritable heresy (*ibid.*, xi, 253). Muslims could refuse to recognize the *ūlū 'l-amr* (political and religious chiefs) who attempted to use their *idjtihād* in the sacred domain (*ibid.*, viii, 308), which is the "right of God" (*ḥaḳḳ Allāh*) over men (*ibid.*, viii, 288). Hence those attempts at *idjtihād* suggested by some Arab heads of state in order to reform certain aspects of Muslim personal status which they considered incompatible with the spirit of contemporary civilization were invalid. In all that concerns canonical prescriptions which are authentically founded on the two sources, the role of the *ūlū 'l-amr* is essentially to safeguard orthodoxy, by making sure that the *Sunna*, as it was formulated by the Salaf, is respected in its entirety (*ibid.*, iii, 11-12). This is a natural corollary of the reformist doctrinal principle maintaining that *idjtihād* is incompatible with certainty (*yaḳīn*) emanating from the absolutely evident facts of the Scriptures (*ibid.*, ii, 18, 109). The Salafiyya only allow the use of *idjtihād* in the absence of any explicit scriptural reference (*naṣṣ*), prophetic tradition (*sunna*) or general consensus (*idjmāʿ*)—in this case the consensus of the Prophet's Companions—that would resolve a given problem (*ibid.*, viii, 219).

Given this important restriction, we can distinguish two types of problems to which the *idjtihād* of the *ūlū 'l-amr* is normally applicable. i)—Purely secular business (administrative organization, scientific and technical questions, military and diplomatic affairs, etc.). In these fields, the *ūlu 'l-amr* are quite free to chose and decide, in so far as their choices are governed by the overriding interests of the Community, in line with the specific goals of Islam. ii)—On the other hand, in business which has some connection with canonical doctrine, the *idjtihād* of the *ūlū 'l-amr* could necessitate the interpretation of ḳur'ānic texts whose apparent sense is not certain, *ẓannī al-dilāla* (*Tafsīr* ii, 109). In this case, to be acceptable, the interpretation must lead to conclusions that are in agreement with the two sources in spirit and letter, for it is understood that *idjtihād* can only be used in the context of the two sources and can only refer to the textual sources and different indications (*dalā'il, ḳarā'in*) that they offer. It is a basic principle in *iṣlāḥ* that consideration of the best interests of the *Umma* would never result in solutions incompatible with the spirit, and even more, the objective facts of the Ḳur'ān and the *Sunna*.

In this light, *idjtihād* is not unlike the method of *ḳiyās* [*q.v.*] as it is defined, for example, in the *Risāla* of al-Shāfiʿī (cf. J. Schacht, *Origins*, 122 ff.). *Iṣlāḥ* denounces the "false *idjtihād* and the bad *ḳiyās*" (*Tafsīr*, iii, 238, v, 203), which would allow the incorporation into religious law (*sharʿ*) of elements based merely on individual opinion (*ra'y* [*q.v.*]) or on more or less arbitrary preferences (*istiḥsān* [see ISTIḤSĀN and ISTIṢLĀḤ]). In religious matters *ra'y* is held to be a sort of "calamity" (*baliyya*), for it only serves to hide dangerous innovations (*ibid.*, viii, 398). While the reformists are very suspicious of *ḳiyās*, *ra'y* and *istiḥsān* according to the technical use of the *fuḳahā'*, they nevertheless accept these very modes of reasoning and judgement in certain clearly laid-down conditions (*e.g.*, the *ra'y* of the most eminent religious men among the Companions (*ʿulamā' al-ṣaḥāba*); explanatory *ra'y* on the subject of ḳur'ānic exegesis; the *ra'y* of the members of the *shūrā* (*djamāʿat al-shūrā*), those responsible for the temporal affairs of the Community (*ibid.*, vii, 164)). On the different aspects of this question cf. *Tafsīr* vii, 164 (on the recommended *ra'y*, *maḥmūd*); vii, 190 (on the acceptable *ḳiyās*, *ṣaḥīḥ*); vii, 167 ff. (on the evil of rejecting *ḳiyās* totally [cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *Iḥkām*, vii, 53 ff., viii, 2 ff.] or of using it without restriction or intelligence). Throughout this debate, Rashīd Riḍā adopts—*grosso modo*—the neo-Ḥanbalite point of view, according to Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya (*Iʿlām al-Muwaḳḳiʿīn*). In short, *ra'y* and *ḳiyās* are only particular aspects of *idjtihād* and, like the latter, are only acceptable in matters outside worship (*ʿibādāt*). When determining rules and legal statutes (*aḥkām*), *idjtihād* in all its forms is only to be used when there are no antecedents in either the Ḳur'ān or the *Sunna* nor in the irrefutable

practice of the Patriarchal Caliphs (*Tafsīr*, vii, 164). Beyond the attempt at personal interpretation of the divine Word, and the desire to be open to the grace (*hudā*) which flows from it, reformist doctrine limits *idjtihād* to the type exercised by the *ūlū 'l-amr* in public affairs of a secular nature. But so that it should not be a source of quarrel and conflict, the *idjtihād* of the *ūlū 'l-amr* must be derived from mutual consultation (*shūrā*) in accordance with the ethical demands of the Ḳur'ān (XLII, 36). The Community is not bound by the personal and maybe even contradictory opinions of individual *mudjtahids*. Its acceptance by the *ūlū 'l-amr* is a condition *sine qua non* of the validity of their *idjtihād*. Moreover, from the reformist point of view, this represents the most perfect form of *idjmāʿ* [*q.v.*], by means of which the *Umma* will be able to solve the innumerable problems of its adaptation to the realities of the modern world.

4.—*Idjmāʿ*. On this point (as on *idjtihād*), the reformist position is very different from the doctrine of the classical theoreticians of the *uṣūl* (cf. al-Shāfiʿī, *Risāla*, 471 ff.; Ibn Ḥazm, *Iḥkām*, iv, 132-235 (a criticism of Ḥanafī, Mālikī, and Shāfiʿī ideas on the subject); H Laoust, *Contribution à une étude de la méthodologie canonique d'Ibn Taymīya*, Cairo, 1939; idem, *Essai*, 139 ff.; J. Schacht, *Origins*, 82-94; Muḥammad Iḳbāl, *Reconstruction*..., 164 ff.; L. Gardet, *Introduction*..., 403 ff.; idem, *La Cité Musulmane*, 119-29; see also: IDJMĀʿ). *Idjmāʿ* is recognized as third of the fundamental sources of Islam (and not only of the "Law"; cf. al-Kawākibī, *Umm al-ḳurā*, 104; *Tafsīr*, v, 187, xi, 267); but the reformists do not accept the traditional classification and formulations which arose from it (*Tafsīr*, v, 203-9). For them, classical conceptions of the subject are not justified by the two sources, (*ibid.*, v, 213) even though the idea of *idjmāʿ* is implicitly contained in the Ḳur'ān (IV, 115) and the *Sunna* (cf. Wensinck, *Handbook*, 48A; Ibn Ḥazm, *Iḥkām*, iv, 132 ff.). This methodological principle must not be defined in terms of the concept of "unanimity" (*idjmāʿ*) but rather in terms of that of "community" (*djamāʿa*), the latter being understood as "the legitimate custodians of authority" (*ūlū 'l-amr*) instead of in the usual sense of the Muslim community as a whole (*Tafsīr*, v, 213-4). Thus the reformists do not confer on *idjmāʿ* the status of either a general consensus of the Community (cf. al-Shāfiʿī, *Risāla*, 403, no. 1105 and 471 ff.), or that of a unanimous agreement of the *mudjtahids* of a given period on a given question (*ibid.*, v, 417). Like the doctrinal line of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and the neo-Ḥanbalite school, the Salafiyya limit (*ḥaṣara*) *idjmāʿ* at a canonical level to that of the Prophet's Companions (al-Kawākibī, *Umm al-ḳurā*, 67, 103; *Tafsīr*, ii, 108, 454, v, 187, 206, vii, 118, viii, 254, 428). Any *idjmāʿ* later than the era of the Companions is without value, particularly if it ratifies doctrines that contradict the tradition of the latter: *idjmāʿ al-mukhālifīn* (*Tafsīr*, v, 206, vii, 198). Just as matters concerning worship (*ʿibādāt*) are to be judged with reference to the consensus of the Companions (including, if need be, that of the *tābiʿūn*,), which is the sole criterion of orthodoxy, the agreement of the *ūlū 'l-amr* on secular matters is a criterion of legality, for they are the custodians of the Community's legitimacy (*ibid.*, iii, 12: the *ūlū 'l-amr* are those whom the *Umma* recognizes as having controlling power over the leaders and their public acts, *tadjʿaluhum musayṭirīn ʿalū ḥukkāmihā wa-aḥkāmihā*). The obediance due to the *ūlū 'l-amr* (by virtue of sūra IV, 59, constantly invoked by the reformists) is justified not by the argument of infallibility (*ʿiṣma* [*q.v.*]) but by considerations of public interest (*maṣlaḥa*; *ibid.*, v, 208). To summarize reformist thought on the matter, Rashīd Riḍā defines the consensus of the *ūlū 'l-amr* as the "true *idjmāʿ* that we hold to be one of the bases of our Law (*sharīʿa*)" (*ibid.*, v, 190).

In the absence of any consultative system in Islam that would enable the function of the *shūrā* to be exercised at Community level, most reformist authors have felt the need to fill the gap by using *idjmāʿ*, modernizing its form and content. But the thinking of the Salafiyya on this theme was never sufficiently elaborated for us to be able to define a coherent reformist doctrine on the practical application of *idjmāʿ* in the contemporary Muslim world. Muḥammad Iḳbāl (1934) expressed the wish that the *idjmāʿ* should be organized in the form of "a permanent legislative institution" (*Reconstruction*.., 164). Rashīd Riḍā (1922) considered the idea of using the *Djamāʿa*, a consultative body appointed to assist the supreme head (*al-imām al-aʿẓam*) of the Community (cf. H. Laoust, *Le Califat dans la doctrine de Rashīd Riḍā*, 1938, 21 ff.), but such a notion has meaning only within the perspective of a restoration of the Caliphate. With greater realism, Ibn Bādīs sets aside the problem of the Caliphate ("that vain fancy") and suggests the establishment of a *Djamāʿat al-Muslimīn*, a sort of permanent assembly composed of men of learning and experience, which would be designed to study specifically Muslim problems in order to find Islamic solutions. This important moral and religious body, acting in the name of the whole Community, would serve no one state and would be of a totally apolitical nature, so that its essential independence and liberty would be guaranteed (cf. A. Merad, *Réformisme*, 376 ff.; idem, *Ibn Bādīs Commentat.*, Chap. IV).

Though they never managed to agree on the practicalities of its establishment, the reformists did tend to see the institutionalization of *idjmāʿ* as a decisive step in the evolution of the *Umma* in accordance with Islamic principles and the ideals of the Salafiyya All who wrote on these lines held in common the idea that the *Djamāʿa* would be the privileged setting of the Community's *idjmāʿ*. It would play two roles: at a religious level, it would effect regulations by stating the orthodox position on matters that gave rise to serious disagreement (*ikhtilāf*); in secular affairs, it would be the instigator of action, through applying the principle of *idjtihād* in the vast area within its competence. It would thus work towards preventing any confusion between the respective levels of the *ʿibādāt* and the *ʿādāt*, and would contribute to encouraging the free enquiry that the Community requires in the spheres of applied science and material progress.

5.—*The distinction between the* ʿibādāt *and the* ʿādāt. Following the neo-Ḥanbalī school (cf. AḤMAD B. ḤANBAL; H. Laoust, *Essai*, 247-8, 444), modern *iṣlāḥ* tends to make a clear distinction between the concerns of the *ʿibādāt* [*q.v.*] and those of the *ʿādāt*. Once again they justify their stand by the principle that in matters of worship everything has been completely and definitely decided by God (Ḳur'ān) and the Prophet (*Sunna*); for the rest, that is to say everything concerned with the organization of material life, the *ūlū 'l-amr* are free to come to their own decisions (see above: *idjtihād*).

a)—The *ʿibādāt* come under commands (or interdictions) originating from the Ḳur'ān or from formal prescriptions laid down by the Prophet. They cover

all acts (including those of worship) and observances (of *ḥalāl* and *ḥarām* [*q.v.*]) which constitute the service of God (*ta*ʿ*abbud*). It is out of the question for anybody to introduce the slightest innovation, either because of an *idjtihād* or out of simple religious zeal. The fact of recognizing the inalterable quality of the ʿ*ibādāt*, the very centre of faith, is itself an act of fidelity in what the Believers hold in certainty from God and his Prophet; it is the sign of a sincere and total belief in the latter's *Sunna*.

b)—The ʿ*ādāt* (habits, customs, usage) cover a vast field of "earthly affairs" (*umūr dunyawiyya*) "which are individual or communal, particular or general" (Rashīd Riḍā, *Tafsīr*, vii, 140), and above all affairs of a political and legal nature (*ibid.*, iii, 327, vii, 140, 200) which vary according to time and place. It is thus not a matter merely of the traditional legal rules (*mu*ʿ*āmalāt*) or matters of "customary right", as the term ʿ*āda* [*q.v.*] is understood in the usual classical sense of *fiḳh*. In the domain of the ʿ*ādāt*, the reformists counsel tolerance (ʿ*afw*) and claim for the *ūlu 'l-amr*, if not for private individuals, freedom of decision and the free exercise of *idjtihād* (al-Kawākibī, *Umm al-ḳurā*, 67; *Manār*, iv, 210, vii, 959; *Tafsīr*, iii, 327, vii, 140-41, 191).

By virtue of this distinction, the reformists showed a prudent reserve about everything that has not been expressly decided by God or prescribed by the Prophet. For Rashīd Riḍā that which has not been prohibited by God cannot be prohibited by Man; that which God has made licit, Man cannot make illicit (*Tafsīr*, vii, 169); that which God has passed over in silence must be held to be tolerable, ʿ*afw* (*ibid.*, iii, 328, vii, 169). The "wise men" of the religion have no right to make things permitted or forbidden. Their role is simply to put into practice the revealed Law (*sharī*ʿ*a*): in this function only is obedience due to them. As for the ḳur'ānic or prophetic references to certain secular matters (the use of food and remedies, etc.), they cannot be taken as binding: they are simply "suggestions" about what is preferable and not canonical prescriptions, *irshād lā tashrī*ʿ (*ibid.*, vii, 201).

The distinction between the ʿ*ibādāt* and the ʿ*ādāt* permitted the Salafiyya to condemn the proliferation of devotional practices and interdictions propagated throughout the centuries in the name of Ṣūfism and eventually adopted by popular religion, even though they are not based on the Ḳur'ān and the *Sunna*. It enabled them, moreover, to point to their pruning of classical judicial and moral doctrine (by means of *fatwās*) and the reduction of traditional observance, in support of their claim to be the apostles of a disciplined and discreet religious temper, which they believed to be closer to the spirit of moderation that had characterized authentic Islam (the "gentle religion", *al-ḥanifiyya al-samḥa*), and more in harmony with the modern world. This distinction would also encourage a more tolerant view of local legal and social usage through classifying them as ʿ*ādāt*, and permit the toning down of doctrinal differences (*ikhtilāf*) between the important currents in the Islamic world; perhaps it would also weaken the religious quarrels inherited from old schisms. Taken to its logical conclusion, this attitude would make it possible to envisage calmly the coexistence—in the bosom of the *Umma*—of different political, socio-economic and idealogical systems, provided that the fundamental unity of Muslims in faith and worship was safeguarded and their common attachment to the essential content of Islamic law (*sharī*ʿ*a*) unimpaired.

However, such a distinction between the ʿ*ibādāt* and ʿ*ādāt* has more of an apologetic value than any real practical implication. The fragmentary (and rather vague) notions on this subject put forward by Rashīd Riḍā and al-Kawākibī do not enable us to make an exact analysis of which aspects of traditional Muslim legislation must be considered fundamental, and thus untouchable, and which can be subsumed under the ʿ*ādāt*. The postulated tolerance in matters of ʿ*ādāt* is itself ambiguous, because of the restrictive conditions—derived from the Ḳur'ān—which were put forward by the Salafiyya each time they were obliged to define their political, economic, social or cultural standpoints (although these are, in theory, the field in which ʿ*ādāt* can be used). In the reformist perspective, indeed, there are few matters that can be envisaged independently of the moral commands and general principles contained in Revelation and the *Sunna*; and whatever creative activity is envisaged, its goal must be examined in the light of the ethical and religious criteria of the two sources. *Iṣlāḥ* admits of the possibility of adapting Muslim institutions and life to the realities of the modern world, so long as this adaptation does not result in the destruction of the fundamental values contained in the two sources. Thus, on the subject of feminism and the relations between the two sexes, the Salafiyya declare themselves favourable to the emancipation of Muslim women, but not to the extent that the liberalization of their legal status would come into conflict with the legal dispositions established in the Ḳur'ān, or the family and sexual ethics of Islam (cf. on this subject, *Tafsīr*, xi, 283-87: "Islam confers on women all human, religious and civil rights"; Rashīd Riḍā, *Nidā' li 'l-djins al-laṭīf*, Cairo 1351/1932; A. Merad, *Le Réformisme musulman*, 315-31 ("Les Réformistes et le Féminisme")).

Although they claim the necessity of distinguishing between profane and religious matters, between man's relations with God and merely human activities (which are not ruled by scriptural commands), the Salafiyya did not make any decisive contribution to the separation of theology and law. From their point of view, the ambiguity of the relationship *dīn*/*sharī*ʿ*a* (which they never really attempted to clarify) makes any systematic criticism of traditional legal and moral doctrine that attempts to establish a clear-cut distinction between purely religious and social matters extremely difficult and *a priori* suspect. (It is worth noting the vigorous reaction of the reformists against the attempts made by ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ (1888-1968), in his *al-Islām wa-uṣūl al-ḥukm*, Cairo 1343-44/1925, to dissociate institutional and political problems from moral and theological ones; cf., Kerr, *Islamic Reform*, 179 ff.). Rashīd Riḍā notes in passing the respective values of the concepts *dīn* and *sharī*ʿ*a*, which he considers it unjustifiable to confuse (*Tafsīr*, vi, 147), but he does not draw any logical conclusion from the distinction. The distinction *dīn*/*sharī*ʿ*a* (which is no less vital than that between the ʿ*ibādāt* and the ʿ*ādāt*) could have had important consequences had it been the point of departure for serious research into the possibilities of rigorously limiting the field of application of "religious law", and thus removing from the "sacred" domain everything that did not have a fundamental link with belief or worship and should therefore come under *idjtihād*. It was left to Modernism (*tadjdīd* [*q.v.*] to undertake this research (cf., *e.g.*, the essays of Muḥammad Aḥmad Khalaf Allāh, in particular his *al-Ḳur'ān wa-mushkilāt ḥayātinā al-mu*ʿ*āṣira* (Cairo 1967), in

which he proclaims the legitimacy of "a new interpretation of the fundamental principles of the s̲h̲arīʿa, in the light of modern experience" (31)). Incomplete though it be, the distinction between the *ʿibādāt* and the *ʿādāt* suggests a need for rationality and a desire to be pragmatic, which served the Salafiyya as an argument against the stubborn conservatism of the traditionalists (*d̲j̲umūd*) and in support of the broadmindedness of *iṣlāḥ* on the subject of progress and the modern world. At the same time it is a reply to those who preach out-and-out modernism, to the detriment of fidelity to authentic Islam (as it was illustrated by the tradition of the Salaf). The reformists see in this modernism a renunciation of the "spirit of compromise" which their apologetics present as the ideal tendency of Islam.

II—Apologetics.—Alongside criticism of the traditional aspects of Islam as they appear in conservative Sunnism, in the magical and superstitious beliefs of popular religion and in the religious systems of the brotherhoods, apologetics form an important part of the principal reformist works. Though centred on internal problems of Muslim society, and often argued with missionary zeal, reformist apologetics are also addressed to the "adversaries" of Islam either directly (cf. Muḥammad ʿAbduh, *al-Islām wa 'l-radd ʿalā muntaḳidīh*, art. of 1900, Cairo 1327/1909 (Fr. trans., Ṭalʿat Ḥarb, *L'Europe et l'Islam*, Cairo 1905); idem, *al-Islām wa 'l-Naṣrāniyya*, art. of 1901, in *Manār*), or indirectly, in the form of warnings to Muslims against the seductions of Western civilization and ideologies. In both cases, the reformists attempted to demonstrate the excellence of Islam, as a "religion", as an ethical code, and as a legal, social and political system. Such apologetics develop along the following broad lines:

1.—*The liberating message of Islam.*—a. As a spiritual message. Here the argument is confined essentially to the exaltation of *tawḥīd* [*q.v.*] as a principle of human liberation. Moral liberation: the affirmation of divine unity abolishes all worship that is not directed to God (the Unique), and all pretension to infallibility, since the only infallible source is the Revelation and the Prophet, who is inspired by God (this argument is elsewhere used to refute *taḳlīd* [*q.v.*], to the extent that the latter supposes submission to an authority which is believed, or pretends to be, infallible). On the other hand, the affirmation of divine transcendance condemns any domination based on the principle of intercession (*s̲h̲afāʿa* [*q.v.*]). Consequently, *tawḥīd* denies any legitimacy to intermediary structures between man and God (as in institutional Churches), and destroys any need for the belief in the mediating function of certain categories of men (saints, mystics, etc.). Social Liberation: belief in the omnipotence of God is the basis of men's equality, for all men are equally subject to God and all men participate equally in the eminent dignity of their condition (cf. Muḥammad ʿAbduh, *Risālat al-tawḥīd*, 155-6; Fr. trans., 106; Eng. trans., 125); it emancipates minds from all resigned or passive submission, either to arguments based on authority (*taḳlīd*), or to a status of inferiority or slavery imposed by the "great" (cf. *Ḳurʾān*, XXXIII, 67, XXXIV, 31-4,; *allad̲h̲īn ustuḍʿifū*). The form of worship itself (common prayer, pilgrimage, etc.) underlines the egalitarian character of Islam.—b. The liberating message of Islam is also illustrated by the ethics of the Ḳurʾān and the *Sunna* which accept the fundamental unity of mankind and reject all discrimination based on differences of race or social condition (cf. Muḥammad ʿAbduh, *Risālat al-tawḥīd*, 172; Fr. trans., 116-7; Eng. trans., 135; *Tafsīr*, 448 ff.; an identical position in Muḥammad Iḳbāl, *Reconstruction* 89; Fr. trans., 103).

2.—*The universal quality of Islam.*—a. *As a religion* (*dīn*). Reformist apologetics merely take up the traditional theme of the universality of Muḥammad's mission (*ʿumūm al-baʿt̲h̲a*). For the Prophet was "elected to guide all nations towards Good (. . :) and call all men to a belief in the One God" (Muḥammad ʿAbduh, *Risālat al-tawḥīd*, 139; Fr. trans., 95; Eng. trans., 114; cf. also, *Tafsīr*, vii, 610, on sūra VI, 90). Like many other Muslim thinkers in our own time, reformist authors believe that Islam is the perfect universal religion, since it incorporates what is essential in previous revelations (and especially Judaism and Christianity) and perfects their message (cf. Muḥammad ʿAbduh, *Risālat al-tawḥīd*, 166 ff., Fr. trans., 112 (bottom) ff.; Eng. trans., 132 ff.; *Tafsīr* . . . , x, 448-456).—b. *As a social, legal and political system* (*s̲h̲arīʿa*). The reformists proclaim the excellence, eternal nature and universal character of Islamic law, in opposition to human legislation, which is always imperfect, despite constant revision and correction. The *s̲h̲arīʿa*—at least in those parts that are based on the Revelation—draws its essence from divine wisdom; it is thus the legislation best suited to the needs (*maṣāliḥ*) of men (*bas̲h̲ar*) in all places and at all times (Ibn Bādīs, *S̲h̲ihāb*, Jan. 1934, 57; *Tafsīr*, vi, 146) for it envisages man's well-being from two points of view, those of earthly happiness and of their future salvation (an idea dear to the reformists and developed at great length by Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā, *Manār*, i, (1898), 1, v, (1902), 459-65; *Tafsīr*, i, 11, ii, 330-41, x, 210, 437; cf. also Muḥammad ʿAbduh, *Risālat al-tawḥīd*, 124, 169; Fr. trans., 84, 115; Eng. trans., 104, 134). This does not mean that the Salafiyya think of Muslim legislation as a closed system, sufficient unto itself in its definitive truth and perfection. Though they believe that certain rulings of the *s̲h̲arīʿa* (*e.g.*, the personal status of woman) are ideal norms, which neither the old legislations (of the biblical sort for example), nor modern legislation (inspired by western concepts) are capable of matching, they do not dismiss the idea that Muslims can copy certain doctrines upheld in advanced countries. However, the Salafiyya refuse to admit that all aspects of western progress are good, and that one has to accept *en bloc* the triumphant civilizations of Europe or America, for fear of seeming reactionary (Ibn Bādīs, *S̲h̲ihāb*, Jan. 1932, 11). Moreover, the *ūlu 'l-amr* ought to co-operate in the adaptation of Muslim legislation (by means of reciprocal consultation (*s̲h̲ūrā*) and *id̲j̲tihād*), taking into account new realities, but respecting absolutely the fundamental aspects of the Law and observing the general ethics of Islam. The Salafiyya constantly repeat that in areas of every-day life, Islam gives man entire freedom (*fawwaḍ*) to act according to his well-being in the world (*Tafsīr*, ii, 205: ref. to the *ḥadīt̲h̲*: "You are best placed to judge worldly affairs", vi, 140; Ibn Bādīs, *S̲h̲ihāb*, Oct. 1930, 70). From the preceding, the reformists drew arguments to establish the liberal nature of Islam and to justify its ability to adapt (not, of course, as a *dīn*, but as *s̲h̲arīʿa*) to all human situations at any time and in any place.

3.—*The liberal spirit of Islam.*—Outside matters of faith and the unalterable elements of the *s̲h̲arīʿa* (both of which were expressly laid down in Revelation), Islam assigns no limit to the exercise of reason. This aspect of reformist apologetics, which has been amply dealt with by Muḥammad ʿAbduh

(*Risālat al-tawḥīd, passim*), Rashīd Riḍā (cf. J. Jomier, *Le Comment. coran. du Manâr*, chap. III), and Ibn Bādīs (cf. A. Merad, *Ibn Badis, Commentat. du Coran*, chap. II, Vth), will not be discussed in detail here. On the problem of faith and reason (*ʿaḳl*), the reformist position is that the ḳurʾānic message addresses itself both to the conscience (*wudjān*) and to the mind (*fikr*), and requires not only acceptance by faith but understanding by means of reason. If the Ḳurʾān limits reason, it is only in those areas which are part of the unknowable (*ghayb* [*q.v.*]), and to prevent man from falling into inevitable errors and attributing to God things which are not part of His Being.

The reformists frequently invoke the argument of reason in order to maintain not only that Islam puts no obstacles in the way of intellectual research and the exercise of *ʿaḳl*, but even that it positively encourages both and incites men to cultivate the gift of intelligence, which is a God-given privilege (Ibn Bādīs, *Shihāb*, March 1931, 78 ff., ref. to sūra XVII, 70). *ʿAḳl* in reformist usage is not exactly the knowing consciousness or reasoning reason, which seeks to reach truth independently of faith and revelation. Orthodox reformist writers understand *ʿaḳl* in opposition to blind passion (*hawā*), which smothers the voice of "healthy nature" (*fiṭra* [*q.v.*]), and doubtless in opposition to the (hyper-) critical mind. The *ʿaḳil* is not a man who can perform speculative exercise with ease and is dedicated exclusively to the cult of reason, but a man capable of judicious balanced thinking, which implies a spirit of moderation, even a certain reluctance to attempt to submit everything to one's judgment, and to explain everything solely by the light of one's intelligence.

The debate on the subject of faith and reason points to one of the contradictions of reformist thought: *i.e.*, its desire to adopt a language, and sometimes even intellectual methods, that are in conformity with the modern mind, while at the same time clinging to principles and positions which they feel are in perfect agreement with the doctrines of the Salaf. It is notable in this respect that the liberal tendencies of certain reformist writers are held back by the fear that reasoning reason will encroach on areas reserved to faith, and the temptations of human passion (*hawā*) will conquer progressively the directing principles (*hudā*) of Revelation (cf. *Tafsīr*, v, 416: opposition *hudā*/*hawā*).

However, the reformists are not particularly interested in theological and philosophical speculation. Apart from the *Risālat al-tawḥīd* by Muḥammad ʿAbduh (which describes a fundamental schema rather than a theological totality), and the *Risālat al-shirk* by Mubārak al-Mīlī (which is a refutation of Maraboutic beliefs), no truly elaborated theology can be found in the doctrinal system of the Salafiyya. They were satisfied with massive affirmations, based on texts in the Ḳurʾān, which are, from their point of view, decisive arguments. Thus they never fail to underline everything in the Ḳurʾān which seems to encourage intellectual research and constitutes an incentive for the exploration of nature and its exploitation in the service of man. They underline those parts of the Revelation that encourage men to think, to understand things, to persuade others by means of demonstrative proofs (*burhān*); they make the utmost use of all the resources of the ḳurʾānic vocabulary which deal with knowledge and the activity of the mind (cf., the *Concordantiae* by G. Flügel, in which we can see the richness of the themes formed from the radicals *ʿbr*, *ʿḳl*, *ʿlm*, *ḥkm*, *fkr*, *fḳh*); in short they attempt to show that Islam lets human reason play an important role, and that it encourages (in theory, if not in practice) human progress in the domains of knowledge and civilization (cf. the particularly vigorous doctrinal statement by Rashīd Riḍā in *Tafsīr*, 244 ff., under the eloquent title: *al-Islām dīn al-fiṭra al-salīma wa 'l-ʿaḳl wa 'l-fikr wa 'l-ʿilm wa 'l-ḥikma wa 'l-burhān wa 'l-ḥudjdja*).

The theme of knowledge and civilization plays an important role in reformist propaganda (cf. J. Jomier, *Le Comment. coran. du Manār*, chap. IV; A. Merad, *Ibn Bādīs, commentat. du Coran* chap. IV, IIIrd). Thanks to the intelligence with which God has endowed him, man can rise above erroneous belief and superstition, cultivate the sciences and adopt healthy beliefs: using it, he should also be able to increase his power over nature, to profit by the various resources of Creation, in order to achieve material power (*ʿizz, ḳuwwa*) and know a happy moral well-being. Presented in this way by the reformists, Islam appears as a religion which is particularly attentive to the moral and material progress of humanity. It was therefore an effective refutation of arguments of the type put forward by Renan (Islam is contrary to the scientific spirit) and useful in revealing the inadequacy of Marxist-orientated criticism (Islam is a reactionary doctrine). The reformists deplore the judging of Islam by the behaviour and excesses of some of its followers who distort its image through their innovations, by superstitious beliefs born of ignorance, by the imposture of false "scholars", and by the immorality of its politicians (cf. the objections enumerated by Muḥammad ʿAbduh, *Risālat al-tawḥīd*, 195-9; Fr. trans., 132-5; Eng. trans., 151-3). For when traced back to its authentic expression, to the Revelation and the *Sunna*, Islam is a religion compatible with science and civilization (*Tafsīr* . . . , ix, 23); it encourages progress and science (*ibid.*, iii, 26, 34, 106); and exalts science and freedom of research, which are the conditions of man's greatness (*ibid.*, v, 258); Islam is capable of regenerating civilization in the East and saving that of the West (*ibid.*, ix, 22). What is more:

4.—*Islam is the reforming principle of mankind* (*iṣlāḥ nawʿ al-insān, Tafsīr*, xi, 206). As a *dīn* and as a *sharīʿa*, Islam is a progression beyond previous religions (*ibid.*, 208-88: the enumeration of the various domains in which Islam has been beneficial to mankind). Hence the Muslim duty to reveal the truth of Islam: this is part of the canonical obligation to "invite to Good" (Muḥammad ʿAbduh, *Risālat al-tawḥīd*, 171; Fr. trans., 116; Eng. trans., 135; *Tafsīr* iv, 26-46, on sūra III, 104) and to "call to God" (Ibn Bādīs, *Shihāb*, April 1935, 6, ref. to sūras XVI, 125 and XII, 108). To call to God, in this case, consists in proclaiming the values of Islam, refuting, through its "proofs", the false ideas ascribed to it, and in making known its "beauties"; all this in order to fortify Muslims in their faith and to enlighten non-Muslims, less perhaps in order to convert them than to dissipate their prejudices and fanaticism. However, the notion of missionary work is not foreign to the reformists (cf. J. Jomier, *Le Comment. Coran. du Manâr*, chap. X). Nevertheless, Muḥammad ʿAbduh gives priority to the duty of Islamic tolerance over conversion: "Islam is capable, through its own light, of penetrating the hearts of men" (*Risālat al-tawḥīd*, 172). In practice, the act of calling to God leads to a certain number of religious, moral and cultural attitudes, towards both Muslims and non-Muslims.

—a. Calling to God consists above all in leading a life that is in perfect agreement with the general commands of Islam. This is the best way to ensure that the influence of the ideals contained in the Ḳur'ān will grow. On a spiritual as well as a moral level, the Prophet's example, and that of the "pious forefathers", must inspire believers: "the more perfect their imitation, the more perfect their accomplishment of the mission of calling to God" (Ibn Bādīs).—b. Preaching the truths contained in the Ḳur'ān and thus helping to transmit the revealed message (*tablīgh al-risāla*) is also "calling to God": since this message has universal implications, each part of it must be made comprehensible to all men. This theme can be related to that of the *djihād* through the Ḳur'ān (cf. *Shihāb*, April 1932, 204 ff.): for Ibn Bādīs, this ḳur'ānic expression seems to justify a militant theology and an energetic conception of religious preaching, both to rouse the masses from their inertia and indifference and to denounce the blindness of "bad religious teachers" (*'ulamā' al-sū'*) in the face of the spiritual riches of the Revelation and their reluctance to make them manifest to men.—c. Calling to God also implies the attempt to bring back to the Islamic fold those Muslims who, seduced by secular ideologies or intoxicated with modern scientific knowledge, regard Islam as "a worn-out piece of clothing that a man would be ashamed to be seen wearing", and deride its dogmas and precepts (Muḥammad 'Abduh, *Risālat al-tawḥīd*, 198; Fr. trans., 134-5; Eng. trans., 153). —d. The idea of calling to God also implies a struggle against the corruption (*fasād*) spread in Muslim society in the name of "so-called modernism" (*Tafsīr*, x, 45) and against atheism like that of Kemāl Atatürk (*ibid.*, ix, 322-3); warning against excessive individual freedom, which generates all sorts of abuse (*ibid.*, viii, 530-1) and is more or less directly responsible for the "moral crisis of the West"; enlightening people on the dangers inherent in the separation of science and religion, the cult of science *per se*, and the frantic quest for material goods without any moral goal (*ibid.*, xi, 243).—e. It also means unmasking professional politicians who may not be sincere and practising Muslims, but nevertheless use Islam for demagogic ends, either in subservience to government, or to serve their own personal ambition (*ibid.*, ii, 440). Similar strictures could be passed on recent tendencies to use religious arguments in support of some socio-economic ideology (cf. "Muslim Socialism" to which some theoreticians of "Arab Socialism refer) or political doctrine (cf. *e.g.* Khālid Muḥammad Khālid, *La Religion au service du peuple*, in *Orient* xx, (1961), 155-61). —f. In opposition to the type of nationalism encouraged by jingoistic modernists, and beyond particular fatherlands, the call to God gives pride of place to the religious link above ethnic and political ones (*ibid.*, ii, 304). It means stressing the fraternity of Islam (*ibid.*, iv, 21) and persuading Muslims that greatness and pride do not lie in the insistence on particularities of race or nationality—that new form of the age-old clan-spirit (*'aṣabiyyat al-djāhiliyya*)—but in belonging to the "Islamic human community" (*ibid.*, xi, 256). This is one aspect of the ideology of panislamism (*al-djāmi'a al-islāmiyya*) which corresponds to the political and cultural doctrine of the Salafiyya. Since Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī, reformist authors have unceasingly called for not only the elimination of doctrinal disagreements above all in matters of the interpretation of religious Law) between orthodox Schools and even between the Sunnī and Shī'ī worlds, but, by reminding Muslims of their duty to confessional solidarity, they have pleaded the cause of a policy of strengthening political ties and interislamic co-operation. Thus would the unity of the *Umma* be recreated, even if only symbolically, through the mediation of a supreme moral assembly that would represent every Muslim country —for example in the form of the permanent assembly (*djamā'at al-muslimīn*) which Ibn Bādīs suggested (cf. A. Merad, *Le Réformisme musulman*, 376 ff.). Even this would be second best compared with the organic unity of the Community under the banner of one supreme *Imām*, which had been Rashīd Riḍā's dream (cf. his *Khilāfa*; trans. H. Laoust, *Le Califat dans la doctrine de R.R.*).—g. In reply to those who proclaimed the social and cultural values of the West, the reformists exalted the values specific to Islamic ethics, if need be by referring to the "accounts" (*shahādāt*) of Western thinkers who were sensitive to the virtues of Islam and perturbed by the moral degradation that they perceived in the materialist civilization of the Western world (cf. *Tafsīr*, x, 412, 420; xi, 243).

Reformist apologetics reveal the attitude of the Salafiyya in the face of two realities: on the one hand the material and cultural seduction of Muslim intellectual élites and ruling classes by the West; and on the other the modernists' attempt at a systematic renewal of Muslim society so that it could face, as immediately and effectively as possible, the necessities of modern life. It is thus not simply a defensive reaction against, or even rejection of, certain aspects of western civilization, but a way of replying to Muslims who believed in progress and modernism (*tadjdīd*) and who wanted to look for a compromise between the fundamental demands of Islam and the necessary adaptation of Muslim life to the realities of the modern world.

The apologetic work of the Salafiyya was not simply episodic, for it demanded that they make an effort to understand their adversaries' point of view and develop a measure of cultural open-mindedness (often, it is true, timid), and sometimes led them to moderate those aspects of their theological and moral doctrine which might have seemed too fundamentalist. But at the same time it revealed the diversity of their temperaments and attitudes in the face of practical problems, especially when they had gone beyond discussing the place of absolute fidelity to the two sources in the liturgical and dogmatic spheres, and to the tradition of the Salaf in the general ethics of Islam. Apart from the more or less favourable historical and cultural conjuncture, the success of *iṣlāḥ* in the different parts of the Arab world has been linked, to some extent, to the way in which the Salafiyya have been able to cope with the concrete problems facing Muslim society as a result of its progressive entry into the social, economic, technical and cultural norms of the modern world.

D.—IṢLĀḤ IN THE CONTEMPORARY ARAB WORLD.—At the end of almost a century of development, we can assess the ground covered by the Salafiyya reformist movement from the time of *al-'Urwa al-wuthḳā* (1884) to the present day; at this moment the Arab world is the scene of important debates on the methods of interpreting the Ḳur'ān and the authenticity of *Ḥadīth* on the one hand, and the function and autonomy of religion on the other. This is particularly true in countries in which research and cultural activity are more or less "orientated" toward—if not "mobilized" in the service of—politic-

al and social objectives that are held to be sacred, and in which national energy is often geared primarily toward social reorganization and economic construction in an attempt to overcome underdevelopment. The development of *iṣlāḥ* in a changing Arab world can be divided into three important stages:

1. — *The heroic stage*, during which Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, Muḥammad ʿAbduh and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī laid the essential foundations of a total reform of Islam (cf. the programme defined in *Umm al-ḳurā*). Reformist action during this period aimed above all at the material and moral improvement of the Community, which had barely emerged from the Middle Ages. The social, political and cultural demands made by the three leaders of modern *iṣlāḥ* had more effect than their doctrinal intervention (with the exception of Muḥammad ʿAbduh's *Risālat al-tawḥīd* which is a sort of guide for a basic theology). The reformists' written and oral propaganda thus contributed to the Community's growing awareness of notions of evolution, progress and creative effort (*idjtihād*) on a spiritual and practical plane. It is true that the cultural climate of the period—end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century—was favourable to the adoption of these ideas in Muslim thought, for this was the era of scientism, the optimism brought about by technical progress, and the growth of the idea that efficiency was an essential element of economic prosperity and social success. Yet the function of the Salafiyya was to confer on these notions—and at first the idea of *idjtihād*—a legitimacy that would satisfy the *Umma*, by assimilating them to authentic principles of Islam (seen from an ethical and cultural angle). In its initial form the reformist current of contemporary Islam hastened the birth of Arabo-Muslim awareness of the modern world, but also gave rise to aspirations (of a socio-cultural nature etc.) and questions which the succeeding Muslim generation had to face.

2. — *The second stage* (approximately 1905 to 1950).—This period saw the emergence of a doctrinal system in which Rashīd Riḍā and *shaykh* Ibn Bādīs played a vital part. The example of these two strong personalities inspired writers whose numerous essays (in reviews like *al-Manār*, *al-Shihāb*, *Madjallat al-shubbān al-muslimīn*, *al-Risāla*, *al-Madjalla al-zaytūniyya*) enriched the thought of *iṣlāḥ* and consolidated its doctrinal positions. The principal reformist authors during the first half of the 20th century will now be briefly examined.

a) In Syria Djamāl al-Dīn al-Ḳāsimī (1866/7-1914) was a faithful disciple of the neo-Ḥanbalī tradition. His compatriot Ṭāhir al-Djazāʾirī (1851-1919) put his vast erudition at the disposal of *iṣlāḥ* (notably in the publishing field).—ʿAbd al-Ḳadir al-Maghribī (1867-1956), who in his youth was influenced by direct contact with Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, made a very fruitful contribution to *iṣlāḥ* in Syria.—Shakib Arslān (1869-1946) a brilliant writer (called *amīr al-bayān*, "Prince of Eloquence") and politician, was a firm believer in Arabism (cf. his monthly revue, *La Nation Arabe*, Geneva 1930-9); a personal acquaintance of the editor of *al-Manār*, he made a greatly appreciated contribution to that review.—Muḥammad Kurd ʿAlī (1876-1953), ex-president of the Arab Academy at Damascus (1920-53), although not properly speaking a reformist author, was a firm believer in Muḥammad ʿAbduh's ideas and can be counted among the literary and political personalities of the Arab world whose moral support of *iṣlāḥ* was greatly valued.

b) In Egypt there were many "spiritual sons" of Muḥammad ʿAbduh, who were more or less faithful to the original ideas of their master: Muḥammad Farīd Wadjdī (1875-1954), the author of a ḳurʾānic commentary with concordist tendencies, was the energetic editor of the review *al-Risāla* (founded in 1933) and a fervent propagandist for Islam.—Muḥammad Muṣṭafā al-Marāghī (1881-1945) was twice (1928, 1935) principal of al-Azhar, where he contributed to the spread of reformist ideals and struggled to strengthen the links between the orthodox schools; he attempted reforms in the spirit of Muḥammad ʿAbduh, of whom he was a worthy successor.—Maḥmūd Shaltūt (1893-1963): another grand master of al-Azhar (cf. *Djamāʿat al-taḳrīb bayn al-madhāhib* and his trimestrial revue *Risālat al-Islām*, Cairo, 1949-). —Aḥmad Amīn (1886-1954), author of an immense fresco of Islamic culture and history (*Fadjr-*, *Ḍuḥā-* and *Ẓuhr al-Islām*), was one of the principal artisans of the Arab-Islamic cultural renewal to which the promotors of modern *iṣlāḥ* aspired. By his teaching and his writing (cf. his revue *al-Thaḳāfa*, Cairo 1939), he attempted, like Muḥammad ʿAbduh, to guide Muslim thought towards a doctrine that was a sort of neo-Muʿtazilism.

c) In Tunisia the main representatives of orthodox reformist thought were Bashīr Ṣfar (d. in 1937), the much respected teacher of Ibn Bādīs, the two *shaykhs* Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir b. Āshūr (born in 1879) —author of a ḳurʾānic commentary (now being published, i-iii, Tunis 1956-71)—and his son Muḥammad al-Fāḍil b. ʿĀshūr (1900-1970) (cf. Muḥammad al-Fāḍil b. ʿĀshūr: *al-Ḥaraka al-adabiyya wa 'l-fikriyya fī Tūnis*, Cairo 1956).

d) In Algeria, besides Ibn Bādīs, notable reformists were Mubārak al-Mīlī (1890-1945), the theologian of the Algerian reformist school (see *Biblio.*); Ṭayyib al-ʿUḳbī (1888-1962), a supporter of *iṣlāḥ* who was greatly influenced by Wahhābī tendencies (he had spent his childhood in the Ḥidjāz), and owned a newspaper, *al-Iṣlāḥ* (Biskra 1927-) which appeared irregularly; Muḥammad al-Bashīr al-Ibrāhīmī (1889-1965) [see AL-IBRĀHĪMĪ]; Aḥmad Tawfīḳ al-Madanī (born in 1899), historian and politician, who was very active in the cause of Algerian national culture in the context of the reformist movement.

e) In Morocco, where the orthodox reformism of the Salafiyya was diffused at a relatively late date, few important names and workes emerged (cf. J. Berque, *Çà et là dans les débuts du réformisme religieux au Maroc*, in *Etudes... dédiées à la mémoire d'E. Lévi-Provençal*, Paris 1962, ii, 471-94).

Amongst the representative personalities of *iṣlāḥ* in the Sherifian empire, we might mention: Abū Shuʿayb al-Dukkālī (d. 1937); Ibn al-Muwaḳḳit (1894-1949), who was more interested in censuring public morality than any real renewal of Islam (cf. the art. by A. Faure on Ibn al-Muwaḳḳit in *Hespéris*, 1952, 165-95); ʿAllāl al-Fāsī (born in 1910), a writer and political leader (Independence Party, *ḥizb al-istiḳlāl*) who claims to be a Salafī (cf. his *Autocritique*, *al-Naḳd al-dhātī*, Cairo 1952).

These various authors would seem to be continuators of the doctrinal and pedagogic work of the first teachers of *iṣlāḥ*. It is nevertheless worth noting that numerous writers and poets, such as Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm (1872-1932), Muṣṭafā Luṭfī al-Manfalūṭī (1876-1924), ʿAbbās Maḥmūd al-Aḳḳād (1889-1964), Muḥammad al-ʿĪd (born in 1904) etc., indirectly helped to spread *iṣlāḥ* by employing its moral and social themes in their works.

Despite its undeniable fertility (which Brockelmann only partially describes in S III, 310-35, 435-6), the

fifty-year-long work of the reformists brought no solutions which satisfied the problems of all social classes within the Community. Their doctrines—social and political as well as theological and moral—seemed to correspond more closely to the aspirations of the newly emergent urban middle class. As a group, it was relatively enlightened, and sometimes combined a minimum Arab-Islamic culture with a gloss of modern culture in one of the European languages. It wished to demonstrate its allegiance to a particular form of tradition—that of the Salaf as defined above —and at the same time to show a certain interest in things modern. The ideals of this class were expressed in terms of moderation and compromise; in the religious sphere they sought "reasonable" positions that excluded popular traditionalism (which they saw as the sign of ignorance or a reactionary spirit), as well as intransigent fundamentalism (represented by certain Muslim Brothers (*al-ikhwān al-muslimūn* [*q.v.*]). They also rejected modernism which they judged excessive (such as the advocacy of a completely secular state). The orthodox reformism of the Salafiyya was thus assured of a fairly wide public which believed in order and prudent evolution, which respected the moral authority of the religious leaders, and was convinced that the Community needed "guides" to take it along the road of a progress that would be compatible with reformist faith. But the apparently harmonious development of *iṣlāḥ* was to suffer from the political upheavals and social and moral changes reulting from the Second World War.

3. — *Recent developments* (*since the '50s*).—The post-war period marked the beginning of a complete change in the religious make-up of the Arab world. The make-up of the reformist camp underwent profound qualitative and quantitative changes. The spokesmen of *iṣlāḥ* were no longer of the calibre of Rashīd Riḍā (d. 1935) or ʿAbd al-Ḥāmid b. Bādīs (d. 1940), and at the same time the Muslim Brothers movement came to the forefront. It attracted attention by means of political action and through the doctrinal works of several remarkable personalities, like Ḥasan Ismāʿīl al-Huḍaybī, leading guide and successor of Ḥasan al-Bannā [*q.v.*]; Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, a publicist of Syrian origin, ex-director of al-Maṭbaʿa al-Salafiyya (in Cairo); the Syrian Muṣṭafā al-Sibāʿī (d. 1965); Sayyid Ḳuṭb (executed in 1966), author of a ḳurʾānic commentary, *Fī ẓilāl al-Ḳurʾān*; Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, whose apologetic and doctrinal works amcunt to more than 7,000 pp. (cf. *REI*, *Abstracta*, 1961, 105-6); and Saʿīd Ramaḍān, founder and still editor of the revue *al-Muslimūn* (Cairo-Damascus, 1951- ; Geneva, 1961-).—b. The reformist movement lost that place in society which was its strength between the wars: the supporters of the main current of *iṣlāḥ* (in direct line from Rashīd Riḍā, for example) were quickly regarded as inheritors and supporters of a moral and social order already described as "traditional"—c. Paradoxically, the historical success of the reformist movement—in Algeria and, up to a point, in Egypt—contributed to its disintegration and fall. Attracted by power (and some actually absorbed into public office), many missionaries of *iṣlāḥ* abandoned their former zeal for the triumph of Islamic values and settled for a prudent opportunism. Forced by events to supply "official" religion with structures and a doctrine, they in their turn became a conformist force. The defence of pure Islam, which had been the aim of *iṣlāḥ* in opposition, was taken up by men who were enemies of any compromise with regimes which they held to be unjust or illegal, the same men whom their opponents happily called fascist or reactionary. —d. The younger generation, less and less restricted by the ability to speak Arabic only, succeeded in discovering a new vision of social and moral realities around the world (through the cinema, the illustrated press, and foreign literature); new philosophies (cf. the success of Existentialism after the War and the increasing dissemination of Marxism—which followed Communist penetration—in Arab countries); new more or less revolutionary ideologies (anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism, Arab Scoialism and unity); and a new political ethic inspired by the "Spirit of Bandung" (1955). All these factors made the young generation sceptical about the virtues of *iṣlāḥ* and doubtful of its fundamental principles, principles which had seemed as satisfying to the mind as they were reassuring to the faith of the preceding generation.—e. The rise to power of new social forces in the newly independent countries (Syria-Lebanon: 1946; Libya: 1952; Sudan: 1955; Morocco and Tunisia: 1956; Algeria: 1962), or those whose monarchies were supplanted by republican regimes (Egypt: 1952; ʿIrāḳ: 1958; Tunisia: 1957; Libya: 1969), relegated to the background the notables and national bourgeoisie, who had held power in the shadow of the previous regime. In taking over the apparatus of state, the younger generation naturally sought to extend its power to different sectors of public opinion, in order to gain control of the "national orientation". As a result, religion, wooed to an increasing extent by politics, found itself involved in a struggle—if not in a "revolution"—whose objectives were beyond its scope. Religious leaders (*muftī*s, *ʿulamāʾ*) can hardly constitute an independent class, as they did in the past, which formulates doctrines (for example about political ethics) in the name of an ideal Islam and independently of the ideology in power, or of its directives.—f. In those Arab societies engaged in a process of political liberation and social and economic transformation, *iṣlāḥ* ceased to be a reformist and progressive ideology. Its doctrinal positions on social and economic matters seemed out of date. Its calls for constant meditation of the Ḳurʾān as a source of inspiration for Muslims, in both their private and their public acts, went unheeded by young people, who were presented by modern states with more important (and in some ways obligatory) terms of reference in the form of programmes, charters, etc. The tradition of the Salaf, which *iṣlāḥ* attempted to present in an exalted light, was received by the young people without enthusiasm. For them concrete reality with its social, professional and material problems, the collective tasks it imposes, the needs that it creates (for consumer goods, leisure etc.), the amusements it offers (entertainment, sport, travel) was much more important. Reflecting the moral and aesthetic aspirations of their age, young people preferred to seek happiness in this world rather than to aim at the reformist goal of felicity in this world and the next. In its values and in the problems it posed, *iṣlāḥ* gave the appearance of being out of harmony with the rising generation, who tended to see economic, political and cultural problems as more important than ethical and spiritual ones. The younger generation willingly identified with the principles of liberalism and secularism, seeing them the ideal guiding forces of human relations and life in Muslim society today. If young people considered religion at all, it was as a secondary factor in the political strategy of the regime, especially applicable in questions of the civic and political education of the masses and as a means of sanctifying national unity. *Iṣlāḥ* was thus often

invoked in support of official ideology, not for the religious values it represented or for its references to Islamic authenticity.

This complex of phenomena which has become apparent throughout the Arab world over the last few decades clearly shows two things: the striking weakening of *iṣlāḥ* as a "driving force" in Muslim society, and its replacement by politics, which is now becoming the moving spirit on every level of national life. Politics is the most important factor of life today, for, considerably helped by the mass media and propaganda techniques, it seizes public attention, concentrating it on the acts of its rulers; in this way the life of a whole nation hangs on the "historic" speeches and oracular utterances of national leaders, those heroes and demi-gods of modern times. (Thus it is that it is possible to talk of the charisma of such and such an Arab chief of state who has become idolized by the masses). Political language itself has acquired such prominence over other forms of expression (literature, religion, etc.) that it impregnates them with its concepts and its dialectic. (In many cases the religious vocabulary seems to be nothing more than the simple transposition of the political). New powers—the state, the party—have taken over the primary role in the life of the *Umma*, and have directed its social and cultural orientations. Sometimes these powers, armed with totalitarian might, try to force the citizen's duties and beliefs on him. From this moment, religion ceased to be the most important factor in Muslim life and found itself dispossessed of its traditional function as interpreter of symbols and record of the community's conscience.

In this social and cultural context, the voice of *iṣlāḥ* lost much of its strength and effectiveness. The reformist public itself moved in the direction of modernism and atheism or became reformist groups whose concept of the role of *iṣlāḥ* in the modern world differed from that held by the Salafiyya. Such tendencies seem to be the logical result of the ideas implicit in the two main strands of reformist thought since the beginning of the 20th century—the liberal trend, which favoured a global realignment of Muslim life to the modern world, and a strictly orthodox current that hoped to preserve the initial message of Islam in its entirety within contemporary civilization, despite all opposition and obstacles.

1.—The liberal tendency was already latent in several authors of the inter-war period. Claiming more or less explicitly to be the heirs to the spirit—if not the religious thinking—of Muḥammad ʿAbduh, they had some success after the war, during a period in which the differences between reformism and modernism made themselves felt more and more acutely. The *de facto* separation of political and religious affairs resulting from the institutional and cultural development of many Arab (and Muslim) countries—a development influenced by a certain liberal spirit—led some people to examine Islamic problems and subjects which until then had been taboo. This sort of free inquiry no longer exposed them to the vengeance of the administration or to persecution at the hands of conservative religious and university circles, as had been the case for ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ in 1925, and Ṭāhir al-Ḥaddād in 1930. (Some delicate problems like the nature and mode of interpretation of the Ḳurʾān or the authenticity of *Ḥadīth* nevertheless continued to provoke violent arguments between orthodox *ʿulamāʾ* and avant-garde representatives of Muslim thought (cf., for example, J. Jomier, *Quelques positions actuelles de l'exégèse coranique en Egypte . . . (1947-51)*, in *MIDEO* (1954), 39-72, on the subject of a thesis by Muḥammad Aḥmad Khalaf Allāh, *Al-Fann al-ḳaṣaṣī fi 'l-Ḳurʾān al-karīm*, Cairo 1951). The idea of a social and cultural modernism that would respect personal belief was gradually accepted. This liberalism included matters of political organization, but attempted to reform traditional teaching to eliminate those aspects of religion that were holding back the evolution of Muslim society. On the religious plane, this trend supported a more flexible interpretation of the Scriptures, which, while satisfying reason and the scientific spirit, would permit the resolution of difficulties arising between practical life and the principles of the *sharīʿa*, as they were formulated by traditional orthodoxy and taken over by the Salafiyya. Taken to its logical conclusion, this trend is identical to secular modernism, which had once been combatted vigorously by Rashīd Riḍā, Ibn Bādīs and their respective schools.

2.—At the same time, the partisans of energetic reformism, worried by the success of secular tendencies and by the growth of laxity in Muslim society, reacted in the direction of an Islamic renewal on the part of the individual and the state. By reinvigorating the doctrinal positions of moderate *iṣlāḥ*, they provided sympathizers and followers for the Muslim Brothers, whose fundamental principles (discounting the political activism of some of them) are very close to the strict orthodoxy professed by the Salafiyya (cf. the brief account of their doctrine by the first supreme guide of the Muslim Brothers, Ḥasan al-Bannāʾ (1906-1949 [*q.v.*] in his pamphlet: *Ilā ayy shayʾ nadʿu 'l-nās?*, Cairo, 1939 (?). Because it attempted to restore Islamic values in their original purity, and gave the appearance of deliberately ignoring the new values of modern culture and civilization, this trend did not gain the sympathy of either the modernists—fervent defenders of social and cultural liberalism and freedom of conscience—nor that of the young who were still attached to Islam, but aware of the social and political changes taking place around them. Fully committed to the "logic of history" and hoping to avoid both the ambiguities of a reformism that was not progressive enough for them and the intransigent fundamentalism of the religious movements, which they felt to be reactionary, the young opted for a populist *iṣlāḥ*, and, taking the part of the mass of the population which previous regimes had for so long ignored, fought for social justice (one of the dominant themes in the politico-religious literature of the post-war years; cf. Sayyid Ḳuṭb, *Al-ʿadāla al-idjtimāʿiyya fi 'l-Islām*, Cairo 1952; Eng. trans. J. H. Hardie, *Social Justice in Islam*, Washington 1953). They pleaded for the socialization of culture (cf. the Egyptian "Cultural Library", aimed at the popularization of science and making it accessible to the common people). They attempted to establish a new Arabo-Islamic humanism, based on a socialist state which would put and end to exploitation and oppression, without itself employing terror (cf. in this respect the principles set down by one of the theorists of Arab Socialism (*Baʿth*), Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Bayṭār, *Al-Siyāsa al-ʿarabiyya bayn al-mabdaʾ wa 'l-taṭbīḳ*, Beirut 1960; Fr. trans. by Marcel Colombe, in *Orient*, xl (1966), 173 ff.). Finally the reformist writers of this avant-garde group refused to adhere not only to social and political forms that they considered to be decisively condemned by History, but also to collective representations and ideas that they felt were the product of a medieval mentality. On the other hand, to the extent that they express, in the language of our day, something that is essential to the ḳurʾānic

message, they attempted to integrate with Muslim thought the leading concepts of contemporary culture (notably in relation to the Third World), even in the case of ideas that are the product of nominally aetheistic ideologies such as socialism (*ishtirākiyya* [*q.v.*]) and the revolution (*thawra* [*q.v.*]).

In conclusion, even though *iṣlāḥ* no longer appears to be a religious and cultural current with the force, homogeneity and unity of tone that it had had in the inter-war period, it continues to evolve different forms, some vehement, others more moderate. Whether we consider the liberal *iṣlāḥ* of the moderate intellectuals who claimed for Islam tolerance and freedom of investigation, preached the emancipation of peoples through education and instruction, and based their optimistic vision of human evolution of the triumph of Reason and Science; or the militant *iṣlāḥ* of the Muslim Brothers, with their mystique of fidelity to the Muḥammadan mission and their desire to give Islam an effective presence in the world; or the *iṣlāḥ* of the idealistic youth, expressed in "left-wing" terms and motivated by a desire for social justice and political morality; each of these trends represents one of the fundamental options preached by Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, Muḥammad ʿAbduh, and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī, and carried on by their faithful followers in the East and in the Maghrib.

At a time when cultures interact more rapidly than ever before, when the spirit of oecumenism is developing not merely in a Christian context, Muslim reformism could no longer remain enclosed within the static universe of the Salafiyya. By the very diversity of its current trends *iṣlāḥ* can escape from the rigid dogmatism which always haunts monolithic movements. In this way *iṣlāḥ* becomes the meeting-ground where many thinkers and university teachers who feel personally concerned with the future of Islam in the modern world can attempt to give Islamic culture a "new start". This has given rise to a proliferation of essays and critical works, claiming to be inspired by *iṣlāḥ*, everywhere in the Arab world (Egypt, Lebanon, Tunisia etc.), and even in Pakistan, where the ideas of Muḥammad Iḳbāl, for example, continue to be a fertile source of inspiration.

Bibliography: 1. Background: C. Brockelmann, S III, 310-55; F. M. Pareja *et al.*, *Islamologie*, Beirut 1957-63, 724-43; H. Laoust, *Le Réformisme orthodoxe des "Salafiya" et les caractères généraux de son orientation actuelle*, in *REI*, 1932, 175-224; Ch. C. Adam, *Islam and modernism in Egypt*, London 1933, (reprinted American University at Cairo, 1968); H. A. R. Gibb, *Modern trends in Islam*, Chicago 1947 (on reformist *and* modernist trends); A. Hourani, *Arabic thought in the Liberal Age—1798-1939*, Oxford 1962; L. Gardet, *La Cité musulmane*, Paris [1]1954, [3] 1969 (especially *Annexe III*); Muḥammad Iḳbāl, *The Reconstruction of religious thought in Islam*, Oxford[2] 1934.

2. Historical account of modern *iṣlāḥ*: a) The neo-Ḥanbalī influence: basic ref. H. Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Taḳī-D-Dīn Aḥmad b. Taymīya*, Cairo 1939, 541-75.—b) The Wahhābī antecedents: H. Laoust, *Essai*..., 506-40; 615-30, Bibliogr. 648-51; L. Massignon, *Les vraies origines dogmatiques du Wahhabisme*..., in *RMM*, xxxvi (1918-19), 320 ff.; WAHHĀBĪYA, in *EI*[1]; IBN ʿABD AL-WAHHĀB, in *EI*[2].

3. The main representatives of the modern reformist trend: a vast quantity of literature treats the subject from a general point of view. Cf.: Aḥmad Amīn, *Zuʿamāʾ al-iṣlāḥ fi 'l-aṣr al-ḥadīth*, Cairo 1368/1949 (on ten reformist personalities of the Arab world and the Indian subcontinent). Special studies: a) Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (1838-1897): *EI*[2], s.v.; Brockelmann, S III, 311-5; Aḥ. Amīn, *Zuʿamāʾ al-iṣlāḥ*..., 59-120; Nikki R. Keddie, *Sayyid Jamāl ad-Dīn "al-Afghānī": a political biography*, Los Angeles 1972; E. Kedourie, *Afghani and ʿAbduh*, London 1966; Homa Pakdaman, *Djamal ed-Dīn Assad Abadi dit Afghani*, Paris 1960, Bibliogr... 369-82 (tends to demystify the character by underlining the weakness in the man). Complementary study: A. Albert Kudsi-Zadeh, *Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī. An annotated Bibliography*, Leiden 1970.—b) ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī (1854?-1902): Brockelmann, S III, 380; R. Riḍā, *Muṣāb ʿazīm*... (*In memoriam*), in *al-Manār*, v (1902), 237-40, 276-80; Aḥ. Amīn, *Zuʿamāʾ al-iṣlāḥ*..., 249-79; Muḥ. Aḥ. Khalaf Allāh, *Al-K., ḥayātuh wa-āthāruh*, Cairo 1962; Khaldūn S. al-Ḥuṣrī, *Three Reformers*, Beirut 1966, 55-112.—c) Muḥammad ʿAbduh (1849-1905): *EI*[1], s.v.; Brockelmann, S III, 315-21; the basic ref. still remains: R. Riḍā, *Taʾrīkh al-ustādh al-imām al-shaykh M. ʿA.*, 3 vols. Cairo, i, 1350/1931 (essentially biographical, with autobiographical notes by Muḥ. ʿAbduh, 20-5), ii, 1344/1925 (list of works and diverse writings), iii, 1324/1906 (funerary orations; obituary notices); H. Laoust, *Essai*..., 542 ff.; Aḥ. Amīn, *Zuʿamāʾ al-iṣlāḥ*..., 281-338; J. Jomier, *Le Comment. coran. du Manâr*, chap. I. The personality of Muḥ. ʿAbduh has been the object of numerous studies, unequal in interest and often in the nature of an apologia (cf. ʿAbbās Maḥmūd al-ʿAḳḳād, *ʿAbḳarī al-iṣlāḥ wa 'l-taʿlīm al-ustādh al-imām Muḥ. ʿAbduh*, Cairo n.d.). A general bibliogr. on the life, work and thought of Muḥ. ʿAbduh still remains to be compiled.—d) Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā (1865-1935): Brockelmann, S III, 321-3; autobiographical notes in his *al-Manār wa 'l-azhar*, 129-200; Shakīb Arslān, *al-Sayyid R.R. aw ikhāʾ arbaʿīn sana*, Damascus 1356/1937; H. Laoust, *Essai*..., 557 ff.; J. Jomier, *Le Comment. coran. du Manâr*, chap. I.—e) ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Bādīs (1889-1940). *EI*[2]. s.v.; A. Merad, *Le Réformisme musulman en Algérie de 1925 à 1940*, 79-86 and *Index*; idem, *Ibn Bādīs, Commentateur du Coran*, Paris 1971.—f) On secondary characters whose names are still linked to the history of the reformist trend in contemporary history, see above (*D*).

4. Works on doctrine. We will restrict ourselves here to the major works. For the rest, see the refs. mentioned in the article. a) Afghānī and Muḥ. ʿAbduh, *al-ʿUrwa al-wuthḳā*, Beirut 1328/1910, (new ed., Cairo 1958); Fr. trans. Marcel Colombe, *Pages choisies de Dj. al-D. al-A.*, in *Orient*, xxi-xxiv (1962), and xxv (1963).—b) Afghānī, *Ḥaḳīḳat-i madhhab-i nayshari wa-bayān-i ḥāl-i naysharīyān* (directed against Aḥmad Khān [*q.v.*]), Ḥaydarābād 1298/1880 (Arabic trans. by the author, same date and place); another Arabic version, based on the original Persian, by Muḥ. ʿAbduh: *Risālat al-radd ʿala 'l-dahriyyīn*, Beirut 1303/1886, then Cairo 1321/1903 (Fr. trans. based on the Arabic text): A. M. Goichon, *Réfutation des Matérialistes*, Paris 1944; (Eng. trans. based on the original Persian): Nikki R. Keddie, *An Islamic Response to Imperialism—Polit. and Relig. Writings of Sayyid J. al-D. "al-Afghānī"*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1968.—c) ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī, *Umm al-ḳurā*, [Cairo 1899], fragments in *al-Manār*, v (1902), Cairo 1350/1931, Aleppo

1959: this little work gives a summarized form of all the main themes of reformist propaganda to be developed by R. Riḍā and Ibn Bādīs.—d) Idem, *Ṭabā'iʿ al-istibdād*, Cairo 1318/1900, enlarged re-ed., Aleppo 1957. This essay was to have less impact in reformist cirles than the preceding work. —e) Muḥ. ʿAbduh, *Risālat al-tawḥīd*, Cairo, 1315/1897; new ed. (expurgated as far as the question of the "created Ḳur'ān" is concerned), with notes, by R. Riḍā, Cairo 1326/1908. This ed. was considered as definitive for more than half a century (17th. reprint 1379/1960). A new ed. by Maḥmūd Abū Rayya uses the text of the original ed. revised and corrected by the author, Cairo, Maʿārif, 1966). Fr. trans. based on the 1st. ed. by B. Michel and Moustapha Abdel Razik, *Rissalat al-Tawhid—Exposé de la religion musulmane*, Paris 1925; Eng. trans.: [Isḥāḳ] Musaʿad and K. Cragg, *The Theology of Unity*, London 1966.—f) Idem, *Ḥāshiya ʿalā sharḥ al-Dawānī li 'l-ʿaḳā'id al-ʿaḍudiyya*, Cairo 1292/1875; re-ed. in Sulaymān Dunyā, *Al-shaykh, M. ʿA. bayn al-falāsifa wa-'l-kalāmiyyīn*, Cairo 1377/1958, 2 vols. In the Introduction (64 pp.) the ed. situates the thought of M. ʿA. in relation to the problems of faith and reason, and criticizes the "excessive" rationalism of ʿAbduh. For the same sort of approach note his *Risālāt al-wāridāt* (written in 1294/1877), 1st ed., Cairo 1299/1882. According to R. Riḍā the author reconsidered, towards the end of his life, a large part of his youthful work (which deals with *kalām*, Ṣufism and the *falsafa*). —g) Idem, *Al-Islām wa 'l-Naṣrāniyya maʿa 'l-ʿilm wa 'l-madaniyya*, Cairo 1320/1902 (replies and apologetic refutations).—h) Rashīd Riḍā, *Tafsīr al-Ḳur'ān al-ḥakīm al-shahīr bi-Tafsīr al-Manār*, in 12 vols., Cairo 1346-53/1927-34 (this commentary stops at verse 52, sūrah XII, and thus only covers 2/5 of the ḳur'ānic text).—i) Idem, *Ta'rīkh al-ustādh al-imām al-Shaykh Muḥammad ʿAbduh* (see above, 3, c).—j) Idem, *Al-Khilāfa aw al-imāma al-ʿuẓmā*, Cairo 1341/1922-23 (Fr. trans. H. Laoust, *Le califat dans la doctrine de R.R.*, Beirut 1938. —k) Idem, *al-Manār wa 'l-azhar*, Cairo 1353/1934 (polemics with the conservative circles at *al-Azhar*). Many pamphlets which gather together the art. extracted from *Manār*, above all: l) *Al-Waḥda al-islāmiyya wa 'l-ukhuwwa al-dīniyya*, Cairo 1346/1928 (on the themes of *taḳlīd* and *idjtihād*).—m) ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Bādīs, *Madjālis al-tadhkīr min kalām al-ḥakim al-khabīr*, part. published with *Introd.* by M. B. Ibrāhīmī, by Ahmed Bouchemāl, Constantine 1948, 96 pp.; complete, but not critical ed., by Muḥ. Ṣāliḥ Ramaḍān and ʿAbd Allāh Shāhīn, Cairo 1384/1964, 496 pp.—n) Mubārak al-Mīlī, *Risālat al-shirk wa-maẓāhirih*, Constantine 1356/1937 (a theologico-moral work strongly influenced by Wahhābī doctrine).—o) M. al-Bashīr al-Ibrāhīmī, *ʿUyūn al-Baṣā'ir*, Cairo 1963 (editorials from the paper *al-Baṣā'ir*, Algiers 1947-56, on questions of relig., soc., polit., and culture, in pure reformist tradition. —p) Maḥmūd Shaltūt, *al-Islām ʿaḳīda wa-sharīʿa*, Cairo n.d. [1959].—q) Principal reformist papers and revues: *al-Manār* (monthly, Cairo, 1898-1935; ed. Rashīd Riḍā); *al-Fatḥ* (weekly, Cairo, founded in 1926; ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb); *Madjallat al-shubbān al-muslimīn* (monthly, Cairo, founded in 1928; organ of the *Society of Young Muslims*); *al-Shihāb* (Constantine, 1925-39; monthly from 1927 on; ed. Ibn Bādīs); *al-Baṣā'ir* (weekly, Algiers 1936-9; ed. Ṭayyib al-ʿUḳbī; new series. 1947-56; ed. Bashīr Ibrāhīmī).

5. Analytical and critical studies: Besides the names of Muḥ. Iḳbāl, H. Laoust, H. A. R. Gibb, L. Gardet, J. Jomier, quoted above, cf.: I. Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, Leiden 1920, repr. 1970 (Arab trans. ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm al-Nadjdjār, *Madhāhib al-tafsīr al-islāmī*, Cairo 1374/1955; The *Introduction* to the Fr. trans. of *Risālat al-tawḥīd* (p. IX-LXXXV); Osman Amin, *Muḥ. ʿAbduh: Essai sur ses idées philos. et relig.*, Cairo 1944 (Eng. trans., Ch. Wendell, *Muḥammad ʿAbduh*, Washington 1953. Cf. the corrections made to this trans. by Fr. Rosenthal in *JAOS*, lxxiv (1954), 101-2); idem, *Rā'id al-fikr al-miṣri, M. ʿA.*, Cairo 1955 (enlarged version of preceding title); R. Caspar, *Le Renouveau du Moʿtazilisme*, in *MIDEO*, iv (1957), 141-202 (very thorough study, indispensable ref. on the question); P. Rondot. *L'Islam et les Musulmans d'aujourd'hui*, Paris, i (1968), ii (1960) (work of popularization based on personal experience); J. Berque, J.-P. Charnay and others, *Normes et valeurs de l'Islam contemporain*, Paris 1966 (some interesting judgements on reformist currents of Muslim thought in the 20th C.); M. Kerr, *Islamic Reform (The Polit. and Legal Theories of Muh. ʿAbduh and R. Riḍā)*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1966 (underlines certain contradictions in reformist thought); A. Merad, *Le Réformisme musulman en Algérie de 1925 à 1940* (Book II, p. 211-432, is an examination of the doctrine); idem, *Ibn Bādīs, Commentateur du Coran* (thematic analysis of the ḳur'ānic commentary of the *Shihāb*).

6. Periodicals which frequently deal with the problems of reformism in an Arab context: *L'Afrique et l'Asie*; *Cahiers de l'Orient Contemporain*; *IBLA*; *Islamic Culture*; *JAOS*; *MIDEO*; *Orient*; *OM*; the old *Revue du Monde Musulman*; the *Revue des Etudes Islamiques* and its *Abstracta*, etc. (A. Merad)

ii.—Iran

Islamic thought and expression bearing a distinctively modern stamp has been of less quantity and importance in Iran than either the Arab lands or the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. No figure has emerged comparable in influence or literary output to, for example, Sayyid Ḳuṭb or Muḥammad Iḳbāl [*qq.v.*]. This may be attributed in part to the relative isolation of Iran from intellectual currents in other parts of the Muslim world by virtue of its profession of Shīʿism, and in part, too, to the very nature of Shīʿism, which being in its essence an esoterism, is less susceptible to those storms of historical change that have provoked modernist reaction elsewhere. Traditional learning and institutions have, moreover, been unusually well preserved in Iran, and while Islamic modernism in other lands has frequently arisen from "lay" impatience with *ʿulamā'* attitudes to the faith and a desire to expound and implement its dictates independently of them, the Iranian *ʿulamā'* have, by contrast, maintained a high degree of influence and prestige. There have nonetheless been certain currents of modernist expression in Iran, elicited in large part by the western impact and tending to the presentation of Islam above all in terms of social and political reform and compatibility with modern science and rationality.

The beginnings of such expression are to be traced to the reign of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh (1797-1834), when the crown prince ʿAbbās Mīrzā invoked ḳur'ānic sanction for the introduction of certain military reforms of western provenance. The depiction of social and

political reform as deriving from religious precept and duty thereafter became a commonplace of reformist thought. It received little systematic exposition, however, and was frequently voiced by persons themselves lacking in substantial religious belief and concerned above all with the forging of a tactical device for gaining *ʿulama'* and mass upport for reform and westernization. Most prominent and influential among this class was the Perso-Armenian Mīrzā Malkum Khān (1834-1908). On the basis of his private statements (particularly to his friend and confidant, Ākhūndzāda), it may be concluded that he was a freethinker; yet he belongs to the history of Islamic modernism in Iran by virtue of his expedient and influential exposition of the Islamic acceptability, even necessity, of reform. This theme he put forward in a number of treatises, especially *Kitābča-yi Ghaybī*, and above all in the celebrated journal *Ḳānūn*, published in London from 1890 to 1898.

In the identification of religious duty with the need to reform, the question of law played a crucial part: whether the law of a regenerated state was to be the *sharīʿa* or a code of western inspiration. The problem was solved — if only in the most immediate sense — by the equation of both on the basis of allegedly shared fundamentals: the just and orderly functioning of society for the increase of prosperity. This equation, implicit in the very title of Malkum's journal, was set forth more clearly (and probably with a greater degree of inward conviction) by Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān Mustashār al-Dawla in his treatise entitled *Yak Kalima* (1870). The "one word" of the title is law, which constitutes the sufficient solution to all of Iran's problems, and the law in question consists of the French legal codes, which Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān attempts to prove compatible with Islam by means of quotation from the Ḳur'ān and *Ḥadīth*. He wrote another work in similar vein, *Rūḥ-i Islām*, in which he stated: "I have found proofs and evidences from the Glorious Ḳur'ān and reliable traditions for all the means of progress and civilization, so that none shall henceforth say, 'such-and-such a matter is against the principles of Islam,' or, 'the principles of Islam are an obstacle to progress and civilization'."

The influence of Sayyid Djamāl al-Dīn Asadābādī (Afghānī) [*q.v.*] in Iran tended in a similar direction of westernizing reform, although the religious tone and content of his thought was far more considerable than in the case of either Malkum or Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān. It is now fully established that he was of Iranian birth; yet his impact upon his homeland was almost certainly of less importance than his role in other parts of the Muslim world. His major work in "defence" of religion, *Ḥaḳīḳat-i madhhab-i nayčirī*, was written and first published in Ḥaydarābād (1881), largely in response to certain local Indian conditions, and the Arabic version of the work, *al-Radd ʿala 'l-dahriyyīn*, was probably more widely read than the Persian orignal. Nonetheless, during Djamāl al-Dīn's two trips to Iran in 1886-1887 and 1889-1891, he came into contact with a variety of persons upon whom he appears to have made a considerable impression. Among these may be mentioned Sayyid Ṣādiḳ Ṭabāṭabā'ī, father of Sayyid Muḥammad Ṭabāṭabā'ī, one of the most prominent *mudjtahids* active in support of the constitutional revolution, and Mīrzā Naṣr Allāh Iṣfahānī Malik al-Mutakallimīn, the celebrated constitutionalist preacher. While taking refuge at the shrine of Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm to the south of Tehran in 1890, he also met many lesser persons, and he may in general be presumed to have strengthened the current of Iranian modernism, although to a degree inferior to that claimed by posthumous legend.

Foremost among the themes traditionally associated with the influence of Sayyid Djamāl al-Dīn was Pan-Islamism [*q.v.*], which did indeed come to occupy a certain place in Islamic modernism in Iran, despite the separateness resulting from Shīʿism. It was felt that both the Ottoman Empire and Iran were exposed to the same danger of extinction at the hands of western imperialism, and that union under the Ottoman ruler, as sultan thought not caliph, was a desirable measure of defence. While in Istanbul in 1892, Sayyid Djamāl al-Dīn formed a circle of Iranian exiles—Azalīs for the most part, strangely enough—to conduct propaganda with a view to strengthening such feelings. Letters were sent to the Shīʿī *ʿulamā'* both in Iran and at the shrine cities of ʿIrāḳ which elicited a favourable response. Contacts between Istanbul and the Shīʿī *ʿulamā'* survived Djamāl al-Dīn's death and played a role of some importance in the affairs of Iran for a number of years, particularly from 1900 to 1903. The only substantial treatment of Pan-Islamism in Persian was the tract entitled *Ittiḥād-i Islām* by the Ḳadjar prince Mīrzā Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Shaykh al-Ra'īs (published at Bombay in 1894). In recent years aspirations towards Islamic solidarity have received renewed expression in Iran, but with Sunnī-Shīʿī rapprochement as their aim rather than political union or federation.

Certain modernist themes, in particular the religious desirability of social and educational reform and the duty of acquiring modern scientific learning, were adumbrated in works not primarily religious in tone and intention: *Kitāb-i Aḥmad* (1896) and *Masālik-i Muḥsinīn* (1905) of the Ādharbāydjānī Ṭālibov, and the *Siyāḥatnāma-yi Ibrāhīm Bīg* (3 vols., 1903-1909) of his compatriot Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Marāgha'ī.

None of the works or tendencies indicated so far emanated from the *ʿulamā'*, although they may have been influenced by some among them to various degrees. It is not until the years of the constitutional revolution (1905-1911) that we find a coherent and serious statement on questions of political and social reform, inspired by genuine concern and expressed in scholarly terms, issuing from the *ʿulamā'* class. The work in question is a treatise on constitutional government from the viewpoint of Shīʿī Islam, entitled *Tanbīh al-umma wa tanzīh al-milla dar asās wa uṣūl-i mashrūtiyat* (first published 1909, reprinted with an introduction by Sayyid Maḥmūd Ṭāliḳānī in 1955). The author was Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥusayn Nā'īnī (1860-1936), a *mudjtahid* resident in Nadjaf who had been a pupil of the celebrated Mīrzā Ḥasan Shīrāzī, author of the *fatwā* so effective in the tobacco boycott of 1891-1892, and who enjoyed the close friendship of the great constitutionalist divines, Mullā Kāẓim Khurāsānī and Mullā ʿAbd Allāh Māzandarānī. The participation of a large and significant number of the Iranian *ʿulamā'* in the constitutional revolution has often been regarded as a result of confusion and circumstantial pressure, as the continuation of traditional *ʿulamā'* hostility to the state in a situation the novelty of which they failed to recognize. Nā'īnī's book delineates the positive doctrinal reasons for their support of constitutionalism, firmly grounded in the Ḳur'ān and *Sunna*. He defines the functions of the state as the establishment of equilibrium within society and its defence from external attack. The power enjoyed by the state should be limited to that necessary for fulfilling these functions; any excess tends inevitably in the direction of tyranny, which in turn tempts the ruler to usurp the divine attribute of sovereignty, and thus to commit the cardinal sin of *shirk*.

Such perversion can be fully prevented only by the *ʿiṣma* of the ruler, his freedom from sin and error, and it was for this reason that legitimate rule belonged to the Imāms during their lifetime. After the occultation of the twelfth Imām, legitimacy has withdrawn from the earthly plane, and a degree of usurpatoriness is bound to haunt all existing regimes. It is nonetheless both possible and desirable to reduce that degree to a minimum by limiting the power of the ruler and instituting an assembly (*madjlis*) of representatives which shall implement the consultative principle enunciated in the Ḳurʾān. Such an assembly may act as a legislature only with regard to matters not already covered by the *sharīʿa*, or by giving specific implementation to items legislated for in general manner by Ḳurʾān and *Sunna*. The functioning of the assembly is to be regulated by a constitution, and objections that the constitution somehow vies with the *sharīʿa* as a new, comprehensive code are ill-informed or mischievous. There results from conceding to the assembly a limited legislative power a duality of religious and secular law; but the innocuity of secular law will be guaranteed by the presence in the *madjlis* of a number of *mudjtahids*, and in any event, perfect implementation of the *sharīʿa*, with all aspects of life integrated according to its ordinances, will be possible only with the return of the Imām to the plane of manifestation. Nāʾīnī's statement of the desirability of constitutional rule in Shīʿī terms indicates not only how the *ʿulamāʾ* were able, in later decades, to refer to both the Ḳurʾān and the constitution as sources of authority for political life, but also how it was possible for them to ally themselves with secular elements in the pursuit of common political objectives.

Modernist thought and expression, in Islamic terms, remained dormant throughout the reign of Riḍā Shāh (1926-1941), under whose auspices a nationalist ideology with secularist and anti-Islamic tendencies was fostered, although not as energetically as in neighbouring Turkey. After his deposition and the succession to the throne of Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh, a certain freedom of expression came into being of which use was made by various religious circles, and although the possibilities of uninhibited expression have since suffered a sharp decline, Islamic modernism in Iran has continually developed in the post-war period. During the last decade in particular, a large body of religious literature has made its appearance, modern in its tone of thought and its preoccupation with socio-economic problems, the interrelations of science and religion, and the task of restating Islam in a manner comprehensible to secularly educated youth.

In the period between the accession of Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh and the overthrow of prime minister Muḥammad Muṣaddiḳ in July 1953, the resurgence of Islam as a visible factor in public affairs was marked by an extreme degree of political activism, largely unaccompanied by intellectual or literary activity. This observation applies both to the organization of the Fidāʾīyān-i Islām [*q.v.*], under the leadership of Nawwāb Ṣafavī, and to the figure of Āyat Allāh Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Kāshānī. The Fidāʾīyān never evolved a consistent ideology or any serious programme for reshaping the life of state and society in Islamic terms. Their organ, *Zilzila*, consisted largely of commentaries on questions of the day, with more permanent questions receiving only fragmentary treatment. Kāshānī, although temporarily co-operating with the Fidāʾīyān, represented the tradition of the constitutionalist *mudjtahids* of the early part of the century and had indeed been one of the foremost pupils of Mullā Kāẓim Khurāsānī in Nadjaf. In his speeches and correspondence, Kāshānī reflected the thinking of this earlier generation of *ʿulamāʾ*, accepting, like Nāʾīnī, the Ḳurʾān and the constitution as dual sources of political authority. His expression of the theme had an abrasive polemical edge that reflected the extreme tensions of the period.

At this time, the dominant figure in the religious life of Iran was not Kāshānī, but Āyat Allāh Ḥusayn Burūdjirdī (1875-1962), a figure universally acknowledged to have exceeded Kāshānī in piety and learning, while quietist—and even occasionally loyalist—in his political attitudes. Burūdjirdī cannot, in any important sense, be called a modernist, for he did not concern himself to any remarkable degree with political or social problems. Nonetheless, during the one-and-a-half decades that he functioned as sole *mardjaʿ-i taḳlīd* [*q.v.*] of the Ithnā ʿasharī Shīʿī community, he initiated a process of renewal and self-criticism within the religious institution which has gathered momentum after his death and largely contributed to the contemporary spate of religious concern and thought in Iran. Burūdjirdī established a network of communication reaching out from Ḳum to all regions of the country to regularize the collection of *sahm-i imām*, a measure that later proved useful for the dissemination of religious guidance and directives. In the field of pure scholarship, he revived the independent study of *ḥadīth* and instigated a critical revision of the fundamental Shīʿī manual, Muḥammad b. Ḳasan al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmulī's *Waṣāʾil al-shīʿa ilā taḥḳīḳ masāʾil al-sharīʿa*. He demonstrated a serious concern for a Sunnī-Shīʿī rapprochement, and to this end entered into correspondence with successive rectors of the Azhar. With their co-operation, there was established in Cairo, with a branch in Ḳum, an institution called *Dār al-taḳrīb bayna'l-madhāhib al-islāmīyya*, issuing an organ under the title of *Risālat al-Islām*. This concern of Burūdjirdī has survived his death, and while the absence of diplomatic relations between Tehran and Cairo for a number of years made it difficult to pursue contacts with the Azhar, this obstacle was removed in September 1970, and the rector of the Azhar, Muḥammad al-Faḥḥām, paid an extended visit to Iran in the summer of 1971 in the course of which he met a number of leading *mudjtahids*, including Ayat Allāh Muḥammad Hādī Mīlānī in Mashhad. Another initiative of Burūdjirdī which has continued to bear fruit was the dispatch of Shīʿī emissaries to western Europe, both to cater to needs of Iranians abroad and to propagate Shīʿī Islam among interested Europeans.

The death of Burūdjirdī deprived the Shīʿī community of its sole *mardjaʿ*, and the problem of leadership and direction posed itself in an unusually acute manner. It was widely felt that the traditional process whereby one or more of the *mudjtahids*, qualified by piety and pre-eminence in religious learning, had emerged to be sources of guidance, was defective and incapable of answering the true needs of the community. For all the deep respect that Burūdjirdī had enjoyed, his failure to provide authoritative guidance during the events that had convulsed Iran in the Muṣaddiḳ period was felt to be a defect from which his successors should ideally be free. It was recognized, moreover, that the mastery of the traditional religeous disciplines was by itself no longer an adequate training for the effective guidance of society and the application of Islamic solutions to contemporary problems. On the other hand, acquisition of the various branches of specialized knowledge that seemed necessary for the task was clearly beyond the capacities

of a single individual. Some therefore concluded that a collective *mardja*ʿ was desirable. Many of these considerations, together with suggested solutions, were adumbrated in a collective volume entitled *Baḥt͟hī dar bāra-yi mardjaʿiyat wa rūḥānīyat*, first published in 1963 and since reprinted with supplementary material. This book, the work of seven authors, including both *ʿulamā*ʾ and lay writers, was probably the most influential and substantial piece of religious writing to appear in Persian since Nāʾīnī's discussion of constitutional government. It concluded a brief and clear exposition of certain fundamental concepts such as *taḳlīd*, *idjtihād* and *walāyat* (treated by Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ṭabāṭabāʾī and Murtaḍā Muṭahharī), and of the proper social function of the religious classes in general and the *mardja*ʿ in particular (discussed by Mahdī Bāzargān and Sayyid Muḥammad Bihis͟htī). Possibly the most important sections were those in which Muṭahharī discussed the need to provide an independent financial basis for the religious institution, thus freeing it of subservenience to either state or populace, and those in which Bāzargān and Sayyid Murtaḍā Djazāʾirī proposed the replacement of an individual by a collective *mardja*ʿ (termed by the latter *s͟haurā-yi fatwā*).

In addition to such discussion of problems peculiar to S͟hīʿism in the present age, the postwar religious scene in Iran has also witnessed the translation into Persian of modernist works produced elsewhere in the Islamic world. Some of the authors most frequently translated are Sayyid Ḳuṭb, Muḥammad Ḳuṭb ,Yūsuf al-Ḳarḍāwī and others associated with the Ik͟hwān al-Muslimīn [*q.v.*], and Mawlānā Abu 'l-Aʿlā Mawdūdī, leader of the Pakistani Dhamāʿat-i Islāmī. Among the more influential of the works translated, special mention may be made of Sayyid Ḳuṭb's *al-ʿAdāla al-idjtimāʾiyya fī 'l-Islām*. The translations are occasionally supplied with footnotes to indicate S͟hīʿī divergent opinions when deemed necessary.

The most prolific and influential writer of original modernist literature in Iran today is Mahdī Bāzargān, one of the contributors to the collective volume already mentioned. His work is characterized by the clear influence of certain Sunnī modernists, a concern with demonstrating the confluence of scientific fact with religious truth, and a fluent and persuasive style. His first book was *Muṭahhirāt dar Islām* (1943; later reprinted), a detailed demonstration of the biological and hygienic utility inherent in the Islamic prescriptions for ritual purity. Of his later production, totalling some twenty titles to date, mention may be made of *ʿIshḳ wa parastis͟h* (1963), a work subtitled "the thermodynamics of man"; *Duʿā* (1964), discussing the psychological benefits of prayer; and *Dars-i Dīndārī* (1965), stressing the continuing need of man and society in the modern world for religion. Bāzargān has also been politically active as one of the moving spirits behind the Nihḍat-i Āzādī, a religiously orientated component of the proscribed oppositional National Front. One of his associates in this venture has been Sayyid Maḥmūd Ṭāliḳānī, author of a number of works including the significant treatise *Djihād wa S͟hahādat* (1965).

Most of the works of Bāzargān and Ṭāliḳānī have been published by a Tehran house known as S͟hirkat-i Intis͟hār, which continues to put out an ever-increasing volume of modernist religious literature. A few specimens may be cited by way of example: ʿAlī G͟haffūrī's *Islām wa iʿlāmīyya-yi djahānī-yi ḥuḳuḳ-i bas͟har* (1964), aiming to show how Islam has prefigured the notion of universal human rights; Muḥammad Taḳī S͟harīʿatī's *Tafsīr-i Nuvīn* (1967), a commentary on the last *djuz*ʾ of the Ḳurʾān, markedly rationalist in tendency; and Muḥammad Mudjtahid S͟habistarī's *Djāmiʾa-yi insānī-yi Islām* (1969), a work stressing the universalist and fraternal aspects of Islam.

There are too certain special classes of religious literature worthy of note. One is the popular religious biography, of which the chief exponent is Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Rahnamā. His immensely successful biography of the Prophet, *Payāmbar*, first published in 1937, has gone through more than fifteen editions and been translated into French (Paris 1957). Rahnamā's work is characterized by skilful narrative technique and a free use of invented dialogue. A two-volume *Zindagānī-yi Imām Ḥusayn* (new edition 1966) has enjoyed similar popularity. Also deserving of mention in the same genre is the Persian translation of C. V. Gheorghiu's French biography of the Prophet under the title of *Muḥammad, payg͟hambarī ki az nau bāyad s͟hinākht* (1964).

Polemical literature forms another notable division of contemporary religious writing. Numerous works have been written stressing the unique identity of the S͟hīʿa, partly as an adjunct to and partly in contradiction of, moves towards a Sunnī-S͟hīʿī rapprochement. Probably the best work in this category is Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ṭabāṭabāʾī's *S͟hīʿa dar Islām* (1969). The vast work in Arabic on the supposed appointment of ʿAlī as successor to the Prophet at the pool of K͟humm, S͟hayk͟h ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Amīnī's *al-G͟hadīr*, has been partially translated into Persian. A more popular treatment of the same subject is the anonymous and collective work *Ḥassāstarīn farāz-i tārīk͟h yā dāstān-i g͟hadīr* (1969). Other works are aimed at refuting the attacks made on S͟hīʿī Islam by the radical anti-clerical Aḥmad Kasravī in his frequently reprinted *S͟hīʿagarī*. In this category mention may be made of Ḥādjdj Sirādj Anṣārī's *S͟hīʿa chi mīgūyad* (third edition, 1966), and Muḥammad Taḳī S͟harīʿatī's *Fāʾida wa luzūm-i dīn* (1965). Finally, there exists an extensive literature in refutation of Bahāʾīsm, chiefly in pamphlet form.

In addition to the printed word, the broadcast lecture on religious subjects has played a part of importance in the diffusion of contemporary Islamic thought, particularly in an era of decreasing mosque attendance. The names of Muḥammad Taḳī Falsafī and Ḥusayn Rās͟hid stand out among the especially celebrated preachers; the texts of their lectures have been collected and published in book form.

Another innovation of the postwar period has consisted of societies and organizations devoted to *tablīg͟h*, to the propagation of the faith by means of the printed and spoken word. The earliest of these was the Andjuman-i Tablīg͟hāt-i Islāmī, founded in 1943 by Dr. ʿAṭā Allāh S͟hihābpūr with headquarters in Tehran and branches in a number of provincial cities. It published a number of booklets on the fundamentals of religion, as well as a magazine entitled *Nūr-i dānis͟h* and a yearbook bearing the same name. The activities of the organization seem to have faded out in the late 1950s.

In 1965 there was established in Ḳum an institution called the Dār al-Tablīg͟h al-Islāmī, the fulfilment of the wishes of the late Burūdjirdī and under the auspices of another *mudjtahid*, Āyat Allāh Muḥammad Kāzim S͟harīʿatmadārī. The institution trains students in the religious science, not, like the traditional *madrasas*, for the sake of pure knowledge, but with a view to the effective propagation of religion among the masses. English is among the subjects taught, and it is intended to institute missionary activity abroad. On the occasion of the fourth anniversary

of the institution, a lavish volume entitled *Sīmā-yi Islām* was published, containing contributions by leading contemporary religious writers. Closely associated with the activities of the Dār al-Tablīgh is an author by the name of Sayyid Hādī Khusraushāhī, a figure well-known in international Islamic circles and editor of the popular religious magazine *Maktab-i Islām* (appearing since 1958).

More recently still, there has been founded in Tehran the institution known as Ḥusayniya-yi Irshād, a centre where well-attended lectures on religious subjects are given by prominent figures both from the *ʿulamāʾ* and the world of learning. It too has publications to its credit, the most notable being a two-volume collection of papers entitled *Muḥammad, khātam-i payghambarān* (1969). During the *ḥadjdj* season, the Ḥusayniya establishes a temporary branch at Minā, where Iranian pilgrims go to receive guidance and hear lectures on the significance of the pilgrimage.

Bibliography: Firīdūn Ādamīyat, *Fikr-i āzādī wa muḳaddima-yi nihḍat-i mashrūṭīyat-i Iran*, Tehran 1334 solar/1961; Hamid Algar, *Religion and state in Iran, 1785-1906: The role of the ulama in the Qajar period*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1969; idem, *Mīrzā Malkum Khān: A biographical study in the history of Qajar Iran*, (forthcoming); idem, *The oppositional role of the Ulama in twentieth century Iran*, in *Sufis, saints and scholars*, ed. Nikki R. Keddie (forthcoming); Yahya Armajani, *Islamic literature in post-war Iran*, in *The World of Islam*, London 1960, 271-282; R. Cottam, *Nationalism in Iran*, Pittsburgh 1964; Nikki R. Keddie, *An Islamic response to imperialism: Political and religious writings of Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn "al-Afghānī"*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1968; idem, *Religion and irreligion in early Iranian nationalism*, in *Comparative studies in society and history*, iv/3 (April 1962), 265-295; Āyat Allāh Rūḥ Allāh Khumaynī, *Hukūmat-i Islāmī ya valāyat-i Faḳīh*, Nadjaf 1389/1969; A. K. S. Lambton, *A reconsideration of the position of the* Marjaʿ Al-Taqlīd *and the religious institution*, in *Studia Islamica*, xx (1964), 115-135.

(Hamid Algar)

iii.—Turkey

Within the Ottoman-Turkish context *iṣlāḥ* seldom meant modernism in religion. The word has more often been associated with political reform which, in turn, meant at first (during the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries) the restoration of the old political order, and later (approximately after 1800), a reconstitution of the political system on the basis of principles more and more remote from those of sultanate and caliphate. There is no word consistently used to denote the idea of religious modernism, as distinct from the modernization of religious institutions such as the *madrasas*, where again the term used was *iṣlāḥ*. There is no major movement of religious modernism comparable with those found elsewhere in the Islamic world.

The absence of a concept and movement of religious modernism seems to be a result of the characteristic Ottoman fusion of religion and state, symbolized by the frequent use of the term *dīn-u-devlet* by Ottoman writers. In an institutional or in a theological sense, very little scope was left for the rise of a religious modernism independent of political reform movements. The Ottoman polity had succeeded more than any other in maintaining Islam and its representatives, the *ʿulamāʾ*, within the framework of the state organization. The religious institution, which represented no spiritual or ecclesiastical authority, was merely a segment of the ruling institution, and was organized into an order or *odjaḳ* [*q.v.*]. Its role lay mainly in the cultivation of jurisprudence (*fiḳh*), the giving of opinions on legal matters (*iftāʾ*), and the execution of the *sharīʿa* law and the *ḳānūn* (*ḳaḍāʾ*). The *madrasa* was not primarily a school of theology, but was chiefly a training centre of jurisprudence. Through its judiciary, the state had adopted Sunnī orthodoxy, with an emphasis on Māturīdī theology and the Ḥanafī school of jurisprudence, and thus limited the possibilities for theological controversies.

However, besides the orthodox religious institution, with its educational and judicial regimentation and hierarchy, scope was also given to another stream of religious institutionalization which came closer to what might be regarded as an autonomous spiritual institution. These were the mystic orders or *ṭarīḳas*, of which there was a rich variety as a result of their tendency to split and multiply. Most of them, however, adhered, at least ostensibly to one or other of the main conservative, moderate, and extremist trends in terms of their attitudes toward the world and the state. It was only when a clash took place within the accepted limits of discrepancy between the *ʿulamāʾ* and Ṣūfī orders that there was the possibility of some kind of religious controversy. When such a clash extended to the basic tenets of orthodoxy, the *ʿulamāʾ* tended to view it more in political than religious terms and treated the exponents of such views as heretical. In all such cases the *ʿulamāʾ* easily obtained the support of the political power. The majority of the *ṭarīḳas*, however, avoided open antinomianism and maintained their position within the framework of the Ottoman polity. They adopted quietism or indifferentism on theological-political matters and were inclined more and more to ritualism and incantation or to poetry and art. This tendency not only safeguarded their existence, but also added prestige and enhanced their popularity among various classes of society, particularly among the artisans, the military, and the bureaucracy. The *ṭarīḳa* thus represented another example of the union between religion and state, attracting the participation not only of the *ʿulamāʾ* but also of high ranking statesmen, often even of the rulers themselves. Furthermore, the Ottoman state succeeded, in the later period, in making the *ṭarīḳas* a semi-official pillar of the state by recognizing the *mashāyikh* alongside the *ʿulamāʾ* in various ceremonial affairs.

After a fairly long period of partnership between the state, the *ʿulamāʾ*, and the *ṭarīḳas*, religious and spiritual controversies arose when in the 11th/17th century all of them faced the earliest challenges of the modern world. The objects of their controversies, such as coffee-drinking, smoking, intoxication, the use of silk or jewellery, emotional extravagance in daily life or in religious observance, belief in powers above or beyond the state and God may seem unimportant, but they were innovations partly introduced by the material affluence of the ruling class and the monetary and fiscal crises caused by the advent of an inflated economy and the concomitant disruption of the traditional orders of the Ottoman polity, accompanied by the impoverishment of the masses. The confluence of these factors made the problem of innovation (*bidʿa*) the central theme of religious controversies. The *ʿulamāʾ* and the *mashāyikh* accused each other of such innovations while the state, perhaps the real culprit, took the occasion to tighten its grip upon both.

However, no basic change in the traditional outlook of the *ʿulamāʾ* and Ṣūfī orders took place before the challenge of the modern world, although one should not conclude that the *ʿulamāʾ* always took a negative attitude toward innovations. Because of their vested interest in the maintenance of the Ottoman system, their attitude to change was dictated by their principle of *maṣlaḥa*, political expediency. Only in a few cases did the *ʿulamāʾ* openly oppose government policies and attempts at reform. In periods of tension the *ʿulamāʾ* turned against the Ṣūfīs rather than against the state, and under their attacks, the *ṭarīḳa*s became more docile. This was an important stage on the road towards their later decline and discredit. The *ʿulamāʾ* as a whole stood firmly on the side of the state, although with a relative degree of elasticity, but they survived the first phase of the crisis only with a tangible loss of religious vitality and initiative. Both of these religious institutions were thus in decline, long before 1800. Already in the middle of the 11th/17th century Ḳoči Beg [*q.v.*], in his *Risāla*, had described the corruption of the corps of *ʿulamāʾ*, and later Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (Kātib Čelebi [*q.v.*]) in his *Mīzān al-ḥaḳḳ fī ikhtiyār al-aḥaḳḳ* (English translation by G. L. Lewis, *The balance of truth*, London 1957) ridiculed the nonsensical controversies raging between the *ʿulamāʾ* and the *shaykh*s and deplored the depth of ignorance in rational and religious sciences in the *madrasas*. While the *ʿulamāʾ* had become thoroughly worldly, the *ṭarīḳa*s tended to become more removed from reality.

The reign of Selīm III (1789-1807), as the first period of serious attempt at comprehensive reforms, found the *ʿulamāʾ* more active in worldly affairs than interested in religious reform. Among the reform projects submitted to this ruler the best one was prepared by ʿAbd Allāh Molla, a high ranking member of the *ʿulamāʾ*. None of his recommendations for the reforming of the religious institution, however, had any effect upon the *Shaykh al-Islām*, the head of the *ʿulamāʾ*, nor upon his colleagues, and produced nothing tangible which could be called modernism in religion. The *ṭarīḳa*s fell into further disrepute and, at least one of them, the Bektashiyya, received a deadly blow from the *ʿulamāʾ*-supported destruction of the Janissaries under Maḥmūd II in 1826, because of the alleged association between the two. Since then, the *ṭarīḳa*s have never recovered, with the exception of two intervals, the first during the reign of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II (1876-1909) and the second from the 1940s on.

The earliest sign of a fundamental change in the position of the religious institution only appeared when some of the provisions of the *Tanẓīmat* charter were implemented. At first, the *ʿulamāʾ* managed to ignore the implications of the *Tanẓīmat* reforms for religious modernism. While the *Tanẓīmat* proved to be a new step in further involving the religious institution in politics, at the same time it marked the first split between religion and state. For example, while the *Shaykh al-Islām*, as the head of the religious institution, was given a permanent and prominent position in the cabinet, half of the judiciary was reserved for the new Ministry of Justice, the regulation of all pious foundations was assigned to the jurisdiction of the Ministry of *Awḳāf*, and all newly formed schools were put under the Ministry of Education [see BĀB-I MASHĪKHAT].

Despite this trend of laicization of the institutions which were traditionally under the control of the religious institution, the *Shaykh al-Islām*, the *ʿulamāʾ* and the *madrasa*s continued to play conspicuous roles in wordly affairs. That these activities varied from combating the laicized institutions, or sabotaging the codification of the *Medjelle*, to backing the state against the interference of the European Powers aimed at further secularizing reforms and participating in secret conspiracies for the deposition of rulers, is an indication of the fact that the *ʿulamāʾ* had lost their internal unity, and their association with the state had become tenuous.

During the *Tanẓīmat*, as well as the constitutional movement of the young Ottomans, the *ʿulamāʾ* produced no prominent religious thinker. The only outstanding figure who came from the *ʿulamāʾ* class was Aḥmad Djewdet Pasha (1822-1895 [*q.v.*]), but he became prominent only after he left the religious institution and became a secular statesman. Djewdet was perhaps the greatest reformer of the period, but as a legal reformer and not as a religious thinker. He succeeded in curbing the tendency of the *Tanẓīmat* statesmen toward a wholesale adoption of new codes from France on the one hand, and, on the other, recognized the inability of the *ʿulamāʾ*, as the spokesmen of the *sharīʿa*, to fulfil the requirements of a modern legal system. The *Medjelle* [*q.v.*] (1870-77) and the *Ḳānūn-u-Erāḍī* (1858) were the major products of his attempts at the modernization and codification of Islamic law. His englightened modernism, however, did not extend to constitutionalism. While he received the acclaim of the Young Ottomans as a modernist on matters of *fiḳh*, he sided with ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II against the constitutionalists, although it was the very same ruler who interrupted Djewdet's work in codification under pressure of the famous reactionary *Shaykh al-Islām*, Ḥasan Fehmī [*q.v.*].

The reign of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II (1876-1909 [*q.v.*]) was a period of total eclipse for any type of religious reform. It became instead a period of resurgence for the *ṭarīḳa*s, particularly for those which had no historic position in the Ottoman empire but were imported, mostly from North Africa, and which ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd seems to have encouraged in order to renew Ottoman influence in Arab countries. These *ṭarīḳa*s became centres of obscurantism, and the attempt to use them for political purposes sealed the fate of these once vigorous foci of popular religiosity. It is to be noted that during the reign of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, who espoused pan-Islamism, no trace of the modernist ideas of men like Muḥammad ʿAbduh [*q.v.*] is discernible, although there was an abundance of the literature of the "Refutation of the Materialists" type inspired by Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī [*q.v.*].

Some influence of Muḥammad Abuh's modernism was found, on the other hand, in pre-1908 writings of the secular intelligentsia who were at war with ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd. Dr. ʿAbd Allāh Djewdet, who is regarded as one of the most extreme atheists among the Young Turks, was the first to give space to Muḥammad ʿAbduh's ideas in his review *Idjtihād*, published in exile. After the restoration of the constitutional regime in 1908, the first modernist review, *Sirat-ı Mustaḳīm* (later *Sebīl ul-Reşad*), appeared as the organ of the younger *ʿulamāʾ*, who no longer constituted a clerical order in the Old Ottoman sense. The leading figures of this modernist review, however, were handicapped by the complications created by the impending clash between the Pan-Ottomanism of the Young Turks and the Islamic-Arab nationalism of the Egyptian modernists. The review appeared to be more in the footsteps of Rashīd Riḍā than Muḥammad ʿAbduh. In reality, very little space was given to ʿAbduh in *Sirat-ı Mustaḳīm*; only two arti-

cles were published about him, both being translations. What was believed to be modernism in Arab countries thus appeared in Turkey to be a religious reaction against the Ottoman caliphate. The secular Westernists also denounced these modernists as reactionaries. A controversy between the two poets of the two camps, Tewfīḳ Fikret and Meḥmet ʿĀḳif [Ersoy], has remained ever since as the model of the conflicting views of the secularists and the modernists.

While the modernists of the *Sirat-ı Mustaḳim* steadily turned conservative in *Sebīl ul-Reşad* as they were challenged by Westernists and nationalists, the cause of religious modernism was taken up more strongly by the secularist intelligentsia. ʿAbh Allāh Djewdet [see DJEWDET] and Kïlïçzāde Ḥaḳḳï, both writing in *Idjtihād*, launched attacks against the traditional *ʿulamā*ʾ as well as the modernists. The most prominent and influential figure, however, appeared from among the ranks of the Turkist nationalists. This was Ziya Gökalp (1876-1924 [see GÖKALP]). Unlike his contemporay Mūsā Djār Allāh or Bigief (1875-1949), the theologian and reformer of the Turkish Muslims of the Russian Empire, Gökalp was neither a theologian nor a religious thinker. As a romantic populist and nationalist sociologist he developed a three-principled ideology, in which Islam was significant only within the limitations of westernizing modernism and of the cultural revival of the Turkish nationality. In the scattered writings of Gökalp (ed. and trans. by N. Berkes) we find his views on Islamic modernism inseparable from his ideas of the secular state and national culture.

The religious modernism of Gökalp paved the way for the more radical secularism of the Kemalist era (1923-1938). Kemal Atatürk (1881-1938) was even more remote from the tradition of the "Islamic sciences", the *ʿulamā*ʾ, the *madrasas* and the *ṭariḳas*, which he always associated with backwardness, ignorance, superstition and conspiracy, and he saw no place for them in the increasingly laicized political and social institutions. The most spectacular of his revolutionary changes were the abolition of sultanate, caliphate, and Islamic law. The *ʿulamā*ʾ organization, the *madrasas*, and *zāwiyas* of the *ṭariḳas* were closed and their properties transferred to the *waḳf* administration, which had already become a department of government.

It would be misleading to regard the Kemalist reforms as a total eradication of Islam in Turkey. What was really eradicated was Islam in its entanglements with the Ottoman pattern of state and religion. To the extent to which Islam had been institutionalized within this historic polity, within which it had always suffered from formalism and sterility, it inevitably suffered from the disestablishment of that polity. Islam was now made dependent upon the voluntary adherence of the believer; the places of worship were kept open and their administration put under a department of religious affairs financed by the state, but deprived of any prerogative of theological or dogmatic authority. While the recognized religions (Islam, Christianity, and Judaism) were taken under the protection of the law, any political formation in association with any of these religions was banned, and the establishment of any new sect or *ṭarīḳa* was prohibited. The decline, stagnation, and corruption of the old religious institutions, which were nothing but aspects of the decline and fall of the Ottoman Empire, made the Kemalist reforms easier and more acceptable than we are some imes led to believe.

It was only after the cooling of the national fervour (which had greatly facilitated the implementation and acceptance of the Kemalist religious reforms) after World War II that a new interest in Islam re-appeared. Here again we see no sign of *iṣlāḥ* in the sense of modernism, as was always the case in the Turkish tradition. Four lines of development may be distinguished. (1) Scholarly interest in Islam. Works of a historical nature, editions or translations of texts, and some sociological studies. (2) A growing interest of the rising bourgeoisie in religion, mainly expressed in raising funds for repairing old religious buildings or for the construction of new mosques, and in various manifestations of religiosity such as the observance of religious holidays, recitals of the Ḳurʾān or *Mawlid* poetry, alms-giving, pilgrimage, and fasting (3). The rise of new illegal *ṭarīḳas*, mostly of non-traditional types, as sectarian protest groups, favoured on the whole by artisans, small shopkeepers and traders. (4) Anti-secular ideological tendencies clamouring for the restoration of the *sharīʿa* and even of an Islamic state. This decidedly anti-Kemalist trend is mostly favoured by dissatisfied groups of Westernized intelligentsia and a faction of the nationalist youth. The fact that all of these were given a free hand, partly because of the rise of the multi-party system in opposition to single party rule, and partly because of the relative consolidation of democratic freedoms, has led those who took them as signs of a religious modernism and those who believed that they are the signs of a reactionary return to the past to attach an exaggerated importance to them as representing a stage going beyond the Kemalist conception of religious reform. That all appear to have class, occupation, region, and party motivations and alignments indicates that the Kemalist reforms succeeded in changing the Ottoman polity into one in which religion can become a point of political conflict as it is in all modern democracies.

Bibliography: Z. Gökalp, ***Turkish Nationalism and Western Civilization***, ed. and tr. N. Berkes, 1959; G. Jäschke, ***Nationalismus und Religion im türkischen Befreiungskriege***, in *WI*, xviii (1936), 54-69; idem, ***Zur Krisis des Islams in der Türkei***, in ***Beitrage zur Arabistik. Semitistik und Islamwissenschaft***, (1944), 514-30; ***Der Islam in der neuen Türkei***, in *WI*, *n.s.*, i (1951); J. K. Birge, ***Bektashi order of dervishes***, 1937; S. Yaltkaya, ***Tanzimattan Evvel ve Sonra Medreseler***, in ***Tanzimat***, i, Istanbul 1940, 463-7; H. A. R. Gibb, ***Modern trends in Islam***, London 1945; idem and H. Bowen, ***Islamic society and the West***, i (2), London 1957; Ebulʾulâ Mardinî, ***Aḥmet Cevdet Paşa***, Istanbul 1946; U. Heyd, ***The Ottoman ʿulemā and westernization in the time of Selim III and Mahmud II***, in ***Scripta Hierosolymitana***, ix (1961), 63-96; idem, ***Islam in modern Turkey***, ***R. C. As. J.***, (1947), 299-308; idem, ***Foundations of Turkish nationalism***, 1950; E. Erisirgil, ***Bir Fikr Adamının Romanı, Ziya Gökalp***, Istanbul 1951; idem, ***Mehmet Âkif: Islâmʿı bir şairin romanı***, Ankara 1956; A. Adnan-Adıvar, ***Interaction of Islamic and Western thought in Turkey***, in ***Near Eastern Culture and Society***, ed. T. Cuyler Young, 1951; B. Lewis, ***Islamic revival in Turkey***, in ***International Affairs***, xxviii (1952), 38-48; idem, ***The emergence of modern Turkey***², London 1968; L. V. Thomas, ***Recent developments in Turkish Islam***, in ***MEJ***, vi (1952), 22-40; E. Marmorstein, ***Religious opposition to nationalism in the Middle East***, in ***International Affairs***, xxviii (1952), 344-59; H. J. Kissling, ***The social and educational role of the dervish orders in the Ottoman Empire***, in ***Studies in Islamic cultural history***, ed. G. E. von Grune-

baum, 1954; H. Reed, *Revival of Islam in secular Turkey*, in *MEJ*, vi (1954), 267-82; A. D. Rustow, *Politics and Isalm in Turkey*, in *Islam and the West*, ed. R. Frye, 1957; W. C. Smith, *Islam in Modern History*, Princeton 1957; T. Z. Tunaya, *İslâmcılık Cereyanı*, Istanbul 1962; I. H. Uzunçarşili, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmiye Teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1965; A. H. Lybyer, *The government of the Ottoman Empire*, 1966: Ş. Mardin, *Din ve Ideoloji*, Ankara 1969; N. Berkes, *The development of secularism in Turkey*, Montreal 1964. (N. Berkes)

iv.—India-Pakistan

Indian Muslims were among the first Muslim peoples to come in contact with Western civilization; but it was only after the establishment of the rule of the British East India Company in the wake of the Battle of Plassey (1757) that the direct impact of western institutions came to effect their lives and minds. The reform of the civil and criminal, but not the personal branches of the *sharīʿa* law into the form of Anglo-Muhammedan law, which developed in the last decades of the 18th century [see SHARĪʿA], was the first major injection of reformism affecting the legal and social life of the Indian Muslims. But in the formulation and development of this reformism they played no part.

The direct impact of Europe was felt by some Indo-Muslim travellers during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. These included Iʿtiṣām al-Dīn, Yūsuf Khān Kammalpūsh, and Mīrzā Abū Ṭālib Khān. Of these the last [*q.v.*] was by far the most receptive and analytical. The influence, if any, of these travellers on the formation of opinion among the Indo-Muslim élite was insignificant.

The apologetic formulation of modernism is traced usually to Sayyid Aḥmad Khān [*q.v.*], whose writings are, no doubt, the foundation of its subsequent development; but the actual pattern of this apologetic was formulated a decade or so earlier by Karamat ʿAlī Djawnpūrī (d. 1873) in his *Maʾākhidh al-ʿulūm* (Eng. tr. ʿUbaydī and Amīr ʿAlī, Calcutta 1967). He presents the later quite familiar apologetic thesis that modern scientific discoveries not merely coincide with, but have actually resulted from the inspiration of the Ḳurʾān, transmitted to Europe through Spain; and that in absorbing the discoveries of modern Western sciences, Muslisms would really be reverting to the truth implicit in their own religion.

The towering figure of Sayyid Aḥmad Khān dominates the entire edifice of Indo-Muslim modernism. He equates the implied and interpreted truth of ḳurʾānic revelation with his understanding of two 19th-century criteria of judgement, "reason" and "nature". Revelation is the word of God, and "nature" the work of God; between the two there can be no contradiction. Of the four traditional sources of Islamic law, he rejects *idjmāʿ* (consensus) [*q.v.*]; substitutes *ḳiyās* (analogy [*q.v.*] by *idjtihād* (use of individual reasoning) [*q.v.*], which he considers to be the right of every educated and intelligent Muslim; doubts the authenticity, and therefore the validity, of much of the corpus of *ḥadīth* [*q.v.*]; and concentrates almost exclusively on a re-interpretation of the Ḳurʾān. In his ḳurʾānic exegesis he denies the validity of *naskh* (abrogation) [*q.v.*], considering it relevant only to the historical sequence of Jewish, Christian and Muslim scriptures, the later scriptures abrogating the earlier ones. His eschatology, angelology and demonology is non-material and based on rationalizations. In his interpretation of the social structure of Islam he argues against the permissibility of either slavery or polygamy. On the other hand, he justifies interest on capital and property, equating the forbidden *ribā* (usury) with compound interest.

Sayyid Aḥmad Khān's work was supplemented by that of his associates, of whom Čirāgh ʿAlī, who wrote extensively of the possibilities of reform in a modern Muslim state and on *djihād* [*q.v.*], was more radical. Mahdī ʿAlī Khān Muḥsin al-Mulk, who was also Sayyid Aḥmad Khān's successor in implementing his educational and political policies, was comparatively more moderate in his religious views. The apologetics of Sayyid Aḥmad Khān and his colleagues were only partly accepted by the Indo-Muslim upper middle class élite; they were rejected in various details, but on the whole broadened the horizon and liberalized the concept of religious faith. They were totally repudiated by the *ʿulamāʾ*.

Amīr ʿAlī [*q.v.*], who wrote exclusively in English, with a mixed Muslim and western readership in mind, did not belong to Sayyid Aḥmad Khān's Aligarh movement, but was very considerably influenced by it, and propagated its apologetic and reformist formulations.

Whereas Sayyid Aḥmad Khān was opposed to revivalism as backward-looking, it became a recurrent theme in the drama of modernization with the *Musaddas* and other poems of his associate Ḥālī [*q.v.*]; this element reached its zenith in the pan-Islamic verse of Iḳbāl [*q.v.*].

Muḥammad Iḳbāl (1875?-1938) is the most outstanding figure of 20th-century Indo-Muslim modernism; but compared to Sayyid Aḥmad Khān his modernist orientation and analysis is more subtle, vague, less easy to grasp in its totality and at times even contradictory. His appeal is primarily poetic, to some extent intellectual, but not effectively theological.

The set of values which Iḳbāl more or less arbitrarily selects as necessary for the development of the individual self and the community are not directly derived from the Ḳurʾān, but traced to it apologetically. These values are movement, power and freedom, which form the recurring leitmotifs of his poetic work and of much of his sustained writing. In his religious thought intuition is a basic concept and defined as a higher form of intellect; at certain stages it is equated with prophethood; and it plays an important role in Iḳbāl's Bergsonian view of evolution, which is basically moral despite its reliance on the value of power. In law Iḳbāl also places a great deal of emphasis on *idjtihād*; but unlike Sayyid Aḥmad Khān he accepts the validity and broadens the concept of *idjmaʿ* equating it with democracy or a parliamentary system of government; at the same time making some concessions to the view that the *ʿulamāʾ* have also a role to play in any movement aimed at reformism in order to balance it—a view which to a great extent has influenced the pattern of constitution-making in Pakistan. For Indian Islam he proposes a role of conservatism which may counter-balance the secularism adopted by Turkey.

His contemporary Abu'l-Kalām Āzād (1888-1958) is not exactly a modernist; but he liberalizes and humanizes Islamic belief, in his exegesis of the Ḳurʾān, by stressing the attributes of God as the Nourisher, the Provider, the Merciful One and the Beautiful One. Whereas Iḳbāl had placed man at the centre of the universe as God's viceregent with limitless potentialities, Āzād again restores God to the supremely authoritative position in the scheme of the universe, and leaves man little choice but to admire, obey, worship and follow Him.

Both Iḳbāl and Āzād influenced the thought of

Ghulām Aḥmad Parwīz (Parwez) whose modernism is, on the whole, this-worldly and pragmatic, but based on an untenable extravangant and far-fetched interpretation of the ḳur'ānic terminology. Because of his exegetical extravagance his influence on the modernist élite has been minimal.

These landmarks of the intellectual history of modern Islam in India had some effect on the social modernization of the Muslim upper classes up to 1947. Only after that date did the great debate between westernization and orthodoxy begin in Pakistan, and it still continues. In terms of social reform the one precarious gain so far made by modernism in Pakistan has been confined to the revision of Muslim family law, which has made polygamy a little more difficult and divorce a little less easy. The élite which created Pakistan and which has been ruling it subsequently is, on the whole, modernist and westernized in social outlook as well as in the processes of administrative decision-making; but in politics and in constitution-making modernism is heavily under the pressure of orthodoxy, especially of the fundamentalist movement of Abu 'l-Aʿlā Mawdūdī.

Bibliography: For Abū Ṭalib Khān, Storey i/2, 878-9; Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, *Khuṭbāt-i Aḥmadiyya*, Agra 1870; idem, *Tafsīr al-Ḳur'ān*, Lahore 1880-1895; idem, *Izālat al-ghayn ʿan Dhu'l-Ḳarnayn*, Agra 1890; idem, *Tarḳīm fī ḳiṣṣa Aṣḥāb al-Kahf wa 'l -Raḳīm*, Agra 1890; idem, *Lekčars* (Lectures), Sadhora 1892; idem, *al-Taḥrīr fī uṣūl al-tafsīr*, Agra 1892; idem, *Ibṭāl-i ghulāmī*, Agra 1893; idem, *Taṣānīf-i Aḥmadiyya*, Agra 1903; idem, *Maḳālāt* (collected works), Lahore 1962; idem, (ed.), *Tahdhīb al-akhlāḳ* (collected reprint), Lahore n.d.; Čirāgh ʿAlī, *Rasā'il*, Hyderabad 1918-1919; idem (Cheragh Ali), *The proposed political, legal and social reforms in the Ottoman Empire and other Mohammedan states*, Bombay 1883; idem; *A critical exposition of popular jihad*, Calcutta 1885; Amīr ʿAlī (Ameer Ali), *The ethics of Islam*, Calcutta 1893; idem, *The spirit of Islam*, London 1922; Alṭāf Ḥusayn Ḥālī, *Musaddas Madd-u djazr-i Islām*, Delhi 1879; Muḥammad Iḳbāl (see bibliography *s.v.* IḲBĀL); Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād, *Tardjumān al-Ḳur'ān*, Lahore 1961; idem, *Baḳiyāt-i Tardjumān al-Ḳur'ān*, Lahore 1961; idem, *ʿUrūdj-u zawāl kā Ḳur'ānī dastūr*, Lahore 1964; Ghulām Aḥmad Parwīz (Parwez), *Miʿradj-i insāniyat*, Karachi 1949; idem, *Islāmī Niẓām*, Karachi 1942; idem, *Salīm kē nām*, Karachi 1953; idem, *Niẓām-i Rubūbiyyat*, Karachi 1954; idem, *Taḳdīr-i umam*, Karachi 1957; idem, *Lughāt al-Ḳur'ān*, Lahore 1960-61; idem, *Islam: a challenge to religion*, Lahore 1968; idem. A. A. A. Fyzee, *A modern approach to Islam*, Bombay 1963.

Wilfred Cantwell Smith, *Modern Islam in India*, London 1964; Aziz Ahmad, *Islamic modernism in India and Pakistan, 1857-1964*, London 1967; Freeland Abbott, *Islam in Pakistan*, Ithaca 1968; Aziz Ahmad and G. E. von Grunebaum, *Muslim self-statement in India and Pakistan, 1857-1968*, Wiesbaden 1970; L. Binder, *Religion and politics in Pakistan*, Berkeley 1961; S. M. Ikram, *Modern Muslim India and the birth of Pakistan*, Lahore 1965; J. M. S. Baljon, *Modern Muslim Koran interpretation, 1880-1960*, Leiden 1961; idem, *The reforms and religious ideas of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan*, Leiden 1949; Bashir Ahmad Dar, *Religious thought of Sayyid Ahmad Khan*, Lahore 1957; Shāhid Ḥusayn Razzāḳī, *Sir Sayyid awr Iṣlāḥ-i muʿāshara*, Lahore 1963; Ḥālī, *Ḥayāt-i Djāwīd*, Kanpur 1901; K. K. Aziz, *Ameer Ali: his life and work*, Lahore 1968; S. M. Ikram, *Mawdūdī-i Kawthar*, Lahore 1958; J. N. Farquhar, *Modern religious movements in India*, London 1924.

(AZIZ AHMAD)

v.—CENTRAL ASIA [see Supplement]

ISLĀM, submission, total surrender (to God) — *maṣdar* of the IVth form of the root *S L M*.

I. DEFINITION AND THEORIES OF MEANING.

1.—Ḳur'ānic references.—The "one who submits to God" is the *Muslim*, of which the plural *Muslimūn* occurs very often throughout the sūras. *Islām*, on the other hand, occurs only eight times there; but the word must be considered in conjunction with the fairly common use of the verb *aslama* in the two meanings which merge into one another, "surrender to God" (an inner action) and "profession of *Islām*", that is to say adherence to the message of the Prophet. The eight occurrences of *Islām* are as follows:—

a). Three verses stress its quality of interiority: "Whomsoever God desires to guide, He expands his breast to Islam" (VI, 125); *Islām* is a "call " from God, which must prohibit falsehood (LXI, 7) and which places whoever receives it "in a light from his Lord" (XXXIX, 22).

b). Three other texts, constantly quoted through the centuries, stress the connection between *islām* and *dīn* [*q.v.*]. It is certainly appropriate in this context to translate *dīn* as "religion", though without forgetting the idea of debt owed to God which it connotes. "Today, I have perfected your religion (*dīn*) for you; I have completed My blessing upon you; I have approved *islām* for your religion" (V, 3), and "the religion, in the eyes of God, is *islām*" (III, 19). The surrender of the whole Self to God can alone render to Him the worship which is His due; whosoever should seek for another religion, his search would not be approved (cf. III, 85).

c). The action which operates *islām* supposes a "return" to God, *tawba*, a conversion. The Ḳur'ān speaks of "conversion to *islām*"—to condemn the unbelief (*kufr*) of those who had nevertheless made a profession of faith (IX, 74). Similarly it condemns the complacency of the Bedouins who boast of their *islām* "as if it were a favour on their part" (XLIX, 17). In addition: "Say: 'Do not count your *islām* as a favour to me; nay, but rather God confers a favour upon you, in that He has guided you to belief, if it be that you are truthful" (*ibid.*). A little earlier, the very important verse XLIX, 14 had made a clear distinction between *islām* and *īmān*: "The Bedouins say: 'we believe'. Say: you do not believe; rather say, 'We surrender' (*aslamnā*). Faith has not yet entered into your heart".

It would therefore be an exaggeration to state, with A. J. Wensinck (*The Muslim Creed*), Cambridge 1922, 22), that "in the Ḳur'ān the terms *islām* and *īmān* are synonymous". It is true that to recognize oneself as a Muslim and to be a believer are two existential realities which together take possession of a man's whole being to ensure his salvation (*ibid.*). But the Ḳur'ān (XLIX, 14 and 17, and still more IX, 74) evokes an explicit profession of *islām* which is in no way a guarantee against the sin of *kufr*, and has no saving value unless it is the expression of faith. On comparing these verses with III, 19 and V, 3 (insistence on the idea of *dīn*), we see that the ḳur'ānic statements themselves urge men to make *islām* not merely a (general) act of submission and surrender to God, and not merely obedience to God's commandments, but also an affirmation which grants

admission to the *ummat al-nabi*, the "people of the Prophet", whatever their inner dispositions. These diverse connotations were to recur throughout the ages, as a result of the self-awareness brought about by the *umma*.

2. — Some *ḥadīth*s. — In the collections of *ḥadīth*s the emphasis, in defining *islām*, will be placed upon submission to God, expressed by deeds: above all, the prescribed acts of worship, including adoration of the One God, but also the *khayrāt*, "good works". Thus, by way of example: in al-Bukhārī, ii, 37 (*ḥadīth* of Gabriel), after defining *īmān* by its content ("to believe in God, in His angels, in the future life, in the prophets, in the resurrection"), the Prophet, in reply to the question "What is *islām*?", replies: "*islām* is to adore God without associating anything with Him, to observe the ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*), to pay *zakāt*, to fast during the month of *Ramaḍān*" (similar text in Muslim). But it is also "to give food (to the hungry) and to give the greeting of peace (*salām*) to those one knows, just as to those one does not know" (al-Bukhārī, ii, 5). And the best *islām* will be that of the *Muslim* of whom one has to "fear neither the hand nor the tongue" (*ibid.*, 4).

The *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal (iii, 134; cf. A. J. Wensinck, *op. cit.*, 23) states: "*islām* is external, faith belongs to the heart". The act of "surrender to God" is therefore expressed by holding fast to the ritual observances and social behaviour prescribed by the religious Law. God alone judges men's hearts, and hence the reality of faith; the judgement of men may concern itself with *islām*. The "science of *fiḳh*" has been called *maḳām al-islām* by the Ṣūfīs.

3. — The relations between *islām* and *īmān*. — The essential question of a theological order, which was discussed at a very early time and upon which the schools of *fiḳh* and *kalām* were divided, was that of the distinction or non-distinction between *islām* and faith, and of their connection. The answers will depend upon the view taken of each of these concepts. We shall not go again into the question of the various definitions of *īmān* [*q.v.*]. Here, very briefly, are the principal positions adopted.

a). The Muʿtazilī schools, who identify faith and prescribed works, similarly identify faith with *islām*: it being clearly understood that the right intention, the *niyya*, is necessary for the validity of the deed —"actions are valid only through the intentions," says the *ḥadīth* (al-Bukhārī, ii, 41). Whoever commits a grave transgression of the prescriptions of the Law loses the status of *muʾmin* and *Muslim*, and reverts to the status of *kufr* according to the Khāridjīs, to an "intermediate status" (between faith and unbelief) according to the Muʿtazilīs.

b). Many Ḥanafīs (Ḥanafī-Māturīdīs) similarly consider *islām* and *īmān* to be synonymous, but define each of them essentially as verbal confession (*iḳrār*), sometimes linking this with intimate adherence, or at other times, following the Murdjiʾīs, with knowledge of the heart, or both of these. The Ḥanafī-Māturīdī texts of the *Fiḳh Akbar I* (doubtless 2nd/8th century) and of the *Waṣiyyat Abī Ḥanifa* (3rd/9th century) ignore the question. Towards the end of the 4th/10th century, however, the *Fiḳh Akbar II* was to draw an at least nominal distinction. It was to state (a. 18) that current language distinguishes between *īmān* and *islām*, and that *islām* is defined as "total surrender (*taslīm*) and total obedience (*inḳiyād*) to the divine commandments". The text adds: "there is no faith whatever without *islām*, and *islām* could not exist without faith; the one and the other are like the outside and the inside ["back and belly", in the literal translation of A. J. Wensinck]; and religion (*dīn*) is a name which covers both of them, and all the commandments of the Law". Here then *īmān* is as it were the inner, hidden reality of *islām*, from which it could not be separated.

c). In its definition of faith, the Ḥanbalī line insists upon affirmation by the tongue (*ḳawl*) and by deeds (*aʿmāl*), either with or without the addition, according to the texts, of adherence of the heart (*taṣdīḳ*). So much so that al-Barbahārī (d. 329/941) was to say, according to the *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*: "We cannot testify to the reality of the faith in a man so long as he does not carry out the totality of the laws of *islām*" (quoted by H. Laoust, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, Damascus 1958, 82, n. I). *Islām* in the sense of observance becomes the guarantee of faith. The Ḥanbalīs however were to remain faithful to the text of the *Musnad* cited above, and to the *ʿAḳīda VI* of Ibn Ḥanbal, who affirms the distinction between *islām* and *īmān*. Accordingly, in the 4th/10th century, Ibn Baṭṭa returns to the Ḳurʾān, XLIX, 14 and affirms: "The term *islām* does not have the same meaning as the term *īmān*. *Islām* is a word which denotes the community of religion (*milla*), and *īmān* is a word which expresses an adherence of faith (*taṣdīḳ*)" (from the translation of H. Laoust, *op. cit.*, 50/82). The choice of *milla*, and not *dīn*, in this text is characteristic: *islām* is "religion", no longer solely in the sense of a debt due to God, but in the sense of a "religious community" attached and connected to a prophet (cf. below). Thus, in the 4th/10th century, we find the use of *islām* to denote the Muslim religion as an organized and differentiated religion. A century later, Ibn ʿAḳīl in the same way was to make *islām* obedience to the commandments of God. But he who commits a great transgression "does not lose his status of *muʾmin* to become merely *Muslim*, for *islām* forms part of *īmān*" (G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl et la résurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste au XIe siècle*, Damascus 1963, 527).

d). The Ashʿarīs and the Shāfiʿī jusrists also made a distinction between *islām* and *īmān*. After defining faith as words and deeds, and then by its content according to the "*ḥadīth* of Gabriel", al-Ashʿarī, in the *credo* of the *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn* (ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo n.d., i, 322, identifies *islām* with the two constituent parts of the *shahāda*, in other words with the verbal testimony which grants admission to the Community of the Prophet, and concludes: "*islām* is different from *īmān*". The *credo* of the *Ibāna* (ed. Cairo 1348, 10), without defining *islām*, states that it is "wider than faith" and specifies "that all *islām* is not faith". If we compare these views with the text of the *Lumaʿ* which above all regards faith as inner adherence (*huwa taṣdīḳ bi-llāh*; cf. R. J. McCarthy, *The Theology of al-Ashʿarī*, Beirut 1953, 75/104), we understand that the later Ashʿarīs were able to claim that *islām*, the observance of the prescriptions ordained by the Law, and above all the explicit profession of the *shahāda*, can be "practised" without faith, and that faith (inner *taṣdīḳ*) can exist without *islām* (here contradicting the Ḥanbalī line, for whom every believer is a Muslim). But *islām* without faith is the way of hypocrites (*munāfiḳūn*), consigned to God's chastisement; faith without *islām* need not be culpable, in the event of some invincible external obstacle; it would become so if the testimony to *islām* was not given through cowardice, weakness or half-heartedness. It would then be a fault not of unbelief (*kufr*) but of grave prevarication (*fisḳ*).—When he summarizes the Shāfiʿī theses (which he contrasts with the identification made by the Ḥanafīs),

al-Djurdjānī says that "*islām* is the verbal profession of faith without the agreement of the heart, while faith is the agreement of the heart and the tongue" (*Taʿrifāt*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1845, 23).—This thesis was later to be generally accepted.

Whatever definition of faith might be proposed, it remains true however, for the Ḥanbalīs and the Ashʿarīs alike, that *īmān* and *islām*, without becoming identical, imply one another. *Islām*, says H. Laoust in summarizing the philosophy of Ibn Taymiyya (*Contribution à une étude de la méthodologie canonique de* (...) *Ibn Taimīya*, Cairo 1939, 74, n. 3), is the "external and so to speak social application of the Law", and *īmān* in the "interiorization of *islām*". (Thus once again, despite the difference of the conceptions involved, we come across "the outside" and "the inside", *ẓahr* and *baṭn*, of the *Fiḳh Akbar II*). —An outline of the most usual teaching is provided in the 19th century by the Ashʿarī al-Bādjūrī (*Ḥāshiya* ... *ʿalā Djawharat al-tawḥid*, ed. Cairo 1352/1934, 28-9), who says: "*Īmān* and *islām* are different in their significance but not in truth, that is to say in the subjects (who profess them) ... But it is a question here of faith which assures salvation, and of *islām* also, otherwise there would be no reciprocal connection". The same nuances occur in the 20th century, for example in the *Ḥayāt Muḥammad* of Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal (Cairo 1358/1939, 506).—It should be noted finally that only certain Ashʿarīs and Shāfʿīs applied the term *muʾmin*, but not *Muslim*, to the man who has faith in his heart and who dies without having been able to profess *islām*. In general, it was considered preferable to call him *Muslim*, not before men but in the eyes of God.

4. — The "world of *islām*". — In this way, therefore, *islām* is "to give oneself *unconditionally* to God" (G. Makdisi, *op. cit.*, 324); so much so that, as the Ḥanbalīs were to take pleasure in saying, "the religion of all the prophets is *islām*". Abraham, Moses and Jesus are true *muslimūn*. But it is the "seal of the prophecy", manifested in the Ḳurʾān, which was to "perfect the religion". According to the first part of a much quoted *ḥadīth*, "the best of all things is *islām*; the foundation of *islām* is the ritual prayer" and, with the *ṣalāt*, all the other obligations (*ʿibādāt*) prescribed by the Law. Now, it is the observance of the Law, its "external and so to speak social application" (H. Laoust), which is the binding force of the Community of the Prophet. And so wherever the ḳurʾānic prescriptions are observed communally, there *islām* will be; such will be "the lands of *islām* (*bilād al-islām*), "the world, the house, of *islām*" (*dār al-islām*).

Such expressions are traditional. It was in this way that, at the beginning of the 5th/11th century, al-Māwardī examined the various categories into which the *bilād al-islām* are divided (*al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, beginning of chap. xiv, ed. Cairo. n.d., 151 ff.). The implication remains that *islām*, practised in this way, is the testimony, rendered socially, to faith in the One God and to free adherence to the prophetic mission of Muḥammad. The Ḥanafī Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī (d. 654/1256) in his *Mirʾāt al-zamān* mentioned the "purchased" conversions of Jews and Christians, which the Ashʿarīs sought to make in Baghdād in the 5th/11th century, and he repeats the protests of the supporters of the *sharīf* Abū Djaʿfar, a Ḥanbalī: "This is the *islām* of gifts, not the *islām* of conviction" (quoted by G. Makdisi, *op. cit.*, 356). Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazālī was similarly to question the degree of validity of a forced conversion to *islām*.

"There is no compulsion in religion" (Ḳurʾān, II, 256), and "religion, in the eyes of God, is in truth *islām*" (III, 19). Even in the writings of those who distinguish most sharply between *īmān* and *islām*, at no time will this reference to inner conviction be found absent. But the point of first importance, for the jurist who is studying and formulating the statutes and laws of the *bilād al-islām*, is not so much the degree of invidual interiorization of the *muḳābal* of reciprocal relationship *islām-īmān*, as the communal observance of those prescriptions which make *islām*, those *shaʿāʾir al-islām* "the blazon of Islam" (L. Massignon), which are symbolized by the banners of the *imāms*, the guides of the Community.

This is so true that a synonym of *dār al-islām* was to be *dār al-ʿadl* "the world of justice", in which "the rights of God and of men", ordained by the Ḳurʾān are observed and protected. On the other hand there was to be the *dār al-kufr* "world of unbelief", which is the *dār al-ḥarb* "world of war". The jurists analyse the circumstances in which it can become "obligatory" to abandon the *dār al-kufr* in order to enter the *dār al-islām* or at least the *dār al-ṣulḥ*, which has concluded a treaty of "reconciliation" with the *dār al-islām*.—Anyone who describes himself as a *Muslim* means to affirm thereby not so much his care for the practice and personal observances (although certainly not neglecting such matters) as for adherence to a Community of those who acknowledge the Ḳurʾān and Muḥammad. It is here perhaps, far more than in any "sacral" conception of the political organization, that this specific spiritual-temporal fusion of the Muslim City has its root.

5. — From *islām* to Islam.— In European languages, it has become customary to speak of Islam to denote the whole body of Muslim peoples, countries, and states, in their socio-cultural or political as well as in their religious sphere. And it is in a similar sense that modern Arabic often uses *al-islām*. What connection does this very general meaning retain or not retain with the etymological significance of the word, and its evocation of "surrender to God"?

This question, an important one if we wish to avoid misconceptions and misunderstandings, has been discussed recently in a well-documented and apposite manner by Professor Wilfred Cantwell Smith in *The Meaning and End of Religion* (New York 1964, chap. iv "The special case of Islam", 75-108). As the author indicates, it is only recently (19th-20th centuries) that Islam has incontestably become the chosen term to signify both a religion and a politico-social area (fortunately replacing "Mohammedanism" "Islamism" and other such terms). Religious and cultural history thereby adopts the very name by which the *bilād al-islām* designate themselves, as with a title of honour. And it is merely since the beginning of the 19th century, probably under the influence of Western ideas, that writers in Arabic have employed it in an equivalent way.

W. Cantwell Smith emphasises, by reference to Brockelmann's *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, that this term *islām*, though comparatively rare in the Ḳurʾān, with the passage of time appears more and more frequently in the titles of works in Arabic. In the classical period (the Western Middle Ages) it was already used more commonly than *īmān*, and often in correlation with *niẓām*, system, organization; in the 19th century, the relative figures for *īmān* and *islām* are 7% and 93% respectively. It is this that Prof. Cantwell Smith calls "reification in Islam". The emphasis thus appears to be placed on Islam as the organization and self-defence of the Community which is its expression, and much less on the inner

personal values which the etymology of the word connotes. It appears however that our present brief examination of the use of *islām* according to Muslim formulations and usage itself may suggests a few remarks here, which do not invalidate, but which limit and qualify the slightly different perspective of Prof. Cantwell Smith.

a). If it strue that *islām* signifies primarily the action and state of the man who surrenders himself totally (to God), nevertheless it would be erroneous to regard it, in this etymological sense, as a kind of synonym for *tawakkul bi-llāh*, the (interiorized) "abandoning" of oneself entirely into the hands of God. As the Ḳur'ān understands the word, *islām* is indeed, as the *Fiḳh Akbar II* says, a surrender (*taslīm*) to the divine Will as *expressed* by the ḳur'ānic teaching, and an obedience (*inḳiyād*) to His commandments; and, by this very means, admission to the Community, "the best to have arisen among men" (Ḳur'ān, III, 110). Quite soon, admission to the Community was to be the aspect preferred. If the requisite inner attitude does not correspond to it, there is some grave individual failing (*fisḳ*), there is no abandonment of *islām*.

b). Prof. Cantwell Smith observes that, in the classical age, the diversity of religious beliefs was to express itself by *milal* rather than by *adyān*. But we have already noted that the Ḥanbalī Ibn Baṭṭa, in the 4th century, defined *islām* as a *milla*, hence a community, the Community of Muḥammad. The difference between *dīn* and *milla*, al-Djurdjānī said (*Taʿrīfāt*, iii), is that "*dīn* relates to God, and *milla* to the Prophet".

c). The Ḳur'ān however defines *islām* as religion, *dīn* (III, 19; V, 3); but not as *a* religion, Prof. Cantwell Smith justly notes. The plural of *dīn*, *adyān*, he further notes, does not occur in the Ḳur'ān. But if the religion, *al-dīn*, which renders to God that which is due to Him, is indeed *islām*, it is, through that very fact, *millat al-nabī* and *ummat al-nabī*. For the Muslim, Islam is not one religion among others, it is *the* religion, and the other religions (*al-adyān*) are such only in so far as they participate in Islam. Each prophet sent from God has his *milla*; but the *dīn* is unique, accomplished by surrender to God and obedience—the very definition of *islām*— already lived by the prophets that preceded it, and expressed accordingly to all its needs by the "seal" of the revelation, the Ḳur'ān.

We do not think that these various connotations are absent from the Muslim works of the contemporary period. To take one example only, we find them in the *Risālat al-tawḥīd* of Muḥammad ʿAbduh. "The religion of Islam, or Islam", says ʿAbduh, "is the religion brought by Muḥammad" (Cairo 1353, 152). And the whole final section of the *Risāla* constantly speaks in this sense of Islam, its principles, its spirit and its extension in the world (*ibid.*, 152-206, French trans., Paris 1925, 104-40). As soon as the *ummat al-nabī* began to expand in space and time in the face of other religious communities, what Prof. Cantwell Smith calls "reification" was found to be inscribed in the original fundamental data. Historical realities on the one hand, and the progress of the phenomenology of religions on the other, have not ceased to confront Muslim thought with this twofold fact: the existence of non-Muslim religions, established in their faith and their ritual observances, and, moreover, the uncertain faith and the failure to "practise" by certain men who none the less continue to invoke the help of the *umma*. Hence the anxiety to defend Islam as a religion and a community, while nevertheless the old Ḥanbalī and Ashʿarī distinction between *imān* and *islām* is repeated and emphasized.

But this distinction, however generally admitted it may be, is in no way intended to justify the proclamation of *islām* by one who denies *īmān* or who even does not bother to appreciate the true values of faith. Those who are Muslims simply through having heard the call of Islam, or because they were born of Muslim parents, but who do not have faith in their hearts, then, according to what Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal more or less says (*loc. cit.*), their *islām* is feeble and sickly. Only those who seek for a sincere faith (*īmān ṣādiḳ*) hear the call to *Islām* with regard to God alone.

At the present time there are three meanings of the word *islām* says Prof. Cantwell Smith (*op. cit.*, 107): 1) the immediate existential meaning of personal surrender of oneself entirely to God; 2) the empirical reality of the "world of Islam", as it exists sociologically; 3) the ideal Muslim community—"a concrete historical ideal" we would gladly say—as it must tend towards its realization. These three meanings in fact remain closely bound together in Muslim thought, today as in the past, and no study of Islam, no analysis of the Muslim Community or of the world of Islam should separate them.

Bibliography: in the article. (L. Gardet)

ii.—Diffusion of Islam

In our present state of knowledge, the diffusion of Islam can only be studied in broad outline. In the first place, with regard to numbers, we often have to be content with approximations; nor should it be forgotten that, with the world population increasing at an accelerated pace, even the most accurate statistics prove to be out of date within a few years. Moreover it sometimes happens that in certain countries Muslims and non-Muslims adopt different sets of figures, particularly when these figures serve as the basis for political claims or considerations of honour. In the second place, such figures do not reflect the qualitative aspect of this diffusion. It is possible for conversions on a massive scale to be produced within the space of a few years (as in the case of the Galla tribes in Ethiopia, to the west of Harar, in about 1930-50). But it must not be forgotten that, for these conversions, the way had sometimes been prepared over a long period, by a whole process of maturing and by favourable circumstances which, in themselves, cannot be statistically expressed.

A. — General Survey. The diffusion of Islam has been the consequence of a certain number of factors which are more or less easily discernable; over and above the particular attraction this religious movement has exerted upon men, the personality of its first leaders and the economic circumstances of Arabia at the time, among other things, there is a further point which requires to be examined—the part played by wars. Even if, in the vast majority of cases, the conquered remained free not to change their religion, the introduction by force of arms of a Muslim régime which took upon itself the administration of their country represented the first stage of a process which was bound to end in their gradual conversion.

The conquest itself was not brought about suddenly. It was often achieved in waves, with ebb and flow, but it was governed by a tide which, save in Europe, proved to be rising ever higher. Thus Damascus, reached as early as 13/634 by reconnaissance units, was attacked and conquered much later; recaptured by the Byzantines, it finally fell into the Arabs' hands

in 636. Similarly Tunisia, where a first raid in 26/647 was followed by a respite of more than twenty years before the final conquest and the founding of Ḳayrawān (50/670). So too Transoxiana to which, after an initial invasion in 52-4/672-4, the Arabs returned at the beginning of the following century; or Chinese Turkestān, reached in 93/713, and to which they returned in 133/751. Kābūl in Afghānistān was reached by the end of the 1st/7th century, without being occupied, and two centuries were to pass before the Muslims came back in strength to stay. Muslim warfare had been a war of movement, a war of wide spaces, steppes or deserts.

The first period of expansion extends from the death of Muḥammad to the end of the Umayyad caliphate of Damascus. One century was enough for the Muslims to achieve an extraordinary epic feat. The dynamism of the new community combined with favourable circumstances to allow their success. The weakness of the Persians and the Byzantines after decades of war between them, their exhaustion, which caused them to underestimate the newcomers' strength, the internal conditions within the Roman empire of Byzantium which was then in difficulties, with its territory being engulfed by the barbarian invasions, the resentment of the various peoples ruled by Byzantium, the divisions among the Christians, all these considerations worked in favour of the Muslims. But the new fact, as compared with the multiple barbarian invasions of the time, is that the barbarians were assimilated by the countries they conquered, whereas Islam on the contrary imposed itself upon the old civilizations. The most remarkable point about the diffusion of Islam is not so much the fact of the conquests as that of their permanence. When Islam became the religion of a territory, it never thereafter ceased to be so, except in Europe (and even then under armed pressure), and except in the centre and south of India, where many of the Hindu sultanates were revived after the first Muslim conquests.

In this way, we can trace the conquests of Syria-Palestine (13/634-19/640), Egypt 18/639-22/642), the Maghrib (49/699-85/705), Spain and Narbonnese Gaul 92/711-85/705), and, in the east, of ʿIrāḳ (15/636-20/641), Armenia and then Iran (21/642), as far as Transoxiana and Chinese Turkestān. The river Indus was reached in 91-4/710-3, but these advanced positions were afterwards abandoned.

In the direction of Byzantium, which was besieged without success, the Muslim advance was blocked in Asia Minor where a state of flux for long prevailed.

In East Africa, colonies of Muslim merchants are recorded at a very early date at trading depots on the shores of the Indian Ocean.

Under the ʿAbbāsids, these conquests were rounded off with the capture of Mediterranean islands such as the Balearics and Sicily. But, most important, Muslim culture was gradually taking shape, increasing the spread of Islam, and the populations, while left free to retain their faith, little by little adhered to the new religion, the religion of the ruling class and of the new society. In Spain, however, Islam was confronted by the Reconquest, which started early and eventually culminated in the fall of Granada in 1492.

Everywhere else, however, expansion continued, sometimes by force of arms, sometimes by peaceful proselytism. Towards the year 1000, the first stage in the conquest of India began: finally the whole Ganges valley was conquered in about 488/1192-606/1209. Various raids during the 8th/14th century succeeded in bringing almost the whole peninsula under the domination of the Muslims. They were however obliged to withdraw from many regions, especially in the centre and south. Islam came to Indonesia by way of a Muslim centre situated in the north-west of Sumatra, at the end of the 7th/13th century; in the 8th/14th century, Java was governed by Muslim rulers.

In sub-Saharan West Africa, it was shortly after the year 1000 that Islam was established. There is mention of a Muslim prince at the head of the Sonraïs at Gao on the Niger as early as 400/1009-10. Islamic rulers are found at Kanem (north of Lake Chad) in about 473/1081-90/1097. Little by little, Muslim kingdoms appeared (in particular Mali, in the 7th/13th century); but their Islam was still a religion of the court of the warlike or literate aristocracies, which had no contact with the masses. It was later, with the military activities (especially of the Fulanis) and the activities of the brotherhoods that the islamization of the masses was brought about, during the 18th and 19th centuries. Under colonial rule the process of conversion was extended still further.

In East Africa, Islam began to spread from Zaylaʿ (a port situated opposite Aden) a centre of islamization even in the 6th/12th century. Climbing up to assail the high Ethiopian plateaux, where they never succeeded in gaining a real foothold, the Muslims established themselves firmly in the less elevated regions to the east and south (especially in Harar).

In the Nile valley, the Christian kingdoms of Nubia held out until the 8th/9th-14th/16th centuries, when they disappeared. The islamization of Nilotic Sudan was followed by that of the minor kingdoms situated between the Nile and Chad. In the 18th century, Islam came to predominance to the south of the Sahara, from the Atlantic to the Red Sea, except only in the Ethiopian Highlands.

Along the Gulf of Guinea, the impenetrable equatorial forest—even when not infested with tsetse flies—for a long time halted the shepherds who were the Muslim conquerors of the territory. But with the modern age the situation has changed. With the conversion of a section of the Yorubas (near Lagos) and penetration into other tribes hitherto reputed to be impossible to convert, with the movements of populations characteristic of countries today, this forest no longer forms a boundary, and many Muslims intermingle with the inhabitants of the coastal towns.

The commercial centres on the African coast of the Indian Ocean, which remained isolated in their world of business transactions, gradually became stronger (especially in the 4th/10th century). But it was in the 19th and 20th centuries that they became centres of islamization; the suppression of slavery and the opening of the hinterland had swept away the barriers that confined them to their trading-ports. Consequently there has been a considerable, though recent, advance by Islam in these zones during the last half-century (Kenya, Tanzania and even to the eastern Congo).

In all these conquered lands in Asia or Africa, or in all the sultanates ruled by Muslims, a special world was created, the Muslim world, where life, art and thought were marked by Islam, even though many traces of the past still survived. The simple imposition of a foreign political framework was very quickly followed by the adoption inwardly of Muslim values.

Finally, to conclude this general survey, it should be noted that the attack launched by the Ottoman Turks finally, in 1453, swept away the barrier of

Constantinople. Europe was invaded as far as Vienna which was twice besieged, in 1529 and 1683, though without success. The ebb then followed, particularly in the 19th century and at the start of the 20th.

B. — Present characteristics. If we attempt to trace on a modern map the distribution of Muslims throughout the world, it becomes apparent that Islam is a religion which is almost confined to Asia and Africa. The only exceptions to this rule are some millions of Muslims in Turkey in Europe and in the Balkans, migrant and transient workers in western Europe, and immigrants in North and South America.

In the countries where Christian minorities remain, as well as in pagan countries, Islam is making progress, above all because, in order to be truly integrated into Muslim society, it is necessary to be a Muslim. Since this integration alone permits certain marriages, the proportion of the conversions to Islam undertaken on the occasion of marriages is very high. This integration also facilitates the finding of employment and advancement to higher posts. In certain countries, questions of social castes sometimes enter, since conversions take place particularly in certain strata of the population. But however that may be, in view of the simplicity of the Muslim dogma which places man face to face with God the Creator and Providence, and in view too of the aspect of fraternity which Islam presents to the newcomer (especially when he is received into a brotherhood), man's fundamental religious sense is satisfied. Thus the step to be taken does not deter anyone who is no longer greatly attached to his old religion.

Tolerance for ancient customs has also played a part in many countries, since Islam requires merely a profession of faith for a convert to be able to enter the community. Then, little by little, islamization has been effected in depth. Moreover, Muslim society, which gave the new member the satisfaction of belonging to a vast community covering the entire world, with its own military, cultural, religious and political renown, has always exerted effective control over him. While leaving those who served it very free, from the moment they made their profession of faith, it has always been at pains to protect its members from any possible proselytism and, above all, to prevent them from leaving Islam once they have adopted it. Until recently, the apostate was put to death; even now, proselytism is still strongly disapproved, and the man who deserts Islam cuts himself off from his own people, save in exceptional cases, even though modern jurists no longer authorize the death penalty for apostasy.

Paradoxically, among the features which have favoured the expansion of Islam during these last decades must be included colonial occupation. In many cases the occupying powers relied on Muslim elements possessing a higher degree of civilization than the pagans, in the countries where these still survived. Alternatively, it placed without discrimination under the same legal system inspired by Islam, both Muslims and those who were neither Muslim nor Christian. In the same way, by destroying the tribal framework of African paganism, colonialism created the great numbers of rootless people who have found in Islam a justification for social existence. All the more since Islam has presented itself as a native religion, not as a colonial importation, while the difference in the standard of living, so obvious in the case of Christians newly arrived from Europe, did not arise between Muslims and pagans, who all sprang from the same soil. Peace too has assisted the movement of preachers or merchants belonging to brotherhoods.

In Black Africa, the ḳur'ānic schools have been centres of Muslim expansion, both through the scope they have given for zeal to have effect, and also through the number of future propagators of Islam who have been formed there. The poverty of the material equipment in the great majority of these establishments, like that of the curricula, must not be misinterpreted. Thanks to these, the values which the children there have learnt to respect, above all the sense of dedication and pride in belonging to the Muslim community, have profoundly marked whole regions. The story of David and Goliath is repeated in these schools in the triumph of poor resources. At the present time, incidentally, in many Muslim countries the official school has replaced the ḳur'ānic school.

The conditions affecting the expansion of Islam are extremely variable, according to the countries concerned, and we should not make any attempt to systematize them. There are large organizations working through pamphlets (like the Aḥmadiyya in Pakistan); there is the sending out of teachers and preachers; there is a whole system of instruction by radio. But the Muslim missionary apparatus is infinitely less cumbrous than that of the Christians. It is the natives of the country concerned who open schools, after having been sometimes (though not always) educated at centres abroad. It is the Muslims themselves, especially the merchants, who bear the chief responsibility for the missions. Finally, the brotherhoods have played a very great part in this movement. But whatever the differences, it is striking to observe wherever Islam is established, the same pride in the community, with as a consequence a certain number of common basic attitudes, affecting the manner of life and thought. This pride and its consequences, by favouring a certain impermeability to foreign influences, have been powerful weapons in resistance to colonialism.

For some thirty years, the Muslim world has been evolving very rapidly. Universities have been founded [see DJĀMIʿA]. The instability of the world economy has made itself felt everywhere. Travels and contacts have multiplied. Socialism has changed the face of many societies. But, above all, Islam has adopted modern methods of communication—pamphlets, radio, relevision, etc. The number of people who listen on their transistors to sermons in *Ramaḍān* is now vast.

C. — Statistical outline. Basing themselves on the figures for world population valid in about 1960, some good authors privately estimated that there might be 435 million Muslims in the world. At the present time, with the increase in population, they now exceed 500 millions.

The figures which follow will indicate a total based upon the statistics for the populations of individual countries (in 1966), as contained in the *UNESCO Statistical Yearbook* (1967). After that, the article will provide details, so far as it is possible to do so, of the proportion of Muslims within the different countries. Figures given without further details signify the number in terms of *thousands*.

1.—AFRICA (perhaps 130 million Muslims out of 318 million inhabitants).

a) *Arabic speaking Africa* (perhaps 70 million Muslims)
— Morocco 13,451 (Muslims only)
— Mauritania 1,070
— Algeria 12,102 (total population)
— Tunisia 4,458 (id.)
— Libya 1,676 (id.)

— E.A.R. (Egypt) 30,083, two million of whom are Christian
— Sudan (Khartoum) 13.940, 70% of whom are Muslim

b) *Africa south of the Sahara*, excluding the Sudan (perhaps 60 million Muslims)
— Somalia 2,580, of whom 99% are Muslim
— Nigeria 58,600 (?), of whom 43% are Muslim
— Ethiopia 23,000 (?), of whom 40 to 50% are Muslim
— Senegal 3,490, of whom 75% are Muslim
— Niger 3,433, of whom 72% are Muslim
— Mali 4,654, of whom 65% are Muslim
— Guinea 3,608, of whom 62% are Muslim
— Chad 3,361, of whom 55% are Muslim
— Upper Volta 4,955, of whom 26% are Muslim
— Tanzania 10,717, of whom 23% are Muslim
— Ghana 7,945, of whom 20% are Muslim
— Cameroon 5,350, of whom 20% are Muslim
— Kenya 9,643, of whom 10% are Muslim

Smaller numbers of Muslims are found in the following countries, in which they represent respectively the proportion of the population as indicated:
— Sierra Leone 33%, Gambia 73%, Portuguese Guinea 26%, Ivory Coast 25%, Dahomey 15%, Liberia 15%, Mozambique 11%, Malawi 7%, Botswana 5%, Togo 5%. Elsewhere the proportion is still smaller.

N.B. A better knowledge of the countries to the south of the Sahara made it possible, in about 1945, to assert the existence of numerous isolated pagan communities in regions thought to be wholly islamized (certain zones of Chad, North Cameroon, North Nigeria). Since then, a movement has been started among these pagans for conversion to Islam; in north-western Nigeria, this was vigorously supported by the political authorities, in the years preceding the disturbances of 1965.

For Nigeria, the reader will note a very clearly marked break in the rate of growth of population. As, until 1952, this was following a regular increasing curve, the figures given since that date correspond with an acceleration which requires to be explained before it can be accepted.

For Ethiopia, to which Eritrea has since been added, the *Annuaire du Monde Musulman*, 1954, accepts only half the figure officially given (cf. p. 389).

2.—Asia (perhaps 390 million Muslims out of 1,868 million inhabitants)

a) *Arab countries of Asia* (perhaps 29 million Muslims), the principal centres being:
— Saudi Arabia 6,870
— Yemen 5,000
— Irak 8,338, of whom 95% are Muslim
— Syria 5,450, of whom 88% are Muslim
— Lebanon 2,460, of whom 50% are Muslim
— Jordan 2.040, of whom 92% are Muslim

b) *Islam in the USSR*, 30 million (?) Muslims

c) *Islam in the Middle East* (perhaps 72 million Muslims), in
— Turkey 31,880, of whom 99% are Muslim
— Iran 25,781, of whom 98% are Muslim
— Afghanistan 15,960 (almost all Muslim).

d) *Islam in Pakistan, India, Ceylon and Burma* (perhaps 145 million Muslims), the two major groups being
— Pakistan 105,044, of whom 86% are Muslim
— India 498,680, of whom perhaps 11% are Muslim

e) *Islam in China*, 15 million (?) Muslims

f) *Islam in South East Asia* (perhaps 100 million Muslims), chiefly located in
— Indonesia 107,000, of whom 87% are Muslim
— Malaysia and Singapore 10,212, of whom 44% are Muslim
— Philippines 33,477, of whom 5% are Muslim.

3.—Europe.

A little less than 5 million Muslims in the Balkans, to whom must be added the Muslim workers in western Europe, so far as they have not been included in the figures for their respective countries of origin.

To conclude this survey, the figure of 525 million Muslims might be suggested for the year 1966, a year during which the total world population has been estimated at 3,356 million inhabitants. The Muslims would represent about one-sixth of all human beings, or slightly less.

Bibliography: Since the list of books concerning this subject is too long to be given in full, the reader is referred to the bibliographies relating to the different countries dealt with above. A general survey of the expansion of Islam will be found in some historical atlases, such as the *Historical Atlas of the Muslim Peoples*, Djambatan-Amsterdam 1957. See also: L. Massignon, *Annuaire du Monde Musulman*, Paris 1955; U.N.E.S.C.O., *Statistical Yearbook*, 1967 (giving the figures for 1966). Some statistics are published by a number of countries: *Religion in the Middle East*, ii, London 1969; *Bilan du Monde 1960*, *Encyclopédie du Monde Chrétien*, ed. Casterman, ii, 1964; J. Ducruet and M. Martin, *Statistiques Chrétiennes d'Egypte*, in *Travaux et Jours*, Beirut no. 24 (July-Sept. 1967), 65-75.

(J. Jomier)

ISLAM, Encyclopaedias of [see mawsūʿa].

ISLĀMĀBĀD, the name given by the emperor Awrangzīb [*q.v.*] to several towns in India, for reasons not precisely known. All these towns were already included in the Mug̲h̲al territories and were not freshly conquered from the Hindus to provide an excuse for their rechristening. Of these Čittāgong [*q.v.*], now in E. Pakistan, at the head of the Bay of Bengal, is still known occasionally in religious circles as Islāmābād, the official name remaining the original Čittāgong. Mathurā, on the river Yamunā, known for its numerous temples and Hindu shrines, was given the name Islāmābād after a serious insurrection by Gokalā D̲j̲āṭ, a leading zamindar of the area, had been suppressed by the imperial forces under Ḥasan ʿAlī K̲h̲ān, in 1080/1669-70. The name never became popular and the town continued to be known as Mathurā, although coins of gold, silver and copper were struck there with the mint name of Islāmābād from the time of Awrangzīb till the reign of S̲h̲āh ʿĀlam II (reg. 1173/1759-1221/1806). Amantnāg in the Kashmir valley, situated at 33° 44′ N. and 75° 12′ E. about a mile from the Nīlāb (Jhelum), also received the name Islāmābād and is still known to the Muslims of the area by this name. Known for its shawls, spas and springs, it is not known when this new name was given to Anantnāg or why. The fort of Čākana, near Poona, one of the strongholds of Sīvād̲j̲ī, the Mahratta chief, was named Islāmābād after it had been taken by Awrangzīb's general S̲h̲āʾista K̲h̲ān in 1073/1662-3, after bitter fighting.

Bibliography: Jadunath Sarkar, *A short history of Awrangzib*[2], Calcutta 1954, 152; *Imperial gazeteer of India*, Oxford 1908, xiii 371.

(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

ISLĀMĀBĀD, the new capital of Pakistan [*q.v.*], was set up in 1960 on the recommendation of a special commission, headed by General Yaḥyā K̲h̲ān, then (1971) president of Pakistan. Situated between 33° 19′ and 33° 50′ N. and 72° 34′ and 72° 23′ E.,

some 8 miles from Rawalpindi, the general headquarters of the Pakistan army, the site elected "answers all questions relating to climate, landscape, communication, defence...". Off the road to Murree, a nearby hill station, and spreading over an area of 351 sq. miles, consisting mostly of natural terraces, rising from 1700 to 2000 ft. above sea level, it is divided into 40 sectors, each measuring 800 acres, reserved for residential purposes. The climate is extreme, the temperature reaching 115° F in summer and dropping down to 27° F in winter. Rainfall is plentiful, but the area around is mostly arid and the town depends on supplies of fruit and vegetables from the plains. Construction work, started in 1961 under the Capital Development Authority, a statutory body, still continues and will take many more years to complete. In early 1970, 8,000 houses of various types had been constructed, accomodating more than 60,000 people, mostly government officials and their families. Schools and colleges, markets and shopping centres, hospitals and dispensaries, post and telegraph offices, cinemas, hotels and restaurants, public parks and other civic amenities have been provided. The Islāmābād University, meant for advanced post-graduate studies in science and technology, has started functioning. A grand mosque, designed by a Turkish architect, will be built at the foot of the Margalla hills, the backdrop of Islāmābād, out of the funds provided by Saudi Arabia. The court-yard and the pyramidal sanctuary roofed by tilted flat slabs, supported on double beams, will accommodate 100,000 persons.

The plan of the town is based on the principle of "dynapolis", *i.e.*, allowing for growth in scale and size. Practically all the government offices and ministries, including diplomatic missions, are now housed in Islāmābād. The president of Pakistan, however, still lives in Rawalpindi.

A fast expanding town, the population is expected to reach the half million mark by 1980. Besides the President's House and the National Assembly building, two major landmarks, provision has been made for setting up a national library, archaeological and war museums, national archives etc. Over a million trees have been planted all along the 125 miles of roads and boulevards to give colour to the landscape.

Bibliography: *Pakistan Year Book 1969*, Karachi 1969, 271, 274, 358, 361, 369, 371, 412, 464, 467, 483; *20 Years of Pakistan—1947-67*, Karachi 1968, 534-35. (A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

ISLĀM GIRĀY, the name of three Khāns of the Crimea.

Islām Girāy I (938/1532) was the son of Mengli Girāy [*q.v.*]. As the leader of the party wishing to follow an independent policy, he embarked on a struggle with his brother, the khān Saʿādet Girāy, the appointee of the Ottoman sultan, enjoying the support of the Crimean tribal aristocracy, who wished to wage unrelenting war on the Russians. With this following, in 933/1527 he ravaged the region of Ryazan and threatened Moscow. In 938/1532, Saʿādet Girāy, assisted by the Ottoman governors of Kefe and Azak, brought him to battle but was defeated and fled to Istanbul (May). Islām Girāy did not dare, however, to defy the sultan, and so consented to serve as *ḳalghay* [*q.v.*] to the new khān sent from Istanbul, Ṣāḥib Girāy. As such, he made overtures of friendship to Moscow. Two months later he rebelled against the khān and withdrew into the steppe region of Or-Kapî. Defeated by Ṣāḥib Girāy, he asked for pardon and was allowed to settle at Or-aghzî. Soon afterwards he was killed in a raid by one of the *mīrzā*s, Bāḳī Beg.

Islām Girāy II (992/1584-996/1588). Having lived as a hostage in Istabul under Süleymān I and Selīm II, he fell from favour upon the accession of Murād III and withdrew to Konya, where he devoted himself to Mevlevī mysticism, but after the rebellion of Meḥmed Girāy he was appointed khān, being escorted to the Crimea by an Ottoman squadron under the Ḳapudan Pasha. The *mīrzā*s acknowledged him as khān, and Meḥmed Girāy, while attempting to take refuge with the Nogāys of the steppe, was taken and executed (Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 992/end of 1584). But Meḥmed's son Saʿādet Girāy, with his Nogāy followers, defeated him, and he took refuge, wounded, in Kefe. With Ottoman support he defeated his rival (battle of Andal, 992/1584) and entered Baghčesarāy. A second uprising having failed, Saʿādet Girāy finally fled to the Volga region. His brother Murād, however, had gone to Moscow and returned, with Nogāy and Cossack followers, planning to attack the Crimea. The Ottoman sultan warned the czar against intervening and preparations were made for a campaign against Astrakhan, where Murād's force was gathered; but Murād unexpectedly died. Thenceforward Islām Girāy made repeated raids into Russian territory (Krapivna taken, 995/1587). During Islām Girāy's reign Ottoman suzerainty over the Crimea was strengthened, and the practice began of mentioning the sultan's name before the khān's in the *khuṭba*. He died in Ṣafar 997/December 1588, and was buried by the Ulu Djāmiʿ at Aḳkermān.

Islām Girāy III (1054/1644-1064/1654), the eldest son of Selāmet Girāy, was, as a young man, taken prisoner by the Poles during a raid. Released after seven years, he settled at Yanbolu. In 1045/1635 Bahādîr Girāy made him *ḳalghay*; and with this office he helped to preserve the khānante's influence over the Manṣūr tribe. When, on the death of Bahādîr Girāy, Meḥmed Girāy was appointed khān, Islām Girāy lost the office of *ḳalghay*, and was banished, first to Ḳalʿa-i Sulṭāniyye and then to Rhodes. Finally, thanks to the backing of Djindji Khodja, [see ḥusayn djindji], he procured the khānate in Rabīʿ II 1054/June 1644. He applied himself first to restoring control over the Circassians by eliminating Hakshumak, the *beg* of the Zhana. He came into conflict with the *ulugh-agh*a (*i.e.*, vizier) Sefer Ghāzī, who had helped procure his elevation to the khānate, and the *mīrzā*s, who wished to engage in a policy of raids into Russian and Polish territory. In the first trial of strength (Radjab 1055/August 1645) they were defeated, but not crushed; and in 1057/1647 they succeeded in procuring Sefer Agha's re-appointment as *ulugh-agha*.

Successful raids made in 1055-6/1645-6 forced the czar to sign a treaty by which he undertook to send the annual "tribute" of *ulugh-khazīne* and *bölek*s and to put an end to Cossack raids on Azak and other Ottoman territory (text in V. Velyaminov-Zernov, *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire du Khanat de Crimée*, St. Petersburg 1864, no. 104). A raid led by the *beg* of the Shīrīn tribe into Russian territory in 1057/1647 was a failure, and there ensued a long period of peace between Russia and the Crimean Khānate.

As for Poland, a critical situation arose when the Cossacks of Zaporozh under Boghdan Khmelnitsky rebelled against the King of Poland and sought Crimean protection. In spite of protests from the Ottoman authorities, who wished to maintain the state of peace with Poland, Islām Girāy could not let this opportunity slip: he granted Khmelnitsky the rank of *hetman* and put at his disposal a Crimean force of 4000 men under the Ur-begi Tughay.

These Cossack and Tatar troops won several victories over the Poles in Rabīʿ II 1058/May 1648, and the mediation of the k͟hān enabled the Cossacks to conclude a very favourable treaty with the King of Poland (Treaty of Zborov, 1059/1649). Under pressure from the k͟hān, Lupul, the *voyvoda* of Bog͟hdān (Moldavia) concluded an alliance with K͟hmelnitsky (1060/1650), and in the following year the Ottoman sultan took him overtly under his protection; but in that year K͟hmelnitsky and a Tatar army commanded in person by the k͟hān were defeated by the Poles (there is no justification for attributing the defeat to treachery by the k͟hān: *Cambridge History of Poland*, Cambridge 1950, 514). The Cossack-Tatar alliance was maintained until the conclusion of peace between Poland and the k͟hānate on 24 Muḥarram 1064/15 December 1653: in 1064/1653 K͟hmelnitsky, while negotiating with the Ottoman sultan (who sent him a horsetail and standard, see Naʿīmā, v. 278), was also seeking the protection of the czar.

Islām Girāy died in S͟haʿbān 1064/June 1654.

Bibliography: See, for the dynasty in general, the bibliography to the article GIRĀY, and for details the articles *Islâm-Giray I, II, III*, in *İA*, fasc. 52, pp. 1104-8. (HALİL İNALCIK)

ISLAMBOL [see ISTANBUL].

ISLAND [see D͟JAZĪRA].

ISLY, a river on the Algero-Moroccan borders, a sub-tributary on the left bak of the Tafna. Of little importance in itself, this river was the scene of several battles, since it constitutes an obstacle on the East-West route between Algeria and Morocco. Battles occurred here between the Marīnids and the ʿAbd al-Wādids in 648/1250 and 670/1271, and above all there was the battle between the French troops under Marshal Bugeaud and the Moroccan troops commanded by Mawlāy Muḥammad, the son of Sultan Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.

Bugeaud's army consisted of some ten thousand men, the Moroccan army of about 30,000, more than two-thirds of whom were tribal cavalry. The vital part of the battle was fought during the morning of 14 August 1844 on the right bank of the river. The tactics and discipline of the French troops soon triumphed over the spirited but disorderly attacks of the Moroccan cavalry. The Moroccan camp fell almost entirely into the hands of the French. This victory earned for Bugeaud the title of Duke of Isly.

Bibliography: In Arabic: al-Nāṣirī al-Salāwī, *Istiḳṣā*, ed. Cairo, iv, 196-8 (tr. in *AM*, x, 167-471). Eye-witness accounts: Léon Roche, *Trente-deux ans à travers l'Islam*, Paris 1885, ii, 396-407; Général du Barail, *Mes souvenirs*, Paris 1894, i, 236-55; Marshal de Castellane, *Campagnes d'Afrique*, Paris 1898, 371-5.

Studies: Ph. de Cossé-Brissac, *Les rapports de la France et du Maroc pendant la conquête de l'Algérie*, Paris 1931; Ch. A. Julien, *Histoire de l'Algérie contemporaine*, Paris 1964, i, 198-9.

(R. LE TOURNEAU)

ISM (A.), name. In Arabic-Islamic usage the full name of a person is usually made up of the following elements: 1) *kunya*; 2) *ism*; 3) *nasab*); 4) *nisba*. A certain number of persons are also known by a nickname (*laḳab*) or a pejorative sobriquet (*nabaz*) which, when the name is stated in full, comes after the *nisba*. From the end of the 3rd/9th century, the use of an honorific before or after the *kunya* became more and more frequent with persons of some importance.

1) The *kunya* [*q.v.*], usually a name compound with *Abū* ("father of") or *Umm* ("mother of"): Abu 'l-Faḍl, Umm al-Ḥasan.

2) The *ism*, also called *ʿalam*, *ism ʿalam*, is the name properly speaking. It can be of several types: a) Ancient Arab names, mostly of pre-Islamic origin, and in the form of adjectives, elatives, substantives, participles or verbs of uncompleted action: *e.g.*, (al-) Ḥasan, Aḥmad, Asad, Muḥammad, Yazīd. Some are normally used with the article (*e.g.*, al-Namir), others sometimes with sometimes without (*e.g.*, ʿAbbās/ al-ʿAbbās), but the majority are without it. It is not always easy to know a priori whether they are diptotes or triptotes (*e.g.*, ʿUmar^u and ʿAmr^{un}); a proper name being by its nature definite, the tendency has always been to treat them as diptotes, and in present usage the case-ending itself tends to be suppressed. Furthermore, the usual indication of the feminine is not necessarily taken as such, and Tazīd, for example, or D͟jāriya are men's names. In general only the names of the Prophet (Muḥammad, al-Muṣṭafā etc.) or of some of the figures of the early Islamic period (ʿUmar, ʿAlī, ʿUt͟hmān, etc.) have survived from among these ancient names, specimens of which will be found in Caskel, *Ğamharat an-nasab des Ibn Kalbi*, Leiden 1966. b) Biblical names in their ḳurʾānic forms: Ibrāhīm = Abraham; Isḥāḳ = Isaac; Mūsā = Moses; Ismāʿīl = Ishmael. c) Compound names in two main patterns: i. ʿAbd (slave [of]) followed by Allāh or one of the divine names [see AL-ASMĀʾ AL-ḤUSNĀ]; the ancient theophorous names made up of ʿAbd and the name of a pagan divinity (ʿAbd Manāt etc.) have disappeared with Islam. ii. Allāh preceded by a construct substantive (*e.g.*, Hibat Allāh "gift of God"). d) Persian names drawn from old Iranian history and legend (*e.g.*, K͟husraw, D͟jāms͟hīd, Rustam). e) Turkish names (Arslān, Tug͟hrul, Timur). These were common in the period of the first Turkish migration into the Middle East and regularly appear (though much distorted in the orthography) as the names of military commanders in the medieval Arabic chronicles of Syria and Egypt. Thereafter they fell into disuse, but they were revived in modern Turkey under the influence of nationalist movements. They frequently consist of, or comprise, names of predatory animals and birds: Babur, (Bay)bars, (Alp)arslan, Lačin, Sonkur, (Er)toghrıl. They sometimes express the parents' wishes: Yeter ("enough"-after a succession of girls), Ṭursun ("may he survive"—after a series of stillborn babies; the same root probably appears in Ṭur-ʿAlī, Ṭur-Ḥasan), Satılmıs͟h ("he has been sold" —by a hitherto barren mother through a vow to a saint). f) Names of diverse origins, especially Berber (e.g. Yidder "he lives"). g) Names based on abstract nouns, sometimes with the suffix ī (Tawfīḳ, Ḥikmet, Fikrī). These became common in Ottoman times. h) Names based on honorific titles (see *laḳab*, below).

3) The *nasab* or pedigree, a list of ancestors, each name being introduced by the word *ibn* [*q.v.*], "son of". The second name of the series is preceded by *bint*, "daughter of", if the first name is that of a woman. Muslim historians quote as many generations as they feel to be necessary and som times go back a very long way when dealing with an important person or in order to avoid confusion, but the usual practice is to limit the *nasab* to one or two ancestors. It is not uncommon for one or more of the ancestors in the list to be mentioned by a name other than his *ism* (*e.g.*, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib). If, in the genealogical series, two persons bearing the same *ism* are known in history, the elatives *al-akbar* and *al-aṣg͟har* are sometimes used: Marwān al-aṣg͟har b. Abi 'l-D͟janūb Yaḥyā b. Marwān al-akbar b. Abī Ḥafṣa. Converts whose natural fathers had not embraced Islam were conventionally given, especially in the Ottoman

period, the *nasab* Ibn ʿAbd Allāh (or ʿAbd and one of the divine names); but such a *nasab*, known to be fictitious, was employed only when custom demanded the use of one, *e.g.*, in a legal attestation or epitaph.

In Persian the word *ibn* is usually omitted and replaced by the genitive particle *-i*: *e.g.*, Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ. In the Muslim lands generally, with the exception of Arabia and the Maghrib, *ibn* is no longer used, and the name and father's name are simply juxtaposed: Aḥmad ʿAlī=Aḥmad, son of ʿAlī. The Persians, followed by the Turks, often use *zāde* (son), added as a suffix to the father's name, nickname or title, which is placed before the *ism*: *e.g.*, Ḳāḍīzāde ="son of the judge"; Shāriḥ al-Manār-zāde="son of the commentator on *al-Manār*"; Pīrīpashazāde= "son of Pīrī Pasha". The Turkish word *oghlu* is also used in the same way, but usually for noble or ruling families, rather than *ʿulamāʾ*: *e.g.*, Mikhaloghlu= "son of Mikhal". Many of these names in *zāde* and *oghlu* have become surnames of a sort, borne by whole families and referring to a common ancestor rather than to an immediate progenitor: *e.g.*, Köprülüzāde, a name borne by a family claiming descent from the famous Ottoman viziers. In the same way the Arabic *ibn* may sometimes refer to an ancestor rather than a parent, and be used as a kind of a surname: *e.g.*, Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Ibn Sīnā, Ibn Kemāl (also Kemālpashazāde).

4) The *nisba* is an adjective ending in ī, formed originally from the name of the individual's tribe or clan, then from his place of birth, origin or residence, sometimes from a *madhhab* or sect, and occasionally from a trade or profession. A man may thus have several *nisbas* which are normally given progressing from the general to the particular and in chronological order of residence: *e.g.*, al-Ḳurashī al-Hāshimī al-Baghdādī *thumma* al-Mawṣilī al-Sayrafī="of the tribe of Ḳuraysh, of the clan of Hāshim, of the city of Baghdād and then Mosul, the moneychanger". The speciality is often indicated at the end without the suffix ī: al-Ḥāfiẓ. In Arabic the *nisba* is always preceded by the definite article (*al-*) which in Persian disappears. Among the Turks the place-*nisba*, with the ending *li* (or *lu*), is normally placed at the beginning of a name; *e.g.*, Izmirli ʿAlī Riḍā, "the Smyrniot Ali Riza". The *nisba* may be arbitrarily handed down from father to son, though its original relevance is lost.

These are the elements which normally make up a name. The *laḳab*, an honorific or descriptive epithet which is usually placed after the *nisba* and sometimes represents a nickname, often a title, might be added. In its original and simplest form it is a descriptive nickname usually referring to a physical characteristic: *e.g.*, al-Ṭawīl, "the tall", al-Aʿwar "the one-eyed", al-Aṭrash "the deaf". It follows the *ism*. These nicknames are felt to be less pejorative than the sobriquets (*nabaz*) such as al-Ḥimār "the ass" (=Marwān I).

Laḳabs of a different sort were adopted as regnal names by the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs of Baghdād (see B. Lewis, ***The regnal titles of the first Abbasid, Caliphs***, in ***Dr. Zakir Husain Presentation volume***, New Delhi 1968, 13-22), and after them by most other Muslim rulers: *e,g.*, al-Rashīd "the rightly guided", al-Mutawakkil ʿala 'llāh "who entrusts himself to God". At a later date Persian and Turkish *laḳabs* are encountered, as well as Arabic: *e.g.*, Djahāngīr "world seizer", Yīldīrīm "thunderbolt".

Independently of the names of the Kings of the Yemen, consisting of Dhū followed by a substantive [see AL-ADHWĀʾ], early on there appeared in Arabic nicknames composed of Dhū (fem. Dhāt) and a noun in the dual commemorating a notable trait or deed: *e.g.*, Dhāt al-Niṭāḳayn "the woman with the two waistbands" (=Asmāʾ bint Abī Bakr); Dhu 'l-Hidjratayn "the man who has been made the two *hidjras*" (=Djaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib); Dhu 'l-Yamīnayn "the ambidextrous" (=Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn). Under the ʿAbbāsids honorifics of the same type were given to high personages: *e.g.*, Dhu 'l-Ḳalamayn "the man of the two pens", Dhu 'l-Wizāratayn "the man of two vizierates".

From the end of the 3rd/9th century and especially from the 4th/10th *laḳabs* of honour were bestowed by the Caliphs upon princes, statesmen, generals an high officers of state. These were usually compounds with *Dawla* ("State"), *Dīn* ("Faith") or both: *e.g.*, Badr al-Dīn "full moon of the Faith"; Nāṣir al-Dawla "Defender of the State". Similar compounds may be formed with *Mulk* "Kingdom" (Niẓām al-Mulk "Order of the Kingdom"), with *Islām* (Sayf al-Islām "Sword of Islam") etc. Many persons are known principally by their *laḳabs*, *e.g.*, Saladin (=Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn).

In the course of time many of these *laḳabs* ceased to be titles borne only by ruling princes and their officers, and became little more than personal names. In the Ottoman period the members of the *ʿulamāʾ* were usually known by a combination of *laḳab* and *ism*, with a tendency for each *ism* to be linked with a specific *laḳab*: *e.g.*, Sinān al-Dīn Yūsuf, Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad (see F. Babinger, in *Isl.*, xi). The carefully graded honorifics employed in Islamic chanceries in addressing members of the "religious" and "secular" institutions and foreign rulers and ambassadors, corresponding to the *inscriptio* of European diplomatic practice, were known by the plural of *laḳab*, *alḳāb* (Turkish *elḳāb*). These, understandably, became progressively more elaborate, so that manuals drawn up for the guidance of chancery clerks usually contain a section devoted to them (*e.g.*, Ferīdūn, *Munshaʾāt al-Salāṭīn*², i, 2-13) (see DIPLOMATIC).

The use of nicknames of various types was encouraged in the Ottoman Empire by the fact that so many prominent personages—not to speak of the whole corps of Janissaries, etc., for whom payrolls had to be kept—were of non-Muslim origin, so that a dozen men with the same *ism* could not be distinguished, as could the Muslim-born, by their *nasabs*. By Turkish syntax, a nickname usually precedes the *ism*, while a title, arising from the individual's actual rank or employment—Pasha, Agha, Müteferriḳa, Reʾīs (for sea-captains), Čawush, etc.—usually follows it. The apparent exceptions are Sulṭān, which invariably precedes the name of the ruler (but follows the name of a princess or of a few conspicuous saints), and Shehzāde, "prince"; but here too the word when preceding may be in origin a nickname and when following a "title of honour".

Nicknames may be *nisbas*, either referring in the strict sense to a town (Filibeli, Edirneli, etc.) or family (Sokollu) or vaguely "ethnic" (Arnavud, Ungurus, Čerkes, ʿArab [which in Turkish usually means "negro"]); they may refer, sometimes, unkindly, to personal characteristics: Uzun ("tall"), Sarī ("fair"), Tabanī-yassī ("flat-footed"); they may be bestowed posthumously by chroniclers: Maḳtūl ("the executed"), Khāʾin ("the traitor"), Hezārpāre ("hacked to pieces"); they may refer to the individual's position or employment: Nishāndjī, Miʿmār, Dāmād, and frequently (and somewhat confusingly) may survive from a former employment, for example in the

Palace service: Lala ("tutor [to a prince]"), Siliḥdār ("sword-bearer" [to the sultan, while a page]); they may be a religious appelation Ḥādjdjī, Akhī, Ṣofu, Gâvur, etc.

Even the sultans are usually distinguished by nicknames rather than regnal number: "Fātiḥ" Meḥemmed [II], "Genč" ʿOthmān [II], "Avdjī" Meḥemmed [IV]. When the nickname follows the *ism*, contrary to the usual rule in Turkish, we probably have a suppressed Persian *iżāfet*: Meḥemmed [-i] Fātiḥ, Bāyezīd [-i] Welī [II].

In the late 10th/16th century there was a transitory fashion, especially in the chancery, for the adoption of "Iranian" names (2d, above) (thus the famous Ferīdūn is called in his *waḳfiye* "Aḥmed Agha... al-shahīr bi-Ferīdūn Agha"), and also for the use of just one letter of the personal name, *e.g.*, Dāl Efendi, for Dāl-i Meḥmed, cf. ʿAyn-i ʿAlī, Lām-i ʿAlī (U. Heyd, *Ottoman documents on Palestine*, Oxford 1960, 16 and note).

A Turkish custom is the *göbek adï*, "navel name". This is a name given to a new-born child by the midwife as she cuts the umbilical cord; it is invariably a good "Muslim" name, such as Meḥmed or ʿAlī for boys, Fāṭma or ʿAyshe for girls. The explanation for it may be that since it is considered unlucky to choose a name before the birth this provisional name is given at the very inception of the infant's independent existence in order to ensure that if it does not live it will have died a Muslim. The *göbek adï* is in practice not used, being superseded by the *ezan* (< *adhān*) *adï*, the regular *ism*, which, having been chosen at leisure by the family, is bestowed, with a recitation of the *adhān*, a few days later (usually after three days, but avoiding the inauspicious Tuesday). Another Turkish custom is to change a baby's name if it does not thrive or is fractious. In Turkey, and particularly in the country districts, regular Islamic names may take on barely recognizable hypocoristic forms: Muṣṭafā > Mïstïk, Fāṭima > Fadik, Meḥmed > Memo or Memi, Süleymān > Sülü, Ibrāhīm > Ibish, etc.

Among other onomastic elements the most important is the *takhalluṣ* or pen-name adopted by a poet or writer, *e.g.*, Firdawsī "the Paradisiac".

A person may be mentioned by one or more of these components, or by several of them at the same time; there are no fixed rules, and only usage seems to decide, although there is not always unanimity upon a single appellation. Thus the poet usually called Abū Nuwās is sometimes referred to by the name al-Ḥasan b. Hāniʾ or by the *nisba*, al-Ḥakamī. In the biographical works the authors class persons according to their *ism* in order to avoid confusion, and indicate the *kunya*, the *nisba*, and the *laḳab* after the *nasab*, specifying at the same time the name most commonly used. Thus the biography of Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, the author of the Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades, whose full name is Abū Yaʿlā Ḥamza b. Asad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī al-Dimashḳī al-ʿAmīd ibn al-Ḳalānisī (the father of Yaʿlā, Ḥamza the son of Asad the son of ʿAlī the son of Muḥammad, of the tribe of Tamīm, of the city of Damascus, the Chief (of the Chancery), the son of the hatter), will be found under Ḥamza b. Asad.

None of these components strictly speaking amounts to a surname, though in practice the *laḳab* or *nisba* or *maʿrifa* (as in the case of Ibn al-Ḳalānisī [see IBN] is sometimes so used.

In the contemporary Orient the custom is to use two names the first of which is a sort of personal name, the second being usually the father's name. It may, however, be equally the name of a grandparent or remoter ancestor, or a second personal name adopted by choice or given in the family, at school, in the army, etc., or one of the above mentioned categories. The use of surnames is spreading among the upper classes, and the introduction of compulsory registration in several Islamic countries will accelerate their adoption. In Turkey (1934) and Persia the adoption of a surname was imposed by law. (ED.)

ISM (A.), "name", is the technical term used in Arabic grammar to signify the noun. *Ism* is a biliteral and, as such, belongs to a very ancient linguistic stock (see H. Fleisch, *Traité de la philologie arabe*, i, § 52 b) it has been given a *w* as a third radical consonant so that it may be included in the scheme of morphological formations: broken pl. *asmāʾ*, denominative verb: *samā, yasmū*, more frequently *sammā, yusammī*, "to call, name". Of the Arab grammarians, the Kūfans derive *ism* from *wasm* "sign" ($\sqrt{\overline{w\ s\ m}}$). The Baṣrans from *sumuww* "elevation" ($\sqrt{\overline{s\ m\ w}}$) (see their discussions, Ibn al-Anbārī, *K. al-Inṣāf*, ed. G. Weil, first question discussed).

Ism is the first term of the great tripartite division: *ism, fiʿl, ḥarf*, which begins the *Kitāb* of Sībawayhi: on its origin, [see FIʿL and in E.I.[1] ISM].

Sībawayhi gives no definition of *ism*; he merely gives examples: *radjul* "man", *faras* "horse", *ḥāʾiṭ* "wall". Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004) records (*al-Ṣāḥibī*, 82-3, ed. Beirut 1382/1963) the definitions suggested by the masters who followed: al-Akhfash (disciple of Sībawayhi), al-Kisāʾī (d. 189/865), al-Farrāʾ (d. 207/822), Hishām al-Ḍarīr (d. 209/824), al-Mubarrad (d. 285/898), al-Zadjdjādj (d. 310/922). None satisfies Ibn Fāris. In fact, these masters, except the last, do not give a true definition, but a description of the noun in its grammatical relationships; thus al-Farrāʾ says: "the noun (*ism*) is that which admits the *tanwīn*, the *iḍāfa* (construct) or *alif* and *lām* (the article)". Ibn al-Anbārī also records another definition of al-Mubarrad (op. cit., 2, l. 10) and the definition of Thaʿlab (d. 291/904) (*ibid.*, l. 4). As Ibn al-Anbārī himself says (*ibid.*, ll. 10-11), concerning al-Mubarrad, their dicta might serve for an etymology (*ishtiḳāḳ*) but not for a definition. With al-Zadjdjādj (d. 310/922), on the contrary, we find a true definition of the noun, but here it is under the influence of Greek logic.

Aristotle, in the *Organon*, in the *Peri Hermēneias* (the *De Interpretatione*, ed. L. Minio-Paluello, Oxford 1966), gives the two following definitions: for the noun (16a, 19-20): *onoma* (a noun) *esti* (is) *phonē* (a sound) *sēmantikē* (with meaning) *kata sunthēkēn* (by agreement) *aneu khronou* (without time), and he adds: "no part of which has meaning in isolation"; for the verb (16b, 6-9): *rhēma* (a verb) *esti* (is) *to prossēmainon* (that which indicates also) *khronon* (a time) [*i.e.*,: that which, in addition to its proper meaning, contains the indication of a time], and he adds the same remark as for the noun.

The Aristotelian definition of the noun is found in that of al-Zadjdjādj: *ṣawt muḳaṭṭaʿ mafhūm dāll ʿalā maʿnā, ghayr dāll ʿalā zamān wa-lā makān*: *phōnē*, here *ṣawt*, is qualified by *muḳaṭṭaʿ* "cut off [from others]", *mafhūm* "understood", *dāll ʿalā maʿnā* = *sēmantikē*; for *aneu khronou*, the exclusion of place is added to that of time; *kata sunthēkēn* is omitted; it refers to the large question of the origin of language, whether by institution (*tawāḍuʿ wa-ʾṣṭilāḥ*) or by revelation (*waḥy wa-tawḳīf*).

The Arab definition that, with some variants, subsequently became the general one is given by al-

Sīrāfī (d. 368/978) in the *Sharḥ* of the *Kitāb* (Ms Cairo², ii, 134): *kullshayʾ dalla lafẓuh ʿalā maʿnā ghayr muḳtarin bi-zamān muḥaṣṣal min muḍiyy aw ghayrih fa-huwa ism* (1st part, 7 end), "everything the expression of which indicates a meaning unconnected with a specific time, past or otherwise, is a noun".

This defitiniton qualifies the preceding one by indicating a *zamān muḥaṣṣal* "a specific time", but that is not enough to satisfy Ibn Fāris's objection, (*al-Ṣāhibī*, 84, l. 13-15), that al-Zadjdjādj's definition of the noun is equally valid for the *ḥarf*. Al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1143) omits the qualification *muḥaṣṣal* (*Mufaṣṣal*, ed. J. P. Broch, § 2) [see FIʿL], but adds *fī nafsih* "in itself": *al-ism mā dalla ʿalā maʿnā fī nafsih dalālatan mudjarradatan ʿan al-iḳtirān*. Al-Djurdjānī (d. 816/1413) (*Taʿrīfāt*, 15) explains simply what is to be understood by this absence of *iḳtirān*: *al-ism mā dalla ʿallā maʿnā fī nafsih ghayr muḳtarin bi-aḥad al-azminat al-thalātha*.

Remarks: the philosopher al-Fārābī (d. 339/950), in the *Sharḥ Arisṭūṭālīs fi 'l-ʿibāra* (the *Peri Hermēneias*) (ed. W. Kutsch and S. Marrow, Beirut 1960), 29, ll. 25-6, prescribes, concerning *aneu khronou* (translated: *mudjarrada min al-zamān*, "deprived of time"), the addition of *bi-dhātih wa-bi-shaklih* "by itself and its form", if it is necessary because of the fear of *maṭāʿin al-mughāliṭīn*, "attacks of the 'Sophists' "; if not, it should be omitted. But, in the definition of al-Zamakhsharī, *fī nafsih* was introduced in order to separate *ism* from *ḥarf*.

It is, incidentally, strange to note that grammarians such as Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī (d. 377/987) and Ibn Djinnī (d. 392/1002), who must have been aware of al-Sīrāfī's *Sharḥ* to the *Kitāb*, adhered, as far as the noun (and the verb) were concerned, to definitions of the type of those of al-Zadjdjādj's predecessors: Abū ʿAlī *Iḍāḥ* (Ms Cairo², ii, 81) 3; Ibn Djinnī, *Lumaʿ* (Ms Berlin 6466) 2.

The definitions of the noun and verb that became general in the Arab grammarians appear to derive from Greek logic. It has, besides, been adequately shown under FIʿL how unjustified the tense-system (introduced following Aristotle) is in Arabic. These definitions were difficult to establish. Long discussions about them have taken place in modern linguistics (see H. Fleisch, *Traité*, i, § 53 a and add. p. 525-6; *BSLP*, liv/i, XXVII-XXVIII). The *Lexique de la terminologie linguistique* by J. Marouzeau, 3rd ed., gives a definition of the verb (236), but not of the noun (156).

Because of the great tripartite division referred to above, Arab grammarians included under the *ism* first the noun proper: *ism al-djins* "common noun", *al-ism al-ʿalam* or *ism al-ʿalam* "proper noun" [see ʿALAM], *ism al-ʿayn* "concrete noun", *ism al-maʿnā* "abstract noun", then *ism al-fāʿil* "*nomen agentis* (active participle)" and *ism al-mafʿūl* "*nomen patientis* (passive participle)". These two are, strictly speaking, *ṣifa* [see ṢIFA]; the adjective (*ṣifa mushabbaha*) is assigned to the *ṣifa*; the *ṣifa* and its extensions are called *naʿt*, in its use as epithet. Then *al-maṣdar* "infinitive", and all the nomino-verbal derivatives: *ism al-zamān wa-'l-makān* "noun of time and place", etc. Then the pronouns: the personal pronouns: *al-muḍmarāt* [see MUḌMAR], the demonstrative pronoun: *ism al-ishāra*, the relative pronoun: *al-ism al-mawṣūl*, collectively called *al-mubhamāt*. Then the numerals, the noun of number: *ism al-ʿadad*. All these categories will be found in the *Tables* of the *Mufaṣṣal* referred to above (212-3), with references to the text and a still further developed nomenclature in Wright's Ar. Gr.³ (i, 104-10).—The Arab grammarians found an *ism* in the interrogatives: *kayfa* "how?", *ayna* "where?", *kam* "how much?", *matā* "when?", in *idh*, *idhā* (generally conjunctions), in *ḥaythu* "where" (Ibn Fāris, *ibid.*; for *kam*, Sībawayhi, i, 250, l. 13, ed. Paris; for *matā*, Ibn Hishām, *Mughnī 'l-labīb*, s.v.). Finally, they included in the *asmāʾ al-afʿāl* "verbal nouns" expressions that would seem to us to be interjections or exclamatory locutions, or even onomatopoea, when they perceived in them some verbal action, particularly an imperative sense, see §§ 187-99 of the *Mufaṣṣal*.

Bibliography in the text; in addition: *Dict. of Techn. Terms*, i, 710, l. 24-715, l. 18; the *K. al-masāʾil al-khilāfiyya fi 'l-naḥw* of Abu 'l-Baḳāʾ ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿUkbarī (d. 616/1219) (Ms Cairo², ii, 158) contains a discussion of the definition of *ism* (2nd question) and of the etymology (*ishtiḳāḳ*) of *ism* (4th question); in the latter, like the Baṣrans, he derived *ism* from *sumuww*, in the former, he attributes to Ibn al-Sarradj (d. 316/929), a contemporary of al-Zadjdjādj (d. 310/922), a definition of *ism* so sophisticated that it appears improbable: *huwa kull lafẓ dalla ʿalā maʿnā fī nafsih, ghayr muḳtarin bi-zamān muḥaṣṣal* (93 r, lines 4-5). As a matter of fact, in *al-Mūzadj fi 'l-naḥw*, Beirut 1385/1965, 27, Ibn al-Sarrādj simply gives a definition of *ism* of the type of those of al-Zadjdjādj's predecessors. (H. FLEISCH)

ʿIṢMA, as a theological term meaning immunity from error and sin, is attributed by Sunnīs to the prophets and by Shīʿīs also to the imāms. In early Islam moral failures and errors of Muḥammad were freely mentioned, although there was an inconsistent tendency to minimize the shortcomings of the Prophet and in particular to deny that he had ever participated in the worship of idols. The term and the concept of *ʿiṣma* do not occur in the Ḳurʾān or in canonical Sunnī *Ḥadīth*. They were first used by the Imāmī Shīʿa, who at least since the first half of the 2nd/8th century maintained that the imām as the divinely appointed and guided leader and teacher of the community must be immune (*maʿṣum*) from error and sin. This doctrine has always remained a cardinal dogma of Imāmism. While the early Imāmī theologian Hishām b. al-Ḥakam (d. 179/795-6) restricted this impeccability to the imāms, holding that prophets might disobey the commands of God and then would be criticized by a revelation, later Imāmī doctrine always ascribed it equally to prophets and imāms. The extent of the immunity was gradually expanded. Ibn Bābūya (d. 381/991), representing the view of the tradionalist scholars of Ḳumm, affirmed that prophets and imāms, though fully immune from major (*kabāʾir*) and minor (*ṣaghāʾir*) sins, were liable to inadvertence (*sahw*), which God might induce in them in order to demonstrate to mankind that they were merely human. His opinion was refuted by Shaykh al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022), who held that prophets and imāms after their vocation were immune from inadvertence and forgetfulness (*nisyān*), while admitting that they (except for the Prophet Muḥammad) might have committed minor, not disgraceful (*ghayr mustakhaffa*) sins before their vocation. Al-Mufīd's disciple al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044), who wrote a book on the impeccability of the prophets and imāms, held that they were fully immune both before and after their vocation. This has become the accepted Imāmī doctrine, later expressly including immunity from inadvertence. It is, however, admitted that imāms may chose the less com-

mendable alternative or neglect commendable supererogatory acts. *ʿIṣma* is commonly defined as a kindness (*luṭf*) bestowed by God and, as in Sunnī doctrine, is not a natural quality of prophets and imāms. It does not cause incapacity to commit acts of disobedience and thus does not invalidate the right of prophets and imāms to reward.

The Imāmī doctrine of the *ʿiṣma* of imāms and prophets is shared by the Ismāʿīliyya. The Zaydiyya do not consider *ʿiṣma* a qualification of the imām, though some later Zaydī authorities have attributed it to ʿAlī, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn specifically.

Outside Shīʿism the *ʿiṣma* of the prophets was first and most consistently upheld by the Muʿtazila. Already al-Naẓẓām in the late 2nd/8th century taught the impeccability of the prophets, and by the time of al-Ashʿarī immunity from unbelief and from major sins both before and after the prophetic mission was considered the unanimous doctrine of the Muʿtazila. There was some dispute as to whether prophets might commit minor sins consciously or not. While al-Naẓẓām held that the sins of prophets reported in the Ḳurʾān could arise only from inadvertence or erroneous interpretation (*taʾwīl*) of God's commands, al-Djāḥiẓ maintained that they must have been committed knowingly, since unconscious infraction of the divine law in his view was not sinful. In the classical doctrine since the two al-Djubbāʾīs the extent of the immunity was defined as including all major sins and minor sins "causing aversion" (*munaffira*). This definition resulted from the premise that prophecy was an act of kindness incumbent on God for the guidance of mankind and must be protected by Him from any impediments to its effectiveness. Abū ʿAlī al-Djubbāʾī (d. 303/915-6) asserted that even minor acts of disobedience, if intentional, must be considered as causing aversion and admitted only sins by inadvertency or erroneous interpretation. Abū Hāshim (d. 321/933) and the majority of later scholars held that intentional minor sins were not necessarily "causing aversion". The immunity applied equally to the time before and after the mission, though Abū ʿAlī al-Djubbāʾī was not quite consistent in rejecting major sins before it.

Ashʿarī doctrine on the *ʿiṣma* of the prophets varied, generally moving from a negative attitude toward wider affirmation. Scholars with traditionalist leanings were more reserved in affirming the sinlessness of the prophets, since this conflicted with a literal acceptance of passages in the Ḳurʾān and *Ḥadīth*. The view later ascribed to al-Ashʿarī, that prophets were immune from error and sin after, but not before, their mission is probably not authentic. It reflects, however, the later common Ashʿarī doctrine, which restricted the immunity to the time after the mission, admitting both major and minor sins, though not unbelief, before it. Concerning the extent of immunity after the mission the views differed. Al-Bāḳillānī (d. 403/1012), against the Muʿtazilī doctrine, denied any rational basis for the claim of *ʿiṣma* of the prophets beyond immunity from intentional lying in the transmission of the divine message, admitting the possibility of errors by inadvertence or forgetfulness. The latter admission was rejected by his contemporary Abū Isḥāḳ al-Isfarāyīnī and the later school doctrine. Al-Bāḳillānī's denial of a rational basis of the claim of immunity from sin was commonly accepted by later doctrine, though major sins were excluded on the basis of revealed texts (*samʿ*) or consensus. Ibn Fūrak (d. 406/1015) held that prophets may commit minor sins intentionally, but not major sins. It is thus evident that ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī (d. 429/1037) expresses his wish rather than the fact in claiming an Ashʿarī consensus affirming the immunity of prophets from all sins after their mission. After him al-Djuwaynī (d. 478/1085) stated as his personal view that prophets commit minor sins, and al-Djuwaynī's disciple al-Ghazālī affirmed that prophets commit sins and are obliged to ask God for forgiveness. Even Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209), who argued at length for the *ʿiṣma* of prophets on rational grounds, admitted unintentional minor sins after, and major sins before, their mission. Against the Ashʿarī school tradition, full immunity of the prophets was upheld by the Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ (d. 544/1149) and al-Subkī (d. 771/1370), the former expressly including the time before the mission.

Māturīdī doctrine generally was more positive in claiming sinlessness for the prophets. Although some Māturīdī scholars admitted minor sins in prophets, others, especially those of Samarḳand, strictly denied all sins including "slips" (*zallāt*). No difference was made between the time before and after the mission. The importance given to the doctrine of *ʿiṣma* is reflected by the fact that it is usually included in Māturīdī creeds in contrast to Ashʿarī and Ḥanbalī creeds. Under the Saldjūḳs the charge of imputing sins to the prophets figured among the accusations against Ashʿarism which were used to justify its suppression in favour of Māturīdī Ḥanafism.

The doctrine of the sinlessness of the prophets was opposed by traditionalists upholding the literal meaning of the passages in the Ḳurʾān and *Ḥadīth* mentioning their failures. Ibn Karrām (d. 255/840), the founder of the Karrāmiyya [*q.v.*], expressly affirmed that prophets may commit sins, without qualifying their nature. Later Karrāmī doctrine excluded sins requiring legal punishment (*ḥadd*) or impairing probity. The Ḥanbalīs did not adopt the doctrine of impeccability of the prophets. Ibn Baṭṭa (d. 387/997) in his profession of faith emphasizes that the prophets have committed sins, citing relevant passages of the Ḳurʾān. Later Ḥanbalī scholars like Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328) and Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya (d. 751/1350) stressed the *ʿiṣma* of the prophets in respect to their transmission of the revelation, but did not include immunity from sins.

Particular views on *ʿiṣma* were developed in Ṣūfī circles in connection with their doctrine of mystical sainthood. Some Ṣūfīs from al-Djunayd (d. 298/910) to Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240) have attributed virtually complete impeccability, far beyond the common Sunnī doctrine, to Muḥammad as the ideal Ṣūfī saint.

ʿIṣma was also often, against some dissent, attributed by Sunnī, Muʿtazilī, and Shīʿī theologians to the angels.

Bibliography: al-Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1929-33, 44 f., 226 f.; al-Mufīd, *Awāʾil al-maḳālāt*, Tabrīz 1371, 29 f., 35, 111; idem, *Taṣḥīḥ al-iʿtiḳād*, Tabrīz 1371, 60-2; al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ*, al-Nadjaf n.d.; W. M. Miller (trans.), *Al-Bâbu 'l-Hâdî ʿAshar... by... Ibnu 'l-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillî*, London 1928, 64-8; al-Madjlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, Tabrīz 1303-5, vi, 268-99, vii, 228-33, 265; al-Khayyāṭ, *al-Intiṣār*, ed. H. S. Nyberg, Cairo 1925, 93-6; ʿAbd al-Djabbār al-Asadābādī, *al-Mughnī*, xvi, ed. M. al-Khuḍayrī and M. M. Ḳāsim, Cairo 1965, 279-316; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal fi 'l-milal wa 'l-niḥal*, Cairo 1317-21, iv, 1-35; Baghdādī, *Farḳ*, 210; idem, *Uṣūl al-dīn*, Istanbul 1928, 167-9; al-Djuwaynī, *al-Irshād*, ed. M. Y. Mūsā and ʿA. ʿA. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1950, 356 f.; al-Ḳāḍī

ʿIyāḍ, *al-Shifā' bi-taʿrīf ḥuḳūḳ al-Muṣṭafā*, Cairo 1329, ii, 79-157; al-Rāzī, *al-Arbaʿīn fī uṣūl al-dīn*, Hyderabad 1353, 329-68; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*, Cairo n.d., ii, 268; al-Īdjī, *al-Mawāḳif*, ed. Th. Soerensen, Leipzig 1848, 218-38; al-Bazdawī, *Uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. H. P. Linss, Cairo 1963, 167-72; Ibn Baṭṭa, *al-Sharḥ wa 'l-ibāna ʿalā uṣūl al-sunna wa 'l-diyāna*, ed. H. Laoust, Damascus 1958, 63, trans. 120; al-Kalābādhī, *al-Taʿarruf li-madhhab ahl al-taṣawwuf*, ed. A. J. Arberry, Cairo 1933, 43 f; Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, 220-5; idem, *Aus der Theologie des Fachr al-dīn al-Rāzī*, in *Isl.*, iii (1912), 238-45; T. Andrae, *Die Person Muhammeds in Lehre und Glauben seiner Gemeinde*, Stockholm 1918, 124-74; D. M. Donaldson, *The Shiʿite religion*, London 1933, 320-38; H. Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Taḳī-d-Dīn Aḥmad b. Taymiyya*, Cairo 1939, 186-94. (W. MADELUNG)

ʿIṣma denotes also infalibillity, in "the total knowledge of the meaning of the revelation and its prescriptions" and, consequently, in absolute authority for instruction. In Shīʿism, it is recognized in the imāms, in whom it is innate. It is recognized in Sunnism also, but in respect of the community (*ʿiṣmat al-djamāʿa*) in its general *consensus* or *idjmāʿ*—infallibility in the interpretation of the law, and even in the establishment of new juridical solutions. In both meanings, *ʿiṣma* was carried to its most extreme limits in the Shīʿī (*ghulāt*) doctrines from the time when they deified the imāms, in varying degrees.

Bibliography: Add to the references given in the preceding section: Goldziher, in *Der Islam*, iii, 238-45; *Manār*, v, 12-21, 87-93; Shahrastānī, in the margin of Ibn Ḥazm, i, 151; G. Hourani, *The basis of authority of consensus in sunnite Islam*, in *St. Isl.*, xxi (1954), 43 f., 49 f.; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, Beirut 1900, 196, 452 f.; E. Tyan, *Institutions du dr. pupl. mus.*, ii, Paris 1957, 393 f. (E. TYAN)

ISMĀʿĪL, the biblical Ishmael, is already mentioned in four places in the Ḳur'ān which date from before the Hidjra, in a list of holy men of antiquity: in Sūra XIX, 54 f. it is said of him: "He was one who spoke the promise truly, and he was a messenger and a prophet. He enjoined upon his people the prayer and the almsgiving, and was in his Lord's eyes approved"; in Sūra XXXVIII, 48 he is mentioned together with Elisha (al-Yasaʿ) and Dhu 'l-Kifl as "one of the good"; in Sūra XXI, 85 f. together with Idrīs and Dhu 'l-Kifl as "one of the patiently enduring and the righteous, whom God caused to enter into his mercy"; in Sūra VI, 86 it is said of Ismāʿīl, Elisha (al-Yasaʿ), Jonas and Lot, that "God gave each one preference above the worlds". These references to Ismāʿīl and others are, in each case, part of a larger context in which more holy men of antiquity are mentioned. Each time, at either a lesser or greater distance before Ismāʿīl, Abraham (Ibrāhīm) is also praised as one of the earlier holy men. Nowhere, however, is a direct link established between Abraham and Ismāʿīl, so that it must be assumed that originally Muḥammad was not well informed about the family relationship between Abraham and Ishmael, as at that time he seems to have counted Jacob, not Ismāʿīl as another son of Abraham together with Isaac (Sūra XIX, 49; XXI, 72; XXIX, 27; VI, 84; XI, 71).

In other places, which, on the whole, are to be attributed to the Medinan period, the isolation of Ismāʿīl has given way to an intimate connexion with Abraham. At this period Ismāʿīl stands alongside his father in the attempt to build up the Kaʿba in Mecca as a centre of pilgrimage and make it a place of the pure monotheistic faith (Sūra II, 127-9). In so far as Isaac is also named, Ismāʿīl is given precedence as Abraham's son (Sūra XIV, 39; II, 132 f.; II, 136 = III, 84; II, 140; IV, 163). In the interpretation of the relevant passages, chronological difficulties indeed arise. Sūra XIV, 35-41, in which Abraham champions the security of the holy territory of Mecca and (verse 39) praises God for having given him Ismāʿīl and Isaac in spite of his great age, is usually attributed to the third Meccan period. And in Sūra XXXVII, which is even attributed to the second Meccan period, the birth of Isaac is first mentioned in verses 112 f., so that it must be assumed that the preceding verses 100-7, which also deal with a son of Abraham and with his (intended) sacrifice, refer to Ismāʿīl Consequently there would already be evidence for the connexion between Ismāʿīl and Abraham from the period before the Hidjra in two passages. Edmund Beck, however, who has critically examined the problem, takes Sūra XIV, 39 to be a Medinan interpolation and he supposes that even in the two verses II, 125 and 127, which are no doubt Medinan, the name of Ismāʿīl is a later addition. Thus he concludes that Ismāʿīl was first connected with Abraham in the Medinan period (*Le Muséon*, lxv (1952), 80-3). Beck does not commit himself concerning Sūra XXXVII (see above); Richard Bell, however, does: he considers the section which deals with the sacrifice of Abraham's son (verses 102-7) as a later Medinan addition, and further concludes that verse 101 ("So we felicitated him with a mild-tempered youth") "probably referred to Isaac, but when Ishmael began to assume importance to Mohammed, it was taken as referring to him, and verses 112 and 113 (Annunciation of Isaac) added". However these explanatory attempts by Beck and Bell may now be regarded, Ismāʿīl in any case takes a subordinate part in the ḳur'ānic legend concerning the foundation and purification of the cult of the Kaʿba. It is true that he is numbered among the patriarchs who have been given revelations (Sūra II, 136 = III, 84; IV, 163), but the leading part remains reserved for Abraham; for these matters, therefore, see IBRĀHĪM. Remarkably enough, there is in the Ḳur'ān—if we disregard the brief hint in Sūra XIV, 37—still no reference to the genealogical role which, according to Genesis XVI and XXV (and later also according to Arabic-Islamic tradition), fell to Ismāʿīl as a connecting link between the Israelites (Jews) and the Arabs. He is considered only as the son of Abraham, and in Sūra II, 133 is mentioned together with Araham and Isaac as one of the "Fathers" of Jacob.

The commentaries on the Ḳur'ān, the "stories of the prophets" (*Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*), and the universal histories give various details concerning the part played by Ismāʿīl in the building of the Kaʿba and the introduction of the pilgrimage ceremonies (here Ismāʿīl plays the same subordinate role as in the Ḳur'ān). The story of the sacrifice of Abraham's son also is further elaborated, whereby the question of whether this son is to be identified with Ismāʿīl or Isaac remains open. The information on a few episodes from Ismāʿīl's early youth and married life is more detailed. The expulsion of Hagar and her child Ismāʿīl is described in accordance with Jewish tradition (which for its part goes back to Genesis XXI). According to Islamic tradition, Abraham does not simply send them both into the desert, but accompanies them himself as far as Mecca. There of course, he leaves them to their fate, since he has to go back to his wife Sarah. Hagar, full of pity for the

thirsty child, runs back and forth between the two hills al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa—the origin of the later pilgrimage ceremony of the Saʿy [*q.v.*]. Meanwhile, however, the little Ismāʿīl scratches the sand and thus helps the spring of Zamzam to break through. Thereupon the Arab tribe of Djurhum settles in the neighbourhood with the permission of Hagar, and, after Ismāʿīl has grown up, he takes a girl of the Djurhum as his wife. Abraham, who with Sarah's permission shortly comes on a visit, meets her while her husband is away, is treated inhospitably, and leaves behind for his son the order, cryptically expressed, that he should divorce her. On a later visit, Abraham meets, again in the absence of Ismāʿīl, the latter's second wife, is hospitably welcomed by her, and leaves behind for his son the request, similarly coded, that he should maintain the marriage with her. On a third visit Abraham calls on Ismāʿīl to help him in the building of the Kaʿba (see above). After his death Ismāʿīl is buried near his mother Hagar in al-Ḥidjr inside the Ḥaram.

By the post-ḳurʾānic tradition Ismāʿīl becomes linked with Mecca and the Arab world even more closely than by the Ḳurʾān. He is said to have learned Arabic (from the Djurhum). In the genealogical trees which the Arab genealogists have drawn up, he is counted as the ancestor of the northern Arabs and in consequence of the (subsequently) Arabized tribes. These are, without exception, traced back to ʿAdnān, but the connecting links between ʿAdnān and Ismāʿīl are—partly in accordance with Genesis XXV—variously related.

Bibliography: Ismāʿīl in the Ḳurʾān: Abraham Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?*[2] Leipzig 1902, 128 f., 131-5 (Eng. tr. *Judaism and Islam*, Madras 1898, 104 ff., repr. New York 1970); C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, Leiden 1880 (= *Verspr. Geschr.*, i, 1-124); Edmund Beck, *Die Gestalt des Abraham am Wendepunkt der Entwicklung Muhammeds*, in *Le Muséon*, lxv (1952), 73-94, esp. 80-3; Y. Moubarac, *Abraham dans le Coran*, Paris 1958; Michel Hayek, *Le Mystère d'Ismaël*, Paris 1964; Rudi Paret, *Mohammed und der Koran*[2], Stuttgart 1966, 108-10; *EI*[2], article IBRAHIM; J. Horovitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin and Leipzig 1926, 91 f.; H. Speyer, *Der biblischen Erzählungen in Qoran*, Gräfenheinichen n.d. (reprint Hildesheim 1961), 158-62, 164-6, 171.—Ismāʿīl in post-ḳurʾānic tradition: Bukhārī, *Anbiyāʾ*, b. 9; Ṭabarī, i, 270, 274-309, 351 f., 1112-23; idem, *Tafsīr*, esp. to Sūra XXXVII, 107-10; Ibn al-Athīr, 73-80, 88 f.; Yaʿḳūbī, 22-6, 252 f.; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Historia Anteislamica*, Leipzig 1831, 22-6, 190-2; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 85-7, 119 f., iii, 91-9, iv, 424-6; Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ*, Cairo 1339, 57-62, 64-6, 70; Kisāʾī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ*, ed. Eisenberg, Leiden 1922, 142-5; G. Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner*, Frankfurt 1845, 82-96; F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, iv, Leipzig 1861, 4-10; M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, Leiden 1893, 101-15; D. Sidersky, *Les origines des légendes musulmanes dans le Coran et dans les Vies des Prophètes*, Paris 1933, 50-3; W. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, Leiden 1966, i, 39; A. J. Wensinck, *EI*[1], article ISMĀʿĪL.

(RUDI PARET)

ISMĀʿĪL (IZMAIL), an Ottoman fortress town situated in the Budjak [*q.v.*] region of Bessarabia, on the left bank of the Kilya arm of the river Danube. Ewliyā Čelebī states that a certain *ḳapudān* named Ismāʿīl brought this area under Ottoman domination in 889/1484 at the time when Sultan Bāyazīd II took Kilya and Aḳ-Kermān from Moldavia. Evidence dating from 997/1588-9 (cf. Uzunçarşili, IV/i, 576, note I) indicates that a small fort (palanka) was built at Ismāʿīl in that year, craftsmen from Wallachia and Moldavia being summoned to share in the work of construction. In 1003/1595, during the long war of 1001/1593-1015/1606 between the Ottoman Empire and Austria, Ismāʿīl fell to a mixed force of Transylvanians, Moldavians and Wallachians under the command of "Andrea Barzai" (cf. Hurmuzaki, III/ii, 95). A few years later Georgius Dousa was to describe the town as noted for its trade in fish—*Smieli uberrima est optimorum piscium captura, atque ex eo vilitas*. Ismāʿīl suffered from Cossack raids in 1010-1011/1602 and in 1033-1034/1624. Ewliyā Čelebī, recounting his travels in the year 1067/1657, gives some details of interest about Ismāʿīl. He notes that it had a superintendent of customs (*gümrük emini*), but no fortress commandant, since there was no fort there (*ḳalʿe olmadighından dizdārı yoḳdur*). The town contained two thousand houses (*khāne*), with a population of Muslims (located in three distinct areas—*üç islām maḥallesi*), Greeks, Armenians and Jews. Tatars inhabited the regions adjacent to the town. Ismāʿīl conducted a flourishing trade in such products as butter, cheese, salt from Wallachia (*eflāḳ ṭuzu*), grain, sturgeon and caviar. Some two thousand waggon loads of fish pickled in brine (*balık salamurası*) went each year, through Ismāʿīl, to Poland and to the territories of Moscow. State-owned fisheries existed along the banks of the Danube. Ismāʿīl had also a market where white slaves of either sex might be found for sale. A little more than a hundred years later de Tott, passing through the Budjak in 1182-1183/1769, observed that Ismāʿīl was an *entrepôt pour la traite des grains par le Danube* and also a centre for the manufacture of *chagrins de Turquie*, *i.e.*, of shagreen. Ismāʿīl, standing at the intersection of routes from Galatz, Khotin (Choczim), Bender and Kilya, became a fortress of importance during the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries as a result of the confrontation between Russia and the Ottoman Empire in the lands bordering the Black Sea. Russian troops took Ismāʿīl in 1184/1770. The town was restored, however, to the Ottomans at the Peace of Küçük Kaynardja in 1188/1774. Employing the services of foreign experts, the Turks now fortified Ismāʿīl anew, transforming it into an *ordu ḳalʿesi*—a stronghold designed to function as a base controlling large forces. The Russians, under the command of Suvorov and in the face of a desperate resistance, stormed Ismāʿīl in Rabīʿ II 1205/December 1790, an event which was celebrated in the verse of Byron and Deržavin. At the Peace of Iaşi (Jassy) in 1206/1792 Ismāʿīl was handed back to the Ottomans, who soon began to repair its defences. The town, in 1224/1809, came once more into the hands of the Russians. General Tučkov, in the following year established near Ismāʿīl a settlement named after himself, but destined, in the course of time, to be merged into Ismāʿīl. The Peace of Bucharest concluded in 1227/1812 gave Ismāʿīl to Russia. In 1272/1856, at the Peace of Paris, which brought the Crimean War to an end, southern Bessarabia, with Ismāʿīl (its fortifications now demolished), was transferred from Russia to Moldavia. Russian forces re-occupied Ismāʿīl in 1294/1877, the town being ceded to Russia at the Congress of Berlin in 1295/1878. It came under Rumanian control at the close of World War I and under Soviet rule at the end of World War II. Ismāʿīl is included now in the Ukrain-

ian Republic of the U.S.S.R. The town, with a population, in 1956, of some 43,000 inhabitants, amongst them Rumanians, Ukrainians, Turks, Bulgarians, Russians and Jews, functions as a river port and commercial centre dealing above all in grain, timber and hides.

Bibliography: Ewliyā Čelebī, *Seyāḥatnāme*, v, Istanbul A.H. 1315, 106-7; Aḥmed Djewdet, *Taʾrīkh*², Istanbul A.H. 1309, iv, 326, v, 94; *Georgii Dousae de itinere suo Constantinopolitano epistola*, Lugduno Batavae 1599, 17-18; *Mémoires du Baron de Tott*, Amsterdam 1785, ii, 151-152; F. von Smitt, *Der Sturm von Ismail*, Vilna 1830; A. Zashčuk, *Bessarabskaya Oblast*, in *Materiall dlya geografii i statistiki Rossii*, St. Petersburg 1862; A. Nakko, *Istoria Bessarabii s drevneishikh vremyen*, Odessa 1873; N. Orlov, *Shturm Izmaila Suvorovym y 1790 godu*, St. Petersburg 1890; P. N. Batyushkov, *Bessarabia. Istoričeskoye opisaniye*, St. Petersburg 1892; *Statisičeskoye opisaniye Bessarabii ... ili Budjaka ... s 1822 po 1828 g. Izdaniye Akkermanskago zemstva*, Akkerman 1899; Mogilyanskiy, *Materialy dlya geografii i statistiki Bessarabii*, Kishinev 1913; N. M. Korobkov, *Vzyatiye Izmaila (1790)*, in *Voenno-Istoričeskiy Žurnal* (1941), 24 ff.; Y. Yefimova, *Shturm turetskoy kreposti Izmaila v 1790 g. Neopublik. report A. V. Suvorova*, in *Voenno-Istoričeskiy Žurnal* (1941), 126 ff.; I. S. Pročko, *Russkaya artilleriya v shturme Izmaila v 1790 godu*, in *Artilleriyskiy Žurnal (1950)*, 42 ff.; I. *Rusztukov, Shturm Izmaila*, in *Voenno-Istoričeskiy Žurnal* (1965), 112 ff.; A. V. Suvorov, *Dokumenty*, ed. G. P. Meshčeryakov, Moscow 1949-1953, ii, *passim*; E. de Hurmuzaki *Documente privitóre la Istoria Romănilor*, III/i (Bucharest 1880), 232, III/ii (Bucharest 1888), 95 and Suplement I/ii (Bucharest 1885), 232 and 813 (index); also *Documente privind Istoria Romîniei. Colectia Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki* (Academia Republicii Populare Romîne—Institutul de Istorie), Serie Novă, I (Rapoarte Consulare Ruse 1770-1796), Bucharest' 1962, 805 (index); J. W. Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, Gotha 1840-1863, v, 941, vi, 880, vii, 655; N. Jorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, Gotha 1908-1913, v, 96; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi* (Türk Kurumu Yayınlarından XIII. Seri, no. 16), IV/i, Ankara 1956, 576, note I; J. Pohler, *Bibliotheca Historico-Militaris*, Kassel 1887-1899, ii, 103 ff. and 235 ff.; von Schafenort, *Quellenkunde der Kriegswissenschaften für den Zeitraum 1740-1910*, Berlin 1910, 593; IA, s.v. ISMAIL (Aurel Decei).

(T. MENZEL—[V. J. PARRY])

ISMĀʿĪL I (ABŪ L-MUẒAFFAR), born 25 Radjab 892/17 July 1487, died 19 Radjab 930/23 May 1524, shah of Persia (907/1501-930/1524) and founder of the Ṣafawid dynasty [see ṢAFAWIDS].

1. *Biographical and historical*: Under Ismāʿīl, Iran became a national state for the first time since the Arab conquest in the 1st/7th century. An important factor in this process was the proclamation by Ismāʿīl of the Ithnā ʿAsharī (Djaʿfarī) form of Shīʿism as the official religion of the Ṣafawid state. By this action, Ismāʿīl decisively differentiated his dominions from those of the Ottomans, who were threatening to absorb Iran into their empire, and imparted a sense of unity among his subjects in the face of their arch-enemies, the Ottomans in the west and the Özbegs in the east.

Although Ismāʿīl was related, through both his mother and his grandmother, to the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu rulers, the Ṣafawid-Aḳ Ḳoyunlu alliance had broken down during the lifetime of his father Ḥaydar [*q.v.*], and Ismāʿīl, while still an infant, was arrested with his elder brothers ʿAlī and Ibrāhīm, and imprisoned for 4½ years in the fortress of Iṣṭakhr in Fārs (end of Rabīʿ II 894/March 1489—end of Shawwāl 898/August 1493. Civil war broke out between rival Aḳ Ḳoyunlu princes, and one of them, Rustam, made use of Ṣafawid support to defeat one of his rivals (Shawwāl 898/August 1493). In 899/1494 Rustam, realizing that rising popular support for the Ṣafawids constituted a threat to his own position, had ʿAlī killed. Ismāʿīl fled to Ardabīl and thence to Gīlān.

For nearly five years (899/1494-905/1499), Ismāʿīl remained in hiding at Lāhīdjān, where he had been given sanctuary by the local ruler. During this time he maintained close contact with his *murīds* in Rūm, Ḳarādja-dāgh, Ādharbāydjān and elsewhere. Since these *murīds*, also known as *ḳizilbāsh* [*q.v.*], were mainly Turcoman tribesmen, Ismāʿīl in order to make the Ṣafawid *daʿwa* more effective, addressed to them simple verses in their own Turkish dialect, using the *takhalluṣ* of Khaṭāʾī [see below]. In 905/1499 Ismāʿīl emerged from Gīlān to make his bid for power, and the following year some 7,000 Ṣūfīs of the Ṣafawid *ṭarīḳa* assembled at Erzindjān. After a campaign in Shīrwān in which Ismāʿīl avenged the deaths of his father and grandfather [see DJUNAYD; ḤAYDAR], he defeated a large Aḳ Ḳoyunlu army under Alwand at the decisive battle of Sharūr. This victory gave Ismāʿīl control of Ādharbāydjān, and in 907/1501 he was crowned at Tabrīz.

Ismāʿīl spent the next decade extending the Ṣafawid empire: Fārs and ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjam were conquered in 908-9/1503; Māzandarān and Gurgān, and Yazd, in 909/1504; Diyār Bakr in 911/1505-913/1507; Baghdād and ʿIrāḳ-i ʿArab in 914/1508 (the local rulers of Khūzistān, Luristān and Kurdistān acknowledged his suzerainty); Shīrwān in 915/1509-10. Finally, on 30 Shaʿbān 916/2 December 1510, Ismāʿīl routed the Shībānī Özbegs in a great battle at Marw. A few days later, Ismāʿīl entered Harāt, and proceeded to consolidate his conquest of Khurāsān.

The following year, 917/1511, Ṣafawid troops penetrated as far eastwards as Samarḳand, in support of the Tīmūrid prince Bābur, who was hoping, with their aid, to recover his Transoxanian dominions. Any idea Ismāʿīl may have entertained of annexing Transoxania to the Ṣafawid empire was dashed in 918/1512, when a powerful Özbeg army swept the Ṣafawid expeditionary force back across the Oxus. This was followed by an uneasy truce with the Özbegs which lasted some eight years, but Ismāʿīl proved himself unable to arrive at a permanent solution to the problem of the defence of the north-east frontier.

By 916/1510, therefore, the whole of Persia was in Ismāʿīl's hands, but the establishment of a militant Shīʿite state on the Ottoman border constituted a challenge which Sultan Selīm could not afford to ignore, and in 920/1514 he invaded Persia and inflicted a crushing, but not decisive, defeat on Ismāʿīl at the battle of Čāldirān [*q.v.*]. His aura of invincibility dispelled, Ismāʿīl never again led his troops in battle. During the last ten years of his life, he took a less and less active part in political affairs, and gave his viziers virtually a free hand in administrative matters.

After his defeat at Čāldirān, Ismāʿīl became more interested in exploring the possibilities of an alliance with European powers, in order to attack the Ottomans on two fronts. In 921-2/1516 he received an

envoy from Louis II, King of Hungary, in the person of a Maronite monk named Fr. Peter, and an ambassador from Charles V of Germany also reached him about the same time. In Shawwāl 929/August-September 1523, Ismāʿīl sent a letter to Charles, expressing his astonishment that the Christian powers, instead of devoting all their energies to fighting the Turks, were squabbling among themselves (details from unpublished material made available to me through the courtesy of Dr. L. Lockhart). The Ṣafawids thus carried on the series of diplomatic exchanges with the West, which had begun in Aḳ Ḳoyunlu times, and which had as their chimerical objective the organizing of joint military operations against the common foe, the Ottomans.

Ismāʿīl's achievements have been overshadowed, perhaps unfairly, by those of his illustrious descendant, ʿAbbās I [*q.v.*]. Ismāʿīl possessed the charismatic appeal, the powers of leadership, and the personal valour, to bring to a successful conclusion more than half a century of active revolutionary endeavour. In addition, he displayed a high degree of political acumen and statecraft. On his accession, he was faced by complex problems of great urgency. There was the problem of how to incorporate the Ṣūfī organization of the Ṣafawid *ṭariḳa*, of which Ismāʿīl was the ***murshid-i kāmil***, in the newly established Ṣafawid state, of which he was the ***pādishāh***. There was the problem of how to reconcile the "men of the sword", the Turcoman military élite which had brought him to power, with the "men of the pen", the Persian bureaucrats on whom he depended for the efficient functioning of his empire. There was the problem of imposing doctrinal uniformity as rapidly as possible, while at the same time maintaining political control of the religious institution, in order to prevent the *ʿulamāʾ* from assuming a dominant position in the state (the undue growth of the power of the ***mudjtahids*** was later to become one of the principal causes of Ṣafawid decline). The fact that Ismāʿīl's policies, original and ingenious though they frequently were, ultimately failed to solve these problems, indicates not so much the inadequacy of his policies as the insolubility of the problems.

On his death in 930/1524, Shāh Ismāʿīl was buried in the Ṣafawid family mausoleum at Ardabīl. He had four sons: Ṭahmāsp [*q.v.*], who succeeded him; Sām; Alḳāṣ [*q.v.*], and Bahrām; and five daughters.

Bibliography: *A narrative of Italian travels in Persia*, Hakluyt Society, London 1873; H. Braun, *Eine unerschlossene Darstellung des Lebens des Ersten Safawidenschahs*, unpublished dissertation, Göttingen 1946; W. Hinz, *Irans Aufstieg zum Nationalstaat im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert*, Berlin and Leipzig 1936; Gh. Sarwar, *History of Shāh Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī*, Aligarh 1939 (useful for checking facts); R. M. Savory, *The principal offices of the Ṣafawid state during the reign of Ismāʿīl I (907-930/1501-1524)*, in *BSOAS*, xxiii (1960), 91-105; idem, *The struggle for supremacy in Persia after the death of Tīmūr*, in *Isl.*, xl (1964), 35-65; idem, *The consolidation of Ṣafawid power in Persia*, in *Isl.*, xli (1965), 71-94; *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* (translated and explained by V. Minorsky), London 1943. Persian sources: The principal chronicles for the reign of Shāh Ismāʿīl are: Ghiyāth al-Dīn b. Humām al-Dīn Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, Tehran (particularly detailed on events in Khurāsān); *A chronicle of the early Ṣafawīs, being the Aḥsanuʾt-Tawārīkh of Ḥasan-i Rūmlū*, ed. C. N. Seddon, Baroda 1931; Khwurshāh b. Ḳubād al-Ḥusaynī, *Tārīkh-i Īlčī-yi Niẓāmshāh*, British Museum Ms. Add. 23, 513; British Museum Ms. Or. 3248 (an anonymous history of Shāh Ismāʿīl); Sharaf al-Dīn Bitlīsī, *Sharafnāma* (ed. Véliaminof-Zernof), St. Petersburg 1860-2; Budāḳ Munshī Ḳazwīnī, *Djawāhir al-Akhbār*, Leningrad Ms. Dorn 288. See now also the anonymous chronicle on the reign of Ismāʿīl, recently discovered in Iran, entitled *ʿĀlam-ārā-yi Ṣafawī*, edited by Yad Allāh Shukrī, Tehran 1971.

(R. M. Savory)

2. *His Poetry*: The founder of the Ṣafawid dynasty was also a poet who wrote under the pseudonym (*takhalluṣ*) of Khaṭāʾī. His poems, with few exceptions, are in the Turkish language of Ādharbāydjān, or Ḳizilbashī (a term used in the indigenous sources, as distinct from Čaghatāʾī and Rūmī). Khaṭāʾī's poetical output consists of: (a) The ***Dīwān***, the oldest and most authentic Ms. of which was completed in 948/1541, eighteen years after Shāh Ismāʿīl's death. This *Dīwān* contains 254 ***ḳaṣīda-ghazal***s, three ***mathnawī***s, one ***murabbaʿ*** and one ***musaddas***. The first twenty-four religious and didactic poems are, however, not in alphabetical order. Some of the poems of this Ms. contain outspoken utterances such as "I am the absolute Truth", and "I am God's eye (or God himself)", etc. These poems and a number of technically imperfect poems together with a poem in syllabic metre are omitted in the later Mss., which have apparently undergone a process of "expurgation". The great part of the content of Khaṭāʾī's *Dīwān* consists of the lyrical poems. (b) The ***Dah-nāma***, which was composed in 911/1506 in the ***mathnawī*** form, and in the ***hazadj*** metre. The subject of this poem is the exchange of ten letters between the lover and the beloved, which ultimately leads to their union. It includes a number of ***ghazal***s in the same metre. This ***Dah-nāma*** belongs to a literary genre which was very popular in the Persian and Turkish literatures of the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries. (See T. Gandjeï; *The Genesis and Definition of a literary composition*: *The Dah-nāma ("Ten love-letters")*, in *Der Islam*, xlvii (1971), 59-66).

A collection of poems in syllabic metre, which bear the *takhalluṣ* Khaṭāʾī, and exist, not in the Mss. of the *Dīwān*, but in various miscellaneous Mss., can with confidence be ascribed to poets of ʿAlawī-Bektashī circles, in which the royal poet was venerated (see T. Gandjeï; *Pseudo-Khaṭāʾī*, in *Iran and Islam*, Edinburgh 1971, 263-266). The songs called χαται ∼ *catai* in praise of Shāh Ismāʿīl and Shāh Ṭahmāsp, which Michele Membré mentions (*Relazione di Persia (1542)*, Naples 1969, 48), were most probably the syllabic poems bearing the pseudonym of Khaṭāʾī.

Khaṭāʾī was greatly influenced in his poems by the work of the Ḥurūfī poet, Nesīmī [*q.v.*]. Khaṭāʾī's poetry, besides its literary merit, which is far from negligible, is important, in that it contains data concerning the true nature of early Ṣafawid Shīʿism. Although the poets who composed Turkish poems in Ṣafawid Persia were for the most part influenced by Nawāʾī and Fuḍūlī, there is evidence of a certain influence by Khaṭāʾī on some poets of this period, such as Amānī, Ẓafar and Ṣāʾib. But it was in ʿAlawī circles that the poems and the person of Khaṭāʾī exercised a lasting influence. His poems were recited for centuries in ʿAlawī-Bektashī circles of Anatolia. In his native Ādharbāydjān, the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ, who incorporated him in the syncretic pantheon of their sect, considered him to be the ***pīr*** of Turkestān (*i.e.*, Ādharbāydjān and the neighbouring Turkish-speaking lands), in whose person God spoke in Turkish, *Khaṭāʾi de türki dedi*, and finally the adepts of the extremist Shabak sect in ʿIrāḳ included the poems

ascribed to Khaṭā'ī in their sacred book, the *Buyruḳ*.

Bibliography: in addition to the works mentioned in the text: Sām Mīrzā, *Tuḥfa-i Sāmī*, ed. Waḥīd Dastgirdī, Tehran 1314 s, 6-9; Fakhrī Harawī, *Rawḍat al-Salāṭīn*, ed. Khayyāmpūr, Tabriz 1435 s, 67-70; Luṭf-ʿAlī Beg Ādhar, *Ātashkada*, ed. Ḥasan Sādāt-i Nāṣirī, Tehran 1336, 57-8; Riḍā Ḳulī Khān Hidāyat, *Madjmaʿ al-fuṣaḥā*, Tehran 1284-95, 22-3; Muḥammad ʿAlī Tarbiyat, *Dānishmandān-i Ādharbāydjān*, Tehran 1314, 136-7; Saddedin Nüzhet Ergun, *Hatâyî Divanı, Şah İsmail-i Safevî, Hayatı ve Nefesleri*, Istanbul 1946; V. Minorsky, *The Poetry of Shāh Ismāʿīl I*, in *BSOS*, x (1938-42), 1006a-1053a; *Deh-name*, ed. H. Araslî, Baku 1948; *Il Canzoniere di Šāh Ismāʿīl Ḫaṭā'ī*, ed. T. Gandjeï; Naples 1959; Shah Ismayil Khetai, *Eserleri*, I, ed. H. Araslî-Ezizaga Memmedov, Baku 1966; Aḥmad Ḥāmid al-Ṣarrāf, *al-Shabak min firaḳ al-ghulāt fi 'l-ʿIrāḳ*, Bagdad 1954; Abdülbaki Gölpînarlî, *Kaygusuz Abdal, Hatayi, Kul Himmet*, Istanbul 1962; V. Minorsky, *The Sect of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ*, in *Iranica*, London 1964, 307-16. (T. GANDJEÏ)

ISMĀʿĪL II, born 940/1533-4 (this is conjectured from the available evidence; no chronicle gives his date of birth), died 13 Ramaḍān 985/24 November 1577, second son of Shāh Ṭahmāsp [*q.v.*], shah of Persia (984-5/1576-7) of the Ṣafawid dynasty.

After the rebellion of his uncle Alḳāṣ [*q.v.*], Ismāʿīl was appointed governor of Shīrwān (954/1547), and conducted several successful campaigns against the Ottomans in the Caucasus and eastern Anatolia. In 962/1555 he married a daughter of the marriage between a sister of Ṭahmāsp and Shāh Niʿmat Allāh Walī [*q.v.*]. The following year, in Shaʿbān 963/June 1556, he was appointed governor of Khurāsān.

After only a few months at Harāt, Ismāʿīl was suddenly arrested (Ṣafar 964/December 1556), and taken to the fortress of Ḳahḳaha in Ādharbāydjān, where he remained a prisoner for nearly twenty years. Various reasons are put forward to account for Ṭahmāsp's action. Some sources point out that Ismāʿīl's arrest followed closely upon the signature of the Treaty of Amasya (962/1555), which ushered in more than thirty years of peace with the Ottomans, and that Ṭahmāsp feared that Ismāʿīl's bellicose nature might endanger this peace; but the transference of Ismāʿīl, from Shīrwān, adjacent to the Ottoman frontier, to Harāt, would seem designed to obviate just such a danger. Other sources declare that the puritanical Ṭahmāsp could no longer tolerate Ismāʿīl's dissolute way of life. The real reason for Ismāʿīl's sudden fall from favour, however, seems to have been Ṭahmāsp's fear that Ismāʿīl might be nursing an ambition to supplant him, a fear which was assiduously played upon by the powerful *wakīl* Maʿṣūm Beg Ṣafawī, who was a bitter enemy of Ismāʿīl. Ismāʿīl's high-handed behaviour on his arrival at Harāt gave colour to Ṭahmāsp's suspicions, and moved Ṭahmāsp, for whom the defection of his own brothers Alḳāṣ and Sām was a recent and vivid memory, to take action against him. This situation may, then, be reflected by what at first sight appears the vague statement in *Tārikh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī* (i, 125), that Ismāʿīl was imprisoned "in the best interests of the state, and because of various improper acts which displeased the shah".

On the death of Shāh Ṭahmāsp (984/1576), 30,000 *ḳizilbāsh* assembled at Ḳahḳaha and swore fealty to Ismāʿīl, who was enthroned as Shāh Ismāʿīl II at the capital, Ḳazwīn, on 27 Djumādā I 984/22 August 1576. Ismāʿīl's mind, however, had been unhinged by his long imprisonment, and, on attaining power, his sole idea was to maintain his position at all costs. To this end, he carried out a widespread purge of *ḳizilbāsh* officers of the Ustādjlū tribe, which had supported an abortive coup in favour of his brother Ḥaydar. He then began systematically to murder, or blind, any prince of the blood royal who might conceivably become the centre of a conspiracy against him. Five of his brothers and four other Ṣafawid princes perished in this way. When Ismāʿīl began to put to death officers whose only crime was that of having held important positions under his father, the *ḳizilbāsh* regretted that they had placed him on the throne, and conspired to assassinate him. Ismāʿīl is alleged to have been a less than enthusiastic Twelver Shīʿite. This gave the *ḳizilbāsh* both an added incentive to remove him, and also a plausible excuse for their action. Ismāʿīl's addiction to narcotics made it easy for the *ḳizilbāsh* both to carry out the murder and to give it the air of death by misadventure. With the connivance of Ismāʿīl's sister, Parī Khān Khānum, the conspirators placed poison in an electuary containing opium, which was consumed by Ismāʿīl and one of his boon-companions. Ismāʿīl was succeeded by his elder brother Muḥammad Khudābanda [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: W. Hinz, *Schah Esmāʿīl II, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Ṣafaviden*, in *MSOS*, xxxvi (1933), 19-100, with full details of the European and Persian sources at pp. 20-24. (R. M. SAVORY)

ISMĀʿĪL, MAWLĀY [see ʿALAWIDS and MAWLĀY ISMĀʿĪL].

ISMĀʿĪL B. ʿABBĀD [see IBN ʿABBĀD].

ISMĀʿĪL B. AḤMAD, ABŪ IBRĀHĪM, called al-Amīr al-Māḍī or al-Amīr al-ʿĀdil, the first member of the Sāmānid family effectively to rule all Transoxania and Farghāna as an independent sovereign. Born in 234/849, he spent 20 years as governor of Bukhārā on behalf of his brother Naṣr, who himself resided at Samarḳand (260/874-279/892). The unsettled conditions in Khurāsān during the years between the fall of the Ṭāhirids and the final establishment there of ʿAmr b. al-Layth [*q.v.*] were reflected in Transoxania also. Ismāʿīl had in Bukhārā to fight off an invading army from Khwārazm under one Ḥusayn b. Ṭāhir al-Ṭā'ī (who was not necessarily, *pace* Barthold, a member of the Ṭāhirid family, cf. Vasmer in *Num. Zeitschr.*, lxiii (1930), 148), and to maintain relations with his mistrustful brother Naṣr, who twice sent armies against Bukhārā.

When Naṣr died in 279/892, Ismāʿīl became master of all Transoxania, transferring the capital to Bukhārā, where it was to remain till the end of the dynasty, and securing recognition from the ʿAbbāsid Caliph. In the following year he led an expedition into the Turkish steppes against the camp of the Ḳarluḳ Ḳaghan at Talas (modern Djambul), capturing an immense booty of slaves and beasts and converting the principal church of Talas into a mosque; he also subdued the local Iranian dynasty of rulers of Ushrūsana in the Syr Daryā valley. In view of the claim of the Ṣaffārids [*q.v.*] to be successors in the east of the Ṭāhirids, ʿAmr b. al-Layth's attempt to assert his suzerainty over Khwārazm and Transoxania was predictable. Ṣaffārid might in Persia was such that in 285/898 the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid was forced to issue a decree deposing Ismāʿīl and awarding an investiture diploma to ʿAmr for Transoxania and Balkh. ʿAmr marched

northwards to take possession of his new territories, and summoned Ismāʿīl, the Abū Dāʾūdids of Ṭukhāristān and the Farīghūnids of Gūzgān to allegiance. There was considerable fighting south of the Oxus between the Sāmānids and Ṣaffārids, until in 287/900 ʿAmr was defeated near Balkh and captured. Although Ismāʿīl was technically in rebellion against the ʿAbbāsids, the caliph was overjoyed at the removal of so dangerous a rival as ʿAmr. Ismāʿīl's victory gave the Sāmānids the preponderance in Khurāsān, and they held the province all through the 4th/10th century until it passed to Maḥmūd of Ghazna.

In the last years of his life, Ismāʿīl halted a Turkish invasion from the steppes (291/904), and was busy extending Sāmānid power into nothern Persia and the Caspian region. The Shīʿī ruler of Ṭabaristān, Muḥammad b. Zayd, was repulsed from Khurāsān, and an offensive launched against Ṭabaristān itself. By 287/902 the Sāmānids held territory as far west as Rayy and Ḳazwīn, although Ismāʿīl's successors were unable to hold this in face of the resurgence of Daylamī peoples. Ismāʿīl died in 295/907. The historical and anecdotal sources unanimously praise him for his moderation and justice; influenced by his victory over the Ṣaffārids, they commend his faithfulness to the Caliphs and his Sunnī piety. His tomb is still shown in Bukhārā (cf. Schroeder in *Survey of Persian art*, iii, 946-9), but the mausoleum seems in fact to belong to the later Sāmānid period.

Bibliography: See the long section on Ismāʿīl in Narshakhī, tr. R. N. Frye, 77-94, to be supplemented by such historical sources as Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Athīr; amongst *adab* works, those of Niẓām al-Mulk and ʿAwfī; Barthold, *Turkestan*[2], 222-6; R. N. Frye, *Bukhara, the medieval achievement*, Norman, Okla., 1965, 38-49.

(C. E. Bosworth)

ISMĀʿĪL b. BULBUL, Abuʾl-Ṣaḳr, vizier of the ʿAbbāsid Caliph al-Muʿtamid [*q.v.*]. Of Persian or Mesopotamian origin, he was born in 230/844-5 and claimed to belong to the Arab tribe of the Shaybān. Abu 'l-Ṣaḳr, who had been a secretary and had been in charge of the dīwān of the Royal Domains, appeared on the political scene in 265/878, when the regent al-Muwaffaḳ had him appointed vizier, a post which he had to abandon shortly afterwards only to regain it at the end of the year. But Ismāʿīl played a minor role while the regent had Ṣāʿid b. Makhlad [*q.v.*] as his personal secretary, and it was only from the year 272/885-6 that he really exercised the functions of vizier. Though not responsible for military affairs, he ran the administration and was in charge of the appointments to the various state offices. It was then that he appointed the Banu 'l-Furāt brothers to the financial offices. These brothers, whose Shīʿī convictions he shared, helped him in his attempt to face the difficulties that beset him at the time. But he came up against the hostility of al-Muwaffaḳ's son, the future al-Muʿtaḍid, whom his father had prevented from going off on an expedition against the Ṭūlūnids and whom Ismāʿīl himself attempted to eliminate from public affairs first during his absence and then during the regent's illness. After the death of the latter, in Ṣafar 278/May 892, al-Muʿtaḍid, who had become regent, hastened to arrest Ismāʿīl who died shortly afterwards, a victim of his attachment to the Caliph, but also of the support he had lent the Shīʿīs and perhaps of his unorthodox opinions.

Bibliography: D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, index; S. Boustany, *Ibn ar-Rūmī*, Beirut, 1967, 157-66.

(D. Sourdel)

ISMĀʿĪL b. al-ḲĀSIM [see Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya].

ISMĀʿĪL b. NŪḤ, Abū Ibrāhīm al-Muntaṣir, the last of the Sāmānids of Transoxania and Khurāsān. When in 389/999 the Ḳarakhānid Ilig Khān Naṣr occupied the Sāmānid capital Bukhārā, Ismāʿīl and other members of the family were carried off to Uzkend. He contrived, however, to escape to Khwārazm, and for the next four years kept up a series of attacks on the Ghaznavids in northern Khurāsān and the Ḳarakhānids in Bukhārā. In 393/1003 he obtained the help of the Oghuz, traditional allies of the Sāmānids, and according to Gardīzī, it was at this point that the leader of the Saldjūḳs became a Muslim. Ismāʿīl's attempts to restore his dynasty's power all ended in failure; he took refuge in the Ḳara Ḳum desert, where he was killed in Rabīʿ I or Rabīʿ II 395/Dec.-Jan. 1004-5 or Jan.-Feb. 1005 by a group of Arabs of the Banū ʿIdjl. According to ʿAwfī, Ismāʿīl was the most gifted of his dynasty in regard to poetry and its transmission, and his short-lived courts at Bukhārā attracted many literary figures.

Bibliography: ʿUtbī-Manīnī, i, 320-46; Gardīzī, ed. Nāẓim, 63-5; ʿAwfī, *Lubāb al-albāb*, ed. S. Nafīsī, Tehran 1333/1954, 23-4; Barthold, *Turkestan*[2], 269-70; Nāẓim, *Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, 45-6.

(C. E. Bosworth)

ISMĀʿĪL b. SEBÜKTIGIN, Ghaznavid amīr, third son of the founder of the Ghaznavid empire and last of the family to recognize the suzerainty of the Sāmānids. When Sebüktigin died in Shaʿbān 387/August 997, he left the provinces of Ghazna and Balkh to Ismāʿīl, and command of the army in Khurāsān to his eldest son Maḥmūd; this allocation of Ghazna to Ismāʿīl was probably influenced by the fact that he was Sebüktigin's son by a daughter of Alptigin [see Alp-Takīn], the original commander of the Turks in Ghazna. Maḥmūd refused to accept these arrangements, and demanded recognition as supreme overlord in the Ghaznavid dominions. He obtained the help of his brother Naṣr, governor of Bust, and of his uncle Bughračuḳ, governor of Harāt, and in a battle outside Ghazna defeated Ismāʿīl (Rabīʿ I 388/March 998). Thus after a reign of only seven months, Ismāʿīl was deposed and imprisoned for the rest of his life in Gūzgān.

Bibliography: M. Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, 38-41, 179; C. E. Bosworth, *A Turco-Mongol practice amongst the early Ghaznavids?*, in *Central Asiatic Jnal.*, vii (1962), 237-8; idem, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040*, Edinburgh 1963, 44-5.

(C. E. Bosworth)

ISMĀʿĪL b. YASĀR al-Nisāʾī, Medinan poet, who died at a very advanced age some years before the end of the Umayyad dynasty (132/750). The descendant of an Ādharbaydjānī prisoner, he was a *mawlā* of the Taym b. Murra of Ḳuraysh and it is said that he owed his *nisba* to the fact that his father prepared meals—or sold carpets—for weddings, but this interpretation should be treated with caution. At Medina, where he lived, he had become a supporter of the Zubayrids, but his friendly relations with ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*] (in whose company he went to the court of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān after the fall of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr (73/692)) gained him access to the caliph, to whom he addressed a panegyric; in spite of his secret hatred of the Marwānids, he later wrote in praise of several Umayyad caliphs and princes, up to al-Walīd b. Yazīd (125/743). To judge from the notice in the *Aghānī*, Ismāʿīl

b. Yasār's poetical work contained hardly any satires but consisted of panegyrics, *marthiyas* (notably of his brother Muḥammad and of a son of ʿUrwa b. al-Zubayr) and *ghazals*, which were set to music. However, the most striking feature of his poetry seems to be a clearly expressed desire to disparage the Arabs and to glorify the ʿAdjam; one verse refers to the *waʾd* of new-born girls, others to the poet's own illustrious origin; it is said that he was even bold enough to recite before Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik, at al-Ruṣāfa, a poem in which he omitted to praise the caliph but held forth at length on his own glorious ancestors; he was punished for this audacity by being thrown fully-clothed into a pond and then banished to the Ḥidjāz. In this respect, Ismāʿīl b. Yasār al-Nisāʾī may be considered as one of the first Shuʿūbīs; his son Ibrāhīm followed him in this, according to the *Aghānī*, which however devotes to him only a few lines. His brothers Muḥammad and Mūsā, known as Shahawāt, were also poets [see MŪSĀ SHAHAWĀT].

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 366 = 559; Ibn Sallām al-Djumaḥī, 345-6; *Aghānī*, iv, 119-27 (Beirut ed., iv, 409-26); Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, i, 144 (Cairo ed., i, 271); Ṭ. Ḥusayn, *al-Adab al-djāhilī*, 176; Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, i, 160; Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 186-8; Nallino, *Letteratura*, 139-40 (Fr. tr., 214-5); Brockelmann, S I, 95.

(CH. PELLAT)

ISMĀʿĪL RUSŪKH AL-DĪN ISMĀʿĪL B. AḤMAD AL-**ANḲARAWĪ**, (?-1041/1631-2), a commentator of the *Mathnawī* of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī. His date of birth is unknown, but it is known that he was born in Ankara, received a good education, was active in trade and entered the Khalwatiyya order of dervishes (cf. *Sharḥ-i Mathnawī*, i, 11, introduction). Having contracted an eye disease, Ismāʿīl went to Ḳonya where he became a follower of the Mawlawī *shaykh* Bostān Čelebī (d. 1040/1630), who named him *khalīfa*. Ismāʿīl then went to Istanbul, where he became *shaykh* of the Mawlawī-khāne (Mevlevī dervish house) of Galata, a position which he kept until his death. He lies buried in the *turba* in the courtyard of his Mawlawī-khāne.

Ismāʿīl was proficient in both Arabic and Persian, and became known for his commentaries on works written especially in these two languages (cf. M. Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlı Muʾellifleri*, i, 24 ff.; Khwādja-zāde Aḥmad Ḥilmī, *Ziyāret-i Ewliyā*, Istanbul 1325 A.H., 71). His main works are:

1. *Fātiḥ al-abyāt*, a commentary on the first 18 couplets of the *Mathnawī*, and of certain difficult terms.

2. *Djāmiʿ al-āyāt*, a commentary on the ḳurʾānic verses, *ḥadīth*s and Arabic verses in the *Mathnawī*.

3. *Sharḥ-i Mathnawī*, written after the two preceding works. This commentary, on which Ismāʿīl's fame rests, and which until recent times was the most popular work explaining the *Mathnawī*, is largely inspired by the ideas of Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240). It dwells on the mystical rather than the grammatical significance of Rūmī's couplets. It was, nonetheless, criticized by the Mawlawīs because it included a commentary on an apocryphal seventh volume of the *Mathnawī* (see A. Gölpinarli, *Mevlânâ'dan sonra Mevlevîlik*, Istanbul 1953, 143). Ismāʿīl's seven-volume commentary was printed in Istanbul in 1289/1872-3. It was also translated into Arabic, in a somewhat abridged form, under the title *al-Minhādj al-ḳawī sharḥ al-Mathnawī*, by Djangī Yūsuf Dede of Tripoli (d. 1080/1669), and published in Cairo in 1289/1872-3. Ismāʿīl's work also forms the basis of R. A. Nicholson's *Commentary on the Mathnawi of Jalaluddin Rumi*, London 1937. It was finally translated into Persian by Dr. ʿIṣmat Sattār-zāde (*Sharḥ-i Kabīr-i Anḳarawī dar Mathnawī-yi Maʿnawī-yi Mawlawī*, Vol. i, Tehran 1348 solar).

4. *Zubdat al-fuḥūṣ fī naḳṣ al-fuṣūṣ*, a commentary consisting of an abridgment of Ibn al-ʿArabī's *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*.

5. *Sharḥ hayākil al-nūr* (or *Iḍāḥ al-ḥikam*), a commentary on the work of that name by Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī al-Maḳtūl (d. 587/1191).

6. *Sharḥ ḳaṣīda-i tāʾiyya*, a commentary on Ibn al-Fāriḍ's famous *ḳaṣīda* of that name.

In addition to these commentaries, Ismāʿīl composed independent treatises (for full list see M. Ṭāhir and Aḥmad Ḥilmī, *op.* and *loc. cit.*), the best known being:

1. *Miftāḥ al-balāgha wa miṣbāḥ al-faṣāḥa*, written in Turkish, but based on Arabic and Persian manuals of rhetoric. It was printed in Istanbul in 1284/1867-8.

2. *Minhādj al-fuḳarāʾ*, an explanation of Ṣūfī terminology, based largely on the *Manāzil al-sāʾirīn* of ʿAbd Allāh Anṣārī (d. 481/1088-9). It was published in Istanbul in 1286/1869-70.

3. *Ḥudjdjat al-samāʿ*, a brief treatise in defence of the *samāʿ* dance of the Mawlawī Whirling Dervishes. This has been published both separately and also together with the preceding work.

Finally, Ismāʿīl's poetry was collected in a *Dīwān* (see catalogue of *Dīwāns*). He himself was the subject of a eulogistic *ḳaṣīda* by the poet Shaykh Ghālib, a proof of the wide respect in which he was held for his religious and mystical knowledge (see Aḥmad Ḥilmī, *op. cit.*, 73-6).

Bibliography: In addition to the works cited, Ṣāḳib Dede, *Safīna-i Hafīsa-i Mawlawiyān*, Cairo 1283/1866-7, ii, 37-44, which corresponds to *Sharḥ-i Mathnawī*, i, 1-11, introduction; Esrār Dede, *Tadhkira-i Shuʿarā-i Mawlawiyya*, Ist. Univ. Lib., TY 89, 125-7; ʿAlī Anwar, *Samāʿkhāna-i Adab*, Istanbul 1309/1891-2, 80-83. (TAHSIN YAZICI)

ISMĀʿĪL ʿĀṢIM EFENDI [see ČELEBI-ZĀDE].

ISMĀʿĪL GASPRINSKI [see GASPRALĪ].

ISMĀʿĪL GHĀLIB, (1848-1895), noted Turkish historian and numismatist. Son of the grand vizier Ibrāhīm Edhem Pasha [*q.v.*], brother of Ḥamdī Bey [see ʿUTHMĀN ḤAMDĪ], director of the Imperial Museum, and of the historian Khalīl Edhem [see ELDEM], he was born in Istanbul, entered government service at an early age, became a member of the Council of State and in 1894 was appointed a special assistant to the governor of Crete. Taken seriously ill there, he returned to Istanbul and died the following year. His grave is in the cemetery of the Iskele Djāmiʿa in Usküdar. Ismāʿīl Ghālib's lasting reputation as a scholar rests on his accomplishments in the field of Islamic numismatics. During and after Ḥamdī Bey's administration he was responsible for putting in order and expanding the museum's great collection of Islamic coins. His private collection was bought after his death by the Imperial Mint. His principal works, models of meticulous cataloguing and description, were: *Taḳwīmi meskūkāti ʿothmāniye* (1307/1890), *Taḳwīmi meskūkāti seldjūḳiye* (1309/1892), *Meskūkāti türkmāniye ḳatālōghī*, also in a French edition (1311/1894), *Essai de numismatique turcomane* (his private collection) (1311/1894), *Meskūkāti ḳadīmeyi islāmiye ḳatāloghī* (1312). For several monographs and articles by him see L. A. Mayer. *Bibliography of Moslem Numismatics*, 2nd ed., and Halil Ethem, *Islâmî Nümismatik için bir bibliografi tecrübesi* (Ankara 1933).

Bibliography: J. H. Mordtmann in *EI*[1], s.v. GHĀLIB (Turkish translation in *IA*, s.v. GĀLIB); Ibrahim Alaeddin Gövsa, *Meşhūr Adamlar Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul 1933-1935). (G. C. MILES)

ISMĀʿĪL ḤAḲḲĪ ʿĀLĪSHĀN (also ʿALĪSHĀNZĀDE ISMĀʿĪL ḤAḲḲĪ, in modern Turkish ISMAIL HAKKI ELDEM), 1871-1944, Turkish writer and diplomat. Educated in the Imperial School of Political Science (*Mülkiye*), he joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and served as director of Consular Service and as consul general in Marseilles, Zurich and Munich. Soon after his retirement in 1923, he joined the staff of ʿAbd Allāh Djewdet's *İdjtihād* [see DJEWDET] to which he contributed literary, social and economic articles regularly until 1932. He had married ʿAzīze Hanim, a grand-daughter of the former grand vizier Ibrāhīm Edhem Pasha (1818-1893 *q.v.*). Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳi began his career as writer when still a student and published a number of books and pamphlets and many articles, mainly literary biographies, monographs on literary topics and translations from French literature. In the 1890s he began to publish two series of literary biographies under the general titles *On dördün-djü ʿaṣīr Türk muḥarrirleri* and *ʿOthmānlī meshāhīr-ı üdebāsi*. Only five booklets of about hundred pages each were published: *Aḥmed Midḥat Efendi* (1308/1892), *Djewdet Pasha* (1308/1892), *Redjā ʾizāde Ekrem Bey* (1308/1892), *Muʿallim Nādjī Efendi* (1311/1895), *Shems ed-Dīn Sāmī Bey* (1311/1895). These biographies are early examples of modern Turkish literary criticism which remained almost unnoticed as the author did not belong to any active literary grouping of the period. His *Müntakhabāt-ı terādjim-i meshāhīr* (1307-1891) is an anthology of French literature in translation made by various Turkish writers. Among his many translations from the French (André Maurois, Pierre Benoît, etc.), his prose rendering of Charles Baudelaire's *Les Fleurs du mal, Elem čičekleri* (Istanbul 1927), helped to make the French symbolist poet a favourite of Turkish poets of the 1930s.

Bibliography: F. E. Karatay, *Istanbul üniversitesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe basmalar alfabe Kataloğu*, Istanbul 1956, i, 183-84; *Idjtihād, passim*; *Istanbul Ansiklopedisi*, s.v. (S. H. Eldem); written communication of his son Sadi Eldem, Turkish ambassador in Madrid (1971).

(FAHIR İZ)

ISMĀʿĪL ḤAḲḲĪ, SHAYKH ISMĀʿĪL ḤAḲḲĪ AL-BRŪSAWĪ or AL-USKUDĀRĪ (1063/1652-1137/1725), Turkish scholar, mystic and poet, born at Aydos near Edirne, where his family had moved after a fire destroyed their house in Istanbul. His *Kitāb al-Silsila* (Ms Beyazid Library No. 3384), the ultimate source for all subsequent biographies, gives his grandfather's name as Bayram Čawush, the son of Shāh Khudā-bende, and his father's name as Muṣṭafā. He lost his mother at an early age and, on the suggestion of Shaykh ʿOthmān Faḍlī, was sent to Edirne for his education, where a scholar named ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, relative of the Shaykh, guided his training in grammar, syntax, rhetoric, logic, *fiḳh*, theology, *tafsīr* and *ḥadīth*. In the meantime he had acquired a substantial library with the money left to him by his mother. Completing his studies in 1084/1673, he went to Istanbul to attend the lectures of ʿOthmān Faḍlī who, after fifteen years' teaching in Filibe, had settled in the capital. ʿOthmān Faḍlī initiated the young Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī in the order of the Djilwatiyya, of which he was the head. Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī also attended the lectures of many other scholars in Istanbul; he learnt Persian and studied the great masters of Persian literature, particularly ʿAṭṭār, Rūmī, Ḥāfiẓ and Djāmī. He also studied calligraphy and music and set to music many hymns of the 11th/17th century mystic Hudāyī [*q.v.*]. In 1086/1675 ʿOthmān Faḍlī sent him to Üsküb (Skopje) to preach, where he founded a convent of the Djilwatiyya order and married the daughter of Shaykh Muṣṭafā ʿUshshāḳī. There he fought the intolerance and bigotry of ignorant imāms and "apparent" shaykhs for six years. Constantly encouraged by his master's letters, he wrote there his most brilliant sermons (for a good Ms copy of his sermons see: Bayezid library-Veliyeddin No. 1901). Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī preached also in Köprülü and Usturumča (Stroumitza); when ʿOthmān Faḍlī's representative in Bursa died in 1097/1685, the Master asked him to go there and to become the head of the Djilwatiyya convent. His first years in Bursa coincided with the difficult period after the disastrous Austrian campaign of 1095/1683 and Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī had to sell his books to survive. He made occasional journeys to Mecca for the Pilgrimage and to Famagusta in Cyprus to visit his master ʿOthmān Faḍlī (who had been exiled there because of his insistent criticism of Ottoman foreign policy) and participated in various campaigns; he resided for a few years in Damascus, and later in Usküdar, to settle eventually in Bursa (whence his surname Brūsawī). On the death of his master in 1103/1691 he succeeded him as the head of the order. He built a mosque and a convent in Bursa and founded a library to which he left all his books. He died in Bursa in 1137/July 1725 where he is buried in his convent near Tuzpazarı.

Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī was one of the most prolific Ottoman scholars. Of his 106 books and pamphlets, 60 are in Turkish, the rest in Arabic. The autograph copies of most of his works are kept in the Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī Library in Bursa. He wrote on the whole in comparatively simple Turkish and avoided the flowery style of many contemporaries.

He is the author of the following main works: (1) *Rūḥ al-bayān*, in 4 volumes, Būlāḳ 1276, a Ḳurʾān commentary with, at times, original mystic interpretations; (2) *Rūḥ al-Mathnawī*, 2 volumes, Istanbul 1287-89, a commentary on the introductory part of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī's *Mathnawī* on traditional lines; (3) *Faraḥ al-Rūḥ*, a commentary on Yazīdjīoghlu Meḥmed's *Muḥammadiyya*, Būlāḳ 1252; (4) *Sharḥ-i Pand-i ʿAṭṭār*, a translation with grammatical notes and commentary of Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭar's *Pand-nāma*, Istanbul 1250; (5) *Silsila-i ṭarīḳat-i Djilwatiyya*, a treatise on the order, with biographies of the leading shaykhs including his own, Istanbul 1291; (6) *Dīwān* followed by *Maḳālāt* in the same volume, Būlāḳ 1257, Istanbul 1288; (7) *Kanz-i Makhfī*, where he expounds his approach to pantheistic Ṣūfism, Istanbul 1290; (8) *Tuḥfa-i Khalīliyya*, a collection of moral admonitions, Istanbul 1256; (9) *Miʿrādjiyya*, a verse narrative of Muḥammad's ascent to Heaven, Istanbul 1269; (10) *Kitāb al-natīdja*, his last work, written in 1136/1724, not printed (for a good Ms see Atıf Efendi Library, No. 1483). His short commentaries to various poems by Yūnus Emre, Ḥādjdjī Bayram and Niyāzī-i Mıṣrī are to be found in many *medjmūʿas* containing his various treatises. See bibliography.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 440 and S II, 652; Bursalı Ṭāhir, *Mewlānā Shaykh Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī al-Djilwatī*, biographical note with complete bibliography of the author's published and unpublished works, Istanbul 1329; idem, *ʿOthmānlı Müʾellifleri*, i, 28-32; Meḥmed ʿAlī ʿAynī, *Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī Bursawī ḥaḳḳında bir tedḳīḳ*, Istanbul 1928;

idem, *Ismaïl Hakki, Philosophe mystique*, Paris 1933; I. A. s.v; Ruhnevaz Deringör, *Ismail Hakki Bursavi: Hayatı ve Türkçe eserleri*, unpublished thesis, Türkiyat Library, Istanbul, No. 475; Mahir Iz, *Tasavvuf*, Istanbul 1969, 197-9.

(Günay Kut)

ISMĀʿĪL ḤAḲḲĪ, MANASTIRLI [see Supplement].

ISMĀʿĪL PASHA, khedive of Egypt, 1863-79, second son of Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*] and grandson of Muḥammad ʿAlī [*q.v.*], was born in Cairo on 31 December 1830. He received his early education in the private palace school founded by his grandfather for his family, where he studied Arabic, Persian and Turkish. At fourteen, he spent some time in Vienna, where he was sent for treatment of an eye complaint. Two years later, in 1846, he was sent to Paris to join one of the Egyptian educational missions under the preceptorship of the Armenian Istifān Bey. There he studied French, some of the modern sciences and certain aspects of engineering. He returned to Egypt in 1848.

Upon the death of Ibrāhīm Pasha in 1848, Ismāʿīl's cousin, ʿAbbās Ḥilmī I [*q.v.*] (son of Ṭūsūn Pasha) succeded to the pashalik. After the death of his grandfather, Muḥammad ʿAlī, the following year, ʿAbbās I reportedly distrusted his uncle Saʿīd Pasha and his cousins, with all of whom he disputed the disposition of Muḥammad ʿAlī's inheritance. Consequently, Ismāʿīl, along with other princes of the House, went to live for a time in Istanbul and to solicit the assistance of the sultan against ʿAbbās I. Sultan ʿAbd al-Madjīd appointed Ismāʿīl a member of the State Judicial Council. A few years later, upon the accession of his uncle Saʿīd Pasha to the viceregal throne in 1854, Ismāʿīl returned to Egypt, and was appointed president of the State Judicial Council. The following year (1855), he was entrusted with a mission to the court of Napoleon III in Paris in connection with Saʿīd Pasha's policy of seeking greater independence from the Porte, for this purpose taking advantage of Egypt's participation in the Crimean War (1854-6). He also headed another diplomatic mission on behalf of Saʿīd Pasha to the Vatican. In 1861, Saʿīd appointed him sirdar (commander in chief) of the army at a time when the tribes in the Sudan had been rebellious

By the time Ismāʿīl became viceroy of Egypt on 18 January 1863, he had thus had relatively wide experience in the administrative, diplomatic and military affairs of the country. Moreover he had first-hand experience of Europe and of the politics and administration of the Porte in Istanbul.

In contrast to the relatively unimaginative and uneventful rule of his two predecessors, ʿAbbās Ḥilmī I (1848-54) and Saʿīd Pasha (1854-63), Ismāʿīl's reign brought Egypt material prosperity, and economic, social and cultural advancement. But is also brought financial bankruptcy and domestic and international difficulties. As ambitious as his illustrious grandfather, the founder of the dynasty, yet operating in changed circumstances and without his grandfather's military resources or force of personality and character, Ismāʿīl attempted to accomplish too many things too quickly. His policy, disastrous though it turned out to be for himself and Egypt, had three major objectives. One of these was to secure greater autonomy, and ultimately complete independence, for Egypt from the Ottoman sultan. The second was to accelerate the commerical, military and cultural modernization of the country. The third was to acquire an African empire. All three objectives entailed complex and hazardous relations with ambitious European powers (Britain and France for example); a risky confrontation with the Ottoman suzerain of the country; and a huge—and in the end ruinous—financial outlay. Domestically, this policy of vast, radical and rapid Europeanization involved grave dangers to the ruler, because it sowed the seeds of economic, social and cultural dilocation. This policy, directed against the Ottoman sultan, was dependent on European powers for money and political support and thus led inevitably to foreign intervention in the affairs of Egypt and eventually to its occupation by British forces. These consequences, in turn, aroused the resentment and opposition of the Egyptians to Europe and to their own rulers, who were associated with the coming of European control, that is, with the forfeiture of the autonomy Egypt enjoyed before 1875.

In seeking to achieve the first objective of his policy, that of greater independence, Ismāʿīl purchased from the sultan the firman of 27 May 1866, by which the order of succession was changed to one of primogeniture in his own line. He also secured the right to increase the size of his army, coin his own money and confer titles. Another firman of 8 June 1867 granted him the title of khedive, autonomy in the conduct of his internal and financial affairs, the authority to conclude treaties with other sovereign states regarding customs, ports, trade transit and the regulation of foreign community affairs. A brief interlude of strained relations with the Porte, arising out of the Egyptian involvement in the Cretan uprising of 1866 and Ismāʿīl's financial extravagance over the opening of the Suez Canal, as well as his intrigues with foreign powers, led the sultan to issue a firman on 29 November 1869 practically rescinding Ismāʿīl's gains from that of 1867. However, Ismāʿīl's visit to Istanbul and lavish bribery of Turkish officials secured him two more firmans: one of 10 September 1872, abrogating and superseding that of 1869, restored to him the right to borrow from and raise loans in Europe; another of 8 June 1873 ratified and recognized its conditions.

At home and in Europe Ismāʿīl affected the trappings of a modern ruler. The participation of Egypt in the Paris Exhibition of 1867 was followed by the gala opening of the Suez Canal two years later. Despite the fact that the American Civil War (1861-5) had produced a great boom in the export of Egyptian cotton, Ismāʿīl's pusuit of an African empire involved expensive military campaigns in the Sudan, Ethiopia and Uganda. In the meantime his expensive extraction of firmans from the sultan coincided with the decline of French influence in Egypt after the fall of Napoleon III in 1871. Ismāʿīl began to look towards England for financial and other assistance.

Added to these ventures were the vicissitudes of his domestic policies. Ismāʿīl reorganized the army and navy as well as army education. He also built new schools and allowed more Europeans to found their own in the country; subsidized newspapers and journals; expanded and improved the government press at Būlāḳ [*q.v.*]. He founded a national library (later, Dār al-Kutub), a geographical society and a museum under the direction of the French archaeologist Mariette Pasha. He signed a convention outlawing the slave trade in his dominions, and organized the first state postal service in Egypt. His organization of the country into fourteen provinces, or districts, became the basis of the administration of Egypt for the next one hundred years.

During Ismāʿīls reign the country's exports doubled

in a decade, and the annual revenue of the state rose from £ 5,000,000 in 1864 to £ 145,000,000 in 1875.

The telegraph and railway networks were extended in Egypt and the Sudan. The town of Ismāʿīliyya was built, and the new major irrigation canals of Ibrāhīmiyya in Upper Egypt and Ismāʿīliyya between Suez and Cairo were constructed. Ismāʿīl developed further the sugar refining and textile industries. Moreover, the municipal edification of Cairo and other major towns attracted foreign investment and commerce, while some Egyptian companies and banks were also founded.

By 1870, however, Ismāʿīl was in great financial difficulties. At home, he tried to raise money through the notorious *Muḳābala* Law of 1871, by which the government invited landowners to pay six times the annual land tax in advance in return for a perpetual reduction of one half of the tax. His borrowing in Europe had raised the Egyptian public debt to nearly £ 90,000,000. In 1875, he was forced to sell his 176,602 shares in the Suez Canal Company to the British government for an immediate cash payment of £ 4,000,000.

Ismāʿīl's financial difficulties led to the setting up of a European Control Commission over Egyptian finances, the institution in 1876 of a *Caisse de la Dette Publique* with representatives from European creditor states. The previous year, 1875, the Mixed Tribunals, empowered to adjudicate disputes between Egyptians and foreigners, as well as between foreigners resident in Egypt, were established, further diluting Egyptian autonomy and eroding the authority of the khedive and his government.

Inevitably, the financial crisis of the years 1875-9 had repercussions within Egypt, and particularly in the relations between Ismāʿīl and his ministers, landed notables, religious leaders and army officers. Attempts to associate all of these with his policy of independence and Europeanization began with his experiments in representative institutions. A Consultative Assembly of Deputies was instituted in 1866. A diluted and weak form of cabinet government was tried in 1878-9, shortly before Ismāʿīl's deposition, by making the khedive's government responsible to the Assembly. But all of these measures were of no avail in salvaging the deteriorating financial condition of the country, or in saving Ismāʿīl's own position. Instead, sedition in the army was accompanied by mounting pressure from his foreign creditors who suspected his insolvency. His desperate attempts to use a national Egyptian base against the European control of his finances failed. Moreover, his expensive promotion and subvention of an incipient native press served to undermine his position further. Nor did his participation in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877 on the side of his Ottoman suzerain prevent the latter from deposing him at the insistence of the European powers on 25 June 1875. The next day, Ismāʿīl left Egypt for Europe. He died in Istanbul on 6 March 1895.

Even though the social and economic changes which occurred during Ismāʿīl's reign came to constitute the foundations of the further development and modernization of the country, the khedive's impatient Europeanization programme was politically a superficial one Together with the financial problems and their international repercussions, it is fair to suggest that the reign of Ismāʿīl generated complex problems for Egypt, with which its inexperienced leaders and emerging élite of modern administrators could not adequately cope. These led to the occupation of the country by Britain and the subsequent political difficulties which this event generated for the next seventy-five years.

Nonetheless, by his ambition and financial recklessness, Ismāʿīl forcefully stimulated and induced the emergence of modern Egypt, and outlined its future development. To this extent, he cannot be viewed facilely as the disastrous khedive of Egypt, but as one of the country's creative rulers.

Bibliography: E. de Leon, *Egypt under its Khedives*, London 1882; J. McCoan, *Egypt under Ismail*, London 1889; P. Crabitès, *Ismail, the maligned Khedive*, London 1933; D. Landes, *Bankers and Pashas*, London and Cambridge, Mass. 1958; A. Colvin, *The making of modern Egypt*, London 1906; J. Landau, *Parliaments and parties in Egypt* Tel-Aviv 1953; P. M Holt, *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent 1516-1922*, London 1966; A. Abel-Malek, *Idéologie et renaissance national, L'Egypte moderne*, Paris 1969; P. J. Vatikiotis, *The modern history of Egypt*, London 1969. (P. J. Vatikiotis)

ISMĀʿĪL PASHA, BAGHDĀDLĪ [see Supplement].

ISMĀʿĪL PASHA, NISHĀNDJĪ, Ottoman grand vizier, came from the township of Ayash, now in the *il* of Ankara. Since he was over 70 at the time of his death in 1101/1690, he was born towards 1030/1620. Nothing is known of his family or his antecedents. He was somehow introduced into the Palace and brought up in the Enderūn-i humāyūn. On 13 Rabīʿ I 1078/3 September 1667, at Edirne, he was promoted from *Khāṣṣ-oda eskisi* to *Kiler ketkhudasî*, and soon afterwards became *Čokhādar*. On 13 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1079/25 May 1668 he was retired to the Kapucrtasî with the status (*pāye*) of Rumeli and a daily stipend of 250 *aḳčes*. On 20 Muḥarram 1089/15 March 1678 he was made *nishāndjî*, holding this post for years. From 20 Shaʿbān 1089/8 October 1678 he acted as temporary *ḳāymaḳām* in Istanbul with the rank of vizier, until Köprülü-zade Fāḍil Muṣṭafā Pasha, promoted from *muḥāfiẓ* of the Straits to the post of *ḳāymaḳām*, could come to the capital. During this period he was instructed to arrest the former grand vizier Süleymān Pasha and Firārī Ḳāymaḳām Redjeb Pasha. A week later he resumed the post of *nishāndjî*, with the rank of vizier of two *tughs*. On 2 Muḥarram 1099/8 November 1687 he entered the Dīwān as fifth vizier. As a result of further disturbances in Istanbul at the end of February 1688 caused by the execution of the notorious rebel leader Bash-čavush Ḥüseyn Akha (known as *fetwādjî*), he was appointed *ḳāymaḳām* by Süleymān II (27 Rabīʿ II 1099/1 March 1688). As such he had to deal with further disturbances: the killing of the grand vizier Siyāvush Pasha (son-in-law of Köprulü Meḥmed Pasha) and the sacking of his mansion, the summoning of the townsfolk under the Holy Banner by a certain Yaghllkčî Emīr to put down the rebel citizenry, and the massing of crowds at the Imperial Palace. At a meeting of the Dīwān at which Ismāʿīl Pasha was present, the townsfolk protested to the sultan against the excesses of the rebels. The rebels were sending threatening messages to the Palace and demanding that (since there was no grand vizier at the time), Ismāʿīl Pasha and the Kapu Aghasî should prevent the Holy Banner from being brought out. Finally, as representatives of the townsfolk gathered under the Holy Banner in front of Orta Kapu, Seyyid ʿOthmān Efendi entered the sultan's presence and urged that a new grand vizier be appointed immediately (instead of the *muḥāfîz* of Özi, who had not yet assumed office). The Kapu Aghasî Ḥadjdjî Meḥmed Agha's proposal that Ismāʿīl Pasha be appointed was

supported by the Dīwān and accepted by the sultan. But the grand vizier's seal was in the hands of the Shaykh al-Islām Faḍl Allāh Efendi, who was supporting the rebels. The rebel leaders were placated by being granted various offices: Faḍl-Allāh came to the Palace and handed the seal to the sultan; and Ismāʿīl Pasha was finally officially installed. Thereupon all the high-ranking members of the *ʿulemā'* (including the Shaykh al-Islām and the ḳāḍī of Istanbul) were dismissed. The crowds at the Palace approved the new appointees and dispersed, so that on 26 Rabīʿ II 1099/2 March 1688 Ismāʿīl Pasha embarked on office with his authority unquestioned. The rebel leaders and their supporters were apprehended and immediately put to death, and numerous changes were made in Palace posts and in provincial governorates. But these measures led only to new friction between the townsfolk and the Kapīkullarī and between the *ʿulemā'* and the grand vizier. Furthermore the loss of various strong points in the Eğri-Kīrka region and the fortress of Kanin increased the tension at the capital. The grand vizier now made the capital error of appointing Yeğen ʿOthmān Pasha, governor of Rumeli and one of the rebels, as *Serdār*, on the Austrian front with the rank of vizier. ʿOthmān Pasha rallied to his side some of the dissidents who had managed to escape from Istanbul and the Sarīdjas and Segbāns of Rumeli, and demanded the Grand Vizierate, obliging Ismāʿīl Pasha to proclaim a call to arms (*nefīr-i ʿāmm* [see NAFĪR]) in Rumeli and Anatolia against his supporters. The hostility which the Shaykh al-Islām Debbāgh-zāde Meḥmed Efendi had felt from the first towards Ismāʿīl Pasha now spread to all the *ʿulemā'*. On the ground that they had accepted bribes, Ismāʿīl Pasha wished to dismiss the sultan's *Khodja* ʿArab-zāde ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Efendi and the Dār al-Saʿada Aghasī Muṣṭafā Agha, who made common cause with the *ʿulemā'* and began making secret complaints to the sultan. The sultan, persuaded by his intimate Muṣṭafā Agha, finally dismissed Ismāʿīl Pasha on 28 Djumāda II 1099/30 April 1688.

Ismāʿīl Pasha was ordered to stay in seclusion in his *yalī* at Anadoluḥiṣār and then, on 10 Radjab 1099/11 May 1688 was banished to Kavala. When in August the Venetian fleet besieged Eghriboz, Ismāʿīl was removed to Rhodes, where, during the Grand Vizierate of Köprülü-zāde Fāḍil Muṣṭafā Pasha, he was executed (Shaʿbān 1101/May 1690). The main reasons for his death were his differences with Fāḍil Muṣṭafā and other members of the Köprülü family; the complaints of the sons of Zaun al-ʿĀbidīn Pasha, who had allegedly been unjustly executed during his Grand Vizierate; and the allegation that he had extorted money from the heirs of Siyāvush Pasha. His head was sent to Istanbul and his body was buried in Rhodes. He is described as a covetous and irritable man, who, though intelligent, often took rasher measures than he really meant to.

Bibliography: Archive documents: two firmans of Radjab 1101/April 1690 ordering him to pay 400 purses to the treasury (fom his exile in Rhodes) Başbakanlık Arşivi, *Mühimme* register No. 99, pp. 155, 159; order for his execution, etc. same register, pp. 162, 163, 173; firman ordering the searching of his house and the recovery of moneys wrongly appropriated, *Mühimme* register No. 100, p. 35.

Chronicles etc. Defterdār Ḥādjdjī Meḥmed Pasha, *Zubdat al-tawārīkh*, Ist. Un. Lib. Ms T 2389, ff. 89a-93a, 98a, and Ms T 5, 124a-129b; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿAbdī Pasha, Ms of *Türk Tarih Kurumu* (photocopy in Türkiyat Enstitüsü, Istanbul), ff. 132, 137, 208; Fīndīklīlī Meḥmed Agha, *Silāḥdār ta'rīkhi*, Istanbul, 1928, i, 388, 473, 671, 728-9, 762, ii, 240, 283-4, 287, 295-8, 303, 325, 330-70, 396, 402, 478, 509, 575, Rāshid, *Ta'rīkh*, Istanbul 1282, i, 345, 526, ii, 36-7, 119; Sheykhī Meḥmed Ef., *Waḳā'iʿ-i fuḍalā'*, Ist. Un., Lib., Ms T 2489, fol. 35b; ʿOthmān-zāde Tā'ib, *Ḥadīḳat al-wuzarā'*, Istanbul 1271, 113-4; Ṭayyār-zāde Aḥmed ʿAṭā', *Ta'rīkh-i ʿAṭā'*, Istanbul 1293, ii, 72; Ferā'idī-zāde Seyyid Meḥmed Saʿīd, *Ta'rīk-i Gülshen-i maʿārif*, Istanbul 1252, ii, 967-78; De La Croix, *Abrégé chron. de l'hist. ott.*, Paris 1768, ii, 600-2; Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, xii, 247-57, 308-9; *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, i, 354-5; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanli tarihi*, iii/2, Ankara 1954, 427-9; I. H. Danişmend, *Kronoloji*, iii, 465-6, 517; IA, art. *Mehmed IV* (M. Cavid Baysun).

(MÜNIR AKTEPE)

ISMĀʿĪL ṢABRĪ, an Egyptian poet (1886-1953), distinguished by his *kunya* of Abū Umayma from another and better known Ismāʿīl Ṣabrī. His earliest poetic works date from 1910, and his writings as a whole were collected and published after his death. His "love songes" (*Ghazal al-aghānī*, p. 183-258 of the *dīwān*) deserve especial attention for the technique of his prosody and a certain purity of language and style; some of these songs, of remarkable lyrical inspiration, have been set to music and are a worthy addition to the legacy of the most romantic and pathetic sentimental songs of the period. While it is of no great importance that, in the writings of his maturity, Ismāʿīl Ṣabrī succeeded in redeeming the intellectual inconsistency of some of his youthful *ḳaṣīdas*, it should be emphasized that this author, who possessed a very good knowledge of an admiration for classical Arabic poetry, sometimes yielded to the temptation to insert in his own poems hemistichs from al-Buḥturī, al-Mutanabbī and other celebrated ʿAbbāsid poets; where this has happened, the editors of the *dīwān* have indicated this idiosyncrasy with a note.

The two poems entitled respectively *al-Nūniyya al-kubrā* and *al-Hamziyya al-kubrā* (p. 27-75 and 76-104 of the *dīwān*) contain compositions of various lengths, in which the poet has expressed in verse his meditations on certain hymnological, apologetical and eschatological subjects of frequent occurrence in the historical and religious tradition of Islam. But along with glorification of God, exaltation of Muḥammad and celebration of the prophets, regarding whom the Ḳur'ān provided more or less legendary information, we find, here and there, sententious and parenetic themes, also perhaps deriving from the Ḳur'ān. In this work few descriptive passages occur, but on the other hand there is more occasional verse, inspired by purely contingent social events, a feature which the author shares with other more celebrated contemporary poets such as Aḥmad Shawḳī [*q.v.*] and Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm [*q.v.*]. Ismāʿīl Ṣabrī was also the author of works for the theatre, "school hymns", and translations, some extracts from which are contained in the last section of the *dīwān*.

Bibliography: The edition of the *dīwān*, which contains little information regarding the author's life and professional activities, is the work of Aḥmad Kamāl Zakī, ʿĀmir Muḥammad Buḥayrī and Muḥammad al-Ḳaṣṣāṣ; it was published in Cairo (n.d.) by the Ministry of Culture and National Guidance. (U. RIZZITANO)

ISMĀʿĪL ṢABRĪ PASHA, Egyptian poet and statesman, was one of those who contributed

to the awakening of national consciousness in Egypt at the end of the nineteenth century. Born in Cairo on 16 February 1854, Ismā'īl Ṣabrī benefitted from the influence of two cultures, classical Arabic and French, with which he came into direct contact when he was sent away to Aix-en-Provence in order to complete his legal studies. On his return to Egypt in 1878 after obtaining a degree in law, he turned first to the magistracy, taking a post at al-Manṣūra, then became governor of Alexandria (1896-9) and later nnder-secretary of state at the Ministry of Justice. He died on 16 March 1923.

Ismā'īl Ṣabrī's poetic talent manifested itself early in life, as can can be seen from the youthful compositions which he published in the review *Rawḍ al-Madāris al-Miṣriyya* at the age of sixteen. These admittedly simple exercises in poetry nevertheless already displayed that admiration for classical models of the 'Abbāsid period which the poet was to retain even in his mature years. However, the beneficial contact with modern French poetry as it evolved at that time not only helped to enrich his mind, but especially to make keener his perception in regard both to the contingent social and political problems of his country, and the reflections of a more general nature and meditations on the destiny of humanity.

Opposed to the occasional poetry to which many of the writers of his time applied their talents, Ismā'īl Ṣabrī was a patriot of exemplary rectitude, incapable of lending himself to easy compromises with the two powers who at time controlled the policies of Egypt, Turkey and England. His *dīwān* contains no *ḳaṣīda* dedicated to the sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, nor to other dignitaries in his services. Love, death, and the fatherland were the themes of his poetry, the brilliance of which is due to the loftiness of style and profundity of thought expressed in unlaboured imagery. His poetic works are not numerous, especially when compared with the production of his contemporaries, probably because he wrote to please himself, refusing all demands other than those of inspiration.

Bibliography: The *Dīwān* was published fifteen years after the poet's death by Aḥmad al-Zayn, Cairo 1938; the preface to the work by Ṭāhā Ḥusayn is interesting from the critical standpoint. Abundant source material can be found (in essays and articles published in reviews) in the works of Dj. A. Dāghir, *Maṣādir al-dirāsa al-adabiyya*, ii/1: *al-Rāḥilūn 1800-1955*), Beirut 1956, 534-6, and 'Umar Riḍā Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'djam al-mu'allifīn*, Damascus 1376/1957, 272-3; Muḥ. 'Abd al-Mun'im Khafādjī, *Ḳiṣṣat al-adab fī Miṣr*, v, Cairo 1956, 138-47; 'Umar al-Dasūḳī, *Fi 'l-adab al-ḥadīth*, ii, Cairo 1950, 117-25; some differences concerning certain events of his life in Brockelmann, S III, 18-21. It should also be added that Aḥmad Shawḳī dedicated a long elegy to him (*al-Shawḳiyyāt*, iii, Cairo 1936, 113-8). (U. Rizzitano)

ISMĀ'ĪL ṢAFĀ (1867-1901), Turkish poet of the transition period between the Tanẓīmāt and the *Therwet-i Fünūn* schools. Born in Mecca where his father, Meḥmed Behdjet, a native of Trabzon and a minor poet of the old school (see Ibnülemin Mahmud Kemal, *Son asır Türk şairleri*, Istanbul, 1930, i, 177-178), was chief secretary (*mektūbdju*) of the Ḥedjāz province, he lost his mother Sāmiye 'Ā'ishe at the age of seven. On his father's death in 1880, Ismā'īl Ṣafā and his two brothers moved to Istanbul. His happy life in Arabia and the desert left a strong impression on his memory which is reflected in many of his early poems. In Mecca his father had taught him Arabic and Persian. In Istanbul he passsed, with his two brothers, the entrance examination, as a boarder, to the Dār al-shafaḳa, a well known high school for gifted orphans. On his graduation in 1890 he served for a short time in the Telegraph Office and later taught literature in various secondary schools. He married very young but lost his wife and contracted tuberculosis himself. After a short stay in the island of Midilli (Mytilene), where he went in the hope of a recovery, he returned to Istanbul. Because of his liberal ideas, which he did not care to hide (see below), he was marked down as a suspect by the Hamidian secret police. His house in Gedik Pasha, where he and his progressive friends frequently met, was constantly watched. At the suggestion of Ismā'īl Kemāl (a deputy for Berāt in Albania after the 1908 constitution), a group of prominent intellectuals, including Ismā'īl Ṣafā and the leading *Therwet-i Fünūn* poet, Tewfīḳ Fikret, went to the British Embassy to congratulate Britain on her victory over the Boers. Unaware of the contradiction with their own professed ideals, they claimed later that they did this as a gesture against the sultan. This was used as a pretext to round them up and to send them into provincial exile. Ismā'īl Ṣafā was banished to Sivas where he succumbed to the harsh climate a year later (1901).

Ismā'īl Ṣafā published his first poems in Nādjī's *Memdjū'a-i Mu'allim* and later in the periodical *Mirṣād*. At the age of twenty he was a well known poet in literary circles. Verses poured from his pen with such ease and spontaneity that Nādjī "the Master" (*Mu'allim*), whose influence on these early poems is obvious, gave him the nickname of *Shā'ir-i Māderzād* ('the born poet'). He soon became leader-writer of the *Mirṣād* until it was closed by the censor. Gradually Nādjī's literary influence was replaced by those of Redjā'i-zāde Ekrem, 'Abd ül-Ḥaḳḳ Ḥāmid and particularly Tewfīḳ Fikret with whom he had become close friends and regularly contributed to his *Therwet-i Fünūn*. Critics of both old and new schools were unanimous in recognizing his unusual poetical gift. Owing to his early poems, which are mostly sentimental reminiscences of his childhood, Ismā'īl Ṣafā is generally accepted as a fine sensitive poet who wrote, with a spontaneous style, simple melancholic poems of nostalgic, lyric and religious inspiration. This early and incomplete judgment of his work strongly influenced later criticism, but leaves out most of his posthumously published work, which reveals him as a poet with unusual gifts of humour and social and political satire. In particular his poem *Taẓallum* ('Complaint of injustice'), first published in Aḥmed Riḍā's Young Turk organ *Meshweret* in Paris (supplement to No. 9, 1893) and reproduced with minor variants and omissions in 'Abd Allāh Djewdet's *Idjtihād* (No. 105, 8 May 1330), is a true forerunner of the political satire of the later Eshref and Fikret tradition: "You gathered around you a few vile individuals and tyrannized people on their advice.. You gave power to the corrupt, ignorant and unpatriotic, you ennobled informing into a profession, you made great men suffer in banishment, you insisted on the execution of a very great man (*i.e.*, Midḥat Pasha), tell, o Khalīfa, are you any different from an exectutioner? They informed you of unjust acts, you ignored it; your slaves harmed people, you ignored it; foreigners made profit out of the country, you ignored it; friends warned you about everything, you ignored it. You preferred delator's reports (*jurnals*) to guiding sermons... The treasure of the state is in the hands of a few thieves... The country is in ruin, the

people hungry... The day of your fall will be a feast day for the people...". In the circle of close friends Ismāʿīl Ṣafā used further to expound his naive projects of plots to overthrow ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (Halid Ziya Uşaklıgil, *Kırk Yıl*, Istanbul 1936, iv, 79).

Another important poem which seems to have passed almost unnoticed is his *takhmīs* of the Dāmād Maḥmūd Pasha's *ḳaṣīda*, an ironical eulogy of Ḥasan Pasha, the Minister of the Navy during the Greco-Turkish war of 1897. It is a biting satire, full of pungent wit, inspired by Ziya (Ḍiya) Pasha's famous *Ẓafer-nāme* against ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd who had kept the Turkish fleet perpetually at anchor in the Golden Horn, during his reign, thus causing its utter decline. Ismāʿīl Ṣafā describes, with vivid images, the sorry plight of the decaying ships, and expresses in vitriolic terms the indifference of the irresponsible and corrupt minister and his staff.

Ismāʿīl Ṣafā is the author of the following published works: (1) *Khudh mā ṣafā*, Istanbul 1308 (includes his father's unpublished poems); (2) *Maghdūre-i Sevdā*, Istanbul 1308 (a verse narrative); (3) *Sünūḥāt*, Istanbul 1308; (4) *Mensiyyāt*, Istanbul 1312; (5) *Mevlid-i Pederi ziyāreti* (a short poem about his first visit to his father's native town, Trabzon), Istanbul 1312; (6) *Intāḳ-i Ḥaḳḳ'ın Takhmīsi*, Istanbul 1328; (7) *Hissiyyāt* (with an important introduction by his brother ʿAlī Kāmi (Akyüz), Istanbul 1328.

Bibliography: Ismail Hikmet, *Ismail Safa*, Istanbul 1933; Halid Ziya Uşaklıgil *Kırk Yıl*, Istanbul 1936, iv, 79 ff.; Hüseyin Cahid Yalçın, *Edebî Hatıralar*, Istanbul 1933, *passim*; see also most monographs on Tewfik Fikret [*q.v.*] where there are frequent references to Ismāʿīl Ṣafā.

(FAHİR İZ)

ISMĀʿĪL SHAHĪD, MUḤAMMAD, the only son of Shāh ʿAbd al-Ghānī, youngest son of Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī [*q.v.*], was born at Phulat (dist. Muẓaffarnagar, India) on 12 Rabīʿ II 1193/29 April 1779. His father having died in Radjab 1203/April 1789, when he was only ten years old, he was adopted by his uncle Shāh ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*], the first Urdu translator of the Ḳurʾān, who had no male issue and who later married his grand-daughter Kulthūm to him. Educated by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, he also drew upon the vast learning of his uncles Shāh Rafīʿ al-Dīn, another Urdu translator of the Ḳurʾān, and the celebrated Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. A child prodigy, he completed his education in both rational and traditional sciences at the age of 16. He often surprised his contemporaries by answering even the most abstruse problems of *fiḳh* and logic without referring to books. He began his career as a preacher in the Djāmiʿ Masdjid at Delhi, and soon established himself as a forceful orator. He preached mainly against vices like saint- and grave-worship, innovations and other heretical and idolatrous practices which were common among the Muslims of India of those days. For almost a quarter of a century he continued to preach in the Djāmiʿ Masdjid. His preaching aroused bitter controversy, and he was once officially silenced by the city *kōlwāl*, at the instance of Faḍl-i Ḥaḳḳ [*q.v.*], court reader to the British Resident at Delhi, who did not see eye to eye with him. In 1235/1819 he came into contact with Sayyid Aḥmad of Rāe Bareilly [*q.v*], who had received his religious and spiritual instruction from his uncle Shāh ʿAbd al-Azīz and soon afterwards became his disciple, along with his kinsman ʿAbd al-Ḥayy, a son-in-law of Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. The three were destined to play an important role in the religious history of Indian Muslims. In 1236/1820 he went on the pilgrimage to Mecca along with Sayyid Aḥmad and a large number of his followers. On their journey from Delhi to Calcutta they were accorded a very warm reception at the numerous places where they stopped. Collecting money and gifts en route in the name of Islamic revival, the party reached Djidda in 1237/1821. They returned to India in 1239/1823 after an absence of fourteen months, having performed the ḥadjdj, visited the holy places in the Ḥidjāz and met there scholars from Istanbul, Egypt, Syria and Bulgaria.

Fresh from his visit to the Ḥidjāz, he openly began to preach *djihād* in the congregational mosque at Delhi. This must have been only against the Sikhs who were oppressing their Muslim subjects, and not against the British as Ghulām Rasūl Mihr (cf. *Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd*, Lahore 1952, i, 250 ff.) and others have unsuccessfully tried to establish. The British, being politically influential at Delhi, could not watch with complacency such an open incitement to insurrection and also later allow money and material to be collected within their sphere of influence and sent to the *mudjāhidīn*, as the followers of Sayyid Aḥmad later came to be commonly known, in their strongholds in the northern parts of the country. In 1241/1824-25 he left, along with his leader Sayyid Aḥmad, for Yāghistān via Sind. Passing through Bahāwalpūr [*q.v.*], Ḥaydarābād [*q.v.*] and Shikārpūr (Sind), this voluntary force, which had considerably swelled on the way, reached Kābul from Ḳandahār, from where the volunteers slipped into Peshāwar. Making it their general headquarters they launched a holy war against the Sikhs, fighting the first battle at Akōṛa, near Nowshera, on 20 Djumāda II 1242/21 December 1826 and defeating the enemy with considerable losses. A number of other engagements followed bringing victory after victory to the *mudjāhidīn*. Flushed with their success they set up their own government in the areas under their occupation with Peshāwar as the seat of administration. Certain reforms introduced by them in the social sphere conforming to the laws of the *Sharīʿa*, for instance the remarriage of widows and the collection of *ʿushr*, resulted in the disaffection of the local population, who, at the instigation of the tribal chieftains, deposed and dispossessed by Sayyid Aḥmad, rose against the *mudjāhidīn* and in a secret night-attack killed all the tax-collectors and sub-administrators appointed by the Sayyid. This massacre was a serious set-back to the movement, and practically the whole of the territory around Peshāwar slipped out of the control of the *mudjāhidīn*. The Sikh ruler of the Pandjāb, Randjīt Singh, a shrewd politician and skilled statesman, took full advantage of the situation and inflicted a series of reverses on the rapidly dwindling forces of the Sayyid, who now also faced financial difficulties, for practically all the routes through which money came had been cut off either by the invading Sikhs or the hostile Pathan tribes—mainly the Yūsufzaʾīs.

The *mudjāhidīn*, now led by Ismāʿīl, were driven out of Peshāwar, which they had occupied in 1246/1830 by ousting Sultan Muḥammad Khān, a brother of the amīr of Afghanistan, who ruled Peshāwar as the tributary of the Sikh chieftain Randjīt Singh. Considering it a challenge to his sovereignty, Randjīt Singh marched in person and with the help of his European mercenaries, Generals Ventura and Avitabille, re-occupied the city, entrusting subsequent operations to his son Shēr Singh. Better equipped, better trained and numerically superior, the forces of Shēr Singh inflicted the final defeat on the *mudjāhidīn* at the battle of Balakote (24 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1246/6 May 1831), in which Ismāʿīl and his leader Sayyid

Aḥmad lost their lives. He was buried on the edge of the battlefield where his tomb still exists. No attention was paid to his grave during the Sikh or the British rule. It has now been renovated and the government of Pakistan has paid due attention to its upkeep and maintenance.

In spite of his pre-occupation with *dj̲ihād*, travelling and delivering sermons, S̲h̲āh Ismāʿīl yet found time for writing books and small tracts. His writings include: (1) *Taḳwiyat al-īmān* (ed. Cawnpore 1343/1924), deals mainly with the unity of God and deprecates idolatrous practices such as the invocation of saints, angels etc. Its supplement *Tazkīr al-Ik̲h̲wān* was composed by Muḥammad Sulṭān in 1250/1834. English trans. by Shahamat Ali in *JRAS*, xiii, 316 ff.; (2) *Manṣab-i imāmat* (in Persian), deals with the concept of *imāma* in Islam and its various kinds (ed. Karachi[2] 1962, Urdu trans. Lahore 1949); (3) *Risāla Uṣūl al-fiḳh* (in Arabic, ed. Delhi 1311/1893), a short treatise of 36 pp. on the principles of Islamic jurisprudence; (4) *Tanwīr al-ʿaynayn fī it̲h̲bāt rafʿ al-yadayn*, (in Arabic, ed. Lahore n.d.) in support of raising the hands in prayers as practised by the Ḥanbalīs; (5) *Risāla Yak Rūza* (still in Ms.) composed as a rejoinder to the criticism offered by Faḍl-i Ḥaḳḳ [*q.v.*] of K̲h̲ayrābād on the *Taḳwiyat al-īmān*; (6) *Īḍāḥ al-ḥaḳḳ al-ṣarīḥ fī aḥkām al-mayyit wa 'l-ḍarīḥ* (in Persian, on the burial of the dead), denouncing many of the funerary innovations current among the Muslims of the sub-continent; (7) *ʿAbaḳāt* (in Arabic, ed. Karachi 1380/1960, Urdu trans. by Manāẓir Aḥsan Gēlānī, Hyderabad n.d.) deals mainly with abstruse problems of *taṣawwuf*; the aim was to reform the Ṣūfīs of the day who wielded exceptionally strong influence with the illiterate and simple masses of Indian Muslims, mainly residing in backward rural areas; (8) *Al-Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaḳīm* (in Persian, Meerut 1285/1868, Delhi 1322/1904), of which only the first part was composed by Ismāʿīl; it comprises the *dicta* of his spiritual guide Sayyid Aḥmad and helps understand his teachings and the tenets professed by him; an exposition of what he and his followers stood for (for its contents see *JASB*, i (1832), 479 ff.); (9) *Radd al-is̲h̲rāḳ* (in Arabic), Asafiyya; 666; (10) *Irs̲h̲ād al-ʿibād ilā sabīl al-ras̲h̲ād*, (Br. Mus. Ms. Arabic); (11) *Madj̲mūʿat al-K̲h̲uṭab* (Br. Mus. Ms. Arabic); His minor works include a short treatise on logic, a lengthy letter in Arabic addressed to one Mullā Bag̲h̲dādī (ed. Cawnpore 1343/1924), and another letter in Persian addressed to Nawāb Wazīr al-Dawla of Tonk, formerly a princely state in India, exhorting the ruler to help the *mudj̲āhidīn* in every possible way in their struggle against the Sikhs. He also tried his hand at poetry but this is not of a high order.

Bibliography: Dj̲aʿfar ʿAlī Naḳwī, *Manẓūrat al-suʿadāʾ fī aḥwāl al-g̲h̲ūzāt wa 'l-s̲h̲uhadāʾ*, (in Urdu, still in Ms.); written in 1272/1855 it is the firsthand account of the movement (Naḳwī was on the personal staff of S̲h̲āh Ismāʿīl); *Waḳāʾi-ī Aḥmadī* (in Urdu, still in Ms.), dictated by various persons who were witnesses of the events at the instance of Nawāb Wazīr al-Dawla, ruler of Tonk; Muḥammad ʿAlī, *Mak̲h̲zan-i Aḥmadī*, (Ms. in the Pandjab University Lib.); Muḥammad Nuʿmān, *Sīrat-i ʿalamiyya ua tad̲h̲kirat al-abrār* (Ms.); ʿAbd al-Dj̲abbār, *Kitāb al-ʿIbrat* (Ms.); ʿAṭāʾ Muḥammad K̲h̲ān S̲h̲ikārpūrī, *Rūznāmče* (in Persian, Ms. in the private collection of Ḥusāmuddīn Rās̲h̲idī, Karachi); Amar Nāth, *Ẓafar-nāma-i Randj̲īt Singh*, ed. Sītā Rām Kohlī, Lahore 1928; Muḥammad Dj̲aʿfar Thānēsarī, *Tawārīk̲h̲-i ʿadj̲ība* or *Sawāniḥ-i Aḥmadī*, Sādhawra 1914; Mirzā Ḥayāt Dihlawī, *Ḥayāt-i ṭayyiba*[2], Lahore, n.d.; Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan K̲h̲ān, *Tiḳṣār dj̲uyūd al-aḥrār min tid̲h̲kār d̲h̲unūd al-abrār*, Bhopal 1295/1878; idem, *Tardj̲umān-i Wahhābiyya*, (not seen); idem, *It̲h̲āf al-nubalāʾ al-muttaḳīn*, Cawnpore 1289/1872, 416; G̲h̲ulām Rasūl Mihr, *Sayyid Aḥmad S̲h̲ahīd*, Lahore n.d., extensive bibliography and pp. 13-26 for a critical appraisal of the original sources; Abdullah Butt (ed.), *Shah Ismaʿil Shaheed*, Lahore 1943; W. W. Hunter, *The Indian Musalmans*[4], Calcutta 1945; *Gazetteer of the Hazara District*, London 1908; S. M. Ikram, *Rūd-i Kawt̲h̲ar*, Lahore n.d.; *al-Furḳān* (Bareilly, Urdu monthly), *S̲h̲āh Ismāʿīl number*, 1355 A. H. Shaban; *JASB*, i (1832), 479 ff.; *JRAS*, xiii, 310 ff. (A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

ISMĀʿĪL ṢIDḲĪ, Egyptian politician and statesman, was born in 1875 into a family of Egyptian notables. Both his father and maternal grandfather enjoyed high positions in the official hierarchy of khedivial administration. Like most of his contemporaries who aspired for a political career, he studied law and took part in the anti-British student agitation encouraged by the khedive. Upon completing his studies in 1894, he was appointed a minor official in the Ministry of Justice. He rose quickly, partly through his own effort and initiative but mainly through the wide circle of friends his family had, to be come the permanent under-secretary at the Ministry of Interior in 1908. In 1914 Ṣidḳī had his first cabinet appointment in the government of Rus̲h̲dī Pas̲h̲a, from which he resigned soon after.

When the First World War ended in 1918, Ṣidḳī joined the Wafd movement and was exiled with Saʿd Zag̲h̲lūl to Malta in 1919, but when the Wafd was allowed to proceed to the Peace Congress he was among its members. In Paris differences arose among the delegates and Ṣidḳī, forseeing the futility of Wafdist demands, left for Cairo. His departure from the Wafd marked a turning point in his career, for he became the moving spirit of the anti-Wafdist element in Egyptian politics. He played a leading role in the drafting and implementation of the Declaration of 1922 which granted Egypt her independence, as well as the Constitution of 1923, both documents abhorrent to the Wafdists. Henceforward and until his retirement in 1946, Ṣidḳī was tireless in his confrontation with Wafdist policies in the conduct of Egypt's public affairs. He did not hesitate to employ armed force, including the use of British troops, to suppress Wafdist opposition and silence their publications. It was this that earned him the doubtful distinction of being the strong man of Egyptian politics. His reputation as a financial expert, however, was justly deserved.

Ismāʿīl Ṣidḳī became prime minister of Egypt twice, in 1930 and 1946, each time in the wake of nationalist ferment and public disturbances caused by the Wafdist failure to reach agreement with Britain on her position in Egypt and the Sudan. In 1931 Ṣidḳī amended the Constitution, restricting suffrage, and he formed the People's Party to give him support in Parliament. Ṣidḳī's terms of office were unhappy and unpopular. He failed to obtain sufficient concessions from Britain to normalize the relationship between the two countries, and he did not succeed in marshalling the support of Egyptian moderates to contain the extremism of the Wafd. In 1946 an agreement was initialled in London between Ṣidḳī and Ernest Bevin, British foreign secretary at the time, but once more Wafdist opposition made ratification impossible. Upon his return from Eng-

land, a sick and broken man, he retired from public life. Ismāʿīl Ṣidķī died in 1948.

Bibliography: Ismāʿīl Ṣidķī, *Mudhakkirātī*, Cairo 1950; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Rāfiʿī, *Thawrat sanat 1919*, Cairo 1946; idem, *Fī aʿķāb al-thawra al-miṣriyya*, 3 vols., Cairo 1947-51; Mahmud Y. Zayid, *Egypt's Struggle for Independence*, Beirut 1965; P. J. Vatikiotis, *The Modern History of Egypt*, London 1969. (A. Kelidar)

ISMĀʿĪLIYYA, a major branch of the Shīʿa with numerous subdivisions. It branched off from the Imāmiyya [see ithnā ʿashariyya] by tracing the imāmate through Imām Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiķ's son Ismāʿīl, after whom it is named.

History: Pre-Fāṭimid and Fāṭimid times. After the death of Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiķ in 148/765 a group of his followers held fast to the imāmate of his son Ismāʿīl, who had been named by him as his successor but had predeceased him. Some of them maintained that Ismāʿīl had not died and would reappear as the Ķāʾim or Mahdī. Others recognized Ismāʿīl's son Muḥammad as their imām. Nothing is known about the history of the Ismāʿīlī movement developing out of this nucleus until after the middle of the 3rd/9th century, when it appeared as a secret revolutionary organization carrying on intensive missionary efforts in many regions of the Muslim world. In the area of al-Kūfa its propaganda was spread from about the year 264/877-8 by Ḥamdān Ķarmaṭ [*q.v.*], who was later aided by his brother-in-law ʿAbdān [*q.v.*]. Ḥamdān's followers were named after him Ķarmaṭī, a name which came to be applied derogatorily also to other sections of the movement. In the area of al-Rayy the mission was started about the same time by Khalaf, whose followers became known as the Khalafiyya. In Fārs a brother of ʿAbdān was active. In Khurāsān Nīshāpūr and later Marw al-Rūdh became centres of Ismāʿīlī activity (see S. M. Stern, *The early Ismāʿīlī missionaries in North-West Persia and in Khurāsān and Transoxania*, in *BSOAS*, xxiii (1960), 56-90). A convert of al-Nasafī [*q.v.*], one of the *dāʿīs* of Khurāsān and Transoxania, was the first to carry the propaganda to Sidjistān, probably in the early decades of the 4th/10th century. Presumably in the first half of the 4th/10th century, the Ķufṣ tribe in Kirmān was converted by *dāʿīs* from Khurāsān. In the Yemen two missionaries, ʿAlī b. al-Faḍl and Ibn Ḥawshab, known as Manṣūr al-Yaman [*q.v.*], in 268/881 established themselves in the area of the Djabal Maswar and succeeded in gaining strong tribal support. In 270/883 Ibn Ḥawshab sent his nephew al-Haytham as a missionary to Sind. Later he sent Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Shīʿī [*q.v.*] to the Maghrib, where he arrived in 280/893 and won the support of the Kutāma Berber tribe in western Algeria, thus laying the foundation for Fāṭimid rule. In 286/899 Abū Saʿīd al-Djannābī [*q.v.*], a follower of Ḥamdān Ķarmaṭ and ʿAbdān, founded a Ķarmaṭī state in al-Baḥrayn, from where he later conquered al-Ķaṭīf, ʿUmān and al-Yamāma. The whole movement was centrally directed, at first probably from al-Ahwāz and al-Baṣra and later from Salamiyya in Syria. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl was acknowledged as the imām, who had disappeared and was about to reappear as the Ķāʾim and to rule the world. The leaders of the movement in the absence of the imām claimed the rank of *ḥudjdjas* [*q.v.*].

In the year 286/899, after the succession of the future Fāṭimid Caliph ʿUbayd Allāh al-Mahdī to the leadership in Salamiyya, a schism split the movement, provoked by the claim of ʿUbayd Allāh to the imāmate for himself and his ancestors. Ḥamdān Ķarmaṭ and ʿAbdān, who may have previously drifted slightly away from the doctrine propagated by the leadership, broke off their support. ʿAbdān consequently was murdered by a subordinate *dāʿī*, Zikrawayh b. Mihrawayh [*q.v.*], who at first pretended to be loyal to the leadership. Zikrawayh and his sons organized the "Ķarmaṭī" revolts among Syrian bedouin tribes from the year 289/902 until his capture and execution in 294/907. Doubts concerning Zikrawayh's loyalty, which soon turned out to be justified, induced ʿUbayd Allāh to leave Salamiyya for the journey which ended with his establishment as caliph in Raķķāda in 297/910.

Though information concerning the attitude of the various Ismāʿīlī groups following the split of the movement is scanty, the results can be summarized with some degree of probability as follows: The community in the Yemen at first remained faithful to ʿUbayd Allāh. ʿAlī b. al-Faḍl, however, in 299/913 renounced his allegiance to him and made war on Ibn Ḥawshab, who remained loyal. After ʿAlī's death in 303/915 his party disintegrated rapidly. The *dāʿīs* in the Maghrib and probably in Sind, having been sent by Ibn Ḥawshab, also remained loyal. There are indications that the *daʿwa* in Khurāsān generally maintained its allegiance to ʿUbayd Allāh, who was able to appoint some *dāʿīs* there, but there were probably also counter-currents. The communities in ʿIrāķ, al-Baḥrayn, and western Persia refused to recognize the Fāṭimid claim to the imāmate. Among the Ķarmaṭīs of ʿIrāķ ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, a nephew of ʿAbdān, continued the latter's work propagating the imāmate of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, who would return as the Ķāʾim. After 320/932 he was active in Baghdād. He and other *dāʿīs* in ʿIrāķ ascribed their writings to ʿAbdān, thus stressing the doctrinal continuity. The *dāʿīs* of al-Rayy were in close contact with those in ʿIrāķ and with the Ķarmaṭīs of al-Baḥrayn and like them were expecting the reappearance of the Mahdī-imām for the year 316/928. At least in the twenties of the 4th century (1030-9) they controlled the missions in Mosul and Baghdād. They worked successfully among the Daylamīs and won at least the temporary allegiance of Daylamī leaders like Asfār, Mardāwīdj and later of some rulers of the Musāfirid dynasty. The Ķarmaṭīs of al-Baḥrayn, led by Abū Ṭāhir al-Djannābī, were predicting the appearance of the Mahdī-imām for the year 316/928. In 319/931 they accepted a Persian prisoner of war as the Expected One, and Abū Ṭāhir turned the rule over to him. The early disastrous end of the affair weakened the ideological vigour of the Ķarmaṭīs of al-Baḥrayn and their influence among the *dāʿīs* in ʿIrāķ and Persia, but did not generally lead to an expansion of Fāṭimid influence. Soon afterwards the great revolt of the Khāridjī Abū Yazīd [*q.v.*] under the Fāṭimid Caliphs al-Ķāʾim and al-Manṣūr stifled any Fāṭimid activity among the eastern Ismāʿīlī communities. Only the fourth Fāṭimid, al-Muʿizz (341/953-365/975), was in a position to lead an intensive campaign to regain the allegiance of the schismatic Ismāʿīlīs. His efforts were partially successful, but failed in regard to the Ķarmaṭīs of al-Baḥrayn, whose hostility erupted, after the Fāṭimid conquest of Egypt in 358/969, in open warfare against the Fāṭimid armies. After concluding a peace with the Fāṭimid al-ʿAzīz in 369/979-80 and a severe defeat by a bedouin tribe in 378/988, the Ķarmaṭīs of al-Baḥrayn were reduced to a local power unable to exert any ideological influence beyond its boundaries. The movement still supporting the doctrine of the return of Muḥammad

b. Ismāʿīl rapidly disintegrated about the same time. The Karmaṭī state in al-Baḥrayn survived until 470/1077-8. (See M. J. de Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahraïn*², Leiden 1886; idem, *La fin de l'empire des Carmathes*, in *JA* 9th ser. v (1895), 5-30; W. Madelung, *Fatimiden und Baḥrainqarmaṭen*, in *Isl.* xxxiv (1959), 34-88; S. M. Stern, *Ismāʿīlīs and Qarmaṭians*, in *l'Élaboration de l'Islam*, Paris 1961, 99-108).

In the time of al-Muʿizz a Fāṭimid vassal state was established in Multān in Sind. The Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī* there succeeded before 348/959 in converting a local ruler. Multān became an Ismāʿīlī stronghold where the *khuṭba* was read in the name of the Fāṭimid caliph. This success probably strengthened the Fāṭimid cause also in the neighbouring regions, for in Mukrān the *khuṭba* was also read for the Fāṭimids about the year 378/988. The *dāʿī* Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Sidjistānī [*q.v.*], who supported the Fāṭimid doctrine at least from the time of al-Muʿizz on, probably was active in Sidjistān before his death in the second half of the 4th/10th century. In Djīruft in Kirmān a Fāṭimid *dāʿī* was residing toward the end of the 4th/10th century. The Ismāʿīlī state in Multān lasted until 401/1010-1, when Maḥmūd of Ghazna annexed the town, took its ruler prisoner and massacred many Ismāʿīlīs (see S. M. Stern, *Ismāʿīlī propaganda and Fāṭimid rule in Sind*, in *IC*, xxiii (1949), 298-307).

During the last years of the reign of al-Ḥākim (386/996-411/1021) extremist Ismāʿīlīs in Cairo began to proclaim the divinity of this Fāṭimid caliph. Their leadership soon passed to Ḥamza b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*], who became the founder of the Druze religious doctrine. The official Fāṭimid *daʿwa* organization remained adamantly opposed to this movement, although al-Ḥākim at times showed it favour. After al-Ḥākim's death it was persecuted by the Fāṭimid government and wiped out in Cairo, but succeeded in solidifying its hold over the mountainous regions in Syria which, with some modifications, became the permanent home of the Druze community. The Druze religion [see DURŪZ], though derived from Ismāʿīlī doctrine, transformed its basic ideas to such a degree as to be usually considered as falling outside the range of Ismāʿīlism.

In Ifrīḳiya the Ismāʿīlī communities were practically exterminated by popular riots after the accession of al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs, Zīrid vassal of the Fāṭimids, in 407/1016. The missionary efforts of the Fāṭimids during their residence in Ifrīḳiyya had achieved the conversion of only small groups of the urban population, while the masses, led by the Mālikī *ʿulamāʾ*, were solidly opposed to Fāṭimid rule and Shīʿism. Large numbers of Kutāma tribesmen, who traditionally furnished the main body of the Fāṭimid army, left for Egypt with the Fāṭimid al-Muʿizz. Most of the leading *dāʿī*s also departed at that time. The Ṣanhādja tribe, which supported Zīrid rule, only superficially adhered to Ismāʿīlism. During the year 407/1016-7 the Ismāʿīlīs in al-Ḳayrawān, al-Manṣūriyya, al-Mahdiyya, Tūnis, Tripoli, and other towns were attacked and massacred by the populace with the countenance of the government. Sporadic massacres took place also during the following years. The Ismāʿīlī communities were thus extinguished long before al-Muʿizz in 440/1049 renounced his allegiance to the Fāṭimids and recognized ʿAbbāsid suzereignty (see H. R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zīrides*, Paris 1962, 143-9).

During the reign of the Caliph al-Mustanṣir (427/1036-487/1094) the Ismāʿīlī cause achieved new successes in the Yemen and India. In the Yemen the *daʿwa* after the death of Ibn Ḥawshab had suffered major setbacks and survived only precariously, though in the period 379/989-387/997 it had gained the allegiance and support of the Yaʿfurid amīr ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḳaḥṭān, ruler of Ṣanʿāʾ and conqueror of Zabīd from the Ziyādids. In 429/1038 ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥī, Fāṭimid *dāʿī* and founder of the Ṣulayḥid dynasty, rose in Masār in the Ḥarāz region. Through the activity of the Ṣulayḥids [*q.v.*] Fāṭimid sovereignty came to extend over all of the Yemen and temporarily over other parts of Arabia like ʿUmān and al-Baḥrayn (see H. F. al-Hamdānī, *al-Ṣulayḥiyyūn*, Cairo 1955). The Ṣulayḥids also furthered renewed efforts at spreading Ismāʿīlism on the Indian subcontinent. Although parts of the Ismāʿīlī community in Sind evidently had survived the persecution under Maḥmūd of Ghazna and Ismāʿīlism seems to have been espoused by the Sūmra dynasty of local Hindu origin (see A. H. al-Hamdani, *The Beginnings of the Ismāʿīlī Daʿwa in Northern India*, Cairo 1956), contacts with the Fāṭimid *daʿwa* faded. The Ismāʿīlīs in Sind may have drifted partially back to Hindu practices and beliefs. A new Ismāʿīlī community was now founded by Yemenite *dāʿī*s in the area of Cambay, Gudjarāt, which had close commercial ties with the Yemen. According to the traditional account an Arab *dāʿī*, ʿAbd Allāh, arrived with two Indian assistants in Gudjarāt in 460/1068, sent by the Yemenite chief *dāʿī* Lamak b. Mālik. Less than a decade later the existence of a flourishing Ismāʿīlī community is confirmed by official letters of the Fāṭimid chancery. This new Ismāʿīlī community remained closely tied to, and controlled by, the Yemenite *daʿwa* and was the nucleus of the modern Bohorā [*q.v.*] community.

After the middle of the 5th/11th century the Persian poet and philosopher Nāṣir-i Khusraw [*q.v.*] was active as a Fāṭimid *dāʿī* in Yumgān in the Upper Oxus area for over 15 years. Expelled from Balkh because of Ismāʿīlī activity, he came to Yumgān before 453/1061 and remained there until his death. Several of his extant philosophical and religious works were composed there. He became the founder and patron-saint of the Ismāʿīlī community of Badakhshān in the wider sense, though it may have been changed in composition by later Ismāʿīlī refugees (see W. Ivanow, *Problems in Nasir-i Khosraw's Biography*, Bombay 1956; A. E. Bertel's, *Nasir-i Khcsrov i Ismailizm*, Moscow 1959).

In the last years of the reign of al-Mustanṣir the Ismāʿīlī cause in Persia was reinvigorated by the activity of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ [*q.v.*]. After travelling widely and carrying on propaganda in various regions of the country, he seized the fortress of Alamūt [*q.v.*] in the mountains of Daylam in 483/1090, thus opening a new phase in the Ismāʿīlī activity in Persia. The clandestine missionary work to which the *daʿwa* in Persia had mostly been restricted was replaced by a policy of open revolt which, in the face of the overwhelming military strength of the Saldjūḳ government, was based on the seizure of impregnable mountain fortresses and spectacular political murder aimed at intimidating the enemy's leadership. In the following years other rock fortresses were occupied in the Elburz range. In 484 or 485/1091-2 Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ sent the *dāʿī* Ḥusayn Ḳāʾinī to Ḳuhistān to raise the revolt there. In short order the Ismāʿīlīs seized control of several towns in eastern Ḳuhistān, Ṭabas, Ḳāʾin, Zūzan, Tūn, and others. Another *dāʿī*, Abū Ḥamza, captured two castles near Arradjān in the border region between Fārs and Khūzistān. After the death of al-Mus-

tanṣir in 487/1094, a major split occurred in the Ismāʿīlī movement concerning the succession to the imāmate. Al-Mustanṣir had originally designated his eldest son, Nizār [*q.v.*], as his heir. Later his youngest son, Aḥmad, found the support of the vizier al-Afḍal [*q.v.*], who after the death of al-Mustanṣir placed him on the throne with the title al-Mustaʿlī [*q.v.*]. Nizār fled to Alexandria, where he rose in revolt, was defeated, seized and immured. Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ and the Persian Ismāʿīlīs upheld the right of Nizār to the succession and refused to recognize al-Mustaʿlī. In the absence of the imām, Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ became the supreme chief claiming the rank of *ḥudjdja*. After his death the leadership continued with the rulers of Alamūt. Beginning with the fourth ruler, Ḥasan *ʿalā dhikrihi ʾl-salām* (557/1162-561/1166), they came to be recognized as imāms. Against numerous Saldjūḳ attacks the Nizārīs were able to hold and expand their territories in the Elburz mountains and Ḳuhistān. The fortress Shāhdiz near Iṣfahān, which they seized about the year 494/1100, was lost again in 500/1107. Some time afterwards the Nizārī fortresses near Arradjān were overcome. Among the Ismāʿīlīs in Egypt and Syria there were also partisans of Nizār. In Egypt they were gradually suppressed. In Syria, which fell largely outside the Fāṭimid territory, they were soon organized by emissaries from Alamūt and and seriously rivalled the supporters of the Fāṭimid caliphate, especially in Damascus and Aleppo. The Djabal al-Summāḳ and surrounding area north of Ḥamāt soon became a stronghold of the Nizārīs. As in Persia they aimed at acquiring fortresses, but failed in their first attempts, and practised political murder. In 520/1126 Tughtagīn, ruler of Damascus, ceded to them the fortress of Bānyās on the frontier with the Franks and gave them official recognition in Damascus. His son Būrī in 523/1139 encouraged anti-Ismāʿīlī rioting in Damascus in which the Nizārī community was virtually wiped out. The fortress of Bānyās was consequently surrendered by the Nizārīs to the Franks. Soon afterwards they achieved lasting success in the Djabal Bahrāʾ area west of Ḥamāt. In 527/1132-3 they acquired the fortress of Ḳadmūs, and other fortresses came into their possession during the following decade. Maṣyāf, the most important stronghold, was seized in 535/1140-1. The Syrian Nizārīs continued to be ruled by agents sent by the lords of Alamūt. The most famous one, Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān [*q.v.*] (557/1162-588/1192), showed signs of independence, and there are reports that agents were repeatedly sent from Alamūt to kill him. A complete break was avoided.

The imāmate of al-Mustaʿlī was recognized by most Ismāʿīlīs in Egypt, many in Syria, and by the whole community in the Yemen and that in India dependent on it. A new schism developed, however, among the Mustaʿlian Ismāʿīlīs after the assassination of al-Mustaʿlī's son and successor al-Āmir [*q.v.*] in 524/1130. Eight months before al-Āmir's death a son, al-Ṭayyib, had been born to him and had immediately been proclaimed as his heir. After al-Āmir's death his cousin ʿAbd al-Madjīd was put on the throne in Cairo as regent, officially in expectation of the delivery of a pregnant wife of the late caliph Mention of the infant al-Ṭayyib was suppressed, and nothing is known about his fate. Four days later ʿAbd al-Madjīd was overthrown and imprisoned by al-Afḍal Kutayfāt [*q.v.*], who declared the Fāṭimid dynasty deposed and proclaimed the sovereignty of the Twelfth Imām of the Imāmiyya. Kutayfāt was overthrown and killed in Muḥ. 526/Dec. 1131, and ʿAbd al-Madjīd returned to the throne as regent. In Rabīʿ II 526/Feb. 1132 he was proclaimed imām with the caliphal title al-Ḥāfiẓ [*q.v.*]. The succession of al-Ḥāfiẓ, though in violation of the accepted rule that the imāmate could be inherited only by a direct descendant, was supported by the official *daʿwa* organization in Egypt and accepted by the majority of the Mustaʿlian Ismāʿīlīs in Egypt and Syria. They were known as the Ḥāfiẓiyya or Madjīdiyya. There were, however, some Mustaʿlian communities in Egypt and Syria which continued to support the rights of al-Ṭayyib and were known as Āmiriyya. In the Yemen most of the leaders of the established *daʿwa* organization upheld the rights of al-Ṭayyib. Encouraged by the Ṣulayḥid queen al-Sayyida they founded the independent Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* in the Yemen headed by a *dāʿī muṭlaḳ*. The first of these was al-Dhuʾayb b. Mūsā, who was succeeded in 546/1151 by Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī [*q.v.*]. The Ṭayyibī *dāʿīs* worked successfully despite the fact that after the death of the Ṣulayḥid queen in 532/1138 they did not have the support of any of the rulers in the Yemen. The Ḥāfiẓī *daʿwa* was supported by the Zurayʿids of ʿAdan, who, beginning with Muḥammad b. Sabaʾ, were officially appointed Fāṭimid *dāʿīs* in the Yemen, and by at least some of the Hamdānid rulers of Ṣanʿāʾ (see S. M. Stern, *The succession to the Fatimid Imam al-Āmir, the claims of the later Fatimids to the Imamate, and the rise of Ṭayyibī Ismailism*, in *Oriens*, iv (1951), 193-255). There are no reports as to whether the Ḥāfiẓī *daʿwa* ever had adherents in India. In any case the community in India, which continued to be closely tied to the Yemenite *daʿwa*, soon was solidly Ṭayyibī.

The post-Fāṭimid period. Ḥāfiẓiyya: After the overthrow of the Fāṭimid caliphate in 567/1171 the Ḥāfiẓiyya, no longer enjoying official support, gradually disintegrated. Al-ʿĀḍid, the last Fāṭimid caliph, had appointed his son Dāʾūd as his successor with the title al-Ḥāmid li'llāh. Dāʾūd was generally recognized by the Ḥāfiẓīs as the imām after al-ʿĀḍid. He and all other members of the Fāṭimid family were permanently detained as prisoners by the Ayyūbids. As a result of a pro-Fāṭimid conspiracy in Cairo in 568/1172-3 many of the supporters of the deposed dynasty were exiled to Upper Egypt, which became a hotbed of pro-Fāṭimid activity. In 572/1176-7 a pretender claiming to be Dāʾūd found wide support in Ḳifṭ. When the real Dāʾūd died as a prisoner in Cairo in 604/1207-8, the Ḥāfiẓīs asked the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Kāmil for permission to mourn him in public. Al-Kāmil granted them permission, but used the occasion to arrest their *dāʿīs* and confiscate their property. After Dāʾūd his son Sulaymān mostly seems to have been recognized as the imām. Sulaymān died without child as a prisoner in 645/1248, but some of his partisans claimed that he had a son who was hidden (see P. Casanova, *Les derniers Fâṭimides*, in *MIFAO*, vi (1897), 415-45). In 697/1298 a pretender appeared in Upper Egypt who claimed to be Dāʾūd b. Sulaymān b. Dāʾūd. Still later, about the year 723/1324, Ismāʿīlīs are mentioned in ʿUṣfūn in Upper Egypt. In Syria a Ḥāfiẓī community is mentioned at the same time in the Baḳīʿa mountains near Ṣafad. In the Yemen the Ḥāfiẓī cause also lost all official backing with the Ayyūbid conquest. The Ṭayyibī *dāʿī muṭlaḳ* ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Walīd (d. 612/1215) still composed polemical treatises and poems against the "Madjīdiyya", but they were already becoming a rare minority.

Ṭayyibiyya [*q.v.*]: The insignificant Ṭayyibī communities in Egypt and Syria, known as Āmiriyya, are only rarely mentioned in the sources. Toward the end of the 6th/12th century there is a vague reference

to the presence of Āmiriyya in Egypt. In Syria a community of Āmiriyya is still mentioned about the year 723/1324 in the Baḳīʿa and Zābūd mountains near Ṣafad. These isolated communities probably did not survive much longer. Only in the Yemen and India could the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa*, under the undisputed leadership of the *dāʿī muṭlaḳ*, establish itself permanently. After Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī the position of *daʿi muṭlaḳ* remained among his descendants until 605/1209, when it passed to ʿAlī b. Muḥammad of the Banu 'l-Walīd al-Anf family, which was named after his ancestor Ibrāhīm al-Anf, who was a prominent supporter of the Ṣalayḥids and a descendant of the Umayyad al-Walīd b. ʿUtba b. Abī Sufyān. It remained in this family, with only two interruptions in the 7th/13th century, until 946/1539. The traditional stronghold of the Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* in the Yemen was in the Ḥarāz [*q.v.*] mountains, though there were scattered communities in other parts of the country. The *dāʿīs* generally enjoyed the support, or at least protection, of the Hamdānids [*q.v.*], who permitted them to reside in Ṣanʿāʾ and later, in the 8th/14th century, in the fortress of Dhū Marmar. Their relations with the Ayyūbids and the Rasūlids were fair, but the Zaydī imāms were mostly hostile. The Zaydī pretender al-Manṣūr ʿAlī b. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn expelled them from Dhū Marmar in 829/1426 after a prolonged siege, and they established their residence in the Ḥarāz mountains. The Zaydī Imām al-Muṭahhar b. Sharaf al-Dīn in the 10th/16th century relentlessly persecuted the Banu 'l-Anf and seems to have practically extirpated the family. The relations with the *daʿwa* in India remained close. There the Ṭayyibī community grew mostly undisturbed, though in the first half of the 9th/15th century persecution under the Sultanate of Gudjarāt resulted in mass conversions to Sunnism. In 946/1539 the position of *dāʿī muṭlaḳ* passed to an Indian, and after his death in 947/1567 the headquarters were transferred to Gudjarāt in India.

After the death of Dāʾūd b. ʿAdjabshāh, the 26th *dāʿī muṭlaḳ*, in 999/1591, the succession was disputed. While in India Dāʾūd Burhān al-Dīn was established, Dāʾūd b. Adjabshāh's representative in the Yemen, Sulaymān b. al-Ḥasan al-Hindī, claimed to have been designated successor by the deceased *dāʿī muṭlaḳ*. The dispute was not resolved and led to the permanent schism between the Dāʾūdī and Sulaymānī factions which accepted separate lines of *dāʿīs*. Among the Sulaymānīs, whose cause had only few adherents in India, the position of *dāʿī muṭlaḳ* in 1050/1640 passed to the Yemenite Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Fahd of the Makramī [*q.v.*] family, in which it has remained since with few interruptions. The Makramī *dāʿīs* established themselves in Nadjrān [*q.v.*], where they were supported by the Banū Yām [*q.v.*]. Before 1131/1719 they conquered the Ḥarāz region in the Yemen and held it against all attempts of the Zaydī imāms to expel them. The Dāʿī al-Ḥasan b. Hibat Allāh (d. 1189/1775) conquered Ḥaḍramawt and unsuccessfully fought the rising Suʿūdī dynasty in Central Arabia. From Ḥarāz the Makramīs were expelled in 1289/1872 by the Ottoman general Aḥmad Mukhtār Pasha, who took their fortress ʿAttāra and treacherously killed the Dāʿī al-Ḥasan b. Ismāʿīl Āl Shibām al-Makramī. The present *dāʿī muṭlaḳ* of the Sulaymānīs is Djamāl al-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Makramī, who succeeded his father in 1939 (see A. A. A. Fyzee, *Three Sulaymānī Dāʿīs: 1936-1939*, in *JBBRAS*, xvi (1940), 101-4). Besides the Banū Yām in Nadjrān, the people of the Djabal Maghāriba in Ḥarāz are Sulaymānīs. In India the Sulaymānī *dāʿīs* are represented by *manṣūbs* residing in Baroda. Sulaymānīs live mainly in Bombay, Boroda, and Ḥaydarābād, Dekkan.

The Dāʾūdī *dāʿīs* after the split continued to reside in India, where the great majority of their followers live. The *daʿwa* generally was able to develop freely, though there was another wave of persecution under Awrangzīb (1044/1635-1118/1707). Since 1200/1785 the headquarters of the *dāʿīs* have been in Sūrat. The present *dāʿī muṭlaḳ* is Muḥammad Burhān al-Dīn, who succeeded his father Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn in 1966. Dāʾūdī Ismāʿīlīs live chiefly in Gudjarāt, Bombay, and Central India. In Yemen there are Dāʾūdīs in the Ḥarāz region. (For minor secessions from the Dāʾūdīs [see BOHORĀS]).

Nizāriyya [*q.v.*]: The imāmate of the Nizārīs remained vested in the lords of Alamūt until the surrender of the fortress to the Mongol conqueror Hulāgū in 654/1256 and the consequent execution of the imām Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh. Practically nothing is known about the imāms following him. Later lists of the imāms differ widely concerning their names, number, and sequence. The list now considered official in the Āghā Khānī branch has come to be generally accepted only since the later 19th century. There are vague indications that the imāms after the fall of Alamūt resided in Ādharbāydjān. A split occurred in the line of imāms after Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn, usually considered the son of Khurshāh, or his son Muʾmin-Shāh, who is omitted in some lists. One line continues with Ḳāsim-Shāh, the other with Muḥammad-Shāh. The Ḳāsim-Shāhī imāms in the latter part of the 9th/15th century resided in Andjudān, a village near Maḥallāt, where the tombs of some of them are preserved. From this time until the 19th century the imāms were usually affiliated to the Niʿmat Allāhī Ṣūfī order. After a lapse of nearly one and a half centuries there are further tombs of imāms in Andjudān dating from 1043/1634 to 1090/1680. It is unknown where the family lived in the intervening period. Imām Shāh Nizār, who died in 1134/1722 is buried in Kahak, a village near Andjudān (see W. Ivanow, *Tombs of some Persian Ismaʿili Imams*, in *JBBRAS*, xiv (1938), 49-62). In the time of Nādir Shāh (1148/1736-1160/1747) Imām Sayyid Ḥasan Beg moved to Shahr-i Bābak and acquired a winter residence in Kirmān. The imāms now rose from their previous obscurity to involvement in political life. Imām Abu 'l-Ḥasan Shāh was governor of Kirmān from 1169/1756 until his death in 1206/1791-2. His son Shāh Khalīl Allāh, who enjoyed the favour of the Ḳādjār Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, returned to Kahak and later moved to Yazd, where he was killed by a mob in 1232/1817. Khalīl Allāh's son, Ḥasan ʿAlī Shāh Maḥallātī, was granted by Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh the title Āghā Khān [*q.v.*], which has remained hereditary among his successors. After a vain attempt at gaining independent rule of Kirmān, Ḥasan ʿAlī Shāh moved to India in 1259/1843 (see H. Algar, *The Revolt of Āghā Khān Maḥallātī and the Transference of the Ismāʿīlī Imamate to India*, in *SI*, xxix (1969), 55-81). Bombay became the permanent seat of the imāmate. The present (1971) Āghā Khān, Karīm Khān, succeeded his grandfather, Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, in 1957.

The branch of Muḥammad-Shāh apparently was closely associated with the Nizārī community in Daylam. In 776/1374-5 Khudāwand Muḥammad, who may be identical with Muḥammad-Shāh, gained possession of the fortress of Alamūt with the support of the local Nizārīs. He was consequently expelled and sought refuge with Tīmūr, who sent him

to confinement in Sulṭāniyya. The family continued to live in Sulṭāniyya until after 894/1489. Members of it, however, were repeatedly active among the Nizārīs in Daylam until the middle of the 9th/15th century. The most famous imām of the Muḥammad-Shāhī line, Shāh Ṭāhir Ḥusaynī Dakkanī, because of his religious following aroused the suspicion of the Ṣafawid Shāh Ismā'īl, was exiled to Kāshān and later forced to leave Persia. In 928/1522 he came to Aḥmadnagar in the Dekkan, where he was instrumental in bringing about the proclamation of Shī'ism as the official religion by the ruler Burhān Niẓām Shāh. Shāh Ṭāhir probably died in 956/1549. His descendants lived in Aḥmadnagar and later in Awrangābād (see W. Ivanow, *A forgotten branch of the Ismailis*, in *JRAS*, 1938, 57-79). The last imām of this branch, so far as is known, was Amīr Muḥammad Bāḳir, whose last contact with his Syrian followers was in 1210/1796. As well as in Daylam, the Muḥammad-Shāhī line had supporters in Badakhshān and the Kabūl area in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries, though by the beginning of the 13th/19th century the Ismā'īlīs there seem to have generally adhered to the Ḳāsim-Shāhī line. The community in Syria generally recognized the Muḥammad-Shāhī line. In a period of troubles contact with the Imām Muḥammad Bāḳir was lost after the year 1210/1796. In 1304/1887, after a vain search for descendants of Muḥammad Bāḳir, a section of the Syrian community recognized the Āghā Khānī line. In 1957 about 30,000 Syrian Nizārīs, living in Salamiyya and the villages of al-Khawābī, adhered to the Āghā Khānī line. About 15,000, known as Dja'fariyya and living in Ḳadmūs, Maṣyāf, and some villages near Salamiyya, continued to adhere to the Muḥammad-Shāhī line (see 'Ā. Tāmir, *Furū' al-shadjara al-Ismā'īliyya al-Imāmiyya*, in *al-Mashriḳ*, li (1957), 581-612).

The Nizārī communities, widely dispersed territorially and partially separated by language barriers, developed largely independently of each other, especially after the fall of Alamūt. They were led by local leaders, *shaykhs* or *pīrs*, who alone could claim access to the hidden imāms. The Syrian Nizārīs during the later Alamūt period continued to be ruled by Persian agents sent by the imāms. After the fall of Alamūt they at first preserved their political independence and joined the Muslim efforts to expel the Mongol invaders in 658/1260 from Syria, but later were gradually subdued by the Mamlūk Sultan Baybars I. By the end of the year 671/1273 Baybars controlled all their fortresses. The Ismā'īlīs remained subjects of the Mamlūks and later of the Ottomans, paying a special tax. During the late 18th and the 19th centuries they were frequently involved in clashes with their neighbours, especially with the numerically stronger Nuṣayrīs, who repeatedly occupied their fortresses. About the middle of the 19th century the Ismā'īlīs restored the town of Salamiyya [*q.v.*] and settled the surrounding area east of Ḥamāt, where now approximately two thirds of the community live. The last Nuṣayrī attack and occupation of Ḳadmūs took place in 1920, causing much damage to property and manuscripts (see N. N. Lewis, *The Ismā'īlīs of Syria today*, in *Royal Central Asian Studies Journal*, (1952), 69-77).

In Persia the Ismā'īlī communities were decimated by massacres but survived after the surrender of Alamūt and the other fortresses in Daylam and Ḳuhistān. Alamūt was briefly reoccupied in 674/1275, but lost again in the next year. In the second half of the 8th/14th and the first half of the 9th/15th centuries it was repeatedly, though only for short spans of time, in Nizārī hands. The Nizārī community in Daylam was still a force in the local power struggle in this period, though it was usually on the defensive, especially against the Zaydī rulers of Lāhīdjān. After this time it gradually disappeared. In Ḳuhistan small Ismā'īlī communities have survived in the area of Ḳā'in and Bīrdjand. Other Nizārī communities are found in the area of Nīshāpūr in Khurāsān, around Kirmān, in Sīrdjān and the Djabal Bāriz, and in the area of Maḥallāt and Yazd.

The Ismā'īlīs of the Upper Oxus region seem to have accepted the Nizārī imāmate before the end of the Alamūt period, though the exact date and circumstances are unknown. Local tradition in Shughnān [*q.v.*] mentions two *dā'īs*, Sayyid Shāh Mālang and Shāh Khāmūsh, who were sent by the imām and became the founders of the dynasties of *pīrs* and *mīrs* ruling Shughnān. In 913/1507-8 Shāh Raḍiyy al-Dīn, who is perhaps to be identified with the imām of the Muḥammad-Shāhī line of that name, the father of Shāh Ṭāhir Dakkanī, came from Sīstān to Badakhshān and with the support of the local Ismā'īlīs established his rule over large parts of the region. In consequence of quarrels among his supporters he was killed in spring 1509. In the 11th/17th century another imām of the Muḥammad-Shāhī line, Khudaybakhsh, seems to have taken up residence in Badakhshān and died there in 1074/1663-4. The Ismā'īlī communities continued to be guided by local dynasties of *pīrs*. There are Nizārī communities recognizing the Āghā Khāns also in the area of Ghazna, in Chitral, Gilgit, Hunza, where they are known as Mawlā'īs, and in the area of Yārkand and Kāshghar.

The date and circumstances of the introduction of Nizārī Ismā'īlism in India are obscure. A continuity of Ismā'īlī activity in Sind, especially the Multān area, ever since the early *da'wa* there, is attested by sparse notices in the sources. In the first half of the 7th/13th century this activity extended to Dihlī. It may at this time well have been inspired by emissaries of the imāms of Alamūt, but definite evidence is lacking. The first *pīrs* mentioned in the religious literature of the Indian Nizārīs cannot be dated with any degree of certainty. The shrine of the earliest one, Satgur Nūr, is in Nawsari in Gudjarāt, where the religious texts place his activity. The presence of non-Ṭayyibī Ismā'īlīs in Gudjarāt is vaguely attested for the first half of the 7th/13th century. Pīr Shams al-Dīn according to the texts came from Persia to Sind and became the founder of the dynasty of *pīrs* there. If the traditional pedigree of *pīrs* is reliable, he may have lived in the first half of the 8th/14th century, as some sources suggest. Other sources date him one or two centuries earlier. His mausoleum is in Multān. Pīr Ṣadr al-Dīn and Pīr Ḥasan Kabīr al-Dīn of the 9th/15th century are buried near Uch, south of Multān. Ṣadr al-Dīn is traditionally considered the founder and organizer of the Khodja [*q.v.*] community, which consists mostly of converts of the Hindu Lohana caste. Kabīr al-Dīn's son Imām-Shāh after about the year 875/1470-1 was active in Gudjarāt where he converted numerous Hindus.

Imām-Shāh died in 926/1520 and is buried in Pīrāna near Aḥmadābād. His son and successor Nar (Nūr) Muḥammad-Shāh (d.940/1533-4) repudiated the recognition of the imām in Persia and claimed the imāmate for himself, thus founding a separate sect whose adherents are known as Imām-Shāhīs or Satpanthīs. The sect later split further around different lines of *pīrs*. It has tended to revert toward Hinduism. Its followers, who are to be found chiefly in Gudjarāt

and Khandesh, consider themselves mostly as Imāmī Shīʿīs or Sunnīs rather than Ismāʿīlīs, though they recognize the Ismāʿīlī imāms before the split (see W. Ivanow, *The sect of Imam Shah in Gujrat*, in *JBBRAS*, xxii (1936), 19-70). Other Nizārīs in Gudjarāt remained faithful to the imāms in Persia. The great majority of Nizārīs on the Indian subcontinent belong to the Khodja community. There are, however, other Nizārī groups, such as the Shamsīs, followers of Pīr Shams al-Dīn in Pandjāb and others. The Khodjas live chiefly in lower Sind, Cutch, Gudjarāt, Bombay, and in diaspora in East and South Africa, Ceylon, and Burma.

Doctrine. Pre-Fāṭimid and Fāṭimid times: Nothing definite is known about the doctrine of the early supporters of the imāmate of Ismāʿīl and his son Muḥammad. Imāmī sources maintain that the Khaṭṭābiyya [*q.v.*], the followers of the extremist Shīʿī Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb [*q.v.*], constituted the bulk of the early Ismāʿīliyya. Later Ismāʿīlī doctrine, however, generally condemns Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb and does not appear to be substantially influenced by the heresies ascribed to him and his followers (see W. Ivanow, *Ibn al-Qaddāḥ*, Bombay 1957). The *Umm al-kitāb* preserved by the Ismāʿīlīs of Badakhshān, in which Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb appears as a saintly disciple of Imām Muḥammad al-Bāḳir and his sons are called the founders of Ismāʿīlism, is a syncretistic compilation written not earlier than the beginning of the 4th/10th century and perhaps as late as the early Alamūt period. The ideas of the Shīʿī *ghulāt* [*q.v.*] represented in it are for the most part not specifically Ismāʿīlī and evidently not derived from Ismāʿīlī sources. The work thus must not be considered "proto-Ismāʿīlī".

The doctrine propagated by the pre-Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī revolutionary movement of the second half of the 3rd/9th century can be derived in its outlines from later Ismāʿīlī works and reports of anti-Ismāʿīlī authors. It embodied already the basic framework of the later Ismāʿīlī religious system, though it was consequently modified in some important respects. Fundamental was the distanction between the *ẓāhir* exterior or exoteric, and the *bāṭin* [see BĀṬINIYYA], inward or esoteric, aspects of religion. The *ẓāhir* consists in the apparent, generally accepted meaning of the revealed scriptures and in the religious law laid down in them. It changes with each prophet. The *bāṭin* consists in the truths (*ḥaḳāʾiḳ*) concealed in the scriptures and laws, which are unchangeable and are made apparent from them by the *taʾwīl* [*q.v.*], interpretation, which is often of a cabalistic nature relying on the mystical significance of letters and numbers. These truths form a gnostic system comprising a cosmology and a cyclical hierohistory. At the basis of the pre-Fāṭimid cosmology was a myth, only imperfectly reflected in the later sources, according to which the divine imperative *kun*, consisting of the letters *kāf* and *nūn*, through duplication formed the two original principles *kūnī ḳadar*. *Kūnī* was the female and *ḳadar* the male principle. The seven letters of *kūnī ḳadar* were known as the seven higher letters (*al-ḥurūf al-ʿulwiyya*), which are the archetypes of the seven messenger prophets and their revealed messages. From the two first principles proceeded three spiritual powers, *djadd*, *fatḥ*, and *khayāl*, identified with the three archangels Djibrāʾīl, Mīkāʾīl, and Isrāfīl, which mediate between the spiritual world and man in the physical world (on this triad see H. Corbin, *Le livre réunissant les deux sagesses*, Tehran-Paris 1953, *Étude préliminaire*, 91-112). The cyclical history progresses through seven eras, each inaugurated by an enunciator (*nāṭiḳ*) prophet bringing a revealed message. Each of the first six *nāṭiḳ*s, Ādam, Nūḥ, Ibrāhīm, Mūsā, ʿĪsā, and Muḥammad, was followed by a fundament (*asās*) or silent one (*ṣāmit*), who revealed the *bāṭin* of the message, and by seven imāms. The seventh imām in each era rises in rank and becomes the *nāṭiḳ* of the following era, abrogating the law of the previous *nāṭiḳ* and bringing a new one. In the era of Muḥammad, ʿAlī was the *asās* and Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl the seventh imām. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl on his reappearance in the near future will become the seventh *nāṭiḳ*, the Ḳāʾim or Mahdī [*q.v.*], and will abrogate the law of Islam. His message will, however, consist in the full revelation of the *bāṭin* truths without any *ẓāhir* law. He will rule the world and then end the physical world, sitting in judgment over humanity. During his absence he is represented by twelve *ḥudjdja*s residing in the twelve regions (*djazāʾir*) of the earth. The cyclical history was sometimes coupled with astrological speculations, and astrological predictions were made specifically concerning the date of the coming of the Ḳāʾim.

Before the coming of the Ḳāʾim the *bāṭin* must be kept secret and can be revealed to the neophyte only on swearing an oath of initiation with a vow of secrecy and on payment of a due. The initiation, known as *balāgh*, was no doubt gradual, but there is no evidence of a strictly fixed sequence of grades generally followed as described by anti-Ismāʿīlī sources. Beneath the imām and the *ḥudjdja*s a hierarchy of *dāʿī*s was in charge of the initiation and instruction (*daʿwa* [*q.v.*]). Little is known about the actual organization of the *daʿwa* in the pre-Fāṭimid and Fāṭimid age. The widely differing enumerations of the grades (*ḥudūd*) of the hierarchy given in Ismāʿīlī religious texts serve mostly ideal functions and cannot be taken as corresponding closely to the actual organization (see W. Ivanow, *The organization of the Fāṭimid propaganda*, in *JBBRAS*, xv (1939), 1-35).

From about the beginning of the 4th/10th century onwards the early cosmology was superseded and partially replaced by a cosmology of Neoplatonic origin, apparently first propounded by the *dāʿī* al-Nasafī [*q.v.*]. In this cosmology God is described as absolutely beyond comprehension, beyond any attribute or name, beyond being and non-being. Through his divine Order or Volition (*Amr*) he originated (*abdaʿ*) the Intellect (*ʿAḳl*). The *ʿAḳl* is the First Originated Being (*al-Mubdaʿ al-Awwal*), since the *Amr* is united with it in existence From the Intellect the Soul (*Nafs*) proceeds through emanation. From the Soul proceed the seven spheres with their stars and move with its movement. Through the revolution of the spheres the single elements (*al-mufradāt*) or natures, humidity, dryness, cold, and warmth, are mingled to form the composites (*al-murakkabāt*), earth, water, air, and ether. As the composites mingle, the plants with the vegetative (*nāmiya*) soul develop From them the animals with the sensitive (*ḥissiyya*) soul develop, and from the latter, man with the rational (*nāṭiḳa*) soul. Al-Nasafī's cosmology was generally adopted in its essentials, though refined and elaborated by the later authors. Some minor points aroused controversy among them. The principles of the spiritual world in this cosmology were identified with terms of the religious sphere. Thus the Intellect in religious terminology was equated with the Pen (*Ḳalam*) and the Throne (*ʿArsh*), and the Soul was identified with the Tablet (*Lawḥ*) and the Footstool (*Kursī*) etc. Much stressed were the analogies between the spiritual, astral, and physical worlds and between man as the

microcosm and the physical world as the macrocosm. The official Fāṭimid *da'wa* apparently did not accept this cosmology until the time of the Caliph al-Mu'izz.

A somewhat different cosmological system was propounded by the *dā'ī* Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī [*q.v.*] (d. about 411/1021). Instead of the duality of the Intellect and the Soul his system comprises ten intellects in the spiritual world. The Soul is replaced by the Second Intellect or First Emanation (*al-Munba'ith al-Awwal*), proceeding from the higher relation (*al-nisba al-ashraf*) of the First Intellect. The Third Intellect or Second Emanation and First Potential Being, proceeding from the lower relation (*al-nisba al-adwan*) of the First Intellect, is equated with matter and form (*al-hayūlā wa 'l-ṣūra*). From the First and Second Intellects proceed seven further intellects. The tenth one is the Active Intellect (*al-'Aḳl al-Fa''āl*) or demiurge governing the physical world. The structure of the astral and the physical worlds and of the religious hierarchy were similarly modified by al-Kirmānī in close analogy to the spiritual world. The system of al-Kirmānī was not adopted by the Fāṭimid *da'wa*. Only among the Ṭayyibīs in the Yemen did it replace the earlier traditional system.

Fāṭimid doctrine, because of the Fāṭimid claim to the imāmate, was forced to modify the early doctrine concerning the role of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl as the final imām and Mahdī and the restriction of the number of imāms to seven. 'Ubayd Allāh al-Mahdī at first radically broke with this earlier doctrine by asserting that the imām after Dja'far al-Ṣādiḳ had been his son 'Abd Allāh rather than Ismā'īl and that the imāmate continued to be handed down among his descendants without restriction in number. Soon, however, attempts were made to accomodate the Fāṭimid claim to the imāmate with the earlier theory. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl was again recognized as imām and as ancestor of the Fāṭimids. His return as the Ḳā'im was sometimes interpreted spiritually, as being realized in the rise of the Fāṭimids, who would gradually fulfil the predictions concerning the Ḳā'im. A second heptad of imāms, often called the deputies (*khulafā'*) of the Ḳā'im, was admitted in the era of Muḥammad as a special privilege of the latter. The eschatological expectations in respect to the Ḳā'im were to be fulfilled after the expiration of the second heptade of imāms. This theory also had to be abandoned as the Fāṭimid caliphate continued, though even then the eschatological events generally were expected in the near future (see W. Madelung, *Das Imamat in der frühen ismailitischen Lehre*, in *Isl.*, xxxvii (1961), 43-135).

Fāṭimid doctrine, in contrast to the pre-Fāṭimid attitude which tended to depreciate the *ẓāhir*, invariably insisted on the equal importance of the *ẓāhir* and the *bāṭin* and made every effort to suppress antinomian trends, which, however, often came to the surface among more radical Ismā'īlī groups. The Ismā'īlī *fiḳh* was elaborated chiefly by the Ḳāḍī al-Nu'mān [*q.v.*] (d. 363/974), whose work *Da'ā'im al-Islām* became the most authoritative exposition of it. Ismā'īlī law agrees in general with Imāmī law, but does not permit the *mut'a* [*q.v.*] temporary marriage and nullifies bequests to a legal heir except with the consent of the other heirs (see A. A A Fyzee, *Compendium of Fatimid Law*, Simla 1969). In the ritual, Ismā'īlī *fiḳh* also agrees generally with Imāmī doctrine (see R. Strothmann, *Recht der Ismailiten*, in *Isl.*, xxxi (1954), 131-46). It gives, however, full authority to the imām for determining the beginning of a new month rather than requiring the sight of the new moon. In practice the beginning of the month was fixed by astronomical calculation. Thus it fell often one or two days earlier than for the other Muslims. This often led to friction in particular in respect to the beginning and end of the fasting month of Ramaḍān.

Post-Fāṭimid times. Ṭayyibī doctrine: The Ṭayyibī community in the Yemen and India preserved a large part of the Fāṭimid religious literature and retained the interest in the gnostic cosmology and cyclical history of the Fāṭimid age. Ṭayyibī doctrine, however, from the beginning adopted the cosmological system of al-Kirmānī in place of the traditional Fāṭimid system, and modified it by introducing a mythical "drama in heaven", first described by the second *dā'ī muṭlaḳ* Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī [*q.v.*], which profoundly shaped the Ṭayyibī gnosis. According to this myth, the two emanations from the First Intellect, the Second and Third Intellects, were rivals for the second rank after the First Intellect. As the Second Intellect reached this position by his superior efforts, the Third Intellect refused to recognize his superiority in rank. In punishment for this failure he fell from the third rank behind the following seven intellects and, after repenting, became stabilized as the Tenth Intellect and demiurge (*mudabbir*). The physical world was produced out of the spiritual forms (*ṣuwar*) which together with the Tenth Intellect refused to recognize the superiority of the Second Intellect and out of the darkness generated by this sin. The Tenth Intellect, also called the Spiritual Ādam (*Ādam al-Rūḥānī*), tries to regain his original rank by calling the fallen spiritual forms to repentance. The first representative of his *da'wa* on earth was the First and Universal Ādam (*Ādam al-Awwal al-Kullī*), owner of the body of the *ibdā'* world (*al-djuththa al-ibdā'iyya*), who opened the first cycle of manifestation (*dawr al-kashf*) and is distinguished from the Partial Ādam (*Ādam al-Djuz'ī*), who opened the present age of concealment (*dawr al-satr*). After his passing he rose to the horizon of the Tenth (Intellect) and took his place, while the Tenth rose in rank. Similarly the Ḳā'im of each cycle after his passing rises and takes the place of the Tenth, who thus gradually rises until he will join the Second Intellect. Countless cycles of manifestation and concealment succeed each other until the Great Resurrection (*Ḳiyāmat al-Ḳiyāmāt*) which consummates the megacycle (*al-kawr al-a'ẓam*), sometimes specified to last 360,000 times 360,000 years.

The soul of each believer on his initiation is joined by a point of light, which grows as he advances in knowledge. On his passing it rises to join the soul of the holder of the rank (*ḥadd*) above him in the hierarchy. It continues to rise from *ḥadd* to *ḥadd* until it is gathered together with the souls of all other believers in the light temple (*haykal nūrānī*) in the shape of a human being which constitutes the form of the Ḳā'im (*ṣūra Ḳā'imiyya*) of his cycle, which then rises to the horizon of the Tenth. The souls of the unbelievers remain with their bodies, which are dissolved into anorganic matter which is consequently transformed into various harmful creatures and substances in descending order. Depending on the gravity of their sins they may eventually rise again through the ascending forms of life and as human beings may accept the *da'wa* or end up in Sidjdjīn in torment lasting as long as the megacycle.

Continuing the Fāṭimid tradition Ṭayyibī doctrine

maintained the equal validity of the *ẓāhir* and the *bāṭin* and repudiated antinomian trends. Ḳāḍī al-Nuʿmān's *Daʿāʾim al-Islām* remained the authoritative work of *fiḳh*.

Nizārī doctrine: Owing to the upheavals in the political history of the Nizārī communities, their wide dispersal, the language barriers between them, and the repeated loss of large parts of their religious literature, Nizārī doctrine is marked by major shifts in time and nearly completely independent local traditions.

Doctrine of Alamūt: The vigorous activism of the movement led by Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ even before its break with the Fāṭimid caliphate was associated with a new preaching (*daʿwa djadīda*), most eloquently formulated, though perhaps not originated, by Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ himself. The new preaching entailed an apologetic reformulation of the old Shīʿī doctrine of *taʿlīm*, *i.e.*, the authoritative teaching in religion, which could be carried out only by a divinely chosen imām in every age after the Prophet. Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ reaffirmed the need for such a teacher as a dictate of reason and went on to prove that only the Ismāʿīlī imām fulfilled this need. In his argumentation he seems to have stressed the autonomous authority of each imām, independent of his predecessors, thus unwittingly authorizing the later shifts of doctrine. The doctrine of *taʿlīm* had a strong impact in the Sunnī world, as is reflected by its elaborate refutation by al-Ghazālī [*q.v.*] and others.

A religious revolution took place under the fourth lord of Alamūt, Ḥasan *ʿalā dhikrihi al-salām* (557/1162-561/1166), who on 17 Ramaḍān 559/8 Aug. 1164 solemnly proclaimed the resurrection (*ḳiyāma*) in the name of the imām, whose *ḥudjdja* or deputy (*khalīfa*) he declared himself to be. In consonance with the Ismāʿīlī expectations concerning the *ḳiyāma* he announced the abrogation of the *sharīʿa*, which so far had been strictly enforced by the lords of Alamūt. The resurrection was interpreted spiritually as the manifestation of the unveiled Truth in the imām which actualized Paradise for the believers who could grasp it, while it condemned the non-Ismāʿīlī opponents to spiritual non-being, *i.e.*, Hell. After the murder of Ḥasan by a brother-in-law opposed to the abolition of the *sharīʿa*, the doctrine of the *ḳiyāma* was further elaborated by his son and successor Muḥammad (561/1166-607/1210). Ḥasan before his death seems to have hinted that he himself was the imām at least spiritually. Muḥammad now maintained that his father had been the imām also by physical descent, apparently alleging that he was the son of a descendant of Imām Nizār who had secretly found refuge in Alamūt. The line of imāms thus continued through Ḥasan and Muḥammad in the lords of Alamūt. Muḥammad put the imām, and specifically the present imām, at the centre of the doctrine of the *ḳiyāma*. The resurrection consisted in viewing God in the spiritual reality of the imām. This doctrine entailed the exaltation of the imām over the prophet, which became characteristic of Nizārī thought. At the same time a new figure, the imām-ḳāʾim, was introduced in the cyclical history. The imām-ḳāʾim in the various eras was identified as Melchizedek (Malik al-Salām), Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn, Khiḍr, Maʿadd, and, in the era of Muḥammad, as ʿAlī. He was recognized by the prophets in each era as the locus of the divinity. In the *ḳiyāma* the imām-ḳāʾim, i.e., the present imām, who is identical with ʿAlī, appears openly in his spiritual reality to the believer, who in his spiritual relationship to the imām is identical with Salmān [*q.v.*]. The ranks of the teaching hierarchy intervening between the imām and the believer have, also in agreement with the Ismāʿīlī expectations concerning the *ḳiyāma*, faded away. There are only three categories of men left: the opponents (*ahl al-taḍādd*) of the imām who adhere to the *sharīʿa*, the ordinary followers of the imām or people of gradation (*ahl al-tarattub*), who have gone beyond the *sharīʿa* to the *bāṭin* and have found partial truth, and the people of union (*ahl al-waḥda*), who see the imām in his true nature discarding all appearances and have reached the realm of full truth. The *ḳiyāma* doctrine was clearly influenced by Ṣūfī ideas and terminology and prepared the way for the close relationship between later Nizārī Ismāʿīlism and Ṣūfism.

The *ḳiyāma* doctrine was repudiated by Muḥammad's son and successor Djalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan (607/1210-618/1221), who proclaimed his adherence to Sunnī Islam, publicly cursed his predecessors, and imposed the Sunnī *sharīʿa* on his followers, inviting Sunnī scholars to instruct him. As he continued to be considered by them as the imām, his orders were accepted without opposition. There is evidence that at least before his death he acted towards his followers again in the fashion of an Ismāʿīlī imām. Under his son ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad (618/1221-653/1255) the enforcement of the *sharīʿa* was relaxed, though it was not officially abolished. The adjusted doctrine which now was developed to explain the new religious situation is expounded in the contemporary Ismāʿīlī works of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī [*q.v.*]. The reimposition of the *sharīʿa* by Djalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan was interpreted as a return to precautionary dissimulation (*taḳiyya*) and a new period of concealment (*satr*), when the truth is hidden in the *bāṭin*, in contrast to the preceding period of *ḳiyāma*, when the unveiled truth was apparent and available to all. The *ḳiyāma* proclaimed by Ḥasan *ʿalā dhikrihi 'l-salām*, coming at about the middle of the millenium of the era of the Prophet Muḥammad, was merely anticipatory of the final *ḳiyāma* at the end of it. In the era of Muḥammad periods of *satr* and *ḳiyāma* may alternate according to the decision of each imām, since every imām is a potential imām-ḳāʾim. The state of spiritual union (*waḥda*) in the time of *satr* is restricted to the *ḥudjdja* of the imām, who partakes of the divine Support (*taʾyīd*) and possesses the truth of the imām, with whom he is consubstantial. The *ahl al-tarattub* are divided into the strong (*aḳwiyāʾ*) and the weak (*ḍuʿafāʾ*) according to their closeness to the truth.

Conditions in the post-Alamūt period favoured the adoption of Ṣūfī ways of life by the imāms and their followers also externally. Ismāʿīlī ideas were often camouflaged in Ṣūfī forms of expression, especially in poetry. Doctrinal works were written again from the 9th/16th century on, at a time when the victory of Shīʿism in Persia permitted the Nizārīs and their imāms to act somewhat more openly. The doctrine of the late Alamūt period as expressed by Nāṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī was essentially retained. Works of the Fāṭimid age, which still influenced al-Ṭūsī, were no longer available. Interest in the Ismāʿīlī cosmology and cyclical history waned. The role of the *ḥudjdja* as the revealer of the spiritual truth and only access to the essence of the imām, already stressed by al-Ṭūsī, was further elaborated.

A special literary tradition within Nizārī Ismāʿīlism in Persian was retained by the community of Badakhshān. Although many works of the Alamūt and post-Alamūt period found their way there, the community remained particularly attached to the works, genuine and spurious, of Nāṣir-i Khusraw.

Fāṭimid doctrine in the adaptation of Nāṣir, including the Fāṭimid cosmology, thus maintained their influence. The community of Badakhshān also transmitted and revered the *Umm al-kitāb* representing largely non-Ismāʿīlī thought.

Syrian Nizārī literature, written in Arabic, developed independently of the Persian literature, even during the Alamūt period. Persian works were not translated into Arabic or vice-versa. The Syrian community preserved a substantial selection of Fāṭimid religious literature, partially different from those preserved by the Ṭayyibīs. Even though the *ḳiyāma* was proclaimed, apparently with some delay, in Syria, the *ḳiyāma* doctrine had practically no impact there. The scholarly doctrine continued mostly in the Fāṭimid tradition. Syrian doctrinal works, while concentrating on the traditional cosmology and cyclical history, virtually ignore the current imām, the central figure in the Persian Alamūt and post-Alamūt doctrine. In religious literature of a popular type Rāshid al-Dīn Sinān is extolled as a saintly hero and his cosmic rank is described in terms appropriate to the imām. Much of the Syrian Ismāʿīlī literature was destroyed later during the feuds with neighbouring communities.

Among the Khodjas Ismāʿīlī literature, both Persian and Arabic, has been virtually unknown. Only a single Persian work, the *Pandiyāt-i Djavānmardī* containing a collection of religious and moral admonitions of the Nizārī Imām al-Mustanṣir (end of the 9th/15th century), was accepted as a sacred book, perhaps a century after his death. The traditional religious literature of the Khodjas and the Imām Shāhis is known as Satpanth [*q.v.*] literature, Sat Panth, *i.e.*, True Path, designating the religion preached in it. It consists of numerous writings in verse form, called *gnans*, written in, or translated into, several Indian languages. Most of them are ascribed to the medieval *pīrs*, but cannot be dated exactly and probably have undergone changes in the transmission. They contain hymns, moral and religious instruction, legendary histories of the *pīrs*, and descriptions of their miracles, but no formulated creed or theology. Their religious content is a mixture of Islamic and Hindu, especially popular Tantric, elements. While idol worship is condemned, Hindu mythology is accepted. ʿAlī is described as the Tenth Avatar or incarnation of the deity, and the imāms are identical with him. The Ḳurʾān is considered the last of the Vedas, which are viewed as holy scriptures whose true interpretation is known to the *pīrs*. The religious role of the *pīr* or *guru* is extolled. Acceptance of the true religion will free the believer from further rebirths and open Paradise for him, which is described in Islamic terms, while those failing to recognize the imāms must pass through another cycle of rebirths. The traditional Ismāʿīlī cosmology, cyclical history, and hierarchy are unknown (see W. Ivanow, *Satpanth*, in *Collectanea* I (The Ismaili Society), Leiden 1948, 1-54).

Bibliography in addition to the works cited in the article: Major aspects of early Ismāʿīlī history and doctrine are examined in: B. Lewis, *The origins of Ismāʿīlism*, Cambridge 1940; W. Ivanow, *Ismaili tradition concerning the rise of the Fatimids*, London 1942; idem, *Studies in early Persian Ismailism*², Bombay 1955; S. M. Stern, *Heterodox Ismailism in the time of al-Muʿizz*, in *BSOAS*, xvii (1955), 10-30. On Nizārī history and doctrine in the Alamūt period: M. G. S. Hodgson, *The order of Assassins*, The Hague 1955, (fundamental); idem, *The Ismāʿīlī state*, in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, v, Cambridge 1968, 422-82; B. Lewis, *The Assassins*, London 1967. On the Syrian Nizārīs in the time of the crusades: B. Lewis, *The Ismāʿīlis and the Assassins*, in K. M. Setton (ed.), *A history of the Crusades*, i, Philadelphia 1955, 99-132. On the history, doctrine, and present state of the Bohorās and Khodjas: J. N. Hollister, *The Shīʿa of India*, London 1953. Analysis of Ismāʿīlī gnostic doctrine: H. Corbin, *De la gnose antique à la gnose ismaélienne*, in *Convegno di scienze morali storiche e filologiche 1956*, Rome 1957, 105-46; idem, *Histoire de la philosophie islamique*, i, Paris 1964, 110-51. Analytical bibliography of published and unpublished Ismāʿīlī works: W. Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, Tehran 1963. General, but unequal surveys of Ismāʿīlī history and doctrine have been given by W. Ivanow, *Brief survey of the evolution of Ismailism*, Leiden 1952; M. Kāmil Ḥusayn, *Ṭāʾifat al-Ismāʿīliyya*, Cairo 1959.

(W. MADELUNG)

ISMĀʿĪLIYYA, town in Egypt on the western bank of the Suez Canal and on the northern shore of Lake Timsāḥ. The town originated from huts of workers and engineers engaged in excavating the Suez Canal. Its foundations were laid by the Inspector General of the Suez Canal Company on 27 April 1862. After the succession of the Khedive Ismāʿīl to the throne on 18 January 1863 it was called Ismāʿīliyya. In 1864 a network of streets and quarters, a central square (*maydān*), a government building (*sarāy*) and a pump for water-supply were established, and in 1868 the town was connected to the Egyptian railway network. When the digging of the Canal was completed, most of the personnel engaged on it moved to Port Saʿīd, and from 1870 onwards the number of Ismāʿīliyya's inhabitants was unchanged (about 3,000) for almost two decades. From the 1890s the town grew steadily to more than 15,000 inhabitants after World War I and more than 50,000 after World War II. From World War I until the final evacuation of British troops in the 1950s, a large British army and airforce base was situated near Ismāʿīliyya, and many foreign residents dwelt in the town. In 1928 Ḥasan al-Bannāʾ [*q.v.*] founded in Ismāʿīliyya the movement of al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn [*q.v.*]. After the unilateral abrogation of the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936 in October 1951, Ismāʿīliyya became the scene of frequent clashes between British troops and Egyptian police, culminating in a six-hour battle on 25 January 1952. This resulted, one day later, in the Cairo riots known as "black Saturday".

Until 1960 Ismāʿīliyya formed part of the Canal Governorate, but in that year it became the centre of a separate province (*muḥāfaẓa*) which included al-Ḳanṭara to the north and al-Tall al-Kabīr to the west. In 1966 the number of inhabitants of Ismāʿīliyya province amounted to 344,789, of whom 162,370 dwelt in rural settlements (*rīf*) and 182, 419 in urban ones (*ḥaḍar*). After the war of June 1967 most of Ismāʿīliyya's inhabitants left the city or were evacuated.

Bibliography: ʿAlī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadīda*, viii, Cairo 1305, 59; H. de Vaujany, *Alexandrie et la Basse-Égypte*, Paris 1885, 245; Population censuses of Egypt, 1897-1966; *al-Ahrām*, October 1951-January 1952, and 26 July 1965.

(G. BAER)

ISNA, Arabic name of a town in Upper Egypt (Egyptian Te-snet, Coptic Sne; Greek Latopolis, from the fish Latos worshipped there; in European accounts Esne, Esnèh), lying on the left bank of

the Nile halfway between Luxor and Edfu. It was for a time the capital of a *mudīriyya*, and is now a *markaz* in the *mudīriyya* of Ḳinā' [*q.v.*], with over 20,000 inhabitants. It is celebrated for the ruins of the temple of the god Chnum, which dates from the Ptolemaic period, in which a number of Roman emperors are depicted in the garb of the Pharaohs. In the Muslim period Isna was a flourishing provincial town. According to Edfūwī quoted by Maḳrīzī the town had 10,000 houses, and produced annually 40,000 *irdabb* of dates and 10,000 *irdabb* of *zabīb*. At the present time blue cotton fabric used throughout Egypt is woven there.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 265 f.; Maḳrīzī, Khiṭaṭ, i, 237; Amélineau, *Géographie de l'Égypte*, 172; A. Boinet Bey, *Dictionnaire géographique de l'Égypte*, Cairo 1899, 183. The most detailed account, which also takes account of economic conditions, is ʿAlī Mubārak, *Khiṭaṭ Djadīda*, viii, 59. See also Baedeker, *Egypt*[8]; Guide Bleu, *Égypte*, 1956, 439-40. (H. RITTER)

ISNĀD, chain of authorities, an essential part of the transmission of a tradition. Little need of this was realized in the earliest times, but as the first century of Islam advanced, the need for stating one's authority developed. The collections of traditions which were compiled mainly in the 3rd/9th century onwards give complete *isnāds*.

See AL-DJARḤ WA 'L-TAʿDĪL and ḤADĪTH. Add to the Bibliographies Fazlur Rahman, *Islam*, London 1966, chap. 3 *passim* and Nabia Abbott, *Studies in Arabic literary papyri II, Qur'anic commentary and tradition*, Chicago 1967, see Index. (J. ROBSON)

ISPAHBADH, Persian, "army chief", the Islamic form of a military title used in the pre-Islamic Persian empires and surviving in the Caspian provinces of Persia down to the Mongol invasions.

In Achaemenid times the *spādhapati* was the commander-in-chief of the army. In the Arsacid period, the office of *spāhpat* was apparently hereditary in one of the great Parthian families; the Armenian geographer Moses of Choren (8th century A. D.) says that when Koshm or Komsh, daughter of King Arshavir (sc. Phraates IV) married the commander-in-chief of the Parthian army, their descendants acquired the name of Aspahapet Pahlav (see Marquart in *ZDMG*, xlix (1895), 635-9; idem, *Ērānšahr*, 71-2; Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*[2], 104). The term was in fact twice borrowed into Armenian: once in Arsacid times from the Old Persian, giving (*a*)*sparapet*, and again in early Sāsānid times from the Middle Persian form, giving *aspahapet* (which in the Armenian version of the Book of Genesis translates the Greek ἀρχιστράτηγος "supreme commander") (Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, i, 22-3, 240). In the Byzantine historians of the Persian wars, M. Pers. *spāhpat* is rendered as ἀσπαβέδης. The military title even travelled as far as Eastern Turkestan, and comes into the Saka language of Khotan as *spāta*, later form *spā* (H. W. Bailey, *Indo-Scythian studies. Khotanese texts iv*, Cambridge 1961, 7, 55); it does not, however, appear to be attested in Soghdian.

In the early Sāsānid period there was a supreme military overlord and war minister, the *Ērān-spahpat* "commander-in-chief of all the realm"; but one also finds *spahpats* appointed for specific regions, e.g. for the Sawād of Mesopotamia (Christensen, *op. cit.*, 130). After the Emperor Kawādh was forced to humble his over-mighty subject, the *Ērān-spahpat* Zarmihr or Sūkhrā, his son and successor Khusraw Anūshirvān introduced certain military reforms, whereby instead of one all-powerful commander, there were to be four *spahpats*, one for each of the quarters of the empire, north, east, south and west. In the table of precedence in the Sāsānid empire given by Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, i, 202, the *Spahpat* comes after the chief minister (*Buzurg-framadhār*), the *Môbadhān-Môbadh*, the *Herbadhan-Herbadh* and the chief secretary (*Dibherbadh*); this seems to reflect the pre-reform position. The list in Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 156, on the other hand, places the four *spahpats* after the ministers of state and the *Môbadhān-Môbadh*; although Masʿūdī says that this was the position under Ardashīr, it obviously reflects that under Anūshirvān and afterwards (see Nöldeke-Ṭabarī, 139, 155-6, 444; Marquart, in *ZDMG* (1895), *loc. cit.*; Christensen, 336, 370-1). In the Armenian kingdom, the *Sparapet* or commander-in-chief occupied a similar high rank, and his office, the (*a*)*sparapetʿiun*, was hereditary in the Mamikonian family (see Hübschmann, 240; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 165-7).

At the time of the Arab invasion of Persia, the Sāsānid *Spahpat* of the East established himself in the Caspian fastnesses of Ṭabaristān, where he invited the fugitive Emperor Yazdigird III to take refuge (Christensen, 507). We now have the New Persian form *ispahbadh*, defined in the *Mudjmal al-tawārīkh*, 420, as "Amīr" or "Amīr-Sipāhsālār". In Arabic this becomes *iṣbahbadh* (cf. Djawālīḳī, *al-Muʿarrab*, ed. Sachau, 99; *Lisān al-ʿarab*[1], v, 8; in *Tādj al-ʿarūs*, ii, 569, we have *iṣbahbadhān*, said to occur in a verse of Djarīr), or, more rarely, *iṣbāhbadh* (cf. Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār al-bāḳiya*, 101, tr. 109, following Marquart's correction of *anābadh*, the alleged title of the princes of Gurgān).

The Ispahbadhs of Gīlān are early mentioned in the Arabic accounts of the conquests. Thus in 22/643 Suwayd b. Muḳarrin wrote to al-Farrukhān "the Iṣbahbadh of Khurāsān over Ṭabaristān and the Djīl-i Djīlān" (Ṭabarī, i, 2659). Later in the century, the references become more frequent, e.g. in the story of Ḳaṭarī b. al-Fudjāʾa's revolt (Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 329, years 78-9/697-9), and in that of ʿUmar b. Abi 'l-Ṣalt's revolt in Ray (Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 395-6, year 83/702). Coins of these Ispahbadhs, with Pahlavi legends, appear shortly after this (see A. D. Mordtmann, in *ZDMG*, xxxiii (1879), 110-12; R. Vasmer, *EI*[1], art. *Māzandarān*, appendix on coins). These Ispahbadhs are those of the Dābūyid family (40-141/660-758), a parallel line of which formed the long-lived Pādhūspānid dynasty of Rūyān and western Ṭabaristān [see DĀBŪYA and BĀDŪSBĀNIDS].

Another local line in the mountains of Ṭabaristān which used *Ispahbadh* as the title of its chiefs was that of the Ḳārinwand or Sūkhrāniyyān (572 to 225/839-40), who latterly recognized the Bāwandids (see below) as overlords. The last ruler of this line was the celebrated Māzyār b. Ḳārin [*q.v.*], who was executed during the caliphate of al-Muʿtaṣim for plotting a Zoroastrian revolt, and who claimed to be "Djīl-i Djīlān, Iṣbahbadh Khurāsān, al-Māzyār, Muḥammad b. Ḳārin, Muwālī (*sic*, not Mawlā) Amīr al-Mu'minīn" (Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 277, tr. 81, cf. idem, *Historiae*, ii, 582, and Ṭabarī, iii, 1298).

Lastly amongst these Caspian dynasties, the Bāwandids of Ṭabaristān used the title of *Ispahbadh*. This family can be traced from the time of the Arab invasions till well after the Mongol conquests; the second of the three lines of the dynasty (466-606/1074-1210) is specifically known as that of the Ispahbadhiyya [see BĀWAND]. As well as being thus used as a regnal title by the Bāwandids of the early 7th/13th century, we find *ispahbadh* used in this region

as a common noun meaning "local chieftain"; cf. Ibn Isfandiyār, *Taʾrikh-i Ṭabaristān*, ed. Iḳbāl, ii, 171, tr. Browne, 255, where Shams al-Mulūk Rustam II b. Ardashīr is greeted on his accession in 602/1206 by "the *iṣfahbadān*, the Bāwandān, the military leaders and the town notables".

However, the title was also known amongst the Daylamīs of the south-western corner of the Caspian, as well as in the south-eastern one; in the time of the Ziyārid Wushmagīr (mid-4th/10th century) there was an Ispahbadh of Mūghān, named as *pisar-i D. lūla* (A. Kasravī, *Shahriyārān-i gum-nām*, i, 57-8). During the first two centuries or so of Islam, the title also persisted to the east of the Caspian, on the northern and eastern marches of Khurāsān. The Ispahbadh of Balkh was amongst the local princes of Bādghīs and Ṭukhāristān who were persuaded by the Hephthalite Ṭarkhān Nīzak [see HAYĀṬILA] to throw off allegiance to Ḳutayba b. Muslim's Arabs in 90/709 (Ṭabarī, ii, 1206, 1218, cf. also 1300); and shortly afterwards, in 119/737, an Ispahbadh of Nasā, named as al-Ishkand (see Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 142), acted as commander of the Khāḳān of the Western Turks' army against the Arabs (Ṭabarī, ii, 1597-8). An interesting usage of the term is in an inscription on the Kaʿba dating from 200/815-16 in al-Maʾmūn's Caliphate. This commemorates the forwarding to Mecca from Khurāsān of the captured throne of "the Iṣbahbadh Kābul-Shāh" (Azraḳī, *Akhbār Makka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 158; *Répertoire*, i, 92-3, No. 116); but the usage of this title by the Kābul-Shāhs is not attested elsewhere. It also appears as the personal name of a Turkish slave commander of the Saldjūḳs: in 487/1094 or 488/1095 the Amīr Iṣfabadh b. Sāwtigīn al-Turkumānī expelled the ʿAlid governor of Mecca and held the city for a while (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 163; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl taʾrikh Dimashḳ*, ed. Amedroz, 130, cf. also 158).

Finally, one may note that in Georgian texts of the 6th/12th century, the loanword *spaspeti* "commander-in-chief" < *ispahbadh* is used as a synonym for *amir spaslari* (see the Georgian Academy of Sciences' *Dictionary of Georgian*, ed. A. S. Chikobava, Tbilisi 1950, vi, col. 1134; M. Andronikashvili, *Studies in Iranian-Georgian linguistic contacts*, Tbilisi 1966, 371-2; and also ISPAHSĀLĀR).

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): T. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sassaniden*, 139, 155-6, 437-8, 444; H. Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, i, 22-3, 239-40; F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 306; J. Marquart, *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Sage von Erān*, in *ZDMG*, xlix (1895), 635-9; idem, *Ērānšahr*, 68, 71-2, 131, 165-7; A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*[2], Copenhagen 1944, 99, 104, 130-1, 138, 336, 370-1, 518-21; Spuler, *Iran*, index; H. L. Rabino di Borgomale, *L'histoire du Mâzandarân*, in *JA*, ccxliv (1943-5), 216-21; Ḥasan al-Bāshā, *al-Alḳāb al-islāmiyya*, Cairo 1958, 139; W. Eilers, *Iranisches Lehngut im arabischen Lexikon: über einige Berufsnamen und Titel*, in *Indo-Iranian Journal*, v (1962), 215.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

ISPAHSĀLĀR, SIPAHSĀLĀR, Persian, "army commander", Arabized form *isfahsalār*, *iṣbahsalār*: the title given to commanders-in-chief and general officers in the armies of many states of the central and eastern mediaeval Islamic world. On the component *sālār* and its Middle Persian origins, see SĀLĀR. The compound *spāhsālār* is already attested in Pāzand (i.e. Middle Persian transcribed from Pahlavi into Avestan script), e.g. in the 9th century *Shkand-gumānik vičār* (Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, 235).

i. THE ISLAMIC WORLD EXCEPTING INDIA

The Ispahsālār as a military leader appears to be the Islamic counterpart of the Sāsānid *Spāhpat* "commander-in-chief", the New Persian derivative *Ispahbadh* having in Islamic times a restricted application as the regnal title of certain Iranian families in the Caspian provinces and in certain localities of Khurāsān [see ISPAHBADH].

The use of the term *Ispahsālār* became widespread during the 4th/10th century as a concomitant of the political and military upsurge of Daylamī and other Iranian peoples. Amongst the Būyids, the Arabic sources normally use Arabic expressions like *Ḥādjib al-Ḥudjdjāb*, *al-Ḥādjib al-Kabīr* or *Ṣāḥib al-Djaysh* for the supreme commander of the Būyid army [see ḤĀDJIB. iii. Eastern dynasties], but *Ispahsālār* was also used and carried with it an especial honour. Thus in 360/971, ʿIzz al-Dawla Bakhtiyār conciliated the Turkish slave general Sebüktigīn al-Muʿizzī by ordering, amongst other things, that he should be addressed as "Isfahsalār"; after this commander's death, Bakhtiyār in 364/974-5 offered the title to the general Alptigīn, leader of his rebellious Turkish troops (Miskawayh, in *Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid Caliphate*, ii, 258, 293, tr. v, 273, 314; Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, *Rasāʾil*, Beirut 1899, 263; see also instances in Rūdhrāwarī, in *Eclipse*, iii, 81, 107, tr. vi, 82, 111). But as disorder grew in the Būyid provinces under ʿAḍud al-Dawla's weaker successors, the title became debased, and as appears from several citations in the sources it came merely to mean "commander" or even just "officer" as distinct from the rank-and-file; cf. Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, viii, 72: *djamāʿa min al-ḳuwwād wa'l-iṣbahsalāriyya*, and on the whole topic of Būyid usage, M. Kabir, *The Buwayhid dynasty of Baghdad*, Calcutta 1964, 137-9.

Amongst other dynasties of the east, however, the title usually retained its original, more exalted meaning. It is attested in this sense for the Ṣaffārid army of Khalaf b. Aḥmad's time (reigned 352/963-393/1003), and is distinguished in the sources from the *Ḥādjib al-Ḥudjdjāb*, who may have been the commander of the slave troops only (C. E. Bosworth, *The armies of the Ṣaffārids*, in *BSOAS*, xxxi (1968), 547 n. 52). The Turkish dynasties who established themselves in the eastern and central lands of the Caliphate from the end of the 4th/10th century onwards adopted the existing Arabic and Persian military terminology just as they adopted much of the existing administrative practice. In Ghaznavid usage, *Sipahsālār* alternates with Arabic equivalents for "supreme commander" like *Ḥādjib al-Ḥudjdjāb* and *al-Ḥādjib al-kabīr* and with the Turkish one *Sübashi*, and these are used, for example, to denote the commanders-in-chief of the armies in Khurāsān or India; the simple term *sālār* or *ḥādjib* apparently denoted a step lower, that of "commander" or "general officer". Yet the compound and simple terms are both used for the commanders of special component divisions of the army as a whole; we hear of the commander of the Indian troops, the *Sipahsālār-i Hindūyān*, and the *Sālār* of the *ghāzī*s or volunteer fighters on the frontiers, this latter officer being normally stationed at Lahore, convenient for raiding into India (C. E. Bosworth, *Ghaznevid military organisation*, in *Isl.*, xxxvi (1960), 44).

Great Saldjūḳ military terminology frequently employed such expressions as *Ispahsālār-i Buzurg* or *Amīr-i Ispahsālār* for the commander-in-chief of the

whole Saldjūḳ forces (cf. İ. Kafesoğlu, *Sultan Melikşah devrinde büyük Selçuklu imparatorluğu*, Istanbul 1953, 158), or else for the commander of the army in an important region like Khurāsān (cf. Bundārī, *Zubdat al-nuṣra*, 56). These phrases were further used as general terms for "commander, general officer", alternating with such expressions as *Amīr al-umarā'*, *Amīr-i amīrān*, *Amīr-sālār*, *Muḳaddam al-djaysh*, *Sübashi*, etc.; this diversity of nomenclature was handed on to the Saldjūḳs of Rūm in the 7th/13th century (cf. İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtına medhal*, Istanbul 1941, 59-60). The *Amīr-i Ispahsālār* often appears in official letters and investiture diplomas emanating from both the Great Saldjūḳs and their eastern neighbours and initial vassals, the *Khwārazm-Shāhs*. This title was usually conferred on a newly-appointed *Shiḥna* [*q.v.*], military governor or commander of the police. One document in Muntadjab al-Dīn Djuwaynī's *ʿAtabat al-kataba*, ed. Ḳazwīnī and Iḳbāl, Tehran 1329/1950, 74 ff., emanating from Sandjar's chancery, describes how both the deceased amīrs ʿImād al-Dīn Ḳamač and his son ʿAlā' al-Dīn Abū Bakr were amīrs of Khurāsān with the title of *Amīr-i Isfahsālār*; this designation and the governorship of the Balkh region are now conferred on Abū Bakr's son ʿImād al-Dīn Abu 'l-Fatḥ. Especially interesting is the detailing of the insignia of a *Sipahsālār* and *Ṣāḥib-ṭaraf* (i.e. the governor of a strategically-situated frontier province): distinctive official robes; a horse with special saddle and accoutrements; a jewelled collar; a shield and sword-belt; the right to a salute of kettledrums in the military encampments; a standard; a tent of regal dimensions; etc. (see also H. Horst, *Die Staatsverwaltung der Grosselǧūqen und Ḫōrazmšāhs (1038-1231)*, Wiesbaden 1964, 116).

A peculiar expression found in the military titulature of the Khwārazm-Shāhs is that of *Ḳīr Isfahsālār*, apparently meaning "commander of a *thaghr* or frontier region" (*ḳīr*, Turkish "frontier region", roughly synonymous with *uč*, see Kāshgharī, *Dīwān lughāt al-turk*, tr. Atalay, i, 324-5: *ḳīr* "uncultivated, vacant land"). In 594/1198 at Hamadhān, the Khwārazm-Shāh Tekish made his general Mayačuḳ or Mayančuḳ governor of ʿIrāḳ ʿAdjamī, and amongst his titles were those of "Ulugh Ḥādjib, Ghāzī, Ḳīr Isfahsālār" (Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, 396-7). Amongst the line of Atabegs of Yazd founded by Rukn al-Dīn Sām (d. 590/1194), we find *Isfahsālār* as the personal name of the fourth of the family to rule, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Abū Manṣūr Isfahsālār (Djaʿfar b. Muḥammad Djaʿfarī, *Ta'rīkh-i Yazd*, ed. I. Afshār, Tehran 1338/1960, 23 ff.).

Use of the title was in the Mongol period somewhat eclipsed by the popularity of Mongol and Turkish military terminology, but it never went entirely out of use. In particular, we find it very much alive during the Mongol and Il-Khānid periods in the Caspian provinces, which were conservative in their usages and often pursued a path divergent from that of the major part of Persia. Many references to the title in the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries, and to the office of *sipahsālārī*, can be found in such local histories of Gīlān and Daylam as Ẓāhir al-Dīn Marʿashī's *Ta'rīkh-i Gīlān u Daylamistān*, ʿAlī Lāhidjī's *Ta'rīkh-i Khānī* and ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Fūmanī's *Ta'rīkh-i Gīlān*. The title persisted, too, into Ṣafawid times, although the question of the position and powers of the *Sipahsālār* becomes extremely complex and confused at this time. It does not appear in the earliest Ṣafawid period at all, when it was the *Amīr al-Umarā'* who was commander-in-chief of the Ḳizilbāsh forces. It seems to have been revived during the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās I (996/1588-1038/1629), when we find a Georgian convert, Ḳarčaghāy Khān, as *Sipahsālār-i Īrān* in 1032/1622-3 and then finally becoming *Sipahsālār-i kull-i lashkar-i Īrān*, implying that the *Sipahsālār* was then superior to the *Ḳūrčībāshī* or commander of the remainder of the Ḳizilbāsh troops (Iskandar Munshī, *Ta'rīkh-i ʿālam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, iii, 1039-40). Under ʿAbbās's successor Shāh Ṣafī I, there was the famous *Sipahsālār* Rustam Khān, governor of Tabrīz and *Beglerbegi* of Ādharbāydjān, executed in ʿAbbās II's reign. When the latter ruler dismissed his *Sipahsālār* ʿAlī Ḳulī Beg, ʿAlī Ḳulī's office was divided into that of the *Sardār* and the *Ḳūrčībāshī*. This fact supports Chardin's observation that the post of *Sipahsālār*, till then usually held by the *beglerbegi* or governor of Ādharbāydjān, was in his time (sc. 1664-77) abolished, and a *sardār* appointed *ad hoc* in times of war (cited in Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, introd., 36). Under the Ḳādjārs, *Sipahsālār-i Aʿẓam* appears as an honorific title granted to two high ministers during the second half of the 19th century. Mīrzā Muḥammad Khān Ḳādjār was appointed minister of war, with the title of *Sipahsālār-i Aʿẓam*, in 1275/1858 (Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Marāghī, *al-Ma'āthir wa'l-āthār*, Tehran 1306-7/1889, 16, 29). The same honour was conferred on the Mushīr al-Dawla Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān Ḳazwīnī when he in turn became minister of war in 1288/1871; it was he who built the Sipahsālār mosque in Tehran, next to the present Madjlis building, which was indeed originally his house. In present-day Iran the title is not in normal usage, H.I.H. the Shah being denoted, in his rôle as commander-in-chief of the Iranian Army, by such titles as *Farmāndih-i Kull*.

Usage of the title was in the mediaeval period by no means confined to the Iranian world, or even to the *Dār al-Islām*. It was probably Saldjūḳ influence which brought it into the Armenian vocabulary, where (*a*)*spasalar* "commander" occurs in the 12th-century historian Matthew of Edessa (Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, 239). Saldjūḳ example certainly explains how the term *Amir Spasalari* found its way into 12th- and 13th-century Christian Georgia; under Queen Tamara (1184-1212), this officer ranked as one of the four great ministers of state (cf. W. E. D. Allen, *A history of the Georgian people*, London 1932, 253, 260 ff.; the Georgian Academy of Sciences' *Dictionary of Georgian*, ed. A. S. Chikobava, Tbilisi 1950, i, col. 311: "minister of war, commander-in-chief"; M. Andronikashvili, *Studies in Iranian-Georgian linguistic contacts*, Tbilisi 1966, 371-2).

The prestige and military might of Iranian powers like the Būyids and Turkish-Iranian ones like the Great Saldjūḳs favoured the westwards spread of Persian military terminology. Ḳalḳashandī quotes Ibn al-Ṭuways as an authority on Fāṭimid administrative and military practice, that under the Fāṭimid Caliphs the commander-in-chief of the forces or Isfahsalār (a term which Ḳalḳashandī glosses as *Muḳaddam al-ʿaskar*) was equal in status to the Ṣāḥib al-Bāb or Wazīr al-Ṣaghīr, the Head Chamberlain [*q.v.*]; all questions of military organization came to these two officials (*Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, iii, 483, vi, 7). Historical and epigraphical sources demonstrate that amongst the Atabeg dynasties of 6th/12th century Syria and ʿIrāḳ, and then subsequently amongst the Ayyūbids, the title *Isfahsalār* and the abstract *isfahsalāriyya* "chief command" were extremely common. The Atabegs themselves used the title, and it was

further given to the commanders of provincial armies or town garrisons, especially when these were formed of mercenary troops (*ʿaskariyya*). Van Berchem's examination of Börid inscriptions indicated that the titles *al-Amīr al-Isfahsalār al-Adjall al-Sayyid al-Kabīr* were a set formula in the designation of these Atabegs of Damascus, from Ẓahīr al-Dīn Ṭughtigīn onwards; an interesting point is that though the lesser titles might be borne by subordinate members of the family, e.g. the Atabeg's *walī al-ʿahd* or heir, the exalted titles *al-Atabak* and *al-Isfahsalār* were reserved for the Atabeg himself. As examples of other leading figures of the period using the titles *al-Amīr al-Isfahsalār*, one may cite Aḳ Sonḳor al-Bursuḳī of Mosul; Shīrkūh when he was in the service of Nūr al-Dīn al-Zangī; the commander of Shīrkūh and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, Ḳara Ḳush; Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's commander Ḳaradja; Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn himself as addressed in letters from Nūr al-Dīn; and by al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam Sharaf al-Dīn ʿĪsā's *Ustādh al-Dār* when he was governor of Ṣalkhat in the Ḥawrān, ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak (M. van Berchem, *Épigraphie des Atabeks de Damas*, in *Florilegium Melchior de Vogüé*, Paris 1909, 32-9; idem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus inscriptionum arabicarum*. i. *Égypte*, Paris 1903, 638-42, No. 458; idem, *Eine arabische Inschrift aus dem Ostjordanlande*, in *ZDPV*, xvi (1893), 85-6, corrected in *Matériaux*, i, 640-1; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, ed. Amedroz, 167, 193, 197, 327 and *passim*; Abū Shāma, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn*, Cairo 1287-8/1870-1, i, 161; Ḥasan al-Bāshā, *al-Alḳāb al-islāmiyya*, Cairo 1957, 156-7).

The title *Isfahsālār* and the *nisba* of *al-Isfahsalārī* both survived into the 7th/13th century and beyond amongst the Mamlūks of Syria and Egypt, the former term being found as a component in the titles of the great amīrs and the second term in their designations on objets d'art and in inscriptions (e.g. the inscription on the *madrasa* and mausoleum built in 715/1315 by the Amīr Sonḳor al-Saʿdī, see *Matériaux*, i, 733, No. 529). According to Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, cited in *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, vi, 7-8, the honorific *al-isfahsalārī* was specially reserved for the *umarāʾ al-ṭablakhānāh*, but he goes on to say that its use had been abandoned in his own time (sc. the last decades of the 8th/14th century), perhaps because of the term's debasement, the common people were using the term *Isbahsalār* for all the guards around the sultan's circle.

Nevertheless, we still meet *Isfahsalār* in use as one of the titles of the Amīr Sayf al-Dīn Yashbak, the *Dawādār* and commander-in-chief of the Egyptian army, carved on his palace in 880/1475-6 (*Matériaux*, i, 452, No. 305).

This seems to be the end of its usage in the central lands of Islam. Although *sipahsālār* appears as a common noun in Ottoman sources, it was not a specific rank; in the Ottoman Empire the usual title of the commander-in-chief was Serdār or Serʿasker [*qq.v.*] (C. E. Bosworth)

ii. Muslim India

From Ghaznavid usage (see above), the term passed to the Ghūrids and thence to the Dihlī sultans in Muslim India. In the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries we can discern two or probably three usages of *Isfahsālār*. Firstly, it denotes the commander-in-chief of the Ghūrid army; in his inscription on the Ḳuwwat al-Islām mosque in Dihlī (587/1191), Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak describes himself as *Amīr-i Isfahsālār-i Adjall-i Kabīr* (J. Horovitz, *The inscriptions of Muḥammad Ibn Sām*, in *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, Calcutta 1911-12, 13). Secondly, it denotes in the 7th/13th century an officer who in theory commanded 100 cavalry, that officer below the rank of amīr (see the description of the decimal chain of command in Baranī's *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī*, ed. Syed Ahmad Khan, Calcutta 1862, 145); but in the 8th/14th century under the Tughluḳids, the *isfahsālār* had probably sunk to the command of 10 men only, the equivalent of a *sarkhayl* of the century before (Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, Indian section ed. and tr. into Urdu by K. A. Fariq, Delhi 1961, 24, 26; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, v, 91-2). Finally, it seems to be a general term denoting "commander of high rank, general officer"; the historian ʿIṣāmī refers to his grandfather ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿIṣāmī, who was *ʿĀriḍ* or chief of military affairs and *Wakīl-i Dar* under Balban (later 7th/13th century), as *Sipahsālār* (*Futūḥ al-salāṭīn*, ed. A. S. Usha, Madras 1948, 447-8). By a curious coincidence, the maternal grandfather of the historian Baranī also held the office of *Wakīl-i Dar* [and] *Bārbak* in the same reign, and is called the Sipahsālār Ḥusām al-Dīn (Baranī, op. cit., 41). The title [*Sipah*] *Sālār* is given already in the early 8th/14th century to the warrior-saint Masʿūd Ghāzī of Bahrāič, who allegedly flourished in early Ghaznavid times; this title is probably meant in a general sense, unless it is a reminiscence of the Ghaznavid title *Sālār* given to the commander of the Indian *ghāzī*s (see above, and also ghāzī miyān). Under the Lodī sultans of Dihlī in the 9th/15th and early 10th/16th centuries, *Sipahsālār* was possibly used in the sense of "general officer" (ʿAbbās Khān Sarwānī, *Taʾrīkh-i Sher Shāhī*, ed. S. M. Imām al-Dīn, Dacca 1964, i, 6).

In Mughal usage, the term *Sipahsālār* is sometimes applied to the Khānkhānān, being especially applicable when that officer took the field in the absence of his sovereign (see Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, ed. B. De, Calcutta 1931, ii, 425-6, and Kāmgār Ḥusaynī, *Maʾāthir-i Djihāngīrī*, B. M. Ms. Or. 171, ff. 117b, 120a). Similarly in the Deccan, the historian Firishta appears to use *Sipahsālār* as a synonym for *Amīr al-umarāʾ* (see *Taʾrīkh-i Firishta*, Kānpūr 1290/1874, 279). In the Sultanate of Bengal during the 9th/15th century, *Sipahsālār* was evidently used for "supreme commander". The Chinese interpreter Mahuan, who visited Bengal with a Chinese embassy in about 811/1408-9, remarks that "they have a standing army which is paid in kind, the commander-in-chief of which is called *Pa-szu-la-urh*" (G. Phillips, *Mahuan's account of the kingdom of Bengala*, in *JRAS* (1895), 532, also in N. K. Bhattasali, *Coinage and chronology of the early independent Sultans of Bengal*, Cambridge 1922, 171).

(S. Digby)

ISPARTA, town in south-west Turkey (Pisidia), situated at an altitude of 1025 m., in a fertile plain between Burdur and Egridir, the Apollonia-Sozopolis of antiquity. The modern name preserves that of the Byzantine fortress Saporda (not Baris Pisidiae, see E. Honigmann in *Byzantion*, xiv (1939), 655); in Muslim sources of the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries it appears as Sabarta. After its capture by the Saldjūḳs in 600-1/1203-4 it belonged to the Western frontier-province of their dominions. With the break-up of the Saldjūḳ empire, the Ḥamīd-oghullarï [*q.v.*], whose base was Egridir, incorporated Isparta in their principality. In 783/1381 the Ottoman ruler Murād I persuaded the Ḥamīd-oghlu Ḥüseyn Beg to cede most of his territory, Isparta included, in return for a cash payment, so that the town now belonged to the Ottoman Sandjak of Ḥamīd-ili, later becoming its *chef-lieu*. It was the native town of the

reformer Khalīl Ḥāmid Pasha (d. 1785) who erected there several public buildings and a library. As the seat of the Metropolitan of Pisidia (from the middle of the 8th/14th century) Isparta had several churches and a considerable number of Christian inhabitants, who were removed during the exchange of populations after the First World War. In earlier days its chief products were textiles and attar of roses; the carpet industry has become increasingly important since the end of the 19th century.

The town, which in later Ottoman times was called Ḥamīdābād, is now the capital of the *vilâyet* of Isparta, which comprises the *kazas* of Isparta, Eğridir, Uluborlu, Yalvaç, Sarkî Karaağaç and Sütçüler. The population of the town in 1960 was 35,981.

Bibliography: Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 266; Kātib Čelebi, *Djihānnümā*, 639-40; Evliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, ix, 283; P. Lucas, *Voyage dans la Grèce* ... i, 246 f.; V. J. Arundell, *A visit to the Seven Churches of Asia*, London 1828, 118-32; idem, *Discoveries in Asia Minor*, London 1834, i, 346 f., ii, 1-22; W. J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, i, London 1842, 483; F. Sarre, *Reisen in Kleinasien*, Berlin 1896, 167-8; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1890, i, 850 f.; Illustration in de Laborde, *Voyage de l'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1838, 106; *IA*, s.v. (by Besim Darkot), with fuller bibliography.

(B. Flemming)

ISPENDJE, Ottoman name of an *ʿörfī* (*ʿurfī*) tax levied on adult non-Muslim subjects, and amounting usually to 25 *aḳčas* a year. Neither of the explanations advanced for its etymology (*pendjik* [*q.v.*], Hammer-Purgstall, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 213; *spenza*: C. Truhelka, in *THIM*, i, 63) is convincing; in texts of the first half of the 9th/15th century (*e.g.* H. İnalcık (ed.), *Sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arvanid*, Ankara 1954, p. 130) it is spelled *ispenče*. The oldest reference to this tax belong to the reign of Bāyezīd I (*Arvanid*, p. 103). According to this register (of 835/1431; see its introduction, p. xxxiii), *ispendje* of 25 *aḳčes* was collected from married males, whilst 6 *aḳčes*, under the name *bīve resmi*, was collected from widows. According to the *ḳānūnnāme* of Meḥemmed II (*MOG*, i, 28-9) every married non-Muslim was to pay 25 *aḳčes* to his *sipāhī*, and if he had an adult son living at home he was to pay *ispendje* for him too. The same amount usually is prescribed in *ḳānūns* of the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries (see Ö. L. Barkan, *Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943, index); occasionally it is less (20 *aḳčes*: Kerkük) or more (30 *aḳčes*: Cyprus). A non-Muslim who embraced Islam became liable instead to *bennāk resmi* [*q.v.*].

The Ottomans regarded this tax as a poll-tax paid to the timariot or as the counterpart of *čift-resmi* [*q.v.*]. It is in origin very probably a poll-tax paid in the empire of Stefan Dushan and maintained under the Ottomans; the old *kapu-resmi* of Hungary was treated as *ispendje* by the Ottomans. The *ispendje* was introduced in Anatolia only in the 10th/16th century as a characteristic Ottoman tax. Christian troops who ranked as *ʿaskerī* (*voynuk*, *doghandjī*, *eflāḳ*, etc.) were exempt from *ispendje*, while peasantry serving mines or guarding passes were either totally exempt or paid only 6 or 12 *aḳčes*. Although usually belonging to the timariot's revenue, it was occasionally payable to the Imperial Treasury.

Bibliography: H. İnalcık, *Osmanlılar'da raiyyet rüsûmu*, in *Belleten*, xxiii (1959), 602-8, with full references.

(H. İnalcık)

ISRĀʾ [see miʿrādj].

ISRĀFĪL, the name of an archangel, which is probably to be traced to the Hebrew *Serāfīm* as is indicated by the variants *Sarāfīl* and *Sarāfīn* (*Tādj al-ʿArūs*, vii, 375). The change of liquids is not unusual in such endings. His size is astounding; while his feet are under the seventh earth, his head reaches up to the pillars of the divine throne. He has four wings: one in the west, one in the east, one with which he covers his body and one as a protection against the majesty of God. He is covered with hair, mouths and tongues. He is considered to be the angel who reads out the divine decisions from the well-kept Tablet and transmits them to the Archangel to whose department they belong. Three times by day and three times by night he looks down into Hell and is convulsed with grief and weeps so violently that the earth might be inundated by his tears.

For three years he was the companion of the Prophet, whom he initiated into the work of a prophet. Gabriel then took over his task and began the communication of the Ḳurʾān.

Alexander is said to have met him before his arrival in the land of darkness; there he stood upon a hill and blew the trumpet, tears in his eyes. If he is called Lord of the Trumpet, it is mainly because he continually holds the trumpet to his mouth in order to be able to blow at once as soon as God gives the order for the blast which is to arouse men from their graves. It is however also said that Isrāfīl will be first aroused on the day of the Resurrection. He will then take his stand upon the holy rock in Jerusalem and give the signal which will bring the dead back to life.

In Egypt, in Lane's time, it was said that his music would refresh the inhabitants of Paradise.

Bibliography: Kisāʾī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-Malakūt*, Ms. Leiden, 538 Warner, fol. 4f.; Ḳazwīnī, *Adjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 56-7; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, i, 1248 f., 1255; Pseudo-Ghazālī, *al-Durra al-fākhira*, ed. Gautier, 42; M. Wolff, *Muhammed. Eschatologie*, 9, 49; Sale, *The Koran, Preliminary Discourse*, 94; Friedländer, *Die Chadhirlegende und der Alexanderroman*, 171, 208; Lane, *Manners and Customs*, London 1899, 80.

(A. J. Wensinck)

ISRAEL [see banū isrāʾīl, filasṭīn, yaʿḳūb].

ISRĀʾĪLIYYĀT, an Arabic term covering three kinds of narratives, which are found in the commentators on the Ḳurʾān, the mystics, the compilers of edifying histories and writers on various levels.

1. Narratives regarded as historical, which served to complement the often summary information provided by the revealed Book in respect of the personages in the Bible (*Tawrāt* and *Indjīl*), particularly the prophets (*Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*).

2. Edifying narratives placed within the chronological (but entirely undefined) framework of "the period of the (ancient) Israelites" (*ʿahd Banī Isrāʾīl*).

3. Fables belonging to folklore, allegedly (but sometimes actually) borrowed from Jewish sources. The line of demarcation between this class and the preceding one is difficult to establish.

The prophetic legends appeared very early in Muslim literature, although few if any traces still survive which in fact go back, in the form in which we have them, to the first century of the Hidjra.

The earliest sources of information were either converted Jews or, perhaps, Arabs who had had contacts, before their conversion to Islam, with the Jews and Christians of the Arabian peninsula and the neighbouring regions. Mention may be made of ʿAbīd/ʿUbayd b. Sharya al-Djurhumī [see ibn sharya], whose narrations concerning the ancient history of the kings of the Arabs and Persians and biblical

history (the confusion of languages, the dispersal of mankind) were said to have been recorded in writing by order of Muʿāwiya, ʿAbd Allāh b. Salām [*q.v.*], Kaʿb al-Aḥbār [*q.v.*] and, later, Wahb b. Munabbih [*q.v.*]; the last-named is believed to have written a *K. al-Mubtadaʾ*, entitled also *Isrāʾīliyyāt*; there is no reason to question the authenticity of this belief, and it may be accepted that authors like Ibn Hishām (d. 218/833) made extracts from it which in turn were passed on to later authors; however, the particular compilations which claim to relate certain traditions of these personages do not offer the smallest guarantee of their authenticity or antiquity, or of their earlier date in relation to the great compositions of *taʾrīkh*, *tafsīr* and *ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* produced from the 3rd/9th to the 5th/11th centuries.

Narratives of the second category were perhaps already utilized by al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [*q.v.*], d. 110/728, and thus contemporary of Wahb; they certainly formed part of the stock of edifying parenesis, at least from the time of Mālik b. Dīnār [*q.v.*], d. about 131/748; it may therefore be thought that this genre made its first appearance in devotional literature during the period of the *tābiʿūn*. Al-Muḥāsibī [*q.v.*] did not hesitate to have recourse to it (*Riʿāya*, ed. M. Smith, 234, l. 11-12, 242 f.); Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā [*q.v.*] used it freely, and, of the later and very popular authors, besides Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣbahānī (*Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*), Ghazālī (*Iḥyāʾ*) and Muwaffaḳ al-Dīn Ibn Ḳudāma (*K. al-Tawwābin*, ed. G. Makdisi, Damascus 1962).

The practice of introducing folklore themes (such as the motif of the "three wishes") into narratives set in the time of the Banū Isrāʾīl is one which the moralists and men of letters readily adopted.

It was the works of pure imagination of this kind, and also the extravagant flights of fancy of the *ḳuṣṣāṣ* in their over-loaded, embellished versions of the histories of the prophets which have caused the *Isrāʾīl yyāt* to be condemned by strict scholars such as Ibn Kathīr (cf. H. Laoust, in *Arabica*, ii (1955), 75, where the reference should be *Bidāya*, i, 6), a condemnation repeated in more specific terms by al-Sakhāwī (*Iʿlān*, trans. apud Fr. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*,² Leiden 1968, 335); however, the feeling of distrust and the warnings sounded on this subject go back to a very much earlier date; they are to be found in Ibn Ḳutayba [*q.v.*], in his *Taʾwil mukhtalif al-ḥadīth* (see G. Lecomte, *Le Traité des divergences du ḥadīth d'Ibn Qutayba*, Damascus 1962, 310-16), and they have left traces in the classical collections of *ḥadīth* (cf. G. Vajda, in *JA*, 1937, 115-20).

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the text and the accounts of Brockelmann, S I, 101 and Sezgin, I, 305-7, see also M. Lidzbarski, *De propheticis, quae dicuntur, legendis arabicis*, Leipzig 1893; I. Goldziher, *Isrâʾiliyyât*, in *REJ* xliv (1902), 63-5; C. H. Becker, *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt*, l. 8 f., Heidelberg 1906; L. Cheikho, *Quelques légendes islamiques apocryphes*, in *MFOB*, iv (1910), 33-56; B. Chapira, *Légendes bibliques attribuées à Kaʿb al-Ahbâr*, in *REJ*, lxix (1919), 86-107, lxx (1920), 37-43; R. Basset, *Mille et un contes, récits et légendes arabes*, Paris 1924-7 (cf. B. Heller, *Récits et personnages bibliques dans la légende mahométane*, in *REJ*, lxxxv (1928), 113-36; idem, *La légende biblique dans l'Islam*, *ibid.*, xcviii (1934), 1-18; idem, *The Relation of the Aggada to Islamic Legends*, in *MW*, xxiv (1934), 281-6; J. Horovitz, in *IC*, i (1927), 553-7; S. D. Goitein, *Isrâʾiliyyât* (in Hebrew), in *Tarbiz*, vi (1934-5), 89-101, 510-22; G. Vajda, in *REJ*, ci (1937), 94-6; J. Finkel, *An Arabic story of Abraham*, in *HUCA*, xii-xiii (1937-8), 387-409; H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, Leiden 1955, 95 f., 305, 356, 430, 567; ʿA. ʿA. Duri, *ʿIlm al-taʾrīkh*, Beirut 1960, 103-17; N. Abbot, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri*, Chicago 1957, 36 (cf. A. Dietrich, in *Isl.*, 1959, 202); G. Vajda, *La description du Temple de Jérusalem d'après le* K. al-masālik wal-mamālik *d'al-Muhallabi*, in *JA* 1959, 193-202; H. Schützinger, *Ursprung und Entwicklung der arabischen Abraham-Nimrod Legende*, Bonn 1961; G. H. A. Juynboll, *The authenticity of the tradition literature*, Leiden 1969, 121-38. See further BANŪ ISRĀʾĪL. (G. VAJDA)

ISSÎK-KUL (Turkish "warm lake"), the most important mountain lake in Turkistan and one of the largest fresh water lakes in the world, situated in between 42° 11′ and 42° 59′ N. Lat. and between 76° 15′ and 78° 30′ E. Long., 1605 m. (5,116 feet) above sea level; the length of the lake is about 115 miles, the breadth up to 37 miles, the depth up to 702 m. (1, 381 feet), and the area 6,205 sq. km. (2,400 sq. miles). From the two chains of the Tʿien-Shan, the Kungey-Alatau (in the north) and the Ters-key-Alatau (in the south), about 80 large and small mountain streams pour into the Issîk-Kul, of which the most important, Tüp and Djergalan, flow into it from the east. Of the others there may be mentioned: on the south bank, the Karakol, Ḳîzîl-Su, Djuka (or Zauka), Barskoun and Ton, on the north bank, the two Aḳ-Su and three Ḳoi-Su. On the origin of the depression Kutemaldi, which now connects the Ču with the Issîk-Kul [see ČU], views differ. It is said that the Ḳočḳar, now the upper course of the Ču, previously flowed into the Issîk-Kul and the latter had an exit in the Ču. At present the Ḳočḳar sends an arm to the Issîk-Kul through the Kutemaldi only when it is flooded; at other times there are only a few ditches there filled with water, without any definite current. The question is only of importance for geology and physical geography; in the historical period the Issîk-Kul has, as all accounts show, always been a lake without an exit.

The oldest of these descriptions we owe to the Chinese writer Hüan-Čuang (7th century A.D.); the Chinese name (*Že-Hai* = warm sea; the lake never freezes) corresponds exactly to the Turkish name. The latter first appears in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (372/982-3, ed. Minorsky, 54, 62, 71); Kāshgharī, ed. K. Rîfat (Brockelmann, 244) has Isik Köl; in Ḳudāma (ed. de Goeje, 262) the lake is only mentioned, but not named. The Ms. of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* has Iskūk or Iskūl; the form was probably the same in the *Mudjmil al-Tawārīkh* (the Ms. has S-kūk, cf. W. Barthold, *Turkestan* i, 19; ed. by M. Sh. Bahār, Tehran 1318 h.s., 100, l. 1); Gardīzī, *Kitāb Zayn al-Akhbār*, ed. Muhammad Nāzim, Berlin 1928, writes Isigh-Kūl; Djayhānī quotes Iskūl from al-Kharaḳī in Nallino, *al-Battānī*, 175, but with *tashdīd* over the *k*. In the history of Tīmūr's campaigns, in Sharaf al-Dīn (*Ẓafar-Nāma*, Ind. ed., i, 494, ii, 634), as well as in Ibn ʿArabshāh (Egyptian ed., 136) the form is Isī Kūl, in the *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī* (cf. the text in Barthold, *Otcet* etc., 50 note 1), Isîgh Kūl.

In the oldest Chinese accounts (from the 2nd century A.D.) the land appears in the possession of the nomadic people of the Wu-sun. But from the 7th century A.D. on, permanent settlements and even towns are mentioned. One of the trade routes from China to Western Asia at that time led through the Badal pass to the south bank of the Issîk-Kul and from there

into the valley of the Ču. The most important market on the Îssîk-Kul was Bars<u>kh</u>ān, the name of which is probably identical with the modern name of the river Barskoun. Gardīzī gives a legend due to a popular etymology about Alexander the Great and Persians left behind him on the Îssîk-Kul; this popular etymology makes certain the reading Bars<u>kh</u>ān against the form Nu<u>sh</u>d<u>j</u>ān given by Yāḳūt, iv, 823. According to Gardīzī, Bars<u>kh</u>ān could put 6,000 men in the field; according to Ḳudāma, the principal place on the shore of the lake could itself raise 20,000 men (Bars<u>kh</u>ān, according to Ḳudāma, consisted of nine towns, four of some size and five small ones; cf. *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, ed. Minorsky, 292 ff.; W. Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen*, Berlin 1935, 94; *Mappae Arabicae* ed. K. Miller, Stuttgart 1926-9, Band IV = Arab II, 87, 89, 143, 145, 148 (al-Kā<u>sh</u><u>gh</u>arī). Three days journey west of Bars<u>kh</u>ān lay Tūnk, the name of which obviously corresponds to the name of the river Ton. Between Bars<u>kh</u>ān and Tūnk there were only to be seen tents of the nomad <u>D</u>jikil. Twelve *farsa<u>kh</u>*s west of Tūnk was the town of Yār, which could raise 3,000 men. In *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 90, there is further mentioned "a prosperous place, visited by merchants", the town of Sīkūl, on the border between the settlements of two nomad peoples, the <u>D</u>jikil and the <u>Kh</u>alluk<u>h</u> (Ḳarluḳ); the town probably bore the name of the lake. A town "Yssicol" on the north shore of the lake of the name is still given in Carta Catalana of the year 1375 A.D. There was said to be an Armenian monastery with relics of the Apostle Matthew (*Notices et Extraits*, xiv/2, 132 f.).

Of this civilization, which was probably destroyed about the same time (8th/14th century) and under the influence of the same causes as the civilization on the Ču [cf. ii, 66 f.], only a few walls and mounds of brick, and some cemeteries have survived, including a Muslim cemetery on the Küngey-Aḳsu with inscriptions of the 6th/12th century (*Protokolî Turk. Kružka Ljub. ar<u>kh</u>*, xi, 5 f.) and a Nestorian cemetery discovered in 1907 on the <u>D</u>juka with inscriptions in Syriac and Turkish; one of these inscriptions (of 1330 A.D.) was published by P. Kokovtsov (*Bulletin de l'Académie, etc.* 1909, 774 f. 788 f.; cf. B. Spuler, *Die Morgenländischen Kirchen*, Leiden 1964, 155 [37] with note.).

The Turkish and Mongol nomads liked to use the shores of the Îssîk-Kul as a winter resort on account of the favourable weather conditions (the snow here rarely lies to any considerable depth), so that the Îssîk-Kul is several times mentioned in the military history of Central Asia. A fortress was built by Tīmūr "in the middle of the lake", *i.e.*, on an island, to which, amongst others, the Tatars deported from Asia Minor were banished. It is probably the same fortress as is called Ḳoi-su by Ḥaydar Mīrzā [*q.v.*], *Taʾrī<u>kh</u>-i Ra<u>sh</u>īdī*, tr. Ross, 78. A Mongol amīr is said to have sent his family there in the 9th/15th century, to put them in safety from the inroads of the Kalmucks. At the present day there are no islands in the lake; the disappearance of the island mentioned, with the fortress upon it was probably caused by an earthquake. Connected with this perhaps is the fact that pieces of bricks and other fragments are frequently washed up on the shores of the Îssîk-Kul. On the Îssîk-Kul itself it is said that a great town here was overwhelmed by the waves of the lake and its walls and buildings can be seen in clear weather; but this story has so far not been confirmed and is probably based on folklore about sunken cities (which is to be found in the most diverse countries). The catastrophe, if there was one, can only have happened comparatively recently. Ḥaydar Mīrzā, to whom we owe the latest and fullest account of the Îssîk-Kul in Muslim literature (*Taʾrī<u>kh</u>-i Ra<u>sh</u>īdī*, 366 f.), knows neither of the disappearance of an island nor of rubble being washed up, nor of any sunken town. What Ḥaydar Mīrzā has to say about the Îssîk-Kul corresponds in general to the facts, but there are a few peculiar assertions. He says for example that on account of the great proportion of salt in it the water is unsuitable for washing in; in reality the proportion of salt is very slight.

In the 17th and 18th centuries the shores of the lake were under the rule of Buddhist Kalmucks; Tibetan inscriptions in the country south-east of the lake still recall this period. The Mongol name of the Îssîk-Kul was Temurtu-Nor, "iron lake": many of the mountain streams flowing into the Îssîk-Kul carry ferriferous sand; small knives, etc. are made from this iron by the Ḳirgiz. Even in the Kalmuck period the Ḳirgiz [*q.v.*] had grazing grounds here. The land remained in their possession after conquest of the Kalmuck kingdom by the Chinese; Chinese rule was never firmly established here in spite of several attempts. About the middle of the 19th century the Russians advanced across the Ilī. The Îssîk-Kul was reached in 1856 by Colonel Khomentovskiy. A part of the Ḳirgiz was forced to submit to Russian rule as early as 1855 and the remainder in 1860. The Russians founded the town of Karakol, called Prževal'sk since 1888, so far the only town in the country round the Îssîk-Kul (according to the census of 1897, 7,987 inhabitants, now about 15,000), and several villages. All these settlements are in the eastern part of the Îssîk-Kul valley: the western part has been reached by the railway to Rîbač'e since May 1948. There is steamer traffic on the lake. The settlements are still, as in the Middle Ages, called after the rivers on which they lie. The official Russian names are rarely used, even by the Russians; even the Russian peasant always says "Tüp" for "Preobraženskaya" and "Ḳîzîl-su" (which is corrupted to "Kozeltzi") for "Pokrovskaya". Thanks to the fertility of the soil, the villages are in a flourishing condition, in spite of the frequent earthquakes.

Bibliography: L. Berg, *Ozero Issîk-Kul* in *Zemlevĕdenie*, Nov. 1904; N. A. Keiser, *Materialî dlya istorii, morfologii i gidrografii o t. Issîk-kul* ("Materials for the history, morphology and hydrography of Lake Issîk kul"), Tashkent 1928 (Acta Univ. Asiae Mediae, ser. xiia: Geographia, fasc. 1); L. A. Molčanov, *Ozĕra Sredney Azii* ("The Lakes of Central Asia"), Tashkent 1929, 53-56, no. 909 (Acta Univ. Asiae Mediae, ser. xii a, fasc. 3); W. Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens*, Berlin 1935, Fr. tr. *Histoire des turcs d'Asie Centrale*, Paris 1945; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (see text); W. Leimbach, *Die Sowjetunion*, Stuttgart 1950, 118 f., 425; Th. Shabad, *Geography of the USSR*, New York 1951, 366, 371-7; *Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Ĕntsiklopediya*. Maps, *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 279, 299; Shabad, *loc. cit.*; *Ĕntsiklopediya*, *loc. cit.*

(W. Barthold- [B. Spuler])

IṢṬABL and ISTABL (A.; pl. *iṣṭablāt* and rarely *aṣābil*, according to *LA*, *s.v.*), etymologically *stable*, that is to say the building in which mounts and baggage animals (equidae and camelidae) are kept tethered and, by metonomy, the actual stock of such animals belonging to one single owner. *Iṣṭabl* is the arabization of the low-Greek στάβλον/σταβλίον/σταυλίον (see Du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis*, Lyons 1688, *s.v.*), which

in turn derives from the Latin *stabulum*. This is one of the so-called terms "of civilization" which have been disseminated most widely, since it is to be found with the same meaning in all the western languages; well before Islam, Arabic had adopted it through the medium of the Ghassānids [*q.v.*] in Syria.

(i) The central Islamic lands: The practice of keeping horses under cover is peculiar to sedentary peoples, that is to say the idea of a stable was unknown to the nomadic Arabs, whose steeds were merely given the shade of a tent or bush to which they tethered them (*marbaṭ, marbiṭ*); incidentally this custom was to be perpetuated even within the towns, in caravanserais (*funduk, khān* [*qq.v.*]) where the shelter of a roof was reserved for men and merchandise, while the animals remained tethered in the vast central courtyard. In the same way, the Muslim cavalry in their encampments *extra muros* (*muʿaskar*) provided their horses with nothing more than some sort of light shelter (*miẓalla*) made of palm-leaves, which gave adequate protection from sun and rain and allowed the cavalry to move off rapidly, since they had to remain constantly on the alert. Thus, the term *iṣṭabl* applied only to permanent constructions of solid materials, such as only rulers and high dignitaries who owned many horses were able to have built near their palaces. Even so, such buildings were rather rare, and the pre-Islamic Arabs had almost no opportunity of seeing them, except at Ḥīra of the Lakhmids [*q.v.*] or at Damascus, in the Byzantine period; but the presence of the imposing ruins left from vanished civilizations, both in Mesopotamia and all along the eastern Mediterranean, gave credence to the legend of sumptuous ancient stables such as those of King Solomon which, in the light of recent archaeological discoveries, have proved to be merely vast granaries. The same is true, in an instance very much closer to us, of the stables of the sultan of Morocco, Mawlāy Ismāʿīl (see below), which seemed to Fr. Busnot "the finest part of the palace, with their two lines of arcades extending for three-quarters of a league and the canal which provided them with water. The horses, tethered by all four legs to two rings by means of a hair cord, were tended by Muslim grooms and Christian stable-boys" (Ch. A. Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1931, 504; Eng. tr., London 1970, 260). The missionary's account gives a perfect idea of the plan and arrangement of stables as conceived in Antiquity and as adopted by the Muslim world in the Middle Ages. These cloister-like galleries of arcades (*riwāḳ*) housed the stalls (low Latin *stallum* from *stabulum*, Ar. *shiḳḳa* pl. *shiḳaḳ*), separated from one another by low partitions of wood or netting; the animals were tethered in these by three legs (not four), by means of a flexible halter (*shikāl* pl. *shukul*) passing through two rings fastened to the wall to a wooden cross-bar in the corner (*ākhiyya* pl. *akhāwī*, *akhāyā* and *iry*, *ariy* pl. *awārī*). Their heads being left free, they were given their feed of barley in nose-bags, while hay (*ʿalaf*), mixed with straw, was provided as litter; there seems to have been no knowledge of the fixed manger or the wall-rack, upon which so much stress is laid in the entirely theoretical descriptions of the model stables to be found in various Arabic treatises on hippiatrics and hippology (such as that of Ibn Hudhayl [*q.v.*], see L. Mercier, *Parure*..., 365-6), which merely repeat the remarks of the Greeks on the subject (cf. Xenophon, *On equitation*, chap. iv).

The historians and chroniclers who wrote in Arabic in fact provided only the most scanty information regarding the stable buildings of the caliphs, sultans and high dignitaries of Islam. Among the very scattered and often laconic particulars that may be gleaned on this subject there is one description of the highest importance, relating to the stables in Baghdād belonging to the ʿAbbāsid Caliph al-Muḳtadir bi-llāh, which is contained in the *Kitāb al-Dhakhāʾir wa'l-tuḥaf* (Kuwayt 1959), attributed to al-Ḳāḍī al-Muhadhdhab (d. middle of the 5th/11th century), and of which al-Maḳrīzī made use for his *Khiṭaṭ*. It deals with the visit of an embassy from the emperor Constantine VII to the caliph, in 305/917, and the following passage occurs (*Arabica*, vii/3 (1960), 295, from the translation by M. Hamidullah who discovered and edited the manuscript): "... The envoys from the Ṭāghiya (the emperor of Byzantium) took horse, with their interpreter Ibn ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, on the Thursday, the sixth day before the end of Muḥarram (that is to say, the 24th of the month) and entered by the corridor of the great public gate (of the palace), to make their way into the building known as the Stables (*khān al-khayl*). The greater part of this building consisted of colonnades with marble pillars. On the one side were 500 horses, with an equivalent number of saddles (*markab*) of silver and gold, of different kinds, and without cloths. On the other side there were 500 horses, all with trappings of patterned silk and veils. Each horse was held by a man of the *shākiriyya* class (regular soldiers)". The reader will note the similarity of this description with that left by Fr. Busnot, mentioned above, despite the interval of eight centuries separating them and their location at opposite ends of the Islamic world; here is confirmation of the conservatism, referred to earlier, in architectural practices relating to stables. Whether privately owned or the property of the state, such buildings required large areas of land since, in addition to the actual quarters for the stabling of hundreds of animals, they also called for smithies, stores for harness and saddles, hay-barns, places for manure and paddocks for the daily exercise and rolling in the sand (*tamrīgh*) of the regular stock; in the absence of a paddock, resort was made to the hippodrome (*maydān*). When to all these is added the housing needed to lodge the various classes of employees, it is no exaggeration to regard such stables as a small city within the city. As such, it is obvious that one of their prime requirements was an abundant water-supply; for this reason, the locality selected was close to some water-course, from which a canal was excavated to bring water to it.

In the case of Damascus [see DIMASHK], it is still very difficult to locate the stables of the Umayyad caliphs since, according even to the testimony of al-Muḳaddasī (4th/10th century), "... their buildings were only of wood (*khashab*) and pisé (*ṭīn*) ..." (ed. De Goeje, 156; tr. Miquel, 165). In the toponymy of Damascus, however, the reader will note the *Dār al-khayl*, the inn reserved for ambassadors, situated alongside the former Ghassānid residence which became the residence (*al-Khaḍrāʾ*) of the first Muslims, Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān and his brother Muʿāwiya, and later of the caliphs. From this denomination, which is certainly Arab, it is very reasonable to suppose that the building replaced the old Byzantine stables whose name was translated, perhaps under the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (65/685-86/705). As for the fortified residences which were built on the edge of the desert, on the orders of several Umayyad sovereigns, insufficient archaeological study has as yet been made to determine in what manner the stables were laid out.

When Abū Djaʿfar al-Manṣūr, the second ʿAbbāsid

caliph, founded his "Round Town" of Baghdād [*q.v.*] in 146/763, there was no provision for including stables for the ruler or his dependents, perhaps owing to lack of space, and these had to be erected on the outskirts: "... Another quarter extended from the Khurāsān gate, on the one side as far as the bridge of boats over the Tigris, and on the other to the point opposite the Khuld (palace). It is in the last-mentioned place that the royal stables were situated, and also the parade ground and a palace looking out on the Tigris: Abū Djaʿfar always lived there, and al-Mahdī also, until he moved to his palace of Ruṣāfa, on the east bank of the Tigris" (al-Yaʿḳūbī/Wiet, *Les Pays*, 31). Further to the south, facing the square opposite the Kūfa gate "... was located the concession granted to Yāsīn, the head of the dromedary staff, the dromedaries' stables being alongside it. On this side of these stables were the freedmen's stables" (*ibid.*, 20).

Once caliph, and having by then settled in Ruṣāfa, al-Mahdī organized a general removal of the administrative departments from the other side of the river; the stables also were transferred, and we then find them established in the Mukharrim quarter, under the direction of the *mawlā* Nāzī (*ibid.*, 40), and containing horses, dromedaries and elephants. From the last of these the *Dār al-fīl* was to take its name, and it was succeeded by the zoological park (*ḥayr al-wuḥūsh*). These State stables remained in the Mukharrim quarter until, apparently, it fell into ruin; al-Ṣūlī mentions them in his chronicle (*Akhbār ar-Rāḍī*, tr. M. Canard, 30 and n. 6) of the caliphate of al-Muttaḳī (329/940-333/944), in connection with the Daylamites' assault on Baghdād, under the leadership of Kūrānkidj, their aim being to dislodge Ibn Rāʾiḳ, and it was in the stables that, in the end, the assailants and their leader were massacred, on 25 Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 329/20 September 941. It appears that, in due course, the buildings were demolished in 448/1056 by the Saldjūḳ Ṭughril Beg, in order to make way for the rampart surrounding Mukharrim and the *Dār al-fīl*, one part of which became a cemetery.

When al-Muʿtaṣim, an excellent horseman (see Kushādjim, *Maṣāyid* ..., Baghdād 1954, 5 and trans. F. Viré, *Art de volerie*, in *Arabica*, xii/2, 119), left Baghdād for Sāmarrā in 223/838, he was careful to take with him his own stables and those of his household. Thanks to al-Yaʿḳūbī (*op. cit.*, 52), we know that these were established along the main avenue of Sarīdja, the *decumanus* of the city: "... It was also in this avenue that the concessions of the Khurāsān officers were located ..., that of Ḥizām ibn Ghālib. Behind Ḥizām's concession were the stables for the caliph's horses, his own private horses and those for the government departments, the management of which was entrusted to Ḥizām and his brother Yaʿḳūb" (It is appropriate to call attention here to an error in the reading of the manuscript of al-Yaʿḳūbī, since it is in fact a question of one single personage, named Akhī Khazzām, whose functions were continued by his son Yaʿḳūb, as will be shown later; the misunderstanding is due to the "knightly" title of akhī [*q.v.*], already borne by the Turk Khazzām as "constable" (*comes stabuli*) to the caliph). These great stables were to survive until Sāmarrā was abandoned by the Caliph al-Muʿtamid (256/870-279/892). Besides the caliph's stables, Baghdād possessed many others, varying in size according to the rank of their owners. They were to be found particularly in the residential quarter and belonged to the luxurious dwellings which, following the example of al-Mahdī, the high dignitaries caused to be built along the east bank of the Tigris. In the 5th/11th century, Ibn ʿAḳīl (d. 463/1071) left (in *Manāḳib Baghdād* of Ibn al-Djawzī, Baghdād 1342/1923) a description of this wealthy quarter, with its boulevard running from *al-Ṭāḳ* to the banks of the river: "... As for its streets, there is one that closely follows the Tigris. On one of its sides, it has palaces overlooking the river, and disposed in such fashion as to spread all the way from the Bridge to the beginning of the Zāhir Garden. ... On the other side of the street are the mosques of the owners of these palaces and the dwellings of their soldiers, in between which they have their stables." (G. Makdisi, *The topography of eleventh century Baghdād*, in *Arabica*, vi/2, (1959), 186). The size of these stables may be judged when he notes specifically (idem, 187): "... and the castle of al-Wāfī, whose horses every day consume about a thousand rations of forage". Now, in the same period, the anonymous author of the *Kitāb al-ḥāwī*, an actual record made for the use of taxation officials, evaluates the monthly consumption for one horse at 40 *ḳafīz* [*q.v.*] of forage (see Cl. Cahen, *Problèmes économiques de l'Iraq buyide*, in *AIEO Alger*, x (1952), 337).

In Cairo, the stables of the Fāṭimid sovereigns were in no way inferior to those of the Baghdād rulers, and an idea of their extent is given in the description which Ibn al-Ṭuwayr (*Nuzhat al-muḳlatayn fī akhbār al-dawlatayn* ...), a source common to al-Maḳrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, i, 416), Ibn Taghribirdī (*Nudjūm*, iv, 79) and al-Ḳalḳashandī (*Ṣubḥ*, iii, 503), gave of the review of his own private horses held by the caliph, in the courtyards of the palace, on the eve of the procession at the New Year or that at the Ending of the Fast (see M. Canard, *La procession* ..., in *AIEO Alger*, x (1952), 376 f.); here too it was a matter of a thousand horses and more, which were made to parade before their sovereign. While we must allow for exaggeration, the fact remains that the stock of horses in these stables was considerable, and the same was true under the Ayyūbid and Saldjūḳid régimes. Often there was insufficient space to house so many animals, and the owners did not hesitate to tear down ancient palaces in order to build stables in their place (*Khiṭaṭ apud* De Sacy, *Chrestomathie*, ii, 44).

Besides these great stables in the cities, there were also *iṣṭablāt* in all the posting-houses (*sikka*), which came under the department of Posts and Information (*barīd* [*q.v.*]), all along the main routes in the Muslim empire; this department, active under the Umayyads and ʿAbbāsids, suffered a decline under the Ayyūbids, but it was thoroughly reorganized by the Sultan Baybars [*q.v.*] who rebuilt its stables (see J. Sauvaget, *La poste aux chevaux dans l'empire des Mamelouks*, Paris 1941). Moreover, all the fortresses or citadels (*ḥiṣn*, *ḳalʿa*) marking out the frontiers of Islam, and those in Syria which resisted the inroads of the Crusaders, contained their own stables of war-horses and pack animals (see Usāma b. Munḳidh, *Iʿtibār*, 46, 60).

It will readily be seen that all these establishments called for a numerous personnel divided into a hierarchy based on competence. At the bottom of the ladder was the stable-boy or lad (*ghulām*), whose duty it was to keep the stalls clean and remove the dung; above him was the groom (*saʾis* pl. *suwwās*, *sāsa*, *siyās* and *rāwī* pl. *ruwāt*), who was responsible for the grooming (*ḥass*) of one or more animals; the daily outings to the paddock and to the water were, it seems, the special province of the harnessman (*shaddād*) who in addition prepared the mount when the

master wished to make use of it. The general responsibility for the working of this domestic system fell upon the "constable" or master of the stables (*ṣāḥib al-iṣṭablāt* and, according to the regions and periods involved, *ḳayyim-*, *mudabbir-*, *mutawallī-*, *ustādh-*, *mushrif al-iṣṭablāt*), a high office which required its holder to possess a perfect knowledge of the study of the horse in all its aspects, besides skill as an administrator and controller in supervising purchases of provender, in regard to both quality and quantity, and also its correct distribution, since fraud and waste are vices common to all generations. If he was not himself qualified, the master of stables was assisted by a veterinarian (*bayṭār* [*q.v.*]) who must have been kept very busy with treating the various ailments from which horses suffer, the urgent surgical operations and the foaling of the mares. Every stable of importance in fact included a stud-farm, to ensure the continuance of the line of thoroughbreds [see FARAS] and the replenishing of the stock; the Muslim ethic did not permit the gelding of stallions, since the Prophet was formally opposed to the practice, according to certain traditions (see L. Mercier, *op. cit.*, 41 and note).

Management of the stables was a delicate and difficult task; for this reason, it could be entrusted only to specialists, some of whom succeeded in allowing their sons to benefit from their own experience, as in the case of the Khuttalīs (from the village of Khuttal, near Baghdād). The first of these to hold office, Akhī Khazzām b. Ghālib was constable to al-Muʿtaṣim, and in the same position we later find his son Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb, and then his two grandsons Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad and Aḥmad, down to the caliphate of al-Muʿtaḍid (279/892-289/902). These members of one single family have left, as collective works, several remarkable treatises on the equestrian art, farriery and the handling of arms on horseback, which deserve to be collated and published (see Brockelmann, I, 243-4 and S I, 432-3, which needs to be amended: L. Mercier, *op. cit.*, xii-xiii, 433-6). Better known, since it has been published and translated, is the treatise of the Mamlūk Ibn al-Mundhir [*q.v.*], known as al-Bayṭār al-Nāṣirī, who controlled the stables and stud-farms of the sultan of Egypt al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalā'ūn (693/1294-741/1341).

The upkeep of these princely stables entailed the investment of enormous sums of money, both in wages for the staff and also to meet the costs of equipment, supplies, upkeep and purchases of animals from nomadic breeders; numerous local and private craftsmen profited from the lucrative source of business offered by the stables, with their constant and varying needs. For the financing of their private stables, the ʿAbbāsid caliphs generally drew upon their own personal treasuries which, under al-Manṣūr, al-Mahdī and al-Hādī, were supplied from the *bayt māl al-maẓālim*. Al-Rashīd and his successors had recourse to the *dīwān* [*q.v.*] *al-nafaḳāt al-khāṣṣa* (see D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 595-6), while the staff was paid by the *dīwān al-aḥshām* of the sovereign (see al-Yaʿḳūbī/Wiet, 15), and, later, under al-Mutawakkil, by the *dīwān al-mawālī wa'l-ghilmān*.

The state stables, for their part, were dependent upon the *dīwān al-barīd* and their provisioning was charged to the budget of the *dīwān al-ahrā'*. The Buwayhid period [*q.v.*] saw almost no far-reaching changes in this organization. In Egypt, under the Fāṭimids, we find almost the same budgetary division, though with different terminology; the caliph's private expenses were covered by the *dīwān al-madjlis* and the upkeep of the State stables was dependent on a special department, this time the *dīwān al-iṣṭablāt*, the 13th of the 14 departments of the financial administration (*dīwān al-amwāl*). With the Ayyūbid emirates [*q.v.*] the question of control remained somewhat imprecise, and it appears that the stables, as a whole, were given to the *dīwān bi'l-bāb*. Finally, the strongly militarized Mamlūk administration included the sultan's private stables within the competence of the *dīwān al-khāṣṣ*, while the State stables were the responsibility of the *barīd*, which was remodelled by Baybars (659/1261) for political and strategic reasons and placed under the control of the privy secretary (*kātib al-sirr*); this political organization then perished with the invasion of Timur (803/1400).

The leading part played by the horse and the dromedary in the eventful history of Islam seems, if not to have escaped attention, at least to have been neglected by all who have written on this subject, and thus one cannot be surprised at the poverty of information regarding Muslim stables during the Middle Ages, although they then flourished actively; the survival of the term *iṣṭabl* and its present-day use in Arabic speech in the Near East and in Egypt is a manifest proof of this fact (see Cl. Denizeau, *Dictionnaire* . . ., Paris 1960, s.v.).

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the text, a few other scraps of information may be gleaned from encyclopaedic works and the main historical chronicles. (F. VIRÉ)

(ii) Spain and the Maghrib

The term *iṣṭabl* seems not to have survived in the vocabulary of present-day Arabic speech in North Africa; but it must have been current in the Spanish dialect. Indeed, the *Vocabulista in arabico*, edited by C. Schiaperelli (Florence 1871), which is based on the dialect of the kingdom of Valencia in the 7th/13th century, translates the Latin *stabulum* not merely by the classical *iṣṭabl*, but also by an alleged dialectal variant, *ṣabal*, plur. *ṣubūl*. Maltese has the word *stabal*, but this may be a direct borrowing from a romance vernacular.

As the equivalent of *iṣṭabl*, the same *Vocabulista* gives *riwā*, plur. *arwiyah*, with the gloss *domus magna stabuli*. As regards the Arabic spoken in Granada at the end of the 9th/15th century, P. de Alcalá recognizes only this last word, pronounced with the Granadine *imāla* [*q.v.*], *riwī*, plur. *arwiya* (ed. De Lagarde, 145, 245).

In the form *rwa* and with various plurals (*rwīya*, *rwāyāt*), this word is still employed in present-day Arabic dialects in the Maghrib, from Morocco to Tunisia; in these countries it always denotes a covered place, intended to provide shelter for valuable mounts, whether horses or mules.

For Spain under the Umayyads in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries, we possess some details about the royal stables intended for saddle horses and beasts of burden (*al-iṣṭablāt li'l-ẓahr wa'l-kirā'*). Al-Ḥakam I had two stables built near his palace at Cordoba, each of which housed a thousand war-horses. Their riders were divided into squadrons of a hundred men, commanded by an officer with the title of *ʿarīf*. The cavalry as a whole were under the command of the *ḳā'id al-khayl*, known also as the *ḳā'id al-aʿinna*. The famous al-Manṣūr, the "mayor of the palace" of the "roi fainéant" Hishām II, had 12,000 regular cavalrymen under his command.

The general controller of the stables or master of stables was called *ṣāḥib al-khayl*. Another official (*ʿarīf*) was responsible for the beasts of burden,

mules and pack-horses (*zawāmil, khayl al-ḥumlān*). A different official dealt with camels used for transport.

Stud-farms existed on the grassy islands in the Guadalquivir, above Seville. Horses were also imported from North Africa (*khayl ʿidwiyya*), the famous *jinetes* which derive their name from that of the Berber tribe of the Zanāta [*q.v.*].

For Granada in the Naṣrid period, P. Alcalá (*op. cit.*, 245) gives the title *ḳāyid ar-riwī*. On the famous stables built by Mawlāy Ismāʿīl for his horses and mules in about 1089/1678 at Meknès, see above.

Until the beginning of the 20th century, in Morocco, the outside staff of the palace included a special corps, known as the *mwālīn er-rwā* "people of the stable", who were responsible for looking after the sovereign's horses and mules. Working with the grooms (sing. *ruwwāy*) were stable-men whose duty it was to clean out the stables (*kennās*) or to wash the animals in deep water (*ʿawwām*). Certain stable-men (*sāis* or *siyyās*) concerned themselves particularly with dressage. Throughout Morocco, the sovereign owned many vast stretches of pastureland, known as *ʿadhīrs*, where his horses were put out to grass after operations against rebel tribes; some of these lands were used as stud-farms.

With the corps of grooms properly speaking there were combined: — 1. the corps of muleteers (*ḥammāra*, sic), with responsibility for the transport of baggage; 2. the corps of cameleers (*jammāla*); 3. servants with the special duty of dealing with ceremonial carriages (*kōdshi*, from the Spanish *coche*, or *ʿaraba*) and travelling litters (*mḥaffa*), used by the sovereign and the women of the harem who accompanied him.

Bibliography: For Spain under the Umayyads — E. Lévi-Provençal, *L'Espagne musulmane au Xe siècle*, 55, 133, 141, 145; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmal al-Aʿlām*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, 1934, 70, 115-9. For the stables at Meknès, Aḥmad al-Nāṣirī, *K. l-Istiḳṣā*, Cairo 1312, iv, 25; idem, trans. Fumey, i, 72; Busnot, *Histoire du règne de Mouley Ismaël*, Rouen 1714, 56-9; *Sources inédites de l'histoire du Maroc, 2e série*, France, iv, 189, 689; Windus, *A journey to Mequinez*, London, 1725, 174. — For Morocco in modern times, E. Aubin, *Le Maroc d'aujourd'hui*, 198, 200; *Archives Marocaines*, v/6, 308; W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger*, 314; G. S. Colin, *Chrestomathie marocaine*, 209.

(G. S. Colin)

(iii) The Ottomans [see MIR ĀKHŪR].

(iv) Persia. The autonomous and latterly independent states which arose in Persia during the period of the disintegration of the caliphate generally endeavoured to imitate ʿAbbāsid palace administration as far as was suitable in the circumstances. Hence it is probable that dynasties like the Būyids [*q.v.*] in southern and western Persia and the Sāmānids [*q.v.*] in Transoxania and Khurāsān had royal stables attached to the court, although little specific is known about this. The institution of royal stables came into being for several reasons. Mounts had to be on hand for games like polo and for hunting, which last was not only a sport and a para-military activity, but also a significant means of adding to the court's comissariat (hence we hear of the *Amīr-Shikār*, Commander of the Hunt, under the Khwārazm-Shāhs, in charge of hunting animals and falcons, and in Ṣafavid times the *Amīr-Shikār-Bāshī* was a high-ranking commander who might combine his office with a provincial governorship, in one instance, that of Astarābād, see H. Horst, *Die Staatsverwaltung der Grosselǧūqen und Ḫōrazmšāhs (1038-1231)*, Wiesbaden 1964, 19, 102; K. M. Rohrborn, *Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1966, 27; *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, ed. Minorsky, ch. xiii = tr. 51). The royal stables were further used as a source of mounts for the ruler's personal bodyguard which was, of course, normally made up of his own military slaves or *ghulāms* [*q.v.*]. Finally, a reserve of horses had always to be on hand, for fine horses (and in the case of some eastern Iranian dynasties, elephants) were often amongst the presents forwarded to other potentates or presented to governors, along with robes of honour, a standard, etc., as the insignia of office (see HIBA).

The officer in charge of the sultan's stables under the Ghaznavids [*q.v.*], the *Ākhur-Sālār* or *Amīr-i Ākhur*, was usually a general of the palace *ghulāms*. Elephants were used extensively for military purposes by the Ghaznavids (see FĪL As beasts of war.), and as well as stables for horses, there was at Ghazna a *pīl-khāna* with accommodation for 1000 elephants and a staff of Hindus to attend them (Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran, 994-1040*, 112, 113, 117). Officials from the royal stables were also to be found in the provinces of the empire, where horses were bred or sent out for pasture, for instance, in the horses-rearing regions along the upper Oxus in Khuttal and Ṭukhāristān, cf. Spuler, *Iran*, 392.

The Great Saldjūḳ sultans had such towns as Ray, Iṣfahān and Marw as fixed centres of government even though the *dargāh* or court accompanied the sultan in his progresses through the provinces and on his campaigns (cf. Lambton, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, v. 222-3). Sandjar, and presumably other sultans, seems personally to have had extensive herds of horses (*ibid.*, 226). The royal stables were doubtless located in these centres of government; certainly, Niẓām al-Mulk says that oversight of the stables was one of the duties of the *Wakīl-i Khāṣṣ*, Intendant of the Royal Household, although he complains that the office had fallen into desuetude in his time (*Siyāsat-nāma*, ch. xvi = text ed. Darke, 112, tr. 92). The Master of the Royal Horse in Saldjūḳ times, usually designated *Amīr-i Ākhur*, *Ākhur-Beg*, etc., was frequently a *ghulām* commander of the sultan, *e.g.*, the *Akhur-Sālār* Ḳïzïl, *Shiḥna* or military governor of Baghdād in 536/1141-2 and a former *ghulām* of Sultan Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad (Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 89; Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī, *Akhbār al-dawla al-saldjūḳiyya*, 117).

It is uncertain whether a Turkish dynasty like the Ḳarakhānids of Transoxania (see ILEK-KHĀNS), whose khāns seem to have led a semi-nomadic existence during the summer months at least, had a permanent royal stable. One khān, Shams al-Mulūk Naṣr b. Ibrāhīm Tamghač Khān (460/1068-472/1080), built a palace complex at Shamsābād outside Bukhārā, and a continuator of Narshakhī mentions that adjacent to this was a walled enclosure (*ghuruḳ*, see Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*, ii, 558-9) for the royal horses and other beasts (*Taʾrīkh-i Bukhārā*, tr. Frye, 29). Such royal preserves, *ghuruḳs* or *ḳoruḳs* (cf. the old Arabian institution of the *ḥimā*) were established later by the Mongol khāns, and the royal stables as a fixed building probably only re-appears after the Mongol interlude in Persian history.

The institution of the royal stables is certainly well-attested for Ṣafavid times, both by European travellers like Chardin and Kaempfer, and by the late Ṣafavid administrative manual, the *Tadhkirat al-*

Mulūk. This latter source (chs. xv, xvi, xc, xci = tr. 52, 87, commentary 120-1) distinguishes between two Masters of the Stables, the *Mīr-Ākhūr-Bāshī-yi Djilaw* and the *Mīr-Ākhūr-Bāshī Ṣaḥrā'*, the first official being the higher paid. The *Mīr-Ākhūr-Bāshī-yi Djilaw* (*djilaw* = Mongol "rein, halter", see G. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen. i Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, Wiesbaden 1963, 296-7; hence *djilaw-dār*, the groom who rides ahead of his master and holds his bridle) was in charge of the royal stables in the capital. Chardin says that there were three such stables in Iṣfahān, with a very numerous staff; these comprised the subordinate marshals (*mīr-akhūrān*), grooms, watercarriers, farriers, saddlers, veterinary specialists, etc. Since the royal stables were an integral part of the court, appointments made by the *Mīr-Ākhūr-Bāshī-yi Djilaw* had to be confirmed by the *Nāẓir Buyūtāt*, the Chief Intendant of the Royal Household or *Khāṣṣa*. The second Master of the Horse, the *Mīr-Ākhūr-Bāshī-yi Ṣaḥrā'*, was in charge of equestrian establishments out in the countryside, the *ṣaḥrā'*, *i.e.*, the royal stud farms. An important part of his duties was to make an annual inspection, in company with the *Nāẓir-i Dawābb* or Overseer of the Animals, of the studs (the *ʿarḍ-i īlkhī*), and also to keep an eye on affairs in the royal reservations (*ḳuruḳāt*). Also mentioned in *ibid.*, chs. cxliii, clx = tr. 97, 100, are a *Ṣāḥib-Djamʿ* (*i.e.*, head of one of the *buyūtāt*, departments or workshops, of the royal household) of the saddlery (*zīn-khāna*), and one of the stables (*iṣṭabl*).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C. E. Bosworth)

(v) Muslim India: the term *iṣṭabl* is rather uncommon in Indo-Persian literature but is attested for the royal stables of the Indian Mughals (Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, i, 48-54) and for those of the 9th/15th- century sultans of Mālwa (Farishta, *Ta'rīkh*, Bombay 1832, ii, 474). In India stables are more usually designated by the Persian word *pāygāh*, which is also used for non-royal establishments: *e.g.*, the stables of a *khānaḳāh* where the travellers' horses are lodged (Sidjzī, *Fawā'id al-fu'ād*, ed. M. L. Malik, Lahore 1966, 344: cf. Baranī, *Ta'rīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī*, 554).

The nomenclature and organization of royal stables in Muslim India reflect the eastern Persian tradition transmitted through the Ghaznavids [see section (iv) above], though Indo-Muslim stables also inherited a body of veterinary lore and knowledge of certain breeds of horses — *e.g.*, the *t'angan* from the north east of the sub-continent — from the large and diversified stables of earlier Hindu rulers (for those of the 1st/7th- century ruler Harṣa, see Bana, *Harṣacarita*, tr. E. B. Cowell and F. W. Thomas, London 1897, 50, 201). The main purposes for which royal stables were maintained were similar to those which prevailed in Persia — to mount the sultan and his dependants, including considerable numbers of royal *ghulāms* or *čelās*, to supply a service of postal couriers and to provide horses for distribution as largesse or despatch as gifts. The main body of cavalry at all times consisted of troopers who maintained their mounts independently of the royal stables (for the sultanate of Dihlī, see Baranī, 303, 313; ʿAfīf, *Ta'rīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī*, 220-1, 301; for the Mughal period, W. Irvine, *The army of the Indian Moghuls*, London 1903, 47-51; see also istiʿrāḍ).

In the sultanate of Dihlī [*q.v.*] the *pāygāh* was an important department of state (*kārkhāna*: ʿAfīf, 339-40) presided over by the *mīr ākhur* (Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, 232, 242), *Shaḥna-yi Ākhur* (Djūzdjānī, 252) or *ākhur beg* (Barnanī, 174, 241, 424, 537); at times this office was divided between an *ākhur beg-i maysara* and an *ākhur beg-i maymana* (of the left and right wings: Baranī, 24, 454). The term *pāygāh* embraced both the stables and the royal horses and might be said to accompany the sultan when he left the capital (Sihrindī, *Ta'rīkh-i Mubārakshāhī*, 109). ʿAlā' al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh Khildjī (695/1296-715/1316) is said to have had 70,000 horses in his *pāygāh* (Baranī, 262). *Circa* 1340 A.D. the sultan of Dihlī (sc. Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ) is said to have distributed 10,000 Arab horses annually to his retinue and given away countless others (al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, ed. K. A. Fāriḳ, Dehli 1961, 28). Horses were presented by the sultan to visiting Mongol chieftains (Baranī, 462) and to foreign potentates: *e.g.*, 100 horses were despatched by Muhammad b. Tughlu to the emperor of China (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, Paris 1853-7, iv, 2); 500 *Turkī* and *Tāzī* horses were bestowed by Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ on Sultan Sikandar of Bengal in 761/1360 (ʿAfīf, 159). Subject chieftains and provincial officers who were close to import routes despatched horses to the sultan (ʿAyn-i Māhrū, *Inshā'-yi Māhrū*, ed. S. A. Rashīd, Lahore 1965, 111). In some cases money was paid from one of the *dīwāns* for horses sent to the *pāygāh* (Māhrū, 204, 207). In other instances horses were to be sent as an annual tribute. When in 778/1376 Shams Dāmghānī took over the farming of the revenues of Gudjarāt (Sihrindī, 132) he undertook to send 200 horses annually. The Djāms of Thattha, Sind, agreed to provide each year 50 horses worth 100,000 *t'ankas* (Māhrū, 187).

In the later 8th/14th century the *pāygāh* was divided into five physically separated establishments. The "large" *pāygāh* and one other were probably more than 100 miles away from Dihlī in the east Pandjāb. The third *pāygāh* was within the palace precinct of the capital (*pāygāh-i maḥall-i khāṣṣ*); the fourth, with 1,200 horses, was attached to the royal falconry or department of the hunt (*pāygāh-i shikarakhāna-yi khaṣṣ*; while the fifth provided mounts for royal slaves and dependants (*pāygāh-i bārgīrdārān-i bandagān-i khāṣṣ*: ʿAfīf, 318, 340). A modern reference to the breeding of horses in the Dihlī *pāygāh* in this period (I. H. Qureshi, *The administration of the Sultanate of Dehlī*[4], Karachi 1958, 70) is not substantiated, but it is suggestive that in the east Pandjāb where the great *pāygāh* was now situated non-Muslim tribes had earlier been engaged in horsebreeding for the military needs of the Dihlī sultanate (Baranī, 52-3; S. Digby, *War-horse and elephant in the Dehli sultanate*, Oxford 1971, 27-8). As in later Indo-Muslim states, the *pīlkhāna* (elephant stable) was a different department from the *pāygāh*. It was headed by another great officer, the *shaḥna-yi fīl* ("with an *iḳṭāʿ* the size of a great clime like ʿIrāḳ" according to al-ʿUmarī, 51-2; see fīl, pīlkhāna). In the decade before Timur's invasion of 801/1398, possession of the *pāygāh* and *pīlkhāna* in the capital city were important assets in the struggle for power (S. Digby, 75-80).

Information regarding royal stables in the 9th/15th and early 10th/16th centuries is scarce. In 810/1407-8 a *Farasnāma* which adapted a Sanskrit work on farriery into Persian was dedicated to Aḥmad Shāh (I) Walī Bahmanī of the Deccan (r. 825/1422-839/1436), as was a similar work to Shams al-Dīn Muẓaffar (II) of Gudjarāt (r. 917/1511-932/1525) in 926/1520 (for these works and their textual tradition see M. Z. Huda in *JASP*, xiv, 2 (1969), 144-65). In the sultanate of Kashmīr, control of the royal stables

gave an advantage in power struggles on at least two occasions (Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmīr under the sulṭāns*, Calcutta 1959, 201). The sultanate of Mālwa provides a possibly unique instance of a Muslim ruler turning horsedealer. Around 825/1422 Sultan Hūs͟hang (r. 808/1405-838/1435) led a valuable string of horses across the difficult terrain of central India to trade them for war-elephants with the Rāy of Jājnagar (evidently Bhānučandra IV of the Eastern Gangā dynasty of Orissa: Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, iii, 295-6: Faris͟hta, *Taʾrīk͟h*, Bombay 1832, ii, 466), but there may be mythical elements in this story. When Sultan Hūs͟hang of Mālwa was on his deathbed, his son G͟haznīn K͟hān sent a demand for 50 horses from the *iṣṭabl*; this was refused by the *mīr āk͟hur* and the demand gave offence to his dying father (Faris͟hta, ii, 474). We have no information regarding the stables of the Sayyid and Lodī sultans of Dihlī and of the sultans of Djawnpūr and Bengal. Kālā Lodī, father of Sultan Buhlūl Lodī (r. 855/1451-894/1489), first rose to political power as a horsedealer importing from the hills of the north-west frontier (Muḥammad Kabīr, *Fisāna-yi s͟hāhān-i Hind*, B. M. Add. Ms. 24, 409, fols. 7-9).

From the end of the 10th/16th century we possess a detailed description of the regulation of the *iṣṭabl* of the Mug͟hal emperor Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar [see AKBAR] (Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, i, 140-6, tr. H. Blochmann and D. C. Phillott, ²Calcutta 1927 (1939), i, 140-50). As in the earlier period the most valued horses were imported, mainly from central Asia, Iran and the Persian Gulf. The *iṣṭabl* was divided into a number of *ṭavīla*, literally "strings", but probably lodged in separate stables. There were 12,000 horses in all, but this number probably does not include the Indian countrybreds, of which the better varieties were also collected. Accomodation was provided for horsedealers under an *amīn-i kāravānsarāy*. There were six *ṭavīlas* of *k͟hāṣṣa* horses ridden by the emperor himself, as well as *ṭavīlas* of the royal princes and a *ṭavīla* of central Asian post-horses (? *rahwār-i turkī nizhād*). Inferior horses were also grouped in *ṭavīlas* according to their value. The allowance of fodder was closely regulated (for the identification of foodstuffs see D. C. Phillott's notes to tr., i, 142-3). Annual sums were assigned for the maintenance of harness and saddlery, for shoeing and for stabling and grooming equipment. The department (*kārk͟hāna*) of the *iṣṭabl* was in the charge of the *atbegi* (also called *āk͟htabegi* in 17th-century sources). The office was filled by grandees of the highest ranks: *e.g.*, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm K͟hānk͟hānān, at that time premier noble of Akbar's court. The staff of a *ṭavīla* was headed by a *dārūg͟ha* (overseer), *mus͟hrif* (accountant) and *dīdavar* (inspector). Other employees were the *āg͟htačī* (responsible for the harness), *čābuksuvār* (who tested and reported the speed of the horses), *Hād'ā* (a Rādjpūt horsetrainer), *mīr daha* (in charge of ten grooms), *bayṭār* (horse-doctor) and *naḳīb*. There was one *sāʾis* (groom) for every two horses. The other classes of servant employed in the *ṭavīla* were *jilavdār* (see section (iv) above), *naʿlband* (farriers), *zīndār* (saddlers), *ābkash* (water-carriers), *farrāsh*, *sipandsūz* (burners of wild rue) and *k͟hākrūb* (sweepers).

Mounts from the *iṣṭabl* were issued to *bārgīr-suvārān* (inferior cavalry without their own horses) on the production of written orders to the effect. The horses were branded to prevent fraudulent exchange. Employees of the *ṭavīla* paid graduated fines if a horse in their charge died, was stolen or was injured through negligence. A rota of horses from the *ṭavīlas* was kept in readiness for the emperor and imperial couriers to mount. The *s͟huturk͟hāna* (camel stables), *gāvk͟hāna* (ox byres) and *astark͟hāna* (mule-stables) were subject to similar though less copious regulation(*Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, i, 146-53). The regulation of the *fīlk͟hāna* took precedence even over that of the *iṣṭabl*, but the *kārk͟hāna* lacked a head of corresponding rank to the *atbegi* (cf. the *S͟haḥna-yi pīl* of the Dihlī sultanate); this may reflect the idea that the command of elephants was an attribute of sovereignty (*Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, i, 127-40).

Two developments in Muslim principalities established in the Deccan during the 12th/18th century deserve further research. In the Āṣafdjāhī state of Ḥaydarābād [*q.v.*], the amirs of the *pāygāh* became a leading faction of the nobility which survived till recently. In the new Muslim state of Maysūr (Mysore), under its rulers Ḥaydar ʿAlī (r. 1174/1761-1197/1782) and Tipū Sulṭān (1197/1782-1213/1799) a large portion of the cavalry were mounted by the royal stable. This variety of *bārgīr* horse (troopers who do not provide their own mounts) is referred to in Tipū Sulṭān's terminology as *suvār ʿaskar* and by British sources of the period as "stable horse" and "regular cavalry" (M. H. Gopal, *Tipu Sultan's Mysore*, Bombay 1971, 28-62; W. Kirkpatrick, *Select letters of Tippoo Sultan*, London 1811; W. Miles, *A history of Hyder Naik*, London 1842, 173).

Bibliography: Given in the article. References to texts, where no date or place of publication is given, are to those in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. (S. DIGBY)

IṢṬAKHR, a town in Fārs. The real name was probably Stak͟hr, as it is written in Pahlavi; the Armenian form Stahr and the abbreviation S T on Sāsānian coins point in the same direction. The form with prosthetic vowel is modern Persian; it is usually pronounced Istak͟har or Iṣtaḥar, also with inserted vowel Sitak͟har, Siṭak͟har, Siṭark͟h; cf. Vullers, *Lex. Pers.-Lat.*, i, 94ᵃ, 97ᵃ, ii, 223, and Nöldeke in *Grundr. der Iran. Philol.*, ii, 192. The Syriac form is Iṣṭahr (rarely Isṭaḥr), in the Talmud probably Istahar (אסתהר, *Megilla* 13ᵃ, middle). According to the statements of Persian authors, the town received its name from the lakes or swamps there. Perhaps, however, it is better to be derived with Spiegel (*Erânische Altertumskunde*, i, 94, note I) and Justi (*Grundr. der Iran. Philol.*, ii, 448) from the Avestan *stak͟hra* "strong, firm"; for the latter word cf. Chr. Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wörterbuch*, p. 1591.

Iṣṭak͟hr lies in 29° 50′ N. Lat. and about 53° E. Long., a short hour's journey north of Persepolis, in the narrow valley of the Pulwar or Murghāb (also called Sīwand-Rūd). It may be assumed with certainty that its foundation took place very soon after the decline of the Achaemenid capital Persepolis, which was caused by Alexander the Great. The ruins of the latter in any case formed a quarry which was much used for the building of the new town. Iṣṭak͟hr was at first merely the chief town of the district of Fārs, the centre of which had probably always been in this neighbourhood. A few decades before the collapse of the Arsakid kingdom, it figures as the residence of local chiefs. The Sāsānians came from the region of Iṣṭak͟hr. Sāsān, grandfather of Ardas͟hīr I, was superintendent of the fire-temple of the goddess Anāhīd in the town of Iṣṭak͟hr (Ṭabarī, i, 814), the fire of which is said to have suddenly been ominously extinguished in the night of the birth of Muḥammad. After the foundation of the Sāsānian kingdom this town was also considered its religious centre and

Iṣṭak͟hr was henceforth considered the official capital of the New Persian monarchy.

The inhabitants of Iṣṭak͟hr in particular opposed a stubborn resistance to the advance of the Muslims. The first attempt to take the city, undertaken in 19/640 by al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Ḥaḍramī, governor of Baḥrayn, with insufficient forces and against ʿUmar's express orders, failed completely and it was not till 23/643 that Iṣṭak͟hr had to capitulate to an Arab army commanded by Abū Mūsā al-As͟hʿarī and ʿOt͟hmān b. al-ʿĀṣ. But its citizens afterwards rebelled and slew the Arab governor set over them. The governor of Baṣra, ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir [*q.v.*], whom the caliph sent against the rebels, was only able to take the town after severe fighting. In the suppression of the revolution many Persians met their death. This second capture of Iṣṭak͟hr probably took place in 29/649 (cf. on this question J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi (1899), 111 f. For other details of the Arab expeditions against Iṣṭak͟hr see: Balād͟hurī (ed. de Goeje), p. 389, f., Ṭabarī, i, 2546 f., 2549, 2696 f., 2830; Ibn al-At͟hīr, ii, 420 f., iii, 30 f., 77 f.; *Chronique de Ṭabarī* (Pers. vers., by Belʿamī), trans. Zotenberg, iii, 452-3; Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, i, 86-7, 163, and thereon A. D. Mordtmann in *ZDMG*, vi, 455-6; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, iv, 151 f., v, 19-27, vii, 219-20, 248-56).

Iṣṭak͟hr remained a fairly important place during the early centuries of Islam. However it gradually sank to be merely the chief town of a province and was the capital of the *kūra* bearing its name, the largest of the five districts into which the province of Fārs was divided, comprising its northern and north eastern parts. The heaviest blow suffered by the erstwhile Sāsānian capital was the foundation in 64/684 of S͟hīrāz (a day's journey south of Iṣṭak͟hr), which soon became the capital of the province of Fārs and attained great prosperity, particularly from the 3rd/9th century. Henceforth Iṣṭak͟hr declined visibly. From the description of the geographer al-Iṣṭak͟hrī, a native of the town, it was about the middle of the 4th/10th century a town of medium size of the area of an Arab (= Roman) mile; the wall around it was in ruins. Al-Muḳaddasī, writing about thirty years later (985), praises the splendid bridge over the river in Iṣṭak͟hr and the fine park. Concerning the chief mosque, situated in the bazaars, he mentions the remarkable pillars with "bull"-capitals. This probably refers not to an original Achaemenid building, but to a Sāsānian — al-Muḳaddasī mentions that the mosque was thought to have been previously a fire-temple — in the building of which pieces of carving from Persepolis had been used. Only a few years after the date of al-Muḳaddasī's account, a fatal catastrophe overwhelmed the town, brought upon it by the rebellious attitude of its citizens to their suzerain Ṣamṣām al-Dawla, a son of ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*]. The latter sent against it an army under the amīr Ḳutulmis͟h, who laid it in ruins. This sealed the ruin of Iṣṭak͟hr. In a description of the province of Fārs dating from the beginning of the 6th/12th century, in the Persian *Fārs-Nāma*, it is described as a modest village with barely a hundred inhabitants.

As to the mint of Iṣṭak͟hr, coins struck here in the Sāsānian period bear the abbreviation ST (סט) in Pahlavi characters: this certainly means Iṣṭak͟hr. Numerous specimens of these coins exist from the reign of Yezded͟jird II (from 438 A.D.) to the end of the dynasty. In the Islamic period also the Pahlavi legend with the above abbreviation was retained for a considerable time. Such coins struck in the name of the caliph or of governors are known down to the year 78/697-8, cf. J. Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian coins* (*A Catalogue of the Muhammadan coins in the British Museum*), London 1941, cxxix-cxxx, 116. Coins of post-reform type were struck at Iṣṭak͟hr during the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid periods (see G. C. Miles, *Excavation coins from the Persepolis region, Numismatic Notes and Monographs* No. 143, New York 1959 and J. Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Byzantine and post-reform Umaiyad coins*, London 1956, 112-4).

The present system of ruins at Iṣṭak͟hr has been excavated in 1935 and 1937 by a team from the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (see: E. F. Schmidt, *The Treasury of Persepolis* (Oriental Institute Communications, No. 21, Chicago 1939), 105-21; idem, *Flights over ancient cities of Iran* (Oriental Institute, Chicago 1940), plates 8-10; and G. C. Miles, *op. cit.*).The remains of the town are mainly recognizable in the mounds of earth of varying height. Here and there parts of the surrounding walls still exist. The most remarkable seems to be a place lying towards the village of Ḥād͟jd͟jī-ābād͟h — called Ḥarīm-i D͟jams͟hīd = "D͟jams͟hīd's Harem" (cf. below) by the travellers J. Morier and Ker Porter — where a column stands erect in the midst of an area covered with fragments of pillars. Its capital, composed of bodies of bulls, at once shows it to have been removed from Persepolis. The most detailed account of the ruins of Iṣṭak͟hr, aside from that of Schmidt, is that of Flandin and Coste, who spent two months in the neighbourhood about the end of 1840; cf. the pictures in the great volume of plates, *Voyage en Perse*, ii (Paris, 1843 f.), Pl. 58-62, and the archaeological text accompanying it, p. 69-72, and also Flandin's *Relation du Voyage*, ii, (1852), 137.

In the vicinity of Iṣṭak͟hr there are several other sites remarkable for their monuments of history. For example, about 700 yards north of the village of Ḥād͟jd͟jī-ābād͟h, there are natural caves, one of which contains an inscription of historical importance of Sapor I (241-272 A.D.); it is usually called S͟hayk͟h ʿAlī by the Persians, as a pious ascetic of this name is said to have ended his days in it; at the same time one hears it called Zindān-i D͟jams͟hīd, "D͟jams͟hīd's prison". Prominent buildings and monuments of antiquity are frequently attributed to D͟jams͟hīd, a mythical ruler of ancient Iran whom the Muslim Persians identified with the Salomon of legend.

Another place of historical importance is the Naḳs͟h-i Rad͟jab, "Sculpture of Rad͟jab" (a legendary personage), about ¾ mile S.W. of Iṣṭak͟hr. This is a ravine-like split in the wall of rock on the south bank of the Pulwar, which is adorned with three Sāsānian reliefs.

On account of their considerable remains from the ancient and mediaeval Persian periods, the best known sites are Tak͟ht-i D͟jams͟hīd and Naḳs͟h-i Rustam, the former a short hour's journey south of Iṣṭak͟hr on the south bank of the Pulwar, the latter on the north bank of this stream about 1½ miles from Iṣṭak͟hr.

Tak͟ht-i D͟jams͟hīd is the most usual name among Orientals for the complex of Achaemenid palaces of Persepolis. Besides Tak͟ht-i D͟jams͟hīd one also hears the older name Čihil, or abbreviated, Čil Minār (also Menāre), "the 40 pillars", which is found as early as the Persian historians of the 14th century. This name is taken from the most noteworthy parts of the whole site, the colonnade of King Xerxes I with its pillars, originally 72, now only 13 in number. The Arab geographers of the Middle Ages from about the 3rd/9th century know the ruins of the Persepolitan

terrace by the name Malʿab Sulaymān, "Sulaymān's playing-ground", with which we may compare the name Kursī Sulaimān, "Solomon's stool (throne)", found in the Persian history *Mud̲j̲mil-i Tawārīk̲h̲* (beginning of the 5th/11th century), which in its turn may have been the model for the present synonymous name Tak̲h̲t-i D̲j̲ams̲h̲īd.

The "Bench" or "Throne" of D̲j̲ams̲h̲īd (Salomon) is an artificial stone terrace of polygonal, almost rectangular shape, which lies at the foot of a steep, dark grey mountain of rock. The latter, according to the reports of modern travellers, now bears the name Kūh-i Raḥmat, "hill of mercy", but this is not to be found in literature; it apparently dates only from the post-mediaeval period (first mentioned by Sir Thomas Herbert in the beginning of the 17th century). The name still heard by Ouseley, S̲h̲āh Kūh, "royal hill", might be older; it coincides with the βασιλικὸν ὄρος of Diodoros (xvii, 71). At the same time, according to the same authority, the inhabitants also use the name Kūh-i Tak̲h̲t, "hill of the throne (of D̲j̲ams̲h̲īd)". The section of the Kūh-i Raḥmat which forms the back wall of the platform contains three tombs of Achaemenid kings. The people know these by the names of the "mosque", the "bath" and the "mill of D̲j̲ams̲h̲īd", according to Stolze (*Verhandl. der Gesellsch. f. Erdkunde in Berlin*, x., 1883, p. 273).

Iranian tradition varies regarding the founder of Persepolis-Iṣṭak̲h̲r; sometimes it is Kayūmarth, the mythical ancestor of the Persians, sometimes the builders or extenders are legendary rulers of the past like Kayūmart̲h̲'s descendants Hos̲h̲ang (Ūs̲h̲hand̲j̲), Taḥmūrat̲h̲, D̲j̲ams̲h̲īd, Kai K̲h̲usraw. Solomon also is named, for whom the spirits (*d̲j̲inn*) subject to him carried out marvellous works. A legendary princess, Humāy, who plays the role of Semiramis as a builder in Iran, is also mentioned. Persian tradition transfers to Persepolis-Iṣṭak̲h̲r the residence of the old Iranian kings and makes them be buried there also. According to Firdawsī's *S̲h̲āhnāma*, the town was the residence of the reigning dynasty from the time of Kai Ḳubād̲h̲. Muslim writers connect the origin of Persepolis with Solomon; the name given by them, Malʿab Sulaymān, has been mentioned above. According to their legend, this king dwelled alternately here and in Syria and was rapidly carried by the *d̲j̲inn* from one place to the other. Separate buildings on the terrace of Tak̲h̲t-i D̲j̲ams̲h̲īd bear in Arabic writings the names "mosque" and "bath of Solomon" (cf. with these the above mentioned names of two royal tombs of Kūh-i Raḥmat). Solomon — so the story goes — shut the wind up in a room there; Persian sources of the 13th and 14th centuries still speak of a "prison of the wind" here (Zindān-i Bād) (cf. the reports in Ousely, *op. cit.*, ii, 381, 387).

Unfortunately the Arab accounts of the monuments of Persepolis are rather defective and moreover in parts distorted into fairy tales; cf. especially the accounts of the geographers al-Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, al-Muḳaddasī and al-Ḳazwīnī (see Schwarz, *Īrān*); various not uninteresting information is given by Persian historians of the later Middle Ages, especially Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī and Ḥāfiẓ Abrū (see Ouseley, ii, 380 f., 387 f.). According to these two, the pillars of the ruins there were celebrated as a source of zinc oxide (*tūtiyā*) important for medical purposes. The vandal disfigurement of the heads of the figures on the bas-relief of Tak̲h̲-i D̲j̲ams̲h̲īd (and still more so in Naḳs̲h̲-i Rustam) is primarily due to the fanaticism of the Muslims with its objection to the representation of human faces.

The caliph al-Manṣūr (754-775) wished to use the ruins of Persepolis, like those of al-Madāʾin-Ctesiphon, as a quarry, but was persuaded against it by the advice of his vizier K̲h̲ālid al-Barmakī, who said that Persepolis was used as place of prayer by ʿAlī; see *Fragm. Hist. Arab.* (ed. de Goeje), p. 256.

Various Muslim rulers have perpetuated their visits to the ruins of Persepolis by having inscriptions incised. Here are to be seen three Arabic inscriptions in Kufic characters by members of the Būyid dynasties (4th/10th century), three inscriptions, two Persian and one Arabic, of Abu 'l-Fatḥ Ibrāhīm, a grandson of Tīmūr (9th/15th century), also three inscriptions (2 Arabic and 1 Persian) of ʿAlī b. K̲h̲alīl, a grandson of Uzūn Ḥasan (9th/15th century). These inscriptions were thoroughly discussed by de Sacy in his *Mém. sur diverses antiquités de la Perse* (Paris 1793), p. 139 ff.. Some emendations thereon were given by Nöldeke in Stolze, *Persepolis*, ii, 6. H. Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, ii, 188, also mentions an inscription of the Muẓaffarid Muḥammad b. al-Muẓaffar b. al-Muẓaffar b. al-Manṣūr (d. 765/1363), See also V. Minorsky, *Later Islamic Inscriptions at Persepolis*, in *BSOS* (1939), 177-8. The various verses scratched on the walls show the high respect in which Persepolis has always been held among the Persians; their modern poets often make allusions to the ancient capital of the country.

As to Naḳs̲h̲-i Rustam, its primary significance is only the steep south wall of the long, high mass of rock, Ḥusayn Kūh, which has in niches four Achaemenid royal tombs and Sāsānian reliefs. But the name is often extended to the whole of Ḥusayn Kūh. The name Naḳs̲h̲-i Rustam is due to the popular idea that the sculptured figures there represent the Iranian national hero Rustam. Before the wall of the tombs there rises a remarkable towerlike building, now called Kaʿba-i Zardus̲h̲t, "the Kaʿba of Zoroaster". Probably it has something to do with a former fire temple. Two other small buildings are perhaps to be similarly regarded, not far from the Kaʿba-i Zardus̲h̲t on the summit of a rock called Sang-i Sulaymān, "the stone of Sulaymān", cf. Ouseley, *op. cit.*, ii, 300. We may also mention that the Sāsānian sculptures of Berme Delek 5 miles E.S.E. of S̲h̲īrāz are also called Naḳs̲h̲-i Rustam. (But see now, E. F. Schmidt, *Persepolis* III, *The Royal Tombs and other monuments* (Oriental Institute, Chicago, 1970), 122 ff.; W. B. Henning, *The Great Inscription of Šāpūr* I, in *BSOAS* IX (1937-39); M. Sprengling, *Third-Century Iran. Sapor and Kartir* (Oriental Institute, Chicago 1953); E. Honigman & A. Maricq, *Recherches sur les Res Gestae Divi Saporis* (*Mémoires, Acad. Royale de Belgique*, xlvii, Brussels, 1953).

A stone platform in two layers on the south bank of the Pulwar (about 500 yards W. of Naḳs̲h̲-i Rad̲j̲ab) is called by the inhabitants of the district, Tak̲h̲t-i Rustam, "the throne of Rustam". The latter, in view of its limited dimension, can only have served as the pedestal of a sepulchral monument or of a fire temple. Cf. Flandin et Coste, *Voyage en Perse*, ii. 72-73 (and Pl. 63). Instead of Tak̲h̲t-i Rustam, the name Tak̲h̲t-i Ṭāʾūs, "peacock-throne", is also used. The name Tak̲h̲t-i Rustam is found elsewhere in Irān also: cf. Ouseley, *op. cit.*, ii, 522).

At a somewhat greater distance from Iṣṭak̲h̲r, about 3-4 hours journey N.W., on rocky peaks stand three forts within 1½ to 2 miles of each other. All three, which lie practically in a straight line, are frequently comprised under the name Ḳalʿa or Kūh-i Iṣṭak̲h̲r, "the citadel" or "the mountain of Iṣṭak̲h̲r", also Kūh-i Rāmd̲j̲ird, from a district of

this name on the left bank of the Kur (into which the above mentioned Pulwar flows). Firdawsī in a distich speaks of the Sih Diz-i Gumbadān-i Iṣṭakhr, "the three fortresses of Iṣṭakhr" (cf. Ouseley, *op. cit.*, ii, 386). At the same time the separate castles have each their own names, which have however changed frequently in course of time according to the reports of the older historians and travellers. The most important of the three, the Ḳalʿa-i Iṣṭakhr in the narrower sense, is also called Miyān Ḳalʿa, "the central fort" from its position between the other two. Flandin and Coste heard it called Ḳalʿa-i Sarw, "the cypress castle", from a single cypress tree standing there. For the two other citadels Persian authors, for example, give the names Ḳalʿa-i Shikastah, "the broken (ruined) castle", and Ashkunawān (Sakunawān and similar names).

In the Muslim history of Fārs, especially in that of Iṣṭakhr, these inaccessible fortresses played an important part. They were regarded as most essential military points d'appui for the holding of the surrounding country. The most prominent is the "citadel of Iṣṭakhr" proper, the origin of which Persian legend places in mythical times by assuming it was built by King Djamshīd. The old Iranian ruler Gushtāsp is said to have deposited the *Avesta*, written on cowhides with golden ink, in the castle of Iṣṭakhr, after his conversion to the doctrine of Zoroaster; the citadel is therefore also called Diz-i Nibisht (Castle of the writing) or Kūh-i Nibisht (Hill of the writing; so in Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī); cf. Ṭabarī, i, 676; and Ibn al-Athīr, i, 182, 9, as well as the Persian reports in Ouseley, *op. cit.*, ii, 344, 364, 370-1, 375, 384. Under the caliphate the governor of the province of Fārs very frequently resided in this stronghold, which was easily defended by its natural situation. Thus the governor Ziyād b. Abīhi was able to hold out up here against Muʿāwiya for a considerable time after Alī's death; cf. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, etc. (Berlin 1902), 76. The Būyids, who not infrequently stayed in the region of Iṣṭakhr (cf. the inscriptions dating from their time mentioned above, at Takht-i Djamshīd; ʿImād al-Dawla [*q.v.*] was buried in Iṣṭakhr), paid particular attention to the citadel of Iṣṭakhr. ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*] in the 4th/10th century built on it a great system of cisterns, taking advantage of a natural pond already there, which could provide water for several thousand persons for a whole year and which aroused the admiration of contemporaries and of later generations. In 467/1074 the rebel Faḍlūya, who had seized the government of Fārs, was besieged by the troops of Niẓām al-Mulk in the sulṭanate of Malik Shāh in the citadel of Iṣṭakhr. An earthquake which suddenly caused the cisterns to overflow forced the besieged to a premature capitulation. Faḍlūya was then kept a prisoner in the fortress and put to death next year after an unsuccessful attempt to escape. The castle was later much used as a state prison for high officials and princes. About 1590 the citadel was still in good condition and inhabited. Some time afterwards a rebel general of Fārs took refuge in it and it was besieged by Shāh ʿAbbās I, stormed and destroyed. Pietro delle Valle, who stayed here in 1621, therefore found it in ruins.

The citadel of Iṣṭakhr has so far been only rarely visited by European travellers, *e.g.*, by Morier, Flandin (and Coste), and Vambéry. According to the account by Flandin and Coste, to whom we also owe drawings and plans of the citadel, it stands on a plateau 300 yards round, about 1300 feet above the plain. Of the old defences there have survived the powerful ramparts solidly built of stone; the great system of cisterns of the Būyids, among which a well hewn deep into the rock is specially remarkable, is still to be seen. All the ruins that survive seem only to date from the Muslim period. Cf. on the castles of Iṣṭakhr the accounts from Persian sources in Ouseley, *op. cit.*, ii, 371, 376, 385 f., 389, 395-7, 399, 405-5, 407, 531; Ritter, viii, 863-5, 868, 877; Flandin and Coste, *Voyage en Perse*, ii, 71-72; *Flandin's Relation du Voyage*, ii, (1852), 140-2; Vambéry, *Meine Wanderungen und Erlebnisse in Persien*, Pest 1867, 250; Cl. Huart in *Revue sémitique*, i, (1893), 259 f., 337 f. and in *Hist. de Bagdad* (Paris 1901), 28, 31; G. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, 276; Herzfeld in Sarre and Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 114-5 (Pl. xvi. and Fig. 45).

Bibliography: *BGA*, ed. de Goeje, *passim*; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam* (ed. Wüstenfeld,) i, 299 f.; Ḳazwīnī, *Kosmographie* (ed. Wüstenfeld), ii, 99; Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Athīr, *passim* (s. Ind.); Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihānnumā* (vers. lat. by Norberg, Lund 1878), i, 284-6; P. Schwarz, *Īrān im Mittelalter nach den arab. Geographen*, i (1896), 13-16 (13-30 on the Province Iṣṭakhr); G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, 275-6, 294-5. Full accounts of Iṣṭakhr-Persepolis are given from Oriental, mainly Persian, sources by Ouseley, *Travels of various countries of the East*, ii, London 1821, 339-441. — C. Niebuhr, *Reisebeschr. nach Arabien* etc., Copenhague 1778, 120-165; Ouseley, *op. cit.*, ii, 187-191, 224-420; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii, 858-941; A. J. Rich, *Collected Memoirs*, London 1839, 231-261; Flandin et Coste, *Voyage en Perse*, ii, (Paris 1843 f.), Pl. 57-112, and the accompanying Vol. of text, 68-155; Flandin's *Relation du voyage*, ii (1852), 88-214; F. Stolze, *Persepolis*, Berlin 1882, 2 Vol.; idem, in *Verhandl. d. Gesellsch. f. Erdkunde in Berlin*, x (1883), 251-276, Nöldeke, *Aufsätze zur pers. Geschichte*, Leipzig 1887, 134-146; Geiger in *Grundr. der iran. Philol.*, ii (1896 f.), 390 f.; Justi, *ibid.*, ii, 447-456; A. W. Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, New York 1906, 294-320; E. Herzfeld in *Klio*, viii (1907), 1-68 (*passim*); Fr. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, Berlin 1910 (on Iṣṭakhr: see especially p. 100-2). — Of the old Persian inscriptions of Persepolis and Naḳsh-i Rustam the best accounts are given in E. F. Schmidt, *Persepolis* i, *Structures, Reliefs, Inscriptions*, Oriental Institute, Chicago 1953, who includes earlier references. — On Sāsānid monuments and inscriptions see Schmidt, *op. cit.* — The best maps of Iṣṭakhr-Persepolis and its immediate neighbourhood are given by Schmidt, *Persepolis*, i and iii, and *Flights*.

(M. STRECK [G. C. MILES])

AL-IṢṬAKHRĪ, ABŪ ISḤĀḲ IBRĀHĪM B. MUḤAMMAD AL-FĀRISĪ AL-KARKHĪ, one of the first and most important representatives of the new trends adopted by Arabo-Muslim geography in the 4th/10th century.

His biography is unknown, or almost so. If the various forms of his *nisba* are to be believed, he was a native of Fārs and, more precisely, of Iṣṭakhr. Following Yāḳūt, orientalism has in fact accepted the *nisba* al-Iṣṭakhrī, but others, in particular Ibn Ḥawḳal, his direct continuator, designate him by the *nisba* al-Fārisī. Al-Muḳaddasī, who does the same, also adds the *nisba* al-Karkhī (ed. De Goeje, 475; compare with *ibid.*, 5, n. *a*), from which it might be supposed that, at some period in his life, the writer settled in Khūzistān or in ʿIrāḳ, and perhaps, to be more precise, in the quarter of Baghdād of that name (cf. Yāḳūt, s.v.).

One certain element at least in the life of al-Iṣṭakhrī is his meeting with Ibn Ḥawḳal. It is of little positive importance whether this took place in Sind, the description of which in Ibn Ḥawḳal (tr. Kramers-Wiet, 322) leads to the recalling of this meeting, though without any further details as to the place, or in Baghdād, bearing in mind that this would be the most probable place for a meeting between the old master who had retired there and the young geographer who stayed there (*ibid.*, 336), completed his training and decided to set out on his travels (*ibid.*, 3, 322).

The work of al-Iṣṭakhrī, the *Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-mamālik* (another work, a *Risāla*, probably on Fārs, is recorded in connection with the description of that country: cf. ed. al-Ḥīnī, 67), at all events may be placed between that of al-Balkhī, by which it was inspired, and that of Ibn Ḥawḳal, which continues it: as Kramers writes very justly (*Analecta*, 196), "the manuscripts of al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal represent one single standard original text, which was revised and corrected several times." Written towards the end of the first half of the 4th/10th century, the *Kitāb* repeats, while it also develops, the "atlas of Islam" introduced by al-Balkhī. As in al-Balkhī, the *iḳlīm* [*q.v.*] is no longer the "climate" of Ptolemean geography but, in the Iranian tradition of the *keshwars*, is a geographical entity, a "country". As with al-Balkhī, in the Persian "national" spirit prevailing in Sāmānid Khurāsān where the original work made its appearance, Iran holds a favoured position, by length of the passages devoted to it. Lastly, as with al-Balkhī, the spirit and methods of the cartography are very close to Persian models; far closer, in any event, than Ibn Ḥawḳal was to be. This Iranism explains how it is that al-Iṣṭakhrī's work, unlike that of Ibn Ḥawḳal (and of al-Muḳaddasī who represents the last link in the chain) was the subject of Persian translations (and also Turkish: cf. V. Minorsky, *A false Jayhānī*, in *BSOAS*, xiii (1949-50), 156-9).

A further relationship exists: so far as one can judge, the cartographical representation, which for al-Balkhī was the essential feature, in the eyes of his successor remained the fundamental element of the geographical work, even if the commentary on the map was expanded considerably. This fact explains the reservations expressed by al-Muḳaddasī who described the *Kitāb* as "a book with very carefully prepared maps, but confused in many places and superficial in its commentaries, and it does not divide the provinces into districts (*wa-lā kawwara 'l-aḳālīm*)" (ed. De Goeje, 5, n. *a*).

Al-Muḳaddasī's severity towards his precursors is well-known. In essence, even if his basic principle is justified, it conceals the degree of progress between al-Balkhī and al-Iṣṭakhrī. Thanks to the commentary, not only does one pass gradually, as has been suggested, from the atlas to the descriptive atlas; in addition the scientific method is refined by the exercise of a critical judgement and by the desire to pass on information from oral or written sources, selected by personal observation (*ʿiyān*). These two principles are so closely interwoven in the work, and the author's modesty is so great in respect of the journeys he had had to undertake, that the map of al-Iṣṭakhrī's travels is difficult to reconstruct; in the case of Sind, for example, is the validity of the information provided due to the reliability of the informants or to travel notes? In any event, it is almost certain that al-Iṣṭakhrī visited Arabia (at least as far as Mecca), ʿIrāḳ, Khūzistān, Daylam and Transoxiana.

Al-Iṣṭakhrī's successors were not deceived as to the value of the work or the originality of his methods. Despite his criticism, al-Muḳaddasī did not fail to make use of it, as did the anonymous author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* and Yāḳūt. Even more than these writers, however, it is Ibn Ḥawḳal who appears as the privileged successor of al-Iṣṭakhrī, even as his designated heir: "I have met Abū Isḥāḳ al-Fārisī", wrote Ibn Ḥawḳal (trans. Wiet, 322); "this man had drawn this map of Sind, but he had made some mistakes, and he had also drawn Fārs, which he had done extremely well. For my part, I had drawn the map of Adharbaydjān, which occurs on the following page and of which he approved, as well as that of Upper Mesopotamia, which he considered excellent. My map of Egypt however he condemned as wholly bad, and that of the Maghrib as for the most part inaccurate. He then told me: 'I have made a careful study of your birth and have drawn up your horoscope. I ask you to make corrections in my work wherever you find any mistakes'. I made some alterations in more than one place, and wanted to publish them under his name. But I thought it good to leave my own name only on the edition of this work."

Ibn Ḥawḳal's decided views, and often his lack of constraint with regard to al-Iṣṭakhrī, have played in his favour; in reading him, one slightly forgets what the pupil owes to the master. But, whatever the just merits of the work of Ibn Ḥawḳal [*q.v.*], a careful study makes evident, on more than one page and far more than Ibn Ḥawḳal would have us to believe, how much he owes to his precursor (see an example in A. Miquel, *Géographie humaine*, 367-90). Thus the greatest prudence is called for when one starts to read a work which, in the final analysis, is a collective one, and in which the merits of al-Balkhī, al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal cannot be dissociated from one another.

The text of the *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik* has been edited in part by J. H. Moeller (*Liber climatum*, Gotha 1839; trans. A. D. Mordtmann, *Das Buch der Länder*, Hamburg 1845); a partial translation (on Sidjistān) has been made by A. Madini (Milan 1842). Later came the edition of De Goeje (*BGA*, i, Leiden 1870 and 1927), and then that of M. G. ʿAbd al-ʿĀl al-Ḥīnī (Cairo 1381/1961).

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥawḳal — Kramers-Wiet, X, XIII, XIV, XVI, 13, 31, 318 (n. 545), 322; Muḳaddasī, *loc. cit.*; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, xvii-xix, 21-2; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-buldān*, trans. W. Jwaideh, *The introductory chapters of Yāqūt's Muʿjam al-buldān*, Leiden 1959, 10; Kaḥḥāla, 104; M. Reinaud, *Introduction générale à la géographie des Orientaux* (*Géographie d'Aboulféda*), I), Paris 1848, lxxxi f.; the same author, *Mémoire géographique, historique et scientifique sur l'Inde*, Paris 1849, 22; De Goeje, *Die Istakhri-Balkhi Frage, in ZDMG*, xxv, 42 f.; Brockelmann, S. I, 408; J. H. Kramers, *L'influence de la tradition iranienne dans la géographie arabe*, in *Analecta orientalia*, i, Leiden 1954, 148-56; idem, *La littérature géographique classique des Musulmans, ibid.*, 195 f.; Blachère-Darmann, *Extraits des principaux géographes arabes du moyen âge*, Paris 1957, 112-3, 134-5; I. Yu. Kračkovskiy, *Arabskaya geografičeskaya literatura*, Moscow-Leningrad 1957, 196-8 (Arabic trans. [chap. I-XVI so far published] by Ṣ. D. ʿUthmān Hāshim, Cairo 1963, 199-200); A. Miquel, *Géographiqie humaine*, Paris-The Hague 1967, index.

(A. MIQUEL)

ISTĀN [see USTĀN].

ISTANBUL, the capital of the Ottoman Empire from 20 Djumādā I 857/29 May 1453 to 3 Rabīʿ II 1342/13 October 1923. In strict Ottoman usage the name is confined to the area bounded by the Golden Horn, the Marmara coast and the Wall of Theodosius, the districts of Ghalaṭa, Üsküdār and Eyyūb being separate townships, each with its own *ḳāḍī*; occasionally however the name is applied to this whole area.

NAME. In the period of the Saldjūḳ sultanate of Anatolia (see Kamāl al-Dīn Aḳsarāyī, *Musāmarat al-akhbār*, ed. O. Turan, Ankara 1944, index at p. 344) and under the early Ottomans (*Die altosm. anon. Chroniken*, ed. F. Giese, Breslau 1922, 8, 28, 33, etc.) the spelling استنبول ("Istinbol", "Istanbol" or "Istanbul") was used; the pronunciation "Istimboli" is attested by J. Schiltberger (Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Constantinopolis Oberhummer) for the end of the 8th/14th century (cf., for the 6th/12th century, the Armenian form Stampol: H. Dj. Siruni, in *Studia et Acta Orientalia*, iii (1960), 164). The spelling ستنبول ("S(i)tinbol", "S(i)tanbol") occurs in Ottoman poetry (Laṭīfī [*q.v.*], *Evṣāf-i Istanbul* in Ms.).

Al-Masʿūdī (*Tanbīh*, 136) mentions, as early as the 4th/10th century, that the Greeks called the city "Būlin" and "Stanbūlin"; towards the end of the 10th/16th century F. Moryson (*An itinerary* ..., ii, 97) notes that the Greek inhabitants called the city "Stimboli", but the Turks "Stambol". It is no longer in question that the Turkish forms (Stinbol/Stanbol > Istin(m)bol/Istan(m)bol > Istan(m)bul) derive from the Greek εἰς τὴν πόλιν (for the arguments against the derivation Constantinupolis > Constandipol see Oberhummer, *loc. cit.*; D. J. Georgacas, *The name of Constantinople*, in *American Philological Association: Transactions*, lxxviii (1947), 347-67).

The punning name Islām-bol ("where Islam abounds") was, according to a contemporary Armenian source (see Siruni, *op. cit.*, 173), given to the city by its conqueror Meḥemmed II (for similar "meaningful" names invented by him, cf. Boghaz-Kesen, Elbasan, Bögür-delen); it is found in documents of the 9th/15th century (*e.g.*, Ayasofya Evkaf Defteri, Maliye no. 19; *Tarih Vesikaları*, ii/7, 37); in the 11th/17th century the educated classes regarded it as the "Ottoman" name of the city (Evliyā Čelebi, i, 55-6); and a firman of 1174/1760 decreed that it should be substituted for the mint name Ḳosṭantiniyye on coins (text in A. Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1100-1200*, p. 185). In popular usage however the forms Istanbul or Istambul prevailed. The present-day official spelling is İstanbul.

From 330 A.D. onwards, the official name in the Eastern Roman Empire was Constantinupolis (for the various forms, see Oberhummer, *loc. cit.*). Adopted by the Arabs and the Persians as Ḳu(n)sṭanṭīniyya in official and literary usage, this name continued to be used in Ottoman educated circles and in the Ottoman chancery, and appears in firmans and *waḳfiyya*s and upon coins (cf. too *Die alt. anon. Chr.*, ed. Giese, 28, 74, 78, etc.).

The original name Byzantion, of Thracian origin (Oberhummer, *loc. cit.*), is occasionally mentioned in Ottoman texts as the former name of the city, in various Arabic and Armenian forms: Byzantia, Byzandia, Buzantiye, Puzanta, Buzantis (see *EI*[1], i, 889; Evliyā Čelebi, i, 55; Siruni, *op. cit.*, 164).

The names *Rūmiyya al-kubrā*, *Takht-i Rūm* (cf. Μεγαλόπολις) and *Ghulghule-i Rūm* found in Muslim literary works (Evliyā Čelebi, *loc. cit.*) derive from the early Byzantine names (Nova) Roma, (Néa) Rhōme.

In Islamic chancery usage, cities, like human dignitaries, were accorded particular epithets and benedictory formulae (*duʿā*, *salutatio*). Those used for Istanbul by the Ottomans reflect old Iranian and Muslim concepts of centralized authority: Pāytakht-i Salṭanat, Takhtgāh-i Salṭanat, Maḳarr-i Salṭanat, Dār al-Salṭana, Dār al-Khilāfa; also, Dār al-Naṣr, Madīnat al-Muwaḥḥidīn (cf. Islām-bol). In continuation of the traditional notions that the ruler's authority and "fortune" are interlinked (cf. in Old Turkish titulature *Kut*, *Kutluğ*) and that justice is dispensed at the gate or threshold of the palace, Istanbul is often indicated by such names as Der-i Saʿādet (Der-saadet) Āsitāne. The usual benedictory formula Istanbul is *al-maḥmiyya* or *al-maḥrūsa*, *i.e.*, "the Well-Protected" (by God, against disaster; and also by the sultan, against injustice). A typical reference to Istanbul in chancery usage is: Dār al-Khilāfa al-ʿaliyya ve maḳarr-i salṭanat-i seniyyem olan maḥmiyye-i Ḳosṭanṭiniyye" (A. Refik, *op. cit.*, p. 110).

The ḳurʾānic phrase بلدة طيبة (XXXIV, 14/15), a chronogram for the date of the Ottoman conquest (857/1453), and the phrase *ḥasrat al-mulūk* (Evliyā Čelebi, i, 33, 55) are used for Istanbul only as literary conceits. As in Greek, so in Ottoman usage Istanbul was frequently referred to simply as "The City" ("*shehir*") (see, *e.g.*, İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri, no. 727).

The following sections deal only with the Ottoman city. For Muslim attacks on the city before 1453, Muslim travellers' accounts of Constantinople, etc., see ḲUSṬANṬĪNIYYA. For the Bosphorus, see BOGHAZIČI. For the townships closely associated with Istanbul, see EYYŪB (in Supplement), GHALAṬA (in Supplement) and ÜSKÜDAR.

I. Results of the Conquest; Events up to 861/1457

The future development of the city was determined by the circumstances of the Ottoman conquest. When Meḥemmed II proclaimed the assault and promised his troops a three-day sack, he announced: "The stones and the land of the city and the city's appurtenances belong to me; all other goods and property, prisoners and foodstuffs are booty for the troops" (see H. İnalcık, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xxiii-xxiv (1969-70), 232-5). The result was that the city was denuded of its former inhabitants and the character which it had possessed in the Byzantine period was radically changed. The Ottoman troops entered the city through the breach opened in the walls at dawn, on 20 Djumādā I 857/29 May 1453, and fought their way towards Hagia Sophia (Aya Sofya), but some defenders continued to resist (the Cretan sailors in the towers of Alexius held out out until after midday, see Sphrantzes, tr. Ivanka, 80; cf. Braun-Schneider, *Bericht*, 32) and the fighting ended only towards the middle of the afternoon. Practically all the survivors were made prisoner and taken to the ships or to the Ottoman camp outside the walls (Tursun, 55; Critoboulos, tr. Riggs, 76; Tādjī-Beğ-zāde, 21). The sultan, wishing to prevent the further destruction of the city which he intended to be henceforth his capital, proclaimed that afternoon that the fighting was to cease and made a brief tour of the city (Ducas, ed. Grecu, 375; Sphrantzes records that the sack lasted for three days, but it is clear that from 30 May onwards there was no serious plundering or enslavement). On 30 May the sultan made his ceremonial entry (Tādjī-Beğ-zāde, 22); he

toured the city to inspect its buildings and visited the harbour district. Entering Aya Sofya, he proclaimed that it should be the Great Mosque (*djāmiʿ-i kebīr*) (Tādjī-Beğ-zāde, 23; Tursun, 56-7), and announced that henceforwards Istanbul should be his capital (*takht*) (İnalcık, *op. cit.*, 233). His first and principal concern was to encourage the repopulation of the city, so that on the third day after the conquest he proclaimed *amān*: any fugitive who returned within a specified time should freely re-occupy his home and practise his religion, and the Greeks were invited to elect a Patriarch as religious head of their community (Sphrantzes, tr. Ivanka, 85; cf. Zorzo Dolfin, ch. xviii).

Before returning to Edirne on 13 Djumādā II/21 June, the sultan appointed Karīshdîran Süleymān Beg as *subashî* (military prefect) of the city, with a garrison of 1500 Janissaries, and Khîḍr-beg Čelebi as *ḳāḍī*, and ordered the repair of the walls, the building of a citadel (Yedi Ḳule) by the Golden Gate, and the construction of a palace for himself at the Forum Tauri in the centre of the city (later known as Eski Sarāy). To commence the repopulation of the city, he settled the fifth of the prisoners falling to him as ruler, with their families, "along the shores of the city harbour", *i.e.*, along the Golden Horn. He gave them houses and "freed them from taxes for a specified time". Immediately after the conquest he had considered appointing the Megadux Lucas Notaras as city-prefect and entrusting him with the task of repopulation, but his viziers dissuaded him; Notaras and the other Byzantine notables were executed (İnalcık, *op. cit.*, 240). He permitted enslaved prisoners who had paid ransom or who undertook to pay ransom within a specified time to settle in the city, granting them houses and a temporary exemption from taxation; he encouraged such slaves to earn their ransoms by working on building projects (Critoboulos, 83, 93; Sphrantzes, *loc. cit.*; N. Barbaro, Eng. tr., New York 1969, 72). Before the siege began, many inhabitants had fled the city (Sphrantzes, 47); others had managed to conceal themselves during the sack or had fled to Ghalaṭa. These, with the ransomed prisoners, formed the first Greek population of the city; that they were numerically few is shown by the census (*taḥrīr*) of 860/1455 (for which, see below), which further confirms the tradition that some of these Greeks embraced Islam. (A great many of the prisoners had been sold, at Edirne, Bursa and Gelibolu.) The *amān* did not cover any Venetians: the *bailo* Girolamo Minotto and his son were executed; 29 other Venetian nobles were ransomed, but their male children were drafted into the corps of ʿAdjemī oghlans [*q.v.*]. The Venetians received permission to settle and engage in commerce only after the conclusion of the capitulations of 19 Rabīʿ II 858/18 April 1454.

The most effective measure taken to repopulate the city was certainly that of *sürgün* [*q.v.*], the compulsory re-settlement of people from various parts of the empire. Before leaving Istanbul, Meḥemmed II issued firmans ordering the sending of Muslim, Christian and Jewish families from Rūmeli and Anatolia (Critoboulos, 93; Ducas, ed. Grecu, 393: 5000 families by September; a document published by Jorga (*Notes et extraits*, iv, 67) speaks of 4000 families from Anatolia and 4000 from Rūmeli). In the autumn of 1453, the sultan returned to Istanbul; finding that the repopulation was proceeding only slowly because of opposition to the deportations, he moved to Bursa and set severe measures in hand (İnalcık, *op. cit.*, 237). It was at this time that he appointed George Scholarius patriarch (6 January 1454) (İnalcık, *op. cit.*, 236; Runciman, *Fall*, 155). In autumn 859/1455, when he again visited Istanbul, he was pleased to find the walls repaired and Yedi-Ḳule and the palace completed; but upon learning that Muslim settlers had left the city, he sent orders to Anatolia and Rūmeli that *sürgün*-families should again be sent without delay.

A fragment of a *taḥrīr defteri* for Istanbul and Ghalaṭa, dated Muḥarram 860/December 1455, has survived, the extant leaves covering the Fātiḥ district, part of Akserāy, and the areas along the land walls and the Marmara shore (see *Bibl.*). In the 22 *maḥalles*, 918 *khāne* (here: "houses") are listed, and 291 of them are noted as "empty" or "ruinous". The houses are distinguished as one-storeyed (*süflī*), two-storeyed (*ʿulvī*) and "large", "the sumptuous (*mükellef*) houses called by the Greeks *drapez*". Some houses are noted as being split into three or four, or as inhabited by more than one family. One- or two-storeyed *čardaks* are noted, especially in the courtyards of monasteries (for such habitations within monasteries, see the plans of Buondelmonte and Vavassore; Oberhummer, *Konst. unter Sultan Suleiman*, pp. 19, 22; F. Babinger, *Drei Stadtansichten ...*, 1959, p. 4). Of 26 monasteries listed, only one is still occupied by Greeks; the others are deserted or inhabited by Muslim immigrants. 42 churches are listed, many of them situated in monasteries. Only two still belong to the Greeks, but the Greeks of the *maḥalle* of Altî-Mermer use a big house there as a church. Five churches are inhabited by Muslim immigrants, one has been converted to a mosque, most of the others, having no congregations, are ruinous.

The first Great Mosque of Istanbul was Aya Sofya and the first stages in the development of Istanbul as an Ottoman city are revealed by the study of its *waḳf*s. These include, besides the mosque and *medrese* of Aya Sofya, other Byzantine religious buildings now converted to Muslim use: the Zeyrek Djāmiʿi and its *medrese* (Pantocrator) (see S. Eyice, *Istanbul*, 57), the Ghalaṭa Djāmiʿi/ʿArab Djāmiʿi (St. Dominic) (see Schneider and Nomidis, *Galata*, Istanbul 1944, pp. 25, 28), the mosque in the citadel at Silivri, the Eski ʿImāret Mesdjidi (St. Saviour Pantepoptes) (see Eyice, 68), the Mevlevī convent Ḳalenderkhāne (Schneider, *Byzanz*, 51; Eyice, 54; under Bāyezīd II it was made a *medrese* and then a mosque). Meḥemmed II's Great Mosque ("Fātiḥ") was completed only in 875/1471. The mosques constructed up to that date (Rūmeli-Ḥiṣārî; the Yeñi Kerbānsarāy/Čukhadjî Khānî mosque; the Debbāghlar Mesdjidi at Yedi-Ḳule; Yeñidje Ḳalʿe/Anadolu Ḥiṣārî) were all attached to the *waḳf*s of Aya Sofya.

In 861/1457 Meḥemmed II made over to the *waḳf*s of Aya Sofya the Byzantine buildings still standing in the city; these are noted in the documents as "*sulṭānī*" and "*muḳāṭaʿalî*". In 898/1492 the total of these *muḳāṭaʿalî* houses was 1428 (Aya Sofya Evkafı Tahrir Defteri, Maliye 19). (By this time many houses had of course fallen into ruin.) Since a survey of 895/1489 notes 1093 *muḳāṭaʿalî* houses in Istanbul and Ghalaṭa "apart from the Byzantine houses occupied by *ḳul*s of the Padishāh", these latter must have numbered 335; it was the practice that *muḳaṭaʿa* (in effect "rent") should not be levied on a house held by a *ḳul*, so long as the *ḳul* actually resided there. Similarly, in the reign of Bāyezīd II the attempt to levy *muḳāṭaʿa* on Byzantine houses granted as *mülk* ("freehold") before the *waḳfiyya* for Aya Sofya was drawn up (*i.e.*, before 861/1457) was finally abandoned; but under Meḥemmed II it had been imposed and

removed more than once (İnalcık, *op. cit.*, 241). The 502 such houses in Istanbul itself were located in the *maḥalles* of Aya Sofya, Sîrt Ḥanımâmî (near the Bedestān), Ḥādjdjî ʿAbdî, Ḥekîm Yaʿḳūb, Shahin Üskübî (between Unḳāpānî and Djibali), Edirne-Kapîsî, Üstād Ayās (at Sarrādjkhāne), Arslanlu Makhzen, and Top-Yîkîghî (Topkapu), a distribution which gives an indication of the pre-Ottoman centres of habitation.

Apart from these Byzantine buildings, Meḥemmed II donated to the *waḳfs* of Aya Sofya other revenue-producing establishments which would at the same time meet the economic and social needs of the population and encourage settlement, namely: the Bedestān, with the Büyük Čarshî built round it (see below); the Bodrum Kerbānsarāyî; the Eski Kerbānsarāyî and Yemish Kapanî Kerbānsarāyî at Takhtaḳalʿe; the Yeñi/Beg Kerbānsarāyî near the Bedestān; the Un-Kapanî, Yemish Kapanî, Tuz Anbārî, Mūmkhāne, Sābūnkhāne, Djenderekhāne, Debbāghkhāne, Sellākhkhāne, Boyakhāne, and Mūy-tābān Kārkhanesi. There were furthermore two baths, 46 butchers' shops, 41 cookshops, 28 *boza-khānes*, and bakeries, and, in various parts of the city, some 2000 shops. Many of these shops were built in rectangular blocks or in facing rows (see the miniature in *İA*, art. *Istanbul*, facing p. 1214), each devoted to a single craft or industry.

II. The Principles observed in the Development of the Ottoman Capital

The fundamental principle observed in the development of Ottoman Istanbul was that it should receive the character of a Muslim city, so that the Muslim community should be able to live in accordance with the prescriptions of their religion and enjoy the traditional facilities of Muslim city life. This principle was the continuance of the ancient Middle East tradition by which the city was created around a place of worship and the urban functions were harmonized with the religious obligations. Aya Sofya was the Great Mosque *par excellence*, where the ruler and the Muslim community met together at an accession and at every Friday prayer, where the ruler received petitions, and where the great religious ceremonies were held; and the social and economic institutions and establishments which fostered the life of the city and the well-being of its inhabitants came into existence first as *waḳfs* of this Great Mosque (cf. *Middle Eastern Cities*, ed. I. M. Lapidus, Berkeley 1969).

This "Islamic" character is demonstrated by the city's topographic development: its first *nāḥiye* is the *nāḥiye* of Aya Sofya. The other *nāḥiyes* grew up around the mosques (*djāmiʿ*) built later by sultans and viziers, whilst the smaller units, the *maḥalles*, constituting the *nāḥiye* each grew up around a local mosque (*mesdjid*). From the very first, also, attempts were made to give Istanbul the status of a sacred city of Islam. Immediately after the conquest, the holy region of Eyyūb (Eyüp) received its character with the building of the *türbe* of the Companion Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī (M. Canard, *Les expeditions des Arabes* ..., 70; its *waḳfiyya* in *Fatih Mehmet II. Vakfiyeleri*, Ankara 1938, 283-340. See also S. Ünver, *Istanbul'da Sahâbe Kabirleri*, Istanbul-Ankara 1953; P. Wittek, *Ayvansaray*, in *Ann. de l'Inst. de Phil. et d'Hist. orientales et slaves*, xi (Brussels 1951), 505-26). The profound Ottoman devotion to mystics and to dervish *sheykhs* led to the establishment of many *maḥalles* in the name of a saint or around his *zāviye* or tomb (already under Meḥemmed II: Sheykh Ebu'l-Vefā; Sheykh Ak Shemseddîn; Sheykh Sevindük Khalvetî, known as Kovadjî Dede; Sheykh Maḥmūd Resmī; etc.). A further indication of the desire to "Islamize" the city is the occasional use, already under Meḥemmed II, of the name "Islām-bol" (the city "full of Muslims") in official records (İnalcık, *op. cit.*, 246). Sporadically, under Meḥemmed II and later sultans, Muslim fanaticism was aroused and pressure would be brought on the authorities to close the churches and synagogues on the grounds that the city had been taken "by force", so that the Shaykh al-Islām himself would cast round for "evidence" to protect the *dhimmī* status of the non-Muslim inhabitants (İnalcık, *op. cit.*, p. 233, n. 11). For security reasons, Meḥemmed II's policy here, as in other conquered cities, seems to have been to ensure that the Muslims remained in the majority.

The Islamic ideal, as reflected in the tolerant outlook of Ottoman society, was easily reconciled with social and economic reality, so that from the very beginning Muslims and non-Muslims worked side by side in the commercial districts and even (at first) lived intermingled in residential areas; non-Muslims, in commercial dealings among themselves, would resort to the *ḳāḍī*, and a feeling of "fellow-citizenship" of the cosmopolitan capital transcended distinctions of religion and origin.

The "Ottoman" character of Istanbul sprang not only from the Muslim ideal but also from the traditional Middle Eastern view of state and society, a way of life characterized by the existence of a thriving class of merchants and craftsmen under the governance of a class of military administrators (see H. İnalcık, *Capital formation* ..., in *J. Ec. Hist.*, xxix (1969), 98-140). Thus the same patterns, based on the institution of the *waḳf*, which had been evident in all the cities of the Middle East began to appear in Istanbul. This tradition demanded the construction for the merchant class of a *bezzāzistān* (Ottoman: *bedestān*), near which were the caravansarais (*khān*) where the merchants lodged. The members of the principal crafts were gathered in the shops which constituted the great *čarshî* around the *bedestān*, each craft being concentrated systematically in one *sūḳ* or *čarshî* (as was easily ensured when blocks of shops were built together as *waḳf*). Various central "markets" for basic commodities were established, in order to ensure the authorities' control of the importation and distribution of the raw materials needed by the craftsmen and of the foodstuffs to provision the inhabitants, and in order to facilitate the collection of the tolls and taxes due to the state. These "markets" were called *kapan* (< Ar. *ḳabbān*, a public balance, a steelyard): the *yagh ḳapanî*, *un ḳapanî*, *bal ḳapanî*, *yemish ḳapanî* (for oil, flour, honey, fruit), etc., and in Istanbul these were situated in the harbour area (elsewhere, by the city gates). For goods imported by sea, there was in the harbour a customs' post called Gümrük-ḳapanî (later called, after the *gümrük emîni*, Emîn-öñü), while goods imported overland paid duty at the Kara-Gümrügü near Edirne-Kapîsî. The tannery and the slaughterhouse were outside the walls, while dye-works, fulling-mills, oil-presses, etc. were built near the appropriate craft centres; all these were set up as *waḳf* by members of the "ruling class". Other provisions, usually also set up as *waḳf* or forming part of elaborate *waḳf*-complexes (see below), had in view the welfare of the populace in general—water-supply, paving of roads, public security, hospitals, street-cleaning, the shelter and feeding of the poor and of travellers.

The interpretation that Istanbul's development as an oriental city can be viewed as originating from a

single nucleus (*Stadtkern*), consisting of the market-area, from which the main streets radiated and with the *maḥalles* stretching out in concentric circles (R. Mayer, *Byzantion, Konstantinupolis, Istanbul*, Vienna 1943, pp. 9, 20, 254) is true not of the city as a whole but only of each individual *nāḥiye* growing up around a "foundation". For in the Ottoman period, as in Byzantine days, the city's development was controlled by the special characteristics of certain districts and by its geographical features. The two basic features of the Ottoman city (as in Bursa, Edirne, etc.) were a Great Mosque and a central market-district, and these features appear in Istanbul at first with Aya Sofya and the Bedestān; later however come the Fātih complex, with the Sulṭān Pāzārî and Sarrādjkhāne nearby; and thereafter the city was to develop as a series of such "foundation complexes" created by sultans and by leading statesmen; whilst less prominent individuals brought into existence smaller complexes of the *mesdjid* with its school which was to serve as the centre of a new *maḥalle*. There was thus, as it were, a hierarchical gradation of complexes.

Nevertheless, whilst these complexes tended to make Istanbul a series of semi-independent communities, two features preserved its organic unity: (1) the harbour area on the Golden Horn, and (2) the main thoroughfare, the Dîvān-yolu, along which armies and caravans passed; it was along this thoroughfare that the principal complexes were built, and the great commercial buildings and the main market area were situated between this thoroughfare and the harbour. It is evident that the location of the principal complexes did not arise from any plan drawn up in advance; hence, with the exception of the few main thoroughfares, the network of streets grew up haphazard, as a jumble of crooked alleys and culs-de-sac (this confusion was not the result of fires, as is sometimes suggested, but had existed from the beginning).

iii. — The Formation of the Principal Urban Installations

Before the building of the Fātiḥ complex and the Sulṭān Pazarî, the two commercial centres of Istanbul were (A) the Bedestān and Büyük Čarshî, and (B) Takhtakalʿe and the harbour area.

(A). As early as 1456 it had been decided that a *bedestān* should be built in the *maḥalle* of Čakîr Agha (a *subashî* of Istanbul) (Critoboulos, 104). A *bedestān*, where valuable imported wares were sold and which was the centre for financial transactions, was the centre of a city's economic life as being the place of business of the leading merchants (termed at this period *khwādja*). The Büyük Bedestān of Istanbul (*bezzāzistān, dār al-bazzāziyya*; later Djewāhir-Bedestānî or Ič-Bedestān) with its 15 domes, constructed with the strength of a fortress to protect merchants' wares and wealthy citizens' fortunes against theft, plunder and fire, is a supreme example of a genre of Ottoman architecture which had flourished since the building of the *bedestān* of Bursa at the end of the 8th/14th century (see E. H. Ayverdi, *Fatih devri mimarisi*, 404-7; S. Eyice in *İA*, art. *İstanbul*, p. 1214/114; idem, *Les "Bedensten"s* ..., in *II Congresso Int. di Arte turca*, Venice 1963, 35-9). Neither its design nor the references to it in the sources give any hint to connect it with a Byzantine construction. In the Muslim world, as in the Byzantine, such a solid building for the storing and selling of valuable wares was a normal feature of the city (in the Byzantine Empire *basilike*, see Janin, *Const. byz.*, 97, 99, 157; in the Arab lands *ḳaysariyya*, see Lapidus, *Muslim cities*, 59-60). In the flourishing period of Constantinople's history, this area, between the Forum Constantini and the Forum Tauri, had been a thriving commercial district with a *basilike* and the *artopoleia* of the bakers' guild; it was the central site of the city, the meeting place of the roads leading in from the city gates and the roads leading up from the commercial quays of the harbour (between Neorion/Baghče-kapî and Porta Droungariou/Zindān-kapî). The main road leading from here down to the Basilike quay in Byzantine times (probably the Vasiliko Kapîsî frequently mentioned in Meḥemmed II's *waḳfiyya*, later Zindān kapî), the Markos Embolos Maurianon, was in the Ottoman period, with the name Uzun Čarshî, to be the busiest commercial district of the city.

The most detailed information on the Bedestān, the Kapalî Čarshî, and the tradespeople working there is to be found in the registers of the *waḳf*s of Aya Sofya. In the Bedestān there were originally 126 *ṣandūḳ* (in 893/1488: 140; a *ṣandūḳ* is a shop with a store-room behind it and having a safe for valuables, cf. C. White, *Three years in Constantinople*, i, 174: "strong fire-proof boxes sunken in a wall of masonry under the floor") and 14 "*köshe*" shops (the rent for the first was 20 *akče* per month, for the second, 3, 5 or 15 *akče*). In 898/1493 ten of the merchants in the Bedestān were Armenians, five Jews, three Greeks, and the rest Muslims. (For the Bedestān in the 10th/16th century, see Ramberti, *apud* Lybyer, 241; Dernschwam, 93, 113; Schweigger, 129-30; in the 11th/17th century, Evliyā Čelebi, i, 613-18; Mantran, 465-6; an excellent description for 1844 in White, i, 3-34).

Some time later, but before 878/1473 (Evliyā, i, 617; the *waḳfiyya* ed. O. Ergin, in *Fatih İmareti*, Istanbul 1945, 6), Meḥemmed II built, at the south-east corner of the Büyük Čarshî a "new" *bedestān* (*dār al-bazzāziyya al-djadīda*) for silks, later called the Sandal Bedestānî (now the auction hall), which was to remain the largest *bedestān* of the Empire; it contained 124 *ṣandūḳ* and there were 72 shops outside it, occupied by various craftsmen.

As in Ottoman cities created before the conquest of Constantinople (see *La ville balkanique*, in *Studia Balcanica*, iii, Sofia 1970; D. Kuban, *Anadolu Türk şehri*, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, vii (1968), 53-74), on each side of the four main roads (*shāhrāh*) leading away from the four gates of the Bedestān and of the streets parallel to them, rows of shops were built in a checker-board pattern for merchants and craftsmen. In the 641 shops (*dükkān*) there were, according to the *waḳf*-register of 894/1489, 33 shoemakers, 33 slipper-makers, 44 cap-makers, 50 workers in felt and tailors, 76 jewellers and other craftsmen (for the description of a *dükkān*, see Dernschwam, 93-4; White, i, 174). Shops of Muslims, Armenians, Jews and Greeks were not in separate streets but mixed up together; the majority however, not only of the craftsmen but of the jewellers and bankers (*ṣarrāf*), were Muslim Turks.

This Čarshî was repeatedly extended, so that finally it contained about a thousand shops; it was roofed over, to become the "Kapalî" Čarshî, with 12 large and 20 small gates, and since the Bedestān regulations were enforced here too, it became in effect an extension of the Bedestān (S. Eyice, in *İA*, art. *İstanbul*, pp. 1214/114-5; S. Tekiner, *The Great Bazar of Istanbul*, *Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu Belleteni*, no. 92).

The second great *čarshî* in this region was the block of shops known as *Maḥmūd Pasha Dükkānlarî*,

constructed near the ʿimaret of Maḥmūd Pas̲h̲a and containing, with the shops around and behind it, 265 shops. It was annexed by Meḥemmed II to the *waḳf*s of Aya Sofya but returned by Bāyezīd II to the *waḳf*s of Maḥmūd Pas̲h̲a's foundation (Aya Sofya register for 894/1489).

K̲h̲āns. The *k̲h̲ān*, which served as a lodging for the merchant engaged in trade between different regions and provided him with safe storage for his goods in the upper rooms or in the store rooms on the ground floor, and where also bulk sales of merchandise were made, was an essential element in Ottoman commercial centres (for *k̲h̲ān*s, see Mayer, *op. cit.*, 112-17; M. Erksan, *İstanbul hanları*, İst. Un. Edebiyat Fak., thesis, 1956). Meḥemmed II promoted the construction of four *k̲h̲ān*s, two in the commercial quarter of Tak̲h̲taḳalʿe, two near the Bedestān. The oldest is probably the so-called Bodrum Kerbānsarāyī near the Bedestān. With two storeys and 31 rooms, it had in its front wall 15 shops and 9 "*ḥüd̲j̲re*" (*i.e.*, a largish room used as a workshop or lodging) (for its situation, see S. Ünver, *Suyolu haritası*, pl. 3). The annual income from the *k̲h̲ān* was 15,500 *akče* and from the shops and "rooms" 3108 *akče*. The dealers engaged in the sale of cotton- and linen-cloths imported into Istanbul used this *k̲h̲ān* (A. Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1000-1100*, Istanbul 1940, doc. 77).

The *k̲h̲ān* called Süleymān Pas̲h̲a Odalarī (after the *beglerbegi* of Rūmeli, K̲h̲ādim Süleymān) became in 894/1489 the *Kerbānsarāy-i üserā'*, commonly known as Esīr Pazarī. It contained 52 rooms on two floors, with an 8-room annex, a bath, and a large stable; it brought in an annual income of 19,500 *akče* (about 400 gold ducats) (on the *Suyolu haritası* it is marked on Dīvān-yolu, by the ʿAtīḳ ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a mosque; a good description in White, ii, 280).

The Beg Kerbānsarāyī east of the Büyük Čars̲h̲ī (called in the *waḳfiyya* a *k̲h̲ān*, later Čuk̲h̲ad̲j̲ī K̲h̲ānī) was constructed before 878/1473 (see the *waḳfiyya*, ed. O. Ergin, p. 6). It is a typical Ottoman *k̲h̲ān* with 98 rooms on two storeys around a rectangular courtyard. There are 42 shops (in the *waḳfiyya*: 44) against its wall, formerly occupied by druggists. The income was 40,000 *akče* from the *k̲h̲ān* and 19,548 from the shops.

Before the creation of Meḥemmed II's foundation, the leather-workers were congregated in this district, at the Eski At pazarī, whilst near the Eski Sarāy were the arrow- and bow-makers and the mint for silver *akče*s.

(B). The second region where Meḥemmed II's earliest constructions were built was Tak̲h̲taḳalʿe, the harbour area on the Golden Horn. Before the Ottoman conquest, this area, between Porta Perama/Balīk Pāzārī Kapīsī and Porta Droungariou/Odun Ḳapīsī, was controlled by Latin colonists, in the last years the Venetians (Janin, *Const. byzantin*, 235-44); harbour activity extended even to the Neorion/Bag̲h̲če Kapīsī. In the negotiations following the Ottoman conquest, Venice endeavoured to recover the old palace of the *bailo*, the *lobia* where Venetian goods were stored, and the two Latin churches. By the capitulations of 858/1454 the new *bailo* Bartholomeo Marcello was apparently permitted to occupy the church and residence of the Anconans (Thiriet, iii, pp. 195, 201); the Aya Sofya register of 898 speaks of the "former" church of the Venetians (*al-kanīsa al-mansūba ila 'l-Vanadikiyyīn ḳadīman*) and the *bailo*'s palace, whilst the Arabic *waḳfiyya* (p. 60) mentions a "Venedik Lond̲j̲asī Maḥallesi" and the "Arslanlu Ev/Arslanlu Mak̲h̲zen Maḥallesi" (see the text, ed. T. Öz, p. 70; *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri*, ed. Ayverdi-Barkan, no. 570).

The quay at the Perama/Balīk Pāzārī gate continued to be the principal embarcation point for crossing to G̲h̲alaṭa, but later further landing-stages for transit were used (Yemis̲h̲, Limān, Balat, etc.). All early views and plans of İstanbul show masses of shipping in this area (see M. Lorichs, Tafel VII-IX; Le Bruyn, p. 39; F. Babinger, *Drei Stadtansichten*. . .). The slopes between this harbour area and the Bedestān were rapidly covered with commercial installations: Meḥemmed II built here, as *waḳf*-property for Aya Sofya, two *k̲h̲ān*s, a *gümrük ḳapanī*, a *yemis̲h̲ ḳapanī*, a salt-depot, a *mūm-k̲h̲āne*, three *boza-k̲h̲āne*s, 7 warehouses and 422 shops. The K̲h̲ān-i Sulṭānī was a square, roofed building, with 361 shops around it, the whole constituting an important *čars̲h̲ī*. The synagogue (M. Lorichs, Tafel VIII) and the *k̲h̲ān* of Murād Pas̲h̲a were nearby. East of it was the Yemis̲h̲ Ḳapanī (later Bal Ḳapanī) *k̲h̲ān*, with 11 store-rooms below and 16 rooms above (S. Eyice, in *İA*, art. *İstanbul*, 1214/115; T. Bertelé, *Il palazzo degli Ambassatori di Venezia a Const.*, Bologna 1932; R. E. Koçu, in *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, iv, 2053-6; its lower floor is probably Byzantine).

The principal *ḳapan*s of Istanbul were located here —for wax, salt, and soap—and the customs' house (M. Lorichs, Tafel VII; cf. also Grelot, p. 283). Firewood and timber were brought to the Ag̲h̲ač-Pāzārī at Bag̲h̲če-kapīsī (*waḳfiyya* publ. by Vakıflar Um. Müd., p. 249; this landing-place was still so used in the 19th century: M. Żiyā, *Istanbul*, 319). The city prison was at Vasiliko Kapīsī/Zindān Kapīsī (*waḳfiyya*, ed. O. Ergin, p. 83); it was later known as Baba D̲j̲aʿfer Zindānī.

The Aya Sofya register of 898/1493 records, in Istanbul and G̲h̲alaṭa, 2350 shops, 4 *k̲h̲ān*s, 2 baths, 21 *boza-k̲h̲āne*, 22 *bas̲h̲-k̲h̲āne* and 987 *muḳātaʿalī* houses, with an annual revenue of 718,421 *akče* (some 14,000 ducats; in 894/1489 the revenue had been nearly a million *akče*: Barkan, in *İkt. Fak. Mecm.*, xxiii, 344).

Elsewhere in the city, local *čars̲h̲ī*s were built: that of Aya Sofya (39 shops); the "Yeñi Dükkānlar" at Kemer (17 shops: *waḳfiyya*s, ed. Ergin, 43; Vakıflar Um. Müd., 84; T. Öz, 25); that of Dikilü Tas̲h̲/Čenberli Tas̲h̲ on Dīvān-yolu (77 shops, with the mint for copper coins nearby) and of K̲h̲ʷād̲j̲a Pīrī Mesd̲j̲idi (26 shops; these two are perhaps rather extensions of the Bedestān area); at Tavuk-pazarī, 24 shops of dyers (*waḳf* of Maḥmūd Pas̲h̲a). The first Janissary barracks ("Eski Odalar") were on the present Şehzadebaşı Caddesi (S. Ünver, *Suyolu haritası*, no. 3; Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, i, 238-42), with a *čars̲h̲ī* of ten shops nearby (Tahsin Öz, 24); west of this were a *čars̲h̲ī* of 35 shops in Ustād Ayās Maḥallesi, the Ḳāḍīʿasker Dolabī Čars̲h̲īsī of 19 shops, and, by the Church of the Holy Apostles, the Karaman Pāzārī.

Another important commercial district occupied the area outside the wall between the modern Unkapanı and Cibali (the Byzantine Plateia). Meḥemmed II built here the Un-Ḳapanī (M. Lorichs, Tafel IX) and a *čars̲h̲ī* of 31 shops. Further up the Golden Horn were the city's first slaughterhouse and tannery, with the Debbāg̲h̲lar Maḥallesi (O. Ergin, pp. 12, 34). Further still, towards the Kynegion (Kinikoz) Gate, were fishermen's houses and imperial gardens (O. Ergin, 12; M. Lorichs, Tafel XII-XVII; Le Bruyn, p. 39).

The year 863/1459 was important in the city's development, for according to Critoboulos (tr. Riggs, 140), Meḥemmed II called his notables together and commanded them each to choose an area which should be called after him, anywhere in the city (cf. Vakı-

flar Um. Müd., p. 34), and build there a mosque, a *khān*, a bath and a market; he himself, selecting the site for the New Palace on Sarayburnu, also picked the finest area in the middle of the city for building a mosque "which should surpass Aya Sofya". Work on the mosque began only in the winter of 867/1462-3, the area (around the Church of the Holy Apostles) already having a large Muslim population. This construction encouraged the expansion of the city northwestwards towards the walls and north-east to the Golden Horn.

(C). The mosque and *ʿimāret* of Fātiḥ and its district (875/1470).

The mosque itself, begun in Djumādā II 867/February 1463, was completed in Radjab 875/January 1471 (inscription over the main door: Ayverdi, *Fatih devri mimarisi*, 143). The ancillary buildings were of two types: (1) *Khayrāt* around the mosque (*medrese*, hospital, *ʿimāret* (hospice), school, library, etc.), and (2) buildings of public utility to provide the income for the upkeep of the foundation. Such complexes had formed the nuclei of all Ottoman cities since Orkhān's foundations at Bursa (see O. Nuri, *İmaret sistemi*, Istanbul 1939; Ö. L. Barkan, *Quelques observations sur l'organisation économique et sociale des villes ottomanes*, in *Recueil Soc. Jean Bodin*, vii (1955), 289-311; Emel Esin sees their origin in Central Asia: *IV. Int. Congress of Turkish Art*, Aix-en-Provence 1970).

An area of about 100,000 m² is occupied by the following *khayrāt*: the mosque, with an extensive outer courtyard entered by eight gates; on two sides of it, 8 large and 8 small *medreses* (the Themāniyye and the Tetimme); to the east, in a separate court, a *tābkhāne*, a hospice and a *khān* (later Deve Khānī); and in a further court, a hospital. Between the two front entrances to the mosque-court were two smaller buildings, a children's school (*dār al-taʿlīm*) and a book-store (A. S. Ülgen and B. Kunter, *Fâtih camii ve Bizans sarnıcı*, Istanbul 1939; Ayverdi, *op. cit.*, 125-71). There were also residences for the *ʿulemā*ʾ employed in the *medreses*. The buildings of the second category were, principally, a great *čarshī* (Sulṭān Pāzārī), the Sarrādjkhāne, and a bath (Čukur Ḥamām or Irgatlar Ḥamāmī) north of the mosque. The Sulṭān Pāzārī, between the mosque and Sarrādj Khāne, on the site of the Djān-alldjī Church comprised 280 shops (so the register of 898/1493; in the *waḳfiyye* published by T. Öz: 286), and the Khīḍr-beg Čelebi Odalarī 32 workrooms and 4 storerooms. (On Vavassore's plan, the Sulṭān Pāzārī is shown surrounded by walls; in the registers it is called "*buḳʿa*".) Sarrādjkhāne (also a "*buḳʿa*") comprised 110 shops within a wall (S. Ünver, *Suyolu haritası*, Pl. 1); against its west and south wall were 35 shops and 19 "rooms", referred to as *Beglik dükkānlar ve odalar*. The register of 898/1493 lists 142 saddlers, all Muslims (some of them Janissaries), working here. The saddlers formerly working near the Bedestān were all brought here, henceforward the sole centre for that trade (*berāt* of 879/1475 publ. by Ç. Uluçay in *Tarih Dergisi*, iii/5-6 (1951-2), 151-2; renewal of 1119/1707 in A. Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1100-1200*, pp. 41). To the north were the horse-market and stables; round about were concentrated ancillary crafts—stirrup-makers, furriers, etc. In time of war this district was thronged with troops equipping their horses. (Schweigger, p. 129, comments that the Turks surpassed all nations in leatherwork.) Only in the 19th century, with the growing importation of European products, did this commercial centre decline (White, iii, 255 ff.).

South of Sarrādjkhāne, towards Aksaray, Meḥemmed II built new barracks for the Janissaries, the Yeñi Odalar in the Et Meydānī (replacing the Eski Odalar built probably in 864/1460); these, though often rebuilt after fires, remained the Janissary barracks until the destruction of the corps in 1826 (see also İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocaklari*, i, 241-3).

The following summary, for the Fātiḥ complex, illustrates the financial position of such a foundation (after Barkan, in *İkt. Fak. Mecm.*, xxiii, 306-41). The income in 894/1489 and 895/1490 was about 1½ million *akče* (30,000 ducats, far exceeding the income of the Aya Sofya *waḳfs*), arising from 12 baths in Istanbul and Ghalaṭa, the *djizya* of these two cities, the tax-income from over fifty villages in Thrace and various rents. The expenses for the *khayrāt* were:

stipends	869,280 *akče*
food for the hospice	461,417
expenses of the hospital	72,000
repairs, etc.	18,522
	1,421,219

The personnel of the mosque numbered 102 in all, of the *medreses* 168, of the hospice 45, of the hospital 30. There were further agents and clerks to collect the revenues (21), and builders and workmen (17). Besides these 383 persons, regular payments were made to indigent *ʿulemā*ʾ and their children and to disabled soldiers; these charities amounted to 202, 291 *akče* per year. 3300 loaves were distributed at the hospice each day and at least 1117 persons received two meals. Besides being a religious and educational centre, therefore, this complex—drawing some half of its revenue from outside Istanbul—was a nucleus for the economic and social prosperity of this area of the city.

IV. The Formation of Nāḥiyes and Mahalles in the 9th/15th century

In accordance with Meḥemmed II's orders issued in 863/1459, the *pashas* constructed complexes of their own in the various quarters of the city, each of which served to encourage settlement and prosperity, so that within seventy years of the conquest 13 *nāḥiyes* had come into existence and the Ottoman city had taken its shape. The whole city constituted one *ḳaḍā*ʾ; each *nāḥiye* comprised a number of *maḥalles* (represented by the *imām* of its local mosque). The establishment of a *djāmiʿ* or a *mesdjid*, with its appurtenances, in a sparsely populated area served to encourage settlement and the creation of a *maḥalle* (the process termed *shenlendirme*). The *mesdjids*, like the *djāmiʿ*s, were supported by *waḳfs*. The following table (after Ayverdi-Barkan, *Istanbul vakıfları tahrir defteri*, Istanbul 1970) shows the number of *waḳfs* recorded for each *nāḥiye*:

nāḥiye	number of *maḥalles*	*waḳfs* in 953/1546	*waḳfs* in 1005/1596
1. Aya Sofya	17	191	345
2. Maḥmūd Pasha	9	96	115
3. ʿAlī Pasha	5	44	76
4. Ibrāhīm Pasha	10	106	129
5. Sulṭān Bāyezīd	23	198	319
6. Ebu 'l-Vefā	12	165	306
7. Sulṭān Meḥemmed	41	372	681
8. Sulṭān Selīm	7	33	90
9. Murād Pasha	23	119	330
10. Dāvūd Pasha	13	84	264
11. Muṣṭafā Pasha	30	65	227
12. Topḳapī	7	13	39
13. ʿAlī Pasha	22	108	259
Totals:	219	1594	3180

(These registers do not record *maḥalles* of non-Muslims: the total was probably between 250 and 300, see below).

The first of these *nāḥiyes* to be established were presumably nos. 1, 2, 6, 7, 9, and 12. Of the *mahalles* within the walls in the 10th/16th century, some 30 % were established under Meḥemmed II, some 50 % under Bāyezīd II, and some 15 % between 1512 and 1546. This does not imply, however, that the population increase slackened in the 10th/16th century, for *maḥalles* founded earlier became more densely populated, as is apparent from 15th and 16th century plans: Vavassore's plan, derived ultimately from a plan of the period of Meḥemmed II (see Babinger), *Drei Stadtansichten* . . ., 5), shows the densest occupation east of a line drawn from the eastern side of the Langa Bostānlarī to Unkapanı (and along the southern shore of the Golden Horn); and by Ayverdi's map (*İstanbul mahalleleri*, Ankara 1958), the area east of the line contains 92 *maḥalles*, and that to the west —twice as extensive—98. But in plans of the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries (that of Velī-dj̲ān in the *Hünernāme*; of Pīrī Reʾīs, Oberhummer, Tafel XXII), the area within the walls is all inhabited, with the exception of a strip within the land-walls by Yedi-Ḳule, Bayram Pas̲h̲a Deresi, the Yeñi Bag̲h̲če area and the Langa Bostānlarī. An increase in population density is to be deduced also from the increase in the number of *waḳf*s, as under:

between:	*waḳf*s established:
857 and 927/1521	1163
927 and 953/1546-7	1268
953 and 986/1578-9	1193
986 and 1005/1596-7	407

In 1005/1596-7 3180 *waḳf*s were in existence (some having been extinguished). The first seventy years after the conquest saw the establishment of 1163 *waḳf*s, the next 78 years (927-1005) 2858 (Ayverdi-Barkan, *op. cit.*, table 1); but most of these later *waḳf*s are concerned not with the establishment of new *mesdj̲id*s and *maḥalles*, but with supplements to existing *mesdj̲id*s, the provision of prayers for founders, etc.

Maḥmūd Pas̲h̲a Nāḥiyesi (II on the plan). Maḥmūd Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] chose for his complex a very suitable site, on the road linking the Bedestān to Tak̲h̲taḳalʿe and the quays of Bag̲h̲če Kapīsī. The *k̲h̲ayrāt* are the mosque (inscription dated 867/1462), the *medrese* (only the *dersk̲h̲āne* survives), a hospice (beside his *k̲h̲ān*), a school (no longer extant) and his own *türbe* (inscription dated 878/1473). Most of the buildings supporting these are on the busy road to the harbour: a *čars̲h̲ī* of 265 shops (see above); a *k̲h̲ān* (later the Kürkčü K̲h̲ānī, still standing); a *ḥammām* (with a men's and a woman's side; inscription dated 871/1466); 14 dyers' shops at Tavuk-pāzārī; in various districts 139 shops, 67 houses, 47 "rooms" and 2 gardens. Outside Istanbul were: a *bedestān* at Ankara for the sale of mohair (now the Hittite Museum) with a *k̲h̲ān* beside it; a *k̲h̲ān* (Fidan K̲h̲ānī) and shops at Bursa; *ḥammams* at K̲h̲āṣṣköy and Gügerdj̲inlik; and 14 villages in Rūmeli (the *waḳf*s were all consolidated in a single *waḳfiyye* dated 878/1473, see Ayverdi-Barkan, pp. 42-5). The total revenue was 606,513 *akče* (over 13,000 ducats). The area where the *k̲h̲ayrāt* were built remained the most important commercial district until the 19th century. Maḥmūd Pas̲h̲a also built here two *mesdj̲id*s, leading to the establishment of two *maḥalles*.

Murād Pas̲h̲a Nāḥiyesi (IX on the plan). This consisted of 23 *maḥalles* around the mosque of K̲h̲āṣṣ Murād Pas̲h̲a (the Palaeologue), d. 878/1473 [*q.v.*]. The complex comprised the mosque at Aksaray (inscription dated 876/1471), a *medrese* and a hospice, supported by 45 shops, 2 *bozak̲h̲āne*, a *bas̲h̲k̲h̲āne*, and a bath at Aksaray, a *k̲h̲ān* and a *bas̲h̲k̲h̲āne* at Tak̲h̲taḳalʿe, and 9 shops at Yeñibāg̲h̲če. This *nāḥiye*, which now covers the modern Aksaray, Lâleli, Cerrâh Paşa, Langa and Yeni Kapı, was at first sparsely populated, but under Bāyezīd II eleven further *maḥalles* were formed.

Ebu 'l-Vefā Nāḥiyesi (VI on the plan). Even in early days thickly populated, it was situated between the Eski Sarāy and Unkapanı Caddesi, extending to the Golden Horn. A mosque and *zāviye* were built by Meḥemmed II for S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ Abu 'l-Wafā (d. Ramaḍān 896/July 1491). It was a residential area, with *mesdj̲id*s built especially by the *ʿulemāʾ* of the day (Mollā K̲h̲usrev, the first *Ḳāḍī* of Istanbul K̲h̲ıḍr Beğ, Mollā Gūrānī, etc.), but also by wealthy merchants. Under Bāyezīd II many members of the *ʿaskerī* class established rich *waḳf*s (among them Bāyezīd's daughter ʿAys̲h̲e Sulṭān and her husband Sinān Pas̲h̲a).

The reign of Bāyezīd II saw much economic expansion, and the establishment of six further *nāḥiyes* (nos. 3, 4, 5, 10, 11 and 13 in the list above). The areas of habitation stretched out from Fātiḥ and Aksaray towards the landwalls, so that several Byzantine churches and monasteries in this region were now converted to mosques (see Plan).

Sulṭān Bāyezīd Nāḥiyesi (V on the plan). The mosque, on the Forum Tauri south of the Eski Sarāy, was built between 906/1501 and 911/1505; there was also a *medrese*, a school, and a hospice, together with a *ḥammām* and a *k̲h̲ān* in the same area (Vavassore's plan shows the area before this building work was undertaken). This complex was the centre of a *nāḥiye* embracing 23 *maḥalles* and extending from the modern Bayezid Meydanı to Kum-Kapı on the Marmara (the complex of Nis̲h̲āndj̲ī Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a, nearer the sea had previously been a second nucleus in this area) and along Dīvān-yolu from the Büyük Čars̲h̲ī to Sarrādj̲k̲h̲āne. In the reign of Meḥemmed II, Bayezid Meydanı had been surrounded by the *mesdj̲id/maḥalle* foundations of Čakīr Ag̲h̲a (*waḳfiyye* dated 864/1459), Dīvāne ʿAlī Beğ (866/1461) and Balaban Ag̲h̲a (888/1483), while to the south of the modern road to Lâleli were the *maḥalles* of Emīn Beğ (868/1463), Segbān-bas̲h̲ī Yaʿḳūb and Miʿmār Kemāl. Many new *maḥalles* were established under Bāyezīd, mostly by members of the *ʿaskerī* class but some by craftsmen. The Eski Odalar (see above) were in this *nāḥiye*, as was the shipyard for galleys (Kadīrga Tersānesi); the Byzantine port of Sophia was used as a naval base immediately after the conquest (for its use as a galley harbour in the days of the Palaeologues, see Janin, *Const. Byzantine*, 223-4), and between 1459-61 Meḥemmed II made a shipyard here (Critoboulos, 140, 177). The *taḥrīr* register of 860/1455 shows that *ʿazebs* [*q.v.*] were living between Yeñi-kapī and Kum-kapī, a district originally called ʿAzebler Maḥallesi. The shipyard, with its great gate, built around the enclosed harbour is clearly shown in the plans of Vavassore and of Velī-dj̲ān. Later, probably in the 18th cent., the harbour silted up to become the modern Cündî Meydanı and Kadırga Bostanı.

A very important building, of the Conqueror's time, in this *nāḥiye* was the mint [see DĀR AL-ḌARB, pp. 117], in the *maḥalle* of Segbān-bas̲h̲ī Yaʿḳūb, the principal mint for silver and gold coins (later known as the Sīrmakes̲h̲/Sīmkes̲h̲ K̲h̲ānī); a small *čars̲h̲ī* of 8 shops was built near it.

ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a Nāḥiyesi (III on the plan). K̲h̲ādim

(ʿAtīḳ) ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*], twice Grand Vizier and killed in 917/1511, founded on Dīvān Yōlu in part of the Forum Constantini a mosque (902/1496), a *medrese*, a school, a hospice and a *khānkāh*, with a *khān* and shops. The *nāḥiye* (no. 3 above) contained 5 *maḥalle*s (see S. Eyice, in *Tarih Dergisi*, xiv/19 (1964), 99-114; R. E. Koçu, in *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, iii, 1281).

The same ʿAlī Pasha constructed a mosque (later Zindjirli-kuyu Djāmiʿi) near the Edirne Kapisi and converted the Khora monastery church into a mosque (Kilise Camii/Kariye Camii) (see S. Eyice, *op. cit.*). This *nāḥiye* (no. 13 above, VIII on the plan) embraced an extensive and sparsely populated area of 22 *maḥalle*s. These *khayrāt* were supported by a large *khān* and a "*köshk*" near his hospice at Çenberli Taş (see S. Eyice, *Elçi Hanı*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, no. 24 (1970), 93-130; in the early 10th/16th century this *khān* brought in a revenue of 13,000 *akče* per year); a bath at Yeñi-baghče; 178 shops, 246 "rooms", one bakehouse and one breadstore in the commercial districts of Istanbul; 44 villages, 4 baths, 7 mills and various shops in Anatolia and Rūmeli; and a *bedestān* at Yanbolu. The annual revenue (mostly from outside Istanbul) was 471,998 *akče*s (over 8000 ducats) in 915/1509. Most of the *maḥalle*s (15) in this *nāḥiye* were established under Bāyezīd II in the Balat-Edirne Kapı-Bayram Paşa Deresi area.

Ibrāhīm Pasha Nāḥiyesi (IV on the plan). Čandarli Ibrāhīm Pasha (*ḳādīʿasker* in 890/1485, Grand Vizier for one year from 904/1498) built at Uzun Čarshī a mosque (the roofed building shown in Lorichs, Tafel IX), a *medrese* and a school, supported by a bath, a slaughterhouse of 14 shops at Eyyūb, 5 shops, 28 houses and 40 "rooms" (together with 3 villages and 3 mills in Rūmeli and Anatolia, a *bedestān* at Serez, etc.). Although the foundation was relatively poor (annual revenue 135,880 *akče*), the *nāḥiye* included the busy commercial district between the Büyük Čarshī and the harbour, and some of its *maḥalle*s had been established by wealthy merchants in the reign of Meḥemmed II.

Dāvūd Pasha Nāḥiyesi (X on the plan). "Kodja" Dāvūd Pasha (Grand Vizier from 887/1482 to 902/1497) built a mosque, a hospice, a *medrese*, a school and a public fountain (inscription dated 890/1485) near the Forum Arcadii, with an extensive *čarshī* of 108 shops and 11 "rooms" around the mosque. He also brought into occupation the area now named after him on the Marmara coast (west of the former Port of Eleutherios), building there a palace, a bath, a *bozakhāne*, 11 shops and a landing-stage (Ayverdi-Barkan, p. 345). Six baths, in Istanbul and elsewhere, a *bedestān* at Manastir, shops at Üsküb and Bursa, and the revenue of 12 villages brought in an annual income of 378,886 *akče* (ca. 7,500 ducats). Although some *maḥalle*s had existed here before, it was particularly this foundation which promoted the growth of the area, 8 *maḥalle*s being set up under Bāyezīd II.

Kodja Muṣṭafā Pasha Nāḥiyesi (XI on the plan). It is evident that towards the end of Bāyezīd II's reign the Muslim population was increasing in the region towards Silivri Kapisi, and here, in 895/1489 (inscription), the later Grand Vizier Muṣṭafā Pasha converted the church of St. Andrew in Krisi into a mosque. According to the *waḳfiyya*, the complex comprised also a hospice, a *medrese*, a *khānkāh*, a school, and houses for the *imām*, etc. (for his *khayrāt* at Eyyūb and elsewhere, see Ayverdi-Barkan, pp. 366-9), supported by a large *ḥammām* (annual income 65,000 *akče*) and 81 shops near the complex, by numerous shops and two *khān*s in various parts of Istanbul, and by 27 villages in Rūmeli (details in Ayverdi-Barkan, 365-7). The annual income was over half a million *akče*s. No fewer than 17 *maḥalle*s were formed under Bāyezīd II.

The *maḥalle*s in the four *nāḥiye*s bounded by the landwalls—Muṣṭafā Pasha, Dāvūd Pasha, ʿAlī Pasha and Topḳapi—were relatively large but their *waḳf*s were few, an indication that the population was sparse; and many of the *mesdjid*s had to be supported from the sultan's treasury. Most of the new *maḥalle*s established under Süleymān were in this region—four in Topḳapi and three in ʿAlī Pasha. The foundation in 973/1565 of the complex by Mihrumāh Sulṭān at Edirne-Kapi (mosque, *medrese*, school and fountain, supported by a *khān* and a *čarshi*) promoted the settlement of the area (see below). The establishment of the mosques of Kara Aḥmed Pasha at Topḳapi (ca. 961/1554) and Khādim Ibrāhīm Pasha al Silivri Kapisi (958/1551) suggest a concentration of settlement near the city gates.

Nearly 90 % of the *maḥalle*s were named after the founder of the local mosque. The local people would make new endowments to ensure the repair of the mosque and the support of the mosque officials and teachers, but there are few cases where the local people clubbed together to build a mosque. Among the individuals who founded more than one *mesdjid* in the years after the conquest are the *subashi* Čakir Agha, the Ḳāḍīʿasker Mollā Khusrev, and some merchants (Elvān-zāde Khwādja Sinān, Üsküblü Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm, Khwādja Üveys, Khwādja Khalīl). According to the *waḳf* register of 953/1546, 65 % of the founders of mosques belonged to the "ruling" *ʿaskerī* class (palace officials, army officers, *ʿulemā* and "bureaucrats"). The distribution is as follows:

ʿulemā and *sheykh*s	46
merchants and bankers	32
tradesfolk	28
*agha*s of the Palace	18
*beg*s	16
pashas	14
officers of the Ḳapı-Ḳulu	12
"bureaucrats"	8
architects	6
others	39
Total	219

High-ranking members of the *ʿaskerī* class were, in fact, far richer than merchants and craftsmen, and were more inclined to found *waḳf*s, partly perhaps for reasons of social and political prestige, but also as a means of retaining within the family's control capital derived originally as income from the Public Treasury (see İnalcık, *Capital formation* . . ., 133-40).

V. Developments in the 10th/16th century

The 10th/16th century sees a rapid increase in the population dwelling within the walls, so that old *maḥalle*s become more densely populated, some *mesdjid*s are replaced by *djāmiʿ*s, new *mesdjid*s are built, and new complexes are erected and new *maḥalle*s are created in formerly deserted areas, especially towards the landwalls, along the Bayram Pasha Deresi (the Lycus) and even outside the walls; whilst around Ghalaṭa the inhabited area extends up the Golden Horn and down the slopes to Topkhāne, and the new districts of Findiḳli, Djihāngir and Ḳāsim Pasha come into being. The demand for new buildings which this increase in population produced led to a period of great activity by the Palace department of *Khāṣṣa miʿmārlari*, already directed by the great

architect Sinān [*q.v.*] (in 932/1525 the department had 13 architects, all Muslim; in 1013/1604 there were 23 Muslims and 16 Christians; for its organization see Ş. Turan, in *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, i/1 (Ankara 1963), 157-202), so that the finest monuments of Ottoman architecture and art belong to these years. The mosque of Rüstem Pa<u>sh</u>a [*q.v.*], twice Grand Vizier, was erected over warehouses and shops on the site of the *mesdjid* of Ḥādjdjī <u>Kh</u>alīl (see A. S. Ülgen, *Rüstem Paşa heyeti*, in *Mimarlık Dergisi*, ix (1942), 23-8). Pīrī Meḥmed Pa<u>sh</u>a (Grand Vizier 923/1517-929/1523) established an extensive *waḳf* with a mosque and *medrese* in the Zeyrek district, a mosque at Merdjān, a mosque and a *<u>kh</u>ankāh* at Mollā Gūrānī, and a complex of mosque, *medrese* and hospice at Silivri, supported by the annual income of 6000 ducats from a *<u>kh</u>ān* near the Bedestān, another *<u>kh</u>ān* in <u>Gh</u>alaṭa and shops at Ta<u>kh</u>taḳalʿe and Balïk-Pāzārï, while his garden north of the Golden Horn was the origin of the later quarter of Pīrī Pasa (Evliyā, i, 411)

In 946/1539 the sultan, Süleymān, built in the name of his wife <u>Kh</u>urrem a complex of mosque, *medrese*, hospital, hospice and school at ʿAvret-Pāzārï (the "women's market") in Aksaray, which was becoming an important market area (for this market, round the Column of Arcadius, and its prosperity at this period, see C. de Villanon, 306, and cf. Sanderson, 77); a <u>kh</u>ān, a *ḥammām*, a wood-store, a slaughterhouse, and various shops and warehouses in different areas of Istanbul brought in an annual income of half a million *akče* (8,400 ducats). In memory of his son Meḥmed, the sultan built on Dīvān-yolu, between Vefā and Sarrādjkhāne, a truly imperial (Evliyā, i, 162) complex (951/1544-955/1548; mosque, *medrese*, hospice, school, *türbe*; also a *kerbānsarāy*); whilst for his son Djihāngīr he built at Fïndïklï the mosque and school which gave its name to the Djihāngīr district (Evliyā, i, 442).

Finally, exploiting an area cleared by a fire in the centre of the city, Süleymān entrusted to Sinān the construction, on a hill overlooking the harbour, of the most elaborate building-complex of the capital. This, the Süleymāniyye (mosque begun Djumādā II 957/July 1550 and completed <u>Dh</u>u'l-Ḥidjdja 964/October 1557; for the inscription see C. Çulpan, in *Kanunî Armağanı*, Ankara 1970, 293), is composed of no fewer than 18 elements (S. Eyice, *İstanbul*, pp. 49-52, bibliography). Within the court are the mosque, the tombs of Süleymān and of <u>Kh</u>urrem Sulṭān and the house of the *türbedār*; outside, on two sides of the mosque are four *medrese*s and the *dār al-ḥadī<u>th</u>*, the highest institutes of learning of the Empire; the other large buildings are a hospital, a *dār al-ḍiyāfa* and a *tāb<u>kh</u>āne*; smaller buildings are a college for *mülāzim*s (students preparing to enter a *medrese*), a library, a pharmacy, and a children's school. The complex is completed by several houses near the mosque for teachers and mosque-servants, a *<u>kh</u>ān*, and shops in front of the *medrese*s, which constitute a *čar<u>sh</u>ï*. According to Evliyā Čelebi (i, 157) the Palace of the A<u>gh</u>a of the Janissaries (later the office of the <u>Sh</u>eyk<u>h</u> al-Islām) belonged also to this complex. (For the Süleymaniyye and the A<u>gh</u>a's palace, see M. Lorichs, Tafel X).

The registers of expenses for these constructions are valuable evidence for the procedures followed in such a major enterprise (see Ö. L. Barkan, *L'organisation du travail dans la chantier d'une grande mosquée à Istanbul au XVIe siècle*, in *Annales. Économies, sociétés, civilisations*, xvii (1962), 1093-1106; for similar registers relating to the Mosque of Aḥmed I, see T. Öz, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, i (1938), 26; cf. also *Taʾrī<u>kh</u>-i Djāmiʿ-i <u>Sh</u>erīf-i Nūr-i ʿO<u>th</u>mānī*, *ʿilāve* to *TOEM*, no. 49). Materials and craftsmen were gathered from Istanbul and from other parts of the Empire, the workmen being kept under strict discipline. Of the craftsmen receiving pay over the whole period of 5 years and 7 months, 29 % were from Istanbul, 14 % from Rūmeli and the Islands, 13 % from Anatolia (with no indication for 44 %). 51 % of the 3,523 craftsmen were Christians, 49 % Muslims. The builders of walls, the ironworkers and the sewermen were mainly Christian, the stone-carvers, carpenters, painters, glassworkers and lead-workers were mainly Muslim. Of the total workforce 55 % were free men receiving a wage, 40 % were *ʿadjemī o<u>gh</u>lan*s and 5 % were galley-slaves.

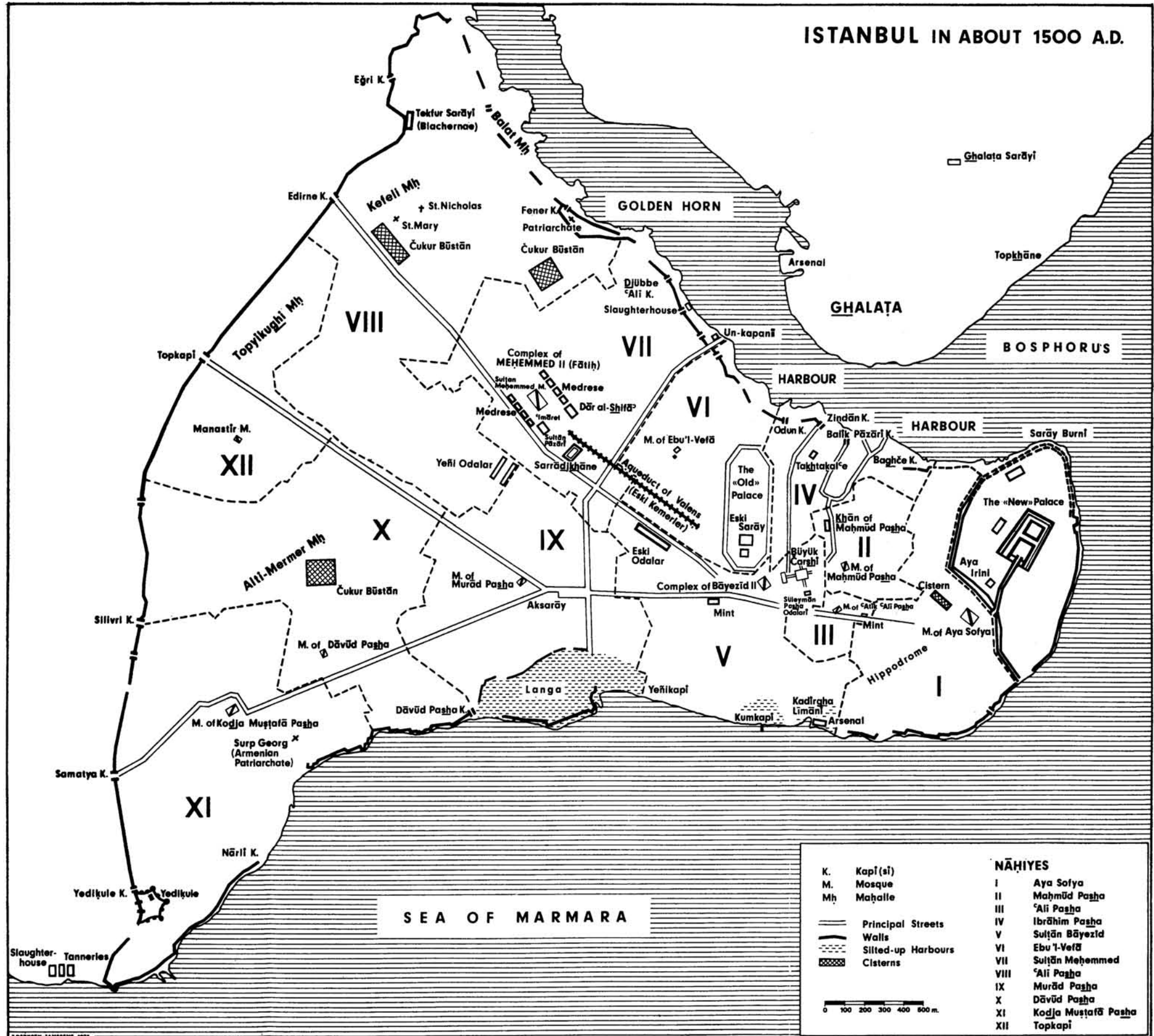
All the *waḳf*s of Süleymān (besides the foundations already mentioned, the *medrese* of Sultan Selīm and the *zāviye* in the *maḥalle* of Fīl-damï) were consolidated in one *waḳfiyya* (ed. K. E. Kürkçüoğlu, Ankara 1962). According to a *taḥrīr* made in the reign of Murād III (Ayverdi-Barkan, *op. cit.*, xvii, n. 31), the annual income was then 5,277,759 *akče* (88,000 ducats); it may be noted that 81 % of this income arose from the taxes of 230 villages in Rūmeli. The whole complex had a staff of 748, whose stipends amounted to nearly one million *akče* a year.

Foundations made during this century near the landwall gates and in the Lycus valley testify to an increase of population in these areas. In the region of Edirne-Kapïsï, besides the Mihrumāh foundation (see above), there were the mosque-complex of Mesīḥ Pa<u>sh</u>a between this gate and Fatih (inscription: 994/1586; see T. Bozkurt, *Mesih Paşa Külliyesi*, İst. Ün. Ed. Fak. thesis, 1964); the mosque of the dragoman Yūnus Beg at Balat (948/1541); the mosque of Ferru<u>kh</u> Ket<u>kh</u>udā (970/1562); and the mosque of Ḳāḍī Saʿdī.

At Topḳapï the Kara Aḥmed Pa<u>sh</u>a complex, the work of Sinān (962/1554: mosque, medrese, *dār-al-ḳurrāʾ*, school, fountain; see Ş. Yaltkaya and Ali Saim Ülgen, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, ii (1942), 83-97 and 169-71), was an important factor in promoting the district's prosperity. The Arpa Emīni (Defterdār) Muṣṭafā mosque should also be mentioned.

The district of Yeñibag<u>h</u>če was evidently favoured by the ruling class, to judge from the foundation of the mosque and *medrese* of Sulṭān Selīm; the mosque of the Ḳāḍīʿasker ʿAbdurraḥmān Čelebi; the mosque of <u>Kh</u>urrem Čavu<u>sh</u>; the mosque and *medrese* of the Kapudan Pa<u>sh</u>a Sinān Pa<u>sh</u>a; the mosque of Miʿmār (Kodja) Sinān; the Yeñičeri Kātibi mosque; the mosque of the Grand Vizier (944/1537-947/1540) Luṭfī Pa<u>sh</u>a, together with the palace, fountain, bath and tomb of his wife <u>Sh</u>āh-i-<u>Kh</u>ūbān. The Palace of Maḥmūd A<u>gh</u>a was also here.

The Silivri Kapïsï district received the stimulus of the foundation of <u>Kh</u>ādim Ibrāhīm Pa<u>sh</u>a, which comprised a mosque (958/1551), a *medrese*, a school, 3 *ḥammām*s, 4 large residences and 7 houses (see A. Erdoğan, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, i (1938), 29-33). The mosque and *ḥammām* of Ḥādjdjī Evḥad (by Sinān) were also founded near the walls, by Yediḳule.

Along the Marmara walls and the Golden Horn walls too, new foundations appeared: at A<u>kh</u>ur Kapï, the mosque of Maḥmūd A<u>gh</u>a; at Kum Kapï, the mosque of Ibrāhīm Pa<u>sh</u>a's wife; at Langa, the mosques of Bāzirgānzāde and <u>Sh</u>eyk<u>h</u> Ferhād; at Kadırga, the mosque, *medrese* and *zāviye* of Sokollu Meḥmed Pa<u>sh</u>a/Esmā <u>Kh</u>ātūn (see S. Eyice, in *İA*, art. *İstanbul*, p. 1214/68); at Un-Kapanı, the mosques of Süleymān Suba<u>sh</u>ï and of the Tüfenk<u>kh</u>āne are listed among the

works of Sinān (see R. M. Meriç, *Mimar Sinān*, Ankara 1965).

Indeed the period from 947/1540 to 996/1588 may justly be called the "period of Sinān", for he and his subordinates constructed in Istanbul, for the sultans and notables, 43 *djāmi*ʿs, 52 *mesdjids*, 49 *medreses*, 7 *dār al-ḳurrāʾ*, 40 *ḥammāms*, 28 palaces and *köshks*, 3 hospices, 3 hospitals, and 6 *khāns*. Other important constructions attributed to Sinān in the outlying districts are: at Eyyūb, the mosque of Zāl-oghlī Maḥmūd Pasha (fountain dated 958/1551), the mosque of Defterdār Maḥmūd Čelebi (948/1541) and the mosque of Shāh-Sulṭān; at Topkhāne, the mosque of Ḳīlīč ʿAlī Pasha (988/1580), and the mosque of Muḥyīeddīn Čelebi; at Fīndīklī, the mosque of Djihāngīr, and the mosque, school and *ḥammām* of the Ḳāḍīʿasker Meḥmed Vuṣūlī (Mollā Čelebi) (973/1565); at Beshiktash, the mosque of Sinān Pasha (963/1555); at Sütlüdje, the Čavush-bashī mosque; at Usküdār, the mosque of Mihrumāh Sulṭān (954/1548), the mosque of Shemsī Aḥmed Pasha (988/1580) and the Eski Vālide (Nūrbānū) Sulṭān mosque (991/1583); at Ḳāsīm Pasha, the Ḳāsīm Pasha complex of mosque and *medrese* (the value of the *waḳf* being 2,630,000 *akčes* in cash and 117,000 *akčes* in real estate); and towards Okmeydānī the Piyāle Pasha complex of mosque, *medrese*, school, *tekke*, fountain and *ḥammām* (*waḳfiyya* dated 981/1573).

The quarter of slaughterhouses and tanneries outside Yediḳule grew considerably: originally consisting of 27 shops of tanners, 32 of butchers, and 5 of catgut-makers (*waḳfiyyas* of Meḥemmed II and the Aya Sofya register of 898/1493), it was in the middle of the following century, according to Evliyā Čelebi (i, 391), a "flourishing township" with one *djamiʿ*, seven *mesdjids*, 300 tanners' shops, 50 glue shops and 70 catgut-makers. These tanners claimed the right to buy the hides of all animals slaughtered in Istanbul (see ʿO. Nūrī, *Medjelle-i umūr-i Belediye*, i, Istanbul 1922, 830-2; for a list of the Istanbul slaughterhouses in 1016/1607: A. Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1000-1100*, Istanbul 1931, pp. 30-1).

In the second half of the 10th/16th century and the first half of the 11th/17th, the inhabited areas extended outside the landwalls towards Eyyūb (*maḥalles* of Otakčīlar, Nishāndjī Pasha and Čömlekčiler, described by Evliyā Čelebi, i, 391-6). In the same period settlements grew up around mosques and convents built outside the principal gates: at Topkapī, the mosque of Taḳyedji Ibrāhīm Agha (d. 1004/1595-6: M. Ziyā, *Istanbul*, p. 128; foundation inscription dated 1000/1591) gave rise to the Taḳyedji *maḥallesi*; whilst at Yeñi-Kapī the mosque and *zāviye* of Merkez Efendi (d. 959/1551; see T. Yazıcı, in *İst. Enst. Dergisi*, ii (1956), 104-13) and the great Mevlevīkhāne founded by the Yeñičeriler Kātibi Malkoč Meḥmed Efendi in 1006/1597 (later much enlarged, see M. Ẓiyā, *Yeñi-Kapī Mevlevīkhānesi*, Istanbul 1329; idem, *Istanbul*, 115-8) both fostered a growth in population (see Evliyā Čelebi, i, 392).

The last great mosque-complexes to be constituted in the classical tradition of Ottoman architecture are those of Aḥmed I on the Hippodrome and the Vālide Djāmiʿi (Yeni Djāmiʿ) at Emīn-öñi.

The former, built between 1018/1609 and 1026/1617 at a cost of one million and a half gold pieces, comprised a mosque, a *medrese*, a hospital, a food-kitchen, a *dār al-ḍiyāfa*, lodgings (*misāfirkhāne*), a school, a public fountain, and an *ārāsta*-type *čarshī* (see Evliyā Čelebi, i, 216-19; Tahsin Öz, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, i, 25-8; S. Eyice, in *İA*, art. 'Istanbul', p. 1214/59). The *djizya* of the inhabitants of Ghalaṭa was made over as *waḳf* for this mosque.

The Yeñi Djāmiʿ was begun in 1006/1597 by Ṣafiyye Sulṭān [*q.v.*], but the work was suspended for many years and completed only in the years 1071/1660-1074/1663 by Turkhān Sulṭān [*q.v.*], to comprise the mosque, a *dār al-ḳurrāʾ*, a school, fountains, the tomb of Ṭurkhān, and a market (*miṣr čarshīsī*) and shops (see S. Ülgen in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, ii, 387, and S. Eyice, p. 1214/60; detailed engraving of the area in Grelot, p. 283).

The 12th/18th century saw the construction of the Nūr-i ʿOthmāniyye complex beside the Büyük Čarshī (1161/1748-1169/1756); mosque, *medrese*, library, public water-point (*sebīl-khāne*); (see *Taʾrīkh-i Djāmiʿ-i Sherīf-i Nūr-i ʿOthmāniyye*, supplement to *TOEM*, Istanbul 1337; Doğan Kuban, *Türk Barok Mimarisi*, Istanbul 1954) and of the Lāleli complex (1174/1760-1177/1764; mosque, *medrese*, fountain): these are in a hybrid style influenced by European baroque, and no longer belong to the classical Ottoman tradition.

It is not without significance that in this period of decline hospices and hospitals, requiring a substantial annual expenditure, tend to be replaced as elements of a complex by libraries and fountains. This tendency is evident in the foundations of the Grand Viziers. Three viziers of the Köprülü family built complexes along Dīvān-Yolī (Meḥmed Pasha: tomb, *medrese*, library; Kara Muṣṭafā Pasha, 1101/1690: mosque, *medrese*, school, fountain; ʿAmdjazāde Ḥüseyn Pasha, 1112/1700: mosque, *medrese*, library, fountains). Here too were the foundations of Čorlulu ʿAlī Pasha (1120/1708: mosque, *medrese*), of Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pasha (1132/1720: *dār al-ḥadīth*, fountain), and of Seyyid Ḥasan Pasha (1158/1745: *medrese*, school, fountain, shops, bakehouse; see ʿO. Nūrī, *Medjelle* . . ., i, 1054-5). Another characteristic of this period is the foundation of new complexes, on the model of the old, in sparsely populated areas of the city (*e.g.*, that of Ḥekīm-oghlu ʿAlī Pasha in the *nāḥiye* of Kodja Muṣṭafā Pasha, of 1146/1733-1147/1735) or in newly settled districts at Üsküdār and along the Bosphorus.

The most important of such foundations are those of Kösem Vālide Sulṭān [*q.v.*] (mosque, *medrese*, hospice, bath, *khān*; for the *waḳfiyya* see W. Caskel, in *Documenta islamica inedita*, Berlin 1952, 251-62) and of Gülnūsh Sulṭān ("Yeni Vālide", of 1120/1708-1122/1710: mosque, fountains; see A. Refik, *op. cit.*, 42) in Üsküdār, the mosque of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I (1192/1778, with other properties in Istanbul at Baghčekapī) at Beğlerbeği, and the complex of Mihrishāh Sulṭān (1210/1795: hospice, fountain, school) at Eyyūb.

By and large, until the 17th century practically all the expansion of Istanbul took place within the walls. This area, of 17.2 km.², was not all built over even at the height of the Byzantine period (see *e.g.*, Schneider, Mayer, Jacoby). In 950/1543, in the middle of the reign of Süleymān I, there were numerous and extensive uninhabited tracts (Mayer, 63: M. Lorichs shows the area between the Süleymāniyye and the Golden Horn as an open space). Although in the course of that century complexes and palaces of notables were built along the Lycus Valley and near the land gates, these sections of the city continued to be sparsely populated, with numerous pleasure-gardens and market-gardens: in the 11th/17th century, for example, Yeñi-baghče (S.W. of Edirne Kapīsī) is described as a vast meadow with ten thousand horses out at grass (Hezārfenn, *Talkhīṣ al-*

bayān). So too (note the names) there were wide open spaces at Agha-čayïrï (between Silivri Kapïsï and Yedi-Ḳule), in the extreme southern corner of the city around Yedi-Ḳule, at Böstān-yeri on the Marmara shore between Samatya and Dāvūd-Pasha-Kapïsï, and further east the Langa Böstānlarï, the Ḳadırgha Bostānlarï, and the Djündī Meydānï. Near the landwalls were the enormous Byzantine open reservoirs (all called "Čuḳur Bostānï") at Altï-Mermer, Edirne Ḳapïsï and Sulṭān Selīm. Even in the thickly-populated areas of the city the courts and gardens of the Old Palace and of the New Palace (0.67 km.²), and the courtyards of the Great Mosques remained unoccupied (it was estimated that 100,000 people could be accommodated in the mosques: *Medical and surgical history of the British army*, London 1858).

These open spaces were not wasted. The mosque courtyards, with their attractive views and their shady trees, were favourite places of recreation (Evliyā Čelebi, i, 481), and were sometimes used for markets (*e.g.*, Bāyezīd). Conversely, shops and houses progressively intruded on the *fora* of the Byzantine city, to the extent that some of them entirely disappeared (forum Constantini = Čenberli Tash meydānï, or Tavukpāzārï Dikili-Tashï meydānï; forum Tauri = Bāyezīd meydānï; forum Arcadii = ʿAvret-Pāzārï; Forum Bovis = Aksaray) (Mayer, 16-20; Le Bruyn, 48). The Hippodrome (At Meydānï), however, though reduced in area, remained the most extensive and important public space of Istanbul (fine engraving in Grelot, 271); besides being a place of recreation, it was also a market and the scene of equestrian exercises. The ʿAvret-Pāzārï (restricted, like similar markets in other Ottoman cities, to women only) gradually disappeared (descriptions: Dernschwam, 98; Sanderson, 77; Le Bruyn, 47). Equestrianism and archery were practised not only in the Hippodrome but in Langa Meydānï and Djündī Meydānï (*TOEM*, ii, 547), which were also places of recreation (Evliyā Čelebi, i, 481), where the building of houses or the laying out of gardens was forbidden (A. Refik, *op. cit.*, 112).

VI. Structure of the *Mahalle*; Highways; Building Regulations; Domestic Architecture; Fires; Earthquakes

(a). The *mahalle.*

By the end of the reign of Meḥemmed II, Istanbul was reckoned to be composed of 182 *mahalles* (E. H. Ayverdi, *İstanbul mahalleri . . .*, Ankara 1958, 84), a figure which had risen to 219 by 953/1546 (*Istanbul vakıfları defteri*, ed. Ayverdi-Barkan, Istanbul 1970, p. 425) (non-Muslim *mahalles* being excluded). In 1044/1634 there was a total of 292 *mahalles* and also 12 *djemāʿat* ("communities") (M. Aktepe, in *İstanbul Enstitüşü Dergisi*, iii, 114). By 1083/1672 there had been a decline to 253 Muslim and 24 non-Muslim *mahalles*. In 1288/1871 the area within the walls contained 284 Muslim, 24 Greek, 14 Armenian and 9 Jewish *mahalles*, with a further 256 *mahalles* outside the walls, along the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn, in Üsküdār and in Ḳāḍīköy (A. Djevād, *Maʿlūmāt al-kifāya*, Istanbul 1289, 111).

The *mahalle* was an organic unity, a community with its own identity, settled around a mosque, a church or a synagogue. The individuals of this community were linked not only by a common origin (in many cases), a common religion and a common culture, but also by external factors making for social solidarity. The meeting-place of the community and the symbol of its unity was the place of worship, the repair of which and the maintenance of whose staff were the joint responsibility of the inhabitants, and after which the *mahalle* was named. Practically every *mahalle* had also its own school and fountain, and the wealthier inhabitants aided these foundations by *waḳf*-endowments (see, *e.g.*, *İstanbul vakıfları defteri*, *passim*).

Similarly too the authorities treated the *mahalle* as a unity having joint responsibility for the maintenance of order, the payment of taxes, and other obligations to the state. The *ʿawāriḍ* [*q.v.*] tax demonstrates this clearly, being collected from each *mahalle* according to the pre-determined number of its *ʿawāriḍ khāneleri*; many *mahalles* had a joint "*ʿawāriḍ* fund", supported by *waḳfs*, from which the *ʿawāriḍ* of the poor or of absconders were paid and from which loans, at a light interest, were made to applicants from the *mahalle* (O. N. Ergin, *Türkiyede şehirciliğin inkişafı*, Istanbul 1938, 27). Again, the *ketkhudās* of guilds and the *mütevellīs* of *waḳfs* were, like the *imām* of the mosque, officially recognized as intermediaries between the government on the one hand and the artisans and *waḳf* staff on the other.

Finally, the inhabitants of a *mahalle* bore a joint responsibility for the maintenance of order. It was not easy for an outsider to be recognized as belonging to a *mahalle*: the usual view was that four years' uninterrupted residence was necessary (Tash-Köprülüzāde, *Mawḍūʿāt al-ʿulūm*, ii, 654); the period for Istanbul was fixed at five years (A. Refik, *İstanbul hayātı, 1553-1591*, 145). In 987/1579 the inhabitants of each *mahalle* were declared to be *kefīls* (sureties) for one another, with the intention of preventing criminals of unknown antecedents from finding refuge from the law; for the same reason, in 986/1578 the idea of erecting gates between the *mahalles* was considered (A. Refik, *İstanbul hayati, 1553-1591*, 144). Each *mahalle* had its night-watchman, the inhabitants performing the duty in rotation in the 10th/16th century, while later a salaried night-watchman (*pāsbān*) was paid by the inhabitants. By a decree of 1107/1695, each *mahalle* was to support two watchmen, guaranteed by sureties, who were to patrol the *mahalle* with lanterns in their hands and to arrest any strangers found there after the bed-time prayer (*Medjelle*, i, 965). The "*bekči*", so important in the life of the *mahalle*, became a characteristic figure in the folklore of Istanbul. Similarly too each *mahalle* was obliged to pay two or three street-cleaners (firman of 1131/1718, in *Medjelle*, i, 965). In 1285/1868 certain *mahalles* were obliged to maintain fire-fighting equipment and some of the young men of each *mahalle* were appointed as *ṭulumbadji* to create a new "type" in the life of Istanbul, the colourful "*ṭulumbadji*" (*Medjelle*, i, 1188, 1195-1204).

The *imām* of its mosque was the representative of the *mahalle* in all dealings with the authorities. The sultan's decrees were passed on to the *imāms* in the *ḳāḍī*'s court or proclaimed by criers (*münādī*) in the streets, and the *imām* was responsible for seeing that the *mahalle* fulfilled all its obligations to the government: he could appeal to the authorities, particularly to the *ḳāḍī*, for assistance in dealing with refractory members of the community. The election of a *mukhtār* for each *mahalle* in 1242/1826 was the first step towards the "secularization" of the local authorities.

As time went on, the tendency increased for co-religionists and co-sectarians to settle together in separate *mahalles*, and for these *mahalles* to form distinct districts (for clashes between Muslims and Christians in a "mixed" *mahalle*, see A. Refik, *İstan-*

bul hayatı, 1000-1100, doc. 100; idem, *İstanbul hayatı, 1553-1591* 53; for the formation of distinct Greek, Armenian and Jewish districts, see below). This tendency was encouraged by government action. Thus when the Church of the Pammakaristos was converted into a mosque in 999/1591, attempts were made to create a Muslim *maḥalle* around it, by selling the vacant site in lots, each sufficient for building a house, exclusively to Muslims (A. Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1000-1100* 14; cf. also Stolpe's plan).

The tendency for each district to have its own traditions, occupation, even style of pronunciation, is reflected for the 11th/17th century by Evliyā Čelebi and Eremya Čelebi (see *Bibl.*), and in the 19th century by such novelists as A. Midḥat, Meḥmed Tewfīḳ and Hüseyn Raḥmī; see M. Kaplan, in *İA*, s.v. Istanbul, 1214/157-68.

(b) Streets.

Vavassore's plan shows quite broad streets leading to each region of the city, but these have disappeared in plans of the next (10th/16th) century (*Hünernāme*) (the street plan is shown clearly only in the map by the dragoman Konstantin of 1228/1813: Topkapı Sarayı no. 1858). Indeed in the 19th century, *Dīvān yolu*, the most important street of the city, was only 3.5-5.5 metres wide (*Medjelle*, i, 1067).

The streets of Istanbul were typically those of a mediaeval Eastern city (Mayer, *op. cit.*, 4-32), twisting and full of blind alleys, so that the delimination of the *maḥalle*s, far from being planned in advance, was a matter of pure chance (Mayer, 9-24, 104, 254). A study of the detailed city map of 1293/1876 (Ayverdi, *19. asırda İstanbul haritası*, Istanbul 1958) shows that streets still preserve the alignment they had had under Meḥemmed II, for the *miʿmār-bashî*, during rebuilding operations after fires, would try to preserve the old street-plan (*Medjelle*, i, 1066, 978). Occupants of property on a street, however, persistently attempted to incorporate areas of the highway into their properties and would, by erecting upper storeys projecting far over the street, cut down the light and air at ground-level. These difficulties of communication in the narrow streets meant that goods were usually transported by sea, from the various gates and landing-places on the Golden Horn.

Documents of the 10th/16th century attest that streets were paved (A. Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1553 1591*, 67), and Evliyā Čelebi claims (i, 446) that the streets of Istanbul, Eyyûb, Topkhāne and Ḳāsîm Pasha were all completely paved in the middle of the 11th/17th century. The construction and repair of the paving was carried out by contract with the *ketkhudā* of the guild of paviours (A. Refik, *op. cit.*, 66), the work being supervised by the *shehr-emīni*, the *miʿmār-bashî* or the *su-yolu nāẓiri*. For main roads the cost was met by the government, for side roads by the householders, shop-keepers and *mütevellī*s whose properties benefited (a document of 1087/1676 in *Medjelle*, i, 1147; A. Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1100-1200*, 30)

The cleaning of the principal squares and streets was carried out by the *ʿadjemī oghlanlarî* and other military units under the authority of the Yeñičeri *aghasî*, while each property-owner in a side-street was responsible for keeping the area in front of his property clean; street-sweepers (*süprüntüdjü*) were later employed in the *maḥalle*s. The removal of rubbish was the responsibility of the *čoplük subashîsî* (also termed *ṭāhir subashîsî*), who let out the work on contract to a group known as *arayîdjî* ("searchers", 500 in number; Evliyā Čelebi, i, 514). These would collect rubbish in baskets and throw it into the sea, after sifting through it for anything worth keeping; the usual area for the disposal of rubbish and rubble was Langa, or, on the Takhtaḳalʿe side, at the place near Odun Kapîsî known as Bokluk (see Oberhummer, Tafel XXII). Firmans repeatedly forbade the throwing of filth into the streets, the breaking-up of paving and the building of steps or stairways in front of houses (A. Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1000-1100*, docs. 25-38).

Except during Ramaḍān, everybody had to be within doors after the bed-time prayer (Dernschwam, 70; *Medjelle*, i, 964). There were no arrangements for lighting the streets, and anyone obliged to be out had to carry a lantern (*Medjelle*, i, 965-7; White, iii, 250). The first street to be lit by gas was Beyoghlu Djāddesi in 1273/1856, the main streets of Istanbul being lit by gas in 1879 (*Medjelle*, i, 971)

Inhabitants of Istanbul and foreign observers unite in reporting the neglected and dirty state of the streets in spite of the stringent decrees periodically issued. In 1839, for the first time, various plans were drawn up for modernizing the city by (*e.g.*) opening up blind-alleys and creating broad interesting streets and squares, but such measures began to be carried out only after the great "Khodja Pasha" fire of 1865 (details in *Medjelle*, i, 987-991).

(c). Building regulations.

Regulations issued to control building-styles, the streets, and the city's cleanliness had their effect on the appearance and plan of Ottoman Istanbul. Such regulations were issued by the *shehr-emīni* [*q.v.*] and his subordinates the *khāṣṣa miʿmār-bashî* and the *su-yolu nāẓiri*, and put into effect through the *ḳāḍī* and the *subashî*. In 1831 these duties passed to the *ebniye-i khāṣṣa Müdürlüğü* (*Medjelle*, i, 981-3).

In the first place, all building was under the control of the state. Before building could begin, the right to the site had to be acquired by an approach either to the public treasury (*mīrī*) or to the appropriate *waḳf* and by the payment of the *idjāre-i müʾedjdjele*. If the freehold was held by a *waḳf*, the consent of the state authorities was necessary. The *miʿmār-bashî* would grant permission for construction of the building according to the current regulations and the permitted dimensions, and check that these were observed (for an example of an *istidjāze* made when a *waḳf* was being established, see S. Eyice, *Elci Hanı*, *TD*, no. 24, plate 1 opposite p. 130; *Medjelle*, i, 1044-8). In 1196/1782 it was decreed that builders who erected buildings for non-Muslims without obtaining a firman of permission should be put to death (*Medjelle*, *loc. cit.*).

The government intervened in these matters for various reasons: to regulate land-tenure, to prevent fires, to avert water-shortage, and to protect the walls, mosques, and other public buildings. According to building regulations of 966/1559 (the time of Sinān), houses were not to be more than two storeys high, the upper storey was not to project over the street, and balconies and eaves were not to be made (A. Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1553-1591* 58-9). That these prohibitions had to be repeated so often (A. Refik, *op. cit.*, 66; *Medjelle*, i, 1052-4) shows clearly that they were not observed. After great fires it was ordered that houses, especially those adjacent to public buildings and *khān*s, should be constructed of stone or brick (A. Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1100-1200*, doc. 34) (yet after earthquakes construction in wood was decreed). Thanks to its cheapness, most of the houses of Istanbul were always built of wood. To limit the danger of fire and to facilitate approach to the city's gates and

landing-stages, orders were issued in 966/1558 to demolish all houses and shops abutting on the walls (an order later re-issued, see *İstanbul hayatı, 1100-1200*, 67), leaving a clear space of 4 *dhirā*ʿ (in 1131/1718, five *dhirā*ʿ, *i.e.*, 3.25 m.; see Oberhummer, Tafel XXII). To conserve water, the construction of new palaces and baths needed the sultan's permission; sometimes indeed the building of baths was forbidden. To prevent overcrowding, the building of "bachelors' quarters" (*bekār odalarî*) (see below) where newcomers would stay was strictly controlled and sometimes forbidden (*Medjelle*, i, 1052).

These regulations were rarely followed. The increase in population from the second half of the 10th/16th century meant an increased demand for housing, so that palaces with extensive gardens were pulled down to be built over with contiguous wooden houses and shanties (A. Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1100-1200*, 67-8).

Non-Muslims were subject to severer regulations: they could not build or occupy houses near a Muslim place of worship (*Medjelle*, i, 1071); their houses were not to be more than nine *dhirā*ʾ high or built of freestone, and they could not construct baths (*Medjelle*, i, 1056, 1090); it was forbidden to Muslims to sell houses or building-sites to *dhimmī*s or to non-Muslim foreign residents (*Medjelle*, i, 1072-4) (but a legal device (*ḥīla*) could usually be found to circumvent this). By the code of regulations of 1233/1817, the permitted height of houses for non-Muslims was increased to 12 *dhirā*ʿ, and for Muslims to 14 (in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. the maximum height permitted in Constantinople had been about 33 m.: Mayer, 81). The old ban on building more than two "storeys" led to the construction of all sorts of "extensions" upwards—*čardak, bālākhāne, takhtapūsh, djihānnümā, čatî-ara* (see the views in M. Lorichs). After the Tanẓīmāt, the height limitations were abolished, for Muslims and non-Muslims alike.

It is very probable that these building restrictions —together with fear of plague—were the principal cause for the settlement of non-Muslims outside the walls, on the northern side of the Golden Horn and along the Bosphorus: as their houses grew in number, in 1160/1747 it was forbidden that non-Muslims should build on empty sites in these areas (A. Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1100-1200* 213).

(d). Domestic architecture.

The types of houses in Istanbul can be considered under five heads: (1) "Rooms" (*oda, hudjra*). Houses of one room only were built either detached, in rows, around a court (*muḥawwaṭa*), or in the style of a *khān*; they were often built over a shop. Such houses were usually built by a *waḳf*, to be rented out, and since they were generally occupied by unmarried men who had come to Istanbul in search of employment they were termed *bekār odalarî*. Such "bachelors' quarters" were not encouraged in a *maḥalle*, where only married households were permitted (firman of 1044/1634 in *Medjelle*, i, 1053). Unmarried workmen frequently used a single room in a *khān* or a caravanserai both as a workshop and as living-quarters, a *khān* occupied only by such residents being called *müdjerredler khānî*. In 950/1543 a "room" brought in an annual rent of about 100 *akčes*. In 1083/1672 there were reckoned to be 12,000 *bekār odalarî* in Istanbul (Hezārfenn, *Talkhīṣ*, Paris Ms., f. 13b; for the areas concerned see Evliyā Čelebi, i, 326).

(2). *Maḥalle* houses. Poor craftsmen and people in humble circumstances usually occupied primitive one- or two-storeyed houses of wood or mud-bricks (Ramberti, *apud* Lybyer, 239; Dernschwam, 63; Schweigger, 105; Alberi, iii/I, 393: "Le case delle città sono per la maggior parte di legno e terra"). In less densely populated areas the typical house, as in the towns of Anatolia, was a small wood and brick building, with a courtyard and garden shut off by a wall from the street (see Mayer, 106-12 and bibliography, 381-4; S. Eldem, *Türk evi plân tipleri*, Istanbul 1955); such a house covered about 400 square *arshîn* (A. Refik, *Istanbul hayatı, 1000-1100*, 14) and in the middle of the 10th/16th century cost about 100 gold pieces (*İstanbul vakıfları tahrir defteri*, no. 1346).

(3). Houses with gardens, walled about. The court of some of such houses was divided into two, an inner and an outer court; the residence comprised one house, or more than one, and also perhaps a "room" or more than one; there might also be a belvedere, a privy, a stable, a bakehouse, a bath, a shed, an arbour, a storehouse, a "cool room" (*serdāb*), a mill, quarters for servants or slaves, a hen-coop, a pleasure garden, a well, a fountain, and a *čerāghlîk* (a fire kept constantly burning); most houses had at least a garden, a stable, a bakehouse, a well and a privy (see, as examples, in *İstanbul vakıfları tahrir defteri*, nos. 732, 780, 1037, 1111, 1237, 1648). Larger houses known as *khāne-i kebīr* (*ibid*. no. 132) are less common: an example is the house of Miʿmār Sinān (İ. H. Konyalı, *Mimar Koca Sinan*, İstanbul 1948, 53; description of a 19th-century *ḳonaḳ* in White, iii, 176).

(4). Palaces and villas (*ḳaṣr*). The palaces of statesmen and rich merchants consisted of a large mansion in an extensive court with numerous subsidiary buildings; they are therefore merely a grander version of type (3) above. They usually had two courts, the whole site being surrounded by a high wall (Schweigger, 106) (Sinān Pasha bought up and demolished 300 houses to build his palace; see C. de Villalón, *Viaje de Turquia*, 74). The mansion, divided into *ḥarem* and *selāmlîk*, was usually built of wood and contained numerous rooms (there were 300 rooms in the famous palace of Siyāvush Pasha, cf. *Taʾrīkh-i Ghilmānī*, 66).

In the courts of such palaces there would be, beside kitchens, bakehouses, baths and stables, also a school for the dignitary's *ič oghlanlarî* [see GHULĀM, p. 1090], workshops for the craftsmen employed to supply the numerous household, and even shops (Evliyā Čelebi, i, 322-4) (for the organization of Kara Aḥmed Pasha's palace at Topkapı see *Vakıflar Dergisi*, ii, 88). The villas (*köshk, ḳaṣr*) in such a palace's gardens were monumental specimens of architecture (S. Eldem, *Köşkler*, Istanbul 1969; K. Altan, *Siyavuş Paşa Kasrı*, in *Arkitekt*, v, 268). Palaces built by viziers usually passed on death into the ownership of the sultan, who would present them to princesses or to other dignitaries. It was estimated in the middle of the 11th/17th century that the palaces of members of the royal house and of viziers numbered about 120 (*Taʾrīkh-i Ghilmānī*, 66, 69) and those of other notables and of merchants about 1000 (Hezārfenn, *loc. cit.*; Evliyā Čelebi, i, 322-4). The greatest and most famous palaces were built under Süleymān in the Ayasofya and Süleymāniyye districts (listed in Evliyā, *loc. cit.*).

(5). The villas and *yalî*s of sultans and dignitaries, built outside the land walls of Istanbul (at Khalḳalî, Florya, Dāvūd Pasha), on the northern side of the Golden Horn (at Kara aghač, Pīrī Pasha, Ḳāsîm Pasha, Kāghidkhāne), along the Bosphorus and at Üsküdār, situated in extensive and well-tended gardens and woods, became very numerous, and later formed the nuclei of select residential *maḥalle*s. They served for recreation, as hunting-lodges, and as summer residences, and also as alternative accommo-

dation after a fire or during an epidemic (details in the registers of the *bostāndjï-bashï*, see R. E. Koçu, in *Istanbul Enstitüsü Dergisi*, iv, 39-90; Fatih Libr., Ms Ali Emîrî 1033; for the royal palaces and gardens, the Khāṣṣa Baghčeler Maḥṣūlāt defterleri in the archives of Topkapı and of the Başvekâlet. See further Evliyā Čelebi, i, 391-486; Eremya Čelebi, 34-58; P. Inciciyan, *Istanbul*, tr. H. Andreasyan, Istanbul 1956, 95-113; Melling, *Voyage pittoresque de C.*, Paris 1819; J. von Hammer, *Constantinopolis und der Bosporus*, ii, Pest 1822; M. Rā'if, *Mir'āt-i Istanbul*, Istanbul 1314; T. Gökbilgin, in *İA*, art. "Boğaz-içi"; series of articles by H. Şehsuvaroğlu in the newspaper *Cumhuriyet*, 1947-9). In the 12th/18th century, sultans created new *maḥalle*s by giving or selling sections of their gardens and woods as building sites (*e.g.*, Muṣṭafā III, at Iḥsāniyye and Beğlerbeği).

(e). Fires.

The frequent conflagrations in this thickly populated city, with its narrow streets of houses mostly built of wood, had as great an effect on social and economic life as they did on the physical configuration (for fires in the Byzantine period, see F. W. Unger, *Quellen der byzantinische Kunstgeschichte*, i, Vienna 1879, 74 ff.; Mayer, *op. cit.*, 102). The number of fires was indeed abnormally high: Ergin calculated that in the 53 years between 1853 and 1906 there were 229 fires, with the destruction of 36,000 houses (*Medjelle*, i, 1333). The dates of the greatest fires are: Radjab 977/1569, 27 Ṣafar 1043/2 September 1633, 16 Dhu 'l-Ḳa'de 1070/24 July 1660, 3 Shawwāl 1104/7 June 1693, 18 Sha'bān 1130/17 July 1718, 13 Ramaḍān 1196/22 August 1782, 27 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1241/2 September 1826, 14 Rabī' II 1249/31 August 1833, 27 Rabī' II 1282/19 September 1865 and 1 Ramaḍān 1336/10 June 1918. (See A. M. Schneider, *Brände in Konstantinopel*, in *BZ*, xli (1941), 382-403; *Medjelle*, i, 1254-1356; M. Cezar, *İstanbul Yangınları*, in *Türk Sanatı Tarihi Araştırmaları ve Incelemeleri*, i (1963), 327-414).

Many of the worst fires began in the Djibali (Djübbe 'Alī) district, burning the whole centre of the city and reaching to the Marmara coast at Kumkapï, Yeñikapï or Langa. Djibali was particularly prone to the risk of fire because of the trades—such as caulking—carried out there, the exposure of the Djibali-Unkapanï valley to the north-east wind and the density of the housing on the slopes up to Fātiḥ (see the views in Lorichs and Le Bruyn). Fires starting here often swept in two lines, via Fātiḥ and Aksarāy to Langa, and via Vefā, Shehzāde-bashï and Lāleli to Yeñikapï. Fires breaking out in the Jewish quarter (Čufut Kapïsï) on the Golden Horn and liable, for the same reasons, to spread would extend in one direction to the walls of the palace and, in another, over Djaghaloghlu, destroying all the houses on the slope up to the Büyük Čarshï. Other districts frequently burnt down are Takhtaḳal'e, the Büyük Čarshï area, and the Fener-Balat region.

Although the reports of the damage caused are frequently exaggerated, yet they do indicate that there was very substantial damage. It was said that 20,000 houses were destroyed in the fire of 1043/1633 (both Kātib Čelebi in his *Fedhleke* and Knolles (*Generall historie*, London 1631, 47) speak of "a third of the city"); two thirds of the city in 1070/1660, with 4,000 deaths; 18 *djāmi'*s, 19 *mesdjid*s, 2547 houses and 1146 shops in 1104/1693 (Cezar, 344); one eighth of the city in 1142/1729 (Cezar, 353-5); two-thirds of the city in 1169/1756 (Mayer, 102); 20,000 houses in 1196/1782; and half the city in 1249/1833. More reliable figures are available for the second half of the 19th century: in the 30 odd years between 1854 and 1885 fires—minor as well as major—destroyed 27,000 houses and the single Fātiḥ fire of 1918 destroyed 7,500.

In the fires at Takhtaḳal'e and round the Čarshï stock and goods of great value were often lost. It was estimated that the goods lost in the Mïṣr Čarshïsï alone in the fire of 1102/1690 were worth three million *ghuru sh*(c. 2 million gold pieces); after a fire in the Bedestān in 922/1516 many merchants went bankrupt.

Fires caused various political, social and economic crises in the life of Istanbul. Many fires were deliberately started by dissident Janissaries and *'adjemī-oghlanlarï*, abetted by the riffraff of the city. In palace circles fires caused considerable anxiety as being a sign of unrest in the soldiery and in the lower classes (Djewdet, xi, 4), and might be a factor in the dismissal of leading government figures. It was often reported that the Janissaries, among whose duties was fire-fighting, had in fact encouraged the spread of fires (e.g., in 977/1569: 'Ālī, *Künh al-akhbār*, Ms.; Silāḥdār, ii, 349); and the Grand Vizier, the agha of the Janissaries, the *bostāndjï-bashï* and the *djebedji-bashï* would in person direct operations in fighting a large fire, while the sultan often felt it necessary to put in an appearance in order to sustain discipline and morale. Looting by troops and the mob could not be prevented (for looters who enriched themselves, see Cezar, 330, n. 6). Those made homeless would take refuge, with the goods they had managed to save, in mosque-courtyards, *medrese*s, and open spaces such as Langa Bostānï, but even here sometimes they could not escape. After a fire there would be shortages both of food and of building materials, with consequent rises in prices, compelling numbers of people to move away to neighbouring towns (*e.g.*, after the fire of 1196/1782, to Čorlu, Edirne, Izmīd, etc.; see Cezar, 365). Even buildings of stone, though not destroyed, would be made uninhabitable, involving the government in heavy expenditure and obliging *waḳf*s to draw on their reserve funds. A sultan would often instruct notables and wealthy individuals to undertake the repair of public buildings. In the period of decline, the poor could not be prevented from erecting shanties on the site of a fire, which thus was never restored to its former order; this, and the principle of *waḳf*s with "two rents" (*idjāratayn*: see WAḲF), which led to the erection of tumble-down booths around a *waḳf*, meant that in the 19th century Istanbul looked more ramshackle and neglected than it had ever done.

Fire-fighting was the responsibility of the Janissaries, the *Bostāndjï*s, the *Djebedji*s, and also, in return for exemption from certain taxes, the city's water-carriers and the guild of *baltadjï*s. After 1130/1718, fire-engines with pumps, introduced by a French convert named David, were recognized to be of great value (Rāshid, v, 306; Küčük-čelebi-zāde 'Āṣim, 255), and "fire-brigades" were formed: a unit of *tulumbadjï*s attached to the Janissaries in 1132/1719, *tulumbadjï*s for each *maḥalle* in 1285/1868, and a regular fire-brigade in 1290/1873; fire-insurance began only in 1890 (*Medjelle*, i, 1170-1219).

(f). Earthquakes too had their effect on the city's general appearance (Mayer, 98-101; Istanbul is one of the cities most subject to earthquake in the world, suffering 66 shocks between 1711 and 1894). Besides the great earthquakes of 1099/1688, 1180/1766 and 1894 (Cezar, 380-92), there was the major disaster beginning on 6 Djumādā I 915/22 August 1509, called by the chroniclers "Küčük Ḳïyāmet", when the shocks continued for weeks. The walls were seriously

damaged, all the minarets collapsed, and 109 mosques and 1070 houses were destroyed; estimates of the killed range from 5000 to 13,000. Many Byzantine buildings (*e.g.*, ʿIsā Kapîsî) were badly damaged. The authorities took emergency action to carry out the re-building, one person and a *ʿawāriḍ* [*q.v.*] of 22 *akče* being levied from each household in Istanbul, and workmen being conscripted from outside (37,000 from Anadolu and 29,000 from Rūmeli), so that the work was quickly completed (Cezar, 383).

vii. — The Inhabitants: Re-Population; Religious Minorities; the Military; Epidemics; Population Statistics.

(a) Re-population.

Throughout his reign, one of Meḥemmed II's main preoccupations was to re-populate Istanbul. Various methods were employed, particularly and especially in the early years, the deportation [see SÜRGÜN] of households from every part of his dominions; later, the useful elements of newly-conquered cities—the nobility, craftsmen and merchants—were transferred to Istanbul; and, always, immigrants of whatever religion or race were encouraged to come from anywhere in the world (see H. İnalcık, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xxiii-xxiv, 237-49).

The census of 860/1455 shows that many of the Muslim immigrants brought from Kodja-eli, Sarukhan, Aydîn, Balîkesir, etc. had fled *en masse*, to be replaced (*e.g.*) in the *maḥalle*s of Kir Nikola and Kir Martas by immigrants from Tekirdagh and Čorlu. One of the reasons for this "flight", besides the general difficulty of making a living in a ruined city, is certainly the sultan's attempt to levy *muḳāṭaʿa* on the immigrants' houses, as related by ʿĀshiḳpashazāde (H. İnalcık, *op. cit.*, 242-3). In about 860/1455 a numerous group of Jewish deportees from Rūmeli was settled in the city: 42 families from Izdin (Lamia) in houses at Samatya abandoned by Muslims from Balîkesir; 38 families from Filibe in houses in the *maḥalle* of Top Yîkughî abandoned by immigrants from Paphlagonia and Tekirdagh; others came from Edirne, Niğbolu, Trikkala, etc.

Among the Muslim immigrants there were tradesfolk (tailors, blacksmiths, etc.) and many men of religion, including adherents of dervish-orders. Soldiers (Janissaries, Doghandjîs, etc.) often became householders in various *maḥalle*s; the *ʿazeb*s of the navy settled together in *ʿAzebler maḥallesi*. Groups of immigrants usually settled together in one *maḥallesi* or monastery (though occasionally Greeks, Jews and Muslims are found living in the same building; and in 860/1455 there were at Samatya 42 Jewish, 14 Greek, and 13 Muslim families). The register shows that at this date the *maḥalle*s which it covers were sparsely populated, with only a few shops, the churches and monasteries deserted, and the houses empty and ruined. Soon afterwards, it seems, the sultan took up permanent residence in the now-completed palace and began the active promotion of building activity, of economic prosperity, and of new settlement. In 863/1459 he commanded all the Greeks who had left the city before or after the conquest to return (İnalcık, *op. cit.*, 237-8). It was in these years too that, with the aim of making his capital the centre of a world-wide empire, he appointed an Orthodox patriarch (6 January 1454), an Armenian patriarch (865/1461) and a chief rabbi (see below); and in line with old Islamic tradition he encouraged the settlement of craftsmen and merchants.

Enslaved peasants were settled, as the sultan's serfs (*khāṣṣ*, *ḳul*, *ortaḳči ḳul*), in the villages round about in order to restore their prosperity. In the 10th/16th century, by now being ordinary *raʿāyā*, they would form an important element of the population of the so-called *khāṣṣ-köy*s (for which see Ö. L. Barkan, in *İkt. Fak. Mecm.*, i (1940), 29 ff.). In 904/1498 of the 163 villages in the *Ḳaḍā* of Eyyūb (which was known as *Khāṣṣlar Ḳaḍāsî*), 110 contained about 2000 adult *khāṣṣ ḳul* (the rest of the inhabitants being ordinary *raʿāyā* or *sürgün*). The *khāṣṣ köy*s covered the area from the two Čekmedjes and Bakîr-köy to the Black Sea coast and to the Bosphorus and Beshiktash (but there were no *khāṣṣ kul*s actually in Istanbul).

The deportations from conquered cities are shown in the following list (see A. M. Schneider, in *Belleten*, xvi/61, 41-3; İnalcık, *op. cit.*, 237-8; Jorga, *Byzance après Byzance*, Bucharest 1972, 48-62):

863/1459 Armenian and Greek merchants from the two Fočas and Amasra
864/1460 Greeks from the Morea, Thasos, Lemnos, Imbros, Samothrace
865/1461 Greeks from Trebizond
866/1462 Greeks from Mytilene
867/1463 Greeks from Argos
873/1468-879/1474 Muslims, Greeks and Armenians from Konya, Larenda, Aksaray, Eregli
875/1470 Greeks from Euboea
880/1475 Armenians, Greeks and Latins from Kaffa.

The 1542 Greek households whose *djizya* was made over by Meḥemmed II to his *waḳf*s (Başvekâlet arşivi, Tapu defteri 240) are listed in "*djemāʿat*s" (of "people from Foča", "from Midilli", etc.), the most numerous of these being *djemāʿat-i Rūmīyān-i Midillüyān*. By the middle of the 10th/16th century these *djemāʿat*s were scattered over the various Greek *maḥalle*s of Istanbul and Ghalaṭa. The same register shows 777 households of Armenians in 24 *djemāʿat*s (from Larende, Konya, Sivas, Akshehir, etc.) and 1490 Jewish households (from Lamia, Salonica, Euboea, etc.).

*Waḳfiyya*s of Meḥemmed II show the Baghčekapî-Emînönü region almost exclusively inhabited by Jews, the *maḥalle* of Fīl-damî inhabited by Greeks, Jews and Muslims, and *maḥalle*s along the harbour (Khalīl Pasha Burghosî, ʿAdjemoghlu, Ḥādjdjī Khalīl) mainly inhabited by Jews. They give also the names of Muslim immigrants from Karaman, Ankara, Iznīḳ, etc., and of Greeks from Trebizond and Mytilene.

Intense voluntary settlement in Istanbul began later, when the first measures of recovery had been taken and the city started to prosper. In spite of the deaths by plague in 871/1466, a census of 882/1477 (Topkapı Sarayı Archives, D 9524) shows that Istanbul was already then as populous as any other Mediterranean city:

i. Istanbul

	households	= %
Muslims	8951	60
Greek Orthodox	3151	21.5
Jews	1647	11
Kaffans	267	2
Armenians of Istanbul	372	2.6
Armenians and Greeks from Karaman	384	2.7
Gypsies	31	.2
	14,803	

ii. Ghalaṭa

	households	= %
Muslims	535	35
Greek Orthodox	592	39
Europeans	332	22
Armenians	62	4
	1521	

Grand total: 16,324.

This total does not include soldiers, *medrese*-students, or slaves. Barkan, estimating these to amount to one-fifth of the population and taking five persons to the household, considers the total population to have numbered about 100,000 (*JESHO*, i/I, 21; Schneider, *op. cit.*, p. 44, estimates 60-70,000; Ayverdi's estimate, *Istanbul mahalleleri*, p. 82, is 167-175,000.

Later sultans continued the policy of settling deportees from newly conquered regions. Bāyezīd II settled 500 households from Akkerman at Silivri Kapïsï (Schneider, p. 44; the *djizya*-registers of 894/1489 show the settlers from Akkerman as 670 households, see Barkan, in *Belgeler*, i/I, 38, table 2). The Ottomans' readiness to welcome Jews expelled from Spain, Portugal and Southern Italy in 1492 and the following years led to an increase in the Jewish population of the city (estimated at 36,000 by von Harff, p. 244). Selīm I brought 200 households of merchants and craftsmen from Tabrīz (Luṭfī Pasha, *Taʾrīkh*, 237) and 500 from Cairo (some of whom were permitted to return by Süleymān). After his capture of Belgrade, Süleymān settled Christians and Jews near Samatya Kapïsï (later Belghrad Kapïsï) to form the Belghrad *maḥallesi* (Hammer-Purgstall, iii, 14; Uzunçarşılı, *Osm. Tarihi*, ii/2, 312; see also U. Heyd in *Oriens*, vi, 306). One other immigration deserving notice is that of the Moriscos from Spain after 978/1570 (referred to in Ottoman records as *Endülüslü* or *Müdedjdjel* (read *müdedjdjen*; see Dozy, Suppl., *s.v.* and MUDEJARES) *ʿArablarï* (see A. Hess, *The Moriscos*, in *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, lxxxiv/1); these settled together in Ghalaṭa around the Church of S. Paolo and S. Domenico (later called ʿArab Djāmiʿi; see, for the date, Belin, *Histoire de la Latinité de Constantinople*, Paris 1894, 217); they stirred up much anti-Christian feeling in Istanbul (Charrière, iii, 787; Hasluck, ii, 727).

The Ottoman authorities seem to have taken little account of the damage suffered by the cities subjected to deportations; the importance attached to centralization, and the conscious determination to make Istanbul the principal city not merely of the empire but of the world and the centre of world commerce overrode other considerations (see T. Stoianovich, *The conquering Balkan Orthodox Merchant*, in *JEH*, xx, at p. 239).

The deportees enjoyed a special status. They were exempt from *ʿawāriḍ* for a certain period, but could not leave the city without the permission of the *Subashï*. For some time after their arrival—either because of their own inclinations or because of their special status — each group was treated as a distinct *djemāʿat*, living together and named after their native region. Hence in the various censuses of the city new arrivals are separately listed as *djemāʿats*, not included in the residents of *maḥalles*. Thus the immigrants from Kaffa and Karaman are *djemāʿats* in the census of 882/1477, but have been absorbed in the general Christian population by 1489/894; in that year only the immigrants from Akkerman are listed as a *djemāʿat*. In the 11th/17th century there are listed besides 292 *maḥalles*, 12 Muslim *djemāʿats*, referred to as "of Tokat, of Ankara, of Bursa", who are presumably arrivals from those places (M. Aktepe, in *İstanbul Enstitüsü Dergisi*, xi, 116-24). The *djemāʿat* is either absorbed into *maḥalles* of its co-religionists or forms a new *maḥalle* under a different name (usually that of the founder of the *maḥalle*'s mosque). This process of assimilation worked most quickly on the Muslims, and most slowly on the Jews (U. Heyd, in *Oriens*, vi, 305-14).

In the first half of the 10th/16th century the population increased considerably, mainly for economic reasons. Registers of *waḳf*s show that many merchants and craftsmen immigrated from Edirne, Bursa, Ankara, Konya, Aleppo, Damascus, Cairo and even (though they were not numerous) from Persia; but the chief increase was caused by the immigration of young men or of whole peasant families (termed *ev-göčü*) from the poorer regions of the empire who had left their holdings to work in the city. Coming from central and eastern Anatolia, and from Rūmeli (especially Albania), they worked as porters, water-carriers, boatmen, bath-attendants, hawkers and labourers. Some returned home after saving a little money, but the majority stayed on.

In the 16th century the population of Ottoman cities in general increased by 80% (Barkan, *op. cit.*, 25-31), and Istanbul probably showed a still higher percentage. The authorities began to be aware of the problem of over-population in the middle of the century (yet as late as 935/1528 the laws encouraging immigration and granting exemptions to Christian settlers were still in force; see Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 24). The reasons they found for the movement from the countryside into Istanbul were these (see A. Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1553-1591*, 145; idem, *İstanbul hayatı, 1100-1200*, 110, 131, 199; Rāshid, iv, 120; *Medjelle*, i, 355; M. Aktepe, in *TD*, ix/13, 1-30) (1) the better facilities for making a living; (2) the absence of *raʿiyyet* taxes [see ČIFT RESMI]; and (3) freedom from exposure to the illegal *tekālīf-i shāḳḳa* and other exactions levied at all periods by soldiers and officials and in later times by *aʿyān* and *derebeğis* (see İnalcik, *Adâletnâmeler*, in *Belgeler*, ii/3-4). These peasant immigrants built houses for themselves in the outlying areas of the city (chiefly Ḳāsïm Pasha and Eyyūb; see A. Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1553-91*, 140) or lodged within the city in *bekār odalarï* or *bekār khānlarï* (see above). When the provinces were suffering abnormal dearth or disorder, the extent of the movement into Istanbul seriously alarmed the authorities. During the Djelālī disturbances of 1005/1596-1019/1610 many thousands of families fled to Istanbul (40,000 (?) families of Armenians alone, see *Polanyalı Simeon'un Seyahatnâmesi*, tr. H. Andreasyan, Istanbul 1964, p. 4; most or many of these were later sent back to their homes).

Not only was life more secure in Istanbul, no-one need starve. The religious foundations naturally attracted immigrants, and thousands lived on doles of food from a hospice (the hospice of Fātiḥ alone fed a thousand people a day) or on a minute income from a *waḳf* as a *medrese* student or as a "bedesman" in a mosque or at a tomb (see Ramberti, *apud* Lybyer, 240; Barkan, in *IFM*, xxiii, 281). A foreign visitor observed that if it were not for the hospices the inhabitants would be eating one another (Dernschwam, 67). When in 1026/1617, as a result of the disturbances created by *medrese* students (*sukhte*) in Anatolia, it was decreed that *medrese* education should cease except in a few principal cities and the provincial hospices were closed (Ç. Uluçay, *Saruhanda*

eşkiyalık, 24), the students flocked to Istanbul, where they offered a fertile soil for the incitements of bigoted preachers (the number of these students ranged at different times from 5-8,000). Beggars and dervishes were always a problem: particularly in Ramaḍān thousands of them came to Istanbul to throng the streets (A. Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1553-91*, 139); and under Süleymān measures of control were taken at Alexandria and Damietta to prevent Egyptian beggars from travelling to Istanbul (Mühimme Defteri, no. 16, p. 193).

Among the floating population of the city were, for example, *ʿazeb* troops coming from the provinces to serve in the fleet, deputations from various districts come to carry out local business, to lodge complaints about their local authorities or to appeal against taxes, and bodies of workmen brought in to build ships or do construction work for the state (Barkan, in *Annales*, xvii (1962), 1098, 1105).

The authorities considered that this over-population caused three principal problems: (1) the water-supply was becoming inadequate, it was more difficult to ensure the supply of food, and the cost of living was rising (Selānikī, 3; *Medjelle*, i, 1052); (2) security was breaking down, with an increase in robbery and murder (A. Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1553-91*, 145), and frequent fires and lootings; (3) as the number of unemployed vagrants increased in Istanbul, tax revenue from the provinces declined. From time to time therefore, and especially after the crisis of a riot, a fire or a food-shortage, the authorities would take such measures as these: (1) Since unmarried labourers were the chief cause of the troubles, all those who had come to Istanbul within a prescribed period (five years, ten years) were rounded up and expelled; similarly beggars were occasionally rounded up and set to work in nearby towns (A. Refik, *op. cit.*, 145; idem, *İstanbul hayatı, 1100-1200*, 110, 131, 194, 199). Since Albanian vagrants had played a main part in the rebellion of Patrona Khalīl in 1143/1730, stringent repressive measures were taken against them (A. Refik, *1100-1200*, 110-12). In 1829, during a food-shortage, it was decided to expel unmarried men who had come to the city within the past ten years, and 4000 were removed (Luṭfī, ii, 63). (2) Anyone proposing to come to Istanbul for a court case had to receive first a certificate of permission from his local *ḳāḍī*, and deputations were not to be too numerous. (3) Check points on immigrants, particularly on the *ev-göčü*, were set up on the roads and at the entrances to the city (A. Refik, *op. cit.*, 80-105). (4) The inhabitants of a *maḥalle* were ordered to stand surety for one another (A. Refik, *op. cit.*, 145) and *imāms* were instructed to keep strangers out A. Refik, *op. cit.*, 139-40). (5) No one was admitted to a *khān* or to a *bekār odasī* unless he had a surety. (6) The construction of new "bachelors' quarters" was forbidden.

But it was all in vain, as effective control was impossible; and in later years the defeats and losses of territory in Europe brought new waves of refugees to Istanbul (see A. Refik, *1100-1200*, 80-105), the last being the great migration of 1912 during the Balkan Wars.

(b) Non-Muslims.

The non-Muslims of Istanbul were in 1001/1592 classified in six groups: Greeks (*Rūm*), Armenians, Jews, Ḳaramānlī, Franks of Ghalaṭa and Greeks of Ghalaṭa (A. Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1000-1100*, 4). Only the Orthodox and the Armenian churches and the Jewish rabbinate were officially recognized.

The only Roman Catholic group within the walls were those families brought from Kaffa in 880/1475 (numbering, with the Armenians, 267), who were granted the churches of St. Nicholas and St. Mary at Edirne Kapīsī. Over the years they dispersed or moved to Ghalaṭa, and the churches were converted to mosques, to be called Kefeli Djāmiʿi (in 1038/1629) and Odalar Djāmiʿi (in 1050/1640) respectively (Belin, *op. cit.*, 112-19). Thereafter Catholic churches were found only in Ghalaṭa, protected by the Capitulations, and "Franks" were permitted to live only in Ghalaṭa: when some of them set up in business as doctors and drapers at Baghče Kapī and on Dīvān Yolu in the early 19th century, the sultan ordered their premises to be closed (*Medjelle*, i, 649).

The areas particularly inhabited by Greeks and Armenians were the Marmara coast of the city, the Fener-Balat district, and the Rūmeli side of the Bosphorus. Non-Muslims usually formed distinct *maḥalles*, each with its own church or synagogue; Muslims were reluctant to allow non-Muslims to settle among them, finding it repugnant to have to observe their practices (see A. Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1553-1591*, 46, 48, 50, 52; *1000-1100*, 29; *1100-1200*, 10, 88).

Occasionally popular feeling among the Muslim populace whould show that it wanted Istanbul to be an exclusively Muslim city, and the sultans were obliged to re-proclaim and to enforce the various regulations and restrictions imposed on *dhimmīs* (distinctive dress: see Djewdet, vii, 277; *Medjelle*, i, 502; A. Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1593-91* 47, 51; *1000-1100*, 20, 52; *1100-1299*, 182; not to ride horses or employ slaves: idem, *1553-91*, 43, 50; demolition of churches improperly built: idem, *1553-91*, 44, 45; *1100-1200*, 81, 139; not to sell wine: idem, *900-1000*, 49). Mistrust of and hostility to non-Muslims was brought to the surface by various incidents: the question of the occupation of *mīrī* houses under Meḥemmed II (İnalcık, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 240-9), fear of an attack by a Christian fleet (in 944/1537, 979/1571, 1066/1655), Austrian and Russian attacks after 1094/1683, and the Greek revolt of 1821. Such tensions, together with fires and the building of mosques near non-Muslim *maḥalles*, encouraged non-Muslims to move away and settle in the outlying *maḥalles* along the Marmara Coast and the Golden Horn and near the walls (A. Refik, *1000-1100*, 53-4).

On the other hand, Muslims and non-Muslim tradesmen and artisans, whose activities were controlled by the same *ḥisba* regulations, worked side by side in the bazaars; protection of non-Muslims was in the financial interest of the treasury and of the state dignitaries; and above all, the authorities appreciated their obligation to observe the tolerance prescribed by Islam. The government would therefore intervene to prevent attacks on non-Muslims by *medrese*-students, *ʿadjemī-oghlanlarī* or the mob (Dernschwam, 116; Charrière, iii, 262; A. Refik, *Rāfiḍīlik*, in *Edeb. Fak. Medjm.*, ix/2, doc. 11). The non-Muslims, particularly the Armenians from Anatolia, were strongly influenced by Turkish culture. Although each community used its own language, the common language of Istanbul was Turkish, and for motives of political or social prestige non-Muslims would try to live and dress like Turks. Conversely, however, the Turkish of Istanbul and its folklore were influenced by the minorities (see W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, Oxford 1929; M. Halit Bayrı, *İstanbul Folklore*, repr. Istanbul 1972; idem, *Halk âdetleri ve inanmaları*, Istanbul 1940; R. E. Koçu, *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi, passim*).

The Greek Orthodox, the Armenians and the Jews

were regarded as separate *millet*s or *ṭā'ife*s, under the authority of the Greek patriarch, the Armenian patriach and the chief rabbi respectively, and enjoyed autonomy in their internal affairs [see MILLET; PAṬRĪK]. The Greek patriarch and the *Rūm milleti ru'esāsī* took precedence over the two other groups of dignitaries (A. Refik, *1100-1200*, 28). The three religious leaders were elected by their communities but their authority derived from their *berāt*s (which had to be obtained, by payment of a "*pīshkesh*") granted by the sultan. The community could petition the sultan to dismiss its leader (C. Orhonlu, *Telhisler*, Istanbul 1970, 161) and the leader could ask the sultan to give effect to his commands (for the Greek patriarchate, see S. Runciman, *The Great Church in captivity*, Cambridge 1968; *Rūm Patrīkliği niẓāmātī*, in *Düstūr*, i, 902-38).

Until the 12th/18th century there were some 40 Greek churches in Istanbul, only three of which had existed before the conquest (listed in Schneider, *Byzanz*, 38-49). When the question was raised how it was possible for these churches to exist in a city taken by force, the fiction of a willing surrender was accepted to legalize the situation (see İnalcık, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 233; Runciman, 153, 157, 199, 204; for the Jews, see A. Refik, *1100-1200*, 13).

The patriarchate was obliged to make itself responsible for various civil matters relating to the Greeks of the city, and its duties increased as the treasury resorted more and more to the collection of taxes from the community *en bloc* (*maḳṭū'*). The patriarchate's bureaucracy therefore became increasingly influential (for the influence of the Logothete, see A. Refik, *1100-1200*, 13).

Economically the Greeks were far better off than they had been in the last decades of the Byzantine Empire (Jorga, *Byzance après Byzance*, repr. Bucharest 1971; T. Stoianovich, *op. cit.*; *The Greek Merchant Marine, 1453-1850*, ed. S. A. Papadopoulos, Athens 1972; A. E. Vacalopoulos, *Origins of the Greek Nation*, 1970-72; İnalcık, in *Isl.*, xliii, 153-5), and were satisfied with their lot (Runciman, pp. 180, 394). They held an important share of *iltizām* state contracts, they had supplanted the Italians in maritime trade in the Black Sea and the Aegean, and they controlled a large part of the city's food trade. In Fener, the new seat of the patriarchate, there grew up a genuine Greek aristocracy of eleven families made rich by trade and by *iltizām*-contracts, who claimed descent from the great families of the Byzantine Empire; they increased their power and influence by supplying the sultans with personal physicians and commercial agents and by filling the posts of Chief Interpreter of the Dīvān and of the Fleet in the 11th/17th century; and from them later the hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia were chosen (Jorga, *op. cit.*, 226-47; J. Gottwald, *Phanariotische Studien*, in *Leipziger Vierteljahrschr: Südosteuropa*, v (1941), 1-58). In the census of 1833 the *Rūm millet* numbered 50,343 males in Greater Istanbul.

A group of Orthodox Christians deported from Ḳaraman, Turkish-speaking and ignorant of Greek (Dernschwam, 52), were under the authority of the Greek patriarch but preserved the character of a separate *djemā'at*. In the middle of the 10th/16th century they were settled near Yediḳule, but a century or more later Eremya Čelebi reported them as living at Narllkapı, inside and outside the city wall. They were skilled goldsmiths and embroiderers, and were rich (N. de Nicolay, *Navigations*. . . Anvers 1577, 239).

The Armenians first elected a patriarch, on the sultan's orders, in 1461. He made his residence the Church of Surp Kevork (Sulumanastlr; F. Babinger, *Ein Besitzstreit um Sulu Manastir* . . . , in *Festschrift für Jan Rypka*, Prague 1956, 29-37) at Samatya, where the most important Armenian community then dwelt (and where later Eremya Čelebi (p. 3) mentions over a thousand Armenian families living alongside Greeks). In the 11th/17th century the Armenians were most numerous at Kumkapl, and in 1051/1641 the seat of the patriarchate was transferred here, to the Church of Surp Asduadzadzin (H. Andreasyan, notes to Eremya Čelebi, pp. 87-90). The Armenians were concentrated particularly at Yeñikapl, Kumkapl, Balat and Topkapl. Many of the Armenian families of Ghalaṭa had been settled there since Genoese times. There were Armenians living among Jews at Beshiktash, Kuručeshme and Ortaköy (Eremya Čelebi, 43-52). In the 11th/17th century the Armenians controlled the silk trade between Persia, Turkey and Italy [see ḤARĪR, 214], and many of them made fortunes from *iltizām*-contracts and banking (Y. Çark, *Türk Devleti hizmetinde Ermeniler*, Istanbul 1953). From the early 19th century they ran the mint and came to control the state finances (see Djewdet, xi, 28: White, iii, 188, 287). Attempts by the banking families to control the patriarchate and the Armenian tradesfolk led to dissensions in the community (H. G. O. Dwight, *Christianity in Turkey*, London 1854, 131-2). Earlier, the activity of Catholic missionaries had aroused dissensions, which prompted vigorous action by the Porte after 1696/1108 (A. Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1100-1200*, 21, 32, 35, 160; Djewdet, ii, 93; xi, 8, 34); yet later a Catholic (Uniate) community was established composed particularly of the wealthier and educated Armenians: according to the census of 1826 (Luṭfī, 275) they numbered about a thousand (L. Arpee, *The Armenian awakening . . 1820-1860*, Chicago 1909). In the census of 1833 the Armenian *millet* in Greater Istanbul numbered 48,099 males.

The Jews of Istanbul, numbering 1647 households at the end of the reign of Meḥemmed II (see above), consisted of the following main groups: those that had survived the conquest; Karaites brought from Edirne and settled in the harbour area; Rabbanite and Karaite communities later brought, usually by force, from various towns of Anatolia and Rūmeli where they had been living, known as Romaniots, since Byzantine times (see Ankori, *Karaites in Byzantium*, New York 1959, 140); the *djizya* registers for the *waḳf*s of Meḥemmed II (Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tapu defteri no. 240 and no. 210) give the numbers and original homes of each. It seems that Meḥemmed II granted *amān* to the Jews living in Istanbul at the conquest (see Ankori, *op. cit.*, 59-64) and left them in their homes (for an alleged agreement, see Schneider, *in Belleten*, xvi/61, 40; Heyd, p. 305; A. Refik, *1100-1200*, 11). A *djizya*-register (Tapu defteri no. 240, 10) notes them as numbering 116 families. As a result of Rabbi Isaac Sarfati's letter urging the Jews of Europe to settle in Ottoman territory, some families migrated from Germany, Austria and Hungary (H. Graetz, *Gesch. der Juden*, Leipzig 1881, viii, 214; Heyd, 306); but the register just cited notes the *djemā'at-i Eskinas-i Alaman* as numbering only 26 families. By 894/1489 the number of Jewish households had risen to a total of 2027.

Jews settling in Istanbul were organized in *djemā'at*s, each with its own synagogue, as a spiritual and administrative unit (A. Galanté, i, 75, 99-101). In the middle of the 10th/16th century there were 40-44 synagogues and *djemā'at*s (Heyd, 303;

Dernschwam, 107-11 [42 schools, and further important details; total Jewish population, 15,035]). In 959/1552 the Marranos settled in Istanbul under the sultan's protection, and the Marrano banking family of Mendès acquired a dominating position in the state finances and in commerce with Europe (see İnalcık, *Capital formation*, *JEH*, xxix, 121-3; S. Schwarzfuchs, *Annales*, xii, 1957, 112-18). Jews from Spain and Italy brought various new techniques with them (Ramberti, 241; Villalón, 116; Dernschwam, 111).

The Romaniot, Sephardic and Karaite communities retained their separate identities until the 11th/17th century; but as a result of the changes of residence caused by the fires of 1043/1633 and 1071/1660 the communities became mixed (Heyd, 313) and finally there was only a single community; the Sephardim, being economically much the strongest, assumed responsibility first for the Ashkenazim and then for the Romaniots. Already in 990/1582 the three communities made a joint application to the sultan to open a new cemetery at Khāṣṣköy (A. Refik, 53). The Jews of Khāṣṣköy became very numerous (Evliyā Čelebi, i, 413). In 1044/1634 there were in Istanbul 1255 Jewish *ʿawāriḍ-khānesi* (Aktepe, 110) and at the end of that century 5000 Jews paying *djizya* (for their *maḥalle*s, see Heyd, 309-12).

When construction of the Vālide Djāmiʿi was begun (1006/1597), the Jews of Emīnöñü (about 100 houses, see Eremya Čelebi, p. 164) were transferred to Khāṣṣköy (Evliyā Čelebi, i, 413-4). In 1139/1727 Jews living outside the Balïk pāzārï gate near the mosque were ordered to sell their properties to Muslims and move to other Jewish *maḥalle*s (A. Refik, *1100-1200* 88-9). Khāṣṣköy became hereafter the main residential centre for the Jews of Istanbul (Galanté, 54). In the 19th century the Jews were estimated to number 39,000, in 12,000 households (White, ii, 230; official figures in 1833, 1,413 males; cf. L. A. Frankl, *Nach Jerusalem*, Leipzig 1858-60, 194-5, whose estimates are supported by the 1927 census figure of 39,199).

Individual conversions to Islam were frequent, new converts being particularly zealous to promote conversion (Villalón, 72; Dernschwam, 111). The Dīvān supplied funds (*nev-müslim akčasï*) to provide the convert with new clothes, and he was paraded on horseback through the streets. But the principle of abstaining from forced conversion was carefully observed, and the authorities appear to have taken little interest in promoting conversions. One example of a mass conversion is that of the Armenian gipsies at Topkapï (Eremya Čelebi, 23). Muslim men often married non-Muslim wives (this was regarded as commendable), and this led to much conversion. Slaves usually embraced Islam. Not only were there, as a result of the *ghulām* [*q.v.*] system, numerous slaves in the palace and in the houses of great men; anyone of any means owned one or several slaves for various domestic duties. To own slaves was a profitable investment: slaves or freedmen (*āzādlu*, *ʿatīḳ*, *muʿtaḳ*) were used also as commercial agents or as an industrial work-force, and were often hired out. The principle of *mukātaba* [*q.v.*] was common (for the treatment of slaves see esp. Villalón, 56 f.; Dernschwam, 111, 121, 129, 140-2, 161).

(c) The *ʿaskerī* class.

Since they paid no taxes, the personnel of the palace and the *ḳapï-ḳulu* troops do not figure in the various registers providing statistics for the population of Istanbul; but in numbers and in view of their duties, they played an important part in the life of the city.

Date	Palace personnel	Ḳapï Ḳulu troops	Fleet and arsenal	Total
880/1475(1)	12,800		?	12,800
920/1514(2)	3,742	16,643	?	20,385
933/1526(3)	11,457	12,689	?	24,146
1018/1609(4)	12.971	77,523	2,364	92,858
1080/1669(5)	c. 19 000	c. 80,000	1,003	c. 100,000

(Sources: (1) Iacopo de Promontorio-de Campis, ed. Babinger, Munich 1957, 48; (2) Barkan, *IFM*, xv, 312; (3) Barkan, *IFM*, xv, 300; (4) ʿAynī ʿAlī, *Risāle*, Istanbul 1280, 82-98; (5) Barkan, *IFM* xvii, 216, 227).

The above figures show that the number of *ḳapï-ḳulu* increased in the century after 920/1514 by about five times: this increase was mainly in the members of the Janissaries, and occurred particularly between 1001/1593 and 1015/1606 with the demand for infantrymen (see *CH Isl.*, i, 344-50); only 15,000 Janissaries took part in the campaign of 1006/1597, but there were 37,000 Janissaries by 1018/1609. Some of the Janissaries lived in Istanbul, some were stationed in provincial towns and on the frontiers, of 49,500 Janissaries, 20,468 were in Istanbul in 1076/1665 and 37,094 in 1080/1669 (*IFM*, xvii, 216). The Köprülüs attempted to reduce their number, so that in 1083/1672 the Janissaries numbered only 18,150 and the total *ḳapï-ḳulu* force only 34,825 (Silāḥdār, i, 499, 580). In the 12th/18th century, the Janissaries numbered 40,000, but it was estimated that throughout the empire 160,000 men were, or claimed to be, Janissaries (the distinction must be borne in mind, for many individuals who entered the corps to obtain its privileges were not effective troops). Conversely, as early as the reign of Meḥemmed II some Janissaries had been absorbed in the general population as tradesmen and artisans, and the numbers of these increased, for with depreciation a Janissary's daily pay, never more than eight *akče*s, became practically worthless, so that more and more of them became *eṣnāf*. At the end of the 10th/16th century the authorities had great difficulty in mobilizing these "trading" Janissaries for service (Selānikī, *passim*; Orhonlu, *Telhisler*, docs. 15, 19). In the 11th/17th century we encounter in Istanbul (as elsewhere) many individuals called "Janissary" (*rādjil*, *beshe*) or "*sipāhī*" (*djündī*) who are in fact very wealthy and influential. The penetration of Janissaries and other *ḳapï-ḳulu* into the economic life of the city was to have important effects, especially since they regarded themselves as outside the *ḥisba* jurisdiction.

Janissaries were widely used to supply the "police" forces of the city, with the duties of maintaining order and of providing guards in the markets, at the quays and in other public places, and this authority enabled them to impose various illegal exactions and even sometimes attempt to corner a commodity; the lives and property of non-Muslims were in effect at their mercy. During the ever more frequent Janissary mutinies after 1600 the city was in complete anarchy with the populace terrified, the shops shut, and the ever-present fear of fires and looting (see Hammer-Purgstall, x, index s.v. *Janitscharen-Aufruhr*). With so many nominal Janissaries engaged in trade, some of these disturbances may be regarded as popular risings against the state authorities (see Porter, *Observations*, p. xxviii).

The *ʿadjemi-oghlanlarï* [*q.v.*] also had a significant place in Istanbul social life. Those in the Istanbul barracks numbered at first 3000 (Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu ocakları*, i, 79), 7000 in 1555 (Dernschwam, 65).

They were an important labour force, employed in public works (Barkan, *L'organisation du travail* ..., *Annales*, xvii, 1094; A. Refik, in *Edeb. Fak. Medjm.*, v/1, 6-10, 12) and in the sultan's gardens (Dernschwam, 64-5). Their daily pay was very small (1/2-2 *akča* in 1555). Since they enjoyed the immunities of the sultan's slaves, they were a turbulent element in the population, over-bearing and always ready to make trouble.

Practically the whole palace and *ḳapîḳulu* establishment accompanied the sultan on campaign. At such a time, the life of the markets was completely disorganized: prices rose, commodities were cornered and shortages appeared (Selānikī, Ms.). Janissaries engaged in trade were obliged to close their businesses; a proportion of the members of various guilds were conscripted to accompany the army as *ordudju* (*Medjelle*, i, 619-36); so that a fair proportion of the townsfolk too left the city. This, of course, occurred practically every year until the reign of Selīm II; and the consequent disruption was one of the reasons why the statesmen became reluctant that the sultan should campaign in person (cf., for 1570, Hill, iii, 892; for 1596, Selānikī, Ms.).

(d) Epidemics.

Just as fires repeatedly destroyed habitations, so too great numbers of the inhabitants were frequently carried off by epidemics —of plague, cholera and smallpox. In the plague of 871/1466, 600 people died each day, and many fled the city for good: "the City was emptied of its inhabitants" (Critoboulos, tr. Riggs, 220-2), and four years later plague again put a halt to trade (W. Heyd, *Hist. du commerce du Levant*, ii, 341). Later serious epidemics occurred in 917/1511, 932/1526, 969/1561, 992/1584, 994/1586 (see *The Fugger Newsletters*, ed. V. von Klarwill, London 1928, 104), 998/1590, 1000/1592 (Selānikī, MS.), 1008/1599, 1034/1625, 1047/1637, 1058/1648 (Chalkokondyles, *Histoire de la décadence* ... tr. B. de Vigenère, Rouen 1660, 1013), 1063/1653, 1084/1673 (Galland, ii, 178), 1179/1765 (H. Grenville, *Observations*, ed. S. Ehrenkreutz, Ann Arbor 1965, 72, 74, 106), 1207/1792 (Djewdet, x, 94), 1812 (Andréossy, 178-84), 1837 (*Memoire of Mrs. Elisabeth S. Dwight*..., New York 1840), 1845-7 (M. P. Verrolet, *Du Choléra-morbus en 1845, 1846* et *1847*, Constantinople 1848), and 1865 (H. Leach, *Brief notes*..., London 1866). These outbreaks lasted for months and sometimes, becoming endemic, for years, giving rise to thousands of deaths: 1000 a day in 1592 and 1648, 3000 a day in 1792. The total deaths in the 1812 outbreak are recorded as 150,000 (Andréossy, 180)—and in another account (*Lettres écrites des missions étrangères*, Lyon 1819, p. 2) even 200-300,000. In 1837, according to von Moltke (letter 26) a twentieth of the population (25,000 people) perished. The principle of quarantine was adopted in 1838 (with a *Karantina Nāẓirlîghî* set up in 1839), but with little effect (S. Ünver, *Osmanlı tababeti ve Tanzimat*, in *Tanzimat*, i, 947-50; B. Şehsüvaroğlu, *Türkiye Karantine tarihine bir bakış*, Istanbul 1958). The plague helped in the decline of Istanbul's commerce, English quarantine regulations having the effect of diverting an important proportion of its trade to Leghorn in the 18th century (Porter; Grenville, p. 64).

(e) Population.

The most reliable sources for estimates of the city's total population at different periods are certainly the various Ottoman registers, but even these, being compiled for taxation purposes, do not cover all the inhabitants (women and children, the *ʿaskerī* class, students and others exempt from taxes do not appear), and the unit they employ is often the *khāne*, "household"; the *djizya* registers list only the adult males, and the *ʿawāriḍ* taxes are levied on the basis of another, fictitious, "*khāne*" comprising several households [see ʿAWĀRIḌ]. Nineteenth-century figures (see below) indicate that a household rarely numbered more than 3-4 persons on average (in Byzantine times, 2.6-5.2, see Jacoby, p. 102), and this figure is probably valid for earlier times, in a city where many of the inhabitants lived in miserable conditions of nutrition and hygiene, where the average expectation of life was only 25 years, and where unmarried men were so numerous (45,000 in 1856: workmen and *medrese*-students).

In the present state of research, the figures below must be taken as the basis for comparison.

Thus the 1477 population (Ghalaṭa included) of 16,326 *khānes* had increased nearly five times by about 1535. In about 1550 C. de Villalón (*Viaje de Turquia*, p. 306) estimated the population of Istanbul and its environs at about 120,000 households, which would represent an increase of 50% over 15 years. In fact Barkan (*JESHO*, i/I, p. 28) has shown that there was an increase of over 80% in Ottoman cities generally in the 10th/16th century. Modern authors estimate the total population in the 16th century at about

Year	Unit	Muslims	Christians	Jews	Total
882/1477(1)	*khāne*	9,517	5,162	1,647	16,326
894/1489(2)	*khāne*	[ ]	5,462	2,491	
c. 942/1535(3)	*khāne*	46,635	25,295	8,070	80,000
1044/1634	*ʿawāriḍ khānesi*	1,525	[ ]	1,255	
1102/1690(4)	*khāne*	[ ]	14,231	9,642	
1102/1690(5)	poll-tax payers	[ ]	45,112	8,236	
1242/1826(6)	males	45,000	50,000	[ ]	
1245/1829(7)	individuals	—	—	—	359,890
1249/1833(8)	males	73,496	102,649	11,413	
1273/1856	*khāne*	29,383	19,015 (Christians and Jews)		
1273/1856	individuals	73,093	62,383 (Christians and Jews)		
1918(9)	individuals	—	—	—	700,000
1927(10)	individuals	447,851	243,060		690,911

(Notes: (1) See above, p. 238; (2) Barkan, Belgeler, i, 39; 447 mixed Jewish and Christian *khānes* are included in the total for Christians; (3) Barkan's estimate in *JESHO*, i/I, 20; (4) Topkapı Sarayı Archives no. 4007, suburbs included; (5) Mantran, *Istanbul*, 46-7: a further 14,653 persons are exempt; Mantran estimates 62,000 *khāne* in all; (6) Luṭfī, i, 279; (7) Luṭfī, ii, 62; (8) Topkapı Sarayı Archives no. 750; (9) *Istanbul rehberi*, 1934, 163, foreigners excluded; (10) the first census).

700,000 (Lybyer, *Constantinople as capital*..., see Bibliography., 377; Braudel, *Méditerranée*, 272 Mantran's estimate for the next century (*Istanbul*, 44-7) is 650-750,000, or 700-800,000 with the suburbs included. Other estimates tend to bear out these figures: Sanderson, 1,231,000; G. Moro (Alberi, ser. 3, iii, 334), 800,000 (but the bailo Garzoni (Alberi, 389) says only "piu di trecento mila persone").

However, these figures for Ottoman Istanbul *intra muros* seem to be exaggerated. The population of Istanbul and Ghalaṭa together never exceeded 400,000 in the Byzantine period (see Jacoby, in *Byzantion*, xxxi (1961), 82-109). The reliable figures of the last fifty years are:

1927	245,000
1940	272,000
1950	350,000
1960	433,000
1965	482,000

and it is difficult to accept that the total for pre-19th-century Istanbul was higher than these (given that most houses consisted of a single storey, and there were such wide areas of garden and open space; building upwards, with several storeys, began slowly after the Crimean War). The 1927 figures (covering 17.2 km.²) give a density of 145 persons per hectare (the pre-15th century density for European cities being under 200, see Jacoby, 105). Garzoni's estimate of over 300,000 for 1573 and the 1829 count of 360,000 seem more probable. (Other estimates for Istanbul *intra muros*: J. E. Dekay (1833): 250,000; Hoffman: 380,000; Visquenel (1848): 321,000; Verrolot (1848): 360,000; for all these see V. Michoff, *La population*..., i-iv). The relative proportions for the population of Istanbul *intra* and *extra muros* can be seen approximately from these figures for bakeries:

	1083/1672	1169/1755	1182/1768
Istanbul	84	141	297
Ghalaṭa	25	61	116
Usküdār	14	22	65
Eyyūb	11	7	28

and for chandlers' premises (1083/1672):

Istanbul	24	
Ghalaṭa	5	
Usküdār	4	
Eyyūb	9	(high, in view of the slaughter-houses at Yediḳule).

Of imported groceries, in 1018/1609 three-fifths went to Istanbul and only two-fifths to the three "townships", who consequently complained (see A. Refik, *1000-1100*, doc. 74) One eighth of imported fruit went to Ghalaṭa at the end of the 9th/15th century (*iḥtisāb* regulation in *TV*, i/5, 339). Although the population increase was greater in Ghalaṭa in the 17th and 18th centuries, and Topkhāne, Beyoghlu and Ḳāsim Pasha expanded greatly, yet up to about 1840 "Istanbul" meant Istanbul *intra muros*.

Until 1945, the distribution of population between Istanbul *intra muros* and "Greater" Istanbul was similar to the 19th-century distribution. Since that date there has been some redistribution, as is shown by these figures:

Year	Population of Turkey	Istanbul *intra muros*	"Greater" Istanbul (including Beyoğlu, Beşiktaş, Şişli, Kadıköy and Eyüp
1927	13,648,000	245,982	694,292
1940	17,821,000	266,272	841,611
1950	20,947,000	349,909	1,035,202
1960	27,755,000	433,629	1,466,435
1965	31,391,000	482,451	1,541,695

While therefore the increase in the population of Greater Istanbul is proportional to that in the whole country, the increase for Istanbul *intra muros* is relatively less.

Bibliography: A. Ottoman Documents. (i) Documents relating to *waḳfs*. 1. *Waḳfiyyas*. Published: facsimile of the original *waḳfiyya* for Eyyūb, dated 861/1457, in *Fâtih Mehmed II vakfiyeleri*, publ. by Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü, Ankara 1938, 336-40; for Kalenderkhāne (Church of Akataleptos), in *Zwei Stiftungsurkunden des Sultans Mehmet II. Fatih*, ed. T. Öz, Istanbul 1935, 1*-15*. Individual *waḳfiyyas* such as these were all combined in a single *waḳfiyya* after the completion of the mosque and complex of Meḥemmed II. The oldest copy of this, in Arabic, originally preserved in the *türbe* of Meḥemmed II, is now in the Türk-İslâm Eserleri Müzesi (old no. 1872, new no. 667); it belongs to 877/1472 or 878/1473, and has been published in (poor) facsimile in O. N. Ergin, *Fâtih İmareti vakfiyesi*, Istanbul 1945, 1-68. Later in the reign a new comprehensive *waḳfiyya* was drawn up, and an official copy (*tughra* of Bāyezīd II) has survived; facsimile in *Zwei Stiftungsurkunden*..., pp. 1-149. In the mid 10th/16th century (see Ergin, *op. cit.*, 29-34) this *waḳfiyya* was translated into Turkish (with some rearrangement and stylistic expansion), facsimile in *Fâtih Mehmet II vakfiyeleri*, 14-198.—Süleymān I (facsimile): K. E. Kürkçüoğlu, *Süleymaniye vakfiyesi*, Ankara 1962.—Published in *Vakıflar Dergisi*: Kara Aḥmed Pasha, in i, 83-168 (Ş. Yaltkaya); Kaymak Muṣṭafā Pasha, in viii, 15-35 (M. Aktepe).—Most of the *waḳfiyyas* relating to Istanbul which are preserved in the archives of the Vakıflar Umum Müdürlüğü at Ankara are accessible in register copies in the *Istanbul* series.

2. Registers of inspection (*teftīsh*) and rents (*djibāyet*). These registers, drawn up to record the income of *waḳfs* and to be used by rent-collectors (*djābī*), are of great importance as detailing the properties that supported a *waḳf*. The oldest known is the *Djibāyet* register for Ayasofya of 895/1489 (Başvekâlet Arşivi, Maliyeden müdevver no. 19, 56 ff., Arabic; some of the leaves out of order; drawn up by the *ḳāḍī* Yūsuf b. Khalīl); a similar register had existed, drawn up in 874/1469. A similar detailed register was drawn up by Meḥmed b. ʿAlī al-Fenārī, *ḳāḍī* of Edirne, in 926/1519 (Belediye Libr., Ms Cevdet O 64, 444 ff.). Registers for all the *waḳfs* of Meḥemmed II in Istanbul: Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tapu defteri no. 210 (947/1540) and no. 240 (952/1545).

Other similar registers refer to the *waḳfs* of ordinary citizens. The most important of these (Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tapu defteri no. 251) has been published: *İstanbul vakıfları Tahrir defteri, 953 (1546) tarihli*, ed. Ö. L. Barkan and E. H. Ayverdi, Istanbul 1970. Two similar, unpublished, registers are: Başvekâlet Arşivi, Tapu defteri 670, drawn up by Ḥasan b. Yūsuf between 986/1578 and 988/1580, and Tapu ve Kadastro Umum Müdürlüğü, Ankara, Eski Kayıtlar nos. 542 and 543, drawn up after 1005/1596.

Registers of annual accounts also survive. The summary balances (*idjmāl*) for the mosques of Fātiḥ and Ayasofya for the years 894/1489-896/1491 have been published by Ö. L. Barkan (*İFM*, xxiii (1962-3), 342-79); see also, idem, *Süleymâniye Camii ve imareti tesislerine ait yıllık bir muhasebe bilânçosu, 993/994*, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, ix, 109-62.

(ii) Documents relating to *ḥisba* (*iḥtisāb*). These

are of three main types: 1. regulations, lists of fixed prices; 2. registers of *rüsūm-i iḥtisābiyye*; 3. registers of guildsmen made for various purposes. 1. Regulations dated 907/1501, published by Ö. L. Barkan in *Tarih Vesikaları*, i/5 (1942), 329-40; Fr. tr. by R. Mantran, in *Les Cahiers de Tunisie*, no. 14 (1956), 213-41. Very similar provisions are found in later codes (Âtif Ef. Libr. Ms. 1734; Bayezid Libr., Ms Veliyüddin 1070; University Libr., Ms. T. 734; Sarajevo, Orientalni Institut, Ms. 1054). Firmans relating to *iḥtisāb* are preserved in records of daily business (see (*iii*) below) and price regulations (*narkh*) in *ḳāḍīs*' registers; for examples of the latter, see O. Nūrī Ergin, *Medjelle-i Umūr-i Belediyye*, Istanbul 1922. 2. These registers list the tradespeople of Istanbul in 15 sectors, giving for each the location of his business, his trade, the owner's name and the amount of tax payable. They give similar information regarding the ships importing provisions are found in later codes (Âtif Ef. Libr., det B 2 (of 1092/1681), B 10 and B 23; Başvekâlet Arşivi, Maliyeden müdevver nos. 514 and 526. Partial publication of such a document by R. Mantran, in *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, Damascus 1957, iii, 127-49; see also Nihat Gôl, *1763 tarihli esnaf tahrir defterine göre...*, Istanbul University, Edebiyat Fakültesi, tez 1971. 3. Register of the watermen (*kayïkčī*): Belediye Libr., Ms. Cevdet B 8; of the bakers: Topkapı Arşivi, D 9580.

(iii) Numerous documents relating to Istanbul are to be found dispersed in various collections in the Ottoman archives. As examples only, the following may be cited: 1. Mühimme Defteri. Many documents in this series have been published by Ahmed Refik [Altınay], in the series *Hidjri Onundju aşırda Istanbul ḥayātı*, 961-1000, Istanbul 1333 (2nd ed., Istanbul 1935); ... *1100-1200*, Istanbul 1931; ... *1100-1200*, Istanbul 1930; ... *1200-1255*, Istanbul 1932. Many documents from the Mühimme registers are given in Ergin's *Medjelle*, i.

2. *Maliye ahkâm defterleri*. Nos. 2775 and 9824 in the *Maliyeden müdevver* series are especially important for Istanbul.

3. *Ḳuyūd-i aḥkām al-shikāyāt* series. Registers relating to Istanbul start from 1155/1742. Much information on the tradespeople.

4. Registers of the *ḳāḍīs*. Most of the registers of the *ḳāḍīs* of Istanbul, Ghalaṭa and Üsküdār are lost, but some important examples survive in the archives of the Istanbul Müftülüğü and of Topkapı Sarayı. Some docs. published by Ergin, in *Medjelle*, i.

5. *Muḳāṭaʿa* registers (recording the income of the State Treasury). For an important example from the reign of Meḥemmed II, see *JESHO*, iii (1960), 132. Customs registers: Başvekâlet Arşivi, Maliye no. 312 (of 992/1585), no. 5227 (of 1098/1687), no. 3129 (of 1102/1690), no. 918 (of 1108/1696), no. 6164 (of 1138/1725); no. 2996 (of 1206/1791); also Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi nos. 4241-4368, 5207-66.

6. The *Muḥāsebe idjmāl defterleri* (the oldest is Belediye Libr., Ms. Cevdet O 91) record the expenses for official institutions in Istanbul.

7. The affairs of Istanbul fell within the purview of the Shïḳḳ-ï Sānī Defterdārı, so that documents emanating from his various offices, especially the *Istanbul muḳāṭaʿasï ḳalemi*, are of importance.

8. The most important assemblage of individual documents is that made by Cevdet, under the heads Belediye, İktisat, Sıhhiyye, Saray, Zaptiye and Maarif (see M. Sertoğlu, *Muhteva bakımından Başvekâlet Arşivi*, Istanbul 1955, p. 71).

Further sources for the later history of Istanbul are the official yearbooks (*sālnāme*) and various publications of the municipal authorities (*Belediyye*), *e.g.*, *Salnāme* series, 1847-1918 (see *İA*, art. Salnâme); *Istanbul Belediyyesi iḥṣāʾiyyāt medjmūʿasï*, 1328-1335; *I. B. Medjmūʿasï*, 1930-7; *İstanbul Şehri istatistik yıllığı*, 1930-3; *Belediye yıllığı*, Ankara 1949 (pp. 341-69 relating to Istanbul).

B. Ottoman narrative and descriptive sources. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Makkī, ed. E. Kâmil, in *Tarih Semineri Dergisi*, i-ii (1937), 5; Evliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, i, Istanbul 1314 (Eng. tr., J. von Hammer, *Narrative of travels...*, London 1846); A. S. Levend, *Türk edebiyatında şehrengizler ve şehrengizlerde İstanbul*, Istanbul 1958; Laṭīfī [*q.v.*], *Evṣāf-i Istanbul*; Yaḥyā, *Shehrengiz-i Istanbul*, see *TDED*, xvii (1969), 73-108; H. Wurm, *Der osmanische Historiker Huseyn b. Ǧaʿfer*, Freiburg 1971; Âsaf Hâlet Çelebi, *Divan siirinde İstanbul*, Istanbul 1953; *Hey'et-i sābiḳa-i Ḳosṭanṭiniyye*, Istanbul University Libr., Ms. Yıldız 612.

— C. General works. — K. M. Bazili, *Očerki Konstantinoplia*, St. Petersburg 1835, E. A. Grosvenor, *Constantinople* 2 vols., London 1895; E. Oberhummer, *Constantinopolis*, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyc. des Class. Altertums*, vii (Stuttgart 1900), 963-1013 (important); W. Kubitschek, *Byzantion*, in Pauly-Wissowa, v, 1115-58; Djelal Essad, *Constantinople, de Byzance à Stamboul*, Paris 1909; Robert Mayer, *Byzantion, Konstantinupolis, Istanbul, eine genetische Stadtgeographie* (important); Akad. der Wis. in Wien, phil.-hist. Kl., Denkschriften 71 Bd., 3 Abhandlung, Vienna and Leipzig 1942 (Bibliography 267-90); A. H. Lybyer, *Constantinople as capital of the Ottoman Empire*, in *Annual Report of the American Hist. Assoc.*, 1916; B. Lewis, *Istanbul and the civilization of the Ottoman Empire*, Norman, Oklahoma, 1963, ²1972; R. Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVII siècle*, Paris 1962 (Bibliography 639-90); idem, *La vie quotidienne à Constantinople*, Paris 1965; N. Iorga, *Byzance après Byzance*, new ed. Bucharest 1971; Besim Darkot, *İstanbul Coğrafyası*, Istanbul 1938; A. S. Soyar, *Istanbul, Geschichte und Entwicklung der Stadt*, in *Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Kurt Albrecht*, ed. K. Bachteler, Ludwigsburg 1967; J. Jastrow, *Die Weltstellung Konstantinopels in ihrer historischen Entwicklung*, in *Orientbücherei*, Heft 4, 1915; Muhlis Ethem, *Der Hafen von Stambul und seine Organization*, Leipzig 1929; E. Oberhummer, *Aufgaben der Stadtgeographie von Istanbul*, in *Festschrift A. Ischirkoff*, Sofia 1933; R. Busch-Zantner, *Zur Kenntnis der osmanischen Stadt*, in *Geographische Zeitschrift*, No. 38, 1932, 1-13; Doğan Kuban, *Istanbul'un tarihî yapısı*, in *Mimarlık*, 70/5, 1970; Meḥmed Ẓiyā, *İstanbul ve Boghaziçi*, 2 vols., Istanbul 1336; Meḥmed Rāʾif, *Mirʾāt-i Istanbul*, Istanbul 1314 (unpublished second volume in Turkish Hist. Soc., Ankara, especially important for inscriptions); O. N. Ergin, *İstanbul'da imar ve iskân hareketleri*, Istanbul 1938; idem, *Medjelle-i umūr-i Belediyye*, Istanbul 1922; idem, *Cumhuriyet ve Istanbul Mahallî İdaresi*, Istanbul 1938; idem, *Türk şehirlerinde imâret sistemi*, Istanbul 1939; idem, *Türkiye'de şehirciliğin tarihî inkişafı*, Istanbul 1936; Refik Ahmed [Sevengil], *Istanbul nasıl eğleniyordu?*, Istanbul

1927; Musâhipzâde Celâl, *Eski Istanbul yaşayışı*, Istanbul 1946; A. M. Schneider, *Die Bevölkerung Konstantinopels in XV. Jahrh.*, in *Nachr. Akad. d. W. Göttingen, Ph.-H. Kl. 1949*; E. H. Ayverdi, *Istanbul Mahalleleri: Şehrin Iskânı ve Nüfusu*, Ankara 1958.

— D. Byzantine Period: *topography and monuments*. F. W. Unger, *Quellen der byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte*, Vienna 1878; A. D. Mordtmann, *Esquisse topographique de Constantinople*, Lille 1892; A. van Millingen, *Byzantine Const., the walls of the city and adjoining historical sites*, London 1899; A. M. Schneider, *Mauern und Tore am Goldenen Horn*, Göttingen 1950; idem, *Regionen und Quartiere in C.*, in *Kleinasien und Byzanz*, Ist. Forsch., Bd. xvii, 149-58; idem, *Byzanz, Vorarbeiten zur Topographie und Archäologie der Stadt*, Berlin 1936; idem, *Konstantinopel*, Mainz 1956; idem, *Brände in Konstantinopel*, in *BZ*, xli (1941), 382-403; idem, *Die Blachernen*, in *Oriens*, iv (1951), 180 ff.; R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine, développement urbain et répertoire topographique*, Paris 1950; idem, *Du Forum Bovis au Forum Tauri, étude topographique*, in *Rev. des Ét. Byz.*, iii (1955), 85-108; idem, *La géographie ecclesiastique de l'empire byzantin*, Part 1, *Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat occuménique*, Paris 1969; C. Dietrich, *Die Byz. Stadt im 6. Jahrh.*, Munich 1964; S. Eyice, *Son devir Bizans mimarisi*, Istanbul 1963; F. Dirimtekin, *Fetihten önce Halic surları*, Istanbul 1956; M. Ẓiyā, *Kariye Djāmiʿ-i Sherīfi*, Istanbul 1326 H.; A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, 3 vols., New York 1966; R. Guilland, *Études sur l'Hippodrome de Byzance*, in *Byzantinoslavica*, xxi-1 (1958), 26-72, xxiii-2 (1962), 203-29; idem, *Les hippodromes de Byzance*, in *Byzantinoslavica*, xxxii-1, 30-34; L. de Beylié, *L'Habitation byzantine, Supplément*, Grenoble-Paris 1903; E. Fenster, *Die Stellung Konstantinopels im Denken der Byzantiner*, Dissertation, 1968, Inst. für Byz. und Neugriech.; V. Hrochova, *Buzantska Města ve 13-15 Stoleti*, Univ. Karlova, Prague 1967.

— E. Ottoman Period: *topography and monuments*. Ḥuseyn Ayvānsarāyī, *Ḥadīḳat al-djawāmiʿ*, Istanbul 1281; Tahsin Öz, *Istanbul Câmileri*, 2 vols., Ankara 1962-5; A. Gabriel, *Les mosquées de Constantinople*, in *Syria*, vii (1926), 353-419; H. Edhem (Eldem), *Nos mosquées de Stamboul*, Istanbul 1934; idem, *Yedi-kule Hisarı*, Istanbul 1932; S. Eyice, *Istanbul'da Yayla Camileri*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, x, 31-42; idem, *Atik Ali Paşa Camii...*, *ibid.*, xiv, 99-114; *Zâviyeler ve Zâviyeli Câmiler*, in *İst. Üniv. İktisat Fak. Mecmuası*, xxiii (1962-3), 1-80; idem, *Istanbul Minareleri*, in *Türk Tarihi Araştırma ve Incelemeleri*, i, 1963, 31-132; Nīshli ʿOsmān Beg, *Medjmūʿa-i djawāmiʿ*, Istanbul 1304; E. H. Ayverdi, *Fâtih Devri Mimarisi*, Istanbul 1953; Edhem Pacha, *L'architecture ottomane*, Constantinople 1873; C. Gurlitt, *Die Baukunst Konstantinopels*, 2 vols., Berlin 1908-12; H. Glück, *Die Kunst der Osmanen*, Leipzig 1922; Ali Saim Ülgen, *Istanbul ve Eski Eserleri*, Istanbul 1933; idem, *Fatih devrinde Istanbul*, Ankara 1939; H. Glück, *Die Baeder Konstantinopels*, Vienna 1921; H. Högg, *Türkenburgen an Bosporos und Hellespont*, Dresden 1932; A. Gabriel, *Chateaux turcs du Bosphore*, Paris 1943; A. Münīb, *Medjmūʿa-i Tekāyā*, Istanbul 1307; K. O. Dalman and Paul Wittek, *Der Valens Aquädukt in Konstantinopel*, Ist. Forschungen Bd. 3, Bamberg 1933; I. H. Konyalı, *Istanbul Âbideleri*, Istanbul 1941; idem, *Mimar Koca Sinan'ın Eserleri*, Istanbul 1950; idem, *Istanbul Sarayları*, Istanbul 1942; E. Egli, *Sinan der Baumeister osmanischer Glanzzeit*, Zürich 1954; R. M. Meriç, *Mimar Sinan'ın Hayatı ve Eserleri*, Ankara 1965; U. Vogt-Göknil, *Living Architecture: Ottoman*, London 1966; S. Ünver, *Fâtih Külliyesi ve zamanı ilim hayatı*, Istanbul 1946; S. Eyice, *Istanbul'da mahalle ve semt adları hakkında bir deneme*, in *Türkiyat Mec.*, xiv; idem, *Elçi Hanı*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, no. 24, 93-130; H. İnalcık, *The Policy of Mehmed II towards the Greek population of Istanbul and the Byzantine buildings of the city*, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, no. xxiii-xxiv, 231-49; I. H. Tanışık, *İstanbul Çeşmeleri*, 2 vols., Istanbul 1943-5; I. Kumbaracılar, *İstanbul Sebilleri*, Istanbul 1938; M. Erdoğan, *İstanbul Baruthaneleri*, in *İstanbul Enstitüsü Dergisi*, ii, 115-38; W. Beneschewitsh, *Die türkischen Namen der Tore von Konstantinopel*, in *Byz. Zeitschrift*, xxiii (1914-19); S. N. Nirven, *Istanbul Suları*, Istanbul 1946; Aygen Bilge, *Fatih zamanında Topkapı Sarayı*, in *Türk Sanatı Tarihi Araştırma ve İncelemeleri*, ii (1969), 214-22; Sadi Abaç, *Kasımpaşanın Tarihçesi*, Istanbul 1935; C. Orhonlu, *Fındıklı Semtinin Tarihi Hakkında bir Araştırma*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, viii, no. 11-12, 51-70; Fethi Isfendiyaroğlu, *Galatasaray Tarihi*, Istanbul 1952; Meḥmed Esʿad, *Mirʾāt-i Mekteb-i Ḥarbiyye*, Istanbul 1310; F. Akozan, *Türk Han ve Kervansarayları*, in *Türk Sanatı Araştırma ve İncelemeleri*, i (1963), 133-7; G. Özdes, *Türk Carşıları*, Istanbul 1952; M. Erdogan, *Osmanlı Devrinde İstanbul Bahçeleri*, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, iv (1958), 149-82; S. Ünver, *Türkiye'de kahve ve kahvehâneler*, in *Türk Etnografya Dergisi*, v (1962), 39-84; O. Bolak, *Hastahanelerimiz*, Istanbul 1950; ʿO. N. Ergin, *İstanbul müʾessesāt-i khayriyye-i ṣiḥḥiyyesi*, Istanbul 1912; Zihni Bilge, *İstanbul Rıhtımlarının Tarihçesi*, Istanbul 1949; S. Nüzhet Ergun, *İstanbul meşâhîrine ait Mezar kitabeleri*, Istanbul 1932; the Türk Tarih Kurumu Library at Ankara has an unpublished collection of texts of the Ottoman inscriptions of Istanbul.

— F. Maps and Plans: albums of views; guides to the city: *Istanbul harita ve planlar sergisi*, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Yayınları, no. 11, Istanbul 1961; E. Oberhummer, *Constantinopolis*, Pauly-Wissowa, vii, 1013; a list of plans of Istanbul in the Bibl. Nationale, Paris, in Ali Saim Ülgen, *Fatih Devrinde Istanbul*, p. 45; *Ansichten und Pläne von Konst.*, in Mayer, *Byzantion, Konstantinopolis, Istanbul*, pp. 387-9; Caedicius (A. Mordtmann), *Ancien plan de Constantinople imprimé entre 1566 et 1574*, Constantinople 1889; for the plan issued by Zuan Andrea Vavassore (Valvassore), see Oberhummer, *Konstantinopel unter Sultan Suleyman*, Munich 1902, 21, and F. Babinger, *Drei Stadtansichten*, Vienna 1959, 5; on the oldest plan, by J. B. Homann, see Oberhummer, *Constantinupolis*, in Pauly-Wissowa, 1011; for F. Kauffer's plan of 1776, see Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage pittoresque ...*, ii, 115, and J.-B. Lechevalier, *Voyage* (plan); for the plans of H. von Moltke and C. Stolpe, see Mayer, 388; Oberhummer, 1012; for the plan of Istanbul by Nasūḥ al-Matraḳī (in Istanbul University Library, Ms. T 5964), see A. Gabriel, *Les étapes d'une campagne dans les deux Iraks (1537-1538)*, in *Syria*, ix (1928), 328-49; the plan of Istanbul in the *Hünernâme* (Ms. Hazine 1523) of about 988/1580 is reproduced in colour in *Hünernname minyatürleri ve sanatçıları*, Istanbul 1969, 37; 18th century plan in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihānnümā*, ed. Ibrāhīm

Müteferriḳa, Istanbul 1145; for the plan of Istanbul in some Mss. of Pīrī Reʾīs's *Kitāb-i Baḥriyye*, see Oberhummer, *Suleiman*, Tafel xxii.

Plans of the aqueduct and water-installations are found in: Chester Beatty Library Ms. 414 (*Süleymānnāme*), fols. 22b-23a; Topkapı Sarayı Library, Mss. Hazine 1016, 1815 and 1816; K. O. Dalman, *Der Valens-Aquädukt*, Tafel 15-17; Fatih Library, Ms. Ali Emîrî 1282. See also S. Önver, *Fâtih'in oğlu Bâyezid'in su-yolu haritası dolayısile 140 sene önce Istanbul*, İstanbul 1945.

Maps of Istanbul (and the Bosphorus): Istanbul University Library Nos. 92760-1 (1:2000, of 1261/1845); Library of the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul, 3031/23/7 (of 1312/1896); E. H. Ayverdi (ed.), *19 asırda İstanbul haritası*, Istanbul 1958 (1:2000, *ca.* 1293/1876; important). For official maps see *Harita ve plânlar sergisi*, Nos. 51-7. Further: *Plan général de Constantinople*, Istanbul 1922 (1:10,000); *İstanbul Belediye hududu*, Istanbul 1931 (1:50,000); *İstanbul şehir rehberi*, Istanbul 1931 (1:6000; important); *Istanbul plânı*, Harita Genel Müdürlüğü, 1947 (1:15,000).

Views etc.; *İstanbul manzaraları sergisi*, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi yayınları No. 9, Istanbul 1959; A. D. Mordtmann, *Historische Bilder vom Bosporos*, Constantinople 1907; A. Poppe, *Les peintres du Bosphore au dix-huitième siècle*, Paris 1911; G. Gerola, *Le vedute di Constantinopoli di Cristoforo Buondelmonti*, in *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, iii, Rome 1931; in French, *Description des îles de l'Archipel par Chris. Buondelmonti*, tr. E. Legrand, i, Paris 1897; Eugen Oberhummer (ed.), *Konstantinopel unter Sultan Suleiman dem Grossen, aufgenommen im Jahre 1559 durch Melchior Lorichs*, Munich 1902; idem, *Ein neuer Plan von Konstantinopel*, in *Mitteil. der Geogr. Gesell. in Wien*, lxi (1918), 527-30; W. S. Maxwell (ed.), *The Turks in MDXXXIII, a Series of Drawings by Peter Coeck of Aelst*, London-Edinburgh 1873; *Veduto di Constantinopoli*, Museo Correr, Venice, i, 1284; Fr. Babinger, *Drei Stadtansichten von Konstantinopel-Galata ("Pera") und Skutari aus dem Ende des 16. Jahrh.*, Vienna 1959; G. Rodenwaldt, *Stackelbergs Panorama von C.*, in *Kleinasien und Byzanz*, Ist. Forsch., Bd. xvii (1950), 132-6; Fr. Taeschner, *Alt Stambuler Hof- und Volksleben, ein türkisches Miniaturenalbum aus dem 00. Jahrhundert*, Hanover 1925; *Album*, National bibliothek, Vienna Cod. 8615, dated 1586; *Album*, ibid., Cod. 8626, *ca.* 1590; H. Gache (ed.), *La Turquie, dessinée et litogr. par C. Rogier*, Paris-London-Constantinople n.d.; J. F. Lewis, *Lewis's illustrations of Constantinople during a residence in that city in the years 1835-6*, London; *The Graphic, an illustrated weekly*, vols. 13-16 (1876-8), London; *L'Univers Illustré*, vols. 1876-8.

Guide books: J. Murray, *A handbook for Travellers in Turkey in Asia including Constantinople*, London 1845, 1878, 1893 and 1900; E. Mamboury, *Constantinople, guide touristique*, Istanbul 1925; S. Eyice, *Istanbul, petit guide à travers les monuments byzantins et turcs*, Istanbul 1955.

— G. Travellers' Accounts. J. Ebersolt, *Constantinople byzantine et les voyageurs du Levant*, Paris 1918; W. Hasluck, *Notes on Mss. in the British Museum relating to Levantine geography and travel*, in *British School of Athens*, vol. xii, 1905-6, 196 ff., supplementary notes vol. xiii, 1906-7, 339 ff.; Carl Göllner, *Turcica, Die Türkendrucke des XVI. Jh.*, 2 vols., Bucharest 1961-8; A. Leval, *Voyages en Levant pendant les XVIe, XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, in *Revue d'Orient et de Hongrie*, Budapest 1897; N. Iorga, *Les voyageurs français dans l'Orient européen*, Paris 1928; idem, *Une vingtaine de voyageurs dans l'Orient européen*, in *Rev. Hist. du Sud-Est Européen*, v (1928), 288-354; Nicolas V. Michoff, *Sources Bibliographiques sur l'histoire de la Turquie et de la Bulgarie*, 4 vols., Sofia 1914-34; idem, *La population de la Turquie et de la Bulgarie au XVIIIe et au XIXe siècles, recherches bibliographiques avec les données statistiques et éthnographiques*, 4 vols., Sofia 1915-67; A. M. Mansel, *Türkiye'nin arkeoloji, epigrafi ve tarihî coğrafyası için bibliyografya*, Ankara 1948; H. T. Dağlıoğlu, *Istanbul Bibliyoğrafyası*, in *Yeni Türk*, 1937; B. Moran, *Türklerle ilgili Ingilizce yayınlar Bibliyoğrafyası*, Istanbul 1964; H. Bowen, *British contributions to Turkish studies*, London-New York-Toronto 1945; A. von Harff, *The pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff...*, Hakluyt Society, London 1946; Jörg von Nürnberg, *Ayn Tractat von den Türck*, Memmigen 1482 (Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Inc. Fa. 901m); C. T. Forster and F. H. B. Daniel (eds.), *Life and Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq*, 2 vols., London 1881; Jean Chesneau, *Le voyage de M. d'Aramon... (1547-49)*, ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1887; H. Dernschwam, *Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien*, ed. Fr. Babinger, Munich-Leipzig 1923; R. Lubenau, *Beschreibung der Reisen... 1573-1589*, ed. W. Sahm, 2 vols., Königsberg 1912-30; W. Dillich, *Eigentliche kurze Beschreibung und Abriss der weitberühmten Kaiserl. Stadt Constantinopel*, Cassel 1616; Fr. Arnaud, *Voyages à Athènes, Constantinople et Jerusalem* ed. M. H. Omont, Paris 1909; Moses Almosino, *Extremos y Grandezas de Constantinopla*, Madrid 1638; Thomas Roe, *The Negociations of Sir Thomas Roe in his embassy to the Ottoman-Porte from the year 1621 to 1628*, London 1740; P. Gyllius (Gilles), *De Topographia Constantinopolis et de illius antiquitatibus*, Lyon 1561; tr. J. Ball, *Antiquities of Constantinople*, London 1729; Stephan Gerlach, *Tage-Buch*, Frankfurt on Main 1674; L. Dorez (ed.), *Itinéraire de Jérome Maurand d'Antibes à Constantinople*, Paris 1901; Fr. Babinger, *Ludwig von Rauter und sein verschollenes Reisebuch (1567-71)*, in *Vorderasiatische Studien*, Festschrift for V. Christian, Vienna 1956, 4-11; N. de Nicolay, *Les navigations, pérégrinations et voyages faicts en la Turquie*, Anvers 1576; Ph. Canaye, *Le voyage du Levant, 1551-1610*, ed. H. Hauser, Paris 1897; V. Vratislav, *Adventures of Baron Wenceslas Wratislaw of Mitrowitz in the year of Our Lord 1599*, London 1862; A. Mordtmann, *Eine deutsche Botschaft in Konstantinopel*, Berne 1895; Johann Wild, *Reysbeschreibung eines gefangenen Christen anno 1604*, ed. G. A. Narciss, Stuttgart 1964; S. Schweigger, *Constantinopel und Jerusalem*, ed. R. Neck, Graz 1964; John Sanderson, *The Travels of John Sanderson in the Levant, 1584-1602*, London 1931; Pietro della Valle, *Viaggi*, 3 vols., Rome 1650; Fr. tr. *Voyages*, 4 vols., Paris 1661-4; Cornelius Le Bruyn (Brun), *Voyage au Levant*, Rouen-Paris 1728; K. Tuchelt, *Türkische Gewänder und osmanische Gesellschaft*, Graz 1966; P. Bruno, *Ambassadeurs de France et Capucins français à Constantinople au XVIIIe siècle d'après le journal du P. Thomas*, Études Franciscaines, vols. xxix, xxxi, 1913-4; A. Galland, *Journal d'Antoine Galland pendant son séjour à Constantinople, 1672-1673*, ed. Ch. Schefer, 2 vols., Paris 1881; L. Gédoyn, *Journal et Correspondance*, ed. A. Poppe, Paris 1909; Du Loir, *Les Voyages*, Paris 1654; J. de Thévenot,

Relation d'un voyage fait en Levant, Paris 1664; L. L. d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ed. J. B. Labot, 6 vols., Paris 1735; R. C. Temple (ed.), *The travels of Peter Mundy, 1608-1667*, 3 vols., Cambridge 1907; T. Smith, *Remarks upon the Manners, Religion and Government of the Turks*, London 1678; Guillaume-Joseph Grelot, *Relation nouvelle d'un voyage à Constantinople*, Paris 1680; Fr. de la Croix, *Mémoires*, Paris 1684; M. Fabvre, *Etat présent de la Turquie*, Paris 1675; N. Mussi, *Relatione della città di Constantinopoli*, Bologna-Bassano 1675; Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Les six voyages de J.-B. Tavernier en Turquie en Perse et aux Indes*, Paris 1677; idem, *Nouvelle relation de l'intérieur du sérail du G. Seigneure*, Cologne 1675; J. Covel, *Extracts from the Diaries of Dr. John Covel*, ed. J. T. Bent, London 1893; J. P. Tournefort, *Relation d'un voyage du Levant*, Paris 1717; R. Pococke, *A description of the East and some other countries*, 2 vols., London 1743; T. Thornton, *The present state of Turkey*, 2 vols., London 1809; H. C. von Reimers, *Reise... im Jahr 1793*, 3 vols., St. Petersburg 1803; Fr. Sevin, *Lettres sur Constantinople*, Paris 1802; J. Dallaway, *Constantinople, ancient and modern*, London 1797; F. C. H. L. Pouqueville, *Voyage en Morée, à Constantinople ...*, 3 vols., Paris 1805; Ch. Pertusier, *Promenades pittoresques dans Constantinople et sur les rives du Bosphore*, Paris 1815; Eremya Čelebi Kömürcüyan, *İstanbul Tarihi*, Turkish tr. by Hrand D. Andreasyan, Istanbul 1952; Le Hay, *Recueil de cent estampes représentant différentes nations du Levant*, 2 vols., Paris 1714-5; J.-B. Lechevalier, *Voyage de la Propontide et du Pont-Euxin*, 2 vols., Paris 1800; M. G. F. A. Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce*, 2 vols., Paris 1822; G. A. Olivier, *Voyage dans l'empire othoman*, 6 vols., Paris 1798; P. G. Ingigian, *Description du Bosphore*, tr. T. Martin, Paris 1813; Turk. tr. H. Andreasyan, *XVIII. Asırda Istanbul*, Istanbul 1956; D. Sestini, *Viaggio da Constantinopoli a Bassora*, Academico Etrusco 1786; C. Comidas de Carbognano, *Descrizione topografica dello stato presente di Constantinopoli*, Bassano 1794; [Ch. Salaberry], *Voyage à Constantinople*, Paris 1799; Fr. Murhard, *Gemälde von Konstantinopel*, 2 vols., Penig. 1805; C. Hobhouse, *A journey through Albania... to Constantinople*, London 1812; A. F. Andréossy, *Constantinople et le Bosphore de Thrace pendant les années 1812, 1813, et 1814 et pendant l'année 1826*, Paris 1828; L. von Stürmer, *Skizzen einer Reise nach Konstantinopel in den letzten Monathen des Jahres 1816*, Pest 1821; Mme. de la Ferté-Meun, *Lettres sur le Bosphore*, Paris 1821; M. D'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Ottoman*, 7 vols., Paris 1787-1824; C. MacFarlane, *Constantinople in 1828*, London 1829; A. Slade, *Records of travel in Turkey and Greece, 1829-1831*, London 1833; J. Brewer, *A Residence at Constantinople in the year 1827*, New Haven 1830; D. Porter, *Constantinople and its environs*, 2 vols., New York 1835; R. Walsh, *A residence at Constantinople*, 2 vols., London 1836; C. C. Frankland, *Travels to and from Constantinople in the years 1827-8*, London 1829; J. Pardoe, *The beauties of the Bosphorus*, London 1839; eadem, *The city of the sultan and the domestic manners of the Turks in 1836*, London 1837; J. F. Michaud and J. J. Poujoulat, *Correspondance d'Orient, 1830-1831*, 7 vols., Paris 1833; A. Brayer, *Neuf Années à Constantinople*, Paris 1836; Alb. Circourt, *Constantinople en 1829*, Paris 1837; Th. Allom and R. Walsh, *Constantinople and the scenery of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor*, 2 vols., London 1838; J. E. De Kay, *Sketches of Turkey in 1831 and 1832*, New York 1833; H. von Moltke, *Briefe über Zustände und Begebenheiten in der Türkei aus den Jahren 1835-39*, Berlin 1841; W. Colton, *Visit to Constantinople and Athens*, New York 1836; Th. Allom, *Constantinople ancienne et moderne*, 3 vols., Paris 1840; Patriarc Constantios, *Constantiniade ou description de Constantinople ancienne et moderne*, Constantinople 1846; C. White, *Three years in Constantinople, or domestic manners of the Turks*, 3 vols., London 1845; I. Hahn-Hahn, *Orientalische Briefe*, 3 vols., Berlin 1844; C. T. Newton, *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*, 2 vols., London 1865; Ed. Thouvenel, *Constantinople sous Abdul-Medjid*, in *Revue de deux Mondes*, 4th ser., No. 21, 1840, 68-89; C. Hamlin, *Among the Turks*, New York 1878; Edmund Hornby, *In and around Stamboul*, Philadelphia, n.d.; J. H. A. Ubicini, *Lettere sulla Turchia*, Milan 1853, Eng. tr., *Letters on Turkey*, tr. Lady Easthope, London 1856; F. Elliot, *Diary of an Idle Woman in Constantinople*, Leipzig 1893; E. de Amicis, *Constantinopoli*, Milan 1878; Eng. tr. M. H. Landsdale, Philadelphia 1896; E. Pears, *Forty years in Constantinople: recollections 1873-1915*, New York 1916.

(H. İNALCIK)

ISTANBUL-MONUMENTS [see SUPPLEMENT]

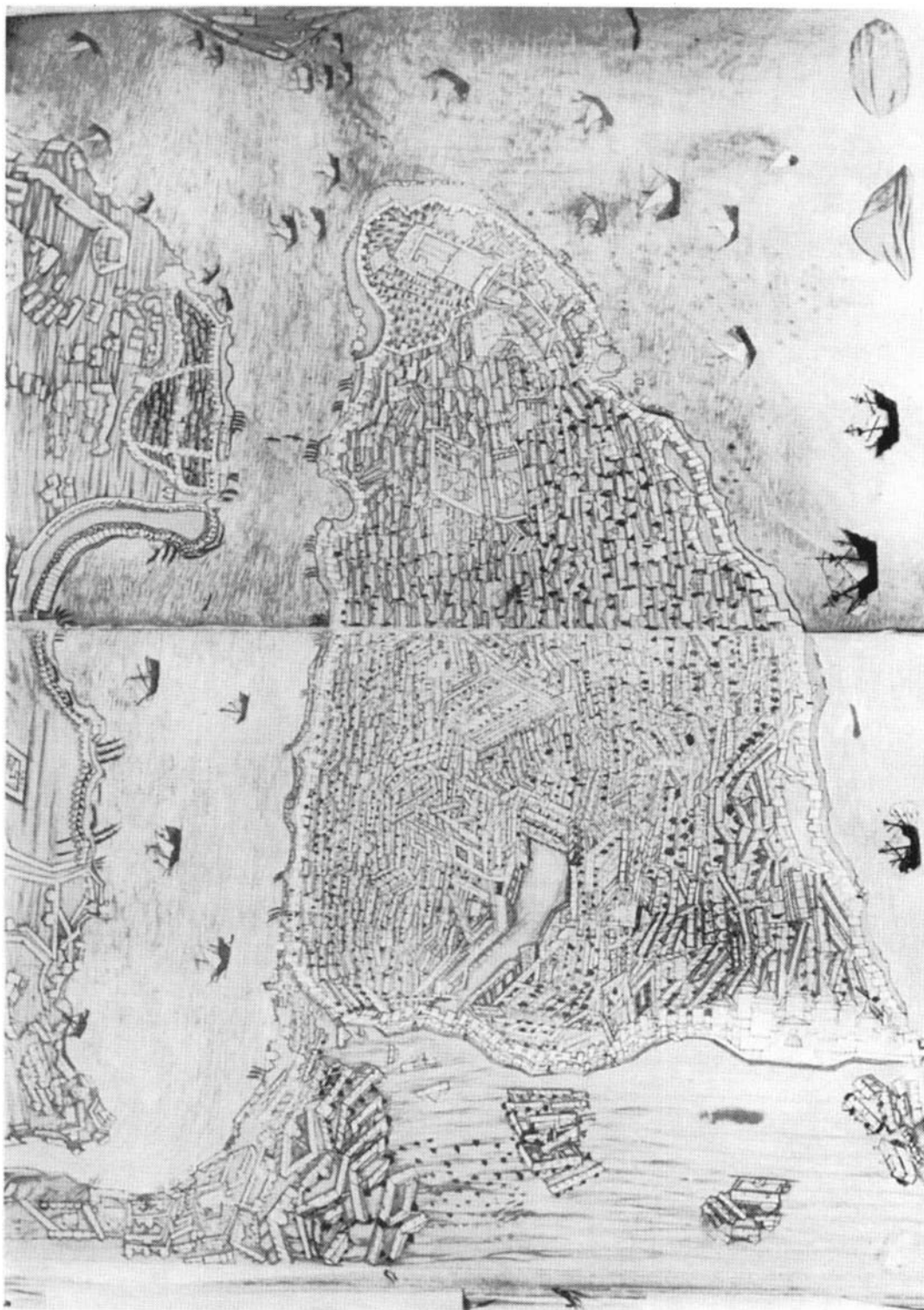
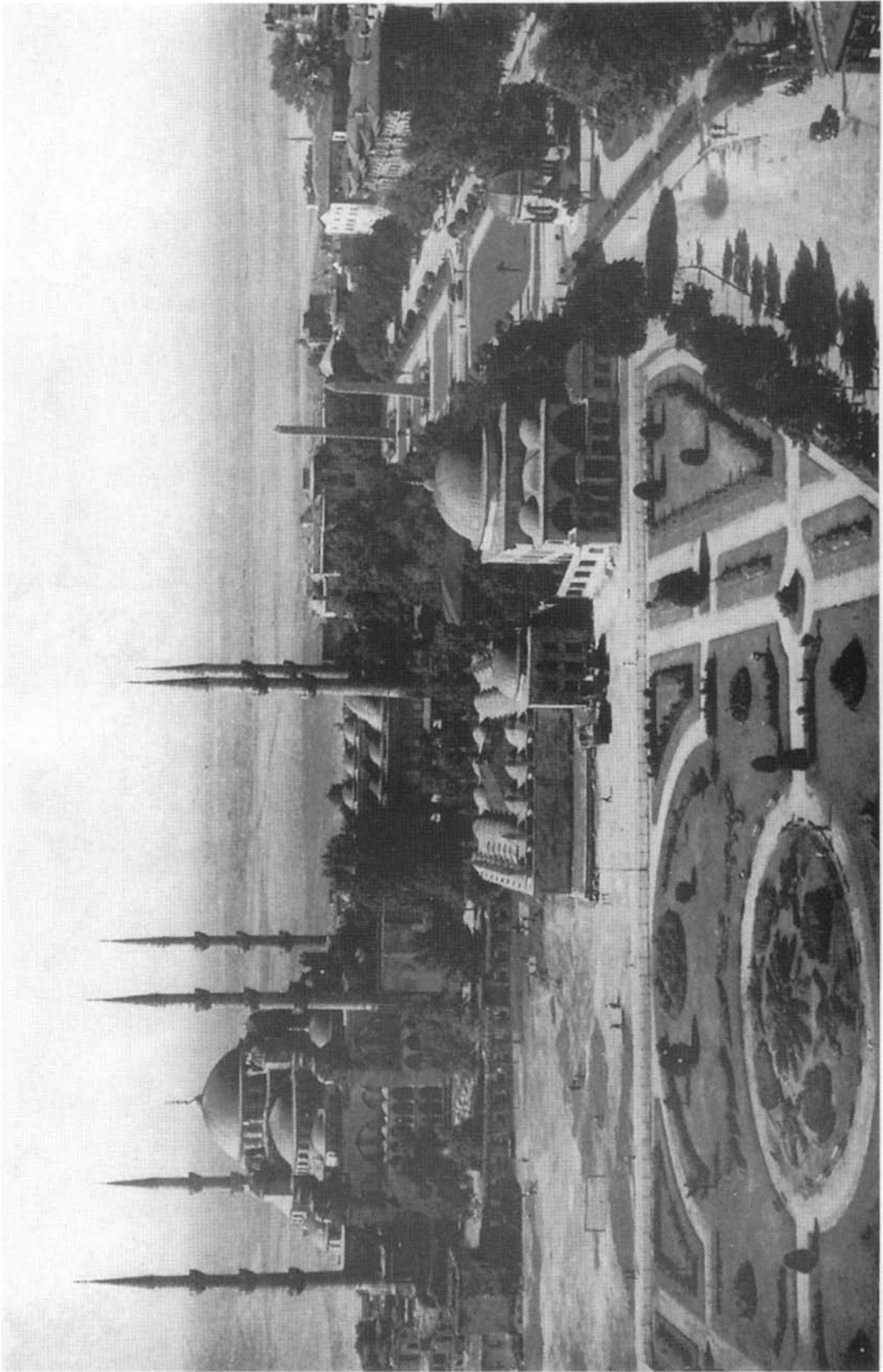
ISTANKÖY [see ON IKI ADA].

ISTĀR (στατήρ), a weight in the apothecary's or troy system, taken over from the Greeks and usually estimated according to two different scales. On the one hand we find the equations: 1 *istār* = 6 *dirham* and 2 *dānaḳ* = 4 *mithḳāl* (an apothecary's stater); on the other, we have 1 *istār* = 6½ *dirham* = 4½ *mithḳāl* (commercial *istār* in the East). The first equation will only be correct if the coined *dirham* and the *mithḳāl maiyāl* are taken ($\frac{2.97 \times 2 \times 2.97}{6} = 18.81 = 4.72 \times 4 = 18.88$). The second equation is approximately correct only if we take the coined *dirham* and the old *mithḳāl* (gold dinār) (2.97 × 6.5 = 19.3 = 4.24 × 4.5 = 19.125). In both cases the result is a much larger amount than that of the usual Greek stater. The further ratio that 20 *istār* go to the *raṭl* (pound) is only true of the *istār* of 6½ *dirham* and the Baghdād *raṭl* of 130 *dirham*.

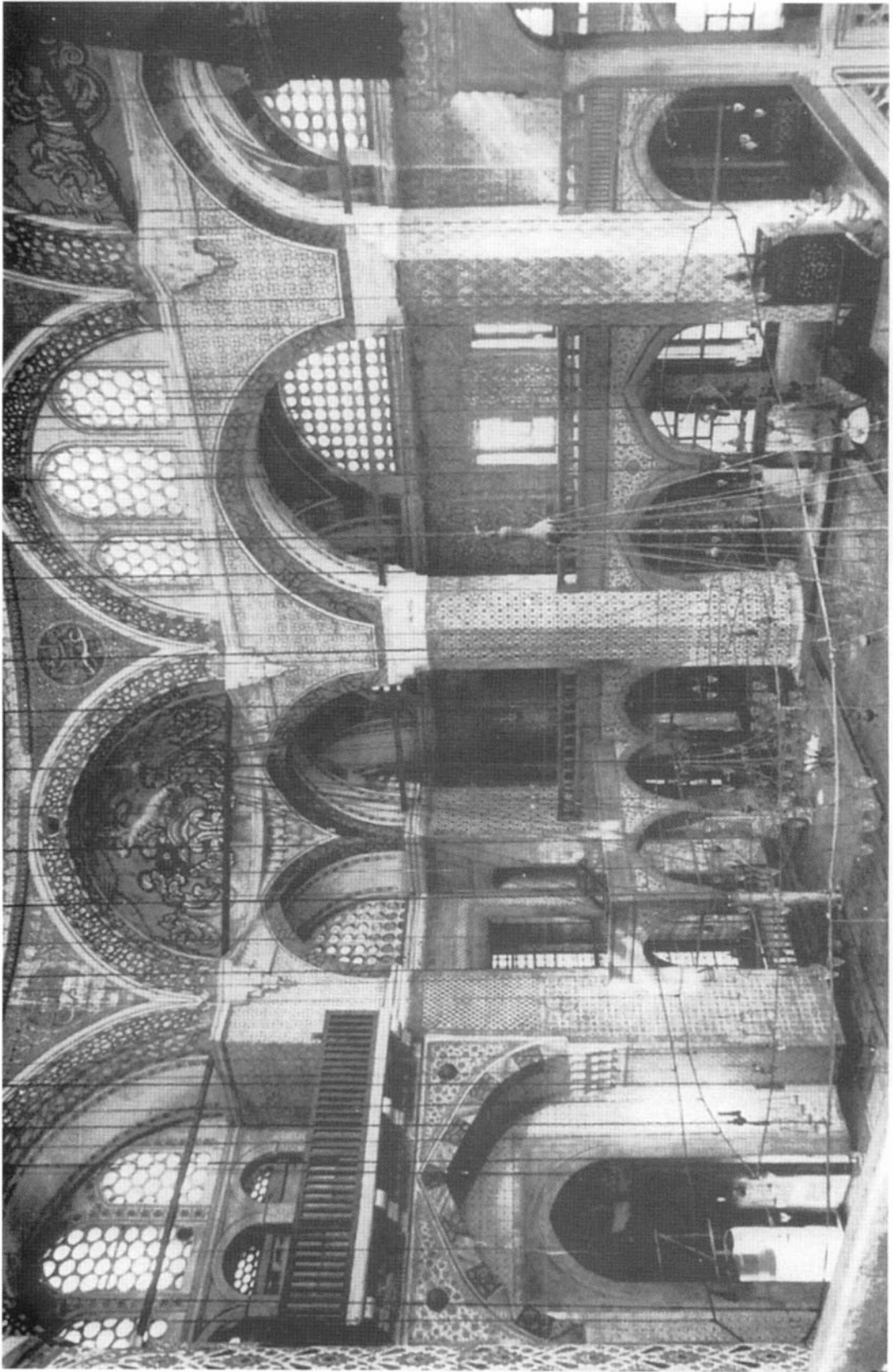
Bibliography: H. Sauvaire, *Matériaux*, s.v.; Don Vasquez Queipo, *Essai sur les Systèmes métriques*, i.

(E. V. ZAMBAUR)

ISTIʿĀRA, term in rhetoric commonly used in the sense of metaphor. This term is among those most frequently discussed by authors of all periods and it is impossible to give a complete account of all definitions, systems of classification, and technical terms, many of which are found in texts that do not specifically deal with rhetoric. The following is an attempt to outline the views of some representative authors.

In the early period the term *istiʿāra* is used occasionally in the sense of "borrowing of a theme by one author from another" (see, for instance, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, Cairo 1359/1940, v, 338-40) and the metaphor may be indicated by the term *mathal*, "figurative expression" (see, for in stance, *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Lyall, Oxford 1921, 173, l. 4; Sukkarī, *Sharḥ Ashʿār al-Hudhaliyyīn*, ed. ʿAbd al-Sattār Aḥmad Farrādj, Cairo 1383/1965, iii, 1200; Āmidī, *al-Muwāzana*, ed. Aḥmad Ṣaḳr, Cairo 1380/1961, i, 109; and cf. Bonebakker, *Notes on the Kitāb Naḍrat al-Ighrīḍ*, Istanbul 1968, 37) or simply *badīʿ*, "ornate style" (see Djāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān*, ed. ʿAbd al-

Plan of Istanbul, *circa* 1580, attributed to Velican (*Hünernâme*, Topkapı Palace Library, Istanbul, N° 1523, ff. 158b-159a).

Mosque of Sultan Aḥmed and Hippodrome.

Süleymāniyye mosque with the *medreses*.

View of Rumeli Hisarı on the Bosphorus.

Interior of the mosque of Rüstem Pas͟ha. (Photographs by courtesy of the Turkish Ministry of Tourism and Press)

Salām Muḥ. Hārūn, Cairo 1367/1948, iv, 55 [but cf. i, 153]; idem, *al-Ḥayawān*, ed. Hārūn, iii, 58-9; and the saying by ʿAttābī [d. beginning of third/ninth cent.] reported in Marzubānī, *al-Muwashshah*, Cairo 1343/1923, 271). In the sense of "metaphor" it is reported to have been common already with such early philologists as Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ (d. around 154/770) (see Ḥātimī, *Ḥilyat al-muḥāḍara*, Ms Fez, Karawiyyīn 2934, f. 4b; Bāḳillānī, *Iʿdjāz*, ed. Ṣaḳr, Cairo 1374/1954, 108 [= G. E. von Grunebaum, *A tenth century document*..., Chicago 1950, 7]; Ibn Rashīḳ, *al-ʿUmda*, Cairo 1353/1954, i, 239), Ḥammād (d. 155/772 or 156/773), Abū ʿUbayda (d. 209/824-5), and Aṣmaʿī (d. 213/808) (see *Iʿdjāz*, 108), but since Aṣmaʿī is also said to have used the term *mathal* in speaking of the metaphor (see *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, 855, l. 13) it may be suggested that the term *istiʿāra* was substituted in later versions of these reports for some other expression. However that may be, it appears already in what is probably the first systematic treatise on poetics in Arabic, the *Ḳawāʿid al-shiʿr* (ed. Ramaḍān ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, Cairo 1966, 57-60) of Thaʿlab (Thaʿlab lived from 200/815 till 291/904; the date of composition of the treatise is unknown and there is some question about Thaʿlab's authorship) and is there defined as "to borrow for something the name of something else or [to attribute to it] a characteristic that is not its own" (*an yustaʿāra li-'l-shayʾi ismu ghayrihī aw maʿnan siwāhu*). The definitions offered by Ibn Ḳutayba (d. 276/889) in his *Taʾwīl mushkil al-Ḳurʾān* (ed. Aḥmad Ṣaḳr, Cairo 1373/1954, 102) and by Ibn al-Muʿtazz (wrote 274/887) in his *K. al-Badīʿ* (ed. Kratchkovsky, London 1935, 2) are hardly more precise. In fact the two last authors quote examples which later critics would have qualified as "trope" (*madjāz*), "simile" (*tashbīh*), or "metonymy" (*kināya*), though the majority of the examples would also be *istiʿāra*s according to later definitions of the term and are often repeated in later handbooks. The same is true of Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar (d. after 320/932) who, moreover, in his *Naḳd al-Shiʿr* (ed. Bonebakker, Leiden 1956) gives examples of the metaphor under the headings *tamthīl* (pp. 90-2) and *istiʿāra* (pp. 104-5) without making sufficiently clear how the two figures are related. He sees the acceptable *istiʿāra* as essentially a simile and the *tamthīl* as the use of a figurative expression (*mathal*) to convey the idea the poet has in mind (see also the definitions and examples in the *Djawāhir al-alfāẓ*, Cairo 1351/1932, 5, 7-8, attributed to Ḳudāma). The often quoted example from the poetry of Imruʾu 'l Ḳays: *ḳayd al-awābid*, "shackles upon the legs of wild animals", for a horse that overtakes wild animals in chase is quoted (p. 88) in Ḳudāma's chapter on the "metonymy" (*irdāf*). The same confusion exists between the chapters on *istiʿāra* and *mumāthala* (= *tamthīl*) in the *K. al-Ṣināʿatayn*, (Cairo 1371/1952, 268-306, 353-6) of Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. after 395/1004). Abū Hilāl, however, offers a more detailed explanation of the mechanism of the metaphor pointing out frequently, especially in examples taken from the Ḳurʾān, how the tropical expression is related to the concept the author wishes to put into words and why the metaphor is more effective than the conventional expression. His discussion of ḳurʾānic metaphors closely resembles that of his contemporary, Rummānī (d. 384/994), in his *K. al-Nukat fī iʿdjāz al-Ḳurʾān* (ed. Muḥ. Khalaf Allāh and Muḥ. Zaghlūl Salām in *Thalāth Rasāʾil*, Cairo n.d. 79-87), though Rummānī's formulations are somewhat more accurate. Both authors also indicate that the metaphor makes it possible to illustrate abstract concepts with concrete analogies and insist that a metaphor is acceptable only if it is more striking than the conventional expression. This last question is also the subject of a discussion by Ḥātimī (d. 388/998) who in his *al-Risāla al-mūḍiḥa fī dhikr sariḳāt Abi 'l-Tayyib al-Mutanabbī*... (ed. Muḥ. Yūsuf Nadjm, Beirut 1385/1965, 69-73, 90-4) distinguishes three types of *istiʿāra*: The first type conforms to the above standard and consists of metaphors that can be justified. He calls this type the "elegant metaphor" (*istiʿāra mustaḥsana*). The second is characterized by the use of terms applicable to animals instead of the corresponding terms used in speaking of human beings, *e.g.*, *ḥāfir*, "hoof", for "foot", *mishfar*, "camels' lip" for *shafa*, "lip [of a human]", etc. He calls this the "ungainly metaphor" (*istiʿāra mustahdjana*). The third type which he considers less ugly than the second consists of using terms applicable to human beings instead of terms specifically used for animals (cf. the discussion of examples belonging to the second type in Ibn Ḳutayba, *Taʾwīl mushkil al-Ḳurʾān*, 116-7; the discussion of the term *muʿāẓala* in Ḳudāma, *Naḳd*, 103; Ibn Durayd, *Djamhara*, Ḥaydarābād 1344/1925, iii, 489b-91a; Āmidī, *al-Muwāzana*, i, 43-4; Abū Hilāl, *K. al-Ṣināʿatayn*, 301; and ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī's views on this type of expression below). In what appears to be a fourth category he mentions cases (like "my thoughts stumble [while reflecting] on your glory") where the metaphor is "obscure and far fetched" (*khāfiya baʿīda*).

Probably the first to distinguish carefully between the *tashbīh* and the *istiʿāra* and to formulate a closer definition of the figure is ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Djurdjānī (d. 392/1001). In a passage in his *al-Wasāṭa* (Cairo 1370/1951, 41) he makes clear that the line by Abū Nuwās: "Love is a mount and you are its rider; turn its bridle and it will obey you" is not an *istiʿāra*, but a simile (*tashbīh*) or a proverbial saying (*ḍarb mathal*). In a proper *istiʿāra* the borrowed term (*al-ism al-mustaʿār*) completely replaces the proper term (*al-aṣl*). The *istiʿāra*, according to him, is "based on establishing a close similarity, on [the existence of] an affinity between the proper and the borrowed expression, on the blending of the [new] term with the concept [to which it is applied]", etc. (*wa-milākuhā taḳrību 'l-shabahi wa-munāsabatu 'l-mustaʿāri lahū li-'l-mustaʿāri minhu wa-'mtizādju 'l-lafẓi bi-'l-maʿnā*, etc.; a different reading and interpretation in Ritter's translation of ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī's *Asrār*, 429; cf. also *al-ʿUmda*, i, 240). He condemns (pp. 429-33) the anthropomorphism in an *istiʿāra* by Mutanabbī: "Many schemes are found together in his mind, though one of these would be [large enough to] occupy the *mind of* [*this*] *time*" and compares this with an *istiʿāra* by Ibn Aḥmar where the wind is characterized as "having no constancy in its mind" (*laysa li-lubbihā zabrū*). In the second example the *istiʿāra* is based on the similarity between the wind blowing from different directions and the erratic behaviour of a person of unstable character. In the case of the first example no such similarity suggests itself to the hearer. The only way to make such *istiʿāra*s to some degree acceptable is to think of the frequent occurrence of personifications of time or fate, or to assume an ellipse ("this time" for "the people living in this time"), though by expecting his audience to do so the poet goes beyond what is aesthetically or grammatically acceptable (the lacunae in the text should be completed from the quotations in Khafādjī, *Sirr*, 144 ff.; Khafādjī does not agree with ʿAlī al-Djurdjānī's qualified acceptance of these and similar examples).

Ibn Rashīḳ (d. 456/1063-4 or 463/1070-1) in his *K. al-ʿUmda* (Cairo 1353/1934, i, 239-50) shows himself familiar with the definition of ʿAlī al-Djurdjānī, but nevertheless draws no clear distinction between simile and metaphor in his examples, and, like his predecessors, fails to explain the exact relation between this last figure and the *tamthīl*, though he classifies *tamthīl* as a type of *istiʿāra* (p. 247; cf. however p. 245, l. 4-5, and on pp. 247 bottom and 249, l. 15 his observations on the absence of the comparative particle in both *tamthīl* and *istiʿāra*). He prefers metaphors that can be easily understood, like "Daybreak carried away the Pleiades in its yellow (or white) cloak" for "Daybreak made the Pleiades fade away" in which, he says, the metaphor is based on a simile (the poet's comparison of the bright cloak with the light of daybreak), to metaphors that are less easy to understand, like "The reins of the morning had come into the hands of the north wind" for "The north wind held sway over the morning" where the poet gives to the morning and to the north wind each an attribute that cannot be associated with it (*mā laysa minhu wa-lā ilayhi*). He does not accept the view of some "radical" (?) (*mutaʿaḳḳib*) theorists who prefer the second type of metaphor (which is based on personification and analogy) and consider the first type inferior because it is based on an [easily understandable] simile. He further illustrates this principle, but fails to analyse it properly, and also points out that the same kind of metaphor may be fitting in one context and ugly in another.

Khafādjī (d. 466/1073-4) in his *Sirr al-Faṣāḥa* (Cairo 1372/1953, 134-69) bases his discussion of the *istiʿāra* on Rummānī and ʿAlī al-Djurdjānī. He does not, however, accept as *istiʿāra*s sentences like "She dropped pearls from narcissi", etc. which he classifies as *tashbīh*. He does not offer an explanation. What he has in mind is perhaps that because *asbalat*, "she dropped", in this context only allows us to take "pearls" and "narcissi" as standing for "tears" and "eyes" a simile is forced upon the hearer and it becomes impossible to argue that the two words are not to be understood in their proper sense (but cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *al Mathal*, i, 359). In "And the head is ablaze with hoariness" (Ḳurʾān, XIX, 3) "hoariness" as the notion to which the metaphor is applied (*al-mustaʿār lahū*) is compared to "fire" as the notion from which it is derived (*al-mustaʿār minhu*), but the fire is not mentioned, only one of its attributes, and there is good reason to qualify "to be ablaze" (*al-mustaʿār*) as a term used in an improper way (*Sirr*, 134-6). He prefers *istiʿāra*s that are immediately apparent to the hearer to those that cannot be justified as based on intelligible similarities or are derived from expressions that are themselves metaphors. One may speak of "the eye of a flower" since there is an obvious similarity, but not of "the eye of faith that finds consolation", since there is nothing in faith that could be compared to an eye. The metaphor in "the saddle feeds on (= takes away) the fat of the hump of the camel" is more obvious than that in "the horses and riding animals of passion have become unharnessed", since the latter example derives from another, more common, metaphor: "He rode his passion and ran on its race track". As usual the distinction between *istiʿāra* and *tamthīl* is not clearly defined (see the examples on pp. 166 below and 167 above repeated as *tamthīl* on p. 325).

The most important discussion of the *istiʿāra* is found in the *Asrār al-balāgha* (ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1954; German translation H. Ritter, *Die Geheimnisse der Wortkunst des ʿAbdalqāhir al-Curcānī*, Wiesbaden 1959) of ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī (d. 471/1078). In his *Dalāʾil al-Iʿdjāz* (Cairo 1367/1947-8, 331-46) which, according to Ritter (see the Introd. to this ed. of the *Asrār*, 6) was probably written earlier than the *Asrār*, ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir takes his predecessors to task for defining the *istiʿāra* as a transfer (*naḳl*) of terms. He argues that the *istiʿāra* is a claim (*iddiʿāʾ*) that something is identical to something else. The very effect of the figure depends on this claim and consequently there is a transfer of a concept before there is a transfer of a term. In the *Asrār*, however, he describes the *istiʿāra* as generally speaking (*fi 'l-djumla*) the incidental use (*naḳl ghayr lāzim*) of a term in a sense different from its original sense (i.e. the well-known sense supported by literary evidence), so that it appears like a loan (*ʿāriya*) (p. 29 = tr. p. 46; cf. p. 379-81 = tr. p. 441-3) and recognizes that his concept of the figure is essentially that of his predecessors among whom he mentions Āmidī (d. 370/980) and ʿAlī al-Djurdjānī (p. 298 = tr. p. 348, p. 368 = tr. p. 429, p. 370-1 = tr. p. 431-2). They differ from him in that they did not offer a detailed analysis of simile (*tashbīh*), analogy (*tamthīl*), and metaphor (*istiʿāra*), and were content to offer a few examples of these figures without a proper definition. (p. 26-8 = tr. p. 43-5). For ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir the *istiʿāra* is one of various types of trope (*madjāz*) inasmuch as there is always an association (*mulāḥaẓa*) with the normal sense of the term (p. 325-6 = tr. p. 378-80, p. 365 = tr. 425-6). However, in the case of the *istiʿāra* there must exist some property common to the object to which the term is normally applied and the object to which it is applied metaphorically. He draws attention to the etymology of the term *istiʿāra* as derived from *ʿāriya*, "borrowed good", "loan". The owner's claim to his property does not cease to exist, but the borrowed goods perform in the hands of the borrower the same function as in the hands of the owner (p. 372-3 = tr. pp. 432-4; cf. pp. 300-2 = tr. pp. 350-2). If one says: "I see a lion", meaning a courageous man, what one has in his mind is to attribute to the man the most striking property of the lion, its courage; but if one uses the word *yad*, "hand", in the sense of "favour" in "I owe him a favour" (*lahū ʿindī yadun*), one has no intention to describe a property of the hand. It becomes possible to argue that "favour" and not "hand" is the original meaning of the word *yad*, though upon closer examination one finds that there exists a reference to an activity originally involving the hand (cf. also p. 326 ff. = tr. p. 380 ff.). ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir makes a further distinction by pointing out that the *istiʿāra* is more striking than the conventional expression (and as such has an aesthetic function): When a poet uses the term *shafa*, "lip" in speaking of the lip of a horse (*djaḥfal*) or the lip of a camel (*mishfar*) there is only a free use of near synonyms or the use of a general instead of a specific term (p. 30-1 = tr. p. 48-9, p. 373-4 = tr. p. 434-5), but when he uses "horse's lip" or "camel's lip" in speaking of a human being one already has a borderline case, since one can easily imagine that what the poet is trying to say is that the man's lips are thick or that he is as miserable as an animal (p. 34 ff. = tr. p. 52 ff.). ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir distinguishes three types of metaphors:

(a) metaphors based on a comparison of notions that show a close affinity and in any case belong to the same category: "flying" for "running".

(b) metaphors based on a comparison of objects that share certain qualities: "sun" for "beautiful face".

(c) metaphors based on a similarity that can only be understood intellectually, the metaphor consisting of (1) things sensually perceived for intellectual concepts: "light" for "convincing argument", (2) things sensually perceived for other things sensually perceived though the similarity remains a matter of the intellect: "green plants on a dung-hill" for "beautiful women of evil character", and (3) intellectual concepts for other intellectual concepts: "death" for "ignorance", "meeting death" for "facing a serious crisis". For metaphors based on abstract similarity, as well as for the various types of explicit similes that would correspond to them, he uses the term *tamthīl*. The similarity can only be established by analysis (*taʾawwul*), since the metaphor or simile is not based on a common property (as in the comparison of a rose with a cheek), but on something conditioned by a property (it is as difficult to deny the existence of the sun as to deny the truth of a convincing argument), In some cases there is "a similarity between two groups of objects in each of which there exists an inner relation between, not only a simple coordination of, various elements, a relation which can only be expressed in the form of a sentence" [or its equivalent] (*Asrār*, Introd., 14), and the *tamthīl* is therefore closely related to the proverbial sentence (*mathal*): "The bow is in the hands of the bow-cutter" for "The matter has been entrusted to a competent person" (p. 94 = tr. p. 120). According to ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir such sentences owe their peculiar effect to the fact that the mind accepts a not so familiar concept more readily if the author can illustrate it with a situation with which it is thoroughly familiar, such as when one uses an old friend to introduce a newcomer (*Asrār*, Introd., 15). In such sentences the terms themselves are, of course, used in their proper meaning, and hence it becomes possible to explain apparent anthropomorphisms in the Ḳurʾān like "The whole earth is in the grip of his hand on the Day of Resurrection" (Ḳurʾān XXXIX, 67) as analogies for intellectual concepts (p. 331-2 = tr. p. 386-7; Intro., 11), though he warns against arbitrary explanations (p. 363-4 = tr. p. 422-4).

ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī also examines the use of metaphors to create fantastic aetiologies such as are common in post-classical Arabic and Persian poetry. In "Be not surprised that his shirt is torn: He buttoned it in moonlight" the poet assumes that the common metaphor, "moon" for "beautiful face", is accepted as a reality and then alludes to the common belief that moonlight wears out linen (*Asrār*, Introd., 21-2).

An essential difference between ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī and some of his predecessors and followers is that he does not accept as metaphors sentences like *zaydun asadun* or *zayduni ʾl-asadu*, "Zayd is a lion", where a simile is expressed without the help of a specific particle or a verb (cf. however p. 304-5 = tr. p. 354-5). Nor does he consider as such *tadjrīd* expressions like *laḳītu bihī asadan, raʾaytu minhu laythan*, "I met/I saw in him a lion" (p. 310-11 = tr. p. 361-2). He hesitates however in cases like "[He is] a full moon that spreads its light over the earth from east and west, but leaves the place of my camel's saddle in the black darkness", since one cannot compare somebody to the moon and then ascribe to him a property that the moon does not have. Such sentences are based on the assumption that the hearer has already accepted that the subject of the poem is a special kind of moon, so that the poet can attribute to this moon some unusual qualities (p. 305 ff. = tr. p. 355 ff.; for a more detailed discussion of ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir's theories see *Asrār*, Introduction, from which some of the above definitions and translations have been taken).

The compendiums based on ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī, beginning with the *Nihāyat al-īdjāz fī dirāyat al-iʿdjāz* (Cairo 1317/1899) of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī ([*q.v.*] d. 606/1209) and the *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm* (Cairo 1356/1937) of Sakkākī ([*q.v.*] d. 626/1228-9), together with the numerous commentaries on these compendiums, almost completely superseded the *Dalāʾil al-iʿdjāz* and the *Asrār al-balāgha*. In the *Nihāya*, which contains a useful summary of Djurdjānī's ideas, Fakhr al-Dīn attempts to clarify the two opposing viewpoints expressed by Djurdjānī on the character of the *istiʿāra*. After offering interesting arguments in favour of the theory outlined in the *Dalāʾil* he declares himself in favour of Djurdjānī's later theory as presented in the *Asrār*: By calling a man a "lion" one attributes to him the lion's courage, not his physical qualities, which means that the word *asad* is used in a more restricted sense (p. 84-5; cf. *Asrār*, 379-81 = tr. 441-3). Hence the metaphor has to be considered a "trope of the language" (*madjāz lughawī*; cf. however Djurdjānī's observations on the *madjāz aḳlī*, the "trope of the intellect" in the relation between a verb and its agent in *Asrār*, 342-5 = tr. 399-402, 376 ff. = tr. 437 ff. and Intro., 23-4). Among the works based on the *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm*: the *Talkhīs al-Miftāḥ* (a digest of the *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm*) of Djalāl al-Dīn al-Ḳazwīnī [*q.v.*], also known as the Khaṭīb Dimashḳ (d. 739/1338); *al-Sharḥ al-mukhtaṣar* of Taftāzānī (d. between 791/1389 and 797/1395); and the *ʿUḳud al-djumān* of Suyūṭī ([*q.v.*] d. 911/1505) have been summarized in A. F. Mehren, *Die Rhetorik der Araber* (Copenhagen/Vienna 1853). The question whether the *istiʿāra* constitutes a claim that something is identical with something else (and is therefore a figure depending solely on the intellect, *ʿaḳlī*) or an improper use of a term (and therefore a semantic phenomenon, *lughawī*) is resolved in favour of the last point of view by postulating that in claiming for a man the characteristics of a lion (*asadiyya*) one claims that there are two possible types of lion covered by the term, one generally known (*muta-ʿāraf*) and possessing all the psychical and physical characteristics of the animal, and one not generally known and possessing the psychical, but not the physical characteristics. The context (*ḳarīna*) indicates that not the generally known meaning is intended and distinguishes the *istiʿāra* from a false claim where it would be essential for the author not to include anything in the context that would disprove this claim (*Miftāḥ*, 175-6). Though the author's intention to use a word metaphorically would thus be clear from the context, this context may still contain elements that support its common meaning, as in "Those are they who have purchased error with right direction, and their trade was not profitable" (Ḳurʾān, II, 15) where the common meaning of "purchasing" in the sense of "purchasing goods in the market" is supported by "their trade was not profitable". In this case we speak of an *istiʿāra murashshaḥa* or "prepared *istiʿāra*". In case no such elements exist we have an *istiʿāra mudjarrada*, or "bare *istiʿāra*", as in "I attacked a lion groaning under [the burden of] his armour" (to be distinguished from the *istiʿāra muṭlaḳa* or "absolute *istiʿāra*" in *ʿindī asadun*, "with me is a lion" *i.e.*, a courageous man, where there are no elements in the context supporting "lion" in its proper or in its metaphorical sense; various interpretations of this type of *istiʿāra* in *Shurūḥ al-Talkhīṣ*, Cairo 1937, iv, 127-8). Following Djurdjānī's discus-

sion of the "substratum" (*dhāt*) of the *istiʿāra* (*Asrār*, 42-7 = tr. 63-8), these authors furthermore distinguish an *istiʿāra takhyiliyya* or "fantastic *istiʿāra*", as in the famous line by Abū Dhuʾayb al-Hudhalī: "When fate plunges its talons in its prey, you find that no amulet will help", where the attribution of talons to fate suggests that fate is a wild animal. Since "fate" is here still indicated by its proper term, the *istiʿāra* is achieved "metonymically" (*bi-'l-kināya*; Sakkākī's point of view as expressed in the *Miftāḥ*, 178, l. 6-15 differs from that of Ḳazwīnī, *al-Īḍāḥ*, v, 165 ff. and Suyūṭī, *ʿUḳūd al-djumān*, 99-100). These as well as other terms and definitions adopted by the followers of ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī, though they help to present ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir's ideas in a well-ordered form, do not seem to offer an essentially new approach to his theory of the figure (for further details see Mehren, 31-40, 75-91), but numerous works by authors belonging to this school still remain to be investigated.

Ibn al-Athīr (d. 637/1239) in his *al-Mathal al-sāʾir* (Cairo 1358/1939, i, 57-64, 355-88) sees the metaphor as a shortened simile (*tashbīh maḥdhūf*). He considers it essential that the original notion and the notion substituted for it should share a common characteristic that is obvious and therefore easily recognizable and analogous to the acquaintance (*maʿrifa*) that exists between lender and borrower in a loan transaction. He therefore does not consider as *istiʿāras* examples like the line by Abū Nuwās: "Hoarse is the voice of property (*buḥḥa ṣawtu 'l-māli*) from complaining against you and raising its voice [against its being spent too liberally]", apparently because he sees no good reason for comparing property to a human being with a voice (cf. Ibn Rashīḳ, *al-ʿUmda*, i, 240). He considers this and similar examples as no more than a trope (*madjāz*) resulting from an extension of usage (*tawassuʿ fi 'l-kalām*) and closely resembling the simile by virtue of the annexation in the genitive (pp. 356, 361-2). Nor does he consider as *istiʿāras* anthropomorphisms like "And neither the heaven nor the earth wept over them" (Ḳurʾān XLIV, 28) and the Prophet's description of Uḥud: "This is a mountain we love and that loves us", though the absence of the annexation in the genitive makes these expressions acceptable. Though he offers interesting discussions of the views of some of his predecessors, Ibn al-Athīr's own definitions of the *istiʿāra* are obscure and his choice of examples shows inconsistencies.

Similar inconsistencies exist in the *K. al-Ṭirāz* (Cairo 1332/1914, i, 197-260) of Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza al-ʿAlawī (d. 747/1346), though otherwise this book offers a useful summary of the views of some early as well as some later authors (Ibn al-Athīr and the followers of ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī). The author inclines towards considering expressions like *zaydun asadun* as metaphors, but *zayduni 'l-asadu*, as well as expressions that make use of particles of comparison, as similes (pp. 202-9), a question much debated by ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir. His subtitution of the term *istiʿāra muwashshaḥa*, "ornamented *istiʿāra*", for *istiʿāra murashshaḥa* is no doubt the result of a misreading.

Chapters on the *istiʿāra* in later handbooks likewise offer no more than summaries of earlier definitions and repeat or elaborate the essential elements of the theories of ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī and his school along with some refinements, such as the observation that in "Those are they who have purchased error with right direction, and their trade was not profitable" we have an *istiʿāra murashshaḥa* in which two *istiʿāras*, "buying" and "profitable trade" support each other (Ibn Ḥidjdja, *Khizāna*, Cairo 1304/1886, 49). They sometimes offer copious examples of *istiʿāras* in the work of post-classical poets.

On Abū Bishr's (d. 328/939) translation of the Poetics of Aristotle and the resulting misconceptions on the metaphor in the digest of the Poetics by Avicenna and Averroes see F. Gabrieli in *RSO* xii (1929-30), 293, 301 n. 3, 304, 318, 321; Ḳudāma, *Naḳd*, Intro., 42 (but cf. S. Afnan, *The commentary of Avicenna on Aristotle's Poetics* in *JRAS* (1947), 188; W. Heinrichs, *Arabische Dichtung und Griechische Poetik*, Beirut 1969, 156).

Bibliography: in addition to the fundamental works mentioned in the text: Āmidī, *al-Muwāzana*, Cairo 1380/1961, i, 245-64; Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣbaʿ, *Taḥrīr al-taḥbīr*, Cairo 1383/1963, 97-101; idem, *Badīʿ al-ḳurʾān*, Cairo 1377/1957, 17-27; Shams al-Dīn Muḥ. b. Ḳays al-Rāzī, *al-Muʿdjam fī maʿāyīr ashʿār al-ʿadjam*, ed. Mirzā Muḥ. al-Kazwīnī, Leiden 1909, 336-40; Djalāl al-Dīn al-Ḳazwīnī, *al-Īḍāḥ fī ʿulūm al-balāgha*, Cairo 1368/ 1949, v, 43-183 (detailed notes on the theories of authors belonging to the school of ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī); Taftāzānī, *al-Sharḥ al-muṭawwal*, Istanbul 1330/1911, 354-405; Suyūṭī, *ʿUḳūd al-djumān*, Cairo 1358/1939, 92-100; ʿAbbāsī, *Maʿāhid al-tanṣīṣ*, Cairo 1367-1947, ii, 132-72; Ibn Maʿṣūm, *Anwār al-rabīʿ fī anwāʿ al-badīʿ*, Nadjaf 1388/1968, i, 243-97; H. Ritter, *Über die Bildersprache Niẓāmīs*, Berlin 1927; T. Sabbagh, *La métaphore dans le Coran*, Paris 1943 (uncritical); M. Khalafallah, *Naẓariyyāt ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī*, in *Farouk I University Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts*, ii (1944), 14-48. A useful discussion of contemporary western definitions of the metaphor raising some questions that were also familiar to the mediaeval Arab critics is *Die Metapher* (Bochumer Diskussion) in *Poetica, Zeitschr. für Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft*, ii (1968), 100-30. See also articles KINĀYA, MADJĀZ, TAKHYĪL, TAMTHĪL, TASHBĪH in *EI*[1].

(S. A. Bonebakker)

ISTIBDĀD [see ẒULM].

ISTIBRĀʾ, the period of sexual abstinence imposed on an unmarried female slave whenever she changed hands or her master set her free or gave her in marriage. Literally, *istibrāʾ* means to make sure of the "freedom", that is the "emptiness", of the womb. In fact, this period of abstinence was imposed to avoid confusion over paternity since—as there is hardly need to mention—female slaves, especially young ones, were nearly always the concubines of their masters. Nevertheless, the majority of *fuḳahāʾ* often lost sight of the point of this institution and imposed *istibrāʾ* in hypothetical cases where, by the very nature of things, there was no danger of confusion over paternity.

1) When a female slave passed from the ownership of one person to another, for whatever reason—sale, gift, cancellation of sale, exchange, succession, division of spoils or legacy—she had to observe *istibrāʾ*. In theory, all female slaves came under this obligation, not only those who, by reason of their age, were able to bear children but also pre-pubertal girls, even the very young, and post-menopausal women, excepting only, in Mālikī law, girls who were so young that any sexual relationship with them was impossible (Khalīl, *Mukhtaṣar*, ii, 125).

Istibrāʾ was imposed even on a female slave who was virgin at the time of transfer of ownership, though in such a case there was no possibility of confusion over paternity if she became pregnant later. It is surprising to observe the unanimity of the schools on this point; only the Ẓāhirīs gave virgins dispensation

from *istibrāʾ* (Ibn Ḥazm, *Muḥallā*, x, 315). A classical example is a good illustration of the irrational demands of *fiḳh* in this matter. Suppose that a female slave had been sold by a woman or a eunuch (in such cases *istibrāʾ* was "recommended" but not obligatory), the sale having been rescinded by mutual consent (*iḳāla*), she returned to the woman or the eunuch. In this case there could be no possible doubt at all about the origin of a possible pregnancy, yet this female slave had to observe *istibrāʾ* after the dissolution of the sale, even though this took place before the buyer had taken possession of her. Only the Ḥanafīs avoided such an absurdity by waiving *istibrāʾ* except when the dissolution of the sale, by common consent, took place after the buyer had taken possession.

2) Every female slave had to observe *istibrāʾ* at the time of her manumission, including an *umm walad* [see ʿABD] at the death of her master. Here too the Ḥanafīs deviated from the solution common to the three other schools by demanding in the case of the *umm walad* not an *istibrāʾ* of one menstruation but an *ʿidda* of three inter-menstrual periods, as for a free woman, whether the manumission occurred during the lifetime of the master or was a consequence of his death (al-Zaylaʿī, *Tabyīn*, iii, 30).

3) Finally, a slave whose master gave her in marriage to a free man or to another slave had to observe *istibrāʾ*, as it is defined below, except in Ḥanafī law where the position on this point seems, moreover, curious.

In spite of their tendency to insist on *istibrāʾ* on the occasion of any change in the juridical status of a female slave, the *fuḳahāʾ* avoided carrying their system to absurd lengths. Thus exemption was granted to the slave who had had intercourse with her master and was then freed when he married her after manumission. In this case *istibrāʾ* would in fact have had no purpose. Such a hypothetical case should not be confused with one where a man buys a female slave whom he frees on the spot and seeks to marry without *istibrāʾ*. In this case, and with good reason, the Mālikī, Shafiʿi and Ḥanbalī schools insist that there must be an *istibrāʾ*. Their scholars explain that if Ḥanafī law says otherwise this is because Abū Yūsuf, wishing to oblige Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, who was impatient to possess a slave he was going to buy, had advised him to set her free and then marry her. This was certainly an instance of word-play (Ibn Ḳudāma, *Mughni*, vii, 507-8).

Duration of *istibrāʾ*. The waiting period which constitutes *istibrāʾ*, during which the female slave was forbidden to have any sexual intercourse, lasts until her accouchement in the case of a slave who is pregnant at the time of her sale, manumission or marriage. For women who are menstruating, the time must embrace one complete menstruation (*ḥayḍ*), that is, the menstruation which proves the emptiness of the womb must begin during the period of "purity" (*ṭuhr*), prior to which the transfer of property, manumission or marriage has taken place. Pre-pubertal or post-menopausal slaves observe a period of retreat of one lunar month. The waiting period is the same whatever the reason for the *istibrāʾ*, with the sole exception, mentioned above, of the *umm walad*, which, in Hanafī law, entails the observation of an abstinence of three *ḳurūʾ*, that is, according to the Ḥanafī definition of the word, of three menstruations. Noteworthy in this respect is a curious rule of Ḥanbalī law which lays down that when a female slave is sold by two co-owners, both of whom have had sexual relations with her, two *istibrāʾ* must be observed (Ibn Ḳudāma, *Mughni*, vii, 509). These intervals belong to the *istibrāʾ* proper, that is the period of abstinence applying to an unmarried slave. When a slave is married and her marriage is dissolved by repudiation or by the death of her husband, it is no longer a matter of *istibrāʾ* but of a genuine *ʿidda* [*q.v.*]. Because of the unquestioned rule of Muslim law that a slave's legal obligations are half those of a free man, this would last for two months and five days if the marriage was dissolved by death and two *ḳurūʾ* if the woman had been repudiated. Remembering the different interpretation of the word *ḳurūʾ* by the various schools, this could mean two inter-menstrual periods (the majority of schools) or two menstruations (Ḥanafī school).

Istibrāʾ in the case of termination of slavery. In all cases when a female slave changes master, it is incumbent on the man who acquires her (by sale, gift, inheritance etc.) to see that the said slave fulfils her obligation; in other words he must abstain from sexual intercourse with her until the time of *istibrāʾ* has expired. The four schools are unanimous on this point and, apart from a few isolated jurists, only the Ẓāhirīs imposed this obligation on the vendor (Ibn Ḥazm, *Muḥallā*, x, 315). Mālikī law worked out an ingenious system that enabled all the pertinent regulations of *fiḳh* to be both effective and easily workable. It entailed giving the slave who should observe *istibrāʾ* into the hands of a trustworthy person, preferably a woman, who forbade the new owner to come near her until the period of abstinence had elapsed. This system was known as the *muwādaʿa*, from *wadīʿa*, a trust.

Sanctions for default in *istibrāʾ*. The man who acquires a new female slave and has sexual relations with her without respecting the waiting period of *istibrāʾ* commits a grave sin (*ithm*); although purely religious, this sanction was somewhat awkward for a man who was a believer but also impatient. For his benefit, Ḥanafī jurisconsults invented a *ḥīla* [*q.v.*], or legal expedient, which permitted the law to be evaded but not infringed. This *ḥīla* consisted of marrying the newly acquired slave to a man of straw, often the dealer himself, who repudiated her then and there, that is before consummating the marriage. In this way she was released from the *ʿidda* and since she had been married *istibrāʾ* did not apply to her. The schools who condemned *ḥiyal* in principle, such as the Ḥanbalīs and Mālikīs, rejected this expedient without hesitation. (Ibn Ḳudāma, *Mughnī*, vii, 513; Khalīl, *Mukhtaṣar*, ii, 123).

Yet the acquirer who had not respected *istibrāʾ* could suffer indirectly the consequences of his negligence. Supposing, for example, that the slave gave birth to a child less than six months after she had been bought; this was proof that she had been pregnant by her previous master and therefore an *umm walad*; since this meant that she should have been neither sold nor given away, the act of acquisition by her new master was automatically annulled and the slave returned to her former master.

All possible combinations of *istibrāʾ* with the *ʿidda*s of freed slaves (identical with those of free women) and the *ʿidda*s of married slaves have been the object of lengthy discussions in works of *fiḳh*, to which reference should be made.

Bibliography: The works on *fiḳh*, generally in the chapter on the *ʿidda*, especially Marghīnānī, *Hidāya*, Cairo 1936, iv, 65 ff.; Ramlī, *Nihāyat al-Muḥtādj* (Shāfiʿī), Cairo 1938, vii, 154-62; Khalīl, *Mukhtaṣar*, tr. Bousquet, ii, 123-8; Ibn Ḳudāma, *Mughni* Cairo 1367, vii, 500 ff. For a comparison between the schools see Dimashḳī, *Raḥmat al-*

umma on the margin of Shaʿrānī's *Mizan*, ed. Ḥalabī, ii, 88-9; Santillana, *Istituzioni*, Rome 1925, i, 252-3. See also ʿABD, ʿIDDA and UMM WALAD.

(Y. LINANT DE BELLEFONDS)

ISTIBṢĀR (KITĀB AL-), an anonymous geographico-historical work of which the full title is *K. al-Istibṣār fī ʿadjāʾib al-amṣār*. The text does not provide any precise information about the author, who is most probably a Moroccan living in the second half of the 6th/12th century. Indeed it seems likely that the original text is the work of a writer referred to as *muʾallif* or *wāḍiʿ*, and that it was subsequently revised and brought up to date by a *nāẓir*, who states (p. 226) his intention of writing a history of the Maghrib together with a composition which he had offered to the sovereign in 580/1184-5 (probably Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr, 580/95/1184-99). Although the author states that he was writing in Ramaḍān 587/September-October 1191, events occurring after this date are also related, which suggests that the "reviser" restricted his activity to making additions without deleting conflicting facts. The work is dedicated to a certain Abū ʿImrān ibn Abī Yaḥyā b. Waḳtīn, who is otherwise unknown.

The *K. al-Istibṣār* is divided into three parts, which contain respectively a detailed description of Mecca and Medina, some more or less legendary information on the history and geography of Egypt, and finally a description of North Africa and of the Bilād al-Sūdān interspersed with historical information; the work is of very uneven value, fantastic stories being related side by side with contemporary documents of undeniable interest.

It was the subject of a partial edition by A. von Kremer, *Description de l'Afrique par un géographe arabe anonyme du 6e siècle de l'hégire*, Vienna 1852; thanks to the Mss. Algiers 1560 and Paris, Bibl. Nat. 2225, E. Fagnan was able to fill in some gaps in the rather incomplete text of von Kremer and to give a French translation of it, *L'Afrique septentrionale au XIIe siècle de notre ère*, in *Recueil de notices et mém. de la Soc. archéol. de Constantine*, xxxiii (1899), Constantine 1900; finally, Saad Zaghloul Abdel-Hamid published the complete text, based on the Mss. Bibl. Nat. 2225 and Algiers 1560 and 3216, together with a translation into French of the section relevant to the Holy Places and to Egypt, under the title *Kitāb al-Istibṣār*, etc., Alexandria 1958. Two manuscripts, identical to those used by von Kremer and Fagnan respectively, are in the Bibl. Gén. of Rabat, nos. 415 and 415 *bis*. It is probable that the manuscripts so far used still contain gaps, because the one author who quotes from the work, Ibn Abī Zarʿ (*Ḳirṭās*, 24), reproduces a passage which is not in the text as it has been preserved.

Bibliography: In the article. (CH. PELLAT)

ISTIDJA, ECIJA, a town in the centre of Andalusia, to the south-west of Cordova, which today contains 50,000 inhabitants; it is situated on the banks of the river Genil, which was formerly navigable as far as its confluence with the Guadalquiver. Of Iberian origin and colonized by the Greeks, the town was occupied by the Carthaginians, who have left no trace of their stay there, and then was fortified and embellished by the Romans who, at the time of Augustus, made it a *conventus*, the juridical centre of the district. Nothing is known of it under the Visigoths. The town surrendered to the Arabs after the defeat of Don Rodrigo at Lago de la Janda, and the whole surrounding region submitted to the victors without resistance. In the reign of the amīr al-Ḥakam I, a dispute over the succession broke out between the ruler and his two uncles, Sulaymān and ʿAbd Allāh, sons of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I; Sulaymān attempted to seize Cordova, and continued to struggle for two years before being defeated in the neighbourhood of Ecija and in the valleys of the Genil and the Guadalquiver; he was finally overcome, captured and put to death, while his brother ʿAbd Allāh went to Aix-la-Chapelle to seek support from Charlemagne.

Ecija remained comparatively peaceful until the time when the rebellion of ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn incited the inhabitants, who for the most part were Mozarab, to rise against the government of Cordova, an action which caused Ecija to be regarded as a cursed city inhabited solely by enemies of the Umayyad regime. The amīr ʿAbd Allāh attacked it, and his successor ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, on coming to the throne and launching his decisive campaigns against Ibn Ḥafṣūn, sent against Ecija his *ḥādjib* Badr with an army which dismantled the town and destroyed its bridge (later rebuilt by al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī ʿAmīr).

On the fall of the caliphate, Ecija was for a time ruled by the Djahwarids of Cordova, but it then passed under the domination of the Banū Birzāl who had made themselves independent in Carmona; but al-Muʿtaḍid of Seville, who had seized all the small Berber states, from Morón to Ronda, mercilessly attacked the territories subject to the petty ruler of Carmona, and this town, together with Ecija, Osuna and Almodovar, came under the rule of Seville. Later, at the beginning of the siege of Cordova by Ferdinand III, al-Mutawakkil Ibn Hūd attempted to oppose the besieging army; he took his troops as far as Ecija, but did not dare to engage in battle; he withdrew to Almeria, and the Cordovans, running short of supplies, surrendered on 22 Shawwāl 633/29 June 1236. The Muslims who wished to remain did not leave the town until 681/1282, when they were expelled and replaced by Christians. From then onwards, Ecija formed one of the bases from which the reconquest of the kingdom of Granada was organized.

Bibliography: Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, ed. and tr. E. Lévi-Provençal, 14-5 of the text, 20-1 of the tr.; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, ii, 164-5 of the text, 264-5 of the tr.; R. Dozy, *Hist. Mus. Esp.*, ii, 59-99, 287-90; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 152, ii, 6-22; Madoz, *Diccionario geográfico*, vii, 438; E. Saavedra, *Estudio sobre la invasión de los árabes en España*, 77. (A. HUICI MIRANDA)

ISTIḌLĀL [see MANTIḲ].

ISTĪFĀʾ [see MUSTAWFĪ].

IṢṬIFAN B. **BASĪL** (STEPHANOS), the first translator of the *Materia medica* of Dioscorides. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa speaks of him in two passages in his book: in the first he is cited along with Mūsā b. Khālid as one of the experienced scribes (*kuttāb naḥārīr*), skilled in the art of translating, whom the caliph al-Mutawakkil placed at the disposal of Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*], who was responsible for checking (*yataṣaffaḥ*) their work; the second and more important reference to him is derived from information provided by Ibn Djuldjul in his lost book on the *Explanation of the names of simples according to the treatise of Dioscorides*. The translation of the *Materia medica* from Greek into Arabic, he says, was made in Baghdād in the time of al-Mutawakkil by Iṣṭifan b. Basīl (*al-turdjumān*), under the supervision of Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ (*al-mutardjim*) who authorized it (*adjāzahu*). Iṣṭifan gave the Arabic equivalents for the Greek names of the drugs with which he was familiar in his day. Those names for which he knew of no Arabic equivalents he left in Greek, "trusting that God would later send someone who would know

them". It should be noted that this first translation was made directly from the Greek, without any intermediate Syriac version.

Bibliography: M. Steinschneider, *Die griechischen Aerzte in arabischen Uebersetzungen*, in *Virchows Archiv*, cxxiv (1891), 480-3; Max Meyerhof, *Die* Materia medica *des Dioskurides bei den Arabern*, in *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaft und der Medizin*, iii/4 (Berlin 1933). (R. ARNALDEZ)

IṢṬIFĀN AL-DUWAYHĪ, Maronite cleric and historian, born in Ihdin, in the northern Lebanon, in 1629. He studied at the Maronite College in Rome from 1641 until his graduation in 1655, then returned as a priest and missionary to serve his community in Mount Lebanon and Aleppo. In 1668 he was promoted to the rank of bishop and appointed to the diocese of Cyprus; two years later, on 20 May 1670, he was elected to succeed as Maronite patriarch.

As head of the Maronite church, Duwayhī proved an efficient reformer and reorganizer. His administration was notable, among other things, for the establishment of the Maronite order of the Antonines in 1695, and the confirmation of its rules in 1700. He died at Ḳannūbīn, the seat of the Maronite patriarchate, on 3 May 1704.

While certainly remembered as a great patriarch, Duwayhī is even better remembered as a historian of the Maronite church and community and of Syria, his three principal historical works being a history of the Maronites (*Taʾri̱kh al-ṭāʾifa al-mārūniyya*) which argues for their perpetual orthodoxy (the Maronites are known to have been originally Monothelites), a chronology of the Maronite patriarchs (*Silsilat baṭārikat al-ṭāʾifa al-mārūniyya*), and a chronicle of the history of Syria from the First Crusade until 1699 (*Taʾrīkh al-azmina*) which is valuable particularly for the period following the Ottoman conquest in 1516, and for its references to the history of the Maronites and the northern Lebanon in the earlier centuries. In general, the historical work of Duwayhī reflects his own exceptional intelligence and his careful Roman training, and even the polemics in his history of the Maronite church, which clearly stand out for what they are, do not detract from the scholarly quality of his work.

Bibliography: K. S. Salibi, *Maronite historians of mediaeval Lebanon*, Beirut 1959; G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*. Vatican City 1944-53. (K. S. SALIBI)

ISTIFHĀM (A.), inf. of the verb *istafhama* "to interrogate", a technical term in Arabic grammar signifying interrogation.

Interrogation can be indicated simply by the intonation of the sentence, particularly in prose that is close to the spoken language. Arabic generally uses two interrogative particles: *a-* (negative *a-lā*, *a-mā*, *a-lam*), *hal*. The second (*hal*) is more energetic than the first (*a-*), but is of more restricted use (Reckendorf, *Arabische Syntax*, 19, 10). Sībawayhi (i, 434, line 19-435, lines 1-2) represents the difference between *a-* and *hal* thus: "if you say: *hal taḍribu Zaydan*? "do you hit Zayd?", you are not implying that the act of hitting Zayd is a reality in your mind; you can say: *a-taḍribu Zaydan*?, and then you are implying that the act of hitting is a reality". This amounts to saying: *a-* for interrogation concerning a reality, *hal* concerning an act or a possibility, without the implication of any opinion about their realization (cf. Reckendorf, *loc. cit.*, 35 n. 2). W. H. Worrell (in *ZA*, xxi, 126) sees the essential difference as being one of emphasizing the interrogation in the case of the use of *hal*, that is to say that an emotional element is introduced. It is then of use to consider the usages of *a-*, *hal* and *am* found by G. Bergsträsser, at least in the Ḳurʾān, in *Verneinungs- und Fragepartikeln und Verwandtes im Ḳurʾān* (*Leipziger semitische Studien*, v/4 (1914), §§ 68-9). Besides, *a-* can be followed by *-wa-* or *-fa-* (stronger expressions): *a-wa-taḍribu*?, *a-fa-taḍribu*? *a-* can be followed by the inversion of the direct object complement: *a-Zaydan taḍribu*? All these constructions are prohibited with *hal*.

Disjunctive interrogation: the *ʿarabiyya* of the desert used: *a-* ... *am* (called *al-muttaṣila* "the joined up"), or *aw*: *a-Zaydun ʿindaka am ʿAmrun* or *aw ʿAmrun*? "is it Zayd or ʿAmr that is with you?"; *a-Zaydan laḳīta am Bishran* or *aw Bishran*? "did you meet Zayd or Bishr?". "In the course of its development, the language did not preserve this lack of distinction and reserved *aw* for non-interrogative sentences and *am* for interrogative sentences" (M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes and R. Blachere, *Gr. Ar.*³, 470, lines 1-4). The Arab grammarians make a subtle distinction between *aw* in interrogative sentences and *am*: see Sībawayhi, ch. 281; al-Zamakhsharī, *Mufaṣṣal*, § 542 and Ibn Yaʿīsh, 1153-4; this doctrine was reported by Wright, *Ar. Gr.*³, 308 B and Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.*, 311, lines 16 f. This distinction is a subtlety invented *a posteriori* to bring order to a lack of distinction, as Gaudefroy-Demombynes and Blachere state (*loc. cit.*, 470, n. 1).

On the use of *hal* ... *aw* or *hal* ... *am*, more frequently *bal am*, see Sībawayhi, ch. 280, Wright, ii, § 167, Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.*, 311; *am* "but rather" is then called *al-munḳaṭiʿa* "the separated" by the Arab grammarians. This *am al-munḳaṭiʿa* is also found in *am* of: *a-* .... *am* (see Bergsträsser, *loc. cit.*, §§ 73-4).

Remarks: a) For a negative answer to one of the two terms of a disjunctive interrogation, see Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.*, § 160 c.

b) *a-lā* is very frequently an exclamatory particle: "well, now! come on! look here!" *a-mā* is also found in this sense. See examples: Wright, ii, § 168; Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.*, 39.

allā (*alā* = *a-lā*, less strong than the preceding one), *hal-lā*, are used as exclamatory particles exhorting someone to do something (with the imperfective), or reproaching someone for not having done something (with the perfective); see Wright, ii, § 169, Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.*, 39.

c) For rhetorical questions, see Reckendorf, *ibid.*, § 21.

d) In dialect *ha-* is found for *a-*: *ha-mā* for *a-mā*, and *vice-versa*: *al* for *hal*, *allā* for *hallā* (Wright, i, 284 C and 288 A).

Bibliography: in the text; in addition, Arab authors: Sībawayhi, i, ch. 28-9, 46 (for indirect interrogation that has no other peculiarity than that of being dependent), 277-81, 283-4, ed. Paris; Zamakhsharī, *Mufaṣṣal*, §§ 541-2, 581-4, 2 ed. Broch and *Sharḥ* of Ibn Yaʿīsh, 1151-4, 1201-4, ed. G. Jahn; Ibn Hishām al-Anṣārī, *Mughnī 'l-labīb*, i, 13-16, ii, 349-53, ed. Muhyi 'l-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd; Raḍī 'l-Dīn al-Astarābādhī, *Sharḥ al-Kāfiya*, ii, 361-2, ed. Istanbul 1275. For a critique of the Arab sources (in particular *Mughnī 'l-labīb*), see: W. H. Worrell, *The Interrogative Particle* hal *in Arabic, according to Native Sources and the Ḳurʾān*, in *ZA*, xxi (1908), 116-50. (H. FLEISCH)

ISTIḤḌĀR [see ISTINZĀL].

ISTIḤSĀN and **ISTIṢLĀḤ**, two methods of reasoning much discussed in the books on the-

Uṣūl al-Fiḳh [*q.v.*] in connection with the doctrine of *ḳiyās* [*q.v.*]. The two conceptions as a result of their close relationship are sometimes confused (cf. Shāṭibī, iv, 116-118; Ibn Taymiyya, v, 22). But no one ever seems to have reached a clear and lucid definition of their mutual relationship.

I. The authorities for *istiḥsān* which the followers of this method quote from the Ḳur'ān (XXXIX, 18, 55), *ḥadīth* (*mā ra'āhu 'l-muslimūn ḥasanan fa-huwa ʿinda 'llāhi ḥasanun*) and *idjmāʿ* (going to the bath without previous arrangement about payment etc.), are easily deprived of weight by the opposition and therefore need not be further discussed. On the other hand, it is interesting to note that *istiḥsān* already leaves its literary impress in *ḥadīth*, thus going back to the first half of the 8th century A.D. (see Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, 59). For example we already find in Bukhārī (*Waṣāyā*, bāb 8) the expression *istaḥsana* in the meaning of "to make a decision for a particular interpretation of the law as a result of one's own deliberation". Half a century later, Mālik (d. 179/795) uses the expression in connection with legal decisions for which he cannot find authority in tradition (*Mudawwana*, Cairo 1323, xvi, 217; similarly xiv, 134: "This is a matter on which I have received no instruction from my predecessors. It is rather something that we have decided according to opinion" [*wa-innamā huwa shay'un istaḥsannāhu*]). About the same time Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798, Ḥanafī) says: *al-ḳiyās kāna an . . . illā annī istaḥsantu . . .* ("according to the *ḳiyās* this and that would be prescribed but I have decided according to my opinion" [*Kitāb al-Kharādj*, Būlāḳ 1302, 117]). *Istiḥsān* is thus contrasted even more distinctly with the usual method of deducing legislation (*ḳiyās*). The term, in later centuries also, means a method of finding the law which for any reason is contradictory to the usual *ḳiyās*.

It is noteworthy that Shāfiʿī (d. 820), the founder of the science of the *Uṣūl al-Fiḳh*, fundamentally rejected *istiḥsān*, because he feared that in this way by going beyond the methodically secure and generally recognized principles of legal interpretation a loophole would be made for arbitrary decision. "God has not permitted any man since his Messenger to present views (*ḳawl*) unless from knowledge that was complete before him" (*Risāla*, 70). If any one in spite of this uses *istiḥsān* he is bungling the work of God, the highest legislator (*man istaḥsana fa-ḳad sharaʿa* [quoted in Ghazālī, i, 274 and *pass.*]). Ghazālī (d. 504/1111) and Bayḍāwī (681/1282 or later, also a Shāfiʿī) resumed and developed the discussion initiated by Shāfiʿī in a more comprehensive and systematic fashion. *Istiḥsān* in their view can only be approved in so far as it can be traced to the principle of *takhṣīṣ* (the preference of a particular to a general prescription). But as *takhṣīṣ* is already contained in the doctrine of *ḳiyās*, *istiḥsān* has really no special part to play. Later Shāfiʿī authorities like Subkī (d. 1370) and Maḥallī (864/1460) express similar views.

The supporters of the doctrine of *istiḥsān*—they belong for the most part to the Ḥanafī *madhhab* (Pazdawī [d. 482/1089], Sarakhsī [d. 483/1090], Nasafī [709/1310] etc. down to Baḥr al-ʿUlūm [1225/1810])—make every effort to deprive these objections of their force. To the assertion that the arbitrary opinion of the individual legist is given too much scope, they reply by defining and systematizing *istiḥsān* more accurately. Their principle of diverging in certain cases from *ḳiyās* and using *istiḥsān* is—they say—not decided by personal inclinations or by a lack of methodical thinking but on the contrary by purely material considerations provided for in the law. It is a "concealed *ḳiyās*" (*ḳiyās khafī*), a divergence from an externally obvious *ḳiyās* to an inner and self-conditioned decision. The reason for the preference of *istiḥsān* might be given in the Ḳur'ān, in the Sunna, in the *idjmāʿ* or in the principle of *ḍarūra*, but in any case it is sanctioned by generally recognized methods of proof. Nor it is true that *istiḥsān* can be traced back to the principle of *takhṣīṣ* and thus be brought within the sphere of *ḳiyās* proper. It really lies outside of this narrow sphere and must therefore be recognized as a special form of deduction. For the rest, if we investigate more carefully, we can assert that the form of *istiḥsān* represented by the Ḥanafīs is also used by representatives of other *madhhabs*. It is in practice the common property of all legists.

If we consider the very minute work of systematization which the later Ḥanafīs (*e.g.*, Ibn al-Humām [d. 861/1457]—Ibn Amīr al-Ḥādjdj [879/1474] and Bihārī [1120/1708]—Baḥr al-ʿUlūm [1225/1810] have done on *istiḥsān*, we may actually agree with this last deduction. This method of reasoning, which originally aroused such misgiving because it was undefined, is given a place in the casuistic stepladder of the *ʿilm uṣūl al-fiḳh*, and its possibility of application thus limited to a few accurately definable cases. If nevertheless discussion continued on whether it is justified or not this can only be explained by the fact that the followers of the Shāfiʿī school felt themselves bound from a certain traditional principle not to drop the polemic against *istiḥsān* which had long ago been originated by their master—under different conditions and with more justice.

II. *Istiṣlāḥ* is, as regards its negative side, closely connected with *istiḥsān*; here we have again a question of principle by which the otherwise usual method of deduction is to be excluded in the preparation of legal decisions. The difference from *istiḥsān* is seen only when we enquire into the guiding idea which forms the positive foundation for this principle which is negative in its effects. We then see that *istiṣlāḥ* is more limited and more closely defined in content than *istiḥsān* in so far as it replaces the, in itself only formal, "finding-good" of the latter by the material principle of *maṣlaḥa*. It argues with the demands of human welfare in the widest sense. It might therefore be contrasted with the more comprehensive and more indefinite general conception of *istiḥsān* as a more exactly defined or subordinated species, as indeed al-Ishbīlī (Mālikī, d. 546/1151) already pointed out (Shāṭibī, p. 117). It is just through this greater definiteness that *istiṣlāḥ* gains in force compared with *istiḥsān*. For it is evident that such a plausible idea as that of anxiety for human welfare carries much more conviction in the derivation of legal decisions and can be more readily established than the formal and empty criterion of *istiḥsān*. In this way it is probably to be explained why the principle of *istiṣlāḥ* was on the whole not so strongly disputed as that of *istiḥsān* and why it occasionally, going beyond the denial of the usual *ḳiyās*, even questioned the validity of legal principles emanating directly from the Ḳur'ān, Sunna and *idjmāʿ* (see below).

Relying on the *ḥadīth lā ḍarara wa-lā ḍirāra fi 'l-islām* (in Islām there is no injury or malicious damage) and on other testimony from the Ḳur'ān, Sunna and *idjmāʿ*, later representatives of the *ʿilm uṣūl al-fiḳh* championed the principle that the whole Sharīʿa furthers or is intended to further the welfare of man (*riʿāyat al-maṣāliḥ*). This however does not

yet admit the principle of *istiṣlāḥ* but only a basis for it. *Istiṣlāḥ* is not yet found in operation in the normal deduction of the thesis of *riʿāyat al-maṣāliḥ*, but first occurs in the exceptional case only, namely when the legal principles of the Sharīʿa afford no direct basis for it. It is therefore called more accurately the principle of *al-maṣāliḥ al-mursala, i.e.*, of those cases of the *riʿāyat al-maṣlaḥa* in which the chain of deduction does not run smoothly and free from gaps back to the starting point of legislation (cf. the use of the expression *mursal* in the science of Tradition). *Istiṣlāḥ*, like *istiḥsān*, is therefore as a kind of *ḳiyās khafī* (see above) always in contrast to the more obvious method of deducing legal decisions. It is intended to eliminate or at least to correct deductions which take no note of the idea of *maṣlaḥa* in the sense of the latter. If for example—to take a frequently quoted example—the enemies of Islam attack the Muslims and to protect themselves drive Muslim prisoners in front of them, the Muslim ought properly not to shoot at them in view of the prohibition to kill innocent co-religionists. If nevertheless it is decided to do so and this latter prohibition is disobeyed, this is done with the support of *istiṣlāḥ*: it is believed to be more in keeping with the spirit of the law if a few Muslims are sacrificed than if the whole community is handed over to destruction.

The history of the origin and development of *istiṣlāḥ* cannot be traced so far back as that of *istiḥsān*. It is true that it is asserted by different authorities that Mālik (d. 179/795) was the first to use *istiṣlāḥ*, and indeed there is some ground for this, as for example when he declares it permitted in special cases to sell fresh dates not yet picked for ripened dates—against the usual regulation that fresh fruits cannot be sold for dried (*Mudawwana*, Cairo 1323, x, 90 ff.: *Kitāb al-ʿArāyā*). But in the first place it is not quite certain whether this opinion goes back to Mālik (see p. 94), and secondly a justification of this decision comparable to *istiṣlāḥ* (*li-mā yukhāf min iddikhāl al-maḍarra ʿalā ṣāḥib al-ʿarāyā*: p. 93 f., cf. p. 95) quite obviously comes not from him but—according to Saḥnūn (d. 854)—from the circle of his pupils. It should further be remembered that the term *maṣlaḥa* or *istiṣlāḥ* is not mentioned at all in this connection; and finally it should also be noted that Shāfiʿī (d. 820) in his famous *Risāla* confines the discussion to *istiḥsān*. From this it is probably safe to deduce that the problem of *istiṣlāḥ* was not yet ripe for discussion in his time—unless it was then still regarded as a subdivision of *istiḥsān* and therefore not particularly emphasised. The assertion that Mālik was the first to use *istiṣlāḥ* is therefore in all probability a later ante-dating of the fact that the Mālikīs made the most frequent use of this principle.

Nor in the period following Mālik and his generation is it possible yet to demonstrate clearly the development of *istiṣlāḥ*. The names which are quoted as authorities in the later works in discussion of the principle—apart from Mālik and Shāfiʿī (!)—belong at earliest to the 11th century. Perhaps the gap could be filled to some extent if the old and still unpublished *uṣūl* works were systematically studied. In any case the fact that the principle of *istiṣlāḥ*, according to the present state of our knowledge of the sources, is first found at a comparatively late date, does not yet allow us to deduce with certainty an outside influence (*e.g.*, of the *ratio utilitatis* in Roman law). It is equally unjustifiable, in view of the lack of the necessary preliminary work, to assert the quite natural hypothesis that *istiṣlāḥ* is ultimately to be derived from the Muʿtazilī principle of *ʿadl*.

Imām al-Ḥaramayn al-Djuwaynī (d. 478/1085, Shāfiʿī) is the first of those who are mentioned as followers of the principle of *istiṣlāḥ*. Unfortunately he does not discuss it in his brief *uṣūl* work *al-Waraḳāt* (but see the quotation from his *Mughīth al-Khalḳ* in Goldziher, in *WZKM*, i, 229, note 5). On the other hand, we possess authentic expressions of opinion by the *imām* Ghazālī (d. 1111), also quoted as an authority, which take us into the heart of the discussion (*Mustaṣfā*, i, 284-315). Ghazālī defines the legal term *maṣlaḥa* as "consideration for what is aimed at for mankind in the law" (*al-muḥāfaẓa ʿalā maḳṣūd al-sharʿ . . . min al-khalḳ*: p. 286 f.). By this he means five things: maintenance of religion, of life, of reason, of descendants and property. The consideration of *maṣlaḥa* and its counterpart, the averting of corruption (*dafʿ al-mafsada*), is, according to Ghazālī, generally given by the legal text and therefore coincides with the usual *ḳiyās*. In the cases in which it cannot be deduced by the usual process (*maṣlaḥa mursala*) it is only decisive when there are cogent and unequivocally defined considerations affecting the whole community (*ḍarūrī, ḳaṭʿī, kullī*), for example in the case of defence against an attack made upon the community of Muslims under cover of Muslim prisoners (see above). Otherwise it is not allowed to use *istiṣlāḥ*. If nevertheless a man uses it, he is bungling the work of the divine legislator (p. 311: *wa-man ṣāra ilayhā fa-ḳad sharaʿa*, with reference to Shāfiʿī's above-quoted remark on *istiḥsān*). For the rest Ghazālī refuses to include *istiṣlāḥ*, which he recognises in this limited form, as a special "root" with the other *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, as in his view it depends on a combination of proofs from the Ḳurʾān, *ḥadīth* etc. and therefore does not constitute an integral base.

After Ghazālī, other Shāfiʿī legal theorists express themselves on the problem of *istiṣlāḥ*, *e.g.*, Bayḍāwī (d. 1282 or later)—Isnawī (772/1370) and Subkī (771/1370)—Maḥallī (864/1460)—Bannānī (1198/1784). They discuss at considerable length the views of their predecessors, especially Ghazālī, but contribute very little that is new. On the other hand, the tendency to systematization of the different cases of *istiṣlāḥ* increases. This tendency to systematization however only reaches its height in the later Ḥanafī works on *uṣūl* by Ṣadr al-Sharīʿa Maḥbūbī (d. 747/1346)—al-Taftāzānī (792/1390 or later)—al-Fanarī (c. 905/1500) and especially Ibn al-Humām (861/1457)—Ibn Amīr al-Ḥadjdj (879/1474) and al-Bihārī (1120/1708)—Baḥr al-ʿUlūm (1225/1810). Here we cannot go into the details of their explanations, which are often difficult to follow.

Among the pronounced opponents of *istiṣlāḥ* are mentioned al-Āmidī (d. 631/1233, originally Ḥanbalī, later Shāfiʿī) and Ibn al-Ḥādjib (646/1249, Mālikī) (Bayḍāwī-Isnawī, iii, 135). At a somewhat later period we may probably include under this heading the celebrated Ḥanbalī theologian Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328). In one of his epistles he gives his views on *maṣāliḥ mursala*. His exposition is rather obscure but it is at least clear that the whole question caused him much misgiving. He laments that many rulers and also ordinary mortals have used the principle of *maṣāliḥ* contrary to the law or in ignorance of it and so—just as with *istiḥsān*—have acted illegally as law-makers. The Sharīʿa—he thinks—has not neglected *maṣlaḥa*. If the human understanding thinks it may assume a *maṣlaḥa* which is not represented in the law they are only two possibilities: either the law has already indicated it

without his knowledge or it is a question only of an imaginary and not a real *maṣlaḥa*.

In the foregoing it has already been mentioned that the Mālikīs are regarded as the principal champions of *istiṣlāḥ*. But too much stress should not be laid on this general opinion. It is of course true that Mālikī legal theorists like Shāṭibī (d. 590/1194) and Ḳarāfī (684/1285) took up the discussion of *maṣāliḥ mursala* and carried it further. But on the other hand Ibn al-Ḥādjib who was also a Mālikī is reckoned one of the opponents of the principle (see above). On the contrary, the circle of those who recognise the principle of *istiṣlāḥ* in practice extends far beyond the limits of the Mālikī school. Ḳarāfī even points out that "if one looks carefully, it is in general use in the *madhhabs*" (p. 170). Shāfiʿīs and Ḥanafīs—although with certain limitations and in part under other names—have adopted it and developed it further. The most radical upholder of *istiṣlāḥ* is however a certain Nadjm al-Dīn al-Ṭawfī (d. 716/1316). He is considered a Ḥanbalī but in reality may be claimed as an independent student of law (*mudjtahid*)—precisely on account of his attitude to the question of *istiṣlāḥ*.

Ṭawfī in his *Risāla fi 'l-maṣāliḥ al-mursala* (extracted by Djamāl al-Dīn al-Ḳāsimī from his commentary on Nawawī's *Arbaʿūna ḥadīthan*) puts the ticklish question: What is to be done if the text of the law (*naṣṣ*) and *idjmāʿ* cannot be reconciled with regard for the general welfare (*riʿāyat al-maṣlaḥa*)? His answer is unambiguous: The *riʿāyat al-maṣlaḥa* is decisive, in so far as the legal aspects of everyday life (*muʿāmalāt*) are in question (the sphere of duties relating to worship, *ʿibādāt*, is not affected thereby as they relate to something fundamentally different from the preservation of the welfare of humanity). *Naṣṣ* and *idjmāʿ* are however not simply to be excluded. They are rather to be reconciled subsequently with the demands of the *maṣlaḥa* by the help of exegesis (*bayān*) or specification (*takhṣīṣ*, *i.e.*, by separating a subdivision from the general and the principles applicable to it). In any case however, the *riʿāyat al-maṣlaḥa* represents the highest court of appeal.

In order to strengthen the principle of *riʿāyat al-maṣlaḥa* and justify placing it above *naṣṣ* and *idjmāʿ* Ṭawfī quotes evidence from Ḳur'ān, Sunna, *idjmāʿ* and *naẓar* (reasoning), of course giving first place to the saying attributed to Muḥammad: "there is no injury or malicious damage" (*lā ḍarara wa-lā ḍirāra*). He further points out that the legal texts are of different kinds and contradictory while the idea of *maṣlaḥa* is an integral base, and thus gives a better clue to the solution of legal problems (reference to Ḳur'ān III, 103: "Hold fast together to the cord of Allāh and do not split into parties!"). He takes this opportunity to combat the assertion that the variety of legal interpretation is a special advantage of the Muslim religion (cf. the *ḥadīth*: *ikhtilāfᵘ ummatī raḥmatᵘⁿ*). The disadvantages which result are greater than the advantages: simply because there are such different interpretations, it is sometimes possible to find a lax interpretation to suit one's own wishes and to neglect the more rigorous injunctions. Besides, many non-Muslims, who would readily adopt Islam, are prevented from taking the final step by the multitude of opinions held by jurists and the resulting lack of uniformity in the legal system of Islam.

The author is well aware that his views go beyond the *istiṣlāḥ* of the Mālikīs (p. 60 f.). He is reproached with abandoning by his thesis the path that has been taken by the bulk of the Muslim community (*al-sawād al-aʿẓam*) and attention is called to the words of the Prophet: "Follow the majority! He who takes his own way will go his own way to Hell also" (*ittabiʿū al-sawād al-aʿẓam fa-inna man shadhdha shadhdha fi 'l-nār*). But this would mean reducing every new view and every new method *ad absurdum*. The majority which has to be followed according to the words of Muḥammad is rather the path of clear demonstration. And the latter condition is fulfilled in his (Ṭawfī's) method of *riʿāyat al-maṣlaḥa*.

Ibn Taymiyya in his already mentioned *Risāla* points out emphatically that the mind of man easily makes mistakes in using *maṣlaḥa*, especially if the text of the law does not agree with it. Ṭawfī, his contemporary and for a time pupil, on the other hand, concludes his *Risāla fi 'l-maṣāliḥ al-mursala* with the following words: "As to *maṣlaḥa* with regard to the legal relationships of man to man, it is known to those whom these legal relationships concern by reason of custom and intelligence. If we now see that the deduction given by the law does not comply with it (the *maṣlaḥa*), we know that to obtain it we must let it speak for itself (*fa-'idhā ra'aynā dalīl al-sharʿ mutaḳāʿidᵃⁿ ʿan ifādatihā ʿalimnā annā uḥilnā fī taḥṣīlihā ʿalā riʿāyatihā*) ... And God knows best what is correct".

Ṭawfī lived at a time when the systematization of Islamic law had already been achieved. As a champion of the principle of *riʿāyat al-maṣlaḥa* he was, and still is, an outsider. His *Risāla*, it is true, appeared in print in 1906 in a collection of treatises on *uṣūl al-fiḳh* and again in the periodical *al-Manār*. It seems, however, to have had no immediate effect upon those circles which, in Egypt and elsewhere, have been agitating for a reform of Islamic Law in recent times. Nevertheless, owing to the fact that its radicalism provoked contradiction, it did provide the impulse for a scientific discussion of the theoretical legal importance of *maṣlaḥa*.

Bibliography: I. *Istiḥsān*: Shāfiʿī, *Risāla* (at the beginning of *Kitāb al-Umm*, Būlāḳ 1321), 69 f.; *Kitāb al-Umm*, vii, Būlāḳ 1325, 270-7; Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ṭayyib al-Baṣrī al-Muʿtazilī, *Kitāb al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-fiḳh*, ii, Damascus 1385/1965, 838-40; Ghazālī, *al-Mustaṣfā*, 2 vols., Cairo 1356/1937, i, 137-9; Bayḍāwī, *Minhādj al-wuṣūl*, with commentary *Nihāyat al-su'ūl* by Djamāl al-Dīn al-Isnawī (on the margin of *al-Taḳrīr wa 'l-taḥbīr* by Ibn Amīr al-Ḥadjdj), 3 vols., Būlāḳ 1316-1317, iii, 140-147; Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Djamʿ al-djawāmiʿ*, with the commentary of Djalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī and glosses by Bannānī, 2 vols., Cairo 1297, ii, 288; Pazdawī, *Kanz al-wuṣūl*, with commentary (*Kashf al-asrār*) by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Bukhārī, 4 vols., Istanbul 1307-1308, iv, 2-14, 40, 83; Sarakhsī, *al-Mabsūṭ*, x, Cairo 1324, 145; Abu 'l-Barakāt al-Nasafī, *Kashf al-asrār* (*Sharḥ Manār al-anwār*), with commentary by Mullā Djīwan and glosses by Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm al-Luknawī, 2 vols., Būlāḳ 1316, ii, 164-8; Ṣadr al-Sharīʿa al-Maḥbūbī, *Sharḥ al-tawḍīḥ ʿalā 'l-Tanḳīḥ*, with commentary (*al-Talwīḥ*) by Taftāzānī and glosses by Fanarī and Mullā Khusraw, 3 vols., Cairo 1322, iii, 2-10; Ibn al-Humām, *al-Taḥrīr*, with commentary (*al-Taḳrīr wa 'l-taḥbīr*) by Ibn Amīr al-Ḥadjdj, 3 vols., Būlāḳ 1316-1317, iii, 221-238; [Mullā Khusraw], *Mirḳāt al-wuṣūl ilā ʿilm al-uṣūl*, Istanbul 1307, 23 f.; Muḥibb Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Shakūr (Bihārī), *Musallam al-thubūt*, with commentary (*Fawātiḥ al-raḥamūt*) by Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAlī Niẓām al-Dīn (Baḥr al-ʿUlūm), printed along with Ghazālī's *al-Mustaṣfā*, 2 vols.,

Būlāḳ 1322-1324, ii, 230-4; Ibn Taymiyya, *Madjmūʿat al-rasāʾil wa 'l-masāʾil*, 5 vols., Cairo 1341-1349, v, 22 f.; George Makdisi, *Ibn Taimīya's Autograph Manuscript on Istiḥsān: Materials for the Study of Islamic Legal Thought*, in: *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of Hamilton A. R. Gibb*, Leiden 1965, 446-479 (edition of the deficiently written text); Shāṭibī, *al-Muwāfaḳāt*, 4 vols., Cairo 1341, iv, 116-8; *al-Iʿtiṣām*, ii, Cairo 1332, 316-356; al-Shaykh Muḥammad al-Khiḍrī Bey, *Uṣūl al-fiḳh*[2], Cairo 1352/1933, 413-6; ʿAbdu 'r-Raḥīm, *I Principî della Giurisprudenza Musulmana*, tr. Guido Cimino, Rome 1922, 181-4; Ṣubḥī Maḥmaṣānī, *Falsafat al-tashrīʿ fi 'l-Islām*[3], Beirut 1380/1961, 172-5 (tr. Farhat J. Ziadeh, Leiden 1961, 85-87); Muḥammad Saʿīd Ramaḍān al-Būṭī, *Ḍawābiṭ al-maṣlaḥa fi 'l-sharīʿa al-islāmiyya*, Damascus 1966-1967, 236-47, 377, 380-3; I. Goldziher, *WZKM* i (1887), 228 f.; D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto Musulmano Malichita*, i, Rome 1926, 56 f., [2]1938, 71-3; E. Tyan, *Méthodologie et sources du droit en Islam* (*Studia Islamica* x (1959), 79-109), esp. 84-96; Malcolm H. Kerr, *Islamic reform*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1966, 89 f.

II. *Istiṣlāḥ*: Ghazālī, *op. cit.*, i, 139-144; Bayḍāwī-Isnawī, *op. cit.*, iii, 134-139; Subkī-Maḥallī-Bannānī, *op. cit.*, ii, 229-234; Maḥbūbī-Taftāzānī-Fanarī, *op. cit.*, ii, 374 ff., esp. 391-6; Ibn al-Humām-Ibn Amīr al-Ḥadjdj, *op. cit.*, iii, 141-167, esp. 150 ff.; Bihārī-Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, *op. cit.*, ii, 260 ff., esp. 266 f. and 301; Ibn Taymiyya, *op. cit.*, v, 22 ff.; Shāṭibī, *al-Muwāfaḳāt*, iv, 110 ff., esp. 116-8; *al-Iʿtiṣām*, ii, 307-316, 324; Ḳarāfī, *Sharḥ Tanḳīḥ al-fuṣūl*, Cairo 1306, 170 f.; Nadjm al-Dīn al-Ṭawfī, *Risāla fi 'l-maṣāliḥ al-mursala* (*Madjmūʿ rasāʾil fi uṣūl al-fiḳh*, Beirut 1324, 37-70); the same work published in Rashīd Riḍā's periodical *al-Manār*, ix (1324), 745-70; Muḥammad al-Khiḍrī, *op. cit.*, 381-92; ʿAbdu 'r-Raḥīm, *op. cit.*, 173, 184; Maḥmaṣānī, *op. cit.*, 175-8, 215 f. (tr. Ziadeh, p. 87-89, 116 f.); Muṣṭafā Zayd, *al-Maṣlaḥa fi 'l-tashrīʿ al-islāmī wa-Nadjm al-Dīn al-Ṭawfī*, Cairo 1374/1954; Muḥammad Saʿīd Ramaḍān al-Būṭī, *Ḍawābiṭ al-maṣlaḥa fi 'l-sharīʿa al-islāmiyya*, Damascus 1966-1967; Muḥammad Taḳī al-Ḥakīm (Shīʿite), *al-Uṣūl al-ʿāmma li 'l-fiḳh al-muḳāran*, Beirut n.d., 380-404; al-Sayyid ʿAlī Naḳī al-Ḥaydarī (Shīʿite), *Uṣūl al-istinbāṭ*, Ḳumm 1379-80 (1959/60), 279-281; I. Goldziher, *WZKM*, i (1887), 229 f.; Santillana, *op. cit.*, i, Rome 1926, 55 f., [2]1938, 70 f.; E. Tyan, *op. cit.*, esp. 96-101; Malcolm Kerr, *Rashīd Riḍā and Islamic legal reform*, in *MW*, i (1960), 99-108, 170-181; idem, *Islamic reform*, 55 f., 75 f., 80-102, 187-97, 207.

(R. Paret)

ISTIḲBĀL in astronomy means the opposition of Sun and Moon, that is, the situation wherein their elongation from each other amounts to 180°. The word can refer to either a mean or a "true" opposition. The opposite of *istiḳbāl* is *idjtimāʿ*, the conjunction (again mean or "true") of the two luminaries. The practical importance of these two concepts is twofold. Eclipses can occur only at the two syzygies, lunar eclipses at opposition and solar eclipses at conjunction. Further, only when the time of the conjunction is known can the time of the first sighting of the New Moon be computed. For these two reasons every *zīdj* contains tables for computing *istiḳbālāt* and *idjtimāʿāt*.

These two terms are sometimes employed in astrology to refer to the diametric aspect and the conjunction of the planets, though generally astrologers prefer the terms *muḳābala* and *ḳirān*. In turn, the latter two terms are sometimes used by astronomers in place of *istiḳbāl* and *idjtimāʿ*. Other astrological aspects are sextile (*tasdīs*), quartile (*tarbīʿ*) and trine (*tathlīth*) at elongations (variously computed) of 60°, 90°, and 120° respectively.

Bibliography: For the astronomical usage see C. A. Nallino, *Al-Battānī*, ii, 29-32, 205-9, and 306-7. For the astrological usage the most convenient reference is al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-tafhīm*, *s.vv.*

(David Pingree)

ISTIKHĀRA (A.), deriving from a root *kh-y-r* which expresses the idea of option or choice, consists of entrusting God with the choice between two or more possible options, either through piety and submission to His will, or else through inability to decide oneself, on account of not knowing which choice is the most advantageous one. To the first category belong the *akhyār* or "chosen", who regulate their lives according to the model inspired by God in the Ḳurʾān and the Law; to the second belong the *mustakhīrūn*, those who seek to escape from indecision with the help of divine inspiration. The divine voice expresses itself either by means of a *ruʾyā* [*q.v.*] or dream, or else by *ḳurʿa* [*q.v.*] or rhapsodomancy.

As a result of its affinities with the ancient practice of incubation, used especially in hiatromancy or medical divination and in necromancy, *istikhāra* is abhorred by Muslim orthodoxy (cf. A. Fischer, in *ZDMG*, lviii (1914), 325), but it is fairly widespread in popular circles, where it is sometimes found in conjunction with the casting of spells and, in effect, the use of ordeals (cf. L. Massignon, in *Annuaire du Collège de France*, 41e année, 1940-1, 86). To prevent the return to pagan customs, Islam fixed the rules under which the rite of *istikhāra* might be practised. A tradition of Djābir relates that the Prophet taught his disciples *istikhāra* in all things, as though he were teaching them a *sūra* of the Ḳurʾān. The practice followed by the Prophet consisted in two *rakʿas*, followed by a prayer, emphasising the omniscience and omnipotence of God and including a reference to the subject of the consultation (cf. al-Shawkānī, *Nayl al-awṭār*, quoted by Muḥammad ʿAbduh, *al-ʿIbādāt fi 'l-Islām*, Cairo n.d., 180). Neither time nor place is fixed for a consultation of this kind. The inspiration revealing the decision to be taken is immediately perceived, or, if the response be insufficiently clear in the consultant's mind, he has recourse to a drawing of lots from the various possible solutions, written separately on pieces of paper (cf. Doutté, *Magie et religion*, 413 f.).

This orthodox practice is generally interpreted in a sense which makes it comparable with incubation. After the invocation, the formulae for which are of different kinds and varying in length (cf. al-Bukhārī, *Tawḥīd*, no. 10, and *Daʿawāt*, no. 48, ed. Krehl-Juynboll, iv, 202 and 450; al-Tirmidhī, ed. Būlāḳ 1292, ii, 266; al-Nawawī, *Ḥilyat al-abrār*, ed. Cairo 1300, 56), the devotee goes to sleep, and it is in a dream that the revelation is made to him. This procedure is observed universally, especially in North-Africa, although it is considered to go beyond the letter of the Law (cf. Ibn al-Ḥādjdj, *al-Madkhal*, Cairo 1320, iii, 54).

A further step in the direction of incubation is taken by those who insist that the efficacy of this rite is dependent upon its being performed in a mosque. According to al-ʿAwfī, *Lubāb*, i, 210, l. 12, one goes into the mosque to perform the *namāz-i istikhāra*. The practice of sleeping in the sanctuary is sufficiently well attested before Islam, just as in the time of the

Prophet. It was by the Kaʿba, where he slept that night, that ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib is said to have had the dream concerning Zamzam (cf. *Divination*, 262 f.); again, it was by the Kaʿba, where Muḥammad slept, that for the second time (?) there apparently took place the rite for the purification of the heart and entrails (*s̲h̲aḳḳ al-baṭn* and *fatḥ al-ṣadr*), performed for him by the two angels (cf. al-Ṭabarī, i, 1157); it is even said, on this occasion, that "the Ḳurays̲h̲ites were accustomed to sleep beside the Kaʿba" (cf. *ibid.* and al-Azraḳī, *Ak̲h̲bār Makka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 306). The *isrāʾ* is also said to have taken place when the Prophet slept in the court (*ḥid̲j̲r*) of the Kaʿba (cf. *Divination*, 358). This custom does not appear to be limited to the Kaʿba (for its permanence, see Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 16, n. 3 and 139); the attendant of al-D̲j̲alsad, an oracular divinity, slept in the sanctuary (cf. J. Wellhausen, *Reste*[2], 53 ff.; T. Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie centrale à la veille de l'hégire*, Paris 1968 (*Bibliothèque archéologique et historique*, lxxxviii), 84-7).

Orthodoxy is opposed to this practice, apparently out of regard for ritual purity (cf. Ibn al-Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲, *Madk̲h̲al*, Cairo 1348, ii, 215, 241); but a short work in manuscript of Muḥammad al-S̲h̲awāʾī al-S̲h̲āfiʿī al-K̲h̲aṭīb (d. 954/1644), entitled *Risālat al-ak̲h̲yār fī-man manaʿa 'l-nawm fi 'l-masād̲j̲id min al-as̲h̲rār*, which we have consulted in Bursa (Ulucami 3496, fol. 1-20), refutes the arguments put forward in support of the prohibition of this custom (cf. details in *Divination*, 365 ff.).

In North Africa, where *istik̲h̲āra* is very close to the ancient incubation (cf. Doutté, *Magie et religion*, 414), and more especially in Morocco, people go and sleep in the grottoes, the refuge of the spirits, or beside ancient tombs, or, what is more usual today, in the sanctuary of a marabout, in order to elicit a response to the prayer of *istik̲h̲āra* (*ibid.*, 411 ff.). There even exists magic recipes to ensure the success of this rite (cf. al-Būnī, *S̲h̲ams al-maʿārif*, ii, 8). One of these, for example, is utilized in the search for a thief; a magic formula is written on one's hand, and one then goes to sleep, with this hand placed under the right cheek; the thief is then revealed in a dream (Doutté, *op. cit.*, 357). But the most characteristic is that of *ḥālūmat al-ṭibāʿ al-tāmm*, mentioned by Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, *Muḳaddima*, i, 190, when referring to the *G̲h̲āyat al-ḥakīm* of the Pseudo-Mad̲j̲rīṭī (cf. ed. Ritter and Plessner, Leipzig 1933, 187 ff.; German trans. by the same authors, London 1962, 199 f., in which the term *ḥālūma* does not occur), and which is a technique consisting of obtaining, in a dream of "perfect nature", a response to a question posed at the time of lying down to sleep, after purifying one's conscience, concentrating one's intention, pronouncing the following gibberish words: *Tamāg̲h̲īs bag̲h̲dīsawād, wag̲h̲dās, nufānāg̲h̲adīs*, and formulating one's wish. During sleep, the answer to the question is given. Ibn K̲h̲aldūn states that he had tried this himself and obtained good results (cf. *Divination*, 364 f.).

The *istik̲h̲āra* procedure seems to have been followed by some mystics, such as Ruzbahān Baḳlī, Ibn ʿArabī and Tīpū, sulṭān of Mysore. Their progress along the mystical path of perfection is marked by dreams, recording the passage from one stage to the next (cf. L. Massignon, *Thèmes archétypiques en onirocritique musulmane*, in *Eranos-Jahrbuch*, xii (1945), 242). Some authors claim, in their introductions, to have written their works after an *istik̲h̲āra* (*e.g.*, *apud* al-Nawawī, *Tahd̲h̲īb*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 237). In literary texts, however, the term *istik̲h̲āra* is merely a pious formula for a request to God for aid and advice, with no ritual character (cf. for example *Ag̲h̲ānī*, xviii, 72, xix, 92).

Bibliography: In addition to the sources named in the text, see: T. Fahd, *Divination*, 363-7; Doutté, *Magie et religion*, 410-4. According to Nawawī, *Tahd̲h̲īb*, 744, l. 3, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Zubayrī (F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, i. 495) is said to have written a *K. al-Istis̲h̲āra wa 'l-istik̲h̲āra*. (T. Fahd)

ISTIK̲H̲DĀM [see TAWRIYYA]

ISTIḲLĀL, an Arabic verbal noun, from the tenth form of the root *ḳ-l-l*. In Classical and Middle Arabic this form is used with a variety of meanings (see Dozy and other dictionaries), and especially to convey the notion of separate, detached, unrestricted, not shared, or sometimes even arbitrary. It occurs occasionally in a political context—*e.g.*, of a dynasty, a region, a people or a city quarter not effectively subject to some higher authority. Such occurrences are, however, rare, and the word was in no sense a political technical term. In Ottoman official usage, it acquired the meaning of unlimited powers, *e.g.*, in the terms of appointment of a provincial governor or military commander. It seems to have retained something like this meaning in the early 19th century. Thus, in the Turkish translation of Botta's *Storia d'Italia* (*Italya taʾrīk̲h̲i*, Cairo 1249/1834, 4, 8, 9 etc.), it is used to contrast unbridled aristocratic rule (*ber wed̲j̲h-i istiḳlāl*) with free government (*ber wed̲j̲h-i serbestī*), and is commonly linked with *ruk̲h̲ṣat* to denote the arbitrary authority of a ruler.

It was in this sense, the independence of the holder of power from restraints by either subjects or suzerain, that *istiḳlāl* is commonly used in both Turkish and Arabic in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. During the same period, under the influence of European political thought and practice, it began to acquire the modern meaning of political sovereignty for a country or nation (for examples, see the Turkish texts of the treaty of Küčük Kaynard̲j̲a of 1774 concerning the "independence" of the Crimean Tatars (cit. above s.v. ḤURRIYYA ii) and of the London Protocol of 1830 on the independence of Greece (*istiḳlāl-i kāmil*; text in Luṭfī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, ii, 15); A. L. Tibawi, *British Interests in Palestine 1800-1901*, London 1961, 147-8, citing a British consular despatch of 1858).

The following article deals with political movements for independence in the Arab countries. (Ed.)

ISTIḲLĀL. In Arabic *istiḳlāl* is a fairly recent addition to the political vocabulary. Despite its use in common parlance, viz., *anā mustaḳill* ("I am independent", that is, free or unfettered), or sometimes to refer to economic independence, that is, autarky (*istiḳlāl iḳtiṣādī*), it is primarily associated with the national independence movements among the Arabs of this century. It is with these movements that this article is concerned.

After World War I, the peace settlement regarding the Ottoman dominions imposed by the Allied Powers in 1919-20 gave Britain and France wider control over the Arab territories in the Fertile Crescent, in addition to the existing arrangements in Egypt, North Africa, South Arabia and the Gulf. Without these developments and the consequences of the Arab Revolt, 1916-18, the term *istiḳlāl* might have had only a limited use, or probably remained obscure, for in the period immediately preceding World War I, Arab political agitation against the Ottoman state was centred upon the attainment of autonomy within

the framework of the political arrangement of decentralization, *al-lāmarkaziyya*. In fact, *istiḳlāl* had no meaning or import in Islamic political thought and vocabulary. It is strictly a modern, imported political notion, which became common and acquired significance with the establishment of European control, or tutelage, over much of the Arab Middle East and North Africa.

Fayṣal's short-lived Arab Kingdom in Damascus in 1918-20 marked the appearance of two variants, or strands, of *istiḳlāl* in Arab political thinking and agitation. One, which originally centred around the Fayṣal, or Arab Revolt, establishment and, after 1920, was represented in Syria, Transjordan, Palestine and ʿIrāḳ by the *Istiḳlalists*, or Istiḳlāl party, tended towards a pan-Arab orientation. It deplored the destruction of Fayṣal's kingdom in Damascus and opposed the mandates in the Fertile Crescent. The other comprised the several, separate independence movements against British or French mandatory and other control in such countries as Egypt, ʿIrāḳ, Syria, Lebanon, Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria, as well as Transjordan and the Sudan, though movements in the latter two areas were less tumultuous. Palestine was a special case. In that country the Palestinian Arab movement for independence failed, and instead Zionism succeeded in founding Israel as the successor state to the British Mandate. After 1922, therefore, *istiḳlāl* referred specifically to the aspiration of ending the mandatory or other tutelory relationship between the newly established Arab political territories, or entities, and Britain or France.

Rather differently in the case of Egypt, *al-istiḳlāl al-tāmm* (complete independence) became the political slogan of at least two parties: the National (*Waṭanī*) party and the Wafd. It referred to the movement for greater independence than had been achieved under the unilateral British Declaration of February 1922 with its Four Reserved Points. It became the slogan of practically every political party and the avowed priority, if not foremost policy, of every government in Egypt. At the outset, it aimed specifically at changing the terms of the particular relationship with Britain. Later it sought to sever that relationship altogether. The first objective was attained by the Wafd with the signing of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty on 26 August 1936. The second, which became a bitterly contested area of Egyptian politics from 1936 to 1952, was not achieved until the signing of the Evacuation of British Forces from the Suez Canal Area Agreement on 19 October 1954 and, more dramatically, in 1956.

Istiḳlāl was never associated with notions of freedom and civil liberty in Arab states, nor has this situation changed [see ḤURRIYYA]. It refers exclusively to independence from foreign political control, even in certain circumstances from any treaty relationship. To a great extent, this narrow interpretation of *istiḳlāl* derives partly from the present weak economic, social, cultural and political condition of the Arab states generally; so that any relationship with foreign powers is inevitably viewed as one between an inferior and a superior partner.

Those kingdoms and shaykhdoms in the Arabian peninsula and the Gulf—patriarchal, religious-tribal and dynastic states—were not involved in the independence movement, so that *istiḳlāl* was hardly part of their political vocabulary. Saudi Arabia, carved out by Ibn Suʿūd and his Wahhabi warriors, formally became a kingdom in 1932. His dominion was established by victory in battle over other tribal claimants, *e.g.*, the Āl Rashīd in Nadjd and the Sharīf of Mecca in the Ḥidjāz. The Zaydī Imamate of the Yemen had been an independent, and under the Ottomans autonomous, theocracy since Islamic times, and the petty shaykhdoms of the Gulf (until December 1971 the Trucial States under British protection) were autonomous, desert, tribal family enclaves. Under a similar though later protection treaty with Britain in 1899, oil-rich Kuwayt, at the northern end of the Gulf, ruled by the Āl Ṣabbāḥ, became independent in June 1961. With the radicalization of inter-Arab politics in more recent times, particularly under the leadership of ʿAbd al-Nāṣir (Nasser) and the Baʿth party in the 1950s and 60s and the withdrawal of Britain from Aden and South Arabia, the establishment of the South Yemen Republic on 27 November 1967 and the elevation of the Federation of Arabian Emirates, formed on 30 March 1968 and comprising the Trucial States in the Gulf, to sovereign independent status in December 1971, this easternmost part of the Arab world has been brought into the mainstream of the Arab ideology of *istiḳlāl*. Bahrain, following its insular instinct and distinctiveness from the rest of the Federation of Arabian Emirates, opted for its own independence in September 1971.

Istiḳlāl as a political conception and movement must therefore be more appropriately associated with the recent political history of the Fertile Crescent and North African states. Thus the British Mandate over ʿIrāḳ came to an end in October 1932 when that country was admitted to the League of Nations. Yet the independence attained by virtue of the Anglo-ʿIrāḳ Treaty of Preferential Alliance of 30 June 1930 was circumscribed by Britain's control of the conduct of ʿIrāḳī foreign relations and retention of her air bases at Shuʿayba (Baṣra) and Ḥabbāniyya (Baghdād). Efforts at further *istiḳlāl* which led to the signing of the Portsmouth Treaty on 15 January 1948 were nullified by violent protests against its terms, which led to its rejection by the ʿIrāḳīs. The accession of Britain to the Baghdād Pact in 1955 led to a rearrangement of the basis of relations between the two countries. However, the secession of ʿIrāḳ from the Pact under President Ḳāsim may be considered the final act in the severance of the forty-year-old relationship with Britain and, psychologically at least, the attainment of *istiḳlāl tāmm*.

Syria and Lebanon too in the interwar period sought to move from limited autonomy under French tutelage to independence. *Istiḳlāl* became the slogan and political umbrella for the activities of practically all political groups and parties in those two countries. In fact, it became the contentious issue between rival groups. An uncompromising stand for its attainment became the mark of patriotism and political respectability. In any event, both Syria and Lebanon existed as autonomous republics under French Mandate from the mid-1920s. The November 1936 Treaty between Lebanon and France constituted a step towards independence within three years. Earlier in the year, the Syrians had rejected a similar treaty with France. These treaties provided a special relationship with the ex-mandatory power in return for assistance towards and recognition of independent status. The outbreak of World War II in 1939 intervened, and it was not until 1941 that the Free French declared publicly their intention of granting their two wards independence: thus the Free French General Catroux's proclamations regarding Syria and Lebanon in September and November 1941 respectively. Difficulties and disturbances over the transfer of power continued until 1945. The last French forces departed both countries by the end of

1946, at which time they became fully independent.

As a semi-independent emirate under ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥusayn, after World War I Transjordan remained ultimately under the control of the British High Commissioner in Jerusalem. By an agreement in 1923, Britain recognized it as an autonomous constitutional state under Amīr ʿAbd Allāh with British tutelage. The activities of the Istiḳlālists with their Arab nationalist demands for complete freedom from British control indirectly helped ʿAbd Allāh to secure greater legislative and administrative autonomy for his fledgling state in a treaty concluded with Britain in 1928. In 1934, he was permitted to establish consular representation abroad, and in 1939 his Legislative Council was transformed into a cabinet. The Treaty of London, concluded with Britain on 22 March 1946, recognized the independent Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan and ʿAbd Allāh was proclaimed its first king. The treaty, which was followed by another in 1948, was modelled on the 1936 Egyptian treaty in the sense that Jordanian independence was circumscribed by a special relationship with Britain. This last vestige of dependence was severed on 13 March 1957.

As far as the decades of the 20s, 30s and 40s are concerned, *istiḳlāl* belonged to Egypt and the Fertile Crescent. With the waning of British power overseas generally and the consequent withdrawal of its presence or influence, heralded by the voluntary dissolution of the Indian Empire in 1947, *istiḳlāl* movements erupted elsewhere in the Arab East. Similarly, the winding up of the French Empire after World War II, first in Indochina and later in Africa, undermined the French position in the Maghrib. In the 50s *istiḳlāl* reached Libya, the Sudan, Tunisia and Morocco. Kuwayt in the east and Algeria in the west followed suit in 1961 and 1962 respectively. Unlike all the other Arab countries, Algeria only attained independence after seven years of bitter war against the French armed forces.

Despite the long historical connection between Egypt and the Sudan, after 1924 the latter was governed in practice solely by Britain, thus ending the Anglo-Egyptian condominium devised in 1899. Greater Sudanization of the country's local administration followed. The 1936 Anglo-Egyptian Treaty led to the rapid evolution of Sudanese nationalism and a movement for an independent Sudan, especially after World War II, not without British encouragement. It proved a much stronger current than the Egyptian plan, backed by Egypt's political protégés in Sudan, for an independent united Nile Valley comprising Egypt and the Sudan under the Egyptian crown or, after 1952, under the Egyptian Republic. As part of the Anglo-Egyptian settlement of 1953-4 for the British evacuation of the Canal, the Sudan, after a three-year transition period, became independent on 1 January 1956.

Paradoxically, Libya, the least developed North African country, was the first to attain *istiḳlāl* on 24 December 1951. Any independence movement during the Italian occupation (1911-42) was no more than the desire of the Sanūsī brotherhood under Idrīs to rid itself of Italian rule. It was also largely a Cyrenaican affair, closely linked in the 30s and 40s with Egypt, where Idrīs, together with his main political lieutenants, had taken refuge. This is not to say that Tripolitanians were not involved in the struggle for independence, but they were more oriented towards the Maghrib and, in the Arab East, towards Syria. It was the British, however, who restored Idrīs to power in Libya in 1949-50. As they were abandoning their positions in Egypt and the Fertile Crescent, the British introduced the old pattern of special arrangements with Libya, which they had helped to independence: this time with a bases agreement concluded in 1952-3. Like other Arab states before it, however, by 1964 Libya demanded the removal of foreign (British and American) bases from its territory in the name of *al-istiḳlāl al-tāmm*, and in response to pressures generated by inter-Arab states conflict as well as a more radical Arab nationalist movement. An army coup d'état on 1 September 1969 overthrew the Sanūsī monarchy, proclaimed a republic and pressed for the immediate removal of all vestiges and semblances of foreign encumbrances on *istiḳlāl*: bases, foreign enterprises and other interests, as well as the large Italian community.

Tunisia and Morocco became independent in 1956. *Istiḳlāl* in Tunisia was led by a combined Western—that is French—educated, secular, bourgeois élite in the Destour party and a more conservative Muslim Arab leadership whose antecedents went back to the constitutional reform movement of Khayr al-Dīn al-Tūnisī [*q.v.*]. There being no specific term for independence in Arabic, the expression *istiḳlāl dākhilī* (internal) was used to describe an intermediate stage which would have provided the substance of independence. Unlike Tunisia, where the Beys of Tunis were not associated with the modern independence movement, in Morocco the Sherifian Alawite sultan Muḥammad V was recognized as the leader of the struggle against the French protectorate. Yet the battle for *istiḳlāl* fought by both Morocco and Tunisia differed from that of Algeria because although France controlled them by earlier protectorate arrangements, they retained a measure of local autonomy. Indigenous Islamic authority and its institutions survived in both countries under French tutelage. Algeria, however, was made an integral part of metropolitan France by legislation, so that the separatist, *istiḳlāl* movement eventually developed into a bitter and bloody war. While the ʿAlawite monarchy survived after independence in Morocco, the hereditary dynasty of the Bey of Tunis did not. The last Bey, Muḥammad al-Amīn, was deposed when the Constituent Assembly abolished his office on 25 July 1957 and proclaimed Tunisia a republic.

On the whole, over the past 50 years, the several Arab movements for national-state independence often co-existed and contended with the desire of some to expand the connotation of *istiḳlāl* to encompass a projected wider entity, that of the Arab nation, cutting across existing state boundaries. The rôle played by this wider conception of *istiḳlāl* in the radicalization of inter-Arab politics became apparent under the Baʿth party's central aspiration towards Arab unity in the 1950s. In individual Arab states, political parties wishing to advance a more pan-Arab and anti-Western national policy often adopted the name of *istiḳlāl*, as for example, the Istiḳlāl party of ʿIrāḳ led by Muḥammad Mahdī Kubba, Ṣiddīḳ Shanshal and Fāʾiḳ al-Sāmarrāʾī, or that of Morocco led by ʿAllāl al-Fāsī.

It is interesting to note that during a particularly intense period of inter-Arab state conflict in the years 1957 to 1967, *istiḳlāl* acquired further ideological dimensions. In that period, the Arab states were polarized into a revolutionary Arab socialist, or radical nationalist, camp on one side, and a conservative or reactionary one on the other. The first camp, which identified with Nasser's leadership and in other respects with Baʿth ideology, comprised mainly those Arab states in which military coups d'état had over-

thrown previous regimes invariably associated with an earlier link with one or another of the European powers. By the late 50s many of these were veering in their foreign policy orientation towards the Soviet Union. Such was the case of Egypt, Syria, ʿIrāḳ, Algeria and the Yemen after 1962. The second camp comprised mainly the traditional monarchies, some of them oil-rich, such as Saudi Arabia, Morocco, Kuwayt and Jordan. The revolutionary camp argued that there was no genuine *istiḳlāl* in the adversary or rival Arab camp because the regimes within it were reactionary and still maintained commercial, economic and political links with Western European and/or American powers. In these circumstances they were considered "agents of imperialism and neo-colonialism" and therefore not "truly independent". Much of this "cold war" between the states in the Arab East and Arab West subsided after the Arab-Israeli war of June 1967. The realization dawned upon most of the Arab states that even with *istiḳlāl* the economic, political and strategic facts of their environment and the requirements of their own survival forced them to maintain a client relationship with a foreign power.

Bibliography: General: G. Antonius, *The Arab Awakening*, London 1938; S. Haim, *Arab Nationalism*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1962; E. Kedourie, *England and the Middle East: the destruction of the Ottoman Empire, 1914-21*, London 1956; B. Lewis, *The Middle East and the West*, London 1954; H. Sharabi, *Governments and Politics of the Middle East in the Twentieth Century*, Princeton, N.J. 1962; H. Sharabi, *Nationalism and Revolution in the Arab world*, Princeton, N. J. 1966; Z. N. Zeine, *The Struggle for Arab independence*, Beirut 1960. The Fertile Crescent: A. Abidi, *Jordan: a political study*, London 1965; A. Hourani, *Syria and Lebanon, a political essay*, London 1954; P. Ireland, *Iraq: a study in political development*, London 1938; M. Khadduri, *Independent Iraq*, London 1960; K. Salibi, *The Modern History of Lebanon*, London 1965. Egypt, the Sudan and North Africa: J. Berque, *Egypt, imperialism and revolution*, London 1972; P. J. Vatikiotis, *The Modern history of Egypt*, London 1969; P. M. Holt, *A Modern history of the Sudan*, London 1961; C. Julien, *L'Afrique du Nord en Marche: Nationalismes Musulmans et Souveraineté Française*, Paris 1952; N. Barbour, *A Survey of North West Africa*, London 1962; R. Le Tourneau, *Evolution politique de l'Afrique du nord musulmane, 1920-1961*, Paris 1962. (P. J. Vatikiotis)

ISTIḲSĀM (A.), 10th form of the root *ḳ-s-m* which embraces two groups of meanings, the one of a magical nature and the other divinatory. The first is applied to formulae and methods for conjuring up demons, for adjuration and exorcism; this latter is the meaning acquired by the 2nd and 4th forms, *ḳassama* and *aḳsama*, particularly in the Christian Arab world, clearly influenced by the Hebrew *ḳesem* (*e.g.*, Deut. xxiii, 23), which has the same meaning. This usage is late, colloquial, and most frequently found among Christian Arabs, who also employ *ḳisām*, "adjuration, exorcism formula, priestly ordination", *taḳsīm*, "conjuration", and *usḳuf ḳāsim*, "ordinant bishop" (cf. Dozy, *Supp.*, ii, 345 ff.; Fagnan, *Additions aux dictionnaires arabes*, 142). Such a usage does not appear in Classical Arabic, or at least is confined to the action of "having someone swear an oath" (*istaḳsamahu*) or "swearing by something" (*istaḳsama bihi*) in the sense of *aḳsama* (cf. *TA*, ed. Būlāḳ, ix, 26; W. R. Smith in *Journal of Philology*, xiii (1885), 278; T. W. Davies, *Magic, divination and demonology among the Hebrews and their neighbours*, London 1899, 44-7).

The second group of meanings was applied everywhere to the whole spectrum of cleromantic methods, understood as the essence of divination, in the sense of the Syriac *ḳṣam*, "to practise divination", from which *ḳōṣūmō*, "soothsayer", was derived (cf. ref. in *Semitica*, viii (1958), 73, n. 4). Initially, *istiḳsām* designated belomancy only (*al-istiḳsām bi'l-azlām*), condemned in the Ḳurʾān (V, 3) along with *maysir* (V, 90), another type of belomancy. Because this condemnation was extended to all similar divinatory practices which were based on chance (cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*[1], ii, 201, l. 3 ff.), *istiḳsām* and *maysir*, roughly representing respectively the religious and profane aspects of belomancy, as I have attempted to establish in *Divination* (180 ff., 204 ff.), became the symbols of pagan divination.

This article deals with *istiḳsām* in the strict sense of sacred belomancy only, as it was practised in association with certain Arab divinities. For other cleromantic methods, the reader should consult the following articles: D̲J̲AMRA (plur. *d̲j̲imār*), for lapidation, an article which, as far as the divinatory aspect is concerned, should be augmented by the section dealing with this practice in *Divination* (188-95); RAML for geomancy and lithomancy, originally grouped together under the word *ṭarḳ* (for the time being, reference can be made to *Divination*, 195-204); MAYSIR for profane belomancy and games of chance (*al-ḍarb bi 'l-kiʿāb*; cf. *ibid.*, 204-14); ḲURʿA for rhapsodomancy (*ibid.*, 214-19); D̲J̲AFR, MALĀḤIM, ḤURŪF, AL-ASMĀʾ AL-ḤUSNĀ (as far as divination is concerned, the latter should be supplemented by *Divination*, 234-41), K̲H̲AWĀṢṢ AL-ḲURʾĀN and ZĀʾIRD̲J̲A for onomatomantic methods (for all these systems, in addition to the articles already completed the sections devoted to them in *Divination*, 219-45, should be consulted).

The ancient Arabs practised three types of belomancy (more suitably termed rhabdomancy, since *zalam*, plur. *azlām*. like *ḳidḥ*, plur. *aḳdāḥ*, designates a dart without point or feather: cf. *Divination*, 181 ff.). The first, that of the nomads, employed two darts tossed in a little goatskin (*ḳirāba*) or a leather bucket (*mudāra*). They made use of it in disputes; the arbitrator must have been the *kāhin* [*q.v.*] of the tribe and the darts must have been part of the cultic equipment in his charge, somewhat in the manner of the Urim and Thummim of the nomadic Hebrews.

The second type was that practised at the sanctuary of al-K̲h̲alaṣa. Three darts responded to the questions of visitors; these darts bore names: al-Āmir (the Commanding), al-Nāhī (the Forbidding) and al-Mutarabbiṣ (the Awaiting). It was the *sādin* or guardian of the sanctuary who tossed the darts. The last occasion they were consulted is supposed to have been by the poet Imruʾ al-Ḳays (*Ag̲h̲ānī*[1], viii, 70), who is said to have broken them for forbidding him to avenge his father.

The third and best-known type was that practised in front of Hubal [*q.v.*] at the Kaʿba. Seven darts were used in this consultation, set in motion by the *sādin* in return for a gratuity and an offering to the god. These arrows bore the following designations: *al-ʿaḳl* (blood-price), used to determine who should pay for any bloodshed: *naʿam* (yes) and *lā* (no), used to find out if action or abstention were appropriate; *minkum* (yours), *min g̲h̲ayrikum* (not yours) and *mulṣaḳ* (the attached), used to decide an individual's tribal affiliation, the first dart replying in the af-

firmative, the second in the negative, and the third with doubt; *al-miyāh* (water), used to ascertain the presence of water in a specified place (cf. Ibn Hishām, 97 f.).

The people of Mecca consulted the opinion of the darts of Hubal, tossed by the *sādin* in the quiver (*kināna*) of the god, in return for a hundred *dirhams* or one camel, every time a serious dispute arose among them. The *Sīra* recounts the story of two belomantic consultations made by the Prophet's grandfather, ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, at two important moments of his life: the first to decide to whom to return the precious finds he had made when clearing out the well of Zamzam (Ibn Hishām, 94); the second to discover which of his ten sons should be sacrificed at the Kaʿba in fulfilment of a vow he had made to sacrifice one of his sons should their number reach ten (*ibid.*, 97-100).

Pilgrims too could not have refrained from the practice and belomantic consultation must have been one of the many attractions of the great metropolis of Arab paganism. Numerous texts indicate that the practice of consulting the throw of darts was very widespread. Alongside those attached to the sanctuary, there were others, manipulated either by the *kāhins*, the elders or the notables (see the examples in *Divination*, 189 f.). Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, iii, 112 f., supplies a longer and more diversified list of darts that were used outside the sanctuary, tossed in a *madāra* (a skin stitched into a bucket) by a *kāhin* wherever there was one to be found or by any other person who held some rank in the tribe or city. To the *naʿam*, *lā* and *mulṣaḳ* known to Ibn Isḥāḳ and his abridger, Ibn Hishām, al-Nuwayrī adds ten other darts with the following names: *ifʿal* (do!), *lā-tafʿal* (don't!), *khayr* (good), *sharr* (evil), *baṭīʾ* (slow), *sarīʿ* (fast), *ḥaḍar* (presence), *safar* (journey), and *ṣarīḥ* (equivalent to Ibn Hishām's *minkum*). Finally, white darts (*ḳidāḥ bayḍāʾ*) were prepared that could bear more precise and detailed inscriptions or equivalent meanings inscribed by explicit agreement between the *kāhin* and the man consulting him. In this way the field of consultation was enlarged and belomancy adapted to the demands of any sphere in which it was practised.

Bibliography: Apart from the sources cited in the article, Azraḳī, *Akhbār Makka*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 73-4; Ṭabarī, i, 1074-8; Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 2-4; T. Fahd, *Une pratique cléromantique à la Kaʿba préislamique*, in *Semitica*, viii (1958), 54-79; in spite of its many defects of form, this monograph will give the reader the basic information about belomancy. It should be supplemented by T. Fahd, *Divination*, 180-8. (T. Fahd)

ISTIMṬĀR [see istisḳāʾ]

ISTIʾNĀF, from *istaʾnafa* (to recommence, to renew), means in modern Arabic appeal, because the case is examined again from the beginning when brought before the court of appeal. In classical *fiḳh* the word is used with this sense of recommencement with regard to the *ʿibādāt*, the religious duties, especially prayer.

Istiʾnāf (the Mālikīs call it *ibtidāʾ*) occurs when the entire prayer, which has been interrupted by the occurrence of a ritual impurity, *ḥadath* [*q.v.*], has to be begun again.

In certain circumstances the *fuḳahāʾ* decided that the continuation (*bināʾ*) of the prayer from the moment when it was interrupted by a fact independent of the believer's will, and which does not, strictly speaking, constitute a ritual impurity, *e.g.*, a serious nose-bleed, is preferable to complete *istiʾnāf*. The schools, and scholars within the same school, do not always agree upon the circumstances which give rise to *istiʾnāf* or, on the contrary, to *bināʾ*.

Bibliography: Marghīnānī, *Hidāya*, Cairo 1937, i, 39-40; Zaylaʿī, *Tabyīn*, Cairo 1313, i, 145; Khalīl, *Mukhtaṣar*, tr. Bousquet, i, 46-7; Dardīr-Dasūḳī's commentary on it, *al-Sharḥ al-kabīr*, Cairo, ed. Ḥalabī, i, 204 ff. See also Ibn Ḥazm, *Muḥallā*, Cairo 1347, iii, 202-3 and iv, 153, 177.

(Y. Linant de Bellefonds)

ISTINBĀṬ [see māʾ and riyāfa].

ISTINDJĀʾ, purification incumbent upon the Believer after the fulfilment of his natural needs. This practice, which is described in detail, is obligatory (recommended only according to Abū Ḥanīfa) and must be carried out either immediately, or before performing the *ṣalāt* or any other act which requires a state of ritual purity.

Bibliography: All the works of *fiḳh*, *ikhtilāf*, etc. deal with this subject in the chapter on *ṭahāra*; similarly Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, in the same chapter (iii = 22 of Bousquet's analysis). (Ed.)

ISTINSHĀḲ, the inhaling of water through the nostrils at the time of the *wuḍūʾ* and *ghusl*. This practice is recommended by the various rites (obligatory according to Ibn Ḥanbal). In practice this is not really important since the Believer always performs it during his ablutions.

Bibliography: See istindjāʾ. (Ed.)

ISTINZĀL, a term denoting hydromancy, according to Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord* (Algiers 1909), 389; but in Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, iii, 137 ff., *istinzāl rūḥāniyyāt al-aflāk* is a technique belonging to *sīmyāʾ* [*q.v.*], natural or phantasmagoric magic (cf. T. Fahd, *Divination*, 49, n. 1). The Pseudo-Madjrīṭī prefers to use *istidjlāb* (cf. *Sources Orientales*, vii (1966), 170 ff.). Elsewhere, in al-Būnī and Ibn al-Muwaḳḳiʿ, *istinzāl al-arwāḥ wa-'stiḥḍāruhā fī ḳawālib al-ashbāḥ* denotes the techniques of spiritism, although these are generally denoted by the name *ʿilm al-istiḥḍār*.

According to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, this art consists in invoking the presence of djinns or angels and making them perceptible to the senses; only the prophets can achieve this result with the celestial angels; with regard to terrestrial angels, the question is in dispute. It is distinguished from *ʿilm al-ʿazāʾim*, the talismanic art, by the fact that the latter calls upon djinns and angels for the performance of some project, without the need for incarnation, whereas their incarnation is the principal aim of *istiḥḍār* [see siḥr].

Bibliography: Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 275 f.: definition with reference to the encyclopaedia of the sciences of Ṭāshköprüzāde, *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda*. Among the works devoted to this art, he mentions *K. dhāt ad-dawāʾir wa-'l-ṣuwar*, "illustrated book on the invocation of djinns and their subjection (to man), a ccording to Āṣāf b. Berekhyā, vizier to Solomon . . .; this is no doubt a falsehood" (i, 276, and iii, 324); *Ilhām al-Fattāḥ bi-ḥikmat inzāl al-arwāḥ wa-baththihā fi 'l-ashbāḥ* of Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Wafāʾ, known under the name Ibn al-Muwaḳḳiʿ, d. 1162/1748-9 (i, 423; cf. Brockelmann, S II, 981; *al-Bustān li 'stiḥḍār arwāḥ al-djinn wa'l-shayāṭīn fī ʿilm al-siḥr ʿalā ṭarīḳat al-Ḳifṭ wa 'l-ʿArab*, anonymous (ii, 50); *Tanzīl al-arwāḥ fī ḳawālib al-ashbāḥ* of Aḥmad al-Būnī, d. 622/1225 (ii, 440). We have not succeeded in seeing any of these writings, which have not yet come to light among any of the manuscript collections which we have at present been able to consult. The *ʿilm al-istiḥḍār* cannot be properly

studied until these specialised writings have been discovered. On magic, pending the appearance of the article SIḤR, see a sketch and brief bibliography in *Le Monde du sorcier*: T. Fahd, *Le Monde du sorcier en Islam*, in *Sources Orientales* (vii), 1966, 155-204. For angelology and demonology in Islam, see *Génies, anges et démons*: T. Fahd, *Anges, démons et djinns en Islam*, in *Sources Orientales*, viii (1971), 155-214. (T. FAHD)

ISTIʿRĀḌ, ʿARḌ, the mustering, passing in review and inspection of troops, the official charged with his duty being known as the *ʿāriḍ*, pl. *ʿurrāḍ*. The institution of the *ʿarḍ* was from the start closely bound up with the *Dīwān al-Djaysh* or that department of the bureaucracy concerned with military affairs, and these duties of recruitment, mustering and inspection comprised one of the *dīwān*'s main spheres of activity, the other sphere being that concerned with pensions and salaries [see DĪWĀN and DJAYSH]. The *Ṣāḥib Dīwān al-Djaysh* of the early ʿAbbāsid Caliphate or *ʿĀriḍ al-Djaysh* of its successor states (and especially of those in the central and eastern regions of the caliphate) thus fulfilled the duties of a modern war minister, paymaster-general and quartermaster-general, together with those of a muster-master of former times. Given the strongly military bias of the early caliphate and its epigoni, his office was necessarily of high importance and was not frequently a stepping-stone to the highest of offices, such as the vizierate; thus ʿAlī b. al-Furāt [see IBN AL-FURĀT] was head of the Department of the Army towards the end of al-Muktafī's reign, just before becoming vizier, and the Saldjūḳ official and historian Anūshirwān b. Khālid [*q.v.*] acted as *ʿĀriḍ al-Djaysh* for Sultans Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh and Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad, and eventually acted as vizier on various occasions to both the ʿAbbāsid caliphs and the Saldjūḳs.

The idea of holding reviews of the army, often with the sovereign as inspecting officer, is rooted in the pre-Islamic past of the Near East. The functions of the Islamic *ʿĀriḍ* were in the Byzantine Empire exercised by the department of the *Logothetes tou Stratiōtikou*. In the Sāsānid Empire, evidence for the existence of a distinct department of military affairs is not explicit, although Christensen believed it probable that there was such a department under the emperors (cf. *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*[2], 213-14). We certainly possess a detailed account of a Sasanid *ʿarḍ* recounted by both Dīnawarī and Ṭabarī. According to this, Khusraw Anūshirwān (531-79) appointed one of his high-born secretaries, Bābak, over his *Dīwān al-Muḳātila*. For the actual review, a wooden platform was set up for the inspecting official. Even the emperor himself was required to present himself, with the cavalryman's equipment of mailed coat, breastplate and leg armour; sword, lance, shield and mace; axe or club, and quiver with the bows already strung and thirty arrows, at his waistbelt; and two spare bowstrings. Nöldeke considered this account too anecdotal to be relied upon, but he was probably unduly sceptical here; we may reasonably assume that some review procedure existed in pre-Islamic Persia (Dīnawarī, 74-5; Ṭabarī, i, 963-5 = Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sassaniden*, 247-9; cf. the anonymous *Mudjmal al-tawārīkh*, 74, where it is said that the Mōbadh or Zoroastrian chief priest acted as *ʿĀriḍ* under Anūshirwān).

The early ʿAbbāsid period saw the operations of the *Dīwān al-Djaysh*, which had developed from the *Dīwān al-Muḳātila* or *Dīwān al-Djund* of Muʿāwiya's time, increase in complexity, so that the *Ṣāḥib Dīwān al-Djaysh* become an influential figure. (It should be noted, however, that the function of *ʿarḍ*, which was one of the duties of the vizier in his rôle as private secretary to the caliph, refers to the term's further meaning of "presentation of petitions, requests", *i.e.*, *ʿarḍ al-maṭālib*, and not to any military duty; cf. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, ii, 622-3. Similarly, the *Mīr-ʿArḍ* in the Mughal Empire in India was the official responsible for conveying petitions to the sovereign.) The concerns of the *Dīwān al-Djaysh* included, *inter alia*, the recruitment and registration of soldiers; and the keeping of up-to-date registers of the troops' fighting qualities, their weapons and their mounts, could only be ensured through regular reviews. A careful recording of the physical features of soldiers (the *ḥulā al-ridjāl*) and the brands or marks of mounts (*simāt*) was necessary to prevent intruders or substitutes entering the ranks or good horses being switched round or removed from the stables. Such malpractices led to the *Dīwān* being cheated over unmerited pay issues, and there was also a fear lest enemy spies insinuate themselves into the ranks. So it is natural that writers like Ḳudāma, Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, Miskawayh and Māwardī should stress the prime importance of these identificatory procedures, cf. W. Hoenerbach, *Zur Heeresverwaltung der ʿAbbāsiden*: *Dīwān al-ǧaiš*, in *Isl.*, xxix (1949-50), 268 ff. These reviews and inspections were also normally the occasions for pay issues, when the financial aspect of the *Dīwān* was displayed.

Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ gives the detailed analysis of a caliphal budget from the reign of al-Muʿtaḍid (probably to be dated to Muḥarram 280/March-April 893), and in the course of this he describes the *ʿarḍ* procedure under that ruler. Al-Muʿtaḍid made the whole army muster before him personally in the "Lesser Square" in Baghdād, whilst he sat overlooking it from the galleries of the Ḥasanī Palace. Below him were positioned the secretaries responsible for pay arrangements (*kuttāb al-ʿaṭāʾ*). The commanders and their *ghulāms* [*q.v.*] or military slave troops were drawn up before the caliph. The review now began, with the individual officers presenting registers of the names and pay entitlements of the men under them. The vizier ʿUbayd Allāh b. Sulaymān b. Wahb summoned each man separately, and he was tested for his proficiency at the game of *birdjāṣ*, in which the contestant had to get his lance-point through a metal ring fixed to the top of a wooden column, thus revealing his skill or otherwise in controlling his horse and aiming his weapon (four or five centuries later, tilting at the *birdjāṣ* was a prominent feature of the *furūsiyya* [*q.v.*] exercises and training of the Mamlūk cavalrymen). According to the man's performance, al-Muʿtaḍid graded him in the register (*djarīda*) by a *djīm* (= *djayyid*, excellent), a *ṭāʾ* (= *mutawassiṭ*, moderate) or a *dāl* (= *dūn*, inferior). After this part of the *ʿarḍ*, the secretaries responsible for practical military matters (*kuttāb al-djaysh*) came forward and examined the physical features of the men to check that they corresponded with the details set down in the registers; they were thus able to detect and eject intruders and substitutes (*dukhalāʾ*, *budalāʾ*). The registers with the caliph's marks were handed back to the vizier, and the secretaries then prepared a fresh series of registers on the basis of the threefold proficiency grading. The *djayyid* soldiers were formed into the caliph's "Personal Army", *ʿaskar al-khāṣṣa*, with a pay-period (*razḳa*) of 90 days. The *mutawassiṭ* soldiers were placed under the command of the *Ṣāḥib al-Shurṭa* or Police Commandant of Baghdād, Badr, and used for garrisoning strategic points on

the routes from Baghdād to Lower ʿIrāḳ and western Persia; these were called the "Army of Service", *ʿaskar al-khidma*, with a pay-period of 120 days. The troops considered as *dūn* were sent out to the provinces to help with the tax-collecting, were employed for horsebreaking and stable duties, or were attached to the police commandants of Baghdād, Wāsiṭ and Kūfa (Hilāl, *Wuzarāʾ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Sattār Aḥmad Farādj, Cairo 1958, 17-19, tr. H. Busse, *Das Hofbudget des Chalifen al-Muʿtaḍid billāh (279/892-289/902)*, in *Isl.*, xliii (1967), 17-20, cf. Hoenerbach, *loc. cit.*). Al-Muʿtaḍid was also particularly concerned with overseeing of the royal stables, and excepting the "Personal, Stable", which was part of the palace proper and continuously under his eyes, he used to conduct an *ʿarḍ* each month of all the stables in the *Dār al-ʿĀmma*, the complex of ancillary buildings and workshops attached to the palace, thus ensuring that standards of care and attendance were maintained (Hilāl, *op. cit.*, 22-3, tr. Busse, 24-5; see also IṢTABL).

The dynasties which from the later 3rd/9th century onwards arose in the outlying provinces of the caliphate generally modelled their administrative institutions on those of the ʿAbbāsids in Baghdād. Amongst the Fāṭimids of Egypt and Syria, Ḳalḳashandī speaks of the *Dīwān al-Djaysh* as one of three divisions of a general *Dīwān al-Djaysh waʾl-Marātib*, the other divisions of which were concerned with keeping the registers of the troops and with the allocation of *iḳṭāʿ*s. The *Ṣāḥib Dīwān al-Djaysh* and his assistant *ḥādjib* had the duty of holding *ʿarḍ*s of the troops, in which the physical features of the troops and the marks of their mounts were scrutinised, and he was kept informed of the state of the military personnel by a staff of representatives attached to the army commanders (*Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, iii, 492-3).

In the Iranian lands, the designation of *ʿĀriḍ* for the head of the military affairs department gradually supplanted the more general ʿAbbāsid ones like *Ṣāḥib Dīwān al-Djaysh*. The Ṣaffārid brothers Yaʿḳūb and ʿAmr b. Layth built up a vast if transient empire which stretched from eastern Afghanistān to the fringes of ʿIrāḳ; and a *Dīwān al-ʿArḍ* must have grown up inevitably to control and pay the Ṣaffārid forces. The *ʿĀriḍ* or *Raʾīs-i Lashkar* held periodic *ʿarḍ*s for issuing pay and before important battles; Ibn Khallikān, in his long and important article on the two brothers, describes how ʿAmr was the first warrior to appear before the *ʿĀriḍ*, when his physical appearance, arms and mount were inspected before he was given his pay allotment, and the author explicitly compares this procedure with that at the Sāsānid *ʿarḍ* of Khusraw Anūshirwān described above (see Bosworth, *The armies of the Ṣaffārids*, in *BSOAS*, xxxi (1968), 548-51).

The establishment of the Daylamī Būyids in western Persia and ʿIrāḳ saw, amongst other things, a perceptible increase in the amount of territory given as grants (*iḳṭāʿ*s [*q.v.*]) for the upkeep of civilian officials and the military. Hence the Būyid *Dīwān al-Djaysh* expanded greatly in its scope of operations, both military and financial, and grew to dwarf other government departments (see Cahen, *L'Evolution de l'iqtaʿ du IXe au XIIIe siècle*, in *Annales: économies, sociétés, civilisations*, viii (1953), 36-7). Muʿizz al-Dawla laid out a new palace at Baghdād along the Tigris banks and outside the Shammāsiyya Gate, which included a *maydān* or open space for polo (a polo game being frequently part of an *ʿarḍ*; cf. Ibn Isfandiyār, *Taʾrīkh-i Ṭabaristān*, tr. Browne, 249, where the Bāwandid Shāh Ghāzī Rustam plays a stroke of polo at his final *ʿarḍ* at Sārī just before his death in 558/1163) and for reviews of his troops (Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-muḥāḍara*, ed. and tr. Margoliouth, *The table-talk of a Mesopotamian judge*, text 70-1, tr. 75-7). Under ʿAḍud al-Dawla an increased staff of secretaries and clerks was taken on in the *ʿĀriḍ*'s department to expedite the punctual payment of salaries and thus keep the turbulent soldiery peaceful (Rūdhrāwārī, in *Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid Caliphate*, iii, 43, tr. vi, 40). When the Būyids were at the summit of their power, under monarchs like ʿAḍud al-Dawla and his son Bahāʾ al-Dawla, there were two separate *ʿĀriḍ*s, one for the Daylamīs and one for the Turks, Kurds and Arabs, reflecting ethnic divisions within the forces which could at times prove a source of weakness. Since there seems to have been amongst the Būyids a certain care for purity of Daylamī or Djīlī blood, the expulsion of intruders from the ranks was an especial feature of the Būyid *ʿarḍ*s, when experts on tribal genealogies were employed to assist the *ʿĀriḍ* in his work. The *ʿarḍ*s were also occasions when the allocation of *iḳṭāʿ*s was reviewed or these grants converted into cash payments, but the amīr had to be able to act from a position of strength. It is not infrequently recorded, amongst the Būyids and amongst other dynasties, that the threat to hold an *ʿarḍ* (at which financial and territorial privileges would be reviewed and possibly cancelled) provoked a mutiny of the troops. See for the whole topic of the Būyid *ʿarḍ* and the *ʿĀriḍ*'s functions, Bosworth, *Military organisation under the Būyids of Persia and Iraq*, in *Oriens*, xviii-xix (1965-6), 143-67, esp. 162 ff., and also Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig, die Buyiden im Iraq (945-1055)*, Beirut 1969, 314-15, 340-1.

Little is known about the formal constitution of the military department under the Sāmānids of Transoxania and Khurāsān, although a *Dīwān Ṣāḥib al-Shuraṭ*, sc. for the Commandant of the Guard, existed in Bukhārā during the time of Naṣr b. Aḥmad (early 4th/10th century), cf. Narshakhī, *The history of Bukhara*, tr. Frye, 26; and Khwārizmī mentions a special "black register" (*al-djarīda al-sawdāʾ*) in which the names and duties of the troops were recorded (*Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 56, 64; see DAFTAR). Hence the institution of the *ʿarḍ* very probably existed for the Sāmānid army (on which see Bosworth, *An alleged embassy from the Emperor of China to the Amīr Naṣr b. Aḥmad: a contribution to Sāmānid military history*, in *Yād-nāme-yi Minorsky*, Tehran 1969, 17-29), for the Sāmānid administration was the immediate model for that of their successors, the Ghaznavids, and the administration of the latter certainly included a *Dīwān-i ʿArḍ* as one of the five great departments of state.

The Ghaznavid *ʿĀriḍ*'s duties comprised the usual range of financial and military ones, and the office was accounted second only in importance to that of the vizier. *ʿArḍ*s of the whole army, cavalry, infantry and elephants, were held annually on the plain of the Shābahār outside Ghazna, and Gardīzī states that at the *ʿarḍ* of 414/1023 54,000 cavalry and 1,300 elephants were reviewed; on occasions like this, the names of the troops were checked against the muster-roll or *djarīda-yi ʿarḍ*, the troops received their pay and the whole proceedings often ended in a magnificent feast for all present given by the sultan. Subordinate *ʿĀriḍ*s were attached to each of the Ghaznavid armies stationed in the provinces, and these officials held local reviews of the troops and paid them with funds drawn from the provincial treasuries. As was the case all through the Islamic lands at this time, the office of *ʿĀriḍ* was invariably

held by a member of the civilian bureaucracy, Arab or Persian, and not by one of the Turkish soldiery, administrative expertise rather than prowess in the field being the desideratum. See on all these questions, M. Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, 137 ff.; Bosworth, *Ghaznavid military organisation*, in *Isl.*, xxxvi (1960), 68 ff.; and idem, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040*, 122 ff.

A particularly interesting account of how an *ʿarḍ* should be conducted is contained in the treatise on kingship and military practice by the 7th/13th century Ghūrid author Fakhr-i Mudabbir Mubārakshāh, the *Ādāb al-mulūk wa-kifāyat al-mamlūk* or *Ādāb al-ḥarb wa'l-shadjāʿa* (*bāb* 18 of the more complete India Office Ms 647, *bāb* 12 of the B.M. Ms Rieu, ii, 487-8 = 267-8 of the printed text by A. S. Khwānsārī, Tehran 1346/1967). There is clearly some factual basis for this account, however much it has been idealised, and it presumably reflects the institution as it developed on the eastern fringes of the Islamic world under such dynasties as the Ghaznavids and Ghūrids, and probably in northern India under the Ghūrids' slave commanders. According to Fakhr-i Mudabbir's account, the *ʿĀriḍ*—described as "the mainstay, the very mother and father of the army, upon whom the strength and reliance of the troops rests"—was accompanied for the *ʿarḍ* by his deputy and by the *Naḳīb*, and they stood on an eminence and inspected the left wing, centre and right wing of the army, in that order. Within this framework of review, the heavy cavalry, the light cavalry, the regularly-salaried infantry and the auxiliary infantry were successively inspected, and the lists given to the *Naḳīb* so that he could arrange these troops on the day of battle. The commanders themselves were all reviewed, and each ordinary cavalryman was written down under bis superior officer. The *ʿĀriḍ* is cautioned not to demand that horses and weapons be produced during a pre-battle *ʿarḍ*, but he should encourage the troops with promises of rewards and promotions, so that they will be stimulated to feats of heroism. At tbe end of the *ʿarḍ*, the *ʿĀriḍ* brings the troops' leaders before the ruler and praises their soldiers. The fear of enemy spies was omnipresent; the *ʿĀriḍ* should, accordingly, make his report to the ruler discreetly, and if cavalrymen already reviewed slip back and mingle with the unreviewed, the spies will become confused and acquire an exaggerated idea of the army's strength. From this passage of the *Ādāb al-mulūk*, there emerge two vital and practical reasons for holding an *ʿarḍ*: firstly, it provided a check on the feudal cavalrymen who of course provided their own arms, equipment and mounts, for the ruler could only be expected to supply these for his household guard at the most; and secondly, the marshal of the army (here to be equated with the *Naḳīb*) utilised knowledge gained from the *ʿarḍ* concerning the exact condition and composition of the troops to set them out in their battle stations when they reached the field.

Under the Great Saldjūḳs, the *Dīwān al-Djaysh* or *Dīwān-i ʿArḍ* was part of the *Dīwān-i Aʿlā* or Great *Dīwān*, and, as under the preceeding dynasty of the Būyids, it was as much a financial as a military organ of government, with the responsibility, for instance, of overseeing *iḳṭāʿ*s and reallocating them when they fell vacant. Till the death of Malik-Shāh, the *ʿĀriḍ al-Djaysh* or *Ṣāḥib-i Dīwān-i ʿArḍ* was usually a civilian official, but thereafter, the office was occasionally held by a Turkish amīr (Lambton, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, v, 233, 259-60). As well as the central military department, provincial offices doubtless existed. This last fact may be inferred from the text of an investiture diploma for an *ʿĀriḍ* given in the second part of the collection of Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāṭ's letters, the *Wasāʾil al-rasāʾil wa-dalāʾil al-faḍāʾil* compiled for the Khwārizmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn's brother Ghiyāth al-Dīn Pīrshāh or Shīrshāh; it thus reflects the common Saldjūḳ and Khwārizmshāhī tradition. In it, the appointee is described as *ʿĀriḍ dar djumla-yi mamālik*, and his duties characterised as firstly, a care for the correct pay entitlements of the soldiers, and secondly, the proper conduct of *ʿarḍ*s, with due inspection of equipment and weapons (H. Horst, *Die Staatsverwaltung der Grosselǧūqen und Ḫōrazmšāhs (1038-1231)*, Wiesbaden 1964, 39-41, 109-10). *ʿArḍ*s were held at such usual times as the opening of campaigns (e.g., before the expedition of Alp Arslan to Anatolia which culminated in the victory of Mantzikert); but *ʿarḍ*s could still give rise to disaffection, for the 7,000 troops whom Malik-Shāh dismissed from his army after an *ʿarḍ* at Ray in 473/1081 joined his brother Tekish in eastern Khurāsān, and the latter used them to rebel (Bosworth, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, v, 90).

Although the Great Saldjūḳ empire disintegrated, the military traditions associated with the maintenance of a standing, professional army lived on beyond the cataclysm of the Mongol invasions and were passed on to the later Saldjūḳs of Rūm in Anatolia and to the various Mongol and Türkmen dynasties which came to dominate the whole region from Syria to Afghanistān. Under the Il-Khānids, we find the office of *ʿĀriḍ* or *Amīr-i ʿĀriḍ* still flourishing; his duties included oversight of the army's *iḳṭāʿ*s and, probably, assistance to the khān at army reviews (cf. I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilatına medhal*, Istanbul 1941, 257). The *ʿArḍ-nāma* or account of a review written by Djalāl al-Dīn Dawānī (d. 908/1502) [*q.v.*] shows the institution of the *ʿarḍ* in common use amongst the Turkmen Aḳ Ḳoyunlu under their greatest ruler, Uzun Ḥasan. In this document there is described an *ʿarḍ* held by Uzun Ḥasan's son Sulṭān Khalīl, governor of Fārs, at Band-i Amīr near Persepolis, which lasted for three days. Some 23,000 troops, comprising the provincial army of Fārs, presented themselves for inspection in the tripartite formation characteristic of Turkish armies, of left wing, right wing and centre. Members of the royal family headed the list; these were followed by the officers, including the élite group of the *tawadjīs*; and then successive detachments (*ḳoshuns*) of the rank-and-file, the *nokars*, comprising armoured troops and archers, and the servants, the *ḳullughčīs* (Minorsky, *A civil and military review in Fārs in 881/1476*, in *BSOS*, x (1940-2), 141-78; Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, 304-12).

Amongst the Mamlūks of Egypt and Syria, the traditional occasions for army reviews figure, as one would expect, in the chronicles; thus when in 832/1428-9 al-Ashraf Barsbāy prepared his expedition against the Tīmūrid Shāh Rukh, the *ḥalḳa* [*q.v.*] was reviewed in the Royal Square (*al-ḥawsh al-sulṭānī*), and even the very young, the aged and the blind were required to go on the venture (D. Ayalon, *Studies on the structure of the Mamlūk army. II*, in *BSOAS*, xv (1953), 455). The civilian head of the military department was the *Nāẓir al-Djaysh*, but the official whose duties corresponded in many ways with those of the earlier *ʿĀriḍ* as overseer of reviews was the military official called the *Naḳīb al-Djuyūsh* (also found with various other titles like *Muḳaddam al-Djuyūsh*,

Amīr al-Djuyūsh, Naḳīb Nuḳabāʾ al-Djuyūsh and *Atābak al-ʿAsākir*), whose office in Cairo had two branches, one for Egypt and one for Syria. He exercised military police functions, being therefore something like a Provost-Marshal. It was he who announced to the army that it should get ready and parade for inspection before an expedition, and for this he sent round his subordinate officials, the *nuḳabāʾ adjnād al-ḥalḳa*, to Cairo and district, and despatched messengers of the *Barīd* or postal service [*q.v.*] to other regions of Egypt (cf. M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks d'après les auteurs arabes*, Paris 1923, lxii; Uzunçarşılı, *Medhal*, 383; and Ayalon, in *BSOAS*, xvi (1954), 64 ff.).

In the early Ottoman empire, many administrative and military traditions stemmed from the Ottomans' predecessors, the Rūm Saldjūḳs. The terms *ʿarḍ* and *ʿāriḍ* were not generally used, but a similar institution of military reviews existed under the designation of *yoḳlama*, the officials charged with organising these inspections and recording the results being known as *yoḳlamadjllar*. This institution was certainly flourishing by the time of Süleymān the Magnificent. The *yoḳlama* can best be documented from the journals of campaigns, such as those found in Ferīdūn Beg's *Münsheʾāt-i selāṭīn*. When a campaign was set on foot, the troops arrived from the provinces and were reviewed in the army camp in front of the sultan's tent; the state of the musters was then recorded in special registers or muster-rolls, *yoḳlama defterleri*, and these were then presented to the sultan or commander-in-chief. The *yoḳlama* was particularly important as a means of checking on absentees from the forces, since absenteeism became an increasing problem as a disinclination from the fighting grew after the 10th/16th century. Documents giving orders for the holding of *yoḳlama*s are frequently couched in minatory language. In one document regarding the Janissary cavalry and sent to the *ḳāḍī*s of the *sandjaḳ* of Bursa before departure on an expedition in 980/1572-3, threats of all sorts of dire punishment (*enwāʿ-i ʿitāb we-ʿiḳāb*) are made against those not present at the *yoḳlama*. When Murād IV prepared for his Erivān expedition of 1044/1634-5, even retired soldiers and local defence troops were summoned to the colours, with the death penalty threatened as the ultimate deterrent for absence; the Janissaries were reviewed near the frontiers of eastern Anatolia, and the officers reprehended over absentees from their units (texts in Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtından kapukulu ocakları*, Ankara 1943-4, i, 368, ii, 244). It should be noted, however, that our information relates only to reviews held before or during specific campaigns, and not to regular peace-time reviews such as are attested for earlier Islamic times.

It is probable, although it is difficult precisely to document the process, that the institution of the *ʿarḍ* was transferred to the Indian Muslim armies via such epigoni of the Ghaznavids and Ghūrids as the Slave Kings of Delhi. The 8th/14th century historian Baranī, writing under the Delhi sultans, recommends that the *ʿarḍ* should be held twice yearly and that it should include tests in equestrian skill, and inspection of weapons and arrows and of horses' brands, and a recording of the *ḥulā*, physical characteristics of the troops (*Fatāwā-yi djahāndārī*, tr. M. Habib and A. U. S. Khan, Allahabad n.d., 25; *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī*, ed. Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Calcutta 1862, 319, 328). The main musters were held in the capital Delhi itself, possibly inside a great walled enclosure, which was called *alang*, a term also applied to the review itself; the 8th/14th century tower still extant in Delhi called the *Bidjay mandal* "viewing area" seems to have been designed as a viewing platform for the *ʿarḍ*. The sultans' *Dīwān-i ʿArḍ* was headed by an official called in the mid-7th/13th century the *Rāwat-i ʿArḍ* (*rāwat* = Hindi "warrior") or the *ʿĀriḍ al-Ḥasham*, and there were subordinate officials called *nāʾibān-i ʿarḍ-i mulūk*. One duty of these deputy *ʿĀriḍ*s seems to have been that of accompanying military expeditions when there was a chance of plunder, and of then transmitting the sultan's share of the booty back to Delhi. The founder of the Khaldjī dynasty, Djalāl al-Dīn Fīrūz (689-95/1290-6) held the office of *ʿĀriḍ-i Mamālik* when he seized power (Baranī, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī*, 114, 116, 197, 326, 450).

Almost nothing is known of the *ʿarḍ* in Muslim India in the immediate post-800/1398 period, although it seems likely that the traditional processes of muster and review were preserved in the Indian sultanates rather than re-introduced *de novo* by the Mughals. The recording of the *ḥulā al-ridjāl* is said to have been revived by Shīr Shāh Sūr of Delhi (945-52/1538-45); a *Dīwān-i ʿArḍ-i Mamālik* existed in Mālwa in the 9th/15th century; and the functions of the *ʿĀriḍ* may have been performed in the Bengal sultanate of the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries by the official known as the *Wazīr-i Lashkar* or *Lashkar-Wazīr*.

In Mughal India, many of the functions of the classical *ʿĀriḍ* devolved on the *Mīr-Bakhshī* or *Bakhshī al-Mamālik* (*bakhshī*, originally "writer, secretary", a term stemming from Mongol administrative usage), assisted by a number of other *Bakhshī*s, which grew from one to three between the late 10th/16th century and the 12th/18th century; in addition, a *Bakhshī-yi Lashkar* was sometimes temporarily appointed to accompany a specific expedition. The chief *Bakhshī*'s duties were broadly those of an Adjutant-General and a Muster-Master; he was concerned with recruitment, keeping lists of the *manṣabdār*s or officers, arranging a duty roster for the palace guards, issuing grants of pay (*tankhwāh*), and keeping registers of deserters and absentees from reviews. The Mughal army, like other Islamic forces, suffered from the evils of false musters and absenteeism. The Emperor Akbar revived the practice of the Delhi sultans in strictly enforcing a system of descriptive rolls for men and horses and of brands for the animals. The soldiers' rolls were called *čihra*, literally "face", because as well as recording the genealogical and ethnic affiliations of the warrior in question, physical details were also noted; the rolls of the horses were likewise called *čihra-yi aspān*. Horses had normally to be branded by the *Bakhshī*'s subordinate, the *Dārūgha* [*q.v.*], the procedure being known as *dāgh u taṣḥīḥa* "branding and verification". Only commanders of 5,000 and above were exempt from the branding requirements, according to a late 11th/17th century administrative manual, one of those with the title *Dastūr al-ʿamal* (B.M. Ms 6599, second work in the Ms), but they had to parade their horses for inspection when required (it is, however, known from other sources that high officers had their personal brand marks). It thus appears that the general process of *taṣḥīḥa*, requirement of the troops' appearing on parade and the checking of their equipment, is a direct descendant of the classical *ʿarḍ*, and that it was carried out in peacetime at regular intervals, the precise period of time depending on the nature and rate of pay. Thus a *manṣabdār* whose men were paid in *djāgīr* or personal grants (see under IḲTAʿ) had to parade them for review once a year, whereas those paid in cash had to appear at rather

more frequent intervals. During a military expedition, the *Mīr-Ba<u>kh</u>shī* or *Ba<u>kh</u>shī* accompanying the army was expected to lay before the emperor or commander-in-chief a detailed muster-roll on the morning of battle. It was also he who, like the ideal *ʿĀriḍ* in Fa<u>kh</u>r-i Mudabbir's *Ādāb al-mulūk*, deployed the troops in the positions which had often been assigned to them before the actual campaign. In the absence of the emperor, the *Ba<u>kh</u>shī* was not infrequently appointed commander of the force, and on many other occasions he commanded a division of it; but even the *Mīr-Ba<u>kh</u>shī* might serve beneath an ordinary amīr as commander. See W. Irvine, *The army of the Indian Moghuls: its organization and administration*, London 1903, 36-56, also in *JRAS* (1896), 539-55; Ibn Hasan, *The central structure of the Moghul empire*, Karachi 1966, 77-9, 125.

Bibliography: Given in the article. There are no special studies devoted to the topic, but see Bosworth, *Muster, recruitment and review in mediaeval Islamic armies*, in *War, technology and society in the Middle East*, London, forthcoming.

(C. E. Bosworth)

ISTIʿRĀḌ (A), technical term of the <u>Kh</u>awāri<u>dj</u> [*q.v.*], used, in a general sense, of religious murder, the putting to death in particular by the Azāriḳa [*q.v.*] of Muslims and pagans who objected to their still rudimentary doctrine. However this meaning seems to be the result of a semantic evolution (even an involution), the verb *istaʿraḍa* (tenth form) meaning "to ask someone to display his possessions" and, thence, "to give an account of his opinions"; the *istiʿrāḍ* is thus the interrogation to which the enemies of these sectarians were subjected on falling into their hands. There seems also to have occurred an overlapping with the eighth form *iʿtaraḍa*, which means "to examine one by one, to pass under review", but also "to attack someone" and "to strike in all directions, indiscriminately" (cf. al-Ḳālī, *Amālī*, i, 119). In al-Ṭabarī (i, 3368, line 1) there is found, concerning Misʿar b. Fadakī, the phrase *aḳbala yaʿtariḍu 'l-nās* which Mme. Veccia Vaglieri (*Il conflitto ʿAlī-Muʿāwiya*, in *AIUON*, iv (1952), 63) translates "presero a far subire interrogatori alla gente", perhaps while fighting, since the verb could well have here the meaning of "attack"; another attestation appears more certain: al-Mubarrad (*Kāmil*, 616; Cairo ed., 1041; cf. Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *<u>Sh</u>arḥ Nah<u>dj</u> al-balā<u>gh</u>a*, i, 382) says in fact of Nāfiʿ that at al-Ahwāz *yaʿtariḍu 'l-nās* (*i.e.*, he made them undergo an interrogation) and killed the children (*wa-yaḳtul al-aṭfāl*) but it is quite clear that the interrogation was followed, in most cases, by the victim's being put to death, and this act is obviously implied in the verb *yaʿtariḍu*. *Iʿtaraḍa* and *istaʿraḍa* seem therefore to mean about the same thing. Concerning *istiʿrāḍ*, when al-Dīnawarī (*Ṭiwāl*, 221) refers to the *istiʿrāḍ al-nās*, he is certainly referring to the inquisition, since he adds *yaḳtulūnahum*; al-Ṭabarī does the same (i, 3380, line 11-2) when he reports the wording of an invitation to rally to the banner of ʿAlī *man lam yaḳtul wa* (*-lam*) *yastaʿriḍ*. However, when, concerning Ḳaṭarī [*q.v.*], al-<u>Dj</u>āḥiẓ says (*Bayān*, iii, 264) that he "professed (*yadīn*) the *istiʿrāḍ*, the bringing (of the women) into captivity (*sibāʾ*) and the murdering of children", the term certainly implies a doctrine involving not only the subjecting to an interrogation but also the putting to death of any recalcitrants (or the proving the sincerity of those who had rallied to the cause by giving them the task of slaughtering a prisoner; cf. H. Laoust, *Schismes*, 45); *istiʿrāḍ* is used in the same sense in a saying attributed to Abū Bayhas (al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 616; Cairo ed., 1041) which justifies this form of terrorism. Hence, *istiʿrāḍ* came to imply less inquisition than the execution, by the extremist groups of <u>Kh</u>āri<u>dj</u>īs, of enemies who were reluctant to join the cause wholeheartedly.

Bibliography: In the article. (Ch. Pellat)

ISTIṢḤĀB, evokes, etymologically, the idea of an implied connection between a present situation and a previous one. In the vocabulary of the *fuḳahāʾ*, it designated the principle by which a given judicial situation that had existed previously was held to continue to exist as long as it could not be proved that it had ceased to exist or had been modified. In general, the institution has not been well understood; it has been regarded as the <u>Sh</u>āfiʿī equivalent of *istiḥsān* and *istiṣlāḥ* [*q.v.*]. But *istiṣḥāb* is not a source of objective law and besides, to the extent that it is a means of preserving rights that have already been established, it is accepted by the Ḥanafīs and Mālikīs as well as by the <u>Sh</u>āfiʿīs and Imāmīs. The presumption of continuity embodied in *istiṣḥāb* explains, for example, why the wife of a missing man cannot remarry, why his heirs cannot benefit from his estate until his death has been established; and why, when someone has set out poverty-stricken on a journey and nothing further has been heard of him, he is considered a pauper for the entire duration of his absence.

The <u>Sh</u>āfiʿīs gave *istiṣḥāb* a much weightier significance than did the Ḥanafīs, which explains why this method of juridical reasoning has been generally, though erroneously, associated with <u>Sh</u>āfiʿī teaching. The word *istiṣḥāb* does not even appear in the *Umm* of the Imām al-<u>Sh</u>āfiʿī and he had recourse to the concept on one occasion only, without naming it (Schacht, *Origins*, 126). However, it is true that later <u>Sh</u>āfiʿī scholars considerably expanded the area of its application by deciding that it was possible, through using this measure, not only to preserve already established rights (as did the other schools) but also to permit the acquisition of new rights. Thus in this school a missing man whose death cannot be established may inherit, which is impossible under Ḥanafī law; in the same way, in <u>Sh</u>āfiʿī law a pre-emptor may avail himself of *istiṣḥāb* in order to prove that he is a co-proprietor, which the Ḥanafīs do not allow (al-Kāsānī, *Badāʾiʿ*, v, 14). Examples of *istiṣḥāb* which might be used for the acquisition of new rights abound in <u>Sh</u>āfiʿī works. It should be noted that Zufar, among the Ḥanafīs, upheld ideas which were very close to those of the <u>Sh</u>āfiʿīs on this point.

Bibliography: The works on *uṣūl al-fiḳh*, including <u>Gh</u>azālī, *Mustaṣfā*, Būlāḳ 1322, i, 217; Āmidī, *Iḥkām*, ed. Dār al-Maʿārif, iv, 166 ff.; <u>Sh</u>awkānī, *Ir<u>sh</u>ād al-fuḥūl*, Cairo 1327, 228 ff.; Ibn Ḥazm, *Iḥkām*, ed. al-Saʿāda, v, 2 ff.; Ḳarāfī, *Tanḳīḥ al-fuṣūl*, Cairo 1306, 198 ff. Among modern authors, ʿAlī al-<u>Kh</u>afīf, *al-Istiṣḥāb*, in the review *al-Ḳānūn wa'l-iḳtiṣād*, nos. 3-4, (Cairo 1951), 229-45 of the Arabic section; Goldziher, *Istiṣḥāb*, in *WZKM*, i (1887), 228 ff. (Fr. tr. by G. H. Bousquet, in *Études islamologiques d'I. Goldziher*, Leiden 1962, 12 ff.); Santillana, *Istituzioni*, ii, 621-3; especially Lapanne-Joinville, *Istiṣḥāb*, in *Travaux Sem. Int. de Droit musulman*, Paris 1952, 80-100; N. J. Coulson, *A History of Islamic Law*, Edinburgh 1964, 92-3. (Y. Linant de Bellefonds)

ISTI<u>SH</u>RĀḲ [see mustas<u>h</u>riḳūn]

ISTISḲĀʾ, a rogatory rite still practised at the present day (notably in Jordan and Morocco) and dating back to the earliest Arab times (ʿĀdite ac-

cording to Ibn al-Athīr, i, 61; Abrahamic according to Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 22) which is a supplication for rain during periods of great drought. The rite must have been both astral and magical in nature. Obliged to retain it because of its great popularity, primitive Islam tried to remove these features. A precise ritual was established—as in the case of *istikhāra* [*q.v.*], another custom deriving from pagan cultic practices —so that the faithful would not succumb to the temptation of returning to the ways of the Djāhiliyya. With this end in view, *istisḳāʾ* in the pagan manner, that is through the intermediary of the planets (*al-istiṣḳāʾ bi 'l-kawākib*) is condemned in a *ḥadīth*, where it features alongside *hidjāʾ*, insult by reference to genealogy, which was thought of as an action with magical results, and *niyāḥa*, the use of hired mourners (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2424; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd*, i, 299; T. Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie centrale*, 11, n. 2).

Pagan *istisḳāʾ*, or rather *istimṭār*, required the use of fire; *nār al-istisḳāʾ* was one of the numerous sacred fires of ancient Arabia (cf. *Panthéon*, 9-18). It consisted of driving, onto a hilltop that was difficult to reach, oxen with branches of wild grape (*salaʿ*) and mudar plant (*ʿuṣhar*) attached to their tails and hocks. When they reached the top, these branches were fired. The bellowing of the beasts and the cries and supplication of the men rose clamorously towards the astral divinities, imploring them to send down rain (cf. al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iv, 466-8; id., *Tarbīʿ*, index s.v. *istimṭār*; Ibn Abī Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, ii, 252 ff., 418, iv, 434; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, i, 109). The fire had two functions: it symbolised the devastating drought and caused the bellowing of the bulls so that the gods would hear their dreadful cries.

The magical nature of *istiṣḳāʾ* is also revealed in the manner in which it was practised by Ibn al-Hayyabān, a very pious Palestinian Jew who arrived in Yathrib a few years before the advent of Islam. He lived amoung the Banū Ḳurayẓa, who applied to him every time a drought had lasted too long. He demanded that those who came to him place at their doors a *ṣadaḳa* consisting of one measure of dates or two measures of barley per person. A procession was formed behind him; clouds rolled over and the rain fell as soon as the procession crossed the dried-up stream (Ibn Saʿd, i/1, 104 f.; *Panthéon*, 13; *Sources orientales*, vii (1966), 187 f.).

This magical symbolism even appears in the *istisḳāʾ* rite as it seems to have been performed by the Prophet. In fact, according to al-Shawkānī (d. 1250/1834), *Nayl al-awṭār* (a commentary on the *al-Muntaḳā min akhbār al-Muṣṭafā* of Ibn Taymiyya, d. 652/1254), citing a narrative placed in the mouth of ʿĀʾisha, the Prophet stood on the top of a *minbar* erected for him in an oratory (*muṣallā*) and recited a short doxology which closed with a plea for rain; he then raised his arms to the sky, so high that the whiteness of his armpits could be seen; then he turned his back on the people and turned his cloak inside out while still holding his arms aloft. Turning towards the faithful once more, he came down from the *minbar* and performed two *rakʿa*s. Then God sent forth a cloud which brought thunder, lightning and rain (quoted by Muḥammad ʿAbduh, *ʿIbādāt*, 179).

While still a small boy, Muḥammad is said to have played a part in the rogations celebrated at Mecca as a result of a dream that the mother of Makhrama b. Nawfal al-Zuharī had: she had heard a voice announcing the imminent appearance of a prophet and describing to her a man, who proved to be ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, whose intervention would bring about the rain. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib convened the members of his family, including his grandson Muḥammad, and one representative from each of the families of Mecca. They made their way in procession to Mount Abū Ḳubays. After a prayer uttered by ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, rain swelled the streams. Recounting this story, Ibn Saʿd concludes (i/1, 54): "and they were refreshed because of the Messenger of God".

Even after his death the Prophet is said to have demonstrated his attachment to this custom: he appeared in a dream to a chief of the Muzayna, during a long drought, to command him to go and see the Caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and ask why he delayed in uttering the *istisḳāʾ* prayer. At once ʿUmar assembled the people and recited a brief orison and two short prayers. Then he invoked God in these words: "O God, our watercourses have dried up; our strength is exhausted; our souls are weary! There is no strength nor power but Thine, O God; send us water and revive the creatures and the earth" (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2575-6; cf. *Divination*, 265; *Panthéon*, 11 f.).

Among the nomads, the prerogative of *istisḳāʾ* was allied to possession of the *bayt* or bethel and the *ḳubba* or sacred tent; in the temples some divinities were famed in this role [see HUBAL]. In Mecca the leader of the city held this prerogative, which had been transmitted by ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib to Muḥammad and thence to the caliphs (cf. H. Lammens, *Le culte des Bétyles et les processions religieuses chez les Arabes préislamites*, in *BIFAO* (1919-20), 86). The Prophet's entire family inherited this prerogative (cf. ref. *apud* I. Goldziher, *Zauberelemente*, 308 ff.). ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb himself once officiated at the *istisḳāʾ* prayer by holding the hand of al-ʿAbbas, the Prophet's uncle (Ibn Saʿd, iv/1, 19). Some of the martyrs of primitive Islam also enjoyed this privilege; because of this, the tomb of Abū Ayyūb, who died at the gates of Constantinople during the rule of Muʿāwiya and was buried in a spot that took his name (Eyyüp, at the base of the Golden Horn), was considered by the Byzantines as a propitious place to pray for rain (according to Ibn Saʿd, iii/2, 50).

In later folklore the power to make rain fall was conferred on certain *walī*s; an opening in the dome of their tombs symbolised this power. Their prestige among the people was so great that everyone wanted to number a "rainmaker" among his ancestors (cf. ref. *apud* I. Goldziher, *loc. cit.*). This phenomenon was particularly pronounced in the Maghrib, where, moreover, pagan rites dating from very early times survive among the Berbers (see Bibliography). For the *ṣalāt al-istisḳāʾ*, see ṢALĀT.

Bibliography: T. Fahd, *Panthéon*, 10-14; I. Goldziher, *Zauberelemente im islamischen Gebet*, in *Orientalische Studien Th. Nöldeke gewidmet*, i, Giessen 1906, 308-12; idem, in *RHR*, lii (1905), 225-9; Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1909, 582-96; idem, *Marrakech*, 383-90; A. Bel, *Quelques rites pour obtenir la pluie en temps de secheresse chez les musulmans maghrébins*, in *Recueil de mémoires et de textes publiés en l'honneur du XIVe Congrès des Orientalistes par les professeurs de l'École supérieure des lettres et des Médresas*, Algiers 1905, 49-98; Narbeshuber, *Aus dem Leben der arabischen Bevölkerung in Sfax*, Leipzig 1907, 26-9; most notably E. Laoust, *Mots et choses berbères*, Paris 1920, 202-47; A. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes en pays de Moab*, Paris 1908, 2nd ed. 1948 (*Etudes Bibliques*), 323-30; Muḥammad ʿAbduh, *al-ʿIbādāt fi 'l-islām*, 1st ed. Cairo n.d., 179 f.

(T. FAHD)

Rain-making ceremonies among the Turks.

The magico-religious practices most generally employed in Turkey to produce rain are (with some regional variations) the following:

(1) Appropriate formulae are recited over a large number of pebbles, which are then put in a bag and sunk in a stream; care must be taken that not a single pebble falls loose in the water, for this would produce a torrential rainfall. When sufficient rain has fallen, the bag is withdrawn from the water.

(2) Collective prayer is offered led by a *khodja*, preferably by a sacred site upon an eminence. During the prayer, the suppliants turn their clothes inside out and stretch their half-open hands in gestures simulating the fall of rain. In some areas it is the custom to make babies cry and lambs bleat by separating them from their mothers. There exist in manuscript anthologies of popular poetry some *ilāhī*s in Turkish composed to be sung during these collective prayers.

(3) Besides prayers addressed to God, attempts to procure the intervention of a saint and rites of sympathetic magic, there are found also collective meals provided for the poor of the community, with the same object of appeasing the Divine wrath by works of charity (drought being regarded as a punishment from heaven).

(4) Another group of ceremonies is found in the traditions of the children, which similarly belong to the domain of sympathetic magic. These are ceremonies with the character of games, when children go from door to door to collect money, singing appropriate words and carrying a doll usually representing a woman dressed in fantastic style. This doll is called by different names in different areas: *Çömçe-gelin* "ladle-bride", *Kepçe-kadın* "strainer-woman", *Yağmur-gelini* "rain-bride". The children eat, all together, a meal bought with the proceeds of the collection. In some regions (Samsun, Sinop) this ceremony is called *Göde-göde* ("frog-frog"); money is collected by children taking from door to door a bucket of water with a frog in it. The common feature of these "children's collections" is that the doll or the children themselves are sprinkled with water by the housewives as they pass in procession in front of the houses.

Some less common ceremonies, such as the immersion in water of a horse's skull, on which prayer formulas have been written, are probably survivals from ancient practices of sacrifice.

The use of stones which after a magico-religious ceremony acquire the power to induce rainfall is the most widespread method of all, and is probably the Anatolian form taken by the very old Turco-Mongol practice of inducing rain by the "*yada*-stone". For the data on this subject found in Chinese and Arabic sources, see the communication by Köprülüzâde M. Fuʾād in *Actes du Congrès International d'histoire des religions*, held in Paris, 1923, vol. 2.

Bibliography: For the subject in general, and especially for Anatolian Turkish practices, see the addendum by P. N. Boratav to the article *Istisḳā* in *İA*. See also *Söz Derleme Dergisi*, supp. ii: *Folklor Sözleri*, s.vv. *Çömçe-gelin* and *Göde-göde*. For data collected since 1949, see the abstracts of *Türk folklor araştırmaları* by P. N. Boratav in *Oriens*, headings XI and XIV.

(P. N. Boratav)

ISTIṢLĀḤ [see istiḥsān]

ISTIṬĀʿA, capacity, power to act, *maṣdar* of the tenth form of *ṭāʿ*, to obey. If the term itself is not ḳurʾānic, the verb *istaṭāʿ* is used frequently in the text. Like its *maṣdar*, it was to become a technical term of the *uṣūl al-dīn* and the *ʿilm al-kalām*. The translation "capacity" is generally used (for example Tritton, *Muslim Theology*, London 1947, 68 and n. 2). Wensinck prefers "faculty", others "power" (*pouvoir*). In this last sense, the *ʿilm al-kalām* readily considers *ḳudra* and *istiṭāʿa* to be identical (see remarks of ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, ed. ʿAbd al-Karīm ʿUthmān, Cairo 1384/1965, 393). As quasi-synonyms for *istiṭāʿa*, al-Djurdjānī was to suggest (*Taʿrīfāt*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1845, 18) the terms *ḳudra* (power), *ḳuwwa* (faculty, in the sense of potentiality), *wasʿ* (faculty, in the sense of power) and *ṭāḳa* (faculty, power).

The idea in question dominates the analysis of the act of free choice (*ikhtiyār*). It was to be discussed, from the earliest elaborations of the science of *kalām*, under extremely diverse meanings, or nuances of meanings. In his *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, al-Ashʿarī summarises at length the opinions of his forerunners. — A detailed analysis of the various theses here brought together will be found ap. R. Brunschvig, *Devoir et Pouvoir*, in *St. Isl.*, xx, 1-46. We shall restrict ourselves to certain references:

1) Ghaylān and the Murdjiʾīs made almost no distinction between *istiṭāʿa* and *ḳudra*, or even *ḳuwwa*. And for them, the capacity of a man in regard to his acts depends above all upon his physical aptitude to accomplish them.

2) Among the Muʿtazilīs, the Baghdād school was likewise to see in *istiṭāʿa* the physical integrity which renders the act possible. For Abu 'l-Hudhayl and other Baṣrians, however, it is an accident which is superimposed upon this integrity (cf. R. Brunschvig, *art. cit.*, 14). For the Muʿtazilīs in general, in any case it precedes the act, it does not compel action, and it ceases when the act is performed. Once the act is created by man, the notion of "capacity to act" no longer enters into the question. An exposé of the subject, from the Muʿtazilī point of view, will be found in ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *op. cit.*, 390 ff. (see p. 390, the note of ʿAbd al-Karīm ʿUthmān; cf. also al-Khayyāṭ, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār*, ed. Nyberg and trans. Nader, Beirut 1954, 62-72). — But for Ḍirār, the capacity which precedes the act continues to exist during its performance.

3) The group known as *Mudjbira*, to whom al-Ashʿarī, regarding them to some extent as his precursors, was to give the name *Ahl al-ithbāt*, defined *istiṭāʿa* as the whole body of elements which join together in the performance of the act. — The Rāfiḍī Shīʿī Hishām b. al-Ḥakam enumerates five of these: health and integrity (physical); favourable circumstances; the desired time; instruments; motive (*sabab*). The act is produced, and it cannot be not produced, when all these elements are present (cf. al-Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo n.d., i, 110-2; and W. Montgomery Watt, *Free Will and Predestination*, London 1948, 116-7). With these tendencies may be linked the opinion of al-Nadjdjār, already very close to the Ashʿarī line: "the capacity" does not last, it does not exist before the act, it is created by God for the act and at the instant of the act whose accomplishment it governs.

4) Al-Ashʿarī deals with *istiṭāʿa* from his own point of view in the *Ibāna* (ed. Cairo n.d., 53-5), and devotes to it a chapter of the *Lumaʿ* (ed. and English trans. R. McCarthy, Beirut 1953, 54-9, 76-96). The "capacity" is created directly by God "with the act and for the act". It does not pre-exist it, a point of difference from the Muʿtazilī thesis. A man who does not have the requisite physical integrity is stricken with powerlessness (*ʿadjz*); he would certainly be incapable

of performing the act, but that is not the true conception of *istiṭāʿa*. If, on the contrary, the power (*ḳudra*) to act fails him, and whatever his physical integrity may be, the power to act fails the man, it is because God has not created in him the corresponding "capacity"; in this way He has not attributed to him the *kasb* or *iktisāb* which permits the subject to "acquire" the act, and which is the source of moral qualification. It is in this sense that one can say that God is "the creator of human acts", of any act whatever, whether good or bad. Must it thereby be concluded that man is "constrained"? On this point copious As͟hʿārī discussions are to be found on the "acquisition" of acts. Al-Bāḳillānī for example, who treats at length of *istiṭāʿa* in his *Tamhīd* (ed. McCarthy Beirut 1957, 286-95), is at great pains to distinguish it from "constraint" (*iḍṭirār* [*q.v.*]); the trembling of the hand of the paralytic man is "constrained"; on the contrary, thanks to *istiṭāʿa* created by God, man chooses and likes the act which he elicits. One could not therefore call him "constrained", *muḍṭarr* (*ibid.*, 393). In his *Irs͟hād*, al-D͟juwaynī does no more than mention *istiṭāʿa* (ed. and French trans. Luciani, Paris 1938, 122/196, 125/201) as a quasi-synonym for the "power" which guarantees the *kasb*. And this power seems indeed to be in accord with the integrity of the means and instruments. The fact remains that, like every accident, it is directly created by God and that, like every accident, it does not "last". Therefore, it does not precede the act, as the Muʿtazilīs would have it, but is concomitant with it (*ibid.*, 125/201). Throughout the As͟hʿārī treatises there are repeated affirmations, similar in their basis but with nuances peculiar to each author. Al-D͟jurd͟jānī condenses these in his *Taʿrīfāt* (18-19), defining "capacity" as "the accident created by God in animate beings who, thanks to it, perform acts of free choice". He specifies that "real" capacity (*ḥaḳīḳiyya*) is the perfection of the "power" which obligatorily determines the beginning of the act and is concomitant with it. To put it briefly, let us say that the notion of *istiṭāʿa* is at the very root of the As͟hʿarī notion of *kasb*, the relationship or linking together of the effect produced and the agent.

5) Unlike al-As͟hʿarī, al-Māturīdī in his *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd* (see analyses and ref. ap. R. Brunschvig, *art. cit.*, 25-6) was to introduce, as two successive periods of time: a) the integrity of the physical means, which is a gift of God and which precedes the act—thus giving the name "capacity" to what al-As͟hʿarī called the absence of *ʿad͟jz*; b) a qualification (*maʿnā*) which causes the act to be performed, which relates it to recompense or punishment, and gives it moral value. This "qualification" which defines *istiṭāʿa* is as it were the counterpart of the Māturīdī notion of *kasb*; it is a "quality" corresponding to human "contingent power".

6) We find a fairly closely related distinction in Ibn Ḥazm, but with different presuppositions: a) health and physical integrity, prior to the act; b) an accident directly and instantaneously created by God for the fulfilment of the act; it is, and is no more than, concomitant with this last. This second sense, says Ibn Ḥazm, is "the perfection of capacity". From this it ensues that the unbeliever has "the capacity to believe" according to the first meaning; but no longer so according to the second (*Kitāb al-Fiṣal fi 'l-milal*, ed. Cairo 1347, iii, 21-6, 31).—It may be added that similar theses were maintained by some jurists or theologians whose line of thought was far removed from Ẓāhirism, for example the Ḥanafī al-Taḥāwī and the Imāmī al-Kulaynī. Moreover, a comparison may be made with the thinking of Ibn Taymiyya. It is true that he no longer referred to *istiṭāʿa*, but spoke rather of a *ḳudra* preceding the act, which conditions it without necessitating it, and of a *ḳudra* concomitant with the act and rendering it necessary (cf. R. Brunschvig, *art. cit.*, 41).—Doubtless it is to the "antecedent" *istiṭāʿa*, accepted by al-Māturīdī and Ibn Ḥazm, that al-D͟jurd͟jānī refers (*Taʿrīfāt*, 19) when he adds to the As͟hʿarī definitions quoted above that the capacity is "healthy" if impediments such as sickness and other similar things disappear.

A multiplicity of further references could be given. These would emphasise that the notion of *istiṭāʿa* as a technical term varies with the different schools, and sometimes with the writers; and that it is always closely dependent upon theses founded on the intrinsic reality or non-reality of human freedom of choice.

Bibliography: In the article. (L. Gardet)

ISTIT͟HNĀʾ (A.), inf. of the verb *istat͟hnā* "to except", a technical term in Arabic grammar signifying "exception". This assumes, first of all, a complete sentence; then (when the proposition has been stated) one or more beings are excepted from the functions exercised in the sentence. In English, *except* is used, *e.g.*: *Everyone came* except *Zayd.* Arabic uses means of expression of various origins (Sībawayhi, i, ch. 185): *g͟hayra* (a noun signifying "difference"); *siwā*, *suwā* (more rarely *sawāʾa*, *siwāʾa*) (also a noun); *illā* (= **in-lā* "if not") "except"; the verbs *k͟halā*, *ʿadā* (invariable 3rd pers. masc. sing.); *ḥās͟hā* (>*ḥās͟ha*) (an ancient verbal noun, used exclamatorily, transferred from its original sense, see Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften*, 405); very much more rarely, as a substitute for *illā*: *lā yakūnu*, *laysa*, followed by the accusative.

G͟hayra, *siwā*, *ḥās͟hā*, as nouns, are the first term of an annexation and the second goes into the genitive; the English sentence above is rendered: *d͟jāʾa 'l-ḳawmu g͟hayra*, or *siwā* or *ḥās͟hā*, *Zaydⁱⁿ*; al-Farrāʾ and al-Mubarrad also accept the accusative after *ḥās͟hā* (see the account of Ibn Yaʿīs͟h, 269, lines 2-19).

Illā, *k͟halā*, *ʿadā*, are followed by the accusative: *d͟jāʾa 'l-ḳawmu illā*, or *k͟halā* or *ʿadā*, *Zaydaⁿ*. Ibn Mālik (*Alfiyya*, verse 329) also accepts the genitive after *k͟halā* and *ʿadā*, as did al-Ak͟hfas͟h al-Awsaṭ (for *k͟halā*, see also al-Zamak͟hs͟harī, *Mufaṣṣal*, 31, line 7 and Ibn Yaʿīs͟h, 261, lines 16-20).

Illā is regarded as being added to a complete affirmative sentence; if this sentence is negative (or interrogative with a negative sense) the accusative can be used, or, preferably, the case of the preceding general term (Ibn Mālik, *Alfiyya*, verses 316-7 and Ibn ʿAḳīl, i, 507): *mā d͟jāʾa 'l-ḳawmu illā Zayduⁿ* (or *Zaydaⁿ*) (see Wright, ii, 336). If the thing excepted is different in kind from that from which it is excepted, the Ḥid͟jāz uses only the accusative after *illā*, and the Tamīm the accusative or the case of the preceding general term; thus, following the pattern sentence: *mā d͟jāʾa 'l-ḳawm illā ḥimāraⁿ* (Ḥid͟jāz), *illā ḥimāruⁿ* (Tamīm) "the people did not come, only a donkey" (Ibn Yaʿīs͟h, 264, lines 8-17). Nöldeke (*Zur Grammatik*, § 37) gives still further variations in the construction of *illā*.

In our opinion, if one wishes to account for the different constructions of *illā*, one should start with *g͟hayr*. This was a noun and the important word in the construction: *g͟hayra Zaydⁱⁿ*, literally: "with the difference of Zayd" (*g͟hayra*, in the acc., as indicating the state (the *ḥāl*) of the subject, or if one wishes, as complement of manner). *Illā* was a simple particle; by analogy, in view of the similarity of sense, the

construction of *ghayra* in the accusative was transferred to the noun following *illā* "except". It is thus a simple analogical construction. The non-observance of this analogy leaves scope for variations in construction, *e.g.*, *mā djāʾa 'l-ḳawmu illā Zaydᵃⁿ* (analogical construction), *illā Zaydᵘⁿ* (construction merely *ad sensum*).

Remarks: a) The Arab grammarians (cf. Sībawayhi, i, 314, line 17; Ibn Yaʿīsh, 260, line 17) see in *illā* the *ḥarf* proper of the *istithnāʾ*; but *ghayra* is frequently used, and *siwā* is not uncommon in the texts; *khalā*, *ʿadā* and particularly *ḥāshā* are found less often. Detailed investigations by numerical analysis of texts, however, have not yet given us the respective frequencies. In fact, differences of distribution must have occurred in the Arab tribes.

b) Fleischer (*Kleinere Schriften*, 734) sees in *ghayr* "difference" an ancient infinitive of a 1st form verb *ghāra* (i), now disappeared, which served as the basis of *ghayyara* "to change". Reckendorf (*Die syntaktischen Verhältnisse*, 146, *Anm.* 1) finds the etymology of *ghayr* obscure. Comparative Semitics gives no satisfactory explanation, so Fleischer may perhaps be right.—For the etymology of *siwā*, see Fleischer, *loc. cit.*, 735, lines 13 f.

c) Annexation accounts for the construction of *ghayr*, *siwā*, *ḥāshā* with the genitive; but it is quite certain that frequency of use tended to obscure the origin of these words and to reduce them to mere grammatical tools. *Ghayra* retains its nominal character because of other constructions. For the Baṣrans, *siwā*, *sawāʾa* were merely *ẓarf*; for the Kūfans, they were *ism* and *ẓarf* (Ibn al-Anbārī, *Kitāb al-Inṣāf*, ed. G. Weil, Discussion 39). In *ḥāshā* the Kūfans saw a verb (*ibid.*, Discussion 37).

Bibliography: Apart from the references in the text: W. Wright, *Arabic Grammar*³, ii, 335-43; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes and R. Blachère, *Gr. Ar. Classique*⁵, §§ 386-7; J.-B. Belot, *Gr. Ar.*⁵, a résumé: 293-5; Lane, *Lexicon*, the articles on the words concerned; Reckendorf, *Arabische Syntax*, § 262. Arab authors: Sībawayhi, i, ch. 185-202 (ed. Paris), particularly: ch. 185-7, 190, 193, 199, 201-2; Zamakhsharī, *Mufaṣṣal*, 2nd ed. Broch, §§ 88-96, particularly: §§ 88-90 and *Sharḥ* of Ibn Yaʿīsh, 258-82, particularly: 258-75, ed. G. Jahn; Ibn Mālik, *Alfiyya*, verses 316-31 and *Sharḥ* of Ibn ʿAḳīl, i, 505-27, ed. Muḥyi 'l-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd; Raḍī al-Dīn al-Astarābādhī, *Sharḥ al-Kāfiya*, i, 205-28, ed. Istanbul 1275, to be consulted last, interesting, but more difficult to follow in its discussions.

(H. Fleisch)

ISTIWĀʾ (khaṭṭ al-), the line of equality, of equilibrium, that is to say the equator, which divides the earth into two hemispheres, the northern and the southern, and joins together all those points of the globe where day and night are equal. The particulars relating to the equator and to the division of the earth are furnished by the *ṣūrat al-arḍ*, which is of Greek, Indian or Persian inspiration, and revised and corrected through the observations of scholars of the time of al-Maʾmūn [cf. djughrāfiyā].

The equator is the largest circle of the earth; as such, it corresponds to the circle of the zodiac, which is the largest of all the circles of the celestial sphere. Its circumference is estimated at 360 degrees, or generally at 9,000 parasangs (equivalent to about 54,000 km.), and its distance from each of the two poles is 90 degrees. Other estimates fix the equatorial circumference at 24,000 miles (1 mile = one third of a parasang), corresponding to a diameter of 7,636 miles, approximately 48,000 and 15,000 km. respectively; Al-Masʿūdī himself gives very variable figures: 13,500 miles for half the circumference, or 20,160 miles for the total circumference, corresponding to a diameter of 6,414.5 miles, or again, still for the total circumference, 6,600 parasangs (= 19,800 miles) corresponding to a diameter of 2,100 parasangs (= 6,300 miles), or lastly 24,000 miles for a diameter of 7,667 miles. Yāḳūt for his part gives figures that range from 6,800 to 27,000 parasangs.

The division of the earth into two hemispheres is not the only function of the equator. It also marks the limit of inhabited lands in their furthest longitudinal extent, from East to West, from the extremities of China to the Fortunate or Eternal Islands (*al-Djazāʾir al-khālidāt* [*q.v.*]). Mid-way, according to a conception inherited from India, an island is situated, at the same distance from the North and the South as from the East and the West: this is the dome of the earth (Arin, Uzayn, Udjdjayn [*q.v.*]).

Finally, the equator plays an essential part in the division of climates (*aḳālīm*, sing. *iḳlīm* [*q.v.*]), and, through these, in the distinction between inhabited and uninhabited lands, this time in the North-South direction. Just as in the North, towards Thule, at a latitude of about 60°, life ceases to be possible on account of the intense cold, so in the South, at a latitude generally estimated at from 21° to 24°, life disappears on account of the excessive heat. On the whole from North to South, life extends merely over a latitude of approximately 80 degrees. Although certain authors attribute to the southern hemisphere seven climates corresponding to those of the northern hemisphere, it remains true that a parallel situation does not hold good in respect of life, which is thus limited to only one quarter of the globe—from 0 to 180 degrees from East to West and from —20 to +60 degrees in the South-North direction. In general, if, in the architecture of the world, it was perceived to be a line of equilibrium, in the description of inhabited lands the equator was always regarded more or less as a limit, with the risks which its crossing imply: reflecting this state of mind and this latent mistrust, the Arab geographical texts, even when describing the countries of the South, have nothing to say on the theme of "crossing the line", so dear to modern explorers.

Bibliography: Khʷārizmī, *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ed. von Mžik, Leipzig 1926 (reprod. in colour 1963), *passim*; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 4-5, 157-8; Battānī, *Opus astronomicum*, ed. Nallino, 3 vols., Milan 1899-1907, *passim*; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 4-5; Ibn Rusta-Wiet, 16; Suhrāb, *Kitāb ʿAdjāʾib al-aḳālīm al-sabʿa*, ed. von Mžik, Leipzig 1930, 6-8; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, § 187, 189, 194, and *Tanbīh*, trans. Carra de Vaux, Paris 1897, 37-45; Iṣṭakhrī, ed. M. Dj. ʿAbd al-ʿĀl al-Ḥīnī, Cairo 1961, 16; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 50-1; Ibn Ḥawkāl-Kramers-Wiet, 501; Muḳaddasī, 58-9; Bīrūnī, *al-Ḳānūn al-masʿūdī*, 3 vols., Ḥaydarābād 1373-5/1954-6, i, 377 f., 502 f., ii, 532 f., 547-9 and *passim*; Idrīsī-Jaubert, i, 2-3; Zuhrī (following Fazārī), *Kitāb al-Djaʿrāfiyya*, ed. M. Hadj-Sadok, in *B. Et. Or.*, xxi, Damascus 1968, 301-2; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, intro. (trans. W. Jwaideh, *The introductory chapters of Yāqūt's Muʿjam al-buldān*, Leiden 1959, 22 f.); Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād* (ed. Wüstenfeld, *Kosmographie*, ii), Göttingen 1848, 7-9; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm*, 6-7; see also the bibl. to ṣūrat al-arḍ which will supplement the present bibl.

(A. Miquel)

ISTOLNĪ (ISTŌNĪ) BELGHRĀD (also Ustōlnī, Ustōnī Belghrād)—cf. Serbian: Stolni Belgrad; German: Stuhlweissenburg; Latin: Alba Regia; Hun-

garian: Székesfehérvár—a fortress town to the south-west of Buda. Here, during the 10th-16th centuries, was held the coronation of the Hungarian kings in the Church of St. Stephen—a church which was also their burial place. Istolnī Belgh̲rād (*beyāẓ iskemle ḳalʿesi*, to use the words of Ewliyā Čelebi, vii, 55) was located where the stream Sarvisius (Isthvanfius, 267—cf. Nehr-i S̲h̲arwīz in Ewliyā Čelebi, vii, 63), flowing from Lake Balaton, spread outward to form reed-filled marshes. Reinforced with bastions controlling the approaches across the fens and also protected by a wall and a ditch (cf. Giovio, *Historiae*, ii, 308 r), the fortress was difficult to attack. It fell nonetheless to the Ottoman Turks in 950/1543. Thereafter Istolnī Belgh̲rād became the centre of a large Ottoman *sand̲j̲aḳ* embracing in 995/1586-7 (cf. Fekete, *Siyāqat-Schrift*, i, 442) a number of important places, amongst them Pesperīm (Vezprém), Pōlāta (Palota), and Yanīḳ (Györ). The Christians besieged and took the fortress in 1010/1601, only to lose it again to the Ottomans in 1011/1602. Istolnī Belgh̲rād remained under Turkish rule until the War of the Sacra Liga (1684-99) when, reduced to narrow straits (*ultimâ esurie confracta*: Wagner, ii, 43) by a strict blockade, it surrendered to the Christians in 1099/1688, thereby coming definitively and finally into their possession.

Bibliography: Pečewī, *Taʾrīkh̲*, Istanbul A.H. 1283, i, 257 ff. and ii, 236 ff., 242 ff.; Ṣolāḳzāde, *Taʾrīkh̲*, Istanbul A.H. 1298, 503, 665 ff.; Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīkh̲*, Istanbul A.H. 1281-1283, i, 244 ff., 285 ff.; Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa, *Fed̲h̲leke*, Istanbul A.H. 1286-7, i, 178 ff.; Rās̲h̲id, *Taʾrīkh̲*, Istanbul A.H. 1282, i, 493; Silāḥdār, *Taʾrīkh̲*, Istanbul 1928, ii, 317 ff.; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, vii (Istanbul 1928), 55 ff.; L. Fekete, *Die Siyāqat-Schrift in der türkischen Finanzverwaltung*, Budapest 1955, i, 144, 244, 280 ff., 442 ff., 873 (index) and ii, Plates 26-27, 48-50; Paolo Giovio, *Historiae sui temporis*, Paris 1558-60, ii, 308 r ff. (= Paolo Giovio, *Dell' Istorie di Suo Tempo*, tr. L. Domenichi, Venice 1560, ii, 702 ff.); I. M. Stella, *De Turcarum in Regno Hungariae anni M.D. XLII et XLIII Successibus*, in P. Lonicerus, *Chronicorum Turcicorum ... Liber Primus* -[*Secundus*], Frankfurt a. M. 1584, ii, 177 ff.; *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum Minores Hactenus Inediti*, ed. M. G. Kovachich, Buda 1798, i, 77 ff. (Deditio Albae Regalis); N. de Montreux, *Histoire universelle des guerres du Turc, depuis l'an 1565, iusques à la trefve faicte en l'année 1606*, Paris 1608, 737 ff., 750 ff., 787 ff., 839 ff.; Hieronymus Ortelius, *Chronologia oder historische Beschreibung aller Kriegsempörungen und Belagerungen ... in ober und under Ungern auch Sibenbürgen mit dem Türcken von A° 1395 biss auf gegenwirtige Zeit denckwürtig geschehen*, Nuremberg 1620-22, i, 503 ff., 552 ff.; *Nicolai Isthvanfi Pannoni Historiarum de rebus Ungaricis libri XXXIV*, Coloniae Agrippinae 1622, 9 ff., 267 ff., 777 ff., 787 ff.; F. Wagner, *Historia Leopoldi Magni Caesaris Augusti*, Augustae Vindelicorum 1719-31, ii, 43 ff.; A. Stauffer, *Hermann Christoph Graf von Russworm*, Munich 1884, 73 ff.; G. Heile, *Der Feldzug gegen die Türken und die Eroberung Stuhlweissenburgs unter Erzherzog Matthias 1601*, Rostock 1902; K. Horvat, *Vojne Ekspedicije Klementa VIII u Ugarski u Hrvatsku*, Zagreb 1910, 181 ff.; L. A. Maggiorotti, *L'Opera del Genio Italiano al Estero* (Ser. iv, 3 vols., Rome 1932-39), ii (*Gli Architelli Militari*), 259-65, 465 (index) also Plate lvii; J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, tr. J.-J. Hellert, v (Paris 1836), 373 ff., viii (Paris 1837), 8, 17; J. W. Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, ii (Gotha 1854), 850 ff., iii (Gotha 1855), 610 ff.; N. Jorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, iii (Gotha 1910), 24 ff., 329, 334 ff., iv (Gotha 1911), 229; A. Huber, *Geschichte Oesterreichs*, iv (Gotha 1892), 407 ff.; F. Babinger, *Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und Ihre Werke*, Leipzig 1927, 77 ff., 102 ff.

(V. J. Parry)

IṬĀʿA [see ṬĀʿA].

ĪṬĀʾ [see ʿARŪḌ, ḲĀFIYA]

IʿTĀḲ [see ʿABD]

ĪṬALIYA, Italy, a name which seldom occurs in the classical Arab authors and which al-Idrīsī [*q.v.*] uses only once in his *Nuzhat al-mus̲h̲tāḳ* (cf. M. Amari, *BAS*, 15); in the Arab works on history and geography, together with less common expressions like *arḍ Ifrand̲j̲* [see IFRAND̲J̲] and *al-arḍ al-kabīra* (which sometimes denotes Calabria alone), one finds the terms الأنبردية ، أنكبردية أنكبردة, which more specifically denote the regions in the centre and south of Italy under the domination of the Lombard principalities, although, in the *Muʿd̲j̲am al-buldān* of Yāḳūt, the territory denoted by the term الأنكبردة (strangely transliterated as al-Ankaburda) extends from Provence to Calabria.

The particulars furnished by Arab geographers and travellers in regard to Italy, both the peninsula and the islands, are not all equally complete and trustworthy. It need hardly be emphasised that, in their writings, Sicily (as will be made clear in the article ṢIḲILLIYYA) was given a place of particular importance, in view of the fact that, for almost two and a half centuries, the island formed part of the *Dār al-Islām* [*q.v.*]. Among the remarkable output of Arab geographical writings, one work outstanding for the wealth and detail of the information it contains is the *Nuzhat al-mus̲h̲tāḳ*, four sections of which are devoted to Italy—three to its mainland territory (3rd section of the IVth climate, 2nd and 3rd sections of the Vth) and one to its island territory (2nd section of the IVth climate).

Although it should sometimes be treated with reserve, the information given by al-Idrīsī is only rarely the fruit of pure imagination: a typical and perhaps unique example is the fanciful, legendary description of the city of Rome. As regards the topicality of the particulars given, it should be borne in mind that they sometimes reflected the political and ethnic situation of certain cities in the 12th century (the *Nuzhat al-mus̲h̲tāḳ* was completed in S̲h̲awwāl 548/January 1154), but at other times they derived from out-of-date sources, and show that the compiler or his informants found it impossible to bring the material up to date (on this question, cf. G. Furlani, *La Giulia e la Dalmazia nel "Libro di Ruggero" di al-Idrīsī*, in *Aegyptus*, vi, Milan 1925, 60 ff.).

The fullest, but also the least trustworthy, descriptions offered by geographers and travellers from the 3rd/9th to the 9th/15th centuries relate to the city of Rome (transcribed *Rūma*, *Rūmiya* and *Rūmiyya*); other much less comprehensive descriptions refer to various towns such as Genoa, Venice, Pisa, Naples and, further to the south, Reggio, Taranto, Otranto and Brindisi; an allusion to Lucera (the transcription of which varies from Lūs̲h̲īra to Lūd̲j̲āra), where the emperor Frederick II consigned the last nucleus of Muslims from Sicily, is found in the writings of certain geographers who lived at least until the middle of the 7th/13th century, such as al-Ḥimyarī (cf. U. Rizzitano, *L'Italia nel "Kitāb arrawḍ*

al-mi'ṭār fī khabar al-akṭār" di Ibn *'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ḥimyarī*, in *Madjallat Kulliyat al-Ādāb*, University of Cairo, xviii (1956), 174), Ibn Sa'īd al-Andalūsī (in *BAS*, 136), Abu 'l-Fidā' (*ibid.*, 149, 421), Ibn Khaldūn (*ibid.*, 491) and some others.

At a later period Italy was visited, and sometimes even partially described, though in a superficial way, by a number of Arab travellers whose works were listed in H. Pérès, *Voyageurs musulmans en Europe aux XIXe et XXe siècles, Notes bibliographiques*, in *Mélanges Maspero* (Mémoires de l'Institut français du Caire, lxviii (1935), 185-95).

The earliest information provided by the Arab chroniclers about the Saracen attacks on continental Italy concerns the defeat of the Venetian fleet off Taranto (in 225/840 according to certain Arab historians, in the following year if the Latin sources are to be believed) and the accompanying attacks on Bari which were the prelude to the establishment in that town of an emirate which survived for a quarter of a century; it was on the occasion of these first incursions onto the mainland that the Muslims made their entrance into the complex and treacherous political intrigues of the Lombard principalities; indeed, the support of the Saracen forces, a step to which one or other of the Lombard rulers resorted, often exerted such influence on the economy of the civil wars which racked southern Italy from the middle of the 3rd/9th century that these troops rapidly became the masters of the situation, while such men as Radelgise, prince of Benevento, and Siconolfo, prince of Salerno and Capua, vied with each other in seeking to make an alliance with their daring commanders. Among these were two adventurers, Massar and Apolaffar (probably corruptions of the Arabic *kunya*s Abū Ma'shar and Abū Dja'far), who are worthy of note and who commanded respectively the Saracen troops of Benevento and Taranto; on the subject of these two men the Latin sources give merely a few details, while their exploits are passed over in complete silence by the Arabic historians who, here as elsewhere, had little inclination to give prominence to the achievements of men who, at best, were soldiers of fortune, often in revolt against established authority in Sicily or Ifrīḳiya.

In the same way, the two events which caused Christendom to experience, firstly its most tragic hour and then, three years later, the joy of exultant victory, were not of a kind to arouse the interest of of the Arab chroniclers; in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 231/August 846, Saracen contingents reached the walls of Rome and sacked the basilica of St. Peter, and in 234/849 a large Muslim fleet was defeated at Ostia, whence it would probably have attempted to open up a way to the Eternal City, if the outcome of the battle had not been a decisive victory for the Christians.

On the question of the earliest Saracen moves against Bari (بارة in the texts, which must be read as *Bāru*, representing the Latin forms *Barum* and *Varum*), and especially regarding the emirate which was set up there in about 232/847, we possess only a number of details, collected by al-Balādhurī (in *BAS*, appendix i, 2) and reproduced by Ibn al-Athīr (*ibid.*, 239, 260). From the various particulars furnished by these two historians it emerges that, in this minute state based on the Adriatic town, there were three successive amīrs—Khalfūn, a Berber of the Rabī'a tribe, who ruled the principality for about five years; al-Mufarradj b. Sallām, who built a mosque there and tried, though without success, to legitimize his situation in relation to the caliph of Baghdād; and lastly Sawdān, also a Berber, who came to power in 243/857 and, more fortunate than his predecessor, after various mishaps (described by al-Balādhurī who was himself a contemporary), succeeded in securing from Baghdād an official investiture with his fief, the end of which came about in Rabī' I 257/February 871.

Another city in Apulia, Taranto, was the scene of Muslim occupation for more than thirty years (approximately 231/846-266/880), but in Ibn al-Athīr we find only a brief allusion, repeated by Ibn Khaldūn with some omissions (*ibid.*, 470). The Arab chroniclers give no information about the numerous Saracen exploits in southern Italy, and particularly those which took place in the Garigliano valley, where a fortress, built in 269/883, enabled activities on a formidable scale to be maintained until 302/915; it may be supposed that the Saracen adventurers, operating in this sector as elsewhere, were encouraged by the news of the landing in Calabria in Shawwāl 289/September 902, under the Aghlabid amīr Ibrāhīm II b. Aḥmad (261/875-289/902); references to this renewal of Muslim expansionist activity in southern Italy may be found, particularly in Ibn al-Athīr (in *BAS*, 242), al-Nuwayrī (*ibid.*, 453), Lisān al-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīb (3rd chapter of *A'māl al-a'lām*, ed. al-'Abbādī and al-Kattānī, under the title *al-Maghrib al-'arabī fi 'l-'aṣr al-wasīṭ* Casablanca 1964, 120), Ibn Khaldūn (*BAS*, 475-6) and some other sources of less importance.

From the beginning of 298/end of 910 and until 336/948 the Fāṭimids, who had at first come up against a legitimist body of opinion, supported principally by the pro-Aghlabid Ibn Ḳurhub, succeeded the Aghlabids in Sicily; for this period the Arab historical sources gave prominence not only to the Saracens' constant offensives in Calabria and Apulia but also to the campaign led by Ṣābir, a *ghulām* of al-Mahdī's court, who in 316/928 attacked the Lombard principalities on the Tyrrhenian coast and occupied several fortified places whose identity it is not easy to establish on account of uncertain toponymy of the Arab texts (*BAS*, 170, 368). The Fāṭimid *imām* al-Ḳā'im (322/934-334/946 [*q.v.*]) planned a daring invasion of the Ligurian coast, under the leadership of Ya'ḳūb b. Isḥāḳ who, in 322/934, made an attack on Genoa, which he conquered in the following year (*BAS*, 170, 254, 368, 437, 459, 478; Ibn Taghrībirdī, ii, 267; in the *A'māl al-a'lām* (53) we read that the expedition was entrusted to Djawhar [*q.v.*], the famous freedman of the Fāṭimid *imām* al-Mu'izz).

From the middle of the 4th/10th century until about the middle of the following century, Sicily was governed by amīrs of the dynasty of the Kalbids [*q.v.*], and no acts of war of any particular importance took place, apart from the usual raids, noted by certain Arab chroniclers, in southern Italy and especially in Apulia and Calabria [see KILLAWRIYA]; for the invasion of Sardinia by Mudjāhid b. 'Abd Allāh in 405/1015 see SARDĀNIYA.

After the conquest of Sicily by the Normans, which began in 453/1061 and ended with the surrender of Palermo in 464/1072, the interest felt in a territory now finally lost to Islam diminished considerably, and the Arabic historians restricted their references to Italy to the limited sphere of the relations of that country with the rulers of the Mashriḳ and the Maghrib.

Bibliography: M. Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*², Catania 1933-39, *passim*; idem, *Condizioni degli Stati cristiani dell'Occidente se-*

condo una relazione di Domenichino Doria da Genova, in *Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze morali*, Serie III, vol. xi, Rome 1883, 67-103, 306-8; G. Schiaparelli, *Notizie d'Italia estratte dall'opera di Šihâb ad-dîn al-ʿUmarî, intitolata Masâlik al-abṣâr . . .*, in *Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze morali*, Serie IV, vol. iv, Rome 1888, 304-16; I. Guidi, *La descrizione di Roma nei geografi arabi*, in *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, i (1878), 173-218; M. Nallino, *Venezia in antichi scrittori arabi*, in *Annali di Ca'Foscari*, Venice 1963; idem, *Un' inedita descrizione araba di Roma*, in *Annali* (of the Istituto Universitario Orientale, Naples), new series, xiv (1964), 295-309; idem, "*Mirabilia*" *di Roma negli antichi geografi arabi*, in *Miscellanea di Studi in onore del prof. Italo Siciliano*, Florence 1966; U. Rizzitano, *Gli Arabi in Italia*, in *L'Occidente e l'Islam nell'alto Medioevo* (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull' alto medioevo, XII), Spoleto 1965, 93-114; G. Musca, *L'Emirato di Bari (847-871)*[2], Bari 1967; M. Talbi, *L'Emirat aghlabide 184-296/800-909*, Paris 1966, 380-536, *passim*; F. Gabrieli, *Il Salento e l'Oriente islamico*, in *L'Islam nella storia*, Bari 1966, 117-33; E. Ashtor, *Che cosa saperano i geografi arabi dell' Europa occidentale?*, in *Rivista Storica Italiana*, lxxxi (Naples 1969), 453-79 *passim*.

(U. Rizzitano)

ITĀWA (from *atā*, apparently a doublet of *ʿaṭā*) literally "gift", a general term met with, especially in pre- and proto-Islamic times, meaning a vague tribute or lump payment made, for example, to or by a tribe or other group; later the words describes, sometimes in a denigrating way, a tip or bribe.

Bibliography: F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation*, index, s.v. (Cl. Cahen)

IṬĀWĀ (Eṭāyā), a district in the south-west of Uttar Pradesh, India, lying between 26° 21′ and 27° 1′ N., 78° 45′ E.; and also the principal town of that district, 26° 46′ N., 79° 1′ E., on the river Djamnā [*q.v.*]. The common spelling of the name is Etawa; other forms are Etaya (Elphinstone), Itay (de Laet), and sometimes Inṭāwa in the Muslim chronicles. Popular etymology connects the name with *inṭ āwā*, "brick kiln".

The region of Iṭāwā was probably within the kingdom of Kanawdj [*q.v.*] at the time of the raid on that kingdom by Maḥmūd of Ghazna in 409/1018, and again at the capture of Kanawdj by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak for Muḥammad b. Sām in 589/1193. Many Rādjpūt chieftains seem to have brought their clans to settle in this region in the early 7th/13th century, and gathered round them the more turbulent of the disaffected Hindū population. Their intransigence persisted, and many expeditions to enforce the payment of revenues were launched by successive Dihlī sultans; thus Fīrūz Shāh (Tughluḳ) was compelled to put down a rebellion of *zamīndārs* there in 779/1377 (Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad, *Taʾrīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī*, ed. Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1931, 133-4; tr. K. K. Basu, Baroda 1932, 141; Firishta, Lucknow lith., i, 148); the refractory chieftains Sumer Sāh, Bīr Singh and Rāwat Uddharan—these names are much distorted in the Muslim chronicles and their translations—were in 794/1391-2 defeated by the sultan Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad (Tughluḳ) in person, who is said (Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, 152, tr. 161) to have destroyed the fort, although references to a fort abound in later years. Maḥmūd Tughluḳ's governor, the Khʷādja-i Djahān Malik Sarwar [*q.v.*; see also Sharḳids], began his governorship by leading a force against the rebels of Iṭāwā and Kanawdj in Radjab 796/May 1394 (Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, 156, tr. 164). After this time the Iṭāwā region, lying between the spheres of influence of the Djawnpur sultans and the factions contending for power at Dihlī, was frequently invaded from both sides; thus by Mallū Khān Lōdī [*q.v.*] in 803/1400-1 (Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, 169 ff., tr. 175 ff.) and again in 807/1404-5, when after a four months' siege the rebels offered tribute and a gift of elephants. In 817/1414, shortly after his accession, the Dihlī sultan Khiḍr Khān the Sayyid sent out a large force under Tādj al-Mulk who, having received homage from Sumer and others, punished the infidels of Iṭāwā (*kuffār-i iṭāwa rā gūshmāl dāda*; *ibid.*, 185); he led further expeditions there in 821/1418 and 823/1420 when the village of Dīhulī (Deoli, Duhli, even Delhi in translations!) was destroyed and Sumer besieged in Iṭāwā. It would thus appear that the annual revenues of the district could be collected only by armed force, and only in 825/1422, when the son of Sumer had temporarily joined the forces of Mubārak Shāh, was no foray made against this region.

After the conclusion of a further expedition in 831/1427 the region was invaded by the army of the Djawnpur sultan Ibrāhīm under his brother Mukhtaṣṣ Khān, and the Dihlī army had to return to meet the danger; not for two years, however, could an army be spared to bring Iṭāwā again under subjection, but Sayyid power was declining and the fragmentation of the old Dihlī sultanate left the district little disturbed thereafter. In the division of the lower Dōʾāb territories between the first Lōdī sultan, Bahlūl, and Maḥmūd Shāh Sharḳī in 855/1451, Iṭāwā passed to Djawnpur. A series of inconclusive disputes followed between Bahlūl and the three successive Djawnpur sultans Maḥmūd, Muḥammad and Ḥusayn, the last of whom seems to have made Iṭāwa his temporary headquarters ("Bībī Rādjī" the queen mother died here in 891/1486), and in 892/1487 Ḥusayn's attack on Bahlūl was repulsed and Iṭāwā taken for the Lōdī kingdom. It remained in Lōdī hands until 934/1528 when, on Bābur's invasion of the district, it was surrendered to him.

After the defeat of Humāyūn in 952/1545 the region passed to Shēr Shāh, who effected the partial pacification of the district by bringing in a force of 12,000 horsemen and by his efforts in opening up the country through a road-building programme. Neither he nor Akbar seems to have found its absorption into the state administration easy, although it retained some prestige when Akbar made the town of Iṭāwā the chief town of a *pargana*; the town is mentioned in the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* as possessing a brick fort, and some reference is occasionally made to Iṭāwā as a banking centre. It seems never to have been settled by Muslims to the same extent as other towns of the Dōʾāb, and after the decline of the Mughal power fell into Marāṭhā or Djāṭ hands, with Awadh sometimes powerful enough to gain control over it. Even after the district became part of the lands ceded by Awadh to the East India Company in 1801, many local chiefs retained a considerable measure of independence; the town had some prominence in the struggles of 1857.

Iṭāwā town has an interesting *Djāmiʿ masdjid*, built out of Hindū temple spoil, the western *līwān* of which has a massive central propylon-type arch similar to those of the Djawnpur [*q.v.*] mosques; it has not been adequately studied, the only account

being C. Horne, *Notes on the Jumma Masjid of Etawah*, in *JASB*, xxxvi/1 (1867), 74-5. The central square of Iṭāwā is called "Humeganj", the name commemorating A. O. Hume, the Scots collector of the district who played a prominent part in the foundation of the Indian Congress Party.

Bibliography: in the article.

(J. BURTON-PAGE)

ITBĀʿ [see MUZĀWADJA]

ITHBĀT, verbal noun of the fourth form of the root *th-b-t*, has the general meaning of to witness, to show, to point to, to demonstrate, to prove, to establish, to verify and to establish the truth, to establish (the existence of something).

For the Ṣūfīs, *ithbāt* is the opposite of *maḥw*. This latter word means literally to efface. In the mystical vocabulary, it denotes the effacement of the "qualities of habit" (*awṣāf al-ʿāda*) while *ithbāt* is the fact of performing one's religious obligations. It comprises three ways: to efface the degradation of appearances (*dhillat al-ẓawāhir*), to efface the negligences of the conscience, to efface all the deficiencies of the heart (according to al-Tahānawī, 1356, who quotes the commentary of ʿAbd al-Laṭīf on the *Mathnawī*). Other definitions are given: *maḥw* consists of getting rid of the attributes of the carnal soul and *ithbāt* is the strengthening of the attributes of the heart so that he who casts away the bad and replaces them by the good is called *ṣāḥib maḥw wa-ithbāt*. A further definition is given: *maḥw* consists in putting aside the "vestiges" (*rusūm*) of actions by looking with an annihilating look at the carnal soul and all its emanations. On the other hand, *ithbāt* consists in maintaining the vestiges but in affirming that it is God who is their source; the Ṣūfī is thus established in God and not in himself.

The origin of these two words is ḳurʾānic: "God effaces (*yamḥū*) and confirms (*yuthbit*) what He will" (XIII, 39); *i.e.*, according to the Ṣūfī commentary, God effaces from the hearts of the initiated all inattentiveness towards Him and all mention of deities other than Himself, and He confirms on the lips of the beginners the mention of God. Above *maḥw*, there is *maḥk*: while the first leaves a trace, the second leaves none.

Bibliography: Tahānawī, *Kashshāf*, 172 and 1356.

(G. C. ANAWATI)

ITHNĀ ʿASHARIYYA, the name of that branch of Shīʿī Islam [see SHĪʿA] that believes in twelve *Imāms* (*ithnā ʿashar* meaning "twelve" in Arabic) beginning with ʿAlī and ending with Muḥammad al-Mahdī.

Within the whole body of Shīʿism the Ithnā ʿasharī school is both the most numerous in terms of adherents and theologically the most balanced between the exoteric and esoteric elements of Islam. Other branches like the five-imāmī school of the Zaydīs [*q.v.*] and the seven-imāmī school, known as Ismāʿīliyya [*q.v.*], are also of significance and continue to have adherents, while those believing in other numbers of *Imāms* or different interpretations of their functions have also existed during Islamic history but have been extremely small in number and have died out within a short period of their birth.

The religious history of Ithnā ʿasharī Shīʿism can be divided into four periods:

1). *The period of the twelve Imāms*: This period extends from the time of ʿAlī to the major occultation [see GHAYBA] of the twelfth *Imām* in 329/940. The twelve *Imāms* are as follows:

1. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 40/661)
2. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī (d. 49/669)
3. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī (d. 61/680)
4. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn (Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn) (d. 95/714)
5. Muḥammad al-Bāḳir (d. 115/733)
6. Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (d. 148/765)
7. Mūsā al-Kāẓim (d. 183/799)
8. ʿAlī al-Riḍā (d. 203/818)
9. Muḥammad Djawād al-Taḳī (d. 220/835)
10. ʿAlī al-Naḳī (d. 254/868)
11. al-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī (d. 260/874)
12. Muḥammad al-Mahdī (al-Ḳāʾim and al-Ḥudjdja) (entered major occultation in 329/940).

This period was unique in that it was one in which the *Imāms* lived among their followers and instructed them directly. They left behind not only a large number of disciples but sayings which were collected by their followers and became the basis of later Shīʿī intellectual life. In Shīʿism the *ḥadīth* literature includes the sayings of the *Imāms* in addition to those of the Prophet. Moreover, two major works survive which are ascribed to the *Imāms* themselves, the *Nahdj al-balāgha* to ʿAlī and the *Ṣaḥīfa sadjdjādiyya* to Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn. The *Nahdj al-balāgha*, compiled from the sermons and orations of ʿAlī by Sayyid Sharīf al-Raḍī, remains to this day the most venerated book among the Shīʿīs after the Ḳurʾān and prophetic *ḥadīth*, while the *Ṣaḥīfa* contains prayers of such beauty that it has been called the "Psalm of the Household of the Prophet" (*Zabūr-i āl-i Muḥammad*).

Some of the followers of the *Imāms* like Hishām b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*], the disciple of the sixth *Imām*, and Abū Djaʿfar al-Ḳummī, friend of the eleventh *Imām*, themselves became famous Shīʿī authorities, while the instruction of the *Imāms* reached even the Sunnī segment of the Islamic community especially with *Imām* Djaʿfar, who had many Sunnī students. This period terminated with the minor occultation (*al-ghayba al-ṣughrā*) and the major occultation (*al-ghayba al-kubrā*) of the Mahdī. During the minor occultation the Mahdī spoke to his community through his deputies or "gates" (*bāb* [*q.v.*]). The major occultation began when the last "gate" through whom the Mahdī spoke to the community, ʿAlī al-Sāmarrī, died.

2.) *The period extending from the beginning of the major occultation to the Mongol invasion and Khwādja Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī*. This was the period of the compilation of the major collections of Shīʿī *ḥadīth* and the formulation of Shīʿī law. This elaboration of Shīʿism began with Muḥammad ibn Yaʿḳūb al-Kulaynī (d. 329/940), author of the monumental *Uṣūl al-kāfī*, to be followed by such figures as Ibn Bābūyah, also called Shaykh al-Ṣadūḳ (d. 381/991), Shaykh al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022) and Shaykh al-Ṭāʾifa, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067) with whom the principal doctrinal works of Shīʿī theology and religious sciences became established. This was also the period of other renowned Shīʿī scholars such as Sayyid Sharīf al-Raḍī (d. 406/1015), who assembled the sayings of ʿAlī, his brother Sayyid Murtaḍā ʿAlam al-Hudā (d. 436/1044), Faḍl al-Ṭabarsī (d. 548/1153 or 552/1157), known for his monumental ḳurʾānic commentary, Sayyid Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn al-Ṭāʾūs (d. 664/1266), at once theologian and gnostic, and finally Naṣīr al-Dīn (d. 632/1273), whose *Tadjrīd* marks the beginning of systematic Shīʿī theology.

3.) *The period between Naṣīr al-Dīn and the Ṣafavid revival*. During this rich period Shīʿī theology continued to develop in the hands of such men as Naṣīr al-Dīn's student ʿAllāma Ḥillī (d. 726/1326) while a convergence took place between the Ṣūfism of Ibn ʿArabī and Shīʿī theology and theosophy producing

such men as Radja b. Bursī (d. around 774/1372), Ṣāʾin al-Dīn b. Turka (d. 830/1427), Ibn Abī Djumhūr al-Aḥsāʾī (d. around 901/1495) and, perhaps the foremost Shīʿī thinker of the period, Sayyid Ḥaydar al-Āmulī (d. after 787/1385), author of the monumental *Djāmiʿ al-asrār*. This period marks also the beginning of that wedding between Avicennan philosophy, the Illuminationist theosophy of Suhrawardī [see ISHRĀḲ], the Ṣūfism of Ibn ʿArabī and Shīʿī theology which gave birth to the great theosophical and gnostic figures of the Ṣafavid period.

4.) *From the Ṣafavid period to the present.* During this period Iran itself witnessed a remarkable revival of intellectual activity especially in the religious and philosophical sciences, while Shīʿism was spreading in the sub-continent and the influence of the Ṣafavid thinkers of the "School of Iṣfahān" was felt ever more deeply among the Indian Muslims and even among some Hindus. This period began with such figures as Mīr Dāmād (d. 1041/1631) and Mullā Ṣadrā (d. 1050/1640), masters of metaphysics with whom Islamic philosophy reached a new peak, Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī, at once a Shīʿī theologian and a mathematician, and Mullā Muḥsin Fayḍ Kāshānī and ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Lāhīdjī, foremost among later theologians of Shīʿism. It also produced the two Madjlisīs, the second, Muḥammad Bāḳir, being the author of the most voluminous compendium of the Shīʿī sciences, the *Biḥār al-anwār*.

During the Ḳādjār period while the *uṣūlī* and *akhbārī* debates—between those who believed in the exercise of reason within the confines of religious scripture and those who relied solely on the Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth*—continued, major contributions were made to the science of the principles of jurisprudence (*uṣūl al-fiḳh*), which in fact reached its perfection in the hands of Waḥīd Bihbihānī (d. 1205/1790-1) and Shaykh Murtaḍā Anṣārī (d. 1281/1864/-5). During this period Shīʿism was also witness to the establishment of the Shaykhī movement by Shaykh Aḥmad Aḥsāʾī, which continues to this day, and by the Bābī movement, which prepared the ground for the Bahāʾī [*q.v.*] movement.

Religious Practices: Ithnā ʿasharī religious practice does not differ in any essential way from that of the Sunnīs. The fasting and the pilgrimage are the same while in the daily prayers two phrases are added to the call to prayer. There are also minor differences in other parts of the canonical prayers (*ṣalāt*) but not much more than those between the different Sunnī rites. The Shīʿites, however, place a great deal of emphasis upon the pilgrimage to the tombs of the *Imāms* and saints [see IMĀMZĀDA] so that Nadjaf, Karbalāʾ, Mashhad, Ḳum and other sanctuaries have gained a remarkable prominence in religious life. As for other questions of the Sharīʿa, the Shīʿa differ from the Sunnīs in demanding the "one fifth" tax, called *khums*, in addition to *zakāt*, and in permitting temporary marriage or *mutʿa* [*q.v.*]. They also condone hiding one's faith (*taḳiyya* [*q.v.*]) when its manifestation would endanger one's person.

As far as the sources of law are concerned they are nearly the same as the Sunnī, namely, Ḳurʾān, *ḥadīth*, *idjmāʿ* and *ḳiyās*, except that *idjmāʿ* is connected with the view of the *Imām* and more freedom is given to *ḳiyās* than in Sunnī Islam. In Shīʿism the gate of *idjtihād* is always open and in the absence of the Mahdī every Shīʿī must follow a living *mudjtahid* who in every generation re-interprets the Sharīʿa in the light of its immutable principles and the situation in which the community finds itself [see MARDJAʿ-I TAḲLĪD]. The *mudjtahids* thus perform as representatives of the *Imām* a task which in reality belongs to the *Imām* himself.

Doctrine: The "principles of religion" (*uṣul al-din*) as taught in Shīʿism include unity (*tawḥīd*), justice (*ʿadl*), prophecy (*nubuwwa*), imamate and resurrection (*maʿād*). Unity, prophecy and resurrection are common to Shīʿism and Sunnism. Shīʿism considers the quality of justice as an intrinsic aspect of the divinity rather than an extrinsic one and its perspective is based more on intelligence than on will. As for the imamate, it is the cardinal doctrine which separates Shīʿism from Sunnism. According to Shīʿism revelation has an exoteric (*ẓāhir*) and an esoteric (*bāṭin*) aspect, both possessed in their fulness by the Prophet, who is at once *nabī* and *walī*, the *nubuwwa* being connected with his exoteric function of bringing a divine law and the *walāya* with his esoteric function of revealing the inner meaning of religion.

With the death of the Prophet the "cycle of prophecy" (*dāʾirat al-nubuwwa*) came to an end but the "cycle of initiation" (*dāʾirāt al-walāya*) continues in the person of the *Imām*. The word *imām* itself means etymologically he who stands before, therefore, he who is a guide and leader. In its specifically Shīʿī meaning it signifies he who possesses the function of *walāya*. According to Shīʿism the *Imām* has three functions: to rule over the Islamic community, to explain the religious sciences and the law, and to be a spiritual guide to lead men to an understanding of the inner meaning of things. Because of this triple function he cannot possibly be elected. A spiritual guide can receive his authority only from on high. Therefore, each *Imām* is appointed through the designation (*naṣṣ*) of the previous *Imām* by Divine command. Moreover, the *Imām* must be inerrant (*maʿṣūm*) in order to be able to guarantee the survival and purity of the religious tradition. Seen in this light his function is clearly one that is concerned at once with the daily word of men as well as the spiritual and unmanifested world (*ʿālam al-ghayb*). His function is at once human and cosmic.

This view of the *Imām* can be seen clearly in the Shīʿī concept of the hidden *Imām*, the *Mahdī*. He is alive yet not seen by the majority of men. He is like the *axis mundi* around whom the spheres of existence rotate and he is the guarantee of the preservation and continuation of the Sharīʿa. Finally he is the supreme spiritual guide (*ḳuṭb* [*q.v.*]), literally "pole" and in Shīʿī Ṣūfī orders the master is inwardly connected to the *Mahdī* as the supreme pole. Yet, the *Mahdī* remains hidden from the external eye and will appear to the outside world only in an eschatological event through which the inward will once again dominate over the outward and the outward is prepared for its absorption in the inward. The Hidden *Imām* is for the Shīʿīs the continuation of the personality and *baraka* of the Prophet and the means whereby the Ḳurʾān is preserved and its true meaning based upon unity (*tawḥīd*) revealed to men. Without the *Imām* men would cease to understand the inner levels of meaning of the revelation. Also without him all temporal rule is marked by imperfection and only his reappearance can establish that ideal state based on divine justice which Islam envisages in its teachings.

Bibliography: Al-Ḥillī, *al-Bāb al-ḥādī ʿashar*, (Eng. tr. W. M. Miller, *A treatise on the principles of Shīʿite theology*, London 1928); Ibn Bābawayh (Eng. tr. A. A. Fyzee), *A Shīʿite creed*, London 1952; Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Shīʿa dar islām*, ed. S. H. Naṣr, Tehran 1348 sh.; H. Corbin, *L'Imâm caché et la rénovation de l'homme en théologie shīʿite*, in *Eranos Jahrbuch*, xxviii (1959); idem, *Pour une morphologie de la*

spiritualité shiʿite, *ibid.*, xxix (1960); idem, *Le Combat spirituel du shiʿisme*, *ibid.*. xxx (1961); idem, *Au "pays" de l'Imâm caché*, *ibid.*, xxxii (1963); idem (in collaboration with S. H. Nasr and O. Yahya), *Histoire de la philosophie islamique*, i, Paris 1964; idem, *En Islam iranien*, 4 vols., Paris 1971-2; D. Donaldson, *The Shiʿite religion*, London 1933; L. Massignon, *Salmān Pāk et les prémises spirituelles de l'islam iranien*, Paris 1934; J. N. Hollister, *The Shiʿa of India*, London 1953; F. Schuon, *Understanding Islam*, London 1963; S. H. Nasr, *Ideals and realities of Islam*, London 1966; M. M. Sharif (ed.), *A history of Muslim philosophy*, 2 vols., Wiesbaden 1963-6; T. Fahd (ed.), *Le shiʿisme imâmite*, Paris 1970. (S. H. NASR)

IʿTIBĀR KHĀN, a Khwādja-sarāʾi (eunuch) who ultimately rose to the high office of a provincial governor under the emperor Djahāngīr [*q.v.*]. Originally in the service of a grandee of Akbar's court, on his death he joined the service of the Great Mogul who appointed him *nāẓir* (comptroller) of the household of Prince Salīm (later Djahāngīr) on his birth in 977/1569. He served the prince well and soon after his accession to the throne Salīm rewarded him by assigning to him the district of Gwāliyār as his *djāgīr* in 1025/1607. Thereafter he received one promotion after another both in rank and status rising to that of 6000 men and 5000 horse. In 1031/1622 he was appointed governor of Āgra, the capital of the empire, was honoured with the title of Mumtāz Khān in recognition of his distinguished services, and the fort and the imperial treasury were placed in his charge. Having faithfully served Djahāngīr, who pays him a generous tribute (cf. *Tūzuk*, Eng. tr. ii, 285), for a long period of 56 years he died, over 80 years of age, in 1033/1623-24.

Bibliography: *Tūzuk-i Djahāngīrī*, Eng. tr. by Rogers and Beveridge, London 1914, i, 113, 282, 319, 372, ii, 94, 231, 257-8; Shāhnawāz Khān, *Maʾāthir al-Umarāʾ*, Bib. Ind. i, 133-4; *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, Eng. tr. by Blochmann, 433; Shaykh Farīd Bhakkari, *Dhakhīrat al-Khawānīn*, still in Ms. ii. (A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

IʿTIḲĀD, the act of adhering firmly to something, hence a firmly established act of faith. In its technical sense, the term denotes firm adherence to the Word of God. It may be translated in European languages by the words "croyance", "belief", "Glauben", with the proviso that this "belief" is not a simple "opinion" or "thinking" (*pensée*), but is the result of a deep conviction. As the root *ʿ-ḳ-d* indicates, the idea of a "knot", a bond established by contract, persists. The VIIIth verbal form combines with this a greater measure of firmness and coherence.

Iʿtiḳād recurs many times in chapters or works which treat of faith [see ĪMĀN, § I]. It may be compared with and distinguished from two other technical words, *taṣdīḳ* and *ʿaḳīda*.

At first glance, as D. B. Macdonald has pointed out (*EI*[1], s.v. *Iʿtiḳād*), *iʿtiḳād* seems to be synonymous with *taṣdīḳ*: both terms denote inner adherence to the fundamentals of faith. It must however be said that *taṣdīḳ* is the act of judging and *iʿtiḳād* the act of adhering. *Taṣdīḳ* is then seen as an inner judgment of veridicity which affirms the reality and authenticity of the divine Word, a judgment which cannot fail to resolve itself in adherence. Let us say there could be no authentic *taṣdīḳ* without *iʿtiḳād*. It will then be understood that these two terms, each with the connotations belonging to itself, are sometimes interchangeable in definitions of *īmān*, in particular those of the Ashʿarī school, which make inner adherence the "pillar" of faith. The majority of authors however prefer to explain faith by means of *taṣdīḳ*. Al-Djurdjānī states specifically (*Taʿrīfāt*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1845, 41) that faith, *taṣdīḳ* of the heart from the lexicographical point of view, becomes from the point of view of the Religious Law (*sharʿ*) *iʿtiḳād* of the heart.

In the *Iḥyāʾ*, to define faith, al-Ghazālī makes use of the term *ʿaḳd* in the sense of adherence, and in his *Iḳtiṣād* he uses the term *taṣdīḳ*. But in the actual title of the latter work, *iʿtiḳād* becomes religious belief *in globo*, and therefore signifies not only the inner act which adheres but also the content of the faith. This meaning is common, both in Shīʿī literature and also in Sunnism.

In this connection, *iʿtiḳād* is associated with another word from the same root, *ʿaḳīda* [*q.v.*], pl. *ʿaḳāʾid*, articles of faith. Credos will be called *ʿaḳīda* or *ʿaḳāʾid*. But the ḳurʾānic prescriptions which directly involve faith will alone be defined, in the ordinary way, as pertaining to *iʿtiḳād* (cf. al-Nasafī, *ʿAḳāʾid*, ed. Cairo 1321, 7). According to the comments of D. B. Macdonald (*art. cit.*), they will be called "fundamental" (*ʿaṣliyya*) or again *iʿtiḳādiyya*; and distinguished from "derived" prescriptions concerning the action (*ʿamaliyya*), for example in the later manuals of al-Sanūsī of Tlemcen, al-Badjūrī, etc. Hence it will follow that the singular noun *iʿtiḳāda* and the plural *iʿtiḳādāt* will be used in the sense of *ʿaḳīda* and *ʿaḳāʾid*. Finally, in some cases, *iʿtiḳādāt* may have the meaning of "convictions rationally acquired". It is used in this way in the work of the Jewish theologian Saʿadyā Gaon, *Kitāb al-Amānāt wa'l-iʿtiḳādāt*.

It remains to state that the inner act denoted by *iʿtiḳād* connotes above all the idea of firmness in adherence. If some doubt should be felt, this would not be on account of the actual weakness of the act of adherence. It is, rather, that the motives upon which it relies are insufficiently elaborated, or are compounded with lack of knowledge not recognized as such. When on the other hand they are based on science or certain knowledge (*ʿilm*), they lead to an *iʿtiḳād* which can assume the quality of unassailable certainty (*yaḳīn*). Here, on the question of inner adherence, we once more find an equivalent to the problem of the degrees of faith—faith of pure tradition, faith based upon science, faith of certainty (see ĪMĀN, IV, 2).

Bibliography: In the article. (L. GARDET)

IʿTIḲĀD KHĀN, a Kashmīrī of obscure origin, whose name was Muḥammad Murād, was originally in the service of Bahādur Shāh I (*reg.* 1119/1707-1124/1712), enjoying a rank of 1,000 and the title of Wakālat Khān. On the accession to the throne of the ill-starred Farrukhsiyar [*q.v.*] in 1125/1713 his name was included among those listed for execution but on the intercession of the (Bārha) Sayyid brothers, ʿAbd Allāh Khān and Ḥusayn ʿAlī Khān, known as king-makers (*Bādshāh-gar*), he was spared, promoted to a high office, appointed as *basāwal* (harbinger) of the army, and given the title of Murād Khān. Acting as a spy on the leading nobles, he soon won the confidence of the emperor who conferred on him the rank of 7,000 men and 10,000 horse and the grandiloquent title of Rukn al-Dawla Khān Bahādur Farrukhshāhī. Later he became closely involved in the political machinations and intrigues which were going on to depose Farrukhsiyar. He was responsible for the clash between the emperor and the Sayyid brothers which resulted first in the emperor's being blinded and later in his cold-blooded

murder in 1131/1719. On the deposition of his patron, he was disgraced and thrown into prison, his house and property confiscated and his accumulated wealth and jewels seized. Subsequently he was released, his rank restored and he was given a financial grant; but all this fell short of his expectations. He died during the reign of Emperor Muḥammad Shāh (*reg.* 1131/1719-1161/1748).

Bibliography: Shāhnawāz Khān, *Maʾāthir al-Umarāʾ*, (Bib. Ind.), Urdu tr., Lahore 1968, i, 333-41; Khwāfī Khān, *Muntakhab al-Lubāb*, (Bib. Ind.), ii, 790 ff.; Ghulām Ḥusayn Khān Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Siyar al-Mutaʾakhkhirīn* (Eng. tr. Calcutta 1789), i, 123 ff.; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India...*, vii, 469-73, 476-79; Mountstuart Elphinstone, *The History of India*[5], Allahabad 1966, 607; William Irvine, *Later Mughals*, i, 340-5, 381, 401, 406. (A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

IʿTIKĀF, a particularly commended pious practice consisting of a period of retreat in a mosque, the vow for which stipulates a certain number of days in accordance with the believer's own wish. He must not leave it, save for the performance of his natural functions and his ablutions. He will there practise fasting, ritual prayer and recitation of the Ḳurʾān; with regard to other activities, for example the instruction given in the mosque, the schools are not in agreement. There is a divergence between the theory of *fiḳh* and sociological reality in that retreat is very seldom practised. *Iʿtikāf* can be undertaken at any time, but in particular during the last ten days of the month of Ramaḍān, when the *Laylat al-Ḳadr* [see ramaḍān] is presumed to have taken place. According to tradition, it was at that time that Muḥammad is said to have engaged in it. It is therefore dealt with in books of *fiḳh*, etc. immediately after the ritual fast. Popular traditions have widely exploited the theme of the wonderful occurrences which characterize this mysterious Night of Destiny, but this has no connection with *iʿtikāf*: pardon for sins, the bowing down of everything found on the surface of the earth including trees and mountains, the determining of each man's destiny for the coming year, direct entry into Paradise for anyone who dies on that night, wishes fulfilled, and so on.

Bibliography: The books of *fiḳh* and *ikhtilāf*, even though only of a general nature, deal with this question. Also Ghazālī, *Iḥyāʾ*, book vi (analysis by Bousquet, § 36). (G. H. Bousquet)

ITIL (Etil, Idil), the river Volga, called Itil by Kāshgharī, i, 30, line 17, and 70, line 6 (= Brockelmann 244), Atil by the Volga-Bulgars, Idel by the Volga-Tatars, Rau by the Mordve, Iul by the Čeremiss and Adel by the Čuwash. (List of Turkish forms of the name in Ibn Faḍlān, ed. Z. V. Togan, § 50 d and in D. M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton N.J. 1954, 91, n. 8). The largest river in Europe, the Volga is some 3,694 km. long but has a descent, in all, of only some 229.5 m.: it rises at the village of Volgino Verkhovʾe in the Valday mountain range and flows into the Caspian Sea 28 m. below sea level south of Astrakhān. The Itil was called Ὄαρος or Ῥᾶ by the ancient Greeks (cf. Pauly-Wissowa vol. xvii, 1937, col. 1680 f.); Herodotus confused it with the Aras [see al-rass] while Ptolemy and Pomponius Mela took the Don and the Itil for two branches of the same river.

The Volga-Bulgars and the Khazars [*qq.v.*] came to its banks in the course of the Turkish tribal migrations of the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. Their capital city Itil or Atil [*q.v.*] was situated on both sides of the river, at its mouth, the site of the later Astrakhān [*q.v.*]. In the early Middle Ages, and to some extent up to the present time, Finnish peoples, predominantly Mordve (Burṭās [*q.v.*]), lived on the upper reaches of the river; here and there, Slav settlements reached it even then.

The Volga-Bulgars were the first to be touched by (Sunnī) Islam in the form of an embassy of 310/922-23, described in detail by Ibn Faḍlān. About 349/960, the Itil is mentioned as the western frontier of the Turks who went over to Islam, at that time, as a result of intensive propaganda from the regions of the Sāmānids (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 355 ff.). The Byzantine sources, too, mention the river as the Atil (Ἀτήλ, Ἀτέλ) cf. G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*[2], Berlin 1958, ii, 78 ff.).

The Muslim geographers thought of the Kama as the upper course of the Itil and hence increased its length still further (W. Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen zur Geschichte Mittelasiens*, Berlin 1935, 112 ff.; Ibn Ḥawḳal[2], ii, 387, 389; Ibn Rusta, (B.G.A. vii), 141; Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, (B.G.A. viii), 62; *Mappae Arabicae*, ed. K. Miller, Stuttgart 1926/29, i/3, 79, ii, 153-6, v, 118, 142, 145 (Kāshgharī), vi, Map No. XVI = Pl. 46-8).

Sunnī Islam was further strengthened by the advance of the Mongols in the 13th century and the establishment of the Empire of the Golden Horde (Altīn Orda [*q.v.*]), whose capital cities of Old and New Saray were situated on the lower reaches of the river, and by the consequent increase in the number of Turks on its banks. In the 14th century, at the latest, they became assimilated with the Mongols and peoples already established there, such as the Volga-Bulgars and Volga-Finns, and also Slavs—particularly through the harem—to the Turkish speaking, Muslim Volga-Tatars. The 13th-century travellers who got as far as the Itil give it various names: William of Rubruck talks of the Itil, John of Plano Carpini of the Volga; the Austrian envoy Siegmund Freiherr of Herberstein (1486-1566) sometimes calls it this and sometimes the Rha.

Meanwhile, the town of Kazan' on the middle course of the Itil emerged as the centre of the later Tatar region. As early as 618/1221, the town of Nižniy-Nóvgorod had been established at the mouth of the Oká, to be overtaken by Kazan', in the course of time, as the central market of the middle-river region. With the Muslim merchants acting as intermediaries, Kazan' remained the centre for trade with central Asia until the 19th century. On the lower Itil, Astrakhān took over the role of the Khazar capital of Atil as the centre for trade. The gradual advance of the rulers of Moscow at the expense of the Tatars brought with it the establishment of Russian fortresses and strongholds in the Volga region. Thus, under Vasili III (1505-33) Vasilʾsursk was built at the mouth of the Sura for protection from the Tatars.

With the fall of Kazan' (1552) and Astrakhān (completed by 1557) into Russian hands, the Slav settlement expanded by force into the Volga basin with the river acting as line of advance. Many of the towns on its banks with Turkish names (Kazan': Cauldron; Saratov = Sarī Tau: Pale Mountain; Kamyshin: reed bank; Tsaritsyn (now Volgograd); Astrakhān) became Russian towns in which Tatars or other Turks were and still are only a small minority. The Russians took over many villages deserted by the Tatars and drove the Tatars completely away from the fertile river meadows and into the sandy and forested regions far from the water. In addition, new Slav villages and towns were established: as early as 1551, Sviyažsk, later Čeboksarī (now the principal town

of the Čuwash lands and called in their language Shupashkar) was founded. The state consciously encouraged the Slav settlement and gave land over to the vassals of the tsar (*služilïe lyudi*) and the clergy. Henceforward, indeed, the peasants remained in the control of the regime and found it oppressive in many ways. Very many tried to settle in more remote areas where they could remain unmolested. This too led to the expansion of the lands of the Slav peoples and the displacement of the Muslim Tatars, or those who were still pagan, by the Finns and Čuwash who were, at least nominally, Christian. Samara (officially Kuybïshev since 1935) was founded in 1586 to protect the area, as later was Ufa to ward off the Nogay [*q.v.*] particularly. Alongside other smaller settlements, Simbirsk (after 1924 Ulʾyanovsk) was built in 1648, and Sïzranʾ in 1683.

The Muslims of the banks of the Itil were by no means happy with these developments. As early as 1569, a Turkish force from the Crimea tried to hinder the movement and make a way through for the Turkish fleet by means of a canal between the Don and the Volga at the point where there was least distance between them, at Tsaritsyn (Ewliyā Čelebi, vii, 841 ff.; cf. bibliography for specialist literature). But the project had to be abandoned because of the season and the alliance of the tsar with the shah. Later the Tatars, though Sunnīs, turned to the Shīʿī shah ʿAbbās the Great (1587-1629) for aid. On the Russian side, the first Ukrainian settlements (*Slobodï*) were founded in the 17th century. At the same time, the Orthodox mission won over part of the Muslim population including the Kreshčane around Kazanʾ, as well as various noble families, so that the strength of the Muslim population along the Itil declined still further. The river became a route for traffic from central Russia to the south; the boatmen (*Burlaki*) became famous with their songs. The unrest on the Volga in the 17th and 18th centuries was an internal Slav problem, but, in 1667-71, Stenʾka Razin sailed over the Caspian Sea with his fleet and inflicted great damage on the Persian population on its southern shore. The revolt of Emilian Pugačev in 1773-4 found a positive response among the Tatars. The slavization of the banks of the river regions was completed in the 18th and 19th centuries. Thus the attempt of the Muslims of the area between the Volga and the Urals to build up an "Idel-Ural" state in 1917/18 came to nothing. In view of the overwhelming preponderance of the Russo-Ukrainian population in the area by this time, the project found no support among the majority of the inhabitants along the banks of the river. The Itil, as a result of all this, has no longer any special significance for Muslims.

Bibliography: General: Brockhaus-Efron, *Ėntsiklopediya*, vii/13, St. Petersburg 1892, 1-31; *Bolʾshaya Sovetskaya Ėntsiklopediya²*, viii (1952), 602-12: (both with a map of the river region); I. I. Fëderenko, *Volga*, Moscow 1947; S. S. Balsak, V. F. Vasyutin, Y. G. Feygin, *Wirtschaftsgeographie der UdSSR, Teil II*, translated by E. O. Kossmann and H. Laakmann, vi, *Das Wolgaland*, Berlin 1942. General history: N. Nikolʾskiy, *Sbornik istoričeskikh materialov o narodnostyakh Povolžʾya* (A collection of historical material concerning the peoples of the Volga area), Kazań 1919; idem, *Konspekt po istorii narodnostey Povolžʾya* (A review of the history of the tribes of the Volga region), Kazanʾ 1919; G. A. Trofimova, *Etnogenez tatar Povolžʾya v svete dannikh antropologii* (The ethnogenesis of the Tatars of the Volga region in the light of anthropological facts), Moscow 1949; Bertold Spuler, *Idel-Ural, Völker und Staaten zwischen Wolga und Ural*, Berlin 1942; idem, *Die Wolgatataren und Baschkiren unter russischer Herrschaft*, in *Isl.*, xxix/2 (1949), 142-216. Trade: P. Lyubomirov, *Torgovïe svyazi drevney Rusi s vostokom v VIII-XI vv.* (Commercial relations between Old Russia and the East from the 8th to the 11th century), in *Učënïe Zapiski Gos. Saratovskogo Universiteta*, i/3 (1923), 5-38. Missionary activities: C. Lemercier-Quelquejay, *Les missions orthodoxes en pays musulmans de Moyenne et Basse Volga 1552-1865*, in *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique*, viii/3 (1967), 368-403; B. A. Evreynov, *Borʾba Moskvï s vostočnïmi inorodtsami v basseyne Volgi i Kamï* (The struggle between Moscow and the other peoples in the Volga and Kama basin) in *Zapiski Russk. Ist. Ob-va v Pragě*, i (1927), 57-79. The Slav settlement: N. A. Firsov, *Inorodčeskoe naselenie prežnyago Kazanskogo Tsarstva v Novoy Rossii do 1762 g. i kolonizatsiya zakamskikh zemelʾ v eto vremya* (The foreign population of the early Khanate of Kazanʾ up to 1762 and the settlement of the region on either side of the Kama in all periods), Kazanʾ 1869; G. I. Peretyatkovič, *Povolžʾe v XV i XVI věkakh. Očerki iz istorii kolonizatsii kraya* (The Volga region in the 15th and the 16th centuries. Sketches from the history of the settlement of the region), 1877; idem, *Povolžʾe v XVII i načale XVIII věka* (The Volga region in the 17th and up to the beginning of the 18th century), Odessa 1882 (with a map of the Russian settlement); D. I. Bagalěy, *Materialï dlya istorii kolonizatsii i bïta stepnoy okrainï Moskovskago Gosudarstva* (Collection of material for a history of the settlement and of life in the steppe lands of the Muscovite Empire—of the government of Kharkov and to some extent Kursk and Voronež—in the 17th and 18th centuries), 2 vols., Kharkov 1886-7; G. A. Gubaydullin, *Učastie tatar v Pugačëvshčine* (The role of the Tatars in the Pugačev revolt) in *Novïy Vostok*, vii (1925), 262-8. The events of 1569: (see text) H. İnalcık, *Osmanlı-rus rekabetinin menşei ve Don-Volga kanalı teşebbüsü*, in *Belleten*, xii (1948), 349-402; A. N. Kurat, *Türkiye ve İdil Boyu. 1569 Astarhan seferi, Ten-İdil kanalı ve XVII yüzyıl Osmanlı—Rus münasebetleri*, Ankara 1966 (Aü DTCFY 151); A. Bennigsen, *L'expédition turque contre Astrakhan en 1569 d'après les Registres des "Affaires Importantes" des Archives Ottomans*, in *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique*, viii/3 (1967), 427-46; Zdenka Veselá-Přenosilova, in *Fontes Orientales ad historiam populorum Europae meridie-orientalis atque Centralis pertinentia*, ed. A. S. Tveritinova, vol. ii (Moscow 1969), 98-139. Cf. also bibl. of the articles mentioned in the text.

(B. Spuler)

IʿTIMĀD AL-DAWLA, literally: "trusty support of the state", a title of Persian *wazīr*s during the Ṣafawid period and subsequently.

The title *iʿtimād al-dawla* does not occur during the reign of Ismaʿīl I (907-30/1501-24), and first appears towards the end of the reign of Ṭahmāsp I, *ca.* 976/1568-9 (see *Tārīkh-i Īlčī-yi Niẓāmshāh*, B. M. Ms. Add. 23,513, fol. 480a). The introduction of this title reflected the growing importance of the bureaucracy in an increasingly centralized administration, and marked a significant increase in the power of the *wazīr* at the expense of the *wakīl* [*q.v.*]. Under the Ḳādjārs, the title *iʿtimād al-dawla*

was rarely used, that of *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* [*q.v.*] being preferred.

For a discussion of the function and powers of the *iʿtimād al-dawla*, see WAZĪR.

Bibliography: V. Minorsky (ed. and trans.), *Ta<u>dh</u>kirat al-Mulūk*, London 1943, index, *s.v.*

(R. M. SAVORY)

IʿTIMĀD AL-DAWLA, title of Mīrzā <u>Gh</u>iyā<u>th</u> al-Dīn Muḥammad Teherānī, commonly known as <u>Gh</u>iyā<u>th</u> Bēg, son of <u>Kh</u>ʷā<u>dj</u>a Muḥammad <u>Sh</u>arif, one-time minister to the Ṣafawid Shah Ṭahmāsp [*q.v.*], father of Nūr <u>Dj</u>ahān, wife of <u>Dj</u>ahāngīr [*q.v.*]. Both his father and an uncle <u>Kh</u>ʷā<u>dj</u>a Aḥmad, father of the historian Amīn-i Rāzī, author of *Haft Iḳlīm*, held high offices of state under Ṭahmāsp. After the death of his father in 984/1576-7 he, for reasons not precisely known, left for India to seek his fortune. It is, however, clear that he was in straitened circumstances when he undertook this journey for on his way to Akbar's new capital, Fatḥpūr Sīkrī, near Āgra, he had to content himself with only two mounts for a party of five persons including two women. His youngest daughter, Mihr al-Nisāʾ, better known to history as Nūr <u>Dj</u>ahān, was born during this journey. Of noble birth, he was welcomed by Akbar [*q.v.*] in whose service he gradually rose to the personal rank of 1,000 and the office of Dīwān-i Buyūtāt (Minister for stores and royal factories). On accession to the throne in 1014/1605 <u>Dj</u>ahāngīr appointed him joint vizier of his empire and conferred upon him the title of Iʿtimād al-Dawla with the rank of 1,500 (cf. *Tūzuk*, Eng. tr. ii, 22). He was also assigned the *dīwānī* (collection of revenue) of the Pan<u>dj</u>āb. In 1015/1606 <u>Dj</u>ahāngīr, before leaving the capital on his punitive campaign against his rebel son <u>Kh</u>usraw, put the fort of Āgra in his charge. In 1016/1607-8 his son Muḥammad <u>Sh</u>arīf was executed by the orders of the emperor for his complicity in the plot, devised by <u>Kh</u>usraw, to assassinate <u>Dj</u>ahāngīr. He himself was placed under arrest and had to pay two lacs of rupees to purchase his freedom. As <u>Dj</u>ahāngīr was contemplating marrying Nūr <u>Dj</u>ahān, who after the death of her husband, <u>Sh</u>īr Afgān, was then living in the royal palace, as a preliminary he honoured his prospective father-in-law in 1020/1611 with the rank of 2,000 men and 500 horse and also gave him 5,000 rupees as gift. The same year <u>Dj</u>ahāngīr married Nūr <u>Dj</u>ahān and as a mark of respect honoured her father with the *wakāla* (chief ministership) of the empire although <u>Dj</u>ahāngir describes this as a reward for Iʿtimād al-Dawla's "previous service, great sincerity and ability" (cf. *Tūzuk*, Eng. tr. ii, 200). In view of the execution of Iʿtimād al-Dawla's son Muḥammad <u>Sh</u>arīf and his own confinement this statement sounds rather implausible. The *Maʾā<u>th</u>ir al-Umarāʾ* (*Bib. Ind.* i, 129) is quite clear on the subject and attributes the rapid promotion of Iʿtimād al-Dawla to his daughter's marriage. In addition to the office of Wakīl-i Kull (Prime Minister), Iʿtimād al-Dawla was awarded in 1024/1615 the rank of 6,000 men and 2,000 horse as well as kettle-drums and a standard, a very high mark of distinction in Mo<u>gh</u>ul nobility. He moreover enjoyed the special privilege of beating his drums in the emperor's presence. In 1026/1617 <u>Dj</u>ahāngīr conferred upon him the highest honour that a grandee of the empire could ever enjoy, of placing his own turban on his head thus confirming his close relationship with the royal family. He died in 1031/1622 near Kāṅgṛa, on the way to Kashmir in the entourage of <u>Dj</u>ahāngīr. His dead body was brought to Āgra where he was buried on the bank of the Yamuna in a beautiful garden laid out by him. Later a white marble tomb (completed in 1038/1628) with extremely fine lattice work was built over his grave. (For a description of his tomb see S. M. Latif, *Agra, Historical and Descriptive*, Calcutta 1896, 182-4; Gavin Hambly, *The cities of Mughul India*, London 1968, 41, 73-4, 83-4; P. Brown, *Indian Architecture* (*Islamic Period*), Bombay n.d., 109).

A man of genial disposition, he was a popular figure in court circles and <u>Dj</u>ahāngīr describes his company as far better than "a thousand strong tonics". He had the unique distinction of writing a few pages of <u>Dj</u>ahāngīr's *Tūzuk* at the command of the emperor, who could not do so for emotional reasons (cf. *Tūzuk*, Eng. tr. ii, 326-8), which incidentally establishes his command over the Persian language and his skill in penmanship. A man of learning and culture, an accomplished letter-writer, a brilliant conversationalist, he was noted for his self-control. Greedy and avaricious, he had no scruples in freely accepting bribes.

Bibliography: *Tūzuk-i <u>Dj</u>ahāngīrī*, Eng. tr. by Rogers and Bacon, London 1914, i, 22, 57, 122, 199, 249, 260, 280-1, 318, 326, 378; ii, 2, 23, 80, 117, 216, 222-3; Samsām al-Dawla <u>Sh</u>āhnawāz <u>Kh</u>ān, *Maʾā<u>th</u>ir al-umarāʾ*, Bib. Ind., i, 127-34, Eng. tr. by Baini Parsad, Calcutta 1952, ii, 1072-9; Beni Parsad, *History of Jahangir*, Allahabad 1940, 148-9, 160-1, 277-8 and index; S. M. Latif, *Agra, Historical and Descriptive*, Calcutta 1896, 182-4; T. W. Beale, *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary*[2], New York 1965, 185-6; Abu'l-Faḍl, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, Eng. tr.[2] by H. Blochmann, Calcutta 1927, 572-6; <u>Sh</u>ay<u>kh</u> Farīd Bhakkarī, *<u>Dh</u>a<u>kh</u>īrat al-<u>Kh</u>awānīn*, (still in MS) ii; <u>Kh</u>āfi <u>Kh</u>ān, *Munta<u>kh</u>ab al-Lubāb*, Bib. Ind., i, 264-5; Amīn-i Rāzī, *Haft Iḳlīm*, Bib. Ind., (preface by ʿAbd al-Muḳtadir <u>Kh</u>ān); Muʿtamad <u>Kh</u>ān, *Iḳbālnāma-i <u>Dj</u>ahāngīrī*, Bib. Ind., index; Saʿīd Aḥmad Mārahrawī, *Muraḳḳaʿ-i Akbarābād*, Agra 1931, 83-7; Yūsuf Mīrak, *Maẓhar-i <u>Sh</u>āh<u>dj</u>ahānī*, Karachi 1962 (for a detailed genealogical table of Iʿtimād al-Dawla, see editor's preface); S. H. Hodiwala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim history*, Bombay 1939, 618-9.

(A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

ʿITḲ [see ʿABD].

ʿITḲNĀME, *ʿitiḳnāme*, also *ʿitāḳnāme*, an Ottoman term for a certificate of manumission, given to a liberated slave [see ʿABD]. The document normally gives the name and physical description, often also the religion and ethnic origin of the slave, together with the date and circumstances of his manumission, and is dated, signed, witnessed, and registered. The issue of such certificates goes back to early Islamic times (for examples see A. Grohmann, *Arabic papyri in the Egyptian library*, i, Cairo 1934, 61-4; idem, *Arabische Papyri aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, in *Isl.*, xxii (1935), 19-30). A collection of 18th-century Ottoman certificates was edited by K. Jahn, *Türkische Freilassungserklärungen des 18. Jahrhunderts* (*1702-1776*), Naples 1963. Other and earlier examples are cited in Jahn's introduction. (ED.)

ʿIṬR [see ʿANBAR, MISK, etc.].

ITTIḤĀD, verbal noun of the VIIIth form of the root *w-ḥ-d*. The first form *waḥida* and *waḥuda* means to be alone, unique; the VIIIth *ittaḥada*, means to be united, associated, joined together.

Muslim theologians understand the word in five different ways; three of these are metaphorical (*ʿalā sabīl al-istiʿāra*), the two others are real (*ʿalā sabīl al-ḥaḳīḳa*).

1. — The real sense of *ittiḥād* is that a thing be-

comes another while remaining itself. This is called real because it is the first meaning that comes to mind when the word is used in its absolute sense. This real sense comprises two categories: 1) Where two objects unite together in such a way that it can be said that one is the other and reciprocally. In this case, there are, before their association, two distinct objects and after it only one of the two continues to exist. 2) Where there is one object which, while remaining the same, becomes something other than it was before. In this real sense *ittiḥād* is considered necessarily impossible. From this comes the principle: *al-ithnān lā yattaḥidān.*

2. — In the second sense, the metaphorical sense, there are three meanings, depending on whether it means: -a) that an object changes into another suddenly or gradually. Thus, for example, water becomes air: a substantial form is replaced by another; or black becomes white (in which case one attribute of an object disappears and is replaced by another). -b) that an object becomes another by composition so that it gives birth to a third; thus earth joined to water becomes clay. -c) when a being becomes another, as for example when an angel takes on human form. All three sorts of metaphorical *ittiḥād* can be found in reality.

In the history of Muslim doctrines, the word *ittiḥād* evokes two problems above all: that of the Incarnation of the Word in the person of Jesus (*ittiḥād al-lāhūt bi'l-nāsūt*) and that of the "mystic union" of the soul with God.

Muslim apologists have always vigorously rejected the idea of the Christian incarnation. *Ittiḥād* and *ḥulūl* are here generally taken as synonymous, and the concept of a "union" of divinity with humanity is rejected as contradictory. (Cf., for example, al-Bāḳillānī who, in his *Tamhīd*, enumerates the different Christian opinions concerning what he calls "*al-ittiḥād*" without further qualification, *ittiḥād* considered as *ḥulūl*, or as *ikhtilāṭ* and *imtizādj* or as dwelling in a temple or as the appearance of the image of man in a mirror (ed. McCarthy, 75-103; A. Abel, *Le chapitre sur le christianisme dans le "Tamhid" d'al-Baqillani (mort en 1013)*, in *Etudes Lévi-Provençal*, i, Paris, 1962, 1-11). Christian apologists, in turn, strove to show that by distinguishing between "nature" (*ṭabīʿa*) and "person" (*uḳnūm*), one could formulate, without contradiction, the doctrine of the Incarnation (and of the Trinity). (Cf., for example, Théodore Abū Kurrā, *Mayāmīr*, ed. Bacha, 1904, *passim*; Paul Khoury, *Paul d'Antioche, Evêque melkite de Sidon (XII^e s.)*, Beirut 1964, above all page 81 and notes 12 and 13).

From the point of view of Muslim mysticism, three theories of divine union were advanced in the 3rd/9th century. Union is considered as: a) either a union (*ittiṣāl* or *wiṣāl*) which excludes the idea of an identity of the soul and God; b) or as an identification (*ittiḥād*) which itself has two meanings which are quite different: the first, which is synonymous with the preceding, and the second which refers to a union of nature; c) or as an inhabitation (*ḥulūl*); God's Spirit lives, without losing its identity, in the purified soul of the mystic. Orthodox Muslim scholars only accept the idea of union in the sense of *ittiṣāl* (or its equivalent, the first meaning of *ittiḥād*), but reject vehemently any idea of *ḥulūl* in which they see, wrongly, a sort of equivalent of the Christian idea of Incarnation. The charge of *ḥulūl* was one of the most serious raised against al-Ḥallādj [*q.v.*].

Sometimes the expression *ittiḥād* comes to designate the experience of *tawḥīd* or of *waḥdat al-wudjūd* (the monism of being): things have no consistency of their own, they are only one with God. As M. Gardet so pertinently remarks, the great Ṣūfī exponents of the oneness of being always hesitated to admit the idea of an intentional union of love, in which the "two" become "one" in spirit while remaining "two" in being. Normally everything is considered at an ontological level. Consequently, in order to maintain the idea of divine transcendence, the term substitution is used in preference to union (cf. Anawati-Gardet, *Mystique musulmane*, 182). The personality of the Ṣūfī is, so to speak, possessed and volatilised by God (cf. the characteristic examples in the *Tāʾiyya kubrā* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ, *ibid*, 118-9).

According to ʿAlī b. Wafā (quoted by al-Shaʿrānī in *al-Yawāḳīt wa'l Djawāhir*, Būlāḳ 1277, 80, *l.* 18-9), *ittiḥād* means, in Ṣūfī terminology, the evanescence of the will of the creature in the divine will.

Bibliography: In addition to that given above and in the article ḤULŪL, see: Tahānawī, *Kashshāf*, 1468; Djurdjānī, *Taʿrīfāt*, ed. Flugel, 6; Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-Maḥdjūb*, tr. Nicholson, 254; Maḥmūd Shabistarī, *Gulshān-i Rāz*, ed. Whinfield, i, 452-5; Tholuck, *Sufismus*, 141 ff.; D. B. Macdonald, *Religious attitude and life in Islam*, 258; R. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic mysticism*, esp. 218-25, cf. also index iii, 279, s.v. *ittiḥād*.

(R. NICHOLSON/G. C. ANAWATI)

ITTIḤĀD-I MUḤAMMEDĪ DJEMʿIYYETI, generally translated as the "Muhammadan Union", was a politico-religious organization which acquired notoriety as the instigator of the insurrection in Istanbul on 13 April 1909. Its formation was announced publicly on 5 April 1909 (= 23 Mart 1325, by the Turkish "financial" calendar), though Ḥāfiẓ Dervīsh Waḥdetī, its leading spirit and editor of the daily newspaper *Volkan* ("Volcano"), claimed that the Muhammadan Union had in fact been founded on 6 February 1909 (= 24 Ḳānūn II 1324) (see T. Z. Tunaya, *Türkiyede Siyasi Partiler 1854-1952*, Istanbul 1952, 261 ff.). It seems to have been a paper entity made up of members drawn from the religious orders around the country. It had no representation in parliament, although many deputies sympathized with its stand against the modernizing policies of the Ittiḥād we Teraḳḳī Djemʿiyyeti [*q.v.*], usually known as the Committee of Union and Progress or (in works in English) C.U.P. Thus the activities of the Muhammadan Union were virtually restricted to the inflammatory articles in *Volkan* and other opposition papers such as *Ṣadā-yl Millet*, *Serbestī* and the British Embassy financed *Levant Herald*.

The doctrines and programme of action of the Muhammadan Union were explicitly clerical, and therefore hostile to modernization and reform. Its professed aim was non-political, namely to reform public morals and to bring them within the prescriptions of the Sharīʿa. Its members were strictly forbidden to participate in politics. Yet the writings in *Volkan* seemed to suggest that the Muhammadan Union's only commitment was to the destruction of the C.U.P. This commitment was shared by the Liberal opposition.

The founding of the Muhammadan Union coincided with a mounting campaign launched by the opposition against the C.U.P. This campaign began immediately after the fall of Grand Vizier Kāmil Pasha [*q.v.*], on 13 February 1909. On 18 February *Volkan* announced that it was "the propagator of the views of the Muhammadan Union" (*Ittiḥād-i Muḥammedī Firḳasïnïñ murewwidj-i efkārï*) (Tunaya, 265) and

thereafter became the most virulent critic of the C.U.P. It called the constitutional regime the "régime of devils" (*s̲h̲eyṭānlar dewri*) (Tunaya, 264), and by exploiting religious prejudice succeeded in mobilizing opinion against the C.U.P.

This propaganda became so alarming that the government decided to take precautionary measures. Press Laws and Laws of Associations were introduced in parliament, and on 6 April the S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islām issued a manifesto to counteract *Volkan's* charges that the policy of the cabinet was anti-religious. Since Waḥdetī's propaganda was making alarming headway in the army, on 10 April Maḥmūd Muk̲h̲tār Pas̲h̲a, the commander of the Istanbul garrison, issued a proclamation forbidding his troops to have any dealings with the religious *k̲h̲od̲j̲as* and *ṣoftas*. Kāmil Pas̲h̲a's exposé of C.U.P. politics, published on 3 and 4 April, and the murder and funeral of Ḥasan Fehmī [*q.v.*], editor of *Serbestī*, on 7 and 8 April, inflamed passions and prepared the ground for the insurrection which broke out on the night of 12-13 April 1909. It was crushed by the Third Army from Salonika (*Ḥareket Ordusu* [*q.v.*]), and the Ittiḥād-i Muḥammedī was proscribed, while some of its adherents, including Dervīs̲h̲ Waḥdetī, were arrested and hanged. On account of the religious overtones of the insurrection, the Muhammadan Union has been held mainly responsible for it; but closer scrutiny of this organization as well as of events suggests that many other forces were at work. This group only provided a religious cover for the activities of all those elements which were determined to destroy the Committee of Union and Progress.

Bibliography: T. Z. Tunaya, *Türkiyede Siyasî Partiler 1859-1952*, Istanbul 1952, is the best starting point for a study of the Ittiḥād-i Muḥammedī, especially for the notes and bibliography. The press of the period—*Volkan, Serbestī, Ṣadā-yı Millet, Iḳdām* (opposition) and *Ṭanīn* (C.U.P.)—to give only a selection, is invaluable. There are also accounts by contemporary observers: Yunus Nadi, *Ik̲h̲tilāl we Inḳılāb-ı ʿOt̲h̲mānī*, Istanbul 1325 A. H., extracts from which appeared in *Cumhuriyet*, March-April 1959; A. F. Türkgeldi, *Görüp İşittiklerim*, Ankara 1951; Ali Cevat, *Ikinci Meşrutiyetin Ilânı ve Otuzbir Mart Hadisesi*, ed. F. R. Unat, Ankara 1960; Abdülhamid, *İkinci Abdülhamid'in Hatıra Defteri*, Istanbul 1960; I. H. Danişmend, *31 Mart Vak'ası*, Istanbul 1961 (this work is based on the Grand Vizier Tewfīḳ Pas̲h̲a's official and private papers); P. Farkas, *Staatsstreich und Gegenrevolution in der Türkei*, Berlin 1909; F. McCullagh, *The fall of Abd-ul-Hamid*, London 1910; Ismail Kemal, *The memoirs of Ismail Kemal*, ed. Somerville Story, London 1920; Halide Edib, *Memoirs*, London 1926; P. P. Graves, *Briton and Turk*, London 1941. See also Y. H. Bayur, *Türk İnkılabı Tarihi*[2], i/2, Ankara 1964; B. Lewis, *The emergence of Modern Turkey*, revised ed., London 1968; and Feroz Ahmad, *The Young Turks, the Committee of Union and Progress in Turkish Politics 1908-1914*, Oxford 1969. (Feroz Ahmad)

ITTIḤĀD WE TERAḲḲĪ D̲J̲EMʿIYYETI, better known in Europe as the Committee of Union and Progress (C.U.P.), was the political movement responsible for the destinies of the Ottoman Empire from the revolution of 1908 to its destruction in 1918. The Committee had its immediate origins in a group called the "Ottoman Freedom Society" (*ʿOt̲h̲mānlı Ḥürriyet D̲j̲emʿiyyeti*), founded in Salonika in August-September 1906. Spiritually, however, its antecedents went back to the conspiratorial activities of the Young Ottomans and their successors, both inside and outside the Ottoman Empire. (See T. Z. Tunaya, *Türkiye'de siyasî partiler 1859-1952*, Istanbul 1952; E. E. Ramsaur, *The Young Turks: prelude to the revolution of 1908*, Princeton 1957; and Bernard Lewis, *The emergence of modern Turkey*, revised ed., London 1968).

The Ottoman Freedom Society began as a group of ten, numbered one to ten according to age, the eldest member, Bursalı Ṭāhir, being designated number one. A central committee (*hey'et-i ʿāliye*, later *merkez-i ʿumūmī*) of four—Meḥmed Ṭalʿat, Raḥmī [Evranos], Midḥat S̲h̲ükrü [Bleda], and Ismāʿīl D̲j̲ānbulāt—was chosen from amongst the ten. (See Ziya Şakir, "*Ittihat ve Terakki nasıl doğdu? nasıl yaşadı? nasıl öldü?*" in *Son Posta*, 8 and 9 February 1933 and *passim*). Seven of the ten had some connexion with the military though in the central committee only Ismāʿīl D̲j̲ānbulāt was a soldier. While it is true that initially soldiers were numerically dominant in the C.U.P., the civilians were aware of the political threat this posed and therefore always tried to keep it under control. In the constitutional period the military-civilian rivalry became a constant political theme. In the organizational phase soldiers, and to a lesser extent administrators, played a vital role since they alone were mobile and had communications with virtually every part of the empire. It is not surprising, therefore, that when the Rumelian branches of the Ottoman Freedom Society were set up in Monastir, Ohri, Kıracova, Vodina, İşkodra, Serez, Drama and Edirne, junior officers like Enwer [*q.v.*], Meḥmed Ṣādiḳ, Eyyüb Ṣabrī and D̲j̲emāl [*q.v.*], to mention but a few, were instrumental in this.

In 1907 the Salonika group made contact with exiled Young Turks in Europe. Later in the year Dr. Nāẓım, a prominent member of Aḥmed Riḍā's group in Paris, returned to Salonika and in September the two groups agreed to merge and adopt the older and more established name *Ittiḥād we Teraḳḳī* (Ramsaur, *Young Turks*, 121 ff.). This move had no practical significance because both groups remained autonomous and did not collaborate, since the centre of activity had shifted to the Ottoman Empire. However, in the minds of the exiles the merger created the illusion that they had a right to share the political power acquired by the C.U.P. as a result of the 1908 revolution. The Committee had no intention of allowing this and it soon destroyed the illusions of one such exile who returned to Salonika to be told: "Doctor . . ., this Committee of ours is not the one you worked with abroad. This Committee is the product of Monastir and Salonika. . . ." (İbrahim Temo, *İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyetinin teşekkülü ve hidematı vataniye ve inkılâbı milliye dair hatıratım*, Mecidiye 1939, 215).

If the Committee was unwilling to share power, it was not equipped, in terms of either organization or ideology, to exercise it alone. Its professed aim had been to restore the constitutional régime. Having achieved this in July 1908 the Committee had lost its *raison d'être* and many who had supported it in the struggle against the Palace were no longer committed to its policies. The extent of its power and organization was uncertain. There were no accepted or recognized leaders. Only the central committee exercised a collective leadership, in theory controlling the entire political machine, arbitrating, recommending and issuing directives which were binding on all Unionist branches at various levels, from the *wilāyet* to the *nāḥiye*. Furthermore, as representa-

tives of the newly emerging middle class, the Unionists lacked the social status to assume power in a traditional society which they were unwilling to overthrow by force. They therefore permitted the bureaucracy of the Sublime Porte to rule while they acted as guardians of the constitutional régime, hoping to subvert their society through established institutions.

The C.U.P. remained a secret organization with its headquarters in Salonika. It exercised its political influence through small deputations of two or three prominent Unionists like Ṭalʿat, Raḥmī, Djāwid [*q.v.*], Dr. Nāẓim, Bahāeddīn Shākir and Aḥmed Riḍā. These deputations visited the sultan, the grand vizier or foreign embassies and made known to them Unionist policies. This method was impossible to reconcile with the principles of constitutional government. It drew from the opposition the charge that the secret Committee was exercising power without responsibility and creating an *imperium in imperio*. At the C.U.P. Congress of 1908 held in secret sessions in Salonika, the Committee did nothing to meet the opposition charges. Decisions relating to the internal organization were kept secret. It was announced that Unionists returned to parliament would work together under the name of the Party of Union and Progress (*Ittiḥād we Teraḳḳī Fïrḳasï*). A central committee of eight, elected by the Congress, was to continue to run the affairs of the C.U.P.

The Committee intended to maintain control through its parliamentary majority. But the independent behaviour of the deputies frustrated this scheme. After the parliament's abject surrender to the counter-revolutionaries on 13 April 1909, the Committee decided on active participation in government by having Unionist deputies appointed undersecretaries. When this measure was defeated in the parliament (May 1909) the C.U.P. had two of its members—Djāwid and Ṭalʿat—appointed Ministers of Finance and the Interior respectively. (See F. Ahmad, *The Young Turks: the Committee of Union and Progress in Turkish politics, 1908-1914*, Oxford 1969, 50-53 and *passim*). Internal dissension and conflict with the senior officers who had assumed control after crushing the counter-revolution continued to undermine the Committee's position. The dissidents failed to be appeased and organized another opposition (see ḤIZB, ii and ḤURRIYET WE ĪTILĀF FĪRḲASĪ). The Unionists responded to the new threat by having the Chamber dissolved (15 January 1912) and in the new elections, which they manipulated unscrupulously, they won an overwhelming victory. The opposition adopted extra-parliamentary methods and a group of officers intervened, bringing about the downfall of the Committee-backed cabinet of Saʿīd Pasha in July 1912. The Unionists made a comeback by staging a successful *coup* in January 1913 and by June they had suppressed the opposition and consolidated power.

The period from July 1908 to June 1913 was a period of intense political activity. In these five years the Unionists had learned from bitter experience that neither the country nor their Committee could be run along inflexible and centralized lines. At the 1913 Congress the Committee tried to rectify this. The programme of modernizing the entire political, socio-economic and administrative structure of the empire would henceforth be applied to a quasi-federalist, multi-national framework.

New regulations defined the powers and functions of the Committee's hierarchical structure, from the general assembly at the top to the local clubs at the lbottom. Once again the Committee declared itselt a political party which its headquarters in Istanbul, Saonika having been lost to Greece the previous year. The C.U.P. was organized as a general assembly (*medjlis-i ʿUmūmī*) consisting of about twenty members and chaired by the president (*reʾīs-i ʿumūmī*), a central committee (*merkez-i ʿumūmī*) of about a dozen members under the general secretary (*kātib-i ʿumūmī*), and a general secretariat (*ḳalem-i ʿumūmī*) of about six members headed by the vice president (*wekīl-i ʿumūmī*). The function of the general assembly was to co-ordinate the work of the central committee, which dealt with all Unionist organizations outside the parliament, and the general secretariat, which handled Unionist deputies in the parliament. Thus the power to make decisions was no longer restricted to a single body which could be monopolized by a clique. Decisions were now made in the *medjlis-i ʿumūmī*, where all shades of opinion could be represented. The *merkez-i ʿumūmī* remained the most powerful single body; the new regulations merely restricted its freedom of action.

After Turkey's entry into the first world war the C.U.P. formed an exclusively Unionist cabinet and thereafter Turkey became a one-party state. The influence of a small group like the *merkez-i ʿumūmī* was further eroded and during the war the organization of the C.U.P. became more decentralized. During the years 1915-18 it is possible to talk in terms of the prevalence of consensus politics. Policy was now discussed at four different levels—the cabinet, the central committee, the general assembly and the parliamentary party (*fïrḳa*). Factions in the capital, led by figures like Enwer Pasha, Ṭalʿat or Kara Kemāl, also exercised an influence, while provincial administrations under powerful governors like Raḥmī (Aydïn) or Djemāl (Syria) were virtually autonomous. The *fïrḳa* became the substitute for parliamentary opinion since the parliament met only infrequently. For day-to-day business the general assembly, made up of members from all the other groups, replaced the central committee as the most important single body.

The war proved disastrous for Turkey and the C.U.P. By the middle of 1918 Unionists were considering establishing a political party not tarred with their brush, which could negotiate a peace treaty with the Entente Powers. The situation developed too rapidly for such calculated action. The 1918 Congress, scheduled to meet on October 1, was postponed on account of the new situation created by the Bulgarian armistice (*Ṭanīn*, 30 September 1918). The Congress opened on November 1, after the signing of the Armistice of Mudros. Talât Pasha presided over the morning session and during the afternoon session he and the central committee withdrew from the Congress, escaping to Europe soon after. Ismāʿīl Djānbulāt, one of the founder members of the Ottoman Freedom Society, was left formally to dismantle the *Ittiḥād we Teraḳḳī Djemʿiyyeti* and to reconstitute it under a new name, the *Tedjeddüd Fïrḳasï* (Renewal Party).

Bibliography: Works by Tunaya, Ramsaur, Lewis and Ahmad cited in the text give extensive bibliographies. For the constitutional period it is essential to consult the contemporary press, especially newspapers like *Ṭanīn*, *Shūrā-i Ümmet*, *Iḳdām*, *Ṣabāḥ*, *Taṣwīr-i Efkār* and *Ātī* to mention only a few. See also, Aḥmed Niyāzī, *Khāṭirāt-i Niyāzī*, Istanbul 1326, Leskovikli Muḥammad Raʾūf, *Ittiḥād we Teraḳḳī ne idi?*, Istanbul 1327; Albert Fua, *Le comité d'union et progrès contre la*

constitution, Paris 1912; 'X', *Doctrines et programmes des partis politiques ottomans*, in *RMM*, xxii (1913), 151-64; Riḍā Nūr, *Ḥürriyet we İtilāf nasīl doghdu, nasīl öldü?*, Istanbul 1334; Djemāl Pasha, *Khāṭirāt, 1913-1922*, Istanbul 1922, English trans. *Memories of a Turkish statesman, 1913-1919*, London 1922 (edited and abridged); modern Turkish ed. Cemal Paşa, *Hatıralar*, Istanbul 1959; *Harp kabinelerinin isticvabı*, (first serialized in the Istanbul daily *Vakit* and published by Vakit Matbaası, Istanbul 1933); Husrev Sami Kızıldoğan, *Vatan ve Hürriyet = Ittihat ve Terakki*, in *Bell.*, i (1937), 619-25; Mehmet Cavit, *Meşrutiyet devrine ait Cavit beyin hatıraları*, in *Tanin*, 3 August 1943-22 December 1946; Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın, *Talât Paşa*, Istanbul 1943; idem, *Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın'ın 50 yıllık siyasî hatıraları*, in *Halkçı* (*Yeni Ulus*), 13 June-31 December, 1954; Talât Paşa, *Talât Paşa'nın hatıraları*, ed. H. C. Yalçın, Istanbul 1946; A. B. Kuran, *Inḳılâp tarihimiz ve Jön Türkler*, Istanbul 1945; idem, *Inkılâp tarihimiz ve Ittihad ve Terakki*, Istanbul 1948; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *1908 yılında ikinci meşrutiyetin ne suretle ilan edildiğine dair vesikalar*, in *Bell.*, xx/77 (1956), 103-74; and Kâzım Nami Duru, *Ittihat ve Terakki hatıralarım*, Istanbul 1957.

(FEROZ AHMAD)

ITTIṢĀL [see ITTIḤĀD].

IVORY [see ʿĀDJ].

ʿIWAḌ, exchange value, compensation, that which is given in exchange for something. In a very broad and generally accepted sense, the word is used in works of *fiḳh* to denote the counterpart of the obligation of each of the contracting parties in onerous contracts which are called "commutative" (*muʿāwaḍāt*, from the same root as *ʿiwaḍ*); that is, contracts which necessarily give rise to obligations incumbent upon both parties. Thus in a sale, the price (*thaman*) and the thing sold are each the *ʿiwaḍ* of the other. Understood in this sense, compensation must be exactly determined and, in theory, equal in value to the thing of which it is the counterpart. Should it be lacking, then unjust enrichment (*faḍl māl bilā ʿiwaḍ*) will follow. Should the balance between the two dues be merely uneven then there is an illicit profit (*ribā*) gained by the man who receives more than he has given.

In unilateral contracts, the word *ʿiwaḍ* (*badal* and *thawāb* are also used) is employed in a more restricted sense; it is applied to the compensation offered by one of the two parties who is not absolutely obliged to give any. Two examples of this kind of *ʿiwaḍ* are the onerous gift and the *khulʿ* (agreed repudiation). In theory the donee is under no obligation whatsoever, but if he offers compensation (*ʿiwaḍ*) to the donor this need not have the same value as the thing given; it can even be purely symbolic, or, conversely, be worth far more; in Mālikī law it is even permitted to be undetermined. A husband has the right to repudiate his wife unilaterally and, of course, without demanding anything from her; if he makes the statement of repudiation dependent on payment of an *ʿiwaḍ*, compensation paid by the woman, the repudiation becomes *khulʿ*, but the *ʿiwaḍ* that the woman agrees to pay can have no more than an absurdly low value and be undetermined both in its total amount and even in its existence, all of which is quite impossible when the *ʿiwaḍ* constitutes an obligation corresponding to another obligation in a *muʿāwaḍa* contract.

Bibliography: J. Schacht, *Introduction*, Oxford 1964, 145, 152; D. Santillana, *Istituzioni*, Rome 1938, ii, 109; Concerning compensation in the *khulʿ*, see Ibn Ḳudāma's exposition of comparative Muslim law. *Mughnī*, Cairo 1367, vii, 61-4. For *ʿiwaḍ* in the gift, Kāsānī, *Badāʾiʿ*, Cairo 1910, vi, 130; Shīrāzī, *Muhadhdhab*, ed. Ḥalabī, i, 446-7; Khalīl, *Mukhtaṣar*, trans. Bousquet, iii, 153.

(Y. LINANT DE BELLEFONDS)

ʿIWAḌ WADJĪH, a leading scholar and theologian, originally from Akhsīkat near Samarḳand [*q.v.*], was considered peerless in his day in both rational and traditional sciences. He received his education at Balkh in the "*dars*" of his namesake Mīr ʿIwaḍ Tāshkentī. After completing his education he returned to his native village where he began teaching. Later he moved to Balkh and was still teaching when that town fell to the Mughal army under Awrangzīb. He came to India in 1056/1646; he entered the imperial service and was appointed *muftī* of the army. In 1069/1659, soon after his accession to the throne, Awrangzīb appointed him censor of the imperial troops, with an annual salary of 15,000 rupees paid against the rank of 1,000 men and 100 horse. He could not, however, hold this office for long and by his over-strictness earned the displeasure of the emperor who, while returning from a visit to Kashmīr, replaced him by Khwādja Ḳādir (on whom see extract from *Mirʾāt al-ʿĀlam*, ed. Muḥammad Shafīʿ, Lahore 1953, 75), in 1073/1662 at Lahore. A year later he succeeded in regaining the favour of the Emperor, though not his office. He was appointed tutor to prince Muḥammad Aʿẓam and his rank was restored. On the termination of this assignment he was appointed a teacher at the royal *madrasa* in Delhi, which post he held till his death. Held in high esteem, he was asked to act as a witness at the marriage of Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān, Awrangzīb's son, to Dūstdār Bānū Begum in 1082/1672 along with Chief Ḳāḍī ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. He again seems to have lost his rank, for the *Maʾāthir-i ʿĀlamgīrī* (cf. Eng. tr. 92) speaks of its restoration in 1086/1676 while he was living as a hermit. He spent the greater part of his life in teaching, "being highly honoured by the nobility".

A fanatical Sunnī, he insisted on the execution of one Muḥammad Ṭāhir, a Shīʿī who had slandered the first three orthodox caliphs, in 1082/1672. The criticism which his action aroused and the memory of his fall from grace twice during his life perhaps made him adopt the life of a hermit. No other work by him is known to exist except a gloss on *Aḳāʾid-i Nasafī* which was preserved in the Berlin Library (cf. Brockelmann, *GAL* S I, 760). Brockelmann incidentally transliterates the second part of his name as al-Wadjīh which indicates that it most likely was his sobriquet. This assumption is strengthened by the fact that *ʿĀlamgīr-nāma*, the official history of the first ten years of Awrangzīb's reign, at places describes him as "Mullā ʿIwaḍ" only. *Farḥat al-Nāẓirīn*, a Persian history of the times of Awrangzīb (only partially published; see bibliography), follows this practice.

His younger brother Muḥammad Ṭāhir was also a noted scholar. He was sent on a diplomatic mission to the court of Awrangzīb by Subḥān Ḳuli Khān, ruler of Balkh, in 1086/1675 only a year prior to the death of his elder brother. He was well-received at the court and presented with robes of honour, 21,000 rupees, a *pālkī*, an elephant and a jewelled stick before his return to his native land (cf. *Maʾāthir*, Eng. tr., 92, 96). He died in 1088/1677, apparently at an advanced age, and was buried in Delhi.

Bibliography: Muḥammad Kāẓim, *ʿĀlamgīr-*

nāma, Calcutta 1868, 232, 392, 428, 840, 858; Muḥammad Sāḳī Mustaʿid Khān, *Maʾāthir-i ʿĀlamgīrī*, Eng. tr. by Jadunath Sarkar, Calcutta 1947, 14, 74, 77, 92, 96 (indexed under Auz Wajih); Khwāfī Khān, *Muntakhab al-lubāb*, Bib. Ind., ii, 80, 555; Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kanbū, *ʿAmal-i Ṣāliḥ*, Calcutta 1939, iii, 391-2; Bakhtāwar Khān, *Mirʾāt-al-ʿĀlam*, still in Ms., partially published by Muḥammad Shafīʿ in *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, Supplement, Aug.-Nov. 1953, 74-5 (this notice differs at places from that contained in the Asafiyya Ms. of which a transcript has been obtained by me); Muḥammad Aslam Anṣārī b. Muḥammad Ḥafiz Anṣārī Pasrurī, *Farḥat al-Nāẓirīn*, still in Ms., partially published by Muḥammad Shafīʿ in *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, iv/4 Aug. 1928, 77 (almost a verbatim copy of the notice in Asafiyya Ms. with a few omissions); ʿAbd al-Ḥayy, *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir*, Ḥaydarābād (India), 1375/1955, v, 294 (a very useful notice in Arabic). (A. S. BAZMEE ANSARI)

ĪWĀN, also EYVĀN and at times in spoken Arabic LĪWĀN, a Persian word adopted by the Turkish and Arabic languages and then by western travellers, archaeologists and art historians to refer to certain characteristic features of Near Eastern and especially Islamic architecture. Since there are notable differences in the meanings given to this term in mediaeval texts and in modern scholarship, the two must be clearly separated.

It has been suggested that the word itself derives from Old Persian *apadana* (E. Herzfeld, *Mythos und Geschichte*, in *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, vi (1936), 88, n. 1; W. B. Henning in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*: *Iranistik*, Leiden 1958, 71, n. 6). This derivation, which has often been taken for granted, may not be as secure as has been believed but its investigation is not pertinent to Islamic times.

Four meanings can be given to the term when it appears in mediaeval texts; these meanings are probably all connected historically and typologically in ways which still require study. A first meaning is that of a chamber or of a hall which is open to the outside at one end, either directly or through a portico; it is similar in this sense to one of the meanings of *ṣuffa* and it is curious to note that the architectural units known to art historians as *īwāns* (cf. below) are at times called *ṣuffa*s in texts, as in L Hunarfar, *Gandjīna-i Āthār taʾrīkh-i Iṣfahān*, Iṣfahān 1344, 86 ff.; Lane's *Lexicon* s.v. *īwān*. A second meaning is that of an estrade or of a raised part of a floor; such a higher part could have been singled out because of its formal importance as a place of honour in an architectural composition or because of some purely functional need as in the case of the part of a bath in which one undressed (E. W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, Everyman edition, London 1954, 344-5 (note existence of an attendant called a *līwāndjī*) and 12 for other meanings of the word). A third meaning is that of a palace or at least of some sort of very formal and official building; in this sense it appears to refer to a complete architectural entity rather than to part of a complex as in the instance of the first two meanings of the word. Thus a Muẓaffarid prince built in Yazd gardens with a pool and an *īwān* with four storeys; Aḥmad b. ʿAlī, *Taʾrīkh djadīd-i Yazd*, ed. I. Afshar, Tehran 1345, 86 ff. It is probably in this sense of palace that the term should be understood when it was used so commonly to refer to the celebrated Sasanian palace at Ctesiphon; for instance, Ṭabarī, ii, 1056, comments on *īwān kisrawī* (E. Herzfeld, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*: *Alep*, Cairo 1956, 391). In many texts dealing with the Ctesiphon monument it would appear that *īwān* and *ṭāḳ* are synonymous or almost (cf. Max van Berchem, *Notes d'archéologie arabe*, in *JA*, 8th ser., xix (1892), 399 ff.) but in reality they are quite distinct since one refers to a form and the other to a function. *Īwān* in this sense is synonymous with *ḳaṣr*, as for instance in the case of the Fāṭimid palace in Cairo which could be called either *al-ḳaṣr al-kabīr* or *al-īwān al-kabīr*. Also in the *Shāh-nāma* most instances of the word's use appear to refer to palaces and not to some precise architectural form (N. V. Diakonova and O. I. Smirnova, *K voprosu ob istolkovaniy pendjikentskoy rospisi*, in *Sbornik v česti I. A. Orbeli*, Leningrad 1960). Finally a fourth meaning has been given to the word, mostly in contemporary interpretations of Mamluk descriptions of Cairo or of Damascus (Max van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*: *Le Caire*, Cairo 1903, 95, n. 2). The *īwān* would be any one of the halls in a religious building, a *madrasa* or a mosque, which opens on a courtyard; it would be used most commonly for large units of the type implied by our first definition but by extension could be used also for other architectural forms such as the hypostyle. The *īwān ḳiblī* would be the one such hall which is located in the direction of Mecca. While this particular meaning is (or was) certainly found in colloquial usage, there is some uncertainty as to whether the term is ever correctly used for the columnar wings of a mosque; none of the several meanings which can be given to the word *īwān* in the many instances of its occurrence in texts such as the description of Damascus translated by H. Sauvaire seems to apply to a hypostyle building (H. Sauvaire, *Description de Damas*, in *JA*, 9th ser., iii-vii (1894-6), index by E. Ouéchek, Damascus 1954, esp. vol. vi, 260 as opposed to vol. v, 301 or 392).

Altogether then the word has clearly two formal meanings and one functional meaning with a second functional meaning somewhat less obviously ascertained. It is possible that the functional meaning of palace was the original one and that, through the Ctesiphon ruins which played such an important role in the formation of mediaeval architectural concepts and terminology, the references to forms developed more slowly, but this question requires a systematic chronological analysis of texts, which has never been done.

Art historians and archaeologists have given the term *īwān* a technically precise meaning, that of a single large vaulted hall walled on three sides and opening directly to the outside on the fourth. The formation of the form has been the subject of many discussions and theories; cf. F. Oelmann, *Hilani und Liwanhaus*, in *Bonner Jahrbücher*, Heft cxxvii (1922); G. Gullini, *Architettura Iranica*, Turin 1964, 326 ff.; J. Sauvaget, *La Mosquée Omeyyade de Médine*, Paris 1947, 163 ff. These discussions and theories are fortunately not pertinent to the Islamic period, for it can easily be established that Sasanian architecture had consistently utilized such a unit of planning and construction as the main feature of its palaces in ʿIrāḳ and in western Iran. Although some nuances may have to be introduced into this statement after further excavations and interpretative studies, this particular hall was the main audience and reception hall of Sasanian princes (as at Ctesiphon). But no evidence exists that it was actually called an *īwān* nor is it certain that an official function

was the only one associated with the form. On a number of occasions a domed room was just behind the *īwān* and in one instance (Ḳalʿa-i Du<u>kh</u>tār near Fīrūzābād), *īwān* and dome formed the only unit of a royal building.

This secular function of the *īwān* was carried together with the form into early Islamic secular architecture. It occurs in the Umayyad palace at Kūfa, was transferred to the western part of the Fertile Crescent at M<u>sh</u>atta, and defines the main official parts of the great ʿAbbāsid palaces at U<u>kh</u>ayḍir and at Sāmarrā; in this last place it also occurs in simple house architecture; see K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, 2 vols., Oxford 1932 and 1940; O. Grabar, *Al-Mushatta, Ba<u>gh</u>dād, and Wāsiṭ*, in *The World of Islam*, ed. J. Kritzek and R. B. Winder, London 1959; B. Fransīs and Muḥammad ʿAlī, *Jāmiʿ Abī Dulaf*, in *Sumer*, iii (1947). Even minor modifications which may appear to have been of western origin such as the transformation of the *īwān* into a tripartite hall through colonnades have a background in the architectural vocabulary of Sasanian Iran. In the often quoted and discussed texts describing the palaces of Wāsiṭ and Ba<u>gh</u>dād, the use of the word does not necessarily mean that this particular form was used—as had automatically been assumed by Creswell and Grabar in the works quoted above—but it is likely that it was, for the *īwān* became established quite early as the main form of palace and house architecture from Afghanistan to Egypt. In details of course there were many differences from one part of the Muslim world to another and from one period to another and it is not certain that the function of the form was always the official one of an audience hall. Secular architecture unfortunately has not been sufficiently well preserved or studied to allow for definitive conclusions and, since most of the sources for it are literary, the difficulty of interpreting correctly a mediaeval architectural vocabulary occurs constantly.

The appearance of the *īwān* in religious architecture is equally problematic, even though it is in religious architecture that the most celebrated examples of the form are found. The situation can be summarized in the following manner. With the exception of the rather peculiar mosque in Nīrīz, it is not until the early 6th/12th century that a group of some twelve mosques in western Iran acquire what became the typical shape of a courtyard on which open four *īwāns*; for a summary of the history of this form, for a list of examples and for bibliographies see O. Grabar in *Cambridge History of Iran*, iv (forthcoming) and v (Cambridge 1968). The four-*īwān* mosque became then the standard form for almost all buildings of religious inspiration in Iran until today and the changes which do occur are mostly stylistic, as the form reflected the modifications in taste which occurred over the centuries. The puzzling questions are those of the origins of the plan and of the reasons for its formation. On the first point, evidence exists to show that both ʿIrāḳ and Central Asia used the form of four *īwāns* around a courtyard in house and probably monumental architecture before the 6th/12th century (cf. *Sumer*, iii (quoted above) and, among others, G. A. Pugačenkova, *Iskusstvo Turkmenistana*, Moscow 1967, 102; also A. Godard in *Ars Islamica*, xvi (1951)). Since the main direction of cultural and artistic influences in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries was an east-west one, a north-eastern Iranian or Central Asian background for the form seems likely. It would then be from the example of the western Iranian mosques of the 6th/12th century that the type spread over the whole of Iran.

As to the reasons for the adoption of the plan, the main existing theory (Godard's, modifying Max van Berchem, but see critique by K. A. C. Creswell, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, ii, Oxford 1959, 132-3) is that it was connected with the spread of the *madrasa* as an official building from north-eastern Iran westward. The theory is far from being convincing and for a variety of reasons it may be easier to confess either that the question is unresolved or that a form hitherto used primarily for secular purposes was adapted to the mosque as part of the imposition of a new Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳ taste all over Iran.

West of Iran the *īwān*, either singly or in a pattern of four, was rarely used for mosques but became the characteristic architectural feature of *madrasas*, *ribāṭs*, hospitals, and of most of the numerous functions which were either introduced in Zangid and Ayyūbid times or acquired a new monumentality. The earliest use of an *īwān* in a *madrasa* seems to occur in the 530/1136 *madrasa* in Bosra (Creswell, *Egypt*, ii, 107) but the rather primitive construction and planning of this building makes it a rather doubtful witness. Without searching for an (anyway) accidentally "first" example, it may be simpler to conclude that, while the *īwān* as such was already fairly common in house architecture (as for instance in the private houses of Fusṭāṭ), its use in monumental official architecture was a result of the general impact of Iran following the Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳ reconquest. In the Arab Near East, however, it never became the unique architectural feature it was in Iran, although in the monuments of Nūr al-Dīn in Damascus (N. Elisséeff *Les Monuments de Nūr al-Dīn*, in *Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales*, xiii (1949-51) or much later in the superb *madrasa* of Sultan Ḥasan in Cairo (among others L. Hautecoeur & G. Wiet, *Les Mosquées du Caire*, Paris 1932, 103 ff.), we have superb examples of the ways in which a form originally developed in lands of brick architecture was turned into stone.

Several attempts have been made in the past, especially by Max van Berchem and by E. Herzfeld (see for instance his *Damascus, Studies in Architecture*, in *Ars Islamica*, vols. ix ff. (1942 ff.), to suggest that the spread and development of the *īwān*-based plan, especially in *madrasas*, is to be related to precise functional requirements (teaching for instance) and even to symbolic ones as in the Sunnī oecumenism of a building like the Mustanṣiriyya in Ba<u>gh</u>dād. Suggestive and interesting though they may be, these arguments do not seem to be entirely acceptable and it may be preferable to consider the *īwān* as one of the several ways in which the mediaeval Muslim world sought solutions to the problem of architectural space without attributing to it concrete or symbolic meanings permanently attached to the form itself. Like the domed hall or the tower it was a form which could be used for a variety of purposes determined by the needs and tastes of society at any one time; cf. as an example of unique use of known forms, L. Golombek, *The Timurid Shrine at Gazur Gah*, Toronto 1969.

One last aspect of the *īwān* as it appears to the art historian may deserve attention. It is that, regardless of the functions which were given to it, it has a very precise aesthetic value. It is a strong, dominating feature which serves as the main axis of an architectural composition both in plan and in elevation. As a result it is generally the shape and the proportions of the *īwān* which determined the rhythm

and the relations between parts found in most later Iranian facades and in most interior compositions of Iranian architecture. While not as richly inventive nor as exuberant as the Islamic dome, the *īwān* served as a major vehicle for the growth and development of one of the world's most impressive vaulting traditions and its walls were covered with all the various types of decorative techniques and ornamental designs known in the Muslim world.

Bibliography: Most of the immediately appropriate bibliography will be found in the text. Additional examples and discussions of individual monuments can be found in standard books on Islamic and especially Iranian and Central Asian architecture. For textual information on the uses of the *iwan*, see D. Sourdel, *Questions de Cérémonial Abbaside*, in *REI*, 1960. For the development of the religious building with four *iwans* in Iran recent investigations and discoveries have made the traditional interpretation far less certain; see, for instance, O. Grabar, *Notes on the Great Mosque of Isfahan*, in *Bulletin of the Asia Institute in Memory of A. U. Pope* (Shiraz, 1972).

(O. GRABAR)

IYĀD, an ancient Arab tribe whose ancestor Iyād is according to the genealogists the son of Nizār b. Maʿadd and the brother of Rabīʿa, Anmār, and Muḍar. They dwelt first in the Tihāma. The Meccan tradition (see Wüstenfeld, *Chroniken*, ii, 137 ff.) tells that they drove the Djurhum from Mecca and made themselves masters of the Kaʿba, but were turned out after a quarrel with the Khuzāʿa. They went to Baḥrayn, where they formed with other tribes the confederation al-Tanūkh [*q.v.*]. Then they moved into ʿIrāḳ where the Sawād, the fertile region between the desert and the Euphrates, offered them grazing grounds and ʿAyn Ubāgh a perennial waterplace; this happened about the middle of the 3rd century A.D. if the statement is correct that they clashed with the ruler of al-Ḥīra, Djadhīma b. Malik al-Azdī, who was a contemporary of Zenobia of Palmyra. Some Iyād settled at al-Ḥīra and became urbanized and christianized, if they had not been converted earlier; some were employed by the Sāsānids: Laḳīṭ b. Yaʿmur [*q.v.*], (for his father's name see al-Shammākh, *Dīwān*, 1302 h., p. 29, 2) was secretary in the department of Arab affairs; the poet Abū Duwād [*q.v.*] was in charge of the horses of al-Mundhir III b. Māʾ al-Samāʾ (reigned 505-54 A. D.). Others remained Bedouins wandering about the desert, often harassing the peasants. In the reign of Khusraw I (r. 531-79) they even kidnapped a Persian lady and defeated the Persian cavalry sent against them at Dayr al-Djamādjim [*q.v.*]; but being heedless of the warnings given them by Laḳīṭ in his famous poems they were crushed by the Persians; the survivors fled, some into the desert, others into Syria and even into Byzantine territory to a place called Anḳara (mentioned by al-Aswad b. Yaʿfur an-Nahshalī, *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, No. 44 = Aʿshā Nahshal, No. 17 Geyer) at the exit of the Euphrates from the mountains, whilst a third group went to Kūfa, the Djazīra, and Takrīt; from Takrīt they were driven out by the Persians but later came back, for in 16/637 the Iyād secretly supported the garrison of Takrīt against the Muslims. Those who remained in ʿIrāḳ had to join the Persian forces; they were sent against the Bakr b. Wāʾil in the battle of Dhū Ḳār [*q.v.*], c. 604 A. D., but went over to the Bakr; so the Persians were defeated for the first time by Bedouins.

The rise of Islam had no immediate influence upon the Iyād; the story (*Aghānī*[1], xiv, 41 f.; Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 55) that they sent a deputation to Mecca in 8/629 belongs to the legends about Ḳuss b. Sāʿida [*q.v.*]. Some Iyād joined the pseudo-prophetess of the Tamīm Sadjāḥ [*q.v.*]. We find Iyādīs, who were doubtless Muslims, in Kūfa (Ṭabarī, i, 2482, 2495), freedmen (Ibn Saʿd, vi, 270, 277) as well as landowners (Balādhurī, 283, 5). When in 12/633 Khālid b. al-Walīd conquered ʿIrāḳ the Iyād together with other tribes and with Persian troops opposed him *e.g.* at ʿAyn al-Tamr (Ṭabarī, i, 2062) and Ṣandawdāʾ (Balādhurī, 310; Yāḳūt, ii, 420); the statement (Ṭabarī, i, 2074) that the Iyād, Taghlib and Namir together with Byzantines and Persians were defeated by Khālid at the fords (*al-firāḍ*) of the Euphrates in 12/634 is dubious. About the same time, 13/634, the conquest of Palestine by the Muslims began. Towards the end of the same year Ḥimṣ was taken. Here in the northern parts of Syria lived Bedouins and amongst them Tanūkh, established there for centuries, often in separate settlements (*ḥāḍir*). In 17/638 many Iyādīs and other Bedouins of ʿIrāḳ joined the Byzantine army which tried to regain Syria, but when the Muslims conquered Mesopotamia the Iyād went over and became Muslims, whilst the Byzantines were defeated and fled to Cilicia. ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb demanded from Heraclius their extradition and the emperor was forced to send them back (Bakrī, 49). They settled in Syria and Mesopotamia. In later times Iyādīs are seldom mentioned. The best known of them are the *ḳāḍī* of al-Maʾmūn, Aḥmad b. Abī Duwād [*q.v.*], whose claim to this descent was, however, contested by his enemies. Also Iyādīs were Ibn Abi ʾl-Layth, *ḳāḍī* of Egypt, d. 250/864 (Khaṭīb, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, ii, 292), and Ẓāfir b. Sulaymān, *ḳāḍī* of Sidjistān (*ibid.*, viii, 494); see further *ibid.*, iii, 65 no. 1020; iii, 106 no. 1104; iv, 325 no. 2135; xii, 97 no. 6525). There were Iyādīs in Spain (Maḳḳarī, i, 186, 15), amongst them the famous family of Ibn Zuhr [*q.v.*], in Seville.

The Banū Iyād b. Sūd were a clan of the Azd.

Bibliography: in the article; see also al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam* (Wüstenfeld), 44-51 and *passim*; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 97; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ* (Wüstenfeld), 104 f.; Hamdānī (gives on pages 178[21]-179[15] a list of their settlements); see further the indices to Ṭabarī, Yaʿḳūbī, Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIḳd* (indices by Muḥammad Shafīʿ), Masʿūdī, *Aghānī*, *Fihrist*, Ibn al-Athīr, Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam* and also W. Caskel, *Ǧamharat al-nasab des Ibn al-Kalbī*, i, 174; ii, 359 f. (J. W. FÜCK)

ʿIYĀḌ B. MŪSĀ B. ʿIYĀḌ B. ʿAMRŪN AL-YAḤṢUBĪ AL-SABTĪ AL-ḲĀḌĪ (476/1088-544/1149) was one of the most celebrated figures of Mālikism in the Muslim West. His existence coincided almost exactly with that of the Almoravid dynasty to whom throughout his life he remained inflexibly attached.

His family, of Yemeni origin through the Yaḥṣub, emigrated to the West very early and finally settled at Ceuta, after residing in Basta [*q.v.*], in Muslim Spain, in Fez, and also in Ḳayrawān at some indeterminate date. His great grandfather ʿAmrūn was the first of the family to win fame, by reason of his perfect knowledge of the Ḳurʾān, and above all by his service under the celebrated al-Manṣūr ibn Abī ʿĀmir [*q.v.*]. It was he who left Fez with his entire fortune—probably acquired in the service of al-Manṣūr—to settle in Ceuta, where he died in 397/1007 and where his descendants enjoyed a high rank among the notables of the town.

Of all these, ʿIyāḍ was the most famous. On completing his studies in his native town, he went in

507/1113, to perfect his knowledge, not to the East —which he never visited, not even for the pilgrimage—but to Spain. In the *Ṣila* of Ibn Bas̲h̲kuwā, (i, 446, no. 972, reproduced by al-Nawāwirī, *Simṭl* Ms. B. N. Tunis no. 11,396, p. 10), the expression *bi'l-Mas̲h̲riḳ*, which occurs in connection with the studies he made under the direction of Abū ʿAlī al-Ṣadafī, denotes the east of Spain and not the Orient, as is made clear in the *Muʿd̲j̲am* which Ibn al-Abbār had dedicated to the disciples of the last-mentioned master. The traditional travelling for study (*riḥla*) lasted about one year: in all ʿIyāḍ had about a hundred masters, to whom he dedicated his *G̲h̲unya* (still in ms.). These include Ibn Ḥamdīn (439/1047-508/1115), the most virulent opponent of the *Iḥyā'* of al-G̲h̲azālī; Abū Bakr ibn al-ʿArabī (468/1075-543/1149), who had met al-G̲h̲azālī in the East and had probably introduced his *Iḥyā'* to Morocco and Spain in 493/1100; and also the celebrated traditionist Abū ʿAlī al-Ṣadafī (d. 514/1120-1).

On returning to Ceuta, ʿIyāḍ was raised to the rank of *s̲h̲ūra* [*q.v.*] and then, in 515/1121-2, to that of *ḳāḍī* of the city of his ancestors. On 1 Ṣafar 531/29 Oct. 1136, he was entrusted with the office of *ḳāḍī* of Granada. He was already a great personage, and his new place of residence gave him a triumphal welcome. The triumph was ephemeral. Being regarded as too censorious, ʿIyāḍ was discharged after some months at the request of Tās̲h̲fīn, then governor of the city. Tās̲h̲fīn's death (26 Ramaḍān 539/23 March 1145) won back for him the favour of the now tottering Almoravids. Towards the end of 539/1145, he was again nominated by the short-lived Ibrāhīm b. Tās̲h̲fīn as *ḳāḍī* of Ceuta, where he was to play a political role of the first importance, in regard to which his biographers, unlike the historians, prefer to remain very reticent.

A convinced and militant Mālikī, ʿIyāḍ in effect constituted the centre of resistance to the Almohads in Ceuta. After the final triumph of the latter, he was at first exiled to Tadla, among the nomadic tribes, and then, together with other notables from the suspect city, was sent to forced residence in Marrākus̲h̲ where he died, dejected and exhausted, on 7 D̲j̲umādā II 544/13 Oct. 1149. Legend, echoing the hostility which he incurred under the Almohads, attributed his sudden death while in the baths (*ḥammām*) to the invocations of al-G̲h̲azālī, or else, with the accusation of secretly practising Judaism, alleges that he was put to death by the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart.

ʿIyāḍ was not without literary talent, but he was pre-eminently a traditionist and *faḳīh*. He was a truly typical *faḳīh* of the Almoravid period, strictly orthodox, and for whom there existed only one single unique truth, that which had been taught by Mālik and his school. He wrote more than twenty works, not all of which have survived. His best-known published works are: *al-S̲h̲ifā' bi-taʿrīf ḥuḳūḳ al-Muṣṭafā'*, which enjoyed an enormous success and which still continues to play an important part in popular piety; *Mas̲h̲āriḳ al-anwār ʿalā ṣiḥāḥ al-āt̲h̲ār*; *Tartīb al-madārik wa-taḳrīb al-masālik bi-maʿrifat aʿlām mad̲h̲hab Mālik*, which constitutes the best defence for and illustration of the Mālikī school.

Bibliography: This will be found in Brockelmann, I, 455-6, and S I, 630-2, and in M. Talbi, *Biographies aghlabides extraites des Madārik du Cadi ʿIyāḍ*, Tunis 1968, 51-8. In addition: Murtaḍā, *Itḥāf al-sādāt al-muttaḳīn bi-s̲h̲arḥ Iḥyā' ʿulūm al-dīn*, ed. Būlāḳ, n.d., i, 27; Muḥammad Ḳuwaysim b. ʿAlī al-Nawāwirī, *Simṭ al-la'ālī*, ms. B. N. Tunis no. 11396, i, 10-14; M. A. Enan, *ʿAṣr al-Murābiṭīn wa-'l-Muwaḥḥidīn*, Cairo 1964, i, 41-4; A. Merad, *ʿAbd al-Mu'min à la conquête de l'Afrique du Nord (1130-1163)*, in *AIEO* (*Alger*), xv (1957), 126-8; *al-Iʿlām bi-ḥudūd ḳawāʿid al-Islām*, ed. al-Ṭand̲j̲ī, Rabat 1964; *al-Ilmāʿ ilā maʿrifat uṣūl al-riwāya wa-taḳyīd al-samāʿ*, ed. A. Ṣafar, Cairo-Tunis 1970. See also AL-MAḲḲARĪ. (M. TALBI)

ʿIYĀFA (A.), as opposed to *fa'l* [*q.v*] which denotes human omens (cledonism), is applied in a general sense to animal omens (zoomancy) and, in the strict sense, to ornithomancy, that is to say the art of divining omens in the names of birds, their cries, their flight and their posture (*TA*, vi, 207, *l*. 24 ff.). With certain names of birds a fatal quality is associated, though why this is so is not always known; in general, black and greenish plumage and down constitute the only justification. This is the case with the crow, the roller, the jay, and with any animal or bird with a coat or plumage of dark colour interspersed with white, such as a she-camel, a she-wolf or a dove (for animals regarded by the Arabs as a subject of divination, cf. *Divination*, 498-519).

Even more than with regard to the nature of birds (that is to say, their consecration to some particular divinity of either a propitious or an ill-fated character) and their categories (that is to say, those whose flight and cries are the basis for divination), the rich ornithomantic and zoomantic documentation gathered from ancient Arab literature makes it possible to give a precise statement of the principles and rules of mantic interpretation of the flight and cries of birds, as well as of their posture, and of the movements of certain quadrupeds.

For the flight of birds, two techniques originally existed, *ṭīra* and *zad̲j̲r*.

Ṭīra is the observation and mantic interpretation of the spontaneous flight of birds. This was progressively extended, particularly with sedentarization, to include all kinds of manifestations of animate or inanimate beings, and especially to domestic divinations which a man based upon the gestures and utterances of his wife, the inhabitants of the house, the utensils, or the animals in his service. Originally, it included divination of both good and ill; but Islam condemned it as a pagan practice, consigning favourable omens to *fa'l*, which is permitted, whilst it prohibited *ṭīra* as an act of faith in the blind forces and the gods who represented these forces.

Zad̲j̲r too lost its primitive meaning in assuming a wider significance, in the same way as *ṭīra*, with which it is generally confused. Originally, *zad̲j̲r* consisted in causing a bird to take flight by throwing a stone in order that its flight might be interpreted; if the bird flew to the *zād̲j̲ir*'s right, it constituted a good omen for him, if to the left it was a bad omen (cf. *Divination*, 438). But Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, *Muḳaddima*, i, 195, already defined it as though it were a question only of *ṭīra*. This also is a consequence of the change from nomadic to sedentary conditions.

Ṭīra and *zad̲j̲r*, the two techniques of *ʿiyāfa*, consist essentially in the interpretation of the direction of birds' flights and their cries. The technical terminology used in this field derives from hunting and is applied to all zoomantic divination. It is not possible here to expatiate on these terms, which have been studied in *Divination*, 440-6; it will suffice to mention the two most commonly used terms, namely *al-sāniḥ*, "that which comes from your right, proceeding towards your left", and *al-bāriḥ*, which is its antonym. These are their present meanings but they are sometimes found in the reverse sense, according to whether they are used in connection with ornitho-

mancy or hunting (cf. details in *Divination*, 440 ff.). In general, *al-sāniḥ* is favourable and *al-bāriḥ* is unfavourable; but here also there are numerous divergencies. According to Ibn Barrī (quoted in *TA*, ii, 170, 24 f.), this depends upon regional customs: "The inhabitants of Nadjd," he says, "regard *al-sāniḥ* as favourable, but it can happen that a Nadjdī may use the vocabulary of the Ḥidjāzī". We believe, on the contrary, that these divergencies bear witness to a very ancient state of affairs, where the right side did not necessarily signify "favourable" and the left "unfavourable", as was the case in Assyro-Babylonian divination.

The interpretation of the cries of birds is widely attested in respect of the crow (cf. texts and translations in *Arabica*, viii (1961), 34 ff. and 49 f.); but the Arab also deduced omens from the cooing of pigeons, from the call of a bird, from the crowing of the cock, from the braying of donkeys, from the bleating of sheep, from the cry of the camel, from the barking of a dog, etc. (cf. details in *Divination*, 446-9).

For the Arab, the posture and behaviour of a bird provided material for divination. That a crow croaked on a withered tree, on a leafy tree or on a recently constructed wall would modify the meaning of the divination. That the bird shook itself, stretched its wings, pecked the ground, grubbed in the soil, wiped its beak—all these things are taken into consideration in the interpretation of the divination (cf. *Divination*, 449 f., and *Arabica*, *loc. cit.*).

For the relations between *faʾl*, *ṭira* and *zadjr*, see FAʾL.

Bibliography: T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Leiden 1966, 431-50 and 498-519, where the reader will find the basic texts and their analysis; idem, *Les présages par le corbeau. Etude d'un texte attribué à Ǧāḥiẓ*, in *Arabica*, viii (1961), 30-58, where texts of Arab divinations are compared with texts of Assyro-Babylonian and Iranian divinations. (T. FAHD)

ʿIYĀR [see SIKKA].

IYĀLA [see EYĀLET].

IYĀS B. MUʿĀWIYA B. ḲURRA AL-MUZANĪ, Abū Wāthila, was appointed *ḳāḍī* of Baṣra during the caliphate of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in 99/718 (the date 95/714 given by Wakīʿ is incorrect, for ʿUmar did not succeed to the caliphate until 99, and also it was ʿAdī b. Arṭāt, governor of the town from 99-101, who chose Iyās for the post on the caliph's orders); he did not accept this post very enthusiastically (see especially an anecdote related by Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, i, 62, which shows incidentally that parallel jurisdictions were still in existence), and in fact gave it up in 101 or 102/720-1; he died in 121/739 or the following year, aged 76.

Iyās, who is considered to be one of the leading lights of Muḍar (for his genealogy see Ibn Kalbī-Caskel, *Djamhara*, tab. 88), became proverbial for his perspicacity, to such an extent that one said *azḳan min Iyās* (see Freytag, *Prov. Arab.*, i, 593; al-Maydānī, i, 338). His ability to extract precise information from hints unnoticed by others and his shrewdness are often praised (cf. especially a verse of Abū Tammām, ii, 249, in which his *dhakāʾ* is compared to the *ḥilm* of al-Aḥnaf [*q.v.*]).

Adab literature presents him as a kind of Solomon, and he is the hero of a large number of anecdotes, probably originally borrowed from al-Madāʾinī, who had composed a *Kitāb Akhbār Iyās b. Muʿāwiya* (*Fihrist*, Cairo ed., 152). However, he is criticized for his tendency to gossip, his pride and the confidence he placed in dubious traditions.

Bibliogyaphy: Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 98-101 and index; idem, *Ḥayawān*, i, 149-51 and index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 467; Wakīʿ, *Akhbār al-ḳuḍāt*, Cairo 1947, i, 312 ff. (see D. Sourdel, in *Arabica*, ii/1 (1955), 112); Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, vii/2, 4-5; Ṭabarī, ii, 1347; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, index; Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr*, 157-8; Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilya*, iii, 123-5, no. 227; Sharīdhī, *Sharḥ*, i, 113; Ibn Khallikān, i, 382; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, s.v.; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba* no. 576; idem, *Tahdhīb*, i, 39; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, iii, 175-85; Ibn Nubāta, *Sarḥ*, 141-6, 231; R. Basset, in *Revue des trad. pop.*, vi, 67. (CH. PELLAT)

IZMAIL [see ISMĀʿĪL].

IZMĪD [see *Supplement*].

IZMĪR [see *Supplement*].

IZNĪḲ, the ancient and Byzantine Nicaea (*Niḳiya* in Ibn Khuradādhbih and al-Idrīsī), was besieged in vain by the Arabs in their first campaigns against Byzantium in 99/717 and 107/725 (Theophanes, ed. de Boor, i, 397 and 405 ff.) and fell at the beginning of 1081 (middle of 473) into the hands of the Saldjūḳ Sulaymān, son of Ḳutlumush, who made his residence there. The first Crusaders under Walter Sans-Avoir were severely defeated before Nicaea in 489/1096 by Alp Arslān, son and successor of Sulaymān; next year, however, the town could not withstand the onslaught of the Crusaders, led by Godfrey de Bouillon, and surrendered on 5-6 Radjab 490/19-20 June 1097 to the Byzantines in alliance with the Crusaders, in whose possession it remained till the Ottoman invasion. Sultan ʿOthmān I is said to have attacked Nicaea, but it was not till the time of Orkhān that it was taken after a prolonged siege in 731/1331; he moved his capital thither for a time (ʿĀshiḳpashazāde and Leunclavius, *Hist.*, 195; cf. Nicephorus Gregoras, iii, 508 f.). In 804/1402 the town was taken and devastated by a raiding body of Timūr's troops (Ducas, 72; Sharaf al-Dīn, *Ẓafar-nāma*, ii, 454), but it soon recovered from this blow, and it is described as flourishing and prosperous at the time of the rebellion of Prince Muṣṭafā (Leunclavius, *Hist.*, 525, l. 46). Bāyazīd II is said to have intended after the death of his father Muḥammad II, to renounce the throne and retire to Nicaea.

The decline of the town began about the middle of the 11th/17th century; the population, then estimated at 10,000 (Grelot), had sunk to about 1,500 by the end of the 19th century; in 1960 it was 6,290. Administratively Iznīḳ is now the centre of an *ilce* belonging to the *il* (*vilâyet*) of Bursa. The present town occupies a relatively small part of the area enclosed within the ancient city walls. The best preserved of the ancient buildings are the Roman and Byzantine walls consisting of a double rampart (best described by Prokesch and Texier; cf. thereon Körte, *Mitt. des Deutsch. Arch. Instituts*, Athens xxiv, 398-409) with their monumental gateways and 238 towers (Texier). The Byzantine part of these defences dates from the time of Leo III the Isaurian, who had them built after the Arab invasion of 726 (*Corp. Inscr. Graec.*, n° 8864); Michael III in 858, and later Theodore Lascaris (*Corp. Inscr. Graec.*, nos. 8745-8747) completed and improved them.

The town is very rich in Islamic monuments, some of which date from early Ottoman times. Sultan Orkhān, soon after the conquest of Iznīḳ converted the Aya Sofya church into a mosque. It was redecorated in the early 11th/17th century, when its *ḳibla* wall was covered with faience tiles (Katharina Otto-Dorn, *Das islamische Iznik*, Berlin 1941, 9-13, abb. 1-3, Tables 2-3). Orkhān also built a *medrese* next

to this mosque, which was the first *medrese* in the Ottoman Empire (Dorn, *op. cit.*, p. 10). Another building erected by Orkhān is a small mosque, bearing his name, outside the city walls some 400 m. from the Yenişehir Gate. Previously it was believed that it dated from before the occupation of the town, but excavations there in 1963 and 1964 revealed an inscription giving its date as 735/1334 (Oktay Aslanapa, *Iznik'te Sultan Orhan Imaret Camii Kazısı*, ..., 16-31; also Aptullah Kuran, *The Mosque in early Ottoman architecture*, 78-9, figs. 77-78). Another mosque dating from the reign of Sultan Orkhān is the Ḥādjdjī Özbeg Djāmiʿi (also known as the Čarshī Mesdjidi). This is the earliest Ottoman mosque where the original dating inscription has been preserved, giving the date of construction as 734/1333. (Otto-Dorn, 15-18, *abb.* 5-6, Tables 4-5; Kuran, 34-5, figs. 6-8). The mosque and *türbe* complex of Ḥādjdjī Ḥamza Beg were erected in 746/1345 and 750/1349 respectively (Otto-Dorn, 18-20, *abb.* 6, Tables 5/3, 6/1-2). It is interesting to note that none of these early mosques had minarets. Later mosques, like the Yeshil Djāmiʿi (780/1378-794/1391), the Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Djāmiʿi (*c.* 821/1418), the Maḥmūd Čelebi Djāmiʿi (846/1442) and the Eshrefzāde-i-Rūmī Djāmiʿi (874/1469) have minarets built in the Saldjūḳ style. Of these perhaps the Yeshil Djāmiʿi, which has faience tile decoration inside and on the minaret, is the most significant. The *miḥrāb* is built of marble and is richly carved, the earliest of its kind in Ottoman mosque architecture (Otto-Dorn, 20-33, abb. 7-11, Tables, 6/3-17; Kuran, 61-33, figs. 52-7). It was erected by Khayr al-Din [see DJANDARLĪ]. The dating inscription gives the name of the architect as a certain Ḥādjdjī Miūsā. The Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Djāmiʿi has no date, but Otto-Dorn reasonably dates it to 821/1418, the year when Ḳuṭb al-Dīn died (Otto-Dorn, 33-5, abb. 12, Tables 19-20). The Maḥmūd Čelebi Djāmiʿi is well preserved and its minaret has glazed blue and green faience tiles (Otto-Dorn, 35-9, abb. 13-15, Tables 21-2). The Eshrefzāde-i Rūmī Djāmiʿi is actually part of a complex, which included a *türbe* and a *tekke* (monastery). It was erected for Eshrefzāde, a holy man who lived for 120 years (779/1377-899/1493). It is very much ruined and only its minaret, parts of the walls and the *ḳibla* wall survive with the *miḥrāb* (Otto-Dorn, 39-48, abb. 16-18, Table 23). Out of the few secular buildings that have survived in Iznīḳ the Ḥādjdjī Ḥamza *ḥammām* should be mentioned, dating from the late 8th/14th or early 9th/15th century (Otto-Dorn, 89-95, abb. 39-40, Tafeln 34-5).

Iznīḳ was once a flourishing pottery centre. Excavations there between 1963 and 1966 have established that the so-called "Miletus ware" was manufactured in Iznīḳ. This ware had a red clay body and the designs were painted in blue, turquoise-green and purple (Oktay Aslanapa, *Türkische Fliesen und Keramik in Anatolien*, 29-32, abb. 4-58, Tables 1231, in colour). This red ware was suddenly replaced, obviously under outside influence, by a sophisticated white-bodied faience which resembled porcelain. The classification of Iznīḳ faience was first attempted by Arthur Lane, who divided it into three groups (*Later Islamic Pottery*, London 1957, 40-60; idem *The Ottoman pottery of Isnik*, in *Ars Orientalis* ii (1957), 254-81). Chinese influence is clearly visible on the earliest group, which can be dated to the late 9th/15th and early 10th/16th centuries. At a later stage purple and green colours were added (Lane's second group), while around the middle of the 10th/16th century, a lively red colour appears on them (third group). The Iznīḳ excavations revealed shards, kiln-wasters and pottery kilns as well, attesting that all these groups were manufactured locally (Oktay Aslanapa, *Pottery and kilns from the Iznik excavations*, 140-6). Manufacture of tiles and pottery still continued at Iznīḳ in 1736 (Otter, *Voyage en Turquie*, i, 44), but it soon came to an end and was forgotten. It seems that potters moved to Kütahya, where they tried to revive the old Iznīḳ traditions in pottery making.

Bibliography: Ibn Khurradādhbih, 17; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ed. Paris, ii, 323-5; Eng. tr. ii, 452-4; Busbecq, *Epistolae*, ed. Plantin 1585, fol. 31r; Grelot, *Relation nouvelle d'un Voyage à Constantinople*, 45-7; Ewliyā Čelebī, *Seyāḥatnāme*, iii, 7-10; Kātib Čelebī, *Djihānnumā*, 662 f.; Paul Lucas, *Voyage dans la Grèce, l'Asie Mineure* etc., Amsterdam 1714, i, 65-72; Pococke, *Description of the East*, ii, 2, 121-3; Sestini, *Voyage dans la Grèce asiatique*, Paris 1789, 213-20; v. Hammer, *Umblick auf einer Reise von Constantinopel nach Brussa*, Pest 1818, 99-125; id., *Gesch. d. Osm. Reiches*, i, 101-8; Kinneir, *Journey through Asia Minor*, 23-31; Meḥemmed Edīb, *Manāsik al-Ḥadjdj*, Istanbul 1232, 26-7; Prokesch von Osten, *Denkwürdigkeiten und Erinnerungen aus dem Orient*, iii, 105-23; Leon de Laborde, *Voyage de l'Asie Mineure*, 36-44; Texier, *Descr. de l'Asie Mineure*, i, 30-58; *Ausland* 1855, p. 686 f.; *Sālnāme-i Khudāwendigār*, xii, 414-6; v. d. Goltz, *Anatolische Ausflüge*, 406-45; Oktay Aslanapa, *Iznik'te Sultan Orhan Imaret Camii Kazısı*, in *Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı*, Istanbul 1964, 16-31; idem, *Türkische Fliesen und Keramik in Anatolien*, Istanbul, 1965; idem, *Pottery and kilns from the Iznik excavations*, in *Forschungen zur Kunst Asiens in Memorian Kurt Erdmann*, Istanbul 1970, 140-146; Aptullah Kuran, *The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture*, Chicago and London 1968; Katharina Otto-Dorn, *Das islamische Iznik*, Berlin 1941. Views and plans in Pococke, de Laborde and Texier. On the Greek Church: Oskar Wulff, *Die Koimesiskirche in Nicaea und ihre Mosaiken*, Strassburg 1903; also: 'Ἀπὸ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως εἰς Νίκαιαν ὑπὸ Θ. Καβαλιέρου Μαρκουίζον, Constantinople 1909.

(J. H. MORDTMANN-[G. FEHÉRVÁRI])

ʿIZRĀʾĪL (in European literature one also finds ʿAzrāʾīl), the name of the angel of death, one of the four archangels (next to Djibrīl, Mīkhāʾīl, Isrāfīl). Like Isrāfīl, whose office of trumpet-blower at the last judgment is sometimes given to him, he is of cosmic magnitude; if the water of all the seas and rivers were poured on his head, not a drop would reach the earth. He has a seat (*sarīr*) of light in the fourth or seventh heaven, on which one of his feet rests; the other stands on the bridge between paradise and hell. He is however also said to have 70,000 feet.

The description of his appearance agrees almost exactly with that in Jewish literature: he has 4,000 wings and his whole body consists of eyes and tongues, the number of which corresponds with that of the living. He, however, is also said to have four faces.

At first he was an angel like the others. When Allāh wanted to create man, he ordered Djibrīl to snatch from the earth for this purpose a handful of its main constituents. The earth, however, stirred up by Iblīs, offered resistance, so that neither Djibrīl, nor Mīkhāʾīl nor Isrāfīl could carry out the commission. But ʿIzrāʾīl managed to do it. Because of his pitilessness (*ḳillat al-raḥma*) Allāh then appointed him angel of death.

Because of his strength he is also master of death. When Allāh had created Death, he summoned the angels to look at him. When they saw his astonishing strength, they fell down unconscious and remained lying for a thousand years. Then they awakened and said "Death is the most powerful of creatures". But Allāh said: "I have appointed ʿIzrāʾīl to be lord over him".

Several angels of death are mentioned, as in Jewish literature; and it is said that ʿIzrāʾīl deals with the souls of the prophets while the souls of ordinary men are under his *khalīfa*. Special stress is laid on the beginning of Sūra LXXIX, as authority for a number of angels of death: "By those who tear forth and by those who draw forth" etc. The former are said to be those angels who drag the souls of the unbelievers by force from their bodies, while by the latter are meant those who have to separate the souls of the believers from their bodies. The explanation of the verse however is not certain. In Sūra XXXII, 11 mention is made of the angel of death (in the singular).

ʿIzrāʾīl keeps a roll of mankind. But he does not know the date of death of the individuals. Whether one belongs to the blessed or the damned he sees from the fact that the names in the first category are surrounded by a bright and those in the second by a dark circle.

When the day of a man's death approaches, Allāh causes to fall from the tree below His throne the leaf on which the man's name is written. ʿIzrāʾīl reads the name and has to separate the person's soul from his body after 40 days.

But there are some people who strive against the separation, and object that the angel of death is acting arbitrarily. The latter then goes back to Allāh and tells him his experience. Allāh then gives him as credential an apple from paradise on which the *basmala* [*q.v.*] is written; when the man sees this, he yields.

Man also has other means of making it difficult for the angel of death to carry out his task. If the latter wants to creep into his throat to fetch out his spirit, the dying man recites a *dhikr* [*q.v.*] and thus closes the entrance. The angel then returns to Allāh, who advises him to try to take the dying man's hand. If the latter however is just making a *ṣadaḳa* [*q.v.*] the angel's entrance is again impossible. Finally, however, ʿIzrāʾīl writes the name of God on the man's hand. Then the bitter feeling of separation disappears and the angel can enter to fetch the spirit. It is also said that he pierces men with a poisoned lance. Another account is as follows: When a believer is on his deathbed, the angel of death stands at his head and draws his soul out as gently as water runs out of a skin. He hands it to his assistants, who carry it through the seven heavens up to the highest and then place it with the body in the grave (the soul's journey to heaven; cf. Bousset in *Archiv. f.d. Religionswissenschaft*, iv).

If an unbeliever dies, the angel of death tears the soul out of his body in the roughest fashion. The gate of heaven closes before the soul as it is carried up, and it is thrown down to earth again.

Characters like Idrīs, Ilyās, ʿĪsā and al-Khaḍir [*qq.v.*], as is well known, were not subject to death. As regards Moses the same thing could not be asserted; but the Bible throws a veil over his death. Muslim tradition accordingly says that Moses defended himself against the angel of death, who came with the fatal message to him, and bruised his eye. Allāh said to the angel when he came back: "If he places his hand on a cow, as many years are to be granted him as his hand covers hairs". "And then?" asked Moses. "Death", said Allāh. It is also related that the angel of death came to Moses with an apple from paradise; when he had smelled this, he died.

On an experience of Solomon's with the angel of death, see al-Bayḍāwī on Sūra XXXI, 34; on his visit to Idrīs, see that article.

Bibliography: The Commentaries on Sūra II, 28; XXXII, 11 and LXXIX, 1; M. Wolff, *Muhammedanische Eschatologie*, 11 ff.; al-Ghazālī, *al-Durra al-Fākhira*, ed. L. Gautier, 7 ff.; al-Kisāʾī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-Malakūt*, Leiden Ms. 538 Warn., f. 26 f.; al-Ṭabarī (ed. Leiden), i, 87; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab* (ed. Paris), i, 51; Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), i, 20; al-Diyārbakrī, *Taʾrīkh al-Khamīs*, Cairo 1283, i, 36; al-Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ*, Cairo 1290, 23, 216 f.; Mudjīr al-Dīn al-Ḥanbalī, *K. al-Uns al-djalīl*, Cairo 1283, i, 16 f.; al-Bukhārī, *Djanāʾiz*, bāb 69; (Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maḳdisī), *Kitāb al-Badʾ wa-'l-Taʾrīkh*, ed. Huart, i, 175, ii, 214; *Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ*, tr. by A. N. Matthews, i, 365 ff.; Bodenschatz, *Kirchliche Verfassung der heutigen Juden*, Erlangen 1748, iii, 93; J. Macdonald, *Islamic Eschatology i-iv*, in *Islamic Studies*, iii (1964), 285-308, 485-519, iv (1965), 55-102, 137-79. (A. J. Wensinck*)

ʿIZZ AL-DAWLA, an honorary title (*laḳab* [*q.v.*], pl. *alḳāb*) of the kind which came into being at the beginning of the 4th/10th century, conferred by caliphs and later also by other sovereigns. The first person to receive an honorary title composed with *dawla* was the vizier of the caliph al-Muktafī (902-8), al-Ḳāsim; in 289/902 he was entitled Walī al-Dawla (Friend of the Dynasty). Originally *dawla* [*q.v.*] signified: turn, reversal (especially in battle), then it became the designation of the old Mahdī propaganda, and from the middle of the 3rd/9th century attained the meaning still in force today: "dynasty, state". With this meaning *dawla* became an element of those honorary titles which began to be granted shortly before the middle of the 4th/10th century, became customary at the time of the Būyids [*q.v.*], and are a marked characteristic of this period.

According to their meanings, concepts and words (*muḍāfāt*) linked with *dawla* can be divided into six groups: 1) verbal forms which describe an activity of the bearer in connection with the dynasty, *e.g.*, Muʿīn (helper) al-Dawla, Nāṣir, Muʿizz, Musharrif, etc.; 2) metaphors, mostly weapons or parts of the body, *e.g.*, Sayf, Ḥusām, ʿAḍud (and developed from these: Yamīn, ʿAyn) etc.; 3) concepts from the cosmos, *e.g.*, Nūr, Diyāʾ, Bahā, and Shams al-Dawla, Samāʾ al-Dawla (borne in this sequence by father and son, so that the development and intensification becomes especially clear); 4) concepts from architecture, *e.g.*, ʿAmīd, ʿImād, Rukn, Sanad, ʿUmda, Ḳawām, etc.; 5) insignia and titles of sovereigns, *e.g.*, Tādj (crown), and Sulṭān (a title which until then belonged only to the caliph), also Zaʿīm; 6) the concepts fame, glory, honour: Fakhr, Djalāl, Madjd, Sharaf, ʿAlāʾ, ʿIzz.

In 348/959-60, while still crown prince, Bakhtiyār [*q.v.*], the son of the Būyid chief amīr Muʿizz al-Dawla, was granted the title ʿIzz al-Dawla, clearly as a modification of the *laḳab* of his father. This tradition was continued when Bakhtiyār named his son al-Marzubān, governor of Baṣra, as his successor, and the caliph bestowed upon him the honorary title of Iʿzāz al-Dawla. When ʿAḍud al-Dawla appeared in Baghdād, decisively wiped out the Būyids of Baghdād in 977 and Bakhtiyār met with an inglorious end,

the tradition of the *dawla* title derived from ʿIzz and others also came to an end, at least among the Būyids. The later Būyids in Shīrāz and Baghdād, without exception descendants of ʿAḍud al-Dawla, chose other *alḳāb* from the six groups listed above.

Besides the Būyids, almost all contemporary rulers who acknowledged the ʿAbbāsid caliphate were recipients of *alḳāb* in the form discussed here: the Marwānids, Mazyādids, Mirdāsids, Ghaznawids etc. In addition, the Sāmānids, who for a time did not acknowledge the caliph of Baghdād appointed by the Būyids, adopted the practice, bestowing such *alḳāb* on their own authority upon the governors of Khurāsān in order to bind them closer to themselves. In Fāṭimid Egypt, on the other hand, *alḳāb* were chosen on a different principle. In North Africa and Spain *dawla* titles appear only occasionally. There, clearly by deliberate intent, only rare resort was made to this ʿAbbāsid practice.

The honorary title ʿIzz al-Dawla was evidently so compromised by the inglorious memory of the Būyid Bakhtiyār that it reappeared only later, and indeed principally in Persia. In particular the following holders of the title can be taken as examples: 1) the Ghaznawid ʿAbd al-Rashīd (1050-3); 2) the Baduspānids Hazārasb b. Nāmwar (470/1077-510/1117 in Māzandārān) and Ḳubād b. Shāh Ghāzī (780/1378-801/1399); 3) the Ustādhdār of the Artuḳids, Abū Naṣr b. al-Ḥasan in Diyārbakr 551/1156-565/1170).

Later *alḳāb* with *dawla* are still found, though only occasionally; from Saldjūḳ times they were displaced by *alḳāb* with *dīn* as an element. In the time of the Ṣafawids the *dawla* title was revived to some extent in Persia. The grand vizier took *ex officio* the title Iʿtimād al-Dawla [*q.v.*]. Under the Ḳādjārs they deliberately continued the Būyid (and Ṣafawid) traditions, and again made frequent use of *alḳāb* in the form outlined here. All the compounds classified in groups 1) to 6) can be found, with the addition of several new formations. However, the title ʿIzz al-Dawla is infrequent. Under the Ḳādjār princes only ʿAbd al-Ṣamad Mīrzā, a son of Muḥammad Shāh (1250/1834-1264/1848), held this title. It seems that the eulogizing *ʿazza wa-djalla* (only used in association with the name of God) hindered the use of *alḳāb* of similar form; Djalāl al-Dawla also appears very infrequently among the Ḳādjārs, who preferred *alḳāb* with Amīn, Iʿtimād, Muʾayyid, Muʿtamad, and Niẓām.

Bibliography: given at the end of the article ʿIZZ AL-DĪN. (H. BUSSE)

ʿIZZ AL-DAWLA [see BAKHTIYĀR].

ʿIZZ AL-DĪN. This *laḳab* originated within the same historical context as *alḳāb* constructed with *dawla*. The *muḍāfāt* are for the most part identical with those mentioned under ʿIZZ AL-DAWLA, and can be classified according to their meaning in the same groups, at least in earlier times. In the light of this nomenclature, it is very doubtful if the *laḳab* on a coin from Wāsiṭ of the year 256/869-70 should indeed read ʿAlī al-Dīn. The first indubitable *laḳab* with *dīn* mentioned in the narrative sources was granted to the Kurdish Barzikānī amīr Badr b. Ḥasan-wayh in 388/998, almost a hundred years later than the first *dawla* title. The close connection with the *dawla* title can be seen very clearly in the combination Nāṣir al-Dīn wa ʾl-Dawla. The Kurdish amīr insisted on such a title, and could refer to his numerous merits in relation to the *dīn* (especially his ardent encouragement of the pilgrimage to Mecca). Ambition and the special political and religious circumstances of the Būyid period led the Būyids themselves and other local princes to request a *dīn* title also as an adjunct to their *dawla* title granted by the caliph. Alongside the conventional *muḍāfāt* with *dawla* there appears the *laḳab* Muḥyī al-Dīn (Restorer of Religion), conferred upon Abū Kālīdjār (415/1020-440/1048), which is surprising for a Shīʿī Būyid. As with the Kurdish prince Badr, the granting of a *dīn* title was then generally connected with services on behalf of orthodoxy. When in the year 403/1012-13 the Ghaznawid Maḥmūd (389/998-421/1030) refused a robe of honour from the Fāṭimid caliph, the ʿAbbāsid caliph bestowed on him the *laḳab* Niẓām al-Dīn wa-Nāṣir al-Ḥaḳḳ (Order of Religion and Helper of the Right). The *laḳab* ʿIzz al-Dīn does not appear in the Būyid period and is also relatively rare at later times, for the same reasons as those mentioned at the end of the article ʿIZZ AL-DAWLA.

With the arrival of the Saldjūḳs the *dīn* titles displaced the *dawla* titles. Unlike the Būyids, who on political and religious grounds insisted on the expression of a personal link with the caliphate, the Saldjūḳs preferred to stress their link with the abstract idea *dīn*, which expressed their view of themselves as restorers and protectors of orthodoxy. While Tughril Beg still retained the combined *laḳab* Rukn al-Dunyā wa ʾl-Dīn (*dawla* is here replaced by *dunyā*!), his successors held to *alḳāb* with *dīn* only. The same is true of the Saldjūḳs of Rūm, the Ṣaffārids from 496/1103, the Artuḳids from 538/1144, the Zengids of Aleppo, the Dānishmendids in Anatolia, the Salghurids in Fārs, the Ghūrids in east Iran and India, the Shāhs of Khwārizm, and the Ismāʿīlīs of Persia from 564/1166.

The *laḳāb* ʿIzz al-Dīn, amongst others, appeared several times under the Zengids of Aleppo and the Rūm Saldjūḳs of Konya. In the course of the 7th/13th century, however, the *laḳab* lost its status as an honour granted by the caliph or a local prince, and became simply a name which a man assumed himself or which was attributed to deserving people by contemporaries without any official procedure. Ibn al-Fūwaṭī (d. 723/1323-4) enumerates in his work *Madjmaʿ al-ādāb fī muʿdjam al-alḳāb* (ed. Muṣṭafā Djawād, Damascus 1962) more than five hundred bearers of the *laḳab* ʿIzz al-Dīn, covering all classes of the population: the sultan and the courtiers, officials in the capital, in the provinces and in the administration, holders of religious offices (judges, witnesses, professors at *madrasas*), theologians and jurists without official positions, and members of secular professions (poets, druggists, doctors, merchants, etc.). The earliest datable bearers of the title belong to the first years of the 6th/12th century (*e.g.*, a *faḳīh*, no. 231). By the end of the Saldjūḳ period, at the latest after the arrival of the Mongols, who were first converted to Islam with Ghāzān Khān (694/1295-703/1304), the *laḳab* must have lost the character of an officially bestowed honour. Ḳalḳashandī (d. 821/1418) in the *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, vi, 38 ff., mentions in the list of *alḳāb* under *ʿIzz* only the *laḳab* ʿIzz al-Islām as the title "of some *mulūk*".

Like the *dawla* titles, the *dīn* titles remained confined to the eastern Islamic world. In the East Bīrūnī had already criticized the *alḳāb*, but on political and practical grounds: they were a sign of the decadence of the caliphate, an expression of vanity, and moreover too long for practical use. The Egyptian Ibn Taghribirdī mocked the Persians, amongst whom all things were connected with *dīn*. The Maghribī ʿAlī b. Maymūn (c. 900/1495) designated the *alḳāb* simply as "diabolical innovation" (*bidʿa shayṭāniyya*).

After Ibn al-Fūwaṭī and al-Ḳalḳashandī, from the

beginning of the 10th/16th century at the latest, *dīn* titles were no longer considered as *alḳāb* in the true sense, being reduced to mere proper names. In the Ottoman empire, there developed a predilection for double names composed of a *laḳab* with *dīn* and a proper name, as F. Babinger has noted. Quite apart from absurd combinations which go as far as ʿUmar al-Dīn (see J. H. Kramers), in more recent times a downward trend in the choice of names with *dīn* may be observed ; in the biographical dictionary *Türk Meşhurları*, ʿIzzeddīn appears only rarely. In Egypt names originally ending in *dīn* are habitually shortened to the *muḍāfa*, Kamāl, Djamāl, etc. The Turkish name Izzet may perhaps have arisen in the same way (but cf. Ḥikmet, Fikret etc.; see also ISM).

Bibliography: Ibn al-Fūwaṭī and al-Ḳalḳashandī (referred to in the article); G. Flügel, *Husam ed-Din*, in Ersch and Gruber, *Allgemeine Encyclopaedie der Wissenschaften und Künste*, Section II, Part 12, s.v.; F. Babinger, *Schejch Bedr ed-Din, der Sohn des Richters von Simāw*, in *Isl.*, xi (1921), 20, n. 3.; J. H. Kramers, *Les noms musulmans composés avec Dīn*, in *AO*, v (1926/27), 53-67; Ḥasan al-Bāshā, *al-Alḳāb al-islāmiyya fi 'l-ta'rīkh wa 'l-wathā'iḳ wa 'l-āthār*, Cairo 1957; A. Dietrich, *Die mit ad-dīn zusammengesetzten Personennamen*, in *ZDMG*, cx (1961), 43-54 (with valuable supplements to the lists drawn up by Flügel and Kramers); H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig*, Beirut 1969 (*Beiruter Texte und Studien*, Vol. 6), (with chronological lists of the *dawla* and *dīn* titles until about 446/1055, pp. 167-73). (H. BUSSE)

ʿIZZ AL-DĪN KAYḲĀWŪS II [see KAYḲĀWŪS].

ʿARAB **ʿIZZET** [see *Supplement*].

ʿIZZET MOLLA, KEČEDJI-ZĀDE (1200/1785-1245/1829) Turkish poet, born in Istanbul, the son of the *ḳāḍīʿasker* Meḥmed Ṣāliḥ. His family originated from Konya and took their surname from Süleymān Efendi, the *imām* of the Toprak Sokak mosque who made his living as a felt-maker (*kečedji*). His son Muṣṭafā (d. 1181/1767) went to Istanbul for his education and became a *ḳāḍī* and trained his son Meḥmed Ṣāliḥ (the poet's father) for the same profession. ʿIzzet was only fourteen when Ṣāliḥ Efendi died and his two brothers-in-law, the *ḳāḍīʿasker* Ḥāmid and the poet Esʿad, took care of his upbringing, and trained him for the *ʿulemā* profession. But under the influence of the latter's too free and easy life, ʿIzzet soon took to drink, squandering what little he had been left by his father, and his enemies got his name struck off the register of the profession. This ignominy, coupled with being in straitened circumstances, brought him to the verge of despair and he decided to commit suicide. The strange circumstances in which this act was being carried out and how he was dissuaded from it and was eventually introduced to Ḥālet Efendi [*q.v.*], the powerful confidant of Maḥmūd II, are told in detail in a biographical article by Reshād Fu'ād, a great-grandson of his and with some variants by Ibnülemin Mahmud Kemal (İnal) (see bibliography).

Ḥālet Efendi presented him with a house, secured his livelihood and introduced him to the sultan (for a discussion of this relationship see: A. H. Tanpınar, *XIX. Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*[2], Istanbul 1956, page 56, n. 1). Again thanks to Ḥālet, he was appointed *ḳāḍī* of Galata in 1236/1820. When Ḥālet fell into disgrace and was banished to Konya and later executed there (1238/1822), ʿIzzet, his favourite confidant, was the only one of his entourage who escaped the purge. But he did not resist the temptation of praising his benefactor and denouncing his enemies in private conversation. An indecent couplet, (reproduced in Djewdet, *Ta'rīkh*, xii, 67), composed to this effect, seems to have been the last straw. He soon found himself banished to Keshan near Tekirdağ (Rodosto) in Thrace, where he stayed about a year (1238-9/1823-4) and where he wrote his masterpiece, *Miḥnet-Keshān*. It was the new grand-vizier Ghālib Pasha, who, although a former arch-enemy of Ḥālet, mediated to obtain his pardon from the sultan when ʿIzzet sent to him a *ḳaṣīda* in submission. ʿIzzet had no difficulty in regaining the favours of Maḥmūd II. He was successively appointed *ḳāḍī* of Mecca (124/1825) then of Istanbul (1242/1826) and Inspector of the Ḥaramayn (Mecca and Medina). But his prosperity did not last long. In a War Council, which met in the spring of 1243/1828 in the office of the Shaykh al-Islām, to decide whether or not to declare war on Russia, which had invaded Turkey, following the destruction of the Turkish fleet at Navarino a few months earlier, ʿIzzet joined, half-heartedly and reluctantly, the majority which favoured war. But immediately afterwards, he composed, together with ʿÖmer Rāsim Efendi, the treasurer of the *Defterdār*, a memorial (*lāyiḥa*) which he submitted to the sultan through the Silāḥdār Agha. In it ʿIzzet expressed in detail what he did not dare to say publicly: he enumerated the reasons why it was not advisable to wage war. Maḥmūd II, who was highly angered, had his memorial rejected by a countermemorial (*reddiyye*) and ordered that ʿIzzet be banished to Cyprus and Rāsim to Rhodes; ʿIzzet's place of exile was later changed to Sivas. Nine months later, upon the disastrous outcome of the Russian campaign of 1243/1828, ʿIzzet, who proved to be right, was pardoned, but the ailing poet died a few hours before the sultan's *fermān* reached Sivas. It was attached to his breast at the burial (Ṣafar 1245/August 1829). He was forty-four years old. In 1916 his remains were brought to Istanbul and buried in the family tomb.

ʿIzzet Molla married Hibet Allāh Khanım, the daughter of Ismāʿīl Makkī Beg (and not of Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha as asserted by Fevziye Abdullah in *I A* s.v.), a descendant of Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha (executed in 1095/1683). The eldest of his four sons was the famous 19th-century statesman Fu'ād Pasha [*q.v.*].

ʿIzzet Molla is the last great representative of *Dīwān* poetry. During the closing stages of the old school, when many of his contemporaries repeated themselves with interminable *clichés* and hackneyed similes, he showed comparative originality thanks to his strong sense of humour, his penchant for satire and repartee, allied with his unusual power of observation. Unlike many traditional poets, he did not shut himself in a world of allegory, but reflected, in most of his works, the real world around him.

Except for the short biography of his father, where he gives an example of the lofty ornate style (*inshā'*), his prose, particularly his memorial on reforms (*lāyiḥa*), is simple, fluent and to the point. ʿIzzet Molla is the author of the following works: (1) *Dīwān* I, compiled in 1241/1825 under the title of *Bahār-i Efkār*, contains most of his verse outside his *mathnawīs* (Būlāḳ 1255). His many chronograms have unusual documentary value; (2) *Dīwān* II, compiled under the title of *Khazān-i Āthār*, contains his few later poems (Istanbul 1257); (3) *Gülshen-i ʿAshḳ*, completed in 1227, a short allegorical *mathnawī* on mystic love, on the lines of Ghālib Dede's *Ḥusn u ʿAshḳ* and, like it, inspired by Djalāl al-Dīn

Rūmī's Ṣūfī theories. ʿIzzet, who was a member of the *Mawlawī* order, appears himself as a leading character in the work. For a synopsis see Gibb, *HOP*, iv, 306-308 (lithograph ed. Istanbul 1265); (4) *Miḥnet-Keshān* ("The Sufferers" with a pun on Keshān, as the title could also be read *Miḥnet-i Keshan* "The Suffering at Keshan"), his most important work, which immediately secured his reputation and which distinguishes him from many contemporary *dīwān* poets. It is a narrative poem in *mutaḳārib* and in *mathnawī* form of about seven thousand couplets, interspersed with many *ḳaṣīdas*, *ghazals*, *murabbaʿ* and chronograms, which relate in great detail and with pungent humour mixed with vital realism, the circumstances of his arrest in a public bath, this adventurous journey to Keshān, the colourful life in this little provincial township, the many local characters he meets and all his experiences there. Many reminiscences of his earlier life and people he knew in Istanbul are added with the same joyful humour to this lively and very spontaneous narrative, which make it a unique documentary work for the last period of Ottoman society before the great reforms of the 19th century. ʿIzzet wrote most of the *Miḥnet-Keshān* in Keshān and completed it on his return to Istanbul in Djumāda II 1239/February 1824. But the work was in the form of hurried notes on scattered pages. It was later arranged and copied out by two of his friends. (Lithographic edition, Istanbul 1269); (5) *Dawḥat al-maḥāmid fī tardjamat al-wālid*, a short biography of his father, Meḥmed Ṣāliḥ Efendi, written in a flowery style of the best *inshāʾ* tradition, published in 1916 (*TOEM*, No. 41, December 1332); (6) *Lāyiḥa*, a reform memorial on the line of many *lāyiḥas* submitted to Selīm III, written in 1243/1827 by order of Maḥmūd II. It has not been edited (two Mss. are in the libraries of the Turkish Historical Society and of the University of Istanbul, Ibnülemin Collection). The text of his other *lāyiḥa*, the famous anti-war memorial which he composed with ʿÖmer Rāsim Efendi and its "rejection" (*reddiyye*) prepared by ʿĀkif and Pertev Efendis (later pashas), are given in ʿAṭā, *Taʾrīkh*, iii, 267-275.

Bibliography: Fatīn, *Tedhkire*, s.v.; Bursalī Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlī Müʾellifleri*, ii, 320; Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, iv, 304 ff.; ʿA. Sheref, *Taʾrīkh Muṣāḥabeleri*, Istanbul 1339, 39 ff.; Ibnülemin Mahmud Kemal İnal, *Son Asır Türk Şairleri*, 1937, s.v.; Fevziye Abdullāh, in *IA* s.v.; A. H. Tanpınar, *XIX. Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*[2], Istanbul 1956, 54 ff.

(Fahir İz)

ʿIZZET PASHA (Aḥmed ʿIzzet Furgaç 1864-1937) Ottoman soldier and statesman. Aḥmed ʿIzzet was born in the Macedonian hamlet of Nasliċ, near Göridje (today Korcë in southeastern Albania) in the *wilāyet* of Manastīr (today Bitola in southern Yugoslavia). The family were Ottoman-Muslim notables of the region; there is some dispute whether they were of Turkish or Albanian origin (see İnal, p. 2020, quoting General ʿAlī Fuʾād [Erdem], and Klinghardt, p. 12). Under the Turkish "Family Name Law" of 1934 he took the name of Furgaç.

ʿIzzet's father, Ḥaydar, had entered the Ottoman civil service, in which he rose to *mutaṣarrīf*, and ʿIzzet first grew up with his grandfather, Timut, in Nasliċ, and then followed his father to assignments in Macedonia, Anatolia and Istanbul. He entered the military secondary schools in Istanbul at 13, and continued (1881-87) at the Ḥarbiye [*q.v.*], where he graduated from both the regular and the advanced general staff course (finishing the latter ninth in a class of 14). He rose, rapidly at first, in military rank: captain (1887), *ḳolaghasī* (1889), major (1894), lieutenant-colonel (1898), colonel (1901), brigadier-general (1905), lieutenant-general (*ferīḳ*, 1907), general (*birindji ferīḳ*, 1908), marshal (1918). In 1913 he was made the sultan's aide-de-camp (*yāwer-i ekrem*) for life; from 1912 onward he also was a member of the senate (*aʿyān*).

Upon graduation from the Ḥarbiye, ʿIzzet stayed as instructor in military geography and aide to Colmar Baron von der Goltz-Pasha, inspector-general of Ottoman military schools. After advanced training in Germany (1891-94) and a brief assignment at al-Lādhiḳiyya in Syria, he became military aide in the Ottoman high commission in Sofia (1895-96). When a court favourite became the next commissioner, he asked for a transfer. With the outbreak of the Greek-Turkish War, ʿIzzet was appointed to the general staff of the army mobilized on the Thessalian front and to the office of war operations. His energetic stand against corruption and inefficiency led to his interrogation at the palace and, eventually, a punitive transfer to the reserve division at Damascus (1897). There he proved his military and diplomatic talents in pacifying the rebellious Djabal Durūz (1902), and his administrative skills in supervising work on the Ḥidjāz railway near ʿAḳaba. From 1903-08 he served in Yemen, first as chief of staff to ʿAlī Rīżā Pasha, the later grand vizier, whose forces were dispatched against the rising of the Zaydī sect under Imām Yaḥyā, then as commander of the division in Ḥudayda (1907). The Young Turk Revolution interrupted his summer leave in Lebanon, and ʿIzzet returned to Istanbul.

ʿIzzet's reputation as one of von der Goltz's star disciples, his field experience in Yemen, and his rare courage in standing up against the abuses of the Ḥamīdian regime led to his appointment, following the 1908 revolution, as chief of the Ottoman general staff. For two and a half years he worked, often in conjunction with von der Goltz and Maḥmūd Shewket Pasha, to reform the system of training for officers and non-commissioned officers, to create a reserve officer corps, to introduce new model regiments, to arrange manoeuvres, and on transportation and mobilization schemes for the defence of the European parts of the empire. During the April 1909 Counter-Revolution, ʿIzzet helped to establish order within the capital as the *Ḥareket Ordusu* approached Istanbul. Differences with Maḥmūd Pasha, the minister of war, and his old teacher von der Goltz contributed to ʿIzzet's desire for reassignment. ʿIzzet disagreed with Shewket's method of handling unrest in Albania, and resented what he thought to be encroachment by the minister of war in matters of manoeuvres and personnel management. Meanwhile, Imām Yaḥyā had resumed his revolt and laid siege to the Yemeni capital of Ṣanʿāʾ. Upon the death of ʿAbd Allāh Pasha, commander-in-chief in Yemen, ʿIzzet was dispatched to take his place (February 1911-December 1912), while officially on leave from his post as chief of staff. He succeeded in relieving the besieged Yemeni capital of Ṣanʿāʾ and in concluding a compromise peace at Daʿān whereby Imām Yaḥyā was recognized as temporal and spiritual head of the Zaydī sect, with the prerogative of appointing local officials on the sultan's behalf. In return, Yaḥya acknowledged the sultan's suzerainty and joined an alliance with Ottoman forces against the rebellious Sayyid Idrīs to the north.

While in Yemen, ʿIzzet was dismayed to learn that upon the outbreak of the First Balkan War, the new war minister, Nāẓīm Pasha, had acted in com-

plete disregard of ʿIzzet's careful strategic plans by proceeding to the offensive before preparations were complete. Because of transportation difficulties, ʿIzzet managed to return only as Turkish forces were withdrawing to Čataldja, outside the gates of the capital. When members of the Committee of Union and Progress seized power in the *coup d'état* of 23 January 1913, ʿIzzet was offered the post of generalissimo under the new cabinet of Maḥmūd Shewket. At first he declined, having opposed the Unionist plot and being profoundly shocked at the death of Nāẓim Pasha, who was shot during the *coup*. He subsequently reconsidered in view of the danger of renewed war on the Balkans and of the prospect that Enwer [*q.v.*], whom ʿIzzet considered impetuous, political, and less than competent, might obtain the post. Accordingly, ʿIzzet on 30 January 1913 was named to the post of deputy commander-in-chief (*bashkumandan wekili*—the sultan himself being the nominal *bashkumandan*) and, following Maḥmūd Shewket's assassination by anti-Unionist conspirators in June, that of minister of war in the cabinet of Saʿīd Ḥālim Pasha. As generalissimo ʿIzzet was in charge of the campaign resulting in the recapture of Edirne in the Second Balkan War (July 1913). Since he gave priority to his post as supreme commander, the minister of marine, Čürüksulu Maḥmūd Pasha, frequently acted as interim minister of war, *e.g.*, in concluding the agreement in the autumn of 1913 by which the German military mission under General Otto Liman von Sanders was brought to Turkey.

ʿIzzet had some reservations about the far-reaching powers of that mission which, he believed, threatened the integrity of the Ottoman command structure. Subsequently, the purge of the incompetent officers after the Balkan Wars proved, for ʿIzzet's taste, too sweeping in scope and too political in the details of its implementation, and these differences with the dominant Unionist partly led to his resignation both as minister of war and deputy commander-in-chief around the end of 1913. He was succeeded in both posts by Enwer Pasha.

According to ʿIzzet's own account (İnal, 1979; Klinghardt, 231 f.), the Ottoman government about this time favoured making ʿIzzet prince of Albania. Although the plan received some backing among Albanian leaders both in Istanbul and in Albania itself, ʿIzzet rejected it out of fear that "Albania might suffer harm on my account" (*yüzümden Arnavudluğa fenalık geleceği*).

ʿIzzet spent two years in semi-retirement, but early in 1916 took command of the front against Russia with headquarters at Diyārbakr. The disastrous defeat at Sarïḳamïsh, under Enwer's personal command, had all but destroyed the Eastern front the year before. The best ʿIzzet could do with his decimated and ill-supplied troops was to slow down the Russian advance through the Armenian and Kurdish mountains. When the revolution of February 1917 led to the collapse of the Russian armies, ʿIzzet asked to be relieved of what was no longer an actual front command. He subsequently served as Ottoman military delegate to the peace conferences at Brest Litovsk, with Russia, and at Bucharest, with Roumania (December 1917-May 1918).

Following the collapse of the Palestinian-Syrian front, the resignation of the Ṭalʿat-Enwer cabinet, and Aḥmed Tewfīḳ Pasha's fruitless attempt to form a government, the task was assigned to ʿIzzet Pasha. He served as grand vizier (*sadr aʿẓam*), from 14 October to 11 November 1918, at the head of a government that included a few moderate Unionists, notably Djāwīd [*q.v.*] at the Ministry of Finance; the parliamentary leader of the Unionist anti-war faction that had formed early in 1918, ʿAlī Fetḥī [Okyar]; and various non-political figures, such as the naval hero Ḥüseyin Raʾūf [Orbay] and the imperial historiographer ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Sheref. The most urgent task was the conclusion of an armistice, and ʿIzzet tried to make contact with the Allied powers through a variety of channels. The successful one proved to be the dispatch of the British General Charles Townshend, captured at Kut in 1916, to the headquarters of Vice-Admiral Sir Somerset Arthur Gough-Calthorpe in the harbour of Mudros on the Aegean island of Lemnos. The Ottoman delegation that went to Mudros soon after was headed by Ḥüseyin Raʾūf and Reshād Ḥikmet, under-secretary of foreign affairs. On the grand vizier's instructions, the delegates insisted on obtaining safe-conduct for the German and Austrian military personnel stationed in Turkey; but they yielded on such points as the Allies' right to occupy key cities, harbours, and railway junctions throughout what remained of the Ottoman Empire. Determined not to jeopardize relations with the Allies through disputes over the interpretation of the armistice, ʿIzzet ordered that no resistance be offered when British troops moved substantially beyond the lines attained when the armistice took effect on October 31, occupying the cities of Mosul and Iskenderun. (This decision led to a spirited exchange of telegrams with Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha, then commander of the Syrian front, which Kemāl published in 1926).

When it became known that Enwer, Ṭalʿat, Djemāl, and other leading Unionists had fled Istanbul on 2 November 1918, thereby evading any criminal or political responsibility for their war policies, ʿIzzet's political authority was seriously undermined. He had had no advance knowledge of the escape and indeed tried to get German and Austrian authorities to return the fugitives from Odessa (the co-operation he received probably being less than sincere). In view of the political pressures against him, ʿIzzet resigned on November 8, and three days later the sultan replaced his middle-of-the-road government with a clearly anti-Unionist one under Aḥmed Tewfīḳ.

In May 1919 ʿIzzet briefly entered the second Dāmād Ferīd [*q.v.*] government as minister without portfolio as part of a show of national unity in view of the Greek landings at Izmir. In July he refused to enter Ferīd's next cabinet which undertook to mount a military campaign against the Kemālist "rebels". In October 1920 he accepted the ministry of the interior in a cabinet under Aḥmed Tewfīḳ that took a more conciliatory line. ʿIzzet and Ṣāliḥ Khulūṣī [Kezrak] Pasha were dispatched to Biledjik (midway to Ankara) in December to negotiate some arrangement with Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha and his Grand National Assembly. But Kemāl refused to recognize the delegation as representing any kind of government in Istanbul or to let his guests return to their capital. Instead Kemāl detained them in Ankara, hoping that Kemālist successes against irregular forces (under Čerkes Edhem [*q.v.*]) and against the Greek armies would sufficiently impress them to join his side. Upon their steadfast refusal, ʿIzzet and his colleagues were at last allowed to return to Istanbul, in March 1921, on promise of resigning their government offices there. When in June ʿIzzet Pasha re-entered the next cabinet under Aḥmed Tewfīḳ Pasha as foreign minister, he

received a reproachful telegram from Muṣṭafā Kemāl; in reply he did not repudiate his earlier promise as having been extorted but rather pleaded patriotic duty and his manifest lack of personal ambition. He continued in his post until the dissolution of the sultan's government in November 1922.

ʿIzzet Pas̲h̲a was a soldier of outstanding talent and high-minded patriotism. Pomiankowski (p. 38), as Austrian military plenipotentiary one of the most reliable observers of the late Ottoman military and political scene, refers to him on the occasion of his resignation in early 1914 as "in the best years of his many powers, an enlightened and experienced soldier, and at the time respected as the only competent and energetic Turkish military commander" (*damals als der einzige tüchtige türkische Heeresführer angesehen*). His administrative and diplomatic gifts became evident at various junctures, but he retained a life-long distaste for factionalism and political manoeuvring. It was his misfortune to have risen to the top of the military profession at a time when military and political questions were inextricably intertwined, both through domestic instability and through the empire's decline and eventual collapse under foreign pressure. His devotion to duty rarely allowed him to refuse a responsible assignment; his probity rarely allowed him to keep it for long. Thus he repeatedly saw others dissipate the fruits of his labours—only to find himself called back to retrieve or liquidate their mistakes. His political moderation and lack of party ambition typically kept him in the middle—between Unionists and anti-Unionists, or Kemālists and anti-Kemālists. A loyal servant of the Ottoman Empire until the very end, he lived under the Turkish Republic in quiet retirement in his home in Istanbul until his death.

Bibliography: *Denkwürdigkeiten des Marschalls Izzet Pascha*, tr. and ed. Karl Klinghardt, Leipzig 1927; İbnülemin M. K. İnal, *Osmanlı devrinde son sadrazamlar*, Istanbul 1940-1953, fasc. 13, 1973-2028, consisting largely (to p. 2001) of ʿIzzet's autobiographical sketch undertaken at İnal's request; *Müs̲h̲īr Aḥmed ʿIzzet Pas̲h̲anïñ K̲h̲ātïrātï*, in *Aks̲h̲am* (Istanbul), April 1928 to June 1928; interview with ʿIzzet Pas̲h̲a's son, Professor Haydar Furgaç, Istanbul, April 1965.

Feroz Ahmad, *The Young Turks ... 1908-1914*, Oxford 1969; W. E. D. Allen and P. Muratoff, *Caucasian Battlefields*, Cambridge 1953; [Mustafa Kemal Atatürk], *Büyük G̲h̲āzīniñ k̲h̲ātïralarïndan saḥīfeler*, first published in the newspapers *Ḥākimiyet-i Milliye* (Ankara) and *Milliyet* (Istanbul), 13 March-12 April 1926, also French tr. by Jean Deny (*Revue des Études Islamiques*, 1927) and various Turkish editions by Falih Rıfkı Atay; *idem*, *Nuṭuḳ*, 1927 (1934 ed., ii, 53-124 *passim*); Tevfik Bıyıklıoğlu *et al.*, *Türk istiklâl harbi I*: *Mondros mütarekesi ve tatbikatï*, Ankara 1962 (an official history published by Genelkurmay Başkanlığı Harb Tarihi Dairesi); idem, *Atatürk Anadoluda 1919-1921*, i, Ankara 1959; R. H. Davison, *Turkish diplomacy from Mudros to Lausanne*, in G. Craig and F. Gilbert (edd.), *The Diplomats 1919-1939*, Princeton 1953, 172-209; Colmar Freiherr von der Goltz, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, Berlin 1929, 170, 312f.; J. C. Hurewitz, *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East*, Princeton 1956, ii, 36 f. (for text of the Mudros armistice); İsmet İnönü, *İnönü'nün Hatıraları*, ed. Sabahattin Selek, Istanbul 1969, I, 87 ff.; Muharrem Mazlum [İskora], *Erkânıharbiye mektebi (harp akademisi) tarihi*, Istanbul 1930, 209; G. Jäschke, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Kampfes der Türkei um ihre Unabhängigkeit*, in *WI*, n.s., v (1957), 1-64; idem, *Türk Kurtuluş savaşı ile ilgili Ingiliz belgeleri*, Ankara 1971; M. Larcher, *La guerre turque dans la guerre mondiale*, Paris 1926; Josef Pomiankowski, *Der Zusammenbruch des ottomanischen Reiches*, Leipzig 1928; D. A. Rustow, *The Army and the founding of the Turkish Republic*, in *World Politics*, xi (1959), 513-52; Glen W. Swanson, *Mahmud S̲h̲ewket Pas̲h̲a and the German Military Mission to Turkey*, in *War, Technology, and Society in the Middle East*, ed. M. Yapp (London 1973); Charles V. F. Townshend, *My campaign in Mesopotamia*, London 1920, ch. xx; Âli Türkgeldi, *Mondros ve Mudanya mütarekeleri*, Ankara 1948; Ulrich Trumpener, *Germany and the Ottoman Empire, 1914-1918*, Princeton 1968; Ali Fuad Türkgeldi, *Görüp işittiklerim*[2], Ankara 1951; Manfred W. Wenner, *Modern Yemen, 1918-1966*, Baltimore 1967, 46 ff.

(D. A. Rustow and G. W. Swanson)

ʿIZZ al-DĪN b. al-SULĀM al-SULAMĪ [see al-sulamī].

ʿIZZĪ (Süleymān Efendi), d. 1168/1755, Ottoman official historiographer (*waḳʿa-nüvīs* [*q.v.*]), was the son of a certain K̲h̲alīl Ag̲h̲a, the *ketk̲h̲udā* of the Baltad̲j̲ï guard of Meḥemmed IV's daughter K̲h̲adīd̲j̲e Sulṭān. Educated by his father and private tutors, he also learned calligraphy (Mustaḳīmzāde, *Tuḥfe-i K̲h̲aṭṭāṭīn*, Istanbul 1928, 212). His father's connexions with the court procured him a series of secretarial posts, so that he rose to be *Mektūbī-i ketk̲h̲udā-i ṣadr-i ʿālī* in 1152/1739. As such he was present at the operations round Belgrade, and the recovery of the city inspired him to make a copy of the *Süleymān-nāme* of Karačelebizāde [*q.v.*] and append a short memoir of his own on this second conquest (autograph Ms: Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı, Emanet Hazinesi 1395 = Karatay, No. 684). On 1 Rad̲j̲ab 1158/30 July 1745, on the recommendation of the Reʾīs al-Küttāb, he was appointed *waḳʿa-nüvīs* in succession to Ṣubḥī [*q.v.*]. In 1160/1747, without resigning as *waḳʿa-nüvīs*, he was appointed "master of ceremonies" (*tes̲h̲rīfātčï*). He died in D̲j̲umādā II 1168/March-April 1755, and was buried near Edirne Kapïsï, beside S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ Murādzāde who had initiated him into the Naḳs̲h̲bendī order.

His official history covers the years 1157-65 (1744-52), and was printed in Istanbul in 1199/1785. Manuscripts are numerous (see Babinger, 288; *Ist. küt. türkçe tarih ve coğ. yazmaları kat.*, i/2, no. 82; Karatay, nos. 930-9, no. 937 being the "presentation copy" to the sultan; etc.). In a preamble he describes the value of history as a guide to conduct and policy, so that the historian's duty is to write honestly and frankly. He gives very full details on appointments and changes in the *Dīwān-i hümāyūn*, so that the work is a valuable source for the biographies of statesmen; it occasionally incorporates the accounts of eye-witnesses which he commissioned. The work is written in the most elaborate and ornate style of *ins̲h̲āʾ*, and abounds in chronograms. He composed a *dīwān*, but won little fame as a poet. In the field of mysticism, he translated from Persian the *Anīs al-ṭālibīn* of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn b. Mubārak al-Buk̲h̲ārī.

Bibliography: Sālim, *Ted̲h̲kire*, 474 f.; Hammer-Purgstall, index, s.v. Isi; idem, *GOD*, iv, 173, 284; *Sid̲j̲ill-i ʿOt̲h̲mānī*, iii, 467; D̲j̲emāleddīn, *ʿOt̲h̲mānlï taʾrīk̲h̲ we müwerrik̲h̲leri*, Istanbul 1314, 49 f.; Bursalï Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOthmānlï müʾellifleri*, iii, 101 f.; Babinger, 287 f.; Necib Suyol-

cuzade, *Devhatül-küttâb* (sic), Istanbul 1942, 95. This is an abridgement of the article in *IA*, fasc. 54, 1267-9, which has further references to sources still in manuscript.

(İSMET PARMAKSIZOĞLU)

J

JACOB [see YAʿḲŪB, ISRĀʾĪL].

JAÉN [see DJAYYĀN].

JAFFA [see YĀFĀ].

JAIN [see DJAYN].

JANISSARIES [see DEVSHIRME, YEÑI-ČERI].

JAPHET [see YĀFITH].

JASMINE [see YĀSAMĪN].

JAWNPUR [see DJAWNPUR].

JAVA [see INDONESIA].

JEREMIAH [see IRMIYĀ].

JERUSALEM [see AL-ḲUDS].

JESUS [see ʿĪSĀ].

JINNAH [see DJINĀḤ]. The name, commonly believed to be from Arabic *djanāḥ*, is in fact from *jheeṇā*, Gujerati for "thin". (ED.)

JOHN THE BAPTIST [see YAḤYĀ].

JONAH [see YŪNUS].

JORDAN [see URDUNN].

JOSEPH [see YŪSUF].

JOSHUA [see YŪSHAʿ].

JUDAEO-ARABIC, the usual name for the spoken—or in some cases the written—language of the Jews in the Arabic-speaking countries.

i. JUDAEO-ARABIC DIALECTS.

The traditional term "Judaeo-Arabic" has certainly less justification when used in connection with the spoken usage than with the written usage defined above. It suggests the erroneous idea of a form of speech common to all Arabic-speaking Jews, and offering characteristics linked in some way to religious or ethnic facts. Now though it cannot be denied that the religious factor has influenced the Arabic spoken by the Jews, that influence is limited to what is least central to the language, to the cultural and particularly the cultic vocabulary, where forms of Hebrew or Aramaic origin abound. The actual structures of Arabic remain in all particulars untouched and do not reflect those of the religious language. In other respects there is no one form of Arabic common to all Arabic-speaking Jews, but dialectical usages as varied as those characteristic of the different groups of Muslims. There is thus properly speaking no such thing as Judaeo-Arabic. But it is possible, nevertheless, to bring out, at numerous points within the Arab domain, particular characteristics which within a certain locality serve to distinguish the usage of the Jews from that of their Muslim neighbours.

These particularities may be few in number. Thus in Cairo the Jewish community (today virtually extinct) seems in its latter days to have been differentiated linguistically from the Muslim community merely by a few characteristics of which the only relatively important ones were, in the field of phonetics, the virtual disappearance of "emphasis", and in the field of morphology the use of the prefix *n-* to mark the 1st pers. sing. of the imperfect. But the Coptic language also displays a weakening of the "emphatic" pharyngalization and the *n-* form is in general use in Alexandria. In Jerusalem, apart from the religious vocabulary, only minor, sporadic, unstable differences were to be noted, affecting above all the intonation of phrases, occasionally the production of vocalic variants or the frequency of certain adaptations of adjacent phonemes. Insofar as the few clear data at our disposal permit us to gain a comprehensive idea of this phenomenon, it appears that in the greater part of the Arab East (Arabian peninsula, northern ʿIrāḳ, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Jordan), the facts may be compared to the situation in Jerusalem; but different circumstances prevailed in southern ʿIrāḳ on the one hand and the Maghrib on the other.

As far as the East is concerned, it is in Baghdād that the speech patterns of the various communities diverged most clearly. That of the Jews (J) before their emigration presented certain analogies with the dialect used by the Christians and on the other hand differed from that of the Muslims (M) in various essential points. On the plane of phonology the following correspondances between the speech of the Muslims (M), that of the Jews (J), and classical Arabic (C) may be observed: (C) *ḳāf*: (M) *g*: (J) *ḳ*; (C) *kāf*: (M) *tsh* (in certain defined situations): (J) *k*; (C, M) *r*: (J) *gh* (for a large number of people); to (C) *l* there often corresponds when a velar is present (M) *ḷ* but (J) *l*. (C) *ŭ* and *ĭ* merge in (J) *ə*: M keeps a distinction between the two sounds but with a distribution different from that of (C): (M) occasionally equates *ŭ* or *ə* to (C, J) *a*; more often than (M), (J) has *-ă* corresponding to (C) *-ā*; equally, (J) demonstrates the *imāla* [*q.v.*] of *ā* that is unknown in (M); some differences in syllabic structure and accentuation may be illustrated by the following forms: (M) *ṣāḥbi* "my friend, *gubti* "my room": (J) *ṣaḥə́bi*, *ḳəbbə́ti*. On the plane of morphology, the most outstanding items concerned conjugation. For the perfect the suffixes were: (M) sing. 1. -t, 3.f. *-at*; plur. 2. *-tu*, 3. *-aw*: (J) *-tu*, *-ət*, *-təm*, *-u*; for the unattached pronouns, compare (M) sing. 1. *āni*, 3.m. *huwwa*, plur. 1. *əḥna*, 2. *əntu*, 3. *humma*: (J) *āna*, *huwwi*, *nəḥna*, *əntəm*, *hummi*; suffix pronouns: (M) sing. 1. *-i*/*-ya*, 2. f. *tsh*, 3. m. *⁺*, *-a*, f. *-ha*: (J) *-i*/*-yi*, *-k*(*i*), *-*(*n*)*u*, *-*(*h*)*a*, *-*(*h*)*əm*. The feminine ending was (M) *-a*/*-at* but, frequently, (J)*-i*; to obtain the *nomen unitatis* the suffix *-a*/*-at* was added in Baghdād (M), *-āyi* in Baghdād (J). Lastly we must note the difference in value of the verbal prefix *da-* which constituted the mark of the jussive and the progressive present for (M), but only the jussive for (J). (J) utilised for the present the verbal prefix *ḳa*(*d*)-, (M) had also, less frequently, a form *gāəd* for this purpose). On the lexical plane the following are particularly noteworthy: (M) *batshər* "tomorrow": (J) *ghada*; (M) *hwaya* "much" (J) *ktīgh*; (M) *hnā* "here": (J) *hōni*.

In the Maghrib, although the phenomenon is not universal, Jewish speech forms which differ markedly from those of neighbouring Muslims were frequently encountered. At Fez for example, distinguishing features were numerous and important. The following, in particular, are noteworthy: the pronunciation ʾ of *ḳāf* (M *ḳ*), *z*, *s* (*ẓ*, *ṣ* in association with an "em-

phatic") of *djīm* and *shīn* respectively; the form of the 3rd pers. fem. sing. of the perfect in CCVC-*t* (*ktəbt*) identical to the 1st and 2nd pers. (M CVCCVt *kətbət*), the conjugation of an "unvoiced" verb in the perfect without the element -*i*- before the flexional ending (M *ḥabbīt*, J *ḥabbət*); the pattern -CVCC- of the imperfect (*idakhl* "he is entering"); for the personal pronouns, the forms of the 1st pers. *yāna* (after a vowel) and the alternating forms in *n*- for the 3rd pers.: *nōwa* and *hōwa*, *nīya* and *hīya*, *nōma* and *hōma*; the running together, in the form *ntīn*, of the 2nd pers. sing. masc. and fem. pronouns; as far as lexicography is concerned, the use of *ṛā* "to see" (M *shāf*). It must be added that the Jewish speech form used, in current speech, derived verbal patterns with the prefix *n*- to express the passive, and acknowledged a form with the prefix *t-/tt-* with lengthening of the theme vowel: *ittaʿmāl*.

Information about the speech forms of Jews in other Moroccan cities is rare, but one might note at Marrakesh the same assimilation of the prepalatal fricatives to the corresponding sibilants, *i.e.*, *s* for *shīn*, *z* for *djīm*, and the same treatment of the singular forms of the perfect: *ḍrabt* "I have, thou hast, she has hit". In other areas, for example at Tinghir, one noted once more the assimilation of sibilants and palatal fricatives, but this time, as in some Tunisian towns, to the advantage of the latter; *sīn*>*sh*, *zāy*>*j*, except in conjunction with "emphatics" which compelled the pronunciation *ṣ* and *ẓ*. The speech of the Debdu Jews was characterized by a tendency to lose the "emphatic" articulation, the pronunciation *k* for *ḳāf*, and above all by the conjugation of the perfect, which gave in the sing. a 1st and 2nd pers. masc. with the form *kötlət*, and a 3rd pers. fem. with the form *ktəlt*.

At Tlemcen a bringing forward of the point of articulation of velars and palatals made *k* and *tsh* correspond respectively to *ḳ* and *k* among the Muslims. Apart from this, *h* was often reduced to nil, the diphthongs to long vowels homophonic with the semi-consonant. We must note also that the Muslim preposition *mʿā* "with" (in constructions including a suffix pronoun) was replaced by *māʿ* (before a vowel)/*maʿ* (before a consonant) amongst the Jews. Beside this the latter were differentiated by the use of the forms *dāba* for "now" (M *dərwoḳ*), *līyāsh* "why?" (M *līyāh*), *ashte*, *ashən-hūwa/hīya* "what?" (*Māsh*).

In Algiers one noticed as differentiating characteristics of the speech of the Jews—which is now used only by a few elderly people who live outside Algeria—the extreme weakness of the "emphatics", often reduced to the corresponding simple consonants; the non-affrication of the unvoiced dental (J *t*: M *ts*), the tendency in certain cases to the affrication of *d* (M. *d*: J *dz*), the tendency to make the prepalatals into sibilants (often *s* for *sh*, *dz* for *dj*), the bringing forward of the point of articulation of *kh* and *gh*, the transfer from *ḳ* to ʾ, the frequent dropping of *h*, the reduction of the series of short vowels to a single phoneme of neutral sound (with variants tending one way or the other according to neighbouring sounds), and a very pronounced *imāla* on the end syllable. As for morphology, particular note must be taken of the form of the masculine suffix pronoun after a vowel: *u* for Muslim -*a*. Furthermore J utilised *māʿ* "with" (M *mʿa*), *innā* "here" (M *hna*), *dābā* "now" (M *dərwoḳ*), *lbārah* "yesterday" (M (*y*)*āməs*).

The differences between various usages amongst Jews and Muslims respectively were also very pronounced in Tunis. The two phonological systems diverged widely over whole sectors. The two series of M dentals, occlusive and spirant, were replaced by a single occlusive series in J. J had brought together *s* and *sh* on the one hand, *z* and *j* on the other. The sounds produced were, generally, *sh* and *j*, with *s* and *z* constituting conditioned variants before non-emphatic *r*; in association with emphatics, *sh* and *j* resulted respectively in *ṣ* and *ẓ*. J had no laryngeally articulated phonemes. To M *h* corresponded, according to context, either nothing or a lengthening of the adjacent phoneme. The vowelling of J had reduced the former *ă* and *ĭ* to a single phoneme *ə*; moreover *ŭ* remained distinct only within narrow limits. M had only partially operated this reduction, so that very frequently the vowel sounds for the same word were not identical in the two forms of speech. On the other hand, in most cases, J had kept the diphthongs *aw* and *ay* which have become *ū* and *ī* in M. The morphology also displayed fairly clear-cut differences. For example in detached personal pronouns plural were (M) *aḥna*, *əntūma*, *hūma*: (J) *öhna*, *əntumān*, *ūmān*; the masc. sing. attached pronoun for the 3rd pers., after a vowel, was (M) -*h*: (J) -*u*; for verbs with the 3rd radical -*y*, the 3rd pers. plur. in (M) *nəmshīu*: (J) *nəmshyu*; the verbs which formerly had a 1st radical hamza were of the type (M) *āmər*: (J) *amər(r)*; the intensive pattern of verbs with a 2nd radical semi-vowel was (M) *zawwəz*, *ṣeyyir*: (J) *juwwəj/jūwəj*, *ṣiyyaṛ/ṣīyaṛ*; to the copula of being (M) *ʿād*, *ma ʿātsh* "there is (still), there is no longer" corresponded (J) *bḳa*, *ma bḳāsh*, etc. Reasonably similar situations might be discerned in other Tunisian cities, and particularly in Sousse.

The speech patterns of Jews in Libya have not been sufficiently studied before the displacement of their communities. For Tripoli itself we can only mention a few characteristics, though these are significant. Thus the Jews of this town pronounced as an unvoiced back velar *ḳ* the sound pronounced by their fellow citizens *g*. Also notable are (M) *t*: (J) *tsh* before *i* and *e*, and on the morphological plane (M) *mōlā-i* "my master": (J) *mōlā-ya*; (M) *ishūf* "he sees": (J) *yāra*.

The essential problem was that of the meaning of this phenomenon of differentiation. It must be stressed that this phenomenon was not solely nor even particularly characteristic of the Jewish minorities in the domain of Arab Islam. To remain within this domain, which nonetheless is not the only one where such observations can be made, one may call to mind that where groups of Christians exist, for example, linguistic differences may also mark them out. So it is in southern ʿIrāḳ and in Baghdād itself where a speech pattern similar but not identical to that of the Jews clearly distinguishes Christians from Muslims. In the West where the only Arabic-speaking Christians are of Maltese origin, their own dialect has withstood several centuries of contact, and right up to the present day distinguishes them linguistically from other groups. We are speaking, in fact, of the normal consequence of the situations of relative isolation in which minorities may have lived. The development has taken place in a partly autonomous fashion in proportion as socio-historical conditions may have differed.

a) The retention in Jewish usage of characteristics which had disappeared or been transformed in neighbouring Muslim speech patterns was often due to the greater resistance of the Jews to certain socio-cultural pressures. Thus in numerous places where nomads had become part of the sedentary population,

their linguistic influence had operated with much greater force on the Muslims than on the Jews. The clearest example is that of ʿIrāḳ, where Muslim speech is of the Bedouin type, closely related to that of the nomads in lower ʿIrāḳ, whereas Jewish speech was clearly allied to that of the ancient cities of upper ʿIrāḳ, free from Bedouin characteristics. In some Maghribī towns also, the unvoiced articulation of *ḳāf* distinguished the speech of the Jews from that of the Muslims who pronounce it *g* like the nomads. This is so in Tripoli, Oran, Sidi Bel Abbes, etc.

b) Developments particular to Jewish speech forms may, on the other hand, have been provoked or precipitated by cultural contacts alien to or less intense for the Muslims. Doubtless there are particular contacts, maintained with more or less facility according to the period, between Arabic-speaking Jewish communities of nearby or relatively distant regions: the links between the Jews of Algiers and Tlemcen can perhaps explain the use by Jews from Algiers of the form *dāba* "now", a western form not used by the Algiers Muslims. But the most decisive contacts, in known cases, seem to have been with non-Arabic speaking groups. Thus in the Maghrib the influence of Spanish-speaking immigrants operated, more strongly in the west than in the east, and was responsible notably for lexical modification, but perhaps also at least partially for certain phonetic phenomena such as the treatment of sibilants. Furthermore the influence of foreign colonies in Arab cities has often been more decisive for the Jewish community. Thus in North Africa French, which moreover finally supplanted Arabic almost entirely in some strata of the Jewish population, to a greater or lesser extent according to the country, had contributed in numerous instances to the changing of the Jewish speech forms, not only by the addition of a large new vocabulary, but also by the model it provided for new syntax patterns. On the phonetic plane, for example, a weakening of the "emphatics" or even their replacement by the corresponding simple consonants, as well as the back pronunciation of *r*, was common amongst the bilingual French-Arabic speakers.

c) One must also take into account the original heterogeneousness of the population of a certain number of cities. The various ethnic groups, often taking up residence at different periods, may come from separate regions with linguistic habits already differentiated. An obvious example is that of the Christian population of Baghdād which seems to be made up largely of relatively recent immigrants from Mosul. This fact is reflected in their speech pattern which is of the sedentary type, similar to but not identical with that of the Jews whose arrival in Baghdād took place at a very much earlier date, but very analogous precisely to that of Mosul. (As has been pointed out above the speech of the Muslims is of the "Bedouin" type.) In this regard, the case of Tunisian speech patterns is also striking. All those of the Jews displayed the assimilation of the interdentals to their corresponding dentals, whereas the distinction is maintained in all speech patterns of Muslims, except at Mahdiya. This last type doubtless represented the old *koine* of Ḳayrawān. Now it certainly appears that the Ḳayrawān area was the centre from which numerous colonies of Jews were dispersed to the Tunisian cities. It is interesting to note also from this same point of view, that the speech of the Jews of Tlemcen and Oran seems to have been of the same type as that of the Msirda and Trara hill Muslims, whereas that of the old sedentary Muslims of Tlemcen belongs to a different type.

These linguistic particularities of certain groups of Arabic-speaking Jews have, in general, no common underlying features, except that of being speech patterns related to old urban dialects in contact with dialects which have occasionally been "Bedouinised", and which have evolved in relatively autonomous fashion. The traits which were most commonly cited as being characteristic, at least for the Maghrib: change from *ḳ* to ʾ or velarized *k*, palatalization of *k* (*k*>*tsh*), apart from the fact that they are sporadic were in no way specifically Jewish; they arose from phenomena spread over vast areas, where they concerned Muslims equally. (See art. ʿARABIYYA: the Maghribī dialects). In the same way the pronunciation *gh* of *r* and the weakness of *h* are frequent amongst the oldest settled peoples. More characteristic, however, is the deterioration of the sibilants which has often been noticed in the speech of Maghribī Jews, Berber speakers, incidentally, as well as Arabic speakers. This deterioration is not everywhere, as is frequently stated, a lisp, the reduction of palatal to alveolar fricatives. Certainly this is the case in the speech of Fez or Marrakesh, and a tendency in this direction had been noted at Algiers. But it is the opposite, the change from alveolar to palatal fricatives, in the absence of complicating factors, which has been ascertained among other Moroccan Jews (Toghda) or those of certain Tunisian cities (Tunis or Sousse for example). What is in question, therefore, is the tendency to assimilation of the two series which is produced according to different patterns in the various speech forms concerned. It is possible that there may be here a characteristic of a particular group of Jews which was dispersed across the Maghrib. It seems, however, more realistic to see a sort of Spanishness which the Spanish-speaking immigrants introduced, as people with prestige, in the course of their Arabization.

Private language. A form of slang used by Jewish traders and artisans was spread across the whole area. It was normally called *lāshōn*, from the Hebrew word meaning "tongue, language", occasionally *ishūrūni* from *yəshurūn* which in the Bible is applied to the people of Israel. This slang was based on the utilisation of a basically Hebrew vocabulary in accordance with completely Arabic morphology and syntax.

Written language. The majority of the Arabic-speaking Jewish communities used Arabic as a written language (by means of Hebrew characters provided where necessary with diacritical marks). This use, which often depended upon a linguistic level superior to that of the spoken language, is not to be confused with the variety of Middle Arabic called Judaeo-Arabic (see below under ii). At least in the few cases which it has been possible to study, in the absence of a more complete record, it was a question of using the local dialects, often purified of what was most strictly characteristic of them, taking as a general norm the Muslim speech of the large cities. For instance, in the Maghrib the confusions between *sīn*, *zāy* on the one hand, and *shīn*, *djīm* on the other, and again between *ḳāf* and *hamza*, were avoided because these confusions are particular to certain forms of speech and, moreover, felt to be more or less ridiculous changes for the worse. In the same way an effort to restore *h* could be noted everywhere, leading at times to hyper-correction. On the other hand the dentals were rarely distinguished from the interdentals, since few urban speech forms, Jewish or Muslim, had retained this distinc-

tion. Often these kinds of *koine* had their own characteristics, absent from all or most Jewish speech patterns, and appeared as archaisms; thus to take as an example a *koine* current at least throughout the eastern Maghrib, one could see in it the distinction, relatively rare in the Jewish speech forms of this region, between the second persons masculine and feminine singular of the perfect, the formation of feminine plurals for adjectives in *-at*, the use of the relative *'ldy* (read as *əldi*), of the adverb *hākda*, "thus, like that", of the conjunction *'n* (read as *ən*), at times *'yn* (read as *īn*), "if", of the preposition *mtl* (*mətl*), "as", etc.

Bibliography: An attempt at a general characterisation of Arabic speech in Jewish groups is found in H. Blanc, *Communal dialects in Baghdad*, Cambridge Mass. 1964, 12-16 and *passim*, which has provided the points mentioned here concerning Jerusalem and Baghdād. See also J. Mansour, *The Arabic dialect of the Jews of Baghdad* . . ., in *Journal of Jewish Studies*, viii (1957), 187-98. The general tendencies of M. Mièses, *Die Entstehungsursache der jüdischen Dialekte*, Vienna 1915, are doubtful.—See scattered information in D. Cohen, *Études de linguistique sémitique et arabe*, Paris 1970, 105-25.—On the Yemen, information is to be found in S. D. Goitein, *Jemenische Geschichten*, in *ZS*, viii (1932), 162-81, ix (1933), 19-43; *Jemenica, Sprichwörter und Redensarten aus Central-Jemen*, Leipzig 1933. D. Tomiche in *Encyclopédie de la Pleiade* (Vol. *Le Langage*), Paris 1968, 1179-80, deals rapidly with the Arabic dialects of the Egyptian Jews. —For the Maghrib W. Marçais, *Le dialecte arabe de Tlemcen*, Paris 1902, *passim*; M. Cohen, *Le parler arabe des Juifs d'Alger*, Paris 1912; G. Millon, *Les parlers de la région d'Alger*, in *RA*, lxxxi (1937), 345-51; J. Cantineau, *Les parlers arabes du département d'Alger*, in *RA*, lxxxiv (1940), 220-31; Ph. Marçais in *Initiation à l'Algérie*, Paris 1957, 215-37 and *EI*[2] article ALGERIA; G. S. Colin, *EI*[1], article MOROCCO; L. Brunet, *Notes sur le parler arabe des Juifs de Fès*, in *Hesperis*, xxii (1936), 1-32; L. Brunet and E. Malka, *Textes judéo-arabes de Fès*, Rabat 1939; *Glossaire judéo-arabe de Fès*, Rabat 1940; Ch. Pellat, *Abraham et Nemrod dans le parler arabe des Juifs de Debdou*, in *Hespéris*, xxxix (1952), 121-45; H. Zafrani, *Les langues juives du Maroc*, in *Revue de la Mediterranée et de l'Occident musulman*, iv (1967); *Pédagogie juive en terre d'Islam*, Paris 1969 (Moroccan texts, pp. 145-58); D. Cohen, *Le parler arabe des Juifs de Tunis, Textes et documents*, Paris 1964, 1-17; *Grammaire* (in press); *Études de linguistique sémitique et arabe*, Paris 1970, 150-71. —For Tripoli: E. Cesàro, *L'arabo parlato a Tripoli*, Milan 1939, 24, 46, 224n. On the literature, see above all E. Vassel, *La littérature populaire des Israélites tunisiens*, Paris 1906-7. (D. COHEN)

ii. MEDIAEVAL JUDAEO-ARABIC.

Judaeo-Arabic (= JA) as used by mediaeval Arabic-speaking Jews in their writings, mainly in those written by Jews *for Jews*, especially in the first half of the second millennium A.D. is one of the main branches of Middle Arabic (= M A; see ʿARABIYYA (3)). Since Jews, like Christians, were less inclined to use the Classical language in their writings than their Muslim contemporaries, their writings are especially apt for the investigation of MA. Like MA texts in general, JA writings are not written in genuine MA vernacular, but in what may be styled "MA Literary Standard", exhibiting a whole range of styles with infinitely varied mixtures of classical and MA elements. Accordingly, the phenomena characteristic of (MA in general and) JA (in particular) have to be collected from deviations from classical features. Yet even among these deviations one has to distinguish carefully between genuine MA and pseudo-correct (including hyper-correct) features. The latter are original MA forms which were "corrected" because of the author's desire to write classical Arabic. As a result of these "corrections", however, non-existent forms came into being; these corrected forms were, as a matter of fact, neither classical (because the author, lacking sufficient knowledge of classical Arabic, did not succeed in forming the intended classical feature) nor living vernacular (because the author had "corrected" them).

As to the linguistic character of (MA in general and) JA (in particular), it already clearly exhibits all the structural peculiarities that characterize modern Arabic dialects. Perhaps the most important event in the field of phonetics was the change in the nature of vowels, partly, at least, caused by the accent becoming strongly centralized: they became weakened, becoming liable to change and elimination. Final short vowels have disappeared (this being one, but not the only, reason for the disappearance of cases and moods). In the sphere of the consonants the most conspicuous change is the weakening and disappearance of the glottal stop. As to the linguistic structure, so far as such different and intricate features may be reduced to a common denominator, the most conspicuous deviation from classical Arabic was that MA detached itself from the synthetic type and instead approached the analytic type, which generally indicates one concept by one word. The most striking outward sign of this phenomenon is the disappearance of the mood and case endings. The status constructus has been somewhat reduced. The dual is often replaced by the plural, and the relative pronoun *alladhī* has become invariable (in many cases apparently being a classical spelling for vernacular *illī*, which is very rare in MA texts). The differences between relative clauses after determinate and indeterminate antecedents, strictly maintained in classical Arabic, are blurred. Asyndetic clauses occur in every syntactic environment, both in coordination, especially after verbs indicating movement, and in subordination, particularly in object clauses. Indirect questions often take the form of conditional clauses. The most frequent negation is *mā*. The feminine plural is widely replaced by the masculine, and the passive, formed in classical Arabic by internal vowel change, by reflexive verbal forms. The most far-reaching changes have affected the numerals. Moreover, the fixed and accurate style of classical Arabic is largely replaced by an inconstant and careless language.

Despite the basic linguistic similarity of JA and other branches of MA, there were important differences between them, though mostly not linguistic distinctions proper: Jews, as a rule, wrote Arabic in Hebrew characters, dealt almost exclusively with Jewish topics and made use of Hebrew (and Aramaic) phrases, thus making their literature virtually unintelligible to gentiles. One has the feeling that Jews themselves regarded JA as distinct from other forms of MA, as one may infer from special literary traditions in JA literature.

Bibliography: The general background of JA and its main linguistic trends are dealt with in

J. Blau, *The emergence and linguistic background of Judaeo-Arabic*, Oxford 1965, its language in J. Blau, *A Grammar of Mediaeval JA*, Jerusalem 1961 (in Hebrew). For additional bibliography, see *Scripta Hierosolymitana IX*, 1961, 208-9, J. Blau, *A grammar of Christian Arabic I*, Louvain 1966, 39-41. (J. BLAU)

iii. JUDAEO-ARABIC LITERATURE.

While the presence of organized Jewish groups in both the north and south of the Arabian Peninsula antedates the birth of Islam, there is no definite evidence that Arabic was employed as a means of written expression adapted to the needs peculiar to the cultural and religious order of this minority, although it was widely used in everyday life. The Jewish Arabic-speaking poets, such as al-Samawʾal b. ʿĀdiyā [*q.v.*] differ very little from their contemporaries, the *djāhiliyya* Arabs of the original stock. Not is there any genuine proof of the existence of Arabic versions of the Bible at this period which were initiated by Jews: the biblical elements found in the Ḳurʾān, from almost literal borrowing to vague allusions, doubtless arise from oral communication, part of which is incontestably of Christian origin. (On the problem of Christian-Arabic versions of the Bible, see A. Baumstark, *Islamica*, iv (1931), 562-75; on the subject of biblical echoes in the Ḳurʾān, consult the article by G. Graf, *GCAL*, i, 41-3 and J. Ḥaddāɑ, *al-Ḳurʾān waʾl-Kitāb*, Beirut (1961-2).) After the foundation and consolidation of the Muslim Empire, the Arabic language and the related culture were only slowly diffused among the Jewish population of the *dār al-Islām*; it is not to be seen before the second half of the 3rd century of the Hidjra, and only became of real importance in their civilization from the 4th/10th centuries onwards.

One general observation must be made at the outset. There was always a measure of guilt in the Jewish intellectuals' use of Arabic in their writings in place of Hebrew, which was still in literary usage in Palestine long after the Muslim conquest, or of Aramaic in its Palestinian and Mesopotamian ("Babylonian") dialects, and, more rarely, of the language of the academies derived from the Babylonian Talmud, which to this day is reserved for juridical-casuistic and ritual works. (Whenever Arabic literary, scientific, theological and medical texts were copied for a Jewish public they were frequently reproduced in Hebrew characters, irrespective of the faith of the author). The writers excused their use of Arabic on the grounds of the loss of a large part of the Ancient Hebrew vocabulary, hence the inadequacy of what remained for expressing the new ideas put into circulation by Arabic civilization, in which, willy nilly, they had become participants and dependants. One of the indications of this ambiguous attitude towards the use of Arabic as the medium for treating subjects relating to Jewish teaching is the existence in two editions, Arabic and Hebrew, of several works in this field. (On this question see A. S. Halkin, *The Medieval Jewish Attitude towards Hebrew*, in *Biblical and other Studies*, ed. A. Altmann, Cambridge, Mass. 1963, 233-48). It must also be emphasised that the use of Arabic in poetry, profane as well as religious, remains the exception during the Middle Ages. (Cf. on this point S. M. Stern, *Arabic Poems by Spanish-Hebrew Poets*, in *Romanica et Occidentalia*, Jerusalem 1963, 254 ff., and *Papers of the Institute of Jewish Studies*, i, London 1964, 186 ff.; *Hagut Ivrit be'Eyropa*, Jerusalem 1969, 91-103).

The written language used by the Arabic-speaking Jews during the first centuries of their incorporation into Muslim civilization is that designated "Middle Arabic". [Cf. ʿARABIYYA,, and JUDAEO-ARABIC (LANGUAGE)]; at its various stylistic levels, this idiom does not constitute a deliberate and systematic break with the rules of "Classical" Arabic; free recourse to the dialectal is very rarely encountered among the Judaeo-Arabic writers of the Middle Ages. Later, the rift between the Jewish minority and Muslim culture, which was accentuated from the 9th/15th century onwards, resulted, especially in the Maghrib, in the loss of the ability to understand the oldest texts in written Judaeo-Arabic. Some continuity of the literary tradition is barely affirmed only in the Yemen, a Muslim environment with a geographical area more impervious to external influences than the rest of the *dār al-Islām*, and where there was never any sizeable settlement by Jews expelled from Spain. This continuity was no doubt due to the relatively small divergence between "Middle Arabic" and the spoken language and the conservatism and integration of the group concerned, bearing in mind the limits set by the irreducible differences of belief and the social repercussions resulting from them.

The rift between the Islamic literary culture and the Arabic-speaking Jewish minorities did not put an end to the latter's use of Arabic as a means of literary expression. However, the literary output in Judaeo-Arabic in the course of the last five centuries differs, except to some extent in the Yemen for the reasons indicated above, from that of the early period (4th/10th-9th/15th centuries) in two respects, giving it a radically new character in relation to the former situation. On the one hand, the language used has a dialectal base, although it is too conventional to reflect faithfully the living speech in use in the many different areas of Arabic-speaking Jewish diaspora. On the other hand, this literature was produced solely in answer to the needs of the less educated strata of the population, whether the work in question is liturgical or paraliturgical poetry (epithalamia, ballads etc.), religious instruction, edification, or, more recently, entertainment and general information (in the case of poetry there is a need for study of its formal relationship with vernacular poetry by Arabic-speaking Muslims; nothing significant has been done in this field). Henceforward the culture of the scholars was entirely in Hebrew; in this respect, it can be said that Judaeo-Arabic dialectal literature is essentially "popular", even in the case of a version, based on a mediaeval Hebrew translation, of a "classical" work, originally written in Arabic, such as the "Duties of the Heart" by Baḥya Ibn Pakūdā. In short, despite its relative poverty and insignificance, this Judaeo-Arabic "popular literature" reveals some characteristics in common with the Judaeo-Spanish and Judaeo-German literatures, richer, more abundant and of a cultural importance far above that of their poor relation though they are. The whole spectrum of Judaeo-Arabic writing of the earlier period, however, though of greater cultural range, but most of the time lacking in aesthetic preoccupations, cannot be classified as literature in the strict sense of "belles lettres".

Given these conditions it is difficult to speak of "the history of Judaeo-Arabic literature". Therefore the present summary will be limited to recording succinctly, albeit with many omissions, the works composed in the Judaeo-Arabic literary language, mainly theological and philosophical, as well as devoting some space to the other disciplines: exegesis

and biblical philology, ritual legislation and casuistry. The most important editions of texts will be indicated. References to works dealing with the popular literature in dialect will be included in the selected bibliography. For convenience and very schematically, even at times arbitrarily, the writings mentioned will be grouped under four headings: theology and philosophy; Hebrew philology and biblical exegesis; law and rites; miscellaneous. On the subject of the authors and the works cited general reference should be made to the paragraphs of M. Steinschneider's old, but still fundamental and indispensible repertory, *Die arabische Literatur der Juden* (*ALJ*), Frankfurt 1902 (republished Hildesheim 1964); to lighten the bibliography, reference will rarely be made (with the exception of the publication of texts) to information given in this work and in G. Vajda's *Jüdische Philosophie* (*Bibliographische Einführungen in das Studium der Philosophie*, 19) Berne 1950 (*JP*, the figures referring to the corresponding issues).

A. *Theology and Philosophy*.—The oldest theological treatise in Judaeo-Arabic which has come down to us, with considerable lacunae in the text, is the *Ishrūn Maḳālāt* of David b. Marwān al-Raḳḳī, called al-Muḳammiṣ (?), from the second half of the 3rd/9th century: *ALJ*, § 25; *PJ* 7. 11; cf. G. Vajda, *Oriens*, xv (1962), 61-85, and in *Jewish Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, Harvard 1967, 49-73. An important part of the abundant work of Saʿadyā b. Yosēf al-Fayyūmī (b. 882, d. *Gaon* of Baghdad in 942) comes under this heading, in particular his theological treatise *K. al-Amānāt wa-l-iʿtiḳādāt*, ed. S. Landauer, Leiden 1880, and his commentary on the *Sēfer Yeṣīrāh* ("Book of Creation"), ed. M. Lambert, Paris 1891: and J. Ḳāfiḥ, Jerusalem 1970 (see *ALJ*, § 31); *JP* 6. 11-62; G. Vajda, *Sa'adya, Commentateur du Livre de la Création*, in *Annuaire de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Section des Sciences religieuses*, 1958-9, 3-35; H. A. Wolfson, *Saadia on the Trinity and Incarnation*, in *Studies and Essays in Honor of Abraham A. Neuman*, Philadelphia 1962, 547-68; H. Davidson, *Saadia's List of the Theories of the Soul*, in *Jew. Med. and Ren. St.*, 75-94; for criticism, in Judaeo-Arabic, of some of his doctrinal positions by a younger contemporary see: *A Critique against the Writings of R. Saadya Gaon by R. Mubashshir Halevi*, edition with commentary (in Hebrew) by M. Zucker, New York 1955 (remainder, Sh. Abramson, *Sinai*, lvii (1964-5), 15-17; S. M. Stern, *REJ*, cxxvi (1967) 113-117).

The Arabic originals of the philosophical writing of Isaac Israeli (died in Ifrīḳiya around 349/950 [see ISḤĀḲ AL-ISRĀʾĪLĪ]) are for the most part lost: *ALJ*, § 28; *PJ*, 8, 11-15, 21-22; A. Altmann and S. M. Stern, *Isaac Israeli*, Oxford 1958. The same applies to the commentary on the "Book of Creation" by his disciple, Abū Sahl Dūnash b. Tāmīm: *ALJ*, § 36; *PJ*, 8. 23 (cont. *REJ*, cx (1949/50); cxii (1953); the fragments in Arabic, *ibid.*, cxii (1954), 37-61; cxxii (1963) 149-162). In Spain, where the Arabic language served as a means of expression for a good number of Jewish philosophers and theologians until the middle of the 8th/14th century, not only in the territories under Muslim domination but also at Toledo, reconquered by 1085, the list of authors of books in these disciplines is headed by Salomon Ibn Gabirol [see IBN GABIROL] (J. Schlanger, *La philosophie de Salomon Ibn Gabirol*, Leiden 1968), but of the original Arabic of his "Source of Life" only tiny fragments are extant; edition of his short manual of ethics ("*Iṣlāḥ al-akhlāḳ*") by S. Wise, New York 1901. On the other hand the original Arabic of the treatise on spiritually *al-Hidāya ilā farāʾiḍ al-ḳulūb* by Baḥyé (Baḥya) b. Yōsēf Ibn Paḳūdā (last quarter of the 5th/11th century) has been preserved; it has been edited by A. S. Yahuda, Leiden 1912: *ALJ*, § 86; PJ 11. 11-14, 21-24; C. Ramos Gil, *Bahya Ibn Paquda, El Puro Amor Divino*, in *Miscellanea de Estudios Arabes y Hebraicos*, Granada 1952, 85-148. The works of religious philosophy by Joseph Ibn Ṣaddīḳ of Cordova (d. 1149): *ALJ*, § 102; *PJ* 12. 15, 22, 28, and of Abraham Ibn Dāwud of Toledo (d. 1180): *ALJ*, § 104; *PJ* 15. 01-2, have only been preserved in their Hebrew versions; the treatise in anti-philosophical vein by Judah Halevi (d. after 1140), *al-Ḥudjdja wa'l-dalīl fī naṣr al-dīn al-dhalīl*, commonly called *Kuzari*, has, on the other hand, been preserved almost in its entirety (ed. H. Hirschfeld, Leipzig 1887, also, N. Allony, *Kirjath Sepher*, xxxviii (1962/3), 113-121); *ALJ*, § 103; *PJ* 13. 11-15, 21-23; S. Pines, *Notes sur la doctrine de la prophétie et la réhabilitation de la matière dans le Kuzari*, in *Mélanges de Philosophie et de Littérature Juives*, i-ii (1956/7), 253-60.

Two other works—one certainly composed in the East and the other more than probably so—bear the imprint of Arabic Neoplatonism to a more pronounced extent than in the philosophical compositions of Isaac Israeli and his school: the *K. Maʿānī al-nafs*, by an unknown author, wrongly attributed to Baḥyé Ibn Paḳūdā, ed. I. Goldziher, Berlin 1907; *PJ*, 12, 11, 23; A. Borisov, in *Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences de l'U.R.S.S.*, Humanities School, 1929, 786; M. Plessner, *NGW* Gött., Ph. Hist. Kl., 1971, 5; and *Bustān al-ʿuḳūl*, by Nathanael Fayyumi probably in the Yemen around 545/1150); this treatise reveals the influence of Ismāʿīlī metaphysical speculation; ed. D. Levine, New York 1908, reissued and improved by Yosēf Ḳāfiḥ, Jerusalem 1954; S. Pines, *Nathanaël ben Al-Fayyumi et la théologie ismaélienne*, in *Revue d'Histoire Juive en Egypte*, i (single instalment), 1947, 5-22.

The zenith of philosophical and theological activitv among Arabic-speaking Jewry was the work of Moses Maimonides (1135-1204), who was born and brought up in Andalusia: *Dalālat al-Ḥāʾirīn*, "Guide of the Perplexed", ed. S. Munk, Paris 1856-1866, and with some additions, I. Joel, Jerusalem 1931; an edition transcribed and, when necessary, translated into Arabic by Hüseyin Atay is in the press in Ankara (1972); the complete text of his short treatise on logic, *Maḳāla fī ṣināʿat al-manṭiḳ* (greatly influenced, as is all his philosophical thought, by al-Fārābī), which was discovered a short time ago by Mübahat Türker-Küye, has recently been re-edited by J. Efros in *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, xxxiv (1966); corrections by L. V. Berman, in *JAOS*, lxxxviii (1968), 340-2; see also the same author, *ibid.*, lxxxix (1969), 106-11; a fragmentary, and probably apocryphal, treatise, ed. H. S. Davidowitz and D. H. Baneth, *De Beatitudine Capita Duo R. Mosi b. Maimon adscripta*, Jerusalem 1939; cf. the article IBN MAYMŪN, *supra*; G. Vajda, *La pensée religieuse de Moïse Maïmonide: unité ou dualité?*, in *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, ix (1966), 29-49. His contemporary, Yosēf Ibn ʿAḳnīn, who almost certainly never left the Maghrib (he should not be confused with Joseph Judah, a disciple of Maimonides, cf. D. Z. Baneth, *Tesoro de los Judios Sefardies*, vii (1964), 11-20), also left important works, still not fully investigated: ALJ, § 3. 170; on his ethical treatise *Ṭibb al-nufūs*, see A. S. Halkin, *Classical and Arabic material in Ibn ʿAknīn's* Hygiene of the Soul,

in *Proceedings* . . ., xiv (1944), 27-167; idem, in *Harry A. Wolfson Jubilee Volume* III, 93-111 (in Hebrew), and cf. *B*. below. The Judaeo-Arabic work of Abraham (1237), the son of Moses Maimonides, is also considerable: *ALJ*, § 159: the remnants of his work which is at the same time both ritual and theological-spiritual (in sympathy with Ṣūfism), *Kifāyat al-ʿābidīn*, have been edited by S. Rosenblatt, *The High Ways to Perfection of Abraham Maimonides*, New York 1927 and Baltimore 1938; cf. *B* and *C* and S. D. Goitein, *Abraham Maimonides and his Pietist Circle*, in *Jewish Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 145-64; Gerson D. Cohen, *The Soteriology of R. Abraham Maimuni*, in *Proceedings* . . . ., xxxv (1967), 79-98 and xxxvi (1968), 33-56. On a short treatise on spirituality composed by "Obadyah, son of Abraham" (*ALJ*, § 161), see G. Vajda, *The Mystical Doctrine of Rabbi "Obadyah, Grandson of Moses Maimonides"*, in *Journal of Jewish Studies*, vi (1955), 213-25. Dwelling no further on other texts, little known and studied, of more or less Ṣūfī and Neoplatonic inspiration (cf. F. Rosenthal, *A Judaeo-Arabic Work under Sufic Influence*, in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, xv (1940), 433-84), we will mention only three authors from Spain and a fourth from Morocco, from the second half of the 7th/13th and the first two-thirds of the 8th/14th century: Moses ben Joseph Halevi, cf. G. Vajda, *Un champion de l'avicennisme*, in *Revue Thomiste*, 1948, 480-508; Moses Ibn Crispin: *ALJ*, § 127, and G. Vajda, *A propos de l'averroïsme juif*, in *Seferad*, xii (1952), 3-21; Joseph ben Abraham Ibn Waḳār of Toledo, author of an important treatise on the harmony of philosophy, astrology and the Kabbalah: *ALJ*, § 130 and G. Vajda, *Recherches sur la philosophie et la Kabbale dans la pensée juive du moyen âge*, Paris 1962, 116-297; Judah ben Nissim Ibn Malka, a Moroccan who expounded his ideas in the form of commentaries on the "Book of Creation" and the "Midrash of Rabbi Eliezer", which was believed to be very ancient: *ALJ*, § 134; G. Vajda, *Juda ben Nissim Ibn Malka*, Paris 1954 (cf. idem, in *Homenaje a Millàs Vallicrosa*, ii, Barcelona 1956, 483-500). The philosopher Ibn Kammūna [*q.v.*], although he remained a Jew, belongs more to the history of Islamic philosophy.

The Karaite branch of Judaism in its turn produced theological treatises in Arabic in which the influence of Muʿtazilite *kalām* [*q.v.*] prevails. The principal author is Yōsēf (Yūsuf) ben Abraham al-Baṣīr (first third of the 5th/11th century): *ALJ*, § 50; *PJ*, 7. 15, 21, 22, 25; Z. Ankori, *Ibn al-Hiti and the Chronology of Joseph al-Baṣīr the Karaïte*, in *Journal of Jewish Studies*, viii (1957), 71-81; G. Vajda, *La démonstration de l'unité divine d'après Yūsuf al-Baṣīr*, in *Studies in Mysticism and Religion presented to Gershom G. Scholem*, Jerusalem 1967, 285-315; idem, *L'universalité de la loi morale selon Yūsuf al-Baṣīr*, in *REJ*, 1969, 132-201. Of the work of his disciple, Joshua ben Judah, little has been preserved in Arabic (these fragments, moreover, pose unresolved questions of authenticity); the bulk of it has come down only in a Hebrew version: *ALJ*, § 51; *PJ*, 7. 22. Cf. also *B* and *C*.

B. Philology and Biblical Exegesis. The all-too-short outline given here may be amplified from H. Hirschfeld's concise manual, *Hebrew Grammarians and Lexicographers*, Oxford 1926 and above all with the help of the introductions to the scholarly editions cited below. One of the first of the Judaeo-Arabic authors who wrote on these disciplines is Judah Ibn Ḳuraysh of Tahert, around 900; his *Risāla* to the Jews of Fez, in which he compares Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic, has been edited by J. I. L. Bargès and D. B. Goldberg, Paris 1857: *ALJ*, § 35; G. Vajda, *La Chronologie de Juda Ibn Quraysh*, in *Sefarad*, xiv (1954), 385-7. Saʿadyā (*supra*, *A*) produced an immense oeuvre, which has been published in part only and even more incompletely studied, in his translations of the Hebrew Bible (his versions influenced those of the Arabic-speaking Christians and Samaritans) and commentaries on it, and as the founder of the systematic grammar and lexicology of Hebrew; for the bibliography prior to 1920 consult H. Malter, *Saadia Gaon, His Life and Works*, Philadelphia, 1921 (repr. 1969); an important step in research is marked by M. Zucker's work in Hebrew, with a summary in English, *Rav Saadya Gaon's Translation of the Torah*, New York 1959. A complete if not critical edition of his annotated translation of the Psalms was produced by Yōsēf Ḳāfiḥ, Jerusalem 1966. As Saʿadyā's contributions to the grammar and lexicography of Hebrew were eclipsed by the work of the Judaeo-Arabic philologists in Spain, they were only fragmentarily preserved; this aspect of his work has been principally studied for about forty years by S. L. Skoss (d. 1953) and N. Allony; here we will cite only S. L. Skoss, *Saadia Gaon, The Earliest Hebrew Grammarian*, in *Proceedings* . . . ., xxi (1952), 75-100 and xxii (1953), 65-90; N. Allony, *Ha'Egron, Kitāb uṣūl al-shiʿr al-ʿibrānī*, Jerusalem 1969. Samuel ben Hofni (d 1034), head of the academy in Baghdād, wrote a commentary on the Pentateuch: *ALJ*, § 65, 15.

The contribution of the 4th/10th century Karaites [*q.v.*] to Hebrew Lexicography and biblical exegesis occupies an important place in the scholarly output in Judaeo-Arabic. In lexicography, the *Djāmiʿ al-alfāẓ*, compiled by David ben Abraham al-Fāsī (who seems to have lived mainly in Palestine), has been edited in exemplary fashion (unfortunately not in its most extensive redaction) by S. L. Skoss, 2 vols., New Haven 1936 and 1945. Strongly marked by polemics against all doctrinal adversaries of the Karaite sect, the exegetic work of Salmōn ben Yerūḥīm and Yefet ben ʿElī (second and last third of the 4th/10th century respectively, but they had some precursors, both identifiable and anonymous, which lack of space makes it impossible to mention here) embraced a large part if not the whole of the Hebrew Bible; the edited texts and, with greater reason, the parts satisfactorily studied, cover only a small portion of the fairly plentiful material which has been preserved: *ALJ*, § 40, 44, which may be extended by the notes in G. Vajda, *Deux Commentaires Karaïtes sur l'Ecclésiaste*, Leiden 1970. Of the Arabic-speaking Karaite exegetes of later centuries, we will mention only ʿĒlī (ʿAlī) ibn Sulaymān (10th/12th century), who does little more than abridge his precursors; his commentary on Genesis was edited by S. L. Skoss, Philadelphia 1928.

The application to Hebrew grammar of the theory of triliteral roots, borrowed from Arabic grammarians, opened up a new period in the history of Hebrew philology; the Arabic-speaking authors who brought renown to the discipline between the end of the 4th/10th and the middle of the 6th/12th century were almost all Jews from Spain; most important are: Judah ben David (Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā) Ḥayyūdj: *ALJ*, § 75; Jonah (Abu 'l-Walīd Marwān) Ibn Djanāḥ [*q.v.*]: *ALJ*, § 81; Isaac Ibn Bārūn, *ALJ*, § 97; P. Wechter, *Ibn Bārūn's Arabic Works on Hebrew Grammar and Lexicography*, Philadelphia 1964; Saʿdyā Ibn Danān (d. Granada 1485) one of the last

to write in Judaeo-Arabic in the West, also made a contribution to lexicography: *ALJ*, § 139.

What remains of the exegetic works of the brilliant Arabic school in Spain is quantitatively of less importance. Here we will mention Isaac b. Judah Ibn Ghiyāth (Ghayyāth), whose commentary on Ecclesiastes, published under the name of Saʿadyā by Y. Ḳāfiḥ (*Ḥāmesh Megillōt*, Jerusalem 1962, 161-296), is above all philosophical in character: *ALJ*, § 90[a]; S. Pines, *Tarbiz*, xxxiii (1963/4), 212-3; G. Vajda, *Quelques observations en marge du commentaire d'Isaac Ibn Ghiyath sur l'Ecclésiaste*, in *The Seventy Fifth Anniversary Volume of the Jewish Quarterly Review*, Philadelphia 1967, 518-27; Moses Ibn Giḳaṭilia (Chiquitilla), likewise a grammarian: *ALJ*, § 91; Judah (Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā) Ibn Balʿām: *ALJ*, § 92; S. Poznanski, *Arabischer Kommentar zum Buche Richter von ... Ibn Balʿām*, Frankfurt 1909; idem, *The Arabic Commentary of Ibn Balʿam on the twelve Minor Prophets*, 1924. In the Maghrib, Joseph Ibn ʿAḳnīn, already mentioned above (A), wrote a predominantly philosophical commentary on the Song of Songs, published under the title of *Divulgatio Mysteriorum Luminumque Apparentia*, by A. S. Halkin, Jerusalem 1964. In the East, Abu 'l-Barakāt [*q.v.*] Hibat Allāh composed a philosophical commentary on Ecclesiastes before his conversion to Islam, which S. Pines intends to edit: cf. *ALJ*, § 148, and *Nouvelles Etudes sur Awḥad al-Zamān Abū l-Barakāt...*, Paris 1955. Abraham Maimonides wrote a full commentary, for the most part preserved, on Genesis and Exodus, edited by E. Wiesenberg, Letchworth 1959. Finally let us mention the exegetic and lexicographic work of Tanḥūm ben Yōsēf ha-Yerushalmī (second half of the 7th/13th century): *ALJ*, § 174; the first part of his *al-Murshid al-Kāfī*, a dictionary of the Mishnah and of Moses Maimonides' Hebrew "code", was published by B. Toledano, Tel Aviv 1961, an edition continued by H. Shy (Shay), *Lešōnenū*, xxxiii (1968/9), 196-207, 280-6.

C. Laws and Ritual. — The need to give Arabic-speaking Jews access to the rules and instructions concerning the observances prescribed by religion and the conduct of everyday life, including the rules of law applicable by the courts of scholars within the limits of internal autonomy allowed to the *ahl al-dhimma*, frequently led spiritual leaders, Rabbanite and Karaite alike, to employ Judaeo-Arabic in a field which is exclusive to Judaism, liturgical directives, commentaries on the Talmud, more or less elementary manuals concerning the various aspects of Jewish law, contractual, matrimonial and successional rights, rituals for celebrating the feasts, food regulations, and finally the "consultations" (*She'elot u-teshūbot*, "Responsa"; cf. the *fatwā* in Islam). We shall mention only a small number of these texts (in addition to *ALJ* there are fuller notes, already no longer entirely up to date, in S. W. Baron's *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, vi (1958), 356-61).

Saʿadyā found it expedient to accompany his recension of the Jewish liturgy with instructions in Arabic (*Siddūr*. ed. I. Davidson S. Assaf and I. Joel, Jerusalem 1941); what remains of his treatise on the laws of inheritance, *K. al-Mawārith*, has been published by J. Müller, *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. IX. Ḥēfeṣ ben Yaṣlīaḥ, a native of Ḳayrawān it seems, compiled his *Kitāb al-Sharāʾiʿ*, an account of the pentateuchal precepts, towards the end of the 4th/10th century: *ALJ*, § 62, edition of the fragments preserved by B. Halper, *Book of Precepts*, Philadelphia 1915; an important complement in the paper of M. Zucker, *Proceedings...*, xxix (1960/61), Hebrew section, 1-68. Arabic fragments of works on casuistry and the Talmud by Nissim of Ḳayrawān (mid 5th/11th century: *ALJ*, § 59) are published and studied in the Hebrew work of Sh. Abramson, *R. Nissim Gaon, Libelli quinque*, Jerusalem 1965. The preserved fragment of a commentary, probably from the 6th/12th century, by a Moroccan rabbi on the talmudic "précis" by Isaac Ibn al-Fāsī (d. 1103; very little remains in the original text of what al-Fāsī himself wrote in Arabic: *ALJ*, § 95), has been published in facsimile by J. Leveen, *Zekaryah b. Judah al-Agmati, A Digest of Commentaries on the ... Babylonian Talmud*, London 1961. The most comprehensive and probably the most important work in this field is that of Moses Maimonides, who also composed a "Book of Precepts" (ed. M. Bloch, Paris 1880), a commentary on the *Mishnah* (published in complete form by Yōsēf Ḳāfiḥ, Jerusalem 1963-68), just as he drafted his letters and responsa in Arabic when they were destined for Arabic-speaking correspondents; the most complete and recent edition of the responsa is that of Y. Blau, *R. Moses b. Maimon Responsa*, Jerusalem 1957-61; the responsa of his son Abraham, also for the most part drafted in Arabic, were published 20 years earlier by A. H. Freimann and S. D. Goitein, *Abraham Maimuni, Responsa*, Jerusalem 1937.

From the corresponding and highly developed Karaite branch of this genre, most noteworthy is the great code of Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf al-Ḳirḳisānī (mid-4th/10th century), which is also an outstanding theological treatise; entitled *K. al-Anwār wa-'l-marāḳib*, it has been largely preserved, and edited by L. Nemoy, New York 1939-43: *ALJ*, § 43, *PJ*, 7. 12-14 (add. G. Vajda, in *REJ*, cxx (1961), 211-57 and cxxii (1963), 7-74). The ritual code of Yūsuf al-Baṣīr (*K. al-Istibṣār*), as well as his *Masāʾil*, of which sizeable portions are extant, have remained unpublished and unstudied. A small part only of a much more recent treatise has been published: *al-Murshid* by Samuel ben Moses al-Maghribī, completed in Cairo in 1434: *ALJ*, § 199; F. Kaufmann, *Traktat über die Neulichtbeobachtung...*, Leipzig 1903.

D. Miscellaneous.—As was observed at the beginning of this outline, the Arabic-speaking Jews made little use of their "vernacular", which to a greater or lesser degree was in line with the written language, for those genres which are covered by the term "literature" in the narrow sense, for prose and poetry; moreover, they hardly ever used it in compiling historical works, a genre with little popularity which was relatively neglected by the Jews of the Middle Ages. The exceptions are few and without much difficulty can be attributed to theological preoccupations, even if those are blurred or to some extent have been lost sight of. Thus it was with a view to reaffirming belief in divine justice as much as to divert the Jewish public from reading Muslim books that Nissim b. Jacob of Ḳayrawān (said to be Ibn Shāhīn, cf. *supra* C) composed a treatise on consolations, made up of edifying narratives, probably in imitation of Arabic works on the theme of *al-faradj baʿd al-shidda*, but composed of material borrowed from the Jewish Aggada and from universal folklore. As well as a language which deviates appreciably from the norms of the literary idiom, this composition presents difficult problems: in the absence of more detailed research, Sh. Abamson's discovery of versions that differ from a manuscript long considered to be unique has confused rather than clarified these. The Leningrad manuscript forms the subject matter of a valuable if not definitive edition by J. Obermann:

The Arabic Original of Ibn Shahin's Book of Comfort known as the Hibbur Yaphê of R. Nissim b. Ya'aqob, New Haven 1944; the new fragments appear in *R. Nissim Gaon Libelli quinque*, 363-526.

Moses Ibn Ezra, one of the most brilliant Hebrew poets of Spain (around 1070-1140), composed two works in Arabic: *al-Muḥāḍara wa 'l-mudhākara*, in type a book of *adab* but with Hebrew poetry as its subject, and *al-Ḥadīḳa fī ma'na 'l-madjāz wa 'l-ḥaḳīḳa*, which is reminiscent of *'ilm al-bayān*; it is likely that the author's aim in these works was to enable biblical exegesis and national poetry in Hebrew to benefit from the attainments of Arab rhetoric and poetics as much if not more than to amuse the reader while instructing him; neither of these works has yet been published in entirety, although they have been the subject of several scholarly studies: *ALJ*, § 101; A. Diez Macho, *Mošê Ibn 'Ezra como poeta y preceptista*, Madrid-Barcelona 1953.

The exhortation to study written by Mūsā Ibn Ṭūbī of Seville (first half of the 8th/14th century?) in highly popular language, is a rhymed composition of 70 lines, hence the title *al-Sab'īniyya*; in spite of its date, it is already in the line of the work of the versifiers which continues to be produced in the Maghrib to this day: *ALJ*, § 131; ed. H. Hirschfeld, *Program of Montefiore College*, 1893-94.

Bibliography: To the information in the body of the article should be added the notes and corrections to *ALJ* by S. Poznanski, *Zur jüdisch-arabischen Literatur*, in *OLZ*, vii (1904), 257-74, 304-15, 345-59. An outline of the whole, *Judaeo-Arabic Literature*, was written by A. S. Halkin for the collective work: *The Jews, their History, Culture and Religion*, ed. Louis Finkelstein, New York 1960[3], 1116-47. The collection of pieces in the original language, H. Hirschfeld, *Arabic Chrestomathy in Hebrew Characters*, must be used with care because of its many inexactitudes. References may also be made to the encyclopaedia articles (especially *JE* and *Encyclopaedia Judaica*) concerning the authors mentioned above. Of the fairly numerous scholarly works touching more or less on the early Judaeo-Arabic literature, we shall cite here only S. Poznánski, *The Karaite Literary Opponents of Saadia Gaon*, London 1908 (extract from *JQR* 18-20, 1905-8, repr. *Karaite Studies*, New York 1971, 131-223); J. Mann, *Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature*, i, Cincinnati 1931, ii, Philadelphia 1935, repr. 1972. For popular literature in the various Judaeo-Arabic forms of speech, we shall limit ourselves to some references only: W. Bacher, *Die hebräische und arabische Poesie der Juden Jemens*, Budapest 1910; idem, *Zur neuesten arabischen Litteratur der Juden*, in *Zeitschrift für hebräische Bibliographie*, years 1903, 1908, 1911; S. D. Goitein, *Jemenica*, Leipzig 1934; idem, *Travels in Yemen* (ed. of the account written in Judaeo-Arabic of the journey of Joseph Halevy to the Yemen, by his guide Ḥayyim Ḥabshūsh), Jerusalem 1941; the bibliographic essay in Hebrew by Y. Ratzaby, "The literature of the Jews in Yemen", in *Kirjath Sepher*, xxviii (1952/3), 255-78, 394-409, and cf. *ibid.*, xxxiii (1957/8), 111-7, xxxiv (1958/9), 109-16; Eus. Vassel, *La littérature populaire des Israélites tunisiens*, Paris 1904-7; R. Attal, *Aperçu sur la littérature populaire des Juifs Tunisiens*, in *Ben Zvi Institute Studies and Reports*, iii, Jerusalem 1960, 50-4; David Cohen, *Le parler arabe des Juifs de Tunis*, Paris 1964; L. Brunot—E. Malka, *Textes judéo-arabes de Fès*, Paris 1939; H. Zafrani, *Pédagogie juive en terre d'Islam*, Paris 1969; finally, there is a fair amount of bibliographic data in *Abstracta Islamica* (appendix to *REI*) under the heading *Judaeo-Arabica* from 1936 onwards. (G. Vajda)

JUDAEO-BERBER. The Berber-speaking Jews of the Shleuḥ and Tamazight regions had their own living dialects, and a folklore that was in no way inferior to that of their Muslim neighbours [see BERBERS], as well as an oral traditional and religious literature of which unfortunately only a few vestiges remain. These have been collected recently by the author of the present article. Living in the valleys of the Atlas, in the Sous and on the borders of the Sahara (and in all likelihood in certain parts of Algeria and Tunisia), they formed small communities grouped in *mellah*s and had been established there for centuries, or even one or two millenia. Today there is scarcely a trace of them. After Moroccan independence they emigrated to Israel en bloc. Setting aside the problem of the origin of these communities and the very controversial hypothesis concerning the "Judaization of the Berbers" (H. Z. Hirschberg, *History of the Jews of North Africa*, Jerusalem, 1965, two volumes in Hebrew, reviewed in the *Journal of African History*, viii/3 (1966)), it is important to note that until recent years Berber was one of the vernacular languages of the Jewish communities living in the mountains of Morocco and the south of the country. Most of these communities were bilingual (Berber and Arabic speaking); others seem to have been strictly Berber speaking, as at Tifnut; of the latter category several isolated individuals, who had emigrated to Israel, have been discovered in Ashkelon (on the geographic distribution of the Jewish communities in Morocco, notably in the Atlas and the Moroccan south, and on the internal migrations of their populations, see H. Zafrani, *Vie intellectuelle juive au Maroc, Pensée juridique et Droit appliqué dans leur rapports avec les structures socio-économiques et la vie religieuse*, doctoral thesis, typed, 210-14; on the Jews of the Dadès and the other Berber speaking communities, see *ibid.*, 171 ff., and by the same author, *Pédagogie juive en Terre d'Islam*, Paris 1969, 33-38). In the valley of the Todgha (Tinghir), in the regions of Tiznit (Wijjan, Asaka), of Warzazat (Imini), at Ufran in the Anti-Atlas, at Iligh and elsewhere, Berber was used by the Jews not only as a means of communication in the family, social and economic milieus and in contacts with the other ethnic and religious communities, but it also constituted, alongside Hebrew, the language of culture and traditional instruction used in the elucidation and translation of sacred texts, as had been the case of Judaeo-Arabic or old Castilian in Arabic-speaking Jewish communities or those of Spanish origin. Certain prayers, benedictions of the Torah among others, were said solely in Berber; this usage, as we shall see below, is attested in the Passover liturgy. Written and oral documentation has been collected of the folklore and the intellectual life of these Berber-speaking communities: some biblical texts in their Hebrew and Berber versions, liturgical cantos, festive songs which mark the peaks of Jewish life (circumcision, *bar-miṣwā*, marriage, etc.) and especially the Passover Haggada, the most important and precious piece in the collection. The latter is of the greatest interest for the understanding of the linguistic and cultural traditions of a world that was too little explored when there was still time, a world belonging to a diaspora which had long been ignored and has now disappeared. (A

list of these documents was published by H. Zafrani, *Compte-rendu d'enquête*, in *JA*, cclii/1 (1964); others were collected later in Israel itself). This Haggada is the integral Berber version of the liturgical composition which the Jews recite on the eve of Passover, the basic theme of which is the story of the exodus from Egypt, accompanied by the *hallēl* (a group of Psalms from CXIII to CXVIII which are a part of the liturgy for the high holy days and some other festivals). Like those in Judaeo-Arabic or old Castilian, it is a traditional translation of the Hebrew text, but it presents nevertheless some variants and nuances of interpretation. The text was transcribed recently (around 1959) in vocalized square Hebrew characters at Tinghir in the valley of the Todgha (there is no other known manuscript of a Berber text in Hebrew characters). Some morpho-syntactic ambiguities and oddities which sometimes make understanding difficult are consequences of the usual procedure of literal translation, being Berber calques of the Hebrew text; the Berber recitation coincides with the Hebrew original and follows the same rhythm and melody. The language of this Haggada is akin to Tamazight, a group of Berâber vernaculars (here we should note the connection which South Moroccan Jews make between Berber and "the language of the Philistines"; the Hebrew *plishtīm* of the biblical texts is always rendered as *brābər* in Moroccan Judaeo-Arabic translations; see H. Zafrani, *Pédagogie juive en Terre d'Islam*, 153, n. 31); it is nevertheless characterized by composite traits which make it difficult to assign it a specified location; it presupposes the existence of a literary language which is not the speech of a given group or a specific period (see P. Galand-Pernet and H. Zafrani, *Une version berbère de la Haggādāh de Pesaḥ, Texte de Tinghir du Todgha (Maroc)*, Paris 1970, *Supplément au tome XII des Comptes Rendus du G.L.E.C.S.*).

Bibliographie: Apart from the references given in the text, H. Zafrani, *Les langues juives du Maroc*, in *Revue de l'Occident musulman et de la Méditerranée*, iv (1967), 175-88. (H. Zafrani)

JUDAEO-PERSIAN, New-Persian written in Hebrew characters.

i. — Literature

If we define as Judaeo-Persian literature strictly "literary" works composed by Jews in the Persian language but in Hebrew characters, then the first fruits of such literary endeavours could have emerged only when the Persian language had penetrated deeply enough into the life of Persian Jews to become a vehicle for their literary expression. This condition for the birth and growth of a genuine Judaeo-Persian literature seemed to have been fulfilled only during the rule of the Īl-Khān dynasty over Persia, from the end of the 7th/13th century on.

1. *Early Judaeo-Persian Documents.*

Long before this period, however, evidence of the infiltration and penetration of the Persian language —always in Hebrew characters—among Persian-speaking Jews is available. There have come to light in widely scattered regions of the Eastern lands of the Caliphate inscriptional sources, business letters, and tombstone inscriptions such as the three stones from Tang-i Azao about 200 kilometers east of Herāt with Judaeo-Persian inscriptions, incised in the year A.D. 752-3; (according to Henning, though Rapp disagrees); a fragment of a Persian business letter of the eighth century found by Sir Aurel Stein at Dandān-Uylīk, near Khotan, in Chinese Turkestan (Sin-Kiang), containing thirty-seven lines in Persian, written in Hebrew characters by a Jewish merchant; and those four signatures in Persian with Hebrew characters by Jewish witnesses on a copper plate referring to a grant for a Christian church on the coast of Malabar, in the early ninth century, known as the Quilon Copper Plate. A further proof of the use of Judaeo-Persian as a vehicle of correspondence is supplied by a Judaeo-Persian Law report found near Hormshir, the modern Ahvāz in Khūzistān, written in the year 1020-21, as well as a Judaeo-Persian document dealing with the sale of some land, found in the region of Khotan, ascribed to the year 1107. There is also a fragment of apologetics in the British Museum (Ms. Or. 8659) going back to the same period.

To the category of early Judaeo-Persian inscriptions belong also those fifty-four Judaeo-Persian tombstone inscriptions, accidentally discovered in the mountainous region of Ghūristān, east of Herāt near the former capital of Fīrūzkūh. Those Judaeo-Persian inscriptions with texts ranging from one line to eight and covering the period from about 1189 A.D. to 1216 A.D. contain, along with Hebrew and Aramaic, many Persian names and terms. Fragments of Persian letters in Hebrew characters sent by the heads (Geonim) of the Jewish academies in Baghdād in the 12th century to scholars in Hamadān, then the seat of a rabbinical college, testify to the ever-increasing use of the Persian language in Jewish circles.

All these inscriptions and other literary records can, however, hardly be classified as literature. It was only from the 13th century on that Jews began to create Jewish literary values through the medium of the Persian language in their own Hebrew script.

This Judaeo-Persian literature, which was developed in many Jewish communities in the Persian speaking diaspora, encompassed three major fields: the translation of the Hebrew Bible into Judaeo-Persian and lexicographical treatises connected with it; the composition of original Judaeo-Persian poetry; and the transliteration of classical Persian poetry into Hebrew characters.

2. *Judaeo-Persian Bible translations.*

There can be no doubt that Persian Jews were steadily engaged in the study and interpretation of the Hebrew Bible. Fragments of biblical books written or copied as early as the ninth century in Hebrew —not in Judaeo-Persian—among them a manuscript of the later prophets in Hebrew with Massoretic notes from Yazd, and a commentary on Ezekiel preserved in Leningrad with a Middle-Persian form of a passive and a Judaeo-Persian Daniel text attest to this.

The first Judaeo-Persian translation of the Pentateuch in Hebrew characters became known as late as 1556 and is attributed to Jacob b. Joseph Tavus, a Jewish scholar from Persia, who apparently functioned as a teacher at the Jewish Academy in Istanbul, established by Moses Hamon ([*q.v.*] 1490-1576). It was published in Istanbul as part of the Jewish Polyglot Bible by Solomon b. Moses Mazal Tov, together with the Hebrew original, the Targum and the Arabic *Tafsīr* of Saʿadyā Gaon.

This Judaeo-Persian product, the first printed book in modern Persian of any sort, remained relatively unnoticed at the time and failed to attract the attention of scholarly circles. Only when, over a century later, in 1657, the Tavus Pentateuch version was transliterated from its Hebrew characters into Persian characters by Thomas Hyde and incorporated into the famous London Polyglot Bible of Bishop

Bryan Walton was an interest aroused in this new branch of Jewish-Persian literature.

It was long believed that until then this Judaeo-Persian Pentateuch translation was not only the oldest, but also the sole literary achievement produced by Persian Jews. It became evident, however, that this Tavus Pentateuch translation actually represents the culmination of Judaeo-Persian Bible studies which had been going on for many centuries long before Tavus completed his own translation.

This assumption has been corroborated by early Judaeo-Persian Bible manuscripts, the oldest of which is a Pentateuch version of 1319 A.D., now in the British Museum, and by the systematic collection of Jewish-Persian Bible manuscripts at the beginning of the 17th century by the Florentine scholar Giambattista Vecchietti. The manuscripts he had recovered in the Jewish communities of Hamadān, Iṣfahān, Shīrāz, Lār and Yazd represented Judaeo-Persian versions of the Pentateuch and the Psalms and of all other biblical books, as well as books of the Apocrypha, all belonging to the early 14th century.

Despite the different origins of these Judaeo-Persian translations, they show a certain uniformity in style, which leads to the assumption that they were the work of the same school of translators who flourished in the 14th and 15th centuries.

The authors of Judaeo-Persian Bible translations and lexicographical treatises such as *Sefer ha-Meliṣa* or *Agron* and dictionaries show an astounding degree of familiarity with leading biblical and rabbinical authorities of the West, and, following faithfully the traditional method of Bible interpretation, utilized not only Targum Onkelos, Talmud, Midrash, Saʿadyā Gaon and Hai Gaon, but also Western commentators such as Rashi, Redaḳ, Abraham b. Ezra and others.

3. *Judaeo-Persian Poetry.*

The literary abilities of the Persian Jews found their most characteristic manifestation in the field of original Judaeo-Persian poetry. This new branch was opened up by the 14th century Jewish poet Mawlānā Shāhīn of Shīrāz, who dedicated his talents to the writing of Bible-centred poetry and who can be regarded as the first Judaeo-Persian poet. Under the influence of classical Persian poetry, inspired by a keen desire to promote a deeper knowledge of the Jewish past and imbued with a profound Jewish consciousness and loyal adherence to his religious heritage, Shāhīn began to make the biblical narrative the topic of his writings.

His life work represents a poetical paraphrase, a reinterpretation of the Pentateuch, using the traditional epic style of the classical Persian poets. It is known as *Sefer Sharḥ Shāhīn ʿal ha-Torah,* written in Persian with Hebrew characters.

Four distinct works of Shāhīn can be discerned: a Moses-nāma, a commentary to Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy (completed about 1327); an Ardashīr-nāma (completed about 1332) consisting of the story of Esther and Mordecai and the story of Shero and Mahzad, a typical Iranian love story; an Ezra-nāma, dealing mainly with the ascension and rule of King Cyrus the Great and the building of the Temple of Jerusalem; and a Genesis-nāma (completed about 1358), which includes the story of Yūsuf and Zulaykhā.

In all his poetical writings, Shāhīn has taken over the typical features of the Persian poetic art and applied the patterns, forms, technique, metre and language of Persian classical poetry, particularly that of Firdawsī and Niẓāmī, to his presentation of Israel's religious heroes and events as told in the biblical narrative.

By selecting Jewish themes as the subject of his poetry and by celebrating the heroes of the Bible in a way typical of Persian classical poetry, Shāhīn has indeed produced the most typical literary monument of the centuries-long association of Jews with Iran. In the memory of Persian-speaking Jews all over the Eastern diaspora, Shāhīn is admired as "Our Master Shāhīn of Shīrāz" (Mawlānā Shāhīn Shīrāzī), and hailed as the founder of Judaeo-Persian poetry.

By writing his poetry in the Hebrew script, however, Shāhīn prevented his work from becoming known in Muslim-Persian literary circles and thus never gained admittance to the annals of Persian literature.

Two centuries later another Judaeo-Persian poet appeared in Shīrāz, the birthplace of Shāhīn, in the person of ʿImrānī. Inspired by Shāhīn's poetical epic of the Jewish past, ʿImrānī made the post-Mosaic period, the historical books of the Bible including Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings up to the time of David and Solomon, the subject of his poetical presentation. His major work, *Fatḥ-nāma* (The Book of the Conquest), was composed around 1523; followed by *Gandj-nāma* (The Book of the Treasures), a free poetical paraphrase and commentary of the first four chapters of the Mishna treatise *Pirḳê Ābōth* (Sayings of the Fathers).

That type of Judaeo-Persian poetry was continued by Yahuda Lārī, of the city of Lār; only a small part of his verses has been preserved, including *Makhzan al-Pand* (The Treasure House of Exhortation).

4. *Classical Persian Poetry in Hebrew Transliteration.*

Persian Jews, far from living in a cultural vacuum in isolation, took also a keen interest in the literary and poetical works of their Muslim neighbours and shared with them the admiration for the classical Persian poetry of a Firdawsī, a Niẓāmī, Rūmī, Saʿdī, Ḥāfiẓ, Djāmī and others. In order to introduce selections of these literary products into the Jewish community they transliterated the Persian texts into the Hebrew script while retaining the language, metre and rhyme of the original Persian poetry. Through this remarkable process a new branch of Judaeo-Persian literature came into being.

Among the various types of Persian classical poetry, the romantic, the lyrical and the didactic, there have been preserved: Khusraw and Shīrīn and *Haft Paykar* (The Seven Images) by Niẓāmī (d. 1201); some poems of the *Mathnawī* by Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 1273): some parts of the *Gulistān* by Saʿdī (d. 1291): the *Dīwān* of Ḥāfiẓ (d. 1390): *Yūsuf and Zulaykhā* of Djāmī (d. 1414): portions of the *Dīwān* of Ṣāʾib of Iṣfahān (d. 1678) [*qq.v.*] and some others, all of which were made accessible in Hebrew transliteration and are preserved in various libraries in Europe, America and in Jerusalem.

Persian Jews evinced a lively interest also in the pictorial art and miniatures of their neighbours. In some of the Shāhīn and ʿImrānī manuscripts and in those of the classical poetry in Hebrew transliteration, large coloured miniatures and illuminations of exceptional beauty have been incorporated. They could well be regarded as typical Persian pictorial art were it not for the Hebrew lines on each miniature, which lends it a distinct Jewish character. Whether this pictorial art was cultivated by Jewish artists, or whether the Hebrew written explanations alone were the work of Jews, cannot be established. Nor can it

yet be ascertained whether and if so where there existed a school of such Jewish artists.

In the 17th and 18th centuries, under the impact of the persecution of the Jews and the policies of the Ṣafawid rulers, the literary productivity of Persian Jews was of a different genre. The literary output of that period mirrors the tragedy of Jewish existence. The torch of literary activity was carried on by a certain Bābāʾī b. Luṭf of Kāshān and Bābāʾī b. Farhād, who wrote *Kitāb-i Anūsī*: The Book of the Events of the Forced Conversions of Persian Jewry to Islam, a chronicle composed in Persian but written in Hebrew characters, which deals in poetic form with the martyrdom of the Jews in the time of Shāh ʿAbbās I and Shāh ʿAbbās II and his successors.

5. *Literary Activities of the Jews of Bukhārā.*

In Bukhārā, where the Jews were not subjected to the persecution their brethren endured in Ṣafavid Persia, there appeared Jewish poets and translators who began to create Jewish literature and poetry in their own Tādjikī dialect. The most outstanding was Yūsuf Yahūdī (d. 1755), an exponent of biblical narrative. He wrote *Mukhammas*, an ode in praise and glory of Moses; *Haft Birāderān* (The Seven Brothers), based on the Midrash of the martyrdom of the seven brothers and their mother; and bilingual and trilingual hymns honouring biblical heroes. He wrote also a commentary (*tafsīr*) to *Megillat Antiochus* and translated many of the *Zemirōth* of Israel Najāra into the dialect of Bukhāran Jews, incorporated into the Judaeo-Persian song-books used until today.

Inspired by him, a school of Jewish poets in Bukhārā emerged, among them Benjamin b. Mishal, known also as Amina, who published *Megillat Esther* in Judaeo-Persian translation, in metric form and translated some poems of Ibn Gabirol [*q.v.*], such as *Azharōth* and *Yigdal*, into Judaeo-Persian.

One of the finest poetical products in the Bukhāran Jewish dialect of the end of the 18th century we owe to the Jewish poet Mollā Ibrāhīm b. Abu'l Khayr. In his *Khodādād* he narrated the tragic story of a Jewish merchant by the name of Nathaniel (Khodāydād) who, refusing to become a Muslim despite all the promises and temptations of the ruler and his neighbours, died a martyr. In making this event the subject of his poem, the author gives an interesting picture of the religious and political conditions in which the Jews of Bukhārā lived in the second part of the 18th century under the rule of Emīr Maʿṣūm (1788). This poetical work furnished at the same time a most authentic documentation of the linguistic peculiarities of Bukhāran Jews.

6. *Revival of Judaeo-Persian literature in Jerusalem.*

Judaeo-Persian literature experienced an unforeseen development in the second half of the 19th century, not in Persia but in Jerusalem. This was precipitated by a wave of immigration into Palestine of Persian speaking Jews from Bukhārā, Turkestan, Afghanistan and Persia, who initiated the establishment in Jerusalem of a publishing centre, a printing press for Judaeo-Persian literature, intended to meet the literary and liturgical needs of the Persian Jews in Jerusalem and in the Diaspora. Though Jerusalem was not the first place of Judaeo-Persian printing activities, and some Judaeo-Persian books had been previously published by European scholars as well as by Bukhāran Jews (particularly in Vienna and Vilna by the latter)—not to mention the first Judaeo-Persian print of any time in Istanbul in 1546—Jerusalem became the exclusive centre of Judaeo-Persian printing activities. From then on, all the liturgical and literary needs of Persian-speaking Jews were satisfied from Jerusalem and its Judaeo-Persian press.

It can hardly be attempted, nor is it intended here, even to enumerate the results of these printing and publishing activities in Jerusalem; their extent and quantity would preclude such a survey. Almost everything that was thought fit to strengthen the religious and literary interests of Persian-speaking Jews was printed and published. Every field of Jewish literature, Bible, Bible commentaries, prayer books for every occasion, rabbinical writings, Mishna and *Zohar*, religious philosophy, medieval Jewish poetry, *Piyyūṭīm*, *Sĕliḥōth*, *Pizmonīm*, *Midrashīm*, historical narratives, anthologies of songs and stories—all these were translated into Judaeo-Persian, printed and distributed. Even secular literature from other than Jewish sources, such as parts of the Arabian Nights, and a part of Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*, which appealed greatly to the imagination of the Oriental Jew, found its way to the translators and printers. It is of great significance that these Judaeo-Persian publishing activities represented a collective effort, a co-operative endeavour of all the various groups of Persian-speaking Jewry; Jews of Bukhārā joined hands with the Jews of Persia and Afghanistan and participated in the greatest common cultural enterprise in the history of Oriental Jewry.

Among the many outstanding figures who participated in this collective enterprise, mention ought to be made of Solomon Babadjān b. Pinchasof of Samarḳand, an editor, author, translator and publisher, and of Simon Ḥākhām of Bukhārā.

One of the most outstanding Bukhāran Jewish scholars in the last centuries who can be credited with a major share in the promotion of Judaeo-Persian literature was Simon Ḥākhām, who, born in Bukhārā in 1843, moved in 1890 to Jerusalem, joining the rapidly-increasing colony of Bukhāran Jews, and it was there that he began his activities as author, translator, editor, and publisher of Judaeo-Persian works. The crown and glory of his many impressive literary accomplishments was his translation of the Bible into the Judaeo-Persian dialect of the Bukhāran Jews, into Tādjik.

With this monumental achievement, Simon Ḥākhām entered the ranks of the great Jewish Bible translators. What Saʿadyā Gaon accomplished for the Arabic-speaking Jews, what Moses Mendelssohn did for the German-speaking Jews, and what Joseph b. Tavus did for the Persian-speaking Jews, Simon Ḥākhām created for the Tādjikī-speaking Jews of Bukhārā and Central Asia.

The interest in Judaeo-Persian literature led in the early decades of this century to the establishment of a Hebrew printing press also in Tehran, which produced many Judaeo-Persian works aiming at a revival of the religious and cultural life of Persian Jews.

7. *The European investigation of Judaeo-Persian literature.*

The ever-increasing number of Judaeo-Persian manuscripts which in the last century had reached European libraries (Parma, the Vatican, Paris, London, Oxford, Copenhagen, Jerusalem, St. Petersburg, Moscow, Berlin and others) aroused the interest of Western scholars and led to important publications and investigations. An unexpected development in the field of Judaeo-Persian studies took place when the London scholar, Elkan N. Adler, brought back from his journeys to Bukhārā and Persia in 1896-8 hitherto unknown Judaeo-Persian manuscripts which

opened up entirely new vistas. The more than one-hundred Judaeo-Persian manuscripts which he recovered changed fundamentally the prevaiing conceptions as to the genre, scope and quality of the literary productivity of Persian-speaking Jews. While most of the manuscripts in European libraries were translations of books of the Bible or of the Apocrypha, creating thus the impression that their works were mostly of a religious character, Adler's collection revealed an all-embracing literature, not only translations, but also original works, not only religious literature, but literature of a secular character, poetry and prose, stories and philology. This collection showed that no sphere of literary endeavour had been neglected by Persian Jews in their own language. In 1923 Elkan Adler's manuscript collection was acquired by the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York.

The most decisive contribution to the investigation of Judaeo-Persian literature was made by the Hungarian scholar, Wilhelm Bacher (d. 1913) who, stimulated by the literary treasures long dormant in the European libraries and above all E. N. Adler's collection, turned his attention to this field; and through a continuous flow of studies and monographs he became the undisputed authority.

In the early 20th century, Tehran emerged as a centre of Judaeo-Persian printing activities, supplementing the Judaeo-Persian publications issued in Jerusalem. It is a sign of the cultural assimlation of the Persian-speaking Jews to their surroundings that they began to express their literary compositions no longer through the Hebrew script but through Persian characters, thus terminating, probably forever, the once flourishing Judaeo-Persian creativity.

The importance of Judaeo-Persian literature has most recently been summed up by J. Rypka (*History of Iranian Literature*, 1968, p. 740), in these words: "Judaeo-Persian literature may be regarded as lying near the periphery yet within the circumference of Persian literature. Nevertheless it is of extreme importance in its national and religious aspects for the Jewish colonies in the regions concerned, and linguistically for Iranian studies as a whole. The larger the collections of Judaeo-Persian manuscripts become, and the more minutely they are subjected to expert investigation, the greater will be their value for Iranistic scholars. A great deal has already been achieved in both these aspects, but it is still far too little. It is quite possible that the ancient Judaeo-Persian transliterations will prove valuable in the preparation of critical editions of many a Persian text."

Bibliography: 1. General. Indispensible for further references on all topics of Judaeo-Persian language and literature are the many publications by W. Bacher; see his bibliography by L. Blau, Budapest 1910, and D. Friedman, Budapest 1928. For an up-to-date survey see: W. J. Fischel, *The Bible in Persian translation: a contribution to the history of Bible translations in Persia and India*, in *Harvard Theological Review*, Cambridge 1952, 3-45; idem, *Israel in Iran: a survey of Judaeo-Persian literature*, in *The Jews, their history, culture and religion*, ed. L. Finkelstein, New York 1960, 3rd revised ed., 1149-1190; W. J. Fischel, *Ha-morasha ha-sifrutit shel yehudey dovrey parsith*, in *Maasaf l'Hokhmat Israel*, Jerusalem 1972; J. P. Asmussen, *Jewish-Persian texts, Introduction, selection, and glossary*, Wiesbaden 1968; J. P. Asmussen, *Studier i Jødisk-Persisk Litteratur*, Copenhagen 1970; J. Rypka, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 737-740.

2. Judaeo-Persian Manuscript Collections: E. N. Adler, *Ginze Paras u-Maday... The Persian Jews, their books and ritual*, London 1899. See the catalogues of manuscripts in the libraries of Paris (Zotenberg, Blochet); Parma (G. B. de Rossi); St. Petersburg (Harkavy and Strack, C. Saleman, A. Freimann, W. Ivanow); British Museum (J. Darmesteter, H. Derenbourg, G. Margoliouth, M. Seligsohn, and S. Rosenwasser 1966); Oxford (Neubauer and Cowley); Copenhagen; Jerusalem (Ben Zvi Institute, Hebrew University Library); the Vatican (E. Rossi, Levi Della Vida) and D. S. Sassoon Catalogue *Ohel David*. For collections in the U.S.A., see Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, (Adler Collection) and E. Spicehandler, *A descriptive list of Judaeo-Persian Manuscripts at the Klau Library of the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati*, in *Studies in Jewish Bibliography and Booklore*, Cincinnati 1968, 114-36.

3. On Printed Works in Judaeo-Persian: L. Zunz, *Die persischen Bibelversionen der Juden*, in *Gesammelte Schriften*, Berlin 1876, iii, 135-6; W. Bacher, *Judaeo-Persian Literature*, in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, New York and London 1905, vii, 317-24; M. Steinschneider, *Allgemeine Einleitung in die Jüdische Literatur des Mittelalters*, Jerusalem 1938; B. Friedberg, ed. *Bêt Eqed Sefārim. Bibliogr. lexicon of the whole Hebrew and Jewish-German lit. incl. of the Arab, Greek, French-Provençal, Italian, Latin, Persian, Samaritan, Spanish, Portuguese and Tartarian works*, Antwerp 1928 ff. and 2nd ed., i-iv, Tel-Aviv 1954; T. H. Darlow and F. H. Moule, *Historical catalogue of the printed editions of Holy Scriptures in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, iv, London 1911, 1201-1209; W. J. Fischel, *Zur jüdisch-persischen Literatur der juengsten Zeit*, in *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, Breslau 1933, 113-127.

4. On Early J. P. Documents and Language: W. Geiger, *Bemerkungen über das Judenpersisch*, in *G. Ir. Ph.*, i, 408-12; Th. Noeldeke, *Judaeo-Persica nach St. Petersburger Hss. mitgeteilt von Karl Salemann*, in *ZDMG*, li (1897), 548-53 and 669-76; C. Salemann, *Zum mittelpersischen Passiv*, in *Bull. Ac. Imp. des Sc. de St. Petersbourg*, 52 série, xiii (1900), 269-76; idem, *Judaeo-Persica*, St. Petersbourg 1897, p. II; R. Abrahamian, *Dialectes des Israélites de Hamadan et d'Ispahan et dialecte de Baba Tahir*, Paris 1936; D. S. Margoliouth, *A Jewish-Persian Law Report*, in *JQR*, xi (1899), 671-5; idem, *An early Judaeo-Persian document from Khotan in the Stein Collection, with other early Persian documents*, in *JRAS*, 1903, 735-60; V. Minorsky, *Early Hebrew Persian documents*, in *JRAS*, 1942, 181-94; A. Dupont-Sommer, *Une inscription hébraïque d'Afghanistan*, Ac. des Insc. et Belles-Lettres, Comptes-Rendus, Paris 1946, 252-7; W. J. Fischel, *Encore un mot à propos de l'inscription hébraïque d'Afghanistan*, in *JA*, n.s. ccxxxvii (1949), 299-300; S. M. Stern, *A propos de l'inscription juive d'Afghanistan*, in *JA*, n.s. ccxxxvii (1949), 47-9; W. B. Henning, *The inscription of Tang-i-Azao*, in *BSOAS*, Bulletin School of Oriental and African Studies, xx (1957), 335-42; idem, *Mitteliranisch*, in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, ed. B. Spuler, Abt. 1, Bd. 4, Abschn. 1. *Iranistik*, Leiden and

Cologne 1958, 79-81; B. Utas, *The Jewish-Persian Fragment from Dandān-Uiliq*, in *Orientalia Suecana*, Uppsala, vol. xvii, 123-36; Sh. Shaked, *Judaeo-Persian Notes*, in *Israel Oriental Studies I*, Tel Aviv 1971, 178-82.

For the latest studies on Judaeo-Persian documents, see: G. Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*, Paris 1963; G. Gnoli, *Le Iscrizioni Giudeo-Persiane del Ġūr (Afghanistan)*, Serie Orientale Roma, vol. xxx, Rome 1964; J. P. Asmussen, *Judaeo-Persica II: the Jewish-Persian Law Report from Ahwāz, A.D. 1020*, in *Acta Orientalia*, xxix (1965), 49-60; W. J. Fischel, *The rediscovery of the Medieval Jewish Community at Fīrūzkūh in Central Afghanistan*, in *JAOS*, 1965, 148-53; E. L. Rapp, *Die Jüdisch-Persisch-Hebräischen Inschriften aus Afghanistan*, Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft, Munich 1965; idem, *The date of the Judaeo-Persian Inscription of Tang-i Azao in Central Afghanistan*, in *East and West*, xvii (Rome 1967), 51-8; E. L. Rapp, *Die Persisch-Hebräischen Inschriften Afghanestans, aus dem 11. bis 13. Jahrhundert*, in *Jahrbuch der Vereinigung Freunde der Universität Mainz*, 1971, 1-53; G. Lazard, *La Dialectologie du Judeo-Persan*, in *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore*, Cincinnati 1968, 77-98; D. N. MacKenzie, *Judaeo-Persica*, in *JRAS*, 1966, 68 (see also vol. 31, 1968, pp. 249-269); W. Sundermann, *Zum Judenpersisch des Mas'at Binyāmīn*, in *Mitt. für Orientforschung*, xi/2, 1965, 273-98;

5. On J. P. Bible translations:
K. D. Hassler, *Nachricht von einer bisher noch unbekannten unmittelbaren persischen Uebersetzung der salomonischen Schriften, "Song of Songs"*, in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, ii, 1829, 469-80; Salomon Munk, *Notice sur Rabbi Saadia Gaon et sa Version Arabe*, Paris 1838; H. Zotenberg, *Geschichte Daniels*, in *Archiv für die wissenschaftliche Erforschung des Alten Testaments (Merx Archiv)*, i (1870), 385-427; A. Kohut, *Kritische Beleuchtung der persischen Pentateuchübersetzung des Jacob b. Joseph Tavus*, Leipzig 1871; P. Lagarde, *Persische Studien*, Goettingen 1884; H. Ethe, *Die Psalmen in hebräischen Text mit persischer Ubersetzung*, Vienna 1883, in *Literaturblatt für orientalische Philologie*, Hrsg. von E. Kuhn, i, Leipzig 1883-1884, 186-94; I. Guidi, *Di una versione persiana del Pentateuco*, in *Rend. Linc.*, Rome 1885; P. Horn, *Zu den jüdisch-persischen Bibelübersetzungen*, in *Indo-germanische Forschungen*, ii (1893), 132-43; W. Bacher, *Ein hebräisch-persisches Wörterbuch aus dem XV. Jahrhundert*, in *Z.A.W.*, xvi (1896), 201-47; W. Bacher, *Ein Hebräisch-Persisches Wörterbuch aus dem vierzehnten Jahrhundert*, Strassburg 1899-1900; K. V. Zetterstéen, *Über die jüdisch-persische Übersetzung der Sprüche von Benjamin Ben Jochanan aus Buchara*, in *ZDMG*, liv (1900), 555-9; M. Schwab, *Une version persane de la Bible*, in *REJ*, lviii (1909), 303-6; R. Levy, *Daniel-Nama: Judaeo-Persian Apocalypse*, in *Jewish Studies in memory of G. A. Kohut*, New York 1935, 423-8; E. Z. Melamed, *Tafsīr-Tehillim be Farsit*, in *Sefunoth*, ix (Jerusalem 1964), 295-319; idem, *Tafsīr of the Psalms in J.P.*, Jerusalem 1968; H. Paper, *The Vatican Judaeo-Persian Pentateuch. Genesis*, in *Acta Orientalia*, xxviii/3-4, 1965, 263-340; idem, *Judaeo-Persian Bible Translations, some sample texts*, in *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore*, Cincinnati 1968, 99-113; J. P. Asmussen, *Judaeo-Persica IV, Einige Bemerkungen zu Baba ben Nuriel's Psalmübersetzung*, in *Acta Orientalia*, xxx, 1966, 15-24; idem, *Vier ungewöhnliche Woerter... des jp Vatican Pentateuch*, in *Acta Orientalia*, xxix (1966), 247-51; idem, *Den gammeltestamentliche litteratur pa jodisk-persisk*, Copenhagen, *Dansk. Teol. Tidskr*, 1965, 1-13; A. Netzer, *Dāniyāl-Nāme: an exposition of Judeo-Persian*, in *Islam and its cultural divergence*, ed. G. L. Tikku, Urbana, Illinois 1971, 145-64.

6. On J. P. Poetry (Shāhīn, ʿImrānī etc.)
W. Bacher, *Zwei jüdisch-persische Dichter, Schahin und Imrani*, Strassburg 1908; W. J. Fischel, *A new J. P. manuscript on Samuel by ʿImrānī*, in *Qiryat Sefer*, ix, 522-4; N. Mulloqandow and M. Rahimi (eds.), *Dostoni Ardašer wa Ester*, in *Šarqi surkh*, 1958, Nr. 3, 86-106, Nr. 4, 105-128; W. J. Fischel, *The Beginnings of Judaeo-Persian Literature*, in *Mélanges d'Orientalisme offerts à Henri Massé*, Tehran 1963, 141-150; M. Rahimi, *Šohini Šerozi*, in *Madanijoti Toģikiston*, 1958, Nr. 8, 12-17, cont. in *Šarqi surkh*, 1964, Nr. 2, 101-13; J. P. Asmussen, *Judaeo-Persica I. Šāhīn-i Šīrāzī's Ardašīr-nāma*, in *Acta Orientalia*, xxviii, 1965, 245-61; D. Blieske, *Šāhīn-e Šīrāzīs Ardašīr-Buch*, Tübingen 1966; H. Striedl, *Die Miniaturen in einer Handschrift des jüdisch-persischen Ardašīrbuches von Šāhīn*, in *Forschungsberichte Marburger Kolloquium 1965*, Wiesbaden 1966, 119-33.

7. On J. P. Transliteration of Classical Poetry: S. J. A. Churchill, *A note on Judaeo-Persian Literature*, in *The Indian Antiquary*, xvii (1888), 115; J. P. Asmussen, *Classical New Persian Literature in Jewish-Persian Version*, in *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore*, viii, Cincinnati 1968, 44-53; J. Gutmann, *Judaeo-Persian Miniatures*, in *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore*, Cincinnati 1968, 54-76.

8. On the Persian elements of the liturgy of the Chinese Jews of K'aifeng, see D. Leslie, *The Judaeo-Persian Colophons to the Pentateuch of the K'aifeng Jews*, in *Abr Nahrain*, University of Melbourne Annual, Leiden 1969, 1-35.

9. J. P. Literature in Ṣafawid times: M. Seligsohn, *Quatre poésies judéos-persanes sur les Persécutions des Juifs d'Ispahan*, in *REJ*, xlii (1902), 87-103, 244-259, and *REJ*, xlvii (1903), 262-82; W. Bacher, *Les Juifs de Perse au XVII et au XVIII siècles d'après les chroniques poétiques de Babai b. Loutf et de Babai b. Farhad*, in *REJ*, li-liii (1906); W. J. Fischel, *The Jews under the Safavid Dynasty in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, in *Zion*, ii (Jerusalem 1937), 273-93; J. P. Asmussen, *Babai b. Luṭf's J. P. Elija Lied*, in *Festschrift für Wilhelm Eilers*, Wiesbaden 1968, 131-5; Habib Levy, *Tārīkh Yahūd-e Īrān*, Tehran 1956, vol. iii; Hanina Misrahi, *The history of the Persian Jews and their poets*, Jerusalem 1966.

10. J. P. Literature of Bukhāran Jews: A. Yaʿarī, *Sifrê Yehudê Bukhara*, Jerusalem 1942, where all the relevant studies by W. Bacher and other monographs on Bukhāran J. P. Literature are listed. C. Salemann, *Judaeo-Persica nach St. Petersburger Hss. I. Chudaidat. Ein Juedisch-bucharisches Gedicht*, in *Mem. de l'Ac. Imp. des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, 7e série, xlii, no. 14, 1897; W. J. Fischel, *The leaders of the Jews of Bokhara*, in *Jewish Leaders (1750-1940)*, ed. L. Jung, New York 1953, 535-47; W. J. Fischel, *The Contribution of the Persian Jews to Iranian Culture and Literature*, in the forthcoming volume of the International Congress of Iranian Studies held in Shiraz, October 1971. (W. J. FISCHEL)

ii —LANGUAGE

A number of Judaeo-Persian writings display linguistic characteristics which are not found in Persian texts in Arabic script. Amongst these one must distinguish between on the one hand stylistic peculiarities common to the translation of Scripture (word for word rendering of the Semitic text, use of certain rare or archaic forms), and on the other dialectal traits which reflect local varieties of spoken Persian. In all probability, these local dialects of New Persian were not peculiar to the Jews, but they have left scarcely any trace in literature written in Arabic script, where the classical language predominates to the virtual exclusion of other forms; however a considerable proportion of the Judaeo-Persian writings, notably all the earliest ones, are written in a language close to that of everyday speech. They are therefore of great interest for the light they throw on the historical dialectology of Persian.

Judaeo-Persian literature is not linguistically homogeneous. Several dialectical variations may be perceived, and with systematic exploration still others will probably be discovered.

1) The Dandān-Uylīk letter is noteworthy for certain archaisms (use of the *iḍāfa* particle to denote the relative (as in Middle-Persian), paucity of Arabic words) and by the presence of some Sogdian words.

2) In spite of differences of detail, the fragment in the British Museum, the commentary on Ezekiel, and the Story of Daniel, mentioned above, a translation of the Pentateuch preserved in the Vatican, and a few other texts, are a reflection of a single dialectal group, which can probably be situated in the south of Iran (Fārs and Khūzistān). In these texts various morphological characteristics (optative particle *hy*, preposition ʾ-, the form *tys* "thing" = classical *čiz*) are found, along with a fairly large number of words which are otherwise unknown in Persian but appear in Middle-Persian. Rather than being archaisms peculiar to this form of Judaeo-Persian, these traits must have been characteristic of spoken Persian around the 5th/11th-8th/14th centuries in the south of Iran, which had remained much closer to Middle-Persian than the classical language.

3) Writings which can be classified as literature, especially poetry from the 8th/14th-12th/18th centuries, are generally free from dialectical characteristics. Imitations of the great classical works, they are usually couched in the same idiom.

4) The literary and exegetic texts composed at Bukhārā from the 11th/17th to the 19th centuries bear the marks of their origin, all the more clearly when the style does not reach a particularly high standard. Their language, which might properly be called "Judaeo-Tādjīk", is very close to the present day literary language of the Soviet Republic of Tādjikistān.

Judaeo-Iranian dialects. — Unlike Judaeo-Persian in the true sense, the unwritten dialects still in current use among certain communities in Persia, at Kāshān, Hamadān, Iṣfahān, Kirmān, and Shīrāz, are not varieties of Persian, but are related to the local dialects of these regions. The Judaeo-Tāt of the Caucasus (Soviet Daghestān and Ādharbāydjān) is a variation of the Tāt dialect, in use among the Muslim population also: Tāt was raised to the status of a written language during the Soviet period. All these dialects could be designated "Judaeo-Iranian".

A curious language reported in 1924 among the Jews at Herāt appears to be merely a jargon based on Persian.

Bibliography: State of the question and bibliography: G. Lazard, *La dialectologie du judéo-persan*, in *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore*, viii (a special issue on Judaeo-Persian studies), Cincinnati 1968, 77-98. See also: D. N. MacKenzie, *An early Jewish-Persian argument*, in *BSOAS*, xxxi (1968), 249-69 (publication of the ms. Br. Mus. Or. 8659); E. L. Rapp, *The date of the Judaeo-Persian inscriptions at Tang-i Azao in Central Afghanistan*, in *East and West*, xvii (1967), 51-8. (G. LAZARD)

JUDGE [see ḲĀḌĪ].

JUDGMENT [see ḤUKM].

JURISPRUDENCE [see FIḲH].

JUSTICE [see ʿADL].

For other words generally written in English with J, see Dj.

K

ḲĀʾĀNĪ, ḤABĪB ALLĀH (1808-54) was the greatest Persian poet of the Ḳādjār period. He was born at Shīrāz, lost his father, the poet Gulshan, at the age of eleven and found a patron in the governor of Shīrāz, Ḥasan ʿAlī Mīrzā Shudjāʿ al-Salṭana, who gave him the pen-name of Ḳāʾānī. As a court panegyrist he was granted by Muḥammad Shāh the title of *Ḥassān al-ʿAdjam*. He settled in Tehran shortly before 1848 and was favoured by Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh with the title of *Malik al-Shuʿarāʾ*. Ḳāʾānī was a man of erudition, and the first Persian poet to master French. His *dīwān* contains 23,000 verses mostly of panegyrical character. His critical attitude towards society is reflected in his *Kitāb-i Parīshān*, conceived on the model of Saʿdī's *Gulistān*. As a poet Ḳāʾānī was a past master in the classical *ḳaṣīda* of the Khurāsānī style; however, apart from stylistic virtuosity his poetry contains little serious content.

Bibliography: Mīrzā Ṭāhir, *Gandj-i Shāyagān*, lith. Tehran 1855; Hidāyat, *Madjmaʿ al-Fuṣaḥāʾ*, lith. Tehran 1877; Browne, iv, 326-35; J. L. Bertel's *Avtobiografii*, *Doklady AN SSSR* 1927, 13n; V. Kubičková, *Qāānī, Poète persan du XIX^e siècle*, Prague 1954; Bahār, *Sabk-shināsī*, iii, 333; M. Dj. Maḥdjūb, *Dīwān-i Ḳāʾānī*, Tehran 1957; J. Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 329-31; A. Pagliaro-A. Bausani, *Storia della letteratura persiana*, Milan 1960, 510-22. (M. SHAKI)

KAARTA, a region of Mali with an area of around 54,000 square km. It is bounded on the north by Mauritanian Hōdh, on the south by Beledugu and Fuladugu, and on the west by the River Senegal from the western branch of the River Kulu as far as the Baoulé junction. The rivers of this vast schistose plateau tilting to the south east flow into Senegal. The climate is that of the Saharan zone: a brief season of abundant rain followed by a very long dry season. The vegetation is wooded or shrubbed

savannah. The land on the river banks often produces two harvests. The main crops are millet, maize, rice, peanuts, cotton and indigo. In the villages gardens are cultivated around the wells. Stock-farming is relatively well developed. The districts of Kaarta are Diafunu (Tambaraka) and Diomboko (Koniakari), Guidioumé (Niogomera) to the north of Diafunu; Tomora (Dida), Baghé and Kaarta Biné to the north of Fuladugu; Dianghaté to the east, and Kingui (Nioro). The main peoples are the Bambara and the Soninke, but the population also includes Khassonke, Fulani and Maures. The Bambara Massassi have a secret religious association known as the *Bouri*. Missionary activity for Islam is considerable.

Kaarta was visited by the British explorers Houghton and Mungo Park in 1795 and described by Duranton in 1828, Raffenel in 1864, Mage and Quintin in 1863 and Lenz in 1880.

Previously part of the empire of G͟hāna [*q.v.*] and then that of Mali, Kaarta was divided between a number of principalities after the Mali uprising. At the end of the 17th century, a Bambara chief, Niangolo, settled in Sunsana, near Murdia, and created the Bambara kingdom on the left bank of the Niger. His son Sunsa married a girl named Keita, and it was their son Massa who gave his name to the Bambara Massassi. A notable farmer as well as progenitor, he had such good-looking children that their profitable marriages added to the extent of the kingdom.

Benefali enlarged the country still more, but his brother Fulekoro was defeated by Biton Kulubali, who united the two kingdoms (1754). Fulekoro's successors, Sey Bamana and Deniba-Bo, were little more than chiefs of a band of brigands who conducted raids. Sira-Bo (1761-80) took up residence in Guémauo and extended his kingdom. Desse Kulubali (1788-99) took advantage of the dissension between the Bambara princes of Segu, sons of Ngolo Diara. He supported Namiankoro, but the latter was defeated by Da Manson, who then invaded Kaarta and captured the capital, Guemu (1796). Succeeding his brother, Mussa Kurabo (1799-1808) waged a campaign against ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, *almamy* of Futa Toro. N'tin Koro (1808-11) and Sakhaba (1811-15) preceded Bodian Moriba (1815-32), who joined combat with Diawara and Khassohke. After Garan (1832-43), Mamady Kahdian (1843-54) left Yelimane and settled first in Kadie and then in Nioro (1847); the Diawara were driven back towards the desert before being defeated by the Tuculors of al-Ḥād͟jd͟j ʿUmar (1854).

The latter installed a viceroy; in 1874 this position was held by Mutaga, brother of Ahmadu. When besieged in Nioro, Mutaga blew up his establishment. Meanwhile the Massassi who had been defeated by al-Ḥād͟jd͟j ʿUmar took refuge in Bangassi (Fuladugu) under Mori, commander of Diringa, who died in 1870. Under his successor, Bussei, the Massassi split into two factions: one settled in Guemu-Kura (Kaarta-Bine) while the other moved to Diani (Gadiaga). The Bambara Massassi were reunited by Archinard, leader of Kaarta in 1891, after the capture of Nioro. Kaarta was divided once again between the provinces of Nioro, Kita and Kays in former French Sudan. No striking changes in local political structure have resulted from Mali independence in 1960.

Bibliography: D. Diallo, *La chasse (région du Fouladougou et du Kaarta)*, in *Education africaine*, xciii (1934), 93-110; R. Furon, *Le Kaarta*, in *Bull. Mus. Histoire Nat.*, xl (1930), 470-3, 2 maps; idem, *Les gisements préhistoriques du Kaarta*, in *l'Anthropologie*, 1930, 31-5; Godin de Lepinay, *Note sur les chances de possibilité d'une réunion du Niger et du Sénégal par le Kaarta*, in *Bull. Soc. Et. Coloniales et maritimes*, xvi (1891), 287-9; Edt. de Lartigue, *Notice historique sur la région de Sahel*, in *BCAF*, 1898, 69-101; J. Lemoine, *Mission hydrogéologique au Soudan*, in *BURGEAP*, 1957; E. Mage, *Voyage dans le Soudan Occidental (1863-1870)*, Paris 1868; Ch. Monteil, *Les Bambara de Ségou et du Kaarta*, Paris 1924; A. Raffenel, *Nouveau Voyage au pays des nègres*, Paris 1856; P. Soleillet, *Voyage à Ségou*, Paris 1887; Lt. Sugols, *La justice au Soudan Francais*, in *BCHSAOF*, 1897, 113-29; L. Tauxier, *Histoire des Bambara*, Paris 1942. (R. CORNEVIN)

BANŪ KAʿB, an Arab tribe which occupies, at present, parts of K͟hūzistān in South Western Iran. The Banū Kaʿb comprise several clans, and they are therefore known to the inhabitants of eastern Arabia and southern ʿIrāḳ as *al-Kuʿūb* (in 18th century European sources *Chaub*). Arab authors and genealogists do not speak of them in detail but usually list them under Kaʿb b. Rabīʿa. They are said to belong to Ḳays ʿAylān, a major central and eastern Arabian tribe. They do not seem to have emigrated from there to southern ʿIrāḳ and south western Iran before the 17th century. By the time of the Danish traveller Niebuhr (1765), they seem to have gained some notoriety among the inhabitants of that area. The Turks, the Persians and the British were among their victims, and each of these powers failed to subdue S͟hayk͟h Salmān, the Kaʿb chief, during the second half of the 18th century. Ḳubbān, Dawraḳ and Fallāḥiyya are mentioned among their fortified towns. Their second prominent ruler after Salmān was his great grandson T͟hāmir (1837-40).

Like other Arab tribes inhabiting Iran, they mingled with the non-Arab population and are slowly losing their Arab identity. The main divisions of the tribe are: the Drīs, the Muḳaddam, the K͟hanāfira and the Ḥazbih.

The Banū Kaʿb cannot be described as completely settled, nor on the other hand is any considerable portion of them truly Bedouin. The bulk of the tribe is now semi-nomadic. At the zenith of their power shortly after 1775, the jurisdiction of their chief seems to have extended from the neighbourhood of Baṣra to the confines of Bihbahān; but their influence declined as that of the Muḥaysin of Muḥammara rose, and the chiefs of the Banū Kaʿb, stripped of political power, sank into undistinguished vassals of the S͟hayk͟h of Muḥammara, who early in the 20th century became, in turn, a vassal of the Iranian monarchs.

Bibliography: Ibn Durayd, *Kitāb al-is͟htiḳāḳ*, ed. Cairo 1958, 295; Ibn Rasūl, *Ṭurfat al-aṣḥāb fī maʿrifat al-ansāb*, Damascus 1949, 15, 28; Yāḳūt, i, 773, iii, 908; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, ed. Cairo 1954, ii, 338; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿd͟jam Ḳabāʾil al-ʿarab*, Damascus 1949, iii, 984-87; C. Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, Amsterdam 1780, ii, 160 ff.; East India Company, *Factory Records-Persia and the Persian Gulf*, India Office Library, London, Vols. 16 and 17; Baron C. A. de Bode, *Travels in Luristan and Arabistan*, London 1845, 111-19; A. H. Layard, *A Description of the Province of Khusistan* in *J.R.G.S.*, xvi (1846), 36-45; W. K. Loftus, *Travels and Researches in Chaldea and Susania*, London 1857, 279-86; W. F. Ainsworth, *A Personal Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*, London 1888, 205-18; G. W. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, London 1892, ii, 231-38; J. G. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, ʿOmān and Central Arabia*, Calcutta 1908, ii, 947-63. (A. M. ABU-HAKIMA)

KAʿB B. AL-ASHRAF, opponent of Muḥammad at Medina, reckoned to belong to his mother's clan al-Naḍīr, though his father was an Arab of the Nabhān section of Ṭayyiʾ. He presumably followed the Jewish custom of taking his religion from his mother, but it is doubtful if he was a scholar, as the words in a poem *sayyid al-aḥbār* (Ibn Hishām, 659, 12) would imply, if the poem were genuine. Aroused by the deaths of many leading Meccans at Badr, he went to Mecca and used his considerable poetic gifts (he is called *faḥl faṣīḥ* in *K. al-Aghānī*) to incite Ḳuraysh to fight the Muslims. On his return to Medina he composed amatory verses of an insulting nature about Muslim women. When Muḥammad asked for someone to rid him of this man, Muḥammad b. Maslama offered. He collected four others, including Kaʿb's foster-brother Abū Nāʾila b. Salāma. By pretending to have turned against Muḥammad they enticed Kaʿb out of his *uṭum* (fort, castle) on a moonlight night and killed him in spite of his vigorous resistance. The date is given by al-Wāḳidī as 14 Rabīʿ I 3/4 Sept. 624, but this conflicts with the date he gives for Muḥammad's expedition to Dhū Amarr (12-22 Rabīʿ I/2-12 Sept.), since Muḥammad was present in Medina at the time of the killing. In view of this, and of the report of al-Ḥalabī that, when Banu 'l-Naḍīr were attacked in Rabīʿ I 4/Aug. 625, they were mourning for Kaʿb, it has been suggested that Kaʿb's death was shortly before this attack (cf. Ibn Hishām, 658.18; 659.12). The alleged ruins of Kaʿb's *uṭum* are still extant at Medina (M. Hamidullah, *The Battlefields of the Prophet Muhammad*, Woking 1953; reprinted from *The Islamic Review*, 1952, 1953).

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām. 548-51, 657-9; al-Wāḳidī, ed. Marsden Jones, 121 f., 184-92; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1368-72; al-Ḥalabī, *Insān al-ʿUyūn*, Cairo 1308, iii, 176-9; al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 243; *Aghānī*, xix, 106 f.; L. Caetani, *Annali*, i, 534-7; A. J. Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, Leiden 1908, 152-5; R. Leszynsky, *Die Juden in Arabien zur Zeit Muhammeds*, Berlin 1910, 66-9; Fr. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, Leipzig 1930, 250 f.; W. M. Watt, *Muhammed at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 210 f.; M. J. Kister, *The market of the Prophet*, in *JESHO*, viii (1965), 272-6.

(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

KAʿB B. DJUʿAYL AL-TAGHLABĪ, a minor Arab poet of the 1st/7th century whom Ibn Sallām (*Ṭabaḳāt*, 485-9) places in the 3rd rank of Islamic poets. His genealogy varies with the different authors (Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 165, no doubt provides the most accurate one), and very little is known of his life. Probably born during the earliest years of the *Hidjra*, he made his appearance at the time of the battle of Ṣiffīn (37/657) as an intimate of Muʿāwiya, of whom, like most of the Taghlib [*q.v.*], he was a passionate supporter. The conflict with ʿAlī inspired him to write a number of poems, in particular a verse which Muʿāwiya considered worthy of appending to a letter addressed to his adversary and to which al-Nadjāshī made a reply (al-Dīnawarī, *Ṭiwāl*, 170; al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, i, 281-2), and later some elegies on the death of ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Khaṭṭāb, killed in the battle (Ibn Sallām, 488-9; al-Ṭabarī, i, 3315; *Nasab Ḳuraysh*, 355-6; Yāḳūt, s.v. Ṣiffīn; Naṣr b. Muzāḥim, *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn*, 336, 410; *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, i, 498-9; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, vii, 265), and a poem in praise of Muʿāwiya and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ (Ibn Sallām, 486-7; al-Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, 344; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 632; Yāḳūt, s.v. Adhruḥ). Among the surviving fragments of his writings (about 80 verses) there also exist some panegyrics of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid b. al-Walīd (*Nasab Ḳuraysh*, 325-6), a *hidjāʾ* of al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba (d. 50/670; *al-Ḥamāsa al-Baṣriyya*, ii, 182) and some verses composed between 50 and 59/670-9 in Medina, where he was to be found in the company of the governor, Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ (Ibn Sallām, 255, 271; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2838, cf. ii, 107), enjoying the poetry of al-Farazdaḳ.

According to tradition, it was to Kaʿb b. Djuʿayl that his young fellow-tribesman al-Akhṭal [*q.v.*] owed his soubriquet (Ibn Sallām, 250, 396; *Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, viii, 280-1); according to a frequently quoted *khabar* (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 63, 172; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 456, 631-2; al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, i, 153; *Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, xv, 83), he is said to have suggested to Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya who, prior to 60/680, had ordered him to write some poems attacking ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥassān b. Thābit, that he should entrust al-Akhṭal with this mission, since he himself refused to attack the Anṣār. On the basis of certain variants which are to be found in the reply made by Kaʿb (and which incidentally are far from conclusive), L. Cheikho (*Shuʿarāʾ al-Naṣrāniyya baʿd al-Islām*, 204) tries to show that the poet was then still a Christian, but all the evidence leads to the assumption that he had been converted to Islam.

He appears again (*Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, v, 13), at some uncertain date, on the Mirbad of Baṣra, in the company of several poets, in particular al-Nābigha al-Djaʿdī (on the relations between the two men, see M. Nallino, in *RSO*, xiv (1934), 404-5 and *Le poesie di an-Nabigah*, Rome 1953, 120). If al-Balādhurī (*Ansāb*, xi, 212) is correct, he lived long enough to write a panegyric of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān (65/685-86/705); the lines which he quotes appear however in a long *ḳaṣīda* of al-Ḳuṭāmī (ed. J. Barthe, Leiden 1902, 88, lines 89-90).

Ibn Sallām describes Kaʿb b. Djuʿayl as a *mufliḳ* poet, but his *dīwān* does not appear to have been collected, although his poems have enjoyed a certain reputation since Ibn Suraydj [*q.v.*] set some of his lines to music (*Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, iii, 275). Finally, the anthologists have been guilty of some errors in attributing to him verses by the pre-Islamic poet ʿUmayra/ʿAmīra b. Djuʿayl/Djuʿal (Cheikho, *Shuʿarāʾ al-N. ḳabl al-Islām*, 195-6) or in regarding this poet as his brother (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 631-2; al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, Būlāḳ, i, 458 = Cairo, iii, 44). The passage quoted by Ibn Sallām (486-7) and other authors affords evidence of these misunderstandings.

Bibliography: The only account of any length is that of L. Cheikho, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Naṣrāniyya baʿd al-Islām*, 203-12. In addition to the sources mentioned in the art., see: Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, 345; Dīnawarī, *Ṭiwāl*, 192; Āmidī, *Muʾtalif*, 84; *Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, ix, 72; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, 203; Sharīshī, *Sharḥ*, ii, 86; *Naḳāʾiḍ*, 619; Yāḳūt, s.v. al-Ḥīra; Nöldeke, *Delectus*, 79-80; C. A. Nallino, *Letteratura*, index; R. Blachère, *HLA*, iii, 65-6 and bibl. under reference. (CH. PELLAT)

KAʿB B. MĀLIK, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH OR ABŪ ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN, one of the poets supporting Muḥammad, was an Anṣārī of the clan of Salima of the tribe of al-Khazradj [see AL-ANṢĀR]. He must have been born before 600 A.D., since he is said to have taken part in the internal fighting in Medina before the Hidjra, and to have been present at the second ʿAḳaba [*q.v.*], when allegiance was sworn to Muḥammad. He was not present at Badr, but took part in most of the subsequent expeditions led by Muḥammad. At Uḥud he received several wounds and was the first to recognize Muḥammad after the rumour

that he had been killed. Some reports say that it was he who was charged with collecting the *ṣadaḳa* from the tribes of Aslam and Ghifār. For a reason which is not clear he remained in Medina during the expedition to Tabūk in autumn 9/630, and afterwards, with two others, was "sent to Coventry" until reprieved by the revelation of Sūra IX, 117/18 f. He seems to have had some links with Ghassān, and this may have had something to do with his avoidance of the expedition. When the Emigrants first came to Medina, Ṭalḥa b. ʿUbayd Allāh was assigned to him as "brother", and some association continued between the two. He was later known as a partisan of ʿUthmān (ʿUthmānī), supporting him as caliph and composing an elegy after his death. In accordance with this attitude he refused to pay homage to ʿAlī. He later became blind and died in 50/670 or 53/673.

Many members of his family were noted for poetical gifts. Muḥammad realised the importance of poets in forming public opinion, and, following Sūra XXVI, 227 (see al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*), regarded Kaʿb as one of his poets along with Ḥassān b. Thābit [*q.v.*] and ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa [*q.v.*]. Much of Kaʿb's poetry is found in the *Sīra* of Ibn Hishām. Its authenticity has been disputed but most appears to be genuine. The sentiments are nobler than those of Ḥassān and there is genuine enthusiasm for Islam. The poems deal with Badr, Uḥud, Biʾr Maʿūna, Banū 'l-Naḍīr, the Khandaḳ, Khaybar, Muʾta and other expeditions. Stories about Kaʿb seem to have been preserved in his family, and his sons ʿAbd Allāh and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and other descendants are mentioned as sources by Ibn Hishām and al-Wāḳidī.

Bibliography: *Dīwān*, ed. Sami M. Al-Ani, Baghdād 1966; Ibn Hishām, 290, 294-301, 310, 345, 574 f., 896, 908-13, 520-871 passim (poems); al-Ṭabarī, i, 1217-25, 1406, 1695, 1705, 2937, 3049, 3062, 3070; al-Wāḳidī (ed. Marsden Jones), 235 f., 249, 251, 260 f., 293, 335, 389, 447, 646, 802, 973, 996 f., 1049-56, 1073, 1075; *Aghānī*[1], xv, 26-33; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 295-7; Ibn Rusta, 224; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghāba*, iv, 247 f.; al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 66; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Rifāʿī, *Kaʿb b. Mālik al-Ṣaḥābī al-adīb*, Riyāḍ 1971.

(W. MONGOMERY WATT)

KAʿB B. ZUHAYR, an Arab poet and contemporary of the Prophet. A son of Zubayr b. Abī Sulmā [*q.v.*], he seems to have given proof of his poetic talent at an early age; although belonging to the Muzayna, he lived with the Dhubyān and was involved in the wars of his tribe against the Ṭayyiʾ, the Ḳuraysh and the Khazradj. His brother Budjayr was converted shortly before year 7 of the *Hidjra*, but he refused vehemently to follow suit and wrote some satirical verses attacking Muḥammad. The latter officially sanctioned his murder. From that day, "the earth became too confined" for Kaʿb, who resolved to make his submission. He presented himself without warning, in the year 9, in a mosque in Medina where Muḥammad was present and recited to him his famous piece known by the name of *Bānat Suʿād* (Suʿād has disappeared). Transported with admiration on hearing the praises of himself and of the Ḳurayshites, the Prophet threw onto the poet's shoulders his own striped mantle from the Yemen, his *burda*, from which came the name *al-Burda*, applied also to this *ḳaṣīda* (the same title was to be adopted by al-Būṣīrī [*q.v.*]).

The *Bānat Suʿād* has none of the characteristics of a religious poem; it takes its inspiration from the sentiments of pagan poetry, and it begins with a commonplace observation so frequently employed that Ḥammād al-Rawiya [*q.v.*] boasted of knowing 700 other poems with the same opening. Nevertheless it is the most authentic example in existence of the eulogistic poetry of the period; "the extended themes, the repeated clichés, the style and the vocabulary can serve for comparison with the traditional writings; in this work, the essential elements of the laudatory genre are defined for the first quarter of the 1st/7th century" (R. Blachère). It has frequently been reproduced, in the form of *tashṭīr* and *takhmīs*. Commentators on it are numerous: the most celebrated are Thaʿlab, Ibn Durayd, al-Tibrīzī (ed. F. Krenkow, in *ZDMG*, lxv, 241-79), Ibn Hishām (ed. Guidi, Leipzig 1871), Ibn Ḥidjdja, al-Suyūṭī, and al-Bādjūrī (v. Brockelmann, I, 38-9, S I, 68-9). It was published for the first time by Lette (Leiden 1748), and was later produced in several editions, in particular by G. Freytag (with Latin translation, 1823) and T. Nöldeke (*Delectus*, Berlin 1890, 110-4). R. Basset brought out (Algiers 1910) an edition accompanied by a French translation and two unpublished commentaries. Finally, it appears in the *Dīwān* of Kaʿb published by T. Kowalski (Cracow 1950), containing 33 poems and fragments.

The date of Kaʿb's death is not known, but he appears to have lived to a ripe old age.

Bibliography: R. Basset, *La Bânat Soʿâd*, 14-82, and the authors mentioned 9-13; R. Blachère, *HLA*, ii, 270-1 and bibl. (R. BASSET*)

KAʿB AL-AḤBĀR, ABŪ ISḤĀḲ B. MĀTIʿ B. HAYSUʿ/HAYNŪʿ, a Yemenite Jew who became a convert to Islam, probably in 17/638 (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2514), and is considered the oldest authority on Judaeo-Islamic traditions. *Ḥibr*/*ḥabr*, from the Hebrew *ḥāber*, the scholarly title immediately below *rabbi* current among Babylonian Jewish scholars, is presumed to be equivalent to the Arabic *ʿālim* (al-Khawārizmī, *Mafātīḥ*, 35); in Kaʿb al-Aḥbār the plural is a determinative complement, while in the less frequent Kaʿb al-Ḥabr the latter element is in apposition to Kaʿb.

Lidzbarski (*De propheticis ... legendis arabicis*, Leipzig 1893, 34-5) assumes that Kaʿb was originally called ʿAḳībā or Yaʿḳōb, but very little is known of this man who, according to tradition, came to Medina during the caliphate of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, accompanied the latter to Jerusalem in 15/636 (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2408) and after his conversion was on intimate terms with the caliph, whose death he predicted three days before it took place (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2722). He was a vigorous champion of ʿUthmān, which led on one occasion to his corporal chastisement by the pious Abū Dharr (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2946-7). Subsequently, Muʿāwiya tried to attract him to Damascus to become his counsellor, but it seems most likely that he withdrew to Ḥimṣ, where he died in 32/652-3, in 34 (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2474-5) or in 35 (Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, i, 40). According to al-Harawī (*Ziyārāt*, 9/20-1) his burial place and *maḳām* are in this town, but Yāḳūt (ii, 595) and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (i, 222; tr. Gibb, i, 139) locate his vault in Damascus (where a gravestone bearing his name is still extant; Gibb, *loc. cit.*). Ibn Djubayr (55) and al-Maḳrīzī (ed. Wiet, iv, 6) consider that it is situated in al-Djīza in Egypt, while al-Harawī (14/35) reports that some people believe him to be buried in Medina and states (39/94) that the tomb of one of his sons is at Djīza.

Though his true figure is difficult to discern, so wrapped is he in legendary trappings, Kaʿb is considered to have possessed a profound knowledge of the Bible and southern Arabian tradition, as well as a personal wisdom attested by the numerous state-

ments attributed to him without argument because he inspired so much confidence (al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 523); he is also the originator of traditions concerning ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb which are considered authentic; al-Djāḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān*, iv, 202-3) believes him to be trustworthy and would appear to be coming to his defence by implying that, in discussing the external data of the Pentateuch, Kaʿb did not say, "It is written in the Torah" but, "We find it in the books of the prophets". Sometimes he is accused of introducing Jewish elements into Islam, e.g. in a story, preserved by Ṭabarī (i, 2408-9), in which ʿUmar charges Kaʿb with Judaizing when he treats the temple mount in Jerusalem as a holy place. See further ISRĀʾĪLIYYĀT.

Posterity sought to add lustre to his name by crediting him with a great variety of traditions, particularly those relating to the prophets, such as the *Ḥadīth Dhi 'l-Kifl* printed at Būlāḳ in 1283 (Brockelmann, S I, 101) or the legend of Joseph [see YŪSUF] in Aljamiado [see ALJAMIA], edited in a Latin transcription by F. Guillen (*Legendas de José hijo de Jacob y de Alejandro Magno*, Saragossa 1888) and studied by M. Schmidt (*Über das altspanische Poema de José*, in *Roman. Forschungen*, xi (1901), 321), which is in fact a borrowing from al-Thaʿlabī's *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*. Al-Kisāʾī cites Kaʿb in his story of Joseph and he is also mentioned as an authority in Firdawsī's *Yūsuf u-Zalīkhā* (ed. H. Ethé in *Anecdota Oxoniensa*, Aryan Series, vi/i, Oxford 1908, 258, verse 2599).

Bibliography: Apart from references within the text: Ibn Saʿd, vii/2, 156: Ṭabarī, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, index; *Fihrist*, 32; Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 121; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, no. 7496; idem, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, viii, 438-40; *Aghānī*, ii, 50; Hamdānī, *Iklīl*, viii, index; Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Musulmänner*, 10; M. Grünbaum in *ZDMG*, xliv, 458, 477; Lidzbarski, 31-40; H. Hirschfeld in *Jewish Encycl.*, vii, 400; B. Chapira, *Légendes bibliques attribuées à Kaʿb al-Ahbar*, in *REJ*, lxix, 86 ff., lxx, 37 ff,; M. Perlmann, *A legendary story of Kaʿb al-Aḥbār's conversion to Islam*, in *The Joshua Starr Memorial Volume*, New York 1953; idem, *Another Kaʿb al-Aḥbār story*, in *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, xlv (1954), 48-58.

(M. SCHMITZ*)

KAʿBA, the most famous sanctuary of Islam, called the temple or house of God (*Bayt Allāh*). It is situated almost in the centre of the great mosque in Mecca. Muslims throughout the whole world direct their prayers to this sanctuary, where every year hundreds of thousands of pilgrims make the greater (*ḥadjdj*) or lesser (*ʿumra*) pilgrimage. Around it they gather and make their ritual circuits; around the Kaʿba the young Muslim community spent the early years of Islam. For the Muslim community the Kaʿba holds a place analogous to that of the temple in Jerusalem for ancient Jewry.

I. The Kaʿba and its immediate vicinity. The name Kaʿba is connected with the cube-like appearance of the building; formerly the word was also used to designate other similarly shaped sanctuaries. The structure is 50 ft. high, with a flat roof sloping gently to the north west corner, where is the water spout (*mīzāb*); the shorter walls are about 35 ft. long and the façade is 40 ft. long.

The façade, which contains the door (at about 7 ft. above ground level), faces north east and the Black Stone (*al-ḥadjar al-aswad*) is built into its eastern corner. Beyond the northern corner is the beginning of the *Ḥidjr*. In front of the façade are the Maḳām Ibrāhīm, the arch-shaped gate known as that of Banū Shayba, and the Zamzam well. Also in front of the façade, but outside the mosque enclosure, is the ritual walk from Ṣafā (south east) to Marwa (north). Photographs showing the Kaʿba in the foreground with the Maḳām Ibrāhīm in the middle ground (and consequently with the *Ḥidjr* to the left of the Kaʿba) reveal in the background, outside the mosque, the ritual walk from Ṣafā to Marwa, an area which cannot be seen on photographs where the Kaʿba stands out in front of the Maḳām Ibrāhīm and the Banū Shayba gate.

The Kaʿba is built of layers of the grey-blue stone produced by the hills surrounding Mecca. It stands on a marble base (*shādharwān*) 10 inches high, projecting about a foot. The four corners (*rukn*, pl. *arkān*) roughly face the four points of the compass. At the east is the Black Stone corner (*al-rukn al-aswad*): perhaps an astral orientation towards the Levant in pre-Islamic times? At the north is *al-rukn al-ʿirāḳī* (the ʿIrāḳī); at the west *al-rukn al-shāmī* (Syrian); and at the south *al-rukn al-yamanī* (Yemenite).

The four walls of the Kaʿba are covered with a curtain (*kiswa*), which in Egypt is called *al-burḳuʿ* (the veil). In front of the door is a special curtain, embroidered in gold and silver, with numerous inscriptions. Since Mamluk times (mid 7th/13th century) this *kiswa* has been traditionally provided by Egypt except during periods of political tension (*e.g.*, 1926-36 and after 1962). At one period the black *kiswa* was replaced by a white one between the 25th (or 28th) Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda and the end of the pilgrimage (cf. al-Batanūnī). Witnesses affirm that this practice has been discontinued. The curtains are occasionally fixed to the ground by rings and cords, or the base is raised by cords placed out of reach of human hands. The *kiswa* is usually of black brocade, with the *shahāda* outlined in the weave of the fabric. About two-thirds of the way up runs a gold embroidered band (*ḥizam*) covered with ḳurʾānic texts. (Numerous photographs can be found in Ibrāhīm Rifʿat, *Mirʾāt al-Ḥaram*, i, Cairo 1925). Each year, when the curtains are replaced, the Banū Shayba divide the old ones into small pieces which are distributed and sold as relics.

In the north-east wall, about 7 feet from the ground, is the door, parts of which have mountings of silver-gilt. When the Kaʿba is opened, a wooden staircase (*daradj*, *madradj*) running on wheels is pushed up to the door; when not in use, it is kept between the Zamzam and the Gate of the Banū Shayba (see Snouck Hurgronje, *Bilderatlas zu Mekka*, no. ii; for a picture of the staircase, see Ali Bey, *Travels*, ii, 80).

In the interior of the Kaʿba are three wooden pillars, which support the roof, to which a ladder leads up. The only furnishings are the numerous hanging golden and silver lamps. On the inner walls there are many building inscriptions. The floor is covered with slabs of marble.

On the outside of the Kaʿba, in the eastern corner, about 5 feet above ground, not far from the door, the Black Stone is built into the wall; formerly broken into three pieces and several small fragments, it is now held together by a ring of stone mounted in a silver band. The stone is sometimes described as lava and sometimes as basalt; its real nature is difficult to determine, because its visible surface is worn smooth by hand touching and kissing. The surface is hollowed out irregularly, as can be seen in sketches and photographs. Its diameter is around 12 inches. The colour is reddish black with red and yellow particles.

The part of the wall between the Black Stone and the door is called *al-multazam*, because the visitors press their breasts against it while praying fervently.

In the east corner too, about five feet above the ground, another stone (*al-ḥadjar al-asʿad*, the "lucky"), is built into wall. It is only touched and not kissed during the perambulation.

Outside the building there is still to be mentioned the gilt water-spout (*mīzāb*), which juts out below the top of the north-west wall, and has an appendage which is called the "beard of the *mīzāb*". The spout is called *mīzāb al-raḥma*, "spout of mercy" (on it cf. Ben Chérif, *Aux Villes Saintes de l'Islam*, p. 75); the part between it and the west corner is the exact *ḳibla* [*q.v.*]. The rain-water falls through the spout on to the pavement below, which here is inlaid with designs in mosaic. The ground all round the Kaʿba is covered with marble slabs.

Opposite the north-west wall, but not connected with it, is a semi-circular wall (*al-ḥaṭīm*) of white marble. It is three feet high and about five feet thick; its ends are almost six feet from the north and west corners of the Kaʿba. The semi-circular space between the *ḥaṭīm* and the Kaʿba enjoys an especial consideration, because for a time it belonged to the Kaʿba; in the perambulation therefore it is not entered; the *ṭawāf* goes as close as possible along the outer side of the *ḥaṭīm*. The space bears the name *al-ḥidjr* or *ḥidjr Ismāʿīl*. Here are said to be the graves of the patriarch and his mother Hagar. The pavement on which the *ṭawāf* is performed is called *maṭāf*; a depression in it just opposite the door has still to be mentioned; it is called *al-miʿdjan* "the trough"; according to legend, Ibrāhīm and Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*] here mixed the mortar used in building the Kaʿba.

The *maṭāf* and the buildings around it have not always remained the same throughout the ages. Only the arch-shaped gate, the Banū Shayba (once also called the *bāb al-Salām*), still marks the traditional entrance to the *maṭāf*. Between this archway and the façade (N.E.) is a little building with a small dome, the *maḳām Ibrāhīm*. In it is kept a stone bearing the prints of two human feet. The patriarch Ibrāhīm, father of Ismāʿīl, is said to have stood on this stone when building the Kaʿba and the marks of his feet were miraculously preserved. Beside the *maḳām Ibrāhīm*, slightly to the north, is the pulpit (*minbar*); at the beginning of this century it was made of white marble in the classical *minbar* shape. The dimensions of the *maḳām Ibrāhīm* were considerably reduced during the recent reconstruction. The relic is now closely surrounded by glass and bars set into a polygonal base, the whole structure, capped by a much narrower kind of "helmet", being about three yards above ground level.

The pavement which is used for the *ṭawāf* was relaid during the important work on the mosque which began in 1956. On old photographs the slender columns which surrounded the *maṭāf*, clearly demarcating it, can be seen. They were used to hold the lamps which lighted pilgrims at night. Today a new electric lighting system has been installed. On Ali Bey's plan of the mosque there were two further buildings, at the edge of the outer pavement and to the north east of the Zamzam building; these were called *al-ḳubbatayn*; by Snouck Hurgronje's day they had disappeared. For many years the Zamzam well was covered by a building or *ḳubba*. A description of this well can be found in the *Rapport quarantenaire* of 1905 by Dr. Soliman Bey (p. 13; published in Egypt; a résumé of the text is given by J. Jomier in *Le Mahmal et la caravane égyptienne des pèlerins de la Mekke*, Cairo 1953, 154-6), but the situation nowadays is completely different. There are no buildings on the surface and pilgrims can take advantage of this extra space. A staircase leads to a sort of underground hall divided into two sections, one for men and one for women, with water distributed by means of a system of taps.

The three little buildings previously situated on the exterior of the *maṭāf* also vanished during the course of the recent works, not only to provide some open space but also because, to an increasing extent, the diversification of rules has become of secondary importance to many Muslims. Such buildings housed the *imāms* of the four main schools during the prayers. The largest building (*maḳām* or *muṣallā ḥanafī*) was north west of the Kaʿba in front of the *Ḥidjr*; the Ḥanbalī was to the south east and the Mālikī to the south west. The Shāfiʿīs used the Zamzam well building.

Finally we must mention the work begun in 1956 which has transformed the promenade from Ṣafā to Marwa into a spacious covered passage with a lofty ceiling. A group of huge galleries, with a floor overlooking the courtyard of the mosque, has been built on the outside of the old arcades of the *īwān*, which have been allowed to remain.

II. The history of the Kaʿba.

Aside from Muslim traditions, practically nothing is known of the history of the Kaʿba. The sole reason for presuming that the Kaʿba was already in existence in the 2nd century A.D. is the mention of Mecca, under the name of Macoraba, by the geographer Ptolemy (*Geography*, vi, 7). Glaser (*Skizze der Gesch. u. Geogr. Arabiens*, Berlin 1890, ii, 235) believes that this name may have signified the same as the south Arabian or Ethiopian *mikrab*, *i.e.*, a temple. The accounts of the campaign of Abraha [*q.v.*], which have been elaborated with legendary features, also suggest the existence and worship of the Kaʿba in the sixth century but tell us nothing of its appearance or equipment. The Tubbaʿ Asʿad Abū Karib al-Ḥimyarī, who came to Mecca, is said to have for the first time provided the building with a *kiswa* and with a door with a lock. The information available regarding the distribution of the offices [see below iii.] among the sons of Ḳuṣayy shows that the worship of the sanctuary had developed into a carefully regulated cult several generations before Muḥammad.

In matters pertaining to the history of the building of the Kaʿba, modern Muslims tend to hold fast to the letter of the Ḳurʾān and discount, to an increasing extent, other accounts. It is in fact in the Ḳurʾān, and in the Medinan *sūras*, that Ibrāhīm and Ismāʿīl are said to have laid the foundations of the Kaʿba (Ḳurʾān, II, 121/127). The *maḳām Ibrāhīm* is indicated as a suitable place for the *ṣalāt* (II, 119/125). At God's command, Ibrāhīm ordained the pilgrimage (XXII, 28/27). The Kaʿba was the first sanctuary to be established on earth, and was now named the sacred house (V, 98/97), the ancient house (XXII, 30, 34/29, 33). We can only speculate about the milieus in which these tales circulated in pre-Islamic times. Were these stories similar to the Coptic traditions concerning the Holy Family's flight to Egypt which the Judaized milieus of Arabia transposed to Abraham's journeys to Mecca? We will never know. For Muslims, these accounts are grounded on the authority of the Ḳurʾān and the Ḳurʾān alone. Whether or not in pre-Islamic days Ḳuṣayy demolished and rebuilt the edifice, as historians say, is impossible to determine.

The historical references only begin with Muḥammad. When Muḥammad had reached man's estate, the fire of a woman censing the Kaʿba is said to have caught the building and laid it waste. It happened that a Byzantine ship was thrown ashore at Djudda [*q.v.*] and the Meccans brought its wood hither and used it for the new building. In connection with this the name of a man Bāḳūm (it is given in various forms) is always mentioned, sometimes as the captain of the ship, sometimes as the carpenter whose advice was taken; he is said to have been a Coptic Christian.

The old Kaʿba is said to have been only of the height of a man and to have had no roof. The threshold is said to have been on the level of the ground so that the water had an easy entrance in the frequent floods (*sayl*). The Kaʿba was then built of alternate layers of stone and wood, its height was doubled and a roof covered it. The door was placed above the level of the ground so that whoever wished to enter had to use a ladder. Unwelcome visitors were tumbled down from the high threshold. When the Black Stone was to be put in its place, the Meccans quarrelled among themselves as to who should have the honour. They had just decided that the first comer should be given the task when Muḥammad (who had been engaged in helping to carry the stones) came past. With grave authority he is said to have placed the precious object in a cloak —or in his cloak—and to have ordered the heads of tribes each to take an end. He himself then took out the stone and placed it in position.

At the conquest of Mecca in 8/629, Muḥammad left the Kaʿba as a building unaltered. But according to tradition, he later said that only the very recent conversion of the Meccans prevented him from instituting all kinds of innovations. These real or alleged intentions of Muḥammad were brought to realization in 64/683 by ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*]. As anti-caliph he was besieged by al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr [*q.v.*] in Mecca. Catapults were erected on the hills round Mecca, which hurled a hail of stones on the town and sanctuary and so damaged the house of Allāh that it finally looked "like the torn bosoms of mourning women". ʿAbd Allāh and his helpers pitched their tents beside the sanctuary (he henceforth called himself *al-ʿĀʾidh bi 'l-Bayt*, "he who took refuge at the temple") and again a conflagration threatened to complete the destruction. In the fire the Black Stone was split in three pieces.

When the Umayyad army was withdrawn, ʿAbd Allāh discussed with the Meccan authorities the demolition and rebuilding of the Kaʿba. When he had made his decision and the ruins had to be cleared away, no one dared to begin the work. The bulk of the populace, with Ibn ʿAbbās at their head, had left the town because they feared a punishment from heaven. But ʿAbd Allāh climbed up himself, axe in hand, and began the grim task. When his people saw that he remained unharmed, they took courage and assisted.

During the building a covered scaffolding was left on the spot to mark the *ḳibla* and the *maṭāf* at least. The masons are said to have worked behind the covering. ʿAbd Allāh guarded the Black Stone, wrapped in a piece of brocade, in the council hall (*dār al-nadwa*). When put back into its place it, or rather the three pieces into which it was broken, was bound with a band of silver.

The Kaʿba was then built entirely out of Meccan stone and Yemen mortar and built to a height of 27 ells. According to the tradition of the Prophet, the *ḥidjr* was included in the building and two doors were made on the level of the ground, the eastern as an entrance and the western as an exit. In the *ṭawāf* the four corners were kissed.

These alterations lasted only a short period. In 74/693 al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf [*q.v.*] conquered Mecca and killed ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr. In agreement with the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik he again separated the *ḥidjr* from the Kaʿba and walled up the west door. The building, in keeping with the wish of the Umayyads, thus practically received its pre-Islamic form again and this form has survived to the present day. The piety of the populace has always resisted any considerable innovations. Only to an unimportant degree have the authorities now and then made improvements. As was the case in the pagan period, floods have continued to be a danger to the building. When in 1611 it threatened to collapse, a girdle of copper was used to avert the disaster. But a new *sayl* made this support also insufficient, so that in 1630 renovations were decided upon. But the old stones were used as much as possible for the rebuilding.

The Kaʿba successfully withstood the Ḳarmatian invasion of 317/929; only the Black Stone was carried off. After an absence of some twenty years it was sent back to Mecca (cf. de Goeje, *Mém. sur les Carmathes*[2], 104-111, 145-8).

The custom of covering the Kaʿba is said to have been introduced by the Tubbaʿ. The annual re-covering of the Kaʿba only became an established custom in modern times; for the oldest Muslim period, the ʿĀshūrā day is mentioned as the day of covering, but in Radjab also and in other months the building has changed its covering. The *kiswa* consisted sometimes of Yemeni and sometimes of Egyptian or other cloth; during ʿUmar's caliphate the building threatened to collapse on account of the many coverings hung on it. All sorts of colours are mentioned also. The Wahhābīs even covered the Kaʿba with a red *kiswa*.

The *maḳām*s around the Kaʿba are mentioned as early as the ʿAbbāsid period, sometimes under the name *ẓulla* ("a shade"). The present buildings are said to date from 1074/1663. A dome over the Zamzam well is mentioned at an equally early period; the present one was built in 1072.

The Kaʿba had offerings dedicated to it in the pagan as well as the Muslim period. Al-Azraḳī devotes a detailed chapter to this subject (155-6). Many a worldly ruler has used these treasures for political purposes. Tradition reports that ʿUmar said: "I will leave neither gold nor silver in the Kaʿba but distribute its treasures". To this, however, ʿAlī is said to have raised vigorous objections so that ʿUmar desisted from his plan.

III. The Kaʿba and Islam.

Every man living in Mecca in the 6th-7th century A.D. must of necessity have had some relationship with the Kaʿba. On Muḥammad in his Meccan period the Ḳurʾān is silent in this respect. All that is known is that the early community in Medina turned to face Jerusalem in prayer. This was in the early days when it was still reasonable to hope that the Medina Jews would be won over. Subsequently, about a year and a half after the *Hidjra*, the community turned to Mecca in prayer and in Mecca itself faced the Kaʿba.

"Turn then thy face towards the sacred mosque and wherever ye be turn your faces towards that part" (Ḳurʾān, II, 139/144).

At this same period the Ḳurʾān began to lay

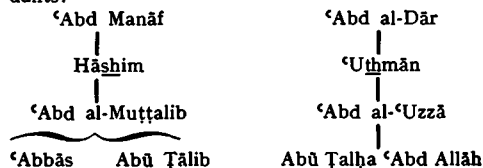
stress on the religion of Ibrāhīm, presenting Islam as a return to the purity of the primitive religion of Ibrāhīm which, obscured by Judaism and Christianity, shone forth in its original brightness in the Ḳurʾān. Guarded support for this interpretation is advanced by Sprenger and followed by Snouck Hurgronje in his *Het Mekkaansche Feest* (cf. *EI*[1], appendix to article IBRĀHĪM; for a contrary opinion see Yoakim Moubarac, *Abraham dans le Coran*, Paris 1958).

It is incontrovertible that an entire pre-Islamic ritual, previously steeped in paganism, was adopted by Islam after it had been purified and given a strictly monotheistic orientation. The pilgrimages to the Kaʿba and ritual progressions around the building were continued, but were now for the glorification of the One God. The abrahamic vision of the Kaʿba created a means of discerning an orthodox origin buried in the midst of pagan malpractices to which the first Muslims pointed the way.

In 6/627 a prospect of taking part in the Mecca cult was held out to the Muslims by the pact of al-Ḥudaybiya [*q.v.*]; in connection with it, the *ʿUmrat al-Ḳaḍāʾ* took place in the year 7. Muḥammad's political endeavours culminated in the conquest of Mecca in 8/629.

All the pagan trappings which had adhered to the Kaʿba were now thrust aside. 360 idols are said to have stood around the building. When touched with the Prophet's rod they all fell to the ground. The statue of Hubal which ʿAmr b. Luḥayy is said to have erected over the pit inside the Kaʿba was removed as well as the representations of the prophets. When they began to wash the latter with Zamzam water, Muḥammad is said to have placed his hands on the pictures of Jesus and Mary and said: "Wash out all except what is below my hands". He then withdrew his hands. A wooden dove also which was in the Kaʿba is said to have been shattered by Muḥammad's orders. The two horns of Abraham's ram did not crumble to dust until the rebuilding of the Kaʿba by ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr.

At the capture of Mecca, Muḥammad made arrangements regarding the religious and secular offices which had been filled in Mecca from ancient times. The historians say that in the old heathen period Ḳuṣayy, after a fierce struggle with the tribe of Khuzāʿa, became master of the Kaʿba and held all the important offices, religious and secular: the administration of the *Dār al-Nadwa* and the tying of the standard, the provision of the pilgrims with food (*rifāda*) and with drink (*siḳāya*) as well as the supervision of the Kaʿba (*sidāna* and *ḥidjāba*). His descendants:

ʿAbd Manāf — ʿAbd al-Dār
Hāshim — ʿUthmān
ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib — ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā
ʿAbbās, Abū Ṭālib — Abū Ṭalḥa, ʿAbd Allāh

administered the offices after his death, ʿAbd Manāf and his descendants getting the *rifāda* and *siḳāya* etc., while ʿAbd al-Dār and his descendants saw to the *sidāna* and *ḥidjāba* etc.

When Muḥammad conquered Mecca his uncle ʿAbbās or, according to another tradition, ʿAlī asked for the administration of these offices. But Muḥammad said he had abolished all of them except the *siḳāya* and the guardianship of the Kaʿba. The former remained in the hands of ʿAbbās; the latter he gave to ʿUthmān b. Ṭalḥa who allowed his cousin Shayba b. Abī Ṭalḥa to act as his deputy. The Banū Shayba are the doorkeepers at the Kaʿba to this day. The *rifāda*, which was in the hands of Abū Ṭālib, was taken over by Abū Bakr in 9/630; after his death the caliphs looked after the feeding of the pilgrims.

Muḥammad's control over Mecca and the Meccan cult was first clearly marked at the *Ḥadjdj* of the year 9. As plenipotentiary of the Prophet, who did not participate in the pilgrimage, Abū Bakr announced to the assembled pilgrims the latest arrangements, which were put in the form of a revelation. They are contained in Sūra IX, which from them is often called the Sūra of Immunity (*barāʾa*) (v. 1-12, 28, 36-7).

According to it, idolators are henceforth forbidden to participate in the Meccan festival as they are impure (*nadjas*). Moreover, they are declared outlaws. A period of four months is given them during which they can go freely about the country; but after that "kill them wherever ye find them". Excepted are those with whom an alliance has been made in so far as they have punctiliously observed its terms and helped no one against the Muslims.

In 10/631 Muḥammad himself led the pilgrimage, at which therefore according to tradition not a single idolator was present: the Kaʿba had become an exclusively Muslim sanctuary. At every *ṣalāt* Muslims throughout the world turn towards Mecca and at the ceremonies of the pilgrimage the Kaʿba forms the beginning and the end of the holy rites.

Two special ceremonies concerning the Kaʿba may here be mentioned, the opening and the washing of the building. The opening takes place on definite days and men are first admitted, then the women. On this occasion the above-mentioned staircase is pushed up to the building. The days in question change at the will of the Meccan authorities—but some usually fall in the month of the pilgrimage and one on the 10th Muḥarram (ʿĀshūrā day). It is considered particularly meritorious to perform the *ṣalāt* in the Kaʿba.

The procedure for the washing of the inside of the Kaʿba was as follows at the beginning of the 20th century. After the *Ḥadjdj* is completed, at the end of the month Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja, the Kaʿba is washed, a ceremony in which the Grand Sharīf, the governor and other authorities, as well as a number of pilgrims, take part. The first to enter is the Sharīf, who after a *ṣalāt* of two *rakaʿ*s himself washes the ground with Zamzam water which flows away through a hole in the threshold. The walls are washed with a kind of broom made of palm leaves. The Sharīf then sprinkles everything again with rose-water and finally the building is fumigated with all manner of perfumes (cf. *al-Ḳibla*, no. 409, 1). The Sharīf throws the broom away among the crowd of pilgrims, who fight among themselves for possession of it. Al-Batanūnī says (109) that the *zamzamī*s and the *muṭawwif*s sell the pilgrims similar brooms for a minimum of half a real.

As is evident from this example, the veneration for the sacred building extends to all that comes in contact with it: to the Black Stone, the water-spout, the *multazam*, and above all to the Zamzam water. It is however said—and probably with truth—that ʿUmar thus expressed himself on the Black Stone: "I know that thou art a stone, that neither helps nor hurts, and if the messenger of Allāh had not kissed thee, I would not kiss thee". But then he kissed the stone. And hardly a single pilgrim will think of ʿUmar's words during the *ṭawāf*. The *ṣalāt*

under the water-pipe is described as particularly efficacious: "Anyone who performs the *ṣalāt* under the *mat͟hʿab* becomes as pure as on the day when his mother bore him" (al-Azraḳī, 224). The Zamzam water, which the pilgrim has poured over him again and again, is useful for every purpose for which it is drunk (*māʾ Zamzam li-mā s͟huriba lahu*, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, 34).

There is abundant testimony in Muslim as well as European literature to the intensification of devotional feeling which the sight of the Kaʿba produces in the pilgrims. We may here quote al-Batanūnī's description of the *ṣalāt* at the Kaʿba as particularly characteristic (26): "The whole assembly stood there in the greatest reverence before this highest majesty and most powerful inspirer of awe before which the greatest souls become so little as to be almost nothing. And if we had not been witness of the movements of the body during the *ṣalāt* and the raising of the hands during the prayers, and the murmuring of the expressions of humility and if we had not heard the beating of the hearts before this immeasurable grandeur we would have thought ourselves transferred to another life. And truly we were at that hour in another world: we were in the house of God and in God's immediate presence, and with us were only the lowered head and the humble tongue and the voices raised in prayer and weeping eyes and the fearful heart and pure thoughts of intercession" (cf. Macdonald, *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*, Chicago, 1909, 216-7; Ben Chérif, *Aux villes saintes de l'Islam*, ii-iii, 45-6, 68).

Even the S͟hīʿīs and the Wahhābīs have left the Kaʿba its place in Islam. Only the Ḳarmatians form an obvious exception.

Many moderns lay stress on the fact that Mecca was chosen by God as the place of revelation; they emphasise that the Kaʿba is a symbol of the unity of the Muslim world, the place of God's grace, His worship, and the proclamation of His glory.

As to the mystics, their attitude to the Kaʿba depends on their position regarding the law. For the, so to speak, nomistic mystics like al-G͟hazālī, the Kaʿba is, it is true, the sacred building which one has to go round in the *ṭawāf*. The *ṭawāf* and its object however only receive their value for men when they give them an inducement to rise to a higher spiritual level. Ibn al-ʿArabī goes a step further when he says that the true Kaʿba is nothing other than our own being (*al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, i, 733); the Kaʿba however also plays a part in his mystic experiences. Hud͟jwīrī however quotes some sayings of mystics, who no longer require the Kaʿba as an inducement to rise, and even despise it. Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl says: "I wonder at those who seek His temple in this world: why do they not seek contemplation of Him in their hearts? The temple they sometimes attain and sometimes miss, but contemplation they might enjoy always. If they are bound to visit a stone, which is looked at only once a year, surely they are more bound to visit the temple of the heart, where He may be seen three hundred and sixty times in a day and night. But the mystic's every step is a symbol of the journey to Mecca, and when he reaches the sanctuary he wins a robe of honour for every step". Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī also says: "On my first pilgrimage I saw only the temple; the second time, I saw both the temple and the Lord of the temple; and the third time I saw the Lord alone. In short, where mortification is, there is no sanctuary: the sanctuary is where contemplation is. Unless the whole universe is a man's trysting-place where he comes high unto God and a retired chamber where he enjoys intimacy with God, he is still a stranger to Divine love; but when he has vision the whole universe is his sanctuary. The darkest thing in the world is the Beloved's house without the Beloved.

Accordingly, what is truly valuable is not the Kaʿba, but contemplation and annihilation in the abode of friendship, of which things the sight of the Kaʿba is indirectly a cause" (al-Hud͟jwīrī, tr. Nicholson, 327).

IV. The Kaʿba in Legend and Superstition.

In the article KAʿBA in *EI*[1] there is an account of a whole series of legends concerning the origins of the Kaʿba; we will not go into these here. It is common knowledge that when protesting against his coreligionists' imaginative excesses Muḥammad ʿAbduh even cited certain current legends about the Kaʿba (*Tafsīr al-Manār*, i, 466-7). Well known too is the fact that after the Saʿūdī conquest of Ḥid͟jāz (1924-6), a number of popular cultic places, such as the tomb of Eve in D͟judda, were suppressed. Among the legends relating to the Kaʿba are those describing its creation at the beginning of the world, what happened to it during the flood, how Abraham was guided to make his way to Arabia, details of his conduct during the construction of the Kaʿba, how Gabriel brought the Black Stone which had been preserved since the flood in Abū Ḳubays [*q.v.*]. Originally white, the stone had taken on its present colour after contact with the sins of the pagan era. There are also legends about the Zamzam well, especially concerning the role of ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and the two golden gazelles he discovered. These had been concealed by the D͟jurhum, along with swords and armour. All this was deposited at the Kaʿba or used to decorate the buildings.

From analogous theories developed earlier with relation to Jerusalem, Mecca was considered the navel of the world (cf. the account of these theories in the article KAʿBA in *EI*[1]).

Mecca is also a burial ground. Not only Ismāʿīl and his mother but a whole series of prophets, numbering hundreds, is said to have been buried round the Kaʿba.

V. Religious history before Islam.

From the fact that Ptolemy calls Mecca "Macroba" (*i.e. mikrāb*, temple) we may conclude that in his day the Kaʿba was regarded as a sanctuary dedicated to one or more deities. According to a statement of Epiphanius (*Haereses*, v, following the text in *Philologus*, 1860, 355), D͟hu 'l-S͟hāra had in Petra his χααβου, a word which is probably the same as Kaʿba. It is not clear from Epiphanius, however, whether the temple in Petra was meant, or the quadrangular black stone which represented D͟hu 'l-S͟hāra. Al-Bakrī (*Muʿd͟jam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 46) relates that the tribe of Bakr b. Wāʾil [*q.v.*], as well as the main body of the Iyād tribe, had their centre of worship in Sindād in the region of Kūfa and that their holy tent (or temple, *bayt*) there was called D͟hāt al-Kaʿabāt (but cf. al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat D͟jazīrat al-ʿArab*, 171, l. 14, 17, 230, l. 12). What was the relationship between the sanctity of the Kaʿba and the Black Stone? We can do no more than offer hypotheses, like Wellhausen's.

No tradition suggests that the Black Stone was connected with any particular god. In the Kaʿba was the statue of the god Hubal, who might be called the god of Mecca and of the Kaʿba. Caetani gives great prominence to the connection between the Kaʿba and Hubal. Besides him, however, al-Lāt, al-ʿUzzā, and

al-Manāt were worshipped and are mentioned in the Ḳur'ān; Hubal is never mentioned there. What position Allāh held beside these in pagan times is not exactly known.

Many other idols are mentioned in the Ka'ba and the vicinity, among them the 360 statues.

The Ka'ba possessed in a high degree the usual qualities of a Semitic sanctuary. First of all it made the whole surrounding area into consecrated ground. Around the town lies the sacred zone (*ḥaram*) marked by stones, which imposes certain restrictions on each one who enters it [see IḤRĀM]. Moreover, the sanctity of the area is seen in the following points. In the *ḥaram* the truce of God reigns. When the Arab tribes made a pilgrimage to the Ka'ba, all feuds were dormant. It was forbidden to carry arms. Next, the *ḥaram*—and the Ka'ba especially—is a place of refuge. Here the unintentional manslayer was safe just as in the Jewish cities of refuge. On the Ka'ba there was a kind of handle to which the fugitives clung (al-Azraḳī, 111), an arrangement which recalls the purport of the horns on the Jewish altar. Blood was not allowed to flow in the *ḥaram*. It is therefore reported that those condemned to death were led outside the *ḥaram* to execution.

The idea of peace extended even to the flora and fauna. Animals—except a few injurious or dangerous sorts—are not to be scared away; hence the many tame doves in the mosque. Trees and bushes were not cut down except the *Idhkhir* shrub, which was used for building houses and in goldsmiths' work. These regulations were confirmed by Islam and are in force to this day.

As to the rites, it is said that in the heathen period animals were sacrificed at the Ka'ba. Among the ancient Arabs the idol of stone replaced the altar; on it they smeared the blood of the sacrificial animals. In Islam the killing takes place in Minā.

It is a question whether and how far the Ka'ba was connected with the *ḥadjdj* in the pre-Islamic period. On the one hand, the *ḥadjdj* was an integral part of the ceremonies carried out outside Mecca, notably at 'Arafāt: the halt there is the summit of the pilgrimage. On the other hand, the Ḳur'ān (III, 91/97) uses the formula *ḥidjdj al-bayt* to refer to the Ka'ba. It is therefore most probable that in pre-Islamic times there was a fusion of two groups of ceremonies which, in a fashion still followed by the Arabs, united two adjacent holy places in the same celebration. It cannot be denied that the cult of the Ka'ba in the pagan era reveals traces of an astral symbolism. Golden suns and moons are repeatedly mentioned among the votive gifts (al-Azraḳī, 155 ff.). According to al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj*, iv, 47, ed. and tr. Pellat, § 1373), certain people have regarded the Ka'ba as a temple devoted to the sun, the moon and the five planets. The 360 idols placed round the Ka'ba also point in this direction.

However, such a view cannot be safely propounded as foremost. In the pagan era the cult of the Ka'ba was certainly syncretistic, conforming to the usual features of Arab paganism. It is impossible to discern to what extent North Semitic cults were represented in Mecca.

Bibliography: On the whole article Wüstenfeld, *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, Leipzig 1857-61, 4 vols.

On I and II: J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, London 1829, 2 vols.; Ali Bey, *Travels*, London 1816, 2 vols.; R. Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to el-Medinah and Maccah*, London 1857, 2 vols.; A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, Berlin 1885, 2 vols.; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, The Hague 1888-89, 2 vols., with *Bilderatlas*; idem, *Bilder aus Mekka*, Leiden 1889; Caïd Ben Chérif, *Aux villes saintes de l'Islam*, Paris 1919; al-Batanūnī, *al-Riḥla al-Ḥidjāziya*[2], Cairo 1329; E. Rutter, *The Holy Cities of Arabia*, London 1928, 2 vols.; Ibrāhīm Rif'āt, *Mir'āt al-Ḥaramayn*, i, Cairo 1925, numerous illustrations; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke*, Paris 1923; Azraḳī, 86 ff.; Fākihī, 18 ff.; al-Ṭabarī (ed. Leiden), i, 901 ff., 936 ff., 1130 ff.; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab* (ed. Paris), i, 133, iv, 125 ff., v, 165-167, 193; *B.G.A.*, i, (al-Iṣṭakhrī); ii, (Ibn Ḥawḳal), 23-4, iii[2] (Muḳaddasī), 71 ff.; v, (Ibn al-Faḳīh), 16-22; vii, (Ibn Rusta), 24-54; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv, 278 ff.; Ibn Djubayr, *Riḥla* (Gibb Mem., v), 81 ff.; al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ, Kit. al-'Ilm*, bāb 48; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Notes sur la Mekke et Médine, Rev. de l'Hist. des Religions*, xxvii, 316 ff.

On III: C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche Feest*, Leiden 1880; the Eastern and Western biographies of Muḥammad; commentaries on the Ḳur'ān on the passages mentioned.

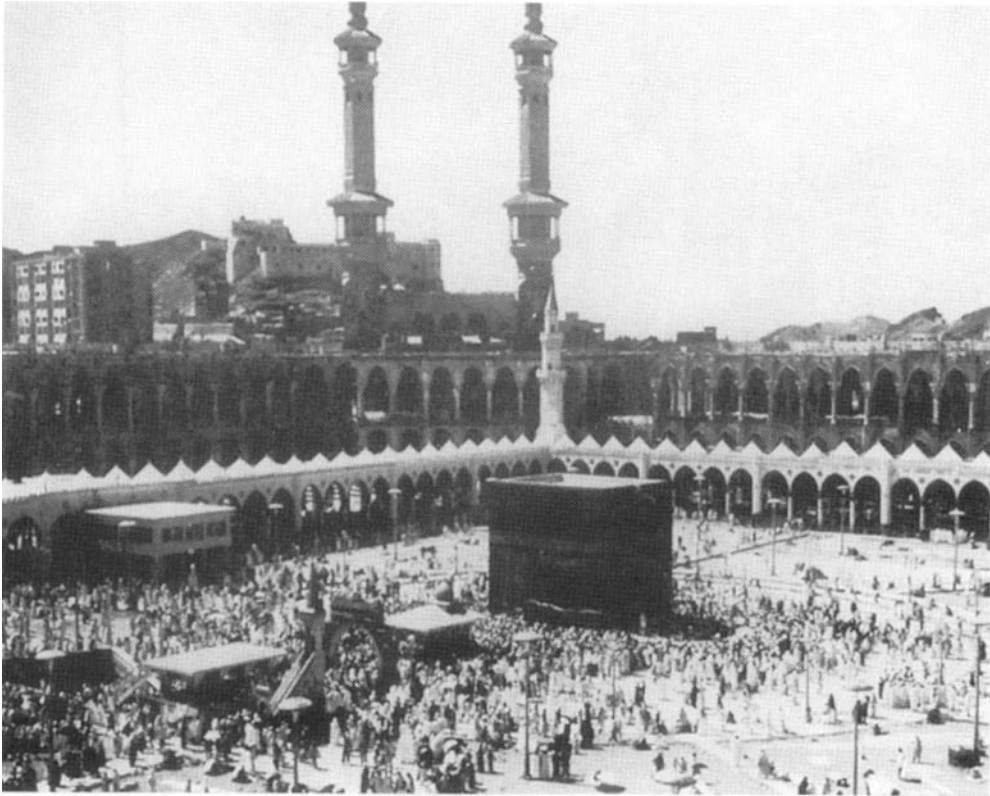
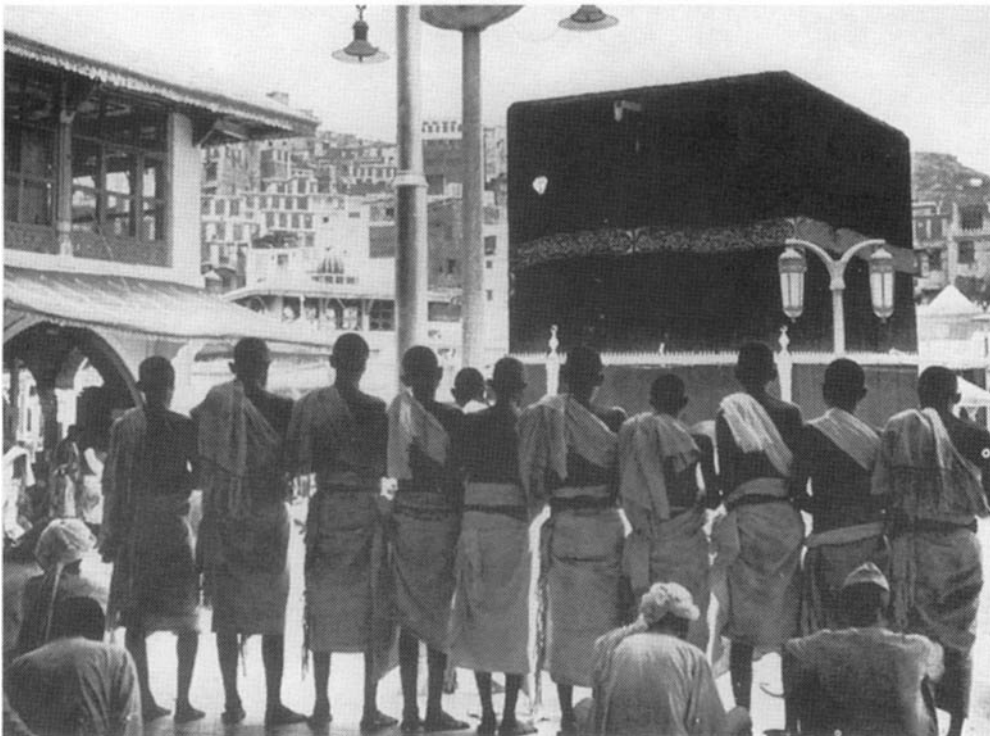
On IV: Azraḳī, 1 ff.; Ṭabarī, i, 130 ff., 274 ff.; Tha'labī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā'*, Cairo 1290, 69 ff.; Diyārbakrī, *Ta'rīkh al-Khamīs*, Cairo 1283, 2 vols.; Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1858-60, 2 vols.; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'Hist. des Arabes*, Paris 1847-48; A. J. Wensinck, *The Navel of the Earth, Verh. Kon. Akad. v. Wetensch.*, Dl. xvii, no. 1; J. L. Palache, *Het Heiligdom in de Voorstelling der Semitische Volken*, Leiden 1920.

On V: L. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, Introduzione, §§ 62 ff.; J. Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums*[2], Berlin 1897, 73 ff.; H. Grimme, *Mohammed*, Munich 1904, 45-6.

(A. J. WENSINCK-[J. JOMIER])

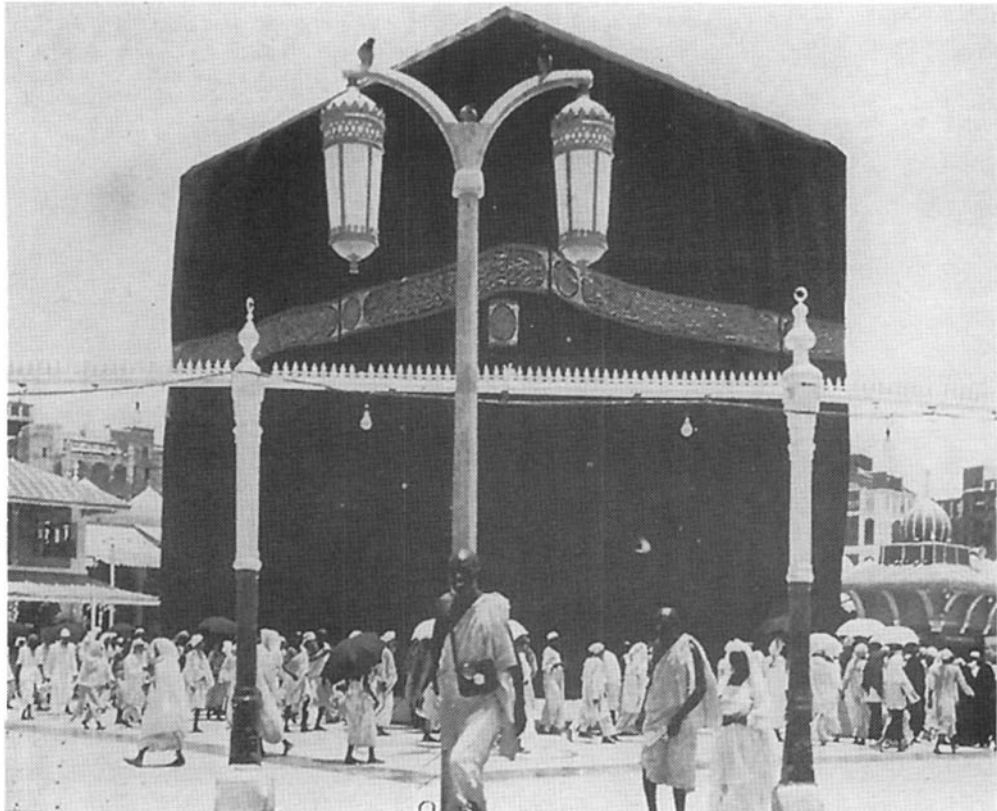
ḲABAḲBĀZĪ [see LA'B].

KABAKČI-OGHLU MUṢṬAFĀ, chief of the rebellion which overthrew the Ottoman sultan Selīm III. Originally from Kastamuni, a town in north western Anatolia, he was chosen as their leader by the *yamak*s (supernumerary janissaries) of the Rumelikavak fortresses on the Bosphorus, who rioted on 17 Rabī' I 1222/25 May 1807 upon the instigation of the *ḳā'im-maḳām* of the grand vizier, Köse Mūsā Pasha, and the *Shaykh al-Islām* 'Aṭā' Allāh Efendi. He conducted the rebellion in an orderly manner, put to death the principal organizers of the *Niẓām-i djedīd* [*q.v.*] and served the aims of the instigators of the riot in preparation for the enthronement of Muṣṭafā IV [*q.v.*] (21 Rabī' I/29 May). Nominated commandant of the fortresses on the Rumelian side of the Bosphorus with the rank of *turnadjī-bashī*, he exercised influence in government affairs through his collaboration first with the *Shaykh al-Islām*, later with Maḥmūd Ṭayyār Pasha, appointed *ḳā'im maḳām* in Sha'bān/October, and again with the *Shaykh al-Islām*. He was killed on 19 Djumādā I 1223/13 July 1808 in Rumelifener by 'Alī Agha, the *a'yān* of Pīnarhisar, sent with a troup of soldiers by Muṣṭafā Pasha Bayrakdār [*q.v.*], who was marching with the Ottoman army toward Istanbul to restore Selīm III [*q.v.*] to the throne.

An uneducated man, he showed a remarkable capacity for leadership in conducting the rebellion. Nevertheless he has been rightly criticized for his harmful action which resulted in the suppression of

1. North-eastern façade. In the foreground, to the left, are the *Maḳām Ibrāhīm*, the *Bāb Banī Shayba*, the *Minbar* and the Zamzam well; the building (*ḳubba*) of the latter is obscured from view.

2. North-western wall with the *mīzāb*; to the left are the Zamzam building and the *Maḳām Ḥanafī*.

a

b

3. South-western corner before the recent works. Opposite the north-western wall is part of *al-ḥaṭīm* with *al-ḥiḏjr*: to the right lie the *Maḳām Ibrāhīm*, the *Bāb Banī S̲h̲ayba* and the *ḳubba*. a. *Maḳām Ḥanafī*; b. *Maḳām Mālikī*.

4. South-western corner; to the left is the *Maḳām Ḥanafī*, to the right the *Maḳām Ibrāhīm*.

the reform movement which was followed under Selīm III.

Bibliography: *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iv, 459 f.; A. de Juchereau de Saint-Denis, *Révolutions de Constantinople en 1807 et 1808*, Paris 1819, ii, 113-71; ʿĀṣim, *Taʾrikh*, Istanbul n.d., ii, *passim*; Aḥmed Djewdet, *Taʾrikhʿ*, Istanbul 1309, viii, 157-297; Muṣṭafā Nūrī, *Netāʾidj al-wuḳūʿāt*, Istanbul, 1294-1327, iv, 48-55; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Meşhur Rumeli ayanlarından ... Alemdar Mustafa Paşa*, Istanbul 1942, index; idem, *Kabakçı Mustafa isyanına dair yazılmış bir tarihçe*, in *Belleten*, vi (1942), 253-67; idem, *Kabakçı vak' asına dair bir mektup*, in *Belleten*, xxix (1965), 599-604; Zinkeisen, vii, 463-71, 552-57; N. Iorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, Gotha 1910, v index; A. F. Miller, *Mustafa Pasha Bayraktar*, Moscow-Leningrad 1947; S. I. Shaw, *Between old and new; the Ottoman Empire under Selim III 1789-1807*, Cambridge Mass. 1971; H. D. Andreasyan, (tr.), *Georg Oğulukyan'ın ruznamesi 1806-1810 isyanları: III. Selim, IV. Mustafa, II. Mahmud ve Alemdar Mustafa Paşa*, Istanbul 1972. See also Aḥmed Refīḳ, *Kabakdjī Muṣṭafā*, Istanbul 1331.

(E. Kuran)

ḲABĀLA (A.) "guarantee", a juridical term used mainly in connection with fiscal practice, in a manner which is still very difficult to define precisely.

The particular field with which this discussion is concerned is a double one—that of the levying of the land-tax, *kharādj* [*q.v.*], and that of special taxes, *mukūs*. As was already the case before the Arab conquest both in the Byzantine Empire and under the Sasanids, local communities were held jointly responsible by the Treasury for the payment at the required time of the full amount of land-tax demanded. Nevertheless, it frequently occurred that many individuals had difficulty in finding the necessary ready money immediately. In these conditions, as a result of an agreement between the inhabitants and the administration, application was made to a notable, often but not necessarily a man of the locality, to advance the sum required, for which he had to ensure that he would be reimbursed later. The matter having generally been agreed in advance, this notable in effect acted as a guarantor for the debt of the locality in question. This procedure constitutes the contract of *ḳabāla*, the offer being called *taḳbīl* and the person named *mutaḳabbil*. In this form, Abū Yūsuf does not disapprove of *ḳabāla*. But in practice it appears that matters often happened otherwise, that is to say that not only the principle of the guarantee but also of the amount were known in advance; here, jurists and traditionists, such as Abū Yūsuf and Abū ʿUbayd, disapproved—traditionists, more particularly when, as the harvest could not be estimated in advance, the tax to be levied on it was likewise not calculable if it consisted of a percentage; and jurists, because the total sum envisaged, being necessarily less or greater than the eventual proceeds of the tax, was bound to be injurious either to the taxpayers or to the Treasury. But it is precisely on account of the anticipated profit that the military leaders began to seek out *ḳabālāt*. At the start, they had been allotted emphyteutic concessions (*ḳaṭāʾiʿ*; pl. of *ḳaṭīʿa* [see IḲṬĀʿ]) on the State lands (*ṣawāfī*). But as these were practically hereditary, it was not possible to find new ones, and they therefore turned their attention to the private *kharādj* lands, so that they might succeed either in retaining the *kharādj* for themselves while only paying the tenth (see *Arabica*, i (1954), 358), or, a less serious offence, contract an advantageous *ḳabāla*. However, the *ḳabāla* disappeared quite rapidly in face of the development of the new type of *iḳṭāʿ*, although definitions of it are still to be found occasionally in the later lexicographers, such as al-Zamakhsharī. Clearly it possessed some of the characteristics of tax-farming, and the texts sometimes confuse *ḳabāla* and *ḍamān*; nevertheless, *ḳabāla* usually denotes merely the operation at the basic level of the whole local community, whilst *ḍamān* also applies, throughout the whole course of Muslim history, to the far wider concession of the right to organize and levy taxes, for some years, from a vast district, in return for the payment—more or less in advance—of a sum which is guaranteed, but markedly smaller than the scheduled revenue. Sometimes the texts also compare the *ḳabāla* with the *muḳāṭaʿa* which, in the case of a small estate, in effect probably differs only in the matter of duration, but which also applies to vast semi-autonomous districts or provinces in whose entire internal administration the State definitively renounces all interest, in return for the settlement of a guarantee.

What has just been said appears to be applicable in some measure to Muslim Asia in general. In the Maghrib and in Spain, where the *ḳabāla* is to be found in regard to *mukūs*, it is not certain if the term occurs in connection with *kharādj*; occasionally it denotes the fixed dues owed by the administrator of a *wakf*. But it is above all with reference to Egypt, always distinctive in agricultural and fiscal matters, that some particularly delicate questions arise.

In Egypt, indeed, it seems that no *ḳaṭāʾiʿ* were distributed, although State lands and private lands possessing some degree of autonomy existed there before the conquest and were retained afterwards. But no doubt both because the Arab population of Egypt was originally limited to the garrison towns, and because control of the Nile and the resultant agricultural organization created, throughout all the irrigated territories, a unified administration which deprived each of them of part of its own effective autonomy, the very term *ḳaṭīʿa* in this sense seems unknown (although in the plural *ḳaṭāʾiʿ* it denotes the Ṭūlūnid quarter of Fusṭāṭ created on the model of Samarrā). *Ḳabālāt*, however, do exist, often in the hands of persons whom the papyri call *māzūt*, μειζότερος. Then in the 2nd/8th century, Arab tribal groups settled in Egypt and, as it was not possible to give them *ḳaṭāʾiʿ*, they were granted lands for which they assumed the *ḳabāla*, under conditions which guaranteed an income for the State but which also left them with a substantial profit for themselves. It appears that this was brought about by distribution by auction, held in Fusṭāṭ for four years, with a revision of the basic tax survey every thirty years. Despite reforms in the methods employed (particularly under al-Afḍal and al-Maʾmūn al-Baṭāʾiḥī, in the second century of Fāṭimid rule,) it seems that the system was maintained in certain respects until the Ayyūbid conquest introduced into Egypt a new system more or less inspired by the eastern *iḳṭāʿ*. In short, the old system differed from similar systems in the Near East only in its systematic and durable character, and by its adaptation to the specific agricultural organization of Egypt.

However, this does not solve all of the problems. Papyri, and later the fiscal treatises from the Fāṭimid and subsequent periods, reveal that there was a distinction between lands lying outside the *ḳabālāt*, which were subjected to permanent surveys (*misāḥa*), deciding each year the areas to be flooded and the different types of cultivation to be employed on them,

and lands of *ḳabālāt*, which were themselves *bilā misāḥa*, and for which therefore it was sufficient to have a contract drawn up independently of the annual verification of the surface area and type of cultivation. In the fiscal treatises of al-Ma*kh*zūmī, Ibn Mammātī and al-Nābulusī, the first system is called the *mufādana*, imposition by *faddān*, or simply *zirāʿa*, and the second *ḳabāla*, but also, at least in certain cases, *munā*d*jaza*, settlement after dispute, sometimes *mu*sh*āṭara*, equal division (Ibn Hawḳal, i, 133 distinguishes between *maʿḳud* and *maḥlūl*). On the other hand custom tended increasingly to give *ḳabāla* the sense of *arḍ al-ḳabāla*, land subjected to the system of *ḳabāla*, and if one or two papyri give the impression that a *ḳabāla* can include several small properties of another sort, as in the Asiatic system, others on the contrary suggest relatively small pieces of land, and the later fiscal treatises reveal a situation where the tax agents controlled the entire body of lands consisting both of divisions of land in *mufādana* and of others in *ḳabāla*, and had the right to transfer certain of these from one category to the other, according to the types of cultivation dependent upon the condition of the land after inundation: this suggests that now that the distinction between the Arabs and the converted native inhabitants is blurred, the difference between the two categories of lands is connected with a difference of agricultural utilization, the *ḳabāla* being applicable only to those lands used for the cultivation of cereals and leguminous plants, to the exclusion of orchards and economic crops (flax, sugar, etc.). We do not know if this was already the situation at the time of the earliest adjudications.

Finally, if we come down to the Mamlūk period, we see that this evolution continues. There remain some lands for which the "rent" (*i*dj*āra*) is fixed at a sum determined in advance by *tanā*dj*udjuz* = *munā*dj*aza*, but what is now called *ḳabāla* is no more than the agricultural unit of land generally subjected to *misāḥa*, and within it a distinction is made between the different types of land imposed on the *faddān* according to the type of cultivation: in other words, integration with the common system is complete, without adjudication or tax-farming or any other "guarantee" save that of paying what is due. This is a normal conclusion since frequently these dues now go not to the Treasury but to the *muḳṭāʿ*, the true heir to the profits of the former *mutaḳabbil*. In the Ottoman period, if there are *muḳāṭaʿāt* and *iltizāmāt* (the meaning of which is etymologically related to *ḍamān*, but in fact corresponding rather to *iḳṭāʿ*s) the word *ḳabāla* disappears from the vocabulary of land taxation; and, with Bonaparte's scholars, *munā*dj*aza* was explained as signifying merely poor lands.

Alongside its use with regard to taxation on land, as described above, the word *ḳabāla*, as well as *ḍamān* in this context, occurs in a more permanent sense to signify the farming of special revenues, generally of *mukūs*, especially in towns, such as the sale of salt or the management of baths or even of a local customs office. It is most often in this sense that we must interpret those passages which show rulers abolishing or condemning *ḳabālāt*, like *mukūs* elsewhere; and it is in reference to such *ḳabālāt*, which are perhaps more often designated in this way in the West than in the East, that Europeans have understood the word and adopted it (Spanish *alcabala* attested in 1101, Italian *gabella* current in ports and among the Normans in Sicily in the 12th century, from which the French *gabelle*, which however has so far not been found before the beginning of the 14th century; Provençal *gabele*). (It should be noted however that, in the account of Ramon Muntaner of the Catalan expedition to the East, at the beginning of the 14th century, *gabella* denotes the Turkish tribes, and therefore derives from *ḳabīla* and not from *ḳabāla*.) For these taxes, see provisionally ḌARĪBA above, but no study has been devoted to the methods employed for levying them.

Bibliography: Sources used (this does not claim to be an exhaustive list):—Abū Yūsuf, *Kharādj*, ed. Cairo 1352, 105 f., trans. Fagnan, 49 f.; Abū ʿUbayd, *Amwāl*, 70-2; Ṭabarī, ii, 1717, iii, 109, 1799; Bayhaḳī, ed. Schwally, 125; Ibn Ḥawḳal, i, 136; Makhzūmī, in *JESHO*, v (1962), 263; Ibn Mammātī, ed. Atiya, 259, 336-8; Nābulusī, *Fayyūm*, in *Arabica*, iv (1957), 13 f.; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, viii, 246-52; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Bulāk, i, 83-6; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 458; A. Grohmann, *Papyrus Caire*, ii, no. 87, iii, no. 103, iv, nos. 270 and 271, with the corresponding notes; Ch. Becker, *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt*, no. 3; J. David-Weill, *Papyrus Louvre*, in *JESHO*, xiv (1971), 13-15 (*māzūt*).

Modern works: no complete study. Some information in Quatremère, *Journal des Savants*, 1848, 49 (with etymology of *gabelle*); De Goeje, Glossaries of Balādhurī and Ṭabarī (but the passage from Balādhurī called upon to show that *ahl al-ḳibāla* = *ahl al-dhimma* in this case is too uncertain to justify anything); Dozy, s.v. *ḳabāla* (the same correction should be made to the passage from De Goeje) and *munādjaza*; Løkkegaard, *Islamic taxation*, ch. IV (but cf. *Arabica*, i (1954), 350); Cl. Cahen, *Fiscalité, Propriété, etc.*, in *Arabica*, ii (1955); idem, *Impôts Fayyūm, ibid.*, iv (1957); idem, *Contributions*, in *JESHO*, v (1962); idem, *L'administration de l'armée fatimide*, in *JESHO*, xiv (in press); Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Raʾīs, *al-Kharādj fi'l-dawla al-Islāmiyya*, Cairo 1957, last chapter; Makoto Shimizu, *Les finances publiques de l'État abbaside*, in *Der Islam*, xlii (1965), particularly p. 12; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Esp. Mus.*, iii, 39, 270, 301, 430; M. Talbi, *L'émirat aghlabide*, 320, 661; H. R. Idris, *Zīrides*, ii, 615; Vincenzo Crescini, *Gabella*, in *Romanica Fragmenta*, Turin 1932; Giovanni-Battista Pellegrini, *L'elemento arabo nelle lingue neolatine*, in *L'occidente et l'Islam nell'alto medioeve, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medio-Evo*, XII-2, Spoleto 1965, 706, 769-70; F. Nasser, *Les emprunts lexicologiques du français à l'arabe*, Beirut 1966, 273-4 and index. See also IḲṬĀʿ. (CL. CAHEN)

KABARDS, a Muslim people of the Caucasus. In Russian they are called Kabardintsī, in Turkish Kabartaylar; other designation, Käsäg. The name of the Kabards was first mentioned as *Cheuerthei* by Barbaro, who visited the Caucasus in 1436. Its etymology remains uncertain.

The Kabard language belongs to the eastern branch of the Adīghe (Čerkes) linguistic group, which is also referred to as "high Adīghe".

According to the 1926 Soviet census, there were 139,925 Kabards ethnically and 138,925 linguistically. The census of 1939 records 164,000 Kabards.

The Kabards live in the basin of Upper Terek and some of its tributaries and are divided into two groups: one, forming the tribes of the Great Kabarda, lives between the rivers Malka and Terek to the west of the Terek; the other, forming the tribes of the Little Kabarda, lives between the Sunja and the Terek, to the east of the Terek.

The Kabards arrived in their habitat in the 13th century from their original homeland further to the west, after the Alans had been weakened by Mongol invasions, and after the collapse of the Golden Horde they began to play a leading role in the history of the Caucasus. In the 16th century Kabard princes maintained friendly relations with the rulers of Moscow. The second wife of Ivan IV was a Kabard princess, Marie, daughter of Temrük. In the 17th century the Kabards led the coalition of Caucasian peoples against the Ķalmuķs. Because of the dominating role they played in the Central Caucasus and their location near the Daryal pass, they were the first to come under Russian control in the 19th century, accepting it without any strong resistance. At the time of the Russian conquest a number of Kabards settled between the upper Kuban and the Zelenchuk and were called Fugitive Kabards. After 1864, some Kabards, mostly of the fugitive group, emigrated into the Ottoman Empire.

Sunnī Islam of the Ḥanafī *ma<u>dh</u>hab* was introduced in the second half of the 16th century by the Crimean Tatars, in competition with Christianity. They were completely islamized by the end of the 17th century.

The traditional Kabard economy consisted of horse-breeding, agriculture, horticulture, apiculture and home industry. Traditional Kabard society had a complex structure which consisted of eleven classes grouped in two main divisions: the noblemen, or the free group, and the *p<u>sh</u>ətlə*, or the non-free group. At the head of society were the princes (*p<u>sh</u>ə*), among whom the *wālī* was the chief of the Kabard people. They were followed by the nobles (*uork*, or *uork<u>kh</u>*). These in turn were subdivided into four classes according to the rights and obligations which bound them to the princes. The nobles were followed by the free peasants (*tfo<u>kh</u>otl*). The non-free group consisted of the *azat* (freed peasants who were bound by some servitude to their former masters); *og* (serfs); *loganaput* (between *og* and slaves); *unaut* (slaves).

In the 19th century attempts were made by K. Atažukin to create a literary language, and in 1865 he published a Kabard alphabet based on the Cyrillic script. However, Kabard did not attain the status of a literary language until 1924. The speech of the Great Kabarda was used as the basis of the literary language, and this language is used officially in the Kabardo-Balkar A.S.S.R. and the Karačay-Čerkes A.R. The first newspaper in the Kabard language was published in 1924 under the title *Kara <u>Kh</u>alk*. According to the *Letopis' periodičeskikh izdanij S.S.S.R.* there were in 1960 two Kabard newspapers and two magazines.

The Kabards were first organized into the Kabard Autonomous Region on 1 September 1921. On 16 January 1922 they were joined with the national district of Balkar, which on 5 December 1936 became the Kabardo-Balkar Autonomous Region. In 1944 the Kabard Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was announced, which further changed into the Kabardo-Balkar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic on 9 February 1957. The territory of the Republic occupies 12,400 sq. km. In 1959 there were 420,115 people in the A.S.S.R. Of these 45 % were Kabards, 8.1 % were Balkars, 38.7 % Russians, and the rest other groups of Caucasians.

Bibliography: B. Geiger, T. Halasi-Kun, A. Kuipers and K. Menges, *Peoples and languages of the Caucasus*, The Hague 1958; *Istoriya Kabardino-Balkarskoya A.S.S.R.*, Moscow 1967; *Kabardiskaya A.S.S.R.*, Nalchik 1946; B. Kalmīkov, *Očerki revolutsionnogo dviženiya v Kabarde*, Nalchik 1946; A. Kuipers, *Introduction to Morpheme and phoneme in Kabardian*, The Hague 1960; <u>Sh</u>. B. Nogmov, *Istoriya Adīgeyskogo Naroda Sostavlennaya po predaniyam Kabardintsev*, 5th ed., Nalchik 1952; *Sbornik Slatey po Istorii Kabardy*, 1-2, Nalchik 1957; see also BESKESEK-ABAZA, ČERKES, and AL-ĶABĶ. (HÜLYA SALIHOĞLU)

AL-ĶABBĀB, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ʿABD ALLĀH B. ḤUSAYN AL-TAMGRŪTĪ AL-DARʿĪ AL-RAĶĶĪ (from al-Raķķa [*q.v.*], his native town), a very famous Moroccan saint. Born in the *zāwiya* of Sayyid al-Nās as it was called (from the name of the Prophet), the founder of which was Abū Isḥāķ al-Anṣārī, known under the name of Sayyidī Ibrāhīm al-Ḥā<u>djdj</u>, he grew up there in prayer and asceticism. Accompanied by the son of this latter, Aḥmad, he went to the *zāwiya* of Tamgrūt, founded by Abū Ḥafṣ, ʿUmar b. Aḥmad al-Anṣārī, in Ramaḍān 983/Dec.-Jan. 1575-76, and settled there until his death on Friday 12 <u>Dj</u>umādā II 1045/23 Nov. 1635. He was buried in the place since called *rawḍat al-a<u>sh</u>yā<u>kh</u>*, on the Si<u>dj</u>ilmāsa road. His fame had attracted many disciples, whom he initiated into the *<u>dh</u>ikr <u>sh</u>ā<u>dh</u>ilī* and who acquired some fame, such as the aforementioned Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm and the two brothers Muḥammad and Ḥusayn Ibn Nāṣir al-Darʿī. The teaching of the *ṭarīķa*, which he had received from Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Ḥa<u>djdj</u>ā<u>dj</u> al-Darʿī, derived from Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad Zarrūķ, whose teaching was transmitted by Abu 'l-Ķāsim al-<u>Gh</u>āzī, ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Si<u>dj</u>ilmāsī and ʿAlī b. Yūsuf al-Rā<u>sh</u>idī.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 315 and n. 4; Ifrānī, *Ṣafwa*, 70; Ķādirī, *Na<u>sh</u>r*, i, 169; idem, *Iltiķāṭ*, fol. 14v; idem, *al-Na<u>sh</u>r al-kabīr*, i, fol. 81v; Nāṣirī, *Ṭalʿat al-mu<u>sh</u>tarī*, i, 128-36 and *passim*; Makkī Nāṣirī, *Durar* (after al-Ha<u>sh</u>tūkī, *Inārat al-baṣāʾir* and *Ṭalʿat al-dāʿa*); Ḥusayn Ibn Nāṣir al-Darʿī, *Fahrasa*; Yūsī, *Muḥāḍarāt, in fine*. (M. LAKHDAR)

ĶABBĀN [see MĪZĀN].

ĶABḌ (A.), verbal noun meaning "seizure", "grasping", "contraction", "abstention", etc., and used in the special vocabulary of various disciplines.

i.—In *fiķh* the word signifies taking possession of, handing over. In Mālikī law *ḥiyāza* is more frequently used. *Tasallum* is also employed to mean the act of handing over. Taking possession is accomplished by the material transfer of the thing when movable goods are involved; by occupation when it is a question of real estate, but also symbolically by the handing over of the keys or title deeds of the property. *Ķabḍ* only has a subsidiary role to play in the sale, since *fiķh*, from the very beginning and in all its versions, recognized that the ownership of the thing which has been sold, when a definite object is involved, is transferred immediately by the agreement of the parties, before any formal transfer.

The part played by the *ķabḍ* in the matter of gifts (*hiba*), loan (*ķarḍ*), commodate (*ʿariyya*) and security (*rahn*), is a subject of dispute amongst the legal schools. The Mālikīs excepted, most authors teach that the agreement of the parties on which these contracts are founded does not carry with it any legal obligation on the part of the one who gave the undertaking, nor any absolute right on the part of the beneficiary. The former cannot be forced to hand over the thing he has promised, nor can the latter demand its transfer, *ķabḍ*. These contracts are "efficacious", therefore, only on the basis of the *ķabḍ*, freely agreed. The formula of the classical authors, according to which *ķabḍ* is useful for the completion (*tamām, luzūm*) of these contracts, is

not sufficiently significant. Properly speaking, these contracts only become juridically valid through the operation of the *ḳabḍ*. Only the Mālikī school holds that immediately after the agreement of the parties relative to a gift, loan, commodate or security the beneficiary may constrain the man who made the contract to hand over the object (Dardīr, *al-Sharḥ al-ṣaghīr*, ii, 344 for the gift; ii, 226-9 for the commodate; ii, 121 for the security).

However the *ḳabḍ* becomes a condition of the validity of the agreement itself (*sharṭ al-ṣiḥḥa*) as regards two contracts which become invalid if the material transfer does not take place at the time of the agreement: these are the *salam*, or forward sale (the price to be paid at the time of the contract) and the *ṣarf*, contract of exchange (exchanged currencies must be transferred there and then).

Ḳabḍ amāna and *ḳabḍ ḍamān*. In regard to contracts which involve the temporary transfer of something from one contracting party to the other, in particular hiring, commodate, safe custody and mandate, there arises the question as to whether this taking possession is a *ḳabḍ amāna*, in which case the trustee is only held responsible if he has been at fault or in transgression (*taʿaddī*) of the rules of the contract or of the customary dealings in such matters, or if it is a case of a *ḳabḍ ḍamān*, which holds the trustee responsible for any loss arising in respect of the object, even through chance or circumstances over which he has no control. The Ḥanafīs are of the opinion that in all these contracts, without exception, *ḳabḍ amāna* is the only possibility. The Shāfiʿīs and the Ḥanbalīs make a distinction according to whether the contract is concluded in the interests of the trustee (commodate, hiring), in which case the *ḳabḍ* is *ḍamān*, or whether the contract is profitable chiefly to the owner of the thing (safe custody, mandate), and in this case it is *ḳabḍ amāna*. As for the Mālikīs, they adopt another criterion. According to whether the thing held in trust in accordance with one of the contracts outlined above can be concealed easily (*mā yughābu ʿalayhi*) or with difficulty, in the first case they enforce the consequences of *ḳabḍ ḍamān*, and in the second those of *ḳabḍ amāna*.

Bibliography: Muḥammad Yūsuf Mūsā, *al-Amwāl wa-naẓariyyat al-ʿaḳd*, Cairo 1953, 449; Muṣṭafā Aḥmad al-Zarkā', *al-Madkhal al-fiḳhī al-ʿāmm*, Damascus [8]1964, no. 163. For Mālikī law: Dardīr, *al-Sharḥ al-ṣaghīr* (with the commentary of Ṣāwī, Būlāḳ 1289, ii, 226-7 (commodate), ii, 344 (gift), ii, 121 (security); D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita*, Rome 1938, i, 316, ii, 379, 477 and *passim*; Chafik Chehata, *Les concepts de qabḍ ḍamān et de qabḍ amāna en droit musulman hanéfite*, in *St. Isl.*, xxxii (1970), 89 ff. (Y. Linant de Bellefonds)

ii.—In Ṣūfism, a technical term used to denote a spiritual state of "contraction" as opposed to "expansion", *basṭ* [*q.v.*].

According to al-Ḳushayrī [*q.v.*]: "just as *ḳabḍ* is above the degree of *khawf* (fear) and *basṭ* above that of *radjā'* (hope), so *hayba* (reverential awe) is above *ḳabḍ*, and *uns* (intimate ease) is above *basṭ*". The explanation of this hierarchy is clearly that *ḳabḍ* and *basṭ* denote the pure objectivity of the *ʿārif* (gnostic) untinged with any individual subjective reaction such as fear and hope, while on the other hand *hayba* and *uns* denote a greater degree of unveiling on the part of the Divinity. The end of the path is when Divine Subjectivity obliterates the objective experience of *ḳabḍ* and *basṭ* in a transcendent synthesis of the two. The terms themselves, as used by the Ṣūfīs, spring from the Divine Names [see AL-ASMĀ' AL-ḤUSNĀ] *al-Ḳābiḍ* (He who causes contraction) which is an *ism djalālī* (Name of Majesty) and *al-Bāsiṭ* (He who causes expansion), which is an *ism djamālī* (Name of Beauty); and the Ṣūfīs frequently use *djalāl* and *djamāl* as synonyms of *ḳabḍ* and *basṭ* when referring to the divinely subjective experiences of the *ʿārif* (gnostic). Aḥmad al-ʿAlawī [see IBN ʿALĪWA] quotes his Shaykh as saying, in moments of *ḳabḍ*: "My Majesty is One with My Beauty"; and he comments: "Since the gnostic is with Him who contracts, not with the contraction itself, and with Him who expands, not with the expansion itself, he is active rather than passive and has thus become as if nothing had happened to him... Let your attribute be *kamāl* (perfection) which is beatitude in both *djalāl* and *djamāl*".

Bibliography: Ḳushayrī, *Risāla*; Ibn al-ʿArabī, *Risālat al-Ḳuds* (for examples of *ḳabḍ*); Ibn ʿAlīwa, *al-Minaḥ al-Ḳuddūsiyya*[2], 283-5. (M. Lings)

iii.—In prosody *ḳabḍ* means "contraction". To the exposition in the article ʿARŪḌ, 671-2 and in G. Weil, *Grundriss und System der altarabischen Metern*, Wiesbaden 1958, 27, 30, the following may be added (on some of the rules governing the *ḳabḍ* there is no agreement and a complete survey cannot be given):

The *ḳabḍ* is a suppression of the fifth quiescent letter in the feet *faʿūlun* and *mafāʿīlun* which occur in the metres *ṭawīl* [*q.v.*], *hazadj*, *muḍāriʿ* [*q.v.*], and *mutaḳārib* [*q.v.*], so that these feet are reduced to *faʿūlu* and *mafāʿilun* respectively. A foot suffering this alteration is called *maḳbūḍ* (this last term occurs already in a discussion of poetry in the *Sīra* of Ibn Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*], but its meaning is uncertain, see R. Blachère, *Deuxième contribution*, in *Arabica*, vi (1959), 133, 141).

The shortening of *mafāʿīlun* to *mafāʿilun* is obligatory in the last foot of the first hemistich (*ʿarūḍ*) of all varieties of the *ṭawīl*, so that this foot can never appear in its "primitive" form, except in case the first hemistich rhymes with the second (*taṣrīʿ*, see ḲĀFIYA). The same is true of the last foot of the second hemistich (*ḍarb*) of the second variety (which would imply that the *ḳabḍ* belongs not only to the *ziḥāfāt*, but also to the *ʿilal*, see Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ṣabbān, *al-Kāfiya al-shāfiya fī ʿilmay al-ʿarūḍ wa'l-ḳāfiya*, Cairo 1321, 10). The *ḳabḍ* is also recommended (according to some it is obligatory) in the penultimate foot of the third variety of the *ṭawīl*. In this variety the last foot of the second hemistich is reduced to *faʿūlun*, and the penultimate foot, which is also *faʿūlun*, should become *faʿūlu*. This rule also applies to the first hemistich in case of *taṣrīʿ*. On the other hand the *ḳabḍ* may not occur in the metre *mutaḳārib* when the penultimate foot of either hemistich has been reduced to a single closed syllable (*fal* or *faʿ*, but cf. *Darstellung*, 283), and in all cases where the foot *mafāʿīlun* has already been reduced to *mafāʿīlu* (*kaff*). Finally it should be noted that in the metre *muḍāriʿ* the foot *mafāʿīlun* appears never in its primitive form, but is always changed into *mafāʿilun* or *mafāʿīlu* (cf., however, Ṣabbān, *al-Kāfiya*, 32, l. 7-8).

Bibliography: Tibrīzī, *al-Wāfī fī 'l-ʿarūḍ wa'l-ḳawāfī*, Aleppo 1390/1970, passim; Zamakhsharī, *al-Ḳisṭās al-mustaḳīm fī ʿilm al-ʿarūḍ*, Baghdād 1389/1970, passim; G. W. Freytag, *Darstellung der arabischen Verskunst*, Bonn 1830 (repr. Osnabrück 1968), 80, 89-90, 92, 93-4, 94, 108-11, 161, 163-4, 166-70, 172-4, 176-8, 227-8, 272-4,

283-4; Silvestre de Sacy,, *Grammaire arabe*[2], Paris 1831, ii, 626-7 (and table), 629-30, 636, 643, 645; D. Vernier, *Grammaire arabe*, Beirut 1891, ii, 516, 519, 529, 534-5, 555, 574, 580-1.

(MOH. BEN CHENEB-[S. A. BONEBAKKER])

KABID (according to lexicographers the only correct form) or KABD, KIBD, "the liver".

1. Names for the liver and their semantic field. The Muslim peoples, like all others, recognised the internal organs of the human body and identified them with the analogous organs of animals. They also attributed to them one or another physiological and psychosomatic function based on observations which they interpreted according to mental structures that are only partially clear to us.

Language itself testifies to these early identifications. As E. Bargheer says, "these are significant characteristics which very often endow an organ with a pre-eminent place in the conceptual world of the people; in the case of the heart it is its beating or rhythmic movement, of the lungs breath, and of the liver its central position, its exceptional size in relation to the other organs, its variable shape and edible nature" (*Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, hrsgb. von E. Hoffman-Krayer, Berlin 1927-42, v, col. 976, s.v. *Leber*).

In Arabic the classical name of the liver is *kabid*, but the frequent dialectal forms, *kabd* and *kibd*, are also encountered at a very early date (cf. *Wörterbuch der klassischen Arabischen Sprache*, i, Wiesbaden 1970, 18). As in other Semitic languages, it is the great weight in the liver that attracted attention The noun for liver, common to all Semitic tongues, comes from the root *k-b-d* or *k-b-t* where the Western Semitic *d* seems to derive from an assimilation (to *b*) of the Accadian *t* (*kabattu* later *kabittu*, poetically *kabtatu*), which is thought to be the original form (Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik d. semit. Sprachen*, Berlin 1908-13, i, 152). But we also find in Accadian *gabidu*, *kabīdu*, probably borrowed from Western Semitic. It seems clear that this is a metaphorical derivation from the adjective "heavy" (Acc. *kabtu*, fem. *kabattu*, *kabitu*; Heb. *kāḇēḏ*; Ugar. *kbd*; Gəʿəz *kəbūd* etc.) and the corresponding verb (cf. Arab. *kābada*, "to endure, to support"; cf. H. Holma, *Die Namen der Körperteile im Assyrisch-Babylonischen*, Leipzig 1911, 78; P. Fronzaroli, *Studi sul lessico comune semitico*, *Rend. Linc.*, series 8, vol. 19, fasc. 5-6, 1964, 32 f., 47, 54). The use of this metaphor to denote the liver ("the heaviest and thickest of vessels", Galen, *De usu partium*, vi, 17 = iii, 495, ed. C. G. Kühn; i, 360, l. 19 f. ed. G. Helmreich) is a Semitic innovation in comparison with Hamito-Semitic, which has a number of very different words for it. It is questionable whether, as A. Cuny avers, it is to be found in Indo-European (*Recherches sur le vocalisme ... en "nostratique"*, Paris 1943, 68 f.). The word most frequently found in Indo-European (from an etymon **yekʷ-ṛ(t-)* is perhaps linked to the idea of lump, swelling tumour (J. Pokorny, *Indo-germanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, i, Berne-Munich 1948-59, 504). In our field it is represented chiefly by the Persian *djegar* (Lat. *iecur*, Gr. ἧπαρ, etc.), which was borrowed by Ottoman Turkish (and Serbo-Croat for the liver of animals).

The Turkish word, in its most current form *baghïr* (attested as early as the runiform inscriptions of the Yenisei, cf. V. G. Egorov, *Étimologičeskiy slovar' čuvašskogo yazïka*, Čeboksary 1964, 155, who also gives all the forms of the word in Turkish languages), is perhaps associated with the idea of a tie, a bundle, a sack or a pocket (cf. the Ottoman Turkish noun *bagh* and the verb *baghlamaḳ*, but L. Bazin notes that the relationship presents some phonetic difficulties).

It should be said that the words cited above were stabilized at a very early date as corresponding to a "normal" or "central" meaning (L. Bloomfield, *Language*[2], London 1935, 149) which is the organ "liver". But they also correspond, from no doubt as early a period, to a semantic field comprising "marginal" or "metaphoric" values, the result of "transfers".

Through contiguity of meaning, some of these "transfers" (cf. S. Ullmann, *The principles of semantics*, Glasgow 1951, 231 ff.) led the words in question to be used to designate the parts of the body in the vicinity of the liver. Thus in classical Arabic *kabid* can denote the surfaces of the body more or less close to the liver as well as the chest and even the belly; a woman is described as having *kabidᵘⁿ malsāʾᵘ*, "a sleek stomach" (Aʿshā, *Dīwān*, ed. R. Geyer, London 1928, 77: 15a = Ṭarafa, *Dīwān* in W. Ahlwardt, *The divans of the six ancient Arabic poets*, London 1870, 11: 6a) and so on (references in *Wörterbuch der klassischen Arabischen Sprache*, i, Wiesbaden 1970, 18-20). Similarly Uyghur has *beghirgha basmaḳ*, "clasp to the breast or heart", *baghri yoghan palvan*, "a hero (or athlete) with a mighty chest" (É. N. Nadžip, *Uygursko-russkiy slovar'*, Moscow 1968, 226) and likewise in Azeri *baghrïna basmag* means "to embrace, seize in one's arms, clasp to one's bosom" (H. A. Azizbekov, *Azerbaydžanskoy-russkiy slovar'*, Baku 1965, 47).

In Persian, the composite *djegar-band*, "the liver complex" (attested for example in Saʿdī and Shams-i Tabrīzī) denotes the pluck, the internal organs of the chest as a whole: lungs, heart, liver. The Turkish languages had already borrowed the word *djegar* in the sense of "liver" in the Turkish translation of the *Gülistān* prepared in Egypt by Sayf of Saray (1391; cf. É. Fazylov, *Starouzbekskiy yazïk*, Tashkent 1966-71, i, 370). But the existence of another word (*baghïr*, etc.) for the same concept in the same languages, and probably the use of *djegar-band* in the sense indicated above as well, led to the extension of *djegar* itself to another organ of the thoracic cavity, the lung, despite the existence of a properly Turkish word to designate this (*ök(k)ä*, *öpkä*, *övkä*, *ökpe*, etc., with the anciently recorded metaphorical sense of "anger, grief, dissatisfaction, affliction" (cf. Egorov, *Étim. slovar'*..., 280 f.), which remains the only meaning in current Ottoman for the word *öfke*, Lat. orthog. *öfke*, alongside the dialectic term *öygän*, "lung"). Consequently it was necessary to use an adjective to distinguish between the "black liver" (Azeri *gara djiyär*, Ottoman *ḳara djiger*, Lat. orthog. *kara ciğer*)—that is the liver itself—and the "white liver" (Azeri *agh djiyär*, Ottoman *āḳ djiger*, Lat. orthog. *ak ciğer*), that is the lungs. Other languages within the sphere of the Ottoman Empire borrowed this same distinction, for example Bulgarian (where the distinction was applied to the Slav word *drob* rather than to the loanword *džiger*, "lungs and liver", cf. *Bălgariski etimonologičen rečnik*, v, Sofia 1966, 362) and Serbo-Croat (forms *crna džigerica*, "liver", *bijela džigerica*, "lung", cf. Abdulah Škaljic, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku*, Sarajevo 1965, 240 f. while the Indo-European word *jetra* is strictly specialized in an anatomical sense). The expression "white livers" (*kubūd bīḍ*) was also used in Arabic, at least occasionally, probably for the lungs (Ibn Djazla, *Minhādj al-bayān*, s.v. *kabid*, Ms. Paris, Bib. Nat., Ar. 2949, fol. 159 v., etc.).

The process of transfer of meaning by contiguity extended the semantic field covered by the word "liver" not only to the organs of the thoracic cavity but also to all the internal organs of the trunk. Moreover these organs as a whole are described, in a more or less vaguely limited fashion, by the plural of the word "liver". Thus in the Persian translation of al-Ṭabarī (4th/10th cent.), *djigarān* denotes the entrails (G. Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*, Paris 1963, 195). But in Turkish *baghïr* as such (or with a suffix *baghïrsaḳ* and variants) means "belly, paunch" and also "entrails" (cf. refs. in *Drevnetyurskiy slovar'*, Leningrad 1969, 77, 78). From this is derived the Uyghur *beghirlimaḳ*, for example, which means "to grovel, to drag oneself along on the belly". In the modern languages of Ethiopia too the Proto-Ethiopic word corresponding to the Gəʿəz *kabd*, "liver", has acquired the meaning of "belly, heart, interior, intestines, paunch" (Tigre *käbd*, Tigriña *käbdi*), and this has become the only meaning of *hod* in Amharic (from *kabd*, cf. Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i, 204), which has therefore had to use another word to designate liver (*gubbät*).

Such shifts in meaning explain the use of these terms generally to cover the middle, centre, interior (we would say heart) of something. Thus Arabic has *fī kabadi djabalin*, "in the heart of a mountain", *ʿalā kabidi 'l-baḥri*, "in the heart of the sea", etc. (refs. in *Wörterbuch* ..., 20). In Old Turkish *ya baghrï*, "the liver of a bow" denotes its central curve (Maḥmūd Kāshgharī, *Dīwān lughāt al-Turk*, Istanbul 1333-35, i, 301; C. Brockelmann, *Mitteltürkischer Wortschatz*, Budapest 1928, 28) as does the Arabic *kabidu 'l-ḳawsi* (F. W. Schwarzlose, *Die Waffen der alten Araber*, Leipzig 1886, 260, 265 f.; A. Boudot-Lamotte, *Contribution à l'étude de l'archerie musulmane*, Damascus 1968, 164, see index p. 179 and plate iii). In Tatar *Ural bavïrï* means the "centre (liver) of the Urals" (*Tatar'sko-russkiy slovar'*, Moscow 1966, 51). Similarly Persian has, for example, *djigar-i gil*, "the bowels of the earth, the tomb". Passing from space to time, we find expressions like *fī kabidi 'l-layli*, "in the middle, the heart of the night" (Ibn Saʿd, iii/1, 205[21]).

In Turkish this generalization of meaning also frequently embraced the front, the fore and also the side. In Uzbek, for example, *togh baghrida* means "on the mountainside" (A. K. Borovkov (ed.), *Uzbeksko-russkiy slovar'*, Moscow 1959, 58). In the Shor dialect of Altaï it even acquires a prepositional sense in *paghrïnda*, "beside" (W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuch der Türk-Dialecte*, St. Petersburg 1893-1911, iv, col. 1134).

2. Primitive and popular psycho-physiology of the liver. Whatever marginal meanings the word for liver acquired to denote other organs or parts of the body and of the world, from the pre-theoretic stage the organ itself was attributed with one or another physiological and psychosomatic function.

Thus the liver, alongside the heart, was very widely regarded as the centre or one of the centres of psychic life, in other words as the prop of "the soul" or of a "soul" (cf. W. Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie*[3], iv, Leipzig 1920, 105 ff.; A. Merx, *Le rôle du foie dans la littérature des peuples semitiques*, in *Florilegium ... Melchior de Voguë*, Paris 1909, 427-44; M. Jastrow, *The liver as the seat of the soul*, in *Studies in the History of Religion presented to C. H. Toy*, New York 1912, 143-68; F. E. Clements, *Primitive Concepts of Disease*, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, xxxii/2 (1932), 233 f.; Bargheer, *Leber*, 977 f.; id., *Eingeweide, Lebens- u. Seelenkräfte des Leibensinneren*, Berlin and Leipzig 1931, 93; W. D. Wallis, ERE, x, 373 ff.). It was probably because of the liver's central importance as the seat of qualities with magical undertones that the noun in Semitic languages is frequently feminine. It is feminine in Syriac and also in Ancient Hebrew, contrary to the traditional view (cf. G. R. Driver, *JRAS*, 1948, 175, n. 2), and most frequently in Arabic although in Arabic it can also be masculine and grammarians generally consider using both genders permissible (A. J. Wensinck, *Some Aspects of Gender in the Semitic Languages*, Amsterdam 1927 (Verh. Ak. Amst., xxvi/3), 30, cf. 36 f.; M. Feghali and A. Cuny, *Du genre grammatical en semitique*, Paris 1924, 55).

In more analytic fashion, the internal organs are generally credited with a causal function in engendering feelings, emotions and passions (a conception which is not entirely erroneous). Therefore for the Mesopotamians and perhaps partly for the Hebrews the liver was the seat of joy (when it is "illuminated" in a state of well-being) and of sorrow (when it is "ill" or aching), of anger (when it is burned up), of calm (when it is appeased) and finally, alongside the heart, of desire (cf. E. Dhorme, *L'emploi métaphorique des noms de parties du corps en hébreu et en akkadien*, Paris 1923, 128 ff.; Merx, *Le rôle du foie*, 436 ff., 439 ff.). For the Arabs the liver is wounded by the sorrows which we attribute to the heart, the pangs of love. The liver of the bashful lover or one who suffers in like fashion is "rent" (radicals *ṣ-d-ʿ*, *f-ṭ-r*, *f-l-ḳ*), broken (*kabid marḍūḍa*, Ḥarīrī, *Maḳāmāt*, ed. Silvestre de Sacy, 2nd ed. Paris 1847-53, 57[3]), wasting away, thirsty, weighed down, burnt up. It is said of someone that "the pangs of love are consuming his liver". A slender, delicate liver is the mark of a tender spirit, a sensitive heart. A saintly man has a black body but a white liver (Ibn Djubayr, 240[5]), that is a pure soul (a very widespread metaphor found as far as the Ndembu of Zambia; cf. V. W. Turner, *The Drums of Affliction*, Oxford 1968, 48, 283; cf. Bargheer, *Leber*, 979; id., *Eingeweide*, 95 ff.). To eat or strike the liver is to inflict great sorrow. As a result, the liver is regarded as a particularly precious part of the body and beloved persons are located in or assimilated to pieces of liver. A child is "the deep-seated blood" (*muhdja*) of the liver; a dear friend or a venerated man is placed "between the liver and its membrane" (*khilb*). More generally, people dear to one are "pieces (*ḳiṭʿa*) of liver". (Refs. in *Wörterbuch* ..., 19 f. and A. Merx, *Le rôle du foie* ..., 429-33). This last expression is still current in, for example, the Tunisian village of Takrūna (W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Takroûna*, i, Paris 1925, 80-1, 272, 292, n. 42, with information from old texts, including a 6th/12th-century Mozarab deed between Christians) where the word "liver" simply means a cherished person, especially a child: *yā kubdī*, "my precious" (W. Marçais, *ibid.*, ii, bk. vii, Paris 1960, 3354-6). In the region of Constantine children are described as *kbād*, "livers" of their parents (M. S. Belguedj, *La médecine traditionelle dans le Constantinois*, Strasburg 1966, 121).

Exactly similar expressions are found in Persian literature, which Merx believes to be direct transpositions from Arabic. (See, for example, the expressions in Merx, *Le rôle du foie* ..., 434-5 and in *Farhangi zaboni todjikī*, Moscow 1969, 779b, as

well as those in the various dictionaries). To take only two examples: to a father his son is like the blood of his liver, *khūn-i djegar*, already in Firdawsī (*Shāhnāmah*, i, 256, ed. Mohl) and *djegar-pare*, "a piece of liver" (or *djegar-gushe*, "lobe of the liver") is a current expression for a dearly loved child.

Similar expressions are also found in Turkish languages; in these cases it is not easy to distinguish between those influenced by Persian and Arabic and those which could be original. A ruthless man is said to have a liver of stone or to be "liver-less" (*baghïrsïz*) in Kutadghu Bilig (5th/11th cent.; ref. in *Drevnetyurskiy slovar'*, 78). In contemporary Uyghur "my liver" means "my dear, my dearest" (É. N. Nadžip, *Uygursko-russkiy slovar'*, 226). In Turkish literature in Turkestan during the 8th/14th century there are numerous texts which speak of love in terms of the liver being broken in two, rent, torn apart, burnt up, used as a target, eaten on skewers (these are often translations from Persian); a good choice of these has been collected by E. Fazylov in *Starouzbekskiy yazïk*, i, Tashkent 1966, 201-2. Elsewhere the liver is occasionally described as the seat of anger (some unconvincing references in Radloff, *Versuch*, iv, col. 1431 f.; in most cases it is the lung, cf. above).

Popular psycho-physiology of this kind underpinned metaphysical and moral speculation on the soul and its seat. Plato's division of the functions of the soul were pushed to greater or lesser lengths by the philosophers, who tended to incorporate these functions or modes in souls which were to some degree separate. Plato himself located the parts of the soul he distinguished in distinctive organic seats. Under the influence of a hepatoscopy originating in Mesopotamia, he placed the "appetitive soul" (ἐπιθυμητικὴ ψυχή, *al-nafs al-shahwāniyya*) in the immediate neighbourhood of the liver and in connection with it (*Timeos*, 69-72, known in the Islamic world through Ḥunayn b. Isḥāk's [*q.v.*] translation of Galen's compendium, XVII c, ed. and tr. P. Kraus and R. Walzer, *Galeni ... Compendium = Plato Arabus*, i, London 1951, Arab. p. 23, Lat. p. 74). The soul, identified with the breath (πνεῦμα, *rūḥ*), being at the same time the mainstay of the affections and psychological faculties and of the physiological functions, it was proper to allot these to the different bodily organs, following popular notions that were corrected to some extent according to the logic of a particular system. The medical school known as "pneumatic" (founded by Atheneos of Attalia in the 1st century) only recast these conceptions. Galen introduced this doctrine (which, as we will see, accords the liver an important place) into his system alongside the theory of humours and through him it was adopted by later physicians, notably the Arabs.

In the pneumatic doctrine, both in antiquity and among the Arabs, sites were made more specific or modified according to current ideas, especially those which were conveyed by the language (for the liver cf. H. Hagen, *Die physiologische und psychologische Bedeutung der Leber in der Antike*, thesis, Bonn 1961; Syriac and Hebrew authors in Merx, *Le rôle du foie*, 437 ff.). Thus the *Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā'* criticizes the notions of non-specialist scholars who distribute the affections and psychological faculties among the various bodily organs and locate, for example, passion (*shahwa*) in the liver (ed. Cairo 1347/1928, bk. i, 200 f.). According to the *Hārūniyya*, a compilation of popular medicine very widely known in various versions and reputedly the work of one Masīḥ b. Ḥakam, who had compiled it for Hārūn al-Rashīd, "the liver is the fount of mercy" (Vatican Ms. cited by M. S. Belguedj, *La médecine traditionelle dans le Constantinois*, Strasburg 1966, 121); Greek and Indian authorities are cited in support of this view.

The association of the liver with love for children, as noted above, is apparent in expressions current among the people of the region of Constantine. If grand-parents or parents are over-indulgent with a child, this is because "their liver prevents them from punishing them"; the liver "burns" to a decline in the absence of a child, and it is "torn apart" when a child dies (Belguedj, *op. cit.*, 121).

This conception also lies at the root of some ritual practices, for example the ritual consumption of liver during an infant's naming celebrations. In Morocco on this occasion a sheep is sacrificed and its liver divided between the members of the family so that tender love for the infant will be born in them (J. Jouin, *Hespéris*, xliv (1957), 308; Legey, *Essai de folklore marocain*, Paris 1926, 95; E. Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, London 1926, ii, 390). Also in Morocco the liver is associated with conjugal love; in some tribes the bridal couple eat at one of their first meals together the liver of a sheep that was slaughtered on the occasion of their marriage (E. Westermarck, *Marriage ceremonies in Morocco*, London 1914, 101; European parallels in Bargheer, *Leber*, 978 f., idem, *Eingeweide*, 216).

Popular physiological ideas deem the liver to be the fount of liquids drunk or secreted by the body. This idea, clearly expressed in the 13th century by Hildegard of Bingen (*Causae et curae*, 98, 110) and often conveyed by current German idioms (Bargheer, *Leber*, 984; idem, *Eingeweide*, 387), is attested in the Islamic world by the *Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā'* (bk. ii, 162), which describes the liver as governing the field of liquid food (*bayt al-sharāb*).

3. Scientific knowledge and scholarly theories. Rational study of the liver conducted by Muslim writers falls into the categories of anatomical descriptions of the organ, its psycho-physiological role—of interest to philosophers as well as anatomists and physicians—its pathology and therapeutics, and the use of animal liver in pharmacology.

All the general treatises on medicine include extensive statements on the liver, in view of its central role in the Galenic physiology adopted by Muslim science. Monographs on the liver and its pathology, along the lines of Greek monographs like those by Rufus of Ephesus and Philagrius, were compiled by Kusṭā b. Lūkā and Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā' al-Rāzī (F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, iii, Leiden 1970, 68, 156, 273, 292), although these may be chapters only of general works.

As far as the anatomy of the liver was concerned, Muslim writers, who, like the Greeks for the most part, were forbidden to make dissections, made do with copying Galen's descriptions of the organ; Galen himself had followed Herophilos of Chalcedon (3rd cent. B.C.), who had dissected corpses in Alexandria and made studies of the liver, but had apparently allied observations of unhealthy human livers and the livers of animals to his study of the normal liver. Galen's faith in Herophilos on this point was confirmed by dissections of monkeys (cf. Ch. Daremberg, *Oeuvres anatomiques, physiologiques et médicales de Galien*, Paris 1854-56, i, 293, n. 1; Max Simon, *Sieben Bücher Anatomie des Galen*, Leipzig 1906, ii, xxxiv, xxxvii f.). Muslim physicians followed him in teaching that the human liver had sometimes two or three lobes (*aṭrāf*) or extensions (*zawā'id*), but

most commonly four or five, surrounding the stomach. Descriptions of the liver of this type are to be found in the *Manṣūrī* of Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī and the *Malakī* of ʿAlī b. ʿAbbās in an edition with French translation opposite by P. de Koning (*Trois Traités d'anatomie arabe*..., Leiden 1903, 68-71, 374-9), as well as a French translation of the relevant chapter of Book iii of Ibn Sīnā's *Ḳānūn*, *fann* 14, chap. 1 (*ibid.*, 706-15; ed. Rome 1593, 455-6; Lat. tr., Venice 1564, 740-2) with the parallel texts of Greek authors.

The ideas of Arab physicians on the psycho-physiological role of the liver derive first from the physiological system of humours that Galen had codified from earlier teachings, a system that was generally accepted in the countries conquered by the Arabs and in the Christian West (cf. the excellent recent account of the matter by Luis Garcia Ballester, "Galeno" in P. Lain Entralgo, *Historia Universal de la Medicina*, ii, Barcelona, 1972, 209-268; idem, *Galeno en la sociedad y en la ciencia de su tiempo*, Madrid 1972; simplified summary by G. Sarton, *Galen of Pergamon*, Lawrence, Kansas, 1954; diagram of blood formation and distribution in *Historia Universal*, 244 and in A. C. Crombie, *Augustine to Galileo, A.D. 400-1650*, London 1952, i, 132). In this system the liver plays a role of prime importance: "all organs act by virtue of it, but it acts independently" (Ibn Sīnā, *Urdjūza fi 'l-ṭibb*, verse 417, ed. and tr. H. Jahier and A. Noureddine, Paris 1956, 40). The blood takes shape in it through purification and consolidation of food, which has previously been digested ("cooked") in the stomach and reduced to the state of "chyle" or "chyme" (*kilūs* or *kimūs*, sometimes vocalized as *kaylūs*, *kaymūs*, the two words interacting as in Greek χυλός and χυμός, cf. Khwārizmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. G. van Vloten, Leiden 1895, 181; Cairo 1349/1930, 107). Another preliminary digestive process ("coction") could have taken place in the mesenteric veins (μεσαραϊκαὶ φλέβες, *māsāraykā* or *māsaraykā*, Lat. *mesaraicae*) which, participating in the nature of the liver, partially transform the chyle into blood (Ibn Sīnā, *Ḳānūn*, iii, *fann* 14, *maḳāla* 1 ,beginning; for Galen's doubts on this point see Mani, i, 68, which gave rise to disputes in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance). The gastric "coction" had already taken place under the prime influence of the liver, the source of heat, whose lobes were thought to surround the stomach like fingers.

The chyle, already transformed to some extent, reaches the liver by the vena porta (ἡ ἐπὶ πύλῃ φλέψ, ἡ πύλη, tr. as *al-ʿirḳ al-usṭūwānī*, Simon, *Sieben Bücher*..., i, 346, then as *al-bāb*) into which pour the mesenteric veins. There it is transformed into blood proper, fitted for the nourishment of the body (the adage *sanguificatio est chyli in sanguinem mutatio* was dogma until the 19th century, Mani, i, 59). A part of this blood becomes the substance of the liver, which can be regarded as coagulated blood (Ibn Sīnā, *Ḳānūn*, i, *fann* 1, *taʿlīm* 3, *faṣl* 2; *ibid.*, iii, *fann* 14, *maḳāla* 1), a formulation that goes back at least as far as Aretaios of Cappadocia (2nd century; Mani, i, 58, cf. p. 64). The liver, as the organ of formation of the blood proper, may be regarded as the place of origin of the four "humours" (*mansha' al-akhlāṭ*, Ibn Sīnā, *urdjūza*, verse 416; cf. *Ḳānūn*, i, *fann* 1, *taʿlīm* 4, *faṣl* 2). Two of these are produced immediately, heavy dregs which constitute the black gall or atrabile (χολὴ μέλαινα, *al-mirra al-sawdā'*, Lat. *atra bilis*) and tenuous, light parts, a kind of scum which constitutes the yellow gall (χολὴ ξανθή, *al-mirra al-ṣafrā'*, Lat. *cholera*), both drawn mostly by two vessels (*wiʿā'*), kinds of necks (*bi-manzilat al-ʿunḳ*, οἷον στομάχου τινός in Galen) which join the liver to the spleen and to the gall-bladder respectively (cf. Rāzī, *Manṣūrī*, *apud* Koning, *Traités*, 76 f., ʿAlī b. al-ʿAbbās, *malakī*, *ibid.*, 177, 378 ff., Ibn Sīnā, *Ḳānūn*, *ibid.*, 706, with parallel Greek texts opposite, first Galen, *De usu partium*, iv, 4, profitably commented on by Daremberg, *Oeuvres*... *de Galien*, i, 282, n. 1).

The blood, still loaded by other elements, is distributed, starting from the liver (this is not exactly circulation, but ebb and flow with a slow renewal) through the venous system. All the veins (*ʿawrida*, *al-ʿurūḳ al-sawākin*) originate in the liver, while the heart is the place of origin of the arterial system. The veins branch out from the vena porta which takes its departure from the liver cavity, and the vena cava (κοίλη φλέψ, *al-ʿirḳ al-adjwaf*), which issues from its convex side (*Ḳānūn*, i, *fann* 1, *taʿlīm* 5, *djumla* 5).

Theories establishing a connection between the elements of the cosmos on various planes place the yellow bile along with the igneous element which predominates there and the "temperament" (κρᾶσις, *mizādj*) which makes manifest its dominance, in a special relationship with the liver. But one variant links this organ rather with the blood, in which air predominates and, naturally, the sanguine temperament (see the diagram in M. Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, Leiden-Cologne 1970, 99 and that of R. Herrlinger, with colours showing the development since the Hippocratic corpus, at the end of E. Schöner, *Das Viererschema in der antiken Humoralpathologie*, Wiesbaden 1964; the common modern form taken from popular manuals can be found in T. Canaan, *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin im Lande der Bibel*, Hamburg 1914, 33).

Muslim physicians naturally also followed Galen in his linking of the principles of pneumatic teaching to the theory of humours, the inspiration for which we saw above. Some "spirits" (πνεύματα, *arwāḥ*), subtle vapours, animate the body and are thought to explain the performance of the vital functions. One of them, the natural or physical spirit (πνεῦμα φυσικόν, *rūḥ ṭabīʿī* or *ṭabīʿiyya*), has its seat in the liver according to Muslim medicine, which follows not so much Galen, who had doubts and vacillated on this point, as the Alexandrians and the Syrians, who systematized his ideas in a simplified fashion. This "spirit" is put on the same plane as the vital or animal spirit and the psychic spirit, which have their seat in the heart and in the brain respectively (classic treatment by Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ, *al-mudkhal fi'l-ṭibb*, cf. O. Temkin, "On Galen's Pharmacology", *Gesnerus* [Aarau], viii (1951), 180-189). It is distributed with the blood by the veins.

Every one of these spirits, still according to Galenism, corresponds with a chief "faculty" or a group of "faculties" (δυνάμεις, *ḳuwā*, Lat. *virtutes*) and physiological and psychological phenomena are attributed to the actions of these. Thus the physicians claim that the "natural" faculty or faculties are subdivided into one type whose function (*fiʿl*) is to conserve and make up the individual, which presides over nourishment and is situated in the liver, and a second type which conserves the species and is situated in the sexual organs. Taking their cue from Aristotle, Ibn Sīnā and many others differ from this theory to some extent and place the heart as the first substratum and mainspring of the faculties (cf. Mani, ii, 21). The nutritive faculty spread out from the heart towards the liver (Ibn Sīnā, *Shifā'*,

ṭabīʿiyyāt, fann 6, *maḳāla* 5, *faṣl* 8, ed. J. Bakoš, *Psychologie d'Ibn Sīnā ...*, i, Prague 1956, 265; cf. *Ḳānūn*, i, *fann* 1, *taʿlīm* 6). More precisely, pure Aristotelians like Ibn Rus͟hd took issue with Galen in order to demonstrate that the principle of nutrition resided in the heart and not in the liver (*Kulliyyāt*, ii, ch. 9; cf. J. C. Bürgel, *Averroes "contra Galenum"*, *NGW Gött.*, i, 1967, No. 9, 292 f.). Various lists of faculties are given and they are conceivea of as acting on other organs alike.

We will not deal here with the Muslim physician's pathology or therapeutics. A clear and simple exposition of them can be found in one of the oldest treatises, *Firdaws al-ḥikma* by ʿAlī b. Sahl Ṭabarī (ed. M. Z. Siddiqi, Berlin 1928, 40 f., 218 f.), and a full treatment which has become classic in *fann* 14 of Book iii of Ibn Sīnā's *Ḳānūn* (ed. Rome 1593, 455-79; ed. Tehran 1295 H., 179-204; Lat. tr. Venice 1564, 740-81); the first *maḳāla* of this is devoted to the anatomy of the organ (see above). Surgical treatises speak of cauterisation of the liver or in cases of liver infections (cf., finally, P. Huard and M. D. Grmek, *Le premier manuscrit chirurgical turc*, Paris 1960, 109, 113, 121, fig. 27, 31; present-day application, M. S. Belguedj, *La médecine traditionnelle ...*, 148).

The *Ḳānūn* also contains numerous scattered pieces of information on the liver which can be easily found thanks to the very careful index to the Latin translation published in Venice in 1564. In the copious treatise on simple drugs in Book 2 (ed. Rome 1593, i, 249-347, put into Latin alphabetical order in the Venice 1564 translation, i, 124-280), as well as in the pharmacology of Book 5, there are notes on herbs and foods and simple and complex drugs known to have some effect on the liver. These complex drugs are listed in an abridged version in *maḳāla* 12 of the first *d̲j̲umla* (*summa*) of Book v (ed. Rome 1593, vol. ii, 243; Lat. tr. Venice 1564, ii, 305-6), classified according to the diseases for which they are remedies.

One pharmacological chapter in Book 2 of the *Ḳānūn* treats of the liver of animals (*ed. cit.*, i, 196; *tr. cit.*, i, 299). Ibn Sīnā's finding are among those taken up and developed from a dietetic point of view in Ibn D̲j̲azla's widely circulated treatise on dietetics, *Minhād̲j̲ al-bayān* (Mss. Bib. Nat., Paris, Ar. 2949, fol. 159 v., 2950, fol. 279 r., 2952, fol. 231 r.-v.). One general disadvantage in eating liver is its production, during digestion, of blood so thick that it flows very sluggishly through the blood vessels. This can be remedied by eating it along with saumure or oil. The liver of quadrupeds should generally be avoided. The liver of a fat duck or chicken is the best, and fattened goose liver is also excellent, especially with a milky paste. Salt and oil should be added to avoid burdening the stomach. Roasted sheep liver is good for diarrhoea. Goat's liver (especially the male goat's) is a useful test for epilepsy, for it brings on a fit. As an eye lotion, to be eaten or used to fumigate, it is also good for infections of the iris (cf. a similar remedy in use in present-day Ḥaḍramawt, R. B. Serjeant, *BSOAS*, xviii (1956), 7). The dried and pounded liver of a partridge made into a potion is also good for epilepsy, as is roast ass liver taken on an empty stomach. Wolf liver is effective in cases of liver complaints. The liver of the *wazag͟ha* (a kind of large lizard) eases toothache. Finally, the liver of a mad dog cures rabies, particularly when eaten by a person bitten by that particular dog. This remedy (already mentioned by Pliny, xxix, 32, and widespread in Europe until the 19th century, cf. Bargheer, *Eingeweide*, 283 f.) was apparently known in Jerusalem at the beginning of the 20th century, for it is mentioned in S. Y. Agnon's novel *Tmōl s͟hils͟hōm*, iv, 18 (Fr. tr. *Le chien Balak*, Paris 1971, 565 f.).

4. Developments in magic, religion and fable. Alongside a popular psycho-physiology which, like its scientific counterpart, considers the role of the liver in the body, in conjunction with scientific pathology, dietetics and pharmacopoeia from which (as a rule) cures for infection are derived, as well as an estimate of the value of animal liver as food or remedy, there exist the rudiments of basically symbolic and magical doctrines which were also developed for practical use. These sometimes appear in scientific treatises and are occasionally supplemented there.

Following Galen, Ibn Sīnā reports, though with some doubt, that the size of an animal's liver is in proportion to its greed and timidity (cf. P. de Koning, *op. cit.*, 708, 711). Employing the magical principle of like to like, it was thought that eating sheep's liver strengthened the liver of man (Dāwūd al-Anṭākī, *Tad͟hkira*, Cairo 1356/1937, i, 207).

The scholarly conception of the liver as being formed (ontogenically, it could be said) from coagulated blood is understood literally or linked to a popular conception to give rise to a *ḥadīt͟h* excepting the liver and the spleen from the general prohibition of blood: "two bloods have been permitted us" (liver and spleen: Ibn Mād̲j̲a, xxix, 31; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 97).

Talismans are used in cases of hepatic disorders. Thus the *Kitāb d͟hak͟hīrat al-Iskandar*, a Hermetic collection purporting to be of Greek origin, contains a descriptions of a talisman consisting of a liver-shaped red stone with an ibex and an enigmatic inscription painted on it. This is a useful remedy for liver pains (J. Ruska, *Tabula Smaragdina*, Heidelberg 1926, 98 f.). Books of practical medicine contain many prescriptions which contain a mixture of empirical observation, magical deductions (the use of wolf liver pulverized in oil), pure charlatanism (camel urine), and the use of washed talismans etc. (cf. for example, Pseudo-D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (Muh. al-Ṣanawbari, d. 815/1412), *Al-Raḥma fi 'l-ṭibb wa 'l-ḥikma*, Cairo 1357, 106 f. ch. 102). In Morocco pieces of prickly pear cut into the shape of a liver are attached to the outside walls of a Marabout sanctuary; they are thought to cure the sick as they dry (E. Westermarck, *Ritual and belief in Morocco*, London 1926, i, 202). Another Morroccan practice consists of drying on a terrace the liver and kidney of a sheep skewered to a piece of prickly pear cut into the shape of the sole of the sick man's shoe and stabbed repeatedly with a knife (A.-R. de Lens, *Pratiques des harems marocains*, Paris 1925, 12). The Bedouin of central Arabia eat for breakfast cinnamon, known moreover as *d*[z]*irf el-l*[e]*ebūd* (*ḳiraf al-kubūd*), "skins of liver", as a cure for liver complaints (J.-J. Hess, *Von den Beduinen des Innern Arabiens*, Zürich and Leipzig 1938, 148 f.).

Divination by means of the liver (hepatoscopy), which was so important in ancient Mesopotamia and Etruria but already renounced by the Arab queen Zenobia in the 3rd century (Zosimus, i, 59), was not practised by the Arabs (cf. T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Leiden 1966, 397, 527) although it is mentioned by Ibn K͟haldūn in a general list of methods of divination (*Muḳaddima*, i, 191, 194, ed. Quatremère; i, 369, 371 ed. Wāfī) and referred to by a Rabbi Levi of uncertain date who compares the king of Babel's

practice of hepatoscopy in Ezekiel xxi, 26, with "some Arab who slaughters a sheep and studies its liver" (Midrash Rabbā to Eccles. xii, 7, etc. in *Monumenta Talmudica*, v, *Geschichte*, Vienna and Leipzig 1914, 48, § 84).

The liver plays a minor role in folklore, mostly as a curative. In Turkish tales the liver of a prince is the sole cure for a mad princess (W. Eberhard and P. N. Boratav, *Typen türkischer Volksmärchen*, Wiesbaden 1953, 302), a young girl sells an animal's liver for a kiss (*ibid.*, 224), and there is a cannibal who eats human liver (*ibid.*, 172). One version of the universal theme of the heart of a magic bird (A. Aarne and S. Thompson, *The Types of the Folk-tale*[2], Helsinki 1964, 208, type 567) has the liver in place of the heart; this is sometimes replaced by the kidneys, the crop, or the heart once again (Eberhard and Boratav, *Typen . . .*, 196-8). A story from Adakale tells of a miser who eats liver as an economy, an indication that the tale is a recent one (*ibid.*, 88; cf. below).

The theme of a magical cure effected by a bodily organ (cf. Bargheer, *Eingeweide*, 159 ff., 229 ff.) combined with that of the extraordinary powers of marvellous beings is at the root of the *Shāhnāma*'s account of the cure of Kay-Kāwūs and the Iranians blinded through spells cast by the white *dīw* during the invasion of Māzandarān (cf. s.v. DĪW above, ii, 323). Blood drawn from the liver of the white *dīw*, which Rustam had wrenched from its breast when he defeated it, gave them back their sight (ed. J. Mohl, Paris 1838-76, Kay-Kāwus, verse 652 ff.; ed. E. E. Bertels *et al.*, ii, Moscow 1962, 109, Māzandarān, verse 613 ff.; tr. J. Mohl, i, Paris 1876, 428 ff.). The efficacy of the liver against blindness on this occasion came close to a principle of Taoist magical biology (J. C. Coyajee, *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, n.s., xxiv, 1928, 187 f.). But, as we have seen above, the use of goat's liver for eye infections appears in Avicennian scientific medicine, and in the Book of Tobit the liver, heart and gall of a fish help cast out demons (Tobit, vi, 5; viii, 2) and the gall gives sight to a blind man (vi, 9; xi, 8). Thence without doubt the frequent use of the liver in European popular opthalmology (Bargheer, *Eingeweide*, 284 f.).

The prime importance of the liver in the body no doubt explains, by magical deduction, a group of practices. To chew or at least nibble the liver of an enemy seems to mean annihilation or the highest curse. This gesture, Hind's nibbling Hamza's liver at Uḥud (Ibn Hishām, 581), was the origin of Muʿāwiya's derogatory sobriquet, *ibn ākilat al-akbād*, "son of the liver eater" (Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 439, French tr. Pellat § 1742, Pseudo?-Masʿūdī, *Kitāb ithbāt al-waṣiyya li 'l-imām ʿAlī*, cited by Ch. Pellat in *Le shīʿisme imâmite*, Paris 1970, 85). The Sinai Bedouins believe that Druzes eat the liver of Muslims (W. P. Zenner, in *Middle Eastern Studies*, viii, no. 3, Oct. 1972, 411). See parallels in Bargheer, *Leber*, 977; id., *Eingeweide*, 93, 216; W. D. Wallis, *ERE*, x, 373 ff.

In the sacrifice of the "great feast" on 10 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja, the liver of the victim must be eaten first, following a well-documented custom of the Maghrib allegedly supported by some *fuḳahāʾ* and the Prophet's own example (E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1909, 473; J. Desparmet, *Coutumes, institutions, croyances des indigènes de l'Algérie*, i, Algiers 1939, 275; E. Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, London 1926, i, 234 f.; ii, 120 f.; J. Chelhod, *Le sacrifice chez les Arabes*, Paris 1955, 113 f.; J. Jouin, *Hespeіris*, xliv (1957), 320; A.-M. Goichon, *La vie féminine au Mzab*, Paris 1927, 264).

Among some tribes in Morocco, the bridegroom makes the gift of a bull to his bachelor friends: the liver, which must be eaten first, conveys the *baraka* and must be distributed among all the men present, but not the women (E. Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, London 1914, 126).

5. Animal liver as food. Liver, often classed with offal and tripe, was despised and left to the destitute. Thus in southern Libya a proverb says that impoverished men grab at something *məṯl en-nawār ʿal-kəbdė*, "like gypsies after a piece of liver" (F. J. Abela, *Proverbes populaires, adages et locutions proverbiales du Liban-Sud* (in the press)). Yet in other regions liver and heart are regarded as choice morsels, as in Ḥaḍramawt (F. Stark, *The Southern Gates of Arabia*, Harmondsworth 1945, 78). In Aden today offal is imported from Somaliland, where it is not eaten (information given by Yūsuf Ṭālib). Raw liver is sometimes looked upon as a delicacy, as in the Lebanon and Jordan (A. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, Paris 1908, 65). In the Sahara, an animal killed in the hunt is speedily disembowelled. Liver, heart and lungs are tossed onto live charcoal and covered with burning sand, then eaten immediately or on the following day (M. Gast, *Alimentation des populations de l'Ahagger*, Paris 1968, 136).

In the Middle Ages, Arab markets always had their *kubūdīs*, "liver vendors", who sold liver cooked with onions or roasted on skewers to people who ate on the streets or did no cooking. Manuals on *ḥisba* forbid the mixing of goat or cattle liver with that of sheep. They describe in minute detail the type and quantity of ingredients which must be added ("Ibn al-Ukhuwwa", The *Maʿālim al-ḳurba . . .*, ed. R. Levy, London 1938, 95 ff. of the Arabic text). Such food was often adulterated. A treatise entitled *Kīmiyāʾ al-ṭabāʾikh*, which denounces cooks who sell fried liver that contains no liver, is already attributed to the philosopher Yaʿḳūb al-Kindī (3rd/9th century) (Shayzarī, *Nihāyat al-rutba*, *apud* Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *ibid.*, 107, n. 8 and Ibn Bassām, *Nihāyat al-rutba*, in *Mashriḳ*, 10, 1907, 1081). On the other hand scrapings of dried or pounded and roasted liver were used as spurious musk (Saḳaṭī, *Un manuel hispanique de ḥisba*, ed. G.-S. Colin and E. Lévi-Provençal, i, Paris 1931, 46; tr. P. Chalmeta-Gendron, *El-"Kitāb fī ādāb al-ḥisba"*, Madrid 1968, 116 = *al-Andalus*, 33, 1968, 193) and Spanish and Moroccan *balādja* (a sort of pâté made from meat and offal) was also adulterated with liver that had gone bad, a great deal of bread, spices, etc. (*ibid.*, text p. 39, l. 13; tr. cited p. 180).

The type of rich cooking shown in mediaeval cookery books makes little use of liver. Of the many oriental treatises of this type only the *Wuṣla* has recipes for liver, one in which boiled liver is roasted on skewers in a caul (in the fashion of the *sharāʾiḥ kurdjiyya*, which is made from pounded giblets and includes liver), and one for liver boiled and stuffed with whole or chopped spices (*Wuṣla*, Ms. A, fol. 59 r.-v.; cf. Rodinson, *Recherches . . .*, 135). Apart from that, liver is mentioned, chopped with the fat tail of a sheep (*aliya*) in the "artificial brain" (*Wuṣla*; cf. Rodinson, *ibid.*, 158) and fried black in sesame oil along with poultry giblets or pieces of lamb to make a sort of sauce utilized in various dishes (*Wuṣla*; cf. Rodinson, *ibid.*, 133, n. 4, 156). There is no real recipe for liver in the Baghdādī cookery book

of the 7th/13th century of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Baghdādī nor in the Hispano-Maghrībī culinary treatise of the same era edited and translated by A. Huici Miranda.

In present-day Lebanon recipes are found for mutton or beef liver which is usually grilled on skewers. These are called *miʿlaḳ*, strictly speaking "pluck, the viscera of the thorax" (M. K. Khayat and M. C. Keating, *Food from the Arab World*, Beirut 1961, 32 f.; P. Bazantay, *Enquête sur l'artisanat à Antioche*, Beirut 1936, 47; a Lebanese recipe for liver fried in vinegar in Claudia Roden, *A Book of Middle Eastern Food*, London 1968, 180). Small pieces of liver, lightly fried and served hot or cold, are used as *mezze*, hors d'oeuvres served with an aperitif (Roden, 33). In the Maghrīb, brochettes of liver and heart, formerly the food of the poor, have recently become a smart dish. Since the pieces are wrapped in caul they are called *malfūf* (M. Beaussie, *Dictionnaire pratique arabe-francais*[2], Algiers 1931, 904 b; M. Gast, *Alimentation des populations de l'Ahaggar*, Paris 1968, 134, 135, n. 2), and in Morocco *bū lfāf* (L. Brunot, *Textes arabes de Rabat*, ii, Paris 1952, 744; Z. Guinaudeau, *Fès vu par sa cuisine*, Rabat 1957, 39). When pieces of liver are alternated with chunks of mutton fat the dish is called *kwaḥ* (the name for tripe, pluck, etc.) in Morocco (Z. Guinaudeau, *ibid.*, 41; cf. H. Mercier, *Dictionnaire arabe-français*, Rabat 1951, 101). The specialist chef of the grill is called a *kwayḥi* (*ibid.*).

In Egypt, various kinds of poultry are often eaten stuffed with a mixture made from chopped liver and gizzards mixed with crushed raw wheat or minced meat (C. Wissa Wassef, *Pratiques rituelles et alimentaires des Coptes*, Cairo 1971, 381).

In Iran offal of sheep or chicken is used in a number of dishes, but liver is only mentioned in a comprehensive cookery book, probably compiled by the shah's cook and edited in 1301/1884, in kebabs grilled on skewers or in a kind of stew called *ḥasrat al-mulūk*, "the sigh" or "desire of kings" (ʿAlī Akbar b. Mehdī Kāshānī, *Sofre-ye aṭʿeme*, Ms. collection P. Ikowski, ed. and tr. M. Ghavam-Nejad, unpublished thesis, Paris 1967, 26, 27; the first recipe is found at a slightly later date in the books by Josephine Richard, alias Neshāt al-dawla, *Ṭabbakhi-yi Neshāt*, Tehran n.d., 22, and Badr al-mulūk-i Bāmdād, *Rāhnamā-yi ṭabbākhi*[6], Tehran n.d., 36).

Until recently liver was not eaten in Turkey and the butchers threw it to cats or dogs. However, consumption of liver and lungs (called *takım*, "the whole") and of pluck and tripe has recently gathered a little ground, being the speciality of itinerant Albanian merchants (called *sakatçıs*, "tripe-sellers"; information given by P. Boratav; cf. W. Eberhard and P. N. Boratav, *Typen türkischer Volksmärchen*, Wiesbaden 1953, 88). Recipes for pilau using liver are found in present-day cookery books (*kuzulu pilav*, I. Orga, *Turkish Cooking*, London 1958, 125; *ič pilav*, with goose or chicken liver, C. Roden, *op. cit.*, 248), and found in Bursa by a Turkish ethnographical survey (H. Z. Kosay and A. Ülkücan, *Anadolu yemekleri ve türk mutfaği*, Ankara 1961, 101). Cf. also the brochettes of liver rolled in yoghurt in I. Orga, *Cooking with yoghurt*, London 1956, 40.

In Uzbekistan also liver is cooked en brochette (*djigar kabob*) and sometimes, as in Soviet Ādharbāydjān, with pieces of fat-tail of sheep alternating with morsels of liver (*dumba kabob*); liver is also grilled then stuffed (*ḳovurilgan djigar*) (K. Mahmudov, *Uzbekskie bljuda*, Tashkent 1962, 98, 102; N. K. Alhazov et al., *Azerbajdžanskaya kulinariya*, Baku 1963, 43).

Bibliography: in the article. See also: Nikolaus Mani, *Die historischen Grundlagen der Leberforschung*, 2 vols., Basle 1959-67.

(M. Rodinson)

ḲĀBIḌ (?—934/1527), heretic of the early 10th/16th century. Originally from Persia, he came to Istanbul, where he was educated. In 934/1527 he was publicly maintaining, in different parts of the city, that the Ḳurʾān depended in large measure upon the Old and New Testaments, and that Jesus was superior to Muḥammad. Complaints being made to the authorities, on 8 Ṣafar 934/3 November 1527 Ḳābiḍ was brought before the imperial *dīwān*, where he was interrogated by the *ḳāḍīʿaskers* of Rumeli (Fenārīzāde Muḥyī al-Dīn) and Anatolia (Ḳādirī Čelebi). He defended his doctrines by citing ḳurʾānic verses and *ḥadīths*, and the *ḳāḍīʿaskers*, failing to refute him in argument, resorted to violent language and insults. The grand vizier (Ibrāhīm Pasha) intervened, saying that if Ḳābiḍ's teachings were false, their falsity should be demonstrated; but that it was unfitting that *ʿulemā*ʾ should lose their tempers. He suspended the meeting of the *dīwān*, and Ḳābiḍ was freed. Shortly afterwards Ibrāhīm Pasha explained the position to the sultan, Süleymān, who had been following the proceedings from behind the grille (*ḳafes*). The sultan commented that there were other *ʿulemā*ʾ than the *ḳāḍīʿaskers*, and in accordance with his command the case was re-opened next day, when the *Shaykh al-Islām* Kemāl Pasha-zāde Aḥmed [*q.v.*] and the *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul, Saʿdī Čelebi, were summoned. When Ḳābiḍ repeated his arguments, Kemāl Pasha-zāde demonstrated the true significance of the texts upon which Ḳābiḍ relied and reduced him to silence. When Ḳābiḍ was invited to renounce his doctrines, he refused; whereupon the *Shaykh al-Islām* referred the matter to the *ḳāḍī* for him to pronounce sentence according to the *sharīʿa*. The *ḳāḍī* too invited him to recant and return to the true doctrine, and when he again refused sentenced him to death. He was executed immediately. Ḳābiḍ was evidently a fearless and tenacious adherent of his doctrines, from the trend of which he is assumed to be the founder of the Khūbmesīḥī [*q.v.*] sect. The incident illuminates the religious currents of the period, and the personalities of the individuals involved.

Bibliography: Djelāl-zāde Muṣṭafā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-mamālik wa-daradjāt al-masālik*, Istanbul, Ayasofya Libr., MS. 3296, ff. 128v.-130r.; ʿĀlī, *Kunh al-akhbār*, MS. in the Library of the Dil-Tarih ve Coğrafya Fakültesi, Ankara, f. 19r.; ʿAṭāʾī, *dhayl* to *Shaḳāʾiḳ*, Istanbul 1286, 88 f.; Pečevī, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1283, i, 124-6; Ḥasan Beğ-zāde, *Taʾrīkh*, Süleymāniye Libr., MS. Hafid Ef. 225, ff. 234v.-237r. (= MS. Nuruosmaniye 3134, ff. 22r.-23v.); Solakzāde, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1297, 467-9; Münedjdjim-Bashī, *Ṣaḥāʾif al-akhbār*, Istanbul 1285, iii, 484; M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau général...*, Paris 1787, i, 51-3, Hammer-Purgstall, ii, 69-70; C. Huart, in *Actes du XI. Congrès int. des Orientalistes*, section iii, 69 f.; *Sidjill-i ʿothmānī*, iv, 45; H. D. Jenkins, *Ibrahim Pasha, Grand Vizir of Süleiman the Magnificent*, New York 1911, 49; M. Murād, *Taʾrīkh-i Ebu 'l-Fārūḳ*, Istanbul 1328, iii, 283-5; A. Adnan-Adıvar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde ilim*, Istanbul 1943, 98 f.; Danişmend, *Kronoloji*, ii, 125 f.; Ibn Kemal, *Tawārīkh-i āl-i ʿUthmān*, vii, ed. Ş. Turan, Ankara 1957, xvi; Renzo Sertoli Salis, *Muhteşem Süleyman*, tr. Ş. Turan, Ankara 1963, 88 f.; H. G. Yurdaydın, *Türk düşünce tarihi ile ilgili birkaç not*, in *Ord. Prof. S. S. Ansayın*

hatırasına armağan, Ankara 1964, 53-6; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin ilmiye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1965, 178, n. 3; *İA*, art. *Kâbiz*; art. *Süleyman I.*, by M. T. Gökbilgin, at p. 110; art. *Kemâl Paşazâde*, by I. Parmaksızoğlu, at p. 564 (this gives references for *risāla*s written in refutation of Ķābiḍ); Rycaut, *Present state*, book ii, chap. 12 (for the Khūbmesīḥī). (Hüseyin G. Yurdaydin)

ĶĀBĪL [see hābīl].

ĶABĪLA (a.) denotes a large agnatic group, the members of which claim to be descended from one common ancestor; this word is generally understood in the sense of tribe. It derives from the Arabic root *ķ-b-l*, of which the form *ķābala* signifies to meet, to be face to face with. The definition given by al-Nūwayrī (*Nihāya*, ii, 269), the only one, we believe, which refers to its morphology, refers specifically to this etymology: "the *ķabīla* was so named because its component parts are placed face to face and in equal numbers". Its structure seems indeed to be connected with that of the skull, in which the four bones, also denoted by the word *ķabīla*, are placed opposite to one another (*LA*, root *ķ-b-l*).

This term is often found in pre-Islamic Arabic poetry. Curiously enough, it is there employed almost exclusively in the plural, *ķabā'il* (*Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, ii, 81, vii, 285; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, i, Cairo 1959, 19, 41, 50; al-Sūwaydī, *Sabā'ik al-dhahab fī ma'rifat ķabā'il al-'Arab*, Cairo n.d., 104). The Ķur'ān uses it only once: "We have established you in peoples (*shu'ūb*) and tribes (*ķabā'il*) so that you may know one another" (XLIX, 13). On the strength of its inclusion in the ķur'ānic vocabulary, this substantive has been the subject of various explanations. Unfortunately, these are at once imprecise, contradictory and unsatisfactory. As examples of *ķabīla*, al-Ķalķashandī (i, 308) cites the Rabī'a and Muḍar groups, which others regard as *shu'ūb*; the tribe would in that case include a considerable number of divisions and sub-groups. Al-Bayḍāwī (*Anwār al-tanzīl*, Istanbul 1303, ii, 453) and al-Ṭabarsī (*Madjma' al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Ķur'ān*, Beirut 1961, xxvi, 96) consider it to be of more modest size. According to the former writer, the Kināna would belong to this type of group, while the latter names the Bakr. In the story of 'Antar, the Banū 'Abs are described as a *ķabīla*, which is thereby reduced to a very limited size. In reality, such examples are valid only when placed in precise historical perspective. An endogamous group, of unilineal descent, does not retain either the same size or the same rank in the social hierarchy throughout its existence. Thus the Ķuraysh, a mere branch of the Kināna in about the middle of the 6th century A.D., after some decades had become a powerful tribe. It would therefore be difficult to accept the models suggested by the classical authors. All that can be deduced from them with certainty is that the *ķabīla* is a smaller group than the *sha'b*, which is made up of several tribes, and larger than the *'ashīra* ([*q.v.*] cf. Ķur'ān, XXL, 214; IX, 24; LVIII, 22).

The Arabic dictionaries prove, in the event, to be of little more help. Like the genealogists, in classifying the technical terms of social architecture they have relied solely on one criterion, that of size. The groups fit into one another like a set of boxes: the *djidhm* (the stock or origin) contains the *djumhūr* (population, mass), which contains the *sha'b*, which contains the *ķabīla*, which contains the *'imāra* (sub-tribe, small tribe), which contains the *baṭn* (belly or division), which contains the *fakhdh* (thigh or section), which contains the *'ashīra* (clan), which contains the *faṣīla* (kindred; cf. Ķur'ān, LXX, 13), which contains the *rahṭ* (family; cf. Ķur'ān, XI, 91 f.). Although more complete than that of al-Māwardī (*Aḥkām*, Bonn 1853, 353), the above list drawn up by al-Nūwayrī likewise omits the word *ḥayy*, to which Robertson Smith attached much importance. Despite this plethora of technical terms, the social structures of the ancient nomadic Arabs remain extremely fluid.

In the writings of contemporary authors, *ķabīla* is often synonymous with *'ashīra*, although they are agreed in regarding it as numerically inferior to the latter. The same variability is to be observed among the desert Arabs, who use the two words indiscriminately to denote the clan, while the tribe is sometimes called *ķabīla*, sometimes *ṣaff*. In the face of such uncertainty, some ethnologists eventually gave up using a vocabulary which appears to be unsuitable for translating the social reality which nevertheless it claims to express (R. Montagne, *La civilisation du désert*, Paris 1947, 50).

We are scarcely better informed in regard to the ancient tribal organization. When seen from outside, no social group appears to be as homogeneous and united as the *ķabīla*. The traditional conception regards it as a large patriarchal family whose members, all closely linked with each other, bear the same patronymic name, that of their common ancestor. The homogeneity of the tribe, not to say that of the ethnic community itself, would appear to result from the process of its development, thanks to an uninterrupted series of endogamous marriages, from the time of the original founder. The groups claiming to derive from the same origin would therefore be connected with one another, like the links of a chain, and in this way they would form an enduring consanguineous unit.

The over-simplified nature of this representation is evident. Criticism is all the more justified in denouncing the artificial aspect of the classical theory since, at the tribal level itself, an extraordinary intermingling, brought about by migrations, wars and the constant movement to and fro between the desert and the city, periodically challenged even the surest of the genealogical foundations. The clan itself accepts the presence among its own people of certain foreign elements (dependents, protégés, confederates) who in the end become totally integrated with it by marriage or through the alliance of blood.

Does this mean that everything in the traditional theory of relationship among the Arabs must be rejected, and that one is confronted with a later construction, fashioned during the first century of Islam? Despite the well-known thesis of Robertson Smith, the existence of a system based on matrilinearity, in pre-Islamic Arabia, today seems very problematical. The genealogists' theories, although manifestly exaggerated, would not appear to be devoid of foundation. Certainly there could be no question of accepting the thesis of the consanguineous unity of the tribe. However, taken at the level of the line of descent, this unity is effective and serves as a basis for determining the *damawiyya*, formerly the *'āķila* [*q.v.*], that is to say those jointly responsible for a crime committed by one of their members. A system of endogamy, carried to the limit of incest and practised on a very wide scale, forces the group back upon itself to such an extent that, when it extends, it does not cease to regard itself as a large family.

In short, it follows from this cursory examination of the classical documents that the exact significance of the word *ķabīla* remains as indeterminate as its morphology. We are therefore compelled to resort

to ethnological research in order to define each of these aspects. For this purpose, then, instead of citing examples from the ancient authors, let us consider the tribe as it exists today among the Bedouin. The *ḳabīla* appears as an independent political group, varying in size from a thousand to two thousand persons, and even larger when the process of sedentarization has started. It is generally composed of two or three sections, nominally united by ties of kinship and in principle interdependent upon each other. Its members claim to be descended from one common ancestor, whose name they generally bear, along with those of their own section and of the clan, they jointly own an area of grazing-land, and they are ruled by one single ruler, formerly the *sayyid*, today the *shaykh*, old man, elder, a title also borne by the head of the clan.

Despite its monolithic appearance, the *ḳabīla* falls into as many small, practically autonomous groups as it contains different lines of descent. The genealogists who have dwelt so insistently upon the unity of the Arab tribe have almost entirely lost sight of its heterogeneity. Now, the division of Bedouin society into interlocking groups has resulted from a fundamental duality which sets them against each other at all levels of the social structure: ʿAdnān/Ḳaḥṭān, Rabīʿa/Muḍar, Ḥimyar/Kahlān, Bakr/Taghlib, Aws/Khazradj, ʿAbs/Zubyān, Hishām/Umayya, etc. Bedouin society has in fact been subjected to a progressive process of segmentation. At each stage, two blocks of apparently equal strength confront each other, and attract or repel one another in accordance with the interests of the moment. At the family level, the division should cease to operate and should be replaced by absolute solidarity, for any conflict between the members of this group would be tantamount to an act of suicide. In fact, the duality pursues its way inexorably. The division begins even within the patriarchal family, where each male is a contestant for power. To restrict ourselves to an examination of the tribe, we may state that it is often divided into two large subdivisions which strive against each other for supremacy and even make war. The Banū Ṣakhr, for example, are divided into the Ṭuwaga and the Kaʿābina; for a long time the leadership belonged to the latter, and then it passed into the hands of their rivals. Indeed, the tribe may be composed of several divisions, but it seems that a pluralism then tends to be reduced to a duality; an entire little world gravitates, like satellites, around the two principal leaders. When the *ḳabīla* consists of three subdivisions, it often happens that the most recent of these, if not the least important, endeavours to preserve the balance between the other two. Thus the Ḥuwayṭāt are divided into three large groups, two of whom show no liking for each other (Ibn Djāzī and Abū Tāyih), while the third (Ibn Ndjād) observes a positive neutrality, trying to make the best possible use of this ambiguous situation. Even within the subdivision, the relations of the clans with each other are not free from duality. Each one of them seems to have its twin, the other half of the cell, for whom it is both rival and supporter, and with whom it avoids contracting marriages.

In the light of these ethnographical data, the definition of *ḳabīla* given by al-Nūwayrī and referred to above is seen in a new aspect. Its component parts are indeed symmetrical and of evidently equal strength.

Al-Hamdānī confirms the existence of this type of organization. The author of the *Iklīl*, who is not particularly careful in his use of the terms of relationship, does nevertheless give most useful information on the organization of the Nashḳ, a branch of the Bakīl; they were divided into two factions (*baṭn*), the Yumdjid and the Dhu 'l-Djirāb, and lived in the lower part of Djawf in Rawthān. The two groups had their own areas—over against one another and separated by the width of the valley. Each tribe (*ḳabīla*) had about three hundred members. Fratricidal war decimated the two *ḥayy*s (*Iklīl*, ed. Khaṭīb, Cairo 1369, x, 123 f.).

Is the structure of the *ḳabīla* then of a dualist type? It would appear rather to be a matter of a particular kind of dualism, since the different sections in question, far from intermarrying, practise strict endogamy. This hypothesis seems all the more probable in that, when the tribe becomes settled, it projects the image of its divisions onto the soil itself. On the eve of the *hidjra*, Mecca was divided into two concentric, rival and complementary halves: in the centre were the Ḳuraysh al-Biṭāḥ, on the periphery the Ḳuraysh al-Ẓawāhir. A similar situation was observed in Medina where the two sister tribes were rivals for power. The Khazradj had taken possession of the principal points of the city, while the Aws were relegated to the outskirts. This same type of structure is found today in many small Jordanian towns inhabited by former Bedouins, particularly in Maʿān and Karak.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the text—: ʿAbbās al-ʿAzzāwī, *ʿAshāʾir al-ʿIrāḳ*, 3 vols., Baghdad 1947 f.; ʿAbd al-Djalīl Ṭāhir, *al-Badw wa-'l-ʿashāʾir fi'l-bilād al-ʿarabiyya*, Cairo 1955; Aḥmad Waṣfī Zakariyyāʾ, *ʿAshāʾir al-Shām*, 2 vols., Damascus 1947; B. Farès, *L'honneur chez les Arabes avant l'Islam*, Paris 1932; J. Henninger, *Die Familie bei den heutigen Beduinen Arabiens und seiner Randgebiete*, Leiden 1943, 134-5; J. Lecerf, *Note sur la famille dans le monde arabe et islamique*, in *Arabica*, 1956/i; R. Murphy and L. Kasdan, *The structure of parallel cousin marriage*, in *American anthropologist*, lxi (1959); R. Patai, *The structure of endogamous unilineal descent groups*, in *Southwestern Journal of anthropology*, xxi (1965); J. Chelhod, *Les structures dualistes de la société bédouine*, in *L'Homme*, ix/2 (1969); for a more detailed bibliography see idem, *Le droit dans la société bédouine*, Paris 1971. (J. CHELHOD)

KABĪR PANTHĪS [see Supplement].

ḲĀBIS (Gabès), a town in Tunisia on the gulf of the same name (the Little Syrte of antiquity), 404 km. to the south of Tunis and 150 km. from Gafsa [see ḲAFSA]; it has 40,000 inhabitants, of whom 1,200 are Europeans, and is the chief town of a governorate with a population of 204,000 (1966 census). The town of Gabès, divided since 1957 into four districts, includes the old townships of Manzil, situated higher up the Oued-Gabès, and Djāra, situated downstream, localities which have always been divided by fierce and still potent rivalry. A new quarter, Bab-Bhar or Gabès-Port, which is located further downstream, dates from the time of the French protectorate, and another built-up area extending towards the south has been added in more recent times. In 1959 and 1962 Manzil and Djāra suffered severely from the devastating floods of the Oued-Gabès, which is now kept under control by an additional channel that drains off the flood-waters directly to the sea. In effect, Gabès is situated at the bottom of a basin which is enclosed on the north by a loop of the *oued*, and on the south shut in by the

hills of Sidi-Boulbaba—the site of the sanctuary of the patron saint of the town, alleged to be a companion of the Prophet—and the Manâra, a superb view-point where, in the Middle Ages, a lighthouse stood, and where, since 1962, a working-class district has been constructed to house those made homeless by the recent floods.

According to A. Bechraoui, who has devoted a very recent study to the subject, the oasis of Ķābis contains a stock of 1,400,000 trees, of which 650,000, that is 47 per cent of the total, are rather mediocre date palms. Next in order of importance come the pomegranate trees, 107,000 in number and of excellent quality, which are the second most important crop produced in Tunisia; then come peach trees, vines and apricot trees. Olive trees succeed only in the Kettana-Teboulbou-Oudref-Metouia region. Banana trees produce ripe fruits, but they are rather sparse. Cultivated land is devoted to the production of cereals in small quantities, fodder (especially lucerne), tobacco, henna and also market-gardening, asparagus being a recent introduction. Live-stock are few in number; animal rearing is mainly carried out on a domestic basis and is regarded as a means of making a little extra money. The coastal waters, which are shallow and contain an abundance of fish, have been left almost unexploited. With the help of irrigation, the oasis has been extended as far as possible. Some 60 borings having been made between 1890 and the present day, the over-exploited underground water-supply is in fact on the verge of becoming exhausted.

Ķābis has recently been selected as a development centre for southern Tunisia: equipment has been provided for a port carrying vessels of 50,000 tons; Industries Chimiques Maghrébines (I.C.M.), a company specializing in the manufacture of nitrate fertilizers, has been set up; and a gas pipe-line connecting the town with the El-Borma fields, providing fuel for brick-kilns and the power station, has been installed. Craft-work and tourism provide additional employment and can be developed still further.

History.—Ķābis is the Arabic form of the name of the city known in antiquity as Tacape, Tacapa or the plural form Tacapae. The Arabic form derived from the very commonly used accusative, Tacapas, with the elision of the Libyan Berber prefix *ta*. The site of Ķābis has certainly been inhabited since the neolithic period, as is shown by many remains. Later, the Phoenicians were probably the first to establish an emporium specializing in trade with Numidia and across the Sahara. The emporium became a Carthaginian port, before being transformed into a Roman colony; after this date, specific information regarding the town is to be found.

From the reign of Tiberius (14-37 A.D.) the systematic development of the region began, as is attested by the *comitia centuriata*. Tacapas was connected with Carthage by the main coastal road. In the year 14 a strategic route was opened, connecting it via Capsa (Ķafsa) with Thelepte and Ammaedara (Haïdra) where the 3rd Legion (Augusta) was stationed. As a result of the Carthaginians' efforts in an earlier period, and as a result also of this network of roads which stimulated the port's activity, as well as of the abundant waters of the Oued-Gabès and of the Pax Romana, the town, the centre of which was certainly located upon the eminence where the sanctuary of Sidi Boulbaba now stands, was extensively developed—as to the scale of this development, however, there is some disagreement —and during the Christian period it became the seat of a bishopric. However, it was fortified only at a comparatively late date. "Until the middle of the 6th century Gabès at least still possessed no ramparts", wrote Ch. Diehl (*L'Afrique byzantine*, i, 229). It was defended only by a *castellum* barring the invasion route, that is to say the isthmus between the coast and the Chott El-Fedjedj, linking Byzacena with Libya. It was there that, in 547, the Byzantine forces suffered a disastrous defeat at the hands of the Astrices tribe. No doubt it was after this disaster that a wall was erected round Tacapas which survived at least until the 16th century. Today, no monuments from its ancient past remain in Ķābis though, to be strictly accurate, there are traces of the "Roman dam" across the Oued-Gabès, several pillars and capitals that have been incorporated in the mosque of Sīdī Idrīs or in the sanctuary of Sidi Boulbaba, and also some other fragments of lesser value which have been used in buildings in the old quarters.

The circumstances under which Ķābis came to Islam remain obscure. It is however certain, despite assertions made later by al-Wazīr al-Sarrādj (*Ḥulal*, i, 344), that ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd [*q.v.*] did not besiege the town during his invasion of Byzacena in 27/647-8. It was only later that it was captured, probably during the campaigns directed by Muʿāwiya b. Ḥudaydj or his successor ʿUķba b. Nāfiʿ, between the years 34/654 and 50/670. It was later evacuated, after the defeat and death of ʿUķba in Tahūda, in about 64/684. The victor, Kusayla, established himself in Ķayrawān and from there, according to Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (*Futūḥ*, 70-1), he extended his rule over the neighbouring regions, including the "Gate of Ķābis". It was through this gate that, in about 74/693-4, the forces of al-Kāhina [*q.v.*] expelled Ḥassān b. al-Nuʿmān [*q.v.*] from the country he had come to recover. Some years later, however, the same gate once more served as his route.

From this time, Ķābis was finally acquired by Islam and became intimately involved in its existence. In particular, Ķābis was not spared the violent Khāridjite storm which racked the whole of Ifrīķiya from 122/740 to 155/772. The Zanātī ʿUkāsha b. Ayyūb al-Fazārī, of Ṣufrite persuasion, captured it in 123/741 and threatened Ķayrawān, before being defeated and killed (125/743). Some years later, under the rule of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb, it once again fell into the hands of the Khāridjites, this time those of Ibāḍite tendencies. Again, it was recovered and the rebel leader Ismāʿīl b. Ziyād al-Nafūsī was defeated and killed in about 131/748-9. The assassination of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥabīb (137/755) was the signal for new disturbances and a new Khāridjite outbreak, during which the town passed from one to another of the opposing factions. The Ibāḍite Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb captured it at the beginning of 141/middle of 758. It was liberated by Ibn al-Ashʿath in 144/761, only to be lost once more. Finally Yazīd b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī, the founder of the Muhallabid dynasty, entered the town on 20 Djumādā I 155/28 April 772 and for a quarter of a century brought an end to the bloodshed that had tormented the region for several decades.

In the Aghlabid period, Ķābis became the chief town of the district and the seat of a governor. From the testimony of al-Shammākhī (*Siyar*, 203), who mentions an *ʿāmil* of the *imām* ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (168/784-208/823), it might be thought that the town formed part of the Rustamid kingdom. In fact, this *ʿāmil* was merely a tax-collector who in a somewhat clandestine manner was organizing the *ṣadaķāt*

of the Ibāḍites of the "diocese" on Tāhart, since we know for certain that, throughout the 3rd/9th century, the town was at all times dependent upon the political authority of Ḳayrawān. For Ḳābis it was a period of peace, scarcely broken by the battle at which, in 283/896, not far from its walls, Ibrāhīm II crushed the Nafūsa Ibāḍites, who had become too menacing. In the 4th/10th century it passed into the hands of the Fāṭimids, who had it governed by the Kutāma Banū Luḳmān, whose liberality was immortalized by the poets.

The rule of the Zīrids was less peaceful. It began with a Khāridjite revolt (361/972). Ḳābis was besieged and the suburbs devastated. The Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim (386/996-411/1021 [*q.v.*]) then attempted, though in the end without success, to take both Gabès and Tripoli from the Zīrids. The town was governed for the Zīrids by the Banū ʿĀmir, and afterwards by a brother of Bādīs (386/996-406/1016 [*q.v.*]), Ibrāhīm, who in turn was succeeded by Manṣūr b. Mawās. Its last governor, nominated by al-Muʿizz (407/1016-464/1062) was Ibn Walmiya. The town then broke away from the Zīrids.

In fact, it was in the same region, at Ḥaydarān [*q.v.*], in 443/1052, that the disaster occurred as a result of which Ifrīḳiya passed into the hands of the Hilālīs [see HILĀL]. It should however be explained that the Hilālīs caused no damage either to the town —which was by then surrounded by a strong wall— or to the oasis, although it was undefended. Some sort of understanding, naturally based on the payment of tribute, must certainly have been reached between the invaders and the governor of the town since, from 445/1053-4 and thanks to the protection afforded by the Riyāḥid chief Muʾnis b. Yaḥyā, certain members of the Zīrid dynasty who were in extreme danger openly took refuge in the safe haven of the town. Ḳābis did not immediately break off relations with Mahdiyya. It was in about 454/1062-3 that the governor, al-Muʿizz b. Muḥammad b. Walmiya, angered by the way in which his brothers Ibrāhīm and Ḳāḍī had been treated by the Zīrid amīr, plotted with Ḳāḍī and proclaimed himself independent, under the protection of Muʾnis b. Yaḥyā. "This was the beginning of the occupation of the town by the Hilālī Arabs", remarks al-Tīdjānī (*Riḥla*, 96). Ibrāhīm succeeded his father, and then came the turn of Ḳāḍī, who was put to death (489/1095-6) by the inhabitants of Ḳābis in retaliation against his tyranny.

This assassination brought to power the Banū Djāmiʿ who, through the medium of the Dahmān, were allied with the Riyāḥ Hilālīs. We are told, it is true, that the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustanṣir (427/1036-487/1094), at the same time as he unleashed the Banū Hilāl upon Ifrīḳiya, had offered Tripoli and Ḳābis to the Zughba group as their share. In fact, these latter were satisfied with Tripoli, and it was a Dahmano-Riyāḥid, Makkī b. Kāmil b. Djāmiʿ (al-Tīdjānī, *Riḥla*, 71, 97), who founded a dynasty in Ḳābis, after eliminating a brother of the amīr Tamīm (454/1062-501/1108), ʿUmar b. al-Muʿizz, whom the Ḳābis insurgents had placed in authority. Makkī's successor was his son Rāfiʿ, who in turn was succeeded first by Rushayd b. Kāmil b. Djāmiʿ (about 515/1121-541/1147) and then, after the brief seizure of power by the freedman Yūsuf, by Muḥammad b. Rushayd, and finally by Mudāfiʿ b. Rushayd.

From the middle of the 5th/11th to the middle of the 6th/12th century, both under its independent governors who enjoyed Riyāḥid protection and also under the direct administration of the Banū Djāmiʿ, the history of Ḳābis was one of constant turmoil, at home through a whole series of intrigues and fruitless struggles in the attempt to seize power, and in external affairs through the expansionist policy of the Normans of Sicily, who were trying to establish control over the coast of Ifrīḳiya. Despite various sieges (in 474/1081-2, 479/1086-7, 486/1093-4 and in about 511/1117-8) which finally failed, the town was only recovered for brief periods (in 489/1095-6 and 542/1147) by the successors of al-Muʿizz. In order to oppose these successors, the town in its turn adopted a frankly aggressive policy, welcoming their enemies and sending its troops, either alone or with allies, to assault their capital (in 476/1083-4, 493/1099-1100, and in about 511/1117-8). Against them, it made alliances not only with the Hilālīs but also with the Normans of Roger II, who sent the usurper, at his own request, a diploma of investiture in fair and correct form as well as certain Christian decorations, and then provided a successor, Muḥammad b. Rushayd, after the occupation of Mahdiyya (543/1148) and the whole of the Sahel. Despite all these conflicts, the town does not appear to have suffered immoderately. It was even embellished with a fine palace, that of al-ʿArūsayn, begun probably by Ibn Walmiya and completed by Rāfiʿ, who took the credit for it. It should incidentally be noted that Rushayd struck coins in his own name, a gesture affirming his independence.

The coming of the Almohads put an end to the independence which Ḳābis had already practically lost since 541/1146-7 by passing under the domination (tolerant, admittedly, but effective) of the Normans. The town, which had risen against the Normans in 553/1158-9, was captured by Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh, the son of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*], in 554/1160. The period of peace it then enjoyed lasted only for a few decades. Soon Ḳābis became in fact a subject of contention between the Almohads and two adversaries who at certain times were allies, at other times hostile to one another, Ḳarāḳūsh [*q.v.*], already master of Tripoli, and the Banū Ghāniya [*q.v.*]. Al-Manṣūr (580/1184-596/1199) had to intervene personally in Ifrīḳiya since he was in danger of losing it and, by his victory at al-Ḥāmma (583/1187-8), he succeeded in recovering the town, which Ḳarāḳūsh, in alliance with ʿAlī b. Ghāniya, had turned into a fortified base. Ḳarāḳūsh soon established himself there once again, but then, having fallen out with his former ally, he lost the town again to the Almohads, who had taken advantage of the situation. Yaḥya b. Ghāniya had meanwhile succeeded ʿAlī, and after crushing Ḳarāḳūsh and taking Tripoli from him, he laid siege to Ḳābis in 591/1195; to force it to surrender, he laid waste the oasis where, it is claimed, he left only one palm-tree standing to mark the spot. On his victory, he made Ḳābis his capital and extended his authority over the whole of Ifrīḳiya, including Tunis, which had been captured in 600/1203. Al-Nāṣir (596/1199-609/1213) thus had to reconquer the whole of the eastern part of his kingdom. He inflicted a decisive defeat on Yaḥyā b. Ghāniya near Ḳābis (Rabīʿ I 602/October 1205) and recaptured the town, which was then finally acquired by the Almohads.

But the Almohads' reign in Ifrīḳiya was nearing its end. Abū Zakariyyāʾ Yaḥyā (625/1228-647/1249), the founder of the Ḥafṣid dynasty, was the ruler of Ḳābis when he was nominated by the caliph al-Maʾmūn (624/1227-629/1232) as governor of the whole of Ifrīḳiya. Supported by ʿAbd al-Malik b. Makkī, the most influential land-owner in the city,

he succeeded in capturing Tunis from his brother, who was dismissed from office. This date marks the rise to fortune of the Banū Makkī, who, from 681/1282 to 796/1394, constituted what was truly a small, local and largely autonomous dynasty in Ḳābis—and, in actual fact, independent. The two most powerful members of this dynasty were ʿAbd al-Malik b. Makkī and his brother Aḥmad; the latter was ruler of Djerba, in particular, and from there for a time he succeeded in extending his authority as far as Tripoli. The two brothers were of Luwāta origin; they were cultured—they liked to affect the style of a *faḳīh*—and also clever, and they often succeeded in influencing Ḥafṣid policy, in which they took an active part, to their own advantage.

In Radjab 681/October 1282, ʿAbd al-Malik opened the gates of Ḳābis to the usurper Ibn Abī ʿUmāra (1282-4) and helped him to ascend the throne. In his gratitude, he is said to have presented ʿAbd al-Malik "with all the young slaves who were in the palace of the late sultan" (R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, ii, 106) and to have appointed him as his vizier, with particularly wide financial powers. But the reign of Ibn Abī ʿUmāra did not last long, and ʿAbd al-Malik returned to his fief of Ḳābis. In 1286, the town was besieged by the amīr Abū Zakariyyāʾ and its palm-grove was laid waste. During the disturbances that followed, ʿAbd al-Malik did not remain inactive. In 1287-8 he gave his support (this time without success, however) to the pretender Ibn Abī Dabbūs against Abū Ḥafṣ (683/1284-692/1293); then, in 693/1294, he rejected the suzerainty of Tunis in order to lay claim to that of Bougie where a grandson of Abū Zakariyyāʾ, the man who had besieged Ḳābis in 1286, was seeking to obtain his ancestor's inheritance. In 732/1332 a new pretender, ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Liḥyānī, also received his support against Abū Bakr (718/1318-747/1346). The years that followed saw the apogee of the Banū Makkī. From 751/1350, while hostile to the powerful and crafty chamberlain Ibn Tafrādjīn, they succeeded in enlarging their territory and in making their authority more firmly based. Their prestige was such that, in about 1355, Venice concluded an advantageous treaty with them separately. Consistently hostile to Tunis, they gave their support to the second Marīnid invasion (752/1352-757/1357), led by Abū ʿInān [*q.v.*].

But some decades later, the reign of Abu 'l-ʿAbbās (772/1371-796/1374) marked the end of independence for all the cities in the south. The reconquest of Ḳābis was not easy, however. In Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 781/February-March 1380, the town was taken and a Ḥafṣid governor, Yūsuf b. al-Abbār, was installed there. But in the following year ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, a grandson of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Makkī, made himself master of the town and put the governor to death. Abu 'l-ʿAbbās had to lay siege to it in person in 789/1387 and, to force it to surrender, he had its date-palms cut down, a step which gave it a somewhat healthier climate, according to Ibn Khaldūn. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb then surrendered, handed over one of his sons to the Ḥafṣid sovereign as a hostage, and paid a substantial indemnity. But ʿAbd al-Wahhāb was assassinated in 792/1390 by his uncle Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Makkī, who proclaimed his independence. In 796/1393-4 a successful plot delivered him into the hands of the Ḥafṣid sovereign, Abū Ḥafṣ, who had him put to death. This was the end of the Banū Makkī and of the independence of Ḳābis.

From then onwards, little was heard of the town. Like the rest of the south, it again broke away from the authority of the last Ḥafṣids, who were under Spanish protection, before coming under Turkish domination along with the whole of Tunisia, which was organized as a *pashalik* (1574). ʿUthman Dāy (1590-1610), who made great efforts to restore peace in the country, established in Djāra a colony of *kūlughlīs* (*kul-oghlu*), that is to say those of mixed breed, the progeny of Turks and native women. With its population of citizens, and with its situation on the edge of the Sahara, Ḳābis suffered more than many other towns from the anarchy which preceded the French occupation. It was under two-fold pressure, both from the nomads, who used to vanish into the desert or take refuge beyond the Libyan frontiers on the approach of regular troops, and from the beylical authorities. Thus, without being at the centre of the storm, Ḳābis was not spared in the insurrection of ʿAlī b. Ghadhāhum (1864). In 1870, it was actually plundered by the *khaznadār*.

At the time the Protectorate was set up, a split developed between the two rival groups over the attitude to be adopted—Djāra opted for acceptance, Manzil for resistance. The occupation of the latter place was thus relatively difficult: it began on 24 July 1881, but was not completed until the end of November, after the fortifications had been entirely destroyed.

During the Second World War a defence line was constructed to the south of Ḳābis, at Mareth, as a result of which the town was bombarded violently and severely devastated, but it did not escape occupation by the German army (19 Nov. 1942). It was recaptured by British and French forces on 29 March 1943.

Historical Geography:—Ḳābis has been well defined as "a maritime oasis". At all periods, its prosperity has been bound up with the richness of its luxuriant vegetation and the activity of its ports, the natural outlet for Saharan trade. Strabo (c. 58 B.C.-c. 25 A.D.) already described it as "a very large market" where merchandise from the regions of the Sahara was exchanged for goods being sent to Numidia. The elder Pliny (23-79 A.D.) speaks of the equitable sharing of water for irrigation, according to a fixed quota, among the inhabitants—a system still in force—and of the richness of the vegetation, which falls into three categories—date-palms; then olives, figs, pomegranates and vines; and lastly cereals and market-gardening.

No further precise geographical particulars relating to Ḳābis, which in the meanwhile had become Muslim, are recorded until the 3rd/9th century. Ibn Khurradādhbih (d. 272/885-6) refers to it, without further comment, as "the town of the foreign *Afāriḳa*" (*madīnat al-Afāriḳa al-aʿādjim*), *Masalik*, 6-7; this expression suggests that in his time the *Afāriḳa*, that is to say the descendants of the Graeco-Romans and the latinized Berbers, mostly Christian, still constituted the major part of the population. It is certainly these *Afāriḳa* who are designated by the term *ʿAdjam* in al-Yaʿḳūbī (d. about 282-92/895-905), who adds that the "very mixed" population was composed of Arabs and Berbers alike. Al-Yaʿḳūbī also notes that Ḳābis was "an important and prosperous town, where trees and fruit are abundant".

In the middle of the 4th/10th century, Ibn Ḥawḳal tells us that it was inhabited predominantly by Berbers, and for the first time records a community of Jews, who were subject to a special tax. He remarks that its inhabitants "are not over-endowed by nature in matters of beauty and cleanliness and are somewhat simple" (*Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, 72; trans. Kramers-Wiet, 66). He notes that it was surrounded by a wall and a ditch, and that outside the walls there

was a suburb—here recorded for the first time—where the markets were held. Of its varied and abundant produce he makes particular mention of oil, wool, great quantities of silk of excellent quality, and very good leather, soft to the touch and perfumed, which was exported to all parts of the Maghrib. Alas! the hinterland was inhabited by thieving Khāridjites who had sacked and burnt the suburb, bearing a particular grudge against the possessions of merchants and *Dhimmīs*.

At the end of the 4th/10th century, al-Muķaddasī depicts it as a town "smaller than Tripoli", "built of stone and brick, rich in date-palms, grapes and apples" (*Aḥsan al-taķāsīm*, 12-13). Its "hinterland was inhabited by Berbers" and its walls "pierced by three gates".

The description given by al-Bakrī and often repeated by later geographers is the most detailed and goes back to the middle of the 5th/11th century, the time when the town was ruled by Ibn Walmiya under the protection of the Hilālī chief Muʾnis b. Yaḥyā. The town was then still contained within its ancient wall, constructed of hewn stone, the wall being reinforced with a ditch which could be flooded in time of danger. Since the time of Ibn Ḥawķal, however, it had seen great developments. In particular it was surrounded, not by one but by several suburbs to the south and east, and by markets and inns (*fanādiķ*), a sign of intense commercial activity. It was embellished with a rich mosque and possessed numerous *ḥammāms*.

The only shadow in this picture was that the climate had become unhealthy—this had not been so earlier—as a result of the destruction of a talisman which had come to light during the search for some treasure. This legend of the talisman certainly refers to the demolition of the ancient buildings situated within the walls on the heights of Sidi Boulbaba, where the air is always very healthy, to allow for the construction, from the middle of the 4th/10th century, of the suburbs in the unhealthy basin enclosed by the *oued*. At the end of the 5th/11th century the suburb furthest away from the ancient walls, on the site of the present quarter of Djāra, was already fully urbanized, as is shown by the mosques of Sīdī Idrīs, Sīdī al-Ḥādjdj ʿUmar and Sīdī b. ʿĪsā. which G. Marçais attributed to the Banū Djāmiʿ (*Architecture*, 77-8) and which are all concentrated in this quarter. It was noted earlier that some fragments from buildings of antiquity have been re-used in these and also in other old buildings. Thus, from the middle of the 5th/11th century, the ancient city had begun to be deserted and eventually disappeared entirely, being replaced by the suburbs, an operation that intensified the unhealthy situation condemned by all the geographers from al-Bakrī onwards, whereas there had been no question of this beforehand.

Among the inhabitants, according to al-Bakrī, a distinction was still made between Arabs and *Afāriķa*, which indicates that the ethnic fusion was still incomplete. The populace was the subject of various gibes—which are repeated in the *Masālik* somewhat complacently—on the grounds that the houses were not equipped with any latrines, and that excrement was used to improve the orchards, customs which can all still be verified (A. Bechraoui, *La vie rurale dans les oasis de Gabès*, 317). The Berbers lived in huts (*akhṣāṣ*), and principally they inhabited the hinterland. They were composed primarily of Luwāta, Lamāya, Nafūsa, Mazāta, Zuwāgha, Zuwāra and other smaller groups. The oasis of Ķābis produced great quantities of bananas, sugar cane and all kinds of fruit which provided supplies for Ķayrawān. Unique in Ifrīķiya, it possessed a huge forest of mulberry trees which made it possible for excellent silk to be produced in abundance. In this connection it should be noted that Geniza [*q.v.*] documents confirm that Ifrīķiya was a great exporter of silk in the 5th/11th century, but that S. D. Goitein has failed to find any specific reference there to Ķābis. Finally, al-Bakrī tells us that the port of the town, marked by a lighthouse which was praised as a marvel—a tower of which nothing now remains except its site on an eminence still known by the same name, *al-Manāra*—was visited by ships "from all corners of the earth".

In the middle of the 6th/12th century, al-Idrīsī still speaks of the *Afāriķa*, but in an incidental way, and there can be no doubt that, in that period, they no longer constituted a really important and distinct element of the population. The people, he adds, "are lacking in elegance, but are correctly and cleanly dressed" (*Nuzha*, 77). The town was still developing rapidly. Al-Idrīsī gives especial praise to its *ruṭab*, a variety of honey-like dates conserved in large jars. It still produced oil, "exported in great quantities in all directions". It had however undergone various changes—the harbour, once so frequented according to al-Bakrī, was said by al-Idrīsī to be barely navigable on account of its shallowness and the wind; there was no longer any reference to the lighthouse; the silk industry, now in decline, had withdrawn to the little village of Ķaṣr Sadjdja, at the source of the *oued*; the leather industry, praised by Ibn Ḥawķal and passed over in silence by al-Bakrī, had on the contrary become outstanding and its products were exported in large quantities.

Writing at the beginning of the 7th/13th century, Yāķūt tells us nothing new, merely repeating al-Bakrī word for word. Ibn al-Shabbāṭ (618/1221-681/1282), reproduced by al-Wazīr al-Sarrādj, describes Ķābis as "a large town" and states that, among its inhabitants, three elements could still be distinguished—Arabs, Berbers and *ʿAdjam*, that is to say *Afāriķa*. This is the last time that the division of the populace into three ethnic groups is mentioned. Towards the end of the 7th/13th century, al-ʿAbdarī, when travelling through the city while on the pilgrimage, formed a very poor impression of the place: it is a dirty, evil-smelling town, he remarks, the pretentiousness of whose inhabitants is only equalled by their ignorance and impiety.

The account given by al-Tīdjānī, who spent four days in the town in the middle of Djumādā I 706/end of November 1306, is different again. "This is a beautiful maritime and Saharan town", he exclaims, "a true earthly paradise, in short a Damascus on a smaller scale". However, an important transformation was in progress. It is true that the ancient walls were still standing, but the centre of activity had moved out to "the suburbs, which were extensive and included most of the markets" (*Riḥla*, 86-7). In the heart of the old town, the minaret of the Grand Mosque had lost its equilibrium and was leaning dangerously; the Ķaṣaba and the palace of the Banū Djāmiʿ, "the Ķaṣr al-ʿArūsayn a marvel unparalleled in the world", were nothing more than ruins (*Riḥla*, 94-5). The air was unhealthier than ever, the inhabitants' faces were pale and epidemics frequent, on account of the oleanders (*al-diflā*), al-Tīdjānī explains, for they polluted the water, apart from two springs, ʿAyn al-Amīr and ʿAyn Salām.

We then have to wait until the beginning of the 16th century—that is to say, for the account of Leo Africanus, who visited Tunisia in 1517 (*Description*, ii, 398)—for further details of the development of

Ḳābis. It was, it seems, still "a very large town", and the old city was still surrounded by its "high ancient walls". But the fact that "it has been sacked by the Arabs" has brought about its decline. Its inhabitants were scattered about in the oasis. "Their skins are black. They farm or they fish, in poverty, and under constant pressure from the Arabs and from the king of Tunis" (*Description*, ii, 398). In short, the town's ruin was complete; there was no longer any reference to its abundance of fruit, to its industries, its exports in all directions. Not one word of the activity of its port, or of its markets: insecurity had killed its trade, including the trans-Saharan trade which had left such a strong mark, doubtless through interbreeding with black slaves, upon the complexion of the inhabitants, who finally became of one single type in their poverty.

In the middle of the 19th century, V. Guérin was unable to discover any traces of the ancient walls. Nothing survived except for old hovels in Manzil and D̲j̲āra which, according to F. Laffite and J. Servonnet, scarcely deserved to be called houses. Manzil then had 3,500 inhabitants and D̲j̲āra 4,000, out of a total population for the oasis estimated at 10,000. In 1873, Captain Roudaire conceived the idea, which when examined proved to be impracticable, of an inland sea, inundating the region of the Chotts by means of a canal linking it with the Gulf of Ḳābis.

Bibliography: Geographical sources (arranged chronologically): Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih, *Masālik*, and Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Buldān*, ed. partly tr. Hadj-Sadok under the title *Description du Maghreb* . . ., Algiers 1949, 6-7 and note 57, 30-1; Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, tr. G. Wiet, *Les Pays*, Cairo 1937, 208; Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, Beirut n.d., 72-3 (tr. Kramers-Wiet, 66-7); Muḳaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm*, ed. partly tr. Ch. Pellat under the title *Description de l'Occident* . . ., Algiers 1950, 4-5, 12-3, 64-5, 66-7; Bakrī, *Masālik*, ed.-tr. De Slane, Paris 1965, 7/22, 17-19/41-44, 19/45, 47/102, 85/172; Idrīsī, *Nuzha*, part. ed. H. Peres, Algiers 1957, 76-7, 89, 94; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, Beirut 1957, iv, 289-90; ʿAbdarī, *Riḥla*, ed. A. Ibn D̲j̲addū, Constantine n.d., 68-9; Tīd̲j̲ānī, *Riḥla*, Tunis 1958, 58, 68, 71, 86-117, 132; Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Bag̲h̲dādī, *Marāṣid*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Bid̲j̲āwī, Cairo 1954, iii, 1054; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, tr. A. Epaulard, Paris 1956, ii, 398, 549; al-Wazīr al-Sarrād̲j̲, *Ḥulal*, ed. M. H. al-Hīla, Tunis 1970, i, 342-73, 847-8, 962; V. Guérin, *Voyage Archéologique dans la Régence de Tunis*, Paris 1862, i, 190-7; Zaccone, *Notes sur la Régence de Tunis*, Paris 1875, 152-62; Rebillet, *Le Sud de la Tunisie*, Sousse 1886, 15-101; F. Laffite and J. Servonnet, *Le Golfe de Gabès en 1888*, Paris 1888, 216-40, 315-32; Maunoir, *Journal de route*, Paris 1905, 67-71. Studies: A. Bechraoui, *La vie rurale dans les oasis de Gabès* (doctoral thesis, 3rd cycle, 1970); R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie Orientale sous les Ḥafṣides*, Paris 1940-47, index; L. Carton, *Essai sur les travaux hydrauliques des Romains dans le sud de la régence de Tunis*, in *Bull.Arch.*, Tunis 1888, 438-65; J. Despois, *L'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1958, index; Ch. Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine*, Paris 1896, i, 228-33, ii, 414, 535; L. Foucher, *Hadrumetum*, Paris 1964, 321-2; J. Ganiage, *Les origines du protectorat français en Tunisie (1861-1881)*, Paris 1959, 36, 138, 145-6, 219-36, 467; S. D. Goitein, *A mediterranean society*, Los Angeles 1967, i, 102, 278, 279, 469; S. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1913-28, i, 64-5, 203-4, ii, 125-6, v, 247; J. Hilaire, *Compte-rendu des fouilles exécutées en 1898 sur l'emplacement de Tacapas*, in *Bull. Arch.*, Tunis 1900, 115-25; H. R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zīrides*, Paris 1962, index; Ch. A. Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1956, Eng. tr., London 1971, index; A. Laroui, *L'histoire du Maghreb*, Paris 1970, index; G. Marçais, *L'Architecture musulmane d'Occident*, Paris 1954, 77-8; A. Martel, *Les confins saharo-tripolitains de la Tunisie (1881-1911)*, Paris 1965, index; Marzūḳī, *Ḳābis d̲j̲annat al-Arḍ*, Tunis 1962, 310; J. F. Monlezun, *Les ruines de Tacapas*, in *Bull. Arch.*, Tunis 1885, 126-31; P. Romanelli, *Storia delle province romane dell'Africa*, Rome 1959, index; M. Talbi, *L'Emirat aghlabide*, Paris 1966, index; Ch. Tissot, *Géographie comparée de la province romaine d'Afrique*, Paris 1884, ii, 31, 196; B. Torki, *La dessaharisation nucléaire = rétablissement de la mer intérieure au Maghreb Central*, Technical Report no. 23 (1968) of Commissariat à l'Energieatomique, Tunis; A. S. Zaghlul, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-Mag̲h̲rib alʿarabī*, Cairo 1965, index; B. Orgels, *L'oasis de Gabes*, in *Correspondance d'Orient*, 1968. (M. Talbi)

AL-ḲABĪṢĪ, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿUt̲h̲mān b. ʿAlī, Abu 'l-Ṣaḳr, astrologer, came from one of two towns called Ḳabīṣa (Yāḳūt, *Muʿd̲j̲am al-buldān*, iv, 308 of the Beirut ed.), the one two farsak̲h̲s east of Mawṣil and the other near Sāmarrā. He is said by Ibn al-Nadīm (ed. Flügel, 265; quoted by Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, ed. Lippert, 64) to have studied Ptolemy's *Almagest* under ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-ʿImrānī of Mawṣil (d. 344/955-6) "in our time"; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī adds that this refers to 370/980-1. Al-Ḳabīṣī is in fact cited by al-ʿImrānī in his *In electionibus horarum* (J. M. Millás Vallicrosa, *Las traducciones orientales*, Madrid 1942, 338).

Al-Ḳabīṣī's principal surviving work, *al-Madk̲h̲al ilā ṣināʿat aḥkām al-nud̲j̲ūm* (Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa, v, 473 and 476) in 5 *fuṣūl*, is dedicated to Sayf al-Dawla, the Ḥamdānid ruler of Aleppo from 333/944-5 to 356/966-7. In *faṣl* 4 he uses, in an example, the year 317 Yazdid̲j̲ird (A.D. 948-9). This book is, as its title indicates, an introductory exposition of some of the fundamental principles of horoscopy; its present usefulness lies primarily in its quotations from al-Andarzg̲h̲ar, al-Kindī, al-Hind, Ptolemy, Dorotheus, Mās̲h̲āʾallāh, Hermes, and Valens. But it was highly valued in the Middle Ages; there are many Arabic manuscripts (including some in Hebrew script), though no commentaries. A Latin version was made by Ioannes Hispalensis in 1144, a French translation (presumably from the Latin) by Pèlerin de Pousse in 1362; Ioannes' Latin translation was commented on by Ioannes de Saxonia at Paris in 1331 and by V. Nabod in 1560, and probably was also the text commented on by Francesco degli Stabili (Cecco d'Ascoli) (1269-1327).

In the preface to *al-Madk̲h̲al* al-Ḳabīṣī mentions his (now lost) *Kitāb fī it̲h̲bāt ṣināʿat aḥkām al-nud̲j̲ūm*, which answers the equally non-extant *Risālat ʿĪsā ibn ʿAlī fī ibṭāl aḥkām al-nud̲j̲ūm* (see also al-Bayhaḳī, *Tatimma*, 85). ʿĪsā ibn ʿAlī may be the well-known Ḥarrānian astronomer who made observations at Bag̲h̲dād and Damascus in 214/829-30 and 217/832-3. A manuscript in Istanbul (AS 4832) contains three short treatises written by al-Ḳabīṣī: *Risāla fī anwāʿ al-aʿdād wa ṭarāʾif min al-aʿmāl mimmā d̲j̲amaʿahū min mutaḳaddimī ahl al-ʿilm bi hād̲h̲ihi al-ṣināʿa*, a *Risāla fī 'l-abʿād wa 'l-ad̲j̲rām*, and a *Mā s̲h̲araḥahū min Kitāb al-fuṣūl li 'l-Farg̲h̲ānī*. The first two are dedicated to Sayf al-Dawla. We also have a poem describing the rainbow which Ibn K̲h̲allikān (*Wafiyāt*

al-aʿyān, iii, 79 of the Cairo ed.) says some (including al-Thaʿālibī in his *Kitāb yatīmat al-dahr*; not located therein) attribute to Sayf al-Dawla, others to al-Ḳabīṣī. There also exists, in a Latin translation by Ioannes Hispalensis and with a commentary by Ioannes de Saxonia, a *De planetarum coniunctionibus* attributed to Alchabitius; it was translated into French by Oronce Finé (1551). It is not, as Steinschneider suggested, *fuṣūl* 4 and 5 of *al-Madkhal*, and perhaps it is not by al-Ḳabīṣī at all; it was not known either to al-Bayhaḳī or to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa.

Bibliography: There are short references to al-Ḳabīṣī in the several Arabic sources cited above. In modern times he has been noticed by M. Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Übersetzungen*, 561-2, and *Die europäischen Übersetzungen*, repr. Graz 1956, 45-6; Suter, 60-1; C. A. Nallino, *Al-Battānī*, i, 246 and 309, and *Raccolta di scritti*, v, 338; and Brockelmann, I, 254 and S I, 399. Manuscripts and editions of the Latin translations of his *Isagoge* and *De planetarum coniunctionibus* are listed in a most confused and unreliable fashion by F. J. Carmody, *Arabic Astronomical and Astrological Sciences in Latin Translation*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1956, 144-50. I list here the editions actually existing in the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and at Harvard. 1) *Isagoge*: Ed. Matheus Moretus de Brixia, Bologna 1473. Publ. E. Ratdolt, Venice 1482. Ed. Bartholomaeus de Alten de Nusia (with the comm. of Ioannes de Saxonia), E. Ratdolt, Venice 1485; I. and G. de Forlivio, Venice 1491; I. and G. de Gregoriis, Venice 1502 and 1503; and M. Sessa, Venice 1512. Ed. Guilhelmus Huyon (with the comm. of Ioannes de Saxonia and the notes of Petrus Turrellus), B. Trot, Leiden [1520?]. Ed. Antonius de Fantis Taruisinus (with the *De planetarum coniunctionibus* and the comm. of Ioannes de Saxonia), M. Sessa and P. de Ravanis, Venice 1521; and P. Liechtenstein, Venice 1521. And publ. (with the comm. of Ioannes de Saxonia), Paris 1521. V. Nabod's comm. was published as *Enarratio elementorum astrologiae*, Cologne 1560; Cecco d'Ascoli's *Commento all' Alcabizzo* was edited by P. G. Boffitto, Firenze 1905. 2) *De planetarum coniunctionibus*: Ed. Bartholomaeus de Altem (with the comm. of Ioannes de Saxonia), E. Ratdolt, Venice 1485; and I. and G. de Forlivio, Venice 1491. See also the editions of the *Isagoge* by Antonius de Fantis. The French translation by Oronce Finé was published as an appendix to his *Les canons et documents très amples touchant l'usage et practique des communs almanachz*, Paris 1551 and 1557. (D. PINGREE)

AL-ḲĀBISĪ (or IBN AL-ḲĀBISĪ), ABU 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD B. KHALAF AL-MAʿĀFIRĪ (324/935-403/1012), one of the principal representatives of the Mālikī school of Ḳayrawān, of which he was the leader after the death of Ibn Abī Zayd (d. 386/996). His father, a native of al-Maʿāfiriyyīn in the neighbourhood of Gabès, had married a woman from Ḳayrawān. An oral tradition affirms that al-Ḳābisī, Ibn Abī Zayd and Sīdī Maḥrez (Muḥriz b. Khalaf) were first cousins, since their fathers had married three sisters. His principal teachers in Ifrīḳiya were Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Ibyānī, a Tunisian with Shāfiʿī leanings, Ibn Masrūr al-Dabbāgh, and Darrās al-Fāsī who professed Ashʿarism; he was influenced by two devoutly religious men of Ḳayrawān, al-Sabāʾī and al-Djabanyānī. His *riḥla* in the East lasted from 352/963 until 357/968; he was accompanied by Darrās al-Fāsī and the Spaniard al-Aṣīlī. Since he was blind, his companions acted as his secretaries. Before devoting himself to *fiḳh*, he taught ḳurʾānic "reading". An *Uṣūlī* of Ashʿarī tendencies, he had a predilection for the work of Ibn al-Mawwāz, but above all he was a traditionist of high repute and spread in the Maghrib the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī, a *riwāya* of which, attributed to al-Ḳābisī, is known to us. Of his works, we may mention a collection of *ḥadīth*s of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, highly esteemed particularly in Spain, and still extant in manuscript; a treatise on the rules of conduct of schoolmasters, largely inspired by the work of Muḥammad b. Saḥnūn, which has been published; a voluminous but incomplete compilation of traditions, classified according to the headings of *fiḳh*; various epistles on ḳurʾānic exegesis, practices of worship, articles of faith, the rites of the *ḥadjdj*, the enclosures of *ribāṭ*s, *ʿadāla* and objection to witnesses, fear of Allāh, repentance, etc.; one on al-Ashʿarī and another in which he refutes the "Bakrites". Particularly after the death of Ibn Abī Zayd and Ibn Shiblūn, he became a jurisconsult of very high authority. His role as spokesman for and *shaykh* of the jurists of Ḳayrawān was clearly revealed in the affair of the nephew of the nurse of Bādīs. He had countless disciples. At the end of his life he was still teaching some 80 Ḳayrawānīs, Andalusians and Maghribīs. Abū Bakr ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and Abū ʿImrān al-Fāsī were his principal continuators, bringing to its completion a work which was crowned by the breach between the Zīrids and the Fāṭimids, the consecration of the definitive triumph of Mālikism in Ifrīḳiya.

Bibliography: ʿIyāḍ, *Tartīb al-Madārik*, Beirut 1965, iii, 616-21; Ibn Nādjī, *Maʿālim al-īmān*, Tunis 1320, iii, 168-80; Ahwānī, *al-Taʿlīm fī raʾy al-Ḳābisī*, Cairo 1945; H. R. Idris, *Deux juristes kairouanais de l'époque zīride: Ibn Abī Zayd et al-Qābisī*, in *AIEO Alger*, 1954, 173-98; idem, *Fêtes chrétiennes célébrées en Ifrīqiya à l'époque zīride*, in *R. Afr.*, 1954, 261-76; idem, ed. of *Manāḳib*, *Publ. de la Fac. des Lettres d'Alger*, xxxi, Paris 1959; idem, *La Berbérie Orientale sous les Zīrīdes*, Paris 1962, index. (H. R. IDRIS)

AL-ḲABḲ, DJABAL AL-ḲABḲ (the most common rendering), al-Ḳabkh (*e.g.*, Masʿūdī) or al-Ḳabdj (*e.g.* Ṭabarī, Yāḳūt), Turkish Kavkaz, the name given by the Muslims to the Caucasus Mountains. The form *ḳabḳ* may derive from Middle Persian *kāfkōh* "the mountain of Kāf", Armenian *kapkoh*; in Firdawsī we find the Caucasus called *kūh-i ḳāf* (Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, i, 45, cf. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 94). A village called Ḳabḳ is also mentioned by Ibn Rusta, 173, tr. Wiet, 201, as being the first stage on the road from Harāt to Isfizār and Sīstān.

1. *Topography and ethnology*.

The Caucasus became known to the Muslims from the time of the Orthodox caliphs, when the first raids northwards were launched through Ādharbāydjān to Arrān and beyond. Early Muslim geographers, apparently following Iranian concepts which may go back to Babylonian cosmological ideas, regarded the Caucasus mountain chain as part of the Ḳāf mountain range which forms a girdle round the earth, to the south of which lie the lands of civilization, but to the north of which lies the Land of Darkness. Thus Ibn Ḥawḳal, on the authority of Ḥasdāy b. Isḥāḳ, connects the Caucasus with the Carpathians, Alps and Pyrenees as a mountain chain dividing Europe (ed. Kramers, i, 192; 193 (=map), 194, tr. Kramers and Wiet, i, 188-9 and Map 8; see also B. Munkácsi, *Der Kaukasus und*

Ural als 'Gurtel der Erde', in *Keleti Szemle*, i (1900), 236 ff., and ĶĀF). Because of this identification with the mountains of Ķāf, Muslim exegetes and antiquarians located in the Caucasus and Caspian Sea region the rock, sea and town mentioned in the story of Moses and al-Khiḍr in Ķur'ān, XVIII, 59 ff.; thus Ibn Khurradādhbih, 124, and Ibn al-Faķīh, 287, say that "the rock is the rock of Sharwān, the sea is the sea of Djīlān (sc. the Caspian) and the town is the town of Bādjarwān ("the bazaar place", in Mūghān, south of the Araxes or Aras River"). Furthermore, the Caucasus region was regarded by these early authorities as the location of the *Saddayn*, the two mountains between which Dhu 'l-Ķarnayn or Alexander the Great erected a barrier against Gog and Magog [see YĀDJŪDJ WA-MĀDJŪDJ]. Commentators like Ṭabarī and Bayḍāwī identify the *Saddayn* with the mountain massifs of Armenia and Ādharbāydjān, and the *Epistles* of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' apparently refer to the Caspian when they mention the *Baḥr Yādjūdj wa-Mādjūdj*. The more careful amongst the Muslim geographers placed the Caucasus either in the fifth clime (*e.g.*, Ḥamdallāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-ķulūb*, 91-3, tr. Le Strange 92-4), or in the sixth (*e.g.*, Maķdisī, 61, tr. Miquel 135).

The conception of the earth-encircling mountain girdle of Ķāf also led the geographers to fit the Caucasus into their orographical conceptions as a westward extension of the Alburz Mountains or as a northwards prolongation of the mountains running up from the Yemen and Ḥidjāz. In the anonymous Persian geography of the late 4th/10th century, the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, we find quite a detailed consideration of the topography of the Caucasus (for which the author, who wrote in Gūzgān in what is now northern Afghanistan and was not himself a traveller, probably drew to a considerable extent on the Abū Zayd al-Balkhī-Iṣṭakhrī tradition). The *Ḥudūd* regards the Caucasus as a northern continuation of the Sinai-Syrian Mountains-Armenian Taurus chain, running southwest to northeastwards to Arrān and Sharwān, but then turning northwestwards south of Sarīr to the land of the Alans (al-Lān, the modern Ossetes; see ALĀN). But then this range, roughly connecting Darband or Bāb al-Abwāb [*q.v.*] on the Caspian coast with the Alan Gate or Darial Pass in the central Caucasus, is made by the *Ḥudūd* to turn directly northwards through the Khazar and Pečeneg lands to eastern Russia, instead of continuing westwards to Circassia and the Black Sea. According to this author, the range was only called Ķabķ as far as the Alan land; thereafter, each section of the range was named after the towns or districts along it. He also mentions a subsidiary range running eastwards, which must be that separating the Terek and Ķoy-Su basins in Dāghistān [*q.v.*], sc. that marking the southern frontier of the modern Čečen province. Finally, he describes the western terminus of the true Caucasus as being after the Alan Gate and in the present Mount Kazbek region (*Ḥudūd*, tr. Minorsky, §§ 18, 48, 49).

Thus the Caucasus was early known to the mediaeval Muslims as a region of tightly-knit mountain ranges and deep, inaccessible valleys, highly fragmented politically and a refuge area for diverse ethnic groups, their social customs and their faiths. Its linguistic complexity was proverbial. Already in classical times, Strabo, xi, 4, attributed 26 languages to Caucasian Albania, sc. Arrān. The earlier Muslim geographers ascribe to the Caucasus 70 or 72 different languages, all mutually unintelligible (see Yāķūt, iv, 31, and Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire géographique, historique et littéraire de la Perse*, 437); by Abu 'l-Fidā's time (early 8th/14th century), we find a figure of 300 tongues, with the region characterised as *Djabal al-alsun* "Mountain of languages" (*Géographie*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, 71).

During classical antiquity, the Caucasus had formed a major channel of entry into the Near East for peoples sweeping down from the Eurasian steppes, whence the remnants of various Indo-European, Ugrian and Turkic peoples to be found in the Caucasus in mediaeval times and even, in some cases, today. The Ās or Alans settled in Ossetia; the Magyar Sevordi (Armenian Sewordikʿ "company of black ones") were established in the district of Shamkūr northwest of Gandja and were known to Masʿūdī as the *Siyārwardiyya*, producers of fine-quality battleaxes used by the Persian troops (*Murūdj*, ii, 75; Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 36-40); and the Avars, Hunnic or Turkic nomads who appeared in the Caucasus in the 6th century A.D. left behind remnants in Dāghistān in what became in Islamic times the region of Sarīr (see Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, commentary, 447-8, and AVARS).

In the period immediately before Islam, the little information which we have relates mainly to events in Transcaucasia; Ciscaucasia was at this time exposed to the full force of barbarian onslaughts, and little is known about it. But to the south of the Caucasus range, the Christian kingdom of Iberia (sc. Georgia, see KURDJ), and to the east of Iberia, the region of Albania (sc. the territory between the Kur River and the Caucasus, Islamic Sharwān and the northern part of Arrān [*qq.v.*]), were caught up in the prolonged Byzantine-Sasanid warfare. In general, Albania, though largely Christian from an early period, tended to fall within the Persian sphere of influence, and Persian culture thus made itself felt as far north as Darband; whereas Kakhetia and Georgia were more deeply imbued with Byzantine and Christian influences. A perpetual aim of the Persians was to hold the passes through the Caucasus against barbarian pressure from the north, such as that from the Avars, Huns, West Turks and latterly, the Khazars. Hence Darband and other strongpoints in the Sharwān and Maskaṭ regions were fortified afresh c. 560 A. D. by the Emperor Khusraw Anūshirwān, and Persian diplomacy endeavoured at various times to get the Greeks to contribute to the cost of garrisoning fortresses at the Alan Gate (often misleadingly called the Caspian Gate by classical authors) and the Caspian Gate proper at Darband (see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 94-118, and Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*², 238-9, 281, 373, 448). When the Byzantine Emperor Heraclius invaded the Sasanid dominions, the Khazars moved southwards to Darband; but when the first Muslim armies appeared at Bāb al-Abwāb in 22/642, there was still a Persian garrison there under a governor with the name or title of Shahrbarāz. However, like the Persian governor Bādhām, who was similarly isolated in the Yemen, Shahrbarāz submitted to Surāķa b. ʿAmr and rallied to Islam (Ṭabarī, i, 2663-71; Ibn al-Athīr, Beirut 1385-7/1965-7, iii, 28, 29-30; D. M. Dunlop, *The history of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton 1954, 47-50).

Something of the internal political organization and ethnic complexion of the Caucasus on the eve of the Muslim incursions can be gauged from Balādhurī's information on Khusraw Anūshirwān's allocation of the Caucasian principalities to various rulers—or more probably, his confirmation of existing arrangements there. In his section on the conquest of Armenia (*Futūḥ*, 197), Balādhurī states that the emperor

conferred princely power (*shāhiyya*) on (1) the Khāḳān al-Djabal or Ṣāḥib al-Sarīr who is called *Wahrazān-Shāh; (2) the ruler of Fīlān, called Fīlān-Shāh; (3) the Ṭabarsarān-Shāh; (4) the ruler of Lakz, called *Khursān-Shāh; (5) the ruler of Masḳaṭ, "whose principality has now disappeared"; (6) the ruler of Lāyzān, called Lāyzān-Shāh; (7) the ruler of Sharwān, the Sharwān-Shāh; (8) the ruler of *Balkh; and (9) the ruler of Zirīkarān. Most of these names can be identified and their principalities are traceable into Islamic times.

The Ṣāḥib al-Sarīr or "Master of the Throne" eventually gave his name to the geographical district of Sarīr, the middle Ḳoy-Su valley in southern Dāghistān. His other title, *Wahrazān-Shāh, may possibly relate to the undoubted identity of the people of Sarīr with the Avars, Armenian Awrhazkʿ (see Minorsky, *A history of Sharvān and Darband*, Cambridge 1958, 98-9). The Fīlān are somewhat mysterious, but were probably an Avar group in southern Dāghistān; according to Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, 41-2, they were later absorbed into the principality of Sarīr. Ṭabarsarān [*q.v.*] is the mountainous district inland from Darband, often under the suzerainty of the Sharwān Shāhs in later Islamic times. Lakz also lay in southern Dāghistān, inland from Masḳaṭ (which itself was situated on the Caspian coast south of Darband), and formed an important buffer-state for Sharwān against attack from the north; Masʿūdī, ii, 5, describes it as "the bulwark (*muʿawwal*) of the kingdom of Sharwān". Lāyzān corresponds to the present Lāhīdj valley in the Garmadān river region of southern Sharwān, and was later incorporated into that principality. The precise location of the Caucasian *Balkh (Minorsky's restoration of the text's *B. kh*) is unknown, but it may refer to the modern places of Balkha or Balkhar in Dāghistān north of Bākū; in an early 6th/12th century collection of correspondence relating to Arrān, Sharwān and the adjoining lands, Balkh is placed in Lakz (Minorsky and Cl. Cahen, *Le recueil transcaucasien de Masʿûd b. Nâmdâr*, in *JA*, ccxxxvii (1949), 121). The Zirīkarān (read *Zirīhgarān, glossed in *Murūdj*, ii, 40, as *ʿummāl al-zard* "makers of cuirasses") lived in the region of the southern branch of the Ḳoy-Su, adjacent to Sarīr, and corresponding to the modern village of Kubači (Turkish *kübedji* "maker of mailed coats", cf. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*, ii, 1517). Noteworthy is the absence of information about the northwestern Caucasus, that part beyond Ossetia, which tended to fall within the sphere of influence of the steppe peoples controlling the Kuban-Don regions. (See for an excellent survey of the geography and ethnology of the eastern Caucasus, Minorsky, *A history of Sharvān and Darband*, 75 ff., and for Sarīr in particular, idem, *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, commentary, 447-50.)

2. *The early Islamic period.*

The Arabs came up against the Caucasus barrier after they had overrun Ādharbāydjān and Armenia. Their general position here was not without parallel to that of the Arabs in Spain when they reached the Pyrenees. In both cases, the Arabs were able initially to cross the mountains, but came up against hostile and powerful peoples beyond them, sc. the Khazars and Turks and the Franks. The Arabs in Spain could only hold the Narbonnaise for a short time, and in the eastern Caucasus, the Arabs made no permanent conquest north of their bastion of Darband. The Khazars [*q.v.*] and Turks remained for nearly four centuries factors inhibiting Muslim expansion into the Ciscaucasian steppes; and even the islamization of Dāghistān and the central and western parts of the Caucasus took many hundreds of years, with no total victory over the rival faiths of Christianity and paganism. See for an appraisal of the existence of the Khazar state as a barrier to Islamic expansion, Dunlop, *The history of the Jewish Khazars*, 46-7; but note also the insistence of K. Czeglédy, *Khazar raids in Transcaucasia in 762-764 A.D.*, in *AO Hung.*, xi (1960), 76-9, that in the fighting in the whole Caucasus region, one should distinguish—at least in the earlier period—between the Khazars and their West Turkish suzerains, the Khāḳāns, with their capital at Atil [*q.v.*] or Itil. It is undoubtedly true that Ṭabarī, if not Balādhurī, speaks of *al-Turk wa'l-Khazar* and of the *Khāḳān al-Turk* in connection with these Arab campaigns.

As mentioned above, the Arabs were in Darband before the close of ʿUmar's Caliphate. At this time, and during ʿUthmān's reign, Muslim warriors from Kūfa were raiding across the Araxes and into the Kur valley, *i.e.*, into Arrān. Ḥabīb b. Maslama penetrated to Tiflīs, and from Bardhaʿa, the administrative centre of Arrān, places on the southern slopes of the Caucasus like Baylaḳān, Ḳabala and Shamkīr were reduced by Salmān b. Rabīʿa al-Bāhilī's forces, and the local ruler of Sharwān agreed to become tributary (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 201-4). It was probably here that groups of Khazars were first encountered, for the disintegration of the Sasanid empire had drawn the Khazars into the eastern Caucasian power vacuum (cf. Balādhurī, 197). However, the first full-scale clash with the Khazars took place north of the Caucasus and is well-documented by Ṭabarī. In 32/652-3 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rabīʿa al-Bāhilī, emboldened by what had been only token resistance on previous probes, went against the expressed wishes of ʿUthmān and advanced to the important Khazar centre of Balandjar ([*q.v.*]; it was probably located in the Ḳoy-Su basin in Dāghistān, to the north of Darband). But there, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was heavily defeated, with the slaughter of 4,000 Kūfans (Ṭabarī, i, 2889-94, 2896-7; Ibn al-Athīr, Beirut, iii, 131-3).

The eruption of *fitna* or internecine strife within the Caliphate for a time deflected Arab energies from conquests in hazardous and less-rewarding highland zones like the Caucasus and Central Asia. Yet Khazar counter-raids meant that, once the Umayyads were firmly established on the throne, the Caucasian frontiers could not be neglected. Moreover, the raids into the Caucasus and Khazaria must have had an economic importance as a source of slave captives. In ʿAbbāsid times, the *nisba* of "al-Khazarī" is quite common amongst military slaves and others; this may well have been a blanket designation for Caucasian peoples as well as for Khazars proper and Turks. The Arabic sources for this warfare in the Caucasus are much less detailed than those for the conquests in the Iranian east, and the picture which has to be constructed from such sources as Balādhurī, Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī, Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Athīr is somewhat skeletal. Dunlop has observed (*The history of the Jewish Khazars*, 58) that the antipathy of historians in the ʿAbbāsid period towards the Umayyads and all their works has prevented a just appraisal of the exploits of the Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik's son by a slave mother, Maslama [*q.v.*], and of Hishām's cousin and eventually the last caliph of the Umayyad line, Marwān b. Muḥammad.

According to Armenian sources, cited in Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 443, the Khazars raided into Georgia, Arrān and Armenia during Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya's Caliphate and again in the opening years of ʿAbd al-

Malik's, on this second occasion killing the Mamikonian prince of Armenia. It seems that the Khazars recaptured and temporarily garrisoned Darband soon after this, and it is probable that control of this strategic point oscillated between the Khazars and Arabs for a time. At a critical juncture after a Khazar invasion of Armenia, al-Djarrāḥ b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥakamī al-Madhḥidjī was in 104/722-3 appointed governor of the northwestern provinces of the Caliphate, with its attendant responsibility for the defence of the Caucasus frontier. From Bardhaʿa, he appeared in southern Dāghistān and attacked the people of Ghūmiḳ, that Caucasian people known later as the Ghāzī- or Ḳāzī-Ḳūmūḳ or Lak [*q.v.*], who lived on a branch of the Ḳoy-Su, and then he successfully reduced the Khazar centre of Balandjar, returning to Ḳabala and Shakkī. During the two following campaigning seasons, al-Djarrāḥ operated in the central Caucasus, through the Alan Gate, attacking the Khazars in 105/723-4 and making the Alans tributary in 106/724-5. The Alans were Christian, at least in part. They were natural allies of the Byzantines against the Arabs, and were to be found in Byzantine armies as auxiliary troops; whence the Muslims' need to secure as far as possible the Darial Pass entry into Transcaucasia. Noteworthy at this point is the mention of a practice common in later times, the planting of colonies of Khazar captives in Ḳabala (which perhaps corresponded to the ancient town of Shakkī, see Minorsky in *EI*[1], SHEKKĪ) by al-Djarrāḥ (Balādhurī, 206; Ṭabarī, ii, 1200, 1453, 1462, 1472; Ibn al-Athīr, Beirut, iv, 540, 555, v, 110-13, 125, 134; Dunlop, *The history of the Jewish Khazars*, 59-66).

After 109/727, the energetic warrior-prince Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik took charge, an indication of the importance attached by the Caliph Hishām to the Caucasus frontier. Maslama led raids through the Alan Gate against the Khazars, and at some time during his governorship, re-fortified what Masʿūdī, in *Murūdj*, ii, 43-4, calls "the Alan castle", *Ḳalʿat al-Lān*, a stronghold allegedly built in the first place by the Persian hero Isfandiyār to hold back the Alans. But not even Maslama's skill could contain the violence of the Khazars. In 112/730 they poured down through the Alan Gate, defeated and killed al-Djarrāḥ, overran Ādharbāydjān and Armenia, and penetrated as far south as Diyār Bakr and al-Djazīra before the invasion was stemmed and Maslama carried the war back into the Khazar lands. Maslama is said now to have received the submission of various "kings of the mountains", including the rulers of Sharwān, Lāyzān, Ṭabarsarān, Fīlān, Khursān and Masḳaṭ. Whether acceptance of Islam was required as a condition of submission is unclear. At all events, the impact of Muslim religion must have been very superficial at this time. The general picture in Arrān and the Caucasus region resembled that in Armenia: the Arabs made no attempt at imposing direct political control, but were content to leave local rulers in power as their tributaries.

Some years after the great Khazar invasion of 112/730, the new governor Marwān b. Muḥammad campaigned against rebels in Armenia and then against the Alans, occupying the Darial Pass and three fortresses there before returning through Georgia (118/736). In the next year, he penetrated into Khazaria, reportedly reaching the Khazar capital and converting the Khazar king to Islam. (Minorsky suggested the possibility that Marwān's expedition was directed at the lower Don rather than the lower Volga region, since large numbers of Ṣaḳāliba, *i.e.*, Slavs, were taken captive, some of whom, according to Balādhurī, 207-8, were settled in Kakhetia; see *A new book on the Khazars*, in *Oriens*, xi (1958), 127-8.) The shortlivedness of Maslama's agreements with the various native princes of the Caucasus is shown by the fact that Marwān had to re-impose them, exacting tribute in the form of slave boys and slave girls and of grain for the upkeep of the Darband garrison. Amongst the rebels whom Marwān subjugated were the Dūdāniyya (read *Didūwaniyya, according to Minorsky, the modern Didos of central Dāghistān [*q.v.*]); but it was very long before Islam made much impression there, and a part of the Didos was still pagan in the 12th/18th century. See Balādhurī, 197-209; Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 381, 395; Ṭabarī, ii, 1506, 1526, 1530-1, 1560, 1573, 1635; Ibn al-Athīr, Beirut, v, 145, 159-62, 173-4, 177-9, 198, 215, 240; F. Gabrieli, *Il califfato di Hishâm. Studi di storia omayyade*, in *Mêms. de la Société d'Archéologie d'Alexandrie*, vii/1, (1935), 75-81; idem, *L'eroe omàyyade Maslamah ibn ʿAbd al-Malik*, in *Rend. Lin.*, Ser. 8, Vol. v (1950), 30-1; Dunlop, *The history of the Jewish Khazars*, 67-87; Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian history*, London 1953, 28-9; Czeglédy, *Khazar raids in Transcaucasia in 762-764 A.D.*, 77-8.

The advent of the ʿAbbāsids brought no improvement in the generally weak pattern of Arab control over the Caucasus region, a control that could in any case only have practical significance on those infrequent occasions when Muslim armies entered the mountains to enforce the terms of agreements. The military and political influence of the Arabs was, if anything, diminished by the disorders in the Caliphate consequent on the progress of the ʿAbbāsid *daʿwa*. The Turkish and Khazar menace remained, and there were no commanders now of the calibre of the great Umayyad generals.

Al-Manṣūr's governor of Armenia, Yazīd b. Usayd al-Sulamī, took over Sharwān in eastern Transcaucasia (see Barthold in *EI*[1], SHIRWĀN), including its naphtha wells (*naffāṭa*) and its saltpans (*mallāḥāt*), and the caliph attempted to neutralise his northern enemies c. 142/759 through a marriage alliance between Yazīd b. Usayd and the daughter of the Turkish Khāḳān or of the Khazar king; this plan, however, came to naught. Relations worsened, and in 145/762 there was a major Turkish and Khazar invasion via Darband as far as Armenia. This was followed by an even more devastating one two years later, affecting Arrān, Kakhetia, Georgia and Armenia, under a commander whom Czeglédy identifies as a leader of the Dāghistān Avars or Huns, one Rās (or Ās) Ṭarkhān. See Balādhurī, 309-10; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 446-7; Ṭabarī, iii, 318, 647, 648 (under years 182 and 183 A. H.); Ibn al-Athīr, Beirut, v, 571, 577; Dunlop, *op. cit.*, 179-81; and Czeglédy, *op. cit.*, 78-88. In the closing years of the 8th century A.D., the ʿAbbāsids were beset by rebellion in Armenia; in general, the Turks and Khazars did not take advantage of these embarrassments, although in 183/799 the Khazars did answer an appeal by the discontented local nobility of Darband and invade Arrān (Ṭabarī, iii, 648; Ibn al-Athīr, Beirut, vi, 163; Dunlop, *op. cit.*, 183-5).

The revolt of the Khurramī heresiarch Bābak [*q.v.*], the epicentre of which was at Badhdh, just south of the Araxes, had some repercussions in Transcaucasia. It was the Armenian prince of Shakkī, Sahl-i Sumbatian, who captured Bābak and handed him over to the ʿAbbāsids in 222/837, and this prince came to dominate Arrān and the adjacent parts of Armenia and Georgia till Bughā's drive against the local rulers there, described below (see Minorsky, *Caucasica IV. 1. Sahl ibn Sunbāṭ of Shakkī and Arrān*, in *BSOAS*,

CASPIAN SEA
BLACK SEA
Čerkes
Kuma R.
Mačar
Terek R.
? Samandar
Sulaḳ R.
Mt. Elbruz
ABKHĀZIA
SVANETIA
Sukhum
Čečens
DĀGHISTĀN
Kaytāḳ
Mt. Kazbek
Alans
Alan Gate or Darial Pass
Andi Ḳoy-Su
? Balandjar
SARĪR
Avar-Ḳoy-Su
Ḳoy-Su
Ḳara Ḳoy-Su
Dido
Ghumīk
Lak (Kumuk)
Kubači (Zīrihkārān)
Caspian Gate
Darband (Bāb al-Abwāb)
MINGRELIA
IMERETIA
Kutais
Rion R.
Poti
ṢANĀR
GEORGIA
KAKHETIA
Alazani R.
ṬABARSARĀN
Samur R.
Batum
Akhaltzikhe
Tiflīs
? FĪLĀN
MASḲAṬ
Ḳubba
Iora R.
? KHURSĀN
Shābarān
LAZISTĀN
Rize
ČALDIRĀN
Gumri
Lōrī
Shamkūr (al-Mutawakkiliyya)
SHAKKĪ
Gök-Čay
Gardimān-Čay
Lāhīdj
LĀYZĀN
Ḳabala
Shamākhī
Gandja
Ḳarṣ
ARRĀN
SHARWĀN
Bākū
Sevan Gölü
Bardhaʿa
Ānī
Kur R.
Ḥasan-Ḳalʿa
Erivān
Dwīn
Erzurum
Baylakān
SIUNIK
ARMENIA
Bādjarwān
MŪGHĀN
Nakhčiwān
Araxes R.
Malāzgird
Djulfa
? Badhdh
Mūsh
Akhlāṭ
Lankurān
ĀDHARBĀYDJĀN
Van Gölü
Khoy
Ahar
F. DERKSEN-JANSSENS 1972

xv (1953), 504-14). In al-Mutawakkil's Caliphate, the Turkish general Bug̲h̲ā the Elder [see BUG̲H̲Ā AL-KABĪR] was appointed governor of Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān and Armenia in 237/851-2, and over the next few years he conducted operations in the course of which he sacked Tiflīs and deposed and killed its Arab amīr, Isḥāḳ b. Ismāʿīl. This line of Arab amīrs was either of Ḳuras̲h̲ī origin or was descended from a client of the last Umayyad Caliph Marwān b. Muḥammad; the amīrate had long been a focus of Arab power in the Caucasus, and Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, ii, 66, dates the decline of Arab power and influence in the Caucasus from this senseless act of destruction. Bug̲h̲ā also reduced to obedience various Christian and non-Christian rulers of Arrān and Kak̲h̲etia, including the Christian Ṣanāriyya (Georgian Tsʿanar) of the central Caucasus region to the north of Georgia (see on this people Minorsky, in *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, commentary, 400-2; it is possible that they were ethnically related to the Čečens, even though in Masʿūdī's time they allegedly claimed descent from the North Arabian tribe of ʿUḳayl; see *Murūd̲j̲*, ii, 67). Many of the rebels and malcontents were deported by Bug̲h̲ā to ʿIrāḳ. The techniques of deportation and resettlement were further employed by him in 240/854 in regard to K̲h̲azar families who were planted on the old site of S̲h̲amkūr in Arrān, now re-named al-Mutawakkiliyya in honour of the caliph; and he is also said to have brought in 3,000 Alan families through the Darial Pass. See Balād̲h̲urī, 211-12; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 518, 598; Ṭabarī, iii, 1407-9, 1414-16; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, Beirut, vii, 58-9, 67-8; Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 408 ff. (Armenian sources); Minorsky in *EI*[1], TIFLIS; Dunlop, *The history of the Jewish Khazars*, 193-4; and C. J. F. Dowsett, tr., *The history of the Caucasian Albanians by Movsēs Dasxuranci*, London 1961, 218-19.

3. *The ascendancy of local Caucasian, Daylamī and Kurdish dynasties.*

With the opening of the 4th/10th century, we reach an age during which the Caucasus region, in so far as the Caliphal representatives had had any influence there at all, becomes wholly abstracted from the direct control of Bag̲h̲dād; this is merely one aspect of the general enfeeblement of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate at this time. In particular, the eastern Caucasus and Transcaucasia begin to be affected by the dynamic upsurge of hitherto submerged western Iranian elements, the Daylamīs and Kurds, who in the course of the century extended their power into the Araxes-Kur basin and beyond, once the firm hand of the Sād̲j̲id governors [*q.v.*] had passed away in 317/929. Hence there emerge in eastern Transcaucasia three Muslim principalities of significance, that of the Arab Banū Hās̲h̲im in Darband [see BĀB AL-ABWĀB], the Arab Banū Yazīd in S̲h̲arwān [see S̲H̲ARWĀN-S̲H̲ĀHS], and the Daylamī Musāfirids in Arrān, supplanted there in 360/970 by the Kurdish S̲h̲addādids [see MUSĀFIRIDS and BANŪ S̲H̲ADDĀD].

As for the indigenous peoples and chieftains of the mountain massif itself, information continues to be sparse, except inasmuch as events there impinge on the history of the adjoining Muslim, Georgian and Armenian principalities. The Muslim geographers of the period devote some space to the Caucasus in their works. The information of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* has been noted above; amongst the other authorities, see Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih, 123-4; Ibn Rusta, 89, 147-9, tr. 99, 165-8, discussed in detail by Minorsky in *A history of S̲h̲arvān and Darband*, 166-9; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 286-98; Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, 180-93; Ibn Ḥawḳal[2], ii, 331-55, tr. ii, 325-48; and Maḳdisī, 374-84.

Also from this period is the very important information on the Caucasus in the historian Masʿūdī, dating from c. 332/943, and given in *Murūd̲j̲*, ii, 1-7, 19-22, 25-6, 39-50, 65-77; this has been translated, with many corrections to Barbier de Meynard's rendering of the names, by Minorsky in *op. cit.*, 142-65. From Masʿūdī's text, we glean many interesting items of information on the political and religious condition of the Caucasus at this time. He describes the then S̲h̲arwān-S̲h̲āh, the Arab Muḥammad b. Yazīd (d. 345/956), and the ruler of the Avar principality of Sarīr as descendants of the Sāsānid emperor Bahrām Gūr, an indication of the strength of Iranian cultural influence in the eastern Caucasus. The expansionist tendencies of the S̲h̲arwān-S̲h̲āhs are illustrated by the fact that they had by Masʿūdī's time absorbed the adjoining principalities of Lāyzān and the Mūḳān which lay to the north of the Kur (to be distinguished from the better-known Mūḳān or Mūg̲h̲ān south of the Araxes), and the lands of the *K̲h̲ursān-S̲h̲āh and the Wardān-S̲h̲āh. Ṭabarrsarān was controlled by a relative of the Darband Hās̲h̲imī amīrs. Of non-Muslim peoples, he mentions the people of K̲h̲aydāḳ or Ḳaytāḳ in Dāg̲h̲istān, dependents of the K̲h̲azars and continual harassers of the Muslims in Darband, despite the fact that their ruler was nominally a Muslim himself. The rulers of G̲h̲umīḳ and Sarīr were Christian, as were those of the Alans, except that Masʿūdī says that in 320/932 they had renounced their Christianity (this must have been a temporary apostasy only, for in the Mongol period the Alans were Greek Orthodox in faith). The great power of the Alan king and the impregnability of his fortresses is stressed; and the Alan capital is named as *Mag̲h̲aṣ, the exact location of which is still unknown (see Minorsky, *Caucasia II. The Alan capital Magas and the Mongol campaigns*, in *BSOAS*, xiv (1952), 232-8). On the southern slopes of the Caucasus lay several Christian, or partly Christian, partly Muslim, partly pagan, principalities, like those of Georgia, Ṣanār, S̲h̲akkī and the adjacent Ḳabala, etc. Finally, we have some information on the Čerkes of the northwestern Caucasus, named as the Kas̲h̲ak or Kasak (= the Kasog of the old Russian chronicles, see below) and already praised by Masʿūdī for their handsome men and beautiful women, the features that were to make them so highly-prized as slaves by the Mamlūks and Crimean Tatars. Masʿūdī describes them as *mad̲j̲ūs* or fire-worshippers, but by this time Christianity must have had at least a foothold in the indigenous paganism [see further ČERKES].

Amongst the geographers proper, the information in Ibn Ḥawḳal's *K. Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, in particular, in ii, 342-4, 348, 354-5, tr. ii, 335-7, 341-2, 347-8, is likewise of prime value, since it dates from a generation later than that of Masʿūdī and is particularly concerned with the contemporary political situation in Arrān, Armenia and the adjacent parts of the eastern Caucasus. Ibn Ḥawḳal himself probably did not penetrate very far to the north of the Araxes, but relied on "reports" (*ak̲h̲bār*).

These passages on Arrān and Armenia have been extensively studied by Minorsky in *Caucasica IV. The Caucasian vassals of Marzubān in 344/955*, in *BSOAS*, xv (1953), 514-26. They show how Daylamī influence, in the expansionist stage of that obscure people's history, was able to extend a considerable distance northwards from Daylam proper at the southwestern corner of the Caspian. From a base at Ardabīl in eastern Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān, the Musāfirid Marzubān b. Muḥammad (330-46/941-57) was able to penetrate well beyond the Arxes and for a period draw several of the border and mountain potentates of

eastern Transcaucasia into his orbit. The greatest achievement here was the incorporation of S̲h̲arwān within the Daylamī sphere of influence as a result of two Musāfirid invasions, the first by Marzubān b. Muḥammad at some time between 334/945 and 337/948, and the second by his son Ibrāhīm c. 357/968. On the first of these occasions, the S̲h̲arwān-S̲h̲āh (apparently Abū Ṭāhir Yazīd b. Muḥammad, see Minorsky, *A history of S̲h̲arvān and Darband*, § 9) was compelled to pay tribute of a million dirhams. Amongst other rulers who came to terms with the Daylamīs at this time were the lord of S̲h̲akkī, who is given the Armenian-sounding name of *Is̲h̲ḵh̲ānīḳ (text, Is̲h̲d̲j̲ānīḳ); the lord of *D̲j̲.r.z, which Minorsky tentatively restored as K̲h̲azar, referring to Ḳabala between S̲h̲akkī and S̲h̲arwān, where K̲h̲azars had long been settled (see above); and one Abu 'l-Ḳāsim D̲j̲.y.d̲h̲ānī. Minorsky thought that this last name might conceivably be read as *K̲h̲ayzānī, referring to the K̲h̲ayzān on the Caspian coast north-west of Bākū, rather than *K̲h̲ayd̲h̲āḳī, referring to the Dāg̲h̲istān district of K̲h̲aydāḳ or K̲h̲ayd̲h̲āḳ mentioned by Mas'ūdī, see above. Miskawayh in *Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate*, ii, 161, tr. v, 172, refers to Marzubān as successfully quelling in 344/955 a people who had rebelled against him in the region of Darband, but it seems improbable that Musāfirid suzerainty could have been effectively extended into the northeastern corner of the Caucasus.

The Musāfirid empire in eastern Transcaucasia was only a transient achievement, and under pressure from the Kurdicised Arab family of the Rawwādids [*q.v.*], the Musāfirids had lost even Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān by 374/984-5. From now until the middle Sald̲j̲ūḳ period our most valuable single source on Caucasian history is the anonymous *Ta'rīk̲h̲ Bāb al-Abwāb*, a local history of Darband, S̲h̲arwān and Arrān preserved in Müned̲j̲d̲j̲im-Bas̲h̲ī's compilation the *D̲j̲āmi' al-duwal*; it stems, according to the compiler, from the opening years of the 6th/12th century, and the quotations from this history of the eastern Caucasus have been published and translated by Minorsky in his *Studies in Caucasian history* (concerning the Musāfirids, S̲h̲addādids and Rawwādids) and in his *A history of Sharvān and Darband*. The fortunes of the two originally Arab lines of the Hās̲h̲imīs in Darband and the Yazīdīs or Mazyadīs in S̲h̲arwān were closely intertwined, and there were frequent marriage alliances between the two reigning houses (e.g., in 426/1035, when the amīr of Darband 'Abd al-Malik b. Manṣūr married the sister of the S̲h̲arwān-S̲h̲āh Abū Manṣūr 'Alī b. Yazīd; see *A history of Sharwān*, §§ 16, 39). However, there were also frequent rivalries and disputes, with the intermediate zone of the western Caspian shore, including Masḳaṭ and S̲h̲ābarān in northern S̲h̲arwān, forming a bone of contention. The lords of Darband on occasion employed the Dāg̲h̲istānīs of Sarīr as mercenary troops against S̲h̲arwān, *e.g.*, in the reign of the S̲h̲arwān-S̲h̲āh Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (345-70/956-81), see *A history of Sharvān*, § 12. But more frequently Darband, as the bastion of Islam in the north, suffered from the depredations of these mountain peoples; thus in 360/971 there was a violent battle outside Darband with the people of Sarīr, in which the Muslims lost 1,000 of the Darband garrison and *g̲h̲āzīs* from outside (*ibid.*, § 35).

The Muslims in turn retaliated by punitive expeditions into the interior, which served as outlets for the bellicose piety of volunteer fighters for the faith (*g̲h̲uzāt, muṭṭawwi'a*), and doubtless provided some economic return in the form of the prized Caucasian slaves. The S̲h̲arwān-S̲h̲āh Aḥmad's son Muḥammad marched into the interior of the Caucasus in 371/981-2 and captured the town of Ḳabala from its ruler 'Abd al-Barr b. 'Anbasa, presumably the son of the 'Anbasa al-A'war mentioned in Mas'ūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, ii, 68, and described as "the shelterer of thieves, brigands and malefactors". A further clash took place in 389/999, when the S̲h̲arwān-S̲h̲āh Yazīd b. Aḥmad defeated Ibn 'Anbasa again and captured the fortress of Gurzūl on the Gök-čay river, a stronghold which was still in the shah's hands a quarter of a century later and which constituted a strategically-valuable salient into the southern slopes of the Caucasus massif (*A history of Sharvān*, §§ 13, 14).

However, there were throughout the whole Caucasian and Transcaucasian region frequent shifts of alliances and groupings, in which religious affiliations were seldom decisive. An amīr of Darband could recruit a guard of pagan Rūs (see below). In Tiflīs, Muslims and Christians lived side-by-side, and in the three-cornered struggle in the second quarter of the 5th/11th century for control of the city between Bagrat IV of Georgia, his powerful vassal Liparit and the Muslim incumbent ruler of Tiflīs, D̲j̲a'far b. 'Alī, Bagrat and D̲j̲a'far could at times be found ranged against Liparit; D̲j̲a'far had also joined a coalition of Georgian and Armenian magnates against the S̲h̲addādid Faḍl or Faḍlūn b. Muḥammad b. S̲h̲addād in c. 417/1026-7 (see Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian history*, 43-4, 56-7). As in similar frontier regions, such as Anatolia and the Iberian peninsula, interconfessional marriages were quite common. Thus in 416/1025 the *History of Sharvān*, § 38, records the marriage of the amīr of Darband Manṣūr b. Maymūn to a daughter of the ruler of Sarīr Buk̲h̲t-Yis̲h̲ū', whose religion is clearly shown by his Syriac Christian name.

It is in the 4th/10th century that the Rūs (probably by now mixed bands of Scandinavians and Slavs; see RŪS) impinge on the history of the Caucasus and of the steppe region to the north of the mountain zone. A notable event in Islamic history, from the alarm and terror which it caused, was the Rūs descent on Bard̲h̲a'a in Arrān in 332/943-4, when these adventurers sailed up the Kur, sacked the town and occupied it for several months [see BARD̲H̲A'A]. It was the K̲h̲azars who bore the brunt of Rūs raids down the Volga basin, and these attacks seem to have destroyed the K̲h̲azar state as it had existed in its heyday, or at least, left it seriously enfeebled and thrown back on the southerly K̲h̲azar lands, the Kuban steppe region. According to the Russian Primary Chronicle, Sviatoslav of Kiev in 965 defeated the K̲h̲azar K̲h̲ān and took the K̲h̲azar town of Biela Vieža or "White tent or tower", usually identified with Sarkil on the lower Don, the Greek Aspron Hospition (*Chronicle*, § 32, tr. S. H. Cross, in *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, xii (Cambridge, Mass. 1930), 171; Dunlop, *The history of the Jewish Khazars*, 240-1; cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 2-3, 479). Ibn Ḥawḳal², i, 15, tr. i, 14-15, states that in 358/969 the Rūs utterly destroyed Bulg̲h̲ār and "K̲h̲azarān, Samandar [on the Caspian coast, south of the Volga mouth?] and Atil" (Dunlop, *op. cit.*, 241 ff.). The Russian Primary Chronicle further relates that after taking Biela Vieža, Sviatoslav subdued the Yas (sc. the Ās or Alans) and the Kasog (sc. the Kas̲h̲ak or Čerkes), implying that their raids reached to the northwestern and central parts of the Caucasus. After the Rūs raids of 965, the K̲h̲azar chiefs seem to have sought and received help from the S̲h̲arwān-S̲h̲āh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (or possibly

this may be Ibn Ḥawkal's mistake for this shah's father, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, who reigned in Sharwān till 370/980-1) to enable him to return to Atil and Khazarān (Ibn Ḥawḳal[2], ii, 397-8, tr. ii, 388; Dunlop, *op. cit.*, 246, and ATIL).

There were certainly Rūs ships operating along the western shores of the Caspian around this time. The amīr of Darband, Maymūn b. Aḥmad, endeavoured in 377/987 to employ some of the Rūs who had arrived there in 18 mercenary ships as mercenary troops (*ghilmān*), even though they were still pagan. The understandable unpopularity of these Rūs contributed to popular disturbances in Darband against Maymūn in 379-80/989-90, leading to his temporary deposition (*A history of Sharvān*, §§ 13, 36). The inability of the remnants of the Khazars to keep the lower Volga course closed to Rūs raiders must have allowed the Rūs frequent access to the Caspian. In 421/1030, 38 Rūs ships appeared off the coast of Sharwān and defeated the Shāh Manūčihr b. Yazīd at Bākū. They apparently repeated the pattern of events of 90 years previously by sailing up the Kur, and entered the service of one of the contending parties in a dynastic dispute of the Shaddādids of Gandja (*ibid.*, §§ 15, 38). They eventually passed on to the western Caucasus and the Black Sea, making a circuit of the mountain region. It is possible that they then turned northwards to the Taman peninsula, where the Kievan prince Mstislav had in 988 founded the Rūs principality of Tmutorokan (*Russian Primary Chronicle*, § 43, tr. 207, cf. § 52, tr. 223). This Rūs foothold south of the Azov Sea enabled them to exert pressure on the Čerkes and other peoples of the western Caucasus. In 1022 the Chronicle records that Mstislav attacked the Kasog under their ruler Rededya, and in the next year he was using Kasog and Khazar troops (Khazars of the Taman peninsula region?) in a dynastic dispute with his brother Yaroslav (§ 52, tr. 223). Later in the century, in 1066, Mstislav's son Rostislav received tribute in Tmutorokan from the Kasog and other peoples, and the Khazars of the region are mentioned as late as 1083 (tr. 234, 258).

It seems that the Rūs raiders were no longer exclusively water-borne. Two years after the attack of 421/1030 on Sharwān, there is mentioned a punitive expedition of *ghāzīs* led by the amīr of Darband Manṣūr b. Maymūn which harassed plunder-laden Rūs returning from Sharwān through the Caucasus. In reprisal, a coalition of Rūs and Alans tried to crush the little principality of Karakh, which was a frontier region to the west of Darband and whose ruler bore the title of *Marzbān*, according to Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 40; but the Rūs and Alans were decisively defeated by the warriors of Karakh, themselves converted to Islam only a generation previously (*A history of Sharvān*, §§ 15, 36, 38).

4. *The Saldjūḳ period.*

The appearance of the Oghuz Turcomans in northern Iran and Armenia, once the Ghaznavid defences in Khurāsān were down, eventually injected a new factor into Caucasian affairs, for both the Christian principalities of western Transcaucasia and the Muslim ones of the east generally felt the effects of disturbances in Ādharbāydjān, Armenia and the Byzantine frontier sooner or later. Already in 436/1044-5 or 437/1045-6 the Sharwān-Shāh Ḳubādh b. Yazīd fortified his capital of Yazīdiyya (founded by the amīr Abū Ṭālib Yazīd b. Muḥammad, the unifier of Sharwān, in 306/918, see *A history of Sharvān*, § 9) with a strong stone wall and iron gates for fear of the Oghuz (*ibid.*, § 17).

The Christian kingdoms of western Georgia or Abkhāz and eastern Georgia or Kakhetia, under the Bagratids and the family of Gagik respectively, had felt the Turcoman threat on their southern flanks before this. Certain sources, and especially the Syriac and Armenian Christian ones, mention a long-distance incursion of Turcomans under Čaghrī Beg Dāʾūd, brother of the later Saldjūḳ Sultan Ṭoghrīl, into Ādharbāydjān and Armenia in the years 409/1018 or 412/1021, although other sources place the raid several years later (cf. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran*, Edinburgh 1963, 223-4). If the raid took place at one of the earlier dates, it may have been a contributory factor in the abandonment by the last Ardzrunid, Senekʿerim or Sanḥārīb, of the exposed province of Vaspurakan to the Byzantines in exchange for lands in Anatolia (1021), although the sources mention other factors; see E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches von 363 bis 1071*, Brussels 1935, 168 ff. For the moment, the threat to Georgia and the surviving Armenian principalities came more from the vigorous policies of the Byzantine Emperor Basil II Bulgaroctonus, but after his death in 1025, the Georgian ruler Bagrat IV, the ruler of Kakhetia Kiurike III and other Georgian and Armenian nobles pursued a confused but generally expansionist policy against the Shaddādids of Arrān and the amīr of Tiflīs, Djaʿfar b. ʿAlī, this latter city coming sporadically under Georgian control after Djaʿfar's death c. 438/1046-7 (see Minorsky in *EI*[1], TIFLIS, and idem, *Caucasica in the history of Mayyāfāriqīn*, in *BSOAS*, xiii (1949-50), 29, 31; the line of Amīr Djaʿfar in Tiflīs went back, according to Ibn al-Azraḳ, to c. 315/927).

The Shaddādids suffered further from other marauders from Dāghistān and the mountain regions. After the death in 441/1049-50 of the amīr Lashkarī ʿAlī b. Mūsā, the leading men of the state abandoned several outlying fortresses constructed against the men of Shakkī, the Dādīdiyya (Didos?), the Abkhāz or Georgians, and the Rūm or Byzantines, hoping thereby to discourage their incursions (*Studies in Caucasian history*, § 13, cf. pp. 27-9). Hence when the roving bands of Oghuz, and later, the Saldjūḳs and their amīrs, appeared in Transcaucasia, they found plenty of troubled waters in which to fish.

The Oghuz had harassed Arrān during the reign of Lashkarī ʿAlī (425-41/1034 to 1049-50) (*Studies in Caucasian history*, § 12), but when Ṭoghrīl came to Ādharbāydjān and Arrān in 446/1054-5, the Shaddādid Abu 'l-Aswār Shāwur, his Rawwādid rival Wahsūdān b. Muḥammad, and other potentates of the region, all submitted to the Saldjūḳ and made the *khuṭba* for him (Ibn al-Athīr, Beirut, ix, 598-9, cf. *Studies in Caucasian history*, 54). The Shaddādids continued to feel Georgian pressure, and it was doubtless Georgian incitement which stimulated a large-scale invasion of Arrān in 454/1062 by the Georgians' Alan allies, compelling Abu 'l-Aswār Shāwur to fortify Gandja (*ibid.*, § 15, cf. pp. 74-5).

Ṭoghrīl's successor Alp Arslan followed a similar policy of deflecting Turcoman and *ghāzī* elements from Persia to the western frontier zones, and in 456/1064 himself campaigned in Armenia, capturing Ānī from the Byzantines and Armenians (Ibn al-Athīr, Beirut, x, 37-41; eventually the town was granted to a branch of the Shaddādids, see ĀNĪ and *Studies in Caucasian history*, 79 ff.). Two campaigns were made into Georgia against Bagrat IV, and Alp Arslan consolidated his influence there by marrying one of the king's nieces; see W. E. D. Allen, *A history*

of the Georgian people, London 1932, 91-2. Alp Arslan's second Caucasian campaign of 460/1068 seems to have been connected with a second incursion through the Darial Pass into Arrān by the Alans, who were joined by infidels from Shakkī; the invaders shut the terror-stricken Shaddādid forces up within Gandja, penetrated to the Araxes and took back with them an immense booty (*A history of Sharvān*, § 40; *Studies in Caucasian history*, § 16). Nevertheless, Abu 'l-Aswār was at other times himself able to pursue an aggressive policy against Sharwān, invading it on four separate occasions, and making the Shāh Farīburz b. Sallār his tributary. In turn, Farīburz intervened in a dynastic dispute at Darband during 457/1065, imposing his son Afrīdūn there as ruler in 458/1066 (*A history of Sharvān*, §§ 19, 41).

Darband was, indeed, racked by internal strife between members of the ruling family and between the Hāshimī amīrs and the local notables, exposing it on various occasions to fresh attacks from the Avars of Sarīr and the Ghumīḳ of northern Dāghistān, see *ibid.*, § 40. Possibly the raids of the pagan Ghumīḳ were lessened by their reported conversion to Islam at some time in the last decades of the 5th/11th century and their adhesion to the Sharwān-Shāh Farīburz's cause when he was at Darband. Two letters from the shah's chancery describe how, through the intermediacy of the Muslim Laks of Ḳuwā or Fuwā (to be connected with modern Ḳubba, north of Bākū?), the Ghumīḳ agreed to accept Islam, and how the Shāh sent to them his son ʿAḍud plus an *imām* and a *khaṭīb* to teach the rudiments of Islam (Minorsky and Cahen, *Le recueil transcaucasien de Masʿūd b. Nāmdār*, 118-19, 131-3, 138-41).

Sharwān began to suffer from Turcoman marauders towards the end of Ṭoghril's reign. During the second attack of the Oghuz leader Ḳaratigin in 459/1066-7, Yazīdiyya and Bākū were attacked, so that in the next year Farīburz agreed to pay a tribute to keep them away. Later in the same year Sultan Alp Arslan appeared in person and received the submission of both the Shaddādids of Gandja and the Sharwān-Shāh. Farīburz tried to placate Turkmen chiefs who claimed to have been granted Sharwān as an *iḳṭāʿ*, until there arrived in 468/1075 the "amīr of the Two ʿIrāḳs" Sawtigin, who had been granted all the Caucasian marches as his *iḳṭāʿ*. Sharwān was now definitely reduced to the status of a Saldjūḳ vassal-state and tributary. Sawtigin's appearance also meant the deposition of Faḍlūn b. Faḍl b. Abi 'l-Aswār Shāwur and the end of the main branch of the Shaddādids in Gandja, and in Darband there was a third Saldjūḳ occupation (*Studies in Caucasian history*, §§ 18-19; *A history of Sharvān*, §§ 20-9, 42, 46).

With the end of the narrative of the *Taʾrīkh Bāb al-Abwāb* in 468/1075-6, our detailed information on eastern Transcaucasia and the Caucasus tails off. It seems, however, that lines of the Sharwān-Shāhs and the amīrs of Darband re-emerged as the Great Saldjūḳ empire passed its apogee under Malik-Shāh and fell into dissension. The scattered mentions of Darband in the later Saldjūḳ period have been collected together by Minorsky as Annex II of his *A history of Sharvān*, 139-41; it seems that some of the 6th/12th century amīrs of Darband may have been scions of the earlier Hāshimīs. Münedjdjim-Bashī gives some information on the later Sharwān-Shāhs, whom he calls "the third race" of Kasrānids; it is, however, clear that these "Kasrānids" of the 6th/12th century are lineal descendants of the earlier Yazīdīs, albeit increasingly Persianised in culture and outlook (see *A history of Sharvān*, 68-9, and Annex I, 129-38, and Barthold in *EI*[2], SHĪRWĀNSHĀH). The period before the Mongol invasion was one of great florescence for the descendants of Farīburz, who had himself managed to survive the imposition of Saldjūḳ rule by Sawtigin and whose skill had put the principality on a firm footing once more. The court of Sharwān became a centre of Persian culture, attracting poets like Niẓāmī and Khāḳānī (whose nom-de-plume or *takhalluṣ* stems from the title *Khāḳān-i Kabīr* adopted by the Shāh Manūčihr b. Afrīdūn b. Farīburz) and the astronomer-poet Falakī Sharwānī (see J. Rypka *et alii*, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 202-4, 208-9).

The Sharwān-Shāhs continued to assert their hegemony over Darband, but during this period were to a considerable extent under the protectorate of Georgia, whose kings themselves took the title Sharwān-Shāh. The shahs proper further acknowledged themselves as nominal vassals, at least, of the Great Saldjūḳs of ʿIrāḳ and western Persia, and this acknowledgement appears on coins minted in Sharwān down to the death of the last Saldjūḳ, Ṭoghrīl b. Arslan, in 590/1194. The shahs made alliances with the Georgians aimed at recovering Darband, and marriage links were frequent; the Shāh Akhsatān b. Manūčihr b. Afrīdūn was the son of a Georgian princess.

This century was, of course, the Georgian monarchy's great period of expansion, under such rulers as Dmitri I (1125-56), Giorgi III (1156-84) and Queen Thamar (1184-1212), when the southern frontiers were held against the Ildegizids of Ādharbāydjān and Arrān [*q.v.*] and Georgian arms frequently penetrated to the Caspian shores. Already in 1124 David II "the Restorer" had led an army to Darband in support of his son-in-law the Sharwān-Shāh's claims there. Dmitri I was operating in Ossetia and as far as Darband and Lāyzān in Sharwān in 548-9/1153-4, just after the historian of Mayyāfāriḳīn, Ibn al-Azraḳ, entered his service as the royal secretary (Minorsky, *Caucasica in the history of Mayyāfāriqīn*, 31, 33, 35; Minorsky also notes here how the engagement of Ibn al-Azraḳ was a sign of the growing influence of Arabic culture in the capital Tiflīs and other parts of Georgia, Arabic now becoming a diplomatic language).

Giorgi III repelled an invasion of Sharwān by the amīr of Darband Beg-Bars b. Muẓaffar in 569/1173-4 or 571/1175-6, and one of Khāḳānī's odes describes how the vanquished Darband forces included Alans, Avars of Sarīr, Rūs and Khazars (these last being, in the plausible surmise of Minorsky, Ḳīpčaḳ or Polovtsi rather than remnants of the historic Khazars). This Darband expedition was apparently a combined land and sea one, probably with the Rūs supplying the naval forces; Khāḳānī, whose patron was at this time Akhsatān b. Manūčihr of Sharwān, claims that 73 Rūs ships were destroyed and that operations took place near the mouth of the Kur and also well upstream of that river (see Minorsky, *Khāqānī and Andronicus Commenus*, in *BSOS*, xi (1943-6), 557 ff., also in *Iranica, twenty articles*, Tehran 1964, 127 ff.).

In general, the Saldjūḳ and Mongol periods saw the beginning and development of a gradual process of Turkicisation in many parts of the Caucasus and Transcaucasia, especially in the lower-lying areas. The Turcoman begs brought with them their followers, and many parts of Arrān and Ādharbāydjān proved suitable for their flocks. In these provinces, too, the establishment of the Ildegizid Atabegs, with a powerful military machine of Turcomans and Ḳīpčaḳ, favoured an increase in the Turkish ethnic elements there. The indigenous princes of the Caucasus were quick to

discern that the Turks could be used as mercenaries in their internal quarrels. In the 6th/12th century, Darband, under pressure from the Sharwān-Shāhs and their Georgian allies, tended to look towards the Saldjūķs for help, although geographical distance inhibited much direct assistance. Great Saldjūķ influence in the Caucasus was, at least in the earlier part of the century, more successfully exercised in Georgia and the southern Georgian fringes, symbolised in King Dmitri's acknowledgement of the names of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs and the Saldjūķ sultans of ʿIrāķ on his coins.

The Georgian monarchs were often in military alliance with the Christian Alans, and there were frequent marriage alliances between the two princely families, as also between the Alans and the Byzantine emperors (see *Studies in Caucasian history*, 74-5). Alan troops were used in the Georgian armies, and David the Restorer specially constructed fortresses to keep open the route to the Alan Gates and Ossetia; in 1189 Queen Thamar took as her second husband the Alan prince David Soslan (Allen, *A history of the Georgian people*, 104). C. 1118, David further formed a special guard of 5,000 Ķîpčaķ military slaves, converts to Christianity, and settled Ķîpčaķ families brought from north of the Caucasus in the devastated districts of Georgia and Armenia recently reconquered by him. During Thamar's reign, the Ķîpčaķ military element in the Georgian state was at times influential; militarily, it was used with effect on such occasions as in 599/1203, when the Ildegizid Nuṣrat al-Dīn Abū Bakr was repulsed from Arrān by an army of Georgians and Ķîpčaķ, allowing Shamkūr, Gandja and Dvīn to fall into Georgian hands (Allen, *op. cit.*, A. Z. V. Togan, *Umumî türk tarihine giriş*, Istanbul 1946, 190-1).

5. *The Mongol and Tīmūrid periods.*

The period of the Khwārazmian and Mongol invasions brought devastation and upheaval to the Caucasus, and, for one thing, broke up the unity of Georgia and destroyed the Bagratids' ambitions for a greater Georgia dominating Transcaucasia. After pursuing to his death the Khwārazm-Shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad, Čingiz Khān's generals Djebe and Sübetey in 617/1220 passed through western Persia to Ādharbāydjān, receiving the submission of the Ildegizids, and then entered Arrān. They passed via Baylaķān into Sharwān, devastated Shamākhī and went on to Darband. By means of a stratagem, they got the Sharwānīs to guide them through the Caspian Gate. The Alans were humbled, and the Mongols then emerged into the South Russian steppes, defeated an army of Russians and Ķîpčaķ and rejoined Čingiz in Central Asia (cf. Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 148-9).

The new Khwarazm-Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn appeared in Ādharbāydjān in 622/1225; he defeated the Georgians at Garni in Siunik in that year, and in the following year 623/1226 occupied Tiflīs, massacring all the Georgians and Armenians there (see Minorsky, in *EI*[1], TIFLIS). In Sharwān, Djalāl al-Dīn claimed to exercise the suzerainty rights of the Great Saldjūķs, and imposed on the Sharwān-Shāh Farīburz b. Garshāsp the same tribute as had been paid in Malik-Shāh's time, till the shah protested that his dominions had considerably shrunk in the intervening century-and-a-half; eventually, Sharwān was assessed at 30,000 *dīnārs* only. Transcaucasia remained open to the pillagings of the undisciplined Khwārazmian troops, and in 625/1228 the Khwārazm-Shāh returned. At Mindor near Loré he encountered a confederacy of Caucasian peoples under the Georgian commander-in-chief Iwané Mkhargrdzeli. The allies are described as comprising Georgians, Alans, Armenians, Avars of Sarīr, Lakz, Ķîpčaķ, Suwāniyān (*i.e.*, the Svan, the mountain people of northern Georgia), Abkhāz, Čanīt (*i.e.*, Čʿanetʿi, the Georgian name for the Laz, corresponding to the Greek *Sannoi* or *Tsannoi*), Syrians and Rūmīs or Anatolians; but they failed to stand up to Djalāl al-Dīn and were defeated (Djuwaynī-Boyle, ii, 438).

Although Djalāl al-Dīn left the region soon afterwards, Transcaucasia continued to be disturbed, till a further catastrophe took place in the shape of the Mongol invasion of 633/1236. In the previous year, the Mongol general Čormaghun had raided Sharwān and eastern Caucasia as far as Darband, and now he entered Georgia via Gandja. The political unity of Georgia was now shattered. Hostages were taken from the Georgian nobles, and the kings forced to attend the Mongol *ķuriltays*. Georgians were pressed into the Mongol armies, and there were Georgian contingents present at the fall of Baghdād in 656/1258 and at ʿAyn Djālūt in 658/1260. Only the internal divisions which arose within the Mongol royal house, and, in particular, the disputes between the Il-Khānids of Persia and ʿIrāķ and the Djočids or Bātūʾids of the Golden Horde, permitted the Georgian monarchs some freedom for political manoeuvre. The Bātūʾids claimed that Anatolia, and *a fortiori* the Caucasus, had been granted by Čingiz as an appanage for Djoči and his heirs. Much fighting between Bātū's brother Berke [*q.v.*] and the Il-Khānids took place in Arrān and eastern Transcaucasia. Hülegü's forces reached as far as the Terek river before being defeated in 661/1263 by Berke's troops. Three years later, Berke returned to the Caucasus, occupying Gandja and sacking Tiflīs, where he died in 665/1267 (Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde*[1], 42-4, 49-51). Only after the reign of the Il-Khānid Öldjeitü was the Georgian king Giorgi V (1316-46) able to drive out the Mongols and bring much of Transcaucasia, including Sharwān and Arrān, under Georgian rule.

Sharwān was thus frequently a battlefield for the Il-Khānids and Bātūʾids, and the constriction of the indigenous dynasty's authority is shown by the fact that during the Il-Khānid period, the Sharwān-Shāhs do not seem to have minted any coins. Despite its inaccessibility, Ossetia suffered from the attentions of the Mongols, and the Alan capital, *Magas, was destroyed in 636/1239 after a long siege, see Minorsky, *Caucasica III. The Alān capital Magas and the Mongol campaigns*. The period of the Mongol invasions nevertheless allowed the Christian Alans to break out of their mountain fastnesses and play a rôle on the wider stage of European and Inner Asian history. Papal missions reached them, and in turn, Alan missions are mentioned at the court of the Christian Great Khān Güyük (Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 259). Alan colonies were planted in centres of the Golden Horde such as Saray on the Volga and Kertch in the Crimea (Spuler, *op. cit.*, 237, 239, 284, 314). According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 448, tr. Gibb, ii, 516, the Alans in Saray had a special quarter and had become Muslim. Moreover, Alan troops found their way as far east as the borders of China.

Further havoc was wrought in the southern parts of the Caucasus region by Tīmūr. Tīmūr first appeared in the winter of 788/1386-7, and undertook a campaign, described as a *djihād* or holy war, against the Christian Georgians. In defence of Transcaucasia, the Georgians were joined by the Muslim governor of Shakkī, Sīdī ʿAlī of the Arulat tribe of the Čaghatayid *ulus*, but this alliance brought forth further

Tīmūrid invasions, culminating in the campaign of 805-6/1403-4, when Tiflīs was again devastated and all the lands from Arrān to Trebizond given to the Tīmūrid prince Khalīl Mīrzā. The 9th/15th century was a confused one in Georgian history, with attacks from the Turkmen Ḳara Ḳoyunlu amīrs and internal weaknesses, so that towards the end of the century, the kingdom became divided into three parts (see Allen, *A history of the Georgian people*, 131 ff.).

The Sharwān-Shāh Shaykh Ibrāhīm (784-820/1382-1417) had to submit to Tīmūr and accompany him during his campaign against the Khān of the Golden Horde Toḳtamīsh in 797/1395, but he did manage to retain his throne. In the post-Tīmūrid period, Sharwān enjoyed considerable prosperity, with a flourishing cultural life and with many fine buildings erected in Bākū and Shamākhī. The shahs were latterly allied with the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu amīrs, in particular with Uzun Ḥasan, but Shāh Farrukh-Yasār b. Khalīl Allāh was eventually killed in 906/1500 near Shamākhī by Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī, and Sharwān was in 945/1538-9 incorporated into Persia. As for the adjoining district of Shakkī, Sīdī ʿAlī's son Sīdī Aḥmad was re-established there c. 801/1398-9. The mention of Ḳabala by Don Juan of Persia shows that it was still of importance in the later 10th/16th century, when Shakkī, after falling to the Ṣafawids in 958/1551, eventually became an Ottoman *sandjaḳ* (984/1576); see Allen, *Notes on Don Juan of Persia's account of Georgia*, in *BSOS*, vi (1930-2), 181, Minorsky in *EI*[1], SHEKKĪ.

The northern parts of the Caucasus fell within the lands of the Golden Horde. Dāghistān was conquered by Tīmūr in 797-8/1395-6, but it is about this time that the three main powers in Dāghistān, the Ḳaytāḳ, the Ghāzī-Ḳūmūḳ and the Maʿṣūmī princes of Ṭabarsarān, emerge [see DĀGHISTĀN]. The northwestern part of the Caucasus, sc. Circassia, played an important rôle in Golden Horde affairs and also in Islamic military history. The Čerkes were still mainly Christian, and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 448, tr. Gibb, ii, 516, mentions that the Christian Čerkes and Ḳīpčaḳ had their own quarters in Saray, just like the Alans (see above). From the inauguration of the Mamlūk Sultanate in Egypt anc Syria in the middle of the 7th/13th century, Čerkes military slaves, carried from Circassia by the Genoese of Kaffa and other merchants, were a notable element in the state, and after 784/1382 provided most of the Mamlūk Sultans themselves.

The general process of Turkification in the Caucasus region must ultimately have favoured the spread of Islam. The steppelands to the north of the Caucasus must have been islamised fairly early after the decline of the Khazars there. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Māčar on the Kuma river (to be identified with Burgomadžary). He found it a fine Turkish city. It was a flourishing trade centre of the Golden Horde Tatars, with a *ḳayṣāriyya* (chief bazaar), and a famous Ṣūfī shaykh of the Rifāʿiyya order, Muḥammad al-Baṭāʾiḥī, had his *zāwiya* there (*Riḥla*, ii, 375-9, tr. Gibb, ii, 479-81). But the spread of Islam was a slow process, and the mountainous heartland long resisted islamisation. The Laz of Mingrelia on the Black Sea coast, a people of Georgian stock and Christian since the beginning of the 6th century, maintained their faith through their close political and cultural connections with the adjacent Byzantine principality of Trebizond. Only after Trebizond fell to the Ottoman Sultan Meḥemmed II in 865/1461 were the Laz gradually converted to Islam and the Shāfiʿī *madhhab* (see Minorsky in *EI*[1], LAZ).

The rise of the Ottomans, together with pressure from the Muslim powers in Arrān and Ādharbāydjān, also brought about the end—in very obscure circumstances, but probably towards the end of the 9th/15th century—of Christianity in Dāghistān. As part of the Roman Church's attempts in the Mongol period to unite the Eastern Christian churches and then win over all the oriental peoples for Christianity, Dominicans had been installed in Tiflīs in the 7th/13th century. A Roman Catholic archbishopric was set up at Matrega or Azov in the succeeding century, and a vigorous missionary campaign undertaken into Dāghistān (*in Chaydakensi patria*, sc. the land of the Ḳaytāḳ or Khaydāḳ). Helped by Genoese trading enterprises aimed at opening up a route to the east via the Caspian, this Christian church flourished till the ousting of the Genoese from the Black Sea and the establishment of Ottoman supremacy there (see J. Richard, *Les missionaires latins chez les Kaïtak du Daghestan* (*XIVe-XVe siècles*), in *Trudy XXV Kongressa Vostokovedov 1960*, iii (Moscow 1963), 606-11). However, by 872/1466, when the Russian merchant Afanasii Nikitin was travelling across the Caspian, the ruler of the Ḳaytāḳ was a Muslim, one Alil (Khalīl?) Beg, brother-in-law of the Sharwān-Shāh Farrūkh-Yasār.

Bibliography: An extensive bibliography of the older geographical and travel literature was given by C. van Arendonck in his *EI*[1] article. For the classical period, see the article Καύκασος in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real Encyclopädie der classische Altertumswissenschaft*[2], xi, 1, 59-63. An important addition to the Islamic geographical literature is the anonymous *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, *GMS*, London 1937. A geographical survey of the Caucasus is given in A. Sanders, *Kaukasien*, Munich 1944, and there is much useful information in the article *Kavkaz* in *BSE*[2], xix, 248-63.

The historical literature proper has been mentioned in the course of the article. Amongst all this, the works of V. Minorsky are outstanding, especially his *Studies in Caucasian history*, London 1953, his *A history of Sharvān and Darband*, Cambridge 1958, and his four *Caucasica* articles in *BSOAS*, xii-xv (1948-53); see also his article *Transcaucasica*, in *JA*, ccxvii (1930), 41-111 (deals mainly with topographical and historical-geographical problems). Some of the many obscurities of Caucasian history have been illuminated by numismatic researches, in which the Bākū orientalist E. A. Pakhomov was a pioneer. The results of Russian and Armenian research have recently been utilised in the Ph.D. thesis of Dickran Kouymjian, *The numismatic history of Southeastern Caucasia and Adharbayjan based on the Islamic coinage from the 5th/11th to the 7th/13th centuries*, Columbia University, New York, 1969 (unpublished).

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

LANGUAGES.

The indigenous languages of the Caucasus form a family with three distinct branches. It is to the languages of this family still or formerly spoken in the area that the name Caucasian languages is applied. In the course of time, however, speakers of languages belonging to the Indo-European and Turkic families have also penetrated the region and these languages have in turn been influenced by those of the Caucasian family, according to the length and closeness of their contact. The most significant of these languages is Armenian, a separate branch of the Indo-European family, which has a literary tradition, both Christian and secular, going back to the

fifth century of our era. The modern Eastern dialect is spoken by over two million people in the Armenian S.S.R. and in urban communities throughout the Caucasus. There are a number of representatives of the Iranian branch of the Indo-European family, the oldest established being Ossetic. This Eastern Iranian language, spoken by the remnant of the Alans living in the Central Caucasus and south thereof in Georgia, has two main dialects: Iron, used as a literary vehicle, and the more archaic Digoron, the latter spoken by a partly Muslim population. Ossetic is unique among modern Iranian languages in being little affected either by Islam, i.e. by Arabic loans, or by Persian culture. Other Iranian languages, all of the Western branch, are Northern Kurdish, Tālis͟h, and Tātī. Kurds are scattered throughout Armenia and the Ād͟harbāyd͟jān S. S. R. Tālis͟h is spoken in a region along the Caspian coast astride the Irano-Soviet border and Tātī on both slopes of the eastern end of the Caucasus chain and on the Apsheron peninsular. Almost half of the Tātī speakers are Jews; the remainder, and all the Tālis͟hi, are Muslims. About a quarter of the Kurds are Yazīdīs, the rest Muslims. Other Indo-European languages represented are Greek, and the German, Russian, and Ukrainian introduced by comparatively recent settlers.

Among Turkic languages the most widely spoken, by well over two million people in Soviet territory, is Āzerī, which has been a literary language since the 8th/14th century. To the north-east of the Caucasus languages of the Ḳīpčaḳ group are found, namely Kumuk, Ḳaračay, Balkar, and Nog͟hay. All these Turcophone peoples are Muslims. Kalmuk, a Western Mongolian language, is spoken in the North Caucasus. The only Semitic language found in the Caucasus is the Neo-Syriac spoken by the scattered communities of so-called "Assyrians".

The Caucasian languages proper are divided geographically into Southern, North-Western and North-Eastern branches. The Southern, or Kartvelian, branch comprises four languages: Georgian, Svanetian, Laz and Mingrelian, the last two together forming the Zan group. Georgian alone is a literary language, the oldest texts dating from the fifth century of our era. The Laz and two groups of Georgian speakers, the Ačar and some Ingilo, are Muslims. There are three languages of the North-Western branch, Abk͟hāz, Circassian, and Ubək͟h, but the last is no longer spoken in the Caucasus, being kept alive only by a diminishing number of refugees in Turkey. The Circassians (Čerkes, or Adīg͟he) have two main dialects, Kabardian and Kiakh, both having a modern literature. The Abk͟hāz living south of the Caucasus have three related dialects; those living north of the Caucasus among the Circassians, known as Abaza, speak two different dialects. The great majority of Circassians and Abk͟hāz are Muslims.

The North-Eastern branch of the Caucasian family comprises a large number of languages and dialects, spoken for the most part in Dāg͟histān by an almost entirely Muslim population. They fall into six groups: I. the so-called Veinakh ("we people") group, consisting of Čečen, Ingus͟h, and Bats (the latter a small Christian community); II. the Avaro-Andi group, comprising Avār, Andi and its fellows (numbering eight in all), Dido (four languages) and Arči; III. the Lak-Dargwa group, i.e. five dialects of Lak and three of Dargwa; IV. the Samurian group, comprising Lezgian, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran (Ṭabarsarān), Ag͟hul, Budug, and D͟jek; V. K͟hinalug, and VI. Udi, the language of a Christian people thought to be the remnant of the Caucasian Albanians. Čečen, Ingus͟h, Avār, Lak, Dargwa, Lezgian, and Tabasaran are written languages, a status Udi formerly enjoyed. Avār is especially widely used as a *lingua franca*.

Although the three branches of the Caucasian family are very distinct they have a number of features in common. One is the richness of their consonant structures. Georgian, for example, has 29 consonants, including contrasting series of aspirated and glottalized voiceless stops and affricates, *p, t, c, č, k, (q), ṗ, ṭ, c̣, č̣, ḳ, q̇*; a similar contrast is found in Armenian, Ossetic and Northern Kurdish. Some North Caucasian languages have well over 50 consonant phonemes, including labialized and non-labialized pairs. In contrast to this, vowel phonemes are few; Georgian has five vowels and both Abk͟hāz and Circassian have systems reducible to two vowel phonemes. A syntactic feature widespread among Caucasian languages is the "passive construction" of transitive verbs, wherein the agent of such a verb is expressed in an oblique case and the patient is the subject of the verb. This type of construction does occur, but only with the past tenses of transitive verbs, in many Iranian languages, including Northern Kurdish, and it is so restricted in Kartvelian, but in other Caucasian languages it applies to all tenses of the verb; thus "I am doing the work" is expressed as "by-me the-work is-being-done". The distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs is absolute; a transitive verb must involve an object, so that, in Georgian for example, the sixth commandment can only be expressed "thou shalt not kill *men*". In the North-Western, and to a lesser extent the Southern, languages there is a multiple attachment of pronominal particles to the verb, each taking an appropriate position; for example, "the bread which the mother gives her daughter" is expressed in Abkhaz as "mother her-daughter which-to-her-by-her-give bread", the pronominal particles representing subject, indirect object, and agent in turn. In modern Georgian many of these pronominal forms are elided, leaving the unambiguous minimum; e.g. *g-ḳlav* "(I)-you-kill", *m-ḳlav* "(you)-me-kill", *ḳlav* "(You-him)-kill", *ḳlavs* "he-(him)-kills". The North-Eastern branch alone has a system of noun classes, whereby signs indicating the class of thing involved (e.g. male, female, inanimate, material) run through the sentence; cf. Avār *be·ca-w či ro·q̇o-w w-ugo: be·ca-y ·ču ču ro·q̇o-y y-igo: be·ca-b ču ro·q̇o-b b-ugo* "the blind man/woman/horse in-the-house is". In combinations with the passive construction this system produces such intricate concord as (Čečen) "I work *it*-being-done *I*-am" for "I work", "by-me work *it*-is-done" for "I am working", and "by-me *it*-being-done *it*-is work" for "I am (actually) working". Although these and other features more or less common to the Caucasian languages can be matched both in languages of the ancient Near East and, among other modern languages, in the Basque of the Pyrenees and the Burus͟haskī of Hunza [*q.v.*], no valid connexion between these and the Caucasian family has yet been shown.

Bibliography: B. Geiger, T. Halasi-Kun, A. H. Kuipers, and K. H. Menges, *People and languages of the Caucasus*; *a synopsis*, The Hague 1959; G. Deeters. *Die kaukasischen Sprachen'*, in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, Abt. I, VII Bd., *Armenisch und kaukasische Sprachen*, Leiden 1963.

(D. N. MacKenzie)

KABOU, a locality in Togo (9° 25′ N., 0° 50′ E.), 24 km. to the north of Bassari, an important market whose prosperity, in pre-colonial times, was based

partly on the barter of crude iron given to the Kabre iron-smiths of Lama-Kara in exchange for slaves, and partly on its function as a halting place on the kola-caravan routes. The presence in Kabou of Muslim outsiders (particularly Ḥawsa and D̲j̲erma) was therefore not unusual.

It was a certain Oukpane, a native of Kalanga (about ten km. to the west of Bassari), who founded the village of Kabou, probably during the first third of the 19th century. Shortly afterwards Biraima, a Tyokossi of Sansané Mango, arrived, becoming the first Muslim actually to settle there; to some extent, no doubt, he was the representative of the authority of the Tyokossi sovereigns, which extended over Bapure (20 km. to the west of Kabou), of which Kabou was probably a dependency at that time. After Oukpane, the supreme chief was Outoune, who reigned for thirty-five years. At that period, Kabou had its third *imām*, Baba Toma (in succession to Biraima and Saliya). In Outoune's reign, the surviving members of the communities of Kalanga settled round Kabou.

Karakpe, a younger brother of Outoune, received the French explorers Baud and Vermeersch in April 1895, and Baud for the second time in January 1896, before the Treaty of Paris (23 July 1897), which left Kabou in the *Schutzgebiet* of Togo. At the time the Europeans arrived a Muslim quarter already existed, containing several dozen D̲j̲erma mercenaries.

The leaders of this pagan country, for many years a vassal of the Tyokossi warlords of Sansané Mango, had appealed for help to the Muslim warriors of the Dagomba chief of Yendi. The prestige of Islam was so great that Mama Bonfoh, the first of the Bassari race to be converted to Islam, was nominated as chief by the German administration at the beginning of the century. The pro-Muslim policy of the German administration brought about the conversion of large numbers of the inhabitants, following the chief's lead.

Although the town (whose various districts comprise 4000 to 5000 inhabitants) is predominantly Muslim, the surrounding country is inhabited by Kabre and Losso from the over-populated regions of Lama Kara. Very few of these "immigrant settlers" appear to have been converted to Islam. (R. Cornevin)

ĶABR (A.), tomb was first applied to the pit used as a burial place for a corpse, as was the term *ḍarīḥ*, giving rise to its habitual use in the text of numerous epitaphs containing the expression *hād̲h̲ā ķabru*... "this is the grave of...". Originally distinguished from the term *ṣandūķ*, "cenotaph" (cf., J. Sauvaget, "*Les perles choisies*" *d'Ibn ach-Chihna*, Beirut 1933, 212 and "*Les trésors d'or*" *de Sibt al-ʿAjamī*, Beirut 1950, 184), it had the more general meaning of the tumulus or construction covering the grave to bring it to notice, a custom current in Islamic countries from early times. Contrary to the formal injunction in *ḥadīt̲h̲* to practise *taswiyat al-ķubūr*, that is making the tomb level with the surrounding earth (cf. G. Wiet, *CIA Egypte*, ii, 64 f.), which was the outcome of juridical discussions and was linked with doctrinal controversies concerning "saint-worship" and the various rites of veneration of tombs (including that of the "pious pilgrimage" or *ziyāra* [*q.v.*]), funerary monuments of all kinds, ranging from a simple heap of pebbles or mound of earth, with perhaps also a raised stone, to a mausoleum occasionally reaching monumental scale and forming part of a veritable architectural complex, in fact always constituted a significant portion of Islamic art.

Without going into the legal prescriptions and customary practices associated with the notion of "burial place" and therefore "tomb" in the Muslim world, we find that the word *ķabr* designates a definite archaeological reality, though one which is sometimes difficult to define. In part this is due to lack of documentation, as regards both eras and regions, of the available monuments. To a greater extent it stems from a reluctance to group under the same heading the greatly differing remains covered by a variety of terms relating not only to differences in language and dialectal usage but more especially to distinctions in appearance and architectural style (*e.g.*, *rad̲j̲am*, *karkūr* [*q.v.*], *ḥaws̲h̲*, *tābūt*, *ḥawīṭa*, *mķābriyya*, *ķubba* [*q.v.*], *ķaṣr*[*q.v.*], *gunbād̲h̲*, *gūr*, *turba* or *türbe*[*q.v.*]), or even qualitative differences applying to the dead man and therefore to the value of the sanctuary (*e.g.*, *rawḍa*, *mas̲h̲had*, *imām-zāde* [*q.v.*], *s̲h̲āh-zāde*, *walī*, *marbūṭ*, *mazār*, *maķām* and even *makān*). Nevertheless, it is permissible to make a preliminary distinction in the midst of such confusion, following the usage proposed by Max van Berchem and justified by Arabic texts (cf. M. van Berchem, *CIA Egypte*, i, 286, note, and 293; *CIA Jérusalem*, i, 6, 124), between the tomb itself, treated here under the word *ķabr*, and the "mausoleum" (*ķubba* or *turba*), that is "the construction consecrated to the tomb, either free-standing or joined on to another edifice", which is sometimes confused with those indeterminate structures that can be grouped under the heading of "commemorative monuments".

This article therefore excludes the many funerary edifices which constitute one of the most representative categories of ancient Islamic art and include notably the open-air funerary enclosure, the domed cubic monument and the funerary tower—the most widespread interpretations of the functional theme of the mausoleum. Yet the tomb situated directly over a real or assumed burial place is far from conforming to a simple, uniform type varying according to the time and region discussed. The existence of an original primitive element that can easily be recognized in many cases—hummock of earth, tombstone or stone-work bench, rectangle defined by pebbles or low walls, raised block at the head or feet of the corpse—does not alter the fact that in detail of forms and even in decoration and inscription, Muslim tombs reveal a great variety to be seen in the archaeological remains from various epochs; it is to be regretted only that there does not yet exist an exhaustive catalogue of these monuments.

Such a lack is made even more apparent by the fact that cemeteries preserved intact for centuries on the outskirts of town and containing truly venerable tombs in the midst of more recent ones—in cities as diverse as Salé, Ķayrawān, Cairo, Damascus and Istanbul, for example—have often had to give way to urban development and the extension of dwelling-areas. At the same time some popular and traditional customs or regular visits to particular sites are disappearing (for such religious attitudes before "our secularization of urban cemeteries" see L. Massignon, *La cité des morts au Caire, Qarâfa—Darb al-Aḥmar*, in *BIFAO*, lvii/19, 25-79). However, many groups of tombs situated in places that are protected or difficult of access still provide a rich documentation which should be submitted to detailed study. In the light of a broadened perspective and on more solid chronological and statistical bases, we must look again at the sole systematic attempt of this kind, the fifty-year-old study of old, decorated steles in the cemeteries of Salé and Rabat which lends itself to comparisons with examples as far

distant as Egypt and Turkey (see J. Bourrilly and E. Laoust, *Stèles funéraires marocaines*, coll. *Hespéris IHEM*, no. 3, Paris 1927).

In the absence of any new studies, research on the tombs erected throughout the Islamic world is dependent on a paucity of information and on data gathered in the course of some other research, mainly epigraphic. The first necessity is to sift the basic compilations of Arabic inscriptions made by town or by region (such as the series of *Materiaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum* impressively begun by Max van Berchem, or the several volumes, ordered according to slightly varying norms, which have appeared under the title *Corpus des Inscriptions arabes de Tunisie*) and the vast inventories of the epigraphic productions of a given region such as Sicily or Spain (see the section *Epigrafi sepolcrali* by M. Amari, *Le epigrafi arabiche di Sicilia*, in the new edition, corrected and published by F. Gabrieli, Palermo 1971; and see especially E. Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, Leiden-Paris 1931, in which pages xxiii-xxv of the introduction are devoted to the form or embellishment of epitaph stones).

Interesting descriptive notes may also accompany the publications of series of Arab steles, or of isolated examples, preserved in museums (the documentation of the Arab steles of Egypt contained in *Catalogue du Musée arabe du Caire, Les stèles funéraires*, i and iii by H. Hawary and H. Rached, Cairo 1932 and 1938, ii, iv-x by G. Wiet, Cairo 1936-42 is of particular interest, as are also G. Wiet's comments on Iranian steles of the 6th/12th century in *L'exposition persane de 1931*, Cairo 1933). They are also found, with more accurate information than in the case of uprooted funerary inscriptions, in those rare epigraphic works centred on a homogeneous series of epitaphs which were published while the epitaphs were still *in situ* (see, *e.g.*, the descriptions in B. Roy and P. Poinssot, *Inscriptions arabes de Kairouan*, IHET Paris 1950-58, and J. Sourdel-Thomine, *Stèles arabes anciennes de Syrie du Nord*, in *Annales Arch. de Syrie*, vi (1956), 11-38, or *Stèles arabes de Bust (Afghanistan)*, in *Arabica*, iii (1956), 285-306; see also the important inventory of A̲k̲h̲lāṭ steles recently published by B. Karamağaralı, *Ahlat mezartaşları*, Ankara 1972). Finally a few rare studies attempt to trace the stylistic evolution of tomb decorations or inscriptions (see, *e.g.*, J. Strzygowski, *Ornamente altarabischer Grabsteine in Kairo*, in *Isl.*, ii (1911), 305-36, or J. Sourdel-Thomine, *Epitaphes coufiques de Bâb Saghir* apud *Les monuments ayyoubides de Damas*, bk. iv, Paris 1950, or the series of articles relating to the tombs bearing figurative representations in Anatolia, the latest of which is B. Karamağaralı, *Sivas ve Tokat'takı figürlü mezar taşlarının mahiyeti hakkında*, in *Selçuklu Araştırmaları Dergisi*, ii (1971), 75-109).

However, such notations as we have are so ill-assorted that in the present state of our knowledge it is impossible to draw up even an approximate chart showing the development of a funerary art and epigraphy which gave birth to true works of sculpture in stone and contributed to a large extent to the rise of the most elaborate kinds of ornamental Arab scripts. At this moment no more can be said than that in Islamic civilization—setting aside temporary periods of austerity—as in many others tombs present a true reflection of the wealth and degree of refinement of a society in any one era; they also register the cultural and religious climate in which the epigraphs were composed, with their information about the personality, circle and opinions of the deceased.

Inscriptions of a greater or lesser length are a constant characteristic of the majority of tombs, apart from those rustic ones which stand in humble anonymity. While here we will deal only with those in Arabic, it must not be forgotten that a number of important epitaphs were composed in later times in other languages. Such inscriptions appear on steles, cippi or cenotaphs and are inscribed on surfaces of a variety of shapes (most frequently rectangular panels or bandeaux), but in both style and disposition they always occupy the foreground of the tomb's layout. The prime purpose of such inscriptions being to record the name of the person buried there and to bear witness to his faith (through a variable use of ḳur'ānic quotations) by calling blessings down on him, they are above all epitaphs. They are classified in Arabic under the vague term *kitāb* and follow a classical schema apparent from the end of the 2nd/8th century (more exactly from 174/790, the date of the oldest stele in the Cairo museum).

From this date the inscriptions generally include, after the obligatory *basmala*, either commonplace introductory phrases, such as the *taṣliya* or less frequently the *ḥamdala*, or pious sentences consisting of "the solemn affirmation of certain divine prerogatives, and the assertion that the death of a creature is due to God's divine decree". Subsequent to this comes the name of the deceased, announced in various stereotyped fashions and accompanied by a varying amount of detail on his genealogy or titles. Usually this is followed by eulogies in his honour, ranging from one to many and sometimes including "transferred eulogies". The verb which was employed earliest to introduce the name of the deceased was *s̲h̲ahida*, "has testified", found on the first Arab epitaphs in Egypt. The parallel usage of *tuwuffiya*, "X is deceased", which was first used especially to introduce the date of death, was later sometimes used alone in brief funerary texts (*e.g.*, in the 6th/12th and 7th/13th century in northern Syria). Likewise *hād̲h̲ā ḳabr*, noted above, which appears on a third of the earliest Islamic steles in Egypt, became the sole formula used without exception in later epitaphs from Ifrīḳiya, al-Andalus, Syria, Anatolia and even eastern Iran.

Another important element, at least in the early period, was the confession of faith, with or without the *risāla*, sometimes supported by quotations from the Ḳur'ān such as verse IX, 33. Later, the absence of the *s̲h̲ahāda* can be noted in some regions (rural epitaphs cut in Syria in the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries or contemporary ones from Anatolia) and in some types (epitaphs of children, for example, as attested by examples from Ḳayrawān). Likewise verse IX, 33 was used less frequently in Egypt from the Fāṭimid era; although still popular in the same period in Ifrīḳiya and al-Andalus, it no longer appeared in Syria or the eastern provinces, nor in Anatolia from the 6th/12th century. This evolution parallels that observed in the case of other verses from the Ḳur'ān which were put to different use according to place and period. In Egypt, for example, verse XXII, 7, stressing the necessary advent of the final hour, was in vogue until the 4th/10th century and was also found in Ifrīḳiya. In al-Andalus, XXXV, 5, on the vanity of earthly life, was widely used, as was the phrase "every soul tastes of death", taken from Ḳur'ān III, 182 or XXIX, 7, in the whole of the mediaeval east from the 6th/12th century. Depending on period or region, basic religious texts

enjoyed greater or lesser favour, although verses II, 256, III, 16-18, and Sūra CXII were always popular.

Also to be taken into account is the presence or absence of religious maxims whose precise meaning is known to us through studies like those done on the saying, "reliving the mourning for the Prophet" (cf. L. Massignon, *La Rawda de Médine, cadre de la méditation musulmane sur la destinée du Prophète, annexe 1*, in *BIFAO*, lix (1960), 260-7), and also those moral maxims, complementary invocations and poetic texts which constitute, along with information on the date cf death, the "accidental" portions of the funerary inscription. As a general rule, the wealth of doctrinal allusion and religious sentiment revealed by the epitaphs of the first four centuries of the *Hidjra* are contrasted with the later poverty of traditional formulas, compensated for by new tendencies such as the development of the titular description of the deceased according to new customs of society, the abundance of quotations from the Ķur'ān as a feature of ornamental design (as in some Iranian steles in *miḥrāb* form from the beginning of the 6th/12th century), the progressive introduction of "literary" customs leading to an increasingly bombastic style and multiplying the occasional verses or snatches of rhythmic or assonant prose (see examples of epitaphs of Maltese or Sicilian origin).

The epigraphic decoration of the most sumptuous tombs—not always those most venerated, for popular devotion was often given to graves marked by a simple heap of stones—cannot be separated from their fform, material used, nor from the other decorative elements of which it was an intrinsic and harmonious part. It is not fortuitous, for example, that a particular type of ornate inscription, associated in Syria from the 6th/12th century with artistic influences from Upper Mesopotamia, was developed on a class of tombs which were also highly specialized in origin and in the circumstances of their appearance (see J. Sauvaget, *La tombe de l'Ortokide Balak*, in *Ars Islamica*, v (1938), 207-15; cf. J. Sauvaget, *La madrasa Djahârkasiya*, apud *Les monuments ayyoubides de Damas*, 41-50); a number of comparable cases could be cited, especially with reference to the arched steles whose stylistic evolution was parallel to the flat *miḥrāb* and contemporary door frames.

However, the various currents which joined forces to give rise to the curious parallelism of methods of constructing funerary monuments from one end of the Islamic world to the other cannot yet be determined with any precision and we must confine ourselves to the following observations. Firstly, it would appear that the tabular steles used "to create that which is known in Arabic as *shāhid*, the witness" constitute the oldest type of Muslim funerary stones (cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Inscriptions arabes d'Espagne*, xxiii), a type which is attested in Egypt from the 2nd/8th century and endured until the Ottoman era, many specimens of the latter being known. These variously carved slabs, sometimes bearing the name of *rukhāma* or *lawḥ*, were most frequently set at one or sometimes at either end of the tombs, being classified as archaic since they are in the shape of "boxes without lids" found in backward regions and isolated rural districts.

These steles vary greatly in appearance. They may consist of double rectangular steles, rounded or disc-shaped, of moderate size and quite simple decoration, sometimes without inscriptions, as in Spain and northern Syria. They may also be single, monumental steles, frequently remarkably ornamented, sometimes with abundant and finished inscriptions; these latter may still be seen *in situ* at Salé or Akhlāṭ, for example, and are exemplified in museums by the so-called Almerian steles of the early 6th/12th century and by a no less interesting series of Iranian slabs of the same period. At times they consist of a rectangular framework surrounding inscriptions which are incised or sculpted in relief on a hollowed ground; this is the most dominant pattern in the first centuries of the *Hidjra* from Egypt to Spain. At others the central motif is the inscribed arch, single or double, around which are arranged beautifully patterned ornamental compositions; this type appears in both east and west. Yet sometimes the tabular steles give way to shafts of columns embellished with inscriptions (*ʿamūd ķabr* and *sāriyat ķabr*), which predominated in cemeteries in Toledo and Ķayrawān in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries and still indicate Ottoman graves, where the cylindrical stele is usually crowned by a "turban" carved in marble.

On the other hand, from the 5th/11th century scaled-down sarcophagi were also popular. These consisted of strips of stone laid in tiers or of "long, low steles of white marble forming a prism standing on a pedestal", which are often given the Maghribī names *mķābiriyya*, *djannābiyya* or *ṣanam*, and are generally recognized as schematic imitations of the primitive pile of earth. These stones or low constructions may also be accompanied by raised slabs, a hybrid style which appears in a number of regions. Examples are the old Syrian tomb of al-Maʿarrī (cf. J. Sourdel-Thomine, *Inscriptions du mausolée d'Abū l-ʿAlā' à Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān*, in *Arabica*, ii (1955), 289-94) and especially the various combinations seen in the tombs of Akhlāṭ. But in this case too there is a great diversity of shapes enabling the tombs to be allotted to different categories, limited by neither place nor period, from the earliest archaeological evidence furnished by the tomb of Subuktakīn at Ghazna, most probably c. 387/997 (cf. S. Flury, *Le décor épigraphique des monuments de Ghazna*, in *Syria*, 1925, 61-90). Ayyūbid examples from Syria can be interpreted as imitations in stone of the sculptured wood cenotaphs well known elsewhere (Mesopotamian, Syrian and Egyptian examples cited by J. Sauvaget, *Le cénotaphe de Saladin*, in *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, vi (1929-30), 168-75, or by G. Wiet, *Les inscriptions du mausolée de Shafiʿi*, in *Bull. Inst. Eg.*, xv (1933), 167-85). Other prismatic steles are closer to the type of stepped platform identified by D. S. Rice in a papyrus preserved in Vienna and attributed to the 3rd/9th century by A. Grohmann, of which he found later representatives modelled in brick and stone-work in the miniatures accompanying many copies of al-Ḥarīrī's *Maķāmāt* (cf. D. S. Rice, *The oldest illustrated Arabic manuscript*, in *BSOAS*, xxii (1959), 207-20 and fig. on p. 219). A whole new chapter could be written on the funerary stones bearing representations of animals in relief which forms part of an even more original chain of tradition. The popularity of this style in Turkey has been the subject of many studies (see the most recent, noted above).

Bibliography: in the article.

(J. Sourdel-Thomine)

In works of *fiķh* (usually in the chapter dealing with obsequies) two problems connected with tombs are discussed. Mav they be decorated to a certain extent? Is it permitted to visit them? On the first point it is surprising to observe the complete unanimity of the *fuķahā'* (no matter what school they belong to) in disapproving of all ornamentation on tombs, however

simple it may be. To mark the site of the tomb the more lenient among them permit at the most the construction of a lowly erection of unfired brick (*labin*); the use of fired brick (*ādjurr*) is firmly advised against as it would be the first step towards ornamentation. This modest construction must not be rough cast (though this is permitted by the Ḥanafīs only) and must bear no inscription relating to the deceased (paradoxically enough, Ibn Ḥazm allowed his name to be inscribed) nor even passages from the Ḳur'ān. It is blameworthy to build a dome or any monument whatsoever above a tomb. It is obvious that this teaching, which the *fuḳahā'* based on traditions that they traced back to the Prophet, was never respected, except in impoverished villages. In the presence of the considerable number of richly decorated tombs found in all Muslim countries, it must be admitted that there are few areas where the divorce between theory and practice was so marked. No doubt this was the result of the nature of the condemnation formulated by the legal scholars: the decoration of tombs is blameworthy, reprehensible (*makrūh*), but not *ḥarām*, that is, categorically forbidden; this has given rise to the almost general belief that their decoration does not absolutely infringe religious law.

The permissibility of visiting tombs (*ziyārat al-ḳubūr*) was admitted very early on by *idjmā'*; all the schools, including the Ḥanbalīs and Ẓāhirīs, even went so far as to recommend the practice, while forewarning the faithful to shun the behaviour characteristic of Christian pilgrimages (carrying candles, chanting, distributing alms).

Bibliography: (I)—Ibn Ḳudāma, *Mughnī*, Cairo 1368, ii, 507; Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyat al-mudjtahid*, Cairo 1952, i, 235; Ibn Ḥazm, *Muḥallā*, Cairo 1347, v, 133; Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ, *Mukhtaṣar*, tr. Bousquet, Algiers 1956, i, nos. 46 and 47; Zayla'ī, *Tabyīn*, Cairo 1313, i, 245. (II)—Ibn Taymiyya, *Fatāwā*, Cairo 1326, iv, 302-6; H. Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines... d'Aḥmad b. Taimīya*, Cairo 1939, 334-5. See also DJANĀZA, ZIYĀRA.

(Y. LINANT DE BELLEFONDS)

ḲABRA, in Spanish Cabra, a town in a mountainous region of Andalusia to the south-east of Cordoba, situated at an altitude of 448 m. on the slopes of the Sierra de Cabra; at present it is the centre of a *partido judicial* of the province of Cordoba and has a population of 20,000.

The Muslim town of Ḳabra, which succeeded the Roman Igabrum — one of the principal cities of Baetica according to Pliny — ranked as one of the fortresses of al-Andalus. Colonised by the *djund* of Wāsiṭ in 'Irāḳ in the time of the governor Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār al-Kalbī (125/743-127/745) under the Umayyads it was the centre of a relatively small district (*kūra*) which took in Ecija. A single *ḳāḍī* had jurisdiction over both these towns. The bishopric of Ḳabra, which date from the 4th century A.D., continued to exist under the Umayyad caliphate. Some rare, and unfortunately too brief, descriptions by Arab geographers speak of the equable climate, the abundance of running water, the profusion of olive groves and the luxuriant vegetation of Muslim Ḳabra; they bear witness to the existence of a great mosque with three aisles and a busy street-market. Not far from the town some lead mines were worked.

Muḳaddam b. Mu'āfā (d. 299-300/912 [*q.v.*]), the originator of the *muwashshaḥ*, was a native of Ḳabra.

Ḳabra was involved in the frontier disputes between the Castilians and the Andalusian Muslims. Ḥabbūs b. Māksan, the Zīrid dynast of Granada, captured it in 419-20/1029-30. Conquered by Ferdinand III (the Saint) in 641/1244, the town belonged successively to the Council of Cordoba and to the Order of Calatrava. In 733/1333 the Naṣrid Muḥammad IV seized Ḳabra, destroyed the ramparts and part of the castle, and sent the inhabitants to captivity in Granada. Re-populated shortly afterwards by the Master of the Order of Calatrava, Ḳabra subsequently reverted to the Crown of Castile. In 849/1445 Henry IV gave the town to Diego Fernandez of Cordoba in reward for his services and granted him the title of Count of Cabra.

Various remains dating from the time of the Muslim occupation, in particular a ruined castle, can still be seen in Ḳabra.

Bibliography: Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed. Dozy and De Goeje, 174, 205; Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ḥimyarī, *La Péninsule Ibérique...*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Leiden 1938, *notice* 134, 149-50 (Arabic text), 178-9 (French tr.); Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Lamḥa*, 78; idem, *Iḥāta*, ed. 'Inān, i, 440, 541; idem, *A'māl al-a'lām*, 229; *Crónica de D. Alfonso XI*, *Biblioteca de Autores españoles*, lxvi, new ed., Madrid 1953; P. Madoz, *Diccionario geográfico-estadistico-histórico de España y sus posesiones de ultramar*, v, Madrid 1840, 40-50; *Sobre el nombre y la patria del autor de la "muwaššaḥa"*, in *al-Andalus*, ii (1934), 215-22; E. Lévi-Provençal, *H.E.M.*, iii, index.

(R. ARIÉ)

KABSH [see BADW (IIa), YÜRÜK, ZAKĀT, and SILĀḤ].

AL-ḲABTAWRĪ, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM KHALAF B. 'ABD AL-'AZĪZ AL-GHĀFIḲĪ, poet and letter-writer, from the island in the Guadalquivir called Ḳabtawra or Ḳabtūra (formerly Caput Tauri, Ibn Khaldūn—de Slane, *Hist. des Berbères*, ii, 113; today Isla Mayor, south of Seville). The son of a Sevillian scholar, he was born in Shawwāl 615/December 1218-January 1219. After the fall of Seville (646/1248) he moved to Ceuta, where he became head of the chancellery of the 'Azafid emirate; following the death of the amīr Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-'Azafī he left Ceuta for Tunis and there taught *ḥadīth*. He made two pilgrimages to Mecca, the first from Ceuta and the second from Tunis in 696/1297. Subsequently he settled in Medina, dying there in 704/1304. Among his teachers were Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Dabbādj and Ibn Abi 'l-Rabī', then, in the East, al-Gharrāfī, while his students included Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, Ibn Djābir al-Wādiyāshī, 'Abd al-Muhaymin al-Ḥaḍramī, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Tudjībī and Ibn Rushayd [*q.v.*].

Only a portion of his poetic output survives, but to judge from the extracts preserved in the works of biographers and the *riḥla*s of al-Tudjībī and Ibn Rushayd, al-Ḳabtawrī was a minor poet who conformed to the tastes of his age by cultivating formal stylishness. His letters date from the period when he was head of the chancellery at Ceuta. M. H. El-Hila (*Lettres d'al-Gāfiqī*, Sorbonne thesis 1967) has collected eleven letters preserved in the 'Abdelliyya Library in Tunis (no. 2804) and two other communications reproduced in *al-Dhakhīra al-saniyya*, ed. Ben Cheneb, Algiers 1920, 113-23 (the author is unnamed but the historical data, in conjunction with internal textual criticism, make their attribution to al-Ḳabtawrī extremely likely).

This body of correspondence supplies new particulars about political aspects of the relationship between the countries of the Maghrib and the connexions between the Maghrib and Spain in troubled and confused times. Strong light is thrown on the policy of Ceuta vis-à-vis both the Naṣrid kingdom of Granada and the two Moroccan states (Almohad and

Marīnid). From a literary point of view these letters, models of the type prevailing at the period, are characterized by affectation, *sadj*ᶜ, and a wealth of metaphors, antitheses and borrowings from the Ķur'ān and *ḥadīth*. At times the striving for literary effects transforms some sentences into punning riddles. There is one striking oddity in this correspondence: a letter addressed to the Prophet, which is a sort of panegyric expressing an ardent desire to visit him at Medina. This letter is probably the oldest of its kind still in existence, for it antedates the two known letters of Ibn al-Khaṭīb (*Ṣubḥ al-aᶜshā*, vi, 469).

Bibliography: Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, Ms. Paris no. 2064, fol. 22; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Durar*, Ḥaydarābād 1929-31, ii, 85; Ibn al-Ķāḍī, *Durrat al-ḥidjāl*, Rabat 1939, no. 393; Maķķarī, *Nafḥ*, Cairo 1939-43, iii, 352. (M. H. El-Hila)

ĶABŪL [see BAYᶜ].

KĀBUL. 1. A river of Afghānistān and the North-West Frontier region of Pākistān, 700 km. long and rising near the Unai Pass in lat. 34° 21′ N. and long. 68° 20′ E. It receives the affluents of the Pandjhīr, Alingar, Kunar and Swat Rivers from the north, and the Lōgar from the south, and flows eastwards to the Indian plain, joining the Indus at Atak (Attock). The *Ḥudūd al-ᶜālam* (end of 4th/10th century) calls it "the River of Lamghān", and describes it as flowing from the mountains bordering on Lamghān and Dunpūr, passing by Nangrahār (sc. the Djalālābād district) and running down to Multān and the ocean. Bīrūnī calls it "the River of Ghōrwand", because one of the arms of the Pandjhīr River rises near the Ghōrband Pass. From these and other statements in the geographers, it is clear that the Kābul River was at this time considered as the main course of the Indus. It is probable that the Kābul River (in Sanskrit Kubhā, one of the seven rivers of the Ṛigveda) gave its name to the region and eventually the town of Kābul, see below.

Bibliography: J. Humlum *et al.*, *La géographie de l'Afghanistan, étude d'un pays aride*, Copenhagen 1959, 46; Pauly-Wissowa, *Real Encyclopädie*, Reihe 1, xi, 1361-2, *s.v.* Kophen, Kophes.

2. The name of a region, and then of a town, in eastern Afghānistān, the city of Kābul being now the capital of that kingdom. The city lies in lat. 34° 30′ N. and long. 69° 13′ E. at an altitude of 1,750-1,800 m. on the Kābul River in a fertile and well-watered plain surrounded by chains of mountains and hills. Its excellent position as a communications centre, where the route up the Kābul River valley meets the various routes across the Hindū Kush and the route from Ghazna and the south, made it a place of importance at an early date.

In pre-Christian times, the Kābul region formed part of the Hellenized Bactrian states-system, but early in the Christian era it was overrun by invaders from the steppes to the north such as the Kushans and Kidarites and then the Hephthalites [see HAYĀṬILA]. Buddhism flourished there and in the whole of the Gandharan region, as the numerous stupas surviving in the Kābul valley attest, and as the travel narrative of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, Hiuen-Tsang, who knew Kābul as Kao-fu, likewise shows. Yet the diffusion of cultural influences from the Hindu Gandharan kingdom, based on Udabhāṇḍapur or Wayhind, favoured the indianisation of the Hephthalite rulers of Kābul and the replacement of Buddhism by Indian cults. At this period, Kābul remained the name of the whole district of the upper Kābul River valley rather than a specific town [see KĀBULISTĀN]. Hence a Muslim geographer like Yaᶜķūbī, *Buldān*, 290-1, tr. Wiet, 106-7, gives as the chief town of the region the cryptic حروس, and the capital of the Kābul-Shāhs as the fortress of حرزيدس, possibly to be identified with the citadel of Kābul itself (Wiet reads these names as applying to a single place, Djarwīn, following Marquart's Djurwīn in *Ērānšahr*, 277-89).

The name Kābul was known to the Arabs even in pre-Islamic times. The Djāhilī and Mukhaḍram poets (sc. those of the intermezzo between the pre-Islamic and Islamic periods) use the phrase *Turk wa-Kābul* as a synonym for remoteness, an *Ultima Thule*; see T. Kowalski, *Die ältesten Erwähnungen der Türken in der arabischen Literatur*, in *KCsA*, ii (1926-32), 38-41. However, first-hand knowledge of eastern Afghānistān came only with the expansion of the Arabs from their basins in Sīstān and at Bust eastwards into Zamīndāwar and Zābulistān [*qq.v.*], the territories of the Zunbīls, epigoni of the southern branch of the Hephthalites. These local rulers strongly resisted the Arabs for over two centuries, barring the way to the Kābul valley, and the fact that these Zunbīls seem to have been related to the Kābul-Shāhs made for solidarity against the Muslim raiders.

During Muᶜāwiya's caliphate, the governors of Sīstān, ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Samura and al-Rabīᶜ b. Ziyād, raided as far as Kābul, compelling the local rulers there and in Zābulistān to pay tribute. The main product yielded by the raids through these inhospitable regions was, of course, slaves. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān brought back slaves captured at Kābul to his house at Baṣra, where they built for him an oratory in the Kābulī architectural style (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 397). The famous Syrian *mawlā* scholar Makḥūl al-Dimashķī, teacher of al-Awzāᶜī (d. 118/736), had been captured at Kābul during the first Muslim raid there (Ibn Saᶜd, vii/2, 161; Ibn Khallikān, tr. iii, 437). Yet the political effects of these and subsequent raids were invariably transitory, and in ᶜAbd al-Malik's caliphate, a Muslim army under ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra suffered a grievous defeat in the Kābul region (78/697-8); it was to retrieve the Muslim position that the famous "Peacock Army" was sent out under Ibn al-Ashᶜath [*q.v.*]. In Hārūn al-Rashīd's time, the governor of Khurāsān, al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī, sent expeditions into northern and eastern Afghānistān which strengthened the hold of Islam on certain parts of the region. In 179/795 the general Ibrāhīm b. Djibrīl attacked Zābulistān and then penetrated to Kābul, at that time under the rule of the Turk-Shāhī dynasty; and under al-Ma'mūn there was a further raid entailing the capture of the ruler of Kābul and his adoption of Islam. For some time under the governorship in Khurāsān of ᶜAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir (213/828-230/845), the Kābul-Shāh paid tribute to the Muslims in the form of 1½ million *dirhams* annually plus 2,000 Oghuz Turkish slaves (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 38).

Only under the Ṣaffārids of Sīstān [*q.v.*] was real headway made by the Muslims. Thus Yaᶜķūb b. Layth's expedition of 256/870 via Balkh to Bāmiyān, Kābul and the silver mines of Pandjhīr brought about the first lengthy Muslim occupation of Kābul. Arab historians record the wonder excited in Baghdād by the presents of elephants and pagan idols from the Kābul valley forwarded by the Ṣaffārids (Ṭabarī, iii, 1841; cf. Masᶜūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 125-6). The islamisation of the Kābul region progressed considerably under Alptigin and the Turkish slave governors of Ghazna in the later decades of the 4th/10th century; under the Ghaznawids [*q.v.*], Kābul seems to have been a depôt for the army's force of elephants

(Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 116-17). It now begins to be considered as administratively within the orbit of G͟hazna rather than in that of the Bāmiyān-G͟hōrband area, cf. Maḳdisī, 297.

The geographers of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries give a somewhat vague and confused account of the Kābul region, especially since it was peripheral to the experience of most of them. Long before it became islamised, Muslim merchants resorted to Kābul, primarily because it was an entrepôt for the products of India: in the enumeration of Ibn K͟hurradād͟hbih, 38, for inferior aloes wood, coconuts, saffron, and above all, myrobalanus (*ihlīladj, halīladj*), the astringent medicament, of which a special Chebuli or Kābulī variety was distinguished (see Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases*, 607-10, and Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, 378). Towards the beginning of the G͟haznawid period, Kābul begins to be distinguished as a town, with a mixed Muslim and Indian population (the Indians regarding Kābul as a pilgrimage centre), a strong citadel and a prosperous *rabaḍ* or commercial quarter (Muḳaddasī, 304; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 111).

The dominance of the capitals G͟hazna and then Fīrūzkūh [*qq.v.*], under the G͟haznawids and G͟hūrids respectively, inevitably overshadowed Kābul, and contemporary sources do not have a great deal to say about it at this time. Such destructions of G͟hazna as those of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn G͟hūrī and Tīmūr favoured the gradual rise once more of Kābul, although the traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa still found there in 733/1333 a mere village, with nothing there of note save a *zāwiya* or hermitage of the Ṣūfī S͟hayk͟h Ismāʿīl al-Afg͟hānī (*Riḥla*, iii, 89-90, tr. Gibb, iii, 590-1). Eastern Afg͟hānistān formed part of the Tīmūrid empire, and after Tīmūr's death it became an appanage (*soyūrg͟hāl*) for Tīmūrid princes. Thus Abū Saʿīd's son Ulug͟h Beg (not to be confused with the more celebrated Ulug͟h Beg b. S͟hāh Ruk͟h, d. 853/1449, [*q.v.*]) reigned in Kābul and G͟hazna from 865/1461 to 907/1501-2. After his death, Kābul came temporarily under the control of the Arg͟hūnid Muḳīm, who had married a daughter of Ulug͟h Beg, until in 910/1504 Bābur came from Transoxania and took over Kābul, compelling Muḳīm to retreat to Ḳandahār. Kābul now flourished under Bābur, who is eloquent in his memoirs about the climate and natural beauties of the region, its amenities and its products, and the fact that it was a mecca for trading caravans, bringing thither the products of India, China, Central Asia and Persia; and it was at Kābul that Bābur laid out numerous gardens. He made it his centre for campaigns against Ḳandahār and into northern India, and his successors the Mug͟hal Emperors of India kept it firmly within the orbit of their dominions. For the first time, Kābul becomes a mint centre for gold and silver coinage, and Mug͟hal coins were produced there down to the reign of ʿAzīz al-Dīn ʿĀlamgīr (1167/1754-1173/1759). It was to his favoured centre of Kābul that Bābur's body was brought, in accordance with his express desire, some years after his death at Āgra in 937/1530; his tomb is now a pleasant spot on the slopes of the S͟hīr Dawāza mountain on the west side of modern Kābul (see *Bābur-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, 188 ff., 705-6, 709-11, lxxx-lxxxi).

Nādir S͟hāh captured the citadel of Kābul in 1151/1738, en route for his famous Indian campaign, but after his death in 1160/1747, the Ḳizīlbās͟h garrison of Kābul yielded it up to Aḥmad S͟hāh Durrānī of Ḳandahār [*q.v.*]. Under Aḥmad's son and successor Tīmūr S͟hāh, it became clear that the Durrānī empire in north-western India could not be satisfactorily held from Ḳandahār, so Kābul became the capital. In this way began Kābul's modern rôle as capital of Afg͟hānistān, even though at times in the 19th century the authority of the amīrs of Kābul was geographically fairly circumscribed [for the history of the period, see AFG͟HĀNISTĀN, v]. The town suffered during the first two Afg͟hān-British Wars and the civil strife between rival members of the Sadōzay and Muḥammadzay or Bārakzay families. Thus when British forces returned to Kābul in autumn 1842, they burned the great bazaar of Kābul in retaliation for the murder of Macnaghten and the sufferings of the British forces during their retreat from Kābul at the beginning of that year. In recent decades, Kābul has expanded to a city of 435,000 people (1965 estimate), has acquired paved roads and has become a considerable industrial centre; in particular, it has expanded northwestwards in the S͟hahr-i Naw suburb towards the British Embassy and southwestwards towards the University of Kābul and King Amān Allāh's former palace of the Dār al-Amān.

Bibliography: For the geographical position of Kābul and the development of the modern city, see J. Humlum *et al.*, *La géographie de l'Afghanistan, étude d'un pays aride*, 130-9, and the detailed social, demographic and economic survey in H. Hahn, *Die Stadt Kabul (Afghanistan) und ihr Umland. i. Gestaltwandel einer orientalischen Stadt. ii. Sozialstruktur und wirtschaftliche Lage der Agrarbevolkerung im Stadtumland*, Bonner geographische Abhandlungen, Hefte 34-5, Bonn 1964-5 (contains many useful maps). For Kābul's history during the mediaeval period, see scattered references in R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephtalites*, Cairo 1948; J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, Berlin 1901; C. E. Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs, from the Islamic conquest to the rise of the Ṣaffārids*, Rome 1968; H. C. Ray, *The dynastic history of Northern India*, i, Calcutta 1931; M. Forstner, *Yaʿqūb b. al-Lait̲ und der Zunbīl*, in *ZDMG*, cxx/1 (1970), 69-83. The information of the Muslim geographers is subsumed in Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 348-50, to which should be added *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 11, 343-7. The *Bābur-nāma*, tr. A. S. Beveridge, London 1921, devotes much space to the topography and products of the Kābul region. For the modern period, see the sources quoted in the bibliography to AFG͟HĀNISTĀN, i, and v; the accounts of 19th and early 20th century travellers and officials like Mountstuart Elphinstone, Alexander Burnes, J. P. Ferrier, Sir Thomas Holdich, etc., are especially valuable here.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

KĀBULISTĀN, the upper basin of the Kābul River (see preceding article), vaguely defined in early Islamic times as the region between Bāmiyān in the west and Lamg͟hān in the east. The geographer Muḳaddasī (c. 375/985) includes within it all the country north of G͟hazna and Zābulistān, *i.e.*, the Lōgar valley, cf. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 349; and it is only about this time that the term "Kābul" becomes specialised for the name of the town rather than being applied to the whole region of Kābulistān. In contemporary Afg͟hānistān, the heart of the mediaeval Kābulistān has since 1964 formed the *wilāyat* or province of Kābul.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

ḲĀBŪS B. WUS͟HMAGĪR B. ZIYĀR, S͟HAMS AL-MAʿĀLĪ ABU'L-ḤASAN (reigned 366-71/977-81 and

388-403/998 to 1012-13), fourth ruler of the Ziyārid dynasty which had been founded by Mardāwīdj b. Ziyār [*q.v.*] and which ruled in Ṭabaristān and Gurgān (Djurdjān). Like other families rising to prominence in the "Daylamī interlude" of Persian history, the Ziyārids endeavoured to attach themselves to the pre-Islamic Iranian past, and Ḳābūs's grandson Kay Kāʾūs makes Ḳābūs's ancestors rulers of Gīlān in the time of Kay Khusraw (*Ḳābūs-nāma*, Preface). As under his predecessors, suzerainty over the Caspian coastlands continued in Ḳābūs's time to be disputed by the Sāmānids in Khurāsān and the Būyids of western Persia. It seems to have been support from the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*] which enabled Ḳābūs to succeed his brother Ẓahīr al-Dawla Bīsutūn in 366/977, for the great Amīr's overlordship is acknowledged on Ḳābūs's first coins; it was also at this point that he received the honorific of 'Shams al-Maʿālī' from the Caliph al-Ṭāʾiʿ.

However, Ḳābūs soon afterwards gave help to his son-in-law Fakhr al-Dawla [*q.v.*], the Būyid ruler of the Kurdish region of Djibāl, against the latter's brothers ʿAḍud al-Dawla and Muʾayyid al-Dawla. This course proved disastrous for Ḳābūs. He lost control of much of Ṭabaristān by 369/979-80, and in 371/981-2 the remainder of his kingdom was invaded by Būyid forces under Muʾayyid al-Dawla in person. After a defeat at Astarābād, Ḳābūs and Fakhr al-Dawla were compelled to seek refuge in Nīshāpūr with the Sāmānid general Ḥusām al-Dawla Tāsh. Despite Sāmānid aid, the two fugitives were unable to stage a revanche as long as ʿAḍud al-Dawla lived. The Caspian region remained under Muʾayyid al-Dawla's control until his death in 373/984, when Fakhr al-Dawla returned from Nīshāpūr and with the Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād's support, became ruler in Rayy and Djibāl. Būyid ingratitude prevented Ḳābūs from sharing in this reversal of fortunes, and it was not until after Fakhr al-Dawla's death that Ḳābūs, after 17 years' exile among the Sāmānids, returned at the invitation of the local people to his ancestral lands (388/998).

The events of Ḳābūs's second reign are less well-documented in the sources; nor do we possess any coins from these later years. The historians relate that Ḳābūs's tyrannical and bloodthirsty rule, which had culminated in the execution of the governor of Astarābād for alleged Muʿtazilī beliefs, finally led to a military revolt. Ḳābūs agreed to abdicate in favour of his son Manūčihr; but shortly afterwards the rebels murdered him by exposure to the winter cold (403/1012-13). His mausoleum, erected in 397/1006-7, may still be seen outside the modern town of Gurgān [see GUNBADH-I ḲĀBŪS]. After Ḳābūs's death, the Ziyārid kingdom fell increasingly under the influence of the Ghaznawids, heirs to the Sāmānids in Khurāsān.

Despite his reputation for cruelty, Ḳābūs achieved a great contemporary renown as a scholar and poet in both Arabic and Persian. His long exile among the Sāmānids brought him into fertile contact with the luminaries of the brilliant Bukhārā court culture. In the *Yatīmat al-dahr*, Thaʿālibī calls him "the seal of rulers, the outstanding figure of the age, and the fountainhead of all equity and beneficence", whilst Ibn Shuhayd, cited in Ibn Bassām's *Dhakhīra*, i/1, 202 (cf. Ch. Pellat, *Ibn Shuhayd, Ḥayātuhu wa-āthāruhu*, Amman 1966, 132), links him with Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī as the leading figures in the new wave of rhymed-prose writers. The extant Arabic works of Ḳābūs comprise a collection of *rasāʾil* and a work on *adab* and proverbs, but ʿAskarī gives high praise to a *Risāla fi'l-iftikhār wa'l-ʿitāb*, now lost (see Brockelmann, S I, 154). Ḳābūs was also an expert calligrapher and authority on astrology. As a patron of the arts, he received the dedication of verses by several of the great poets of the time, but the greatest lustre accruing to him came from his association with Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), who fled from Khwārazm for refuge at Ḳābūs's court before going on to Rayy, and also from his association with Bīrūnī, who came to Gurgān shortly after Ḳābūs's restoration in 388/998 and there dedicated to the amīr his *al-Āthār al-bāḳiya*.

Bibliography: 1. Primary historical sources: ʿUtbī-Manīnī, *Yamīnī*, i, 105-51, 390 ff., ii, 1-26, 172-9; Miskawayh and Rūdhrāwarī, in *Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid Caliphate*, ii, 415, iii, 15-18, 24-6, 28, 93, 98-9, 297-8; Gardīzī, ed. Nāẓim, 46, 50; *Ḳābūs-nāma*, ed. Levy, 55, 135-6, tr. 88-9, 231-4; Ibn Isfandiyār, ed. Iḳbāl, ii, 4-13, tr. Browne, 225-33; *Mudjmal al-tawārikh*, 394 ff.; Djurbādhḳānī, *Tardjuma-yi Yamīnī*, Tehran 1334/1955, 54-77, 163-70, 221-3; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vi, 143-52; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 506, ix, 8-9, 98-100, 167-9; Ibn Khallikān, iii, 243-8, no. 512, tr. ii, 507-10; Mustawfī, *Guzīda*, Tehran 1339/1960, 388, 414-15, 420; Mīrkhwānd, iv, 25-7

2. Secondary historical sources: Cl. Huart, *Les Ziyarides*, in *Méms. de l'Acad. des Inscrs. et Belles-Lettres*, xlii (Paris 1922), 403-15; M. Nāẓim, *Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, 77-8; Spuler, *Iran*, 102-3, 109; M. Kabir, *History of the Ziyarids...*, in *J. of the Asiatic Soc. of Pakistan*, v (1960), 8 ff.; J. C. Bürgel, *Die Hofkorrespondenz ʿAḍud ad-Daulas*, Wiesbaden 1965, 140-7.

3. Numismatics: S. M. Stern, *The coins of Āmul*, in *NC*, Ser. 7, vii (1967), 255-7, 266.

4. Cultural: Thaʿālibī, *Yatīmat al-dahr*, Cairo 1375-7/1956-8, iv, 59-61; ʿAwfī, *Lubāb al-albāb*, ed. Nafīsī, 30-1, 256-7; Dawlat-Shāh, ed. ʿAbbāsī, 56-7; Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī, *Čahār maḳāla*, ed. Browne, 78-80, revised tr. 87-90; Browne, i, 469-71; Zakī Mubārak, *al-Nathr al-fannī*, ii, 277-89.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

ḲĀBŪS-NĀME [see KAY KĀʾŪS].

KABYLIA, a mountainous region in the Algerian Tell. The word Kabylia, coined by the French, means "land of the Kabyles" (*bilād al-Ḳabāʾil*). This name is of fairly recent origin, however, for it is not found in the works of Arabic historians and geographers; it is probably of oral origin and intended for use by foreigners, *i.e.*, Europeans; it seems to have been introduced into geographic nomenclature by European writers from the 16th century onwards. The word "Kabyle", the etymology of which is sometimes questioned, seems to correspond to the Arabic word *ḳabāʾil*, plural of *ḳabīla* "tribe", which certain Arabic writers used as a synonym for the Berbers. It was already employed with this meaning by the author of the *Rawḍ al-Ḳirṭās* who, in various passages enumerating the contingents of the Marīnid armies (notably pp. 217 and 238 of the Arabic text), carefully distinguishes between the *Ḳabāʾil* and the Arabs.

Geography and Economy. To the east of the plain of Mitidja a barrier of high land extends as far as the Tunisian frontier; these mountainous regions constitute the Kabylias, whose unity is as much physical as human. Close to the Mediterranean the base of ancient rocks, granite and micaceous, which in all probability constitutes the geological basis of North Africa, rises and forms a coastal rim, outcropping as plateaux, deeply dissected by erosion

into long parallel projections: such are the massifs of the Arbaa n-Ath-Iraten (formerly Fort National), Collo, and Edugh. The crystalline rocks have more recent strata, of which two are of great geographic importance: the secondary calcareous rocks were folded into long ranges spiked with peaks; the highest point of one of them, the Djurdjura, is the Lalla Khadidja at 2308 m.; the Djebel Babor rises to 2004 m. The tertiary sandstones spread out in an increasingly continuous surface layer from the west to the east, and because of the nature of the soils deriving from them are forested. Near the sea, torrents plunge over the Kabylian rim, where they gouge out virtually inaccessible vertical gorges; the gorges of Palestro and Kerrata and the canyons of Rhumel have a certain grandeur.

The northern flanks of the Kabylias are exposed to the masses of humid air originating in the Atlantic, thus receiving heavy rainfalls. One of the highest annual average rainfalls in Algeria, 1773 mm., was recorded at Bessombourg in the Collo massif. By reason of the altitude the precipitation can take the form of snow in midwinter, even reaching the depth of one metre at the ʿAyn al-Ḥammām station (formerly Michelet). Abundant humidity and the predominance of siliceous soils favour the spread of forests. Here they cover vast areas; in the main they are of oak, carpeting the middle slopes: the cork on the Numidian sandstones, the *zān* (*chênes zéens*, *quercus Mirbeckii*), the *afares* (*quercus castaneafolia*) and *ballūt* or hazelnut oak. Above 1,500 m. the cedar takes over; it used to grow on the scree on the slopes of the Djurdjura. Trees are important in the everyday life of the people of Kabylia: ash trees close to their houses are used to support vines; their leaves are used as fodder for cattle in summer and the wood is used in the manufacture of agricultural tools and domestic utensils. Olives and figs, which flourish as high as 600 m. and 1,000 m. above sea level respectively, are important components of the diet of the mountain dweller.

All these geographical elements, relief, humidity, low temperatures and forests, contribute to making the Kabylias an unproductive mountainous environment which became the refuge of a population determined to preserve its identity in the face of invaders. The Berber ethos has been maintained for centuries; it has kept its essential characteristics: its old social organization and its customs. Islam may have been accepted, but it was wholly vested with beliefs peculiar to Berber traditions. Arabic has not wholly supplanted Berber dialects, which are still in use throughout Great Kabylia.

The Kabylian mountains are closely kin to those of the western Mediterranean, their landscape bearing the imprint of the same ancient civilization. This is borne out first by the type of dwelling. In the Arbaa n-Ath-Iraten massif the village predominates: it runs along a single central street which follows the line of the ridge. Stone houses roofed with round tiles are inhabited by a group of families, the *kharrūba*, who refer to each other as brothers; each conjugal family occupies one room divided in two by a bench: on one side the people, on the other the livestock. The rooms are arranged around a central courtyard shut off on the outside by a double wooden door. In contrast to the collective village or *thadderth* is the *tūfik*, which is made up of scattered hamlets. Such dwelling places, perched high up and reached by winding paths, seem to have been imposed by the concern common to the populations of the Mediterranean world for protection against the attacks of neighbours or strangers. Another possible explanation is that they meet the requirements for working a soil which is particularly difficult to utilize. Threshing floor and oil presses are installed at the entrance to the village. Under the walls of the houses the women cultivate small vegetable gardens. The slopes, rarely terraced, support groves of olive and fig trees, and fields of barley. The valley bottoms, where the wadis flow between steep banks covered with brushwood, are chilling, narrow, damp and gloomy, and it is easy to see why they remain uninhabited. The people are concentrated on the high land, moving from ridge to ridge. Where the valleys widen out into alluvial plains, the population abandons the high land, spreading out into *tūfik*s among the of barley fields. As in Lesser Kabylia, people are occasionally so dispersed that family huts are isolated in the midst of grazing for the oxen.

The geographer will be surprised at the almost total absence of terrace agriculture and the pastoral movement of flocks which have enabled other Mediterranean mountain dwellers to turn their environment to the best account. Instead, the Kabylian works silver, copper and wood to make coarse jewellery, carved tables and engraved dishes, while his wife weaves woollen carpets and makes pottery decorated with geometric figures. Pedlars travelled beyond the Mediterranean to sell these objects. Such ingenuity does not suffice to explain the great densities of population concentrated in such an unfavourable geographical environment: more than 140 inhabitants to the square kilometre in the major part of the Great Kabylia of Tizi Ouzou, with a maximum of 250 inhabitants in the district of Arbaa-n-Ath Iraten; between 95 and 140 in the Lesser Kabylia of Bidjāya (formerly Bougie); between 70 and 95 in the Lesser Kabylia of Collo and the districts of Skikda (formerly Philippeville) and ʿAnnāba (formerly Bône). These extraordinary population densities characterize a strongly structured human environment, appearing to be an instinctive defence to ensure the survival of a population which believes itself constantly threatened.

Be that as it may, the Kabylians could not have survived in such numbers if they had been reduced to living off the produce of their mountains. To these scanty resources they added the far more abundant ones available through emigration. The massifs are reservoirs of manpower from which the plains, settled at an early date, and the developing towns tapped a supply of workers when they needed them. Algiers is in part a Kabylian city; the outskirts constitute a waiting zone where those who still dare not face the unknown of the city crowd together: Aīn Taya has grown at the fastest rate, increasing from 2,910 inhabitants in 1954 to 21,906 in 1966. The urban centres of the mountains are also growing: in 12 years the population of Tizi Ouzou has risen from 6,056 to 25,852; that of Bidjāya from 29,748 to 59,991; that of Constantine from 111,315 to 240,672.

Since the beginning of the 20th century mountain dwellers from the east of Algeria have even crossed the sea to look for jobs in France and neighbouring countries. The 1966 census brings the number of emigrants living abroad who have remained in touch with their families by sending letters and money up to 268,000; according to the 1968 French census there were 612,000 natives of all regions of Algeria living in France. The two Kabylian départements of Tizi Ouzou (Great Kabylia) and Sétif (Lesser Kabylia) account for 20.77% and 25.99%, *i.e.*, over 46% of all Algerian emigrants, which represents 16.9% and

14.5% of their total populations: thus one in six of those born in Great Kabylia lives abroad. The sums (savings and allowances) remitted by workers to their families have risen annually to 900 million Algerian *dīnārs*, a currency contribution exceeding that derived from the export of wine or citrus fruit. Almost half of this income is sent to the Kabylias, whose basic resource is now their labour force of young men.

The results of emigration have not all been happy. The equilibrium of the mountain settlements has been upset. Several regions in Great and Lesser Kabylia have temporarily lost 20-50% of their adult male population. Old people, women and children predominate: there are not enough workers to cultivate the fields and shrub plantations. Agriculture is reduced to gardening on the outskirts of the villages and is declining. The wasteland gains more ground each year. Goats or poultry are reared on a small scale at the expense of flocks, which are decreasing in size. Traditional society has been disturbed, with a monetary economy supplanting the exchange of goods in kind. As food and clothes are bought from the local trader, the number of shops increases: the old pedlar has settled down. Often the standard of living has risen: foodstuffs such as sugar, tea, coffee and bread baked from wheat are becoming part of the regular diet. The returning emigrant often brings back luxury goods like cameras and transistor radios as presents. On his lavishly celebrated arrival, he introduces new ideas, tastes and desires which transform the outlook of his people. It is difficult for a young worker from a Renault factory to accept the absolute authority of an old man whose experience owes nothing to the modern world; breaking with tradition, he leaves the paternal roof and settles with his wife and children in a more open house, equipped with chimneys. Thus conjugal families often leave the *kharrūba*.

The Algerian government is aware of the dangers involved in emigration: if France should refuse to take in these workers, the economic and social consequences in Kabylia would be extremely grave. To put an end to this dependent state, the establishment of new jobs is envisaged to attract the emigrants home and to ensure their reintegration into the national economy by 1985. This goal can be reached only through large-scale industrialization of the mountain regions. For several years the number of newly-created jobs there has been increasing. The largest textile complex in Algeria, which will employ 2,200 workers, has been established in Great Kabylia at Drāʿben Khedda (formerly Mirabeau). In Lesser Kabylia Bidjāya today is an oil port capable of handling 14 million tons a year. Further to the east Constantine has a textile factory. Skīkda will soon have a huge factory producing methane. The region of ʿAnnāba, which houses the leading metallurgical complex of al-Ḥadjar (formerly Duzerville), is tending to become a focal point of development, the centre for a vast mountain hinterland.

In spite of its indisputable unity, the Kabylian world is divided into several differentiated regional entities. Great Kabylia is unquestionably the most individualistic, comprising from north to south the slight mountainous ridge of the Mizrana, behind the sheer slope from Dellys to Tigzirt, the rich valley of Sebaou, the ancient massif of Tizi-Ouzou, and the mighty limestone sierra of Djurdjura, whose southern slope comes down into the Soummam valley. Here the Berber ethos has been preserved: the people living in the heights have remained firmly attached to their own language and customs, resisting changes brought by Islam and French colonization. Beyond the forested borderland of Yakouren, the Kabylias are populated by Arabic-speaking Berbers. The Lesser Kabylia of Bidjāya, comprising the lower valley of the Soummam and the Babor mountain range, is occupied by small communities who make a living by tilling the soil and raising oxen. The Kabylian Collo massif shelters wild peoples in the heart of its dense forests. Eastern Kabylia is a region of wooded mountain ranges, interspersed by basins where richer agriculture and facilities for transport have allowed towns to develop; Skīkda, Constantine, ʿAnnāba, Guelma and Souk Ahras are poles of attraction for the mountain dwellers.

(H. Isnard)

Ethnography. A significant proportion of the inhabitants of Kabylia, though the precise number is impossible to determine, is Berber-speaking, occupying Kabylia of the Djurdjura or Great Kabylia in particular. Although the inhabitants of Lesser Kabylia or Kabylia of the Babors are Berber-speaking to a slight degree only, Berber customs are firmly rooted among them. However, the Kabyles cannot be considered as constituting one true ethnic group, for all the evidence points to their being ethnically different, although their origins are obscure. They form part of the relatively ancient, pre-Carthaginian peoples of North Africa who probably arrived from different directions, but at least some from the Mediterranean. Living together for centuries in the Maghrib, they eventually built up a common civilization with a single language, which was not written down in the majority of cases and diversified into a great number of dialects with many features in common.

This essentially rural civilization has lasted until the present day in spite of historical vicissitudes and the other civilizations—Carthaginian, Roman, Arabic, Turkish and French—which confronted it. Perhaps the Kabyles became more firmly attached to their ancestral way of life the humbler and more rustic they perceived it to be; at any rate, they had no wish to sacrifice it for the elaborate civilization of the Arabs, for example. That the latter was accommodated to a greater extent than any other was the result of a long association, it is true, but also because of the numerous eastern elements in Berber civilization and the affinities established at an early date. Much has been written on the customs of the Kabyles which, generally speaking, vary from community to community. Their rule of law, which until practically the present day was hardly ever written down but was preserved in the memory of all, differs on several points, notably the disinheritance of women, from Muslim law. Under French occupation a number of customs were recorded in French for the benefit of the magistrates, and French law gradually came to modify local custom and Muslim law.

That the Kabyles have been Muslims for a very long time is certain. Perhaps they embraced Kharidjism during its greatest expansion (from the middle of the 2nd/8th century), but no information is available on this point. At the time of the French occupation it was apparent that Kabylian society professed an Islam more pietist than dogmatic, and that numerous holy men and women were venerated in the country. Religious figures, members of religious brotherhoods, and marabouts or *Shurfāʾ* enjoyed great esteem, often using their influence to settle differences arising between families or tribal groups, and had such privileges as exemption from tax. They

were almost the sole bearers of the written, that is Arabic, culture, which on the evidence of the work of Shaykh al-Warthīlānī (12th/18th century) was fairly rudimentary. They were however capable of teaching the basics of Arabic and a smattering of theology and Muslim law. Significant also were the religious brotherhoods, that founded by Sīdī Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Abū Ḳabrayn (Bū Ḳabrīn) (1126/1715-1208/1798) being by far the most important. Alongside God, the Prophet and the saints, the Kabyles believed firmly in the existence of maleficent and beneficent forces closely interwoven with man's existence.

Finally, we must consider the oral tradition in the Kabyle language, as distinct from the limited literature written in Arabic. Numerous specimens from this very rich field have been collected, transcribed and very often translated by orientalists or Kabyles. It was handed down within the framework of the family or village and subject to all the hazards inherent in a purely oral transmission. The tradition was also preserved by professionals who travelled from village to village singing the praises of God and the saints and recounting the struggles of tribes and the exploits of warriors. Others were practitioners of a more lighthearted, even bawdy, style. Verse was important, for it was more easily remembered than prose, and pious, moral and humorous tales were popular. This largely unexplored treasure is in great danger of disappearing, for the young are no longer interested in such old ways.

History. It is more or less established that neither the Carthaginians nor the Romans penetrated deeply into the Kabylian bloc. There are significantly few Roman ruins in Djurdjura, except in some coastal settlements. Arab civilization reached Kabylia of the Babors by the end of the 3rd/9th century, as evidenced by the welcome given by the Kutāma to the Fāṭimid missionary Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Shīʿī, but seems to have reached Kabylia of the Djurdjura only in the shape of Islam, which was probably introduced at an early date though in superficial fashion. In fact, throughout the Middle Ages little is heard of Kabylia. It was subject to the Almohads, but we have no idea under what conditions it then came under the authority of the Ḥafṣids or of the Zayyānids of Tlemcen, and sometimes, for very short periods, even the Marīnids of Fez. Kabylia seems rather to have survived these vicissitudes than to have played a prominent rôle, and it may be supposed that during this period of more than two centuries it was largely autonomous.

It is not until the 10th/16th century that the Kabyles, perhaps unwittingly, took an active part in the history of the Maghrib. The Barbarossa brothers, ʿArūdj and then Khayr al-Dīn [*q.v.*], made the Djidjelli region their first base of operations, with Algiers as their final objective. Since the Kabylian massifs constituted a screen between Djidjelli and Algiers, the Turks were forced to take account of the local inhabitants who could cut off their route, and the latter had to adopt attitudes which obviously influenced subsequent events. At that time the Kabyle peoples were divided between three powers, which Western writers called the kingdom of Kūko, the kingdom of Labbès (Banū ʿAbbās) and the principality of the Banū Djubar. The last-named held sway over the tribes inhabiting the coastal zone to the east of Bidjāya. The kingdom of Labbès was situated to the east of the Wādī 'l-Sāḥil or Summām, and spread over at least part of Kabylia of the Babors; that of Kūko stretched from Djurdjura to the sea and was served by the port of Azeffūn: in other words it included the major part of Kabylia of the Djurdjura. At the time of ʿArūdj, the leader of Kūko was named Aḥmad b. al-Ḳāḍī; ʿArūdj concluded an alliance with him, obtaining contingents of mountain fighters as reinforcements for his scanty Turkish army. During this time the Banū Djubar and the Banū ʿAbbās usually sided with the Spaniards from Bidjāya. Under Khayr al-Dīn the scene changed: having quarrelled with him, Ibn al-Ḳāḍī went so far as to attack him, and played no small part in his short-lived surrender of Algiers (1520-25). The Turks then turned back towards the Banū ʿAbbās and regained the upper hand. A similar state of affairs must have obtained during almost the whole of Turkish domination, with the different Kabyle groups sometimes allying themselves with the rulers of Algiers, then rebelling against them for a time, until, besieged in their mountains, they were obliged to negotiate in order to gain breathing space. Occasionally a matrimonial alliance strengthened the bonds between the Kabyles and Algiers, (the marriage of Ḥasan Pasha to a daughter of the king of Kūko in 1560); often Kabyle contingents arrived to reinforce the Turkish troops (during the Turkish expedition against Morocco in 1574). This did not prevent the Kabyles from continuing their intermittent relationship with Spain nor from welcoming Christian prisoners who escaped from Algiers: it was in this way that in 1559 the chief of the Banū ʿAbbās had at his disposal "a good troop of musketeers" (Haëdo, *Histoire des Rois d'Alger*, 119) and that for about ten years, from 1598 to 1608, the leader of Kūko maintained close relations with Philip III of Spain, who at one point thought of taking Algiers with the help of the Kabyles (Carlos Rodriguez Jouliz Saint Cyr, *Felipe III y el Rey de Cuco*, Madrid 1954). These vicissitudes sometimes brought in their wake internal political changes, such as the disappearance of the kingdom of Kūko and its transformation into a confederation of the Zwāwa, or the birth of a new confederation of the Geshṭūla (Igushḍal) in the western part of Djurdjura at the instigation of a shaykh named Gassem (Ḳāsim).

Right up to the end, Turkish authority remained very shaky. The theoretically subject tribes were split into two Kaidates, Boghni and Sebaou plus the town of Bidjāya. To maintain law and order and to raise taxes the Kaids had at their disposal several hundred janissaries, stationed at fortified posts, and troops of auxiliaries, some black (*ʿabīd*). They intervened as little as possible in local affairs and held the country by the constant threat of a blockade which it could not withstand, for the resources brought from outside were indispensable. In addition the Turks fostered local discord and gave their support to religious personalities by helping them erect sacred buildings. On the whole Turkish rule left no bitter taste in Kabylia since it was not rigidly enforced: "In popular songs the Turk is represented as a brave, dignified character; when the poet wishes to praise one of his compatriots, he compares him to a Turk" (Hanoteau, *Poésie populaire de la Kabylie du Djurdjura*, 63-4, n. 3).

During the Turkish period the Kabyle populations preserved their political and administrative institutions intact. These constituted an aggregate of small republics grouped into a federation extending over a small area. The political and administrative unit was the village (*thaddarth*), which was subdivided into groups, called *adrūm*, *tharifth*, *takherrūbt* and *kharrūba* according to locality. A collection of several

villages bound by reciprocal obligations constituted a tribe, *ʿarsh*. At the time of the French conquest there were 1,400 villages divided among 120 tribes. A federation of several tribes was called *thaḳbilth* (Arabic *ḳabīla*). In certain cases several confederations united as a temporary measure for communal military action, but any alliance outside the tribe was very unstable.

The village seems to have been a municipal republic subject to the authority of the citizens' assembly (*thadjmaʿith*, Arabic *djamāʿa*), which had very far-reaching powers. It appointed a president (*amoḳḳrān, amghār, amīn*) charged with carrying out its decisions, and *ṭemmān* (sing. *ṭāmen*, Arabic *ḍāmin*) as his deputies, or perhaps his supervisors. The *djamāʿa* assessed the quota and allocation of taxes, decided on war and peace, regulated relief funds and modified local customs if the need arose. It was composed of all the male inhabitants old enough to observe the fast of Ramaḍān, but in reality decisions were made by an oligarchy of rich and influential men who laid down the law. The authority of the *djamāʿa* was limited by the respect it owed to the rights of individuals and families, and by customs in force. Tribes and confederations employed the same type of organization, but the more widespread the grouping the looser the bonds of solidarity between its members. Moreover this solidarity was restricted by the existence within all the groups of *ṣoff*, or parties, of whose origins and methods of functioning little is known. In short, Kabylia was made up of very small units whose relations with each other were perpetually unstable, and as the traveller al-Warthīlānī bears witness, the country lived in a state of endemic anarchy.

Such was the situation in Kabylia when the French disembarked at Algiers in 1830. They immediately came into contact with the Kabyles, since the latter were numerous in the capital, but had no thought of occupying their country, because, for several years, they were not even sure if they would remain in Algiers. After the departure of the Turkish garrisons, Kabylia enjoyed a period of complete independence which was hardly conducive to the cohesion of the country. Nevertheless an immediate understanding was reached between the Kabyles and the new occupants, since from August 1830 onwards Bourmont contemplated establishing military units of Zwāwa (Zouaves); the chequered career of these units opened on 1 October 1830.

Before the French took any real interest in the Kabyles the amīr ʿAbd al-Ḳādir made approaches to them, since he considered them part of his sphere of influence as defined by the treaty of Tafna, and since he knew them to be hostile to French domination. He appointed a *khalīfa* of Sebaou, but was not recognized as sultan by the Kabyles. When Bugeaud was appointed governor-general and commander-in-chief, he was too absorbed in his struggle against ʿAbd al-Ḳādir to attend to Kabylia; this he did in 1844, when, as soon as he gained a slight respite, he occupied Dellys. In 1847, in spite of French government opinion, he embarked on a fresh campaign and had some successes on the periphery of the territory, but the problem of the Kabyle massif remained more or less untouched. It was only after the election in France of Prince-President Louis Napoleon Bonaparte that the Kabylian question was taken up again. A campaign against the supposed *sharīf* Abū Baghla opened in 1851, followed by another in Kabylia of the Babors led by General de Saint Arnaud which resulted in the decisive occupation of Djidjelli. Kabylia of the Djurdjura remained unconquered, however, and disturbances were frequent, especially at the instigation of the Raḥmāniyya brotherhood. On each occasion the French reacted, finally deciding to occupy the Kabylian massif completely, under the leadership of Marshal Randon, the governor-general. After a campaign, made difficult by the nature of the terrain and the tenacity of the tribes, the latter submitted at the beginning of July 1857. In return for hostages and a war tax the Kabyl tribes secured the preservation of their municipal regime, but the great native commands which had continued to exist in the face of many vicissitudes progressively disappeared.

The two Kabylias played an active part in the 1871 insurrection, and were harshly punished by confiscation of land and heavy fines; the municipal assemblies were theoretically suppressed, but the *amīn*s of the communities were maintained; French magistrates were introduced into the Djurdjura, charged with preserving Kabyle custom. Later, from 1880 onwards, Kabylia of the Djurdjura was divided into four "communes mixtes" and four judicial districts, and for several years gallicization was pursued with a measure of success. With the agreement of his principal councellors, Jules Cambon then clamped down on Kabyle politics, which he considered illusory. At the time of the creation of the Financial Delegations (1898), the Kabylias provided six (four for Kabylia of the Djurdjura) out of 21 native delegates. This mark of favour was followed by a new tendency to gallicize Kabylia, especially through the schools, which were relatively well-developed in this part of Algeria. At about the same period Kabyle emigration to France began. At first it was slight, but it conformed to a very ancient Kabyle tradition and need, and increased in volume during World War I. It produced quite a considerable rush of capital into the country with the workers sending all their savings to their families.

Thus it is not surprising after that that the Kabyles took a large part in the development of the "North African Star", founded in Paris in 1926 at the instigation of the French Communist Party and largely composed of Kabyles. As this group, which from 1927 was led by Maṣṣālī Ḥādjdj, soon clamoured for the independence of Algeria, a number of Kabyls found themselves at the head of the Algerian independence movement, although in the country itself tradition remained strong. It was on the border of Kabylia or in Kabylia of the Babors that the 1945 Algerian insurrection broke out; like that of 1871, it was firmly punished. From 1947 onwards a small group of Kabyles under the leadership of Belkasem Krim (Ibn al-Ḳāsim Karīm) decided, for political reasons, to live as outlaws: this group became the core of the 1954 revolt in Kabylia.

Individual Kabyles, like Krim, Aït Ahmad, Boudiaf, Ouamran, etc., played a decisive role in triggering the Algerian War, whether they were directing action on the spot or living outside Algeria and travelling the world over to promote the Algerian cause. There was even a period (1955-7) when the action undertaken in Algeria was directed by the Kabyle Ramdan Aban. The apogee of this period came in August 1956 with the Soummam Valley Congress, inspired and brought into being by Aban and Krim. Of the death of the former in 1959 little is known; the latter was one of the negotiators of the Evian Agreement, which, in March 1962, put an end to the Algerian War. Not content with providing several influential leaders, a very large part of the population of Kabylia partici-

pated in the war, and the entire population maintained silence about the movements of the members of the National Liberation Army. At the end of the war the sector of Kabylia of the Djurdjura (*Wilāya* III) was under the command of a Kabyle, Colonel Moḥand u l-Ḥādj. After the war and the referendum instituting independence, a fierce struggle for power began in Algeria, especially between the members of the N.L.F. who arrived from abroad and certain resistance groups (*Wilāya* III and IV); among the latter were the Kabyles of *Wilāya* III, including Belkasem Krim. On several occasions (July and the end of August) they united in their mountain stronghold, and then matters were settled, at least on the surface. But the uneasiness continued, as witness the referendum and presidential election of September 1963 in which a great many abstentions were recorded in the electoral constituencies of the Djurdjura.

Not long afterwards, on 29 September 1963, Kabylia of the Djurdjura rose under the leadership of Aït Ahmed and Colonel Moḥand u l-Ḥādj, seemingly on the pretext of the government's dissolution of the Socialist Forces Front, founded by Aït Ahmed. The actual hostilities were insignificant, and the Algerian-Moroccan fighting which broke out on October 11 was made the occasion of smoothing over the conflict; everything returned to normal after October 20, although Aït Ahmed remained underground. This general protest by the Kabyles had an important consequence: the meeting of the N.L.F. Congress of April 1964, where, for the first time since the end of the war, it was possible to speak freely in outlining a common programme for the new Algerian state. In spite of this, outrages still took place in several places in Kabylia from April to June 1964 and Kabyle participation in the legislative election of 20 September was small: 57.38% voters and an appreciable number of blank papers.

Subsequently Aït Ahmed was arrested (17 October 1964), condemned to death and reprieved (12 April 1965). Escaping on 30 April he went to swell the opposition group living outside Algeria. Belkasem Krim founded an opposition movement abroad on 15 October 1967. For the moment all this is of little consequence. On the spot, the local elections of February 1967 were still marked by a large percentage of abstentions in Kabylia. But the government of Colonel Boumedienne (Abū Madyan) has ensured that Kabylia is peaceful, and in October 1968 published an economic and social development programme for Great Kabylia, matched by a sizeable number of millions of Algerian *dinārs*.

Bibliography: General.—G. H. Bousquet, *Les Berbères*, Paris 1961; A. H. Hanoteau and A. Letourneux, *La Kabylie et les coutumes Kabyles*, Paris 1893, 3 vols.; C. Devaux, *Les Kébailes du Djerdjera. Etudes sur les pays vulgairement appelés la Grande Kabylie*, Marseille-Paris 1856; E. Carette, *Études sur la Kabylie proprement dite*, Paris 1848, 2 vols.; J. Liorel, *Races berbères. Kabylie du Jurjura*, Paris 1893; J. Morizot, *L'Algérie Kabylisée*, Paris 1962; Y. Courrière, *La guerre d'Algérie*, I, *Les fils de la Toussaint*; II, *Le temps des Léopards*, Paris 1968, 1969, III, *l'Heure des Colonels*, 1970; *Annuaire de l'Afrique du Nord, 1962 à 1968*, 7 vols., 1963 to 1969, passim.—History: E. Daumas and Fasar, *La Grande Kabylie, études historiques*, Paris 1947; L. A. Berbrugger, *Les époques militaires de la Grande Kabylie*, Algiers 1857; S. A. Boulifa, *Le Djurdjura à travers l'histoire. Organisation et indépendance des Zouaoua*, Algiers 1925; M. Hadj-Sadok, *A travers la Berbérie orientale du XVIII^e siècle avec le voyageur Al-Warthilānī*, in *R.Afr.*, Nos. 428-429 (1951); N. Robin, *L'insurrection de la Grande Kabylie en 1871*, Paris 1901; L. Rinn, *L'insurrection de 1871 en Algérie*, Algiers 1891; Ch. Ageron, *La France a-t-elle eu une politique Kabyle?*, in *Revue historique*, 1960, 311-52; idem, *Les Algériens musulmans et la France (1871-1919)*, 2 vols., Paris 1968, 267-92, 481-4, 854-68, 873-90 and *passim*; F. Dessomes, *Notes sur l'histoire de Kabylie*, Fort National 1964.—Economic life.—Caix de Saint Amour, *Questions algériennes. Arabes et Kabyles*, Paris 1891; R. Maunier, *L'économie Kabyle*, in *Mélanges de Sociologie nord-africaine*, Paris 1930, 88-108; A. Russinger, *Quelques problèmes humains posés par le développement agricole en Grande Kabylie*, in *Liens*, x (April-September 1959), 123-43; P. Schoen, *Les travaux et les jours du paysan Kabyle*, in *Liens*, xii (first quarter 1960), 1-63; R. Ancel, *La Kabylie vivra-t-elle?*, in *L'Afrique et l'Asie*, xvii (1952), 43-51.—Cottage Industry: J. L. Myres, *Notes on the history of the Kabyle pottery*, in *Journal of Anthropological Institute*, 1902, 248-62; P. Ricard, *Tissage berbère des Ait Aïssi (Grande Kabylie)*, in *Hespéris*, v (1925), 219-25; G. Chantreaux, *Le tissage sur métier à haute lisse à Aït Hichen et dans le haut Sébaou*, Algiers 1942; C. Lacoste, *Sabres Kabyles*, in *Journal de la société des Africanistes*, xxviii (1958), 111-91; L. Golvin, *Les arts populaires en Algérie*, ii, *Les tapis algériens*, Paris 1953.—Habitat.—A. Bernard, *Enquête sur l'habitation rurale de l'Algérie*, Algiers 1921; R. Maunier, *La construction collective de la maison en Kabylie. Étude de coopération économique chez les Berbères du Djurdjura*, *Travaux et mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie*, iii, 1926; M. Larnaude, *Le groupement de la population berbère dans la Kabylie de Djurdjura*, *Société historique algérienne*, 1932, 269-93; J. Stamboul, *Le problème de l'habitat rural en Kabylie et dans les territoires du Sud*, in *Liens*, vi (May 1958), 11-20.—Demography.—*La répartition en altitude des populations de la Kabylie du Djurdjura (Algérie)*, in *Annales de Geographie*, lx (1951), 238-9; P. Boyer, *L'évolution démographique des populations musulmanes du département d'Alger (1830-1948)*, in *R.Afr.*, xcxiii (1954), 308-53; L. Muracciole, *L'émigration algérienne. Aspects économiques, sociaux et juridiques*, Algiers 1950; R. Montagne, *L'émigration des musulmans d'Algérie en France*, in *L'Afrique et l'Asie*, xxi (1951), 5-19;—Ethnographic Studies.—E. Daumas, *Moeurs et coutumes de l'Algérie, Tell, Kabylie, Sahara*, Paris 1853; Besson, *Études comparatives sur la constitution de la famille chez les Kabyles*, in *Bulletin de la société de législation comparée*, xxv (1894), 276-96; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Les cérémonies de mariage chez les indigènes de l'Algérie*, Paris 1901; J. Lanfry, *Mariage (retour de la femme au domicile de ses parents sans répudiation)*, in *Fichier de documentation berbère*, 1969, 1-49; R. Laurette, *Aspect de la vie sociale en petite Kabylie*, in *Cahiers Nord-Africains*, xvii (1951), 3-39; E. Masqueray, *Formation des cités chez les populations sedentaires de l'Algérie (Kabyles du Djurdjura, Chaouia de l'Aurès, Beni-Mezab)*, Paris 1886; J. Lanfry, *Assemblée du village*, in *Fichier de documentation berbère*, 1946, 1959; P. Bourdieu, *Sociologie de l'Algérie*, Paris 1958; J. Servier, *Les portes de l'année*, Paris 1962.—Law.— G. Marcy, *Le problème du droit coutumier berbère*, in *France Méditerranéenne et africaine 1939*, or in *Revue de législation et jurisprudence algérienne, tunisienne et*

marocaine, 1955; G. Letellier, *Le problème du droit coutumier berbère*, in *Ibla*, iii (1939), 381-93; Campredon, *Étude sur l'évolution des coutumiers Kabyles*, Algiers 1921; R. Maunier, *Le ménage Kabyle (régime des biens entre époux)*, *Études de sociologie et d'ethnologie juridique*, Paris 1930-2; R. Maunier, *Famille Kabyle et famille romaine. Le ménage Kabyle et les biens des époux. Coutumes algériennes*, Paris 1935; F. Dulout, *Le mariage de Kabyles et les actes d'État civil relatifs aux dits mariages*, in *Revue algérienne, tunisienne et marocaine de législation et de jurisprudence*, i (1934), 86-91; M. Morand, *Le statut de la femme Kabyle et la réforme des coutumes berbères*, in *R.E.I.*, i (1927), 47-94; L. Milliot, *Une réforme du statut de la femme kabyle*, in *Afrique Française et Renseignements Coloniaux*, xlx (1931), 681-3; L. Bousquet-Lefevre, *La femme kabyle*, Paris 1959; B. Luc, *Le droit kabyle*, Toulouse 1911; L. Milliot, *Les nouveaux quanoun kabyles*, in *Hespéris*, v (1926), 365-418; M. Remond, *L'élargissement des droits politiques des indigènes. Les conséquences en Kabylie*, in *R.Afr.*, lxviii (1927), 213-53; J. Mazard, *La loi du 2 mai 1930 sur les mariages kabyles*, in *Revue Algérienne, tunisienne, et marocaine de législation et de jurisprudence*, i (1933), 137-48.—Literature.—A. Hanoteau, *Poésies populaires de la Kabylie de Djurdjura*, Paris 1869; Mouliéras, *Légendes et contes merveilleux de la grande Kabylie*, 2 vols., Paris 1893; H. Basset, *Essai sur la littérature des Berbères*, Algiers 1920; F. Amrouche, *Histoire de ma vie*, Paris 1968; J. Amrouche, *Chants berbères de Kabylie*, Tunis 1939; J. M. Dallet, *Contes kabyles inédits*; E. Dermenghem, *Contes kabyles*, Algiers 1945; M. Mammeri, *Evolution de la poésie kabyle*, in *R. Afr.*, xciv (1950), 125-48; M. Feraoun, *Les poèmes de Si Mohand*, Paris 1960; M. Mammeri, *La Colline oubliée*, Paris 1952; M. Feraoun, *Jours de Kabylie*, Algiers 1954; M. Feraoun, *Le fils du pauvre*, Paris 1964; M. Feraoun, *La terre et le sang*, Paris (no date); M. Feraoun, *Les chemins qui montent*, Paris 1957; M. Feraoun, *Journal (1955-1962)*, Paris 1962; C. Lacoste, *Légendes et contes merveilleux de la Grande Kabylie*, Paris 1965.—Language.—Boulifa, *Méthode de langue kabyle, étude linguistique et sociologique sur la Kabylie de Djurdjura*, Algiers 1913; J. M. Dallet, *Le verbe kabyle: parler des Aït Mangellat*, Paris 1953; A. Picard, *De quelques faits linguistiques dans le parler berbère des Irjen (Kabylie-Algérie)*, Algiers 1960; A. Picard, *Textes berbères dans le parler des Irjen*, 2 vols., Algiers 1958; A. Basset, *Études de géographie linguistique en Kabylie*, Paris 1929; idem, *La langue berbère*, in *Handbook of African Languages*, London 1952, 65-6; *Fichier de documentation berbère*, Fort-National; C. Lacoste, *Bibl. ethn. de la Grande Kabylie*, Paris — The Hague 1962. (R. Le Tourneau)

KAČČH [see Supplement].

KAČČHĪ or **KAČČH GANDĀWA**, province of Pākistānī Balūčistān extending from 27° 53′ to 29° 35′ N. and from 67° 11′ to 68° 28′ E. It forms a level plain enclosed on the north and east by the southern Sulaymān range and on the west by the Kirthār Ranges. To the south it is open, being bounded by the plain of northern Sindh.

The history of the region is more closely connected with that of Sindh than that of Balūčistān. Its chief town, Kandābīl (probably Gandāwa) is said to have been taken by the Brāhman Rāy Čač in the 7th century A.D., and to have been despoiled by the Arabs many times after the conquest. The region later passed into the control of the Sūmras and Sammās of Sindh. The Balōč arrived in the 9th/15th century, but they were never a strong political force and control passed first to the Arghūns, then to the Mughals, and at last to the Kalhōrās of Sindh. In 1153/1740 Mīr ʿAbd Allāh, the Aḥmadzay Khān of Kalāt, was killed by the Kalhōrās, and Nādir Shāh made the region over to the Brāhūī in compensation. Later, before the creation of Pakistan, it formed part of the Khānate of Kalāt [*q.v.*] with the exception of small areas in the eastern half of Kaččhī, where the Dōmbkī, Umarānī and Kahīrī tribes were only nominally subject to the Khān. These tribes lie to the east of the railway from Jacobabad to Quetta, which traverses the province from south to north. The territory west of this line is also mainly occupied by Balōč tribes with the exception of the area near Dhādhar in the north, where nomadic Brāhūīs are found. Everywhere there is a large settled population of Djaṭṭs (i.e. Djāṭ [*q.v.*]). There are no large towns; Gandāwa, Shorān, Dhādhar, Sibī and Lahrī are the principal places. Cultivation is carried on by irrigation from the small streams and hill-torrents which issue from the mountains: the Nārī and Bōlān on the north, the Mūla and Suklēdjī on the west, and the Lahrī and Čhattār on the east. The valleys of the Mūla, Bōlān and Nārī form passes by which communication with the uplands has been carried on from time immemorial. The two first-named are now traversed by railways which lead to Quetta and Peshīn by the Bōlān and Harnai countries. The population is scattered but denser than in most parts of Balūčistān.

Bibliography: *Census of India 1901 and 1911. Balochistan. Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1908, s.v. Kacchi. See also BALŪČISTĀN, SINDH.

(M. Longworth Dames*)

ḲAḌĀʾ (A.), originally meaning "decision", has in the Ḳurʾān different meanings, according to the different contexts: e.g., "doomsday" (XLV, 17; X, 93), "jurisdiction" (XXVII, 78; XXXIX, 69; XL, 20), "revelation of the truth" (XXVIII, 44) and "predestination, determination, decree" (XL, 68) (cf. E. Tyan, *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam* [2], Leiden 1960, 65). In *A Dictionary of Islam* (London 1885, 479), T. P. Hughes gives the following concise definitions of the word: (1) the office of a *ḳāḍī* [*q.v.*], or judge; (2) the sentence of a *ḳāḍī*; (3) repeating prayers to make up for having omitted them at the appointed time; (4) making up for an omission in religious duties, such as fasting, etc.; (5) the decree existing in the Divine Mind from all eternity, and the execution and declaration of a decree at the appointed time; (6) sudden death. In the *EI*[1], D. B. Macdonald gives as the first "technical" meaning: "the office and functioning of a judge (*ḳāḍī*)," although this may not be the original (first formed) conceptual sphere of the word. D. S. Margoliouth has pointed out, in refuting J. Hammer's incorrect interpretation, that had the *ḳaḍāʾ* been a ḳurʾānic institution, the word would be found in this sense in the Ḳurʾān (*Omar's Instructions to the Kadi*, *JRAS* (1910), 312-3).

On the basis of the Ḳurʾān the word *ḳaḍāʾ* can be understood as God's "eternal decision or decree" concerning all beings. It is given different interpretations, especially when contrasted with another term, *ḳadar* [see AL-ḲAḌĀʾ WA-ḲADAR], meaning "destiny, predestination". For instance, according to al-Bukhārī[*q.v.*] *ḳaḍāʾ* is the eternal, universal and all-embracing decree of God, while *ḳadar* denotes the details of His eternal, universal decree. Contrary

to this, al-Rāghib [*q.v.*] interprets *ḳadar* as predestination and *ḳaḍāʾ* as the detailed, definite decree. Akhtarī [*q.v.*] (in the middle of the 10th/16th century) may have been influenced by him when he concluded that: "*Ḳader dewlet-i ʿaliyyede defter-i idjmāl ve ḳaḍāʾ anïñ terdiʿ ve taḳsīmi menzilindedir*" (*Ḳāmūs terdjümesi*, iv, Istanbul 1305/1888, 1136). He also quotes a saying which is highly relevant to this differentiation; when the caliph ʿUmar on his way to Damascus turned back for fear of plague, Abū ʿUbayda al-Djarrāḥ [*q.v.*] asked him: "Are you running away from the *ḳaḍāʾ*?", to which the caliph answered: "I am fleeing from Almighty God's *ḳaḍāʾ* to His *ḳadar*". The meaning of this, according to Akhtari, is that "insofar as the *ḳadar* does not appear in the form of *ḳaḍāʾ*, there is a chance of averting it" (*op. cit.*, 1136). The essential point in all interpretations, however, is that the *ḳaḍāʾ* is the "decree or decision" of God that must be fulfilled in all circumstances. This sense of the word was related to the neglected performance of religious duties (*ṣalāt*, *ṣawm* [*qq.v.*]), which was therefore also called *ḳaḍāʾ* (Th. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamisches Gesetzes*, Leiden 1910, 68, 122). This concept of the word later passed into legal terminology, so that *ḳaḍāʾ* came to mean "payment of a debt" (J. Schacht, *An introduction to islamic Law*, Oxford 1964, 148).

As well as this, it also acquired a more important legal interpretation: the judgement of the *ḳāḍī*, which he could never withdraw once it had been uttered, was also called *ḳaḍāʾ* (Schacht, *op. cit.*, 196 and Tyan, *op. cit.*, 445). The *ḳaḍāʾ* announced by the *ḳaḍī* was always binding while the *fatwā* [*q.v.*] given by the *muftī* was not. In forming his *ḳaḍāʾ* the *ḳāḍī* could rely not only on the *sharīʿa* but also on the *ʿurf*, for when some local customs grew stronger, the *örfī ḳażā* gained ground alongside the *sherʿī ḳażā* (M. Fuad Köprülü, *Fıkıh*, *İA*, iv, 614).

In the Ottoman empire *ḳażāʾ* meant not only the judgement of the *ḳāḍī* but also the district which his administrative authority covered. The extent of the *ḳażā*s, however, varied, for local circumstances (the importance of a place, density of its population, etc.) dictated whether a city was made a separate *ḳażā* or how many *ḳażā*s a *liwā* contained. For instance, in 936/1530 in Rumelia the *liwā* of Aladjaḥiṣār was divided into five *ḳażā*s and the *liwā* of Hersek into four; the *liwā* of Izvornik contained only one *ḳażā*, while the *liwā* of Bosna consisted of six, and so on (T. Gökbilgin, *XV-XVI asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa livası*, Istanbul 1952, 8-12). The term *ḳażā*, denoting an administrative district, has remained in use in the Turkish republic.

Bibliography: I. H. Izmirli, *Kitāb ül-iftā wa'l-ḳaḍāʾ*, Ewḳāf Maṭbaʿasī 1336-38/1918-20; Ö. N. Bilmen, *Hukuk-i İslâmiye ve Istilahat-i Fikhiye Kamusu*, Istanbul 1968-70; A. Gorvine, *An outline of Turkish Provincial and Local Government*, Ankara 1956; *Kaza ve vilayet üzerinde bir araştlrma*, Ankara Üniv. Siyasal Bilgiler Fak., Ankara 1957. (GY. KÁLDY NAGY)

AL-**ḲAḌĀʾ WA 'L-ḲADAR.** When combined into one expression, these two words have the overall meaning of the Decree of God, both the eternal Decree (the most frequent meaning of *ḳaḍāʾ*) and the Decree given existence in time (the most frequent sense of *ḳadar*). Other translations are possible: for example, *ḳaḍāʾ*, predetermination (usually eternal but according to some schools operating within time); *ḳadar*, decree (usually operating within time but according to some schools eternal) or fate, destiny, in the sense of determined or fixed. It is also possible to use *ḳaḍāʾ* alone for Decree in its broadest sense and define *ḳadar* more precisely as existential determination. The expression combining them is in general use and has become a kind of binary technical term of *ʿilm al-kalām*.

A.—Analysis of the terms.—1. *al-ḳaḍāʾ*. The dictionary meaning of this is judgement, decision (from which comes the corresponding technical sense of this in the "science of law"). In *ʿilm al-kalām* (and secondly *falsafa*) it means a "universal" judgement or divine decree operating from all eternity and for eternity on whatever has existence (cf. al-Djurdjānī, *Taʿrīfāt*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1845, 185). Al-Bādjūrī (*Ḥāshiya ʿalā . . . Djawharat al-tawḥīd*, ed. Cairo 1352/1934, 66) takes pleasure in noting that *ḳaḍāʾ* can have seven possible meanings.

The verb *ḳaḍā* recurs frequently in the text of the Ḳurʾān, usually referring to an act of God. However in XXXIII, 36 Muḥammad's name is joined to His ("when God and His Prophet have resolved. . ."). On four occasions (II, 117, III, 47, XIX, 35, XL, 68) *ḳaḍā* indicates the absolute power of God, free from any type of intermediary, allied to the single creative Word: "Whenever He has decreed (*ḳaḍā*) something, He says 'Be it (*kun*)' and it is so".

Understandably, in order to magnify the transcendant Will of the Almighty, the Ashʿarī school laid stress on this sovereign Decree. Two references will suffice: a) In the *Lumaʿ* (ed. and Eng. tr. by R. McCarthy, *The Theology of al-Ashʿarī*, Beirut 1953, 45-6/65), al-Ashʿarī distinguishes two aspects of *ḳaḍāʾ*. In so far as it is (realized within) creation (*khalḳ*), it relates as much to the true as to the false, to acts done in obedience to the Law as to impious acts. Nothing escapes it: the decree and its object coincide. But in so far as it is the Command (*amr*) of God, the Decree is simply rectitude and justice, for it is distinguished from that which is decreed.—b. Al-Bāḳillānī's *Tamhīd* (ed. McCarthy, Beirut 1957, 325-6) takes up these themes almost word for word, substantiating them with ḳurʾānic proofs. For the Ashʿarīs as a whole, *ḳaḍāʾ* was the very expression of the Divine Will. Like Will it is "an attribute of essence" and thus eternal.

Those of Māturīdī tendencies, however, understood *ḳaḍāʾ* as the bringing into being of things in time, and therefore as "an attribute of action". Because of this, the Ashʿarīs accused the Māturīdīs of making *ḳaḍāʾ* a "contingent" attribute, while the latter retorted that in their view "attributes of action" had an eternal nature and that *ḳaḍāʾ*, allied not only to the Divine Will but also to the Prescience, was the eternal attribute which dictates the production of things, *takwīn*. (Cf., for example, al-Taftāzānī, *Sharḥ al-ʿaḳāʾid al-nasafiyya*, ed. Cairo 1321, 95; also ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. ʿAlī, *Naẓm al-farāʾid*, ed. Cairo [2] n.d., 28-30).

—2. *al-ḳadar* has the meaning of measure, evaluation, fixed limit (cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *K. al-Fiṣal fi'l-milal*, ed. Cairo 1347, iii, 31). "God distributes widely and measures out (*yaḳdiru*) His gifts to whom He pleases" says the Ḳurʾān in several places (XIII, 26, XVII, 30, XXVIII, 82, XXIX, 62, XXX, 37). In its 1st and 2nd form the root *ḳ-d-r* has the general sense of to determine, to establish, to decree. God is "He who established [the fate of men] (*ḳaddara*) and directed them on the straight road" (idem, LXXXVII, 3). There are a great number of *ḥadīth*s on the subject (cf. *kitāb al-ḳadar* in al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*). The Decree of God "for good or evil, weal or woe", which is stressed by several *ḥadīth*s, is presented as one of the articles of faith which must be explicitly professed.

In its technical sense *ḳadar* therefore designates the divine decree in so far as it sets the fixed limits for each thing, or the measure of its being. It is often practically synonymous with the *maṣdar* of the 2nd form, *taḳdīr*, the act of determining or decreeing. Two of al-Djurdjānī's definitions (*Taʿrīfāt*, 181) summarize the Ashʿarī conception of *ḳadar*, singly and in its relationship with *ḳaḍāʾ*: "*ḳadar*: the relationship of the essential Will with things in their particular realization", and "*ḳadar*: the passage of possible entities from non-being into being, one by one, in accordance with *ḳaḍāʾ*. *Ḳaḍāʾ* pertains to pre-eternity, while *ḳadar* belongs to the present order of things".

Thus Ashʿarī traditions stresses: a) both *ḳadar* and *ḳaḍāʾ* belong to the eternal Divine Will; and (b) that the former, the determining principle of contingent entities, is no longer "an attribute of essence", like *ḳaḍāʾ*, but "an attribute of action", itself designated "contingent" by reason of its end. In al-Ashʿarī's *Lumaʿ* (*ed. cit.*, 37-53), the chapter dealing with the Divine Decree and its relationship with men's actions is entitled *al-ḳadar*, with questions concerning *ḳaḍāʾ* forming only one rather short section. Here too the Māturīdī line relates *ḳadar* not to the Will but to the eternal Prescience and considers it (unlike *ḳaḍāʾ*) "an attribute of essence".

Right from the first centuries the question of the Decree was one of the most frequently debated. According to Nallino (*Raccolta*, Rome 1940, ii, 176-80), all the thinkers who centred their discussions around *ḳadar*, no matter to which tendency they belonged, were termed *Ḳadariyya* from the outset. Yet al-Ashʿarī, in the *Ibāna* and the *Lumaʿ*, intends this term to be reserved for those early trends of *ʿilm al-kalām* which, affirming human freedom, deny that the Divine Decree was pre-determined. They are usually considered as predecessors of the Muʿtazilīs. Subsequently they were sometimes confused with the latter (as by Ibn Taymiyya) and sometimes distinguished from them, it being emphasised that if the Muʿtazilīs held it to be true that man measures and determines his actions himself by his *ḳadar*, this is by reason of a *ḳudra*, an effective power which belongs to him but which has been created by God in each man. Ashʿarite tradition considers that the *Ḳadariyya* argument deserves the stigma of impiety (*takfīr*); that of the Muʿtazilīs is "false, though less reprehensible" (al-Bādjūrī, *op. cit.*, 65). On this meaning and the various meanings of the word *Ḳadariyya*, see W. Montgomery Watt, *Free Will and Predestination...*, London 1948, 48 ff.; see also ḲADARIYYA below.

The *ḳadarī*, says the *Lumaʿ*, is he who maintains that man's actions are determined by man himself, not by God, and that man therefore possesses personally not only the power to act (*ḳudra*) but also the power to determine his action and decree its effect. It is in this sense that the *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn* summarized al-Djubbaʾī's standpoint. Al-Ashʿarī protested against those who wish to call *Ḳadariyya* the proponents of a divine Decree which alone creates and determines the acts of men.

This last meaning, however, which is etymologically defensible, was allowed by Ibn Taymiyya in his treatise *al-Irāda waʾl-Amr*, in which he distinguishes between the *Ḳadariyya-mudjabbira* and the *Ḳadariyya-ʿadliyya*. The first, among whom he lists, jumbled together, Djahmīs and many Ashʿarīs, are seen as preaching belief in an absolute divine Decree at the expense of all human initiative. The second, comprising Muʿtazilīs, *Falāsifa* and Shīʿīs, are the defenders of the liberty and responsibility of man at the expense of divine Omnipotence. Ibn Taymiyya sets off one type of *Ḳadariyya* against the other and affirms both divine Omnipotence and the responsibility of man, who becomes free only through obedience to the Law (cf. H. Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Taḳī-d-Dīn Aḥmad B. Taimīya*, Cairo 1939, 165-7, and refs.).

—3. Finally, the *Falāsifa* integrated the conceptions of *ḳaḍāʾ* and *ḳadar* (or *taḳdīr*) and defined them by and large in the same way as the Ashʿarīs, except that they placed the absolute divine Decree (*ḳaḍāʾ*) and its existentialization within time (*ḳadar*) in accordance with the universal determinism of things, in a sense very close to their conception of divine providence or *ʿināya* [*q.v.*]. Near the end of the *Ilāhiyāt* of the *Shifāʾ* (ed. Cairo 1960, 414 ff.), when Ibn Sīnā enquires how it is that evil comes under the absolute Decree of the Prime Being, he reminds himself of the conception of *ʿināya*. He distinguishes moreover between *ḳaḍāʾ* and *taḳdīr* by locating each within the divine creative Knowledge (cf. also *Nadjāt*, ed. Cairo 1357/1938, 302). "Every thing", say the *Ishārāt* (ed. Forget, Leiden 1892, 185), "(...) is attained by His existential determination (*ḳadar*), which is the particularization (*tafṣīl*) of His first Decree (*ḳaḍāʾ*), and necessarily so since that which is not necessary does not exist". Here, the production of beings is seen as an emanation from the Prime Being, necessary and willed. A similar viewpoint is found in a variety of Shīʿī sects or schools.

B.—The problems posed.—1. The expression *al-ḳaḍāʾ waʾl-ḳadar* was frequently used to designate the absolute nature of the Divine Decree in the aggregate, in eternity as much as in its contingent realizations. Depending on whether we are dealing with Ashʿarī traditions or Māturīdī tendencies, as we have seen, the precise meanings of these two terms differ, as does their relationship with one another and their relationship with the Divine Essence and attributes. Yet every time that *ʿilm al-kalām* deals with the acts of the Almighty, one of the most frequently asserted instances is the problem of *ḳaḍāʾ* and *ḳadar*. At the will of school or writer, it is constantly allied with conceptions of "contingent power" (*ḳudra ḥāditha*), the "capacity" for action (*istiṭāʿa*), and the "acquisition" of his deeds by man (*kasb*, *iktisāb*). In *ʿilm al-kalām* it is the very expression of the aporia of divine Omnipotence and the absolute freedom of God in comparison with freely chosen human action (*ikhtiyār*).

It was occasionally *ḳaḍāʾ* but oftener *ḳadar* (or both together) which was compared with human freedom. The Ashʿarī and Māturīdī *mutakallimūn* endeavoured to affirm both the existence of the Divine Decree and man's responsibility, which latter is dependent on the Decree itself, through the *kasb*, the relationship, created by God, between acts and the subjects who performed them. (Cf. L. Gardet, *Les grands problèmes de la théologie musulmane*: *Dieu et la destinée de l'homme*, Paris 1967, 116-20, 128-32).

Agreeing with this, Ibn Taymiyya upheld the absolute nature of the Decree (*ḳadar*) and the human faculty of free choice, but considered it pointless and futile to resort to the conception of *kasb* or *iktisāb*, the "acquisition" or "endorsement" of acts in R. Brunschvig's translation. (See Ibn Taymiyya, *Minhādj al-Sunna*, ed. Cairo 1382/1962, i, 85-7, and R. Brunschvig, *Devoir et Pouvoir*, in *St. Isl.*, xx, 40-1 and refs.). This "pragmatic" attitude is found once more among the modern *salafiyya*, such as

Muḥammad ʿAbduh in the *Risālat al-tawḥīd* (Cairo 1353, 61).

—2. Must man give his consent (*riḍā*) to the Decree of the Almighty? The question was clearly put by the Muʿtazilīs. If every thing that exists comes under the divine *ḳaḍāʾ*, they said, then the acceptance of the impiety of the ungodly (an acceptance which is itself impious) is obligatory ... (Cf. ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, ed. ʿUthmān, Cairo 1348/1965, 771 ff.). Among the possible replies, we may cite a short chapter of the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, a text of the *Tamhīd* of al-Bāḳillānī and the *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb* of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī on Ḳurʾān XXXIII, 37-8 ("God's Command must be carried out", XXXIII, 37 .... "God's Command is an enacted Decree", *ibid.*, 38).

a) The *Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* (*Rasāʾil*, ed. Cairo 1347/1928, 133-6) define *ḳadar* as the reward which the "fates" (*maḳādir*) have in store for the soul, by "fates" meaning here the necessary astral laws. *Ḳaḍāʾ* is God's eternal Knowledge, from which these same astral laws derive. For a man to give his consent to and acceptance of *ḳaḍāʾ* thus understood, says the text, is extremely rare, but it is the noblest of the conditions (*sharāʾiṭ*) of faith and the most deserving of the virtues which designate the Believer (*ibid.*, 134).

This recourse to the action of the stars on human destiny—which is in no way independent of Divine Knowledge but emanates from it—and the affirmation that all that happens occurs for the good of the soul are points of view belonging to the Ismāʿīlī atmosphere of the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*. Other points of reference can be found among Shīʿī scholars which, like the *Falāsifa*'s conception of Providence, are always dominated by an emanistic view of the world. This is the sense in which we should understand, for example, Mullā Ṣadra Shīrāzī's statement in his *Kitāb al-Mashāʾir* mentioning among the central themes of his thought "knowledge of the *ḳaḍāʾ* and the *ḳadar*", "*du Décret prééternel et de la Destinée*" in H. Corbin's translation (Arab. and Pers. ed. and Fr. tr. by H. Corbin, Tehran 1342/1964, 5/90).

Here, in comparison, are two Sunnī elaborations: —b) "We give our consent to and acceptance of God's Decree taken as a whole and for each single thing" (*Tamhīd*, 327). But what if it is a case of *kufr* and sin? Here al-Bāḳillānī makes a distinction between *ḳaḍāʾ* in the aggregate and its particularization. Assent is not given to *kufr*, even though every thing in existence and every accomplished act come under the Divine Decree, just as child, companion, wife and partner are not ascribed to God, although all that exists belongs to Him.

c) As far as vocabulary is concerned, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī distinguishes more clearly between *ḳaḍāʾ* and *ḳadar*, which are both understood in the Ashʿarī sense. Consent and acceptance are given, with no difficulty, to *ḳaḍāʾ*, the eternal Decree. The existentialization of existing things, one by one, belongs to *ḳadar*, and here the question becomes delicate. Every Muslim must adhere to both *ḳaḍāʾ* and *ḳadar* together, but it is difficult for the ordinary man to reconcile such an adhesion, which is ordained by the Law, with condemning evil and wicked deeds, as the Law also demands. The solution sought by al-Rāzī lay in extending the distinction which al-Ashʿarī had already made between *ḳaḍāʾ* understood as the sovereign Command of God and what is enacted in the order of creation; or, in more precise terminology, between *ḳadar*, the attribute of action which determines every contingent thing, and *maḳdūr*, the enacted object: it is not *ḳadar* but *maḳdūr*, once placed by God in being or contingent action, which can be the object of reward or punishment, of praise or blame.

After having commanded the aporia of divine Omnipotence and human freedom, *al-ḳaḍāʾ waʾl-ḳadar* is as it were in the centre of the problem of good and evil, and of the moral qualification of actions.

Bibliography: in the text; to this may be added all the chapters on *ʿilm al-kalām* which deal with the question, which was considered again and again, for example in the manuals of "set conservatism", such as those of Sanūsī of Tlemcen, Laḳānī, Fuḍālī, Bādjūrī, etc. (L. GARDET)

ḲADAM SHARĪF (ḲADAM RASŪL ALLĀH). Among the miracles (*muʿdjizāt*) popularly attributed to Muḥammad was the fact that when he trod on a rock, his foot sank into the stone and left its impress there. This miracle is usually referred to along with others, *e.g.*, that he cast no shadow, that if one of his hairs fell in the fire, it was not burnt, that flies did not settle on his clothes etc. (cf. al-Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-Ḥalabiyya*, Būlāḳ, 1292, iii, 407), or that his sandals left no imprint on the sand (cf. Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī, commentary on *al-Ḳaṣīda al-Hamziyya*, l. 176. (Ind. Off, Ms., Loth, no. 826, fol. 94). No early authority refers to such a miracle, nor can any *ḥadīth* be quoted in corroboration of it, as Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī himself pointed out (see al-Ḥalabī, *loc. cit.*, i, 497). But sufficient evidence of this miracle is considered to be provided by the numerous impressions of one or both of the feet of the Prophet, which are venerated in different parts of the Muslim world. The most famous of these footprints is that in the Masdjid al-Aḳṣā, at Jerusalem, on the rock from which Muḥammad mounted Burāḳ [*q.v.*] for his journey to heaven (al-Suyūṭī, *Itḥāf al-Akhiṣṣāʾ fī Faḍāʾil al-Masdjid al-aḳṣā*, in JRAS, n.s. xix (1887), 258-9); this footprint is on a stone separated from the Rock at the extremity of the south-west corner; Sultan Aḥmad ordered an iron grill inlaid with silver to be placed over it in 1018/1609 (Mudjīr al-Dīn al-Ḥanbalī, *al-Uns al-djalīl*, Būlāḳ 1283, 371, tr. H. Sauvaire, *Histoire de Jérusalem*, Paris 1876, 106).

In the ancient village of Ḳadam, which lies to the west of the present district of the same name in the south of Damascus, there still exists a *masdjid al-ḳadam* which seems to have been connected originally with the memory of Moses then transferred to that of Muḥammad; the latter's foot also left an imprint on a black stone that was carried from Ḥawrān and preserved in the Mudjāhidiyya *madrasa* in the days of al-Harawī (*Ziyārāt*, 14/36) and today is in the library of the oratory of Sitt Ruḳayya (A. Talass, *Mosquées de Damas*, Beirut 1943, 230; J. Sourdel-Thomine, in *B. Ét. O.*, xiv (1952-4), 76). According to popular belief, the first footprint was made by the Prophet, when he half-alighted from his camel, but was warned by the angel Gabriel that God had given him the choice between the Paradise of this world and that of the next; whereupon he relinquished his intention of entering Damascus (W. G. Palgrave, *Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia*, London 1865, ii, 19). In Cairo there are two footprints, one in a mosque called Āthār al-nabī (*Rev. des Trad. Pop.*, ix, 689), the other at the tomb of Ḳāʾit Bāy [*q.v.*] (Baedeker's *Egypt*, 1914, 113), who, according to Aḥmad Daḥlān [*q.v.*], purchased it for the sum of 20,000 *dinars*; in Ṭanṭa, there are impressions of both the feet of the Prophet, in the shrine of Sayyid Aḥmad al-Badawī (*Rev. des Trad. Pop.*, xxii, 410), as also at Istanbul in the tomb of Sultan ʿAbd

al-Ḥamīd I, in the tomb of Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī [*q.v.*], and (six) in the Khirḳa-i Saʿādet room of the Topkapı Palace [see SARĀY] (Reşad Ekrem Koçu, *Topkapu Sarayı*, Istanbul n.d., p. 79; for a colour photograph of one of these see Kemal Çığ, *al-Amānāt al-muḳaddasa*, Istanbul (Turizm ve Tanītma Bakanliği) 1966, p. [9]).

Closely connected with the veneration of the footprints of Muḥammad, is that paid to representations of his sandals. Copies of these are hung up in the houses of the pious, as a protection against the assaults of Satan, the evil eye, the depredations of robbers, etc.; they are also said to relieve the pangs of childbirth (al-Ḳasṭalānī, *al-Mawāhib al-laduniyya*, Cairo 1281, i, 337). Such representations are common in Algeria, Egypt, India and Syria.

Bibliography: In addition to the works cited in the text: Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maḳḳarī, *Fatḥ al-Mutaʿālī fī Madḥ al-Niʿāl*, (Ahlwardt, *Verz. der Arab. Handschr. Berl.*, no. 2593); Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Khalaf, *Muʿdjizāt al-Anbiyāʾ* (*ibid.*, 2553); Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Khādim al-Naʿl al-sharīf* (*ibid.*, 9644); Shāh Muḥammad ʿUmar, *Istishfāʾ wa-Tawassul bi-Āthār al-Ṣāliḥīn wa-Sayyid al-Rusul*, Delhi 1319; R. Basset, *Les empreintes merveilleuses*, in *Revue des Traditions Populaires*, no. vii.-xxii., *passim*; Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 362-3; P. Anastase Marie de St. Elie, *Le culte rendu par les Musulmans aux sandales de Mahomet*, in *Anthropos*, v, 363-6; R. Hartmann, *Al-Ḳadam bei Damaskus*, in *OLZ*, 1913, 115-8.

(T. W. ARNOLD *)

India and Pakistan: The footprints of the Prophet, whether accepted as genuine relics or frankly admitted as mere token representations, are accorded special veneration in India and Pakistan. One may suspect here an Islamization of an old Indian reverence for the footprints of gods and sages; the Buddha was represented symbolically by the soles of his two feet, often embellished with auspicious marks, before representations of his person appeared in Buddhist iconography; and similar representations of the footprints of the god Vishṇu continue that tradition in Hindū terms. Literary references (bowing to or touching the feet in homage, the sanctity of the dust of the teacher's feet, etc.) are commonplace. The accepted genuine relics may be placed in mosques, as at Gawṛ [see LAKHNAWTĪ], or be housed in special buildings, as in the Ḳadam Rasūl building at Lakhnaʾū (Lucknow) whence the relics disappeared in 1857, or in the best known example, the Ḳadam Sharīf at Dihlī [*q.v.*], where the prints, imported from Arabia with great ceremony by Fīrūz Shāh b. Radjab, were placed over the grave of his son Fatḥ Khān who predeceased him in 776/1374; here the relics are kept constantly covered by water and garlanded with marigolds, and the relic shrine, with its accompanying graveyard, is contained within a fortified enclosure.

Both relics and token representations are accorded special ceremonies at the Bārah Wafāt, *i.e.* 12 Rabīʿ I, the *ʿurs* of the Prophet's death; for a description of these in India see Djaʿfar Sharīf, *Ḳānūn-i Islām*, tr. G. A. Herklots as *Islam in India* and ed. W. Crooke, Oxford 1921, s.v. Bārah Wafāt.

(J. BURTON-PAGE)

ḲADAR [see AL-ḲAḌĀʾ WA 'L-ḲADAR].

ḲADARIYYA, a name commonly used by Islamists to denote a group of theologians, not in itself homogeneous, who represented in one form or another the principle of *liberum arbitrium* (free will) in the early period of Islam, from about 70/690 to the definitive consolidation of the Muʿtazila [*q.v.*] at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century. In Islamic sources the notion is ambivalent; only authors of a determinist standpoint use it in the above sense (in later works the term can also refer to the Muʿtazila). Authors of a non-determinist standpoint, on the other hand, apply it (apparently synonymously with *mudjbira*) to defenders of divine omnipotence (the earliest examples at present are the title *Kitāb al-radd ʿala 'l-Ḳadariyya* of ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd [*q.v.*] d. 143/760 or 144/761, cf. *GAS*, i, 597) and a passage in Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's ([*q.v.*] d. (after?) 139/756) translation of the Middle Persian Letter of Tansar, cf. the New Persian version in Ibn Isfandiyār, *Tārīkh-i Ṭabaristān*, ed. Iqbāl, Tehran 1954, i, 40, 4). The word was always derogatory, never applied to oneself. Even sources fundamentally of the same tendency may therefore differ as to the scope of the notion, according to the rigour of their polemical intention. Conversely it may happen that one and the same phenomenon may be described with differing terminologies in different sources (for example Ḳadarites are often called "Murdjiʾites" in Muʿtazilī texts, and also elsewhere). Regional differences of meaning also seem to have played a part. The term apparently arose in ʿIrāḳ; previously such locutions as *al-mukadhdhibūna bi 'l-ḳadar* (*bi-maḳādīr Allāh*) or *alladhīna yaḳūlūna lā ḳadar* were used. Cf. C. Nallino, *Sul nome di « Qadariti »*, in *RSO*, vii (1916-18), 461 ff. (= *Scritti*, ii, 176 ff.); W. M. Watt, *Free Will and Predestination in early Islam*, London 1948, 48 ff.; J. van Ess in *Oriens*, xviii-xix (1965-6), 127 ff.

Sources: 1) Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's "Ḳadarite" *Risāla* to the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik (ed. H. Ritter, in *Isl.*, xxi (1933), 67 ff.; for the content cf. J. Obermann in *JAOS*, lv (1935), 138 ff., and M. Schwarz in *Oriens*, xx (1967), 15 ff.). 2) Several references in the anti-Ḳadarite composition (genuine?) of al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ḥanafiyya (d. c. 100/718), which we know through its refutation by the Zaydī *imām* al-Hādī Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn (d. 298/910; cf. *GAS*, i, 595). 3) The *Risāla* of the caliph ʿUmar II against a more extreme faction of the contemporary Ḳadariyya, preserved in Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilya*, v, 346 ff. (cf. *GAS*, i, 594; for its genuineness, *Abr Nahrain*, xii (1971), 19 ff.). 4) The heresiographical report of Khushaysh (d. 253/867), preserved in Malaṭī, *Tanbīh*, ed. Dedering, 126 ff. (cf. Watt, *Free Will*, 51 ff.). 5) Lists of Ḳadarites, mainly traditionists, in Ibn Ḳutayba (*Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkāsha, Cairo 1960, 625, 8 ff.; repeated with several corrections and supplements, by Ibn Rusta, *al-Aʿlāḳ al-nafīsa* *, *BGA*, vii, 220, 7 ff.), in Ibn Ḥadjar (*Hady al-sārī*, Cairo 1347/1928, ii, 112 ff.), in Suyūṭī (*Tadrīb al-rāwī*, Cairo 1385/1966, i, 328 f.), in Ibn al-Murtaḍā (*Ṭabaḳāt al-Muʿtazila*, ed. Diwald-Wilzer, 133 ff.) etc; in addition the corresponding biographical details in Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, etc. 6) Scattered historical data, especially in Ṭabarī. 7) Counter-polemic in the standard collections of *Ḥadīth* (e.g., the *Kitāb al-Ḳadar* in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim), in the works dealing with *mawḍūʿāt* (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Kitāb al-mawḍūʿāt*; Suyūṭī, *al-Laʾālī al-maṣnūʿa*, etc.), in other books of traditionist outlook (cf., e.g., the *Kitāb al-Sharīʿa* by Abū Bakr al-Ādjurrī, Cairo 1369/1950, 149 ff.; the material of the relevant chapter is obviously mainly taken from the *Kitāb al-Ḳadar* by Firyābī, cf. *GAS*, i, 166), and finally also in works of *adab* (*e.g.*, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, ii, 376 ff.).

Historical development: The sources mentioned

der 5) list 40 certain names for Baṣra, about fifteen for Syria, six for Mecca, five to seven for Medina, about five for Kūfa, three for Yemen, and not a single one for Egypt and the whole of the East. These figures, however, express only part of the reality; they mirror above all the variable state of our information. The interest in a biographical listing of the Ḳadariyya apparently arose in Baṣra, where the pupils of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, and their pupils in turn, began to quarrel over the correct interpretation of his doctrine; here, therefore, contemporaries were classified in accordance with a particular understanding of the idea, and for the past relevant material was most systematically collected. Elsewhere fuller information existed only for Syria, where, in the last twenty years of Umayyad rule, Ḳadarites played a part in history through their revolutionary activity. It is possible that in many other areas, for example in Egypt, the doctrine never became a problem. According to the nature of the information, the Ḳadariyya is seen in Syria primarily as a political movement; in Baṣra on the other hand it is viewed as a school of theology. The political argument developed from the principle that a ruler is answerable for his actions, and in the case of unrighteousness should therefore be deposed or should abdicate; the theological stance arises from the idea that one must not "ascribe evil to God". In the consequences which were drawn from this latter interpretation, a moderate and an extreme wing can be discerned.

The earliest document of the movement is the *Risāla* of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī; it was certainly composed between 75/694, the arrival of Ḥadjdjādj in ʿIrāḳ, and 80/699, the beginning of the revolt of Ibn al-Ashʿath. From it the moderate wing of the Ḳadariyya drew its argument: God creates only good; evil stems from men or from Satan. Man chooses freely between the two; but God knows from all eternity what man will choose. He only "leads him into error" (*iḍlāl*) if man has first given him occasion for this through his sin. Ḥasan viewed this thesis, which he supports with subtle ḳurʾānic exegesis, as "orthodox" (p. 68, 9 ff.). In fact this was certainly no "innovation", but it was only now systematically formulated for the first time. This is confirmed by the fact that among Ḥasan's contemporaries are found other Ḳadarites, all of whom could hardly have been his followers: in the Yemen Wahb b. Munabbih (c. 34/655-114/732 [*q.v.*]), whose non-deterministic sayings (in his *Ḥikma* and in his *Kitāb al-Ḳadar*) could not be disregarded, even in later times; in Syria the ascetic Khālid b. Maʿdān b. Abī Kurayb al-Kalāʿī (d. between 103/722 and 108/727; a Ḳadarite according to Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 625, 14) and the famous jurist Makḥūl b. Abī Muslim (d. perhaps 113/731; at any rate he first came to Damascus as a prisoner of war from the region of Kābul); in Baṣra itself, amongst others, the ascetic ʿAṭāʾ b. Yasār al-Hilālī (d. 103/722 or 104/723). In its moderate form the Ḳadarite doctrine was a rule of practical piety.

The absence of earlier theoretical formulations prevents our going back beyond Ḥasan's treatise. We are given to understand that the purport of divine predestination had been "first" discussed when, at the siege of Mecca by the troops of Yazīd I in 64/683, the Kaʿba caught fire (cf. *Sīra Ḥalabiyya*, Cairo 1382/1962, i, 185, 15), or, conversely, that Muʿāwiya was the first to justify his use of force by divine "compulsion" (*djabr*) (Ḳāḍī ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *Mughnī*, viii, 4, 3 ff., after Djubbāʾī; cf. in addition the speech of ʿAmr b. Saʿīd, the rebel against ʿAbd al-Malik, in Ṭabarī, ii, 784, 18 ff.). But these are only answers to the wrong question. There was never a point in time when *Ḳadar* was spoken of "for the first time"; there are only particular moments at which theological solutions emerge for the first time, or become generally significant or controversial. The alleged Ḳadarite beliefs of the last Sufyānid, Muʿāwiya II (reigned 64/684; cf. Maḳdisī, *al-Badʾ wa 'l-taʾrīkh*, vi, 16, 13 ff. and Lammens, *Études sur le siècle des Omayyades*, 181 ff.) probably derive from the belief that he abdicated of his own accord, before his early death, which was perceived to be in accordance with the political programme of the Ḳadariyya (cf. Lammens, *Etudes*, 183, 192 ff.; Wellhausen, *Arabisches Reich*, 106). The letter from Ḥasan b. ʿAlī (d. probably 49/669-70) to Ḥasan al-Baṣrī on the question is manifestly a forgery (cf. the determinist version in Ḥarrānī, *Tuḥaf al-ʿuḳūl*, Nadjaf 1385/1965, 162, 10 ff., and, shorter, in ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Walīd, *Tādj al-ʿAḳāʾid*, ed. Tāmir, Beirut 1967, 180, 1 ff.; a Ḳadarite version in Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Muʿtazila* 15, 3 ff.).

Probably two decades after Ḥasan's *Risāla*, Ḳadarite doctrine is again encountered in ʿIrāḳ in a group called by Khushaysh (in Malaṭī, *Tanbīh*, 133, 22 ff.) Shabībiyya, the adherents of the Khāridjite Shabīb al-Nadjrānī who lived about 100/718 (cf. Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, 116, 2 f.; contrary to a conjecture made by H. Ritter in his indices to Ashʿarī's *Maḳālāt*, 637, and by W.M. Watt, *Free Will*, 53, he must be differentiated from the earlier Khāridjite Shabīb b. Yazīd al-Shaybānī who was drowned in the Tigris in the year 77/697 when fleeing the forces of Ḥadjdjādj). There is no direct connection with Ḥasan's theology; the doctrinal outlook is considerably different. The Shabībiyya believed that the deeds of men and their destinies in the hereafter are not foreknown by God; God has no will concerning their actions, leaving them to their own discretion (*tafwīḍ*; cf. Malaṭī, *ib.*, and Shahrastānī, *Milal*, ed. Cureton, 94, 5 f.; also Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt* 93, 7 ff. concerning the Maymūniyya who seem to have borrowed from them).

This comes very close to—and is perhaps identical with—the Ḳadarite "innovations" attacked by ʿUmar II (reigned 99/717—101/720) in his treatise preserved in Abū Nuʿaym. God knows that one will sin, but also that one could abstain from sin (*Ḥilya*, v, 347, 3 ff.); His knowledge has only the function of recording, not of effecting (*ḥāfiẓ*, not *nāfidh*; 350, 3 and 351, 1 f.). A murder is not the same thing as the preordained destiny of death, since it originates in the autonomous will of a man (*adjal*; 352, 18). There is neither *hudā* nor *iḍlāl* (351, 1; 348, 10 ff.); it is "left to man's own discretion" (*tafwīḍ*) whether he decides for good or for evil (351, 4; 352, 2 f.). ʿUmar II sees that this is more extreme than Ḥasan's doctrine; he accepts expressly the Ḳadarites of the old school as ***ahl al-Sunna*** (351, 15). He, however, makes no explicit mention of a possible Khāridjite background. We have some reason to assume that these ideas went beyond the small sectarian circles of the Khāridjites; Khushaysh mentions, besides the Shabībiyya, a so-called ***mufawwiḍa*** (cf. Malaṭī, *Tanbīh*, 133, 1 ff, and 134, 14 ff.).

Politically the doctrine was not yet considered dangerous or subversive. ʿUmar's predecessor, Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik (reigned 96/715—99/717), is said to have "talked about *ḳadar*" (cf. Ibn an-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, trans. B. Dodge, 381) and ʿUmar II himself took no action against the "deviationists" he attacked. Ḳadarites who later came into conflict with the government were entrusted with offices of state under

him: ʿUmar b. Hāniʾ al-ʿAnsī, who in 127/744-5 was put to death on the orders of Marwān II on account of his participation in Yazīd III's revolt against Walīd II, was governor of Batanaea and Ḥawrān under ʿUmar (cf. Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh kabīr*, iii/2, 535), and Ghaylān al-Dimashḳī [*q.v.*], whose critical opinions he knew throughout (cf. Ghaylān's *Risāla* to him in Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Muʿtazila*, 25, 9 ff.), was in his time apparently active in the financial administration (cf. I. ʿAbbās in *al-Abḥāth*, ix (1956), 329 after Balādhurī, and Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭabakāt*, 26, 9). It was known that the Ḳadarites were not conformists; several of them had taken part in the revolt of Ibn al-Ashʿath, and Maʿbad al-Djuhanī, a friend of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, was executed for this reason under ʿAbd al-Malik.

But Ghaylān was the first to develop a political programme, not indeed under ʿUmar II, but first under Hishām, when ʿUmar's measures to give the same rights to *mawālī* as to Arabs were once more negated; significantly Ghaylān himself was a Copt. He denied the exclusive claim of Ḳuraysh to the Caliphate; anyone may be chosen who lives by the Ḳurʾān and the *Sunna*. If the ruler disregards these principles he may be deposed (cf. the passage in al-Nāshiʾ al-akbar, *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, ed. van Ess, Beirut 1971, paras. 107-8; tr. in van Ess, *La Qadarīya et la Ġailānīya de Yazīd III* in *Stud. Isl.*, xxxi, 1970, 269 ff.) At first Ghaylān had been on good terms with Hishām; in 106/725 he made the pilgrimage with him (cf. Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh*, iv, 290, 2 ff. and Bukhārī, *Taʾrīkh kabīr*, iv/1, 102 no. 457); it was only later, obviously during a mission to Armenia after the defeat of the Muslim troops in 112/730 and perhaps through the enmity of Marwān b. Muḥammad, later Marwān II, who was at that time the commander-in-chief in the war against the Khazars, that he clashed with the authorities (cf. Balādhurī in ʿAbbās, *loc. cit.*, and Ibn al-Murtaḍā, 26, 16 f.). In principle, Ghaylān's propaganda was unrelated to Ḳadarite teaching; at about the same time it was represented in Transoxiana by Ḥārith b. Suraydj [*q.v.*], who apparently was himself a determinist. On his return from Armenia Ghaylān was arrested in Ḳaryatayn on the edge of the Syrian desert, and executed in Damascus together with an adherent of whom we know little, Abū ʿAbd al-Salām Ṣāliḥ b. Suwayd al-Dimashḳī (cf. Ibn Badrān, *Tahdhīb Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, vi, 369 f.). Other Ḳadarites were banished to the island of Dahlak [*q.v.*] in the Red Sea (cf. Ṭabarī, ii, 1777, 14), among them Abu 'l-Mughīra ʿAmr b. Sharaḥīl al-ʿAnsī, whose subversive *ḥadīth*s are preserved in the *Taʾrīkh Dārayyā* of ʿAbd al-Djabbār al-Khawlānī, Damascus 1369/1956, 93 ff. About this time in Medina, under the governorship of Ibrāhīm b. Hishām al-Makhzūmī (executed 125/743), Ibn Isḥāḳ ([*q.v.*] 85/704-150/767 or 151/768) was flogged on account of his Ḳadarite leanings (cf. Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, iii, 472, 15 ff.; also *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, i, 225, 5 ff.). The execution of Ghaylān was manifestly felt to be harsh; numerous legends attempted to justify it, and above all to obliterate his good relations with ʿUmar II (cf. S. Diwald, *Der Bericht des Ibn ʿAsākir über Ġailān ad-Dimašqī*, in *Festgabe für Hans Wehr*, Wiesbaden 1969, 40 ff., especially 53 ff.). We learn characteristically little about the theological basis of Ghaylān's Ḳadarite beliefs. Nevertheless, contrary to Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's purely exegetic judgements, a stronger theoretical theological motivation can be perceived: God's will has no determining influence on the actions of men (Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, 513, 5 ff.; Watt, *Free Will*, 41); men are determined above all by their reason (*ʿaḳl*) in the direction of freedom of action (cf. *Tahdhīb Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, iii, 177, 11 ff.; and Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, Hyderabad 1375/1955, i, 147, 3 f.).

Walīd II kept up Hishām's anti-Ḳadarite policy (cf. Ṭabarī, ii, 1777, 15 ff.). Yazīd III, on the other hand, took over Ghaylān's political programme in his declaration from Damascus when he proclaimed the revolt against Walīd (cf. Ṭabarī, ii, 1835, 6 ff., etc.). Therefore his supporters are called Ghaylāniyya, and often also simply Ḳadarites. The latter is perhaps precipitate; it is not always easy to decide whether those who took up this position because of the political programme were also Ḳadarite in the theological sense. Many of them were Kalbites, particularly from Mizza near Damascus; thanks to the political development by which the Kalb saw themselves increasingly neglected in favour of the Ḳays, the former *mawālī* party now received support from the indigenous Arabs. After Yazīd's premature death, the hopes of the Ḳadarites were transferred to his brother Ibrāhīm; when the latter capitulated before Marwān II they were again persecuted (cf. Marwān's letter in Ṭabarī, ii, 1851, 7 ff.). The names of several traditionists who took up a position in favour of Yazīd III are known to us; with the assumption of power by Marwān, they had to flee from Syria, one of them being killed at the instigation of the caliph (cf. in detail van Ess in *Stud. Isl.*, xxxi, 1970, 277 f.). With that the political role of the Ḳadariyya was played out; it remained confined to Syria.

In Baṣra, apparently, the movement remained confined to personal statements: ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd approved of Yazīd III's revolt (cf. Ibn al-Murtaḍā's *Ṭabaḳāt*, 120, 12 ff., and Shahrastānī, *Milal*, 17, 15); his "orthodox" opponent Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī censured it (cf. *Aghānī*[3], viii, 82, 10 f.). The political development in the town proceded differently (cf. Caetani, *Chronographia*, 1591). The quietistic Ḳadariyya in the style of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī was continued by his pupil Ḳatāda b. Diʿāma (d. 117/735) and henceforth predominated. Militant characters, especially refugees from Syria, were finally integrated with the arrival of the ʿAbbāsids. Instead, theological antagonisms intensified. For a long time there survived a moderate wing, which, following Ḥasan and Ḳatāda, exempted sin from predestination, and obviously derived its argumentation from ḳurʾānic exegesis; it was represented among the *muḥaddithūn* and others by Saʿīd b. Abī ʿArūba al-ʿAdawī (d. 156/773) and his school, Hishām b. Abī ʿAbd Allāh al-Dastuwāʾī (d. 153/770 or 154/771) with his son Muʿādh (d. 200/815-6), Sallām b. Miskīn al-Namarī (d. 164/781), Abū Hilāl Muḥammad b. Sulaym al-Rāsibī (d. 167/784), ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAṭāʾ al-Khaffāf (d. 204/820 or 206/821-2), and, furthermore, by numerous ascetics and *ḳuṣṣāṣ*, whose names we learn particularly from Ibn al-Murtaḍā, and certainly by many others in whose deeds the authors of lists of Ḳadarites have no interest (cf., *e.g.*, for the grammarians of Baṣra, Tawḥīdī, *Baṣāʾir*, ed. Kaylānī, iii, 592, 8 ff.; Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt*, ed. Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, ii, 38, 4 etc.). At the same time there developed a stronger theologically aligned group around ʿAmr b. ʿUbayd, which later merged with the Muʿtazila; apparently of their number were Abū Salāma Ḥasan b. Dhakwān, ʿAmr b. Fāʾid al-Uswārī, Ḥamza b. Nadjīḥ, Bashīr al-Raḥḥāl, ʿAbd al-Wārith b. Saʿīd al-Tannūrī (d. 180/796), perhaps also the Ḳāḍī ʿAbbād b. Manṣūr al-Nādjī (d. 152/769). They took as their starting point divine justice in-

stead of human "freedom to do evil": God must keep His word (cf. the anecdote in van Ess, *Traditionistische Polemik gegen ʿAmr b. ʿUbaid*, Beirut 1967, 31 ff.: *waʿd* here still covers the later Muʿtazilī *waʿd wa-waʿīd*); a *taklīf bimā lā yuṭāḳ* is impossible (cf. Tawḥīdī, *Baṣāʾir*, iii, 223, 1 ff.). Here, too, the consequences for ḳurʾānic exegesis are for the moment in the foreground: verses of the Ḳurʾān in which someone is explicitly given over to damnation (cf. Sūra CXI, 1 for Abū Lahab; as a further example Sūra LXXIV, 11) cannot have been in this form in the original text in Heaven, because otherwise they would have had preordaining power (cf. *Traditionalistische Polemik*, 16 f.; Tirmiḏhī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Ḳadar 16, no. 2244).

This accentuation of the teaching aroused opposition. In ʿIrāḳ it came mainly from Kūfa. In Baṣra it was at first still weak; until the middle of the 2nd/ 8th century the boycott of the Ḳadarites there remained confined to small circles, to which greater significance was only ascribed in later accounts projecting their own attitudes back to an earlier period. But gradually the opinions polarised; the more the Muʿtazila itself became conscious of itself, the more the belief in a strict determinism was strengthened on the other side. It was expressed in the form of *ḥadīth*, and because of this in the course of time gained stronger and stronger authoritative force. Pro-Ḳadarite *ḥadīths* are rare (cf. Dhahabī, *Mīzān* no. 2441 = i, 634, 5 f.; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, x, 129, 5); the Ḳadarites obviously placed much more reliance on the persuasive power of their ḳurʾānic exegesis. However, it can be proven that a large number of the anti-Ḳadarite *ḥadīths* are also late, or were first raised to the rank of sayings of the Prophet as time went on; those respected traditionists who at that time were still Ḳadarite cannot have thought them authentic. Some of them are obviously in direct reference to the arguments Ḥasan al-Baṣrī developed in the course of his *Risāla*; particularly effective was the reproach that the Ḳadarites were "the Magians of this community" (cf. Wensinck, *Concordance*, v, 318a), in so far as they attributed evil to any other than God, or even to Satan himself. The mediating position of Ḥasan became increasingly untenable under the influence of these centrifugal tendencies; in the first decade of the 3rd/ 9th century the moderate Ḳadariyya in the old style apparently became extinct in Baṣra. After that Ḥasan al-Baṣrī was claimed by both sides; the determinists sought to rescue his "orthodoxy" by increasingly emphasising the role of his contemporary Maʿbad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUkaym al-Djuhanī (this is the correct form of his name) as "founder" of the Ḳadariyya. Nothing more was known about his doctrine; but it was known that together with his brother he took part in Ibn al-Ashʿath's revolt, and that both were executed on the orders of Ḥadjdjādj (cf., *e.g.* Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira*, Cairo 1930 ff., i, 201, 9 f., and 200, 14 f.; also 206, 16 ff.). Obviously they wanted to discredit the whole movement by pointing to the military origins of such a "Syrian" type.

Little can be said about the other centres of the movement. In Mecca it focused on the traditionist and exegete Abū Yasār ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Nadjīḥ al-Thaḳafī (d. 131/748 or 132/749), who adhered to Ḥasan's doctrine, and also attended Abū ʿUbayd's lectures (cf. on his circle Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, ii, 515, 10 f.); one of his adherents, Zakariyyāʾ b. Isḥāḳ al-Makkī, was banned from lecturing on account of his doctrine (at the time of Hishām or Marwān II? cf. Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, iii, 329, 7 f.). In Medina several Ḳadarites obviously supported the revolt of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya (145/762; cf. Madelung, *Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 72 f.); that there were still Ḳadarites in the town at the time of the Caliph al-Mahdī, to be precise during the governorship of Djaʿfar b. Sulaymān b. ʿAlī (160/777-166/783), is testified by an account in Ṭabarī (iii, 534, 11 ff.). In the Shīʿite circles of Medina and Kūfa opinions about the problem were divided: Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya (d. *c.* 100/718) had been a supporter of predestination, and so too were the immediate disciples of Zayd b. ʿAlī (fell 122/740) as he himself was probably a supporter of predestination (cf. Madelung, *Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 55 ff.); otherwise they frequently steered a middle course, which while coming near to that of the moderate Ḳadariyya did not give anyone occasion to call them Ḳadarites (the formula: *lā djabr wa-lā tafwīḍ*). The term *tafwīḍ* was almost always rejected or at least avoided (cf. the otherwise rather contradictory sayings of the *imāms* in Kūlīnī, *Kāfī*, Tehran 1334/1955, i, 150 ff.). Here there was no necessity for a political Ḳadariyya, since the Shīʿīs had their own political motivations to offer.

Occasionally in polemic the Ḳadarite doctrine was attributed to Christian influence (in fact much more rarely than one would expect; the *Ḥadīths* speak of the "Magians" instead of the "Christians" of this community). This was expressed in the anecdote that Maʿbad al-Djuhanī, the "first" Ḳadarite, had taken over from an (erstwhile) Christian: Sanhōya, the husband of Umm Mūsā (cf. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, vii/2, 27, 1 ff.), perhaps a former concubine of ʿAlī (cf. Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, no. 11036), or from Abū Yūnus Sansōya al-Uswārī, who is perhaps the same person (cf. Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, iv, 181-6 f.), or a certain Sūsān (cf. Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh*, iii, 305, 14 f. etc.). The theological relationship is in fact unmistakable: for John of Damascus sin arises ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας ῥᾳθυμίας καὶ τῆς διαβόλου πανουργίας (Migne, *PG*, 94, 1589), and in that respect he takes his place in a tradition for which we already find models in Efrem Syrus and Theodore of Mopsuestia (cf., *e.g.*, references in A. Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis*, 258 f.). Ghaylān al-Dimashḳī, as a *mawlā* of Coptic origin, built upon Christian ideas (cf. Madelung, *Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 239, and M. S. Seale, *Muslim Theology*, 18 ff.). The Khāridjite founder of the Shabībiyya came from Nadjrān, the Christian centre of the Arabian peninsula. But it must not be concluded from that that the Ḳadariyya had been engendered by Christian polemic against Muslim predestination (as in the thesis of C. H. Becker, *Christliche Polemik und islamische Dogmenbildung*, in *ZA*, xxvi (1911), 175 ff. = *Islamstudien*, i, 432 ff., especially p. 441; cf. against it the argument of W. M. Watt, *Free Will*, 58, n. 27, and the counterargument of W. Thomson in *MW*, xl (1950), 209). Predestination is "earlier" only in the sense that it is strongly connected with certain "*djāhilī*" ideas (cf. H. Ringgren, *Studies in Arabian Fatalism*, Uppsala 1951, *passim*, especially 116 ff.); in the Ḳurʾān deterministic and non-deterministic sayings stand side by side, on the basis of the idea of a personal God (cf. Watt, *Free Will*, 12 ff.). There was nothing to prevent Muslim neophytes, at least after the conquest of Syria (cf. Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, i, 50, 4 ff.), from naively solving the theological problem posed by the ambiguity of the Scriptures with categories familiar to themselves; we have no evidence to show that at the time this was thought strange or un-Islamic. How far

the interdependence of the two religions could go is best shown by the well-known argument based on the child born of adultery. Christian theologians have from the earliest times cited adultery as an example of the sins that man may not ascribe to God (cf. the Nestorian Bābai in Vööbus, *School of Nisibis*, 260), and the Ķadarites said the same thing later (cf. Laoust, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, 92, n. 1). Muslim determinists counter with the question, inspired by the Ķur'ān, who then created the foetus engendered by adultery in the mother's womb? (cf. Sūra XCVI, 2; XXII, 5 etc.). To that question Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (cf. Schwarz in *Oriens*, xx (1967), 19) and, diverging somewhat, John of Damascus a generation later (cf. Becker in *Islamstudien*, i, 440, and G. C. Anawati in *L'Oriente cristiano nella storia della civiltà*, Rome 1964, 542 f.) provide an answer; the latter's argument agrees with the Ķadarite position reported in Khushaysh (in Malaṭī, *Tanbīh*, 134, 8 f.). John of Damascus was active in Damascus at the time of Hishām; when he as a Christian assailed the predominant Islamic belief of his time, it was natural for him to use the same arguments as the Ķadarites. Only later, when, as a result of the internal development of Islam, the Ķadariyya was forced from a moderate to an extreme position, did this plausible but accidental "alliance" cause offence.

Bibliography: (apart from the works mentioned in the article): A. Guillaume, *Some remarks on Free Will and Predestination in Islam*, in *JRAS* (1924), 43 ff.; A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, Cambridge 1932, 52 ff. and 145 ff.; J. W. Sweetman, *Islam and Christian theology*, London 1945 ff., i/2, 157 ff. and 240 ff.; A S. Tritton, *Muslim theology*, London 1947, 52 ff.; W. Thomson, *The conception of Human Destiny in Islam*, in *MW*, xxxv (1945), 281 ff.; idem, *The sects and Islam*, in *MW*, xxxix (1949), 208 ff., especially 212 ff.; idem, *Free Will and Predestination in early Islam*, in *MW*, xl (1950), 207 ff. and 276 ff.; W. M. Watt, *Islsmic philosophy and theology*, Edinburgh 1962, xv and 31 f.; M. S. Seale, *Muslim theology*, London 1964, 5 ff.; H. Laoust, *Les schismes dans l'Islam*, Paris 1965, 48 f; J. van Ess, *ʿUmar II and his Epistle against the Qadarīya*, in *Abr Nahrain*, xii (1971), 19 ff.; id., *Maʿbad al-Ǵuhanī*, in *Festschrift F. Meier*; id., *Anfänge muslimischer Theologie. Zwei antiqadaritische Traktate des Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiya (gest. um 100/719) und des Kalifen ʿUmar b. ʿAbd-alʿazīz (gest. 101/720)*, Beirut 1973; id., *Zwischen Ḥadīṯ und Theologie. Studien zur Entstehung antiqadaritischer Überlieferung*, in *Beihefte zur Zeitschrift "Der Islam"*, Berlin 1973. (J. VAN ESS)

ĶADĀSA (A.), a neologism of comparatively recent creation, generally understood in the sense of holiness. The word does not occur either in the Ķur'ān or in *ḥadīth*, and the *LA* ignores it. On the other hand, the root *ķ-d-s* is well known to the Arab lexicographers; the Ķur'ān (II, 30, 87, 253; V, 21, 110; XVI, 102; XX, 12; LIX, 23; LXII, 1; LXXIX, 16) and *ḥadīth* (Wensinck, *Concordance*) use it sporadically. Basically, it is used to denote beings and objects that are pure, wholly unsullied or in touch with the divine.

This religious meaning seems to be alien to Arabic and borrowed from Aramaic (A. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, 1938, 232; however, cf. Lagrange, *Études sur les religions sémitiques*, 1905, 145 n. 7, where the religious meaning is regarded as original in Arabic). But the borrowing would have taken place before Islam, as might be concluded from a verse of Imru' al-Ķays who speaks of the garment of a pilgrim to Jerusalem (*muķaddasī*) torn to pieces by the children (*LA*, root *ķds*).

As a manifestation of purity, *ķadāsa* is not merely the negation of impurity, *nadjāsa*, it is also its antonym. It does not indeed signify the absence of any impure element in persons and things, a condition denoted by *ṭahāra*, in the current sense of the word; it implies also the presence in them of supernatural forces, of celestial origin, which might make them dangerous to the profane. Nevertheless, with the help of certain precautions it would be possible to approach them: "I am thy Lord", said Allah to Moses, "take off thy sandals for thou art in the sacred (*muķaddas*) valley of Ṭuwa" (Ķur'ān, XX, 12).

In the ethnological meaning of the word, *ķadāsa* represents the positive pole of the sacred, *ḥarām*. This last word is applied in fact to everything that is forbidden to the profane and separated from the rest of the world. The cause of this prohibition could be either impurity (temporary or intrinsic) or holiness, which is a permanent state of sublime purity. *Ķadāsa*, in short, is merely the manner of existence of what is pure and sacred, that is to say of the divine, of that which contains a divine breath, of that which is the immanence of divinity, in touch with it or rightfully belonging to it. In its ordinary manifestations, it takes the form of *baraka*.

Bibliography: The sacred has been the subject of a very large number of studies which cannot be listed here. Some bibliographical outlines on this question will be found in J. Chelhod, *Les structures du sacré chez les Arabes*, Paris 1964, ch. 1. (J. CHELHOD)

ĶADDŪR AL-ʿALAMĪ, the name by which is known the famous Moroccan popular poet ʿABD AL-ĶĀDIR B. MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. ABI-L'ĶĀSIM AL-IDRĪSĪ AL-ʿALAMĪ AL-ḤAMDĀNĪ AL-ṬĀLIBĪ AL-ʿABD AL-SALĀMĪ. He grew up in Meknes in an austere atmosphere, renouncing the pleasures of this world, spending his time visiting the tombs of the saints and enjoying the company of the pious. His teachers were al-Ḥādjdj al-Mukhtār al-Baķķālī, ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān known as al-Djamal, Mawlāy al-Ṭayyib al-Wazzānī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ṣiķillī, and other eminent masters of his time. He gained numerous disciples no less famous, amongst whom were the Sultan Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥafīẓ al-Dabbāgh, the *imām* Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Riḍwī, al-ʿArabī b. al-Sā'iḥ al-Sharķī and Muḥammad Gharrīṭ. Sayyidī Ķaddūr al-ʿAlamī, although unable to read or write, composed poems in the neo-classical and popular language, with astonishing skill and eloquence. These poems, which were long believed to have largely disappeared, or to have been burnt according to his wishes, have fortunately survived. Whether they were composed in *zadjal* or in *malḥūn*, almost all deal with the glorification of God, the praise of the Prophet, and of the saints and important people of Islam. As for wine, beauty and love, of which they sing, these are to be interpreted allegorically, recalling thereby the mystical works of Ibn al-Fāriḍ and Ibn al-ʿArabī. The poem which had the most success is the one devoted to the saints of Meknes, and which begins thus: *āsh mən ʿār ʿalīkum a rdjāl Məknās? mshāt dārī fī ḥmākum yā hl ləkrāyəm'* About four years before his death, which took place at Meknes on 25 Ramaḍān 1266/4 Aug. 1850, he went into a trance, and never again set foot in the *Djāmiʿ al-Zaytūna*, where he had been accustomed to perform the Friday prayer.

He is said to have lived 112 *hidjra* years, *i.e.*, 109 Gregorian years, which would give as the date of his birth 1154/1741.

Bibliography: Ibn Zaydān, *Itḥāf*, v, 336-52; A. Gannūn, *Nubūgh*, iii, 327-9; A. Mashrāfī, *al-Ḥusām al-mashrafī*, 288-90; E. Lévi-Provençal, *La Chanson dite de Sīdī 'l-ʿAlwī*, in *Arch. Berb.*, iv (1919-20), 67-75; M. al-Fāsī, *al-Adab al-shaʿbī*, in *Tiṭwān*, vi (1964), 28; Ibn Sūda, *Dalīl*, i, 191, 206, ii, 402; M. T. Buret, *Sidi Qaddur El-Alami*, in *Hespéris*, 1938/1, 85-90; Nāṣirī, *Istiḳṣā*, ix, 61.

(M. LAKHDAR)

ḲADDŪRA AL-DJAZĀʾIRĪ. Of Tunisian ancestry, but settled in Algeria, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammād b. Saʿīd was, like his father, Saʿīd b. Ibrāhīm (d. Shawwāl 1066/July-Aug. 1656), the most learned man and greatest mufti of Algeria of his time. Amongst his most brilliant disciples was Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Muḥammad Ibn Zākūr al-Fāsī, to whom he was the last to grant an *idjāza* (beginning of Radjab 1094/26 June 1683). He died at Algiers on 15 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1098/12 Oct. 1687.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 288 and n. 5; Ḳādirī, *Nashr*, ii, 93; idem, *Iltiḳāṭ*, fol. 40r; idem, *al-Nashr al-kabīr*, ii, fol. 148r; Joachim de Gonzalez, *Essai chron. sur les Mus. célèbres de la ville d'Alger*, 20; Ḥafnāwī, *Taʿrīf al-khalaf bi-ridjāl al-salaf*, ii, 382.

(M. LAKHDAR)

ḲADHF (A.), slanderous accusation of fornication (*zināʾ* [*q.v.*]), or of illegitimate descent; in this latter case, it amounts to accusing the mother of fornication. The guilty party is punished by a fixed penalty (*ḥadd*) of 80 lashes, laid down by the Ḳurʾān (XXIV, 4). A slave guilty of the same crime therefore receives only 40 lashes, on account of the general principles of *fiḳh*. According to the majority of *fuḳahāʾ*, *ḳadhf* only occurs if the expressions used by the slanderer expressly relate to the fornication or illegitimate descent of the person who is slandered. The Mālikīs alone consider as *ḳadhf* an accusation expressed by allusion (*taʿrīḍ*) or by preterition, which considerably extends the scope of the crime amongst them.

It is necessary to make clear at once that if, on account of the very restrictive interpretation put upon *ḳadhf* by the majority of schools, certain slanderous accusations are not of a kind to warrant punishment by the ḳurʾānic penalty, the judge may in such a case, by virtue of his discretionary powers (*taʿzīr* [*q.v.*],) inflict on the guilty party another penalty less than the ḳurʾānic *ḥadd* (but in Mālikī law it may be greater).

Any person having attained puberty and being in possession of his reason, whether he be slave or free, Muslim or not, may be punished for committing *ḳadhf*. The only ones to escape, apart from those who can produce four witnesses to prove the truthfulness of their statements, are the progenitors (except in the Mālikī school which admits no exceptions) and the husband if, after formulating an accusation of adultery against his wife, he has recourse to the procedure of *liʿān* [*q.v.*]. But, on the other hand, *ḳadhf* in the technical sense only occurs if the slandered person is *muḥṣan*. This expression in the context of *ḳadhf* (unlike that of *zināʾ*) can only be applied to a person who has reached puberty (except in Mālikī law, which protects even people below the age of puberty against the accusation of illegitimate descent, for example); this person, being in the possession of reason, must, moreover, be free, Muslim, and have no previous conviction for fornication. If the slandered person lacks one of the qualities set out above, the author of the crime may only be given a punishment by *taʿzīr*, and not by the Ḳurʾānic *ḥadd*. The slandered person need not be alive at the time of the action; all his heirs, according to the majority of the *fuḳahāʾ*, or certain of them (according to the minority), may instigate a court action to punish for the *ḳadhf* if the *de cujus* had not done it in his lifetime.

Bibliography: All the works of *fiḳh* include a chapter on *ḳadhi*. See, for example, Kāsānī, *Badāʾiʿ al-ṣanāʾiʿ*, Cairo 1327, xvii, 40-65; Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ, *Mukhtaṣar*, tr. Bousquet, Algiers 1962, iv, 50-1. For comparisons between schools: Aḥmad Fatḥī Bahnasī, *al-Djarāʾim fi 'l-fiḳh al-islāmī*, Cairo 1959, 123 ff.; L. Bercher, *Les Délits et les peines de droit commun prévus par le Coran*, Tunis 1926, 119-28; J. Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law*, Oxford 1964, 179.

(Y. LINANT DE BELLEFONDS)

ḲĀḌĪ (A.), "judge", a representative of authority, invested with the power of jurisdiction (*ḳaḍāʾ*). In theory, the head of the community, the caliph, is the holder of all powers; like all other state officials, the *ḳāḍī* is therefore a delegate (*nāʾib*)—direct, if appointed by the Caliph in person, indirect and in varying degrees according to the situation if nominated by intermediate representatives (*wazīr*, governor of a province, etc.). But in all cases the delegator retains the power to do justice in person (the principle of „*retained justice.*")

There is a *ḳāḍī* in the capital and a *ḳāḍī* in the leading town of each of the great territorial divisions. But each of these can appoint direct delegates. The *ḳāḍī*'s justice has always been exercised by a single *ḳāḍī*. At the most he may be instructed to consult qualified jurists (*shūrā*). In the Muslim West, particularly in Spain, this practice was even elevated into a system; alongside each *ḳāḍī* was a *consilium* of jurists, whose role was purely consultative. The collegiate system was applied only in the extraordinary justice of the *maẓālim* [*q.v.*]. Moreover, there were no degrees of jurisdiction; every *ḳāḍī*, although delegated by another, pronounced judgement without appeal, apart from recourse to the *maẓālim*.

The objective being the application of the *sharʿ*, which is essentially religious law, the function of the *ḳāḍī* is of this same character.

In theory, the competence of the *ḳāḍī* is general, embracing both civil and penal cases. The religious nature of his office has led to the acquisition of administrative functions of the same nature, such as the administration of mosques and *waḳf*s [*q.v.*]. However, his competence in penal matters is extremely limited; being responsible for enforcing the *sharʿ*, he is restricted solely to the very few crimes envisaged by that law, while their repression is concurrently undertaken by the *shurṭa* [*q.v.*], the organism responsible for the maintenance of public order. In fact, it is this organism which undertakes repressive jurisdiction in general, a function which it fulfills officially, and outside the constraints and limitations of the *sharʿ* (the discretionary punishment of crimes).

In those Islamic states—such as the Ottoman empire—which in the middle of the 19th century set out to modernize their structure, the office of *ḳāḍī* had been maintained until that time. Thereafter, it has survived only within the limited sphere of personal status and certain other specialised questions (inheritance, *waḳfs*).

The institution of the *ḳaḍāʾ al-ḳuḍāt* (the holders'

title being *ḳāḍi 'l-ḳuḍāt* "the judge of judges") was so to speak the crowning point of the system of judicial organization of the Islamic state, and, combined with the institution of the *wizāra*, to which was delegated the executive power and which appeared during the same period, it was the final and highest step in the organization of that state, under the authority of the caliph.

Until the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd, the only *ḳāḍīs*, in the capital and in the various provinces, were of uniform status, with no hierarchy among themselves. The procedure for introducing the new régime was very simple: between the years 174/786 and 182/798, the caliph elevated the office of *ḳāḍī* of his capital to that of *ḳāḍi 'l-ḳuḍāt*, while delegating to the holder authority for the general administration of justice. In fact, the institution of *ḳāḍi 'l-ḳuḍāt* was an adaptation of the Persian institution of *mōbedān-mōbed*. The ancient Arab authors did not fail to notice the close relationship between them.

The evolution of the office was to pass through four successive stages. While the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate more or less maintained its general authority, until the appearance of the Fāṭimid Caliphate (372/984), there existed only the one *ḳāḍi 'l-ḳuḍāt* of Baghdād. However, the Fāṭimid Caliphate introduced an identical organism in Cairo. Subsequently, and corresponding with the process of the divesting of authority particularly within the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate, the various kingdoms or principalities set up on their own account some *ḳāḍi 'l-ḳuḍāt* (very markedly after the 6th/12th century).

From the beginning of the Mamlūk period (663/1264) two new phenomena appear. On the one hand, the number of *ḳāḍi 'l-ḳuḍāt* increased; they were to be found within the principal divisions of the realm (*niyābāt*). But despite their title, these officials were merely the delegates of the *ḳāḍi 'l-ḳuḍāt* of the capital. The second phenomenon was the institution, in the capital, in addition to the previously existing office of *ḳāḍi 'l-ḳuḍāt* of the Shāfiʿ *madhhab*, of three other positions of *ḳāḍi 'l-ḳuḍāt* for the three other Sunnī *madhhabs*—Ḥanafī, Mālikī and Ḥanbalī. These also had their corresponding figures in most of the principal *niyābāt*.

The *ḳāḍi 'l-ḳuḍāt* is, above all, a judge. But to him is delegated the judicial administration: the nomination, control and dismissal of the *ḳāḍīs*; the special jurisdictions (*shurṭa, ḥisba, ḳaḍāʾ al-ʿaskar*) fall outside his authority; still more is this true of the jurisdiction of the *maẓālim*, which is the prerogative of the sovereign or his qualified representative, a minister or a governor of a province. This additional responsibility has moreover remained of "political" character; it has not been recognised in doctrine.

In outline, the powers of judicial administration of the *ḳāḍi 'l-ḳuḍāt* were exercised, more or less successively, in two different forms. From the start of the institution until the end of the 3rd/9th century and even, in general, during the 4th/10th, the *ḳāḍi 'l-ḳuḍāt* in the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate did not exercise his authority in his own name. Thus, the deeds of nomination of *ḳāḍīs* emanated from the caliph himself. The *ḳāḍi 'l-ḳuḍāt* plays a role only in presenting candidates. This situation continued for some time during the Fāṭimid Caliphate. But from then onwards, the *ḳāḍi 'l-ḳuḍāt* exercised their powers personally, as part of the general delegation that they had received.

The delegating authority was at first the caliph, and then, from the middle of the 4th/10th century, the sultan; finally, it was often the minister.

The *ḳāḍi 'l-djamāʿa*. In its origins, the institution of the *ḳaḍāʾ al-djamāʿa* of Muslim Spain differs considerably from the *ḳaḍāʾ al-ḳuḍāt* of the East. At that time it was merely a matter of a new title which ʿAbd al-Raḥmān gave, between 138/755 and 141/758, to the *ḳāḍī* of the Spanish territory already conquered, until then known as *ḳāḍi 'l-djund* (*ḳāḍī* of the military district). No doubt it was to indicate that the territory over which he had just asserted his independent authority was no longer merely a province of the Caliphate, that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān rejected the old name; and moreover that, in place of *djund*, he substituted the term *djamāʿa* (community of Muslims), both to signify that henceforward he was the sole legitimate authority of the Muslim world, and also as a mark of distinction from the judges of the native populations, the vast majority of whom remained strangers to Islam. Thus, in the particular circumstances, it was not a question of borrowing some foreign institution; nor was it a matter of new duties coming to be added to the jurisdictional function, properly speaking. Moreover, the term *djamāʿa* had already been in use for a long time, in Arabo-Muslim circles, to denote the holder of an office concerned with these circles, when the Muslim were still in a minority. Thus, the judge of the group of Muslims at the battle of Yarmūk (15/636) had been called *ḳāḍi 'l-djamāʿa*. However, by reason of the general conditions under which he had to perform his duties, the new *ḳāḍi 'l-djamāʿa*, a confidant of the sovereign who for his part was absorbed by his other occupations, was naturally bound to play the part of counsellor to the sovereign, as far as judicial administration was concerned.

Having once started upon this path, the institution was not slow to coincide with the *ḳaḍāʾ al-ḳuḍāt*. Moreover, at some period after the 3rd/9th century which cannot however be defined more precisely, it is known that the *ḳāḍi 'l-djamāʿa* directly exercised powers of judicial administration and nominated provincial *ḳāḍīs*. From the beginning of the 5th/11th century, the name *ḳāḍi 'l-ḳuḍāt* was applied indiscriminately to the *ḳāḍi 'l-djamāʿa*.

Moreover, as was the case in the East, the small kingdoms which came into being as a result of the decline of the Umayyad Caliphate showed their independence by each creating on its own account the office of *ḳāḍi 'l-djamāʿa*, also called *ḳāḍi'l-ḳuḍāt*. It should be added that the institution did not remain peculiar to Muslim Spain, but became general throughout the Muslim West.

Bibliography: H. F. Amedroz, *The office of Kadi*, in *JRAS*, 1910, 778; W. F. A. Behrnauer, *Institutions de police chez les Arabes*, in *JA*, 1860-1; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, in *REI*, 1939, 112; idem, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamluks*; R. Gottheil, *A distinguished family of fatemide cadis*, in *JAOS*, 1906, 217; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, 118 ff.; A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, index; E. Pröbster, *Die Anwaltschaft in islamischen Rechts*, in *Islamica*, 1932, 545; J. Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964; Thagi-Nasr, *Essai sur l'histoire du droit persan*, thesis, Paris 1932; Annemarie Schimmel, *Kalif und Kadi im spätmittelalterlichen Ägypten*, Leipzig 1943 (= *WI*, xxiv, 1942); E. Tyan, *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam* [2], Leiden 1960; idem, *Autorité de la chose jugée en droit musulman*, in *St. Isl.*, xvii, 81 ff.,

(E. Tyan)

Ottoman Empire. According to the Turkish chronicles the appointment of the first *ḳāḍī* can be related to the events that made ʿOthmān independent. Karadjaḥiṣār was occupied as early as about 1290 A.D., but ʿOthmān did not appoint a *ḳāḍī* there until around 1300; it was then that the *faḳīh* Dursun, who became jointly *ḳāḍī* and *khaṭīb*, first read the *khuṭba* [*q.v.*] in the name of ʿOthmān as the sign of sovereignty (ʿĀshīḳpashazāde, German tr., ed. R. Kreutel, 39-40; Neshrī, ed. F. R. Unat, 108-10). With the expansion of the Ottoman empire the number of the *ḳāḍīs* increased so quickly that a new office soon had to be set up to supervize them. Therefore when Murād I appointed the first *ḳāḍī ʿasker*[*q.v.*] in Bursa around 764/1363, he put him in charge not only of the military jurisdiction but also of the supervision of the *ḳāḍīs*.

The *ḳāḍīs* were already paid under Orkhān (Neshrī, *op. cit.*, 186) but the amount was so inconsiderable that Bāyazīd—although he was on the point of punishing them severely for corruption—on discovering this, ordered that they should be given two per cent of every inheritance and two *aḳčes* for each written document (ʿĀshīḳpāshazāde, *op. cit.*, 104 and Neshrī, *op. cit.*, 338). Their salary was reviewed on later occasions, and according to Meḥemmed II's code they were authorized to receive seven *aḳčes* for a *sidjill* (record), 12 for a copy of the *sidjill*, 32 for a *hüdjdjet* (certificate), 12 for their signature, 30 *aḳčes* on the marriage of a maiden and 15 on that of a widow, and two per cent of every inheritance. Besides this, they also received a daily allowance, fixed at between 10 and 500 *aḳčes* in the time of Meḥemmed II.

The district over which a *ḳāḍī* had jurisdiction was called a *ḳaḍāʾ* [*q.v.*] or *ḳażāʾ*, consisting of one or more *nāḥiye* [*q.v.*]. According to the extent of the *ḳaḍāʾ*, the *ḳāḍī* had a certain number of deputies, called *nāʾibs* [*q.v.*]. Next in rank to the *ḳāḍīs* of the *ḳażāʾs* were the *ḳāḍīs* of the *sandjaks* [*q.v.*], then the *eyālets* [*q.v.*]. The *ḳāḍī* districts of the larger or more important places were called *mewlewiyets* [*q.v.*]. In the 9th/15th century the districts of the *ḳāḍīs* in Istanbul, Edirne, Bursa, Selānik, Filibe and Sofia were *mewlewiyets*; their number increased greatly as the empire expanded.

The *ḳāḍīs* were appointed by the *ḳāḍī ʿasker* if their daily allowance was less than 150 *aḳčes*; otherwise their appointment was proposed to the sultan by the grand vizier, on the basis of the *ḳāḍī ʿasker*'s opinion. From the end of the 10th/16th century, however, the increased influence of the *shaykh al-islām* [*q.v.*] was reflected in the appointment of the *ḳāḍīs*.

The latter were appointed to the *ḳaḍāʾs* for 20 months and to the *mewlewiyets* for one year, and after the expiry of their term they became unpaid ex-office-holders (*maʿzūl ḳāḍīs*) until their turn came round again. In the meantime, the number of the free schools, supported by the *waḳfs* [*q.v.*] (religious foundations) increased so much that in the reign of Sulaymān I the number of applicants for the offices greatly exceeded the number of the posts available in the empire. Therefore from 965/1557 on, on the advice of the grand *muftī* Abu 'l-Suʿūd, all who graduated from higher schools and passed their final examination were officially listed in order that they would be granted posts in due course. At the beginning of the 11th/17th century there were ten applicants waiting for one *ḳāḍī* post to fall vacant (*Koçi Bey Risalesi*, ed. A. K. Aksüt, 108). The *maʿzūl* system which resulted reduced not only the *ḳāḍīs* but all the functionaries to idleness, thus affecting basically the whole administration of the Ottoman empire. Only after the *tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] was it decided that beside officials of higher ranks (*e.g.*, the *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul) every ex-office-holder should receive according to his merits a half, a third or a quarter of his pay while he was unemployed. This system was called *maʿzūliyet maʿāshī*.

The authority of the *ḳāḍī* covered such a large area of responsibility that the full meaning of the title cannot be accurately rendered by the word "judge". Besides the usual legal matters, they held confidential posts to which they were appointed by the government, which expected them to report from time to time on the activities of high ranking officials, the general situation and the mood of the population. They had to see that crafsmen were attached to the army before it set off to war, that roads were safe, and that goods needed for domestic consumption were not exported. As well as this they had to supervise the public affairs of the cities, the suitability of buildings, the guilds, the quality of goods and their prices. They were also responsible for seeing that foodstuffs were sold at officially fixed prices and the *devshirme* [*q.v.*] conducted properly. They were important as public notaries; their function was to issue different kinds of certificates and documents concerning sales, contracts, loans and the occasional manumission of slaves, to attest private and public documents, and to supervise the accounts of the *waḳf* incomes and endorse them with an authentication clause.

This extended authority of the *ḳāḍīs* was restricted in the 19th century by the endeavours of reformers, and after the proclamation of the Turkish republic the very title was abolished. Thus the institution became a thing of the past, but the vast written material pertaining to it is of great interest to historians. The *ḳāḍīs* recorded in their *sidjills* the directives of the central government and the judicial and notarial affairs brought before them and these records are one of the most valuable sources of Turkish history.

Bibliography: İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin ilmiye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1965, 83-145; H. A. R. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, i/2, Oxford 1957, 121-33; M. Akdağ, *Türkiye'nin iktisadî ve içtimaî tarihi*, ii, 1453-1559, Ankara 1971, 63-81; H. İnalcık, *Adâletnâmeler*, in *Türk Tarih Belgeleri Dergisi*, ii (Ankara 1967), 75-79; F. Selle, *Prozessrecht des 16. Jahrhunderts im osmanischen Reich*, Wiesbaden 1962; H. Sobotta, *Das Amt des Kadi im osmanischen Reich* (unpublished thesis), Münster 1954; M. T. Gökbilgin, *XVI asırda mukataa ve iltizam işlerinde kadılık müessesesinin rolü*, in *IV. Türk Tarih Kongresi* (Ankara 1952), 433-44; R. Ziyaoğlu, *İstanbul kadıları-şehreminleri-Belediye Reisleri ve partiler tarihi. 1453-1971 İdari-Siyasi*, Istanbul 1971; H. Ongan, *Ankara'nın 1 numaralı şerʾiye sicili*, Ankara 1958; H. W. Duda - G. D. Galabov, *Die Protokollbücher des Kadiamtes Sofia*, Munich 1960; U. Heyd, *Studies in old Ottoman criminal law*, Oxford 1973.

(GY. KÁLDY NAGY)

ḲĀḌĪ ʿASKAR (A.), "judge of the army". The first data relating to the institution of the *ḳāḍī ʿaskar* date from the 2nd/8th century: Kindī mentions that after Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī had become the governor of Egypt (c. 132/750), he organized a military expedition and appointed a judge over each unit of his army (E. Tyan, *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam* [2], Leiden 1960, 529-30). In the Ayyūbid state the office of the *ḳāḍī leshker* (*i.e.*, *ḳāḍī ʿaskar*) first came into being in Saladin's time (1138-93) (İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâ-*

tına medhal[2], Ankara 1970, 387). The Anatolian Saldjūḳs also had the institution of *ḳāḍī leshker*, as is first mentioned in sources referring to the 1270s (*op. cit.*, 122-3, 140).

In the Ottoman empire Murād I appointed the first *ḳāḍī ʿasker* in Bursa in 765/1363, with authority for military jurisdiction and also supervisory powers over all *ḳāḍīs*. Later, in 886/1481, Meḥemmed II established a second office of *ḳāḍī ʿasker* with the same wide range of functions, thereby dividing the empire into two parts each containing a *ḳāḍī ʿasker*, one for Anatolia and the other for Rumelia; the latter was the more important of the two. As a result of further conquests, in 922/1516 Selīm I set up a third *ḳāḍī ʿasker* office in Diyārbekir with the title *ʿArab we ʿAdjem ḳāḍī ʿaskerligi*, but soon after the occupation of Syria and Egypt he abolished it.

Up to the 11th/17th century the *ḳāḍī ʿasker* was appointed on the advice of the grand vizier, and later that of the *muftī* of Istanbul, although it was considered desirable that both should be in agreement. The *ḳāḍī ʿasker*, like the *ḳāḍīs* [*q.v.*] of higher rank, was appointed for an annual term, but this could be prolonged if it seemed necessary. Their daily payment (500 *aḳčes*) was not more than that of the *ḳāḍīs*; their income, however, was a great deal higher because they were awarded 15 per thousand of the soldiers' estates (recorded separately in the *ḳassām defteri*).

The influence of the Anatolian and Rumelian *kādī ʿaskers* was greatly increased by the fact that both were members of the imperial council (*dīwān-i humāyūn* [*q.v.*]). Besides this, they were authorized to appoint *ḳāḍīs* who received less than 150 *aḳčes* as well as to fill vacancies in schools and mosques. However, they began to lose their influence and leading position after the middle of the 16th century when, as a result of the activity of Abu 'l-Suʿūd, power passed into the hands of the spiritual leader of Islam, the grand *muftī* of Istanbul. The *ḳāḍī ʿaskers*, however, remained members of the *dīwān-i humāyūn* until the middle of the 19th century. The offices of the Anatolian and Rumelian *ḳāḍī ʿaskers* existed until 1914, when the two were united. However, the reorganized office of the Anatolian *ḳāḍī ʿasker* was short-lived, for it was abolished under the Turkish republic.

Bibliography: M. F. Köprülüzade, *Bizans müesseselerinin...te'siri*, in *Türk Hukuk ve Iktisat Tarihi Mecmuası*, i, Istanbul 1931, 195-8; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948, 228-41; idem, *Osmanlı devletinin ilmiye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1965, 151-60; U. Heyd, *Studies in old Ottoman criminal law*, Oxford 1973. (Gy. Káldy Nagy)

AL-ḲĀḌĪ AL-FĀḌIL, Abū ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Lakhmī al-Baysānī al-ʿAsḳalānī, Mūḥyī (Mudjīr) al-Dīn, the famous counsellor and secretary to Saladin, was born on 15 Djumādā II 529/3 April 1135 at ʿAsḳalān [*q.v.*], where his father, a native of Baysān, known as al-Ḳāḍī al-Ashraf, was the judge. He was put by his father into the *Dīwān al-inshāʾ* at Cairo as a trainee, about 543-4/1148-9. Already before 548/1153 he entered the service of the *ḳāḍī* of Alexandria, Ibn Ḥadīd, as a secretary. As the elegant reports he drafted there brought him to the attention of the Cairo authorities, he was recalled to Cairo by the last representative of the family of viziers, the Banū Ruzzīk, al-ʿĀdil Ruzzīk b. al-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalāʾiʿ, as head of the *Dīwān al-Djaysh* [see dīwān]. A little later, when Ruzzīk had been set aside by Shāwar, the prefect of Ḳūṣ, al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil entered the service of Shāwar's son Kāmil as secretary, and, after the murder of Shāwar, the service of Shīrkūh, his successor as vizier. In 563/1167-8 he replaced Ibn al-Khallāl, the director of the *Dīwān al-inshāʾ* under whom he had begun his career, in his functions, and, after the death of the latter on 23 Djumādā II 566/4 March 1171, he became his successor, Saladin having meanwhile taken over the functions of vizier. The following year, after the death of the last Fāṭimid, when Saladin himself became ruler of Egypt, al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil was his right hand man in the execution of the necessary reforms in the fiscal and military administration. He then accompanied the sultan on his expeditions to Syria; from 585 to 586/1189-90 he remained in Egypt to control the administration of finance and reorganise the army and the fleet. Subsequently he returned to Syria and stayed with Saladin until his death on 27 Ṣafar 589/5 March 1193. When al-Malik al-Afḍal, who had seized power in Damascus, rapidly compromised his position by imprudent actions, al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil went to Egypt to serve al-Malik al-ʿAzīz. Soon afterwards war broke out between the two brothers, but al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil, through his mediation, brought it to an end in 591/1195. After this he returned to private life. He died suddenly on 6 or 7 Rabīʿ II 596/26 or 27 January 1200.

Of the official writings of al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil while at the *Dīwān al-inshāʾ*, many examples have survived, in manuscript form (Helbig, see below), in early collections such as that of his emulator a century later, Muḥyī al-Dīn b. ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *al-Durr al-naẓīm min tarassul ʿAbd al-Raḥīm*, ed. Cairo 1959, in the works of chroniclers such as, in particular, his colleague and friend ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī [*q.v.*] or at a later date Abū Shāma, in compilations of *inshāʾ* such as that of al-Ḳalḳashandī [*q.v.*] in particular, and lastly in various works such as the *Kharīda* of the same ʿImād al-Dīn (for a correspondence with Usāma b. Munḳidh see H. Derenbourg, *Vie d'Ousama*, 383 ff.). While he was in office, he also edited an official diary known by the name of *Mutadjaddidāt* (according to Maḳrīzī) or *Mādjarāyāt* (according to Kamāl al-Dīn b. al-ʿAdīm; according to the latter the compilation was partly the work of the historian of the same period Abū Ghālib al-Shaybānī), of which considerable extracts have been preserved by these writers. Al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil was also the author of a considerable volume of poetry in part mingled with his correspondence.

It has often been said that al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil was vizier to Saladin. This he never was: Saladin, who first achieved power in Egypt as vizier of the Fāṭimid caliph, never took a vizier himself. Al-Fāḍil was, however, a counsellor whose advice was heeded, and the director of his chancellery. The personal prestige he enjoyed in his old age was considerable; but it was not so much to the loftiness of his moral purpose, as to the exceptional quality of his private and official epistolary style that he owed his extraordinary reputation among his contemporaries and his emulators in subsequent generations. This style, which can be compared to that of his collaborator and friend ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, combines richness (perhaps a little less prolix) and suppleness of form with a realistic treatment of the facts, a lesson too often forgotten by later writers, which makes his correspondence a valuable historical source. It is all the more strange to note that the work, which was considered to be a model by thousands of secretaries, has not yet found an editor in modern times. The Diary is lost, the *Dīwān* has been published recently

(by Aḥmad A. Badawī and Ibrāhīm al-Ibyārī, Cairo 1961, 2 vols.), but the correspondence is still only accessible in the form of extracts found in the works mentioned above. The ideal would be to establish a concordance of all these extracts and manuscript collections; a long, exacting, but indispensable task, which was begun but by no means finished by Helbig, and which will be taken up again.

Bibliography: Almost everything said by the numerous authors who devote a biography to al-Ķāḍī al-Fāḍil goes back to the chroniclers of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and to the account given by his friend ʿImād al-Dīn, who died a few months later, and reproduced by Abū S͟hāma *s.a.* 596. In addition, see in particular Ibn K͟hallikān, no. 384, and Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *op. cit.* In modern literature the fundamental work is still that of Ad. Helbig, *Al-Qadi al-Fadil*, Diss. Heidelberg, 1908. See also Walther Björkmann, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, 1928, and Horst-Adolf Hein, *Beiträge zur Ayyubidischen Diplomatik*, Diss. Freiburg/Br. 1968, with bibliography; *GAL*, I, 315, S I, 549; Hilmy M. Ahmad, in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. Holt and Lewis, 95-6 and n. 16; A. S. Ehrenkreutz, *Saladin*, Albany N. Y. 1972, index.

(C. BROCKELMANN-[CL. CAHEN])

AL-ĶĀḌĪ AL-HARAWĪ [see AL-ʿABBĀDĪ].

ĶĀḌĪ K͟HĀN, FAK͟HR AL-DĪN AL-ḤASAN B. MANṢŪR AL-FARG͟HĀNĪ, 6th/12th century Ḥanafī jurist (d. Ramaḍān 592/August 1196), a native of Transoxania, who wrote commentaries on those works of Muḥammad al-S͟haybānī, Abū Ḥanīfa's disciple, recognized as *ẓāhir al-riwāya* (authentic version). A few manuscript copies of his commentaries are extant, notably a *S͟harḥ al-Dj̲āmiʿ al-ṣag͟hīr* and a *S͟harḥ al-Ziyādāt* in the Cairo National Library. Ķāḍī K͟hān's fame rests on his *Fatāwā*, also called *al-Fatāwā al-k͟hāniyya*, not, as the name would seem to suggest, a collection of practical decisions but rather a theoretical work, analogous in form and in essence with all treatises on *fiķh*. Nevertheless, Ķāḍī K͟hān was less preoccupied than the other *fuķahāʾ* with abstract explanations and methodology (*uṣūl*). This was perhaps the reason for the success of the *Fatāwā* in the eyes of practitioners, especially in India, where the first printed editions of the work appeared (Calcutta 1835). Nowadays the preferred text is the Būlāķ one, where the text is printed on the margin of the first three volumes of *Fatāwā hindiyya* (1310).

Ķāḍī K͟hān was one of those men whom the Ḥanafī school agreed should be classed as qualified to handle *idj̲tihad* [*q.v.*] and to put forward new solutions in legal matters. He was the last jurist of the classical period of Ḥanafī law, a time when a measure of legislative creativity was still possible.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳuṭlūbug͟hā, ed. Flügel (*Abh. d. DMG*, ii, no. 3), 16 no. 56; O. Flügel, *Die Classen der hanefit. Rechtsgelehrten*, in *Abh. d. Kön. Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, viii (1860), 314; M. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Laknawī, *al-Fawāʾid al-bahiyya fī tarādj̲im al-Ḥanafiyya*, Cairo 1324, 64-5; Ḥādj̲djī K͟halīfa, ed. Flügel, no. 2640; Brockelmann, I, 376; W. Pertsch, *Kat. der Arab. Hss. in Gotha*, no. 999.

(TH. W. JUYNBOLL — [Y. LINANT DE BELLEFONDS])

ĶĀḌĪ 'L-ĶUḌĀT [see ĶĀḌĪ].

ĶĀḌĪ MUḤAMMAD, a Sunnī of the S͟hāfiʿī *mad͟hhab*, b. *c.* 1895, was head of the leading aristocratic and religious family of Mahābād [*q.v.*] (the principal town of the Kurdish part of the province of Ād͟harbaydj̲ān since separated as the Third Ostan), where there was a tradition of lively Kurdish cultural activity. After succeeding his father, ʿAlī, as *ķāḍī* he quickly established a reputation for outstanding competence and incisiveness alike as judge, orator and practical man of affairs.

In August 1941 the Anglo-Russian invasion of Persia was followed by a general rising of the Kurdish tribes and the total breakdown of the machinery of government. At Mahābād a committee of townsmen, headed by the *ķāḍī* and supported by the tribal chiefs, took over the local administration. A political party, the Society for the Revival of Kurdistan, formed by a group of young nationalist intellectuals, later co-opted the *ķāḍī* as president. Kurdish was introduced as the language of instruction in the schools, and nationalistic emotions were aroused by theatrical productions, the publication of anthologies of patriotic verse, and other journalistic activities in that tongue. Although the last vestiges of government authority had long disappeared, it was not until 22 January 1946 that the Autonomous Kurdish Republic was proclaimed with Ķāḍī Muḥammad as president.

The withdrawal of the Soviet forces four months later opened the way for the central government to reassert its authority. With the reoccupation of Tabrīz on 13 December both the Mahābād Republic and the larger Communist "Democratic Republic" of (Persian) Ād͟harbaydj̲ān, set up in the Turkic-speaking parts of the province, collapsed. Ķāḍī Muḥammad surrendered four days later and, after trial on a charge of treason, was hanged on 31 March 1947.

Although the Kurdish Republic, as such, lasted only eleven months, the committee led by the *ķāḍī* had administered the district with commendable efficiency and success for over five years.

Bibliography: A. Roosevelt Jr., in *MEJ*, i (1947), 247-69; W. Eagleton Jr., *The Kurdish Republic of 1946*, Oxford 1963; Hassan Arfa, *The Kurds*, Oxford 1966, 70-102. (C. J. EDMONDS)

AL-ĶĀḌĪ NUʿMĀN [see NUʿMĀN].

AL-ĶĀḌĪ AL-TAHARTĪ [see IBN AL-RAHĪB].

ĶĀḌĪZĀDE RŪMĪ [see SUPPLEMENT].

ĶAḌĪB, rod, one of the insignia of sovereignty of the caliph. As early as the Umayyad era, the rod (*ķaḍīb*) or staff (*ʿaṣā*) was already, along with the seal, one of the badges of rank which was conveyed with speed to the new caliph on the death of his predecessor. This custom was adhered to under the first ʿAbbāsid caliphs, notably after the death of al-Manṣūr, who ended his life at Mecca, and after the deaths of al-Mahdī and Hārūn al-Ras͟hīd, who perished during an expedition to the eastern provinces; in these cases a special messenger, bearing the *ķaḍīb* and the seal, was despatched to the heir presumptive, who was then in the capital. In the 4th/10th century narratives dealing with caliphal audiences describe the caliph holding the *ķaḍīb* along with other badges of rank. Considered the staff of the Prophet which was received in succession by the first caliphal dynasties who ruled over the Islamic east, and thus endowed with a religious significance borne out by ķurʾānic references to a "staff" carried by biblical prophets such as Mūsā, this rod seems also to have served as a kind of sceptre.

A like appurtenance of sovereign dignity is also attested in Muslim Spain, where the Umayyad caliphs possessed, along with other badges of rank, a rod called *k͟hayzurān*. On the other hand, the ʿAbbāsid caliphs of Cairo in the Mamlūk era had lost the rod, but even so it did not pass into the hands of the sultans

and seems no longer to have figured in the Ottoman ceremonial. Nevertheless the rod or staff (*ʿaṣā*) of the sovereign became in later literature the symbol of power, as is demonstrated in a passage from Ibn Khaldūn (*Muḳaddima*, part iv, ch. 1).

Bibliography: E. Tyan, *Institutions du droit public musulman*, i, *Le califat*, Paris 1954, 490-2; ii, *Califat et sultanat*, Paris 1956, 280; D. Sourdel, *Questions de cérémonial ʿabbāside* in *REI*, 1960, 135 and n. 100; H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig*, Beirut 1969, 205; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, 14. (D. SOURDEL)

ḲADĪM [see ḲIDAM].

ḲADĪN [see MARʾA, SARĀY].

AL-**ḲĀDIR** [see AL-ASMĀʾ AL-ḤUSNĀ].

AL-**ḲĀDIR BI'LLĀH**, 25th caliph of the ʿAbbāsid dynasty, who reigned from 381/991 to 422/1031. Born in 336/947-8, Abu'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Isḥāḳ was the grandson of the Caliph al-Muḳtadir [*q.v.*] and cousin of the Caliph al-Ṭāʾiʿ, who was deposed in 381/991 by the amīr Bahāʾ al-Dawla. Called to assume the caliphate by the latter, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās received the regnal name of al-Ḳādir bi'llāh. The amīr, who had met with some vestiges of resistance in al-Ṭāʾiʿ, hoped to find a more tractable ruler in the person of al-Ḳādir, who had had to flee from the capital to escape the vengeance of his cousin after a family quarrel. In fact, the new caliph at first appeared to make common cause with the amīr and seemed disposed to support his policies. Moreover, the proclamation was not initially recognized by the amīrs in the eastern provinces; it was not until around 390/1000 that the Sāmānids and Ghaznawids decided to recognize the new caliph installed by their Buwayhid rivals. Obliged to give way to the various demands of the chief amīr, in the first stage of his reign al-Ḳādir bestowed on the latter honorific titles comparable with those awarded to ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*], was satisfied with ratifying the nominations he proposed, and agreed to marry Bahāʾ al-Dawla's own daughter, though in fact she died before the marriage was celebrated. He was also content with very limited financial resources. The only demonstrations of his authority were the construction of the sixth Great Mosque in Baghdād, that of Bāb Ḥarb (383/993), and the announcement, before an assembly of pilgrims from Khurāsān (390/1001), that his heir was his son, who was given the appellation al-Ghālib bi'llāh.

From around 390/1000, however, the chief amīr Bahāʾ al-Dawla, who had settled in Shīrāz, treated ʿIrāḳ merely as a province of the kingdom. On account of this the caliph began to enjoy greater freedom. He was thus able to re-establish the ʿAbbāsid *khuṭba* in Yamāma and Baḥrayn. Similarly, he opposed the nomination as chief *ḳāḍī* of a man whom the chief amīr wished also to appoint as *naḳīb* of the ʿAlids, president of the *maẓālim* court and amīr of the pilgrimage, the *sharīf* Abū Aḥmad al-Mūsawī (394/1004). The caliph thus managed to block the universal application of Imāmite law and to ban an ʿAlid from the office of chief *ḳāḍī*. He had previously had the occasion to demonstrate his determination to defend the Sunnī régime which he embodied; in 390/1000 he had addressed a letter to the new *ḳāḍī* of Djīlān asking him to urge the populace to obey the caliph. A few years afterwards, there occurred the incidents which led him to intervene against Imāmism; following controversies concerning Ibn Masʿūd's ḳurʾānic recension, which the Sunnīs considered inexact, and the ensuing disturbances in the capital, the caliph convened a commission of Sunnī scholars, who condemned the suspect version (Radjab 398/April 1006), and soon after arrested and executed a Shīʿī who at Karbalāʾ had dared to anathematize "those who had burned the *muṣḥaf*" of Ibn Masʿūd. In these circumstances the chief amīr intervened to pour oil on troubled waters and to prevent the situation from becoming more grave. As a matter of fact there was a new danger threatening caliph and chief amīr alike: Fāṭimid propaganda making itself felt in the Shīʿī quarters of Baghdād. The name of the Caliph al-Ḥākim [*q.v.*] was hailed during the affair of Ibn Masʿūd's Ḳurʾān and shortly afterwards the amīr of al-Mawṣil, Kirwash, whose authority stretched as far as al-Anbār [*q.v.*], threw in his lot with the Fāṭimid regime and delivered a *khuṭba* in which he professed Ismāʿīlism (Muḥarram 401/August 1010). At once al-Ḳādir sent an emissary to the chief amīr in the person of the theologian al-Bāḳillānī, who had for many years been greatly favoured by the Buwayhid amīrs, and obtained the amīr's intervention in the matter of Kirwash, who re-established the ʿAbbāsid *khuṭba* soon afterwards. He played his part by having read publicly in the palace, in Rabīʿ II 402/November 1011, a manifesto condemning the Fāṭimid doctrine, criticizing the genealogy of the Fāṭimid caliphs, and numbering the Ismāʿīlīs among the enemies of Islam. The manifesto was signed by Imāmī as well as Sunnī scholars.

The death of Bahāʾ al-Dawla in 403/1012 and the succession of his son Sulṭān al-Dawla made no great change in the political situation. It should not be forgotten that for a number of years the agitation of the Arab and Kurdish elements in ʿIrāḳ had progressively weakened Buwayhid power, while the long-standing rivalry between Daylamites and Turks was ignited again in the course of any local disturbances, and incidents between Sunnīs and Shīʿis in Baghdād and other towns could break out at any moment. Al-Ḳādir's main preoccupation was the struggle against any doctrines deemed pernicious and especially those which constituted a danger to the caliphate. From 408/1017 he demanded that the Ḥanafī jurisconsults who had shown some sympathy with Muʿtazilism make an act of penitence; at the same time he forbade the teaching of Muʿtazilī and Shīʿī doctrines. Then, in 409/1018, he had a reading given in the palace of the text called *al-risāla al-ḳādiriyya*, a profession of faith defining the official doctrine which also conformed to the ideas of the Men of Old (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, viii, 109; A. Mez, *Renaissance*, 198-201; G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl*, 299 ff.). Inspired by Ḥanbalite ideas, this text condemned not only Shīʿism in all its forms but also Muʿtazilism and even Ashʿarism, which was denounced for taking a stance that was a dangerous compromise with Muʿtazilism, and also put forward the veneration of the Companions as a genuine obligation. In the same period the chief amīr Sulṭān al-Dawla appeared in Baghdād for the first time: soon after, he retired to Iran and ceded his position to Musharrif al-Dawla, who turned up in Baghdād in Muḥarram 414/March 1023 and demanded that the caliph come to meet him. Al-Ḳādir complied, but he protested soon afterwards when, without seeking the caliph's authorization, the chief amīr wanted to renew the Turkish chieftains' oath of allegiance and procured the amīr's vow of submission and fidelity.

The rivalry which broke out between the Buwayhid princes after the death of Musharrif al-Dawla in 416/1025 gave the caliph the opportunity to play a truly political role once more. Opposed were Djalāl al-

Dawla, the brother of Musharrif al-Dawla, who at once secured the proclamation in the *khutba* of his name, and Abū Kālīdjār [*q.v.*], his nephew, who had himself proclaimed chief amīr by the troops, an announcement ratified by the caliph until those same troops were deserting Abū Kālīdjār and rallying to Djalāl al-Dawla. The latter arrived in Baghdād in 418/1026, installed himself in the amiral palace and assumed certain caliphal prerogatives, but less than a year later the troops clamoured for his dismissal. Al-Kādir despatched the chief notables, the two *naḳībs* and the *ḥādjib*, to inform him that he must withdraw; he did so and was prohibited from returning to the capital for some time afterwards.

The caliph devoted the last years of his reign to reinforcing ʿAbbāsid propaganda. During 420/1029 three letters were solemnly read aloud from the palace: the first denounced Muʿtazilism anew; the second attacked in particular the doctrine of the "created Ḳur'ān"; while the third proclaimed the superiority of the early caliphs and affirmed the obligation to "command good and forbid evil". At the same time doctrines favourable to Muʿtazilism had to be duly amended and the preacher at the mosque of Barāthā was dismissed as a Shīʿi extremist. Moreover the caliph received frequent reports of events in the eastern provinces, where Maḥmūd of Ghazna harried the Shīʿīs and further extended Islamic power by setting out on the conquest of India, while at the same time engaging in battle against the Buwayhids, seizing Rayy in 420/1029 then attacking Kirmān in 422/1031. In 421/1030 the ageing caliph secured the succession by declaring his son Abū Djaʿfar his heir without any reference to the chief amīr. On his death in 422/1031, though it had not regained its traditional power, the caliphate had won a considerable amount of prestige. Above all al-Kādir had worked effectively for the restoration of threatened Sunnism and in this way achieved ends as much political as religious. Al-Kādir's activities were reflected by the redaction of two treatises on public law, the two works entitled *Al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, the one by the Shāfiʿī al-Māwardī [*q.v.*] and the other by the Ḥanbalī Ibn al-Farrā' [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: The basic sources are: Abū Shudjāʿ, *Dhayl tadjārib al-umam, passim*; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii-viii; Ibn al-Athīr. Other sources are mentioned in the following: M. Kabir, *The Buwayhid Dynasty of Baghdad*, Calcutta 1964, *passim*; H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig, Die Buyiden im Iraq*, Beirut 1966, *passim*; see also H. Laoust, *La pensée et l'action politiques d'al-Māwardī*, in *REI*, xxxvi (1968), 11-92; C. E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, Edinburgh 1963, *passim*.

(D. SOURDEL)

AL-KĀDIRĪ, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ṬAYYIB B. ʿABD AL-SALĀM AL-ḤASANĪ AL-KĀDIRĪ, *sharīf*, Moroccan historian and biographer, born in Fās on 7 Rabīʿ I 1124/14 April 1712, died in the same town on 25 Shaʿbān 1187/ 11 November 1773. He was a pupil of the leading scholars of his time but, unlike them, throughout his life revealed an almost complete detachment from the good things of this world. Quite early he turned to Ṣūfism and, to make his living, was content to act as an *ʿadil* (legal witness to a deed). Al-Kādirī left a fairly considerable number of writings. In the list of works, compiled by himself (*Iltiḳāṭ al-durar*, fol. 104 v.), some of the most noteworthy of these (apart from works relating to Muslim learning) are a monograph relating to the saint Kāsim al-Khaṣāṣī, a short work devoted to the *ashrāf* of Sicilian origin, an obituary in *radjaz* on the family of the Fāsiyyūn [*q.v.*], an appendix to the *Kifāyat al-muḥtādj* of Aḥmad Bābā [*q.v.*], etc.: but the most important of al-Kādirī's works are his dictionaries of the celebrities of the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries, the *Iltiḳāṭ al-durar* and the *Nashr al-mathānī*. The first exists only in a few manuscripts. The second, thanks to the lithographed edition (2 vol., Fās 1310/1892 [with an error of pagination in vol. ii between pages 161 and 249]) and the French translation (vol. i, tr. A. Graulle and Maillard, in *Arch. Maroc.*, xxi (1913); vol. ii, tr. E. Michaux-Bellaire, *ibid.*, xxiv (1917)) is well known. These two works, probably the last written by the author, fulfilled the same purpose. While the hagiographic record compiled by Ibn ʿAskar [*q.v.*] had been continued for the 11th/17th century by al-Ifrānī [*q.v.*], for this same century there existed no dictionary of Muslim celebrities of all types. It was this gap that al-Kādirī set out to fill, although he seems to have been unaware of the existence of the *Ṣafwat man intashar* of al-Kattānī [*q.v.*], written at about the same time. The first results of his researches were recorded in the *Iltiḳāṭ al-durar wa-mustafād al-mawāʿiẓ wa'l-ʿibar min akhbār aʿyān al-mi'a al-thāniya wa'l-ḥādiya ʿashar* (which also contains substantial autobiographical elements). In a revised, completed and often abridged form, this work was presented under a new title, *Nashr al-mathānī li-ahl al-ḳarn al-ḥādī ʿashar wa'l-thānī*. The two works thus resemble each other closely. They possess an original feature in that, following the obituaries for each year, they almost always give a résumé of the outstanding political events of that year. It seems that al-Kādirī also produced another version of the *Nashr al-mathānī*, apart from the one lithographed at Fās; this is stated by al-Kattānī (*Salwat al-anfās*, iii, 361), who had in his possession a more complete *Nashr*, covering the period until 1183/1769. This more extensive edition was said to be entitled *al-Azhār al-nādiya fī akhbār ahl al-mi'a al-ḥādiya ʿashar wa'l-thāniya*.

Al-Kādirī was familiar with the whole body of literature relating to the Saʿdids [*q.v.*], but his sympathies lay primarily with Muslim scholars, whether they were like himself Moroccan or not.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the text, see: Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, lith. Fās, 1316/1898, ii, 351 (Graulle in the introduction (of his translation), without regard to the original order has translated Kattānī's note on al-Kādirī); E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 319-26 (indispensable); ʿAbd al-Salām b. Sūdā, *Dalīl mu'arrikh al-Maghrib al-aḳṣā*, Tetuan 1369/1950, no. 3; I. Allouche and A. Regragui, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes de Rabat*, 2nd series, Rabat 1958, nos. 2306-8 and 2161; M. Lakhdar, *La vie littéraire au Maroc sous la dynastie ʿalawide*, Rabat 1971, 240-1 and index. (G. DEVERDUN)

AL-KĀDIRĪ AL-ḤASANĪ, ABU 'L-ʿABBĀS (and Abu 'l-Faḍā'il) AḤMAD B. ʿABD AL-KĀDIR B. ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD, Moroccan mystic who was also a man of the pen and of the sword. He owed his education to his stay at the *zāwiya* of Dilā', profiting from the teaching of qualified masters such as al-Yūsī. He made the pilgrimage twice, in 1083/1673 and in 1100/1689. During his first stay in the East, he followed courses given by doctors learned in Islamic sciences, amongst whom were: ʿAlī al-Udjhurī, ʿAbd al-Bāḳī al-Zurḳānī, and Muḥammad al-Khirshī. At the end of his second journey he composed a *riḥla* with the title *Nasmat al-ās fī ḥidjdjat Sayyidinā Abī*

'l-ʿAbbās (it deals with Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh Maʿn al-Andalusī, in whose company he had visited the Holy Places). He is also the author of the following works: *Djawāb fi 'l-nasab al-ḥasanī wa 'l-ḥusaynī*; *Ta'līf fī nasab al-shurafā' al-ʿAlawiyyīn*; three poems in *radjaz* metre: one on the Companions of the Prophet who had emigrated to Abyssinia, the second on the mosques in which the Prophet had prayed, and the third in *yā'* rhyme on the masters of his time. He passed the rest of his days in the odour of sanctity, devoting himself to the perusal of works of mysticism, and associating only with saints, such as Ķāsim al-Khaṣāṣī, Muḥammad al-ʿArabī Bardalla, and the aforementioned Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh Maʿn. Previously at Fez, he had followed the courses of al-Yūsī and ʿAbd al-Ķādir al-Fāsī. He died at Fez, Monday 19 Djumādā I 1133/18 March 1721, and was buried outside the Bāb al-Futūḥ near the oratory of ʿAdwat al-Andalus.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 294; Ķādirī, *Nashr*, ii, 201; idem, *Iltiķāṭ*, 61v; idem, *al-Nashr al-kabīr*, ii, 71v-72v; idem, *al-Zahr al-bāsim*; Ifrani, *Ṣafwa*, ii, 353; R. Basset, *Recherches*, 28, n. 75; Ibn Sūda, *Dalīl*, i, 80-1, 91, ii, 368, 434; Kattānī, *Salwa*, ii, 353.

(M. LAKHDAR)

AL-ĶĀDIRĪ AL-ḤASANĪ, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD AL-ʿARABĪ B. AL-ṬAYYIB, Moroccan scholar very learned in history and genealogy. He had eminent teachers in the various branches of knowledge, notably ʿAbd al-Ķādir al-Fāsī, his two sons Muḥammad and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, al-Ḥasan al-Yūsī, and the *ķāḍī* Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Fāsī. He frequented well-known mystics, amongst others Ķāsim al-Khaṣāṣī, Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh Maʿn al-Andalusī, in whose company he made the pilgrimage, and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Yamanī. All his works are devoted to mysticism: *al-Ṭurfa fi 'khtiṣār al-Tuḥfa* (which is a history of the Djazūlī and Zarrūķī movement from the beginning until his own time, and a résumé of the work of al-Mahdī al-Fāsī), a treatise on the descendants of *shaykh* ʿAbd al-Ķādir b. Mūsā al-Ḥasanī al-Djīlānī, and another on the saints of Fez with the title *al-Taʿrīf bi-ṣulaḥā' Fās wa-akhbārihim*; he had given the draft of this, when he was about to travel to the east, into the keeping of Muḥammad b. ʿAyshūn al-Sharrāṭ, who appropriated it, passing it off as his own. Muḥammad al-ʿArabī al-Ķādirī also composed a *kunnāsh* which, his biographers say, contained most interesting information. He died at the end of Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1106/11 Aug. 1695, and was buried outside Bāb al-Futūḥ at Fez in the place called Maṭraḥ al-Djamra.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 275-6; ʿAbd al-Salām al-Ķādirī, *al-Durr al-sanī*, 62; Dilā'ī, *Natīdjat al-taḥķīķ*, 20; Ķādirī, *Nashr*, ii, 158; idem, *Iltiķāṭ*, 46v; idem, *al-Nashr al-kabīr*, ii, 184v-187r; Kattānī, *Salwa*, ii, 345; R. Basset, *Recherches*, 27, no. 69; Ibn Sūda, *Dalīl*, i, 51, 200, ii, 294, 314, 463.

(M. LAKHDAR)

AL-ĶĀDIRĪ AL-ḤASANĪ, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ʿABD AL-SALĀM B. AL-ṬAYYIB, celebrated Moroccan genealogist of the Chorfa. Born at Fez, 10 Ramaḍān 1058/28 Sept. 1648, he followed there the courses of eminent teachers, including ʿAbd al-Ķādir al-Fāsī and his two sons, Muḥammad and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, al-Yūsī, al-ʿArabī b. Aḥmad al-Fishtālī, and Aḥmad b. al-ʿArabī b. al-Ḥādjdj. He was accomplished in lexicography, rhetoric, logic, dialectic, and *ḥadīth* and its principles (*ʿuṣūl*). But his speciality was genealogy in general and that of the Banū Hāshim and of the ʿAlawī branch in particular. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Ķādirī left an important body of work dealing with most aspects of learning. The following works may be cited, according to discipline: a) Literature: a *dīwān* and a *fahrasa*—b) Mysticism: *Adā' al-ḥuķūķ fī ibdā' al-furūķ*—c) Tradition: i) a rendering in verse of the *Mukhtaṣar fi 'l-Sīra* of Ibn Fāris, ii) *al-Durra al-khatīra fī muhimm al-Sīra*—d) Biography and Hagiography: i) a notice of Ibn Abī Zarʿ, ii) of Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh Maʿn al-Andalusī: *al-Maķṣad al-aḥmad*, iii) of Aḥmad al-Shāwī: *Muʿtamad al-rāwī*, iv) of Abū Bakr al-Dilā'ī and his son Muḥammad: *Nuzhat al-fikr*, v) of Ķāsim al-Khaṣāṣī: *al-Zahr al-bāsim* (or *al-ʿUrf al-nāsim*)—e) Genealogy: i) *al-Durr al-sanī fī man bi-Fās min ahl al-nasab al-ḥasanī*, ii) *al-ʿUrf al-ʿāṭir fī man bi-Fās min abnā' al-shaykh ʿAbd al-Ķādir*, iii) *al-Ishrāf ʿalā nasab al-Aķṭāb al-arbaʿa al-ashrāf*, iv) *Tuḥfat al-nabīh bi-nasab Banī Ṭāhir wa-Banī 'l-Shabīh*, v) *ʿUķūd al-la'āl wa-wasīlat al-su'āl bi-mā lahu s.l.m. min al-āl*, vi) *Maṭlaʿ al-ishrāķ fi 'l-shurafā' al-wāridīn min al-ʿIrāķ*.

He died at Fez on Friday 13 Rabīʿ I 1110/19 Sept. 1698, and was buried outside the Bāb al-Futūḥ.

Bibliography: *al-Durr al-sanī*, supra, e) i, 62; *al-ʿUrf al-ʿāṭir*, supra, e) ii, tr. Giacobetti, *Kitāb al-nasab*, 145; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 276-80; Dilā'ī, *Natīdjat al-taḥķīķ*, 20; Ķādirī, *Nashr*, ii, 162; idem, *Iltiķāṭ*, 48v; idem, *al-Nashr al-kabīr*, ii, 39v—45v; Kattānī, *Salwa*, ii, 348; Fuḍaylī, *al-Durar*, ii, 192; R. Basset, *Recherches*, 27, no. 71; ʿA. al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-fahāris*, i, 132-3, ii, 165, 292; Brockelmann, S II, 682-3; al-Wazīr al-Ghassānī, *al-Durr al-sanī*; Ibn Zaydān, *al-Manzaʿ al-laṭīf*, 309; M. al-Bashīr, *Yawāķīt*, 20; M. Dāwūd, *Ta'rīkh Tiṭwān*, i/3, 361, 374; Ibn Sūda, *Dalīl*, *passim*; A. al-Namīshī, *Ta'rīkh al-shiʿr*, 74.

(M. LAKHDAR)

ĶĀDIRIYYA, Order (*ṭarīķa*) of dervishes called after ʿAbd al-Ķādir al-Djīlānī [*q.v.*].

1.—Origin. ʿAbd al-Ķādir (d. 561/1166) was the principal of a school (*madrasa*) of Ḥanbalī law and a *ribāṭ* in Baghdād. His sermons (collected in *al-Fatḥ al-Rabbānī*) were delivered sometimes in the one, sometimes in the other; both were notable institutions in the time of Ibn al-Athīr, and Yāķūt (*Irshād al-Arīb*, v, 274) records a bequest of books made to the former by a man who died in 572/1176-7. Both appear to have come to an end at the sack of Baghdād in 656/1258, till when it is probable that their headship remained in the family of ʿAbd al-Ķādir, which was numerous and distinguished. In the *Bahdjat al-Asrār*, where an accurate account of his descendants is given (pp. 113-117), it is stated that ʿAbd al-Ķādir was succeeded in the *madrasa* by his son ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (552/1151-593/1196), who was followed by his son ʿAbd al-Salām (d. 611/1214). Another son, ʿAbd al-Razzāķ (528/603-1134/1206-7), was a notable ascetic. Several members of the family perished during the sack of Baghdād, when it would appear that both these institutions came to an end.

A *ribāṭ* was at this time distinguished from a *zāwiya*, the former being a *coenobium*, the latter a place where an ascetic lived in solitude (al-Suhrawardī, *ʿAwārif al-Maʿārif*, margin of the *Iḥyā'*, Cairo 1306, i, 217). In the time of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa *zāwiya* had come to be used in the former sense also, and his description of the religious exercises practised at the *zāwiya* (i, 71) would probably suit what went on at ʿAbd al-Ķādir's *ribāṭ*. The body of rules and doctrines which had his authority was sufficient to constitute a system (*madhhab*; *Bahdja*, p. 101), and by accepting the *khirķa* from the *shaykh* the *murīd*

signified that he subordinated his will to that of the former (al-Suhrawardī, i, 192). A long list is given in the *Bahdja* of men who attained various degrees of distinction who had received the *khirḳa* from ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, two of them at the age of seven and one at the age of one. These persons were said to "ascribe themselves" (*intasaba* or *intamā* or even *tasammā*) to ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, and could bestow the *khirḳa* on others as from him; in doing so they would stipulate that the *murīd* was to regard ʿAbd al-Ḳādir as his *shaykh* and director after the Prophet. In a tradition which is likely to be apocryphal (*Bahdja*, p. 101, dated 592/1196), ʿAbd al-Ḳādir declared that assumption of his *khirḳa* was not absolutely necessary for entry into his Order; personal attachment to himself was sufficient. It would appear that during his lifetime several persons carried on propaganda in favour of his system; one ʿAlī b. al-Ḥaddād obtained proselytes in Yemen, and one Muḥammad al-Baṭāʾiḥī, resident in Baalbek, did likewise in Syria; one Taḳī al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Yūnīnī, also of Baalbek, was another propagandist, and one Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad in Egypt "ascribed himself to ʿAbd al-Ḳādir and in treading the Path relied on him after God and His Apostle" (*Bahdja*, pp. 109, 110). Since all who ascribed themselves to him were promised Paradise, the Order is likely to have been popular; and even in recent times missionaries in Africa appear to have little difficulty in obtaining fresh adherents to it (cf. O. Lenz, *Timbuktu*, ii, 33).

That ʿAbd al-Ḳādir's sons had some share in spreading it is likely, though Ibn Taymiyya (d.728/1328) mentions that he had associated with one of his descendants who was an ordinary Muslim and not a member of it, and so did not agree with those who held fanatical views about him (*Bughyat al-Murtād*, p. 124). The *Bahdja* however does not bear out Le Chatelier's assertion (*Confréries Musulmanes du Hedjaz*, p. 35) that in ʿAbd al-Ḳādir's life-time some of his sons had been preaching his doctrine in Morocco, Egypt, Arabia, Turkestan and India. It says much of ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, but nothing of the "mosque now in ruins, whose seven gilded domes have often served as the subject of description by Arabic historians", which this son is supposed to have built. Indeed this mosque appears to be later than Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (740/1339-40), the first author later than the *Bahdja* who mentions ʿAbd al-Ḳādir's tomb (*Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, tr. Le Strange, p. 42). Nor does it confirm the statement that this ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ introduced the use of music in the ritual, and indeed the employment of this was earlier than ʿAbd al-Ḳādir's time, and is discussed by al-Suhrawardī (ii, 116) without allusion to ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ. E. Mercier (*Histoire de l'Afrique Septentrionale*, iii, 14) asserts that the Ḳādiriyya Order existed in Berbery in the 6th/12th century and was closely connected with the Fāṭimids (whose rule terminated 567/1171), but he gives no authority for these statements.

Al-Suhrawardī holds that the exercises of each *murīd* should be determined by his *shaykh* in accordance with his individual needs, whence it is unlikely that ʿAbd al-Ḳādir instituted any rigid system of *dhikr*, *wird* and *ḥizb*, and indeed those in use among different Ḳādirī communities differ (Rinn, *Marabouts et Khouan*, p. 183 ff.). The initiation ceremonies given on Turkish authority by J. P. Brown (*The Darvishes*, p. 98) are quite different from those furnished by Rinn on North African authority. In one of these latter there is a tendency to set ʿAlī above Muḥammad and to insist on the importance of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, which cannot well represent the views of the Ḥanbalite ʿAbd al-Ḳādir. The *wird* of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir in *al-Fuyūḍāt al-Rabbāniyya* is given on the authority of one ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-ʿAdjamī, who lived 185 years (536-731) and may be regarded as mythical.

2.—Development. Ḳādirism seems from an early period to have developed on different lines according as ʿAbd al-Ḳādir was regarded as the founder of a system involving rites and practices, or as a worker of miracles. In the latter direction it meant the deification of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, the extremists holding that he was Lord of Creation after God, absolutely, whereas the more moderate supposed that he was so only in his own age (*Bughyat al-Murtād*, *loc. cit.*). The latter was the view of Ibn ʿArabī, who takes him as an example of a *khalīfa* who showed himself and practised sovereignty (*taṣarruf*; *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, ii, 407); such a *khalīfa* in his system is independent of the revelation to Muḥammad (*Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, § 16). But there was also a theory that ʿAbd al-Ḳādir practised in his grave all the activities (*taṣarruf*) of the living (Ibn al-Wardī, (d. 749), *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 70); and Ibn Taymiyya (*al-Djawāb al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, i, 323) mentions him among saints who in his time still appeared to people, being in reality impersonated by demons. In the initiation ceremonies recorded by J. P. Brown, *loc. cit.*, the candidate for admission to the Order sees ʿAbd al-Ḳādir in dreams; in one case so often and so clearly that without having seen ʿAbd al-Ḳādir's portrait he could recognize him among a thousand. The form of Ḳādirism which means the worship of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir seems to prevail in North Africa, where it is called Djīlālism (or Djīlānism), and whole communities are called Djīlāla. Their system has been described as the application of Ṣūfī mysticism to beliefs that are certainly pre-Islamic, and the materialization of that mysticism under the form of a cult of hidden subterranean powers (E. Michaux-Bellaire, in *Archives Marocaines*, xx, 235). Here the word *khalwa* is used for a heap of stones where women attach rags to reeds planted between the stones and where they burn benzoin and styrax in potsherds (*ibid.*, xvii, 60). Such *khalwa*s are to be found in all the Arab villages. Similarly "in the province of Oran on all the roads and on the summits of the chief mountains *ḳubba*s are to be found in the name of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Jilali" (E. de Neveu, *Ordres Religieux chez les Musulmans d'Algérie*, p. 30). The society of the Genāwah or Negroes of Guinea has placed itself entirely under the protection of Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Ḳādir with all his array of male and female demons; wherein Michaux-Bellaire found traces of the powers which, according to the Ḳurʾān (and even earlier authorities), belonged to Solomon. The cult of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir is most ardently practised by the women in the Khloṭ and Ṭlīḳ, who come to the *khalwa* for every sort of object, and to satisfy their loves and hates in all the acts of their existence. The men on the other hand chiefly go to the *khalwa* when they are ill (*Arch. Maroc.*, vi, 329).

That this development is inconsistent with Islamic orthodoxy is evident, and it is attacked by such authorities as Ibn Taymiyya and Ibrāhīm al-Shāṭibī (*Iʿtiṣām*, i, 348 ff.). The system to which the name Ḳādiriyya is more ordinarily applied differs from other orders mainly in ritual, although, through circumstances connected with its origin, "it has not that homogeneity of statutes which is to be found in other congregations, which seem to form small exclusive churches outside which there is no salvation" (Rinn, p. 186). Though the founder was a

Ḥanbalī, membership is by no means confined to that school, and the Order is theoretically both tolerant and charitable.

3.—Geographical Distribution. Since historical and geographical works rarely distinguish between the different *ṭuruḳ* in their accounts of religious buildings, little can be said with certainty of the date at which the first Ḳādirī *zāwiya* or *khānḳāh* was established in any country save ʿIrāḳ. The Order is said to have been introduced into Fez by the posterity of two of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir's sons, Ibrāhīm (d. 592/1196 in Wāsiṭ) and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (who died in Djiyāl, a village of Sindjar); they had migrated to Spain and shortly before the fall of Granada (897/1492) their descendants fled to Morocco. The full genealogy of the Shurafāʾ Djīlāla of Fez is given in *Arch. Maroc.*, iii, 106-114, on the authority of *al-Durr al-Sanī* of al-Ḳādirī al-Ḥasanī (1090/1679), who claims to have used a series of authentic documents. The *khalwa* of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir in Fez is mentioned as early as 1104/1692-3 (*ibid.*, xi, 319). The order was introduced into Asia Minor and Istanbul by Ismāʿīl Rūmī, founder of the *khānḳāh* known as the Ḳādirīkhānah at the Topkhāne. This personage (d. 1041/1631), who is called *Pīr thānī*, "Second *Shaykh*", is said to have founded some 40 *tekiyes* in these regions (*Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*). A Ḳādirī *ribāṭ* in Mecca is mentioned by Ṣāliḥ b. Mahdī in *al-ʿAlam al-Shāmikh*, p. 381, about 1180/1767, but the assertion that a branch was established there during the lifetime of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir (Le Chatelier, *op. cit.*, p. 44) is not improbable, since Mecca has a natural attraction for the Ṣūfīs. In the *Āʾin-i-Akbarī* (about 1600; tr. Jarrett, iii, 357) the Ḳādiriyya Order is mentioned as one that is highly respected but is not included among those recognized in India; nor does there appear to be any allusion to it in the list of Indian Ṣūfīs in the *Maʾāthir-i Kirām* (1752), though some other Orders are noticed, and ʿAbd al-Ḳādir himself is mentioned. Yet see Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhab al-Lubāb*, ii, 604 and art, HIND, p. 432.

Some statistics (to be received with caution) of the Ḳādirīs and their *zāwiyas* are given by Depont et Coppolani (*Confréries Religieuses Musulmanes*, pp. 301-18). Much of its development is admittedly recent, and may be due to the fame won by the namesake of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*] who for so many years resisted the French occupation of North Africa. It is doubtless represented in all Islamic countries, though it would appear that certain derived *ṭuruḳ* enjoy greater popularity in many places. Thus the Ḳādirism of Touba in Guinea, which has become a distinct sign whereby the Diakanke tribe can be recognized, is derived through the Sidia from the Ḳādirism of the Kounta of Timbuctu (P. Marty in *Revue du Monde Musulman*, xxxvi, 183). These Kounta however form a *filiale* of the Ḳādiriyya, and some of them prefer to call themselves Shādhiliyya (*ibid.*, xxxi, 414).

4.—Organization. The Ḳādirī community acknowledges nominal allegiance to the keeper of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir's tomb in Baghdād, and the deeds of investiture published by Rinn, p. 179, and in the *Revue du Monde Musulman*, ii, 513 and ix, 290, are from this source. It would seem however that the actual authority of this personage is chiefly recognized in ʿIrāḳ and Pakistan. The latter periodically send gifts which form the main source of the revenues of his establishment; the members of this family find it worth while to learn Urdu. The Meccan *zāwiyas* were subject to the *Shaykh al-Ṭuruḳ*, who had the right to nominate their *muḳaddam*. The Egyptian branch was under the control of the Sayyid al-Bakrī, who was also *Shaykh al-Ṭuruḳ*; ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak (iii, 129; see also P. Kahle in *Der Islam*, vi, 154) reckons the order as one of the four which go back to a *ḳuṭb*, but asserts that it has neither *furūʿ* nor *buyūt*. In Africa, according to Rinn, each *muḳaddam* names his successor; in the event of one dying without having nominated anyone, an election is made by the *ikhwān* at a *ḥaḍra*. The approval of the head of the Order in Baghdād is then solicited, and has never been refused. The organization of the Order in North Africa is described somewhat fully by Rinn, Depont and Coppolani, in the works cited. The system appears to be in general congregational, *i.e.*, the *zāwiyas* are independent, and the relation between them and the central institution in Baghdād is very loose. The principle whereby the headship of a *zāwiya* is hereditary is generally recognized.

5.—Symbols and rites. The sign of the Turkish Ḳādirīs was said to be a rose which is green, having been adopted by Ismāʿīl Rūmī. The candidate for admission to the Order after a year brought an *ʿaraḳiyya* or small felt cap, to which if the candidate be accepted the *Shaykh* attached a rose of 18 sections, with Solomon's Seal in the centre. This cap is called by them *tādj*. The symbolism of this is explained by J. P. Brown, *The Dervishes*, p. 98 ff. (copied by Wilberforce Clarke, tr. of *ʿAwārif al-Maʿārif*, p. 159; the Urdu translation *Kashf Asrār al-Mashāyikh* adds nothing to Brown's information). According to him, they preferred the colour green, though they allowed others; in Lane's time the turbans and banners of the Ḳādirīs in Egypt were white; most members of the Order were fishermen, and in religious processions they carried upon poles nets of various colours (*Modern Egyptians*, 1871, i, 306). There are festivities in honour of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir on 11 Rabīʿ II, and pilgrimages are made in many places in Algeria and Morocco to the *zāwiyas* and shrines of the saint (Rinn, p. 177). The *Mawsim* of the Djīlāla at Salé is described at length by L. Mercier in *Arch. Maroc.*, viii, 137-9; it commences the seventh day of the *Mūlud* (*Mawlid*), *i.e.*, the Feast of the Prophet's Birthday, and lasts four days 17-20 Rabīʿ I. Sheep and oxen are presented to the descendants of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir. Michaux-Bellaire distinguishes in Morocco between the ceremonies of the Ḳādiriyya, who recite the *ḥizb*, and the Djīlāla, who recite the *dhikr* to the accompaniment of instruments; and again between the Djīlāla of the country, whose instruments are the *bender* (a sort of big tambourine without bells) and *ʿawāda*, and those of the town, whose instruments are the *ṭebīla*, *ṭabal* and *ghayṭa* (*Arch. Maroc.*, vi, 330 and xvii, 60). A description of the *ḥaḍrat al-mallūk*, a performance executed with these last instruments, which leads to ecstasy, is given by him in the first passage cited. He further records some special ceremonies connected with the Awlād Khalīfa in the Gharb (*ibid.*, xx, 287). All the Hilālī of the Gharb are Djīlāla, and in all the *ḥaḍras* (services) of the Djīlāla the presence of at least one Khalīfī is necessary for the direction of ceremonies, and when no actual Khalīfī is present, someone there takes the name in order to perform the priestly duty. The origin of the name Awlād Khalīfa is obscure (p. 284); it may be noticed that the *Bahdja* mentions one Khalīfa b. Mūsā al-Nahrmalikī as having played a leading part in the propagation of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir's system. "The *ḥaḍra* of the Djīlāla of the country contains neither the *ḥizb* nor the *dhikr* instituted by the *Shaykh*, but a plain *dhikr* of improvised words in the ceremonial rhythm of the *banādir* (plur. of *bender*). These improvisations always terminate with the

words 'Thus spoke Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Ḳādir' or 'O Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Ḳādir'." (Michaux-Bellaire, p. 288).

Various collections of rituals supposed to have been recommended by ʿAbd al-Ḳādir have been published in Egypt, Turkey and India. In *al-Fuyāḍāt al-Rabbāniyya* he who is about to enter upon *k͟halwa* (retreat) is advised to fast in the day and keep vigil at night. The *k͟halwa* lasts forty days. "If a figure reveals itself to him saying 'I am God', he should say 'Nay rather thou art in God', and if it be for probation, it will vanish; but if it remain, then it will be a genuine revelation (*tad͟jallī*)" (Dihlī 1330, p. 60). Reduction of food during the 40 days should be gradual till for the last three fasting is complete. At the end he returns by degrees to his former diet.

Some practices peculiar to the D͟jīlāla of Tangier are recorded by G. Salmon (*Arch. Maroc.*, ii, 108). Those who make vows to ʿAbd al-Ḳādir are in the habit of depositing in the *zāwiya* white cocks, which are called *muḥarrar* (Sūra III, 31); they do not kill them, but leave them free to rove about the *zāwiya*, where however they do not long survive; the s͟harīf who lives hard by takes them for his food. The four daughters of a deceased s͟harīf continued to live on the revenues of the *zāwiya* and carry away the *muḥarrar* fowls. The *muḳaddam* at this *zāwiya* was the s͟harīf, who conducted the ceremonies at which the Ḳurʾān is repeated without the *ḥizb* of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir being pronounced, and where dances similar to those of the ʿĪsāwā [*q.v.*] are performed. Circumcisions are performed at the *zāwiya* on the first day of the *mawlid*. A nightly meeting called *layla* is held on the eve of this day, at which the *ḥizb* of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir is recited. At El-Qsar, where there are also some local practices, all the potters belong to the D͟jīlāla, among whom the richer members of the community are to be found (*ibid.*, ii, 163).

The first time that the Ḳādirīs appear to have played a political part was during the French conquest of Algeria, when the chief of the Ḳādiriyya, Muḥyi 'l-Dīn, having been offered the leadership in the war against the infidel, permitted his son ʿAbd al-Ḳādir to accept it. This person was able to utilize the religious organization of his Order in order to establish the sovereignty which the French had accorded him, and when his sovereignty was threatened could fall back on his rank as *muḳaddam* of his Order to win fresh recruits (H. Garrot, *Histoire générale de l'Algérie*, Algiers 1910, p. 800, 863 ff.). After his fall and exile it seems that the Ḳādirīs in Africa lent their support to the French government. "In 1879 when there was a local insurrection in Aurès the s͟hayk͟h of the Ḳādiriyya of Menāʿa, Sī Muḥammad b. ʿAbbās, displayed unimpeachable loyalty [see AWRĀS]; and the same Order helped the French government to extend their influence in the Sahara at Wargla and El-Wad. Their *nāʾib*, Sī Muḥammad b. Ṭayyib, fell on the French side at the battle of Charouin, March 2, 1901." (Israel Hamet, *Les Musulmans Français du Nord de l'Afrique*, Paris 1906, p. 276).

Bibliography: Oriental editions cited: ʿAlī b. Yūsuf al-S͟haṭṭanawfī, *Bahd͟jat al-Asrār*, Cairo 1304; *al-Fatḥ al-Rabbānī*, Cairo 1302; Ṣāliḥ b. Mahdī, *al-ʿAlam al-S͟hāmik͟h fī Īt͟hār al-Ḥaḳḳ ʿala 'l-ʿĀbāʾ wa'l-Mas͟hāʾik͟h*, Cairo 1328; *Kas͟hf Asrār al-Mas͟hāʾik͟h*, Lucknow 1881; K͟hāfī K͟hān, *Muntak͟hab al-Lubāb*, Bibl. Ind., 1869-74; *Bug͟hyāt al-Murtād*, Cairo 1329. (D. S. MARGOLIOUTH)

ḲĀDIS (Spanish: Cádiz; English: Cadiz; French: Cadix), the capital (pop. 117, 871) of the province of the same name, the most southerly in Spain; it prides itself on being the oldest town in the West, since it is said to have been founded by the Phoenicians in about 1500 B.C.; in Phoenician, it is named Gad(d)ir [cf. AGADIR], from which the Greeks derived the name Γάδειρα, the Romans Gadir and Gades, and the Arabs Ḳādis. Under the domination first of the Greeks and later the Carthaginians (after 500 B.C.), it became the most important place in the south of the peninsula. The Romans succeeded in capturing it from the Carthaginians (206 B.C.), and Julius Caesar named it *Augusta Urbs Julia Gaditana*. Then followed a period of obscurity during which the legends of the Greek and Roman historians regarding the temple of Hercules, later adopted by the Muslims, first took shape.

Neither under the Muslims, who captured it in 93/711, nor under the Visigoths did the town experience any great prosperity. It was occupied by the Normans, for the first time in 229/844 and then attacked once again in 245/859, but it played only a very minor role, and finally fell into the hands of Alfonso the Wise on 8 D͟hu 'l-Ḳaʿda 660/24 September 1262.

The occasional references to Ḳādis by Arab historians and geographers were above all due to the famous pillars of Hercules (*aṣnām Hirḳil*), the most celebrated of these being the *ṣanam Hirḳil* or *manārat Hirḳil*.

Thanks to the geographer of Almeria who is known by the name al-Zuhrī, we have some idea of the appearance of the tower at Cadiz, since we possess the eye-witness account of a writer who saw it on several occasions before its demolition in 540/1145 and who states that the building in question was not the temple of Hercules with which it has often been confused, notably by the author of the *Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*. This square *manāra*, 100 cubits and three storeys high, was constructed of dressed granite (*kad͟hd͟hān*); the second storey was about one-third the size of the first, and the third, triangular in shape, was surmounted by a statue of a man looking towards the East, from the ocean, with his left arm outstretched and his fingers curled, except for the index finger, which pointed the way to the straits of Gibraltar. His right hand held a baton which seemed to indicate the sea (the author states explicitly that it was not a key).

The date of construction of the Cadiz tower is unknown, but we must assume that it goes back to a period before the official introduction of Christianity to Spain, since the account refers solely to a statue, a purely Roman sign.

A member of the celebrated family of the Banū Maymūn of Denia became amīr of Cadiz at the end of the Almoravid period. Having been led to believe that the *manāra*, erroneously called the Tower of Hercules, had been constructed on top of a vast treasure, ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Maymūn summoned a force of stone-masons and labourers who set to work removing the outer stonework; each time a block of stone was removed, a wooden beam was inserted into the empty space, with the result that in the end the vast mass of the tower rested only on wood. Then, after the spaces had been filled with wood, this support caught fire and the tower collapsed with a stupendous crash; all that could be found in the rubble were the lead that had served to bind the blocks of stone together and the brass from which the statue had been made. Ibn Maymūn's vain pretensions were thus exposed, and shortly afterwards he was assassinated by Yaḥyā, the grandson of the founder of the Almoravid dynasty.

Bibliography: Zuhrī's text on the tower at

Cadiz has been published by Dozy in his *Recherches* [3], appendix xxxv; it will be found in §§ 239-40 of the *K. al-Dja'rafiyya*, published by M. Hadj-Sadok in *BEO*, xxi (1968), 7-312; cf. *al-Rawḍ al-mi'ṭār*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, 145 in the text, 173-8 in the tr.—The Arabic and mediaeval sources on legends relating to the temple of Cadiz and the pillars of Hercules have been collected by Dozy, *Recherches* [3], ii, 311-4; see also R. Basset, *Hercule et Mahomet*, in *Journal des Savants*, 1903; Madoz, *Diccionario*, v, 193-204.

(A. Huici Miranda)

al-**ḲĀDISIYYA**, the name of several places in 'Irāḳ and al-Djazīra. The *Mushtarik* of Yāḳūt (337) lists five places of that name of which the two most important were situated near Sāmarrā and al-Kūfa. The history of these places is most difficult to trace.

1. A town in 'Irāḳ, on the Eastern bank of the Tigris, 8 miles S.E. of Sāmarrā. It seems to have been closely connected with the latter in its period of prosperity. We do not know what special part al-Ḳādisiyya played at that time. Herzfeld, (*Reise*, i, 107) suggests it is really identical with the town of al-Ḳātūl which Hārūn al-Rashīd or the Caliph al-Mu'taṣim began to build before the foundation of Sāmarrā. Yāḳūt and other Arab geographers mention the glassworks of al-Ḳādisiyya, and it is reported to have been a large village (*ḳarya kabīra*) but little is known of its history. It is probable that it ceased to be of any importance shortly after the abandonment of Sāmarrā towards the end of the ninth century, for the 4th/10th century geographers al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal make no mention of it. It is found in al-Muḳaddasī, but the reference seems to indicate the existence of a single structure, presumably the octagonal building which still survives today. In the middle ages the important Dudjayl Canal left the Tigris opposite the town. The ruins of al-Ḳādisiyya lie in Lat. 34°5′ N., between the two canals still existing out of the former three Tigris canals, called al-Ḳātūl. They are a short quarter of an hour distant from the bank of the Tigris. The old name has survived and is now popularly pronounced Djādisiyya (occasionally corrupted to Djāsiyya and Djālisiyya). We owe full accounts of these ruins particularly to Ross and Jones; E. Herzfeld also investigated the ruins. Jones gives a plan of the ruins of the town, which Herzfeld says is entirely correct.

The enclosing walls, which measure about 6000 paces, form a regular octagon. They are flanked by towers at the corners and defended by 16 bastions at intervals. They were built of bricks which in technique, plan and preservation resemble the castra of Sāmarrā. According to all criteria, these ruins belong —in Herzfeld's opinion—to the 'Abbāsid period, not to an older one. Ten minutes from al-Ḳādisiyya, just on the river bank, are also mounds of ruins, called al-Ṣanam. They mark the site of a medieval or ancient town, half of which has already been eroded by the Tigris. On a remarkable find of statues made here, see Cl. Rich, *Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan*, 1836, ii, 152. Al-Ṣanam perhaps was within the area of al-Ḳādisiyya and is to be regarded as its port.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam* (ed. Wüstenfeld), iv, 9, l. 13; C. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, x, 228-9; Lynch, in the *Journal of Roy. Geogr. Soc.*, xviii (1848), 5; H. Kiepert, in the *Zeitschr. der Gesellsch. f. Erdkunde* (Berlin), 1883, 25, 27; M. Fhr. v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum persischen Golf* ii, (Berlin 1900), 229; M. Streck, *Babylonien nach den arab. Geographen*, Leiden 1900 f., i, 33, 223-4; E. Herzfeld in Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archaeol. Reise im Euphrat und Tigrisgebiet*, i, 1911, 105-107 (where the references to Rich, Ross and Jones are given).

(M. Streck-[J. Lassner])

2. A place lying to the south-west of al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*] and to the south-south-west of the plain where al-Kūfa was later founded. This al-Ḳādisiyya is famed as the site of the resounding victory of the Muslims over the army of the Sāsānian king Yazdadjird III [*q.v.*] at a date between 14/635 and 16/637. This victory was of no small importance to the Muslims for it opened up the route to Ctesiphon-Seleucia (= al Madā'in [*q.v.*]), the winter capital of the Sāsānids, put them in the position of carrying off another great success at Djalūlā' [*q.v.*] and finally, after the whole of 'Irāḳ had fallen to them, enabled them to cross the Zagros and undertake the conquest of the Iranian plateau. Al-Ḳādisiyya was situated in the western part of the Ṭaff, that steppe region rising above the cultivated land (*al-Sawād*) and characterized by springs (*e.g.* that of al-'Udhayb) which is the transitional area to the high plateau of the Arabian desert. In the Sāsānian period the Ṭaff was protected by a series of watch-houses (*maslaḥas*) and a great fortified ditch (*khandaḳ*) from the raids of Arab tribes. The last village of the Ṭaff, just before the desert, was al-'Udhayb, later a station on the Baghdād-Mecca road.

The exact location of al-Ḳādisīyya was unknown until quite recently. An attempt had been made to identify it with the early Islamic ruins of al-Ukhayḍir (25 miles S.S.W. of Kūfa)—for example by Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xi, 956, Loftus, *Travels in Chaldaea and Susiana*, London 1857, 64 note, and Justi in the *Gr. I. Ph.*, ii, 546. This identification, however, is definitely to be rejected as erroneous (cf. the article of W. Caskel, *Uḳaiḍir*, in *Isl.*, xxxix (1964), 28-37, which calls for an 'Abbāsid date for these ruins). Besides, Ritter, *op. cit.*, x, 186 places al-Ḳādisiyya much too far north, while the locations of al-Ḳādisiyya and al-'Udhayb given by Wagner (*Nachr. d. Gött. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.*, 1902, 257-9) are fairly correct. A. Musil, on his journey of exploration in 1912, was the first to discover the real site of al-Ḳādisiyya, cf. his report in the *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Kl. der Wien. Akad. der Wiss.*, 1913, i, 11 (12 of the reprint). Musil there remarks that the spring al-'Udhayb rises in the valley of Msheyžīž; on the left bank of that valley, on the edge of a swampy *hōr* he was shown the ruins of al-Žādsiyye or Dār al-Ḳāẓī (= Ḳādisiyya). According to the map which Musil appends to his essay in the *WZKM*, xxix (1916), 461, the ruins mentioned are situated in 31°45′ N. Lat. and 44°8′ E. Long. directly south of Nadjaf and 19 miles from Kūfa.

The locality of Ḳaïdes, which in his excursion to the ruins of Babylon in 1790 Beauchamp visited and reported as the find-spot of a statue some considerable distance away (see the reprint of his account of his journey in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, x, 190), is perhaps also identical with the remains of al-Ḳādisiyya discovered by Musil. Ḳaïdes probably = Ḳādis, the shorter form of the name, which is occasionally found alongside Ḳādisiyya, as for example in an old Arab poet (see al-Bakrī, ed. Wüstenfeld, 226), in al-Ṭabarī, etc. Firdawsī writes Ḳādisī and Ḳādisiyya. In the neighbourhood of al-Ḳādisiyya there was a village called al-Ḳudays, "little Ḳādis". The poets give the whole district round al-Ḳādisiyya the collective name al-Ḳawādis.

The Arab geographers of the 4th/10th century (al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawḳal, al-Muḳaddasī) describe al-Ḳādisiyya as a small town with two gates and a mud

fortress, in the midst of cultivated fields and groves of date-palms, watered by a canal led from the Euphrates, the last running water in ʿIrāḳ. In ancient times the Persian Gulf seems to have stretched up to the region of al-Ḳādisiyya. The main arm of the Euphrates once flowed, as al-Masʿūdī notes (*Murūdj*, ed. Paris, i, 215 = § 229), towards al-Ḥira, where its ancient bed was still visible and was called al-ʿAtīḳ "the old (river)". It flowed between al-Ḳādisiyya and al-ʿUdhayb; at al-Ḳādisiyya there was a bridge across it called Djisr al-ʿAtīḳ or Djisr al-Ḳādisiyya.

The battle. To this one single battle of al-Ḳādisiyya al-Ṭabarī has devoted around one hundred pages and nearly another hundred pages to the preceding and subsequent events which must be taken into account for an understanding of this vitally important occurrence. The greater part of his account, however, is based on traditions of Sayf b. ʿUmar, whom some Islamists have accused of falsification. This is not the place for a detailed discussion of such accusations: it is sufficient to observe that Sayf's account also forms the basis of the story related by the majority of Arab and Persian historians to such an extent that we have no alternative but to make use of this traditionist for any account of the battle, correcting him where possible with the help of other accounts.

After the disastrous defeat of the Muslims at the Bridge [see DJISR] (Shaʿbān or Ramaḍān 13/October or November 634) the campaign in ʿIrāḳ suffered a setback, despite the arrival of reinforcements from Medina, the victory of al-Buwayb (Ramaḍān 13/Nov. 634 or Ṣafar 14/April 635, or one year after the Battle of the Bridge) and several fruitful raids and *razzias*. Al-Muthannā [*q.v.*], fearing that the hostilities would take a dangerous turn since Yazdadjird III was preparing to react vigorously, believed it prudent to withdraw to the outskirts of the desert, to disperse his warriors to various spots where there were watering places and to limit his actions to *razzias*. So as to be able to seize the offensive once more, he appealed to Medina for help. Making a general levy among the Bedouins (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 13/Feb. 635 or Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 14/Jan.-Feb. 636), the caliph ʿUmar assembled and equipped at Ṣirār, near Medina (Muḥarram 14/March 635 or Muḥarram 15/Feb.-March 636?), an army under the command of Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ [*q.v.*], ordering him to leave for ʿIrāḳ.

En route Saʿd was joined by other contingents sent by ʿUmar, then halted at the beginning of winter (Shaʿbān 14/635 or 15/636?) in the Nadjd at Zarūd (or al-Thaʿlabiyya, near Zarūd) to call to arms the tribes of the surrounding area. He then made his way to Sharāf, which was at the western end of the Arab plateau near al-Aḥsāʾ and was well supplied with waterholes. While waiting in a well-organized camp for the arrival of several thousands of other Bedouins (who also included some Christian bands), he divided his men into decuries, established a hierarchy of command and sent al-Mughīra b. Shuʿba [*q.v.*] to occupy various localities in order to secure his forces against a possible attack. It was at Sharāf that Saʿd was to meet up with al-Muthannā, but the latter died during the winter of the wounds he had sustained at the Bridge. At last Saʿd advanced as far as ʿUdhayb al-Hidjānāt, leaving there the women who had followed the expedition and going on to strike camp in the plain of al-Ḳādisiyya. While awaiting the enemy—for a month it is said—he carried out *razzias* to secure his supplies.

Meanwhile, Yazdadjird had assembled a large army and compelled his marshal, Rustam [*q.v.*], to advance, taking no heed of the latter's reluctance to face the Arabs on ground he considered unfavourable. At last the Persians pitched camp, separated from the Muslims by the channel called al-ʿAtīḳ. Hostilities did not open immediately; on the contrary, they entered into negotiations, which proved fruitless. During the month of Muḥarram Rustam built a kind of dyke with reeds, earth, straw and pack-saddles. In this way he enabled his army to cross the channel and the following day battle commenced; this occurred on a Monday in Muḥarram 15/636 or 16/637; the date given by Sayf, 14/635 (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2289 and 2298) is undoubtedly an error. The Persians had behind them the channel and the Muslims the moat of a fortress named al-Ḳudays. Saʿd, who suffered from abcesses (*ḥubūn*) on the thighs and hips and could neither mount a horse nor remain upright, remained lying down and relayed his orders from the top of the fortress to his lieutenant, Khālid b. ʿUrṭufa, by means of notes. According to Sayf the battle lasted three days and one night; as the latter was drawing to a close the Persian retreat began and by the fourth day they were completely and irreparably routed. Rustam fell in the melée, killed by an unknown Arab warrior. Each day of the combat and the night of the third to fourth day have been given special names: 1) *Yawm Armāth* = Day of the Rafts (perhaps a reference to the dyke on the channel?); 2) *Yawm Aghwāth* = Day of Help (an allusion to the arrival of reinforcements from Syria?); 3) *Yawm ʿAmās* = Day of the Hard War and *Laylat al-Harīr* = Night of the Cries of Sorrow (maybe a reference to the relentless savagery of the fray); 4) the last part of this night: *Laylat al-Ḳādisiyya* = the Night of al-Ḳādisiyya and the fourth day: *Yawm al-Ḳādisiyya* = the Day of the Battle of al-Ḳādisiyya (perhaps so called because the decisive hours of this night and the next day truly merited the name?).

Caetani, in his *Annali*, gives a detailed summary of al-Ṭabarī's traditions. Noteworthy among the interesting details are: the Muslims were very badly equipped; the Persians made use of a number of elephants but their adversaries discovered a method of extricating themselves from this difficulty; some Syrian reinforcements arrived on the second and third day; the poet Abū Mihdjan [*q.v.*], who had been put in irons, succeeded in playing a valiant part in the fray; Ṭulayḥa b. Khuwaylid [*q.v.*], the "false prophet" who had been defeated by Khālid b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*] during the *ridda* and later joined the Muslim ranks, proved himself to be a brave defender of Islam; for the first two days fighting took place during the day only—the night was employed in burying the corpses, giving water to the dying and carrying away the wounded Muslims, enemy wounded being despatched with blows of a staff; 30,000 (?) Persians, who had chained themselves to one another so that they could resist to the bitter end, fled when defeat was inevitable but were drowned in the channel, which the pursuing Muslims were able to cross using their bodies as a bridge; the Muslims seized the great Persian royal banner known as Dirafsh-i Kāviyān.

Subsequent events. Saʿd sent a section of his forces in pursuit of the fugitives and remained at al-Ḳādisiyya for a month longer. One of the Persian commanding officers, Djālīnūs, was killed while trying to protect his retreating forces; other attempts to reassemble the fleeing troops, in the district of

Bābil for example, and to resist the Muslim advance became no more than a few battles which in no way altered the situation. Finally Saʿd marched on al-Madāʾin and, after having besieged and conquered Bahudasīr, one of the seven or ten towns which made up the al-Madāʾin ("the towns") group, was even able to ford the Tigris; this remarkable occurrence was regarded as the result of divine favour. After reaching the east bank of the river the Muslims occupied the other towns of al-Madāʾin, which had been abandoned without a struggle by Yazdadjird (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 15 or 16?). Another battle of some importance took place on ʿIrāķī soil, at Djalūlāʾ (on Ṣafar 16 or 17?; other dates are also mentioned in the sources), marking the definitive overthrow of Sasanid dominion in ʿIrāķ by the Muslims.

Problems associated with the battle. There are two such problems which, in all probability, must remain insoluble: 1) The total strength of the forces which met at al-Ķādisiyya, for there is too great a difference between the figures given in the sources and every attempt to arrive at an evaluation comes up against the impossibility of finding any solid foundation to build on; 2) the chronology of the events preceding the battle and following it and thus of the battle itself—dates given in the sources for the battle vary between the years 14 and 16, but the earlier date must be rejected since there is too much circumstantial evidence against it. Islamists working on the chronological problem, such as Wellhausen, Caetani and S. M. Yusuf, have looked for an answer by reasoning from the facts, and since it has proved impossible to reconcile the data given in the sources have chosen those which shored up their own beliefs. They consider it impossible that the Muslims could have recovered their strength almost immediately after the defeat at the Bridge and have dated the battle of al-Buwayb in 14 (according to Caetani no earlier than Ramaḍān), which obliges them to date the battle of al-Ķādisiyya at the beginning of 16 (Wellhausen adds further considerations of the supervening events of the period which occurred between this battle and the battle of Djalūlāʾ). In addition, Caetani and S. M. Yusuf consider the relationship between the campaign in Syria and that in ʿIrāķ and decide that the caliph ʿUmar could not have concerned himself with the second until after the end of the first, that is after the battle of Yarmūk: as this celebrated victory of the Muslims over the Byzantines took place on 12 Radjab 15/20 August 636, the battle of al-Ķādisiyya could not have been fought before the early months of the year 16. S. M. Yusuf places it a little after Radjab 15, i.e. a month after Yarmūk.

After a fresh examination of the facts as they developed and as they are set down in chronological accounts in the sources, the author of the present article has concluded that Muḥarram 15/February-March 636 is the date to be preferred for the battle of al-Ķādisiyya. The Muslim success at al-Buwayb soon after their defeat at the Bridge is not to be considered impossible for the following reasons: 1) the troubles which broke out at al-Madāʾin stopped the Persians from capitalizing on their victory at the Bridge; 2) Muslim reinforcements from Medina arrived immediately. Nor is it necessary to suppose that ʿUmar could not have been concerned with the ʿIrāķī campaign until after the battle of Yarmūk, for such a view makes it extremely difficult to determine the date when the caliph resolved to send a fighting army into ʿIrāķ; in fact, 1) if ʿUmar did not take his decision until after Yarmūk, there is not a sufficient interval of time between the great battles of Yarmūk and al-Ķādisiyya for Saʿd's march, with the halts he made and his waiting period for the enemy (which the sources describe with too great detail for them to be ignored); it was perhaps this difficulty which led Caetani to propose that the battle did not take place in Muḥarram 16 but some months later; 2) if, to allow the necessary time for Saʿd's march and his waiting for the enemy, the caliph were presumed to have taken his decision in 15 during the month preceding the battle of Yarmūk, then ʿUmar would have directed his forces towards ʿIrāķ precisely at the moment when he must have been greatly preoccupied by the news of the Byzantine emperor's preparations for the offensive. On the contrary, if we concede that Sayf has given an exact account of the assemblage of the army at Ṣirār during Muḥarram 14 and of Saʿd's long march, then it follows that ʿUmar decided at the end of the year 13 to renew with vigour the campaign in ʿIrāķ, that is during the period when his victories in Syria were following one after the other. These considerations, which are also supported by other circumstances—which the author of this article intends to set forth in another work—lead us to decide on the date of Muḥarram 15/February-March 636 for the battle of al-Ķādisiyya.

Bibliography: Arabic sources: Ṭabarī, i, 2202, 2347, 2349-59 (after Ibn Isḥāķ), 2377 (after Wāķidī), 2336-8 (after ʿAwāna), 2211-9, 2221-35, 2244-85, 2285-2341, 2344-6, 2361-7, 2341-3, 2419-55, 2456-67, 2470, 2474-9 (after Sayf b. ʿUmar) and index; Ṭabarī-Zotenberg, iii, 385-400 (with a few details absent from other sources but in general following Sayf's account); Abū Yūsuf Yaʿķūb, *Kitāb al-Kharādj*, Būlāķ 1302, 16-7 (tr. Fagnan, 45-7, 48-9); Ibn Saʿd (for the chronology), iii/1, 30 and index (ix/2, 31 s.v. al-Ķādisiyya); Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 254-65; Dīnawarī, 125-36; Yaʿķūbī, ii, 163-5, 173; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 201-4, 207-25 = ed. & tr. Pellat §§ 1532-4, 1538-57; *Aghānī* (the episode of the poet Abū Miḥdjan), xxi, 212-7 and index; Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, *Taʾrīkh sinī mulūk al-arḍ waʾl-anbiyāʾ*, ed. Gottwaldt, Leipzig 1844, 151-3; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb* (episode) 745, no. 3191 (for other sources of the same episode, see Caetani, 16 A. H., §§ 102, 107); Yāķūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv, 7 f., i, 769, iv, 323, ii, 107, and index; Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 344-52, 354-77, 393-410; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, Ms. Aya Sofia, fols. 141r-20v (beginning of the year 15) fols. 28v-31v (beginning of the year 16); Ibn Khaldūn, *Muķaddima*, ed. Quatremère, i, 15, 230, 285, ii, 692, iii, 135 (tr. Rosenthal, i, 17, 259, 320-1, ii, 77-8, iii, 168-9); idem, *ʿIbar*, ed. Beirut² 1966-8, i, 14, 220 f., 278, 483, ii, 325, 561, 637, 657, 915-9, 921-3, 935-42 and index of the first three volumes (Ibn Khaldūn's account of the battle is a resumé of traditions collected by Sayf, as are the brief accounts of Miskawayh, Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, Nuwayrī, Dhahabi and Ibn al-Furāt, and the longer ones in *al-Fakhrī*, ed. Ahlwardt, 106-14, and Ibn Zaynī Daḥlān, *al-Futūḥāt al-Islāmiyya*, Mecca 1311, i, 54-69.—Citations of warriors who fell in the battle given in *Istīʿāb*, *Usd*, *Iṣāba*, *Tadjrīd* of Dhahabī can be found in L. Caetani, *Annali dell'Islām*, 16 A.H., § 118, note 1.

Greek, Syriac and Armenian sources: summarized in Caetani, 16 A.H., §§ 113-7, 172, 173; see also F. Baethgen, *Fragmente syrischer und arabischer Historiker*, Leipzig 1884 (Abhandl.

für die Kunde des Morgenlandes DMG, viii, 3), text 16, tr. 110.

Persian sources: Mirkhwānd, *Rawḍat al-ṣafā'*, lithograph Bombay 1825, ii, 270-8; Khwandamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, lithograph Bombay 1857, 14, 20-3.

Western authors: G. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, i, 65-73, 83; A. Müller, *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, i (1885), 235-43; J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi, Berlin 1899, 68-83; L. Caetani, *Annali dell'Islām*: (the events) iii, 14 A.H. §§ 5, 9-11, 19, 23-5, 45-63, 66, 16 A.H., §§ 3-35, 39-118, 134-228; (critique of the sources and critical résumé of the events): 13 A.H., §§ 1-3, 14 A.H. §§ 1-3, 16 A.H., §§ 1-2, 119-33, 229-37; C. H. Becker, *Islamstudien*, i, 88 f.; S. M. Yusuf, *The battle of al-Qadisiyya*, in IC, xix (1945), 1-18.

(L. VECCIA VAGLERI)

iii. In addition to the two towns mentioned above, Yāḳūt knows three other places called al-Ḳādisiyya, namely two villages in the district of al-Mawṣil in the Nahr al-Khāzir between al-Mawṣil and Irbid, and a third near Djazīrat b. ʿUmar; see Yāḳūt, *al-Mushtarik* ed. Wüstenfeld, 337. Ibn al-Athīr also mentions an al-Ḳādisiyya near Baghdād (xii, 91). For the possible relationship of these places and others similarly named to a people (Ḳādishaeans) that may have settled them, see Nöldeke, *ZDMG*, xxxiii, 157 f., 162; J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr nach der Geographie des Pseudo-Moses Xorenacʿi* (*Abhandlungen der Gött. Ges. der Wiss.*, 1901), 77, 78. (M. STRECK-[J. LASSNER])

ḲĀDJĀR, Turcoman tribe, from which sprang a ruling dynasty of Persia (see next article). There is no foundation for the statements of later historians that the Ḳādjār tribe entered Iran with Hūlāgū [*q.v.*]. In the 9th/15th century they formed part of the Boz Ok branch of the Turcomans of Anatolia, dwelling in the Kayseri-Sivas region and recognizing the suzerainty of the Dhu 'l-Ḳadr rulers. They probably take their name from a leader named Ḳaraçar (= Ḳarçar). In the 9th/15th century they were divided into four sub-tribes (*oba*): Aghča Koyunlu, Aghčalu, Shām Bayātī, Yīva. The first two of these were branches of the great tribes belonging to the *ulus* of the Dulḳadirlī. The third was a branch of the Bayāts of northern Syria (it is very probable that the Dulḳadirlī dynasty sprang from the Bayāts); Shām Bayātī owes its name to the fact that it wintered in Syria, but we do not know to which of these subtribes the Ḳādjār dynasty belonged. After the Ḳādjārs had entered Iran and settled in northern Ādharbāydjān (Arrān) they were joined by an important clan called Igirmi (= Yirmi) Dört.

The defeat of the Ḳara Ḳoyunlu by the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu, who thenceforth ruled much of Iran, prompted important branches of the Turcoman tribes of Anatolia to move into Persia: thus towards the end of the 9th/15th century the Ḳādjār settled in the Ḳarabāgh (Gandja) district of northern Ādharbāydjān. In 897/1491-2 a member of the ruling house of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu, named Dana Khalīl-oghlu Ibrāhīm Beg and known as Ayba (or Iba) Sulṭān, with the support of the Ḳādjār raised to the throne Uzun Ḥasan's grandson Rustam Beg. When Rustam Beg was defeated by Aḥmad b. Ughurlu Muḥammad b. Uzun Ḥasan Beg he took refuge with the Ḳādjār in 1497. Although the Ḳādjār supported Rustam, the latter was defeated again and killed. Soon afterwards a part of the Ḳādjār rallied to Shāh Ismāʿīl and, like so many other Anatolian Turcoman tribes, contributed to the establishment of the Ṣafawid dynasty. For the next two centuries, however, they were not held in such esteem by the shahs as were, *e.g.*, the Ustadjālu (Ustadjlu), Tekelü, Shāmlu and Dhulḳadr (Dulḳadir). At this period the Ḳādjār were again dwelling in north Ādharbāydjān. At the end of the 10th/16th century Imām Ḳulī Khān, who was *beglerbegi* of Ḳarabāgh, was a member of the Yīva *oba* of the Ḳādjār. But during Ṣafawid times the Ḳādjār were administered mostly by the Ziyād Oghlu family from which sprang the future ruling Ḳādjār dynasty. At the time of Shāh ʿAbbās some of the Ḳādjār were transferred to the district of Astarābād, to be a barrier against the raids of the Yaḳa Turcomans.

In the 12th/18th century, whereas some tribes—Shāmlu, Dulḳadir, etc.—broke up and lost their power, the Avshar (Afshar) and Ḳādjār remained numerous and strong. Hence under Nādir Shāh the Afshar were able to put an end to the Ṣafawid dynasty and seize power, and at the end of the century the Ḳādjār could succeed the Zand. In the 18th century the Astarābād Ḳādjār were divided into two branches: the Ashāḳa Bāsh and the Yūkhārī Bāsh. The Ashaḳa Bāsh were formed by the Ḳoyunlū (or Ḳowānlū), ʿIzz al-dīnlū, Shām Bayātī, Ḳarā Mūsānlū (Mūsālu?), Wāshlū (Ashlū?) and Ziyādlū subtribes. The Ḳādjār dynasty belonged to the Ḳoyunlū (or Ḳowānlū) subtribe of the Ashāḳa Bāsh. As for the Yūkhārī Bāsh, they were formed by the other six subtribes, *i.e.*, Dawālū, Sāpānlū, Köhnalū, Khazīnadarlū, Ḳayāḳlū, and Kerlū(?). The chief subtribe of this branch was the Dawālū.

The Ḳādjār rulers never forgot that they were Turks. They were even proud of it. Thus, some members of the Ḳādjār dynasty bore the names of Ilkhānid and even Ottoman rulers, *e.g.*, Hülägü, Abaḳa, Ārghun, Ildirim Bāyazīd etc. We see also some Ḳādjār clans (*oymak*) in Anatolia in the Ottoman period, between the 16th and 20th centuries.

Bibliography: F. Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, Ankara 1967, 152, 154, 155, 228, 234, 286, 287, 358, 366; idem, *Safevi devletinin kuruluş ve gelişmesinde Anadolu Türklerinin rolu* (in press). (F. SÜMER)

ḲĀDJĀR (*kačar* "marching quickly", cf. Sulaymān Efendī, *Lughat-i Čaghatai*, Istanbul 1298, 214; P. Pelliot, *Notes sur l'histoire de la horde d'or*, Paris 1950, 203-4), a Turcoman tribe, to which the Ḳādjār dynasty of Persia belonged; also a village in the Lītkūh district of Āmul [*q.v.*]. Nineteenth century Persian historians assert that the Ḳādjār took their name from Ḳādjār Noyān b. Sirtāḳ Noyān. The latter was the son of Sābā Noyān b. Djalā'ir, and was appointed *atabeg* [*q.v.*] to Arghūn (Riḍā Ḳulī Khān Hidāyat, *Ta'rīkh-i rawḍat al-ṣafā-yi nāṣiri*, Tehran 1961-2, ix, 4). It is also alleged that the Ḳādjār migrated from the Mughān steppe to Syria towards the middle of the 8th/14th century and that they came back to Persia with Tīmūr. This may well be so, but there does not appear to be any mention of a tribe by the name of Ḳādjār in Mongol or Timurid times. What may be the earliest mention of them is in 897/1491-2 when the *lashkar-i ḳādjār* is said to have joined Dānā Khalīl b. Ibrāhīm of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlū to free Rustam Beg b. Maḳṣūd from the fortress of Alindjak, where he had been held captive by rival khāns (Yaḥyā Ḳazvīnī, *Lubb al-tawārīkh*, 1936-7, 225-6, quoted by F. Sümer, *Oğuzlar*, Ankara 1967, and Ibn Karbalā'ī, *Rawḍāt al-djinān wa-djannat al-djanān*, ed. Djaʿfar Sulṭān al-Ḳarā'ī, Tehran 1946-7, 526), but it should be pointed out that Ḳādjār may here be simply the name of a person.

Ḳarā Pīrī Beg Ḳādjār is mentioned as being among

Simplified Genealogical Tree of the Ḳādjār Ruling House

Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān
(d. 1139/1726)

Muḥammad Ḥasan
Muḥammad Ḥusayn
Khadīdja Begum

Āḳā Muḥammad (d. 1797)
Ḥusayn Ḳulī (d. 1763)
Murtaḍā Ḳulī
Muṣṭafā Ḳulī
Djaʿfar Ḳulī
Mihdī Ḳulī
ʿAbbās Ḳulī
Riḍā Ḳulī
ʿAlī Ḳulī

Fatḥ ʿAlī (b. 1173/1759-60)
[Reg. 1797-1834]

Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā (b. 1203/1788-9 d. 1237/1821)
Ḥasan ʿAlī Mīrzā
Muḥammad Ḳulī Mīrzā (b. 1203/1788-9)
ʿAbbās Mīrzā (b. 1203/1789 d. 1249/1833)
Muḥammad Valī Mīrzā (b. 1203/1789)
Ḥusayn ʿAlī Mīrzā (Farmān-Farmā) (b. 1203/1789. d. 1835)
ʿAlī Mīrzā (b. 1204/1789. d. 1854)
Fatḥ Allāh Mīrzā (Shuʿāʿal-Salṭana' (d. 1869))
ʿAḍud al-Dawla (b. 1819)

Muḥammad Shāh (b. 1807) [Reg. 1834-48]
Bahman Mīrzā (d. 1833)
Sulṭān Murād Mīrzā
Hamza Mīrzā (d. 1882)
Ardashīr Mīrzā
Farhād Mīrzā (b. 1817 d. 1888)
Khānlar Mīrzā
Ḳahramān Mīrzā
Riḍa Ḳulī Mīrzā
Valī Mīrzā
Taymūr Mīrzā
Shukūh al-Salṭana (Mother of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh)

Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (b. 1831 d. 1896) [Reg. 1848-96]
ʿAbbās Mīrzā Mulk Arā
Muḥammad Taḳī Mīrzā (d. 1901)
ʿAlī Naḳī Mīrzā (Rukn al-Dawla)
Sulṭān Madjīd Mīrzā (ʿAyn al-Dawla)
ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Mīrzā (Shams al-Mulk)
Muḥammad Mīrzā (Sayf al-Dawla)
Vadjīh Allāh Mīrzā (Sipahsālār)
Nuṣrat Allāh Mīrzā (Amīr Khān Sardār) (b. 1877)

Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh (b. 1853 d. 1907) [Reg. 1896-1907]
Masʿūd Mīrzā (Ẓill al-Sulṭān) (b. 1850)
Kāmrān Mīrzā (Nāʾib al-Salṭana) (b. 1856)
Nuṣrat al-Dīn Mīrzā (Sālār al-Salṭana) (b. 1882)
Ḥusayn ʿAlī Mīrzā (Yamīn al-Salṭana) (b. 1890)
Sulṭān Aḥmad Mīrzā (ʿAḍud al-Salṭana) (b. 1891)

Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh (b. 1872 d. 1925) [Reg. 1907-09]
Malik Manṣūr Mīrzā (Shuʿāʿal-Salṭana) (b. 1880)
Abū ʾl-Fatḥ Mīrzā (Sālār al-Dawla) (b. 1881)
Nāṣir al-Dīn Mīrzā (Nuṣrat al-Salṭana)
Sulṭān Malik Mīrzā
Djahān Khānum (b. 1875) (Married Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh)

Sulṭān Aḥmad Shāh (b. 1807 d. 1939)
Muḥammad Ḥasan Mīrzā (b. 1808)

the followers of the Ṣafawid S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Ḥaydar, and Sulṭān ʿAlī nominated Ismāʿīl (later S̲h̲āh Ismāʿīl I) his successor and sent him to Ardabīl, he was accompanied, among others, by Ḳarā Pīrī Beg Ḳād̲j̲ār (W.Hinz, *Irans Aufstieg zum Nationalstaat im fünfzehnten Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1936, 79, 96). Later, when Ismāʿīl defeated the Aḳ Ḳoyunlū Aḥmad at the battle of S̲h̲arūr in 907/1501, the Ḳād̲j̲ār were among his supporters and formed one of the Ḳizilbās̲h̲ tribes. Ḳād̲j̲ār k̲h̲āns held important offices under Ṭahmāsp I and S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās I (Iskandar Muns̲h̲ī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i ʿālamārā-yi ʿabbāsī*, Tehran 1956, i, 140, ii, 1085). One, S̲h̲āh Ḳulī Ḳād̲j̲ār, was sent by the former in 962/1555 and 975/1567 to treat for peace with the Turks (Pečewi, i, 327, 334; v. Hammer, *Hist. de l'empire ottoman*, French tr., vi, 69, 320; Riḍā Ḳulī K̲h̲ān, ix, 5, is wrong in giving the date as A.H. 969). Another, Allāh Ḳulī Beg, became *ḳurčibās̲h̲ī* to S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās in 1000/1591-2 (*ʿĀlamārā*, i, 439). Ḳarābāg̲h̲ was the main Ḳād̲j̲ār centre in the 10th/16th century and the office of *beglerbegi* of Ḳarābāg̲h̲ was held by various Ḳād̲j̲ār k̲h̲āns. Muḥammad K̲h̲ān b. K̲h̲alīl K̲h̲ān b. S̲h̲āhverdī Sulṭān Ziyādog̲h̲lū, who succeeded Imām Ḳulī K̲h̲ān on his death in 996/1587-8, was later appointed governor of Gand̲j̲a in 1015/1606 (*ibid.*, i, 385, ii, 716). The offices of *beglerbegī* and *amīr al-umarāʾī* of Ḳarābāg̲h̲ appear to have remained in the hands of the Ziyādog̲h̲lū family (*ibid.*, ii, 657). Another Ziyādog̲h̲lū k̲h̲ān, Ḥasan, was made *dārūg̲h̲a* [*q.v.*] of S̲h̲īrāz in 998/1590 (Aḥmad Ḳummī, *K̲h̲ulāṣat al-tawārīk̲h̲*, ed. H. Müller, Wiesbaden 1964, Persian text, 68). Amīr Gūna K̲h̲ān Ḳād̲j̲ār became governor of Erivan in 1011/1603 (*ʿAlamārā*, ii, 652), while his son Ṭahmāsp Ḳulī K̲h̲ān was governor of Erivan and Čuk̲h̲ur Saʿd in the reign of S̲h̲āh Ṣafī (Iskandar Muns̲h̲ī and Muḥammad Yūsuf, *D̲h̲ayl-i taʾrīk̲h̲-i ʿālamārā-yi ʿabbāsī*, ed. Suhaylī K̲h̲ʷānsārī, Tehran 1938-9, 293). Ḳād̲j̲ār k̲h̲āns also held governorships in Astarābād and Marv. Ḥusayn K̲h̲ān Ziyādog̲h̲lū is mentioned as being governor of Astarābād in 1010/1601-2 and in 1011/1602-3 when he was recalled to Ḳarābāg̲h̲ to take part in operations against the Ottomans (*ʿĀlamārā*, ii, 604, 657). Mihrāb K̲h̲ān Ḳād̲j̲ār became governor of Marv in 1017/1608-9; his son, Murtaḍā Ḳulī K̲h̲ān, who was governor of Marv on behalf of S̲h̲āh Ṣafī in 1042/1632-3 (*D̲h̲ayl-i taʾrīk̲h̲-i ʿālamārā-yi ʿabbāsī*, 103), became *sipahsālār* to S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās II in 1057/1647-8. (See further K. Röhrborn, *Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1966, 33-7, 40-2).

Ḳād̲j̲ār historians attribute the dispersal of the Ḳād̲j̲ārs in the frontier areas of the empire to the deliberate policy of S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās, aimed on the one hand at reducing their power because they had by this time become very numerous in Ḳarābāg̲h̲, and on the other at protecting the empire against inroads made by the Uzbegs and Tatars. By the end of the 11th/17th century the main concentration of Ḳād̲j̲ārs appears to have been in Astarābād, and they played a prominent part in the struggles for power in northern Persia on the fall of the Ṣafavids. They were divided in Astarābād into two main groups, the Ḳoyunlū, who were flock-keepers, and the Develū, who were camel-herders. According to Riḍā Ḳulī K̲h̲ān the Ḳoyunlū, ʿIzz al-Dīnlū, S̲h̲āmbayātī (whose name suggests that some sections of the Ḳād̲j̲ār had sojourned for a period in Syria), Ḳarāmūsālū, Is̲h̲lū, and Ziyādlū had pastures below the Mubārakābād fortress of Astarābād and so were called As̲h̲āḳabās̲h̲, while the Develū, Sipānlū, Kuhanlū, K̲h̲azīnadārlū, Ḳiyāḳlū and Karlū had pastures above the fortress and were therefore called Yuk̲h̲ārībās̲h̲. He adds that according to another tradition the origin of these terms is to be sought in the period before the Ḳād̲j̲ār were settled in Astarābād (ix, 7-8, 49). In the 12th/18th century the As̲h̲āḳabās̲h̲ and the Yuk̲h̲ārībās̲h̲ were split by internecine strife.

During the reign of the Ṣafawid S̲h̲āh Sulṭān Ḥusayn, Muḥammad K̲h̲ān, a Turcoman from Ḳazwīn, was appointed governor of Astarābād. He was induced by the Yuk̲h̲ārībās̲h̲ to seize Fatḥ ʿAlī K̲h̲ān, the leader of the As̲h̲āḳabās̲h̲, who lived in the Mubārakābād fortress, and his brothers, Faḍl ʿAlī and Muḥammad ʿAlī Beg. Fatḥ ʿAlī subsequently escaped but his two brothers were killed. He took refuge with the Yamūt of Ṣāʾin K̲h̲ānī and in due course recovered possession of Astarābād (*ibid.*, ix, 7-8; Mīrzā Mihdī, *D̲j̲ahāngus̲h̲ā-yi nādirī*, ed. Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh Anvar, Tehran 1963-4, 58-9). The sources vary in their account of the activities of Fatḥ ʿAlī K̲h̲ān during the last years of Ṣafawid rule. According to most Ḳād̲j̲ār historians he went to the help of S̲h̲āh Sulṭān Ḥusayn during the Afghan invasion, though the precise circumstances in which he did this are not clear. Being denounced by some of the shah's officials as dangerously ambitious, he left Iṣfahān. Subsequently after an engagement with the Afghans near Varāmīn, he joined Ṭahmāsp II, who had come to Māzandarān, brought him to Astarābād, and assumed the title of *nāʾib al-salṭana* and *wakīl-i dawla*. Mīrzā Mahdī, however, gives a less favourable account of Fatḥ ʿAlī's actions, and alleges that Ṭahmāsp, who had appointed Fatḥ ʿAlī governor of Simnān, ordered him to relieve Tehran, which had fallen into the hands of the Afghans. After an inconclusive battle with the Afghans near Varāmīn, Fatḥ ʿAlī took Dāmg̲h̲ān, and then turned his arms against Ṭahmāsp, defeating him in May 1726 near As̲h̲raf and taking him captive (Lockhart, *The fall of the Safavi dynasty and the Afghan occupation of Persia*, Cambridge 1958, 280: see also Muḥammad Hās̲h̲im Rustam al-Ḥukamāʾ, *Rustam al-tawārīk̲h̲*, ed. Muḥammad Mus̲h̲īrī, Tehran 1969, 122 ff., 142 ff., 174 ff.; Riḍā Ḳulī K̲h̲ān, ix, 12).

Fatḥ ʿAlī K̲h̲ān and Ṭahmāsp subsequently set out for K̲h̲urāsān. Nādir Ḳulī (afterwards Nādir S̲h̲āh), with whom Ṭahmāsp had entered into communication, joined them at K̲h̲ābūs̲h̲ān with a force of Afghans and Kurds. They reached K̲h̲ʷād̲j̲a Rabīʿ outside Mas̲h̲had in the autumn. By this time acute rivalry had developed between Fatḥ ʿAlī K̲h̲ān and Nādir Ḳulī, who succeeded in persuading Ṭahmāsp that Fatḥ ʿAlī was plotting against him. Accordingly on 14 Ṣafar 1139/11 October 1726 Ṭahmāsp had Fatḥ ʿAlī put to death (Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, Cambridge 1938, 25-6).

Fatḥ ʿAlī had two sons, Muḥammad Ḥasan and Muḥammad Ḥusayn, the second of whom died in youth. Rustam al-Ḥukamāʾ alleges that Muḥammad Ḥasan was, in fact, a son of S̲h̲āh Sulṭān Ḥusayn, the latter having given to Fatḥ ʿAlī K̲h̲ān, when he came to Iṣfahān about the time of the Afghan invasion, a woman from the royal *ḥaram*, a daughter of Ḥusayn Ḳulī Āḳā, a descendant of Yaʿḳūb Sulṭān Ḳād̲j̲ār, who had served S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās I, and whose mother was the niece of Bikand̲j̲ K̲h̲ān Bahādur, the leader of the Yamūt and Guklān. This woman, according to Rustam al-Ḥukamāʾ, was pregnant by the shah, and in due course gave birth to Muḥammad Ḥasan (139, 157, 266, 399-400; see also K̲h̲ān Malik Sāsānī, *Siyāsatgarān-i dawra-i Ḳād̲j̲ār*, Tehran 1959-60, introduction). After the death of Fatḥ ʿAlī K̲h̲ān, Muḥammad Ḥasan, because of the enmity of Nādir

and the intrigues of Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān Develū, who had been appointed *beglerbegī* of Astarābād, retired to the Turcoman steppe. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān was later responsible for the murder of Ṭahmāsp and his two sons in or about Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1152/February 1740 during Nādir's absence in India (Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 177-8). Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān in due course gathered together a force of Yamūt Turcomans, Ḳādjārs and others and in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1156/January 1744 took Astarābād from Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān (see J. Hanway, *An historical account of the British trade over the Caspian Sea*, London 1762, i, 129 ff., for an eyewitness account of this event). Nādir Shāh ordered Bihbūd Khān, the *sardār* of the Atak, to punish Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān. An engagement took place to the east of Astarābād. Initially the Ḳādjār army had the advantage, but after defections to Bihbūd Khān, Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān fled. Some months later he appeared in Khwārazm with Yamūt allies. In a battle with Nādir's forces under the latter's nephew, ʿAlī Ḳulī Khān, and Bihbūd Khān, during which Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān engaged Bihbūd Khān in single combat and wounded him, the Ḳādjār forces were defeated a second time and Muḥammad Ḥasan forced to flee for his life (Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 243-5). After the death of Nādir in 1160/1747, Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān appears to have joined Shāhrukh and subsequently to have been appointed *beglerbegī* of Astarābād and Gurgān and leader of all the nomadic groups of Ḳādjār in the province by Sulaymān II, who was crowned on 21 Muḥarram 1163/31 December 1749, and occupied the throne for forty days. Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān took possession of Astarābād and Gurgān and on the deposition of Sulaymān became virtually independent. He extended his power to Māzandarān and Gīlān. He moved down towards Kirmānshāh to aid ʿAlī Mardān in 1164/1751 but retired to Astarābād on receiving news of the latter's defeat. Karīm Khān marched on Gīlān, pursued him to Astarābād in 1165/1751-2 and besieged him there (Muḥammad Khalīl Marʿashī, *Madjmaʿ al-tawārīkh*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1949-50, 120, 149; Muḥammad Sādiḳ Nāmī, *Taʾrīkh-i gītīgushā*, ed. Saʿīd Nafīsī, Tehran 1938-9, 25-6). The Zand army was unable to make headway and finally Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān reinforced by Guklān and Yamūt defeated Karīm Khān's army, after which he was joined by, or took possession of, Ismāʿīl III, the Ṣafawid puppet, who had been with Karīm Khān.

In 1168/1754-5 Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī, who had taken possession of Mashhad, made a bid to extend his power over northern Persia, but was defeated by Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān near Sabzavār in the summer of 1169/1755. The Ḳādjār leader, after taking Ḳazwīn and reasserting his power in Gīlān, marched on Iṣfahān and in 1169/1756 inflicted a second defeat on Karīm Khān, who retired to Shīrāz. At this point Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān was forced to return to the north to deal with the incursion of Āzād Khān, the Afghan holder of Ādharbāydjān, who had seized the opportunity to march on Gīlān and Māzandarān. Āzād Khān's army was defeated near Lāhīdjān in the winter of 1170/1756. Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān then seized the initiative, marched on Ādharbāydjān and decisively defeated Āzād Khān near Urūmiyya in the summer (1170/1757). In the spring of the following year, he set out for Ḳarābāgh, which, together with Mughān and Arrān submitted, and the local Ḳādjār khāns, in particular the Ziyādoghlū khāns of Gandja, joined him. He left his eldest son Āḳā Muḥammad (whose mother was a daughter of Sulāymān Khān Ḳoyunlū and who, as a child, had fallen into the hands of ʿĀdil Shāh about 1161/1748 and been castrated by him), then aged about sixteen, as his deputy in Tabrīz and returned himself to Māzandarān (Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, ix, 39-40). If, however, Sir John Malcolm's statement that Āḳā Muḥammad Khān was aged sixty-three at his death is correct, he would have been about twenty-two at this time. (See *History of Persia*, London 1829, ii, 203). From there Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān set out for Iṣfahān and Shīrāz, where he besieged Karīm Khān in 1171/1758. After about a month, the Ḳādjār force encamped round Shīrāz experienced difficulty in provisioning itself and many of their livestock were captured by the enemy (Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, ix, 48-9).

The internecine strife between the Ashāḳabāsh and the Yukhārībāsh, which had been temporarily checked after Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān had established his authority and included khāns from both factions among his followers, broke out again, and when a group of Afghans defected in Shawwāl 1171/June-July 1758, disorders ensued and the army began to disperse. Meanwhile Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān Develū, who had remained in Iṣfahān, seized the opportunity offered by the absence of Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān in the south to return to Astarābād and take possession of it, but evacuated it when the latter returned. He retired to Dāmghān, where Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān besieged him. Karīm Khān, hoping to benefit from the renewal of internecine strife among the Ḳādjārs, sent an army under Shaykh ʿAlī Khān Zand to Māzandarān, where several of the local tribes joined him. Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān raised the siege of Dāmghān and proceeded to Māzandarān to meet this new threat. Disorders among the Turcomans and Ḳādjārs in the neighbourhood of Astarābād, however, forced him to return there, and he took with him the Ṣafawid, Ismāʿīl III, who was then living in Sārī (*ibid.*, ix, 58). Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān Develū now joined Shaykh ʿAlī, while Karīm Khān himself advanced from Tehran towards Astarābād. Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān, who had been joined by Aḳā Muḥammad Khān (who had failed to maintain himself in Ādharbādjyān), and also by some Shādillū Kurds from Khurāsān, Giraylīs and Hadjdjīlars, joined battle with Karīm Khān near Ashraf. Victory went to the Zand army and Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān was killed in flight in 1172/1759 (or according to some sources 1171). Muḥammad Khān Ḳoyunlū, who had been made *beglerbegī* of Astarābād by Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān, escaped with Āḳā Muḥammad, his full brother Ḥusayn Ḳulī Khān and various other members of the family to the Gurgān steppe to the *awba* of Murād Khān Djaʿfarbāyla of the Yūmūt (*ibid.*, ix, 75).

Shaykh ʿAlī Khān Zand reappointed Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān Develū governor of Astarābād. These events further exacerbated relations between the Ashāḳabāsh and the Yukhārībāsh, and in due course Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān captured Muḥammad Khān Ḳoyunlū and the sons of Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān who were with him. Later he persuaded Karīm Khān to take Āḳā Muḥammad Khan and various of his brothers and relations to Shīrāz to prevent any attempt by them to reassert the supremacy of the Ashāḳabāsh, though keeping with himself Āḳā Muḥammad's halfbrothers, Murtaḍā Ḳulī and Muṣṭafā Ḳulī, whose mother was his sister (*ibid.*, ix, 77-8). In 1176/1762-3 Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān Develū died of plague and was succeeded as *beglerbegī*

of Astarābād by his younger brother Muḥammad Ḥasan.

Āḳā Muḥammad Khān and his brothers, together with other local leaders, were held by Karīm Khān in Shīrāz as hostages for the good behaviour of their respective tribes. Khadīdja Begum, Āḳā Muḥammad's paternal aunt, was married to Karīm Khān. His brother, Ḥusayn Ḳulī Khān, was made governor of Dāmghān in 1182/1769, and from then until his death in 1191/1777 he had a turbulent career in northern Persia (hence his title Djahānsūz). Seeking revenge for the death of his father, he made war on the Develū and also on the Zand governors of Māzandarān, Bisṭām and elsewhere, in spite of Āḳā Muḥammad's advice to him to adopt a peaceful policy. Astarābād changed hands several times but remained, for the most part, in Develū hands. In or about 1188/1774, Ḥusayn Ḳulī sent his son Fatḥ ʿAlī (born in 1173/1759-60 of an ʿIzz al-Dīnlū Ḳādjār mother and known as Bābā Khān) [*q.v.*] to Shīrāz to conciliate Karīm Khān. He was well received and sent back to his father and given Dāmghān as a *suyūrghāl* (Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, ix, 90 ff.).

Āḳā Muḥammad Khān appears to have been treated with favour and consulted by Karīm Khān on affairs of state (ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, *Maʾāthir-i sulṭāniyya*, entitled *Dynasty of the Kajars*, tr. by Sir Harford Jones Brydges, London 1838, cxi ff.; Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, ix, 78; Rustam al-Ḥukamāʾ, 338; Malcolm, ii, 176). He was not, however, reconciled to captivity, and the death of Karīm Khān in 1193/1779 enabled him to escape. He proceeded to Māzandarān, where he was occupied for some years in contests with rival khāns of the Ashāḳabāsh and the Yukhārībāsh, the latter of whom held Astarābād and the country extending from there to Khwār and Varāmīn. Various of the khāns, including Āḳā Muḥammad's half-brothers, Murtaḍā Ḳulī Khān and Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, co-operated with the Zand forces in the north (Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, ix, 127 ff.; Rustam al-Ḥukamāʾ, 444 ff.; Malcolm, ii, 93 ff.). In 1194-5/1780-1 Āḳā Muḥammad Khān came into conflict with the Russians, who had established a settlement in Ashraf, and expelled them (J. McNeill, ***Progress and present position of Russia in the East***, 2nd ed. London 1836, 33-4).

By 1199/1785 Āḳā Muḥammad Khān had made himself master of Gurgān, Māzandarān and Gīlān, and on the death of ʿAlī Murād Khān in that year, he set out for Iṣfahān, which Djaʿfar Khān Zand had seized. He defeated a Zand force near Ḳumm and entered Iṣfahān. Reappointing as governor Bāḳir Khān Khurāskānī (whom Djaʿfar Khān had turned out), he retired again to the north. In 1200/1786 he made Tehran his capital (cf. Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, who wrongly states that he was crowned in Tehran in that year, ix, 200). From this time onwards Tehran continued to be the capital, and the importance of northern Persia relative to southern Persia for strategic and economic reasons and because of its more numerous population increased.

In 1201/1786-7 Djaʿfar Khān recovered possession of Iṣfahān, but was again dispossessed by Āḳā Muḥammad, who on this occasion appointed his half-brother Djaʿfar Ḳulī Khān governor before retiring to the north again (Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, ix, 188 ff.; Rustam al-Ḥukamāʾ, 448 ff.; Malcolm, ii, 102-3). Luṭf ʿAlī Khān succeeded Djaʿfar Khān Zand in 1203/1789-90 and in the following year Āḳā Muḥammad made another expedition to the south. Luṭf ʿAlī fled to Shīrāz. Āḳā Muḥammad besieged the city, but raised the siege after about three months and returned to Tehran. In the following year Āḳā Muḥammad was occupied in asserting his authority in Ādharbāydjān, where a number of local leaders had been virtually independent since the death of Karīm Khān. In 1205/1791 Luṭf ʿAlī Khān made an abortive attempt to recover Iṣfahān, leaving Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm, the ***kalāntar***, together with one of the Zand khāns, in charge of Shīrāz. During the absence of Luṭf ʿAlī, Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm seized the city. Luṭf ʿAlī turned back but failed to regain possession and retired to the south. Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm meanwhile entered into negotiations with Āḳā Muḥammad Khān, who, after a Ḳādjār force had suffered a reverse at the hands of Luṭf ʿAlī, marched in person on Shīrāz. A surprise attack near Persepolis by Luṭf ʿAlī failed, and Shīrāz was handed over to Āḳā Muḥammad Khān. Renewed disorders by the Guklān and Yamūt, however, forced him once more to return to Tehran and Astarābād. Luṭf ʿAlī who had fled to the east, after various vicissitudes, took Kirmān in 1208/1794. Āḳā Muḥammad set out once more for the south and laid siege to Kirmān. The city fell after some months and large numbers of the inhabitants were massacred. Luṭf ʿAlī, who escaped before the city actually fell, was eventually captured near Narmāshīr and sent to Āḳā Muḥammad, who killed him (Malcolm. ii, 110 ff. Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Ḥasan Fasāʾī, ***Fārsnāma-i nāṣirī***, lith., Tehran 1894-6, i, 232 ff.).

Having thus disposed of his Zand rivals and established his authority over the greater part of Persia except Khurāsān, Āḳā Muḥammad Khān planned to restore to Persia Georgia, the ruler of which, Heraclius, had placed himself under Russian protection in 1783, renouncing all dependence on Persia. He reached Ardabīl in the spring of 1209/1795 and on Heraclius' refusal to return to the status of a tributary of Persia (which had been Georgia's position under the Ṣafawids), he invaded Georgia and sacked Tiflis. He spent the winter in Mughān and then returned to Tehran, where he was crowned in the spring of 1796 (Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, ix, 273-4). His next step was directed to the reimposition of Persian control over Khurāsān, which was nominally ruled by Shāhrukh, the blind grandson of Nādir Shāh, and to the prevention of raiding by the Uzbegs, whose leader Djānī Beg ruled Bukhārā. Mashhad was entered without fighting. Missions were sent to Djānī Beg demanding the release of all Persian prisoners who had been taken by raiding parties, and to Zamān Shāh, the ruler of Kābul, proposing co-operation for the conquest of Bukhārā. A Russian force meanwhile marched against Persia in retaliation for the sack of Tiflis. Although this was withdrawn on the death of the Empress Catherine in the same year, Āḳā Muḥammad abandoned his Khurāsān plans, returned to Tehran in the autumn, and in the spring of 1211/1797 set out again for Georgia. Crossing the R. Aras, he took Shūsha. A few days later, on 21 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1211/19 June 1797 he was murdered in camp by two slaves, who, although under sentence of death for some misdemeanour, had been left free overnight. His nephew, Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān (Bābā Khān), who at the time of his uncle's death was governor of Fārs, succeeded as Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh.

Āḳā Muḥammad Khān, realizing the weakness brought about by internecine strife, had been much concerned to heal the breach between the Ḳoyunlū and the Develū. Accordingly he married Fatḥ ʿAlī to one of the daughters of Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Develū, and laid down that the crown should pass to ʿAbbās Mīrzā (b. 1203/1789), Fatḥ ʿAlī's third son, and the eldest of his sons born to Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Develū's daughter (Nādir Mīrzā, ***Taʾrīkh wa djughrāfiyā-yi***

dār al-salṭana-i Tabrīz, Tehran lith., 1905, 190-1; Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, ix, 226). ʿAbbās Mīrzā, however, pre-deceased Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh in 1249/1833-4 and the succession passed in 1250/1834 to his son Muḥammad Mīrzā (b. 1222/1807), whose mother, Āsiyā Khānum, was also a Develū, being the daughter of Muḥammad Khān Develū and granddaughter of Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Develū. Malik Djahān Khānum, the mother of Nāsir al-Dīn (b. 1247/1831-2), who succeeded his father Muḥammad Shāh in 1264/1848, was a granddaughter of Sulaymān Khān Ḳoyunlū, Aḳā Muḥammad Khān's maternal uncle. Nāṣir al-Dīn's son and successor Muẓaffar al-Dīn (b. 1269/1853, reg. 1896-1907) was the son of Shukūh al-Salṭana, the daughter of Shuʿā al-Salṭana b. Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh. Although not all of Nāṣir al-Dīn's sons who were successively declared to be his *walī ʿahd* were the sons of Ḳādjār mothers, the normal convention was for the mother of the *walī ʿahd* to be a Ḳādjār. One of the arguments raised against the possible succession of Ẓill al-Sulṭān, the eldest son of Nāṣir al-Dīn, who became for a period the virtual ruler of southern Persia, was that his mother, ʿIffat al-Salṭana, was not a Ḳādjār. The mothers of Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh (b. 1289/1872, reg. 1907-9) and his son Aḥmad Shāh (b. 1314/1898, reg. 1909-25) respectively were Ḳādjārs. Failure to establish a stable system of succession proved a weakness and led to repeated intrigues over the appointment of the *walī ʿahd*, and Fatḥ ʿAlī, Muḥammad Shāh and Nāṣir al-Dīn all faced some degree of armed opposition by various Ḳādjār princes when they severally assumed the throne.

On the death of Āḳā Muḥammad, Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm, his chief minister, put himself at the head of the troops and returned to Tehran, where Muḥammad Khān Ḳādjār had closed the gates pending the arrival of Fatḥ ʿAlī from Fārs. The new shah had to contend with a number of rebellions, including one led by his brother Ḥusayn Ḳulī Mīrzā, but none of them were of any magnitude. He continued the practice of appointing princes of the royal house to the provincial governments which the Ṣafawids had abandoned but the Zands had largely resumed. In 1799 ʿAbbās Mīrzā, then aged about fourteen, was made governor of Ādharbāydjān, and from 1818, when he was appointed *walī ʿahd*, the province was normally held by the *walī ʿahd*. Its good order and security was considered crucial to the safety of the Persian state because of the critical nature of Perso-Russian relations and the fear that disorders would invite Russian intervention. From 1810 onwards Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh entrusted foreign relations to ʿAbbās Mīrzā and for that reason foreign envoys resided from then until his death at Tabrīz and not Tehran. Ādharbāydjān was one of the largest and richest of the Persian provinces, and its capital Tabrīz rapidly became politically and commercially the second city of the empire. There were, however, certain disadvantages in making Tabrīz the seat of the *walī ʿahd*: on the one hand he became more vulnerable to Russian influence and on the other the faction between Turk and Persian was heightened, since his entourage in Tabrīz tended to be composed largely of Ādharbāydjānī Turks, many of whom accompanied him when he came to Tehran to assume the crown.

When ʿAbbās Mīrzā was made governor of Ādharbāydjān his eldest brother Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā, whose mother was a Georgian, was confirmed as governor of Kirmānshāh. This province was also of considerable importance in view of the repeated disputes between the Persian and Ottoman empires. Ḥusayn ʿAlī Mīrzā Farmān-farmā, whose mother was the daughter of an Arab chieftain of Khurāsān, was made governor of Fārs, Muḥammad Walī Mīrzā governor of Khurāsān, and Muḥammad Ḳulī Mīrzā governor of Māzandarān. In due course several other princes, too young to administer their governments themselves, were sent to other provinces accompanied by viziers who carried on the administration for them, much as had the atabegs for their wards in Saldjūḳ times. The Ḳādjārs never succeeded in establishing family solidarity, and this in view of the numerous progeny of each of the shahs is, perhaps, not surprising. Rivalry between the sons of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, especially Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā and ʿAbbās Mīrzā,, several times threatened to break into open conflict. When ʿAbbās Mīrzā died in 1833, Fatḥ ʿAlī delayed until June in the following year before he declared Muḥammad Mīrzā *walī ʿahd*, for fear that a nomination would give rise to civil war.

Under the Treaty of Gulistān the way to the intervention of foreign powers in the matter of the succession to the throne was opened. By Art. 4 the Russian tsar undertook for himself and his heirs to recognize the prince who should be nominated as heir apparent and afford him assistance in case he should require it to suppress an opposing party.

When Fatḥ ʿAlī nominated ʿAbbās Mīrzā in 1818 he took steps to secure the agreement of the tsar to his nomination because he suspected that Yermolov, the Russian viceroy of the Caucasus, was preparing to intrigue with Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā. Fatḥ ʿAlī, to assure ʿAbbās Mīrzā's accession, also granted him the revenues of Gīlān as well as Ādharbāydjān for the support of his army, placed the governors of Khamsa and Ḳazvīn, through which he would have to pass on his way to Tehran, under his orders, and sent a battalion of ʿAbbās Mīrzā's troops to Tehran to garrison the capital. In 1828, under Art. 7 of the Treaty of Turkomānčāy, the Russian tsar recognized ʿAbbās Mīrzā as successor to the throne and undertook to consider him the legitimate sovereign from the moment of his accession. This limited Fatḥ ʿAlī's freedom of action, raised the possibility of ʿAbbās Mīrzā succeeding to the throne with the support of Russian troops, and endangered his personal and political independence. The appointment of Muḥammad Mīrzā as *walī ʿahd* was recognized by the British and Russian governments in an exchange of notes expressing their mutual desire to act together over the matter of his succession and in the maintenance of the internal tranquility, independence and integrity of Persia.

So far as the provincial governments were not held by Ḳādjār princes they were, for the most part, entrusted to tribal leaders, though Fatḥ ʿAlī, in so much as he was able, decreased the power of the tribes apart from the Ḳādjārs [see ĪLĀT]. There was, however, no clear dividing line between the provincial governor, the tribal leader, the landowner and the military commander. This facilitated rebellion and made the shah's control almost always precarious. The provincial governors were required to remit to the central government annually a definite sum, based on the tax assessment prepared by the *mustawfī*'s office in the capital together with a new year present (*pīshkash*) and to provide troops when called upon to do so. The cost of the provincial administration in addition to the regular assessment was collected locally. At each major provincial capital there was a replica of the court at Tehran. This, in the absence of financial control, imposed an added burden upon

the local people. Ambitious princes, moreover, were encouraged to use the provincial resources to rebel.

The remission of provincial taxes was frequently in arrears, and their collection often necessitated a military expedition. Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh had, in fact, set out on such an expedition to collect arrears from Ḥusayn ʿAlī Mīrzā Farmān-farmā, the governor of Fārs, when he died, en route for Shīrāz, in Iṣfahān on 23 October 1834. Ḥusayn ʿAlī Mīrzā thereupon read the *khuṭba* in Shīrāz in his own name and marched on Iṣfahān. Muḥammad Mīrzā was in no state to set out from Tabrīz. His treasury was empty and his troops mutinous. The means to make the troops march were collected largely owing to the initiative and energy shown by the British envoy, Sir John Campbell. On 10 November a force set out, and Muḥammad Mīrzā followed shortly afterwards. Tehran, where ʿAlī Mīrzā Ẓill al-Sulṭān had proclaimed himself shah, was taken in December, and an expedition despatched to the south. Farmān-farmā's forces, led by his brother Ḥasan ʿAlī Mīrzā and his three sons, Riḍā Ḳulī Mīrzā, Taymūr Mīrzā, and Walī Mīrzā, were defeated near Ḳumisha. Farmān-farmā surrendered and later died. Ḥasan ʿAlī Mīrzā was blinded and imprisoned at Ardabīl. Farmān-farmā's sons escaped, finding their way via the Ottoman Empire to England, whence they returned in 1836 to the Ottoman Empire and spent the rest of their lives there in exile (see Riḍā Ḳulī Mīrzā, *Safar-nāma-i Riḍā Ḳulī Mīrzā, nava-i Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh*, ed. Aṣghar Farmān Farmāʾī-i Ḳādjār, Tehran 1963-4; J. B. Fraser, *Narrative of the residence of the Persian princes in London, in 1835 and 1836*, 2 vols., London 1838).

Several other Ḳādjār princes were seized by Muḥammad Shāh and kept in captivity in Ardabīl, lest they became rebels, while some, fearing for their lives, placed themselves under foreign protection. In 1835 Muḥammad Shāh nominated his son, Nāṣir al-Dīn, then a child of four, as *walī ʿahd*. In view of his youth he was not made governor of Ādharbāydjān, which had been given to Ḳahramān Mīrzā, Muḥammad Shāh's full-brother. In January 1842 another full brother, Bahman Mīrzā, was made governor of the province. In the same year Muḥammad Shāh's health gave rise to anxiety, and it seemed unlikely that Nāṣir al-Dīn would be able to establish his claim against Bahman Mīrzā in the event of the shah's death. The latter, however, recovered, to fall ill again in 1845. Once more it seemed likely that Bahman Mīrzā, who was a successful and popular governor of Ādharbāydjān, might press his claim to succeed, or to establish himself as regent. The shah again recovered. Bahman Mīrzā, meanwhile, fell foul of Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Āḳāsī, the *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*, and resigned his government under pressure in 1847. It was now that the question of succession became confused with that of protection. On 1 March 1848, Bahman Mīrzā, alarmed for his safety, took sanctuary in the house of the Russian envoy and was subsequently granted asylum in Russia. The incident caused anger, alarm and consternation in Tehran. On 15 May Bahman Mīrzā left Tehran and took up residence in Tiflis.

The shah died on 4 September. Riots and disorders broke out in Tehran. The queen mother took charge pending the arrival of Nāṣir al-Dīn, who had been sent to Ādharbāydjān as governor in February. Funds having been provided for his march by the merchant community of Tabrīz, he set out and arrived in Tehran on 20 October. He took possession of the capital without difficulty, but there were disorders in Iṣfahān and Kirmān, and a prolonged rebellion in Khurāsān. Āṣaf al-Dawla, Muḥammad Shāh's maternal uncle, who had been at one time Fatḥ ʿAlī's *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*, and governor of Khurāsān for some twelve years under Muḥammad Shāh, had, with his son Sālār al-Dawla, been driven into rebellion by the enmity of Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Āḳāsī. In 1847 he was recalled to Tehran and exiled to Turkey. Sālār al-Dawla continued the rebellion and was not finally overcome until 1850, when, together with his brother, he was captured and executed.

During the early years of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn, consideration was given to the question of a regency in the event of the shah's death and again in 1858 when the child he had proclaimed *walī ʿahd* died, and the claims of Bahman Mīrzā, who was then residing at Tiflis, and ʿAbbās Mīrzā Mulk-ārā were canvassed. The latter's mother, a Kurdish lady, Khadīdja Begum, Muḥammad Shāh's favourite wife, had appealed on Muḥammad Shāh's death, to Colonel Farrant, the British chargé d'affaires, to protect her son, because she feared for his safety at the hands of the queen mother. ʿAbbās Mīrzā finally went in 1853 to Baghdād where he lived under quasi-British protection. The shah was equally suspicious of both. The question, however, remained academic: no regent was appointed and Nāṣir al-Dīn survived until 1896.

In the later years of Nāṣir al-Dīn's reign the rivalry of the *walī ʿahd*, Muẓaffar al-Dīn, governor of Ādharbāydjān, and his two half-brothers, Ẓill al-Sulṭān, who became governor of Iṣfahān in 1874 and was the virtual ruler of most of southern Persia from 1881 to 1887 when he was deprived of all his governments except Iṣfahān, and Kāmrān Mīrzā, the Nāʾib al-Salṭana, Nāṣir al-Dīn's favourite son, who was commander-in-chief of the army, threw the question of succession into doubt. In the event, Muẓaffar al-Dīn's succession was uncontested. During the reign of Muḥammad ʿAlī and Aḥmad Shāh, various Ḳādjār princes took part in the struggles against the constitutional government, notably Shuʿaʿ al-Salṭana and Sālār al-Dawla, Muḥammad ʿAlī's half-brothers, while Muḥammad ʿAlī, who, after his deposition in 1909, lived in Russia under the protection of the tsar, made an abortive attempt, with Russian connivance, to regain the throne in 1911.

The Ḳādjārs, having established themselves as the rulers of Persia, ceased to be tribal leaders and, like earlier rulers, became absolute monarchs. To impress their subjects with their power, they sought to emphasize the high, almost sacred, character of their rule. The pomp and circumstance of the royal court after the reign of Āḳā Muḥammad Khān rapidly increased and great attention was paid to ceremony, though the shah, it is true, was still, in theory at least, accessible to the lowest of his subjects. Similarly, after the death of Āḳā Muḥammad, the administration, based on the pattern of the Ṣafavid empire, became more elaborate. All officials were the shah's deputies, elevated and degraded at his pleasure. He was the sole executive. In circumstances in which intrigue and corruption were rife, and the exercise of power called forth the enmity and intrigues of rivals, bribery and nepotism were almost inevitable.

The chief minister was the *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* (sometimes known as the Muʿtamid al-Dawla). His functions were much the same as the *wazīr-i dīwān-i aʿlā* of Ṣafawid times [see DĪWĀN]. His main duty was to provide money for the administration and defence of the state. The three chief officials under him were the *mustawfī al-mamālik*, the *wazīr-i lashkar* and the *munshī al-mamālik*. The minister for foreign affairs (*wazīr-i khāridjī*), because of the increasing import-

ance of Persia's foreign relations, also became an influential official. From the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn onwards various attempts were made to modernize the administration [see ḤUKŪMA].

Āķā Muḥammad K͟hān was well served by Ḥād͟jd͟jī Ibrāhīm, who became *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* in 1209/1794. He was also joint vizier with Mīrzā S͟hafīʿ to Fatḥ ʿAlī. His power and nepotism led to intrigues, which aroused Fatḥ ʿAlī's suspicions against him, and he was blinded and killed in 1801. Many of his relatives were also seized and his estates confiscated. Various ministers subsequently attempted without success to assert control over Fatḥ ʿAlī. ʿAbbās Mīrzā as *walī ʿahd* was served with distinction by Mīrzā Īsā Mīrzā Buzurg (d. 1822), who was succeeded by his son, Abū-'l-Ķāsim Ķāʾim Maķām, also a talented man. He later became minister to Muḥammad Mīrzā, over whom he established his ascendancy. When Muḥammad Mīrzā succeeded to the throne, Ķāʾim Maķām became *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*. His rule, reputedly corrupt, was extremely unpopular and he fell from power in 1835 and was executed on 26 June 1835. Ḥād͟jd͟jī Mīrzā Āķāsī, a Georgian from Erivan, who had been Muḥammad Mīrzā's tutor in Ād͟harbāyd͟jān, succeeded him. He, too, eventually concentrated power in his own hands, holding a number of offices in addition to that of *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*. This also brought unpopularity upon him, and on the death of Muḥammad S͟hāh, in fear for his life, he took refuge in Russia.

Nāṣir al-Dīn on his accession made Mīrzā Taķī K͟hān Amīr Niẓām, who had been deputy-governor of Ād͟harbāyd͟jān since 1843, *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*. He, partly because of the youth and inexperience of the shah, also concentrated power in his own hands, and treated his royal master with a certain measure of contempt. An able man, he perhaps attempted too much at once. His severe rule and vigorous attempts to reform abuses met with opposition, and in 1851 he was overthrown and murdered. The queen mother, among others, played a prominent part in his overthrow (see further Firaydūn Ādamiyyat, *Amīr Kabīr wa Īrān*, 3 vols., Tehran 1956-7). He was succeeded by Mīrzā Āķā K͟hān Nūrī, whose energies were largely taken up in defeating the machinations of numerous rivals and in a contest with the shah for the sole exercise of power. Corruption, which placed every office within reach of the highest bidder, was his weakness and rendered him accessible to the attacks of his enemies. He was deprived of the office of *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* in 1853 when the government was reorganized [see ḤUKŪMA].

By the middle of the century, the resurgence of the bureaucracy, after its relative eclipse under the early Ķād͟jārs, was becoming evident. In the second half of the century its influence continued to grow. The position of officials, however, was still fundamentally insecure. This was why they so often sought support for their schemes from outside sources, in particular the British and Russian missions. It also explains in part the apparently equivocal behaviour of ministers such as ʿAlī Aṣg͟har K͟hān Amīn al-Sulṭān, who, until the fiasco of the Tobacco Regie, worked for the modernization of Persia in close co-operation with the British minister, Sir Drummond Wolff, but later fell under Russian domination.

During the Ķād͟jār period there was a contraction in the area over which Persia claimed sovereignty, but within the frontiers as they were eventually established the control of the central government gradually became more effective. Āķā Muḥammad K͟hān's attempt to regain Georgia proved abortive. Hostilities with Russia in the Caucasus, which had been intermittent from about 1805, were resumed in 1811, and the Persian army was decisively defeated at Asländūz on 31 October/1 November 1812. In the following year a preliminary treaty was signed at Gulistān on 13 September 1813 by which Persia ceded Georgia, Darband, Baku, S͟hīrvān, S͟hakī, Gand͟ja, Ķarābāg͟h, Mug͟hān and part of Ṭālis͟h to Russia. Neither side regarded the peace as permanent and the war was eventually resumed in 1827. The Russian advance was rapid. Tabrīz fell and a treaty of peace was signed at Turkomānčāy on 21 February 1828. Erivan and Nak͟hd͟jivān were ceded by Persia and the cessions made unter the Treaty of Gulistān confirmed (for texts, see C. U. Aitchison, *A collection of treaties, engagements and sanads*, Calcutta 1933, xv ff. and xxiii ff.).

The Perso-Turkish frontier, which was broadly as laid down in the Treaty of Zuhāb of 1049/1639 (which was in turn based upon the earlier settlement of 962/1555), also gave rise to many disputes. The Kurdish section, some 700 miles, in particular, was difficult country to settle and control. Like Ķarābāg͟h, Mug͟hān and Ṭālis͟h, it was inhabited by semi-nomadic tribes. These moved to and fro between the Pas͟halik of Bag͟hdād and Persia, while the frontier authorities of both countries were in the habit of giving asylum to marauders and refugees from the other. Relations with Turkey were also embittered by S͟hīʿī-Sunnī strife and, in ʿArabistān, by Perso-Arab antipathies.

In 1804 and 1805, the Ottoman Sultan Selīm III had allowed Russian forces to use the south-eastern coasts of the Black Sea in their operations against Persia. Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā, governor of Kirmāns͟hāh, subsequently engaged in intermittent hostilities with Turkey. War was declared in 1821 and continued until 1823 when hostilities were concluded by the Treaty of Erzerum (for text see Aitchison, xix ff.). A series of major incidents between 1833 and 1842, including the burning of Muḥammara by the pas͟ha of Bag͟hdād in 1837 and the temporary occupation of Sulaymānī by Persia in 1840, again brought the two countries to the brink of war. In 1843 an Anglo-Russian offer of mediation was accepted. The proceedings were nearly wrecked at the outset by a massacre of S͟hīʿīs at Karbalāʾ. A second Treaty of Erzerum was finally signed on 31 May 1847, by which the lowlands of Zuhāb were ceded to the Ottoman Empire and the highlands to Persia (for text see Aitchison, xlvi ff.). The latter gave up all claim to Sulaymānī while the Ottoman Empire recognized Persian sovereignty over Muḥammara. The two parties further agreed to appoint commissioners to delimit the frontier. The commission consisting of four commissioners, one each appointed by Persia, Turkey, England and Russia, met in 1849. Its proceedings were interrupted first by the Crimean war (1854-6) and then the Anglo-Persian war (1856-7). In 1869 a protocol was signed, laying down a band of territory twenty-five to forty miles wide within which the commissioners considered the frontier ought to be found. Repeated disputes between Persia and Turkey and acts of armed aggression bedevilled the work of the commission, and the frontier was not finally delimited until 1914 shortly before Turkey's entry into World War I (see further C. J. Edmonds, *Kurds, Turks and Arabs*, London 1957, 125 ff.).

When Āķā Muḥammad K͟hān left K͟hurāsān in 1796 Persian control had not been fully restored. The reconquest of Harāt, which had formed part of the Ṣafawid empire in its heyday, together with the reassertion of Persian power up to the Oxus remained

the aim of Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh, Muḥammad S̲h̲āh, and, in the first part of his reign, Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh. In the event, the reincorporation of Harāt into the Persian Empire was largely frustrated by British actions, and Persia and Britain were brought to the brink of war in 1838-9 (see *Correspondence relating to the affairs of Persia and Afghanistan*, London 1839; J. W. Kaye, *History of the war in Afghanistan*, 3 vols., London, 1857; J. A. Norris, *The first Afghan war 1838-1842*, Cambridge 1967, 82 ff.), and to actual war in 1856 (G. H. Hunt, *Outram and Havelock's Persian campaign*, London 1858; J. B. Kelly, *Britain and the Persian Gulf 1795-1880*, Oxford 1968, 452 ff.). By the Treaty of Paris (4 March 1857) which brought the war to a close, Persia recognized the independence of Afghanistan (for text see Aitchison, 81 ff.). In 1870, the shah proposed that the boundaries between Persia and Kalāt should be settled. Commissioners nominated by Persia, Kalāt and Britain met and their proposals were accepted in the following year. The rival claims of Persia and Afghanistan to Sīstān, which more than once threatened to rupture their friendly relations, were also settled by British arbitration in 1872.

The subjugation of the Guklān, Yamūt, and Tekke Turkomans, who were in the habit of raiding deep into Persia and kept the Turkoman steppe in a state of permanent disorder, also proved beyond the power of the Persian government, and opened the way to a Russian advance to Marv and the Ak̲h̲al. Persia was forced to abandon her claim to sovereignty over the area and in 1869 Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh signed an agreement with Russia for a new frontier along the Atrek River, which was later superceded by the Ak̲h̲al-K̲h̲urāsān boundary convention of 1881 (for texts see Aitchison, liv ff. and lxxi ff.).

Persia's geographical situation on the frontiers of Russia on the one hand and of India and the Persian Gulf on the other, if nothing else, would have involved her in the political rivalries of Napoleonic France and England (with both of whom treaties were signed; for texts see J. C. Hurewitz, *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East*, New York 1956, i, 77 ff., and Aitchison 45 ff.) and later in the struggle between Russia and Britain, even if she had not herself, at first, sought to use these rivalries to regain some of the territories which she had held at the height of Ṣafawid power. Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh and ʿAbbās Mīrzā quickly realized that if Persia was to resist the Russian drive through Georgia, she must have modern weapons and adopt modern military methods. Modernization, thus, first began in the military field. But neither Fatḥ ʿAlī nor ʿAbbās Mīrzā understood that modernization, whether in the military field or any other, to be successful, demanded a fundamental change in the finances and administration of the country. The result of this failure, which was equally marked in the case of the later rulers, was that the material resources to carry out the desired changes were not made available.

As in earlier times, the army was largely formed by provincial contingents, irregular cavalry and infantry, and a small body of regular troops. Under Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh there was a considerable expansion in numbers, the most numerous contingents coming from Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān and ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAd̲j̲am, while the Ḳād̲j̲ār tribe furnished a large proportion of the standing army. Pay was often in arrears and while on campaigns the army lived on the country. Partly because there was no proper provision for the pay of the troops and partly for climatic reasons, campaigns were seasonal. Some knowledge of European tactics was brought by Russian deserters and renegades, but the first serious attempt at military reform was made under the guidance of French officers who accompanied General Gardane's mission, which reached Persia in December 1807 under the Treaty of Finkenstein (4 May 1807). The treaty was rendered null and void by the Peace of Tilsit (1 July 1808) and the mission was withdrawn.

The next attempt to introduce European discipline and methods was made by a number of English officers who came to Persia with the mission of Sir John Malcolm in 1810 and passed into Persian service (see further J. Morier, *Second journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor to Constantinople between the years 1810 and 1816*, London 1818, 211 ff.). Under the Anglo-Persian treaty of 1814 the British government continued to supply officers for drill and discipline, arms and munitions, but most of the officers were withdrawn in 1815 consequent upon a dispute over the subsidy to be paid under the treaty. After Napoleon's reverses in 1814 various officers came to the east, some of whom were engaged by ʿAbbās Mīrzā and Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā, but in the years between the peace of Gulistān and the renewal of the Russian war in 1826 the army was neglected. In the last years of Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh's reign renewed efforts were made to reorganize the army and a detachment of officers and sergeants from India arrived shortly before his death and were employed in various parts of the country raising and drilling troops. They withdrew in 1836 on the rupture of Anglo-Persian relations over Harāt. A number of French officers were subsequently engaged but achieved nothing. By the end of the reign of Muḥammad S̲h̲āh the army, including the artillery, which Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Mīrzā Āḳāsī, in spite of his complete ignorance of military arts, had taken under his personal supervision, was in a state of decay.

Mīrzā Taḳī K̲h̲ān, after he became *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* to Nāṣir al-Dīn, began to reorganize the army as part of his policy to extend the power of the central government. Recruitment was reorganized and based on a system of quotas to be furnished by each village, district and tribe. In practice, however, the system was somewhat irregularly applied. Officers for the new army were to be trained in a new school, the *Dār al-Funūn*, which was opened in 1851, and had on its staff a number of Austrian and other foreign military and civil instructors. These various steps, however, had little immediate success, and the emptiness of the treasury after the Harāt campaign of 1856-7 precluded more radical reform. Subsequent efforts at military reform made during the ministry of Mīrzā Ḥusayn K̲h̲ān Mus̲h̲īr al-Dawla were also unsuccessful.

Nāṣir al-Dīn was not unmindful of the advantages of an efficient military force to maintain his own position, if nothing else, and on his second European journey, he asked the emperor of Austria for the loan of a number of instructors. A mission arrived in January 1879, to be followed shortly afterwards by a Russian mission to reorganize the cavalry, for which the shah had similarly applied to the tsar. The Austrian mission failed to achieve any results and left in 1881. The Russian officers remained and organized the Cossack Brigade, which became the most efficient regiment in the Persian army. It was a ready instrument for the Russians in the furtherance of their aims in Persia and was used by Muḥammad ʿAlī S̲h̲āh in his struggles against the constitutionalists (see further G. N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, i, 571 ff.; F. Kazem-

zadeh, *The origin and early development of the Persian Cossack Brigade*, in *The American Slavic and East European review*, xv (Oct. 1956), 351-63).

The disparity in power between Persia on the one hand and Russia and Britain on the other had been demonstrated by the Russian wars and the disputes over Harāt. Efforts at military reform, even if successful, would have done little to redress the balance between them, but would have contributed to the stability of the government and the maintenance of order, and so limited the intervention of Russia and Britain in internal affairs. As it was, both increasingly intervened in internal affairs because of the prevailing insecurity and maladministration, though their motives in doing so were different. Neither could regard with equanimity the prospect of civil war. Britain was not prepared to see the *walī ʿahd*, or another Persian prince, riding down to Tehran supported by Russian troops and the establishment of a puppet government, since this would have meant the establishment of Russia on the frontiers of India, while Russia could not afford civil war for fear that it might lead to a British occupation of southern Persia which would have blocked a Russian advance to the Indian Ocean. Persia, for her part, had no wish for subservience to either, but her dependence upon them grew, and in these circumstances it was natural that society should become divided into those who looked to Russia and those who looked to Britain.

Nāṣir al-Dīn probably had a clearer appreciation of Persia's weakness than his predecessors. Realizing that foreign intervention could not be prevented, he adopted a policy of encouraging foreign powers to invest in Persia in the hope that they would contribute to its development and prosperity, but he too did not recognize the need for radical financial and administrative reform if this policy was to be successful. It failed largely because of the disunity of Persian society, the rivalry of the powers, and the greed of the various parties concerned in the scramble for commercial monopolies and concessions. Thus, while the intrusion of France, Russia and England acted first as a stimulus to modernization, from the middle of the 19th century onwards, if not earlier, it added to the prevailing insecurity and intrigue, and so discouraged, rather than stimulated, progress and, in effect, contributed to the maintenance of the *status quo*.

The key to Persian independence was financial reform, which in turn presupposed administrative reform. Successive *ṣadr-i aʿẓams*, particularly in the second half of the 19th century and in the early 20th century, were harassed by demands for more money. In the reign of Āḳā Muḥammad Khān the revenue was small, but broadly speaking expenses were met. Even in the time of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, in spite of the depletion of reserves by the Russian wars, the revenue from ordinary taxes (land revenue, cattle taxes, taxes on real estate in towns, and duties on merchandise), and extraordinary taxes (revenue from fines, new year presents, *ad hoc* presents, and public requisitions) balanced expenditure, though the pay of officials and of the army was frequently in arrears. During his reign there was, however, a constant drain of specie. This trend continued under Muḥammad Shāh and resulted in a heavy depreciation in the value of the *tūmān*, a rise in prices, and a general shortage of money, though conditions varied greatly from place to place and year to year. In the last three or four years of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh an excess of copper coinage caused much distress among the poorer sections of the population and almost paralyzed small trade. This was withdrawn after the accession of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh at great loss to the government.

By the middle of the 19th century government offices were being sold in an attempt to secure ready money, and there were signs of a financial breakdown comparable to that which had prevailed in Būyid times, prior to the emergence of the land assignment (*iḳṭāʿ*) as the dominant political and economic institution of the state. Scarcely any provincial revenue was reaching Tehran and payments by the government were almost entirely in the form of bills, whose value was nominal. At the beginning of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, Mīrzā Taḳī Khān made an abortive attempt to effect financial reform. Venality and corruption in the tax administration thereafter continued unrestrained.

Various expedients, notably the grant of monopolies and concessions to foreign concerns, were adopted by Nāṣir al-Dīn and Muẓaffar al-Dīn to provide themselves with funds. Muẓaffar al-Dīn also sought foreign loans to pay for the growing extravagances of the court, the allowances and pensions of the Ḳādjār princes and others, and general expenses (see further R. L. Greaves, *British policy in Persia, 1892-1903*, in *BSOAS*, xxviii (1965), I, 34-60, II, 284-307, on the question of Anglo-Russian loans). Both policies gave rise to great discontent on the grounds that Persian resources were being sold and placed under the control of foreigners.

The first major concession was the concession granted in 1872 to a British subject, Baron Reuter, providing *inter alia* for railway and road construction, irrigation works and the establishment of a national bank. There was much criticism of this concession both inside Persia and abroad, and it was cancelled as a result of heavy pressure from Russia in 1873. It was finally remodelled and signed in January 1889, Baron Reuter being accorded for a term of sixty years the grant of the Imperial Bank of Persia, which was established under a British Royal Charter in September of that year. This was the beginning of a modern banking system in Persia. In 1890 a Russian subject obtained a concession for a loan bank, which some years later became an agency of the Russian State Bank.

In March 1890 a monopoly for the sale and export of tobacco was acquired by a British subject. This was the occasion for the open expression of popular discontent. The protest against the monopoly led by the religious classes resulted in the cancellation of the monopoly (see further A. K. S. Lambton, *The Tobacco Regie: prelude to revolution*, in *St. Isl.*, xxii, 119-157, xxiii, 71-90; N. Keddie, *Religion and rebellion in Iran. The tobacco protest of* 1891-2, London 1966). The compensation paid to the Imperial Tobacco Corporation was provided by a loan contracted with the Imperial Bank of Persia in 1892.

A third concession of outstanding importance was granted in 1901, namely the concession to Mr. William Knox d'Arcy for the exploitation of natural gas, petroleum, asphalt and ozokerite throughout the Persian empire, with the exception of the five northern provinces, for sixty years. In 1909 the Anglo-Persian Oil Company was formed to operate the concession. In due course the exploitation of Persian oil resources transformed the economy of the country and profoundly affected her relations with Britain, but these developments did not reach their climax until after the fall of the Ḳādjārs (see further Aitchison, 23 ff.).

In the course of the 19th century there were

changes in the direction and sources of Persian trade (see further M. L. Entner, *Russo-Persian commercial relations*, 1828-1914, Florida 1965). Customs duties, which were farmed, by the end of the 19th century, formed an increasingly important proportion of the revenue. Because of the provisions of the commercial agreement concluded under Art. 10 of the Treaty of Turkomānčāy, Persia's hands in the matter of fixing the rate of duty were tied. The connexion between the customs and Persia's foreign relations was reinforced when the various foreign loans which Persia contracted were secured on the customs revenue. In 1899 Belgian officials were appointed to reorganize the customs administration. Greater efficiency in the collection of customs dues under the Belgian administration, coupled with new tariff charges secured by the Russian and British governments by agreements concluded in 1901 and 1903 respectively, aroused discontent among the merchant classes. This was an important factor in the support of these classes for the constitutional movement.

An arrangement of a rather different character from the normal concessionary agreements, but one which also emphasized Persia's weakness, was the secret agreement made with Russia in 1887 by which the shah pledged himself not to give permission for the construction of railways or waterways to foreign governments before consulting the tsar, and in 1890 a railway agreement was signed with Russia placing a ten-year embargo on railway construction (for text see Aitchison, lxxxi). There were still no railways by the end of the Ḳād̲j̲ār period except for a few miles between Tehran and S̲h̲āh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm and a line from D̲j̲ulfā to Tabrīz made in 1916. Lack of communications were an obstacle to trade and to the assertion of the control of the government in the provinces. In 1889 Persia had only two carriageable roads of any extent, namely from Ḳazvīn to Tehran and Tehran to Ḳumm (Curzon, i, 486 ff., 613 ff.). Various concessions for road construction were given in the last decade or so of the 19th century, but little progress was made in road-building. In 1888 the Kārūn River was opened to international navigation (see further R. L. Greaves, *Persia and the defence of India*, 1884-1892, London 1959, 161 ff.).

Insecurity, misgovernment, poverty, and the usurpation of power were not new to Persia, and there is plenty of evidence of unrest in the Ḳād̲j̲ār period —of rebellions by tribal leaders and others, such as the revolt of Āḳā K̲h̲ān Maḥallātī in 1840 (which also disturbed Anglo-Persian relations), mob violence in the towns, and movements of protest led by the religious classes, one of the most serious of which was the Bābī movement led by Sayyid ʿAlī Muḥammad, who declared himself to be the long awaited *mahdī* in 1260/1844 [see BĀB]. This movement was primarily a messianic movement, the intellectual bases of which went back to mediaeval Islamic movements of revolt and heresy, and like these earlier movements was provoked largely by a sense of injustice and frustration at the shortcomings of the government.

In spite of outbreaks of unrest the control of the central government by the middle of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh was more firmly settled. It was weakest in the tribal and frontier areas. An important factor contributing to the extension of government control was the establishment of the telegraph under a series of conventions, the first of which was concluded in 1863 (see Aitchison, 25 ff.; Curzon, ii, 609 ff.). Both Nāṣir al-Dīn and Muẓaffar al-Dīn felt sufficiently secure to undertake extensive European journeys, the former in 1873, 1878 and 1889 and the latter in 1900, 1902 and 1905.

Although the government had succeeded in making its influence more widely felt by the last quarter of the 19th century, the increasing dominance of non-Muslim nations over Persia, which was a marked feature of the century had, by the turn of the century, given a new dimension to internal unrest [see also IMTIYĀZ]. Hostility to the government began to be expressed in terms of a nationalist movement, which was at once pro-Islamic and anti-foreign. The fact that Russia could at almost any moment send troops into Persia made the Persian government increasingly reluctant to resist Russian pressure, while at the same time Persia's subservience to Russia gave rise to growing resentment. Similarly, Britain's failure to give Persia the support to which she had felt she was entitled under the various treaties which had been concluded in the reign of Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh and her refusal during the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn to give a clear commitment to come to Persia's aid in the event of a Russian attack had created annoyance, which was added to by the Harāt question, measures to suppress slavery and piracy in the Persian Gulf, and the British presence there, which, from time to time, was felt to threaten Persian independence.

New intellectual currents coming through diplomacy, travel, trade, Islamic modernist movements outside Persia, and education (though apart from the *Dār al-funūn* there were few modern schools until the end of the 19th century) also contributed to this development, and to the progressive dissolution of the old institutions of government and society. Little by little a new system of government was worked out and the people who were to work it came to the fore. In the last ten years or so of the 19th century these trends were accelerated and reached their climax with the grant of the constitution in 1906 and the Supplementary Fundamental Laws in 1907 [see DUSTŪR and D̲J̲AMʿIYYA]]. In the first instance it was members of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs who first began to seek the reasons for Persia's backwardness *vis-à-vis* Europe and remedies for her ills. Among those who played a leading part in this respect were Ḥusayn K̲h̲ān Mus̲h̲īr al-Dawla, who had served in consular posts in India and the Ottoman Empire, Malkam K̲h̲ān, a Persian Armenian from Iṣfahān, who had been educated in Paris and was Persian minister in London from 1872 to 1889, Mīrzā Yūsuf K̲h̲ān Mustas̲h̲ār al-Dawla, Mīrzā Muḥammad K̲h̲ān Mad̲j̲d al-Mulk Sīnakī (d. 1881), Amīn al-Dawla, and others. Persians living abroad, or who had travelled abroad, such as Mīrzā Āḳā K̲h̲ān Kirmānī, who lived in Constantinople, and Āḳā Mīrzā Furṣat S̲h̲īrāzī, who travelled in India, and merchants engaged in foreign trade also contributed to the spread of new ideas. An important part was also played in this by the Persian press published abroad (there were no newspapers apart from the official gazette in Persia until after the death of Nāsir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh), such as *Ak̲h̲tar* founded by Mīrzā Āḳā Kirmānī in Constantinople in 1875, *Ḳānūn* founded by Malkam K̲h̲ān in London in 1890, and *Ḥabl al-Matīn* first published in Calcutta in 1893 (see also ḲAWMIYYA, Persia).

The *ʿulamāʾ* also played a prominent part in the events leading up to the constitutional revolution and largely provided its leadership. This was not due only, or even chiefly, to the influence of the pan-Islamic movement led by D̲j̲amāl al-Dīn Afg̲h̲ānī [*q.v.*], though this had a considerable effect, but rather to the position of the *ʿulamāʾ* in society. Under

the Ḳād̲j̲ārs the religious institution once more stood over against the state and was not wholly incorporated into it. The *ʿulamāʾ* fulfilled certain functions for the government and many of them received allowances and pensions from the government, which to some extent compromised them, but on the whole they were listened to with respect, both by the government and the people. From time to time they were able to exercise restraint upon the government and to act as peacemakers, though they were also sometimes associated with movements leading to outbreaks of violence in the cities. In the last resort, they provided a refuge for the people against injustice, and the people looked to them for protection and the fulfilment of their aspirations.

Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh took pains to win the favour of the *ʿulamāʾ*. Later rulers were more concerned to limit their power. Muḥammad S̲h̲āh, although he gave pensions and allowances to the religious classes, was more inclined to the Ṣūfīs than to orthodox Islam and he attempted to bring the *ʿulamāʾ* under closer control. At the outset of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh, Mīrzā Taḳī K̲h̲ān continued this policy and alienated the religious classes by reducing their salaries and pensions. He also attacked the practice of asylum [see BAST], which Bahman Mīrzā, when governor of Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān on behalf of Muḥammad S̲h̲āh, had also sought to limit. Tentative efforts to control *waḳf* revenue, the spread of secular education with the setting up of the Dār al-Funūn, and attempts at judicial reform by Ḥusayn K̲h̲ān Mus̲h̲īr al-Dawla when he was *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* also created disquiet among the *ʿulamāʾ*, who began to feel their position menaced by the actions of the government. They also felt Persia's traditional way of life and national independence threatened by the intrusion of foreigners. Partly for these reasons, when dissatisfaction at increasing internal misgovernment and hostility to growing foreign intervention came to a head in the early 20th century, it was expressed in a nationalist movement, articulated paradoxically largely in terms of Islam and led mainly by the *ʿulamāʾ* (see further A. K. S. Lambton, *The Persian* ʿulama *and constitutional revolution*, in *Le Shi'isme imamite*, Paris 1970, 245-70; eadem, *The Persian constitutional revolution of* 1905-6, in *Revolution in the Middle East*, ed. P. J. Vatikiotis, London 1972). It was not, as such, a revolutionary movement, and the understanding and aims of the various groups supporting it varied. In essence it was a protest against tyranny. So far as there was a demand for the adoption of modern techniques of government, its purpose was to restrain the arbitrary exercise of power by the shah in order to limit tyranny and to secure the country from foreign influence and intervention. So far as there was a demand for freedom, the freedom envisaged was seen strictly within the limits set by Islam and did not involve a revolutionary concept. The underlying intention of the majority of people who supported the movement was to carry out the Islamic duty of enjoining the good and forbidding the evil in such a way that the ruler would be duly warned and restore just government. Their aim was the restoration of "good" government. Since it followed from the traditional dichotomy between Islamic, *i.e.*, just, government and usurpation, *i.e.*, *ẓulm*, that the reassertion of just government meant "good" government by a just ruler, they did not demand a reformulation of the theory of government such as would provide for checks and balances in the exercise of power.

The victory of the constitutionalists in 1906 was shortlived. There was little to hold the various groups together once they had overthrown the despotism. Their confidence, moreover, was shaken by the conclusion of the 1907 Anglo-Russian agreement, which roused great resentment (see further R. L. Greaves, *Some aspects of the Anglo-Russian Convention and its working in Persia*, 1904-14, in *BSOAS*, xxxi (1968), I, 69-91, II, 290-308). Muḥammad ʿAlī's counter attack against the constitution was, nevertheless, defeated and he was forced to abdicate. His son, Aḥmad S̲h̲āh, succeeded him with a regency. By 1911, however, when the constitution was suspended under Russian pressure, the leadership of the constitutional movement had passed into the hands of the bureaucracy and the landowning classes.

During the First World War of 1914-18 Persia proclaimed her neutrality but this was violated variously by herself, the central Powers and the Entente. At the end of the war a chronic state of disorder prevailed and the country once more seemed on the point of dissolution. In an attempt to forestall this, the abortive Anglo-Persian agreement, which recognized the independence and integrity of Persia, provided for military advisers, a loan, and co-operation in the improvement of communications, was signed in 1919. In the following year the Bolsheviks invaded Enzeli and occupied Ras̲h̲t, and a revolutionary government was set up in Gīlān under Kūčik K̲h̲ān.

The last phase of Ḳād̲j̲ār rule began with the *coup d'état* organized by Sayyid Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn and Riḍā K̲h̲ān in 1921. The first action of the new government was to conclude the Perso-Soviet treaty of 1921, by the terms of which the Soviet government declared all treaties and conventions concluded with Persia to be null and void, but made it a condition that these concessions should not be ceded by Persia to a third power. The measures taken by Sayyid Ḍiyāʾ to create an orderly administration quickly aroused opposition. He quarrelled with Riḍā K̲h̲ān and was overthrown. The latter, as minister of war, then began to reassert the authority of the central government. The movement led by Kūčik K̲h̲ān collapsed owing to internal dissension and the withdrawal of Russian support. In 1923 Riḍā K̲h̲ān became prime minister. Some two years later, in 1925, Aḥmad S̲h̲āh was deposed and the crown of Persia conferred by a Constituent Assembly upon Riḍā K̲h̲ān as Riḍā S̲h̲āh Pahlavī.

Although Persia, at the close of the Ḳād̲j̲ār period, was once more in a state of disorder and weakness, and Riḍā S̲h̲āh like Āḳā Muḥammad was faced, in a rather different form, with the problem of reimposing the authority of the central government and reasserting Persian independence against foreign powers, Persia had been transformed during the Ḳād̲j̲ār period from a mediaeval into a modern state. At the beginning of the Ḳād̲j̲ār period the theoretical purpose of the state had been to secure a temporal framework within which the individual Muslim could live the good life according to the precepts of the *s̲h̲arīʿa*, from which it followed that the stability of the state and good government were bound up with right religion. The functions of government had been confined broadly to defence against external aggression and the maintenance of internal order. Political power had lain in the hands of the military classes, consisting primarily of the tribal leaders. The land assignment (*iḳṭāʿ*; *tuyūl*; *suyūrg̲h̲āl*) was still one of the most important political and economic institutions of the country. The functions of the bureaucracy had been mainly limited to the provision of the financial means to enable the government to carry out its duties. The *ʿulamāʾ*, on the whole, had been a sta-

bilizing force, while the merchants had played an important part in the transmission and provision of funds for the state. By the end of the period Persia had become a modern territorial secular state, drawn into and affected by international politics. She had acquired a constitution and modern forms of government (though the spirit in which the new institutions were worked had not been transformed to the same extent as had been the outward forms). The functions of government had been greatly extended, and political power had become more widely based.

Bibliography: in addition to the references in the text: R. G. Watson, *A history of Persia from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the year* 1858, London 1886; C. R. Markham, *A general sketch of the history of Persia*, London 1874; Muḥammad Taḳī Lisān al-Mulk Sipihr, *Nāsikh al-tawārikh taʾrīkh-i Ḳādjāriyya*, ed. Djahāngīr Ḳāʾim-Maḳāmī, Tehran 1961; Amīr Gīlānshāh, *Yak ṣad u pandjāh sāl-i salṭanat dar Irān*, Tehran 1963; ʿAḍud al-Dawla Sulṭān Aḥmad, *Taʾrīkh-i ʿaḍudī*, Bombay lith. 1889; M. L. Entner, *Russo-Persian commercial relations*, 1828-1914, Florida 1965; Fīrūz Kazemzadeh, *Russia and Britain in Persia*, 1864-1914, New Haven and London 1968; Sir Percy Sykes, *A history of Persia* [3], ii, London 1969; Saʿīd Nafīsī, *Taʾrīkh-i idjtimāʿī va-siyāsī-i Irān dar dawra-i muʿāṣir*, Tehran 1947-8; ʿAlī Aṣghar Shamīm, *Irān dar dawra-i salṭanat-i Ḳādjār*, Tehran 1965; H. Algar, *Religion and state in Iran* 1785-1906, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1969; C. Issawi, *The economic history of Iran* 1800-1914, Chicago and London 1971; A. K. S. Lambton, *The breakdown of society*, in *The Cambridge History of Islam*, Cambridge 1970, i, 430-673; eadem, *Persian society under the Qajars*, in *JRCAS* (1961); eadem, *Trade under the early Qājārs*, in *Papers on Islamic History* ii, *Islam and the trade of Asia*, ed. D. S. Richards, Oxford 1970; ʿAbd Allāh Mustawfī, *Sharḥ-i zindagī-i man yā taʾrīkh-i idjtimāʿī va idārī-i ḳādjāriyya*, Tehran 1955-6; Sir Edward Herslet, *Treaties, etc., concluded between Great Britain and Persia and between Persia and other foreign powers, wholly or partially in force on 1st April* 1891, London 1891.

(A. K. S. Lambton)

ḲADR [see ḳaḍā, ramaḍān].

ḲADRĪ, Persian poet born at Shīrāz, who flourished in the first half of the 11th/17th century (and is not to be confused with his namesake Ḳadrī Shīrāzī, active in India during the reign of Akbar). The account of his early years is given by Taḳī al-Dīn Kāshī in the *Khulāṣat al-ashʿār*. He is known for two short epic poems, *Djangnāma-yi Ḳishm* and *Djārānnāma*, commemorating the conquest of the island of Ḳishm and the town of Hormūz by Imām Ḳulī Khān of Shīrāz during the reign of ʿAbbās I in 1032/1623.

A manuscript of the first, brought to Italy by Pietro della Valle, was published by L. Bonelli in *Rend. Lin.*, vi; the second is preserved in a British Museum Ms, Add. 7801 (copied in 1109/1697).

Bibliography: Ethé, in *Gr. Ir. Ph.*, ii, 237; idem, *Neupersische Litteratur*, Persian tr. S. R. Shafaḳ, Tehran 1337/1958, 63; Rieu, *CPM*, ii, 681; N. Falsafī, *Zindigānī-yi Shāh ʿAbbās-i awwal*, Tehran 1346, iv, 219; A. Iḳbāl, *Yādigār "Ḳismati as-mādjarī-yi Khalīdj-i Fārs"*, no. 4, 1326, 39-45.

(M. Mohaghegh)

KĀF, 22nd letter of the Arabic alphabet, transcribed *k*, numerical value 20, according to the eastern order [see abdjad].

Definition: *occlusive, postpalatal, surd*; postpalatal, the medial position of *k* in the variations that it can be subjected to, according to the vowel with which it is in contact (see H. Fleisch, *Traité*, § 2 b). According to the Arab grammatical tradition: *shadīda, mahmūsa*, in *makhradj*: the region a little less further back than that of *ḳāf*, the furthest back in the mouth (Sībawayhi, ii, 453, l. 6-7, ed. Paris; al-Zamakhsharī, *Mufaṣṣal*, 188, l. 17, 2nd ed. Broch); the region in question is the postpalatal or prevelar region, but the Arab grammarians are not specific; al-Khalīl describes the *kāf* as *lahawiyya*, like the *ḳāf* (al-Azharī, *Le Monde Oriental*, xiv (1920), 45, l. 7-8; *Mufaṣṣal*, 190, l. 19-20); this is placing the *makhradj* of the *kāf* too far back.

Remark: H. Blanc (*The "sonorous" vs. "muffled" distinction in old Arabic phonology*, in *To honor Roman Jakobson*, The Hague-Paris 1967, 306) sees in the pronunciation of Arabic in the time of Sībawayhi, in ʿIrāḳ in the eighth century, two occlusives, *aspirated*, surd and probably strong: *k* and *t*; he adduces (*ibid.*, 298) the researches and reconstructions of I. Garbell in *Remarks on the historical phonology of an East Mediterranean Arabic* (*Word*, xiv (1958), 303-37) and also his own documentation, with reference to his communication: *The fronting of Semitic* g *and the* Qāl-gāl *dialect split in Arabic*, in the *Proceedings of the International Conference on Semitic Studies* (Jerusalem 1969). A correct interpretation of Sībawayhi's doctrine, in phonetics, does not, in our view, allow us to see in *k* and *t aspirated* occlusives; moreover, the reconstructions of I. Garbell depend on the basic principles that she has provided for herself (*Word*, 306-9, *Stage* 1) (see the presentation of H. Blanc, *loc. cit.*, 298).

The articulation described is a phoneme; for the phonological oppositions that define the phoneme *k* see J. Cantineau, *Esquisse d'une phonologie de l'Arabe classique* (in *Mémorial J. C.*, Paris 1960, 173); for the incompatibilities see *ibid.*, 201.

Kāf in classical Arabic is a continuation of *k* of common Semitic, preserved in ancient Semitic, but subject to spirantisation (*k* > *kh*) in Aramaic and Massoretic Hebrew, when it is immediately preceded by a vowel, however short.

Alterations: Sībawayhi (ii, 452, l. 13-4) mentions a faulty pronunciation of *k*: *kāf* between *djīm* (in fact g^y*īm* [see djīm]) and *kāf*; this is, in our view, very probably a *g* pronunciation (cf. M. Bravmann, *Materialien*, 49). According to Ibn Durayd (Ibn Yaʿīsh, *Sharḥ al-Mufaṣṣal*, 1463, l. 11-2, ed. G. Jahn), it was a dialectal pronunciation of the Yemen, widespread among the people of Baghdād, *e.g.*: **gamal* for "camel", **ragul* for "man". J. Cantineau considers that it must be an affrication of *k*: *k* > *č* (*Cours de Phonétique arabe*, in *Mémorial J. C.*, 64-5), an unconditional alteration. *Kashkasha* and *kaskasa* were known among certain Arab tribes. These phenomena caused *k* to become, respectively, *č* (or even *sh*) and *ts* (or even *s*), see H. Fleisch (*Traité*, § 11 d and the references)—final *k* of a word may be assimilated to initial *ḳ* of the following word, thus: *-k ḳ-* > *-ḳḳ-* (see *ibid.*, § 12 o).

For the conditional and unconditional alterations of *k* in the modern Arabic dialects see J. Cantineau, *Cours* (in *Mémorial J. C.*, 66-7) and the references of D. Cohen (*Le dialecte arabe Ḥassānīya de Mauritanie*, Paris 1963, 31, n. 1).

Bibliography: Apart from the references in the text: H. Fleisch, *Traité de Philologie arabe*, i, Beirut 1961, § 44, c. j. § 45 g, § 46 a, § 49 i, k; M. Bravmann, *Materialien und Untersuchungen*

zu den phonetischen Lehren der Araber, Göttingen 1934, 47, for aspirated *k*. (H. Fleisch)

ĶĀF, 21st letter of the Arabic alphabet, transcribed *ķ*, numerical value 100, according to the eastern order [see ABDJAD].

Definition: *occlusive, uvulovelar, surd.* According to the Arab grammatical tradition: *shadīda, madjhūra*, in *makhradj*: the rear-most part of the tongue and the highest part of the upper palate (Sībawayhi, ii, 453, l. 5-6, ed. Paris; al-Zamakhsharī, *Mufaṣṣal*, 188, l. 16-7, 2nd ed. Broch), that is to say: the root of the tongue is in contact with the very lowest part of the soft palate and the uvula and the latter disappears during the retention in the articulation: al-Khalīl correctly says *lahawiyya* "uvular" (al-Azharī, *Le Monde Oriental*, xiv (1920), 45, l. 7-8; *Mufaṣṣal*, 190, l. 19-20).

The Arab grammarians place *ķāf* not among the *muṭbaķa* "velarised" (emphatics), but among the *mustaʿliya*, which prevent *imāla* [*q.v.*] (Sībawayhi, ii, 285, l. 17-20; *Mufaṣṣal*, 190, l. 8). *Ķāf*, in fact, is not an emphatic in Arabic: thus, in the form *iftaʿala*, a *ķ*, as the 1st radical consonant, has no effect upon the *t* with which it is in contact, unlike the emphatics. So we find, for example: *iķtatala*; it is its velar articulation that may involve the velarisation of *s* (*s* > *ṣ*), a consonant of the same root (Sībawayhi, ii, 279, l. 18; H. Fleisch, *Traité*, § 11 c). However, like the emphatics, it has the peculiarity of provoking a movement of the glottis: a constriction, which may become an occlusion and convert the *ķāf* into *hamza*.

Remark: there exists currently, among populations that have preserved the pronunciation of *ķāf* by living tradition, a deeper articulation: an occlusion against the wall of the pharynx, which causes the uvula to appear spread out on the tongue during the retention (see H. Fleisch, *Études de Phonétique arabe*, in *MUSJ*, xxviii (1949-50), 242, n. 2).

Arab grammarians since Sībawayhi (ii, 453, l. 17) have placed *ķāf* among the *madjhūra* (voiced); "but the traditional pronunciation of classical Arabic makes a surd of it" (J. Cantineau, *Cours de Phonétique arabe*, in *Mémorial J. C.*, 67). A voiced pronunciation of *ķāf* must certainly have existed, at least in an important part of the ancient Arab world, otherwise it would be difficult to explain precisely how the manner of pronouncing this ancient *ķāf* should have become at present a principle in discriminating between the vernaculars of nomads, in which it is *voiced*, and those of sedentary populations, in which it is a *surd* (see H. Fleisch, *Traité*, § 46 h and the references; J. Cantineau, *Cours*, *ibid.*, 68 and the references). See (*ibid.*, 68-9) the vernaculars that have a surd *ķāf* or one reduced to *hamza* and (69-70) those that have a voiced *ķāf*, a *gāf*.

The *ķāf* is a phoneme; for the phonological oppositions that define it, see J. Cantineau (*Esquisse d'une phonologie de l'arabe classique*, in *Mémorial J. C.*, 174); for the incompatibilities (*ibid.*, 201).

The *ķāf*, which is not an emphatic in classical Arabic, is the continuation of a common-Semitic *ķāf* that was emphatic (J. Cantineau, *Le consonantisme du sémitique*, in *Mémorial J. C.*, 287; M. Cohen, *Essai comparatif sur le Vocabulaire et la Phonétique du Chamito-sémitique*, Paris 1947, 123); but it is difficult to indicate precisely the nature of this emphasis (see J. Cantineau, *ibid.*, 291), and, according to M. Cohen (*ibid.*) it cannot be determined whether the Hamito-Semitic phoneme had a surd or a voiced articulation, but it can be confidently stated that its quality of surd or voiced was of secondary importance in comparison to its emphasis.

Alterations: final *ķ* of a word can be assimilated to initial *ķāf* of the following word, thus: -*ķ ķ*- > -*ķķ*- (see H. Fleisch, *Traité*, § 12 o). Arab sources speak of an unconditional change: *ķ* > *k* among some tribes; this fact is difficult to interpret (see *ibid.*, § 9 h).

In modern dialects, we have seen above the transfer of *ķāf* to *hamza* and the question of voiced *ķāf*. J. Cantineau (*Cours*, *ibid.*, 70) suggests a possible dissimilation of *ķ* into *k* before a *t*, in oriental as well as North-African vernaculars. The explanation involving a dissimilation seems an inadequate solution to D. Cohen (*Le dialecte arabe Ḥassānīya de Mauritanie*, Paris 1963, 35). There are examples of the change of *ķāf* into *ghayn*: in Syria (G. Bergsträsser, *Sprachatlas von Syrien und Palestina*, in *ZDPV*, xxxviii (1915), 216 (§ 95) and *Karte* 37; J. Cantineau, *Cours*, *ibid.*, 70-1); in certain "North-Arabian nomad" vernaculars, in the majority of the vernaculars of the Algerian, and, apparently, Moroccan, Sahara (J. Cantineau, *ibid.*, 72); in *Ḥassāniyya* (D. Cohen, *ibid.*, 35-7 and the references).

Bibliography: Apart from the references in the text: H. Fleisch, *Traité de Philologie arabe*, I, Beirut 1961, § 2 c, § 44 c, j, n, § 46 a, § 48 b, § 49 i; M. Bravmann, *Materialien und Untersuchungen zu den phonetischen Lehren der Araber*, Göttingen 1934, 21, 45-6 and the references; A. Schaade, *Sībawayhi's Lautlehre*, Leiden 1911, 14, 66 (n. 17); H. Blanc, *Ibn Durayd on the* Qāf *of the Banū Tamīm*, in *Proceedings of the International Conference on Semitic Studies*, Jerusalem 1969, 33-4; see also, *ibid.*, 15-16, 28-32. (H. Fleisch)

ĶĀF, in Muslim cosmology, the name of the mountain range surrounding the terrestrial world. There is little doubt that this conception is borrowed from Iranian traditions. These make the Alburz [*q.v.*] the mythical mountain at the edge of the world, and the home of the gods. All the other mountains in the world have come from the Alburz by underground ramifications. This mountain (the high mountain: Hara-berezayti) surrounds all the world, but also a lake with the name of Wurukasha; however, according to the *Bundahishn*, this lake itself, although confined to the edge of the world, does not form a circular moat around it. The same work, talking of the geography of these mythical regions, gives the name of a mountain: Ķāf (cf. Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, Berlin 1863, 7, 73, 75, n. 1).

This geography interlocks with another, again an Iranian one, but with horizons limited to those of the Iranian world itself, and not the universe taken as a whole. Here the Alburz is the mountain rampart which bounds the Iranian world to the north. This is doubtless what makes Yāķūt say (iv, 18) that the Ķāf was formerly called Alburz; cf. also Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-ķulūb*, *GMS*, xxiii, i, 191-2. Geiger (*Ostiranische Kultur im Altertum*, Erlangen 1882, 42-3) thinks that Lake Wurukasha originally referred to a definite place (Aral or Caspian Sea), but that since then, from the time of the *Avesta*, it has been relegated to the realm of myth. On the Alburz - Haraberezayti system and Lake Wurukasha (Vārukasha), cf. Ritter, *Die Erdkunde oder allgemeine vergleichende Geographie*, Berlin 1822-9, viii, 42-3; F. Spiegel, in *ZDMG*, vi, 85, and *Eranische Altertumskunde*, i, Leipzig 1871, 191 ff.; W. Gieger, *op. cit.*, 42-3; F. v. Adrian, *Der Höhenkultus asiatischer und europäischer Völker*, Vienna 1891, 287-8.

Iranian cosmology has fairly close links with that of the Hindus. In their writings, particularly in the *Purāṇas*, they deal with the question of the fabled

mountain chain of Lokāloka, which separates the visible from the invisible world, and which rises above the utter darkness. On the Lokāloka, cf. Spiegel in *ZDMG*, vi, 86, J. Dowson, *Classical dictionary of Hindu mythology*, London 1879, 180. According to the doctrine of the Jaïna, the circular mountain of Mānuṣottara, which is situated in the midst of the continent of Puṣkarawara, forms the frontier of humanity: cf. Jacobi, in *ZDMG*, lx, 312.

In general terms, the idea of a mountain-boundary of the world, situated in the north, as it appears in the Indo-Iranian tradition, was very widespread among the peoples of the ancient Orient. Perhaps, in the last analysis, the origin of this could be sought in Babylonian cosmology; cf. F. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?*, Leipzig 1881, 29, 117-8; F. Hommel, *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen*, ii, Munich 1900, 345-6; Zimmern, *Die Keilinschriften und das alte Testament*, Berlin 1903, 353, 355, 620. Traces of the same conceptions are also to be found among the ancient Hebrews: cf. W. Gesenius, *Kommentar uber den Jesaia*, ii, Leipzig 1821, 316-7 (where analogous opinions found outside the Bible are also examined in detail); Dillmann-Kittel, *Der Prophet Jesaia*, Leipzig 1898, 134. Lastly, to return to the Hindus, the Meru which in ordinary Buddhist thought is considered to be the centre and navel of the earth (cf. W. Foy, in *Festschrift E. Windisch*, Leipzig 1914, 213-4; E. W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, Strasbourg 1915, 253, index; Roscher, *Neue Omphalos-Studien*, Leipzig 1915, 72), is at times thought to be the mountains of the Himalaya bounding the Hindu world to the north. In this connexion it may be remembered that for the Greeks too, Olympus, the home of the gods, marked the frontier of their world to the north, in Thessaly.

Already Gesenius (*op. cit.*, 317) and Rosenzweig (in his edition of the *Yūsuf u-Zalīkha* of Djāmī, Vienna 1824, 185) realized that the Muslim conception of the mountain Ḳāf had precedents, the most ancient being those Indo-Iranian traditions we have mentioned. But these legacies have connexions with the cosmological traditions of Islam itself as they are presented in the Ḳurʾān and Ḥadīth; an account of these themes can be found in T. Fahd, *La naissance du monde selon l'Islam*, in *Sources orientales. La naissance du monde*, Paris 1959, 237 ff.

The general tendency of the classical Muslim world, apart from learned theories, is to consider the world as a flat disc. This manner of looking at it, which seems to result from certain ḳurʾānic passages (cf. *e.g.*, Ḳurʾān, XV, 19, LXXIX, 30: God *spread out* the earth), is found in the traditions and consciousness of the people. The mountain of Ḳāf is separated from the terrestrial disc by a region which men cannot cross, a dark area which would stretch for four months walking, according to a saying of the Prophet (cf. the Persian version of Ṭabarī-Balʿamī, tr. Zotenberg, i, Paris 1867, 33). But the mountain of Ḳāf does not only surround the earth: it also encloses the Ocean which forms a girdle around the earth.

According to the descriptions, in particular those of Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maḳdisī, Yāḳūt, Ḳazwīnī and Ibn al-Wardī, the mountain of Ḳāf is made of green emerald, of which the sky reflects the colour. But others say that only the rock on which Ḳāf rests is of emerald. This rock (*al-ṣakhra*) is also called a stake (*watad*); God made it to support the earth, which without it would not be able to stand up by itself. That is why the Persian version of Ṭabarī affirms that if Ḳāf did not exist, the earth would shake constantly, and no creature would be able to live on it: this latter idea can be compared with the role assigned to mountains in the architecture of the world by the Ḳurʾān (XIII, 3 and *passim*).

The existence of Ḳāf combines with other conceptions relating to the supports of the earth. A tradition contained in Ḳazwīnī, i, 146, tells how in the first ages, since the earth was oscillating in all directions, God created an angel who took it on his shoulders and grasped it with his hands (compare with the myth of Atlas); the angel had as his support a rectangular rock of green hyacinth, itself borne upon a giant bull which rests upon a fish swimming in the water. Ibn al-Wardī, who repeats these details (p. 12, 15-6), specifies that the mountain Ḳāf has as its base the rock of hyacinth. Elsewhere the same author (13, 17-8) increases the number of the supports of the earth, with the exception of the angel, and varies the hierarchy of elements already quoted. Other variants are pointed out by A. J. Wensinck, *The Ocean in the literature of the western Semites*, in *Verh. Ak. Amst.*, Phil. Sect., new series, xix/2 (1918), 18 and n. 2, and J. Meyer, *Die Hölle im Islam*, Basle 1901, 46. The Muslim Iranians describe the animal supporting the earth now as a bull (cf. Djāmī, *op. cit.*, 13; Rosenzweig, *op. cit.*, 190b; Vullers, *Lex. Pers.-Lat.*, ii, 946a), now as a hybrid of bull and fish (cf. Firdawsī, *Shāhnāma*, ed. Vullers-Landauer, Leiden 1877-84, 38, 444; Vullers, *Lex. Pers.-Lat.*, ii, 947a). Similarly, popular belief in Baghdād long talked of a bull and a fish as supports for the earth (cf. H. Petermann, *Reisen im Orient*, ii, Leipzig 1861, 301). Amongst the inhabitants of the countries round the Red Sea, there reigned the belief that the earth rests on the back of gigantic bulls (cf. E. Rüppel, *Reise in Abyssinien*, i, Frankfurt-am-Main 1838, 256). Ḳazwīnī gives for the bull and the fish the names of the biblical monsters Leviathan and Behemoth, proving in that way that these conceptions, taken over by the tradition of the Muslim world, are connected with ancient biblical ideas, which themselves go back to the Babylonian tradition of the chaos. But, on the other hand, the theme of the bull carrying the earth is also found in India, and the rock from which the mountain Ḳāf springs can doubtless be identified with the stone Shetiyya in which Jewish legends see the umbilical stone of the earth, which God cast down into the depths of chaos or of the Ocean as the support of the earth (cf. for this legend Feuchtwang in *MGWJ*, liv (1910), 724-5; W. H. Roscher, *op. cit.*, 73-4). It must be noted, however, to end the theme of the supports, that one tradition (Ḳazwīnī, i, 144) maintains that God placed the earth in the universe without anything surrounding it or supporting it.

Ḳāf is thought to be the mother-mountain of all the mountains of the world. They are linked to it by subterranean ramifications; when God wants to punish a people, or to destroy a country, He sets one of these ramifications in motion, thereby causing an earthquake. Others believe that the earthquakes are due to the fact that the bull, wearied by his burden, kicks, thus shaking the earth. However it might be, Ḳāf plays an essential role in the cosmos: it is the primary mountain, the one which sees the sun pass on its course, and it is given a certain human appearance with a head and a face.

Inaccessible to men, it marks the edge of the world; therefore its name is used metonymically with this latter meaning (cf., *e.g.*, Djāmī, *op. cit.*, 1). No-one knows what lies beyond; but some, while maintaining that this beyond belongs to the realm of eternal life, undertake to describe it: the country would be white like silver, stretching over forty days'

walk, and inhabited by the angels; stretching beyond Ḳāf there would be a land of gold, seventy of silver, and seven of musk, each one stretching in each direction over ten thousand days travelling, and each one populated by angels. Ḳāf with all the countries beyond can also be given as the home of the djinns. But above all, Ḳāf is thought to be the haunt of the fabulous bird Sīmurgh, a sort of griffon with characteristics similar to those of the ʿAnḳā, [*q.v.*] of the Arabs. Existing since the beginning of the world, this marvellous bird then withdrew to Ḳāf in complete solitude, and lives there contented as a wise counsellor consulted by the kings and heroes of old. Ḳāf, its home, on account of this has been given the name, especially in poetry, of "mountain of wisdom", or "mountain of contentment". In the *Manṭiḳ al-Ṭayr*, the Persian poet Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār [*q.v.*] describes the pilgrimage of the Ṣūfī by way of the seven stations through which the soul must pass before it loses itself completely in God, by means of the allegory of a very difficult journey filled with adventures, accomplished by a bird, traversing the seven valleys, until it reaches the mountain Ḳāf, where their very wise king Sīmurgh is enthroned.

Ḳāf also plays a certain role in the literature of tales; this mountain is found in the *Thousand and One Nights* (486th, 624th, and 778th Nights). On their side some exegetes of the Ḳurʾān interpret the letter *ḳāf*, which stands at the head of Sūra L, as referring to the mountain Ḳāf (references in R. Blachère, *Introduction au Coran*, Paris 1959, 147).

In purely terrestrial geography, no longer cosmological, Ḳāf at times denotes the part of the high Asiatic chain of mountains which borders the Muslim world to the north, especially the Caucasus and the mountains of northern Persia; that is why the Dāmarwānd [*q.v.*], celebrated in the *Shāhnāma* as the scene of the wonderful deeds of the sovereigns, rulers and heroes of ancient Iran, is also given as the country of Sīmurgh. These conceptions naturally assumed less importance with the progress of geographical knowledge, but the Caucasus in particular remained as the stage for stories "of the far ends of the earth", for example the one in the Ḳurʾān of the rock of Moses and the spring of life (cf. Ibn Khurradādhbih, 124, Ibn al-Faḳīh, 287, Muḳaddasī, 46, *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 449; on the Caucasus from this viewpoint as border-mountain, cf. B. Munkácsi, *Der Kaukasus und Ural als "Gürtel der Erde"*, in *KS*, i, 236 ff.).

Let us note finally the connexions between the Muslim conception of Ḳāf and that of the Mandaeans. According to them (cf. H. Petermann, *op. cit.*, 452), the earth in the shape of a disc is bathed by the Ocean except on the northern side, where the Ocean is separated from it by a great mountain made of the purest turquoise, whose reflection constitutes the blue of the sky. Despite the opposite opinion of de Goeje (cf. Ṭabarī, Intr., CDXXXVII), it is probable that the Mandaeans drew this cosmology from Islamic sources.

Bibliography: Besides the references in the text: Ibn Rusta, 23-4; Yāḳūt, i, 154; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm*, 19, 376; Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-Makhlūḳāt* (ed. Wüstenfeld), i, 170; Ibn al-Wardī, *Kharīdat al-ʿadjāʾib*, Cairo 1324, 13, 118; Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, Cairo 1325, 4; Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maḳdisī, *Kitāb al-badʾ wa 'l-Taʾrīkh*, ed. Huart, ii, 6, 35-6, 44-6, iii, 140, 146; Vullers, *op. cit.*, ii, 706; Gesenius, *op. cit.*, 323-4; Rosenzweig, *op. cit.*, 200; Lane-Zenker, *op. cit.*, 30, 232, 235; Reinaud, Preface to Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm*, tr., i, clxxxi—ii; A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Muhammad*, ii, Berlin 1862, 469-70; A. J. Wensinck, *op. cit.*, 17-8; idem, *The ideas of the western Semites concerning the Navel of the Earth*, in *Verh. Ak. Amst.*, xvii (1), 5-6, 37-8.

(M. Streck-[A. Miquel])

AL-**KĀF** (El-Kef), a town in Tunisia (pop. 18,000), capital of an administrative district with a population of 306,000 (census of 3 May 1966), situated in the region of Haut-Tell about 30 km. from the Algerian border; the altitude varies from 700 to 850 m. Since 1962, an effort has been made to replace the traditional cereal cultivation with a greater agricultural diversification, although the attempt at co-operative collectivization of the land was abandoned in September 1969. The town has also benefited from a degree of urbanization and cultural promotion. To this end, since September 1967 an annual festival has been held in honour of Jugurtha, promoted to the rank of a local hero.

The site of al-Kāf has been inhabited since the Paleolithic era, but when the town itself was founded is unknown; it was probably a Libyan or Punic foundation. The name first appears in texts dated 241 B. C. relating to mercenaries sent there by Carthage after the First Punic War to fend off the threat to the capital. The Romans called it Sicca Veneria after a Punic goddess who was identified with Venus. There seems to be no doubt that ritual prostitution was practised at her sanctuary. Under the Empire the town was called Colonia Julia Cirta Nova; it later came under Muslim control under the name of Shiḳḳa Banāriya (a corruption of Sicca Veneria) and continued to be referred to as such in Arab texts until the end of the Middle Ages. Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) knew it under no other name. The name al-Kāf appears for the first time in the works of Ibn Abī Dīnār, who wrote around 1110/1698-9, and al-Wāzir al-Sarrādj (d. 1149/1736-7). The latter, citing Ibn Shabbāṭ on Shiḳḳa Banāriya, found it necessary to add, "which is the town now called al-Kāf" (*Ḥulal*, i/2, 525), indicating that the old name had been completely forgotten. The change of name must have begun at the beginning of the period of Ottoman control (1574), which marked a new stage in the life of the town. Around a score of sites in Tunisia bear names containing the vocable al-Kāf (R. Vaufrey, *Préhistoire de l'Afrique*, index to vols. i and ii; L. Balout, *Préhistoire de l'Afrique du Nord*, index; J. Ganiage, *Les origines du protectorat...*, 35, 62; *Guide Bleu de la Tunisie*, index). An al-Kīfān (pl. of al-Kāf) is noted in the vicinity of Fez (Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, i, 229 n. 270), and Yāḳūt (*Buldān*, iv, 431) mentions a fortress in Syria bearing the name al-Kāf, undoubtedly the same one which Ibn Khaldūn called al-Kahf (*ʿIbar*, v, 842) and which Ẓāhir Baybars (658/1260-676/1277) captured from the Ismāʿīlīs. It is apparent that the toponym al-Kāf is very widespread. No doubt a corruption of the Arabic word *al-kahf* ("cave") through the dropping of the unvoiced spirant *h*, it was used to denote any agglomeration occupying a cavernous site, particularly one that was raised up. In this respect, al-Kāf merits its name. "Standing on one of the main shoulders of a massif which can be considered as a natural citadel, the town dominates the great plains of Sers, Zanfour, Lorebus and Oued Mellègue, and at the same time commands the main routes from Tunis to Algeria" (Tissot, *Géographie comparée...*, ii, 378).

This "natural citadel" was frequently mentioned during the Jugurthine war, and he made it one of his bastions. When it came under Roman control, it was

raised to the status of a colony and enjoyed real prosperity under the Empire, reaching some eminence when the celebrated rhetor Arnob of Sicca (d. *c.* 327) taught there. Numerous vestiges of its ancient past remain in al-Kāf (the basilica of Dār al-Ḳūs, dedicated to St. Peter, vast cisterns, various statues, epigraphic texts, mosaics, etc.) and recent excavations have led to new discoveries (a Byzantine basilica, public baths, etc.), details of which have not yet been published. The town's great mosque is in fact an ancient building slightly altered by the addition of a minaret and a *miḥrāb*.

During the Muslim expansion in the Maghrib, al-Kāf was conquered (about 69/688-9) along with other places in the region by Zuhayr b. Ḳays al-Balawī after the rout of Kusayla at Mams (al-Mālikī, *Riyāḍ*, i, 30; Ibn al-Shabbāṭ, *Ṣilat al-Simṭ*, Ms. 3208, Nat. Lib. of Tunis, fol. 82 v.—83 r.). From then on and throughout the Middle Ages al-Kāf gave way to Laribus, which became the most important fortress in the region. In the middle of the 10th/16th century Leo Africanus could still sing the praises of Laribus, now no more than a few ruins 30 km. east of al-Kāf and totally eclipsed by the latter. No Arab geographer mentioned al-Kāf again until al-Bakrī (d. *c.* 461/1068) and he only incidentally in the course of relating a legend concerning a Berber deacon who was martyred in Christian antiquity. Yāḳūt (574/1178-626/1229) reveals his ignorance of it when he says (*Buldān*, iii, 354): "Shiḳḳa Banāriya: a number of places in Ifrīḳiya (*amākin bi-Ifriḳiya*)". The first and only description of mediaeval al-Kāf comes from the pen of Ibn al-Shabbāṭ (618/1221-681/1282). It is significant that this author is concerned solely with the town's old monuments, the evidence of its former grandeur.

Despite its eclipse, al-Kāf figures from time to time in mediaeval history. In 171/788 the Ibāḍī Khāridjīs suffered a crushing defeat there during the rule of the Muhallabid Dāwūd b. Yazīd. Its fall, without a single blow having been struck, into the hands of the Fāṭimid *dāʿī* was a preliminary to the definitive defeat of the Aghlabid troops at Laribus. Under the Zīrids, the town played some part in the conflict between Bādīs (386/996-406/1016) and his uncle, Ḥammād, and during the Hilāli invasion (443/1052) a certain ʿAyyād (or ʿAbbād or ʿImād) b. Naṣr al Kilāʿī led a band of adventurers and founded a little kingdom there, successfully resisting all invaders. In 554/1159 the Almohads drove out his descendants and united the Maghrib. Al-Kāf is not mentioned under the Ḥafṣids, except for a battle which raged in the vicinity in the summer of 724/1324.

The town did not regain its former importance until the Ottoman era. Facing Constantine, its task was to defend the Regency of Tunis against invasion from Algeria. It was involved in the successive conflicts between Algiers and Tunis (1628, 1685, 1694, 1705, 1746, 1756, 1807) and in the squabbles among the various pretenders to the throne of Tunis. A *ḳasba* was built in 1675, and remained fortified. In 1739-40 ʿAlī Pasha built a rampart around the town. The bey Ḥammūda Pasha (1782-1813) restored the *ḳasba* in 1806 and consolidated the enceinte. During his reign al-Kāf, alongside Tunis, Ḳayrawān and Bādja, was one of the four main fortresses of the kingdom, permanently endowed with a strong garrison of at least 500 men under the command of an *agha*. Yet the town lost its strategic value: the installation of the French in Constantine in 1837 made its fortifications henceforth useless.

From then on, its decline began. V. Guérin, who visited the town between the 8th and 10th of June 1860 observed: "Two quarters are almost in ruins and barely inhabited, which means that the town contains less than half the number of people one at first imagines. The total population consists of 4,500 Muslims, around 600 Jews, a few Maltese, and the employees of the French post-office" (*Voyages*, ii, 53-4). In 1864 it was taken in the insurrection of ʿAlī Ibn Ghadhāhum, and was hit by the famine and cholera of 1867. The railway linking Tunis and Suḳ el-Arba (now Djandūba), built in 1878, accelerated its decline by depriving it of its traditional role as a commercial station between Algeria and Tunisia. The population of the town continued to decrease. In 1881 "its 45 hectares, which could have accommodated 8,000 people, contain no more than 3,500" (Monchicourt, *La région du Haut-Tell...*, 408). When the French protectorate was established in Tunisia, General Logerot took the town without a struggle on 26 April 1881. Three years later, in June 1884, the first French school in the interior was opened there; on July 8 in the same year it was raised to the status of a commune and from 1886 it was made the seat of a civil controller who governed alongside the caïd. The municipal census of 1911 indicates its new composition, revealing also the resurgence it had begun to enjoy. Its 6,312 inhabitants comprised 4,462 Muslims, 269 of them Algerians, 650 Jews, and 1,200 Europeans, 800 of them Italians and 340 French. During the Second World War it became a vice-residency, administering that part of Tunisia which was not occupied by the Axis forces.

Al-Kāf, formerly one of the centres of Maraboutism, still possesses many *zāwiyas*, but the political influence of the brotherhoods, in the past of some importance, is now practically nil.

Bibliography: Sources (in chronological order): Muḳaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm*, ed. and partial tr. Ch. Pellat under the title *Description de l'Occident...*, Algiers 1950, 18-19; Mālikī, *Riyād*, ed. H. Monès, Cairo 1951, i, 30; Bakrī, *Masālik*, ed. tr. De Slane, Paris 1965, 33-74; Yāḳūt, s.v.; Ibn al-Shabbāṭ, *Ṣilat al-Simṭ*, Ms. 3208, Nat. Lib. of Tunis, fol. 82 v.—83 r.; Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Baghdādī, *Marāṣid al-iṭṭilāʿ*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Bidjāwī, Cairo 1954, ii, 805; *Kitāb al-Istibṣār*, Alexandria 1958, 165; Pseudo-Raḳīḳ, *Taʾrīkh Ifriḳiya wa 'l-Maghrib*, ed. M. al-Kaâbi, Tunis 1968, 68, 169; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, Beirut 1959, v, 842, vi, 228, 349, 401, 494; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, tr. A. Epaulard, Paris 1956, i, 229, n. 270, ii, 373; Ibn Abī Dīnār, *Muʾnis*, ed. M. Shammām, Tunis 1967, index; al-Wazīr al-Ṣarrādj, *Ḥulal*, ed. M. H. al-Hīla, Tunis 1970, i/2, 525-6; G. Dupont, *Récit d'un voyage de Tunis au Kef effectué en* 1744, in *Revue de l'Afrique française*, no. 50 (Oct. 1888), 341-44, no. 51 (Oct. 1888), 352-60; Ibn Abī Ḍiyāf, *Itḥāf ahl al-Zamān*, Tunis 1963, ii, 33, 48, 51, 53, 58-60, 83, 123, 129, 148-9, iii, 39, 41-2, 45-6, 85; V. Guérin, *Voyage Archéologique dans la régence de Tunis*, Paris 1862, ii, 53-4, 57; R. Cagnat and Saladin, *Voyage en Tunisie*, Paris 1894, 200-19.—Studies: R. Brunschvig, *Hafsides*, i, 145, 302; P. L. Cambuzat, *L'évolution des cités du Tell en Ifrikiya du VII^e au XI^e siècle* (thesis), i, 173, 227, 247, 322, ii, 337-43; P. Cintas, *Eléments d'étude pour une protohistoire de la Tunisie*, Paris 1961, 8, 25, 125; Ch. Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine*, Paris 1896, index; E. Esperandieu, *Épigraphie des environs du Kef*, Paris 1884; idem, *Étude sur le Kef*, Paris 1889; J. Ganiage, *Les origines du protectorat français en*

Tunisie (1861-1881), Paris 1959, index; S. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1913-28, ii, 96, iii, 101, 102, iv, 349, 403, v, 31, 192, 266, vi, 156, 249, vii, 190, 197, viii, 168, 197; H. R. Idris, *Zīrīdes*, 110, 222, 235, 399, 471; Ch.-A. Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1956, i, 116, 157, 170, 209, Eng. tr., London 1972; E. Makhlouf, *Structures agraires et modernisation de l'agriculture dans les plaines du Kef: les unités coopératives de production* in *Cahiers du CERES*, geog. ser. no. 1, Tunis 1968; A. Martel, *Les confins saharo-tripolitains de la Tunisie* (1881-1911), Paris 1965, index; P. Monceaux, *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne depuis les origines jusqu'à l'invasion arabe*, Paris 1905, iii, 241-86; C. Monchicourt, *La Région du Haut-Tell en Tunisie*, Paris 1913, 403-14; P. Romanelli, *Storia delle province romane dell'Africa*, Rome 1959, index; M. Speight, *Témoignage des sources musulmanes sur la présence chrétienne au Maghreb de 26/747 à 184/800*, in *IBLA* (Tunis 1972), no. 129, 83-6; M. Talbi, *Emirat aghlabide*, 678, 680; A. Temimi, *Recherches et documents d'histoire maghrébine*, Tunis 1971, 21, 24, 93, 212; R. Vaufrey, *Préhistoire de l'Afrique*, Paris-Tunis 1965-9, index to vols. i and ii.

(M. TALBI)

KAFA [see KEFE].

KAFĀʾA (A.), a term which in common usage signifies at one and the same time equality, parity and aptitude, but in the terminology of *fiḳh* designates equivalence of social status, fortune and profession (those followed by the husband and by the father-in-law), as well as parity of birth, which should exist between husband and wife, in default of which the marriage is considered ill-matched and, in consequence, liable to break-up. In fact, in *fiḳh*, *kafāʾa* works in a single direction and protects only the wife who must not marry beneath her station; it matters little, on the other hand, if the man marries a woman of socially inferior status except in two cases. The scope of the theory of *kafāʾa*, which varies from school to school, and the sanctions provided for by them in regard to an ill-matched marriage are discussed in the article NIKĀḤ. Here, we shall restrict ourselves to a consideration of the historical, sociological, and practical factors which have contributed to the elaboration of this theory, and its social effect through the centuries.

In pre-Islamic Arabia, it was obligatory that a married couple be well-matched on a racial and tribal level, as well as in social status. It was difficult to reconcile this pre-Islamic custom, if not with the letter of the Ḳurʾān, at least with that spirit of relative equality between men which is inherent in it. However, from the very beginnings of Islam, the rule was generally accepted that there could only be misalliance, lack of *kafāʾa*, for the woman, the misalliance of the man being of no consequence with two exceptions. On the method of interpreting this lack of *kafāʾa*, always limited to the woman, there were two tendencies amongst the *fuḳahāʾ*; on the one hand that of the scholars of Medina, who reduced *kafāʾa* to almost nothing, simply forbidding a pious woman to marry a libertine, and on the other hand the tendency of the jurists of Kūfa, from which the exacting theory of the Ḥanafī school has arisen, according to which a husband is well-matched with his wife only if he is of the same lineage, the same social status, of the same seniority in Islam, and of the same morality. In addition, in Ḥanafī law, it is required that he exercise a profession at least as honourable as that of his father-in-law; from this arises a comparative table of the different professions, which is found in most Ḥanafī works. The conflicts between these two interpretations may be explained by the influence of the social climate in which each was developed. At Kūfa there was a population in which Arabs and non-Arab Muslims lived in close proximity, and which in the past had been marked by the idea of social class so deeply rooted in the Sasanid empire, an influence which the inhabitants of Medina had escaped. Consequently, one might think that during the succeeding centuries considerations of social hierarchy and equal standing of the families of husband and wife, which have played and continue to play such a large part in the concluding of marriages in the Ḥanafī and S̲h̲āfiʿī East, were unknown in the areas which had adopted Mālikī law. In actual fact, *i.e.*, on the plane of social realities, scarcely any difference is to be seen in this respect between the East and the Mālikī Mag̲h̲rib. Here, as there, questions of social, family and economic parity have retained all their importance, even though as in the Mag̲h̲rib, inequality of status is not the object of judicial sanction.

One must therefore resign oneself to explaining the importance attributed to *kafāʾa* by the Ḥanafī system, not by sociological reasons, but by the fact that in this school the woman who had reached the age of puberty was permitted to conclude her own marriage without the assistance of a *walī* [*q.v.*], even though such a proceeding was considered blameworthy. In these countries therefore the risks of misalliance were much greater for the wife's family than in countries under Mālikī law where the indispensible assistance of the *walī* gave an important guarantee to the wife's family. This explains the tendency in certain Mālikī countries (Morocco for example), counterbalancing the relative freedom at present enjoyed by the woman to arrange her own marriage, to introduce in their recent code of personal status attenuated forms of *kafāʾa*, unknown to classical Mālikī law.

Bibliography: I. Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, i, 130-3 (= Eng. tr., 123-5); Farhat J. Ziadeh, *Equality (kafāʾah) in the Muslim Law of Marriage*, in *American Journal of Comparative Law*, vi (1957), 503-17; R. Brunschvig, *Métiers vils en Islam*, in *St. Isl.*, xvi (1962), 55-7, with numerous references to classical authors; B. Lewis, *Race and color in Islam*, New York 1971, 89 ff.; N. J. Coulson, *A history of Islamic law*, Edinburgh, 1964, 49, 94; Y. Linant de Bellefonds, *Traité de Droit musulman comparé*, Paris—The Hague, 1965, ii, 171-81. (Y. LINANT DE BELLEFONDS)

KAFĀLA (*ḍamān* in all but the Ḥanafī school), aninstitution corresponding to some extent to the surety-bond in Western juridical systems, with the difference that the *fuḳahāʾ* distinguished two types of surety-bond. On the one hand there is the type for which the surety (*kafīl*) is binding to secure only the appearance in court of the debtor (*aṣīl* or *makfūl*); this, known as the *kafāla biʾl-nafs*, is an institution peculiar to Muslim law. There also exists the *kafāla biʾl-māl*, by means of which the surety stands as a pledge to the creditor (*makfūl lahu*) that the obligation of the principal debtor will be fulfilled. Moreover, the two types of surety bond may well cover a number of things.

Conditions of validity common to both types of surety-bond. Ḥanafī law insists on a formal agreement between the surety and the creditor, except according to Abū Yūsuf (whose opinion, however, has not prevailed), who regarded the

surety-bond as a unilateral commitment on the part of the surety. This conception was adopted by the other schools in which the surety-bond is an action that is valid solely through the will of the surety. The surety-bond being seen as an act of generosity on the part of the surety, it was deduced that the latter must be able to dispose of it freely; that is he must be in full enjoyment of his capacities, and must not be a minor, madman, nor "prohibited". On the other hand, the creditor being in the position of a donee profits, in Ḥanafī law (where his acceptance is insisted upon), from the same facilities as any other donee. Only debts and obligations which are capable of being fulfilled by the security in place of the principal debtor may be the object of a surety-bond. Therefore penal obligations and talion (*ḳiṣāṣ*) are excluded, except in the case of *kafāla bi'l-nafs*, in which circumstances the surety-bond only guarantees the debtor's appearance in court.

a) *Kafāla bi'l-nafs*. This original form of surety-bond underwent a lengthy evolution in all works of *fiḳh* no matter to which school they belonged. The first S̲h̲āfiʿīs and the Imam al-S̲h̲āfiʿī in his second teaching were opposed to it: later the S̲h̲āfiʿī school, "influenced by public opinion and the pressure of necessity", finally permitted it. This surety-bond assumes that judicial proceedings may be instituted against the debtor; it is therefore invalid when the debtor has disappeared after the conclusion of the agreement and it is not known where he may be reached (except in S̲h̲āfiʿī law, in which trial by default is permissible). For the same reason the bond no longer holds good when the debtor dies, and of course the death of the surety has the same effect.

The schools deal differently with the defaulting surety, that is someone who fails in his obligation to make the debtor appear in court. In the view of the Ḥanafī school if, after a certain period of grace has been accorded him (for his failure may be due to the temporary absence of the debtor), he is still unable to fulfil his obligations then he is to be imprisoned, at the decision of the *ḳāḍī*. In these circumstances the Mālikīs and Ḥanbalīs give to the surety the benefit of the same waiting period as the Ḥanafīs; if the debtor has still not appeared in court after this period the surety is sentenced to pay the debt of the debtor. S̲h̲āfiʿī law is less precise on this point, but it does not, under any circumstances, provide for the imprisonment of the defaulting surety.

b) *Kafāla bi'l-māl*. All debts may be bonded, even though their exact total is not known b› the surety at the time when he enters into the contract or it is a question of an advance credit in the patrimony of the creditor (except in S̲h̲āfiʿī law). It is sufficient if the obligation can be fulfilled by a third for the account of the debtor, excluding (as we have seen above) obligations pertaining to the person of the debtor (*ḥadd, ḳiṣāṣ*, fee for contractual release, etc.).

The surety bond is subject to the same restrictive clauses as those attending the principal obligation. From this it is deduced that if the creditor concedes a limit to the surety, the debtor, who has firmly pledged himself, benefits from it also. Nevertheless, in Ḥanafī law (in which the surety-bond assumes an agreement between creditor and debtor), the creditor is allowed to consent to a limit to the surety and to make the express stipulation that the debtor may not benefit from this. The creditor's release of the surety from his bond does not free the debtor but, in the reverse case, the release of the debtor frees the surety. If, instead of guaranteeing the payment of the debt, the surety takes over the debt this is not *kafāla* but *ḥawāla* [*q.v.*], that is conveyance or assignment of the debt.

The moment that the debtor's obligation falls due, the creditor has the right to proceed against the principal debtor or the surety as he pleases, or both at once. Therefore in Muslim law there is no benefit of discussion on behalf of the surety as there is in Western law, where the surety can constrain the creditor to begin his proceedings with the debtor, unless there is legal and conventual liability. Only the Mālikī school allows the surety the opportunity of obliging the creditor to begin his proceedings with the debtor when the latter is solvent; the same is true when the debtor is absent, as long as the existence and stability of his goods can be established without difficulty. These conditions hold good in the absence of any contrary stipulations made by the parties concerned. The surety who has paid the reckoning of the debtor has no remedy at law unless the latter asked him to guarantee him and, this being so, he is able to dispose of his goods. In default of one of these conditions, the surety is bereft of any remedy, except in Mālikī law where he always retains his right of legal remedy provided that the discharge of the debt is established.

Bibliography: All works of *fiḳh* contain a chapter on *kafāla*. For Ḥanafī law see particularly Marg̲h̲īnānī, *Hidāya*, Cairo 1936, iii, 64-73.- For the comparison between the schools: Ibn Ḳudāma, *Mug̲h̲nī*, Cairo 1368, iv, 534-66; Ibn Rus̲h̲d, *Bidāyat al-Mud̲j̲tahid*, Cairo 1952, ii, 291-4; Dimas̲h̲ḳī, *Raḥmat al-Umma*, ed. Ḥalabī, i, 194-6; S̲h̲īrāzī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh*, Fr. tr. Bousquet, Algiers, n.d., ii, nos. 136-7; K̲h̲alīl b. Isḥāḳ, *Muk̲h̲taṣar*, Fr. tr. Bousquet, Algiers 1961, iii, nos. 218-20; J. Schacht, *Islamic Law*, Oxford 1964, 158-9.

(Y. Linant de Bellefonds)

al-**KAFF** (ʿilm-), a divinatory process which belongs to the realm of physiognomy [see firāsa], and designates more specifically chirognomy, or the art of deducing the character of a person according to the shape and appearance of the hands, whereas chiromancy proper is designated by *ʿilm al-asārīr* (lines of the hand) or *k̲h̲uṭūṭ al-yad*. One can also say *naẓar fi 'l-yad*, *firāsat al-kaff*, *ʿalāmāt asārīr al-kaff* (cf. T. Fahd, *Divination arabe*, 393 ff.). But the use of the term *ʿilm al-kaff* has become general, and this has supplanted the others. It covers both chirognomy and chiromancy; it also includes dactylomancy (prognostications drawn from the observation of the finger joints) and onychomancy (divination from the finger nails).

Although this form of divination, considered by the Chinese to be the first step in the science of the occult, has been and continues to be very widespread, literature on the subject remained rare until the Middle Ages (cf., for example, the recent collective work entitled *La divination*, studies collected by A. Caquot and M. Leibovici, Paris 1968, where chiromancy, mentioned only twice, appears to play a very minor rôle in the divinatory tradition).

In the West, a pseudo-*Ciromantia Aristotelis* (cf. L. Thorndike and P. Kibre, *A catalogue of incipits of Mediaeval scientific writings in Latin*, revised and augmented edition, London 1963, The Mediaeval Academy of America, no. 29, pp. 225, 303, 830) seems to have been at the origin of several short treatises or pamphlets on chiromancy attributed to Albertus Magnus (*op. cit.*, 282, 350), Michael Scott (*ibid.*, 531) and other scholastic theologians. This *Ciromantia*, said to have been translated (from the Greek?) by John of Seville and Adelard (of Bath?), appears to

have been unknown to the Arab translators of the writings of Aristotle. This pseudo-Aristotelian tradition arrived rather late in the Christian East, through the medium of mediaeval Latin works, as can be seen from three Christian manuscripts known to us: a) Beirut, Fac. Or. 271 (no. 579), entitled *Firāsat al-kaff*, dealing, in a first section of twenty-four chapters, with the nature of the hand and its aspects (with rough drawings), and a second section, also of twenty-four chapters, concerned with the mysteries of life according to the hand; b) Aleppo, P. Sbath, 529, with the same title, done in the 19th century by a monk in Jerusalem (41p.); c) Berlin, Cat. Ahlwardt, 4255, an anonymous work of 55 fol., citing Aristotle, Thomas Aquinas and Albertus Magnus, among others.

This Christian tradition, based on Aristotle, was illustrated by numerous authors in the West, such as Antiochus Tibertus, *De chiromantia*, ed. from 1494, Andrea Corvo, *De chiromantia*, frequently ed. since 1513, Jean Indagine, *Introductio in chiromantiam*, published at Lyons in 1582, Jean Belot, Curé of Mil-Monts, teacher of divine and celestial sciences, *Traité de la chiromance*, Joh. Meteham, *Treatise on chiromancy from the Latin of Aurelian*, Joh. Montroy, *Libellus de chiromantia*, Laur. Mendelkern, *Chiromancie*.

In the East, where for once Aristotle was not invoked as the initiator of this art, two traditions come together in Arab divination: the Indian tradition represented by an anonymous work now lost, which was quoted by Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 314), *K. Khuṭūṭ al-kaff wa 'l-naẓar fi 'l-yad li 'l-Hind*, and the Hellenistic tradition starting with Polemon of Laodicea (d. 144), the famous sophist of Smyrna, author of the Φυσιογνομονίκα, of which the original Greek is lost, but which has come to us through an Arabic translation made in the middle of the 3rd/9th century (cf. details and references in *Divination arabe*, 384 ff.).

This Islamic tradition, based on the Indian and the Hellenistic, is represented by a very small number of writings. In addition to the Arab Polemon, who devotes a paragraph to chiromancy (cf. Chap. 4 of the Leiden Ms., ed. and Latin tr. G. Hoffmann, in R. Förster, *Scriptores physiognomonici Graeci et Latini*, i, 201), there are two paragraphs in a *madjmūʿa* of writings on physiognomy from Bursa, of which the first treats "of the signs which result from the measurements of the fingers of the hand" (Hüsayn Čelebi 882, fol. 64r-66r) and the second with "signs relative to the large or small number of children which one will have, drawn from the examination of the front face of the thumb" (*ibid.*, fol. 66r-67r; cf. *Divination arabe*, 395, n. 1., where the added *min* should be deleted). If to this are added a folio (99v-100) of Vatican 938, 14 (other references in Brockelmann, I, 508, SI, 924), attributed to Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, and a page (fol. 240v) of the Ms. 1601 of the Köprülü collection at Istanbul, this constitutes all that has been discovered of this literature. In order to know more about it, we must await the rediscovery of *al-Sabʿ al-sayyār*, a document dealing with several divinatory techniques, amongst which are *al-kaff* and *maḳādīr al-aṣābiʿ* (titles reminiscent of the two Bursa texts: the author lived in this town), attributed to the historian Muṣṭafā b. Ḥasan al-Djannābī (d. 999/1590) by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iii, 576.

Meanwhile, in order to gain a clear idea of the object of this art according to the Arab authors, we have at our disposal two definitions: the first is found in the *K. al-firāsa* by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (ed. and tr. Y. Mourad, Paris 1939, 11; cf. the fol. quoted above) and the second in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 236. From this it appears that chiromancy allows the prediction of the length or brevity of a man's life, his destiny, happy or unhappy, his wealth or poverty, etc., based on the lines of the hand or the sole of the feet by observing whether they are close or far apart, long or short, whether the spaces which separate them are wide or narrow, and by looking at the patterns which they form.

Finally, as in the case of the *Firāsa*, *ʿIlm al-asārīr* was applied in medical prognostication. Hippocrates and Galen practised it, as they practised physiognomy (cf. *Divination arabe*, 381 ff.; cf. R. Labat, *Traité akkadien de diagnostics et pronostics médicaux*, Leiden 1951, where an appendix is devoted to the "pronostics akkadiens et pronostics grecs", pp. xxxv-xlv). In this respect it would be useful to verify the contents of the *K. Asrār* (= according to al-Rāzī, *loc. cit.*: lines of the hand and of the sole of the foot) *al-nisā'* and the *K. Asrār al-ridjāl*, attributed to Galen and translated by Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ (cf. *AS* 4838, resp. fol. 57v-74v, and 76v-105v; Bağdatli Vehbi, 1409, fol. 19r-26r and 26v-32v).

Bibliography: Apart from the sources mentioned in the text, see T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Leiden 1966, 393-7; Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1909, 370; Osman Bey, *Les Imams et les derviches*, Paris 1881, 132. (T. FAHD)

KAFF, term used in prosody [see ʿARŪḌ]; term with politico-religious meaning [See ḲUʿŪD].

KAFFA [see KEFE].

KAFFĀRA, an expiatory and propitiatory act which grants remission for faults of some gravity. This technical term, which is only employed four times in the Ḳur'ān, is said to have been borrowed from Hebrew *kappārā* (A. Jeffery, *Foreign vocabulary of the Qur'an*, 250; D. S. Margoliouth, art. *Expiation and atonement* (*Muslim*), in *Hastings Enc.*) For the reasons set out below, this thesis should be considered as unproven. On the other hand the root *k f r* is undoubtedly Arabic.

Speaking strictly etymologically, *kaffāra* "covers" sins rather than wipes them out. The root, which is frequently used in the Ḳur'ān, in fact means "to cover", "to cover a thing or person so that it is hidden from view". The renegade is called *kāfir* [*q.v.*] because his heart is wrapped in blasphemy; the same word refers to the night, for then things are shrouded in shadow (*LA*, root *k f r*). Thus the *kaffāra* is intended to cover wicked deeds with a veil so that they are concealed. From this point of view, fault and expiation are regarded in a material sense, the moral content developing rather later.

Comparison with other Semitic languages leads to a closer understanding of the original meaning of the root *k f r*. In Syriac, *kefar* means to wipe, and the fault would seem to be seen as a stain which must be removed. Similar conceptions lie behind *kapâru* in Assyrian, for it has the meaning of to wipe, to remove, to clean. The form *kuppuru* expresses the idea of a magico-medical operation by means of which an illness is driven away or a demon expelled. In Hebrew, *kippêr* appears to be close to the Arabic meaning. According to Ed. König, "cover" is the only appropriate translation. True, this scholar's opinion has been criticized and *kippêr* can also have the meanings of to rub, to blot out and to wipe. The dominant idea is of expiation. Thus the *kôfer* is simply a ransom, the expiatory sum of blood; the *kappôreth* is the region of the Ark which acts as a lid and serves as the instrument of expiation; finally,

kappārā is specifically the expiation of a fault and wiping out of a blemish by means of a victim whose blood is used to rub or sprinkle the person or thing that is to be purified.

It is tempting, therefore, to consider that the ancient Arabs held a material conception of the remission of sins. It should be noted here that other Arabic words currently used to signify pardon also conjure up the image of an object to be hidden or a stain to be wiped away. This is true of the ḳur'ānic terms *g̲h̲afara*, *ʿafā* and *ṣafaḥa* (XXIV, 22, LXIV, 14), which have the sense of to cover, to efface, to smooth away; in the same way *maḥā*, to erase by rubbing or covering, has the meaning of to pardon. Furthermore, according to al-ʿUmarī the Arabs sought pardon for their misdeeds by confessing them before an assembly and requesting those whom they had wronged to bury their misdemeanours. This act, known as *dafn al-d̲h̲unūb* [see D̲H̲UNŪB, DAFN AL-] was enacted physically.

Although etymologically *kaffāra* may be understood as "that which covers" sin, it should be noted that this meaning figures least in the Ḳur'ān, where essentially the root has the sense of to repudiate, to redeem, to pardon. In addition, the verb *kafara*, to be a renegade or infidel, often appears alongside *āmana*, apparently its antonym (III, 156, IV, 137, XXIX, 12); the form *kaffara* is employed with the sense of to erase (III, 195, IV, 31, V, 12, 65); *kufrān* expresses forgetfulness (XXI, 94) and annihilation (while demolishing the sanctuary of al-ʿUzzā, K̲h̲ālid b. Walīd says: "Your annihilation and no longer your glory", *kufrānaki lā subḥānaki*). It is therefore hardly surprising that *kaffāra* is employed essentially in the sense of atonement: the *kaffāra* for perjury and violating the ban on hunting when in a state of *iḥrām* is the manumission of a slave, fasting or the distribution of food or clothing to the poor (V, 89[2] and 95). Yet this is also a propitiatory act from which the idea of expiation seems lacking: "If a man grants pardon [for talion, this] will be a *kaffāra* for him" (V, 5).

Therefore it is evident that *kaffāra*, in its ḳur'ānic conception, is obtained without the help of a blood sacrifice, unlike the levitical system, where the means of expiation is usually blood. We have thus eliminated the notion that this is a borrowing from Hebrew in spite of the similarity of pure form.

Other instances where the sinner must do penitence are dealt with in the Ḳur'ān: an attack on the physical integrity of the person (IV, 92), pronouncing the *ẓihār* oath (LVIII, 4), breaking the rules of fasting during Ramaḍān (II, 183 f.), violating the prohibitions of the pilgrimage (II, 195; V, 94, 95). In fact there are no grounds for claiming that these were cases of *kaffārāt stricto sensu*, and it is by analogy that *fiḳh* applies this term to acts (fasting, liberation of a slave, feeding the poor, sacrifice) on whose exact nature the Ḳur'ān is silent (is it a case of redemption, expiation or propitiation?). It is also advisable to stress that *fiḳh* tends to regard *kaffāra* as a punishment (*ʿiḳāb*, *d̲j̲azā'*; cf. Ibn Rus̲h̲d, *Bidāyat al-mud̲j̲tahid*, Cairo 1335, i, 212; al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *kitāb al-ḥudūd*), which is not exactly the position of the Ḳur'ān, where there is a distinction between *d̲j̲azā'* and *kaffāra* (V, 95) and the latter is even considered a propitiatory act (V, 45). Following the standpoint of the legal schools, as is obligatory, the acts by which *kaffāra* can be obtained include blood sacrifice, to be exact the *hady* for complete infringement of the rules of the pilgrimage, particularly those of *iḥrām*.

The expiatory nature of Islamic sacrifice is brought out especially by the rôle of the blood redeemer (J. Chelhod, *La sacrifice chez les Arabes*, 59, 174 f.). The Bedouins too believe that the blood of a victim gives protection against epidemics, averts ill fate, banishes the wrongdoer and casts out chthonian spirits. Such beliefs were widespread among ancient Semitic peoples. In Babylonian ritual, purification and atonement are obtained through blood sacrifice. As we have seen, the same means were used to obtain expiation in the levitical system. The Mineo-Sabians confessed their sins publicly and atoned for them by offering a bleeding victim (G. Ryckmans, *La confession publique des péchés en Arabie méridionale préislamique*, in *Le Muséon*, lviii, 1-14).

Bibliography: Apart from works cited in the text, W. R. Smith, *Lectures on the religion of the Semites*; M.-J. Lagrange, *Études sur les religions sémitiques*; R. P. Madebielle, art. *Expiation*, in *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, Supplément; S. R. Driver, art. *Expiation and atonement (Hebrew)*, in *Hastings Enc.*; L. Moraldi, *Espiazione sacrificale e riti espiatori*, in *Analecta biblica*, v, Rome (Pontificia instituto biblico) 1956.

(J. CHELHOD)

ḲĀFILA [see TID̲J̲ĀRA].

KAFĪL [see KAFĀLA].

KĀFIR (A.), originally "obliterating, covering", then, "concealing benefits received" = "ungrateful"; this meaning is found even in the old Arab poetry and in the Ḳur'ān, Sūra XXVI, 18. In the Ḳur'ān the word is used with reference to God: "concealing God's blessings" = "ungrateful to God", see Sūra XVI, 57 and XXX, 33: "That they are ungrateful for our gifts"; cf. also Sūra XVI, 85. The next development—probably under the influence of the Syriac and Aramaic where the corresponding development took place earlier—is the more general meaning of "infidel" which is first found in Sūra LXXIV, 10 and is henceforth very common; plural *kāfirūn* or *kuffār*, once (Sūra LXXX 42) *kafara*. The term is first applied to the unbelieving Meccans, who endeavour to refute and revile the Prophet: Sūra L, 2 and elsewhere. The subject of incredulity is sometimes more nearly defined with added *bi-*, *e.g.*, Sūra XXXIV, 33: "We do not believe in your mission"; Sūra VI, 89. In the early Meccan period a waiting attitude towards the unbelievers is still recommended (Sūra LXXXVI, 17; LXXIII 10 f.; see also Sūra CIX entitled *al-Kāfirūn*), but later the Muslims are ordered to keep apart from them (Sūra III, 114, also 27), to defend themselves from their attacks and even to take the offensive against them (Sūra II, 186 and elsewhere). In most passages the reference is to unbelievers in general, who are threatened with God's punishment and Hell [cf. the article D̲J̲AHANNAM].

In the literature of Tradition also the *ḥadīt̲h̲*s—with minute elaboration in details—deal partly with the fate of the *kāfir* on the day of judgement and his punishment in hell, and partly with the believer's attitude towards him. For the rest they reflect the great controversy in early Islam on the question whether a Muslim should be considered a *kāfir* for committing a "major sin" (cf. al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Kit. al-Īmān*, Bāb 22). Thus we find *ḥadīt̲h̲*s such as: "If a Muslim charges a fellow Muslim with *kufr*, he is himself a *kāfir*, if the accusation should prove untrue"; or "The reproach of *kufr* is equivalent to murder" etc. Nevertheless, *kāfir* in theological polemics is a fairly frequent term for the Muslim protagonist of the opposite view (see further TAKFĪR).

Eternal damnation for the *kāfir* has remained an

established dogma in Islam. In the dogmatic controversies of the early centuries the reasons were discussed for which a Muslim could be identical with a *kāfir* and have to suffer eternal punishment. The most tolerant is the view of the Murdji'a that all the *Ahl al-Ḳibla*, even if they commit a mortal sin (*kabīra*) are to be considered believers and their ultimate fate is to be left to God. The most striking contrast to this is the strict view of Khāridjīs (and Ibāḍīs) that every Muslim who dies with a mortal sin—and this means with them every sin which has not been repented of—on his conscience is to be considered just a *kāfir*. For this special case the Muʿtazila assume an intermediate position between believer and unbeliever, the so-called "rejected" *fāsiḳ* [cf. the article ĪMĀN]. According to Nallino, in the *Riv. degli Studi orientali*, vii, 436 ff., the names Muʿtazila, Murdji'ā, etc. [*q.v.*] are probably closely connected with their attitude on this point.

According to the *Lisān al-ʿArab*, vi. 459 f., the following kinds of unbelief are distinguished: 1) *kufr al-inkār* = neither recognizing nor acknowledging God; 2) *kufr al-djuḥūd* = recognizing God, but not acknowledging Him with words, that is remaining an unbeliever in spite of one's better knowledge; 3) *kufr al-muʿānada* = recognizing God and acknowledging Him with words but remaining an unbeliever (obdurate) out of envy or hatred; 4) *kufr al-nifāḳ* = outwardly acknowledging, but at heart not recognizing God and thus remaining an unbeliever, that is being an hypocrite [cf. MUNĀFIḲ]. Cf. the modernist Muḥammad ʿAbduh's opinion on *kufr al-niʿam*, *kufr khāṣṣ*, *al-Kufr djuḥūd al-ḥaḳḳ*, etc. in his *Tafsīr*, ii, 49, 102, iii, 20, iv, 11.

In the systematic *Fiḳh* books the *kuffār* are discussed in the following passages: 1) in the *Kitāb al-Ṭahāra*. For the opinion deduced from Sūra IX, 28 that the unbeliever is unclean, we find all views represented, from the strictest to the most tolerant; just as on all questions of purity, the strictest is the Shīʿa which reckons the unbeliever among its *dah nadjāsat*; but on this point al-Nawawī, for example, was particularly lenient; he considers the believer and unbeliever equal as regards purity. The *Ahl al-Kitāb* [*q.v.*] are usually regarded more leniently than other *Kuffār*; for their benefit for example the questions of the *dhabā'iḥ* and of *munākaḥa* with Muslims are discussed.—2) In the *Kitāb al-Djihād* (*wa'l-Siyar*). The *djihād* [*q.v.*] against the unbeliever inhabitants of the *Dār al-Ḥarb* [*q.v.*] is a *farḍ ʿala 'l-kifāya*. The *Ahl al-Kitāb* again occupy a special position as by paying *djizya* and *kharādj* [*q.v.*] they become *dhimmīs* [see DHIMMA] and can receive *amān* [*q.v.*] These categories of unbelievers in the *Dār al-Islām* called *dhimmī* and *musta'min* have a legal claim to protection. Another class also distinguished from the mass of the *kāfirūn* are the renegades [see MURTADD] for whom the law prescribes death, with the opportunity first of obeying a demand to return to Islām. The others, the unbelievers proper, who in this sense are also called *kāfirūn aṣliyyūn* (or *mushrikūn*, in the narrower sense) have only to expect death or slavery [see ʿABD] if they fall as prisoners of war into the hands of Muslims; if they are fortunate, they may be exchanged or released. (In many cases, *e.g.*, in the gradual advance of Islam into Africa, the distinction between renegades and pagans was difficult to ascertain and there are writings extant which deal specially with this question, cf. Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī, *al-Iʿlām bi-Ḳawāṭiʿ al-Islām*, lith. 1293).—3) In several further points the law discriminates between *kuffār* and believers; the very strict interpretation of the law is however in practice only held by a small minority.

To understand the historical development in the attitude of Islam to the unbeliever, it should be observed that it was settled in the early centuries not so much by religious as by political and social conditions. Even down to the time of the Crusades there prevailed in Islam a tolerance towards the unbeliever, especially the *Ahl al-Kitāb*, such as is impossible to imagine in contemporary Christendom. We find for example Christians in the highest official positions. In this early period there is no question of any religious fanaticism towards unbelievers. It was only aroused and nourished by the repeated wars with unbelievers (Crusades, wars with the Turks). War-psychology, on the other hand, at the time of the wars between Persia and Turkey could even bring it about that the Persians were called *kuffār* in Turkish *fetwās* etc. (see Pečewi, i, 311, 319), a name which the Turks themselves had applied to them in the proclamations of the Mahdī of the Sūdān.

Since in the modern period the trend of affairs has apparently been quite in the opposite direction, and Muslims have been more and more impeded in carrying out measures against the *kuffār* by the political decline of Islam and the rise of the unbelieving nations (pressure of the Powers, capitulations, etc.), the very feeling of impotence in face of these facts may have contributed not a little to the strengthening of hatred and to periodical manifestations of it (in massacres etc.). This also explains the grotesque caricature of the *kāfir*, which has sometimes been found in the popular imagination at the present day (see Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 48 f.) and which is connected with the ideas of the Arch-Kāfir, Dadjdjāl [*q.v.*] who bears *k-f-r* on his forehead (cf. I. Goldziher, in *Der Islam*, xi, 178).

It may also be due to the hatred of the Franks (and to dogmatic squabbles) that *kāfir* had developed into a term of abuse, so frequent in the Turkish form *gʿawr* (the Persian *geber* [see DJĀBIR] is said to be the same), although in theory it is (*ZDMG*, lviii, 562) affirmed that the Muslim commits a punishable offence if he says to the Christian or Jew: "Thou unbeliever". From the Turkish the word *kāfir* has entered into most Slavonic languages. The Spanish *cafre* and the French *cafard* also go back to *kāfir* or *kuffār*. (Cf. Erwin Rosen [*i.e.* Erwin Carlé], *Cafard, Ein Drama aus der Fremdenlegion in 4 Akten*, Munich 1914). In two cases *kāfir* has actually become a proper name, the name of a people, the Kaffirs, and of a country, Kāfiristān [*q.v.*].

Kāfir and *kufr* underwent a special development of meaning in the terminology of mysticism. Compare, for example, the well-known verse of Abū Saʿīd [*q.v.*]: "So long as belief and unbelief are not perfectly equal, no man can be a true Muslim", with the various explanations given in Muḥammad Aʿlā, *Dict. of Technical Terms* (ed. Sprenger, etc.), s.v., according to one of which *kufr* is just the equivalent of *īmān-i ḥaḳīḳī*.

Bibliography: In addition to the sources already quoted above, see for the Old Arab poetry *Ztschr. d. Dtsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xliv, 544.—On the development of *k f r* in Syriac s. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, i, 1798 f., in Aramaic: Levy, *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim*, p. 381 and his *Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim*, ii, 383 ff.—For the literature of Tradition the whole material is available in the *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane*

of Prof. A. J. Wensinck, who kindly called my attention to the *ḥadīth*s quoted above (cf. *Handbook*, s.v. *Kāfir, Kufr*). Dogmatic: al-Māturīdī, *Sharḥ al-Fiḳh al-Akbar* (Ḥayderābād 1321), 2 f., 9 et *passim*; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Faṣl fī 'l-Milal wa 'l-Niḥal* (Cairo 1320), iii, 142 ff.; Houtsma, *De Strijd over het Dogma in den Islam tot op el-Ashʿari*, 16 ff.; Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, 101, 182 f., 202, 205; idem, *Richtungen*, 138, 156, 163, 179; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekkanische Sprichwörter und Redensarten*, 60, note.—For other classifications of *Kuffār* see Muḥ. Aʿlā, *Dict. of Techn. Terms*, s.v. (and following him, Hughes, *Dict. of Islam*, s.v. *Kāfir*); cf. also al-Djurdjānī, *al-Taʿrīfāt* ed. Flügel, s.v. *Īmān*.—For *Kuffār* in *Fiḳh*: Goldziher, *Die Ẓāhiriten*, 59 ff.; idem, *Vorlesungen*, 182; Juynboll, *Handb. d. islām. Gesetzes*, 173.—Historical: Goldziher, *Vorlesungen*, 183 f.; Becker, *Christentum und Islam*, 15 ff.; Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islâms* (Heidelberg 1922), 28 ff., especially 47 ff. On the so-called *Kuffār al-Turk*, of whom Barhebraeus also speaks (*Chronicon*, ed. Bruns u. Kirsch, Leipzig 1789, 324), cf. Steinschneider, *Polem. u. apologet. Literatur in arabischer Sprache*, 296.—*Kāfir* in European languages: Miklosich, *Die türkischen Elemente in den südost- und osteuropäischen Sprachen*, in *Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie*, xxxvii, (1888), 68, 154; Dozy and Engelmann, *Gloss. des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe*, Leiden 1869, 245; Diez, *Etymolog. Wörterb. der roman. Sprachen*, 5. Ausg., Bonn 1887, 435; Lammens, *Remarques sur les mots français dérivés de l'arabe*, Beirut, 64 f.; Yule-Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*[2] (1903), s.v. *Caffer*.—On the Mystics cf. now also Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, Paris 1922, 23, and idem, *La passion d'al-Hosayn ibn-Mansour al-Hallaj*, Paris 1922, p. 99 of the Index. *Kāfir, Kufr, Takfīr* and *Ikfār* have often interested Muslim writers, and there are many titles in Brockelmann, for instance *al-Adjwiba al-fākhira raddan ʿan al-milla al-kāfira, Risāla fī ṭāʿat al-kāfir, Risāla fī muṣāḥabat al-kuffār, Risāla fi'l-kufr wa 'l-īmān, Djamʿ alfāẓ al-kufr, Kashf al-ḍarar ʿamman nakaḥa wa-kafar, Risāla fī takfīr al-shīʿa, Tanbīh al-ghabī ʿalā takfīr Ibn al-ʿArabī, al-Khiṣāl al-mukaffira wa 'l-dhunūb al-muḳaddama wa 'l-muʾakhkhara, Takfīr al-kabāʾir wa 'l-nāfiya, Ikfār al-rawāfiḍ, Risāla fī lafẓ al-kufr wa 'l-ikfār wa 'l-takfīr*

(W. Björkman)

KĀFIRISTĀN ("land of the unbelievers"), the name of a mountainous region of the Hindu Kush massif in north-eastern Afghānistān, until 1896 very isolated and politically independent, but since the Afghān conquest of that date and the introduction of Islam known as Nūristān ("land of light").

Some older European writers mentioned what might be termed a "greater Kāfiristān", comprising such regions as Kāfiristān in the restricted sense (see below), Laghmān, Čitral, Swāt, Badjawr, Gilgit, etc. This corresponds roughly with the mediaeval Islamic region of Bolōr (the Po-lo of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims, Bolor of Marco Polo), which seems to have extended as far as Baltistān on the borders of Kashmīr and Tibet; the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (end of the 4th/10th century), tr. Minorsky, 121, 369-70, describes Bolōr as a vast country ruled by the Bulūrīn-Shāh who was a Child of the Sun. Modern usage restricts Kāfiristān to the region lying roughly between latitude 35°-36° N. and longitude 70°-71°30′ E., bounded on the west by the Pandjhīr River valley; on the east by the mountain range separating the Kunar-Bashgali valley from Čitrāl (sc. the modern Afghān-Pakistani border); on the north by the mountains forming the watershed between the rivers of Kāfiristān draining southwards and those of Mindjān and Badakhshān draining northwards to the Oxus; and on the south by the Kābul River valley. This last southern fringe of Kāfiristān, the regions of Laghmān and Kunar (called by the Afghāns *Kāfiristān-i suflā*), is ethnically Afghān and Pashto-speaking and forms the hinterland of Djalālābād. It is the more northerly region (*Kāfiristān-i ʿulyā*) which is Kāfiristān proper, comprising from west to east the basins of the Alishang and Alingar, of the Pēč or Praisun and the Waigal, and of the Bashgal; above these steep-sided river valleys the Hindu Kush mountains rise almost to 20,000 feet. The inaccessibility of the region had made it a refuge area for a very old group of Indo-European peoples, probably mixed with an older substratum, and for a distinctive group of Indo-Iranian languages, the Kāfirī ones, which form part of the wider Dardic group [see AFGHĀNISTĀN, ii, Ethnography, and DARDIC and KĀFIR LANGUAGES].

The enduring paganism of the local peoples and their imperviousness to the Islam which came largely to surround them, account for the name Kāfiristān, although an influence from the district names within Kāfiristān of Katwar or Kator and the ethnic designation Kati has been suggested. The distinction of "wearers of black" (Pers. *Siyāh-pūsh*, Pto. *Torkāfir*), comprising five sub-tribes speaking Kati, and "wearers of white" (Pers. *Safīd-pūsh*, Pto. *Spīnkāfir*), comprising the Prasungeli, Wangeli, Wamais and Ashkuns, is an old one, but does not seem to have any scientific or ethnological basis. Anthropologically, the Kāfirs are dolichocephalic, with abundant, usually dark, hair, but with a noticeable strain of blue-eyed blonds. Whence popular tales that the Kāfirs are descendants of Alexander the Great's troops; a deputation came to Sir William Macnaghten in 1839 at Djalālābād during the First Afghān-British War, claiming kinship with the British troops.

Parts of Kāfiristān were in pre-Christian times probably part of the Greek satrapy of Paropamisa and inhabited by a people called the Kambodjas, mentioned in the Aśokan inscriptions. Alexander the Great campaigned in the Kunar valley en route for India (see Sir Thomas Holdich, *The gates of India*, London 1910, 102-4). Then, in early Christian times, it came within the Kushan kingdom and the Buddhist province of Kapiśa, so that southern Kāfiristān, the region known as Lamakān, later Lamghān, was strongly Buddhist, as the survival there of stupas attests (see L. Edelberg, *Fragments d'un stûpa dans la vallée du Kunar en Afghanistan*, in *Arts Asiatiques*, iv/3 (1957), 199-206). It is probable that at this time the ethnic Kāfirs occupied a wider geographical area than in more recent times, but were pushed northwards into the mountain fastnesses.

The Muslims only reached the borders of Kāfiristān through the extension of Ṣaffārid rule to the Kābul and Pandjhīr River valleys (later 3rd/9th century), and then through the establishment of the Ghaznawid sultanate in eastern Afghānistān. It is in the Ghaznawid historian Bayhaḳī that the occurence of the name Kator/Katwar seems first to arise, when Sulṭān Masʿūd b. Maḥmūd is mentioned in connection with the *Kwtr* (424/1033 or 425/1034) (*Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ, Tehran 1324/1945, 407, tr. Arends, *Istorya Mas'uda*[2], Moscow 1969, 504).

Mas'ūd's father, the great Maḥmūd of Ghazna, had previously led an expedition in 417/1020-1 against the lion-worshipping infidels of what Gardīzī calls the Nūr and Ḳīrāt valleys, the first name possibly to be connected with the modern place-name Nūrgal in the lower Kunar valley, *i.e.*, southeastern Kāfiristān (*K. Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Nāẓim, Berlin 1928, 78-9, tr. Bosworth, in *East and West*, N.S. xvi (1966), 341-2; cf. Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, (Cambridge 1931, 74-5, and Beveridge's Appendix X to her tr. of the *Bābur-nāma*, xxiii-xxiv).

Marco Polo mentions the land of the Pasciai idolators, ten days' journey south of Badakhshān, which may refer to the Kāfirs as much as to the Pashaʾīs proper of the south-western fringes of Kāfiristān; a 10th/16th century source, the account of the Muslim expedition of 990/1582 (see below), shows that some of the so-called Kāfirs of that time were in fact Pashaʾī speakers. It is clear, however, that Marco Polo never visited this area himself, but must have relied on reports of the Mongol general Neküder's march from Badakhshān to Čitrāl and Kashmīr across the Kāfiristān mountains in c. 658/1260 (see Yule, *The book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian*, London 1871, i, 155; Cordier, *Notes and addenda to Sir Henry Yule's edition*, London 1920, 23, 25).

En route for his Indian campaign in 800/1398, Tīmūr acceded to the complaints of the people of Andarāb about the depredations of the pagan "Kators and Siyāh-pūsh", and led an expedition via the Khāwak Pass into western Kāfiristān. Some of the Kāfirs are said to have accepted Islam, but this can only have been a temporary conversion; an important part of his troops was ambushed, and he finally retreated (*Malfūẓāt-i Tīmūrī*, in Elliott and Dowson, *The history of India as told by its own historians*, London 1866-77, iii, 400-8). The Tīmūrid Maḥmūd Mīrzā b. Abī Saʿīd (d. 900/1495) is said to have campaigned twice in Kāfiristān, gaining thereby the title of *Ghāzī*, and Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dughlāt, the future conqueror of Kashmīr, led a raid in 934/1527-8 into what he calls "Bulūristān" (*Bābur-nāma*, tr. A. S. Beveridge, London 1912-21, i, 46; Muḥammad Ḥaydar, *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī, a history of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, tr. E. Denison Ross and N. Elias, London 1895, 384-6). Bābur gives a valuable geographical description of southern Kāfiristān, with emphasis on its rich fruits and on the wine produced by the Kāfirs, who exported it to Badjawr. He also speaks of Muslim *nimčas* or half-breeds, who were probably converted Kāfirs and who still mixed with the Kāfirs, living at Čaghānsarāy at the confluence of the Kunar and Pēč Rivers (*Bābur-nāma*, tr. i, 210-14, 371-2). Bābur himself made various incursions via the Lamghān district into the southern fringes of Kāfiristān. In the winter of 913/1507-8 he crossed the Bād-i Pīsh or Bād-i Pakht Pass linking the lower Alishang and Kābul River valleys, causing an inscription to be carved above the pass commemorating his transit (the existence in modern times of this inscription has been noted by several observers, but it has not so far been scientifically described); in 926/1520 at the Bād-i Pīsh Pass again, he received the submission of certain Kāfirī chiefs, who brought gifts of wine (*Bāburnāma*, tr. i, 209, 343-4, 421-3).

In the Mughal period, the *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī* laconically mentions that in 990/1582 the Emperor Akbar, whilst at Djalālābād, sent an expedition against the infidels of Katwar (Elliott and Dowson, *op. cit.*, v, 425). This detail can now be amply supplemented by the account in 16 *dāstāns* or epic narratives of the Ḳāḍī Muḥammad Sālim, who accompanied this expedition as a preacher and encourager of the Muslim troops; Ḳāḍī Muḥammad's work has been edited by G. Scarcia as the *Ṣifat-nāma-yi Darvīš Muḥammad Ḫān-i Ġāzī, cronaca di una crociata musulmana contro i Kafiri di Laġmān nell' anno* 1582 (Rome 1965). The leader of the expedition, Muḥammad Ḥākim (d. 992/1584 or 994/1586), was Akbar's younger brother and governor of Kābul, and was also a strong adherent of the missionary-minded Naḳshbandiyya Ṣūfī order. The area attacked was the south-western part of Kāfiristān, including the lower basin of the Alishang and Alingar Rivers, where the Muslim forces established various strongpoints against the Kāfirs.

After this period, there is substantially silence until the 19th century, when British travellers and officials began to take an interest in Kāfiristān as a still-independent buffer-zone between British India and the amirate of Afghānistān. Thus Mountstuart Elphinstone described the topography of the land of the "Seeapoosh Caufirs, a strange and interesting people", and gave the pioneering account of the Kāfirs' customs and social organization, based on the reports of a Muslim envoy to Kamdesh in the Bashgal valley (*An account of the kingdom of Caubul, and its dependencies, in Persia, Tartary, and India* [3], London 1842, i, 130-2, ii, 373-87). D. Masson also wrote on Kāfiristān in his *Narrative of various journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan and the Punjab*, London 1842. Col. J. Biddulph, like these previous writers, did not know Kāfiristān at first-hand, though he was familiar with the adjacent regions of Čitrāl, Hunza, Gilgit, etc., and had received deputations of Kāfirs in Čitrāl in 1878. In his *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh* (Calcutta 1880), he devoted a chapter to the "Siah Posh", in which he included the Kalash of southern Čitrāl, still today pagan in part, with considerable ethnological comment, and gave specimens of the Bashgali (*i.e.*, Kati) language (*op. cit.*, 126-33, cxlv-cliii). The first European to penetrate deep into Kāfiristān personally was Col. Lockhart, who was heading a mission in 1885-6 to examine the Hindu Kush passes and who spent some days amongst the Katis of the upper Bashgal valley. Soon afterwards, Capt. (later Sir) George Robertson, later British Agent in Gilgit, spent almost a year (1890-1) amongst the Katis at Kamdesh in the upper Bashgal valley adjacent to Čitral; his account of the Kāfirs still in their pre-Muslim phase of existence, *The Kāfirs of the Hindu-Kush* (London 1896), remains a classic of ethnology.

The paganism of the Kāfirs was a mixture of polytheism and animism. The *Ṣifat-nāma* of Ḳāḍī Muḥammad Sālim mentions three of the gods whom the Kāfirs invoked against the Muslims, sc. Pāndād, Sh.r.w.y. and Lāmandī, and Scarcia has suggested a possible connexion with the cult of Śiva, in view of the long exposure of the Kābul River valley to Indian cultural and religious influences (*op. cit.*, CLL ff.). Robertson says that the Kāfir pantheon was headed by Imra the creator god, from whom sprang other gods such as Gīsh the war god, the goddess Dīzanē and many lesser ones; there was also much emphasis on demons and evil spirits who needed constant propitation. The politico-social system was locally-based, tribal and oligarchical. Tribal affairs were directed by a council of senior clan headmen (*jasts*), and 13 magistrates (*ur*, *urir*) were elected annually for the actual conduct of government. Status was measured by wealth, symbolized

by the giving of feasts and potlatches, and by prowess in warfare, especially when the killing of Muslims was involved. As well as the full tribesmen, there was a class of poor freemen, mainly herdsmen; a class of artisans, the *baris*; and a small slave class, who were captives from warfare and who were considered to be ritually impure. The status of Kāfirī women was low, with polygamy as the norm; marriage was exogamous outside the clan. Noteworthy as part of the material culture of the Kāfirs was the carving of wood into images and into the characteristic stools and chairs. Specimens of these may be seen in the Kābul Museum and in western ones like the Linden-Museum of Stuttgart; and see on the craft, R. Henkl, *The wooden sculptures of Kafiristan*, in *JRAS Bengal*, Letters, xvi/1 (1950), 65-72, and J. Auboyer, *The art of Afghanistan*, London 1968, Pls. 134-40.

In the 1893 Kābul agreement between Sir Mortimer Durand and the Afghān amir ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān [*q.v.*], Kāfiristān was left outside the British Indian territory, and the amir in 1895-6 led an expedition into Kāfiristān, bringing the territory under Afghān sovereignty and implanting Islam amongst the pagan Kāfirs (see Mir Munshi Sultan Mahomed Khan, *The life of Abdur Rahman*, London 1900, i, 199-202). Today, most of Kāfiristān, now Nūristān, falls administratively within the provinces or *wilāyat*s of Laghmān and Kunar, with Mirtalam in the lower Alingar valley as an important centre; the population of the region has been estimated at between 40,000 and 60,000.

Bibliography: Most of the detailed studies have been cited within the article. Scarcia's edition of the *Ṣifat-nāma* of Ķāḍī Muḥammad Sālim, CVI-CLVI, contains an extensive account of the early history of Kāfiristān. For geography and topography, see W. Barthold, *Istoriko-geografičeskii obzor Irana*, St. Petersburg 1903, 56-7; M. Voigt, *Kafiristan*, Breslau 1933; and J. Humlum *et alii*, *La géographie de l'Afghanistan, étude d'un pays aride*, Copenhagen 1959, 91-2, 107-10. For a synthesis of the information of Robertson and the earlier writers with recent ethnological and anthropological fieldwork in Kāfiristān, see P. Snoy, *Die Kafiren, Formen der Wirtschaft und geistigen Kultur*, diss. Frankfurt a/M 1962 (with detailed bibliography on all aspects of the region), and also A. R. Palwal, *History of former Kafiristan*, 10 parts in *Afghanistan*, xxi-xxiv (Kabul 1968-71). Snoy, *Nuristan und Mungan*, in *Tribus*, *Veröffentlichungen des Linden-Museums*, no. 14 (Stuttgart 1965), 101-48, repr. in *Sonderdrucke der Mitglieder der Südasien-Institut der Universität Heidelberg*, no. 8, deals with the material culture and artifacts of these two regions and their economic relations. Amongst historical and general works on Afghānistān which include sections on Kāfiristān or refer to the region, see V. M. Masson and V. A. Romodin, *Istoriya Afganistana*, Moscow 1964-5, index; D. N. Wilbur *et alii*, *Afghanistan, its people, its society, its culture*, New Haven 1962, 50-2; M. Klimburg, *Afghanistan, das Land im historischen Spannungsfeld Mittelasiens*, Vienna 1966, 133-4; and W. K. Fraser-Tytler, *Afghanistan, a study of political developments in Central and Southern Asia* [3], London 1967, 5, 57-60.

(C. E. Bosworth)

KĀFIRKŪB, which is recorded only in the plural form *kāfirkūbāt*, is formed from the Arab word *kāfir* [*q.v.*] (impious, unfaithful) and the present participle of the Persian verb *kūbīdan* (to strike, to crush). It denotes a club, literally a "heathen-basher". The term is testified, in ʿIrāķ, from the end of the 2nd/8th century, by Arab writers and chroniclers: al-Djāḥiẓ, Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, etc. (see Bibl. below), but al-Ṭabarī already cites it when describing the incidents arising in 66/685 during the revolt of al-Mukhtār [*q.v.*], and his Shīʿite followers, al-Khashabiyya [*q.v.*], who were given the name because they fought with *khushub* (clubs; see De Goeje, *Glossary to al-Ṭabari*, CCXXI, CDLV); however, other interpretations of the name of this sect have been put forward (see *TA*). According to Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, 343, the appellation *kāfirkūbāt* originated on the contrary in the uprising of Abū Muslim's [*q.v.*] followers in Khurāsān: *indjafal al-nās ʿalā Abī Muslim min Harāt . . . fa-tawāfaw djamīʿan musawwidī 'l-thiyāb wa-ḳad sawwadū anṣāfa al-khushub allatī maʿahum wa-sammawhā kāfirkūbāt*: "the men converged on Abū Muslim from Herāt. . . they arrived dressed entirely in black and had also blackened the short clubs they called *kāfirkūbāt*".

It should be noted that this term does not appear in such Arab dictionaries as the *LA*, *Ķāmūs*, *TA*, etc., nor in Desmaison's French-Persian dictionary. Nor does it seem to have been used outside the ʿIrāķi sphere. It is not to be found in the works of Egyptian writers such as al-Maķrīzī or al-Ķalķashandī, who use the term *dabbūs* for a club; Ibn Khaldūn does not employ it nor does Dozy mention it. It would thus seem to be a term born of a particular period and in a relatively circumscribed area which swiftly became obsolete.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ed. Sandūbī, i, 142 (in an anonymous verse); idem, *Rasāʾil*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1384/1964, i, 20 (in a list of arms carried by the Turks); Abū Hanīfa Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, ed. Cairo 1330, 343, [2]Cairo 1960 (in connection with the uprising of Abū Muslim's followers); Ṭabarī, ii, 694, 1. 15 (the year 66/685, in connection with al-Khashabiyya), iii, 1686, l. 13, 1587, l. 4, 1689, 1. 17 (the year 251/865, in connection with the war waged by the pro-al-Amīn ʿAyyārūn of Baghdād against al-Maʾmūn); Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 114 = ed. Pellat, iv, § 2328 where *kāfirkūbāt* has been substituted in an anecdote concerning Umm Salama, the wife of Caliph al-Saffāḥ; *Aghānī*, ed. Dār al-kutub, iv, 346 (another anecdote concerning the same caliph); De Goeje, *Glossary to Ṭabarī*, CDLV; I. Friedlaender, *The heterodoxies of the Shiites*, in *JAOS* (xxix), 1908, 93-5.

(M. Chouémi)

ĶĀFIYA (A.), plur. *ḳawāfin*, term in prosody, meaning "rhyme". Goldziher (*Abh. zur Arabischen Philologie*, Leiden 1896, i, 83-105; cf. R. Blachère, *Deuxième contribution*, in *Arabica* vi (1959), 141) has shown that the word meant originally "lampoon", then "line of poetry", "poem" and, that these earlier senses survived in Islamic times after the word had also come to be used in the technical sense of "rhyme". He derives *ḳāfiya* from *ḳafan*, "nape of the neck" (and the corresponding verb *ḳafā*, "to hit the nape of the neck") and draws attention to passages in which lampoons and curses are compared to dangerous missiles wounding the head or other parts of the body. The native lexicographers connect the term in various ways with the verb *ḳafā* in the sense of "to follow" (*e.g.*, it "follows upon every line of poetry"). They believe that "rhyme" is the original meaning and that "line of poetry", "poem" are secondary (see Freytag, *Darstellung*, 296-7).

The theory of the *ḳāfiya* is usually considered a special science distinct from the *ʿilm al-ʿarūḍ* or

"science of metre" [see ʿARŪḌ]. It teaches how verses should end as regards consonants and vowels and which letters can be used as rhyme consonants and which not.

Many authorities attribute to Khalīl b. Aḥmad[*q.v.*] a definition according to which the *ḳāfiya* comprises the group of consonants beginning with the vowelled consonant (one version says: the vowel of the vowelled consonant) immediately preceding the last two quiescent consonants of the verse, but various other definitions are attributed to him as well as to later authorities (Ibn Kaysān, *K. talḳīb al-ḳawāfī*, 48, 54, asserts that Khalīl b. Aḥmad used the term *ḳāfiya* in the sense of "rhyme consonant"). According to the Arab view a verse always ends in a quiescent consonant, since they also consider as such the *alif wāw*, and *yāʾ* of prolongation. A distinction is made, however, between a *ḳāfiya* in which the rhyme consonant is not followed by a letter of prolongation, called *ḳāfiya muḳayyada*, "fettered *ḳāfiya* (as in *yaḳtul*), and a *ḳāfiya* to which such a letter of prolongation is attached (as in *yaḳtulū, yaḳtulī, yaḳtulā*). In the case of *ū* and *ī* the *wāw* and *yāʾ* of prolongation are usually not written and their presence (in a vowelled text) is marked only by a *ḍamma* or *kasra* added to the rhyme consonant. This type of *ḳāfiya* as well as the various types where the rhyme consonant is followed by a short vowel and a vowelled or quiescent *hāʾ* is called *ḳāfiya muṭlaḳa*, "loose *ḳāfiya*" (some speak of the *rawī muḳayyad* and the *rawī muṭlaḳ*, the "fettered rhyme consonant" and the "loose rhyme consonant").

The consonants of the *ḳāfiya* are six in number: (1) the *rawī* or rhyme letter which, since it occurs in every type of *ḳāfiya*, is considered its principal consonant after which famous poems are often named, *e.g.*, the *Lāmiyya* of al-Shanfarā, the *Tāʾiyya* of ʿUmar b. al-Fāriḍ; (2) as an annex to the *rawī*, the *waṣl* or *ṣila*, *i.e.*, a letter of prolongation following the *rawī* (as noted above the *alif* is the only one that is always written in this capacity). The *waṣl* can also consist of a vowelless *hāʾ* preceded by a short vowel (as in *yaḳtuluh, yaḳtulih, yaḳtulah*) or a *hāʾ* followed by a letter of prolongation and preceded by a short vowel; (3) the *khurūdj*, the letter of prolongation following the *hāʾ* as *waṣl* (as in *yaḳtuluhū, yaḳtuluhā, taʿṣihī*, etc.). Being a letter of prolongation it is considered quiescent, but indicated only in the case of *alif*; (4) the *ridf*, *i.e.*, the *wāw* and *yāʾ* immediately preceding the *rawī* as letters of prolongation or to mark the diphtongs *aw* and *ay*, and the *alif* as letter of prolongation in the same position; (5) the *taʾsīs*, an *alif* of prolongation placed before the *rawī* and separated from it by a consonant, the *dakhīl*, which may be changed at will. In case the *taʾsīs* and the *rawī* belong to different words, the second word should be a separate pronoun or a preposition with a pronominal suffix (as in "*annahā hiyā, badā liyā*, but cf. *Luzūm*, 11-2; Tanūkhī, *K. al-Ḳawāfī*, 84-5); (6) the *dakhīl* just mentioned.

The vowels of the *ḳāfiya* are likewise six in number: (1) the *madjrā* or *mudjrā*, the vowel of the *rawī*; (2) the *nafādh*, the vowel of the *hāʾ* serving as *waṣl*; (3) the *tawdjīh*, the vowel before the quiescent *rawī* (according to others also before the vowelled *rawī*); (4) the *ḥadhw*, the vowel immediately before the *ridf*; (5) the *ishbāʿ*, the vowel of the *dakhīl* (there is some confusion over this term since it is sometimes limited to the vowel of the *dakhīl* in a *ḳāfiya muṭlaḳa*, and is also reported to have been applied to the short vowel preceding the *rawī* in a *ḳāfiya muṭlaka* without *taʾsīs*); (6) the *rass*, the vowel immediately before the *alif* of the *taʾsīs* (always *a* of course).

The two quiescent consonants of the *rawī* may be separated by as many as four vowels. Thus five different types can be distinguished: (1) the *mutakāwis* in which the two quiescent consonants are separated by four vowelled consonants (as in *faw[ḳa ḳadami]h*); (2) the *mutarākib* in which three vowelled consonants stand between the two quiescents (as in *fī[djabali]y*); (3) the *mutadārik* in which two vowelled consonants separate the two quiescents (as in *ḳad[faʿa]l*); (4) the *mutawātir* in which there is one vowelled consonant between the two quiescents (as in *bā[li]y*); (5) the *mutarādif* in which the two quiescent consonants come in immediate succession. This happens in principle only in *ḳāfiya*s with a *ridf* (*ḳāl, layl.* etc.) and forms like *al-naḳr* are rare and not considered permissible by some scholars.

Two different types of *ḳāfiya* may not be used in one and the same poem, except in certain forms of the metres *sarīʿ* and (rarely) *kāmil* where *faʿlun* may alternate with *fāʿilun*. Nor are any changes allowed in five of the six consonants mentioned above (the *dakhīl* being the exception), and, generally speaking, in the vowels (see the exceptions noted below). Violations of these rules were designated at an early date by special terms on the meaning of which considerable uncertainty existed at first (see Bonebakker, *The Kitāb naḳd al-shiʿr*, Leiden 1956, Intro., 20-2, 25-6, 34-5; Blachère, *op. cit.*, 137-40, 149-50): (1) the *iḳwāʾ*, the change of the vowel *madjrā*. The older poets occasionally allow themselves to alternate *u* with *i* (see J. Fück, *ʿArabīya*, Paris 1955, 41; al-Akhfash al-Awsaṭ[*q.v.*]; *K. al-Ḳawāfī*, 42, suggests that this change was very common), and less frequently *u* or *i* with *a*. If, however, the *rawī* is followed by the letter *hāʾ* as *waṣl*, the *iḳwāʾ* seems to be rare (*Luzūm*, 32-3; but cf. *ʿIḳd*, v, 508); (2) the *ikfāʾ*, the substitution of a cognate letter for the *rawī*, *e.g.*, *nūn* for *mīm*, the substitution of a letter that is unrelated being sometimes designated by the special term *idjāza* or *idjāra* (for other interpretations of these terms see *ʿUmda*, i, 132-3, 143-4; Tanūkhī, *K. al-Ḳawāfī*, 134); (3) the *sinād*, a violation of rules applying to vowels and consonants that precede the *rawī*, namely (a) the *sinād al-tawdjīh*, the changing of the vowel immediately preceding the quiescent *rawī*, though the interchange of *u* and *i* is generally allowed and even the alternation of the *a* with the two others occurs frequently; (b) the *sinād al-ishbāʿ*, the changing of the vowel of the *dakhīl*, the alternation of the *u* with the *i* being a less serious defect than that of the *a* with the other two (especially in the case of a *ḳāfiya muḳayyada*, see *Luzūm*, 25-7, 31 and *Umda*, i, 138); (c) the *sinād al-ḥadhw*, the changing of the vowel immediately preceding the *ridf*. The *ḥadhw* and the *ridf* together form the long vowels *ū* and *ī* and the diphthongs *aw* and *ay*. One can alternate *ū* with *ī* and *aw* with *ay* (undesirable in the case of a *ḳāfiya muḳayyada* according to *Luzūm*, 28-9; cf. also Akhfash. *K. al-Ḳawāfī*, 15; Tanūkhī, *K. al-Ḳawāfī*, 90, 110-11), but other combinations, *e.g.*, *ī* with *ay* constitute a *sinād*; (d) the *sinād al-ridf*, the rhyming of a line that has a *ridf* with one that has not (though occasionally this happens with *aw* and *ay*, the *wāw* and the *yāʾ* being considered consonants in such cases; see *Luzūm*, 21-2 and Freytag, *op. cit.*, 313-4); (e) the *sinād al-taʾsīs*, the rhyming of a line that has *taʾsīs* with one that has not (though again it may happen that such a line is introduced in a poem without *taʾsīs*, especially in cases where the vowel of the *dakhīl* is *fatḥa*; see *Luzūm*, 20-1; Tanūkhī, *K. al-Ḳawāfī*, 130-1; and cf. Akhfash, *K. al-Ḳawāfī*, 15-6).

It should be noted, however, that no uniformity of opinion exists on the extent to which alternations of vowels are permissible (somewhat different rules apply to strophic poetry, see W. Hoenerbach, *Die vulgärarabische Poetik... des Ṣafiyaddīn Ḥillī*, Wiesbaden 1956, Intro., 22-3), and that the short vowel immediately preceding the *rawī* in a loose *ḳāfiya* (for which some adopt the term *is̲h̲bāʿ*) may alternate freely.

Two futher defects of the rhyme should be mentioned here, the *īṭāʾ* and the *taḍmīn* or *taṭmīm*. The *īṭāʾ* occurs when the same word in the same meaning is repeated in the *ḳāfiyas* of lines belonging to the same poem, though this repetition is permissible in cases where more than seven lines intervene, there is a change of theme, or cases where one of the two words has the article and the other not (for further details, including a stricter interpretation of what constitutes an *īṭāʾ* attributed to K̲h̲alīl, see Ak̲h̲fas̲h̲, *K. al-Ḳawāfī*, 55-64; *ʿIḳd*, v, 508; *Wāfī*, 242-3). The *taḍmīn*, "enjambement", occurs when one line runs into another in such a way that the end of the line only gives a complete sense when we add the beginning of the next (for further details see TAḌMĪN).

The above by no means covers all the defects of the rhyme and the terms for these defects listed by the critics. It also makes no mention of the various defects connected with the common practice of rhyming the first two hemistichs of a poem (see below). For further details see especially Ak̲h̲fas̲h̲, *K. al-Ḳawāfī*, 64-8; Tanūk̲h̲ī, *K. al-Ḳawāfī*, 65-8, 123-4, 135-6; *ʿUmda*, i, 149-54; *Wāfī*, 250-3.

In general the letters *alif*, *hāʾ*, *wāw*, and *yāʾ* cannot be used as *rawī*, unless they belong to the root of a verb or noun, important exceptions being the pronominal suffixes *-hu* (*-hi*) and *-hā* following a long vowel or a *sukūn*, the *wāw* and the *yāʾ* in the diphthongs *aw* and *ay*, and the *yāʾ* that is preceded by a long vowel or is itself vowelled, and the *yāʾ* marking long *ī* in a shortened *nisba* ending (*ʿAdī* for *ʿAdiyy*). Thus, for instance, the *hāʾ* in *ʿaṣāhū*, the *wāw* in *ramaw*, and the *yāʾ* in *irḍay* and in *fuʾādiyā* can be *rawī* though these letters are not part of the root, but the *alif* in *dak̲h̲alā* (inflexion of the dual of a verb), the *yāʾ* in *uḳtulī* and *kitābī* (inflexion of the feminine of a verb and pronominal suffix of a noun respectively), the *wāw* in *ḳatalū* (inflexion of the plural of a verb), and the *hāʾ* in *kitābuhū* (prenominal suffix of a noun) and in *raḥmah* (where the *hāʾ* replaces the feminine ending *t* of a noun) are *waṣl*. The *nūn* of the *tanwīn* and the second energetic form of the verb cannot be used either as *rawī* or as *waṣl*. But there is no agreement on these rules. Exceptions occur and letters belonging to the root, *e.g.*, the *hāʾ* in *ablah* from *b-l-h* and the *wāw* in *yaḥlū* from *ḥ-l-w*, can also be *waṣl*. Some prefer adopting the pronominal suffixes *-ka* and *-ki* of the second person singular and the *tāʾ* of the third person fem. sing. of the perfect tense as *waṣl* rather than as *rawī*, so that for instance *ḍarabat* rhymes with *katabat*, but not with *wazanat*. Where the poet doubles the rhyme consonant, adopts a second rhyme consonant, or imposes upon himself some other rule that is not prescribed by the theorists we have the figure *luzūm mā lā yalzam* [*q.v.*], also called *iltizām*, *iʿnāt*, or *tas̲h̲dīd*.

In the *ḳāfiya* the final syllables of word are often subject to changes, the most important of which are the following: (1) final short vowels are dropped or lengthened, the *tanwīn* disappearing at the same time (*zayd* or *zaydū* for *zaydun*, *al-nār* or *al-nārū* for *al-nāru*) (2) the *tāʾ* of the feminine ending may be changed into *hāʾ* and in that case the ending is dropped (*raḥmah* for *raḥmatun*); (3) in the *ḳāfiya muḳayyada* the vowel of the final letter may be transferred to the penultimate letter if it is unvowelled (*al-naḳur* for *al-naḳru* to avoid the unacceptable form *al-naḳr*); (4) a quiescent *hāʾ* may be added to verbal forms from which the last letter of the root has disappeared (*iḳtadih* for *iḳtadi*) and to the pronominal suffix of the first person singular; (5) the *hamza* at the end of a word may be replaced by a *wāw* or *yāʾ* of prolongation which may serve as *waṣl* (*hāzī* for *hāziʾ*). Ibn Kaysān, *Talḳīb*, 53-4, 60-1, draws attention to the musical qualities of the *taʾsīs*, the *ridf*, the *ṣila*, and the *k̲h̲urūd̲j̲* as vowels that can be lengthened in recitation and singing, thus marking clearly the end of a metrical unit. Others discuss in detail the practice of *tarannum*, *i.e.*, the lengthening of the final vowel in the *ḳāfiya muṭlaḳa* in singing, and three alternate modes of solemn recitation: (a) the method followed by the Ḥid̲j̲āzīs who pronounced these vowels as long even when there was no *tarannum*, (b) the practice of the tribe of Tamīm (according to Ak̲h̲fas̲h̲, *K. al-Ḳawāfī*, 105, also of Ḳays) who pronounced the final vowel with *tanwīn*, and (c) the rejection of final vowels, apparently even in cases where one of these three methods would violate the metrical pattern of the verse (see also Ak̲h̲fas̲h̲, *K. al-Ḳawāfī*, 12-3, 34-7; Freytag, *op. cit.*, 323-4, where specific terms for the long vowels are mentioned).

In all classical forms of poetry the same rhyme is maintained throughout the poem. Moreover, the rhyme also appears at the end of the first hemistich of the first line (except in the metre *rad̲j̲az*[*q.v.*] where there are no hemistichs), resulting often in a shortening or lengthening of its last foot to make it conform to the pattern of the last foot of the second hemistich. This practice is called *taṣrīʿ* and the critics note that some of the older poets omit the *taṣrīʿ* in the first line, but use it in some other line of the poem. They also quote early examples of the use of internal rhyme (see Ḳudāma, *Naḳd*, 14-9; for the possible connections between these examples and the post-classical forms of strophic poetry see E. García Gómez, *Una "pre-Muwaššaḥa"* in *Al-Andalus*, xxi, 1956, 406-14; E. Wagner, *Abū Nuwās*, Wiesbaden 1965, 227 ff.). The common term for internal rhyme is *tarṣīʿ*, but a number of other terms was introduced by later theorists to distinguish different and sometimes complicated patterns (see A. F. M. von Mehren, *Die Rhetorik der Araber*, Vienna 1853 [repr. Hildesheim 1970], 168-9, for definitions and examples of some of the most important terms). Other devices include the repetition at the beginning of the line of the rhyme word of the preceding line and the use of a double *ḳāfiya* throughout the poem, each *ḳāfiya* marking the end of a metrical pattern (see Mehren, *op. cit.*, 165, 173).

In keeping with the critics' view that each line of poetry should, as far as possible, contain a complete statement, all treatises on rhetoric give attention to questions of style and figures of speech that affect the choice of the rhyme word. Besides formulating some obvious conclusions on how to avoid stopgaps, the critics recommend structuring the line in such a way that the listener can almost predict the *ḳāfiya*. This may be achieved, for instance, by leading the hearer to anticipate the repetition of a word that has occurred earlier in the line or one of its paronyms, or by making some rhetorical device depend on the last word of the line, *e.g.*, *ḥarām*, "forbidden", in the *ḳāfiya* to create an antithesis with *muḥallal*, "declared lawful", earlier in the line (*tas̲h̲īm*, *taws̲h̲īḥ*,

irsād, see Mehren, *op. cit.*, 102-3; cf. also 161-4). Some authorities recommend basing the line, if possible, on a *ḳāfiya* one has selected in advance and Ṣafadī[*q.v.*] holds that in the *double entendre* (*tawriya*) the effect of the figure will be more striking if the homonym on which it depends comes only at the end (see Bonebakker, *Some early definitions of the tawriya*, The Hague 1966, 97). The *ḳāfiya* should not contain any expression from which an evil omen could be drawn.

Bibliography: Discussions of the *ḳāfiya* appear in almost every work on literary theory and criticism and it is impossible to offer a comprehensive bibliography. The following list, moreover, does not mention treatises and special monographs that have already been summarized in Western handbooks or in the article ʿARŪḌ.

Akhfash, *K. al-Ḳawāfī*, ed. ʿIzzat Ḥasan (Damascus, 1390/1970) (fundamental); Ḳudāma, *Naḳd al-shiʿr*, ed. Bonebakker (Leiden, 1956), 2, 7-9, 19-23, 96-9, 108-11, 140-2; Ibn Kaysān, *K. Talḳīb al-ḳawāfī*, ed. W. Wright in *Opuscula Arabica* (Leiden, 1859); Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, *ʿIyār al-shiʿr*, Cairo 1956, 5, 102-11, 127-8; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, ed. Aḥmad Amīn et al., v (Cairo, 1365/1946), 496-508; ʿAbd al-Bāḳī al-Tanūkhī, *K. al-Ḳawāfī*, ed. ʿUmar al-Asʿad and Muḥyiddīn Ramaḍān (Beirut, 1389/1970); Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *K. al-Ṣināʿatayn*, Cairo 71/1952, 375-88, 445-51; Marzūḳī, *Sharḥ dīwān al-ḥamāsa*, ed. Aḥmad Amīn and ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn (Cairo, 1371/1951-1373/1953), i, 9, 11; Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī, (*Sharḥ*) *Luzūm mā lā yalzam*, ed. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn and Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī (Cairo, n.d.), i, 5-51 (fundamental); Ibn Rashīḳ, *al-ʿUmda*, Cairo 1353/1934, i, 129-58, 164, ii, 3-5, 25-33, 54-7, 69-70, 292-3; ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥ. al-Khafādjī, *Sirr al-faṣāḥa*, Cairo, 1372/1953, 180-1, 183, 186-8, 210-5, 217-25; Tibrīzī, *al-Wāfī fi 'l-ʿarūḍ wa-'l-ḳawāfī*, ed. ʿUmar Yaḥyā and Fakhr al-Dīn Ḳabāwa (Aleppo, 1390/1970); Usāma b. Munḳidh, *al-Badīʿ fī naḳd al-shiʿr*, Cairo 1380/1960, 63-72, 116-20, 127-8; Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Mathal al-sāʾir*, Cairo 1358/1939, i, 242-6, 264-78, ii, 348-53, 359-61; Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣbaʿ, *Taḥrīr al-Taḥbīr*, Cairo 1383/1963, 116-8, 224-41, 263-7, 295-308, 316-20, 386, 391-2, 517-24, 527-31; idem, *Badīʿ al-Ḳurʾān*, Cairo 1377/1957, 36-7, 89-93, 100-2, 108-9, 227-38; Ḥāzim al-Ḳarṭādjannī, *Minhādj al-bulaghāʾ*, Tunis 1966, 206-7, 271-84, 285-6; Ibn Ḥidjdja, *Khizānat al-adab*, Cairo 1304/1886, 78-9, 100-2, 114-6, 119-21, 126-31, 169-70, 173, 234-5, 366, 370-1, 374-5, 422-3, 434-5, 438-9; Ibn Maʿṣūm, *Anwār al-rabīʿ*, Nadjaf 1388/1968-1389/1969, ii, 149-58, iii, 32-8, 45-51, 71-108, iv, 336-55, v, 181-4, 271-5, 333-7, vi, 93-100, 151-2, 162-5, 190-203, 249, 310-3 (the works by Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣbaʿ, Ibn Ḥidjdja, and Ibn Maʾṣūm supplement Mehren's *Rhetorik*); G. W. Freytag, *Darstellung der Arabischen Verskunst*, Bonn, 1830 (reprint Osnabrück 1968), 296-318 (etymologies of technical terms); Silvestre de Sacy, *Grammaire arabe*,[2] Paris 1831, ii, 651-61; D. Vernier, *Grammaire arabe*, Beirut 1891, 520-31; W. Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language* [3], Cambridge 1896-8, ii, 350-8, 368-73 (forms of words in rhyme); A. Trabulsi, *La critique poétique des Arabes jusqu'au Ve siècle de l'Hégire*, Damascus 1956, 177-85; Blachère, *Litt.*, 359-60, 264-5, 555-6, 683; H. Birkeland, *Altarabische Pausalformen*, Oslo 1940; H. Fleisch, *Traité de philologie arabe* (Beirut 1960), 192-3; M. C. Lyons and P. Cachia, *The Effect of Monorhyme on Arabic Poetic Production* in *Journal of Arabic Literature*, i (1970), 3-13; art. SADJʿ. (S. A. BONEBAKKER)

AL-ḲĀFIYADJĪ, MUḤYĪ AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD B. SULAYMĀN AL-ḤANAFĪ, 9th-15th century scholar and prolific writer on many subjects. Born in, or rather, after, 788/1386-87 in Ṣarūkhān [*q.v.*] in a place called Kökdjekī, apparently situated near Bergama as indicated by the additional *nisba* al-Barghamī, he came to Egypt after 830/1427 and was soon welcomed into the leading scholarly circles there. Čaḳmaḳ appointed him a professor in the Zāwiyat al-Ashraf Shaʿbān and later promoted him to the academic deanship (*mashyakhat al-tadrīs*) of Shaʿbān's Turba. The identical post at the Shaykhūniyya was given him by Īnāl in 858/1454. He was a successful teacher as indicated by the names of his students and also by the affection and esteem shown to him by al-Sakhāwī and al-Suyūṭī. He died on Friday morning, 4 Djumādā I 879/16 September 1474.

His *nisba*, Kāfiyadjī or Kāfiyādjī, was earned by his fondness for the *Kāfiya*, the famous grammatical treatise by Ibn al-Ḥādjib [*q.v.*]. A grammatical work, a commentary on the *Ḳawāʿid al-iʿrāb* of Ibn Hishām (Brockelmann, II, 29, S II, 18), was praised by al-Kāfiyadjī's biographers as his most important publication. But his interests were unusually wide, comprising, in addition to points of law and religion, the full range of the linguistic disciplines, history, the mathematical sciences and astronomy, and, above all, logic. His basic work on logic is a commentary on the *Tahdhīb* of al-Taftāzānī (Brockelmann, II, 278, also mss. Laleli 2592 and Bursa Haraççı 1378). His numerous treatises (often carrying the date of their composition at the end) are preserved to a large part but, with one exception, have been neither edited nor studied. Most of them are brief essays that focus on specific problems and try to organize the subject matter along general lines based on formal logic. As was noted by al-Sakhāwī, al-Kāfiyadjī thereby founded, or gave the impression of founding, new disciplines as in the case of his treatise on historiography (cf. Bibliography) or, for instance, in a little essay entitled *al-Rawḥ fī ʿilm al-rūḥ* (ms. Atif Ef. 2828, 167a-169b, also Berlin or. fol. 4249, cf. M. Weisweiler, *Der islamische Bucheinband*, Wiesbaden 1962, 83), which defines a mystically tinged knowledge of the spirit as a special discipline. His sense of brevity ran in a way contrary to the dominant scholarship of the time, so that his treatment of Kurʾān science, *al-Taysīr fī ḳawāʿid ʿilm al-tafsīr* (written for Abū Saʿīd Timurbughā in 856/1452) provoked words of dissatisfaction by the otherwise well-disposed Suyūṭī in the introduction of the *Itḳān*. But in sum, it would seem that al-Kāfiyadjī's writings deserve recognition and study for their author's effort to be interesting and original.

Bibliography: al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, vii, 259-61; ʿAlī b. Dāwūd al-Djawharī, *Inbāʾ al-haṣr*, Cairo 1970, index; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 48 f., and *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, Cairo 1299, i, 317 f.; Ibn Iyās, in *Bibliotheca Islamica*, 5c, 94 f.; Brockelmann, II, 138-140, S II, 140 f.; F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography* [2], Leiden 1968, 245-62, 547-80, containing the text and translation of the *Mukhtaṣar fī ʿilm al-taʾrīkh*. (F. ROSENTHAL)

ḲAFĪZ [see KAYL].

ḲAFSA (GAFSA), a town in Tunisia 360 km. south-west of Tunis, 200 km from Ḳayrawān, and 100 km from Gabès [see ḲĀBIS], population 30,000; the chief town of an administrative region with a population of 300,000 whose principal mineral resour-

ces consist of the phosphate deposits of M'Dilla, Metlaoui, Redeyef, and Moularès, which were discovered in 1885. The oasis of Ḳafsa contains about 100,000 palm trees producing dates of second-rate quality, to which must be added orchards of orange trees, lemon trees, apricots and figs, vineyards and, very recently, olive groves and attempts to grow pistachio trees. Irrigation is supplied by copious springs which arise in the heart of the town itself, and also by the sinking of artesian wells. As it is the first oasis on the road from Ḳayrawān towards the region of the Chotts, and is moreover likely to detain the visitor on account of its prehistoric and classical remains, the town has begun to take an interest in tourism and has therefore been able to take advantage of some recent improvements such as that of the road system and equipment of hotels; development of parks; the restoring of the "Roman baths", the Ḳaṣaba and the Great Mosque; the partial reconstruction of the Byzantine city wall etc. Handicrafts, consisting mainly of the fabrication of brightly coloured blankets and carpets decorated with simple motifs, are also making some progress.

History: Ḳafsa is the Arabic form of the classical name of the city called Capsa, the toponym from which J. Morgan, in 1909, created the term "Capsian" to designate the Upper Paleolithic or Mesolithic type of civilization of which this region was one of the most important centres, as can be seen from the numerous "snaileries" and other traces of prehistoric industries.

When we come to historical times, the past of Ḳafsa is less clear. In particular, it is not known precisely when, nor by whom, the city was founded. It is reputed to have been founded by a god, the Lybian or Phoenecian Hercules, which together with other indications suggests a Punic origin. However no archaeological discoveries have been found to confirm this hypothesis. According to the Arabs, the founder of the city was Shantiyān, the slave (*ghulām*) of Nemrod (al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, 47/100), the legendary king of Chaldea. In fact the foundation of the city, whose origin is unknown, can be explained by the topography of the site. As S. Gsell says (*Histoire*, v, 279): "there was there a junction of natural routes leading to the oases of the Chotts, to Gabès, to the Byzacena, to Maktar and to Tébessa". It is by no means impossible that a Punic town should have been established at these crossroads, of benefit to their trade.

In later years the town was part of the Numidian kingdom of Jugurtha who treated it well, even going so far as to exempt it from taxes, in order to keep it in his power. It paid a high price for these privileges, and their corollary, fidelity to the Numidian king. In the course of a daring campaign, Caius Marius, whom Rome had given the task of subduing Jugurtha, took it by surprise and set fire to it (107 B.C.). But it was reborn from the ashes and at the time of Trajan (98-117) became a commune administered by suffetes, which gives some indication of an earlier Punic organization which was retained under the Empire. Then came the reign of Diocletian (284-305). The Berbers became more aggressive, and Rome had to resign itself to the gradual evacuation of the area. This withdrawal continued under the Vandals and on the death of Genseric (428-77) Capsa became the capital of a Berber kingdom. Then it returned to the fold of Byzantium in the reign of Justinian (527-65), who had recreated the unity and greatness of the Empire. For a time Capsa even became the chief town of the province of Byzacena. About the year 540, Solomon built a new city wall, and it received the name of Capsa-Justiniana.

Ḳafsa has now few traces of its sumptuous, ancient past: the "Roman baths", a few columns and capitals, and other remains of lesser value, largely re-used, mainly in the Great Mosque, but also in other buildings of the old town. Yet right up to the 6th/12th century, the town retained the appearance of a classical city, even to the use of a Romanic language unique in Ifrīḳiya, and the profession of the Christian religion by a large part of the population. Al-Bakrī (*Masālik*, 47/100), who was writing in the middle of the 5th/11th century, noted that "the town was entirely built on columns (*asāṭīn*) and arches of marble (*ṭīḳān*)", and that its ancient wall was so well preserved "that it seems as if it was only finished yesterday". A century later al-Idrīsī (*Nuzha*, 75) specified further that "it was inhabited especially by Berbers and that the majority of them spoke Ifrīkiyan Latin (*al-lisān al-laṭīnī al-ifrīḳī*)"; cf. T. Lewicki, *Une langue romane oubliée de l'Afrique du Nord*, in *RO*, xvii (1953), *passim*.

The first waves of the Muslim conquest swept past the ramparts of Ḳafsa as early as the year 27/647, after the victory of Sbeïtla (Sufetula) and the death of the Patrician Gregory. Twenty years later the town was taken by ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ, and then, after breaking free of the Arabs with the whole of Ifrīḳiya, was definitely recaptured by Ḥassān b. al-Nuʿmān about 78/697-8.

At the end of the 2nd/8th century and the beginning of the 3rd/9th, the region was largely inhabited by Khāridjīs—Luwāta, Zuwāgha and Miknāsa. In 224/839 they took part in the revolt of the district of Ḳasṭīliya and were severely punished by the Aghlabid amir Abū ʿIḳāl. According to al-Shammākhī (*Siyar*, 203), the imām ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (168/784-208/823) had an *ʿāmil* there; by this is to be understood a tax collector who raised the ḳurʾānic taxes from the Ibāḍis and sent them more or less secretly to Tāhart, for the town had never been politically a part of the Rustamid kingdom.

After being under the authority of the Fāṭimids and then the Zīrids, for more than a century Ḳafsa became the capital of a real independent little state including the whole of the land of Ḳasṭīliya, present day Djērid, (445/1053-554/1159). The Hilāli invasion had profoundly modified the political context and the ethnic equilibrium of the area. The authority of the central government collapsed, and anarchy reigned everywhere. The Zīrid governor of the town, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muhammad b. al-Rand, in common with others proclaimed himself independent (445/1053-465/1073) and, by paying tribute to the Arab nomads—above all the Riyāḥ—with whom he formed an alliance, he strengthened his authority and the security of his realm, attracting to his court poets and *fuḳahāʾ*.

The rule of the Almohads, who united the whole of the Maghrib, put an end to the independence of Ḳafsa. The town was taken in 554/1159 by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin b. ʿAlī after a quite difficult siege. From that time, like all the south of Ifrīḳiya, it had a troubled existence. There were attempts to take it from the Almohads by an adventurer of Armenian origin, Ḳarāḳūsh, and above all by the Banū Ghāniya [*q.v.*]. The Banu 'l-Rand on their part would not admit they were defeated. This dynasty was restored by Ibn al-Muʿizz at the request of the inhabitants, dissatisfied with their Almohad governor, whom they had put to death. The caliph Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf came from Marrakesh to lay siege to the town in person

(575/1180), but its submission did not last long. In fact it soon fell into the hands of the Banū G̲h̲āniya. It was then the turn of al-Manṣūr to besiege it with a powerful army (583/1187-8). This time Ḳafsa was severely punished: its ramparts were completely razed, and the inhabitants were permitted to retain their lands only as sharecroppers.

During the Ḥafṣid period, the life of the city was no more tranquil. It was taken by the pretender—or usurper—Ibn Abī ʿUmāra (681-3/1282-4) in 681/1282. Then it regained its former independence under a local dynasty, that of the Banu 'l-ʿĀbid who were in favour of Arab predominance. The Ḥafṣid Abū Bakr (718/1318-747/1347), whose very turbulent reign was marked at the beginning by the loss of the southern provinces, besieged it in 735/1335, retook it, and handed it over to be governed by his son Abu 'l-ʿAbbās. At the same time, by grants of land to needy inhabitants, he tried to make it more attached to his rule. However, following the brief Marīnid hegemony (748-50/1348-50), it was not long before it recovered its autonomy once more under the rule of Aḥmad b. ʿUmar b. al-ʿAbid, then that of his son Muhammad. Abu 'l-ʿAbbās (772/1370-796/1394) had to reconquer his kingdom. In 780/1378 he came to lay siege before Ḳafsa, ravaging its oasis in order to force the inhabitants to capitulate, and left his son Abū Bakr there as governor. Thanks to the disturbances which followed the death of the governor al-Turayki (793/1391), a certain al-Dunaydin restored the dynasty of the Banu 'l-ʿĀbid for his own ends. Abu 'l-ʿAbbās had to intervene once again. About the middle of 795/spring 1393, he again laid siege to the town, again laid waste the palm grove, experienced some failures, and with considerable difficulty at length succeeded in gaining control of the situation a few months before his death. This lasted for a short time only. The Banu 'l-ʿĀbid again arose in the town under his successor Abū Fāris (796/1394-837/1434) who was in his turn obliged to capture it (802/1400), and raze its ramparts, eliminating definitively the rebel dynasty. Some decades later Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Muntaṣir (837-9/1434-5) paid a visit to the town and improved the Ḳaṣaba endowed by his predecessor.

From this time on Ḳafsa is rarely mentioned in history. After a fruitless attempt in 957/1550, Dragut [see TURG̲H̲UD], made governor of Tripoli by the sultan Sulaymān the Magnificent (1520-66), succeeded in taking it on 17 Ṣafar 964/20 December 1556. The Turkish occupation failed to restore prosperity. Subsequently, under pressure both from the nomads and a central government incapable of protecting it, it continued to decline until it became merely a minor town of little importance, which was occupied without difficulty by the French (20 November, 1881), when the protectorate was established.

Historical geography. — Ḳafsa is a steppe town which rises between the Orbata mountains in the south-east, and the Assalah and Ben Younès mountains in the north and north-west, on a high point at an altitude of 345 m. in a position which, in historical times, has always had a rather desolate appearance. It was a typical example of a fortress-town depending for its importance on its water reserves in an otherwise arid region, and its position which made it, according to Ch. Tissot, "both one of the gateways to the Sahara and one of the keys to the Tell" (*Geographie*, ii, 668). Sallust (86-35 B.C.) while describing it as a "large and strong city", already stressed the vast and lonely deserts which isolated it and made access to it difficult for invading armies.

Thanks to these advantages, Ḳafsa was able to maintain its importance and prosperity right up to the end of the Classical era, despite the decadence of Byzacena. After the Arab conquest its importance grew even greater. We have noted that it kept the appearance and style of a Classical city for many years. About the end of the 3rd/9th century, al-Yaʿḳubī, who is the first Arab geographer to leave some detailed personal observations about this town, described it thus: "A fortified town, surrounded by stone walls. There are springs in the interior of the town; the streets are paved. The suburbs are very prosperous, and the fruit there is famous" (*Les Pays*, 212). In the middle of the 4th/10th century, Ibn Ḥawḳal—who was at Ḳayrawān in 336/947 (*Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, 94, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 92)—informs us that Ḳafsa was an "autonomous (*mustaḳilla*)" town, and that "its prosperity was perfect (*fī g̲h̲āyat al-kamāl*)" before 330/942, at which date it was devastated by Abū Yāzīd [*q.v.*] (*Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, 92, tr., 93). It must have recovered quickly from these devastations. In fact, towards the end of the 4th/10th century, al-Muḳaddasī (d. 378/988) counts it among the great centres of Ifrīḳiya. In the middle of the 5th/11th century, al-Bakrī (d. about 461/1068), who had not visited the country and in general reproduces the Ifrīkīyan al-Warrāḳ (d. 363/973-4), gives us a very favourable description of it. This description, which is one of the most detailed we possess of the mediaeval stronghold, lays emphasis on the Classical monuments, still in an excellent state of repair, its gushing springs, providing an abundant supply of water for its orchards, which produced, among other things, large quantities of pistachios exported to all parts of Ifrīḳiya, and even to Egypt, to Sid̲j̲ilmāsa and to Spain. There were also to be found, he adds, dates as big as pigeons' eggs. In the surrounding area there were no less than two hundred villages, called *Ḳuṣūr Ḳafsa*, all flourishing. Lastly, and the final uncontrovertible indication of wealth, he informs us that the taxes raised there furnished no less than 50,000 *dinār*s to the Treasury. It is certain that this description related to the highest degree of prosperity attained by the town, probably at the time of al-Warrāḳ, that is the end of the 4th/10th century. This prosperity was doubtless maintained during the following century, that of al-Bakrī, despite the invasion of the Hilālīs with whom the Banu 'l-Rand succeeded in finding a modus vivendi which, though costly, was at least acceptable. The town continued to flourish until the middle of the 6th/12th century, when al-Idrīsī was writing, and he described it as "a fine town (*madīna ḥasana*)", with its walls still intact, its abundant water supply, its well stocked markets, its numerous traders, its industries in full expansion (*ṣināʿa ḳāʾima*), its vast palm grove producing dates of magnificent quality (*ʿad̲j̲īb*), its populous villages, its gardens, its orchards, and its varied plantations providing, amongst other things, henna, cotton and cumin, all of which were highly prized in the Middle Ages.

From the time of the Almohads, the scene changed. The town, jealous of its independence, rebelled frequently, and paid a high price for its excessive love of freedom. Several times over, as we have seen, its ramparts were razed and its palm grove laid waste. Its economic decline can be traced back to that time. In the 7th/13th century, Yāḳūt (574/1178-626/1229), though he recounts its former splendours, mentions it at the time only as "a small town (*balda ṣag̲h̲īra*) on the borders of Ifrīḳiya.... in the middle of a sterile saline region" (*Buldān*, iv, 382). Its sur-

rounding villages, which were the most exposed to devastation, disappeared. In the time of Ibn al-S̲h̲abbāṭ (618/1221-681/1282), reproduced by al-Wazīr al-Sarrād̲j̲ (*Ḥulal*, i, 437), "only a few of them survived". In the middle of the 10th/16th century, Leo Africanus, after reporting the destructions ordered by al-Manṣūr, wrote: "Today Caphsa is completely re-populated, but its buildings are only small, with the exception of a few mosques. Its streets are very wide and paved all over with black stone like those of Naples and Florence. The population is under control, but poor on account of the taxes by which they are burdened by the king of Tunis" (*Description de l'Afrique*, ii, 444). He continues, pointing out that its climate is unhealthy, and praising its cloths, its pottery, its dates, its orange trees and its olive trees, which gave "an oil as perfect in taste as in colour". After this it is not until the 19th century, that is in the accounts of travellers such as Guérin, Zaccone and Mayet, that we have other descriptions of the town, which in fact was then no more than a wretched village.

Bibliography: *Geographical sources* (in chronological order): Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih, *Masālik*, and Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Buldān*, partially ed. and tr. Hadj-Sadok under the title *Description du Maghreb...*, Algiers 1949, 6-7 and n. 74, 30-1; al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, tr. G. Wiet, *Les Pays*, Cairo 1937, 212; Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, Beirut n.d., 87, 92 (tr. Kramers-Wiet, 92, 93); Muḳaddasī, *Aḥsān al-taḳāsīm*, partially ed. and tr. Ch. Pellat under the title *Description de l'Occident...*, Algiers 1950, 4-5, 64-5; Bakrī, *Masālik*, ed. and tr. de Slane, Paris 1965, 14 and 35, 47 and 100-2, 75 and 153, 148 and 284; Idrīsī, *Nuzha*, partially ed. H. Pérès, Algiers 1957, 75, 80, 89; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, Beirut 1957, iv, 382-3; Tid̲j̲ānī, *Riḥla*, Tunis 1958, 114, 136-9, 147, 353, 356-7; Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Bag̲h̲dādī, *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāʿ*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Bid̲j̲āwī, Cairo 1954, iii, 1113; Jean-Léon l'Africain (Leo Africanus), *Description de l'Afrique*, tr. A. Epaulard, Paris 1956, ii, 443-5; al-Wazīr al-Sarrād̲j̲, *Ḥulal*, ed. M. H. al-Ḥīla, Tunis 1970, i, 368, 379-81, 388, 436-7, 488, 1005, 1073; V. Guérin, *Voyage archéologique dans la Régence de Tunis*, Paris 1862, i, 270-87; Zaccone, *Notes sur la régence de Tunis*, Paris 1875, 208-16; Céalis, *De Sousse à Gafsa*, Paris n.d., 153-213; V. Mayet, *Voyage dans le sud de la Tunisie*, Paris, 1887, 171-86. Studies: L. Balout, *Préhistoire de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1955, 387-448; Bodereau, *La Capsa ancienne et la Capsa moderne*, Paris 1907; A. Bouhdibam *Les conditions de vie des mineurs de la région de Gafsa*, Tunis 1968, *Études de Sociologie tunisienne*, i, 165-233; R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Hafsides*, Paris 1940-47, i, 3, 6-9, 21, 149, 150, 158, 174, 189-90, 207-8, 305, 328, ii, 105-6, 186, 199, 220, 280; J. Despois, *L'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1958 (see index); Ch. Diehl, *l'Afrique byzantine*, Paris 1896, i, 126, 169, ii, 388, 391, 529, 560, 572; L. Foucher, *Hadrumetum*, Paris 1964, 262, 321; J. Ganiage, *Les Origines du protectorat français en Tunisie*, Paris 1959, 138, 145, 171; S. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1913-28, ii, 89-9, v, 204, 278-9, vii, 231-5; H. R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zīrīdes*, Paris 1962, i, 222-3, 396-9, ii, 470-1; Ch.-A. Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1956, ii, 271; A. Laroui, *L'histoire du Maghreb*, Paris 1970, 117, 175, 220, 309; A. Martel, *Les confins saharo-tripolitains de la Tunisie*, 1881-1911, Paris 1965, i, 243-4, 260-5, 276-8; A. Saʿd Zag̲h̲lūl, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-Mag̲h̲rib al-ʿArabī*, Cairo 1965, 113, 141-3, 190-1; M. Talbi, *L'Émirat Aghlabide*, Paris 1966, 219-20, 356, 359, 672-7, 686; Ch. Tissot, *Géographie comparée de la province romaine d'Afrique*, Paris 1884, ii, 264, 265, 268; J. Toutain, *Les cités romaines de Tunisie*, Paris 1896; R. Vaufrey, *Préhistoire de l'Afrique*, i, *Le Maghreb*, Paris 1955, 14, 127-95, 407-15. (M. Talbi)

ḲAFṬĀN [see Libās]

KĀFŪR (also *ḳāfūr*, *ḳaf(f)ūr*, see the dictionaries; from Hindu *karpūra*, *kappūra*, Malayan *kapur*), camphor, the white, translucent substance which is distilled together with camphor oil from the wood of the camphor tree (*Cinnamomum camphora*) indigenous to east Asia (China, Formosa, Japan); it is to be distinguished from the Borneo camphor derived from *Dryobalanops aromatica* coming from Indonesia (Sumatra, Borneo). Both kinds were used as perfumes and medicines, but the latter, according to the Muslim sources native to Fanṣūr (Ḳanṣūr, Faiṣūr, and variants) in Sumatra, production of which must have been greater in the Middle Ages than today, was much more expensive and efficacious than the East Asian variety; according to Marco Polo it was worth its weight in gold.

Camphor seems to have been unknown to Greek and Roman antiquity, but in the Near East, by Sāsānid times at the latest, it was used as spice and perfume; when the Arabs conquered Ctesiphon in 16/637, they found there rich stores of camphor, which they thought was salt (Balād̲h̲urī, *Futūḥ*, 264; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, *Kāmil*, ii, 401). It was also known in ancient Arabia, for according to Ḳurʾān LXXVI, 5, devout Muslims are refreshed in paradise with a drink flavoured with camphor. Camphor was known to ancient Arabic poets, at least by name; it is often put metonymically with musk (*misk* [*q.v.*]) as a symbol of the opposition of white and black, *e.g.*, ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa, ed. Schwarz, 10, 16; 16, 14; 32, 1; 115, 12; 171, 6; 183, 3; Imru 'l-Ḳays in Hamdānī, *D̲j̲azīra*, ed. Müller, 198; anon. in Yāḳūt, *Muʿd̲j̲am*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv, 747. Cf. further Aʿs̲h̲ā, ed. Geyer, 80, 6; Ak̲h̲ṭal, ed. Ṣālḥānī, 35; Ibn al-Rūmī in Ibn Abī ʿAwn, *Tas̲h̲bīhāt*, ed. ʿAbd al-Muʿīd K̲h̲ān, 323, etc. On the whiteness of camphor, see further Dozy, ii, 447a and A. Dietrich, *Zum Drogenhandel im islamischen Ägypten*, Heidelberg 1954, 30.

The technology of camphor, its provenance, extraction, preservation, utilisation etc., is fairly comprehensively described by the geographers and cosmographers. The camphor tree grew on river banks and became so large that it could give shade to a hundred men. In general it was dealt with as follows: the bark was cut so that the resin ran out. It was collected in large vessels and kept cool. In so far as the camphor tree was usually in areas infested by tigers (*numūr*, several mss. mistakenly *nusūr*, "eagles"), the resin could only be obtained at fixed times of the year when the tigers had dispersed. The wood is described as white, soft and very light. After the drawing off of the resin, the tree dies off. The diverging descriptions in the sources imply no contradiction, but only different procedures existing side by side. Cf. Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih (*BGA*, vi), 65; Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, i, 338, 340,iii, 49, 56 = ed. and tr. Pellat, §§ 371, 375, 892, 899; Ḳazwīnī, *Kosmographie*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 262 f. = tr. Wiedemann, *Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, ii, new impression Hildesheim 1970, 379; Dimas̲h̲ḳī, *al-Is̲h̲āra ilā maḥāsin al-tid̲j̲āra*, tr. Wiedemann, *loc. cit.*, 9; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, tr. Wiedemann, *loc. cit.*, 231 f.; Yāḳūt, *Muʿd̲j̲am*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii, 456; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (Paris), iv, 141.

The main significance of camphor lay however in its officinal uses. Already al-Kindī (*The Medical Formulary or Aqrābadhīn*, tr. M. Levey, 1966) brought together a series of camphor recipes useful for swollen liver, complaints of the larynx, inflammations of the mucous membrane of the mouth, and so on (nos. 11, 24, 61, 77, 89, 91, 104, 152). The same author, or one of his pupils, composed a document about the production of fragrant oils and salves by means of "heightenings" (*taṣʿīdāt*, primitive distillations), in which camphor played an important part: *Kitāb Kīmiyāʾ al-ʿiṭr wa 'l-taṣʿīdāt*, ed. K. Garbers, Leipzig 1948, 242-6. Camphor is useful as a source of perfume, as a compress for acute fevers, headache, etc.: Ibn al-Ḳuff, *Djirāḥa*, see H. G. Kircher, *Die "Einfachen Heilmittel" aus dem "Handbuch der Chirurgie" des Ibn al-Quff*, Diss. phil., Bonn 1969, no. 214; Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabarī, *Firdaws al-ḥikma*, see W. Schmucker, *Die pflanzliche und mineralische Materia medica im Firdaus al-ḥikma des ʿAlī ibn Sahl Rabban aṭ-Ṭabarī*, Diss. phil., Bonn 1969, no. 610; Ibn Hubal, *Mukhtārāt*, Hyderabad 1362, ii, 109; al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs, *ʿUmdat al-kuttāb*, see M. Levey, *Mediaeval Arabic bookmaking and its relation to early chemistry and pharmacology* (*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, N.S., Vol. lii/4 (1962), 17 f., 47 f.; *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb*, ed. Renaud and Colin, Paris 1934, no. 212. By far the most exhaustive description, together with a statement of his sources, is provided by Ibn al-Bayṭār, *al-Djāmiʿ*, Cairo 1291, iv, 42-44 = tr. Leclerc, iii, 127-31. On camphor in Syriac literature see Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr.* [2], 341b, 686a.

The same word *kāfūr* (variants *kufurrā*, *kifirrā*, *djufurrā*, *et al.*, Lane 2622b; *Lisān* (Beirut), v, 149 f.) also designates the integument of the palm leaf or of the grapevine. The word came through the Aramaic *gopharrā* probably from the Akkadian. Cf. Aṣmaʿī, *al-Nakhl wa 'l-karm*, ed. Haffner, Beirut 1908, 6; Ibn Sīda, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, xi, 119 f.; Maimonides, *Sharḥ asmāʾ al-ʿuḳḳār*, ed. Meyerhof, no. 206; Fraenkel, *Aram. Fremdw.*, 147; Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr.*[2], 129a.

Bibliography (besides references in the text): A. Spitaler/M. Ullmann, *Wörterbuch d. klass. arab. Sprache*, i, 10; W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, ii, 590-5; Mez, *Renaissance des Islams*, 411, 480 = Eng. tr. 436, 514; F. A. Flückiger, *Pharmakognosie des Pflanzenreiches*[3], Berlin 1891, 150; Tschirch, *Handbuch der Pharmakognosie*, ii, 1133-8. (A. Dietrich)

KĀFŪR, Abu'l-Misk, a black eunuch (the name al-Lābī, given to him by al-Mutanabbī, suggests his origin from Lāb in Nubia) became the dominant personality of the Ikhshīdid [*q.v.*] dynasty in Egypt. Sold to its founder, Muḥammad ibn Ṭughdj al-Ikhshīd [*q.v.*], Kāfūr so impressed his new master that the latter sponsored his rise to positions of political and military influence. As a field commander Kāfūr participated in the Egyptian expedition of 333/945 to Syria; he was also involved in the diplomatic exchanges between al-Ikhshīd and the Caliph of Baghdād. Of great significance was his appointment as the supervisor of the princely education of the two sons of al-Ikhshīd. Upon the death of Ibn Ṭughdj Kāfūr safeguarded the interests of his master's dynastic legacy by securing a formal succession of the Ikhshīdid princes, Abu'l-Ḳāsim Anūdjūr (Unūdjūr) in 334/946, and ʿAlī ibn al-Ikhshīd in 349/961. Although during that period Kāfūr enjoyed complete executive authority, he found it expedient to operate behind the façade of the Ikhshīdid establishment. Only in 355/966, following the death of ʿAlī, did Kāfūr publicly declare himself as the sole master of Egypt. This declaration was justified because of the minority of another prospective Ikhshīdid successor, Aḥmad b. ʿAlī, and was sanctioned by an official diploma of investiture allegedly received from the Caliph of Baghdād. Until his death on 21 Djumādā I 357/23 April 968, the name of Kāfūr replaced the Ikhshidid names in the Egyptian *khuṭba* [*q.v.*]. His official title was *al-ustādh* [*q.v.*]. There is no evidence, however, that his exalted political status included the prerogatives of *sikka* [*q.v.*] or *ṭirāz* [*q.v.*].

The main significance of Kāfūr in Islamic history lies in the fact that during the twenty-two years of his government he successfully protected the Ikhshīdid establishment against dangerous outside pressures (the Fāṭimids, the Ḳarmaṭians, the Nubians and the Ḥamdānids). All this he accomplished in spite of internal political complications (rebellion of Ghalbūn in 335/947-336/948; an abortive coup d'état by Anūdjūr in 343/954; persistent spread of subversive Ismāʿīlī propaganda) and serious economic setbacks (a devastating fire in the business section of Fusṭāṭ in 343/954; major earthquake in Egypt in 344/955; recurrence of famine, food-price inflation, and consequent civil disturbances, in 338/949, 341/952, 343/955, 352/963-357/968). His effective military and diplomatic measures helped secure an advantageous agreement with the Ḥamdānids in 335/947 concerning the Ikhshīdid hold over Damascus. Above all, Kāfūr was able to delay the Fāṭimid expansion to Egypt. "The black stone (*i.e.*, Kāfūr) stands between us and thee (*i.e.*, the Fāṭimid Caliph)" complained frustrated Ismāʿīlī agents in Egypt. (Cf. al-Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ al-ḥunafāʾ*, Cairo 1948, 147).

In spite of economic adversities and heavy government expenditure, Kāfūr's administration refrained from extortionate fiscal practices. Its gold coinage, though fluctuating in wight, displayed a remarkable stability as to the standard of fineness. Kāfūr's domestic accomplishments must be partially attributed to his ability to enroll the services of competent administrators, one of them the famous Yaʿḳūb ibn Killis [*q.v.*].

Kāfūr also gained popularity in Islamic history because of his patronage of scholars and writers. The most celebrated of them was the great poet al-Mutanabbī [*q.v.*], who immortalized the black ruler in a number of panegyrical and satirical verses. Kāfūr has been credited with the construction of a number of sumptuous palaces, of two mosques (in Gīza and on al-Muḳaṭṭam), of a hospital, and of the Kāfūriyya gardens in the capital. No archaeological traces of his architectural contributions have been discovered.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿīd, *Kitāb al-Mughrib fī ḥula'l-maghrib*, Bk. iv., ed. and tr. with an excerpt from al-Kindī's *Taʾrīkh Miṣr* by Kn. L. Tallquist (*Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, 25/i), where the bibliography is fully given at the beginning of Kāfūr's biography (p. 78-86, Arab. text 46-48); also al-Ḥalabī in Wüstenfeld, *Die Statthalter von Aegypten zur Zeit der Chalifen*, (*Abh. d. K. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, xxi (1876), 37-50 and 59-61); Ibn Khallikān, tr. de Slane, ii, 524-528 and Index; Ibn Taghrībardī, *al-Nudjūm al-ẓāhira*, Cairo (Dār al-kutub), iii, 291 f., iv, 1-18; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 27-7; idem, *Ighāthat al-Umma*, Cairo 1940, 12-13 (cf. G. Wiet, *Le Traité des famines de Maqrīzī*, in *JESHO*, vi (1963), 13-14); al-Mutanabbī, *Dīwān* (ed. Dieterici), *al-Kāfūriyyat*, 623 f.; Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, *Kāfūr al-Ikhshīdī*, in *Bull. Fac. Arts Fu'ād I Univ.*, vi

(1942), 23-46; Ismā'īl Kāshif and Ḥ. Aḥmad Maḥmūd, *Miṣr fī 'aṣr al-Ṭūlūniyyīn wa'l Ikhshīdiyyīn*, Cairo 1960, *passim*; P. Balog, *Tables de références des monnaies ikhchidites*, *RBdN*, ciii (1957), 107-134.

(A. S. Ehrenkreutz)

KĀFŪR, Malik, known as 'Izz al-Dawla, Tādj al-Dīn and Hazār-dīnārī, eunuch general and minister of Sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh Khildjī [*q.v.*] of Dihlī, is stated to have been of Marhat't'a (Marāt'ha) origin (see 'Iṣāmī, p. 319). In youth he was the slave of a wealthy Khwādja ("Khodja"—sc. Nizārī Ismā'īlī) of Kanbhāyat (Cambay). In the Muslim conquest of Gudjarāt of 698/1299 he was taken by the commander Nuṣrat Khān and presented to Sultan 'Alā al-Dīn in Dihlī. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iii, 187) may be in error in stating that the epithet *Alfī* (= *Hazār-dīnārī*—"the thousand guinea man" acc. S. Lane Poole, p. 113) refers to a sum paid by the sultan himself for Kāfūr. Kāfūr was evidently of great physical beauty and Baranī refers in coarse terms to passive homosexual practices as well as to the Sultan's infatuation with him. His advance through the following few years is undocumented and he next appears as an outstandingly successful military commander. Ca. 705-6/1305-6 he commanded an army which in the Pandjāb defeated the Mongol invader Kebek/Köpek/KNK (identification with the future Čaghatāyid ruler poses difficulties, as Indian sources are unanimous in stating that he was put to death in Dihlī). Kāfūr is now referred to as *Nā'ib-i Bārbak*, "assistant master of ceremonies", whence his name Malik Nā'ib, thought by some historians to refer to the more important role of *Nā'ib-i Sulṭān* (see Tripathi, p. 180). He was next sent as commander of a series of great military raids into the Deccan, which laid the foundations of Muslim power there. On the first of these he arrived at Devgīr (Devagiri) on 19 Ramaḍān 706/24 March 1307: Rādja Rāmadeva (Rāmačandra) of Devgīr was taken to Dihlī with rich spoils. On 25 Djumādā I 709/2 October 1309 Kāfūr was again despatched to the Deccan and besieged the Kākatīya ruler, Pratāpa Rudraveda of Warangal, until the latter surrendered spoils and agreed to pay tribute: Kāfūr arrived back at Dihlī on 11 Muḥarram 710/9 June 1310. On 24 Djumādā I 710/19 October 1310 he was despatched upon his third great expedition, which reached the extremity of peninsular India. On 5 Shawwāl/25 February 1311 he arrived at Dhorasamudra, where the Hoysala Vīra Ballāla III surrendered and joined Kāfūr's army on its way to plunder the southernmost Indian kingdom of the Pānd'yas. From there great quantities of gold and elephants were taken by Kāfūr, but the hostile ruler Vīra Pānd'ya eluded capture. Camp was struck from Madura on 4 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja/24 April; Kāfūr reached Dihlī in triumph on 4 Djumādā II 711/18 October 1311. At court Kāfūr now appears to have excited the enmity of a faction headed by Māhrū Malika-yi Djahān, second wife of 'Alā' al-Dīn, her brother Alp Khān and Khiḍr Khān, the sultan's eldest son by her. Probably at his own request, Kāfūr was sent south once more ca. 713/1313-14 to displace Singhana, son of Rāmadeva, from Devgīr and to consolidate Muslim rule and settlement in the northern Deccan. He performed this task ably until he received an urgent summons to Dihlī, where 'Alā' al-Dīn's health was deteriorating. After his swift return there and at any rate with 'Alā' al-Dīn's acquiescence, Kāfūr had Alp Khān murdered and Khiḍr Khān exiled from the presence. 'Alā' al-Dīn died on 6 or 7 Shawwāl 715/ 3 or 4 January 1316: contemporary rumour accused Kāfūr of hastening his end. Kāfūr secured the recognition as sultan of Shihāb al-Dīn 'Umar, the six-year-old son of 'Alā' al-Dīn by Čhit'ā'ī, daughter of Rāmadeva of Devgīr: some sources state that Kāfūr also married this lady. In the struggle for power he succeeded in having Khiḍr Khān blinded and two other elder sons of 'Alā' al-Dīn imprisoned, but failed in the case of a fourth, the future Sulṭān Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mubārak. About 35 days after the death of 'Alā' al-Dīn, Kāfūr was murdered by four *pā'iks*, palace bodyguards: in consequence Sulṭān Shihāb al-Dīn 'Umar was by stages set aside in favour of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mubārak, who later put to death Kāfūr's murderers.

Bibliography: Amīr Khusraw, *Khazā'in al-futūḥ*, Bibl. Indica 1953; Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Baranī, *Ta'rīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī*, Bibl. Indica 1862; 'Iṣāmī, *Futūḥ al-salāṭīn*, ed. A. S. Usha, Madras 1948; Waṣṣāf, *Tadjziyat al-amṣār*, Bombay 1269/1853; Ibn Baṭṭūta, *Riḥla*, iii, Paris 1855; Farishta, *Ta'rīkh*, i, Bombay/Poona 1832. Secondary works: K.S. Lal, *History of the Khaljis* [2], London 1967; R. P. Tripathi, *Some aspects of Muslim administration*,[2] Allahabad 1959; S. K. Aiyangar, *South India and her Muhammadan invaders*, Oxford 1921; J. D. M. Derrett, *The Hoysaḷas*, Oxford 1957: S. Lane Poole, *Mediaeval India under Mohammedan rule*, London 1912.

(S. Digby)

KĀGHAD, Kāghid (from the Persian *kāghadh* perhaps of Chinese origin), paper. In the early period of development of Muslim culture the east was acquainted only with papyrus (*ḳirṭās*) as writing-material. It was Chinese prisoners of war brought to Samarḳand after the battle of Aṭlakh near Tālās who first introduced in 134/751 the industry of paper-making from linen, flax or hemp rags after the method used in China. The various kinds of paper then made were the following: *fir'awnī* ("Pharaonic"), a kind which was to compete with papyrus even in the land of its origin (the oldest paper with Arabic writing on it found in Egypt dates from 180/796-200/815); *sulaymānī*, from Sulaymān b. Rāshid, the treasurer of Khurāsān under Hārūn al-Rashīd; *dja'farī*, called after Dja'far b. Yaḥyā b. Khālid al-Barmakī, vizier of Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 187/803); *ṭalḥī*, from Ṭalḥa b. Ṭāhir, the second ruler of the Ṭāhirid dynasty; *ṭāhirī*, from Ṭāhir II of the same dynasty; *nūḥī*, after the Sāmānid Nūḥ I, 331/942-343/954.

To judge from these names it must be supposed that paper achieved some importance as early as the second half of the 2nd/8th century. About that time or at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century paper had, according to al-Djāḥiẓ, the same importance for the east as papyrus had for the west, especially since Hārūn al-Rashīd had ordered the use of paper as a writing material in the government offices because it was not possible to erase a text written on paper, or to scratch it out without this being noticed. In the first half of the 3rd/9th century paper made in Samarḳand had already replaced papyrus as well as parchment in Baghdād, although we do not know precisely when the manufacture of paper began in Baghdād or in Cairo. According to al-Tha'ālibī (350/961-429/1038) the paper made in Cairo was especially fine and smooth, but on the other hand it is stated that the Ikhshīdid vizier, Dja'far b. Ḥinzāba (d. 391 or 392/1001), had brought the paper which he used directly from Samarḳand.

Paper-mills were erected elsewhere on the plan of those in Samarḳand; al-Faḍl, brother of Dja'far al-Barmakī, who had been governor of Khurāsān in

178/794, probably founded the paper-mill in the Dār al-Ḳazz quarter in Baghdād. Soon afterwards others arose in the Tihāma, Yemen and Egypt, where paper ultimately drove out papyrus, also in Damascus, Tripoli, Ḥamāt, Manbidj, Tiberias, the Maghrib, Spain (at Jativa), Persia and India. *Kāghadh-kunān*, the "paper-makers", was the name taken by the people of the village of Khūnadj or Khūna in Ādharbāydjān, two days' journey from Zandjān, on account of the excellent paper made there. The place was destroyed by the Mongols, who, however, founded a colony, Mughuliyya, there (Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse*, 219; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihānnumā*, Istanbul 1145/1732-3, 298, tr. Norberg, i, 365).

On the preparation of paper and the different methods of colouring it, interesting details are given by J. von Karabacek, *Neue Quellen z. Papiergeschichte*, in *Mitt. aus der Samml. der Papyrus Erzh. Rainer*, iv, 75 ff. The raw material for paper-making consisted of rotten linen or hemp ropes, cut into small pieces, cleaned and bleached. It was then pounded in mortars, stampers or paper-mills, and water was added to make a pulp which was dressed with glue made of wheat starch (*nashā*). The pulp was then led off into a pulp-vat (*ḳaṣriyya*), water was added, and the pulp drawn through a deckle (*ḳalib*) and shaken. It was smoothed by hand, left on the deckle as long as seemed necessary, then laid on a table, attached to a clean, even wall and left to dry. Then each side of the sheet was rubbed with a concoction of flour and starch, left to dry and polished. The fineness of the paper depended on the nature of the deckle, the finest, like our vellum, coming from a very fine wire sieve.

In the rubbish heaps of the old towns in Egypt (*e.g.*, al-Ushmūnayn, Madīnat al-Fayyūm, al-Fusṭāṭ), great masses of ancient paper of different kinds and colours have been discovered. Besides very white and off-white papers, artificially coloured ones—yellow, pale blue, violet, pink, green and red, have been found. Paper was much cheaper than papyrus; according to a 4th/10th century document in the collection of Archduke Rainer in the National Austrian Library, 6 2/3 dinars were paid for 125 sheets. The price naturally depended on the quality and kind. That made in Baghdād (*al-waraḳ al-Baghdādī*) was considered the best.

The paper used in the east is now almost entirely of European manufacture. In Persia we still find a Chinese paper called Khān Balīḳ (Turkish name of Peking), a scarce paper, sought after for its durability. The Cairo printers prefer a strong yellow-coloured paper called *nabātī* (Pers. *nabāt*, sugar-candy).

A paper-mill long ago destroyed (*Kāghad-Khāna*, popularly *K'at-Hāne*) gave its name to the Imperial Kiosk and the public promenade of the "Sweet Waters of Europe" in Istanbul.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 21; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ḍaw' al-Ṣubḥ*, i, 412; idem, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, i, 474-7; Kurkīs ʿAwwād, *Al-waraḳ aw al-kāghid*, in *MMIA*, xxiii (1948), 409-38; al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs, *ʿUmdat al-kuttāb wa-ʿuddat dhawi 'l-albāb*, ch. xi, tr. Martin Levey, *Medieval Arabic bookmaking and its relation to early chemistry and pharmacology*, in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, n.s. lii/4, Philadelphia 1962; J. V. Karabacek, *Mitt. aus der Samml. der Papyrus Erzh. Rainer*, ii/iii, 87-178; Chavannes, *Doc. sur les Tou-kiue occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, 297; A. Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie I* (*Denkschr. d. österr. Akad. d. Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse*, Vienna 1967), 98-105; Cl. Huart, *Les calligraphes et les miniaturistes de l'orient musulman*, 8-11; J. E. Polak, *Persien*, Leipzig 1865, i, 268; Jouannin and Van Gaver, *Turquie*, 457; d'Ohsson, *Tableau de l'empire othoman*, iii, 155; Osman Ersoy, *XVIII ve XIX Yüzyıllarda Türkiye de kâğit*, Ankara 1963; F. Babinger, *Zur Geschichte der Papiererzeugung im osmanischen Reichs*, Berlin 1931. For the establishment of paper-mills in Turkey in the 18th century in connexion with the founding of the Müteferriḳa Press, see MAṬBAʿA.

(CL. HUART — A. GROHMANN)

KAGHAN [see KHAḲĀN].

KAHF [see AṢḤĀB AL-KAHF]

AL-**ḲAḤḤĀL** [see ʿALĪ B. ʿĪSĀ].

KĀHIN, a term of controversial origin (cf. T. Fahd, *Divination arabe*, 91 ff.), belonging to Canaanite, Aramaic and Arab traditions. At the earliest stage known to us it appears to have been used by the "Western Semites" to designate the possessor of a single function with related prerogatives, that is to say, the offering of sacrifices in the name of the group, the representing of this group before the deity, the interpretation of the will of the deity, and in addition the anticipation and communication of his wishes. The evolution of this function and these prerogatives follows the social evolution of these three groups themselves; with their transition from a pastoral to an agricultural civilization, their conception of the deity and of the service due to him changed to suit the conditions of daily life. As the pre-Islamic Arabs were the last followers of the pastoral way of life, their conceptions of the priesthood probably reflect more or less faithfully the earliest stage of the priestly function, so far, of course, as the post-Islamic data at our disposal have remained faithful to their oral or written sources.

In this respect, although the accounts in which the *kāhin* appears may be fanciful and tendentious, it remains true that, in order to recreate a proper context for these stories and to avoid anachronisms, the people who told them and the people who used them must have tried to reconstitute and preserve the original terminology. For those who know the Semitic theodicy in particular, the importance of the names and epithets given to the deities in polytheism and to God in monotheism in the elaboration of theology is obvious, bearing in mind above all that the true Muslim theodicy is to be found in the treatises of the *asmā' al-ḥusnā* [*q.v.*] rather than in those of the *mutakallimūn*.

We are of the opinion that the same reasoning applies to the terminology designating the personnel and the accoutrements of the cult. Therefore we have chosen as our point of departure the various names and attributes designating the function and prerogatives of the *kāhin*, in the hope of gaining a clearer picture of his characteristics as they must have appeared in the religious outlook of the greater part of the Arabs, since we lack documents of sufficiently established authenticity that deal with the conception of the *kāhin* held by the élite of the people and the ruling class.

Like the Greek ἱερεύς and the Latin *sacerdos*, the Arab *kāhin* combined the functions of sacrificer and guardian of the sanctuary, and those of the μαντίς and the *augur*; hence it is possible to render the word *kāhin* by "priest", in the sense of agent of the official cult. But the predominance of nomadism, where it was usually the head of the family or tribe who offered sacrifices, after the manner of the patriarchs in the Old Testament, and in which frequent migra-

tions prevented the establishment of an official form of worship and fixed places of worship, weakened the first role of the *kāhin* while favouring the development of the second, more in keeping with the expectations of most of his fellow-tribesmen. Thus it is virtually necessary to translate *kāhin* as "diviner" (since we lack an exact equivalent) with the dual meaning of the Latin *divinus*, that is to say "one inspired" and "prophet", without excluding his strictly priestly role in places where social conditions allowed it, such as at Mecca and al-Ṭā'if, and near a few important holy places of Arabia (Dhu 'l-Khalaṣa, al-Djalsad, al-Fals, for example; cf. details in T. Fahd, *Le Panthéon de l'Arabie centrale à la veille de l'Hégire*, Paris 1968).

The oracular, mantic and augural role of the *kāhin* is for all practical purposes the only one recognized in the evidence we possess, which derives essentially from folklore. The numerous special divinatory functions which he exercised are known to us only through the various names which designated the exercise of these functions, illustrated by a few examples. These names, frequently used as synonyms for *kāhin* (as are for example for "diviner and the female equivalent: "augur", "haruspex", "magus", "pythoness", "sybil", "seer", etc.), are: *afkal, ḥāzī, dhū, ilāh, sādin, ʿarrāf, ʿā'if, zādjir, ḳā'if, nāshid*, etc. Our knowledge of the *kāhin* amounts in practice to no more than the significance of those names and the deductions to be drawn from the stories which illustrate them.

To begin with the term *kāhin* itself: its etymological origin is obscure (possibilities are the Semitic root *k w n*, "to be, to stand up", and the Akkadian root *k ' n*, giving the idea of prostration; but the unusual permutation of the consonant *h* is still unexplained). However, it seems to have been part of the earliest religious vocabulary of the Western Semites, after the manner of the *bārū* at Mari and in Akkad. Like the *bārū*, he combined the functions of guarding the holy place, transmitting the oracle, offering sacrifices, and interpreting signs by divination. These were the functions of the Hebrew *kōhēn* before the institution of the Monarchy, as described in the Bible (cf. H. Ringgren, *Israelite Religion*, 1966).

The Arab *kāhin* had not developed beyond this stage when the advent of Islam brought about his disappearance because of the absence, in the nomadic environment in which he lived, of a permanent stable kingship which, as in neighbouring kingdoms and elsewhere, would have organized the priesthood if only to keep it under control. This lack of organization resulted in making the *kāhin* the sole repository of supernatural knowledge, dispensed in Israel by the *kōhēn* and the *nabī*, and this led them to the practice of both divinatory and ecstatic techniques. Thus, like the *bārûm* of Mari (cf. A. Finet, *La place du devin dans la société de Mari*, in *La Divination en Mésopotamie ancienne et dans les régions voisines*, Paris 1966, 93), the *kāhin* of ancient Arabia held in his hands the fate of the entire tribe, in both peace and war.

The oracular and ecstatic aspects of his functions appear more overtly in the *kāhina*, who like the "ecstatic prophetess" of Mari (*muḫḫutum*, cf. G. Dossin, *Sur le prophétisme à Mari*, *ibid.*, 80) had visions and was in charge of an oracle (*rabbat bayt*: cf. examples and references in *Divination arabe*, 98 ff.). The most famous of these women was Ṭ(Ẓ)arīfa.

As far as the *kāhin* is concerned, these aspects are revealed more particularly by two names borne by certain of their numbers: *afkal* (ʿAmr b. al-Djuʿayd, the *sayyid* of the Rabīʿa) and *ḥāzī* (Zuhayr b. Djanab, the *sayyid* of the Kalb). In fact *afkal*, from the Sumero-Akkadian *apkallu* and preserved in several Semitic languages with the meaning of high priest (cf. *Divination arabe*, 103 f.), seems to have acquired an ecstatic character among the Arabs (*loc. cit.*); in the same way the *ḥāzī*, a term of Aramaic origin comparable to the Hebrew *ro'eh*, the forerunner of the *nabī*, must have been originally a "seer", as is indicated by his name; but he became increasingly an observer of omens, and the term became a generic one covering different divinatory and magical practices (*op. cit.*, 112 f.). [On the oracular utterances of the *kāhin* and the *kāhina* see SADJʿ].

The aspect of guardian and sacrificer in holy places and places of worship appears in the following names given to the *kāhin*: *rabb*, who like the *r b* of Ugarit and the Ḳatabānī *r b y* had to manage the affairs of the holy place (territories and entrances); *dhū ilāh*, caretaker of the bethel, the "sacred stone" itself entrusted to his keeping during the movements of the tribe, expressing at the same time the close link arising from the proximity between the deity and his servant (compare with *ʿabd, taym, imru'*, and their Semitic equivalents); *sādin* and *ḥādjib*, which properly speaking designated the function of guardian in the holy places and the *cellae* where the *sacra* of a tribe or a group of tribes were deposited. This presupposed, therefore, a measure of settlement and all that this implied with respect to institutions, organizations and established customs. The observation of what was happening in other temples of the world around (compare for example the reforms introduced by ʿAmr b. Luḥayy [*q.v.*] after a stay in a Hellenistic spa, and the institutions founded in the 5th century by Ḳuṣayy [*q.v.*], who came from a Byzantine area where ecclesiastic and monastic organization were highly developed) aided the development of the office of the *sādin*, and stability made possible the creation and preservation of traditions, myths and legends. But the function of the *sādin* was not restricted to the guardianship of the holy place; he took the place of the *kāhin*, and like him performed sacrificial and divinatory rites, as did the Ugaritic *n ḳ d* (compare Hebrew *nōḳedh* from the Meshaʿ stela) who also bore the titles *r b* and *k h n* (see *Divination arabe*, 111).

The divinatory aspect of the function of the *kāhin* is covered generically by the term *ʿarrāf*, and specifically by names derived from the divinatory specialities which he practised, such as *ʿā'if* and *zādjir* [see ʿIYĀFA], *ḳā'if* [see ḲIYĀFA], *nāshid* and several other secondary designations for particular occasions, such as *ḥakam* (arbitrator on the occasion of a *munāfara*), *khaṭīb*, (spokesman and messenger), *shāʿir* (incantator and inciter to battle), *ṭabīb* (medicine man), *khabīr* (valuer).

The *ʿarrāf* is the *kāhin*, even though the former occupies a lower rank than the latter in the hierarchy of seers because he does no more than exercise the divinatory prerogatives of the *kāhin*; however, since in a nomadic society these predominated, *ʿarrāf* and *kāhin* were eventually applied to the same person.

ʿIrāfa is the knowledge of things unseen or of things to come, on the basis of things visible or present. It implies a gnostic knowledge (compare *maʿrifa* in relation to *ʿilm*), and consequently a knowledge restricted to the initiated, an implication contained in the Akkadian and Hebrew equivalents of *ʿarrāf*: *mūdū* and *iiddʿonī*. Therefore *irāfa*, while belonging essentially to the realm of divination, comes close to that of enchantment and magic.

ʿArrāf and *ʿarrāfa* are inspired by a *tābiʿ* or *tābiʿa*

(familiar spirit) or a *ra'iyy* or *ri'iyy* (inspirer for particular occasions); therefore the *ʿarrāf* is called *matbūʿ* (flanked by a demon), and *ʿirāfa* is at times assimilated to sorcery and to *sha*ʿ*badha* (legerdemain, conjuring). The lowest stage of the function of the *ʿarraf* and the *kāhin* is rendered by the term *nāshid*. This epithet refers both to his role as exorciser (*munāshada*) and to his role as finder of lost animals and other objects. It is often in this guise that the *kāhin-ʿarrāf* appears in the apologetic folktales of primitive Islam.

Before Islam, the *kāhin* in central Arabia was the spiritual and intellectual guide of the tribe, a role filled by all agents of a cult in underdeveloped societies at every period and every place. By reason of the geographic, historic and social circumstances in which he practised, he was an independent holy man, like his Greek counterpart, even though at times connected with an oracle, rather than an official in the service of a centralizing state, like his Assyro-Babylonian and Roman counterparts.

Bibliography: Apart from references in the text, and in particular T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Leiden 1966, a work containing references, justifications and a long bibliography, the principal sources and studies are: a) Sources: Ibn Hishām; Ibn Saʿd; Ṭabarī; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*; Ibn al-Athīr; Azraḳī, *Akhbār Makka*, ed. Wüstenfeld; Ibn al-Kalbī, *K. al-Aṣnām*, ed.-tr. W. Atallah, Paris 1969; Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, ed. Cheikho, in *MFO*, iii-v (1909-11); Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. Wüstenfeld; *Aghānī*[1]; Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*; idem, *K. al-Tarbīʿ*, ed. Pellat, Damascus 1955; Ibn Ḳutayba, *K. al-Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkāsha; Yāḳūt; Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjā'ib al-makhlūḳāt* (I) *wa-āthār al-bilād* (II), ed. Wüstenfeld; Ibshīhī, *al-Mustaṭraf*, I-II, Cairo ed. 1352/1933, Fr. tr. G. Rat, Paris-Toulon 1902.

b) J. Wellhausen, *Reste*[2]; H. Lammens, *Le culte des Bétyles et les processions religieuses chez les Arabes préislamites*, in *BIFAO*, xvii (1919-20), 39-101; idem, *Les sanctuaires préislamites dans l'Arabie occidentale*, in *MUSJ*, xi/2 (1926), 39-173; E. Dhorme, *La religion des Hébreux nomades*, Paris 1937; A. Haldar, *Associations of cult prophets among the ancient Semites*, Uppsala 1945; J.-M. Lagrange, *Études sur les religions sémitiques*[2], Paris 1905; W. Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the religion of the Semites*[3], London 1927; idem, *On the forms of divination and magic enumerated in Deut. XVIII, 10-11*, in *The Journal of Philology*, xiii (1885), 273-87, xiv (1885), 113-28; T. Witton-Davies, *Magic, divination and demonology among the Hebrew and their neighbours* ... London 1899; G. Ryckmans, *Les religions arabes préislamiques*[2], Louvain 1953; E. O. James, *The nature and function of priesthood*, London 1955; A. Jamme, *La religion sud-arabe préislamique*, in *Histoire des Religions*, Paris, Blood et Gay, iv (1947), 239-307; J. Starcky, *Palmyréniens, Nabatéens et Arabes du nord avant l'Islam*, *ibid.*, 201-37; H. S. Nyberg, *Bemerkungen zum "Buch der Götzenbilder" von Ibn al-Kalbī*, in *Skrifter utg. av. Svenska institutet i Rom*, Ser. 2/I (1939), 346-66; Ed. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1909; I. Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, i-ii, Leiden 1896-99; I. Engnell, *Studies in divine kingship in the ancient Near East*, Uppsala 1943.

(T. FAHD)

AL-KĀHINA ("the Sorceress") was the guiding spirit of Berber resistance to the Arab invaders led by Ḥassān b. al-Nuʿmān [*q.v.*] after the collapse of Byzantine power marked by the fall of Carthage (73/692-3).

Her true personality—which must have been highly complex—is very difficult to discern, for only the distorted reflections of her real features can be detected behind the legend. There is no agreement even on her real name, for al-Kāhina is only a nickname given to her by the Arabs. It is said that she was named Dihya—Ibn Khaldūn (tr. de Slane, *Berbères*, i, 172) mentions a Berber tribe known by this name—of which Dahyā, Dāhiya, Damya, Dāmiya, or Daḥya could be merely variant spellings. There is the same doubt about her descent; she is said to be the daughter of Tātīt, or again of Mātiya (= Matthias, Matthew) son of Tīfān (= Theophanus). If this means that al-Kāhina was descended from those Berbers of mixed blood, the issue of mixed marriages, it would help to explain her authority, not only over her compatriots but also over the Byzantines. Several other indications confirm this hypothesis. Al-Kāhina herself is said to have married a Greek. We are told that she had two sons: the one of Berber descent, the other of a Greek father (*Yūnānī*). She was also, contrary to general belief, Christian by religion rather than Jewish. Her tribe, the nomadic and pastoral Djarāwa, a subdivision of the Zanāta, themselves related to the Buṭr, had indeed first adopted Judaism, but like many other tribes, such as the Nafūsa, had afterwards been converted to Christianity. When al-Kāhina appeared on the scene of history she was a widow, and was certainly very old. Legend relates that she lived for 127 years, 35 of them as "queen" (*malika*) of the Aurès, where in 477, following a successful rebellion against the Vandals, a first independent Berber kingdom had already been set up, governed by Iabdas. Like those "Arab queens" cited by T. Fahd (*Divination arabe*, 98), she was clearly an "ecstatic". At the moment of inspiration she became wildly excited, let her hair stream out, and beat her breast. She also practised more orthodox techniques of divination, such as reading the future in gravel, and there is no doubt that she owed a large part of her power to her prophetic gifts.

Al-Kāhina took up the challenge thrown down by Kusayla, who had mobilized in particular the settled Barānis. At first she was victorious. After taking Carthage and destroying the organized Byzantine forces, Ḥassān turned towards the Aurès, the stronghold of Berber resistance. He regrouped his forces on the banks of the Meskiana and attacked. Al-Kāhina did likewise, after demolishing Bāghāya, which was probably her capital and which she wished to avoid falling into the aggressors' hands. The decisive confrontation took place on the banks of the Oued Nīnī, probably not far from the railway station of the same name which today is situated 16 km. to the south of Aīn-Beīda on the railway line to Khenchela. The battle was so disastrous for Ḥassān that for many years afterwards the Arabs called the *oued* where it took place *Nahr al-Balā'* ("river of trials"), or, for less apparent reasons, *Wādī 'l-ʿAdhārā* ("valley of the virgins"). This campaign, Ḥassān's first setback, had an epilogue in the territory of Gabès in the course of a final battle which drove the invaders out of Ifrīḳiya.

Ḥassān was ordered to halt his retreat four stages to the east of Tripoli, where he established his camp (Ḳuṣūr Ḥassān) and bided his time. Al-Kāhina enlarged the area of her authority, but her power certainly did not spread over the whole Maghrib, nor even the whole of Ifrīḳiya, as is stated in some sources (Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, i, 36; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, in de Slane, *Berbères*, i, 340). She treated the Arab prisoners well; she had adopted one of them according to the Berber rite of simulated suckling, an influential chief,

Khālid b. Yazīd (sometimes called Yazīd b. Khālid), who was regarded as a spy from Ḥassān's camp. Perhaps she wished to establish good relations with the Arabs and bring them to renounce their designs, of which she was doubtless informed, by means more reliable than divination. It was probably the failure of this policy which forced her in despair to devastate the country, adopting in the face of a stubborn enemy a "scorched earth" policy, which Solomon had already employed in 539 against King Iabdas when he was entrenched in the Aurès (Ch.-E. Dufourcq, *Berbérie et Ibérie,...* in *Rev. Historique*, fasc. 488, p. 300, citing Procopius). These alleged devastations have been a matter of controversy for many years. Some modern historians deny them altogether. The Arab chroniclers exaggerated them to an enormous extent. In fact, it seems that they cannot be denied completely, but nor should they be seen as a cataclysm. They could not have extended beyond certain regions of Ifrīķiya, but they must nevertheless have been sufficiently serious to disaffect large sections of the settled population, who, when they did not seek refuge in the Mediterranean islands or even in Spain, were ready to beg Ḥassān to intervene.

Ḥassān, who had kept himself informed of the situation and had received reinforcements, once more invaded Ifrīķiya, probably in 78/697-8 (the chronology is not clear), this time probably with the support of some Berber contingents hostile to the policy of al-Kāhina. Henceforth the indigenous peoples no longer made common cause. From this moment an air of defeatism began to prevail in the Aurès, and this inspired Kāhina, her hair flowing, in ecstasy (*nāshiratan sha'arahā*), to give voice in her desperate state to those alarming prophecies which were but the warnings of despair and have come down to us as so many oracles. The first clash took place in the Gabès region and was unfavourable to al-Kāhina. This is the logical moment to place the dramatic episode, unlikely yet probably true, in which the "queen", certain of her forthcoming destruction, advised her sons to change sides before it was too late. She herself, with Ḥassān on her heels, fled for refuge to the mountains of the Aurès. The final engagement took place in a place which al-Mālikī (*Riyāḍ*, i, 36) calls Ṭarfa: the form Tabarka given by al-Bakrī (*Masālik*, 57, trans. 121), Ibn Nādjī (*Ma'ālim*, i, 61), and Ibn Abī Dīnār (*Mu'nis*, 35) is surely a graphic corruption of this. Here, probably at the exit of Djabal Neshshār about 50 km. north of Tobna, al-Kāhina fought her last battle, which, we are told, both sides regarded as a fight to the death, before perishing beside a well which long bore her name. Her energy and determination made a considerable impression, and some modern historians have seen in her a sort of Berber Joan of Arc (de Lartigues, *Monographie*, 182).

Bibliography: Sources in chronological order: Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, ed. and tr. A. Gateau, Algiers 1948, 76-8; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, ed. Riḍwān Muḥammad Riḍwān, Cairo 1932, 231; Mālikī, *Riyāḍ*, ed. H. Monès, Cairo 1951, i, 32-6; Bakrī, *Masālik*, ed. and tr. de Slane, Paris 1965, text, 7-8, 20, 31, 57, 145, 182, tr., 22-3, 48, 69, 121, 277, 340; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Cairo 1357/1938-9, iv, 31-3; Yāķūt, *Buldān*, Beirut 1957, v, 339, s.v. Nīnī; 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ṣāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Ḥalīm, *Fatḥ al-'Arab li 'l-Maghrib*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, in *RIEEI*, Madrid 1954, ii, 222-3 (tr. in *Arabica*, i, 40-41); Pseudo-Ibn al-Raķīķ, *Ta'rīkh*, ed. al-Kaâbi, Tunis 1968, 55-64; Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān*, ed. G. S. Colin and E. Lévi-Provençal, Leiden 1948, i, 35-8; Tidjānī, *Riḥla*, Tunis 1958, 58; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, tr. de Slane, al-Wazīr al-Sarrādj, *Ḥulal*, ed. M. H. al-Ḥīla, Tunis 1970, i, 533-37; in *Berbères*, Algiers 1852, i, 340-2; Ibn Khaldūn, *'Ibar*, Beirut 1950, vi, 214, 218-19, vii, 17-18, tr. de Slane, *Berbères*, i, 208-9, 213-15; Ibn Nādjī, *Ma'ālim*, Tunis 1902, i, 55-61; Ibn Abī Dīnār, *Mu'nis*, Tunis 1967, 21, 34-5; al-Mawlā Aḥmad, *Riḥla*, Fez n.d., 48-51 (trans. Berbrugger, *Voyages*, Paris 1846, 234-41); al-Urthilānī, *Nuzha*, Algiers 1326/1908, 101-4; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḍiyāf, *Itḥāf*, Tunis 1963, i, 82-3; Nāṣirī, *Istiķṣā*, Rabat 1954, i, 58, 82-3. Modern studies: S. W. Baron, *A social and religious history of the Jews*; M. Dall' Arche, *Scomparsa del Cristianismo ed espansione dell'Islam nell'Africa Settentrionale*, Rome 1967, 125-32; Ch.-E. Dufourcq, *Berbérie et Ibérie médievales: un problème de rupture*, in *Rev. Historique* (Paris 1968), fasc. 488, 297-302, 311; H. Fournel, *Berbers*, Paris 1875-81, i, 215-25; Masqueray, *Traditions de l'Aurès*, in *Bull. de corr. Afr.*, 1885, 1-2, 80-3; E. Mercier, *Hist. de l'Afrique Septentrionale*, Paris 1888, i, 212-6; de Lartigues, *Monographie de l'Aurès*, Constantine 1904, 182; E. F. Gautier, *Le Passé de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1952, 270-80; G. Marçais, *La Berbérie musulmane et l'Orient au Moyen Age*, Paris 1946, 29, 34-5; H. Monés, *Fatḥ al-'Arab li 'l-Maghrib*, Cairo 1947, 242-59; A. Gateau, *Conquête de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1948, 161, n. 106; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Un nouveau récit de la conquête de l'Afrique du Nord par les Arabes*, in *Arabica*, i (1954), 32-3; H. Z. Hirschberg, *Ha-Kāhina ha-berberit*, in *Tarbitz*, xxvi (1957), 370-83; T. Lewicki, *Prophètes, devins et magiciens chez les Berbères médiévaux*, in *Folia Orientalia*, vii (1965), 4, 6; idem, *Survivances chez les Berbères médiévaux d'ère musulmane de cultes anciens et de croyances païennes*, in *Folia Orientalia*, viii (1967), 7; Sa'd Zaghlūl 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, *Ta'rīkh al-Maghrib al-'Arabī*, Cairo 1965, 182-95; H. Simon, *Le judaïsme berbère dans l'Afrique ancienne*, in *Rev. d'Hist. de Phil. Religieuses*, Strasburg 1946, 6, 8; T. Fahd, *Divination arabe*, Leiden 1966, 92-3, 97-8, 100; M. Talbi, *Un nouveau fragment de l'Histoire de l'Occident Musulman (62-196/682-812), l'épopée d'al-Kāhina*, in *CT*, 1971, no. 73.

(M. TALBI)

AL-ĶĀHIR BI'LLĀH, 19th 'Abbāsid Caliph, who reigned from 320/932 to 322/934 in succession to his brother al-Muķtadir [*q.v.*]. He had previously been temporarily chosen as caliph after the abortive palace revolution in Muḥarram 317/March 929. Al-Muķtadir's death followed after the sortie he made at the head of his troops against the *amīr* Mu'nis [*q.v.*] in 320/932. When the dignitaries came to nominate a new caliph, Mu'nis's judgement in favour of Aḥmad, the son of al-Muķtadir, was ignored and Muḥammad, son of al-Mu'taḍid, was proclaimed on 27 Shawwāl 320/31 October 932. The headstrong and vindictive personality of the new caliph had an immediate effect on the extremely shaky political situation. Al-Ķāhir made his mark right from the beginning of his reign through his ignominious treatment of his mother, whose property he seized after having ill-treated her, and his conduct towards the sons and officials of the former caliph. The reins of government were held by the vizier Ibn Muķla [*q.v.*] and the *amīr* Mu'nis, who encountered grave difficulties: the opposition of the former supporters of al-Muķtadir and a financial crisis. The caliph himself tried to reinforce his authority; he succeeded in thwarting the schemes of the chamberlain, Ibn Yalbaķ, and had Mu'nis arrested, while the vizier took flight (Sha'bān 321/July 933).

The new vizier, Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim b. ʿUbayd Allāh, supported the anti-S̲h̲īʿite policy of the caliph, who had Ibn Yalbaḳ and Muʾnis put to death, declaring himself *al-muntaḳim min aʿdāʾdīn Allāh* and having this slogan engraved on the coinage. Al-Ḳāhir wasted no time in ridding himself of his vizier and replacing him with Aḥmad al-K̲h̲aṣībī; but he too soon found himself in insurmountable financial difficulties, while the former vizier, Ibn Muḳla, plotted against the caliph and managed to stir up the Sād̲j̲ī guard, who rising on 6 D̲j̲umādā I 322/24 April 934, seized the caliph and imprisoned him.

The son of al-Muḳtadir, taking the name of al-Rāḍī, was proclaimed the new caliph. Since al-Ḳāhir had refused to abdicate, in spite of the pressure put upon him, the chief of the Sād̲j̲ī guard, supported by al-Rāḍī, had him blinded. Al-Ḳāhir was released only eleven years later, on the orders of the following caliph, al-Mustakfī, and he died in D̲j̲umādā I 339/ October 950.

Bibliography: D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 471-8; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, index. (D. SOURDEL)

AL-**ḲĀHIRA**, capital of Egypt and one of the most important centres of religious, cultural and political life in the Muslim world. The city is situated on both banks on the Nile, at 30°6′ Lat. N. and 31°26′ Long. E. respectively, at ca. 20 km. south of the delta where the Muḳaṭṭam Mountain almost comes down to the river. This strategical point dominating the access to Lower Egypt had been inhabited since early times, but became of primary importance during the arab invasion in 22/643, when ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ established the foundations of a permanent encampment at al-Fusṭāṭ. The actual name of the city is derived from *Miṣr al-Ḳāhira*, a town established in 359/970 by the Fāṭimid caliph al-Muʿizz, which gradually embraced the surrounding places. The remains of al-Fusṭāṭ are found in the quarter of modern Cairo called Maṣr al-ʿAtīḳa, Old Cairo. See also BABALYŪN, AL-FUSṬĀṬ, MIṢR, AL-RAWḌA. (ED.)

MONUMENTS

Numbers in square brackets after monuments are those given in the *Index to the Mohammedan monuments in Cairo* (Survey of Egypt 1951). An asterisk after a monument indicates that it is dated by reference to a foundation inscription (often more than one).

Nomenclature. A considerable difficulty in the identification of monuments is orthographic, since current pronunciation of a name (Ṣarg̲h̲atmis̲h̲) [218], the literary sources (Ṣarg̲h̲ītmīs̲h̲ [Budagov], Ṣuyurg̲h̲utmus̲h̲ [Moritz, *Arabic palaeography*]) and the inscriptions (Ṣirg̲h̲itmis̲h̲, carefully pointed) often diverge markedly. For the sake of convenience, in reference to the standard art-historical authorities a modified form of the colloquial arabicized Turkish has been adopted (Ḳūṣūn [224] and not Ḳawṣawn, as it appears pointed on the porch of his mosque), except when popular etymology has so distorted the name (Tag̲h̲rībirdī/Tañrīverdī [209] which has become Sag̲h̲rīwardī) that the original is difficult to reconstruct.

Topography. The vast extent of the modern city of Cairo creates problems for the history of its monuments. Exceptionally among Middle Eastern cities, its development has been horizontal, rather than in terms of vertically superimposed layers, extensive rather than intensive. The original enceinte of al-Ḳāhira, located well to the north of the agglomerations of al-Fusṭāṭ, al-ʿAskar and al-Ḳaṭāʾiʿ, was intended essentially as a centre of government, well outside the main habitation areas, containing a palace-complex, the barracks of the Fāṭimid armies and the new congregational mosque of al-Azhar [97]. For a time the walled city of old Cairo, Ḳaṣr al-S̲h̲amʿ/ Bābalyūn and al-Fusṭāṭ maintained their importance as industrial centres with the chief port installations on the Nile and the major blocks of tenements. However, the progressive westward deflection of the course of the Nile, and the attraction of al-Ḳāhira as the centre of government led to a steady population movement northwards, so that the original mud (*labin*) walls of D̲j̲awhar (358/969 onwards) had twice to be expanded, by Badr al-D̲j̲amālī [6, 7, 199] in 480/1087-484/1091*, and by Bahāʾ al-Dīn Ḳarāḳūs̲h̲ under Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in 572/1176-589/1193. The 5th/ 11th-century expansion, allegedly motivated by fear of an attack by the Sald̲j̲ūḳ, Ātsīz, was less extensive than the latter, which included large areas between the walls of D̲j̲awhar and the Nile (see Fig. 1), now commemorated only in the names of certain quarters of modern Cairo, the Bāb al-Lūḳ, the Bāb al-Ḥadīd, the Bāb al-K̲h̲alḳ (K̲h̲arḳ), etc. The steady northward population movement led to the desertion of large areas of al-Fusṭāṭ, which by the mid-6th/12th century had become abandoned (*k̲h̲arāba*) and which in 572/1176 were partially connected to the inhabited areas by a wall, which remained incomplete at Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's death.

From the Fāṭimid period onwards the areas of al-Ḳaṭāʾiʿ south of the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn became increasingly associated with the southern cemetery (the Ḳarāfa al-Kubrāʾ, see below). The first major expansion outside the Fāṭimid enceinte was the Citadel built for Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, 572-1176 onwards, not to fortify the city but as a place of refuge.

The Citadel was supplied with water from the Nile by means of an aqueduct [78] (*ḳanāṭir*) which in its present state dates only from the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (Creswell, *MAE*, ii, 255-9), who in 712/ 1312 (sic) built four *sāḳiyas* on the Nile to raise water to the aqueduct of the Citadel and in 741/1341 incorporated into it the remains of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's wall, which had been intended to enclose the *k̲h̲arāba* of al-Fusṭāṭ. It was restored and lengthened at various times during the 9th/15th century and particularly in the reigns of Ḳāʾit Bāy and Ḳānṣawh al-G̲h̲awrī [*qq.v.*], to whom the large water-tower, now known as the Sabʿa Sawāḳī and still more or less on the Nile, must probably be attributed [78].

A second Ayyūbid fortress, no longer extant and destroyed and rebuilt several times during the Mamlūk period, was the Ḳalʿat al-Rawḍa/Ḳalʿat al-Miḳyās, erected on the Island of Rawḍa (Roda) by al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, though the island was almost exclusively a residential area, like D̲j̲īza (Giza), and very few monuments of any architectural importance now survive there.

Under the Baḥrī [see AL-BAḤRIYYA] Mamlūks the expansion continued mainly outside the Fāṭimid walls, those foundations within being almost exclusively funerary and royal. The south-western slopes of the Citadel, which had remained unfortified in the Ayyūbid period, were walled by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad but were principally occupied by the sultan's palace and the houses of his high amīrs. In this period we see the creation of the great Mamlūk thoroughfares, the Darb al-Aḥmar leading from the Citadel to the Bāb Zuwayla [199]*, the S̲h̲āriʿ al-Ṣalība leading from the Citadel towards the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, and the K̲h̲alīd̲j̲, originally a canal (now the S̲h̲āriʿ Port Saʿīd). The expansion to the north of the walled city of al-Ḳāhira was not so marked:

the only two remaining foundations of any importance are the Mosque of Baybars in the Maydān Ḍāhir (Ẓāhir) [1], 665-7/1266-9*, built on one of the royal polo grounds (see Pls. 3, 3a, 3b) and Ḳubba-al-Fadāwiyya [5], dated by Creswell to 884-6/1479-81*.

Under the Ottomans the expansion of Cairo appears to have taken a different direction, to the west of the walled city of al-Ḳāhira, particularly in the Būlāḳ area, which then became the principal port of Cairo. There are only two pre-Ottoman buildings surviving in this quarter, the mosque of the Ḳāḍī Yaḥyā [344], 852-3/1448-9, and the mosque of Abu 'l-ʿIlā [340], c. 890/1485. By contrast, the quarter contains the mosque (*kulliyya*) of Sinān Pās̲h̲ā [349], 979/1571*, a large number of 17th- and 18th-century foundations and many less important but interesting *k̲h̲āns* (*wikālas*) as well as wooden houses of a distinctively Istanbul type. The area has been only cursorily surveyed and stands in need of a detailed study. The change of direction initiated by the Ottomans was continued with the development of residential quarters, at D̲j̲īza and ʿImbāba on the west bank of the Nile, at Shubra, where a palace of Muḥammad ʿAlī built by 1850 (E. Pauty, *L'architecture au Caire depuis la conquête ottomane*, 52-8) attracted a residential suburb, at ʿAbbāsiyya, and ultimately in the development of Garden City and Heliopolis (see Pl. 8).

The history of settlement of al-Ḳāhira shows a secular northward movement continuing from that of al-Fusṭāṭ to al-Ḳaṭāʾiʿ. Al-Ḳāhira itself, at least within the walled area enclosed by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, remained of central importance as the seat of government and in the 19th century, with the Europeanized town plan imposed upon the Ezbekiyya quarter, the centre of commerce as well. The same development, however, was not followed in the cemeteries which now virtually surround the city and which are perhaps the most remarkable architectural feature of Cairo to strike the visitor.

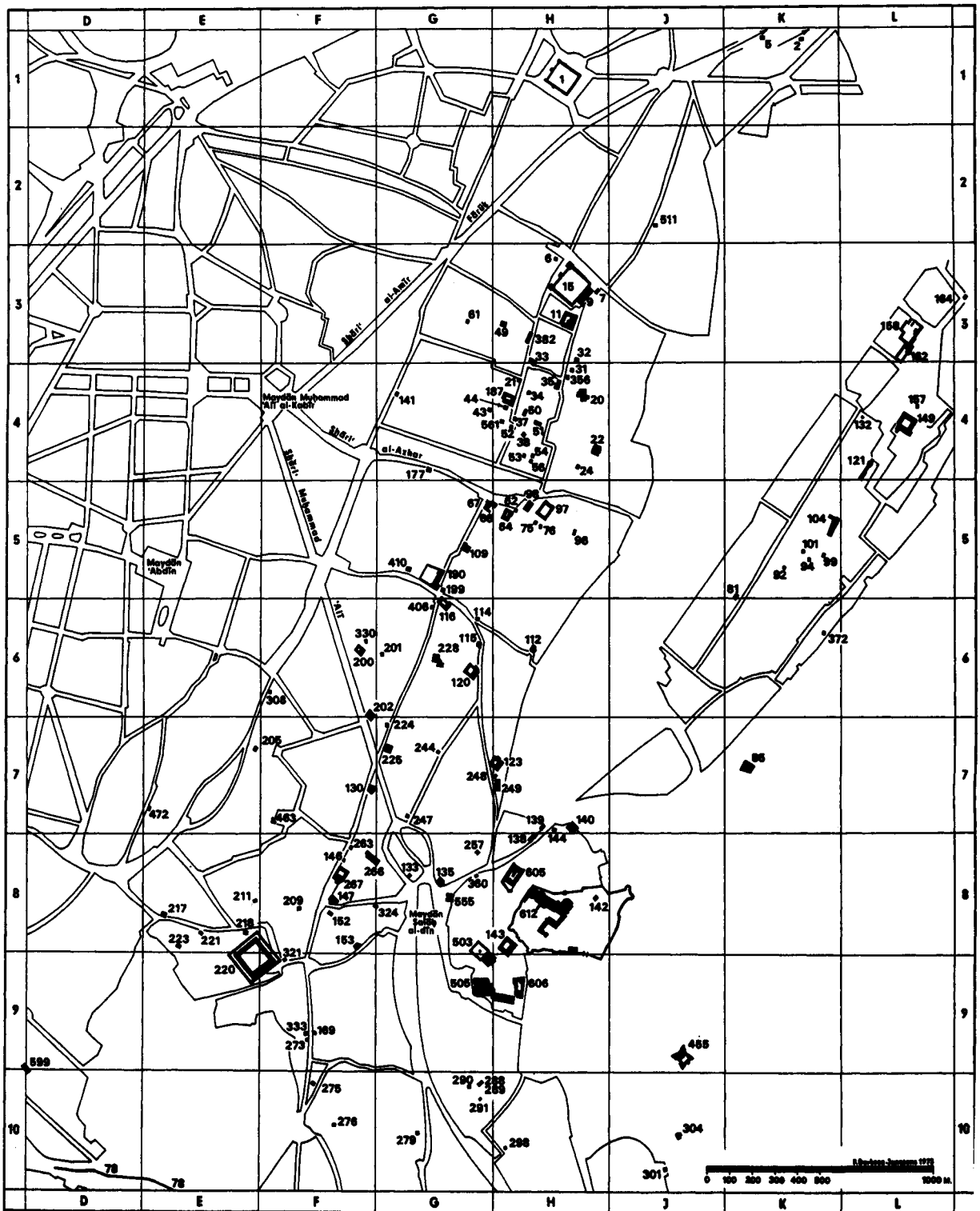
Cemeteries. The great southern cemetery (al-Ḳarāfa al-Kubrāʾ), the principal burial place of Cairo since the invasion of ʿAmr, remained in full use in the Fāṭimid period, when it was the centre of a considerable cult, which was made acceptable to Sunnī orthodoxy by the foundation of a *madrasa* at the tomb of the Imām al-S̲h̲āfiʿī soon after the Ayyūbid conquest of Egypt (the present mausoleum [281], 608/1211, was built by al-Malik al-Kāmil; see Pls. 2, 2a). At the south of the cemetery are a group of Fāṭimid *mas̲h̲hads*, the most important of which is that of Yaḥyā al-S̲h̲abīhī [285], *c.* 545-6/1151, the mausoleum of the Imām al-Lay̲th̲ [286] rebuilt by al-G̲h̲awrī in 911/1505* and restored in 1201/1786-7*, the *k̲h̲ānḳāh* and mausoleum of S̲h̲āhīn al-K̲h̲alawātī [212], 945/1538, and the mausoleum of Sīdī ʿUḳba rebuilt by Muḥammad Pās̲h̲ā Silāḥdār in 1066/1655-6* and restored in 1099/1688 [608], better known as the Sādāt al-Wafāʾiyya. Remains of the Mamlūk period in this area are now sparse, though a detailed survey would doubtless permit the location of many funerary foundations mentioned by Maḳrīzī and others. Behind the mausoleum of the Imām al-S̲h̲āfiʿī are the tombs of the late royal family, the Ḥaws̲h̲ al-Pās̲h̲ā.

The northern part of this cemetery contains a larger and more important group of Fāṭimid *mas̲h̲hads*, including that of Sayyida Nafīsa (of which only restoration inscriptions dated to the reign of al-Ḥāfiẓ now exist; the reconstruction proposed by D. Russell, *A note on the cemetery of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs and the shrine of Sayyida Nafīsa*, in *Ars Islamica*, vi (1939), 168-74, is highly speculative), Sayyida Ruḳayya [273], 527/1133*, and Sayyida ʿĀtiḳa [333], *c.* 1125. The sequence continues almost without interruption with the mausolea of late Ayyūbid and Baḥrī Mamlūk sultans or princesses, including S̲h̲ad̲j̲ar al-Durr [169], *c.* 648/1250, the *ḥaws̲h̲* and mausoleum of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs [276], possibly as early as 640/1242-3, and the mausoleum of al-As̲h̲raf K̲h̲alīl [275], 687/1288*, the last Mamlūk sultan to be buried in this area. Doubtless to be included within the same cemetery, in the area to the south-west of the Citadel, is a group of funerary foundations. The earliest of these is conventionally known as the mausoleum of Muṣṭafā Pās̲h̲ā [279], (?) 666/1267-672/1273, and they include the mausoleum and *k̲h̲ānḳāh* of Ḳūṣūn [290-1], 736-7/1335-7*, and a remarkable mausoleum with minaret, the Sulṭāniyya [288-9]; by reason of its domes, which resemble superficially Tīmūrid domes at Samarḳand and Herāt, Creswell dates the latter to the mid-9th/15th century but it may well be a century earlier.

The fringes of the southern cemetery merit attention. The Christian cemeteries appear to have been located, as they are now, in the vicinity of Ḳaṣr al-S̲h̲amʿ, though nothing of any antiquity remains there (those of the D̲j̲abal al-Aḥmar to the north-east of Cairo appear to date from the present century). The Jewish cemeteries were located even further south in the area of Basātīn al-Wazīr. The most puzzling of these fringe monuments, however, is the Mas̲h̲had al-D̲j̲uyūs̲h̲ī [304], 478/1085*, the mausoleum of Badr al-D̲j̲amālī, which now stands completely isolated on the Muḳaṭṭam hills, though the literary sources refer to pavilions and other buildings (*e.g.*, the Masd̲j̲id al-Tannūr built on the supposed site of the Tannūr Firʿawn) which no longer remain. It is, in any case, the only funerary monument in this area.

The cemetery of the Bāb al-Wazīr to the north and north-east of the Citadel lies immediately outside the northern walls of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. The most important, as well as the earliest, foundation there is that of Mand̲j̲aḳ al-Yūsufī [138], 750/1349*, described as a mosque in the *Index*, but, exceptionally, having a separate entrance gateway, and a tomb attached to the mosque in the form of a *madrasa*. The other monuments are also 8th/14th century, the *sabīl* of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ū [144], 755/1354*, the earliest free-standing *sabīl* in the architecture of Cairo, the *masd̲j̲id* and *k̲h̲ānḳāh* of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Niẓām al-Dīn [140], 757/1356*, and the mausoleum and *k̲h̲ānḳāh* of Tankizbug̲h̲ā, situated in an isolated position some distance away on a low spur of the Muḳaṭṭam [85], 764/1362*. The latest of this group is the mausoleum of Yūnus al-Dawādār [139], pre-783/1382. None of the foundations is royal, and since the foundation of Mand̲j̲aḳ is not significantly smaller than those of the Baḥrī Mamlūk sultans, the creation of this small cemetery is an index of the pressure upon space created by the grand funerary constructions of the Mamlūk sultans *intra muros* and in the main streets leading from the Citadel towards the centre.

The great northern, or north-eastern, cemetery, known misleadingly as the Tombs of the Caliphs, though almost contiguous with that of the Bāb al-Wazīr and now apparently separated from it only by a recent road, the S̲h̲āriʿ Ṣalāḥ Sālim, would appear (al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 363) to be a separate development; the first tomb to be built in this area (known in his time as the ʿAwāmid al-Sibāḳ) was that of Yūnus al-Dawādār [157], 783-4/1382, actually the burial place of Ānas*, father of Barḳūḳ. There is a topographical problem here, however, since in the southern sector of this cemetery, contiguous to that of Bāb al-Wazīr,

1. Mosque of al-Ẓāhir Baybars (H1)
2. Mausoleum of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Ṭūmānbāy (K1)
5. al-Ḳubba al-Fadāwiyya (K1)
6. Bāb al-Futūḥ (H3)
7. Bāb al-Naṣr (H3)
9. *Khān* of Ḳāʾit Bāy (H3)
11. *Khān* of Ḳūṣūn (H3)
15. Mosque of al-Ḥākim (H3)
20. Musāfirkhāna palace (H4)
21. *Sabīl-kuttāb* of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Katkhudā (H4)
22. *Zāwiya* of Āydumur al-Pahlawān (H4)
24. Mosque of al-Čūkāndār (H4)
31. *Madrasa* of Ḳarā Sunḳur (H4)
32. *Khānḳāh* of Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Djāshenkīr (H3)
33. Mosque of al-Aḳmar (H3)
34. Palace of Beshtāk (H4)
35. Mosque of Djamāl al-Dīn al-Ustādār (H4)
37. Ẓāhiriyya *madrasa* (H4)
38. Mausoleum and *madrasa* of al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb (H4)
43. *Madrasa* and *māristān* of al-Manṣūr Ḳalāʾūn (G4)
44. *Madrasa* of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (H4)
49. Mosque of the *ḳāḍī* Abū Bakr Muẓhir (H3)
50. *Ḳāʿa* of Muḥammad Muḥibb al-Dīn (Waḳf ʿUthmān Katkhudā) (H4)
51. Maḳʿad Māmāy (Bayt al-Ḳāḍī) (H4)
52. *Sabīl-kuttāb* of Khusraw Pāshā (H4)
53. Bāb al-Bādistān (al-Ghūrī) (H4)
54. Façade of Wikālat al-Ghūrī (H4)
56. Gate of al-Ghūrī (H4)
61. *Ribāṭ* of the wife of al-Ashraf Īnāl (Khwānd Zaynab) (G3)
62. *Ḥawḍ* and *sabīl* of Muḥammad Bey Abū Dhahab (H5)
64. Wikālat al-Nakhla (H5)
66, 67. Mausoleum, *madrasa*, and *khānḳāh* of al-Ghūrī (GH5)
75. *Khān* of Ḳāʾit Bāy (H5)
76. *Sabīl-kuttāb* of Ḳāʾit Bāy (H5)
78. Aqueduct (D10)
81. Mausoleum and remains of *khānḳāh* of Khwānd Ṭughāy (Umm Anūk) (K5)
85. Mausoleum, *khānḳāh*, and *madrasa* of Tankizbughā (K7)
92. Tomb of Ṭashtīmūr (K5)
94. Mausoleum of Ibn Ghurāb (K5)
96. Ghannāmiyya *madrasa* (H5)
97. Mosque of al-Azhar (H5)
98. Mosque of Muḥammad Bey Abū Dhahab (H5)
99. Mosque and mausoleum of Ḳāʾit Bāy (K5)
101. *Maḳʿad* of Ḳāʾit Bāy (K5)
104. *Rabʿ* of Ḳāʾit Bāy (K5)
109. Mosque of al-Fakahānī (G5)
112. Mosque of Aṣlam al-Bahāʾī (H6)
114. Mosque of Ḳidjmās (Ḳačmāz) al-Isḥāḳī (G6)
115. Mosque of Aḥmad al-Mihmāndār (G6)
116. Mosque of al-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalāʾiʿ (G6)
120. Mosque of Altinbughā al-Māridānī (G6)
121. *Khānḳāh* of al-Ashraf Barsbāy (L4)
123. Mosque of Āḳsunḳur (Ibrāhīm Āghā Mustaḥfiẓān) (H7)
130. Mosque of Ālmās (Yīlmāz) (F7)
132. Ḳubbat ʿAṣfūr (L4)
133. Mosque of sultan Ḥasan (G8)
135. Mosque al-Maḥmūdiyya (G8)
138. Mosque of Mandjak al-Yūsufī (H8)
139. Mausoleum of Yūnus al-Dawādār (H7)
140. *Masdjid* and *khānḳāh* of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Isḥāḳ (H7)
141. *Ribāṭ* of Yaḥyā Zayn al-Dīn (G4)
142. Mosque of Khādim Sulaymān Pāshā (H8)
143. Mosque of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (H8)
144. *Sabīl* of Shaykhū (H7)
146. Zāwiyat al-ʿAbbār (F8)
147. Mosque of Shaykhū al-ʿUmarī (F8)
149. *Khānḳāh* of Faradj b. Barḳūḳ (L4)
152. *Khānḳāh* and mausoleum of Shaykhū al-ʿUmarī (F8)
153. *Madrasa* of Khūshḳadam al-Aḥmadī (F8)
157. Tomb of Ānas (Yūnus al-Dawādār) (L4)
158. Mausoleum, *ribāṭ*, and mosque/*khānḳāh* of Sulṭān al-Ashraf Īnāl (L3)
162. *Khānḳāh* and mausoleum of Amīr Ḳurḳumās (L3)
164. Mausoleum of Ḳānṣūh Abū Saʿīd (L3)
169. Mausoleum of Shadjar al-Durr (F9)
177. *Khānḳāh* of Muḳbil al-Zimām al-Dāʾūdī (G4)
187. Mosque and *madrasa* of Sultan Barḳūḳ (H4)
190. Mosque of al-Muʾayyad Shaykh (G5)
199. Bāb Zuwayla (G5)
200. Mosque of Malika Ṣafiyya (F6)
201. Mosque of al-Burdaynī (G6)
202. Remains of the mosque of Ḳūṣūn (F6)
205. Minaret and door of the mosque of Beshtāk (E7)
209. *Madrasa* of Taghrībirdī (F8)
211. Mausoleum of Azbak al-Yūsufī (E8)
217. Façade of the mosque of Lādjīn al-Sayfī (E8)
218. Mosque and *madrasa* of Ṣarghatmish (E8)
220. Mosque of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn (EF8,9)
221. Mausoleum of Salār and of Sandjar al-Djāwilī (E8)
223. *Madrasa* of Ḳāʾit Bāy (E8)
224. Gate of the mosque of Ḳūṣūn (G7)
225. al-Takkiya al-Sulaymāniyya (G7)
228. "Palace" of Ḳāʾit Bāy (G6)
244. Bath of Beshtāk (G7)
247. Gate of Mandjak al-Silāḥdār (G7)
248. Mosque of Khayr Beg (H7)
249. Palace of Khayr Beg (H7)
257. *Māristān* of al-Muʾayyad Shaykh (G8)
263. Tomb and *madrasa* of Sunḳur Saʿdī Ḥasan Ṣadaḳa (F8)
266. Palace of Amīr Yushbak (F8)
267. Palace of Amīr Ṭāz (F8)
273. *Mashhad* of Sayyida Ruḳayya (F9)
275. Mausoleum of al-Ashraf Khalīl (F10)
276. *Ḥawsh* and mausoleum of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs (F10)
279. Mausoleum of Muṣṭafā Pāshā (G10)
288, 289. The Sulṭāniyya and the northern minaret (G10)
290. Minaret of Ḳūṣān (G10)
291. Mausoleum and *khānḳāh* of Ḳūṣūn (G10)
298. Mausoleum and *madrasa* of Tankizbughā (H10)
301. Ḳubbat Ikhwān (Ikhwāt) Yūsuf (J10)
304. *Mashhad* of al-Djuyūshī (J10)
306. *Takkiya* and *sabīl* of Sultan Maḥmūd (F6)
321. Bayt al-Kiridliyya (F9)
324. *Sabīl-kuttāb* of Ḳāʾit Bāy (G8)
330. Gate of Malika Ṣafiyya (F6)
333. *Mashhad* of Sayyida ʿĀtiḳa (F9)
356. Gate of Ḥārat al-Mabyaḍa (H4)
360. Mausoleum of Ḳānṣūḥ Abū Saʿīd (G8)
372. Tomb of Ṭāybughā al-Ṭawīl (K6)
382. Mosque and *sabīl-kuttāb* of Sulaymān Āghā al-Silāḥdār (H3)
406. *Rabʿ* of Raḍwān Bey (G6)
410. Bath of al-Muʾayyad Shaykh (G5)
455. The fort of Muḥammad ʿAlī (J9)
463. al-Sādāt al-Wafāʾiyya (F7)
472. Mosque of Dāʾūd Pāshā (E7)
503. Mosque of Muḥammad ʿAlī (G8,9)
505. Palace of al-Djawhara (GH9)
511. Ḳubbat Badr al-Djamālī (J2)
555. Bāb al-ʿAzab (G8)
561. *Sabīl* of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (H4)
599. Shrine of Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (CD9,10)
605. Archives (H8)
606. Mint (H9)
612. Ḥarīm palace (H8)

Both the numbers of the monuments, and the numbers and letters of the sections of the map correspond with those of the *Map of Cairo showing Mohammedan monuments*, Survey of Egypt, 1950 (enclosed in K. A. C. Creswell, *The Muslim architecture of Egypt*, i, Oxford 1952), and the *Index of Mohammedan monuments in Cairo*, Survey of Egypt, 1951.

are three important Baḥrī foundations, of Ṭashtīmūr [92], 735/1334*, Ṭāybughā al-Ṭawīl, pre-768/1366 [372]* and Khwānd Ṭughāy [81], known locally as Umm Anūk, pre-749/1348 (al-Maḳrīzī, ii, 66-7), a mausoleum and *khānḳāh* with remains of rich stucco decoration and some interesting faience mosaic at the base of the surviving dome. North of this group all the surviving monuments are Burdjī (in spite of all the maps which indicate, without numbering, Baḥrī remains); all are on a larger scale and many are royal. These include the *khānḳāh* complex of Faradj b. Barḳūḳ [149], 803/1400-813/1411*, the funerary complex of Ḳā'it Bāy [94, 99, 101, 104], 877-9/1472-4* (see Pl. 6) and the combined foundations of Sultan Īnāl [158], 855/1451-860/1456*, and of the amīr Ḳurḳumās [162], 911-3/1506-7*. Once again, it is easy to ascribe the growth of this cemetery to the pressure upon building space within the city, all the more so since expropriation was discouraged and substitution (*tabdīl*) of *waḳf* property generally required a special *fatwā*, the practice only becoming general, according to Ibn Iyās, in the 9th/15th century. However, the larger royal foundations of this cemetery included elements like the *rab*ʿ (plural *rubū*ʿ) of a decidedly commercial nature, and there is evidence (Van Berchem, *CIA*, 316-31) that Faradj b. Barḳūḳ hoped to transfer the Sūḳ al-Ḥarīr to the neighbourhood of his *khānḳāh*. The area has only recently been colonized and was for much of its extent isolated from Cairo itself by the line of rubbish heaps known as the Barḳiyya. Access to the cemetery would appear, therefore, to have been not from the Bāb al-Wazīr but from the Bāb al-Barḳiyya, remains of which, dated 480/1087 by an inscription, were discovered late in the 1950s (G. Wiet, *Une nouvelle inscription fatimide au Caire*, in *JA*, ccxlix (1961), 13-20).

The cemetery to the north of the walls of Cairo, now known as the cemetery of Bāb al-Naṣr, now contains only one monument of any antiquity, the Ḳubbat Shaykh Yūnus [511], *c.* 487/1094. Maḳrīzī (ii, 414) states that the quarter was particularly frequented after 700/1300 and that Mamlūk notables even built houses there: it was deserted under al-Ashraf Shaʿbān (776/1375-6) when prices rose and the Sūḳ al-Lift was forced to move. This emphasis upon habitation, reinforced by the lack of monuments, shows that the area was of very minor significance as a cemetery, and that its chief period of growth has been during the last hundred years. With this cemetery should perhaps be associated two isolated Burdjī Mamlūk mausolea, al-Ḳubba al-Fadāwiyya [5], probably the mausoleum of Yushbak al-Dawādār, an amīr of Ḳā'it Bāy, 884-6/1479-81*, and that of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Ṭūmānbāy [2], 906/1501*, in the quarter of Ḥusayniyya. They are both so far north of the walls of al-Ḳāhira that they cannot easily be attributed to any cemetery, but the former is so influential in the architecture of the Ottoman period in Cairo that mere eccentricity of location is irrelevant to their architectural importance.

With the Ottoman conquest the chronological development of the cemeteries comes to an end. The Istanbul custom of having small cemeteries attached to pious foundations within the city was not adopted in Cairo; most of the Turks who happened to die in Egypt were buried in the *ḥawsh*s of Mamlūk cemeteries already in existence. No collection of Ottoman funerary inscriptions has ever been made. There are moreover few mausolea to show for 300 years of occupation, and the only remarkable building dating from this period is the tomb of Sulaymān Pāshā (Colonel de Seves), Commander in Chief of the Khedive Ismāʿīl's troops, who is buried in a cast-iron pavilion on the east bank of the Nile just opposite the southern tip of Rawḍa.

History.

FĀṬIMIDS

Palace. The Fāṭimid palace, the political, religious and administrative centre of al-Ḳāhira from the 4th/10th-6th/12th centuries, has completely disappeared, though a tolerable reconstruction based upon al-Maḳrīzī's description has been made by Ravaisse (see Bibliography). It almost certainly consisted of various quite separate abodes, each with a central *ḳāʿa* (an elongated hall with two axial *īwān*s [A. *līwān*] and a sunken central area, usually square, known as the *durḳāʿa*) and their appurtenances. Remains of one of these, most probably to be identified with the Dār al-Ḳuṭbiyya, have recently come to light in the course of excavations in the courtyard of the *madrasa* of Ḳalā'ūn. The *ḳāʿa* also appears to have been an element of the domestic architecture of Fāṭimid Cairo, as witness the Ḳāʿat al-Dardīr (Creswell, *MAE*, i, 261-3), which exceptionally has vaulted *īwān*s instead of the more usual flat roof. The *īwān*s could sometimes be closed off from the *durḳāʿa* by palatial doors, as in the case of a *ḳāʿa* (Dayr al-Banāt) in the Greek Orthodox monastery of St. George at Old Cairo (Ḳaṣr al-Shamʿ), a construction of indeterminate date but with such doors of the Fāṭimid period, and as in the case of a similar pair of doors in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo found in excavations at the mausoleum of Ḳalā'ūn (Inventory No. 554 [Pauty, *Bois sculptés*, Plate lx]).

Fortifications. The mud-brick *labin* fortifications of Djawhar had disappeared by al-Maḳrīzī's time, the result not of the instability of the material but of the population pressure on the compound of al-Ḳāhira, in spite of all attempts to exclude the public from its precincts. (There is an unrecorded mud-brick *muṣallā* or *masdjid* in the al-Ḳarāfa al-Kubrā' near the Sādāt al-Wafā'iyya which is almost certainly Fāṭimid in date). The present Fāṭimid fortifications of al-Ḳāhira, therefore, date from the time of the Caliph al-Mustanṣir and even before their extensive repair by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in various sectors were much more characteristic of North Syrian than of Cairene architecture, being of squared stone and strengthened with transversely placed columns. The chief remaining elements of the north wall, in which the wall and the north porch of the mosque of al-Ḥākim are embedded, are the Bāb al-Futūḥ and the Bāb al-Naṣr [6, 7], 480/1087* [see BĀB]; on the east is the Bāb al-Barḳiyya of the same date* (not marked on the monuments map) and on the south the Bāb Zuwayla, 484/1091 (al-Maḳrīzī, i, 381). For a precise reconstruction of the walls of al-Ḳāhira, showing the fortifications of Djawhar, Badr al-Djamālī and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, see Fig. 1.

Mosques. The earliest of the mosques of al-Ḳāhira was that of al-Azhar [97], situated to the south of the palace, dated 359-61/970-2 (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 273) and built very much on the lines of the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn with a *ṣaḥn* and *riwāḳ*s surrounding it which are multiplied in the *ḳibla* side [see MASDJID]. Very little of the building is original (for a reconstruction see plan in Creswell, *MAE*, i, 58-60, Fig. 20). It was not originally founded as a teaching institution though little more than a year after its foundation it had become the centre of the propagation of the Fāṭimid *daʿwa*. It was this change of function, as much as the population increase within the enceinte of al-Ḳāhira, which doubtless explains

the foundation soon afterwards of the mosque of al-Ḥākim [15], founded by al-ʿAzīz in 380-1/990-1 and completed by al-Ḥākim no later than 403/1012, outside the walls of Djawhar, to the north. Creswell has deduced that those parts of the stucco facing of the *ķibla riwāķ*s of al-Azhar which are not 19th-century inventions may go back to the original date of foundation; but the courtyard façades and the domed pavilion at the entrance to the raised crossing on the axis of the *miḥrāb* cannot be earlier than the reign of al-Ḥāfiẓ li-Dīn Allāh, 526/1131-534/1149. For the Ayyūbid period there is only the testimony of ʿAlī Pāshā Mubārak (iv, 16) that any upkeep of the mosque at all was attempted, al-Malik al-Kāmil being said to have erected a *ķibla ṣaghīra min khashab bi-ķurb riwāķ al-Sharķāwiyya* in 627/1230. With the exception of this dubious period, however, al-Azhar was reorganized, restored and added to by almost every important ruler of al-Ķāhira from al-Ḥāfiẓ to Ķāʾit Bāy, who added a *miḥrāb* and a minaret (both undated) as well as a monumental porch (*bawwāba*), and al-Ghawrī, who added its second minaret, also undated. The adjacent *madrasa*s of Ṭaybars and Āķbughā (709/1309-10 and 734/1333-4 to 740/1339*) were enclosed within the complex when the *bawwāba* (the Bāb al-Muzayyinīn) was added by Ķāʾit Bāy (873/1469*), though the present entrance is Ottoman, 1167/1753-4*, probably the work of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Katkhudā, who considerably enlarged the mosque at this time.

The mosque of al-Ḥākim was even more traditional in that it boasted a *ziyāda* or temenos on at least one side (identified by Creswell, *MAE*, i, 115-7 and dated by him 411/1021-427/1036), though it added two minarets based on great salients at the north-west and south-west corners and adopted the plan of three monumental entrances, the northern one being subsequently embedded in the wall of Badr al-Djamālī. The mosque suffered badly in the earthquake of 702/1303 but was restored immediately by Baybars al-Djāshenkīr (Čāshnegīr)*, who added pyramid-like casings to the two stone minarets and a *mabkhara* or pepperpot-like top to each. In spite of a further restoration attributed by al-Maķrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 277) to Sultan Ḥasan the mosque is now in a ruinous condition and the decoration judged so important by S. Flury (*Die Ornamente der Hakim- und Ashar Moschee*, Heidelberg 1912, 9-26, 43-50) can scarcely now be made out.

The other two extant Fāṭimid mosques of Cairo, both modifications of the *ṣaḥn* plan, merit attention. Al-Aķmar [33], 519/1125* (see Pls. 1, 1a), the work of the vizier Maʾmūn al-Baṭāʾiḥī, has the earliest decorated façade in Cairo, with a rich complement of foliate and epigraphic ornament, but is equally significant because although the mosque is *ķibla*-oriented (at least approximately) the façade follows the street, which is not parallel to the *ķibla* wall: this is the first case of what was to become a standard Cairene practice. The mosque of the vizier al-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalāʾiʿ [116], 555/1160*, the last dated Fāṭimid building of Cairo (misleadingly restored in the present century), also combines architectural interest—a colonnaded narthex or loggia as façade and a basement of shops (*dakākīn*)—with rich interior stucco decoration, partly restored by the amīr Bektimūr al-Čūkāndār in 699/1300* or 702/1302*. This mosque, situated injudiciously outside the walls of Badr al-Djamālī immediately opposite the Bāb Zuwayla, had been intended as a shrine for the head of al-Ḥusayn. This was placed in a mosque-shrine inside al-Ķāhira on a site now occupied by the mosque of Sayyidnā al-Ḥusayn, the work of an unidentified 19th-century architect under the influence of the railway station architecture of the Gothic revival in Europe.

Tombs, Mashhads. The tombs of the Fāṭimid caliphs were inside the palace in the actual region of the Khān al-Khalīlī [53-4, 56] and were thus destroyed on the fall of the dynasty. (A fragment of the only remaining inscription has been published in *RCEA* 2104; see G. Wiet, *Inscriptions historiques sur pierre* 34-5, no. 51.) Many other funerary inscriptions have been published (see Bibliography), most from the typical Cairene *ḥawsh*, an unroofed burial enclosure, which may be provided with one or more *miḥrāb*s in the *ķibla* wall, which contains graves covered by cenotaphs, or sometimes one or more domed mausolea, usually *ķibla*-oriented but following no clear chronological sequence. Some domed mausolea of private persons survive, among which may be the Sabʿa Banāt, four mausolea, not all with *miḥrāb*s, to the south of the ruins of al-Fusṭāṭ and identified by Creswell on the basis of *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 459 with the mausolea of those members of the family of the vizier Abu 'l-Ķāsim al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī Maghribī put to death by al-Ḥākim in 400/1010. More characteristically Cairene are the *mashhad*s of the late 11th-12th centuries built over suppositious ʿAlid graves in the southern cemetery in various groups. Among the best conserved are the Ikhwān (Ikhwāt) Yūsuf [301], *c.* 500/1100, Sayyida ʿĀtiķa [333], *c.* 520/1125, Sayyida Ruķayya [273], 527/1133*, the only precisely dated member of the group, Yaḥyā al-Shabīhī [285], *c.* 545/1150 and Umm Kulthūm nearby (not marked on the monuments maps), pre-550/1155. Small constructions, sometimes with a central courtyard, the *mashhad*s consisted of sanctuary chambers covered by domes on squinches, with richly decorated carved stucco friezes and *miḥrāb*s, often in threes, and containing one or more cenotaphs, which were perhaps surrounded by a *maķṣūra*. These were conceived essentially as centres of pilgrimage (*ziyārāt*). Not all Fāṭimid funerary monuments take these forms, however: the "Ķabr Luʾluʾ bint al-Muķawķis", among the mysterious remains of al-Ķarāfa al-Kubrāʾ, is a three-storey construction, each storey with a *miḥrāb*; and it has yet to be explained why the Mashhad al-Djuyūshī on the Muķaṭṭam [304], 478/1085*, the mausoleum of Badr al-Djamālī with very rich stucco decoration, should be in the form of a *mashhad* rather than a *ķubba*. The cave in the Muķaṭṭam directly below it, the Maghawri or Kahf al-Sūdān, which has been associated by Massignon (see Bibliography) with the cult of the Aṣḥāb al-Kahf [*q.v.*] and which appears on the Arabic version of the *Special 1:5000 scale Map* as containing Fāṭimid remains, has been a military area for so long that it has not been possible to check the suggestion that it also may have been a *mashhad* of a sort.

Ayyūbids

Fortifications. The Citadel and the walls of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn have been authoritatively described and analysed in detail by Creswell (*MAE*, ii, 1-40 ff.). The former, the largest Ayyūbid fortification ever undertaken, occupies a spur of the Muķaṭṭam Hills on its north-west side: the south side is an artificially built up terrace. The Ayyūbid remains are confined to the more or less rectangular northern enceinte, which had four gates, the Bāb al-Mudarradj built by the Amīr Ķarāķūsh in 579/1183-4*, two gates at the Burdj al-Maṭar and the Burdj al-Imām and the Bāb al-Ķulla. To this first period may also be assigned a long stretch of curtain wall with fairly uniformly spaced half-round towers which starts at the east of

the Burdj al Muḳaṭṭam and runs round the south, east and north sides of the enceinte. The ramparts were connected by a *chemin de ronde* and had rounded crenellations. These fortifications which, Creswell judges, must have been virtually complete at the time of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's death, were strengthened by al-Malik al-ʿĀdil in 604/1207-8, when he added three great square towers, the Burdj al-Ṣuffa, the Burdj Kerkyalān and the Burdj al-Ṭurfa, all built athwart the southern sector of the walls, cutting the *chemin de ronde* so as to form individually defensible redoubts in case of need. The Bāb al-Ḳarāfa at the Burdj al-Imām was also reinforced, and, among other works, two towers on the eastern sector, the Burdj al-Ḥaddād (Ḥadīd?) and the Burdj al-Raml were converted into circular bastions. On the completion of these works al-Malik al-ʿĀdil took residence in the palace there. Maḳrīzī states that the Citadel was built with stone from the pyramids at Djīza; most of it is, however, of soft Muḳaṭṭam limestone which was quarried on the spot. In Creswell's view the rusticated masonry is easily attributable to al-ʿĀdil since he employed it for fortifications at Buṣrā, Damascus and elsewhere.

The purpose of the Citadel was internal defence, against the possibility of a Fāṭimid counter-attack or an insurrection of the populace of al-Ḳāhira. A second Ayyūbid fortress with the same purpose, a secure palace complex, the Ḳalʿat al-Rawḍa, was built on Rawḍa by al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb, 638/1240-1. It contained a *ḳāʿa* (Creswell, *MAE* ii, 84-7) with an enlarged *durḳāʿa* to take a free-standing dome, probably wooden. It also had a Gothic doorway, doubtless carved on the spot by some of the Frankish prisoners taken by al-Ṣāliḥ on his Syrian campaign. Although nothing now survives of this fortress of sixty towers, it remains of interest, for it was here that al-Ṣāliḥ installed the garrison of Mamlūks known, from their station on the Nile (Baḥr al-Nīl), as Baḥrī, which eventually supplanted the Ayyūbid dynasty (al-Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, Ziyāda i, 341).

Mosques. There are no surviving Ayyūbid mosques in Cairo, and no Ayyūbid restoration inscriptions from either the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn or the mosque of ʿAmr, which under their occupation was the only mosque in which the *khuṭba* was permitted, in an attempt to eradicate the importance of al-Azhar as the centre of Fāṭimid propaganda. More curiously, the restoration of the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn by the Fāṭimid vizier al-Afḍal, who added a *miḥrāb c.* 487/1094*, appears to have been respected, since the ʿAlid *shahāda* which appears on it has never been defaced.

Madrasas. It would appear probable that the Ayyūbids relied more upon the institution of the *madrasa* to combat the Fāṭimid *daʿwa*. Time has dealt harshly with these foundations however. One of the first foundations of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's occupation of Egypt was a Shāfiʿī *madrasa* near the grave of the Imām al-Shāfiʿī in the southern cemetery (begun 572/1176-7). Of this nothing remains but the magnificent teak cenotaph of al-Shāfiʿī dated 574/1178-9* and the work of the *nadjdjār* ʿUbayd b. Maʿālī. The combination of venerated tomb with *madrasa* was an interesting exploitation of the principle of the Fāṭimid *mashhads* for orthodox Sunnī ends. Elements of the *madrasa* probably survived until the late 12/18th century, but the tomb of the Imām underwent one great transformation, under al-Malik al-Kāmil, who in 608/1211 [281] built an enormous wooden-domed mausoleum, which has been frequently restored since but is still arguably the most impressive mausoleum-shrine of Cairo (see Pls. 2, 2a). (For the chronology see G. Wiet, *Les inscriptions du mausolée de Shāfiʿī*, in *BIE*, xv (1933), 167-85.) Remains of a *madrasa* in the Sūḳ al-Naḥḥāsīn attest a second foundation of al-Kāmil, the Kāmiliyya [428], 622/1225 (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 375), but the best conserved of all is a double two-*īwān madrasa* on the Ḳaṣaba, the main street of Fāṭimid Cairo, by al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb [38], 641/1243-4*, with a single minaret crowned by a *mabkhara* above the porch in the centre of the façade and a street between which separates the two buildings. Apart from a decorated street façade which depends for its ornament on the tradition of the courtyard façades of al-Azhar, the *madrasas* are almost in ruins, though the crown of the vault of the west *īwān* of the left-hand *madrasa* has inserts of stone vaulting in the brick substructure, which are executed without centring as in Upper Egypt, an architectural practice which has attracted little attention from archaeologists working on Cairo but which is fairly frequent in the 7th/13th-8th/14th centuries. The most significant feature of the foundation, however, is the mausoleum of al-Ṣāliḥ [38], 667/1249* but completed (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 374) 648/1250. One of the last post-mortem funerary constructions of Cairo, it is also the first conspicuous funerary foundation, the *ḳibla*-oriented mausoleum essentially forming part of the street façade and thus one of the most conspicuous features of the building. This approach was to become so much a standard feature of the architecture of Mamlūk Cairo that where a choice between a *ḳibla* orientation and a street façade arose it was often the latter which prevailed.

Tombs. A funerary construction of a more traditional type is the "Tomb of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphs" [276] near Sayyida Nafīsa, possibly as early as 640/1242-3, with very rich decoration of carved and painted plaster, which contains the cenotaphs of many of the caliphs who lived in Egypt as Mamlūk puppets after the fall of the caliphate of Baghdād. The domed mausoleum is enclosed in a vast *ḥawsh* with seven *miḥrābs* in the *ḳibla* wall and the remains of a monumental entrance. In the post-Ayyūbid period such isolated mausolea without appurtenances are very much the exception.

Few public works of the Ayyūbid period survive. The Ayyūbid elements of the aqueduct which supplied the Citadel with water were incorporated into the works of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Two bridges on the Djīza road remain, however, with inscriptions from the time of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in the name of Ḳarāḳūsh (Van Berchem, *CIA*, 465 ff.) and restoration inscriptions of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, 716/1316, Ḳāʾit Bāy, 884/1479 and Ḥusayn Pāshā, 1087/1676.

Mamlūks

Fortifications. There are no considerable Mamlūk fortifications extant in Cairo. The Ḳaṣr al-Rawḍa was restored under Baybars and the restoration inscriptions of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad on the Citadel relate principally to the building of an irregular southern enceinte and to the construction of a new aqueduct connecting the Citadel with the Nile and incorporating into it part of the wall of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn which had been intended to connect the *kharāba* of al-Fusṭāṭ with al-Ḳāhira but was never completed. The aqueduct was begun as early as 712/1312 (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 229: Casanova's translation erroneously has 711/1311, cf. Creswell, *MAE*, ii, 255-9 also for the later history of the aqueduct). The buildings of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad on the Citadel included a large mosque on the *ṣaḥn* plan [143] with a

foundation inscription of 718/1318*, which was considerably modified in 735/1335 (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 212, 325- when the large wooden dome over the *miḥrāb* supported on ten columns of Aswan granite was doubtless added. The mosque also has two minarets said to have been decorated by craftsmen from Tabrīz: if this report is really to be believed the craftsmen appear to have forgotten their skill on the way to Cairo. The palace of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, the Ḳaṣr al-Ablaḳ (so called from its use of bi-coloured voussoirs for the arches of the main *ḳā*ʿ*a*), also known as the Bayt Yūsuf Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, was destroyed in 1824. It has been possible to reconstruct it, however, from descriptions given by Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār* (Bibliothèque Nationale MS arabes 583, folio 190a) and al-Maḳrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 209-10, which gives the date of construction as 713-4/1313-5). The palace consisted of a great *īwān* (cf. Creswell, *MAE*, ii, 260-4) and a central *ḳā*ʿ*a*, which appears to have had flat-roofed *īwān*s and a central dome on wooden pendentives. The palaces of the amīrs which in Maḳrīzī's time covered the southern slopes of the Citadel have now entirely disappeared, those which still remained doubtless being destroyed when the palace of al-Djawhara [505] was built by Muḥammad ʿAlī in 1229/1814.

Mosques. The earliest of the Baḥrī Mamlūk mosques is that of Baybars in the Maydān Ḍāhir [1], 665/1266* (see Pls. 3, 3a, 3b), completed two years later, on a polo-ground well to the north-west of the Fāṭimid walled city. Built very much on the plan of the mosque of al-Ḥākim, though without the *ziyāda* and without the two minarets, it has three monumental entrances, the decoration of which is a curious blend of North Syrian motifs and the ornament of the Fāṭimid mosque of al-Aḳmar (see above). The building has been largely gutted; the wood and marble brought for it by Baybars from Djaffa has disappeared and only fragments of the rich stucco decoration of the window frames remain. Its most conspicuous feature is the large square *maḳṣūra* in front of the *miḥrāb*, doubtless originally covered with a wooden dome and unparalleled in scale in the mosque architecture of Cairo. With the exception of Lādjīn's restoration of the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn (see *Restorations* below), the principal period of mosque construction in Cairo would appear to be from 715/1315 onwards, partly following on the foundation of the mosque of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad on the Citadel and partly taking rather belated advantage of the relaxation of the restriction of the *khuṭba* to a very limited number of mosques inside Cairo. The foundations, often on a large scale, are all of amīrs, not of sultans, and are chiefly on the main arteries to the south and south east of the Fāṭimid walls leading towards the Citadel. They include Ālmalik (?) al-Čūkāndār [24], 719/1319*, Aḥmad al-Mihmāndār [115], 725/1324-5*, Ālmās [Yīlmāz, less probably Ölmez] [130], 730/1329-30* (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 307), Ḳūṣūn [202], 730/1329-30*, which has a monumental porch on the east at some distance from the mosque itself, Beshtāk [205], 735/1335, and Altinbughā al-Māridānī [120], 739-40/1339-40*, the grandest and most inventive of the lot, with many columns of Aswan granite complete with Ptolemaic capitals, glazed ceramic window-grilles, carved wooden *mashrabiyya* screens separating the *ḳibla riwāḳ*s from the *ṣaḥn*, and a very curiously indented façade on the Darb al-Aḥmar. There are three further mosques of this period, Aṣlam al-Bahāʾī [112], 745-6/1344*, Āḳsunḳur [123], 747-8/1346-8*—better known from its restoration by Ibrāhīm Āghā Mustaḥfiẓān in 1062/1652*, who covered part of the interior with (bad) blue and white tiles and made it known as the Blue Mosque, and Shaykhū al-ʿUmarī [147], 750/1349* (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 312-3 has 756/1355-6). These foundations vary considerably in their dimensions, but their façades always follow the line of the street in which they are built, any divergences from the *ḳibla* orientation which this might entail being reconciled by setting the interior plan askew. None are primarily funerary constructions and some are quite definitely not, for example the mosques of Ḳūṣūn, who built a mausoleum and *khānḳāh* [290-1] in the southern cemetery 736/1335 (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 425), and of Shaykhū, whose *khānḳāh* and mausoleum are directly opposite [152], 756/1355*—.

The Cairene mosques from the time of Sultan Ḥasan onwards, if even grander in scale, are fewer in number and, even in the case of royal foundations, usually form part of a more complex institution. This is reflected in the terminology of the literary sources, which becomes steadily more diverse. The mosque of Sultan Ḥasan [133], 757/1356-764/1363* (see Pl. 4), described in its *waḳfiyya* as *hādha'l-masdjid al-djāmi*ʿ *wa'l-madāris*, is variously described by al-Maḳrīzī as *madrasa* and *djāmi*ʿ. Its central feature is indeed a vast cruciform *madrasa* for the four *madhhab*s with an open courtyard containing a domed fountain (*fawwāra*). The principal *īwān*, allotted to the Ḥanafīs for teaching purposes, contains a marble *minbar* and a monumental *miḥrāb*, leaving no doubt that the functions of *madrasa* and *masdjid djāmi*ʿ were not exclusive. Remarkably, the *ḳibla īwān* gives on to a palatial tomb-chamber, originally covered with a wooden dome. The *madrasa*s occupy each corner of the main courtyard and consist of many storeys of cells disposed round a small interior courtyard. Annexed to the construction are still to be found a *mīḍāt* or ablution courtyard (in Cairene architecture it is unusual for fountains in the courtyards of mosques or *madrasa*s to be used for ablutions before the late Ottoman period), a high water-tower, a *ḳayṣāriyya* with the remains of shops, and a *rab*ʿ, which may also have served as a hospital. Complete specification of the appurtenances, many of which have disappeared in the last hundred years, must await publication of the *waḳfiyya* of the institution. In the architecture of 8th/14th-century Islam as a whole, not only of al-Ḳāhira, the mosque of Sultan Ḥasan is outstanding for the vastness of its conception and scale and is particularly remarkable for its height. The interpretation of its architectural history has not significantly advanced since the publication of Max Herz Bey's monograph (see Bibliography), except that unconfirmed speculations that the porch might be of Anatolian inspiration have now been confirmed by comparison with the two-minaret porch of the Saldjūḳ Gök Medrese at Sivas [see SALDJŪḲS: ARCHITECTURE] 670/1271-2 (J. M. Rogers, *Seljuk influence on the monuments of Cairo*, in *Kunst des Orients*, vii/1 (1972), 40-68). The building, which remained unfinished at the time of Sultan Ḥasan's death, had an eventful history under the early Burdjī Mamlūk sultans and its vast scale made it rather unsuitable for general imitation. The façade was, however, imitated by al-Muʾayyad Shaykh in his mosque, with its other dependencies, including two minarets placed on top of the Bāb Zuwayla [190], 818/1415-823/1420 (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 328-30), and he paid the mosque of Sultan Ḥasan the further compliment of appropriating the great bronze doors from its entrance and a bronze chandelier from the interior for his own construction.

The mosque of al-Muʾayyad, the last considerable mosque of Mamlūk Cairo, is built on the *ṣaḥn* plan,

and the remains of its courtyard façade show it to have been also the last imitation of the blind arcading and rosettes which were taken over by al-Ḥāfiẓ li-Dīn Allāh from the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn for his refection of the courtyard of al-Azhar. Polychrome marbles on a vast scale were expropriated for the decoration of the *ḳibla* wall, and the mausoleum even contains fragments of an Ikhshīdid cenotaph; decoration of such richness, or rapacity, was not subsequently possible in the architecture of the Mamlūk period. The later 9th/15th century mosques of Cairo, even royal foundation like that of Djaḳmaḳ in the Darb Saʿāda, 853/1449*, are comparatively on a very small scale indeed. Their plans become progressively more similar to those of *madrasas*, chiefly of the two-*iwān* type with a reduced *ṣaḥn*, which eventually becomes roofed with a wooden lantern, and the approximation of plan is doubtless due to the fact that the mosque became simply a minor element of complex foundations. Ḳāʾit Bāy, the most considerable builder of the Burdjī Mamlūks, built no mosques which were not primarily some other institution, and the chief interest of those few buildings of his reign which might be classified as primarily mosques, like that of Ḳidjmās (Ḳačmāz) al-Isḥāḳī [114], 885-6/1480-1*, is not their scale or comprehensiveness but the architectural problems they solve. In the last case an island site is used, and the ablution courtyard, the *shaykh*'s house and a *sabīl-kuttāb* (see below, *Ottomans*), which lie across a street, have to be connected by a bridge. The elements of the foundation are remarkably compressed, and the maximum use is made both of the street façades and of their symmetrical decoration. However, pressure on space inside the city, and doubtless a sufficiency of mosques in the various quarters of al-Ḳāhira, made the lavish foundations of the Baḥrī Mamlūks either impossible or unnecessary.

Madrasas. With the probable exception of al-Azhar itself and the *madrasas* associated with it—those of Ṭaybars, 709/1309-10, Aḳbughā, 734-40/1333-39*, Gawhar (Djawhar), 844/1440* (Wiet *CIA* 118 No. 572), and possibly the Ghannāmiyya [96], 774/1372-3*—the *madrasas* of Cairo in the Mamlūk period had no comparable function to the metropolitan *madrasas* of Ottoman Istanbul, which served as schools for those of the *ʿulamāʾ* destined to hold the highest administrative positions in the empire. They are almost invariably funerary constructions, to which the mausoleum of the founder was attached, well before his death if possible, and in fact provided an excuse for the erection of a conspicuous tomb, prejudice against which still existed among the orthodox *ʿulamāʾ* in the 7th/13th-8th/14th centuries. Moreover, at least with royal foundations, where more land for building might be available, the prime consideration was that the mausoleum should face on to the street in order to be as conspicuous as possible, preferably at the *ḳibla* side of the foundation, which explains the preponderance of royal mausolea on the west side of the Ḳaṣaba. The reconciliation of the conflicting demands of *ḳibla*-orientation, a façade on the street for the mausoleum, symmetrically disposed windows and doors for the attached foundation and so far as possible a symmetrical internal disposition, partly explains the labyrinthine convolutions of the entrance to the *ṣaḥn* of the *madrasa* of Taghrībirdī [209], 844/1440*, or the bizarre assemblage of passages and closets against the *ḳibla* wall of that of the Ḳāḍī Abū Bakr Muẓhir [49], 884/1479-80*. In principle the *ḳibla* came first, and in the Burdjī period a certain revival or rigorism led to the correction of defectively oriented buildings, for example a 9th/15th-century *miḥrāb* built into the *ḳibla* wall of the mausoleum of the Imām al-Shāfiʿī; however, in cases of conflict the symmetry of the street façade in funerary foundations generally took first place.

The exceptional character of the independent, non-funerary *madrasa* is shown by the fact that in the Burdjī period only two *madrasas*, both founded by Ḳāʾit Bāy (on the Ḳalʿat al-Kabsh [223], 880/1475*, and on the Island of Rawḍa, described also as a mosque by Ibn Iyās (text ii, 205, 211, 271, 301) and completed by 896/1491, the only standing monument of any antiquity on the island), can be considered as non-funerary foundations. One funerary *madrasa* did not exclude the possibility of other funerary foundations either. The amīr Ḳarāsunḳur, who built a *madrasa* [31] in 700/1301 in Cairo, built a tomb at Aleppo when *nāʾib* of that town and is buried in a tomb, the Gunbadh-i Ghaffāriyya, at Marāgha [*q.v.*] in N.W. Iran, whither he had fled in 712/1312. The amīr Tankizbughā actually built two foundations inside Cairo, one in the southern cemetery [298], *c.* 760/1359 (Creswell's dating), and one on a spur of the Muḳaṭṭam to the east of the Citadel [85], 764/1362*, which contains a canopy mausoleum (*čahār ṭāḳ*) completed four years after his death. Even Barḳūḳ, who had founded a funerary *madrasa intra muros* [187], 786-8/1384-6*, is reported to have asked on his deathbed to be buried in a *ḳubba* near the graves of various venerated *shaykhs*, which is one of the motives given by al-Maḳrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 464) for the location of the *khānḳāh* of Faradj in the desert [149], 803/1400-813/1410*, where Barḳūḳ is indeed buried. This suggests that whereas institutionally speaking *madrasa* and *khānḳāh* are not exclusive terms, the latter were preferred as places of burial; in any case Barḳūḳ's reported wish is curiously similar to the Tīmūrids' motives for the development of Shahr-i Sabz (Kish, Kishsh) and the Shāh-i Zinde at Samarḳand [*q.v.*] as their family cemeteries.

Regarding the evolution of the plans of Cairene *madrasas*, in particular of the cruciform *madrasa*, an authoritative account has been given by Creswell (*MAE*, ii, 104-34). The institution was imported from Syria by the Ayyūbids, but no surviving Ayyūbid monument in Egypt or Syria is cruciform in plan and the lists of the known *madrasas* of Damascus up to 695/1295 and of Cairo up to 639/1242, mostly Shāfiʿī or Ḥanafī, show few for two rites and none at all for four. The Madrasa al-Mustanṣiriyya at Baghdād (631/1233) was intended for four rites, but Creswell has shown (*MAE*, ii, 126-7), that it was not cruciform, whereas the first Cairene cruciform *madrasa* built by Baybars, the Ẓāhiriyya [37], 660/1262*, does not appear to have been intended for all four rites. This is also untypical in that it does not appear to have been a funerary construction, Baybars having built his tomb in the Madrasa al-Ẓāhiriyya at Damascus [see DIMASHḲ]. The cruciform plan was not immediately adopted for the *madrasa*, that of Ḳalāʾūn [43], 683-4/1284-5*, having one *iwān* only and a sanctuary three bays deep. The first cruciform *madrasa* in Cairo for all four rites was that of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad [44], 695/1295-703/1304*, and only two others appear to be recorded by Maḳrīzī, those of Sultan Ḥasan (see above) and Djamāl al-Dīn al-Ustādār (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 401) [35], 811/1408*. The cruciform plan was, of course, more widely employed, for mosques as well as for *madrasas*, though always with a tendency for the axial *iwāns* to enlarge at the expense of the side ones. It was, however, most conspicuously employed in the two surviving hospitals (*māristāns*) in Cairo,

that of Ķalā'ūn [43], 683/1284, and that of al-Mu'ayyad [257] (see Pls. 5, 5a), 821-3/1418-20 (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 408), the façade of which suggests some direct acquaintance with the Mengüdjükid hospital at Divriği in Central Anatolia (626/1228 onwards). The hospital of al-Mu'ayyad was, however, turned into a mosque in 825/1421-2.

The great majority of the Mamlūk *madrasas* of Cairo are modifications of the two-*īwān* type. Even if we cannot accept Creswell's suggestion that the plan of such *madrasas* was entirely determined by that of the domestic architecture of Cairo, in particular the *ķāʿa*, we may readily admit that domestic architecture and the *madrasas* of the Mamlūk period developed *pari passu*. There are even two *madrasas* which bear inscriptions proving that they were originally houses, al-Ghannāmiyya [96], 774/1372-3*, and that of Khūshķadam al-Aḥmadī, formerly the palace of Tashtimür al-Dawādār [153], 768/1366-7 or 778/1376-7. The dates of their conversion to *madrasas* are curiously late: the former must have been a *madrasa* by 827/1423 when the *Khiṭaṭ* was completed, but according to Ibn Iyās the first *khuṭba* was pronounced in the latter only in 891/1486. The conversion was, of course, simple: it required only the hollowing out of a *miḥrāb* on the *ķibla* side and the construction of a minaret, both essential features of the Cairene *madrasa*.

Khānķāhs. Mamlūk Cairo is rich in religious foundations of a quasi-monastic type, *zāwiyas*, *khānķāhs* (pl. usually *khawānik* or *khānķāhāt*) and *ribāṭs*. The first of these were generally small constructions housing a *shaykh*, with room for students to group informally round him. They are rarely of architectural importance, and were often not endowed at the express request of the *shaykh*. Of the only two mentioned in Creswell's *Brief Chronology*, the Zāwiyat al-ʿAbbār [146] (*c.* 684/1285-6, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 420) consists of two domed mausolea and is equally well known as the Khānķāh al-Bunduķdāriyya, and the Zāwiyat Āydumur (Āydemir) al-Pahlawān [22], the date of which is disputed (see Van Berchem, *CIA*, 125), was almost certainly a *madrasa*. Where the sources speak of other *zāwiyas* they may say no more than that they consisted of a *rukn* or a *riwāķ*: they are, therefore, extremely difficult to identify architecturally.

The earliest *khānķāh* founded in Egypt was Ayyūbid (569/1173-4), in the palace of Saʿīd al-Suʿadā, a freed slave of al-Mustanṣir (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 415-7, 422). The site may still be identified, but the building has been so often changed that no idea of its original disposition can be formed. Curiously enough, throughout the period up to the Ottoman conquest, only seven buildings are named, or implied, in their foundation inscriptions as *khānķāhs*: those of Baybars al-Djāshenkīr [Čāshnegīr] [32], 706-9/1306-9*, Shaykhū al-ʿUmarī [152], 756/1355, Niẓām al-Dīn Isḥāķ [140], 757/1356*, Muķbil al-Zimām al-Dā'ūdī [177], 797-8/1395*, and three in the eastern cemetery, Faradj b. Barķūķ [149], 803/1400-813/1410*, al-Ashraf Barsbāy [121], 835/1432*, and al-Ashraf Īnāl [158], 854-60/1450-6*. The conception of a *khānķāh* as an independent construction, with kitchens, a bath and living quarters either disposed round a central courtyard or in separate blocks, as in that of Faradj b. Barķūķ, is well established by Maķrīzī, Ibn Taghrībirdī, Ibn Iyās and al-Sakhāwī; but the extreme divergence in the numbers of *khānķāhs* they give, from twenty-nine in the first case to a mere four in the last, and the fact that each gives a slightly different list shows that the term, like *madrasa*, is far from having an exclusive sense in the architectural history of Cairo. The general tendency in the Burdjī period is for *khānķāhs* to be subsumed in epigraphy under *madrasa* or *djāmiʿ*, though reference may be made to a *mashyakhat taṣawwuf* or *mashyakha ṣūfiyya*, and, as in the case of the foundation of al-Ashraf Barsbāy [121] above, the "*khānķāh*" of the inscription may become "*madrasa*" in the *waķfiyya* (A. Darrag, *L'Egypte sous le règne de Barsbay*, Damascus 1961, 50). Up to the end of the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, which coincides with the foundation of most of the *khānķāhs* mentioned in the sources, it seems to have been the rule for Ṣūfīs to live in *khānķāhs*, in cells either grouped round a courtyard, as in the foundation of Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Djāshenkīr [Čāshnegīr] [32] above, and of Salār and Sandjar al-Djāwilī [221], 703/1303-4*, on the Djabal Yashkur, or in an annexe, usually of cruciform plan, or, finally, as in the foundations of Īnāl, Ķā'it Bāy and Ķurķumās, in a *rabʿ* or block of living-units set within the main enclosure but structurally independent of it. In the latter two types there is no necessary resemblance between the annexe and the main construction.

By the first quarter of the 9th/15th century living quarters were being suppressed from new foundations within the city, though whether this was for lack of space or of Ṣūfīs is unclear. A condition of residence within the *khānķāhs* of the Baḥrī period often stipulated in their *waķfiyyas* (cf. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Ibrāhīm ʿAlī, *Dirāsāt ta'rīkhiyya wa āthāriyya fī wathā'iķ min ʿaṣr al-Ghūrī*, unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cairo, 168-9, for the *waķfiyya* of Baybars al-Djāshenkīr was that Ṣūfīs, as well as taking vows of poverty and piety, were obliged to relinquish salaried appointment within the administration or in any other religious institution. Non-residential *taṣawwuf* was permitted in the Baḥrī period under some circumstances, *e.g.*, to married Ṣūfīs, but *khānķāhs* founded at this time were seen as essentially places for private *dhikr* to which non-residents were in principle not admitted. From the time of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh onwards (*waķfiyya* quoted by ʿAlī Pāshā Mubārak, v, 128) the emphasis changed to the communal *dhikr*, the previous restrictions on alternative employment for Ṣūfīs were less rigorously enforced, and the important element of *taṣawwuf* became daily attendance at the *ḥuḍūr*. The later Burdjī *khānķāhs* were dependent parts of complex funerary foundations, and were sometimes no more than *maķʿads*, like that of al-Ghūrī [66-7], 908-10/1503-4*, a large oriented hall where the daily *dhikr djamāʿī* or *ḥuḍūr waẓīfat al-taṣawwuf* was celebrated at certain specified hours.

Much more work is required on the development of the *khānķāh* in Mamlūk Egypt (for a survey see S. Mehrez, *The Ghawriyya in the urban context, an analysis of its form and function*, *IFAO* Cairo, forthcoming). It has been suggested that the change from residential to non-residential Ṣūfī centres was at least partly the result of the decadence of the *ṭarīķas* in 9th/15th century Egypt; this may be true, but the sources are extraordinarily silent on the precise *ṭarīķa* for which a given *khānķāh* was intended or which eventually took control of it. Divergences in the practices of the *ṭarīķas* led in 8th/14th-9th/15th century Iran and in Ottoman Turkey to profound modifications in the architecture of the *khānķāh*, and it would not be reasonable to suppose that Cairo was any different in this respect. The only hope of clarifying this question appears to lie either in the publication of the Mamlūk *waķfiyyas* of Egypt (*e.g.* the *waķfiyya* of Barsbāy (Aḥmad Darrādj, *Ḥudjdjat waķf al-ashraf Barsbāy* 72, 74) tells us that he founded,

to the west of his *khānḳāh* in the desert, a *zāwiya* for the benefit of the *Ṣūfī*s (*Rifāʿī*s)) or in a prosopographic analysis of the *shaykh*s of the various *khānḳāh*s during the 8th/14th-9th/15th centuries.

Ribāṭs. *Ribāṭs* (used always in the religious sense and not in the sense of *khān*) are rare foundations in Cairo and the only foundations named as such in inscriptions are Burdjī, that of Yaḥyā Zayn al-Dīn [141], 856/1452* (*CIA*, 746, No. 270), and two of al-Ashraf Īnāl, one attached to his mausoleum in the desert [158], 854/1450-860/1456*, and one inside al-Ḳāhira in the Khurunfīsh [61], 857/1453-865/1461*. There is little evidence that the foundations were intentionally associated with the early Islamic *ribāṭs* for the *mudjāhidūn* [see RIBĀṬ], and the occurrence in the *ribāṭ* of Īnāl [158] of a second foundation inscription describing it as a *khānḳāh* (Van Berchem, *CIA*, 399 No. 274) suggests that the two terms were by this period virtually synonymous.

Tombs. The most splendid of the mausolea of the Mamlūk period are, of course, those "attached" to the great funerary foundations—of Ḳalāʾūn, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, Barḳūḳ *intra muros* and of Faradj b. Barḳūḳ on to Ḳāʾit Bāy in the eastern cemetery, though, as C. Kessler has observed, it was really the foundation which was attached to the mausoleum, providing its justification, so that, as the prejudice against monumental mausolea gradually waned, the tombs took over a progressively greater part of the foundation or became even more central to its plan. On the other hand there are a number of smaller mausolea from this period, if not exactly isolated then certainly worthy of remark. That of Küčük*, for example, incorporated into the mosque of Aḳsunḳur [123], 747-8/1346-7*, is exceptional in being neither oriented nor having a *miḥrāb*. That of Azbak (Özbek) al-Yūsufī is simply one of the side niches of his two-*īwān madrasa* [211], 900/1494-5*, with a wooden *mashrabiyya* grille to separate if from the *durḳāʿa*. The Ḳubbat ʿAsfūr [al-ʿAsfūr?] in the eastern cemetery [132], post 913/1507, is attached merely to a *sabīl*. So concerned was al-Ghūrī that his mausoleum [67], completed 909/1504*, should be on the Ḳaṣaba that the dependencies are almost eliminated and the mausoleum reaches right from the street to the *ḳibla* wall. The mausoleum of Khayr Beg is attached to his palace, [249], pre-910/505, and the space between filled by a mosque or *muṣallā* with a *miḥrāb* which deviates 28° with reference to the *ḳibla*. There are a few Mamlūk canopy tombs (*čahār ṭāḳs*), notably those of Tankizbughā [85], 764/1362*, and a mausoleum within the *khānḳāh* of al-Ashraf Barsbāy in the desert [121], 835/1432*, though most Mamlūk tombs are domed chambers (hence the general use of the term *ḳubba* for mausoleum). Most interesting of these isolated constructions is al-Ḳubba al-Fadāwiyya at ʿAbbāsiyya [5], a vast domed edifice datable to 884-6/1479-81* on a high basement, part of which serves as a *muṣallā*, but which has no ground floor porch and which is reached by a grand staircase on the exterior.

General considerations. It is often asserted that the architecture of Cairo shows a progressive decline from the Baḥrī to the Burdjī periods. There was certainly a change of taste in the later period with an elaboration of surface ornament on both exterior and interior surfaces, in marble veneer, glass paste or simply carved stone, the exterior surfaces of the domes of the larger royal foundation, from that of Faradj b. Barḳūḳ onwards, being carved with elaborate tracery in high relief. Wood was scarce and an expensive import, no marble appears to have been quarried after the Byzantine period, and despite all expedients the supply of antique material had almost dried up by the mid-9th/15th century. The devices resorted to to supply this deficiency, for example the use of bitumen or red paste to fill in grooved designs on white marble and thus create the illusion of polychrome marble veneer (*Madrasa* of the *ḳāḍī* Abū Bakr Muẓhir [49], 884/1479-80*; Kidjmās [Kačmāz] al-Isḥāḳī [114], 885-6/1480-1*; funerary *madrasa* of Ḳāʾit Bāy [99] completed 879/1474* (see Pl. 6); *madrasa* of al-Ghūrī [66] completed 910/1504*), show technical inventiveness rather than decadence. Pressure on space within the confines of al-Ḳāhira doubtless explains the smaller size of funerary foundations, in order to accommodate the standard appurtenances, and there is a tendency for the proportion of height to ground area to increase. There also does seem to have been a misguided preconception among Mamlūk builders that a plan or elevation could be reduced by a factor of two or four without losing in effectiveness, and this smaller scale naturally makes allover surface decoration even more conspicuous. However, where space was freely available, as in the eastern cemetery, the Burdjī monuments of the whole of the 9th/15th century remain architecturally imposing. This period also saw a tremendous development in the technology of stone work. The few stone domes of the Baḥrī period are small and mainly experimental constructions: where a large area was to be covered the dome had necessarily to be wood (as in the mausoleum of the Imām al-Shāfiʿī or of Sultan Ḥasan, both incidentally restored in their original material by Ḳāʾit Bāy) or of brick, as in the mausoleum within the *madrasa* of Sarghatmish [218], 757/1356*. In the Burdjī period the enormous span of the domes of the *khānḳāh* of Faradj b. Barḳūḳ represents perhaps the apogee of Mamlūk stone-work in Egypt, but the technique was maintained right up to the fall of the Mamlūks, in the tomb and palace of Khayr Beg [248-9], 906-8/1501-2*. These are scarcely grounds for speaking of decadence.

Domestic Architecture. In the discussion of the Cairene *madrasa* the central rôle of the *ḳāʿa* in the grand domestic architecture of al-Ḳāhira has already been stressed. In many cases a *salsabīl* in the wall of an *īwān* emitted a trickle of water which flowed down into a pool in the centre of the *durḳāʿa* (*ḳāʿa* of Muḥammad Muḥibb al-Dīn [50], otherwise known as the *waḳf* of ʿUthmān Katkhudā, dated 751/1351* not 651/1253 as in Creswell, *Brief Chronology*). Ventilation was assured by wind-funnels or towers (*malḳaf*, plur. *malāḳif*), facing north to catch the evening breeze, and these also occur in some religious buildings (the mosque of al-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalāʾiʿ [116], 555/1160*, where the shaft inconveniently issues at the top of the *minbar*, and in the *khānḳāh* of Baybars al-Djāshenkīr [32], 706-9/1306-9*). The main *ḳāʿa* may not be on the ground floor, and as in the case of the palace of Beshtāk [34], 738 or 740/1337 or 1339, the *piano nobile* is reached by an exterior staircase up the side of a basement which contained the stables as well as a street façade of shops incorporating a *masdjid* of Fāṭimid foundation, the Masdjid al-Fidjl. In the storeys above the *ḳāʿa* were the private apartments, often looking on to it through wooden *mashrabiyya* screens: the result was to make some of the great houses of Cairo extremely high. Of most of these palaces the chief remains are the monumental porch giving on to the street (Mandjak al-Silāḥdār [247], 747-8/1346-7*; the Amīr Ṭāz [267], 753/1352, on the Shāriʿ al-Suyūfiyya), but one palace, of the amīr Yushbak, who to judge from an inscrip-

tion of 880/1475-6 was the last owner of the building, has been preserved almost in its entirety [266]. Its other current name, the Ḥaws͟h Bardaḳ, suggests that it should be identified with the *iṣṭabl* (both stables and residence) built by Ḳūṣūn as an enlargement of a palace of Sand͟jar and pillaged in 742/1341-2. After Yus͟hbak's death in 887/1482 the palace was given by Ḳā'it Bāy to yet another amīr, Āḳbardī, the last recorded occupant, who died in 904/1498-9. The sequence of owners suggests that this palace, and possibly others as well, may have been an official residence, but this is so far undemonstrable and its continued use may simply be due to the lack of suitable housing for amīrs holding high positions. It became customary, indeed, to incorporate earlier palace buildings within later structures, or to amalgamate adjoining buildings, so that they came to form rambling complexes of *ḳā'a*s and *maḳ'ad*s, north-facing loggias generally at mezzanine level on a basement of storerooms or servants' quarters (*e.g.*, that of Mamāy [51], 901/1496*, now known as the Bayt al-Ḳāḍī), disposed round irregular courtyards. The Rab' Raḍwān Bey [406] near the Bāb Zuwayla and the Bayt al-Kirītliyya, adjoining the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn [321], both 11th/17th-century constructions, incorporate earlier elements, and the same would appear to be true of the 9th/15th century, for example, the "palace" of Ḳā'it Bāy [228], 890/1485*, in the Darb al-Aḥmar.

This tradition of appropriation of earlier houses and the resultant constructions rambling round a *ḳā'a* probably changed little from the Fāṭimid period onwards. It was certainly little affected by the Ottoman occupation, and Turkish influence on the architecture of al-Ḳāhira was probably at its least in this sphere. The Musāfirk͟hāna palace [20], 1193/1779-1203/1788, is arguably more of an Istanbul-type construction, and Muḥammad 'Alī's palace of al-D͟jawhara [505], 1229/1814, shows much French influence. But the less elaborate houses of Ottoman Cairo continued the local tradition.

Commercial Architecture. The tenement houses or *rab'*s of Cairo have never been studied architecturally as a group (most appear on the *Index* as "house-*waḳf*s"). The Mamlūk baths of the city, numerous as they once were, scarcely survive. The entrance to the bath of Bes͟htāk [244], pre-742/1341*, and the central hall of a bath which formed part of the endowments of the mosque of al-Mu'ayyad S͟hayk͟h [410] (cf. 'Alī Pās͟hā Mubārak, v, 35-6, vi, 71) are the only important remains of the Mamlūk period. The *k͟hān*s of the Mamlūk period are slightly better preserved, though, given the lavish documentary evidence from the Fāṭimid period onwards for *k͟hān*s in which foreign merchants lodged and the fact that many of the high Mamlūk amīrs engaged in trade, it is surprising that there should be only one surviving *k͟hān* of the Baḥrī Mamlūk period, the earliest in Cairo, that of Ḳūṣūn [11] in the D͟jamāliyya quarter, pre-742/1341, the date of his death. Two *k͟hān*s founded by Ḳā'it Bāy are preserved (the inscriptions use the word *k͟hān*, though the literary sources almost invariably use the word *wakāla/wikāla*), one at al-Azhar with a *sabīl-kuttāb* attached [75-6], 882/1477*, and one [9] at Bāb al-Naṣr, 885/1481. The best preserved, however, is the Wikālat al-Nak͟hla [64]*, which bears the cartouches of al-G͟hūrī, 906/1501-922/1516. It consists of a courtyard approached through a monumental entrance surrounded by a ground floor of booths (*dakākīn*) or depôts (*mak͟hāzin*) with two upper storeys of rooms for lodging and, possibly, originally another storey as well. The plan differs little from that of contemporary *k͟hān*s in Aleppo and Damascus, though the building is much higher in proportion to its ground area, and the street façade has windows for each storey above the ground floor. These late Mamlūk *wikāla*s, organized, as in Syria, according to trade as well as to the nationality of the merchants who inhabited them, changed very little after the Ottoman occupation, most of the surviving *k͟hān*s being 10th/16th-12th/18th century in date.

Al-G͟hūrī also built a *ḳayṣāriyya* [53-4, 56] (undated), now known as the K͟hān al-K͟halīlī, which was in fact a *k͟hān* of 8th/14th century date ('Alī Pās͟hā Mubārak, v, 90, 301). It has been assumed that al-G͟hūrī merely restored the *k͟hān*, but the incomplete foundation inscription in his name (Van Berchem, *CIA*, 596, No. 406) leaves no doubt that it was a new foundation.

OTTOMANS

Most assertions of the disruptive effect of the Ottoman conquest upon the architecture of Cairo are based on prejudice or on superficial acquaintance with the monuments. The Mamlūk tradition as it had evolved under the Burd͟jī Mamlūks was extraordinarily persistent, and, in contrast to Damascus, the Ottoman metropolitan tradition of architecture made itself felt only sporadically. Changes of various sorts did take place. The *Irsāliyye K͟hazīnesi*, a tax first fixed under K͟hādim Sulaymān Pās͟hā (931/1524-941/1534) [see IRSĀLIYYE], left the Ottoman *wālī*s with little money for building, and most of them left Egypt with heavy debts. In the later 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries, when the Mamlūk beys prevented its remission to Istanbul, larger foundations were undertaken, like the mosque and dependencies of Muṣṭafā S͟hurbagī [Čorbad͟ji] Mīrzā at Būlāḳ [343], 1110/1698*, the extensive restoration of al-Azhar, 1167/1753, and the mosque, *ḥawḍ* (drinking trough) and *sabīl* of Muḥammad Bey Abū D͟hahab [62, 98], 1187/1774*. The changes however, were by no means entirely the result of economic pressure. The Ottoman governors, generally in Egypt *en poste* for short periods, preferred to endow large funerary *kulliyyas* [*külliyes*], complex foundations, in Istanbul, where large areas of land were still freely available for building in the central districts of the city. They did not intend, if they could help it, to die in Egypt; they did not have the Mamlūk tendency to build more than one mausoleum (the last Mamlūk to do this in Cairo was Ḳānṣūh Abū Sa'īd with two mausoleums [360, 164] both dated 904/1499*), and the discovery on their arrival that Cairo was almost entirely built up already and that land was too difficult, or too expensive, to expropriate must have greatly contributed to their lack of enthusiasm for large-scale foundations there. However, two early governors appear to have been exceptional in building in Egypt and not in Istanbul, K͟hādim Sulaymān Pās͟hā (*wālī* 931/1524-941/1534), who built a mosque of Ottoman plan but Mamlūk decoration on the Citadel [142], 935/1528* (chronogram), with a very curiously planned *tekke* behind it, and Iskandar Pās͟hā (governor 963/1556-966/1559) whose mosque, *tekke* and *sabīl* at the Bāb al-K͟halḳ (K͟harḳ) have all disappeared. The former is exceptional in having continued to build in Egypt after relinquishing his official duties: he is credited with a *wikāla* at Būlāḳ [539], 948/1541, and a *tekke intra muros*, al-Sulaymāniyya [225], 950/1543-4* (but described in the foundation inscription as a *madrasa*).

Sabīls. The distinction between Ottoman and Mamlūk architecture in Cairo is perhaps best shown

by considering the history of the *sabīl*, the earliest surviving example of which is that in the name of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad [561] at the porch of the foundation of Ķalā'ūn. The cistern cannot be located, and the later elements of Cairene *sabīls*, a carved stone *salsabīl* or *shādhirwān* down which the water flowed into an interior pool and bronze grilles through which the water could be taken with a dipper, do not survive. The date is disputed: *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 97 (followed by Creswell, *MAE*, ii, 274-5) gives 726/1326, but there are clear signs of a subsequent restoration, when a *kuttāb* (Ķur'ān school) may have been added above. One free-standing Baḥrī *sabīl*, that of Shaykhū [144], 755/1354*, appears to be without a *kuttāb*, but by the early Burdjī period the joint construction, generally at the corner of a façade so that it might be accessible from two or three sides, becomes a feature of larger foundations, for example that on the façade of the *khānķāh* of *Shaykhū* [152], later than the foundation of 756/1355*, and the pair at either end of the façade of the *khānķāh* of Faradj b. Barķūķ in the desert [149], 803/1400-813/1411*. However, where a site at an important street junction could be employed, the *sabīl-kuttāb* might become free-standing in the later Burdjī period, for example, that of Ķā'it Bāy [324], 884/1480, with a magnificent revetment of marble veneer and a complex of small rooms behind.

In the Ottoman period the *sabīl-kuttāb* became the most frequent of all commemorative foundations, doubtless for reasons of economy. It was almost invariably an independent foundation, even when built up against some earlier building. That of Khusraw [*q.v.*] (Husrev) Pāshā [52], 942/1535*, is both typical of the genre and symptomatic of general Ottoman practice. Governor of Egypt from 940/1534 to 942/1536, he had built mosques at Diyārbakr (925-35/1519-29), Sarajevo (actually a *kulliyya* (*külliye*); cf. Mayer, *Architects*..., 50) (938/1532) and Van (975/1567), a mosque and double *madrasa*, the Khusrawiyya, at Aleppo (953/1546-7), and a *türbe* in Istanbul, all these three built by Sinān, a canopy tomb at Van (989/1581) and a *khān* on the Van-Bitlis road. His architectural activities are by far the most flagrant example of the Ottoman governors' neglect of Cairo, although his case is paralleled by that of Sinān Pāshā, twice governor of Egypt, whose numerous constructions in Syria and at Istanbul are represented in Cairo now only by his mosque at Būlāķ [349], 979/1571*. If (improbably) sheer poverty was Khusraw Pāshā's excuse, the habit of founding *sabīl-kuttābs* in Cairo persisted throughout the period of Ottoman domination. The best known is that of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Katkhudā [21], 1157/1744* (see Pl. 7), an elegant Mamlūk pastiche which fully exploits the advantages of its situation at an important street junction. Architecturally, however, it is far from untypical; the *česhmes* of 11th-12th/17th/18th century Istanbul do not appear to have been copied at all, and the typically bow-fronted wooden-eaved Istanbul *sabīls* (known as *ṣibyān mektebleri*) are not imitated in Cairo until the 19th century (mosque of Sulaymān Āghā Silāḥdār [382], 1255/1839).

Fortifications. The Ottoman fortifications of the Citadel cannot ever have served much purpose. The Bāb al-ʿAzab [555], 1168/1754, a premature revival of romantic Crusader architecture, was restored by Muḥammad ʿAlī when he occupied the Citadel and built there the Mint [606], 1227/1812, two palaces, the Djawhara and the Ḥarīm [505, 612], 1229/1814 and 1243/1827, the Archives [605], 1244/1828, and ultimately the mosque of Muḥammad ʿAlī [503], 1265/1848, the plan of which, in spite of frequent assertions to the contrary, is based on that of the Yeñi Djāmiʿ at Istanbul. The Citadel was no longer a fortress in any strict sense of the word, and an earlier fortress of Muḥammad ʿAlī on the Muķaṭṭam Hills [455], 1225/1810, connected to the Citadel by a ramp, is so disposed that it cannot ever have had more than decorative value. Various gates of quarters (*ḥārāt*) datable to the Ottoman period remain within the walls of al-Ķāhira, for example that of the Ḥārat al-Mabyaḍa in the Djamāliyya [356], 1084/1673. There is no reason, however, to posit a revival of fortification within the city in the Ottoman period. The existence of such gates is well documented in the Mamlūk period, though none dating from this time has yet been identified.

Mosques. Although the principal religious foundations of Cairo in the Ottoman period are mosques, not *madrasas*, there is only one royal foundation, that of Malika Ṣafiyya [200], 1019/1610, though it is royal only by error in that its founder, ʿUthmān Āghā, the Dār al-Saʿādet Āghāsī, had not been manumitted, so that the foundation was judged to revert to his owner, Malika Ṣafiyya. Although the masonry and much of the decoration is Cairene, the mosque plan comes closer to the metropolitan mosques of Istanbul than any other Ottoman building in Cairo. It is set in a walled enclosure of which one gateway [330], 1019/1610*, still stands, on a high basement without shops and consists of a courtyard surrounded by domed arcades leading to a sanctuary with a dome on a hexagonal base which goes back in plan to that of the Üč Sherefeli mosque at Edirne. The next mosque in order of size is that of Sinān Pāshā at Būlāķ [349], 979/1571,* which was subsequently imitated by that of Muḥammad Bey Abū Dhahab [98], 1187/1774*. The use of a dome similar to that of al-Kubba al-Fadāwiyya [5], 884-6/1479-81*, rather than one of the dome types evolved in Istanbul, as a model for both mosques appears at first sight remarkable, though Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (*Ta'rīkh al-masādjid*, i, 671) has adduced evidence that by the late 11th/17th century at least this Mamlūk mausoleum had become one of the sights for visitors to Cairo. Both mosques, like others of the 10th/16th-11th/17th centuries, introduce certain features which are more characteristic of the Ottoman architecture of Istanbul: a narthex with *miḥrābs*, allegedly for late-comers to prayers, and, inside, a balcony above the entrance (it is not always clear whether a royal box or a gynaeceum was intended), and a sunken transverse passage across the sanctuary, a reconciliation, perhaps, of the Istanbul practice of entry into the sanctuary directly from the street rather than via a *ṣaḥn* or a *miḍāt*, as in Cairo. The balcony above the entrance first occurs in the architecture of Cairo in the mosque of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad on the Citadel, when it may actually have been a royal box; there appears to have been a gynaeceum right from the start in the mosque of Aṣlam al-Bahā'ī [112], 745-6/1344-5*, and the sunken passage across the sanctuary occurs in various Burdjī monuments, including the mosque within the *khānķāh* of al-Ashraf Barsbāy in the desert [121], 835/1432*. Such Ottoman modifications, therefore, were mainly ritual rather than architectural.

This general point also applies to other Ottoman mosques of Cairo, for example the Maḥmūdiyya [135], 975/1568, very much a Burdjī Mamlūk building in construction but based on the mosque of Sultan Ḥasan opposite, even to the tomb-chamber behind the *ķibla* wall, though the choice of a steep hill as a site makes the whole idea rather ineffective. The mosque of Dā'ūd Pāshā [472], 955/1548, combines an

irregularly shaped *muṣallā* of late 9th/15th-century type with an entrance more like a *ḳāʿa* with a staircase incongruously occupying it; and the Ribāṭ al-Āthār [320], 1073/1662-1224/1809, a much restored building which is now in part a basilical mosque, has a *ḳubba* attached which is no mausoleum but a repository for two limestone feet of Pharaonic workmanship, now revered as the *āthār al-nabawiyya* [see ḲADAM SHARĪF] (For earlier restauration, in the name of Faradj b. Barḳūḳ and Ḳānṣūh al-Ghūrī, see Wiet, *Inscriptions historiques sur pierre* 79-80, nos. 107, 129). There is a general tendency for basilical mosques, sometimes with a central lantern, like that of Muṣṭafā Shurbagī [Čorbadjī] Mīrzā, [343] 110/1698*, to replace those with an open *ṣaḥn*, the last of which is the mosque of al-Fakahānī [109], 1148/1736*; but this again is the continuation of a Burdjī development. In general, the continuity of Mamlūk plans and materials is striking, and while, to judge from the extant remains, tile revetments of low quality were employed in some Ottoman buildings, when a flashy marble mosaic was required it could easily be executed by local craftsmen (mosque of al-Burdaynī [201]*, 1025/1616-1038/1629*).

Madrasas and tekkes. The Cairene *madrasas* of the Ottoman period are conspicuous only by their absence. The Takkiya Sulaymāniyya [225], 950/1543-4*, and the *takkiya* and *sabīl* of "Sulṭān Maḥmūd" [308], 1164/1751*, which closely follows it in plan, are both described in their foundation inscriptions as *madrasas*, but there are scarcely any others known and a complete survey of the Ottoman epigraphy of Cairo is required to determine the question. Both these buildings follow the plan of an Istanbul *madrasa* with a raised courtyard surrounded by arcades with cells and a projecting axial *īwān* (*darskhāna*): unlike their Istanbul counterparts they are oriented, so that the *darskhāna* also serves as a *masdjid*. If they were also *tekkes* we have no information regarding the *ṭarīḳa* which occupied them. The situation is little better regarding the foundation of *khānḳāhs* in the Ottoman period. There is a *tekke* of the Mawlawiyya (Mevlevī) order attached to the tomb and *madrasa* of Ḥasan Ṣadaḳa (Sunkur Saʿdī) [263], 715/1315*-721/1321*, with a late 12th/18th-century wooden *semāʿkhāne* on an upper floor, and there is also a *tekke* of the Rifāʿiyya [442], 1188/1774. Yet a third extant *tekke* of the Ottoman period is a Bektāshī convent at the foot of the Muḳaṭṭam, an early 10th/16th-century foundation of considerable potential interest but which has long been totally inaccessible and has never been surveyed.

Commercial architecture, etc. It has already been remarked that the commercial and domestic architecture of Cairo appears to have changed little from the Mamlūk to the Ottoman period: almost all the major architectural changes in these spheres have been from the time of Muḥammad ʿAlī onwards. This impression remains to be confirmed, however, and on this, as on the architecture of the 19th-century city, the basic work remains to be done.

Restorations. Any account of the architecture of al-Ḳāhira would be incomplete without some reference to the major restorations which the monuments have undergone. Almost all those still standing have undergone generally accurate major restoration at the hands of the *Comité de conservation des monuments de l'art arabe* over the past ninety years. By no means all earlier restorations are commemorated by inscriptions (for example those of Ḳāʾit Bāy in Sultan Ḥasan and the Imām al-Shāfiʿī) or thought worthy of record by the literary sources: much of the Islamic architecture of the city owes its relatively well preserved state to the fact that for most of the time *waḳf* revenues must have been adequate for the upkeep of the foundation. Where this was not the case, in the Mamlūk period at least, money available for building was usually spent on a new foundation to commemorate the individual donor rather than on the repair of another's monument. Only this can explain the rarity of inscriptions commemorating major restorations in the architecture of al-Ḳāhira: it was, ultimately, more glorious to demolish a dilapidated building than to restore it.

The major restorations, therefore, are generally explained by special considerations. The Fāṭimid restorations of the mosques of ʿAmr, Ibn Ṭūlūn and al-Azhar had a political motive, the propagation of the *daʿwa*, as well as the necessity of coping with a population increase, and the Mamlūk and Ottoman restorations of the Citadel, the aqueduct and the main bridges extant in the Cairo area are readily comprehensible in terms of the necessity of maintaining public, or royal, utilities. The continuous series of inscriptions attesting additions to or restorations of al-Azhar by the Baḥrī and Burdjī sultans are an index of its importance in the 8th/14th-9th/15th centuries as a teaching institution; while the restoration of the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn [220] by Lādjīn, 969/1296-7ā, the most considerable of the whole period involving two *miḥrābs*, a domed fountain (*fawwāra*) in the centre of the courtyard, a sundial and the virtual rebuilding of the minaret as well as, doubtless, unspecified structural repairs, was in prompt fulfilment of a vow, as is shown by the dating of the *minbar* he also erected there a fortnight after his accession, 696/1296. The earthquake of 702/1303 was evidently destructive enough to demand widespread repairs, of the mosque of al-Ḥākim by Baybars al-Djāshenkīr, of the mosque of al-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalāʾiʿ [116] by Bektimūr al-Čūkāndār, and the mosque of ʿAmr by the amīr Salār, who probably built the *miḥrāb* on the outer wall by the main entrance.

The other recorded Mamlūk restorations appear capricious in the extreme: a further restoration of the mosque of al-Ḥākim by Sultan Ḥasan, 760/1359 (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 277), a restoration of the mosque of al-Aḳmar [33] by Yilbughā al-Sālimī, 799/1397*, a *minbar* in the name of Sultan Djaḳmaḳ in the *madrasa* of Barḳūḳ *intra muros* [187], a *minbar* in the name of Ḳāʾit Bāy in the *khānḳāh* of Faradj b. Barḳūḳ in the desert, 888/1483, and a re-endowment inscription of Barsbāy, 838/1435, in the *ḥawsh* of Dhu 'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī (Wiet, *CIA*, 70, No. 565). Why they should be so few or so various is beyond the state of our knowledge.

In the light of this general lack of concern for older buildings without special importance, however, the scarcity of Ottoman restoration inscriptions becomes much less scandalous. Some restorations certainly appear capricious: for example that of the mosque of Āḳsunḳur by Ibrāhīm Āghā Mustaḥfiẓān, 1062/1651-2*, or that of Sultan Ḥasan by Ḥasan Āghā, 1082/1671-2*, the latter of which may in any case refer only to the rebuilding of the fountain in the courtyard. Other Ottoman restoration inscriptions indicate a curious revival of interest in Fāṭimid *mashhads*: the Mashhad al-Djuyūshī to which are attached the remains of an undated Ottoman *tekke*, Sayyida Nafīsa, which was apparently burned down at the Ottoman conquest, by ʿAlī Pāshā Ḥekīmoghlu, twice pāshā of Egypt (1170/1757); the Imām al-Layth (1201/1786-7); the mausoleum of Sīdī ʿUḳba, by Muḥammad Pāshā Silāḥdār (first rebuilt 1066/1655-6* and

now known as al-Sādā al-Wafāʾiyya [463]); and the shrine of Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn [599], which bears a somewhat defective Ottoman copy of a foundation inscription dated 549/1154, restored by ʿUthmān Āghā Mustaḥfiẓān (1225/1810, cf. ʿAlī Pāshā Mubārak, v, 4). Two earlier Fāṭimid buildings were completely rebuilt: a mosque founded by the amīr Abū Manṣūr Ḳusṭah, 535/1141 (Sīdī Sāriya), in the Citadel, which re-appears as the mosque of Khādim Sulaymān Pāshā [142], 935/1528*, and the mosque al-Ẓāfir ibn Naṣr Allāh, 543/1148, rebuilt by Aḥmad Katkhudā Mustaḥfiẓān Kharpūṭlū, 1148/1735, as the mosque of al-Fakahānī [109], into which the wooden doors of the Fāṭimid mosque were incorporated.

The Ottoman inscriptions of al-Azhar (given in Mehren, ii 59, see Bibliography) chiefly coincide with the substantial enlargements of the mosque undertaken by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Katkhudā. The only other inscriptions which demonstrate a concern for public utilities are those of the Great Aqueduct, restored by ʿAbdī Pāshā, 1139/1727, with a chronogram also giving the date 1140/1728 (Van Berchem, *CIA*, 591).

This brief account of restoration work in al-Ḳāhira over a period of seven hundred years or so is based mainly on the published inscriptions: if suggestive in certain respects, it is clearly lacunary. It is more than possible that not a few inscriptions which claim to refer to the founding of a building are really recording pretentious restorations. However, if the record of restoration under Ottoman dominion is poor, it is scarcely worse than in the earlier history of al-Ḳāhira. Concern for the monuments of others, one may conclude, was not a pronounced Cairene characteristic.

Bibliography: (apart from references cited in the text): The bibliography of the monuments of al-Ḳāhira is so scattered that no complete survey of the source material can be attempted. Much work remains to be done before even a corpus of the Islamic architecture of Cairo can be assembled, and the present brief account demonstrates the extent to which generally received opinions are based upon *a priori* generalizations rather than detailed publication. The most recent and complete bibliographical work is K.A.C. Creswell's *A bibliography of the architecture, arts and crafts of Islam to 1st January, 1960* (American University in Cairo Press 1961); *Supplement, to 1st January 1970*, in the press. The monuments of al-Ḳāhira up to 726/1326 have full chronological bibliographies in idem, *The Muslim architecture of Egypt*, abbr. as (*MAE*), i, Oxford 1952, ii, Oxford 1959, those for monuments founded before 358/969 being found in *Early Muslim architecture*, (*EMA*), ii, Oxford 1940, which gives details of repairs and additions to them subséquent to the foundation of al-Ḳāhira. The latest general bibliography of Cairo by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Zakī, *A bibliography of the literature of Cairo*, Cairo 1964, is to be consulted for recent articles in Arabic, though in general it supersedes none of Creswell's works cited above.

The material available falls into six classes: (1) maps; (2) primary sources and accounts based directly upon them, rather than upon the monuments; (3) detailed publication of the monuments themselves; (4) epigraphy; (5) general studies, including less pretentious works which aim to be partly guide books; (6) guide books proper. Work in hand will be indicated at the end of the account.

(1) Maps. For the whole period 358/969-1272/1856 the *Special 1:5,000 scale maps of Cairo*, 2 sheets (Survey of Egypt 1951), published in English and Arabic versions with numerical, chronological and alphabetical *Indexes* of the Muslim monuments in each language, are a necessary source and supersede the earlier monuments map of Cairo by Max Herz Bey (Egyptian Department of Antiquities 1914). They do not indicate monuments declassified before 1950, and buildings destroyed since 1856 are not shown. For this reason, certain quarters of Cairo which have become built up during the present century, for example the island of Rōḍa (Rawḍa), appear as misleadingly unimportant, and for a more accurate impression of their constitution in the post-mediaeval period the maps in M. Jomard, *Description de l'Egypte. Etat moderne*, 1809-22, ii, 579-788, should be consulted.

There are many differences of detail between the 1951 maps and those attached to *MAE*, i-ii: in cases of divergence the latter are generally the more reliable. The *Indexes* do not correspond exactly in their Arabic and English versions, showing discrepancies of orthography or even classification; and, particularly for the Ottoman period, some monuments numbered on the maps do not appear in the *Indexes*. The basic work of their collation and revision is at present being undertaken by a seminar of the American University in Cairo under the direction of C. Kessler.

(2) Primary sources. For the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Ḳalāʾūn, D. P. Little, *An introduction to Mamlūk historiography*, Wiesbaden 1970, is a useful guide to the material available. It is regrettable that no similar survey has yet been attempted for any other period of the history of al-Ḳāhira. Of all the primary sources, al-Maḳrīzī, *Mawāʿiẓ* (*Khiṭaṭ*), for the period up to the reign of al-Muʾayyad Shaykh is by far the most useful and is often a first-hand source (ed. Būlāḳ 1270/1853; ed. G. Wiet, in *MIFAO*, xxx, xxxiii, xlvi, xlix, liii (Cairo 1927-), covering i, 1-322 of the Būlāḳ edition; tr. U. Bouriant, in *MMAF*, xvii, fascicules 1-2 (Paris 1895-1900), covering Būlāḳ ed. i, 1-250; tr. P. Casanova, in *MIFAO*, iii (Cairo 1906), covering Būlāḳ ed., i, 251-347). This should be supplemented by al-Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, ed. M. Ziyāda, i-iii, Cairo 1934-70; tr. E. Quatremère as *Histoire des Sultans mamlouks*, i-ii, Paris 1837-44; continued by Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwi, *al-Tibr al-masbūk fī dhayl al-Sulūk*, ed. A. Zeki Bey, *Revue d'Egypte*, ii-iii, Būlāḳ 1896-7; E. Gaillardot (Cairo 1897), also al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfat al-albāb*, i, Cairo 1937. Among other sources of primary importance are Ibn Duḳmaḳ, *Kitāb al-intiṣār li-wāsiṭat ʿiḳd al-amṣār*, Būlāḳ 1309/1891-2; Ibn Taghrībirdī, Cairo [see ABU 'L-MAḤĀSIN]; Ibn al-Zayyāt's guide to the Ḳarāfa, *al-Kawākib al-sayyāra fī tartīb al-ziyāra fī 'l-Ḳarāfatayn al-kubrā wa 'l-ṣughrā*, Cairo 1325/1907; and Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*, Būlāḳ 1311-14/1893-7 [for other editions see IBN IYĀS], translated G. Wiet as *Histoire des Mamlouks circassiens*, *IFAO*, Cairo 1945, covering the period 1467-1500, and as *Journal d'un bourgeois du Caire*, i, Paris 1955-6, covering the period 1500-16; ii, Paris 1960, covering the period 1516-22.

For the Ottoman period the chief source remains ʿAlī Pāshā Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-tawfīḳiyya al-djadīda*, Cairo 1306/1888-9 (new edition, Cairo 1969-). With the exception of Aḥmad Darrādj, *L'Acte de waqf de Barsbay* (*Ḥudjdjat waḳf al-ashraf Barsbāy*), Cairo 1963 and of L. A. Mayer's valuable study, *The buildings of Qāytbāy as described in his endowment deed*, Fascicule i (all pub-

lished), London 1938, the substantial collections of *waḳfiyyas* in the Ministry of Waḳfs in Cairo remain largely unexploited, nor does any published catalogue of them exist. Extracts from a number of *waḳfiyyas* are given by al-Maḳrīzī, ʿAlī Pās̲h̲ā Mubārak and other historians, but the only studies of the *waḳfiyya* material relating to Cairo are by ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Ibrāhīm, *al-Wat̲h̲āʾiḳ fī k̲h̲idmat al-āt̲h̲ār*, in *al-Muʾtamar al-t̲h̲ānī li āt̲h̲ār al-bilād al-ʿarabiyya*, Cairo 1958; idem, *Silsilat al-wat̲h̲āʾiḳ al-tārīk̲h̲iyya al-ḳawmiyya I. Wat̲h̲īḳat Amīr al-Ak̲h̲ūr al-Kabīr Ḳarāḳud̲j̲a al-Ḥasanī*, in *B. Fac. Ar.*, xviii/2 (1959), 183-251; idem, *al-Tawt̲h̲īḳa al-s̲h̲arʿiyya wa'l-is̲h̲hādāt fī zuhr wat̲h̲īḳat al-G̲h̲ūrī*, in *B. Fac. Ar.*, xix/1 (1960), 293-420. These two articles cite documents dated 846/1442-3 and 911/1505 (Awḳāf No. 853) respectively.

Among topographical works which draw mainly upon the literary sources should be mentioned first C. H. Becker, CAIRO in *EI*[1], and A. Breccia and E. Kühnel, *Cairo*, in *Enciclopedia italiana*, viii, 281-7. More detailed works of this type are A. R. Guest and E. T. Richmond, *Miṣr in the fifteenth century*, in *JRAS* (1903), 791-816; G. Salmon, *Etude sur la topographie du Caire, le Kalʿat al-Kabsh et la Birkat al-Fil* in *MIFAO*, vii, Cairo 1902; P. Ravaisse, *Essai sur l'histoire et la topographie du Caire d'après Maqrizi*, in *MMAF*, i/3, iii/4, Paris 1887-90; P. Casanova, *Histoire et description de la Citadelle du Caire*, in *MMAF*, vi, Paris 1891-2. W. Popper's *Systematic notes to Ibn Taghrībirdī's Chronicles*, i, *The Cairo Nilometer*, Berkeley 1951, and ii, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Mamlūks*, Los Angeles 1957, contain much valuable topographical material. Mention should also be made of L. Massignon's *La cité des morts au Caire* (*Qarâfa Darb al-Aḥmar*, in *BIFAO*, lvii (1938), 25-79. Much hitherto unpublished material, not all, obviously, of equal relevance to the city of Cairo, is to be made available in a series of translations (general editor S. Sauneron) by the IFAO (Cairo) of the accounts of foreign travellers to Egypt, which it is hoped to turn into a corpus, Collection des voyageurs occidentaux en Égypte. The following are to appear: Pierre Belon (1547), Jean Palèche (1581), Jean Coppin (1638), two anonymous Florentine and Villanovan accounts (1589-90) and Lichtenstein, Kiechel, Fernberger, Von Teufel, Lubenau and Miloïte (1587-8).

(3) Detailed publication of monuments. For its detailed publication of the monuments up to 726/1326, K. A. C. Creswell's *EMA*, ii, and *MAE*, i-ii, the latter two volumes incorporating the author's earlier publications of isolated monuments or types of architecture in Cairo and presenting his most recent views on the problems he had earlier considered, are basic works. For plans and descriptions of monuments no longer extant, M. Jomard, *Description de l'Egypte. Etat moderne* (cited (1) above) is sometimes useful. For the period 726/1326-923/1517, K. A. C. Creswell, *A brief chronology of the Muhammadan monuments of Egypt to 1517*, in *BIFAO*, xvi (1919), 39-164, has still, for the majority of the monuments it catalogues, not been superseded. Monographs, some of them no more than preliminary studies, devoted to monuments not treated in *MAE*, i-ii, include: Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Masd̲j̲id Aṣlam al-Silāḥdār*, in *al-Handasa*, xvi (1937), 469-80; idem, *Madrasat Abī Bakr Muẓhir*, in *al-Handasa*, xv (1935), 17-23; M. Herz Bey, *La mosquée du Sultan Hassan au Caire*, Cairo 1899; idem, *La mosquée de l'emir Ganem al-Bahlaouan au Caire*, Cairo 1908; Franz Pasha, *Die Grabmoschee des Sultans Kait-Bai bei Kairo* (= *Die Baukunst*, i/3), Berlin/Stuttgart 1897; R. L. Devonshire, *Abu Bakr Muzhir et sa mosquée au Caire*, in *Mélanges Maspéro*, iii (*MMAF*, lxviii), Cairo 1940, 25-31; and Saleh Lamei Mostafa, *Kloster und Mausoleum des Farağ ibn Barqūq in Kairo* (= *Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Islamische Reihe*, ii, Glückstadt 1968), cf. review by K. Brisch in *Kunst des Orients*, vi/2 (1970), 182-3, the only detailed contribution up to the present to the study of the growth of the Eastern cemetery in Cairo. To these should be added M. Meinecke, *Das Mausoleum des Qalā'ūn in Kairo. Untersuchungen zur Genese der mamlukischen Architekturdekoration*, in *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Abteilung Kairo*, xxvii/1 (1971), 47-80, the first serious attempt to broach the problem of the origins of Mamlūk architectural decoration.

With the exception of an unpublished doctoral thesis by Kamāl al-Dīn Sāmiḥ (good plans, poor text) on the work of the 18th-century patron and builder, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Katk̲h̲udā (Faculty of Engineering, Fouad I University, Cairo 1947) and A. Raymond, *Les constructions de ʿAbd al Raḥmân Katḫudâ au Caire*, in *Mélanges Islamologiques de l'IFAO*, x, 1973, the period after 923/1517 remains largely untreated, except in general accounts of the architecture of Cairo (see (5) below). For this period, and for other periods as well, the *Comptes rendus du Comité des monuments de l'art arabe* (Cairo 1882 onwards: most recent volume, covering the years 1954-61, Cairo 1963 [since 1956 reports have been in Arabic]; *Index* up to 1914 edited by M. Herz Bey, Cairo 1915; list of contents by volume, 1882-1940, in K. A. C. Creswell *Bibliography* (cited above), columns 89-96) remains an important source. For the 19th century onwards, with the exception of E. Pauty, *L'architecture du Caire depuis la conquête ottomane* (see (5) below), there appear to be only two useful studies, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Zakī, *Mabānī al-Ḳilāʿ fī ʿaṣr Muḥammad ʿAlī Pās̲h̲ā*, in *al-ʿImāra*, iii/3-4 (1941), 89-98; and J. Fleming, *Cairo Baroque*, in *Architectural Review*, xcvii (1945), 75-82.

Archaeological investigation of the mediaeval domestic architecture of al-Ḳāhira has in recent years been on a minor scale and has remained largely unpublished. Of primary importance, however, are G. T. Scanlon's preliminary reports of five seasons of work at al-Fusṭāṭ, *Journal of the American Research Centre in Egypt* (1964 onwards), for the considerable revisions they entail of the conclusions advanced by A. Bahgat and A. Gabriel, *Fouilles d'al-Foustat*, Paris 1921, and A. Gabriel, *Les fouilles d'al-Foustat et les origines de la maison arabe en Egypte*, Paris 1921. Owing to the unfortunate fact that the rebuilding operations within mediaeval Cairo have rarely been accompianed even by salvage excavations, the curious apparent incongruity between the Ṭūlūnid-Fāṭimid-Ayyūbid domestic architecture of al-Fusṭāṭ and the Mamlūk architecture of al-Ḳāhira *intra muros* has remained so far unexplained, though it is to be hoped that the forthcoming publication by R. Mantran and the late A. Lézine, under the general title, *Etude scientifique des palais et maisons du Caire et de Rosette* (*XVIe-XVIIIe siècles*), will throw light on this problem. E. Pauty's, *Les palais et les maisons d'époque musulmane au Caire*, *MIFAO*, lxii (Cairo 1932), and *Les hammams du Caire*, *MIFAO*, lxiv

(Cairo 1933), are poorly documented general studies with few plans and give little idea of the history of the domestic architecture of Cairo.

For the Coptic architecture of Cairo in the Islamic period, A. J. Butler, *Ancient Coptic churches of Egypt*, i-ii, Oxford 1884; reprinted with Butler's corrections, Oxford 1970, is to be supplemented with discretion by M. Simaika Pasha, *A brief guide to the Coptic Museum and to the principal ancient Coptic churches of Cairo*, Cairo 1938. On the architecture of the other non-Muslim minorities, all of which is apparently 18th century or later, there appears to be nothing published at all.

(4) Epigraphy. The epigraphy of the monuments of Cairo, the most valuable source for their history, should be approached with the caution that, especially in the Burdjī [*q.v.*] Mamlūk period, a foundation inscription may specify only one of the buildings of the complex to which it applies. This custom partly accounts for the misdescriptions or inconsistencies in the Arabic and English *Indexes* to the *Special 1:5,000 scale maps of Cairo* (see (1) above). The still incomplete *RCEA*, a secondary compilation, has not superseded M. Van Berchem's *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum* (*CIA*). *Première partie, Egypte*, i, Paris 1903; ii (continued by G. Wiet), *MMAF*, lii, Cairo 1929-30. The two volumes contain only a selection of the inscriptions from the Ottoman period. *CIA*, i-ii, supersedes Van Berchem's *Notes d'archéologie arabe*, in *JA*, 8e série, xvii (1891), 411-95; xviii (1891), 46-86; xix (1892), 377-407. The CIA should now be completed with G. Wiet, *Inscriptions historiques sur pierre* (*Catalogue général du Musée de l'Art Islamique du Caire*), Cairo 1971. Some volumes of the *Catalogue général du Musée Arabe du Caire* are also relevant, particularly because of the striking rôle which wood plays in the architectural decoration of all periods in Cairo: J. David-Weill, *Bois à épigraphes*, i, *Jusqu'à l'époque mamlouke*, Cairo 1931; ii, *Depuis l'époque mamlouke*, Cairo 1936; E. Pauty, *Bois sculptés d'églises coptes* (*époque fatimide*), Cairo 1930, and idem, *Les bois sculptés jusqu'à l'époque ayyoubide*, Cairo 1931. The volumes of the *Catalogue général* dealing with the tombstones in the Islamic Museum in Cairo, *Stèles funéraires*, i-ix, Cairo 1932 onwards, to which Ḥasan al-Ḥawwārī, Ḥusayn Rās͟hid and G. Wiet have all contributed, are of less value, partly because in most cases the tombstones have only the vaguest provenance and partly because of the common Cairene practice of building earlier stelae into a mausoleum of later date. C. Prost, *Les revêtements céramiques dans les monuments musulmans de l'Egypte*, i (all published), in *MIFAO*, xl (Cairo 1916), is a preliminary study of the curious problems, epigraphic and technological, raised by the scanty use of ceramic revetment in Mamlūk and Ottoman architecture. Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Wahhāb *Tawḳīʿāt al-ṣunnāʿ ʿalā āt͟hār Miṣr*, in *BIE*, xxxvi (1955), 533-58, gives craftsmen's signatures, generally of workers in the minor arts and not of architects proper, on the monuments of Cairo, with comment upon their exceptional rarity for Islamic architecture. It is on this work that Mayer, *Architects*, largely depends. Mayer, *Saracenic heraldry*, Oxford 1933, includes occurrences of Mamlūk blasons on the architecture of Cairo: the list is no longer complete but it is still a basic adjunct to the epigraphic material relating to al-Ķāhira.

On the difficult problems raised by Mamlūk names there is a preliminary study by J. Sauvaget, *Noms et surnoms des Mamelouks*, in *JA*, ccxxxviii (1953), 31-58. On the Turkish side this may be supplemented by P. Pelliot, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, Paris 1949, and by L. Rásonyi, *Sur quelques catégories de noms de personnes en turc*, in *Acta linguistica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, iii (Budapest 1953), 323-51, though many Mamlūk names of Turkish origin remain problematic. Further enlightenment may be obtained from G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, i-iii, Wiesbaden 1963, 1965, 1967, which is all the more important since the studies of the Mongol and Circassian Mamlūk names, by L. Hambis and G. Dumézil respectively, announced by Sauvaget (*art. cit.*), do not appear to have been published.

(5) General works. Apart from C. H. Becker's still useful short account CAIRO in *EI*[1], there is no adequate, comprehensive work on the architecture of Cairo. Of those so far attempted that of Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Taʾrīk͟h al-masādjid al-āt͟hāriyya allatī ṣallā fīhā farīḍāt al-djumʿa ḥaḍrat ṣāḥib al-djalāla al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Fārūḳ al-awwal*, i-ii, Cairo 1946, which, as its title indicates, is selective, is the most useful compilation of historical, epigraphic and architectural information. L. Hautecoeur and G. Wiet, *Les mosquées du Caire*, Paris 1932, volume of text with album of plates, is a premature attempt to order the monuments, hastily compiled and with some prejudices which have evoked little sympathy (cf. review by K. A. C. Creswell in *JRAS* (1934), 199-203). Nevertheless, while many of their generalisations have turned out to be unjustified, some chapters on technology, particularly the Mamlūk taste for marble revetment, contain much valuable, if not precisely documented, information. The lavishly illustrated production of the Ministry of Waḳfs, *The mosques of Egypt from 641 to 1946*, i-ii, Gīza 1949, has a text which is too brief to be informative. Aḥmad Fikrī, *Masādjid al-Ķāhira wa-madārisuhā*, i-ii, Cairo 1965-9, in fact covers only the Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid periods. D. Brandenburg, *Islamische Baukunst in Ägypten*, Berlin 1966, despite its title chiefly devoted to the monuments of Cairo, is somewhat arbitrary in its selection of monuments and relies heavily upon *MAE*, i-ii, thus giving insufficient weight to the period after 726/1326, and upon a not always critical reading of Hautecoeur and Wiet. The most recent general work on Cairo, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Zakī, *Mawsūʿāt madīnat al-Ķāhira fī alf ʿām*, Cairo 1969, gives much information, particularly relating to the architecture of Cairo in the 18th-19th centuries, which is not otherwise available, but the work is too short for completeness and the treatment of the earlier monuments is highly selective. It is, indeed, a significant comment on the paucity of recent published work on the monuments of Cairo that for the period after 726/1326 two of the best general works should still be A. F. Mehren, *Câhirah og Kerâfat*: i, *Gravmonumenter paa Kerâfat eller de Dodes Stad udenfor Câhirah*; ii, *Religieuse Monumenter i Câhirah*, Copenhagen 1869-70, which record many otherwise unpublished monuments, and M. S. Briggs, *Muhammedan architecture in Egypt and Palestine*, Oxford 1924.

Recent collections of essays dealing in general with the history or archaeology of Islamic Egypt contain some material directly related to the architecture of Cairo, in particular, *Mélanges Maspéro*, iii, = *MMAF*, lxvii (Cairo 1940), and *Studies*

in Islamic art and architecture in honour of Professor K. A. C. Creswell, Cairo 1965. However, it is noteworthy that in the most recent collections of essays on Cairo to appear, *Annales Islamologiques*, viii, *Volume commémoratif du Millénaire du Caire 969-1969*, IFAO Cairo 1969, and *Colloque international sur l'histoire du Caire*, Ministry of Culture of the ARE, Berlin 1973, the emphasis of recent research—following the lead established by M. Clerget, *Le Caire, Etude de géographie urbaine et d'histoire géographique*, i-ii, Cairo 1934, a work which can still be consulted with profit—has been upon the problems of urbanism in Cairo and the extent to which the architecture of the mediaeval city was successful in resolving them. The most recent work of this kind, best for the late 18th-20th centuries, is J. Abu Lughod, *Cairo. One thousand and one years of the City Victorious*, Princeton 1972. In the light of the unbalanced publication of the monuments such a shift of emphasis may appear premature, but it is to be hoped that it will lead to a revival of interest in the basic archaeological problems.

Among what may be best described as informative guide books to the monuments of al-Ḳāhira, D. Russell, *Mediaeval Cairo*, London 1962, is the most detailed and to a considerable extent succeeds in overcoming its defects of organization (into tourist itineraries rather than historical periods or coherent quarters), occasional inaccuracies, lack of plans and a perhaps excessive prejudice in favour of the monuments of the Fāṭimid period. Other useful works of the same type, though they aim to cover more limited areas of Cairo, are Maḥmūd Akkūsh, *Taʾrīkh wa-waṣf al-djāmiʿ al-Ṭūlūnī*, Cairo 1346/1927; R. L. Devonshire, *Rambles in Cairo*[2], Cairo 1931; E. Pauty, *La mosquée d'Ibn Touloun et ses alentours*, Cairo 1936; Maḥmūd Aḥmad, *Concise guide to the principal Arabic monuments in Cairo*, Būlāḳ 1939; and Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Djāmiʿ al-Sulṭān Ḥasan wa-mā ḥawlahu*, Cairo 1962.

For much of the Ottoman architecture of Cairo these general works remain the only source, though they may with discretion be supplemented by E. Pauty, *L'architecture au Caire depuis la conquête ottomane, Vue d'ensemble*, in *BIFAO*, xxxvi (1936), 1-69, a general work in spite of its apparently promising title. The author's lack of acquaintance with Metropolitan Ottoman architecture and the small number of Cairene monuments he considers in detail have contributed to the generally held, though highly misleading, impression of the Ottoman period in Cairene architecture as one of decadence and inactivity. It remains for subsequent research to correct this. See A. Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIIIème siècle*, 2 vols., Damascus 1973, and G. Wiet, *Cairo, city of art and commerce*, Norman, Okl. 1964.

(6) Guide books. The text of the *Guide Bleu*, which has not substantially changed for the mediaeval monuments of Cairo since its first edition (compiled by M. Baud Paris 1950), is of little use for all but the most obvious of the Islamic monuments. *Murray's Handbook for travellers in Egypt* (many editions: I cite the 10th edition edited M. Brodrick, London 1900) depends largely upon the work of S. Lane-Poole and other late 19th-century authors and, despite its literary bias, is both more complete and less misleading, containing much information on no longer extant buildings of the 18th-19th centuries. K. Baedeker, *Handbuch für Reisende, Ägypten und der Sudan*, 8th edition 1928, with preface on the monuments by K. A. C. Creswell, is particularly useful for its description of monuments on the outskirts of Cairo, which do not always appear on the *Special 1:5,000 scale maps of Cairo* and for its directions for reaching them.

Work in progress. Apart from works mentioned above, in particular G. T. Scanlon's *Final Report* on his excavations at Fusṭāṭ and the publication of Cairene houses and palaces by R. Mantran and the late A. Lézine, work in hand includes a major publication of the funerary architecture of Cairo, Fāṭimid to Mamlūk periods, by C. Kessler, to appear as a volume of the *Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Islamische Reihe*, with contributions by Layla ʿAlī Ibrāhīm on the Mamlūk foundations of the 14th century. The work of these authors, to which should be added that of M. Meinecke, Shahīra Mehrez (Muḥriz), J. Raghib and M. Keane, may be expected in the course of the next few years to advance substantially the present state of knowledge on the monuments of al-Ḳāhira and their history. (J. M. Rogers)

The Modern City

General outline. Modern Cairo took shape under Muḥammad ʿAlī (1805-49), from whose reign date the first beginnings, modest as yet, of new institutions. Once begun, the movement could no longer be stopped. So far as town-planning, the press, and the birth of Egyptian nationalism are concerned, the reign of Khedive Ismāʿīl ([*q.v.*] 1863-79) was a watershed. During this period, Cairo began to take on the appearance of a modern city. Owing to a fall in the production of cotton in the United States following the American Civil War (1861-5), Egypt easily found markets for her crop and money poured in. Besides this, the opening of the Suez Canal in November 1869 drew the eyes of the world to Egypt; control of this area appeared even more of a decisive element in the struggle for worldwide power. For this reason the debts of the Khedive were made the pretext for the first stages of foreign intervention and in due course this was also the reason for the British occupation (1882).

Throughout all these events the city developed and public services such as gas, water and tramlines were laid on. Foreigners as well as migrants from other Ottoman territories settled there. The First World War marked the definitive separation of Egypt from the Ottoman Empire. With the Cairo demonstrations which followed immediately after the armistice in 1918, Egyptian nationalism became a genuinely popular movement, given concrete expression in the Wafd Party. Political pressure was still held to be the best means of achieving liberation, and the importance of economic factors on the road to freedom was given but scant recognition through the establishment of the Bank of Egypt in 1920, and that within the framework of a national capitalism. A measure of independence was proclaimed under the aegis of King Fuʾād (1922). The opening of the first state university in Cairo in 1925 was a significant moment, and indeed, in his novels Nadjīb Maḥfūẓ presents this event as the dawning of a new era in the history of the Egyptian middle classes.

One after another the institutions characteristic of a large modern city were set up. The Free Officers' revolution (23 July 1952) brought in its train the abolition of the monarchy and the eviction of the old ruling classes. The new political orientation was

demonstrated in the city even at the level of urban development through the opening up of thoroughfares, the establishment of schools, workers' housing, institutions and factories and by the development of radio, the building of new mosques, etc. The Anglo-French military intervention of October to December 1956 led to wholesale nationalization of French and British enterprises. With the ending of the three-year long union with Syria in 1961, the country clearly took the path of Arab socialism, with the stress on the essential economic struggle facing the Third World. Finally, the Palestine war of 1967, on both the political and the military fronts, continued to impose a burden on Cairo which remained very heavy.

Today Cairo is undoubtedly one of the liveliest capitals in the world. The city has a dual aspect, truly Egyptian and yet at the same time cosmopolitan, the latter arising from her geographical situation.

The genuinely Egyptian aspect is revealed in the drama of a people rudely forced into changing their way of life by demographic pressures. Thanks to modern medicine, both pressure and change have led to the disappearance of many ancient customs and the proletarianization of a section of the population. The efforts of the present-day authorities to create a new Egypt are a response to this demographic challenge. As for the cosmopolitan aspect of the city, this is partly related, as in former days, to the presence of students and teachers who come from all over the world. It also arose because of the succession of foreign rulers (Mamluk, Turkish and British). Now that Cairo is governed by Egyptians, the foreign element is confined to tourism, technical aid and "co-operation".

Town planning. The map drawn up by Bonaparte's expedition depicts the city as bounded in the west by the Ezbekiyya, with fields lying between it and Būlāķ. "The great builder and earth-mover", Muḥammad ʿAlī, embellished and cleared façades and drained the Ezbekiyya but built very little apart from a palace and mosque in the citadel (between 1830 and 1848) and a large palace at S͟hubrā (1808, rebuilt in 1823); he had a road built across the fields so that there was a direct route to the latter (now S͟hāriʿ S͟hubrā). A few institutions were set up in the city, such as the School of Medicine, founded in 1827 at Abū Zaʿbal and transferred in 1837 to S͟hāriʿ Ķasr al-ʿAynī. The *sikka d̲j̲adīda* was constructed in 1845 to clear congestion in the al-Azhar quarter. Workshops were opened in Būlāķ [*q.v.*]. "Despite this progress", writes M. Clerget, "the boundaries, area and general appearance of Cairo around 1850 were the same as in the 18th century". P. Marthelot also observes that "a second city was born in the second half of the 19th century".

The eccentric ʿAbbās, grandson of Muḥammad ʿAlī, pas͟ha, then viceroy, from 1849 to 1854, gave his name to the al-ʿAbbāsiyya district, originally a small township composed of quarters for military personnel.

Under the viceroy Saʿīd (1854-63) the *Bāb al-Ḥadīd* railway was constructed (1856), linking the city with Alexandria; in 1858 it was continued to Suez. From 1857 British troop reinforcements sent to suppress the Indian Mutiny crossed Egypt from Alexandria to Suez, completing the last part of the route on foot. The barracks and viceregal palace of Ķaṣr al-Nīl were built on the river in 1863 (destroyed in 1947 after the British withdrawal).

The reign of Viceroy (later Khedive) Ismāʿīl (1863-79) saw the construction of the palace ʿĀbadīn, begun in 1863; from 1874 the ruler took up residence there, finally quitting the citadel, which was formerly the seat of the Turkish pas͟has. A canal, al-Tiraʿ al-Ismāʿīliyya, was dug between the Nile and the K͟halīd̲j̲, passing between Būlāķ and the Ezbekiyya, then to Bāb al-Ḥadīd and finally to G͟hamra (it was filled up shortly after 1897). The Ķubba palace dates from 1863. In 1867 Khedive Ismāʿīl saw Haussman's Paris. He too had new quarters laid out: the streets of the Ismāʿīliyya district, south of the road from the Ezbekiyya to Būlāķ, have the same layout today (cf. the 1873 plan of Cairo). For the celebrations which marked the opening of the Suez Canal (1869), the Opera House (destroyed by fire in 1972) was built near the Ezbekiyya; a building was added to the Khedive's palace on the island of Gezirah (al-D̲j̲azīra) which later became the ʿUmar K͟hayyām Hotel. The road from Gīzā (al-D̲j̲īza) to the Pyramids was transformed into a splendid boulevard. In 1871-2 a modern bridge spanned the Nile (the Ķaṣr al-Nīl, now the Kūbrī 'l-taḥrīr, which was rebuilt in 1931), with another over the other arm of the river (rebuilt in 1914). In 1872 two large arcaded thoroughfares were laid out: Clot Bey street from the station to the Ezbekiyya and Muḥammad ʿAlī street from al-ʿAtaba al-k͟haḍrāʾ to the Citadel.

The establishment of modern means of transport played an essential part in the development of both suburban and peripheral areas. Relatively central districts like Tawfīķiyya (named after Khedive Tawfīķ, 1879-92) or Faggala (Fad̲j̲d̲j̲āla), which began around 1880, or residential areas like Garden City (which dates from 1905) could be populated without the need for trains and tramlines. But Zaytūn and Maṭariyya in the suburbs could only come into being after the construction of the railway from Pont Lemoun (Kūbrī Limūn) to Maṭariyya and al-Mard̲j̲ (1889-90). The same was true of the tramlines which were laid in 1896 and linked al-ʿAtaba al-k͟haḍrāʾ with ʿAbbāsiyya (1896), via Faggala, or with S͟hubrā in 1903 (the first large-scale development in S͟hubrā took place in 1898). The K͟halīd̲j̲ seems to have been filled in on the 1897 plan of Cairo; the process was completed in 1899 and the tramline from Ḍaher (al-Ẓāhir) to Sayyida Zaynab made use of it in 1900.

The Zamalek district (al-Zamālik, from a word for the huts where the soldiers on guard duty camped near the palace) began to be inhabited around 1905-10. A plan made in 1910 shows the layout of all the present-day streets. The Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ bridge linking the island with Būlāķ dates from 1912. In the desert to the north-east of the city, Heliopolis (Miṣr al-d̲j̲adīda) arose in 1906 following the granting of a concession to a Belgian company in 1905. An express tramline, called the "metro", connected Heliopolis to Cairo (cf. the commemorative album published by the company, nationalized since 1960, *Ḍāḥiyat Miṣr al-d̲j̲adīda, māḍīhā wa mustaķbaluhā*, 1969). On the southern suburban line to Helwan (al-Ḥulwān), which is 27 km. long, the area of present-day Maadi (al-Maʿādī) 11 km. from the city began to be developed by a company in 1907. Only Helwan was undeveloped, and so it remained until the 1952 revolution when it became an industrial centre with iron and steel works, armaments factories, etc.

Apart from those already mentioned, notable bridges are the Embabeh (Imbāba) railway bridge (1890-91, rebuilt in 1925); the Giza bridge (formerly ʿAbbās: 1907, rebuilt in 1966-7); and the bridge from Zamalek to west bank (1912). The University Bridge, constructed in 1958, should be added to this group.

All these developments in Cairo were brought

about by companies, especially foreign ones, who were given contracts for the work. Public services were also carried out by non-Egyptians: the post office in 1843, water in 1865, gas and then electricity, run by the Le Bon company from 1873 to 1948, telephones in 1881, trams in 1896, etc. Much later the Egyptian government recovered these concessions, some when they expired and others through buying them back or through nationalisation. The part played by foreign architects can be seen in a number of façades in the Italian style. Telegraphic communications began with the railways, and Cairo was connected by submarine cables with Bombay, Aden, Malta, Gibraltar and Great Britain as early as 1870.

Health services, types of housing and a study of the population have been covered by Clerget. The various groups of citizens moved to different districts: thus the Greek minority could be found in the south and south-west of al-Azhar, the Jews south of Khoronfish and later at Sakākīnī, the Europeans around the Rossetti Garden and Muski, where the different Catholic churches also sprang up, and later in Garden City or Zamalek, and the Copts around the patriarchate at Clot Bey and later in S͟hubrā. The Syro-Lebanese Christians were particularly attracted to the new district of Faggala, where churches and schools were to be found (the Jesuit school opened there in 1885); later many moved to Heliopolis and Zamalek and the Copts settled there. In the heart of the city the Muslim bourgeoisie still lived in the palaces and traditional dwelling houses, the exodus to Ḥilmiyya or to cooler districts not yet having become general. The Gamaliyya quarter is the subject of a special study by J. Berque.

After the 1914-18 war the expansion of the town continued. Gardens and villas made way for large modern blocks. Around 1926-8 two large thoroughfares were built connecting al-ʿAtaba with al-Azhar (s͟hāriʿ al-Azhar) and al-ʿAtaba with al-ʿAbbāsiyya. The widening of K͟halīd͟j street, decided upon in 1937, was not effected until after the revolution, in 1956. On the west bank of the Nile, Giza was developed between the world wars although the bank opposite Zamalek was still fields in 1945. But in 25 years (1945-70) a veritable town grew up on these open spaces, notable for its districts developed entirely for various classes of officials, so that there is a teachers' estate, an engineers' estate, etc.

On the east bank of the Nile the withdrawal of the British (1946) and the destruction of Ḳaṣr al-Nīl barracks made possible the construction of a large and beautiful square, which from 1952 has been called Mīdān al-Taḥrīr and which encompasses the old Ismāʿīliyya square. Here an enormous government and administrative block has been erected, the Mogammaʿ (al-Mud͟jammaʿ, *c.* 1950), and the meeting place of the League of Arab States (1961). The revolution realised the old dream of a corniche on the Nile: for the first time the city has a façade on the river-side.

Blocks of apartment buildings at reasonable rents of a type new to the country sprang up here and there after the Revolution: at the foot of Muḳaṭṭam, at S͟hubrā and elsewhere, but especially on the waste ground of Tilul Zeinhom to the south of the Ibn Ṭūlūn quarter, where there is nowadays a veritable town.

Developments in civil aviation, evident especially from 1930 on, made Cairo a staging point for the big international airlines. After being in use for many years, Almāẓa airport, which was too close to Heliopolis, was superseded by an international airport situated in the desert further to the north-east. It was equipped with a new air terminal in 1963.

To relieve the pressure on the over-crowded city, the revolution established new housing estates, such as Naṣr, which lies between Heliopolis and ʿAbbāsiyya on military land turned over to civilian use and to which it is hoped to move the greater proportion of governmental departments. A stadium holding 100,000 people has been built here. A large trunk road joins the airport and the citadel via Naṣr then links up with the Nile corniche at Fusṭāṭ. An attempt to set up a semi-touristic estate was made in 1954-6 at Muḳaṭṭam on the flat area to the south of the tomb of al-D͟juyūs͟hī, but the date was inopportune and the enterprise stagnated.

In which directions will the present-day city develop? Committees are discussing this problem at this very moment. But in the meantime the lack of suitable legislation has caused historic sites to be swamped by ugly housing and the splendid buildings of the past are vanishing, gutted or abandoned. Some determined Egyptians are fighting to ensure that the necessary expansion respects some of the legacies of the past. The public services face problems which grow daily more complex in the realms of transport, sewage and the road network posed by the ever-increasing number of inhabitants.

Population and occupations. Clerget (i, 241) estimates that Cairo had 245,000 inhabitants at the end of the 18th century. The census figure he gives for 1882 is 396,683 and for 1907, 678,433. His remarkable study has been completed by P. Marthelot (*Le Caire, nouvelle métropole*, in *Annales Islamologiques*, Cairo, IFAO, viii (1969), 189-221). From his work we learn that there were 1,070,857 inhabitants in 1927 and 3,348,799 in 1960, the latter figure covering the whole metropolitan area of Cairo, including Helwan and Maṭariyya. In 1947 Cairo had two million inhabitants, discounting the population of the outlying suburbs but including the people of Doḳḳi and ʿAgūza in the *ḳism* of ʿĀbidīn (cf. Janet Abu-Lughed and Ezz el-Din Attiya, *Cairo Fact Book*, Cairo, The American University in Cairo Social Research Center, 1963). Taking into consideration the whole of Greater Cairo, the correct figure for 1965 would be around four million. By 1970 it had passed five million, a rapid increase due to the strong tendency towards immigration from the countryside.

To the craftsmen and workshops described by M. Clerget must be added the newly founded factories noted by P. Marthelot. One of the aims of the 1952 revolution was industrialization to achieve eventual economic independence. Noteworthy in this respect is the role played by the Cairo banks and their nationalisation in 1956-61. As well as the already existing textile factories in the northern suburbs, the cement works at Ṭūrā, electrical industries in the centre and various assembly-works, new enterprises were founded, especially in the southern suburbs around Helwan: a car assembly plant, an armaments factory, blast-furnaces and steelworks, an airplane works, a factory producing fertilizers, a porcelain works, etc.

Tourism was also envisaged as a source of revenue. The hotel infrastructure had been in private hands for many years; now numerous hotels have been nationalised. According to the 1965 statistics (as noted by P. Marthelot), 66.8 % of the active population of Cairo was employed in some undefinable activity; 23.5 % held regular jobs in the administration; and only 7.5 % was employed in industry. From such figures we can only guess at the number of underemployed, a considerable proportion, though only a minority are totally unemployed.

The question of accommodation has always been difficult. With the initiation of Arab socialism in 1961 and the creation of the Ministry of Housing and Utilities in 1965, the state became a builder on a large scale. But private activity also continued in this sphere, facing, with considerable difficulty, the influx into the capital.

"The same is true of Cairo as of many cities in the so-called Third World", writes P. Marthelot (p. 197), "which stand out against a rural background subject to demographic tension or marked by structural flaws: the city is the receptacle in which are concentrated all those whose lives tend to be disturbed because of this, whether or not it is able to answer to the demands made on it. But this is at the price of the stagnation at a very low standard of living of a very important section of the population".

In both Clerget and Marthelot there are numerous data about town planning—the density of the inhabitants varying a great deal according to district (cf. *al-Ṭalīʿa*, February 1970, 70, pointing out that in Būlāķ over 60 % of families live in one room)—the expansion of the city, transport, etc. They are based on statistics compiled by the governmental department concerned. As far as health is concerned, Cairo has one doctor per 910 inhabitants, as opposed to one per 3,420 in Lower Egypt and one per 2,990 in Upper Egypt. Similarly, the city has one hospital bed for every 233 people, as against one in 584 and one in 636 in Lower and Upper Egypt. There is one telephone for every 27 inhabitants, while in Lower and Upper Egypt the figures are one in 362 and one in 301 respectively (cf. *al-Ṭalīʿa*, *ibid.*, 74-5). The government is making a determined effort to remedy this state of affairs and to this end has enacted new socialist laws.

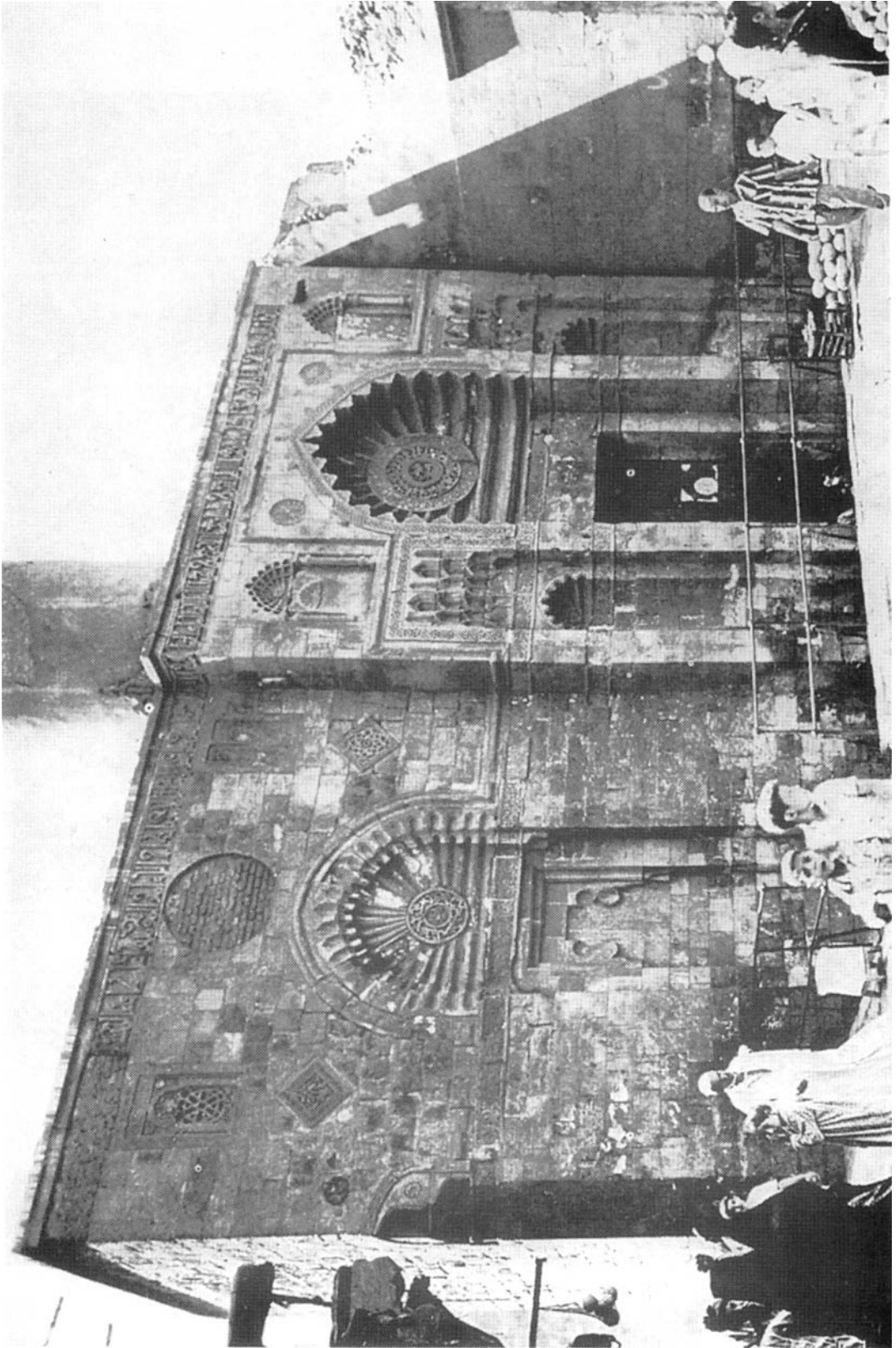
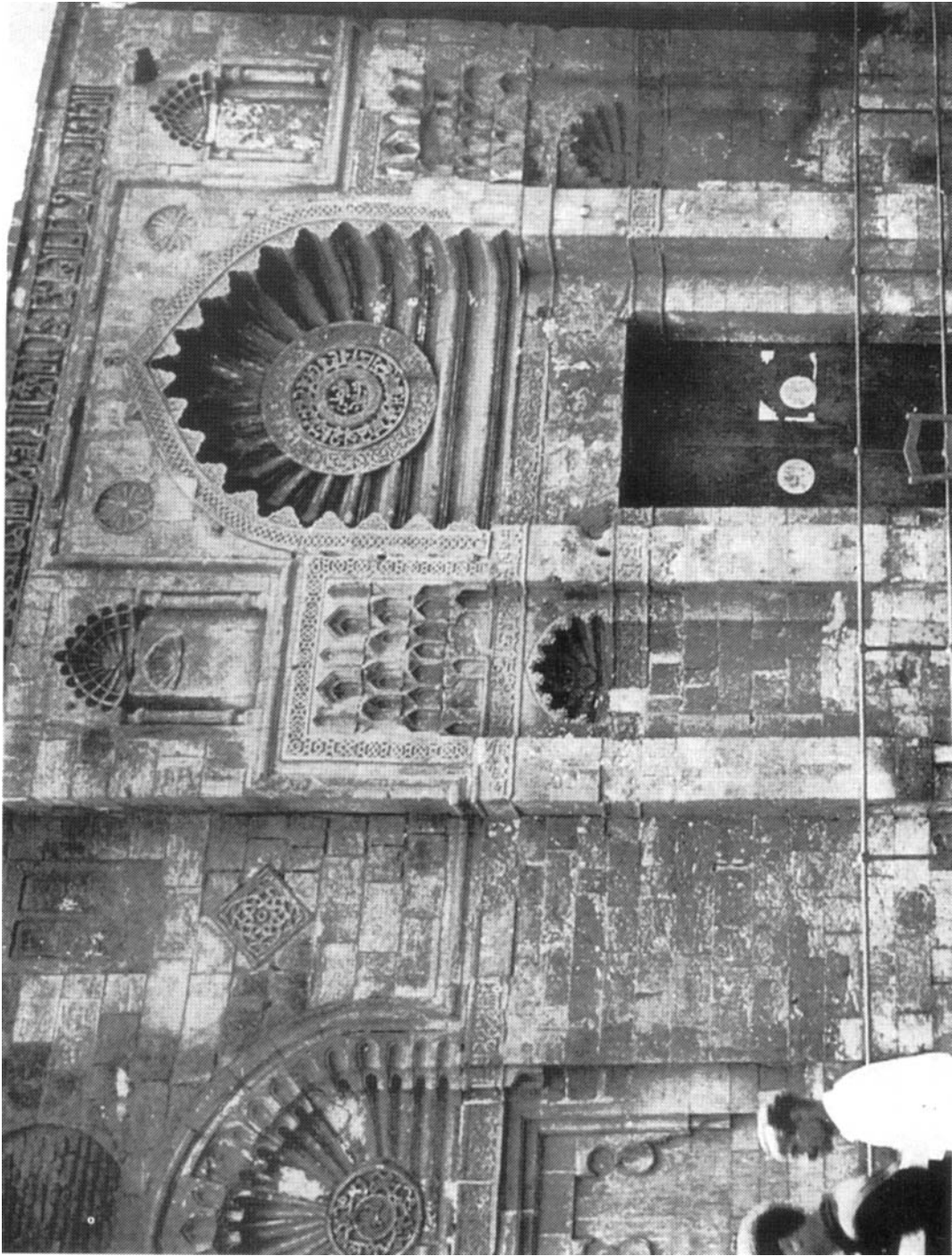
Culturally speaking, Cairo has two aspects, on the one hand the development of national institutions —schools, universities, specialised institutes—and on the other the holding of international meetings and congresses. A large number of schools have been opened. Around 1950 only 40 % of children in Egypt received a primary education; by 1970 the number had risen to over 75 % for the country as a whole and was said to exceed 90 % in Cairo (cf. *Cairo Fact Book*; education in 1947 listed by *s̲h̲iyāk̲h̲a*, a subdivision of the *ķism*). Examples from higher education are the Dār al-ʿUlūm [*q.v.*], the Free University of Cairo (1908; converted in 1925 into Fuʾād al-Awwal University and now the University of Cairo), and ʿAyn S̲h̲ams (1950), the former a religious educational establishment attached to al-Azhar [*q.v.*]. Since the publication of the article AL-AZHAR in *EI*[2], considerable changes have been wrought by a law of 1961, with a remodelling of curricula and the creation of new faculties of secular studies—medicine, polytechnic, etc.—in addition to the three formerly in existence. There are a number of advanced institutes in Cairo (see ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Zakī, *Mawsūʿa*, s.v. *maʿhad*) which are devoted to the sciences, art, theatre, cinema, etc. The majority are Egyptian [see FUʾĀD AL-AWWAL, INSTITUT D'EGYPTE], but a few are foreign (one example of these is the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, founded in 1880). The Arabic Language Academy (*Madjmaʿ al-lug̲h̲a al-ʿarabiyya*), established in 1932, maintains surveillance over the language.

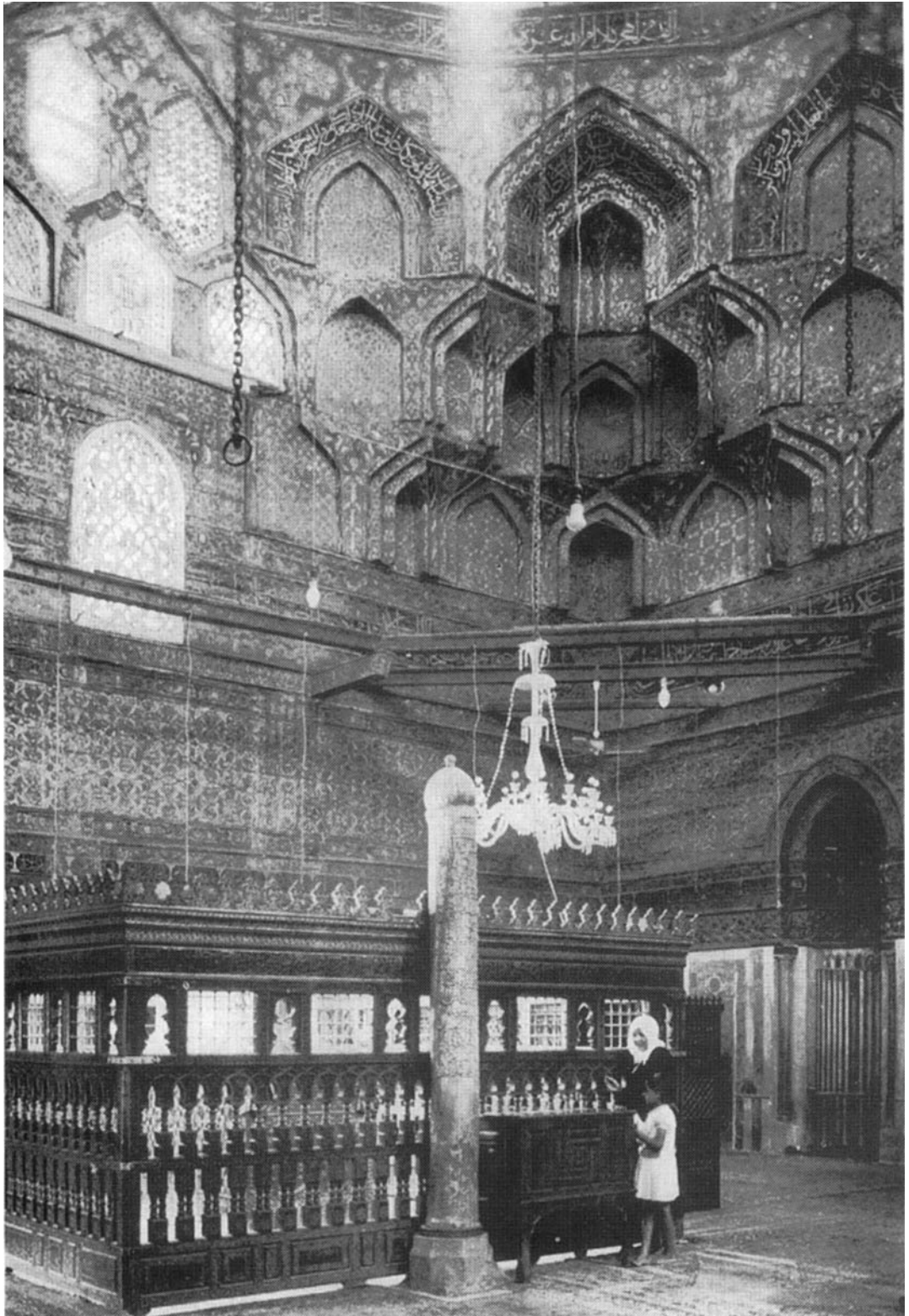
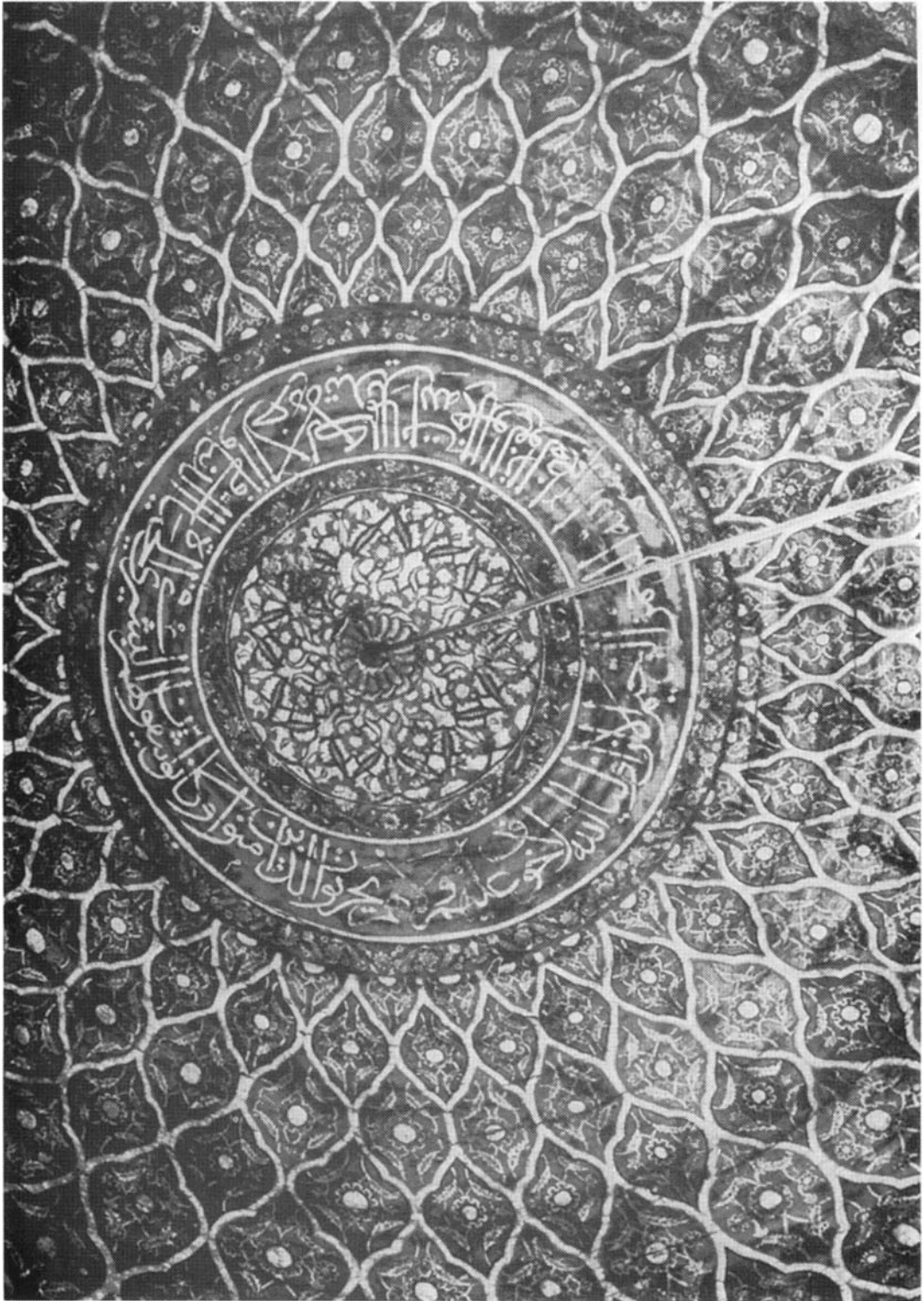
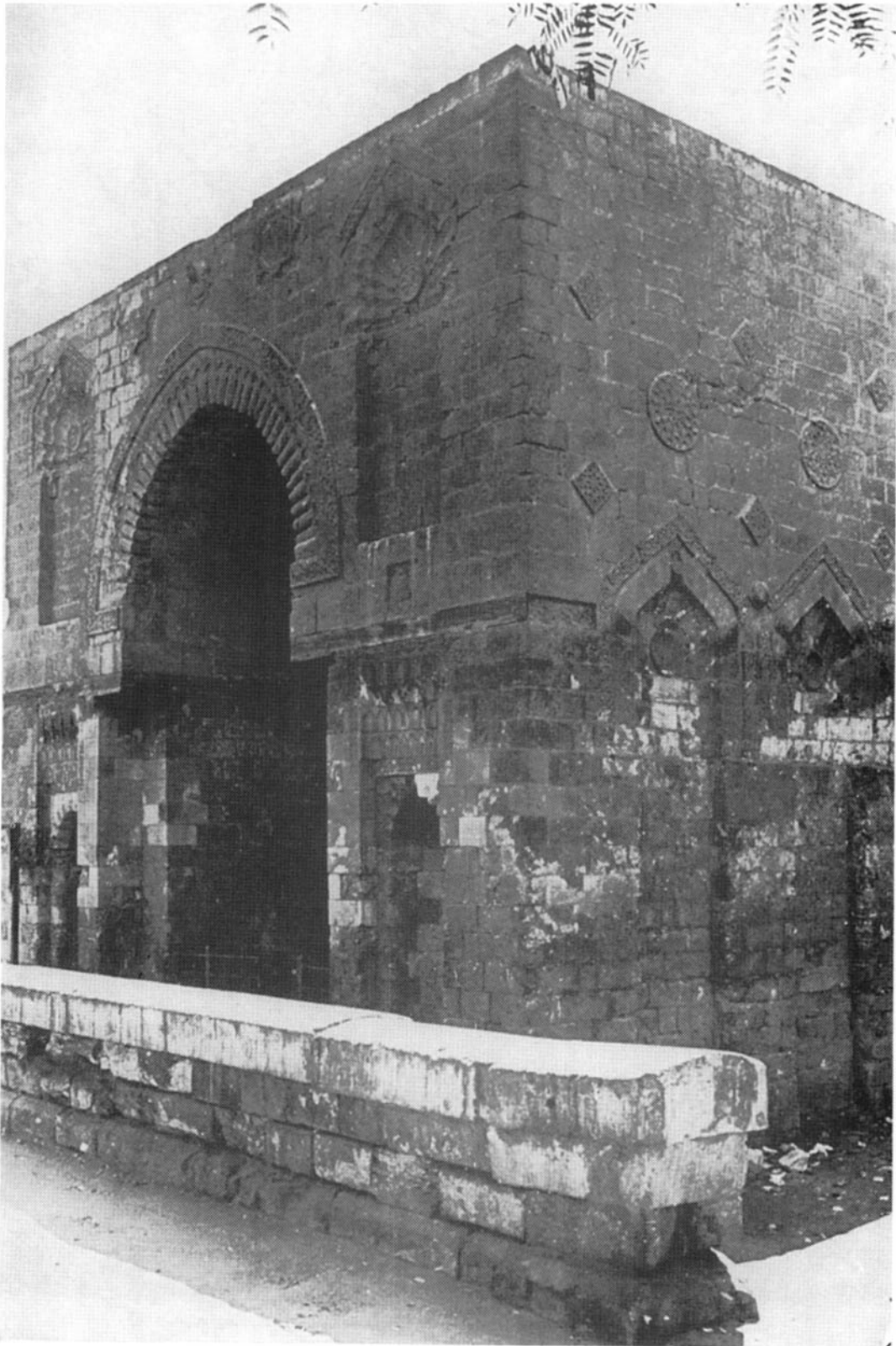
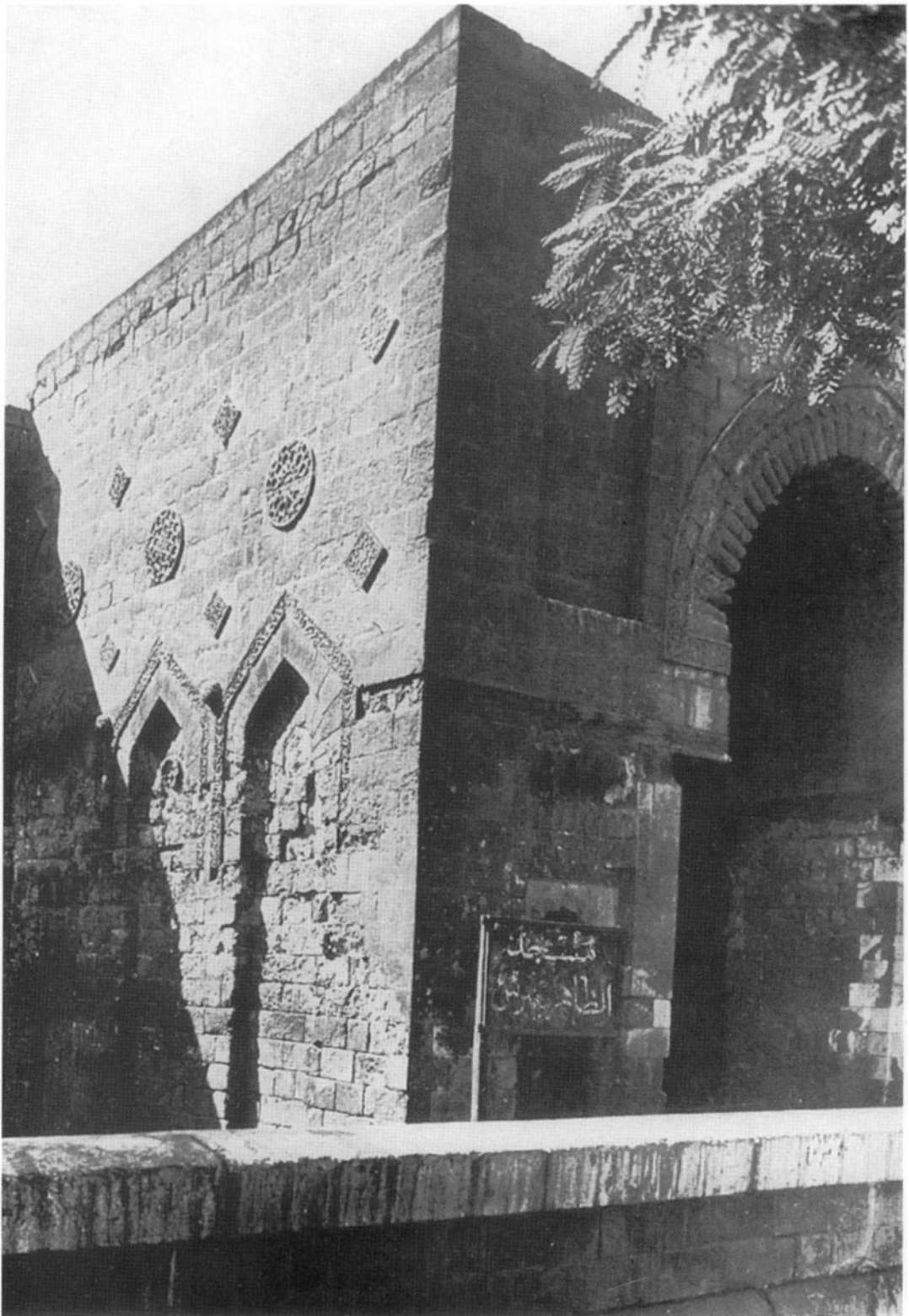
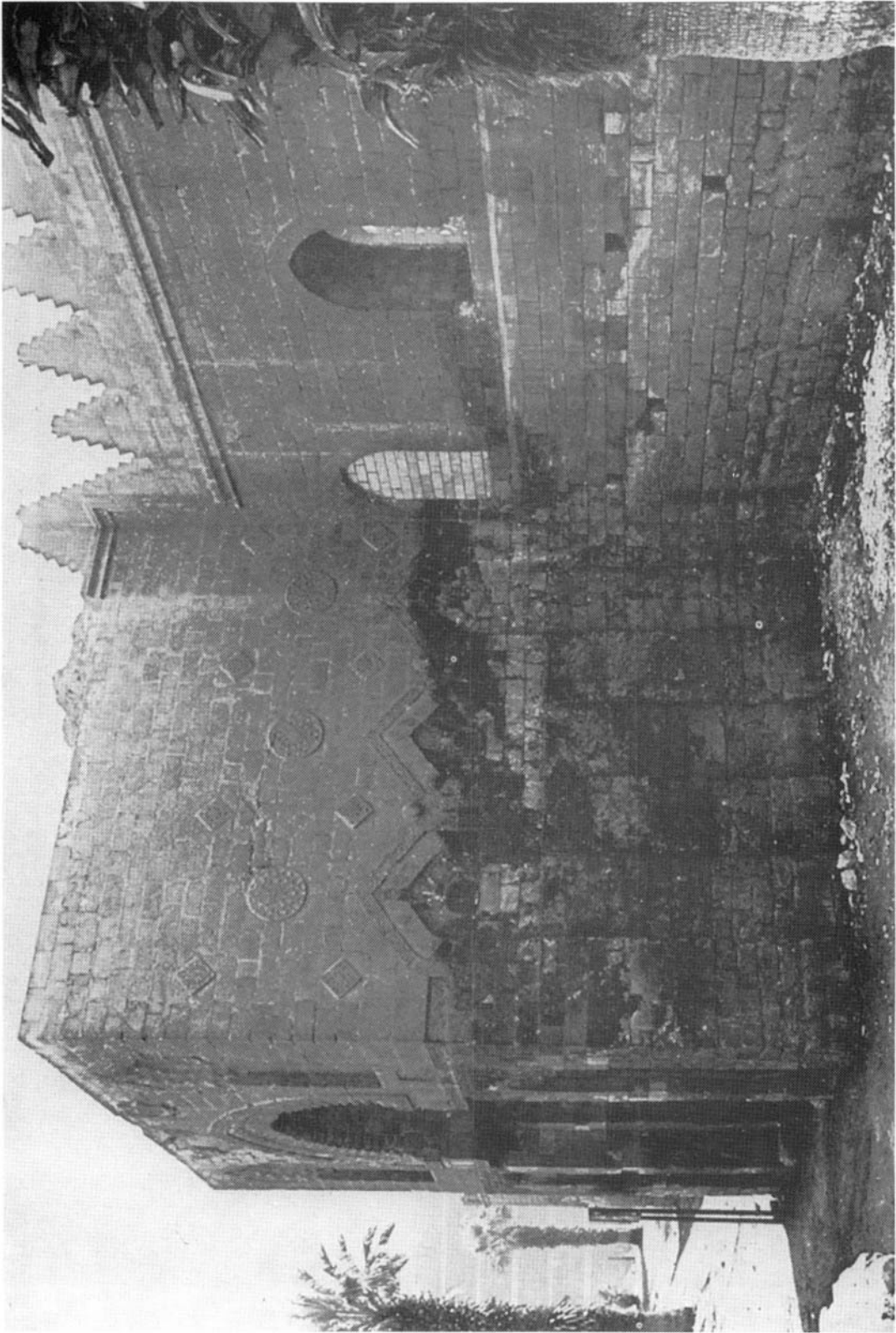
There are over 20 museums in Cairo (cf. the list of the major ones in ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Zakī, s.v. *matḥaf*). The famous Museum of Egyptology founded at Būlāķ by Mariette has occupied its present home in Mīdān al-Taḥrīr since 1902. Other important collections are the Coptic Museum (founded as a private collection in 1910, it has been a national museum since 1931), the Museum of Islamic Art (which has been in its present building at Mīdān Bāb al-K̲h̲alķ since 1903), the Museum of Agriculture, the Military Museum, etc.

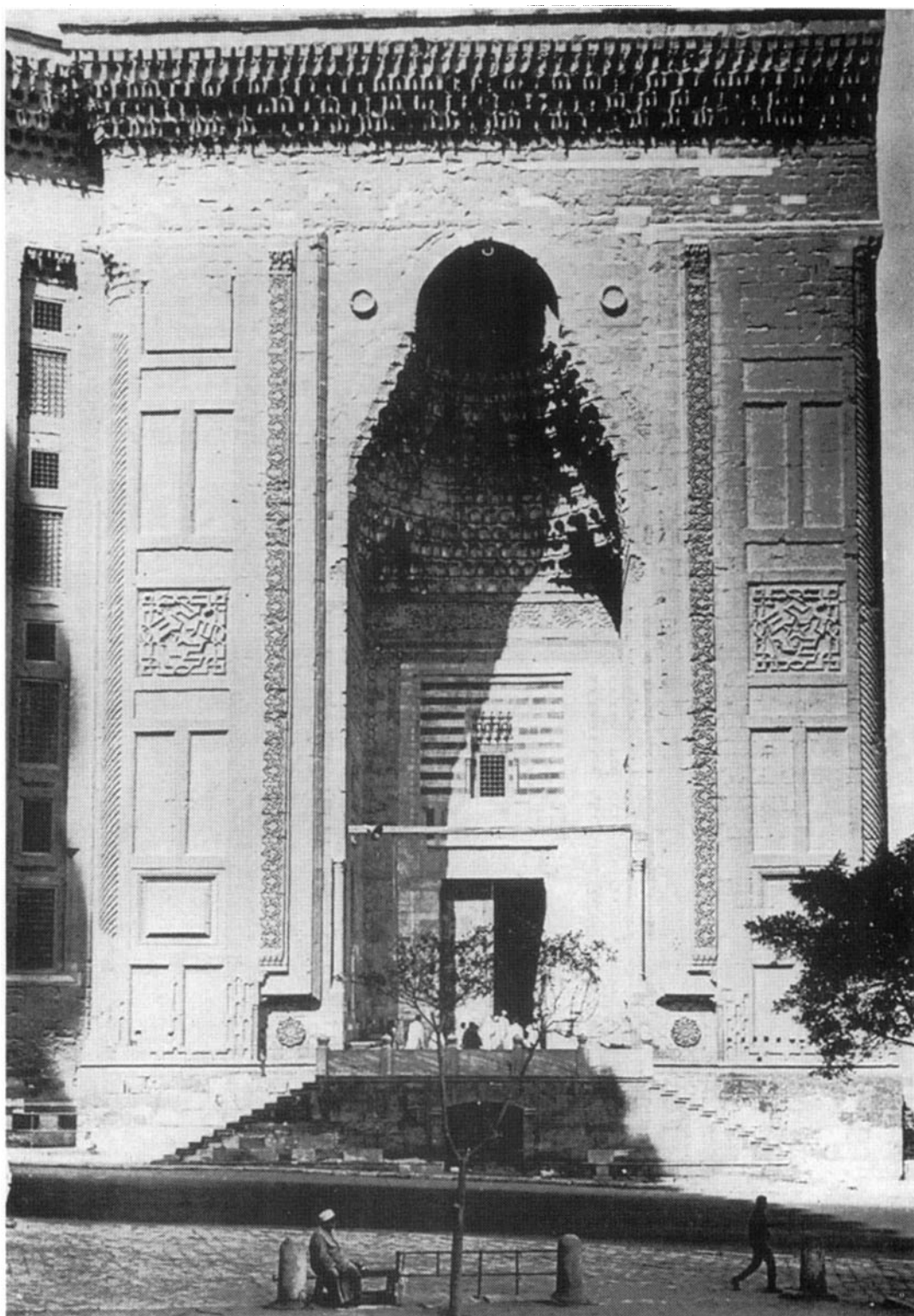
Especially since 1952, new mosques have been built in Cairo itself. Outstanding among many are the mosque of ʿUmar Makram in the Mīdān al-Taḥrīr, where most official funeral prayers are usually held, and the mosque of Kūbrī 'l-Ķubba, which contains mausoleum of Djamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir (Nasser, died September 28, 1970).

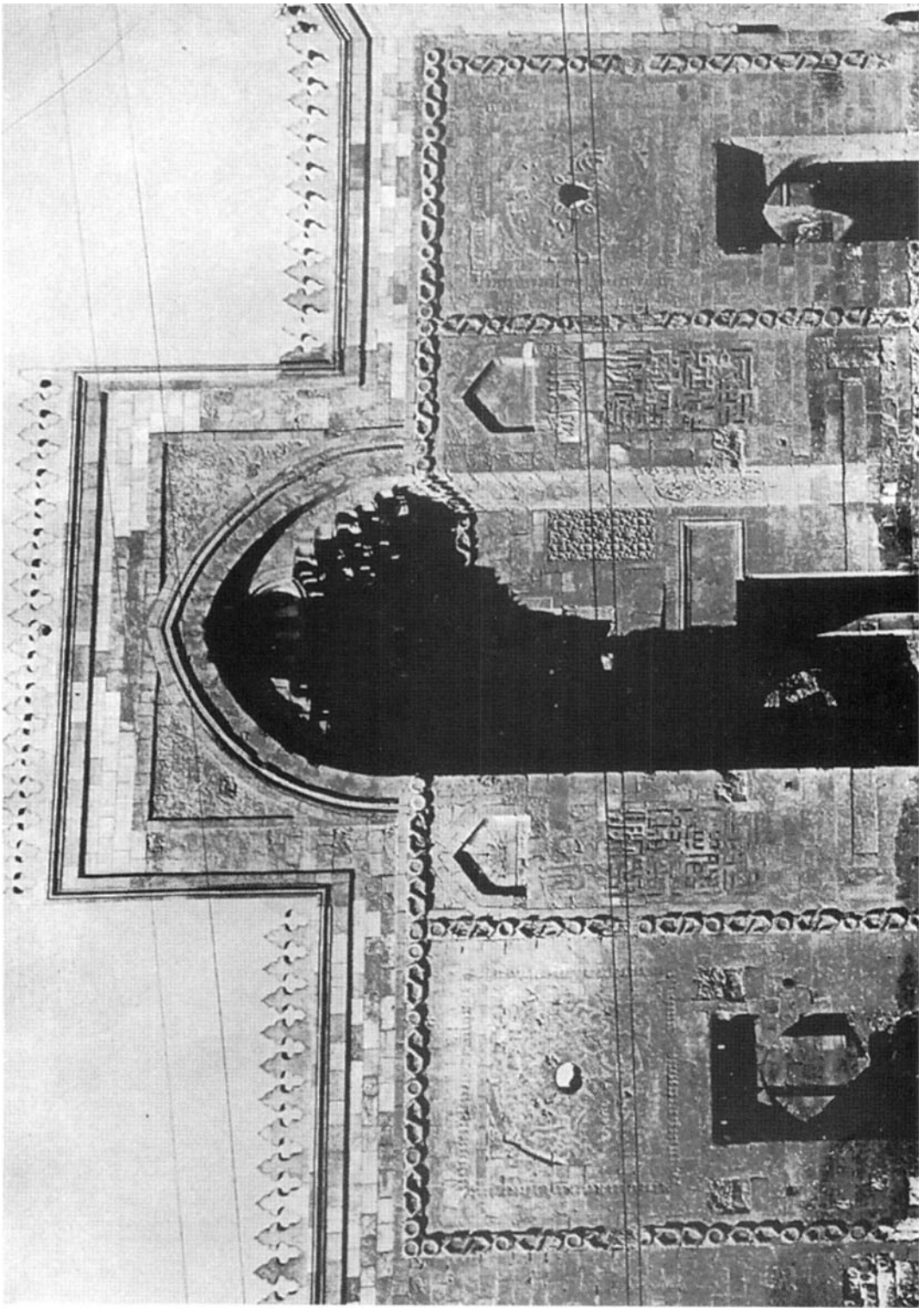
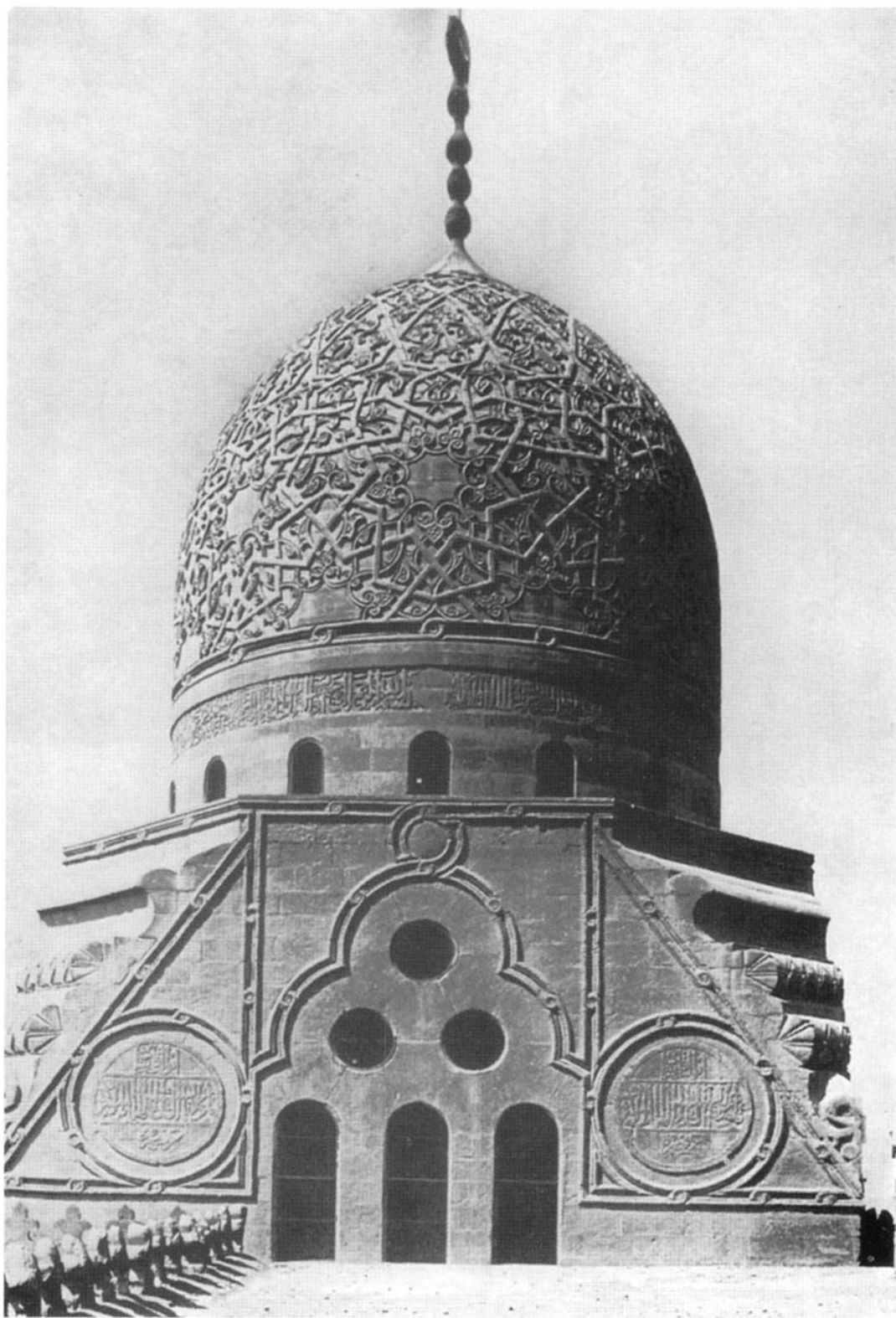
Bibliography: M. Clerget, *Le Caire, étude de géographie urbaine et d'histoire économique*, 2 vols., Cairo 1934, a work of major importance for both text and bibliography; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Zakī, *A bibliography of the literature of the city of Cairo*, Cairo (Egyptian Geographical Society), 1964. Apart from these two basic works and those already cited in the text: *Annales Islamologiques*, viii, the commemorative volume of the Cairo millennium (969-1969), Cairo (IFAO) 1969; *The Millennium of Cairo, 969-1969*, Ministry of Culture, Cairo 1969 (an album with a collection of photographs of ancient and modern art, views of the city and of its institutions, commerce, industry, etc., published in six editions, which differ only in their text but have the same photographs, in Arabic, English, French, German, Russian and Spanish); J. W. McPherson, *The Moulids of Egypt*, Cairo 1941; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Zakī, *Mawsūʿat madīnat al-Ķāhira fī alf ʿām*, Cairo 1969; J. Berque, *L'Égypte, impérialisme et révolution*, Paris 1967 (Eng. tr., *Egypt, imperialism and revolution*, London 1972); M. Berger, *Islam in Egypt today; social and political aspects of popular religion*, Cambridge 1970; G. Baer, *Egyptian guilds in modern times*, Jerusalem 1964; P. J. Vatikiotis, *The modern history of Egypt*, London 1969; Anouar Abd el-Malek, *Egypte, société militaire*, Paris 1962. For particular aspects of the cultural life of Cairo since 1954, see the publications in the series *MIDEO*, Cairo.

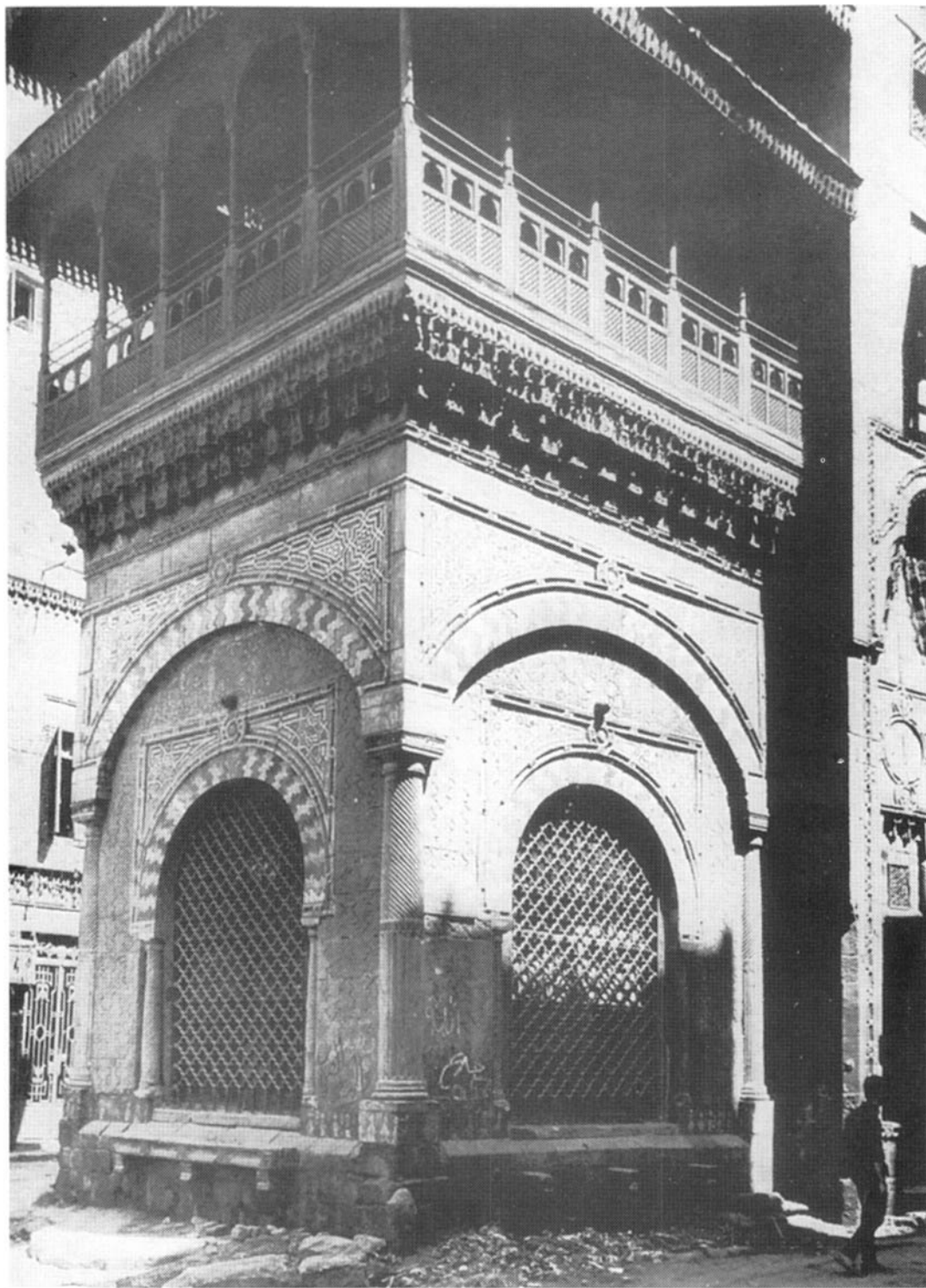
(J. JOMIER)

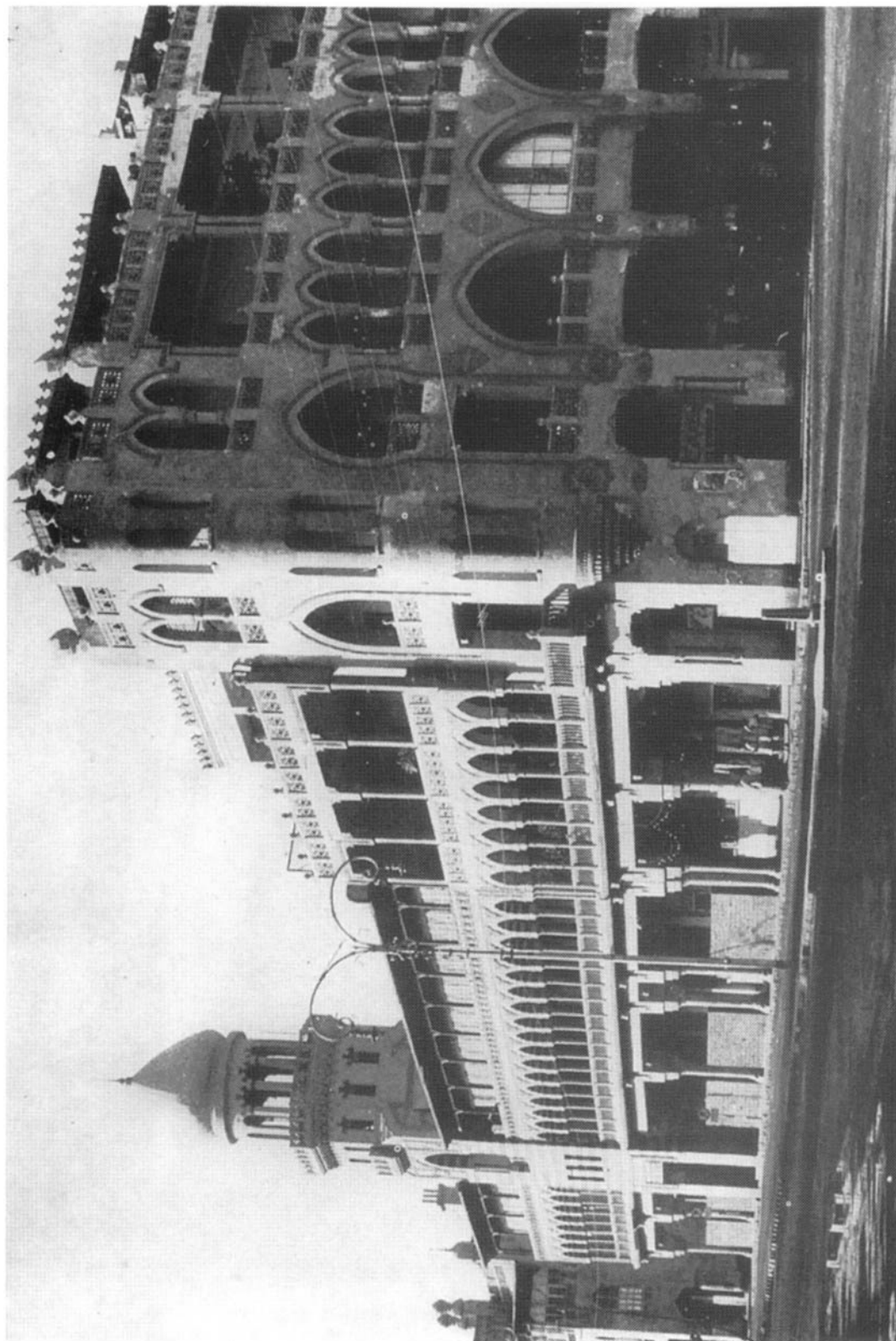
ĶAHRAMĀN-NĀMA, or *Dāstān-i Ķahramān*, a popular romance in prose, several versions of which are known in both Persian and Turkish. It belongs to a series of prose works which develop themes from the Iranian epic tradition, embellishing them with fabulous touches borrowed from folk literature. Like the *Hūs̲h̲ang-nāma*, the *Ṭahmūrat̲h̲-nāma* and the *Ķiṣṣa-i Djams̲h̲īd*, the story takes place in the earliest period of the legendary history of Iran, the times of the *pīs̲h̲dādiyān*. The central hero is Ķahramān, nicknamed Ķātil, "the slayer". His name is in fact a common noun, the arabicized form of an Iranian word, probably of Median origin, the Middle Persian counterpart of which is *kārframān*, meaning "manager, superintendent" (cf. W. B. Henning, *Handbuch d. Orientalistik. Iranistik. Linguistik*, Leiden 1958, 49, n. 2). This meaning was also attached to the word in classical Arabic (cf. Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v.) and in mediaeval Persian (cf., *e.g.*, Nāṣir-i K̲h̲usraw, *Dīwān-i as̲h̲ʿār*, Tehran 1355 s̲h̲., 5; Sanāʾī, *Dīwān*, Tehran 1341 s̲h̲., 20; Abu 'l-Maʿālī Naṣr Allāh Muns̲h̲ī, *Tardjama-i Kalīla va Dimna*, ed. M. Mīnowī, Tehran 1343 s̲h̲., 132, 155). In modern Persian and Turkish, however, the word *ķahramān* has acquired the meaning of "hero, champion", a semantic change which might very

1. Mosque of al-Aḳmar. Façade. 519/1125. (No. 33 on the map)

1a. Mosque of al-Aḳmar, Façade. 519/1125.

(No. 33 on the map)

2. Mausoleum of Imām al-S̲h̲āfiʿī, 608/1211.

2a. Mausoleum of Imām al-Shāfiʿī, 608/1211.

3 Mosque of al-Ẓāhir Baybars, Maydān Ḍāhir. 665-7/1266-9.
(No. 1 on the map)

3a. Mosque of al-Ẓāhir Baybars, Maydān Ḍāhir. 665-7/1266-9.

(No. 1 on the map)

3b. Mosque of al-Ẓāhir Baybars, Maydān Ḍāhir. 665-7/1266-9.
(No. 1 on the map)

4. Mosque-*madrasa* of sultan Ḥasan. 757-64/1356-62/3.

(No. 133 on the map)

5. *Māristān* of al-Muʾayyad S͟hayk͟h. 821-3/1418-20. (No. 257 on the map)

6. Mausoleum of Ḳāʾit Bāy. Dome. 877-9/1472-4.

(No. 99 on the map)

7. *Sabīl-kuttāb* of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Katkhudā. 1157/1744.

(No. 21 on the map)

8. The main street of Heliopolis.

All photographs by Sophie Ebeid

well have resulted from the existence of the romance. It is also not unlikely that the name of the hero was derived from the rôle of superintendent which he seems to play with regard to the shah of Iran, Hūshang. On behalf of this king, Ḳahramān subdued *dīvs* and sorcerers and acted as the leading champion of the Iranian army when Hūshang invaded India in order to complete an empire comprising the seven climes of the world. The story varies greatly in its particulars in the existing manuscript and printed versions of the romance, a confusion undoubtedly resulting from the long history of its development in popular literature. A few versions, all in Turkish, have been summarized in a more or less detailed form (cf. H. O. Fleischer, *Catalogus libr. manuscr. qui in Bibl. Senatoria Civitatis Lipsiensis asservantur*, Grimae 1838, 522 f.; Th. Menzel, in *EI*[1], s.v. *Ḳahramān-nāma*; E. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits turcs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris 1932-3, i, 137-8, 144-5, 356, ii, 23).

According to some of these, Ḳahramān (or a another person called Ḳahrām, who sometimes takes over part of his functions) was the king of the man-eaters living in Sīstān who at first opposed the king of Iran. But he is also represented as a prince of royal Iranian blood who as a youngster had been carried off by the *dīvs* to the mountain Ḳāf. Through his enormous strength he is able to master the demons. When he returns to the world of human beings he rides a monstrous creature which he has caught and tamed himself. Woven into the main plot of the romance is a tale about the king and queen of the fairies and their son Bahrām-i Djabalī, as well as a series of picaresque stories of the *ʿayyārūn* [*q.v.*]. The origin and early history of the *Ḳahramān-nāma* is still obscure. A reference to Ḳahramān as the guardian of the treasures of Hūshang in the *Dīwān* of ʿUnṣurī (ed. Y. Ḳarīb, Tehran 1323, 129; ed. M. Dabīr Siyāḳī, Tehran 1342, *bayt* 2416) proves that at least the kernel of this romance already existed in the time of Firdawsī. It would seem that elements of the legends about Hūshang [*q.v.*] and Rustam have been used to build up a new epic cycle. The composition of a voluminous version in Persian is attributed to Abū Ṭāhir Ṭarsūsī [see ABŪ ṬĀHIR]. Of this only some manuscripts of a Turkish translation are known, the oldest dating from the 10th/16th century. Much more condensed versions are known in both Persian and Turkish. In the Ottoman empire the romance became very popular and was incorporated into the repertoire of the *meddāḥ* [*q.v.*]. It has been printed several times in Turkey and Iran and has inspired modern writers in Kazakh and Uzbek (cf. *Philologiæ Turcicae Fundamenta*, ii, Wiesbaden 1966, 744; A. A. Semenov, *Sobranie vostočnikh rukopisey AN Uzbekskoy SSR*, ii, Tashkent 1954, 440, no. 1875).

Bibliography: in addition to the works cited in the article, D'Herbelot, *Bibliographie orientale*, Paris 1697, 234, s.v. *Caherman*; J. Mohl, *Le Livre des Rois*, i, Paris 1838, lxxv; G. Flügel, *Die arab., pers., u. türk. Handschr. der K.-K. Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, Vienna 1865, ii, no. 799; W. Pertsch, *Die türk. Handschr. der Herzogl. Bibliothek zu Gotha*, Vienna 1859, nos. 254-7; idem, *Verzeichnis d. pers. Handschr. d. Königl. Bibliothek zu Berlin*, Berlin 1888, no. 1039; idem, *Verzeichnis d. türk. Handschr. d. Königl. Bibliothek zu Berlin*, Berlin 1889, nos. 476-7; E. Edwards, *Printed Persian books in the British Museum*, London 1922, 318; Khānbābā Mushār, *Fihrist-i kitābhā-i čāpī-i fārsī*, Tehran 1337-42 sh., i, 1234, ii, 2602; *Terdjüme-i ḥikāye-i . . . Ḳahramān-i ḳātil*, Turkish tr. by Meḥmed Emīn Yemenī al-Salmānīyewī, Istanbul 1285/1868-9; *Kahraman katil*. Yeniden yazan S. Tevfik, Istanbul 1930; see also I. Mélikoff, *Abu Muslim, le "Porte-hache" du Khorassan*, Paris 1962, ch. i, *passim*. (J. T. P. DE BRUIJN)

KAHRUBĀ (also writen as *kāhrabāʾ*; for other forms see *Wörterbuch der klass. arab. Sprache*, s.v. كهربا and W. Schmucker, *Die pflanzliche und mineralische Materia Medica im Firdaus al-Ḥikma des Ṭabarī*, Bonn 1969, 414), yellow amber. The word is of Persian origin (for Pehlevi quotations see G. Jacob, *ZDMG*, xliii (1889), 358) and means "a straw-attracting substance". It occurs in the Arabic translation of Dioscorides, ed. E. Terés, Tetuan 1952-Barcelona 1957, p. 84, s.v. αἴγειρος (Greek text, ed. Wellmann, i, 82); but since this text, originally translated by Stephanos b. Basileios, was revised by Ḥunayn b. Isḥāḳ [*q.v.*] and, moreover, there is no indication whether the edited text takes into consideration the well-known additional translations of names made for ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III in Cordoba (see M. Meyerhof, *Die Materia Medica des Dioskurides bei den Arabern* [*Index Islamicus*, No. 5351]), we cannot be sure whether this mention of the word is the oldest known. Anyhow, two Arabic authors of the 3rd/9th century use the word: ʿAlī b. Sahl Rabban al-Ṭabarī, *Firdaws al-ḥikma*, written 236/850 (see for a full list of references *Wörterbuch*, *loc. cit.*, and for a relevant discussion Schmucker, *loc. cit.* ["Qurṭ." means Maimonides, *Sharḥ asmāʾ al-ʿuḳḳār*, ed. Meyerhof, 1940!]) and al-Kindī, *Aḳrābādhīn* (see M. Levey, *The medical Formulary*, 1966, no. 224 and p. 320). Today the word is also used for "electricity" (ἤλεκτρον).

The very name of the substance, the only one used in Islamic sources, points to the lands from which the knowledge of amber reached Islam. Al-Muḳaddasī includes it in a list of goods imported from Khʷārazm via the Bulghars [*q.v.*]; this corresponds to Scythia mentioned by Theophrastus and Pliny. The origin of the amber imported from there is the shore of the Baltic Sea.

Most Islamic sources are well aware of the botanical nature of amber. Al-Bīrūnī, in his *K. al-Djamāhir fī maʿrifat al-djawāhir*, 210-212, says that he deals with this substance because it is popular among the eastern Turks, who store it like various kinds of horn (*khutū*). He mocks at authors who do not know of its non-mineral origin, as if they had not observed leaves and insects enclosed in the pieces. The resemblance between amber and sandarac is always stressed.

Apart from its use in gems, jewellery and for talismans, amber is also employed as a drug: when pulverized, it is administered as a hemostatic and astringent. The amber trade routes have been studied by Jacob, *loc. cit.* and vol. xlv (1891).

Bibliography: Apart from the literature mentioned in the article, see for quotations from medical authors Ibn al-Bayṭār, iv, 88 f., and al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkira*, 1343/1923, i, 253 f.; Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAbd Allāh Kāshānī, *ʿArāʾis al-djawāhir wa-nafāʾis al-aṭāʾib*, ed. I. Afshār (Persian), Tehran 1345/1966-7, 146; G. C. Williamson, *The book of amber*, 1932 (not seen). (M. PLESSNER)

ḲAḤṬABA B. SHABĪB B. KHĀLID B. MAʿDĀN, Abu ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Ṭāʾī of Banū Nabhān (*Djamhara*, 178; *Akhbār al-ʿAbbās*, 216), an Arab general and one of the most prominent leaders of the ʿAbbāsid *daʿwa* in Khurāsān. According to Balādhurī, his real name was Ziyād, Ḳaḥṭaba being

a nickname derived from the verb *ḳ-ḥ-ṭ-b*, which means, *inter alia*, "to strike with a sword" (*LA*, s.v.). In one place his *kunya* is given as Abū Ḥamza (*Muḥabbar*, 465); it is quite possible that he had two *kunyas*, like some other leaders of the *daʿwa* who took the precaution of adopting a new one on becoming active in the movement.

Practically nothing is known about Ḳaḥṭaba before his appearance as one of the ʿAbbāsid emissaries in Khurāsān. Some information, however, exists about his grandfather, Khālid b. Maʿdān, which may explain the origins of Ḳaḥṭaba's connections with a Shīʿite movement. Khālid b. Maʿdān supported ʿAlī in the Battle of the Camel and was on that occasion the standard-bearer of his tribe, the Banū ʿAmr b. al-Ṣāmit (*Djamhara, loc. cit.*). Later, in the year 38/658, he was commander of ʿAlī's army at the battle against the Khawāridj at Nahrāwān (Ṭabarī, i, 3431; Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 309). He took the field against the Khawāridj once more in 43/663-4 (Ṭabarī, ii, 54), but this time he refused to pursue them after they had been expelled from Kūfa, asserting that his sole responsibility was the defence of his *miṣr*. It can thus be deduced that Ḳaḥṭaba's family settled in Kūfa at least as early as in ʿAlī's time. An isolated apocalyptic tradition in Yaʿḳūbī mentions that as a young man Ḳaḥṭaba was also resident in Kūfa (Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 411). As such he must have been familiar with the ʿAlid ideas and Shīʿite activity in the town. His name, however, does not feature in the detailed list of Abū Hāshim's supporters in Kūfa which appears in *Akhbār al-ʿAbbās* (183-4, 191-2). The list is mentioned on the occasion of Abū Hāshim's death, in 98/716-7, and it is highly likely that by that time Ḳaḥṭaba was already in Khurāsān, although there is no mention of this in the sources.

That Ḳaḥṭaba was familiar with the Hāshimiyya and its ideology, and that in Khurāsān he actually joined the clandestine movement, is demonstrated by his election as one of the *nuḳabāʾ*, the twelve most prominent leaders, when the movement organized its leadership in Marw. According to the tradition transmitted by al-Ṭabarī (ii, 1358), the ʿAbbāsid *daʿwa* in Khurāsān was inaugurated by the visit there of the emissary Abū ʿIkrima and his nomination of the *nuḳabāʾ* in the year 100/718-9. In later Islamic tradition this acquired apocalyptic significance through the messianic expectations associated with the beginning of a new century—an association somewhat similar to the millenarian hopes in Christianity. It was thus politic of the ʿAbbāsids, after they had come to power, to link the inception of their *daʿwa* to the year 100, stressing that the new order brought to Islam by their *dawla* was the embodiment and fulfilment of the messianic hopes attached to the turn of the century.

The discovery and publication of the *Akhbār al-ʿAbbās* has permitted a detailed reconstruction of the history of the *daʿwa*. From the unique traditions contained in this source it is quite clear that the Hāshimiyya movement in Khurāsān pledged itself to the ʿAbbāsid cause only around the year 126/743-4. Until then it had been organized in secret, mainly in Marw and in Nīshāpūr, in the form of small, clandestine groups. Towards the year 111/729, Marw took the lead with the arrival there of Khidāsh [*q.v.*], the competent Hāshimite leader from Nīshāpūr, who was undoubtedly responsible for the creation of a strong organized leadership of the movement in Marw. To him too the movement owed the formulation of its ideology, basically an ʿAlid one, which explains why later ʿAbbāsid tradition went out of its way to blacken Khidāsh's name. Although the leaders in Marw, Ḳaḥṭaba amongst them, were aware that the *imāma* of Abū Hāshim had been formally transferred in an unprecedented legal act to Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās [*q.v.*], they were not inclined to accept him as their sole leader and for a long time refrained from any communication with the new *imām* and with the mother-centre of the movement in Kūfa. The suppression of the revolt of Zayd b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*] in Kūfa in 125/742-3 and the crucifixion of his son Yaḥyā [*q.v.*] in Khurāsān a year later was a severe shock to the Shīʿa. Remorseful and disappointed, the Hāshimiyya in Khurāsān was drawn to the *imām* in Ḥumayma [*q.v.*], who emerged as the only hope for the cause of *Ahl al-Bayt* [*q.v.*].

When Bukayr b. Māhān [*q.v.*], the ʿAbbāsid emissary from Kūfa, was sent to Khurāsān in 125 or 126/742-4 to organize the movement according to the *imām*'s specifications, he must have ratified the organization that had existed there from the time of Khidāsh. This included a supreme council of twelve *nuḳabāʾ* in Marw and a great number of *duʿāt* (formally 70), 40 of whom were in Marw and its vicinity and the rest scattered throughout the main urban centres of Khurāsān. At the end of 125 or 126, soon after the death of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī and the succession of his son Ibrāhīm [*q.v.*], a delegation of three *nuḳabāʾ*, Ḳaḥṭaba amongst them, met the new *imām* during the *Ḥadjdj* in Mecca and swore allegiance to him in the name of their Khurāsānī *shīʿa*. Henceforward Ḳaḥṭaba was the chief link between Khurāsān and the *imām*. The stringent secret measures, undertaken by the *daʿwa* in order to keep the identity of the *imām* hidden from the movement's followers as much as from most of its leaders, demonstrated the importance of his role. A later tradition, attempting to legitimize the status of Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ [*q.v.*] as the first ʿAbbāsid caliph, made Ḳaḥṭaba the man who met Ibrāhīm before his death in the prison of Marwān II and received from him his testimony in favour of the *imāma* of Abu 'l-ʿAbbās (*Frag.*, 190-1; cf. Ibn Khaldūn, iii, 251).

Ḳaḥṭaba's real genius was revealed when he served as general in the army of the *daʿwa*. When Abū Muslim [*q.v.*] was sent to Khurāsān in 128/745-6 to organize the movement for the decisive campaign against the Umayyads, Ḳaḥṭaba was appointed to lead his army. His son Ḥasan was his lieutenant. In the middle of Djumādā II 129/March 747, Ḳaḥṭaba accompanied Abū Muslim in a tour of the *daʿwa* centres in western Khurāsān in preparation for the revolt, which was to begin in Muḥarram 130/August-September 747. When they reached Ḳūmis, Abū Muslim returned to the vicinity of Marw and Ḳaḥṭaba continued westwards at the head of a small delegation in order to meet the *imām* during the *Ḥadjdj* of that year. After meeting the *imām* in Mecca and informing him of the detailed plans for the revolt, he returned to Khurāsān, having been formally nominated by Ibrāhīm as head of his armies.

Meanwhile the plans for open revolt in Khurāsān received a setback through some unforeseen development in the province. The black banners of the *daʿwa* were hoisted on 25 Ramaḍān 129/17 September 747, but military activity was delayed until after the coming of winter, affording ample time for Ḳaḥṭaba to return from Mecca and for Abū Muslim to recruit large numbers of warriors (mainly the *muḳātila* of the Yamanī tribes) and thoroughly organize the army. In Rabīʿ II 130/January 748, Abū Muslim entered Marw and drove out Naṣr b. Sayyār [*q.v.*],

the last Umayyad governor of Khurāsān, who fled to the west (*Akhbār*, 315 f.). Soon afterwards Ḳaḥṭaba returned to Khurāsān and took over from his son Ḥasan as the head of the army. He was accompanied by a group of military commanders, most of whom were Arabs, and by two competent administrators, Khālid b. Barmak [*q.v.*] and Djahm b. ʿAtiyya, whose task was the organization of the campaign, including the regular payment of the troops, and the administration of the occupied territories.

The winter over, the campaign opened in Shaʿban 130/April 748 (*Akhbār*, 321). Ḳaḥṭaba marched on Sarakhs, there encountering his first adversary, the Khāridjite Shaybān, whom he defeated and slew. After the fall of Sarakhs, Ḳaḥṭaba advanced swiftly westwards, revealing his military genius in the strategy he adopted. One of his main strategic principles was to keep the flanks of his advancing army constantly protected and free. By chosing to advance on the main route of northern Khurāsān, which passed from Marw through Ṭūs, Dāmghān and Rayy, he ensured that his left flank was protected by the great desert of central Iran while making his way through old-established centres of *daʿwa*. As we shall see, Ḳaḥṭaba had to deviate from this route twice, once in Gurgān and the second time when he reached Rayy and had to turn southwards to Iṣfāhān and Nihāwand instead of continuing on the short way to ʿIrāḳ.

The main campaign started out from Abīward. Advancing on Ṭūs, Ḳaḥṭaba met an Umayyad army led by Tamīm b. Naṣr b. Sayyār. Defeating and killing his adversary, he captured Ṭūs then swiftly pressed on to Nishāpūr, which he took at the end of Shaʿbān 130/4 May 738. Meanwhile a strong Umayyad army, commanded by Nubāta b. Ḥanẓala al-Kilābī, captured Gurgān and endangered Ḳaḥṭaba's right flank. At once Ḳaḥṭaba diverted the whole of his army northwards. He met Nubāta on 1 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 130/1 August 748, defeated and killed him, and dispersed the remnants of his army. Having secured his right flank, Ḳaḥṭaba resumed his original route and captured Ḳūmis in the beginning of 131/September 748. A grave danger now emerged from the south. ʿĀmir b. Ḍubāra al-Murrī assembled a huge army in Iṣfahān (*ʿaskar al-ʿasākir*, Ṭabarī, iii, 4). Leaving Rayy, which had fallen without a struggle, Ḳaḥṭaba turned with the main body of his army against this new threat. At the same time his son Ḥasan was sent with a strong contingent to engage the garrison of Nihāwand and cover his father's right flank. On 23 Radjab 131/18 March 749, Ḳaḥṭaba engaged Ibn Ḍubāra in battle at Djābalḳ and there secured the greatest victory for the *daʿwa*. The battle of Djābalḳ, which resulted in the death of one of the best Umayyad generals and the destruction of one of their most illustrious armies, proved to be fatal to the Umayyad cause.

The remnants of the shattered Umayyad legions retreated to Nihāwand, where the defence of the town was organized by Malik b. Adham al-Bāhilī. The original garrison of the city had consisted of troops of the *Ahl al-Shām* but a strong contingent of Khurāsānī warriors who opposed the *daʿwa* had also found refuge there. Soon tension was apparent between the two groups. When Ḳaḥṭaba joined his son in the siege of the city and began bombarding it with *mandjaniḳs*, Malik b. Adham entered into secret negotiations with the ʿAbbāsid general. Securing safe conduct for his Syrian troops, he opened the city gates to Ḳaḥṭaba. Adhering to the terms of the *amān*, Ḳaḥṭaba allowed the Syrians to go free, but captured the Khūrāsānīs and put most of them to death (131/749). Yazīd b. ʿUmar b. Hubayra, the Umayyad governor of ʿIrāḳ, alerted by the defeat of Ibn Ḍubāra and the fall of Nihāwand, left Kūfa in haste to block Ḳaḥṭaba's approach to al-Madā'in. Ḳaḥṭaba moved to Khāniḳīn, arriving there in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 131/July 749. Danger then threated his northern wing from the direction of the Djazīra. Marwān II, alarmed by Ḳaḥṭaba's successes, sent a strong force to impede his progress at Shahrazūr. Adhering to his original strategy, Ḳaḥṭaba dispatched a contingent under Abu 'l-ʿAwn ʿAbd al-Malik b. Yazīd al-Azdī to deal with this new danger. Abu 'l-ʿAwn's venture was crowned with success: he defeated ʿUthmān b. Sufyān, the commander of the Umayyad army in Shahrazūr, and captured the city.

As a result, it seems that Marwān decided to organize his forces for the defence of the Djazīra. His decision not to join forces with Ibn Hubayra had fateful consequences, but it was apparently based on the assumption that Ḳaḥṭaba was aiming to strike at the heart of the caliphate in the Djazīra and Syria rather than in ʿIrāḳ.

Meanwhile Ḳaḥṭaba prepared his last move into ʿIrāḳ. From Khāniḳīn the shortest route to al-Madā'in was blocked by Ibn Hubayra, who assumed that Ḳaḥṭaba would take the direct route to Kūfa. Outwitting him, Ḳaḥṭaba planned a swift and daring move that took him into the heart of ʿIrāḳ. He marched out of Khāniḳīn in a north-westerly direction, leaving the highroad and outflanking Ibn Hubayra's camps in Daskara and Djalūlā'. Crossing the Ḳāṭūl canal near Bādjisrā, he assembled his army near Awānā and crossed the Tigris there on a bridge of boats. Once safely on the right bank of the Tigris, he hastened to Anbār, captured it and crossed over the Euphrates at Dimimmā. Ibn Hubayra, too late to intercept these swift moves, had to retreat with speed towards Kūfa. Meanwhile Ḳaḥṭaba advanced southwards along the western bank of the Euphrates. On reaching the eastern bank, Ibn Hubayra moved simultaneously opposite him. A few miles to the south of Fam al-Furāt, Ḳaḥṭaba caught sight of a shallow stretch of the river which he decided to ford. During the night of 8-9 Muḥarram 132/27-8 August 749, he mounted a surprise attack on Ibn Hubayra and defeated him, forcing him to relinquish Kūfa and retreat with the remnants of his army along the Nīl canal to Wāsiṭ.

In the confusion of the battle, Ḳaḥṭaba was either slain or drowned. His place was immediately taken by his son Ḥasan, who led the victorious army into Kūfa on 10 Muḥarram 132/29 August 749.

Bibliography: *Akhbār al-Dawla al-ʿAbbāsiyya wa-fīhi akhbār al-ʿAbbās wa-wuldihi*, ed. A. A. Duri, Beirut 1971, index; Yaʿḳūbī, 392, 398 f., 410-2; *al-ʿUyūn wa 'l-ḥadā'iḳ*, in *Fragmenta Historicorum* ..., ed. de Goeje, 181, 186, 190-5; Ṭabarī, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 188; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 237; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Wüstenfeld, 828, tr. de Slane, iv, 205; Yāḳūt, i, 463, ii, 3, 413; Ibn al-Kalbī—Caskel, tab. 257 and Register; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, Ms. Rabat, iii, 379, Ms. Aşir Efendi, Istanbul, 597-8, fols. 296a f.; Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Nafīsī, 89, 91-2; Ibn Badrūn, *Commentaire historique sur la poème d'Ibn Abdoun*, ed. Dozy, index; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-Muḥabbar*, Hyderabad 1942, 465; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, Beirut 1957, index; Ibn al-Athīr, ind. (M. Sharon)

ḲAḤṬĀN, according to the consensus of opinion among Muslim genealogists, historians, and geograph-

ers, and in popular tradition, the ancestor of all the South-Arabian peoples [see YAMAN], whence he is sometimes known as "father of all Yaman", the Yamanīs themselves being called *banū Ḳaḥṭān, ḳabā'il Ḳaḥṭān*, or simply *Ḳaḥṭān*. He thus corresponds to ʿAdnān [*q.v.*], the common ancestor of the northern Arabs, though some authorities prefer to contrast him with one or other of ʿAdnān's descendants, *e.g.*, his son, Maʿadd (al-Dīnawarī, 281; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1056, 1084; al-Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh*, 88), or his grandson, Nizār (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 223, vi, 42 f., 46, 143, 150; Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 273). The normal genealogy given for Ḳaḥṭān is Nūḥ—Sām—Arfakhshadh—Shālakh—ʿĀbar—Ḳaḥṭān, and he is also credited with a brother, Fālagh. In this we may see an adaptation of the Yahwist tradition in the Table of the Nations (*Genesis*, X, 21-5; *I Chronicles*, I, 4, 17-9); Noah—Shem—Arphaxad—Shelah—Eber—Peleg + Joktan, and this is confirmed by the Arab insistence on the identity of Ḳaḥṭān with Joktan (Yaḳṭan), who was the ancestor of several peoples of patent South Arabian reference. Some genealogists do admittedly make Yaḳṭan a brother or son of Ḳaḥṭān (*e.g.*, Ibn Ḳutayba, 14; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 79 f.; al-Ṭabarī, i, 217), but this is certainly a confusion on their part. The claim, however, that Ḳaḥṭān is an Arabicized form of Yaḳṭan (*e.g.*, *Tādj al-ʿArūs*, s.v.) is phonologically hazardous and need not be pressed. Hebrew *Yoḳṭān* is rather to be related to the verb *ḳāṭan* "to be small, weak", thus "the younger (brother)", and one might compare the occurrence in Old South Arabian of the term *qṭn* to denote collateral descent from a clan-head. Ḳaḥṭān, on the other hand, is now attested as a tribal name even before Islam. An inscription of the time of the second century Hamdānid ruler, ŠʿR m ʾWTR (Jamme 635/26-7) alludes to campaigns in the country to the north of Nadjrān against a king of Kinda and Ḳaḥṭān (*mlk/kdt/wqḥtn*), and this may provide additional support for the identification of Ptolemy's Κατανῖται (*Geogr.*, book vi, chapter 7, §§ 20, 23) with Ḳaḥṭān. Though virtually nothing is known of the rôle of this people in pre-Islamic times, it seems reasonable to suppose that the apparent similarity of the name with Yaḳṭan led the Arab genealogists to make the identification in order to provide the South Arabian peoples with a respectable biblical ancestry, just as the Northern Arabs, under the influence of the Bible and the Ḳurʾān, had been linked with Ishmael, son of Abraham, through the fictitious ʿAdnān.

The tribal confederation of the Ḳaḥṭān is subdivided into two groups, the smaller of the Ḥimyar and the larger of the Kahlān. The two were officially regarded as brothers and their descent from Ḳaḥṭān was established by the interpolation between biblical Joktan and his son Sheba of two further generations represented by Yaʿrub and Yashdjub. The Ḥimyar, as progenitors of the great pre-Islamic kingdoms of South Arabia, were probably settled, while the Kahlān were essentially nomads (cf. Landberg, *Arabica*, v, 116 ff.). Most, indeed, of the Southern tribes which had settled in North Arabia, Syria, and ʿIrāḳ by the advent of Islam claimed descent from Kahlān.

The hostility between the Ḳaḥṭān and the Maʿadd seems to go back to pre-Islamic times and may find its origin in the opposition between the desert and the sown. This enmity was intensified by the repeated raids of the Yamanīs into the lands of the Ishmaelites as well as by the later antagonism between the Anṣār (Medinans) and the Ḳuraysh, which came to a head after the death of the Prophet and influenced the history of the first two centuries of Islam in the most baneful fashion. It was perhaps this feud that first linked the Yamanī tribes on the one side and the Ishmaelites on the other into closer ethnological unities. One of its more innocuous results was the *mufākhara*, the struggle for rank and glory, which continually prevailed between the two rivals. The Ḳaḥṭān, in view of the splendour of the ancient South Arabian kingdoms, had the more right at first to feel the more distinguished. But the mission of Muḥammad and the primacy of the Ḳuraysh brought the Maʿadd a tremendous superiority. The Yamanīs endeavoured to counterbalance this by creating a South Arabian saga, which pictured their past greatness in the most splendid colours. They then made Ḳaḥṭān son of the prophet Hūd [*q.v.*], whom they next partly identified with ʿĀbar. (The present-day Ḳaḥṭān still regard Hūd as Ḳaḥṭān's father, though they are unaware of his shrine in the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt.) Finally they tried to connect themselves with the ʿAdnān genealogy, partly by making the ancient Djurhum [*q.v.*], the brothers-in-law of Ismāʿīl, to be direct descendants of Ḳaḥṭān, but especially by giving Ḳaḥṭān a genealogy direct from Ismāʿīl, who thus became "father of all the Arabs". They may also be responsible for the theory that the Ḳaḥṭān, together with the so-called "lost Arabs" (*al-ʿArab al-bāʾida*), represent the genuine (primary) Arabs (*al-ʿArab al-ʿāriba* or *al-ʿarbāʾ* etc.), while the Maʿadd were Arabicized (secondary) Arabs (*al-ʿArab al-mutaʿarriba*). Another theory makes the "lost Arabs" *al-ʿArab al-ʿāriba*, while the Ḳaḥṭān are *al-ʿArab al-mutaʿarriba*, and the Maʿadd *al-ʿArab al-mustaʿriba* (cf. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. *al-ʿArab*).

The Ḳaḥṭān at present are for the most part beduin and form a very large group of tribes covering the area between Bīsha in ʿAsīr and Ḥawṭa in Central Arabia. Those that Doughty met in Ḥāʾil claimed descent from Hūd and traced their ancestral home back to the mountainous country around al-Ṭūr in ʿAsīr. Perhaps because of their isolated habitat on the northern fringe of the great southern desert, strange tales were reported of their customs and way of life and they acquired a reputation, perhaps justified, for savagery and cruelty. They are said to be Ḥanbalī Sunnīs and derive their livelihood from camel breeding. The Ḳaḥṭān of ʿAsīr differ from their nomadic relatives by living well-conducted lives and prospering in trade and agriculture. They form a federation of six autonomous tribes in the region just east of Abhā, living independently of one another and uniting only in times of crisis. Although al-Hamdānī knew of the individual tribes, he was apparently unaware of their description as Ḳaḥṭān. It is not improbable, however, that they are survivals of the pre-Islamic tribe. Al-Muḳaddasī, writing some fifty years after al-Hamdānī, mentions a district of Ḳaḥṭān between Zabīd and Ṣanʿāʾ and alludes also to a clan, the Āl Ḳaḥṭān, northwest of Nadjrān, whom he describes as "the oldest princes of Yaman".

Bibliography: A. P. Causin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, i, Paris 1847; al-Dimashḳī, *Nukhbat al-dahr*, ed. Mehren, 246, 249, 252; al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, ed. Guirgass, 9, 281, 348; al-Hamdānī, *al-Iklīl*, i, ed. Löfgren; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, Cairo 1305, ii, 57; Ibn al-Athīr, i, 57, iv, 273; Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, 3-7; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-nasab*, ed. Caskel; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, ii, 46 f.; Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 14; A. von Kremer, *Die himjarische Kasideh*, Leipzig 1865; idem, *Über die südarabische Sage*, Leipzig

1866; idem, *Altarabische Gedichte über die Volksage von Jemen*, Leipzig 1867; D. S. Margoliouth, art. *Joktan*, in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 79 f., ii, 142, iii, 142, 143, v, 223, vi, 42 f., 46, 136, 143, 150; idem, *al-Tanbīh*, 31, 80, 81, 88, 109, 185, 188; J. A. Montgomery, *Arabia and the Bible*, Philadelphia 1934; Nashwān ibn Sa'īd, in *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Našwān's in Šams al-'ulūm*, ed. 'Aẓīmuddīn Aḥmad, Leiden 1916; J. J. Reiske, *Primae lineae historiae regnorum arabicorum*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1847; al-Sam'ānī, *al-Ansāb*, fol. 443 b; al-Suwaydī, *Sabā'ik al-dhahab fī ma'rifat ḳabā'il al-'arab*, Bombay 1296, 16; al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, Index; F. Wüstenfeld, *Register*; idem, *Tabellen*; al-Ya'ḳūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, i, 220.

The tribe of Ḳaḥṭān: C. M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, 2 vols., Cambridge 1888; *A handbook of Arabia*, Navel Intelligence Division, Geographical Section, i, 1916; J. J. Hess, *Ḳaḥṭānische Beduinenlieder*, *Verhandl. des XIII. Internat. Orientalisten-Kongresses*, 302 ff.; A. Jamme, *Sabaean inscriptions from Maḥran Bilqîs* (*Mârib*), Baltimore 1962; C. Landberg, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*: *ii*, *Daṭînah*, 3 vols., Leiden 1905-13; B. Moritz, art. *Katanitai*, in Pauly-Wissowa; al-Muḳaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm*, 87, 94, 104; M. von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, iii, Wiesbaden 1952; H. St. J. B. Philby, *Arabian Highlands*, New York 1952; idem, *The heart of Arabia*, 2 vols., London 1922; W. Thesiger, *A journey through the Tihama, the 'Asir, and the Hijaz mountains*, in *GJ*, cx (1948), 188-200; *Western Arabia and the Red Sea*, Naval Intelligence Division, Geographical Section, 1946; H. von Wissmann, *Zur Geschichte und Landeskunde von Alt-Südarabien*, Sitzungsb. Österreich. Akad. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl., cclvi, Vienna 1964.

(A. Fischer[—A. K. Irvine])

ḲAHWA, an Arabic word of uncertain etymology, which is the basis of the usual words for coffee in various languages. Originally a name for wine, found already in the old poetry (see Landberg, *Etudes* ii, 1057 and *al-Aghānī*, 1st ed., vi, 110[7], viii, 79[16], xx, 180[9]), this word was transferred towards the end of the 8th/14th century in the Yemen to the beverage made from the berry of the coffee tree. The assumption of such a transference of meaning is not, it is true, accepted by some who consider *ḳahwa* —at least in the sense of coffee—as a word of African origin and seek to connect it with the alleged home of the coffee tree, Kaffa, although they also assume contamination with *ḳahwa* "wine" (see Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xiii, 566; Vollers, in *ZDMG*, i, 657; *Hobson-Jobson*; Landberg, *op. cit.*, ii, 1057-66). On the other hand, it should be noted that the holders of this view do not prove that coffee was exported from Kaffa as early as 1400, and do not quote a similar word in the languages of Ethiopia and adjoining lands, while the usual word for coffee there (*būn* for tree, berry and beverage; see Armbruster, *Initia Amharica*, ii, Cambridge 1910, 58; Coulbeaux and Schreiber, *Dict. de la langue tigraï*, Vienna 1915, 408; I. Reinisch, *Die Kafa-Sprache* etc., ii, in *Sitzungsber. der Kais. Akad. der Wiss. zu Wien*, phil.-hist. Cl., cxvi, 1888, 273; see also Landberg, *op. cit.*, ii, 1055 f.) has passed in the form *bunn* (in rhyme also *būn*) as a name of the tree and berry into Arabic. But as it is probable that the drinking of coffee spread in the Yemen out of Ṣūfī circles and a special significance was given to wine in the poetical language of the mystics, a transference of the poetic name for wine to the new beverage would not be at all impossible.

The coffee tree was not indigenous to South Arabia and was probably introduced from the highlands of Ethiopia, where it is found in profusion growing wild, notably in Kaffa. But there is no trace of authority for the assertion (Deflers and *Handbook of Arabia*) that the coffee tree was already introduced into Yemen in the period of the Ethiopian conquest and of the fall of the Ḥimyar kingdom, about a century before the Hidjra. In this case the older literature would hardly have left it unnoticed.

The earliest mention of coffee so far found is in writings of the 10th/16th century. According to (Aḥmad) Ibn 'Abd al-Ghaffār, quoted by 'Abd al-Ḳādir al-Djazīrī in his essay (see below, *Bibliography*), the popularity of *ḳahwa* as a beverage in the Yemen was first known in Cairo in the beginning of the 10th/16th century. It was there taken especially in Ṣūfī circles, as it produced the necessary wakefulness for the nightly devotional exercises. According to this authority, it had been brought to Aden by the jurist Muḥammad b. Sa'īd al-Dhabḥānī (died 875/1470-1), who had become acquainted with it during an involuntary stay on the African coast and on his return devoted himself to mysticism; it soon became popular.

Another reference in al-Djazīrī, however, ascribes the introduction of the beverage to 'Alī b. 'Umar al-Shādhilī. Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Umar of the family of Da'sayn died in 821/1418 according to al-Shardjī. He also might have become acquainted with coffee in Ethiopia, for after entering the Shādhiliyya order, he lived for a period in the entourage of the king Sa'd al-Dīn (*i.e.*, between 788/1386 and 805/1401-2 or 807/1404-5, cf. al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Ilmām bi-Akhbār man bi-Arḍ al-Ḥabash min Mulūk al-Islām*, ed. Rinck, Leiden 1790, p. 24; Paulitschke, *Harar*, Leipzig 1888, 504 *infra*), who gave him his sister to wife. Even after he had founded his *zāwiya* in al-Makhā (to follow al-Shardjī) gifts continued to reach him from admirers in Ethiopia.

In the treatise by 'Abd al-Ḳādir (Ibn) al-'Aydarūs (see below, *Bibliography*), 'Alī b. 'Umar, the saint of al-Makhā, alone is mentioned as the introducer of the beverage *ḳahwa* (*muḥdith al-ḳahwa*, fol. 341b; *wāḍi'uhā*, fol. 347b, in a verse by Shaykh b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Aydarūs, died 990/1582). His claim to fame is, it is true, qualified by the note "that, before he prepared the beverage, only the kernel of the husk, *i.e.*, the *bunn*, was used and the husks were thrown on the dung-heaps (fol. 342a). In a verse attributed to him, however, he praises the *ḳahwat al-bunn* as a dispeller of sleep and aid to devotional exercises (fol. 342b). While al-Shardjī says not a word of his connection with coffee, 'Abd al-Ḳādir al-'Aydarūs numbers the introduction of the beverage among his miracles (*karāmāt*, fol. 342a).

The legend as given by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa seems to have made two individuals out of 'Alī b. 'Umar, of whom Alī represents the founder of the Shādhiliyya order, Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh (d. 656/1258; see al-Sha'rānī, *Lawāḳiḥ al-Anwār*, Cairo 1299, ii, 5) and his disciple 'Umar the saint of al-Makhā (Mukhā). The latter was ordered to settle, by command of his teacher who had appeared to him at his own funeral, at the place where a wooden ball which he gave him should come to rest. This is how he came to Mukhā. On the charge of having misconducted himself with the daughter of the king who was staying with him for a cure, he was banished into the mountains of Uṣāb (Wuṣāb, N.E. of Zabīd).

He and his disciples, who followed him into exile, are said to have sustained themselves with *ḳahwa* (here the berry) and finally to have made a decoction from it. His visitors were cured of an itch, epidemic in Mu**kh**ā, by taking coffee and this procured the saint an honourable return.

The third person who is given credit for the introduction of coffee is Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAydarūs. An essay by ʿAlawī al-Saḳḳāf (see below, *Bibliography*) contains a statement from the *Taʾrī**kh*** of al-Na**dj**m al-**Gh**azzī (*i.e.*, apparently *al-Kawākib al-sāʾira bi-manāḳib ʿulamāʾ al-miʾa al-ʿā**sh**ira* by Na**dj**m al-Dīn al-**Gh**azzī, Brockelmann, II, 376), according to which the Ṣūfī, who is called here a **Sh**ā**dh**ilī, once came upon a coffee tree in his wanderings and ate the berries. As he noticed their stimulating effect he took them as a food and recommended them to his disciples, so that they became known in different countries. The reference here is probably to the Ṣūfī of this name who died in Aden in 914/1508-9 (Abū Ma**kh**rama, Leiden Ms. 1956, fol. 188; al-Nabhānī, ***Dj**āmiʿ karāmāt al-awliyāʾ*, Cairo 1329, i, 263), whose grave is still honoured there. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir (Ibn) al-ʿAydarūs only mentions his fondness for coffee and quotes his *ḳaṣīda* in praise of it. On the other hand, Abu ʾl-Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Bakrī in his treatise *Iṣṭifāʾ al-ṣafwa li-taṣfiyat al-Ḳahwa*, fol. 2b mentions Abū Bakr al-ʿAydarūs as the introducer (*mun**sh**iʾ*) of *ḳahwa*.

According to Glaser (*Mitt. der Geogr. Gesellsch. in Wien*, xxx, 25), it is stated in a Turkish source (which he does not name) that in the 10th/16th century the *wālī* Özdemir (cf. Aḥmed Rā**sh**id, *Tārī**kh**-i Yemen ve Sanʿāʾ*, i, 83 ff.) transplanted coffee from Africa to Yemen.

The fact that the merit of introducing coffee as a beverage is given to different individuals, suggests that we have to deal with various local traditions. The tradition of Mu**kh**ā is the most firmly established and most widely known; therefore ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-**Sh**ā**dh**ilī—who is frequently confused with the founder of the **Sh**ā**dh**iliyya order (d'Ohsson, von Hammer, Rinn)—has become the patron saint of coffee-growers, coffee-house keepers and coffee-drinkers (cf. Goldziher, *Abhandl. zur arab. Philologie*, ii, p. lxxxviii). In Algeria coffee is also known as ***sh**ā**dh**iliyye*, after him (Beaussier, *Dict. pratique arabe-français*, Algiers 1871). He is popularly regarded as the founder of Mu**kh**ā, which is, however, already mentioned by al-Hamdānī (74^{16}, 87^{5}, 119^{18}), although it owed its rise to coffee. A well, a gate and the mosque over his grave preserve the memory of al-**Sh**ā**dh**ilī in Mu**kh**ā (Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien*, i, Copenhagen 1774, 438-40; cf. also the legend in Ḥā**dj**dj**ī **Kh**alīfa, and ʿAbd al-Karīm Ka**sh**mīrī, *Bayān-i Wāḳiʿ*, French tr. by Langlès entitled *Voyage de l'Inde à la Mekke par Abdoûl Kérym*, Paris 1797, 202 f.).

Al-**Sh**ā**dh**ilī and al-ʿAydarūs (probably not Ḥaydar, as de Sacy, *Chrest. Arabe*$_2$, i, 461, thinks) have become Christian monks named Sciadli and Aidrus in the legend given by Naironi. The motif of the camels or goats on which the enlivening effects of coffee were first noticed has so far not been found in Oriental sources. According to a popular legend, the coffee tree shot up from goat's dung sown by the saint (Snouck Hurgronje, *The Atchehnese*, Leiden 1906, i, 260).

The legends are probably correct in saying that the taking of coffee in Arabia first began among Yemenī Ṣūfīs. They were particularly fond of the beverage because its effect facilitated the performance of their religious ceremonies. They therefore considered this as its original "destination" (*mawḍūʿ aṣlī*) and found that it incited to good and hastened on the mystical raptures (*fatḥ*) (*Ṣafwat al-Ṣafwa*, fol. 342b). The pious intention with which it was taken made the drinking of coffee a good work (*ṭāʿa*). It received a ceremonial character, being accompanied by the recitation of a so-called *rātib*. This *rātib* consisted in the repetition 116 times of the invocation *yā ḳawī*. This usage is based—apart from the similarity in sound between *ḳahwa* and *ḳawī*—on the fact that the numerical value of *ḳhwh*, *i.e.*, 116, is the same as that of *ḳwy*, *i.e.*, *ḳawī*, "strong", one of the most beautiful names of Allāh [see AL-ASMĀʾ AL-ḤUSNĀ]. According to **Sh**ay**kh** b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAydarūs, the recitation of the *fātiḥa* [*q.v.*] should precede it. **Sh**ay**kh** b. Ismāʿīl Bā ʿAlawī of al-**Sh**iḥr, however, prescribed the fourfold repetition of the Sūra *Yā-Sīn* (Sūra XXXVI) with a hundredfold *taṣliya* on the Prophet as *rātib* (*Ṣafwat al-Ṣafwa*, fols. 344b *infra* f., 345b, 347a). Thus when taken with a righteous intention and devotion and genuine religious conviction, coffee-drinking leads to the enjoyment of the *ḳahwa maʿnawiyya*, the "ideal *ḳahwa*", also called *ḳahwat al-Ṣūfiyya*, which is explained as "the enjoyment which the people of God (*Ahl Allāh*) feel in beholding the hidden mysteries and attaining the wonderful disclosures (*mukā**sh**afāt*) and the great revelations (*futūḥāt*)" (*op. cit.*, fols. 341b, 345a *supra*, 345b *infra* f.).—ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-**Sh**ā**dh**ilī is reported to have said that coffee, like the water of Zamzam, serves the purpose for which it is drunk (*op. cit.*, fol. 348a, cf. above ii, 588a, *infra*), and the saying has been handed down of Aḥmad b. ʿAlawī Bā **Dj**aḥdab (d. 973/1565-66; cf. al-Nabhānī, *op. cit.*, i, 330), who in his last years is said to have lived on nothing but coffee:—"He who dies with some *ḳahwa* in his body enters not into hell-fire" (*Ṣafwat al-Ṣafwa*, fol. 344b).

Coffee was probably not known as a beverage in South Arabia much earlier than the turn of the 8th/14th century. Whether the tree was introduced long before this is doubtful. Ibn Ḥa**dj**ar al-Haytamī [*q.v.*] speaks in his *Iʿāb* (commentary on *al-ʿUbāb*, probably by ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Sayfī; cf. Brockelmann, II, 531) of a beverage which appeared (viz. in Mecca) shortly before the 10th/16th century and was prepared from the husk of the *bunn*, a tree introduced from the region of Zaylaʿ, and called *ḳahwa* (quotation in ʿAlawī al-Saḳḳāf, p. 9). Among the jurists who gave an opinion in favour of coffee, the oldest is **Dj**amāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Saʿīd b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Kabbin al-ʿAdanī (died in Aden 842/1438, cf. Abū Ma**kh**rama, fol. 149b f.; according to al-Nabhānī, *op. cit.*, i, 155 f.: 829/1425-6).

An *ur**dj**ūza* of **Sh**araf al-Dīn al-ʿAmrīṭī gives the year 817/1414-5 as the date at which coffee became domesticated in Mecca (Pertsch, *Die Arab. Handschr. zu Gotha*, iv, no. 2107). According to the ʿ*Umdat al-ṣafwa*, however, the drinking of a decoction of coffee husks first appeared towards the end of the 9th/15th century, while previously only the eating of the fruit as a delicacy (*naḳl*) was known. The drinking of coffee dropped out of use again for a time, but it finally established itself and soon people drank coffee even in the sacred mosque and regarded it as a welcome tonic at ***dh**ikr* and *mawlid*. Coffee-houses (*buyūt al-ḳahwa*) were soon opened, where men and women met to listen to music or where they played chess or a similar game for a stake. This and the custom of handing round the coffee in the manner of wine naturally aroused the indignation of the ultra-

pious, many of whom had from the first set their faces against the beverage as an objectionable innovation. They found a champion in Khā'ir Bey, who was appointed chief of the police in Mecca in 917/1511 by Ḳānṣūh al-Ghawrī [*q.v.*]. He carried through the proclamation of coffee as forbidden (*ḥarām*) in the same year, in an assembly of jurists of the different schools in which the unfavourable judgment of two well-known physicians and the evidence of a number of coffeedrinkers regarding its intoxicating and dangerous effects ultimately decided the issue. The *ḳāḍīs* signed the protocol of the assembly. Only the then *muftī* of Mecca dared to decline his co-operation and became therefore the object of damaging suspicions. By putting the questions in a clever way they were at the same time able to get an opinion condemning coffee from the *faḳīhs* of Cairo. The rescript which Ḳānṣūh issued in reply to the protocol sent to Cairo did not completely fulfil the hopes of the opponents of coffee as it contained no absolute interdiction but only allowed measures to be taken against any concomitant features contrary to religion. Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī, as late as about 950/1543, had a vigorous discussion, at a wedding feast (*walīmat ʿurs*) where coffee was offered to the guests, on the new beverage with a prominent *muftī*, who declared it intoxicating and forbidden. Ibn Ḥadjar refers to the assembly abovementioned and cannot find words strong enough to condemn its decision and the manner in which it was reached (*ṣafwat al-ṣafwa*, fols. 352b-356a, quotation from the *Muʿdjam Mashā'ikhihi*).

In accordance with this verdict, Khā'ir Bey forbade the taking and sale of coffee and had a number of vendors punished and their stocks burned, so that coffee husks (*ḳishr*) disappeared from the market. But Ḳānṣūh's rescript again gave the coffeedrinkers courage and when in the next year one of the leading opponents of coffee was subjected to disciplinary punishment by a high official from Egypt and Khā'ir Bey was replaced by a successor who was not averse to coffee, they were again able to enjoy with impunity the beverage, to which these measures had only attracted the attention of wider circles. Only occasionally do we read of action being taken thereafter against disgraceful proceedings in coffeehouses. An edict forbidding coffee issued by the Ottoman sultan during the Ḥadjdj in 950/1544 was hardly respected at all.

In Cairo coffee was first made known in the first decade of the 10th/16th century in the Azhar quarter by Ṣūfīs from Yemen, who held their *dhikrs* in the mosque with their associates from Mecca and Madīna while partaking of coffee. After it had been publicly sold and drunk there for a time, the *faḳīh* Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ al-Sunbāṭī, famous as a preacher, declared it forbidden in 939/1532-3. Two years later in a meeting for exhortation in the Azhar mosque he so incited his hearers against the beverage that they fell upon the coffee-houses, made short work of their contents and maltreated the occupiers. The difference of opinion thus emphasized caused the *ḳāḍī* Muḥammad b. Ilyās al-Ḥanafī to take the opinions of prominent scholars; as a result of personal observation of the effects of coffee he confirmed the opinion of those who considered the beverage a permitted one. Although in the following years coffee was from time to time for brief periods forbidden in Cairo, the number of its devotees, even among the religious authorities, steadily increased.

Several notable theologians had given *fatwās* in favour of coffee, for example, Zakariyā al-Anṣārī (died 926/1520), Aḥmad b. ʿUmar al-Sayfī (d. 930/1523-4), Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddīḳī (died between 950 and 960/1543-1553), who in verses in praise of coffee also gives the advice that the opinion of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ should be set aside and the *fatwā* of Abu 'l-Ḥasan followed (*Ṣafwat al-ṣafwa*, fols. 349a, b; cf. also al-Ṣiddīḳī's verses in Bahā' al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī's *al-Kashkūl*, Būlāḳ 1288, i, 19), ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād al-Zabīdī (d. 975/1567-8) and others (*Ṣafwat al-ṣafwa*, fol. 348b).—Gradually the view came to prevail that coffee was in general permitted (*mubāḥ*), but that under certain circumstances the other legal categories could be applied to it also.

Intercourse with the holy cities and with Egypt brought coffee to Syria, Persia and Turkey. Rauwolf in 1573 found the beverage widely known in Syria (Aleppo). In Istanbul and Rūmili coffee first appeared in the reign of Sulaymān I (926/1520-974/1566). In 962/1554 a man from Aleppo and another from Damascus opened the first coffee-houses (*ḳahwe-khāne*) in Istanbul. These soon attracted gentlemen of leisure, wits and literary men seeking distraction and amusement, who spent the time over their coffee reading or playing chess or backgammon, while poets submitted their latest poems for the verdict of their acquaintances. This new institution was jokingly called also *mekteb-i ʿirfān* (school of knowledge). The coffee-house met with such approval that it soon attracted civil servants, *ḳāḍīs* and professors also (*Tārīkh-i Pecevi*, i, 363 ff.; English translation in B. Lewis, *Istanbul and the civilization of the Ottoman Empire*$_2$, Norman, Oklahoma 1968,132 ff.; Kātib Čelebi, *The balance of truth*, tr. G. L. Lewis, London 1957, 60-2). Poets like Māmiya al-Rūmī (cf. Bahā' al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī, *op. cit.*, p. 147) and later Belīghī sang the praises of coffee, and the opinion expressed in 928/1522 by Sulaymān's court physician, Badr al-Dīn al-Ḳūṣūnī (Leiden Ms. 945, fol. 58) was not unfavourable. The coffee-houses increased rapidly in number. Among the servants of the upper classes were *ḳahwedji*, whose special task was the preparation of coffee, and at the court they were subordinate to a *ḳahwedjibashi* (Gibb-Bowen, i/1, index). In religious circles, however, it was found that the coffee-house was prejudicial to the mosque, and the *ʿulamā'* thought the coffee-house even worse than the wine-room. The preachers were specially eager for the prohibition of coffee and the way was paved for them by the *muftīs* (according to d'Ohsson: Abu 'l-Suʿūd) with an opinion that (roasted) coffee was to be considered as carbonized and therefore forbidden (the same argument is found in the treatise by Muḥammad (ʿAlī?) Dede, Leiden Ms, 682, i, fol. 4b). The fact that current politics were discussed in the coffee-houses, the government's acts criticized and intrigues concocted, was the principal cause for the intervention of the authorities. Edicts issued in the reigns of Murād III (982/1574-1003/1595) and Aḥmad I (1012/1613-1016/1617) were not strictly enforced and still less obeyed. The religious authorities met public opinion by declaring coffee legal, if it had not reached the degree of carbonization.

Murād IV 1032/1623-1049/1640) issued a strict prohibition of coffee (and tobacco). He had all the coffee-houses torn down and many forfeited their lives for the sake of coffee. Under Meḥemmed IV (1058/1648-1099/1687), while the sale of coffee in the streets was allowed, the prohibition of coffee-houses was at first renewed by the Grand Vizier Köprülü for political reasons. This prohibition could not possibly be kept in force permanently, and later we even read of measures taken by the government to lower the high

price of coffee. From Sulaymān's time a tax was levied on coffee which was at a rate of 8 aspers per *oḳḳa* for Muslim buyers and 10 for Christian; in 1109/1697 there was added an extra tax of 5 paras the *oḳḳa*, which was called *bidʿat-i ḳahwe*, for both.

According to Hammer-Purgstall, *GOR*, v, 713, the question of the correct spelling of *ḳahwa* with *h* or *ḥ* has been disputed in Turkey. *Ḳaḥwa* is actually found in several manuscripts *e.g.*, in the opinion of al-Ḳūṣūnī above mentioned.

The coffee tree flourishes in south-western Arabia and does best on the western side of the Sarāt at a height of 1100 to 2200 m., where it finds in the depths of the valleys and on the slopes a fertile, moist soil and the uniform warm temperature necessary for it. The plantations on the slopes arranged in terraces (see the picture in *Handbook of Arabia*, Pl. xiv), however, needed regular watering; in addition, the mist (*ʿumāʾ*, *sukhaymānī*) that rises in thick clouds out of Tihāma brings them moisture. To protect the trees from the heat of the sun and from locusts they are surrounded by shady trees like carob trees, tamarinds, etc. The tree, which is raised from seed (or propagated from layers), reaches a height of 2 to 5 m. with a diameter of 5 to 6 cm. and yields berries in the fourth year. It is an evergreen and throughout the year bears both blossom and berries in various stages of ripeness so that there is really no fixed harvest-time. The main harvest, however, varying with kind and locality, usually falls in the months from March to June. After the berries have been carefully gathered and allowed to dry they are shelled in a mill. The beans and the husks are then dried in the sun a second time.

The coffee tree is found as far north as ʿAsīr [*q.v.*] where it is said to flourish exceedingly on mount Sh-dh-y (Shadhā?) in the land of the Zuhrān (north of the Wādī Dawḳa, Doka on Stieler's map). (Sharaf ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Barakātī, *al-Riḥla al-Yamāniyya*, Cairo 1330, 16; cf. J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, London 1829, ii, 377; for other places in ʿAsīr see *Handbook of Arabia*, 136, 137). The most southern areas of coffee cultivation are Bilād al-Ḥudjriyya, Wādī Warazān and Wādī Banā. To the east we find coffee grown in the land of the Yāfiʿ and in the Djawf. But it is the Ḥarāz mountains, the valley of al-Farsh belonging to the land of the Banū Maṭar, the Djabal Rayma and the district round ʿUdayn that are particularly celebrated for their excellent coffee. (For further information see Grohmann's book in the *Bibliography* where, too, the varieties are detailed.)

It has always been the custom in Yemen to drink preferably a decoction of the husks, which like the latter is called *ḳishr*, and is to be obtained in numerous coffee-houses (*miḳhāya*). To *ḳishr* as well as to the coffee made from beans, flavourings such as cardamom, ginger, cloves, etc., are often added.

The fresh ripe fruit is pleasing to the taste and nourishing. The eating of the *bunn*—it is not stated whether fresh or dried—is particularly recommended in a *ḳaṣīda* by Ḥamza b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Nāshirī (*Ṣafwat al-ṣafwa*, fol. 358b f.) on account of its various health-giving virtues. No information is available as to whether the custom usual among the Galla and in Kaffa of eating ground coffee mixed with butter is also usual in South Arabia. In Persia the eating of dry ground coffee is not unusual.

For Arabic and Persian works on coffee in addition to those quoted above and in the *Bibliography*, see Ahlwardt, *Verzeichn. der arab. Handschr. ... zu Berlin*, nos. 5476-5480; Pertsch, *Die arab. Handschr. ... zu Gotha*, nos. 94(9), 2105-2109, 2777; *Cat. Cod. Orient. Bibl. Acad. Lugduno-Batavae*, iii, no. 1401; Brockelmann, II, 414 and 437, no. 16.

Ḳahwa is also the name of the room in which coffee is served and thus comes to mean "reception-room" and "coffee-house". The word is also used in the sense of "tip" and "present".—On coffee-houses in the East, see the works mentioned below by Olearius, Chardin, Russell, von Hammer, Snouck Hurgronje.—On coffee-vessels see Lane, Snouck-Hurgronje, von Oppenheim, Socin, Euting, Landberg.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned above: ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī al-Djazīrī, *ʿUmdat al-ṣafwa fī ḥill al-ḳahwa*, partly ed. in De Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*, 2nd ed. Paris 1826, i, text 138 ff., tr. 412 ff.; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir b. Shaykh... b. al-ʿAydarūs, *Ṣafwat al-ṣafwa fī bayān ḥukm al-ḳahwa*, Ms. Berlin, Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis*, No. 5479 (Brockelmann, II, 536-7); Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddīḳī (his authorship is evident from Ms. Leiden 1742, fol. 108a), *Iṣṭifāʾ* (var.: Aṣfā) *al-Ṣafwa li-taṣfiyat al-ḳahwa*, Ms. Leiden 1138 (*Cat. Cod. Orient.*, iv, 161); Dāʾūd al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkirat ūli 'l-albāb wa-'l-djāmiʿ lil-ʿadjab al-ʿudjāb*, Cairo 1294, i, 121 f. (s.v. *bunn*), cf. 369 (s.v. *ḳahwa*); *TA*, ix, 145 *infra*, x, 308 *infra*; *K. al-Dhakhāʾir wa'l-tuḥaf*, quoted in Goldziher, *Abhandl. z. arab.* Philol., Leiden 1899, ii. LXXXVIII; Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad al-Shardjī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-khawāṣṣ*, Cairo 1321, 100; ʿAlawī b. Aḥmad al-Saḳḳāf (wrote in 1295/1878), *Risāla fī Ḳamʿ al-shahwa ʿan tanāwul al-tunbāk wa 'l-kafta wa 'l-ḳāt wa 'l-ḳahwa*, Cairo 1302, 8-10; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihānnumā*, Istanbul 1145, 535-6 (French tr. in De Sacy, *Chrest.*, i, 480-3: cf. also Hammer-Purgstall, *Literaturgesch. der Araber*, vii, Vienna 1856, 435); Pečewī, *Tārīkh*, Istanbul 1283, i, 363-5; Naʿīmā, *Tārīkh*, Istanbul 1140, i, 551-4; Rāshid, *Tārīkh*, Istanbul 1282, ii, 425 f., v, 144 f.; Meḥmed Ḥafīd b. Muṣṭafā, *al-Durar al-muntakhabāt al-manthūra fī iṣlāḥ al-ghalaṭāṭ al-mashhūra*, Istanbul 1221, 367 f.; al-Fīrūzābādī, *Ḳāmūs*, Turk. tr. by ʿAṣīm Efendi, Istanbul 1230-33, iii, 911; Aḥmed Rāshid, *Tārīkh-i Yemen we-Ṣanʿāʾ*, Istanbul 1291, ii, 312-5 (cf. Barbier de Meynard, *Notice sur l'Arabie méridionale* in *Publ. de l'Ecole des Langues orient. viv.*, 2nd Ser., ix, 103-195); L. Rauwolf, *Aigentliche beschreibung der Raisz, ...*, [Laugingen] 1582, 102; Prosper Alpinus, *De Plantis Aegypti Liber* etc., Venice 1592, f. 26, Cap. xvi; Observations by Veslingius thereon in the Padua edition, 1640; P. Della Valle, *Viaggi*, Brighton 1843, i, 51, 74-76; A. Olearius, *Offt begehrte Beschreibung der neuen orientalischen Reise* etc., Schlesswig 1647, 421, 422 f.; Thévenot, *Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant*, Paris 1664, 62-64; idem, *Suite du Voyage de Levant*, Paris 1674, 40, 71; Chardin, *Voyages en Perse*, ed. Langlès, Paris 1811, ii, 279-81, iv, 67-69; E. Kaempfer, *Amoenitates exoticae*, Lemgo 1712, 123; La Roque, *Voyage de l'Arabie Heureuse*, Amsterdam 1716, 234 ff. (*Mémoire concernant l'arbre et le fruit du café* and *Traité historique de l'origine et du progrès du café* etc.); Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, 55 f., 144, 221 f., 226 f., 228 f., 234-58 *passim*, 281 *infra*; idem, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien*, Copenhagen 1774, i, 145, 146 f., 173 f., 305 f., 313, 318 f., 324 infra, 334, 336, 343, 354, 433, 438 ff.; A. Russell, *The Natural History of Aleppo*, 2nd ed. London 1794, i, 23, 119 f., 146 ff., 372 f.;

M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire othoman*, ii, Paris 1790, 123-6; Hammer-Purgstall, *GOR*, i, 153, iii, 486, 487 f., cf. 764 f., iv, 606 cf. v. 171, v. 161 f., 464, 529, cf. 713, vi, 219, 644 f., vii, 242; idem, *Constantinopolis und der Bosporos*, Pest 1822, i, 527 ff.; E. W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, 3rd ed., London 1842, i, 205-7, ii, 36-39; Ch. J. Cruttenden, *Narrative of a Journey from Mokhá to Ṣan'á*, in *Journ. of the Roy. Geogr. Soc. of London*, viii (1838), 268, 272, 277 f., 279, 284, 285; J. E. van der Trappen, *Specimen historico-medicum de Coffea* (Diss., Trajecti ad Rhenum (Utrecht) 1843); C. Ritter, *Die Erdkunde*, xii, Berlin 1846, 771 ff., 874 ff., xiii, (1847), 535 ff.; Haneberg, in *ZDMG*., vii, 25 ff.; J. E. Polak, *Persien*, Leipzig 1865, ii, 266 f.; Palgrave, *Narrative of a Year's Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia*, London 1865, i, 49 ff., 423 ff.; R. Manzoni, *El Yèmen*, Rome 1884, 9 f., 219 ff., 350 f., 382-4; L. W. C. van den Berg, *Le Ḥadhramout* etc., Batavia 1886, 68 f.; E. Glaser, *Von Ḥodeida nach Ṣan'a*, in *Mitt.*, 1886, 33 f., 36, 39; idem, *Über meine Reisen in Arabien, Mitt. d. K.K. Geogr. Gesellsch. in Wien*, xxx (1887), 25; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, The Hague 1889, 35, 39 note, 59, 67, 83, 96, 137, 140, 152, 154, 158, 174, 178, 182, 191, 192, 220; idem, *Mekkanische Sprichwörter* etc., The Hague 1886, 33; idem, in *Feestbundel aan Prof. M. J. de Goeje*, Leiden 1891, 29; idem, in *Intern. Arch. f. Ethnographie*, i, 1888, 148 f., nos. 12-14; Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Cambridge 1888, i, 223, 244-50, ii, 303 and see index, s.v. *Coffee*; A. Deflers, *Voyage au Yemen*, Paris 1889, 143-5; J. Euting, *Tagbuch einer Reise in Inner-Arabien*, i, Leiden 1896, 83-5, 127, 128, note 2, 178, 179; Von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, Berlin 1899-1900, i, 74, ii, 46-48; *Diwan aus Centralarabien*, coll. by A. Socin, publ. by H. Stumme (*Abhandl. d. K. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch.*, phil.-hist. Cl., xix, 1900-1), i, Nr. 22 and Excurs Q; Landberg, *Etudes sur les dialectes de l'Arabie Méridionale*, Leiden 1901-13, i, 337, 376, 460, note, ii, 56-61, 212-26, 1055-81, 1087 ff., idem, *Arabica*, Nr. v, Leiden 1898, p. 160 f.; W. Schmidt, *Das südwestl. Arabien*, Frankfurt on M. 1913, 44 f., 79 f., 82-4, 103 f., 120 f.; *A Handbook of Arabia*, comp. by the Geogr. Section of the Naval Intelligence Division, London n.d., i, 136, 155 f., 158, 172 f., 183, 189, 190 and see index; A. Grohmann, *Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet*, Vienna 1922, 239 ff.; H. Welter, *Essai sur l'histoire du café*, Paris 1868; E. Jardin, *Le caféier et le café*, Paris 1895; Z. Kamerling in K. W. v. Gorkom, *Oost-Indische Cultures*, publ. by H. C. Prinsen Geerligs, 2nd ed., Amsterdam 1917-19, ii, 183 ff.; F. J. Bieber, *Kaffa*, i, Münster i. W. 1920, 246, 253, 254, 257, 376 ff.; R. Dozy, *Oosterlingen*, The Hague 1867, 55; H. Lammens, *Remarques sur les mots dérivés de l'Arabe*, Beirut 1890, 65 f. The following were not accessible to the writer: A. F. Naironi, *De saluberrima potione cahue seu cafe nuncupata discursus*, Rome 1661; L. F. Marsigli, *Bevanda asiatica . . . l'istoria medica del cave o sia caffe*, Vienna 1685; A. Galland, *De l'origine et du progrès du caffé*, Caen 1669; new ed. 1836; J. Ellis, *An historical account of coffee*, London 1774.

(C. van Arendonk*)

Trade with Europe

The arrival of European merchants in Mukhā and the Red Sea in general was significant for the coffee trade in more than one way. Hitherto, the southern Yemen together with some areas of Ethiopia had supplied the entire Islamic world with coffee beans. Indeed, the Yemeni rulers passed stringent rules against any attempts made by foreigners to export coffee seeds and seedlings (see Ellis, 29). But with the rapid spread of the habit of coffee drinking in Europe and other parts of the world during the 17th and 18th centuries and the consequent rise in demand, the monopoly enjoyed by the coffee growing areas of the Red Sea was broken for ever, and its cultivation extended to Ceylon, Java, the Caribbean and South America (*India Office Records*, London, letter of 22 August 1732; *Factory Records Egypt*, vol. 2, no. 301, 160). Another unlooked-for consequence was the greater availability of documentation on the volume and structure of trade, which the purely Islamic sources seem to lack. The descriptions left by European travellers and traders and the records of the English and Dutch East India Companies not only provide general accounts of the trading conditions at Mukhā and Bayt al-Faķīh, the chief centres of the coffee trade, but also detailed information on exports of various nations, prices, methods of purchase, commercial regulations, the areas of coffee growth, and the economics of marketing. There can be little doubt that coffee was one of the most valuable commodities entering the international trade of the Middle East and played a vital part in the flow of silver specie it ins eastward journey from Europe to India, bringing in the process considerable prosperity to regions that had few alternative sources of wealth.

The existence of coffee as a plant and a beverage became known in Europe towards the end of the 16th century. Jean de La Roque, who wrote the first scholarly historical treatise on the origins of coffee both in the Near East and Europe, attributed its first botanical reference to Prosper Alpinus, whose book was published in Venice in 1592. The work of Alpinus went through several editions in the 17th century and was followed by the treatises of Philip-Sylvester Dufour, Nicholas de Blegny and John Ray. The interest aroused by Arabian coffee among the scientific world of Europe was matched by its economic and commercial prospects as seen by merchants. As early as 1609-10 the ships of the English East India Company were sent to Mukhā to inquire about trading possibilities, and the commander of the Sixth Voyage, Sir Henry Middleton, succeeded in making a journey to Ṣanʿāʾ (*The First Letter Book*, 240). In 1616, the Dutch merchant, Pieter van den Broecke, learned about coffee at Mukhā and managed to obtain very favourable commercial terms from the *imām*, much to the surprise and annoyance of Arabian, Persian and Indian merchants at Ṣanʿāʾ (F. de Haan, *Priangan*, iii, 804; K. Glamann, 183; E. Macro, 37). But it was not until the middle of the century that coffee appears to have been regularly imported into Europe by the Cape route. In the 1660s coffee was sold under the name of "coho seeds" in the public sales of the English East India Company in London, while the first reference to "cauwa de Mocha" in the Amsterdam auctions of the Dutch Company occurs in 1661-62 (*A Calendar*, 27; Glamann, 183).

Although the servants of the Dutch East India Company were perfectly aware of the economic importance of coffee in Middle East trade and often exported it from Mukhā to other Asian ports, they made little effort to import it to Europe on a regular basis before 1690 (*Dagh-Register 1664*, 311). In contrast, the English imports were much greater during this period and there were few years between

1664 and 1700 when coffee was not imported and sold in London. In 1664 the total quantity listed in the account books amounted to 44,912 lb. valued at £ 1,138, while in 1690 there was a peak import of 298,816 lb. worth £ 9,821 (*India Office Records*, London, vols. 26 etc.). In the first half of the next century the average annual imports were well over a million lb., the peak being reached in 1724 when the total imports were 2.67 million lb. The English sources also provide interesting information on the total exports of coffee from Yemen and the share of the different trading groups in the total. In 1726, for example, out of a total estimated export of 19,267 bales (each bale containing approximately 280 lb.), the Arab and Turkish merchants handled 10,330 bales or 54 per cent. The next largest exports were those of the English, both the Company and private, with 5020 bales (26 per cent), followed by the Dutch with 2000 bales (10 per cent), the French (1300 bales or 7 per cent), and the Persian and Indian merchants with 617 bales (3 per cent). However, it is probable that these figures were either underestimated or the season for this year was exceptionally bad. For in 1731 the chief merchant of the English factory stated that in good years the quantity of coffee exported varied between 60,000 and 70,000 bales, although in none of the actual reports sent home by the servants of the East India Company do the exports ever exceed 40,000 bales (*Factory Records Egypt*, vol. 1, no. 201, p. 518; vol. 2, no. 261, pp. 79-80). A possible explanation for the discrepancy lies in the difference between the weight of coffee in an English bale and in an indigenous bale, the latter being much smaller. (For the weights and measures of Mukhā, see *Factory Records Egypt*, vol. 2, no. 209, p. 11, no. 311, p. 106). It is evident from these and other figures that even at the height of the European trade in Yemen, the share of the Middle East as a consumer of coffee was overwhelmingly large. But with European demand at 40 per cent, its effect was both a rapid increase in cultivation and a progressive rise in the price of coffee. In 1672, a year of high demand, the price of coffee in Mukhā was 45 Spanish dollars per *bahar* (approximately 450 lb.). In the 18th century coffee was frequently sold at 100 dollars and in years of short harvest the price could rise to well over 170 dollars per *bahar* (*Factory Records Surat*, 16 Sept. 1672, vol. 3, fol. 16; Ovington, 271; *Factory Records Egypt*, vol. 1, no. 29, p. 56; vol. 2, nos. 334, 342, 344, 348 pp. 302, 324, 330, 342; *Abstract*, vol. 449, p. 496). The Turkish and Arab merchants seem to have purchased their coffee exclusively in the great inland mart of Bayt al-Faḳīh [*q.v.*] and seldom used Mukhā. Coffee was brought down to the coast by camels and shipped off through the ports of Luḥayya and al-Ḥudayda. According to Ovington, Luḥayya came into prominence when the trade of Mukhā was disrupted by English warships during the short war with the Mughal emperor in 1687-88 (Ovington, 273). But it is also possible that the proximity of al-Ḥudayda and Luḥayya to Djudda, which was the main intermediate market for coffee in the Middle East, was the reason why these ports were used by the Muslim merchants in preference to Mukhā. Coffee was distributed in the Ottoman Empire through two separate routes. The most important one was through the Djudda, Suez, and Cairo, but substantial quantities also went through Baṣra and up the Euphrates. The demand in India and Persia was small and seldom exceeded 500 bales unless the Sūrat merchants were especially commissioned by the European trading companies in western India to purchase coffee on their behalf. However, with the increase in the consumption of coffee in Europe towards the end of the 17th century, the chartered companies fell into the practice of buying coffee directly in Mukhā. The Dutch Company re-opened its factory in Mukhā in 1696 after previously closing it in 1684 (Glamann, 186, 188). The English East India Company had sent their servants from Sūrat to Mukhā during the trading season and had also despatched ships direct from London with supercargoes who had the responsibility of purchasing coffee in Yemen. But in 1716 the Bombay Council decided to establish a permanent factory in Mukhā with the aim of buying coffee all the year round and thus avoiding the high prices of the main trading season (*Bombay Public Proceedings*, 6 February 1716, vol. 4; *Abstract*, vol. 449, para. 49, p. 229). From Mukhā it was only a short step to Bayt al-Faḳīh, and during the early 18th century English, Dutch and French merchants regularly made their appearance alongside the Arab, Turkish and Indian traders in the coffee market of the inland town.

One of the reasons why the directors of the English East India Company had hesitated before opening a regular trading post at Mukhā was the fear of religious intolerance and on one occasion it was definitely stated that the Muslim pilgrims on the Ḥadjdj considered it a meritorious deed to insult and abuse any Christians they met with in the Red Sea area (Court of Directors' letter to Bombay Council, 17 April 1701, Despatch Book, vol. 93, para. 56, p. 223). But the Company's servants who had closer acquaintance with the actual conditions in Yemen took a different view and considered that the treatment of Europeans there was in no way different from the treatment of the Christians in Europe (*Factory Records Egypt*, vol. 1, no. 5, p. 23). Indeed, the commercial terms on which the Europeans were allowed to trade in Mukhā and Bayt al-Faḳīh were consistently more favourable than those given to the indigenous or Indian merchants. The export duty paid by the former was only 3 per cent *ad valorem* while the latter paid 5 per cent (Hamilton, i, 36). In addition, after the civil war of the late 1720s in Yemen, the new *imām* allowed the European companies to export 500 bales of coffee duty-free each year (*Factory Records Egypt*, vol. 2, no. 211, p. 19). It is true that the formal commercial capitulations given out at Ṣanʿāʾ were often violated by the local governors who demanded additional payments for themselves, and the sellers of coffee to some extent had to make up the fiscal loss in the shape of a special levy on coffee sold to the Europeans. In 1721, for instance, it was reported from Mukhā that very little coffee had come onto the market that season because the normal excise duty of one dollar per *bahar* had been suddenly raised to five dollars (*Abstract*, vol. 449, para. 8, p. 406). In Bayt al-Faḳīh, according to La Roque, the tax was paid only by the seller (La Roque, 105). That the coffee trade yielded to the local rulers a lucrative source of income is shown by the high transit duty imposed on it by the governors of Mecca and Djudda and the pasha of Egypt, who raised the duty to 12 1/2 per cent in 1699 (Alg. Rijksarchief, The Hague, Koloniale Arch. Oost-Indië en de Kaap, no. 1810, 7 and 10 July 1719; Glamann, 192). There was also evidence that the Porte was alarmed by the effect of European competition on the trade of the Turkish merchants and sent several diplomatic missions to Yemen to try to persuade the *imām* to prohibit the export of coffee by the Europeans. The missions ended in failure when the *imām* demanded a compensatory income equal to the duty and the total purchase

value paid by the Europeans (*ibid.*). It is no exaggeration to state that the place formerly occupied by pepper and spices in the Levant trade was in some measure taken by coffee.

The international demand and the commercial expertise of the visiting merchants were responsible for creating a fairly sophisticated organization in the coffee trade. Very little information is available on the economic structure of its cultivation, but it seems that coffee was grown mostly by smallholders who brought the ripened and dried berries to the market themselves, although there were also large growers who employed the big merchants of Bayt al-Faḳīh to market their products (*Factory Records Egypt*, vol. 1, no. 166, p. 481). The markets of Mukhā and Bayt al-Faḳīh were served by distinct and separate growing areas, the supplies coming to Mukhā being from villages to the south. The areas supplying Bayt al-Faḳīh were much more extensive and varied from one and a half day's journey from the latter to six days. The best coffee came from Wosab and Saffal, but the output of this type was generally small. The next grade purchased by the Europeans was grown in Harrass, Rimah, Himmah and Doran, while coffee from Selba, Sinan and Aden was brought to the market in a very dirty condition and seldom bought for Europe (*Factory Records Egypt*, vol. 1, no. 19, p. 42). The beans were nearly always cleaned and given an initial degree of processing before being sold, although in years of high demand they could be offered "ungarbled" and protests made by the English and the Dutch against such practices met with the rejoinder from the governors that they could not compel their subjects to sell coffee only in a particular state if the Turkish and other merchants were prepared to buy what was offered (*Factory Records Egypt*, vol. 2, no. 319, p. 227).

The main trading season in Mukhā and other ports extended from March to August, when ships from Suez, Djudda, Baṣra and Sūrat arrived to buy coffee and exchange their cargoes of foodstuffs and Indian piece goods as well as European woollen goods. The coffee market was particularly sensitive to the timing of the ships' arrival and departure, and the mere rumour of the sighting of a European or Turkish merchantman at sea could send up the price at Bayt al-Faḳīh or lead to the withholding of supplies from the market in the hope of higher prices. On several occasions the Dutch servants made competitive bids, but each time gave way before the higher bids of other Europeans and ended up without purchasing any coffee. It was only later that the servants of the English Company discovered that this was a deliberate plan in order to keep up the price of Yemen coffee, so that the product of their own plantations in Java could be sold more advantageously in the home market (*Factory Records Egypt*, vol. 2, no. 216, p. 9). But in general the most important influence governing the price at Mukhā or Bayt al-Faḳīh was the wholesale price obtaining at Djudda and Cairo, the Yemeni merchants keeping themselves fully informed by a system of local correspondence. One of the by-products of the coffee trade was a very large influx of precious metals, largely silver, into the Red Sea area, which enabled the traders to import luxury goods from India and elsewhere, and the Indian ships returning to Sūrat mostly carried specie. There was also an active banking system and the European companies frequently supplemented their import of treasure with funds obtained by purchasing bills of exchange in the local capital market, which were later repaid in Sūrat.

Bibliography: *India Office Records*, London, General Ledgers and Commerce Journal, vols. 26, 27, 28, 30, 32, 34, 38, 40, 42 (the Series starts from 1664); *Factory Records Egypt and the Red Sea*; J. Ellis, *An historical account of Coffee*, London 1774; Jean de La Roque, *A Treatise concerning the Tree and Fruit of Coffee*, in *A Voyage to Arabia Foelix through the Eastern Ocean and the Red Sea being the first made by the French in the years 1708, 1709 and 1710* (first published in French in Amsterdam in 1716); *Prosperi Alpini De Plantis Aegypti liber ... accessit etiam liber de balsamo alias editus*, Venice 1592; Philip-Sylvester Dufour, *Traitez du Café, du Thé et du Chocolat*, Lyon 1585; Nicholas de Blegny, *Le Bon Usage du thé, du caffé et du chocolat pour la préservation et pour la guérison des maladies*, Paris 1687; John Ray, *Universal History of Plants*, London 1687; *The First Letter Book of the East India Company 1600-1619*, ed. George Birdwood and William Foster, London 1892 (for Sir Henry Middleton's account of the journey to Ṣanʿāʾ, see La Roque, *A Voyage to Arabia*, 1742 ed.); F. de Haan, *Priangan. De Preanger-regentschappen onder het Nederlands Bestuur tot 1811*, 4 vols., Batavia 1910-12; Kristof Glamann, *Dutch Asiatic Trade 1620-1740*, Copenhagen-The Hague 1958; Eric Macro, *Bibliography on Yemen and Notes on Mocha*, Florida 1960; *A Calendar of the Court Minutes of the East India Company 1660-1663*, ed. Ethel Bruce Sainsbury, Oxford 1922; *Dagh-Register gehouden in 't Casteel Batavia, anno 1664*, ed. I. A. van der Chijs, Batavia-'s-Gravenhage 1893; John Ovington, *A Voyage to Surat in the year 1689*, ed. H. G. Rawlinson, London 1929; *Abstract of Letters received from Bombay*; Alexander Hamilton, *A new account of the East Indies*, ed. Sir William Foster, 2 vols., London 1930.

(K. N. Chaudhuri)

KAḤYĀ (Ketkhudā) or **DJENĀZE ḤASAN PASHA**, Ottoman grand vizier under Sultan Selīm III. A slave of Circassian origin, he served different Ottoman dignitaries until he became *kaḥyā* (*ketkhudā* [*q.v.*]) of Melek Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*], thus being known later as Ketkhudā Ḥasan Pasha. His military skill first became evident during the Greek rebellion in Morea, when as *mütesellim* of Tripolitza he defeated the rebels besieging the town on 23 Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 1183/19 April 1770. He was appointed commander of the fortress Vidīn with the title of vizier in Muḥarram 1202/November 1787 while Melek Meḥmed Pasha became *serʿasker* of Vidīn. On the latter's dismissal in Rabīʿ II 1202/January 1788, Ḥasan Pasha succeeded him. During the Russian and Austrian war his victories in the summer of 1788 at Orsova, Mehadiya and Sebes against the Austrians won him such a reputation that the new sultan, Selīm III [*q.v.*], appointed him grand vizier on 3 Ramaḍān 1203/28 May 1789. As he was ill, he arrived at the army headquarters in Rusčuk on a stretcher, thus acquiring his second nickname of Djenāze (corpse). His grand vizierate proved to be unhappy. Indeed an Ottoman army under the command of Kemānkesh Muṣṭafā Pasha was beaten by the Austro-Russian allies at Fokshani on 9 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda/1 August. Furthermore, the main army under his own command was defeated at Martineshti, near the Rimnik River, on 2 Muḥarram 1204/22 September 1789. With the ensuing capture of Belgrade and Bucharest by the Austrians and that of Akkerman and Bender by the Russians, Ḥasan was dismissed from the grand vizierate on 5 Rabīʿ I/23 November and replaced by Djezāʾirli Ghāzī Ḥasan Pasha [*q.v.*], who had success-

fully defended Ismāʿīl against the Russians. Nominated commander of Rusčuk, he was exiled to Bozdja-Ada (Tenedos) in Djumādā I/January 1790. Two years later, in Dhu'l-Ḳaʿda 1206/June 1792, he was appointed governor of Silistre, but was later transferred to Crete. He was governor of the Morea when the French landed in Alexandria on 1 July 1798. After a period of retirement in Yeñi-Shehir (Larissa), he later became commander of Bender, but a sudden attack by the Russians obliged him to surrender it on 27 Ramaḍān 1221/8 December 1806 and he was taken to Russia as a prisoner-of-war. After being released, he lived in Yeñi-Shehir until his death around 1225/1810. Although a brave soldier, he possessed the qualities neither of a military leader nor of a statesman.

Bibliography: de Salaberry, *Histoire de l'Empire ottoman*, Paris 1824, iv, 128 ff.; Aḥmed Djāwīd, *Ḥadīḳat al-wuzarā'*, appendix II, 40 f.; Zinkeisen, vi, 666 ff.; Djewdet, *Taʾrīkh*², iv, 33, 60-88, 306-39, v, 4-6, 273, vi, 330, viii, 95-9; *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, ii, 164; İ. H. Uzunçarsılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Ankara 1956-59, iv/1-2, index; S. J. Shaw, *Between old and new; the Ottoman Empire under Sultan Selim III, 1789-1807*, Cambridge, Mass. 1971, index.

(E. Kuran)

ḲĀʾID (A.), an imprecise term, but one always used to designate a military leader whose rank might vary from captain to general. Semantically, it is the equivalent of the Latin *dux*. The plural most frequently employed by historians is *ḳuwwād*.

For the army in Muslim Spain, this title corresponded to general or even commander-in-chief. In the navy, *ḳāʾid al-usṭūl* (= *ḳāʾid ʿala 'l-usṭūl*) or *ḳāʾid al-baḥr* (= *ḳāʾid ʿala 'l-baḥr, ḳāʾid fi 'l-baḥr*) was equivalent to "admiral". But Ibn Khaldūn intimates that the term current among sailors of his day was *al-miland* (pronounced with a back *lām*), a Catalan loan-word (*lughat al-Ifrandja*) which is evidently related to the Castilian and Portuguese *almirante*. The *ḳāʾid al-asāṭīl* was the admiral-in-chief. On a warship the *ḳāʾid* commanded the fighting men on board (*muḳātilūn*) while the *raʾīs* directed the actual handling of the ship by the sailors (*baḥriyyūn*).

In Morocco under the Saʿdids, *ḳāʾid* denoted a general, and *ḳāʾid al-ʿaskar* or *ḳāʾid al-ḳuwwād* was used for commander-in-chief.

After the establishment of the tribal *djīsh* [see djaysh, iii], the commander of each of the militarized tribes was given the title of *ḳāʾid* or *bāshā*. Beneath him were the *ḳāʾid raḥā*, who led a unit of 500 men (*makhāzinīyya*) and the *ḳāʾid miʾa*, who commanded 100 men. In large cities a military governor, called *ḳāʾid al-madina* or *ḳāʾid al-ḳaṣaba* (*al-ḥākim* is also found), was responsible for dealing with cases of murder, theft and offences against public morality (cf. the Spanish *alcaide*). The *ḳāʾid al-dawr* or "chief of the watch" was responsible for keeping watch at night; under his command were the *dawwāra* (sing. *dawwār*).

At the court of the ʿAlawid sultans, the *ḳāʾid al-mashwar* directed the external administration of the palace (the internal administration was the responsibility of the chamberlain, *ḥādjib* [*q.v.*]). He performed the duties of a master of ceremonies, putting into the appropriate hands correspondence addressed to the sultan and admitting to his presence those ambassadors and dignatories who had been granted audience. Under his command was a troop of horsemen, called *mashāwiriyya*, whom he employed as couriers on confidential missions.

Each of the departments of the palace (*ṭāʾifa*, pl. *ṭawāʾif*; *ḥanṭa*, pl. *ḥanāṭī*), internal and external, was directed by a special *ḳāʾid* (dialect pl. *ḳuyyād*).

The non-militarized tribes, who were liable to a land-tax known as *nāʾiba*, were governed by a *ḳāʾid*, usually one of the notables of the tribe. The office went to the most open-handed candidate, who was chosen by the *ḳāʾid al-mashwar*. Appointed for an indeterminate period, the *ḳāʾid* of a tribe risked dismissal if a more generous candidate were to make an offer to the palace. The new *ḳāʾid* was given a warrant (*ẓahīr*) of investiture, a horse, a tent of state (*ḳubba*) and a round seal (*ṭābaʿ*) made of silver. On its top half was inscribed *khadīm* (or *waṣif*) *al-maḳām al-ʿālī bi 'llāh*, and on its lower half, under a horizontal line, the name of the *ḳāʾid* followed by *waffaḳahu 'llāh*. Since the letters were cut into the seal, when it was smeared with greasy ink the text stood out in white on the paper.

The *ḳāʾid*'s duties were of three types: fiscal, judicial and, in a subordinate sense, military. He was responsible for allotting and collecting the normal and special taxes. He had to ensure public security and pass judgment in all cases which did not come under the jurisdiction of the *ḳāḍī*. Finally, it was he who had to raise the auxiliary troops demanded of the tribe to make up the strength of the regular army. As they were sent in a *ḥarka* (= classical *ḥaraka*), these militiamen were called *ḥurrāk* (sing. *ḥārik*).

The *ḳāʾid* was assisted in his duties by a lieutenant (*khalīfa*), who was frequently a member of his family. To carry out his orders, arrest offenders, etc., he had at his disposal a number of mounted policemen (*makhāziniyya*). He also nominated a *shaykh* to take charge of the concerns of each section of the tribe.

Whenever a powerful *ḳāʾid* was removed from office and the government deemed it dangerous for him to dwell within his native tribe, he was compelled to live at court, with the honour due to his rank. Such a powerless *ḳāʾid* was known as a *ḳāʾid raʾsih* (dialect *ḳāid rāso*), "governor of himself".

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, Būlāḳ 1274, 123; tr. Slane, ii 37; *AM*, iv (1905), 135, xx, 141.

(G. S. Colin)

ḲĀʾIF [see ḳiyāfa].

ḲĀʾIM ĀL MUḤAMMAD, "the Ḳāʾim of the family of Muḥammad", in Shīʿī terminology commonly denotes the Mahdī [*q.v.*]. The term *ḳāʾim*, "riser", was used in Shīʿī circles at least from the early 2nd/8th century on in referring to the member of the family of the Prophet who was expected to rise against the illegitimate regime and restore justice on earth, evidently in contrast to the *ḳāʿid*, or "sitting", members of the family, who refused to be drawn into ventures of armed revolt. The term thus was often qualified as *al-Ḳāʾim bi 'l-sayf*, "the one who shall rise with the sword". It also appears frequently qualified as *al-Ḳāʾim bi-amr Allāh* meaning both "the one who shall rise by the order of God" and "the one who carries out the order of God". With the latter connotation the term could be applied to any *imām*. Thus some Imāmī *ḥadīth*s stress that every *imām* is the Ḳāʾim of his age (*Ḳāʾim ahl zamānihi*). In its specific sense the term meant, however, the eschatological Mahdī, who as such was sometimes called *Ḳāʾim* (more commonly: *Ṣāḥib*) *al-zamān*, "the Lord of the (final) age". Various early Shīʿī sects expected the return of the last *imām* recognized by them, whose death they usually denied, in the role of the Ḳāʾim. In Imāmī and Ismāʿīlī usage the term Ḳāʾim has widely replaced that of Mahdī.

Among the Imāmiyya, whose *imāms*, especially

from Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ [*q.v.*] on, made it a principle to refuse involvement in revolutionary activities, numerous traditions were related concerning the rising (*ḳiyām*) of the expected Ḳāʾim *imām*, the signs (*ʿalāmāt*) indicating his appearance, his acts and his conduct. After the death of the eleventh *imām*, the twelfth, Hidden *Imām* was identified with the Ḳāʾim who on his appearance will fulfill the predictions about his actions and miracles. Imāmī doctrine distinguishes between inevitable (*maḥtūma*) signs for the coming of the Ḳāʾim and conditional (*mus̲h̲taraṭa*) ones which may be cancelled by God. The traditions do not fully agree as to which signs are inevitable. Most often mentioned are: 1. The coming of the Yamānī who shall appear in the Yaman calling for the support of the Ḳāʾim; 2. the appearance of the Sufyānī [*q.v.*] who will rise in the Dry Wādī (*al-Wādī al-Yābis*) in the month of Radjab in the same year as the Ḳāʾim and will seize Damascus and the five provinces of Syria before being killed by the Ḳāʾim; 3. a voice (*nidāʾ* or *ṣayḥa*) from heaven calling the name of the Ḳāʾim; 4. the swallowing up (*k̲h̲asf*) of an army sent by the Sufyānī against the Ḳāʾim in the desert (*al-baydāʾ*); and 5. the killing of the Pure Soul (*ḳatl al-nafs al-zakiyya*), whom the Ḳāʾim will send to Mecca as a messenger, by the Meccans between the *Rukn* and the *Maḳām*. Connected with the coming of the Ḳāʾim in Imāmī doctrine is the *radjʿa* [*q.v.*], the return to life of some of the wicked and the righteous of earlier generations, giving the latter the chance of taking revenge for the injuries they had previously suffered. The Ḳāʾim is expected to proceed from Mecca where he will reside and rule the world. His reign, according to a well-attested tradition, will last seven years, each of which will be like ten years of the normal time scale. According to another tradition he will rule nineteen years. Although some traditions speak of the reign of a son of the Ḳāʾim, the majority affirm that there will be only forty days of turmoil after the passing of the Ḳāʾim until the Resurrection and the Judgment.

Ismāʿīlī doctrine added a further dimension to the concept of the Ḳāʾim describing him as *Ḳāʾim al-ḳiyāma*, "the Ḳāʾim of the Resurrection", who shall act as the Judge of mankind, and attributing a cosmic rank to him above that of prophets and imāms. For details see ISMĀʿĪLIYYA, *Doctrine*. Druze doctrine recognizes Ḥamza b. ʿAlī as the *Ḳāʾim al-zamān*. See DURŪZ.

Bibliography: For Imāmī *ḥadīt̲h̲* and doctrine see especially: al-Nuʿmānī, *al-G̲h̲ayba*, Tehran 1318; Ibn Bābūya, *Ikmāl al-dīn*, Tehran 1301, 364 ff.; al-S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Mufīd, *al-Irs̲h̲ād*, al-Nadjaf 1382/1962, 346 ff.; Abū Djaʿfar al-Ṭūsī, *al-G̲h̲ayba*, al-Nadjaf 1385; al-Madjlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, Tehran 1305, xi-xiii; al-Sayyid Muḥsin al-Amīn al-ʿĀmilī, *Aʿyān al-s̲h̲īʿa*, iv/2, Damascus 1937, 470 ff.

(W. MADELUNG)

AL-ḲĀʾIM BI-AMR ALLĀH, 26th ʿAbbāsid caliph, whose rule lasted from 422/1031 to 467/1075, corresponding with the end of the Buwayhid period and the beginnnig of the Saldjūḳ period in ʿIrāḳ. Born in 391/1001, the son of an Armenian concubine, he was named heir shortly before the death of his father, al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*] and succeeded to the throne unopposed. The usual oath of allegiance was taken on 13 D̲h̲u' l-Ḥidjdja 422/12 December 1031.

At this period, although the caliph had only very limited personal resources at his command, he had recovered a measure of freedom, to the extent that he was able to arbitrate in the rivalry between the Buwayhid amīrs. The *amīr al-umarāʾ* Djalāl al-Dawla [*q.v.*] was in fact threatened by his nephew, Abū Kālīdjār [*q.v.*], ruler of Fārs, and was trying to impose his authority. As early as 423/1032, al-Ḳāʾim entrusted the jurist al-Māwardī with a confidential mission to Abū Kālīdjār, refusing to grant the latter any title but that of Malik al-Dawla; soon after, Djalāl al-Dawla, who had incited the Turks against the caliph, was reconciled with al-Ḳāʾim and even agreed, after an incident which cast doubt on the morality of the amīr, to apologize to him. A few years later, in 428/1032, Djalāl al-Dawla had Abū Kālīdjār recognized as his delegate, then requested new titles, those of *s̲h̲āhāns̲h̲āh al-aʿẓam* and *malik al-mulūk*; in spite of hostile public opinion, the caliph awarded these exceptional titles to the amīr after he had obtained the consent of the principal *fuḳahāʾ* (429/1038). The situation remained tense, from a political as much as from a religious point of view, and in 432/1091 al-Ḳāʾim thought it opportune to give a new reading of his father's profession of faith, *al-risāla al-ḳādiriyya*. Then in 434/1043 he had to make a vigorous protest against Djalāl al-Dawla's wish to take from him the collection of taxes paid by tributaries or *djawālī*; after having threatened to leave the capital and have the mosques closed, he managed to make the *amīr al-umarāʾ* capitulate on this point.

The following year, when the authority of the caliph of Bag̲h̲dād was once again recognized in Ifrīḳiya by the Zīrid sovereigns, who had been formerly Fāṭimid vassals, and when the town of Aleppo similarly escaped from the control of the rulers of Egypt, a new problem arose through the approach of the Saldjūḳ amīrs. In 435/1044 Ṭug̲h̲rīl Beg seized the town of Rayy, and the caliph sent al-Māwardī to him as ambassador. The object of this embassy is explained in different fashions by the chroniclers, but it seems that the caliph, while bestowing the title of *mawlā Amīr al-Muʾminīn* on Ṭug̲h̲rīl Beg, wished at the same time to protest against the pillage of the recently captured town. However, the policy of keeping a balance between the Buwayhid amīr and the Saldjūḳ amīr which the caliph initiated was speedily compromised by various events.

The death of Djalāl al-Dawla in 435/1044 brought the fulfilment of Abū Kālīdjār's ambitions; proclaimed *amīr al-umarāʾ*, he received the title of *Muḥyi 'l-dīn* and applied himself to limiting the caliph's freedom of action. After first opening hostilities with Ṭug̲h̲rīl Beg, he made peace with him in 439/1048; he died soon after and was replaced by his son, who received the title of al-Malik al-Raḥīm [*q.v.*]. Until 444/1052-3, Ṭug̲h̲rīl Beg, after having seized Iṣfahān and approached ʿIrāḳ, remained at the borders of the country, where troubles multiplied: incidents between Sunnīs and S̲h̲īʿīs, agitation by the *ʿayyārūn* [*q.v.*], and Fāṭimid propaganda. When the Turkish amīr al-Basāsīrī [*q.v.*] accused the caliph's vizier, Ibn al-Muslima, of summoning the Saldjūḳs to defend the caliphate, the vizier denounced him as a Fāṭimid agent; whereupon the caliph was informed that al-Basāsīrī was preparing to overthrow him. Then, according to some chroniclers, the caliph himself or his vizier Ibn al-Muslima decided to appeal to Ṭug̲h̲rīl Beg for help. In fact, the outcome of these events suggests that the caliph, who never willingly accepted the advent of the Saldjūḳ amīr in Bag̲h̲dād, was not responsible for this action, which in any case was inevitable, whatever the vizier's true attitude might have been.

At the end of Ramaḍān 447/December 1055, Ṭug̲h̲rīl Beg entered Bag̲h̲dād, though declaring that he was simply passing through, and the *k̲h̲uṭba* was

proclaimed in his name. A few days later, on 2 S͟hawwāl/25 December, he took up residence in the "royal palace" and received from the caliph the titles of *rukn al-dīn*, *s͟hāhāns͟hāh*, and *sulṭān*. The caliph also consented, despite himself, to give Ṭug͟hrïl Beg the hand of his own daughter. Only two years later, in 449/1057, was he received in solemn audience by the caliph, who conferred on him the new title of *Malik al-mas͟hriḳ wa 'l-mag͟hrib* and gave him authority over the lands controlled by the Fāṭimid caliphs.

The rebellion of al-Basāsīrī broke out in 450/1058; for a few months the rebel succeeded in having the *k͟huṭba* pronounced in the name of the Fāṭimid caliph while Ṭug͟hrïl Beg was occupied in Iran in suppressing a revolt by his brother. Though first choosing to stay in Bag͟hdād, al-Ḳāʾim was exiled on the order of al-Basāsīrī and forced to stay for around a year at ʿĀna, while the rebel attempted to negotiate with Ṭug͟hrïl Beg and make use of his hostage to obtain various assurances from the Sald͟jūḳ sultan. Finally Ṭug͟hrïl Beg made a direct approach to the amīr who was guarding al-Ḳāʾim: he secured the freedom of the imprisoned caliph, and the death of al-Basāsīrī soon after enabled him fully to exercise his powers as sultan once again. The caliph could therefore no longer continue to play off rival amīrs one against the other and found himself confronting Sald͟jūḳ sultans as he had earlier confronted Buwayhid amīrs. The only difference, though that an important one, was that the new controller of the reins of military power supported a policy of Sunnī restoration that was closer to the caliphal position than Buwayhid policy had been.

In spite of appearances, relations between the caliph and Ṭug͟hrïl remained no less strained. The sultan's reign was dominated in this respect by his marriage with the caliph's daughter; not only did he succeed in marrying her, he also managed to take her far from Bag͟hdād in spite of her father's opposition.

The death of Ṭug͟hrïl Beg on 8 Ramaḍān 455/3 September 1063 inaugurated a somewhat confused period during which Alp Arslān [*q.v.*] was mainly concerned with eliminating his rivals and fighting the Byzantines. Al-Ḳāʾim smoothed matters for him by opposing the ambitions of the ʿUḳaylid amīrs and refusing the offer of the Kurdish amīr, Hazārasb, governor of al-Ahwāz. For his part, Alp Arslān showed himself desirous of gaining the favour of the caliph by returning his daughter to him and having imprisoned, then put to death, al-Kundurī, the former vizier of Ṭug͟hrïl Beg who had been held responsible for the intrigues leading up to the marriage. Alp Arslān was thus recognized as *āmīr al-umarāʾ* and sultan in Rabīʿ II 456/March-April 1064. He never lived in Bag͟hdād and died in Rabīʿ I/January 1073. After receiving the privilege of the *k͟huṭba* from the month of Rad͟jab, his son Malik S͟hāh [*q.v.*] obtained the official investiture from the caliph a few months later. The latter died on 12 S͟haʿbān 467/March 1073, having in the usual way named as his heir his grandson ʿUbayd Allāh, who was to take the name of al-Muḳtadī [*q.v.*]. Religious strife was a particular feature of this latter period. The foundation of the Niẓāmiyya *madrasa* in 459/1067, which was put under the direct protection of the sultan and aimed at the diffusion of S͟hāfiʿī law, triggered off the hostility of the Ḥanbalīs. Various incidents took place in the capital and the caliph, who hesitated to make a stand without consulting the sultan, was unable to control them.

Thus al-Ḳāʾim, who had followed in his father's footsteps, was unable either to restore the power of the caliph or to impose the doctrine defined in the *Risāla ḳādiriyya*; all the same, the caliphal concept had been successfully defended in his day by the first authors of treatises on public law, al-Māwardī [*q.v.*] and Ibn al-Farrāʾ [*q.v.*]. It was up to his successors to try to pursue his policy.

Bibliography: The main chronicles are Ibn al-D͟jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*; Sibṭ Ibn al-D͟jawzī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān*, Ms. Paris BN, ar. 1506; Ibn al-At͟hīr; *Ak͟hbār al-dawla al-sald͟jūḳiyya*, Lahore 1933; Houtsma, *Recueil*, ii, 11-51. See also H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig*, Beirut 1966, *passim*; G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl*, Damascus 1963, *passim*; E. Tyan, *Institutions du droit public musulman*, ii, *Sultanat et califat*, Paris 1957, *passim*.

(D. SOURDEL)

AL-ḲĀʾIM (BI-AMR ALLĀH), second caliph of the Fāṭimid [*q.v.*] dynasty. One of the less illustrious members of the dynasty, his name evokes the memory of grave defeats and is eclipsed by that of the "man on the donkey", the famous Abū Yazīd [*q.v.*].

As a ruler, however, al-Ḳāʾim does not appear to have been inadequate for his task nor to have lacked energy in exercising authority. Before his accession to power in 322/934, he had already had long experience of public affairs since from his youth he had been entrusted by al-Mahdī [*q.v.*] with a share in governing Ifrīḳiya.

While still a child, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Muḥammad, the future al-Ḳāʾim, along with his "father" al-Mahdī, then *imām* of the Ismāʿīli community, had to endure the long and dangerous emigration which took them in 289/902 from Salamiyya in Syria to Sid͟jilmāsa, the capital of the Midrarite Berber principality of Tāfilelt, in the remotest part of the Mag͟hrib. Then, in 299/912, aged 20 and only recently appointed heir presumptive to a caliphate that had just arisen from the ruins of the Ag͟hlabid emirate, he was immediately compelled to undertake certain military commitments, leading the Fāṭimid armies into Lesser Kabylia, into Tripolitania, and then into the central Mag͟hrib. The two Egyptian expeditions which al-Mahdī hastened to place under his command, more or less in rapid succession, in 301-2/914-5 and again in 307-9/919-21, won him some renown, even though their outcome did nothing for his reputation as a soldier. Thus, at his accession he had already been put to the test, both as heir to the throne and as general.

On becoming *imām* and caliph, al-Ḳāʾim restricted himself to governing the powerful and prosperous realm he had inherited in conformity with the rules laid down by his "father", and to pursuing the same policy of hegemony in regard both to the ʿAbbāsids and to the Umayyads of Spain. For most of his reign Ifrīḳiya enjoyed a period of peace, passed over in silence by the chroniclers, who gave special prominence to bloody deeds and revolts, until the K͟hārid͟jī threat burst upon him, darkening his last two years.

It would be impossible to trace the career and achievements of al-Ḳāʾim, in however summary a way, without briefly raising the thorny question of his ancestry. A comparative study of the Ismāʿīli and the Sunnī sources led B. Lewis to put forward an original interpretation based on spiritual paternity and the theory of the *mustaḳarr* and *mustawdaʿ imāms*, According to this theory, there was, after the death of Ismāʿīl, a true imāmate in the line of descent from al-Ḥusayn and a tutelary imāmate in the line of descent from al-Ḳaddāḥ, the former ending with al-Ḳāʾim, the latter with al-Mahdī, the first Fāṭimid caliph. The latter is thus, B. Lewis argued, merely

the tutor, the spiritual father of al-Ḳāʾim, the *mustaḳarr imām*, to whom he handed over the imāmate of which he was the "trustee". The first genuine Fāṭimid caliph was thus al-Ḳāʾim, and the Fāṭimids' *nasab* can be traced back from al-Ḳāʾim to Fāṭima, through her son al-Ḥusayn.

Criticised by Ivanow in his *Rise*, discussed in detail by S. M. Stern in *Heterodox Ismāʿīlism* and again in the present author's (unpublished) thesis *Le Califat faṭimide au Maghreb*, the idea put forward by B. Lewis remains attractive. The notion of *istīdāʿ* would correspond to an established fact: the persecutions endured by the Fāṭimid pretenders, under the ʿAbbāsids, compelled them to act in a clandestine manner and to entrust the imāmate during the period of occultation (*satr*) to their "trustees" (*mustawdaʿ*) or "proofs" (*ḥudjdja*).

On his death, al-Mahdī had left a critical situation in the remotest part of the Maghrib, caused by the volte-face of the lord of the Miknāsa, Mūsā b. Abi 'l-ʿĀfiya, who had transferred his allegiance to the Umayyads of Spain. Immediately after his accession to the throne, al-Ḳāʾim launched an expedition aimed at re-establishing his power in Morocco and extirpating the influence of his rival, the Umayyad al-Nāṣir. The Fāṭimid army, under the command of the slave Maysūr, crossed the Maghrib in a single thrust and reached Fez. Another of al-Ḳāʾim's officers, the slave Ṣandal, had meanwhile descended upon Nakūr, which he captured, killing the local Ṣāliḥī ruler in Shawwāl 324/September 936. He then rejoined Maysūr outside the gates of Fez, which at that time was under siege. Finally the city surrendered, and the Fāṭimid general re-established the authority of the Idrīsid Banū Muḥammad, who had remained loyal to the Fāṭimids, before returning victorious to Ifrīḳiya.

In order to restrain the hostile Berber tribes who had settled on the frontiers of his kingdom, al-Ḳāʾim took steps to strengthen the authority of ʿAlī b. Ḥamdūn, an Arab of Djudhamī origin and ruler of Masīla [*q.v.*], over the territory of the Kamlān who, during the Ifrīḳiyan campaign, had been moved to the south-east of Ḳayrawān. To counter the Maghrawa, a powerful branch of the indomitable Zanāta, he procured an alliance with the Ṣanhādja of Zīrī b. Manād, whom he helped to found the city of Ashir [*q.v.*], in 324/936, in the heart of the Algerian Atlas. The Huwwara of the province of Tripoli, who had risen in revolt under the leadership of a Ḳurashī named Ibn Ṭālūt, a pseudo-*imām*, were swiftly brought to heel.

His authority being thus re-established in the south of his realm, al-Ḳāʾim at once considered a resumption of hostilities against the ʿAbbāsids in their Egyptian province. As it is recorded under the year 323/935, this campaign against Egypt appears to have been organized by al-Mahdī himself shortly before his death. In fact, as soon as he succeeded to the throne, al-Ḳāʾim must have resolved to employ the troops stationed at the base at Barḳa, reinforced with elements from Ifrīḳiya, to attack Egypt, where he had already suffered two successive defeats. It was therefore in his reign, as al-Kindī states categorically, that the third raid on Egypt took place, again without success. This time, however, the Fāṭimid attack was made at an unpropitious moment. Having rebelled against the Ikhshīdid governor Muḥammad b. Ṭughdj [*q.v.*], the officers commanding the fleet, ʿAlī b. Badr and Badjkam, and also the commander of the garrison of Alexandria, Ḥabashī, fled to Barḳa where they placed themselves under the authority and in the service of al-Ḳāʾim. To reinforce them, al-Ḳāʾim sent troops under the command of his freedman Zaydān and his officer ʿĀmir, known as al-Madjnūn. The Kutāma occupied Alexandria on 6 Djumādā I 324/1 April 936, but Ibn Ṭughdj, reacting swiftly, succeeded in freeing the town and forcing the Fāṭimid troops to withdraw towards Barḳa.

In the year of his accession, al-Ḳāʾim resolved to resume naval operations against the Christians. A strong squadron of twenty sailing vessels, under the command of an Arab officer from the *djund* of Tripoli, Yaʿḳūb b. Isḥāḳ b. al-Ward, left Mahdiyya on 7 Radjab 322/23 June 934 and sailed towards Italy. Yaʿḳūb intercepted a number of Christian merchant-ships on their way from Spain and proceeded as far as Genoa, which his men captured after a fierce siege. Having sacked the town and carried off much booty, the Fāṭimid admiral set sail for Mahdiyya, arriving on 25 Ramaḍān 323/28 August 935. In addition to this attack, al-Ḳāʾim endeavoured to intensify the *djihād* in the Byzantine territories in eastern Sicily and Calabria. To Palermo he sent a new governor, Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ, the brother of the admiral Yaʿḳūb and a talented poet and his favourite general, who subjected the island to a reign of terror. For four years, from 325/937 to 329/941, Khalīl made himself notorious by his tyranny over Muslim and Christian alike. Some Arab elements who had settled there under Aghlabids were forced to flee to Christian territory, and a number of them were constrained to adopt Christianity. Native Sicilians were dispossessed of their lands and compelled to settle in forts situated along the frontiers of the Christian territories. The cadastral register [see ḲĀNŪN] was burnt, thus rendering the verification of land taxes impossible in certain regions such as Agrigento.

After his accession al-Ḳāʾim proved particularly anxious to increase his military strength and to consolidate his authority in the interior of the kingdom. For this reason, from the time of his reign the internal policy of the new rulers of Ifrīḳiya became more severe. Under al-Ḳāʾim, the country seems to have suffered to a greater extent from excessive taxation and religious persecution, and the Khāridjī agitation which sprang up in the Aurès and Ḳasṭīliya thus found suitable soil.

However, al-Ḳāʾim's attitude towards this agitation seems strangely passive. He allowed the rebellion to take root among the hostile tribes of the Aurès whom the garrison of Baghāya were unable to hold in check and, when the Berbers poured through the valley of the Oued Mellegue under the banner of their Nukkārī leader, Abū Yazīd [*q.v.*], capturing in succession Tebessa, Marmādjanna, Laribus, Sbiba and Dougga (Tugga Terebinthina), in 332/944, he limited himself to a static defensive strategy. His reaction was lacking in both energy and foresight. Yet he had at his disposal large numbers of troops (70,000 men, according to al-Nuʿmān), well equipped and well organized. Instead of launching a vigorous counter-offensive and sending his powerful forces directly against the enemy, he adopted the unfortunate idea of dividing his troops among different strategic points, thus compelling them to remain stationary and to await the invaders, and also dividing his own effort, while leaving the enemy free to take the initiative in operations. In this way, a body of troops under the command of the slave Bushra took up their position at Béja, another at Ḳayrawān under the command of Khalīl b. Isḥāḳ, and a third was on the road between Ḳayrawān and Mahdiyya, led by the slave Maysūr. Abū Yazīd had no difficulty in defeating each of these

three adversaries in turn, and in Djumādā I 333/January 945 he began a siege of the capital, Mahdiyya. Al-Ḳāʾim, however, succeeded in arousing vigorous resistance to Abū Yazīd in this maritime stronghold. Repeated attacks by the rebels were checked at the gates of Mahdiyya, which remained impregnable despite the rigours of the siege. The ardour of the rebels ultimately evaporated, and many tribal contingents returned to their mountains since there was nothing more in Ifrīḳiya to pillage. Harrassing operations were successfully conducted by Fāṭimid troops outside Tunis and Sousse, at Cape Bon in particular, and on Abū Yazīd's rearguard, and his threat to the capital was reduced considerably. Thus, when al-Ḳāʾim died there in Shawwāl 334/May 946, the moment had already come for his son and successor Ismāʿīl, the future al-Manṣūr, to pass over to the offensive and to spend many months on the task of crushing the revolt.

Bibliography: the principal sources are Ismāʿīli: Ḳāḍī Nuʿmān, *al-Madjālis wa 'l-musāyarāt* (ms.); idem, *Iftitāḥ al-daʿwa*, ed. Wadād al-Qāḍī, Beirut 1970; ʿAzīzī Abū ʿAlī Manṣūr, *Sīrat al-ustādh Djawdhar*, ed. Kāmil Ḥusayn and ʿAbd al-Hādī Shaʿīra, Cairo 1954, tr. M. Canard, *Vie de l'ustādh Jawdhar*, Algiers 1957; Yamānī Muḥammad b. Muḥammad, *Sīrat Djaʿfar al-Ḥādjib*, ed. in *B. Fac. Ar.*, iv, tr. M. Canard, *L'autobiographie d'un chambellan du Mahdī ʿObeidallāh le Fāṭimide*, in *Hespéris*, 1952; Idrīs ʿImād al-Dīn, *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār* (ms.), vi.

Of the works devoted to Ismāʿīlism and the Fāṭimids, the principal ones to be noted are: W. Ivanow, *Rise (Ismaili tradition concerning the rise of the Fatimids)*, Oxford 1942, *Islamic Research Association Series*, no. 10, with particular reference to the extracts from Idrīs ʿImād al-Dīn, *Zahr al-maʿānī* and Djaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman, *Asrār al-nuṭaḳāʾ*; idem, *A creed of the Fatimids*, according to the *Tādj al-ʿaḳāʾid maʿādin al-fawāʾid* of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd, Bombay 1936; B. Lewis, *The origins of Ismailism. A study of the historical background of the Fatimid caliphate*, Cambridge 1940, Arabic tr. *Uṣūl al-Ismāʿīliyya*, Cairo 1947; S. M. Stern, *Heterodox Ismaʿilism at the time of al-Muʿizz*, in *BSOAS*, xvii (1955); idem, *Ḥātim b. Ibrāhim on the history of the daʿwa in Yemen*, in *Oriens*, 1951; W. Madelung, *Das Imamat in der frühen ismailitischen Lehre*, in *Isl.*, xxxvii-xxxviii (1961); M. Canard, *L'impérialisme des Fatimides et leur propagande*, in *AIEO Alger*, vi (1942-7).

Of the Sunnī sources, see particularly: Kindī, *Wulāt Miṣr*, Beirut 1959; Maḳrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ al-Ḥunafāʾ*, Cairo 1948; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, i, ed. Lévi-Provençal and Colin, Leiden 1948-51; Ibn Ḥammād, *Histoire des rois ʿObaydides*, ed. and tr. Vonderheyden, Algiers-Paris 1927.

(F. Dachraoui)

ḲĀʾIME (T., originally A.; cf. ḲĀʾIM), the name formerly used for paper money in Turkey, an abbreviation for *ḳāʾime-i muʿtebere*. The word *ḳāʾime* was originally used of official documents written on one large, long sheet of paper; the first paper money was also manuscript on large sheets, and was also known as *sehim ḳāʾimesi, ḳāʾ ime-i naḳdiyye, ewrāḳ-i naḳdiye*, and *ewraḳ-i muʿtebere*. Although in the 20th century bank notes have been called *ḳāʾime*, this term was not used for notes of the Imperial Ottoman Bank, a private bank under government charter, but only for paper issued by the government itself.

The early *ḳāʾime* were interest-bearing treasury notes; they are, however, to be distinguished from the many other kinds of short and long-term interest-bearing paper issued by the Ottoman government or its individual departments and known variously as *khazīne taḥwīlāti, sergi, eshām-i djedīd, eshām-i mümtāz*, etc. [see ASHĀM], and also from the Ottoman bonds sold principally to European investors from 1854 on. The *ḳāʾime* became paper money, while the other sorts of paper did not, since from the start *ḳāʾime* were intended to circulate on a par with coin and to be accepted as such by state offices and tax collectors. When, in addition to forced circulation, later issues of *ḳāʾime* were in low denominations and without interest, it became even more obvious that this was paper money.

The first issue of *ḳāʾime* probably occurred in July or August of 1840, in the crisis period, as ʿAbd al-Madjīd [*q.v.*] began his second year as sultan. (*Taḳwīm-i Weḳāyiʿ*, 15 Radjab 1256; London *Times*, 18 September 1840). These handwritten treasury notes had a face value of 500 piastres, matured in eight years, and bore interest payable semi-annually to the bearer. Modern Turkish scholars uniformly put the interest rate at 8%, but it appears that the first issues bore 12½%. The total value of the first issue amounted to 160,000 Turkish pounds. Other larger issues followed in September and October in denominations of 50, 100, 250, 500, and 1,000 piastres; the format was somewhat reduced for convenience of circulation. These series were unnumbered and easy to counterfeit, although in the second issue indelible ink was used and the *tughra* [*q.v.*] and seals of the finance minister and ministry were affixed.

As a further measure against the growing counterfeiting, new printed *ḳāʾime* were decreed in 1841 (though perhaps not issued until 1842) and the holders of manuscript issues were given three months to exchange theirs for the new. Circulation of the *ḳāʾime* was now restricted effectively to Istanbul, since provincial officials were unable to distinguish the counterfeit from the genuine. These issues were popularly called *Ṣāʾib Pasha ḳāʾimesi* after the then finance minister. When the printed *ḳāʾime* were also counterfeited, a new printing (1844?) was done in *taʿlīḳ* letters. Interest was reduced in 1844 to 6%.

Interest was regularly paid in the 1840's, and some holders simply kept the *ḳāʾime* as an investment. But new issues included smaller denominations, down to 10 and 20 piastres at the time of the Crimean War (known as *ordu ḳāʾime*), that bore no interest. An estimated 1,750,000 pounds of *ḳāʾime* circulated at the start of the war. During the war this amount was more than tripled, and the value of *ḳāʾime* declined seriously. Three efforts to retire the *ḳāʾime* after the war, through two foreign loans and a capital levy on the Istanbul populace, narrowly failed. A very large issue of 12,500,000 pounds to meet current needs in March/April 1861 produced chaos. On December 12 of that year, when the *ḳāʾime* had depreciated to one-third or less of face value, merchants refused it, shops were sacked, and panic gripped Istanbul. Fuʾād Pasha, newly appointed grand vizier, drew up a plan involving a new foreign loan to retire the *ḳāʾime*, government economies, the institution of a central government budget, and the creation of the Imperial Ottoman Bank. With English backing, the loan of 1862 sufficed to retire all *ḳāʾime*, which were redeemed 40% in coin and 60% in so-called *Ḳonsolide* (Consols) or *eshām-i djedīd*, government bonds at 6% interest.

No further *ḳāʾime* were issued until the crisis period initiated by the revolt in Bosnia-Herzegovina: two million pounds on 13 August 1876, one million

on 11 November, seven million on 5 January 1877, and six million on 3 September. Denominations ranged from 100 piastres down to five and later one piastre; none bore interest. Only about two million were retired as intended, and the value plummeted rapidly to a bottom of 1200 piastres *ḳāʾime* for one gold pound. Though legally valid in all provinces except the Ḥidjāz, the Yemen and Tripoli, circulation was largely in Istanbul as provincials distrusted and refused the paper. The government redeemed the outstanding 14 million pounds of *ḳāʾime* in 1879-80 at one fourth its value in gold.

Again, the critical years of World War I brought further issues of paper money. When the Ottoman government pressed Germany for gold shipments to meet war expenses, the German government urged the Turks to issue paper money instead. This they refused to do without gold cover. The solution contrived was that the Ottoman Public Debt Administration acted as a bank of issue for seven issues of *ḳāʾime*, 1915 to 1918, totalling 160 million Turkish gold pounds. Each issue but the last was covered either by gold or by treasury certificates deposited by the German government in Berlin under the seal of the Ottoman Public Debt. The paper money, which bore no interest, ranged from 1,000 pounds down to five piastres. This paper also depreciated greatly and was refused in the provinces. With Germany's defeat the gold backing was lost to the Allies. The paper money, nevertheless, continued to circulate.

The Turkish Republic inherited this same paper currency, which was not increased in amount after 1918, but decreased somewhat through wear. After 1923 the value remained relatively stable. Worn bills were replaced in 1927. From the 1930s to the present (1973) the Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Merkez Bankası has issued paper money, earlier referred to as *evrak-ı nakdiye* and now usually just as *kâğıt para* or *bankınot*; the term *ḳāʾime* has become obsolete.

Bibliography: Charles White, *Three years in Constantinople*, London 1845, ii, 71-2; J. H. A. Ubicini, *Letters on Turkey*, London 1856, i, 289-9; F. A. Belin, *Essais sur l'histoire économique de la Turquie*, in *JA*, Series VI, iii (Jan.-Feb. 1865), 149-58; Ahmed Cevdet, *Tezâkir*, ii, Ankara 1960, 226-46, 255-6; A. D. Mordtmann, *Stambul und das moderne Türkenthum*, Leipzig 1877-8, ii, 159-61, 182-93; Charles Morawitz, *Les finances de la Turquie*, Paris 1902, 16-7, 23, 31, 38-9, 53; A. Du Velay, *Essai sur l'histoire financière de la Turquie*, Paris 1903, 123, 149-67, 263-4, 354-7; Aḥmed Rāsim, *ʿOthmānlî taʾrīkhi*, Istanbul 1328-30, iv, 2125-48; E. G. Mears, *Modern Turkey*, New York 1924, 384-6, 401-5; D. C. Blaisdell, *European financial control in the Ottoman Empire*, New York 1929, 29-35, 50-1, 185-7; Ahmed Emin (Yalman), *Turkey in the World War*, New Haven 1930, 144-6, 161-5; Nihad Mehmed, *Das Papiergeld in der Finanz- und Währungsgeschichte der Türkei, 1839-1909*, Istanbul 1930; M. Z. Pakalın, *Tanzimat maliye nazırları*, 2 vols., Istanbul 1939-40, *passim* (much information), Şükrü Baban, *Tanzimat ve para*, in *Tanzimat*, i, Istanbul 1940, 246-62; M. Z. Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarihi deyimleri ve terimleri sozlüğü*, Istanbul 1946-56, ii, 140; E. Z. Karal, *Osmanlı tarihi*, Ankara 1954-62, vi, 204, vii, 223-33, viii, 425-6; Midhat Sertoğlu, *Resimli Osmanlı tarihi ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul 1958, 159 (illustration); Ekrem Kolerkılıç, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda para*, Ankara 1958; R. H. Davidson, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856-1876*, Princeton 1963, 111-3, 350-1; Ulrich Trumpener, *Germany and the Ottoman Empire, 1914-1918*, Princeton 1968, 271-82; Mine Erol, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Kâğıt para* (*kaime*), Ankara 1970 (now the best study, partly based on archives, many illustrations); *Taḳwīm-i Weḳāyiʿ* 1256/1840, nos. 206, 210, 213, 216. See also ASHĀM, DUYŪN-I ʿUMŪMIYYE. (R. H. DAVISON)

ḲĀʾIM-MAḲĀM In the Ottoman Empire the title of *Ḳāʾim-maḳām* was borne by a number of different officials, the most important of whom was the *ṣadāret ḳāʾim-maḳāmî* or *ḳāʾim-maḳām pasha* who stayed in the capital as deputy when the grand vizier had to leave for a military campaign. The appointment of a *ḳāʾim-maḳām* seems to have begun in the 10th/16th or even in the 9th/15th century and it lasted until the end of the Empire. The *ḳāʾim-maḳām* enjoyed almost all the authority of the grand vizier, issuing firmans and nominating functionaries, but he was not allowed to intervene in the area where the army was operating. He was especially influential in the administration of the capital. Selected earlier from among the viziers, he often intrigued against the grand vizier with the aim of succeeding him. A *ḳāʾim-maḳām* was also appointed at the removal of a grand vizier when the successor had to travel from some provincial governorate. In this case the tenure of the *ḳāʾim-maḳām* lasted only for a short period without having much distinction. During the last decades of the Ottoman Empire a cabinet minister or the *shaykh al-Islām* [*q.v.*] was usually nominated *ḳāʾim-maḳām* upon the grand vizier's illness or his absence from the capital.

The reform movement in the Empire added new meanings to the term. The position of a *ḳāʾim-maḳām* was now instituted as a military rank corresponding to lieutenant-colonel in the *ʿAsākir-i Manṣūre-i Muḥammediyye* Army, established by Maḥmūd II in 1241/1826. The term remained in common use until the 1930s, to be replaced then by that of *yarbay*. The governor of a *sandjaḳ* [*q.v.*] was equally called *ḳāʾim-maḳām* when the Ottoman civil administration was reorganized in the first years of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*]. By the law of 8 November 1864 revising Ottoman provincial government, the *ḳāʾim-maḳām* became the governor of a *ḳaḍāʾ* [*q.v.*], appointed by the sultan. The republican regime maintained in essence the 1864 law, and thus the *ḳāʾim-maḳām* ("*kaymakam*") still continues to be the administrator of a *ḳaḍāʾ*.

Bibliography: *MTM*, i, 523 f. (*ḳānūnnāme* of 1087/1676); M. D'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire Othoman*, Paris 1788-1824, vii, 157 f.; Hammer-Purgstall, *Staatsverfassung*, ii, 96; Muṣṭafā Nūrī, *Netāyidj al-wuḳūʿāt*, Istanbul 1327, iv, 106, 109; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarsılı, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948, 180-85; Pakalın, ii, 219-22; Gibb-Bowen, i, index; R. Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVII^e^ siècle*, Paris 1962, 127 and index; R. H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856-1876* Princeton, N.J. 1963, index. (E. KURAN)

In OTTOMAN EGYPT, while possessing in general the sense of "lieutenant" of a higher official, *ḳaʾim-maḳām* had a number of specific usages.

(a) Before Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha, the term was applied (i) to the acting viceroy, who held office between the death or removal from office of one viceroy and the installation of the next. After 1013/1604, the office seems invariably to have been held by a bey, hence, in practice, by a member of a Mamlūk household. The deposition of a viceroy and the appointment of a *ḳāʾim-maḳām* became, particularly in the 12th/18th century, a device by which a

Mamlūk faction would legitimize its ascendancy. The term was also used in this period, (ii) for the general agent of a *multazim* in the administration of his *iltizām*; he would usually be a member of the *multazim*'s Mamlūk household; (iii) for the agent of a naval commander (*ḳapūdān*), administering his master's financial assignments in *emānet*.

(b) Under Muḥammad ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a, the old usages of the term became obsolete, and it was applied to specific grades in the military and administrative hierarchies: (i) In the reorganized and westernized army, the rank of *ḳāʾim-maḳām* was equivalent to lieutenant-colonel; (ii) in the administration the *ḳāʾim-maḳām* was in charge of a *nāḥiya* (subdistrict) and had special responsibility for the maintenance of the irrigation-system. His immediate superior was the *ḥākim al-khuṭṭ* (district officer).

Bibliography: P. M. Holt, *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent, 1516-1922*, London 1966; Helen Anne B. Rivlin, *The agricultural policy of Muḥammad ʿAlī in Egypt*, Cambridge, Mass. 1961; Stanford J. Shaw, *The financial and administrative development of Ottoman Egypt, 1517-1798*, Princeton, N.J. 1962; idem, *Ottoman Egypt in the age of the French Revolution*, Cambridge, Mass. 1964: in all, consult indexes *s.v.* (P. M. Holt)

ḲĀʾIM-MAḲĀM-I FARĀHĀNĪ. In the early Ḳād̲j̲ār [*q.v.*] period the title of *Ḳāʾim-maḳām* [see above] was held by two statesmen, Mīrzā ʿĪsā Farāhānī, better known as Mīrzā Buzurg (b. *ca.* 1167/1753-4 d. 1237/1822), and his son Mīrzā Abu 'l-Ḳāsim-i Farāhānī (1193/1779-1251/1835), both of whom were ministers of the crown prince ʿAbbās Mīrzā [*q.v.*]. A quasi-official title, *Ḳāʾim-maḳām* signified the representative of the Ṣadr-i aʿẓam [*q.v.*] at the petty court of the crown prince in Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān. Both father and son were of energetic and incorruptible character, but the latter was more remarkable, not only as a poet, but also as "a true Persian diplomatist, acute and far-sighted", to use J. B. Fraser's words. Mīrzā Abu 'l-Ḳāsim succeeded to his father's office in 1238/1822, and served the crown prince with much loyalty and zeal. He accompanied the crown prince in battle and was the instigator of his attempts at reform. ʿAbbās Mīrzā died (1249/1833) before his father, but the political skill of Ḳāʾim-maḳām-i Farāhānī secured the throne for Muḥammad Mīrzā, ʿAbbās's son, when Fatḥ ʿAlī S̲h̲āh died shortly after. At Muḥammad S̲h̲āh's accession, Mīrzā Abu'l-Ḳāsim became prime minister of Persia, but his accurate budgeting of court expenditure, together with his haughty and disdainful attitude towards the court grandees, earned him powerful enemies who brought about his arrest, followed by his tragic death.

Mīrzā Abu 'l-Ḳāsim was an outstanding prose-writer and also wrote poetry. His style is distinguished and is still considered a model of good writing. Numerous editions of his works exist, the best of which is the *dīwān*, *S̲h̲iʿr Ḳāʾim-Maḳām*, ed. Ḥ. Waḥīd Dastgirdī, Tehran 1926, and the *Muns̲h̲aʾāt Ḳāʾim-Maḳām*, ed. D̲j̲ahāngīr-i Ḳāʾim Maḳāmī, Tehran 1337 s.

Bibliography: Biographical data concerning the two Ḳāʾim-maḳāms are to be found in most of the historical and anthological works of the Ḳād̲j̲ār period. See, for instance, Storey, ii, 2, 332 ff. Among other references the following deserve special attention: Maḥmūd Mīrzā Ḳād̲j̲ār, *Safīnat al-Maḥmūd*, ed. A. K̲h̲ayyāmpūr, 2 vols., Tabriz 1968, i, 74-6; Riḍā Ḳuli Mīrzā, *Safar-Nāma*, ed. A. F. Ḳād̲j̲ār, Tehran 1346 s., 30-35; D̲j̲ahāngīr-Mīrzā, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Naw*, ed. ʿA. Iḳbāl, Tehran 1327 s., 197-240; Riḍā-Ḳuli Hidāyat, *Mad̲j̲maʿ al-fuṣaḥāʾ*, lith. Tehran 1295, ii, 87-91, 425-6; Nādir-Mīrzā, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ wa-D̲j̲ug̲h̲rāfi-yi Tabrīz*, lith. Tehran 1323, 39-40; Iʿtimād al-Salṭana, *Ṣadr al-tawārīk̲h̲*, ed. M. Mus̲h̲īrī, Tehran 1349 s., 117-51. Among western accounts see: G. Drouville, *Voyage en perse*, Paris 1825, i, 241; J. B. Fraser, *A winter's journey from Constantinople to Tehran*, London 1838, ii, 181-8; R. G. Watson, *A history of Persia*, London 1866, 287-8; S. G. W. Benjamin, *Persia and the Persians*, London 1887, 77-8. For a literary evaluation of the Ḳāʾim-Maḳām's works see M. Bahār, *Sabk-S̲h̲ināsī*, iii, index; A. H. Zarrinkoob, *Naḳd-i adabī*, Tehran 1338 s., 492-4; Yaḥyā Ārian-Pūr, *Az Ṣabā Tā Nīmā* Tehran 1350 s., i, 62-75; Browne, iv, index; (Pagliaro-)Bausani, *Storia della letteratura Persiana*, Milan 1960, 839-40; Jan Rypka, *History of Iranian literature*, 1968, index. (A. H. Zarrinkoob)

ḲĀʾIT BĀY, al-Malik al-As̲h̲raf Abu 'l-Naṣr Sayf al-Dīn al-Maḥmūdī al-Ẓāhirī, sultan of Egypt and Syria (872/1468-901/1496), was purchased by Barsbāy [*q.v.*], manumitted by Sultan D̲j̲aḳmaḳ, became a life-guard, then *Dawādār Ṣag̲h̲īr*, *i.e.*, assistant *dawādār* in the office of the Grand Dawādār [see dawādār], then amīr of 10 Mamlūks under Īnāl [*q.v.*], *Ṭablak̲h̲āna* (*i.e.*, amīr with the right to have a band accompanying him), under Sultan K̲h̲us̲h̲ḳadam [*q.v.*], inspector of houses of refreshment and shortly afterwards commander of a thousand (*Muḳaddam Alf*). In 872/1467-8 he became *Raʾs nawbat al-Nuwwāb* (*i.e.*, Commander of the Mamlūks of the guard).

When Temirbog̲h̲ā ascended the throne in D̲j̲umādā I 872/Dec. 1467, he appointed his friend Ḳāʾit Bāy *atābek* but the sultan had no real power, as he had very few supporters among the Mamlūks under his command. He had not the money to win over new followers; the treasury was empty. After an unsuccessful rising by the Ustādār K̲h̲āʾir Bey the crown was offered in the month of Rad̲j̲ab of the same year (Feb. 1468) to Ḳāʾit Bāy, who accepted it after some hesitation. Temirbog̲h̲ā retired into private life to Damietta, to which he was not taken as a prisoner but travelled in perfect liberty accompanied by some friends. Unlike other Mamlūk sultans, Ḳāʾit Bāy treated deposed sultans or descendants of former sultans throughout his reign with magnanimity and honour, frequently invited them to polo tournaments in Cairo, allowed them to make the pilgrimage to Mecca and even allowed them to visit the capital in his absence without any suspicion or fear of conspiracies.

Ḳāʾit Bāy's chief political problem was his relations with the Ottomans. The rivalry between them and the Egyptians found expression in the fighting among their vassals in Asia Minor. The ruler of Albistān [*q.v.*], S̲h̲āh-suvār [see d̲h̲u 'l-ḳadr] was at war with Egypt [see k̲h̲us̲h̲ḳadam] and was secretly supported by the Ottomans, while Ḳāʾit Bāy assisted prince Aḥmad of Ḳaramān in his war with Meḥemmed II. The first two expeditions sent against S̲h̲āh-suvār (872 and 873) ended disastrously through the carelessness of the Egyptian commanders and more especially the lack of discipline among their troops and the rivalry between the Egyptian and the Syrian corps. Ḳāʾit Bāy later succeeded in depriving S̲h̲āh-suvār of the help of the Ottoman sultan by agreeing to cease assisting Aḥmad of Ḳaramān. Thus weakened, S̲h̲āh-suvār was decisively defeated in 876/1471 by the Atābek Ezbek. S̲h̲āh-suvār fell back to Zamanṭū. Besieged there, he capitulated on condition that he was allowed to remain in possession of his kingdom as vassal of the sultan; but he was taken prisoner, brought to Cairo and executed contrary to the laws

of war. The prince of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu, Uzun Ḥasan, the ruler of Diyār Bakr and a part of Persia, was a dangerous rival to Ḳāʾit Bāy, and advanced from triumph to triumph; in 872/1468 he defeated the sultan of the Ḳara-Ḳoyunlu and in 873 the sultan of Samarḳand, but when in 876/1471 he declared war on Meḥemmed II he was defeated and thus became less dangerous for Ḳāʾit Bāy. He died in 880/1475 and was succeeded by Yaʿḳūb Bey. A quarrel arose between Bayindir, the latter's governor in al-Ruhā (Edessa), and the sultan's general Yes̲h̲bek, because Bayindir had given shelter to Sayf, the rebel chief of the Beduins of Ḥamā. Yes̲h̲bek advanced on al-Ruhā and, although satisfaction was offered in every respect, he insisted on besieging the town, but was defeated during a sortie and killed with several of his staff; otber Egyptian notables were taken prisoner. Ḳāʾit Bāy could not wipe out this defeat and had to make peace, as he was threatened with a struggle with the new Ottoman sultan Bāyazīd [*q.v.*]. Apart from continual friction regarding the ownership of Albistān, Bāyazīd felt himself threatened, because Ḳāʾit Bāy had given a friendly welcome to his brother D̲j̲em [*q.v.*], the pretender to the throne, and had even encouraged him to fight against Bāyazīd. An embassy sent to Bāyazīd to endeavour to maintain peace was unsuccessful. The Ottomans invaded Cilicia in 891/1485 and occupied Ṭarsūs and Adana; other Ottoman troops besieged Malaṭya. The Egyptian forces operated with success against both armies especially as Ḳāʾit Bāy had won over ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla, prince of Albistān. In 893/1488 the Ottomans were no more successful. An endeavour to land a considerable body of troops in the bay of Iskandarūn [*q.v.*] failed. In 895/1490 the Atābek Ezbek inflicted a decisive defeat on the Ottomans at Ḳayṣariyya in Asia Minor, where several generals were captured. Ḳāʾit Bāy showed a wise moderation in maintaining his inclination for peace, recognizing the enormous resources of the Ottomans, and peace was concluded in 896/1491. The rest of the reign of Ḳāʾit Bāy was peaceful but the domestic situation did not improve. It is true that he succeeded by his authority alone in preventing a fight between the hostile Mamlūk factions, but he could not permanently restrain their outbursts and he did not succeed in introducing a sound financial system.

Ḳāʾit Bāy's reign stood out above those of the other Circassian Mamlūks because of its duration but also because of his initiative and effectiveness. Ḳāʾit Bāy was well disposed towards the trading nations. While many of his predecessors, Barsbāy in particular, had put obstacles in the way of the activities of Italian merchants, Ḳāʾit Bāy granted them new privileges and made no attempt to monopolize the spice trade. It is quite probable that trade between the sultan's lands and Christian Europe did in fact make great strides during his reign; but Ḳāʾit Bāy also introduced measures to protect the interests of native merchants, taking appropriate action in relation to the governments of other states. His understanding of the economic interests of his country is also attested by the many inscriptions, which have recently been published, dealing with his abolition of certain taxes that weighed heavily on various branches of industry. Moreover, he spent considerable sums of money in construction work, such as the new buildings in the citadel of Cairo, his mausoleum, a Ṣūfī monastery (at K̲h̲ānḳāh, near Cairo), the repair of the mosque of Medina and the aqueduct supplying water to the mosque at Jerusalem.

It was his military activities above all, however, which swallowed up his financial resources. According to Ibn Iyās, for the conduct of all his wars Ḳāʾit Bāy spent more than 7 million *dīnārs* (*as̲h̲rafī*), discontinuing the gratuities he had to pay to his troops when they returned to Cairo, which was also an enormous sum. This information is borne out in the accounts of other writers. To this must be added his expenses connected with fortifications, such as the repair of the fortresses of Alexandria, Aleppo and other towns. Since the Mamlūk sultans had never succeeded in establishing a regular system of taxation, Ḳāʾit Bāy was obliged to extort arbitrary contributions, known as *muṣādara*, from his subjects. When he was in need of money and the treasury was empty he levied contributions from leading citizens, from merchants, from the non-Muslim communities and even imposed new taxes on various branches of commerce and property in mortmain. Such measures reinforced the economic recession which had long marked industrial and commercial development in Egypt and Syria. In spite of the increase in international trade and the great efforts of the sultan, who embarked on tours of inspection in all the provinces (though not before his old age), the seemingly rich and powerful Mamlūk state under Ḳāʾit Bāy was heading for disaster. When he abdicated, one day before his death, the Mamlūk kingdom was so impoverished and enfeebled that it was no match for Ottoman Turkey.

Bibliography: Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*, ed. Kahle, iii, 2-324; Ibn al-D̲j̲īʿān, *al-Ḳawl al-mustaẓraf fī safar mawlānā al-Malik al-As̲h̲raf*, ed. R. V. Lanzone, Turin 1878; R. L. Devonshire, *Relation d'un voyage du sultan Qaitbay en Palestine et en Syrie*, in *BIFAO*, xx (1922), 1-42; Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, v, 326-59; M. C. Şehabeddin Tekindağ, *II. Bayezid devrinde Çukur-Ova'da nüfuz mücadelesi* in *Bell.*, xxxi/123 (1967), 345-73; J. Wansbrough, *A Mamluk letter of 877/1473*, in *BSOAS*, xxiv (1961), 200-13; idem, *A Mamlūk commercial treaty concluded with the Republic of Florence 894/1489*, in *Documents from Islamic chanceries*, ed. S. M. Stern, Oxford 1965, 38-79; G. Wiet, *Décrets mamlouks d'Egypte*, in *Mayer Memorial Volume*, Jerusalem 1964, 138-40; idem, *Deux princes ottomans à la Cour d'Egypte*, in *BIE*, xx (1938), 137-50.

(SOBERNHEIM—[E. ASHTOR])

AL-ḲAʿḲĀʿ, Arabic term for a man whose foot-joints can be heard cracking when he walks, but often found as a proper name in the first days of Islam and particularly among the Tamīmīs; the last to bear this name seems to have been al-Ḳaʿḳāʿ b. Ḍirār al-Tamīmī, chief of police for ʿĪsā b. Mūsā [*q.v.*], governor of Kūfa from 132/750 to 147/764 (Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, ii, 465; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 131, 347). Among those who bore this name, apart from al-Ḳaʿḳāʿ b. ʿAmr [see the following article] and the poets cited by al-Marzubānī (*Muʿd̲j̲am*, 329-30), especially noteworthy was the Companion of the prophet al-Ḳaʿḳāʿ b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Ḥadrad, who took part along with his father in the events at Wādī Iḍam in 8/629 [see ḤAMD], after which was revealed the ḳurʾānic verse IV, 96/94, a warning and even a reprimand (*Sīra*, ii, 626-7; see also Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, iii, 263; Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, *Iṣāba*, nos. 7126, 7342).

Another Companion was al-Ḳaʿḳāʿ b. Maʿbad b. Zurāra al-Tamīmī, the nephew of Ḥād̲j̲ib b. Zurāra [*q.v.*] and *sayyid* of the Dārim, who made common cause with Sad̲j̲āḥ [*q.v.*]; he was renowned for his generosity and nicknamed Tayyār al-Furāt (see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, ii, 465; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1913; al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Bayān*, iii, 88; idem, *Ḥayawān*, index; *Naḳāʾiḍ*, 258, 771; Ibn His̲h̲ām, *Sīra*, ii, 621; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*,

141; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 265, 419; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, iii, 263; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣābā*, no. 7128).

Also worthy of note are the names of al-Ḳaʿḳāʿ b. ʿAṭiyya al-Bāhilī, who lived in Khurāsān and was taken prisoner by the Khāridjites (Mubarrad, 996); and al-Ḳaʿḳāʿ b. Khulayd al-ʿAbsī, who was secretary to al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik between 86/705 and 96/715 (al-Djahshiyārī, 47; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 837, 1300, 1312; Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, ii, 465; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 373). A *tābiʿī*, whose generosity became proverbial, thanks to two verses in his praise, al-Ḳaʿḳāʿ b. Shawr b. ʿIḳāl al-Dhuhlī, is cited among the associates of ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād [*q.v.*]; he is numbered among the witnesses against Ḥudjr b. ʿAdī [*q.v.*] in 51/671 and among the officers who took part in the action against Muslim b. ʿAḳīl [*q.v.*] at Kūfa in 60/680 and that against al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd [*q.v.*] (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, index; idem, *Ḥayawān*, vi, 327; idem, *Tarbīʿ*, 85; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 152; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 133, 256-7, 272, 523; Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, ii 465; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, iii, 311; al-Marzubānī, 330; Ibn Durayd *Ishtiḳāḳ*, 211; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 99; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, iv, 474-5). Lastly, there is another belated *tābiʿī*, al-Ḳaʿḳāʿ b. Ḥakīm al-Azdī, who settled in Baṣra and was a contemporary of al-Mahdī, (Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 407; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 66; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 257; al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 513-4). (ED.)

AL-ḲAʿḲĀʿ B. **ʿAMR** B. MĀLIK AL-TAMĪMĪ, a warrior of the early Islamic period who, after the death of the Prophet, joined Sadjāḥ [*q.v.*] for a time and became the lieutenant of Khālid b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*], taking part in the battle of Buzākha [*q.v.*] as early as 11/632. After the capture of al-Ḥīra, he commanded a detachment which won a victory over the Persians in the region of al-Anbār, probably in 12/633. In Radjab 13/August-September 635, he took part in the conquest of Damascus and the following year led a troop of cavalry at the battle of Yarmūk [*q.v.*]. He fought with distinction at al-Ḳādisiyya [*q.v.*], where his intervention was timely. He is cited among the brave warriors who captured al-Madāʾin [*q.v.*] and he must have commanded the vanguard at the battle of Djalūlāʾ (16/637 [*q.v.*]) and established a garrison at Ḥulwān [*q.v.*]. He also took part in the capture of Nihāwand (21/641-2). Before the battle of the Camel [see AL-DJAMAL] ʿAlī sent him to Baṣra to negotiate with Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr. Later he settled at Kūfa. Al-Ḳaʿḳāʿ, a much-loved heroic figure, was also known as a poet; a few of his verses celebrating his military exploits are extant.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, index; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 211-2, 217, 222 (ed. and tr. Pellat, §§ 1541-3, 1548, 1555); Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*, iii, 263; Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 294-5, 300, 303 ff., 316, 329, 367-8, 370 ff., 400 ff., iii, 7 ff., 186 ff., 195, 198, 200, 208 ff.; idem, *Usd*, iv, 207; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, no. 7127; Yāḳūt, i, 321, 602. 937, ii, 107, 280; *Aghānī*, xv, 57, 58; Weil, *Gesch, der Chalifen*, i, 36-7, 82, 88, 203, 207-8; Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, vi, 14, 39, 45, 49, 65, 72, 77, 86, 105; Caetani, *Annali*, index. (K. V. ZETTERSTÉEN)

KAKHTĀ, a fortress, now an imposing ruin, which stands on a precipitous ridge dominating the ancient site of Arsaneia in Commagene, recently identified by F. Dörner; the name does not appear before the 6th/12th century. The region, of which Gerger, on the upper reaches of the Euphrates at the mouth of the gorges, was in reality the chief centre, played only a minimal role in the Arab-Byzantine wars during the first centuries of Islam, since the main passes lie further to the west or north, and there was no need for the fortress of Kakhtā, which commanded the outlet of a valley in the eastern Taurus, to be built and developed until the time of the Armenian immigration, followed by the Turkish conquest and the short-lived Frankish conquest (by the County of Edessa). The land was then relatively fertile, and upstream from Kakhtā was situated the monastery of Mar Barṣawma, one of the principal residences of the Patriarchate of the Christian Monophysite (Jacobite) Church. It was only after the fall of the County of Edessa that Kakhtā became a Muslim fortress, at first in the hands of Artuḳids [*q.v.*] of Āmid and Khanzit (545/1150) and then of the Saldjūḳs of Rūm (623/1226), who made it one of the bases for their power in the eastern Taurus and for expansion into Upper Mesopotamia. For a short time it had a more important role, during the struggles between the Mongols and the Mamlūks for possession of the borderland between Syria, the Djazīra and Anatolia. Aided by the Turkomans, the Mamlūks arrived in the 8th/14th century, and thrust a wedge between the Mongol protectorates as far as Malatya. The occupation of Kakhtā by the Mamlūk sultan al-Manṣūr Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*] (1280) marked one of the principal stages in this advance, and it is to the participation in this expedition of his private secretary, the historian Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, that we owe the valuable description of the fortress and its condition at that time, which the author inserted in the biography of his master. Considerable work in rebuilding and enlarging the fortress was begun on Ḳalāwūn's orders, and completed by his son al-Nāṣir Muḥammad; some fine inscriptions bear witness to this work (it is hard to see why Ḥamdī Bey, quoted in *EI*[1], attributed to an al-Manṣūr in 525 an inscription which is clearly from 685/1286), and its full extent will be revealed by the excavations and studies being made at the present time under the direction of F. Dörner. However, the decline of the Īlkhānid empire caused the eastern Taurus to become an isolated area once again; the wars left only Kurds and Turkomans in the region, and after the final episodes, in which Kakhtā passed alternately into the hands of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu and of the Mamlūks, it ultimately disappeared when the Ottomans became the sole rulers of all the neighbouring countries. Today, at the foot of the ruins, there is nothing more than a poor hamlet in the middle of the heaps of stones.

Bibliography: Sources: Michael the Syrian, ed. J. B. Chabot, iii, 198, 283-8, 294; *Chronique anonyme syriaque*, tr. A. S. Tritton and H. A. R. Gibb, in *JRAS* (1933), 87; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, tr. E. A. W. Budge, 405; Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 458; Ibn Bībī, tr. H. Duda, *Seltschukengeschichte* ..., 122-4, 248-50; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf*, ed. Murād Kāmil, Cairo 1961, 27-9; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, ed. Popper, vi, 367-71, 594; Ibn Iyās, *Journal*, tr. Wiet, i, 267; Ewliyā Čelebi, iv, 22.—Ernst Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des Byzantinischen Reiches*, 1935; Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du nord à l'époque des Croisades*, 124-5; idem, *Note additionnelle à deux ouvrages d'archéologie orientale médiévale*, in *Cahiers Techniques de l'Art*, ii (1949), 83-8 and photos; see particularly F. Dörner and R. Naumann, *Forschungen in Kommagene*, Berlin 1939, *Istanbuler Forschungen*, x, the studies of F. Dörner and Theresa Goell in *Istanbuler Forschungen*, xxiii, and the general work prepared by F. Dörner (in which the mediaeval history of the fortress is dealt with by the present writer). Some useful details will also be found in the article of J. Mordtmann in *EI*[1] and an illustration of the state of the

ruins in about 1890 in Humann und Puchstein, *Reise in Kleinasien*, 1890, 186. (CL. CAHEN)

KĀKŪYIDS, or KĀKWAYHIDS, a dynasty of Daylamī origin which ruled over part of Djibāl or west-central Persia during the first half of the 5th/11th century as virtually independent sovereigns, and thereafter for more than a century as local lords of Yazd, tributary to the Saldjūḳs. The rise of the Kākūyids is one aspect of the "Daylamī interlude" of Iranian history, during which hitherto submerged Daylamī and Kurdish elements rose to prominence. Under the dynamic leadership of the greatest member of the dynasty, ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Muḥammad, the Kākūyids played an important rôle in the politics of western Persia at a time when three great powers, the Būyids, the Ghaznawids and then the Saldjūḳs, were striving for power there.

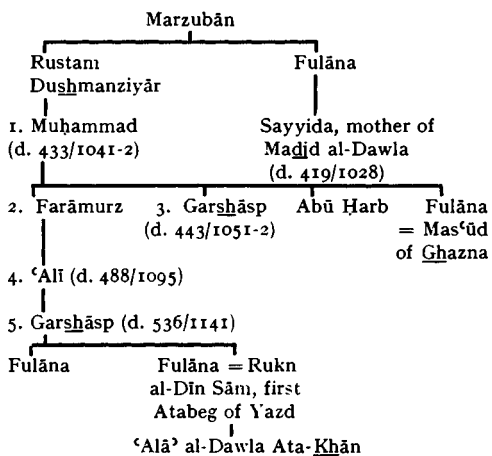
i. *Political and dynastic history.*

The founder of the line, ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad b. Dushmanziyār (thus in most of the literary sources: Kākūyid coins invariably have Dushmanzār, lit. "afflicting the enemy [through his military prowess]", cf. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 88), was the son of a Daylamī officer, Rustam Dushmanziyār, who was in the service of the Būyids of Rayy and Djibāl. Muḥammad often appears as "Ibn Kākūya" or "Pisar-i Kākū" in the historical texts. These sources generally explain kākūya as a hypocoristic from Daylamī kākū "maternal uncle", Dushmanziyār being the uncle of the famous Sayyida, mother of the Būyid amīr of Rayy, Madjd al-Dawla Rustam b. Fakhr al-Dawla (387-420/997-1029), cf. the modern Lurī use of *kākā* = "uncle" in a jocular, friendly sense. Sayyida was thus Muḥammad's first cousin. Dushmanziyār was granted Shahriyār in the Elburz Mts. region by Madjd al-Dawla. The date of his death is uncertain, but in about 398/1007-8 we find his son Muḥammad governing Iṣfahān on behalf of the Būyid amīr; and thus begins the Kākūyid hold on that city which was to endure substantially down to the Saldjūḳ conquest of Iṣfahān at the beginning of 443/1051. The internal weakness of the local Būyid amīrate, with Madjd al-Dawla dominated by his forceful mother, enabled Muḥammad to constitute himself as the military defender of the Būyids. In 411/1020-1 we find him suppressing a revolt of Turkish soldiers in Hamadhān for Madjd al-Dawla's brother Shams al-Dawla; in 414/1023-4 he seized Hamadhān from the Daylamī garrison there and went on to attack the Kurdish ʿAnnāzids [*q.v.*]; in 417/1026 he put down unrest among the Kurds of Djūraḳān or Gūrān; and in 418/1027 he repelled the concerted invasion of Djibāl by the Bāwandid Ispahbadh of Ṭabaristān and the Ziyārid Manūčihr b. Ḳābūs, who had come to the aid of local Daylamī rebels. Whilst still acknowledging Būyid overlordship on his coins, Muḥammad was now largely undisturbed in his control of western Djibal and the adjacent parts of Kurdistān. There are extant coins of his from Iṣfahān, Hamadhān, Asadābād, Ḳirmīsīn, al-Ḳaṣr, Burudjird, Djurbādhḳān, Shābūr-Khwāst, Dīnawar, Karadj in the Rūdhrāwar district, Rayy and Yazd; their legends show how he gradually acquired an impressive string of *alḳāb* or honorific titles, comprising those of ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla, ʿAḍud al-Dīn, Fakhr al-Milla and Tādj al-Umma.

When Maḥmūd of Ghazna occupied Rayy in 420/1029 and overthrew the Būyids there, ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Muḥammad's position was threatened by the efforts of Maḥmūd's son Masʿūd to extend Ghaznavid control over north-western Persia, and shortly afterwards, the appearance of Oghuz raiding bands further complicated the situation. On more than one occasion, he lost Iṣfahān and Hamadhān to the Ghaznawids, fleeing for refuge to the Būyids of Khūzistān or to the Musāfirids of Ṭārum. But the Ghaznawids always regarded "Pisar-i Kākū" as their implacable opponent, as Bayhaḳī's history shows. His statesmanship and pertinacity were such that he was always able to recover his position after reverses. On two occasions he even held Rayy, and it was probably in 421/1030 that he captured Yazd and minted coins there, the farthest outpost in the east of Kākūyid power. Possession of the rich towns of Djibāl enabled him to hire mercenaries, Daylamī and Kurdish, for his army, and also to recruit Oghuz Türkmen fleeing westwards from the Ghaznawids in Khurāsān. The historian of Iṣfahān, Māfarrukhī, praises ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Muḥammad for his care to maintain all fortresses in his territories, his ingenuity in planting spies in neighbouring regions, and his sense of realism, knowledge of when resistance was possible and when conciliation and yielding were wisest.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE KĀKŪYIDS

Marzubān
- Rustam Dushmanziyār
  - 1. Muḥammad (d. 433/1041-2)
- Fulāna
  - Sayyida, mother of Madjd al-Dawla (d. 419/1028)

Children of 1. Muḥammad:
- 2. Farāmurz
  - 4. ʿAlī (d. 488/1095)
    - 5. Garshāsp (d. 536/1141)
      - Fulāna
      - Fulāna = Rukn al-Dīn Sām, first Atabeg of Yazd
        - ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Ata-Khān
- 3. Garshāsp (d. 443/1051-2)
- Abū Ḥarb
- Fulāna = Masʿūd of Ghazna

With the collapse of Ghaznawid authority first in the west and then in Khurāsān, ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Muḥammad was for a brief period completely independent and acknowledged no suzerain on his coins. The increasing strength of the Saldjūks and the relentless extension of his power westwards by Ṭoghrīl Beg were, however, bound to press on the Kākūyids. In 429/1037-8 ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Muḥammad built a protective wall around Iṣfahān, but he died in 433/1041-2. His eldest son, Ẓahīr al-Dīn Shams al-Mulūk Abū Manṣūr Farāmurz had already discerned the trend of events; he was present with Ṭoghrīl on the battlefield of Dandānḳān in 431/1040, when the victorious Saldjūḳ leader granted to him Rayy and Iṣfahān. When ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla Muḥammad died, there ensued a struggle amongst his sons over the Kākūyid inheritance. Farāmurz's succession in Iṣfahān was contested by his brother Abū Ḥarb, who secured help from the Būyid amīr of Fārs and Khūzistān, ʿImād al-Dīn Abū Kālīdjār, but nevertheless failed to capture Iṣfahān. From 438/1046-7, when Ṭoghrīl besieged him in Iṣfahān, till 433/1051, Faramūrz acknowledged on his coins Ṭoghrīl as suzerain. In Muḥarram 433/May-June 1051 Ṭoghrīl finally captured Iṣfahān after a year's siege, razed its walls and moved his capital thither from Rayy. Farāmurz received in compensation the towns of Yazd and Abarḳūh in northern Fārs, and ended his days as a faithful vassal of the Saldjūḳs; thus he was a member of the delegation led by

Kundurī in 453/1061 to seek the hand of the caliph al-Ḳā'im's daughter for Ṭoghrīl, and of the sultan's retinue when he went to Baghdād two years later to meet his wife.

A further brother of Farāmurz, ʿAlā' al-Dawla Abū Kālīdjār Garshāsp, had been governor of Hamadhān and Nihāwand, *i.e.*, the western part of the Kākūyid dominions, during his father's lifetime, and had defended Hamadhān against the so-called "ʿIrāḳī" Türkmen when they besieged it in 420/1029. In 430/1038-9 the town was again attacked by the Oghuz, suffering a frightful sacking, but the Türkmen were soon afterwards repulsed by ʿAlā' al-Dawla Muḥammad himself. When the latter died, Garshāsp succeeded him in Hamadhān and Nihāwand, recognizing Farāmurz as his overlord. But Garshāsp soon clashed with Ṭoghrīl Beg, and tried to get help from the Būyid Abū Kālīdjār; in exasperation, Ṭoghrīl in 437/1045-6 sent his half-brother Ibrāhīm Ināl to seize first Hamadhān, and then, two years later, Kanguwār. Unlike Farāmurz, Garshāsp remained hostile to the Saldjūḳs down to his death in exile in Khūzistān in 443/1051-2; just before this, he had been in Iṣfahān and had been in touch with Mawdūd b. Masʿūd of Ghazna, who was endeavouring to organize a grand anti-Saldjūḳ coalition.

The descendants of Farāmurz lived out their lives as provincial *muḳtaʿ*s under the Great Saldjūḳ sultans, honoured as former minor rulers and now closely linked by marriage to the Saldjūḳ royal family. References to these later Kākūyids are very sparse in the general chronicles, and the main source for them is the local history of Yazd by Djaʿfar b. Muḥammad Djaʿfarī. They do not seem to have exercised minting rights; at least, no Kākūyid coins are extant after those of Farāmurz.

Mu'ayyid al-Dawla or ʿAlā' al-Dawla ʿAlī b. Farāmurz, ruler of Yazd, married Čaghrī Beg's daughter Arslan Khātūn in 469/1076-7. He spent much of his time in Iṣfahān at Malik-Shāh's court, as is shown by the anecdote in Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī Samarḳandī's *Čahar maḳāla* (ed. Browne, 41-3, revised tr. 46-8), where Amīr ʿAlī commends the poet Muʿizzī to the sultan's patronage. Eventually he died in battle near Rayy fighting for the claimant Tutush b. Alp Arslan against Sultan Berk-yaruḳ (488/1095). ʿAlī's son ʿAlā' al-Dawla ʿAḍud al-Dīn Abū Kālīdjār Garshāsp also held Yazd and was high in the favour of Sultan Muḥammad b. Malik-Shāh and then in that of his son Maḥmūd. According to Anūshirwān b. Khālid, Maḥmūd at first regarded Garshāsp like a brother, but he fell from grace and was imprisoned by the sultan; henceforth he became a fierce partisan of Sandjar (he had married the sister of Muḥammad and Sandjar), and in 513/1119 urged him to invade western Persia and join battle with Maḥmūd at Sāwa. There is mentioned in Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm's history of the Saldjūḳs of Kirmān a dispute within the Kākūyid family in Yazd during the later years of the Saldjūḳ amīr Arslan-Shāh b. Kirmān-Shāh (495-537/1101-42), in which the amīr intervened to restore the dispossessed party; this incident must have fallen within Garshāsp's time, but no further details are known. A somewhat confused later source implies that Garshāsp was killed fighting at Sandjār's side at the battle of the Ḳaṭwān Steppe in 536/1141 against the Ḳara Khiṭay. The last decades of the Kākūyid family are very obscure. Garshāsp seems to have left no male heir and during the reign of the penultimate Great Saldjūḳ sultan, Arslan b. Ṭoghrīl (556/1161-571/1176), his two daughters governed Yazd. The Sultan decreed that one of the commanders of the Yazd garrison should become Atabeg for them. In this way, there begins the line of Atabegs of Yazd, that of Rukn al-Dīn Sām b. Lankar and his brother ʿIzz al-Dīn Lankar. These Atabegs were at the outset linked by marriage to the last Kākūyids, since Rukn al-Dīn married one of Garshāsp b. ʿAlī's daughters; the Atabeg ʿAlā' al-Dawla Ata-Khān, who was killed in 624/1227 fighting for the Khwārazm-Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn against the Mongols, was their offspring. The line of Atabegs persisted in Yazd throughout the 7th/13th century, after which Yazd eventually came under the control of the Muẓaffarids [*q.v.*].

ii. *Cultural.*

By the time of the Kākūyids' rise to power, the Daylamī rulers of Persia had emerged from their pristine barbarism and grossness, and we find ʿAlā' al-Dawla Muḥammad assuming the responsibilities of the paternalistic Islamic ruler in his principality. The cost of the walls which he built around Iṣfahān, their circuit running to 15,000 paces not counting the defences of the outlying suburbs, was a burden on the local population, but in such troubled times the walls were regarded as a great benefit. One of ʿAlā' al-Dawla Muḥammad's special claims to fame is that he gave refuge to Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), after the latter had been in the service of the Būyid Shams al-Dawla of Hamadhān; the great scholar wrote his Persian encyclopaedia of the sciences, the *Dānish-nāma-yi ʿAlā'ī*, for the Kākūyid amīr, and he died in 428/1037 whilst accompanying his patron from Iṣfahān to Hamadhān.

The Kākūyid governors of Yazd did much to beautify the town and to make it a centre of intellectual life, and under them and their epigoni, the Atabegs, Yazd enjoyed one of its most flourishing periods. The local historian of Kirmān, Afḍal al-Dīn Kirmānī, says in his *ʿIḳd al-ʿulā* that "ʿAlā' al-Dawla [ʿAlī b. Farāmurz], who was the ruler of Yazd, continually sought to attract the eminent men of both Khurāsān and ʿIrāḳ, encouraged them with all sorts of promises and expressions of favour, and brought them to Yazd" (ed. ʿĀmirī, Tehran 1311/1932, 102). ʿAlī was particularly noted as an early patron of the outstanding poet of the Saldjūḳs, Muʿizzī, and several of the latter's odes are dedicated to the Kākūyid. The *Ta'rīkh-i Yazd* and the other local histories deal at length with the many palaces, mosques, *madrasas*, caravanserais, libraries and mausoleums constructed in the town by the Kākūyid amīrs; of prime value in Yazd, situated as it was on the edge of the central desert, was their extensive construction of *ḳanāt*s.

Bibliography: i. Primary sources. The history of the dynasty can only be pieced together from scattered notices in general histories like that of Ibn al-Athīr and Mustawfī's *Ta'rīkh-i guzīda*, from Ghaznawid sources like Bayhaḳī, and from Saldjūḳ ones like Bundārī and Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm's *Ta'rīkh-i Saldjūḳiyān-i Kirmān*. The local histories supplement these, in particular, Ibn Isfandiyār's *Ta'rīkh-i Ṭabaristān* (on Rustam Dushmanziyār b. Marzubān and the antecedents of the dynasty); Māfarrukhī's *Kitāb Maḥāsin Iṣfahān*, ed. Djalāl al-Dīn Ṭehrānī, Tehran 1312/1933, cf. E. G. Browne, *Account of a rare manuscript history of Iṣfahān*, in *JRAS* (1901), 23, 42, 50 of offprint; Djaʿfar b. Muḥammad Djaʿfarī's *Ta'rīkh-i Yazd*, ed. Īradj Afshār, Tehran 1338/1960; Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī Kātib, *Ta'rīkh-i djadīd-i Yazd*, ed. Afshār, Tehran 1345/1966; Muḥammad Mufīd Mustawfī Bāfḳī, *Djāmiʿ-i Mufīdī*, i, iii, ed. Afshār, Tehran 1340-2/1961-3.

ii. Secondary sources. For the general back-

ground to the rise of the Kākūyids, see V. Minorsky, art. Daylam, and idem, *La domination des Dailamites*, Paris 1932, also in *Iranica, twenty articles*, Tehran-London 1964, 12-30; and for their place in the general history of Persia, see C. E. Bosworth, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, v, *The Saljuq and Mongol periods*, Cambridge 1968, 37-40. On the chronology of the dynasty, see Zambaur, *Manuel*, 216-17, and Bosworth, *The Islamic dynasties*, 97-8. A detailed history of the dynasty is given by Bosworth, *Dailamīs in Central Iran: the Kākūyids of Jibāl and Yazd*, in *Iran, Jnal. of the British Institute of Persian Studies*, viii (1970), 73-95.

iii. Numismatics. The coinage of the Kākūyids has been well covered. See Zambaur, *Nouvelles contributions à la numismatique orientale*, in *Wiener numismatische Zeitschrift*, xlviii (1914), 142-7; G. C. Miles, *The coinage of the Kākwayhid dynasty*, in *Iraq*, v (1938), 89-104; idem, *Notes on Kākwayhid coins*, in *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes*, ix (1960), 231-6; idem, *A hoard of Kākwayhid dirhems*, in *ANS Museum Notes*, xii (1966), 165-93. (C. E. Bosworth)

al-**ḲALʿA** [see ḳalʿat banī ḥammād].

ḲALʿA-I SEFĪD [see ḳalʿe-i sefīd].

ḲALʿA-I SULṬĀNIYYA [see čanaḳ-ḳalʿe boghazī].

ḲALʿA [see agadir, burdj, ḥiṣār, ḥiṣn, ḳaṣaba].

al-**ḲALʿA** (a.), castle, fortress. a word which has passed into Spanish in the simple form Alcalá, and as Cala—or Calat—in compounds, occurs as a place-name throughout the entire peninsula—*e.g.*, Alcalá de Henares, Alcalá la Real (also named after Ibn Zayd), Alcalá de Guadaira, or Calahorra (castle of Hurra), Calatrava (Ḳalʿat Rabāḥ [*q.v.*] = ʿAlī b. Rabāḥ ?), Calatayud (Ḳalʿat Ayyūb [*q.v.*]), Calatorao (from *turāb* = land, as in Madīnat al-turāb = Valencia), Calatañazor (Ḳalʿat al-nusūr, the site of the alleged defeat of al-Manṣūr). The dimunitive Alcolea (from the Arabic *al-ḳulayʿa*) is also the name of various places of less importance, such as Alcolea in the neighbourhood of Cordoba, Alcolea del Cinca, etc. The northern zone of Old Castile and the Alava region were known by the Muslims as al-Ḳilāʿ, "the castles", a term comparable with the names Castilla and Cataluña = regions of castles.

Bibliography: Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 681; E. Lévi-Provençal, *HEM*, *passim*; Madoz, *Diccinario geográfico*, i, 356-96. (A. Huici-Miranda)

al-**KALĀBĀDHĪ**, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ, author of one of the most celebrated manuals on Ṣūfism. In spite of the fame of his work, he himself is practically unknown. He is believed to have died in 380/990 or 384/994; his *nisba* indicates that he lived in Kalābādh, a district of Bukhārā, according to Yāḳūt [s.v.], and manuscript sources (see Arberry, *India Office Catalogue*, no. 1218) confirm that he died in Bukhārā, where "his tomb is visited and revered". Of the five or six works by al-Kalābādhī, two have come down to us, one of them unpublished and without any great merit: *Maʿānī 'l-akhbār* (for other titles of this work see Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 669), a kind of brief ethical commentary on some of the Prophet's *ḥadīth*s. The other is *Taʿarruf li-madhhab ahl al-taṣawwuf*, a basic work for the understanding of Ṣūfism in the first three centuries of Islam (tr. A. J. Arberry, *The doctrine of the Ṣūfīs*, Cambridge 1935). The work is divided into three parts. The first, historical, section defines the meaning of the word *ṣūfī* and gives a swift survey of the most important figures of Ṣūfism; the second part is apologetics, going back to the articles of the creed *al-Fiḳh al-Akbar II* to demonstrate the accord between the doctrine of the Ṣūfīs and Ashʿarism (see Arberry, *Sufism*, 69); through using quotations from the Ṣūfīs and commenting on them, the third part sets out the major stages on the mystic path. The author frequently quotes al-Ḥallādj, indicating that he lived in an environment favourable to mysticism but one in which Ṣūfism had begun to deteriorate. According to the introduction, the book was written in response to this decay and with the intention of delineating true Ṣūfism.

Bibliography: In the article. (P. Nwyia)

KALABAND (Ottoman) [see nafy].

KALAH (Kalāh, Kalā, Kilā, Killah), the mediaeval Arab geographers' name for an island or peninsula (*djazīra*) which played an important intermediary role in commercial and maritime relations between Arabia, India and China. It was particularly well-known for its tin mines, and the Arabic word *ḳalʿī/ḳalaʿī* [*q.v.*] for this metal derives from Kalah; the place was also portrayed as the centre of trade in camphor, bamboo, aloes, ivory etc. Its capital also was named Kalah (cf. *e.g.*, al-Dīmashḳī, *Cosmographie*, 152, 170); so too the sea which washed its shores and was very difficult to navigate was called the Baḥr Kalah (*e.g.*, al-Dīmashḳī, *op. cit.*, 152, 169).

The identification of Kalah, of no small importance for the history of trade in the Indian Ocean, has engendered a vast bibliography. Various clues, the production of tin in particular, have suggested the Malacca peninsula; Walckenaer (*Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, Paris 1852, 19) was the first to identify Kalah with a town whose name is written as Quedah in the Portuguese sources, but is pronounced Kĕdah; this town lies on the west bank of the Malacca peninsula (6° Lat. N.). The province of Kĕdah, watered by the Kalang River (see Ritter, *Erdkunde*, v, 20-1), is still of importance in this region of Malacca because of its brisk trade in tin; the town itself, though a flourishing port in the past, has declined considerably.

Walckenaer's identification was accepted by L. A. van der Lith (ed. of *K. ʿAdjāʾib al-Hind*, index), De Goeje (in *De Gids*, Amsterdam 1889, iii, 297), Tomaschek (*Die topogr. des indischen Seespiegels Moḥīṭ*, Vienna 1897, 86) and G. Le Strange (tr. of Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī's *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 194). Quatremère (in *Journal des Savants*, 1846, 734) and Yule and Burnell (*Hobson-Jobson*₂, 145) think it likely; the latter believe that Kalan should also be identified with Ptolemy's Κῶλι, but this town seems to have been situated elsewhere (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, art. *Koli*, xi, 1073). J. Sauvaget (*Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde*, Paris 1948, 43) favours this identification but points out that Kĕdah, Kĕrah (Kra isthmus) or even Kĕlang, north of the town of Malacca, are all possibilities. Although the Malay *d* is pronounced in such a way that an Arabic speaker might hear *l*, the Chinese transcribed the name as *Ko-lo* and the vocalization of the first syllable of K-lah is in fact unknown (P. Pelliot, *Deux itinéraires de Chine en Inde à la fin du VIIIe siècle*, in *Bull. de l'École fr. d'Extrême-Orient*, iv (1904), 351 n. 6).

Moreover, it must be noted that G. Ferrand (in *JA*, 2nd series, xiv (1919), 214-33) came to reject the possibility of identifying Kĕdah with Kalah and to conclude: "geographically, between Qara = Kra, about 10° latitude North, and Kara, near Kĕdah, I prefer the first of these ports as the site of Kalah and its variants in the Arabic texts"; Ferrand's study giving the reasons for his preferences has not been published, and the claims of Kĕdah and Kĕlah (Kra)

cannot be considered as settled. Other reasonable suggestions for the site of Kalah are: in Ceylon (the port of Ghālī, Galle, Galle Point; *e.g.*, Reinaud, *Relations des voyages* ... Paris 1845, i, pp. lxi-lxii and Abu 'l-Fidā', *Geographie*, i, cdxiv, cdxviii-cdxix; Dulaurier, in *JA*, 4th series, viii, 209), Malabar (Renaudot, cf. Ouseley, *Travels* ..., i, London 1819, 53 n.) and Coromandel (Gildemeister, *Script. Arab. de rebus Indicis loci*, Bonn 1838, 57-8).

Alongside Kalah, Arab geographers use the compound word Kalāh-bār (*e.g.*, *Rel. de l'Inde et de la Chine*, § 15; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 330, 340 = tr. Pellat, §§ 361, 374), where *bār* is explained as deriving from the Sanskrit *vāta*, from which come *vād* and *vār*, "district". However in Sanskrit and in Tamil *pāram* (= *bāram* in compounds) designates "the opposite coast" and is used by sailors from another country for the coast to which they usually travel; *Relation* (§ 15) gives two explanations ("kingdom" and "coast"), the second being the correct one, so al-Mas'ūdī (i, 340-374) was wrong when he took *bār* to mean "sea".

Bibliography: apart from references in the text: Ibn Khurradādhbih, 66; Djawālīḳī, *Mu'arrab*, ed. Sachau, 56-7, 125; S. Maqbul Ahmad, *India and the neighbouring territories in the* Kitāb Nuzhat al-Mushtāq ... *of al-Sharīf al-Idrīsī*, Leiden 1960, 116-7; Yāḳūt, index; Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār*, ii, 38; Abu 'l Fidā', *Taḳwīm*, 375; Bākuwī, *Talkhīṣ al-āthār*, tr. de Guignes, in *Notices et Extraits*, ii, 405; Ibn al-Wardī, *Kharīdat al-'adjā'ib*, Cairo 1324, 86; G. Ferrand, *Relations des voyages* ..., Paris 1913-4, index; idem, in *JA*, 2nd series, xii (1918), 89, 109, xiii (1919), 312, 438 n. 2, 439-40, xiv (1919), 214-33, xxi (1923), 31; *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, 187.

(M. Streck*)

al-**KALĀ'Ī**, Abu 'l-Rabī' Sulaymān b. Mūsā b. Sālim al-Ḥimyarī al-Balansī, often known as Ibn Sālim al-Kalā'ī, a Mālikī scholar, historian, orator and poet from al-Andalus who traced back his genealogy to the Ḥimyarite family of Dhu 'l-Kalā'. Born in Ramaḍān 565/May-June 1170, in the neighbourhood of Murcia, he was still a child when his family moved to Valencia, where he began his studies, pursuing them in other Spanish cities, especially Cordoba. A pupil of Ibn Maḍā' [*q.v.*], Ibn Ḥubaysh, Ibn Zarḳūn and a number of other celebrated teachers, he discharged the office of *khaṭīb* at the Great Mosque of Valencia, and probably also that of *ḳāḍī*; his reputation, however, rested on his numerous works and on the eulogies bestowed on him by his disciples, principally Ibn al-Abbār [*q.v.*], who was indebted to him for advice and assistance in undertaking the sequel (*Takmila*) to the *Ṣila* of Ibn Bashkuwāl [*q.v.*]. Another of his pupils was al-Ru'aynī [*q.v.*], who maintained an unbroken correspondence with him and devoted a long notice to him in his *Barnāmadj*. When forced to leave Valencia in 587/1191, al-Kalā'ī composed an elegy on his exile which attests to his technical skill; the surviving fragments of his *dīwān* also reveal his talent as a poet. On his eventual return to Valencia, despite his advanced age he played an active part in the battle of Anīsha (El Puig de Cebolla) which preceded the capture of the town by James I of Aragon (16 Ṣafar 636/28 September 1238) and there lost his life (20 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 634/15 August 1237). Ibn al-Abbār mourned his death in a *marthiya* of about 100 verses (see H. Massé, intro. to the *Iktifā'*, 16-23, 40).

Al-Kalā'ī was the author of more than a score of works, but the only one which has been preserved is the *Kitāb al-Iktifā' fī maghāzī 'l-Muṣṭafā wa 'l-thalātha 'l-khulafā'* (Vol. i (all published), ed. H. Massé, Algiers-Paris 1931, *Bibliotheca arabica*, vi); this *Sīra Kalā'iyya*, a history of the *maghāzī* of the Prophet and of the first three caliphs only, is based on sources many of which are now lost. The volume published by H. Massé covers the Prophet's mission, the conversion of Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and the emigration to Abyssinia. Some quotations from *al-Iktifā'* are to be found in al-Diyārbakrī's *Ta'rīkh al-khamīs* (Cairo 1283, 1302); Khurshīd Aḥmad Fāriḳ has published in Delhi (Indian Institute of Islamic Studies, 1970) from a Ms. preserved in Dar al-kutub (Cairo), as *Ta'rīkh al-ridda*, the passages in *al-Iktifā'* relating to the *Ridda* [*q.v.*].

Most biographers of al-Kalā'ī agree on the list of his works; these reveal that this *muḥaddith*, celebrated for his erudition and fine handwriting, was particularly concerned with the Companions of the Prophet (notably *Kitāb Maydān al-sābiḳīn*, etc.; *al-Mu'djam fī dhikr man wāfaḳat kunyatuh kunyat zawdjih min Ṣaḥābat al-Muṣṭafā*) and the transmission of *ḥadīth* (in particular, *Ruwāt al-Bukhārī wa-akhbāruh*, in 4 vols.; *Arba'ūn*, etc.). Independently of his masters' *Mu'djam*, he collected his poetical works in a *dīwān*, as well as his correspondence and his *khuṭbas* (numbering about 80). Finally, we should note two imitations of al-Ma'arrī and a selection of proverbs. Although it is difficult to form a judgment on the sole basis of titles which are not always explicit, it would appear that posterity did no injustice to al-Kalā'ī in preserving from his voluminous output only the *Iktifā'*, a work which deserves some attention.

Bibliography: H. Massé has reproduced in his intro. to the *Iktifā'* the bibliographical accounts contained in: Ibn al-Khaṭīb's *Iḥāṭa*, al-Bashtakī's abridgement of the *Iḥāṭa* (Ms.), Ibn al-Abbār's *Takmila* (708, no. 1991 and additions, 540), Dhahabī's *Tadhkira* (Ḥaydarabād, iv, no. 14), Suyūṭī's *Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥuffāẓ* (Göttingen 1833, iii, 56), Ibn Farḥūn's *Dībādj* (Fez 1316, 125), Maḳḳarī's *Analectes* (ii, 502, 655, 768), Nāṣirī's *K. Zahr al-afnān* (Fez 1314, i, 307), al-'Arabī al-Mashrafī's *Fatḥ al-Mannān*. To this list should be added: Ru'aynī, *Barnāmadj*, ed. I. Shabbūḥ, Damascus 1381/1962, 66-72; M. Bencheneb, in *Actes du XIV^e Congrès des Orient.*, Paris 1907, iv, no. 334; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt*, v, 164; Pons Boygues, 283-4, no. 239. See also Ibn al-Abbār, *Ḥulla*, ed. H. Mu'nis, ii, 102, 215, 267; Ḥimyarī, *Rawḍ mi'ṭār*, 32; Nubāhī, *Marḳaba*, 119; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 388, v, 579; R. Basset, in *Bull. Corr. Afr.*, 1884, 375; F. C. Seybold, in *Homenaje a D. Fr. Codera*, Saragossa 1904, 115 ff.; Brockelmann, I, 371, S I, 634; F. Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*₂, index.

(Ch. Pellat)

KALĀM, in the sense of *kalām Allāh* the Word of God, must here be distinguished from 1) *kalām* meaning *'ilm al-kalām* [*q.v.*], "defensive apologetics", or "the science of discourse" (on God); and 2) *kalima* [*q.v.*] which, in the expression *kalimat Allāh*, means "a" (single) divine utterance.

Kalām Allāh is found at least three times in the Ḳur'ān (II, 75, IX, 6, XLVIII, 15). God spoke to the prophets (II, 253); He spoke "clearly" to Moses (IV, 164, VII, 143), who had been chosen to transmit His messages and His Word (VII, 144); God does not speak to men "except by revelation or from behind a veil" (II, 118); but He has never spoken to the ungodly (II, 174, III, 77); and an idol made by man, such as the Golden Calf, cannot speak (VII, 148; cf. Ps. 115, 135).

In the list of "the most beautiful (divine) names" (cf. AL-ASMĀ' AL-ḤUSNĀ), neither *kalām* nor *mutakallim* is found. God speaks, but the Ḳur'ān does not "name" Him as "speaker". *Kalīm Allāh*, "God's spokesman", is the name of Moses. Yet in the treatises on "God, His existence and His attributes", God is described as *mutakallim* ("speaking"), since He possesses *kalām*.

Two groups of questions arise: 1) on the basis of the ḳur'ānic texts, *kalām*, Word, is attributed to God and "theologians" were quick to examine the question of *kalām* as a divine attribute (*ṣifa*); and 2) God having addressed His word to the prophets (II, 253), by antonomasia *kalām Allāh* designates the Ḳur'ān, which gave rise to the problem of the relationship between the Ḳur'ān and the Word as attribute. Throughout the centuries, this was to remain one of the most controversial questions.

I.—Kalām, a divine attribute. This problem is directly linked to reflections and debates on the nature of the Ḳur'ān (created or uncreated). Did such discussions come into being, as has been frequently stated (by C. H. Becker, for example), through the wish to reply to the Christian theologians of Damascus, who proclaimed that the Logos, the Word of God, was both uncreated and creator? No doubt this influenced the way in which the problem was posed in some instances, but the ḳur'ānic source of the question is no less evident.

If there is a Word of God, there is therefore a divine attribute of the Word, according to the most customary process of scriptural "determination" (*tawḳīf*). But of what sort is this attribute? And what relationship does it have to the divine Essence?

a) The Mu'tazilites (and the Djahmiyya) denied that there was an uncreated Word subsisting in God, for "it cannot be established that there subsists in the soul an entity which could be called 'word' (*kalām*)" said the *ḳāḍī* 'Abd al-Djabbār (*Mughnī*, vii, *Khalḳ al-Ḳur'ān*, Cairo 1380/1961, 179). The expression "Word of God", which should be retained, in fact signifies that God created in contingent beings phrases and words so that He could communicate His law to men.—b) The Falāsifa and various related groups understood it to mean a divine, eternal Idea, a necessary emanation of the flux (*fayḍ*) which is bound to flow from the Prime Being, is received by the separate Intellects, transmitted to men by the illumination of the single Active Intellect and is broken down into words on account of the structure of mankind's passive intellect (*bi'l-ḳuwwa*).—c) According to the Karrāmiyya, the Word of God is not strictly speaking eternal: God becomes the agent and speaker by producing within Himself (*iḥdāth fi 'l-dhāt*) the Act and the Word. It is therefore proper to speak of "an attribute of the Essence", but one which has "begun".—d) The "pious Forefathers" and the Ḥanbalite tradition affirm the absolute eternity of the Word, subsisting in God and revealing Him, communicated as and when God wishes in His coeternal mystery.—e) Finally, the Ash'arites (and apparently also the Kullābiyya) affirm this same coeternity: the *kalām Allāh* is *ḳadīm*, uncreated and without beginning. But they distinguish (cf. II below) between the Word subsisting in the divine Essence, which is without speech (*ḳawl*), and its expression by means of letters and sounds. In itself, *kalām* is not an "attribute of action" (*ṣifat al-af'āl*), like the Creation or the Decree; it is, like Will, Knowledge, Life, an attribute that is *ma'ānī*, "which adds a concept to the Essence" but itself subsists within the essence by the very existence of God. Thus al-Djuwaynī, after having argued at length against the Mu'tazilites, teaches that the Word is eternal, it is "an attribute of the Essence", and has always the nature of a commandment, a prohibition, or information. Therefore it applies to things which arise within time, without itself having begun in time (cf. *Irshād*, text and Fr. tr., J. D. Luciani, Paris 1938, 73/120). On this point the Ḥanafī-Māturīdī theses differ only in minor respects from the Ash'arī view.

No doubt in order better to underline the *bilā kayf* of the Word of God in comparison with human speech, later treatises make the following distinction: while the unity of divine attributes is said to be dependent on the '*aḳliyyāt* [*q.v.*], meaning that which human reason, illuminated by the Law, is fitted to substantiate, the *kalām* attribute of God—like Hearing, Sight and Visibility—is dependent on the *sam'iyyāt*, knowledge which is available to man only *ex auditu*, through the teaching of the prophets. The very existence of these four attributes falls outside the scope of reason.

II.—The Ḳur'ān, Word of God. While everyone acknowledged the identification Ḳur'ān = *kalām Allāh*, the various schools interpreted this according to different principles, which are outlined above. Logically, therefore, the arguments concerning the created or uncreated Ḳur'ān are an application of the teaching on attributes, but in fact the positions adopted on the subject of the Ḳur'ān took precedence and influenced developments relating to the attribute of the Word.

a) the Mu'tazilite theory of the created Ḳur'ān is based on the concept of word as speech, presuming articulation and movement, which would be incompatible with pure divine immutability. All prophetic utterances, above all the Ḳur'ān, may be called the "Word of God" in that they express what God wishes to communicate to mankind; but this Word is created on the lips of prophets or reciters, or on the pages where they are recorded. In the same way, when God spoke to Moses in the "burning bush", strictly speaking it was the bush which spoke, through sounds and words directly created within it by God.

b) It is not easy to define to its ultimate consequences the thinking of the "pious Forefathers", especially that of Ibn Ḥanbal. The affirmation that the Ḳur'ān is the uncreated Word of God is absolute. The definitive thinking of Ibn Ḥanbal is that the Ḳur'ān pertains not to the world of creation (*khalḳ*) but to the world of commandment (*amr*). Now, nothing appertaining to *amr* can perish. "The Ḳur'ān went out from God and will return to Him" ('*Aḳīda*, v, 313; quoted by H. Laoust, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, Damascus 1958, 84, n. 3); according to Ibn Baṭṭa, this applies to each word, each letter of the Book (*ibid.*, 51/86). And anyone who asserts that the Ḳur'ān is created, or reserves any doubt on this subject, or simply refuses to make a pronouncement (*wuḳūf*), is impious (*kāfir*); so too is anyone who refuses to condemn such a man as an unbeliever (*takfīr*). When God makes His Word appear in a body, said Ibn Taymiyya (*Fatāwa* v, *Tis'īniyya*, Cairo 1329, 265), He does not create anything in that body; it is He Himself who speaks, as He did in the bush which revealed to Moses: "I am God and there are no other gods but Me".

H. Laoust has made an excellent summary of Ibn Taymiyya's thinking on this point, which is in itself an echo Ḥanbalī tradition (*Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Taḳī-d-Dīn Aḥmad B. Taimīya*, Cairo 1939, 171 and ref.). The attribute of

the Word is subordinate to the attribute of the Will (*irāda*). God speaks or (in opposition to the Salāmiyya) ceases to speak when and how He wishes. His Word is at the same time "an idea, sounds and letters organized with an end in view (*maķṣūd*)" (H. Laoust, *ibid.*). It may convey information (*ikhbār*) or ordain a command (*inshā'*). In this last case, it will either bring about a creation (*takwīn*: *e.g.*, the five ķur'ānic *kun*) or formulate a law (*tashrī'*). The Word is therefore multiple in its formulation. It is also hierarchically graded: the best of the *sūra*s is the *Fātiḥa*, followed by the *sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ*; Ķur'ān, Tawrāt and Indjīl are indeed the Word of God, but the Ķur'ān is superior to the Tawrāt, which itself is superior to the Indjīl.

Are the pronunciation (*lafẓ*) and reading (*tilāwa*) of the Ķur'ān by the faithful also uncreated? The professions of faith of Ibn Ḥanbal declare that to assert that its pronunciation and reading are created, when the book is *kalām Allāh*, is the mark of the condemned sect of the Djahmiyya (*'Aķīda* I, 21, 32). Al-Barbahārī makes the same assertion, adding that it is also *djahmī* to opt for *wuķūf*, a deferment of judgment, on this precise point.

But there is a Ḥanbalī tradition which tends to qualify—or at least make more exact—the position of Ibn Ḥanbal. It is said that he protested vigorously against those who averred that pronunciation and reading were created; but he never adds that they were definitely uncreated. Ibn Taymiyya came to the following conclusion: those who hold that the pronunciation and reading of the Ķur'ān are uncreated are in fact similar to the Djahmiyya and thus to be condemned; but, also according to Ibn Ḥanbal, those who support the opposite view are guilty of "blameworthy innovation" (*bid'a*). It was Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, remarks H. Laoust (*Essai*... 172, n. 2), "who attributed to Ibn Ḥanbal the dogma that recitation of the Ķur'ān is uncreated". Was this in fact a position of reserve (*tawaķķuf*) which Ibn Ḥanbal adopted for fear that such an uncreated recitation would lead to the acceptance of *ḥulūl*, an "infusion" of divine substance in the reciter? Ibn Taymiyya avoided saying that the *lafẓ* was uncreated and confined himself to asserting: "The Word (*kalām*) is the Word of God, and the voice (*ṣawt*) is the voice of the reciter" (*ibid.*, 172), and again: "When men recite the Ķur'ān, or when they write it down on paper, the Ķur'ān remains in reality (*ḥaķīķatan*) the Word of God. A word, in fact, can be attributed only to him who first formulated it and in no respect to him who transmits it or spreads it abroad" (tr. H. Laoust, *Ibn Baṭṭa*, 85, note referring to *Wāsiṭiyya*, 22).

c) The Ash'arites and Ḥanafites-Māturīdites preferred a compromise to this prudent *tawaķķuf*. Their solution was presented, especially by the earliest scholars, as the middle way between the Mu'tazilites and those whom they called *Ḥashwiyya*: according to the latter, the Ķur'ān was uncreated, not only on the lips and in the hearts of the faithful but also in so far as it was reproduced in writing on paper; following a *khabar* attributed to 'Ā'isha, whatever lies between the two covers of the book is the Word of God (and thus uncreated).

The thesis of the Ķur'ān as the Word of God, eternal and uncreated, was forcefully proclaimed in the professions of faith of al-Ash'arī (*Ibāna*, ed. Cairo 1348, 10; *Maķālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, ed. Cairo 1369/1950, i, 321); and also in the *Waṣiyyat Abī Ḥanīfa* (article 9) and the *Fiķh Akbar* II (article 3) and III (article 16). Al-Ash'arī cites the authority of Ibn Ḥanbal. Throughout the centuries, the schools remained faithful to this total affirmation.

But what part of the *kalām Allāh* is communicated by the prophets and recited or read by the faithful? Al-Ash'arī's professions of faith are silent on this point; yet on the other hand the problem is posed in basic Ḥanafī-Māturīdī texts. The Ķur'ān, says the *Waṣiyyat Abī Ḥanīfa* (article 9), the uncreated Word of God, inspired and revealed by Him, "is not He, nor other than He, but His real Attribute, written in the copies, recited by the tongues, preserved in the breasts, yet not residing there. The ink, the paper, the writing are created, for they are the work of men. The word of God on the other hand in uncreated, for the writing and the letters and the words and the verses are manifestations (*dalāla*) of the Ķur'ān for the sake of human needs. The word of God on the other hand is self-existing in His Essence, and its meaning is understood by means of these things. Whoso sayeth that the word of God is created, he is an infidel (*kāfir*) regarding God... His speech being recited or written and retained in the heart, yet never dissociated from Him" (tr. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, 127). *Fiķh Akbar* II (article 3) goes further as far as this distinction is concerned: "Our pronouncing, writing and reciting the Ķur'ān is created, whereas the Ķur'ān itself is uncreated."

What exact relationships can be established between the divine attribute of the Word and the Ķur'ān, read, written or recited? A venerable tradition distinguishes between the heavenly Ķur'ān, written for all eternity on the "protected table" (*lawḥ maḥfūẓ* [*q.v.*]) and the earthly and created books. Burning one of these earthly Ķur'āns would not destroy the Word of God. Certain later writers, such as al-Fuḍālī, wondered if the words which "descended" on the Prophet were the very words of God (those of the *lawḥ al-maḥfūẓ*) or the words spoken by the Angel.

Ash'arī answers were usually more elaborate. In an analysis reproduced by Ibn Ḥazm, al-Bāķillānī explains that the Ķur'ān is the Word of God in the sense that it is an "expression" (*'ibāra*) of it (see A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim creed*, Cambridge 1932, 151, and *EI*[1], D. B. Macdonald, s.v. KALĀM and refs.). He says further: "The *kalām* is an entity (*ma'nā*) subsisting within the soul (*ķā'im bi 'l-nafs*) which sometimes expresses itself in audible sounds" (*Tamhīd*, ed. R. J. McCarthy, Baghdad-Beirut 1957, 251).

This distinction led to the famous theory of the *kalām al-nafs* or *kalām nafsī*, the internal word, which, as we have seen, was rejected by the Mu'tazilites. Al-Djuwaynī stresses this point forcefully (*Irshād*, 58-78/98-131; see also his *Luma'*). We have a brief and clear account of it in al-Ghazālī's *Iķtiṣād* (ed. Cairo, n.d., 80). It is not true that there can be no speech without letters and sounds. Internal speech, "the discourse of the soul", *kalām al-nafs*, is a reality. The attribute of the Word, subsisting in the divine Essence, is first and foremost this internal Word in God, which is eternal and uncreated, without future or past, without multiplication or division. It in is no way impossible that God makes it manifest *ad extra* by created sounds and letters. It is essentially in this that prophetic revelation resides. Contrary to the belief of the Mu'tazilites, it is not a matter of words created in certain bodies. It is indeed God who speaks, but through sounds and letters belonging to the world of creation which manifest and express His single and immutable Word. Later Ash'arī and Māturīdī manuals take up these points again with greater or lesser felicity (*e.g.*, al-Bādjūrī,

Ḥāshiya... ʿalā Djawharat al-tawḥīd, ed. Cairo 1352/1934, 43).

Finally, it should be noted that if "the Word of God is one attribute without multiplicity" (al-Bādjūrī, *ibid.*), its manifestation through verbal words allows us to make a distinction in the Ķurʾān between information and commandment as the Ancients insisted (cf. above, the Ḥanbalī doctrine). In turn, commandment may be divided into prohibition, promise and threat; but these are "distinctions made by reason" (*aķsām iʿtibāriyya*; *ibid.*).

d) In the modern period, Muḥammad ʿAbduh emphasized the Ashʿarī distinctions to the extent of presenting an answer which seems an attempt at a synthesis between Ashʿarism and Muʿtazilism (see *Risālat al-tawḥīd*, Cairo 1353, 44 ff.): the Word is an eternal attribute of the essence; the Ķurʾān is the Word of God without any intermediary, but in as much as it is expressed in words that are uttered or written down, recited or read, it belongs to the world of creation. In this sense it can be said that God created the Ķurʾān, but without the intervention of any creature.

Bibliography: As well as references within the article, all manuals on *uṣūl al-dīn* and *ʿilm al-kalām* and all works in European languages devoted to these disciplines contain a chapter or some paragraphs on *kalām* as an attribute of God.

(L. Gardet)

KALĀM, theology [see ʿilm al-kalām].

ĶALAM (κάλαμος, reed), the reed-pen used for writing in Arabic script. It is a tube of reed cut between two knots, sliced obliquely (or concave) at the thicker end and with the point slit, in similar fashion to the European quill and later the steel pen. The reed has to be very firm so that it does not wear away too quickly; the best kind comes from Wāsiṭ and grows in the marshes (*baṭāʾiḥ*) of ʿIrāķ, but those from the swamps of Egypt (al-Muķaddasī, *BGA*, iii, 203, l. 13) or from Fāris were also recommended. Those from a rocky ground were called *ṣukhrī*, those from the seashore *baḥrī* (Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIķd al-farīd*, Būlāķ 1876, ii, 221, l. 18 ff., al-Ķalķashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, ii, 441, l. 7 f.). It is allowed to steep like hemp and is kept in the water until its skin has taken on a beautiful dark brown colour. Its fibres should be quite straight so that the slit may also be even. After the nib of the *ķalam* has been cut, it is laid on a long, flat piece of ivory or bone *miķaṭṭa*, which is specially used for this purpose; the point is then slit with a sharp transverse cut with a special very sharp knife with a long handle (penknife, Turkish *ķalamtirāsh*). The length of the reed-pen should be, according to Ibn Muķla, 12-16 finger-breadths or a span, but could not exceed this by more than the length of the *djilfa* (nib). The width should be that of the index and the little finger (al-Ķalķashandī, *op. cit.*, ii, 444, ll. 14-16), but a medium thickness—not too long or short, not bent or curved—would be the best one (al-Ķalķashandī, *op. cit.*, ii, 440, ll. 16-19). The internode should not be too long. The pen should also not be dry, although well-ripened; it should be browned by the sun, golden, shining like a pearl and silvery on the sides.

Each kind of script needed a special pen, and the cutting of the nib (*djilfa*) was an art in itself. It was the prime necessity for good handwriting, and excellent cutting was considered as "half the script". It is worth noting that in the Fāṭimid period a kind of "fountain-pen" was invented in Egypt.

The part of the point to the left of the incision is called *insī*, "human", because it is turned towards the writer, and the right *waḥshī*, "savage". If the former is slightly softer than the latter so much the better. It became a rule that in the kinds of writing called *naskh*, *thuluth* and *riķāʿ* the *waḥshī* side ought to be twice as broad as the *insī* side; in the kinds called *dīwānī* and *ķirma*, it is the other way about. The *nastaʿlīķ* is written with a pen slit exactly down the centre.

To protect the *ķalam* from damage it is kept in a holder (*miķlama*). These are of two kinds: 1) a metal box in the form of a long flat tube closed at one end by a lid with hinges and often adorned with arabesques. Attached to it is an inkwell (*dawāt*, popularly *dawāya*). This kind of holder is peculiar to the Arabs. In Ottoman Turkish it is called *diwit* (from Ar. *dawāt*); at an earlier period it was also called *ķubūr* (strictly, plur. of *ķabr* "grave") by the Ottoman Turks, a word which is found as early as Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-Kharādj* (Cairo 1302, p. 17), with the meaning of "holder", "case"; 2) a papier-mâché box adorned with lacquerwork. In it is a drawer which also holds an inkwell. This kind is used particularly in Persia and is called *ķalamdār*, "pen-box".

Sūra LXVIII of the Ķurʾān (*Sūrat Nūn*) is sometimes called *Sūrat al-Ķalam* from its opening: "N.—By the pen and what they write...". According to the traditions quoted by al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr*, Būlāķ 1323-30, xxix, 107) the *ķalam* was the first thing created by God so that He could write down events to come. Two explanations have been given of this *ķalam*: 1) the implement used for writing, a divine gift like the latter; 2) a *ķalam* of light, as long as the distance from heaven to earth, which wrote down all things that are to happen until the last judgment (cf. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-Ghayb*, Cairo 1278, vi, 330; Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maķdisī, *Kitāb al-badʾ wa 'l-taʾrīkh*, ed. Huart, i, text 161 f., tr. 149).

The *ķalam* is the emblem or symbol of the administrative services as opposed to the *sayf*, which marks the military officer. Ibn al-Wardī (d. 749/1349) wrote a *Mufākharat al-sayf wa 'l-ķalam* and Ibn Nubāta (d. 768/1366) a work with a similar title; Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Asad al-Dawānī (d. 907/1501), ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Umm al-Walad-zāde (d. 920/1514) and Ķïnalï-zāde (d. 979/1572) each wrote a *Risāla Ķalamiyya* on the same subject (Brockelmann, II, 140, 211, 430, 433).

Bibliography: Al-Ķalķashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, ii, Cairo 1331, 434-5; A. P. Pihan, *Notice sur les divers genres d'écriture... des Arabes*, etc., Paris 1856, 47 f.; Cl. Huart, *Les calligraphes et miniaturistes de l'orient musulman*, Paris 1908, 13, 16, 17 (with pictures); L. Th. Bogdanow, *Persia* (in Russian), St. Petersburg 1909, 81; F. Sarre and F. R. Martin, *Die Ausstellung von Meisterwerken muhammedanischer Kunst in München*, 1910, Munich 1912, ii, Plate 152; A. Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*, I. Teil (Denkschr. Akad. d. Wissenschaften), Vienna 1967, 117-23.

(Cl. Huart—[A. Grohmann])

ĶALAM. In Ottoman usage the word *ķalam*, pronounced *ķalem*, was used figuratively to designate the secretariat of an official department or service, and then came to be the normal term for an administrative office. This usage has survived in modern Turkish, and is also current in Arabic. (Ed.)

ĶALAMDAN [see ķalam, kitaba].

ĶALAMKĀRĪ (from Persian *ķalam*, "pen", and *kār*, "work"), the hand-painted and resistdyed cottons of India, also known as chintz (from the Western Indian vernacular word *chiṭṭa*, "spotted

cloth"). In true *ḳalamkārī*, printing-blocks are not employed. The design is sometimes drawn free-hand, but more commonly "pounced" (*i.e.*, applied by rubbing powdered charcoal through a perforated paper stencil), after which the mordants (fixing-agents), some of the colours themselves, and the wax-resist which protects parts of the fabric during red and blue dyeing operations, are applied by hand, with *ḳalams* made of reed or bamboo. The *ḳalams* incorporate a cotton wad or hair ball impregnated with the colour or with wax. Although India had understood the principles of mordant-dyeing for at least 2,000 years (there is some evidence that is was even practised in the Harappa civilization, c. 2000 B.C.) there are no surviving specimens of the work earlier than about 1600 A.D. The finest *ḳalamkārīs* of that period were made in the hinterland of Masulipatam (Golconda), the craftsmen being Hindus who worked mainly under the patronage of Muslims and Europeans, although some were also produced as temple-hangings. Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, large quantities were shipped to Europe by the Dutch, English and French East companies and had an important influence on the decorative arts of the West. Laws were introduced in France and England to forbid importation in the interests of home industry, but they were often defied. When the laws were relaxed in the second half of the 18th century, the fate of the trade was already sealed by advances in European technology, and in particular by the application of the copperplate process to fabric-printing. Henceforth the standard of the craft in India declined.

Bibliography: J. Irwin and Katharine B. Brett, *Origins of chintz*, London 1970; *Census of India*, 1961, ii, part VII-A (1): Selected crafts of Andhra Pradesh. (J. Irwin)

AL-ḲALAMMAS, appellation bestowed on the man who, according to tradition, was the first *nasī'* [*q.v.*] of the Arabs, Ḥudhayfa b. ʿAbd b. Fuḳaym b. ʿAdī, of the Banū Mālik b. Kināna; al-Marzubānī (*Muʿdjam*, 250), however, echoes a tradition according to which al-Ḳalammas al-Akbar was ʿAdī, great-grandfather of Ḥudhayfa, and al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr*, Būlāḳ 1327/1909, x, 2) states that three men were the first to be designated *nasī'*, but he does not mention Ḥudhayfa by name. However he does mention him in this respect in *Annales*, i, 1134. According to al-Masʿūdī (Murūdj, iii, 116 = § 965), the latter bore the *kunya* of Abu 'l-Ḳalammas, while biographers of al-Djāḥiẓ [*q.v.*], a *mawlā* of this family (see *Milieu*, 51 and biblio.), attribute this *kunya* to a *nasī'* by the name of ʿAmr b. Ḳalʿ, who does not appear in the current lists (much later it was borne by ʿUthmān b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar; see al-Ṭabarī, index; Abu 'l-Faradj, *Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyin*, 296). It is probable that al-Masʿūdī's Abu 'l-Ḳalammas derives from a confusion with the *kunya* of the last of the *nasa'a*, Abū Thumāma, a contemporary of the Prophet. The function of *nasīʿ* was handed down from father to son for several generations (Caussin, *Essai*, i, 244, who dates the institution from 412 A.D.) until the aforesaid Abū Thumāma. The latter's genealogy differs according to the various writers: Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel (Tab. 47) called him Djunāda b. Umayya b. ʿAwf b. Ḳalʿ b. Ḥudhayfa, and in the *Sīra* (i, 44) he appears as Djunāda b. ʿAwf b. Umayya b. Ḳalʿ/Ḳalaʿ b. ʿAbbād b. Ḥudhayfa; Ibn Ḥabīb (*Muḥabbar*, 157) and al-Bīrūnī (*Chronology*, 12) add another Ḳalʿ/Ḳalaʿ between ʿAbbād and Ḥudhayfa. On the other hand, however, Ibn Nubāta (*Sarḥ*, 406) makes al-Ḳalammas a contemporary of Hind bint al-Khuss [*q.v.*], who was thought to be responsible for introducing taboos relating to certain domestic animals which Allāh denies having introduced (Ḳur'ān, V, 102/103).

The direct descendants of Ḥudhayfa were known collectively as al-Ḳalāmis, the plural of *ḳalammas*, the meaning of which is not clear; Arabic dictionaries give the meaning of the word as "sea, copious well" (cf. *ḳalammas* in *LA*, s.v.) and, by extension, "a generous, able man" etc. It may be related to *ḳāmūs* (*okeanos*) and perhaps also to *calendas*, as A. Moberg has suggested (*An-Nasī' in der islam. Tradition*, Lund-Leipzig 1931, 44, 53-4).

Bibliography: in the article. (Ch. Pellat)

ḲALANDAR, name given to the members of a class of dervishes which existed formerly, especially in the 7th/13th century, in the Islamic world, within the area extending from Almalïk in Turkestan in the east to Morocco in the west; they resembled, with some minor differences, the "hippies" of today, distinguishing themselves from other Muslims by adopting Malāmatiyya [*q.v.*] doctrines and by their unconventional dress, behaviour and way of life. The origin of the term has not yet been established: it is first encountered in a *rubāʿī* of Baba Ṭāhir ʿUryānī (*JA*, 8th series, 1885, vi, 516) and in a short treatise entitled *Ḳalandar-nāma* (ed. Sulṭān Ḥusayn-i Tābanda-i Gunābādī, Tehran 1319, pp. 87-95) by the well-known *ṣūfī* ʿAbd Allāh-i Anṣārī (d. 481/1088-9).

It passed into Arabic in the form *karandal* (see Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi 'l-wafayāt*, Berlin, Westdeutsche Bibliothek, Ms. Orient, fol. 3145, f. 3a f.; Dozy, *Suppl.*, ii, 340) and *ḳalandar* (al-Nuʿaymī, *Tanbīh al-ṭālib wa irshād al-dāris*, al-Ṭandjī's Ms., f. 368b f.). The suggestions put forward that the word derives from Persian *kalandar* ("ugly and ungainly man"; "a whittled piece of wood put behind a door to stop it opening", *Burhān-i ḳāṭiʿ*, ed. M. Muʿīn, Tehran 1342, ii, 1680a), Persian *kalāntar* (from *kalān*, "large, great") (*ibid.*), or from Greek *kaletor*, from the root *kaleo* (Ivanov, *Truth-workers*, p. 60, note 1) are still no more than hypotheses (cf. *Burhān-i ḳāṭiʿ*, iii, 1540, editor's note 3). In Turkish, it came to mean "a dervish who has withdrawn from the world and who wanders about like a vagabond; a man who has renounced all worldly things and who has seen the truth, a philosopher" (see Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs-i Türkī*, Istanbul 1318, ii, 1081; cf. J. W. Redhouse, *Turkish-English dictionary*, Istanbul 1921, 1471).

There exists, especially in Turkish works, vivid and detailed information concerning the *ḳalandar*'s outward appearance: they are depicted in the chapter on them in the *Khwādja-i Djihān wa natīdja-i djān*, by the 10th/16th-century Turkish writer Wāḥidī (Istanbul University Library, Ms. TY 9504, f. 31b), as clean-shaven, with shaven eyebrows and heads, wearing a conical hat of woven hair and a yellow or black shawl, and carrying a drum and a standard (*ʿalam*); to this should be added the information concerning the appearance of the dervishes connected with the Abdālān-i Rūm and the Shamsī groups (cf. Wāḥidī, *ibid.*, ff. 20a-21b).

In an illustration to Nicolas de Nicolay's *Les navigations*... (Lyons 1567) and reproduced in Blaise de Vigenère's translation (Paris 1612) of Chalcocondyles, the *ḳalandar* is wearing a coarse garment of horse-hair which reaches only to just below the hips; his hair and face are completely clean-shaven; on his head is a felt hat with a horse-hair brim of one hand's lengthl He is wearing rings in his ears, on his wrists and on his genitals.

There were great similarities between the *ḳalandars* and the Ḥaydarī, Djāmī and Bektāshī sects,

which differed to some extent in their appearance and dress but had adopted the same way of life (Wāḥidī, ff. 43a, 57b ff., 60a ff.; cf. *Türk halk edebiyatı ansiklopedisi*, no. 1, p. 52b; Faḳīrī, *Taʿrīfāt*, Ist. Un. Lib., Ms. TY 3051, f. 13b). In Old Ottoman texts, the words *ishik* and *torlak* are used as equivalents of *ḳalandar* (*Türk halk edebiyatı ansiklopedisi*, p. 34a).

In the Punjab, the word *kalender* usually means "a trainer of performing monkeys" (see Rose, *Glossary of the tribes of Panjab and N. W. Frontier*, iii, 257).

Bibliography: In the text. (Tahsin Yazıcı)

ḲALANDARIYYA, name of a Muslim *ṭariḳa* and, earlier, name given to a (not strictly organized) movement, which probably began after the appearance of the Malāmatiyya [*q.v.*] (3rd/9th century) and whose adherents, holding in general to Malāmī doctrines, gave them a different interpretation; as manifested in the 7th/13th century, the movement was strongly under Buddhist influence (see M. Habīb, *Chishti mystics*..., in *Med. Ind. Qtly.*, i/2 (1950), n. 1). The existence of the movement in Khurāsān in the 5th/11th century is clearly attested; its adherents then may have been Buddhist ascetics maintaining their Buddhist beliefs and way of life under a Muslim guise; alternatively, the (earlier) Malāmīs had been inspired by such Buddhist ascetics. Since the *ḳalandars* looked with envy at the way of life of these Indian ascetics (see Khatīb-i Fārisī, *Manāḳib-i Camāl al-Dīn-i Sāvī*, ed. T. Yazıcı, Ankara 1972, 12), the second alternative is more likely. The movement was at first confined to individuals and to the eastern Islamic world (Khurāsān, Turkestan, etc.); its spread westward, in the early 7th/13th century, is due to the activities of Djamāl al-Dīn al-Sāwī (d. *ca.* 630/1223-3). Until his day the movement, like the Malāmatiyya, possessed general basic principles, but remained no more than a corpus of ideas; al-Sāwī, systematizing and adding to this corpus, produced in effect a new movement—so new, that in some sources (*e.g.*, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Khatīb, *Fusṭāṭ al-ʿadāla*, ed. O. Turan, in *Fuad Köprülü Armağanı*, Istanbul 1953, 555 ff.) he is represented as the founder not of the Ḳalandariyya but of the Djawlaḳiyya branch of the Ḳalandariyya. The history of the movement must therefore be treated in two phases, before and after al-Sāwī.

In the first phase, the basic principles of the movement consisted of a kind of existentialism. Whereas the Malāmatīs, without boasting or ostentation, carried out scrupulously God's commands, the Ḳalandarīs sought to destroy all custom and tradition and to conceal their actions from public view (Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, Turkish tr. by Lāmiʿī, Istanbul 1289, 20; cf. al-Suhrawardī, *ʿAwārif*, Cairo 1358/1939, 56-7, partial Eng. tr. in J. S. Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, 267). Al-Suhrawardī's description is supported by the statements of *ḳalandars* in ʿAbd Allāh-i Anṣārī's *Ḳalandar-nāma* (ed. Sulṭān Ḥusayn-i Tābanda-i Gunābādī, Tehran 1319 s., 87 ff.), which presents a system of thought advocating inner contentment, the unimportance of learning, the avoidance of all display, and contempt for the transient world and everything in it (*op. cit.*, pp. 88 f.).

In practically any society some individuals, naturally enough, will adopt such ideas; but their systematization was probably due to the influence of Indian ascetics. In the 3rd/9th century there were to be found in Mesopotamia and adjacent regions wandering non-Muslim ascetics, practising poverty, seeking uprightness (*ṣidḳ*), purification and sanctity, traveling in pairs and never spending two nights in the same place (Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iv, 147; cf. I. Goldziher, *Le dogme et la loi de l'Islam*, Paris 1920, p. 133). It is very possible that Muslim ascetics, impressed by these holy men, looked for, and found, in the Ḳurʾān (*e.g.*, X, 112) and in *ḥadīth* the authority to imitate them.

Apart from Anṣārī's *Ḳalandar-nāma*, no work is known which treats of the movement before the beginning of the 7th/13th century, the time when it attracted the attention of the whole Muslim world, no doubt because of the appearance of Djamāl al-Dīn al-Sāwī, with his unusual style of dress, and his attraction of adherents. He and his followers shaved the beard, the moustache, the eye-brows and the head; they wore a hair-cloth garment; and they regarded any action as licit. Such distinctive behaviour provoked reaction in some, attracted others, and caused them to be mentioned in several literary works. Al-Sāwī probably died in about 630/1232 (the birthdate 382/992-3 given in his *Manāḳib* (ed. T. Yazıcı, Ankara 1972, intr. p. iv, text p. 5; cf. M. F. Köprülüzāde, *Andolu'da islāmiyet*, offprint from *EFM*, p. 52) is to be rejected). The name *djawlaḳiyya* presumably arose from the founder's distinctive garb (Pers. *djawlakh*, "sack-cloth"). The Djawlaḳiyya (under that name) had penetrated into Anatolia in the first half of the 7th/13th century (see O. Turan, *loc. cit.* above; cf. Djalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī, *Mathnawī*, ed. Nicholson, i, 18). Convents of the movement were found principally in Anatolia and Egypt, but the movement itself spread as far as the Maghrib and India (see Fakhr al-Dīn ʿIrāḳī, *ʿUshshāḳ-nāma*, ed. and tr. A. J. Arberry, Oxford 1939, 2-26; cf. Dawlatshāh, pp. 215 f.; Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, Turk. tr., p. 671).

Ḳalandars were numerous in Syria and Egypt in the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries, and their unconventional behaviour occasionally produced a reactiod from the authorities: thus in 761/1360 the Mamlūk sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir obliged them to adopt normal dress. They were found in Anatolia in the first half of the 7th/13th century (cf. Aflākī, *Manāḳib al-ʿārifīn*, ed. T. Yazıcı, ii, 596; Fr. tr. Huart, ii, 100; cf. O. Turan, *op. cit.*, p. 561), and in the Ottoman period (they were active until the 12th/18th century) are referred to also under other names: *Abdālān-i Rum. Shamsīyān*, etc. "*Abdāls*" are recorded from the early 8th/14th century (see, *e.g.*, the *Vilâyetnâme* of Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh, ed. A. Gölpınarlı, Istanbul 1958, 46). In the 10th/16th century, attacks on such dervish-groups began: a certain Wāḥidī wrote his *Khwādja-i Djihān wa Natīdja-i Djān* (in the press, ed. T. Yazıcı) as a condemnation of the adherents of ten *ṭariḳas* of this type; and in the next century, when they were still active, Karakash-zāde ʿUmar Ef. produced a modernized redaction of Wāḥidī's work (*Nūr al-hudā li-man ihtadā*, Istanbul 1286). When later authors (*e.g.*, Ḥarīrī-zāde Kemāl al-Dīn, *Wasāʾil al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ fī bayān salāsil al-ṭarāʾiḳ*, Ms Fatih 432, ff. 74 v. ff.) allege that the Ḳalandariyya derives from the Mawlawiyya, they are misled by the fact that the dress of the Shamsiyya, a branch of the Mawlawiyya, resembled that of the *Ḳalandars*. In Anatolia *Ḳalandars* are also called *ishik* and *torlak*.

In Iran the usual name was *Ḳalandar* (*Türk halk edebiyatı ansiklopedisi*, p. 34). In the Ṣafawid period they were numerous, especially around Ardabīl (A. Olearius, *Vermehrte... Reisebeschreibung*, n. p. 1656, 685).

The movement was firmly established in India as early as the reign of Iltutmush (607/1210-633/1236) see M. Habib, in *Med. Ind. Qtly.*, i/2 (1950), 3). In the 7th/13th century Ḳalandar-type dervishes came

to Delhi, and aroused curiosity by their odd behaviour (Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Baranī, *Ta'rīkh-i Fīrūz-shāhī*, Calcutta 1860-2, 202); especially in the Punjab and in Sind they influenced such personalities as Fakhr al-Dīn ʿIrāḳī (d. 686/1287-8), Amīr Ḥusaynī (d. 718/1318-9) and Shāhbāz Ḳalandar (ʿUthmān-i Marandī, d. 724/1324). They had convents in the neighbourhood of Delhi. They flourished particularly in the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries (Baranī, *op. cit.*, p. 560), but were later absorbed into other orders (C. A. Storey, *Persian literature*, i/2, 1036).

Doctrines. Influenced by Hindu and Buddhist (especially Mahayana and Sangha) traditions, the Ḳalandariyya were distinguished from other Muslim orders by the following features: (1) The shaving of the head, eye-brows and face (especially after the time of al-Sāwī) in order fully to reveal the beauty of the face. (2) The wearing of a *khirḳa*; in India the usual garb was a blanket over the body and a blanket or a cotton sash round the waist (*Khayr al-madjālis*, no. xxxviii; *Siyar al-ʿārifīn*, p. 119; *Manāḳib-i Khwādja-i Djihān*, quoted in *Manāḳib-i Camāl al-Dīn-i Sāvī*, intr. p. xi); (3) The wearing round the neck and on the arms of iron rings called *ḥaydariyya* (*Fawā'id al-fuwād*, 25 Djumādā I, 708). (4) Austerities and seclusion were not considered important, and they were lax in following the obligatory precepts and practices of Islam, usually refraining from engaging in worship (Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, iv, 301), or at least in corporate worship (*Siyar al-ʿārifīn*, p. 97). (5) They usually subsisted on charity, owned nothing but a few personal possessions, and did not marry. They were notorious for their coarse behaviour (Maḳrīzī, *loc. cit.*). The adherent should remain unmoved by any ill-treatment and never feel sorrow or grief; he should be satisfied with one morsel of food and one garment; he should absolutely eschew hypocrisy (*riyā'*); he should despise all precious objects; he should remain aloof from the mass of the population and always be on the move; and he should always love a beautiful countenance (*Manāḳib-i Camāl al-Dīn-i Sāvī*, intr. pp. xii f.). In spite of the obligation to keep on the move, some *ḳalandars* did settle in convents, in Egypt and Syria and (*e.g.*, in the 7th/13th century) in Konya (Aflākī, *loc. cit.*).

Bibliography: Further to references in the text: Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ 1870, ii, 332 f.; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 61-4; Farishta, *Ta'rīkh-i Hind*, Bombay 1831, ii, 774; *Burhān-i Ḳāṭiʿ*, ed. M. Muʿīn, Tehran 1342 s., iii, 1540, 1670; A. Olearius, *Persianischer Rosenthal*, Schleswig 1654, book 8, § 67; de Sacy, *Chrest. Arabe*[2], i, 263 ff.; *Notes et Extr.*, xii, 341; d'Ohsson, *Tableau*[2], iv, 664; J. P. Brown, *The Darvishes*, ed. H. A. Rose, London 1927; A. le Chatelier, *Les confréries musulmanes du Hedjaz*, Paris 1887, 253 ff.; R. du Mans, *Estat de la Perse en 1660*, ed. Schefer, Paris 1890, 216; F. Babinger, in *Isl.*, xi (1921), 94 n.; J. S. Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, 264-9.

(Tahsin Yazici)

ḲALANSUWA [see libās].

KALĀNTAR (Pers. *kalān*, "big, great") is used in the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries to mean "leader" (cf. Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, *Cinq opuscules de Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū concernant l'histoire de l'Iran au temps de Tamerlan*, ed. F. Tauer, Prague 1959, 7; Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh-i muʿīnī*, ed. J. Aubin, Tehran 1957, 257, 258, 261), and occurs especially with reference to the tribal and military classes. The phrase *īl va ulūs va kalāntarān va sar khaylān va aʿrāb va aḥshām va farīḳ-i Balūč* is found in a document dated 874/1470 issued by Uzun Ḥasan for the government of Khurāsān and Transoxania (*Asnād va mukātabāt-i ta'rīkhī-i Īrān*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Navā'ī, Tehran 1962, 322), in which *kalāntarān* clearly means tribal leaders (cf. also the phrase *kalāntarān va tūshmālān va sar khaylān-i īl va ulūsāt* in a farman of Shāh Ṣafī dated 1043/1634, *Yak ṣad o pāndjāh asnād-i ta'rīkhī*, ed. Djahāngīr Ḳā'im-maḳāmī, Tehran 1969, 44). From the late 9th/15th century onwards *kalāntar* designates (i) an official belonging to the "civil" hierarchy in charge of a town or district or the ward of a town, (ii) the head of a guild, and (iii) the head of a tribe or sub-tribe. In its first sense, which is now obsolete, the term *kalāntar* sometimes overlapped or was synonymous with *ra'īs*, *dārūgha* [*q.v.*], and *kadkhudā*. The use of the term *kalāntar* for the head of a guild is rare, but is attested in two documents, one dated 928/1522 for the *kalāntar* of the singers and musicians of the empire (Ḥādjdjī Ḥusayn Nakhdjawānī, *Dhayl-i Ḥabīb al-siyar ta'līf-i Maḥmūd b. Ghiyāth al-Dīn Khwāndamīr*, in *Nashriyya-i dānishkada-i adabiyyāt-i Tabrīz*, x/3 (1958), 246-7), and the other for the *kalāntar* of the *naḳḳārakhāna* in the *Sharafnāma* of ʿAbd Allāh Marwārīd (H. R. Roemer, *Staatsschreiben der Timuridenzeit*, fol. 20b ff.). As a tribal term *kalāntar* is still current and is common among the tribes of Fārs and Kūhgīlūya, and among the Bakhtiyārī.

As the head of a town or district the *kalāntar* held a position of respect similar to that of the *ra'īs* in the Saldjūḳ period, though it must not be assumed that the *kalāntar* necessarily carried out the same functions everywhere or that his status was always the same. He was, like the earlier *ra'īs*, the link between the government and the taxpayers and his main duty was to reconcile the interests of the two parties. In some cases he received his appointment from the ruler (cf. the appointment of a village *kalāntar* by Tīmūr mentioned by J. Aubin, *Un santon Quhistānī de l'époque Timouride*, in *REI* (1967), 211). The analogy between the *kalāntar* and the *ra'īs*, however, must not be pressed too far. Under the Ṣafawids, the *kalāntar* was more fully integrated into the official hierarchy than had been the *ra'īs* in Saldjūḳ times. In the case of Iṣfahān and some of the major towns, the *kalāntar* received his appointment from the shah. Iskandar Beg, referring to the appointment of a certain Adham Beg as *kalāntar* of Tabrīz in 1015/1606-7, states that this office was "among the most important affairs" (*az muʿẓamāt-i umūr*) (*ʿĀlamārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, Iṣfahān 1956, ii, 725). Muḥammad Mufīd also mentions that the office of *kalāntar* was "among the high offices" (*az manāṣib-i ʿaliyya*) (*Djāmiʿ-i Mufīdī*, ed. Īradj Afshār, Tehran, iii, 244).

In Ṣafawid times the *kalāntar* of Iṣfahān held a position of eminence and was reckoned among the notables (*ashrāf wa aʿyān*). Together with the *wazīr* of Iṣfahān, he was authorized to designate the heads of the districts, subject to the agreement of two-thirds of the population concerned, and the heads of the craft guilds (Mīrzā Rafīʿā, *Dastūr al-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Taḳī Dānish-pazhūh in *Rev. de la faculté des lettres et sciences humaines, Univ. of Tehran*, xvi/4, 421-2). His functions were primarily concerned with the assessment and collection of taxes. In the first three months of the year, he would appoint a tax collector (*muḥaṣṣil*), assemble the heads of the craft guilds and the heads of the districts or wards of the city and send them to the *naḳīb al-ashrāf*, who would transmit to them a statement of their tax quota. After the members of the different guilds and the inhabitants of the different districts had, with the

approval of the *kadkhudās*, allocated this among their members and the inhabitants of the districts respectively and the documents recording this had been signed by the *naḳīb*, these would be brought to the *kalāntar* for his signature and would be registered by the *muḥaṣṣiṣ-i mamlakat*, who kept a register of the break-down of the taxes among the individual taxpayers belonging to the guilds and districts. The *muḥaṣṣiṣ-i mamlakat* was, in effect, the *kalāntar*'s clerk and appointed with his approval. The seal of the *kalāntar* was required on orders for the payment of drafts made on the taxes of the guild or districts.

It was also the duty of the *kalāntar* to investigate and decide any disputes which might occur between the guilds or the inhabitants of a district concerning their trade, business, or activities and to prevent them exercising tyranny or oppression against one another. A number of attendants belonging to the *dīwān* (*mulāzimān-i dīwān*) were allocated to him to act as his subordinates to perform the various tasks which were referred to him by the *dīwān* (*Dastūr al-mulūk*, xvi/4, 421-2, 427, xvi/5-6, 549; see also *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, tr. and explained by V. Minorsky, GMS, 1943, Persian text, fol. 76a ff.). He received wages, allocated on the taxes, and dues which he collected annually from the guilds according to custom (*Dastūr al-mulūk*, xvi/4, 422). Dues levied for the *kalāntar* (*Kalāntārī, rusūm-i kalāntarī, marsūm-i kalāntar*) are also attested in Āḳ Ḳoyunlū documents (see text of a *suyūrghāl* granted by Rustam Beg dated 902/1496 and a grant of immunities from Aḥmad Beg dated 903/1497, given by J. Aubin in *Arch. persanes commentées 12, Note préliminaire sur les archives du Takya du Tchima-rud*, Tehran 1955, 6, and A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant*, Oxford 1953, 103, for a document dated 904/1498-9 for a *suyūrghāl* from Amīr Alvand Āḳ Ḳoyunlū).

The *kalāntar* of Iṣfahān had certain functions in connection with the reception of foreign envoys, and was consulted by the *mihmāndārbāshī* and the *wazīr* over the designation of their lodgings (*Dastūr al-mulūk*, xvi/4, 427; cf. also a document dated 1130/1717 from Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn, instructing the *dīwānbegī*, vizier, *kalāntar*, and officials of Iṣfahān to hand over to a certain Frenchman the house in which he was to live, H. Busse, *Untersuchungen zum islamischen Kanzleiwesen*, Cairo 1959, 229). When Humāyūn, the Great Moghul, came to Ḳazwīn during the reign of Ṭahmāsp he lodged with the *kalāntar* Khʷādja ʿAbd al-Ghanī Djalādatī (Iskandar Beg, *ʿĀlamārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, i, 98). Tavernier, when he arrived in Iṣfahān in 1664, was met by the *kalāntar* of the Armenians, who was ordered to provide him with men to transport the presents he had brought for inspection at the court (*Voyages en Perse*, Geneva 1970, 116).

The duties which the *kalāntar* performed on behalf of the government were only one aspect of his functions. He was also, in the words of the *Dastūr al-mulūk*, the representative of the people (*wakīl-i raʿāyā*). As such, it was his responsibility to present their affairs to the shah and others in authority, to remove tyranny and oppression which might afflict them, and to see that the orders and regulations issued by the guilds concerning their business and work were carried out. Similarly, he was required to be present on occasions when measures were taken affecting the interests of the people, as, for example, when claims for a reduction of taxation after some natural calamity were examined by the *rayyāʿ* (surveyor), or when disputes over the use of the water of the Zāyandarūd were investigated (*Dastūr al-mulūk*, xvi/5-6, 552).

The population probably had greater influence on the appointment of the *kalāntar* in the provinces than in the capital. A document dated Rabīʿ I 1107/1695 for the dismissal of a certain Khʷādja Muḥammad Taḳī, the *kalāntar* of Gīlān-i Biyā Pas (Rasht and its dependencies), and the appointment of Khʷādja Muḥammad Saʿīd as his successor, states that the *wazīr*, deputy *wazīr* and *mustawfī* of Gīlān-i Biyā Pas, the local *shaykh al-islām* and the *wazīr* of the *buyūtāt-i khāṣṣa* had investigated the dissatisfaction of the *kadkhudās*, taxpayers (*arbāb-i bunīča*), and people of the province with Khʷādja Muḥammad Taḳī and their wish that Khʷādja Muḥammad Saʿīd, the former *kalāntar*, should be reappointed. The document records that they had reported that only 469 persons had expressed their satisfaction with Khʷādja Muḥammad Taḳī as *kalāntar*, while 2,127 persons had signified their desire for the reappointment of Khʷādja Muḥammad Saʿīd; of these 983 had complained against Khʷādja Muḥammad Taḳī, while the rest had merely stated their support for the appointment of Khʷādja Muḥammad Saʿīd. In the light of this, the latter was reappointed *kalāntar* and the population of the province were instructed not to oppose him in anything which he considered would contribute to the ease of the people or increase the revenue of the *dīwān*. The document states that the *wazīr* and *mustawfī* were not to make allocations on the revenue or interfere without his knowledge or permission (or that of the officials he might appoint). It was his responsibility to make charges on the revenue in accordance with the details received from the *dīwān* and to send to the *dīwān* at the end of the year a statement of these charges and of the taxes and dues and their allocation among the individual taxpayers together with the relevant documents and receipts duly sealed. He was also given general oversight of the purchase of silk from Gīlān by the royal administration, and had a watching brief over matters connected with law and order: disputes between the people were to be decided by the *dārūgha* in his presence or that of the officials he appointed (*Barrasīhā-yi taʾrīkhī*, Tehran, iii/2, 80-2; also in *Yak ṣad o pandjāh sanad-i taʾrīkhī*, *op. cit.*, 54). An undated *farmān* issued by Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn in favour of Amīr Muḥammad Zamān b. Amīr Muḥammad Ḥusayn, after establishing the hereditary claim of Amīr Muḥammad Zamān to the office of *kalāntar* of some of the provinces (*walāyāt*) of Sīstān and mentioning that the claim of his grandfather Mīr Muḥammad Muʾmin had been recognized in Ramaḍān 1068/June-July 1658, subject to two-thirds of those whose names were on the tax-roll (*bunīča*) being agreeable to his holding the office of *kalāntar*, appoints him to that office, provided his appointment is also supported by two-thirds of the people. His duties were similar to those of the *kalāntar* of Gīlān-i Biyā Pas, except that he did not have special duties in connection with the silk trade (*Asnād-i khāndān-i Kalāntarī-i Sīstān* in *Barrasīhā-yi taʾrīkhī*, Tehran, iv/5-6, 12-14). Cf. also two diplomas for the office of *kalāntar* of Tabrīz issued by Karīm Khān Zand, dated 1764 and 1773 respectively, which show that the wishes of the inhabitants were considered in the appointment of the *kalāntar*, at least in theory. Nādir Mīrzā, *Taʾrīkh va Djughrāfiyā-yi dār al-salṭana-i Tabrīz*, Tehran lith., 1905, 291 ff.)

In the smaller towns also the *kalāntar* was the spokesman of the people and could sometimes make his voice heard. For example when the *kalāntar* of

Sāva and the people of that region complained to Shāh ʿAbbās in 999/1590-1 of the tyranny and exactions of Shāh Ḳulī Sulṭān, the Turkoman governor, he was replaced by Gandj ʿAlī Khān (Ḳāḍī Aḥmad Ḳummī, *Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh*, ed. H. Muller, Wiesbaden 1964, Persian text, 90). Several European observers in the 17th century state that the *kalāntar*'s function was to defend the people against the injustice and extortion of the government (cf. Du Mans, *Estat de la Perse en 1660*, Paris 1890, 36; Tavernier, *Voyages en Perse*, 260; Corneille le Brun, *Voyages de Corneille le Brun par la Moscovie, en Perse, et aux Indes orientales*, Amsterdam 1718, i, 209).

The *kalāntar* of the Armenians of New Djulfā outside Iṣfahān, where Shāh ʿAbbās established an Armenian colony, was an important and influential official in Ṣafawid times. He was normally an Armenian. His functions were similar to those of the *kalāntar* in other towns or districts of towns (see further H. Busse, *Untersuchungen zum islamischen Kanzleiwesen*, 138 ff.; J. Carswell, *New Julfa*, Oxford 1968, 78). An official known as the *kalāntar* was also well-known in Georgia in the 17th and 18th centuries and his functions seem broadly to have corresponded to those of the *kalāntar* in Persian towns (cf. Joseph Karst, *Le Code de Vakhtang VI, Commentaire historique-comparatif*, in *Corpus Juris Ibero-Caucasici*, Strasbourg 1937, iii, 564).

Usually, the *kalāntar* was a local man, and as with many other local officials there was a strong hereditary tendency in his office. Occasionally the *kalāntar* of one city might be transferred to another, but this was rare. Sometimes the *kalāntar* held some other office as well (cf. the case of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Beg, a Tabrīzī, who died in 1031/1621-2, after having been at one time *wazīr* of Shīrwān and later *wazīr* and *kalāntar* of Ḳumm; Iskandar Beg, *ʿĀlamārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, ii, 991).

The fact that the *kalāntar*, while acting as the spokesman of the people, was also integrated into the official hierarchy made it easy for him, as soon as the hand of the central government was removed, to use the power and influence which he held as a government official to assert his independence. In the 18th century the *kalāntars* and *kadkhudās* of the cities and towns often emerged as local leaders in times of crisis. One such was Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm, whose father Ḥādjdjī Hāshim had been *kadkhudābāshī* of the Ḥaydarī quarters of Shīrāz under Nādir Shāh. He became *kalāntar* of Shīrāz after the death of ʿAlī Murād Khān Zand and continued to hold this office under Luṭf ʿAlī, and in 1205/1791, when the latter absented himself from Shīrāz in an abortive attempt to seize Iṣfahān, took possession of the city, to surrender it in due course to Āḳā Muḥammad Khān Ḳādjār, whose *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* he later became. Amīn al-Dawla, one of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's first ministers, was also, at the beginning of his career, *kadkhudā* of one of the districts of Iṣfahān and later *kalāntar* of the city.

Sir John Malcolm, writing in the early 19th century, states that "the Kalantar, or chief magistrate of the city, and the Kut-khodahs, or magistrates of the different wards, though nominated by the king, must be selected from the most respectable inhabitants... Although these officers are not formally elected, the voice of the people always points them out: and if the king should appoint a magistrate disagreeable to the citizens, he could not perform his duties, which require all the weight he derives from personal consideration to aid the authority of office" (*History of Persia*, London 1829, ii, 324-5). James Morier, about the same time, states that a *kalāntar* besides "the real governor resides in every city, town and village and superintends the collection of the tribute". His account shows that there was a marked continuity of practice in the office of *kalāntar*. He states, "The *Kelounter* is a man of consequence wherever he presides; he is an officer of the crown, and once a year appears before the Royal presence, an honour which is not permitted to the *Ket Khoda*. He also receives wages from the King's treasury, which the *Ket Khoda* does not. The *Kelounter* is the medium through which the wishes and wants of the people are made known to the King: he is their chief and representative on all occasions, and brings forward the complaints of the *Rayats*, wherever they feel oppressed. He also knows the riches of every *Rayat*, and his means of rendering the annual tribute: he therefore regulates the quota that every man must pay; and if his seal is not affixed to the document which the *Rayat* brings forward in the time of the levy, the assessment is not valid, and the sum cannot be received" (*A journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor to Constantinople in the years 1808 and 1809*, London 1812, 235-6).

From about the middle of the 19th century, as the central government extended its operations, the office of *kalāntar* lost its importance. Its financial functions were largely taken over by officials of the ministry of finance. The *kalāntar* continued, however, under the governor, to have some responsibility for local affairs, the guilds, and, to some extent, public order, but his duties and influence varied from place to place (cf. E. Aubin, *La Perse*, Paris 1908, 37, 38, 51). With the grant of the constitution in 1906 and the adoption of modern forms of government, the office of *kalāntar* lapsed, its various surviving functions being taken over by municipal and police officials. During the reign of Riḍā Shāh, the term *kalāntarī* became the official designation of a police-station.

Bibliography: see further A. K. S. Lambton, *The office of kalântar under the Safawids and Afshars*, in *Mélanges Massé*, ed. ʿAli Akbar Siyassi, Tehran 1963, 206-18; W. M. Floor, *The office of* kalāntar *in Qājār Persia*, in *JESHO*, xiv, iii (1971), 253-68; Mīrzā Muḥammad Kalāntar-i Fārs, *Rūznāma*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1946. (Mīrzā Muḥammad was made *kalāntar* of Fārs by Karīm Khān (54). The *Rūznāma* contains a number of references to *kalāntars* in southern Persia between the years 1142/1729-30 and 1199/1784-5).

(A. K. S. Lambton)

AL-ḲALAṢĀDĪ, Abū 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ḳurashī al-Basṭī, Muslim mathematician, jurist and scholar, born in Baza (Basṭa) in Spain, at the beginning of the 9th/15th century. He studied in his native town, following ʿAlī b. Mūsā's courses in law, Ḳurʾān exegesis, *belles-lettres* and the science of the fixed shares in an estate (*farāʾiḍ* [*q.v.*]). Afterwards he settled in Granada, where Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Futūḥ and the *imām* ʿAbd Allāh al-Saraḳusṭī were his teachers. The specialised teachings of the former were oriented towards philosophy, science and philology, while the latter's courses introduced him further in Muslim law. From Granada he set out on a pilgrimage to Mecca, sojourning in the most important cities of the Maghrib and Egypt, where he met the outstanding authorities in *belles-lettres* and science. In his *Riḥla*, some extracts of which are preserved in Aḥmad Bābā's [*q.v.*] *Nayl al-ibtihādj*, he gives a list of these scholars, together with interesting biographical and bibliographical

information: thus at Tlemcen he met al-Ḳāsim b. Sa'īd al-'Uḳbānī (d. 854/1450) and Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn Zāghū (d. 849/1445), both of whom had a great influence on him and acquainted him with the methods of arithmetic and their application to the problems of the *farā'iḍ*. In Egypt he attended the lectures of Ibn Ḥadjar al-Asḳalānī (in 852/1448). Having returned from his pilgrimage, al-Ḳalaṣādī settled in Granada, consecrating his life to teaching and editing his numerous works. Of his pupils, Abū 'Abd Allāh al Mallālī, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Sanūsī, and Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Balawī may be mentioned. The political and military situation was, however, deteriorating: the united houses of Aragon and Castile decided to launch the final attack against the last Muslim stronghold in Spain. Courageously, al-Ḳalaṣādī exerted himself in trying to organize resistance, but he was soon forced to join the Andalusian hordes of refugees that were spreading over the Maghrib. He died in Ifrīḳiya at Bedja, on 15 Dhū 'l-Ḥidjdja 891/10 December 1486.

Al-Ḳalaṣādī was a prolific author on widely-varying topics, some of whose works enjoyed considerable renown both in East and West. He was certainly a compiler, but distinguished himself by the carefulness of his composition and the multiplicity of personal examples. In his mathematical works, one notices the first use of a symbolization which he uses quite extensively in the presentation and writing down of equations, sc. the use of the letter *sh* (abbreviation of *shay'* to represent the unknown (x), of the letter *m* (for *māl*) $= x^2$, of *k* (for *ka'b*) $= x^3$, of *l* (for *ta'dīl*) to represent the symbol $=$, of *dj* (for *djadhr*) $= \sqrt{\ }$. Al-Ḳalaṣādī's commentary on Ibn al-Bannā' al-Marrākushī's [*q.v.*] *Talkhīṣ* contains a fairly advanced formula for finding the approximate square root. Finally, attention may be drawn to a rational classification of the fractions by him and an exhaustive study of arithmetical procedures [see AL-KASR]. Here follows a list of his works:

Arithmetic and algebra: 1. *Ghunyat dhawī 'l-albāb fī sharḥ Kashf al-djilbāb*, MS. Tunis 14554; 2. *Inkishāf al-djilbāb 'an funūn al-ḥisāb*, MSS. Alex. Ḥisāb, 4; Br. M. 418, 903$_2$ (see M. Ben Cheneb and É. Lévi-Provençal, in *R. Afr.*, 1922); 3. *Ḳānūn al-ḥisāb wa-ghunyat dhawī 'l-albāb*, MS. Berlin 5995, lx. 8534; 4. *Kashf al-asrār* (*astār*) *'an 'ilm* (*ḥurūf*) *al-ghubār*, MSS. Paris 2473, 5350; Tunis 168 R, 402 R, 3292, 2934, 4775; Algiers 399, 17, 1448, 9; Rabat 455, 456; Brill 295, 532; Beirut 239; several MSS. in the collection of the author. The text has been published in Cairo (1309/1891) and Fez (1315/1897); 5. *Kashf al-djilāb 'an 'ilm al-ḥisāb*, MSS. Paris 2463, 13; Cairo 1 v, 178; Esc. 2853, 4; Br. M. 418, 903$_{12}$; Woepcke, in *JA*, I (1854); Tunis 2054; Tetouan, 227; 6. *Risāla fī ma'ānī 'l-kasr wa-'l-basṭ*, MS. Tunis, 2039; 7. *Risāla fī ma'rifat istikhrādj al-murakkab wa-'l-basīṭ*, MS. Tunis 2043; 8. *Sharḥ al-Urdjūza al-yasmīniyya*, MS. Br. M. 621; another MS in the collection of the author; 9. *Sharḥ dhawāt al-asmā'*, MS. Rabat 456; several MSS. in the collection of the author; 10. *Sharḥ Talkhīṣ Ibn al-Bannā'*, MS. S. 331; Paris 2464; 11. *Tabṣirat al-mubtadī bi-'l-ḳalam al-hindī*, MS. Rampur, I, 409, 3; Tunis 2043 (copy, dated 1020); 12. *Al-Tabṣira al-Wāḍiḥa fī masā'il al-a'dād al-la'iḥa*, MS. Tunis 2049.

The fixed shares: 1. *Bughyat al-muhtadī* (*sic*) *wa-ghuniyat al-muntahī*, Mard. 340. Published in Fez. No doubt one should read *al-mubtadī*, as is clear from a copy in my private collection; 2. *al-Ḍarūrī fī 'ilm al-mawārīth*, quoted in *al-A'lām*, V, 163; 3. *al-Kulliyyāt fī 'l-farā'iḍ*, with commentary, MS. Tunis 418; 5. *Lubāb Taḳrīb al-mawārīth wa-muntahā 'l-uḳūl* (*ḳawl*) *al-bawāḥith*, MS. in the coll. of the author; 5. *al-Mustawfī li-masā'il al-ḥawfī*, quoted in the *Nayl*, 208; 6. *Sharḥ al-farā'iḍ* of Ibn Ḥādjib, of *al-'Attābiyya*, of the *Talḳīn*, of the chapters regarding the *farā'iḍ* of Khalīl's *Mukhtaṣar*, quoted in the *Nayl*, 208; 7. Two *sharḥs* of the *Tilimsāniyya*, S. 1, 666; 8. *Taḳrīb al-mawārīth wa-tanbīh al-bawā'ith*, quoted in the preface of the *Bughyat al-mubtadī*.

Mālikī law, ḥadīth, apologetics concerning the Prophet. The *Nayl al-ibtihādj* gives a long list of works, the greater part of which has not come down to us: 1. *Ashraf al-masālik ilā madhhab Mālik*, quoted in *al-A'lām*; 2. *Hidāyat al-anām fī sharḥ Ḳawā'id al-Islām*; 3. *Sharḥ al-Burda*; 4. *Sharḥ Ḥikam Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh*; 5. *Sharḥ al-Anwār al-saniyya fī 'l-ḥadīth*; 6. *Sharḥ Lubb al-azhār*, MS. Br. II, 378; 7. *Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar Khalīl*; 8. *Sharḥ Radjaz Ibn Barrī*; 9. *Sharḥ Radjaz Abī 'Amr b. Manẓūr fī asmā' al-Rasūl*; 10. *Sharḥ Radjaz al-Ḳurṭubī*; 11. *Sharḥ al-Risāla*.

Grammar, prosody, etc.: 1. *Ghunyat al-nuḥāt*, with commentary; 2. *Sharḥ al-Djarrūmiyya*; 3. *Sharḥ al-Djumal* (of Zadjdjadjī); 4. *Sharḥ Mulḥat al-i'rāb*; 5. *Mukhtaṣar fī 'l-'arūḍ*; 6. *Sharḥ al-Khazradjiyya*; 7. Commentary on the *Eisagoge*; 8. *Sharḥ* of the *urdjūza* of Ibn Futūḥ on the constellations; 9. *Riḥla*.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S II, 378; Ibn Maryam, *Bustān*, 141-3; Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *Durrat al-ḥidjāl*, II, 445; Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, II, 684; Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw al-lāmi'*, 5, 14; Sarkīs, *Mu'djam al-maṭbū'āt*, 1519; Suyūṭī, *Naẓm al-'iḳyān*, 131; Aḥmad Bābā, *Nayl al-ibtihādj*, 208; Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, V, 163.—S. Enestrom, *Sur une formule d'approximation des racines carrées donnée par Alkalasadi*, in *Bibl. Math.* (1886), 236-9; Colin, in *JA*, ccxxii; F. Hoefer, *Histoire des mathématiques depuis leurs origines jusqu'au commencement du XIX^e siècle*, Paris 1874, 302; J. A. Sanchez Perez, *La aritmetica en Roma, en India y en Arabia*, Madrid-Granada 1949, 105; id., *Biografias de matemáticos arabes que florecieron en España*, Madrid 1917; Woepcke, *Traduction du traité d'arithmétique d'Alkalaçadi*, in *Actes Ac. Lincei*, xii (1859).

(M. SOUISSI)

KALĀT [see BALŪČISTĀN].

ḲAL'AT AYYŪB, now Calatayud, a fortress town in the Upper March (*al-Thaghr al-a'lā*) to the south-west of Saragossa, built near the site of the ancient Bilbilis (Labla in Yāḳūt); it took its name from the *tābi'* Ayyūb b. Ḥabīb al-Lakhmī, a *wālī* who succeeded 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Mūsā b. Nuṣayr. Situated 25 miles from Tudela and 50 miles from Medinaceli and Saragossa, the town possessed fertile, well-watered lands with orchards of figs and many fruit trees, yielding a wide variety of produce which was sold at moderate prices. According to al-Bakrī, the local mountains produced a gum-resin (*murr*) of good quality. A type of ceramic with a golden glaze was manufactured in the town and exported. Al-Idrīsī included the *balad* of Ḳal'at Ayyūb in the *iḳlīm* of Arnedo (Arnīt), along with Daroca, Huesca, Saragossa and Tudela, but in al-Bakrī's opinion it must have come under the last-named place for administrative purposes; according to al-Maḳḳarī, Molina was its *madīna*. The territory of Ḳal'at Ayyūb suffered from incidents arising from the behaviour of two powerful families who were not always subject to Cordoba, the Banū Ḳasī (*muwallad*) and the

Banu 'l-Muhādjir or Tudjībīs (Arab). According to al-ʿUdhrī, the amīr Muḥammad rebuilt Ḳalʿat Ayyūb in 248/862. Under the domination of the Tudjībīs, it was compelled on several occasions to submit to Cordoba during the caliphate. In the 5th/11th century it was ruled by Sulaymān b. Hūd who, on his death, left the town to his son Muḥammad, but the latter swiftly handed it over to his brother Aḥmad, lord of Saragossa. It is reasonable to suppose that Ḳalʿat Ayyūb was under the control of the Almoravids at least from 503/1109, and it remained in their possession until 25 Rabīʿ I 514/24 June 1120, when it was captured by Alfonso I of Aragon. The Muslims who stayed on in Calatayud after the Christian conquest formed a community living alongside Christians and Jews; they must have been far superior in numbers. The Jalón valley, where Calatayud is situated, was one of the regions of Aragon where there was a strong concentration of Moriscos.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *La "Description de l'Espagne" d'Ahmad al-Rāzī*, in *al-Andalus*, xviii (1953), 77, 78; Idrīsī, *Maghrib*, 176, 189, 190 in text, 211, 230 in tr.; ʿUdhrī, *al-Masālik ilā djamīʿ al-mamālik*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ahwānī, Madrid 1965, index; Bakrī, *al-Masālik wa'l-mamālik*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿAlī al-Ḥadjdjī, Beirut 1968, 91, 127; Yāḳūt, iv, 163; *Marāṣid*, 11, 141; Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-Miʿṭār*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Leiden 1938, 163 in text, 195-6 in tr.; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 90, 103; Ibn ʿIdhārī, iii, 222, iv, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Beirut 1967, 44, 54, 55, 144; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Aʿmāl*, Beirut 1956, 171; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, 404, 465; F. Codera, *Los tochibies en España. Noticias de esta familia tomadas de Abenhazam, Nuevas noticias acerca de los tochibies* and *Noticias acerca de los Benihud, reyes de Zaragoza, Lérida, Calatayud y Tudela*, in *Estudios críticos de historia árabe española*, Saragossa 1903, 323-72; J. M. Lacarra, *La reconquista y repoblación del valle del Ebro*, in *La reconquista española y la repoblación del país*, Saragossa 1951, 39-83; H. Lapeyre, *Géographie de l'Espagne morisque*, Paris 1959.

(J. Bosch-Vilá)

ḲALʿAT BANĪ ʿABBĀS, a town in Algeria in the Bībān mountains, about 35 km. northwest of Bordj Bū ʿArridj. Situated at an altitude of about 1050 m., the town stands in a strategic position on a plateau surrounded on three sides by sheer ravines from about 500-600 m. in depth, its only link with the surrounding country being a narrow strip of ground bordered by precipices. The town is divided into four quarters which in the past were frequently in conflict with one another, and one of these is now almost in ruins. It is the most important centre of the Banū ʿAbbās tribe, whose ill-defined territory extends from the Oued Sahel to the Medjana. Its inhabitants were once renowned for the making of woollen burnouses which they used to sell throughout Algeria and Tunisia; in the Tell towns, another occupation was embroidering burnouses. At the present day, many of the inhabitants are leaving their homes, mainly to go to France.

Ḳalʿa was founded in the second half of the 9th/15th century by the marabout Sīdī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who is said to have established a *zāwiya* on the rock of Ḳalʿa and to have placed himself at the head of the Banū ʿAbbās in their rising against the Zwāwa, of whom they had hitherto been tributaries. His son Aḥmad erected a *ḳaṣba*, proclaiming himself sultan, and extended his authority over the country lying between the Ḥodna and the sea (the kingdom of Labès, of Marmol). ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, his successor, further increased his power with the aid of the Turks, whom he supported against the Kabyles of Kūkū and helped in their expeditions against the Moroccans and the people of Tuggūrt and Wārgla. The breakdown of this alliance (1552) led to fighting between the Turks and the Banū ʿAbbās which continued until the end of the 10th/16th century. Though besieged on various occasions during this period, Ḳalʿa could never be taken. After the death of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who was killed while defending his capital, his son Amoḳḳrān took power. The latter defended his territory as far as the Sahara, repulsed several attacks by the Turks, and died while fighting against them (1600); his son Sīdī Nāṣir, a man of the *zāwiya* rather than a warrior, aroused the displeasure of the Banū ʿAbbās, who assassinated him. At this, the kingdom of Ḳalʿa ceased to exist and the town became no more than the family citadel of Sīdī Nāṣir. By the 12th/18th century, the town had declined swiftly: "the country is without a master", wrote al-Warthīlānī, "the people are in revolt against God, His Prophet and His laws". Protected by its unassailable position, it remained independent until the French conquest. It served as a place of refuge for opponents of the Turks and for members of the great Muslim families who, in time of war, brought their grain and their valuables there for safe keeping, entrusting them to private persons. The honesty of these trustees was proverbial. Thus, admidst the disorders which laid waste the land, Ḳalʿa enjoyed the benefits of a real neutrality. The tomb of Sīdī Aḥmad, the son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān and ancestor of the Ūlād Muḳḳrān, was an object of veneration in the 18th century. It was also in Ḳalʿa that Muḳrānī, the leader of the 1871 revolt, was buried.

Bibliography: Warthīlānī, *Nuzhat al-Anẓār*, Arabic text ed. M. Ben Cheneb, Algiers 1908, 4, 8, 11, 28, 36; Carette, *Études sur la Kabylie*, Paris 1848, ii; Daumas and Fabar, *La Grande Kabylie*, Algiers-Paris 1847, ch. xiii; Berbrugger, *Les Époques militaires de la Grande Kabylie*, Algiers 1857, 79-86, 91-104; Ch. Féraud, *Les Moqrani seigneurs de la Medjana*, in *Notices et mémoires de la Soc. archéol. de Constantine*, 1871, and *Histoire des Villes de la Province de Constantine* (*Sétif, Bordj bou Arreridj, Mesila, Bou Saada*), Constantine 1872; L. Rinn, *L'insurrection de 1871 en Algérie*, Algiers 1891, intro; S. A. Boulifa, *Le Djurdjura à travers l'histoire*, Algiers 1925; M. Hadj-Sadok, *A travers la Berbérie orientale du XVIII^e siècle avec le voyageur al-Warthîlânî*, in *R. Afr.*, xcv (1951), 326, 354, 355, 357, 359.

(L. Golvin)

ḲALʿAT BANĪ ḤAMMĀD, a mediaeval town in the Central Maghrib, situated in the Maadid mountains, capital of the Banū Ḥammād dynasty [see ḥammādids]. It is also known as Ḳalʿat Abī Ṭawīl (al-Bakrī, *Istibṣār*, etc.). The site of the town, now a mass of ruins, is in the form of a vast amphitheatre opening out onto the plain of the Hodna which it dominates from a height of about 550 m. The average altitude of the old city is 990 m. above sea level. To the north of it rises the massive truncated cone of Taḳarbūst (1418 m.), an arid mountain whose contorted slopes are marked by projecting spurs where the folds of rock are inverted; to the west is the Gorein range, which can be transversed in the direction of Msila only by a pass at the foot of the peak, which rises to 1190 m.; to the south, the Djabal Raḥma largely bars the view, except over its eastern flank, which is cut by the narrow valley of the Oued Fradj, running from north to south, a gap revealing in the distance the plain with the glittering Chott

Hodna. The same torrent, flowing down from the mountain through narrow gorges with steep sides, runs past the eastern part of the town. Beyond its deeply embanked course rise various mountains ranging from 1000-1400 m. in height.

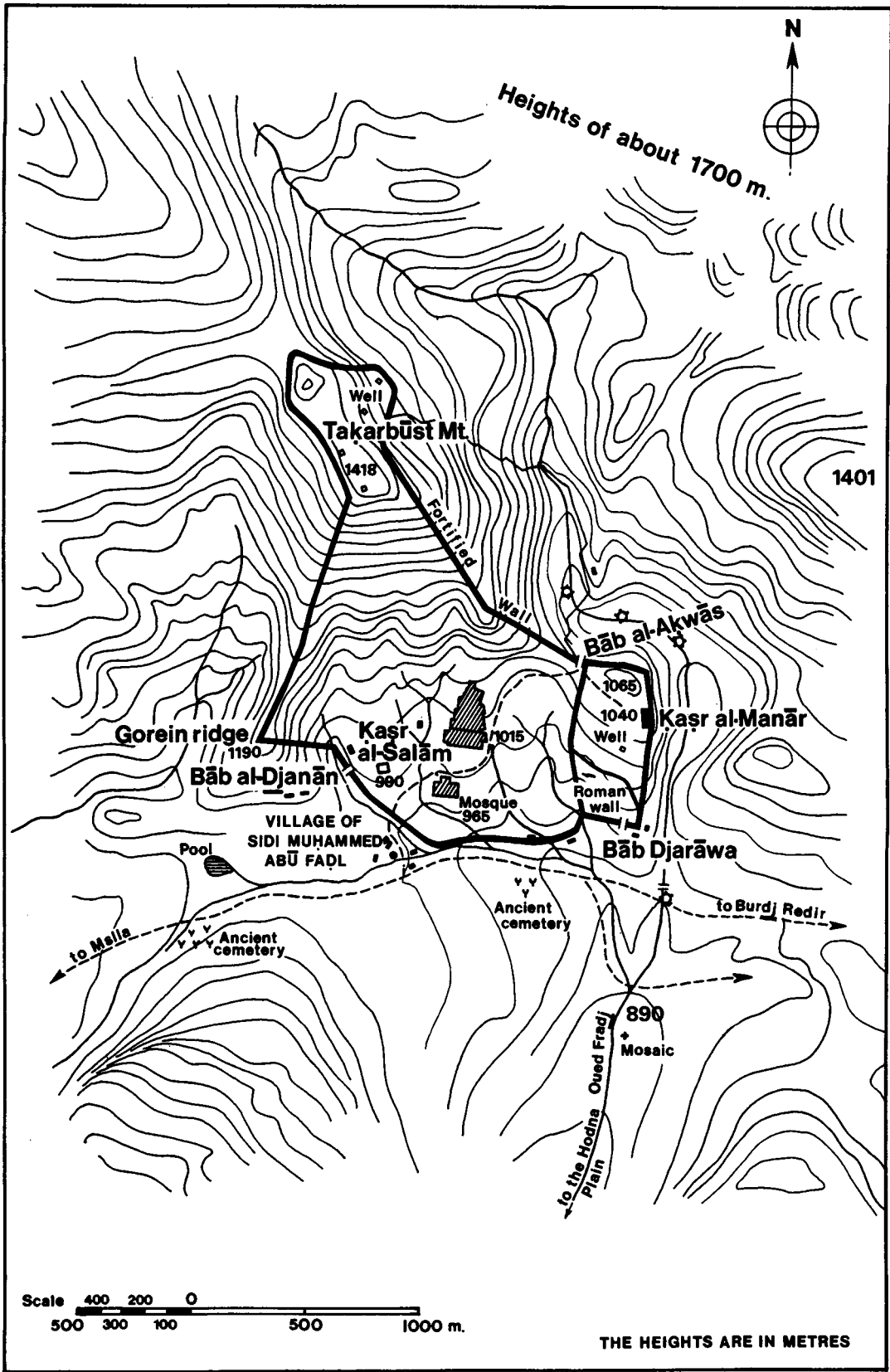
Well protected against any possible attacks from the plain, which can easily be watched, and situated only a short distance from the most usual east-west routes, the site has doubtless been occupied from the earliest times. Ruins dating from antiquity—not yet investigated scientifically and including the remains of some baths—indicate Roman occupation, though it is impossible to estimate either its extent or its character. In 335/947-8, the place may have seen the tragic end of Abū Yazīd [*q.v.*], the "Man on the donkey", since Mount Kiyāna, still called the mountain of the ʿAdjīsa, seems to tally closely with the modern Taḳarbūst on whose summit some ruins are to be seen. There can be no doubt that the strategic value of the place was well known to the Ṣanhādja; the reasons motivating Ḥammād, son of Buluggīn, son of Zīrī, in his partial abandonment of the ancient capital Ashīr are thus apparent. By choosing the Ḳalʿa site, he secured for himself a second base that was strong and particularly well protected against the ambitions of the Zanāta in the plain; but also and above all, by building a stronghold there, he made clear his desire for independence from Bādīs, the Zīrid of Ḳayrawān. Ḳalʿa was to appear as a spearhead directed towards the East. Some years later (405/1015), Ḥammād raised "the standard of revolt" and "proclaimed the sovereignty of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs". A new dynasty was born, and Ḳalʿa became the capital of an independent state.

If Ibn Khaldūn is correct, the town was built and populated by the forced transfer of the inhabitants of Msila and Sūḳ Ḥamza (Bouira); other elements of the population, particularly the Djarāwa, settled there themselves. Ḥammād's first care was the building of strong ramparts, a palace, "several mosques, caravanserais and other public buildings". It is hard to believe, however, that as early as 401/1010, Ḳalʿa "attained a high degree of prosperity" and that "artisans as well as students flocked there from the remotest regions and the furthest points of the empire". In fact, at this period Ḥammād still seems to have been closely attached to Ashīr, regarding Ḳalʿa as merely a secondary town. Bādīs, who had reacted vigorously against his uncle's initiatives, attacked Ḳalʿa in 406/1015; it seemed that the town could not resist his assault, when the Zīrid suddenly died.

The very short-lived apogee of the town came during the reign of al-Nāṣir, son of ʿAlannās (454/1062-481/1089) and his son and successor al-Manṣūr (481/1089-498/1105). The sudden prosperity of Ḳalʿa is due to the misfortunes of Ifrīḳiya when it was invaded by the Arab nomads. The towns in the interior, Ḳayrawān in particular, were depopulated, while Ḳalʿa, according to al-Bakrī, became the metropolis after the ruin of Ḳayrawān: "the inhabitants of Ifrīḳiya flocked there to settle..., the town is a trading centre which attracts caravans from ʿIrāḳ, the Ḥidjaz, Egypt, Syria and all parts of the Maghrib". However, from the beginning of his reign al-Nāṣir sought an emergency outlet to the sea; he had the little port of Bougie put into order, and there his son built al-Manṣūriyya, where he later took refuge. The Hilālīs [see HILĀL] held the whole Hodna plain as well as that of Sétif, as far as the Iron Gates; despite a treaty, the Athbadj made the city's existence more and more difficult, subjecting it to a veritable blockade. In the 6th/12th century, the power of Ḳalʿa declined continuously, to the advantage of Bougie, and in 543/1148-9 Yaḥyā the son of al-ʿAzīz removed all articles of value and transported them to Bougie. Shortly after 547/1152, Ḳalʿa was taken by storm by the Almohads, who "destroyed it utterly". However, the armies of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin installed themselves there and formed a garrison, restoring various ruined buildings and reconstructing a small oratory in the remains of the Great Mosque. The Banū Ghaniyya occupied the town for a time, but they were dislodged by the Almohads after a three month's siege (1185). After this date, nothing more was heard of the former capital of the Ḥammādids.

The population consisted firstly of the Ṣanhādja, kinsmen of Ḥammād who probably constituted a privileged class, secondly of the citizens of Msila and Sūḳ Ḥamza, whose origin was complex, and finally of the Djarāwa, whose quarter, to the east of the town, seems to have been walled off from the other quarters of the town. There stood the Ḳaṣr al-Manār and its keep, the top of which commanded a view over the whole city and its environs. This situation corresponds so very closely to the text of Peter the Deacon that it is tempting to see in the Djarāwa the famous Christians cited in the *Chronique du Mont Cassin* who were said to have had a church dedicated to the Virgin. Towards the end of the 5th/11th century the population was augmented by new arrivals from Ḳayrawān, heterogeneous ethnic elements who included some Jews (there is in fact a record of the presence in Ḳalʿa of the Jewish scholar Isaac Alfāsī, who apparently left for Spain at the end of the 11th century).

The topography of the town reveals an almost rectangular enceinte facing the south (approximately 950 by 500 m.), enclosing on three sides the town which is built upon the last ridges of Taḳarbūst; despite the natural defence afforded by the precipitous flanks of this massif, to the north of the town, the wall climbs high up the mountain, runs across its peak and comes down on the east to rejoin the quarter of the Djarawā. Similarly, on the west it follows the summit ridge of Gorein and climbs up to the peak, descending sharply to the bed of the oued, beyond which is the gate known as Bāb al-Djanān, leading to Msila. An almost rectilinear axis connects this gate with Bāb al-Aḳwās, leading to Burdj Redir, to the north-east of the city, at the edge of the Djarāwa quarter; a third gate, to the south-east, Bāb al-Djarāwa, opens towards the Hodna valley. To the south of the east-west axis stand the ruins of the Great Mosque whose minaret still rises to a height of more than twenty metres. To the north of the same axis, on ridges fairly well isolated from one another, towards the west, can be seen the ruins of the Ḳaṣr al-Salām and then, further to the east, the Ḳaṣr al-Kawkab and the Ḳaṣr al-Mulk, better known as Ḳaṣr al-Baḥr because of the large sheet of water lying to its south, upon which nautical jousting (*istibṣār*) probably took place. Finally, towards the east, in the Djarāwa quarter can be seen the ruins of the Manār keep and those of the palace of the same name.

Identified by Méquesse in 1886, the old Ḥammādid city was investigated by P. Blanchet and A. Robert in subsequent years. Excavations on a quite considerable scale were undertaken by General de Beylié; they concentrated upon the Manār keep, the Ḳaṣr al-Baḥr and the mosque. From 1951 to 1962, new excavations were conducted by L. Golvin, particularly on the

Ḳaṣr al-Manār and the Ḳaṣr al-Salām; numerous silos were discovered in the latter group of buildings, appearing to confirm al-Idrīsī's statement: "There were ... stores of such excellence that it (corn) could be kept for one and even two years, without fear of the least deterioration". Still more recent excavations, which are being undertaken at the present time under the direction of R. Bourouiba, have succeeded in isolating the Ḳaṣr al-Manār completely, and in enabling a far more convincing plan of the mosque than that given by Beylié to be drawn up.

The art of Ḳalʿa reveals some originality, particularly in the deeply cut vertical niches in the façades of the Manār, and above all in its system of square, superimposed rooms, forming a central hub around which ramps are placed, roofed over with cradle vaulting, a foreshadowing of the great Almohad minarets at the end of the 6th/12th century (Kutubiyya, the Ḥassān Tower, the Giralda). The minaret of the mosque, square in shape, is much closer to those in Muslim Spain than to those in Ifrīḳiya; on its south face it is ornamented with a rich decoration of deeply cut recesses set with polychrome tiles, the antecedents and continuation of which are little understood, while lobed interlaced arches, sometimes bordering shell-shaped semi-domes, call to mind Fāṭimid Egypt. To Egypt should be attributed the hanging honeycomb vaulting (*Muḳarnas*), probably the earliest in the Muslim West. Elsewhere, decorations of carved plaster may be compared with those in Sāmarrā, but here also is a reminder of Egyptian craftsmanship; and very beautiful carved marble water channels (*shadirwān*) recall those at Fuṣṭāṭ. Several painted frescoes, numerous ceramic fragments of the most diverse techniques—pottery with engraved or painted decoration, polychrome tiles, tiles with metal lustre, impressed tiles, tiles known as "a cuerda secca"—worked bronzes, jewels of gold and silver, coloured glassware, cut crystal, many sculptures of marble, stone and plaster, all these objects testify to a varied and sometimes scholarly craftsmanship which reveals the twofold influences of the Orient and of Spain.

The wealth of the city, much vaunted by historians and geographers, doubtless explains this artistic flowering. Though there is little information about intellectual life in Ḳalʿa, the name of one of its scholars is known, the ascetic Abū Faḍl, son of al-Naḥwī, whose mausoleum stands in a small hamlet bearing his name near the Bāb al-Djanān. Other personages who brought renown to Bougie were born in Ḳalʿa and no doubt were given their earliest education there. Here too, without question, the heritage from Ḳayrawān was of particular value.

Bibliography: al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, text, 49, tr. de Slane, 105; al-Idrīsī, ed. and tr. R. Dozy and M. J. de Goeje, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, text 86, 91, tr. 99, 106; *Istibṣār*, ed. Von Kremer, Vienna 1858, 19, 20, 55, 56, 58, ed. Fagnan, *l'Afrique septentrionale au XIIe siècle de notre ère*, Constantine 1900, 32-5, 99, 101, 105; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, tr. de Slane, *Hist. des Berbères*, ii, 43, 52; Peter the Deacon, *Chronique du Mont Cassin* (year 1114), Hanover 1846; Mas-Latrie, *Traité de Paix et de Commerce*..., Paris 1868; Méquesse, *Notices sur la Kalaa des Bani-Hammad*, in *R. Afr.*, July 1886; P. Blanchet, *La Kalaa des Beni-Hammad*, in *Revue de la Soc. Arch. de la Province de Constantine*, 1898, 97; P. Blanchet and H. Saladin, *Description des monuments de la Kalaa des Beni-Hammad*, in *Nouvelles Notices des Missions scientifiques*, xvii (1904-5), 1-21; A.Robert, *La Kalaa et Tihamanine*, in *Revue de la Soc. Arch. de la Province de Constantine*, 1903, 217 ff.; idem, *Kalaa des Beni-Hammâd*, in *R. Afr.*, vi (1907), 291 ff.; E. Michaux-Bellaire, *La Kalaa des Beni-Hammâd*, in *RMM*, v (1908), 500-2; de Beylié, *La Kalaa des Beni-Hammad*, Paris, 1907; G. Marçais, *La Kalaa des Benî Hammâd*, *Revue des Notices et Mémoires de la Soc. Arch. du Département de Constantine*, 1908; idem, *Les poteries et Faïences de la Qalʿa des Beni Ḥammād*, Constantine 1913; idem, *Album de pierre, plâtre et bois sculptés*, Algiers 1916; idem, *Manuel d'Art Musulman*, Paris 1926, i, ch. ii, 95, 202; idem, *l'Architecture musulmane d'Occident*, Paris 1955, 63, 127; L. Golvin, *Note sur quelques fragments de plâtre trouvés à la Qalʿa des B. Hammād*, in *Mélanges G. Marçais*, ii, 1958, 75-94; idem, *Le Maġrib central à l'époque des Zīrides*, Paris 1957; idem, *Recherches archéologiques à la Qalʿa des Banû Ḥammâd*, Paris 1965; R. Bourouiba, *Rapport préliminaire sur la campagne de fouilles de Septembre 1964, à la Qalʿa des Bani Hammad*, in *Bulletin d'Arch. Algiers*, i, (1962-5), 243, 261.

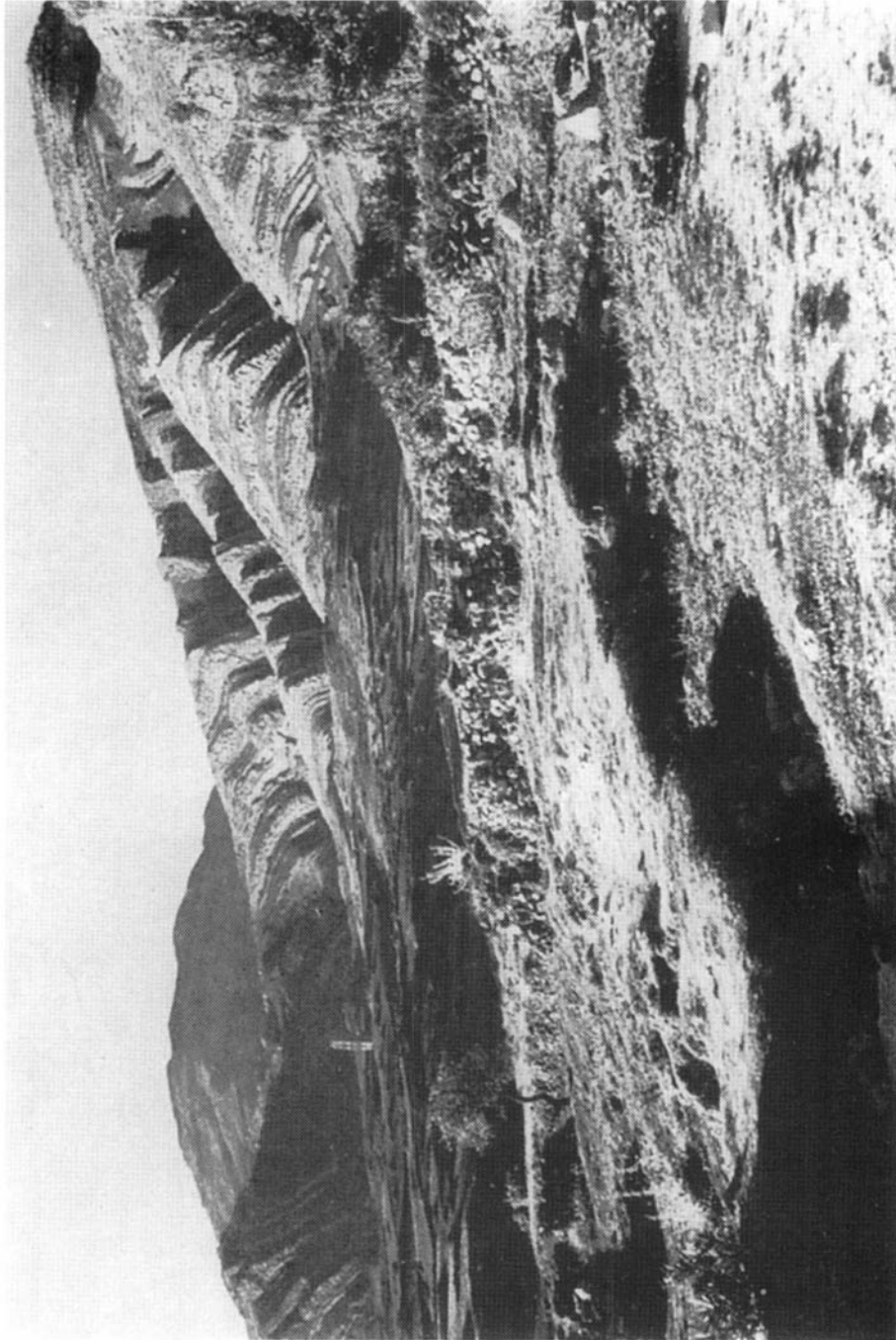
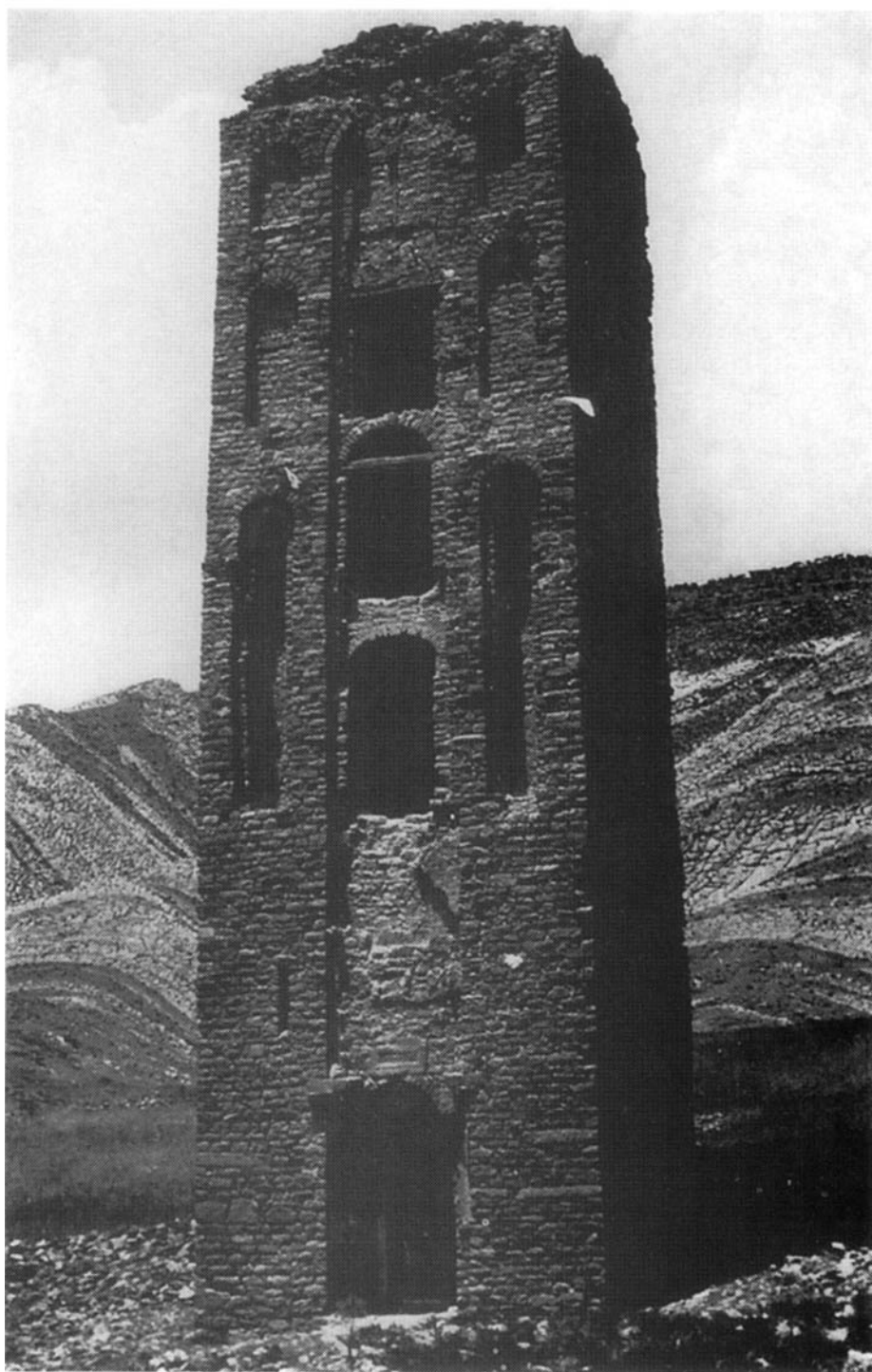
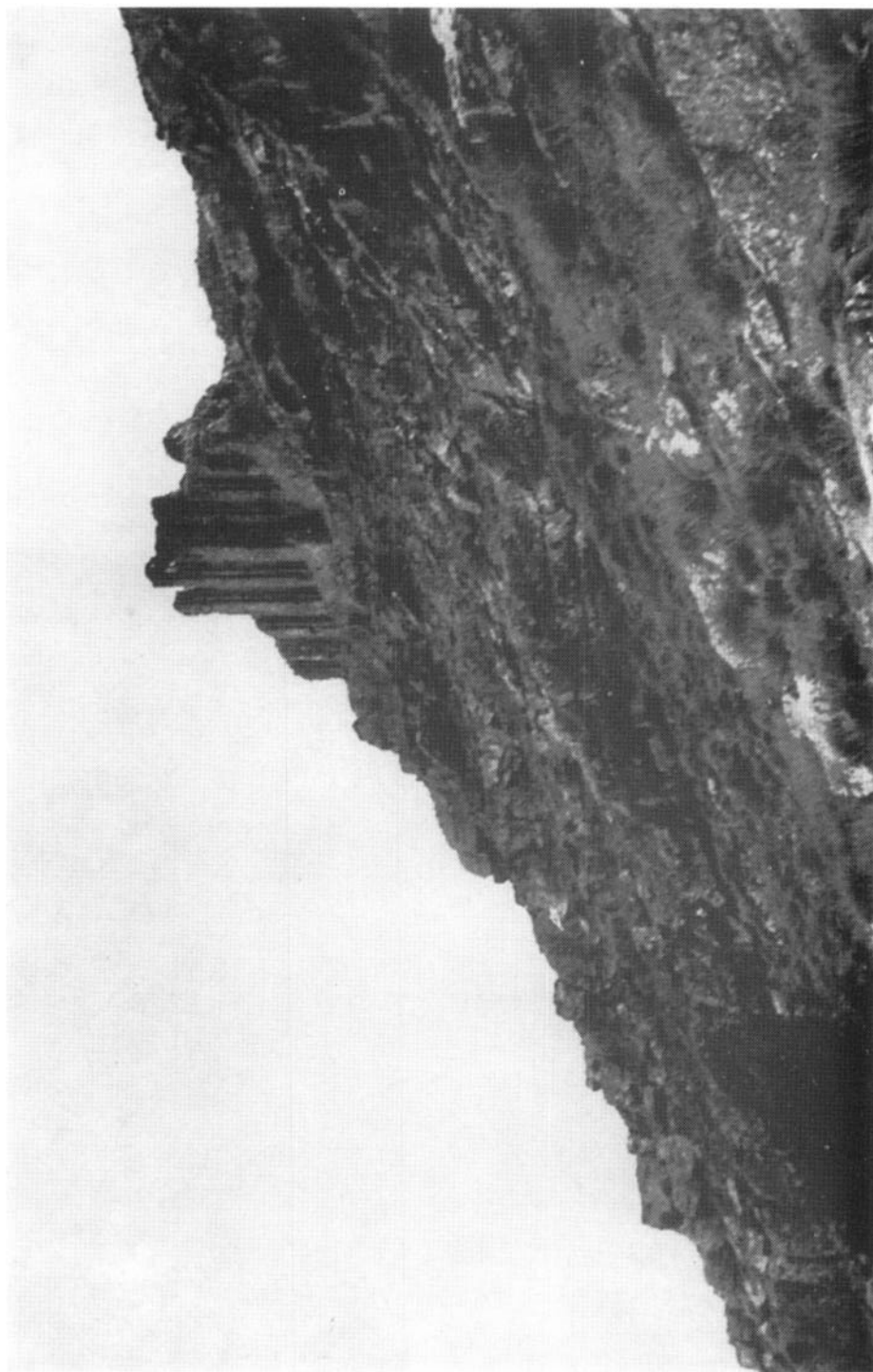
(L. Golvin)

ḲALʿAT DJAʿBAR [see DJAʿBAR].

ḲALʿAT HUWWĀRA, a town in Algeria in the *wilāya* of Mostaganem, a *dāʾira* of Ighil Izane (Relizane), about 30 km. north-east of Mascara, on the Wādī Ḳalʿa. Population: 12,332 (1966 census). This Ḳalʿa was founded in the 6th/12th century by a chieftain of the Hawwāra, Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ. About a century later, the Hawwāra [*q.v.*] were supplanted by a tribe from the Djabal ʿAmūr, the Banū Rāshid. The town came under the rule of the Banū ʿAbd al-Wād, and following them under the Marīnids and then the Turks; it was at this period that Leo Africanus described it as a fortified township with about forty houses belonging to artisans and merchants. Little by little it became inhabited by Kulughlis and even by Turks who came to take refuge there. The inhabitants were employed in agriculture, soap manufacture and carpet weaving. After 1830, the town recognised the authority of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir, who drove out the Kulughlis, then it came under the authority of the French in 1845. At the present time, it remains a centre of several industries such as carpet-weaving (done by women), tanning, shoemaking, saddlery, metal-work and welding. The carpets of the Ḳalʿa, in which Berber (Djabal ʿAmūr), Spanish and eastern influences are combined, have enjoyed a measure of fame.

In the 11th/17th century, it was the birthplace of a celebrated marabout, Sīdī Aḥmad b. Yūsuf, the author of satirical aphorisms of great popularity in Algeria (cf. R. Basset, *Les dictons populaires attribués à Sidi Ahmed ben Yûsuf*, Paris 1890).

Bibliography: Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, i, 181-2, ii, 224-5, tr. i, 281-2 and iv, 2, 3; Leo Africanus, *Descr. de l'Afrique*, tr. Epaulard, Paris 1956, ii, 338; Marmol, *Afrique*, tr. Perrot d'Ablancourt, ii, 356; E. Graulle, *Notice historique sur la Kalaʿa des Beni Rached*, in *RMM*, 1913; René Leclerc, *Monographie géographique et historique de la commune mixte de la Mina*, in *Bull. Soc. Géog. Oran*, 1902; R. Basset, *Notes de voyage*, in *Mélanges Africains et orientaux*, Paris 1915, 96-103; L. Bonnet, *L'industrie du tapis à la Kalaʿa des Bani Rached*, Algiers 1929; L. Golvin, *Aspects de l'artisanat en Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1957, *passim*; idem, *Les tapis et tissages principaux de l'Algérie*, in *Cahiers des arts et techniques de l'Afrique du Nord*, ii, 1953; idem, *Les arts populaires en Al-*

1. General view of the Taḳarbūst and the mosque.

2. View of the Taḳarbūst and the Gorein.

3. Minaret of the mosque.

4. The keep of Ḳaṣr al-Manār.

gérie, ii, *Les tapis algériens*, Algiers 1953, 521-80.
(R. LE TOURNEAU)

ḲALʿAT NADJM, a fortress in northern Syria, situated on the right bank of the Euphrates, which in the medieval period commanded the route from Ḥalab to Ḥarrān, in Upper Mesopotamia, via Manbidj. This fortress stood at a point where the Euphrates was relatively easy to cross, owing to the existence of two small islands which facilitated the construction of pontoon bridges. It is thought that the fortress stands on a Classical site, but the identification of this presents some problems: the most tenable hypothesis appears to be the identification of the site with the *Caeciliana* of Roman itineraries.

In the oldest Arab texts, the locality is called Djisr Manbidj, and these add that the bridge over the Euphrates, which had formerly existed, was constructed at the order of the Caliph ʿUthmān. The name of Ḳalʿat Nadjm was rarely mentioned before the 6th/12th century; it seems to derive from a certain *ghulām* called Nadjm who, in 300/912, re-founded the town. Certain maps and even texts are therefore mistaken when they give the name as Ḳalʿat al-Nadjm. However, it seems that this name was deliberately adopted by these authors as more poetic, dubbing the fortress "the castle of stars".

The bridge of Ḳalʿat Nadjm played an important role from the earliest years of Islam. The region was conquered in 18/639 and the bridge is mentioned in accounts of the struggle between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya. By this route the Umayyad armies won Mesopotamia. Subsequently, Ḳalʿat Nadjm was part of the Ḥamdānid [*q.v.*] domain, then that of the Mirdāsids [*q.v.*], and the Banū Numayr [*q.v.*], before falling into the hands of Zankī, of Nūr al-Dīn [*q.v.*], and then of the Ayyūbids [*q.v.*]. Nūr al-Dīn restored the fortress (which twenty years later Ibn Djubayr called a "new castle"), placing an important garrison there.

Later, probably in 658/1260, Hūlāgū had to give battle to secure the fortresses which commanded the Euphrates crossings; at that time Barhebraeus, bishop of Aleppo, made his way to the conqueror to seek mercy for the Christians and was imprisoned at Ḳalʿat Nadjm.

The fortress of Ḳalʿat Nadjm, which was described by many travellers of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, stands isolated on a rocky eminence at a height of about 50 metres. The castle itself comprised two storeys and certain parts were damaged when the castle, where a rebel Arab had taken refuge, was captured by the Ottomans in 1820. Three Arabic inscriptions mention works undertaken at the orders of the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Ẓāhir, son of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, between 605/1208 and 612/1215. Of the little town which, according to the Arab geographers, lay along the bank of the river and at the foot of the fortress, no identifiable vestiges remain. The ancient bridge has also disappeared.

Bibliography: Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. i, 266; Ṭabarī, i, 3259; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 150; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 98; Ḳudāma, in *BGA*, vi, 233; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 120, 125, 138, 154; Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 44; idem, *Murūdj*, i, 215 = § 228; Yāḳūt, i, 478, iii, 460; Idrīsī-Jaubert, ii, 139; Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm*, 233; Ibn Djubayr, *Riḥla*, 248; Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt*, ii, 1610; Ibn al-Shiḥna, *al-Durr al-muntakhab*, 230; Barhebraeus, *Chronicon syriacum*, 509, 510, 599; *Taʾrīkh mukhtaṣar al-duwal*, 393; Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, Leipzig 1883, 153-4; Ainsworth, *A personal narrative of the Euphrates expedition*, London 1888, i, 223-34; G. L. Bell, *Amurath to Amurath*, London 1911, 23-4, 34-5; Le Strange, 107-8; M. Canard, *H'amdanides*, 87, 88, 92, 136, 227, 234 (cf. *Arabica*, xviii (1972), 307); Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie du nord*, Paris 1940, 114, 156; N. Eliséeff, *Nūr ad-dīn*, Damascus 1967, index; *RCEA*, nos. 3776, 3777, 3778.
(D. SOURDEL)

ḲALʿAT RABĀḤ, Sp. Calatrava, town of Muslim Spain, of which the ruins are to be seen at Calatrava la Vieja on the left bank of the R. Guadiana about 15 km. north-north-east of Ciudad Real. According to the *Rawḍ al-miʿṭār* the town was founded in Umayyad times and peopled by the inhabitants of decaying Urīṭ (Oreto), about 40 km. to the south. The eponymous Rabāḥ is unidentified; the common belief that the place was named after the *tābiʿ* ʿAlī (or ʿUlayy) b. Rabāḥ seems to be an unfounded conjecture. It was the capital of an extensive region divided into *djuzʾ*, which word in Andalusian usage (says Yāḳūt) was the equivalent of *iḳlīm*. The *adjzāʾ* of Bakr, Lakhm and Djudhām are recorded. The marshy region to the north-east of Ḳalʿat Rabāh was well known to topographical writers as the place where the upper Guadiana (under which name they confused several rivers, *e.g.*, Gigüela, Riánsares) disappeared underground and reappeared several times before emerging finally at Ḳalʿat Rabāḥ [see WĀDĪ YĀNA]. Dimashḳī says that red arsenic or realgar (*rahdj al-ghār*) is found there.

Standing in Toledan territory on the main highway between Córdoba and Toledo not far from Christian lands, Ḳalʿat Rabāḥ had an eventful history and is frequently mentioned in the literature, though without details. It fell into Christian hands for the first time in 478/1085 when Alfonso VI annexed Toledo, but this occupation came to an end with the arrival of the Almoravids (Battle of Zallāḳa [*q.v.*], 479/1086) though Toledo itself was not retaken and never again came under Muslim rule. With the erosion of Almoravid power Ḳalʿat Rabāḥ was once more under Christian rule by 541/Jan. 1147 and remained so until the Muslims, in the shape of the Almohads, again reasserted their authority for a few years in 592/1196. (Alarcos, the scene of the celebrated Almohad victory in the previous year, is a short distance downstream from Ḳalʿat Rabāḥ [see AL-ARAK]). It finally surrendered to Alfonso VIII in 609/1212 immediately before the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa [see AL-ʿIḲĀB]. It did not recover any measure of prosperity and in 1252 the capital of the region became Villa Real, newly founded by Alfonso the Wise. It was renamed Ciudad Real in 1420.

The religious order of the Knights of Calatrava was founded in 1158 during the second Christian occupation with the purpose of fighting the Moors. The name Calatrava still exists as an element in numerous toponyms of the region.

Bibliography: Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī *Al-rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, s.v.; Yāḳūt, s.v. Rabāḥ; Dimashḳī, *Nukhbat al-dahr*, 242. (J. F. P. HOPKINS)

ḲALʿAT AL-RŪM [see RŪM ḲALʿESĪ].

ḲALʿAT AL-SHAḲĪF (the "Citadel of the Rock") is the Crusaders' castle of Beaufort. It is also known by the name of Shaḳīf ʿArnūn. On the testimony of the Arab authors, Yāḳūt among others, it was long believed that ʿArnūn was the Arabic transcription of the name Arnould, a Frank said to have been lord of the region. In fact, it is a toponym which occurs even in the Bible (Joshua, XII, 1); its position to the west of the Jordan indicates that it corresponds to the present village of ʿArnūn which, in former times, marked the frontier of the land of Moab. From the earliest remains it may be supposed that a

military settlement existed on the site during the Roman period, beside the Leuctrum.

The castle, which was considered impregnable, is situated at an altitude of 670 m., high on a rocky crest, at the extreme southern end of the mountain range of Lebanon. To the east, standing above a sheer drop of 300 m., it dominates the deep and narrow valley of the Nahr al-Līṭānī, while to the west the mountain falls away in a fairly steep slope to the level of the plain where the village of ʿArnūn is situated. Below the castle, the Līṭānī changes direction sharply towards the west and then takes the name Nahr al-Ḳāsimiyya, forming the dividing line between the mountains of Lebanon and the plateau of Galilee.

Ḳalʿat al-Shaḳīf stands in an important strategic position, for it effectually controls a two-arched bridge over the Līṭānī, the Djisr al-Khardalī, as well as several roads which meet at the bottom of the valley, including the roads from Bānyās to Ṣaydāʾ via Nabaṭiyya and from Bānyās to Beirut via Djazzīn and Dayr al-Ḳamar, and the road from Ṣūr (Tyre) to Damascus. The castle commands the entrance to Palestine; it guards the southern passage from the Biḳāʿ, access to Syria from the south, and access from the coastal region of Ṣūr and Ṣaydāʾ. It is linked with several other fortresses, including Subayba to the south-east, Ḥūnīn to the south, Tibnīn to the south-south-west, Ḳalʿat Marūn to the south-west and Ṣaydāʾ to the north-west.

The whole complex of buildings, constructed on two levels, follows the configuration of the ground and takes the form of an elongated triangle about 140 m. long, with its base (about 38 m. wide) at the southern end. A ditch 15 to 36 m. wide, cut out of the rock on the north, west and south sides, forms a barrier between the plateau and the site of the fortress, which is inaccessible from the east. Opposite the entrance, two piers about 4.30 m. apart made it possible to cross the ditch by means of a bridge which could be destroyed in the event of an attack, and to reach a small artificially levelled area on the south side of the crest. Today Ḳalʿat al-Shaḳīf is in a very ruined condition. It is divided into various sections surrounded by two enceintes constructed of courses of large blocks of stone, the surface of the stone-work being left rough: to the east, above the ravine, is a group of buildings in the lower courtyard defended by four round towers linked together by curtain walls, and to the west is the upper part, which forms a redoubt accessible by means of an interior ramp. Such is the fortress itself, which includes several sections built at different periods. For the mediaeval period we can distinguish five separate programmes of alterations and construction: 1139 to 1190 (Crusaders), 1190 to 1240 (Ayyūbids), 1240 to 1260 (Franks of Ṣaydāʾ), 1260-1268 (Templars), 1268 onwards (Mamlūks). When the Crusaders arrived, Ḳalʿat al-Shaḳīf formed part of the province of Damascus. In 533/1139, the atabeg Shihāb al-Dīn ceded the fortress to Fulk, king of Jerusalem, who entrusted it to Reynald, lord of Ṣaydāʾ, since it controlled access to his territory. The irregularly shaped keep standing in the middle of the west front and typical of the Crusaders' earliest constructions dates from this period; it consists of two storeys and a terrace, the old curtain wall of the enceinte leaving it projecting; the rough surface of the stone-work and the narrow arrow-slits are characteristic features of the period. After the battle of Ḥaṭṭīn [*q.v.*] the Frankish castles still retained their garrisons, but through lack of man-power they no longer received any reinforcements or relief troops, and one after another they fell into the hands of the Muslims. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [*q.v.*] prepared to lay siege to Ḳalʿat al-Shaḳīf on 17 Rabīʿ I 585/5 May 1189. Reynald of Sagette obtained a three months' truce, and took advantage of it to improve the castle's defences: the curtain walls were strengthened, and living-quarters were constructed in the courtyard. Stone-work with a more finished surface and stirrup-shaped arrow loops characterize this second period. In Radjab/August, the siege was resumed; in the end the fortress was starved out and surrendered on 15 Rabīʿ I 586/12 April 1190. Then began half a century of Muslim occupation (586-637/1190-1240). The Ayyūbid al-Malik al-ʿĀdil [*q.v.*] undertook various building operations, including some alterations to the first enceinte on the south side; he also constructed a new section of wall flanked by massive cylindrical towers with an entrance, to the east, giving access to an oblong armoury leading to the terreplein of the castle.

In 637/1240 al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl, prince of Damascus, was in conflict with his nephew al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, the ruler of Egypt; to win the support of the Franks and Templars, he offered to restore to them the region of Ṣaydāʾ, Ḳalʿat al-Shaḳīf, Tiberias and Ṣafad. The garrison of al-Shaḳīf refused to surrender the fortress, and Ismāʿīl was compelled to besiege it in order to gain possession and to hand it over to Balian of Sagette, the son of Reynald and a member of the Ibelin family. Balian died almost immediately, and his son Julian inherited the fortress, which he held until 1260. Crippled by debts and unable to strengthen the fortress to meet the threat from the troops of Baybars [*q.v.*], he sold it to the Templars and joined their ranks. The Templars improved its defences: on the east side, opposite the keep, they built a large hall with two vaulted bays over ogival windows and, about 245 m. to the south, the new castle, a small outwork destined to be destroyed eight years later.

On 19 Radjab 666/4 April 1268, the sultan Baybars appeared before al-Shaḳīf and bombarded the fortress with 26 siege-engines for ten days. The garrison of Templars surrendered, the women and children were sent to Ṣūr, and the garrison itself, consisting of 480 men and 22 knights, was sent into captivity. The sultan appointed the amīr Ṣārim al-Dīn Ḳaymaz Kāfūrī as governor and the amīr Sayf al-Dīn Balabān Zaynī as superintendent of works; the latter restored the fortress and placed on the walls the heraldic device of Baybars, a feline passant. In the Mamlūk period, Ḳalʿat al-Shaḳīf was the centre of one of the eleven districts of the ***niyāba*** of Ṣafad.

At the beginning of the 11th/17th century, when the amīr Fakhr al-Dīn Maʿn [*q.v.*] revolted against the Ottomans, he drove out the Ottoman garrison and tried to repair the citadel's defences, to withstand the troops sent by Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmad Pasha from Damascus in 1022/1613. The fortress had stocks of water, oil and provisions for 500 men. Al-Shaḳīf possessed three cannons for defence, while the attacking forces had only one which exploded at the second shot; the only damage suffered by the fortress was the destruction of an outer tower caused by the accidental explosion of a powder store. Eventually the troops from Damascus withdrew, after a siege lasting for 84 days. Fakhr al-Dīn entrusted the fortress to a Sukmānī chief, Ḥusayn Ṭawīl, with stocks of food for three years. Shortly afterwards, the Sukmāniyya betrayed the Maʿn and joined the Ḥarfūsh. Sappers sent from Damascus then dismantled the fortresses of Bānyās and al-Shaḳīf in 40 days.

At the beginning of the 18th century, al-Shaḳīf

became the centre of one of the three districts of Djabal 'Āmila, a region inhabited by the Mutawālī, whose chiefs at that time belonged to the Yemeni section of the Shī'ite tribe of the Banū Ṣa'b. At the end of the 18th century, the fortress was included in the territories of the Druzes and came under the *pashalik* of Ṣaydā', while all around it, according to Volney, the best tobacco in Syria was grown. At the beginning of the 20th century al-Shaḳīf formed part of the district of Ṣaydā', on the borders of the districts of Ṣūr and Mardj 'Uyūn. In 1970 the castle was under the *ḳaḍā'* of Nabaṭiyya.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Mu'djām*, iii, 356; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 56 76, 534; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, 43, 52; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, 119, 121, 123, 235; M. Chebli, *Fakhreddin II Maan*, 55-64; Volny, *Voyage*, 291; G. Rey, *Architecture militaire des Croisés*, 126-39, pl. xiii; P. Deschamps, *La défense du royaume de Jérusalem*, 177-208, pl. liii-lxxv, 6 plans, 1 in section; K. M. Setton, *A History of the Crusades*, i, 572, 612, 619, 627, ii, 479, 577, 707, 788; E. de Vaumas, *Le Liban*, pl. lxxiii, lxxiv, lxxvi.

(N. Elisséeff)

ḲAL'AT SHARḲĀT [see athūr, in Suppl.].

ḲALAṬA, GHALAṬA [see Istanbul].

ḲALĀWDHIYA, Claudias, a locality of ancient origin (the Claudiopolis of Pliny? cf. Pauly-Wissowa, s.v.), the exact site of which has not been determined but which almost certainly commanded the entrance to the Euphrates gorges below Malaṭya/Melitene, between the eastern Taurus and the Khanzit [*q.v.*]. One of the fortified places on the frontier that were captured and re-captured by the Arabs and the Byzantines, it was restored by al-Manṣūr, but again fell into Byzantine hands, together with the province of Melitene, in the middle of the 4th/10th century. In fact, having become practically valueless, like the other fortresses in the same line of strong-points below the Taurus (Ḥadatha, etc.), it declined rapidly, and Michael the Syrian, writing in the neighbourhood, knew only of "the land of Claudias", but never says anything about the locality itself. From the end of the 5th/11th century the region was in the hands of the Turks, but the later authors who mention Ḳalāwdhiya/Claudias, from Mustawfī and Ḳazwīnī to Otter, do so solely on the strength of ancient literary sources.

Bibliography: Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 186-7; Yāḳūt, iv, 167 (who believes that Ptolemy was a native of this place); Leo the Deacon, Bonn ed., 250; Michael the Syrian, ed. Chabot, ii, 518, iii, 309; Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des Byzantinischen Reiches*, 88-9, and also the article by J. H. Mordtmann in *EI*[1]. (Cl. Cahen)

ḲALAWRIYA [see ḳillawriya].

ḲALĀWŪN, al-Malik al-Manṣūr Sayf al-Dīn Ḳalāwūn al-Alfī al-Ṣāliḥī al-Nadjmī al-'Alā'ī, the fifth Mamūlk sultan, ruler of Egypt and Syria from 678/1279 to 689/1290. One of the most eminent sultans of the Baḥrī [*q.v.*] Mamlūk sultanate, he followed the policies of Sultan Baybars I [*q.v.*] especially in his campaigns against the Mongols and the Crusaders.

Ḳalāwūn was born in the country of the Kipčak Turks on the northern shores of the Black Sea. The date of his birth is unknown and the sources tell us nothing about his childhood. A slave-merchant eventually brought him to Egypt and sold him to the amīr 'Alā' al-Dīn Aḳ-Sunḳur al-'Ādilī al-Sāḳī (the cupbearer), one of the *mamlūks* of the Ayyūbid Sultan al-'Ādil [*q.v.*], for a thousand *dīnārs*; hence the nickname *al-Alfī* (the "Thousander"). After 'Alā' al-Dīn Aḳ-Sunḳur died in 647/1249, Ḳalāwūn and other *mamlūks* passed into the possession of the Ayyūbid Sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb (637/1240-647/1249). He sent Ḳalāwūn together with other newly acquired slaves for military training (*furūsiyya* [*q.v.*]) in the military quarters which he had established on the island of al-Rawḍa in the Nile. When Ḳalāwūn had finished his training and proven his efficiency as a fully qualified soldier, he was manumitted and given the title of amīr. His master died in 647/1249 and was succeeded by his son Sultan Tūrān Shāh in in the following year. The death of Tūrān Shāh—the last Ayyūbid sultan—inaugurated a period of confusion which led ultimately to the establishment of the Mamlūk sultanate.

During the reign of Aybak, the first Mamlūk sultan, Ḳalāwūn rose to a higher position among the Mamlūks, becoming one of their leading figures. In 652/1254 he fled with other Mamlūk leaders such as Baybars, Sunḳur and Baysara to Syria in order to escape the likely revenge of Aybak, whom they had tried to depose. He spent about three years in Syria in the service of al-Malik al-Nāṣir II Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf (648/1250-658/1260). In 655/1257 Ḳalāwūn and his fellow Baḥrī Mamlūks fell foul of al-Nāṣir Yūsuf and were forced to leave him. They thereupon entered the service of al-Malik al-Mughīth Fakhr al-Dīn 'Umar in Karak. The amīr Ḳuṭuz, the deputy of the Mamlūk sultan Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī b. Aybak, sent an army to meet the fugitive Baḥrī Mamlūks on their way to Karak. The Mamlūks were defeated and Ḳalāwūn was taken as prisoner to Egypt. He did not stay long in Cairo but disappeared and fled to Karak in the same year (655/1257).

Ḳalāwūn remained in Karak for about two years, until 657/1259, when he returned to Egypt accompanied by other exiled Mamlūks. They were welcomed by the new Sultan Ḳuṭuz, at that time preparing troops to meet the invading Mongols, who were defeated near Nābulus in 658/1260. Ḳalāwūn was among the Mamlūks who helped Baybars I in his attempt to kill Sultan Ḳuṭuz and seize the throne in the same year. Baybars trusted Ḳalāwūn and promoted him to the position of commander of a thousand (*amīr alf*). In 671/1272 Ḳalāwūn accompained Sultan Baybars in a campaign against the Mongols. He distinguished himself as the first amīr to cross the Euphrates, thus gaining an advantage over the enemy. During the reign of Baybars, he became very close to the sultan, and in 675/1276 gave his daughter in marriage to Baybars' son, al-Malik al-Sa'īd Baraka Khān. Baybars celebrated the event with great festivity.

In 676/1277 Baybars died, and was succeeded by his son. Ḳalāwūn, as father-in-law of the sultan, became the most eminent and important of the amīrs. In 676/1277 Sultan Baraka Khān sent Ḳalāwūn on a campaign against the Armenians. During Baraka Khān's short reign of about two years, the older amīrs who had served under his father, resentful of his disregard of them, rebelled against him, and besieged him in the citadel of Cairo, forcing him to abdicate. The Mamlūks then asked Ḳalāwūn to accept the throne, but he refused because he foresaw opposition. Al-Malik al-'Ādil Salāmish, Baybars' seven-year-old son, was consequently chosen as sultan in 678/1279 and the Mamlūk amīrs appointed Ḳalāwūn his *atabak* [*q.v.*]. Sultan Salāmish reigned for only three months, during which time his *atabak* Ḳalāwūn was the real ruler. Ḳalāwūn's name was mentioned in the Friday

prayer and struck on the coins along with that of Salāmis̲h̲. At last in 678/1279 Salāmis̲h̲ was deposed, and Ḳalāwūn was saluted as sultan, taking the title al-Malik al-Manṣūr.

As soon as he was acknowledged as sultan, Ḳalāwūn arrested a group of Ẓāhirī amīrs, that is to say, amīrs belonging to the late Sultan al-Ẓāhir Baybars. Prompted by purely political motives, Ḳalāwūn abolished certain taxes such as a war-tax which was collected whenever the sultan made preparations for a campaign. During the first year of his sultanate, Ḳalāwūn faced opposition from several of Baybars' amīrs who had their own claims to the sultanate. One of them, the amīr Sunḳur al-As̲h̲ḳar ("the ruddy") proclaimed himself sultan in Syria with the name al-Malik al-Kāmil. Sunḳur gained the support of Baybars' Mamlūks, the Bedouin tribes of Syria and the Ayyūbid amīr of Ḥamāh. Ḳalāwūn sent against him a strong army headed by the amīr Badr al-Dīn Baktās̲h̲ al-Fak̲h̲rī. The two armies met at al-D̲j̲asūra near Damascus in 679/1280. Sunḳur was defeated and fled to the Bedouin Arabs, asking the Mongols for assistance. In the following year, when both sides learned about the advent of the Mongols, Sunḳur made peace with Ḳalāwūn.

Like Baybars I, Ḳalāwūn was successful in defending Syria against the Mongols, who had now taken advantage of the confusion in Syria resulting from Sunḳur's revolt. Led by Mangūtīmūr, a brother of the Īlk̲h̲ān Abāḳā, the Mongols, together with their Georgian, Frankish and Armenian allies, had managed to cross the Euphrates and invade Syria. Ḳalāwūn came to Syria with his army, which was augmented by additional troops from various parts of Syria. The two armies met at Ḥimṣ in 680/1281. The Mongols were severely defeated and forced to withdraw from Syria. Both Mangūtīmūr and Abāḳā died in the same year. Abāḳā's successor, Aḥmad Tegüder (Takūdār), was a convert to Islam. He tried to establish good relations with Ḳalāwūn, exchanging letters and embassies with him. In 683/1284, Aḥmad Tegüder was murdered and his brother Arg̲h̲ūn succeeded him. Arg̲h̲ūn, who remained a pagan and was very hostile toward the Muslims, attempted, unsuccessfully, to persuade the pope and the king of France to help him in a Crusade against the Mamlūks.

As for the Crusaders, Ḳalāwūn followed the example of Baybars I in pursuing the holy war against them in Syria. During the struggles with Sunḳur and the Mongols, Ḳalāwūn had made a truce with the Crusaders, which led to a temporary cessation of hostilities. Having brought these struggles to a successful conclusion, he broke the truce and conducted a series of raids into Crusader territory. In 684/1285 he attacked the fortress of the Knights Hospitallers at Marḳab and, after a siege of 38 days, succeeded in capturing it. The historian Abu 'l-Fidā (d. 732/1331), who was at that time 12 years old, was present at the siege of Marḳab, having accompanied his father on the expedition. The Knights Hospitallers retired to Tripoli. Bohemund VII of Tripoli wanted to appease Ḳalāwūn, so he handed over to him the coastal stronghold of Maraḳiya. In the same year (684/1285) Margaret of Tyre purchased peace with Ḳalāwūn for ten years on humiliating terms. The best fortified port and largest town taken by Ḳalāwūn was Tripoli. He took advantage of the quarrel over the throne of Tripoli after the death of Bohemund, and besieged the town in 688/1289. Although Tripoli received help from Cyprus, Ḳalāwūn with his strong mangonels ruined the walls of the town as well as its citadel and captured it by assault. Abu 'l-Fidā—then 16 years old—participated with his father and cousin in this battle. He reports that after the capture of Tripoli he crossed over to an island outside the port where he was oppressed by the foul smell of decaying corpses lying there. In the following year (689/1290) the people of ʿAkkā (Acre) broke the truce by robbing and killing some Muslim merchants. Ḳalāwūn proclaimed a holy war, but as he was about to attack Acre, he died in his tent on the outskirts of Cairo. This task was therefore left to his son and successor al-Malik al-As̲h̲raf al-K̲h̲alīl, who captured the city in 690/1291.

Ḳalāwūn also took the offensive against the Christian Armenians. The Kingdom of Little Armenia was raided in 682/1283. After two years the Armenians were forced to conclude a truce for ten years. They agreed to pay an annual tribute consisting of a large quantity of Armenian silver coins, and to release all Muslim prisoners.

In order to extend Mamlūk rule in the south, Ḳalāwūn waged war against Nubia in 686/1288 and 688/1289. He sent two expeditions, headed by some of the ablest amīrs, to punish S̲h̲amāmūn of Nubia. S̲h̲amāmūn had been playing a kind of "hide and seek" with the Mamlūk army. At last he sent a delegation, bearing a gift and the normal tribute, *baḳt* [*q.v.*], to Egypt and begged forgiveness. These offerings were accepted and the delegation was kindly received. Nubia remained subordinate to the Mamlūk sultanate.

Ḳalāwūn preserved and strengthened the good diplomatic and trade relations established by Baybars I with foreign powers. He also maintained good relations with the Mongols of the Golden Horde, Andronicus II Palaeologus of the Byzantine Empire, King Alfonso of Castile, James of Sicily and Rudolf I of Habsburg. He concluded, further, a commercial treaty with the republic of Genoa. Hoping to attract merchants to Egypt as a means of encouraging Egyptian trade, Ḳalāwūn issued a charter of safe conduct (*amān* [*q.v.*]) to foreign merchants coming from China, India, Yemen and others countries which is preserved in Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī's [*q.v.*] *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿs̲h̲ā*. As an encouragement to internal trade Ḳalāwūn abolished a subcategory of the *zakāt* tax, called *zakāt al-dawlaba*, which was payable by Muslim shopkeepers on their merchandise, realizing that it tended to impoverish the merchants.

Ḳalāwūn bequeathed the most important monuments of the Mamlūk period. He restored the citadels of Aleppo, Baalbek and Damascus. In Cairo, he erected a hospital (*al-bīmāristān al-Manṣūrī*), which is perhaps the most remarkable building of the Mamlūk era. It consists of many wards for various diseases, a lecture room, laboratories, a dispensary, baths, kitchens and store-rooms. This hospital was open to men and women, rich and poor, residents and transients from all countries and provinces, without distinction of origin or rank. Every patient leaving the hospital received a gift of money and clothing. The hospital was connected with a school mosque and a mausoleum which is decorated with remarkable arabesque tracery and fine marble mosaic. The school mosque, which was designed for the education of approximately 60 orphans, was equipped with a library containing a fine collection of medical, theological and legal books. Nuwayrī, who was the *nāẓir* of Ḳalāwūn's hospital and its *waḳf*, provides in his book *Nihāyat al-arab* valuable data about the properties, shops, public baths, and farms which constituted the *waḳf* assigned by Ḳalāwūn for the maintenance of his tomb, school and hospital.

Ḳalāwūn died on Saturday 7 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 689/11 November 1290. He had proved to be brave, patient, generous, just and mild. It is said that he could express himself in Arabic only with great difficulty. He was the only Mamlūk sultan who succeeded in founding a dynasty capable of holding the sultanate for several generations. All the Mamlūk sultans from 689/1290 until 784/1382 were his descendants, except those who were his Mamlūks; *i.e.*, Kitbughā, Lādjīn, and Baybars II al-Djāshnikīr. Ḳalāwūn established the Burdjī regiment of Mamlūks [see BURDJIYYA], mostly Circassian slaves, whom he bought and quartered in the towers (Arabic sing. *burdj*) of the Cairo citadel. The Burdjī or Circassian Mamlūks, the second line of the Mamlūk sultans, ruled Egypt and Syria from 784/1382 until the end of the Mamlūk sultanate in 922/1517.

Bibliography: The important primary source for the life and career of Ḳalāwūn is the biography by Muḥyī al-Dīn b. ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir (d. 692/1292), entitled *Tashrīf al-ayyām wa 'l-ʿuṣūr fī sīrat al-Malik al-Manṣūr*, ed. Murād Kāmil, Cairo 1961; see also his biography in al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, Cairo 1951, ii, 269-70; Ibn Taghrībirdī (Abu 'l-Maḥāsin [*q.v.*]), *al-Manhal al-ṣāfī*, Ms. Dār al-Kutub, Cairo, no. 1209 *Tārīkh Taymūr*, iv, fols. 435-43; cf. Abu 'l-Fidā, *al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar*, Istanbul 1286/1870, iv, 22, 24; Ibn Aybak al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar wa-djāmiʿ al-ghurar*, vol. viii, entitled *al-Durra al-zakiyya fī akhbar al-dawla al-turkiyya*, ed. U. Haarmann, Cairo 1971, 187, 197, 225, 231-303; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Cairo 1270/1853-4, ii, 238, 379-80, 406-8; idem, *Sulūk*, ed. M. M. Ziada, Cairo 1936-9, i, 390, 392, 406, 420, 436, 650, 656, 663 ff.; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*, Ms. Dār al-Kutub, Cairo no. 549 *maʿārif ʿāmma*, xxix, fols. 28-31; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, xiii, Cairo 1918, 340-2; cf. S. ʿĀshūr, *al-ʿAṣr al-mamālīkī fī Miṣr wa 'l-Shām*, Cairo 1965, 47-8, 67-70, 82-90; D. Ayalon, *The Circassians in the Mamlūk Kingdom*, in *JAOS*, lxix (1949), 137 and n. 21; T. Ferdīnān, *Suḳūṭ al-Marḳab fī yad al-Sulṭān Ḳalāwūn*, in *al-Mashriḳ*, iv (1935), 543-6; Y. F. Hasan, *The Arabs and the Sudan*, Edinburgh 1967, 112-7; S. Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, London 1901, reprinted 1968, 277-84; Hassanein Rabie, *The financial system of Egypt A.H. 564-741/A.D. 1169-1341*, London 1972, 99, 114, 118; idem, *Some financial aspects of the* waḳf *system in medieval Egypt*, in *al-Madjalla al-Tārīkhiyya al-Miṣriyya*, xviii (1971), 20.

(HASSANEIN RABIE)

ḲALB pl. *ḳulub* (A.), "heart".

I. — MYSTICISM

In Ṣūfī terminology the "heart" plays a large part, for it is viewed both as the source of man's good and evil aspirations and as the seat of learning or religious apprehension and of divine visitations. The *ʿilm al-ḳulūb wa 'l-khawāṭir*, "science of hearts and movements of the soul", owes its origin to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, one of the earliest writers on *taṣawwuf* (cf. L. Massignon, *La passion d'al-Ḥallādj*, Paris 1922, 468).

The role allotted to "heart" in the personality and understanding of man is in strict conformity with Semitic tradition, and the Ṣūfī "science of hearts" is firmly based on the Ḳur'ān. While *ʿaḳl*, "intellect", has no place in the vocabulary of the Ḳur'ān, *ḳalb* is very frequently employed. It is with his heart that man "understands", just as he sees with his eyes and hears with his ears (*e.g.*, *Ḳur'ān*, VII, 179, XXII, 46). Of those who neither understand nor hear (the Word of God) it is said, "it is not their eyes that are blind, but the hearts in their breasts" (XXII, 46). Such blindness of the heart is a denial, the origin of ignorance. Thus God "seals the hearts" of "those who do not know" and does not guide them in the true way (VII, 101, X, 74, XXX, 59, etc.). God "sets a seal on the heart of every haughty tyrant" (XL, 35). In *tafsīr* and *ʿilm al-kalām*, the "seal affixed to the heart" was to become one of the most controversial questions in the consideration of man's freedom of action (*e.g.*, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, on Ḳur'ān, XVIII, 23).

So it is from his heart that man's awareness or ignorance of God originates. But far from being merely an intellectual apprehension, this is a knowledge which demands the whole of one's life. So that the heart may be truly the seat of divine knowledge, it must be "assuaged by a remembrance of God" (XIII, 28), be pure (XXVI, 89; XXXVII, 84) and contrite (L, 33); it must be filled with *taḳwā*, reverential awe of the Lord (XXII, 32). It is the seat of the religious sciences; it is also the home of that mercy, that "faith above faith" which is the divine dwelling-place: God Himself "causes His Presence (*sakīna*) to descend to the hearts of Believers so that they may add faith to their faith" (XLVIII, 4). The hearts of those who are guilty, however (XV, 12; XXVI, 200), which are "marked out for severe punishment", and the hearts of "those who do not believe in the Hereafter" (XXXIX, 45), "shudder" (*ibid.*); terror will strike the hearts of the impious (*kuffār*, III, 151, VIII, 12).

Closely related to these texts is L. Massignon's comment (*op. cit.*, 489): "In sum, the Ḳur'ān made the heart the source of knowledge and conscience; since he can in no way 'hold back' the irreversible and irremediable dispersion of his resources (in movements and feelings), man can regain possession of himself only within his own self, in his *taḳlīb*, in his heart". This he does "against the grain of the countermanding fleshly lusts, which all Muslim writers locate in the liver and bile" (*ibid.*, n. 7).

Consequently, the deepening experience of faith and the search for union with God, which are the first and constant aims of *taṣawwuf*, become linked with the study of the "science of hearts", the *ʿilm al-kulūb* to use al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's expression. The following distinctions were formulated: the seat of thought and awareness of self lay not in the brain but in the heart, a bodily organ (*djismī*), a morsel of flesh (*muḍgha, maḍīgha*), situated in the hollow of the breast whose beats both gave life and indicated the presence of life. There in the heart lies the "secret and hidden (*sirr*) home of the conscience, who's secrets (*nadjwā*) will be revealed on Judgement Day" (L. Massignon, *op. cit.*, 478). The role of the spiritual master (*shaykh*) regarding the novice (*murīd*) is to teach him this "science" of desires, thoughts and inner impulses, to teach him to recognize and overcome those aspirations which come from the "physical soul" (*nafs*), and to gather up and protect the inspirations from the "heavenly spiritual breath" (*rūḥ*) through which God reveals Himself to man. Everything that enables man to battle against cupidity and the passions, all that can strengthen his faith (*īmān*) and foster his surrender to God (*islām*), becomes part of "the science of hearts". Thus the celebrated Ṣūfī treatise by Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (4th/10th century), which covers ritual acts as well as revealing steps in the path to divine union, is called *Ḳūt al-kulūb* ("Food for Hearts", numerous eds., especially Cairo 1351/1932). In a closely related sense, Baḥya

ibn Paḳūda, an Andalusian Jew who wrote in Arabic in the 5th/11th century and was strongly influenced by Ṣūfī ideas, entitled his spiritual treatise "Introduction to the Duties of the Heart", *Hidāya ilā farā'iḍ al-ḳulūb*.

This stress placed on the "heart", the organ of conscience and seat of religious knowledge and of life in the presence of God, is in no respect an emotionalization of religious values. It stems from an experimentally based anthropology in which understanding and will are united in an existential mode of behaviour which binds man and his destiny. It remains in complete harmony with one of the most dominant notes in ḳur'ānic teaching. Here, *ḳalb* comes close to the Ṣūfī idea of *ma'rifa*, the direct awareness of the "initiate" (*'ārif*).

A great many works of *taṣawwuf* deal with the "science of hearts", but here we will restrict our enquiry to one of the most characteristic examples. One of the best, and most famous, expositions is that of Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī, notably in his *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, which follows in the same tradition as Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī and in fact reproduces whole passages from the *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb*. However, the influence of Hellenic philosophy led al-Ghazālī to set out clearly the problem of the heart as one of the foundations of the human personality. While it may be legitimate to stress the ethical end of the "science of hearts", as does al-Ghazālī, for example, in *Bidāyat al-Hidāya* (cf. W. Montgomery Watt, *The Faith and Practice of al-Ghazālī*, London 1953), the close intertwining of knowledge and the moral life which is also affirmed there should not be forgotten. These are its presuppositions:

The first book of the third part of the *Iḥyā'* is called *Sharḥ 'adjā'ib al-ḳalb*, "A commentary on the wonders of the heart". The preliminary definitions where al-Ghazālī analyses the four concepts *ḳalb, rūḥ, nafs* and *'aḳl* are well known. For each concept al-Ghazālī distinguishes a "physical" and a spiritual meaning. In the first sense *ḳalb* is a bodily organ: *rūḥ* the "vital spirits" in the blood (cf. contemporaneous ideas of physiology); *nafs* is the sum of man's passions, the root of his "blameworthy qualities"; and *'aḳl* the faculty of knowing, which "has its seat in the *ḳalb*". In the second sense *ḳalb* is a "subtle, divine and spiritual" principle which is "the reality of man" (*ḥaḳīḳat al-insān*); *rūḥ* is that spiritual substance in man that acts and understands; *nafs* is man in his reality but capable of being qualified by different attributes according to how his soul controls his carnal desires (*ammāra*, cf. Ḳur'ān, XII, 53) or chastises his passions and struggles to reform itself (*lawwāma, ibid.*, LXXV, 2), or is "at peace" (*muṭma'inna, ibid.*, LXXIX, 27), "pleased by and pleasing to" the Lord; *nafs* in that case corresponds to the "rational soul", the *nafs nāṭiḳa* of the philosophers. Finally *'aḳl* in this second sense is "that which understands knowledge", in short "the heart itself". In their spiritual interpretation, these four terms designate man's "reality", but under four different aspects.

The Ghazālian text *Risāla ladūniyya* (in *Djawāhir al-ghawālī*, Cairo 1353/1934, 23-7) lays greater stress on the synonymity of the terms: "By the 'rational soul' I mean that matter to which all schools give a special name. Philosophers call it the 'rational soul'; the Ḳur'ān calls it the 'soul at peace' and 'the spirit which descends from the Word of God' (cf. XVII, 87); the Ṣūfīs call it 'the heart'. These are simply differences in terminology, but they cover a single concept (*ma'nā wāḥid*): there are no conceptual differences. The heart, the spirit and the soul at peace are all names for the rational soul, which is a substance endowed with life, action and perception. Wherever we speak of the 'spirit' in absolute terms, or of the 'heart', it is this substance we are discussing".

Thus it would be a mistake to take al-Ghazālī's stress on the heart as indicating his "subjectivity" in the western sense of the term (cf. J. Oberman, *Der philosophische und reliogiöse Subjektivismus Ghazalis*, Vienna 1921). If, as A. J. Wensinck observes (*La Pensée de Ghazzālī*, Paris 1940, 64), "the heart comprises reason and will", then rather than perceiving an emotionalization of rational values (see above), we should be aware of a total apprehension of what is distinctive of man according to an existential psychology common to biblical and ḳur'ānic traditions: "the heart in a Pascalian sense" indeed, but only to the extent that Pascal's statements are themselves inspired by the Bible. "The heart has two gates", said al-Ghazālī in the *Iḥyā'* (cf. Wensinck, *op. cit.*, 66-7), one opening on to the external world, the impressions of the senses, passions and desires and thus open to devilish whispers, and the other opening on to the "internal Kingdom". This second gate is "that of inspiration, of the breath of awe of God, and of revelation". Though the terminology is different, this is very close to the "two faces of the soul" found in St. Augustine and mediaeval Latin writers.

In the experience of *dhikr* [*q.v.*], increasingly intensified repetition of the Holy Name passes from the tongue to the heart (cf. *Iḥyā'*, iii, 17): the formula uttered, and thus the Object it evokes, are impressed first on the very organ of the heart (and the circulatory system) and then, by this means, on the spiritual heart, that is in the very depths of being. (N.B.: the "heart" plays a very similar role in Ṣūfī *dhikr* and in the hesychasm of Mount Athos or in the *Account by a Russian Pilgrim*). Al-Ghazālī appears to distinguish only two stages, "*dhikr* of the tongue" and "*dhikr* of the heart"; others add a third, "*dhikr* of the inmost heart of hearts (*sirr*)", which takes possession of the whole being of the man at prayer (cf. Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh of Alexandria, *Miftāḥ al-falāḥ wa 'l-miṣbāḥ*, Cairo, n.d., 4-6).

To sum up: we have seen that for al-Ghazālī and Ṣūfī tradition as a whole, the bodily organ of the heart (and not the brain) is the seat of *'aḳl*, the faculty of knowledge. *'Aḳl*, in the meaning of "the understanding of knowledge", is "in short the heart itself", and the heart is the home and source of *ma'rifa*. Now the "spiritual heart" is the province of the moralist (in man as in animals the "bodily heart" belongs to medicine). Thus while *'aḳl* may be identified with *ḳalb*, the reverse does not hold. *Ḳalb* is not only the faculty of knowing, it is also the seat of all moral impulses, both evil desires and instincts and the struggle to be free of them and attentive to divine teaching (cf. the analysis of texts of the *Iḥyā'* by H. Laoust in *La Politique de Ghazālī*, Paris 1970, 218-21). Salvation comes only from the heart's purified knowledge in its dual and inseparable aspects, speculative and actual. Thus it is a complete education of the "heart" that spiritual teachers must constantly develop and enrich in themselves and their disciples.

In Ṣūfism the analysis of the cardinal virtue *ṣidḳ* [*q.v.*], "sincerity" or "truthfulness", is wholly dependent on the "science of hearts"—see the *Kitāb al-Ṣidḳ* of al-Kharrāz (ed. and tr. A. J. Arberry, Oxford 1937). On Judgement Day the answer to the *su'āl al-ṣidḳ*, "the question of sincerity", will be revealed in two fashions by those prophets who are

also saints (*walī*): it will be stamped on the tongue, visible to the hearers, and on the heart, the seat of divine inspiration.

Al-Ḥallādj, al-Tirmidhī and Ibn ʿArabī comment in this manner on Jesus' answer to the *suʾāl al-ṣidḳ* (cf. L. Massignon, *op. cit.*, 686 and ref.).

Bibliography: in the article. (L. Gardet)

II. — Poetry

Although accorded from the outset an important place in the *nasīb* of the *ḳaṣīda* [*q.v.*], the word "heart" is emphasized only rarely in the ancient literature of Arabia. This situation conditioned the evolution of the word in all subsequent poetic literature. It was rediscovered and re-assessed as the progressive development of feeling caused the word to be employed more and more freely in the traditional context of Arab poetry. It would appear that this represented the righting of a deliberate omission, the precise reasons for which have yet to be determined.

In fact, the old Arab *nasīb* contains hardly any mention of the heart as the seat of the passions, at least in the collections generally held to be the most Bedouin (one example in Zuhayr, two in the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, 13 in Djarīr, who was influenced by the poetry of the cities). It is permissible to suppose that the rarity of the word "heart" in the works of the founders of the Arab lyric is related to the nature of the love which was celebrated in their *nasīb*, though it is true that the few examples found in their verse show that they did not neglect the affective meaning of the term. But for them "matters of the heart" had a social, even sociological, importance. In fact the *nasīb* reveals many of the features of the "Rites de passage" (Van Gennep, Paris 1909). The poet is searching for a protector, a stronger or older "neighbour" whose intervention entails a new tribal affiliation, *nasīb* (cf. al-Buḥturī, *al mawlā 'l-ṣarīḥu nasību*); the *ḥimā*, or "abandoned encampment", appears to be the place where the "binding" rites took place, in the ceremony perhaps called *ʿaḳīḳa* (Robertson Smith, *Kinship and marriage in early Arabia*, 152); the poet becomes the bondsman of a new clan, the clan of the Lady who is presumed to hold him in captivity (*sabī*); he becomes a "hostage" (*rahn*) of the Lady's clan (used in the sense of captive in *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 402; cf. al-Sarrādj, *Maṣāriʿ*, 177, verse by Hilāl b. al-ʿAlāʾ). He is a captive (*asīr*) of the Lady's clan like the devotees of a god dwelling in the midst a of sanctuary in classical antiquity. Furthermore, for the *Lisān*, each child is called *rahīna*, pledge or captive in respect of the *ʿaḳīḳā* he has undergone; the same root implies the idea of *ḳidāḥ*, the sacred sport of arrows, which is compared with the "arrows of the Lady". The same is true of the poet's she-camel; we know that in Arabic folklore (*e.g.*, in al-Sarrādj, *Maṣāriʿ*, 101) the lover is in search (*nishdān*) of a stray she-camel, perhaps also *ṭalab al-hādja*, the visit of the Lady being a sign that the poet's quest is crowned with success.

Like the *ʿaḳīḳa*, the *nishdān* is an old pagan rite (cf. *ḥadīth* on the prohibition on gleaning in the *ḥaram* of Mecca, the former *ḥimā*). The *munshid*, the pilgrim of the *ḥimā* and acolyte of the "visit", is searching for "signs", as the meaning of the root indicates. These signs are those provided by the *zadjr*: these become commonplaces in the classical *nasīb*. Sometimes the *munshid*'s quest is ended by the *ʿazāʾ*, a term with clear sociological implications (the tribal affiliation being connoted by the 5th and 7th forms of the root). The visit to the Lady or pilgrimage of the *ḥimā* (*iʿtimār*) seems to be linked to the season, the spring equinox, *radjab*, for the first encounters (the ideal month of the *ʿumra* or the *iʿtimār*), after a visit had been made to the sanctuary of the Kaʿba; it is possible, on the evidence of the Ḳurʾān, that *waʿd* and *ikhlāf* were related to the vicissitudes of this quest of the Arab lover, which in later literature became that of the "heart" as such.

From these fleeting but converging indications, we can speculate with some probability that "Arab love" corresponded to a "passage ritual", related, at least in the composition of its vocabulary, to the presence of a lady from another tribe who mysteriously bound the lover by a tie, the duration and exact nature of which remained imprecise because of the same "tabu" which affected "matters of the heart".

This "tabu" no longer operated where the Bedouin significance of the love poem had been completely obliterated, and when it had succumbed to the joint influence of the poetry of the cities, music and religious terminology. After the breakdown of tribal ties, those poets who preferred to turn to the past rather than to the future, with the exception of ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa, transferred the main import of Bedouin love to the heart, but weakened it into mere metaphor. The following ideas were retained:

1) Now it is the heart of the poet which, always in straitened circumstances or abroad, "searches" for the Lady.

2) Having become the seat of passion, that is of the Memory and the Secret, the heart is for that very reason an indispensable part of courtly dialectic, at the same time confidant and actor. Naturally the latter is the element which we shall see emphasized when we turn from the poetry of Ḥidjāz to that of ʿIrāḳ.

The heart is on a never-ending quest, journeying after the caravan in which his beloved rides (*Ḥamāsa* of al-Marzūḳi, i, 51; al-Sarrādj, *Maṣāriʿ*, *ḳalbu man tayyamū*, 141; Djamīl's *Dīwān*, ed. Naṣṣār, 118; al-ʿAbbās, 232). This heart is called *murtahin* (ʿUmar, 179 and 295), for it is no longer clear where it dwells and the uncertainty condemns the poet to perpetual wandering. Dissociated from the person of the poet and his group, it is fragmented (*inṣadaʿa*), or else it flies through space, in the grip of such an intense emotion that it cannot recognize its true country (*marūʿ*, 185), a metaphor later employed by the mystic Djunayd (al-Daylamī, *ʿAṭf*, 32).

Such an instability, arising from uncertainty about its home and where it really belongs, turns the heart into a nomad with no clearly defined pastureland, doomed to follow the whims of the seasons (*mitbāʿ al-waṭan*, ʿUmar, 279). Strictly speaking, this situation is *taṭayyum*, slavery in exile (ʿUmar, 192; cf. al-Daylamī for an analysis of the equivalent notion of *huyām*, 23). It is also the *ṣibā*, the call of passion (coming after the signs given to the *munshid*), flashes of lightning, the language of birds which set the heart on the right road. Vagabond and wanderer, the heart is at the same time imprisoned in the net of love which condemns it to strive unceasingly for the *waṣl* or *wiṣāl* (the Lady's favour, originally integration within the Lady's group; ʿUmar, 295, a synonym: *mawadda*, Abū Nuwās, 704; cf. ʿUmar, 222 and 326). During this *ṭalab*, this quest, the heart is truly the quarry (a gazelle of the sacred enclosure) hunted by the Lady and eventually tracked down by her and pierced by her arrows, perhaps like the animals that are no longer defended by the prohibition of the *ḥimā* (ʿUmar 319: *muṣayyad* coupled with *mutayyam*, *ibid.*, 360; the Lady hunts the heart though she herself has the appearance of a gazelle).

The heart which has been subjected to such harsh blows (*muṣāb*) is lovesmitten and dependent upon the Lady's pleasure (*muʿallaḳ, muwakkal*, 362). These metaphors are interchangeable between the lover, represented by his heart, and the Lady; the victim is endowed with the traits and attributes of his tormentor, and vice versa. Thus the poet is led to declare that the Lady occupies his heart (*ibid.*, 355), the heart itself having become the sacred enclosure where the Lady's whims are given free rein. The Lady occupies the best seat in the poet's heart, the "highest place" (ʿUmar, 190: *muḥtallan, rafīʿan*). There she can do exactly as she pleases, knowing herself to be in a vanquished land (*abāḥat Umm Ḥazra min fu'ādī shiʿāb al-ḥubb*, Djarīr, 65; cf. al-ʿAbbas, 39, 191, and Abū Nuwās, 497). At the end of love's "quest", the heart can be possessed by the Lady through a variety of means (magic, the hunt, capture, captivity, chains, bonds, cords, nets, pledge, loan, deposit with every kind of alienation, the result of the departure for strange lands which is the "quest" inherent in the Arab concept of love).

Yet in still deeper fashion, by means of a psychology which endows the heart with many "membranes' (al-Hamadhānī, *al-Alfāz al-kitābiyya, bāb ṣamīm al-ḳalb*; cf. Daylamī, *ʿAṭf*, 16 and al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, i, 86), it can be considered that the heart contains the Lady or her image (a trace of the encampment) in whole or in part.

Thus it is with a love which is more internal, more courtly or more normative that the poet from the cities of ʿIrāḳ (*e.g.*, al-ʿAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf; fifty examples in the Khazradjī edition; the pseudo-*dīwāns* of the romantic heroes) must come to terms when he endeavours to look into his heart.

The heart is the seat of the Memory of Love (al-ʿAbbās, 182). This Memory is identical with Love (281: "I am astonished that a heart can love you"). To compare the lover to the Lady is to compare the respective state of their hearts (*ibid.*, 53: "if my heart were like yours"). The heart experiences the fires (*nīrān*) of passion (*ḳad aḥraḳat nīrānuhu ḳalbī*). The Lady rules the heart of the lover as absolute monarch (*ibid.*, 16). Little distinction is made between Memory and the image of the Lady which resides in a heart that can contain no other object (*ibid.*, 19). On the other hand, there is less insistence on the breaking or cracking of the heart (*ṣudūʿ, fuṭūr*), that symbol of the restless life of the lover and his separation from his tribe.

Arab poetry henceforth invested the heart with an importance which remained characteristic of the courtly spirit. But the heart also had conflicts and problems which occupied theorists as well as poets. In the first place, since the heart seemed to be the principle of love, the question arose whether it shared this role with the eyes, whose act of looking had wounded the poet. This question brought to the forefront the related question of the "licentiousness of the glance" cast at the beloved object, which is the main object of courtly ethics. To recognize the priority of the glance is to uphold the imperative of a strict morality which condemns the lover and perhaps courtly love in the name of social order. To speak of the predominant if not determinant role of the heart (which can develop the image without the help of the eyes with the assistance of an intensive literary culture) is to admit the fatality of passion and its justification by the absurd, which was the gist of the Ẓāhirite scandal sparked off by Ibn Dāwūd. It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of this debate, the influence of which had already made itself felt in the work of the ʿIrāḳī "logographs" and storytellers in the 3rd/9th century.

It could well be that a number of narratives concerning the story of the heroes of romances reveal rather indirect stances relating to this central debate. It should be added that both mysticism and theology put the idea of the heart's vision in the forefront (al-Daylamī, 85). Finally, the Memory of the Lady engraved on the heart—a traditional image no doubt but a deeply felt one—was in this theophany assimilated to the divine face, "yearning" for which haunted Islamic thought, theological as well as philosophical (the *ru'yā* predominates: in the last chapter of al-Ḳushayrī's *Risāla*, *ru'yā ḥasana* is seated in the "heart", which in mystic *sālimiyya* is considered as being the "domain" of the Angel; Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī, i, 131). A vision of the heart and of yearning which are mutually linked and associated in the light of a new conception, or at least a broader one, of "heart" helps to confer on oriental courtly love that shadowy vagueness and dreamlike dimension which strikes the western observer.

Thus the heart begins by referring to a Bedouin love about which little is known except that it involved a change of status where the sacred element had already infiltrated tribal customs. In the poetry of the cities, the heart eventually seems to be the focus of poetic modes of expression; later, under other and still more complex influences, the heart becomes the authorized seat of the Memory of Love and the Vision of the Lady. To determine to what extent this "vision of the heart", the offspring of a highly elaborated civilization, remained faithful to the ideas of primitive Arab culture, is not one of the least of the problems posed by the appearance in the Arab language of a literature composed in a clearly courtly spirit.

Bibliography: Examples of the use of the word *ḳalb*: *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Aḥmad Shākir, 93, 301; Zuhayr, ed. Ahlwardt, 91; Djarīr, ed. al-Sāwī, 65, 91, 100, 147, 158, 159, 181, 210, 227, 240, 257, 300, 301; ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, 67, 84, 105, 106, 160, 178, 179, 185, 190, 192, 195, 201, 203, 217, 219, 222, 225, 227, 229, 279, 295, 319, 323, 326, 355, 360, 362. For the relationship which may have existed between the condition of the poet and the heart's "captivity", see J. C. Vadet, *L'esprit courtois en Orient dans les cinq premiers siècles de l'Hégire*, Paris 1968, 61. For the role of the heart in "courtliness", see Vadet, *op. cit.* and IBN DĀWŪD; *Iʿtilāl al-ḳulūb*, Ms. Bursa 1535 and especially Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, *Rawḍat al-muḥibbīn*, ed. ʿUbayd, 104 (*munāẓara* between the heart and the eyes). For the original meaning of *munshid* and *inshād*, see the romance of ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa in *Aghānī*, i, 199, Daylamī, *ʿAṭf*, 88, the legal treatises on the relationship between *yamīn* and *munāshada*.

(J. C. VADET)

KALB (fem. *kalba*, pl. *kilāb*, *kalīb*, *aklub*, secondary pl. *kilābāt*, *akālib*), the general name for the domestic dog (*Canis familiaris*) with no distinction of breed. A fundamentally unclean (*nadjas*) animal and therefore forbidden food according to ḳur'ānic law, the dog is generally if not despised, then at least avoided, throughout Islam. This is particularly true of urban areas, at any rate insofar as the animal does not assist its master in the pursuit of a permitted activity. For Muslims this reservation is compounded by a superstitious caution arising from the belief that the dog is a demonic emanation belonging to the category of evil spirits (*min al-djinn wa 'l-ḥinn*). In Arabic, as in most languages, the word "dog" is a biting insult and it appears pejoratively

in numerous proverbial sayings. In addition, throughout Asia and the Near East, and particularly in the cities, disdain for the animal was buttressed by the scourge of rapidly increasing packs of dogs, regarded as "maroons" (from Sp. *cimarron*, *i.e.*, reverted to the wild state) by some cynologists and as "pariahs" by others. However, like that of the vultures, the presence of these constantly famished outlaws was tolerated to some degree for their indispensable services as scavengers. Istanbul was notorious for its hordes of pariahs; yet in the words of Xavier Marmier, writing in the mid-19th century: "disagreeable as these animals may be, in the State of Constantinople they are practically a necessary evil. Rectifying the lack of foresight of the city police, they cleanse the streets of a great quantity of matter which otherwise would putrefy and fill the air with pestilential germs". The same was true of Cairo and Alexandria; so prolific were the dogs that they became a disaster for the inhabitants, and in the 19th century the viceroy of Egypt, Muḥammad ʿAlī (1769-1849), rounded up enough of them to fill a ship and drowned them. The Maghrib too suffered from this "invasion" and there the indefinable and particularly aggressive breed of "douar (gypsy) dog" or "kabyle dog" was prevalent. Such a proliferation of carriers of the virus easily explains the endemic nature of rabies (*kalab*) in all Islamic countries at all periods. It is also obvious why the Prophet, faced with the problem of a plague of stray dogs in Medina in his day, at first took the implacable decision to exterminate "all dogs" (according to the *ḥadīth*s), and then, mitigating his decree because the canine race were a race of Allāh's creatures (*inna-hā umma min al-umam*) and because man needed certain categories of dog, decided to exterminate the black-coated strays and particularly those with light patches (*zabībatānʿ*) on each eyebrow, the undisputable mark of the devil in the eyes of all Arabs. It should be noted that this physical trait occurs frequently among black herd- and sheep-dogs of many occidental breeds and could be regarded by cynologists as an identifying mark of oriental pariahs. Freed from the Prophet's condemnation were all useful dogs who obeyed a master, *i.e.*, trained hunting dogs (*kalb al-ṣayd*, *ḍārī*, pl. *ḍawārī*) and watchdogs, whether they guarded houses (*kalb al-dūr*), alleys (*kalb al-darb*), flocks (*kalb al-ḍarʿ*, *kalb al-rāʿī*, *kalb al-ghanam*), or crops and vineyards (*kalb al-zarʿ*). In the general opinion of the doctors of law and jurisconsults it was permitted to possess, maintain (*iḳtinā*ʾ), buy, sell and bequeath such dogs, even black ones so long as their use could be justified. In addition, one who killed one of these dogs had to recompense the owner (*kālib*) at the rate of forty *dirhams* for a hunting dog, one ewe for a sheep-dog, one *faraḳ* (= 16 *raṭl*s) of wheat for a crop-guarding dog and one *faraḳ* of good earth for a house watchdog.

Though socially useful dogs are tolerated, the animal remains unclean with respect to religious practices. Everything a dog touches or licks is rendered impure and the place where it has lain must be purified with water, following the practice of the Prophet on one occasion. A dog prowling close to a Believer in prayer makes void the *ṣalāt*, and its presence prevents angels from visiting a house. Finally, anyone who keeps a useless and vicious (*ʿaḳūr*) dog lessens his final reward by one (or two) *ḳirāṭ* [*q.v.*] each day. All these unfavourable dicta on the dog are derived from the standard collections of *ḥadīth* and commentaries on them are found in the major treatises of the four Sunnī legal schools: Mālik's *Muwaṭṭa*ʾ, al-Shaybānī's revised *Muwaṭṭa*ʾ and *Kitāb al-Aṣl*; Saḥnūn's *Mudawwana*, al-Shāfiʿī's *Kitāb al-Umm*, al-Sarakhsī's *Mabsūṭ*, al-Muzanī's *Mukhtaṣar*, Ibn Ḳudāma's *Mughnī*, etc. (in the chapters on *al-ṣayd*, *al-dhabāʾiḥ*, *al-dhakāt*, *al-ḍaḥāyā*, *al-aṭʿima* and *al-buyūʿ* according to the individual writers); they are likewise found in works on the differences among jurists (*ikhtilāf al-fuḳahā*ʾ) such as the *Bidāyat al-Mudjtahid* of Ibn Rushd. An inventory, classification and analysis of the data on the dog in all these sources is clearly set out by Erwin Gräf in his detailed study of ritual slaughter in Muslim law (*Jagdbeute und Schlachttier im islamischen Recht*, Bonn 1959).

Famine drove some Arab tribes in pre-Islamic days to eat the flesh of the dog; this was true of the Banū Asad [*q.v.*] and of one branch of them, the Banū Faḳʿas, among others. If we can believe some satirical verses written in the beginning of the Islamic period (see al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Bukhalā*ʾ, Leiden 1900, i, 259; idem, *Ḥayawān*, i, 267), these people acquired a taste for such food. In the Maghrib, al-Muḳaddasī (ed. and tr. Pellat, Algiers 1950, 61, and the cited bibliography, 87) observes that the inhabitants of Kasṭīliya and Nafṭa are cynophages and, in the 8th/14th century, al-Tidjānī accused the inhabitants of Tozeur, in the Djarīd of Ifrīḳiya, of the same deplorable custom (*Riḥla*, Tunis 1927, 115). According to gourmets, however, the flesh of plump pups (*djirw*, pl. *djirā*ʾ, *adjrā*ʾ) is succulent, similar to that of pigeons (see *Ḥayawān*, ii, 169, iv, 42). Finally we may speculate that, for pre-Islamic Arabs, eating dog-flesh could have been a relic of old totemic rites, since the dog was "tabu" in the ancient civilizations of the East.

In spite of the unfavourable attitude towards the dog arising from ḳurʾānic law and public opinion, nomadic and rural Muslims were not completely unaware of the high qualities of man's first companion, in the aspects both of usefulness and of devotion. As early as pre-Islamic times, the dog was the only domestic animal whose personality was sufficiently noticed for him to be given a proper name which had no connection with his external appearance, like Saʿd, Masʿūd, Anīs, Murdjān or Samḥa, and the chroniclers recount a number of anecdotes illustrating the compassion shown to dogs. The Prophet himself promised a divine reward to an old woman for her act of charity to a thirsty dog. S. H. Leeder (in *Veiled Mysteries of Egypt*, 1912) twice mentions wills or *waḳf*s made in favour of dogs (cf. G. H. Bousquet, *Des Animaux et de leur traitement selon le Judaïsme, le Christianisme et l'Islâm*, in *St. Isl.* ix (1958), 31-48). Nor does the Muslim forget the edifying and touching story of Ḳiṭmīr, the dog belonging to the Seven Sleepers (Ḳurʾān, XVIII, 17), the symbol of fidelity [see AṢḤĀB AL-KAHF]; he will be the only dog allowed to enter Paradise. In the opinion of al-Bayḍāwī (*Anwār al-tanzīl*, Leipzig 1848, i, 557), Allāh gave this dog the gift of speech, while al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr*, xv, 141) believed him to be the reincarnation of a human being, a view that tallies with the Ismāʿīlī belief that Ḳitmīr's doglike exterior hid the huntsman (*mukallib*) Salmān (see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, ii, 189, iii, 44; al-Damīrī, s.v. *kalb*, ii, 278-312; Massignon, *Les Sept Dormants d'Ephèse en Islam et en Chrétienté*, in *REI*, xxii-xxx (1954-62).

It was al-Djāḥiẓ who restored the dog to its just place in Muslim society in his remarkable treatise "On Animals" (*Ḥayawān*, i and ii). Pleading the case for the defence of the dog in a disputation between the supporter of the dog (*ṣāḥib al-kalb*) and the supporter of the cock (*ṣāḥib al-dīk*), he gathers together the Greek scientific data alongside Aristotle, whom he can, when necessary, refute, Arabic sayings in

prose and verse, travellers' tales and contemporary information, with the addition of his own observations on canine ecology and ethology. All this he examines critically in the light of a logic which in his case may owe more to an innate feeling for method than to his penchant towards the rationalist tendency of the Muʿtazilites. In any case, we may be grateful to al-Djāḥiẓ for not having contented himself with an apology for one type of hound, the "Saluki" (*salūḳī* [*q.v.*]) harrier, the noble hunter (*ʿitāḳ*) which was all that poets and writers on the hunt before and after al-Djāḥiẓ could do. Thanks to him, although we cannot speak of breeds, we are nevertheless able to distinguish the most common dogs of his day. Apart from the Saluki, there were the Kurdish sheep-dog (*kurdī*), a large animal introduced into Turkey in the 6th/12th century by the Kurds, probably the fore-runner of the Hungarian herd-dog, the Kuwatz. Since it had a keen sense of smell, the Kurdish sheep-dog was also used to track game and, when mated with a Saluki, produced a "cross" (*khilāsī*) with the qualities of both its parents. This, the first hound to hunt by smell and not by sight, was described succinctly by the poet ʿAlī b. al-Djahm al-Sāmī (d. 249/863), the favourite of the caliph al-Mutawakkil (see *Aghānī*, x, 239). Half a century later, this verse portrait was summarized by Ibn al-Muʿtazz in two of his *ṭardiyya*s [*q.v.*] (see *Dīwān*, Istanbul 1945, 26, no. 30; Damascus 1952, 297; Beirut 1961, 282-3), where this great hunting dog is described as *nayradj/nawradj*, "a tireless tracker". The many subsequent crosses of this strain, which falconers used as "bird dogs" to flush small furred and feathered game for their birds of prey, led to a great many varieties of "mastiff hounds" or mongrels (*khāridjī* and in the Maghrib *balhūt*, *barhūsh*). The pointer known as *zaghārī/zughārī* (pl. ---*iyya*), from its old High German name, *zeigari*, "pointer", appeared in the 6th/12th century with the Crusades. It was imported into Islamic countries at great cost for use as a bird dog; quieter than the *khilāsī*, it was described as *kalb al-bandj*, "the bush dog". Because of its origins and its clear and light-coloured coat, the *zaghārī* pointer greatly resembles the present-day Italian pointer and Hungarian Vizsla, who are assumed to be the ancestors of all other breeds of pointer. From its pale beige coat, the *zaghārī* pointer was given the nickname *zabībī* (dry grape colour); thus named, it is listed among the presents set by the Byzantine emperor Michael VI Stratiotikos to the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustanṣir bi'llāh in 444/1052 (see M. Hamidullah, *L'Europe et l'Orient musulman*, in *Arabica*, vii (1960), 289).

Among the smaller breeds, al-Djāḥiẓ mentions a basset sheep-dog, the *ziʾnī/zīnī*, which is reminiscent of the Hungarian Puli and Pumi. He also mentions the *ḳalaṭī*, the "stocky dog", which seems to belong to the same type as the Pomeranian, and the *ṣīnī*, "the Chinese", which corresponds to the pug or Pekinese. This dog was easily trained to perform tricks for ladies such as holding a lamp on its muzzle without moving or running errands in the market place with a basket round its neck (*Ḥayawān*, ii, 179). Mountebanks and travelling showmen made wide use of its skills as a performing dog (*mutalaḳḳin*), putting it to work with monkeys in public performances.

Following the Greeks, the Muslims were not aware of any breeds of wild dog, believing the painted hyena or cynhyena (*simʿ*) and the aardwolf (*ʿisbār*) to be hybrids resulting from a cross between domestic dogs and wolves or hyenas. Al-Djāḥiẓ was the first to refute these errors (*Ḥayawān*, i, 183-5).

Rabies (*dāʾ al-kalab*) was widespread in Arab countries from the earliest days because of the hordes of pariah packs transmitting the virus. For a long time, a man smitten with the disease (*kalib*, *maklūb*) was considered as one possessed by *djunūn* and treated accordingly by methods designed more for exorcism than therapy; drinking the blood of a king was held to be the supreme remedy and empirical treatments, which were kept secret, were passed on from father to son in some families. Driven by the urgent need to act against the growing scourge, Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, governor of Baṣra (45/665-6), made public a form of treatment by having it posted up on the wall of the Great Mosque which he had restored (*Ḥayawān*, ii, 10-2); unfortunately we do not know the nature of this treatment, which appears to have produced good results. The clinical symptoms of rabies, especially hydrophobia, were known precisely; al-Djāḥiẓ describes them and, after him, so do Kushādjim (*Maṣāyid*, Baghdād 1954, 138-9), al-Ḳazwīnī and al-Damīrī (s.v. *kalb*).

On the analogy of shape, the Arabs gave the name *kalb* to other animals; thus *kalb al-māʾ* (fresh-water dog) is the name for the otter, and in the western Islamic world for the beaver. Greed was the analogy which led to the name *kalb al-baḥr* (dog of the sea) being given to the little shark which we too call the dog-fish and which Arab naturalists also call the *kawsadj* or *lakhm*. It is from this "little shark" (*ḳuraysh*) that Muḥammad's tribe probably took its name, apparently through totemism. Finally, in the world of the invertebrates (*ḥasharāt*) we find the *kalb al-mayy*, the mole-cricket (*gryllotalpa vulgaris*), also called *ḥālūsh* and *ḥarrāthā* by horticulturalists, while arboriculturalists call all wood-eating worms *kalb*. By a similar process of analogy, the word *kalb* and its derivatives were given to a large number of objects, instruments and tools, whose contours or functions were to a greater or lesser degree reminiscent of the animal (see Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.).

Bibliography: in addition to the references cited in the article: Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 403-4; Amīn al-Maʿlūf, *Muʿdjam al-ḥayawān*, Cairo 1932 (s.vv. *canis* and *dog*); Ed. Ghâlib, *al-Mawsūʿa fī ʿulūm al-ṭabīʿa*, Beirut 1965, s.v.; E. Blaze, *Histoire du chien*, Paris 1843; H. D. Richardson, *Dogs, their origins and varieties*, New York 1957; idem, *Forty years with dogs*, London n.d.; C. M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Cambridge 1888; De Schaeck, *Des chiens d'afrique*, in *Revue des Sciences naturelles appliquées*, Paris 1894-5; von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, Berlin 1899-1900, i, 69-71; A. Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, iii, Vienna 1908; J. Euting, *Tagebuch einer Reise in Innerarabien*, ii, 53; H. R. d'Allemagne, *Du Khorassan au pays des Backhtiaris*, Paris 1911, iv, 230 ff.; W. Marçais and A. Guiga, *Textes arabes de Takrouna*, Paris 1925, i, 285-7, n. 31; O. F. Gandert, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des Haushundes*, Leipzig 1930, vol. xlvi; A. Childe, *Etude philologique sur les noms du chien...*, in *Arquivos do Museu nacional*, xxxix, Rio de Janeiro 1940; J. Oberthur, *Le Chien*, Paris 1949, i-ii; K. Lindner, *La chasse préhistorique*, Paris 1950, 363, 386, 441 ff.; F. M'ery, *Les chiens de chasse*, Paris 1951; idem, *Le Chien*, in *Enc. Larousse*, Paris 1959; E. Dechambre, *Les chiens*, Paris 1952; M. Barat, *Les chiens et les hommes*, Paris 1953.

The dog in astronomy. The ancient astronomers gave the name "dog" (κύων, *canis*) to a number of constellations and stars because of the allegorical figures which they believed they would perceive in

their dispositions in the sky. After the rise of Islam, the Muslims adopted the same principle and, translating the Greek and Latin terms, gave the name *kalb* to the following stars: a) *al Kalb al-akbar*, the Great Dog—also known as *Kalb al-d̲j̲abbār*, "the dog of the giant" (*i.e.*, of Orion)—is a sub-zodiacal constellation lying to the east of the Hare, beneath and to the left of Orion, on the edge of the Milky Way. In the European Middle Ages it was called the *quelb alagbar* and *quelb elgebar*. There are seven stars in the constellation and one of these, Sirius the Dog (α *Canis majoris*, magnitude 1,58) or *al-S̲h̲iʿrā al-yamaniyya* (*Elschere aliemini*), rises soon after the summer solstice. b) *al-Kalb al-aṣg̲h̲ar*, "the Little Dog"—also called *Muḳaddam al-kalb*, "the forerunner dog"—is a sub-zodiacal constellation lying under Gemini between Hydra and Orion. *Quelb alazgar* embraces two stars: Procyon (α *Canis minoris*, mag. 0,48) or *al-G̲h̲umayṣāʾ*/*Algomaisa* (= rheumy-eyed, a corruption of *al-d̲j̲umayzā*, the sycamore)—which is also known as *al-S̲h̲iʿrā al-s̲h̲āmiyya*, "Sirius of Syria" —and *al-S̲h̲iʿrā al-ʿabūr*/*Alhabor*, "Sirius which has crossed" (the Milky Way). They rise in mid-July. c) *al-Kalbān*ⁱ, "the Two Dogs" (of Aldebaran), in the zodiacal constellation of Taurus are two stars situated between the Hyades and the Pleiades, corresponding to υ *Tauri*, mag. 4,5 and κ *Tauri*, mag. 4,6. d) *Kalb al-rāʿi*/*Celbalrai*, "the Shepherd's Dog", is a corruption of *Kitf al-rāʿi*, "the Shepherd's Shoulder" (Ariteus) and corresponds to β *Ophiuchi*, mag. 2,9, in the Serpentarius constellation. e) *Kilāb al-s̲h̲itāʾ*, "the Dogs of Winter", designates the four mansions of *al-D̲h̲irāʿ* (= Castor and Pollux, α, β *Geminorum*), *al-Nat̲h̲ra* (= γ, δ, ε *Cancri*), *al-Ṭarf* (= α *Cancri* and λ *Leonis*) and *al-D̲j̲abha* (= ζ, γ, η, α *Leonis*) whose heliacal rising occurs successively from the end of June to mid-August and acronychal setting from the beginning of January to mid-February. Sirius (α *Canis majoris*) rises at the same time as *al-D̲h̲irāʿ*. This long period covers the time of the Dog (*al-kalb*) or "Dog Days" (cf. Fr. *jours caniculaires*, Ger. *Hundstage*), which are characterized by heatwaves (*wag̲h̲arāt*) and simooms (*samāʾim*), and also the time of the hoar-frost (*kulba, kalab al-s̲h̲itāʾ*), with its "black nights" (*al-layālī al-sūd*). In antiquity this whole period was regarded as ill-omened and thus held in dread. At the time of the rise of Sirius the Romans sought to placate him by sacrificing a red dog. The maxims of the nomadic Arabs concerning the *anwāʾ* [*q.v.*] of these four mansions indicate their apprehension in the face of the torrid summer with its shortage of water and pastureland and their fear of the harsh winter with its meagre supply of food and fuel. The star *al-D̲h̲irāʿ*, "the Arm" (for *al-d̲h̲irāʿ al-mabsūṭa*, "the outstretched arm" of Castor), which forms the seventh lunar mansion, is at its apogee at the beginning of October, and *al-Nat̲h̲ra*, "the Sneeze" (of Leo), the eighth lunar mansion, in mid-October. In the case of *al-Ṭarf*, "the Extremity" (of the southern rear claw of Cancer), the ninth lunar mansion, this occurs at the beginning of November, while for the tenth lunar mansion, *al-D̲j̲abha*, "the Forehead" (of Leo), it takes place in mid-November. Thus the "Dogs of Winter" is a most appropriate name for these four mansions; it reveals a trace of the old solar astrological calendar of the Bedouins, based on their observation of the meteorological changes and atmospheric precipitations which took place during the heliacal rise and acronychal setting of well-known stars.

Bibliography: *LA*, s.v. *kalb*; A. Benhamouda, *Les noms arabes des étoiles*, in *AIEO Alger*, ix (1951), 76-210; M. Barat, *Les Chiens et les Hommes*, Paris 1953, 89 ff.; Ch. Pellat, *Dictons rimés*, anwâʾ *et mansions lunaires chez les Arabes*, in *Arabica*, ii (1955), 17-41; idem, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, new ed., Leiden 1961. (F. Viré)

KALB B. WABARA, the ancestor of the Banū Kalb, the strongest group of the Ḳuḍāʿa [*q.v.*]. His mother, Umm al-Asbuʿ, was so called because all her sons were named after wild animals (T. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge*, 75 ff.). The Kalb were, according to the genealogical system (Ibn al-Kalbī, *D̲j̲amharat al-nasab* etc.), of Yemenite descent, but sometimes they claimed for political reasons to belong to the Northern Arabs or even to Ḳurays̲h̲.

I.—Pre-Islamic period

Their greatest chieftain was Zuhayr b. D̲j̲anāb, who had great authority among the northern tribes; so he was sent by Abraha [*q.v.*] to control the Bakr and Tag̲h̲lib (*Ag̲h̲ānī*, ed. Brünnow, 95; Ibn Ḳutayba, ed. de Goeje, 233). This cannot be the Abraha of the year in which the prophet Muḥammad was born, but is probably an earlier viceroy of the Yemen. Descendants of Zuhayr are enumerated in *Ag̲h̲ānī*, ed. Brünnow, 102 ff., amongst them a contemporary of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab (d. 102/720). Zuhayr was later represented as one of the "long-lived" (*muʿammar*), who in his verses deplored his lost youth (Abū Ḥātim in I. Goldziher, *Abhandlungen*, ii, 24 ff.; al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā, *Amālī*, ii, 172-6).

The grazing grounds of the Kalb (they were famous camel-breeders, see, *e.g.*, *Ag̲h̲ānī*[3], vii, 109, l. 4) were in the steppe between Syria and ʿIrāḳ (see map in vol. i, 891) called *samāwat Kalb* (Yāḳūt, iii, 131 etc.); here their centres were the oases in the low-lying valley (*al-k̲h̲abt*) formed by the D̲j̲awf [*q.v.*] and the Wādī Sirḥān [*q.v.*] which opened to them the way to Syria long before the Muslims conquered it (see the verses in *Ḥamāsa*, Freytag, p. 659 and Wellhausen, *Das arab. Reich*, 83, n. 2). Thus, they had settled in Salamiyya, Palmyra, Damascus (especially in the G̲h̲ūṭa and al-Mizza), in D̲j̲awlān, al-Suwaydāʾ, and in the region of Ḥarrān; there were small numbers of them in Ḥimṣ, Aleppo, Ḥamāt and Manbid̲j̲. They had also settled in Fadak, Dūmat al-D̲j̲andal, Taymāʾ, and al-Ḥīra, and, according to al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī (*Ḳalāʾid al-d̲j̲umān*, 47) and Ibn K̲h̲aldūn (*ʿIbar*, ii, 521), there were many of them in "the Gulf of Constantinople" (*al-k̲h̲alīd̲j̲ al-ḳusṭanṭīnī*), as well as in S̲h̲īrāz in Persia, and in Manfalūṭ in Egypt. In Syria the Byzantines had placed them under the command of the G̲h̲assānids [*q.v.*], their phylarchs, to defend the Syrian *Limes* against the Sasanids and al-Ḥīra. In this way the Kalb became accustomed to military discipline and to law and order. Like the G̲h̲assānids they became converted to Christianity in its Monophysite form.

The Kalb clashed with the Muslims for the first time when Muḥammad sent, c. 6/627, an expedition against Dūmat al-D̲j̲andal [*q.v.*] which led to the conversion of al-Aṣbag̲h̲ b. ʿAmr and a treaty (Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 36; see J. Sperber in *MSOS As.*, xix (1916)). There were already some converted Kalb in Mecca, *e.g.* Muḥammad's step-son Zayd b. Ḥārit̲h̲a [*q.v.*] and Diḥya [*q.v.*]. In 8/639 the Kalb sent a deputation to Muḥammad to announce their conversion; it seems however that the majority stood aside, taking no part in the conquest of Syria.

Bibliography: in the article; in addition see the indexes to Ṭabarī, Yaʿḳūbī, Masʿūdī, Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, Ibn Durayd, *al-Is̲h̲tiḳāḳ*, the *Ag̲h̲ānī* (Tables), Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd* (*Indices* by M. S̲h̲afīʿ), Hamdānī, ed. D. H. Müller (*BGA*, iv), al-

Bakrī, Yāḳūt; *The Naḳā'iḍ of Djarīr and al-Farazdaḳ*, ed. Bevan; al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, ed. Wright; Wüstenfeld, *Register*, 264-6; W. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab. Das genealogische Werk des Hišām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī*, ii, 369. For their dialect see H. Kofler, *Reste altarabischer Dialekte*, in *WZKM* xlvii-xlix (1940-42). [See also AL-DJĀBIYA, BANU 'L-MUHALLAB.] (J. W. FÜCK)

II.—Islamic Period

The relations between Kalb and the Umayyads go back to the time of the caliph ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān (see above). Owing to their importance and strength in Syria, Muʿāwiya, who had married Maysūn [*q.v.*], whose father, Unayf [*q.v.*], belonged to the Kalb aristocracy, chose to rely on the Kalb in order both to secure his position at home, and to prepare himself to face ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib in war. Thus the Yamanites in general and the Kalb in particular became the most influential of the tribes in Syria during the reigns of Muʿāwiya and his son, Yazīd, who also had married a wife from the Kalb, and during that of Muʿāwiya II [*q.v.*].

Conflicting interests led Kalb and Ḳays [*q.v.*] to support opposing political groups. In the period of political trouble that followed the death of Yazīd I, the support given by Kalb to the Umayyads was due to the favourable economic and political position which they had enjoyed under them. On the other hand, Ḳays gave their full support to Ibn al-Zubayr [*q.v.*], less because of their attachment to his cause, than because of their hatred for the Kalb and the Umayyads who supported them. Masʿūdī reports (*Murūdj*, v, 200) that al-Yaman, headed by the Kalbī Ḥassān b. Mālik b. Baḥdal, stipulated before giving their full support to Marwān [*q.v.*] that they should be given the same concessions as they had enjoyed under Muʿāwiya I, Yazīd I and Muʿāwiya II. These were that two thousand of them should receive two thousand *dirhams* for their support each year, and, if a recipient died, his son or cousin should receive the payment. Kalb should take precedence at court, and should be consulted on every important matter. To all these terms Marwān gave his consent. Not unnaturally, therefore, Ḳays gave their full support in the battle of Mardj Rāhiṭ [*q.v.*] (64/683) to Ibn al-Zubayr, while Kalb and others of Yaman took the side of Marwān. This battle, however, ended with a crushing defeat for Ḳays, a defeat which they never forgot and which deepened still further the conflict between themselves and Kalb. This was one reason for the feuds between them in the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik [*q.v.*], for Ḳays found in the political disturbances at the time of his accession an opportunity to revenge themselves.

One such opportunity came in the battle on the Khāzir (67/686) when ʿUmayr b. al-Ḥubāb al-Sulamī, who was with those Ḳays serving in the Syrian army, deserted the field as soon as battle was joined, thus bringing about the victory of the ʿIrāḳīs. Following this treason, ʿUmayr took refuge with the leader of Ḳays, Zufar b. al-Ḥārith al-Kilābī, who had been holding out against the Umayyads in Ḳarḳīsyā' since the battle of Mardj Rāhiṭ. Thenceforward there began the armed conflict between Kalb and Ḳays, which took the form of raids, called *ʿAyyām* ("days"), each of which usually bore the name of the place in which it had occurred.

Both Zufar and ʿUmayr began to make a series of raids on those Kalb who were living in the Samāwa desert between Syria and ʿIrāḳ, and these raids were met by retaliation from the Kalb under Ḥumayd b. Ḥurayth b. Baḥdal. However, these constant Ḳaysī raids eventually caused the Kalb to leave the area and emigrate to al-Ghawr in Palestine. Thus Ḳays achieved unchallenged supremacy in the area.

However, the Kalb-Ḳays feud broke out in a different area. The raids of Ḥumayd b. Ḥurayth on the Ḳays in the Djazīra had stirred up the Banū Fazāra [see FAZĀRA] in ʿIrāḳ, who complained to the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik. This led to another series of raids, the most celebrated of which was that of Banāt Ḳayn in which the Ḳays was victorious. As a result of the wise measures taken by ʿAbd al-Malik, the raiding ceased, and the day of Banāt Ḳayn was the last of the famous "days" between Kalb and Ḳays.

During the military struggle between the Umayyads and the ʿAbbāsids (132/750) 2,000 Kalb originally sent to help Salm b. Ḳutayba—the Umayyad governor of Baṣra—defected and took the side of the ʿAbbāsids. This may have been due to the fact that Marwān II relied almost exclusively on Ḳays; or the Kalb may have realized by this time that the Umayyad cause was lost and therefore have tried to win favour with the new regime. However, in the same year the Kalb, with others of Yemen, took part in the revolt of Abu 'l-Ward against the ʿAbbāsid army led by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*]. This might have been a result of their disappointment with the new régime.

Under Hārūn al-Rashīd [*q.v.*], Damascus was the scene of a tribal feud between the two factions of Yemen and Muḍar. It lasted with short intervals from 174/790 to 180/796. The chief reason for this feud was the Syrian Arab tribes' sympathy for the Umayyads, and it was fostered by the policies of the ʿAbbāsid governors, who supported one faction against the other. This feud emerged once more under al-Ma'mūn [*q.v.*] (213/828) in connection with the Yaman in Egypt.

In the later ʿAbbāsid period, the history of the Kalb was of less importance and took the form of Bedouin (*aʿrāb*) attacks on the central authorities. The following are the main events. The Kalb under ʿUṭayf b. Niʿma took part in the revolt of Ḥimṣ against the governor al-Faḍl b. Ḳārin and killed him in 250/884. But al-Mustaʿīn's general, Mūsā b. Bughā al-Kabīr, was able to defeat the rebels and capture Ḥimṣ. In the year 294/906, the *aʿrāb* of Kalb, together with al-Nimr b. Ḳāsiṭ [*q.v.*] and Asad, defeated al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān, the governor of Mosul, and pursued him to the gates of Aleppo. In the same year al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān succeeded in defeating the *aʿrāb* of Kalb and Ṭay' [*q.v.*], but he was eventually captured. Under al-Mustarshid, the Kalb took part in the dispute between the ruler of Damascus and Dubays b. Ṣadaḳa, the ruler of Aleppo [see MAZYADIDS), by betraying the latter, who took refuge with them, to the former.

It is interesting to note that Carmathian propaganda found a response among some of the Kalb and especially the Banu 'l-ʿUlayṣ b. Ḍamḍam and their *mawālī*, who were living in the Samāwa desert. In 289/901 they paid homage to Yaḥyā b. Zakrawayh, the Carmathian propagandist, calling him *shaykh*. Banu 'l-Aṣbagh—another branch of Kalb—also joined Ibn Zakrawayh, and seem to have believed so sincerely in his mission that they called themselves "Fāṭimids". Taking by surprise al-Muʿtaḍid's army, which was pursuing them, they managed to kill its leader, Sabuk al-Daylamī. Then they pushed on to Damascus, burning the mosque of al-Ruṣāfa and surprising all the villages they passed through. Ibn Zakrawayh and his followers harassed Ṭughdj b. Djuff [*q.v.*], the ruler of Damascus, and imprisoned

him within his city. It was not until the Egyptians sent an army under Badr al-Kabīr, Ibn Ṭūlūn's slave, that the Carmathians were defeated and their leader Ibn Zakrawayh was killed. It is significant that one reason suggested for his death was the egalitarian policy he adopted towards his *mawālī* followers.

The death of Yaḥyā led Banu 'l-ʿUlayṣ and Banu 'l-Aṣbagh to follow his brother al-Ḥusayn b. Zakrawayh. The latter was able to defeat the Egyptian force and the troops of Ḥimṣ and of other Syrian provinces sent against him. He also made his authority felt to such an extent that he was recognized as Amīr al-Muʾminīn in the Friday *khuṭba* all over Syria in 289/901-2. However, the caliph al-Muktafī was able to have him seized and put to death in 291/903.

Following the death of al-Ḥusayn b. Zakrawayh, the Banu 'l-ʿUlayṣ, Banu 'l-Aṣbagh and Banū Ziyād (all from Kalb) joined another Carmathian *dāʿī*, Abū Ghānim Naṣr. They made several attacks on Buṣrā, Adhriʿāt, Damascus and Ṭabariya. In Ṭabariyya, where some of the troops of Damascus joined them, they defeated and killed Ibrāhīm b. Bughāmardī, the deputy governor of Jordan, impelling the caliph al-Muktafī to send an army against them under al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥamdān. They then moved on to Samāwa and Hīt, which they devastated. Another army, under Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ b. Kundādjīḳ, took the field against them. Finding themselves unable to face this joint army, the Kalb betrayed the Carmathian leader Naṣr, and killed him. By taking his head to the caliph as a sign of their loyalty, they averted any action against themselves.

The Kalb were also the most enthusiastic supporters of all the Sufyānī [*q.v.*] rebels. The revolt of Abu 'l-Ward (132/750) and that of ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Khalid b. Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya (195/810) are good examples. This support is clearly reflected by the tradition that the Kalb would be the last adherents of the Sufyānī.

Bibliography: Abū Tammām, *Naḳāʾiḍ Djarīr wa 'l-Akhṭal*, 1, 16, 17, 26; *al-Ḥamāsa*, (ed. G. H. Freytag) i, 260, 261, 263, 317-19, 435; Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Taʾrīkh*, i, 219, 255, 256; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, 305-6, 373; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ivb, 60, 61, 65; v, 99, 106, 127-8, 132, 138, 146, 147, 148, 301, 308, 309, 310, 311, 313-14; idem, *Futūḥ*, 110, 246, 286; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 283, 301, 303-4; idem, *Buldān*, 326-7; Ṭabarī, i, 686, 749, 1898, 2065-6, 2082, 3056, ii, 29, 204, 205, 474-5, 478, 480, 483, iii, 52-4, 830, 843-5, 1319-22, 1514, 1533-4, 2217-22, 2256-9, 2277, 2278; *Taʾrīkh al-khulafāʾ* (anonymous), fols. 70b, 95a, 96b; Ibn Durayd, *al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, 318-19; Djahshiyārī, *al-Wuzarāʾ wa 'l-kuttāb*, 24, 26, 31; Hamdānī, 129-32, 205-6; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 200, 202, vii, 240; idem, *Tanbīh*, 371-6, 377; *Aghānī*, xvi, 88, xvii, 112, 113, 114, 115, 119, 121-3, 311, xx, 121-3; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 41; Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam al-shuʿarāʾ*, 241; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat ansāb al-ʿArab*, 264; Bakrī, *Muʿdjam mā istaʿdjam*, i, 279-80, iv, 160; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tahdhīb*, iv, 145, 460, v, 86, 337, vi, 118; Ḥimyarī, *Shams al-ʿulūm*, 42; Yāḳūt, i, 131, 369, 405, 536, 599, 701, 738-9, ii, 84-5, 217, 248, 261, 378, 391, 421, 744, iii, 304, 419, 575, 587, 596, 628, 690, 694, 783, 827, iv, 522, 1024; Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 395-6, 402, iii, 380, iv, 254, v, 406, vi, 129-30, 249, vii, 134-5, 541-3, x, 668-9; Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, ii, 69, iii, 16; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, ii, 99, 496, 504, 521, 539, 540, iii, 499, 501, 810, v, 936; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ḳalāʾid al-djumān*, 46-9; Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Iṣāba*, iii, 337; Wüstenfeld, *Register*, Göttingen 1852-3, 264-7; R. W. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, London 1903, 200-1; H. Lammens, *Etudes sur le règne du Calife Omaiyade Moʿâwia Ier*, Beirut 1908, 50-1, 286-93, 309-12, 324-6, 418; U. R. Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam ḳabāʾil al-ʿArab*, iii, Damascus 1949, 991-2; J. ʿAlī, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿArab ḳabl al-Islām*, Baghdad 1950-60, vi, 150, 168-9, v, 31-3; J. Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom and its Fall*, Calcutta 1927, 70-1, 132-3, 178, 182, 201-6; W. Caskel, *Ğamharat an-nasab: das Genealogische Werk des Hišām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī*, Leiden 1966, 279, 288, 369; A. A. Dixon, *The Umayyad Caliphate*, London 1970, 83-120. (A. A. DIXON)

III.—In Muslim Spain

The army of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [*q.v.*] included Kalbī and Ḳaysī elements, among whom the memory of Mardj Rāhiṭ aroused an antagonism which showed itself in North Africa and particularly in Spain throughout most of the 2nd/8th century. The troops sent by Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik to suppress the Berber revolt launched by Maysara [*q.v.*] were composed of Syrians; Baldj [*q.v.*], commander of their van, who was a member of the Ḳaysī aristocracy, took refuge at Ceuta, appealing for assistance to the governor of Spain, ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḳaṭan, a Medinan opposed to the Syrians. After refusing to help for some considerable time, ʿAbd al-Malik finally allowed Baldj to enter Spain, where the Berbers were also in revolt. Discord between Kalb and Ḳays soon broke out, and Baldj succeeded in supplanting ʿAbd al-Malik, whom he caused to be tortured. Baldj's pro-Ḳays policies provoked disturbances. His successor roused the wrath of other elements of the population and the Umayyad caliph in Damascus then sent to Cordoba the Kalbī Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār al-Husām b. Ḍirār [*q.v.*], who adopted a policy which favoured his fellow-tribesman. His partiality earned him the hostility of a Ḳaysī chieftain, al-Sumayl b. Ḥātim [*q.v.*], who exerted considerable efforts and opened hostilities against the governor, allying himself even with some Yamanīs (Lakhm and Djudhām) against Kalb. The revolt launched in 127/745 was successful; Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār, defeated and taken prisoner, was replaced by Thabāba b. Salama al-Djudhāmī, who died in 129/746. Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Fihrī [*q.v.*] was then chosen as governor of Spain. The Kalbī supporters of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭār, who had fled, were defeated at Secunda (Shaḳunda) in 130/747 by the Ḳaysī party, and in time passions cooled, especially since enduring famine encouraged the cessation of hostilities. In coalition with the Berbers, the Yamanīs moved to attack al-Sumayl, governor of Saragossa, but the Ḳaysīs succeeded in delivering him (137/755), with the aid, notably, of emissaries from the future ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I [*q.v.*]. Negotiations having broken down, the Kalb and other Yamanīs assisted the Umayyad pretender to come to Spain and establish himself there.

Subsequently, the hatred between Ḳays and Kalb diminished as the Andalusian personality took shape, but even in the 3rd/9th century the fires of fanaticism still flared up (*e.g.*, a war begun in 207/822 which lasted seven years in the region of Murcia, sparked off on some flimsy pretext).

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, index. (ED.)

AL-**KALBĪ**, the name of a prominent family from Kūfa. Bishr al-Kalbī and his sons al-Sāʾib, ʿUbayd and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān took part in the Battle of the Camel [see AL-DJAMAL] on ʿAlī's side (36/656); al-Sāʾib b. Bishr embraced the cause of Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr and, despite numerous defections in the

ranks of the Kūfans, was slain beside him at Dayr al-Djāthalīḳ [*q.v.*] in 71/690 by Warḳā' al-Nakhaʿī (al-Ṭabarī, ed. M. Ibrahim, Cairo 1964, vi, 103, seems to date his death to 67/686 and places it during the battle between Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr and al-Mukhtār; whatever the facts of the matter, al-Sā'ib was not killed at Ṣiffīn in 36/657, as Ibn Ḥazm states, *Djamhara*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1962, 459). Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib (and not b. Mālik as in the *Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel, 95) played an active part in the revolt of ʿAbd al-Raḥman b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath [see IBN AL-ASHʿATH] and fought in his ranks at Dayr al-Djamādjim [*q.v.*] (82/701); he left a partial account of this battle in which he recounts, *inter alia*, his honourable, even triumphant, return to his family in Kūfa in one single day without having had to abandon one of his weapons (al-Ṭabarī, vi, 349-50, 364).

To swordsmanship, the family added another claim to fame: learning; in fact it is rare to consult an early Arab book without finding some reference to an al-Kalbī. These references, brief or more detailed, concern three different persons, who were already difficult to distinguish in early days.

I.—Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī (Abu 'l-Naḍr) died in Kūfa at the age of at least 80 in 146/763. He was interested in all contemporary branches of learning: universal history; the history of religions, pre-Islamic (al-Shahrastānī, *Milal*, Cairo 1947, 1220-64), Jewish (Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, Cairo 1948, i², 157) and Christian; poetry (Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1948, iii, 436), literature and philology; genealogy, tradition and ancient legends. He employed his wide knowledge in a commentary on the Ḳur'ān (*Tafsīr*), the longest ever composed (al-Dhahabī, *ʿIbar*, Kuwayt 1960, i, 106). So great was his fame in this sphere that Sulaymān b. ʿAlī, perhaps during his governorship of Baṣra (133-9), brought him to that city to teach ḳur'ānic exegesis. With the support of Sulaymān b. ʿAlī, Muḥammad al-Kalbī put forward, despite the opposition of his hearers, an interpretation of the Ḳur'ān which went contrary to received opinion; it is probable that he expressed pro-ʿAlid views. His courses were written down (*Fihrist*, 95), but his *Tafsīr* is now lost, apart from a few sparse fragments in various works. This is perhaps to be explained by his use, direct or indirect, of written sources and chains of tradition (*isnād*) which did not conform to the norms fixed for *ḥadīth* criticism, and above all by the fact that, as a Shīʿī, he had advanced opinions contrary to Sunnī orthodoxy, especially in *ḥadīth* and in the different levels of ḳur'ānic interpretation (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1374, i, 76, 91, 216-7, etc.). He was sometimes accused of heresy, of *rifḍ*, of saba'ism, of *irdjā'* and so on, and sometimes of forgery and falsehood. Even in the 20th century he has impassioned opponents among the scholars of al-Azhar (Aḥmad Shākir, in his edition of the *Lubāb al-Ādāb* of Usāma b. Munḳidh, Cairo 1935, 123-4, n. 5). Yet he has remained an authority, and even his detractors draw on him as a source.

II.—Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī, Abu 'l-Mundhir, generally called Ibn al-Kalbī, was probably born in Kūfa around 120/737 and educated in that town; he died there in 204/819 or 206/821, in the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn. His death was greatly regretted by the caliph (al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Cairo 1931, xiv, 45-6) for reasons which are not particularly clear; we do know, however, that the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mahdī (d. 169/785) made use of Ibn al-Kalbī's knowledge when countering the Umayyad attack in Spain (al-Ṭabarī, viii, 172-3). It was probably during this caliph's rule that Ibn al-Kalbī stayed in Baghdād. Like his father, he was interested in all branches of knowledge of his time and he wrote a good number of works, more than 150 according to the *Fihrist*. This immense oeuvre was incorporated, to a great extent, in the works of his direct and indirect disciples: Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, Ibn Durayd, al-Ṭabarī, Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī and many others who borrowed a great deal from him without much concern for acknowledgement and often with over-vague references to the master's work. A few titles, however, have been recovered from this anonymous mass by Ibn al-Kalbī's fame:—1. *Djamharat al-Nasab*: W. Caskel and G. Strenzick have published two imposing volumes, one a study on everything closely or remotely connected with Arab genealogy and with Ibn al-Kalbī in particular, and the other genealogical tables culled from the work of Ibn al-Kalbī (*Ǧamharat an-Nasab des Ibn al-Kalbi*, Leiden 1966). Ibn al-Kalbī was the uncontested master of Arab genealogy, and in his *Djamhara* Ibn Ḥazm did no more than give currency to the work of his eminent predecessor, without acknowledging it to a great extent. In his lifetime Ibn al-Kalbī was the source, arbiter and sometimes amused dispenser of titles of nobility.—2. *al-Aṣnām*, published for the first time in Cairo in 1912 by Aḥmad Zakī, has been translated into German (by Rosa K. Rosenberger, Leipzig 1941), into English (by N. A. Faris, Princeton 1952), and into French (by M. S. Marmardji, in *Revue Biblique*, xxxv (1926), 397-420: a fragmentary translation; more recently, W. Atallah has published a new ed. of the text together with an annotated French translation (Paris 1969)). As on genealogy, Ibn al-Kalbī remains an authority on the history of Arab paganism; ibn Durayd, al-Nadjīramī, Yāḳūt, ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Baghdādī and others consulted his work, summarized it, and always cited him as a reference.—3. *Ansāb al-Khayl*, in which the author set forth genealogical accounts illustrated by short poetic pieces celebrating the most famous chargers of history (ed. Levi Della Vida, Leiden 1928; a copiously annotated edition by Aḥmad Zakī appeared posthumously in Cairo in 1946).—4. A few fragments of various length have been preserved, vestiges of lost works such as *K. al-Kulāb*, *K. al-Lubāb*, *Shiʿr Ḥātim al-Ṭā'ī*, etc.

To some extent Ibn al-Kalbī's work has been mingled with that of his father, but only partially; in the narrative of the battle of Dayr al-Djamādjim, for example, he naturally cites his father, who had taken part in the combat, but he also had recourse to other witnesses (al-Ṭabarī, vi, 342-50). He is so scrupulous in his pursuit of exactitude that he even quotes his own father through the medium of other narrators (*ibid.*, ii, 272, vi, 360). Apart from oral sources, Ibn al-Kalbī cited specialists who had access to biblical and Palmyran sources (*ibid.*, ii, 273); he was kept informed of archaeological discoveries in the Yemen (Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1958, 524); he seems to have had a secretary called Djabala who provided him with translations from Pahlavi (*Fihrist*, 244) and he himself consulted the archives and tablets of the Christian communities of al-Ḥīra (al-Ṭabarī, i, 628). Equipped with modern methodological criteria, it is easy to point to lacunae in Ibn al-Kalbī's knowledge and to criticize some of his opinions on the history of languages or some of his narratives, which are more legendary than historical. In his universal history he often had to fall back on oral sources alone, and he should be given credit for having written these down. All in all, his work is not inferior to that of other historians of

oriental or classical antiquity. Some Arab writers were fiercely critical of him, but such criticisms, sometimes based on scholarly rivalry, were often sectarian or motivated by religious fervour, for, like his father, Ibn al-Kalbī fell foul of Sunnī orthodoxy. On the other hand, he did have ardent supporters (Yāḳūt, Beirut 1956, ii, 187-8, 219, 504), and detractors and admirers alike were frequently largely dependent on his work. Among modern scholars, I. Goldziher has criticized Ibn al-Kalbī (*Muh. Stud.*, i, 185-7) by taking literally the early criticisms directed against him; he bases his arguments on the false, self-glorifying genealogies which Ibn al-Kalbī recounts with humour, and on his pro-ʿAbbāsid views (al-Ṭabarī, viii, 172-3), using these to throw doubt on his scientific worth. Th. Nöldeke (*Gesch. der Araber und Perser*, Leiden 1879, xxvii and index) restored the balance, and since then criticisms of Ibn al-Kalbī have been reduced to their proper dimensions: even so, neither ancients nor moderns have evaluated him at his true worth. Present-day research is confirming Ibn al-Kalbī's eminent role in the history of Arab literature.

III.—ʿAbbās b. Hishām, Hishām's son and not his brother as al-Kūfī states (*Fihrist*, 95). Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (xvi, 46) speaks of an Ibn al-Kalbī who must be the grandson of Muḥammad al-Kalbī. Al-ʿAbbās transmitted his recollections of his father, Hishām, passing on some of his learning to philologists like Ibn Durayd (*Ishtiḳāḳ*, *passim*) and to historians like al-Balādhurī and al-Ṭabarī. Nothing further is known about him.

Bibliography: Main accounts: Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Beirut 1957, vi, 358-9; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkāsha, Cairo 1969, index; Ibn al-Nadīm, index; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Cairo 1931, xiv, no. 7386; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1948, iii, 436-8, v, 131-3; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, Cairo 1936, xix, no. 112; Dhahabī, *Mīzān*, Cairo 1963, iv, 304-5, 556-9. Among modern writers, the editors of Ibn al-Kalbī usually provide ample bibliographies. Note the introductions to the *Djamhara* (Caskel-Strenzick) and to the *Aṣnām*. See too Brockelmann, Blachère, *Litt.*, and also Kaḥḥāla.

(W. Atallah)

KALBIDS, a family stemming from the tribe of the Kalb b. Wabara [*q.v.*], which Arab sources relating to the Maghrib call Banū Abi 'l-Ḥusayn (or al-Ḥasan).

In the Maghribī chronicles, governors and senior officials of the Umayyad administration in Ifrīḳiya who were of Kalbite origin appear frequently, as do others belonging to the rival Ḳays tribe. While the more astute of the caliphs in Damascus sometimes managed to steer an even course between these two adversaries, their representatives in the Maghrib, in Spain and in Sicily often leaned to one side or the other, guided either by their personal sympathies or by the circumstances obtaining at any particular time. Thus the disputes and often bloody battles provoked by the traditional antagonism of the two tribes intensified the chaos in a situation where a Kalbite *wālī* frequently followed a Ḳaysite one and *vice versa*.

Under the Aghlabids, who relied largely on Muḍarite elements, the Kalbites began to decline, but they were the main prop and stay of Fāṭimid political and religious policy; they therefore swiftly found in Ifrīḳiya a milieu favourable to their rise, so that by the middle of the 4th/10th century they were the governing element of Muslim Sicily. At this period Kalbite elements were probably already allied with the Kutāma Berbers.

For services rendered particularly to the first *imāms* of Ifrīḳiya, the Kalbites were speedily rewarded by the Mahdī and his descendants; in al-Ḳāʾim's day, ʿAlī b. Abi 'l-Ḥusayn al-Kalbī (one of the first dynasts of this family and son-in-law of Sālim b. Abi Rāshid, the Fāṭimid governor of Sicily from 305/917 to 325/936) died at the siege of Agrigento (326/938) in the midst of the struggle pursued by Sicilian Fāṭimid supporters against those who had remained faithful to the caliphate in Baghdād. His son al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, who had distinguished himself in Ifrīḳiya in the campaigns waged by al-Ḳāʾim and al-Manṣūr against the Khāridjite Abū Yazīd [*q.v.*], was the first of a succession of Kalbite governors in Sicily, a kind of hereditary emirate (cf. *Kitāb Aʿmāl al-aʿlām* (see *Bibl.*)), which lasted until the mid-5th/11th century.

Confronted by that chaotic situation caused by the rebellions in Palermo and Agrigento against the Fāṭimid representatives, the Caliph al-Manṣūr deemed it logical and sensible to entrust Sicily's management to those whose fidelity was proven beyond doubt and who, moreover, could maintain a neutral stand between the rebels and the *imāms* of Ifrīḳiya. Only a few years after his arrival in Sicily, al-Ḥasan had two victorious encounters with the Byzantine forces in Calabria and Apulia. He took this opportunity to build a mosque at Reggio, but it was destroyed a few years later. On al-Manṣūr's death (Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 341/March 953), al-Ḥasan returned to Ifrīḳiya, leaving the government of the island in the hands of his son Aḥmad, but without definitely abandoning his role as military commander in Sicily and Calabria. He was later recalled to the area by his brother ʿAmmār, who was hard-pressed by the Byzantines. Aḥmad, the second Kalbid *wālī* of Sicily (342/954-358-969), found himself involved in some decisive battles; most notable were the capture of Taormina (351/962), whose name was changed to Muʿizziyya in honour of the *imām* al-Muʿizz, and the fall of Rametta and the simultaneous victory at sea known as the *waḳʿat al-madjāz* (battle of the straits), which is celebrated in a turgid *ḳaṣīda* by Ibn Hāniʾ (*Dīwān*, ed. Zāhid ʿAlī, 1352/1934, no. 40, 540-59).

In the succeeding years the different Kalbid governors pursued sporadically their conflict with the Byzantines, but military offensives were rarely large-scale: Byzantium had now admitted the need to enter into peace negotiations with the Fāṭimids, especially since the ambitions of the Emperor Otto I regarding southern Italy had become known. These ambitions also fired his son, Otto II, who, when he ventured into Calabria, found himself faced with a coalition of Muslims and Byzantines, the latter driven by necessity to stand shoulder to shoulder with the Kalbid troops, the former providentially assisted by the rivalry of the two Christian empires. The clash between Otto II's troops and those of the Kalbid *wālī* ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan, son of the first Kalbid governor of Sicily, took place in Muḥarram 372/July 982 at Capo Cotrone in Calabria. At first the Muslims seemed overwhelmed but the battle quickly turned in their favour. This was perhaps the last great Muslim victory against the Christians in Sicily, aside from a few offensives of little importance such as the forays of 376/986 into Calabria, the siege of Cosenza a couple of years later, new attacks on Taranto in 381/991, the storming of Matera in 384/994, a surprise attack on Benevento in 392/1002 and finally a brief siege of Capua.

In Egypt too the Fāṭimids employed the services of leading members of the Kalbid family, some of

whom were sent to Sicily by the *imāms* of Cairo to act as governors. This was true of, for example, Dja'far b. Muḥammad, in Egypt counsellor to al-ʿAzīz bi-'llāh (al-Muʿizz's successor in 364/975), who governed the island for two years (372/983-374/985). This period saw the apogee of Kalbid prestige: in Egypt, when al-Ḥākim bi-amr Allāh [*q.v.*] was proclaimed caliph, the Kutāma Berbers, Fāṭimid supporters, demanded that control of affairs be entrusted to al-Ḥasan b. ʿAmmār, the victor of Rametta and nephew of al-Ḥasan b. ʿAli b. Abi 'l-Ḥusayn; in Sicily, the Kalbid Abu 'l-Futūḥ Yūsuf b. ʿAbd Allāh (379/989-388/998) governed the island with great wisdom for eight years. The former was granted the title of *Amīn al-Dawla* and the latter that of *Thiḳat al-Dawla*.

The fortunes of the Banū Abi 'l-Ḥusayn family soon declined from this peak: in Egypt there was a conspiracy against al-Ḥasan, while Sicily sank into chaos under Djaʿfar (388/998-410/1019), son of Yūsuf. Although the steadily increasing autonomy enjoyed by Sicily from the outset of Fāṭimid rule in Egypt coincided with the greatest splendour of the amīrs' court in Palermo, it proved detrimental to the political realities of the moment, in the face of which the Kalbid rulers should have shown greater administrative prudence and zeal. Instead, they preferred relaxing in the mansions of Palermo, numerous at this period, to the efforts of military undertakings or the cares of political responsibility. Indeed Djaʿfar, amīr of the island for twenty years, seems to have been the founder of Castello di Maredolci in Palermo. The effects of this decline were apparent in all fields, but they were especially marked in military matters: the Muslims suffered their first setback in Bari in 394/1004 at the hands of the Byzantines and the Venetians, and the following year they were checked by the Pisans at Reggio.

This already serious state of affairs worsened under the rule of Djaʿfar's brother, the Kalbid amīr Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Akḥal (410/1019-427/1036), about whose campaigns in Calabria and Apulia the Arab chroniclers have little to say. It is certain, on the other hand, that during the 15-year span of this governorate a new element, the Zīrids, played a far larger part than formerly in the political and military life of Sicily. In fact, al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs, at the instigation of many of al-Akḥal's opponents, who complained of his injustice and malpractices, sent his own son, ʿAbd Allāh, to the island at the head of a large military contingent. Al-Akḥal sought the help of the Byzantines, with whom he had already entered into negotiations. The latter defeated the Zīrid forces, but then withdrew to Calabria, leaving ʿAbd Allāh to effect the easy defeat of his opponent, whom he besieged and killed.

The struggle for power among Yūsuf's sons, their continual intrigues and boundless ambitions, characterized the governorate of al-Ḥasan, called al-Ṣamṣām, the last Kalbid amīr of Sicily (431/1040-445/1053; the latter date is given variously in the Arab chronicles). Various local *ḳāʾids* [see IBN AL-ḤAWWĀS and IBN AL-THUMNA], however, had already begun to lay claim to power on the island and their struggles for supremacy hastened Norman intervention in Sicily.

Of the total period of Muslim rule in Sicily, the Kalbid era was one of the most prosperous. As their reign began when the bloodiest and most devastating military offensives could be considered over, some of the most far-sighted of the rulers of the Banū Abi 'l-Ḥusayn family, sustained by the prospect of autonomy, promoted the marked development of western Sicily. Palermo and some other urban centres prospered once more, thanks to the new impetus given to municipal enterprises, to public works and to cultural matters. In the capital especially, the study of the traditional sciences had already been inaugurated in the preceding period, and some of the most enlightened Kalbid amīrs, themselves often enthusiastic versifiers, encouraged an exceptional development of poetry, as may be seen from the few extant extracts of the vanished anthology compiled by Ibn al-Ḳaṭṭāʿ al-Ṣiḳillī [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: The historical, geographical and literary texts dealing with the Kalbids of Sicily have been collected by M. Amari in *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*, Leipzig 1857, appendix, Leipzig 1875 (Italian tr., i, Turin-Rome 1880; ii, 1881; appendix 1889); the historical data on this family have been studied by this same historian in *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*[2], ed. C. A. Nallino, Catania 1933-39.

Some interesting information on the relationship between the Kalbids and the Fāṭimid *imāms* of Ifrīḳiya can be found in Abū ʿAlī Manṣūr al-ʿAzīzī al-Djawdharī, *Sīrat al-ustādh Djawdhar*, ed. Muḥ. Kāmil Ḥusayn and Muḥ. ʿAbd al-Hādī Shaʿīra, Cairo 1954 (Fr. tr. by M. Canard, Algiers 1958); certain texts relating to these relationships have been translated into Italian by U. Rizzitano in *RSO*, xxxii (1957), 546-55; cf. also U. Rizzitano, *Gli Arabi in Italia*, in *L'Occidente e l'Islam nell' Alto Medioevo*, Spoleto 1965, i, 93-114; idem, *Un compendio dell'Antologia di poeti arabo-siciliani intitolata "ad-Durrah al-ḫaṭīrah min šuʿarāʾ al-Ǧazīrah" di Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ "il Siciliano"*, in *Atti del Acc. Naz. Lincei*, 8th series, vol. viii, Rome 1958, 335-78. In the *Kitāb aʿmāl al-aʿlām* of Lisān al-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīb, one chapter is devoted to the Banū Abi 'l-Ḥusayn family; cf. the edition by Aḥmad Mukhtār al-ʿAbbādī and Muḥ. Ibrāhīm al-Kittānī, Casablanca 1964, 122-36 (Sp. tr. by R. Castrillo Marquez, Madrid 1958). (U. RIZZITANO)

ḲALʿE [see ḲALʿA].

ḲALʿE-I SEFĪD, a fortress in Fārs, in 30° 10′ N. Lat. and 51°30′ E. Long. (Greenwich). It is built on a mountain with a flat top, in the eastern part of the valley of Kohra, which falls steeply down on all sides. On its summit, which can only be reached by cliff-paths, lies an extensive well-wooded plateau watered by numerous springs. A strong garrison is necessary for its defence, as is noted in the *Fārsnāma*. Descriptions of the fortress and the country round it are given, among Oriental writers for example, by Ibn al-Balkhī in the *Fārsnāma* (the pertinent passage is copied by Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, ʿAlī Yazdī and Mīrkhʷānd (see *Bibl.*). Of descriptions by European travellers in the 19th century, that of Stolze deserves special mention; along with Andreas he explored the mountain and castle thoroughly. The statements of Kinneir, who visited Ḳalʿe-i Sefīd in 1810, are unreliable, according to Stolze.

The name of the fortress is given in the Persian geographers and historians as Ḳalʿe-i Isfīd (Sefīd, Sepīd), the "white citadel"; Ḳalʿe-i Ispīd-diz (the "white fortress") is also found; Ḳalʿe-i Sefīd is the only form in use at the present day. Translated into Arabic the name is given in Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), xi, 46 as al-Ḳalʿa al-Bayḍāʾ. The name "white citadel", which is found elsewhere as a name for a castle in areas where Arabic and Persian are spoken (*e.g.*, in al-Ḥīra, al-Madāʾin, in the oasis of Ruḥba east of Ḥawrān, and in the region of Ḳayrawān, in Afghānistān, etc.; for Biredjik cf. above i, 1233), may

very probably originate in the dazzling white colour of the building-stone used. The name Ḳalʿe-i Gul u Gulāb (citadel of the rose and rose-water), borne by Ḳalʿe-i Sefīd in al-Bundārī (Houtsma, *Recueil*, ii, 183, 13) is remarkable.

Ḳalʿe-i Sefīd is the most noteworthy point on the mountain road which leads from Behbahān to Shīrāz and furnishes communication between Khuzistān and Fārs. It may be regarded as certain that a commanding place like this was very early fortified. The "Persian passes" through which Alexander the Great tried to enter the ancestral home of the Achaemenids and which were defended by the Satrap of Persis, Ariobarzanes, with his strong forces, have often been sought in the valley of Ḳalʿe-i Sefīd; *e.g.*, by Vincent, Mützel, Droysen, Forbiger. Ritter (*Erdkunde*, ix, 138), in differing from these, considers Ḳalʿe-i Sefīd to be the stronghold of the Uxians and places the "Persian Gates" farther east. Ritter's view has been attacked particularly by Mützel in his edition of Curtius (Berlin 1841), p. 414 f. and by Stolze (*op. cit.*, 262 f.; see bibl.). That the region of Ḳalʿe-i Sefīd does not correspond to the situation of the "Persian Gates" of the historians of Alexander and that the latter should be located elsewhere has been fairly convincingly proved by Stolze, *op. cit.*

Ḳalʿe-i Sefīd is not mentioned by the Arab geographers of the Middle Ages. Like the adjoining town of Nawbandjān (Nawbandadjān) it must have been allotted to the Persian province of Sābūr in the Caliphate period. From the 4th/10th century on we find cropping up in the Oriental sources a nomadic people named the Shūl, after whom the whole area, inhabited by them from the west of Shīrāz to the frontiers of Fārs and Khūzistān was called Shūlistān. There is definite evidence to show that Ḳalʿe-i Sefīd belonged to Shūlistān. On the Shūl and the land of Shūlistān cf. the references in Quatremère, *Hist. des Mongols*, 380 f. (see bibl.) and also Mustawfī, *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda* (ed. Browne, GMS xiv), 538, 658, 660, 696, 726.

Ḳalʿe-i Sefīd is frequently mentioned by Persian poets and chroniclers. It is first found in Firdawsī's *Shāhnāma* (ed. Mohl, ii, 92, 245 f.); here the conquest of the stronghold is related as one of the noteworthy deeds of the hero Rustam. As the *Fārsnāma* (written about 500/1106) reports, the fortress of Ḳalʿe-i Sefīd had lain in ruins for many years until it was rebuilt by a certain Abū Naṣr from Tīr Murdān (a district of the province of Sabūr) during the turmoils of the last decades of Būyid rule, that is in the first half of the 5th/11th century. The mountain, difficult of access, served not infrequently in wartime as a secure hiding-place. For example in 534/1139 Buzāba, governor of Fārs, retired here before Ḳarā Ṣonḳor, atabeg of the Saldjūḳ Sultan Masʿūd; cf. the article BŪZ-ABEH. The Salghūrid Abū Bakr [*q.v.*], atabeg of Fārs from 623 to 658 (1226-1260) (on him see SALGHŪRIDS) transported his treasures to Ḳalʿe-i Sefīd and placed a garrison in the citadel in order to have a place of refuge here in case of a catastrophe. The last atabeg of Fārs of the Salghūrid dynasty, Saldjūḳshāh, met his death at the foot of Mount Ḳalʿe-i Sefīd in battle with one of Hūlāgū's generals in 663/1264; see J. v. Hammer, *Gesch. der Īlchāne*, Darmstadt 1842, i, 243 and cf. also Mustawfī, *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda*, 509.

Although Hūlāgū issued an order to destroy all the fortresses in the lands conquered by him, an exception was made of Ḳalʿe-i Sefīd, as is expressly mentioned; cf. the passage in the *Taʾrīkh-i Waṣṣāf* in Quatremère, *op. cit.*, 382. The citadel could therefore continue to serve as a place of refuge, and was also on several occasions used as a state-prison for political opponents. Thus for example Masʿūd Shāh of the Īndjū dynasty, who ruled as governor of Fārs from 736/1335, imprisoned his brother Muḥammad in Ḳalʿe-i Sefīd [see ĪNDJŪ]; when later Abū Isḥāḳ, a younger brother of the Masʿūd Shāh just mentioned, came into conflict with the Muẓaffarid Mubāriz al-Dīn and had to flee after the capture of his capital Shīrāz in 754/1353 he went to Ḳalʿe-i Sefīd (see Mīrkhwānd's account in Quatremère, *op. cit.*, 382; Mustawfī, *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda*, 658, 15 f.). A few years later the sons of Mubāriz al-Dīn, Shāh Sulṭān and Shāh Shudjāʿ, rebelled against their father, blinded him and imprisoned him in Ḳalʿe-i Sefīd in 759/1358; see Mustawfī, *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda*, 681; Defrémery in *JA*, 1864, ii, 112. In 785/1383 Shāh Shudjāʿ had his son Sulṭān Shiblī sent to Ḳalʿe-i Sefīd as an alleged rebel (see Mustawfī, *op. cit.*, 724; Quatremère, *op. cit.*, 382; Defrémery, *op. cit.* (1845), i, 437).

Ḳalʿe-i Sefīd has attained special fame through its capture by Tīmūr. The latter on his second campaign in Fārs in 795/1393 passed by the road from Behbahān to Shīrāz, besieged this barrier fortress, considered impregnable, and stormed it on the third day. All the members of the Muẓaffarid dynasty were captured and put to death (cf. Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, *Ẓafarnāma*, Calcutta 1887, i, 600 f.; Mustawfī, *op. cit.*, 751).

We read of the capture of Ḳalʿe-i Sefīd by Ḥamza-Bey several centuries later, in the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās I; see Quatremère, *op. cit.*, 384. The Mamassanī have now settled in a large part of what was once called Shūlistān; they are a robber tribe, who centre round Ḳalʿe-i Sefīd. On them see Layard in the *JR Geog. S.*, xv, 28; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, viii, 390. ix, 137; C. de Bode, *Travels in Luristan and Arabistan*, London 1845, i, 210, 219 f., 262 f. When the Mamassanī in the latter part of the reign of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh (1797-1834) were in constant rebellion under a robber chief named Walī Khān Bakash, an army of Ādharbaydjānī troops was sent against them, who besieged Ḳalʿe-i Sefīd and forced the stubborn defenders of the citadel to yield (cf. Curzon, *op. cit.*).

It should further be mentioned that below the fortress on the mountain there was at one time a second smaller castle, the name of which is variously given as Astak (*Fārsnāma*, 158, 17) or Nishnāk (Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 132, 5; further variants of the name are given here in note I).

The little village of Tell Espīd should not be confused with this; it lies northwest of Ḳalʿe-i Sefīd in the adjacent plain on a hill some 2400 feet high; cf. Wells in the *Proc. of the Roy. Geogr. Soc.*, 1883, v, 161 and Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 85.

Bibliography:—Ibn al-Balkhī, ed. Le Strange and Nicholson, GMS, New Series, vol. i, London, 1921, 158 and in addition the tr. by Le Strange in *JRAS* (1912), 878; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 129, 16, 131, 19, 132, 8; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*, part. ed. by Quatremère as *Hist. des Mongols de la Perse*, i, Paris 1836, 382 f.; in the latter work Quatremère gives pertinent extracts from Persian histories by ʿAbd Allāh b. Faḍl Allāh (*Taʾrīkh-i Waṣṣāf*) and Mirkhwānd; Ḥadjdjī Mīrzā Ḥasan Ṭabīb Shīrāzī, *Fārsnāme-i Nāṣirī*, litho. Tehran 1313, 334; Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh-i Muʿīnī*, ed. J. Aubin, Tehran 1957, 353; Le Strange, 264 f.; J. M. Kinneir, *A geogr. memoir of the Pers. Empire*, London 1813, 73; Malcolm,

Hist. of Persia (rev. ed., London 1829), i, 19 note, 295; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, 137-144; Stolze, in *Verhandl. der Gesellsch. f. Erdkunde in Berlin*, x (1883), 262-5; G. N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question*, ii, London 1892, 318 f.; E. Herzfeld, in *Pet. Mitt.*, 1907, 84 f. (with the map on Plate vii).

(M. STRECK)

ḲAL'E-I SULṬĀNIYYE [see ČANAḲ-ḲAL'E BOGHAZÏ].

ḲALENDER [see ḲALANDAR].

ḲALENDEROGHLÏ MEḤMED (d. 1018/1609), leader of the Djelālī [*q.v.* in Supp.] rebels of Anatolia, was born in the village of Yassïvīrān, in the *sandjaḳ* of Ankara. He managed to obtain a *tīmār* in this *sandjaḳ* and was promoted to *čavush* when Lālā Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*] was *beglerbegi* of Anatolia. As one of the "deserters" (*firārī*) who fled at the critical moment in the battle of Mezö-Keresztes ([*q.v.*], 1005/1596), he was deprived of his *tīmār*; when he appealed, his dismissal was confirmed and he was threatened with further punishment, whereupon he, like so many others who had been proscribed as "deserters", joined the Djelālī movement under Karayazïdjï, then the virtual ruler of Anatolia. Karayazïdjï died in 1010/1601, and was succeeded as leader by his brother Deli Ḥasan. In 1011/spring 1603, Deli Ḥasan came to terms with the government in Istanbul and crossed into Rūmeli to serve as *beglerbegi* of Bosna, but Ḳalenderoghlï, together with such other leaders as Karakush Aḥmed and Kara Sa'īd, stayed in Anatolia and maintained their resistance in the area of Ankara—Aḳshehir—Kütahya. He came to the fore as one of the officers of Ṭawīl Khalīl, who surprised the army of the vizier Naṣūḥ Pasha near Bolvadin (1014/1605), so that when the sultan (Aḥmed I) attempted to come to terms with the Djelālī leaders Ḳalenderoghlï was appointed *beglerbegi* of Ḳarāmān (and thus obtained the title of *pasha*). However, he did not assume the duties of this post but was granted Ankara as *arpalïk* [*q.v.*]. His position became precarious with the death of Lālā Meḥmed Pasha, who had been his protector, and the appointment of Murād Pasha ("Kuyudju" [*q.v.*], 1015/1606) as grand vizier. Moreover, the people of Ankara had refused to permit him to enter the city; he was obliged to leave one of his officers to deputize for him and to withdraw eastwards.

Meanwhile, Murād Pasha had marched against the rebels and summoned Ḳalenderoghlï to join him in the campaign against Djānpulātoghlï 'Alī Pasha at Aleppo. Suspecting a trap, Ḳalenderoghlï disobeyed this order, thus revealing himself as a rebel. When Murād Pasha moved towards Aleppo, Ḳalenderoghlï, at the head of a numerous host of *segbāns* [*q.v.*], moved westwards, occupying the Aegean coastlands and the Bursa district, so as to threaten Istanbul itself. He defeated the government forces sent against him and even laid siege to Bursa; he failed to take the city but fired the suburbs. Greatly disturbed by Murād Pasha's decisive defeat of Djānpulātoghlï in 1016/1607, Ḳalenderoghlï summoned all the Djelālī leaders to join him; nearly all obeyed, with the exception of Muslu Čavush, who was operating around Silifke, and Djānpulātoghlï himself, who was attempting to take refuge in Istanbul. Ḳalenderoghlï's proposal to offer battle in the region of Mar'ash - Aleppo was accepted, with a few dissenters. The army of over 70,000 *segbāns* was defeated in the *yayla* of Göksün [*q.v.*] by Murād Pasha's troops, composed entirely of *ḳapu ḳullarï* and reliable tribal levies from south-east Anatolia and the Arab lands (22 Rabī' II 1017/5 August 1608). Ḳalenderoghlï and his companions fled, hoping to reach safety in Persia. Hotly pursued, he managed to take refuge with Shāh 'Abbās, but since he would not abandon his turbulent ways he was put to death.

Bibliography: M. Akdağ, *Celâli isyanlarından Büyük Kaçgunluk (1603-1606)*, i, in *Tarih Araştırmalari Dergisi*, ii/2-3 (Ankara 1964), 1-49; I. H. Uzunçarsılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, iii/1 Ankara 1951, 102-17; Na'īmā, Istanbul 1280, ii, 4-10; Pečevi, Istanbul 1283, ii, 270; Meḥmed Edirnevī, *Nukhbat al-ta'rīkh wa'l-akhbār*, Cairo 1248, 230; Kātib Čelebi, *Fedhleke*, Istanbul 1287, 289; Hammer-Purgstall, iv, 397-410; Archival and manuscript sources: Başbakanlik Arşivi, Mühimme Defteri, vols. 76, 78; Ankara Etnografya Müzesi, Ankara Şer'iyye Sicilleri, vols. 7, 9, 10; 'Abd al-Ḳādir, *Waḳāyi'nāme*, Süleymaniye Lib., Istanbul, Ms. Esad Ef. 2151; Ḥasanbeğzāde, Nuruosmaniye Lib., Istanbul, Ms. 3134; *Münshe'āt*, Ms. Esad Ef. 3384.

(M. AKDAĞ)

ḲALGHAY, ḲALGHA, ḲAGHALGHA, a title best known as indicating the "deputy" or "heir apparent" of the khāns of the Crimean Khānate [see ḲIRIM]. The term has been subjected to a variety of linguistic, sociological and political analyses, the most important of which are summarized here.

Linguistically, the title has been associated with the Tatar word *ḳalghay*, "he will remain" or "let him remain", on the basis of an anecdote given by Ḥalīm Girāy (*Gülbün-i Khānān*, Istanbul 1287, 11 ff.). This popular etymology, followed by Hammer (*Geschichte der Chane der Krim*. . ., Vienna 1856, 39), Howorth (ii/1, 610) and Aḥmed Djewdet (*Ta'rīkh*, i, 73), is untenable. A Mongol origin (Pelliot, İnalcık) is unlikely, since the term is not encountered before 1475. For a full discussion of the problem, see Doerfer, iii, p. 499, and J. Matuz, *Qalga*, in *Turcica*, ii (1970), 101-29.

In a sociological or institutional sense, there were ample precedents for the office of *ḳalghay*. The Khānate of the Golden Horde and its successor state, the Crimean Khānate, like other stable governments, required a trusted official who could make decisions in the absence of the khān. The *ḳalghay*, as deputy and heir apparent, was invariably a brother or a son of the khān (M. de Peyssonel, *Traité sur le commerce de la Mer noire*, ii, Paris 1787, 252). As direct descendants of Čingiz-Khān [*q.v.*], the khāns of the Golden Horde and of the Crimea followed closely many Mongol or inner Asian traditions. In fact, the office of *ḳalghay* corresponds rather closely to the Mongol prince known as the *otčigin-äjän* or "master of the hearth and the home yurt or patrimony". (cf. B. Vladimirtsov, *Le Régime social des Mongols*, Paris 1948, 67 and 126). According to Mongol tradition, the home yurt was entrusted to the care of the khān's youngest son. It would appear significant that most *ḳalghays* were chosen from among the younger brothers of the khān until the end of the 10th/16th century, a time when Islamic-Ottoman practices became more influential in the Crimea (see GIRĀY and the accompanying geneological table). İnalcık reports (*loc. cit.*) that slightly more than half of the khāns had previously served as *ḳalghay*, which emphasizes the role of deputy over that of their apparent. Clearly the Ottoman sultan (after 883/1478) and the tribal aristocracy could always impose their will, and often did, to disrupt an orderly succession and to weaken an able or over ambitious Girāy dynastic line. A convocation of the tribal dignitaries, termed a *kuriltay* [*q.v.*], also represented a weakened version of an inner Asian institution; the original *kuriltay*

apparently consisted only of family members of a ruling dynasty. In the Crimean Khānate, as in the Golden Horde, the privilege was extended to the tribal *mīrzās* [*q.v.*], thus weakening the authority of the ruling family (cf. B. Grekov and A. Iakoubovski, *La Horde d'Or*, Paris 1939, 121-3).

In accordance with the inner Asian practice of conferring an *indjü* or fief upon princes and holders of high office, the *ḳalghay* maintained his seat of power in Aḳmesdjid, exercising from there complete administrative and judicial authority over the inner Crimean territory from Aḳmesdjid to the Ottoman enclave of Kefe (Kaffa). He held his own daily *dīwān* [*q.v.*] and was attended by officials with ranks corresponding to those of the khān's *dīwān* in Bāghčesarāy. It was in the composition of the court and in the powers given to *ḳaḍīs* that one may observe Islamic political influences among the Krīm Tātār elite. The *dīwān* of the *ḳalghay* could recommend the death penalty for criminals within the *ḳalghay*'s territory, but this penalty was subject to the review of the khān and his *mufti* and *ḳāḍī-ʿasker* [*q.v.*]. The appointment of a *nūr al-dīn* [*q.v.*], a second deputy and heir apparent to the khān, after 992/1584, may indicate an Ottoman influence. Henceforth the tendency was to appoint a brother of the khān, younger or older, to the rank of *ḳalghay*, while the position of *nūr al-dīn* was reserved for his favourite son. Thus, a certain preference was given to seniority of line, as in the case of the later Ottoman sultans, rather than seniority in a given Girāy family.

In the 12th/18th century the revenues of the *ḳalghay* included 10,000 piastres from the customs dues of Karasubāzār [*q.v.*], 5,000 p. from the salt works of Kerč, 3,000 p. from the customs dues of Kaffa [*q.v.*] and a tribute of 2,500 p. from the honey tax of Moldavia and 1,000 p. of the same from Wallachia. He also received the capitation tax (*djizya*, [*q.v.*]) from certain Christian villages, a revenue which he often turned over to officers of the court, and he inherited the property of *mirzas* in his district who died without suitable heirs (Peyssonel, ii, 254).

The *ḳalghay* could be called upon by the khān to lead Tātār contingents to war (usually in support of the Ottoman army, at which time special subsidies were forthcoming) or on Tātār raids into the territories of Poland-Lithuania, Muscovy or Circassia; on these occasions the *ḳalghay* had full powers and received one tenth of all booty in keeping with Mongol custom. When the khān led the army, the *ḳalghay* often remained behind to guard the Crimea from Cossack or other attack. If he accompanied the khān, he was placed in command of the right wing of the army (Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥātnāme*, x, 47-8). The *ḳalghay* generally could be expected to support the prerogatives of the dynasty against encroachment by the sultan or the *mīrzās*.

In the sphere of foreign affairs, the *ḳalghay* could send his own envoys together with those of the khān and could negotiate independently of the khān under certain circumstances. A proportional amount of all tribute (*tīsh*) payments from Muscovy, for example, had to be specifically allotted to the *ḳalghay*. (Note the lists of articles sent to the Crimea in H. Feyizhan and V. Velyaminov-Zernov, *Materiali po istorii Krimskago Khanstva*, St. Petersburg 1864, *passim*).

The palace of the *ḳalghay*, situated on high ground on the left bank of the Salgir river in Aḳmesdjid, was demolished after the Russian conquest of 1783. Close to the old town, the Russians built the new enclave of Simferopol, which became the seat of power for the Russian governor of the Crimea. The office of *ḳalghay* typified the combination of inner Asian and Islamic institutions, a feature common to the institutions of the Turco-Tatar peoples of western Asia.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the text, see the bibliography to the article GIRĀY in *IA* (Halil Inalcik); H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, London 1876-1929, especially vol. ii/2; V. D. Smirnov, *Krimskoye Khanstvo pod verkhovenstvom Ottomanskoy Porti do Nacala xviii vv.*, St. Petersburg 1887; and C. M. Kortepeter, *Ottoman Imperialism during the Reformation: Europe and the Caucasus*, New York 1972.

(C. M. KORTEPETER)

ḲALHĀT (22° 42′ N., 59° 17′ E.), the chief coastal settlement of the Banū Salīma and Mālik b. Fahm (Azd) tribes of south-eastern ʿUmān, probably since pre-Islamic times. Their clans had also settled on the Persian side of the Straits of Hurmuz and, under the leadership of the Djulandā (b. Karkar), exercised a degree of control at the entrance to the Gulf from their fortresses at al-Dīkdān and Huzw until evicted from the latter by ʿAḍud al-Dawla. The collapse of Buwayhid power and its replacement by that of the Saldjūḳs, the demise of the Ibāḍī Imamate in ʿUmān and Ḥaḍramawt and a shift of Indian Ocean trade to the Red Sea brought about a radical change in political groupings at the entrance to the Persian Gulf and saw the final decline of the old trading centres of Sīrāf and Ṣuḥār. The merchants of Sīrāf had already started to develop the island of Ḳays in Buwayhid times and it was their princes who gained control of the entrance to the Gulf at the beginning of the 6th/12th century, gradually bringing back part of the Indian Ocean trade to the Gulf.

At the same time the traditional relationship between the peoples of south-eastern ʿUmān (who were mostly Ibāḍīs) and Hurmuz, then the local port for Kirmān, was activated. Ḳalhāt was fortified and became the new entrepôt of the "monsoon" trade, a role previously held by Ṣuḥār. In an effort to challenge the control of Ḳays, an alliance was made with the Salghūrids of Fārs; it was this that led to the capture of Ḳalhāt by the Khwārazmīs some time between 611/1214-5 and 617/1220-1. A few years later Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad *al-kwstī* (var. *kwshī*, *kāshī*) of Ḳalhāt subjugated Ḳays and brought the whole of the coast as far as Ẓufār (Dhofar) under his rule; his expedition sent to reduce the peoples of interior ʿUmān perished in the southern desert in 660/1261-2.

Although Maḥmūd made Hurmuz his capital, he never lost his attachment to Ḳalhāt and finally retired there; his descendants, however, became increasingly Persianized and estranged from the mainly Arab population oftheir second capital, repressing Ibāḍism, which was inimical to dynastic rule. Some time before the middle of the 8th/14th century Ḳalhāt was severely damaged by an earthquake and during the course of this century gave way to Masḳaṭ (Muscat) as the "monsoon" trade centre on the ʿUmān coast. Sacked by Alboquerque in 1508, it was never properly rebuilt by the Portuguese, who developed Ḳurayāt as their southernmost fortified settlement. In the second half of the 16th century, Ḳalhāt's trade was still worth a third of Masḳaṭ's to the Portuguese factors, but by the end of their occupation in the mid-17th century, its demise appears to have been complete, replaced even as a local port by Ṣūr.

Bibliography: al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld 1876-7, 742; Alboquerque, *The commentaries of the great Alfonso Dalboquerque*, Hakluyt Society

1875-1884, Index s.v. *Calayate*; J. Aubin, *Les Princes d'Ormuz du XIII^e au XV^e siècle*, in *JA*, ccxli (1953); ʿAwtabī al-Ṣuḥārī (Salma b. Muslim), *Kitāb Ansāb al-ʿArab*, two Mss. including Bib. Nat. Paris Mss. arabes 5019, section Azd; de Barros, *Asia*, 6th ed., Lisbon 1945 ff., ii, 2, i, 44; Dimashḳī, *Nukhbat al-Dahr*..., ed. Mehren, 1866, 166; S. D. Goitein, *Two eyewitness reports on an expedition of the king of Kīsh (Qais) against Aden*, in *BSOAS*, xvi (1954); Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 116; Ibn al-Athīr, x, 233-4; xii, 198; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 226; Ibn al-Mudjāwir, *Taʾrīkh al-Mustabṣir*, ed. Löfgren, 1951, 1954, ii, 272-4, 287-91; Idrīsī-Jaubert, i, 152; F. M. Da Luz (ed.), *Livro das Cidades e Fortelezas da Índia*, in *Boletim Da Biblioteca Da Universidade De Coimbra*, xxi (1953), 55-6; Marco Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, tr. Col. H. Yule, London 1871, ii, 381-3; Muḳaddasī, 426-7, 432; al-Sālimī, (ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥumayd), *Tuḥfat al-Aʿyān bi-Sirat Ahl ʿUmān*, Cairo 1961, i, 253; ii, 5; Sirḥān b. Saʿīd al-Ambū ʿAlī, *Kashf al-Ghumma*..., Damascus Ms. Taʾrīkh 347, 483, tr. E. C. Ross as *Annals of 'Omân*..., *JAs. Soc. Bengal*, 1874, 140; P. Texeira, *The travels of Pedro Teixeira*, Hakluyt Society, 1902, Appendix A (...*origin of the Kingdom of Harmuz*...) Appendix D (...*Chronicle of the Kings of Ormuz*); P. Della Valle, (Letter ix), *Les Fameux Voyages de Pietro della Valle*, Paris 1663-4, iv, 407-8; J. R. Wellsted, *Travels in Arabia*, London 1838, i, 41-2; Yāḳūt, i, 502-3; ii, 211-2; 9, iii, 211-2, 368-70; iv, 168, 215-6, 974.

(J. C. WILKINSON)

ḲĀLĪ "carpet" [see BISĀṬ, in Suppl.].

AL-**ḲĀLĪ**, ABŪ ʿALĪ ISMĀʿĪL B. AL-ḲĀSIM B. ʿAYDHŪN B. HĀRŪN B. ʿĪSĀ B. MUḤAMMAD B. SULAYMĀN/SALMĀN (*mawlā* of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān or of his son Muḥammad) AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, great Arab philologist (288/901-356/967). The genealogy and following data are vouched for by his autobiography, which was preserved by his pupil, al-Zubaydī (p. 204 f.). He was born in the year 28(8)/901 in Manāzdjird [*q.v.*], to the north of Lake Van. In 303/915 he set out for Baghdād; after a longer stay in Mosul, he arrived there in 305/917, along with people from the frontier town of Ḳālīḳalā (Erzerum), whose *nisba* he took in the hope of receiving particular favours in his studies as a man of the frontier. In Baghdād he studied *lugha* and *akhbār* with the most renowned scholars of his time, such as Ibn Durayd, Ibn al-Anbārī, Nifṭawayh, Ibn al-Sarrādj, al-Zadjdjādj, al-Akhfash al-Aṣghar, al-Muṭarriz the *ghulām* of Thaʿlab, and others; under the direction of Ibn Durustawayh he studied thoroughly the *kitāb* of Sībawayh in al-Mubarrad's interpretation; he read Ibn Ḳutayba's books with the author's son Abū Djaʿfar and the books of Yaḥyā al-Munadjdjim also with the author's son Aḥmad etc.; he also devoted himself to the study of the *ḥadīth* under the guidance of well-known traditionists such as Abū Bakr ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Dāwūd al-Sidjistānī and ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Baghawī; he read the Ḳurʾān with the *imām al-ḳurrāʾ*, Ibn al-Mudjāhid. In 328/939 he left Baghdād, apparently on the invitation of prince al-Ḥakam, the son of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, for al-Andalus, arriving in Cordoba on 27 Shaʿbān 330/17 May 942. He died there, as al-Zubaydī adds, highly honoured, in Rabīʿ II 356/March-April 967; according to Ibn al-Faraḍī, i, 65 f., no. 221; ²Cairo 1373/1954, i, 84, no. 223, he died on Saturday 7 Djumādā I 356/20 April 967 (this precise information is probably from al-Ḳālī's son Djaʿfar, from whom Ibn al-Faraḍī transmits, see Ibn Bashkuwāl, 129, no. 189; ²Cairo 1374/1955, 127, no. 292).

Al-Ḳālī, frequently cited also as Abū ʿAlī al-Baghdādī, became the key figure in the ʿIrāḳī tradition in the West. On his emigration to Cordoba, he managed to take with him a great part of his library. Books which he did not possess, or which had been mislaid on the way in Ḳayrawān, he either dictated from memory in his new home or made commentaries and critical observations on them, following the ʿIrāḳī tradition which he knew, and taking into account examples of other traditions (see Ibn Khayr, 395 *passim*; Zubaydī, 203; Ḳifṭī, i, 205; Sellheim, 95 ff.). As a grammarian he paid no heed to the quarrels of the schools, such as the well-known one between the Baṣrans and the Kūfans since the days of the two rivals al-Mubarrad and Thaʿlab, but relied on his own judgement, although he agreed on the whole with the *madhhab* of the Baṣrans (cf. Ḳifṭī, i, 205). For his pupils see the passages mentioned in Fulton, 9, according to al-Ḍabbī, Ibn Bashkuwāl and Ibn al-Abbār.

Few of his numerous works remain (Ḳifṭī, i, 206; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, ii, 352; Fulton, 6 f.). The best known is his *K. al-Amālī*, which deals with every conceivable question of philology in so far as it concerns the *ʿarabiyya*; cf. ʿUmar al-Daḳḳāḳ in *MMIA*, xliv (1969), 515-37; the best edition is that of the Dār al-Kutub, Cairo 1344/1926; the third volume contains the *Dhayl al-Amālī wa 'l-Nawādir*, with Bakrī's *Tanbīh*; Bakrī's commentary on the whole work, with the title *Simṭ al-laʾālī fī sharḥ Amālī al-Ḳālī* was published by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Maymanī (Memon) in three volumes with indexes, Cairo 1354/1936. Ḳālī's great dictionary, the *K. al-Bāriʿ fī 'l-lugha*, was arranged according to a phonetic system very similar to the *K. al-ʿAyn* of al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad, and must have comprised about 4,500 folios: see *A facsimile of the manuscript of al-Kitāb al-Bāriʿ fī 'l-Lugha by Ismāʿīl ibn al-Ḳāsim al-Ḳālī*, ed. with an introduction by A. S. Fulton, London 1933 (cf. Hāshim al-Ṭaʿʿān's thesis (M.A.), *al-Bāriʿ li-Abī ʿAlī al-Ḳālī*, Baghdād 1972(?)); J. Kraemer in *Oriens*, vi (1953), 212 f.; S. Wild, *Das Kitāb al-ʿAin und die arabische Lexikographie*, Wiesbaden 1965, 65 ff. For two Mss. of his *K. al-Maḳṣūr wa 'l-mamdūd*, see *Fihrist al-kutub al-ʿarabiyya*, Dār al-Kutub, ii, Cairo 1345/1926, 40; printed in Cairo 1392/1972. The *Kitāb al-Masāʾil al-Shīrāziyya*, listed by Brockelmann, S I, 944, 16, apparently has nothing to do with al-Ḳālī. So too, the *K. al-Amthāl* ascribed to him in the *Fihrist al-makhṭūṭāt*, Dār al-Kutub, 1936-55, i, Cairo 1380/1961, 78, is in fact the *K. al-Amthāl* of Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī.

Bibliography: al-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-naḥwiyyīn wa 'l lughawiyyīn*, Cairo 1954, 132, 202-5; Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Taʾrīkh ʿulamāʾ al-Andalus*, Madrid 1891, i, 65 f., no. 221; ²Cairo 1373/1954, i, 83 f., no. 223; al-Ḥumaydīʿ *Djadhwat al-muḳtabis*, Cairo 1373/1954, 154-8, no. 303; al-Samʿānīʿ fol. 439 b; Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa*, Saragossa 1893, 395-7 index; al-Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, 216-9, no. 547; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, ii, 351-4, no. 122, and *Muʿdjam*, index; al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāh ʿalā anbāh al-nuḥāh*, Cairo 1369/1950, i, 204-9, no. 130; al-Marrākushī, *al-Muʿdjib fī talkhīṣ akhbār al-maghrib*¹, Leiden 1881, 16, tr. Fagnan, Algiers 1893, 20; Ibn Khallikān, s.v.; Ibn al-ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-mughrib*, Leiden 1851, ii, 266; ²1951, ii, 250, tr. Fagnan, Algiers 1904, ii, 413; al-Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt al-djanān*, Hyderabad 1338/1919, ii, 359; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya*, Cairo 1348/1929 ff., x i, 264 f.; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, iv, 142, 146, ²Beirut 1958, iv, 309, 312;

al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 198; *al-Muzhir*, Cairo 1378/1958, index; al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 48-52, index, ²Cairo 1367/1949, iv, 70-5; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iii, 18; *TA*, s.v. *ḳalā*; Ismāʿīl Pasha, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn*, Istanbul 1951, i, 208; G. Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, Leipzig 1862, 112-4; F. Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, 71 f., no. 33; Brockelmann, I, 132, S I, 202 f., 944, S III, 1196; M. Ben Cheneb, *L'Idjâza du Cheikh ʿAbd el-Qâdir el Fâsy*, Paris 1908, 438 f., no. 242 (Actes du XIVᵉ Congr. Intern. des Orient.); O. Rescher, *Abriss der arabischen Litteraturgeschichte*, Stuttgart 1933, ii, 239-41; R. Sellheim, *Die klassisch-arabischen Sprichwörtersammlungen*, 's-Gravenhage 1954, 95 f., index, Arabic tr., Beirut 1971, 138 ff., index; Kh. al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, Cairo 1954, i, 319 f.; ʿU. R. Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, Damascus 1376/1957, ii, 286 f.; S. A. Bonebakker, in *Actas del primer Congreso des Estudios Árabes e Islámicos*, Madrid 1964, 453-66. (R. SELLHEIM)

ḲALʿĪ, ḲALAʿĪ, the name used by the Arabs for tin (or for an especially good quality of tin), which is sometimes also called *al-raṣāṣ al-ḳalʿī* and *al-raṣāṣ al-abyaḍ*, that is, "*ḳalʿī* lead" or "white lead" (see *LA*, s.v.; Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.; Vullers, *Lex. pers.-lat.*, ii, 735; Quatremère, in *Journal des Savants*, 1846, 731). For the other names for tin in Arabic (*ḳayṣar* = κασσίτερος, etc.), see, for example, al-Dimashḳī, *Cosmographie*, ed. Mehren, 54. The word probably comes from the Far East, whence the Arabs could have borrowed it directly, without the intermediary of modern Persian (although this is also possible) as al-Djawālīḳī believed (ed. Sachau, 125), considering the modern Persian *kalhā* to be the original. The correction *kalahi* for *kalhā* proposed there is based on Ibn Saʿīd, quoted by G. Ferrand, *Relations de voyage* . . ., Paris 1913-4, 343. The word found in the Persian dialect of Māzandarān, *ḳalī* (in Gīlānī: *ḳālib*; see Melgunof, in *ZDMG*, xxii, 198), must have come from Arabic, and thence to the Turkish *ḳalay* and the modern Greek καλάϊ. As a loan-word *Ḳalaʿī* travelled further still, into Portuguese (*calaim, calin* = tin from India; see Dozy and Engelmann, *Gloss. des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe*², Leiden 1869, 245; Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*², 143). It has been thought that the region of Kalah [*q.v.*] in the Malacca peninsula, which was celebrated for its tin mines, gave rise to the word. The Arab geographers and lexicographers usually derive *ḳalʿī* from al-Ḳalʿa (= Kalah; *e.g.*, Yāḳūt, s.v.; al-Fīrūzābādī, *Ḳāmūs*, s.v.; cf. also Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, ed. Le Strange, 203). The word is also—and certainly erroneously—connected with an (alleged) source of tin called al-Ḳalʿa in Ceylon (Yāḳūt, i, 21, iv, 162), in Spain (Yāḳūt, iv, 162; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, 203) and in the Yemen (al-Fīrūzābādī, *op. cit.*).

The usual word for tin in present-day Malay appears to be *timah*. Also found with this meaning are *kaling, kaleng*—not *kelang* as Langlès, Quatremère, Dozy-Engelmann, Yule-Burnell and others write it—which, according to the dictionaries, means primarily tin-plate or tinned iron-plate (though the meaning tin may be an older one); cf. Wilkinson, *A Malay-Eng. Dict.*, Singapore, 1901, 497ᵇ; idem, *An abridged Malay-Eng. Dict.*, Singapore, 1919, and Klinkert, *Nieuw Maleisch-Nederl. Woordenboek*, Leiden 1916). It is clear that the Arab wordt *ḳalʿī* does not derive from *Ḳalʿa* (= Kalah), but from this Malayan word. Quatremère firmly supports this etymology but Dozy-Engelmann and Yule-Burnell do not commit themselves. It is difficult to credit that the Malayan *kaling* is a corruption of *ḳalʿī*. The possibility has also been considered that the name of the district of Kalah, from the Malayan *kaling*, means simply "land of tin"; this view was expressed as long age as Langlès in his edition of the Voyages of Sinbad the Sailor in *Grammaire de la langue arabe* by Savary (Paris 1813, 499 = offprint, Paris 1814, 63). Yule and Burnell quote as an analogy the fact that the little state of Salangor (north of the city of Malacca) was formerly known as Nagri Kalang, "the land of tin". Furthermore, according to Wilkinson, *Malay-Eng. Dict.*, 526ᵇ, *Kĕlang, Klang* properly only the name of a district of Salangor and a small urban town ship within that district, is also often extended to include the whole state of Salangor. Perhaps the origin of *ḳalʿī* is to be found in this *Kelang*.

Ḳalʿī, ḳalaʿī is also used for a type of sword which is often mentioned, especially in early Arabic poetry (cf., for example, Aws b. Ḥadjar, ed. Geyer, 33; Ruʾba b. al-ʿAdjdjādj, ed. Ahlwardt, 49, l. 43; scholia to Ṭarafa, *Muʿallaḳa* (*apud* Arnold, *Septem Moallakat*, Leipzig 1850, 61). On al-Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif*, 102, 130 (cited by Dozy, *Supplément*, ii, 396ᵇ), see Fleischer in *Sitz.-Ber. d. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.*, (1886), 45. Cf. also Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, i, 50). This kind of sword is generally considered to be of Indian origin (cf., *e.g.*, al-Fīrūzābādī, *al-Ḳāmūs*, s.v.), and indeed Indian swords were famous from early times among the Arabs and were celebrated by the poets (cf. Schwarzlose, *Die Waffen der alten Araber*, Leipzig 1886, 127-8 and A. Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klassischen Arabisch*, Göttingen 1919, 88-9). As a more definite place of origin Arab geographers and lexicographers usually give al-Ḳalʿa, where the tin of the same name comes from (*e.g.*, Yāḳūt, s.v.). Sometimes the Syro-Arab desert (the Bādiya), or the district of Ḥulwān in ʿIrāḳ (cf. *LA* and *Ḳāmūs*, s.v.) is given as the place of origin. The Yemen, which produced the finest swords after India, is sometimes given as the place where the *sayf ḳalʿī* came from; as in the glossary of Ṭarafa's *Muʿallaḳa* cited above. Jacob, *Alt-arab. Beduinen-leben* (Berlin 1897, 149) would like to opt for the Yemen, more specifically the "fortress" (*ḳalʿa*) of Aden; in support of this hypothesis is the fact that a poem by ʿAlḳama (ed. Socin) no. 3, speaks of the "pearls of Ḳalʿa" (*ḳalaʿī*). Yet the derivations of the Arab word from an East Indian place called al-Ḳalʿa (= the Kalah of Malacca [*q.v.*]) seems more likely. The distinction between the two kinds of sword, *ḳalʿī* and *ḳalaʿī* (cf. Freytag, *Lex. Arab.-Lat.* s.v. *ḳalʿa* and *ḳalaʿa*), is in any case invalid (contra Schwarzlose, *op. cit.*, 130). (M. STRECK)

KĀLIF, also KAYLIF, a town on the Amu-Daryā (al-Masʿūdī, viii, 64 calls the latter "Kālif River"), west-north-west of Tirmidh. The main part of the town with the fortress *Ribāṭ Dhī-l-Ḳarnayn* lay to the south of the river; there was a castle nearby. On the outskirts on the northern bank lay the fortress called *Ribāṭ Dhī 'l-Kifl* [see DHU 'L-KIFL]. In 1220 the Khʷārizmshāh Muḥammad II marched on the town to prevent the Mongols from crossing the Amū-Daryā. According to Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, 156 (translation 153), Kālif was famous in the 8th/14th century for its fruit and had some importance as trading-post on the road from Balkh to Nakhshab (Nasaf) [*q.v.*] in Sogd. The town still exists (Russian Kelif) but is now situated on the northern bank of the river only. The ford in the Amū-Daryā is still of importance on the route to Afghānistān.

Bibliography: Muḳaddasī, 291, 343; Yāḳūt/

Wüstenfeld iv, 229 = Ed. Beirut iv, 432 = Barbier de Meynard, *Dict.* 474; Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate* 442; Barthold, *Turk.*, index; *Enciklopedičeskoj Slovaŕ Brockhaus-Efron* xxviii (1895), 902.

(B. Spuler)

ḲĀLIḲALĀ [see erzurum].

KALIKAT [see Supplement].

KALIKĀTĀ [see calcutta].

KALĪLA WA-DIMNA, title of an Indian mirror for princes, formed by the corruption of the Sanskrit names of the two principal characters, two jackals, Karaṭaka and Damanaka (in the old Syriac translation the forms are still Kalīlag and Damnag). It was translated from Sanskrit into Pahlavi and thence into Arabic, and became widely known in Muslim as well as Christian literatures.

1. The original work. The Indian original was composed by an unknown Vis͟hnuite Brahman, according to Hertel probably about the year 300 A.D. in Kas͟hmīr; the main argument for this, the transcription of denarius by *dīnāra* is, however, not conclusive, as the pronunciation of the η as *i* is older than Hertel supposes (see also A. Berriedale Keith in *JRAS*, 1915, 505). It consisted of an introduction and five books, each of which bore the name *tantra*, *i.e.*, "occasion of good sense". The book was intended to instruct princes in the laws of polity by means of animal-fables composed in perfect Sanskrit. The oldest descendant of the original work is the *Tantrākhyāyika*, rediscovered by J. Hertel (see *Tantrākhyāyika, die älteste Fassung des Pañcatantra*, tr. from the Sanskrit with intro. and notes by J. Hertel, 2 parts, Leipzig-Berlin 1909). A second recension of the original work is called the *Añcatantra*. J. G. L. Kosegarten published an uncritical mixed text (Bonn 1848); on this Th. Benfey based his translation, *Pantschatantra, fünf Bücher indischer Fabeln, Märchen und Erzählungen*, tr. from the Sanskrit with intro. and notes, 2 vols., Leipzig 1859. In the introduction to this work the history of the spread of Indian literary themes to Europe was first exhaustively investigated.

2. The Pahlavi translation. A rather early recension of the *Pañcatantra* was translated from Sanskrit into Pahlavi by order of the Sasanian king K͟husraw Anūs͟harwān (531-579) by his physician Burzōe, whom he had sent to India for this purpose, and expanded by the addition of an appendix of fables from other Indian sources; of these the three first (chap. 11-13 in de Sacy) are taken from the twelfth book of the *Mahābhārata* (*ibid.*, chap. 138, 139, 111); the other five (de Sacy's chap. 14, 15, 18, 18 and the story of the king of the mice, see below, not given in de Sacy) have so far not been found in Indian literature, although there is no reason to doubt their Indian origin. Burzōe prefaced his translation with an autobiographical introduction which the vizier Buzurd͟jmihr, it appears, signed with his own name as an honour to the author (see *Burzōes Einleitung zu dem Buch Kalīla wa-Dimna*, tr. and annot. by Th. Nöldeke, *Schriften der wissensch. Gesellsch. in Strassburg*, fasc. 12, Strasbourg 1912).

3. The old Syriac translation. Burzōe's Pahlavi translation itself is lost; but by about 570 A.D. it had already been translated by the Periodeut Būd into Syriac. This translation only survives in one manuscript, which was formerly preserved in the monastery at Mārdīn, then in the library of the Patriarch of Mōṣul and afterwards came into the possession of Mgr. Graffin in Paris. From a defective copy of this, which Socin had brought with him, Bickell prepared the first edition (*Kalilag und Damnag, alte syrische Übersetzung des indischen Fürstenspiegels*, text and Germ. tr. by G. Bickell, with an introduction by Th. Benfey, Leipzig 1876). F. Schulthess was later able to prepare a much more reliable text based on three new copies which Sachau had had prepared in Mōṣul (*Kalila und Dimna*, Syriac and German, Berlin 1911).

4. The Arabic translation. About two centuries later ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muḳaffaʿ [see ibn al-muḳaffaʿ] translated Burzōe's Pahlavi version into Arabic. He wrote an original preface to his book, probably inserted in Burzōe's introduction the section on the uncertainty of religions, added after the first book of the *Pañcatantra* a chapter written by himself on Dimna's trial (chap. 6 in de Sacy), which by punishing the traitor satisfies the feeling of justice outraged by the immoral teachings of this book, and apparently also added the chapter "monk and guest" (no. 16 in de Sacy). Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's edition was originally a stylistic work of art intended for literary connoisseurs; but because of the nature of its contents it soon became very popular and therefore much corrupted in transmission. Even the numerous quotations in Ibn Ḳutayba's *ʿUyūn al-Ak͟hbār* already no longer reproduce Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's text word for word. The fairly numerous manuscripts of the work are all of late date. Sylvestre de Sacy's edition (*Calila et Dimna, ou Fables de Bidpai*, Paris 1816) is based on an inferior manuscript and is arbitrarily emended from other manuscripts (see Nöldeke, in the *Göttinger Gelehrte Anz.*, 1884, 676). In de Sacy's text, Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's preface is preceded by a new preface by an otherwise unknown Bahnūd b. Saḥwān or ʿAlī b. al-S͟hāh al-Fārisī, in which he gives an account of the history of the book in India, as well as a report said to have been written by Buzurd͟jmihr regarding Burzōe's mission to India with the commission to bring back the book; in several manuscripts this is followed by another story of Burzōe's being sent for a miraculous plant. Some manuscripts (see J. Derenbourg, *Directorium vitae humanae*, 323) add at the end two more fables, of the heron and the duck and of the dove, the fox and the heron from other, as yet unknown sources. This latter story is also inserted in the oldest Oriental reprint of de Sacy's edition, Būlāḳ 1249 (according to Chauvin, *op. cit.*, p. 13); from this it has passed into the more recent editions printed at Cairo, Mōṣul and Beirut, the list of which in Chauvin, p. 13 ff., according to Cheikho, p. 6, is not yet complete. Valuable contributions to the criticism of de Sacy's text from Italian manuscripts are given by I. Guidi, *Studii sul testo arabo del Libro di Calila e Dimna*, Rome 1873. The story of the king of the mice and his ministers, not given in de Sacy, which is shown by the Syriac text to belong to the Pahlavi work, was published by Nöldeke in text and translation in the *Abhandl. der Königl. Gesellsch. der Wissensch. zu Göttingen*, xxv/4 (1879). The complete material from 16 Paris manuscripts for the story of the ascetic and the broken jug was given by Zotenberg in the *JA* Ser. 8, vii (1886), 116-23.

While the numerous printed editions of the East (Būlāḳ 1249/1817; Cairo 1297/1835; Bayt al-dīn 1869; Mōṣul 1874, 1876; Beirut 1880, 1884) in the main reproduce the texts of the Sacy and Guide, A. N. Tabbara (*Kalila et Dimna, trad. arabe copiée d'après un ancien manuscrit trouvé à Damas*, avec notes, Beirut 1904) claimed to have discovered a new source for textual criticism; but his manuscript (of 1080/1675) is too modern to afford new material and his edition is, besides, bowdlerized. On the other hand I. Cheikho found in the Lebanon monastery of Dayr

al-Shīr a valuable manuscript of the year 749/1339, and made it accessible in an excellent edition: *La version arabe de Kalīlah et Dimnah d'après le plus ancien manuscrit arabe daté*, Beirut 1905 (many later eds.). A new edition by Khalīl al-Yāzidjī (*ibid.*, 1908) was followed by that of Salīm Ibrāhīm Ṣādir and Shāhīn ʿAṭīya (*ibid.*, 1910), intended for school use. The latest of note is that of T. Ḥusayn and ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ʿAzzām (Cairo 1941), based on a Ms. from Aya Sofya dated 618/1221 and therefore earlier than that of Cheikho. The modern European translations from de Sacy's text are given by Hertel (*op. cit.*, 393); to these may be added M. Moreno, *La versione araba de Kalilah e Dimnah*, tr. into Italian, San Remo 1910 (see RSO, vi, 201), in his *Kalila et Dimna, fables de Bidpai* (Paris 1957); A. Miguel follows ʿAzzām's edition with the addition of chapters from Marṣafī (4th ed., Cairo 1934) and Derenbourg's *Directorium*).

5. Arabic versifications. The translation by Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ has been three times put into Arabic verse. The first version was made by his younger contemporary Abān al-Lāḥiḳī [*q.v.*]; see also A. E. Krymski, *Abān al-Lāḥiqī, le Zindīq (environ 750-815), versificateur arabe des recueils des apologues indo-persans. Essai sur sa vie et ses écrits, tiré de l'unique manuscrit de Souli..., Bibl. Khéd. N°. 594, et d'autres sources primitives. Appendices: a. Barlaam et Joasaph, essai littéraire-historique; b. Texte arabe intact d'al-Awrāq par Souli, éd. en collaboration avec Mirza Abdoullah Ghaffarov* (also in Russian with Russian title) Moscow 1913; on the manuscript cf. Horovitz in the *Mitt. des Seminars für Orient. Sprachen*, Westas. Stud., x, 35. This version is lost; with the help of it, but on the basis of the text of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, about the year 1100, Ibn al-Habbāriya [*q.v.*] composed in ten days a poetic version in elegant and flowing language entitled: *Natāʾidj al-Fiṭna fī Naẓm Kalīla wa-Dimna*, lith. Bombay 1317 (see Houtsma in *Orient Stud. Th. Nöldeke... gewidmet*, i, 91-6). A third versification of the book, entitled *Durr al-ḥikam fī amthāl al-hunūd wa'l-ʿadjam* was completed by ʿAbd al-Muʾmin b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ṣaghānī after 80 days' work on 20 Djumādā 640/15 Nov. 1242). It exists only in a manuscript in Vienna (see Flügel, *Die arab., pers. und türk. Hss. der ... Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, i, 469, no. 480).

6. The later Syriac translation. In the tenth or eleventh century a Syriac cleric translated the work from Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's text again into the then already dead language of his church; he endeavoured to give the book a Christian tinge and therefore amplified the verses of the Indian original, already much distorted in the Pahlavi translation, into long and weary moral discourses. He also made a series of mistakes in the translation. But as the text he used was much nearer the original than the most of our manuscripts, this translation is, in spite of its defects, of considerable value for textual criticism; it is edited by W. Wright, *The book of Kalīlah and Dimnah transl. from Arabic into Syriac*, London 1884. In contrast to the naturalism of the original, Keith-Falconer, the English translator of this version (Cambridge 1885) is even more prudish than the latter itself; on text and translation see Nöldeke in the *Göttinger Gelehrte Anz.*, 1884, 673 ff., 1885, 753 ff.

7. Persian prose and verse translations. According to Firdawsī in the *Shāhnāma* (see de Sacy in *Not. et Extr.* X (1818), i, 140 ff.), Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's book was translated into Persian under the Sāmānid Naṣr b. Ahmad (302-31/914-43) by order of the vizier Balʿamī [*q.v.*]; but it appears that this translation was never completed. By order of the same ruler the poet Rūdhakī (d. 304/916) put the book into Persian verse of which, however, only 16 verses have survived in quotations in Asadī's *Lughat-i Furs*, ed. Horn, p. 18 sqq.

Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's work was translated into Persian prose probably after the year 539/1144 (see Rieu, *Cat. of the Pers. MSS. in the Brit. Mus.*, 745-6) by Niẓām al-Dīn Abu 'l-Maʿālī Naṣr Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, who dedicated his work to Bahrām Shāh of Ghazna [*q.v.*]. Naṣr Allāh in a new preface announces his intention of reproducing the work completely, including the aphorisms which seemed to him particularly valuable, with all the rhetorical adornment of artificial prose; he gives only Burzōe's introduction in ordinary prose, as an artificial style does not suit its matter. The work was lithographed in Tehran in 1282/1864 (this disposes of Chauvin's doubts, p. 46/7), 1304 and 1305; cf. de Sacy in *Not. et Extr.* X, i, 96 ff.; E. G. Browne, *A literary history of Persia*, ii, London 1906, 349.

A metrical version of the book was composed for Sulṭān ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaykāʾūs (641-62/1244-63) by Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd al-Ṭūsī Ḳāniʿī, a contemporary of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī at Ḳonya, whither he had fled before the Mongols from his native city of Ṭūs; it was probably based on Naṣr Allāh's translation, which, however, he nowhere mentions (see Rieu, *Cat. of the Pers. MSS. in the Brit. Mus.*, 582 ff.; E. G. Browne, *A history of Pers. literature under Tartar dominion*, Cambridge 1920, 111).

This work was, however, put in the shade completely by the revision of Naṣr Allāh's translation done by Ḥusayn Wāʿiẓ Kāshifī (d. 910/1504) [see KĀSHIFĪ], the court-preacher of Ḥusayn Bayḳarā of Herāt [see ḤUSAYN MĪRZĀ]. In honour of Ḥusayn's minister Aḥmad Suhaylī he called his work *Anwār-i Suhaylī*. He professed to be making the rhetorical artificial prose of Naṣr Allāh easier to understand by giving it a new version but in reality he created an even more florid and verbose concoction, "full of absurd exaggerations, recondite words, vain epithets, far-fetched comparisons and tasteless bombast and represents to perfection the worst style of those florid writers who flourished under the patronage of the Timurids" (E. G. Browne, *A literary history of Persia*, n. 352). But as this style remained predominant in Persia and particularly in India down to the threshold of the modern period, the work had an unparallelled success and was printed in England (first complete edition London 1836), where it was used as a text book for the examination of English officials in India in Persian and repeatedly printed and lithographed in India and Persia, translated into several Indian dialects, into Pushtu, Georgian and all the principal languages of Europe (see Chauvin, 26-43). Ḥusayn replaced the four prefaces of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ by a new introduction from a so far unidentified source; de Sacy supposes (*Not. et Extr.* X/i, 59) that in it we have the older *Djāwīdān Khirad*, which al-Ṭurṭūshī was still able to use for his *Sirādj al-Mulūk*, Būlāḳ 1289, 97, 185. The Emperor of China, Humāyūnfāl, is persuaded to give up the idea of abdicating his throne by his vizier, who tells him how the Indian king Dabshalīm was directed by a dream to a cave in which an old man would give him a treasure. Of the latter Dabshalīm keeps only the testament of Hoshang, king of Persia, which contains 14 pieces of advice for rulers, and with these he goes to Ceylon where the Brahman Bidpai or Pilpai explains each of these precepts by stories which form the separate chapters of the book.

Dislike of the extravagant and luxurious style of

the *Anwār-i Suhaylī* induced the Emperor Akbar (1556-1605) to commission his vizier Abu 'l-Faḍl to prepare a new edition of the work. This bears the title *ʿIyār-i Dāniṣh* and was completed in 996/1578. It retains the arrangement of its model but restores Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's preface and Burzōe's introduction. The work itself is still unpublished but a Hindustānī translation by Ḥafīẓ-uddīn, entitled *Khirad Afrōz*, was published by Th. Roebuck (Calcutta 1815) and by Eastwick (Hertford 1857), London 1867) on account of its elegant diction.

8. Turkish translations. Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's work was twice translated into Eastern Turkī from Naṣr Allāh's translation; see the manuscripts in Dresden in Fleischer, *Cat. Codd. Mss. orient. Bibl. Regine Dresdensis* (Lipsiae 1831), 19, 136 and in Munich in Aumer, *Die pers. und türk. Hdss. der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek*, 54.

Naṣr Allāh's edition was translated into old Ottoman Turkish (not into Eastern Turkī, as Hertel, p. 407, says, relying on a somewhat misleading expression of Éthé's, *op. cit.*) by Masʿūd for ʿUmar Beg, prince of Aydīn (d. 748/1347) (a Ms. in the Bodleian, Marsh. 180). This prose text was put into verse by an unknown author who dedicated his work to Sulṭān Murād I (761/1359-792/1389); only about half has survived in a Gotha manuscript (see Pertsch, *Verz. der türk. Handschr. d. Herz. Bibl.*, 168, 189). A modern Ottoman prose version, which must have been made before 955/1548, exists in the Bodleian Ms. Marsh. 61; cf. H. Éthé, *On some hitherto unknown Turkish versions of Kalilah and Dimnah in the Actes du 6e Congr. internat. des Orientalistes*, 2nd sect., i, 241 ff.

ʿAlī b. Ṣāliḥ, called ʿAlī Wāsiʿ or ʿAlī Čelebī, translated the *Anwār-i Suhaylī* into Ottoman rhymed prose and dedicated his work to Sulṭān Sulaymān I (1512-20) with the title *Humāyūn-nāma*; it has been several times printed in Būlāḳ and Istanbul (see Chauvin, p. 50). Among the different European translations of the *Humāyūn-nāma*, the best known is the French of Galland, published after his death by Gueulette (Paris 1724); it was reprinted many times and "continued" in 1778 by D. Cardonne (see Abdel-Halim, *Antoine Galland*, Paris 1964, 180-8, 254-9). It was translated into German, Dutch, Hungarian and Swedish, and into Malay by Gonggrijp (Batavia 1866) and the latter version inspired a Javanese translation by Kramaprawira, which was put into Javanese verse by an anonymous poet. The luxuriousness of its language, in which the *Humāyūn-nāma* surpassed even its Persian original, induced the *muftī* Yaḥyā Efendī and ʿUṯhmānzāde, who died in 1139/1726 as *ḳāḍī* in Cairo, to prepare extracts from it (see Éthé, *op. cit.*, 242).

The *Anwār-i Suhaylī* was translated, apparently with the assistance of the *Humāyūn-nāma* by Faḍl Allāh b. ʿĪsā Taṣhkandī, at the instigation of Muḥammad Mūsā Bay Bāččā into modern Eastern Turkī prose (to be more accurate, into the language of Tashkant and Farghāna as the colophon says, or the language of Turkestān and Farghāna as the title states). Muḥammad then had the book lithographed by the calligrapher Mīrzā Hāṣhim Khodjandī, according to the colophon in 1306/1888; according to the title, the book was published in 1893.

Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's book was translated from the Arabic into Ḳazan Turkī by ʿAbd al-ʿAllām Fayẓ Khān Oghlu and printed at Kazan in 1889 (University Press, *Orient. Bibliographie*, iii, 1421), in the same year at Wjatschakof (*ibid.*, iv, no. 3935) and in 1892 at Čirkova (*ibid.*, vi, 167, no. 3166). The introduction, however, was borrowed from the *Anwār-i-Suhaylī*.

9. The Mongol translation. The Mongol translation which Malik Iftikhār al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr, a descendant of Muḥammad Bakrī, prepared in Ḳazwīn has not survived (see Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Taʾrīkh-i Guzīda*, ed. Browne, Gibb Mem. xiv, 844-5, tr. 233; Browne, *A history of Persian literature under Tartar dominion*, 93, and correctly stated as early as Hammer-Purgstall in the *JA*, 3rd Ser., i, 580). This statement is confused in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, v, 239, who ascribes a translation into Turkish (*lughat al-Turk*) to the ancestor Muḥammad Bakrī (see de Sacy, *Not. et Extr.* X, 175; Éthé, *op. cit.*, 243, does not take notice of von Hammer's correct statement). As Flügel wrongly translates *in linguam Taterorum*, Hertel (p. 414) wrongly identifies this reported Tatar translation with the above mentioned Ḳazan Turkī (so-called Tatar) translation quoted in Chauvin, 78, n.

10. The Ethiopic translation. An Ethiopic version, which was certainly based on an Egyptian text of the Arabic of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, is also lost: it is mentioned in a work composed in 1582 (see Wright, *Cat. of the Ethiop. MSS. in the Brit. Mus.*, 816; see also Nöldeke, *Gött. Gelehrte Anz.* 1884, 676, n. 5).

11. The Hebrew and older European translations. At the beginning of the twelfth century a certain Rabbi Jōʾēl translated Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's work into Hebrew (see S. de Sacy, *Notes et Extraits*, ix (1813), 397-466) from a valuable manuscript which, however, already contained the false story of Burzōe's mission and the two not genuine fables at the end of the heron and the duck and of the fox, dove and heron. From the unique manuscript, exceedingly corrupt in the beginning, J. Derenbourg published his translation along with that of Jacob b. Eleazar of the 13th century (*Deux versions hébraïques du Livre de Kalîlâh et Dimnâh* in the *Bibl. de l'École des Hautes Études*, fasc. 49, Paris 1881). Jacob's version while based on a similar text to that of Jōʾēl is, however, very free, composed in elegant rhymed prose and full of biblical locutions. The version of Rabbi Jōʾēl was then translated into Latin by the baptised Jew John of Capua for Cardinal Ursinus between 1263 and 1278 with the title *Directorium vitae humanae* (cf. Johannes de Capua, *Directorium vitae humanae*, publ. and annot. by J. Derenbourg in the *Bibl. de l'École des Hautes Études*, fasc. 72, Paris 1887). With the exception of an old Spanish version, which reproduces the same text as Rabbi Jōʾēl much more faithfully than John of Capua does (see Clifford G. Allen, *L'ancienne version espagnole de Kalila et Digna, texte des mss. de l'Escorial, précédé d'un avant-propos et suivi d'un glossaire*, thesis, Paris-Macon 1906), all later translations into Western European languages, with the exception of quite modern ones, are based on the Latin text of John of Capua (see Chauvin, 59-72; Hertel, 366-400). Most noteworthy are the Italian versions by Firenzuola (*Discorsi degli animali ragionanti tra loro*, Florence 1548) and Deni (*La filosofia morale del Doni*, Venice 1552), and the French adaptations by G. Pottier (*Plaisants et facétieux discours sur les animaux*, Lyons 1566) and P. de la Rivey (*Deux livres de philosophie fabuleuse*, Lyons 1579). In 1664 G. Gaulmier published a translation from the Arabic text entitled *Livres des lumières...*, attributing its elaborations to "David Sahod d'Ispahan". A version of a Greek translation (see below) appeared in 1666, prepared by P. Poussine. The last two works inspired La Fontaine (for the influence of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* on the *Roman de Renart* and

especially on La Fontaine, see M. F. Ben Ghazi, *ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Muqaffaʿ*, unpublished thesis, Paris 1957, ii, 153-82).

12. The Greek translation. Towards the end of the 11th century, Symeon son of Seth translated Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's work fairly freely into Greek from a manuscript which was still free from later additions but contained the chapter on the king of the mice and his ministers. He called the book Στεφανίτης καὶ Ἰχνηλάτης, because he recognised in *Kalīla* the Arabic *iklīl* and in *Dimna* the Arabic word for "trace". See Στεφανίτης καὶ Ἰχνηλάτη, *Quattro recensioni della versione greca del Kitāb Kalīlah wa-Dimna*, pubbl. da Vittorio Puntoni, *Publibcazioni della Soc. Asiat. Ital.*, ii, (1889). This version was in turn translated into Latin and German as well as into several Slavonic languages.

13. The Persian translation of the Hitōpadēsha. The later Sanskrit version of the *Pañcatantra*, the *Hitōpadēsha*, was translated very freely into Persian, probably in the reign of Akbar, by a certain Tādj al-Dīn, under the title *Mufarriḥ al-ḳulūb* (see de Sacy, *L'électuaire des coeurs, ou traduction persane du livre indien intitulé Hitoupadésa par Tadj-eddin, ms. persan de la Bibl. du Roi, N° 380* in the *Not. et Extr.* X, i, 226-64). This work was then translated by the highly esteemed Hindūstānī author Mīr Bahādur ʿAlī Ḥusaynī in 1217/1802 into his mother tongue (see Garcin de Tassy, *Hist. de la Litér. hindouïe ou hindoustanie²*, i, 699). A year later the latter was edited by Gilchrist as *Ukhlaqi Hindee or Indian Ethics, transl. from the Version of the celebrated Hitoopao'es or Salutary Counsel* by Meer Buhadoor Ulee,... under the superintendence of John Gilchrist, Calcutta 1803; cf. J. Hertel, *Die Akhlāq-è Hindī und ihre Quellen* in the *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morg. Gesellsch.*, lxxii, 65-86, lxxiv, 95-117, lxxv, 129-200.

14. The older Malay translation. On a mixture of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's work and a Tamil text of the Pañcatantra is based the Malay version *Hikayat Kalila dan Damina*, which was first brought to notice by Werndly in his *Maleische Spraakkunst*, Amsterdam 1736, and was published in 1876 by Gonggrijp at Leiden (2nd ed. 1892; cf. J. J. Brandes in the *Feestbundel aan Professor M. J. de Goeje*, Leiden 1891, p. 77 ff.). This work was next translated into Javanese (Batavia 1878) and Madurese (*ibid.*, 1879).

15. Imitations of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*. Setting aside the fables included in the *1001 Nights*, Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's work has been three times imitated in Islamic literatures. Ibn al-Habbārīya (see above) followed up his versification with the *Kit. al-Ṣādiḥ wa'l-Bāghim* (printed in Cairo 1294). While this was only an imitation of the beast-fable, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ẓafar al-Ṣaḳalī (d. 565/1169 or 568/1172) in his *Sulwān al-Muṭāʿ*, which he first composed in 545/1150 and dedicated in 554/1159 in a new edition to the *ḳāʾid* of Sicily, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Kurashī, intended to produce a mirror for princes, like the *Kalīla wa-Dimna*: in addition to beast-fables the book also contains historical anecdotes. It was lithographed at Cairo 1278, printed Tunis 1279, Beirut 1300; translated into Turkish by Ḳara Khalīlzāde (d. 1168/1754) and printed in Istanbul 1285; translated into Italian by M. Amari, *Solwan al-mota ossiano Conforti politici di Ibn Zafer, arabo siciliano del XII secolo*, Florence 1851, 1882 (Eng. tr. London 1852).

Another mirror for princes in which historic anecdotes are mingled with beast-fables for the edification of the reader, was composed about the end of the 4th/10th century by the prince of Ṭabaristān, Ispahbadh Marzubān, in the Persian dialect of his land. This work itself has not survived, but in the 6th/12th and 7th/13th century it was twice translated into classical Persian. This was first done at the court of the Saldjūḳ of Asia Minor, Sulaymānshāh by his vizier Muḥammad b. Ghāzī of Malaṭya; his work, entitled *Rawḍat al-ʿUḳūl*, exists in two manuscripts in Leiden and Paris. The *Marzubānnāma* of Saʿd al-Dīn-i Warāwīnī, composed between 607/1210 and 622/1225, enjoyed greater popularity. It has been edited by Mīrzā Muḥammad (Gibb Mem. Ser., vol. viii).

Warāwīnī's version was translated by an unknown author into Ottoman Turkish (a copy of 848/1444 in Berlin; see Pertsch, *Verz. der Türk. Hdss.*, no. 444); this Turkish version was again translated anonymously into Arabic (Ms. Berlin, see Ahlwardt, Verz., no. 8472). A second Arabic translation, which according to the Gotha Ms. (see Pertsch, *Die Arab. Hdss. der Herz. Bibl.*, no. 2692), is also based on the Turkish, was made by Ibn ʿArabshāh [*q.v.*]; there is another Ms. in Paris (de Slane, *Catal.*, no. 3524) and it was lithographed in Cairo in 1278. The same author then rewrote his work in artificial prose in his *Fākihat al-Khulafāʾ wa-Mufākharat al-Ẓurafāʾ*, and added several new stories.

The same recension, which had been translated into Ottoman Turkish and which is distinguished from Warāwīnī's vulgate as well as from the *Rawḍat al-ʿUḳūl* by the tenth (concluding) chapter *dar bayān-i ziyādat-i ʿumr wa-dawlat wa-zindagānī kardan bā dōst udushman*, was translated into Ḳazan Sulaymān Bek, son of Muḥammad Bek, and printed at Kazan in 1864 under the title *Kitāb Destūri Shāhī fī ḥikāyāti Dūdishāhi*.

16. Kalīla wa-Dimna in Muslim art. *Kalīla wa-Dimna* was one of those books which inspired the Muslim artists of the pre- and post-Mongol Iranian schools as much as those of Baghdād. A description of the miniatures illustrating a considerable number of the manuscripts would require a monograph and is outside the range of this article. Reference should be made to K. A. Creswell, *A bibliography of painting in Islam*, Cairo 1953, and a few basic works: E. R. Martin, *The miniature painting and painters of Persia, India and Turkey from the VIIIth to the XVIIth C.*, London 1912; A. B. Sakisian, *La miniature persane du XXᵉ s.*, Paris 1929; I. Stchoukine, *La peinture indienne... au Musée du Louvre*, Paris 1929; B. Gray, *Fourteenth century illustrations of Kalilah and Dimnah*, in *Ars Islamica*, vii (1940), 134-40; Blochet, *Les enluminures des mss. orientaux... de la B.N.*, Paris 1929; M. S. Diwand, *A handbook of Mohammedan decorative arts*, New York 1958; Z. Ḥasan, *al-Taṣwīr fi l-Islām*, Cairo 1936; Kühnel, *A Bidpaï Ms. of 1343-4 in Cairo*, in *Am. Inst. Iranian Art and Arch.*, v (1937); Talbot-Rice, *The Paris exhibition of Iranian art*, in *Ars Islamica*, v (1938), 282-91; M. Muhriz, *Rusūm Kalīla wa-Dimna*, unpublished thesis, Cairo 1946.

Bibliography: V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou reliefs aux Arabes* etc., ii, Kalîlah, Liège-Leipzig 1897; J. Hertel, *Das Pañcatantra, eine Geschichte und seine Verbreitung*, Leipzig-Berlin 1914. (C. BROCKELMANN)

ĶALĪM ABŪ ṬĀLIB, Persian poet, was born according to contemporary evidence, in Hamadān. His life, until he went to India, was spent chiefly in Kāshān, and therefore he is often called Kāshānī. After receiving his education in Shīrāz during his early youth, he visited India in Djahāngīr's reign, but returned to Persia in 1028/1618-9. Two years later, however, he migrated permanently to India. On his arrival, he sought his fortune in various

provinces, including Deccan, where he attached himself to Mīr Djumla. Following Shāhdjahān's accession, Kalīm entered the imperial court, and became poet laureate to the emperor. He was commissioned to write a verse account of Shāhdjahān's reign on the model of Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma*. He died in Kashmīr in 1061/1651, and was buried there.

Kalīm's poetic output is said to comprise approximately 24,000 couplets. He tried his hand at almost every traditional form, but his claim to renown rests chiefly upon his *ghazals*, which are characterized by a subtlety of themes. His consistent use of the artifice known as *mithāliyya* (giving a statement in one line of the couplet and equating it with an appropriate illustration in the other) seems to have contributed to its popularity as an accepted poetic convention.

Bibliography: *Dīwān*; ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Lāhorī, *Bādshāh-nāma*, B.M. Ms. Add. 6556; Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kanbū, *Shāhdjahān-nāma*, iii, Calcutta 1939; Muḥammad Amīn, *Bādshāh-nāma*, B.M. Ms. Or. 173; ʿAlī-Ḳulī Khān Vāliḥ Dāghistānī, *Riyāḍ al-Shuʿarāʾ*, B.M. Add. 16, 729; Luṭf ʿAlī Beg Ādhar, *Ātashkada*, Bombay 1860; Ghulām ʿAlī Khān Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Khizāna-i ʿĀmira*, Kānpūr 1900; Muḥammad Afḍal Sarkhush, *Kalimāt al-Shuʿarāʾ*, B.M. Ms. Or. 231; Muḥammad Ṭāhir Naṣrābādī, *Tadhkira-i Naṣrābādī*, B.M. Ms. Add. 7087; Shīr Khān b. ʿAlī Amdjad Khān Lodī, *Tadhkira-i Mirʾāt al-Khayāl*, Bombay; Muḥammad Shiblī Nuʿmānī, *Shiʿr al-ʿAdjam*, iii, Aligarh 1906-7; Browne, iv; Jan Rypka, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968.

(MUNIBUR RAHMAN)

KALĪM ALLĀH [see MŪSĀ].

KALĪM ALLĀH AL-DJAHĀNĀBĀDĪ, B. NŪR ALLĀH B. AḤMAD AL-MIʿMĀR (mason/architect), AL-ṢIDDĪḲĪ, one of the leading Čishtī saints of his time, who was responsible for the revival of this order in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent when Muslim society was in a state of utter disorder. He was born at Shāhdjahānābād (Delhi), whence his *nisba* al-Djahānābādī, on 24 Djūmādā II 1060/24 June 1650, eight years before Awrangzīb's accession to the throne. His ancestors, builders and masons by profession, originally hailed from Khodjand [*q.v.*]. His father and grandfather both played leading roles in the building of the famous Red Fort and the congregational mosque of imperial Delhi. Many of the inscriptions, mostly verses from the Ḳurʾān and the ninety-nine names of Allāh (*al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā* [*q.v.*]), which decorate the mosque were made by his father, the *ustādh* Nur Allāh. He acquired his early education from local scholars, including Abu 'l-Riḍā Muḥammad, uncle of Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī [*q.v.*]. Later he left for the Ḥidjāz to make the *Ḥadjdj* and *Ziyāra* and stayed there for a long time. He contracted his *bayʿa* in the Čishtī order with Yaḥyā b. Maḥmūd al-Gudjarātī (d. 1101/1689), who had migrated to Medina and settled there. During his stay in the Ḥidjāz he was initiated into the Naḳshbandī and Ḳādirī orders by Mīr Muḥtaram and Shaykh Muḥammad Ghiyāth (cf. *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir*, vi, 240-1). On his return to Delhi he stayed in a mosque situated between the Red Fort and the Djāmiʿ Masdjid in the quarter known as the Khānim kā Bāzār. He established a *madrasa* there which attracted a large number of students from far and wide who enjoyed free board and lodging. No details of this *madrasa* are available. The Ṣūfī poet Mīrzā Maẓhar Djān-i-Djānāṅ once saw him teaching the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī to students in this *madrasa*, which probably formed part of the mosque in which he stayed. According to Mīrzā Muḥammad Akhtar Gūrgānī (*Tadhkira-i Awliyāʾ-i Hind wa-Pākistān*, Lahore 1954 (?), ii, 272), the emperor Awrangzīb later ordered the construction of a *khānḳāh* for him, a complex of buildings comprising *ʿibādat-khāna*, *madjlis-khāna*, *langar-khāna* and private quarters. According to the same author the emperor Muḥammad Muʿaẓẓam Bahādur Shāh I [*q.v.*] became his disciple in his fourth regnal year (1123/1711), while engaged in an expedition against the rebellious Sikhs under Banda Bayrāgī. Kalīm Allāh led a life of austerity, depending mainly on the *futūḥāt* (offerings) received from devotees and disciples. Learning of his poverty, Farrukhsiyar [*q.v.*], during his short but eventufl reign, offered him financial assistance but he refused to accept it, perhaps fearing persecution at the hands of the *amīr al-umarāʾ* Ḥusayn ʿAlī Khān, one of the Sayyid king-makers known to Indian history.

As a rule he discouraged his disciples from coming close to the rulers and kings and even exhorted them not to approach or visit them. He also did not favour the *samāʿ*, as was in vogue in his days, although he himself enjoyed it. In one of his letters (no. 110) he vehemently condemns the immature or sham Ṣūfīs whom he describes as "*mulḥids* who have given up the *sharīʿa*". As against Aḥmad Sirhindī [*q.v.*], he favoured keeping good relations with the non-Muslims so that they might be impressed with the teachings of Islam. Similarly he did not shun the common people but rather liked their company. He discouraged the indiscriminate discussion of the knotty problem of *waḥdat al-wudjūd*. All his life he struggled for the glory and spread of Islam but like Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī, his successor in the field, his efforts met with little success.

He died on 24 Rabīʿ I 1142/17 Oct. 1729 at an advanced age at Delhi and was buried in the compound of his own *khānḳāh*, which also served as his residence. The year of his death has been variously given as 1140/1727, 1141/1728 (cf. *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir*, vi, 241), 1142/1729 (appendix to *Sawāʾ al-Sabīl*, 139) and 1143/1730 as given by Ghulām ʿAlī Āzād Bilgrāmī (cf. *Maʾāthir al-Kirām*, i, Ḥaydarābād 1910, 42). The year 1142/1729 has been adopted as the most reliable one, as many authorities agree thereon. After the mutiny of 1857 the entire quarter wherein stood his *khānḳāh* was pulled down by the British but his grave was spared. It had remained in a state of neglect and disrepair for some decades when Khʷādjā Ghulām Farīd, spiritual guide of the ruler of Bahāwalpūr [*q.v.*], contributed a large sum for its reconstruction. It was later repaired and renovated by one of his descendants, who set up a beautifully carved stone railing around his grave and paved the tomb floor with marble flags. The tomb still exists and is the lonely structure standing between the Red Fort and the Djāmiʿ Masdjid. An *ʿurs* is held every year at his tomb on the occasion of the anniversary of his death. It was regularly attended by the last Moghul emperor of Delhi, Bahādur Shāh "Ẓafar" [*q.v.*], and other princes of the royal family.

His leading *khalīfa* was Niẓām al-Dīn Awrangābādī to whom he addressed a number of letters on the problems of *taṣawwuf*. He left three sons and three daughters. His sons, however, were all minors at the time of his death.

He is credited with having written more than 20 books including: (1) *Sawāʾ al-Sabīl* (ed. Delhi 1343/1925), original in Arabic with Urdu tr., on various mystic problems; (2) *Irshādāt-i Kalīmī* (ed. Delhi 1346/1927), a selection of letters addressed to his principal *khalīfa* Niẓām al-Dīn Awrangābādī, with

Urdu translation; (3) *Kashkūl* (in Persian, Delhi n.d.), described as a *pot-pourri* of *taṣawwuf*, composed in 1101/1690, when he was nearly 41 years of age; (4) *Murakka'* (in Persian with Urdu tr., Delhi n.d.), comprising what the Čishtīs recite daily by way of *dhikr*, regarded as a supplement to No. 3; (5) *Maktūbāt* (Delhi n.d.), 132 in number, addressed to his principal disciples, outstanding among whom was Niẓām al-Dīn Awrangābādī, interspersed with personal and private affairs; (6) *Tilka 'asharat al-Kāmila*, in Arabic (ed. Delhi with Urdu tr., n.d.), discusses ten problems of *taṣawwuf* which he claims to have solved while in *i'tikāf* [*q.v.*] during Ramaḍān; (7) *Mā lā-budda fi 'l-taṣawwuf*, (ed. Delhi n.d., in Arabic with Urdu tr.), deals with the aims and objects of *sulūk* and *taṣawwuf*; (8) Keeping up the tradition of his family he wrote a treatise on astrology styled *Risāla Tashrīḥ al-Aflāk-i 'Āmili muhashshā bi'l-fārisiyya* (Ms. in the Nadhīriyya Public Library, Delhi). He also wrote a commentary on the *Ḳānūn* of Avicenna of which a Ms. copy is preserved in the Raza (sic) Library, Rampur. A fine commentary on the Ḳur'ān, called *Ḳur'ān al-Ḳur'ān*, which was printed in the margin of a copy of the Ḳur'ān (ed. Meerut 1920), was also written by him. A certain *Kitāb al-radd ('alā) al-Shī'a* or *Risāla Radd-i Rawāfiḍ* and *Tasnīm*, the latter on certain problems of *taṣawwuf*, are also attributed to him.

Bibliography: Ghulām Sarwar Lāhōrī, *Khazīnat al-Aṣfiyā'*, Cawnpore 1914, i, 494-5; Muḥammad Ḥusayn Murādābādī, *Anwār al-'Ārifīn*, Bareilly 1290/1873, 429-30; Gul Muḥammad Aḥmadpūrī, *Takmila-i Siyar al-Awliyā'*, Delhi 1312/1894, 79-85; Nadjm al-Dīn, *Manāḳib al-Maḥbūbīn*, Rampur 1289/1872, 45-6; Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Ma'āthir al-Kirām*, Ḥaydarābād 1910, i, 42; Aḥmad Akhtar Mīrzā, *Manāḳib-i Farīdī*, Delhi 1314/1896, 34; idem, *Tadhkira-i Awliyā'-i Hind (wa Pākistān)*, Lahore 1954 (?), ii, 271-2; Raḥmān 'Alī, *Tadhkira-i 'Ulamā'-i Hind*, Lucknow 1894, 172 (Urdu tr. by Ayyūb Ḳādirī, Karachi 1961, 397-9 with additions); Faḳīr Muḥammad, *Ḥadā'iḳ al-Ḥanafiyya*, Lucknow 1914, 483-9; Zayn al-'Ābidīn, *Tadhkirat al-mu'in fī dhikr al-Kāmilīn*, Bareilly 1890, 142-4; Bashīr al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Wāḳi'āt-i Dār al-Ḥukumat-i Dihlī*, Āgra 1909, iii, 116-7; Sayyid Aḥmad Walī-Allāhī, *Yādgār-i Dihlī*, Delhi n.d., 43; Khalīḳ Aḥmad Niẓāmī, *Ta'rīkh-i Masha'ikh-i Čisht*, Delhi 1953, 231-2, 366-426 (a very detailed account); 'Abd al-Ḳādir, *Waḳā'i'-i 'Abd al-Ḳādir Khānī*, (Urdu tr., captioned "*'Ilm o-'Amal*", by Ayyūb Ḳādirī, Karachi 1960, i, 222); *Maktūbāt-i Kalīmī*, Delhi 1315/1897 (contains random references to personal and private matters); *List of Muhammadan and Hindu monuments* (a Government of India publication), Calcutta 1919, i, 150 (gives a full architectural description of his tomb); 'Abd al-Ḥayy Lakhnawī, *Nuzhat al-Khawāṭir*, Ḥaydarābād 1376/1958, vi, 240-1.

(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

KALIMA (a.), the spoken word, utterance; can be extended to mean "discourse" and "poem". The *falāsifa* prefer to limit their discussion to the problems of grammar and logic: thus in the preamble to the *Nadjāt* (Cairo[2] 1357/1938, 11) Ibn Sīnā defines *kalima* as "a single word (*lafẓa*) which refers to an idea and the length of time that this idea is applied to any indeterminate subject whatsoever; for example, when we say 'he walked'." Cf. also *Manṭiḳ al-mashriḳiyyīn*, Cairo 1328/1910, 57-8, and p. 66 where *kalima* is given as a synonym for "that which grammarians call *fi'l*". But according to the *Ishārāt* (ed. Forget, Leiden 1892, 11), logicians use *kalima* to apply to any wholly descriptive spoken word, noun or verb, which designates an indeterminate entity in a fixed period of time. (Cf. A. M. Goichon, *Lexique de la langue philosophique d'Ibn Sīnā*, Paris 1938, and Fr. tr. of *Ishārāt*, Paris 1951, 84, n.l.).

The term *kalima* and the plural *kalimāt* occur frequently in the Ḳur'ān. It is used on numerous occasions in the very general sense of "spoken word", good XIV, 24, XLVIII, 26) or bad (IX, 74, XIV, 26, (XVIII, 5, XXIII, 100). Yet it most frequently pertains to the realised Word of God. "The words of God cannot be altered", says the Ḳur'ān, X, 64. Subsequently *kalima* acquires a sense closely akin to *amr*, "decision", "order", or indeed *ḳadar*, "decree". R. Blachère frequently translates *kalima* by *arrêt*. There are numerous references (*e.g.*, VI, 115, VII, 137, X, 33, 96, XI, 119, etc.; in the plural, VI, 34, 115, XVIII, 109, XXXI, 26, etc.). In XLIII, 28 it is said of Abraham: "and he made it an everlasting word (*kalimat^{an} bāḳiyat^{an}*) among his descendants". The commentators (see al-Bayḍawī, ed. Fleischer, ii, 237, 25) usually emphasised that this referred to an affirmation of the Oneness of God, the equivalent of the "first *shahāda*", as is suggested in XLIII, 26-7. One of the most frequently cited passages of the Ḳur'ān is III, 39 and 45, where Jesus is proclaimed as "a word coming from God". The commentators regarded this *kalimat Allāh* who is Jesus as a divine word linked to the creative *kun* ("be!"; cf. III, 47) and subsequently related the creation of Jesus to that of Adam: "Yes, in the case of Jesus God acted just as He did with Adam: God created the earth, then He said 'be!' and there he was" (III, 59).

Thus *kalima* is not an attribute of the Word [see kalām] but its expression, through which divine decisions are formulated and communicated. Ḳur'ānic commentaries discuss it with particular reference to the verses concerning Jesus, and also in the "professions of faith" (*'aḳā'id*), *e.g.*, *La Profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa*, ed. and Fr. tr. H. Laoust, Damascus 1958, 58/107-8).

In *'ilm al-kalām*, the problem of the *kalimat Allāh* is related to the problem of the attribute of *kalām Allāh*: created according to the Mu'tazila, uncreated according to the later schools. In the course of the Ash'arī scholars' lengthy refutations of the Mu'tazilites, *kalima* and *kalām* were confused once again. Thus in al-Bāḳillānī's *Tamhīd* (ed. McCarthy, Damascus-Beirut 1957, 253) the Christians and the Mu'tazilites are credited with holding that "the Word of God is created", *kalimat Allāh makhlūḳa*. Al-Djuwaynī has the same to say of the Christians (*Irshād*, ed. Luciani, Paris 1938, 75/123). From the doctrine of *kalām Allāh* it follows that the divine utterances must be innumerable. All contingent existences (*al-mumkināt*) were created by *kalimāt Allāh*, that is by the repeated creative commands (*kun*, "be!"); therefore the Expression of the Reality (*al-ḥaḳḳ*) is the self of the identities of the contingent existences, or the contingent existences themselves, *nafs a'yān al-mumkināt* (see *Dict. of Technical Terms*, 1271 ff., and al-Djurdjānī, *Ta'rīfāt*, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1845, 194-5).

In the Shī'ī and Ṣūfī vocabularies (at least as far as the Ṣūfism of *waḥdat al-wudjūd* is concerned) *kalima* acquires frankly gnostic overtones. Consider the following examples:

a) From an Ismā'īlī lexicon. In the 4th/10th century Abū Ya'ḳūb al-Sidjistānī stated in his *Kitāb al-Yanābī'*: "the horizon of Understanding is contiguous to the Word of God (*kalimat Allāh*), which is outside the totality of all beings that have been

formed beneath the Prime Intelligence" (ed. and Fr. tr. H. Corbin, *Trilogie ismaeliènne*, Tehran-Paris 1961, 10/23). "The Word of God", says Corbin (*ibid.*, 29, n. 44), "should be understood as the divine imperative (*amr Allāh*) by whose will the Prime Intelligence exists". Further on (70/92) al-Sidjistānī specifies: "Paradise is the *kalimat Allāh* by whose means He first founded those things which exist in Paradise". Finally, the penultimate chapter of the book considers the "meaning (*maʿnā*) of the Word (*kalima*) of the Primary Cause" (90-4/118-21). There *kalima* is analysed letter by letter (*k-l-m-h*) according to the principles of *djafr* [*q.v.*], with reference to the Ismāʿīlī hierarchies. To the extent that the Prime Intelligence is identified with *kalām Allāh* (91/119), *kalimat Allāh* becomes synonymous with the "First Cause, *i.e.*, the Oneness" (90/118).

b) From an Imāmī lexicon. In his *Kitāb al-mashāʿir* (ed. and tr. H. Corbin, Tehran-Paris 1342/1964) Mullā Ṣadrā Shīrāzī (10th/16th-11th/17th c.) established the link between the Word of God and the Ķurʾān. He deals with the *kalām Allāh*, but in specifying that the attribute of the Word (*kalām*) refers to the production of "perfect Words" (*kalimāt tāmmāt*) whose chief example is the creation of Jesus in Mary's womb (*op. cit.*, 57/193).

c) From a Ṣūfī lexicon. The chief exponent of *kalimat Allāh* was Ibn ʿArabī, who took it as his main theme in *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* (ed. ʿAfīfī, Cairo 1365/1946). His meditations on the experience of each prophet are called "the divine Wisdom in the Word (*kalima*)" of Adam, Seth, Abraham, Isaac, etc. In the chapter on Jesus he stresses this (i, 139); while in the passages dealing with the experience of Moses (i, 197 ff.), he notes Ķurʾān, X, 64 ("the words of God cannot be altered") and adds (ii, 211); "the words of God (*kalimāt Allāh*) are in fact the essence (*aʿyān*) of all things in existence; to them belongs eternity (*ḳidam*) by virtue of their immutability; to them belongs contingency (*ḥudūth*) because of their (concrete) existence and their burgeoning forth (within existence)".

Many other texts could be cited to show how *kalima* becomes the creative Logos of God, His Parole instauratrice, "instigating Word" (H. Corbin), the first and emanating Source of the production of all being which makes and is the essence of all things.

Bibliography: in the article. See also the main *tafsīr*s on the ķurʾānic verses cited above.

(D. B. Macdonald—L. Gardet)

KALIMANTAN [see Supplement].

KALĪMĪ [see yahūd].

al-**ĶALĶASHANDĪ**, the *nisba* or gentilic of several Egyptian scholars of the Mamlūk and early Ottoman periods, the most important of whom are as follows:

(1.) Shihāb al-Dīn Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAlī (ʿAbd Allāh?) b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Fazārī al-Shāfiʿī, legal scholar and secretary in the Mamlūk chancery, and author of several books. The main sources for his life are the fairly brief mentions of him in biographical and historical sources of the late Mamlūk period by al-ʿAynī, al-Maķrīzī, Ibn Taghrībirdī, al-Sakhāwī and Ibn al-ʿImād; some of his compositions are recorded by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa; but it is above all from his own works that we gain most information. It is remarkable how little notice was taken of al-Ķalķashandī by contemporaries or near-contemporaries. Al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497) even states in his *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ* that al-Ķalķashandī's *Ṣubḥ* comprises four volumes only, instead of the seven of reality, and he had obviously not seen an actual copy. Nor does he seem to have seen a copy of al-Ķalķashandī's *Nihāyat al-arab*, for he states in his defence of the study of history, *al-Iʿlān bi 'l-tawbīkh li-man dhamma ahl al-tawrīkh*, tr. in F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*[2], Leiden 1968, 434, that it was dedicated to the Ustādār Djamāl al-Dīn, when the dedicatee in the *Nihāya* itself is another person altogether (see below). Hence we do not know much about al-Ķalķashandī's legal and professional life beyond the salient points and dates of his official career, let alone about his early years, education and private life.

He was born in 756/1355 at Ķalķashanda (the form Ķarķashanda in Yāķūt, *Buldān*, must be based on a mispronunciation or a dialectical variant pronunciation), a small town south of Ṭūkh and north of Cairo in the modern *mudīriyya* of Ķalyūb [*q.v.*], into a family of scholars. In his *nasab* or genealogy, al-Ķalķashandī attached himself to the Banū Badr of the North Arab tribal group of Fazāra of Ghaṭafān [*q.v.*], see *Ṣubḥ*, i, 345, which had settled in this part of Lower Egypt after the Muslim conquest. In the course of his education at Alexandria, he concentrated on literature, tradition and law, with the aim of becoming a *ḳāḍī* of the Shāfiʿī law school, and his earliest compositions were in this sphere (see below). In 778/1376-7 he received his *idjāza* or licence to give judicial opinions and to lecture (*al-futyā wa'l-tadrīs*) on Shāfiʿī law and on the classic collections of traditions from the well-known scholar Shaykh Sirādj al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. ʿAlī, called Ibn al-Mulaķķin (d. 804/1401).

However, after a period of teaching, in 791/1389 al-Ķalķashandī became a secretary in the chancery or *Dīwān al-Inshāʾ* of the Mamlūk administration in Cairo, as a *kātib al-dast*, one of the secretaries who accompanied the chief secretary (*kātib al-sirr*) when the latter sat with the sultan for the dispensation of justice [see dīwān, ii Egypt]. The background to this appointment of his under the *kātib al-sirr* Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, of the famous secretarial family of the Banū Faḍl Allāh [*q.v.*], is indicated in the *maḳāma* in praise of the secretarial art and of his master which al-Ķalķashandī inserts in *Ṣubḥ*, xiv, 112-28 (see on this Bosworth, in *BSOAS*, xxvii (1964), 291-8).

He died on 10 Djumādā II 821/16 July 1418 aged 65; it is not known whether he was still employed in the *dīwān* at that date. His son Nadjm al-Dīn Muḥammad, called Ibn Abī Ghudda (797/1395-876/1471), also achieved some fame as a legal scholar, a traditionist and a littérateur (Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, ed. Cairo 1353-5/1934-5, vi, 322-3; Maķrīzī, *Sulūk*, ed. Cairo 1353-6/1934-6, iii, 821; cf. Brockelmann, II, 167, S II, 165).

Al-Ķalķashandī's compositions fall into three groups: (a) law, (b) *adab*, (c) *kitāba*, the secretarial art, together with its genealogical and historical ancillary disciplines.

In the legal sphere, he composed commentaries on the works of two earlier scholars. Firstly, on the *Djāmiʿ al-mukhtaṣarāt fī furūʿ al-shāfiʿiyya* of the Shāfiʿī scholar Kamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿUmar al-Nasāʾī al-Madlidjī (691/1292-757/1355), see Brockelmann, II, 254, S II, 271; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, VIII, gives this commentary the title *al-Ghuyūth al-hawāmiʿ*, without, however, specifying his source); and secondly, on the treatise *al-Ḥāwī al-ṣaghīr fi 'l-furūʿ* of the Ṣūfī Shaykh Nadjm al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ghaffār al-Ķazwīnī (d. 665/1266, see Brockelmann, II, 494-5, S I, 679). These two works are mentioned by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa and

Sakhāwī respectively, but do not now seem to be extant.

In the realm of *adab*, al-Kalkashandī wrote a short work, the *Ḥilyat al-faḍl wa-zinat al-karam fi 'l-mufākhara bayn al-sayf wa'l-kalam*, for the bearer of the royal inkstand or *dawādār* [*q.v.*], Zayn al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ẓāhirī, when Sulṭān al-Ẓāhir Barkūk appointed him to this high office in 794/1392; the text of this exists in independent manuscripts and is also inserted into *Ṣubḥ*, xiv, 23-140 (see Bağdatlı İsmail Paşa, *Iḍāḥ al-maknūn*, Istanbul 1945-7, i, 421). Like so many other scholars, he wrote a commentary on Kaʿb b. Zuhayr's poem in praise of the Prophet, *Bānat Suʿād*, which he says in *Nihāyat al-arab*, ed. Abyārī, 420, was called *Kunh al-murād fī sharḥ Bānat Suʿād* and which, he further says, contains fine meanings and expressions not known to him in other commentaries; this work is extant in manuscript. It is not very clear what connection, if any, this commentary on *Bānat Suʿād* has with a poem in praise of the Prophet attributed to al-Kalkashandī in Brockelmann, II, 167, and printed at Alexandria in 1288/1871; the ascription of this to al-Kalkashandī is in any case doubtful, see Sarkis, ii, 1522.

However, it is the works on secretaryship and related topics dating from al-Kalkashandī's later years which exhibit the full flowering and maturing of his genius, above all the stupendous *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā fī ṣināʿat al-inshāʾ*, the culmination of the secretarial manuals and encyclopaedias of the Mamlūk period and, indeed, of the whole Arabic *adab al-kātib* literature (ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Rasūl Ibrāhīm, Dār al-Kutub al-Khadīwiyya, Cairo 1331-8/1913-20, 14 vols). The *Ṣubḥ* was completed in 814/1412 and comprised seven volumes, containing an introduction, ten discourses (*maḳālāt*) and a conclusion. Within it, al-Kalkashandī gives a very detailed conspectus of the theoretical sciences and the practical skills required by a secretary concerned with official correspondence. The contents are analysed in detail in W. Björkman's indispensable guide to the *Ṣubḥ*, his *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten* (Hamburg 1928). A volume of indices has also been published (Cairo 1972). Noteworthy is the large number of original documents, going back to the earliest years of Islam, which al-Kalkashandī cites, those pertaining to Egypt and its external relations, from the Fāṭimid period onwards, being especially valuable. The attention of European orientalists such as Amari and Lammens was drawn to these treaties, investiture diplomas, etc. even when the *Ṣubḥ* was known only in manuscript. Al-Kalkashandī's sources embrace virtually the whole corpus of Arabic writers on *kitāba* and such related sciences as history and geography, but his proximate sources were the works of two authors of the 8th/14th century. These works comprise those of Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī (d. 749/1349), his *al-Taʿrīf bi'l-muṣṭalaḥ al-sharīf*, its supplement, the *ʿUrf al-taʿrīf*, and his geography, the *Masālik al-abṣār*; and the *Tathkīf al-taʿrīf* of the *ḳāḍī* Takī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥibb al-Dīn, called Ibn Nāẓir al-Djaysh (d. 786/1384). The sources of the *Ṣubḥ* are exhaustively discussed by Björkman, *op. cit.*, 75 ff., and the *Tathkīf* (so far unedited and not mentioned in Brockelmann) and its author have been examined by R. Veselý, *Zu den Quellen al-Qalqašandī's Ṣubḥ al-Aʿšā*, in *Acta Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis*, Philologica 2 (1969), 13-24.

In the *Ṣubḥ*, al-Kalkashandī aimed at being encyclopaedic and exhaustive, but he later made a resumé of it, the *Ḍawʾ al-ṣubḥ al-musfir wa-djanā al-dawḥ al-muthmir*, dedicated to Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Bārizī, who later became *kātib al-sirr* (the first volume only of this printed at Cairo, 1324/1906). The *Ḍawʾ* appears to contain a few items of information not found in the *Ṣubḥ*.

The study of genealogies, important to the secretary for identifying and correctly addressing the recipients of official documents, is dealt with in *Ṣubḥ*, i, 306-71, but al-Kalkashandī devoted two works specially to the science of genealogy. The chief one is the *Nihāyat al-arab fī maʿrifat ansāb al-ʿarab*, written after the *Ṣubḥ* and before the *Ḍawʾ* and dedicated to the Amīr Abu 'l-Maḥāsin Yūsuf al-Umawī al-Kurashī. As well as a great deal of information on the science of genealogy in general, it deals with early Arabian history, the *Ayyām al-ʿarab*, etc.; but the core of the book is an alphabetically-arranged dictionary of Arab tribal names. The book was printed at Baghdād in 1332/1914 from an unspecified manuscript, and properly edited (with a good biographical introduction, summarized by G. C. Anawati in *MIDEO*, vi (1959-61), 274-6) by Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī (Cairo 1959). One question discussed by Abyārī relates to the ascription by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iv, no. 9556, cf. vi, no. 14070, of a work also entitled *Nihāyat al-arab* to al-Kalkashandī's son Muḥammad (see above), this work being written for Zayn al-Dīn Abu 'l-Djūd Baḳar b. Rāshid, "Amīr of the Bedouins of the Eastern and Western Regions", sc. of Lower Egypt; Brockelmann, II, 167, S II, 165, attributed this work to the son Muḥammad and repeats this dedication to Abu 'l-Djūd. Abyārī, on the other hand, thinks it improbable that father and son should both write a work on the same subject and with the same title, and convincingly suggests that Muḥammad transcribed the original manuscript of his father's *Nihāya* in 874/1443-4 and presented this copy to Abu 'l-Djūd (*Nihāya*, ed. Cairo, intro., *shīn-thāʾ*). Al-Kalkashandī's other genealogical work, described as a supplement (*istidrāk*) to the *Nihāya*, is the *Ḳalāʾid al-djumān fi 'l-taʿrīf bi-ḳabāʾil ʿarab al-zamān*, dedicated to Abu 'l-Maḥāsin Muḥammad al-Djuhanī al-Muʾayyadī, and completed in 819/1416. This may well have been al-Kalkashandī's last work; it has been edited by Abyārī (Cairo 1964).

Finally, we have al-Kalkashandī's remaining work, the *Maʾāthir al-ināfa fī maʿālim al-khilāfa*. This is a treatise on the constitutional position of the Caliphate, the qualities necessary for office, the duties of the caliphs, the documents issued by them (of which many texts are quoted), together with a history of the caliphs and some of the later sultans. The whole work is dedicated to the ʿAbbāsid caliph in Cairo, al-Muʿtaḍid b. al-Mutawakkil (816/1414-845/1441), which places the composition of the work after that of the *Ṣubḥ* and in the last years of al-Kalkashandī's life; the non-historical part of the *Maʾāthir* is clearly dependent on the *Ṣubḥ*. The work has only recently become known with the identification of two manuscripts in Turkey by the late Mükrimim Halil Yınanç and İbrahim Kafesoğlu; a detailed analysis of the work, with the parallels in it to the *Ṣubḥ* indicated, is given by Kafesoğlu in his article *Kalkaşandi'nin bilinmeyen bir esseri, Meâsirü l'-İnâfe*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, viii, no. 11-12 (Istanbul 1956), 99-104. A printed edition of the *Maʾāthir*, based on an unspecified manuscript and with no acknowledgement of the contribution of Turkish scholars, has been given by ʿAbd al-Sattār Aḥmad Farrādj (Kuwayt 1964 3, vols.).

(2.) A famous family of Shāfiʿī scholars, originally from Kalkashanda but settled in Jerusalem, retained

the *nisba* of "al-Ḳalḳashandī", including Taḳī al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Maḳdisī (783/1382-867/1463) and his nephew Karīm al-Dīn 'Abd al-Karīm b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Maḳdisī (808/1405-855/1452), both of whom achieved fame in Cairo and in Palestine as teachers, authors and *muftīs*, see Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, iv, 311-12, xi, 69-71, and idem, *I'lān*, tr. in Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*², 439-40. Probably to be attached to this Jerusalem family also is Burhān al-Dīn Abu 'l-Fatḥ Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī al-Maḳdisī, d. 922/1516 in Cairo, author of collections of traditions and of a treatise *Tathbīt al-mulk bi-tafsīr ḳawlihi ta'ālā ḳul allāhumma mālik al-mulk*, none of them published, see Brockelmann, II, 94, S II, 85.

Bibliography: As remarked above, the primary sources for al-Ḳalḳashandī's life, outside his own works, are exiguous. See Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, ii, 8; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharat al-dhahab* vii 149; Maḳrīzī, *K. al-Sulūk*, iii, 821; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfī*, Cairo 1375/1956, i, 330-1; Ṭāshköprüzāde, *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda*, i, 182. For secondary sources, see the biography prefixed to vol. xiv of the *Ṣubḥ*; Sarkis, ii, 1521-3; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'djam al-mu'allifīn*, i, 317; Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, i, 172; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks d'après les auteurs arabes*, Paris 1923, V-XV; Brockelmann, II, 166-7, S II, 164-5; İ. Kafesoglu, *İA* art. s.v.

Studies based on the *Ṣubḥ* (in addition to those older ones mentioned in Brockelmann's *EI*¹ art.) include: M. Amari, *De' titoli che usava la cancelleria de' Sultani di Egitto nel XIV secolo scrivendo ai reggitori di alcuni Stati italiani*, in *Atti Reale Accad. Lincei*, Serie terza, xii (1883-4), 507-34; H. Lammens, *Relations officielles entre la cour romaine et les Sultans Mamlouks d'Égypte*, in *ROC*, viii (1903), 101-10; B. Michel, *L'organisation financière de l'Égypte sous les sultans mamelouks d'après Qalqachandi*, in *Bull. de l'Inst. égyptienne*, vii (1925), 127-47; M. Canard, *Le traité de 1281 entre Michel Paléologue et le Sultan Qalā'ūn, Qalqašandī, Ṣubḥ al-a'ša, XIV, 72 sqq.*, in *Byzantion*, x (1935), 669-80; idem, *Un traité entre Byzance et l'Égypte au XIII*e *siècle et les relations diplomatiques de Michel VIII Paléologue avec les Sultans Mamlûks Baibars et Qalā'ūn*, in *Mélanges Gaudefroy-Demombynes*, Paris 1935-45, 197-224; idem, *Les institutions des Fâtimides en Egypte* (= Arabic text of *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 462-532), Algiers 1957; O. Spies, *An Arab account of India in the 14th century, being a translation of the chapters on India from al-Qalqashandī's Ṣubḥ al-a'shā*, Delhi 1935 and Stuttgart 1936; G. Wiet, *Les classiques du scribe égyptien au XV*e *siècle*, in *Stud. Isl.*, xviii (1963), 41-80; C. E. Bosworth, *The section on codes and their decipherment in Qalqashandī's* Ṣubḥ al-a'shā, in *JSS*, viii (1963), 17-33; idem, *Some historical gleanings from the section on symbolic actions in Qalqašandī's* Ṣubḥ al-a'shā, in *Arabica*, x (1963), 148-53; idem, *A maqāma on secretaryship*: *al-Qalqashandī's* al-Kawākib al-durriyya fī 'l-Manāqib al-Badriyya in *BSOAS*, xxvii (1964), 291-8; idem, *Christian and Jewish religious dignitaries in Mamlûk Egypt and Syria*: *Qalqashandī's information on their hierarchy, titulature, and appointment*, in *IJMES*, iii (1972), 59-74, 199-216; idem, *A Mamlūk text on the orthographic distinction of* ḍād *and* ẓā', in *Parole d'Orient*, iii (Kaslik, Lebanon, 1972), 153-69.

(C. E. Bosworth)

ḲALLALA, Guellala, a Berber-speaking village situated to the south of the Isle of Djarba [*q.v.*], famous for its pottery workshops. A great variety of models (at least 120 types) are made there and sold throughout Tunisia. Formerly, they were exported to Algeria, Sicily and Tripolitania, but in recent years the manufacture of pottery has suffered a slight setback as a result of the importation of cheap European ware, some of it made from plastic. Ḳallāla pottery is of two types. The large *ẓəeffaya*, which demands great skill, is designed to support considerable pressure. Pieces can be as large as 1.50 m., with a low centre of gravity to allow the potter to operate the lathe and fashion the upper part at the same time. It is even necessary to make these pieces in several parts. The *səfri* (Berber *amīris*), a large container for oil or water (holding 200 to 250 litres), is made of four pieces mounted one on the other. The smaller *ḥarrāsha* type is more finely finished and is used for a great variety of receptacles (for water, flour, oil, delicacies, spices), for casseroles, lids, pipes, lamps, perfume-holders, etc. Enamelled and decorated pottery is also made here. On the occasion of a marriage, neighbouring potters give the young couple a large glazed earthenware jare for storing part of the trousseau (blankets and winter clothing).

The Berber spoken in Ḳallāla (Arabic *Gəllāla*, Berber *Ikəllālən* = "the potters") has preserved a number of archaic features. The dynamic accent has a phonological value: they say *afrukh ámáshkun*, "the little boy", and *tafrukht támashkunt*, "the little girl"; but *afrukh d amə̂shkun*, "a little boy" and *tafrukht tamə̂shkunt*, "a little girl"; the feminine is definite or indefinite solely according to the placing of the stress. Vowel length is also a phonological factor: *aghrum* is "bread", but *aghrūm-is* (with a long *ū*) is "his bread" and *aghrum-ənsən* (with a short *u*) is "their bread". There is a difference between *raḥḥagh al-bāv-is*, "I have gone to his father's house" (movement, *bāv-is*) and *yəlla al bav-īs*, "he is at his father's house" (rest, *bav-īs*). On some occasions the noun following the genitive is shortened: *īmi*, "mouth" or "gate" (with a long *ī*), but *imi-lḥush*, "an area in front of the house" (with a short *i*). Numerals and prepositions can also influence the pronunciation of the nouns they accompany: *bərkūkəs*, "couscous", but *edh berkukes*, "with couscous" (with a short *u*). *əlḥush* means "house" but they say *usigh-d s-əlḥūsh* (with a long *ū*) for "I have come from the house". A number of nouns have a pronoun value: *alghum*, "camel", *alaghm-is*, "his camel"; *əlləbghəl*, "mule", *əlbaghl-is*, "his mule"; *əlḳahwəth*, "coffee", and *əlḳahhəwt-is*, "his coffee". Two things should be noted in this last example: the voiceless dental is pronounced *th* (aspirant) after a vowel and *t* (occlusive) after a consonant and the closed syllable remains so by means of gemination in a new syllabic structure. The treatment of *t* and *th* resembles the *begadkefat* consonants in Hebrew and Aramaic. The opposing ones at Ḳallāla are *b*:*v*, *d*:*dh*, *g*:*y*, *k*:*x* (= postpalatal voiceless aspirant which tends to a "hushing" quality) and *ḍ*:*ḍ* (often pronounced *ḍ*). In some cases analogy and a massive intrusion of Arabic words have shattered the harmony of the system, but the whole has the same correlations to be found among the Ghumāra of Morocco and the Zenaga of Senegal. Ḳallāla, along with Sedwikesh, Almay and Adjim, is one of the last strongholds of the Berber tongue on the Isle. An oral literature (songs, tales and riddles) still remains, but the language is sorely threatened by schooling, radio and television as well as by contact with the Arabic-speaking population.

Bibliography: J. L. Combes and A. Louis, *Les poteries de Djerba*, Tunis 1967; W. Luadi, *Töpferei und Töpferdörfer in Tunesien*, in *Kosmos*, ii (Stuttgart 1961), 478-88; S. Tlatli, *Djerba, l'île des Lotophages*, Tunis 1967; W. Vycichl, *Begadkephat (Djerba, Gellala)*, in *Proceedings of the Hamito-Semitic Colloquium*, London 1970.

(W. Vycichl)

KALMUK, the Turkish name for a Mongol people, the Oyrat, who in the time of Čingiz-Khān [*q.v.*] inhabited the forests to the west of Lake Baykal. The name is derived (probably only by popular etymology) from the verb *ḳalmaḳ*, "to remain" and distinguishes the Oyrat, who "remained" pagans, from the Dungans (the Chinese-speaking Muslims), who had "returned" (the verb *dönmek*), according to the well-known Muslim idea, to Islam. A group of the Oyrat had accompanied Hülegü to the west and played a certain rôle in Īl-Khānid Persia. The people as a whole, however, came into their own only after the collapse of the Mongol dynasty in China, when they wrested the greater part of Mongolia from the Čingizids and laid the foundations of the Kalmuk empire.

From the time of Ways Khān (1418-28) the Mongols on the Ilī [*q.v.*] had to fight against the "infidel Ḳalmaḳ"; accounts of these wars are given in the *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī*. Ways Khān was twice taken prisoner by the Kalmuks and had to give his sister in marriage to their chief, Esen Tayshi. Toghon, the latter's father, was then ruling in Mongolia on the Chinese frontier, where he was succeeded in 1439 by Esen Tayshi. After the death of Esen Tayshi (1455) the great nomad empire of the Oyrat broke up; individual princes are mentioned from time to time later as ruling in the neighbourhood of Muslim lands; at the beginning of 864/end of 1459 a Kalmuk embassy appeared in Harāt. The Muslim sources also report the restoration of the Oyrat empire under Khara Khula (d. 1634). In Turkestan during this period also the Kalmuks were regarded as powerful foes of Islam. The Kazakh Khān Tawakkul (Tefkel in Russian) had to flee before them to Tashkent, where he was received by the Özbek ruler Nawrūz Aḥmad (d. 963/1556); in reply to his appeal for help, Nawrūz declared that even ten princes such as themselves would be no match for the Kalmuks. At a later date, however, on the occasion of his embassy to Tsar Feodor (1594), Tawakkul was described in Russian documents as "king of the Kazakhs and Kalmuks", perhaps because a few bands of Kalmuks had attached themselves to him. In the winter of 1603-4 there occurred the first incursion of the Kalmuks into Khwārizm. Soon after, under Tsar Vasili Shuisky (1606-1610), the Kalmuks entered into relations with the Russian government for the first time, though it was not until 1632 that they settled on the Volga on a large scale. This branch of the Kalmuks had separated from their kinsmen, under the leadership of Kho-Örlök, as early as 1618. The territory of the Volga Kalmuks did not therefore form part of the empire founded by Khara-Khula, although relations between the two branches of the people had not yet been severed. Representatives of the Volga Kalmuks still appeared at the *ḳuriltay* [*q.v.*] of 1640; Batur, the son and successor of Khara-Khula, gave his daughter in marriage to the grandson of Kho-Orlök. By the same *ḳuriltay* the dominance of Buddhism was firmly established among all branches of the Kalmuks. The progress made by Islam described in the *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī* (p. 91) in connexion with the above-mentioned marriage was apparently not maintained. Most of the Muslim territories in Turkestan were under the suzerainty of the Buddhist Kalmuk ruler on the Ili, the founder of the last great nomad empire in Central Asia, which lasted until it was destroyed by the Chinese in 1758; as late as 1749 the regent (*atalïḳ*) of Bukhārā and his opponent had to submit a dispute to the verdict of an embassy from the Kalmuk ruler. A great part of the Kazakhs' pasture land was now seized by the Kalmuks, and Islam was almost completely banished from the southern part of Semirečye. Several Buddhist monuments, including Tibetan inscriptions, date from this period. It was only after the decline of the Kalmuk empire that these areas were re-occupied by the Muslim Kazakhs. The wars of the Volga Kalmuks with the Crimean Tartars and their raids into Khwārizm had less effect on Islam; from 1724 the Kalmuk chiefs on the lower course of the Volga were regarded simply as viceroys (*namestnik*) of the Russian tsar. They had no longer any connexion with the ruler on the Ili. The decision of the "viceroy" Ubashi and a large number (about 300,000) of his people to migrate from Russia and settle in Chinese territory proved disastrous to the Volga Kalmuks. During the migration heavy losses were inflicted on them in Central Asia, especially by the Kazakhs (1771). Henceforth the Kalmuks were of no political significance in either Russia or in China. During the Muslim rising in the Ili valley the great Kalmuk temple of Buddha near Kuldj was destroyed.

Bibliography: *The Cambridge History of Iran*, v, ch. 4, Cambridge 1968; N. Elias and Denison Ross, *A history of the Moghuls of Central Asia, being the Tarīkh-i Rashīdī of Mirza Muhammad Dughlát*, London 1898; V. V. Barthold, *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, tr. V. and I. Minorsky, i, Leiden 1956; W. Radloff, *Aus Siberien*, ii, Leipzig 1884; P. Pelliot, *Notes critiques d'histoire kalmouke*, Paris 1960.

(J. A. Boyle)

The Modern Period.

After 1771, some 50,000 Kalmuks continued to live west of the Volga. Their descendants joined the anti-Bolshevik Southeastern League but after its disintegration in 1920 they were formed into an "Autonomous Oblast" (province), which was raised to the status of Autonomous Republic in 1933. In 1939 the population of the republic was 200,000 including 134,000 Kalmuks. It was partly occupied by the Germans in 1942 and abolished by the Soviet Government in 1943, when all the Kalmuks were deported to Central Asia on the grounds of alleged collaboration with the enemy. A Soviet decree of 1957 provided for the return of the Kalmuks to their territory, which was reconstructed an Autonomous Republic in 1958 with its capital at Elista (formerly Stepnoy), 150 miles south of Volgograd. According to the 1970 census, the population was 268,000, of whom 110,000 were Kalmuks. This constitutes 80 % of the Kalmuks living in the USSR. A few thousand still live in the Sinkiang-Uygur Autonomous Region of China, where they are known as Oyrats. Only a small number of Kalmuks, less than 2,000 living in Semirečʾye, ever embraced Islam, the rest remaining actual or nominal adherents of Buddhism.

Bibliography: *Great Soviet Encyclopaedia*; R. Conquest, *The Soviet deportation of nationalities*, London 1960, 36-41, 134-43. (G. E. Wheeler)

ḲALPAḲ [see libās].

KALPĪ, once a powerful town in Uttar Pradesh, northern India, 26° 8' N., 79° 45' E. The old town and fort stand on clay cliffs overlooking the river Djamnā [*q.v.*]; there is a modern town to the south-east of the old one, which has some commercial importance and where a fine quality paper is still made by hand. The town was traditionally founded by a *rādjā* of Kannawdj in the 4th century A.D., and fell into Muslim hands in the first conquest in 593/1196. The high fort, walled on three sides and defended on the fourth by the cliffs and river, was an important stronghold on the Dihlī sultans' line of communication along the Djamnā. In the early 9th/15th century, after Tīmūr's devastation of Dihlī, Kalpī became independent for a short time under a former governor, Muḥammad Khān b. Malikzāda Fīrūz, until in 837/1433-4 Ibrāhīm Shāh of Djawnpur sought to annex it to the Sharḳī sultanate; a counter-attack by Mubārak Shāh Sayyid of Dihlī regained it, but in the following year during the Dihlī-Djawnpur wars it was seized by Hūshang Shāh Ghūrī of Mālwa and remained in the possession of Mālwa for the next ten years. About 847/1443 it was sacked by Maḥmūd of Djawnpur, but after the eventual fall of the Sharḳī sultanate to Bahlūl Lodī, Kalpī reverted to Dihlī, and Bahlūl appointed Ḳuṭb Khān Lodī as its governor. There were in addition several minor incidents during the 9th/15th century in which possession of Kalpī fluctuated between Dihlī, Djawnpur and Mālwa. It fell into Mughal hands in 933/1527, and under Akbar became the headquarters of a *sarkār* and a copper mint. After the Marāṭhā wars in the early 18th century Kalpī became the residence of a Marāṭhā governor.

Among a number of old Muslim tombs to the west of the old town, one is outstanding, the Čawrāsī Gunbadh (lit. "84 domes"; this name is obscure). This is a square, nine-domed structure in a walled courtyard, with two graves under the central dome; popular belief assigns it to a Lōdī sultan; it is possible that it may have been of a Lōdī governor, as the style of its arches and the supporting systems is consistent with a late 9th/15th or early 10th/16th century date; certain Djawnpurī motifs in its decoration do not necessarily vitiate this conclusion, as stonemasons would have had no difficulty in travelling from one area to another on the Djamnā. It is possible that the "84" of its name represents a date; if so 1584 V.S., about 934/1527-8, would be the most likely.

Bibliography: A. Cunningham, in *ASI*, xxi (1885), 131-3; J. F. Blakiston, *The Jami Masjid at Badaun and other buildings in the United Provinces*, [= *MASI*, xix], Calcutta 1926, 6-7 and plates xvi-xxi. See also Bibliographies to DIHLĪ, DJAWNPUR, MĀLWA, SHARḲIDS. For the Lodī style of building see HIND, Architecture.

(J. BURTON-PAGE)

ḲALŪDIYA [see ḲALAWDHIYA].

KALWĀDHĀ, a locality situated on the left bank of the Tigris, not far south of East Baghdād, capital of a district (*ṭassūdj*) of the same name. Here the Nahr Bīn flowed into the Tigris; a branch of the Nahrawān, it provided East Baghdād with a network of canals. Kalwādhā was a large town endowed with a Great Mosque frequented by the people of Baghdād since it was only a short distance to travel (Ibn Rusta-Wiet, 214, estimates it at three parasangs, but *Yāḳūt*, s.v., reduces it to one parasang, specifying that in his day the place was in ruins). The town is often mentioned in verses of the 2nd/8th century which extol its pleasures.

Tradition attributes its foundation to Kalwādhā, son of Ṭahmūrath, but philologists connect the name with *kilwādh*, the Ark of the Covenant, which was supposed to be buried there.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥawḳal-Wiet, 234; Salmon, *Introduction*, 151 n. 1; Le Strange, index; idem, *Baghdad*, 195-6. (ED.)

AL-**KALWADHĀNĪ**, ABU 'L-KHAṬṬĀB MAḤFŪZ B. AḤMAD B. ḤASAN B. AḤMAD AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, a celebrated jurist (*faḳīh*) of the Ḥanbalī school and one of the architects of what Makdisi called "the resurgence of traditionalist Islam in the 11th century". Born on 2 Shawwal 432/6 June 1041, he was the disciple of Abū Yaʿlā during the same period as Ibn ʿAḳīl. He studied *ḥadīth* and *fiḳh* under his master "until he was pre-eminent in his knowledge of the Hanbalī rite" (*baraʿa fi'l-madhhab*). His other teachers were less well known, apart from ʿAbd Allāh al-Wannī (d. 450/1058), under whom he studied the law of inheritance. It is said that he and Ibn ʿAḳīl attended al-Ghazālī's classes at the Niẓāmiyya, but nothing is known of his opinion about the young man from Khurāsān who had just arrived in Baghdād (484/1091, see Ibn Radjab, *Dhayl*, i, 177). Like the majority of Ḥanbalites, Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb did not share al-Ghazālī's taste for theology and philosophy. His speciality was *fiḳh*, and in this field he acquired the status of a *mudjtahid* who was accorded the right to put forward, in particular cases, new solutions according to his own judgement. Ibn Radjab (*op. cit.*, 147-54) gives a number of examples of these solutions; in one striking case Abu'l-Khaṭṭāb went against the consensus of scholars (*idjmāʿ*) in deciding that the marriage contract is not automatically broken when one of the partners is held prisoner of war by non-Muslims. In defence of his opinion he even declared that a *ḥadīth* of Abū Saʿīd, recorded in Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, was not authentic; according to this *ḥadīth* a marriage is broken when the wife is held captive in the *dār al-ḥarb*, in the country of the impious.

Despite such independence of spirit, in most of his works al-Kalwadhānī is much more classical and less original than his rival, Ibn ʿAḳīl. Among his works, Ibn Radjab thought the most important were: *al-Hidāya fi'l-fiḳh*, *al-Khilāf al-kabīr*, also called *al-Intiṣār*, and *al-Khilāf al-ṣaghīr*, which is also known as *Ruʾūs al-masāʾil*. Manuscripts of the first two are extant in Damascus, along with *al-Tamhīd fī uṣūl al-fiḳh* (see Brockelmann, S I, 687), an important work on the basic of the law.

Al-Kalwadhānī died in Baghdād, where he seems to have spent all his days, on Wednesday, 23 Djumāda II 510/3 November 1116, and was buried at the feet of Ibn Ḥanbal beside another celebrated Ḥanbalī contemporary, Abū Muḥammad al-Tamīmī. By far the most important of his disciples was ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī, who studied under him and Ibn ʿAḳīl at the same time.

Bibliography: Ibn Radjab, *Kitāb al-Dhayl ʿalā Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, ed. H. Laoust and S. Dahan, Damascus 1951, 143-54; G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl et la résurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste au XIᵉ siècle* Damascus 1963, 259-63. (P. NWIYA)

KALYĀNI, a fortified town of the Deccan [see DAKHAN], 17° 53' N., 76° 57' E., about 37 miles west of Bīdar [*q.v.*]. In the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries, it was the capital of the Late Western Čālukya *rādjās*, passing later to the Yādavas of Devagiri (= Dawlatābād, [*q.v.*]); after the foundation of the Bahmanī [*q.v.*] dynasty at Devagiri, Kalyāni was annexed as one of the strongholds on their northern borders; but there had presumably been a previous

Muslim conquest of the town since an inscription is preserved of a *d̲j̲āmiʿ masd̲j̲id* founded by Ulug̲h̲ K̲h̲ān (later succeeded as Muḥammad b. Tug̲h̲luḳ) in 723/1323; and another Tug̲h̲luḳī inscription of 734/1333 is known. The fort was rebuilt by the Bahmanīs at the end of the 9th/15th century after the introduction of gunpowder. The fort was maintained in good repair, as is evident from a series of inscriptions on its bastions, in the 10th/16th century; these show that it was held by the Barīd S̲h̲āhīs [*q.v.*] as the successors to the Bahmanīs in Bīdar until 981/1573, after which it passed to the ʿĀdil S̲h̲āhīs of Bīd̲j̲āpur [*q.v.*]. It fell to the Mug̲h̲al empire, after a protracted siege by Awrangzīb, in 1067/1657, and was included in the Mug̲h̲al *ṣūba* of Bīdar. When the Deccan became independent of the Mug̲h̲als under the first Niẓām of Ḥaydarābād [*q.v.*], Kalyāni was one of the possessions included. From 1178/1764 it was governed by a line of Nawwābs of Kalyāni, of whom the first was Mīr Muḥammad Ibrāhīm K̲h̲ān, a son-in-law of Āṣaf D̲j̲āh of Ḥaydarābād.

Bibliography: G. Yazdani, *Inscriptions from Kalyāni*, in *EIM 1935-36* (1939), 1-13; idem, *Kalyāni fort*, in *ARADHyd. 1344 F.*, 17-23 and Pl. I. (J. Burton-Page)

ḲALYŪB, a moderate-sized town in Lower Egypt with a railway station, 10 miles north of the central station at Cairo on the Cairo-Alexandria railway. The town proper lies about a mile west of the station and about 3 miles from the right bank of the Nile, on the Turʿat al-Sardūsiyya. Down to the middle of last century, Ḳalyūb was the capital of the Mudīriyya al-Ḳalyūbiyya, but then in 1871 under the Khedive Ismāʿīl, the Dīwān of the Mudīriyya was moved to Benhā. Since that date Ḳalyūb has been a *markaz* (district capital). Branch lines run to Zaḳāzīḳ and the Barrage du Nil. The majority of the inhabitants are Muslims. According to ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a Mubārak, Ḳalyūb possessed a S̲h̲arīʿa court (*maḥkama s̲h̲arʿiyya*) and a hospital. Cf. ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a Mubārak, *al-K̲h̲iṭaṭ al-d̲j̲adīda*, xiv, 114 ff.; Baedeker, *Egypt*[7] (1914), 34; Samībey, *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*, Istanbul 1314/1890, v, 3693[b]. The population of the *mudīriyya* of Ḳalyūb was 988,000 in 1960.

A Greek Καλλιοπη—not yet, however, found—is at the base of the name. In the *Scalae* it is found under the form Καλιωπε (Maspero-Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géogr. de l'Égypte*, Series i, 151).

Historical: John of Nikius mentions Ḳalyūb in his *Chronicle*, ch. 113 (ed. Zotenberg, 321, 509). ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ [*q.v.*] had a bridge thrown over the canal at this town to be able to conquer the other towns of the province of Miṣr (*ca.* 20/641). In 549/1154-5 the caliph al-Ẓāhir granted Ḳalyūb as a fief to his great favourite Naṣr b. ʿAbbās. Usāma b. Munḳid̲h̲ so depreciated this present in the eyes of Naṣr and his father that it became one cause of the murder of the caliph by Naṣr and ʿAbbās (Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, xi, 126; Usāma b. Munḳid̲h̲, ed. Derenbourg, i, 245; Ibn Muyassar, ed. Massé, 93). In the fighting between Selīm I and Tumān-Bey, Ḳalyūb did not escape the raids of the Arabs (Ibn Iyās, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ Miṣr*, under Ṣafar 923/March 10 1517). For embassies etc. Ḳalyūb was the stage before Cairo. Thus, for example, in Rabīʿ I 925/March 1519 K̲h̲āʾir Bey had the Sulṭān's envoy received there with the greatest ceremony by the Ḳāḍī Barakāt b. Mūsā (Ibn Iyās, *op. cit.*, iii, 109). The town had again to suffer exceedingly from the exortions and plundering of soldiers and Mamlūks in the years 1219-20/1804-5; cf. al-D̲j̲abartī, *ʿAd̲j̲āʾib al-Āt̲h̲ār*, sub annos. Ḳalyūb, as a result of its situation close to the gates of Cairo, probably did not escape on other occasions the effects of the political happenings in the capital. Ibn Duḳmāḳ (809/1406) and al-Ẓāhirī (839/1434-5) report that in their day Ḳalyūb was for the most part lying in ruins.

Economic: Almost all sources praise the wealth of Ḳalyūb in gardens and trees, among which the acacias (*sanṭ*) are mentioned as particularly valuble. In spite of the restrictive edicts of al-Malik al-Kāmil, the ground was very badly farmed, so that Ḳalyūb's prosperity suffered considerably (cf. ʿUt̲h̲mān b. Ibrāhīm al-Nābulusī—wrote 637-48/1240-9, Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, 409—who devotes a longish section to Ḳalyūb in his *Lumaʿ al-Ḳawānīn al-Muḍīʾa fī Dawāwīn al-Diyār al-Miṣriyya*; quoted in ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a Mubārak, *op. cit.*, 114 f.).—In 1240/1824-5 Muḥammad ʿAlī built a cotton mill in Ḳalyūb and later a barracks and a remount depot were established there. The al-S̲h̲awāribī family deserves special mention for its share in the economic development of Ḳalyūb, where they also built a seray with a mosque.

There are six mosques in Ḳalyūb, in one of which the Friday service is held. Among these the "great Mosque", formerly called D̲j̲āmiʿ al-Zaynabī, with its great *Manāra*, made a great impression on Ibn D̲j̲ubayr (578/1182-3 in Egypt; cf. Brockelmann, I, 629; ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a Mubārak, *op. cit.*, 114). According to the inscriptions on its minbar and above the door, it was renovated in 1148/1735-6 by the S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-ʿArab of Ḳalyūb, Aḥmad al-S̲h̲awāribī. Among the tombs of saints the most important is that of Sīdī ʿAwwāḍ.

ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a Mubārak gives a very full account of the above-mentioned al-S̲h̲awāribī family, as one of the most prominent in the town. Al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Baybars gave them charge of the new bridge over the Baḥr Abuʾl Manad̲j̲d̲j̲a (cf. also al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī, tr. Wüstenfeld, 28) and granted them large estates as fiefs and an annual pension (which lasted till 1275/1858-9). Muṣṭafā Pas̲h̲a granted them the supervision of the whole province of al-Ḳalyūbiyya. Various members of the family also filled important posts in the administration, besides the office of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-ʿArab of Ḳalyūb, which seems to have been hereditary amongst them. Sulaymān al-S̲h̲awāribī's patriotism cost him his life; in Rad̲j̲ab 1213/Dec. 1798 he was beheaded by the French for his part in an attempted rising (cf. al-D̲j̲abartī, iv, 37 f.).

According to Ibn D̲j̲īʿān (cf. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, *al-Ifāda wa ʾl-Iʿtibār* etc., French tr. de Sacy entitled *Relation de l'Égypte* etc., 595) the province of al-Ḳalyūbiyya comprised in his time (777/1375-6) 59 townships and yielded a revenue of 419,054 dīnārs (but on p. 599 a list of 61 townships is given). Ibn Duḳmāḳ gives 60 with a total revenue of 383,140 dīnārs. In the time of the French expedition, the revenues of the province from the estates (*Descr. de l'Égypte*, i, 306 ff.) amounted to: (1) for the payment of the *mīrī*, 3,390,742 dīnārs; (2) for the *kus̲h̲ūfiyya*, 1,710,462 dīnārs; (3) for the *fāʾiz* 15,119,199 dīnārs.

The Baḥr al-Dardūs—according to legend built by Pharaoh and enlarged by his "vizier Hāmān" (Ibn Duḳmāḳ, al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī)—was, according to the enthusiastic description in Ibn Duḳmāḳ (whom al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī follows), a large canal, apparently with water always in it. This is indicated also by two documents of the years 891/1486 and 1061/1650-1 (quoted by ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a Mubārak) in the possession of the al-S̲h̲awāribī family. Al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī notes that the canal in his time had disappeared and

that its place had been taken by the Abu ʾl-Manadjdja canal (cf. Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, 25 f.); Maspéro-Wiet, *op. cit.*, 105). According to ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, there was only a small canal in his time: the Turʿat al-Sardūsiyya. Ibn Khallikān, Buṭrus al-Bustānī and ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak give several scholars who bore the *nisba* al-Ḳalyūbī. The best known of them is Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ḳalyūbī [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Besides the works quoted above: Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār Miṣr*, ed. H. Massé, Cairo 1919, 23, 60, 93; Abū Shāma, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn*, in the *Hist. des Crois.*, iv, 147; al-Dimashḳī, *Nukhbat al-Dahr fī ʿAdjāʾib al-Barr wa ʾl-Baḥr*, ed. Mehren, Copenhagen 1874), 231; al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, i, 313, ch. 25, ii, 85, n. 1; Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār*, ed. Vollers, with title *Descr. de l'Égypte*, Būlāḳ 1309, v, 43, 47; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā*, in Wüstenfeld, *Calcaschandi's Geographie u. Verwaltung von Ägypten* (*Abh. d. Kgl. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, xxv 1879), 25 f., 28, 109; al-Ẓāhirī, in De Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*², Paris 1826, ii, 5; Ibn Iyās, *Taʾrīkh Miṣr*, Būlāḳ 1311, ii, 54, 109, 157, 197, 204, iii, 109, 110, 170, 192, 206, 286, 303, 318; d'Anville, *Mémoires sur l'Égypte* . . ., Paris 1766, 39; al-Djabartī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-Athār fī ʾl-Tarādjim wa ʾl-Akhbār*, Cairo 1322, iii; ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Djadīda* . . ., Būlāḳ 1305, xiv, 114-9; Muḥammad Ramzī, *al-Ḳāmūs al-djughrāfī li ʾl-bilād al-miṣriyya*, Cairo 1953-68, ii/1, 19, 57-8. (A. Richter*)

al-**ḲALYŪBĪ**, Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Salāma, Shihāb al-Dīn, an Arab author, pupil of the celebrated Shāfiʿī *faḳīh* Shams al-Dīn (al-Shams) al-Ramlī (d. 1004/1596), was regarded in his day as an unchallenged authority and died towards the end of Shawwāl 1069/July 1659. He composed numerous works, of which 21 have survived, in the fields of *fiḳh*, geography, medicine, secret sciences and *adab*. To the 17 works mentioned by Brockelmann, II, 364, we have to add: 1. a *Kitāb al-Mudjarrabāt* in Göttingen (see *Verzeichn. der Hss. im Preuss. Staate, I. Hannover, 3. Göttingen*, iii, Berlin 1894, no. 100); 2. *Miʿrādj al-nabī* in the Ẓāhiriya or ʿUmūmiya in Damascus (see Ḥabīb al-Zayyāt, *Khazāʾin al-kutub fī Dimashḳ wa-ḍawāḥīhā*, Cairo 1902, 74, no. 40; Houtsma, *Cat. d'une coll. de Mss. arabes et turcs* . . ., Leiden 1889, no. 241); 3. *Risāla fī maʿrifat asmāʾ al-bilād wa-urūḍhā wa-aṭwālhā* in Princeton (see Littmann, *A list of Arabic Mss. in Princeton Univ. Library*, Princeton-Leipzig 1904, 9, no. 40; 4. a *K. Ḥikāyāt*, anecdotes of pious individuals, different from the *K. al-Nawādir* in the Brit. Mus. (see Ellis and Edwards, *A Descr. List of the Arabic Mss. acquired* . . . *since 1894*, London 1912, 62, Or. 7018). Of his works there have been printed: 1. *Ḥāshiya* to al-Maḥallī's (d. 864/1400) commentary on al-Nawawī's *Minhādj al-ṭālibīn*, along with the *Ḥāshiya* of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Burullusī, Cairo 1306, 1318, 4 vols.; 2. *K. al-Ṣalawāt*, Būlāḳ 1300; 3. *al-Tadhkira fi ʾl-Ṭibb*, on the margin of al-Suwaydī's *Tadhkira*, Cairo 1302, alone Cairo 1305; 4. *Ḥikāyāt ghariba wa-ʿadjība* or *Ḥikāyāt wa-gharāʾib wa-adjāʾib wa-laṭāʾif wa-nawādir wa-fawāʾid wa-nafāʾis*, usually briefly quoted as *Nawādir al-Ḳalyūbī*, which was only assembled after his death (see *The Book of Anecdotes, Wonders, Marvels, Pleasantries, Rarities and Useful and Precious Extracts*, ed. by W. Nassau Lees and Mawlawī Kabīr al-Dīn, Calcutta 1856, 1864, also in Cairo several times since 1274, last ed. 1323, 1328, the conclusion of which differs from the Calcutta edition.

Bibliography: Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar min aʿyān al-ḳarn al-ḥādī ʿashar*, i, 175; after this ʿAlī Bāsha Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-djadīda*, xiv, 118; Sanguinetti, in *JA*, 1865, ii, 351; Leclerc, *Hist. de la Médecine arabe*, Paris 1876, ii, 303; Brockelmann, II, 364. (C. Brockelmann*)

ḲALYŪN [see baḥriyya and safīna].

KAMĀL [see kemāl]

KAMĀL al-DĪN IBN al-ʿADĪM [see ibn al-ʿadīm].

KAMĀL al-DĪN al-FĀRISĪ, Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan, Abu ʾl-Ḥasan, was the brilliant student of the great scientist Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (634/1236-710/1311), and thereby the intellectual heir of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (597/1201-672/1274) and of the so-called "School of Marāgha" and its successor at Tabrīz. His most impressive work is the *Tanḳīḥ* on the *Optics* of Ibn al-Haytham (*ca.* 354/965-430/1039), to which he added appendices on the refractions and reflections of a sphere, the rainbow, the halo, the *camera obscura*, and other topics in optics. His theory of the rainbow is particularly important as he demonstrates the combinations of refractions and reflections of sunlight within a drop of water that result in both the primary and the secondary rainbows; his investigations of celestial and meteorological phenomena with the *camera obscura* were brilliantly conceived and executed. Unfortunately, this work has been little studied.

Besides the *Tanḳīḥ*, works by Kamāl al-Dīn existing in manuscript are: *Tadhkirat al-aḥbāb* (*e.g.*, Köprülü 941, fols. 128v-136, copied at Baghdād in 737/1337; cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 257), on "friendly numbers"; *Asās al-ḳawāʿid fī uṣūl al-fawāʾid* (Köprülü 941, fols. 1-128v, and in other Istanbul manuscripts; see M. Krause, *Stambuler Handschriften*, 509, and cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa iv, 471), a commentary on the *Fawāʾid bahāʾiyya*, a mathematical treatise by ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Khaddām (b. 643/1245); and *Kitāb al-baṣāʾir fī ʿilm al-manāẓir* (see Krause, *ibid.*), an independent work on optics. Nothing further is at present known of these works.

Bibliography: There are articles on Kamāl al-Dīn in Suter, 159, and Brockelmann, II, 273 and S II, 295. The *Tanḳīḥ* was published at Ḥaydarābād-Deccan in 2 vols., 1347-8/1928-9. Various sections of it are discussed by E. Wiedemann, *Ueber die Brechung des Lichtes in Kugeln*, in *Sitz. Phys.-Med. Soz. Erlangen*, xlii (1910), 15-38 (repr. in his *Aufsätze*, i, 597-640); *Eine Zeichnung des Auges*, in *Zentralbl. f. Augenheilk.*, xxxiv (1910), 204 ff.; *Zur Optik von Kamāl al-Dīn*, in *Arch. Gesch. Naturw. Techn.*, iii (1912), 161-77; and *Theorie des Regenbogens*, in *Sitz. Phys.-Med. Soz. Erlangen*, xlvi (1914), 39-56 (repr. in his *Aufsätze*, ii, 69-86); and by M. Naẓīf, *Al-Ḥasan ibn al-Haytham*, 2 vols., Cairo 1942-3, *passim*. (D. Pingree)

ḲAMĀL al-DĪN ISMĀʿĪL (better known as Kamāl Ismāʿīl-i Iṣfahānī), a Persian poet of the Saldjūḳī-Khwārazmshāhī period and a distinguished master of the so-called ʿIrāḳī School in Persian poetry. His father, Djamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, was also an eminent poet and upon his death (ca. 588/1192) Kamāl, when still under 20 years of age, composed elegies and panegyrics which secured him the protection of local patrons as heir to his father.

Although some scholars put his father far above him (see for instance Ulugh-Beg's judgement in Dawlat-Shāh, ed. E. G. Browne 1901, 141-2; cf. *Taʾrīkh-i Ḥazīn*, Bombay 1322 AH, 36-8), his reputation as a panegyrist has overshadowed that of his father.

Of his life very few details are known. He seldom left Iṣfahān, his native town, whence he sent pane-

gyrics to various patrons elsewhere. Nevertheless, he travelled to Khwārazm, and visited Rayy, Nishāpūr and Ṭabaristān, a journey which, he himself says, took no less than three years. The resentment of local patrons, the death of a son by drowning and the loss of a brother, physical sufferings, especially dry scab (*djarab*), ophthalmia, and tooth-ache, are the other autobiographical details which he mentions in his *dīwān*. Kamāl devoted a large part of his work to the praise of the leaders of two patrician families of Iṣfahān, the Shāfiʿī Āl-i Khudjand and the Ḥanafī Āl-i Ṣāʿid. Among other patrons to whom he dedicated panegyrics are: ʿAlā al-Dīn Tekish (568/1172-596/1199) and Sultan Djalāl al-Dīn [*q.v.*] (617/1280-628/1230) of the Khwārazmshāhs [*q.v.*], Atābak Saʿd b. Zangī (ca. 594/1198-623/1226) and his son Abū Bakr (623/1226-658/1260) of the Salghurids, and Ḥusām al-Dawla Ardashīr (d. 602/1205) and his son Sharaf al-Mulūk Ḥasan (d. 602/1205) of the Ispahbads of Ṭabaristān. He also wrote mystical odes in honour of the well-known Shihāb al-Dīn ʿUmar-i Suhrawardī [*q.v.*] (d. 632/1234), to whom he is said to have paid homage as a devotee (*murīd*). He apparently did not meet the *shaykh*, but certainly received letters from him since a unique copy of at least one letter has survived (see MDAT, 14). Dawlat Shāh tells us that toward the end of his days, Kamāl adopted an ascetic life and retired to a hermitage situated outside Iṣfahān, where he was tortured and killed by the Mongols. According to Dawlat Shāh, this happened in 635/1237-8. Other sources give 628/1230-1 and 639/1241-2, both improbable.

As a panegyrist Kamāl is admired and imitated by no less a poet than Ḥāfiẓ. His poetry is polished and rich in original ideas. The honorific title Khallāḳ al-Maʿānī (Creator of Subtle Ideas), by which he is mentioned in some *tadhkiras*, does not occur earlier than Djāmī and Dawlat-Shāh; it refers to the fertility of his imagination and his fine poetic figures, for which even the uncompromising Shams-i Ḳays praised him (*al-Muʿdjam*, ed. Tehran Univ., 360). He also wrote *ghazals*, quatrains, satires and obscene verses, in all of which the social conditions of his troubled time are mirrored. A short satirical *mathnawī*, a Persian letter addressed to an unknown friend, and an Arabic pamphlet dealing with the bow (*Risālat al-Ḳaws*), are among his other works.

Bibliography: For recent works published in Persia, including the literature of the *tadhkiras*, see: A. Khayyām-Pūr, *Farhang-i Sukhanvarān-i Iran*, Tabriz 1340 S., 487-8; Kamāl al-Dīn Ismāʿīl's *Kulliyāt* has been lithographed in Bombay 1307. A new edition of the *Dīwān-i Khallāḳ al-Maʿānī Abu'l-Faḍl Kamāl al-Dīn Ismāʿīl Iṣfahānī* has recently been published by H. Baḥr al-ʿUlūmī, Tehran 1349 S. See also: *The hundred love songs of Kamal Ad-Din of Isfahan*, tr. by L. Gray and rendered in English verse by Ethel W. Mumford, London 1930. The whole text of the *Risālat al-Ḳaws* is given in the *Maṭāliʿ al-Budūr* of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Bahāʾī, 1299, ii, 167-72; H. Ritter, in *Philologika*, vii, no. 20, in *Isl.*, xxi, ascribes to him a *mathnawī* on mystical love which is not to be found in the published *dīwāns*. Further references are in: C. Rieu, *Cat. of Pers. Ms. in the B.M.*, ii, 850-51; H. Ethé, *Neupersische Litteratur*, in *Gr.I.Ph.*, ii, 269; Browne, ii, 540-42; A. J. Arberry, *Classical Persian Literature*, 1958, 244-8; J. Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 214; idem in the *Cambridge History of Iran*, v, 585-6.

(A. H. Zarrinkoob)

KAMĀL AL-DĪN SHĪR ʿALĪ [see BANNĀʾĪ].

KAMĀL KHUDJANDĪ (Kamāl al-Dīn Masʿūd), Persian lyric poet and mystic, was born in Khudjand (Transoxania), later settled in Tabrīz, where he lived the rest of his life and, according to Khwāndamīr, died in 803/1400-1. Kamāl Khudjandī's modest *dīwān* contains short, exquisite *ghazals* of five to seven verses with love, *Lebenslust* and frustration as central themes, and permeated with a deep pantheistic mysticism reminiscent of the school of Ibn al-ʿArabī and Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī. True to the tradition of the great Persian mystics, he never condescended to write panegyrics on potentates, and was often critical of the *ʿulamāʾ* (even in his capacity as *Shaykh al-Islām*) and the temporal authorities. Ḥāfiẓ held Khudjandī in high esteem and exchanged poems with him. Revered and much visited by the people, the shrine of Shaykh Kamāl was long regarded as a sanctuary.

Bibliography: *Dīwān*, ed. Dawlatābādī Dawlat-Shāh, *Tadhkira al-Shuʿarāʾ*, 325; Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, iii, 90; Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, *Madjmaʿ al-fuṣaḥāʾ*, ii, 29; H. Ethé, *Gr. I Ph.*, ii, 304; Sūdī, *Sharḥ-i Ḥāfiẓ*, Būlāḳ, ed. 3, 84; Browne, iii, 320-30; J. Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 262-3; I. S. Braginskiy, *Zum Studium des Schaffens Kamol Hudschandis*, in *Akten des XXIV. int. Or.-Kongr.*, (*München, 1957*) Wiesbaden 1959, 499-505; idem, *Očerki iz istorii tadžikskoy literaturi*, in *O tvorčestve Kamola Khodžandi*, 239-61; A. Pagliaro-A. Bausani, *Storia d. letteratura Persiana*, 464, 469.

(M. Shaki)

KAMĀL PASHA ZĀDE [see KEMĀL PASHA ZĀDE].

KAMANČA [see MALĀHĪ].

ḲAMĀNIČA (Kamieniec, Kamenetz Podolski), a fortress town of the Ukraine, situated in the region known as Podolia. Ḳamāniča rose to prominence as a stronghold guarding the southern border of Lithuania and (after 1432) of Poland against the incursions of the Tatars. It was important, too, as a station on the commercial route extending from the Black Sea and Moldavia to Poland and the Baltic. The fortress occupied a position of great strength on a high spur of rock, a little above the confluence of the River Smotric with the River Dnestr (cf. Dupont, 29, who describes it as "le boulevard de la chrétienté dans cette partie de l'Europe"). Ottoman forces appeared before Ḳamāniča in 1042/1633 (*Fedhleke*, ii, 160). Not until the Polish-Ottoman conflict of 1083-7/1672-6, however, did the town become subject to the Turks, falling to the Grand Vizier Aḥmed Köprülü in the first year of the war (1083/1672). Ḳamāniča was not destined to remain for long under Ottoman rule, being returned to Poland in 1110/1699 at the Peace of Karlowitz which brought to an end the War of the Sacra Liga (1684-99). The town passed into the hands of Russia at the time of the Second Partition of Poland in 1793. In 1918, at the end of World War I, it reverted to Poland once more, but since 1945 it has been included in the U.S.S.R.

Bibliography: Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Fedhleke*, Istanbul 1286-7, ii, 160; Rāshid, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1282, i, 266 ff.; Silāḥdār, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1928, i, 586 ff.; Yūsuf Nābī, *Taʾrīkh-i Ḳamāniča*, Istanbul 1281; Ewliyā Čelebī, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, v, Istanbul 1315, 128 ff.; *Acta Ioannis Sobieski*, ed. Fr. Kluczycki, ii/1, Cracow 1881, 1060 ff.; S. Makowiecki, *Relacya o upadku Kamieńca r. 1672*, in *Przegląd Powszechny*, ix (Cracow 1886); G. Górski, *Wojna Rzeczypospolitej z Turcją w latach 1672 i 1673*, Warsaw 1890; J. Pajewski, *Buńczuk i Koncerz. Z*

Dziejów Wojen Polsko-Tureckich, Warsaw 1960, 146 ff.; J. Woliński, *Wojna Polsko-Turecka 1672-1676 w Świetle Relacji Rezydentów Austriackich w Turcji*, in *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości* [Wojskowy Instytut Historyczny Zakład Historii Dawnego Wojska Polskiego], vii/2 (Warsaw 1961), 322 ff.; L. Finkel, *Bibliografia Historyi Polskiej*, Warsaw 1956, ii, 1335, 1953 (index); *Cronicele Romaniei Sĕŭ Letopisețele Moldaviei și Valahiei*, ed. M. Koğalniceanu, iii, Bucharest 1874, 7 ff.; E. de Hurmuzaki, *Documente la Istoria Romănilor, Supl. privitoare*, ii/3, Bucharest 1900, 89 ff. (Peace of Zurawna, 1087/1676); *Mémoires du Sieur de La Croix*, Paris 1684, i, 325 ff.; Mons. de Jonsac, *Histoire de Stanislas Jablonowski, Castellan de Cracovie, Grand Général des Armées de Pologne*, Leipzig 1774, iii, 182 (plans of Kamieniec); P. Dupont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de la Vie et des Actions de Jean Sobieski III du nom, Roi de Pologne*, ed. J. Janicki, Warsaw 1885, 28 ff., 226 ff., 268 (index); E. Eickhoff, *Venedig, Wien und die Osmanen*, Munich 1970; Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, xi, 385 ff., xii (Paris 1838), 158, 462; Zinkeisen, v, 71, 138, 213; N. Jorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, iv, Gotha 1911, 144, 203 ff., 272; Babinger, 179, 229, 238; Agâh Sirri Levend, *Ġazavāt-nāmeler*..., Ankara 1956, 126 ff.; *İA*, s.v. Kamaniçe (Aurel Decei). (V. J. PARRY)

AL-ḲAMAR (A.), the Moon.

I.—Astronomy.—Al-Ḳamar is the one celestial body that in fact orbits the earth as mediaeval Muslim astronomers, following their predecessors, assumed all seven "planets" to do. The actual motion of the moon in its orbit is extremely complicated, as it is effected by a combination of the gravitational pulls of the sun and of the earth. It was a major aim of Muslim astronomers to devise a cinematic model that would enable them to predict this motion accurately, as several lunar phenomena, and in particular the first visibility of the lunar crescent after conjunction (*ru'yat al-hilāl*), which determines the beginning of a month, were of great significance to them. They did not fully succeed in their efforts, though they did conceive of a model essentially identical with that of Copernicus.

Among the pre-Islamic Arabs as among the Muslims, the basic calendaric unit was the lunar month, which began at the sunset following the first visibility of the lunar crescent after the moon's conjunction with the sun. The length of this month varies in accordance with the effects of two variables, the solar velocity and the lunar velocity; but in the mean the length of the lunar month is very close to 29$^1/_2$ days, which can be accounted for by alternating months of 30 days (full) with months of 29 days (hollow). For several centuries before Muḥammad the Arabs intercalated months when necessary to make the lunar months fall within the same season every year (see al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, ch. 5; Abū Maʿshar in *JA*, ser. V, xi (1858), 168-78 and Nallino, *Raccolta*, v, 156-8), but Muslims allow the months to "wander" with respect to the solar year.

One method of intercalation of the pre-Islamic Arabs according to al-Bīrūnī was essentially by observation of the *manzil* (lunar mansion) occupied by the moon at first crescent. The risings of the 28 *manāzil* [*q.v.*], which are individual stars or groups of stars that the moon conjoins with roughly at the rate of one each night of a sidereal month, were originally used for weather-predictions (e.g., in the *Kitāb al-Anwā'* of Ibn Ḳutayba), but the conjunctions of the moon with these *manāzil* later became an important element of catarchic astrology on analogy with the Indian usage of the conjunctions of the moon with their 27 or 28 *nakṣatras*. In general, the moon plays an important role in astrology as the transmitter to the world of the four elements of the influences of all the higher celestial spheres as well as of its own.

Muslim astronomers date the epoch of their era, the Hid̲j̲ra, variously at sunset of 14 or 15 July 622 A.D. Each normal year thereafter contains 354 days. But, because of the slight inaccuracy of the estimate of 29$^1/_2$ days in a synodic month, an intercalation-cycle is employed according to which 11 years out of every 30 contain 355 days. The earliest known such intercalation-table, the *Mud̲j̲arrad*, is for 210 years (30 × 7), so that the weekdays on which years and months begin are also cyclical; it occurred in one of the works of al-Fazārī (*fl.* 145/762 - *ca.* 174/790) (D. Pingree, in *JNES*, xxix (1970), 110-1), but is often repeated thereafter.

The earliest Muslim theories of lunar motion were based on Indian and Indo-Sasanian developments of Greek theories as found primarily in the *Zīd̲j̲ al-Sindhind* and in the *Zīd̲j̲ al-S̲h̲āh*. In these theories there was only one inequality in lunar motion—that explained by the assumption of an epicycle on whose circumference the moon (or rather the moon's apogee) rotates in the opposite sense to the rotation of the centre of the epicycle on the circumference of the deferent (see, e.g., D. Pingree on Mās̲h̲ā' 'llāh's *De elementis et orbibus coelestibus*). Rather crude "Indian" methods of estimating the time of the occurrence of the first visibility of the lunar crescent are often found in the early Muslim astronomers (see, e.g., E. S. Kennedy on Yaʿḳūb ibn Ṭāriḳ in *JNES*, xxvii (1968), 126-23), as are also Indian procedures for computing lunar parallax in latitude (see, e.g., O. Neugebauer, *The Astronomical Tables of al-Khwārizmī*, Copenhagen 1962, 71-2 and 121-6, and E. S. Kennedy in *Isis*, xlvii (1956), 33-53). In general, Muslim lunar eclipse-theory is Ptolemaic.

During the third century after the Hid̲j̲ra Muslim astronomers gradually adopted Ptolemaic models of planetary motion, retaining from the earlier material mainly some new parameters and the use of sine and related functions in place of chords. For the moon Ptolemy hypothesized a deferent circle whose centre rotates on a small circle about the earth (the "crank-mechanism") in the direction opposite to the order of the signs at the rate of double the moon's elongation from the sun. On the circumference of the deferent in the direction of the order of the signs rotates the centre of the lunar epicycle at the rate of the moon's mean velocity. On the circumference of the epicycle in the direction opposite to the order of the signs rotates the moon itself at the rate of its anomalistic motion. The plane of this mechanism is inclined to that of the plane of the ecliptic, and the diameter of the intersection of the two planes rotates in the direction opposite to the order of the signs at the rate of the moon's nodal motion. Further, the apogee of the lunar epicycle, from which point the moon's anomalistic motion is counted, is not the intersection of the line extending from the earth through the centre of the epicycle with the epicycle's circumference, but the intersection of the line extending from the point on the little circle about the earth opposite to the centre of the deferent through the centre of the epicycle with the epicycle's circumference (prosneusis). The choice of different parameters (that is, ratios of the radii of the three circles to each other, rates of (mean) motion of the moon, the sun, the lunar anomaly, and the lunar node, and

inclination of the lunar orbit) for use in this model will lead to different predicted longitudes and latitudes for a given time, and generally Muslim astronomers simply adjusted the parameters so that these predicted longitudes and latitudes would better conform to observed or otherwise determined "true" longitudes and latitudes.

There are two principal exceptions to this rule. Astronomers at Marāgha in the late 7th/13th century began a process of revision of the Ptolemaic planetary models in order to obtain more "perfect" models in which all motion is circular and constant about the circle's centre and in which, for the moon, its distance from the earth at quadrature is not as small an amount as will result from Ptolemy's model. The culmination of these efforts lies in the brilliant work of Ibn al-Shāṭir (*fl.* 750/1350) of Damascus, whose lunar model is essentially identical with that of Copernicus; the latter must somehow be dependent on the former. Ibn al-Shāṭir achieves his desired result by replacing the circle about the earth on which the centre of the deferent revolves according to Ptolemy with a second epicycle bearing the moon, whose centre revolves on the circumference of the first epicycle (see V. Roberts in *Isis*, xlviii (1957), 428-32; F. Abbud in *Isis*, liii (1962), 492-9; and E. S. Kennedy in *Isis*, lvii (1966), 365-78). The second revision was due to the Jewish astronomer Levi ben Gerson (1288-1344) of Orange in southern France. His complicated lunar models will be described in a major forthcoming publication by B. R. Goldstein (meanwhile see B. R. Goldstein in *Proc. Israel Acad. Sci. Hum.*, iii (1969), 239-54). The "Aristotelian" model of al-Biṭrūdjī (B. R. Goldstein, *Al-Biṭrūjī*, New Haven 1971, i, 36-9 and 142-54) is no improvement over Ptolemy's.

One other problem relating to the moon that interested Muslim scientists was that of the nature of its light, or rather in what fashion the moon's light depends on the sun's. This problem was of prime importance for Ibn al-Haytham, whose treatise *Fī ḍawʾ al-ḳamar* (ed. in his *Madjmūʿ al-rasāʾil*, Ḥaydarābād-Deccan 1357/1938; cf. M. Schramm, *Ibn al-Haytham's Weg zur Physik*, Wiesbaden 1963, 70-189) is the most original mediaeval discussion of the matter.

Bibliography: The following published *zīdj*s, among many others, contain information about lunar theory: Caussin de Perceval, *Le Livre de la grande Table Hakémite, Notices et extraits*, vii, Paris 1803, 16-240 (Ibn Yūnis); L. A. Sédillot, *Prolégomènes des tables astronomiques d'Oloug-Beg*, 2 vols., Paris 1847-53; Carra de Vaux, *L'Almageste d'Abū-l-Wefā al-Būzjānī*, in *JA*, ser. viii, xix (1892), 408-71; C. A. Nallino, *Opus Astronomicum*, 3 vols., Milan 1899-1907 (al-Battānī); F. Nau, *Le livre de l'ascension de l'Esprit*, Paris 1900 (Bar Hebraeus); A. Bjørnbo, R. Besthorn, and H. Suter, *Die astronomischen Tafeln des . . . al-Khwārizmī*, Copenhagen 1914; O. Neugebauer, *The astronomical tables of al-Khwārizmī*, Copenhagen 1962; al-Bīrūnī, *Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī*, 3 vols., Ḥaydarābād-Deccan 1954-6; B. R. Goldstein, *Ibn al-Muthannā's Commentary*, New Haven 1967; and G. J. Toomer, *A survey of the Toledan tables*, in *Osiris*, xv (1968), 5-174. See also, besides the articles cited above, D. Pingree in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xviii (1964), 135-60; E. S. Kennedy in *Oriens*, xviii-xix (1967), 327-34; H. Salam and E. S. Kennedy in *JAOS*, lxxxvii (1967), 492-7; O. Neugebauer in *Mém. Ac. Roy. Belg., Cl. Lettres*, lix (1969), 5-45; and C. Jensen in *Archive for History of Exact Sciences*, viii/4 (1972), 321-8.

(D. PINGREE)

II.—Folklore, literature, art, etc.—The moon played an important role in pre-Islamic Arabia. Lunar cults had a significant place there, though this has perhaps been exaggerated, but the Mesopotamian lunar god Sīn undoubtedly became the supreme god of Ḥaḍramawt. The Bedouins of central Arabia, who carried on many activities during the night in order to avoid the heat of the day, revealed their interest in the moon through, among other things, a rich vocabulary designating its aspects and phases, the various nights of the lunar cycle, etc., as well as through kinds of rhyming riddles, questions posed to the moon which it is supposed to answer. The phases were sometimes likened to the progressive entry of the moon into a sheath (*ghilāf*), which was compared with a foreskin.

In Islam, apart from the moon's leading role as the regulator of the canonical acts, in scholarly astronomical theory and in the calendar of lunar mansions inherited from ancient Arabia [see ANWĀʾ], one of the astrological processes, that of *ikhtiyārāt* [*q.v.*] (*electiones*), was based on the moon's position in one of its mansions at the moment that a given action took place. In a vaguer sense, the idea of a lunar influence on all sorts of natural phenomena was widely held. A cyclical theory of universal history considered the epoch inaugurated by Muḥammad as a lunar era.

In alchemy, silver is under the influence of the moon. Numerous magical and divinatory systems relate the moon to, for example, the skin and the bones of the skull, Monday, the feminine sex, the letter *djīm*, etc.

In literature, the moon features in many poetical similes. The human face, especially that of a beautiful woman or a handsome young man, is often compared with the full moon (*badr*). Frequent similes employ the crescent moon. Such comparisons are generally laudatory. Some poets, however, apparently employing Bedouin maxims, lay stress on the deficiencies of the moon, in a manner which seems sacrilegious to literary theorists. The mystics sought to make it the symbol of ineffable realities, a symbolism reflected especially in Persian and Turkish poetry.

The crescent sometimes appears in Muslim painting, but mainly at a later date in India under European influence. Above all, however, it is a decorative theme, stemming from pagan religious symbolism. In astrological treatises representations of the moon derive from Babylonian models by way of orientalized Hellenistic imagery.

Popular traditions of many kinds, handed down from antiquity, associate the moon with particular agricultural practices, attribute particular illnesses to its influence, and so on; from it are derived meteorological predictions, omens and various signs. Popular literature, proverbs and riddles often refer to the moon. Likewise, it is often personified. In many cases this is no more than a rhetorical device, but often too a true personalization is involved. The vocabulary and tales usher in a whole sub-mythology which is rarely accompanied by associated popular ritual practices, and yet God is never absent. The Moon, although subject to God, has its own power. It is said to have rendered homage to Muḥammad through a miracle which places the apocalyptic forecast of the Ḳurʾān (LIV, i) "the Moon has been split", in the Prophet's day. Eclipses particularly induced mythological figurations. Popular magical practices in the Maghrib make appeals to the Moon.

Place-names bear traces of ancient lunar cults, and personal names often incorporate the moon. The

crescent, always employed as a decorative motif, eventually became the emblem of Islam to Europeans, and was adopted as such by the Ottoman empire in the 19th century [see HILĀL].

Pre-Islamic astral paganism endured for many years among the "Sabeans" of Ḥarrān, who invoked the Moon, among other deities. Traces of its influence can be found among the Yazīdīs and also the Nuṣayrīs of Syria, where ʿAlī and Salmān are identified with the moon and where a religious sub-group is called the *ḳamariyya*.

Bibliography: Apart from the articles cited above, see M. Rodinson, *La lune chez les Arabes et dans l'Islam*, in *La lune, mythes et rites*, Paris 1962 (coll. *Sources orientales*, 6), 153-215, where the relevant references will be found. (M. RODINSON)

ḲAMARĀN, coralline island (with numerous small islets) in Yemeni territorial waters, less than three miles from the Salīf peninsula, 200 miles north of Perim; its length is 14 miles, its maximum breadth 6 miles, its area 22 sq. miles. The impoverished inhabitants, who number between 1000 and 3000, are Sunnīs of mixed origin (Adeni, Ethiopian, Somali, Indian); they cultivate cotton and fish for pearls.

At the end of the 4th/10th century the king of Yemen kept prisoners on Ḳamarān; in the first half of the 10th/16th century the island was occupied and fortified by the Portuguese. In the second part of the 19th century Turkey, by virtue of the international health regulations, established there a quarantine station for pilgrims arriving through Bāb al-Mandab; they used to contract a disease called in Mecca "Ḳamarān sickness". In June 1915, as the Turks were attacking Aden, Ḳamarān was occupied by the British. Turkish sovereignty on all Red Sea islands ceased in 1923 under Article 16 of the Treaty of Lausanne. The quarantine station had passed under British administration; Holland became a participant in 1928, Italy in 1938; the Anglo-Italian Agreement provided that Great Britain should not "establish its sovereignty or erect fortifications or defences" on the island. When the quarantine station was closed in 1952, thanks to improvements in health controls on the mainland, it was said to receive 100,000 pilgrims yearly.

The international status of Ḳamarān is peculiar: in 1948 the Ḳamarān Order in Council declared that the United Kingdom had "power and jurisdiction" over the island and appointed the Governor of Aden as Governor of Ḳamarān, stating however that the island was not part of Aden Colony or of the Aden Protectorate, and that the Foreign Jurisdiction Act applied to it "as if it were a British colony or possession", a formula resembling that of trusteeship agreements (mandates). Since 1928 Yemen has constantly and unsuccessfully claimed sovereignty over Ḳamarān and protested against British concessions for oil research on it (the one given in 1955 to the D'Arcy Exploration Co. proved fruitless). On 1 December 1967 the "Peoples' Republic of South Yemen", following a British communication to the United Nations dated 30 November 1967 to the effect that the Kurya Murya islands would be restored to the sultan of Masḳat, issued a decree naming its own governor for Kurya Murya, Perim and Ḳamarān.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, 80; al-Muḳaddasī, 103; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the latter part of the 19th century*, Leiden and London 1931, 218, note 1; idem, *Verspreide Geschriften*, Bonn and Leipzig, 1923, iii, 27, 32; *OM* (1938), 215, (1953), 29; L. Farago, *The riddle of Arabia*, London 1939, 284-7; E. Quadri, *L'île de Camaran*, in *Revue Égyptienne de Droit International*, xiii (1957), 1-30; B. Reilly, *Aden and the Yemen*, London 1969, Colonial no. 63; R. B. Serjeant, *The Portuguese off the South Arabian Coast*, Oxford 1963. (V. VACCA)

ḲAMḤ, the name for wheat in Syria and in Egypt; in ʿIrāḳ wheat is called *ḥinṭa* and in Arabia it was called *dhurr*. These different words are also used in the literary Arabic of the western and eastern provinces of the Muslim empire.

Wheat was the main grain crop in the Near East from the beginning of the Muslim period (and much earlier), while in Europe in the Middle Ages even the upper classes ate bread made from barley and rye. The predominance of wheat among cereals distinguished Muslim countries from the Far East also, as Chinese travellers observed.

Muslim physicians recommended abstention from other bread and literary evidence shows that in the caliphal period only the poor classes of southern ʿIrāḳ ate rice bread. In Khūzistān and in some Caspian provinces, such as Māzandarān, however, there were extensive rice plantations or rice was even predominant. But in the central provinces of the Muslim world people ate bread made of cereals other than wheat only in times of distress, e.g., famines, or when the general prosperity had declined considerably, as in Egypt at the end of the 9th/15th century. Bread made of barley was the food of ascetics.

The accounts of the ʿIrāḳī treasury of the 3rd/9th century, which have come down to us in extracts included in the works of the geographers Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar and Ibn Khurradādhbih, contain information on the quantities of wheat and barley received as taxes in kind. These figures point to a slight predominance of barley, but this cereal was used for animal fodder. Furthermore, the accounts show that barley was grown mainly in districts where the soil was apparently less adapted to wheat growing. It is worth noting that the equilibrium between wheat and barley was a striking feature of agriculture in ʿIrāḳ from Sumerian times and is still characteristic at the present day. In the days of the caliphs Upper Mesopotamia produced great quantities of wheat which were shipped to southern ʿIrāḳ. In Syria the provinces of Ḥamā, Ḥimṣ and Baʿlabakk, and particularly the Ḥawrān, were veritable granaries, supplying the surrounding regions with wheat. In Palestine wheat of excellent quality was grown in the coastal plain, so that al-Muḳaddasī could praise the quality of the bread of Ramla. Egypt, which had earlier supplied Rome and Constantinople with wheat, exported it in the days of the caliphs and their successors to the Ḥidjāz and to other countries. The main wheat-growing region was the Ṣaʿīd, the southern part of the country. Arabic authors emphasise that some types of Egyptian wheat were unequalled. Barley-growing had been decreasing in Egypt before the Muslim conquest and probably continued to decline thereafter. European travellers who visited Egypt in the 8th/14th century dwell on the excellent quality of its wheat bread. So over many centuries the predominance of wheat remained unchanged. Throughout the coastal regions of North Africa wheat was produced and was the staple food, at least of the town-dwellers. Speaking of the province of Būna, the geographer Ibn Ḥawḳal says that wheat and barley were so plentiful that their quantities could not be measured. The Muslim merchants of North Africa exported wheat to the countries then called Ghāna and Takrūr, now part of Senegal and Mali.

The predominance of wheat was universal in

Muslim lands. Only in very dry regions, such as Kirmān and Nubia, was *dhura* (sorghum) grown. Of course the wheat grown was not of the same variety elsewhere. The geographer al-Bakrī says that in the province of Sidjilmāsa, in western Morocco, there was grown a small-grain "Chinese" wheat. All the texts quoted so far refer to the golden age of Muslim civilization. In the later Middle Ages the cultivation of wheat declined in many regions of the Muslim world, as regards both the extent of the areas cultivated and the quality of the grain, this being a result of bedouinization.

The papyri, the Arabic chronicles and the writings of various Arabic authors contain extensive data on the prices of wheat and of barley. In the Near East in the ʿAbbāsid period their price ratio was 2:1 and in the later Middle Ages 3:2. It is evident that grain prices rose under the Umayyad and the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, both in ʿIrāḳ and in Egypt, by 900 per cent or even more. Prices in Egypt were however much lower than in ʿIrāḳ. From the end of the 4th/10th century the price of wheat began to fall in ʿIrāḳ and from the end of the 5th/11th century in Egypt, a fact probably connected with the main trends of demographic development: the growth of population (i.e., of consumers) in the caliphal period and the decrease from the period of the Crusades.

The measures in which the grain prices are given are in the classic period the *kurr* (2925 kg.) in ʿIrāḳ, the *ghirāra* (208.8 kg.) in central Syria, the *makkūk* of Aleppo (about 82 kg.), the *tillīs* (67.5 kg.) and later the *irdabb* (69.6 kg.) in Egypt and various *mudd* in the provinces of North Africa.

Bibliography: A. Mez, *Renaissance*, 405, Eng. tr., 430; Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar, *K. al-Kharādj*, 237 and cf. tr. De Goeje, 180; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 8 ff.; al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 22; al-Muḳaddasī, 136, 145, 151; D. Müller-Wodarg, *Die Landwirtschaft Ägyptens in der frühen Abbasidenzeit*, in *Isl.* xxxii (1957), 17 ff.; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 76, 77, 80, 81; al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale* (ed. de Slane), 151, 158; al-Iṣṭakhrī, 91; Spuler, *Iran*, 387; E. Ashtor, *Essai sur l'alimentation des diverses classes sociales dans l'Orient médiéval*, in *Annales Éc., soc., civ.*, xxiii (1968), 1018 ff.; idem, *Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l'Orient médiéval*, Paris 1969, 42 ff., 77 ff., 100 ff., 124 ff., 242 ff., 282 ff., 392 ff., 451, 453 ff.; E. Ehrenkreutz, *The kurr system in medieval Iraq*, in *JESHO* v (1962), 309; X. de Planhol, *Les fondations géographiques de l'histoire de l'Islam*, Paris 1968, 90. (E. Ashtor)

KĀMIL [see ʿARŪḌ].

KĀMIL, MUSṬAFĀ [see MUṢṬAFĀ KĀMIL].

AL-**KĀMIL** (AL-MALIK), title of two Ayyūbid princes.

1) AL-MALIK AL-KĀMIL NĀṢIR AL-DĪN ABU 'L-MAʿĀLĪ MUḤAMMAD, the eldest son of al-ʿĀdil [*q.v.*] Abū Bakr b. Ayyūb, born 573/1177 or 576/1180. In 595/1199 he left the Djazīra, where he had begun his political career as his father's representative (from 587/1191), to come to the aid of al-ʿĀdil at Damascus in his struggle against al-Afḍal b. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. After the latter's defeat, father and son marched into Egypt, entering Cairo on 22 Ramaḍān 596/6 July 1200. Al-ʿĀdil was proclaimed sultan of Egypt and Syria. After the formal investiture by the caliph in 604/1207, al-ʿĀdil distributed his provinces between his sons [see AL-ʿĀDIL]; al-Kāmil was to remain viceroy of Egypt for the rest of his father's reign. In 604/1207 he moved his residence to the newly finished Ḳalʿat al-Djabal.

In Ṣafar 615/May 1218 the Franks made an unexpected attack on Egypt (fifth Crusade [see CRUSADES]), landing at Dimyāṭ [*q.v.*]. Al-Kāmil was unable to prevent their capture of the Burdj al-Salsala (Tower of the Chain), the main stronghold of the harbour. Shortly after receiving news of this, al-ʿĀdil died in his camp near Damascus (Friday 7 Djumādā II 615/31 August 1218), and al-Kāmil became sultan of Egypt and supreme head of the Ayyūbid realm. On 25 Shaʿbān 616/5 November 1219 the Franks finally succeeded in conquering the town of Dimyāṭ. For nearly two years al-Kāmil was able to hold them at bay from his new camp, called al-Manṣūra, south of Dimyāṭ, until the combined forces of al-Ashraf [*q.v.*], al-Muʿaẓẓam [*q.v.*] and other Ayyūbid princes, following their brother al-Kāmil's demand, reached Egypt in August 1221. The Franks, who had lost irretrievable time, tried to march against Cairo, but were encircled from all sides and after heavy fighting were forced to surrender (7 Radjab 618/27 Aug 1221) and to leave Egypt: the fifth Crusade had reached its inglorious end.

The second period of al-Kāmil's reign was marked by the struggle for the leadership among the Ayyūbid brothers: al-Kāmil against al-Muʿaẓẓam of Damascus (1221-1227) and—after the latter's death—against al-Ashraf, who succeeded him (1227-1237).

As early as 619/1222 al-Ashraf visited his brother in Cairo, and they concluded an alliance against al-Muʿaẓẓam, who subsequently had to give way to al-Ashraf in two separate disputes (succession at Ḥamāt, 619/1222; possession of Akhlāṭ [*q.v.*]). An alliance between al-Muʿaẓẓam and the Khʷārazmshāh Djalāl al-Dīn [*q.v.*], concluded during 622/1225, tilted the balance of power, and al-Ashraf was compelled to seek an arrangement with his brother. In Shawwāl 623/September 1226 he went to Damascus to submit to al-Muʿaẓẓam and to renounce his supremacy over Ḥimṣ and Ḥamāt; until Djumādā II 624/May-June 1227 he was forced to remain as *de facto* prisoner. The Ayyūbid realm was on the verge of dividing into two states when the situation was completely altered by the sudden death of al-Muʿaẓẓam (Friday, 1 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 624/12 November 1227). His son al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāʾūd [*q.v.*], a youth of 21 years, at once submitted to al-Kāmil, recognizing his supremacy.

In the same year 624/1227 rumours of a new Crusade reached Cairo. Presumably considering the situation desperate, al-Kāmil contacted Frederick II, offering him all Saladin's conquests. Frederick II accepted, and on 7 September 1228 landed at Acre. After hard bargaining the famous treaty which delivered Jerusalem to the Franks was signed on 11 February 1229.

Al-Kāmil's cordial relations with his nephew al-Nāṣir did not last. At a meeting with al-Ashraf at Tell al-ʿAdjūl (near Ghazza), he therefore agreed that al-Nāṣir should cede Damascus to al-Ashraf; a treaty was signed at the end of 625/1228. The two brothers then marched against the Syrian capital. After a short siege, al-Nāṣir surrendered (21 Radjab 626/15 June 1229) and had to accept the fortresses of al-Karak and al-Shawbak in exchange. Damascus was handed over to al-Ashraf; al-Kāmil was recognized as overlord of the realm. Princes favouring al-Kāmil were installed in all the minor principalities and took over al-Ashraf's possessions in the Djazīra, thus further enhancing al-Kāmil's influence and control.

After a prolonged visit to the Djazīra, al-Kāmil returned to Egypt in Radjab 627/May 1230, but only two years later the situation demanded his return. He marched to Salamiyya to prepare with the assem-

bled Ayyūbid princes against an expected attack by the Mongols. As no attack materialized, he decided to expel the ill-famed Artuḳid ruler of Āmid, al-Masʿūd Rukn al-Dīn Mawdūd (Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 629/October 1232). The Artuḳid soon surrendered and was sent into captivity at Cairo. Ḥiṣn Kayfā, the other important fortress of the prince of Āmid, capitulated soon afterwards and was given to al-Kāmil's son Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb, who in 634/1236 also took over Āmid. Even in the Djazīra al-Kāmil had become the most powerful sovereign, so that the other Ayyūbid princes were bound to feel threatened by him.

Al-Kāmil returned to Cairo in about Djumādā I 630/February-March 1233, but his stay was once more brief. The capture of Akhlāṭ by the sultan of Rūm Kayḳobād [*q.v.*] (at the end of 629/1232) led him to mount a general attack on the Saldjūḳs of Asia Minor; probably he planned to transfer—after the expulsion of the Saldjūḳs—the Ayyūbid princes from Syria to Asia Minor, Syria to be governed as a unitary state like Egypt. The invasion began from Salamiyya in Ramaḍān 634/June 1234, but failed. The distrust and opposition of the Ayyūbid princes then forced al-Kāmil to abandon his plans; he returned to Cairo in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 631/August 1234, but soon he had to hurry back to repel with the help of al-Ashraf the counter-attack of Kayḳobād. After a prolonged stay with al-Ashraf at Damascus, al-Kāmil then returned to Cairo in Muḥarram or Ṣafar 634/September-October 1236.

A new breach between al-Kāmil and al-Ashraf opened up over the succession at Aleppo. An alliance led by al-Ashraf was formed against al-Kāmil and a fraternal war seemed imminent, when al-Ashraf fell ill and after a few months died (4 Muḥarram 635/27 August 1237). His most dangerous enemy having disappeared, al-Kāmil marched against Damascus, together with his nephew al-Nāṣir, to whom he had promised that city. After two months' siege Damascus surrendered (19 Djumādā I 635/5 January 1238); the coalition against al-Kāmil disintegrated. Before al-Kāmil was able to reap the fruits of his triumph (to take Aleppo and install al-Nāṣir at Damascus), however, he suddenly fell ill. He died on Wednesday, 21 Radjab 635/6 March 1238, and was buried in the Citadel of Damascus.

Bibliography: H. L. Gottschalk, *Al-Malik al-Kāmil von Egypten und seine Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1958, where all the sources are enumerated.

(2.) AL-MALIK AL-KĀMIL NĀṢIR AL-DĪN ABU 'L-MAʿĀLĪ MUḤAMMAD B. AL-MUẒAFFAR SHIHĀB AL-DĪN GHĀZĪ B. AL-ʿĀDIL MUḤAMMAD [*q.v.*] B. AYYŪB, nephew of the preceding, sultan of Mayyāfāriḳīn [*q.v.*]. He succeeded his father in 645/1247 and tried in vain to come to terms with the Mongols, who had already besieged Mayyāfāriḳīn in 642/1244 and repeated their attack in 645/1247. Thereafter al-Kāmil visited al-Malik al-Nāṣir [*q.v.*], the Ayyūbid sultan of Aleppo and Damascus, in order to persuade him to mount a joint action against the Mongols; but he failed, as al-Nāṣir hoped to appease them by dispatching his ambassador, the well-known historian ʿIzz al-Dīn b. Shaddād [*q.v.*] (cf. H. F. Amedroz, *Three Arabic Mss. on the history of Mayyāfāriqīn*, in *JRAS* (1902), 785-812). The Mongols under Tashmūt b. Hūlāgū began the third siege of Mayyāfāriḳīn in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 656/October-November 1258 and conquered the town in 658/1260, in spite of the brave resistance of al-Kāmil and the inhabitants. Al-Kāmil and his brother al-Ashraf were brought before Hūlāgū [*q.v.*], who personally killed them both. It was said that al-Kāmil's head was carried round several towns of al-Djazīra and Syria and finally hung upon the Bāb al-Farādīs at Damascus; it was buried there at the *mashhad* of al-Ḥusayn after the city was reconquered by the Muslims.

3) AL-KĀMIL [see SHAʿBAN].

Bibliography: ʿIzz al-Dīn b. Shaddād, *al-Aʿlāḳ al-khaṭīra*, 3rd part, Bodleian Lib., Ms. Marsh 333, fol. 111 ff., Ms. Berl. 9800, fol. 72 ff.; al-Yunānī, Ḥaydarābād, i, 359, 430, ii, 75; Abū Shāma, *Dhayl*, Cairo, 205; al-Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, Cairo, 441; M. van Berchem, *Arabische Inschriften aus Armenien und Diyarbekr*, in *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, Phil.-hist. Kl.N.F. IX, 3, 16-17, n. 1; Spuler, *Mongolen*. (H. L. GOTTSCHALK)

ḲAML (A.), lice (the individual louse being *ḳamla*; some authorities believe that *ḳaml* applies only to females and that for males the term is *ṣuʾāb*, pl. *ṣiʾbān*, although the latter designates rather the nits). The family to which this hemipterous insect belongs has numerous species, but Arabic does not seem to have distinguished between them, for not even the head-louse (*pediculus capitis*) and the body-louse (*p. vestimenti*) are treated separately.

Although the existence of nits which clung to the skin was known of, the louse was thought to be engendered spontaneously in human sweat and body-dirt, in places covered by hair or clothing. At birth, the louse takes on the colour of the hair in which it emerges. Some men, called *ḳamil*, are more prone than others to give rise to lice, which in such cases have longer bodies. Measures of cleanliness are therefore useless, and the best way of avoiding the increase of these parasites is to wear silk clothing, since this fabric does not suit them. This is why ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf and al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, who were *ḳamil*s, begged the Prophet to permit them to wear it. By a special divine dispensation, lepers are free from this pest, since they cannot scratch without danger. On the other hand, hens and pigeons do not escape them, nor do monkeys, who have many and eat them as they groom themselves.

Eating lice is of course prohibited, as is eating food with which they have come into contact. Before Islam, in periods of famine people ate *ḳurra*, which was flour mixed with hair, obtained from spreading the flour on the head and then shaving it, but picking the lice out of the mixture was enjoined.

The *fuḳahāʾ* expatiated on the conditions under which one could get rid of this most repugnant of vermin. In normal circumstances, the use of carthamus oil was recommended, or vinegar mixed with sea water, or even mercury and sesame oil. Muslims are also permitted to delouse themselves when they are neither in the mosque nor in a state of consecration (*iḥrām* [*q.v.*]), but they are not allowed to crush these insects with fruit stones, for this would make the latter unfit for cattle fodder. Lice are usually crushed between the nails, and women in particular enjoy the crackling noise this produces. Killing a louse in the mosque is prohibited; it must even be kept in the clothing until the person concerned leaves, although a *ḥadīth* permits it to be buried when the floor is suitable. In the state of *iḥrām*, the pilgrim must avoid killing vermin; a louse which affords great discomfort can be removed delicately, or even killed, but should the pilgrim engage in systematic delousing he must give alms in return for the relief he has been granted.

Seeing a louse in a dream is interpreted in slightly different ways depending on the circumstances surrounding it. The insect is also used to determine the sex of an unborn infant. A little milk from the

expectant mother is placed in the hand and the louse dropped into it; if it crawls out the child will be a girl, if not, a boy, since in the latter case the milk is thicker. Other beliefs are attached to this pest; for example, a man who throws away a living louse forgets his acquaintances.

Although translators of the Ķur'ān, basing themselves on Exodus VIII, 16 ff., generally employ the word "lice" for *ķummal* in VII, 130/133, where the plagues of Egypt are mentioned, commentators offer different explanations of this term, which is held to designate either crickets or a sort of moth (*ķirdān, ḥalam*, etc.).

Other insects related to lice are bugs and fleas. Bugs, hemipters of the *cimex* family, are distinguished by their stench and by the odour of bitter almonds which is given off when they are crushed. They are called *baķķ* and *banāt al-ḥaṣīr* because they hide in the bedmatting, but they are sometimes included (see *LA*, s.v.) in the species called *baʿūḍ*, "mosquitoes", because the latter were regarded as a metamorphosis of the bug, as were fleas, of which, the Arabs thought, they constituted a variety. Bugs may be killed, under the same conditions as other vermin, but as they appear mainly at night and in dwelling places, they were less of a problem to the *fuķahā'* than lice and fleas.

The latter, diptera of the *pulex* family, were called *burghūth*, and also Abū Ṭāfir, Abū ʿAdī, Abu'l-Waththāb, Ṭāmir b. Ṭāmir, colloquial names inspired by the backward leaps they make. They are born in the earth, in dark places, at the end of winter and in early spring, and they also change into mosquitoes. They can be got rid of by the use of talismans (as in Antioch) or of a reed smeared with asses' milk or billy-goat's fat, on which they will gather in return for a promise that they will be thrown outside without being killed and to the accompaniment of the appropriate formulas. It was popularly believed that if a fox whose coat was full of fleas took a tuft of wool in his mouth then the fleas would gather on it; if he slid gently into the water, they would be drowned.

According to tradition, injuring fleas is prohibited because they woke up a prophet in time for the morning prayer. However, killing them is permitted, except in the mosque or the state of *iḥram*, and, as with lice, it is advised that they should not be thrown in the fire. At an early date the question of whether the blood (or rather excrement) of fleas on the clothing or body necessitated washing was discussed, but the majority of *fuķahā'* consider that a few stains do not impair ritual cleanliness.

Bibliography: Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, index, s.v. *ķaml*; idem, *Bukhalā'*, ed. Ḥādjirī, 199 (*Arabica*, 1955/3, 327); Damīrī, s.v.; Ķayrawānī, *Risāla*, index, s.v. *poux*. (Ed.)

AL-KAMMAD, by-name of Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, a Ḥasanī *sharīf* from Constantine who moved to Fez, where he taught *ḥadīth*, logic and dialectic. None of his works has survived, but some noteworthy *responsa* (*adjwiba*) on a number of cases of the category of (*nawāzil*) reveal his competence in the subject. He died in 1116/1704-5.

Bibliography: É. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 288 and n. 2; Ķādirī, *Nashr*, ii, 184; idem, *al-Nashr al-kabīr*, ii, fol. 53 r.; idem, *Iltiķāṭ*, fol. 57 r.; M. Lakhdar, *La vie littéraire au Maroc sous la dynastie ʿalawide*, index. (M. Lakhdar)

KAMMŪN, cumin (*Cuminum Cyminum*), an umbelliferous plant which seems to be a native of eastern Iran. At an early date it was found in the Near East (Syria, Palestine, the upper valley of the Nile), then spread throughout the Mediterranean basin. The Hebrew is *kammōn*, Greek *kúminon*, Latin *cuminum*.

Wild or cultivated, its aromatic seeds were much sought after. Physicians recognized its many virtues: carminative, emmenagogic, sudorific, etc. in potions and in electuaries (*maʿādjīn*). Dieticians knew it as an aid to digestion.

Many varieties were known and these were variously appraised. Cumin from Kirmān [*q.v.*] was considered the best; pharmacists described it as *bāsiliķūn*, "royal". After this came cumin from Fāris, Egypt, Syria, the land of the "Nabateans", and Abyssinia (*ḥabashī*).

Allied to a determinant specifying the type of plant, the word *kammūn* was used as a generic term to designate other plants, not necessarily umbelliferous ones, which bore aromatic or medicinal seeds. *Kammūn armanī*, "Armenian" or *kammūn rūmī*, "Byzantine" was in fact caraway (*Carum Carvi*). It was also called *kammūn barrī*, "wild cumin", as it is in some regions of France, where it is known as *cumin des prés*, "meadow cumin". *Kammūn ḥulw*, "sweet cumin", was one of the names for aniseed. In Bougie, in eastern Algeria, *kammūn al-djabal*, "mountain cumin", was the name for *Meum athamanticum* Jacq.. *Kammūn aswad*, "black cumin", was fennel-flower (*Nigella sativa*), a ranunculus properly called *shūnīz*. It was also known as *al-ḥabba 'l-sawdā*, the "black grain", and is called *ḥabbet el-baraka* in modern Syria.

Alongside the word *kammūn*, diffused throughout the Arab world, is found another much rarer term. The consonantal outline of this word is *s-n-w-t*, but its exact pronunciation is not known: *sannūt, sunnūt*, or *sinnawt*? Lexicographers also give it the meaning of "honey", "fruit syrup" (*rubb*), "cheese" and several other condiments. This rare term appears in some *ḥadīths*; it seems to be a Yemenite word. A denominative verb, *sannata*, is attested, with the imprecise meaning of "to throw *s-n-w-t* in a pan".

The Muslim West. Seeds of cumin were cultivated and used widely, both in medicine and in cooking; they were also attributed with magical and beneficial properties. Muslim Spain differed from the rest of the Arabic-speaking world in using, alongside *kammūn*, a dialectical phonetic variant, *kāmūn*, where it seems that the reduction of the gemination was compensated for by the lengthening of the preceding vowel. This form *kāmūn* also gave rise to a derivative: *kaymūn, keymōn*. Here we find the mutation *ā-ū* = *ay-ū*, which is attested in Spanish Arabic dialect for other nouns of the same morphological type: *kānūn, tābūt, dāsūs* (for *djāsūs*); this may be a case of pronunciation with *imāla* [*q.v.*].

The Spanish word *alcamonias*, signifying a range of aromatic seeds, cumin, caraway, aniseed, fennel-flower, etc., is an Arab loan-word given a Romance plural. It is the equivalent of the *quatre semences chaudes majeures*, "four main warm herbs", of the old French pharmacopoeia. In old Spanish the original Latin name for cumin often appears in a plural form, *cominos*.

In the Maghrib, Morocco is characterized by the widespread use of the Spanish form, *kāmūn*. In the extreme north-west of the country (the regions of Tangiers and Tetuan), the variant *kaymūn* is preserved. Herbalists in Fez sell a variety of this grain called *kāmūn ṣōfī* or *kāmūn bū-ṣōfa*, "fluffy cumin", imported from the Tuat. A potion made from it is used to cure pains in the entrails or stomach. In the

rest of the Maghrīb, it would seem, *kammūn/kəmmūn* is the one name used for cumin.

In Tunisia *kammūn* symbolizes grace, charm (*sirr*), the absolute perfection of a beauty. Its seeds, thought to generate attraction, are one of the essential ingredients of love potions. The plural, *kmāmən*, designates "an assortment of aromatic seeds: cumin, coriander, aniseed, caraway, fennel-flower, etc."; a synonym for this is the plural *zrārə*, "seeds". This is an equivalent of *alcamonias* and also of the Moroccan *rās 'l-ḥānūt*, lit. "the essentials in the shop (of the druggist, *ʿattār*)". In Malta cumin is called *kemmūn* and *kemmūn ḥelū* is used for aniseed (cf. above).

Throughout the Arab-speaking west the relative adjective *kammūnī* is used for a shade of green: in Spain a greenish brown, in Morocco a greenish khaki, in Algeria a pistachio green. In Takroûna, Tunisia, however, it is a bluish pink. Such descriptions are naturally related to the colour of the local variety of the seeds.

In the feminine substantive (*kammūniyya*), this epithet is applied to a variety of dishes seasoned with cumin.

The non-Arab-speaking Muslim world. The Persian name for cumin is *zīra*, *zīrè*. The composites *shāh-zīra* and *zīra-i rūmī* designate caraway. A particular dish, containing cumin, is called *zīrabā*, *zīrbā*; in the archaic form *zīrabādj* (for *zīrabāg*), the dish and its name passed into the Arabic culinary vocabulary of the east and Muslim Spain. Alongside the learned-word *kemmūn* the Turkish of Turkey uses a popular form, *kimyon*; the adjective *kimyoni* means olive green. The Persian dish mentioned above is called *zırva* and today describes "a dish of calves' feet with rice and garlic"—and apparently without cumin.

Finally, proverbs which feature cumin are found sporadically throughout the whole Islamic world. These belong to two series: in the first the cumin is promised that it will be well watered, tomorrow—this is the prototype of empty promises; in the second the cumin says, "rub me between your hands and I will release my good smell", which is the equivalent of "ring for service".

Bibliography: Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Traité des Simples*, tr. Leclerc, no. 1967; Ibn al-Ḥashshā, *Glossaire sur le Manṣūrī de Razès*, ed. Colin and Renaud, nos. 526, 693, 1181; *Tuḥfat al-Aḥbāb*, tr. Renaud and Colin, no. 229; W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Takroûna*, i, 405, iv, 1665, vii, 3496; Westermarck, *Wit and wisdom in Morocco*, nos. 1080, 1487; Huici, *Kitāb al-ṭabīkh*, Madrid 1961-2, 38 (tr. Madrid 1966, 36). (G. S. Colin)

AL-KAMMŪNĪ, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Tamīmī, a Ḳayrawānī panegyrist of the Zīrid al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs (first half of the 5th/11th century), was admired by the critics for the abundance and perfection of his laudatory, descriptive and elegiac poetry, remarkable alike for the choice of themes and images, the power of the language and the strict rhythm of the verse. But the vogue his poetry enjoyed during his lifetime was equally due to the verve, humour and sprightly imagination with which he recounted the vicissitudes of his disordered and picturesque life, and denounced the failings of some of his fellow citizens. However, very few lines of this classical yet personal output have survived.

Bibliography: text of Ibn Rashīḳ's *Unmūdhadj*, containing sample lines of poetry, quoted in part by: Ḳifṭī, *al-Muḥammadūn min al-shuʿarāʾ*, Beirut 1970, 114-5; ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, Ms. 2327 Paris, xvii, 82 r.-83 v.; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, ii, 4; Ibn Ẓāfir, *Badāʾiʿ al-badāʾih*, Cairo 1278, 40; Ibn Manẓūr, [pseudo] *Nithār al-azhār*, Istanbul 1298, i, 20; see also Ḥ. Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Bisāṭ al-ʿaḳīḳ*, Tunis 1330, 23, 53; Maymanī, *Ibn Rashīḳ*. . ., Cairo 1343, 31, 32, 81; H. R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zīrides*, Paris 1962, 785; ʿA.-R. Yāghī, *Ḥayāt al-Ḳayrawān*, Beirut 1962, 161-3; Ch. Bouyahia, *La vie littéraire en Ifrīḳiya sous les Zīrides*, Tunis 1972, 128-9, 279. (Ch. Bouyahia)

KĀMRĀN Mīrzā, second son of Bābur and of Gulrukh Begam, and half-brother of Humāyūn; he was born in Kābul *ca.* 915/1509. He was cleverer than Humāyūn and had a poetical turn, but he was cruel and vicious and a restless schemer. He repeatedly rebelled against Humāyūn, who was at last compelled by his officers to make him innocuous by blinding him in 960/1553. He went to Mecca in 961/1554 and died there in Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 904/October 1557. The most interesting thing about him is the devotion of his wife, Māh Čīčak Bēgam Arghūn, daughter of Shāh Ḥasan of Sind. She insisted on accompanying him to Mecca, in spite of her father's remonstrances, saying that he had given her to Kāmrān in the days of his greatness (in 954/1546) and that she would not abandon him now in the time of his misery. She died at Mecca a few months after her husband.

Kāmrān was put in charge of Ḳandahār by his father, and in the beginning of Humāyūn's reign he was governor of the Pandjāb. During the interregnum, when Humāyūn was in Persia, Kāmrān and his younger brother, ʿAskarī, ruled over Afghānistān. He left one son and three daughters. The son, Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim, who inherited his father's poetical talents, was confined in Gwalior by Akbar in 964/1557, and was put to death some years later as a dangerous competitor. All three daughters were given in marriage; one of them, named Gulrukh, was a woman of masculine spirit; she married Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn Sulṭān, and she and her son were thorns in Akbar's side. (Firishta, lith. ed., 221, and Muḥammad Ḥusayn, *Darbār-i-Akbarī*).

Bibliography: Abu ʾl-Faḍl, *Akbar-nāma*, i; Muḥammad Ḥaydar, *Taʾrīkh-i-Rashīdī*, Eng. version by N. Elias and E. Denison Ross; Djawhar Āftābčī, *Memoirs of the Emperor Humāyūn*, tr. Stewart (Or. Transl. Fund 1832); Bābur's *Memoirs*; Erskine, *Memoirs of Baber*; Gulbadan Bēgam, *History of Humāyūn* (O. T. F.), London, 1902; Badāʾūnī, *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*, i, 451 ff.; Elliot-Dowson, iv, 498, v, vi. There is a copy of Kāmrān's *Dīwān* in the Oriental Public Library, Bankipore, Cat., ii, 145, 215, where a biography of the author is given. (H. Beveridge*)

KĀMRĀN SHĀH DURRĀNĪ, ruler of Harāt in succession to his father, Maḥmūd Shāh (d. 1244/1828). By alienating the powerful Bārakzay family Kāmrān contributed to the downfall of Sadōzay rule in Afghānistān in 1235/1818. Subsequently, Maḥmūd and Kāmrān disputed possession of Harāt, which comprised an area extending from the Harī Rūd in the west to the Hilmand river in the east and from Sīstān in the south to Maymana in the north, although their authority in the outlying areas was always contested. In his early years Kāmrān revealed energy and ability, but during the last five years of his reign power passed to his able vizier, Yār Muḥammad Khān Alīkozay (d. 1267/1851), who secured his position by control of the only effective military force, of the revenue and of the British subsidy negotiated in 1255/1839 and who deposed and murdered Kāmrān in 1258/1842. Kāmrān and Yār Muḥammad contin-

ued the Harātī tradition of alternately acknowledging and rejecting Iranian sovereignty and in 1253-4/1837-8 withstood a prolonged Iranian siege which devastated the Harāt valley.

Bibliography: See AFGHĀNISTĀN; see also Commonwealth Relations Office, London, *Gazetteer of Afghanistan, Part* 3, *Herat*, Calcutta 1910; J. P. Ferrier, *Caravan journeys*, 2nd ed. London 1857, Appendix F.; George W. Forrest (ed.), *Selections from the travels and journals preserved in the Bombay secretariat*, Bombay 1906; J. W. Kaye, *Lives of Indian officers*, 2 vols., London 1867 (arts. by Pottinger and Todd); A. Conolly, *Overland journey to India*, 2 vols., London 1831; H. L. O. Garrett and C. Grey, *European adventurers of Northern India, 1785-1849* Lahore 1929, Appendix, xxvii-xlviii (Court's Journal). (M. E. YAPP)

ḲAMŪNIYA [see AL-ḲAYRAWĀN].

KĀMRŪP, a region in western Assam [*q.v.*], the most north-easterly limit of penetration by Muslim armies in India. Conquest was not followed by any great settlement of Muslims in the region, which was in fact held only for limited periods. The few Muslims in the district today are mostly traders in the towns. For the history of the district as it affects Islam, see ASSAM. In the Muslim geographers (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, Marwazī) it is often referred to as Ḳʾmrwn. (ED.)

ḲĀMŪS (A.), dictionary.

1. ARABIC LEXICOGRAPHY

The word *ḳāmūs/ḳawmas*, from the Greek Ὠκεανός appeared in Arabic, at the latest at the time of the Prophet, with the meaning of "the bottom, the very deepest part of the sea". Nevertheless, following Ptolemy, the Arab geographers borrowed the Greek word again, in the form *Uḳiyānūs*, and applied it to "the mass of water surrounding the earth", more particularly the Atlantic Ocean, which was called *Uḳiyānūs al-muḥīṭ*, then more simply *al-Ḳāmūs al-muḥīṭ*. As this latter term was employed in a metaphorical sense by al-Fīrūzābādī [*q.v.*] as the title of his great dictionary, *ḳāmūs* eventually came to be a common noun denoting a dictionary, though it still carried some sense of "fullness, exhaustiveness", in contrast to *muʿdjam* [*q.v.*], "Lexicon". This distinction, however, was neither general nor absolute, so that nowadays *muʿdjam* tends to be used in the same sense as *ḳāmūs*. In classical Arabic, the concept of "dictionary" was not covered by any single term, each lexicographical work bearing its own title. A number of these titles included the word *lugha*, "language", and lexicography was called *ʿilm al-lugha* "the science of language". Sometimes this was confused with "philology", which today is called *fiḳh al-lugha*, an expression already employed in the Middle Ages by Ibn Fāris [*q.v.*] in the title of his celebrated *Ṣāḥibī*. The neologism *muʿdjamiyyāt* is now tending to gain currency.

In Persian, the general term for a dictionary was *farhang*, but, as in Arabic and also in Turkish, various expressions were also used in titles.

Mediaeval Arabic dictionaries may be classified in three groups, according to the arrangement used:

I. Those arranging roots anagrammatically, treating all permutations of a group of root letters under one heading, and separating biliterals, triliterals and longer roots. Almost all such dictionaries adopted an alphabetical order based on phonetic principles, beginning with gutturals, a practice somewhat reminiscent of the order of the Sanskrit alphabet. This system was first used by al-Khalīl [*q.v.*].

II. Those employing the "rhyme order"; that is, arranging roots primarily under the final radical, then the first and any intermediate radicals. Within this framework, the normal alphabetical order was followed. The first major work to use this system was al-Djawharī's *Ṣaḥāḥ*. This system soon gained the ascendancy in general dictionaries, and was not seriously questioned until the 19th century, under European influence.

III. Those arranged, more or less, on the modern European pattern insofar as roots are concerned. The earliest example, Abū ʿAmr al-Shaybānī's *Kitāb al-Djīm*, lists all words with the same initial in one chapter, but in no obvious order within the chapter. This has been called the "Kufan Method" (J. A. Haywood, *Arabic lexicography*). The modern arrangement proper goes back at least to Ibn Fāris. However, it found favour largely in specialized dictionaries such as those of the Ḳurʾān and *ḥadīth*. Al-Zamakhsharī's *Asās al-balāgha* adheres most closely to this arrangement.

The following are the principal mediaeval Arabic dictionaries, arranged in rough chronological order. (The Roman numerals I, II, and III in brackets after titles indicate the arrangement used in accordance with the above classification).

2nd/8th century: Al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad [*q.v.*], *Kitāb al-ʿayn fi 'l-lugha* (I), survives in at least three manuscripts; Père Anastase Marie de Saint Elie embarked on an edition in 1914, but he was unable to continue it beyond 144 pages and almost all the printed copies are lost. The first volume of a new edition, prepared by ʿAbd Allāh Darwīsh, appeared in Baghdād in 1386/1967 (with an alphabetical index). Abū ʿAmr al-Shaybanī, *Kitāb al-Djīm fi 'l-lugha* (III), is available only in manuscript (Madrid, Escorial no. 572).

3rd/9th century: Ibn Durayd [*q.v.*], *al-Djamhara fi 'l-lugha* (I). This combines the anagrammatical arrangement with the normal alphabetical order. The Ḥaydarābād (Deccan) edition (1344 AH) has a useful index listing the content in the modern manner.

4th/10th century: Al-Ṣāḥib ibn ʿAbbād [*q.v.*], *al-Muḥīṭ fi 'l-lugha* (I), Ms. only (ʿIrāḳ Nat. Mus.). Abū Manṣūr al-Azharī [*q.v.*], *Kitāb al-tahdhīb fi 'l-lugha* (I), Cairo 1964. Al-Djawharī [*q.v.*], *al-Ṣaḥāḥ* (or *Ṣiḥāḥ*) (II), Cairo 1956 and Būlāḳ n.d. Ibn Fāris [*q.v.*], *Maḳāyīs al-lugha* (III), Cairo 1366-71 AH. idem, *al-Mudjmal fi 'l-lugha* (III), vol. i (all published), Cairo 1958.

5th/11th century: Ibn Sīda/Sīduh [*q.v.*], *al-Muḥkam wa 'l-muḥīṭ al-aʿẓam fi 'l-lugha* (I), Cairo 1958. This work was compiled in Spain.

6th/12th century: al-Zamakhsharī [*q.v.*], *Asās al-balāgha* (III), Cairo 1953, largely concerned with the language of rhetoric.

7th/13th century: Ibn Mukarram or Ibn Manẓūr [*q.v.*], *Lisān al-ʿArab* (II), Būlāḳ 1300-8 AH, Beirut 1955-6. This is still the best-known large-scale dictionary.

8th/14th century: al-Fīrūzābādi [*q.v.*], *al-Ḳāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* (II). This is the standard handy dictionary, containing a very large vocabulary compressed into small space by the omission of supporting examples. It has been frequently printed, mostly in Cairo and in four volumes.

12th/18th century: Though not strictly mediaeval, Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī's *Tādj al-ʿarūs min djawāhir al-Ḳāmūs* (II), Būlāḳ 1306-7 AH, Kuwayt 1965, is best mentioned here. It is an expansion and extension of the *Ḳāmūs*, on the scale of the *Lisān al-ʿArab*.

The modern (European) dictionary arrangement is now normally used by Arabs. Buṭrus al-Bustānī used it for his 2-volume *Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ* (Beirut 1867-70), basically a re-arrangement of the *Ḳāmūs*. No large-scale Arabic dictionary has appeared in the Arab world since the *Tādj al-ʿarūs*. The most popular one-volume work is Louis Maʿlūf's *al-Mundjid*, Beirut 1908, 18Beirut 1965.

Bi-lingual dictionaries were rare in the Arab world until the present century. Kās͟hg͟harī's [*q.v.*] *Dīwān lug͟hāt al-Turk* (5th/11th century) explains Turkish words in Arabic, while al-Zamak͟hs͟harī's *Muḳaddimat al-adab* (*Samachstherii Lexicon Arabicum Persicum*, ed. J. G. Wetzstein, Leipzig 1843-50) gives the Persian equivalents of Arabic words. Neither is very conveniently arranged. To list all bi-lingual Arabic dictionaries published since the Renaissance would take several pages. Those mentioned below are of the literary language only, and do not include polyglot dictionaries.

Jacob Golius' *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum*, Leiden 1653, with a Latin-Arabic index, was pre-eminent until G. W. Freytag's larger work, with the same title, was published, Halle 1830-7 (also has a Latin-Arabic index). Both are based on the *Ḳāmūs*, recast in modern arrangement. A. de Biberstein Kazimirski's *Dictionnaire arabe-français*, Paris 1860, pays some attention to dialectical Arabic and is still very useful, since it is more complete than Père J.-B. Belot's *Vocabulaire arabe-français*, which has enjoyed general favour since 1883. Edward William Lane's *Arabic-English Lexicon*, London 1863-87, repr. 1955-7, though incomplete, is still widely used. These 19th-century works may well be superseded by two new dictionaries in the course of publication. The first, *Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache*, published in Wiesbaden in fascicules since 1957, is sponsored by the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft (the present editor (1974) is M. Ullmann). Definitions are in German and English. It begins at the letter *kāf*, where Lane's *Lexicon* becomes mere sketches, because of the urgent need to supplement the deficiencies of Lane. The second is the *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français-Anglais*, edited by Blachère, Chouémi and Denizeau, published in Paris in fascicules from 1961. It covers both the classical and the modern languages.

R. Dozy's *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, 2 vols., Leiden 1881, Paris 1927, is invaluable for words used in Arab Spain and the Mag͟hrib, and for much late-classical vocabulary. Modern literary Arabic is well served by Hans Wehr's *Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart*, Leipzig 1952; Supplement, Wiesbaden 1958; Eng. ed., J. Milton Cowan, *A dictionary of modern written Arabic*, Wiesbaden 1961.

The above account does not include dictionaries from European languages into Arabic. No comprehensive work has yet been published. Ellious Bochtor's *Dictionnaire français-arabe*, which appeared in a third edition revised and supplemented by Caussin de Perceval in Paris in 1864, has been practically forgotten. Belot's *Vocabulaire français-arabe* has gone through many revisions since 1889, but it is still inadequate. G. P. Badger's *English-Arabic Dictionary*, London 1913, is worthy of note. But the late Elias A. Elias's *Modern Dictionary English-Arabic*, Cairo 1913, has been very widely used. Munir Baalbaki's *al-Mawrid*, Beirut 1969, is fuller and more up-to-date, with considerable scientific and technical vocabulary, but Arabic definitions do not include some information—such as broken plurals—useful to European Arabists. There is a useful Russian-Arabic Dictionary by Baranov, Moscow 1964, while Götz Schregle's *Deutsch-Arabisches Wörterbuch*, 1st fasc., Wiesbaden 1963, at present under publication, will be of benefit. Two French-Arabic dictionaries have been published in Beirut: the first, *al-Manhal*, is the work of D̲jabbūr ʿAbd al-Nūr and Suhayl Idrīs (1970); the second (1972) is a French-Arabic *Mundjid*.

Bibliography: The following general works contain bibliographies. R. Dozy, *Supplément*, v-xxix; Aḥmad ʿAbd al-G͟hafūr ʿAṭṭār, *al-Ṣaḥāḥ wa-madāris al-muʿdjamāt al-ʿarabiyya*, Cairo 1956, a reprint of the author's introductory volume to his edition of the *Ṣaḥāḥ*; A. Darwīs͟h, *al-Maʿādjim al-ʿarabiyya*, Cairo 1956; J. A. Haywood, *Arabic lexicography—its history and its place in the general history of lexicography*, Leiden 1959, 21965; Ṣiddīḳ Ḥasan K͟hān, *al-Bulg͟ha fī uṣūl al-lug͟ha*, Istanbul 1296 AH, contains an alphabetical list of the chief mediaeval Arabic dictionaries. For a brief account of L. Kopf's important but unpublished thesis on Arabic lexicography see *BSOAS*, xvii (1955), 617-8. See also W. Marçais, *Arabic lexicography* (in Arabic), in *Articles et Conférences*, Paris 1961, 145-70. (J. A. Haywood)

2. Persian Lexicography

The normal Persian word for "dictionary" is *farhang*, which also retains its original meaning of "learning, education". In its Middle Persian (Pahlavi) form it is applied to two glossaries which, though undated, preserve pre-Islamic material. The *Frahang-ī 'oīm ek'*, named after its first entry, lists Avestan words with their Pahlavi equivalents. The *Frahang-ī Pahlawīg* provides mainly the Persian equivalents of the basically Aramaic ideograms used in Pahlavi, with their traditional mnemonic readings. Owing to the great ambiguity of the Pahlavi script, many of these readings are fantastic, *e.g.*, *binmīn* (Aram. *brh* read as *bnmn*) for *pus*, "son".

The earliest named dictionary of modern Persian is the *Risāla* of Abū Ḥafṣ-i Sug͟hdī, variously attributed from the 1st/7th to the 5th/11th centuries. Although no longer extant, this work seems to have been still available to compilers of the 11th/17th century. The *Lughat-i furs* by the poet Abū Manṣūr ʿAlī b. Aḥmad Asadī Ṭūsī is the oldest surviving Persian dictionary. Compiled about 450/1058-460/1068, its purpose was to explain about 1,200 rare and archaic words in the older poets of eastern Iran. It is arranged alphabetically by rhymes, each entry supported by a quotation in verse. A slightly earlier work by the poet Ḳaṭrān of Tabrīz, *Tafāsīr fī lug͟hat al-furs*, is lost. No other Persian dictionary is recorded until the beginning of the 8th/14th century. The lexicographers of the period devoted their energies instead to the analysis of Arabic, particularly of the Ḳur'ān, in both Arabic and Persian. Of lexica with Persian glosses we have the *Kitāb al-maṣādir* and *Tardjumān al-Ḳur'ān* of Ḥusayn Zawzanī (d. 486/1093), *Dastūr al-lug͟ha al-ʿarabiyya* and *Kitāb al-mirḳāt* by Ḥusayn Naṭanzī (d. 499/1106), *al-Sāmī fi 'l-asāmī* (497/1104) by Abu 'l-Faḍl Maydānī, the celebrated *Muḳaddimat al-adab* (before 521/1127) by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Maḥmūd al-Zamak͟hs͟harī, *Tādj al-maṣādir* by D̲jaʿfarak Bayhaḳī (d. 544/1150; a work of this name is also ascribed, almost certainly wrongly, to the poet Rūdakī, d. 329/940-1), *Ḳānūn al-adab* (545/1150-1) by Abu 'l-Faḍl Ḥubays͟h Tiflīsī, a work based on al-D̲jawharī's Arabic *al-Ṣiḥāḥ* called *al-Ṣurāḥ min al-ṣiḥāḥ* (681/1282-3) by D̲jamāl al-Ḳuras͟hī, and several others.

Also based on the Arabic *Ṣiḥāḥ* is the Persian *Ṣiḥāḥ al-furs* (or, *al-ʿad̲j̲am*) by Muḥammad Hindū-s̲h̲āh Nak̲h̲d̲j̲awānī S̲h̲ams-i Muns̲h̲ī, written in 728/1327-8. The third oldest Persian dictionary, forming the fourth part of a treatise on poetics called *Miʿyār-i D̲j̲amālī*, by S̲h̲ams al-Dīn Muḥammad Fak̲h̲rī Iṣfahānī (S̲h̲ams-i Fak̲h̲rī), an older contemporary of Ḥāfiẓ, was written in 745/1344. It is modelled on Asadī's work, but the supporting verses for its 1,600-odd words are mostly by the author himself, and so less reliable.

After this time the centre of Persian lexicography moved to India. Two works of the 8th/14th century are preserved, the *Farhang-nāma* (*ca.* 700/1300) by Mubārak S̲h̲āh G̲h̲aznawī, Fak̲h̲r-i Ḳawwās, and *Baḥr al-faḍāʾil* (*ca.* 795/1393 ?) by Muḥammad b. Ḳiwām al-Balk̲h̲ī. The *Adāt al-fuḍalāʾ* (822/1419) by Ḳāḍī-k̲h̲ān Muḥammad Dihlawī D̲h̲ārwāl names other sources since lost. Many more Persian dictionaries were compiled in India in the next two centuries, of which it is possible to name only the *S̲h̲araf-nāma-i Aḥmad Munayrī* (878/1473-4) by Ibrāhīm Ḳiwām al-Dīn Fārūḳī, based on the poets, the *Tuḥfat al-saʿāda* (916/1510-1) by Maḥmūd b. S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad, without quotations, *Muʾayyid al-afāḍil* (925/1519) by Muḥammad b. Lād Dihlawī, *Farhang-i Wafāʾī* (933/1526-7) by Ḥusayn Wafāʾī, *Kas̲h̲f al-lug̲h̲āt* (*ca.* 950/1543 ?) by ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Aḥmad Sūr, and *Madār al-afāḍil* (1001/1593) by Ilāhdād Fayḍī Sirhindī.

The same period saw the rise of another stream to feed the Persian sea, namely the efforts of Turks to interpret Persian writers. After the anonymous and undated *Aḳnūm-i ʿad̲j̲am*, the first important works of this type are the three compilations by Luṭf Allāh b. Abī Yūsuf Ḥalīmī, *Baḥr al-g̲h̲arāʾib*, *Nit̲h̲ār al-mulūk* (872/1467-8) and the shorter *Ḳāʾima* (917/1511-2). Ḥalīmī stands out by reason of the critical attitude he adopted towards his sources. Among similar contemporary works were *S̲h̲āmil al-lug̲h̲āt* (*ca.* 900/1495) by Ḥasan b. Ḥusayn Ḳaraḥiṣārī, *Wasīlat al-maḳāṣid* (903/1497-8) by K̲h̲aṭīb Rustam Mawlawī, and the *Tuḥfa-yi S̲h̲āhidī* (920/1514-5) in verse, by Ibrāhīm b. K̲h̲udāydede. All but the last of these works were used by Niʿmat Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Mubārak al-Rūmī in the preparation of his celebrated *Lug̲h̲at-i Niʿmat Allāh* (before 947/1540).

At the beginning of the 11th/17th century two major compilations appeared. In 1008/1599-1600 Muhammad Ḳāsim Kās̲h̲ānī Surūrī produced his *Mad̲j̲maʿ al-furs* for S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās Ṣafawī. Thirty-eight earlier dictionaries are named among his sources and nearly 6,000 words defined. At the same time, at the Mog̲h̲ul court, D̲j̲amāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn Ind̲j̲ū S̲h̲īrāzī was preparing the work named *Farhang-i D̲j̲ahāngīrī* when it appeared in 1017/1608-9. More than 40 sources are quoted, though evidently not all directly, many in common with Surūrī, and some since lost. Surūrī, acquiring Ind̲j̲ū's work, revised his own dictionary by 1038/1628-9.

Later in the century two attempts were made to improve on these works. In 1062/1652 Muḥammad Ḥusayn b. K̲h̲alaf Tabrīzī, Burhān, produced his famous *Burhān-i ḳāṭiʿ* in Ḥaydarābād, Dakhān, and two years later ʿAbd al-Ras̲h̲īd al-Ḥusaynī al-Tattawī his *Farhang-i Ras̲h̲īdī*. Ras̲h̲īd sought to shorten his work by omitting much of the quoted verse. Burhān's changes were more sweeping. For the first time the vocabulary, of some 20,000 words, was arranged completely alphabetically, in contrast with the complicated, partially alphabetic arrangements of his predecessors, and all attestation or indication of source was omitted.

From the very beginning mistakes had crept into Persian lexica, mainly owing to the ambiguity of badly written manuscript sources. S̲h̲ams-i Fak̲h̲rī already had *grʾz* for *gavāz*, *pʾknd* for *yākand*, etc., and the number of errors mounted steadily with time. In the *Burhān* two major new types of falsity appeared. One was the inclusion of the traditional readings of the ideograms in Pahlavi, from the *Frahang-i Pahlawīg*, with the label "in Zand and Pāzand". The other was the tacit incorporation of the vocabulary of the *Dasātīr*, an anonymous and spurious "holy book of the ancient Persians" containing many distorted or invented words. The most flagrant errors in any dictionary, however, are probably to be found in the great Persian-Turkish *Farhang* (1075/1664-5) by S̲h̲uʿūrī Ḥasan Efendī. In addition to the vocabulary of his predecessors, almost every page of S̲h̲uʿūrī's work contains invented words, supported by bad verse attributed to fictitious poets. Their origin will probably never be known.

More than any previous dictionary, the *Burhān-i ḳāṭiʿ* gave rise to a series of works criticizing or defending it. The most valuable of these is the *Sirād̲j̲ al-lug̲h̲āt* (1147/1734-5) by the poet Sirād̲j̲ al-Dīn ʿAlī K̲h̲ān Ārzū. This was shortly followed by a vast compilation called *Bahār-i ʿad̲j̲am* (1162/1749) by a pupil of Ārzū, Rāy Tēkčand Bahār, from whose time onwards the vocabulary of contemporary writers began to find a place in the dictionaries beside that of the classics.

By this time European contacts with Iran and India had led to a lexicographical interest. In 1669 Edmund Castell contributed the first printed Persian dictionary in his *Lexicon heptaglotton*, quoting Niʿmat Allāh's *Lug̲h̲at* and a manuscript work by Jacob Golius (1596-1668) as his sources, but evidently also using S̲h̲uʿūrī *inter alia*. In 1680 Franz von Mesgnien Meninski's Turkish-Arabic-Persian *Thesaurus* appeared, incorporating the works of Ḥalīmī, Niʿmat Allāh and S̲h̲uʿūrī, and the *D̲j̲ahāngīrī*. Meninski's was the mountain from which John Richardson's *Dictionary Persian Arabic and English* (1777-80) was quarried, later to be enlarged by Francis Johnson (1829). J. A. Vullers' *Lexicon Persico-Latinum* (1855-64) and J. J. P. Desmaisons' *Dictionnaire persan-français* (1908) both drew on these European works, but also on the *Burhān*, the baleful S̲h̲uʿūrī, the *Bahār-i ʿad̲j̲am*, and other oriental works. F. Steingass's *Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary* (1892) goes furthest on the downward path of omitting all references to sources.

In the 13th/19th century many more Persian dictionaries in the classical tradition appeared in India, including *S̲h̲ams al-lug̲h̲āt* (1220/1805-6) compiled under the direction of Joseph Barretto, *Haft ḳulzum* (1237/1822) by Ḳabūl Muḥammad, but ascribed to the sultan of Awadh (Oudh), *G̲h̲iyāt̲h̲ al-lug̲h̲āt* (1242/1826-7) by Muḥammad G̲h̲iyāt̲h̲ al-Dīn, and the *Farhang-i Ānandrād̲j̲* (1306/1888-9) by Muḥammad Pāds̲h̲āh S̲h̲ād. In Iran Riḍā Ḳulī Hidāyat's compilation, *Farhang-i and̲j̲uman-ārā-yi Nāṣirī* (1286/1869-70), was the most significant, despite his swallowing the *Dasātīr* whole.

The foundations of modern lexicography in Persian, relying on direct recording of the spoken and written word, may be said to have been laid in 1874 by J. L. Schlimmer's *Terminologie médico-pharmaceutique et anthropologique française-persane*. The number of present-day Persian dictionaries is legion. Mention can be made only of two outstanding but disparate ventures: in Europe Fritz Wolff's *Glossar zu Firdosis Schahname* (1935), with full references, and in Iran

the encyclopeadic *Lughat-nāma*, begun by ʿAlī Akbar Dihkhudā (1879/1956) and continued under the direction of Muḥammad Muʿīn and others.

Bibliography: P. de Lagarde, *Persische Studien*, Göttingen 1884; C. Salemann, *Bericht über die Ausgabe des Miʿjâr i Jamâlî, Beilage V, Chronologisches Verzeichnis der Farhange*, in *Mélanges Asiatiques*, ix, 4 (1888), 505-94; ʿA. A. Dihkhudā *et al.*, *Lughat-nāma*, 40, *Muḳaddima*, Tehran 1959, 178-378; S. I. Baevskiy, *Opisanie tadžikskikh i persidskikh rukopisey Instituta Narodov Azii*, vip. 4, 5, Moscow 1962-8; F. Tauer, *Persian learned literature*, III, *Philology*, in J. Rypka *et al.*, *History of Iranian Literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 429-37.

(D. N. MacKenzie)

3. Turkish Lexicography.

a) Oriental Dictionaries. Turkish lexicographers maintained the arrangement of Arabic and Persian dictionaries.

The first Turkic dictionary is Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī's *Dīwān lughāt al-Turk*, written in Baghdād in 466/1074 (ed. Kilisli Rifʿat, Istanbul 1333-5/1915-7; dictionaries based on it by C. Brockelmann 1928, B. Atalay 1943). It deals with the standard language of the Ḳarakhānid Empire, including a number of dialect words. The meanings are given in Arabic and illustrated by quotations from Turkic folk poetry.

Kāshgharī's work served as a model for the Kipčak Turkish dictionaries produced in Egypt and Syria in the 8th/14th-9th/15th centuries (O. Pritsak in *PhTF*, i, 75-6): Abū Ḥayyān, *K. al-Idrāk* (712/1313, ed. A. Caferoğlu 1931); the anonymous *Tardjumān Turkī* (743/1343, not 643/1245, cf. B. Flemming in *Isl.*, xliv (1968), 226-9, ed. M. Th. Houtsma 1894); Djamāl al-Dīn al-Turkī, *K. Bulghat al-mushtāḳ* (8th/14th cent., ed. A. Zajaczkowski 1954-8); the anonymous *K. al-Tuḥfat al-Zakiyya* (8th/14th cent., ed. T. Halasi Kun 1942, B. Atalay 1945); the anonymous *al-Ḳawānīn al-kulliyya* (9th/15th cent., ed. Fuad Köprülü 1928) and the recently discovered *K. al-Durra al-muḍīʾa* (partial ed. by A. Zajączkowski in *RO*, xxix (1965).

In Khwārazm al-Zamakhsharī's *Muḳaddimat al-adab* was popular. No less than 15 manuscript copies of this work, provided—fully or partly—with Khwārazmian Turkic glosses, have survived (Z. V. Togan in *TM*, xiv (1964), 81-92).

The Čaghatāy dictionaries were compiled primarily to facilitate the reading of the works of Nawāʾī (844/1441-906/1501). Their arrangement is alphabetical and the items under each letter are entered according to the vowel which follows the initial letter. Poetical quotations help to illustrate the meanings of a word. Important are: Ṭāliʿ Īmānī of Herāt, *Badāʾiʿ al-lughat* (Čagh.-Pers., before 912/1506, ed. A. K. Borovkov 1961); the anonymous *Abushḳa* (Čagh.-Ottoman, first half of the 10th/16th century, ed. A. Vámbéry 1862, V. Velʾyaminov-Zernov 1968); Mīrzā Mahdī Khān, *Sanglākh* (Čagh.-Pers., *ca.* 1172/1758, ed. Sir G. Clauson 1960).

Ottoman lexicography starts with versified vocabularies, averaging 2,000 Arabic or Persian words explained in Turkish. These vocabularies, destined to be memorized, are divided into *ḳiṭʿas* (sections) in which words of similar form or sound are grouped together. One of the earliest is the *Tuḥfe-i Ḥusāmī* (Pers.-Turk., 802/1399) by Ḥusām, mentioned in the *Tuḥfe-i Shāhidī* (see below). Famous were: Firishteoghlu ʿAbd al-Laṭīf (d. before 879/1474), *Lughat-i Firishteoghlu* (Ar.-Turk.), printed in the margins of another Ar.-Turk. versified vocabulary, *Subḥa-i Ṣibyān* (n.d.); Shāhidī Ibrāhīm Dede, *Tuḥfe-i Shāhidī* (Pers.-Turk., 920/1514, lith. 1275/1853); Sünbülzāde Meḥmed Vehbī (d. 1809), *Tuḥfe-i Vehbī* (Pers.-Turk., 1st ed. 1213/1798) and *Nukhbe-i Vehbī* (Ar.-Turk., 1st ed. 1220/1805); Ḥasan ʿAynī, *Naẓm al-Djawāhir* (Ar.-Pers.-Turk., printed 1250/1834-5); Aḥmed ʿĀṣim (d. 1235/1819), *Tuḥfe-i ʿĀṣim* (printed, Būlāḳ 1254/1838-9).

Large dictionaries were also produced. In the Arabic-Turkish dictionaries the Arabic words are arranged in *bābs* either according to the initial or according to the last letter, and, under each *bāb*, divided into *faṣls* according to the second and following letters. The best known are: Muṣṭafā b. Shams al-Dīn al-Ḳaraḥiṣārī, *Akhtarī Kabīr* (*Akhterī-i Kebīr*) or *Lughat-i Akhterī* (952/1545), at least 15 editions between 1826 and 1906; Aḥmed ʿĀṣim, *al-Oḳiyānūs al-Basīṭ* (1st ed. 1230/1814-1233/1818), the translation of al-Fīrūzābādī's *al-Ḳāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*; Meḥmed b. Muṣṭafā al-Wānī (Wānḳulu), *Tardjamat Ṣiḥāḥ al-Djawharī* (printed by Ibrāhīm Müteferriḳa, 1141-1729), the translation of al-Djawharī's famous *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*. In the Persian dictionaries the Persian words are arranged in *bābs* according to the initial letter, and within each *bāb* in three sections according to the vowel after the first letter. Important are: Niʿmat Allāh b. Aḥmed, *Lughat-i Niʿmat Allāh* (947/1540, unpublished), in which verbs and nouns are dealt with separately; Ḥasan Shuʿūrī, *Farhang-i Shuʿūrī* (1080/1669-1092/1682, printed by Ibrāhīm Müteferriḳa, 1155/1742); Aḥmed ʿĀṣim, *Tibyān-i nāfiʿ* (1st ed. 1214/1799-1800), the translation of al-Tabrīzī's *Burhān-i ḳāṭiʿ*, with an arrangement as in modern dictionaries. The best known Turkish-Arabic-Persian dictionary is Esʿad Meḥmed Efendi's *Lahdjat al-lughāt* (1145/1732-3, printed 1216/1801-2).

b) European Dictionaries. The conquest of Constantinople (1453) brought the Ottomans into close contact with the West. Owing to various interests, many dictionaries were produced first by European, later also by Turkish lexicographers. Famous dictionaries were: Fr. Meninski, *Thesaurus*, Vienna 1680, revised as *Lexicon turco-arabico-persicum*, Vienna 1780; J. D. Kieffer-T. X. Bianchi, *Dictionnaire turc-français*, Paris 1835-7; J. Th. Zenker, *Türkisch-arabisch-persisches Handwörterbuch*, Leipzig 1866-76, reprinted 1967; J. W. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English lexicon*, Constantinople 1890, ₂1921; Shams al-Dīn Sāmī, *Dictionnaire français-turc*, Istanbul 1299/1882; I. Khlōros, *Lexikòn tourko-ellēnikón*, Istanbul 1899/1900. Unilingual: Aḥmed Wefīḳ Pasha, *Lehdje-i ʿOthmānī*, Istanbul 1293/1876; Sh. Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs-i Türkī*, Istanbul 1317-8/1899-1900. Eastern Turkic: Pavet de Courteille, *Dictionnaire turk-oriental*, Paris 1870; Sheykh Süleymān Efendi, *Lughāt-i Čaghatāy we Türkī-i ʿOthmānī*, Istanbul 1298/1881.

Of the numerous modern dictionaries may be mentioned: Fritz Heuser, *Heuser-Şevket Türkisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*, Wiesbaden ₆1967; H. C. Hony-Fahir İz, *A Turkish-English dictionary*, Oxford ₂1957; eidem, *An English-Turkish dictionary*, Oxford 1952, several new editions, reprinted 1968; *New Redhouse Turkish-English dictionary*, ed. the American Board, Istanbul 1968. Unilingual: *Türkçe sözlük*, ed. Türk Dil Kurumu, Ankara ₆1969. For more titles see A. Caferoğlu, *Yeni Çağ Türk dili lûgatleri*, in *Ist. Ün. Ed. Fak. Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi*, xiv (1966), 9-52.

The vast majority of (non-Ottoman) Turkic languages are spoken in the Soviet Union. Before the Soviet period dictionaries of several of these languages already existed. However, their systematic investigation began only after World War I. Today dictionaries

of all Turkic languages spoken in the Soviet Union and in China, *i.e.*, Altay, Ādharbaydjānī, Bashkir, Čuvash, Gagauz, Karačay-Balkar, Karaim, Karakalpak, Kazakh, Khakas, Kirghiz, Kumik, Nogay, Shor Tatar, Turkoman, Tuvinian, Uzbek, (New) Uighur, Yakut, are available, see *Slovari, izdannie v SSSR. Bibliografičeskiy ukazatel'*, Moscow 1966, 129-162. Turcologists set great value on the following: Ė. K. Pekarskiy, *Slovar' yakutskogo yazika*, i, Petrograd 1917 (tr. into Turkish, *Yakut Sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1945), ii-iii, Leningrad 1927-30; N. I. Ashmarin, *Thesaurus linguae Tschuvaschorum*, i-ii, Kazan, iii-xvii, Čeboksarî 1928-50; K. K. Yudakhin, *Kirgizsko-russkiy slovar'*, Moscow 1940 (tr. into Turkish, *Kirgiz Sözlüğü*, Ankara 1945-8), 21965.

c) Special Dictionaries. Historical: K. Grønbech, *Komanisches Wörterbuch*, Copenhagen 1942; *Tarama Sözlüğü*, revised ed., Türk Dil Kurumu, Ankara 1963- ; A. Caferoğlu, *Eski Uygur Türkçesi Sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1968; *Drevnetyurkskiy slovar'*, Leningrad 1969; Ė. Fazîlov, *Starouzbekskiy yazik*, Tashkent 1966-71. Comparative: L. Budagov, *Sravnitel'nïy slovar' turetsko-tatarskikh narečiy*, 2 vols., St. Petersburg 1869-71, reprinted 1961; W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches der Türk-Dialecte*, 4 vols., St. Petersburg 1893-1911, reprinted The Hague 1960, Moscow 1963; H. Kâzim Kadri, *Türk lugati*, 4 vols., Istanbul 1927-45. Dialect: *Türkiyede Halk Ağzından Söz Derleme Dergisi*, ed. Türk Dil Kurumu, 3 vols., Istanbul 1939-47, revised and enlarged ed., Ankara 1963; G. Jarring, *An Eastern Turki-English dialect dictionary*, Lund 1964. Etymological: M. Räsänen, *Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türksprachen*, Helsinki 1969; Sir Gerard Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth-century Turkish*, Oxford 1972.

Bibliography (in addition to that in the article): Rieu, *Turk. Mss.*, 134-149, 263-9; Blochet, *Mss. Turcs*; F. E. Karatay, *İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe basmalar alfabe kataloğu*, 2 vols., Istanbul 1956; idem, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Türkçe yazmalar kataloğu*, ii, Istanbul 1961, 3-42; *Tarama Sözlüğü*, i, Ankara 1963, X-XCI; J. Benzing, *Einführung in das Studium der altaischen Philologie und der Turkologie*, Wiesbaden 1953; the bibliographies in *PhTF*, i; G. Hazai, *Sovietico-Turcica*, Budapest 1960, s.v. *Wörterbücher* (p. 314).

(J. Eckmann)

ḲĀN [see KHĀN].

ḲĀN WA-ḲĀN, the name of one of the seven post-classical genres of poetry (*fann*, pl. *funūn*), the others being the *silsila*, the *dūbayt* or *rubāʿī*, the *muwashshaḥ*, the *ḳūmā*, the *mawāliyā* and the *zadjal* [*qq.v.*]. The genre was devised by the Baghdādī poets and its name derives from the formula used by storytellers to open their narratives: "there was and there was", *i.e.*, "once upon a time"; originally, in fact, the *kān wa-kān* was just a rhyming story and it was only later that the term was applied to various subjects, particularly those of a moral or didactic nature, or to wisdom tales. Always written in dialectical Arabic, it was popular only in the East and especially in Baghdād. A *kān wa-kān* poem is in monorhyme with a long vowel after the *rawī* [see ḲĀFIYA]; in each verse the first hemistich is longer than the second and the metre is as follows:

1st hemistich:

mustafʿilun,	*faʿilātun,*	*mustafʿilun,*	*mustafʿilun*
↓	↓		↓
mafāʿilun	*faʿilātun*		*mutafāʿilun*
	↓		
	mafʿūlun		

2nd hemistich:

mustafʿilun,	*fāʿilātun,*	*mustafʿilun,*	*faʿlān*
	↓		
	faʿilātun		

Bibliography: examples of *kān wa-kān* can be found in Ibshīhī, *Mustaṭraf*, Būlāḳ 1292, ii, 273 f. = Cairo 1332, ii, 239 f. = Cairo n.d., ii, 288 f. Abu 'l-Fidā', *Ta'rīkh*, Istanbul 1286, iv, 158; Ḥurayfīsh, *al-Rawḍ al-fā'iḳ*, Cairo 1311, 23, 26, 29, 33, 34, 42, 53, 55, 71, 74, 77, 80, 86, 135, 137, 144, 169, 181, 191, 204, 217; Ḥillī-W. Hoenerbach, *Die vulgärarabische Poetik...*, Wiesbaden 1956, 42, 72, 148-70; M. Ṭalʿat, *Ghāyat al-arab fī ṣināʿat shiʿr al-ʿArab*, Cairo 1316, 92-110; N. Diyāb, *Ta'rīkh ādāb al-lugha al-ʿarabiyya*, Cairo n.d., i, 129-50; H. Gies, *al-Funūn al-sabʿa. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis sieben neuerer arabischer Versarten*, Leipzig 1879, 53-62.

(M. Ben Cheneb*)

ḲANĀ [see ḲUNĀ].

KĀNAMĪ [see KĀNEMĪ].

KANʿĀN, the biblical Kᵉnaʿan, is a personality regarding whom the few extant traditions agree on scarcely a single point. Al-Bayḍāwī (ed. Fleischer, i, 513) mentions him as the father of the famous Nimrūd (Numrūd according to the *LA* and the *TA*); he is also regarded as the ancestor of the Kanʿāniyyūn (*LA*, x, 191) and of the Berbers (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, index; al-Dimashḳī, *Nukhbat al-dahr*, ed. Mehren, 266; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, vi, 93, 97). Very little is known about him. Many believe that the story in Sūra XI, 44 ff. about a son of Nūḥ who disregarded his father's fervent pleas and refused to take refuge in the Ark, thus perishing with the unbelievers, refers to him (al-Bayḍāwī, *ad loc.* and al-Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, Cairo 1324, 36). Al-Ṭabarī (i, 199) also mentions a son of Nūḥ called Kanʿān who lost his life in the Flood, but treats the ḳur'ānic verse in question as referring to Yām b. Nuḥ (see *Tafsīr*, *ad loc.*), although in i, 199 he identifies the latter with Kanʿān.

While Kanʿān appears here as a son of Nūḥ and Ibn al-Kalbī mentions "Shālūm, that is, Kanʿān" as Nūḥ's fourth son (in Yāḳūt, iv, 311), in the passage parallel to Genesis, ix, 25 (in al-Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, 212) he appears as a son of Ḥām b. Nūḥ (cf. al-Yaʿḳūbī, i, 13 ff., 16; cf. also al-Masʿūdī, iii, 240, 294). According to a third tradition (in Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*) Kanʿān was a son of Sām b. Nūḥ, and according to a fourth—but unreliable—tradition a son of Kūsh b. Ḥām (al-Dimashḳī, *op. cit.*).

(B. Joel*)

KANʿĀN PASHA [see KENʿĀN PASHA].

ḲANĀT (A.), pl. *ḳanawāt*, *ḳanā*, *ḳunī*, *aḳniya*, "canal, irrigation system, water-pipe". Used also for a baton, a lance, etc., the term originally meant "reed" [see ḲAṢAB] and it is with this meaning and that of "rush" that the word *ḳanū* is known in Akkadian (cf. Zimmern, *Akkad. Fremdwörter*, Leipzig 1915, 56); becoming *ḳanā* in Hebrew and *ḳanyā* in Aramaic, it passed into Arabic and was also borrowed in Greek and Latin in the forms κάννα, κάννη (κάνη), *canna*; by an evolution parallel to that of *ḳanāt*, the Latin word *canalis* "in the shape of a reed", acquired the meaning of "pipe, canal".

In Persian *ḳanāt* is used today especially for those underground water pipes which are the subject of this article (hydraulic methods in general are discussed in MĀ'; BI'R; FILĀḤA; see also ḲANṬARA, etc.).

I. In Iran

The *ḳanāt*, a mining installation or technique using galleries or cross-cuts to extract water from the depths of the earth, has been described as the greatest contribution made by Persians to hydraulics. *Ḳanāt*s are a special feature of the Persian plateau, where geological conditions are favourable to the enrichment of underground pools of water and so to the spread of *ḳanāt*s (see further H. Goblot, *Le problème de l'eau en Iran*, in *Orient*, xxiii (1962), 46-55, also published in an English translation in *The economic history of Iran 1800-1914*, ed. C. Issawi, Chicago 1971, 214-19). They are mainly associated with large alluvial fans in the piedmont zone between the high mountains and the *kavīr* or salt desert, or in large alluvial valleys on the desert margin, but are also found in the larger intermontane valleys of the Zagros Mountains. By means of a gently sloping tunnel, which cuts through alluvial soil and passes under the water-table into the aquifer, water is brought by gravity flow from its upper end, where it seeps into the gallery, to a ground surface outlet and irrigation canal at its lower end. In eastern and south-eastern Persia, Afg͟hānistān, and Balūčistān these installations are known as *kārīz*.

The origin of the techniques used in the construction of *ḳanāt*s is to be sought in the old kingdom of Urartu around Lake Urūmiyya (Riḍā'iyya in north-western Persia) (R. J. Forbes, *Studies in ancient technology*, Leiden 1955-8, i, 153 ff.). A *ḳanāt* built by Sennacherib (705-681 B.C.), whose father, Sargon II, claims to have learnt the secret of tapping underground water in his campaign against Urartu, still carries water to the city of Erbil (J. Laessøe, *Reflections on modern and ancient oriental waterworks*, in *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, vii (1953), 5-26). With the establishment of the Achaemenian empire *ḳanāt*s appear to have spread westwards to the Mediterranean and Egypt and southwards to Oman and Southern Arabia. In Egypt *ḳanāt*s, probably built during the Persian occupation, have been found in the K͟harga oasis and Matruh (A. T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian empire*, Chicago 1948, 224; H. J. L. Beadnell, *An Egyptian oasis: an account of the oasis of Kharga in the Libyan desert, with special reference to its history, physical geography, and water supply*, London 1909, 171; idem, *Remarks on the pre-historic geography and underground waters of Kharga oasis*, in *Geographical Journal*, 1933, 128-39; G. W. Murray, *Water from the desert: some ancient Egyptian achievements*, in *Geographical Journal*, 1955, 171-81; G. F. Walpole, *An ancient subterranean aqueduct west of Matruh*, in *Survey of Egypt*, Cairo 1932). The second major diffusion of *ḳanāt*s took place in the early centuries of Islam, when they were introduced into Spain by the Umayyads of Spain (see J. O. Asín, *Historia del nombre "Madrid"*, Madrid 1959) and thence to Marrakesh, where they are known as *khettara*s or *rhettara*s, the Canary Islands, Mexico and Chile (C. Troll, *Qanat Bewässerung in der alten und neuen Welt*, in *Mitteilungen der Österreichischen geographischen Gesellschaft*, 1963, 313-30; idem, *Techniques agricoles, milieu naturel et Histoire de l'Humanité*, in *Bull. de la société géographique de Liège*, December 1967). In the 4th/10th century they spread to southern Algeria, where they are called *foggara* (*faḳḳara*). They are also found in the Damascus oasis, east of the River Jordan near Shunat Nimrun, south-east of Riyāḍh at al-K͟hard͟j, north of D͟hahrān at al-Ḳaṭīf, in Cyprus and in the Turfān oasis, where the technique was apparently introduced in the 18th century (M. Cable and F. French, *The Gobi desert*, New York 1944, 184-5. See further C. Troll and C. Braun, *Madrid, Die Wasserversorgung der Stadt durch Qanate im Laufe der Geschichte*, in *Abhandlungen des mathematisch-naturwissenschaftlichen Klasse*, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Mainz, 1972, No. 5, 105-90 for a discussion of the geographical disposal of *Ḳanāt*s).

*Ḳanāt*s are constructed by specialists called *muḳannī*s (*čāhk͟hū* in Kirmān and Yazd, cf. Muḥammad Mufīd, *D͟jāmi-i Mufīdī*, ed. Īrad͟j Afs͟hār, Tehran 1961, i, 127; Iskandar Beg, *ʿĀlamārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, Iṣfahān 1956, i, 473; *kumus͟h*, Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Ḳummī, *Ta'rīk͟h-i Ḳumm*, tr. into Persian by Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Malik, ed. Sayyid D͟jalāl al-Dīn Tehrānī, Tehran 1934, 42; *ʿĀlamārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, i, 473; *Kārīzkan* in Afg͟hānistān; and *Ḳumus͟hkan* in Kurdistān), whose knowledge and skill are largely passed from father to son. The inhabitants of certain districts, notably Yazd, are highly rated for their skill as *muḳannī*s. The traditional techniques of the *muḳannī* are described in a 5th/11th century Arabic work, *Anbāṭ al-miyā' al-k͟hafiyya*, by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥāsib al-Karad͟jī, whose patron was Abū G͟hānim b. Muḥammad, the *wazīr* of Manūčihr b. Wus͟hmgīr. This work was printed in Ḥaydarābād, Deccan, in 1940, and an abbreviated translation entitled *The construction of subterranean water supplies during the Abbaside caliphate*, was published by F. Krenkow in 1951 (*Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society*, xiii, 23-32). In 1966 a Persian translation, with the title *Istik͟hrād͟j-i ābhā-yi panhānī*, by Ḥusayn K͟hadīv D͟jam appeared in Tehran. This clarifies some of the difficulties in the published Arabic text. Al-Karad͟jī states in his preface that he had referred to various books by earlier writers on the exploitation of subterranean water and found them lacking. No craft was more beneficial than that which was concerned with the exploitation of subterranean water, because by its help the earth was made to flourish, men's lives achieved order, and abundant benefit accrued (*Istik͟hrād͟j-i ābhā-yi panhānī*, 2). His account makes clear that the techniques employed by *muḳannī*s were mining techniques.

The first step in making a *ḳanāt* is to sink a trial shaft (*gamāna*) to prove the presence and depth of the ground-water-table. The choice of location of the trial shaft is affected by the slope of the land, general topographical conditions, variations in vegetation, and the site of the land to be irrigated or the settlement to be provided with domestic water (cf. *Istik͟hrād͟j-i ābhā-yi panhānī*, on the indications by which the presence of underground water can be recognised, 19 ff.). When the trial shaft is sunk and water reached, the *muḳannī* then has to determine whether the well has struck a constant flow of water in an impermeable stratum (*āb-i kahrī*). If this is the case, the alignment and slope of the *ḳanāt* from this shaft, which becomes the mother well (*mādar čāh*), to the point where the *ḳanāt* is to come to the surface above the land which is to be irrigated, has then to be established. If the gradient is too steep, the water will flow too fast and erode the walls and the tunnel will fall in. Work on the *ḳanāt* usually begins at the lower end, *i.e.*, where the water of the *ḳanāt* is to come to the surface. The *muḳannī*, using a small pick and shovel, digs back towards the mother well, though occasionally work is begun simultaneously at both ends. One of the most difficult problems of the *muḳannī* is to avoid the rush of water when the tunnel enters the water-bearing section and a break-through is made (cf. *Istak͟hrād͟j-i ābhā-yi panhānī*,

on the digging of the trial shaft or *gamāna*, 35).

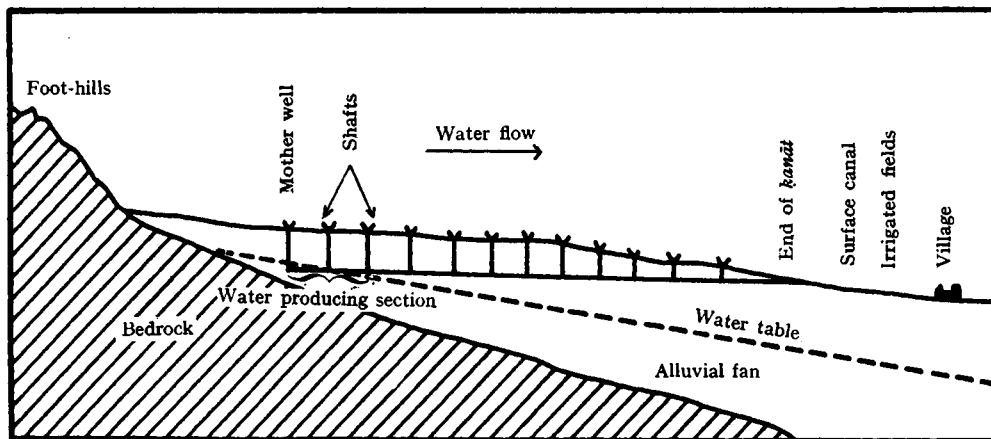
Vertical shafts are sunk from the surface to the tunnel every 20-150 yards or so, or are sunk first and then connected by a tunnel. The cross-section of a tunnel is usually elliptical with a height of *ca.* 4 ft. and a width of *ca.* 2½-3 ft. It is usually unlined, but if it passes through soft soil, baked clay hoops (*kaval, nāy, tanbūsha*) are used to prevent collapse (cf. *Istikhrādj*, 54 ff., 60 ff.). The vertical shafts are approximately 2 ft. 6 in. in diameter and their upper portions are strengthened by mud or stone linings. Their purpose is to give ventilation and to enable the soil excavated to be hauled to the surface in a bucket by a windlass. If the shaft is unusually deep a second windlass may be set halfway down in a niche. Round each shaft a ring of soil accumulates, and from the air the *ḳanāt* has the appearance of a line of small craters. On the whole, in those parts of Persia where *ḳanāt*s are found in abundance, and also in Balūčistān and Afghānistān, conditions are favourable to the digging of wells and galleries by the methods and tools used by *muḳannī*s. The gravel of which the soil is largely composed crumbles easily under the pickaxe with no need of explosives or, at a normal pace, of extraordinary effort. Caving-in on a large scale is rare, though minor subsidence is common. The *muḳannī* carries a castor-oil lamp to test the ventilation, and if the air does not keep the flame alight another shaft is built (cf. *Istikhrādj*, 57-8). Al-Karadjī describes protective clothing suitable for the *muḳannī* (59).

The gradient of a *ḳanāt* is established by the use of a spirit-level suspended between two pieces of cord, each about 10 yards long. It varies from 1:1,000 or 1:1,500 in a short *ḳanāt*, but in a long *ḳanāt* is nearly horizontal (cf. *Istikhrādj-i ābhā-yi panhānī*, which discusses three types of levelling instruments, or *tarāz*, used by *muḳannī*s and a fourth invented by the author, 64 ff.). Al-Karadjī states that the gradient should be 1 *dhirāʿ* per *farsakh*, *i.e.*, rather less than seems to be the general practice (115). The length of *ḳanāt*s varies. Some are quite short, but *ḳanāt*s of 5-10 miles are common and some may be 20 miles or more, as is the case with several in Yazd and Kirmān. The depth of the mother well varies: shallow ones may be less than 25 ft., while many are as much as 150-350 ft. The deepest known mother well is at Gūnābād in eastern Persia and is 1,000 ft. deep.

The discharge of the water of *ḳanāt*s varies according to ground-water characteristics, the nature of the soil and the season. Those which tap a permanent aquifer tend to have a constant flow throughout the year. If a *ḳanāt* does not tap a stable ground-water source or is in porous soil, its flow may be reduced to virtually nothing in summer, or in a dry year. The water of such *ḳanāt*s is known as *āb-i rūʾī*. The flow of some *ḳanāt*s may reach 400 gallons a minute, but that of most is much smaller, dropping to 30 gallons a minute or less. It is a disadvantage of the *ḳanāt* system that the water, since it flows all the year round, may be wasted when irrigation is not needed.

Regular cleaning and repair of *ḳanāt*s is required, though the frequency with which this is necessary varies with the soil and the configuration of the land (cf. *Istikhrādj*, 120 ff. on the maintenance of *ḳanāt*s). They are subject to damage and destruction by flash floods. The shafts are sometimes covered by a slab of stone to prevent them being filled by blown sand (see also below.)

In 1962 a distinguished French water engineer, M. Henri Goblot, estimated that about half the land under cultivation in Persia was irrigated by *ḳanāt*s, while some of the crops under dry farming in the plateau would not have been cultivated if the construction of a *ḳanāt* had not made it possible to establish a village in the neighbourhood. The total number of *ḳanāt*s is variously thought to be between 30,000 and 50,000 (see further H. Goblot, *Le problème de l'eau en Iran, op. cit.*). Dr. Esmail Feylessoufi, writing in 1958, put the number at the lower figure, of which he believed some 22,000 to be in running condition, and their estimated discharge to be 560 cubic metres per second (*Underground water kanats and deep wells in Iran*, publication of the Independent Irrigation Administration, Tehran 1958, 9 ff.). M. Goblot accepts a rather higher figure, namely 40,000, with a total discharge of 600-700 cubic metres per second (see also idem, *Le role de l'Iran dans les techniques de l'eau*, in *Technique: review de l'enseignement technique*, 155-6 (January/February 1962), 12).

*Ḳanāt*s have played an immensely important role in Persia, both in contributing to the spread of cultivation and also in influencing the site and nature of settlements. Hamadān, Ḳazwīn, Tehran, Nīshāpūr, Kirmān, Yazd (cf. the legend of the foundation of Yazd by Alexander, which was preceded by the

Cross-section of a *ḳanāt*

making of a *ḳanāt*, Muḥammad Mufīd, *D̲j̲āmiʿ-i Mufīdī*, iii, 731-2), and many other towns owe their existence to *ḳanāt*s. Until 1930, the water supply of Tehran, the modern capital, was provided by twelve *ḳanāt*s. In some districts there is a heavy concentration of *ḳanāt*s. Aerial photos, for example, showed that there was a total of 266 *ḳanāt*s in the Varāmīn plain, twenty-five miles south-east of Tehran, in the late 1950s (P. Beaumont, *Qanats in the Varamin plain, Iran*, in *The institute of British geographers, transactions and papers*, 1968, publication no. 45, 172). From the point where a *ḳanāt* comes to the surface, fields and gardens spread out round it and its branch canals, and settlements grow up along or near the *ḳanāt*, their size and number depending upon the volume of its flow.

Sometimes the ownership of the *ḳanāt* is in the same hands as the land which it waters. Sometimes the different parcels of land have a prescriptive right to the water of a *ḳanāt* with or without the payment of dues. Frequently the ownership of the land and of the *ḳanāt* is in different hands and the water is bought and sold. Many *ḳanāt*s are *waḳf* property or *k̲h̲āliṣa* (cf. a *nis̲h̲ān* granting tax immunities to Fayḍābād, Balk̲h̲, which states that four *dāng*s of any *ḳanāt* brought into operation belonged to the *dīwān*, H. R. Roemer, *Staatsschreiben der Timuridenzeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 18 b).

The distribution of the water of a *ḳanāt* is based on time. The rotation period varies from *ḳanāt* to *ḳanāt*, and the order in which the different parcels of land receive the water is sometimes permanent and sometimes settled from year to year by the drawing of lots or some other method. Normally land higher up has the right to water before land lower down. The shares are often fragmented into very small units of time. If the flow of a *ḳanāt* is considerable and those having a right to the use of its water numerous, the distribution of the water is likely to be under an official known as the *mīrāb*, who is chosen by the joint users, or, in the case of a *k̲h̲āliṣa ḳanāt*, by the government, and is paid by a special due. The division of the water of some *ḳanāt*s through branch canals goes back many years: that of one in Ardistān is reputed to have originated in Mongol times.

The need for the careful regulation of the water of a *ḳanāt* among the various parcels of land it waters, or between the inhabitants of a town for which it provides domestic water, and the need to keep it in good repair impose a certain solidarity upon the users, though this does not prevent frequent, and sometimes bloody, disputes over the use of its water, or usurpation of this by those higher up to the disadvantage of those lower down. The maintenance of a *ḳanāt* in the case of joint ownership clearly poses certain problems, but there are numerous instances of *ḳanāt*s owned by over a hundred persons being successfully operated. A substantial body of law concerning *ḳanāt*s, based partly on custom and partly on the *S̲h̲arīʿa*, has grown up over the centuries. This includes especially the question of the *ḥarīm*, *i.e.*, the land bordering a *ḳanāt* in which another well or *ḳanāt* cannot legally be sunk, and access to *ḳanāt*s (see *Istik̲h̲rād̲j̲-i ābhā-yi panhānī*, 42 ff.). Some of this law goes back to pre-Islamic times. Gardīzī mentions that ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir (governor of K̲h̲urāsān 213/828-230/844) assembled the *fuḳahā*ʾ from K̲h̲urāsān and ʿIrāḳ to write a book on *ḳanāt*s and rules for the distribution of their water, since disputes were continually taking place over them. He states that the book which resulted from their labours, the *Kitāb al-ḳunī*, was extant in his day (*Zayn al-ak̲h̲bār*, ed. Muḥammad Nāẓim, Berlin 1928, 8). In modern times customary law and the *S̲h̲arīʿa* have been supplemented or superseded by the civil law and governmental regulations (see further A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant*, London 1953 and eadem, *The Persian Land reform 1962-1966*, Oxford 1969).

There is frequent mention in histories of the repair of old *ḳanāt*s, and the making of new ones by rulers and others. The upkeep of irrigation works (which included *ḳanāt*s) was, indeed, one of the traditional functions of the ruler. There are also records of the destruction of *ḳanāt*s by acts of war. In recent years, as a result of the use of power-operated wells in regions formerly watered entirely or partly by *ḳanāt*s, and the construction of dams controlling surface irrigation water, the ground-water table has fallen, and many *ḳanāt*s (whose flow is governed by the height of the water table) have become dry or their flow has been seriously depleted, (cf. P. Beaumont, *Qanats in the Varamin plain*, 177 ff. and idem, *Qanat systems in Iran*, in *Bull. of the International association of scientific hydrology*, xvi, 1.3/1971, 40). *Ḳanāt*s, however, still remain the principal, and sometimes the only, source of irrigation and domestic water supply in many parts of Persia, but in the more densely populated districts they have lost their importance as the main suppliers of water.

Oman and Trucial Oman. A considerable number of *ḳanāt*s, or *aflād̲j̲* (sing. *falad̲j̲*) as they are known, some in operation, others abandoned, are to be found in Oman, Trucial Oman, and Bahrein. Many of them are sited near *wādī*s and the alignment is often adjacent or parallel to the *wādī* bed. They are liable to damage in time of flood. For this reason the vertical shafts are frequently covered by stone slabs to lessen the danger of destruction. Tradition attributes the building of *aflād̲j̲* to Sulaymān b. Dāʾūd. It seems probable that, in fact, the *ḳanāt* system in Oman was developed first in Achaemenian and then in Sasanian times, while many *ḳanāt*s appear to have been restored under Yaʿāriba rule (see further J. C. Wilkinson, *Arab settlement in Oman; the origins and development of the tribal pattern and its relationship to the imamate*, unpublished Ph. D. thesis, Oxford 1969). One of the *aflād̲j̲* of Iskī is by tradition supposed to have been destroyed by Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ b. Yūsuf [*q.v.*] during his expedition against Oman. At the present day the technique of making *aflād̲j̲* is confined to certain groups of the ʿAwāmir tribe.

In general the *ḳanāt*s of Oman are neither so deep nor so long as those in Persia. At Nizwa there is a *falad̲j̲* the mother well of which is *ca.* 60 ft. deep; in the Buraymī oasis, which is irrigated by *aflād̲j̲*, the longest is *ca.* 9 km. In Central Oman an inverted syphon (*g̲h̲arrāḳ fallāḥ*) is used in *ḳanāt* building to cross *wādī*s. There is considerable variation over the ownership of the *aflād̲j̲*, their administration, and the distribution of their water. In some cases the ownership of the *falad̲j̲* and the land it irrigates is in the same hands, but more often it is separate and the water is bought and sold. A special feature of the *aflād̲j̲* in Oman is that a share of the water belongs to the *falad̲j̲*, the revenue from which is devoted to its upkeep. Many *aflād̲j̲* have a special book recording the ownership, sale and distribution of the water. The rotation period of the water varies from *falad̲j̲* to *falad̲j̲*. It is measured by the sun by day and the stars by night. The water is divided into shares called *bāda* and subdivided into *rabīʿa*, *ḳāma*, *at̲h̲ar*, and *ḳiyās*. The official in charge of the water

distribution is commonly known as the *ʿarīf*, who, in some cases, has under him a subordinate official or officials, known as *bīdār*. Another official, the *wakīl*, is normally in charge of the upkeep of the *falad̲j̲*. The *ʿarīf* and the *wakīl*, who are elected by the owners of the water, are paid by dues or a share of the water.

Bibliography (further to that in the article): H. E. Wulff, *The traditional crafts of Persia*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London 1967, 248-56; P. W. English, *The origin and spread of qanats in the Old World*, in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, cxii/3 (June 1968), 170-81 (with a bibliography); G. B. Cressey, *Qanats, karez, and foggaras*, in *Geographical Review*, xlviii (1958), 27-44; E. Noel, *Qanats*, in *JRACS*, xxi (1944), 191-202; H. Goblot, *Dans l'ancien Iran: les techniques de l'eau et la grande histoire*, in: *Annales économies, sociétés, civilisations*, iii (May-June 1963), 499-520; idem, *Note sur l'interaction des techniques dans leur genèse*, in *Revue philosophique de la France et de l'étranger*, 1964, 207-16; P. Beckett, *Qanats in Persia*, in *Journal of the Iran Society*, i/4, (Jan. 1952), 125-33; A. Smith, *Blind white fish in Persia*, London 1953; M. A. Butler, *Irrigation in Persia by kanats*, in *Civil engineering*, iii (February 1933); H. Alizadeh, P. Seewald and A. J. Baker, *Traditional practices of groundwater supply for irrigation in Iran*, FAO, Tehran, Nov. 1954; D. Sperber, *Bab Nahara*, in *Iranica antiqua*, vii (1968), 70-3; J. Laessøe, *The irrigation systems at Ulhu*, in *Journal of cuneiform studies*, v (1951), 21-32; D. L. Graadt van Roggen, *Notice sur les anciens travaux hydrauliques en Susiane*, in *Mem. Miss. Arch. de Perse*, vii (1905) 166-204; A. Pagliaro, *Pahlavi katas 'canale', gr.* Κάδος, in *RSO*, xvii (1938), 72-83; J. P. de Menasce, *Textes pehlevis sur les qanats*, in *Acta Orientalia*, xxx (1966), 167-75; J. Morier, *A second journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor to Constantinople*, London 1818, 162-5; M. A. Köymen, *Selçuklu devri kaynaklarına dair araştırmalar II Risâle-i Senceriyya*, in *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil Tarih-Coğrafiya Fakültesi Doğu Dilleri*, i/3 (1969), 46-7; R. B. Serjeant, *Some irrigation systems in Hadramaut*, in *BSOAS* xxvii/1 (1964), 33-76; information on *ḳanāts*, especially their building and repair by rulers and others, is also to be found in the works of Islamic geographers, chronicles and local histories, notably Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Ḳummī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Ḳumm*, 41-7 and *passim*; Sayyid Muḥammad ʿAlī Gulrīz, *Mīnūdar yā bāb al-d̲j̲innat Ḳazwīn*, Tehran 1958, 259-71; ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Ḍarrābī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Kās̲h̲ān*, ed. Irad̲j̲ Afs̲h̲ār, Tehran 1956, 64-6, and Muḥammad Mufīd, *D̲j̲āmi-i mufīdī*, i, 77, 79, iii, 709, 712, 724), and in *waḳfnāmas* (cf. H. L. Rabino, *Mázandarán and Astárabád*, G.M.S. 1928, 38, 40, 46 ff.).

(A. K. S. Lambton)

II. In Arab Countries.

The Persian word *kahrēz/karez* (see Vullers, *Lex. pers.-lat.*, ii, 767, 927; Desmaisons, *s.v.*), which was originally applied to underground irrigation systems before being replaced by *ḳanāt*, passed into Arabic in the form *ṣihrīd̲j̲/ṣuhārīd̲j̲*, which generally designates a cistern, *ḳanāt* having a wider current use. Yāḳūt (s.v. *ḳanāt*) believes that the *kūra* of al-Ḳanāt (in the Sind̲j̲ār region of the D̲j̲azīra) took its name from underground water pipes, and these have been found near Ḳaryatayn on the ancient road from Damascus to Palmyra (Moritz, *Die antike Topographie der Palmyrene*, in *Abh. Pr. Ak.*, iv (1889), 12); and in *Paysans de Syrie et du Proche-Orient* (Paris 1946, 283 and fig. 85), J. Weulresse notes that near D̲j̲arūd (in the Damascus region) there are draining systems of 8 to 10 km. long, sunk at a level of 10 to 12 m., sometimes terminating in underground reservoirs whence the water is drawn by norias. Basing his observations on al-Nābulusī's *Riḥla*, J. Nasrallah (*Voyageurs et pèlerins au Qalamûn*, in *B.Et.Or.*, x (1943-4), 26) reports that a village named al-Ṣāliḥiyya, which lies between Yabrūd and al-Nabk (north of Damascus), had a *ḳanāt* which, legend has it, dried up when a Mag̲h̲ribī whom the village people had made unwelcome cast a spell on it; the ruin of the whole locality ensued. The same writer notes that the clearing of the *ḳanāt* begun shortly before the Second World War restored the prosperity of the region.

Methods of underground canalization spread from Iran to the Yemen and thence to Ḥid̲j̲āz where the canals were called *kiẓāma* (pl. *kaẓāʾim*). Among various meanings, this term, according to al-Aṣmaʿī (*apud LA* and *TA*, rad. *k-ẓ-m*; cf. Yāḳūt, s.v. *ḳanāt*), especially designates a series of wells sunk at a certain distance from one another and linked by a gallery (*ḳanāt*) laid out at a level that does not tap the underground water. The water tapped by this method flows gently towards the centre of habitation it supplies or irrigates. The water outlet is known as a *faḳīr* (pl. *fuḳur*), but this term (cf. *LA* and *TA*, rad. *f-ḳ-r*) is also used for a well or a group of wells linked by a gallery, that is, it is practically synonymous with *kiẓāma*.

Al-Aṣmaʿī's description corresponds to a method which consists of tapping underground water, from an altitude higher than that of the intake point, by means of a series of wells linked by a gallery high enough to permit a stooping man to move through it (1 m. to 1.50 m.). Such a technique has the virtue of dispensing with machinery to raise well water to the level of the ground, reducing loss due to evaporation, tapping the seepage water, and finally of giving a gentle, regular incline to the underwater draining system, less steep than that at ground level.

That the Romans may have known of this technique is suggested by remains found in the Ḳayrawān region in Tunisia (see M. Solignac, *Recherches sur les installations hydrauliques de Kairouan et des steppes tunisiennes du VIIe au XIe siècle (J.-C.)*, in *AIEO Alger*, (1952), 1-272, esp. 60 ff.), but the Arab origin of their works in North Africa is not in doubt. They have been found in Tunisia near Gafsa (Burseaux, *L'Oasis d'El-Guettar, ses ressources, sa décadence*, in *RT*, (1910), 364-73), among the Nafzāwa, where they are called *k̲h̲rīd̲j̲a*, and even in the immediate vicinity of Tunis (see M. Solignac, *Travaux hydrauliques ḥafṣides de Tunis*, in *R. Afr.* (1936), 517-80).

The method employed in the Algerian oases of Touat, Gourara, Sūf, Mzāb, Tidikelt and Figuig (Fid̲j̲īd̲j̲) is called *foggara* (< *faḳḳara*), pl. *fgāgīr*, which seems to come from the same root as *faḳīr*, although *f-d̲j̲-r* and *f-w-r* are also possible. Described many years ago by J. Brunhes (*Les oasis du Souf et du M'zab*, in *La Geographie*, v (1902), 180), they consist of underground canals sunk at a depth of 8 to 55 m., connected to the exterior by shafts originally designed to collect rainwater; at the outlet the main canal branches out so that gardens can be irrigated.

In the central Sahara and at Fazzān a pump well is called a *k̲h̲aṭṭāra* (pl. *k̲h̲ṭaṭər*), implying the notion of movement to and fro, but in Morocco this term is applied to the underground draining systems

existing in Tafilalt, here and there in other regions, and especially in Marrākush. Wells sunk to a depth of 40 m. at the outset and spaced out at 10 to 20 m. on average, with shafts set out at similar distances over a total course of 4 to 5 km., are linked as before with a gallery at a slope of about 1%. Water from the aquiferous stratum and stream-level was distributed by conduits lined with stonework and earthenware (*ḳādūs*; Sp. *arcaduz*) for use in irrigating gardens and as drinking water. There were around 350 *khṭaṭər* in Marrākesh but some of them are now in ruins (see G. Deverdun, *Marrakech*, Rabat 1959, 15-7, 85-90 and index; Guides Bleus, *Maroc*, s.v. Marrakech).

Al-Idrīsī (ed. and tr. Dozy and De Goeje, 68/78) states that this technique was introduced into the Almoravid capital by a *muhandis* by the name of ʿUbayd/ʿAbd Allāh b. Yūnus; G. S. Colin (*La noria marocaine*, in *Hespéris*, xiv (1932), 38) believes that he must have been a Jew from the oases of Touat and Gourara, but J. Oliver Asín's researches (*Historia del nombre "Madrid"*, Madrid 1959) throw new light on the problem raised by al-Idrīsī's note: it is in fact probable that the Arab name of Spain's present capital, Madjrīṭ, is formed from a Latin suffix *etum* and the word *madjrā*, which designates precisely those underground conduits of which traces have been found in the subsoil of Madrid; thus it is within the bounds of possibility that the engineer of Marrākush originated from al-Andalus. *Khṭaṭər* have also been noted in Ifni and the same system was known in the Canary Isles and, in the Mediterranean, in Cyprus (cf. Oliver Asín, *op. cit.*, 365).

Bibliography: Among works cited in the article, the works of G. S. Colin, *La noria marocaine et les machines hydrauliques dans le monde arabe*, in *Hespéris*, xiv/1 (1932), and that of J. Oliver Asín are fundamental and also contain full bibliographies. See also J. Brunhes, *L'irrigation...*, Paris 1902; *Bull. Etudes arabes*, no. 40 (Nov.-Dec. 1948), 208-13 and no. 41 (Jan.-Feb. 1949), 11-2. (Ed.)

ḲANAWĀT, pl. of *ḳanāt* [*q.v.*], is found as a toponym in Syria. It designates particularly "a canal of Roman origin which leaves the Barada upstream from Rabwa on the right bank, and divides into five branches which pass across Damascus, supplying the southern part of the city with water" (Ibn ʿAsākir, *Description de Damas*, tr. N. Elisséeff, Damascus 1959, 252).

Ḳanawāt is also the name of a place that lies 85 km. south of Damascus, on the west slope of the Ḥawrān. Because of its wealth of water this very ancient settlement cannot be identified with the biblical Ḳenāt (Num. xxxii, 42; 1 Chron. ii, 23). Ḳanawāt (Κανаθα, Canatha) enjoyed great prosperity in the first centuries of the Christian era; magnificent ruins dating from the Roman period still stand there. Under Trajan, the construction of a new canal is mentioned, but this was almost certainly the repair of an ancient one. The upper town still possesses an ancient water conduit in a good state of repair.

Bibliography: Burckhardt, *Reisen in Syrien und Palästine*, Weimar 1823 f., 157 f.; Seetzen, *Reisen durch Syrien...*, Berlin 1854-9, 79 f., iv, 51-4; J. Porta, *Five years in Damascus*, London 1885, ii, 90 f.; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 586; M. von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum persisch. Golf*, i, Berlin 1899, 194; P. Thomsen, *Loca sancta*, Halle 1907, 76-7; Moritz in Pauly-Wissowa, x, 1956; Baedeker, *Pälestina und Syrien*, s.v. (M. Streck*)

KANAWDJ or **KANNAWDJ** (Sanskrit Kanaakubdja; known to the Arabic geographers as Ḳannawdj, Ḳinnawdj, the latter form used also in *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*), town in Farrukhābād district, Uttar Pradesh, India, 27°3' N., 79°56' E., formerly also the surrounding district. It has been identified, not beyond question, with Ptolemy's Κάναγορα/Κάναγοζα; it is certainly referred to in the travels of Fa-Hsien (A.D. 405) as a city under the Guptas, and as a capital and great Buddhist centre at the time of Hsüan Tsʾang's travels, *circa* A.D. 641, when under the great Harṣavardhana it had become the chief town of the Pančāla country. As the capital of the Gurdjara-Pratihāra dynasty (*Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, s.v. *Jurz*) it exercised strong control over north and north-west India from the Satladj to Bihār, bordered on the west by Sind; and it is presumably against this "kingdom" of Kanawdj rather than against the town that Muḥammad b. Ḳāsim, the conqueror of Sind, is alleged by the *Čač-nāma* to have made war. At the time of the Ghaznawid invasions of the 6th/12th century, when north India was ruled over by numerous petty kingdoms, the Kanawdj region was under the Gāhaḍawāla Rādjpūts; together with Mālwā, Kalindjar, Dahgān and Badāʾun, Kanawdj bore the brunt of the Ghaznawid attacks (Masʿūd Saʿd Salmān, *Dīwān*, 28, 219, 247, 262-65, 307, 397). Muslim colonies at Kanawdj and other of these places seem to have existed from the times of these incursions. Under the Ghūrids the Gāhaḍawāla power was at first a formidable opponent, and Kanawdj was not annexed to the early sultanate until 595/1198-9; the hold seems to have been insecure, for it was necessary for Iltutmish to attack it again later — presumably decisively, for a few years later we find his young grandson ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Masʿūd appointing a cousin, Djalāl al-Dīn, to the governorship of Kanawdj in 640/1243. Thereafter it figures frequently in the histories of Khaldjī and Tughluḳid times, doubtless on account of its strategic importance on the banks of the Ganges; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa refers to it as well built and strongly fortified, and mentions its sugar trade. Kanawdj figures as one of 23 provinces in the time of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ (*Masālik al-Abṣār*, Eng. tr. Spies, Aligarh 1943, 16).

Towards the end of the 8th/14th century Kanawdj was one of the centres of activity of the Hindū "rebels" against whom Malik Sarwar was despatched in 796/1394; and, in his new governorship which was soon to become the sultanate of Djawnpur, he was in charge of a region extending from Kanawdj to Bihār. When the *sulṭanat al-sharḳ* achieved independence from Dihlī, Kanawdj, as its westernmost stronghold, was often a point of contention between the sultanates of Dihlī and Djawnpur, and there were many battles in its vicinity. The town was taken by Maḥmūd Tughluḳ in 804/1401-2, who held it as his temporary capital (probably with the connivance of the Sharḳī ruler) against his recalcitrant *wazīr* Mallū Iḳbāl Khān Lodī [*q.v.*]; after the death of the latter it was recovered by the Sharḳīs in 809/1407 (*Taʾrīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī*, 175). It again figured in the Dihlī-Djawnpur conflicts at the time of Bahlūl Lodī versus Ḥusayn Shāh Sharḳī, and Sikandar Lodī versus his brother Bārbak [see SHARḲĪ].

Humāyūn took Kanawdj for his father Bābur in the campaigns of 932/1526, to lose it, and his kingdom, to Shēr Shāh 14 years later. After the Mughal restoration the history of Kanawdj seems to have been largely peaceful, and the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* records it as the headquarters town of *sarkār*. In the 12th/18th century, with the decline of the Mughal power,

Kanawdj was variously in the hands of the Nawwābs of Farrukhābād, the Nawwābs of Awadh, and occasionally the Marāthās.

Kanawdj appears as a mint town, Kannawdj *ʿurf* Shērgaṛh, under Shēr Shāh and the later Sūrīs; its name was changed by Akbar to Shāhgaṛh, although under the later Mughals it appears as Shāhābād. Its monuments are poorly described, although there are many tombs and shrines in the neighbourhood. The Djāmiʿ mosque, built by Ibrāhīm Sharḳī, using much Hindu and Djayn temple spoil, shows the westernmost extension of the Sharḳī style [see DJAWNPUR, and HIND, Architecture].

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article: Istakhrī, 9; Ibn Ḥawḳal (*BGA*), 14, 227; Muḳaddasī, 477-8, 480, 485; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 162, 178, 372, 374 (= tr. Sprenger, 175, 193, 380, 382; = tr. Pellat, index); al-Bīrūnī, *India*, ed. Sachau, 11, 97; tr. 21, 199; Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 186, 217 f.; M. Reinaud, *Mém. sur l'Inde*, Paris 1849, 136-43; idem, *Géog. d'Aboulféda*, i, pp. cccxxxvi f., ccclviii, ii/2, 120; *Relations de voyages et textes géogr.*, tr. G. Ferrand, i, ii, Paris 1913-14, index s.v. Kanūdj; J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, Berlin 1901, 263-5; Walters, *Yuan Chwang*, London 1904; McCrindle, *Ancient history of Ptolemy*, Bombay 1885; Beal, *Travels of Buddhist pilgrims*, London 1869.

(M. LONGWORTH DAMES—[J. BURTON-PAGE])

ḲANBĀNIYA (also KANBĀNIYA, with KANFĀNIYA once attested in the *Calendrier de Cordoue*), from Spanish *campaña*, in general denotes in Spanish Arabic usage, the countryside, but in particular the Campiña, sc. the vast, gently-undulating plain which forms the southern part of the *kūra* of Cordova; al-Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed. and tr. Dozy-De Goeje, 174, 209, makes it an *iḳlīm* whose capital was Cordova and its main towns al-Zahrāʾ, Ecija, Baena, Cabra and Lucena. After leaving the capital, the approach to it was first through the Bāb al-Ḳanṭara and across the Roman bridge spanning the Guadalquivir near the caliphal palace and the great mosque, and then through the famous Rabaḍ [*q.v.*]; several roads then ran across its expanse. In addition to cereals and fruit, this fertile plain produced a celebrated variety of grapes called *ḳanbānī*. The plain was much used for hunting, and the upper ranks of Cordovan society liked to reside in the numerous country houses (*munya*) built there; moreover, the Christians themselves had churches there.

The Campiña's strategic situation made it a route for the passage of troops to attack Cordova in times of trouble, and is specially mentioned in regard to the revolt of ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn [*q.v.*], who managed to capture the fortress of Bulāy (Poley = Aguilar de la Frontera), from which he was able to send out expeditions, lay waste the agricultural lands and seriously threaten the capital's food supplies.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. de l'Esp. Mus.*, index and bibl. cited there; R. Castejon, *Cordoba califal*, in *Boletin Acad. Córdoba* (1929), 257; the Arabic geographers dealing with Muslim Spain (Yāḳūt cites a village called Ḳanbān, which he seems to have formed from the *nisba* of al-Ḳanbānī, but he also mentions the Ḳanbāniya). See also AL-ANDALUS, ḲURṬUBA. (ED.)

KANBĀYA [see KHAMBĀYAT].

KANBŌH [see Supplement].

ḲAND [see SUKKAR].

ḲANDĀBĪL (the earliest form of the name found in Arabic works), GANDJĀBĀ (current from the 16th century), or GANDĀVĀ (the form found in classical Balūčī poetry of the 15th century and widely used since the 18th century) was a town standing on a high elevation (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, 445), alone on a desolate plain (Iṣṭakhrī, Cairo 1966, 106; Ibn Ḥawḳal, Beirut 1962, 281), and from it routes led west to Ḳuzdār, north to Mastandj, east to Multān and south to Manṣūra (cf. Ibn Khurradadhbih, Leiden ed., 55-6; Iṣṭakhrī, 106, 179; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 282; Muḳaddasī, Leiden ed., 456). Only the modern Gandāvā, situated 28°37′ N and 67°29′ E in the Kaččhi district of Balūčistān Province, Pakistan, answers this description in all details. It stands on a hill 321 ft. high, at the head of the flat, desolate plain of Kaččhi, and from it the old routes lead in the directions specified in the sources (see Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own historians*, London 1867, i, 385).

The founding of Ḳandābīl was ascribed to the legendary Bahmān Ardashīr "to demarcate the boundary between the Indians (Sindians) and the Turks" (*Mudjmal al-tawārīkh*, 117-8), *i.e.*, between Turan or Kaykān and the flat Budha country of the Sindian people (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, s.v. Ḳandābīl). In the seventh century, Budha included within its boundaries the present district of Kaččhi and the western areas of the districts of Jacobabad, Sukkur, Larkana and Dadu (*Fatḥnāma-i Sind*, 15, 39, 125). Ḳandābīl was the chief town in the northern part, while the capital was at Kākārādj (= Kakar, in Dadu district) in the more fertile southern part. With the Arab conquest (93/712), the whole of southern Budha was integrated with the central province of Sind (*ibid.*, 122-3) and the subsequent boundaries of Budha embraced only the northern region of Ḳandābīl, *i.e.*, the present Kaččhi district and the country around it (Iṣṭakhrī, 104). The country was called Budha, Budhiya or Budhiyya, not because of any links with Buddha or Buddhism but because the bulk of the inhabitants were Budhs; Zuṭṭs also lived there (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 436, 445). Both these communities (now Muslim) have survived, the Budhs living mainly in Mutt and the Zuṭṭs scattered over the whole country.

According to *Fatḥnāma*, 73, the Arab armies reached the Ḳandābīl region as early as 23/644 but withdrew after receiving the news of Caliph ʿUmar's death. From 23/644 until 92/711, the Ḳandābīl region of Budha, though subjugated by the Arabs, became a refuge for Arabs fleeing from the Umayyad government and was occupied by the Brahmin kings of Sind. In 660, Čhačh, the ruler of Sind, led a successful expedition through the country of Ḳandābīl (*Fatḥnāma*, 49). During the caliphate of Muʿāwiya (42/661-61/680), the commander Sinān gained a victory in Kaykān (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 433), but when he advanced through Kaykān into Budha on his second expedition he was killed there (*Fatḥnāma*, 83). In 69/688, the Khāridjī rebel ʿAṭiyya b. al-Aswad al-Ḥanafī was pursued by a section of Muhallab's army "to Kandābīl in Sind" and killed there (Balādhuri, *Ansāb*). Six years later ʿIlāfī rebels slew Saʿīd b. Aslam, commander of the Makrān district, at Kandābīl (Baladhūri, *Futūḥ*, 435). Al-Ḥadjdjādj despatched Mudjdjāʿa in 85/704 to punish the ʿIlāfīs, but they fled to Sind before his arrival; however, he subjugated the "tribes of Ḳandābīl" (*ibid.*, 435), who had probably aided the ʿIlāfīs. Subsequently (704-11), Ḳandābīl was occupied by Dāhār, ruler of Sind, who appointed his nephew, Dhol son of Čhandar, as the governor of "Budhiya" (*Fatḥnāma*, 94).

After the conquest of Sind, including "Budhiya",

by Muḥammad b. al-Ḳasīm in 92/711 (*ibid.*, 121-4), the region of Ḳandābīl became an administrative division of al-Sind province and peace reigned, apart from occasional disturbances. In 101/720, the rebel sons of Muhallab reached Ḳandābīl, regarding it as their last refuge, but their trusted ally Wadāʿ closed the gates and barred their entry into the town; they died fighting outside the walls of Ḳandābīl against the superior forces of Hilāl b. Aḥwaz al-Tamīmī, who had pursued them relentlessly [see AL-MUHALLAB. In 55/754 Ḳandābīl was occupied by a group of Arabs, but they were ousted by Hi<u>sh</u>ām b. ʿAmr, governor of Sind. Some time in 222/837, another usurper, Muḥammad b. <u>Kh</u>alīl, occupied Ḳandābīl, but ʿImrān, then governor of Sind, attacked him, conquered Ḳandābīl, and transferred the local chiefs involved to Ḳuzdār (Balā<u>dh</u>urī, *Futūḥ*, 445). Firmly checking all disturbances, ʿImrān brought lasting peace and prosperity to Ḳandābīl. A century later it had developed into the central market-place of the Budha hinterland, where "the Budh people" sold their produce and obtained all their supplies (Iṣṭa<u>kh</u>rī, 105-6). Palm trees were planted later, and in the 11th-12th century Ḳandābīl was a "big city, prosperous and pleasant, producing large quantities of dates" (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 123).

Ḳandābīl remained an administrative district of Sind, under the rule successively of the Sumarās, the Sammās, the Ar<u>gh</u>ūns and Tur<u>kh</u>āns, the Mo<u>gh</u>uls and the Kalhorā rulers [see SIND]. In the second half of the 9th/15th century Ḳandābīl, then known locally as Gandāvā and associated with Sibi province, became the capital of the Lās<u>h</u>ārī Baluch confederacy in alliance with the Sammās. In 924/1518, <u>Sh</u>āh Beg Ar<u>gh</u>un, en route for his conquest of Sind, sent a force to occupy "Gan<u>dj</u>ābā". It fell to the Mo<u>gh</u>ul Emperor Akbar in 1574, was included in the sub-division (*mahāl*) of Fatḥpur (*Taʾrī<u>kh</u>-i Sind*, 130, 186, 235-6) and was governed from Bakhkhar. Nadīr <u>Sh</u>āh, who had subjugated the Kalhorās of Sind, transferred the Kač̣čhi district, including Gandāvā, to Kalāt in ḍḍḍ/1740 and thereafter (1740-1955) it became part of the <u>kh</u>ānate of Kalāt, political capital of the Kač̣čhi district and the winter resort of the <u>kh</u>āns of Kalāt. The city wall, repaired by Murād (an able officer of the Kalhorās) in the early 18th century, was still intact in the 19th century, but is now dilapidated and in ruins.

Bibliography: Balā<u>dh</u>urī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje, 1866; *Fatḥnāma-i Sind*, or *Čačnāma*, Persian text Hyderabad Daccan 1939; Ṭabarī, *Taʾrī<u>kh</u> al-Rusul wa'l-Mulūk*, Leiden; Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrī<u>kh</u>*, Leiden 1883; Ibn al-A<u>th</u>īr, *al-Kāmil fi'l-Taʾrī<u>kh</u>*, Cairo ed.; Ibn <u>Kh</u>urrada<u>dh</u>bih, Leiden 1889; Iṣṭa<u>kh</u>rī, Cairo 1961; Ibn Ḥawḳal, Beirut 1962; Masʿūdī, *Murū<u>dj</u> al-<u>Dh</u>ahab*, Paris; Muḳaddasī, *Aḥsan al-Taḳāsīm*, Leiden 1877; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, Eng. tr. V. Minorsky, *G.M.S.*, London 1937; Yāḳūt, *Mu<u>dj</u>am al-Buldān*, Leipzig; Farazdaḳ, *Dīwān*, Munich 1900 and Cairo 1936; Mir Maʿṣūm, *Taʾrī<u>kh</u>-i Sind*, Pers. text, Poona 1938; *Mu<u>dj</u>mal al-Tawārī<u>kh</u> wa'l-Ḳisas*, Tehran 1318 S; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own historians*, London 1867; A. W. Hughes, *The country of Baluchistan*, London 1877; M. A. Stein, *Report of archaeological survey work in North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan, 1904-5*, in *Baluchistan district gazetteer, Series vi a, Kachchi*, Bombay 1907. (N. A. BALOCH)

ḲANDAHĀR, a city in southeastern Af<u>gh</u>ānistān (in modern times giving its name to a province) situated in latitude 31°27′ N. and longitude 65°43′ E. at an altitude of 3,460 ft. (1,000 m.), and lying between the Ar<u>gh</u>andāb and <u>Sh</u>orāb Rivers in the warmer, southern climatic zone (*garmsīr*) of Af<u>gh</u>ānistān. Hence snow rarely lies there for very long, and in modern times the city has been favoured as a winter residence for Kābulīs wishing to avoid the rigours of their winter (see J. Humlum *et al.*, *La géographie de l'Afghanistan, étude d'un pays aride*, Copenhagen 1959, 141-2; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 89, likewise recorded in the 8th/14th century that the inhabitants of <u>Gh</u>azna moved to Ḳandahār for the winter).

Since it is one component of the triangle Kābul-Ḳandahār-Harāt, possession of which gives military control of Af<u>gh</u>ānistān, and is also at the end of a route via the modern railhead of Čaman to Quetta and northwestern India, Ḳandahār has been of strategic and commercial importance all through recorded history. Even in the Stone Age, the inhabitants of the nearby settlements of Mundigak and Deh Morasi Ghundai (4th-2nd millenia B.C.) traded with northwestern India, eastern Iran and the Eurasian steppes. In Achaemenid Persian times, the region of Ḳandahār was possibly to be identified with the Achaemenid satrapy of Harahuvat; in the Persepolis Fortress tablets (*c.* 500 B.C.) there is more than one mention of the issue of rations for journeys between Susa and Kandara<u>sh</u> (R. T. Hallock, *The evidence of the Persepolis tablets* [= ch. from the *Cambridge history of Iran*, ii], Cambridge 1971, 13, 29).

In Hellenistic times, the region of southeastern Af<u>gh</u>ānistān was known as Arachosia, and the town of Ḳandahār itself is probably to be identified with the μητρόπολις Ἀραχωσίας of, *e.g.*, Isidore of Charax (on the problem of the city's ancient name, Alexandria of Arachosia or Alexandropolis, see G. Pugliese Caratelli and G. Garbini, *A bilingual graeco-aramaic edict by Aśoka*, Serie Orientale Roma xxix, Rome 1964, 19-22). Then as now, Arachosia was famed for its grapes; the Indian author Kauṭilya (4th century B.C.) speaks of Hārahūraka as a place whence wine was obtained. However, Greek rule here can only have lasted some 25 years, 330-305 B.C., for in the treaty between Seleucus I and Chandragupta the frontier between the Seleucids and the Mauryas was apparently fixed to the west of Ḳandahār, on the Helmand. Soon afterwards, Emperor Aśoka had a series of rock inscriptions executed on a *tepe* in the old city of Ḳandahār, including one in Greek and Aramaic discovered in 1958 (see D. Schlumberger *et al.*, *Une bilingue greco-araméenne d'Asoka*, in *JA*, ccxlvi (1958), 1-48, and Caratelli and Garbini, *op. cit.*), one in Greek in 1963 (see Schlumberger, *Une seconde inscription grecque d'Asoka*, in *CRAIBL* (1964), 126-40) and an Aramaic one also in 1963 (see A. Dupont-Sommer and E. Benveniste, *Une inscription indo-araméenne d'Asoka provenant de Kandahar (Afghanistan)*, in *JA*, ccliv (1966), 437-65); these show that Greek and Aramaic were still recognized in Ḳandahār as administrative languages, the local Iranian tongue presumably being unwritten. It may have been Aśoka who introduced Buddhism to the region, though this is unproven. At all events, the faith appeared early, and the old city of Ḳandahār included a Buddhist monastery and its *stupa*, dated tentatively by G. Fussman to the 4th century A.D., see his *Notes sur la topographie de l'ancienne Kandahar*, in *Arts Asiatiques*, xiii (1966), 37-9.

The name Ḳandahār itself must be connected with Gandhāra, the ancient Indian kingdom on the upper Indus and Kābul Rivers which became a stronghold of Buddhism, and Arab historians do in fact use the form Ḳandahār/Ḳunduhār for Gandhāra proper. It is

possible that the name was transferred southwards to Arachosia by some migration of Gandhārans; there are stories, retailed by Chinese Buddhist pilgrims, of the Buddha's begging bowl being preserved in Ḳandahār (at a later date, it was shown in a Muslim shrine outside the city), brought thither by Gandhāran Buddhist refugees.

The actual site of Ḳandahār has varied at different periods of history. The old city, abandoned since the time of Nādir S͟hāh, lay 3 miles (5 km.) to the west-south-west of the modern city, at the foot of a rocky spur called the Ḳaytūl, the site being now called the *s͟hahr-i kuhna*. Here archaeology has revealed a walled city, clearly dating back to Hellenistic times, and successively occupied in the ensuing Buddhist and Islamic periods (see Fussman, *op. cit.*, 33 ff.).

Very little is known on Ḳandahār in the Kushan period, but under the rule of the southern branch of the Hephthalites, the Zabulites [see HAYĀṬILA], Kandahār fell within their kingdom (see R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephtalites*, Cairo 1948, 104 ff.). In the Umayyad period, Arab raiders penetrated into the region of Ḳandahār after their occupation of Sīstān and their establishment of a bridgehead of Muslim arms at Bust [*q.v.*]. Arabic sources call the region around Ḳandahār al-Ruk͟hk͟had͟j (< Arachosia; the name survives today in the site of an Islamic settlement now called Tepe Aruk͟h) or Zamīndāwar/ Bilād al-Dāwar. It was the centre of a powerful local dynasty who bore the title of Zunbīls, epigoni of the southern branch of the Hephtalites; down to the Ṣaffārid period (later 3rd/9th century) they constituted the main obstacle to the spread of Islam in eastern Afg͟hānistān. Balād͟hurī records that the governor of Sīstān under Muʿāwiya, ʿAbbād b. Ziyād b. Abīhi, led a raid against Ḳandahār and captured it after bitter fighting; the poet Ibn Mufarrig͟h probably accompanied the expedition, for he composed an elegy for the Muslim dead (these verses, not related to any specific occasion by Ch. Pellat, *Le poète Ibn Mufarriġ et son oeuvre*, in *Mélanges Massignon*, Damascus 1956-7, iii, 217, can therefore be pinned down to ʿAbbād's expedition). Balād͟hurī mentions the characteristic high caps (*ḳalānisa ṭiwāl*) of the Ḳandahārīs, and although his Arabic text is somewhat ambiguous here, it seems that ʿAbbād now re-named the town ʿAbbādiyya after himself (Balād͟hurī, *Futūḥ*, 434, repeated in Yāḳūt, *Buldān* (Beirut 1374-6/1955-7), iv, 402-3; cf. K. Fischer, ***Zur Lage von Kandahar an Landverbindungen zwischen Iran und Indien***, in ***Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landmuseums in Bonn***, clxvii (1967), 192-3, and Marquart, ***Ērānšahr***, 270). But Muslim control must have been thrown off by the time ʿAbbād was recalled from his governorship in 61/680-1; the name of ʿAbbādiyya is heard of no more, and at the time of the Muslim *débâcle* in Zamīndāwar in 79/698 (see C. E. Bosworth, *ʿUbaidallāh b. Abī Bakra and the "Army of Destruction" in Zābulistān (79/698)*, in *Isl.*, 1 (1973), 268-83), there was no Muslim-controlled territory east of Bust.

In this early Islamic period, Muslim authors tended to reckon Ḳandahār as part of the province of Sind (*e.g.*, Ibn Khurradād͟hbih, 65, and Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*; Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 281, tr. 90, links Ḳandahār with Sind also), probably because the indigenous religion of the people of Zamīndāwar, the cult of the god Zūn, was considered as related to Indian faiths. In the reign of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr there is mentioned a campaign by the governor of Sind, His͟hām b. ʿAmr al-Tag͟hlibī, against Multān, Kas͟hmīr and Ḳandahār, but Marquart, following Reinaud, identified this Ḳandahār with the classical Gandhāra on the upper Indus, and in particular, with Wayhind, capital of the Hindū-S͟hāhīs [*q.v.*] (Balād͟hurī, *Futūḥ*, 445; a fuller account in Yaʿḳūbī, ***Historiae***, ii, 448-9; cf. Marquart, ***Ērānšahr***, 271-2, and Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 254).

However, Marquart commented how infrequently the name of Ḳandahār in Afg͟hānistān appears in early Islamic sources. More commonly mentioned as the main centres of the region of Zamīndāwar are the towns of Pand͟jwāy (Iṣṭak͟hrī, 250, says "al-Ruk͟hk͟had͟j is the name of a region, and Band͟jwāy is its capital"), and then, one day's journey further on from Bust, Tigīnābād. Ancient Pand͟jwāy was apparently situated on the road from Ḳandahār to modern Pand͟jwāy, according to Mir Husain Shah, *Panjwayee-Fanjuwai*, in *Afghanistan*, xvii/3 (Kabul 1962), 23-7; cf. Le Strange, 346-7. The exact site of Tigīnābād, mentioned by D͟juwaynī in the 7th/13th century and appearing on an 18th-century European map as Tecniabad, is still unknown (see Fischer, *op. cit.*, 191-2). Marquart thought that *al-Ruk͟hk͟had͟jayn*, "the two Ruk͟hk͟had͟js", mentioned in the account of a raid into the region by Hārūn al-Ras͟hīd's governor ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī b. Māhān, referred to these two places Pand͟jwāy and Tigīnābād (Masʿūdī, *Murūd͟j*, viii, 127, cited in ***Ērānšahr***, 272). It is certainly these two towns which are mentioned in sources from the G͟haznavid and G͟hūrid periods (*e.g.*, Gardīzī, Bayhaḳī and D͟jūzd͟jānī), but there is no doubt that Ḳandahār itself continued to exist and to flourish. The Islamic old city of Ḳandahār, in whose remains one can clearly discern the classical eastern Islamic division of a citadel (*ḳalʿa, kuhandiz*), a town proper within the walls (*madīna, s͟hahrastān*) and suburbs (*rabaḍ, bīrūn*), probably developed during this time (cf. Fussman, *op. cit.*, 39-42).

With the destruction of the G͟haznavid centre of Las͟hkarī Bāzār/Ḳalʿa-yi Bist by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn D͟jihānsūz in 545/1150 [see G͟HŪRIDS], the name of Ḳandahār comes back into prominence and is henceforth mentioned continuously. In 680/1280-1 Ḳandahār was conquered by S͟hams al-Dīn II b. Rukn al-Dīn Kart, the vassal ruler in Harāt for the Ilk͟hānid Abaḳa (B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*₂, Berlin 1955, 158). Tīmūr conquered it and bestowed it on his grandson Pīr Muḥammad in 785/1383. In 821/1418 Ḳandahār became part of Soyurg͟hatmıs͟h b. S͟hāh Ruk͟h's appanage, and in the later 9th/15th century it appears as a minting-place for Ḥusayn Mīrzā Bayḳarā of Harāt (875/1470-912/1506). It was under this latter ruler's overlordship that the Arg͟hunid D͟hu 'l-Nūn Beg added the region of Ḳandahār and the adjacent parts of what is now northeastern Balūčistān, scil. Sībī, Mustang and Quetta, to his other territories and made Ḳandahār his capital. This eventually led to conflict with the Tīmūrid descendant Bābur [*q.v.*], who was carving out for himself a principality on the Indo-Afg͟hān fringes. Bābur captured Kābul from D͟hu 'l-Nūn's son Muḳīm in 910/1504, and Muḳīm was allowed to fall back on Ḳandahār. However, Bābur felt that his hold on the Kābul River valley would be insecure whilst the Arg͟hunids remained in eastern Afg͟hānistān, so he attacked Muḳīm and his brother S͟hāh Beg in Ḳandahār in 913/1507-8. Nevertheless, S͟hāh Beg was able to obtain S͟haybānid help and return. Ḳandahār was not finally captured from him till 928/1522, after a drawn-out but intermittent siege (exaggeratedly enumerated in the sources as of five years' duration), the city's strong fortifications long preserving it; S͟hāh Beg now retreated southwards permanently to Sībī, Quetta and Sind (Mīrzā Muḥam-

mad Ḥaydar Dughlat, *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī*, tr. N. Elias and E. D. Ross, London 1895, 202 ff., 357; *Bābur-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, London 1921, 227, 332-9, 365-6, 429-36).

The Mughals did not enjoy unchallenged possession of Ḳandahār for long. After Bābur's death it was held by his son Kāmrān Mīrzā, but was also coveted by the vigorous and aggressive Ṣafavid state in Persia under Shāh Ṭahmāsp I. After prolonged warfare with the Özbegs, the Ṣafavids had fallen heir to most of the Tīmūrid inheritance in Khurāsān, being in firm control of Harāt after 934/1527-8; they accordingly wished to consolidate their position by the addition of Ḳandahār. Kāmrān Mīrzā held the city against Ṣafavid attacks in 941/1534-6. In the internecine disputes of Kāmrān and his half-brother Humāyūn [*q.v.*], the latter was in 950/1543 forced to take refuge with Shāh Ṭahmāsp. In 952/1545 Humāyūn and a Persian army took Ḳandahār, but a month later Humāyūn turned on his Persian allies and seized the city for himself. In 965/1558 Ṭahmāsp recaptured it from the Mughal Emperor Akbar, and the latter did not regain it till 1003/1594-5. The Persians again took it from Djihāngīr b. Akbar in 1031/1622, and after ten years' reversion to Mughal control it passed in 1058/1648 into the hands of ʿAbbās II, remaining with the Ṣafavids till 1121/1709. The Ṣafavid province of Ḳandahār also included the southerly districts of Mustang, Sībī, Kākarī, etc.; at various times in the 10th/16th century it was governed by royal princes of the Ṣafavid house (cf. K. M. Röhrborn, *Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1966, 12-14, 35-6, 42). It is from the mid-11th/17th century that we have a drawing of the walled city of Ḳandahār as it existed before Nādir Shāh's destructions, given by J. B. Tavernier in his *Travels*; he passed through Farah, Ḳandahār and Kābul on his way from Iṣfahān to Āgra (the picture is reproduced in Fischer, *Zur Lage von Kandahar*, 149).

The end of Ṣafavid rule in Ḳandahār came at the hands of the Ghalzays [*q.v.*], an Afghān tribe who had settled in the vicinity of Ḳandahār on lands left vacant when Shāh ʿAbbās I had moved a considerable part of the original Abdālī [*q.v.*] occupants to the Harāt region. In the course of the 11th/17th century, the Ghalzays had generally supported the Ṣafavid cause rather than that of the Mughals, but the leader of the Hōtak clan of the Ghalzays, Mīr Ways, now rebelled against the Ṣafavids, and in 1121/1709 declared his independence, though he contented himself with the title of *wakīl*, "regent". On his death in 1127/1715, Mīr Ways was buried in Ḳandahār, and his grave was, until recently at least, regarded as a source of *baraka* or blessing, despite its being overshadowed by that of Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī (see below). Mīr Ways's son Maḥmūd (d. 1137/1725) consolidated his power, and it was from Ḳandahār that the Ghalzays streamed westwards into Persia and overthrew the decrepit Ṣafavid monarchy (see L. Lockhart, *The fall of the Ṣafavī dynasty and the Afghan occupation of Persia*, Cambridge 1958). However, the Ghalzays were unable to build a lasting state in Persia out of their conquests, and in 1150/1738 their original centre of Ḳandahār was lost when Nādir Shāh [*q.v.*], with support from the Abdālīs of Harāt, captured it after a lengthy investiture (Shawwāl 1149-Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1150/February 1737-March 1738; Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, London 1938, 114). Ḳandahār was at this time apparently called Ḥusaynābād after the city's Ghalzay governor Ḥusayn Sulṭān. Nādir now destroyed the "Ghalzay fortress", meaning here the whole of the walled city and not just the citadel. Today, the walls of the Islamic city are somewhat reduced in height, Nādir's destruction being aggravated by the depredations of local seekers of building materials, although as late as A. Le Messurier's time, substantial remnants of the triple enceinte were still visible (see his *Kandahar in 1879*, London 1880, 245-6). Nādir built a new military encampment, Nādirābād, to the southeast of the old city and of the modern one; coins were minted by him with the names of both Nādirābād and Ḳandahār, but the former was abandoned on his death in 1160/1747 (see Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, 120).

The development of the present-day city of Ḳandahār is connected with the replacement of Ghalzay power in the area by that of the Abdālī Afghāns, for Nādir (in whose army Aḥmad Khān Abdālī had been prominent) allowed the Abdālīs to return to their original home. After Nādir's assassination, Aḥmad established his power in eastern Afghānistān. He founded a new city of Ḳandahār to the east of the old one, enclosing it with a wall and making it his capital; the city was named Aḥmad-Shāhī and this name, together with the epithet *Ashraf al-bilād*, "most noble of cities", appears on the coins which he minted there [see AḤMAD SHĀH DURRĀNĪ]. He was buried there, and Elphinstone reports that 40 years after his death his tomb was much venerated by the Abdālīs or Durrānīs, and that a right of sanctuary existed at it (*An account of the kingdom of Caubul*², London 1839, ii, 132).

Under the Durrānī *Amīrs*, Ḳandahār still remained liable to vicissitudes. In the civil warfare among Aḥmad's grandsons Zamān Shāh, Maḥmūd and Shudjāʿ al-Mulk possession of the city fluctuated between the contenders. The Bārakzay amīr Dūst Muḥammad [*q.v.*] became unchallenged ruler in Kābul in 1241/1826 and transferred the capital thither, leaving his brother Kūhandil Khān as governor in Ḳandahār. During the latter's governorship, Shāh Shudjāʿ, of the line of Sadōzay Durrānīs dispossessed from control of eastern Afghānistān, had endeavoured to reconquer Ḳandahār (1250/1834); during the First Afghān-British War, Shāh Shudjāʿ temporarily became amīr of both Ḳandahār and Kābul (1255/1839). In the Second Afghān War, Ḳandahār became for a few months in 1297/1880 the centre of an independent Afghān state under a member of the Sadōzay family, Sardār Shīr ʿAlī. But after the attempt to seize Ḳandahār made from Harāt by Ayyūb b. Shīr ʿAlī b. Dūst Muḥammad, and Ayyūb's subsequent defeat by the British general Roberts, separate existence of this state based on Ḳandahār was ended, and the united country handed over to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khān [*q.v.*]; for a detailed account of all these events, see AFGHĀNISTĀN, v, History.

The modern city of Ḳandahār had a population estimated in 1962 at *c.* 120,000, and the province of which it is the capital had in 1969 an estimated population of 724,000. The whole area round the city is a rich agricultural one, supplying the colder regions of northern Afghānistān, and also Pakistan, with fruit and vegetables; water is brought to many parts of this agricultural hinterland by a complex system of underground channels or *kārīzs* from the nearby hills [see ḲANĀT]. In the 1960s Ḳandahār acquired an airport of international dimensions, and the roads connecting it with Kābul and Harāt were metalled. As opposed to the capital Kābul, Ḳandahār is in the centre of a strongly Pashto-speaking region, and has thus had an important rôle in the govern-

mental policy of encouraging that language; it was, for instance, in Ķandahār that the Pashto propagandist society *Wis̲h̲ Zalmyān*, "Awakening Youth", was founded in 1947. It has nevertheless lagged behind the capital in social and educational progress. Holdich remarked on the tolerance towards foreigners of Kābul compared with the fanaticism of Ķandahār (*The gates of India*, London 1910, 377). In connection with this, Ķandahār was the scene of anti-government riots in 1959, primarily caused by grievances over taxation, but also involving an element of conservative protest at the permissory abolition of the veil for women.

Bibliography: Given substantially in the article. For earlier history, the two works of K. Fischer, *Kandahar in Arachosien*, in *Wiss. Zeitschr. der Martin-Luther-Univ., Halle-Wittenberg*, Geschichte-Sprachwissenschaft, vi/6 (1958), 1151-64, and *Zur Lage von Kandahar...*, in *Bonner Jahrbücher...*, clxvii (1967), 129-232, are valuable. For the Islamic and modern periods, see the bibliography to AFG̲H̲ĀNISTĀN, v. History, and scattered references in the standard histories of Afg̲h̲ānistān by, e.g., Fraser-Tytler and Masson and Romodin. For the 19th century onwards, the accounts of travellers, diplomats and soldiers (*e.g.*, Elphinstone, Masson, Bellew, Le Messurier, Holdich, etc.) contain much relevant information.

(C. E. Bosworth)

ĶANDAHĀR (Deccan), locally often spelt Ķandhār, Kandhār to distinguish it from its illustrious Afg̲h̲ān namesake, is a plains fort and the surrounding *taʿalluķ*, mainly agricultural, known to have been part of the Bahmanī [*q.v.*] dominions, from whom it later passed to the ʿĀdil S̲h̲āhīs. It seems, however, to have known previous Muslim occupation, since the main gate bears an inscription of Muḥammad b. Tug̲h̲luķ [*q.v.*] (*EIM 1919-20*, 16-7) and was presumably occupied by him on his expedition to south India. The fort, 25 miles south-west of Nandeŕ, is remarkable for its highly developed military architecture, which shows, successively from the exterior, a large glacis with a retaining wall, a covered way, a moat 2 to 3 m. deep and 21 to 24 m. wide, a massive fausse-braye, built in large dressed masonry by Muslims out of Hindu materials, with defensive bastions at intervals, a second covered way, and the main ramparts of the enceinte with strong towers and bastions. Across the moat is a single drawbridge leading to a series of gateways, of which the first, the D̲j̲insī or Lohābandī Darwāza, facing north, is protected with steel plates and defended by a bastion; a barbican court leads to the main gate, the Makka or Mačhlī Darwāza, facing west. An inner court connects with the second covered way and leads to the third (Mānkalī) gate, flanked with high bastions, before the interior of the fort is reached. A *D̲j̲āmiʿ masd̲j̲id* of the late Bīd̲j̲āpur style stands inside the final inner court. Many of the bastions of the enceinte bear guns, and some have inscriptions showing their construction by "Āķā Rūmī", presumably a Turkish engineer, of dates near 998/1590.

Bibliography: *Annual Report, Arch. Dept. Hyderabad*, 1331-3F. (= 1921-4 A.D.), 3 ff.

(J. Burton-Page)

KANDI, a town in North Dahomey (11° 2′ N., 2°9′ E.), is said to have been founded by a hunter from Nikki or Sinendé who, finding a large number of elephants, exclaimed *sinounou ba kamme!* ("I have come upon a great many elephants"). The word *kamme* is said to have become Kan-ni and then Kandi. According to another tradition, some women who slipped on the bank of a nearby watercourse fell down and broke their pitchers, *kanʾdi*.

Kandi was founded by Saka, the son of the king of Nikki. Having been sent by his father to fight against the king of Niampangou, he was welcomed with so many gifts that he revealed the purpose of his mission; unable therefore to return to Nikki, he settled in Kandi, his mother's homeland, where he fought against brigands and pacified the whole region. He gave himself the name *Mon* ("elder brother" in Bariba), which was corrupted to *Mo* by the local Mokolle. The seventh ruler, Guezere, was granted the insignia of authority by Nikki—a drum, covered with human skin, which was beaten with two human bones, and a commander's baton which was provided with a new leather cover every year. The most celebrated of the subsequent rulers of Kandi was Zibiri II (1911-29), who helped Geay, the administrator, to quell the revolt of 1917.

Since there were five generations between the first ruler and the 18th, it appears that the installation of the first Saka in Kandi occurred during the early decades of the 19th century. Although the first migration of the Bariba from the Niger was set in train by the invasion of the Muslim conquerors, hostility to Islam largely disappeared. Contact with islamized groups of Fulani led to the islamization of Bariba villages. In the town of Kandi, islamization appears to have been more rapid on account of the visits there by Hausa or D̲j̲erma merchants.

DYNASTIC TABLE OF THE RULERS OF KANDI

Niampangoukounon (1) — Lolo Kounon (2) — Fafanzi Kounon Ouré (3)

- Barikali (4)
  - Ibiri I (9)
    - Barikali II (13)
      - Zibiri II (18) (1911-1929)
        - Saka Méré
    - Minti II (14)
      - Guiwa Kongou
        - Yarou Kongou
      - Yarou
  - Bassayawa (10)
    - Kina Dogo (15)
      - Kuara Bata
        - Beidou Poo Lafia Bowirou
          - Lafia Yarou
- Minti I (5)
- Kakayerrekou (6)
  - Chefferie Angarabedou
- Kina Guezere (7)
  - Bagou I (11)
    - Guereze II (16)
      - Bagou II (19)
        - son of Saka Bagou
- Lafia (8)
  - Boukounene (12)
    - Lafia II (17)
      - Sabi Goro (20)

Bibliography: P. Marty, *Etudes sur l'Islam au Dahomey*, Paris 1926; R. Cornevin, *Histoire du Dahomey*, Paris 1962. (R. CORNEVIN)

ḲANDĪL [see ḲINDĪL].

ḲANDIYA, Ottoman name of a town on the north coast of Crete, the Herakleion of antiquity, which was captured by the Ottomans in 1080/1669 after a twenty-seven month siege by the grand vizier Köprülüzāde Fāḍil Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a, this event marking the end of the struggle to wrest Crete from the Venetians which had been waged intermittently since 1055/1645.

The mediaeval Islamic name of the island of Crete, al-Iḳrīṭis̲h̲ [*q.v.*], was not unknown to the Ottomans, nor were they unaware that Crete had once before formed part of Dār al-Islām (cf. the post-conquest historical excursus in Silaḥdār, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, i (Istanbul, 1928), 530-8, which draws largely on the *K. al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār* of Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim [*q.v.*] (wrongly attributed by Silaḥdār to a certain ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb); on S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn Nuwayrī; and, for the 10th/16th century, on the *Baḥriyye* of Pīrī Reʾīs). In common usage, however, the Ottomans preferred the forms Girit (*Baḥriyye*, 800), later Girid, for the island proper.

Ḳandiya, deriving from Ar. *k̲h̲andaḳ* (the "entrenched" fortification set up on the site by the first Muslim conquerors) > Gk. χανδαξ (accus. χανδακα) > Venetian Candica or Cantiga (13th century) > (by false etymology) Candida (15th century) > Candia, although commonly used (with variants: la Candie, etc.) in western sources during the entire period of Venetian and Ottoman rule to denote the island as well as the town, was used by the Ottomans to denote only the town and its encircling walls (*ḳalʿe-yi Ḳandiya*) and the metropolitan *sand̲j̲āḳ* which was dependent on it. Locally, among the Greek population, the name K̲h̲andaḳ passed out of use after the Byzantine reconquest and was replaced by Megalokastron, or Kastron, the Castle par excellence (also occasionally found in 17th century western sources: Castron), which usage continued until the officially inspired revival of the ancient name of Herakleion, which the town has borne since the establishment of Greek rule in Crete at the end of the 19th century.

The fortress of Ḳandiya capitulated to the Ottomans on 5 Rabīʿ II 1080/2 September 1669; after the handing over of the fortress and its contents, and the ceremonial entry of Ottoman troops, a truce was concluded between the two commanders on 9 Rabīʿ II/6 September. The history of Ḳandiya in the period from the conquest to the temporary occupation of Crete by Muḥammad ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a in 1821—*i.e.*, the years of more or less undisputed Ottoman rule—is obscure. For the immediate post-conquest period Ottoman historical and literary sources, most accessibly reproduced in Rās̲h̲id and Silaḥdār, and the vigorous account given by Ewliyā Čelebī, combine eyewitness accounts of the surrender of the fortress and its immediate "Ottomanisation" (sc. the conversion of the churches and other public buildings to Muslim use) with texts of the more formal *fetḥnāmes* and diplomatic correspondence engendered by the occasion. Cf. also the *Ḳānūn-nāme* for Ḳandiya, drawn up in 1081/1670 (text in Barkan, *Kanunlar*, pp. 350-3).

Both Muslim and western sources agree that the damage caused to the town and the fortifications by the prolonged siege was considerable. Despite repairs put in hand by Fāḍil Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a before his departure, and official attempts to encourage the inhabitants of the hinterland to settle in the town, the signs of depopulation and devastation remained visible for many years. An interesting byproduct of the destruction was the export to Venice or Zante of timber from the ruined houses. Described as "Cyprus wood", it was used for the manufacture of chests or cabinets, which found a ready market in England.

The Ottomans had entertained high hopes for the riches to be garnered from Crete after the conquest of Ḳandiya: "a second Egypt", as Ewliyā Čelebī called it, but these hopes, particularly for Ḳandiya itself, were not to be realised. Shortly after the conquest the population was estimated at "not above 10,000, with Greeks and Jews", and Canea (Ḥanya) was *ca.* 1680 spoken of as "much better inhabited than Candia" and as the main centre for the trade of the island.

Perhaps the most important reason for the steady economic decline of Ḳandiya during the Ottoman period had little to do with its change of masters, being in fact the progressive silting up of its port. Already in the 1680s it was described as having "not water enough for ships of any considerable bigness" and as being largely choked with rubbish washed into it from the town, despite the initiative of a French merchant in bringing "an engine" from Marseilles to clean it. At this time, galleys were still being repaired in those bays ("arches", *göz*) of the Arsenal which had survived the siege, but no new construction of ships was carried on there.

There seems to be little to distinguish Ḳandiya in the 12th/18th century from other Ottoman provincial centres of similar rank and function. Authority was vested in a pas̲h̲a of three *tug̲h̲*s, appointed triennially; real power obviously resided in the local military forces. These, in mid-century, apparently consisted of the 6,000 or so Turks who were able to bear arms, for, according to Richard Pococke, "all the Turks belong to some military body". The upkeep of the local military establishment was provided for from the *k̲h̲arād̲j̲* and *gümrük* receipts, with the exception of the pay for the Janissaries, which was remitted from Istanbul.

Throughout the 12th/18th century, and into the nineteenth, Ḳandiya steadily lost ground to Canea (Ḥanya) as a port and commercial centre. The necessity of transhipping cargoes into small lighters offshore, and the character of the town as a garrison centre and seat of a pas̲h̲a, together conspired to encourage particularly the economically-dominant Marseilles merchants and their consul to settle at Canea. Although Ḳandiya remained, with its still splendid Venetian monuments and broad streets, the capital of the island until 1855, its day was long past. In the last decades of Ottoman rule its trade, largely in olive oil, soap, raisins and wine, amounted only to some 20 % of that of the island as a whole, while administratively it sank to the level of a *sand̲j̲āḳ* under the charge of a *mutaṣarrif*. With the rising tide of Greek nationalism, the Muslim population of Ḳandiya, which *ca.* 1889 had been estimated at 17,000 out of 24,000, shared the same fate as their co-religionists in other parts of the island. With the abandonment of Ottoman rule, and through communal strife, emigration and population transfer, Ḳandiya had, by 1923, ceased to exist as a Muslim town.

Bibliography: Ewliyā Čelebī, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, viii (Istanbul 1928), 376-570 (pp. 478-498 contain the so-called *Ḳandiye-nāme*, Ewliyā's account of his participation in the siege); Fîndîḳlîlî Meḥmed Silaḥdār Āg̲h̲ā, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, i (Istanbul 1928), 511-51; Meḥmed Rās̲h̲id, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*[2], i (Istanbul 1282), 164-

245 (interpolation of a lengthy official account of the siege and its aftermath, with some diplomatic correspondence); references to unpublished *g͟hazawāt-nāmes* in A. S. Levend, *Ġazavāt-nāmeler* ... (Ankara 1956) 120-6; Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 350-3; B. Randolph, ‚*The Present State of the Islands in the Archipelago*, Oxford 1687; O. Dapper, *Description exacte des isles de l'Archipel* 1688, Amsterdam 1703, 405-8, 441-2; Richard Pococke, *A Description of the East*..., London 1754-5, ii, 255 ff.; M. Savary, *Lettres sur la Grèce*, Paris, an VII, 178, 195 ff.; C. S. Sonnini, *Voyage à Grèce et en Turquie*, Paris, an IX, i, 342 ff.; J. M. Tancoigne, *Voyage à Smyrne*..., Paris 1817, i, 110-16; G. Gerola, *Monumenti veneti dell'Isola di Creta*, 4 vols. in 5 parts, Venezie 1905-32, especially i/1, pp. 6, 7, 99-154, 303-414; ii, *passim*; *Sāl-nāme* for 1294 (1877); V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1890, i, 581-3. (C. J. Heywood)

KANDŪRĪ or *kandūra* or *kandūrī* a Persian word meaning a leather or linen tablecloth; in Hindūstānī this word means also a religious feast held in honour of a venerated person like Fāṭima. In this latter meaning the word has been imported, apparently, from India into the Indonesian archipelago. In Acheen the word is unchanged, while in Java it is slightly altered into *keṇḍuri* or *keṇḍurèn*; it may be noted that nowadays the more usual terms in Java are *seḍekah* or *siḍekah*, from the Arabic *ṣadaḳa*, *slametan*, from the Arabic *salāmat*, or *ḥād͟jat*, a well-known Arabic word, meaning need, want of a man's presence at a feast, and hence the festival itself. In general it is a feast given with a religious purpose, or at least in conformity with religious law, just like the *walīma* in the books of *fiḳh*. The occasions which give rise to it are numerous, for instance: days of commemoration, domestic events, especially circumcision, the completion of teaching the Ḳur'ān, certain periods, such as pregnancy, sowing and harvest, and sundry reasons like setting out on a journey, occupying a new house and other enterprises, the averting of epidemics and calamities, etc. According to the Law each *kandūrī* should have a religious character: the poor must be invited, forbidden things should be avoided, but the strong local *ʿādat* is always prone to look for means of effecting a compromise. Every complete *kandūrī*, especially those in commemoration of deceased relatives and those given on the anniversary of a saint, is sanctified by means of recitation of the Ḳur'ān, *d͟hikr*s or prayers; popular superstition, however, regards such *kandūrī*s as consisting of actual offerings of food to the deceased. Almost every *kandūrī* is opened by a prayer, the commemorative ones by the *doʿa ḳubur*. In Acheen some months are called *kandūrī* with a second word indicating the food the sacred meal consists of.

Bibliography: C. Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, i, 210, 214-6, 236; Th. W. Juynboll, *Handb. des Islam. Gesetzes*, 164.

(Ph. S. V. Ronkel*)

KANEM (A. Kānim), today the name of a prefecture (capital Mao) in the republic of Chad. It is bounded in the north by Borkou, in the east by Batha, in the south by Chari-Baguirmi, in the southwest by the department of Lac and in the west by the republic of Nigeria (population 170,000). Its borders do not correspond exactly to those of the region which was one of the most ancient kingdoms of Africa and stretched, according to the most widely accepted view, as far as the caravan route from Kawar [*q.v.*] to Lake Chad in the west, to Baḥr al G͟hazal [*q.v.*] in the south, to the depression of the Egueï in the east, and in the north to a line drawn from Belgashipari to Birpo by the lake.

The most characteristic topographical feature of Kanem is the existence of numerous sand dunes running N.W. by S.E., separated from one another by hollows several hundred yards broad and sometimes four or five miles long. Dunes and depressions are specially marked in the northern part. The hollows, which are given the name of *wād* (*wādī*), are dry except during the rainy season, when ponds are formed in the deepest parts; their bottoms consist of soil impregnated with natron. Below this, to a depth of 3 to 30 feet, lies a vast waterbearing stratum. The climate of Kanem is that of tropical regions. The rains are unequally distributed and diminish from south to north. The date-palm grows wild in many of the *wād*s. It even forms a regular oasis at Mao. Cultivation is limited to the area around the villages, built on the slopes of the dunes. The commonest crop is the millet, to which may be added wheat, beans and cotton. The rearing of horses, cattle, sheep and camels is also a very important source of income for the inhabitants. The fauna is very rich and varied: the elephant, the rhinoceros, the hippopotamus, lion, buffalo and panther abound in Kanem proper and the ostrich, antelope, gazelle and giraffe on the northern steppes.

The population is far from being homogeneous. The diverse elements which compose it belong some to the negro group and some to the Arab group. To the first belong the Kanembū, the Buddūma, the Kūri; to the second the Ulād-Slīmān and the S͟hoa; the Tund͟jur and Tubu are classed between the two. The Kanembū, descendants of the first settlers in Kanem, constitute basis of the population, upon whom they have imposed their language. They are dark grey (*azraḳ*) in colour and tall in stature. Industrious and peace-loving, they are settled and devote themselves to agriculture. They profess Islam and are fairly strict Muslims. In their midst live groups of individuals called Ḥaddād (in Kanembū *dogoa*) who, although differing from the Kanembū neither in language nor in physical type, are considered as belonging to an inferior race. Very warlike in disposition, armed with bows and arrows, they played an active part in the civil wars which desolated the country in the course of last century.

The Buddūma and the Kūri inhabit the islands of Lake Chad. The Buddūma, who occupy the northern archipelago, live by fishing, cattle-raising and the cultivation of millet. They have, for the most part, remained fetish-worshippers. The Kūri, on the other hand, while leading the same sort of life as the Buddūma, are completely islamized.

The Ūlād Slīmān who came from Tripolitania and Fezzān in the middle of the 19th century, speak Arabic. Nomads and robbers, almost their sole means of existence was the slave trade and brigandage. The S͟hoa, long established in Kanem, continue to use the Arabic language but their physical type has been altered by admixture with the black population. The Islam which they profess is fairly strict. Nomads in the dry regions near the desert, they become settled in the moister southern regions.

According to the Arabic sources studied by Marquart (see *Bibl.*), the kingdom of Kanem seems to have been founded by the Zag͟hāwa. Al-Bakrī (de Slane, 29) mentions the inhabitants of Kanem as idolators and al-Idrīsī (ed. Naples-Rome 1970, i, 29), who cites the town of Mānām, seems also to consider them as such. Islam was introduced in the 4th/10th

century by the Tubu (Teda). This occupation seems to coincide with the accession to the throne of the Yazanīs, who claimed to be descendants of Sayf b. Dhī Yazan [*q.v.*] and became the disseminators of Islām, which had been introduced by al-Hādī al-ʿUthmānī, the predecessor of the Yazanīs. The *Kitāb al-Istibṣār* (ed. von Kremer, Vienna 1852, 32, tr. Fagnan, 61) places the conversion to Islam of Kanem about 500/1106-7. According to a Hausa legend, Abū Zayd al-Fāzārī (end of 6th/12th and beginning of 7th/13th century) preached Islam in Kanem and Borku. Another tradition refers the introduction of Islam to the end of the 5th/11th century, under Sultan Oumé (1085-97), who was probably assassinated during a pilgrimage to Mecca.

Sultan Selma (ʿAbd al-Djalīl) (1195-1220) enlarged the kingdom; his son Dunama I (1221-59) further extended it to Fezzān and Waday and in the west as far as Niger. During the latter's reign, some Muslims from Kanem founded a Malīkī school in Cairo (between 640/1242 and 650/1252), and in 657/1257 an ambassador was sent to the Ḥafṣid court in Tunis. The soi-disant descendants of Sayf remained in power as long as the kingdom existed. During a troubled period beset with the So and Būlala revolts, four kings of Kanem fell in campaigns against the Būlala. These latter, after a century of incessant battles, eventually conquered the country. Sultan Dāwūd (1377-85) was driven from his capital, Ndjimi. ʿUmar b. Idrīs (796/1394-800/1398) had to retire to the west bank of Lake Chad, where one of his successors founded the kingdom of Bornū [*q.v.*].

In the 16th century, the sovereigns of the new state took the offensive against the Būlala. ʿAlī Dunama (876/1472-909/1504) and his son Idrīs Katakarmabi (909/1504-932/1526) forced the Būlala to submit and regained their ancient capital of Ndjimi, but the sovereigns were represented there by an *alifa* (*khalifa*) and remained in Bornu, of which Kanem became a province. The submission of the Būlala, however, remained precarious; Idrīs Alaoma (978/1571-1011/1603) was compelled to send five expeditions against them. In spite of this victory, the weakening of Bornū soon enabled the Būlala to regain their independence. But towards the middle of the 17th century they were in their turn conquered by the Tundjur, who came from Wādāy, and settled in the west of Baḥr al-Ghazal, and then in Fitri. Meanwhile the Tundjur had to endure the attacks of the rulers of Bornu, who reduced them to the state of tributaries. Their chief settled in Mao as an *alifa*. In the second half of the 18th century, part of Kanem was conquered by Muḥammad al-Amīn, ruler of Bagirmi [*q.v.*]. In 1809 the king of Bornu, driven from his home by the Peuls, appealed to al-Amīn, who had a reputation for piety and energy. He crossed the lake and wiped out the Peul forces, but henceforward Bornu was no more than a protectorate of Kanem. Taking the title of *shaykh*, al-Amīn al-Kanemi made his capital at Kuka and, after numerous campaigns, subdued the Bagirmi (1817).

When the Ūlād Slīmān Arabs arrived in the middle of the 19th century, the sultan of Bornū entrusted them with the defence of the frontier against Wādāy, but they seized this opportunity to pillage the country; by the time of Nachtigal's visit to Kanem in 1871, they were its real masters.

ʿUmar b. al-Amīn moved his capital to Kuka; on his death, he was succeeded by his three sons, Abū Bakr I, Ibrāhīm and Hāshim (1884-93). The latter was unable to prevent Rabah from seizing the fortified town of Mamfa and proclaiming himself sultan of Bornu. ʿUmar Sawda, Hāshim's eldest son, finally became in 1902 the sultan of German Bornū.

Kanem, which was included in the French zone of influence at the Anglo-French conference of 21 March 1899, was occupied between 1901 and 1905. European domination provoked the hostility of the Sanūsiyya [*q.v.*], but the capture of their *zāwiya* at Biʾr Alali in 1902 weakened the rebels and their chief, Shaykh Aḥmad, submitted in 1905.

Bibliography: H. Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, London 1857-8, vol. v., Index, s.v. *Kánem, Kánembú*; G. Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, Leipzig and Berlin 1879-1889, vol. ii, book v; H. Carbou, *La région du Tchad et du Ouadaï*, Paris 1912 (*Publications de l'École des Lettres d'Alger*, vols. xlvii and xlviii); Cornet, *Au Tchad*, Paris 1910; G. Destenave, *Le lac Tchad*, *Rev. Générale des Sciences*, 1903; Fouques, *Le Kanem*, in *Revue des troupes coloniales*, 1906; F. Foureau, *D'Alger au Congo par le Tchad*, Paris 1902; Mission Foureau-Lamy, *Documents scientifiques*, Paris 1902; A. Foureau, *Deux années dans la région du Tchad*, in *Bull. du Comité de l'Afrique française, Renseignements coloniaux*, 1904; M. Hartmann, *Schoa und Tundscher* (*Der islamische Orient*, i); Cl. Huart, *Le Tchad et ses habitants*, in *La Géographie*, 1904; P. Joalland, *De Zinder au Tchad et conquête du Kanem*, in *La Géographie*, 1901; Labatut, *Le territoire militaire du Tchad*, in *Bull. de la Soc. de géogr. d'Alger et de l'Afrique du Nord*, 1911; C. Largeau, *Situation des pays et protectorats du Tchad au point de vue économique*, in *Revue Coloniale* 1903-1904; Marquart, *Die Benin-Sammlung*, pp. lxxxi-lxxxviii; Becker, *Zur Gesch. des östlichen Sudan* (*Der Islam*, i, 153 ff.); S. Passarge, *Zur Oberflächengestalltung von Kanem*, in *Petermann's Mitteil.*, 1904; Jean Chapelle, *Nomades Noirs du Sahara*, Paris 1957; E. Gentil, *La Chute de l'empire de Kabah*, Paris 1902; Maillard, *Histoire de Kanem*, Mémoires CHEAM, 1951; A. Masson-Detourbet and J. P. Le Boeuf, *Les populations du Tchad au Nord du 10e parallèle*, Paris 1959; P. Gentil, *Les treize préfectures de la République du Tchad*, Chad Ministry of Information and Tourism, 1962; idem, *La conquète du Tchad 1894-1916*, Paris 1970; A. Le Rouvreur, *Sahariens et Sahéliens du Tchad*, Paris 1962; J. Le Cornec, *Histoire politique du Tchad 1900-1962*, Paris 1963; P. Hugot, *Le Tchad*, Paris 1965; Documentation française, *La République du Tchad*, Notes and studies, doc. no. 3411 of 18 July 1967; Ministry of Information, Fort-Lamy, *Annuaire Officiel du Tchad 1970*. [See also BAGIRMI, BORNŪ, WĀDĀY]. (G. YVER*)

AL-KĀNEMĪ (AL-ḤĀDJDJ MUḤAMMAD AL-AMĪN B. MUḤAMMAD NINKĀH), b. 1189/1775-6 1253/1837, a scholar of Kanembu origin who founded the Shehu dynasty of Bornū [*q.v.*]. Brought up in Murzuk (Fazzān) where his father had property, he received an Arabic education, travelled in Egypt and the Ḥidjāz, and eventually settled in eastern Bornū. There, his learning and the following he acquired among Arab and Kanembu tribesmen enabled him to play a decisive role in Bornuan politics at the time of the Fulani rebellion. Eventually the Mai Ibrāhīm (1818-46) came completely under his control, and he struck a seal in his own name in 1235/1819-20.

As the power behind the throne of the Mais, he succeeded in defending the ancient empire of Bornū from the serious dangers which faced it. His support of the Mai Dūnama ended the Fulani rebellion. Although he was unable to prevent the establishment of Sokoto emirates in the old western dependencies, he

engaged the Sokoto *ʿulamāʾ* in a famous correspondence which seriously weakened their resolve to continue *djihād* against Bornū, and he contained the emirates of Katagum and Hadedjia by a great campaign in 1826 which carried him as far as Kano before he was forced to withdraw. He secured the eastern frontier south of Lake Chad by operations against Bagarmi in 1821-4. In the first of these he was assisted by the Ottoman *ḳāʾim-maḳām* of the Fazzān [*q.v.*], and he later maintained the Fazzānī connection (of commercial importance to Bornū) by alliance with the Awlād Sulaymān, who also helped him strengthen his influence in Kānem as a buffer against Wadāʿi.

As well as this, he radically reformed the structure of government in Bornū, replacing the ancient and ineffective feudal levies of the Mais by a new army of Kānembu infantry and Shuwa Arab cavalry with a *mamlūk* officer corps owing personal loyalty to him. The old Kanūri fief-holding offices remained in existence, but fiefs were progressively transferred to supporters of al-Kānemī, and a new council of advisers dominated the government. These advisers, mainly non-Kanūri, represented a new and reforming element in Bornuan politics.

Al-Kānemī, though a scholar of considerable standing, was not a prolific writer, only one short work of *fiḳh*, *Naṣīḥat al-ḥukkām*, and a poem, *Nasīm al-ṣabā*, being certainly attributable to him. A number of his letters, however, are preserved.

Bibliography: Muḥammad Bello, *Infāḳ al-maysūr* (1813), London 1951, Cairo 1960; D. Denham and H. Clapperton, *Narrative of travels and discoveries in North and Central Africa*, London 1826; Y. Urvoy, *Histoire de l'empire du Bornou*, Paris 1949; L. Brenner, *The Shehus of Kukawa*, unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, Columbia 1968.

(ABDULLAHI SMITH)

KANGĀWAR [see KINKIWAR].

ḲANGHLI, ḲANḲLĪ, the name of a Turkish people living in mediaeval times in the steppes of Turkestan and south-western Siberia. We do not find mention of the Ḳanghlī in the oldest Arab and Persian geographers and travellers of the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries, as we do of several other Turkish tribes. For Maḥmūd Kāshgharī, *ḳanklī* was not an ethnic designation, but was, as a proper noun, "the name of a great man of the Ḳïpčaḳ", and as a common noun, "a heavily-loaded cart" (*Dīwān lughāt al-turk*, tr. Atalay, iii, 379). In some early Turkish sources on the legendary origins of the Turkish tribes, *e.g.*, the *Oghuz-nāma*, we find the story that the tribe got its name from the man who first constructed and used these heavy wagons for transport across the steppes (see Marquart, *Komanen*, 163); but Sir Gerard Clauson thought it equally likely that the wagon used by the Turks got its name of *ḳañlï/ḳanghlï* from the fact that it was introduced by the Ḳanghlī people to the steppe Turks, see his *The name Uyğur*, in *JRAS* (1963), 147-8, and *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, 638.

The Ḳanghlī are most frequently mentioned in the sources pertaining to the century or so preceeding the Mongol invasions of the 7th/13th century, and are often spoken as part of the Ḳïpčaḳ confederation, *i.e.*, they belonged ethnically to the south-western group of Turkish peoples. They are also associated with the Kimäk [*q.v.*], themselves apparently one of the tribal groups eventually forming the Ḳïpčaḳ. Concerning their habitat, Abu 'l-Ghāzī in his *Shadjara-yi Tarākima* retails a legend that the Ḳanghlī had a *khān*, Gök-Toñlï, whose centre was on the Yayik or Ural River (Barthold, *Four studies*, iii. *A history of the Turkman people*, 132), but by the beginning of the 7th/13th century they and the Ḳïpčaḳ were also close neighbours of the Mongol Nayman on the Irtish (idem, *Zwölf Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens*, 151, Fr tr. *Histoire des turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 118). Minorsky read a passage in one of the manuscripts of Djūzdjānī's *Ṭabaḳāt-i nāṣirī*, where there is mentioned a punitive expedition into the steppes in 615/1216 by the Khʷārazm-Shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad, as referring to "Ḳadïr Khān Yighur, ruler of the Ḳanghlī Tatars", whose lands stretched far north into the region of perpetual twilight in summer (see *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 309). It seems that the Ḳanghlī nomadised over an extensive area of western Siberia, but came as far south as the Sïr Daryā and northern fringes of Transoxania, where Djuwaynī mentions them several times in his story of the irruption of the Mongols into Transoxania. Ḳanghlī and Ḳarluḳ [*q.v.*] had been amongst the rebellious troops of the Ḳarā Khānid ruler, and their unruliness had led the latter potentate to call in the Ḳarā Khiṭāy, with disastrous results to his line [see ḲARĀ KHIṬĀY].

At the time of the Mongols' appearance, the Ḳanghlī had a settlement called Ḳarākum on the lower Sïr Daryā, not far from Djand [*q.v.*], mentioned as the place to which the Merkit fled after Čingiz Khān had defeated them and the Nayman on the Irtish in 1208; it was also the place where in 617/1220 the Mongol general Čïn Temür rested before going on to occupy Djand (Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*³, 361-2, 370, 415). Many Ḳanghlī tribesmen obviously formed part of the Khʷārazmian armies confronting the incoming Mongols, and they suffered heavy losses when Bukhārā and Samarḳand were stormed by the Mongols; there seems to have been some dynastic connection between the Khʷārazm-Shāhs and the Ḳanghlī, if Djuwaynī's report that Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn's mother Terken Khātūn was a Ḳanghlī is true (see Djuwaynī, tr. Boyle, i, 91, 106, 121, ii, 370, 465, and Barthold, *op. cit.*, 415; Nasawī, however, makes Terken Khātūn from the Bayaʾut branch of the associated tribe of the Kimäk/Yimäk). Those of the Ḳanghlī not massacred by the Mongols must have melted into the Turkish hordes making up a large proportion of the Mongol armies; western travellers to the court of the Mongol Khāns like John of Plano Carpini and William of Rubruck mention them as the Cangitae and Cangle respectively. Thereafter, they disappear from recorded history. They can hardly have been touched by Islam; indeed, the only reference to their religious beliefs is that the Mongol general Toluy Khān or Ulugh Noyan employed a Ḳanghlī versed in the art of using the *yay* or rainstone (*i.e.*, he was a *shaman*) to conjure up rain during his campaign against the Chinese in 628/1231 (Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 193; Boyle, *The successors of Genghis Khan*, New York and London 1971, 37).

Bibliography: in addition to the references given in the article, see especially Marquart's detailed discussion of the Ḳanghlī in his *Über das Volkstum der Komanen*, in *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, N. F., xiii (1914), 163-72.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

KIANGHRĪ [see ČANKIRI].

KĀṄGṚĀ, the Nagarkoṭ of Muslim historians of India, occasionally referred to as Kōt Kāṅgṛā, is also the headquarters of the *taḥṣīl* of the same name in the Indian Pandjāb. Kāṅgṛā lies between 30° 5' N. and 76° 16' E. on the northern slope of the

low mountain ranges which run through the district, facing Dharamsālā, a fine hill resort in summer, and commands a view of the verdant Kāńgŕā valley below.

The pre-Mug̲h̲al history of the town is not definitely known. It was, however, a stronghold of the Kaťōč Rād̲j̲pūt rād̲j̲ās who held sway over the entire valley and one of whom, Sansār Čand I, is mentioned in a Sanskrit inscription of c. 1430 A.D. found in the temple-wall of Dēvī Bad̲j̲rēs̲h̲rī which is dedicated to D̲j̲awālāmukhī, the local fire-deity. This historic inscription was unfortunately destroyed in the severe earthquake of April 1905.

Firis̲h̲ta describes Nagarkōť while recounting the exploits of Fīrūz Tug̲h̲luḳ (cf. Brigg's tr., i, 454-5). The fabulous riches of the temple of Nagarkōť had earlier tempted Maḥmūd of G̲h̲azna, who in 399/1008 overran the valley, captured the fort, which stood on the lofty ridge south of the town and was surrounded on three sides by extremely steep and inaccessible hills, and is reported to have carried off as booty an incredible amount of gold and silver, jewels, pearls, diamonds and rubies. However, neither Sud̲j̲ān Rā'i Bhanďārī, the Hindu historian of the reign of Awrangzīb [*q.v.*] (cf. *K̲h̲ulāṣat al-Tawārīk̲h̲*, Delhi 1918, 71-2), nor Muḥammad Aslam Anṣārī, the author of *Farḥat al-Nāẓirīn* (extracts published by Ayyūb Ḳādirī, Karachi 1972, 222-3) mention this plundering by Maḥmūd, although the latter mentions a *makān-i Sebüktigīn* in the fort of Kāńgŕā. The temple sacked by Maḥmūd was not the temple of Bad̲j̲rēs̲h̲rī, still revered by the Hindus, but the one situated within the fort, now no longer in existence.

The town and fort were recovered by the Hindus in 436/1044 and they set up an imitation of the sacred image destroyed or carried away by Maḥmūd. Fīrūz Tug̲h̲luḳ captured the town in 762/1360 and again plundered the temple, whose loss in riches had been made good by the pilgrims and votaries through their offerings and gifts. A unique library containing 1,300 ancient Brahmanical texts also fell into the hands of the sultan, who had some of them translated into Persian. One on philosophy, natural science, divination and omens was translated into verse and styled *Dalā'il-i Fīrūzs̲h̲āhī* (cf. Firis̲h̲ta. *Guls̲h̲an-i Ibrāhīmī*, Lucknow 1281 A.H., 148). Maḥmūd Tug̲h̲luḳ (796-814/1394-1411) found asylum in this hill fastness while a fugitive from Delhi before his accession to the throne. In 990/1582 it was visited by Akbar at the head of a large force *en route* to Sind. The town (citadel) was included in the *K̲h̲āliṣa* while the surrounding hills were restored to the native chief D̲j̲ay Čand. The Hindus seem not to have forgiven the Muslim violation of their temple, and twice rose in rebellion, to be ultimately starved into submission by an imperial force under prince K̲h̲urram (later S̲h̲āhd̲j̲ahān) in 1030/1621. D̲j̲ahāngīr, writing of the conquest of Kāńgŕā by K̲h̲urram, boasts of his being the first Mug̲h̲al emperor to have brought about the complete submission of the valley of Kāńgŕā to Muslim rule (cf. *Tūzuk-i D̲j̲ahāngīrī*, Urdu tr., Lahore 1960, 654-6). By way of thanksgiving for this unique victory, D̲j̲ahāngīr ordered the construction of a mosque within the fort, the sounding of the call to prayer, the recitation of the Friday *k̲h̲uṭba*, and the slaughter, inside the fort, of a cow, so sacred to the Hindus (cf. *Tūzuk*, Urdu trans., 697). D̲j̲ahāngīr also intended to build a summer residence for himself in the cool, salubrious climate of the valley, but the idea was never carried out. Obviously, Kas̲h̲mīr was the pleasure-seeking emperor's first choice. D̲j̲agat Singh, the landlord of Nūrpur and *fawd̲j̲dār* of Kāńgŕā, rose in rebellion during the reign of S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān, but this was soon suppressed and the rebellious chief was pardoned and promoted in rank; his loyalty was thus secured. Iʿtimād al-Dawla [*q.v.*] the father of Nūr D̲j̲ahān, died in Kāńgŕā in the entourage of D̲j̲ahāngīr. S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Farīd Murtaḍā K̲h̲ān Buk̲h̲ārī also breathed his last near here while he was the governor of Lahore.

Nagarkōť formed a part of the Mug̲h̲al possessions till its cession in 1167/1753 to Aḥmad S̲h̲āh Durrānī by the effete Mug̲h̲al administration of Delhi. In 1188/1774 a Sikh chieftain, D̲j̲ay Singh, obtained it by a stratagem, but it was acquired by Sansār Čand of the line of the dispossessed Rād̲j̲pūt princes of Kāńgŕa. In 1221/1806 the Gurkhas defeated Sansār Čand, who had attacked Bilāspūr and obtained possession of the valley. They perpetrated scarcely credible atrocities on the population. In 1224/1809 Kāńgŕā was captured by Rand̲j̲īt Singh, Sansār Čand's overlord. It passed to the British in 1262/1846 after the first Sikh War. During the military uprising of 1857, some disturbances took place in and around the valley but these were soon firmly suppressed.

Kāńgŕā now forms part of the Indian Republic; its sacred temple of D̲j̲awālāmuk̲h̲ī is visited by thousands of pilgrims every year. Awrangzīb is said to have brought a canal here from the river Beas; when a burning torch or taper was cast into the water, the flames were not extinguished (cf. Muḥammad Aslam Anṣārī, *Farḥat al-Nāẓirīn*, extracts, Karachi 1972, 222-3).

The terrible earthquake of April 1905 resulted in irreparable damage to the fort and temples as well as harm to other buildings of archaeological importance. The place, apart from being a hill-station, abounds in game including several species of pheasants, partridges, quails, snipe and deer. Mango grows wild in abundance, but the fruit is poor. The handful of Muslims living in the valley, mainly members of the lower class, were expelled during the communal disturbances of 1947 in the wake of partition.

Bibliography: Firis̲h̲ta, *Guls̲h̲an-i Ibrāhīmī* (*Ta'rīk̲h̲*), Lucknow 1281 A.H., 147 ff., Brigg's transl. i, 48-9, 454-5; Muḥammad Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, 90-1 (where several other authorities, other than Firis̲h̲ta, are quoted); *Tūzuk-i D̲j̲ahāngīrī*, Eng. tr. Rogers and Beveridge, ii, 183, 223; Ṣamṣām al-Dawla S̲h̲āhnawāz K̲h̲ān, *Ma'āt̲h̲ir al-Umarā'*, Urdu tr., Lahore 1968, 1969, i and ii, index (under Kāńgŕā); *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, xiv, Oxford 1908, 382-6, 397-8 (chronology inaccurate); Sud̲j̲ān Rā'i Bhanďārī, *K̲h̲ulāṣat al-Tawārīk̲h̲*, Delhi 1918, 71-2; Muḥammad Aslam Anṣārī, *Farḥat al-Nāẓirīn*, Bodl. Ms. 119, extracts published by Ayyūb Ḳādirī, Karachi 1972, 222-3 (mainly summarises the account of Kāńgŕā given by *Ma'āt̲h̲ir al-Umarā'*); *Cambridge History of India*, iii, iv, index; *Cyclopaedia of India*[3], London 1885, ii, 494-5; D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Ṭabāṭabā'ī, *Ẓafar-nāma-i Kāńgŕa* or *S̲h̲as̲h̲ fatḥ-i Kāńgŕa*, Ms. in the Panjab University Library, Lahore; Raza Husain, *The Zafarnāma-i-Kāngrā, or an account of the conquest of Kāngrā during the reign of Jahangir*, in *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, ii (1919), 56-62; S̲h̲ams Sirād̲j̲ ʿAfīf, *Ta'rīk̲h̲-i Fīrūzs̲h̲āhī*, Calcutta 1890, 32, 90, 186-7; Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kanbū, *ʿAmal-i Ṣāliḥ*, Lahore 1958, i, 90 ff., ii, 266 ff.; Banarsi Prasad Saksena,

*History of Shahjahan of Dihli*², Allahabad 1958, 93-102; Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhab al-Lubāb*, Calcutta 1869, i, 297, 306, 325-6, 583.

(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

KĀNĪ, abū bakr, a prominent Ottoman poet and prose stylist of the 12th/18th century. He was a native of Toḳad, and although Ebu ʾl-Ḍiyā gives the date of his birth as 1124/1712, this conflicts with Edīb Efendi's statement that he was still a young man (*new-djewān*) when he left for Istanbul. He received his education in Toḳad, where he also entered the order of the Mewlewī dervishes, becoming the disciple (*mürīd*) of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Wāḥid. Fatīn relates that at some period of his early life he was employed as a secretary in Erzurum, yet it was from Toḳad that he accompanied Ḥekīm-oghlī ʿAlī Pasha to Istanbul early in 1168/1755 when the latter passed through that town on his journey from Ṭrabzon to assume the office of Grand Vizier for the third time. In the capital he entered the Imperial *Dīwān* as a secretary, rising rapidly to the high rank of *khʷādjegān*. When, and under what circumstances, he left Istanbul for the Danubian provinces is not known, but from the early 1180s the letters in the *Münsheʾāt* show him to be in such cities as Silistra, Russe (Rusčuḳ) and Bucharest, serving as secretary to either the *voivods* of Wallachia or to Yegen al-Ḥādjdj Meḥmed Agha (later Pasha; cf. the *dhayl* of Aḥmed Djāwīd to ʿOthmān-zāde Tāʾib, *Ḥadīḳat ul-Wüzerāʾ*, Istanbul 1271, 32). When the latter became Grand Vizier in 1196/1782, he summoned him to Istanbul; but once here Kānī's disrespectful attitude so angered his master that it was only through the intercession of the *reʾīs ul-küttāb* Khayrī Efendi that he escaped being put to death and was sent instead into exile on the island of Lemnos. The date of his return to Istanbul is unknown, but he died there in Rabīʿ II 1206/Dec. 1791 and was buried near the *türbe* of Ferīdūn Pasha in Eyyūb. A portrait of him with the *voivod* Alexander is said to hang in the Peleş Museum in Sinaia, Roumania.

Kānī's poetical work is represented by two *dīwāns*, both of which were collected posthumously. The first, and most important, was compiled by the *waḳʿa-nuwīs* Khalīl Nūrī Efendi on the instructions of the *reʾīs ul-küttāb* Meḥmed Rāshid (most probably during his second tenure of this office, Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 1206-Muḥarram 1209/July 1792-Aug. 1794 and contains what may be regarded as his more serious work. The circumstances of the compilation of the second *dīwān*, containing his humourous and satirical verses, many of which are extremely lubricious, have not been determined. Kānī's poetry is of such uneven quality that one should be cautious in accepting general appraisals of its value. Certainly there is throughout an intrusive facetiousness, a fondness for word-play and an unconventional recourse to the vernacular which often obscures the meaning; but there is, too, that same verbal inventiveness and freshness of imagery that marks his prose, and which must have had the charm of novelty to his cultivated contemporaries.

Kānī is generally more highly esteemed as a prose-writer than as a poet, and in the personal letters which are included in his *Münsheʾāt* he does, indeed, show a highly individual style, and is himself presented as a personality of irrepressible wit and insouciance. The *Münsheʾāt* is, however, for the most part a collection of the official correspondence written while he was secretary to Yegen Meḥmed or the *voivods* of Wallachia, the letters therein being grouped in accordance with the social station of the person addressed, and obviously intended to serve as models for this type of composition. Kānī, also, enjoys the distinction of having composed the first phrase-book in Ottoman Turkish, the *Bürūdj-i Fünūn*, divided into twelve chapters in honour of the Apostles (Ms. in Topkapı Sarayı, Emānet Khazīnesi, no. 1158). It was commissioned by Constantine, the Scarlat *voivod* of Wallachia, for the use of his brother (*li-eb ḳarīndashīm olan Aleksandri Beg-zāde*) and presents very interesting specimens of the formal polite language of the period. None of Kānī's works has yet been published, apart from a few extracts in anthologies.

Bibliography: Study of the *Münsheʾāt* could greatly supplement the biographical information found in Ebu ʾl-Ḍiyā Tewfīḳ, *Nümūne-i edebiyyāt-ı ʿOthmāniyye*⁶, Istanbul 1329, 49-54, from which Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, iv, 159-74, derives. Of the *tedhkire*-writers, Fatīn Efendi, *Khātimet ul-eshʿār*, Istanbul 1271, 352, gives some erroneous details of his life, while ʿĀrif Ḥikmet (ʿAlī Emīrī, no. 789, f. 55a) merely repeats the information found in Djewdet Pasha, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1309, v, 234, which was itself taken from the history of the *waḳʿa-nüwīs* Edīb Efendi; the brief notice on him in Silāḥdār-zāde Meḥmed Emīn (ʿAlī Emīrī, no. 795, f. 57a) is incorrect, and ʿAbd ül-Fettāḥ Shefḳat (ʿAlī Emīrī, no. 770, 163-4) does no more than quote six *ghazel*s and one *naʿt* from his poetry. The most recent study of Kānī is in the anonymous article in the *İA*, vi, 158-9, to the bibliography of which should now be added *Istanbul Kütüphaneleri Türkče Yazma Divanlar Kataloğu*, iii, Istanbul 1967, 862-6.

(J. R. Walsh)

ĶĀNIʿ, mīr ʿalī sher, historian of Sind, son of ʿIzzat Allāh al-Ḥusaynī al-Shīrāzī, was born in Ṭhaṭṭa, the capital of Sind in the Mughal and pre-Mughal period, in 1440/1727 and died there in 1203/1788. His grave still exists on the nearby Maklī hills. He received his education from local scholars, some of whom are mentioned in his *Maḳālāt-al-shuʿarāʾ* (Karachi 1957, 114, 150, 339, 359, 817). In 1175/1761 he was commissioned by the Kalhōṛa ruler of Sind, Ghulām Shāh ʿAbbāsī (1170-86/1757-72), to write a Persian history of the ruling dynasty on the lines of the *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsī [*q.v.*], but this was never completed. Five years later he began compiling his *Tuḥfat al-kirām*, which he finished in 1181/1767.

A born poet, Ḳāniʿ wrote many verses while still a boy of 12. In poetry he acknowledged as his teacher Mīr Abū Turāb Ḥaydar al-Dīn "Kāmil", a great-grandson of Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim Namakīn, a poet of no mean achievement and a nobleman of the times of Shāh Djahān [*q.v.*].

The most important works in his large output in prose and verse are: (i) *Tuḥfat al-kirām*, a general history in 3 vols., of which the last is mostly biographical and devoted to Sind (Lucknow and Bombay 1304/1886); (ii) *Maḳālāt al-shuʿarāʾ* (composed in 1174/1727, alphabetically arranged lives of the poets of Sind who wrote in Persian (ed. Karachi 1957); (iii) *Maḳlī Nāma* or *Būstān-i bahār*, a poetic description in prose and verse of the tombs and social scenes on the Maklī hills, the necropolis of Ṭhaṭṭa (ed. Hyderabad 1967); (iv) *Miʿyār-i sālikān-i ṭarīḳat* (1202/1787), lives of saints and Ṣūfī poets from the time of Muḥammad to the close of the 12th/18th century in 12 *miʿyars* (ed. Ḥaydarābād 1968); (v) *Taʾrīkh-i ʿAbbāsīya*, an unfinished history of the Kalhōṛas, in prose and verse, undertaken at the command of Ghulām Shāh Kalhōṛa, (Rieu, iii,

1061b); (vi) *Niṣāb al-bulag͟hāʾ*, an encyclopaedic work compiled in 1198/1783; the only copy known is in the private library of Muḥammad Ibrāhīm of Gaṙhī Yāsīn (Sind); (vii) *Mat͟hnawiyyāt-wa Ḳaṣāʾid-i Ḳāniʿ*, ed. Karachi 1961 (a collection of his longer poems). A detailed list of his works is given in the *Maḳālāt al-Shuʿarāʾ*, 7-28 (Introduction).

Bibliography: Autobiography in *Maḳālāt al-s͟huʿarāʾ*, Karachi 1957, 531-62; *Mihrān*, Sindhi quarterly, Karachi, v/2 (1956), 131-167; C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature*, 138, 656, 854, 1030-31.

(A. S. Bazmee Ansari)

KANIK, orhan velī (1914-1950), Turkish poet who introduced major innovations to 20th century Turkish poetry. Kanık's early poems, published under the pen name of Mehmet Ali Sel, were formal lyrics written in traditional metres. After 1936 he adopted free verse, which had first been introduced in the 1920s by Nazım Hikmet (1902-1963). Kanık's first collection of poems, *Garip* (1941) also contained poems by his colleagues Oktay Rifat (b. 1914) and Melih Cevdet Anday (b. 1915). These three poets published a joint manifesto which called for a vast transformation of the structure, function, and language of poetry, whereby poetry would be made to reflect and address itself to the tastes of the masses.

Kanık's later volumes—*Vazgeçemediğim* (1945), *Destan Gibi* (1946), *Yenisi* (1947), *Karşı* (1949)—sought to further the aesthetic principles set forth in the manifesto. His poetry, written in free verse without rhyme, utilized a straightforward style based on the natural rhythms and the idiomatic resources of colloquial Turkish, shunning conventional moulds and metres and avoiding the stereotyped metaphors which had characterized the work of most of his predecessors and some of his contemporaries. Kanık championed a form of poetic realism which often featured the man-in-the-street as the modern hero. His poems about the sea and the city of Istanbul are notable for mellifluous lyricism. Satire is a prevalent element in Kanık's poetry: some of his satirical lines and brief poems have become proverbial among Turks.

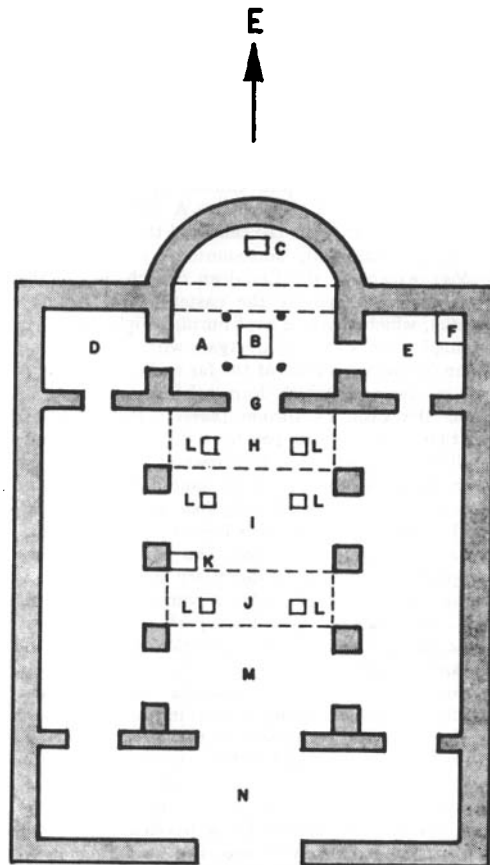
Kanık's complete poems were posthumously published in 1951 under the title *Bütün Şiirleri*, which had gone into eleven impressions by 1971. He was also a leading translator of French poetry and drama. In 1949 he published his poetic versions (in rhymed syllabic metres) of 72 selected anecdotes of Nasreddin Hod͟ja.

Bibliography: A. Bezirci, *Orhan Veli Kanık*, Istanbul 1967; M. Uyguner, *Orhan Veli Kanık*, Istanbul 1967; E. Heister, *Orhan Veli Kanık*, Cologne 1957; Y. Pazarkaya-H. Mader, *Orhan Veli Kanık*, Frankfurt 1966; T. S. Halman, *I am listening to Istanbul* (*Selected poems of Orhan Veli Kanık*, New York 1971. Some translations also appeared in *Encounter*, March 1972, 31.

(T. S. Halman)

KANĪSA (pl. *kanāʾis*), synagogue, church, temple.

(i). Etymology and meaning. The word *kanīsa* is the Arabised form of the western Aramaic *kᵉnīs͟htā* (eastern Aramaic *kᵉnūs͟htā*), which means "meeting, assembly". Some Arab lexicographers (Ibn Manẓūr, al-Fīrūzābādī and al-Zabīdī) give this etymology, but others (al-K͟hafād͟jī, al-Bustānī) derive the word from the Greek ἐκκλησία, as does the 4th/10th century Coptic writer, Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ (cf. J. Assfalg, *Die Ordnung des Priestertums*, Cairo 1955, 3). The word *kanīsa* is not found in the Ḳurʾān, unlike its synonym *bīʿa* (pl. *biyaʿ*), which appears once (XXII, 40). On the other hand it is found in *ḥadīt͟h*, archaic poetry, capitulation treaties made by the caliphs and their generals with the inhabitants of conquered cities, and also in papyri.

As used by Muslim authors, historians and geographers, the word *kanīsa* designates equally the cultic place (*mutaʿabbad*) of the Jews (synagogue), of the Christians (church) and of the pagans (temple).

Plan of an eastern church

A: Sanctuary — B: Altar with ciborium — C: Episcopal throne — D: Diaconicon or sacristy — E: Baptistry — F: Baptismal font — G: Main door — H: Dais, amongst the Chaldeans and Syrians — I: Choir, amongst the Byzantines and Copts — J: Gallery, amongst the Chaldeans and Syrians — K: Ambo, amongst the Byzantines and Copts — L: Lecterns — M: Nave — N: Narthex.

Kanīsa is an element of numerous church-names. The most famous of these is the *Kanīsat al-Ḳiyāma* (the Church of the Resurrection) in Jerusalem, which some writers twist into *Kanīsat al-Ḳumāma* (the Church of the Sweepings), making a play on the root *k-n-s*, which means "to sweep" in Arabic. In Egypt alone, the word *kanīsa* appears 187 times in al-Maḳrīzī's *Kitāb al-K͟hiṭaṭ*. In modern Eastern vernaculars, *knīse* is used for "church" and *knīs* for "synagogue".

In the work of Christian writers, *kanīsa* means both the assembly of the faithful and their meeting-place. In Bible translations, both it and *bīʿa* are used indiscriminately for the two Greek words ἐκκλησιά and συναγωγή, or the two Syriac words *ʿidtā* or *kᵉnūshtā*. The relative adjective is *kanasī* or *kanāʾisī*, "ecclesiastical" (*al-Sifr al-kanāʾisī* = The Book of Ecclesiastes).

(ii). The Christian building. Despite some differences depending on periods and rites (Chaldean, Syrian, Byzantine, Copt), all churches are built on more or less the same plan, whether in Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine or Egypt. The eastern church is rectangular in form, always orientated towards the east, and is divided into two main parts, the sanctuary and the nave.

The sanctuary (*haykal*) or Holy of Holies (*Ḳuds al-aḳdas*) is separated from the nave in the Chaldean or Syrian church by a wall with two doors, and in the Byzantine or Coptic church by a marble or wooden screen with three doors. A veil (*sitr*) hangs over the main door. In the centre of the sanctuary is the altar (*madhbaḥ*), surmounted by a ciborium (*ḳubba*), except in the Chaldean church, where the altar is placed against the eastern wall. A lamp (*ḳindīl*), which must be kept burning night and day, is hung in front of the altar. Again with the exception of the Chaldean church, at the far end of the sanctuary, in the apse which forms the eastern wall, is found the bishop's throne (*kursī*); the Chaldean sanctuary, which is topped by a dome, has no apse. In all rites, entry to the sanctuary is strictly forbidden to the laity. At the left of the sanctuary is the diaconicon or sacristy (*bayt al-khidma*) and at the right the baptistry (*bayt al-maʿmūdiyya*), with the baptismal font (*djurn al-ʿimād*). The position of these two places relative to the sanctuary may be reversed.

The nave (*ṣaḥn*) includes a varying number of bays. In Chaldean and Syrian churches the dais (*minaṣṣa*) is situated in the anterior bay, where in Byzantine and Coptic churches is found the choir (*khūrus*), often covered by a dome. The Chaldeans and Syrians place the pulpit (*bīm*) in the central bay; on the left side is the site of the ambo (*anbil*) in Byzantine and Coptic churches. On the dais, in the choir on the pulpit two lecterns (*ḳarrāʾa*) are placed. The front of the nave is reserved for men and the rear, formerly separated by a wooden screen, for women. The nave may be preceded by a narthex on the western façade or bordered with a gallery on the north or south side.

In all rites, the church building is consecrated (*tadshīn*), and the dedication of the Church of the Resurrection in Jerusalem is celebrated on September 13. Oriental church symbolism is particularly rich, each part of the building having its own spiritual significance (cf. J. Perier, *La perle précieuse*, in *Patrologia Orientalis*, xvi, 68-70, 159-66).

After the Muslim conquest, the Christians were prohibited from building any new churches; all they could do was repair and restore existing buildings, which in theory they were permitted to keep. In fact, however, over the centuries numerous churches were confiscated and converted into mosques, or even destroyed (cf. A. Fattal, *Le statut legal des non-musulmans en pays d'Islam*, Beirut 1958, 174-203).

Bibliography: S. Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, Leiden 1886, 275; *Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache*, Wiesbaden 1970, i, 385 (very many refs.); J. M. Fiey, *Mossoul chrétienne*, Beirut 1959 (for Chaldean and Syriac rites); A. Couturier, *Cours de liturgie grecque-melkite*, Jerusalem 1912 (for the Byzantine rite); O. H. E. Burmester, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church*, Cairo 1967 (for the Coptic rite).

(G. Troupeau)

KANIZSA (Turkish Kanizhe), a notable Hungarian fortress dominating the region between Lake Balaton and the River Mur. Kanizsa stood amidst marshes: "caenoso palustrique loco sita est, fluviolo stagnante, et nullis coercito ripis, sed magis late diffuso ac carectis, multaque alno et arundine impedito, endique cincta" (Isthvanfius, 774). The Ottomans conquered the fortress in 1009/1600 after a wearisome siege, demanding the construction of approach roads across the marshes which were built of reeds and had to be renewed each day. Once taken, Kanizsa (with Szigetvár, Eszék, Siklos and Pécs) was entrusted to the care of Tiryākī Ḥasan Pasha. Alarmed at the loss of this important fortress, the Christians attempted to regain it in 1010/1601, but their attempts were foiled by the vigorous defence against them conducted by Tiryākī Ḥasan —a defence which became famous among the Ottomans and the details of which are recorded in the well-known *Ghazawāt-i Tiryākī Ḥasan Pasha* (cf. A. S. Levend, 99 ff.). Kanizsa remained under Ottoman rule until the war of the Sacra Liga (1648-99), yielding to the Christian forces in 1101/1690 and then passing definitively into the control of Austria.

Bibliography: Pečewī, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1283, ii, 230 ff.; Ṣolāḳzāde, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1298, 656 ff.; Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1281-3, i, 226 ff.; 245 ff.; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Fedhleke*, Istanbul 1286-7, i, 137 ff.; 148 ff.; Silāḥdār, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1928, ii, 505 ff.; Hieronymus Ortelius, *Chronologia oder Historische Beschreibung aller Kriegsempörungen und Belagerungen ... in Ober un Under Ungern auch Siebenbürgen mit dem Türcken von A° 1395 biss auf gegenwertige Zeit denkhwürtig geschehen*, Nuremberg 1620-22, 478 ff., 502, 517 ff.; Nicolai Isthvanfi Pannoni, *Historiarum De Rebus Ungaricis Libri XXXIV*, Coloniae Agrippinae 1622, 764 ff.; 773 ff.; A. Stauffer. *Die Belagerung von Kanizsa durch die Christlichen Truppen im Jahre 1601*, in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichte*, VII (Innsbruck 1886), 265 ff.; K. Horvat, *Vojne Ekspedicije Klementa VIII u Ugarsku i Hrvatsku*, Zagreb 1910, 186 ff.; V. Errante, "*Forse che si, forse che no*". *La Terza Spedizione del Duca Vincenzo Gonzaga in Ungheria alla Guerra contro il Turco* (1601) *studiata su documenti inediti*, in *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, Series 5, XLII, Part I, Milan 1915, 15 ff.; Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, vii, 359 ff., viii, 9 ff.; J. W. Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, iii (Gotha 1855), 609 ff.; N. Jorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, iii (Gotha 1910), 334 ff.; F. Babinger, *Geschichtsschreiber*, 156; Agâh Sırrı Levend, *Ġazavāt-Nāmeler* (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından, XI. Seri, n°. 8), Ankara 1956, 99 ff.; L. A. Maggiorotti, *L'Opera del genio Italiano al Estero* (Serie iv, *Gli architetti militari*, 3 vols., Rome 1932-9), ii, 235-44; B. Lewis, *Istanbul and the civilization of the Ottoman Empire*, Norman, Oklahoma, 1963, 166-8.

(V. J. Parry)

KANKARIDES [see kurds].

KANKIWAR [see kinkiwar]

KANNANŪR, cannanore, a port on the Malabar coast of southwestern peninsular India in lat. 11° 52' N. and long. 75° 22' E.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa sailed down this coast in 743/1342, and though he does not mention Kannanūr by name,

it seems that his mention of the powerful ruler of Djurfattan, whose ships traded with the Persian Gulf, ʿUmān and South Arabia, refers to the local ruler there (*Riḥla*, iv, 82-3). Aḥmad b. Mādjid (wrote *ca.* 895/1489-90) certainly speaks specifically of the "Bay of Kannanūr" in his account of the Malabar coastline (G. R. Tibbett, *Arab navigation in the Indian Ocean before the coming of the Portuguese*, London 1971, 201, 457). In the 8th-9th/14th-15th centuries the dominant power in Malabar was the line of Hindu rulers in Kalikat [*q.v.* in Suppl.] (Calicut), the Zamorins, whose authority extended from Kananūr in the north to Cochin in the south, and to whom the local Kolatirri Rādjās in Kannanūr were tributary.

Islam must have come to Kannanūr with the arrival at an early date of Arab traders, one local tradition putting the origins of the family of Āli Rādjās (Malayalam, "Lord of the Sea") at the beginning of the 6th/12th century. This family derived its name from its being admirals for the Kōlatirris, and these Āli Rādjās were also heads of the local community of Malabar coast Muslims, the Māppillas [*q.v.*] or Moplahs, who were perhaps originally built round a nucleus of Arab merchants, but with increasing numbers of indigenous Malayali adherents; Kannanūr remains today an important Māpilla centre. From *ca.* 1500 onwards, the Kōlatirri Rādjās of Kannanūr also exercised suzerainty over the Laccadive Islands [*q.v.*], and in the mid-10th/16th century they granted these to the Āli Rādjās as a *djāgīr* [*q.v.*] or assignment in return for annual tribute; Kannanūr Māpilla merchants monopolised the lucrative coir trade of the Islands until the revolt in 1786 of the islanders against their harsh exploitation. The connection of the rulers of Kannanūr with the Maldive Islands [*q.v.*] comes also from an early date, with the king of the Islands being tributary to the Rādjās by *ca.* 1500.

The arrival of the Portuguese in South India was at first welcomed by the Kōlatirri Rādjās, who hoped to throw off the control of Kalikat. Vasco da Gama was at Kannanūr in 1498, and Cabral in 1500, and on his second voyage to India in 1502, da Gama made an agreement with the Rādjā and established there a stockade and a garrison of 200 men. The first Portuguese viceroy, Francisco d'Almeida, established four forts on the Malabar coast, at Anjediva Island, Kannanūr, Cochin and Quilon, the Kannanūr stockade being erected into a proper defensive position, Fort St. Angelo, in 1505, probably on the site of an existing stronghold. In 1506 and 1507 the Portuguese garrison there fought off naval attacks by the Zamorins of Kalikat; Almeida made it the headquarters for his fleet, and it was from Kannanūr that the destruction of the combined fleets of the Egyptian Mamlūks and of the Zamorins at Dīw (Diu) in Shawwāl 914/February 1509 was organised.

The Dutch captured Kannanūr and Cochin in 1663 and took over the Portuguese position on the Malabar coast. But by the end of the 17th century the trade of the Dutch East India Company in Malabar declined as that of the English East India Company grew, and the Kannanūr fort was reduced to one tower. Hence in 1771 the Dutch sold Fort St. Angelo and other forts to the Āli Rādjās. In these decades, the latter showed themselves as generally unfriendly to the British East India Company, intriguing with the Dutch and French and consistently supporting the expansionist policies of Ḥaydar ʿAlī [*q.v.*] (Hyder Ali) of Mysore. The Bībī of Kannanūr (sc. the female representative of the Āli Rādjā line) further supported Ḥaydar ʿAlī's son Tīpū Sulṭān; hence in December 1783 Kannanūr was occipied by a British force under Col. MacLeod, and again captured in December 1790 by General Ralph Abercromby, when the Bībī submitted and 5,000 of Tīpū Sulṭān's troops surrendered. An agreement made in 1796 with the Bībī left her Kannanūr and the Laccadive Islands in return for an annual assessment of Rs. 15,000, an arrangement which continued in force down to the 20th century.

Kannanūr eventually became part of the Madras Presidency, with Kannanūr as the *chef-lieu* of the *tāluḳ* of Chirakkal, the northernmost *tāluḳ* of the District of Malabar. Its importance and size grew in the 19th century, especially as it was also till 1887 the military headquarters of British forces on the west coast of South India, and a cantonment was laid out, with Fort St. Angelo separating it from the Māppilla Old Town. In 1861 the Laccadive Islands were sequestered from the Bībī on account of misgovernment, and again in 1875, this time permanently. In modern India, Kannanūr is now in the northernmost part of Kerala state, and since the administrative re-organisation of 1958-9 has formed one of the eight constituent districts of that state; according to the *Census of India* 1961, Vol. vii *Kerala*, Pt. ii/A, 40, 118, Pt. ii/c, 152-3, the population of Kannanūr district was then 1,780,294 (including 1,237,254 Hindus, 418,832 Muslims, 123,575 Christians, and 551 Jains), and that of Kannanūr town (municipality plus cantonment) 48,960.

Bibliography: W. Logan, *Malabar*, Madras 1887-91, i, 295 ff.; F. C. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India, being a history of the rise and decline of their Eastern Empire*, London 1894; C. A. Innes, *Madras District gazeteer. Malabar and Anjengo*, Madras 1908, 46-89, 493; *Imperial gazeteer of India*, ix, 298-9; *Camb. hist. of India*, v, index; *A handbook to India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon*, Murray's Guides, London 1968, 442-3.

(C. E. Bosworth)

KANNĀS (A.), lit. sweeper, is a term synonymous with *kassāḥ*; other words used in the Arab Orient for the same occupation are *sammād* and *zabbāl*, which denote "dung collectors" or scavengers who collected garbage, such as animal dung, to be used as fertiliser. The *kannāsūn*, the sanitary workers, swept public squares (*riḥāb*) and other places such as prisons (*sudjūn*), dungeons (*maṭābiḳ*) and latrines (*kunūf*), and transported garbage in boats or by other means to places outside the cities. The earliest known report in Islamic literature of scavenging is a tradition collected by Abū ʿUbayd b. Sallām [*q.v.*], who noted that the indigenous Aramean (known to the Arabs as *Anbāṭ*, sing. *Nabaṭ*) cleaned a dung-hill at Bayt al-Maḳdis during the caliphate of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. The *Anbāṭ* of Syria and ʿIrāḳ are reported as having been used occasionally as forced labour by the Umayyad government.

There is evidence to suggest that the *kannāsūn* and the *kassāḥūn* were organized into guilds throughout the ʿAbbāsid period. Djāḥiẓ [*q.v.*] speaks of a certain *ʿarīf al-kannāsīn* who was the chief of the sweepers living in the Karkh quarter of Baghdād in the 3rd/9th century. Al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, writing in the 5th/11th and early 6th/12th century, also gives evidence that sweepers' guilds were found in Arab society during the later part of the ʿAbbāsid period. The bulk of literary evidence relating to workers of the ʿAbbāsid epoch gives the impression that the so-called "low crafts" such as those of the

dustmen, cuppers, weavers, leather workers, brokers and fishmongers, were stigmatized. Some of these groups of workers kept apart from each other and shared only a mutual dislike. In one anecdote, presumably not to be taken literally, a *kannās* was described as preferring to drink from a filthy pot used for conveying human excrement than drinking from the clean cup of a cupper. A proverbial saying of the Umayyad period says that there is nothing to choose between a cupper and a sweeper because they are equally worthless. Similar attitudes prevail today among different groups of low-caste workers in India.

It is interesting to note a contrasting view on the status of scavengers presented by the authors of the epistles (*rasāʾil*) of the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* [*q.v.*], who pleaded that the dustmen's rôle in urban society was of greater public utility than that of the perfumers (*ʿaṭṭārūn*). So the scavengers deserve honour (*sharaf*), the *Ikhwān* writers argued, although there is no evidence that such logic had any influence on public opinion. The general contemptuous attitude towards the *kannāsūn* was not confined to the society of the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid periods; it is equally noticeable in Arab society under the Mamlūks. Some Muslim jurists, while discussing the law of *kafāʾa* [*q.v.*], state that *kannāsūn* are not acceptable as marriage partners by other groups in society. Scavenging therefore tended to be a hereditary occupation and the *kannāsūn* lived as a closed, endogamous group.

Bibliography: Abū ʿUbayd b. Sallām, *Kitāb al-Amwāl*, Cairo 1969, 226; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, Cairo 1931, i, 77; Ibn Ḳutayba, *K. al-Maʿārif*, Göttingen 1850, 224; Djāḥiẓ, *Rasāʾil*, ed. Hārūn, 1964, i, 389; idem, *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*, Cairo 1938, III, 13; al-Thaʿālibī, *al-Tamthīl wa ʾl-Muḥāḍara*, Cairo 1961, 201; idem, *Thimār al-ḳulūb*, Cairo 1908, 292; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *K. ʿIqd al-Farīd*, Cairo 1949, vi, 449-450; al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabāʾ*, Beirut 1961, ii, 460-464; Ibn Bassām, *Nihāyat al-rutba fī ṭalab al-ḥisba*, Baghdād 1968, 167; *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, Cairo 1928, i, 220; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, Beirut 1955, ii, 571, xi, 300; al-Zamakhsharī, *Asās al-balāgha*, Cairo 1882, 312; Yāḳūt al-Hamawī, *Muʿdjam al-buldān*, Leipzig 1866, i, 684; ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Lubūdī, *Kitāb Faḍl al-Iktisāb*, Chester Beatty Ms., 1791, f. 57-8; Ibn ʿAbīdīn, *Radd al-muḥtār ʿalā durr al-mukhtār*, Cairo 1877, ii, 527; M. Ḥamīdullah, *Madjmūʿat al-wathāʾiḳ al-siyāsiyya*, Beirut 1969, 481; A. A. Dūrī, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿIrāḳ al-iḳtiṣādī fi ʾl-ḳarn al-rābiʿ al-hidjrī*, Baghdād 1948, 88; B. Lewis, *An epistle on manual craft*, in *IC*, xvii (1943), 142-151; M. A. J. Begg, *The social history of the labouring classes in ʿIrāq under the ʿAbbāsids*, Ph. D. thesis, Cambridge 1971, unpublished, 267-8 ff.; R. Brunschvig, *Métiers vils en Islam*, in *St. Isl.*, xvi, 41-60. See also ʿARĪF.

(M. A. J. BEG)

KANO, a city in northern Nigeria situated in lat. 121 N., long. 8° 30′ E. Its population was estimated to be 295,432 persons at the 1963 census. Kano State has an area of 16,630 square miles and an estimated population of 5,774,842.

History and Politics: Kano is reputed to have originated before the 4th/10th century as a pagan settlement at the foot of Dalla hill, a large rocky outcrop which dominates the present city. The traditional accounts of this early period suggest that the inhabitants adhered to an animist, spirit-possession cult similar to the *bori* cult which has survived in northern Nigeria to the present day, and that the cult head combined his priestly functions with those of a temporal ruler.

In the 4th/10th century the city was visited by "strangers" under their leader, Bagauda, who are described as having come from the north under pressure of famine in their own country. They settled in Kano with the consent of the indigenous inhabitants and then, by superior skills and cunning, established mastery over them. Whether these immigrants were Muslims is uncertain, although according to the traditional account Bagauda also bore the name Dāwūd. But they clearly did not belong to the indigenous cult and the Kano Chronicle (see *Bibl.* below) records that some generations passed before they became integrated into it. Their contribution to the development of Kano seems to have been that they set up a city state, with fairly clearly defined territorial boundaries and an administrative centre within the walled city, where previously there had existed only a stateless, hunting and primitive agriculturalist society living in scattered open hamlets and clearings in the bush.

After Bagauda, the first Islamic name to occur in the king-list is that of Osumanu Zamnagawa, who reigned from 743/1343 to 750/1349 by the Kano Chronicle dating. According to the same source, his reign was followed by the arrival in Kano of the Wangarawa, that is Islamic missionaries from Mali, during the reign of Yaji (750-87/1349-85), but a recent account based on the discovery of a 17th-century chronicle of the Wangarawa (Muḥammad al-Ḥadjdj, *A Seventeenth-Century Chronicle of the Origins and Missionary Activities of the Wangarawa*), in *Kano Studies*, i/4 (1968) suggests that this event took place in the 9th/15th century and not in the 8th/14th century. Other evidence also tends to support the view that the 9th/15th rather than the 8th/14th century was the point at which an Islamic presence became firmly established in Kano, even though some indeterminate Islamic influences may well have been abroad at an earlier date. For instance, it is between 793/1390 and 813/1410 that the quilted horse armour (Arabic *al-libd*, Hausa *lifidi*) together with mail shirts were introduced, a fact which suggests contacts with Islamic North Africa. Also, between 824/1421 and 841/1438 a "prince" and his followers arrived in the city from Bornū, a kingdom where Islam had already been established since, reputedly, the 5th/11th century. This was followed by the opening of trade relations with Bornu. By 856/1452 camels are said to have appeared in the city and slave-raiding in the country south of Kano had become a profitable occupation of the aristocracy. All of this suggests that Kano had, by the middle of the 9th/15th century, become involved in the trans-Saharan caravan trade and this, of course, offers a reliable indication for the chronology of islamization.

The next major landmark in this chronology is the arrival in Kano of the well-known Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Maghīlī al-Tilimsānī (d. 909/1504), a Muslim *ʿālim* and missionary from North Africa. This personality became the focus of the Islamic tradition in Kano, and indeed in Hausaland as a whole. He is credited with introducing the Sharīʿa and Ṣūfism and indeed all things Islamic are said to go back to al-Maghīlī. No doubt he was personally important; but the true significance of his presence in the city is that it signals the time when, as a result of increasing involvement in the Saharan trade complex

and political contacts with Bornū, Kano became opened up to the surrounding Islamic areas of North Africa and Egypt.

A further step on the way toward fuller islamization took place during Muhamman Rumfa's reign (867-904/1463-99). He is said to have introduced Islamic segregation of the sexes, the public observation of Islamic festivals and he also appointed eunuchs to office, thus possibly copying a practice common in courts elsewhere in the Islamic world during the Mamlūk and Ottoman periods.

Kano's relations with the other Sudanese and Saharan states during the period before the Fulani *dj̲ihād* are both involved and sometimes obscure. They are treated in Johnston (*op. cit., Bibl.*) and Hogben and Kirk-Greene (*op. cit., Bibl.*) and need only be reviewed in outline in an article essentially concerned with Islamic aspects. In the 9th/15th century Kano was probably subject to Bornū, to the extent of paying tribute. In the early 10th/16th century it was defeated by Songhai, but the native dynasty remained in power, paying tribute to Songhai but apparently otherwise undisturbed. Songhai control seems soon to have lapsed and later in the century Kano came under the domination of the Kebbi kingdom after a period of debilitating wars against its neighbour Katsine. Throughout the 11th/17th century both the city and the state of Kano were the targets for constant attacks by the warlike Kwararafa from the Benue area. During the first half of the 12th/18th century Bornū again became overlord of Kano, but its place was later taken by the Gobir kingdom, whose king, Babari (1155-84/1742-70), established mastery and levied tribute. These military defeats, however, seem to have had little detrimental effect on the wealth and prosperity of the city, while the rulers appear to have retained all their authority within their kingdom and to have increased in pomp and circumstance. For instance, Babba Zaki (1182-90/1768-76) introduced a uniformed bodyguard of musketeers into his court and is described as having deliberately imitated the ways of the Arabs—in the first instance presumably the life-style of the Arab merchants resident in Kano, but through them the ceremonial and protocol of North African and Egyptian courts. He ruled as an able but ruthless despot. There is evidence of some factional divisions in his court, however, while the account of the reign of one of his near predecessors, Kumbari (1143-56/1731-43), tells of popular resentment against excessive taxation. These scraps of evidence may point to a state of affairs that brought about the events of the reign of Muhamman Alwali (1195-1222/1781-1807), namely the successful Fulani *dj̲ihād* in Kano, the expulsion of Alwali and the installation of the first Fulani amir of Kano, Sulaymanu (1222-35/1807-19), who founded the Fulani dynasty which has ruled the emirate since that time. Sulaymanu was followed in 1235/1819 by Ibrahimu Dabo, a renowned warrior who earned the Hausa epithet *Ci gari*, "conquer city". During the following half-century frequent attacks on the city by the ousted Habe dynasty were defeated, while intermittent war was carried on against the Ningi pagans, a powerful group who still held an enclave on the southern border of the amirate which had not been pacified during the *dj̲ihād*.

During the reign of the amir Usuman (1262-72/1846-55) the German explorer, Heinrich Barth, visited the city. He describes it as a thriving centre of trade, with a market plentifully stocked with goods of European and North African origin. He also provided a sketch map of the city as it was at that time and estimated its population at 30,000 (*op. cit., Bibl.*).

In 1311/1893 a civil war broke out in Kano, occasioned by a succession dispute between two contenders for the throne, Yusufu and Tukur. Tukur, the nominee of the caliph in Sokoto, proved unacceptable to Kano, but at the root of the trouble lay Kano's resentment at Sokoto's interference. The civil war subsided on the death of the two principal protagonists but served to establish the limitations on caliphal authority. The tension between Sokoto and its powerful feudatory Kano has continued to be a factor in their relations ever since.

Kano figured prominently in the events leading to the British occupation of Hausaland early in the present century. It was visited at the end of the 19th century by the British missionary Canon C. H. Robinson and again early in the 20th century by a party of which Dr. Walter Miller was a member. Both gave somewhat unfavourable accounts of Islam and of the Kano administration, which probably contributed to the climate of opinion in the United Kingdom which made the occupation possible. On the eve of that occupation the amir of Kano, Aliyu (1312-21/1894-1903), gave asylum to the Magajin Keffi, the murderer of Sir Frederick Lugard's emissary, Captain Moloney. This provided Lugard with part of his justification for military intervention and in D̲h̲u ʾl-Ḳaʿda 1320/February 1903 the city fell to a British force after a brief and ineffective resistance.

During the colonial period, Kano developed both as a centre of the newly introduced Western system of education and as the emporium of the new groundnut trade upon which the economy of northern Nigeria came largely to depend. It was the locale of the School for Arabic Studies, an institution set up by the colonial government to train teachers of Arabic and the Islamic sciences in modern pedagogic methods. Abdullahi Bayero College, a college of Ahmadu Bello University, was also founded in Kano.

The city has always been, and still is, an important centre for Ṣūfī activities. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Mag̲h̲īlī is traditionally supposed to have introduced Ṣūfism to Hausaland, and Kano and Katsina were the two centres he visited. It may be assumed that the Ḳādiriyya [*q.v.*] was the first of the *ṭarīḳa*s to be established and it is still probably the *ṭarīḳa* of the majority even at the present day. But the Tid̲j̲āniyya [*q.v.*] are also strong, reflecting, perhaps, the rivalry with Sokoto referred to above. The Sokoto ruling family is identified with the Ḳādiriyya and indeed bases its claim to political authority largely on the *silsila* of Shehu Usuman Ɗan Fodio (ʿUt̲h̲mān b. Fūdī) linking him to ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Dj̲īlānī. This is perhaps not unconnected with the fact that the former *amir* of Kano, Muhammadu Sanusi, became at one time the official head of the Tid̲j̲āniyya in northern Nigeria.

During the closing era of the colonial period, which saw the rise of European-style political parties in northern Nigeria, the two *ṭarīḳa*s were deeply involved in the political struggle for power which the prospect of independence provoked. The Ḳādiriyya in Kano was, on the whole, identified with support for NPC, the party of the establishment led by the late Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, a scion of the Sokoto ruling house, while the Tid̲j̲āniyya tended to favour the northern Nigerian opposition party, NEPU, led by Malam Mainu Kano. While

the Kano ruling dynasty was bound by its essential interests to support NPC, the rivalry with Sokoto was by no means healed and in 1963 the reigning amir of Kano, Sir Muhammadu Sanusi, "resigned" under pressure from the central government headed at that time by the premier of the Northern Region of Nigeria, the late Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello. This event, symptomatic of the clash of interest between the traditional "given" authority of Sokoto arising out of the Fulani *djihād* in the early 19th century, and the rising economic and political power of Kano in a changing world, gave rise to agitation for an autonomous Kano state. This has, in some measure, been conceded by the present military administration. These tensions, which were real and which at times manifest themselves in a violent fashion, should however be seen in a proper perspective. They were inevitable in a society that has a long and sophisticated political tradition. But at a social and cultural level the people of Kano, and indeed their rulers, shared, and still share, with those of the rest of northern Nigeria, including Sokoto, a strong sentiment of their common Islamic identity and a corresponding sense of solidarity.

Learning and literature: The tradition of Islamic literacy in Kano goes back to the late 9th/15th century *ʿālim* and Islamic missionary, al-Maghīlī, who composed a set of *fatāwī* for the benefit of Muhamman Rumfa, ruler of Kano from 867/1463 to 904/1499. Later scholars such as, for instance, Aḥmad b. ʿUmar b. Muḥammad Aḳīt and a certain ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Ḳaṣrī are said to have visited Kano shortly after al-Maghīlī, although the exact chronology of their visits is uncertain. No record of any composition from their pens survives but they may reasonably be supposed to have nourished the tradition of Islamic learning established in the city by this time. Later, *ca.* 937/1530, Makhlūf b. ʿAlī b. Ṣāliḥ al-Bilbālī resided in the city and it is likely that, through his acquaintance with the *faḳīh* al-ʿĀḳib b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣamunī al-Massūfī, he was a link with the Egyptian polyhistor, Djalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī [see AL-SUYŪṬĪ], the influence of whose writings is known to have been seminal in the development of an indigenous Islamic literature in Hausaland, both in classical Arabic and in the two main vernacular languages, Hausa and Fulfulde (see E. M. Sartain, *Jalāl ad-Dīn as-Suyūṭī's relations with the people of Takrūr*, in *JSS*, xvi (1971), 193-8).

As far as is known, the earliest extant work of a Kano *ʿālim* is *al-ʿAṭiyya li 'l-muʿṭī* of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Salām, known in Hausa as Abdullahi Sikka. This work is a long *manẓūma* of forty *abwāb*, in the *basīṭ* metre, on the *ʿibādāt* and matters relating to Islamic eschatology. Its importance lies in the fact that it demonstrates the thoroughness with which the basic religious sciences were established in Kano early in the 11th/17th century, when the author flourished. Moreover, certain of the *abwāb* such as *Bāb al-djulūs min al-dunyā*, *Bāb ʿalāmāt ḳurb al-sāʿa*, and the like, suggest the presence of Ṣūfī influences and the currency of Mahdist expectations even at this early date.

Kano was not subsequently remarkable for creative literary activity but seems to have relied on imported literary materials from peripheral Islamic areas and, later, on the writings of the prolific literary families of Sokoto. The first Kano scholar to have contributed to the vernacular Islamic literature which developed in Hausaland from *ca.* 1164/1750 onwards was Usuman, an *imām* of Miga, in Kano amirate. Born in Sokoto, he came to live in Kano during the reign of Sulaymanu, composing there his long Hausa *manẓūma*, *Mu san samuwar Jalla*, "Know the Existence of the Glorious God". This is a typical versification on *tawḥīd*, manifestly based on such classical Arabic sources as the well-known *Umm al-barāhīn* of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Sanūsī and the *Djawharat al-tawḥīd* of Ibrāhīm al-Laḳḳānī.

Another, rather later contributor to the vernacular Islamic literature in Kano was Asim Degel, who flourished *ca.* 1262/1846. Also a native of Sokoto, he moved to Kano when he was a young man and composed a Hausa *naẓm* on astrology, drawn from the Arabic works of such locally popular North African authors as the 8th/14th-century Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ, known as Abū Mukri' and the 11th/17th-century ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ismāʿīl al-Radjrādjī. Of greater literary interest is his *Wakar Muahammadu*, the "Song of Muḥammad", a long Hausa versification in the Arabic *ṭawīl* metre, giving great prominence to the *miʿrādj* and displaying late accretional influences which seem to reflect his familiarity with the writings of Ibn ʿArabī and such later popular writers on this sense as al-Ghayṭī and al-Dardīr.

Another well-known literary personality who was a native of Kano and received part of his schooling there before settling in Salaga, northern Ghana, was Alhaji Umaru Salaga (b. *ca.* 1271/1854; d. 1353/1934). One of his well-known Hausa works is *Wakar Nasara*, the "Song of the Christians", in which he gives an account of the British occupation of Hausaland as seen through Hausa eyes. Some also attribute to him the otherwise anonymous works *Wakar Bagauda* (see *Bibl.*), and *Bakandamiya*, also a Hausa versification on the occupation, but these attributions are uncertain. He composed a number of works in Arabic as well as in Hausa.

Among mid-20th-century authors in the Islamic tradition the best-known is probably Alhaji Muhammadu Ɗan Amu, a writer of *madīḥ* in Hausa, whose long Hausa *manẓūma* with the Arabic title *Manẓūma fī bayān al-dīn* is widely read in Northern Nigeria. Much of this Islamic writing consists of panegyric to ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlānī and Aḥmad al-Tidjānī. Typical of this genre is the composition of Malam Abubakar Atiku, a well-known member of the Tidjāniyya in Kano, which bears the Arabic title, *ʿAybat al-fuḳarā'*, and is a macaronic poem in Arabic and Hausa praising al-Tidjānī.

An important part in the Islamic life of Kano City is played by the *makarantan ilmi*, the schools of higher Islamic learning. There are at least twelve substantial establishments of this type in Kano city, although in fact the total number is much greater than this, for any Muslim literate may set up such a school. In these institutions higher Islamic learning—*fiḳh*, *ḥadīth*, *tafsīr* and such classical literary masterpieces as the *Muʿallaḳāt*, the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī and the works of Ibn ʿArabī—is taught. Kano is now well known for the excellence of its higher Islamic schools and is a centre to which students come from all over the western and central Sudan. The *makarantan ilmi*, which exist independently of the secular, state education system, foster a continuing and still vigorous tradition of Islamic scholarship in the city and it seems probable that Kano has now overtaken Katsina and Sokoto—both earlier centres of learning—as the focus of traditional Islamic education in northern Nigeria.

Bibliography: Two main sources for the

history of Kano are available in English translation: First, "The Kano Chronicle", in H. R. Palmer, *Sudanese Memoirs*, iii, Lagos, 1928; an Arabic text of the chronicle is also preserved in Ibadan University Library, a prose work originally in Arabic, written down at an undetermined date but probably *ca.* 1298/1880 (see M. Hiskett, *The Kano Chronicle*, in *JRAS* (1957)), and quite clearly the record of a very old oral tradition; second, *Wakar Bagauda*, the "Song of Bagauda", a Hausa verse chronicle which is also a 19th-century record of an ancient oral tradition, broadly repeating the account given by the Kano Chronicle but diverging from it considerably in its early chronology, for the Hausa text, English translation and critical commentary see Hiskett, in *BSOAS*, xxvii/3 (1964); xxviii/1 (1965) and xxviii/2 (1965). An important source in Hausa is Alhaji Abubakar Dokaji Kano, *Kano ta Dabo Cigari*, Zaria 1959, the history of the city according to local tradition. In addition to these primary sources an Arabic *Ta'rīkh Kano* is listed by Adeleye (*op. cit.*, below) under Ibadan, 82/212; an unpublished Arabic account of the Kano civil war by Muḥammad Bukhārī, vizier of Sokoto (d. 1328/1910) is preserved in the Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna (Kadcaptory 2, 30). An unpublished Hausa versification in praise of Kano and its notable personalities by Aliyu Ɗan Sidi, *amīr* of Zaria from 1321/1903 to 1339/1920 circulates in Ms. in northern Nigeria; Alhaji Muhammadu Ɗan Amu (see above) has also written an unpublished verse history of the city and its surrounding villages, a copy of which is held in the author of this article's personal microfilm collection.

Among the accounts of the 19th-century European travellers that of Denham, Clapperton and Oudney, *Narrative of Travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa*, London 1826, is the earliest and those of Heinrich Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa*, London 1857, and P. L. Monteil, *De St. Louis à Tripoli par le lac Chad*, Paris 1894, are especially useful. For the views of Christian missionaries in the late 19th and early 20th centuries see especially C. H. Robinson, *Hausaland or Fifteen Hundred Miles through the Central Sudan*, London 1896, and W. R. S. Miller, *Reflections of a Pioneer*, London 1936. Early official accounts of the British administration include W. F. Growers, *Gazetteer of Kano Province*, London 1921; *Annual Reports on Northern Nigeria* 1900-11, London 1911 and many other official documents preserved in Nigerian National Archives, Kaduna, and the Public Records Office, London. A serving soldier's eyewitness account of the battle prior to the occupation of Kano City will be found in F. P. Crozier, *Five Years Hard*, London 1932.

The most comprehensive secondary account by a modern scholar of the general history of Kano is S. J. Hogben and A. H. M. Kirk-Greene, *The Emirates of Northern Nigeria*, London 1966; much useful detail also in H. A. S. Johnston, *The Fulani Empire of Sokoto*, London 1967, and Mary Smith, *Baba of Karo*, London 1964. The Kano civil war is described in some detail by R. A. Adeleye, *Diplomacy in Northern Nigeria* 1804-1906, London 1971; another account of the British capture of the city which deals more fully with military aspects is D. J. M. Muffett, *Concerning Brave Captains*, London 1964.

Information concerning Kano in recent times will be found in *Kano Survey*, Zaria 1950, and in the publications of the Ministry of Information, Kano State. (M. Hiskett)

KĀNPUR, cawnpore, a city situated on the banks of the Ganges river in Uttar Pradesh province in the Indian Republic at lat. 26° 28' N. and long. 80° 20' E., and also the name of an administrative district of that province.

Until the later 18th century, Kānpur was little more than a village known as Kanbaiyāpur or Kanhpur, and since it was situated on the western frontiers of Awadh or Oudh [*q.v.*], the district of Kānpur was disputed in the middle decades of the 18th century by the Nawwābs of Awadh, the Mughal emperors in Dihlī and the expanding power of the Marāthās. After the British victories of Baksar and Djādjmaw (1764-6), the Treaty of Fayḍābād made in 1775 with the Nawwāb allowed the British to garrison two places in his territories. From 1778 onwards, Kānpur became one of these two garrisons, and after 1801, the Kānpur district and others were permanently ceded by the Nawwāb to the East India Company.

The most notorious event in Kānpur's comparatively uneventful history took place during the Indian Mutiny of 1857-8. The small British garrison was besieged by Dhondu Pant or Nāna Ṣāḥib, the Marāthā holder of the *djāgīr* or assignment of Bithūr, and surrendered on promise of a safe conduct to Allāhābād; in the event, however, the men were immediately massacred (27 June 1857) and the women and children later slaughtered and their bodies thrown into a well. Kānpur was occupied by General Henry Havelock on 17 July and only lost again for ten days in November when mutineers from Gwalior took it temporarily (cf. Sir George Trevelyan, *Cawnpore*[4], London 1894; P. C. Gupta, *Nana Sahib and the rising at Cawnpore*, Oxford 1963). Lesser incidents worthy of note include the Plague Riots of 1900, when six policemen were killed by a mob which attacked huts in which plague victims were isolated, and the 1913 Mosque Riot, when there was a disturbance arising out of road-widening plans involving the demolition of a latrine attached to a mosque and 18 Muslims were killed (see M. Yanuck, *The Kanpur mosque affair of* 1913, in *MW*, lxiv (1974), 307-21.

Kānpur has since grown into the most populous city in Uttar Pradesh and one of the largest in India (population of the city according to the 1961 census, 973,907, of which the vast majority were Hindus, and of the district, 2,381,353 (including 2,059,930 Hindus, 286,147 Muslims, 24,397 Sikhs, etc.); 1971 census preliminary estimate, city 1,151,955, district 2,992,535). Situated as it is on the Grand Trunk Road connecting Dihlī with Calcutta, and at a nodal point of the north Indian railway system, Kanpur has been well-favoured to become the modern industrial centre of the present day, with extensive textile, leather, food processing and general engineering plants (cf. D. N. Majumdar et alii, *Social contours of an industrial city: social survey of Kanpur*, 1954-6, New York 1960). Kānpur now has a university which includes the Indian Institute of Technology. The surrounding Kānpur district forms an extremely fertile part of the Ganges-Djamnā Dōāb, and has flourishing agriculture and forestry.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the article, see *Imperial gazeteer of India*, ix, 306-20, and *District gazeteer of the United Provinces*, Allāhābād 1903-11. (C. E. Bosworth)

ḲANṢ [see ṢAYD].

ḲĀNṢAWH AL-GHAWRĪ (usually but incorrectly vocalized Ḳānṣūh al-Ghūrī), the penultimate Mamlūk sultan of Egypt, was of Circassian origin and a *mamlūk* of Sultan Ḳā'itbāy. He was trained in the military school (*ṭabaḳa*) named al-Ghawr, whence his *nisba*. He became governor (*kāshif*) of Upper Egypt (886/1481-2), was appointed an *amīr* of Ten (889/1484), and took part in operations against the Ottomans on the Syrian-Cilician frontier, during which time he was governor (*nā'ib*) of Ṭarsūs. In Rabīʿ II 894/March-April 1489 he was appointed grand chamberlain (*ḥādjib al-ḥudjdjāb*) of Aleppo, where he suppressed a dangerous rising of the townspeople in 896/1491. Subsequently he became governor of Malatya, commander of the guard (*ra's nawbat al-nuwab*) and finally (906/1501) secretary of state (*dawādār kabīr*) to al-ʿĀdil Ṭūmān Bāy, who had proclaimed himself sultan in Damascus. A military revolt against al-ʿĀdil broke out in Cairo at the end of Ramaḍān 906/18-19 April 1501. A junta of high *amīrs* compelled al-Ghawrī to become sultan (1 Shawwāl 906/20 April 1501). His installation was probably intended as a temporary expedient: he was already about sixty years old, and he had not played an outstanding part in court politics.

Al-Ghawrī's situation at the outset was precarious. Two of his predecessors were still living. A more serious threat came from the veteran royal *mamlūks* (*ḳarāniṣa*), since their privileged status was weakened on the accession of a new sultan who would recruit his own *mamlūks*. In the first month of his reign, al-Ghawrī sought to anticipate trouble by ordering the *mamlūks* of al-ʿĀdil to go to Upper Egypt. Nevertheless, in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 906/June-July 1501 he was faced by a disturbance from *mamlūks* demanding the bounty traditionally paid on a sultan's accession. A further danger was represented by the two powerful *amīrs* who had acted as king-makers at his accession. One of them, Miṣr Bāy, was arrested on 12 Muḥarram 907/28 July 1501, and although he escaped to organize a conspiracy against the sultan, this failed and he was killed (12 Ramaḍān 907/21 March 1502). The other, Ḳayt al-Radjabī, acted as al-Ghawrī's principal minister, but on 16 Radjab 910/24 December 1501 he too was arrested on the grounds that he was plotting to have himself proclaimed sultan in Syria in alliance with the rebel governor of Aleppo, Sībāy. Thereafter al-Ghawrī relied chiefly on two ministers, neither of whom was likely to endanger him. Zayn al-Dīn (al-Zaynī) Barakāt b. Mūsā, the son of an Arab, was appointed *muḥtasib* of Cairo (Shaʿbān 910/January-February 1505) and became the leading financial official, retaining his position even after the Ottoman conquest. On 4 Djumādā II 913/11 October 1507, al-Ghawrī appointed his brother's son, Ṭūmān Bāy, as secretary of state. The loyalty of the Mamlūk élite was always doubtful, and on several occasions al-Ghawrī demanded from the *amīrs* an oath on the Ḳur'ān of ʿUthmān. His own *mamlūk* recruits (*djulbān*) were untrustworthy, and revolted even in Shawwāl 921/December 1515, when war against the Ottomans was imminent.

Al-Ghawrī was confronted by formidable fiscal problems, resulting from prolonged economic decline and administrative ossification, and aggravated by natural calamities (such as the severe epidemics of plague in 910/1505 and 919/1513) and the maritime power of Europeans in the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea. Payments to the soldiery fell into arrears, or were met by extraordinary levies. Extortion, practised upon disgraced officials or after the death of rich persons, was another expedient to fill the treasury. The strain on the finances of the Mamlūk state was increased by al-Ghawrī's efforts to improve his forces and armament in the face of the growing external threat from the Portuguese, Shāh Ismāʿīl and Sultan Selīm I. Al-Ghawrī organized (from 916/1511) a unit armed with handguns. Since such weapons were dispised by the genuine *mamlūks*, this Fifth Corps (*al-ṭabaḳa al-khāmisa*) was recruited from heterogeneous elements: Turkomans, Persians, *awlād al-nās* [*q.v.*] and local artisans. The Fifth Corps was a cause of tension between al-Ghawrī and his *djulbān*. Al-Ghawrī also made a serious and sustained effort to build up a stock of artillery. He established a cannon-foundry, and was frequently present at the testing of the new pieces from 913/1507 onwards.

During most of the reign, Damascus was governed by Sībāy, who as governor of Aleppo had rebelled in 910/1504-5, but had subsequently made his peace with al-Ghawrī. Appointed on 17 Shawwāl 911/13 March 1506, Sībāy held Damascus until his death at Mardj Dābiḳ. Apart from operations against the local Bedouin, he led expeditions against Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanash, the powerful *muḳaddam* of al-Biḳāʿ (Muḥarram 912/June 1506), the Banū Lām tribe in the region of Karak and al-Shawbak (Ṣafar 914/June 1508), and the chief of Ḥawrān, Ibn Sāʿid (Rabīʿ II 916/July 1510), the last two of which threatened communications with the Ḥidjāz. In 917-18/1511-12, friendly relations with each of these were established. As Ṣafawid and Ottoman power developed on the Syrian frontier, al-Ghawrī sought to ensure the continuing loyalty of Sībāy by the marriage of Sībāy's daughter to his own son (920/1514).

A revolt against the Sharīf Barakāt of Mecca, which broke out in 907/1502, was finally suppressed in 913/1507. An ominous new danger appeared in the Portuguese, who were establishing themselves on the coast of India and seeking to exclude Muslim shipping from the Red Sea. In Djumādā II 911/November 1505 an expeditionary force was sent to assist Maḥmūd Shāh, the ruler of Gudjarāt [*q.v.*], against the Portuguese. It included royal *mamlūks*, *awlād al-nās*, negro archers (more probably, arquebusiers) and Turkomans, under the command of the *amīr* Ḥusayn Mushrif al-Kurdī, who fortified Djudda [*q.v.*] against a Portuguese attack. Ḥusayn, who, in combination with the fleet of Gudjarāt, won a naval victory off Čawl (Ramaḍān 913/January 1508), was heavily defeated by the Portuguese near Diū [*q.v.*] in Shawwāl 914/February 1509, and withdrew from the Indian Ocean.

Al-Ghawrī was meanwhile striving to construct warships in the gulf of Suez. He was obliged to obtain materials from the Ottomans. A gift of timber, iron and powder from Bāyezīd II reached Būlāḳ in Shawwāl 916/January 1511. When in Muḥarram 919/March-April 1513 the Portuguese attacked ʿAdan [*q.v.*], al-Ghawrī appointed Ḥusayn Mushrif governor of Djudda, while a force of the Fifth Corps and royal *mamlūks* was ordered to Suez, to protect the fleet in building there. After prolonged procrastination the Fifth Corps left Cairo in Radjab 921/August 1515. By that time about 2000 Ottoman sailors under the command of Selmān Re'īs were at Suez. An expedition by Selmān Re'īs and Ḥusayn Mushrif coincided with the fall of the Mamlūk sultanate, and laid the foundation of Ottoman rule in the Yemen.

The rise of Ṣafawid power threatened Mamlūk control of northern Syria. A crisis occurred in the autumn of 913/1507, when the Ṣafawids invaded the Dulgadīr

(Dhu ʾl-Ḳadr, [*q.v.*]) principality, at that time, under ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla, a dependency of the Mamlūk sultanate, to which it was of great strategic importance. Sībāy prepared an expedition from Damascus, but hostilities were averted. Thereafter for some years relations were peaceful.

The accession of Selīm I as Ottoman sultan dramatically altered the situation. Al-Ghawrī tried to profit from the developing crisis between Selīm and Shāh Ismāʿīl. The Ottoman victory at Čāldirān [*q.v.*] on 2 Radjab 920/23 August 1514, however, alarmed al-Ghawrī and his *amīrs*. Selīm's hostility towards ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla of Dulgadīr, who had refused to help the Ottomans, immediately threatened Mamlūk interests. The Ottomans defeated and killed ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla (Rabīʿ II 921/June 1515). The passing of the Dulgadīr principality under Ottoman domination alarmed the *amīrs* in Cairo, while Sībāy and the governor of Aleppo, Khāʾir Bey (who was already in touch with Selīm), reproached al-Ghawrī for his delay in sending reinforcements. In spite of the serious financial situation and the demoralization of his forces, al-Ghawrī prepared an expedition, and on 15 Rabīʿ II 922/18 May 1516, he left Cairo. Ṭūmān Bāy was appointed viceroy (*nāʾib al-ghayba*), but the effective control of the administration was in the hands of Zayn al-Dīn Barakāt.

On 10 Djumādā II/11 July, al-Ghawrī reached Aleppo, where Ottoman ambassadors presented a conciliatory message from Selīm, to whom al-Ghawrī in turn sent peace proposals. Selīm, who intended another campaign against the Ṣafawids, decided, however, first to end the danger to his flank. Conflict was now inevitable, and a decisive battle ensued at Mardj Dābiḳ, north of Aleppo, on 25 Radjab 922/24 August 1516. The flight of the Mamlūk left wing, commanded by Khāʾir Bey (who was probably in secret understanding with the Ottomans), led to the break-up of the whole Mamlūk position. In the confusion, al-Ghawrī fell from his horse and died, apparently of apoplexy. His body was never recovered.

Bibliography: Ibn Iyās, *K. badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr fī waḳāʾiʿ al-duhūr*, in *Die Chronik des Ibn Ijâs*, iv (ed. Paul Kahle and Muḥammad Muṣṭafā), Leipzig-Istanbul 1931; v, 2nd ed. (ed. Mohamed Mostafa), Wiesbaden-Cairo 1961, 3-102 (tr. G. Wiet, *Journal d'un bourgeois du Caire*, i, ii, 1-94, Paris 1955, 1960); Muḥammad b. Ṭūlūn al-Ṣāliḥī al-Dimashḳī, *Iʿlām al-warā* (ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Duhmān), Damascus 1383/1964, tr. Henri Laoust, *Les gouverneurs de Damas sous les Mamlouks et les premiers Ottomans*, Damascus 1952, 77-143; Nadjm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, *al-Kawākib al-sāʾira bi-aʿyān al-miʾa al-ʿāshira* (ed. Djibrāʾīl Sulaymān Djabbūr), Beirut 1945, i, 294-7; Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nahrawālī al-Makkī, *al-Barḳ al-Yamānī fi ʾl-fatḥ al-ʿUthmānī*, in *Ghazawāt al-Djarākisa wa ʾl-Atrāk fī djanūb al-Djazīra*, Riyāḍ 1387/1967, 16-27; D. Ayalon, *Gunpowder and firearms in the Mamluk kingdom*, London 1956; R. B. Serjeant, *The Portuguese off the south Arabian coast*, Oxford 1963.

(P. M. Holt)

KANSU, a province in the north-west of China, bounded in the south and east by the provinces of Szechwan and Shensi and in the west and north by the province of Chinghhai and the Sinkiang Uighur and Inner Mongolia Autonomous Regions. The province, first formed under the Great Khan Ḳūbīlāy in 1282 A.D., received its name from the towns in the extreme north-west, Kanchou (Changyeh) and Suchou (Kiuchuan); both towns are already mentioned in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* and Gardīzī, the former in the form Khāmdjū (in the Mongol period Kamdjū) and the latter as Sukhdjū or Sūkdjū.

1. *To the end of the Mongol period.* Until the thirteenth century A.D. this territory was for the most part under the domination of foreign peoples of Turkish (Uyghur) or Tibetan (Tangut) origin; immediately before the Mongol conquest there was a Tangut kingdom here under the Hsai (or Hsi-hsia) dynasty (1032-1227) with their capital at Ningsia (Yinchwan). Rashīd al-Dīn, in giving a list of the twelve provinces (*shīng*, Chinese *shêng*) of China, divides the Tangut region into two, with Kīndjanfū (now Sien, the capital of Shensi) and Kamdjū (Kanchou) as their respective capitals. In actual fact, Kanchow was the capital of Kansu; Kansu and Shenn were then, as later, combined in a single government, the only difference being that the residence of the governor was then in the capital of Shensi and not, as later, in the capital of Kansu. The boundary between Kansu and Shensi was formed by the Hwang Ho, so that Lanchou, the present-day capital of Kanso, then belonged to Shensi. In connection with Quengianfu (*i.e.*, Kīndjānfū, Sian) Marco Polo mentions Prince Mangalay (d. 1280, the Mangqalā of Rashīd al-Dīn) Ḳūbīlay's third son, as ruler of Tangut, while Rashīd al-Dīn refers to his son Ananda; according to Rashīd al-Dīn, he was the founder of Muslim dominance in this area. Born about 1270 (at the beginning of the 14th century he was thirty years of age), he was brought up by Muslim foster-parents; but it was only after the conversion of the Il-Khān Ghazan (*i.e.*, *ca.* 1295) that he openly professed Islam. He converted the greater part of his army, numbering nearly 150,000 men to Islam, and the people of Tangut, except the peasantry, were likewise converted. Taken to task by his cousin the Great Khān Temür Öldjeytü (1294-1307) for his conversion, Ananda remained faithful to Islam and after a period of interruption was restored to his dominion. In 1307 a party wished to raise him to the throne of the Khānate, but he was put to death after the success of a rival candidate, Temür's nephew Khayshan (1307-1311). It was not until 1323 that Ananda's son Örüg-Temür was appointed prince of Tangut.

As Marco Polo shows, there were already Muslims in Kansu before Ananda's time; however, he says nothing about the dissemination of Islam south of the Hwang Ho. The Turkish-speaking Salar, who live at the present day on the southern banks of that river, are mentioned as living there as early as the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) and described as unruly subjects, although no Muslim risings are recorded during this period. The story which reached Tīmūr's territories about 1398 to the effect that the founder of the Ming dynasty had ordered the massacre of some 100,000 Muslims and had completely eradicated Islam in China finds no confirmation in any Chinese source.

Bibliography: *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 85, 232; Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, 484-98, 595-602; *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, tr. J. A. Boyle, New York and London 1971, 281-3, 323-6; Waṣṣāf, *Taḥrīr-i Taʾrīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, ed. ʿAbd al-Muḥammad Āyatī, Tehran 1346/1967, 279-81; Marco Polo, ed. Yule and Cordier, i, 203, 319, ii, 24; V. V. Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, ii (*Ulugh-beg*), Leiden 1958, 49-50; P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, s.v. Campçio. (J. A Boyle)

2. *In the post-Mongol period.* After the collapse of the Yüan dynasty which took place in 770/1368,

Muslims in Kansu, as well as those of other provinces of China, were put under the rule of the newly-established Ming dynasty, which, at the beginning of the new régime, adopted a discriminatory attitude against non-Chinese. It oppressed *Hui-hui* or Muslims, and generally speaking, the *Hui-hui* under the Yüan dynasty were obliged to settle in China, and began to be assimilated to the Chinese way of life through intermarriage with native Chinese women. They were physically and linguistically sinicised as time went by; *Hui-hui* under the Ming dynasty gradually changed their original, Islamic surnames to Chinese ones (*e.g.*, from Muḥammad to Ma, etc.), and adopted Chinese languages; nevertheless, they adhered strictly to Islam. This process also affected Kansu Muslims, with some characteristics different from those of China proper.

In the early Ming period there were many Muslims in Kansu, while some of them are reported to have returned to Samarḳand, according to the *Ming Shih-lu* or the *Veritable Annals of the Ming Dynasty*. At Kanchou, Liangchou and Suchou there were some Muslims who had newly emigrated from Central Asian countries in the middle Ming period (*Ming Shih-lu*, sub anno 1527), and some from the Ḳomūl region, with which the Ming dynasty had had political relations. Apart from such new-comers, native Muslims originating from the Yüan period greatly increased in number and were distributed in south-eastern parts of Kansu as far as adjacent parts of Shensi. There were also Muslims in districts of Kung-chêng-fu, Chinchou, T'aochou and Kuyüan in the Kansu Province, according to the *Ming Shih-lu* and local gazetteers of the Ming dynasty.

In 1604 Father Benedict Goës, who travelled from Āgra through the Tarim Basin to Ming China in search of the historic Cathay and who reached Suchou, mentions "Saracens", that is to say, Muslims, who lived in Suchou segregated from the Chinese there. Though his description is in some parts ambiguous, we may conclude that there were Muslims at Suchou in the late Ming period.

Under the Ch'ing dynasty, which succeeded the Ming in 1644, the situation of Muslims in Kansu, Ninghsia and Shensi changed little; however, we have much more information on the Kansu Muslims under the Ch'ing, as seen in the *Ch'ing Shih-lu* and other historical sources and local gazetteers of the dynasty. In the Ch'ing period, Kansu had one of the densest concentrations of Chinese Muslims. Chinese-speaking Muslims of Ch'ing China were generally called *Hui-min* ("Islamic people") in Chinese. The main habitats of Kansu Muslims were Kanchou, Liang-chou, Lanchou, Kuyüan, Chingchou, Hochou, Chingyüan, Piliang, Fuchiang, etc.; other places adjacent to Kansu where they lived were Hsining, Hsünhua, Kueitê in Chinghai Province, and Ninghsia, Chin-chi-pao in Ninghsia Province.

The size of the Chinese Muslim population in Kansu is unclear: M. Broomhall (1910) estimated it at two or three milions. According to the statistics of the government of the Chinese Peoples' Republic, the Muslim population of Kansu is estimated at 1,086,597 (30% of the total population of Kansu Province in 1953), and that of Chinghai at 257,959; thus the total population is 1,330,000. The basis of Broomhall's estimate is not clear, but, as compared with the present situation, these seem to be acceptable statistics. Generally speaking, Kansu Muslims are more densely distributed in the southern part of Kansu, that is, south of the Yellow River.

Islam in Kansu as in other provinces of China, is that of the Ḥanafī rite, with some influence from the S̲h̲āfiʿī one, as is shown by investigations of D'Ollone on Islamic legal practices prevalent in modern Kansu (D'Ollone, *Recherches sur les Musulmans chinois*).

The most important feature among the Muslims of Kansu is the prevalence of Ṣūfism, apparently originating in the middle of the 18th century. In contemporary Ch'ing sources, one of the Ṣūfī teachings of Kansu Islam is called *Hsin-chiao* (the "New Sect" or "New Teaching"), which was reported for the first time in 1761 immediately after the Ch'ing conquest of Eastern Turkistan. One Ma Ming-hsin, a native of Anting, Kansu, started to spread the so-called "New Teaching" in the district of the Salar tribes in Hsining after his return in 1761 from a period of religious study at Yarkand and Kās̲h̲g̲h̲ar in Eastern Turkistan. With the support of Sū-ssû-shih-san and Hu-ma-liu-hu, both Salar *mulla*s, he founded the "New Sect" in 1762. This propagated a mystical ritualism characterized by: (1) loud chanting of religious songs, as opposed to the low chanting by the Old Sect or Old Teaching; (2) prayers with head-shaking and body movement in a dance-like manner —foot-stamping, hand-waving, and face turning up towards heaven; (3) belief in miracles, visions, apparition of spirits and prediction of good or bad omens; and (4) worship of Muslim saints and their tombs. Ma Ming-hsin was revered as the saintly founder of the sect. However, one cannot consider the "New Sect" founded by Ma Ming-hsin as a reform movement reacting against the traditional sects, generally called Ancient or Old Sects (*K'u-pai*, *Chiu-pai* and *K'u-hsing-pai*).

In *ca.* 1760-80 the centre of the *Hsin-chiao* was at Hsünhua, a town near Hsining, where *Hsin-chiao* adherents quarrelled incessantly among themselves in the 1760s and 1770s; and in 1781, Ma Ming-hsin and Sū-ssû-shih-san led an attack on the Muslims belonging to the Ancient Sect. Government suppression of sectarian strife led *Hsin-chiao* adherents to open rebellion against the Ch'ing dynasty in that year, and, though it was suppressed by the Ch'ing army, a second revolt broke out in 1783 at Shi-fêng-pao, Kansu. Since the 19th century, major centres of Hsin-chiao adherents have been in Chang-chia-chüan, Kansu, and in Chi-chi-pao, Hinghsia.

In 1862 a new revolt broke out at Chin-chi-pao, where Ma Hua-lung who came from the direct "apostolic" line of Ma Ming-hsin, maintained his quarters. Ma Hua-lung is reported to have been a mystical saint who was able to perform miracles; but his rebellion was suppressed in 1871 by the Ch'ing army. The mystic order of Ma Hua-lung was called D̲j̲ahriyya from the 19th century onwards (D'Ollone); the headship of the Order passed to Ma Yüan-ch'ang, a disciple of Ma Hua-lung, who had his headquarters at Chang-chia-chüan, Kansu. Ma Yüan-ch'ang is mentioned by G. Andrew who visited him in the early 20th century; he died in 1920 during an earthquake which occurred in Kansu during that year.

Besides *Hsin-chiao*, another characteristic of the Ṣūfism of Kansu Islam is the institution of *mêng-kuan*. *Mêng-kuan*, especially the Four Great *Mêng-kuan*, was reported in Ch'ing sources for the first time in 1786; the Six Great *Mêng-kuan* were also reported in 1943. They are (1) the *Hu-fei-yeh* sect, including *Pi-chia-ch'ang kung-pei*, *Lin-t'ao kung-pei*, etc.; (2) the *Ka-ti-lin-yeh* sect, including *Ta-kung-pei*, *Yang-men*, etc.; (3) the *K'u-pu-lin-yeh* sect; (4) the *Sha tzŭ-lin-yeh* sect; (5) the *Sai-ai-lo-wo-lo-ting-yeh* sect; and (6) the *Che-ho-lin-yeh* D̲j̲ahriyya sect.

According to the missionary D'Ollone, who made a study of aboriginal peoples in the borderlands of China in 1906-9, the tombs of three Islamic saints were revered among Kansu Muslims. Mêng-kuan adherents were also called *Kung-pei-chiao*, that is, "followers of Tomb Teaching". Thus, the Dj̲ahriyya sect of Kansu Muslims may be said to be one of *meng-kuan*, tomb-worshippers.

Bibliography: P. Dabry de Thiersant, *Le mahométisme en Chine et dans le Turkestan oriental*, Paris 1878; M. Broomhall, *Islam in China: a neglected problem*, London 1920; D'Ollone, *Recherches sur les musulmans chinois. Études de A. Vissière, notes de E. Blochet et de divers savants*, Paris 1911; G. F. Andrew, *Crescent in Northwest China*, London 1921; R. B. Ekvall, *Cultural relations of the Kansu-Tibetan border*, Chicago 1939; J. Trippner, *Islamische Gruppen und Gräberkult in Northwest-China*, in *WI*, vii (1961), 142-171; N. N. Čeboksarova, (ed.), *Narody Vostočnoj Azii*, Moscow-Leningrad 1965; Immanuel C. Y. Hsü, *The Ili crisis: a study of Sino-Russian diplomacy 1871-1881*, Oxford 1965; Wen-djang Chu, *The Moslem rebellion in Northwest China 1862-1878: a study of government minority policy*, The Hague-Paris 1966; M. Sus̲h̲anbo, *Dungane (istoriko-etnografičeskij ocerk)*, Frunze 1971; T. Saguchi, *An ethnic history of the Ch'ing-hai Salars*, in *Tarih Araştırmalar Dergisi*, vii, no. 10-11 (Ankara 1972), 225-30; T. Saguchi, *Jūhachi-jūkyūseiki Higashi Torukisutan shakaishi kenkyū* ("The social history of Eastern Turkistan in the 18th and 19th centuries"), Tokyo 1963; K. Tazaka, *Chūgoku ni okeru kaikyo no denrai to sono gutsū* ("Islam in China: its introduction and development"), Tokyo 1964. (T. Saguchi)

ĶANṬARA, pl. *ķanāṭir*, means in Arabic (1) bridge, particularly a bridge of masonry or stone, one of the most famous of which is that of Sandj̲a [*q.v.*]; also (2) aqueduct (especially in the plural), dam, and finally (3) high building, castle (similarly *ķasātil* = aqueduct from *ķastal* = castellum; see ķanāt); cf. *TA*, iii, 509; Dozy, *Supplément*, ii, 412; de Goeje, *BGA*, iv, 334; and particularly R. Geyer in the *SB Ak. Wien*, cxlix/6 (1905), 114-9. The original meaning of the word "arch, stone archway", is found in the earliest Arabic lexicographers; cf. Dozy-de Goeje, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne par Edrîsî*, 369, *Dj̲isr* [*q.v.*], a bridge of wood or boats, is the opposite of *ķanṭara*, which is of stone; in time, however, the two words came to be used as synonyms (see Dozy, *Suppl.*, i, 194).

No satisfactory explanation has yet been given of the origin of the word. The oldest reference is found in a verse of Ṭarafa (iv, 22; see *The Diwans of the six ancient Arabic poets*, ed. Ahlwardt, 1870, 55). On account of this early occurrence of the word, Yāķūt (iv, 187) considers the word to be genuine Arabic. But we may with considerable certainty regard it as a loan-word. Vollers and Geyer thought that it was borrowed from Latin or Greek. The former connected (*ZDMG*, li, 376; *ZA*, viii, 100-1) *ķanṭara* with the mediaeval Latin word *cintrum* (French *cintre*, arch, vault), while Geyer (*op. cit.*, 118-9) sought the original either in κανθήλος = basket, *cantherius* = wickerwork used in the making of roofs and buildings, or in κάμπτρα, κάμπτριον = depository (cf. also καμπτής = rounding, curve), from which Vollers (*ZDMG*, li, 302) derived Egypto-Arab. *ķimṭar*. But all these explanations are to be rejected, because there are phonetic objections to them and they partly rely for the meanings of the words cited on obsolete, farfetched glosses; cf. for objections to these explanations, Fränkel in *ZA*, xix, 270-1, and Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, 408. *Ķanṭara* is most probably to be derived from the Aramaic, and, as Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, thinks, in the first place from *ķeṭārā* = hoop, arch (see Payne-Smith, *Thesaur. Syriac.*, col. 3591; note specially *ķeṭartā* in Bar Bahlūl, *Lexic.*, col. 1768). The above-mentioned word *dj̲isr* also comes from the Aramaic (Fränkel, *Die aram. Fremdwörter im Arab.*, Leiden 1886, 285 and D. H. Müller in *WZKM*, i, 31), but can actually be traced back to the Assyrian or Accadian (cf. Meissner in *ZA*, ix, 269, and Zimmern, *Akkadische Fremdwörter*, Leipzig 1915, 31).

Al-Ķanṭara has survived in Spanish in the diminutives *alcantarilla* = little bridge, gutter and *alcantarillado* = arched aqueduct; see Dozy-Engelmann, *Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe*[2], Leiden 1869, 47; *Diccionario de la Lengua Castellana por la Real Academia Espanola*, xiii, Madrid 1899, svv; J. Oliver Asín, *Historia del nombre Madrid*, Madrid 1959, index.

Al-Ķanṭara and al-Ķanāṭir are frequently found —sometimes with descriptive additions, *e.g.*, Ķanāṭir Firʿawn—as names for places like quarters of a city (notably in Bag̲h̲dād) in areas where Arabic was, or is, spoken in the mediaeval or modern East. In his geographical dictionary (iv, 180, 187-92, vi, 179-80) Yāķūt gives a dozen places named al-Ķanṭara and four called Ķanāṭir (cf. also, for example, the indices to al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, 759-60, and Ibn al-Ath̲īr, *Kāmil*, xiii, 790). For the numerous districts of Bag̲h̲dād named after particular bridges under the Caliphate see the index to Guy le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, London 1900, 368.

Of the places named al-Ķanṭara, the following are worthy of special mention:

1. An oasis on the southern slopes of the Atlas in Algeria at the exit of a narrow pass through which run the road and railway from Constantine to the desert regions; it is a station on the Constantine-Biskra line, 35 miles north of the latter. This, the most northern oasis in Africa, consists of three villages with about 3,500 inhabitants and possesses a very dense date grove. From its situation it was an important military station and, as Roman inscriptions found there show, settled in ancient times. It is presumably identical with the station *Ad Calcem Herculis* of the Roman itineraries (see Dessau in Pauly-Wissowa, iii, 1345). The name al-Ķanṭara is derived from the Roman bridge, restored in 1862 by the French, which spans in one huge arch the ravine, the 150 feet wide Fumm al-Ṣaḥārā = the mouth of the Ṣaḥārā (so-called by the inhabitants), through which flows the Wād al-Ķanṭara (cf., for example, Vivien de St. Martin, *Dict. de Géographie Universelle*, Paris 1879, i, 66 and Kobelt, *Reiseerinnerungen aus Algerien und Tunis*, 1883, 322).

2. Alcántara, a little town of great antiquity in the province of Cáceres (district of Estremadura) in Spain, near the Portuguese frontier, with 3,200 inhabitants. It receives its name from an imposing granite bridge, built in 105 A.D., which crosses the Tagus in six great arches to the northwest of the town. The place is also famous for the religious knightly order founded there in 1176 to defend the frontier against the Moors, which became called the Order of Alcántara after its headquarters were moved to this town in 1213 (see Baedeker's *Spain and Portugal*[4], Leipzig 1912, 459).

3. A small town with a mosque in Egypt, on the Asiatic side of the Suez canal, half-way between Port Saʿīd and Ismāʿīliyya, a station on the railway connecting these two towns. It lies on a low narrow

tongue of rising ground, which runs out between the large Menzaleh lake in the north and the little Balāḥ lake in the south. It is unlikely to take its name from this "land bridge", however, but from a bridge which already existed here probably in the early Middle Ages.

The Arab geographer Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, who wrote *ca.* 741/1340, mentions the arch of a bridge, called Ḳanṭarat al-Djisr, near the old caravan station of al-ʿAḳūla, under which the superfluous water flowed into the desert at the time of the Nile's inundation. There was still a bridge here at the beginning of the 19th century, built over a canal connecting the two lakes already mentioned. The modern al-Ḳanṭara arose on its present site after the making of the Suez Canal. The old settlement was a short half-hour's journey to the east and is marked by the mound of ruins Tell Abū Sēfe (on the maps also called Tell al-Aḥmar). This place may be regarded as the key to Egypt, for it has always been used by conquerors as the gateway to the Nile valley. Its strategical importance led to its being occupied in remote antiquity. Tell Abū Sēfe (with ruins of a temple of Ramses II and remains of the Ptolemaic and Roman period) marks the site of the ancient Egyptian town of Zaru (*T*ʾ, *r w*), the capital of the fourteenth district of Lower Egypt, which was already a fortress in the time of the Middle Kingdom. In the later classical and Byzantine literature it appears as Sile, Sele (Selle); according to a Latin inscription found here, it had a Roman garrison in 288 and was later also the see of a bishop. In the Middle Ages it was called al-ʿAḳūla (on the name al-ʿAḳūla = "the bend", cf. DAYR AL-ʿĀḲŪL), a name which was temporarily supplanted by that of the castle of al-Ḳuṣayr during the Mamlūk period. In World War I al-Ḳanṭara played an important part in the struggle for the Suez Canal. From November 1914 to March 1916 there were frequent encounters there between English and Turkish troops (cf. thereon, for example, Baer, *Der Völkerkrieg, Eine Chronik der Ereignisse seit dem 1. Juli 1914*, Stuttgart 1914-5, iv, 220-24, viii, 367, xi, 318, xvii, 47-8, 128, 130, 132).

In remote antiquity as well as in the late Middle Ages and modern times, al-Ḳanṭara was the point of departure for the caravan road from Egypt to Syria. After World War I a new railway line to Syria branched off there from the Port Saʿīd-Suez line, and ran from al-Ḳanṭara via Ḳaṭya al-ʿArīsh and Ghazza to Ludd, where it linked up with the line from Yāfā to Jerusalem. In the successive wars between Egypt and Israel from 1948 al-Ḳanṭara continued to be a key strategic point, which suffered considerable damage.

Bibliography: Baedeker, *Palästina und Syrien*[7], 1913, 177, 171; C. Küthmann, *Die Ostgrenze Ägyptens*, Berliner Dissert., 1911, 38-49; R. Hartmann in *ZDMG*, lxiv, 688, 691, 696, lxx, 486-7, 511 and in *Petermann's Geogr. Mitteil.*, 1916, lxii, 373-7; Alt in the *Palästinajahrbuch des deutsch. evangel. Instituts*, x, Berlin 1914, 60-3 and Dalman, *op. cit.*, xx, 1924, 44-6. On excavations and finds in the region of al-Ḳanṭara see Clédat in the *Recueil de travaux relatifs à l'archéol. égyptienne et assyrienne*, xxxvii (Paris 1915, 38-9, and xxxviii (1919), 1-2, 70-1.

4. A sanctuary among the ruins of the ancient Petra in the Sinai Peninsula; cf. Savignac, *Le Sanctuaire d'el Kantara* in the *Rev. Biblique*, N.S., iii (1916), 391-2.

5. Ḳanṭarat Zaynab in the valley of the Nahr Bayrūt in Syria, an ancient Roman aqueduct of which considerable remains exist at the present day; according to Arab legend, it was built by Queen Zenobia (Zaynab); cf. Fr. Müller, *Studien über Zenobia und Palmyra* (Diss. Königsberg 1902), 14-15.

6. Ḳanāṭir Firʿawn ("Pharaoh's aqueduct"), a great aqueduct in the south of Syria, which, beginning at Dillī, at the western foot of the lava plateau of Ledjā (west of Ḥawrān), runs in a southwestern direction for some sixty miles as far as Mukēs (Gadara), providing many villages with the necessary drinking-water in the summer months. It is identified by Wetzstein—probably rightly—with the Ḳanāṭir mentioned by Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī (*Annales*, ed. Gottwaldt, 117). But the Ghassānid Djabala b. al-Ḥārith, who reigned about 500 A.D., can hardly, as Ḥamza says, be the builder of this marvellous piece of work (cf. Nöldeke, *Die ghassan. Fürsten ...* in *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, iv, 1887, 50). It certainly dates back to ancient times. For further information see Wetzstein, *Reisebericht über Hauran und die Trachonen*, Berlin 1860, 123-5.

The diminutive Ḳunayṭira (popularly Ḳunēṭra or Ḳenēṭri) is occasionally used as a place name, *e.g.*, a town in Syria in the Djawlān (Golān) district, to the north east of Jordan (see Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*[5], 1912, 268; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927, 387), and also a newly established town in Morocco, called Ḳnīṭra, then Port-Lyautey, then Ḳnīṭra again. The town was first a disembarkation area, then a fairly important port, on the River Sebou, some way from its mouth. This port superseded the ancient al-Mahdiyya situated on the mouth of the same river.

(M. STRECK*)

ḲĀNŪN, pl. *ḳawānīn*, Arabic derivative from Greek κανών, which meant firstly "any straight rod", later "a measure or rule", and finally (in the papyri of the 4th and 5th centuries A.D.) "assessment for taxation", "imperial taxes", "tariff" (Liddell and Scott, revised ed., London 1940; for its meanings in religious literature, see G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek lexicon*, Oxford 1961). The word was adopted into Arabic presumably with the continuation, after the Muslim conquest of Egypt and Syria, of the pre-Islamic tax system (C. H. Becker, *Islamstudien*, Leipzig 1924, 218-62; F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic taxation*, Copenhagen 1950, 118-20). Whilst the word preserved in Islamic states in general its special meaning as a financial term belonging to the field of land-taxes, it acquired also the sense of "code of regulations" "state-law" (sc. of non-Muslim origin). The two senses must be discussed separately.

i.—LAW

In theory, the *sharīʿa* regulates the whole of the public and private life of the Muslim, but since works of *fiḳh* barely deal with the provisions of common law, and also since it became apparent very early on that the greater part of the Muslim penal system was inapplicable, the guardians of public order (especially the governors) took to issuing regulations (*ḳawānīn*) in these two fields, although they had no such legislative authority. At the time, these developments did not shock even the strictest of the *ʿulamāʾ*, because in administrative matters there was no conflict between the *ḳānūn* and the *sharīʿa*, the latter generally being silent on such matters. Similarly with penal law, the *ḳānūn* did not appear to infringe on the *sharīʿa*, for the governors had the sense to restrict themselves to substituting the discretionary penalty of the *taʿzīr* [*q.v.*], fine or flogging, punishments laid down in works of *fiḳh*, for the seriously mutilating

punishments of the Ḳur'ān (*ḥudūd*, pl. of *ḥadd*), such as cutting off the hand or stoning.

Under the Ottoman sultans, the term *ḳānūn* came to be applied mainly to acts in the domain of administrative and financial law and of penal law. The first *ḳānūn-nāmas* promulgated under Meḥemmed II (855-86/1451-1481) were indeed confined to this restricted field, but a century later, through the impetus of Abu 'l-Suʿūd, grand *muftī* of Istanbul from 952/1545 to 982/1574 [*q.v.*], *ḳānūn-nāmas* began to offer legal solutions to questions which had hitherto been exclusively the province of the *sharīʿa*, particularly property law. Abu 'l-Suʿūd was a jurist of such great ability that this was done without the *ḳānūn* and the *sharīʿa* ever coming into opposition with one another.

Nowadays, in all Middle Eastern countries, the term *ḳānūn* denotes not only those codes and laws which are directly inspired by western legislation, such as civil and commercial law, administrative and penal law, but also those laws and codes which are confined to reproducing, albeit simplifying, the provisions of the *sharīʿa*. To name but a few examples, the Syrian Code (*ḳānūn*) of Personal Status (1953), the ʿIrāḳī Code (*ḳānūn*) of Personal Status (1959) and the proposed Egyptian Family Code (also called *ḳānūn*) fall into this category. The Order in Council is designated by the neologism *marsūm bi-ḳānūn*. However, the word *ḳānūn*, which, as we have noted, originally signified a ruling of the administrative authority, is not used in this sense today, being replaced by *lā'iḥa* (pl. *lawā'iḥ*) in Egypt and by *niẓām* or *tartīb* elsewhere.

Whether it is inspired by western legislation or comprises only provisions adopted from Muslim law, the actual *ḳānūn* is prepared by a commission, passed by it or by the legislative assemblies if need be, and promulgated by the executive, the same procedure being followed in both cases. In addition, in the case of a *ḳānūn* concerning personal status or inheritance laws, and therefore one deriving from Muslim law, the discussions in the Assembly are no more than formalities. In such cases it is the preceding phase, the one developed by the commission, which is the most important.

Born in the East, the word *ḳānūn* as the designation of the superior form of legislation (Law and Code) is current only in the Middle East, or, more precisely, in those countries which came, however partially, under the influence of Istanbul. It was rarely used in Saudi Arabia, which escaped Ottoman domination; there the word preferred to cover the legislative work of the secular authority was *niẓām*.

Bibliography: Ö. L. Barkan, *Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1945; J. Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*, ch. xii; idem, *Abu 'l-Suʿūd*, in *EI*²; C. Chehata, *Droit musulman, applications au Proche Orient*, Paris 1970, 11-21. For the pre-Ottoman *ḳānūn*, see B. Lewis, in *BSOAS* (1954), 599; V. Minorsky, in *ibid.* (1955), 449 ff.

(Y. LINANT DE BELLEFONDS)

ii.—CADASTER

The administration of taxes usually comprised two sections, one dealing with assessment and one with collection. The assessment of taxes was based on various principles and resulted in a basis for calculation, the *aṣl*. *Ḳānūn* is used to refer both to these principles as a whole and to the resulting sum due from the taxpayer, either in the case of a single property or all the properties in one district taken together. The assessed value of the revenue on an estate was known as the *ʿibra*. In those provinces—never the entire Muslim world—where many lands were assessed by the procedure of *ḳānūn*, this word came to mean a kind of fiscal cadaster.

In Egypt, traditionally subject to a special régime in which state control was particularly extensive and which is fairly well documented, the "cadaster" was made by measuring the area of each plot of land, placing it into a category according to its position in the Nile flood and thus determining the most suitable type of crop, and finally assessing the duty which, barring accidents, should result and could be fixed in advance. The general process of the cadaster is known as *rawk* [*q.v.*] (verb *rāka*). These administrative operations give rise to the following documents: a) an original (*aṣlī*) *ḳānūn* establishing the characteristics of a region so as to determine its *ʿibra* on a permanent basis—according to al-Maḳrīzī, in his day this was revised every thirty years; b) an annual *ḳānūn*, established by a local *dalīl*, consisting, on the basis of the foregoing, of a statement of the characteristics of each plot after the flood, by which characteristics the *dalīl* decides which crops should be cultivated; c) a *ḳānūn* establishing the most suitable crops and the resulting fiscal distribution, listed both by holdings and by crops. Finally there was a series of other documents more specifically concerned with tax collection [see KHARĀDJ].

The measurements were made by a *ḳaṣṣāb* (from *ḳaṣaba*, unit of length); the *māsiḥ* (surveyor) calculated the areas on the basis of measurements taken. It would seem that sometimes he cheated in the geometry, and Ibn Mammātī takes great pains to remind his readers of the rules for calculating areas. The various kinds of land were classified according to type, degree of flooding and rotation of crops, and the vocabulary used for such terms appears to be in part non-Arab and pre-Islamic (see JESHO, v (1962), 259-60, from Ibn Mammātī and Makhzūmī).

It would be useful to classify the published papyri in the categories listed above. Al-Nābulusī's description of the Fayyūm (Ayyūbid period) in fact gives a detailed picture of taxes in general, but not precisely, of the cadaster for this province, locality by locality and category by category.

Far less is known of the methods employed in the rest of the Muslim world. However, the main outlines seem clear. There it was impossible to draw up for fiscal purposes a precise survey of crops, nor therefore of the return anticipated from them, since there was neither a regular flood nor a sufficiently close administrative control. It was, however, at least possible to measure area, and even to classify land according to average yield, thus allowing a tabulation of taxes, subject to last-minute modification in the light of the actual harvest. This was done in the majority of regions, where a definite sum in money was levied by area and crop, as against those where a proportion of the crop was levied. There were also, however, regions which followed the Roman tradition. In these the unit was not of area, which gives a variable yield, but one of labour or of exploitation, where a variable area produces a fixed yield. A traditional vocabulary less complex than that of Egypt also designates the different types of land. As in Egypt, the *ʿibra* was determined. Measuring was done by the *māsiḥ* sometimes with the help of a controller (*muʿābir*) or a divider (*ḳassām*). In fact, if not in law, their salary constituted an additional charge. However, even in Egypt, there continued to be many properties which for one reason or another were registered "without *misāḥa*", and thus taxed outright without having been surveyed in

this way. On the documents see the article on DAFTAR and, following the *Taʾrīkh-i Ḳumm*, A. K. S. Lambton (*Landlord and Peasant in Persia*, 1953, ch. 2).
In the West, or at any rate in the Maghrib, cadastral survey seems to have been slower and less precise. It is possible that it was not introduced to Morocco before the time of the Almohads, when it was brought back by Ibn Tūmart from his voyage to the East. Here, even less than in the East, not all estates were covered.

Bibliography: Scattered references can be found throughout the sources; only the most important are mentioned here: Ibn Mammātī, *Ḳawānīn al-dawāwīn*, ed. ʿAtiyya, 1943, tr. R. S. Cooper, *Ibn Mammātī's rules for the ministries*, Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Berkeley 1973, unpublished; *Taʾrīkh-i Ḳumm*, ed. Djalāl al-Dīn Tihrānī, Tehran 1934; the analyses of Makhzūmī and Nābulusī in the articles by Cl. Cahen cited below; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, viii; Khwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. Van Vloten; and the papyri, especially the Cairo ones published by Grohmann where an index of technical terms facilitates consultation. Modern works: there is nothing systematic, but we may cite F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation*, index; A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia*, London 1953; Cl. Cahen, *Quelques problèmes économiques et fiscaux de l'Iraq buyide*, in *AIEO*, *Algiers* (1952); idem, *Les impôts du Fayyum ayyubide*, in *Arabica* (1955); idem, *Contribution à l'étude des impôts dans l'Egypte médiévale* in *JESHO* (1962); Hassanein Rabie, *The financial system of Egypt A.H.* 564-741/ *A.D.* 1169-1341, London 1972; see also the articles DAFTAR and KHARĀDJ.

(CL. CAHEN)

iii.—FINANCIAL AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

1. From the earliest days of the conquest onwards, *Ḳānūn* preserved the meanings of "registers and lists recording land-taxes" (*Ḳānūn al-Kharādj*, also *djarāʾid*) and the regulations there laid down (*al-ḳawānīn al-muḳarrara*, cf. al-Māwardī, ed. Cairo 1386/ 1966, 215, tr. Fagnan, 462). This principle of assessment for tax can be traced back to the time of the second caliph ʿUmar, to whom is attributed the measurement of the lands in the Sawād and the imposition of a fixed tax on a specified area of land (Abū Yūsuf, *K. al-Kharādj*, Cairo 1302, 36-8, 48, 60, 85, 218; al-Māwardī, 148-52, 174-6; Løkkegaard, 106-25). This measure was considered to be the continuation of the Sasanian system of assessment for tax (Abū Yūsuf, 38, 57; al-Māwardī, 78, 148, 173-5; Ṭabarī, i, 962); and as in the old Iranian tradition so in the Islamic period strict adherence to the explicit entries and regulations of the official registers (*ḥifẓ al-ḳawānīn*, al-Māwardī, 215) was regarded as the foundation of sound and just administration (al-Māwardī, 151, 215-8). In the period of the classical caliphate the Persian terms *dastūr* and *awāradj* came to be used as synonyms of *ḳānūn* in the sense of "tax-list" (Løkkegaard, 179, 265). *Ḳānūn* also signified the conditions (*shurūṭ*) governing the levying of land-taxes by *muḳātaʿa* [*q.v.*] (Løkkegaard, 107). The term *ḳānūn* must have spread only later into ʿIrāḳ and the eastern provinces, since though it is frequently used by al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058) it is not used by Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798). After the ʿAbbāsid period *ḳānūn* remained in use as a financial term with the same meanings in Egypt (Ibn Mammātī, *K. Ḳawānīn al-Dawāwīn*, ed. A. S. Atiya, Cairo 1943, 305; ʿUthmān al-Nābulusī, *K. Lumaʿ al-ḳawānīn*, see Brockelmann, *GAL*, S. I, 573); in Persia (Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, ed. M. Iqbal, 356, 381, 398; Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *risāla* published in *THITM*, ii (1932-9), and in *BSOAS*, x (1940-2), 759-62; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Taʾrīkh-i Mubārak-i Ghazānī*, ed. Jahn, GMS, 306; ʿAbd Allāh b. Kiyā, *Resālä-ye Falakiyyä*, ed. W. Hinz, Wiesbaden 1953, 23, 172, 182-4; Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh al-Nakhdjuwānī, *Dastūr al-kātib*, i, ed. A. Alizade, Moscow 1964, *faṣl dar ḳānūn wa yasāmishī*), in Anatolia (Karīm al-Dīn al-Aḳsarāyī, *Musāmarat al-akhbār*, ed. O. Turan, Ankara 1944, 257, 298; Ibn Bībī, *al-Awāmir al-ʿAlāʾiyya*, Ankara 1966, 721), and in India (Irfan Habib, *The agrarian system of Mughal India*, London 1963, 186, 202; *ḳānūngo dastūr*, *ẓabṭī*). In the *Resālä-ye Falakiyyä* (p. 182), "*ḳānūn-i mamlakat*" is described as the setting down in advance in a register of the taxes for each area according to clear amounts and proportions, the *taḥṣīldārs* being required to collect the taxes according to this register. Finally, in the Ottoman state, the *taḥrīr* [*q.v.*] registers (*defter*, cf. al-Māwardī, 82: *daftar al-ṣawāfī*), which set out in detail particularly the land taxes and the methods of raising them, and the *ḳānūnnāmes* [*q.v.*] for the individual *sandjaḳs* are to be regarded as a continuation of the same system. The office in which such registers were kept was called in the Īlkhānid state *bayt al-ḳānūn*, and in the Ottoman Empire *defterkhāne*.

2. As a development from the meaning "financial regulations", *ḳānūn* came to mean legal prescriptions independent of the *sharīʿa* laid down by the sultan by virtue of his authority as ruler. This implication is found already in the ʿAbbāsid period (cf. al-Māwardī, 32: *al-ḳawānīn al-siyāsiyya*; and even, more broadly: (p. 33): *al-ḳawānīn al-sharʿiyya*). The following terms are synonymous with *ḳānūn* in this sense: (i) *ḥukm* or (pl.) *aḥkām* (cf. al-Māwardī, 207: *aḥkām al-kharādj*); (ii) *ḳāʾida* or (pl.) *ḳawāʾid* (al-Māwardī, 215; Rāwandī, 166, 260, 382; Niẓām al-Mulk, ed. Darke, 89, 95, 126; Rashīd al-Dīn, *op. cit.*, 304, 323; Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh, 323; *Code de lois coutumières de Meḥmed II*, ed. N. Beldiceanu, Wiesbaden 1967, facs. fol. 1 *v.); (iii) *dastūr* (Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, *K. al-Wuzarāʾ*, ed. Amedroz, 78; *Resālä-ye Falakiyyä*, 57; H. Busse, *Untersuchungen zum isl. Kanzleiwesen*, Cairo 1959, 85, 129; *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, ed. V. Minorsky, 176; Ottoman *destūr*, as in Barkan, *Kanunlar*, i, 259); (iv) *ḍābiṭa* or (pl.) *ḍawābiṭ* (*Resālä-ye Falakiyyä*, 23; Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Bārānī, *Fatāwā-yi Djihāndārī*, tr. M. Habib and A. V. Salim Khan, 64-71, 136-43; Ottoman *ḍawābiṭ*, as in *ḍawābiṭ-i mesāʾil-i ʿurfiyye*, Istanbul, Un. Lib. MS 1807, 1); (v) *āʾīn*, more particularly for regulations of non-Muslim origin regarding state-organization and ceremonial, as in the expressions *āʾīn-i shāhān*, *āʾīn-i shahriyārī*, *āʾīn-i djihānbānī* (see F. Wolff, *Glossar zu Firdosis Schahname*, Berlin 1935, 46; cf. Niẓām al-Mulk, ed. Darke, 138, 209), but also more generally, as in *āʾīn-i narkh-i adjnās* (*Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, ed. Blochmann, 60; and cf. *Code de lois . . . , loc. cit.*); (vi) *rasm* or (pl.) *rusūm* (al-Māwardī, 215; Niẓām al-Mulk, 133; Rāwandī, 137). With the spread of Western influence in the 19th century, the word *ḳānūn* was employed for secular laws of all types based on European models (*Tanzimat*, i, Istanbul 1940, 139-209), and the expression *ḳānūn-i esāsī* to express "constitution".

The word *ḳānūn* was employed also for the statutes regulating any organization, *e.g.*, in Ottoman times, those of the guilds, which were drawn up by the guildsmen and registered with the *ḳāḍī* (cf. F. Dalsar, *Bursa'da ipekçilik*, Istanbul 1960, 274-6, 318). Finally, *ḳānūn* might imply "rules of conduct" (as in *ḳānūn al-saʿāda*: *Resālä-ye Falakiyyä*, 2); and also

the general principles or the basic information in one of the non-religious sciences (as in *ḳānūn al-balāgha* or *ḳānūn fi ʾl-ṭibb*).

3. *Ḳānūn* (in the sense of non-religious legal prescription) and its relation to the *sharīʿa*. Even from the time of the first caliphs there are records of legal prescriptions imposed solely at the will of the *ūlu ʾl-amr* [*q.v.*], *e.g.*, ʿUmar's decision regarding the lands of the Sawād (Abū Yūsuf, 47-56, 97). Such prescriptions were usually incorporated into the *sharīʿa* as it took shape. Administrative regulations and practices [see ʿAMAL, AMR] entered the *sharīʿa* just like *ʿurf* and *ʿāda* [*qq.v.*], because of the broad interpretation of the concept of *sunna* [*q.v.*] and thanks to recourse to the principle of *istiḥsān* [*q.v.*] (see J. Schacht, *Origins*, 99-112). But this process was ended after the time of al-Shāfiʿī, and particularly of Ibn Ḥanbal and Dāwūd b. Khalaf [*qq.v.*], with the narrower interpretation put upon *sunna* and the rejection of *istiḥsān*.

Matters of public law were treated within the framework of the *sharīʿa* firstly with regard to regulations concerning land-tax (as by Abū Yūsuf, Yaḥyā b. Ādam, Abu ʾl-Faradj Kudāma), and later (from the 4th/10th century) in connection with more general matters: the source of political authority [see IMĀM], administrative law [see WILĀYA, SIYĀSA, MAẒĀLIM], market regulations [see ḤISBA], and penal law [see TAʿZĪR] (see al-Māwardī, Abū Yaʿlā, Ibn Djamāʿa, Ibn Taymiyya, Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, *passim*). After al-Shāfiʿī, the boundaries of the *uṣūl al-fiḳh* were drawn so narrowly that new administrative regulations were left outside them and became the province of a new "state law" or "ruler's law". This process was encouraged also by political developments in the caliphate: in the "sultanates" establishing themselves in Persia (Būyids, Sāmānids, Ghaznavids, Saldjūḳids), the native bureaucracy [see KĀTIB] strove to revive the old Iranian traditions of the state and of state administration in order to strengthen the absolutism of their masters, and won for political authority and state law an independent status vis-à-vis the *sharīʿa*. The conflict between *ḳānūn* and *sharīʿa* in this period reflects the rivalry between *sulṭān* and *khalīfa*. It is in this period that al-Māwardī, 77-8, maintained the necessity of secular power (*Ḳuwwa al-salṭana*, or *amāra*) to ensure the implementation of the *sharīʿa* (*tanfīdh al-aḥkām*) and the protection and survival of the Muslim community (*ḥirāsat al-dīn wa-siyāsat al-dunyā*). In other words, the public interest [see MAṢLAḤA] was recognized as the basic principle justifying an independent political authority and its competence to make laws and issue regulations. This argument was regularly repeated in Muslim sultanates (including the Ottoman, cf. Tursun, *Taʾrīkh-i Abu ʾl-Fetḥ*, 13) as the basis for the sultan's authority as law-giver. In this period too the concepts of *ʿadāla* [*q.v.*] and *ḳānūn*, linked to the Iranian view of the state, began to be treated as a separate subject in works written by *faḳīh*s upon politics (cf. al-Māwardī, 77-95).

As to the matters regulated by this "secular" law, they fell, naturally, within the field of public law—a field distinguished by the *sharīʿa* by the terms *al-aʿmāl al-ʿāmma*, *siyāsa* [*q.v.*], and *ḥuḳūḳ Allāh* [*q.v.*]—and covered such questions as military and governmental organization, taxation, especially land-taxes [see KHARĀDJ] and the closely-related land-law, matters concerning the *bayt al-māl* [*q.v.*], and penal law. The *sharīʿa* conceded to the *imām* authority to promulgate and implement regulations governing the scales of non-Muslim taxes, the use to which conquered land or *mawāt* [*q.v.*] land should be put, the severity of *taʿzīr* [*q.v.*] punishment, and the protection of the community's economic interests [see ḤISBA]. The *sharīʿa* recognized also the authority of the *imām-sulṭān* to decide and to legislate, if the public interest required it, upon any matter not treated by the *sharīʿa*. It came to be agreed that the individual was under a religious obligation to obey the sultan's command in matters not regulated by *naṣṣ* [*q.v.*] (cf. the introduction to the *Ḳānūnnāme*, in Istanbul Un. Lib., MS. T 1807).

Furthermore, some *fuḳahāʾ* regarded decisions taken on the ruler's authority as essential for the solution of various problems which concerned the *sharīʿa* (cf. the *fatwā*s in Abu'l-Suʿūd's *Maʿrūḍāt*, *MTM*, i, 337-48 = P. Horster, *Zur Anwendung des Islamischen Rechts im 16. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart 1935). In cases where the *sharīʿa* permitted two solutions, the decision of the *ūlu ʾl-amr* was decisive (Abu Yūsuf, tr. Fagnan, 103-4); again, in cases of serious *ikhtilāf* [*q.v.*] among the *fuḳahāʾ*, the ruler might, in public interest, in order to ensure uniformity of practice and avoid rifts within the community, decree that the precepts of one specific *madhhab* [*q.v.*] were to be followed: thus under the ʿAbbāsids [see IBN AL-MUḲAFFAʿ] and later under the Saldjūḳids [see MALIKSHĀH] and the Ottomans (cf. *Maʿrūḍāt*, 347) it was made obligatory for the *ḳāḍī*s to follow the Ḥanafī rules in their courts. Such a decision greatly affected the direction taken by later legal development: thanks to the broad principles characterizing the Ḥanafī *madhhab* [see ABŪ ḤANĪFA], a new stage began, a period when new legal rules could be made in the forms of *fatwā*s [*q.v.*] on the one hand and, on the other, decisions of the *Ḳāḍī*s' courts and regulations promulgated by the sultans.

In the period following the Mongol invasions, the concept of independent state law was greatly strengthened: in the Ottoman Empire, in Central Asia, in India, and in the Tīmūrid dominions, decrees issued by the rulers on matters of state organization, military affairs, taxes, land-tenure and penal law created a rich corpus of state law, entirely independent of the *sharīʿa*.

In the Īlkhānid state, whilst the old Iranian concept of the state of law was making headway thanks to the efforts of Persian bureaucrats, the Mongol aristocracy was endeavouring to assure the supremacy of the legal system of the *yasa* [*q.v.*]. The traditions and beliefs current in the steppe empires of Central Asia encouraged the view that the state subsisted through the maintenance of the *törü* (Arabic *tūrā*, see TÜZÜK) laid down by the *ḳaghan* (see H. İnalcık, *Kutadgu Bilig'de Türk ve İran devlet ve siyaset nazariye ve gelenekleri*, in *Reşit Rahmeti Arat için*, Ankara 1967, 259-71). This view was brought by the Turkish and Mongol ruling houses into the Middle East and survived in the states that they founded there (the Ottoman state included: for the Ottomans, the establishment of their sovereignty over a region was dependent upon the introduction there of the *Ḳānūn-i ʿOthmānī*). It should not be overlooked that some early Ottoman writers (*e.g.*, Aḥmedī, see *TM*, vi (1936-39), 111) praised the *yasa* of Čingiz-Khān as having promoted justice, and that Ottoman state-regulations were often referred to as *yasaḳ* or *yasaḳ-nāme*. In Egypt and Syria, too, *yasa* merged with *siyāsa* (see D. Ayalon, in *St. Isl.*, xxxviii (1973), 115), tended to be accepted as a legitimate source of law.

In these new states the conflict between state law and the *sharīʿa* overlay a politico-social struggle among the bureaucracy, the *ʿulamāʾ*, and the military

class. In Persia and in Anatolia, after the collapse of Mongol rule there was powerful pressure to do away altogether with the Turco-Mongol state law (ʿAzīz Astarābādī, *Bazm u razm*, Istanbul 1928, 223; Z. V. Togan, *Umumî Türk tarihine giriş*, Istanbul 1946, 271, 320, 376; for the reign of S̲h̲āhruk̲h̲, see *MTM*, ii, 357; for Syria and Egypt, see D. Ayalon, in *St. Isl.*, xxxii, 97-140; xxxiv, 151-80, xxxvi, 113-58; for Iran, see Spuler, *Mongolen*, Berlin 1968, 235-44). Some *ʿulamāʾ* in state service attempted to prove the legitimacy of the principle of an independent state law by appeal to such Islamic principles as *istiḥsān*, *maṣlaḥa*, and especially *ʿurf* [*q.v.*].

In later years, the states which, on the basis of these principles, developed furthest the domain of state law were the Ottoman Empire and the Turco-Mongol states of India. Ottoman legists, emphasizing these points, accepted the principle that state law, as having from of old been the concern of independent *yargu* [*q.v.*] courts, should be applied by the *ḳāḍīs*; all the same, the special courts of the political and military authorities continued—the *dīwāns* of the Grand Vizier, of the Ag̲h̲a of the Janissaries, of the Kapudan Pas̲h̲a, of the Defterdār.

In the Ottoman state, the conflict of the *s̲h̲arīʿa* and the ruler's law manifested itself in various stages. Meḥemmed II [*q.v.*], as the promotor of a centralized and absolutist imperial system, strengthened the principles of *ḳānūn* and *ʿurf* and encouraged the independence of "secular" law. He promulgated the Ottoman *Ḳānūnnāme*, and brought the *ʿulamāʾ* more closely into an integrated state-controlled hierarchy of offices. According to a contemporary historian belonging to the bureaucracy (Tursun, 13), the "good order" (*niẓām*) of this world necessarily require the absolute coercive authority of the sultan (*yasāg̲h̲-i pādis̲h̲āhī*) and the sultan's promulgation of decrees of his own single will. The early years of his successor Bāyezīd II saw a strong reaction by the upholders of the *s̲h̲arīʿa* against his untrammeled legislative activity. Selīm I rejected the intervention of the religious authorities in state affairs (cf. ʿAlī D̲j̲emālī, cited in Bibl.). Although Sülaymān I was inclined to assert the *s̲h̲arīʿa*'s control over state law, the latter preserved its independence as being the province of the *nis̲h̲ānd̲j̲ī* [*q.v.*]. It seems that the relative influence accorded to *s̲h̲arīʿa* and *ḳānūn* depended to a degree on distinctions of *madhhab*: thus Abu ʾl-Suʿūd regarded the use of money to establish a *waḳf* as entirely acceptable to the *s̲h̲arīʿa*, on the ground of *istiḥsan*, whereas Meḥmed Birgewī [see BIRGEWĪ] regarded it as utterly illegal; Birgewī and the Ḳāḍīzādelis were no doubt following Ḥanbalī doctrine. From the 11th/17th century onwards the scope of the *ḳānūn* evidently began to contract to the advantage of the *s̲h̲arīʿa*. *Fatwā*s of the *muftī*s progressively restricted the law-making powers of the *nis̲h̲and̲j̲ī*s, and the influence of the S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islām in state affairs progressively increased—to such a degree that in 1107/1696 the use of the word *ḳānūn* side by side with the word *s̲h̲arīʿa* was forbidden by a firman of the Sultan (ʿO. Nūrī, *Med̲j̲elle-i umūr-i belediyye*, i, Istanbul 1922, 568).

Nevertheless, in the later periods of reform the activity of making *ḳānūn*s, independent of the *s̲h̲arīʿa*, increased once more, and the struggle between *ḳānūn* and *s̲h̲arīʿa*, now exacerbated by social and political factors, revealed itself in overt collisions [see SELĪM III, NIẒĀM-I D̲J̲EDĪD, MAḤMŪD II, IṢLĀḤ]. These *ḳānūn*s were, it is true, always presented as being acceptable, on grounds of *istiḥsān*, to the religious law and essential for the well-being of *dīn* and *umma*, and often received the approbation of *fatwā*s given by the *ʿulamāʾ*; yet the reform measures were introduced by the bureaucrat class, which regarded the interests of the state as ultimately overriding all other considerations, and found their inspiration in sources foreign to Islam (the traditional Irano-Turkish state, or the states of 19th century Europe). The disputations which arose in every Muslim society thus entering upon the path of modernization concentrated upon the question of the relationship between *ḳānūn* and *s̲h̲arīʿa*. In the Ottoman state in the period of the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*], European laws, either modified or adopted unchanged, were introduced into those fields which had been the preserve of ruler-made law (administration, taxation, penal law, etc.) (see H. Veldet, *Kanunlaştırma hareketleri*, in *Tanzimat*, i, 139-209). As a result of the challenge of Europeanization and modernization, new movements arose in the second half of the century. On the one hand, young intellectuals and *ʿulamāʾ* disputed the question of whether the "door of *id̲j̲tihād*" could be opened [see NĀMIḲ KEMĀL, D̲J̲AMĀL AL-DĪN AL-AFG̲H̲ĀNĪ, MUḤAMMAD ʿABDUH]; on the other, a section of the Ottoman intelligentsia [see YEÑI ʿOT̲H̲MĀNLILAR], influenced by the French school of sociology, maintained that the *s̲h̲arīʿa* in regard to its *muʿāmalāt* [*q.v.*] was a social and historical product of the decrees of *muʿāmalāt* [*q.v.*] and could alter in accordance with the needs of society, and that these changing needs could be satisfied by new legislation within the framework of *naṣṣ* through a national assembly, a *s̲h̲ūrā* [*q.v.*]. These currents of thought facilitated a radical alteration in family law in 1917 and the placing of the *ḳāḍīs*' courts, removed from the control of the S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islām, under the Minister of Justice. Later still, merging with the agitation for the abolition of the Capitulations [see IMTIYĀZĀT], they produced the uncompromisingly secular legal system of the Turkish Republic. In other Muslim states, however, the desire to maintain the attachment to the Islamic sources of the law has continued into recent times [see IṢLĀḤ].

4. The procedure for making and promulgating *ḳānūn*s in the Ottoman state. The source and justification for *ḳānūn*-legislation was the principle of *ʿurf* [*q.v.*], in the sense of the Sultan's unrestricted executive authority (and its synonym, *yasaḳ*). Hence every sort of *ḳānūn* was issued in the form of a *ḥukm* [*q.v.*] of the sultan, the typical formula being: *Ḳānūn emr edüb buyurdum ki* . . . , "having ordered [the promulgation of a] *ḳānūn*, I have commanded as follows . . ." (cf. *Belleten*, xi/44 (1947), 700, doc. 10). In practice, the procedure was as follows: a clerk attached to the office of the Nis̲h̲ānd̲j̲ī or the Defterdār drew up a *ḥukm* in the form of a firman or a *berāt*. This draft, after being checked by the Nis̲h̲and̲j̲ī or the Defterdār, was confirmed by the Grand Vizier, with the word *ṣaḥḥ* ("correct"). Important *ḳānūn*s were confirmed by receiving the *k̲h̲aṭṭ* (autograph minute) of the sultan. There is evidence that some *ḳānūn*s were dictated personally by the sultan (cf. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Lib., MS. Reisülküttab 1004, fol. 34 a). *Ḳānūn*s relating to *tīmār*s ("fiefs"), agricultural taxes and land law were the province of the *Nis̲h̲and̲j̲ī*; those relating to other financial matters were enregistered in the office of the *bas̲h̲-muḥāsebe*, under the Defterdār. Copies of the *ḳānūn*s were despatched to the officers responsible for their implementation—variously, the *ḳāḍī*s, governors, *mültezim*s, *emīn*s of the customs, etc. *Ḳāḍī*s and governors would register them and make the neces-

sary entries in the appropriate registers, either by a marginal note or by attaching a slip to the page. *Ḳānūns* which affected the populace in general were proclaimed by criers (*münādī*) in such public places as the market or the mosque courtyard or were read and explained by the *ḳāḍī* to the *aʿyān* [*q.v.*] and the *ashrāf*, who had been summoned to the court-room for that purpose. The original document was preserved in the *bedestān* of the city or in a chest under the *ḳāḍī*'s eye (cf. Paris, *Bibl. Nat.*, MS. anc. fonds turc 41, p. 25). Since the *ḳānūn* was a personal edict of the Sultan, to remain in force it required the confirmation of each new ruler; even Meḥemmed II accepted and stated that *ḳānūns* might require improvement and modification. The issuing of *ḳānūns* tended to intensify at such times as the carrying out of a *taḥrīr* [*q.v.*], an accession, the promulgation of an *ʿadāletnāme* (for these circular firmans issued in the attempt to rectify abuses, see *Belgeler*, ii/3-4 (1965), 49-145), or the promotion of reforms.

A *ḳānūn* might confirm *ʿāda* [*q.v.*] ("custom") or *amthāl* ("precedent"), or—with or without modification—the *ḳānūns* of a state newly occupied by the Ottomans. Appeal to "traditional practice" is a common feature of Ottoman *ḳānūns*.

An indication of the independent status enjoyed by *ḳānūns* in the Ottoman state is the fact that they were entirely under the supervision of the Nishāndjı̊. Their final and official promulgation lay in his hands, for he possessed the responsibility of affixing to them the *tughra* [*q.v.*] by which they were authenticated. It was he who determined whether a *ḳānūn* remained in force, and whether new *ḥukms* issuing from the various departments of the administration were in conformity with the existing corpus of *ḳānūns*. Since *ḳānūns* so largely dealt with land matters and the *tīmār*-system, with the decline of the latter the scope for *ḳānūn* activity contracted, and the Nishāndjı̊ lost his former importance.

It is no accident that outside the Ottoman Empire, the principle of independent legislation by *ḳānūn* was established, particularly in India and in those Muslim states founded by Turkish dynasties who had migrated from Central Asia. There too the *ḳānūn*, or rather, to use the terms there current, the *ḍābiṭa*, *āʾīn*, *dastūr*, or *shāhī farmān*, is to be traced back both to the Iranian concept of "justice" as the ruler's principal concern and to the central Asian *törü* or *tüzük*. According to Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Bārānī (writing c. 760/1359), a *ḍābiṭa*, or state law, is "a rule of action which a king imposes as an obligatory duty upon himself for realizing the welfare of the state and from which he absolutely never deviates" (tr. M. Habib and Salim Khan, *Political theories*, 6).

Bibliography: Y. Karayalçın ve A. Mumcu, *Türk Hukuk Bibliyografyası*, Ankara 1972; M. Khadduri and H. J. Liebesny, *Law in the Middle East*, Washington D.C. 1955; M. Khadduri, *The Juridical Theory of the Islamic State*, in *MW*, xli (1951), 181-85; J. Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*[2], Oxford 1959; E. Tyan, *Méthodologie et sources du droit en Islam*, in *SI*, x (1959), 79-109; N. P. Aghnides, *Mohammedan Theories of Finance with an Introduction to Mohammedan Law*, 1916; C. H. Becker, "Steuerpacht und Lehnwesen", in *Isl.* v (1914), 81-92. On the literature on Kharādj, see I. Goldziher, *Deutsche Lit. Zeitung*, xvii (1896), 1514 f.; H. F. Amedroz, *The Mazalim Jurisdiction in the Ahkam Sultaniyya of Mawardi*, in *JRAS* (1911), 635-74; H. A. R Gibb, *The Evolution of Government in Early Islam*, in *SI*, iv (1955), 1-17; Reuben Levy, *The Social Structure of Islam*, Cambridge 1957, 242-70; Gibb, *The Fiscal Rescript of ʿUmar II*, in *Arabica*, ii (1955), 2-16; M. J. Coulson, *Doctrine and Practice in Islamic Law*, in *BSOAS*, xviii (1956), 211-26. ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ, *l'Islam et les bases du pouvoir*, tr. L. Bercher, in *REI*, iii-iv (1933); A. d'Emilia, *Roman Law and Muslim Law, a Comparative Outline*, in *East and West*, iv (1953), 73-80; H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig, die Buyiden in Iraq*, Beirut 1969, 131-88; I. Goldziher, *Les Bidaʿ*, in *BEA*, ii (1942), 131-4; Aziz Ahmad, *The Nature of Islamic Political Theory*, in *IC*, xvii (1943), 39-48; V. Barthold, *Études sur la notion islamique de souveraineté*, in *RMM* (1925); Djelal Noury, *Le droit public et l'Islam*, Constantinople 1909; M. Hamidullah, *The Quranic Conception of the State*, in *Quranic World*, Hyderabad, April 1936; M. M. Siddiqi, *The Development of Islamic State and Society*, Lahore 1956; M. Fuad Köprülü, *Les institutions juridiques turques au Moyen-Age, y-a-t-il un droit public turc distinct du droit public musulman?*' in *Congress of Turkish History*, 1937; P. Wittek, *Islam und Kalifat*, in *Arch. f. Sozialwiss. u. Sozialpolitik*, liii (1925), 370-426; E. Tyan, *Institutions du droit public musulman*, Paris 1954-6; idem, *Hist. de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam*, Leiden 1960, 433-650. F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic Taxation in the Classical Period*, Copenhagen 1950; M. Habib and Afsar Umar Salim Khan, *Political Theories of the Delhi Sultanate*, including a translation of Ziauddin Barani's *Fatawa-i Jahandari, circa* 1358-9, A.D., Allahabad-Bombay-Delhi, n.d. (esp. ch. iv); W. Husain, *Administration of Justice during the Muslim Rule in India*, Calcutta 1934 (Qa'nūn-i sha'hi and *Jus gentium*, 134-45); Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India* (1556-1707), Bombay 1963; Abu'l-Faḍl, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, tr. Blochmann, Calcutta 1867-77; *Persian Sources of Indian History*, ed. G. H. Khare, Poona 1937; D. Ayalon, *The Great Yāsa of Chingiz Khān, a re-examination*, in *SI*, xxx, 97-140, xxxiii-xxxiv, 151-80; xxxvi, 113-58, xxxviii, 107-56; R. Anhegger and H. İnalcık, *Ḳānūnnāme-i Sulṭānī ber müceb-i ʿörf-i ʿOsmānī*, Ankara 1956; R. Anhegger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bergbaus im osmanischen Reich*, 2 vols. and Nachtrag, Istanbul 1943-5; N. Beldiceanu, *Les actes des premiers sultans ottomans, II: Les lois miniers*, Paris-The Hague; *Ḳānūnnāme-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, ed. M. ʿĀrif, *TOEM supplement*, Istanbul 1329-30; *Kanuni i Kanunname*, in *Monumenta Turcica*, ser. I, no. 1, ed. B. Durdev and others; Paul Horster, *Zur Anwendung des islamischen Rechts im 16. Jhdt*, Bonner Orientalist. Studien, Heft 10, Stuttgart 1935; G. D. Galabov and H. W. Duda, *Die Protokolbücher des Kadiamtes Sofia*, Munich 1960; Ö. L. Barkan, *XV ve XVI inci asırlarda Osmanlı İmperatorluğunda ziraî ekonominin hukukî ve malî esasları*, I, *Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943; S. J. Shaw, *The financial and administrative development of Ottoman Egypt*, 1517-1798, Princeton 1961; Uriel Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Penal Law*, ed. V. L. Ménage, Oxford 1973; R. Mantran and J. Sauvaget *Règlements fiscaux ottomans, Les provinces syriennes*, Beirut 1951; A. S. Tveritinova, *XVI. Yüzyil Osm. Imp. malı ve idarı sistemini ilgilendiren bazı belgeler*, in *Tarih Araştırmaları*, vii/12-13 (1969), 65-88; H. Scheel, *Die staatsrechtliche Stellung der ökumenischen Kirchenfürsten in der alten Türkei*, Berlin 1943; F. Selle, *Prozessrecht des 16. Jahrhunderts im osmanischen Reich*, Wiesbaden 1962;

Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri, in *MTM*, i/1 (1331), 49-112, i/3, 497-544; Ottoman collection of *ḳānūns* from 1839 onwards in *Dustūr*, first series: 4 vols., 1881-5, and 4 supplementary vols., 1937-44; second series: 12 vols., 1913-28; J. Schacht, *Šarīʿa und Qānūn im modernen Ägypten*, in *Isl.*, xx (1932), 209-36; W. Padel, *La législation foncière ottoman*, Paris 1904; A. Heidborn, *Manuel de droit public et administratif de l'empire ottoman*, Vienna-Leipzig 1908-12; J. N. D. Anderson, *The Sharīʿa and Civil Law*, in *IQ*, i (1954), 29-46; S. S. Ansay, *Das Türkische Recht*, in *Orientalisches Recht, Handbuch der Orientalistik*, Leiden 1964, 441-61; E. Pritsch, *Die Modernisierung des türkischen Rechts*, in *Juristische Monatschrift*, lv (1926), 28-35; L. Ostrorog, *The Angora Reform*, London 1927; G. Jäschke, *Die rechtliche Bedeutung der in den Jahren 1909-1916 vollzogenen Abänderungen des türkischen Staatsgrundgesetzes*, in *WI*, v (1917), 97-152; G. Jäschke, *Die Entwicklung der türkischen Verfassung 1924-1927*, in *Orient-Nachrichten*, no. 9-10 (1937); Aristarchi Bey and D. Nikolaides, *Législation ottomane*, Istanbul 1873-78; L. Ostrorog, *Pour la réforme de la justice ottomane*, Paris 1912; A. du Velay, *Histoire financière de la Turquie*, Paris 1903; *Medenî Kanunun XV. yildönümü için* Istanbul 1944; E. Pritsch, *Die türkische Verfassung*, in *MSOS*, xxvi-xxvii (1924), 138-251; B. Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, London 1961; N. Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, Montreal 1964; H. İnalcık, *On the Secularism in Turkey*, in *OLZ*, lxiv/9-10 (1969), 438-46.

(Halil İnalcık)

iv.—Berber Usage

The word *ḳānūn* was adopted by various Berber groups, especially in Kabylia and the Aurès, to mean the customs, mainly as regards penal matters, pertaining to a particular village. A number of *ḳānūns* have been published, notably by A. Hanoteau and A. Letourneux (*La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles*, Paris 1872-3, [2]1893, vols. ii and iii). To the bibliography given in the article berbers (iv), C. Lacoste, *Bibliographie ethnologique de la Grande Kabylie*, Paris-The Hague 1962, 72-6, should be added; see also the articles ʿāda and ʿurf. (Ed.)

ḲĀNŪN, musical instrument [see malāhī].

ḲĀNŪN-I ESĀSĪ [see dustūr].

ḲĀNŪNNĀME, in Ottoman usage the term generally referred to a decree of the sultan containing legal clauses on a particular topic. In the 9th/15th century the term *yasaḳnāme* had the same meaning, and during the Arab caliphate *ḳawānīn* had the sense of "a code of laws". In the Ottoman empire *Ḳānūnnāme* was occasionally extended to refer to regulations which viziers and pas̲h̲as had enacted (see *Ḳāsim Pas̲h̲a ḳānūnnāmesi*, in M. T. Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa livası*, Istanbul 1952, 434), laws which a competent authority had formulated (*e.g.*, the *ḳānūnnāme* of the *nis̲h̲ānd̲j̲ī* D̲j̲elālzāde) or to reform projects (*e.g.*, the *ḳānūnnāme* of Ibs̲h̲īr Pas̲h̲a, see Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, Istanbul 1280, v, 199). However, a *ḳānūnnāme* was like any normal *ḳānūn* in that only a Sultan's decree could give it official authority. Just as a single decree (*fermān* or *berāt*) or a defined and limited topic could form a *ḳānūnnāme*, there were others applicable to the whole Empire or to a particular region or social group.

The practice in Islamic states of issuing official, codified *ḳānūnnāmes* has two apparent sources, one being the traditions of the old Middle Eastern cultures and the other the traditions of the Turco-Mongol k̲h̲ānates (see ḳānūn). To prevent abuses by officials, the old Iranian Empires established the practice of carrying legal clauses—particularly tax-laws—on stone, in places always visible to the public. This was possibly a tradition descended from the older Mesopotamian civilisations (see M. Tosun, *Sumer, Babil ve Asurlularda Hukuk*, in *Belleten* xxxvii/148 (1973), 565; W. Hinz, *Steuerinschriften aus dem mittelalterlichen vorderen Orient*, in *Belleten*, xiii/52 (1949), 745-23). Similarly, in the era of the Caliphate, there must have been registers in *ḳānūnnāme* form containing decrees (*aḥkām*) and conditions (*s̲h̲urūṭ* connected with land tax. These decrees were officially transmitted to administrators and tax farmers (*multazim*) as a *dastūr* (see ḳānūn) in the collection of taxes (Kiya Māzandarānī, *Resālä-ye Falakiyyä*, ed. W. Hinz, 57). In the Mongol-Iranian Empire, the *yasa* [*q.v.*] of Čingiz K̲h̲ān, known as *yāsā-yi ḳadīm-i Čingiz K̲h̲ān*, *yarg̲h̲ūnāme* (Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i mubārak-i G̲h̲āzān K̲h̲ān*, ed. K. Jahn, 149) or *yāsāḳ-i buzurg*, served as a basis for the ordering of military-political affairs and the settlement of law-suits. Even in the days of the Muslim G̲h̲āzān K̲h̲ān, the observance of Čingiz K̲h̲ān's *yāsā* was regarded as the foundation of the state's well-being (Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn, *op. cit.*, 304). Even after the fall of the Mongol régime and despite a powerful reaction of the *ʿulamāʾ* against the *yāsā*, the term *yasaḳnāme*, or simply *yasaḳ*, continued as a name for collections of laws by the ruler. The efforts of the native officials led to the amalgamation of the *yāsā* with the Iranian-Islamic tradition of *maẓālim* [*q.v.*] jurisdiction (Muḥammad b. Hindūs̲h̲āh-i Nak̲h̲d̲j̲evānī, *Dastūr al-Kātib*, ed. ʿAlīzāde, i, 212, 322, 325). It is significant that codified *ḳānūnnāmes* appeared only in Iran, Anatolia, ʿIrāḳ and India—places with firmly established Turco-Mongol traditions and dynasties—, and in regions of the Ottoman Empire where the typical Ottoman laws and administration were in force, sc. in Rumelia and Anatolia.

Ḳānūnnāmes covered the fields of public law, state organization, administration, taxation, penal law and *ḥisba* [*q.v.*] (*aḥkām-i dīwānī*; *istifāʾ-i mamālik*, *taḥdīd ve siyāsat-i mud̲j̲rimān*, see Muḥammad b. Hindus̲h̲āh-i Nak̲h̲d̲j̲evānī, *op. cit.*, part i, ch. 1).

When the Ottomans first occupied a newly conquered territory, they usually maintained existing *Ḳānūns* or else adopted them with slight modifications, In this way the codes of the Mamlūk Ḳāyitbay, the Aḳ-ḳoyunlu Uzun Ḥasan and the Dulḳadīrlī ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla have reached us in their original forms under the guise of Ottoman *ḳānūnnāmes*. An Aḳ-ḳoyunlu source confirms that Uzun Ḥasan [*q.v.*] issued a penal *ḳānūnnāme* for general use throughout his territory, whose application was compulsory (M. Schmidt-Dumont, *Turkmenische Herrscher ... nach dem Tārīḫ al-Giyāṯī*, Freiburg 1970, 219; J. Woods, *From clan to empire, Aḳḳoyunlus ...*, Dissertation, Princeton University, 1974). Uzun Ḥasan's *ḳānūnnāmes* or *yāsās* were current in eastern Anatolia, Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān, ʿIraḳ-i ʿArab and ʿIraḳ-i ʿAd̲j̲am (S̲h̲araf K̲h̲ān, *S̲h̲arafnāme*, ii, 120, cited by J. Woods, *op. cit.*). The Ottomans confirmed those in force in eastern Anatolia, applying them from 922/1516 to 955/1548. Thus the Ottomans, while abolishing Ṣafārid *ḳānūns* after the conquest of ʿIrāḳ, retained those of Uzun Ḥasan (see H. İnalcık, *Adâletnâmeler*, in *Belgeler*, ii/3-4 (1965), 140-2). The main purpose of these *ḳānūnnāmes* was to show the rates and methods of payment of *ʿurfī* taxes and market taxes or *bād̲j̲* [see ṭamg̲h̲a]. The Dulḳadīrlī (D̲h̲u ʾl-Ḳādiriyye) *ḳānūnnāmes* are essentially

criminal *ḳānūnnāme*s (see Ö. L. Barkan, *Kanunlar*, i, Istanbul 1943, 119-29). The Ottoman *ḳānūnnāmes* for Cilicia, Syria and Egypt comprise the *ḳānūnnāme* attributed to Ḳāyitbay [*q.v.*] dealing with *ʿurfī* taxes, customs duties and gifts (see Barkan, *op. cit.*, 200, 223, 226, 361, 364, 365, 370). Certain Indian collections of Sultanic laws and regulations, such as the *Tüzükāt* attributed to Tīmūr (see *Tüzükāt-i Tīmūrī*, ed. Major Davy, Oxford 1783), the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, or the *Aḥkām-i ʿĀlamgīrī*, are well known, but only the criminal code of ʿĀlamgīr I is really comparable to Ottoman *ḳānūnnāmes*, since it was issued in the form of imperial decrees (see J. N. Sarkar, *Mughal Administration* 122-30; U. Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*, Oxford 1973, 317).

The opposition of the *ʿulamāʾ* to such compilations usually made the Sultans reluctant to give *ḳānūn*s a permanent character by publishing them in codified versions. They preferred to issue *Ḳānūn*s in the form of single imperial decrees (*fermān*s) on a particular topic and, as a result, there are few codified *ḳānūnnāme*s. Meḥemmed II [*q.v.*] appears to have been the first Islamic sovereign to issue a codified and officially promulgated *ḳānūnnāme* intended to be binding on posterity. In this he was perhaps conforming to the legal practice of the Turco-Mongol *ḳaghan*s. He issued two *ḳānūnnāmes*, one for the *reʿāyā* and one for state organisations.

Meḥemmed II's *ḳānūnnāme* for the *reʿāyā* aimed firstly to prevent the malpractices of the *ʿaskerī* [*q.v.*] class who gathered a number of taxes directly from the *reʿāyā*, and secondly to fix the rates of taxes and money fines, and in this way to realise the state's ideal of bringing protective justice to the *reʿāyā*. This *ḳānūnnāme* was issued as a code of practice for *ḳāḍī*s and governors in settling disputes. The *reʿāyā ḳānūnnāme* is codified according to a particular pattern (for the theory that *ḳānūnnāmes* follow no set pattern, see Ö. L. Barkan, *op. cit.*, liv-lxiii). The first three chapters contain criminal clauses applicable to both Muslim and non-Muslim *reʿāyā*. The arrangement of the subject matter is the same as in *fiḳh* books. In particular, it fixes the amounts of fines due to the *ʿaskerī* class from the *reʿāyā* (see İnalcık, *Osmanlı hukukuna giriş*, 117; U. Heyd, *op. cit.*, 7-18; text edited by Fr. Kraelitz, in *MOG*, i (1921-22), 13-48; cf. İnalcık, *Osmanlılarda raiyyet rüsûmu*, in *Belleten*, xxiii/92, 576-78). Added to the end of the third chapter are the rates of some other taxes levied by *ḳāḍī*'s decree (see Kraelitz, *op. cit.*, clauses 11-18).

The fourth chapter of the *reʿāyā ḳānūnnāme* lists the regular taxes which the *reʿāyā* pay to the *sipāhī*s. It comprises seven sections based on the seven duties which the *reʿāyā* have to perform for the *sipāhī*s and gives fixed taxes in lieu of these services (see Inalcik, *op. cit.*). This section again follows a clear pattern. It deals first of all with Muslim *reʿāyā* liable to *cift* [*q.v.*] tax. Then a separate section shows the organisation and obligations of the *yürük*s (*ḳānūn-i yürükān*) who were exempted from all services. The next section shows taxes paid by Christian *reʿāyā* liable to the *ispendje* (see Inalcik, *Osmanlilarda raiyyet rüsumu*, 602-8). The final section lists the *bādj* taxes, payable in town markets (Kraelitz, *op. cit.*, clauses 9-28) and applicable to both Christians and Muslims.

In general, Ottoman *ḳānūnnāmes* were systematically drawn up according to the logic of the Ottoman tax and administrative system. Only *ḳānūn*s added later went contrary to the system. The four chapters in the *ḳānūnnāme* of Meḥemmed the Conqueror, setting out taxes and relations between *reʿāyā* and *sipāhī*s, follow the same system as the *sandjaḳ ḳānūnnāmes* and *taḥrīr* registers. These list, in turn, *čift* tax and similar imports, tithes (*aʿshār*), orchard tax, beehive tax and the like, then taxes paid on animals and, lastly, fines (*djerāʾim*) and irregular taxes (*bād-i havā*). Some *sandjaḳ ḳānūnnāmes*, like the *ḳānūnnāme* of Meḥemmed the Conqueror, contain a supplement showing *bādj* taxes (cf. the *ḳānūnnāme* of Aydln in Barkan, *op. cit.*, 6-18).

Most Ottoman *ḳānūnnāme*s can be classified, according to their form, under four main headings:

1. *Ḳānūnnāmes* in the form of decrees of the Sulṭān

These were issued as *fermān*s or *berāt*s in answer to particular administrative problems or needs, and required governors and *ḳāḍī*s to put them into immediate effect. Most of them are in genuine *ḳānūnnāme* form and contain a number of clauses on a specific topic. Complete or abridged copies existed in official registers in the capital or in *ḳāḍī*s' registers in the provinces. Valid official copies of the decrees could be issued from these sources (see *Belleten*, xi/44 (1947), 693-703).

It is likely that such *ḳānūn*s in the form of decrees were collected in book form to meet the needs of secretaries. The oldest known collection dates from the reign of Bāyezīd II (see R. Anhegger and H. İnalcık (eds.), *Ḳānūnnāme-yi sulṭānī ber mūceb-i ʿörf-i ʿoṣmānī*, Ankara 1956. Other important collections, dating from the 10th/16th century are as follows: Library of the Topkapı Sarayı, MSS. Revan Nos. 1935, 1936; Istanbul University Library, MS No. T. 2753; British Museum, MS Or. No. 9503; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ancien fonds turc, MSS Nos. 34, 85; Sarajevo, Orientalni Institut, MS Turcica No. 3; Istanbul Bayezid Library, MS Veliyüddin No. 1970; Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, MS Reîsülküttâb, No. 1085).

2. *Sandjaḳ ḳānūnnāmes*

The government of Ilkhānid Iran maintained separate registers showing taxes and regulations for each region, known as *Ḳānūn-i mamlakat*. The custom, no doubt, went back via the ʿAbbāsids to ancient Iran. The Ottomans continued to practice with their regional *vilāyet* or *sandjaḳ* (*livāʾ*) *ḳānūnnāmes*.

These *ḳānūnnāme*s were confirmed by the Sulṭān's cipher (*ṭughra*, [*q.v.*]) and placed at the beginning of the detailed (*mufaṣṣal*) cadastral registers of each province. They existed for provinces where the system of state (*mīrī*) lands and *timars* [*q.v.*] was in force, with the primary aim of preventing and settling disputes between the *reʿāyā* and the timar-holders.

They were like the *Ḳānūnnāme*s in the form of decrees in that they were official and in force at a particular date. The *beylerbeyi*s' councils and *ḳāḍī*'s courts had to give judgement in accordance with these codes.

The arrangement of clauses in Ottoman *sandjaḳ ḳānūnnāmes* follows a specific pattern (see above).

Sandjaḳ ḳānūnnāmes followed well-defined principles in the formulation of *reʿāyā* taxes and land laws. These principles probably took on the character of a system in the first half of the 9th/15th century, or perhaps a little earlier and, under the title *ḳānūn-i ʿothmānī*, displayed the peculiarities of the Ottoman régime (see İnalcık, *Suleiman the Lawgiver*, in *Archivum Ottomanicum*, i (1969), 128-35). Meḥemmed the Conqueror was the first to have these principles codified in his *reʿāyā ḳānūnnāme* which was to be enforced throughout the Empire. Apart from occasional legal clauses, obviously summarized from

ḳānūns in the form of decrees, the detailed cadastral registers from Meḥemmed the Conqueror's reign contain no *sandjaḳ ḳānūnnāmes*. The oldest surviving *sandjaḳ ḳānūnnāme* is that of Khudāvendigār (Bursa), dated 892/1487 (see Barkan, *op. cit.*, 1-6).

The practice of placing at the front of the detailed cadastral surveys for each *sandjaḳ*, separate *ḳānūnnāmes* showing the *ḳānūns* in force in the *sandjaḳ*, dates from Bāyezīd II's reign. The Khudāvendigār *ḳānūnnāme* of 892/1487 appears to be a model for later ones. Some *sandjaḳ ḳānūnnāmes* have been collected and published (Barkan, *op. cit.*, contains about 80 *sandjaḳ ḳānūnnāmes*. Other collections are J. von Hammer, *Des osmanischen Reichs Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung*, i, Vienna 1815; *Kanūn-i kanun-name*, Monumenta Turcica, series I, No. 1, Sarajevo 1957).

Since Ottoman Law was in general based on precedent, it is possible to divide *sandjaḳ ḳānūnnāmes* into related groups based on chronology and geography. Taking the rate of taxation as a basis, we find that the *ḳānūnnāmes* from the *eyālet* of Anadolu in western Anatolia form a group with the *ḳānūnnāme* of Khudāvendigār. Central Anatolia—Ḳaramān, Ičel and Anḳara—forms a second category, similar to the first, whereas the *sandjaḳs* of eastern Anatolia—Malātya, Diyārbekir, Erẓurūm, Muṣul, Khārpūt and Mārdīn—and Syria form two separate groups.

The Rumelian *sandjaḳ ḳānūnnāmes* form a special group. Here clauses from the typical *ḳānūn-i ʿothmānī* co-exist with Byzantine and Slav customary law and institutions. A number of laws are based entirely on pre-Ottoman practice: the *bashtina* as a unit of land and the *ispendje* [*q.v.*] as a *reʿāyā* tax; the taxes on hay and wood derived from Balkan feudalism and the grain levy of two measures of wheat and two of barley. Other taxes on wine production—barrel tax, *obručuna* and *monopolya ʿādeti*—again ante-date Ottoman rule. The Rumelian *ḳānūnnāmes* also contain clauses relating to groups such as the *yürüks*, *müsellems*, *voynuks*, Vlachs, Tatars and *filoridjis*. Another peculiarity of Rumelian *ḳānūnnāmes* is that side-by-side with typical *sandjaḳ ḳānūnnāmes* regulating affairs between the *reʿāyā* and *sipāhīs* (e.g. the 977/1569 *ḳānūnnāme* of Silistra, in Barkan, *op. cit.*, 278-89), there are others regulating affairs between members of the *ʿaskerī* class only (e.g. the *ḳānūnnāme* of Nighbolu (Nikopol) in Barkan, *op. cit.*, 267-71).

The *sandjaḳ ḳānūnnāmes* for Hungary are modelled on other 10th/16th century Rumelian *ḳānūnnāmes*, except that certain taxes and laws were retained from the days of the Hungarian kingdom. It thus becomes obvious that, after the conquest of an area, the Ottomans adopted the *sandjaḳ ḳānūnnāmes* of adjoining regions as a model for the newly-conquered lands. Differences arose from the survival of certain local laws and taxes and from changes in Ottoman law which occurred at certain dates. However, it is important to realise that the principles of the *ḳānūn-i ʿothmānī* always applied to questions of land ownership and the status of the peasantry.

3. *Ḳānūnnāmes* relating to specific groups

These can be treated in the same category as *ḳānūnnāmes* of provinces. Special *ḳānūnnāmes* were usually issued for *reʿāyā* groups serving the state in a particular capacity (see İnalcık, *Osmanlılarda raiyyet rüsûmu*, 295-300). These were principally groups performing auxiliary military service, the most important of which were *yaya* and *müsellem* (for *ḳānūnnāme*, see Barkan, *op. cit.*, 241-2, 259), *djānbāz* (for *ḳānūnnāme*, *ibid.*, 247-8), *eshkindji yürük* and *eshkindji tatar* (for *ḳānūnnāmes*, see M. T. Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de yürükler, tatarlar ve evlâd-i fâtihan*, Istanbul 1957), Vlachs (*eflāk*) (for *ḳānūnnāmes*, see B. Đurđev and others (eds.), *Ḳānūn-i ḳānūnnāme*, Sarajevo 1957, 12-14; N. Beldiceanu and I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Quatre actes de Mehmed II concernant les valaques des Balkans slaves*, Südost-Forschungen, xxiv, 1965, 115) and *voynuk* (for *ḳānūnnāme*, see *Osmanische-Türkische Quellen zur Bulgarischer Geschichte*, iii, Sofia 1943).

The *Ḳānūnnāmes* of these groups make it clear that their organisation was on the pattern of an auxiliary military corps, and that they were all, therefore, liable to tax exemptions (see İnalcık, *Osmanlılarda raiyyet rüsûmu*, 594-601). In the 9th/15th century these groups had *ʿaskerī* status, but as their military importance declined in the 10th/16th century, they descended to *reʿāyā* status and became subject no longer to their own, but to ordinary *sandjaḳ ḳānūnnāmes*.

Secondly, certain groups engaged in production for the state had their own *ḳānūnnāmes*, for example the rice-field workers (*čeltükči*) (for *ḳānūnnāme*, see Library of the Topkapı sarayı, Revan no. 1936) and the miners (*maʿdendji*) (for *ḳānūnnāmes*, see R. Anhegger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Bergbaus im osmanischen Reich*, 2 parts and supplement, Istanbul 1943-5; N. Beldiceanu, *Les actes des premiers sultans*, ii, *Règlements miniers*, 1390-1572, Paris-The Hague 1964). Most of the miners' *ḳānūnnāmes* are translations of local, pre-Ottoman statutes. Prisoners-of-war settled in a particular place (*ortaḳčï ḳullar*) occupied a special position among these groups (see Barkan, *Osmanlı imperatorluğunun toprak işçiliğinin organizasyonu şekilleri*, in *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, i/1-3). Similarly, the gipsies of Rumelia were subject to their own *ḳānūnnāme* (Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 249-50).

4. *Ḳānūnnāmes* relating to state organisations

These form a third category. Meḥemmed II's *ḳānūnnāme* dealing with state organisations (see M. ʿĀrif [ed.], in *TOEM* supplement, Istanbul 1330; A. S. Tveritonova [ed.], *Badāʾiʿ al-Waḳāʾiʿ*, ii, Moscow 1961, 277b-283b) states at the beginning that it was written to regulate the affairs of the sultanate. Its pattern follows the logic of the Ottoman system of government, dealing in one place with matters of the Palace, government and protocol. Its claims deal in turn with the form of government, its notables and their sphere of authority, their relationship with the Sultan, their ranks and degrees, promotion, salary, retirement and punishment. Meḥemmed II's *ḳānūnnāme* is the only one of this type. Later Sultans did issue regulations for state organisations, but they are not comprehensive. Later *ḳānūnnāmes* and regulations on this topic are the compilations of statesmen and bureaucrats (among the most important are ʿAynī ʿAlī Efendi, *Ḳawānīn-i āl-i ʿOthmān der khulāṣa-yi meḍāmīn-i defter-i dīwān*, Istanbul 1280; the *ḳānūnnāme* of Nishāndjī ʿAbdurraḥmān Pasha, in *MTM* i/5 [1331], 494-544; the *ḳānūnnāme* of Eyyūbī Efendi, Istanbul University Library, MS T 734; Hezārfenn Ḥüseyn Efendi, *Talkhīṣ al-bayān fī ḳawānīn-i āl-i ʿOthmān*; see H. Wurm, *Der osmanische Historiker Ḥüseyn b. Ğaʿfer, genannt Hezārfenn*, Freiburg 1971; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı (ed.), *Ḳānūn-i ʿothmānī mefhūm-i defter-i khāḳānī*, in *Belleten*, xv/59 (1951), 381-99, and a longer version of this work, H. Hadzibegič, *Rasprava Ali čauša . . .*, in *Glasnik zemaljskog Muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini*, ii, Sarajevo 1947, 146-73).

The Ottoman archives, however, contain the

manuscripts of several official *ḳānūnnāmes* dealing with ceremonial (Istanbul, Başvekâlet Arşivi, Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi, *Teşrifât defterleri*), and there are also works written by officials concerned with ceremonial (e.g. Nāʾilī ʿAbdullāh Pas̲h̲a, *Defter-i tes̲h̲rīfāt*, Turkish Historical Society Library, MS no. Y 49, published in part in *TOEM*, xvi, 249-60; Esʿad Efendi, *Teshrīfāt-i ḳadīme*, Istanbul 1293; see also *Ḳānūnnāme-yi tes̲h̲rīfāt*, Istanbul University Library, MS T 220).

Some of the works written to recommend reforms or as handbooks for Sultans or Grand Viziers contain detailed facts about *ḳānūns* relating to state organisations (e.g. Luṭfī Pas̲h̲a, *Kitāb-i musteṭāb*, ed. Yaşar Yücel, Ankara 1974; *Ḥirz al-Mulūk*, MS. Library of the Topkapı Sarayı, Revan 1612; see K. Röhrborn, *Untersuchungen zur osmanischen Verwaltungsgeschichte*, Berlin 1973; Ḳoči Beg, *Risāle*, ed. A. K. Aksüt, Istanbul 1239; Ṣarī Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a, *Naṣāʾiḥ al-umarāʾ waʾl-wuzarāʾ*, ed. and tr. W. L. Wright, Princeton 1935. Works concerning Palace statutes and organisation: Meḥmed K̲h̲alīfe, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i g̲h̲ilmānī*, in *TOEM*, supplement, 1340; Ilyās, *Leṭāʾif-i enderūn*; A. ʿAṭāʾ, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i ʿAṭāʾ*, Istanbul 1291-3).

There are also *ḳānūnnāmes* for particular aspects of state organisation, the *Ḳawānīn-i yeničeriyān* (Library of the Topkapı Sarayı, MS Revan no. 1320; Istanbul University Library, MS no. T 3293), for example, dealing with the Janissaries. There are other *ḳānūns* and *ḳānūnnāmes* dealing with *timars*, treasury affairs, *muḳāṭaʿas*, customs, the mint, currency, the *ḳapī ḳullarī*, the *ʿulamāʾ*, cadastral surveys, military campaigns etc. (See Library of the Topkapı Sarayı, MSS Revan nos. 1935, 1936, Bagdad no. 346; Süleymaniye Library, Reîsülküttâb no. 1004, Esʿad Efendi no. 2362, Bayezid Library, Veliyüddin Nos. 1969, 1970; Şehid Ali Paşa, no. 3832; Istanbul University Library MS no. T 1438; Âtıf Efendi Library, Istanbul, no. 1734; Staatsbibliothek, Vienna, Mixt. 478, H. O. 154; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, ancien fonds turc, nos. 35, 85; Westdeutsche Staatsbibliothek, Marburg, Orient No. 2730; Staatsbibliothek, Munich, cod. turc. nos. 117, 118).

5. *General ḳānūnnāmes*

This type of *ḳānūnnāme* was in force throughout the Empire. Meḥemmed II's *reʿāyā ḳānūnnāme* formed the nucleus of the codes of the following Sultans. This *Ḳānūnnāme* was promulgated under Bāyezīd II in *ca.* 907/1501 in a much enlarged and modified version, under the title *Kitāb-i ḳawānīn-i ʿurfiyye-yi ʿot̲h̲māniyye* (Koyunoglu MS facsimile edition, N. Beldiceaneu, *Code de lois coutumières de Mehmed II*, Wiesbaden 1967). It contains the amendments of Hersekzāde Aḥmed Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] and forms the basis of the *ḳānūnnāme* later attributed to Sulaymān I (see İnalcık, *Adâletnâmeler*, 56; *Suleiman the Lawgiver*, 117-26; U. Heyd, *ibid.*, 18-24). Their introduction and chapter headings are identical. It falls into three large chapters. The first chapter is a version of Meḥemmed II's criminal code, extended and further systematized (Koyunoğlu MS, 1-9; M. ʿĀrif's edition, *TOEM* supplement, 1-10). The second chapter deals with the obligations of the *sipāhī* and laws affecting the *sipāhī* class. It then describes the *sipāhī*'s rights over the *reʿāyā* in their capacity of *ṣāhib-i raʿiyyet* and *ṣāḥib-i arḍ* and the taxes which they received. This chapter also contains a *bād̲j̲ ḳānūn* related to *k̲h̲āṣṣ* and *timar* incomes, and a supplementary *ḳānūnnāme* for *yayas* and *müsellems*. The third chapter deals with the rights and obligations of the *reʿāyā* and the conditions of land tenure. Following this are special *ḳānūnnāmes* for *reʿāyā* groups performing military duties and subject to special statutes—*ʿazab*, *yürük*, *haymana* and *eflāk*. To conclude there are two special *ḳānūns* obviously issued during the compilation of the *ḳānūnnāme*. One concerns illegal innovations (*bidʿat*) in Ḳonya, abrogated for contravening the *ḳānūn-i ʿot̲h̲mānī*. The other contains regulations for collecting Palace firewood.

The compilation of the *ḳānūnnāme* seems to have followed this pattern. To start with, it makes large scale borrowings from the K̲h̲udāvendigār *ḳānūnnāme* of 892/1487, and similarly from the *ḳānūnnāmes* of the *sand̲j̲aḳs* of Anadolu, Ḳarāmān and Rūm (Amasya). It also has frequent references to the *ḳānūnnāmes* of frontier *sand̲j̲aḳs* such as Vidir and Semendere (Smederovo) in Rumelia, obviously because laws outside the *ḳānūn-i ʿot̲h̲mānī* were current in these regions. Clauses from the cadastral register of Semendere were added directly to the *ḳānūnnāme* (see İnalcık, *Suleiman the Lawgiver*, 120). Tax laws had a regional character, and for this reason the *ḳānūnnāme* contains no general regulations on the subject. It was rather in the fields of land law, *timar* holdings and criminal law that the *ḳānūnnāme* was of universal application.

Newly-issued *ḳānūns* in the form of decrees and new *sand̲j̲aḳ ḳānūns* led to later modifications and re-issues of this *ḳānūnnāme* in the names of the Sultans following Bāyezīd II. Although Selīm I's *ḳānūnnāme* (for various versions see A. S. Tveritinova, *Kniga zakonov Sultan Selima I*, Moscow 1969) has not been widely publicised, the later version promulgated under Sulaymān I has received widespread attention (for copies see U. Heyd, *op. cit.*, 24-32). In this period the *nis̲h̲ānd̲j̲ī* D̲j̲elālzāde made important changes in the general *ḳānūnnāmes*, and a number of manuscripts contain *ḳānūns* collected under his name (*e.g.*, Süleymaniye Library, Reîsülküttap no. 1004). During the era of decline following the 10th/16th century, the *ḳānūnnāme* of Sulaymān I came to be idealised as the foundation of the classical Ottoman régime (see İnalcık, *Suleiman the Lawgiver*, 105; Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, v, 101). Nevertheless, the decay of the *tīmār* régime made much of it obsolete and in the 11th/17th century a new *ḳānūnnāme* replaced it, called *ḳānūnnāme-yi d̲j̲edīd-i sulṭānī*. This was a detailed compilation widely used in Ottoman courts of the period. (There is no critical study of this text. Most versions end with a *fermān* dated 1084/1673 concerning taxes such as tithes (*ʿus̲h̲r*)—cf. *MTM*, i, 330. Some versions are shorter. One version, with additions, is printed: *MTM*, i, 49-112, 305-48. Other important versions: Istanbul University Library MSS T 398, 400, 475, 969, 2664, 2730, 3586, 4107, 5828, 5845, 5846, 9623, 9550, 9737; Bursa Public Library, no. 1996; Library of the Topkapı Palace, Bağdad no. 347, 404; Istanbul, Millet Library, Fatih, Ali Emiri no. 72, 76, 80; Tirana National Library no. 154 ff. 27-67; Vienna, Staatsarchiv, Krafft no. 470; Vienna, Staatsbibliothek, Flügel no. 149, ff. 1-43; Munich, Staatsbibliothek, cod. turc. nos. 113, 114, 115; Marburg, Westdeutsche Staatsbibliothek, Hs.or. quart. nos. 1023, 1102, 1835, Hs. Or. oct. nos. 809, 843, 892; Sofia, National Library, Turkish MSS 1332/166, facsimile edition by G. Galabov, *Turski Izvori ...*, Sofia 1961, 167-200; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, E. Blochet, supplement, 68, 71, 78, 79, 1311; British Museum, Rieu Add. 7834, 7840; Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Fatih no. 5424; Konya, Koyunoğlu Museum, nos. 12337, 11337, 12396, 12334, 12395; Ankara, Library of the Turkish Historical Society, Y 321, 325, 396).

The definite compilation of this *Ḳānūnnāme* dates from 1084/1673, obviously as an answer to the new problems of the age of decline, in particular to land problems. *Ḳānūn*s which the *nis̲h̲āndji̊* Djelālzāde formulated in the classical age, and others formulated by Nis̲h̲andji̊ Ḥamza Pas̲h̲a, the author of many reforming *ḳānūn*s in the late 16th century, occupy a large part of this *ḳānūnnāme*. Similarly, *ḳānūn*s promulgated between the years 1012/1603 and 1019/1610 are among the new features of this *ḳānūnnāme* which also makes mention of a *Ḳānūnnāme-yi Sulṭān Aḥmed K̲h̲ān*. Another important point distinguishes it from earlier collections. This is the inclusion from the time of Aḥmed I, of *müftīs*' *fetvā*s on topics previously dealt with by the *nis̲h̲āndji̊*s, in particular problems of land law and sometimes the law concerning *sipāhī*s (see *MTM*, i, 320). The compiler obviously drew them mainly from the *fetvā* collections of Pīr Meḥmed [*q.v.*] (see *Ẓāhir al-Ḳuḍat*, MS, Library of the Topkapı Sarayı, Revan no. 1938; Süleymaniye, Esad Efendi, no. 1094; for details of the work see, Heyd, *op. cit.*, 189-90), S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ ül-Islām Yaḥyā (there are many copies of his *fetvā* collection, e.g. Süleymaniye, Esad Efendi, no. 1088; Beşir Ağa no. 332) and S̲h̲eyk̲h̲ ül-Islām Bahāʾī (one copy of his *fetvā* collection, Library of the Topkapı Sarayı, Revan no. 1938, ff. 151-166).

The *ḳānūnnāme-yi djedīd* differed from the *ḳānūnnāme*s of the classical age which *nis̲h̲andji̊*s prepared and the Sultan ratified, and which contained only *ʿurfī ḳānūn*s [see ḲĀNŪN].

It has been claimed that none of the general *ḳānūnnāme*s was an official code to be enforced in the courts and offices of state (see Barkan, *Kanunlar*, i, xx-xxxiv; *Osmanlı imperatorluğu teşkilât ve müesseselerinin şerʿîliği meselesi*, in *Istanbul Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Mecmuası*, xi/3-4 (1945), 214-15; art. *Ḳanunname*, in *İA*). It is true that the law valid for a particular subject at a particular date was always the most recent imperial *fermān* or a clause in the latest *sandjaḳ ḳānūnnāme*. Nevertheless, the *ḳānūnnāme*s showing all the laws current in the courts and *beylerbeyi*s' councils at a specific period were a source and reference book for official decisions. Clauses in the general *ḳānūnnāme*s requiring amendment were either entered directly by the *ḳāḍī* or *beylerbeyi*, or sent for correction to the *nis̲h̲āndji̊* in the capital (see İnalcık, *Suleiman the Lawgiver*, 120-3). However, it should not be forgotten that *ḳāḍī*s were as free to give decisions in accordance with unratified *ḳānūnnāme*s in their possession as they were in accordance with *s̲h̲arʿī fiḳh* books. There are thousands of surviving *ḳānūnnāme*s which previously belonged to *ḳāḍī*s or clerks of court. On rare occasions, these officials arranged the legal clauses under chapters and sub-headings according to their personal system (e.g. Istanbul University Library, MS T. 1807). Several types of general *ḳānūnnāme* have survived. The 10th/16th century documents make it abundantly clear that these *ḳānūnnāme*s intended as general penal codes for the whole Empire were promulgated by the central government as official codes whose application in the courts was compulsory (see İnalcık, *Suleiman the Lawgiver*, 115, 117; U. Heyd, *op. cit.*, 171-80). An official *ḳānūnnāme*, whose application was enforced (*maʿmūlün bihi*) remained in the possession of the *reʾīsülküttāb* as a reference work for the correction of other *ḳānūnnāme*s or for transactions and the drawing up of documents in the *dīwān* (Barkan, *Kanunlar*, i, 32). *Ḳāḍī*s entered the official *ḳānūnnāme*s into official registers and were henceforth bound to act in accordance with them. The introductions to the codes of Meḥmed II, Bāyezīd II and Sulaymān I state that their publication was a decree of the Sultan, and that their application was compulsory. The expressions *maʿmūlün bihi* or *muʿtabar* are used to make this clear.

The concept of an official code in the sense of European legal terminology entered the Ottoman Empire in the 13th/19th century. In this century European legal concepts predominated in the codification and promulgation of *ḳānūnnāme*s, *niẓāmnāme*s and even of the *Medjelle* [*q.v.*] [see also TANZĪMĀT]. This influence, apparent already in the military statutes of Selīm III's reign, grew stronger in the codes of the *tanẓīmāt* epoch. Some of these are direct translations of European laws (see Hıfzı Veldet, *Kanunlaştırma hareketleri ve Tanzimat*, in *Tanzimat*, i, Istanbul 1940, 139-209; *Dustūr, tertīb-i evvel*, Istanbul 1279; Aristarchi Bey, *Législation Ottomane*, Istanbul 1873-4).

Bibliography (in addition to works cited in the article): Ö. L. Barkan, *Osmanlı imperatorluğunda zirai ekonominin hukuki ve malî esasları*, i: *Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943; H. İnalcık, *Osmanlı hukukuna giriş*, in *Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi*, xiii (1958); idem, *Suleiman the Lawgiver and Ottoman law*, in *Archivum Ottomanicum*, i (1969), 105-38; U. Heyd, *Studies in Old Ottoman criminal law*, ed. V. L. Ménage, Oxford 1973; N. Beldiceanu, *Les actes des premiers sultans conservés dans les manuscrits turcs de la Bibliothèque Nationale à Paris*, Paris-The Hague 1960-4. (H. İNALCIK)

KANURI. The name Kanuri, applied to both a language and to a people, appears to be of recent origin. The earliest known written occurrence is in the 18th century. The Kanuri language belongs apparently to the Teda-Daza group, mainly located east of Lake Chad. The most recent hypothesis is that Kanembu, the language of Kanem [*q.v.*], evolved from various older Daza languages, as speakers of these moved south into Kanem; and that Kanuri in turn developed, partly through the influence upon Kanembu of languages of the Chadic family spoken west of Lake Chad, among Kanembu-speakers as these gradually moved southwest into Bornū. Kanembu is still regarded as the classical language of *tafsīr* [*q.v.*] in Bornū. The Kanuri language achieved widespread importance through the political power of Bornū, the Islamic prestige of that state, and its position at the southern end of the ancient trans-Saharan highway to Tripoli.

The Kanuri people have undergone a similar development. Traditions speak of Sayf b. D̲h̲ī Yazan [*q.v.*], the great Arab folk hero, becoming leader of the Magumi nomads, and of the Magumi gradually establishing their ascendancy over a number of other groups in the Kanem region. The emergence of some form of organized state, embracing disparate groups, in Kanem, which may be assigned to the 9th or 10th centuries A.D., is now seen less as the result of the imposition of rule by nomad immigrants upon disorganized local peoples than as the interaction between nomadic and settled. Early Sefawa rulers, *i.e.*, reputed descendants of the perhaps legendary Sayf, who are probably more accurately to be regarded as heads of the Sefawa lineage of the Magumi clan, married women of various groups which were later to help make up the Kanuri, and the children of these non-Magumi women succeeded to the kingship, which was of the "divine" pattern. Sedentarisation advanced; the first towns in Kanem are mentioned in the 12th century.

Whether the name Kanuri may properly be used of the people of Kanem at this stage is a moot point, though many recent authorities do so. The further movement of people into Bornū, the region southwest of Lake Chad, had apparently begun early. Both Ibn Khaldūn and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa knew the name Bornū; and in the 1390s the ruler of Kanem and his court themselves fled into Bornū, driven from Kanem by their rivals, the Balula [*q.v.*]. Gradually Bornū, rather than Kanem, became the centre of gravity in the area, following this exodus; even when the old Kanem capital, Njimi, was recaptured in the 15th century, the Sefawa never returned to settle there. In Bornū, a remarkable process of amalgamation went on, facilitated by the absence of natural boundaries, and involving immigrants from Kanem, the local peoples (loosely called the So or Sao [*q.v.*], nomadic arrivals and others, and large numbers of slaves from various quarters. From this melting pot came the Kanuri proper, far more homogeneous by the 18th century that they had been in the 15th. The process of assimilation continues until today: the outward sign of it is the adoption of the Kanuri language. The Kanuri are thus, like the Hausa [*q.v.*], less a tribe in the customary sense than a group of people of diverse origins bound together by a common language. When, early in the 19th century, Shaykh Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Kānemī [*q.v.*] rescued Bornū from the threat of the Fulani [see FULBE] *djihād*, his chief reliance was upon his Kanembu troops, and these were quite distinct from the Kanuri of Bornū.

The Lake Chad area has from a very early date benefited from the trans-Saharan route running north through Kawar and Fazzān [*qq.v.*] to Tripoli. Slaves were the principal export. Al-Yaʿḳūbī [*q.v.*], in the 3rd/9th century, refers to Zawīla, then the centre of Fazzān, where slave traders even from Asia were already established. Al-Iṣṭakhrī [*q.v.*] in the 4th/10th century contrasts the slaves passing through Zawīla with those from eastern Africa, the Zandj [*q.v.*] among them, and finds those from the Central Sudan blacker and better than all the others. It is likely that the slave revolt in ʿIrāḳ, in the late 3rd/9th century, particularly associated with Zandj slaves, may have occasioned a reaction in Middle Eastern markets in favour of other varieties. Al-Bakrī [*q.v.*] in the 5th/11th century mentions slave exports from Fazzān. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa comments upon the excellent slave girls from Bornū, its eunuchs (*fityān*) and saffron-dyed fabrics. Leo Africanus [*q.v.*] gives an interesting description of trade in Bornū at the beginning of the 10th/16th century, Barbary merchants bringing horses for the king in exchange for slaves. Trade in slaves and other commodities continued until the end of the 19th century.

Islamic penetration in the Chad region came from the north, along the trade route. ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ [*q.v.*] reached Kawar in 46/666-7. Al-Bakrī mentions the descendants of Umayyad refugees living in Kanem; legends of the Umayyad diaspora are, however, frequent, and should not always be taken seriously. The first Muslim ruler, or *mai*, among the Sefawa was Humai, probably in the late 5th/11th century. Al-Maḳrīzī [*q.v.*], on the contrary, affirms that Dunama Dibbalemi, the famous 7th/13th century *mai*, under whom the Kanem empire reached its peak, was the first convert. Dunama Dibbalemi is said to have opened the *mune*, or sacred talisman, of Kanem, thus precipitating civil strife; it is possible, though the evidence is scanty, that he was trying to reform local Islam, hitherto too tolerant of non-Islamic survivals. Several *mais* made the pilgrimage, among them Humai's successor (also named Dunama), who went twice to Mecca and was drowned on his third journey. In the 1240s, perhaps during the reign of Dunama Dibbalemi, a hostel for pilgrims and students from Kanem was established in Cairo. It is likely that two *mais* in the 8th/14th century were pilgrims. Idris Alooma, towards the end of the 10th/16th century, renewed the tradition, which flourished particularly in the 11th/17th and 18th centuries.

After the shift to Bornū, the Kanuri began to influence their western neighbours, the Hausa. The Hausa words for writing and reading, as well as for gun, city wall, market, and a number of other key elements, are borrowed from Arabic through Kanuri, or from Kanuri itself. Constitutional patterns also spread; the title *galadima*, for example, originally the governor of the western provinces of Bornū, was adopted in Sokoto, and may be found in places as distant as Fazzān and Adamawa. At the time of the Fulani *djihād*, Kanuri Islam was harshly criticized by Fulani critics, but Sultan Bello of Sokoto nevertheless admitted that the earlier rulers had been good and devout Muslims, many among them pilgrims.

Kanuri-speakers are found in various adjacent areas, such as Mandara, Baghirmi and Kawar. In Kawar, frequented also by Tubu and Tuareg, Kanuri provide most of the *ʿulamāʾ*.

For further details, particularly on the later history of Bornū, see the article BORNŪ.

Bibliography: H. Barth, *Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa*, 5 vols., London 1857-8, the earliest extended and scholarly account of a European visitor, though preceding travellers, such as Denham and Clapperton, also provide valuable observations; R. Cohen, *The Kanuri of Bornu*, New York 1967, an anthropological account; J. H. Greenberg, *The influence of Kanuri upon Hausa*, in *Journal of African History* (1960), a brief linguistic study; J. E. Lavers, *Islam in the Bornu Caliphate*, in *Odu: A Journal of West African Studies* (April 1971) co-published by Oxford University Press; A. M.-D. Lebeuf, *Les Populations du Tchad*, Paris 1959; J. Lukas, *A Study of the Kanuri Language*, London 1937; B. G. Martin, *Kanem, Bornu and the Fazzan: notes on the political history of a trade route*, in *Journal of African History* (1969); G. Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, 3 vols., repr. Graz 1967, with an English translation now in process; H. R. Palmer, *Bornu, Sahara and Sudan*, London 1936; idem, *The First Twelve Years of the Reign of Mai Idris Alooma*, Lagos 1926; idem, *Sudanese Memoirs*, reprinted London 1967: all three books containing much valuable historical source material in translation; Abdullahi Smith, *The early states of the Central Sudan*, in J. F. A. Ajayi and M. Crowder (eds.), *History of West Africa*, i, London 1972, the best modern statement, with many references; Y. Urvoy, *Histoire de l'Empire du Bornou*, Paris 1949.

(H. FISHER)

KANZ, BANU 'L (AWLĀD AL-KANZ), a clan descended from Rabīʿa tribesmen who migrated to the region of Aswān in the 3rd/9th century, intermarried with Bedja [*q.v.*], and ultimately gained control of the gold-mines of al-ʿAllāḳī [*q.v.*]. The eponym of the clan, whose personal name was Abu ʾl-Makārim Hibat Allāh, received in 397/1007 from the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim [*q.v.*] the honorific of Kanz al-Dawla for his services in capturing the rebel Abū Rakwa. The title continued to be borne by his successors. As marcher-chiefs of the frontier of Islam

with the Bedja and Nubians, the Banu ʾl-Kanz were not easily controlled by the rulers in Cairo. Both Badr al-Djamālī [*q.v.*] and al-ʿĀdil Sayf al-Dīn [*q.v.*] undertook operations against them in 469/1076-7 and 570/1174 respectively. During the Ayyūbid and early Mamlūk periods, the clan extended its power southwards into the Nubian kingdom of al-Muḳurra, which was (after 717/1317) ruled for a time by a Kanz al-Dawla. With the subsequent disintegration of al-Muḳurra, Banu ʾl-Kanz appear to have directed their energies again northwards. In the late 8th/14th and early 9th/15th centuries they fought repeatedly against the Mamlūk governors of Aswān, and devastated the town and its vicinity. Their domination was countered only by another tribe, Hawwāra [*q.v.*], a fraction of which was established in Upper Egypt by Barḳūḳ [*q.v.*], *ca.* 782/1380-1. The arabized Nubian tribe of Kunāz, living between Aswān and Kurūskū (with some branches also in the Sudan), claims descent from Banu ʾl-Kanz.

Bibliography: al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Bayān wa ʾl-iʿrāb ʿammā bi-arḍ Miṣr min al-Aʿrāb*, ed. ʿAbd al-Madjīd ʿĀbidīn, Cairo 1961, 44-6; idem, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, under notice of Aswān; H. A. MacMichael, *A history of the Arabs in the Sudan*, Cambridge 1922, i, 148-51, ii, 99-100; Y. F. Ḥasan, *The Arabs and the Sudan*, Edinburgh 1967, index. (P. M. Holt)

KAPAN [see ISTANBUL, MĪZĀN].

ḲAPĪ, literally "gate" in Turkish, which by extension means "Ottoman Porte", that is, the sultan's palace, and is also used for the grand vizier's palace and the seat of government. The word *ḳapī* was used concurrently with the Arabic *bāb* (*e.g.*, *bāb-ī ʿālī* [*q.v.*]) and the Persian *dar/der* (*e.g.*, *der-i devlet*, *der-i ʿāliye*, *der-i seʿādet*). It appears, however, that in Ottoman the word *ḳapī*, unlike *bāb* and *der*, was rarely used with a non-Turkish epithet or determinative. On the other hand, it is very frequently employed to designate military or civil functions directly subordinate to the "Porte", *e.g.*, *ḳapī ḳullarī*, literally "slaves of the Porte", that is, the sultan's troops, and *ḳapī kethüdasī*, or *ḳapī kāhyasī*, an agent "close to the Porte" of a high dignitary of an Ottoman subject or vassal.

From 1654, the grand vizier lived in a private palace, separate from the imperial *saray*, where more and more frequently meetings of the *dīwān* were held. This palace, known as the *pasha ḳapīsī* (shortened to *ḳapī*), was later called the *bāb-ī ʿālī* (the Sublime Porte), and represented the effective seat of government. Westerners, however, confused the sultan's palace, the Ottoman court and even the Ottoman state, calling them all by the name of Porte. The expression was current in Iṣfahān in the form *ʿālī ḳapū*.

Bibliography: J. von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung ...*, ii, 44, 137-8; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtına medhal*, Istanbul 1941, passim; idem, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtından kapukulu ocakları*, 2 vols., Ankara 1943-4; idem, *Osmanlı devletin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, *passim*. (R. Mantran)

ḲAPĪ AGHASĪ [see ḲAPU AGHASI].

ḲAPĪ ḲULU [see ORDU].

ḲAPĪDJI, "porter", "guardian" (cf. A. *bawwāb*, Pers. *derbān*), a term which, in the Ottoman empire, designated the guards placed at the main gates of the sultan's palace in Istanbul: the *Bāb-ī hümāyūn*, *Orta ḳapī* and *Bāb üs-seʿādet*. The guards on the first two gates belonged to the same category, while those of the *Bāb üs-seʿādet*, which gave access to the sultan's private residence and to the harem, constituted a distinct category, the *ḳule ṣofularī*, subordinate to the *kīzlar aghasī*. The *ḳapīdjī* are first mentioned in the *ḳānūnnāme* of Meḥemmed I the Conquerer. They were recruited from the janissaries or were promoted from various barracks of the *saray*. The guards on the *Orta ḳapī* were considered to belong to a superior echelon to those on the *Bāb-ī hümayūn*, a distinction which became evident in the second half of the 10th/16th century. The number of *ḳapīdjī* grew from 50 before 1500 to more than 350 in the 16th century and around 2,400 in the 17th century, then gradually declined. The guards on the *Bāb-ī hümāyūn* were divided into 5 *bölüks* (companies), those on the *Orta ḳapī* into 45 *bölüks* in the 17th century and then only 15 *bölüks* in the 18th century, while those on the *Bab üs-seʿādet* were formed into 7 *bölüks*. Apart from their service at the palace gates, the *ḳapīdjī* had to accompany the notables who participated in the *dīwān* to the council chamber on the days when they met. They also stood guard at the entrance to the imperial tent whenever the sultan embarked on expeditions.

In the time of Meḥemmed the Conquerer, there was only one *ḳapīdjī bāshī*, or leader of the guards. As time passed, they numbered 4, then 10, 13, 17, 12 and finally 60 in the 12th/18th century. The *ḳapīdjī bāshī* wore fur robes and carried as insignia a silver baton. Each night, one of them took his place at the *Orta ḳapī*; on days when the *dīwān* met, two of them stood at the door of the council chamber; they accompanied the sultan whenever he went to the Great Mosque for the Friday prayers or the principal religious holidays; when the sultan received an ambassador, two *ḳapīdjī bāshī* obliged him to bow low and prostrate himself upon the ground. They were also employed to carry important firmans and secret orders to provincial governors and viziers.

The *ḳapīdjī bashī* were entitled to a *timār* of 19,000 aspers at the end of the 16th century. The most important of them who bore the title of *bāsh ḳapīdjī bāshī*, received a *dirlik* of 400,000 aspers and were included among the *ṣandjāḳ beys*. They were responsible for all matters concerning the guards: nomination, retirement, transfer and promotion. Originally two in number, the *bāsh ḳapīdjī bāshī* were increased to 4, then to 6 in the reign of Meḥemmed III.

After the destruction of the janissaries in 1826, only 30 *ḳapīdjī bāshī* were retained, increasing to 40 in 1839 and subordinate to the imperial stable. Both title and function disappeared in 1908.

Bibliography: *İA*, s.v. *kapıcı* (by I. H. Uzunçarşili); Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire ottoman*, Paris 1791, vii, ch. 1; İ. H. Uzunçarşili, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, 396-407 (numerous references to Turkish sources); M. Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, ii, 167-9 (art. *kapıcı*). (R. Mantran)

ḲAPLAN GIRĀY I, Crimean Tatar Khān, the third son of Ḥādjdjī Selīm Giray [*q.v.*], born on Rhodes in Shaʿbān 1091/July 1680. In 1108/1697 he became temporary commander of the military forces in Budjāḳ [*q.v.*] and made a successful raid into Poland. During the negotiations at Carlowicz, he remained in defense of Ferah-Kerman, but Örek-Timur, the *beg* of the rebel Shirins, forced him to take refuge in Kiliya (Rabīʿ al-Ākhir 1111/October 1699). He was afterwards appointed military commander of Circassia, where he fought the Kalmuks (1112/1700) and the Besleney Circassians (Dhu ʾl-ḥidjdja 1112/May 1701). However, Dawlat Giray did not want to

promote him to the rank of *nuradin* (*nūr al-dīn*) [*q.v.*], so he fled to the Ottoman Pas̲h̲a in Kefe (Feodosiya). Dawlat Giray's influence at the Porte was instrumental in the decision to exile him to Rhodes, but on his father's request he was sent to Yanbolu. When his father became K̲h̲ān on 26 S̲h̲aʿbān 1113/26 January 1702, he appointed him *nuradin*. Ḳaplan Giray marched against the former K̲h̲ān, who had rebelled with the support of the Nog̲h̲ay tribes. The civil war came to an end when the Nogay *mīrzā*s deserted Dawlat Giray. On the death of Selîm Giray, his second son G̲h̲āzī Giray became K̲h̲ān and, on 3 Ramaḍān 1116/30 December 1704, he made Ḳaplan Giray *ḳalg̲h̲ay* [*q.v.*]. In contrast to Dawlat Giray and the new K̲h̲ān, G̲h̲āzī Giray, who followed the *mīrzā*s of the Crimea in pursuing a hostile policy towards Russia, Ḳaplan Giray was prepared to support the Ottoman government's policy of peaceful relations. It was for this reason that in Muḥarram 1119/April 1707 he was appointed K̲h̲ān. Leaving the Russians free to act against Sweden, Ḳaplan Giray led a campaign against the Circassians, but was lucky to escape with his life when he fell into an ambush which they had set. The Sultan deposed him at once (S̲h̲aʿbān 1120/ November 1708), and his rival Dawlat Giray became K̲h̲ān in his place. Eventually, the problem of the Swedish king Charles XII led to the deposition of Dawlat Giray and Ḳaplan Giray was brought back from Rhodes and again made K̲h̲ān on 18 Rabīʿ al-Awwal 1125/15 April 1713. To secure a definitive peace treaty with Russia, he went to K̲h̲otin with the Ottoman commander-in-chief ʿAbdī Pas̲h̲a and supported the Polish defensive campaign in the summer of 1125/1713. He sent a force under the *nuradin* to the Ottomans' Morea expedition, but the rebellions of the Circassians and the Nog̲h̲ays prevented his taking part in the Austrian campaign of 1128/1716, and he was again deposed from the k̲h̲ānate in D̲h̲ū'l-Ḳaʿda/November of the same year. The rebels who overthrew Aḥmad III [*q.v.*] in 1143/1730 secured his re-accession, but since he afterwards became a major force in ousting the rebels, he kept his influential position under Maḥmūd I [*q.v.*]. In 1145/1732 there were clashes with the Russians in Dag̲h̲istān. Crimean forces with the support of the Čečens [*q.v.*] repulsed a Russian attack. In 1148/1735, on the insistence of the Porte, the K̲h̲ān personally campaigned in Dag̲h̲istān, but at this moment, Russian and Cossack forces advanced to Or-ḳapî (Perekop), threatening the Crimea with invasion. Ḳaplan Giray attacked this force, but he was compelled to retreat in the face of enemy artillery and resort to guerilla tactics. He could not prevent the enemy's invasion of the Crimea in Ṣafar 1149/June 1736, and it was only when they were withdrawing that he pursued them to Or-ḳapî. At this moment, a command came from Istanbul appointing Fetḥ Giray K̲h̲ān in place of the old and ailing Ḳaplan Giray (Rabīʿ al-Āk̲h̲ir 1149/August 1736), who was exiled to Chios where he died in S̲h̲aʿbān 1151/November 1738.

Bibliography: ʿAbd al-G̲h̲affār Ḳîrîmī, *ʿUmdat al-Tawārīk̲h̲*, *TOEM* suppl., 142-78; Sayyid Meḥmed Riḍāʾ, *al-Sabʿ al-sayyār*, Kazan 1832; Rās̲h̲id, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, iv, v, Istanbul 1282/1865; Ṣubḥī, Sāmī and S̲h̲ākir, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, Istanbul 1198/1784; A. N. Kurat, *XII Karl'ın Türkiye'de kalışı ve bu sıralarda Osmanlı Imperatorluğu*, Istanbul 1943; *Metinler ve vesikalar*, Istanbul 1943; Meḥmed Giray, *Taʾrīkh*, Nationalbibliothek Vienna, MS O.H. 1080; ʿAbdī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, ed. F. R. Unat, Ankara 1943.

(Halil İnalcik)

ḲAPLAN GIRĀY II, Crimean Tatār K̲h̲ān (S̲h̲awwāl 1183-S̲h̲aʿbān 1184/February-November 1770). He was appointed *nuradin* (*nūr al-dīn*) in 1182-1183/1768-1769 and K̲h̲ān in S̲h̲awwāl 1183/February 1770. He sent his *ḳalg̲h̲ay* and *nuradin* to the Crimea to defend it against the Russians, while the Ottoman commander K̲h̲alīl Pas̲h̲a appointed him to the campaign intended to expel the Russians from Bog̲h̲dān (Moldavia). He was unsuccessful against the Russian artillery on the Prut, and retired to Kalči, whilst Rumyantsev crossed the Prut and routed the Ottoman-Crimean forces. The indiscipline of the soldiers prevented the commander and the K̲h̲ān from carrying out their plans for a counter-attack; the fortresses of Kiliya, Bender (Bendery) and Ismail fell to the Russians, whom the Nog̲h̲ays then joined in Budjāḳ. After facing a siege in the fortress of Özi (Ochakov), Ḳaplan Giray was eventually able to reach the Crimea. Here, in the summer of 1184/1770, the *ḳalg̲h̲ay* Islām Giray and the Ottoman commander Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a drove the enemy from before the fortress of Or-ḳapî (Perekop). However, the Mīrzās of the Crimea, like the Nog̲h̲ays, were hoping, by remaining neutral, to escape invasion and were in contact with the Russians. Ottoman sources claim that Ḳaplan Giray supported this policy (*TV*, xiv, 138), but this does not seem to be true (V. Smirnov, ii, 127). He, in fact, requested military aid for the Crimea from Istanbul and tried to divert the Kalmuks from their alliance with the Russians. The Ottoman commander in the Crimea, Ibrāhīm Pas̲h̲a, agreed with him in these policies, but in S̲h̲aʿbān 1184/November 1770 a decree for the K̲h̲ān's deposition came from Istanbul, and in Rabīʿal-Āk̲h̲ir 1185/ July 1771 Ḳaplan Giray died of plague at the age of 32.

Bibliography: Enverī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, Ms. Süleymaniye, Esad Efendi 1089; Wāsif, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, Būlāḳ 1246/1830-1, 37, 50-60, 63, 69, 78; Nedjātī Efendi, *Sefāretnāme*, ed. F. R. Unat, *TV*, xiii-xiv (1944); A. Djevdet, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, i, Istanbul 1271/1854-5, 47-49; Ḥalīm Giray, *Gulbun-i K̲h̲ānān*, Istanbul 1278/ 1861-2, 118-20; A. Resmī, *K̲h̲ulāṣat al-iʿtibār*, Istanbul 1286/1869, 33-47; V. Smirnov, *Krimskoe hanstvo pod verhovenstvom Ottomanskoy Porti v XVIII. stoletii*, Odessa 1889; O. Retowski, *Die Münzen der Girei*, Moscow 1905.

(Halil İnalcik)

ḲAPLÎDJA, *kaplud̲j̲a* or *ḳablud̲j̲a*, the general term used in Turkey for a place where a hot spring is roofed over, as in a bath house. Other terms used in Turkish are *ḳaynard̲j̲a*, *aḳard̲j̲a*, *ılîsu*, *ḳudret ḥamāmî*, *čermik*, *ılîd̲j̲a* and *germābe* (see *XIII. Yüzyıldan beri Türkiye türkçesiyle yazılmış kitaplardan toplanan tanklariyle Tarama Sözlüğü*, Ankara 1967, iii, 1942-3). Ewliyā Čelebi [*q.v.*], ii, 21, describes varieties of hot springs in different parts of the Ottoman Empire and in other Asian countries. In Anatolia and in Türkistan, he writes, the term *ılîd̲j̲a* was used to denote a hot spring, as was *bana* (from *bagno*) in Balkan countries, *germābe* in Persia, *ılîssî* (*ılîsu*) in the Crimea, *ḥammām* in the Arab lands and *ḳaplîd̲j̲a* in Bursa. Today thermal baths in Turkey have been classified and numbered: there are 26 *ḳaplîd̲j̲a*, 79 *čermik*, 67 *ḥammām*, 158 *ılîca*, 3 *germāb* (see Rıza Reman, *Şifalı suları kullanma ilmi*: *Balneologi, Türkiye'nin şifalı kaynakları*, Istanbul 1942). J. von Hammer (*Umblick auf einer Reise von Constantinople nach Brussa und Demolypos und von da zurück über Nicaea und Nicomedien*, Pest 1818, 10 n.) claimed that *ḳaplîdja* was derived from Greek *kapnos*, meaning "smoke". Hot springs, however, were in

Turkish classified in two types: *üstü ačïk ïlïdja* (open hot springs) and *kapalï ïlïdja*. It is possible that colloquial usage telescoped *ḳapalï ïlïdja* (covered hot springs) into *kaplïdja*.

Hot and mineral springs are found not only in Anatolia but also in Czechoslovakia and European countries formerly under Ottoman rule such as Hungary, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. The medicinal properties of some of these *ḳaplïdja* and mineral springs have been recognized from very early times; for this reason, miracles were attributed to them and it was believed that each hot spring was protected by its own deity. There were sacred cleaning and washing places in all Indian temples; the early peoples of Anatolia, the Greeks and the Romans made use of hot springs in different ways, even building special baths whose remains still exist today (K. Bertels and L. Huber (eds.), *Lexikon der alten Welt*, Zürich 1965, 3059-63). While this institution was neglected and the buildings fell into disrepair, in some countries the Turks who settled in Anatolia took advantage of the experience of earlier civilizations, repairing old baths and even building new ones. In time they evolved a special *ḳaplïdja* architecture, a building divided into three parts: dressing room, cooling room and the bath proper.

Some *ḳaplïdjas* in Turkey were built by the Anatolian Saldjūḳs and are still in use today, for example Karakurt (Kırşehir) built in 529/1135, Yoncalı (Kütahya) built in 630/1233, Ilgın (Konya) built in 633/1236, and Eskişehir. Other *ḳaplïdjas* in north-eastern Turkey were built by the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu rulers late in the 8th/14th century, such as those in Erzurum (Ewliyā Čelebi, ii, 203; İ. Hakkı Konyalı, *Erzurum Tarihi*, Istanbul 1960, 452-5) and Hasankale (in 1390: Ewliyā Čelebi, ii, 223; İ. Hakkı Konyalı, *ibid.*, 464-70). The presence of a *ḳaplïdja* (*germābe* in the Persian text) in Ilgın (Konya) led to the foundation of a town there (Ibn Bībī, *Taʾrīkh-i Āl-i Saldjūḳ*, *Recueil de Textes Relatifs à l'Histoire des Seldjoucides*, iv, ed. M. Th. Houtsma, Leiden 1902, 150). A beautiful building was erected; among the people who came for treatment was Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, the famous mystic. There were around 300 thermal baths in Anatolia, attracting the sick and paralysed in search of a cure (Fr. Taeschner, *Al-ʿUmarī's Bericht über Anatolien in seinem Werke Masālik al-abṣār fī Mamālik al-amṣār*, Leipzig 1929, 43). Besides the *ḳaplïdjas* in Anatolia, hot springs were known and used in other Muslim countries; for example in Kirman, Persia (*The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, ed. H. Cordier, London 1929[3], i, 110), and in Tiberias, Palestine, where the old Roman baths were restored by Muslims (Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, repr. Beirut 1954, 335, 336). When Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Baghdād, there was a famous hot spring there much favoured by the people.

Ḳaplïdja architecture developed greatly in the Ottoman period; the building was now divided into four parts: dressing room, rest room (*djāmekān*), cooling room and the bath proper with private cubicles. These buildings were erected beside hot springs. Generally, the Turkish type of *ḳaplïdja* contains large pools and hot water pours from a hole into the pool draining out by another hole. The *ḳaplïdja* architecture of the Ottomans developed in Bursa where the first Turkish *ḳaplïdja*, called Eski Ḳaplïdja, was built by Murad I. Since it was established on the site of an old Byzantine *ḳaplïdja*, it was believed (see A. Gabriel, *Une Capitale Turque Broussa* (Bursa), Paris 1958, 165-70) that Eski Ḳaplïdja showed typical Byzantine architectural influence. Pointing to the originality of its plan and technical construction, some Turkish art historians (Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Osmanlı mimarisinin ilk devri*, 630-850 (1230-1402), Istanbul 1966, 280, 281, 282, 283) reject this idea, asserting that the architecture of Eski Ḳaplidja is typically Turkish. Some *ḳaplïdjas* built in the Ottoman period are still in use in Turkey and in countries previously under Ottoman rule. The most famous are in Hungary: Budin (Budapest), Yeshil-direkli (Rudas) built in 1556, Ḥammām of Velī Bey (Csarzar) and Tabakkhāne (Ewliyā Čelebi, *loc. cit.*, vi, 242, 243, 249; V. Bierhauer, *Les Bains Turcs en Hongrie*, Budapest 1943). Some Ottoman *ḳaplïdjas* can be seen in Bulgaria: near Sofia (J. von Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosna*, Vienna 1812, 51, 88), İslimye, Yeni Zağra, and in Bosnia-Hercegovina (H. Krsevlaković. *Banya u Bosni i Hercegovini*, 1462-1916, Sarajevo 1952).

An important function of the *ḳaplïdja* in Ottoman society was its use as a meeting place by poets and literary men (see Nedjātī Beg, *Dīwān*, ed. Ali Nihat Tarlan, Istanbul 1963, 434, 435 "the ghazal ḳapludja" Mehmed Čavuşoğlu, *Zâtî'nin Letâyifi*, in *Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi*, xviii (Istanbul 1970), 7).

Bibliography: further to references given in the text, Neshrī, *Djihānnümā*, ed. F. Taeschner, Leipzig 1951, i, 55, 83, 84; Osman Turan, *Selçuklular ve Türk-İslâm medeniyeti*, Ankara 1965, 252, 253; A. Süheyl (Ünver), *Selçuk tababeti*, Ankara 1940, 101-6; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Kütahya şehri*, Istanbul 1932, 21; Kâmil Kepecioğlu, *Bursa hamamlari*, Bursa 1943; Meral Güvenli, *Bursa hamam ve kaplıcaları*, Edebiyat Fakültesi Sanat Tarihi kütüphanesi no. 306 (B.A. thesis), 1970; Dr. Bernard, *Les Bains de Brousse*, Istanbul 1842, Turkish tr. 1848 (*Kaplïdja risālesi terdjümesi*); Rıza Reman, *Kaplıca bilgileri*, Bursa 1937; Mehmed Ziya, *Burṣa'dan Ḳonya'ya seyāḥat*, Istanbul 1328, 21-5, 89-112; S. Ragıb Aṭademir, *Konya Ilgın ılıcası ve şifalı su tedavisinin esasları*, Konya 1948; Mustafa Hakkı, *Kaplıcalar hakkında genel bilgiler*, Istanbul 1935; Tayyar Kuşçu, *Haymana kaplıcası ve faydaları*, Istanbul 1946; Kerim Omer Čağlar, *Türkiye Maden suları ve Kaplıcaları*, Ankara 1950, fasc. 1-3.

(C. Orhonlu)

ḲAPU AGHASİ, ḳapï aghasï (or *Bāb al-Saʿāde Aghasï*), the senior officer in the Ottoman Sultan's Palace, until the *dār al-saʿāde aghasï* [*q.v.*] began to gain ascendancy in the late 10th/16th century. Like the other Palace *aghas* in continuous service, the Sultan himself selected him from the eunuchs. He had the authority to petition the Sultan for the appointment, promotion and transfer of Palace servants, *aghas* and *ič oghlans* [*qq.v.*].

As the sole mediator between the Sultan and the world outside the Palace, he sat at the gate known as the Inner Gate or Bāb al-Saʿāde ("Gate of Felicity") which divided the Inner (*enderūn*) from the Outer (*bīrūn*) Palace. His office lay to the right of this gate. It was through him that the Sultan transmitted his permission to anyone to enter the Inner Palace and his commands to the government (*Ḳānūnnāme* of *Meḥmed the Conqueror*, *TOEM*, suppl. 1330/1912, 23). The *ḳapu aghasï* had the rank of vizier and in ceremonies took his place below the Grand Vizier and the *shaykh al-islām* [*q.v.*]. Nevertheless, his daily pay of 100 *akčes* [*q.v.*] was well below the *agha* of the Janissaries' 500 *akčes* (for other salaries see İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, 355).

In pre-Ottoman usage the post was known, in the

earliest Islamic states, as *ḥādjib*, *ḥādjib al-ḥudjdjāb* or *amīr ḥādjib*. In later times it acquired the titles *ṣāḥib al-sitāra*, *amīr-i pardadārān*, *zimāmdār* and *ishikākāsībāshī* (see M. F. Köprülü, *THİM*, i, 208-211; ḤADJIB in *EI*²; D. Ayalon, in *St. Isl.* xxxviii, 107-56). In the Turkish states of Central Asia it was known as *aghadjî* or sometimes *ulugh ḥādjib* (for its importance in Turkish states see *Kutadgu Bilig*, ed. R. R. Arat, Ankara 1959, 181-7). In the Ottoman Empire this official never, as in the ʿAbbāsid and Mamlūk states, annexed the roles of commander of the Sultan's private troops and of supreme judge to hear non-*sharʿī* cases in the Sultan's name. Nor as in the Saldjūḳ administration, did he ever overstep his position as chief palace official or chamberlain. To ensure that the Ottoman Sultan's authority should remain inviolate, the commandership of his personal troops was delegated to the *agha* of the Janissaries and the duty of hearing complaints to the Grand Vizier. Great pains were taken to keep these functions separate.

Nevertheless, the *ḳapu aghasî* must have exercised considerable influence in the state. He played a vital part in the accession of Sultans, and was the ruler's close adviser. Besides, he must have had some influence and authority as the one-time officer of the commanders and governors graduating from the Inner Palace. The *ḳapu aghasî*'s power and influence in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries was compared to the Grand Vizier's (*Kitāb-i mustaṭāb*, ed. Y. Yücel, Ankara 1974, 44). His influence increased yet further when ,in the reign of Süleymān I, the superintendence of the *waḳf*s of Mecca and Medina and later of about 70 large mosques passed to an office under his control. However, their influence decreased at the end of the 10th/16th century when, at the instigation of the *wālide sultāns*, this superintendance passed to the *dār al-saʿāde aghasî*. In 995/1587, this official became independent of the *ḳapu aghasî*, eventually rising to the position of senior Palace officer. In 1116/1704, with the transfer of his powers to the *silaḥdār* [*q.v.*], the *ḳapu aghasî* declined into insignificance.

In the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries, the *ḳapu aghasî* could transfer to service outside the Palace and receive the highest governorships of the Empire such as the *beglerbegi*-ships of Rumelia or Egypt. Khādim ʿAlī, Khādim Sinān, Khādim Sulaymān and Khādim Aḥmad [*qq.v.*] who are reckoned among the great statesmen of the early period of Ottoman history, are famous examples. Two more, Fīrūz Ḥusayn and Merdjān, are well known as founders of city quarters and charitable institutions during the reign of Bāyazīd II [*q.v.*] (for details of their *waḳf*s see E. H. Ayverdi and Ö. L. Barkan, *İstanbul vakıfları tahrir defteri*, Istanbul 1970). From the second half of the 10th/16th century, the *ḳapu aghasî* began to intervene more and more in state affairs, and became a bitter rival of the Grand Vizier in the power struggle (Meḥmed, *Taʾrīkh-i ghilmānī*, *TOEM*, suppl., 29, 39). Gazanfer Agha, who was *ḳapu aghasî* for 30 years in the late 10th/16th century is particularly noteworthy.

Bibliography: *Defter-i aghayān-i dār al-saʿāde*, TTK Library, Ankara, Y86; *Dergāh-i ʿālī ḳapudju bashî aghalarî defteri*, TTK Library, Ankara, Y 204; Aḥmad Resmī, *Khamīla al-kuberāʾ*, TTK Library Y 412; Donado da Lezze, *Historia Turchesca*, ed. I. Ursu, Bucharest 1909; Th. Spandouyn Cantacassin, *Petit Traicté de l'origine des Turcqz*, ed. Ch. Schéfer, Paris 1896; M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'empire ottoman*, vii, Paris 1824; Ṭayyār-zāde ʿAṭā, *Taʾrīkh*, i and ii, Istanbul 1291/1874; Ḥāfiẓ Ilyās, *Leṭāʾif-i enderūn*, Istanbul 1276/1859-60; B. Miller, *The Palace School of Muhammad the Conqueror*, Cambridge, Mass. 1941; M. Fuad Köprülü, *Bizans müesseselerinin Osmanlı müesseselerine tesiri*, in *THİM*, i(1931); ibid., *İA*, art. *Ḥâcib*; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945; *EI*², ḤĀDJIB.

(HALIL İNALCIK)

ḲAPUČA, a small Muslim people of the Caucasus, (self designation: Ḳapučias suko or Bezhtlas suko; Russian: Ḳapučinî or Bezhitinî), whose language forms with Dido [*q.v.*], Ginukh [*q.v.*], Khunzal [*q.v.*], and Khvarshi [*q.v.*], the Dido division of the Avar-Andi-Dido group of the northeastern Ibero-Caucasian languages. In 1926 the Soviet census gave the population as 1,448. The Ḳapuča inhabit the *awl*s of Bezhiti, Khočarkhota, and Tliadal in the upper basin of the Avar Ḳoysu, Tliarata district, in the Dāghistān A.S.S.R. Living in isolated mountain valleys, they have escaped strong outside influence and have maintained many of the patriarchal customs. They are Sunnīs of the Shāfiʿī rite. The traditional economy was based on sheep and goat herding and agriculture. The Ḳapuča also had some repute as craftsmen, especially as goldsmiths. The language is purely vernacular, and the people use Avar and Russian as their literary languages. They are being assimilated culturally and linguistically by the Avars, and appear as Avar-speaking Avars in the 1959 and 1970 Soviet censuses. See also AVAR, DĀGHISTĀN, AL-ḲABḲ.

Bibliography: A. Bennigsen and H. C. d'Encausse, *Une république soviétique musulmane: le Daghestan, aperču démographique*, in *REI*, xxiii (1955), 7-56; Geiger et al., *Peoples and languages of the Caucasus*, The Hague 1959; *Narodî Kavkaza*, Academy of Sciences, Moscow 1962, i; S. A. Tokarev, *Etnografiya Narodov S.S.S.R.*, Moscow 1958.

(R. WIXMAN)

ḲAPUDAN PASHA (ḲAPTAN PASHA, ḲAPUDAN-I DERYĀ), title of the commander-in-chief of the Ottoman navy. Although the word evidently derives from the Italian term *capitano* (for its various uses see H. and R. Kahane and A. Tietze, *The Lingua Franca in the Levant*, Urbana 1958, 139 ff.), it does not follow that the Ottoman navy [see BAḤRIYYA, iii] was modelled upon any foreign naval organization (see M. F. Köprülüzade, *Bizans müesseselerinin Osmanlı muesseselerine teʾsiri hakkında bâzı mülâhazalar*, in *THITM*, i (1931), 205-7; İ. H. Uzunçarşilî, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkılâtı*, Ankara 1948, 389 ff.).

To judge from the entries in the *Mühimme Defteri*, the term *Ḳapudan Pasha* became current only towards 975/1567 (when ʿAlī Pasha, the *beglerbegi* of Algiers, is referred to as *Djezāʾir beglerbegisi ve ḳapudan pasha*: see, *e.g.*, *Mühimme*, vol. 7, nos. 502, 507, 587, 782). Strictly speaking, therefore, it is erroneous to refer to earlier naval commanders as *Ḳapudan Pasha*: ʿAlī Pasha's predecessor, Piyāle Pasha (who was granted the rank of *vezīr*, and thus had a seat in the *Dīwān*, see *İA*, s.v. Piyâle Paşa, by Ş. Turan), first bore the title *Ḳapudan Beg* (Başbakanlık Arşivi, Kâmil Kepeci, *Ruûs* register no. 214, p. 17); he is later referred to as *Djezāʾir beglerbegisi* and as *vezīr ve Ḳapudan* (see, e.g., *Mühimme*, vol. 1, no. 276; vol. 6, no. 112; vol. 7 nos. 158, 160).

In earlier days, the commander of the fleet stationed at Gelibolu [*q.v.*] had had the title *Deryā Begi* [see DARYĀ BEGI], being at the same time *sandjaḳbegi* of the *liwāʾ* of Gelibolu. The Gelibolu register of 924/1518 uses the term *reʾīs ḳapudan* to designate the commander of the fleet (F. Kurtoğlu, *Gelibolu yöresi ve tarihi*, Istanbul 1938, 51). Gelibolu remained the principal naval base until the time of Sultan Selīm I,

who ordered that a new fleet be constructed in the "new arsenal" at Istanbul (*Tersāne-i ʿĀmire*) in 923/1517 under the supervision of Dja'far Ḳapudan (cf. Ş. Tekindağ, *Haliç Tersanesinde inşa edilen ilk Osmanlı donanması ve Cafer Kapudan'ın arizası*, in *Belgelerle Türk Tarihi Dergisi*, no. 7 (Nisan 1969), 66-70).

When Barbarossa (Khayr al-Dīn [*q.v.*]) entered the service of the Sultan in 941/1534, he was given the *beglerbeglik* of the *eyālet* of Djezā'ir (Algiers). This *eyālet* later became the seat of the *ḳapudan pashas* (A. S. İlter, *Şimalı Afrika'da Türkler*, İstanbul 1936, i, 94 ff.). The *sandjaḳs* of Kodja-eli, Sughla and Bigha from the *beglerbeglik* of Anadolu, and those of Eghriboz, Aynabakhtı, Karlî-eli, Mizistre and Midilli from the *beglerbeglik* of Rumeli were also added to the new *eyālet* [see DJAZĀ'IR-I BAḤR-I SAFĪD]. Gelibolu remained the *sandjaḳ* of the pasha. Later on, two *sandjaḳs* of Cyprus and (in the time of Güzeldje ʿAlī Pasha, who was *Kapudan-î Deryā* twice, in 1026/1617 and 1027/1618) the *sandjaḳs* of Sakîz, Naksha and Mehdiye were also attached to it. In the first half of the 11th/17th century, the *eyālet* of the *ḳapudan pasha* consisted of twelve *sandjaḳs* (cf. Ş. Turan, *XVII. yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun idarî taksimatı*, in *Atatürk Üniversitesi 1961 Yıllığı*, 204).

The *ḳapudan pasha*'s residence was the *Dīwānkhāne* of the Arsenal in Istanbul. His main duties were to oversee the Arsenal, to supervise all matters relating to the Ottoman fleet, to govern the *eyālet* of the *ḳapudan pasha* and to make all the necessary appointments in it. This entailed his visiting and inspecting each *sandjaḳ* annually. He also had to protect merchant ships against the activities of pirates in the Mediterranean and in the Black Sea (cf. *Tevḳīʿi ʿAbdurraḥmān Pasha Ḳānūnnāmesi*, in *MTM*, iii (1331/1912), 536-8). If necessary, he co-operated with the land forces (see, *e.g.*, *Mühimme*, vol. 104, no. 193; vol. 105, nos. 48-49).

The office of *Ḳapudan Pasha* carried great prestige. In the 11th/17th century it had an annual revenue of 885,000 *akčes* (Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, v, 315; P. Rycaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, London 1668, 54). It also received an income of 70,000 *ḳurush* when 33 islands of the *eyālet* were granted to the voyvoda for *iltizām* (Ewliyā, v, 316; D'Ohsson, *Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman*, vii, Paris 1791, 442); this sum was increased to 300,000 *ḳurush* in the late 12th-13th/18th-19th century. The success of the Ottoman naval forces always depended on the ability and the seamanship of its *ḳapudans*, particularly the *Ḳapudan Pashas*. In the 10th/16th century Ottoman supremacy in the Mediterranean seems to have been largely due to able *ḳapudans*. In the following centuries the empire lost its naval supremacy, Though in principle only an admiral (*Kapudan-î Hümāyūn*) or a chief of the Arsenal (*Tersāne Ketkhüdāsî*) or, at the lowest, a *sandjaḳ-beyi* of Rhodes was eligible to become *Ḳapudan Pasha*, appointments were now made regardless of the holder's ability. In 1014/1605 Derwīsh Pasha, who was Chief Gardener (*Bostandjî bashî*), was appointed *Ḳapudan-î Deryā*, together with the rank of vizier (cf. C. Orhunlu, *Osmanlı tarihine aid belgeler*: *Telhisler*, Istanbul 1970, 118); in 1184/1770 a certain officer in the Janissary corps (*sekbān bashî*) was appointed *Ḳapudan Pasha*, although Ḥasan Ḳapudan was considered a better candidate in view of his earlier echievements (cf. Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi, Istanbul, nos. E. 4846 and 10321).

With the naval reorganization of 1804, in the time of Selīm III, the post of the chief of the Arsenal was abolished and the office of Superintendent of Naval Affairs (*Umūr-i Baḥriyye Neẓāreti*) established (Ṣafvet, *Umūr-i Baḥriyye Neẓāreti*, in *TOEM*, no. 21 (1329/1911), 1350-1). In 1863 the title *Ḳapudan Pasha* was altered to *Umūr-i Baḥriyye Nāẓîrî*. Four years later the senior admiral (*bash amiral*) became the commander of the Ottoman navy, and naval affairs were supervised by the *Baḥriyye Nāẓîrî* or Naval Minister.

Bibliography: The most authentic sources on the office of *Ḳapudan Pasha* are in the Başbakanlık Arşivi in Istanbul. Documents relating to the navy will be found within three classifications: Cevdet, Kâmil Kepeci and İbnü'l-Emin, covering the period from the 10th/16th to the 19th centuries. The *Mühimme* registers in the same archive, dating from 961/1554 to 1300/1882, are also of significance. For the documents in the Topkapı Palace Archive relating to the *Ḳapudan Pasha*, see *Arşiv Kılavuzu*, i-ii, Istanbul 1939 and 1940. Other sources: E. Alberi, *Relazioni degli ambasciatori Veneti al Senado* Series iii, Florence 1840-55, i, 20, 67, 136, 423, ii, 335, iii, 263; Pečewī, *Ta'rīkh*, Istanbul 1281-83/1864-66, i, 486, ii, 25, 91, 285, 292, 333, 344, 354, 460; Kātib Čelebi, *Tuḥfat al-Kibār*, Istanbul 1329/1911, *passim*; Silāḥdār, *Ta'rīkh*, Istanbul 1328/1910, ii, 253; Marsigli, *L'État Militaire de l'Empire Ottoman*, Amsterdam 1732, i, 146; Aḥmed Djewdet, *Ta'rīkh*, 12 vols., Istanbul 1309/1891, *passim*; Meḥmed Ḥafīd, *Safīnat al-Wuzerā'*, Istanbul 1952 (ed. İ. Parmaksızoğlu); M. Shükrü, *Esfār-î Baḥriyye-i ʿOthmāniyye*, Istanbul 1306/1888; Meḥmed Ra'īf, *Mir'āt-i Istanbul*, Istanbul 1314/1896, 474 ff.; S. Nutḳî, *Ḳāmūs-i Baḥrî*, Istanbul 1917; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin Merkez ve Bahriye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948, 414-22; N. Göyünç, *Kapudan-î Derya Küčük Hüseyin Paşa*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, ii/3-4 (Istanbul 1950-1), 35-50; H. Y. Şehsuvaroğlu, *Deniz tarihimize ait makaleler*, Istanbul 1965; S. Shaw, *Selim III and the Ottoman Navy*, in *Turcica*, i (Paris 1969), 212-41; *İA*, sv. *Kaptan Paşa* (by İ. Parmaksızoğlu). (S. OZBARAN)

ḲARĀ, the Turkish word for "black" or "dark colour" in general. It is commonly used with this meaning as the first component of geographical names *e.g.*, Ḳarā Āmid (on account of the black basalt of which this fortress is built), Ḳarā Dagh (on account of its dark forests), etc. Besides Ḳarā we find in place names the diminutive form Ḳaradja. In personal names, *ḳarā* may refer to the black or dark brown colour of hair or to a dark complexion. It has, however, at the same time the meaning "strong, powerful", and should be interpreted in this sense in names like Ḳarā ʿOthmān or Ḳarā Arslan. It is also in this sense that we have the name Ḳarā Khān which the Ḳarākhānids or Ilek-Khāns [*q.v.*] assumed in Central Asia.

Bibliography: von Hammer-Purgstall, *GOR*, i, 80; Kāshgharī, *Dīwān lughāt al-turk*, iii, 167, tr. Atalay, iii, 221-2; O. Pritsak, *«Qara», Studie zur türkischen Rechtssymbolik*, in *Zeki Velidi Togan'a armağan*, Istanbul 1950-5, 239-63; Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, 643-4; *İA*, s.v. (J. H. KRAMERS*)

In order to preserve a logical alphabetical sequence and to place one after the other those words which comprise the element *ḳarā*, these last have been placed together in a somewhat arbitrary fashion, so that *e.g. ḳarāba* comes after all the words beginning with *ḳarā*. Moreover, the transliteration of this term has been unified, and is always written as *ḳarā*, the second vowel *-ā* being written with an *alif* in Arabic orthography; however, the modern Turkish orthography with a short *a* is indicated where relevant.

ḲARĀ ĀMID [see DIYĀR BAKR].

ḲARĀ ARSLĀN [see ARTUḲIDS; KĀWŪRD B. DĀWŪD].

ḲARĀ BĀGH̲ (Turkish-Persian "black garden", allegedly because of the fertility of its upland valleys, but this is probably a folk etymology), the recent name of the mountainous region lying to the north of the middle course of the Araxes River in Transcaucasia, corresponding to the southern part of the mediaeval Islamic Arrān [*q.v.*]. The mountains of Ḳarābāg̲h̲ rise to over 12,000 feet, and the modern population (mostly Armenian, with some S̲h̲īʿī Azeri Turks) is concentrated in the deep valleys. The original Armenian princes of Artzak̲h̲ were dispossessed after the Sald̲j̲ūḳ drive into Transcaucasia under Sultan Alp Arslan, and a gradual process of Turkish settlement began. In the Mongol period we meet the designation Ḳarābāg̲h̲-i Arrān for the region. It subsequently fell within the domains of the Persian Il-K̲h̲ānids, of Timūr and of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu. In the second half of the 9th/15th century Ḳarābāg̲h̲ was involved in the rise of the Ṣafawid movement, and by 893/1488 S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Ḥaydar b. D̲j̲unayd [*q.v.*] had taken over much of the region. During the Ottoman-Ṣafawid warfare, Ḳarābāg̲h̲ and Gand̲j̲a fell into the hands of Sultan Murād III (996/1588), until Shah ʿAbbās I regained them. Ḳarābāg̲h̲ was at this period in the hereditary possession of the Turkish D̲j̲ewāns̲h̲īr family, who traced their origin back to the Og̲h̲uz Afs̲h̲ārid tribe; in 1165/1752 Panāh ʿAlī K̲h̲ān built the fortress of S̲h̲ūs̲h̲a and named it Panāhābād. His son Ibrāhīm K̲h̲alīl K̲h̲ān defied the Ḳād̲j̲ār leader Āg̲h̲ā K̲h̲ān Muḥammad, who nevertheless eventually captured S̲h̲ūs̲h̲a in 1211/1797, where he was shortly afterwards assassinated.

Ḳarābāg̲h̲ now became a buffer-region between Ḳād̲j̲ār Persia and the expanding Russian empire. Ibrāhīm K̲h̲alīl submitted to the Russo-Georgian general Prince Zizis̲h̲wili in 1805. The last chief of the D̲j̲ewāns̲h̲īr line, Mahdī Ḳulī K̲h̲ān, abandoned his principality to the Russians in 1822, but already in the Gulistān [*q.v.*] Treaty of 1813 the Ḳād̲j̲ārs had been forced to renounce all claims to Georgia, Dāg̲h̲istān, Ḳarābāg̲h̲ and the northern part of Tālis̲h̲. For the remainder of the Czarist period, Ḳarābāg̲h̲ formed part of the "Muslim governorship" of Bākū till 1868, and thereafter part of the newly-established governorship of Elizavetpol or Gand̲j̲a. During the short-lived Muslim republic of Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān (1918-20), Ḳarābāg̲h̲ enjoyed freedom from foreign control. Within the Soviet Union it now forms the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast within the Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān SSR, with a population in 1970 of 150,000 and its administrative centre at Stepanakert.

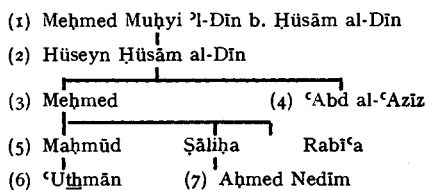
Bibliography: There is little specific information in the mediaeval Islamic geographers, excepting Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 181-2, tr. 173-4. A local history, the *Ḳarābāg̲h̲-nāma* of Mīrzā D̲j̲amāl, was utilized by the Ottoman historian Ferīdūn Beg. A full bibliography is given in Mirza Bala's *İA* art. *Karabağ*, to which should be added A. A. Alizade, *Sotsialno-ekonomičeskaya i političeskaya istoriya* Azerbaidzhana XIII-XIV vv., Baku 1956, K. M. Röhrborn, *Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1966, and *BSE*[2], xx, 92.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

ḲARĀ BOGH̲DAN [see BOG̲H̲DĀN].

ḲARĀ ČAY [see KARAČAY].

ḲARĀ-ČELEBI-ZĀDE, the name of a family of Ottoman ʿulamāʾ which became prominent during the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries.

(1) Meḥmed Muḥyi ʾl-Dīn b. Ḥüsām al-Dīn
(2) Hüseyn Ḥüsām al-Dīn
(3) Meḥmed — (4) ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz
(5) Maḥmūd — Ṣāliḥa — Rabīʿa
(6) ʿUt̲h̲mān — (7) Aḥmed Nedīm

The founder of the family, (1). Meḥmed Muḥyi ʾl-Dīn Efendi, was given the *laḳab* Ḳarā-Čelebi-zāde after his maternal grandfather, Ḳarā Yaʿḳūb. He held several positions as a *müderris*, was the teacher of Sulaymān I's son Muṣṭafā. and *ḳāḍī* in Edirne and Istanbul. His pseudonym as a poet was Hid̲j̲rī, and he is said to have left a *dīwān* of poetry. He died in 965/1557. (2). Ḳarā-Čelebi-zāde Hüseyn Ḥüsām al-Dīn Efendi was born in 940/1553 in Kütahya, was *ḳāḍī-ʿasker* [*q.v.*] of Anadolu and of Rumeli, and died in Bursa in 1007/1598. His son (3) Meḥmed Efendi (970-1042/1562-1632) held several posts as *ḳāḍī* and *müderris*, and became *ḳāḍī-ʿasker* of Anadolu in 1023/1614 and of Rumeli in 1029/1619. He wrote poetry under the pseudonym Zuhūrī and built a mosque in Bursa (Başvekâlet Arşivi, Kâmil Kepeci, Defter no. 257, p. 22). (4). Ḳarā-Čelebi-zāde ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Efendi, who was born at the end of 1000/September 1592, was brought up in Istanbul by his elder brother, Meḥmed Efendi (3), and studied canonical law under the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islām* Ṣunʿ Allāh Efendi. He was *müderris* in *madrasas* in Istanbul, Edirne and Bursa and in one of the *madrasas* of the Süleymâniyye Mosque in Istanbul. Later he became a *ḳāḍī*, being appointed to posts in Yeñis̲h̲ehir, Mecca (1036/1626), Edirne (1040/1630) and finally, in 1043/1633, in Istanbul. He remained in this last post for only seven months before he was dismissed and sentenced to death; through the intervention of grand vizier Bayram Pas̲h̲a, however, he was reprieved and exiled to Cyprus (1044/1634). Eighteen months later he returned to Istanbul and first became *ḳāḍī-ʿasker* of Anadolu. On 15 Rad̲j̲ab 1054/17 September 1644 he was nominated *ḳāḍī-ʿasker* of Rumeli (Başvekâlet Arşivi, Kâmil Kepeci, Defter no. 258, p. 57), a function he actually assumed on 19 Rad̲j̲ab 1058/9 August 1648 (*Ṣadāret-i Rumeli defteri* no. 79, in the Şeriye Sicilleri Arşivi in Istanbul, is concerned with this period). In recognition of his role in Meḥmed IV's succession to the throne, he was given the title of *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islām*, an award unprecedented in Ottoman history, in Ramaḍān 1058/October 1648; he in fact took up the post on 11 D̲j̲umādā I 1061/2 May 1651. While *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islām* he restored a number of old practices relating to this function, revealed some subtlety in distributing *ḳāḍī* and *müderris* posts, and re-organized *waḳf* matters. On 15 Ramaḍān 1061/1 September 1651 he was dismissed and a week later exiled to the island of Saḳīz (Chios). He was transported to Bursa in D̲j̲umādā I 1062/April 1652 and died there in Rabīʿ I 1068/end October 1657.

ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Efendi's periodic falls from grace were the result of his interference in the internal politics of the period. His extant poetry, written under the pseudonym ʿAzīzī, consists of a *dīwān*, a *mat̲h̲nawī* entitled *Güls̲h̲en-i niyāz* which contains details about his life as a *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul and as an exile on Cyprus, works on *fiḳh* (*Ḥall al-is̲h̲tibāh ʿan ʿaḳd al-is̲h̲bāh, Kitāb al-Ilg̲h̲āz fi ʾl-fiḳh al-Ḥanafiyya* and *Kāfī*) and on the life of the Prophet (*Mirʾāt al-ṣafāʾ*, consisting of *ḳiṣaṣ*, which he dedicated to Murād IV, and *Ḥilyat al-anbiyāʾ*) and translations, one in the field of ethics (Muḥsinī's *Ak̲h̲lāḳ*) and one

in *sīra* (Kāzarūnī's *Fawā'iḥ al-nabawiyya*). His fame, however, rests on his historical works. Of these, the *Sulaymān-nāme*, a history of Sulaymān I's era which he dedicated to Sultan Ibrāhīm, and the *Rawḍat al-abrār*, dedicated to Meḥemmed IV, have been printed (Būlāķ 1248). The latter work contains a description of the events from Adam to the time of Sultan Ibrāhīm; the printed edition relies on a defective manuscript (O. Köprülü and İ. Parmaksizoglu, *Şeyhülislâm Kara-Čelebizade Abdülaziz Efendi*, İstanbul Edebiyat Fakültesi, unpublished, doctoral thesis, 1944-5, no. 359, p. 18; this work is the most detailed study available of Ķarā-Čelebi-zāde and his family). According to M. H. Yınanç, *Türkiye tarihi, Selçuklular devri*, Istanbul 1944, 16, the *Rawḍat al-abrār* should consist in part of repetitions of ʿAlī and Djannābī. The *dhayl* of the *Rawḍat al-abrār* is more in the form of memoirs and narrates events down to 1068/1658. Another of his historical works is entitled *Ta'rīkh-i fetḥ-i Revān we-Baghdād* or *Ẓafer-nāme* and deals with Murād IV's campaigns to Eriwān in 1635 and to Baghdād in 1638. Many manuscripts of his works are extant in libraries in Istanbul and Europe (see *Istanbul kütüphaneleri tarih coğrafya yazmalar kataloğu, Topkapı Sarayı Türkçe yazmalar kataloğu,* and the catalogues of Flügel, Pertsch, Rieu and Tornberg).

ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Efendi is known to have been short in stature, stout, with a high-pitched voice, and a ruthless and inflexible character. In Bursa he constructed works, the Muftu Şuyu, carrying water from the Ulu Dagh to the town, and had the water distributed to forty different public fountains (O. F. Köprülü, *Şeyhülislâm Kara- Çelebi-zade Abdülaziz Efendi ve Müftü Suyu*, in *Belleten*, xi (1947), 137-45).

(5). Maḥmūd Efendi (997-1063/1588-1653), the son of Meḥmed Efendi, was known by the *laķab* Abu 'l-Faḍl. He rose to the positions of *ķāḍī-ʿasker* of Anadolu and Rumeli. In Istanbul he owned a *madrasa* in the Shehzāde-bashī quarter (S. Eyice, *Kaziasker Ebu 'l-Fazl Mahmud Efendi medresesi*, in *Tarih dergisi*, x (1959), 147-62), and in Bursa a mosque in the Set-bashī quarter (Başvekâlet Arşivi, Divan-ı Humâyûn ruûs defterleri no. 28, p. 31) and a teachers' seminary (*muʿallim-khāne* (*ibid.*, Defter no. 25, p. 183).

(6). ʿUthmān Efendi (s. 1062/1651), son of the above, held several posts as *ķāḍī*. (7). Aḥmed Nedīm [see NEDĪM], the famous poet of the 18th century, is related to the family of the Ķarā-Čelebi-zāde through his mother.

Bibliography: *Dhayl al-Shaķā'iķ*, 419; Ismāʿīl Belīgh, *Güldeste-i riyāḍ-i ʿirfān*, 317-22; Rifʿat, *Dawḥat al-mashā'ikh*, 58-62; *ʿIlmiyye sālnāmesi*, Istanbul 1334, 461-2; *ʿOthmānli mü'ellifleri*, iii, 120-1; art. *ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Ķara-Čelebi-zāde*, in *EI*[1].

(NEJAT GÖYÜNÇ)

ĶARADAGH, the Turkish name for the land of Crna Gora (Montenegro), at present one of the six republics of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, located in the southwestern part of that country. It is the smallest republic in Yugoslavia, being 13,967 sq. km. in area with a population of 530,361 (census of 31 March 1971). The region is primarily mountainous, the inland area differing considerably from the coastal belt, both in natural features and in the way of life of the population. The capital is Titograd (formerly known as Podgorica). Until 1918 the capital of the principality (and from 1910 the kingdom) of Montenegro was the city of Cetinje.

The population of present day Montenegro is made up as follows (according to the Institute for Statistics of Titograd): 66.55% Montenegrins, 1.81% Croatians, 7.51% Serbians and 13.43% Muslims. This is the part of the population which speaks Serbo-Croat and which declared a national or religious affiliation (0.14% of the population did not declared any national or religious affiliation and 0.22% gave a regional affiliation). In addition to other less numerous minorities, 6.55% of the population is Albanian, of which some are Muslim and some Catholic.

The Muslim religious organization in the Socialist Republic of Montenegro is an autonomous region of the Islamic Union (*Islamska Zajednica*) of the Yugoslavia S.F.R. which has four such regions with seats in Sarajevo, Priština, Skopje and Titograd. The supreme organ of the Islamic religious organization in Montenegro is — as in the other autonomous regions — the Islamic Union Council (*Sabor Islamske zajednice*) with an executive body (*Starješinstvo*) at its head. The Montenegrin Islamic Union Council has 16 members, and sends three delegates to the Supreme Council of the Islamic Union in the Yugoslavia S.F.R. which has 35 members. In Montenegro there are 70 mosques and 9 Boards of the Islamic Union which carry out the basic functions of Muslim religious organization in Montenegro (data of 1969).

Montenegro is so called from the region known as the Black Mountain (*Crna Gora*). Originally, this area belonged to the medieval Serbian state. On the disintegration of the latter in the 15th century, a separate Montenegrin state was formed under the Crnojevič dynasty. From 886/1481 it was an Ottoman vassal state, and in 901/1496 came under Ottoman rule. Other parts of present-day Montenegro had already fallen under Ottoman domination, while most of the coastal belt was under Venetian rule.

Once it became part of the Ottoman empire, the country was officially named Ķaradagh. Within most of the country — as well as in certain outlying areas — there developed a tribal system which was the basis for development of a type of military democracy in the internal life of the country. From 919/1513 the *sandjaķ-beg* of Ķaradagh was Iskender Beg [*q.v.*], an islamicized descendant of the Crnojevič dynasty. At that time the country was granted certain privileges. The population was no longer required to pay the *djizya* [*q.v.*] nor to submit to the *ʿushūr* and other taxes, but had to contribute only a gold coin (*filuri*) per house and field. After the death of Iskender Beg the land of Ķaradagh was no longer a separate *sandjaķ* falling mainly within the *sandjaķ* of Iskenderiyye (Scutari), but even then the population had certain privileges. From the middle of the 10th/16th century the role of the Montenegrin bishop became stronger. In the 11th/17th century the autonomy of Ķaradagh was established under Ottoman rule headed by a native *sipahi* (Serb. *spahija*); however, the bishop played an increasingly important role, and in the second half of the 11th/17th century he became the only representative of the people vis-à-vis the Ottoman authorities. At the end of the 11th/17th century the people of Ķaradagh drew nearer to the Venetians, whose influence led to a swiftly suppressed revolt against Ottoman rule. In the 12th/18th century the people, led by bishops of the Petrovič family from the village of Njeguš, overthrew Ottoman rule and defended their independence in many battles. In the 19th century, first under the Petrovič bishops and then under lay rulers of the same family, the land developed into a state and gradually obtained international recognition. It was recognized as an independent principality at the Berlin Congress of 1878, and in 1910 was proclaimed a kingdom.

Owing to the tribal organization which predominated in the area and to the struggles against the Ottoman authorities, Montenegro acquired a warriorlike society and a strong notion of freedom. In the 12th/18th century a folk tradition developed according to which Montenegro had never been under Turkish rule. This tradition still survives in some measure and for a fairly long time prevailed in historiography too.

Montenegro participated in the Balkan War (1912-13) against the Ottoman Empire, and in World War I (1914-18) as an ally of Serbia on the side of the Entente. During World War I, it was occupied by the Central Powers, and in 1918 was unified with Serbia, becoming part of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (later renamed Yugoslavia). During World War II Montenegro was under Italian occupation, and the people participated *en masse* in the struggle for liberation of the Yugoslavs.

Bibliography: *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, ii, Zagreb 1956, 398-488 (article *Crna Gora*); B. Durdev, *Turska vlast u Crnoj Gori u XVI i XVII veku* ("The Turkish rule in Montenegro in the 16th and 17th centuries"), Sarajevo 1953; *Istorija Crne Gore* ("History of Montenegro") ii 2, Titograd 1970 (volume iii, covering the period of Turkish rule, is in preparation); *Ustav Islamske zajednice u Socijalističkoj Federativnoj Jugoslaviji* ("The Constitution of the Islamic Union in the S.F.R. of Yugoslavia"), in *Glasnik Vrhovnog islamskog starješinstva u SFRJ*, xxxiii, 1-2 (Sarajevo 1970), 105-12.

(B. ĐURDEV)

ĶARĀ DENIZ, name of the Black Sea in Turkish.

i. — The name. — The expression "Black Sea" is encountered from the 7th/13th century in the Arabic form of al-Baḥr al-Aswad (in Abū ᵓl-Fidāᵓ, tr., Reynaud, ii/1,38,316), in the Greek form in the treaty concluded in 1265 between Michael Paleologus and Venice (*Fontes Rerum Austracarum*, Section ii, xiv, 63, Vienna 1857), and among the western sources in Schiltberger at the end of the 14th century. But other expressions have for long been employed in parallel with it ("Russian Sea", "Sea of Sinop", etc.) The most frequent has been "the Great Sea", "Mare Maius", in Odoric of Pordenone, ed. G. Strasman, Berlin 1968, 38; the same, in William of Rubruck, ed. Michel and Wright, Paris 1839, *Recueil de voyages et mémoires*, iv, 214; "Mare Magnum, in Plano Carpini, ed. d'Avezac, *ibid.*, 743), a form which appears dominant mostly in the 13th and 14th centuries in the western sources and which persisted in various aspects ("mare maggiore", "mer majour", etc., until the 17th century, from which date the term "Black Sea" finally becomes general, and very soon in widespread use in the eastern sources.

The origin of the Turkish expression thus poses a problem. The ingenious explanation of L. de Saussure (*L'origine des noms de Mer Rouge, Mer Blanche et Mer Noire*, in *Le Globe*, xliii, 23 ff.), calling attention to the coloured quality attributed to the cardinal points by the Chinese (and transmitted by them to the Turks), cannot be upheld. J. H. Mordtmann (ĶARA DENIZ in EI[1]) found the solution in its equation with the "Great Sea" of Western sources, remarking of it that the epithet *ķarā* frequently has the meaning of "great, powerful, terrible" in Turkish, particularly in the proper names. This would be the initial meaning of *ķarā* in Ķarā Deniz, displayed in its medieaval western translation. The contamination of the two meanings in fact seems probable, but the explanation appears inadequate. In fact, the existence of the doublet Ķarā Deniz-Aķ Deniz ("the White Sea", the Mediterranean) does not plead in its favour. Above all the expression Black Sea seems to have been well attested before the arrival of the Turks. Constantine Porphyrogenetos (*De adm. imp.*, ed. Bonn, 132) in the 10th century, speaks of the Θάλασσα Σκοτεινή ("dark sea"). Doubtless one must accept the thesis of Aurel Decei (article Ķara Deniz in *İA*), who supposes the existence of an ancient Iranian name (from *aḫsaena* "dark, sombre"), Hellenized in Ἄξεινος by false etymology, then transformed because of superstition into Εὔξεινος; this would have survived with its original meaning in the East-Pontic regions where the Turks came into contact with this geographical concept (see also BAḤR BUNṬUS).

ii. — The Turkish conquest. — The development of the Turkish seizure of the Black Sea lands was spread over almost three centuries. Since the turmoil of the end of the 5th/11th century, Byzantium had succeeded in preserving all its fortresses on the coasts of the Black Sea, and the Saldjūķid Empire of Iconium (Ķonya) remained practically cut off from the sea. It was only at the very end of the 6th/12th century that the Turks gained a foothold there. When in 581/1185, Ķilïdj Arslān II, divided his states between his sons, one of them, Rukn al-Dīn, received, with Tokat as its centre, the territory extending as far as the coast of the Black Sea. According to Nicetas, he laid hold on Sāmsūn. It was also without doubt before the death of Ķilïdj Arslān in 588/1192 that the Turkish occupation of Sāmsūn took place, a process which developed alongside the Greek town of Amisos, which survived as a Greek, and then Genoese, city until the 14th century. In 611/1214, the capture of Sinūb (Sinop) by ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaykāᵓūs I assured the Turks of Iconium of a second important base in this central sector of the Black Sea coasts, towards which the natural routes of penetration from the great valleys of the Ķïzïl Irmak and the Yes̲h̲il Irmak had guided the Turkish advance. On the other hand, the Greeks held on in the eastern part of the littoral, in the shelter of the mountainous and forested barrier of the East-Pontic chains which protected the independance of the Empire of Trebizond, and equally in the western sector of the coast, where Heracliums (Ereğli) was doubtless only sold to the Turks in 761/1360 (Heyd, ii, 358), while Samastri (Amasra) remained a Genoese colony until the 9th/15th century.

Sinop (Sanūb) and Sāmsūn also played their part in the regional export traffic of the products of northern Anatolia, sc. wool, fur, leather and mining products. But whereas the Black Sea trade remained up until then directed essentially towards Constantinople at the beginning of the 7th/13th century a considerable southern trade appears between the Turkish ports of the south and the Greek towns of the north, such as Soldaïa (Sudak), an outlet for the steppes at that time held by the Ķïpčaķ Turks, who were still pagans. From 602/1205-6 some merchants of Iconium, Syria and Mesopotamia banded together in caravans to go from Sïvās to Trebizond and, from there, to the eastern and northern coasts of the Black Sea (Heyd, ii, 93). The appearance of Turkish footholds on the southern coast stabilized this traffic to Sinop and Sāmsūn. From the north came furs and slaves in exchange for cotton goods, silk and spices (observations of William of Rubruck at Soldaïa in 1253). The Mongol conquest and the ruin of Baghdad, in deflecting the trade of Inner Asia towards the north, made a powerful contribution to strengthening trans-Pontic relations in the second half of the century. They were essentially consolidated, following the Genoese en-

tente with the Paleologus dynasty, by a whole series of Genoese warehouses established in the first place on the southern coast of the Crimea between Caffa (doubtless from 1266) and Cembalo (Balaklava), including Soldaïa taken by the Genoese in 1365. Some other establishments were added there around the Sea of Azov (Tana-Azov at the mouth of the Don, Copa-Kopil, etc.), and on the eastern coast of the Black Sea (Mapa-Anapa, Sebastopolis-Suk͟hum, Kalʿe etc.). The traffic in slaves (Turks and Circassians), fish and caviar, salt, cereals and furs was directed towards Constantinople and Europe, but certainly also in an appreciable proportion towards Asia Minor and across it as far as Egypt. Besides, Christian merchants passed via Trebizond as far as Sulṭāniyya in Persia. The part of the Muslim merchants cannot have been negligible in this trans-Pontic commerce, but is difficult to evaluate with precision. It was on a Greek ship that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa made his way from Kerč to Sinop in 1333 (tr. Defremery, ii, 345; tr. Gibb, ii, 468).

The capture of Constantinople, with the occupation of the Straits by the Ottomans, upset these relations. The K͟hān of the Tartars then diverted the merchandise and slaves sent to Sāmsūn or other ports towards the points of the coast situated outside the Genoese territory, such as Vosporo (Kerč) and Calamita (near Inkerman) (Heyd, ii, 387). Nevertheless, the policy of Ottoman expansion in the Black Sea did not begin immediately. The Bank of St. George, heir of the rights of Genoa, was able to maintain relations for some time. In 859/1455 its ships succeeded in forcing the passage of the Bosphorus and reaching Caffa and Samastri. Meḥemmed II took this town in 863/1459, but the trade to Caffa, henceforth a tributary of the Sultan, continued during the following years. The corn of Caffa still passed to Genoa. It was only in 880/1475 that Meḥemmed II made some incidents between the K͟hān of the Crimea and the Tartars in connection with the nomination of the governor who had jurisdiction over them a pretext for seizing the town, and the speedily, all the other Genoese towns.

iii. — The Ottoman Sea. — From that time, when the principalities of Rūm, the Crimean Tartars, the Nogay, and the western Caucasians were made vassals, the Black Sea became an Ottoman lake, for approximately three centuries, to which the Sublime Porte jealously forbade access to foreign ships. The Ambassador of France, Girardin who, in 1686, solicited authorization for French ships to trade there, received the reply that "the Grand Seigneur would sooner open the doors of his harem to foreigners" (P. Masson, *Histoire du commerce français dans le Levant au xviii*ᵉ *siècle*, Paris 1911, 638). A similar reply was made in 1699 to the Ambassador of Russia Ukraintzev (B. Nicolsky, *Le peuple russe: carrière historique 862-1945*, Neuchatel 1945, 189). The Black Sea was to be the base for a policy of Ottoman expansion towards the steppes of Southern Russia and the Caspian, whose culminating point was the expedition of Astrakhan in 1569 with the project of a Don-Volga canal. This exclusive domination did not prevent, however, incursions of Cossacks in the 17th century, whose boats came at times to pillage the Anatolian coasts, for example at Giresun (Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyahatnâmesi*, ed. Zuhuri Danişman, Istanbul 1970, iii, 81).

In the Ottoman period, Black Sea trade was organized at first essentially to provision the immense conurbation of Istanbul. The corporation of Black Sea merchants (numbering 8,000 in 2,000 shops, according to Ewliyā Čelebi (*ibid*, ii, 246) played a principal role in the town's activity, as did the sailors of the Black Sea (numbering 9,000, or 2,000 according to another passage, *ibid.*, ii, 240). Cereals (wheat, oats, barley), fish, fats (Eremya Çelebi Kömürucüyan, *Istanbul tarihi: xvii asirda Istanbul*, Turkish tr. Hrand D. Andreasyan, Istanbul 1952, 15) from the northern steppes, the wood of the Anatolian coasts, the slaves of the Caucasus, and furs, were in the 17th century the principal objects of commerce. The Ottoman administration devoted all its efforts to developing this internal Black Sea trade, and compelled the trade routes crossing it to be diverted via Istanbul in order to assure itself of control. Thus in 1095/1684 the trade of Ankara to Poland was compelled to pass via the capital (R. Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du xvii*ᵉ *siècle*, Paris 1962, 482), puréed plums from the Trebizond coast, as well as wood from the Anatolian coast and wooden objects (vases, plates) manufactured at Amasya. In return, the grain of Crimea frequently passed to Trebizond and Rize despite the prohibitions. The wines of Tripoli on the Anatolian coast, those of Aḳ Ḳirmān and of Misevria on the coasts of Bessarabia and Bulgaria, were sent to the Crimea, to the Abkhazians or to the Cossacks of the South of Russia, who got their food supplies at Oczakov. To these commercial currents were added migratory movements. The mountaineers of the East-Pontic chains of Anatolia had already migrated in large numbers towards Constantinople, and also to all the western part of the Black Sea. There was also in Moldavia an important Laz commercial colony (Peyssonel ii, 203-4).

iv. — European penetration. — The first breach in the Ottoman Black Sea system dates from 1107/1696 at the time of the capture of Azov by the Russians and the construction of the first Russian fleet on the waters of the Azov Sea. Some Russian ships also accompanied the plenipotentiary of the Tsar to Istanbul in 1111/1699. Retroceded to Turkey at the treaty of Pruth in 1713, Azov returned to Russia at the treaty of Belgrade in 1739, with a portion of the littoral of the Sea of Azov, but Article ix of the treaty stipulated that the Russians' trade in the Black Sea should be done exclusively by ships belonging to the Turks. On a parallel with the treaty of Passarowitz, the limit for the movement of Austrian ships on the Danube remained fixed at the mouths of the river. From 1163/1750 a first French factory was established at Caffa, where the French dragoman carried on trade from 1746, but it was done in ships flying the Ottoman flag (P. Masson, *op. cit.*, 641-3). It was only the treaty of Küçük Kaynarca (1187/1774) which opened the Black Sea to the Russian merchant ships, while the annexation of Kerč, Yeni Ḳalʿe and the mouths of the Dnieper considerably enlarged the sea coasts of the Empire of the Tsars. The conference of Aynali Kavak in 1193/1779 completed it by according to the same ships the free passage of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. The foundation of Kherson in 1778, the annexation of the Crimea and the occupation of Georgia in 1783, the capture of Oczakov in 1788, and in 1789 that of Hod͟ja Bey, where in 1795 the new town of Odessa was founded, mark the decisive stages of Russian installation in the Black Sea at the end of the 18th century. The Russian privileges were rapidly extended to the other European nations. In 1784 Austrian ships, in 1799 English ships, in 1802 French ships, obtained freedom of traffic.

European penetration entailed a considerable disturbance in the commercial currents. In 1781 the first Russian ship passed from Kherson to Marseille. In 1784 a French factory was established at Kherson. At the beginning of the 19th century several hundred

ships already participated in the trade of South Russia (an annual movement of 900 ships, of which 552 went to Odessa and 210 to Taganrog; 421 Austrian ones and 329 Russian ones, according to Anthoine, 262). Ottoman trade was progressively reduced to the West coasts of the Caucasus (with which the slave trade remained active throughout the first half of the 19th century) and to the north coasts of Anatolia. Sinop remained an important Ottoman naval base and a great centre of ship-building yards. The trans-Pontic trade of Russia to the Anatolian coasts survived on a restricted scale (fabrics from Aleppo and nuts sent from Trebizond: V. Fontanier, *Voyages en Orient ... de 1830 à 1833, deuxième voyage en Anatolie*, Paris 1834, 225). But a new fact was the great rise in transit commerce from Persia via Trebizond and Erzurum, which was the normal access route from the Black Sea to Persia until the development of the traffic from Persia to Russia by land at the end of the 19th century and, more recently, the diversion of Persian trade to the Persian Gulf (C. Issawi, *The Tabriz-Trabzon Trade 1830-1900: Rise and Decline of a Route*, in *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, i (1970), 18-28). Since this date, the Turkish trade of the Black Sea has been essentially a coastal traffic, notably concerned with passengers, wood, the coal of the Zonguldak basin sent to Istanbul, to which are added some direct exports of nuts and tobacco to Europe.

v. — Political and naval history in the modern period. — If the freedom of commercial navigation has never been called into question since the end of the 18th century, the same has not been the case in regard to the naval status of the Black Sea. The treaty of Hunkiar Skelesi (1249/1833), by which the Porte undertook to close the Straits at Russia's request had practically conferred on this latter power the control of the Sea. The Conference of London (1840), in closing the Straits to all warships, caused Russia to lose this privileged situation, but left her assured of dominance in the Black Sea. But after the destruction of the Turkish naval forces by the Russians at Sinop in 1269/1853 and the victory of the Franco-Anglo-Turkish allied forces in the Crimean War, the treaty of Paris of 1856 provided for the neutralisation of the Black Sea (except for six steamships with a maximum length of 50m. at the water-mark and four light ships for each power, as well as two light ships per power at the mouths of the Danube). The Franco-German War of 1871 gave Russia the opportunity, through the Conference of London, to have this neutralization annulled and to regain her freedom of action, but the passage of the Straits remained forbidden to warships. The Conference of Lausanne in 1921, by according freedom of passage to warships of every nationality (provided that they did not constitute a force superior to that of the most important fleet existing in the Black Sea) and by demilitarizing the Straits, made the Black Sea practically a free sea, open to the outside powers. This arrangement was only ephemeral, and the Conference of Montreux (1936), by giving Turkey the right to fortify the Straits once more, by restricting freedom of passage to the fleets of the powers bordering on the Black Sea (with exceptions for light ships) and by according Turkey the right to close the Straits in event of a war in which she remained neutral, has made the Black Sea once more a half-closed sea.

Bibliography (apart from the works cited in this article): General: A. Decei, art. *Ḳara Deniz* in *İA*.—The Name: J. H. Mordtmann, art. ḲARA DENIZ in *EI*[1].—Pre-Ottoman period: W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen-Age*, repr. Leipzig 1923; G. I. Bratianu, *Recherches sur le commerce génois dans la Mer Noire au xiii*[e] *siècle*, Paris 1929.—Ottoman period and beginnings of the European penetration: On the expedition of Astra-k͟hān: A. Nimet Kurat, *Türkiye ve Idil Boyu*, Ankara 1966; on trade: de Peyssonel, *Traité sur le commerce de la Mer Noire*, Paris 1820; amongst descriptions of the coasts: P. Minas Bijişkyan, *Karadeniz kiyilari tarih ve coğrafyasi 1819-19*, Turkish tr. Hrand D. Andreasyan, Istanbul 1969; E. Taitbout de Marigny, *Hydrographie de la Mer Noire et de la Mer d'Azow*, Trieste 1856; F. Brunn, *Černoe More*, Odessa 1879-80.—Political and naval history: A. Slade, *Records of travels in Turkey, Greece etc. and of a cruise in the Black Sea with the Capitan Pasha in the years 1829, 1830 and 1831*, London 1833; K. Rheindorf, *Die Schwarzmeer (Pontus)-Frage 1856-1871*, Berlin 1925; P. H. Mischef, *La Mer Noire et les détroits de Constantinople*, Paris 1899.

(X. DE PLANHOL)

ḲARĀ FAḌLĪ [see FAḌLĪ MEḤMED].

ḲARĀ GÖZ [see KARAGÖZ].

ḲARĀ GÖZLÜ, Turkish tribe in Iran. It is not mentioned in any 10th/16th or 11th/17th century sources. Originally a member of the famous S͟hāmlu tribe during the Ṣafawid period, the tribe must have taken its name from one of its beys; it is probable that it originated in the Bey Dili sub-tribe of the S͟hāmlu.

The homeland of the Ḳara Gözlü was the Hamadān region, but in the mid-20th century there was a small branch known by the same name in Fars. The Ḳarā Gözlü had abandoned a fully nomadic life as early as the beginning of the 19th century, and lived in large and prosperous villages on the Hamadān plain. Nevertheless, they were foremost amongst those peoples who preserved tribal unity. Today they are divided into two branches, the ʿAs͟hīklu and the Ḥād͟jd͟jilu. All European travellers who visited the region describe them as a numerous community. Dupré (1807-9) gives their number as 12,000 (*Voyage en Perse*, Paris 1819, ii, 460); Macdonald Kinneir (1810) records that they were able to field an army of 7,000 men (*A Geographical memoir of the Persian Empire*, London 1813, 127); while Lady Sheil (mid-19th century) gives their number as 4,000 (*Glimpses of life and manners in Persia*, London 1856, 398). The population of the Ḳarā Gözlü was given as 300,000 in 1930. Travellers also describe them as one of the most warlike tribes. Macdonald Kinneir (*op. cit.*, 46) calls them the best horsemen in Iran. According to Muḥammad Hās͟him (*Rustam al-tawārīk͟h*, ed. M. Mus͟hīrī, Tehran 1348, 105), Ḳarā Gözlü Saʿīd Beg was one of the most gallant *amīrs* of the reign of Sultan Ḥusayn, the last Ṣafawid ruler. Although the Ḳarā Gözlü were a closely-knit community, they chose to remain subject to other ruling dynasties; for this reason they settled in the Hamadān plain as early as the 19th century, leading a prosperous life in comparison with other tribes. This can be explained by the fact, that as members of the S͟hāmlu subtribe, they had had a long-established political tradition and experience.

Following the death of Nādir S͟hah Afs͟hār, the tribe accepted vassalage to Karīm K͟han Zand; but in the struggle between the successors of Karīm K͟han and Āḳā Muḥammad K͟han Ḳād͟jar, the Ḳarā Gözlü promptly sided with the Ḳād͟jars, and played an important part in Āḳā Muḥammad's accession to power. The tribe's loyalty to the Ḳād͟jar dynasty continued in later years, and as a result many important military and political figures were appointed from it.

Foremost among these was Muḥammad Husayn Khān (d. 1240/1824-5), who had rendered important service to Āķā Muḥammad in the creation of his state. He was also known as a just and benevolent ruler (J. Morier, *A Second Journey through Persia...*, London 1818, ii, 263). Rustam Khān, son of the above-mentioned khān, and Ḥādjdji Muḥammad Khān, Naṣr Allāh Khān, ʿAlī Khān, Maḥmūd Khān and ʿAbd Allāh Khān were the most famous political and military figures of the Ķarā Gözlü during the periods of Fatḥ ʿAlī, Muḥammad Shah and Nāṣir al-Dīn Shah (Mīrzā Muḥammad Taķī, *Nāsikh al-tawārīkh*, ed. Djihāngīr Ķāʾim Maķāmī, Tehran 1337, ii, 84; iii, 123; Riḍā Ķulī Khān, *Rawḍat al-ṣafā-yi Nāṣirī*, Tehran 1339, ix, 636, 648; 44-5, 211, 226-7, 238-40, 458, 459, 467, 529). Of these, Maḥmūd Khān and ʿAlī Khān were married to girls of the Ķādjār dynasty (J. P. Ferrier, *Voyage en Perse dans l'Afghanistan...*, Paris 1860, i, 70-1). Chiefs of the Ķarā Gözlü were among those statesmen assimilated to Western European culture. One of these was Naṣr al-Mulk, educated at Oxford University, who was regent in 1914, while his brother Amīr Tūmān was ambassador in Washington.

Bibliography: For detailed information and bibliography of the Ķarā Gözlü see F. Sümer *Kaçarlar devrinde Türk oymakları*, in *Selçuklu Araştırmaları Dergisi*, v (Ankara 1974). (F. SÜMER)

ĶARĀ ḤIṢĀR, "black castle, black fortress", name of several localities of Asia Minor distinguished from one another by means of other names or epithets, but nevertheless still frequently confused. One finds them already enumerated in the *Muʿdjam* of Yāķūt (iv, 44), in the *Nuzhat al-ķulūb* of Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (ed. Le Strange, 97), in the *Seyāḥāt-nāma* of Ewliyā Čelebi (Istanbul 1314-18, ii, 384 = *Narrative of Travels by Ewliya Efendi*, London 1850. ii, 205), in the *Lehdje-i ʿOthmānī* of Aḥmed Wefīķ, (Istanbul 1293, 911) and in the *Taʾrīkh* of ʿAlī Djewād (Istanbul 1313, i, 599); the enumeration is nowhere near complete. These localities all have in common their situation on heights, for the most part fortified and difficult of access, and owe their colour-epithet to some volcanic rocks of black colour (basalt, andesite or trachyte such as at Afyūn Ķarā Ḥiṣār). The majority of these fortresses were without doubt built in the Middle Ages to serve above all as places of refuge for the inhabitants of the surrounding area in case of unforeseen attack, as occurred frequently during the quarrels between the Byzantines on one hand and the Arabs and Saldjūķids on the other, and also, later, during the wars between the small states that made up Asia Minor: many among them were abandoned during the domination of the Ottomans and are no longer found on our maps.

The most important localities of this name are:

1. AFYŪN ĶARĀ ḤIṢĀR (Afyon Kara Hisar); see the article that has been already devoted to it [*q.v.*]. (To add to the *Bibl.*: Süleyman Gönçer, *Afyon ili tarihi*, i, İzmir 1971).

2. ISDJE ĶARĀ ḤIṢĀR (İsçe Karahisar/İsçehisar), 22 km. to the north-east of Afyon Karahisar, evidently owes its name (= "black castle, of the colour of soot") to the colour of its dwellings constructed of black lava; so it must be written thus and not as Eski Ķarā Ḥiṣār, as do Hamilton (*Researches in Asia Minor*, London 1842, i, 461, 467), L. de Laborde, (*Voyage de l'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1838, 68-9), Texier, (*Descr. de l'Asie Mineure*, i, 145-52), and Ritter who follows them (Kleinasien, i, 605, 642-3). Nor is it Itchki or Istya (Ramsay, in *Mitt. Deutschen Arch. Instituts in Athen*, vii, 132 ff.; x, 348), nor Ischtschi (Körte, *Anatolische Skizzen*, Berlin, 1896, 88 ff.) or Ishite (von Dienst, map accompanying the *Geogr. Mitteilungen*, of Petermann, Gotha 1860, suppl. fasc. no. 125). This small locality of around 4,000 inhabitants is situated in the neighbourhood of the quarries of ancient Dokimion, from which were extracted the Synnadix marble; these quarries have recently been worked by European contractors (*Sālnāma Brūsa*, 1325, 125).

Bibliography: L. Robert, in the *Journal des Savants* (1962), 24-5.

3. SHĀBĪN OR SHEBĪN, Sheb Ķarā Ḥiṣār (Şebin Kara Hisar) "the black castle of alum", also called Ķarā Hiṣār-i Sharķī or Ķarā Ḥiṣār-i Shabkhāne, owes its name to the deposits of alum which are found in the vicinity; these deposits, which had already been mined in antiquity, were worked especially in the Middle Ages ,and they furnished a product of a quality particularly esteemed in this mineral.

The town is built at about 1300 m. altitude, on the inner slopes of the Pontic chains, 120 km. to the South of Giresun, 190 km. to the north-east of Sīwās. The ruins of the fortress which gave its name to the town are situated on an isolated hill to the east of the town, which they dominate from 50 m., being at an elevation of 200 metres on the other side at the top of a valley of a small tributary of the Kelkit Çay.

As Blau already demonstrated in 1865, relying on a Byzantine inscription, the town is the Colonia of antiquity and the Middle Ages, and it preserved this name until the modern period. According to the *Novellae* of Justinian, it belonged to Armenia Prima; in the *Notitiae Episcopatum*, it figures as the episcopal seat of Armenia Secunda. In 162/778 the town fell into the hands of Yazīd b. Usayd al-Sulamī at the time of an invasion of Pontus (Ghévond, *Hist. des Guerres des Arabes en Arménie*, Paris 1856, 106; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 493, and Ibn Khurradādhbih, in *BGA*, vi, 108). However, the Ķalūniya, which according to Eutychius (ed. Selden and Pococke, 383), was conquered by the Sāsānid Shāpūr together with Cappadocia, and the Ķalūniya that the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla took in the year 335/946-7 (*ZDMG*, x, 467; Yāķūt, 168) must be without doubt the Colonia Cappadociae which, according to Niketas (72, 689) much later became Aķsarāy. This powerful fortress must have been lost by the Byzantines after the battle of Manzikert; soon after the Danishmend-Oghullarī established themselves there (Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, ed. Reifferscheid, ii, 164); and much later we find it in the possession of the Saltūķids of Erzurum (Niketas Chon, *Ann.*, ed. Bonn, 185, 294) who in the year 598/1201-2 were dispossessed by the Saldjūķids of Ķonya; the latter established the Mengūdjids, vassals of Ķonya, in their place; after the fall of the sultanate of Ķonya, the descendants of Eretnā and different princes of the dynasties of the Aķ-Ķoyunlu and Ķarā-Ķoyunlu reigned there (cf. Saʿd al-Dīn, i, 287 = ʿAlī, *Künh al-akhbār*, v, 178 = Leunclavius, *Hist. Musulm.*, col. 474); in the year 878/1473, the town was taken by Meḥemmed the Conqueror, after the battle of Terdjān, and was incorporated into the Turkish empire (ʿĀshïķ-Pasha-Zāde, *Taʾrīkh*, 378, 181, who designates the town as Ķarā Hiṣār of Kemākh, also Saʿd al-Dīn, i, 541, 542; Leunclavius, *Hist. Musulm.*, col. 589). It constituted a *sandjaķ* of the *wilāyet* of Erzurum (Ewliyā, *Travels*, ii, 205; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihānnumā*, 422. 424), but sometimes of Erzindjan. Re-attached to Sivas in the 19th century, then after having been promoted to *chef-lieu* of a *wilāyet* at the beginning of the Republican era, it is today a *kaza* of the *wilāyet* of Giresun.

The old name of Colonia was adopted by the Sal-djūḳids under the Armenian form Kug͟hūniya that we encounter in the chronicle of Ibn Bībī (ed. Duda, Copenhagen 1959, 151, 152, 306), in Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (*op. cit.*, where the readings of the manuscripts *Limūniya* or *Lī*ʿ*ūniya* must be corrected to *Kīg͟hūniya*), and on the money of Eretnā (Aḥmed Tawḥīd, *Meskūkāt-i Ḳadīme-i islāmiyye*, iv, 439). If, as appears almost certain, the Mavro-Kastran mentioned by Michael Astaliota (ed. Bonn, 125) and by Skylitzes (679) as being "situated on a hill in Armenia difficult of access", can be identified with Colonia, it seems then that alongside the name of Colonia the name of Ḳarā Ḥiṣār was already known at this period; likewise, we encounter among the Greeks of the 18th century, alongside Colonia, the form Garasaris which is a corruption of Ḳarā Ḥiṣār.

The majority of the population seems to have remained Christian for a long time. A census of 935/1529 counted 213 Christian houses there as against 84 Muslim. In 1022/1710 there were still 240 Christian houses as against 217 Muslim. Ewliyā Čelebi, who has left us a highly imaginative description, counted 1600 houses there, 750 shops, 42 mosques (1057/1647). There were 70 houses within the citadel, where the villagers of the Black Sea coasts, exposed to the ravages of the Cossacks, came to store their precious objects. A. D. Mordtmann (1858) counted 2,000 houses there, 500 of them Armenian and 100 Greek, and Vital Cuinet, 11,700 inhabitants (of whom 2,750 were Armenian and 1,650 Greek). Trade, judged to be in decline by Barth in 1858, appeared to have become active once more at the end of the century, according to Cumont and Cuinet.

The richness of the gardens and vineyards adjoining the town always formed a primary basis of this activity. Schilberger (*Reisebuch*, ed. Langmantel, 57) calls Karassere "a land rich in vines"; these vines, which still exist today, were always less famous than the rich mines of alum of the neighbouring village S͟hābk͟hāne, mines from which was extracted the "alume de rocca di Colonna" (that is to say Colonia) that was so esteemed (Pegolotti, in Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant*, ii, 565); they are the *aluminis minera juxta Sabastiam quae valet unam argentarium* of Vincentius Bellovacensis, xxxi, c. 143; they are also mentioned by William of Rubruck (ed. Bergeron, 147). Meḥemmed the Conqueror took possession of them for the treasury (Saʿd al-Dīn, i, 542), and later, the pay of the garrison of the fortress was levied on the income from their rent (*D̲j̲ihānnumā*, 424). In the middle of the 19th century 100,000 okes of ore were still being extracted from four shafts (Barth) and exported to Giresun. The working ceased at the end of the 19th century.

The town suffered greatly from the 1914-18 War, when it found itself close to the front in 1916 at the time of the Russian troops' advance, and was abandoned by a part of its population. After the disappearance of the minority population, there were no more than 7,091 inhabitants in 1927, and 7,600 in 1950. The castle, encircled by surrounding walls in which some old wells seem to indicate a pre-Hellenic settlement, is no longer inhabited; within these fortifications, on the summit of the mountain, there is a small keep with an octagonal tower. The fortifications date from the Byzantines and were completed by the Muslim governors of the town.

Bibliography: Ewliyā, *Seyāḥat-nāma*, ii, 384 ff. = *Travels*, ii, 204 = ed. Zuhuri Danışman, Istanbul 1970, iv, 81-5; C. Ritter, *Kleinasien*, i, 208 ff.; H. Barth, *Reise von Trapezunt nach Scutari*, suppl. fasc. to the *Geog. Mitteilungen* of Petermann, Gotha 1860, 14 ff. (with plan of the town), and the additional information of A. D. Mordtmann in *Ausland*, 1863, 406-7, 414-5, reprinted in A. O. Mordtmann, *Anatolien*, Hanover 1925; C. Blau in Petermann's *Geogr. Mitteilungen* (1865), 252; Taylor in the *Journal of the R. Geogr. Soc.*, xxviii (1868), 293 ff.; P. Triantaphyllides, Ἡ ἐν Πόντῳ Ἑλληνικὴ φυλή, Athens 1886, 113 ff.; X. A. Sideropulos in the archaeological supplement to the xviith volume of the publications of the Greek Syllogos of Constantinople, 135 ff.; *Studia Pontica*, ii, F. and E. Cumont, *Voyage d'exploration archéologique dans le Pont*, 296 ff. (with reproductions); H. T. Okutan, *Şebinkarahisar ve civari coğrafiya, tarih, kültür, folklor* (Giresun 1949), 464p.

4. ḳarā ḥiṣār-i behrāmshāh (Bayrāms͟hāh), already cited by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 97; Sidī Reʾīs (16th century) visited this place at the time of his journey from Sīwās to Bozaḳ and Ḳīrs͟hehir (*Mirʾāt al-mamālik*, Istanbul 1312, 96). In the age of Ewliyā Čelebi it was a jurisdiction (*ḳaḍāʾ*) of the *eyālet* of Sīwās (*D̲j̲ihānnumā*, 662). This locality is today the Karahisar Tatlisi marked by the *Meskûn Yerler Kılavuzu* (Ankara 1946) as a parish of the *bucak* of Kara Mağara, between Yozgat and Akdağ Madeni (and not the Karahisar Kemalisi, a parish of the *bucak* of Kadişehri, *İlçe* of Çeherek, *wilāyet* of Yozgat, to the north-west of Akdağ Madeni and 30 km. to the north-east of the former).

5. ḳarā ḥiṣār-i demird̲j̲i, locality situated in the *wilāyet* of Çorum, some hours to the north of the well-known field of ruins of Üyük, cited in the *D̲j̲ihānnumā*, 625, among the *ḳaḍāʾ*s of the *sand̲j̲aḳ* of Çorum. W. Hamilton was, in 1838, the first of the European travellers who visited it and described it (*Researches*, etc., i, 379, 381, 403; Ritter relied on this book in his *Kleinasien*, i, 147, 149 ff.), then came H. Barth in 1859 (*Reise von Trapezunt nach Scutari*, 42) and A. D. Mordtmann, (*Ausland*, 1863, 785; *SB Bayr. Ak.* (1861), 191-2). The place covers the ruins of Ḳaṭā Sarāy, which, as it lies on top of it, is also cited under this name in the *D̲j̲ihānnumā*. It must be identified with the Ḳarā Ḥiṣār that the old Ottoman chronicles cite in connection with Prince Meḥemmed's battles with the chief of the Yürüks Gözlerog͟hlu in *ca.* 805/1402 (Leunclavius, *Hist. Musulm.*, col. 386; Saʿd al-Dīn, i, 200). Kiepert's map marks in this place, a little to the North of Alaca Höyük, two places with the name of Ḳarā Ḥiṣār near to one another, one mentioned as a ruin, the other as a village. The Turkish 1/200,000 map marks in this place a ruin of a fortress on a hill at 1250 m. altitude, and two villages, to the north-west and to the north-east, called respectively Türk Kalehisar and Çerkes Kalehisar (surely for Ḳara Ḥiṣār).

6. ḳarā ḥiṣār-i teke (D̲j̲ihānnuma, 638, Aḥmed Wefīḳ, ʿAlī D̲j̲ewād, *op. cit.*), also called Ḳarā Ḥiṣār Adalia (Ewliyā, *Travels*, ii, 705), already cited by Yāḳūt (iv, 44) as a place situated a day's journey from Anṭākiya (actually Anṭāliya). At the time of Ibn Faḍl Allāh, a certain Zekeriyyā, formerly *mamlūk* of the lord of Adalia, made himself independent and governed a small territory which comprised 3 towns and 12 strongholds (*Notices et extraits*, xiii, 372-3). Cited on several occasions in the pre-Ottoman texts, this place is still to be found in the accounts of the cadastral survey dating from Meḥemmed the Conqueror (*Revue Historique publ. par l'Institut d'Histoire Turque*, ii, 76), and is noted in the D̲j̲ihānnumā (*loc. cit.*) as a jurisdiction of the *sand̲j̲aḳ* of Adalia.

The identification of this town has given rise to

several mistakes. Following the information of Aḥmed Wefīḳ (*op. cit.*), who mentions Ḳarā Ḥiṣār as the chief place of a *nāḥiye* of the *ḳaḍā'* of Serik in the *sandjaḳ* of Adalia, and the information of Ewliyā Čelebi (*Seyāḥatnāmesi*, ix, 290) according to which the place was built at the foot of a mountain called Serek dağı, Mordtmann in *EI*[1] and Besim Darkot in *İA* have sought to identify it with the large village of Serik, a real centre of a *ḳaḍā'* in the plain between the Aksu and the Köprü Su, nearer to this last river. This identification of the locality is incompatible with the data of the same text of Ewliyā, which place it to the west of the Aksu, four hours' journey from Antalya and an hour to the north of the village of Kundu (still existing) on the one hand, and on the other with the information of the same, as well as of al-Ḳalḳashandī (*Ṣubḥ*, v, 346), which places it on a lofty hill. Süleyman Fikri Erten (*Antalya vilayeti tarihi*, Istanbul 1940, 90) wished incorrectly to place it at the ancient town of Sillyon, a hypothesis compatible with the data on the elevated site but not with the information on distance and placing in relation to the river. In fact, there is no doubt that it can be identified with the ancient town of Pergum in terms of the above characteristics. Recognized since the 19th century by Krause in his articles *Pamphylia* and *Perge* in the *Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste*, Sect. 3, vol. x (1838), 244, and vol. xv-xvi (1841), 435, but without comment and information on sources, then by X. de Planhol (*De la plaine pamphylienne aux lacs pisidiens*, Paris 1958, 105, 123), it has been set out clearly in detail by Barbara Fleming (*Landschaftsgeschichte von Pamphylien, Pisidien und Lykien im Spätmittelalter*, Wiesbaden 1964, *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, xxxv/1, 101-2; see equally the index, s.v. for the numerous mentions of this town).

7. DEVELI ḲARĀ ḤIṢĀR, i.e., the Ḳaraḥiṣār of Develü (*develeniñ Ḳarāḥiṣārī* in Neshrī, *ZDMG*, xv, 341, and Leunclavius, *Hist. Musulm.*, 334); also named after the district of Develü (Houtsma, *Recueil*, iii, 104) to distinguish it from other towns of the same name. This town, situated in Asia Minor, 45 km. to the south-west of Ḳayṣariyye, is already frequently mentioned in the history of the Saldjūḳids (Houtsma, *Recueil*, iv, *passim*). It belonged afterwards to the possessions of the Banū Eretnā (cf. Max van Berchem, *Matériaux*, Pt. 3, 41 and 48), then to that of the Ḳarāmān-oghullarī and was conquered in 794/1391 by Bāyazīd I (Neshrī, *loc. cit.*); at the time of the conquest of Ḳarāmān by Meḥemmed II in 879/1474, it surrendered to the Ottomans (Saʿd al-Dīn, i, 550). At the end of the 17th century, the district of Develi Ḳarā Ḥiṣār formed a *ḳaḍā'* dependent on Ḳayṣariyye *Djihānnumā*, 620). The town then declined, without doubt due to the insalubrity of the swamps (Sultan Sazlığı) which extend to the approaches of the town, and the consequence of this was the transfer of the centre of the *ḳaḍā'* to Develi (or Everek), to the south of Kayseri and 40 km. to the east, whereas Ḳarā Ḥiṣār, at the end of the 19th century, was no more than a *nāḥiye* of the *ḳaḍā'* of Indjesu. This transfer has been at the source of a whole series of confusions between the two towns (Aḥmed Wefīḳ, *Lehdje*, 580, and Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, i, 304, 320, give information which is quite obscure and false). The town, established anew as a *kaza* in 1946, took the name of Yeşil Hisar. Of the ancient fortifications of Develi Ḳarā Ḥiṣār, only insignificant fragments remain; the town, known for its fruit production, is situated at the foot of some hills, in the midst of extensive gardens (Kinneir, *Journey*, 109; Hamilton, ii, 284). There were several hundred houses at the end of the last century, with an increase to 5,800 inhabitants in 1950. In the neighbourhood of Develi Ḳara Ḥiṣār, 3 km. to the south-west, are the ruins of Zindjibar Ḳalʿesi, considered formely to be the ancient Nora (W. F. Ainsworth, *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor*, London 1842, i, 210) and now identified with Cyzustra (W. M. Calder and G. E. Bean, *A classical map of Asia Minor*, London 1958).

Bibliography: Apart from the works already cited, I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr and N. Beldiceanu, *Deux villes de l'Anatolie pre-ottomane, Develi et Qarahisar, d'après des documents inédits*, in *REI*, xxxix (1971), 337-86.

8. ḲARĀ ḤIṢĀR in the land of ʿUthmān (Yāḳut, iv, 45): perhaps this is meant to be the Ḳaradja Ḥiṣār, also named Ḳaradja Shehir, near İnönu in the territory of origin of the Ottoman Sultans, a place which is often described even in the ancient chronicles by the name of Ḳarā Ḥiṣār.

9. ḲARĀ ḤIṢĀR, in the territory of Ibn Torghut (Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *op. cit.*, 350); this is, however, impossible to identify, unless it is an ancient name for Ṭorghudlu Ḳaṣabasī near Mānīsa.

10. ḲARĀ ḤIṢĀR, *chef-lieu* of the *ḳaḍā'* of Naʿllu-khān (Nallihan), *vilāyet* of Ankara (Aḥmed Wefīḳ, *op. cit.*). One encounters several villages of this name in the boundaries of the said *kaza*.

11. ḤAMMĀM ḲARĀ ḤIṢĀR, village of the *nāḥiye* of Günyünzī, *ḳaḍā'* of Sivri Ḥiṣār, *wilāyet* of Eskişehir, 17 km. to the east of the *chef-lieu* of the *kaza*.

12. VĀN ḲARĀḤIṢĀRI (Ewliyā, *op. cit.*, iv, 275-6), which the traveller visited on the route from Van to Kotur, and of which he says that the Kurds call it Ḳaradja Kale; this is today a village of the *kaza* of Saray (newly called Özalp).

A certain number of other places of the name of Ḳarā Ḥiṣār figure in the gazeteers of the Anatolian villages; none of them have any historical importance. See the article of Besim Darkot in *İA* for the enumeration of several of them.

(J. H. MORDTMANN-[X. DE PLANHOL])

ḲARĀ ḲALPAḲ [see ḲARAḲALPAḲ].

ḲARĀ KHALĪL [see DJANDARLĪ].

ḲARĀ-KHĀNIDS [see ILEK-KHĀNS].

ḲARĀ KHIṬĀY, the usual name in Muslim sources of the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries of the Kitai people, mentioned in Chinese sources from the 4th century A.D. onwards as living on the northern fringes of the Chinese empire; during the course of the 6th/12th century a group of them migrated into the Islamic lands of Central Asia and established a domination there which endured for some eighty years.

In the Orkhon inscriptions of Outer Mongolia, the royal annals of the T'u-chüeh or Turks (ca. 732 A.D.), the Kitai are mentioned as enemies of the Turks and as living to the east of the Turkish heartland on the Orkhon and Selenga rivers. Ethnically and linguistically, the Kitai were most probably Mongols rather than Tungus, as some earlier orientalists surmised, though there is a possibility that they spoke a language of their own, unrelated to the above two groups (see the discussions in Wittfogel and Fêng, *History of Chinese society*: *Liao*, 21-3, and Sir Gerard Clauson, *Turk, Mongol, Tungus*, in *Asia Major*, N.S. viii (1960), 120-1, 123). There must also have been considerable Uyghur Turkish influence on them when they were subject to the Ḳaghans of the Eastern Turks.

In Chinese sources, the Kitai are first called the Ch'i-tan (K'i-tan) and then, after 947, the Liao. In

the period of chaos after the downfall of the T'ang dynasty (907), the expansionist Kitai overran northern China and established there a ruling dynasty which, whilst retaining its basic steppe ethos, became at least superficially sinicized, so that Chinese annals account them a native dynasty; southern China, on the other hand, remained in the hands of the indigenous Sung dynasty (960-1279). The Liao empire stretched from the Pacific in the east to the Altai mountains and the Uyghur lands in the west, and their original name of Kitai, in the form Khitā or Khatā, was applied by the Muslims to northern China, whence older English Cathay, Russian Kitay, Greek Kitaïa, etc. for the whole country of China (see Sir Henry Yule, *Cathay and the way thither*, London 1913-16, i, 146; in Muslim usage Čīn, Arabic form Ṣīn [*q.v.*] became the term reserved for southern China).

Between 1116 and 1123, however, the Liao of northern China were overthrown by a fresh wave of barbarian invaders from the north, the Tungusic Jürchen of the Amur-Ussuri basin and northern Manchuria, who formed the Chin ("golden") dynasty, Mongol Altun Khans. A part of the Kitai remained in China with the Chin and later, in the time of Čingiz Khān, were able successfully to rebel and restore the Kitai kingdom as a Mongol vassal state. Muslim sources mention raids westwards by the "Khiṭāy" on Islamic territories adjoining the Semirečye during the 5th/11th century (see Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 209-10, incursion of the Khiṭāʾiyya in 408/1017-18), but these attacks may well have been made by Mongol groups, perhaps the Nayman, pushed westwards by the expansion of the Kitai proper in northern China (see Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie centrale*, 95). It was the migration of ca. 519/1125 and thereafter by the Ķarā ("black") Khiṭāy (in the Latin of John of Plano Carpini, 1246, *nigri Kitai*), Chinese Hsi ("western") Liao, which was really significant for the eastern Islamic world. One more southerly group moved into eastern Turkestan, but came up against the branch of Ilek Khānids or Ķarakhānids [*q.v.*] ruling in Kāshgharia. Arslan Khān Aḥmad b. Ḥasan defeated them before they could reach Kāshghar and captured their leader. Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 55, places this battle in 522/1128, which is perhaps too early, since in a letter from the Saldjūķ sultan of eastern Persia, Sandjar, to the caliph's vizier, dated 527/1133, the victory is described as a recent event.

The adventures of the other group of Khiṭāy are described by Djuwaynī, tr. Boyle, i, 354 ff. It may be that we should regard these merely as the right wing of a general Ķarā Khiṭāy advance along a broad front, successful in breaking through where the left wing thrust into Kāshgharia failed. At all events, this second group came westwards by a more northerly route, through the Kirghiz lands on the upper Yenisei, building the settlement of Emil to the east of Lake Balkhash, which they used as a base for intervening in the Ķarakhānid principality in the Semirečye. By this time, their numbers had swollen to 40,000 tents. The Ķarakhānid ruler tried to win the Khiṭāy over as allies against his own unruly Ķarluķ and Ķanghlī tribesmen, but instead found himself deposed. The Ķarā Khiṭāy leader. whose name appears in Chinese sources as Yeh-lü Ta-shih (d. 537/1143) now, after a half-hearted attempt to organize a revanche and regain the Liao homeland in China, made the town of Balāsāghūn [*q.v.*] in the Ču valley his base for a series of attacks on the surrounding Turkish tribes and principalities: against the Kirghiz and Ķanghlī in the steppes, and against the Ķarakhānids in Khotan and Kāshghar, where Ibrāhīm b. Arslan Khān Aḥmad probably died in battle against them. In 536/1137 Maḥmūd Khān b. Arslan Muḥammad of Samarķand was defeated at Khudjand in Farghāna.

After the Ķarā Khiṭāy had halted for four years, internal disputes in the Samarķand Khānate laid open the whole of Transoxania to them. Nomadic Ķarluķ tribesmen at odds with Maḥmūd Khān appealed to the Ķarā Khiṭāy against their overlord. Maḥmūd had recourse to his own suzerain Sandjar, and the Saldjūķ sultan now invaded Transoxania from Khurāsān with a large army. In Ṣafar 536/September 1141 a bloody battle was fought at the Ķaṭwān Steppe in Ushrūsana to the south of the middle Syr Daryā. Despite a probable numerical superiority, the Muslims were routed with huge losses, and Sandjar and Maḥmūd Khān abandoned Transoxania and fled to Khurāsān; this clash between the conventionally organized Muslim army and the Ķarā Khiṭāy nomadic horde was, indeed, a foretaste of what was to happen when Čingiz Khān's Mongols appeared in the Islamic lands. The Ķara Khiṭāy now occupied Samarķand and Bukhārā, and Yeh-lü Ta-shih sent an army against Khʷārazm, compelling the Khʷārazm-Shāh Atsïz [*q.v.*] to pay an annual tribute of 30,000 *dīnār*s. The lands under Ķarā Khiṭāy control came to stretch from the borders of the Kirghiz country in the north to Balkh in the south (occupied in 560/1165), and from Khʷārazm in the west to the Uyghur lands of eastern Turkestan (see the maps in A. Herrmann, *An historical atlas of China*, Edinburgh 1966, 38-40, and Wittfogel and Fêng, *op. cit.*, 658). The news of the Ķarā Khiṭāy victory over the Muslim forces at the Ķaṭwān Steppe filtered through to the Crusaders in the Levant and thence to Christian Europe, giving fresh impetus to the legends about Prester John, the powerful Christian monarch who supposedly ruled in Inner Asia and who was attacking the Muslims from the rear (that these legends were in circulation before this time is suggested by C. F. Beckingham, *The achievements of Prester John*, Inaugural Lecture, University of Londen 1966).

The Ķarā Khiṭāy leaders are called in the Islamic sources by the title Gür-Khān, and the personal names of the successive rulers are known only in their Chinese forms (see below). Djuwaynī, tr. i, 354, and Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaķāt-i Nāṣirī*, ed. Ḥabībī[2], ii, 96, tr. Raverty, ii, 911, explain that Gür-Khān means "Supreme Khān", *Khān-i Khānān*; Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie centrale*, 97, n. 1, connected the first element with the old Turkish word *kür*, *kül*, "noble, courageous", found in names and titles of the Orkhon inscriptions, giving something like "Heroic Khān".

Pace Barthold's categorical assertion that "The Qara-Khitay kingdom was vastly different from the usual type of nomad empires" (*Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, i, 29), the Ķarā Khiṭāy empire was in many ways typical of the steppe empires established by a Eurasian steppe confederation, despite the partial sinicization of the Ķarā Khiṭāy themselves. It is probable that, like all nomadic confederations, they were not an ethnically homogeneous group; the successes of the first Gür-Khān doubtless attracted numbers of Turks, Tanguts and perhaps even Tungus to swell the original core of the Kitai. They were a military aristocracy of cavalrymen, spread thinly over the lands which they dominated, but with their main concentration at the Gür-Khān's ordu or army camp outside Balāsāghūn

in the Semirečye. The Chinese history of the dynasty, the *Liao Shih* (completed in 1344), mentions a census taken in 546/1151 by the Gür-Khān Yi-lieh. This enumerated 84,500 households with adult males in them, but this figure probably included the indigenous Muslim population of Balāsāghūn and its hinterland as well as the Ḳarā Khiṭāy tribesmen; even reckoning two fighting men per household, the numbers of the Ḳarā Khiṭāy cannot have been all that large (see Wittfogel and Fêng, 659-60).

Nor was there any administrative centralization, despite the fact that they did not follow the practice in other nomadic empires of granting out appanages to relatives and others of high rank; the first Gür-Khān is said not to have entrusted to any man command of more than 100 warriors. Except in Balāsāghūn, where, as noted above, the local Ḳarā Khānid ruler was displaced (although the population of the town remained largely Muslim), local dynasties continued elsewhere to exist as the Gür-Khāns' vassals. In some places, there were appointed permanent representatives of the Gür-Khān (Chinese *chien-kuo* "state supervisor", Turkish *basḳaḳ*, Arabic-Persian *shaḥna*) side-by-side with the local ruler; a province like Khwārazm was only visited periodically by the Ḳarā Khiṭāy tribute-collectors; whilst at the beginning of the 7th/13th century the *ṣadrs* or religious leaders in Bukhārā of the Burhān family (on whom see O. Pritsak, *Āl-i Burhān*, in *Isl.*, xxx (1952), 81-96) took the tribute of the city in person to the Gür-Khān's *ordu*, just as later under the Golden Horde the prince of Muscovy took his tribute to the capital at Sarāy.

The Ḳarā Khiṭāy administration was therefore primarily a fiscal one, and beyond the collection of taxes, the subject territories were left largely to their local rulers. Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 56, says that the Gür-Khān imposed a tax of one *dīnār* per annum on each household of the conquered peoples, but we know that tribute in kind was also collected. Barthold thought that the *dīnār* levy on each family was a specifically Chinese feature, but it seems to have been only one method followed amongst several in a far-from-uniform system; one Chinese source says that the rural populace around Balāsāghūn paid a tithe on their crops to the Gür-Khān. The Gür-Khāns coined their own copper currency on the Liao and Chinese pattern, with the regnal period inscribed in Chinese characters, but the vassal states continued to mint their own Islamic-type coins, and as we have just seen, the unit of the *dīnār* was recognised by the Ḳarā Khiṭāy for tax-collecting purposes (see Wittfogel and Fêng, 661-2, 664, 672-3).

Barthold also asserted in his *EI*[1] article ḲARA KHITĀI that the "language of the government seems to have been Chinese", but the linguistic and cultural structure of Central Asia at this time was complex and reflected the mélange of races, cultures and faiths to be found there. The Ḳarā Khiṭāy undeniably set a Chinese imprint on the administration and culture of the lands under their control, and Muslim authors noted a few Chinese words like *fu-ma* "imperial son-in-law" for the Gür-Khān's son-in-law (Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 290, 292) and *pāyza*, Chinese *p'ai-tzŭ*, "tablet, insignia of a government official's authority" (*ibid.*, i, 158; ʿAwfī, *Lubāb al-albāb*, ed. Browne, ii, 385). The Gür-Khāns bestowed Chinese official titles and used the Chinese script for solemn decrees, but the number of Chinese litterati at their ordu can never have been very large. They must have called upon Muslim scholars and secretaries for their correspondence in Persian and the Arabic script with their Muslim vassals, and probably upon Uyghur officials for correspondence in Turkish and the Uyghur script with vassals in eastern Turkestan.

The Ḳarā Khiṭāy never adopted Islam, as did eventually the Mongol Khāns in the Islamic world, but they displayed the traditional tolerance of the steppes towards all faiths. Even though Islam was especially identified with the resistance in Transoxania by the Ḳarakhānids and by Sandjar, they did not systematically persecute Muslims, as did their brief supplanter Küčlüg (see below) in Kāshgharia. A contemporary Muslim author like Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī Samarḳandī gives an anecdote about the first Gür-Khān's boundless justice, his deference to the *Ṣudūr* of Bukhārā and his removal of an oppressive representative of the Ḳarā Khiṭāy administration there (*Čahār maḳāla*, ed. Browne, 24, revised tr. 24-5). Djūzdjānī, the historian of the Ghūrids, is also remarkably enthusiastic about them; he praises the first Gür-Khān for his just rule and respect for Muslim sensibilities, and even purveys a tale that one of the later Gür-Khāns had secretly become a Muslim (*Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, ii, 96, tr. 911-12). Muslims retained leading positions in the Ḳarā Khiṭāy administration; the wealthy merchant Maḥmūd Tay is mentioned by Djuwaynī, tr. i, 357-8, as being vizier to the last Gür-Khān.

However, the religious tolerance and impartiality of the Ḳarā Khiṭāy undoubtedly permitted adherents of non-Islamic faiths to flourish more openly in Turkestan than under the orthodox Muslim Ḳarakhānids. A great period of missionary activity and enterprise opened for the Nestorian Christian Church in Inner Asia; the patriarch Elias III (1176-90) founded a metropolitan see in Kāshghar whose jurisdiction also included the Semirečye; and the oldest of the Syriac-inscribed Christian gravestones from the Ču valley in the Semirečye stem from this period (see Barthold, *Zur Geschichte des Christentums in Mittel-Asien bis zur mongolischen Eroberung*, Tübingen-Leipzig 1901, 57 ff.; idem, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie centrale*, 99-101; the earliest inscription published by Chwolson dates from 1186). There were Chinese artisans working in Samarḳand at this time, and the Jewish communities in Khīwa, Samarḳand, etc. were flourishing, according to the evidence of a Jewish traveller in Persia like Benjamin of Tudela (see W. J. Fischel, *The Jews of Central Asia* (*Khorasan*) *in mediaeval Hebrew and Islamic literature*, in *Historia Judaica*, vii (1945), 29-50). Grousset commented with some justice that "the foundation of the Qara Khitay empire may be viewed as a reaction against the work of Islamization accomplished by the Qarakhanids" (*L'Empire des steppes*[4], Paris 1952, 221).

As for the Ḳarā Khiṭāys' own religion, we can glean very little from the sources. Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 55, calls the first Gür-Khān a Manichaean. Muslim writers usually, however, simply call them "idolaters", but we may surmise that Buddhism, which had overlaid the original shamanism of the Ch'i-tan in China, was widespread amongst them.

One may accordingly say that the receptiveness of the Ḳarā Khiṭāy environment to differing cultural and religious traditions, and the consequent encouragement of the flowering of these traditions under the dynasty's relaxed rule, constitutes a certain achievement in human civilization, one which anticipates the better side of the succeeding *pax mongolica*. Thus the Chinese connections of the Ḳarā Khiṭāy probably facilitated the journeyings of Muslim traders into Mongolia and perhaps even as far as northern China. Acts of violence and oppression towards the subject

peoples can never have been wholly absent, and these may have increased towards the end of their rule. Yet our admittedly fragmentary knowledge of the trends of the period allows us to go some way with Marquart's approbation of Ķarā Khiṭāy culture (*Über das Volkstum der Komanen*, 209), and to regard Barthold's dismissal of the achievements of the dynasty as negligible (*Histoire des Turcs d'Asie centrale*, 98-9) as unduly harsh.

The chronology of the line of Ķarā Khiṭāy Gür-Khāns can be pieced together from the *Liao Shih* and from odd items of information in the Islamic sources (*e.g.*, the recording by Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 57, of the first Gür-Khāns's death in Rajab 537/Jan.-Feb. 1143). In his standard *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam*, Zambaur made no attempt to deal with the Ķarā Khiṭāy, although Marquart, *op. cit.*, 237-8, had given a substantially correct list of their rulers. After the death of the original Gür-Khān Yeh-lü Ta-shih (1124-43), his widow T'a-pu-yen (named in Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 356, as Kuyan, honorific title Kan-t'ien, regnal title Hsien-ch'ing) reigned 1144-50. There succeeded the Gür-Khān Yi-lieh, regnal title Shao-hsing (1151-63); and finally the last Gür-Khān, Yi-lieh's younger son Chih-lu-ku (1178-1211, d. 1213). The fact that the Karā Khiṭāy dominions were ruled by women for two out of these five reigns is significant evidence for the matriarchal trend in Ķarā Khiṭāy society; in China proper, the Liao empress-dowagers had traditionally wielded great influence in the state. See on these questions of chronology, Wittfogel and Fêng, 620-1, 627 ff.; 672.

The Khwārazm-shāhs from Il Arslan (551/1156 567/1172) onwards endeavoured at various times to throw off the yoke of the Ķarā Khiṭāy, but their withholdings of tribute were normally followed by Ķarā Khiṭāy invasions which re-asserted their overlordship. The Shāh Tekish (567/1172-596/1200) owed his throne to the help of the Gür-Khān Yeh-lü's son-in-law Fuma, but he later renounced his allegiance, adducing the oppressiveness of the Ķarā Khiṭāy tax-collectors and raising the banner of *djihād* against the infidels; in the words of Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 248, he rebelled "out of zeal for the dignity of his throne and for the faith". The Ķarā Khiṭāy in turn now supported Tekish's younger brother and earlier rival for the throne, Sulṭān Shāh, and helped him to seize several towns in northern Khurāsān (576/1181). In the last decades of the 6th/12th century and the opening years of the 7th/13th century, the Ķarā Khiṭāy aided Tekish and his son and sucsessor ʿAlāʾ Al-Dīn Muḥammad in their rivalry with the Ghūrids of Afghānistān [*q.v.*]; thus in 594/1198 the Gür-Khān sent an army across the Oxus to recover the vassal city of Balkh from the Ghūrids; the Ķarā Khiṭāy were, however, defeated, and this led to recriminations between them and the Khwārazm-Shāh.

After his eventual crushing of the Ghūrids, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad had ambitions to extend Khwārazmian control over the whole of Transoxania and to reduce the last vestiges of Ķarakhānid rule there. This necessarily involved clashing with the Ķarā Khiṭāy suzerains of the province. A general revolt flared up in eastern Turkestan amongst the Gür-Khāns' Muslim vassals, and it was on the crest of these disorders that the Nayman Mongol Küčlüg rose to power there after his flight westwards before Čingiz Khān [*q.v.*]. The last Ķarakhānid ruler in Samarķand, ʿUthmān Khān b. Ibrāhīm (600/1204-608/1212), attempted to throw off Ķarā Khiṭāy control, offended by the Gür-Khān's refusal to grant him the hand of a daughter in marriage; but he had his capital temporarily occupied by a Ķarā Khiṭāy force (probably in 606/1209-10), and the marriage in fact later took place. ʿUthmān Khān then allied with the Khwārazm-Shāh to defeat the Ķarā Khiṭāy near Talas in 607/1210, and although the Gür-Khān defeated Küčlüg, the appearance of a Mongol force under Čingiz's general Ķubilay Noyan compelled him to come to terms with Küčlüg (608/1211) and to surrender; he remained as nominal ruler only, and died two years later. Thus for a brief while, before the arrival of Čingiz in the west, the Ķarā Khiṭāy dominions were partitioned between the fiercely anti-Muslim Küčlüg in Kāshgharia and the Semirečye, and the Khwārazm-Shāh in Transoxania. The remaining members of the Ķarā Khiṭāy horde must have been caught up in the armies of the Mongols.

However, their rule was perpetuated indirectly in one corner of the eastern Islamic world. Shortly after the collapse of 608/1211, one of the Ķarā Khiṭāy commanders called Baraķ Ḥādjib entered the service of the Khwārazm-Shāhs and eventually founded the principality of the Ķutlugh-Khānids in Kirmān; see BURĀĶ ḤĀDJIB, Zambaur, *Manuel*, 237, and Wittfogel and Fêng, 626, 655-7.

Bibliography: The chief Muslim sources include Ibn al-Athīr. Djuwaynī and the standard Saldjūķ sources (*e.g.*, Rāwandī, Bundārī) for the establishment of Ķarā Khiṭāy power in Transoxania, and Djuwaynī again and Djūzdjānī for the later phases. Some of the relevant Chinese sources were translated in E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches from eastern Asiatic sources*, London 1910, i, 208-35, but the Chinese sources are utilized directly by K. A. Wittfogel and Fêng Chia-Shêng, *History of Chinese society: Liao (907-1125)*, in *Trans. American Philisophical Society*, N.S. xxxvi (Philadelphia 1946), 619-74.

For other secondary sources, see W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[3], 323 ff.; idem, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie centrale*, 94-101; idem, *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, i. *A short history of Turkestan*, 26-30, *History of the Semirechyé* 100-8;, J. Marquart, *Osttürkische Dialektstudien*, 2. *Über das Volkstum der Komanen*, in *Abh. Gött. Gesell. der Wiss.*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., N.S. xiii/1 (1914); R. Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*[4], 219-22; C. E. Bosworth, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, v, 147-50, 187 ff. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

ĶARĀ KIRGIZ [see KIRGIZ].

ĶARĀ-KÖL (Turkish "black lake"), ĶARAKUL, the name of various lakes in Central Asia and of a modern town in the Uzbek SSR.

The best-known lake is that lying at the western extremity of the Zarafshān River in Soghdia (modern Uzbekistan), midway between Bukhārā and Čardjūy (mediaeval Āmul-i Shaṭṭ, see ĀMUL. 2). The basin in which it lay was known as the Sāmdjan basin, see Iṣṭakhrī, 315, and Ibn Ḥawķal, ed. Kramers, 485, tr. Kramers and Wiet, 466. In Narshakhī's *Taʾrīkh-i Bukhārā*, ed. Schefer, 17, tr. Frye, 19, the lake is given both the Turkish name of Ķarā-Köl and the Iranian one of Bārgīn-farākh "extensive basin", and is said to have been 20 *farsakhs* long by one *farsakh* wide.

In history, this lake has been identified with the *ķara köl* mentioned in the Old Turkish Orkhon inscriptions (8th century), Kültigin N 2, where it is described as the scene of a battle between the Tiukiu or Eastern Turks under the prince Kültigin and the rebellious Az people (possibly the Türgesh), cf.

V. Thomsen, *Alttürkische Inschriften aus der Mongolei*, in *ZDMG*, lxxvii (1924), 154, and T. Tekin, *A grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, Bloomington, Indiana 1968, 270. The lake was a celebrated wintering-place for migrating wildfowl, and therefore much frequented by hunters and fishermen. The Mongol princes Čag̲h̲atay and Ögedey wintered there in 619-20/1222-3 (D̲j̲uwaynī-Boyle, i, 140), and the Tīmūrid Ulug̲h̲ Beg apparently hunted there periodically (Barthold, *Ulugh-Beg*, in *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, tr. T. and V. Minorsky, ii, 134). After the Tsarist Russian conquest of the K̲h̲ānate of Buk̲h̲ārā in the late 19th century, a Fort Karakul was built to command the Čārd̲j̲ūy-Buk̲h̲ārā road, and a modern town has now grown up there.

The steppelands and pastures of the Ķarā-Köl basin are especially famed as the original habitat of the Karakul breed of sheep, whose lambs produce a glossy, tightly-curled, rich black fur, commercially known as Persian lamb, and used for making Astrakhan fur; the full-grown sheep produce dark-coloured wool for carpet making. The Soviet Central Asian republics, Afghanistan and Persia are today important breeders of this sheep and exporters of its fur.

Other lakes with this toponym of Ķarā-Köl are found in the Pamirs (Tadzhik SSR) and in the mediaeval region of Semirechye near the Isik-Köl (cf. Barthold, in *Four studies*, i, 88, 91).

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the article, see Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[3], 118, 455; Marquart, *Wehrot und Arang*, 81, 85; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 302. (C. E. Bosworth)

ĶARĀ-ĶOYUNLU, Turkish dynasty which ruled over parts of Eastern Anatolia, ʿIrāķ, al-D̲j̲azīra, and most of Iran, also known as the Barānī (Bārānlu). It is not known why the dynasty was given this name. The Ķarā-Ķoyunlu tribe was undoubtedly a sub-tribe (*oba*) of the Og̲h̲uz. Minorsky's claim that this sub-tribe belonged to the Yıwa is probably true (*The Clan of the Qara Qoyunlu rulers*, in *Köprülü Armağanı*, Istanbul 1953, 391-5). The political achievements of the dynasty led many tribes to enter the service of the Ķarā-Ķoyunlu, notably the Saʿdlu (Nak̲h̲d̲j̲ivān region), the Duk̲h̲arlu (Erzurum-Bayburt region), the Alpag̲h̲ut and Ag̲h̲ač Eri (Marʿash region), the Baharlu (Hamadān region during the reign of D̲j̲ihān S̲h̲āh), the Ķarāmānlu (Gand̲j̲a and Bardaʿa region), the D̲j̲ākirlu (Ardabīl region) and the Āyīnlu. Besides these, a large community known as Ķarā Ulus was also subject to the Ķarā-Ķōyunlu. Subsequently, these tribes took service with the Aķ-Ķoyunlu and later with the Ṣafawids. During the Mongol period, the Ķarā-Ķoyunlu's winter quarters were in the Mosul region, and their grazing grounds in the Van region (probably Ard̲j̲is̲h̲), and they were subject to the Uyrat. When the Sutaylī occupied most of the eastern and south-eastern Anatolian territories belonging to the Uyrat in 737/1337, the Ķarā-Ķoyunlu became their vassals. Pīr Muḥammad of the Sutaylī was killed in 751/1350 by Ḥusayn Beg, son of Tay Bug̲h̲a, one of his amīrs, who succeeded to his position. However, before long, he too was killed by Amīr Bayram K̲h̲ōd̲j̲a (752/1351), the man who was responsible for bringing the Ķarā-Ķoyunlu on to the stage of history. Although he failed to capture Mosul from Ordu Bug̲h̲a, Ḥusayn Beg's nephew, he succeeded in assuming the leadership of the group without much difficulty. Before long, however, Bayram K̲h̲ōd̲j̲a did capture Mosul, where he appointed Berdi K̲h̲ōd̲j̲a, his brother, as governor. Bayram K̲h̲ōd̲j̲a, like the Diyārbakr governors of the Mongols, lived in the Mosul area in winter and moved to the Mus̲h̲-Ak̲h̲lāṭ region, and sometimes to Erzurum, in summer. Most of the local dynasties in the above-mentioned regions had been made either his allies or vassals, but although defeated, Malik Manṣūr, the Artuķid ruler of Mārdīn, refused to recognize Bayram K̲h̲ōd̲j̲a's suzerainity, and complained to Sulṭān Uways, the D̲j̲alāyir ruler, about him. Thereupon Sulṭān Uways left Bag̲h̲dād in the spring of 767/1366, took Mosul from Berdi K̲h̲ōd̲j̲a, and after passing the month of Ramaḍān in Mārdīn, marched against Bayram K̲h̲ōd̲j̲a, who was with his forces on the plain of Mus̲h̲. Defeating the amīr of the Ķarā-Ķoyunlu there, Sulṭān Uways went to Tabrīz by way of Ķarā Kilise (Ağrı). After this defeat, Bayram K̲h̲ōd̲j̲a seems to have become one of the tribute-paying vassals of Uways. Nevertheless, the Ķarā-Ķoyunlu beg continued his activities by besieging Mosul, which probably belonged to Uways, in 773/1371, and by capturing Sind̲j̲ār in the next year.

When the D̲j̲alāyīrid ruler died in the same year (744/1372), Bayram K̲h̲ōd̲j̲a severed his ties of vassalage, and, taking advantage of the situation, added Sürmeli, Ala Kilise, K̲h̲oy, Nak̲h̲d̲j̲ivān and some other places to his territory. However, S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Ḥusayn, successor to Uways, and particularly ʿĀdil Āķā, who held the real power, were not prepared to overlook his activities, and the Ķarā-Ķoyunlu accepted vassalage under lighter conditions (779/1377). When Bayram K̲h̲ōd̲j̲a died in 782/1380, the territory extending from Mosul to Erzurum was directly subject to the Ķarā-Ķōyunlu.

Bayram K̲h̲ōd̲j̲a was succeeded by his nephew Ķarā Meḥmed, an energetic and capable amir. He gained an overwhelming victory against the D̲j̲alāyīr army, which met him near Nak̲h̲d̲j̲ivān in 784/1382 under the command of S̲h̲ah-zāda S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ ʿAlī of the D̲j̲alāyīrs and Pīr ʿAli Bār Beg. Both the D̲j̲alāyīr prince and the other commander were killed in the battle. This victory increased Ķarā Meḥmed's status, and secured the D̲j̲alāyīr throne for Aḥmad, who probably married Ķarā Meḥmed's daughter after this event. His vassalage to the D̲j̲alāyīrs came to an end with the murder of Sulṭān Ḥusayn. After a series of successes—forcing the ruler of D̲j̲aʿbar, Döger Sālim Beg, to take refuge with the Mamlūk sultan for robbing the pilgrims of Mosul; besieging Mārdīn; defeating Malik ʿĪsā of the Artuķids and marrying his daughter; defeating the Aķ-Ķoyunlu with their ally Muṭahhar, the ruler of Erzind̲j̲an, and compelling them to enter the service of Ķāḍī Burhān al-Dīn—Ķarā Meḥmed defended his country heroically against the attacks of Tīmūr in 789/1387. In fact, taking advantage of Tīmūr's return to Transoxania, he captured Tabrīz the next year. After leaving troops to guard Tabrīz, returning to eastern Anatolia, he was faced with the opposition of Pīr Ḥasan Beg, one of the amīrs in his service. Pīr Ḥasan was the son of Ḥusayn Beg, who had been killed by Bayram K̲h̲ōd̲j̲a, and he had distinguished himself particularly in the battles with Tīmūr. Encouraged by this, and determined to avenge his father, he severed his ties of allegiance to Ķarā Meḥmed and attempted to capture his principality. His venture was successful; in a battle (Rabīʿ II 791/April 1389) Pīr Ḥasan killed Ķarā Meḥmed and seized the principality. According to some Mamlūk historians (Ibn al-Fūrāt, al-ʿAynī) Pīr Ḥasan (Ķarā Ḥasan in their works) was Ķarā Meḥmed's nephew, but this is not confirmed by other sources.

GENEALOGY OF THE ḲARĀ-ḲOYUNLU

- Türemish
- I. BAYRAM KHŌDJA (d. 1380)
  - Tatar Khātun
  - II. ḲARĀ MEḤMED (d. 1389)
    - Bayram (d. 1389)
    - Mīsr Khōdja
      - Ḳilīdj Arslan
      - Sulṭān Aḥmad
      - Ghazan
    - III. ḲARĀ YUSUF (d. 1420)
      - Abū Saʿīd
      - 1. Shāh Meḥmed (d. 1434) (ruler of Baghdād)
        - Shāh ʿAlī
        - Shāh Rukh
        - Shāh Budak
        - Shāh Walī
        - Shāh Malik
        - Karamān
        - Kamar al-Dīn
      - Pīr Budak (d. 1418)
      - 2. Iṣfahān (d. 1445) (ruler of Baghdād)
        - 3. Fulad (ruler of Baghdād)
      - IV. ISKANDAR (d. 1438)
        - Arayish Begim (Daughter)
        - Shāh Saray (Daughter)
        - Uruk Sulṭān (Daughter)
        - Shāh Kubād (d. 1438)
        - Elvend (d. 1457)
        - Ḳāsīm
        - Esed
        - Meḥmed
        - Rüstem
        - Tarhan Malik
        - Hüseyn ʿAlī (d. 1468)
        - Yār ʿAlī (d. 1449)
      - V. DJIHĀN SHĀH
        - Farrukhzād
        - Abūl-Ḳāsīm (d. 1468)
        - Abū Yūsuf (d. 1469)
        - Muḥammadī (d. 1467)
        - Pīr Budak (d. 1466)
        - VI. ḤASAN ʿALĪ (d. 1469)
      - Daughter (Wife of Ṣāliḥ of the Artuḳids)
      - Daughter (Wife of Shams al-Dīn, ruler of Bidlīs)
    - Yār ʿAlī (d. 1403)
      - Zaynal
        - 5. Shāh Manṣūr (d. 1469) (ruler of Baghdād)
        - Bayram Beğ (d. 1469)
        - 4. Hüseyn ʿAlī (d. 1469) (ruler of Baghdād)
    - Pīr ʿAlī
      - Mīrzā ʿAlī (d. 1437-8)
        - Belkīs Pasha (d. 1437-8)
- Mīsr Khōdja
- Berdi Khōdja
  - Yār ʿAlī

Pīr Ḥasan Beg's rule did not last long, and an important part of the Ķarā-Ķoyunlu Turcomans gathered round Mīṣr Khōdja, one of the sons of Ķarā Meḥmed, and continued the struggle. But it soon became apparent that Mīṣr Khōdja was a man of weak character, and he was replaced by his brother Ķarā Yūsuf. The bitter fighting between Ķarā Yūsuf and Pīr Ḥasan led to heavy losses on both sides. Finally, Döger Sālim Beg intervened and stopped the hostilities. Although the death of Pīr Ḥasan (793/1391) saved Ķarā Yūsuf from his enemy, shortly afterwards he had to resume fighting with his son Ḥusayn Beg. The rule of Ķarā Yūsuf coincided with the expansion of Tīmūr's operations in the Middle East. Like his father, Ķarā Yūsuf opposed Tīmūr and tried to defend his country against his attacks. Taking advantage of Tīmūr's departure, he captured Tabrīz several times, and took prisoner Atlamīsh, governor of Awnik and one of Tīmūr's commanders, and sent him to Egypt (797/1395). However, when Tīmūr started invading Anatolia, Yūsuf Beg was obliged to take refuge with Bāyezīd I [*q.v.*] (802/1400). In fact, Bāyezīd's offer of shelter to the Ķarā-Ķoyunlu Beg was one of Tīmūr's pretexts for opening hostilities against the Ottoman ruler. When Tīmūr entered Ottoman territory, Ķarā Yūsuf left Anatolia (805/1402) and went to ʿIrāķ, where he helped Sulṭān Aḥmad to suppress his son's revolt, but upon Sulṭān Aḥmad's failure to keep his word, he attacked Baghdād (805/1403). Defeated in battle by the superior forces of Tīmūr's grandsons, he went to Damascus by the desert route. Ķarā Yūsuf and Djalāyīr Aḥmad were imprisoned in Damascus on the order of the Mamlūk sultan, who sentenced them to death shortly afterwards, but Shaykh, the governor of Damascus, ignored his command.

The Mamlūk sultan's treatment of the refugees was due to pressure exerted by Tīmūr. Before returning to his homeland for good, Tīmūr wanted to be sure that these two minor enemies of his, particularly Ķarā Yūsuf, would not give his commanders and grandchildren any trouble in the future. In fact, if Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī's words are true, Tīmūr said to Amīr Doladay, commander of the fortress of Awnik, who had come to bid him farewell: "Don't worry about Djalāyīr Sulṭān Aḥmad, because he has been assimilated by the Tadjiks; but watch Ķarā Yūsuf closely, because he is a Turcoman". The refusal of Shaykh, governor of Damascus, to carry out the order for their execution had nothing to do with protecting the honour of the Mamlūk state, but was the outcome of his own political aims. He released the prisoners, supplying them with provisions in 807/1405, by which time Tīmūr had returned to Samarķand.

Shaykh, accompanied by Ķarā Yūsuf, advanced on Cairo. Although he won the first battle, in which he followed the advice of the Ķarā-Ķoyunlu Beg, he suffered defeat in a second, because most of his amīrs had defected, and he was forced to return to Damascus with a small force, consisting mainly of the Turcomans of Ķarā Yūsuf (807/1405). Ķarā Yūsuf returned to his homeland in eastern Anatolia at the beginning of the next year, contrary to the wish of Shaykh. Shams al-Dīn, amīr of Bidlīs, provided him with all the supplies he needed. That ʿUmar and Abū Bakr Mīrzā, grandsons of Tīmūr, who had been appointed rulers over Ādharbāydjān, Arrān, ʿIrāķ-i ʿArab and eastern Anatolia, were incompetent administrators and rivals, was a fortunate circumstance for the Ķarā Ķōyunlu beg. By his victories over ʿIzz al-Dīn Shīr, amīr of Van and Hakkārī, and Doladay, who was made the commander of the fortress of Awnik by Tīmūr, he regained his territories in eastern Anatolia (809/1406). His victories over Abū Bakr Mīrzā, Tīmūr's grandson, first in the Nakhdjivān area (2 Djumādā I 809/15 Oct. 1406) and later at Sard Rūd near Tabrīz (16 Dhu'l-Ķaʿda/13 April 1408) secured Ādharbāydjān. He followed this by capturing Sulṭāniyya and Hamadān, then internationally important commercial centres. Ķarā Yūsuf's unexpected successes aroused the envy of the Djalāyīr Sulṭān Aḥmad and many other amīrs, especially as it was mainly as a result of his achievements that Sulṭān Aḥmad became the ruler of ʿIrāķ-i ʿArab and Khūzistān. What is more, when in prison in Damascus, they had agreed that Ādharbāydjān be given to the Ķarā-Ķōyunlu and ʿIrāķ-i ʿArab to Sulṭān Aḥmad. In fact, the Djalāyir ruler had become the adopted father of Pīr Budak, Ķarā Yūsuf's son born in Damascus. A battle fought between these two former allies at the village of Asad near Tabrīz (28 Rabiʿ II 813/30 August 1410) ended in the defeat and capture of Sulṭān Aḥmad, who was later put to death. His territories in ʿIrāķ-i ʿArab were incorporated into the lands of the Ķarā-Ķoyunlu, under the command of Shāh Meḥmed, Ķarā Yūsuf's son. His other son, Pīr Budak, was declared sultan of the Ķarā-Ķōyunlu (814/1411). Letters bore the title *Sulṭān Pīr Budak Khān yarlīghīdīn ... Abū Naṣr Yūsuf Bahādur Noyan sözümüz*, and copper and silver coins were struck to commemorate the event.

Ķarā Yūsuf's successive achievements were watched with growing concern by Shāh Rukh, the Čaghatayid ruler and Shaykh, the ruler of Egypt. In a short space of time, he had leapt from the modest level of a tribal chief to the exalted position of ruler of a large country. From around this time onwards, Shah Rukh in particular encouraged Karā Yülük ʿOthmān, the Aķ-Ķōyunlu ruler of Āmid, Urfa and Kamakh, the Shīrvān-Shāh Shaykh Ibrāhīm and others, in hostility towards Ķarā Yūsuf. The alliance of the Shīrvān-Shāh Shaykh Ibrāhīm with Arlat Sayyidī Aḥmad, the ruler of Shakī, and Köstendil (Constantine), the Georgian king, against the Ķarā-Ķoyunlu ruler, was also related to this situation. But in a battle fought on the banks of the river Kür, they were heavily defeated (Ramaḍān 814/December 1412); while Shaykh Ībrahīm managed to save himself by paying a heavy ransom, the Georgian king was put to death.

The Ķarā-Ķoyunlu territory in Anatolia covered the Erzindjān area in the north, and the Mārdīn area in the south. Ķarā Yūsuf had captured Erzindjān from Shaykh Ḥasan, grandson of Muṭahhar (813/1410), and Mārdīn from Malik Ṣāliḥ of the Artuķids (812/1409). However, the Ķarā-Ķoyunlu border could be extended no further in that direction because of the resistance of Ķarā Yülük ʿOthmān Beg of the Aķ-Ķoyunlu. Although Ķarā Yūsuf defeated this stubborn enemy many times, and even forced him to take refuge with the Mamlūks, he was never able to subdue him. Besides this, Ķarā Yūsuf's trespassing into Mamlūk territory in an effort to catch Ķarā Yülük, and the plunder and destruction he caused there, gave rise to hostilities between the two states. Deeply concerned that Ķarā Yūsuf, whom he knew well, would some day be a cause of serious danger, Shaykh felt compelled to support the Aķ-Ķoyunlu Beg secretly. Returning to Mārdīn from Mamlūk territory (November-December 1418), Ķarā Yūsuf met with an unexpected disaster, the death of his favourite son Pīr Budak; his death was

a source of deep sorrow to his father, who had returned to Tabrīz. Shaykh could not forget the destruction wreaked on his territory by the Ķarā-Ķoyunlu and the threatening letter he had received from Ķarā Yūsuf and started preparing for war, although he was suffering from gout at the time and had to be carried. When he received the news of Shāh Rukh's attack on Ķarā Yūsuf, he cancelled his war preparations.

Shāh Rukh, who had brought under his rule the great part of the empire founded by his father Tīmūr, would not tolerate Ādharbāydjān, and in particular, a part of ʿIrāķ-i ʿAdjam, remaining under the rule of Ķarā Yūsuf. He had already made a number of attempts to crush him in 812/1409 and 817/1414, but had not been able to carry these through because of family squabbles. Peace negotiations came to nothing. Shāh Rukh demanded that Ķarā Yūsuf return the cities of Sulṭāniyya and Ķazwīn and agree to be his vassal. The Ķarā-Ķoyunlu ruler refused, and set out from Tabrīz, his capital, to meet the Čaghatayid ruler. The news terrified the Čaghatayid army of 200,000 horsemen, although Ķarā Yūsuf's forces consisted of 50,000 horsemen at the most. As the historian Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū noted, everyone from the Čaghatayid ruler down to the lowest-ranking soldier was doubtful of victory. Their fears turned to joy at the news of the death of the Ķarā-Ķoyunlu ruler. In fact, Ķarā Yūsuf had become seriously ill on his departure from Tabrīz, but had insisted on being carried on a stretcher. His condition worsened when he was two leagues from Udjan, and he died soon after (7 Dhuʾl-Ķaʿda 823/13 November 1420).

Ķarā Yūsuf's greatness transformed the Ķarā-Ķoyunlu dynasty. When he returned home in 807/1405, he and his retinue were in a miserable state, but at his death he left his successors a large country extending from Erzindjān to Ķazwīn and from Shīrvān to Baṣra. He was buried at Ardjish, but the site of his lavishly-constructed tomb and *zāwiya* has not been found.

The panic caused by the death of their ruler and the arrival of the Čaghatayid army was short lived. Most of the Ķarā-Ķoyunlu rallied around Iskandar, one of Ķarā Yūsuf's sons, who was known for his bravery. Iskandar defeated Ķarā Yülük of the Aķ-Ķoyunlu, who had attacked Mārdīn (Rabīʿ II 824/April 1421). This victory caused dismay among the forces of Shāh Rukh, then camped along the river Aras, but it raised the morale of the Ķarā-Ķōyunlu so much that they started preparing an army of 30-40,000 men for battle with Shāh Rukh on the Alashgird plain between Erzurum and Agrī. Knowing that elephants were employed in the Čaghatayid army, they trained their horses against elephants made of mud. Shāh Rukh would have preferred not to cross the shores of Lake Van and to return to Ādharbāydjān, but on the request of Ķarā Yülük and some local amīrs he resolved to march against the Ķarā-Ķoyunlu. The three-day battle (29-30 Radjab and 1 Shaʿbān 824/30-31 July and 1 August 1421) fought on the Alashgird plain ended in victory for Shāh Rukh thanks to the numerical superiority of his forces. He could not, however, find anybody among his sons, amīrs or others, worthy to be appointed as governor of Ādharbāydjān (which made him an object of satire by some poets); no-one would accept the position for fear of Iskandar. The Čaghatayid ruler therefore returned to Khurāsān, leaving Ādharbāydjān to its former owners. Although Tabrīz was occupied by Iṣfahān, brother of Iskandar, who had commanded the left flank of the Ķarā-Ķōyunlu army in the battle of Alashgird, he evacuated the city and withdrew to the Pasin plain when he heard that Iskandar was on his way. Some time later he went to seek his fortune in ʿIrāķ-i ʿArab.

Iskandar spent the years 825/1422 and 827/1424 punishing the amīrs of Hakkārī and Bidlīs who had betrayed him by becoming vassals to Shāh Rukh, and annexing Van, Akhlāṭ and Mush. Attacking the Shīrvān Shāh Khalīl Allāh, one of the vassals of Shāh Rukh, in 831/1428, he plundered his territory, and in the next year captured Sultāniyya, Zandjān, Ķazwīn and Abhar, which were subject to Shāh Rukh. Concerned at these exploits, the Čaghatayid ruler marched into Ādharbāydjān with a large army. A two-day battle (17-18 Dhuʾl-Ḥidjdja 832/17-18 September, 1429) fought at Salmas ended in a Čaghatayid victory. In spite of this, Shāh Rukh realized that he would never be able to wipe out the Ķarā-Ķoyunlu; he therefore appointed Abū Saʿīd, the youngest son of Ķarā Yūsuf, as amīr of Ādharbāydjān and returned home in the spring of 833/1430. Before long, Iskandar seized his brother and put him to death. His relationships with his other brothers were also strained. Shāh Meḥmed had broken off relations with his family after he had become ruler of Baghdād, while Iṣfahān, refusing to be subject to Iskandar, went to ʿIrāķ-i ʿArab and captured one by one the cities in the territory of the ineffective and foolish Shāh Meḥmed. Finally capturing Baghdād in 836/1433, he effectively robbed his brother of all his lands. As for Djihān, whose fief was around Lake Van, he resented his brother's hostile attitude towards him. Through opening hostilities against his brother in 837/1433-34, he became, like Iṣfahān, a vassal of Shāh Rukh. The acquisition of these two vassals prompted Shāh Rukh to carry out the third Ādharbāydjān expedition, despite the opposition of most of his amirs, allied to the bitter complaints of the Shīrvān Shāh, whose territories had been devastated (838/1434). Iskandar probably knew nothing definite of Djihān Shāh's action.

Calling Djihān Shāh to his presence at Rayy in 838/1434, Shāh Rukh declared him the head of the Ķarā-Ķoyunlu and sent a large army against Iskandar. Withdrawing towards Erzurum, Iskandar met the forces of Ķarā Yülük ʿOthmān of the Aķ-Ķoyunlu, defeated him in a bloody battle, and took refuge in Ottoman territory when pursued by the forces of the Tīmūrids. Iskandar probably thought that he could deal with Djihān Shāh as easily as he did with Abū Saʿīd, but he suffered defeat near Tabrīz (841/1438) and took shelter in the impregnable fortress of Allndjak, which housed his family and treasury. Besieged by Djihān Shah, Iskandar could hope only for military aid from Egypt, but the news of the death of Sulṭān Barsbāy was received at Erzindjān and the Egyptian force returned. Iskandar was murdered one night by his son Shāh Kubād (841/1438). He was one of the most courageous rulers of his time, and few were able to withstand him. It was mainly through his courage that he was able to rule his country for 18 years. However, he was devoid of political wisdom, a deficiency which led to the destruction of his lands, the misery of his people, and the sad end of his reign.

During the reign of Djihān Shāh (843-72/1439-67), the Ķarā-Ķoyunlu territory grew into a large empire and enjoyed its most brilliant phase. On the death of Iṣfahān in 848/1445, Djihān Shāh annexed ʿIrāķ-i ʿArab (849/1446), and taking advantage of the death

in 850/1447 of Shāh Rukh, whose vassal he was, he attacked the cities of Sulṭāniyya and Ḳazwīn. Not content with these victories, he later took the cities of Rayy and Iṣfahān and the regions of Fārs and Kirmān. Although his Khurasān expedition failed, mainly because of the revolt of his son Ḥasan ʿAlī in 862/1458, he signed a treaty of firm friendship with Abū Saʿīd of the Tīmūrids, and thereby obtained confirmation of his sovereignty over the territories he had gained from the Čaghatayid. Djihān Shāh had reached the height of his achievements, and was the bearer of such titles as *khān*, *khāḳān* and *sulṭān*. During his reign, the Ḳarā-Ḳoyunlu territory had become one of the major Islamic powers. Parallel to his renown as a ruler, the political, military and administrative organization of his state also reached a high level of development. Culture and learning were encouraged by Djihān Shāh, who was also a great builder. A highly cultured man, he wrote poems in Turkish and Persian under the pseudonym of *Ḥaḳīḳī*.

Djihān Shāh's expedition against Uzun Ḥasan Beg of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu ended in disaster through his own carelessness. He and his son Muḥammadī were killed, while another son, Yūsuf, was blinded (872/1467). His son Pīr Budak had been put to death earlier (870/1466) for rising against his father. His son Ḥasan ʿAlī, who was in prison, was therefore placed on the Ḳarā-Ḳoyunlu throne. Deficient in intelligence and weak in character, he could not hope to hold out against Uzun Ḥasan Beg. In fact, he was defeated by him at Marand, and had to take refuge under Abū Saʿīd, whom he had called to his aid. When Abū Saʿīd was also defeated, Ḥasan ʿAlī fled towards Hamadān, but killed himself when he realized that he could not avoid capture (Shawwāl 873/April 1469). Although his brother Yūsuf, who had been blinded, was taken to Fārs and placed on the throne by the begs of the Bahārlu, he was put to death by Ughurlu Meḥmed, son of Uzun Ḥasan Beg, in 874/1469. In that year all the Ḳarā-Ḳoyunlu territories passed into the hands of the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu, and Ḳarā-Ḳōyunlu power virtually came to an end.

The organization of the Ḳarā-Ḳoyunlu state was a continuation of that of the Djalāyīrids. The fact that the last members of the dynasty, as well as some tribal begs, had such names as Yār ʿAlī, Pīr ʿAlī, Ḥasan ʿAlī, Ḥusayn ʿAlī and ʿAlī Sheker may be taken as evidence of the existence of a tendency towards Shīʿism among the Ḳarā-Ḳoyunlu. Moreover it is said that Iṣfahān (Ispend) had coins struck on behalf of the Twelve Imāms. On the other hand, the names of the Four Caliphs appear on the coins belonging to the reign of Djihān Shāh, and no contemporary historian has any record of his having had any inclinations towards Shīʿism. The tombstones carved in the form of rams that can now be seen in eastern Anatolia and Iran were normally erected in memory of men famed for their bravery and gallantry; some of these tombstones certainly belong to the Ḳarā-Ḳoyunlu.

Bibliography: Sümer, *Kara-Koyunlular*, (T.T.K.), i, Ankara 1967. (Full references in the forthcoming vol. ii).
(F. Sümer)

ḲARĀ-ḲUM [see Ḳaraḳum]

ḲARĀ MAḤMŪD PASHA, Ishḳodralī, Bushatlī (*ca.* 1155-1211/1742-96), and important representative of the powerful north Albanian *aʿyān* family of the Bushatlī (Turkish: Budjatlī), which achieved local prominence in the mid-12th/18th century as holders of large *muḳāṭaʿāt*. This family was able, between 1163/1750 and 1247/1831, to maintain itself in control of the *sandjāḳ* of Ishḳodra (Iskenderiye, Scutari, Skadar, the present Shkodër) and the surrounding territories as a hereditary quasi-principality.

The origins of the Bushatlī remain debatable: amongst other traditions, that of their alleged descent from Stanisha, the rebellious brother of the *vladika* Gjuragj, who, in the aftermath of the battle of Ljeshkopolje (865/1461), settled in the village of Bushat, may be balanced by a claim (unsubstantiated) to a Venetian origin, while Ḳarā Maḥmūd ascribed to himself, at a critical point in his career (1201/1787), descent from Skanderbeg. Be that as it may, from the later 9th/15th until the end of the 11th/17th century, the Bushatlī are found as *sandjāḳ-beyis* of Ishḳodra. For example, *ca.* 1015/1604 a certain Ṭāhir Bey Bushatlī is found engaged as an auxiliary of the pasha against the Klimenti. After a period of confusion during the first half of the 12th/18th century, Ghāzī Meḥmed Pasha, the restorer of Bushatlī power in Ishḳodra, and the founder of their fortunes as *aʿyān*, succeeded from *ca.* 1163/1750 in eliminating all opposition to his rule. On his death (15 Djumādā ʾl-awwal 1189/14 July 1775 —not, as commonly stated, in 1184/1770 or 1193/1779, or, as stated in *EI*² i, 657, in 1211/1796), power passed briefly to his eldest son, Muṣṭafā, and then (1190/1776) to his second son, Maḥmūd, who came rapidly to exercise "presque impunément une autorité souveraine dans ce pays" (Capriate, Venetian consul at Durazzo (Durrës), 1782).

As *sandjāḳ-beyi* of Ishḳodra, with the honorary rank of *mīrmīrān*, Ḳarā Maḥmūd Pasha found it possible to profit from the internal weakness of the Ottoman state and its involvement in successive wars with Russia and Austria, by reducing to obedience much of northern and central Albania, and engaging in incessant warfare with, *e.g.*, Okhrīlī Aḥmed Pasha to the east and the much better-known Tepedelenli ʿAlī Pasha to the south. With the *wālīs* of Bosnia, to the north, Ḳarā Maḥmūd Pasha also came into conflict, establishing his control over the fortresses of Podghoridja (Podgorica) and Ishpuzi (Špuz). Internally, he consolidated his power by an alliance with the highland Malisors and by an economic policy of encouraging trade—especially Venetian trade—through Ishḳodra. Like his father, he drew considerable financial advantage from this commerce.

It was believed in Istanbul—and possibly with reason—that the authority of the *ḳāḍīs* had lapsed and that the *Sharīʿa* was no longer enforced in the territories under Ḳarā Maḥmūd Pasha's control. The Porte, accordingly, declared him a rebel, sending (1199/1784-5) an expedition under the *kapudan pasha* Djezāʾirli Ḥasan Pasha [*q.v.*]; Ḳarā Maḥmūd Pasha was forced to surrender, but was pardoned and reinstated as *sandjāḳ-beyi* of Ishḳodra. Shortly afterwards (1785) he invaded Montenegro, and at the same time began to intrigue with Austria against the sultan in exchange for a promise of recognition as an independent ruler, an act which may have precipitated an unsuccessful second Ottoman expedition against him in 1200-1/1786-7, led by Tepedelenli ʿAlī Pasha and the *wālī* of Rumili, Aydoslu Meḥmed Pasha. Pardoned once more, in exchange for his rendering military assistance against Austria, and after having demonstrated his loyalty to the sultan by effecting the massacre of an Austrian mission under Brugnard in Shaʿbān 1202/May 1788, Ḳarā Maḥmūd Pasha was invested with the titular *wālīliḳ* of Anatolia and appointed commander (*serʿasker*) of the Ottoman forces assembled at Yeñi-

pazar (1204/1789). The following year he acted as *ser'asker* at Widin, but was soon once more in revolt, being now dismissed from command.

Returned to Ishkodra, Ķarā Maḥmūd Pasha resisted successfully the new sultan, Selīm III, who in 1208/1793 sent against him the *wālī* of Rumili, Ebū Bekir Pasha. A further attempt to remove him, made by Tepedelenli 'Alī Pasha, in 1209/1794, was also unsuccessful.

During these years Ķarā Maḥmūd Pasha had also engaged in hostilities with the *njegoš* Petar I Petrovič of Montenegro in a futile effort to bring the Montenegrins under his control. In the second of two expeditions undertaken against them in 1211-12/1796, Ķarā Maḥmūd Pasha's force was routed and he himself slain (Rabī' I 1211/September 1796) in circumstances which are commemorated by the Montenegrin epic ballad *Pjesen*. His head was for long preserved in a church at Cetinje; his body was eventually buried at Podgorica.

There is no doubt that, compared with *e.g.* Tepedelenli 'Alī Pasha, the importance of the Bushatli family in general, and of Ķarā Maḥmūd Pasha in particular, for the history of the Balkan *a'yanate* of the 18th-19th centuries, has been underestimated. Recent attempts, however, to read into the activities of Ķarā Maḥmūd Pasha an Albanian proto-national significance should perhaps be treated with considerable reserve.

Bibliography: Ahmed Djewdet, *Ta'rīkh*[1] (n.p., n.d.), iii-iv, vi, *passim* (biographical sketch, vi, 206-10); brief references in the histories of Montenegro by Milorad Medakovič, *Pobjestnica Crnegore od naistarieg vremena do 1830*, Zemun 1850, 67 ff.; A. Andrić, *Geschichte des Fürstenthums Montenegro*, Vienna 1853; D. Milankovič, *Istorija Crne Gore*, Zadar 1856, 70-1; P. Coquelle, *Histoire de Monténégro et de la Bosnie*, Paris 1895; more extended treatments in Dora d'Istria, *Gli Albanesi musulmani*; *Scutari e i Buchatli*, in *Nuova Antologia di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, viii (1868), 221-42; S. Gopcevic, *Geschichte von Montenegro und Albanien*, Gotha 1914, 222-5, 245-80; S. J. Shaw, *Between old and new*: *the Ottoman Empire under Selim III*, 1789-1807, Cambridge, Mass. 1971, 230-4. Cf. Meḥmed Thurayyā (Süreyya), *Sidjill-i 'Othmānī*, iv, 258, 328-9 (draws heavily on Djewdet); I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, iv/1, Ankara 1956, 615-7; Ettore Rossi, *Saggio sul dominio turco e l'introduzione dell'Islam in Albania*, in *Rivista d'Albania*, iii/4 (1942), 200 ff.; S. Pollo, A. Buda and others, *Historia e Shqipërisë*, i, Tiranë 1959, chs. ix-x, *passim*. Recent detailed studies on part or all of Ķarā Maḥmūd Pasha's career are by N. P. Skerović, "*Pjesen*": *Crnogorska pobjeda nad Skadarskim pašom Mahmutom Bušatliom kao istoriski dokument*, in *Istoriski Časopis*, i/1-2 (1948), 167-80; T. Dukič, *Izvestaji o bojevima Crno-goraca s Mahmud pašom Bušatliom*, in *Istoriski Zapisi*, viii (1951), 480-7; B. Pavičevič, *O prvom pohodu Mahmuta Bušatlije na Crnu Goru* 1796, in *Istoriski Časopis*, vi (1956), 153-67; V. Vinaver, *Crna Gora, Skadar i Dubrovnik krajem xviii veka*, in *Istoriski Zapisi*, ix/1-2 (1956), 42-77; S. N. Naçi, *Le pachalik de Scutari considéré dans son développement socio-politique au xviii*e *siècle*, in *Studia Albanica*, iii/1 (1966), 123-44, supplemented by the same author's work in Albanian, *Pashallëku i Shkodrës nën sundimin e Bushatllive . . .*, Tiranë 1964. For further references to Albanian historiography see Naçi, *Pashallëku...*, 319-21, and K. Bozhori and V. Koka, *Historiografia Shqiptare gjatë 25 vjetëve të pushtetit popullor*, in *Studime Historike*, xxiii (1969), 72, n. 6.

The official and private correspondence of the Bushatli family survives in part in the Albanian State Archives (see Selami Pulaha, *Matériaux documentaires en langue osmano-turque des archives albanaises . . .*, in *Studia Albanica*, iii/1 (1966), 187-98. For a Ms. once belonging to the family see J. Blaskovič, *Arabische, Türkische und Persische Hss. der Universitätsbibliothek in Bratislava*, no. 569. A few notices of what are doubtless far more extensive Başvekâlet Arşivi materials have been provided by I. H. Uzunçarşılı and S. J. Shaw, in their works indicated above; a number of Turkish documents (*sidjills* preserved in the Oriental Institute, Sarajevo) relating to Ķarā Maḥmūd Pasha have been utilized by M. Spaho, *Skadarski mutesarif Mahmud Paşa Buşatlija prema turskim dokumentima*, in *Istoriski Zapisi*, xx/3 (1963), 669-81.

(C. J. HEYWOOD)

ĶARĀ MUṢṬAFĀ PASHA, MERZIFONLU, MAĶTŪL, Ottoman Grand Vizier.

According to the "official" Ottoman accounts (*e.g.*, Rāshid, *Tā'rīkh*[2], i, 430), Ķarā Muṣṭafā Pasha was of Turkish origin, born in 1044/1634-5 into the Anatolian "feudal gentry", his father, whose name is given in this tradition as Urudj Beg (but as Ḥasan Agha in *S'O*, iv, 402), being a member of the *a'yān-i sipāhīyān* and one of those who fell in the siege of Baghdād by Murād IV in 1048/1638. A friendship was said to have existed between his father and Köprülü Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*], in whose household, accordingly, the son was brought up, educated with Köprülü's own son, Aḥmed.

The relationship thus apparently established between the house of Köprülü and Ķarā Muṣṭafā certainly determined, in large measure, the latter's subsequent political career, but other, and often conflicting, accounts of his origins and early years have survived from the time preceding his nomination to the Grand Vizierate in 1087/1676. According to a report prepared for the French ambassador de Nointel at some time between March 1675 and October 1676 (appended in Ch. Schéfer, ed., *Journal d'Antoine Galland pendant son séjour à Constantinople* (1672-1673), Paris 1881, ii, 186-207), Ķarā Muṣṭafā Pasha was at that time "aagé de quarante-huit ans ou environ" (*i.e.*, born *ca.* 1036/1626-7) and the son of a *sipāhī* called Derwīsh Beg, of Merzifon. His father gave him, at the age of eighteen (? *ca.* 1054/1644-5), to Meḥmed Köprülü, who made him an *ič-oghlan* in his service, promoting him to *silāḥdār* on his own appointment as *müsellim* for the *eyālet* of Shām (Damascus) (cf. Silāḥdār, *Ta'rīkh*, Istanbul 1928, i, 225), and, subsequently, to be his *mühürdār* (seal-bearer). On the appointment of Meḥmed Köprülü to the governorship of the *eyālet* of Ṭrablūs al-Shām (report *apud* Schefer, 186: in 1065/1654-5, cf. Silāḥdār i, 226) he raised Ķarā Muṣṭafā to be one of his *aghās*; shortly afterwards, on assuming the Grand Vizierate (1066/1655-6), Meḥmed Köprülü summoned Ķarā Muṣṭafā from Merzifon—where he had retired because of illness—and appointed him to his *telkhīṣdji*—"celuy que le Pacha depesche au Grand Seigneur lorsqu'il a quelque chose de consequence à lui faire scavoir" (cf. Rāshid[2], i, 430-1).

A third conflicting early account of Ķarā Muṣṭafā Pasha's origins is supplied in a *relazione* compiled c. 1680 by the Venetian *bailo* Morosini di Alvise (N. Barozzi and G. Berchet, *Relazioni*, Series v, *Turchia* i/2, Venice 1872, 207, and cf. 259), which seems to reflect a tradition current even in the 1660s

(cf. Roger North, *Life... of Sir Dudley North*, London 1744, 73). This relates that Ḳara Muṣṭafā was born "among the dregs of the people" ("nato per castigo de' popoli") near Trabzon (? a dragoman's misreading of "Merzifon"). Ḳarā Muṣṭafā obtained a post as one of the lowest domestics of Meḥmed Köprülü—who had indeed for a short time governed the *eyālet* of Trabzon *ca.* 1054-5/1644-5 (cf. Silāḥdār, i, 225) (this providing some support to the chronology of the account published by Schéfer).

Amongst this conflicting evidence no clear path can be charted. The "official" account is circumstantially weak and appears to be a romantic *ex post facto* construction. Epigraphic evidence, however, confirms at least that Ḳarā Muṣṭafā was a native of Merzifon or, more precisely, of the nearby village of Marīndja (now Bahčekent), where he founded a mosque, a fountain, and a library (A. Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie*. ii, Paris 1934, 71; *Amasya İl yıllığı*, n.p., n.d., 187-8). Only upon the appointment of his patron, Meḥmed Köprülü, to the Grand Vizierate in 1066/1656 does Ḳarā Muṣṭafā become a visible public figure.

He participated in the campaign undertaken by the Grand Vizier against Transylvania in 1068/1658, and, on the Ottoman capture of the important fortress of Yanova (Jenö) (3 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1068/1 September 1658) he was employed—as *telkhīṣdji* to Meḥmed Köprülü—to convey the news of the success to Meḥemmed IV (Meḥmed Khalīfe, *Ta'rīkh-i Ghilmānī*, ed. A. Refīḳ, in *TOEM*, supp., 1340, 54) and as a reward was taken into the Outside Service of the Sultan, being appointed to the office of *küčük mīrakhor* (Silāḥdār, i, 127, 140).

On 3 Djumādā II 1070/15 February 1660 Ḳara Muṣṭafa "Āghā" was appointed *beglerbegi* of Silistre, from which office he was removed on 26 Shaʿbān 1071/16 April 1661 in order to superintend the removal of the *Wālide sulṭān* from Edirne to Istanbul. Shortly afterwards, he was raised to the rank of Vizier and appointed *wālī* of Diyārbakr (Silāḥdār i, 181-2, 217; Rāshid[2] i, 13; ii, 430).

His dependence on the continuing ascendancy of the Köprülü family was also soon apparent. Shortly after the death of Meḥmed Köprülü and the appointment to the Grand Vizierate of his son, Fāḍıl Aḥmed Köprülü (7-8 Rabīʿ I 1072/31 Oct.-1 Nov. 1661), Ḳarā Muṣṭafā Pasha was appointed *Ḳapudān Pasha* on 1 Djumādā I/23 December of the same year (Silāḥdār i, 221; Rāshid[2] i, 23). In this capacity he commanded the Ottoman fleet in the Aegean Sea, returning to Istanbul in Djumādā II 1073/January 1663, in time to take part in the great military parade held before the sultan at Edirne on 28 Shaʿbān 1073/7 April 1663. In the official description of this event he ranked second in the list of participants—an indication of his steadily improving political fortunes.

He did not serve in the campaigns undertaken by Aḥmed Köprülü in Hungary. On the departure of the army and the Grand Vizier from Edirne (5 Ramaḍān 1073/13 April 1663), he was appointed *ḳā'immaḳām* [*q.v.*], a position which allowed him to exercise an increasing influence on the sultan and on affairs of state. At the same time he was permitted to retain the office of the *ḳapudānlīk-i deryā*, administering it through a deputy (Silāḥdār i, 241; Rāshid[2] i, 26-7). During this period his duties, as recorded in the Ottoman sources, appear to have been largely only ceremonial, but it was rumoured among western diplomats that he was already aiming at the Grand Vizierate and intriguing with the sultan against Fāḍıl Aḥmed Pasha (Silāḥdār i, 231 ff., *passim*; Knolles, *Generall Historie*[6], ii, 163).

As *Ḳapudan Pasha*, Ḳarā Muṣṭafā accompanied Meḥemmed IV on an inspection of the fortifications of the Dardanelles (Ṣafar to Rabīʿ II 1076/August to October 1665), and was subsequently put in charge of naval preparations for the planned final reduction of Crete. His actions at this time, in attempting to commandeer for transport purposes ships of the European maritime powers, were resisted by their representatives at the Porte, and contributed materially to the exaggerated accounts concerning him which became current in Europe.

In Shaʿbān 1076/February 1666 he briefly resumed the post of *ḳā'immaḳām*, accompanying Meḥemmed IV on a hunting expedition to Čataldja. While there (1-14 Shaʿbān/6-19 February) he was dismissed as *Ḳapudan Pasha* but received in compensation promotion to the rank of Second Vizier, as part of a complicated reassignment of posts (Silāḥdār i, 392-3). At this point, with the siege of Ḳandiye entrusted to the Grand Vizier, Ḳarā Muṣṭafā became once more *ḳā'immaḳām* (5 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1076/9 May 1666), a post which he retained until the return of the Grand Vizier to Edirne on 8 Ṣafar 1081/27 June 1670 (Silāḥdār i, 409, 558).

During these years Ḳarā Muṣṭafā Pasha remained in close attendance on Meḥemmed IV, but his ascendancy appears to have been threatened by the sudden rise to a position of influence of the sultan's boon companion Muṣṭafā Agha, who was given the rank of Second Vizier on 28 Muḥarram 1077/31 July 1666 (thus causing Ḳara Muṣṭafā's demotion to the rank of Third Vizier) and who was regarded in court circles as equal in rank to the *ḳā'immaḳām* (Silāḥdār i, 430).

In Shawwāl 1078/March-April 1668 Ḳarā Muṣṭafā accompanied Meḥemmed IV to Yeñishehir-i Fenār (Lárissa), in order to observe more closely the progress of the siege of Ḳandiye. Here he lived with great pomp and magnificence—his military band attracting the particular attention of foreign visitors—dividing his time between the reception of envoys and hunting with Meḥemmed IV in his frequent expeditions throughout Thessaly. It was on one of these excursions, while encamped at Livadya in Djumādā' I 1080/October 1669 that Ḳarā Muṣṭafā carried to the sultan the news of the capitulation of Ḳandiye (Silāḥdār i, 483 ff., 501 ff., 554-5).

In the interval of peace (1669-72) between the end of the Cretan campaign and the outbreak of war with Poland, Ḳarā Muṣṭafā Pasha, still with the rank of Third Vizier, remained close to the sultan (cf. Silāḥdār i, 562-8).

Ḳarā Muṣṭafā Pasha played an active, if subordinate, role in the Polish campaign of 1083/1672, this being the first time since 1068/1658 that he had seen service in the field. He was present at the siege of Khotin and later commanded the right wing at the opening of the siege of Ḳamaniče (1083/1672). After the Ottoman capture of Bučash (Buczacz), an operation which he commanded, he was appointed chief plenipotentiary in the negotiations with the Poles and concluded with them the cessation of hostilities which transferred Podolia to Ottoman control and recognized the western Ukraine as an Ottoman protectorate (Silāḥdār i, 568 ff., 582-5, 592 ff., 610, 611 ff.).

It would seem that after his return from Poland Ḳarā Muṣṭafā Pasha was able further to establish his influence with the sultan. Having, earlier in his

career, married a daughter of Meḥmed Köprülü, he was on 4 Rabīʿ II 1086/29 May 1675, as part of the ceremonies held at Edirne in honour of the circumcision of the sons of Meḥemmed IV, betrothed to the sultan's daughter, Küčük Sulṭān.

During the last illness of Fāḍīl Aḥmed Pasha, Ḳarā Muṣṭafā was authorized by the sultan to take over the public functions of the Grand Vizier—functions which he exercised first at a *dīwān* held in the Oḳ Meydānī at Istanbul on 17 Djumādā 1087/28 July 1676. On 2 Shaʿbān/10 October of the same year he was appointed *yol ḳāʾimmaḳāmī* for the journey of Meḥemmed IV from Istanbul to Edirne. The Grand Vizier himself, following behind, died on the road between Čorlu and Ḳarīshtīran. The seals of office were brought on 26-7 Shaʿbān 1087/3 November 1676 to the sultan, who invested Ḳarā Muṣṭafā Pasha with the Grand Vizierate (Rāshid², i, 332-4; Silāḥdār, i, 651-2).

Ḳarā Muṣṭafā Pasha occupied the Grand Vizierate for seven years (Shaʿbān 1087/November 1676 to 6 Muḥarram 1095/25 December 1683. His domestic policies were conservative, frequently rapacious, and designed both for the exigencies of a war economy and for his personal enrichment. Morosini di Alvise, for example, described him as "tutto venale, crudele e ingiusto" (*op. cit.*, 207). Principle, nonetheless, was on occasion allowed to override the financial interests of the state: thus in Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 1091/November-December 1680 he decreed the (temporary) abolition of the *khamr emāneti*, the excise on wine, it being argued that for the state to profit from the sale of wine was contrary to the *Sharīʿa*. In the same spirit he restored (1087/1676) the ancient custom that the Grand Vizier and his assistants should tour the markets of Istanbul on Wednesdays, and refused to admit to other than public audience the interpreters of western ambassadors, on the grounds that they were of *reʿāyā* status (Silāḥdār i, 735; R. Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVII^e siècle*, Paris 1962, 126, n; Knolles, *op. cit.*, ii, 264).

In his dealings with the envoys of Christian states and with the merchant communities in Istanbul and the other ports of the Ottoman Empire, Ḳarā Muṣṭafā Pasha seems to have been animated by an "intense xenophobia" (Mantran, *op. cit.*, 527), which had been remarked as early as 1074/1663 (cf. a harsh letter of that year to the English ambassador, omitting the customary salutations (Leicester, County Record Office), but which became more strongly marked after his assumption of the Grand Vizierate (*e.g.*, the exactions laid upon the Dutch for the renewal of their Capitulations, upon the French over their bombardment of Chios, and against the English in a constant stream of *avania*s during the years 1676-83). Despite this, the Dutch ambassador Colyer could describe him in 1677 as "een stout ende prompt, ondernement man" (K. Heeringa, ed., *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis van den Levantschen Handel*, ii (1661-1726), The Hague 1917 (= Rijksgeschiedkundige Publicatiën, 34), 227, n.), and several observers spoke at this time of his deep interest in, and knowledge of, the affairs of Europe—a knowledge which he perhaps acquired in large part from the Phanariot Alexander Mavrocordato (cf. Hist. MSS. Commission, *Report on the MSS. of Allan George Finch, Esq.*, ii (London 1922), 62; Berchet, *op. cit.*, 187, 209; Schéfer, *op. cit.*, ii, 205).

In foreign affairs, Ḳarā Muṣṭafā Pasha continued, but with less careful statecraft, the policies of his two illustrious predecessors. Circumstances, and perhaps—as was at the time alleged—his personal predilections, enforced a preoccupation with the northern frontiers of the Empire and with those Christian states—Russia, Poland and Austria—which lay beyond its borders. In his relations with these states he attempted, with little success, to make use of often refractory Ottoman vassals, such as the Cossack hetman Doroshenko, the Hungarian magnate Imre Thököly, and the then *khān* of the Crimea, Selīm Girāy II. His policy has been commonly regarded as war for its own sake, but some at least of his actions seem rather to have been attempts to consolidate or define the Ottoman presence in those disputed areas—most notable the Ukraine and Hungary—which formed buffer zones between the Ottoman state and the recognized lands of *dār al-ḥarb*.

The years from 1087/1676 to 1092/1681 were entirely taken up with the problem of the Dniepr frontier. The settlement between Poland and the Ottoman Empire, which had been concluded at Izvandja/Zurawno shortly before the death of Aḥmed Köprülü, had opened the door to Russo-Ottoman rivalry in the Ukraine, but the defection from the Ottoman camp of the hetman Doroshenko led directly to Ḳarā Muṣṭafā Pasha's unsuccessful first Russian campaign (1088/1677). In a second expedition which was launched in the following year, the Cossack stronghold of Čehrin was taken (Radjab 1089/August 1687) and later demolished (Silāḥdār, i, 672-722; the *feth-nāme* celebrating the event, *ibid.*, 714). The essentially defensive nature of these campaigns was underlined by the construction (1090/1679) of new Ottoman fortresses on the Dniepr and Bug rivers, and by a third inconclusive campaign in 1091/1680, which led to a Russo-Ottoman truce (22 Ṣafar 1092/13 March 1681).

Ottoman relations with Russia and Poland being thus stabilized, Ḳarā Muṣṭafā Pasha was free to turn his attention to the affairs of Hungary and to the planning of offensive warfare against Austria. To this end he recognized (1093/1682) the Hungarian malcontent Thököly as puppet ruler and refused to renew except on the severest terms the twenty-year truce of Vasvár, due to expire in 1684. At the same time extensive military preparations were undertaken; finally, in Muḥarram 1094/December 1682, a large army with Meḥemmed IV and Ḳarā Muṣṭafā Pasha at its head departed from Edirne for a major campaign in Hungary and for the fateful second Ottoman attempt to capture Vienna (Silāḥdār, ii, 1 ff.).

This final, disastrous phase of Ḳarā Muṣṭafā's career—the progress of the campaign, the unsuccessful siege of Vienna, and the failure of the Grand Vizier to survive politically the consequences of military defeat—cannot be treated in detail here. It has, in any case, received considerable (if often uncritical) attention from contemporary and later observers (see Bibliography, below). Nor, perhaps, should the defeat of Ḳarā Muṣṭafā before Vienna be viewed in the totally apocalyptic light cast on it at the time and subsequently. In the context of Ottoman warfare it may be regarded as no more than the unexpected failure of a single campaign: after the siege was lifted (20 Ramaḍān 1094/12 September 1683) Ḳarā Muṣṭafā Pasha fell back on Yanīḳ (Raab, Györ) (22-25 Ramaḍān), and from thence retreated to Buda, where he arrived on 30 Ramaḍān/22 September. There he attempted to regroup his forces and to restore the shattered defences of the frontier, *e.g.*, by sending 6000 men from the Buda garrison

to reinforce Ujvár (Silāḥdār ii, 85-96, *passim*). There is no evidence that while at Buda his authority as Grand Vizier was in any way questioned, or that his standing with the sultan was impaired by the failure at Vienna; what is clear is that having strengthened, to the best of his ability, the defences of the frontier, and having left Ḳarā Meḥmed Pasha as *serdār* in Hungary, Ḳarā Muṣṭafā departed with the army for Belgrade, where he went into winter quarters on 28 Dhu ʾl-Ḳaʿda 1094/18 November 1683 (Silāḥdār ii, 107, 113).

It was at this time that his political fortunes began to ebb. On 29 Ramaḍān/21 September his *telkhīṣdji*, Ismāʿīl Agha, had arrived at the sultan's camp before Belgrade with the news of the defeat of the Ottoman army and its retreat to Yanlḳ. The Grand Vizier informed the sultan that he would remain at Buda until *rūz-i ḳāsîm* (26 October, old style, *i.e.*, 5 November) and would then go into winter quarters at Belgrade, from whence, in the following spring, a large and victorious army would, with the sultan's permission, attempt to regain the losses of the past campaign (Silāḥdār ii, 117 f.). The result of this communication was a series of consultations among the officers attendant on the sultan; robes of honour and a bejewelled sword—signs of royal favour—were despatched to the Grand Vizier at Buda. But with Meḥemmed IV's own departure from Belgrade on 21 Shawwāl/13 October, and especially after the sultan's arrival at Edirne (16 Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja/6 December), Ḳarā Muṣṭafā's political enemies were able to turn the sultan against him. His execution was decreed (23 Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja/13 December), and was carried out at Belgrade by officers sent from Edirne on 6 Muḥarram 1095/25 December 1683 (description in Silāḥdār ii, 119).

Bibliography: Beyond the references given in the text, a necrology of Ḳarā Muṣṭafā Pasha is provided by Rāshid², i, 430 ff. and an appreciation of his character and account of his pious foundations at Istanbul, Ghalaṭa, Edirne, Djidda, Merzifon, *ibid.*, 431-2; cf., for further details, the article by M. Münir Aktepe in *İA*, s.v. Mustafa Paşa, Merzifonlu. The account given in *SʿO* is erroneous in its chronology. For general treatments of the period of Ḳarā Muṣṭafā Pasha see Hammer-Purgstall, vi, 334 ff.; J. W. Zinkeisen, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, Hamburg-Gotha, 1840-63, v, *passim*; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi* iii, Ankara 1951-4; cf. further the works by Ahmed Refik and Cevat Üstün (in Turkish) listed by Aktepe, *loc. cit.*

The epigraphic material connected with Ḳarā Muṣṭafā Pasha has not been brought together. Cf., however, A. Gabriel, *op. cit.*, ii, *passim*, and also Oral Onur, *Edirne Türk tarihi vesikalarından kitabeler*, Istanbul 1972, 25: *česhme* erected by Ḳarā Muṣṭafā in 1077/1667 (reproduced in Osman Nuri Peremeci, *Edirne Tarihi*, Istanbul 1939, pl. 30) and Onur, *op. cit.*, 26: a further *česhme* of uncertain date. The mosque built at Marlndja by Ḳarā Muṣṭafā Pasha for his mother is reproduced in Şehabeddin Uygun, *Merzifon İlčesi* (n.p., 1938), 7. The tombstone erected at the Ṣarîdja Pasha mosque in Edirne (where Ḳarā Muṣṭafā's head was buried) is reproduced by H. T. Dağlioglu, *Edirne mezarları*, in *Türk Tarih, Arkeologya ve Etnografya Dergisi*, iii (1936), 167, 179. For his relations with the maritime powers see A. Vandal, *Les voyages du marquis de Nointel* (1670-1680), Paris 1900; and the reports of European travellers listed in *EI*¹, by F. Babinger, Cf. also K. Heeringa, *op. cit.*, *passim* (167 ff., *avania* levied on the Dutch ship *Keyser Octavianus*; 228 ff., the struggle over the renewal of the Dutch Capitulations); Roger North, *op. cit.*, 71-102: "A Relation of diverse Turkish Avanias, since [*i.e.*, in] the government of Cara Mustapha Basha, Vizier Azem"; Knolles, cont. Rycaut, ii, *passim*; Hist. Mss. Comm., *Report on Finch MSS.* (see *supra*), i (London 1913), 201 ff.; ii (1922), 62-166, *passim* (*avanias* on English trade as *Kapudan Pasha*, *ḳāʾimmaḳām* and Grand Vizier); G. F. Abbot, *Under the Turk in Constantinople*, London 1920. For unpublished Turkish sources on the Čehrin campaign of 1089/1678 see Agah Sırrı Levend, *Gazavāt-nāmeler*, Ankara 1956, 129-30 (an anonymous *relazione*), and 130: ʿAbd ül-Kerīm, *Aḥvāl-i sefer-i Čehrin*; also J. Blaškovič, *Die arabische, türkische und persische Hss. der Universitätsbibl. in Bratislava*, 1961, 346-52: extended notice of *Ghazānāme-i Čehrin*, by ʿAlī Beg el-Užičevi, who dedicated it to Ḳarā Muṣṭafā Pasha. The Ottoman sources, both published and unpublished, for the campaign against Vienna have been surveyed and analysed by Richard F. Kreutel, *Osmanische Berichte über Kara Muṣṭafās Feldzug gegen Wien*, in *WI*, NS xxi/4 (1969), 196-227. Numerous accounts of the siege itself exist in western languages: the most recent—John Stoye, *The Siege of Vienna*, London 1964, and Thomas W. Barker, *Double Eagle and Crescent*, Albany, N.Y., 1967—have not entirely superseded earlier studies by Camesina (1865), Klopp (1882) and von Renner and Toifel (1883). The contemporary western pamphlet literature, much of it sensational and quite unreliable, is immense. For the *beyān-nāmes* (invitations to submit) issued by Ḳarā Muṣṭafā Pasha in the course of the Vienna campaign see Khalīl Edhem [Eldem], *Kara Muṣṭafā Pashanln Shopron ahālisine beyānnāmesi*, in *TOEM*, nos. 16-17; J. H. Mordtmann, *Die Kapitulation von Konstantinopel im J.* 1453, in *BZ*, xxi (1912): *beyān-nāme* addressed to the people of Vienna; contemporary English translation in Knolles, cont. Rycaut, ii, 290).

(C. J. Heywood)

ḲARĀ ʿOTHMĀN-OGHLÎ (mod.: Karaosmanoğlu), name of an *aʿyān* [*q.v.*] family active in Manisa and district from the end of the 11th/17th century. The Ḳarā ʿOthmān who gave his name to the family was the son of Meḥmed Čavush, a *müteferriḳa* [*q.v.*] of the Palace, known also as Ḳara Čavush, who founded a mosque in 1050/1640 at the village of Yaya, near Manısa and was later buried there (*TV*, IX (1942), 198; see *Bibl.*). Meḥmed was the son of a certain Ḥasan Agha, also a *müteferriḳa*.

Ḳarā ʿOthmān, a native of Yaya, on retiring from service as a *sipāhī*, acted as *ketkhüda* to the *mütesellim* and *emīn* for the *beyt ül māl-i ʿāmme* and the *muḳāṭaʿa* of the Imperial Domains (*khāṣṣa*). In 1102-3/1691 he was ordered to seize for the state the property of the *timar*-holders and *zaʿīms* who had failed to present themselves for service on the Vienna campaign. This interlude left him extremely wealthy. He died in 1118/1706 in the village of Yaya (M. Çağatay Uluçay, *Karaosmanoğullarına ait düşünceler*, III. Türk Tarih Kongresi, Ankara 1948, 245). There is thus a period of 72 years between Meḥmed Čavush's death and Ḳarā ʿOthmān's death in 1118/1706. A newly discovered *wakfiyya* indicates that Ḳarā ʿOthmān could have had a father called ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (Münir Aktepe, *Manisa âyânlarından Kara Osman-oğlu Mustafa Ağa ve üç vakfiyesi hakkında*

bir araştırma, in *Vakiflar Dergisi*, ix (1971), 369, 370).

Ķarā ʿOthmān-oghlî amassed sufficient wealth and prestige for the members of his family henceforth to assume the name ʿOthmān-zāde or Ķarā ʿOthmān-oghlî. After Ķarā ʿOthmān's death, the headship of the family passed to Muṣṭafā, one of his four sons, the others being Ibrāhīm, ʿAbd Allāh and Aḥmad. During Aḥmad III's reign, Ḥādjdjī Muṣṭafā Agha increased his influence while seeking to avoid a direct clash with the government. The war with Persia led the state to neglect the Empire's internal problems, at the same time allowing influential and powerful men, such as Ḥādjdjī Muṣṭafā Agha, to oust the less successful contenders for power in the provinces and to extend their own influence. In 1152/1739 he assisted in the operations to remove Ṣarî Beyoghlî Muṣṭafā and other brigands marauding in the regions of Denizli, Aydîn, and Ṣarukhān. He was later to take part in other campaigns at the summons of the government. His support of the government helped the Ķarā ʿOthmān-oghlî dynasty to establish its hegemony in the region. Muṣṭafā Agha, already *emīn* for the *beyt ül māl-i ʿāmme* and for the *muķāṭaʿa* of the Imperial domains in Manisa, profited from his activity on the government's behalf to become *mütesellim* of Sarukhān in 1156/1743. He kept his position until 1167/1754, when the populace complained of his illegal activities as *mütesellim*. He was found guilty and executed in the same year (Wāṣīf, *Taʾrīkh*, Būlāķ 1243, i, 59).

The family's influence, however, did not end with Muṣṭafā Agha's execution. His eldest son, ʿAṭāʾ Allāh succeeded in becoming *mütesellim* of Ṣarukhān, but in 1174/1761 he was dismissed for incompetence and for improprieties committed during his term of office. He was recommended to retire to the village of Yaya, but chose instead to fight against the men who had played a part in bringing about his father's execution. He was defeated in the ensuing struggle and died in 1181/1767. The headship of the family soon afterwards passed to Ḥādjdjī Muṣṭafā Agha's other son, Aḥmad Agha, who gathered the other members around himself and succeeded, in 1183/1769, in becoming *voyvoda* of Akhiṣār. After being forced out of the post he became, in 1184/1770, *voyvoda* of İzmir and *muḥafîẓ* of Sandjaķburnî (Sancakburnu). Close family ties and a sharp eye for opportunities enabled the Ķarā ʿOthmān dynasty to extend the areas under its influence. In 1187/1773, Aḥmad Agha achieved the rank of *ķapîdjî bashî* [*q.v.*] at the Palace and in 1190/1776 became a *mültezim* of the *sandjaķ*. The fact that his other brother Meḥmed Agha was a *mütesellim* of the *sandjaķ* of Ṣarukhān meant that the whole *sandjaķ* now came under the control of the Ķarā ʿOthmān-oghlî family. The distinguished service of ʿÖmer and ʿOthmān Aghas in the Russian war of 1201-6/1787-92 brought further benefits to the family.

With the weakening of the provincial government towards the end of the 12th/18th century, officials of the second rank, such as *mütesellim*s, *muḥaṣṣîl*s or *voyvoda*s, came to dominate local administrations, thanks to the wealth which they had amassed. The Ķarā ʿOthmān-oghlî family is typical of these dynasties, which were now assuming a distinctive form under the general title of *aʿyān* [*q.v.*]. Towards the end of the 12th/18th century, the Ķarā ʿOthmān family extended its power beyond the boundaries of Ṣarukhān. Various members of the family were respectively *mütesellim* of Aydîn and *voyvoda*s of Turgutlu, Menemen and Bergama. Ḥādjdjī Ḥüseyn Agha became *muḥāfîẓ* of İzmir and *mubāyaʿadjî* of the quay. It was during the time of ʿÖmer Agha that the Ķarā ʿOthmān-oghlî family, who by now had acquired the *mütesellim*-ship of Isparta and the *voyvoda*-ship of Gelenbe, became the most influential dynasty in western Anatolia. ʿÖmer Agha was said to be the richest of the *aʿyān* of the period. He was among the influential *aʿyān* of Anatolia and Rumelia who received invitations during the reign of Selīm III [*q.v.*] to discuss the government of the empire, and he put his signature to the document of agreement (İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Meşhur Rumeli âyânlarından Tirsinikli Ismail, Yılıkoğlu Süleymân Agalar ve Alemdar Mustafa Paşa*, Istanbul 1942, 142, 143, 144).

When Maḥmūd II attempted to establish a strong, centralised administration, he did not at first interfere with the powerful Ķarā ʿOthmān-oghlî family. Their turn came only when the others had been removed. However, the revolt in the Morea and the opening of the Russian campaign seem to have regained for the Ķarā ʿOthmān-oghlî family some of its former dignity, even if this was only for a short time. Then in 1244/1829 two members of the family died, one of whom was ʿÖmer Agha, the *voyvoda* of Bergama, and the other Ḥüseyn Agha, the *mütesellim* of Manısa. No other members of the family were appointed in their place, but instead the posts reverted to the government. When the central government re-established its authority in the provinces and the power of the *aʿyān* diminished, the Ķarā ʿOthmān-oghlî family was quick to adapt to the new conditions, as the careers of Pūlād Meḥmed's sons Eyyūb Agha, and Yaʿķūb Pasha exemplify (Luṭfī, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1305, v, 96). In 1249/1833 Eyyūb Agha became *mütesellim* of Manısa and two years later achieved the rank of Chiet Equerry (*Istabl-i ʿāmire müdürlüğü*). His brother Yaʿķūb Pasha was many times *wālī* of Aydîn (1249-52/1833-6, 1257/1841, 1261-3/1845-7). Eyyūb Agha was *muḥaṣṣîl* of Manisa between 1255/1839 and 1258/1842, and died in 1261/1845 while *ķāʾimmaķām* of Aydîn. His son, Ṣādıķ Beg, was at various times *ķāʾimmaķām* of Aydîn and, like his father, became Imperial Equerry. With his death in 1277/1861, the influence of the Ķarā ʿOthmān-oghlî family in the district, already weakened, faded altogether.

Nevertheless, the family continued to produce some noteworthy members. ʿOthmān Beg and Khālid Pasha, for example, worked with the organisations established to fight the War of Independence. When the Greeks entered Manisa, Khālid Pasha began to fight at the head of a guerilla group which he had formed, but met his death on 23 June 1919. Between 1923 and 1950, the family produced such noteworthy figures as Meḥmed Riḍā (Mehmed Rıza), Suʿād Kānī (Suat Kânî) and Nāʾim (Naim). The family's most famous member in the Republican era is the writer and politician Yaʿķūb Ķadrī ʿOthmān-oghlî (Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu), Ķadrī Beg's son and Yaʿķūb Pasha's grandson. Members of the family are still living at Manisa and Ķîrķ-aghač (Kırkağaç).

Bibliography: (in addition to the works mentioned in the text): M. Çağatay Uluçay, *Kara Osman oğullarına ait bazı vesikalar*, in *Tarih Vesikaları*, ix (Istanbul 1942), 193-207; x (Istanbul 1942), 300-8; xii (Istanbul 1943), 434-40; xiv (Istanbul 1944), 117-26; Münir Aktepe, *Kara Osmanoğlu Hacı Osman Osman Ağa'ya ait iki vakfıye*, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, ix (Ankara 1973), 161-8; Osman Bayatlı, *Kara Osmanoğullarından Hacı Ömer oğlu Mehmed Ağa vakfı*, Izmir 1957;

M. Çağatay Uluçay, *Manisa Ünlüleri*, Manisa 1946, 54-62; idem, *18. ve 19. yüzyıllarda Saruhan'da eşkiyalık ve halk hareketleri*, Istanbul 1955, 17-20, 153, 154, 280-6; Meliha Tektaş, *Karaosmanoğulları ailesi*, Istanbul 1946 (graduation thesis in the Faculty of Arts, Istanbul University); İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Kitabeler*, Istanbul 1929, ii, 96-101; Basri Edip Bayatlı, *Palamut nahiyesi*, in *Kurtuluş gazetesi*, 9 December 1941,-8 January 1942, nos. 299-315; Asaf Göksel-Hikmet Şölen, *Aydın ili tarihi*, Istanbul 1936, 199-202; Djevdet Pasha, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1309, v. 227, 240, 242, vi, 32, 146, 148, 216, 297, 305, viii, 64, 197, ix, 2, 3, 143, 283, x, 89; F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, Oxford 1929, ii, 597-603; Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce*, Paris 1809, ii, 37-8; MacFarlane, *Constantinople in 1828*, London 1829, 163, 173, 177, 186, 193-4; M. Çağatay Uluçay and İbrahim Gökçen, *Manisa tarihi*, Istanbul 1939, 55-58, 63, 65.

(C. ORHONLU)

ḲARĀ PAPAKH [see ḲARAPAPAKH].

ḲARĀ ṢU [see AL-FURĀT].

ḲARĀ ṢŪ-BĀZĀR [see ḲARAṢŪ-BĀZĀR].

ḲARĀ TAKÎN [see ḲARATIGIN].

ḲARĀ YAZÎDJÎ (?947-1011/?1540-1602), whose real name was ʿABD AL-ḤALĪM, is one of the best-known leaders of the Djelālī rebellions [see SUPPLEMENT, s.v.] in Turkey. It was previously believed that he started the rebellions, but investigations have proved that he appeared on the scene when they were at their height. Little is known about his life. Hüseyn Hüsām ed-Dīn (*Amasya tārīkhi*, iii, 348) states that he was the son of a Turcoman called ʿAlī from Edessa. The 18th-century Armenian writer Arakel (see Brosset, *Collection d'historiens arméniens*: Arakel de Tauriz, 359) described him as the son of a Turk from Čorum, which is historically accurate.

Ḳarā Yazîdjî's civil function is obscure; little is heard of him until after he became a prominent rebel leader. Like very many Turkish youths of his time, he left home and joined the entourage of one of the *sandjaḳ-begs* as a *sekbān* (soldier). In 972/1565 his name is recorded for the first time as one of the *ṣu-bashîs* of Ḳāsim Beg, the *sandjaḳ-beg* (governor) of Divrik. During Murād III's reign, Ḳarā Yazîdjî, who had enrolled in one of the mounted *bölüks* (squadrons) of the Ḳapu-ḳulîs, was garrisoned with his squadron in the fortress of Damascus. Shortly after, he returned to Anatolia and was given command of a squadron of the *sandjaḳ-beg* of Malatya. When in 1003/1595 the *sandjaḳ-beg* was summoned to join the campaign of Meḥmed III to Eğri [*q.v.*], he stayed behind as his deputy. During the preparation of the campaign to Eğri, the Djelālī rebellions suddenly gained strength and spread in all directions. The government then formed voluntary squadrons consisting of timariots who had not joined the campaign and their dependents (the youths of each village), and sent them in pursuit of the rebels. Ḳarā Yazîdjî and the voluntary squadrons of his *sandjaḳ* also received orders to disperse the Djelālī rebels. In 1003/1595 he was ordered to join the forces that had been sent against the rebellious *medrese* students who had assembled in the mountain range between Ṭarsūs and Silifḳe. In the meantime the *sandjaḳ* of Malatya had been given to another *sandjaḳ-beg*, and Ḳarā Yazîdjî and the former *sandjaḳ-beg*, faced with retirement, refused to surrender their power to the man who came to accept it on behalf of the new *sandjaḳ-beg*. Having thereby resisted the order of the government (1598), Ḳarā Yazîdjî joined the ranks of the Djelālī rebels. He enlarged the garrisons under his command, and within a short time rose to the position of an unchallenged Djelālī chief. Some who had become Djelālīs (the majority of them *ḳapu-ḳulî* commanders [*süvaris*] who had moved to Anatolia because they could not longer live with the Janissaries in Istanbul and had become *ḳapu-aghas* of the *sandjaḳ-begs* and *beglerbegs*, *i.e.*, controlling the *sekbāns*) began to join Ḳarā Yazîdjî to escape from the persecutions of the government. Ḳarā Yazîdjî, learning that the government was preparing a large campaign against the Djelālīs, retreated to the Marʿash-Edessa region, which was densely populated with south-east Anatolian Turcomans who had lived lawlessly for a long time. There, the former *beglerbeg* Hüseyn Pasha, who was living as a rebel in the region of Ḳarāmān, joined him too. It has been estimated that Ḳarā Yazîdjî had at his disposal a total of 20,000 *sekbāns*. Defeating the government forces sent against him from the *sandjaḳs* of Marʿash and the surrounding area, he attained great fame. As he undertook to collect provisions by force so as to feed his men, many wealthy people fled to Istanbul and there organized a demonstration against the government. The government then sent the vizier Sinān Pasha-zāde Meḥmed Pasha with a fairly large army against the rebels. In view of this, Ḳarā Yazîdjî occupied the fortress of Edessa, where he was surrounded. As neither Meḥmed Pasha nor Ḳarā Yazîdjî proved able to gain the victory, the government made an agreement with the rebel chief and made him *sandjaḳ-beg* of ʿAyntāb in exchange for the extradition of the rebellious Hüseyn Pasha. Shortly after, Meḥmed Pasha attacked Ḳarā Yazîdjî again. Both sides suffered heavy losses and the rebel chief retreated in the direction of Sivas. The government was reconciled with him once more, investing him with the added function of *sandjaḳ-beyi* of Amasya. Sinān Pasha-zāde Meḥmed Pasha was dismissed in 1009/1601 on the grounds that he should have admitted that his troops plundered the people and that they were becoming worse than the Djelālīs. As the people of Amasya began to complain more and more about Ḳarā Yazîdjî, he too was transferred to Čorum as its *sandjaḳ-beyi*, and received orders to join the forces raised to suppress the revolts of the students in the region between Ṭarsūs and Silifḳe. Once more he turned to rebellion. To feed the large masses of *sekbāns* whom he had assembled around him, he continued to collect provisions from the people, and to demand ransoms from the towns which he surrounded, as in Sivas in spring 1009/1601. He was contemplating seizing the fortress of Ḳasṭamonu and quartering his men there, when the government, determined to put an end to his activities, sent the *wālī* of Baghdād, Soḳollî-zāde Ḥasan Pasha [*q.v.*], against him. The nucleus of this commander's troops consisted of southern Kurdish and Arab soldiers with a strong tribal spirit. A large contingent of *Ḳapu-ḳulî* soldiers was sent from Istanbul under the command of the former *wālī* of Aleppo, Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm Pasha. But in the vicinity of Ḳayṣeriyye, before Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm Pasha had found the time to unite with the main forces, Ḳarā Yazîdjî mounted a surprise attack on him, inflicting heavy losses, so that he was forced to retire to the fortress of Ḳayṣeriyye. Ḥasan Pasha, who had great difficulty in maintaining peace among his Arab and Kurdish troops in Diyārbakr, came too late to be able to help Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm

Pas̲h̲a. The Dj̲elālī leader ceased harrying Ķayṣeriyye and moved to the Marʿas̲h̲-Göksun region, where he met Ḥasan Pas̲h̲a. In this battle the Dj̲elālī *sekbān*s suffered a heavy defeat. Ķarā Yazīdj̲ī thereupon fled with the remaining troops, took refuge in the mountainous region near Dj̲ānīk (Samsun) and died there at the beginning of 1603. His brother Deli Ḥasan took command of the Dj̲elālīs in his place.

Since he had succeeded in maintaining a large part of Anatolia under his control for three years, Ķarā Yazīdj̲ī was suspected by his enemies in Istanbul of intending to found a separate state, a rumour spread by the wealthy people who fled from Anatolia to Istanbul in order to rouse the authorities. He neither issued *fermān*s nor founded a corps like the Janissaries, and never chose for himself a grand vizier. After Ķarā Yazīdj̲ī's defeat, the *sekbān*s and the other Dj̲elālī leaders who had helped the rebel chief scattered in all directions; statements from those who were captured and brought to trial, and the sealed and signed documents relating to Ķarā Yazīdj̲ī that were found in their possession, have proved that such assertions about his desire for independent power are fictitious.

Bibliography: Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, Istanbul 1280, ii; Meḥmed b. Meḥmed Edirnewī, *Nuk̲h̲bet ül-tewārīk̲h̲ we 'l-ak̲h̲bār*, Istanbul 1276; Munadj̲-dj̲im Bas̲h̲ī; Muṣṭafā Nūrī, *Netāʾidj̲ ül-wuḳūʿāt*, Istanbul 1329; ʿĀlī, *Künh ül-ak̲h̲bār* (Nuruosmaniye library, 3407); ʿAṭāʾī, *D̲h̲eyl-i S̲h̲aḳāʾiḳ* (Nuruosmaniye library, 3314); Ḥasan Bey-zade, *Telk̲h̲īṣ-i Tādj ül-tewārīk̲h̲* (Nuruosmaniye library, 3134); Başbakanlık Arişvi, Divan kayıt defterleri no. 133, fol. 104; Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi, Ahkâm defteri no. 70, foll. 440, 494, 499, 639; Bursa şer'iyye sicilleri no. B 136/351, fol. 108; A. Tveritinova, *Vosstaniye Kara Yazidži-Deli Hasan v Turtsii*, Moscow 1946; M. Akdağ, *Celâlî isyanları*, Ankara 1963; Hammer-Purgstall, *GOR*, iv, 304-5, 320.

(Mustafa Akdağ)

ĶARĀBA (A.), kinship, from the root *ḳ-r-b*, which has the meaning of closeness, proximity. As a technical term, *ḳarāba* seems to be of post-Hidj̲ra usage. It is found in the works of the Muslim exegetes, but not in the Ķurʾān itself, where the preferred word is *ḳurba*, also employed in pre-Islamic poetry (cf. Ṭarafa, *Muʿallaḳa*). In fact, in these cases it is less a question of kinship than of relatives, more particularly close relatives, such as *d̲h̲ū*, *d̲h̲awū*, *ūlū 'l-ḳurba* (Ķurʾān, II, 83, 177, IV, 8, 36, V, 106, VI, 152, VIII, 41, IX, 113, XVI, 90, XVII, 26, XXIV, 22, XXX, 38, XXXV, 18, XLII, 23, LIX, 7). The superlative, *al-aḳrabūn*, is also found, with the meaning of the closest relatives, those who have a claim to inherit from a man (II, 180, 215, IV, 7, 33, 135). Kinship itself, however, is nowhere clearly defined. This was because Western Arabia was at that time under an essentially tribal system, dominated by patrilineal concepts. Thus the domestic community embraced all the members of the tribe, in whose veins, so they believed, the same blood flowed. Despite this extension of consanguinity, solidarity existed only within a relatively restricted group, the *ʿas̲h̲īra* [*q.v.*], whose members did not exact blood vengeance on one another. This is why Muḥammad first called on his closest clan (Ķurʾān XXVI, 214). The same practices are still current among the Bedouins, who also call upon their true blood-kin, the *damawiyya*, to contribute towards blood-money.

What conception does the Ķurʾān have of kinship? Certainly it reflects, to a large extent, the notions of its era: patrilineal filiation, the superiority of men over women, the solidarity of agnates and collective responsibility. It appears, nevertheless, that Muḥammad allowed a slight bias in favour of uterine siblings. From a purely patriarchal point of view, these latter are not part of the family and thus have no inheritance rights. Although Muslim doctrine concerning rights of succession follows paternal kinship, it is noteworthy that, in the absence of direct heirs, a part of the goods left by the dead man go to his uterine brothers (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Kitāb al-Farāʾiḍ*, 14; Ibn Rus̲h̲d, *Bidāya al-mudj̲tahid*, Cairo 1335, ii, 207). Furthermore, according to one tradition "the maternal uncle is the heir of him who has no others" (Ibn Rus̲h̲d, *op. cit.*, ii, 205), while another states that "the son of the sister is part of the group" (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *op. cit.*, 23). Finally, one should note that the prohibited degrees of marriage affect the same degrees of relationship on the father's side as on the mother's (Ķurʾān, IV, 23), and that foster-relationship creates the same prohibited degrees for marriage as does blood kinship (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Kitāb al-Nikāḥ*, 21). On the other hand, marriage between parallel cousins and cross cousins is permitted, and even recommended.

As a result, in the Islamic conception, kinship is bilateral. However, this position is affirmed very hesitantly, since in practice only agnates were considered true kin. Matters of blood-vengeance and the payment of blood-money or wergild concerned them alone. This is why the *diya* due for a wife is incumbent on her *ʿaṣaba*, although succession to her reverts to her children and her husband (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Farāʾiḍ*, 10, *Diyāt*, 25). In the accounts of the heroic period of the *Dj̲āhiliyya*, uterine siblings often bear the costs of a vendetta. Bedouin law adopts the same point of view with regard to the wife and the maternal nephew (cf. J. Chelhod, *Le droit dans le société bédouine*, Paris 1971).

Did the extension of kinship to cognates go against pre-Islamic customs and meet with considerable resistance from them? In the thesis brilliantly presented by W. Robertson Smith (*Kinship and marriage in early Arabia*) precisely the opposite point of view is advanced. According to him, the patriarchal system was a late phenomenon in Asia, practically contemporaneous with the Hidj̲ra, and it was preceded by a system of filiation through female descent. Following studies by Morgan and MacLennan, this hypothesis has been gradually abandoned. Nevertheless, it does still have a small number of supporters (M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Mahomet*, 616; W. M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 378 f.; Lecerf in ʿĀʾila), and must therefore be considered briefly. Smith was quite correct to reject the viewpoint of genealogists who saw the tribe as a large patriarchal family; he also rightly criticised the artificial nature of their neatly-organised structure. They can also be faulted for having lost sight of the tribal heterogenity which is indicated by the structures of the *ḳabīla* [*q.v.*]. It nevertheless remains true that unity of blood shows itself effectively at the higher levels of the social pyramid, such as the *fak̲h̲id̲h̲* and the *ʿas̲h̲īra*. Besides, Robertson Smith's conclusions about the old system of filiation are based essentially on philological considerations and on later survivals. It is certain, however, that it is not through concentrating on a few isolated facts that we will be able to throw light on this problem. Rather, we need an approach based on a sound study of social and family structures before we can see to what extent they are compatible with matriliny. It would seem that warrior nomadism tends towards

patrilineal filiation and endogamy, while a life of settled cultivation encourages exogamy. Thus, to a large degree, the social system existing in pre-Hidjra western Arabia contradicts Smith's hypothesis. If we actually examine the traditions which give credence to the notion of a matrilineal system in pre-Islamic Arabia, we can see that almost all of them apply to the Arabs of the south (from Medina, Ḥimyar and Sabaʾ) that is, groups which had been settled for a long period, although some, like the Anṣār, had reverted to nomadism for a short time. In fact, any conclusions, even provisional ones, about these groups are no more than speculative before further documentation can be provided by archaeological research in the Yemen. The northern Arabs, on the other hand, were deeply imbued with desert traditions and their social system bears the stamp of patriarchy. This was the prevailing system in Mecca itself. Ḳurʾānic reform took its inspiration mainly from this background, but it did make a few concessions to the customs of Medina in enlarging the concept of *ḳarāba*. Principally, the latter was concerned with agnates, but nevertheless it did not completely reject cognates.

This timid overture in the direction of uterine siblings was allied to an important trend towards restriction in the realm of *ḳarāba*. According to pre-Islamic beliefs, mystical kinship (through adoption, blood-ties, communal descent) created links equal to those of actual kinship. Muḥammad himself had recourse to such customs in making the *Muhādjirun* the "brothers" of the *Anṣār* and thus each other's heirs (Ḳurʾān, VIII, 72); but he reverted to a stricter concept of kinship, limiting it almost to true blood relations (LXVIII, 2, XXXIII, 3, 40, VIII, 75).

Bibliography: Many works deal with this topic. Apart from those cited in the article, bibliographical details can be found in J. Chelhod, *Le mariage avec la cousine parallele dans le système arabe*, in *l'Homme*, v (1965), 113-73.

(J. Chelhod)

ḲARĀBĀDHĪN [see aḳrābādhīn].

KARABAĞ [see ḳarā bāgh].

al-**KARĀBĪSĪ**, "clothes-seller", a name given to a number of people, of whom the following are of note:

1) Aḥmad b. ʿUmar, a mathematician. The date of his death is unknown. Among those of his works which have been lost, a commentary on the translation of Euclid was especially celebrated. The one work of his which is still extant is *K. Misāḥat al-ḥalaḳ*. which is preserved in Oxford (Bodleian Lib., Mss. Or. i, no. 913) and in Cairo (*Fihrist al-kutub al-ʿarabiyya fī 'l-kutubkhāna al-khadīwiyya*, v, 204); see *Fihrist*, 265, l. 25, 282, l. 3; Ibn al-Ḳiftī, *Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ*, Cairo 1326, 57, l. 5.

2) Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Yazīd al-Muhallabī, a traditionist and faḳīh. Initially, he was a member of the *ahl al-raʾy*, but after al-Shāfiʿī's arrival in Baghdād, he joined his group. In spite of this, he was an unreserved supporter of the doctrine of predestination, *djabr*. None of his works of criticism or *fiḳh* survive. He died in 245/859 or, according to some, in 248/862.

Bibliography: *Fihrist* (ed. Flügel), 181, l. 4; Samʿānī, *Ansāb* (facsimile ed. Margoliouth), fol. 476b; Ibn Khallikān (ed. Wüstenfeld), no. 180 (ed. Cairo 1299, i, 181); Shahrastānī, *Milal* (ed. Cureton), 96; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb* (ed. Wüstenfeld), 774; Subkī, *Tabaḳāt*, Cairo 1324, i, 251-6; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Cairo 1303, vii, 29; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1287, ii, 439 (ed. Reiske-Adler, ii, 204); Ibn Taghrībirdī (ed. Juynboll), i, 753, 763.

3) Asʿad b. Muḥammad, Ḥanafī *faḳīh* who died in 570/1174. His *K. al-Furūḳ fī 'l-furūʿ*, which Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa in *Kashf al-ẓunūn* (ed. Flügel), iv, 419, 9041, confuses with the *Talḳīḥ al-ʿuḳūl* of al-Maḥbūbī (Brockelmann, *GAL*, i, 473, no. 34), is extant in Cairo: see *Fihrist al-kutub al-ʿarabiyya fī 'l-kutubkhāna al-khadīwiyya*, iii, 96.

(C. Brockelmann*)

ḲARAČAY, a Turkic tribe of the North Caucasus. They call themselves Ḳaračaylï and are known as Ḳaračaylar in Turkish and Karačaitsï, or Karačaievtsï, in Russian. The Ḳaračay language belongs to the Ḳïpčaḳ branch of Turkic. According to the 1926 Russian census, ethnically there were 55,123 Ḳaračay and linguistically 55,349. In the 1959 census, the numbers recorded were 81,403 and 78,817 respectively. The Ḳaračay occupy the mountain valleys of the upper Kuban, Taberda, Zelenčuk, Laba and Podkumok rivers on the northern slopes of the Caucasus.

Little is known of their history. Their ancestry goes back to the Hunno-Bulgarian conglomeration which lived along the Kuban River in so-called "Black Bulgaria" during and after the downfall of the Khazar [*q.v.*] realm. They were Turkicized by the Turkic tribes, the Pečenegs and Kumans, which took over the Khazar kingdom in the middle of the 5th/11th century. In the high Middle Ages they lived as one group with the Balkar [*q.v.*] along the edge of the Caucasian mountain chain and mixed with local Ibero-Caucasian peoples. They later submitted to the authority of the Golden Horde. From the 7th/13th to the 9th/15th centuries they were slowly pushed by the Kabards [see kabards] towards the high chain. At this time, as a result of Kabard pressure, the Ḳaračay-Balkar separated into two groups, the Balkar going to Dih-Tau and Koshtan-Tau. In the 9th/15th century the Ḳaračay became vassals of the Kabards, and from the 10th/16th century onwards, they also came under the infuence of the Crimean khanate. Sunnī Islam, of the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, was slowly introduced at this time by the Crimean Tatars, and in the 11th/17th and early 12th/18th centuries by the Ottomans. The Ḳaračay and Balkars did not play an active role in the Caucasian mountain-dwellers' resistance to the Russian conquest in the middle of the 18th century.

The social structure of the Ḳaračay was influenced by that of Kabard, but the feudal system was less developed. The head of the tribe was the *biy* (*bey*) or *tav-biys*, followed by the most numerous class of *özden* or *ḳaraözden*, consisting of free men. The *kul*, or slaves, formed the lowest class. With the influence of Islam under Ottoman rule the *kul* were freed and became *azatli*. The traditional economy of the Ḳaračay is based on cattle breeding, agriculture and handicrafts. Their land has important coal deposits and other mineral resources.

Ḳaračay was not a literary language until 1924, at which time, jointly with Balkar, a Ḳaračay-Balkar literary language was created which adopted the Latin script. In 1938-39 it was replaced by the Cyrillic. According to *Letopis' periodičeskikh izdanij S.S.S.R.* and *Pecat' S.S.R. v 1960 godu*, there were six newspapers published in Ḳaračay-Balkar in 1935; in 1960 the figure had dropped to one.

Administrative position. With the onset of the Soviet régime, the Ḳaračay became part of the Mountain Autonomous Socialist Republic (*Gorskaya A.S.S.R.*) on 20 January 1920, which included also

the Čerkes, the Balkars, the Ossetians, the Čečens and the Ingus̲h̲es, and had its capital in Vladikavkaz. On 12 January 1922, they were joined with the Čerkes into the Ḳaračay-Čerkes Autonomous Oblast. On 26 April 1926, the administrative unit was divided into a Čerkes National Okrug and a Ḳaračay Autonomous Oblast with Mikoyans̲h̲ahar as capital. In 1944, the Ḳaračays were deported to Central Asia and their national territory suppressed for alleged collaboration with the Germans during World War II. They were rehabilitated on 9 January 1957 and between 1957 and 1958 brought back to their original land, their deportation being termed a result of the "personality cult" of Stalin. They resumed their former status in the Ḳaračay-Čerkes Autonomous Oblast, which was reformed on 9 January 1957. The region occupies a territory of 14,200 sq. km. In 1959, the Ḳaračay and Čerkes made up 33.1 % of the population of the region, while 51 % were Russian.

According to the 1926 Russian census the mother tongue of 99.9 % of the Ḳaračay in their native area was Ḳaračay; none had Russian as their first spoken language. The figures for 1959 showed that their native language was the mother tongue of 99 % of the Ḳaračay, while the percentage of those who used Russian had risen from zero to 0.5 %.

Bibliography: U. Aliev, *Karačaevskaya Avtonomnaya Oblast'* (*Istoriko-etnologičeskie i Kul'turno-ekonomičeskie očerki*), Rostov on the Don, 1927; M. Aminoff, *Le groupe musulman de Karachai*, in *RMM* (May 1910); B. Geiger, A. Kuipers, T. Halasi-Kun and K. Menges, *Peoples and Languages of the Caucasus*, The Hague 1958; A. Inan, *La Littérature des Peuples Turcs du Caucase du Nord*, in *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, ii, Wiesbaden 1964; E. N. Kus̲h̲eva, *Narodî Severnogo Kavkaza i ik̲h̲ sfafazi s Rossiey, vtoroya polovina XVI-30-e Gody XVII veka*, Moscow 1963; K̲h̲. O. Laypanov, *K istorii Karačaevtsev i Balkartsev*, Čerkesk 1957; K. Menges, *Turkic Languages and Peoples*, *Ural-Altaische Bibliothek*, xv (1947); idem, *Turkic Peoples of the Caucasus*, in *Jean Deny Armağanı*, Ankara 1958; Mirza Bala, *Karaçaylar*, in *İA*; *Narodı Karačaevo-Čerkesii*, Stavropol 1967, 2 vols.; E. N. Studevetskaya, *K voprosu o rabstve i feodalizme v Karačae*, in *Sovetskaya Etnografiya* (Moscow 1937), no. 2; S. A. Tokarev, *Etnografya Narodov S.S.R.*, Moscow 1958; S. Wurm, *Turkic Peoples of the U.S.S.R.*, London 1954.

(Hülya Salihoğlu)

KARĀČĪ (Karachi), the most important commercial and industrial centre of Pakistan, situated on the Indian Ocean shores at 25° 51′ latitude N. and 67° 04′ longitude E. Its population was 360,000 at the time of the creation of Pakistan in 1947, and by 1972 was substantially over 3 millions, if one includes the new suburbs laid out over the last decade. From 1947 to 1960 Karāčī was the official capital of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, but it has gradually been replaced by Islāmābād [*q.v.*], a few miles away from Rawalpindi, where all the Pakistan government departments are to be established.

The name Karāčī does not seem to be very old. It may possibly derive from the settlement there of a Balūč tribe called Kulāčī, originally of Rād̲j̲pūt origin (*A glossary of Panjab castes*, Lahore 1911), which may also have given its name to the town of Kulāčī in the district of Dēra Ismā'īl K̲h̲ān on the North-West frontier. An alternative explanation would derive the town's name from Kalāčī, the name of a humble fisherman who lived in the vicinity. Whatever the case, we have the transition $l > r$ according to an habitual rule in Sindhi (cf. Kōtlī in the Pand̲j̲āb and Kōtrī in Sind).

Being protected on the west by Cape Monze, the most southerly point of the Kirthar mountain chain, and sheltered from the force of the open sea and the monsoon squalls by the rocky island of Manora, Karāčī enjoyed an ideal situation for becoming a great port. The town itself is situated between the lower course of the Lyarī river to the west and the Malir river to the east, both of which come down from the Kōhistān or mountain region. Lt.-Gen. Haig, in his book on the Indus delta, thought that one could identify the port of Karāčī with the port of Alexander the Great which Nearchus reached on leaving the western mouth of the Indus and where he waited for 15 days, with his fleet at Manora, until a favourable wind might blow and enable him to continue exploring the coastland (326 B.C.).

It is shortly after 1137/1725 that Karāčī begins to become known as a port. The effective cause of its prosperity seems to have been the gradual deterioration of the port of Daybul [*q.v.*], which was very probably situated on the banks of the western mouth of the Indus. Although the historians disagree on the exact site of Daybul, it can nevertheless be asserted that this port was already flourishing when the Arabs, under their youthful general Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim, disembarked there in 93/712 in order to conquer Sind. During the 10th/16th century the maritime trade of the region relied on the port of Laribunder in the Indus delta, near Thatta, the then capital of Sind; but after 1060/1650, Laribunder lost all its value as a port, since navigation became very difficult through the silting-up of the Indus delta. During the 12th/18th century, the land encroached on the sea and left the port of Daybul cut off from access to the sea. Karāčī, situated outside the delta region and to the west, was not in such danger of a rapid silting-up, but it could not yet assume its later importance because of the uncertain political conditions prevailing in the province of Sind, where were confronted the divergent interests of Afg̲h̲ān power, the British East India Company and the Kalhōra rulers of Sind, who ceded Karāčī to the K̲h̲ān of Kalāt. The Afg̲h̲āns wished to avoid any trouble with the Sind officials and endeavoured to develope a line of communication starting from Karāčī and running through Makrān and Kalāt, well away from the Indus valley. All this favoured the expansion of Karāčī, both as a town and as a port, whilst Thatta inexorably declined on account of the constant changes in the Indus course.

After the fall of the Kalhōra rulers, the *amīr* of Talpur, Fatḥ 'Alī K̲h̲ān, seized Karāčī from the K̲h̲ān of Kalāt. In 1209/1795 he built a fortress on Cape Manora to protect the port, though this did not prevent the capture of Karāčī by British troops in 1839. The conquest of the province of Sind did not take place till four years later, when Sir Charles Napier used Karāčī as his port of disembarkation in 1843. But the British at first preferred to establish themselves at Ḥaydarābād, and it was only as a result of Capt. Richard Burton's report, which praised the much fresher climate of the "fishermen's village by the sea", that Sir Charles Napier came along to make Karāčī the capital, and civil and military centre, of Sind, and an important port suitable for trading equally with the Pand̲j̲āb as with Sind.

Sir Bartle Frere improved the port by constructing in 1854 the Napier mole connecting the island of

Kāmārī with the mainland. The Manora breakwater was finished in 1873. After 1861 a railway line connected Karāčī with the town of Kōtrī, and then in 1878 with the Pandjāb, thus allowing the trade of Karāčī to double in volume between 1864 and 1884. By 1900, it had become one of the greatest export outlets of the East, and the two World Wars of 1914-18 and 1939-45 contributed greatly to its prosperity.

But it was really 1947 which marked the turning-point in the development of this great city, which still had a provincial atmosphere at the time of the creation of Pakistan, and whose population increased almost tenfold within 25 years (1947-72), presenting successive governments with problems still not completely resolved. Suburbs like Nāẓimābād and Liyāḳatābād on the right bank of the Lyarī river did not exist before 1947. Similarly, the satellite town of Korangī and the new industrial complex of Landī on the left bank of the Malir river have only been created in the last decade or so. A planned policy of urbanisation and industrialisation, together with the bringing of water supplies and a sewage system, was undertaken by a body called the "Karachi Development Authority" set up in 1958 by Field-Marshal Ayyūb Khān, the head of the Pakistan Republic.

The international airport of Karāčī is considered one of the best-equipped in Asia; its runways will accommodate the most modern aircraft and its geographical situation makes it an important crossroads between Europe and the East. Pakistan International Airlines (P.I.A.) flights connect Karāčī with London via Tehran, Beirut, Rome and Frankfurt or via Geneva or via Moscow, and a regular service also exists between Karāčī and Shanghai via Dacca and Canton. Since 1955, a pipeline over 300 miles long has brought the natural gas of Sui in Sind to Karāčī, where it is used both for industrial and private purposes.

Karāčī has owed its great strides of recent times to its trade connections with the whole of north-western India and to its rôle as the natural outlet for the most important products of its hinterland, such as cotton, cereals, oil-yielding plants and hides. Karāčī is the great industrial centre of Pakistan, thanks to an expanding iron-smelting industry, newly-built oil refineries (at Korangī), recent petrochemical installations, the traditional activities involving wool, timber and hides, the increasing production of cement (limestone being plentiful on the outskirts of the city), various food-processing industries (flour mills, confectionery factories, fish canning and preserving), and many other activities such as production of knitwear, soap-making and plastic objects.

Bibliography: J. de Thévenot, *Relation de l'Indostan*, Paris 1684; H. Pottinger, *Travels in Balochistan and Scinde*, London 1816; W. F. P. Napier, *The administration of Scinde*, London 1851; R. F. Burton, *Sind revisited*, London 1877; T. Wolseley Haig, *The Indus Delta country*, London 1887; M. B. Pithawalla and P. Martin-Kaye, *Guide to the geology and geography of Karachi*, Karachi 1946; M. B. Pithawalla, *An introduction to Karachi*, Karachi 1949; P. de Testa, *Le Pakistan*, Paris 1962, 2nd edn. 1968; O. K. H. Spate, *India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, London 1967; *K.D.A. Development decade*, 1958-1968, Karachi 1968; S. R. Lewis, *Pakistan, industrialisation and trade policies*, Paris 1970; Hanif Raza, *Karachi*, Karachi 1971.

(A. GUIMBRETIÈRE)

KARADAĞ [see ĶARĀ DĀGH].

(AL)-**KARADJ** (KARAH) or KARADJ ABĪ DULAF, an ancient town in the Djibāl province [*q.v.*] of Persia; the actual site is unknown, but it was situated to the south-east of Hamadhān, almost half-way between that city and Iṣfahān. It derives its second name from al-Ḳāsim b. ʿĪsā al-ʿIdjlī [*q.v.*], better known by his *kunya* of Abū Dulaf, who probably enlarged (*maṣṣara*) an existing settlement and constructed a fortress there; during the wars between al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn, this commander carved out for himself a fief in Djibāl and secured the privilege of paying in return a tax for this concession (*īghār* [*q.v.*]; add to the *Bibl.*: Ibn Khurradādhbih, 241; *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, 60; Yāḳūt, s.v. al-Īghārān[1]; and correct Mardj to al-Burdj) of the district surrounding (al-)Karadj and al-Burdj, whence the name of al-Īghārān[1] by which it is known. (Al-) Karadj became the *chef-lieu* of this district and the residence of the Dulafids ([*q.v.*]; add to the Bibl.: M. Canard, *H'amdânides*, 311-13 and the references cited there). The line of Dulafids ended in 284/897; town and district then reverted to dependence on the central government and soon became an autonomous administrative district.

Nothing is known of the town beyond the information in the geographers that it was built of unfired brick, had two markets, numerous baths and a crowded population, even though it extended over two parasangs; the sources stress the absence of orchards, but mention the fertility of the surrounding countryside, where stock-raising was practised. Various poets who frequented the Dulafid court celebrated the town, but Ibn al-Faḳīh found it crowded-together, dirty, cold and poverty-stricken.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, index; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 314; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 237, 239, 261; Ibn Ḥawḳal-Wiet-Kramers, 352; Masʿūdī, index; Muḳaddasī, 394; Bakrī, 1123; Maḳdisī, *Badʾ*, iv, 74; Yāḳūt, i, 420, 548, iii, 873, iv, 250, 270; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iv, 372; Le Strange, 197-8; Schwarz, *Iran*, 577; Canard, *H'amdânides*, 311.

(ED.)

ĶARADJA [see ĶARĀ].

ĶARADJA ḤIṢĀR, ĶARA ḤIṢĀR, also known as ĶARADJA SHEHIR, probably the Byzantine Melangeia, one of the first places in which the Ottomans settled after coming to the Eskishehir region. The district around Ḳaradja Ḥiṣār was given by Sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kaykobād as winter quarters to Ertoghrul's followers; the town was occupied by ʿOthmān Ghāzī, traditionally in 687/1288 (ʿĀshīḳpasha-zāde, ed. ʿAlī, 18; Neshrī, ed. Taeschner, i, 26, 87). In order to make the town prosper, ʿOthmān invited all those who wished to come and live there; he consequently settled in the town those coming from Germiyān and other places, the churches in the town were converted into mosques, and a Friday mosque was built. ʿOthmān entrusted the administration of Ḳaradja Ḥiṣār to his son, Orkhān Bey.

In the sources of the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries, the town is usually referred to as Ḳaradja Shehīr. In the second half of the 9th/15th century it belonged to the *sandjaḳ* of Sulṭānöñü. In the 10th/16th century reference is made to the *nāḥiye* of "Eskishehir with Ḳaradja Shehir" which still belonged to the *sandjak* of Sulṭānöñü (Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü Maliyeden Müdevver defterler, no. 27, p. 2). The *nāḥiye* of Ḳaradja Shehir (11 villages with an annual revenue of 58,739 *akčes*) formed part of the *khāṣṣ* of the *sandjaḳbeği* Sulṭānöñü (Sultanöñü sancağı tahrir defteri, no. 515,

p. 13), Eskishehir then being under Karadjashehir; in the 11th/17th century, however, Karadjashehir had become a *nāḥiyye* of Eskishehir (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, N.D. 166 pp. 124-6). According to the census of 1830, the population of Karadja Shehir consisted of 3,725 Muslims and 575 non-Muslims (E. Z. Karal, *Osmanlı imperatorluğunda ilk nüfus sayımı*, 1831, Ankara 1943, 110).

Karadja Ḥiṣār, today bearing the name Karacaşehir, is a village belonging to the central *kaza* of the *vilāyet* of Eskişehir.

Bibliography: further to sources mentioned in the text: Ibn Kemāl, *Tawārikh-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, ed. Şerafettin Turan, Ankara 1970, 97-9, 111-13; I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches sur les actes des règnes des sultans Osman, Orkhan et Murad I*, Munich 1967, 65, 75-7; Hammer-Purgstall, *Histoire*, i, 74-6, 82; Kātib Čelebi, *Djihānnumā*, Istanbul 1145, 543; Aḥmed Refīḳ, *Fātiḥ devrinde Sulṭānönü*, in *TTEM*, iii/80 (Istanbul 1340), 130-2; *Eskişehir İl Yılığı*, 1967, Ankara. (C. Orhonlu)

KARADJA OGHLAN, Turkish folk poet, the greatest and most typical representative of the *ʿāshiḳ*s. In many ways, the *ʿāshiḳ*s continued in the Ottoman period the pre-Islamic and early Islamic tradition of Turkish musician-poets (*ozan*), who often improvised their poems, singing them to the accompaniment of a musical instrument, especially the *kopuz*. *ʿĀshiḳ*, a term originally applied to popular mystic poets of various dervish orders, was later taken over by wandering minstrels (*saz shāʿirleri*), who gave up the old secular term of *ozan*. The influence of Ṣūfism on the *ʿāshiḳ*s was only superficial and did not substantially alter their realism. The impact of *madrasa* and Palace School-trained court poets was greater, growing increasingly from the 10th/16th century onwards, and they adopted many classical verse forms, particularly the *ghazal* and *murabbaʿ*, and introduced many patterns oj *ʿarūḍ*, preferably those reminiscent of syllabic metre (*hedje*). Many common themes, motifs and stereotyped concepts found their way into folk poetry. The continued impact of the hackneyed forms and concepts of court poetry eventually caused folk poetry to degenerate into a sterile cliché of the former, and caused many *ʿāshiḳ*s to become unskilled imitators of classical poets.

In this general picture, Karadjaoghlan is a brilliant exception. He was not trained in a city atmosphere like many others, but belonged to the small group of bards who came from the countryside and from nomadic tribes. His life is shrouded in legends like that of the great popular mystic poet Yūnus Emre. Following the impetus given by Ziya Gökalp to research into Turkish popular literature and culture many scholars (particularly M. F. Köprülü, A. R. Yalgın, S. N. Ergun, İ. R. Isıtman, A. K. Tecer, P. N. Boratav and C. Öztelli) have made remarkable contributions to Karadjaoghlan studies (for a complete bibliography up to 1940, see F. A. Tansel, *Karacaoğlan hakkında tenkidi bir bibliyoğrafya*, in *Ülkü*, xv, no. 85, 1940). In spite of this intensive research, several problems concerning the life, time and identity of the poet himself, and concerning many of his poems, continue to be controversial. The claims that these are finally solved put forward in a recent publication (Cahit Öztelli, *Karaca Oğlan, Bütün Şiirleri*, Istanbul, 1970) are not altogether convincing, in spite of the author's many important contributions to the subject. Vague references in Karadjaoghlan's poems to the capture or re-capture of Aleppo and Baghdad and to the Austrian campaign of "Aḥmed Pasha" have been differently interpreted by various scholars and more explicit mention of the poet's name both in 10th/16th- and 11th/17th-century sources gave rise to the theory that two different poets of the same name may have lived in different centuries (for details of the controversy see Cahit Öztelli, *op. cit.*, intro., and Cemil Yener, *Karacaoğlan üzerine*, in *Türk Dili*, xxv, no. 244, Ankara 1972, 291-4).

At the present stage of research, we can cautiously state that Karadjaoghlan, whose real name was Ḥasan and whose family is referred to as Saylī Oghlu, belonged to the Varsak clan of the Üč Ok Turcoman tribes who had their winter quarters at the foot of Taurus mountains and moved to high summer pastures in early spring. He seems to have travelled extensively in southern Anatolia and perhaps in many other parts of the Ottoman Empire. There are indications that he took part in a campaign against Persia. It is not certain whether he was ever in Istanbul although two of his *türkü*s are included in a musical anthology of popular songs prepared for the Ottoman court under Sultan Ibrāhīm (see C. Öztelli, *Ali Ufki, Karaca Oğlan ve Istanbul*, in *Türk Folklor Araştırmaları*, no. 239). Except for a few motifs and expressions common to Muslim culture, Karadjaoghlan completely ignored the *art poétique* both of court poetry and of popular mystic poetry of the dervish orders, and wrote all his poems (numbering nearly 500) in the traditional Turkish syllabic metre (mostly in 6-5 and 4-4 patterns), and in the unsophisticated spoken Turkish of his time, coloured with occasional provincial words and expressions. These dealt with nomadic life and the natural beauties of the Taurus Mountains environment. The poet's own exuberant feelings of love and *joie de vivre* are also described in his unparalleled *koşma*s, *semai*s, *türkü*s and *destan*s. In the "National Literature" (*Millī Edebiyat*) movement of the post-1908 Constitution period, and again during the early Republican era up to the late 1930s, Karadjaoghlan was the most loved folk poet, inspiring many young poets in their endeavours to renew and make more indigenous the form and content of Turkish poetry. According to local traditions, Karadjaoghlan is buried on a hill in the village of Çukur near Mut in the province of İçel (Mersin), and his tomb became a frequently visited shrine in the area. In 1958 a film was made of a legendary version of his life based on a script by the novelist Yaşar Kemal (b. 1922), who later wrote a short story on the same theme (in *Üç Anadolu Efsanesi*, Istanbul, 1967).

Bibliography: Köprülüzade Meḥmed Fuʾād, *Bir Varsaghī*, in *Yeñi Medjmuʿa*, no. 31, 1918; Saʿd al-Dīn Nüzhet (Ergun), *Karadja Oghlan* (important pioneering monograph), Konya 1927; Sadettin Nüzhet Ergun, *Karacaoğlan, Hayatı ve Şiirleri*, Istanbul 1933, 18th revised edition with many additions, Istanbul 1963; M. Fuad Köprülü, *Türk Saz Şairleri*, Istanbul 1940, 2nd edition, Istanbul 1962, ii, 317-77; Ali Rıza (Yalman, later Yalgın) *Cenupta Türkmen Oymakları*, 5 vols., Ankara 1933, *passim*; İshak Refet (Işıtman), *Karacaoğlan*, Ankara 1933; P. N. Boratav, *Halk Edebiyatı Dersleri*, Ankara 1942, *passim*; A. K. Tecer, *Karacaoğlan'a yeni bir bakış*, Istanbul, 1954; Cahit Öztelli (ed.), *Karaca Oğlan, Bütün Şiirleri*, (with an introduction summarizing his previous research; includes all known poems of Karadjaoghlan and those attributed to him), Istanbul 1970.

(Fahir İz)

AL-KARADJĪ, ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤASAN (and also al-Ḥusayn), Arab mathematician and engineer, a native of al-Karadj (in the Djibāl, Iran) as G. Levi Della Vida has demonstrated (in *RSO*, xiv (1933), 250) and not from the al-Karkh district of Baghdād, as was long believed. While still young, he went to Baghdad where he held high positions in the administration and composed, towards 402/1011-2, his works *al-Fakhrī*, *al-Kāfī* and *al-Badīʿ*, in which he attempted to free algebra from the tutelage of geometry. He returned afterwards to his native land, where he must have died after 410/1019, the probable date of the composition of his *Inbāṭ al-miyāh al-khafiyya*. ʿĀdil Anbūba, in the introduction of his edition of the *Badīʿ* (Beirut 1964), lists 12 works of this author, most of which have been lost. The following are of interest here: (1). *Al-Fakhrī fī ʾl-djabr wa ʾl-muḳābala*, studied by F. Woepcke (*Extraits du Fakhri, traité d'algèbre*, Paris 1853), who demonstrates the agreements between this work and the *Arithmetica* of Diophantes, which al-Karadjī must have known through the partial translation (the first three books and a part of the fourth) of Ḳuṣtā b. Lūḳā (d. 296/912), and concludes that "more than a third of the problems of the first book of Diophantes, the problems of the second book beginning with the eighth one, and almost all the problems of the third have been inserted by Alqarkhi into his collection" (p. 21). On this basis it can perhaps be established that problems 1-7 of Book ii of Diophantes, which might be spurious, are missing in the Arabic version (cf. E. Vereecke, *Diophante d'Alexandrie*, repr. Paris 1959, xxvl). Diophantes' work must have been in vogue among the contemporaries of al-Karadjī because we know that Ibn al-Haytham and Abu ʾl-Wafāʾ devoted commentaries or scholia to it. In the *Fakhrī*, al-Karadjī attempted the study of the successive powers of a binomial, developed it further in the *Badīʿ*, and concluded it in a work now lost but preserved in fragments in the *Bāhir* of al-Samawʾāl b. Yaḥyā al-Maghribī (d. *ca.* 570/1174), through the discovery of the generation of the coefficients of $(a-b)^n$ by means of the triangle which is now named after Pascal or Tartaglia; (2). *Al-Badīʿ fi ʾl-ḥisāb*, in which are developed the fixed points treated by Euclid and Nicomachus and in which an important place is accorded to algebraic operations; the author expounds for the first time the theory of the extraction of the square root of a polynomial with an unknown; he resolves the systems $x^2 + 5$ and $x^2 - 5$, likewise treated by Leonardo of Pisa in his *Liber Quadratorum*, and $x^2 + y$ and $y^2 + x$, which are found in Diophantes, ii, 20 and which much more slowly gained the attention of Euler and others. In these problems, he often utilizes the expedient of changing the variable, the auxiliary variables or the process through substitution; (3). *Al-Kāfī fi ʾl-ḥisāb*, written on the use of functions, and as such a summary of arithmetic, algebra, geometry and the register based on the processes of mental calculus (called *hawāʾī*, "aerial", in Ibn al-Samḥ d. 426/1034) as opposed to "Indian" calculus); this work has been edited and translated into German by A. Hocheim, 1-3, Halle 1877-80; (4). *Inbāṭ al-miyāh al-khafiyya*, printed in Ḥaydarābād in 1359/1945, an excellent manual on hydraulic water supplies; it contains some autobiographical notes, as well as a discussion of a series of conceptions relative to the geography of the globe; he describes a certain number of surveying instruments [see MĪZĀN], the geometrical bases of which he demonstrates, and ends with very concrete details on the construction and servicing of *ḳanāts* [*q.v.*], subterranean tunnels (he makes an express allusion to those of Iṣfahān, 31) for providing water in arid places. He likewise discusses the basis of the *Sharīʿa*, the legality of the construction of wells and hydraulic conduits and in what circumstances these might be prejudicial to the people.

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text, Sarton, *Introduction*, i, 718; H. Suter, *Mathematiker*, 84; Brockelmann, I, 219; S I, 389; J. Vernet and A. Catala, *Un ingeniero arabe del siglo XI*: *al-Karayī*, in *Al-Andalus* (forthcoming).

(J. VERNET)

AL-ḲARĀFA [see AL-ḲĀHIRA].

KARAFERYE (in earlier sources also KARAVERYE), Ottoman name for Bérrhoia, Béroia (mod. Gk., Vérria, Véria; Slavonic, Ber), a small town in Macedonia, 60 km. WSW of Salonika, 8 km. from the left bank of the Aliákmon (Vistrítza; Tk. Indje Ḳara Ṣu), near the foot of the eastern slopes of the Olympene range (Tk. Aghustos Daghl) and overlooking a broad and fertile plain: "one of the most agreeable towns in Rumili" (Leake). The Turkish epithet *ḳarā* [*q.v.*] was prefixed perhaps in order to distinguish it from Bérrhoia in northern Thrace, Tk. [Eski] Zaghra)cf. Jorga, *GOR*, i, 213). According to Byzantine sources, the neighbourhood was pillaged by Turks from Karasl [*q.v.*] as early as 1331 (Hammer-Purgstall, i, 127). The district for a time belonged to the Serbian Empire of Stefan Dušan (Ostrogorsky, History, 524) and, after his death (1355), to a Serbian princeling, Hlapen (Jireček, *Gesch. d. Serben*, ii, 105, 107).

The Ottoman chroniclers report that the town was taken (? by Lālā Shāhīn) in 787/1385 (Giese, *Anon.*, 26. 13, whence ʿĀshıḳpashazāde (§ 55), Neshrī, etc.; cf. Saʿd al-Dīn, i, 91-2, with the date 776/1374-5). The Greek Short Chronicles give the precise date 8 May 1387 (cited by P. Wittek, in *BSOAS*, xiv (1952), 661, n. 3); but the definitive occupation may have occurred only under Bāyezīd I, who from there directed extensive raids into the Peloponnese (Giese, *Anon.*, 28-9; Hammer-Purgstall, i, 249).

According to a tradition preserved by Yazıdjıoghlu ʿAlī [*q.v.*], some time after the Saldjūḳ sultan of Rūm Kay-Kāʾūs II [*q.v.*] had taken refuge with the Byzantine Emperor Michael VIII his two younger sons were made governors of Béroia; the grandchildren of one prince embraced Christianity, and it was one of his descendants, a certain Lyzikos, who surrendered Béroia to the Ottoman sultan (? Bāyezīd I); thereupon he and his family were transferred to Zikhna. And indeed Karaferye (and Zikhna) are among the districts inhabited by Gagauz [*q.v.*] Turks, *i.e.*, "followers of Kay-Kāʾūs" (P. Wittek, *Les Gagaouzes = Les gens de Kaykāūs*, in *RO*, xvii (1951-52), 12-24; idem, *Yazıjıoghlu ʿAlī on the Christian Turks of the Dobruja*, in *BSOAS*, xiv (1952), 639-68; E. A. Zakhariadou, Οἱ χριστιανοὶ ἀπόγονοι τοῦ Ἰζζεδδὶν Καϊκαοὺς Β' στὴ Βέροια, in Μακεδονικά, vi (Salonika 1964), 62-74).

By the end of the 9th/15th century there were extensive rice-fields, state-run, in the meadows to the south and west of the town (M. T. Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livâsi*, Istanbul 1952, 135-7; cf. FILĀḤA, p. 907). In the 11th/17th century (and presumably also before) Karaferye was administered as a *ḳaḍāʾ* of the *sandjaḳ* of Selānik [*q.v.*]. Ewliyā Čelebi described it as unwalled and ungarrisoned, but with the remains of a citadel; it had 4,000 houses, in 16 Muslim and 15 Christian quarters, with two Jewish *djemāʿats*. In 1885 the *ḳaḍāʾ*, together with the *nāḥiye*

of Aghustos (Náoussa), comprised 46 villages and *čiftlik*s (*İA*, art. *Selânik*, p. 347a).

In the First Balkan War (Oct.-Dec. 1912), Karaferye fell to the Greeks on 25 October, and since the Treaty of Athens (14 Nov. 1913) it has belonged to Greece.

Bibliography: Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Beroia (1) (and references there given); *Belgeler*, i/1 (1964), 91 (*djizya* returns for 894/1489, for Karaverye, Serfiče [Sérvia] and Vodana [Édessa]); Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, tr. J. von Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosna*, Vienna 1812, 86; Ewliyā Čelebi, Seyāḥatnâme, viii, 181-6; F. C. H. L. Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce*[2], Paris 1826-7, iii, 94; W. M. Leake, *Travels in northern Greece*, London 1835 (repr. 1967), iii, 290 ff.; M. F. Thielen, *Die europäische Türkey*, Vienna 1828, 130-1; ʿAlī Djewād, *Memālik-i ʿOthmāniyyenüñ taʾrīkh ve djughrāfyā lughati*, Istanbul 1313-17, 605; Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, v, 1314/1892, 3639-40; Semavi Eyice, in *TM*, xii (1955), 206-7; I. K. Vasdravelli, Ἱστορικὸν Ἀρχεῖον Ἐκλογαί, Salonika 1942 (= Μακεδονικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, no. 3; 92 Turkish documents, A.D. 1595-1822); idem, Ἱστορικὰ ἀρχεῖα Μακεδονίας. Β′. Ἀρχεῖον Βεροίας-Ναούσης (1598-1886), Salonika 1954 (= Μακεδονικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη, no. 19; 414 documents). (V. L. Ménage)

ḲARAGÖZ (Tk. "black eye"), the principal character in the Turkish shadow play, and also the shadow play theatre itself; the shadow player is called a *ḳaragözdjü* or *khayālī*.

The *ḳaragöz* theatre is played with inanimate actors and flat, two-dimensional figures (*ṣūret*, *taṣwīr*), manipulated by the shadow player who, as in the puppet theatre, makes them move and talks from behind a screen whilst he himself remains out of sight. The characters are presented in caricature; as well as human figures, there are also schematised repres entationsof certain animals, plants and objects, as well as fantastic beings and some rudimentary scenery. All the figures are made from leather (the superior ones used formerly to be made with camel hide), prepared in a special way and painted in bright colours. The human figures are jointed at one point (rarely at two points) in order to permit the required movements. The size of the figures varies between 7.5 cm. and 46 cm. in height for objects, animals and scenic features, and between 21 cm. and 40 cm. for the humans.

A stick (two sticks for the figure of Ḳaragöz and for a few other characters) 50 cm. long and as thick as a human finger has its pointed end inserted into a hole made in the figure's or object's body. The showman stands behind a screen made from muslin and one m. long by 0.60 m. high, and with the aid of the stick keeps the whole surface of the figure up against the screen and makes it move along it according to its movements in the play. He also makes the upper part of the figure's body move slightly in order to mark each character's replies, at the same time imitating the voice and accent appropriate to that character. The screen is illuminated from below by a lamp placed between the shadow player and the figures of the play. The shadow player retails the monologues and dialogues, and sings the songs; his assistant or apprentice passes the figures to him, does the sound effects and shakes a tambourine to mark the appearance of the characters on stage.

The *ḳaragöz* theatre was played before a very restricted public only. It used to be staged in the cafés during Ramaḍān or else in the salons of private houses during circumcision festivities or during the winter evenings.

The shadow play figures can be divided into three groups: (1) Inanimate objects. These are either pieces of scenery and accessories directly connected with the play's theme, such as the shop where Ḳaragöz functions as a grocer, the pickaxe which Ferhād uses to excavate a water channel in the mountain, etc.; or else a tree, a section of landscape, a group of figures, etc. without any direct connection with the play and called *göstermelik*, but shown on the screen before the actual play in order to attract the interest of spectators and fire their imagination. (2) Animals which may on occasion have a rôle in a play, such as Ḳaragöz's ass, Ferhād's horse, etc. (3) Fantastic beasts and beings, such as dragons, sorcerers, a magic poplar tree, etc. (4) Human characters, the actors in the play. Some of these appear only in a single play, when the latter is drawn from a work of popular literature, *e.g.*, Ferhād and Shīrīn, Ṭāhir and Zühre, but also in cases like that of ʿĀshıḳ Ḥasan and his son Muṣlī, who only appear in the play *The bloody poplar tree*. Other characters may appear in all the plays, such as Ḳaragöz and Hadjivad, the two central characters; the Zenne ("ladies"), women of various types and ages; Čelebi ("young man"); Matiz or Tuzsuz-Deli-Bekir ("the strong man"), often portrayed with the characteristics of a drunkard, but occasionally in the guise of a judge or arbiter; various types of provincials and foreigners (*e.g.*, the Frank), of Muslim minority groups (the Arab, the Laz) and of non-Muslim minority groups (the Jew, the Armenian, the Greek); persons depicted in caricature because of their physical or moral defects (*e.g.*, Beberuhi "the dwarf", Tiryākī "the opium smoker"); and so forth.

Hadjivad represents the petit bourgeois, the educated man, temperate, highly opportunist and universally respected; people often come to him for advice and help and often ask him to arrange complicated matters. His partner Ḳaragöz combines within himself all the minor vices; he is illiterate, greedy, ill-behaved and scandalously outspoken. He calls himself a gypsy; although he is a blacksmith by trade, he is often out of work and in perpetual financial difficulties, leading to frequent quarrels with his wife and necessitating the intervention of Hadjivad in order to find him a job. Hadjivad appears in two introductory scenes in the finale, holding the stage then for as long as his partner, whereas his presence in the action of the play proper is briefer. Ḳaragöz, on the other hand, is present all through the proceedings; he is involved in intrigues, even in those plays originating from outside genres. Whatever the origin of the play, it is always set in a place called by the shadow players *Küshterī meydānī* "Küshterī square", which derives its name from the learned Shaykh Kushterī, who lived in Bursa and died there *ca.* 767/1366; the invention of the *ḳaragöz* theatre is attributed to him in popular legend. The right-hand side of the screen (sc. the right-hand side as seen by the audience) is considered to be Ḳaragöz's house; he always enters the scene from there, and he alone occupies this half of the screen. The left-hand side is reserved for Hadjivad and all the other characters. All told, Ḳaragöz himself takes up a good half of the whole performance.

The text of a traditional play comprises four sections: (1) The prologue. Hadjivad comes in, chanting a *semāʿī* and then a *ghazel*, the so-called "screen *ghazel*", a poem couched in pseudo-philosophical terms, stressing the profound meaning of

the shadowplay and the lessons which the spectator may derive from it. Then he proclaims his desire to amuse himself by shouting for his "friend" Ḳaragöz. The latter, disturbed by the noise, comes down into the street and beats Hadjivad. (2) The dialogue (*muḥāwere*) comprises either a discussion on any subject whatsoever between Hadjivad and Ḳaragöz, whose comic effect comes from the contrast in character and the cultural levels of the two participants, or else it is the embellishment of an extravagant adventure of one of the two companions, usually Ḳaragöz. The spectators are amused by the remarks and questions of the listener of the dialogue, and the verbose replies of the narrator; very often, the adventure turns out to be a dream or a delusion of hashish-taking.

The text of the dialogue may well be improvised, and the *ḳaragözdjü*, according to the circumstances and according to his creative powers, may prolong it as he likes. However, there are some traditional plot outlines, and it seems—on the basis of the texts which have been collected—that the artists always followed them. Some 60 texts of these dialogues have been counted, some of them clearly later versions of a basic original. In the most recent and most complete edition of *ḳaragöz* texts (Cevdet Kudret, *Ḳaragöz*, 3 vols., Ankara 1968-70), 53 are given. Certain of these *muḥāwere*s, of the type comprising a narration of extravagant adventures, are variations of the *tekerleme* stories (see P. N. Boratav, *Le "tekerleme"*, Cahiers de la Société Asiatique, xvii, Paris 1963, 106-14, 174-5, types 51 I, 51 J, 51 K, 52, 53). Tradition permits the *ḳaragözdjü* the freedom of prefixing a *muḥāwere* of his own choice to the play of his programme, whence the fact that in many editions of texts one finds different plays accompanied by the same "dialogue", or even the same play preceded by different "dialogues" in the various versions. When the dramatic section (sc. the "play" proper) is only short, or when the shadow player wishes, for some reason or other, to extend the show, he may add a second *muḥāwere* after the first one; this is called an *ara muḥāweresi* "intercalated dialogue". (3) The play proper (the *faṣl*). There are two main categories of theme elaborated in this dramatic section: (a) Subjects drawn from popular romances, such as *Ferhād we Shīrīn*, or *Ṭāhir we Zühre*. A certain number of themes have also been enumerated as stemming from the popular stories of the *meddāḥ*s, such as *Handjerli Hanım*, and *Ṭayyārzāde*, or from modern novels like *Ḥüseyin Fellāḥ* and *Ḥasan Mellāḥ* of Aḥmed Midḥat, but the texts of these are not extant. Cevdet Kudret, *op. cit.*, ii, 244-64, has edited an adaptation of Molière's comedy *Le Médecin malgré lui*. (b) Sketches inspired by everyday life in the towns, and peculiar to the *ḳaragöz* theatre. Georg Jacob, in his *Türkische Literaturgeschichte in Einzeldarstellungen, I. Das türkische Schattentheater*, Berlin 1900, 46-54, has classified the plays in this second category thus: (i) Ḳaragöz is out of work; Hadjivad finds him a job which looks like being agreeable and profitable. The ensuing farce revolved round the blunders, mistakes and extravagant behaviour of Karagöz in this job, for which he is totally unfitted. Plays in this group include *Ḳaragöz the cook*, *Ḳ. the grocer*, *The see-saw*, *The druggist's shop*, *Ḳ. the poet*, etc. (ii) Karagöz tries to insinuate himself, or actually succeeds in doing so, into some forbidden or dangerous place, by mere curiosity, interest or chance, and this brings about a series of awkward situations and unpleasant confrontations. Examples of this group are *The bath*, *The garden*, *The bloody poplar tree*, etc. (iii) Ḳaragöz embarks, unwittingly and without foreseeing the unpleasant consequences, on various complicated adventures. Through improvised actions, he astounds and disarms his opponents, turns tragic situations into comic ones, and emerges completely unscathed. The themes of plays like *The excursion to Yalova*, *The tavern*, *The lunatic asylum*, *Ḳaragöz the hashish smoker*, etc., are built around these themes.

Several of the plays in both these categories belong equally to the répertoire of *ḳaragöz* and to those of two other types of Turkish popular theatre, the *kukla* or marionette theatre and the *orta oyunu* or traditional theatre with living actors.

The number of "plays" (*faṣl*) so far counted is 47. Kudret has edited 36 of them, choosing one text for those attested in several versions; for three other texts he has been unable to give more than the titles. It has also been possible to draw up two lists of "older plays" and "newer plays". Out of the 47 plays enumerated, 27 are known to be "plays from the older répertoire". It was formerly the practice to stage a different play for every evening of Ramaḍān, with the exception of the evening of the 26th-27th, the "Night of Power" [see RAMAḌĀN], when there was a break, out of respect for the especially sacred character of that evening. The conclusion is, therefore, that the traditional répertoire comprised 28 or 29 plays. It seems, too, that we should add to the total enumerated of 47 *ḳaragöz* plays a large number of texts put together by "scholarly" authors, see Kudret, i, 45 and 56-9, bibliography nos. XXIV, XXX-XXXI, XXXIV-XXXVII, XL, XLII, and Aziz Nesin, *Üç karagöz oyunu*, ed. Düşün, Istanbul 1968.

Although scholars do not yet agree about the country of origin of the shadow theatre, it is generally recognised that it spread from eastern and south-east Asia towards the Near East and Europe. With regard to its appearance in the Ottoman territories, it was long believed that it had come from China through the mediation of the Mongols and via the traditional route through Central Asia and Iran. However, it has now been realised that scholars have been in error through the incorrect interpretation of a technical term: the *khayāl* of Arabic, Persian and Turkish sources does not mean "shadow figure" (whose equivalent is *Khayāl-i ẓill*, [*q.v.*]), but rather "figure" *tout court*, *i.e.*, it is not connected with the shadow theatre at all, but with three-dimensional marionettes. Thus whilst the puppet theatre has been known from an early date amongst the Mongols and Turks of Central Asia, as also among the Iranians, the shadow theatre has only existed among them in recent centuries.

In the Near Eastern lands, the shadow theatre goes back to the 6th/12th century, see Ritter, art. *Ḳaragöz* in *İA*, and Metin And, *Geleneksel türk tiyatrosu*, Ankara 1969, 113. This is certain with regard to Egypt. Ibn Dāniyāl [*q.v.*] (7th/13th century) has left three texts for performance in this theatre, those themes have striking affinities with the plays of the traditional *karagöz* répertoire. Furthermore, some actual figures of the Egyptian shadow theatre, probably of 7th/13th or 8th/14th century construction, have come down to us; these too have many features in common with the Turkish *ḳaragöz* figures.

The tradition of the Turkish *ḳaragözdjüs* purports to trace the origin of their art to the time of Sultan Orkhan, and its invention to Shaykh Kushterī. Ewliyā Čelebi (11th/17th century) records a legend which would make the two main characters of the

theatre contemporaries of the Saldjūks of Anatolia, and which makes the gypsy Ḳaragöz a messenger for the Byzantine Emperor Constantine. These legends lack historical foundation. The oldest piece of evidence for the appearance of the shadow theatre in Ottoman territory comes from the 10th/16th century. The Egyptian chronicler Ibn Iyās speaks of a shadow theatre performance at Djizza in 923/1517 in front of Selīm I after his victory over the Mamlūks; the Ottoman sultan, delighted by this performance, wished to bring the shadow player to Istanbul. It is known from another source that under Aḥmed I (1012-26/1603-17) an Egyptian shadow play artist came to practice his art in Istanbul. From the end of the 10th/16th century onwards, we have extensive information about the *ḳaragöz* theatre, both in the travel narratives of western writers and also in Ottoman sources of various kinds; the most interesting details are given in the *sūrnāmes*, works describing festivities of various kinds, such as marriages, circumcisions, etc.

From the 11th/17th century, Ḳaragöz is clearly mentioned as the chief character of the shadow theatre. In all the regions to which this theatre spread, including lands with such diverse non-Turkish populations as Greece, Tripolitania, Tunisia and Algeria, it is called by various metamorphoses of the word *ḳaragöz*. Similarly, the Turkish *ḳaragöz* came to Egypt from the Ottoman homeland and was in the last century a favourite form of entertainment; it also gave the name *aragoz* to a type of Egyptian puppet.

It was probably only in the 11th/17th century that the *ḳaragöz* theatre acquired its actual technique and style. Ewliyā Čelebi gives details of certain amusing dialogues of Karagöz and Hadjivad and of several other characters, as well as outlines of a few plays in the classical répertoire.

The *ḳaragöz* theatre was an art form of the big towns in the Ottoman empire. In particular, it described the distinctive types and the manners of the motley peoples of the capital. It retained this emphasis even in the large provincial towns like Bursa and Izmir and in eastern Anatolia. Ewliyā Čelebi speaks of some famous shadow players of Erzerum; one wonders whether the *ḳaragöz* theatre might have acquired peculiar local features in the regions from the capital. Notes published on the *ḳaragöz* at Ḳars by Fahrettin Kırzıoğlu, *Kars şehrinde karagöz oyunu*, in *Türk Folklor Araştırmaları*, no. 112 (Nov. 1958), show this as possible, since the répertoire and the characters of the *karagöz* in that town display some local peculiarities.

Bibliography: In addition to those works cited in the article, see Metin And, *A history of theatre and popular entertainment in Turkey*, Ankara 1963-4, 34-52; idem, *Various species of shadow theatre and puppet theatre in Turkey*, in *Atti del secondo Congresso internationale di arte turca*, Naples 1965, 7-12; idem, *Byzantine theatre* and *Turkey* in *The Oxford companion to the theatre*[3], London 1967; A. Bombaci, *On ancient Turkish dramatic performances*, in *Aspects of Altaic civilisation*, Ural-Altaic Series xxiii (1963), 87-117; P. N. Boratav, *100 soruda türk halkedebiyatı*, Istanbul 1969, 209-24; H. W. Duda, *Das türkische Volkstheater*, in *Bustan, Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kultur, Politik und Wirtschaft der islamischen Länder*, ii (Vienna 1961), 11-19; Selim Nüzhet Gerçek, *Türk temaşası: Meddah, Karagöz, Orta oyunu*, Istanbul 1942, 45-110; P. Kahle, *Islamische Schattenspielfiguren aus Ägypten*, in *Isl.*, i (1910), 264-99, ii (1911), 143-95; T. Menzel, *Schattentheater und Orta ojunu*, Monographien des Archiv Orientální, Vol. X, Prague 1941; H. Ritter, *Karagös, türkische Schattenspiele*, i, Hanover 1924, ii, Istanbul 1941, iii, Wiesbaden 1953; Sabri Esat Siyavuşgil, *Karagöz, psiko-sosyolojik bir deneme*, Istanbul 1941. There are numerous further bibliographical references in the works cited here by And, Jacob, Menzel, Bombaci, Kudret, Ritter and Siyavuşgil. For the Arab world, see J. M. Landau, *Studies in the Arab theater and cinema*, Philadelphia 1958, (French tr. Paris 1965, 27-59), and ʿĀdil Abū Shanab, *Masraḥ ʿarabī ḳadīm, Karākūz*, Damascus n.d., and the bibliographies in these two works.

(P. N. Boratav)

KARAITES, a Jewish sect which does not recognize the authority of the post-biblical tradition incorporated in the Talmud and in later rabbinic works. It is the only Jewish sect (not counting the Samaritans) which has survived for over 1200 years and is still in existence. The name (in Hebrew *ḳārāʾīm*, *bĕne* (or *baʿăle*) *Miḳrāʾ*; in Arabic *ḳarāʾiyyūn*, occasionally *aṣḥāb ʿĀnān wa-Binyāmīn*) is variously explained as "readers (*ḳārāʾ*) of Scripture (*Miḳrāʾ*)" and as "callers (to the true faith)", from the alternate meaning of *ḳārāʾ*, "to call, to invite", (cf. the Shīʿī "callers", *duʿāt*, sing. *dāʿī*).

(1) History. Although Karaism as we know it, and as the Karaites themselves have always known it, is essentially the product of the intellectual and social ferment in the Jewish community of the Muslim empire, the influence of several historical factors can be discerned in the early period of its development. The basic factor was probably the ancient and uninterrupted resistance on the part of some segments of Jewry to the growing oral tradition (the Oral Law) and to the authority of its tradents and interpreters, which resulted in a number of dissident sects antedating or contemporary with the Talmudic era (Sadducees, Essenes, Qumran sectarians), all insisting on the monopoly of the Bible as the sole source of divinely inspired law. Contributing factors probably were: (1). The collapse of the messianic hopes which had been inspired by the spectacular fall of Persian and Byzantine rule and rise of the Muslim empire in the 1st/7th century, and sorrowful realization that the redemption of Zion and the end of the exile were not at hand; (2). The growing social unrest in the most populous autonomous Jewish settlement, that of ʿIrāḳ (Babylonia), where the poorer classes of rural tenant-farmers and urban artisans and labourers felt themselves grievously oppressed by the official bureaucracy of the exilarch (*raʾs al-djālūt*, the official representative of ʿIrāḳi Jewry before the caliph's court) and of the *geonim* (sing. *gaon*; the presidents of the ʿIrāḳi talmudic academies); (3). The consolidation of the vast Muslim empire, which resulted in the opening of the sparsely populated mountainous lands to the east and north of ʿIrāḳ to settlement by discontented emigrants, both gentiles and Jews.

It was no doubt these malcontents who formed the nucleus of what later became Karaism. The earliest known sectarian leader, Abū ʿĪsā Obadiah (ʿAbd Allāh) al-Iṣfahānī q.v. of Isfahan, in Iran, organized an armed revolt against the government of the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik (65-86/685-705), but was quickly defeated and slain, although some of his followers asserted that he did not die but went into hiding, meaning that he would in due time reappear, like the Shīʿī hidden *imām*. His successor, Yūdghān, was

likewise thought to continue in hiding until his eventual reappearance [see ʿIsāwiyya].

By the middle of the 2nd/8th century the schism penetrated back into ʿIrāḳ, particularly into the newly-built capital city of Baghdād, where it was joined by ʿĀnān b. David, a member of the highest echelon of the rabbinic aristocracy. The traditional rabbinic account (quoted by the 6th/12th century Karaite author Elijah b. Abraham) designates him as the actual founder of Karaism and gives as his motive for secession his bitter resentment at his failure to be elected to the office of exilarch. This oversimplified story would seem to be true only to the extent that ʿĀnān had lent his aristocratic and scholarly prestige to the budding schism, and what is even more important, composed the first code of schismatic law (*Sefer ha-miṣwot*), which is the earliest extant Karaite literary document. His followers, called Ananites (*ʿĀnāniyyim*, *ʿĀnāniyya*), styled him exilarch, and his lineal descendants bore the title of Karaite prince (*nāśīʾ*); few of them, however, distinguished themselves as either leaders or scholars.

The 3rd/9th century produced several schismatic teachers, some of whom sharply criticized ʿĀnān's views: Ismāʿīl and Mīshawayh al-ʿUkbarī (of ʿUkbarā, in ʿIrāḳ), Benjamin al-Nahāwandi, in Iran; the first to use the collective term Karaites), and Malik al-Ramlī (of Ramla, in Palestine). Mūsā al-Zaʿfarānī (of the Zaʿfarān district in Baghdad) migrated with his followers to Tiflīs, in Armenia, and became known as Abū ʿImrān al-Tiflīsī. With Daniel al-Ḳūmisī (a native of Dāmghān, in the Iranian province of Ḳūmis), Karaism reached the 4th/10th century.

The surnames just listed indicate the fairly rapid territorial expansion of Karaism during this early period. Daniel al-Ḳūmisī was the first eminent Karaite scholar known to have settled in Jerusalem, and other Karaite communities were established in Damascus, Cairo, and other smaller towns. Zealous Karaite preachers undertook missionary journeys to seek converts among rabbinic audiences, but apparently with little success, for with the exception of ʿĀnān, not a single early Karaite scholar is stated to have been a convert from rabbinism, and early Karaite writings are replete with sad complaints about the smallness and poverty of their communities. In any case, a more or less amicable *modus vivendi* prevailed for a long time between the schism and the rabbinic mother-synagogue, but in the first half of the 4th/10th century this peaceful situation came to an abrupt end. Saadiah al-Fayyūmī (882-942 A.D.), president of the rabbinic academy at Sūrā (in ʿIrāḳ), an exceedingly brilliant and influential scholar, published a series of polemical writings in which he condemned the Karaites as outright heretics who had cut themselves off completely from rabbinic Judaism. The effect of this sudden and unexpected blow upon the Karaites was cataclysmic: it deprived them of the only missionary field open to them, and it extinguished forever their cherished hope of eventually persuading their rabbinic cousins to return to the true—that is, Karaite—faith. No wonder their reaction was most bitter, and polemics against Saadiah run like a scarlet thread through Karaite literature from that time on down to the 19th century.

On the other hand, the necessity to combat Saadiah's scholarly criticism ushered in the golden age (4th-5th/10th-11th centuries) of Karaite scholarship, and brought about not only the consolidation of the various schismatic groups into a more or less unified sect, but also some modest but highly necessary reforms which softened to some extent the rigorous burden of Karaite practice. At the same time, ʿIrāḳ and Iran gradually lost their primacy as Karaite centres and were superseded by Jerusalem and Cairo, and new settlements were established in the Balkans (then under Byzantine rule; first half of the 5th/11th century), Cyprus (6th/12 th century), Spain (where Karaism, under the leadership of Ibn al-Tarās, 5th/11th century, endured for a while but eventually disappeared entirely), Crimea (7th/13th century), and Lithuania (end of 8th/14th century). The First Crusade (1099 A.D.) put an end to all Jewish activity in Palestine and much of Syria, and the Karaite academy in Jerusalem, which had trained scholars from many countries, went out of existence. Some Karaite scholarly activity shifted to Cairo, but most of it moved to Constantinople where Greek-speaking Karaite translators turned some Arabic Karaite classics into Hebrew, thus making them accessible to later generations of Western Karaites who knew no Arabic. The liquidation of the Byzantine empire with the capture of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks in 1453 A.D. gave a new impetus to Karaite scholarship, and the Istanbul community, now Greek and Turkish-speaking, gave its spiritual support to the Crimean and Lithuanian settlements, where a Tatar dialect was, and still is, spoken. The decline of the Ottoman Empire in the 18th and 19th centuries resulted in the rise in importance of the latter settlements, which by the end of the 18th century came under Russian rule. Soon thereafter the Russian Karaites succeeded in obtaining from the Czarist government full rights of citizenship, thus escaping the crushing restrictions which were imposed upon their rabbinic cousins. During World War II the Crimean, Polish and Lithuanian Karaites were left unmolested by the German occupational authorities, on the ground that they were ethnically not of the Jewish race. In the post-war period, however, many Karaites in Egypt and ʿIrāḳ, including the entire ancient community in Hīt (on the Euphrates), found themselves compelled to emigrate to Israel, where they settled in several compact colonies (Ramla, Ashdod, etc.). No accurate statistics of the Karaite population of the world are available; an approximate figure is 12,000—13,000.

(2). Literature. No writings by pre-Ananite schismatics have been preserved, although at least one of them, Abū ʿĪsā al-Iṣfahānī, reputedly illiterate (cf. Muḥammad's epithet *ummī*), is said to have miraculously produced books and volumes. ʿĀnān's code, written in Aramaic (the language of the Talmud), is the earliest Karaite document of which fragments have survived. Benjamin al-Nahāwandī also composed a code of law, written in Hebrew, of which only a portion has survived, as well as commentaries on some biblical books. Daniel al-Ḳūmisī wrote a code of law and a commentary on the Bible, likewise in Hebrew, known only in fragments. The overwhelming bulk of later literature, composed by Karaite authors resident in Muslim countries (except Turkey) down to the 15th century, was written in Arabic. After the First Crusade, the Balkan Karaite translators used a clumsy Hebrew heavily interlarded with Arabic and Greek loanwords. Later Karaite authors in Turkey, Crimea, Lithuania, and Poland, down to the 20th century, wrote in a more idiomatic Hebrew, and occasionally in the spoken Karaite-Tatar dialect, which was written in Hebrew characters.

The golden age of Karaite literary activity opened with the works of Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb al-Ḳirḳisānī (or al-Ḳarḳasānī, of Ḳirḳīsiyā [Circesium] on the Euphrates, or Ḳarḳasān near Baghdād), a man of encyclopaedic learning and a keen analytic mind who wrote two voluminous works entitled *Kitāb al-anwār wa'l-marāḳib* (code of law) and *Kitāb al-riyāḍ wa'l-ḥadā'iḳ* (commentary on the non-legal portions of the Pentateuch). The former also provides the earliest, most detailed, and most reliable information on the sectarian leaders and groups which eventually coalesced into the unified Karaite sect, and has probably served as the chief source for all subsequent accounts, both Jewish and Muslim. His smaller works, not yet recovered, include commentaries on Genesis, Job, and Ecclesiastes, a refutation of Muḥammad's claim to prophecy (*Kitāb fī ifsād nubuwwat Muḥammad*), essays (*ḳawl*) on textual interpretation (*ʿala 'l-tafsīr wa-sharḥ al-maʿānī*) and on the art of translation (*ʿala 'l-tardjama*), and others. His younger contemporary, Salmon b. Jeroham (Sulaym, or Sulaymān, b. Ruḥaym) wrote a violent tract against Saadiah (only the Hebrew version, entitled *Milḥamōt ha-Shēm*, has been preserved) and commentaries in Arabic on several biblical books. The end of the 4th/10th century produced the foremost Karaite Bible-commentator, Japheth b. Eli (Abū ʿAlī Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī al-Baṣrī), who was still living in 395/1004-5 and wrote a commentary on the entire Bible, in Arabic, with a very literal and often grammatically awkward Arabic rendering of each Hebrew verse. Karaite study of Hebrew grammar and lexicography, necessitated by the Karaite preoccupation with biblical exegesis, resulted in the monumental Hebrew-Arabic dictionary (*Djāmiʿ al-alfāẓ*) by David b. Abraham al-Fāsī (of Fez, in Morocco). A zealous and expert Karaite missionary, Abu 'l-Surrī Sahl b. Maṣlīaḥ, wrote a long epistle in Hebrew (in which he promises to write an Arabic version also) in answer to his rabbinic opponents with whom he came in conflict, probably in Cairo. Japheth b. Eli's son, Abū Saʿīd Levi b. Japheth, followed his illustrious father in composing a series of brief exegetical glosses (*nukat*) on the Bible, as well as an authoritative code of law (composed in 397/1006-7), the latter known only under the Hebrew title of *Sēfer ha-miṣwōt*.

The 5th/11th century saw the Karaite academy in Jerusalem, presided over by Joseph b. Noah (Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf b. Nūḥ), in full flourish and produced a number (reputedly 70) of eminent scholars. Joseph b. Noah himself wrote a commentary on the Pentateuch and a Hebrew grammar. His pupil, Aaron b. Jeshuah (Abu 'l-Faradj Hārūn b. al-Faradj), composed a grammatico-lexicographical work entitled *al-Mushtamil*, another grammatical work entitled *al-Kāfī*, and a commentary on the Pentateuch. Another pupil of Joseph b. Noah, Joseph ha-Rō'eh (Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf al-Baṣīr; "the Seeing", euphemistically for "the Blind"), the foremost Karaite philosopher of the 5th/11th century, composed an adaptation of the Muʿtazilī *kalām* entitled *al-Muḥtawī* (abridged by the author under the title *Kitāb al-tamyīz* or *al-Kitāb al-Manṣūrī*), and a code of law entitled *Kitāb al-istibṣār*. Joseph ha-Rō'eh's advocacy of the relaxation of the suicidal severity of the original Karaite law of incest was developed further by his pupil Jeshuah b. Judah (Abu 'l-Faradj Furḳān b. Asad) in a work known only in its Hebrew translation entitled *Sēfer ha-ʿārāyōt*; he also composed several theologico-philosophical works.

The First Crusade marked the transfer of the centre of Karaite literary activity to the Balkans, where Hebrew was the literary vehicle, with a secondary branch in Egypt, where Arabic continued to be the literary language. The two most eminent Byzantine translators, Tobiah b. Moses and Jacob b. Simeon, turned a number of Karaite Arabic classics into Hebrew. Judah Hadassī (of Edessa, the modern Urfa, in Turkey, near the Syrian border) compiled a large encyclopedia (begun in 1148 A.D.) of early Karaite learning entitled *Eshkōl ha-kōfer*. Jacob b. Reuben wrote a commentary on the Bible, mainly compiled from older Arabic-writing authors, entitled *Sēfer hā-ʿōsher*. In Egypt, Karaite efforts to write Hebrew poetry produced (about the middle of the 6th/12th century) the most eminent poet of the earlier period, Moses Darʿī (of Darʿa, in Morocco, but born in Alexandria, Egypt), who imitated, not very successfully, the great rabbinic poets of the Spanish school, and left an extensive *dīwān* of poetic pieces, both religious and secular. Japheth (Ḥasan b. Abi 'l-Ḥasan) al-Barḳamānī, who lived in the middle of the 7th/13th century, wrote in Arabic a medical work (*al-Maḳāla al-Muḥsiniyya fī ḥifẓ al-ṣiḥḥa al-badaniyya*) and a polemical treatise. Israel ha-Maʿārābī (al-Maghribī), an eminent theologian and jurist in Cairo (first half of the 8th/14th century), wrote a number of works in Arabic. Samuel b. Moses al-Maghribī completed in 837/1434 a concise code of law entitled *al-Murshid* (the last Karaite code written in Arabic), and David b. al-Hītī (of Hīt, on the Euphrates), his younger contemporary, wrote a brief but valuable Arabic chronicle of Karaite scholars from ʿĀnān down to his own time. Some eighty years earlier a lesser poet, Moses b. Samuel of Ṣafad, in Palestine, left a *dīwān* of Hebrew poems, in which the most interesting piece is a long epic poem describing his troubled career as clerk (*kātib*) in charge of the private estates of the amir of Damascus and his forced conversion (in 755/1354) to Islam and pilgrimage to Mecca; he finally escaped to Egypt, where he seems to have returned to his ancestral faith.

In Byzantine Karaism, the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries marked a substantial literary revival. Aaron b. Joseph (Aaron the Elder) wrote (after 691/1292) a much esteemed philosophical commentary on the Pentateuch (*Sēfer ha-mibḥār*), but is equally renowned also for his redaction of the official Karaite liturgy, in which he included a number of poetic hymns, many of his own composition. Another Aaron, Aaron b. Elijah (Aaron the Younger, of Nicomedia, the modern Izmīd or Izmit, in Asia Minor; d. 770/1369), produced a complete *summa* of Karaite theology, in three parts, philisophical (*ʿĒṣ ḥayyim*, obviously intended as the Karaite counterpart of Maimonides' *Dalālat al-ḥā'rīn*), legal (*Gan ʿĒden*), and exegetical (*Keter Tōrāh*). In the 9th/15th century, Elijah Bashyāčī, *ḥākām* (rabbi) of the Istanbul Karaite community, died in 895/1490, leaving behind him an unfinished code of law entitled *Adderet Ēliyyāhū*, which was continued, but not completed, by his brother-in-law Caleb Afendopolo (d. after 1522 A.D.), an encyclopaedic scholar in his own right. It was recognized by most Karaites as the most authoritative manual of their law and ritual.

The decline of the Ottoman empire once more shifted the centre of Karaite literary activity, this time to the Crimea, Lithuania and Poland. The town of Troki (near Wilna, in Lithuania) produced its most famous Karaite son, Isaac b. Abraham (d. 1594 A.D. [1586?]), whose tract against Christianity, entitled *Ḥizzūḳ emūnāh*, evoked Voltaire's praise for

its skill and acumen. The interest shown in Karaism, from the middle of the 17th century onward, by Protestant theologians (Johann Rittangel, Gustav Peringer, Johann Puffendorf, Lewin Warner, Jacob Trigland and others) resulted in several works by their Karaite informants, setting forth, of course from the partisan Karaite point of view, the history of the Karaite secession from the mother-synagogue, the elements of Karaite belief, and the history of Karaite literature: *Appiryōn*, by Solomon b. Aaron of Troki (d. 1745 A.D.); *Dōd Mordekay* and *Lebūsh malkūt*, by Mordecai b. Nisan of Kukizów (near Lvóv, in Polish Galicia). The Karaite community of Lutsk, in Volhynia, produced the first Karaite bibliographer, Simḥah Isaac b. Moses (d. 1766 A.D., whose *Nēr* (*Ōraḥ*) *ṣaddīḳīm*, a history of Karaism, has an appendix containing a list of Karaite writers and their works. He also wrote an extensive commentary on Aaron the Younger's philosophical *ʿĒṣ ḥayyim*.

The most eminent Karaite author of the 19th century was Abraham Firkovič (1785-1874). Armed with the official authorization of the Russian government, he travelled extensively in the Crimea, the Caucasus, Syro-Palestine and Egypt, gathering original materials for the history of the Karaites. Unfortunately, in his zeal to prove that the Karaites had left Palestine before the advent of Jesus and therefore had no part in his crucifixion, he permitted himself to tamper with dates in manuscripts and on tombstones, and thus blemished his otherwise well-founded reputation for scholarship. The mass of manuscripts he collected (sometimes, to be sure, in a rather highhanded fashion) was later acquired by the Leningrad Public Library, and forms one of the largest, though least utilized, Karaite manuscript collections in the world. His older contemporary, Mordecai Sultansky (d. 1862), composed a number of works, the best known being *Zēker ṣaddīḳīm*, valuable as a detailed specimen of the present-day official Karaite version of the sect's history and its relationship to the rabbinic mother-synagogue.

(3). Dogma and Practice. Aside from the rejection of the authority of the post-biblical tradition, there is no basic divergence between Karaite and rabbinic dogmatics. The Karaite creed, as formulated in ten articles by Elijah Bas͟hyāčī (9th/15th century), postulates the existence of God, Creator of the world and all that is in it, the divine inspiration of all the biblical prophets, the authority of the Torah and the duty of the believer to study it, the certainty of the resurrection of the dead and of the final judgment, the responsibility of each human being for his own deeds, and the eventual advent of the Messiah. An earlier Arabic creed (*ʿAḳāʾid*), formulated by Israel ha-Maʿărābī (8th/14th century), still adhered to by the Egyptian Karaites, has only six articles, and omits all mention of the Messiah—a puzzling peculiarity for which no satisfactory explanation has so far been suggested. None of these articles of faith conflicts with rabbinic teachings.

In fact the Karaite rejection of postbiblical tradition and the cry "Back to the Bible!" already proved impractical as early as the time of ʿĀnān, who found himself compelled to deduce new laws from the biblical text by the method of analogy (Hebrew *heḳḳēs͟h*, Arabic *ḳiyās*), supposedly borrowed by him from the *imām* Abū Ḥanīfa, whom he is said to have met in prison. Life in the social and economic milieu of the Muslim empire simply could not, as a practical matter, be governed by a code of law enacted in Palestine a thousand or more years earlier. ʿĀnān's successor as the second *pater synagogae*, Benjamin al-Nahāwandī, freely borrowed from talmudic law. In this manner the monopoly of the Bible was gradually extended into the three official basic sources of Karaite law; the scriptural text (Hebrew *kātūb*, Arabic *naṣṣ*), analogy based on it, and the consensus of the successive generations of scholars (Hebrew *ḳibbūṣ*, *ʿēdāh* [inspired by the Arabic *ʿāda*?], later *sēbel ha-yĕrūs͟hāh*, "burden of inheritance"; Arabic *id͟jmāʿ*), the latter term covering laws which have no direct or indirect root in the Bible, but which are not contrary to it or to reason and logic, and have been accepted by the generality of scholars after exhaustive study (*naẓar*, *baḥt͟h*). The early Karaite leaders developed a strong centrifugal tendency, expressed in the maxim attributed to ʿĀnān, "Search thoroughly in the Torah, and rely not on my opinion", and recognized the right of every individual, within certain limits, to draw his own conclusions from his own study of Scripture and to abide by them. But time and experience modified this tendency, too, and produced more or less general obedience to prevalent scholarly opinion, at least in the particular country or region. In matters of philosophy of religion, the earlier Karaite scholars chose to accept the Muʿtazilī *kalām* almost in its entirety, and the later philosophical writers felt duty-bound to stand by their predecessors and permitted themselves only as few deviations from them as possible. There was thus in Karaism no such further progression to Neo-Platonism and Aristotelianism as occurred in rabbinic philosophy.

The intense and impatient nationalistic-messianic tendency which inspired Abū ʿĪsā's armed revolt (1st/7th century) against the Muslim authorities subsequently subsided into a no less intense but more peaceful longing for an end to the exile and for the restoration of Zion in all its glory. One result of this was the unceasing and rather touching effort on the part of the Karaites to maintain at least a small representative community of pious individuals in Jerusalem, who by prayer, fasting, and other devotional exercises besought God to "hasten the end". Some of these Karaite pietists belonged to the ascetic order of "Mourners for Zion" (Hebrew *Ăbēlē Ṣiyyōn*), which included rabbinic members as well. Another consequence of this powerful messianic feeling was the rather sombre and cheerless tone of the Karaite way of life, in which the elements of joy and pleasure inherent in such ancient institutions as Sabbath and Passover were as far as possible excluded, as incompatible with the sad plight of Israel in exile. Yet at the same time the usual concomitant of messianism, mysticism, which eventually came to flourish in rabbinic intellectual circles, was roundly condemned by Karaite scholars as impious and wicked.

It is in practical theology that Karaism parts ways with rabbinic usage, and here the earmark of Karaism is greater rigour and rejection of such relaxations or extensions of biblical law as were introduced by the rabbis in order to conform with changing public opinion and changing circumstances —for example, the replacement of the *lex talionis* by monetary compensation, the extension of the interdict of seething a kid's flesh in its mother's milk into an extensive dietary legislation, the substitution of a fixed mathematical calendar for the visual observation of the phases of the moon, etc. Hence radical reform, in the modern sense, could never gain a foothold in Karaism. The only change resembling such basic reform was the modest

liberalization by Jeshuah b. Judah (5th/11th century) of the suicidal so-called catenary (Hebrew *rikkūb*, Arabic *tarkīb*) theory of incest, which by endless compounding of analogy upon analogy to the forbidden relatives listed in the Bible had made it increasingly difficult for Karaites to find mates whom they could lawfully marry. A few other milder reforms were vigorously resisted and were adopted only locally under the pressure of practical conditions of life—for example, the relaxation of the biblical prohibition of all fire on the Sabbath, to permit lighting of the synagogue on Sabbath eve and leaving fire in ovens (kindled before the onset of the Sabbath) for heating of homes and keeping food warm during the Sabbath day, matters of vital necessity during the severe winters in Poland and Russia; or the introduction of a mixed visual and mathematical calendar, in order to secure at least some uniformity of holy days in the northern climes, where observation of the new moon is often impossible. Even with all these minor reforms, Karaite law still remains far more restrictive than rabbinic law in matters of marriage (levirate marriage is forbidden), inheritance (the husband has no right to his deceased wife's estate), diet, Sabbath rest, ritual cleanliness, dates of holidays (Pentecost is fixed invariably on a Sunday, a custom which appears to be one of the most ancient earmarks of Jewish sectarianism), etc. Mixed marriages between Karaite and rabbinic parties seem, curiously enough, to have been quite frequent in the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries in Egypt and Syria, even among the upper echelons of Jewish society, and in such instances clauses were added in the marriage contract to safeguard the right of each party to observe the customs of his or her faith. Later on, however, the practice dwindled and such mixed marriages became quite rare. Polygamy was never explicitly forbidden by Karaite law (as it was by western rabbinic law), but seems to have been quite rare even in Muslim countries, and was certainly impossible in the West, where the law of the land (recognized by both Karaites and rabbinic Jews as binding) forbade it.

The codification of the Karaite liturgy by Aaron the Elder (7th/13th century) has been mentioned above. Originally Karaite rigorism led to an insistence that all formal prayer must consist exclusively of biblical psalmody, and the rabbinic practice of complementing biblical prayers with prose prayers and versified hymns composed by later authors was therefore condemned. But the passage of time and the example of the elaborate and poetically rich rabbinic prayerbook made their influence felt, and Aaron's order of prayer, supplemented by later additions in prose and verse, has finally developed into the voluminous liturgical corpus that it is today.

The relationship of Karaism to the older Jewish sects, particularly the Sadducees and the Dead Sea community, on the one hand, and to Islam, particularly Shīʿism, on the other, is still very obscure. Similarities and dissimilarities can be easily cited in both respects. The nature of Karaism as we know it, as the product of the Muslim milieu, makes it highly likely that, while it represents another link in the ancient chain of Jewish heterodoxy, it is certainly not, at least chronologically, a direct heir to its Jewish sectarian predecessors. Nor has it ever made any visible attempt at *Gleichschaltung* with Islam—every feature of Karaism is, at any rate as far as we can judge in the present state of our knowledge, a genuine product of Jewish history, Jewish tradition and Jewish thought.

(4). Printing. Unlike the rabbinic Jews, who eagerly seized upon Gutenberg's invention and produced a flood of printed books from the 1470s down to the present day, the Karaites ignored the printing press until well into the 18th century. The earliest Karaite printed book, an edition of the liturgy, was set up by rabbinic typesetters in 1528-9 A.D. at the Christian press of Daniel Bomberg in Venice. The second Karaite book was an edition of Bashyāčī's *Adderet Ēliyyāhū*, printed at Istanbul in 1530-1 A.D. by Gershom, a member of the great rabbinic family of masterprinters, the Soncinos. Two smaller Karaite books appeared in 1581-2 A.D., likewise in Istanbul, from an unnamed but probably rabbinic press. In the 17th century only one Karaite book was published, that in 1643 A.D. by the rabbinic press of Manasseh ben Israel (the correspondent of Oliver Cromwell) at Amsterdam.

The first Karaite printers were the brothers Afdah (Afidah) and Shabbethai Yĕrāḳā, who in 1733 issued a few sample sheets of the liturgy at Istanbul, but subsequently moved to Čufut-Ḳale in the Crimea, where they published a few books in 1734-41, whereupon they apparently went out of business. In 1804, soon after the Crimea was annexed by Russia, a new press was organized, likewise in Čufut-Ḳale, and four more books were issued from it in 1804-6. The first more or less successful Karaite press was established in 1833 at Eupatoria (Gozlow), also in the Crimea, and published a series of important old texts.

The reason for this neglect of the printing press by the Karaites can only be conjectured. Presumably it was their traditional dislike of innovations, however beneficial, and the very limited circle of prospective purchasers of books, which made printing a philantropic undertaking rather than a minimally profitable business.

Bibliography: No authoritative general history of Karaism is in existence, and the older works by J. Fürst (*Geschichte des Karäerthums*, Leipzig 1862-9) and W. H. Rule (*History of the Karaite Jews*, London 1870) must be used with great caution. Z. Cahn's *The rise of the Karaite sect*, New York 1937, is devoid of any value. The only reliable general sketches are those of S. Poznanski in *Encyclopaedia of religion and ethics*, vii, 662-72, and I. Markon in *Encyclopaedia judaica*, ix, 923-45, revised and augmented by L. Nemoy in *Encyclopaedia judaica* [in English], x, 761-85. S. Pinsker's *Liḳḳūṭē ḳadmōniyyōt*, Vienna 1860, is still valuable only for the original texts published in it for the first time. J. Mann's *Texts and studies, ii: Karaitica*, Philadelphia 1935, is a veritable thesaurus of documents and studies, but the major portion of it is devoted to the modern period after 1500 A.D. R. Mahler's *Karaimer*, New York 1947, is a Marxist-oriented interpretation of Karaism as a movement for political and socio-economic liberation; it is, however, a timely counterweight to the older predominantly theological view of Karaite history, and points out the great need to investigate more fully the social and economic factors in the sect's history. The history of the Arabic literature of the Karaites is included in M. Steinschneider's *Die arabische Literatur der Juden*, Frankfurt-on-Main 1902 (addenda by Poznanski in *OLZ*, vii, 1904), which obviously does not include a number of important texts published after that year. Karaite anti-Saadian polemics are sketched in S. Poznanski's *The Karaite literary opponents of Saadiah Gaon*, London 1908. B. Revel's *The Karaite halakah, i*

(all published), Philadelphia 1913, is somewhat antiquated. L. Nemoy, *Karaite anthology*, New Haven 1952, offers an annotated English translation of extracts from some of the most important texts prior to 1500 A.D. The principal Karaite philosophical writers are discussed in I. Husik's *A history of medieval Jewish philosophy*, New York 1916. P. S. Goldberg's *Karaite liturgy and its relation to synagogue worship*, Manchester 1957, is a useful comparative study, but is based solely on Hebrew Karaite sources, leaving the Arabic sources (particularly al-Ḳirḳisānī's order of the liturgy; L. Nemoy, *The liturgy of al-Qirqisānī*, in *Studies ... in honor of I. Edward Kiev*, New York 1971) entirely out of consideration. See also S. W. Baron, *A social and religious history of the Jews*, New York 1957, v, 209-85, 388-416 (for further references to Karaism see index to volumes i-viii, New York 1960); Z. Ankori, *Karaites in Byzantium*, New York 1959; N. Wieder, *The Judean scrolls and Karaism*, London 1962; A. Paul, *Écrits de Qumran et sectes juives aux premiers siècles de l'Islam: recherches sur l'origine du Qaraïsme*, Paris 1969 (defends more or less the traditional role of ʿĀnān as the founder of Karaism and the direct connexion between Karaism and Qumran); S. Poznanski, *Karaïsche Drucke und Druckereien* (unfinished), in *Zeitschrift für hebräische Bibliographie*, xxi-xxii (1918-20). The Arab accounts of Karaism (in the works of al-Bīrūnī, al-Shahrastānī, al-Maḳrīzī and others) are all based on uncritical data supplied by Karaite informants and often misunderstood and distorted, and are therefore of little if any historical value.

(L. Nemoy)

(5). The Karaites in Eastern Europe. Apart from Karaite settlements in the Byzantine empire, from around the 9th century Karaism began to disseminate in the western areas of the Khazar Ḳaghanate. In the early years of the 20th century, there were still members of the confession among the Slavs, in a group of Kuban Cossacks. The main bulk of the Karaites in these areas, however, was of Turkic origin, the name of their creed having become at the same time an ethnonym (ḳaray, pl. ḳaraylar; karaim, karaimi, karamI in Polish and Russian; the language is called ḳaray tili, ḳarayča, ḳaraimča). Since the 11th century the Karaites lived for the most part in the south of Crimea; as farmers, artisans and merchants, they enjoyed a privileged position in the Crimean Khānate, both from judicial and economic aspects. Their communities at Mangup and Ḳirḳ-yer were described in 1666 by the famous Turkish traveller Ewliyā Čelebi [*q.v.*]. In the late 14th century Vitold, Grand-Duke of Lithuania, settled some of the Crimean Karaites in his lands during his wars against the Tatars. They served in his guard in his capital, Troki, and were garrisoned in his strongholds on the border; here, too, they were granted land and privileges as well as an autonomous communal organisation. There are good grounds for believing that they spread from Lithuania southwards, settling at Luck, Lvov, and Halicz. By the end of the 17th century, the Polish and Lithuanian areas comprised 32 communities in all. Without severing their ties with the Crimea and Istanbul, Karaites here (mainly in Lvov and Halicz) were engaged also in ransoming Polish prisoners of war from Muslim captivity and in trade with the East. The epidemics and wars of the 17th and 18th centuries gradually reduced their smaller settlements. At the present day, compact Karaim communities survive at Luck, Halicz, Panevežys, Troki, and (since the 19th century) in Vilna.

For many years the main Karaite centre was at Ḳirḳ-yer, where in 1731 a Karaite printing-press was established. When the Crimean Khānate fell, contacts between the Crimean communities and those in Lithuania and Poland became stronger, resulting in the gradual Europeanisation of the Crimean Karaites. In the 19th century their main centre was at Gözleve (Eupatoria), where in 1837 the Tauridian Karaite Religious Board was established, and later a Karaite religious college and library. On Lithuanian territories (integrated from the end of the 18th century with the Crimea), a separate Karaite religious board was established in 1857 at Troki. When, with the end of World War I, Poland regained its independence, Troki maintained its sway over the Panevežys community in Lithuania and extended it to Halicz, a centre formerly isolated from the others (under Austrian rule). The Troki and Crimean Karaites resumed regular relations after World War II, while on the other hand a separate Karaite Religious Board was established in 1945 in Poland (Warsaw). After World War I, groups of Crimean Karaites went to settle in other European countries (chiefly in Paris). One outstanding leader was S. Szapszal (1873-1961), elected head of the Religious Board at Troki (1927), who contributed largely to the organization of Karaite communal life.

Anthropological research carried out on Karaites in Poland and Lithuania (mainly by C. Gini, 1936) revealed their resemblance to the Tchuvash, evidence supporting the recognition of the Karaites of Eastern Europe as a Turkic nation converted to Karaism. Their language belongs to the Ḳïpčaḳ sub-group of the Turkic family. West-Karaim, somewhat different from that of Crimean Karaim, has two dialects; the northern (Troki, Panevežys, and Vilna), and the southern (Luck and Halicz). Both in its vocabulary and syntax it shows numerous borrowings from Persian, Arabic, Hebrew, Slavonic languages and Lithuanian. In Karaite folklore there are visible traces of historic relations with the Khazars [*q.v.*] (Ḥazar oghlu and Ḥazar biy[i] in Crimean songs) and many wholly Turkic elements, such as the initial formula bir bar edi in a lullaby, many riddles and proverbs. In their general culture there are also similar vestiges of a Khazarian past (talḳï, an original dough-kneading device; the dishes ḥazar ḥelvâsï or ḥazar ḳaymaghï "Khazar ḥelvā", served at times of mourning occasions; ḳatlama, a seven-layered cheese cake, etc.).

For centuries the main intellectual interest of the Karaites has been their religion. Apart from Hebrew, their scholars also wrote in the Karaim language: translations of the Bible, remarkable for their omission of anthropomorphic definitions of the divine attributes, and also original works. In the cultural field, the influence of the Christian world (in Poland) and of the Muslim (in Crimea) was felt. Towards the end of the 19th century secular works also began to appear, the most prominent Karaite authors writing in Karaim being I. Erak (Crimea, 19th century), Z. Abrahamowicz (Halicz, 1878-1903), S. Kobecki (Troki, 1865-1933), A. Mardkowicz (Luck, 1875-1944), J. Lobanos (Vilna, 1878-1947), and S. Firkovič (Troki, b. 1897). There were several Karaite periodicals, published in Russian (*Karaimskaya Zhizn'*; *Karaimskoe Slovo*), Polish (*Myśl Karaimska*) and Karaim (*Sahyszymyz*, "Our Thought", Vilna 1927; *Karaj Awazy*, "The Karaim Voice", Luck, 1931-38; *Onarmach*, "Development",

Panevežys, 1937-39). Several Karaites in East Europe devoted themselves to Turkic studies (S. Szapszal, A. Zajączkowski, and others).

Bibliography: Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, vii, Istanbul 1928, 584-5, 588-9; Z. A. Firkovič (ed.) *Sbornik starinnîkh gramot i uzakoneniy Rossiyskoy Imperii kasatel' no prav i sostoyaniya russko-poddannîkh karaimov*, St.-Petersburg 1890; C. Cini, *I Caraimi di Polonia e Lituania*, in *Genus* ii/1-2, Rome 1936, 1-56; J. Grzegorzewski, *Ein türk-tatarischer Dialekt in Galizien*, in *SB Ak. Wien* cxlxvi (1903), 1-80; T. Kowalski, *Karaimische Texte im Dialekt von Troki*, Cracow 1929; A. Mardkowicz, *Karaj Sez-bitigi—Karaimisches Wörterbuch*, Luck 1935; K. M. Musayev, *Grammatika karaimskogo yazîka*, Moscow 1964; O. Pritsak, *Das Karaimische*, in *PTF* i, 318-40; W. Radloff, *Proben der Volkliteratur der türkischen Stämme*, vii, St.-Petersburg 1896; D. Sidersky, *Le Caraïsme et ses doctrines*, in *RHR* cxiv (1936), 197-221; S. Şapşal, *Kîrîm Karai Türkleri*, in *Türk Yîlî*, Istanbul 1928; A. Zajączkowski, *Karaims in Poland*, Warsaw-The Hague-Paris 1961; idem, *Die karaimische Literatur*, in *PTF*, ii, 793-801; idem, *Krótki wykład gramatyki języka zachodnio-karaimskiego* (*narzecze łuckohalickie*), Luck 1931. (W. Zajączkowski)

AL-**KARAK**, a fortress situated to the east of the Dead Sea, in the ancient Moab and at an altitude of *ca.* 3,000 feet. The name comes from Aramaic *karkhā* "town" and is found in the form χαραχμωβα in Ptolemy (v, 16, 4), on the mosaic map of Mādaba and in Stephen of Byzantium. Its situation on a steep-sided spur, separated from the mountain by a narrow and artificially-deepened moat, makes it an extraordinarily strong site. It is remarkable that we do not hear of it at the time of the Muslim conquest of the lands east of the Jordan, nor in the ensuing centuries. It is only at the time of the Crusades, when in 1142 it was fortified by King Fulk's former cup-bearer Payen, that it began to play a role, but this was now a very prominent one. The Franks of that time, being little versed in geography, sought to localise the ancient Petra there and called it *Petra deserti*. Since this stronghold dominated the pilgrim route from Damascus and the caravan way between Syria and Egypt, it caused the Muslims much trouble. It was during the period 1176-87, when it was in the hands of Reynaud of Châtillon, that it constituted a particular menace for the Muslim lands; it was at this time that Reynaud sent his expedition southwards towards Arabia, and although this failed, it caused great anxiety to the Muslims, who saw in it an attack against the Holy Cities, when it was rather an action impelled by economic motives.

From 565/1170 the fortress began to suffer siege by Nūr al-Dīn and the Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin), who aimed at restoring the authority of the Muslims in al-Karak. They had no success until finally, as a result of starvation, the garrison surrendered in 584/1188 to Saladin's brother al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, and it again fell within the latter's share of territory in the division of Saladin's possessions after his death. It then belonged to various members of the Ayyūbid family, and even after the various Ayyūbid principalities had gradually disappeared, the *amīr* al-Mughīth ʿUmar still held out in al-Karak until Baybars captured him by treachery and had him executed in 661/1263.

The Mamlūk sultan al-Nāṣir found refuge within the fortress's mighty walls in 708/1309 when he fled from Cairo in order to make firm his royal power. Al-Karak was at that time the *chef-lieu* of one of the *mamlakas* into which Syria and Palestine were then divided. The descriptions of Arabic authors show us how powerful the fortress was at that time; the local inhabitants were still in part Christian. Al-Karak lost its importance under Ottoman rule. In 1840 it was occupied by Ibrāhīm Pasha, who had part of the ramparts destroyed; thereafter it was re-occupied by the Ottomans, who after 1893 erected there various public buildings. As the centre of an administrative district, al-Karak had in 1973 *ca.* 10,000 inhabitants. It is at times difficult to distinguish, both in the town and in the adjacent fortress, the traces of the Crusaders and of subsequent Islamic constructions, both of which are built upon ancient substructures. However, it is certain that the donjon and the external wall surrounding the lower courtyard are Muslim in origin and date to the time of Baybars.

Bibliography: Duc de Luynes, *Voyage d'exploration a la Mer Morte*, Paris 1871-6, i, 99 ff., ii, 106 ff.; A. Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, Vienna 1907-8, i, 45-62; F. M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, Paris 1938, ii, 418-19; *Blue Guide, the Middle East*, Paris 1966, 555-6; P. Deschamps, *Les chateaux des Croisés en Terre-Sainte*, ii. *La défense du royaume de Jérusalem*, Paris 1939, 35-98; W. Müller-Wiener, *Burgen der Kreuzritter im heiligen Land*, Munich-Berlin 1966, 49-50; K. M. Setton (ed.), *A history of the Crusades*, i, Philadelphia 1955, index; A. S. Ehrenkreutz, *Saladin*, Albany 1972, index; N. Eliséeff, *Nur ad-Din*, Beirut 1967, index; H. L. Gottschalk, *Al-Malik al-Kāmil von Egypten und seine Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1958, index; *RCEA*, nos. 3801, 3965, 4733, 4734.

Arabic sources: A. S. Marmadji, *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine*, Paris 1951, s.v.; Yāḳūt, iv, 622; Ibn Djubayr, *Riḥla*, index; Ibn al-Athīr, index; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarridj al-kurūb*, Cairo 1953-60, index; ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Saladin*, tr. H. Massé, Paris 1972, index; *Dimashḳī*, ed. Mehren, 213; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 255; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, index; Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī, *Zubdat kašf al-mamālik*, ed. Ravaisse, Paris 1894; R. Hartmann, *Die geographischen Nachrichten über Palästina und Syrien* in *Ḫalīl al-Ẓāhirīs Zubdat kašf al-mamālik*, Tübingen 1907, 44-5; J. Gaulmier, *La Zubda Kachf al-Mamalik de Khalil al-Zahiri*, Beirut 1950, index. (D. Sourdel)

KARAK NŪḤ, a village in the Biḳāʿ of Lebanon, situated at the foot of Mount Lebanon not far from Zahlé on the road to Baʿlabakk. Authors of the Ayyūbid period call it al-Karak, but then in the Mamlūk period it was called Karak Nūḥ. It was actually considered as the locality of the prophet Nūḥ's tomb, which is still shown and which was apparently already mentioned in the 4th/10th century by the geographer al-Muḳaddasī. The structure which is considered to contain the stone cenotaph of Nūḥ and which is unusually long, adjoins an oratory with three bays, on the walls and columns of which have been carved, at the end of the 8th/14th century, various Mamlūk period inscriptions recording the construction of the building and also decrees concerning the abolition of taxes. The presence of these last is explicable by the fact that Karak Nūḥ was in the Mamlūk period the *chef-lieu* of the district of the two *Biḳāʿ*s.

Bibliography: J. Sourdel-Thomine, *Inscrip-*

tions arabes de Karak Nūḥ, in *BEO*, xiii (1949-50), 71-84 (with references to the geographers and travellers). (D. SOURDEL)

AL-KARAKĪ, NŪR AL-DĪN ʿALĪ B. AL-ḤUSAYN B. ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD AL-ʿĀLĪ AL-ʿĀMILĪ, Imāmī scholar, born probably not later than 870/1466 into a family of scholars. His *nisba* al-Karakī refers to Karak Nūḥ in al-Biḳāʿ, where he studied religious sciences, chiefly under ʿAlī b. Hilāl al-Djazāʾirī. He also visited Egypt and heard some Sunnī scholars there. Around 909/1504 he settled in al-Nadjaf, and in winter 910/1504-5 he was probably present at the court of the Ṣafawid Shāh Ismāʿīl in Iṣfahān. Along with other Imāmī scholars from al-Nadjaf, in 916-17/1510-11 he accepted an invitation to Harāt and Mashhad extended Shāh Ismāʿīl with the purpose of enlisting their help in propagating Imāmism in the newly conquered eastern provinces of Persia. Shāh Ismāʿīl is reported later to have sent him 70,000 *dīnār*s annually to al-Nadjaf for expenditure on teaching and for distribution among students. Under Shāh Ṭahmāsp, who succeeded Ismāʿīl in 930/1524, he paid at least two extended visits to the Ṣafawid court. Shāh Ṭahmāsp recognized him officially as the Seal of the *Mudjtahid*s (*Khātam al-mudjtahidīn*) and the Deputy of the *Imām* (*nāʾib al-imām*) and gave him full authority to direct the government in matters of religion. Al-Karakī instructed the governors concerning the assessment of the land tax, ordered the removal of Sunnī scholars and the appointment of Shīʿī *imām*s to lead the prayers and instruct the public everywhere, and had the *ḳibla* rectified in several Persian towns in accordance with his views on geodesy. He defended these latter views in a dispute with the *ṣadr* Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Dashtakī. Shāh Ṭahmāsp, taking the side of al-Karakī, dismissed Ghiyāth al-Dīn in 938/1531-2 and on the recommendation of al-Karakī appointed a student of the latter, Muʿizz al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, in his place. During the interim before the arrival of Muʿizz al-Dīn at the court, al-Karakī acted as *ṣadr* and appointed his deputies and agents. This situation is perhaps reflected in a *firmān* of 939/1532-3 quoted in the sources in which Shāh Ṭahmāsp granted him the exclusive authority of appointing and deposing religious officials in the Ṣafawid kingdom and conferred on him as a hereditary *waḳf* extensive land holdings in the area of al-Nadjaf valued at 700 *tūmān*s annually. Al-Karakī died in Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 940/July 1534 in al-Nadjaf.

Some of al-Karakī's commentaries on earlier legal works, like al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ al-Ḥillī's *Sharāʾiʿ al-islām*, became popular books of instruction. His *Risālat al-Djaʿfariyya*, on the rules of the ritual prayer, had commentaries written on it by several scholars during his lifetime and was translated into Persian. Other of his writings aroused controversy. In his *Risālat ḳāṭiʿat al-ladjādj fī taḥḳīḳ ḥill al-kharādj* he upheld the legality of government grants of *kharādj* land and thus defended himself against criticism levelled at him for accepting such grants. The treatise was refuted by his sharp-tongued opponent in al-Nadjaf Ibrāhīm al-Ḳaṭīfī, who also wrote refutations of some of his other treatises, among them the *Risāla fī ṣalāt al-djumʿa* in which al-Karakī upheld that the congregational Friday prayer was obligatory during the absence (*ghayba*) of the *Imām* if a qualified legal scholar was present. In his *Risālat nafaḥāt al-lāhūt fī laʿn al-djibt wa ʾl-ṭāghūt* he asserted the permissibility of cursing Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, thus defending the early Ṣafawid practice, though other Imāmī scholars objected to this practice as a breach of *taḳiyya*. With the exception of this last question, later Imāmī opinion generally upheld his views against his critics and gave him the honorary surname of al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ al-Thānī.

Sunnī anti-Ṣafawid polemics singled him out among Imāmī scholars for attack and variously accused him of being a Druze, of having concocted a new religion from the heresies of all other erring Muslim sects, of having converted Shāh Ismāʿīl to his "false religion", and of having abolished the canonical prayers in Persia; but these accusations are without foundation.

Bibliography: Ḥasan-i Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*, ed. C. N. Seddon, i, Baroda 1931, 190, 253-6, 304, 313, 398; al-Tafrishī, *Naḳd al-ridjāl*, Tehran 1318, 238; Nūr Allāh Shushtarī, *Madjālis al-muʾminīn*, Tehran 1299, 34, 241, 340 f.; al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Amal al-āmil*, ed. Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī, Baghdād 1385, i, 121 f.; al-Baḥrānī, *Luʾluʾat al-Baḥrayn*, ed. Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, al-Nadjaf 1386/1966, 151-4; al-Khwānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-djannāt*, Tehran 1367, 390-4; Muḥsin al-Amīn, *Aʿyān al-shīʿa*, xli, Beirut n.d., 174-87; Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, *al-Dharīʿa ilā taṣānīf al-shīʿa*, v, Tehran 1363, 72 f. Several of his *idjāza*s are published in al-Madjlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, cviii, Tehran 1391, 40-84. See also J. Matuz, *L'accession au pouvoir des Safavides*, in *Iranica*, iv (1966), 33 f.; E. Eberhard, *Osmanische Polemik gegen die Safawiden im 16. Jahrhundert nach arabischen Handschriften*, Freiburg i. Br. 1970, index s.v. ʿAbd al-ʿAlī; E. Glassen, *Schah Ismāʿīl I. und die Theologen seine Zeit*, in *Isl.* xlviii (1972), 262-8. (W. MADELUNG)

ḲARAḲALPAḲ (Turkic "black hat"), a Turkic people of Central Asia. In the Russian annals, a people of this name (Černiye Klobutsi) is mentioned as early as the 12th century A.D.; but whether these "black hats" are identical with the modern Ḳaraḳalpaḳ cannot be definitely ascertained. It is not until the end of the 11th/17th century that there are records of the Ḳaraḳalpaḳ in Central Asia. According to the embassy report of Skibin and Troshin (1694), they then lived on the Sīr Daryā, 10 days' journey below the town of Turkestān. There they are again mentioned in the 12th/18th century as neighbours of the land of the Khāns of Khīwa; in *ca.* 1722 a treaty was concluded by the ambassador Vershinin between Peter the Great and the Khān of the Ḳaraḳalpaḳ, Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Saʿādat ʿInāyat Muḥammad Bahādur (*Polnoye Sobraniye Zakonov*, 1722, no. 4101). At that time the Ḳaraḳalpaḳs lived not only by herding and raiding but also by agriculture—with artificial irrigation of their fields—and by fishing in the Aral Sea. They are said to have migrated to Central Asia from the Volga region. About the middle of the 12th/18th century the winter quarters of a group of Ḳaraḳalpaḳ were on the central course of the Sīr Daryā at Khawās (north of Ura-Tübe); the prince (*tura*) of these Ḳaraḳalpaḳ entered into an alliance in 1168/1755 with the Atalïḳ of Bukhārā, Muḥammad Raḥīm; 3,000 Ḳaraḳalpaḳ families were settled at Samarḳand. The Ḳaraḳalpaḳ are said to have been driven out of the lower valley of the Sīr Daryā by the Ḳazaḳ towards the end of the 12th/18th century; they are still mentioned in the 19th century a little farther south on the Yeñi Daryā in connection with the campaigns of Muḥammad Raḥīm, Khān of Khīwa, against the land of the Kungrat (1222-6/1807-11). The Ḳaraḳalpaḳ were then subject to the Khān of Kungrat. After the union of Kungrat with

Kh̲īwa (1226/1811) the Ḳaraḳalpaḳ too had to submit to the Kh̲ān of Kh̲īva. They made frequent attempts to throw off this yoke; in 1827 they even captured and held the town of Kungrat for a time. After the suppression of this uprising, a body of them migrated to Farg̲h̲āna. In 1855 the leader of the rebel Ḳaraḳalpaḳ, Ir-Naẓar-bī, adopted the title of Kh̲an, building a fortress near where the Ḳazaḳ river flows into the Aral Sea.

After the Russian conquest of Kh̲īwa in 1873, when the Kh̲ān had to cede to Russia all his possessions east of the main arm of the Amū Daryā and the most north-westerly arm of its delta, the land of the Ḳaraḳalpaḳ became Russian. The area, then separated from Kh̲īva, was first administered as a separate department (*otdyel*), and later as part of the "government" of Sīr Daryā. On 11 May 1925 the Ḳaraḳalpaḳ Autonomous Oblast' was formed as part of the Ḳazaḳ A.S.S.R.; on 20 March 1932 its status was changed to an Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (A.S.S.R.); and on 5 December 1936 this A.S.S.R. was transferred to the Uzbek S.S.R.. The capital of the Ḳaraḳalpaḳ A.S.S.R. is Nukus. The Ḳaraḳalpaḳ, who at the time of the Revolution were on the verge of being totally assimilated by the Ḳazaḳ (and to a lesser extent by the Uzbek), were preserved as a distinct group by the Soviet régime. Linguistically the Ḳaraḳalpaḳ language is merely a dialect of Ḳazaḳ; their tribal divisions are the same as that of the Ḳazaḳ. Ḳaraḳalpaḳ was first written (*i.e.*, established as a literary language) in 1925 using the Arabic script; in 1928 this was changed to a Latin script; and since 1940 it has been written in Cyrillic. The 1970 Soviet census lists 236,009 Ḳaraḳalpaḳs in the U.S.S.R. Of these 230,258 (97.6 %) live in the Uzbek S.S.R.; and of these latter, 217,505 (92.2 % of the total Soviet Ḳaraḳalpaḳ population) live in the Ḳaraḳalpaḳ A.S.S.R., 8,668 in Buk̲h̲āra *Oblast'*, 1428 in Tas̲h̲kent, and 732 in Farg̲h̲ana *Oblast'* (the Farg̲h̲āna Ḳaraḳalpaḳs are rapidly being assimilated by the Uzbek).

Bibliography: Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk in seinen ethnologischen und ethnographischen Beziehungen*, Leipzig 1885, 373; S. A. Tokarev, *Etnografiya Narodov S.S.S.R.*, Moscow Univ., 1958; *Narodī Sredney Azii i Kazakhstana*, Academy of Sciences, Moscow 1962, i. For their language: K. H. Menges, in *PhTF*, i, 434-88 (*bibl.* at p. 438), and cf. ii, 761. (W. Barthold-[R. Wixman])

KARAKAY. The cross-reference to this from carucuel is erroneous; see ḳarā-köl, ḳarākul.

KARAKOL, modern Turkish term for "police-station", "[military] patrol", a popular etymology ("black [i.e., ominous] arm [of the authorities]" or "patrol"); for Ottoman *ḳarāg̲h̲ul*, *ḳarāvul*, a loan-word from Mongol (attested from the 8th/14th century), see *Tarama sözlüğü*, Ankara 1969, iv, 2283 ff. The Mongol word also passed into Persian as *ḳarāvul*/*ḳarāʾul*. For full references and details of the diffusion of the word (as far as Swahili), see Doerfer, i, no. 276.

In the Ottoman Empire the maintenance of security and order in different quarters of Istanbul was entrusted mainly to the Janissaries [see yeñi-čeri], and the *ortas* (companies) patrolling the city were called *ḳulluḳ*. During the military campaigns, apart from the *čark̲h̲adji* (vanguard) forces, the Ottoman army used to send out small units called *karāvul müfrezeleri*. In the same way the Ottoman navy, when at sea, sent out two mail ships as *karāvul sefineleri*, with the task of preventing any sudden attack on the fleet. About ten ships under the command of the *tersāne ketk̲h̲udāsī* (Intendant of the Admiralty) brought up the rear as *ard karāvul* to help ships in trouble when necessary.

After the suppression of the Janissaries in 1826, public security in Istanbul became the responsibility of the *serʿasker* [*q.v.*]; an autonomous administration, the *Ḍabṭiyye Müs̲h̲īriyyeti*, which was founded in 1846 to take charge of police functions, was changed into a *neẓāret* (ministry) in 1870 and in 1909 attached to the Ministry of the Interior as a directorate with authority extending over the whole country [see ḍabṭiyya]. At that time, a police-station was called *karakol-k̲h̲āne*, and later *karakol*. The word *karakol* was used also in the Turkish army and navy to designate a unit charged with security or observation duty (*istināḍ karakolu*, *ileri karakol*, *niẓām karakolu*, etc.).

Bibliography: S̲h̲. Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs-i türkī*, Istanbul 1317, s.v.; Kātib Čelebi, *Tuḥfat al-kibār fī asfār al-biḥār*, Istanbul 1329, 148; M. D'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire othoman*, Paris 1824, vii, 348; İ. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtından Kapıkulu ocakları*, Ankara 1943, i, index; see also *İA*, s.v. (by R. Rahmeti Arat). (E. Kuran)

KARAKOL DJEMʿİYYETİ, a secret society founded in Istanbul towards the end of 1918 by a group of former members of the Union and Progress Committee [see ittiḥād we teraḳḳī djemʿiyyeti]. Its aim was to organize guerilla resistance bands against the Allied forces which had occupied strategic points in Turkey following the armistice of Mudros on 30 October 1918. After the organization of the Nationalist Movement in Anatolia under the leadership of Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pas̲h̲a, the Karakol society supplied the movement with intelligence, officers and arms. The society tried to gain control over the nationalists of Anatolia, and Ḳarā Wāṣif, one of the founding members, became their representative in Istanbul. However, Muṣṭafā Kemāl succeeded in checking the activities of the Karakol society and ordered its dissolution in the spring of 1920, on the grounds that a delegate of the society had signed a pact of military assistance with the Bolsheviks on 10 January 1920 without the authorization of the nationalists. Nevertheless, the Karakol society seems to have continued its underground activities until the end of the Turkish War of Independence.

Bibliography: Kemal Atatürk, *Nutuk*, Istanbul 1934, i, index; Ali Fuad Cebesoy, *Milli Mücadele hâtıraları*, Istanbul 1953, 347 ff.; Kâzım Karabekir, *İstiklâl harbimiz*, Istanbul 1960, 509, 628 ff.; Tarik Z. Tunaya, *Türkiyede siyası partiler*, Istanbul 1952, 520 ff.; Muharrem Giray, *İstanbul'un işgalinde gizli bir teşkilât, Karakol Cemiyeti*, in *Yakın Tarihimiz*, Istanbul 1962, i, 345 f.; George S. Harris, *The origins of communism in Turkey*, Stanford, Cal. 1967, index; A. A. Cruickshank, *The Young Turk challenge in postwar Turkey*, in *MEJ*, xxii (1968), 18 f. (E. Kuran)

ḲARAḲORUM (ḳaraḳoram), a chain of mountains in the centre of Asia lying north of and almost parallel to the Himalayas. The range extends westwards as far as 73° long.; it has not yet been definitely ascertained how far it runs eastwards. At one time the eastern limit was thought to be the pass of the Ḳaraḳorum, the plateau of Depsong and the upper part of the S̲h̲ayok, but, according to the views of several famous geographers, the range runs much farther into Tibet, and the Tang-la (to the north of upper Saluën) should, they think, be re-

garded as a part of the Ḳaraḳorum. This idea was first put forward by Klaproth in 1836 and was held by Burrard, Sven Hedin and others who further regarded the Trans-Himalaya as belonging to the Ḳaraḳorum system. If this is accurate, the whole system would be about 2,000 km. long.

The highest elevations are found in the part west of the pass of Ḳaraḳorum. There we find several peaks over 8,000 m. high and countless summits over 7,000 m. The highest peak—probably the second highest in the world—is K 2, which seems to have been long known as Chogo-ri among the natives. This giant attains a height of 8,611 m.

This western part of the Ḳaraḳorum possesses a wild and imposing natural beauty; a large part of is covered with perpetual snows over a considerable extent. The snow line runs from 4,770 m. north of the principal chain to 5,203 m. in the south. The inhabitants are Baltis, a mixed people with Tibetan language, Ladakhis, who are Tibetans, and Hunzas.

If we exclude the polar regions, the largest glaciers in the world are found in this part of the Ḳaraḳorum. The Siachen glacier is 68 km. long and covers a surface of about 2,500 sq. km. The Baltoro, Hispara and Biafo glaciers are only a little less than the Siacben. The plateau out of which rises the Ḳaraḳorum has an average height of 3,070 m. The whole region is excessively dry because the rain (snow, hail) falls almost exclusively on the high mountains. The vegetation in the valleys is very slight and is confined to the vicinity of torrents and streams. At the terminations of the glaciers we find—very often on a little plain—a very beautiful alpine flora.

The Ḳaraḳorum is the most important watershed in Central Asia, dividing the rivers which running northwards, empty their waters into the deserts of this part of the world, and those running southwards into the Indian Ocean.

The principal pass is the col of Ḳaraḳorum (5,574 m.), through which runs the important trade route between Chinese Turkestan and Kashmir. It is difficult and dangerous. In their long journey countless beasts of burden perish of exhaustion or in the avalanches. The mountains take their name from the pass. But as Ḳaraḳorum means "black débris", the name is not very appropriate. It is found for the first time in a map by Elphinstone published in 1815. On this map the range in question is indicated by the name Moor Taugh (instead of Mur Tagh, "Ice Mountain") or Karrakoorrum Mountains.

The first traveller to write on the mountains now called Ḳaraḳorum was Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dughlāt, à propos of his journey from Yarkand to Leh, capital of Ladakh, in 960/1553. The exploration proper of the Ḳaraḳorum only began in 1808 when Elphinstone visited these regions. The more systematic and detailed exploration of the high mountains proper was only begun in 1892 by Sir Martin Conway's expedition, which was followed by many others (including 5 expeditions of Ph. C. and J. Visser between 1922 and 1935).

Bibliography: M. Elphinstone, *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul*, London, 1815; H. von Schlagintweit, *Reisen in Indien und Hochasien*; Jena, 1871; F. von Richthofen, *China*, Berlin 1877; Georg Wegener, *Versuch einer Orographie des Kwen-lun*, Marburg 1891; F. Grenard, *Mission scientifique dans la Haute Asie*, Paris 1890-95, 1898; Martin Conway, *Climbing and Exploration in the Karakoram-Himalayas*, London 1894; J. L. Dutreuil de Rhins, *Mission Scientifique dans la Haute Asie*, Paris 1897; S. G. Burrard and H. H. Hayden, *A sketch of the Geography and Geology of the Himalaya Mountains and Tibet*, London 1907; F. B. and W. H. Workman, *Ice-bound Heights of Mustagh*, London 1908; idem, *Two Summers in the Ice-wilds of Eastern Karakorum*, London 1917; F. Frech, *Aus der Vorzeit der Erde*, Leipzig 1911; Filippo de Fillippi, *Karakoram and Western Himalaya* 1904, London 1912; A. Neve, *Thirty Years in Kashmir*, London 1913; Jacot Guillarmod, *Six mois dans l'Himalaya, le Karakorum et l'Hindu-Kush*; Ph. C. Visser, *Naar Himalaya en Kara-korum*, Rotterdam 1923; idem, *Zwischen Kabul und Hindukusch*, Leipzig 1928; idem, *Wissenschaftl. Ergebnisse des Niederländ. Expeditionen in den Karakorum*, Leipzig 1935-8; E. Trinkler and H. de Terra, *Wiss. Ergebnisse der Trinklerschen Zentralasien-Expedition*, 2 vols., Berlin 1932; K. Mason, *Above the snow—a History of Himalayan exploration and mountaineering*, London 1953; G. O. Duhrenfurth, *Himalaya-Chronik*, 1953-68; H. J. Scheider, *Die deutsche Karakorum-Expedition 1959*, in *Berge der Welt*, 1960-61; A. Gansser, *Geology of the Himalayas*, London 1964; *The Himalayan Journal* (annually since 1929).

(Ph. C. Visser-B. Spuler)

ḲARAḲORUM, a town in the *aymak* of Övör Khangay in Central Mongolia, now in ruins; in the 7th/13th century it was for a short time the capital of the Mongol World Empire. The fullest accounts of the town are given by the European traveller William of Rubruck and the Persian historian Djuwaynī [*q.v.*]. The ruins were first discovered in 1889 by N. M. Yadrentsev; they were visited and described by the members of the Russian expedition of 1891 led by Radlov; and in 1948-49 an expedition jointly organized by the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic investigated the palace of the Great Khān Ögedey, the handicraft workshops at the crossroads of the main thoroughfares of Ḳaraḳorum and some places near the southern gate of the town. Though walled by Ögedey only in 1235, Ḳaraḳorum had been chosen by Čingiz-Khān as his capital as early as 1220. The name, which is Turkish and means "black boulder", was, as Djuwaynī expressly remarks, originally applied to the mountain region around the sources of the Orkhon. According to William of Rubruck, the city of Ḳaraḳorum, exclusive of Ögedey's palace, was "not as big as the village of Saint Denis", while the monastery of Saint Denis was "ten times larger than the palace". There was, however, much building in Ḳaraḳorum during its brief period of splendour, and William of Rubruck as well as Djuwaynī give full descriptions of the imperial palaces built in the city and around it, some by Chinese and others by Muslim architects. According to the European traveller, Russian and Western European craftsmen also shared in these operations. To the east of Ḳaraḳorum, in a village called Tuzghu-Baliḳ (from the Turkish *tuzghu*, "offering of food to a traveller", and *baliḳ* "town") built in 1238, there was a palace with the Chinese name of Ying chia tien ("Welcome Carriage Hall").

After the Mongol emperors had removed their residence to China, Ḳaraḳorum was only the seat of the governor of Mongolia. It changed hands temporarily during the long war with Ḳaydu, but generally remained in the possession of the emperor. When the Mongol dynasty was expelled from China (1368), the emperors returned to Ḳaraḳorum, but after the extinction of the dynasty in the 15th

century the town lost all importance. At the present day, the Buddhist monastery of Erdeni-Dzu is adjacent to the site.

Bibliography: *The Journey of William of Rubruck to the Eastern Parts of the World, 1253-55, as narrated by himself*, ed. and tr. W. W. Rockhill, London 1900; D̲j̲uwaynī-Boyle; Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn, *The Successors of Genghis Khan*, tr. J. A. Boyle, New York and London 1971; S. V. Kiselev, L. A. Evtyukhova, L. R. Kīzlasov, N. Ya. Merpert and V. P. Levashova, *Drevnemongol'skie goroda*, Moscow 1965; F. W. Cleaves, *The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1346*, in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, xv/1-2 (1952); P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, i, Paris, 1959, s.v. CARACORUM; J. A. Boyle, *The Seasonal Residences of the Great Khan Ögedei*, in *Central Asiatic Journal*, xvi (1972), 125-31.

(W. BARTHOLD-J. A. BOYLE)

KARAKUL [see ḲARĀ-KÖL].

ḲARAḲUM (Turkish "black sand"), a desert in Russian Turkestān, between the Amū Daryā, the Üst Yurt and the ranges of hills on the Caspian, contrasted with Ḳïzïl-Ḳum ("red sand"), the desert between the Sïr Daryā and the Āmū Daryā. The Ḳaraḳum (area *ca.* 300,000 sq. km.) is a still more dreary waste and possesses even fewer fertile areas than the Ḳïzïl-ḳum. The sandy stretches north of the Sïr as far as Lake Čalkar are called "little Ḳarā-ḳum"; cf. F. Machatschek, *Landeskunde von Russisch-Turkestan*, Stuttgart 1921, 15 f., 285, and index. A good deal of the Ḳarāḳum is still used by Turcoman nomads as pasture for sheep and camels. In the south, the Ḳarāḳum is traversed (since 1883-6) by the railway from Ḳïzïl Suw (Russ. Krasnovodsk) to Čahār D̲j̲ūy (Russ. Čard̲j̲ou) and the very important Ḳarāḳum canal from Bozagha on the Āmū-Daryā via Marw (Marī) and the delta of the Ted̲j̲en to ʿAs̲h̲ḳābād and to Arčman on the northern slope of the Köpet Dag̲h̲ (since 1962). The Ḳarāḳum mentioned by D̲j̲uwaynī in the *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i D̲j̲ihān Gus̲h̲āy* as populated by the Ḳanḳlī [see ḲANG̲H̲LĪ] is, in the opinion of the editor, probably identical with the little Ḳarāḳum (the readings of the Mss. are not certain; cf. edition by Mīrzā Muḥ. Ḳazwīnī, *GMS*, xvi/I, 69 f., ii, 101 f., and *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 309 f.).

Bibliography: W. Leimbach, *Die Sowjetunion*, Stuttgart 1950, index; Th. Shabad, *Geography of the USSR*, New York 1951, index; W. Barthold, *Turkestan*[3], 415 f.

(W. BARTHOLD-B. SPULER)

ḲARĀḲŪS̲H̲, BAHĀʾ AL-DĪN B. ʿABD ALLĀH (*i.e.* son of an unknown father) AL-ASADĪ (*mamlūk* of Asad al-Dīn S̲h̲īrkūh) AL-RŪMĪ AL-MALIKĪ AL-NĀṢIRĪ, officer of Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf (*i.e.* Saladin), a eunuch, received his liberty from S̲h̲īrkūh and was appointed an *amīr*. By the time of S̲h̲īrkūh's death (564/1169) he was already playing an influential part; it is said that it was due to him and the *ḳāḍī* ʿIsā al-Hakkārī that the caliph al-ʿĀḍid appointed Saladin vizier. After the suppression of the rebellion fomented after al-ʿĀḍid's death by his chamberlain, the eunuch Muʾtaman al-K̲h̲ilāfa, Ḳarāḳūs̲h̲ was appointed chamberlain. In this capacity he had the surveillance of the family of the late caliph and is said to have administered his office with great strictness. To prevent the family of the caliph increasing, he separated men and women. Saladin gave him the task of building the citadel of Cairo and extending the city walls to include Cairo and Fusṭāṭ; later he was asked to fortify and defend ʿAkkā. When the town fell in 587/1191 after eighteen months fighting, he was taken prisoner; Saladin ransomed him a few months later for the high sum of 20,000 *dīnārs*. After the death of Saladin in 589/1193 he entered the service of his son al-Malik al-ʿAzīz ʿUt̲h̲mān and was appointed to represent the Sulṭān when the latter was out of Egypt. When the Sulṭān felt his end approaching (in 595/1199), he designated his son al-Malik al-Manṣūr his successor and Ḳarāḳūs̲h̲ his regent. In keeping with this wish, the young ruler appointed him *atābeg*, although Ḳarāḳūs̲h̲ was now very old. He only held his post for a very short time as most of the *amīrs* and the head of the chancellery, Ibn Mammātī, declared him incapable of ruling, presumably on account of his great age.

His supporters, who considered him the most worthy, consulted Saladin's adviser, al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil [*q.v.*], but the latter, who had retired from political life, would not be drawn into the question. Finally the *amīrs* asked al-Manṣūr's uncle, al-Malik al-Afḍal, to take over the regency. After this we find only one mention of Ḳarāḳūs̲h̲, when Sulṭān al-ʿĀdil, who had seized the throne in 596/1200, had two of his nephews taken to the house of Ḳarāḳūs̲h̲ as prisoners. He died a year later. Contemporary historians, like ʿImād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī, bestow the highest praise upon him, as do later writers, like al-Maḳrīzī and Ibn Tag̲h̲rībirdī, and describe him as the ablest man of his day. They give him particular credit for his activity as a builder. Besides the buildings already mentioned, his house, his hippodrome and the bridge at Gizeh, which he built out of stones from the Pyramids at Memphis, are mentioned.

In the same period a "Ḳarāḳūs̲h̲" became notorious as a byword for stupidity. A series of absurd verdicts are related in a work entitled *Kitāb al-Fās̲h̲ūs̲h̲ fī Aḥkām Ḳarāḳūs̲h̲*, "the book on the stupidity in the judgments of Ḳarāḳūs̲h̲". According to Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa, the above-mentioned Ibn Mammātī was the author of this book. Casanova (see *Bibl.*) in his elaborate study on Ḳarāḳūs̲h̲ quotes three manuscripts: (1) a Cairo manuscript which contains a brief selection from the *Kitāb al-Fās̲h̲ūs̲h̲*; the author is there given as Ibn Mammātī; (2) a Paris manuscript the author of which is given as al-Sūyūṭī, certainly wrongly, as in the introduction Ibn Tag̲h̲rībirdī is wrongly quoted and given a wrong praenomen, which one can hardly credit of al-Sūyūṭī; (3) a Cairo manuscript which is a later version, in which Ḳarāḳūs̲h̲ is called a sulṭān and the number of his "judgments" is increased, by ʿAbd al-Salām al-Laḳānī, dating from 1200/1786. These "judgments" have nothing to do with statecraft but are court verdicts; they are typical, well known anecdotes, current among other nations also. A special investigation has not yet been made of the problem. Casanova endeavours to show that the work is a pamphlet against Ḳarāḳūs̲h̲, whom, he says, Ibn Mammātī hated as an exceedingly severe man. It is not known whether Ibn Mammātī collected and published these anecdotes in the life-time of Ḳarāḳūs̲h̲. Ibn K̲h̲allikān rightly points out that it is impossible that a man such as is described in the anecdotes could have held high offices of state. Nor is anything known of a particular feud between Ibn Mammātī and Ḳarāḳūs̲h̲, except that Ibn Mammātī had protested in 595/1199 against the appointment of this then very old man; Ḳarāḳūs̲h̲ is described by the Frankish chroniclers as advanced in years even in 585/1189 at the siege of ʿAkkā; he is said even to have known Godfrey de Bouillon. One thing is clear from Ibn K̲h̲allikān's observation: the

anecdotes given by Ibn Mammātī were referred to our Ḳarāḳūsh.

Bibliography: Abū Shāma, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn fī akhbār al-dawlatayn*, Cairo 1287-88, ii, 244, containing an appreciation by ʿImād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī of Ḳarāḳūsh; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, n° 544, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, iv, 91-2 (tr. de Slane, ii, 520); ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī, *al-Ifāda wal-Iʿtibār*, Cairo 1286, 23 (Fr. tr. de Sacy, as *Relation de l'Égypte*, Paris 1810, 171-2, 206-13, passim. A general account in P. Casanova, *Ḳarâḳoûch, sa légende et son histoire*, communication faite à l'institut égyptien, Cairo 1892; idem, *Ḳarâḳoûch* in the *MMAF*, Paris 1897, vi, 447 ff.; the other references to him are given in H. Derenbourg, *Ousama ibn Mounḳidh*, 432, n. 4, Paris 1889, and in A. S. Ehrenkreutz, *Saladin*, Albany 1972, index.

(M. Sobernheim)

ḲARĀḲŪSH, Sharaf al-Dīn al-Armanī al-Muẓaffarī al-Nāṣirī (and also al-Taḳawī and al-Ghuzzī), Armenian *mamlūk* of Saladin's nephew al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Taḳī al-Dīn, who conducted military operations in Tripolitania and southern Tunisia and for a certain period of time occupied Tripoli, Gabès and other towns. Taḳī al-Dīn, who had personal ambitions, had to renounce the idea of conquering Ifrīḳiya, where the authority of the Almohads was not yet firmly established, and it was his *mamlūk* who undertook this enterprise (most probably with Saladin's blessing) from 568/1172 onwards. He first of all made various raids (cf. Abū Shāma, *Rawḍatayn*, Cairo 1956-62, i/2, 548) on Barḳa, Tripoli and Awdjila, and then returned to Cairo, where he was thrown into prison; but he soon began his activities once more (572/1176-7). Returning once again to Tripolitania (cf. Abū Shāma, *op. cit.*, i/2, 692) at the head of a force of Ghuzz [*q.v.*], he occupied the eastern and southern parts of the country as far as Fazzān, and then, with the aid of bedouins of the Banū Hilāl and Sulaym, seized Tripoli. It seems to have been at this point that he was rejoined by Taḳī al-Dīn's *silāḥdār*, a person whose rôle and even personal name remain obscure (Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Une lettre de Saladin au calife almohade*, in *Mélanges Rene Basset*, Paris 1925, ii, 290-1, put forward the idea that Nāṣir al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, Ibrāhīm b. Ḳarātakīn and Abū Zāba and variants [= Yāzabā = Joseph] were three names for the one person).

After having made an alliance with ʿAlī b. Isḥāḳ b. Ghāniya [see ghāniya], who had declared his allegiance to the ʿAbbāsid Caliph and was fighting the Almohads in southern Tunisia, Ḳarāḳūsh extended his territories towards the Djabal Nafūsa and of Gabès, without however reaching Tunis. Finding himself at Gafsa at the time of the Banū Ghāniya's defeat of the Almohad army near that town (15 Rabīʿ II 583/24 June 1187), he put to the sword the survivors who had placed themselves under his protection. But the Almohad Abū Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*] immediately assumed charge of operations and gained the victory of al-Ḥāmma on 10 Shaʿbān 583/15 October 1187, thus expelling Ḳarāḳūsh from Gabès. Whilst the latter fled through the desert with ʿAlī Ibn Ghāniya, his possessions and troops were handed over to al-Manṣūr, who sent his Ghuzz troops to Marrakesh [see ghuzz, and Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 343-4]; soon afterwards (Dhu ʾl-ḳaʿda 583/January 1188), Gafsa also fell, and the Ghuzz in the town suffered the same fate. It is possible that even before the capture of Gafsa, Ḳarāḳūsh may have offered his submission to the Almohads and that in Tripoli, the *silāḥdār* may have done likewise (Lévi-Provençal, *Trente-sept lettres almohades*, 198, and *Recueil*, 62), but it is equally possible that this manoeuvre took place some time later. Whatever may have been the case, Saladin, who had rejoiced at Ḳarāḳūsh's successes (cf. Abū Shāma, i/2, 547), at this time needed the support of the Almohad fleet against the Franks, and there is extant the text of a letter drawn up in his name by al-Ḳāḍī al-Fāḍil [*q.v.*], dated 585/1189 and addressed to al-Manṣūr, asking for his intervention (*apud* al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, vi, 526 ff., tr. and comm. in Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *op. cit.*, 279-304). Ḳarāḳūsh had then to pretend to rally to him, probably on Saladin's orders, who in the following year (28 Shaʿbān 586/30 September 1190) sent an embassy to al-Manṣūr with a letter (*apud* Abū Shāma, *Rawḍatayn*, in *RHC*, Hist Or., iv, 497-505) in which he unequivocally disowned the reprehensible actions of the *silāḥdār* and the *mamlūk* (according to Abū Shāma, *ibid.*, ii, 508, the former was handed over at Tunis by Ḳarāḳūsh, whilst according to *Istibṣār*, 111, this person, here called Abū Zabā al-Fārisī, was expelled from Tripoli and sent to Marrakesh). After having stayed for some time with the governor of Tunis, Ḳarāḳūsh took to flight and successfully regained Gabès and Tripoli with the aid of some turbulent tribes (586/1190).

However, after the death of ʿAlī Ibn Ghāniya (584/1188), Ḳarāḳūsh's relations with his brother and successor Yaḥyā Ibn Ghāniya had deteriorated. In 591/1195, Yaḥyā, who was in possession of the Djarīd, seized Gabès and Tripoli; at this latter place, Ḳarāḳūsh left his lieutenant Yāḳūt and fled for safety to Waddān. Driven out of Ifrīḳiya in his turn, Yaḥyā also fled to Waddān (606/1209) and besieged the former ally of the Banū Ghāniya, who was unable to withstand him; Yaḥyā had him and one of his sons executed in 609/1212. Thus there came to an end the life of an adventurer who had carried on warfare for forty years as much for Saladin's benefit as for his own. The presence at Waddān is further mentioned of another of his sons who fled there after betraying the Ḥafṣid al-Mustanṣir (647—75/1249-77); he was eventually put to death by the king of Kanem.

Bibliography: In addition to the sources and studies mentioned in the article (especially Abū Shāma and the letter studied by Gaudefroy-Demombynes), see also Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, iii, Tetouan 1963, *passim*; Marrākushī, *Muʿdjib*, index; Tidjānī, *Riḥla*, ed. Ḥ. Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, Tunis 1337/1958, 103 ff., 111 f. and index (tr. Rousseau, in *JA*, 1852; text given by al-Wazīr al-Sarrādj, *al-Ḥulal al-sundusiyya*, ed. M. Ḥ. al-Hīla, i, Tunis 1970, 358 ff.); Ibn al-Athīr, xi, index; *Kitāb al-Istibṣār*, ed. Saʿd Zaghlūl ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Alexandria 1958, 110-11; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Trente-sept lettres officielles almohades*, Rabat 1941, *passim*; idem, *Un recueil de lettres officielles almohades*, in *Hespéris*, 1941 (Paris 1942); Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, i, 138, 161, 281, ii, 91, 95, 210, 211, 220, iv, 260; A. Bel, *Les Banou Ghânîya*, Paris 1903, index; H. Derenbourg, *Ousâma ben Mounḳidh*, i, Paris 1889-93, 444-64; R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, index; S. Z. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, in *Bull. Fac. of Arts Alexandria*, vi-vii (1952-3), 84 ff.; A. S. Ehrenkreutz, *Saladin*, Albany 1972, index s.v. Sharaf al-Dīn.

(Ch. Pellat)

KARAM, generosity [see Supplement].

AL-KARAM, Banū [see zurayʿids].

KARAM, YŪSUF [see YŪSUF KARAM]

KARĀMA may be considered as the *maṣdar* of *karuma* "to be generous ,be beneficent, be *karīm* (one of the "99 Most beautiful names of God" [see AL-ASMĀʾ AL-ḤUSNĀ]). The root KRM appears frequently in the Ḳurʾān, and God is called there *al-Karīm* "the Generous One"; the actual term *karāma* is not however found there. If it was later adopted as a synonym of the *maṣdars* of forms II and IV (*takrīm* and *ikrām*), this seems very likely to have come about through phonetic assimilation to the Greek χάρισμα. In the technical vocabulary of the religious sciences, *karāma* (pl. *karāmāt*) from now onwards assumes the sense of "charisma", the favour bestowed by God completely freely and in superabundance. More precisely, the word comes to denote the "marvels" wrought by the "friends of God", *awliyāʾ* (sing. *walī*), which God grants to them to bring about. These marvels most usually consist of miraculous happenings in the corporeal world, or else of predictions of the future, or else of interpretation of the secrets of hearts, etc.

The notion of *karāma* differs from that of *muʿdjiza* [*q.v.*]. Each involves a "breaking of the natural order of things" (*khāriḳ li'l-ʿāda*), that is, an extraordinary happening which breaks this "divine custom" (*sunnat Allāh*) which is the normal course of events. But whilst the *muʿdjiza* is a public act, preceeded by a "proclamation" (*daʿwa*) and a "challenge" (*taḥaddī*), by means of which the prophet demonstrates incontrovertibly the "impotence" (*ʿadjz*) of his hearers to reproduce likewise the miracle thus brought about, the *karāma* is a simple, personal favour. It should be kept secret, and is in no way the sign of a prophetic mission. There is a risk of ambiguity if one translates both terms by "miracle" (of a prophet, of a saint). If *muʿdjiza* is rendered, as has become common, by "miracle of a prophet", it seems preferable — taking into account the difference of the respective Arabic roots — to translate *karāma* by "marvel of a saint".

Are the *karāmāt* attributed to the *awliyāʾ* — often in great abundance — to be regarded as authentic? If not, then why not? And if so, in what sense? These questions presented themselves very early to the Muslim mind, and gave rise to diverse, and even contradictory, interpretations. We shall deal here with four main types of answer.

(1) The Muʿtazilī schools of thought. The generality of the partisans of *iʿtizāl* denied the reality of *karāmāt*. The most prominent argument from scripture is that put forward by al-Zamakhsharī commenting on Ḳurʾān, LXXII, 26-7, "He (sc. God) knows the Mystery, but does not reveal to anyone His Mystery, except to the one whom he designates as His messenger". This text is understood as justifying the miracles which God performs openly "by the hands" of the prophets in order to demonstrate the truth of their missions, but as setting aside all other supernatural happenings. Al-Djubbāʾī says that if the *awliyāʾ* possessed this power, how would one be able to distinguish them from the prophets?

A detailed exposition of the Muʿtazilī interpretations of these "miracles of a prophet" will be found in the article MUʿDJIZA. Briefly, if the heresiographers (al-Isfarāʾinī, al-Baghdādī, al-Shahrastānī, etc.) can be believed, al-Naẓẓām and al-Murdār for example regarded as doubtful every miraculous happening traditionally attributed to the Prophet, and did not attribute any miraculous nature to the inimitability of the Ḳurʾān (cf. A. Nader, *Le systeme philosophique des Muʿtazila*, Beirut 1956, 318 and refs.). But this statement must be strongly qualified. Al-Khayyāṭ, for instance, in his *Kitāb al-Intiṣār*, ed. Nyberg, 28-9, tr. Nader, Beirut 1957, 25-6, states that for al-Naẓẓām, the Ḳurʾān is certainly "the proof of the Prophet's mission". Moreover, Ibn Mattawayh says that the *muʿdjizāt* merely confirm a teaching (sc. the ḳurʾānic revelation) which is conformable to reason, and it is this fact which justifies them. They are bound up with the missions of the prophet-messengers who are, like all mankind, responsible for their own actions. Nevertheless, the Muʿtazilīs are unanimous in denying the authenticity of *karāmāt*, which they stigmatise as "charlatans' tricks". ʿAbd al-Djabbār's attack on al-Ḥallādj is well-known. His *Mughnī*, xv, 270 ff., relates in detail many "marvels" of al-Ḥallādj; following al-Djubbāʾī, he makes them out as feats of prestidigitation, performed with the help of accomplices and by using faked houses and rooms. The tone of the *Mughnī* is extremely polemical, and goes so far as to attack the very morals of al-Ḥallādj (*ibid.*, 270-1), turning into a personal attack. But the conclusion is clear (*ibid.*, 275): the *karāmāt* are all tricks, and the accounts which later repeat them are only restating popular superstitions.

(2) *Falsafa* (Ibn Sīnā). To illustrate the position taken up by *falsafa*, we shall take the example of Ibn Sīnā, who dealt with this question on several occasions. Ibn Sīnā's cosmology undertakes to place *muʿdjizāt* and *karāmāt* within the existential determinism of the "necessary and consciously-willed" emanation. It is because of the perfection of their human nature and the power which their soul possesses as a fact of nature over external matter that the prophets confirm their coming by miracles. (One should note that Ibn Rushd, in his *Tahāfut al-tahāfut*, ed. Bouyges, 515, makes a distinction here: only those miracles can be regarded as such where a change "in regard to quality" (*istiḥāla*) is involved, because this is in itself possible, though impossible to the ordinary man; on the other hand, a change in substance is fundamentally impossible.) Now this justification of *muʿdjizāt* is equally valid, more or less, for *karāmat*. In his *Risāla fī aḳsām al-ʿulūm* (in *Tisʿ rasāʾil*, Cairo 1326/1908, 14), Ibn Sīnā tells us that *karāmāt*, in regard to their nature, "resemble" *muʿdjizāt*, and in his *Ishārāt* (ed. Forget, Leiden 1892, 120) he insists that the person whose soul has, by virtue of its spiritual intensity, the power to act upon external matter, and who uses this power for good and according to the righteous way, possess the gift of *muʿdjiza* if he is a prophet, or that of *karāma* if he is a *walī*. The only difference is that the prophet is such by his very nature, through the innate, triple perfection of his intellect, his imaginative power and his factibile, whereas the saint (*walī*, *ṣiddīḳ*) or the "initiate" (*ʿarif*) acquires this perfection by following the appropriate path of asceticism, though at a lower level, at least in regard to his imaginative power. Furthermore, Ibn Sīnā mentions the possible additional factors of certain hypnotic processes "stemming from the Turks" (very rapid gyrations, fixation on a shining or a black object, etc.), and which are capable, in that they cause a withdrawal of the normal senses, or of bringing about the power of divination. He is distrustful towards them, and points out the dangers from them for those of feeble constitution, but he does not deny their reality.

Whether dealing with *muʿdjizāt* or *karāmāt*, there is no question, among the leading figures in *falsafa*, of gratuitous favours freely bestowed by God; these "powers" are the end product of the highest stage of perfection to which the human soul can attain in the determining lines of its own nature. In the light of this perspective of existential determinism, a recogni-

tion of the possibility of "prophetic miracles" leads logically to admitting the possibility of *karāmāt*. The explanation is common to both, the differences lying essentially not in the deeds as such, but in the superiority which raises the prophet over the saint.

(3) The As̲h̲ʿarī reply. It seems that some As̲h̲ʿarīs, such as al-Isfarāʾīnī and al-Ḥalīmī, shared the severe judgment of the Muʿtazilīs in regard to *karāmāt*, The generality of the school, however, recognised their authenticity on the following grounds: (a) Rational probability. The raison d'être of a *muʿd̲j̲iza* is not the moral perfecting of a prophet, but the freely-exercised will of God, who brings about this miracle "by the hands of the prophet", a public miracle, preceeded by a "proclamation" and a "challenge". It is therefore possible (*d̲j̲āʾiz*) for God to create, through the intermediacy of a saint, a supernatural occurence without either a proclamation or a challenge. (b) Existence of the occurrences. They are authenticated above all by the miraculous happenings which are mentioned in the Ḳurʾān and whose beneficiaries have not in any way received a prophetic message to proclaim. Thus sūra III, 37, tells of a marvel brought about for Mary, mother of Jesus, and XXVIII, 9 ff., stress the "marvel" of the story of the Seven Sleepers, in themselves "miraculous signs" (*āyāt*) from God. Finally, XVII, 40 ff., mention the extraordinary happenings which came about at Solomon's request, whether through an *ʿifrīt* or through "The one who had knowledge of the Book", particularised by tradition as the vizier Āsaf. (c) *Karāmāt* are therefore possible, but should not be confused with *muʿd̲j̲izāt*. God grants the former to saints in order to honour them and to confirm them in piety and God-fearing reverence, but He brings about the second ones "by the hands of the prophet" as a proof of his mission. The former should be kept hidden, but the second ones proclaimed before all men. Both should, in any case, be carefully distinguished, not only from acts of trickery (*ḥiyal*), but also from divinatory acts (*kihānāt*), those of (permitted) magic, *siḥr*, and those of sorcery (*nārand̲j̲āt*). Al-Bāḳillānī devotes a whole work, his *Kitāb al-Bayān* (ed. R. McCarthy, Baghdad-Beirut 1958), to defining the various kinds of "signs", some of them authentic and the rest deceptive and illusory, and to tracing back to their subject the rules for the "discernment of spirits". It is virtually the As̲h̲ʿarī thesis which Ibn K̲h̲aldūn sums up in his *Muḳaddima* (ed. Cairo N.D., 67, 332, tr. de Slane, i, 191-4, iii, 111-12, tr. Rosenthal i, 188-91, iii, 167-8).

(4) The Ṣūfī attitude. The existence of "saints' miracles" (*karāmāt al-awliyāʾ*) is affirmed. In Sunnī *taṣawwuf*, the explanation given is in general terms very close to the As̲h̲ʿarī position. There is a freely-given stress on the distinction between *karāmāt* and *muʿd̲j̲izāt*; the saint who performs marvels cannot accordingly be recognised as a prophet, and must remain subject to the religious law laid down by the Messenger of God. However, whilst the As̲h̲ʿarīs insisted on the objective difference of the two types of "signs", the Ṣūfī texts deal with the differences in spiritual attitudes.

The problem comes up in almost all the Ṣūfī manuals, e.g. in the *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ* of Abū Naṣr al-Sarrād̲j̲ (ed. Nicholson, GMS, 1914, chs. 113-18, Kalābād̲h̲ī's *Kitab al-Taʿarruf* (ed. Arberry, Cairo 1352/1933, ch. 26), the *Risāla al-ḳus̲h̲ayriyya* (ed. Cairo N.D. 158 ff.), Hud̲j̲wīrī's *Kas̲h̲f al-maḥd̲j̲ūb* (tr. Nicholson, GMS, 1911, 218-39), etc. The "signs" (*āyāt*) of saints resemble externally those of prophets, but whereas these last bring them about publicly (and with a "challenge" hurled forth), the saints strive to keep them secret. One of the charges made against al-Ḥallād̲j̲ was just this "divulging of marvels" (*ifs̲h̲āʾ al-karāmāt*) by means of which he could apparently aspire, in the eyes of contemporaries, to the role of prophet.

Subjectively, *muʿd̲j̲izāt* are an aid to the prophet -messenger, in that they confirm his mission; *karāmāt* on the other hand can become a subject of disquiet for the saint, who may be afraid of being the dupe of an illusion (cf. al-Sarrād̲j̲, *loc. cit.*). Al-Kalābād̲h̲ī, *op. cit.*, 44, relates that according to Abū Bakr al-Warrāḳ, it is not the power of working miracles which constitutes a prophet, but the mission with which God has entrusted him. Saints able to perform charismatic acts do not take any offence at this mission, once they recognise it and remain faithful to the message proclaimed. Also, when they receive the gift of working marvels, according to al-Kalābād̲h̲ī, 46, "they display towards God all the more humility, submission, godly fear, abasement and self-contempt, and all the more promptness in responding to God's claims over them". This humility and abasement on the saint's part are a sign of the authenticity of the *karāmāt*, whilst the "enemies of God" who work apparently similar deeds, become puffed up and attribute the merit to themselves alone (*loc. cit.*); in this respect they become the dupes of "God's plotting" (*makr Allāh*), who has allowed these swindles in order the better to confound them. We find the same teaching in al-Hud̲j̲wīrī, who stresses the impeccability of prophets but the fallibility of saints. He adds that the *karāmāt* accomplished over the ages by the Muslims are precisely a *muʿd̲j̲iza* of the Prophet of Islam: the ḳurʾanic law, necessarily permanent, thereby acquires a proof of authenticity also permanent (*Kas̲h̲f al-maḥd̲j̲ūb*, tr. 222). The remainder of the text gives a series of examples of *karāmāt*, some ḳurʾānic or contemporary with the Ḳurʾān, others post-kurʾānic, including those of *inter alios* Abū Saʿīd al-K̲h̲arrāz, D̲h̲ū 'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī, etc.

On one side, the Ṣūfīs often teach that saints must not seek after this gift of marvel-working, but must even mistrust it, and that to become attached to it would make a serious obstacle of the road to union with God; on the other side, however, the biographies of the leading Ṣūfīs abound in marvellous acts and supernatural charismatic deeds. This dual note is for example found all through the *Laṭāʾif al-minan wa 'l-ak̲h̲lāḳ* of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-S̲h̲aʿrānī (ed. Cairo N.D.) studied by Asín Palacios.

It should be finally noted that in general S̲h̲īʿism also admits *karāmāt* and distinguished them from *muʿd̲j̲izāt*. The great Imāms, since they are endowed with impeccability and perfect knowledge, can work "marvels". Strict Imāmī thought accords this power to them alone, or at most, will only admit the possibility of *karāmāt* performed under the influence or through the intermediacy of the Imāns.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(L. Gardet)

ḲARĀMĀN, the name of a Turkoman leader, founder of the Anatolian dynasty of the Ḳarāmānids or Ḳarāmān-og̲h̲ullarï [*q.v.*]; hence the name of the Ottoman province into which the territories of this principality were subsequently formed, with Ḳonya as its administrative centre, see below. Ḳarāmān was also the later Ottoman name for the town of Laranda [*q.v.*]. The term *Ḳarāmānlï*/*Ḳarāmānlü* was applied to the turcophone Greek Orthodox Christians of the Ḳarāmān region, and *Ḳarāmānlïd̲j̲a* (Grk. *Karamanlidhika*) to their dialect of Turkish and their literature (written in Greek characters). Emigrants from this

ethnico-religious group (who were not Greeks, but probably descendants of the ancient Lycaonians) were brought to Istanbul after the Ottoman conquest and gave their name to a quarter near Yedikule [see ISTANBUL, i, vii]; in the early years of this century, the Ḳarāmānlī community in Istanbul published its own newspaper, *Nea Anatoli*. See A. M. Scheider, *Die Bevölkerung Konstantinopels in XV. Jahrhundert*, in *Nachr. der Akad. der Wiss. in Göttingen* (1949), 238 ff. (Tk. tr. in *Bell.*, xxi (1952), 35 ff.); S. Salaville and E. Dalleggio (eds.), *Karamanlidha, Bibliographie analytique* . . . , i, Years 1584-1850, ii, Years 1850-65, Athens 1958-66; S. Vryonis Jr., *The decline of medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1971, index; and TURKS, section on languages. Emigrants from the Ḳarāmān region have further given their name to some 19 other places in Turkey, see *Son teşkilat-i mülkiye'de köylerimizin adları*, Istanbul 1928, and *Türkiye'de meskun yerler kilavuzu*, Ankara 1946-50.

What follows relates only to the administrative province of Ḳarāmān under the Ottomans and after the definitive disappearance of the Ḳarāmānid dynasty.

In 888/1483, the Ḳarāmānid lands became a *beglerbegilik* divided into two parts: the first comprised the *sandjaḳ* of Ič-il(i) [*q.v.*] in the eastern part of the area adjacent to the coast (see the map in ANADOLU) and included Mut and the administrative centre Ḳonya, whilst the second comprised the interior regions, called Khāridj. In the middle of the 10th/16th century, the *sandjaḳ* of Ič-il(i) was separated from it. In the 11th/17th century, the province (*eyālet*) of Ḳarāmān comprised the *sandjaḳs* of Aḳsaray, Aḳshehir, Beyshehir, Ḳayseri, Ḳîrshehir, Ḳonya and Nigde [*qq.v.*]. With the administrative reform of 1281/1864, the former *eyālet* became the *wilāyet* of Ḳonya. See Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Djihān-nümā*, 614-15; Von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 254 ff., ii, 256-7; Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 39 ff.; N. and I. Beldiceanu, *Le province de Qaraman au XVI^e siècle*, in *JESHO*, xi (1968), esp. 39; Tekindağ, in *TD*, xiii, *passim*, xiv, 74; I. H. Konyali, *Âbideleri ve kitabeleri ile Karaman tarihi* . . . , Istanbul 1967, *passim*; Kramers, in *EI*[1] s.v. (H. A. REED)

ḲARAMĀNĪ MEḤMED PASHA [see MEḤMED PASHA, ḲARAMĀNĪ].

ḲARAMĀNLĪ, family of Turkish origin, of whom several members governed Tripolitania from 1123/1711 to 1251/1835, constituting themselves into a real dynasty. Its founder was Ḳaramānlī Aḥmad Bey, of whose origins scarcely anything is known apart from the fact that he himself or his father or an ancestor came from Anatolia, probably from the town or the region of Ḳaramān, to serve as a soldier in the *odjāḳ* of Tripoli; certain authors put forward the view that one of his ancestors may have come to Tripolitania with the corsair Ṭurghūt (Dragut). The chronicler Ibn Ghalbūn, who lived at the time of Aḥmad Bey, calls him Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafā.

In 1122/1710, and for several years earlier, the Ottoman province of Tripolitania had been plunged into anarchy due to rivalries that brought into opposition Janissaries, *ḳulughlīs* and Arab notables. Aḥmad Ḳaramānlī, then *ʿāmil* or governor of the region of the Manshiya and of the Sāḥil, had succeeded at the end of 1122/1710 in restoring order there and making himself appreciated by the local population. Resolved to put an end to the disorder, and supporting the Arabs against the *ḳulughlīs*, Aḥmad seized Tripoli, took the title of *bey* (commander of the troops) and in fact exercised control over the province (13 Djumādā II 1123/29 July 1711), Shortly afterwards, he had Khalīl Pasha, the governor sent by the sultan, executed, and had a large number of Turkish officers and functionaries assassinated, at the same time sending a delegation to Sultan Aḥmad III in order to justify himself. Finally, the Sultan accorded him the title of *beylerbey* (governor), recognizing him also as chief of the province; but it was only in 1134/1722 that the Sultan bestowed on him the title of Pasha, making him his official representative.

Having little confidence in the Janissaries, Aḥmad Bey created an indigenous militia and favoured the corsairs. He had to face several local revolts from 1125/1713 to 1135/1723 in the south-east of Tripolitania, in Cyrenaica and Fazzān. Following these revolts, he took under his direct control the whole province by making terror reign when necessary: he had a number of people put to death, including dignitaries and notables, and even, over a libel, the chronicler Ibn Ghalbūn, who nevertheless had written his work for his glory. While encouraging piracy, Aḥmad Ḳaramānlī avoided entangling himself with the great Western powers and concluded or renewed, notably with England and France, treaties of peace and commerce. He had the fortifications of Tripoli restored and the mosque and *madrasa* which bear his name constructed in that town. He died (he probably committed suicide) on the night of 26th or 27th Ramaḍān 1157/3rd or 4th November 1745; he was approximately 60 years old.

His son Meḥmed (Muḥammad, 1158-67/1745-54) was proclaimed governor and recognized without difficulty by the Sultan. He maintained the country in peace and renewed the agreements with England and France, although piracy had at that time enjoyed a great prosperity, which led to several incidents with Venice and Naples. He died in Shawwāl 1167/July 1754. His son ʿAlī succeeded him (1167-1207/1754-93) and received the agreement of the Sultan. Until 1171/1758 he had to face several revolts, notably in the Manshiya and the Sāḥil, revolts which were drowned in blood. However, after this, the country enjoyed a sufficiently long period of calm until 1204/1790.

From the middle of the reign of Aḥmad Ḳaramānlī, Tripolitania saw its economic activity increase and became an important staging post of commerce in the Mediterranean; but a serious epidemic in 1181/1767, and then the plague and famine in 1198-1200/1784-6, led to a certain decline of Tripoli and its commerce. During this period, the authority of the Ḳaramānlīs was incontestable: they had a firm grip on the central power (*bey*, *āghā* of the Janissaries, *kāhya*, *raʾīsal-baḥr*, *khaznadār*, *shaykh al-balad*, *dīwān*) and on the provinces where they were represented by the *ḳāʾid*; the military forces comprised about 400 Janissaries, 200 to 300 renegades, 500 Albanians and 600 Arabs; the navy was composed of Albanians and Arabs.

The situation deteriorated with the old age of ʿAlī Pasha; in 1790 his elder son, Ḥasan Bey, was assassinated and his second son, Aḥmad, then became bey, but had to face the hostility of his brother Yūsuf, who was supported by the Arabs. In view of this situation, the notables of Tripoli and some military leaders intervened with the Sultan and asked him to name another governor, to which Yūsuf replied by having himself proclaimed governor with the support of the Nuwayr (1207/1792-3); he then undertook the siege of Tripoli (June 1793). Shortly afterwards there arrived unexpectedly ʿAlī Bulghūr, a high dignitary ousted from Algiers, who claimed to have been invested with the governorship by the Sultan: he bene-

fited from the gathering of notables and officers of Tripoli and entered the town (July 1793), while Yūsuf and ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a retired to Tunisia. ʿAlī Bulg̲h̲ūr having seized the island of D̲j̲arba, the *bey* of Tunis Ḥamūda then favoured the action of the Ḳaramānlī to regain power. Finally, the vanquished ʿAlī Bulg̲h̲ūr fled to Egypt (February 1795), while ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a, resident at Tunis, renounced the governorship in favour of his son Aḥmad. In S̲h̲aʿbān 1210/November 1796, profiting from the departure of Aḥmad for Tad̲j̲ūra, Yūsuf entered Tripoli and had himself proclaimed governor there; Aḥmad did not persist in his claims and retired to Malta. The following year, Yūsuf received from the Sultan the investiture *firmān*; he then took severe measures to repress disorder, reinforced the fortifications and increased the corsairs' fleet.

During Bonaparte's expedition in Egypt, Yūsuf Pas̲h̲a refused to break off relations with France; constrained to do so, following an English threat, he hastened to conclude a treaty with France as early as 1799. In 1800 an incident occurred with the United States of America, which resulted in the severing of relations, and then in acts of hostility. The Americans were on the point of reintroducing Aḥmad Bey to Cyrenaica and having him proclaimed governor, but English mediation put an end to these events; a new treaty was concluded with the Americans, while Aḥmad Bey retired to Egypt (June 1805).

From 1806 to 1830, numerous revolts broke out in different regions, repressed with more or less success; in 1810, the region of Ghadamès was once more joined to Tripoli. In 1819 a Franco-English fleet arrived before Tripoli and, under threat, had the slaves and Christian prisoners freed. From 1823 to 1826 at the request of the Sultan, Yūsuf Pas̲h̲a sent a Tripolitanian fleet to participate in the operations of the Ottoman fleet on the coasts of Morea and returned by the same route, but this provoked severe reactions by the Kingdoms of Sardinia and Naples (1825-6). The assassination of Major Laing, son-in-law of the English Consul Warrington, who held the French Consul Rousseau responsible, placed Yūsuf Pas̲h̲a in a delicate situation: he had finally to sign a new treaty with France (August 1830). In 1832, having imposed taxes on the inhabitants of the Mans̲h̲iya and the Sāḥil in order to recover his debts, they revolted, proclaimed a grandson of Yūsuf, Meḥmed (Muḥammad) Bey governor, and besieged Tripoli. On the 5th August 1832, Yūsuf abdicated in favour of his son ʿAlī; the latter could count on the support of Cyrenaica and the good will of the French, whereas Meḥmed Bey enjoyed the favour of the English. An emissary of the Sultan, Meḥmed S̲h̲ākir Efendi, tried in vain to arrange an agreement between the parties. He returned in September 1834 with a *firmān* of investiture for ʿAlī Bey that the rebels and England refused to recognize. Meanwhile, the Ottoman Government took careful note of that what was necessary, in view of the French pressure that was being exerted on the Ḳaramānlīs and on account of the presence of the French in Algeria which constituted a serious threat, to display more energetically the suzerainty of the Sultan over Tripolitania; in February 1835 the Ottomans decided to send a fleet and troops to Tripoli under the command of Muṣṭafā Nad̲j̲īb Pas̲h̲a. This fleet arrived before Tripoli on the 26th May and the disembarkation of the troops took place on the 27th; the next day, ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a and a certain number of Tripolitanian dignitaries were arrested, while Muṣṭafā Nad̲j̲īb Pas̲h̲a had the imperial *firmān* read, naming him governor of the province and decreeing the removal of ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a. Meḥmed Bey committed suicide, his brother Aḥmad took refuge in Malta, and all the other members of the Ḳaramānlī family were sent to Istanbul with the exception of Yūsuf Pas̲h̲a who, owing to his great age was authorised to live in Tripoli; he died there on the 4th August 1838.

Thus the dynasty of the Ḳaramānlīs came to an end. Its initial originality lay in its support for the Arabs of Tripolitania against the Turks and the *ḳulug̲h̲līs*, without however rejecting Ottoman suzerainty. Later, the Ḳaramānlīs did not escape the rivalries and internal quarrels that rendered null and void the efforts of the first members of the dynasty, and facilitated the province being taken once more into control by the Ottomans, aided in this by the implications of the "Eastern Question". Like the Ḥusaynids in Tunisia, but to a lesser degree on account of the extent and disparity of the land, the Ḳaramānlīs were able momentarily to cut a figure as a local dynasty, but not as a national one.

Bibliography: Ibn G̲h̲albūn, *al-Tad̲h̲kār fī man malaka Ṭarābulus wa-man kāna bihā min al-ak̲h̲yār* (MSS. Paris, BN no. 1889; Tripoli, library of the *awḳāf*; Istanbul, Umumî kütüphanesi no. 3423; résumé in Muḥammad Nāhid̲j̲ al-dīn, *Taʾrīk̲h̲-i Ibn G̲h̲albūn dār bayān-i Ṭarābulus-i g̲h̲arb*, Istanbul 1284/1868; partial tr. E. Rossi, *La cronaca araba-tripolitana di Ibn G̲h̲albūn* (sec. xviii), Bologna 1936); Aḥmad Beg al-Nāʾib al-Anṣārī, *al-manhal al-ʿadhb fī taʾrīk̲h̲ Ṭarābulus al-g̲h̲arb*, Istanbul 1317/1901; Ḥasan Ṣafī, *Ṭarābulus g̲h̲arb taʾrīk̲h̲ī*, Istanbul 1328/1912, 53-84; Meḥmed Nūrī and Maḥmūd Nād̲j̲ī, *Ṭarābulus g̲h̲arb*, Istanbul 1330/1914; A. S. Ilter, *Şimalî Afrika'da Türkler*, Istanbul 1933, ii, 229-44; D. Badia y Leblich, *Voyages d'Aly Bey*, Paris 1814, ii; Lady Mary Wortley Montague, *Narrative of a ten years residence at Tripoli*, London 1816; G. F. Lyon, *A Narrative of travels in Northern Africa in the years 1818, 1819, 1820*, London 1821; E. Pellissier de Reynaud, *La Régence de Tripoli*, in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, xii (1855), 5-48; D. D. Porter, *Memoirs of Commodore David Porter of the United States Navy*, New York 1875, chs. 2, 3, 4; N. Slousch, *La Tripolitaine sous la domination des Karamanli*, in *RMM*, vi (1908), 58-84, 211-32, 433-53; G. Medina, *Les Karamanli de la Tripolitaine et l'occupation temporaire de Tripoli par Ali Boulgour*, in *RT*, no. 61 (Jan. 1907), 21-32; E. Dupuy, *Américains et Barbaresques*, Paris 1910, 132 ff.; G. Ferrari, *La spedizione della marina sarda a Tripoli nel 1825*, Rome 1912; F. Nani-Mocenigo, *Tripoli e Veneziani (1714-66)*, Citta di Castello 1914; R. Vadala, *Essai sur l'histoire des Karamanli, pachas de Tripolitaine de 1714 à 1835*, in *Revue de l'histoire des colonies françaises*, vii (1919), 177-288; J. Serres, *La politique turque en Afrique du Nord sous la Monarchie de Juillet*, Paris 1925; C. Bergna, *Tripoli dal 1510 al 1850*, Tripoli 1925; C. Ferraud, *Annales tripolitaines*, ed. A. Bernard, Tunis-Paris 1927; E. de Agostini, *Una spedizione americana in Cirenaica nel 1805*, in *Rivista della Colonie Italiana*, ii (1928), 721-32, iii (1929), 41-56; Ismail Kemali, *Documenti inediti sulla caduta dei Caramanli*, in *Riv. delle Col. Ital.* iv (1930), 1-24, 178-216; R. Micacchi, *I rapporti tra il regno di Francia e la Reggenza di Tripoli di Barberia nelle prima meta del sec. xviii*, in *Riv. delle Col. Ital.*, viii (1934), 65-81, 159-82, 247-76; G. Cappovin, *Tripoli e Venezia nel secolo xviii*, Verbania 1942; C. Bergna, *I Caramanli*, in *Libia*, iii (1953), 5-59; S. Bono, *I corsari barbareschi*, Torino 1964, 52-66, 158-79; R. Mantran, *Le statut de l'Algérie, de la Tunisie et de la Tripolitaine dans l'Em-*

pire ottoman, in *Atti del I, congresso internazionale di studi nord-africani*, Cagliari 1965, 205-16; E. Rossi, *Storia di Tripoli e della Tripolitania della conquesta araba al 1911*, Rome 1968, 221-94 (many bibliographical references); *İA*, art. *Karamanlı* (M. Fuad Ezgü). (R. Mantran)

ḲARĀMĀN-OGHULLARĪ (ḲARĀMĀNIDS), a Turkish dynasty which ruled over the regions of Ič-Il, Ḳonya and Niğde [*qq.v.*].

The claim made by Yazīdjī-oghlu ʿAlī [*q.v.*] that the Ḳarāmān-oghullarī belonged to the Avshar [see AFSHAR] tribe is plausible. It is probable that they were settled in Arrān [*q.v.*] prior to the Mongol invasion, that because of it they had to immigrate to the Sivas region, and that after taking part in the Babāʾī [*q.v.*] revolt they moved to the Ermenek region and established their home there. The Ermenek-Mut-Anamur region was conquered in 622/1225 during the reign of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayḳubād.

The principal tribes over which the Ḳarāmānids ruled were: Igdir (one of the 24 Oghuz tribes), Boz Doghan (possibly a sub-tribe of Igdir), Turghudlu, Bayburdlu, Bozḳīrlu, Oghuz-Khānlu, Khʷādja Yūnuslu, Yapa-oghullarī, Adalī-oghullarī, Shāmlu, Khodjantīlu (Khodjantī = from Khudjand in Türkistan?), Yīva and Beğ-Dili. Some of these tribes are patently named after clan-leaders (*boy-beği*). To these we can also add the Gökez-oghullarī and the Gödjer oghullarī. We also know that tribes living on the Bulghar Daghī (Bulgharlu), and such tribes as Ḳush Temürlü, Ḳuṣūnlu, Elwānlu and Ulashlu, which belonged to the Warsaḳ confederation, were in the service of the Ḳarāmānids. Some small Mongol tribes that were left behind after Tīmūr's invasion may also be added to these.

The defeat of the Saldjūḳ army for the second time by the Mongol commander Baydjū in 654/1256, and the beginning of a struggle between Sultan ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaykāwūs and Rukn al-Dīn Ḳīlīdj Arslan, his brother and rival, allowed the Turkmen peoples living along the frontier regions to enjoy greater autonomy and gain greater political importance. Ḳarāmān Beg's emergence in the Ermenek-Mut region was part of this development.

According to Shikārī [*q.v.*] and to some later chronicles, inscriptions and archival records, Ḳarāmān's father was Nūr al-Dīn Ṣūfī or Nūre Ṣūfī. Shikārī claims that Nūre Ṣūfī was interested in religious matters rather than in state affairs and was a follower of Bābā Ilyās; leaving the administration of his principality to his son Ḳarāmān, he led a life of seclusion. He is buried at Değirmenlik, in the Sinanlu district of Ermenek. Like the majority of the Turkmen begs, Ḳarāmān was a supporter of ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaykāwus. It is, therefore, probable that he took part in the battle between ʿAlī Bahādur, commander of the army of Kaykāwus, and Rukn al-Dīn Ḳīlīdj Arslan near the Altunpa (Altun Apa) caravanserai to the west of Ḳonya in 660/1262. Zayn al-Ḥādjdj, one of his brothers, was killed in this battle.

The Parwāna Muʿīn al-Dīn Sulaymān, who held administrative authority in Anatolia with the support of Rukn al-Dīn Ḳīlīdj Arslan and the Mongols, put many *amīrs* who had sided with Kaykāwus to death and pacified Ḳarāmān, whom he was unable to seize, by granting him an amīrate (possibly the governorship of Ermenek). He also appointed his brother Buñsuz as Amīr Djāndār. Ḳarāmān made frequent attacks on the territory of the neighbouring Kingdom

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE ḲARĀMĀNID DYNASTY

- Nūr al-Dīn (Nūre Ṣūfī)
  - Zayn al-Ḥādjdj
  - Daughter
    - Evliyā (d. 1282)
  - Ḳarāmān (d. 1263?)
    - Shams al-Dīn Meḥmed (d. 1278)
    - ʿAlī
    - Tānū (d. 1278)
    - Maḥmūd
      - Yakhshī Beg (Khān)
      - Badr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm (d. after 1340)
        - Durrī Khwānd (d. 1410)
        - Fakhr al-Dīn Aḥmad (d. 1350)
        - Shams al-Dīn (d. 1352-1353)
        - Ḳarāmān
      - Sulaymān
      - Khalīl
        - ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn (d. 1397-1398)
          - ʿAlī
          - Meḥmed Beg (d. 1423)
            - Muṣṭafā (d. 1419)
            - ʿAlī
            - ʿĪsā
            - Tādj al-Dīn Ibrāhīm (d. 1464)
              - Meḥmed
              - Isḥāḳ (d. 1465)
                - Ibrāhīm (?)
              - Pīr Aḥmād (d. 1474)
              - Ḳāsim (d. 1483)
              - Ḳarāmān
              - ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn (d. 1465-1466)
              - Daughter
                - Turghut Oghlu Maḥmūd Beg
              - Sulaymān
              - Nūre Ṣūfī
            - Ḳarāmān (d. 1471-1472)
        - Sulaymān (d. 1361)
          - Shaykh Ḥasan (d. 1403)
      - Pāshā Mūsā (d. 1345)
      - ʿAlāʾiyya Branch ?
        - Yūsuf
          - ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn
            - Maḥmūd
    - Zakariyyā (d. 1278)
    - Güneri (d. 1300)
  - Buñsuz

of Little Armenia. In fact, according to contemporary Armenian chroniclers, in a battle fought between Ḳarāmān and the Armenian king Hethoum at the fortress of "Maniaun" (probably Mennan castle near Ermenek), his brother Buñsuz and his brother-in-law were killed. Ḳarāmān also died after a time from the wounds he received in the same battle. The claim by the Armenian chronicler that Buñsuz was killed in battle is not correct. S͟hikārī, 33, claims that Ḳarāmān was buried in Ermenek. However, the text of the inscription attributed to Ḳarāmān in the village of Balkasun (K͟halīl Edhem, *Ḳarāmān Og͟hullarî ḥaḳḳînda wet͟hā'iḳ-i maḥḳūke*, in *TOEM*, ii, 699; İ. H. Konyalı, *Karaman Tarihi*, Istanbul 1967, 693) makes it clear that the inscription belongs to his son Maḥmūd Beg, the builder of the tomb, in which he also is buried.

Although the Saldjūḳ Sultan Rukn al-Dīn Ḳîlîdj Arslan was enraged at Ḳarāmān's refusal to obey his orders, he left him unmolested. When he heard of his death, however, he imprisoned his brother Buñsuz, who was in Ḳonya as Amīr Djāndār. Ḳaramān's young children were taken into custody in the castle of Gevele, near Ḳonya. His sons were transferred to other castles after Ḳîlîdj Arslan's death (663/1265), and were later released by the Parwāna; one of them, ʿAlī Beg, was still held hostage in Kayseri. The Beglerbegi K͟haṭīr-og͟hlu S͟haraf al-Dīn, who had revolted against the Mongols in 675/1276, dismissed the governor of Ermenek, Badr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, the son of Ḳāḍī K͟huteni, and appointed in his stead Ḳarāmān's son S͟hams al-Dīn Meḥmed Beg. Meḥmed Beg occupied Ič-Il down to the sea, and started raiding the Mongol detachments. Following the dismissal of K͟haṭīr-og͟hlu, the Parwāna sent the former governor Badr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm against the Ḳarāmānids, but he suffered a heavy defeat in a battle with the forces of Meḥmed Beg. Following this, Saldjūḳ forces under the command of the Nā'ib al-Salṭana Amīn al-Dīn Mīk͟hā'īl and Ṣāḥib Fak͟hr al-Dīn ʿAlī's sons failed to gain any victory over the Ḳarāmānids. At about this time, the Mamlūk Sultan Baybars had defeated the Mongols on the Albistan plain (10 D͟hu'l-Ḳaʿda 675/15 April 1277) and entered Kayseri.

Baybars gave Ḳarāmān's son ʿAlī Beg—at his own request—amīrates and "sandjaḳs" for himself and his elder brothers. The Ḳarāmānids, taking advantage of this situation, began hostilities under the command of Meḥmed Beg, supported by ʿAlā' al-Dīn Siyāvus͟h, the Saldjūḳid prince, who was called "Djimrī" ("miserly"). He was one of the sons of ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaykāwūs. Meḥmed Beg first came to Aḳsarāy with a fairly small army (a contemporary source gives this as 3,000); because of the few forces at his disposal, he turned towards Ḳonya. He captured Ḳonya (9 D͟hu'l-Ḥidjdja 675/15 May 1277), ineffectually defended by the Nā'ib al-Salṭana, and put ʿAlā al-Dīn Siyāvus͟h on the Saldjūḳ throne; the *k͟huṭba* was read in his name, and coins were struck; one of these is still extant (O. F. Sağlam, *Şimdiye kadar görülmeyen Cimri sikkesi*, in *III. Tarih Kongresi zabıtları*, Ankara 1943, 224-8). Meḥmed Beg became ʿAlā' al-Dīn Siyāvus͟h's vizier. One of the first decrees passed at the first meeting of his council was that no language other than Turkish should thenceforth be spoken in government offices and the court.

Meḥmed Beg, learning that the sons of Ṣāḥib Fak͟hr al-Dīn ʿAlī were moving towards Ḳonya with a large army, went to Aḳ S͟hehir, taking ʿAlā' al-Dīn Siyāvus͟h with him. In the ensuing battle he defeated and killed the sons of Ṣāḥib. Although Sivri-Ḥiṣār opened its gates to him, he met with resistance at Ḳara Ḥiṣār (Afyon) and therefore returned to Ḳonya. He declared that he would go to Erzurum to fight the Mongols, but as he could not raise the necessary troops he abandoned the plan. When he heard that a Mongol army was approaching, he returned to Ič-il. In fact, the Mongol ruler, Abaḳa, sent the vizier S͟hams al-Dīn Muḥammad Djuwaynī and some Mongol commanders to Turkey at the head of a large army for the purpose of establishing peace, and applying the Mongol financial system in the country (Rabīʿ II 676/September 1277). Djuwaynī came to the country of the Ḳarāmānids along with the Mongol troops. After some plunder and destruction he moved to Kaz Ova (in the Tokat region) for the approaching winter. As a precaution, a Mongol unit was left under the command of G͟hiyāt͟h al-Dīn Kay-K͟husraw. In spring, the sultan and the vizier Fak͟hr al-Dīn ʿAlī marched against the Ḳarāmānids with the Saldjūḳ and Mongol forces under their command, and reached Mut. Meḥmed Beg, who had taken up a position near the fortress of Kurbag͟ha for the purpose of reconnaissance, encountered a Mongol detachment and was killed together with two brothers and a cousin. Upon this unexpected success the sultan and the vizier swept down to the Mediterranean in order to put an end to the Ḳarāmānids (676/1277). Meanwhile, ʿAlā' al-Dīn Siyāvus͟h succeeded in gathering a considerable force in the west, to which he had escaped, but he was defeated and killed by G͟hiyāt͟h al-Dīn Kay-K͟husraw (Muḥarram 677/May 1278). This success, far from wiping out the Ḳarāmānids, helped to strengthen their will to fight.

Following this, they were headed by Güneri Beg, who seems to have been a member of the Ḳarāmānid dynasty. The defeat of the Mongol army by the Mamlūks at Ḥimṣ in 680/1281, and the death of Abaḳa following this, led to disturbances in Turkey. Ḳarāmān Og͟hlu Güneri Beg carried out frequent acts of plunder in the Ḳonya region, while Ashraf Og͟hlu Sulaymān Beg started making raids from Beg S͟hehri on Ḳonya and Aḳ S͟hehir. Finding himself helpless in the face of the raids of the Turkmen begs, Sulṭān G͟hiyāt͟h al-Dīn Kay-K͟husraw sought help from Aḥmad, the successor of Abaḳa. Aḥmad sent his brother Ḳong͟hurtay to Anatolia at the head of a large army. After plundering Aḳsaray in a manner without precedent, Ḳong͟hurtay arrived in Ḳarāmānid territory. Great destruction was caused there by forest fires, pillage and plunder, and massacre. Large numbers of people were killed. Women and children were captured and sold as slaves. The savage destruction wrought by Ḳong͟hurtay in Ḳarāmānid territory created deep sorrow and anger among the Mamlūks, and in a letter written to the Ilk͟hān Aḥmad, the savagery was described as something incompatible with Muslim brotherhood. The fact that Aḥmad summoned Ḳong͟hurtay and had him executed (682 S͟hawwāl/January 1284) may be related with feelings of anger at a brother in the faith's cruelty. In spite of this, Ḳong͟hurtay's acts of violence could not break down the resistance of the Ḳarāmānids. The new sultan, G͟hiyāt͟h al-Dīn Masʿūd, was a weak man who preferred to live in Ḳayseri as he did not feel safe in Ḳonya. The invading Mongol troops were stationed in eastern parts of central Anatolia; taking advantage of this, the wife of the former sultan, G͟hiyāt͟h al-Dīn Kay-K͟husraw, had her two sons acclaimed as rulers in Ḳonya. To gain their support, Ḳarāmān Og͟hlu Güneri Beg and As͟hraf Og͟hlu Sulaymān Beg were given a *beglerbegilik* and regency respectively (684/1285). Shortly afterwards, the two children were put to death by the orders of

Arghun Khān, but neither Sultan Masʿūd nor the Mongols were able to establish peace and order in the western part of central Anatolia.

After the Ḳarāmānids and the Ashraf Oghullarī, the Germiyānids appeared on the scene in the Kütahya region. In the meantime, Güneri Beg took Laranda (modern Karaman: see LARANDA). In 686/1287 a certain Ḳarāmān Oghlu marched against Ṭarsūs, causing destruction around the city. It is almost certain that this "Ḳarāmān Oghlu" was Güneri Beg. Maḥmūd Beg, one of the sons of Ḳarāmān ruling somewhere in the Ič-il, accepted Güneri Beg as suzerain. Sultan Masʿūd and the vizier Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī, by order of the Shāhzāde Gaykhatu marched against the Ḳarāmān territory at the head of a joint Saldjūḳ and Mongol army in the same year. However, they could not engage the Ḳarāmānid forces, which had withdrawn into the rugged mountains, and were unable to do more than destroy some of the town of Laranda and its surroundings. In the next year (687/1288), Ḳarāmān Oghlu and Ashraf Oghlu came to Ḳonya to express their submission to Masʿūd, while Güneri Beg, accompanied by his brother (and possibly also by Maḥmūd Beg), came before the sultan with a large army and kissed his hand (Djumādā II/May-June 1289). Güneri Beg sent his brother (Maḥmūd Beg?) to visit Gaykhatu, the Mongol governor who had come to Ḳonya. However, Gaykhatu's return to Iran on the death of Arghun (690/1290) gave rise to disturbances everywhere. At this time, the Ḳarāmānids attacked Ashraf Oghlu and entered Beg Shehri, but they were driven back. As Sultan Masʿūd lived in Ḳayseri and there was no competent governor in Ḳonya, the Ḳarāmānids were emboldened to carry out frequent raids and acts of plunder in and around the city. On one occasion, under the command of Khalīl Bahādur, they raided and plundered the city for three days in succession. Sultan Masʿūd thereupon requested help from Gaykhatu, who had recently succeeded to the Ilkhānid throne, Gaykhatu came to Anatolia with a large army, which also included Georgian soldiers. Laranda and Eregli and the villages around these cities were destroyed with particular savagery. The number of captives taken from the lands of the Ḳarāmānids and Ashraf Oghullarī alone (690/1292) was 7,000. The Mongol ruler carried destruction as far as Ladik (modern Denizli, ancient Laodicia) and the newly created Menteshe principality; he did not even spare the citizens of such cities as were obedient to him. He then returned to Īrān with the abundant booty seized in Anatolia. Gaykhatu, the perpetrator of many cruel acts such as these was essentially an incompetent ruler. He was unable to resist Baydu, and eventually lost both his throne and his life in 694/1295.

In spite of heavy losses, the Ḳarāmānids renewed action as soon as Gaykhatu returned, while Ashraf Oghlu captured Gevele Castle near Ḳonya. Taking advantage of this situation, Henry II, King of Cyprus, landed troops at ʿAlāʾiyya, but they beaten back by the Ḳarāmānids led by Maḥmūd Beg.

Mongol dominion in Anatolia during the time of Ghāzān Khān was in its weakest phase. The city of Ḳonya was under the rule of Akhī Aḥmad Shāh. Henceforth, the Akhīs had a considerable say in the administration of the city for many years to come. When Baltu (696/1297) and Sülemish (698/1299), two of the Mongol commanders in Anatolia, revolted against Ghāzān, they were in collusion with the Ḳarāmānids; in fact, a large number or perhaps all of the Turkmens in the army of Sülemish belonged to the Ḳarāmānids. Nevertheless, Ghāzān Khān declined to take any action against them. Referring to the Ḳarāmānids, he is reported to have said, "I was seeking the enemy in the east and west, while he was hiding beneath my clothing. If it had not been for the Ḳarāmānids, Turkmens and Kurds, the Mongol horsemen would have reached the place where the sun sets", indicating that the Mongols regarded the Ḳarāmānids as the main barrier to their domination of the whole of Anatolia. Shortly after the revolt of Sülemish, the brave and competent Ḳarāmānid leader Güneri Beg died (28 Radjab 699/20 April 1300).

The first half of the 8th/14th century constitutes the least-known period in the history of the Ḳarāmānids, owing to the scarcity and contradictory nature of the available historical evidence, Güneri Beg was succeeded by his brother Maḥmūd Beg, who is known to have built a mosque in Ermenek in 702/1302 and a *turba* for himself and his father, Ḳarāmān Beg, in the same year. According to Neshrī, Maḥmūd Beg died in 707/1307-8 (*Djihān-numā*, ed. F. R. Unat—M. A. Köymen, Ankara 1949, i, 48, 49). Although he gives no source, İ. H. Uzunçarşılı (*Anadolu beylikleri*, Ankara 1969), refers to an inscription on a mosque dated 711/1311 mentioning Maḥmūd Beg. In the same year the Ḳarāmānids and Aldum (?), a powerful Turkmen Beg, defeated and killed Ḳazāndjūḳ, a Mongol commander, in one of the passes of the Taurus Mountains. Neshrī mentions that Maḥmūd Beg had two sons, Yakhshī and Sulaymān, and that Yakhshī succeeded to his father's title in Ermenek (*ibid.*). The Yakhshī Beg referred to by Neshrī is the Yakhshī Khān mentioned in other sources as the successor of Maḥmūd. Maḥmūd had several other sons, named Badr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, Pāshā Mūsā, Khalīl (and perhaps Yūsuf), but nothing is clearly known of their political lives, and not even the dates of their deaths. It is understood that Yakhshī Khān, who succeeded to his father's title in Ermenek, overthrew Akhi Muṣṭafā, ruler of Ḳonya, and captured the city. It is probable that this event occurred during the early months of 714/end of 1314, because it is suggested that the main reason for Čōbān Beg's being sent to Turkey was the capture of Ḳonya by the Ḳarāmānids (Ḳāshānī, *Taʾrīkh-i Uldjaytu*, ed. Mahin Hambly, Tehran 1969, 168-70). According to the same historian Ḳarāmān Oghlu, who ruled Ḳonya for some time, fled to Laranda during a famine which broke out in the city; he was pursued and forced to come before Čōbān, who pardoned him. After leaving officials in Ḳonya and appointing his son Demir Tash (Tīmūr Tāsh) as his regent in Anatolia, Čōbān returned to Īrān. Before long Ḳonya was recaptured by the Ḳarāmānids. According to Neshrī, Yakhshī Beg died in Ermenik in 717/1317-18, and was succeeded by his brother Sulaymān Beg. It is presumed that Neshrī's source for this was an old calendar (*İstanbul'un fethinden önce yazılmış tarihî takvimler*, ed. O. Turan, Ankara 1954, 32, 33), which mentions that Yakhshī Beg was killed. The next year, "Ḳarāmān Oghlu" Ibrāhīm Beg's ambassador came to Cairo, stating that his master had read the *khuṭba* in the name of the sultan and also struck coins in his name. This statement might confirm that Yakhshī Khān was killed in the year already mentioned, and that Badr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm had replaced him, but Yakhshī Khān is referred to in other calendars as living at a later date. The date of his death accordingly remains uncertain.

Pāshā Mūsā Beg, one of the sons of Maḥmūd Beg, restored Laranda, which had been destroyed by Gaykhatu, in 711/1311-12 and took up residence there. The city may possibly have been in the hands of Badr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Beg prior to 718/1318. We know that

at this time Nadjm al-Dīn Demīr Khān b. Ḳarāmān was in the service of the Mamlūks, being either the commander or one of the commanders of the Mamlūk forces sent to Mecca as early as 715/1315; he died in Damascus in 734/1333-34. Three years earlier ʿAlī Bahādur b. Ḳarāmān had been appointed to one of the *ṭabl-khāna* amīrates. Unfortunately we do not know the names of the fathers of these Ḳarāmānid princes.

The appointment of Demir Tash, Čōbān's son, as commander of the Mongol forces in Anatolia led to the strengthening of Mongol domination in Anatolia, and to the expansion of the territories under Mongol occupation. Demir Tash took measures to establish the long-awaited peace and order in central Anatolia, and was so popular with both villagers and townsmen that he was called "Mahdī-i ākhir zamān". His aim was to bring the Turkmen begs under his control and to become the sole ruler of Anatolia. According to Aflākī (*Manāḳib al-ʿārifīn*, ed. T. Yazıcı, Ankara 1964, ii, 977), Demir Tash took Ḳonya from the Ḳarāmānids in 720/1320. It is more probable, howver, that this conquest took place, as recorded in the anonymous *Saldjūḳnāma*, 94, in 723/1323, or that he conquered the city for the second time on the latter date. As well as conquering Ḳonya in 723, he also captured Mūsā Beg and the Ḥamīd-oghlu Dündar Beg, but is understood to have set Mūsā Beg free. Although Demir Tash wiped out the principalities of Ashraf Oghullarī, he was more lenient to the Ḳarāmānids, and pursued a policy of friendship towards them. When he fled to Egypt in 727/1327, his lieutenants Eretna and Sunghur Āghā escaped to Laranda, where Badr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Beg was living. Quick to grasp this chance, the Ḳarāmānids re-took Ḳonya, the fortress of Gevele and Bey Shehri in 729/1328-29. It is to be assumed that in 735/1334-35 Badr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Beg was in Laranda, his son Aḥmad Beg was in Ḳonya, Yakhshī Khān was in Ermenek (?), Khalīl Beg in Bey Shehrı and Mūsā in Mecca. As Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited neither Ḳonya nor Laranda, he did not meet the Ḳarāmānid begs, and what he wrote about them is based only on hearsay, Mūsā Beg, who stopped at Cairo on his way to and from Mecca, was entertained and even offered a high position by the Mamlūk sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir, but he refused the sultan's offer on the grounds that he could not live away from his people and country. While he was returning to his country under the protection of Mamlūk *amīrs*, partisans of the Armenian king tried to capture him, resulting in further destruction and plunder of the Cilician Armenian kingdom by the Mamlūk forces.

Mūsā Beg was probably the builder of a *madrasa* (the Tol Madrasa) in Ermenek in 740/1339-40; he probably died in Ramaḍān 745/January 1345. İ. H. Konyalı believes that the Amīr Mūsā Madrasa, which no longer stands, was built in Laranda by "Karaman Oghlu" Mūsā Beg (*Karaman Tarihi*, 720). Yet this is highly improbable, because there was, during the reign of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayḳubād, a Saldjūḳ governor by the name of Amīr Mūsā in Laranda, who had a *madrasa* built in the city for the father of Djalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī (Aflākī, i, 25-8, 303). It is therefore more likely that the Saldjuk Amīr Mūsā was responsible for the *madrasa* in Karaman.

Badr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Beg is known to have been alive in 741/1341. His ambassador to Cairo departed with the standards sent by the caliph and the sultan and the moulds for minting silver and gold coins on behalf of the sultan. It is difficult to assess why Ibrāhīm Beg accepted the suzerainty of the Mamlūk sultan. Historical calendars record that Khalīl Beg, one of the sons of Maḥmūd Beg, came from Bey Shehri to Ḳonya, where Aḥmad Beg was living, and fought with Yakhshī Beg (or Khān). The date of this event is given as 742/1341-2 and 743/1342-3 in two calendars (Nurosmaniye no. 5080, f.4a, ed. O. Turan, 32, 33), while in two other calendars we have the dates of 761/1360 and 762/1361 (ed. Atsız, *Osmanlı Tarihine ait takvimler*, Istanbul 1961, 22, 23; ed. O. Turan, 49). Of these dates, 742 or 743 is approximately correct. It is probable that Khalīl Beg killed Yakhshī Khān (Beg) in this battle. The fact that, like Güneri Beg, Yakhshī Khān is not mentioned by Shikārī, is puzzling. Khalīl Beg is understood to have built a mosque in Ermenek, *zāwiyas* in the villages of Ermenek, and a *zāwiya* in Laranda. There is a copy of a *waḳfiyya* dated 745/1344-45 made by him. The year of his death is not known, but it must have been between 745/1344-5 and 750/1349-50.

Fakhr al-Dīn Aḥmad Beg, the son of Badr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Beg, was then left as the sole ruler. Shikārī's claim that he was killed in one of the endless battles with the Mongols is acceptable, because the adjective *al-shahīd* appears on a burial inscription dated 750/1349. Fakhr al-Dīn was succeeded by his brother Shams al-Dīn Beg, who died in 753/1352. According to Shikārī (p. 60), Shams al-Dīn Beg was poisoned by his brother Ḳarāmān. The word *al-shahīd* occurs in his inscription (İ. H. Konyalı, *op. cit.*, p. 460). Sulaymān Beg, one of the sons of Khalīl Beg, succeeded to the throne. Konya was then under the rule of the Eretna Dynasty, and Bey Shehri seems to have been in the possession of Ismāʿīl Āghā, one of the Mongol *amīrs*. It is probable that the Ḳarāmānids lost Ḳonya during the time of Eretna (d. 753/1352). The various Mongol tribes settled by Demir Tash (Tīmūr Tash) in the western parts of Central Anatolia became a continuous sources of trouble for the Ḳarāmānids, a situation that endured until the tribesmen were taken back to Turkistān by Tımūr. Although a kind, good-natured and religious ruler, Sulaymān Beg was killed in a plot organized by begs of his family (762/1361). The titles of "Ṣāḥib al-Dawla al-Nāṣir, Sayf al-Dawla waʾl-Dīn", which occur in the inscription of the Ḥādjdjī Begler Djāmiʿ dated 757/1356, refer to Sulaymān Beg.

Sulaymān Beg was buried in the Akhī Meḥmed Beg or Ḳalamiyya *zāwiya*, and his tomb was built by his brother ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Beg in 772/1370-71. According to Shikārī (p. 90), Ḳāsim, one of the organizers of the plot, succeeded to the throne, but later he and his supporters were killed by ʿAlā ʾal-Dīn Beg, who obtained the throne. As this Ḳarāmānid Beg is referred to merely as ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn in inscriptions, coins, *waḳfiyyas*, historical calendars and in reliable contemporary foreign and native chroniclers, calling him "ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī" is simply the perpetuation of an error in some historical works. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Beg differed from his predecessors (perhaps with the exception of Mūsā Beg) in being an educated ruler. Yardjānī's *Shāhnāma* on the Ḳarāmān dynasty, which was Shikārī's principal source, was written at his command. During the reign of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Beg the borders of the Ḳarāmānid state were extended in every direction, and the Ḳarāmānid rulers were no longer mere "rulers of the Anatolian mountains" (*Ṣāḥib djibāl al-Rūm*), as Mamlūk chroniclers used to call them. During this period the Mamlūks occupied the whole of Cilicia, bringing to an end the Armenian kingdom (777/1375). The Eretnas were also in a state of confusion. Taking advantage of this situation, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Beg captured certain Armenian castles, and took Ḳonya in 767 or 768/1366-67 and later Aḳ Saray, Nigde, Karaḥiṣār (Yeşil Hisar), Aḳ Shehir,

Ilghīn, Ishāķlu and even Ķayseri. The latter, however, was soon recovered by the Eretnas. Following on these successes, the Babuk Oghullarī, Ata Beg, Devlet Shāh and other Mongol begs entered the Ķarāmānid service. If Bey Shehri and even Seydī Shehri were taken by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Beg, they must have been captured following the death of Ismāʿīl Āghā (780/1379). It must, however, be noted that ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Beg's rule, like that of his successors, was devoid of consistent diplomatic principle. He abandoned the traditional alliance with the Mamlūks, and became a supporter of the rebellious Ramaḍān Oghullarī against Sultan Barķūķ, while pursuing a hostile policy against Ķāḍī Burhān al-Dīn, his natural ally against the Ottomans. This led to a loss of territory, and damaged his prestige, particularly among the Mongol tribes. His encouragement of Tīmūr's attack on the Ottomans and the Mamlūks, probably motivated by a desire for revenge for the defeat he had suffered, left him completely isolated against Bāyazīd.

The Ķarāmānid territory included the following regions and cities in 782/1380: Gülnar, Anamur, Silifke, Mut, Ermenek, Hâdim, Bozkīr, Laranda (the capital), Ereğli, Ulukīshla, Niğde, Ķara Ḥiṣār, Aķ Saray, Aķ Shehir, Ilghīn, Saʿīd ili (Kadīn Khānī) and Ķonya (see map in ANADOLU). We do not know definitely whether Bey Shehri and Seydi Shehri were under Ķarāmānid rule. It is clear that ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Beg considerably enlarged Ķarāmānid territory, whence his names "Sulṭān" and "Abū l-Fatḥ". Nevertheless he was unable, contrary to Shikārī's claim, to capture Corycos (Kīz Kulesi) on the Mediterranean coast, which was held by the Kingdom of Cyprus.

His relations with the Ottomans were uneasy. He was a son-in-law of Murād I, but when Murād bought part of the Ḥamīd Oghullarī territory, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn was offended because he was planning to capture the area himself; the Ḥamīd Oghlu had in fact sold a part of his lands to the Ottomans because he had discovered ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Beg's intention. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Beg's occupation of Ķara Aghač and Yalvadj, while Murād was engaged with his expeditions in the Balkans, was a cause of war between the two states. Murād defeated his son-in-law easily (789/1387), and made peace through the mediation of his daughter, on the condition that Bey Shehri be given to him. However, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Beg regarded this as a temporary peace only, and hoped that an opportunity would arise for him to renew hostilities. In fact, when he heard that his father-in-law had been killed at Kosova (791/1389), he captured Bey Shehri and encouraged the begs of western Anatolia to fight against the new ruler Bāyazīd. But this act proved to be against his own interests. He sent an ambassador to his brother-in-law from the Ermenek region, from which he had withdrawn, and sued for peace. Köshk Bükü, one of the villages of Bey Shehri, was accepted as marking the border and peace was made (793/1391). In spite of these successive defeats, the Ķarāmānid never abandoned his struggle against the Ottomans. He attacked Anķara at the time of the battle of Niğbolu, and imprisoned Sarī Demir Tash Pāshā, governor of the city. But he was again defeated by Bāyazīd and retreated to the citadel of Ķonya castle. The people of Ķonya demonstrated their feelings about the Ķarāmānids by handing over their ruler to Bāyazīd. The Ottoman ruler, who had decided to annex Ķarāmānid territory, then had his brother-in-law put to death (800/1397-8). Meḥmed Beg and ʿAlī Beg, sons of the Ķarāmānid, were taken to Bursa and imprisoned. Bāyazīd gave the conquered Ķarāmānid lands to his son Muṣṭafā. Ič-il was placed under the rule of Shaykh Ḥasan, son of Sulaymān Beg, who had earlier taken refuge with Ķāḍī Burhān al-Dīn.

Following the battle of Anķara (804/1402), Tīmūr gave back to Meḥmed Beg and ʿAlī Beg their father's territory, as well as Ķayseri, Ķīr Shehri and Sivri Ḥiṣār. But Meḥmed Beg was not content with these. This energetic new Ķarāmānid ruler annexed Ḥamīd-ili, and taking advantage of the weak rule of the Mamlūk sultan Faradj, took Ṭarsūs and occupied Ķara Ḥiṣār (Afyon) and Kütahya. It is recorded in some calendars that "Ķarāmān Oghlu" even captured Antalya. Meḥmed Beg went even further and besieged Bursa (816/1413). Before long, however, it was apparent that Meḥmed Beg's achievements were the result of favourable prevailing conditions rather than of his personal qualities. He was forced to make peace with Meḥemmed I Čelebi by handing over Bey Shehri, Seydī Shehri and Aķ Shehir (812/1414). The following year he and his son Muṣṭafā were taken before the Ottoman ruler as virtual prisoners: their lives were spared in return for an oath that Meḥmed Beg would never again break the peace. Al-Malik al-Muʾayyad Shaykh, the new Mamlūk sultan, demanded that Ķarāmān Oghlu return to him Ṭarsūs, which the Ķarāmānid had captured for the second time. Believing that the Mamlūk sultan could not touch him, Meḥmed Beg ignored this demand. Furthermore, he gave his daughter to the Ramaḍānid Ibrāhīm Beg and protected him against al-Muʾayyad Shaykh. But when he heard that a large Mamlūk army under the command of Ibrāhīm, son of al-Muʾayyad Shaykh, was marching against Ķarāmānid territory, he realized his mistake. Unwilling to risk the battle with the Mamlūk army, Meḥmed Beg withdrew into the mountains. Ķayseri was given to the Dulkadīr Oghullarī while the territory of Ķarāmān was given to ʿAlī Beg, brother of Meḥmed Beg (822/1419). As soon as the Mamlūk army had left, Meḥmed Beg regained authority in most of his lands, but his son Muṣṭafā was killed in a battle fought with the Dulkadīrīds near Kayseri, while he himself was captured and taken to Cairo as a prisoner (822/1419). Although ʿAlī Beg was protected by the Mamlūk sultan, he was unable to establish his authority throughout the Ķarāmānid teritoty. He failed to capture Ķonya in the face of a strong defence by Sunghur, a loyal commander of Meḥmed Beg; unable to withstand the attacks of Ibrāhīm, one of the sons of Meḥmed Beg who was being helped by the Ottomans, he returned to Nigde. Having been released upon the death of al-Muʾayyad Shaykh in 824/1421, Meḥmed Beg had no difficulty in re-establishing his authority over his country. Despite the many setbacks with he had suffered, he lost none of his ambition. Taking advantage of the newly-crowned Ottoman sultan's struggle with his uncle Muṣṭafā, he besieged Antalya at the suggestion of the Teke Oghlu ʿUthmān Beg, but was killed by a shot fired from the castle (826/1423). His sons took his body to Laranda and buried him there. A man of great energy, Meḥmed Beg observed moderation in his private life and showed great respect to men of learning. He was not, however, popular with his subjects, as he frequently levied heavy taxes. Upon his death his brother, ʿAlī Beg, became the ruler of the entire Ķarāmānid territory, but his rule was shortlived. Unable to fight against Ibrāhīm Beg, who was again aided by Murād II, and, like his grandfather, was related to the Ottomans by marriage, ʿAlī Beg retreated to Nigde. Following the death of his uncle, Ibrāhīm Beg captured Nigde as well.

Tādj al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Beg was the last great ruler of the Ķarāmānid state. An energetic and warlike

man like his father and grandfather, he was over-ambitious. After making an agreement with the Serbs and Hungarians, he captured Eğridir and Isparta (837/1433), but was forced to sue for peace from Murād II, who had marched against him. Murād wanted to give the Ķarāmānid territory to ʿĪsā, a brother of Ibrāhīm Beg in his service. But as he had failed to overcome Ibrāhīm Beg on a previous occasion (830/1426-7), he made peace with his brother-in-law on the condition that the territory belonging to the Ḥamīd Og͟hullarī would remain under Ottoman rule (838/1435). However, Ibrāhīm Beg won a great victory against the Dulkadīr Og͟hlu Nāṣir al-Dīn Meḥmed Beg, and took Ķara Ḥiṣār, Develi, Uč Ḥiṣār, Ürgüb and Ķayseri. This achievement had been possible through the approval and aid of the Mamlūk sultan Bārsbay. Ibrāhīm Beg continued his policy of hostility towards the Ottomans. In concert with the Hungarian attack on the Ottomans in 846/1442, he sent an army under the command of his son-in-law Turg͟hut Og͟hlu Ḥasan Beg, effecting large-scale destruction and plunder in Anķara, Beg Pazarı, Kütahya, Ķara Ḥiṣār (Afyon), Bolvadin and Ḥamīd Ili, but sharp Ottoman retaliation followed. When Murād heard that the Hungarians had broken the Treaty of Szegedin, he accepted Ibrāhīm Beg's peace offer, but the ensuing treaty contained some of the harshest terms that the Ķarāmānids had ever had to accept and reduced them to vassals of the Ottomans. (For the text of this treaty see İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Karaman oğulları devri vesikalarından Ibrahim Bey'in Karaman emareti vakfiyesi*, *Belleten* i/1, 120-1). In 1448 Ibrāhīm Beg captured the fortress of Corycos, which his grandfather ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Beg had failed to take. However, this conquest did not worsen commercial relations between Cyprus and the Ķarāmānids; on the contrary, Ibrāhīm Beg granted the Venetians special trade concessions within his country.

Of the many sons of Ibrāhīm Beg, Pīr Aḥmad, Ķāsim and ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn were born of Čelebi Meḥemmed I's daughter. According to early Ottoman chroniclers, Ibrāhīm Beg disliked these children because they had Ottoman blood in their veins and he made Isḥāķ, son of another wife, his crown prince. Upon his father becoming seriously ill, Pīr Aḥmad Beg declared himself ruler in Ķonya. Realizing that he could not hold the city, Ibrāhīm Beg fled with his son Isḥāķ, but died on the way to the fortress of Gevele (869/1464). His body was taken to Laranda and buried in his tomb near his *ʿimāret*. Ibrāhīm Beg, an active and brave ruler, was also a great builder: apart from the *ʿimāret* in Laranda, he constructed numerous public buildings, mosques, *madrasas*, bridges and irrigation canals. He was also a patron of artists and scholars. Yet he was also a man of violent temper, and had many of his viziers put to death.

Following the death of Ibrāhīm Beg, Isḥāķ and Pīr Aḥmad between them divided the country into two principalities, Isḥāķ ruling Ič-il with capital at Silifke, and Pīr Aḥmad ruling the larger part of the country with his capital at Ķonya. Before long Isḥāķ, with the help of Uzun Ḥasan, the Aķ Ķoyunlu ruler, forced Pīr Aḥmad to take refuge under the Ottoman sultan Meḥemmed II, but Pīr Aḥmad defeated Isḥāķ with the reinforcements he had received from the Ottoman ruler and brought the entire Ķarāmānid territory under his rule (870/1465). Isḥāķ again took refuge under Uzun Ḥasan, and died in 870/1465-6.

Meḥemmed II was determined to put an end to the separate Ķarāmānid political existence. He fulfilled his objective after numerous expeditions, and Ķarāmān finally became an Ottoman province in 880/1475. Pīr Aḥmad died in the same year. His brother Ķāsim Beg remained as beg and as a vassal of Bāyazīd II in Gülnar and Silifke. Upon his death (888/1483), the Ķarāmānid begs made Maḥmūd, son of Turg͟hut Og͟hlu and the grandson of Ibrāhīm Beg, their chief. But as he supported the Mamlūks in the Ottoman-Mamlūk warfare, he was forced to flee to Aleppo in 892/1487. When disaffection broke out among the Ķarāmānid feudal forces by the Ottoman tax assessment carried out in 906/1500-1, Muṣṭafā, nephew of Ķāsim Beg, was called from Iran and declared prince. But Muṣṭafā could not resist the Ottoman forces: he took refuge with the Mamlūks, and died in Cairo in 919/1513.

Together with other Anatolian tribesmen, various groups in the Ķarāmānid state, such as Turg͟hudlu and Bayburdlu, took part in the foundation of the Ṣafawid state. There was also an ʿAlāʾiyya branch of the Ķarāmānid dynasty, which came to the fore in 692/1293, but little is known about the history of this branch.

The fact that the Ķarāmānids were able to oppose the Ottomans for so many years was largely due to the geographical features of their territory, for they possessed strong fortified points in rugged country. There is no doubt that the use of firearms by the Ottomans played an important role in the extinction of their independence. As heirs of the Sald͟jūķs, the Ķarāmānids had a firm military and administrative organisation. They valued culture and learning, and as early as the time of Maḥmūd Beg, they built many public buildings such as mosques, *zāwiyas*, *madrasas*, *ʿimārets*, caravanserais and baths, many of these buildings of considerable artistic value. Ķarāmānid works of art reflect Sald͟jūķ characteristics, with most distinguishing features of Ķarāmānid art being its decorative quality.

Although taxes on land and animals constituted the main source of revenue in the Ķarāmānid state, customs duties collected at the ports and gates in the south were also considerable. The Ķarāmān horses raised on the Ķonya plain between Ķonya, Aķsaray and Laranda were famous and were valued not only in Turkey, but also in the Arab lands and Europe, whither many were exported. The Turkish tribes raising these horses used to be called *Atčeken* until one or two centuries ago. Carpets and rugs were formerly exported from Ķarāmān lands, and of these, the Aķ Saray carpets were particularly in demand in foreign markets.

Bibliography: A.—Inscriptions: K͟h. Edhem, *Ķarāmān Og͟hullarīna dāʾir wet͟hāʾiķ-i maḥķūķa*, in *TOEM*, ii, 697, 712, 741-60, 820-36, 847-81 (some errors in the readings of inscriptions); İ. H. Konyalı, *Karaman tarihi*, Istanbul 1967, 230-1, 294-5, 413-5, 459-60, 466, 512, 520, 644, 693, 706, 716, 754; idem, *Konya tarihi*, Konya 1964, 422, 457, 639-40, 765-6, 914, 960. B.—*Waķfiyyas*: İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Ibrahim Bey'in Karaman imareti vakfiyesi*, in *Belleten*, i/1, 56-127; idem, *Niğde'de Karaman Oğlu Ali Bey'in Vakfiyesi*, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, ii, 45-69; for the *waķfs* during the Ķarāmānid period see: *Fatih devrinde Karaman eyaleti vakıfları fihristi*, compiled by F. N. Uzluk, Ankara 1958, esp. 19, 20, 21, 23, 25, 27, 28, 31, 32, 51, 56; İ. H. Konyali, *Karaman tarihi*, 233, 235, 252. C.—Coins: I. G͟hālib, *Taķvīm-i Meskūkāt-ī Salčūkiyya*, Istanbul 1309, 110-12; A. Tevḥīd, *Meskūkāt-ī ķadīme-i Islāmiyye katalogu*, Istanbul 1321, i, 441-7. D.—Collections of letters (Muns͟haʾāt Mad͟jmūʿalarī): Esʿad Efendi 3369, pp. 327, 329; Ferīdun, *Muns͟haʾāt al-salāṭīn*, Istanbul 1274, i, 80-82, 83-4, 90-1, 95-6, 101-3, 104-7, 109-13,

147-50, 157-8, 168-70, 186-8, 333-4 (the authenticity of some ascribed to Orkhan and Murād Beg is questionable); *Munshaʾāt Madjmūaʿsi*, ed. N. Lugal and A. Erzi, Istanbul 1956, 38-40, 57, 58, 62-3; E.—Registers: Başbakanlık Arşivi, no. 1, 32, 40, 63. F.—Calendars (*Tarihî Takvimler*): *Tarihi takvimler*, ed. O. Turan (T.T.K.), Ankara 1954, 32-41; ed. N. Atsız, Istanbul 1961, 23-9; idem, 3080 *numaralı tarihî takvim*, Selçuklu Araştirmaları Dergisi, iv, 1973. G.—Chroniclers: (a) In Persian—Ibn Bībī, *al-Awāmir al-ʿalāʾiyya fīʾl umūr al-ʿalāʾiyya*, facsimile (T.T.K.), 1956, 687-706 (abridged version), *Tawārīkh āl-i Saldjūḳ*, ed. M. T. Houtsma, *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, Leiden 1902, iv, 321-31; Aḳsarāyī, *Musāmarat al-akhbār*, ed. O. Turan, T.T.K., Ankara 1944, 71, 102, 110, 111, 311, 312, 324; anonymous *Saldjuḳ-nāma*, facsimile edition and Turkish tr., F. N. Uzluk, Ankara 1952, 60, 75, 77, 78, 82, 89, 92, 93, 94; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Taʾrīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, ed. K. Jahn, The Hague 1957, 84; Abuʾl Ḳasīm Ḳāshānī, *Taʾrīkh-i Uldjaytu*, ed. Mahin Hambly, Tehran 1969, 168-70; ʿAzīz b. Ardashīr Astarābādī, *Bazm u Razm*, ed. K. Rifat, Istanbul 1928, index; Shukr Allāh, *Bahdjat al-tawārīkh*, Turkish tr. N. Atsız, Istanbul1939, 31, 32, 35, 36; Abū Bakr-i Tihrānī, *Kitāb-i Diyārbakriyya*, ed. Lugal and Sümer, T.T.K., Ankara 1964, ii, 369-70, 554, 567-8. Aflāḳī's work should also be added to these; *Manāḳib al-ʿārifīn*, ed. T. Yazıcı (T.T.K.), Ankara 1961, ii, 841, 906. (b) In Arabic—Ibn Shaddād, *Sīrat al-sulṭān malik al-Ẓāhir Baybars*, Turkish tr. Ş. Yaltkaya (T.T.K.), Ankara 1941, 90-91; Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mirʾāt al-zamān*, Hyderabad 1960, iii, 167, 182, 183, 185; Ibn Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar*, ed. H. R. Roemer, Cairo 1960, viii, 398-9; *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamluken-sultan*, ed. K. V. Zetterstéen, Leiden 1919, 55; al-Djazarī, *Djawāhir al-sulūk*, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. arab. no 679, p. 91; Mufaḍḍal b. Abīʾl-Faḍāʾil, *al-Nahdj al-sadīd*, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. arab. no. 4525, p. 187; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Tuḥfat al-nuẓẓār*, Cairo 1320, 222 (this author did not visit Ḳarāmānid territory); al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, ed. F. Taeschner, Leipzig 1929, 23, 24, 28, 29, 31, 48; idem, *al-Taʿrīf biʾl-muṣṭalaḥ al-sharīf*, Cairo 1312, 40-41; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-āʿsha*, Cairo 1915, v, 346-7, 365-6, viii, 17-18; al-ʿAynī, *ʿIḳd al-djumān*, Ms. Veliyeddin Efendi, no. 2396, 404-670; al-Maḳrīzī, *Kitāb al-sulūk*, ed. M. Muṣṭafā Ziyāda, Cairo 1934, i, 630, 841, 854, 876, 932, 947, ii, 259, 293, 295, 854; Fatih no. 4385, ff. 79b, 82a-b, 83b, 84b, 92b, 108b, 165a; Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba, *Dhayl duwal al-Islām*, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. arab. no. 1599; Ibn Taghrıbirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira*, ed. W. Popper, Berkeley 1915-27, vi, index; vii, index; idem, *Ḥawādith al-duhūr*, ed. W. Popper, Berkeley 1931-42, index; Ibn Iyās, *Badāyiʿ al-zuhūr*, ed. Paul Kahle and Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, Istanbul 1932-36, iii-vi, index, unpublished pages of the chronicle of Ibn Iyās, Cairo 1951, index. (c) In Turkish—Shikārī, *Karaman Oğulları tarihi*, Konya 1946 (should not be used without confirmation through other sources); Aḥmadī, *Tawārīkh-i mulūk-i āl-i ʿUthmān*, ed. Atsız, Osmanlı Tarihleri, Istanbul 1949, 339, 345, 533; Yazıdjı Oghlu, *Tawārīkh-i āl-i Saldjūḳ*, Bibl. Nat. Ms. turc, no. 737, ff. 401a, 404b; Nishāndji, Meḥemmed Pāsha, *Tawārīkh al-salāṭīn al-ʿUthmāniyya*, Turkish tr. İ. H. Konyalı, Osmanli Tarihleri, index; Dursun Beğ, *Taʾrīkh-i Abuʾl-Fatḥ*, in *TOEM*; ʿĀshıḳ Pāshā, *Tawārīkh āl-i ʿOthmān*, ed. Atsiz, Osmanli Tarihleri, index; Neshri, *Čihānnumā*, *Die alt-osmanische Chronik des Mevlānā Mehemmed Neschri*, facsimile ed. F. Taeschner, Leipzig 1951, index; ed. F. R. Unat and M. A. Köymen (T.T.K.), Ankara 1949-57, i-ii, *passim*; Ibn Kamal, *Tawārīkh āl-i ʿOthmān*, ed. Ş. Turan (T.T.K.), Ankara 1954, vii, index; Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-tawārīkh*, Istanbul 1279, i, 218-518; (*Tawārīkh-i āl-i Karāmān* is an apocryphal work compiled in our time). H.—Studies: İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu beylikleri*[2] (T.T.K.), Ankara 1969, 1-38; Cl. Cahen, *Quelques textes négligés concernant les Turcomans de Rūm du moment de l'invasion Mongole, in Byzantion*, xiv, 131-39; idem, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, London 1968, index; J. H. Kramers, *Ḳaramān Oghlu*, in *EI*[1]; M. Ş. Tekindağ, *Karamanlilar*, in *İA*, vi, 316-30; idem, *Karamanlilarin Gorigos seferi*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, ix (1954), 161-74; idem, *Son Osmanlı Karaman münasebetleri hakkında araştırmalar*, in *op. cit.*, xvii-xviii (1963), 43-76; M. Zeki Oral, *Karaman'da Hoca Mahmud Mescidi*, in *Belleten*, xxiii, 213-27; F. Sümer, *Anadolu'da Moğollar*, in *Selçuklu Araştırmaları Dergisi*, i (Ankara 1969), 1-147; Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre*, Paris 1852, iii, 64; G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, Cambridge 1948, ii, 320, 478 n., 493, iii, 499, 511, 518-20, 522, 623; W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen-âge*, Paris 1959, i, 550, ii, 326, 350-7; S. Lloyd and D. S. Rice, *Alanya* (*Alāʾiyya*), London 1958; E. Diez, O. Aslanapa and M. M. Koman, *Karaman devri sanatı* (Istanbul Universitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi yayınları), Istanbul 1950.

(F. Sümer)

KARĀMAT ʿALĪ, born (date uncertain, early in the 19th century?) at Djawnpūr [*q.v.*], of a family of *shaykhs*, which had held the office of *khaṭīb* under Muslim rule; his father was *sarishtadār* in the Djawnpūr Collectorate. He studied theology and other Muslim sciences under various celebrated teachers of the time, especially Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, *muḥaddith* of Dihlī, who was also the teacher and afterwards follower of Sayyid Aḥmad of Brēlwī. Between 1820 and 1824, Sayyid Aḥmad made a tour through Bengal and Northern India, collecting a band of disciples, and Karāmat ʿAlī was one of the most devoted of the younger men who followed him, but he does not appear to have taken part in the *djihād* against the Sikhs [*q.v.*], in which Sayyid Aḥmad was slain in battle in 1831. The Sayyīd's old master, Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, now became his khalīfa, and an active propaganda for the revival of Islam was organised in Bihār and Bengal; with this peaceful propaganda Karāmat ʿAlī was now identified. In 1252/1836-7 Ḥādjdjī Sharīʿat Allāh [see FARĀʾIḌIYYA] met Karāmat ʿAlī in Calcutta. By 1855 the two schools had made some progress towards a rapprochement, and in the meeting then held at Barisal, Karāmat ʿAlī was able to agree on several points with the representative of the other movement, Mawlawī ʿAbd al-Djabbār, though on the question of the lawfulness of *Djumʿa* and *ʿĪd* prayers in British India, he could not overcome the stubborn opposition of ʿAbd al-Djabbār (*Ḥudjdjat-i ḳāṭiʿa*, 29-32).

Karāmat ʿAlī's life was a double struggle: firstly, against the Hindu customs and superstitions which had crept into the practise of Islām in Eastern Bengal, against which he wrote a book, entitled *Radd al-Bidʿa*; and secondly, he tried to bring back into the fold of orthodoxy the new heterodox schools, and he devoted a special book, *Hidāyat al-Rāfiḍīn*, to this subject. He kept in touch with the Muslims of Bengal, and distributed to the needy all the presents that he received. He was a trained *ḳāriʾ* and an expert calligraphist.

Garcin de Tassy (ii, 162) says that he competed for the prize offered by Sir Charles Trevelyan for the best Hindustani essay (see *Bibl.*) on the influence of the Greeks and Arabs on the Renaissance in Europe, but that his essay was not accepted for want of an English translation. He was thus interested, unlike the majority of contemporary Indian Mawlawīs, in the relation of Islām to the wider questions of the world at large. He died on 3rd Rabīʿ II 1290/30th May 1873, and was buried in Rangpūr (*Tadjallī-i-Nūr*, ii, 136), in the province in which he had laboured for the regeneration of Islām all his life. He was succeeded in his work by his son, Mawlawī Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmad (d. 1898), and his nephew, Muḥammad Muḥsin. His following was so large that there was hardly a Bengal village without his disciples.

He wrote chiefly in Urdū. Raḥmān ʿAlī (*Tadhkira-i ʿulamāʾ-i Hind*, Lucknow 1894, 171-2) gives a list of 46 of his works, without claiming that it is exhaustive. One of his works, *Miftāḥ al-Djannat*, has run through numerous editions and is accepted in India as a correct statement of Islamic principles. His writings may be divided into four classes: (1) general works, like *Miftāḥ al-Djannat*; (2) works on the reading and interpretation of the Ḳurʾān, and formal prayers and ablutions; (3) works on the doctrine of spiritual preceptorship (*Pīrī Murīdī*), the cornerstone of orthodox Islām in India; in accepting this doctrine, Karāmat ʿAlī stands in sharp opposition to the Wahhābī sect and merges insensibly into the *Taṣawwuf* schools, which he brings into relation with the traditional religious orders; (4) polemics against Sharīʿat Allāh, Dūda Miyān, the Wahhābīs, etc.

The common conception that Karāmat ʿAlī was a Wahhābī is refuted by the detailed exposition of his own views as set forth in *Mukāshafāt-i Raḥmat*; he had not seen any Wahhābī books, but had made oral enquiries and found that they were so fanatical (*ḍiddī*) that they called all who did not agree with them *mushrik* (38-9); he and his school carefully distinguished between *shirk*, which was the negation of Islām, and *bidʿa*, which was only an error in doctrine (39). In his *Ḥudjdjat-i ḳāṭiʿa* he draws a clear distinction between a *fāsiḳ* (sinner) and a *kāfir* (infidel), and inveighs against those sectaries who would deny funeral prayers to those who did not pray but repeated the *kalima* (21); if non-Muslims conquer Islamic lands, the *Djumʿa* prayer and the two *ʿĪd* [*q.v.*] prayers were not only lawful but obligatory (13 *bis*). He based his doctrine on the orthodox Sunnī books of the Ḥanafī school (*Mukāshafāt-i Raḥmat*, 37). He accepted the six orthodox books of tradition (*Ṣiḥāḥ sitta*), the commentaries (*tafāsīr*), the principles of ceremonial law as interpreted by the masters, and the doctrines of *taṣawwuf* and *pīrī murīdī* (38, 45), even basing the mission of Sayyid Aḥmad on a *ḥadīth* from Abū Hurayra (p. 32); in every century a teacher is born to revivify the faith: Sayyid Aḥmad was such a teacher for the 13th century and should be followed until another teacher arises for the 14th century (34). All this was in direct antithesis to Wahhābī teaching, and the "reform" amounted merely to the abolition of rites and ceremonies introduced through ignorance (36), or to a revival of Islām according to the accepted orthodox schools (50). The political effects of Sayyid Aḥmad's life brought his followers into conflict with the authorities, but the writings of the school show that there was no connection, political or doctrinal, with the sect founded by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb in Arabia.

Bibliography: The European accounts of Karāmat ʿAlī are unsatisfactory, being based on secondary information and failing to distinguish between this school of reform and Wahhābism, and in some places there is confusion between the subject of this article and Mawlawī Sayyid Karāmat ʿAlī of Djawnpūr (1796-1876), who represented the British Government at the court of Dōst Muḥammad Khān at Kābul ,1832-1835, and was superintendent (*mutawallī*) of the Hughlī Imāmbāra, 1837-1876 (*Nineteenth Century*, May, 1905, cf. 780-2; Sir W. W. Hunter, *The Indian Musulmans*, 114; C. E. Buckland, *Dictionary of Indian Biography*, 229; Nūr al-Dīn Zaydī, *Tadjallī-i Nūr*, ii, 139); *Census of India*, 1901, vol. vi. part 1 (Bengal, 174) Calcutta 1902; *Journ. As. Soc. of Bengal*, lxiii, part 3, 54-6, Calcutta 1894; Garcin de Tassy, *Hist. de la Littérature Hindouie et Hindoustanie*, ii, 162, Paris 1870); (it is doubtful whether the *Muʿdjiza-i rashk-i Masīḥa*, Dihlī 1868, mentioned there, was a work by the subject of this article); Sayyid Nūr al-Dīn Zaydī, *Tadjallī-i Nūr* (biographies of the famous men of Djawnpūr), Djawnpūr 1900, 135-6.

A correct appreciation of Karāmat ʿAlī's doctrines can only be gained by a study of his own writings, the most important of which are the following: *Miftāḥ al-Djannat*, Calcutta 1234 (frequently reprinted); *Kawkab-i durrī*, Calcutta 1253 (translates passages from the Ḳurʾān); *Bayʿat-i Tawba*, Calcutta 1254, various practices of the religious orders); *Zīnāt al-ḳāriʾ*, Calcutta 1264 (on reading the Ḳurʾān); *Fayḍ-i ʿāmm*, Calcutta 1282 (a tract on the doctrines of Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindī); *Ḥudjdjat-i Ḳāṭiʿa*, Calcutta 1282 (a polemical tract against the school of Sharīʿat Allāh and his son Dūda Miyān; *Nūr al-Hudā*, Calcutta 1286, on the doctrines of *taṣawwuf*, of the *mudjaddidiyya school*, apparently the new school of Sayyid Aḥmad Brēlwī); *Mukāshafāt-i Raḥmat*, Calcutta 1286, (gives an account of the life and work of Sayyid Aḥmad Brēlwī, and discusses and disowns the Wahhābīs); *Zīnat al-Muṣallī*, Calcutta 1259; *Zād al-Taḳwā*, Calcutta 1287 (the beliefs and practices of Islām and *taṣawwuf*; accepts the Naḳshbandiyya teaching).

(A. Yusuf Ali)

ĶARĀMĪD [see KHAZAF].

ĶARĀMIṬA [see KARMAṬĪ].

ĶARANFUL, the clove. According to the Arabic dictionaries, varying names were given to this plant, including *ḳarnful* and *ḳarnfūl*, whilst popular pronunciations included *ḳuranful* and *ḳuranfil*.

It seems that before the end of the Middle Ages the clove had not yet spread beyond the Moluccas, and since the Muslims who sailed towards China left these islands on their right hand, the old Arab writers could not pin down the origin of the clove. Ibn Khurradādhbih thought that it came from "Salāhiṭ", but he also mentions the island of Waḳwāḳ [*q.v.*]; Salāhiṭ was probably the southern part of the Malayan peninsula. On the other hand, al-Masʿūdī says that it comes from the kingdom of the Mahārādja called Zābadj situated in the islands of the Sea of Annam (Ṣanf); this must be the kingdom of Śrivijaya, of which Palembang in southeastern Sumatra was the centre. Later Arab geographers, such as al-Idrīsī and al-Ḳazwīnī, merely repeat these items of information. However, al-Ḳazwīnī also relates that the clove grows in Sumatra, in Ceylon and in the other islands of the Indonesian archipelago. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa claims to have seen it in Sumatra and Java, but the description which he gives makes one suspect that he confused it with other trees. The stories in mediaeval Arabic literature about cloves being obtained by

"dumb barter" further point to uncertainty about the origin of this spice.

The clove, sc. the dried flower-buds of the tree, were employed in cooking as a spice, but above all, in pharmacy. In Morocco it is also used for perfuming milk. Arab physicians, such as Isḥāḳ b. Ḥunayn and Ibn Sīnā, recommend it as a medicament for sharpening the faculty of vision. Ibn Sīnā, and before him Isḥāḳ al-Isrāʾīlī (Isaac Israeli) further considered the clove as good for the digestion, since it strengthened the stomach and liver. The celebrated physician Isḥāḳ b. ʿImrān notes its effect on powers of procreation; like other medical authorities, he says that it strengthens the sexual powers, and brings about, or lessens, according to the procedure followed, obesity. The clove was also used by the Arabic physicians as a specific against diabetes and other diseases. The instructions of various physicians concerning its use are cited *in extenso* by the Spanish botanist and pharmacologist Ibn al-Bayṭār in his *al-Djāmiʿ li-mufradāt al-adwiya wa 'l-aghdiya*. Because of its pleasant smell, it was used for chewing and as an ingredient in perfumes; the Bedouins (and their womenfolk) in Morocco use it as part of necklaces.

Thus the clove was an important item in the spice trade. From caliphal times onwards, it was imported into the Middle East via the Red Sea, whence consignments were conveyed to Cairo and Damascus. In the later Middle Ages, some of these cargoes were resold in Alexandria and Beirut to Italian merchants. Nevertheless, the clove did not play as big a role in the Indian trade as pepper or ginger, on the evidence of what we know of the cargoes of Venetian, Genoese and Florentine ships. Moreover, the clove was a very costly spice, costing two or three times more than pepper; 100 *manns* were generally sold at Alexandria in the 9th/15th century for 70-80 ducats, though the stems were cheaper.

Bibliography: *LA* and *TA*, s.v.; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 66, 70; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 341, iii, 56 (tr. Pellat, i, 139, ii, 338); Idrīsī, *Opus geographicum*, i, 54, 82, 89, 91; Ḳazwīnī, *Kosmographie*, i, 262, ii, 18, 53, 55; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iv, 228, 240, 243; *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb*, ed. Renaud and Colin, Paris 1934, 153; Ibn al-Bayṭār, Būlāḳ 1291, iv, 7 ff. (tr. von Sontheimer, Stuttgart 1840-2, ii, 281 ff.); E. Wiedemann, *Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, Hildesheim 1970, ii, 254 ff. (annotated text of Nuwayrī); E. Ashtor, *Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l'Orient médiéval*, Paris 1969, 334, 417 ff.; W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, ii, 603 ff.

(E. Ashtor)

ḲARAPAPAKH (Turkish, "black hat"), a Turkic people whose language belongs to the western Oghuz division, and differs little from Āzerī and the Turkish of Turkey. In the Georgian S.S.R. it is often confused with Āzerī, and in Turkey itself Ḳarapapakh is no longer spoken (having been replaced by Turkish). In 1828, the Ḳarapapakh emigrated from the region along the Debeda or Borčala river in eastern Georgia partly to the region of Ḳars (where they formed about 15% of the population) and partly to the Sulduz region of Persia, south of Lake Riḍāʾiyya (Urmiyya). In 1883 they numbered 21,652, of whom 11,721 were Sunnīs and 9,931 Shīʿīs (K. Sadovskiy, *Kratkaya zametka o Karskoy oblasti*, in *Sbornik Materialov... Kavkaza*, iii, 315-50); according to the Russian census of 1897 they numbered 29,879 (in the Russian Empire); in 1910 their population was given as 39,000 (*Kavkazskiy Kalendar'*, 1910, 546) living in 99 villages in the Ḳars territory, of which 63 were in the Ḳars district, 29 in Ardahān, and 7 in Ḳagizman. In 1926, however, the Soviet census listed only 6,316 Ḳarapapakhs, this sharp decline reflecting the loss of the territory of Ḳars to Turkey after World War I. The distribution of the Ḳarapapakh was given in the mid-1920s as 30% in the U.S.S.R. and 70% in Persia (those of Turkey probably being considered simply as Turks). The Ḳarapapakhs of the U.S.S.R. are being assimilated culturally and linguistically by the Āzerīs, and they appear as Āzerīs in the 1959 and 1970 Soviet censuses.

The traditional economy of the Ḳarapapakhs was based on sheep-rearing and some agriculture.

Bibliography: given in the article.

(W. Barthold-[R. Wixman])

ḲARĀR [see mūsīḳī].

ḲARASİ (or ḳarasi). 1. The name of a Turkish chief in Asia Minor and of the dynasty arising from him; his territory has retained this name until the present time (sc. the ancient Mysia, the coastland and hinterland of the Asiatic side of the Dardanelles). Only unsubstantiated hypotheses have so far been put forward for the sense and etymology of the name. Indeed, the whole history of the dynasty, the first of those which were to be suppressed by the Ottomans, is wrapped in obscurity.

The Byzantine historian Ducas, who wrote 150 years after the events in question, classes Ḳarasī amongst those dynasties which established themselves in western Anatolia in the reign of the Emperor Andronicus II (1282-1328); this clearly provides no exact or firm chronology. On the contrary, the name's absence from Muntaner's account of the Catalan expedition (1304-6) and from the list of principalities laid down by Pachymeres (d. 1313), leads one to conclude that Ḳarasī was established—as one would expect—somewhat later than its sister-states further to the south and east. Muntaner, Pachymeres himself and the very well-informed historian of half-a-century later, Nicephorus Gregoras, certainly testify to the presence of Turks who were infiltrating into the region from the beginning of the century, but only the second authority, whose pieces of information are of various dates, is familiar with the name of the dynasty (the equation of the Lamisai of Pachymere with the Kalamēs, father of Ḳarasī, of Gregoras, put forward by Mordtmann is improbable, because of the geographical order followed in Pachymeres' list, which would place the Lamisai in southern or central Anatolia; the list also omits Ṣārūkhān).

Whatever the solution may be, the most important thing is to determine the origin of the Turks settled in Mysia. Later authors include the dynasty amongst the Turcoman ones of Anatolia, but this blanket designation in fact covers several possible distinctions. On the basis of a funerary inscription, in which a person with the name Ḳarasī claims descent from the Dānishmendids [*q.v.*], an attempt has been made to connect the famous 6th/12th century central Anatolian dynasty with the petty principality of the 8th/14th one; but this inscription is at Tokat, in the former Dānishmendid territory, and not in Ḳarasī-Ili, homonymy does not imply identity, and the genealogical pretensions of the party concerned point more to the undeniable fame of the Dānishmendids. It is true that *ca.* 600/1200 we hear of the Dānishmendids on the western fringes of Anatolia, but there is nothing to allow us to suppose any more links with the new Turcoman formations at the end of the 7th/13th and beginning of the 8th/14th centuries than those links of other ancient families. Moreover, if there was apparently, in the case of the

Turks of Ḳarasī, infiltration from the east, as in the neighbouring principalities, it is also clear that one element amongst them is of an entirely different origin. Thus it is known that, at the time of the collapse of independent Saldjūḳ Anatolia in the face of the Mongols, certain Turks and Turcomans fled with Sultan ʿIzz al-Dīn Kay-Kāwūs into Byzantine territory and were finally established in the Dobrudja [*q.v.*], where, mixed with other people coming from South Russia, they were more or less Christianised. During the troubles of the opening years of the 8th/14th century, some of these, either called in by the contending parties or else acting on their own initiative, banded together under a certain Khalīl and returned to Thrace and Mysia, in the end constructing some kind of bridge across the Dardanelles. With the recovering of contact with other Muslim Turks, those of Mysia at least became absorbed once more into the fold of Islam; some memories of these happenings can still be discerned in the legend of their great saint and mystic Sarī Saltuḳ.

We are on much firmer ground with the information of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and of al-ʿUmarī, who both bring us up to *ca.* 1330. There must at that time have been two principalities in the hands of two brothers (the discussion on this relationship arose from the inadequacies of old editions of al-ʿUmarī), Demir Khān and Yakhshī Khān, the former at Balikesri (of which al-ʿUmarī records the ancient name Akīras) and the latter at Bergama. Al-ʿUmarī also gives the name of the dynasty's founder, their father Ḳarasī, and not that of Kalamēs (Ḳalam-shāh or ʿĀlam-shāh?), which is nevertheless not that of the real founder. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa further attributes to Demir Khān's father (not named by him) the foundation (*sic*) of Bergama, which in that traveller's time had no real mosque of its own. The two names are confirmed by Cantacuzenos. The Ottoman sources, on the other hand, all of them more or less connected with ʿĀshīḳpashazāde and none of them really concerned with Ḳarasī until the time of Ottoman intervention in its affairs, call the prince who died *ca.* 735/1335 ʿAdjlān Beg son of Ḳarasī; he is said to have left two sons, who quarreled. One of these two, Dursun, together with his vizier Ḥādjdjī Ilbegi, called in the help of Orkhān, promising him part of his territory; then, when Dursun had been killed by his brother, Orkhān annexed the whole principality. The chronology of the Ottoman sources is for this period vague and tends to simplify events. One might infer that ʿAdjlān was Ḳarasī's title, for the unnamed son, allegedly of bad reputation, might well be (despite the bias of the sources) equated with the Demir Khān of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who also describes him in unfavourable terms. In this context, Yakhshī Khān (which is also a title, "the good khān") could well be Dursun. Furthermore, it is certain that the Ottomans' annexation of the Ḳarasī territory was not so immediate as the sources allege, since a further prince called Sulaymān retained certain places—perhaps as a vassal ruler—until around the time of Orkhān's death, and intervened in the Turco-Byzantine struggles of this period. However, the principality did then disappear, and unlike its neighbours, absorbed by the Ottoman state at a later period, was not subsequently revived by Tīmūr. It had nevertheless left sufficient mark on the region for its name to be perpetuated there.

Because the Ottoman province of Ḳarasī more or less retained the boundaries of the former principality, Münedjdjim Bashī in the 12th/18th century and we today can largely establish its precise limits. After the absorption of certain Byzantine towns which had remained unconquered longer than the open countryside, it embraced a rectangle of territory bounded on the north by the western half of the Marmara Sea and the Dardanelles straits, on the west by the Aegean, on the south by the valley of the Bekir Çay, and on the east by the Simav Su and Susurlu. The island of Mytilene or Lesbos (Midilli [*q.v.*]), which lay opposite the province of Bergama, always remained in the hands of the Byzantines or their Genoese vassals,

Until now, except in error, no coin, inscription or *waḳf* of the rulers of Ḳarasī has been recorded, although al-ʿUmarī mentions coinage of theirs, on the strength of information derived from a well-informed Genoese merchant. It may well be that the multitude of small coins found here and there contain some Ḳarasī ones, but this is for the moment pure hypothesis.

The historical significance of the principality of Ḳarasī lies in the fact, deliberately obscured by the Ottoman historians, that it paved the way for the crossing of the Dardanelles, attributed by those historians exclusively to Murād. Al-ʿUmarī already mentions the naval raids made by the rulers of Ḳarasī, and in this regard, their seamen were tutors of the Ottomans. Several Ḳarasī chiefs rallied to the Ottoman side and then served them; amongst these should probably be included the celebrated Evrenos [see EWRENOS], whose name possibly recalls an origin from Varna/Evren temporarily Hellenised.

Bibliography: 1. Primary sources. Pachymere, ii, 316, 389; Nicephorus Gregoras, i, 214, 761; Ramon Muntaner, *Crónica catalana*; Ducas, ed. Bonn, 13-14, ed. Vasile Grecu, Bucharest 1958, 34; Cantacuzenos, i, 339, ii, 276, 507; al-ʿUmarī, ed. Taeschner, 43-4; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 281, 316, tr. Gibb, 449; *Inshā*ʾ, Paris Ms. 4437 (in which Demir Khān is given the *laḳab* or honorific of Shudjāʿ al-Dīn); Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī, *Kitābeler*, Istanbul 1927, 43; Neshrī, ed. Unat-Köymen, 164-70; ʿĀshīḳpashazāde, ed. Istanbul 1332, 43-5; Münedjdjim Bashī, iii, 36. 2. Secondary sources. Aḥmed Tevḥīd, *Bālīkesrīde Ḳarasī oghullari*, in *TOEM*, ii, No. 9, 654; J. H. Mordtmann, *Über das Türkische Fürstengeschlecht der Karasi in Mysien*, in *SB Pr. Akad.* (1911), 1-7; J. H. Kramers, in *EI*[1], s.v.; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu beylikleri*, Ankara 1937, 33-5; idem, in *İA*, s.v.; P. Wittek, *Yazījīoghlu ʿAlī on the Christian Turks of the Dobruja*, in *BSOAS*, xiv (1952), 639-68; P. Lemerle, *L'Émirat d'Aydin, Byzance et l'Occident*, Paris 1957, 204 n. 1; I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Les actes des premiers Ottomans*, 101-3 and index.

(CL. CAHEN)

2. An administrative division carried the name of Karasī for more than five centuries after the end of the dynasty (see above) and its annexation by the Ottomans. However, the *sandjaḳ* of Karasī did not correspond exactly to the old area which was under the rule of the Karasī Oghullarī. The region of Čanaḳ-ḳalʿe and the Dardanelles was detached as a separate district, an indication of the Ottomans' pressing interest in the control of the Straits. The *sandjaḳ* of Karasī, centred on the plain of Balıkesir, had therefore only one opening to the sea, on the gulf of Edremit and Ayvalık. Its attachment to the *ḳaḍā*ʾ of Erdek in 1846 provided another outlet, on the Marmara, which was gradually enlarged at the expense of the province of Bursa. From 1926, the *vilayet* of Karasī took the name of the *vilayet* of Balıkesir, and comprised the *ḳaḍā*ʾs of Ayvalık, Bur-

haniye, Edremit, Havran, İvrindi, Savas tepe, Balya, Gönen, Erdek, Bandırma, Manyas, Susurluk, Balıkesir, Bigadic, Sındırgı, Kepsut, and Dursunbey.

Bibliography: I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Karasi vilâyeti tahriçesi*, Istanbul 1925; idem, *Anadolu beylikleri*, ²Ankara 1969, 102-3; maps showing modifications in the administrative district in the contemporary period in R. Stewig, *Batı Anadolunu bölgesinin kültürel gelismesini gösteren kartografik bilgiler*, Istanbul 1968, pls. XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII; recent descriptions and geographical analyses of the area in Bedriye Tolun-Denker, *Balıkesir ovasında yerleşme ve iktisadı faaliyetler*, Istanbul 1970; X. de Planhol, *Notes sur la région du coude du Simav*, in *Revue Géographique de l'Est*, iv (1964), 399-413. (X. DE PLANHOL)

AL-ḲARASṬŪN, probably Armeno-Persian in origin, denotes etymologically an instrument made up of a long beam which has at one of its ends a stone as a weight. It is certainly not Greek in origin, and even less does it derive from a Greek personal name, that of the instrument's inventor, as certain authors have believed. If the Armeno-Persian origin of the word is correct, the *ḳarasṭūn* must be a kind of lever or balance, very similar to the *s̲h̲ādūf*, the contrivance used for raising water and still in use in certain eastern countries.

The word figures in Greek and Arabic texts. In Greek, the first reference to it is in the commentaries devoted to Aristotle's Physics by Simplicius. The second and last reference is in the poem written by the 12th century Byzantine grammarian Tzetzes to celebrate the mechanical devices brought to bear by Archimedes at the time of the siege of Syracuse by Marcellus's armies. In the first of these two texts, the word χαριστίων denotes a balance which must be, it is generally agreed, the so-called Roman balance. In the second citation, all the evidence seems to point to a straight lever.

This sense of lever is also found in the writings of Muslim scholars, although some of them used it as a synonym for *ḳabbān*, which specifically means the Roman balance or steelyard. However, it is the first sense, sc. of lever, which appears in the sole surviving work dealing with this instrument, the *Kitāb al-Ḳarasṭūn* of T̲h̲ābit b. Ḳurra. Moreover, this seems to be the basic meaning of the word in Islamic literature, and its application to the Roman balance—which is itself nothing but a straight lever—must be a derived sense.

According to Ibn al-Nadīm and Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, Muslim scholars devoted three works to the *ḳarasṭūn*, sc. that of the Banū Mūsā, that of Ḳusṭā b. Lūḳā and that of T̲h̲ābit b. Ḳurra. As late as 1911, three manuscripts existed of this last work, those of the Stadtbibliothek in Berlin, of the Library of the Jesuit Fathers in Beirut and of the India Office; today, only the latter manuscript exists (Arabic No. 767, vii, fols. 198-208).

In this work, T̲h̲ābit b. Ḳurra treats of the theory of the *ḳarasṭūn*, sc. in brief, of the equilibrium of a beam of homogenous substance suspended at a point away from its centre of balance and to which weights, variously placed along the beam, have been attached. The work is extremely interesting from a twofold point of view. From that of statics, it is the first work really opening the way to what later became the principle of displacement operations; T̲h̲ābit b. Ḳurra in effect determines here the conditions of equilibrium of a lever, basing himself on principles of dynamics going back to Aristotle's *Physics* and to the *Mechanical* problems falsely attributed to him. From the mathematical point of view, the demonstration of proposition 4 in Ibn Ḳurra's work is an important point in the history of the integral calculus. For the first time, certain methods used by Archimedes for calculating areas are now for the first time adopted for calculating the static momentum of a homogenous beam.

Yet in spite of the importance of Ibn Ḳurra's work, this does not seem to have directly influenced the science of statics in the West. Its main themes were certainly rediscovered by the mediaeval and Renaissance theorists, but in a form modified and attached to Archimedes' principles of statics, from which Ibn Ḳurra's diverge fundamentally.

His work was translated into Latin, probably by Gerard of Cremona, under the title *Liber karastonis*. This translations differs in certain respects from the manuscript surviving today. In particular, the meaning of proposition 4 (proposition 6 of the *Liber karastonis*) completely escaped the translator. Ibn Ḳurra's work has also been translated into German in 1911 by E. Wiedemann; this is a good translation, although the order of the propositions is not clearly indicated and the German orientalist was mistaken concerning the number of propositions in the work. A French translation, differing substantially from the two others, has been made by K. Jaouiche (to be published shortly).

Ibn Ḳurra further mentioned the *ḳarasṭūn* in his more popular work *Fī ṣifat istiwā' al-wazn wa 'k̲h̲tilāfihi* ("Concerning the equilibrium and disequilibrium of weights"). This book is intended for workmen who had no mathematical knowledge and is more about the balance with two pans than the lever proper; it has only come down to us in the version transmitted by al-K̲h̲āzin [*q.v.*] in his *K. Mīzān al-ḥikma*, ed. Ḥaydarābād 1359/1940, 338.

Bibliography: F. Buchner, *Die Schrift über den Qarasṭûn von Thâbit b. Qurra*, in *SBPMS Erl.*, lii-liii (1920-1), 141-88; M. Clagett, *The science of mechanics in the Middle Ages*, Madison 1959; idem and E. Moody, *The mediaeval science of weights*, Madison 1952 (for the Latin text of the *Liber karastonis*); H. Diels, *Über das Wort* Qarastûn, in Wiedemann, *Aufsätze*, ii, 577-8; P. Duhem, *Les origines de la statique*, Paris 1905; K. Jaouiche, *Le Kitāb al-Qarasṭūn de Ṯābit ibn Qurra*, Arabic text, French tr. and commentary (Paris doctoral thesis, 1972); A. Mazahéri, *Les origines chinoises de la balance romaine*, in *Annales ESC*, xv (1960), 833-51; M. Steinschneider, *Interno al Liber karastonis*, in *Annali di Matematica pura ed applicata*, v (1863), 54-9; E. Wiedemann, *Zur Mechanik und Technik bei den Arabern*, in *Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, Hildesheim 1970, i, 181-2, 236; idem, *Die Schrift über den Qarasṭûn*, in *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, xii (1911-12), 21-39; see also MĪZĀN. (K. JAOUICHE)

ḲARĀ-ṢŪ [see AL-FURĀT].

ḲARAṢŪ-BĀZĀR (Byz. Mavron Kastron; Soviet, Belogorsk), an important commercial centre in the Crimea, particularly under the Girav [*q.v.*] dynasty of the Ḳrîm Tatars (826/1423-1197/1783). Situated on the well-watered meadows of the northern slopes of the Yayla Mountains, Ḳaraṣūbāzār (Turk. "Blackwater market") took its name from the Ḳaraṣū river, a source of the Salg̲h̲ir. From Byzantine times, the Crimea was subjected to a recurring geo-political pattern of importance for all Crimean towns: imperial powers such as Byzantium, the Genoese and the Ottomans held the southern shoreline up to the Yayla range, while the k̲h̲āns of

nomadic states (Khazars, Pečenegs, Kumans, the Golden Horde (Batu'ids [*q.v.*]) and the Ḳrïm Tatars [*q.v.*]) controlled the Crimean steppe (and often the steppe of the mainland) and dwelt in the attractive towns between steppe and mountain such as Baghče-sarāy [*q.v.*], Aḳmesdjid [*q.v.*] (Russ. Simfercpol), and Ḳaraṣūbāzār.

Politically, Ḳaraṣūbāzār was important as the seat of power of the senior Crimean tribe of Shīrīn, whose leaders controlled the district from the Ḳaraṣū to the Strait of Kerč. Seldom was a khān powerful enough to rule without the support of the Shīrīn begs, who had easy access to the Ottoman governors at Kaffa (Russ. Feodosia), the centre of Ottoman power in the Crimea and a city so prosperous in the 10th/17th century that it was called "little Istanbul". Generally the Shīrīn begs and the Ottomans exercised power on the side of conservatism and against the centralizing tendencies of the khān.

The valley of Ḳaraṣūbāzār was enclosed on all but the north side by hills and to the north-west imposing white limestone cliffs (*aḳ ḳaya*) towered above the town. At these sacred cliffs the Ḳrïm Tatar tribal leaders (*mīrzās*) customarily met to coordinate important Crimean affairs such as the choosing of a rival khān or preparing for war. Because of the hills, the town was easy to defend from nomad and Don Cossack raids, a factor of decisive importance for a trade centre close to the steppe. Moreover, a Ḳrïm Tatar vizier, Sefer Ghāzī, had built in 1065/1654-55 a fortress-like covered bazaar with its own water supply, mosque, bath and iron gates in which merchants could safely store their merchandise and defend it. Ḳaraṣūbāzār was chiefly an entrepôt and manufacturing centre for Tatar pastoral and handicraft products. It lay on the main east-west caravan route 45km. east of Aḳmesdjid and 60km. west of Kaffa via Eski Ḳrïm. It probably served also as a way station for slaves in transit to the huge slave market in Kaffa.

According to A. L. Yakobson (*Sredne-vekovyy Krym* ("Crimea in the Middle Ages"), Moscow 1964), Crimean towns in proximity to the Genoese coastal towns enjoyed high prosperity until the Ottoman conquest of 880/1475. They then experienced a period of readjustment in the 10th/16th century, but enjoyed great prosperity in the 11th/17th century. At first the artisan classes consisted mainly of long-established Karaite [*q.v.*] Jews, Armenians, Italians and Greeks. This situation changed gradually in the 11th/17th century as Ḳrïm Tatars joined the craft guilds. Travellers in the 12th/18th century (*e.g.* M. Guthrie, *A Tour Performed in the Years* 1795-96 . . . , London 1802, and Yakobson, 139 ff.), make a distinction between Ḳrïm Tatars who had become cultivators and craftsmen and the Nogay elements who continued their pastoral life. The chief products of the Ḳaraṣū region were fruit and vegetables, grain, mostly millet and wheat, Moroccan leather made from the hides of Tauric goats, woollen products and some wine. Dyestuffs, such as madder, sumac, saffron etc. grew wild and there were also close at hand forests of oak, beech, linden and poplar. The town boasted a goodly number of craft guilds including armourers, coppersmiths, tinkers, dyers, felt processors, weavers and others.

Ewliyā Čelebi (*Seyāḥatnāme* vii, 644-9) in the mid-11th/17th century observed in the town 8 wooden bridges, a number of water mills, 28 mosques, 5 *madrasas*, 8 Ḳur'ān schools, 4 large *ḥammāms*, 1140 shops, 10 coffee houses and 40 taverns (*meykhāne*). Apart from the less elegant houses of the poorer Christians and Jews, he estimated that the town possessed 5,500 two-storey houses with tiled roofs (at 6 persons per house about 33-35,000 inhabitants). These figures contrast sharply with the estimated 15,000 inhabitants, 12 mosques, 2 Christian churches and a synagogue recorded by Demidoff in the 13th/19th century (M. Anatole de Demidoff, *Voyage dans la Russie méridionale et la Crimée*, Paris 1854, 394).

By the late 11th/17th century, Don Cossack raids had become a common occurrence, but the town prospered even after 1150/1737 when Ḳaraṣūbāzār served as a temporary capital after the burning of Baghčesarāy and thus invited an attack by the invading Russian and Kalmuk [*q.v.*] troops of General Münnich. The town was damaged but the raid was beaten of by Ottoman artillery. In 1185/1771 during the Russo-Turkish war (1182/1768-1184/1774) the town was partially destroyed by Russian troops. After the Russian annexation in 1197/1783, thousands of Ḳrïm Tatars fled to the Caucasus and to Istanbul. Periodically new exoduses occurred as Russia oppressed the Crimea further.

The decline in Tatar population and the influx of cheap manufactured goods made serious inroads upon the prosperity of Ḳaraṣūbāzār in the 13th/19th century. Henceforth the town shared the fate of the Ḳrïm Tatars as a whole. The first stirrings of Tatar nationalism and Turanian [*q.v.*] ideas swept the peninsula at the end of the 13th/19th century under the tutelage of Ismāʿīl Gaspïralï [*q.v.*]. This movement led to the publication of newspapers, the founding of modern schools, and the formation of political parties, prior to World War I.

After the Russian Revolution, between 1348/1929 and 1360/1941, the Ḳrïm Tatars were killed or deported by the thousands as national consciousness and the traditional social cohesion of Tatars came into direct conflict with Stalin's plans for the Sovietization of the Crimea. Thereafter, caught between Hitler's concept of *Untermenschen* and hatred for Soviet injustices, the Ḳrïm Tatar remnant was partly executed and partly deported to Siberia in 1363/1944 by the USSR after the German army was expelled (E. Kirimal, *Der Nationale Kampf der Krimtürken*, Emsdetten 1952, *passim*).

Bibliography: In addition to the sources mentioned, cf. the bibliography to the articles BAGHČESARAY, GIRAY and ḲÏRÏM, and the article KARASUBAZAR in *İA*, vi, 335-36 (Mirza Bala); see also the study and bibliography of A. W. Fisher, *The Russian Annexation of the Crimea 1772-1783*, Cambridge 1970, particularly with reference to the Treaty of Ḳaraṣūbāzār of 1772 (pp. 44-51).

(C. M. KORTEPETER)

ḲARATA (self designation, *Kirtle*, pl. *Kirtlei*; Russ. *Karatai*, *Karatin(tsi)*, *Kirdli*; Avar *Ḳalalal*; other *Kirdi Ḳalal*), along with Andi [*q.v.*], Akhwakh, Bagulal, Botlikh, Čamalal, Godoberi and Tindi forms the Andi division of the Avar-Andi-Dido group of the Ibero-Caucasian languages; the Ḳarata-speaking peoples.

According to an estimate of 1886 (*Dagestanskaya Oblast'*) there were 7,217 Ḳarata at that time; in 1926 there were 5,305 and in 1933 (estimate by Grande) 7,000. The Ḳarata inhabit the northern part of Akhvakh district, in the valley and on the right bank of the Andi Koisu, and two outlying areas in Andalalī and Vedeno districts, an isolated territory of high, rugged mountains in the western part of the Dāghistān A.S.S.R., in seven *auls*: Ḳarata, Archo, Ančikh, Tokita, Mashtada, Račabalda and Čabakoro.

Islam was introduced through the Avar country, probably at the end of the 5th/11th century. The

Ḳarata are Sunnī of the Shāfiʿī rite. According to the testament of Andunik, *nutsal* Gruler of Avaristan (Khašaev, *Obshčestvenniy Stroy Dagestana v XIX Veke*, 135), in 890/1485 the Ḳarata country was one of the seven territories owned by the rulers of Avaristān, and enjoyed at this period a semi-independence. At a later period it was annexed by the Avar Khānate and remained part of it until the destruction of the Khānate by Shamīl. Like almost all Andi peoples, the Ḳarata took an active part in the Shamīl movement.

In the 18th and early 19th century, there were periodic wars between the Ḳarata and Akhvakh, and the Ḳarata and Avars over land and pastures. Occasional alliances existed between the Ḳarata and Gidatl against the Akhvakh society "Ratlub-Akhvakh". Although part of the Avar Khānate, the Ḳarata maintained their own independent social structure, which differed greatly from the feudalistic Avar society. Like all Andi peoples, the Ḳarata had no feudal hierarchy; their patriarchal-clanic democratic system was ruled by the *ʿadat* (see *Pamyatniki Običnogo Prava Dagestana* XVII-XIX VV, Moscow Academy of Sciences 1965, 143-52, text of the *ʿadat* of Ḳarata *naibat*). The basic social structure was the joint extended family (*tukhum*).

The traditional economy was based on herding (sheep and goats) with a transhumance system, agriculture and home industries. The Ḳarata women were well known for their weaving of woollen cloth.

The Ḳarata language has three dialects: Ḳarata proper, Ančikh and Tokita. The Avar language is genetically closely related to Ḳarata, which is a purely vernacular language. The Ḳarata use Avar as their first literary language, and second (sometimes first) spoken language. Avar is the language used in the first few years of education. Russian is the second written and third spoken language.

The Ḳarata are being linguistically and culturally assimilated by the Avar: "Asked the question, 'what is your nationality?' a Ḳarata will answer, 'if a stranger asks us what is our nationality, we answer Avar. If they ask where from, we say Ḳarata. On our own land we call each other by *aul*' " (*Narodî Dagestana*, 67). (See also ANDI, AVAR, DĀGHISTĀN, AL-ḲABK, SHAMĪL)

Bibliography: A. Bennigsen and H. C. d'Encausse, *Une République Soviétique Musulmane: le Dāghistān, Aperçu Démographique*, in *REI*, xxiii (1955), 7-56; *Dagestanskaya Oblast', Svod Statističeskikh Dannîkh Izvlečennîkh iz Posemeynikh Spiskov Naseleniya Zakavkaz'ya*, Tiflis 1890, vii-xiv; Geiger, Halasi-Kun, Kuipers and Menges, *Peoples and Languages of the Caucasus*, 's-Gravenhage 1959; B. Grande, *Spisok Narodnostey S.S.S.R.*, in *Revolutsiya i Natsional' nosti*, no. 4 (1936), 74-85; Kh. M. Khašaev, *Obščestvenniy Stroy Dagestana v XIX Veke*, Academy of Sciences, Moscow 1961; *Narodî Dagestana*, Academy of Sciences, Moscow 1955; S. A. Tokarev, *Etnografiya Narodov S.S.S.R.*, Moscow University 1958.

(R. WIXMAN)

ḲARATIGIN, a district on both sides of the middle course of the Wakhsh or Surkhāb (Turk. Ḳîzîl Ṣū), one of the rivers which form the Āmū Daryā, called Rāsht by the Arab geographers (Ibn Khurradādhbih 34, 211 f.; Ibn Rusta, 92 f., 290; Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 260). The principal place (or "the fortress", *al-Ḳalʿa*, al-Iṣṭakhrī, 340) of Rāsht corresponded as regards its situation perfectly with the modern Garm or Harm, the only town in Ḳaratigin. Rāsht then formed one of the frontier lands of Islām and was defended on the east against the inroads of the Turks by a wall built by Faḍl b. Barmak [*q.v.*] (cf. Ibn al-Faḳīh, 324 f.). In ancient times there ran through this region the road from western to eastern Asia described by Ptolemy. Ḳaratigin is frequently connected with the "highlands of the Komeds", Κομηδῶν ὀρεινή [see KUMĪDJĪS] (*e.g.*, as recently as E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Turcs Occidentaux*, 164, on the authority of Sewertsow in the *Bull. de la Soc. de Géogr.*, part iii (1890), 420-31). In the Middle Ages the name (Arabic Kumīdh or Kumādh, Chinese Kiu-mi-tʿo) was borne by the country below Rāsht. In the Middle Ages and later, the valley of the Wakhsh seems to have had no great importance for trade. As has been so far ascertained, only the embassy sent by Shāh Rukh to China (822-5I/1419-22) used on its return journey the road between Farghāna and Balkh described by Ptolemy.

Like all the highlands on the upper course of the Āmū Daryā, Ḳaratigin also was under its own rulers down to quite modern times; in the pre-Mongol period only one amīr of Rāsht, Djaʿfar b. Shamānīḳū (Gardīzī, ed. M. Nāẓim, 36), is mentioned. Under Tīmūr and later the name of the country Ḳayir Tigin (or Tīgīn) is found (in the edition of Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī's *Ẓafar-nāma* by Mawlawí M. Iláhdád, i, Calcutta 1885, 189, erroneously Tīr Tegīn). When and how the present form arose is unknown. In the manuscripts of the *Bāburnāma* (ed. Beveridge, f. 33[b] and f. 63[b], Ḳarātīgīn, f. 69[b] and f. 81, Ḳayyirtīgīn), and of the *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī* (tr. Ross, esp. 241) both forms are found. *Ḳaratigin* is popularly explained as a Turkish word for "blackthorn" (cf. W. Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, St. Petersburg, ii, 135, Ottoman *Ḳara diken*) or as the name of the two first Ḳîrghîz tillers of the soil (I. Minayew, *Swyedeniya o stranakh po verkhovyam Amu Daryi*, St. Petersburg, 241, following Arendarenko). As is narrated in the *Baḥr al-Asrār* of Maḥmūd b. Walī (India Office Ms., Éthé, *Cat.* no. 575, f. 277[a], in Radjab 1045 (Dec. 1635-Jan. 1636) 12,000 families of Ḳîrghîz, then still pagans, went through Ḳaratigin to Ḥiṣār. At the present day the Ḳîrghîz (Ḳara Ḳirghiz) form a part of the population of Ḳaratigin along with the Tādjīk (and a small number of Özbegs).

In the 19th century, the princes of Ḳaratigin, like the princes of Badakhshān [*q.v.*], claimed descent from Alexander the Great. Ḳaratigin was then under the suzerainty of the Khāns of Khōḳand; their subjection is said to have taken place under Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān (1238-58/1822-42) in 1250/1834 (V. P. Nalivkin, *Kratkaya istoria Kok. Khanstva*, Kazán 1886, 134 f.). Already under ʿĀlim Khān (beginning of the 19th century) we find men from Ḳaratigin forming a considerable part of the standing army founded by this Khān (*Taʾrīkh-i Shāhrukh*, ed. N. N. Pantusov, Kazán 1885, 42 f.). A campaign from Khōḳand against Ḳaratigin in 1275/1858 under Malla Khān (1858-62) is also mentioned (Nalivkin, *op. cit.*, 190); the ruler of Ḳaratigin was at this time Muẓaffar Khān (later also called Muẓaffar Shāh). In 1869 Ḳaratigin was occupied by the troops of the amīr of Bukhārā and Muẓaffar Khān taken as prisoner to Bukhārā; the conflict was only settled by the verdict of the Russian governor-general, (K. P. von Kauffmann), and Muẓaffar Khān again restored to his principality. After his death, Ḳaratigin was definitely incorporated in Bukhārā as a district of 10,792 sq. km. with (about 1890) 60,000 inhabitants (mostly Tādjīks, the others Ḳîrghîz). Ḳaratigin also became involved in the last fighting in Farghāna before the final subjection of this country by the

Russians (1874-76). The frontier between Farghāna and Ḳaratigin (on the heights east of the valley of Kičik Karamuk Su) was defined by a treaty concluded between M. D. Skobelew and another brother of the Beg, Ṣūfī Khān on Sept. 9 (new style), 1876.

It was not till 1878 that Ḳaratigin was for the first time visited by a European (V. Oshanin). In the following decade a mountain road, one of the best in Central Asia, was built through Ḳaratigin on the right bank of the Wakhsh, which made Ḳaratigin much more accessible. Oshanin and later travellers (especially A. Regel, 1881-3) describe Ḳaratigin as a fertile country with numerous villages and orchards, and as one of the most prosperous provinces in the kingdom of the amīr of Bukhārā. It was said (Logofet, 322) that in Ḳaratigin all the inhabitants without exception made a living by agriculture (including gardening), and that there were no landless proletariat there. Anyone who neglected his piece of land for three years lost any right to it. On the other hand Rickmers (p. 340) says that many peasants went from Ḳaratigin to Farghāna, worked there as day-labourers and servants and brought their savings home. The only town is Garm; as regards the number of inhabitants, estimates are very contradictory: according to Oshanin 2,300 houses, to Masal'skiy 4,000 people, to Logofet 15,000. Information regarding administration, taxes, etc. is given in particular by A. Semënow (journey of 1898).

Bibliography: Down to 1878, the best authority is Abramow in the *Izv. Russkago Geograf. Obshč.*, vi, 108 f., and Arendarenko in the *Voyenniy Sbornik*, May 1878, 116 f.; after him Minayew in the *Svedeniya o stranakh*, etc., 196 f., 233 f.; notes from Oshanin's journal in the *Izv. R. Geogr. Obshč.*, 1880-81; Kostenko, *Turkestanskiy Kray*, ii, 197 f.; also *Proc. R. Geogr. Soc.* (1880), 575, quoted by W. Geiger, *Ostiranische Kultur*, 22. Later travellers: A. Semënow, *Etnograf. ozerki Zarafshanskikh gor, Karategina i Darwača*, Moscow 1903; D. Logofet, *V gorakh i na ravninakh Buchari*, St. Petersburg 1913, 322 f.; W. R. Rickmers, *The Duab of Turkestan*, Cambridge 1913, 325 f. (journey of 1906); cf. W. Masal'skiy, *Turk. Kray*, 735 f.; Barthold, *Turkestan*[2], 70 f., 201, 203 (s.v. Rāsht); *Enciklopedičeskij Slovar' Brokhaus-Efron*, xiv/27, 460.

(W. BARTHOLD-B. SPULER)

AL-ḲARAWIYYĪN (MASDJID), a celebrated mosque and Islamic university at Fās, in Morocco.

i.—ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDY

The architectural history of the mosque, already sketched by the late H. Terrasse, in the article FĀS [*q.v.*], heading "Monuments", is sufficiently well-known. It has been revised by the same author in a comprehensive work: *La Mosquée al-Qarawiyyin à Fès*, avec une étude de G. Deverdun, sur les inscriptions historiques de la mosquée, Paris 1968. Three stages can be distinguished there (Pl. 1).

A. The first edifice was built, on the left bank of the Wādī Fās, in 245/859 and was the work of a pious woman, Fāṭima bint Muḥammad al-Fihrī, who came from Ḳayrawān to Fās with her family. She very probably received the authorization to build from the Amīr Yaḥyā b. Idrīs, grandson of Idrīs II. The first oratory measured on the inside 46.60 m. from east to west and 17.20 m. from north to south and included a prayer hall with four parallel bays in the *ḳibla* wall. The *miḥrāb* was on the site of the present great chandelier, the minaret in the place of which is today that of the *ʿanaza*; it was later in the centre of the mosque. The Idrīsid bays are larger than those of later extensions (4.10 m. as against 3.70 m.) and contain 12 archways: 5 on the west of the axial nave and 6 on the east. There has been no success in finding the motive for this abnormal arrangement; perhaps it should be connected with the alteration suggested by the inscription of 263/877 (G. Deverdun, *Une nouvelle inscription idrisite*, in *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie de l'Occident musulman*, ii, *Hommage à G. Marcais*, Algiers 1957), and whose author would be the *amīr* Dāwūd, a grandson of Idrīs I. The eastern and western boundaries of the initial oratory are marked in the present monument by a line of cruciform pillars which separate it from the extension of the 6th/12th century. The court (*ṣaḥn*) extended in front of the prayer hall. It was of meagre dimensions. So it is established, by its overall lay-out and its exterior, that this first mosque resembles the sanctuaries which were erected in the 3rd/11th century in the Maghrib al-Aḳṣā and of which al-Bakrī gives us information.

B. The population of Fās having greatly increased, the Ḳarawiyyīn was enlarged in 345/956, a century after its foundation. In 307/919, it had already become the *khuṭba* mosque of the Ḳayrawānīs' quarter, whose name it has preserved. This was the work of the Zanāta *amīr* Aḥmad b. Abī 'l-Saʿīd who acknowledged his holding the land as a vassal of the Umayyad caliph of Cordova ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir. The latter sent large sums of money levied on the fifth taken from the Christians, and these allowed the extension of the prayer hall by basing the enlargement on the Idrīsid nucleus. The four existing bays were lengthened on the west to four arcades, and, naturally, on the east, to five. On the site of the first *ṣaḥn* and primitive minaret, three other arcades were added. The oratory was then almost doubled, in depth as well as in breadth; it included from that time seven bays and twenty-one naves. The roofs remained set in the direction of the original bays, *i.e.*, parallel to the *ḳibla* wall. The minaret, that is still seen today (pl. xv of the art. FĀS), was constructed of hewn stone, protected later by a facing of carefully polished lime. It is a square tower 4.95 m. wide and 26.75 m. in total height. The walls are 0.95 m. thick. The stairway, 0.85 m. wide, opens out in straight flights around the central nucleus; it is covered with rampart vaults, as were the Cordovan minarets. It is lit by loopholes and by two bays (north and south) of a different style. At the top of the minaret lies a platform for the call to prayer; its parapet forms a straight band in relief and the whole is crowned, not by a lantern-place, but by a hemispherical cupola in the fashion of Ifrīḳiya. The choice of the minaret's site remains without explanation, just as the dimensions of the *ṣaḥn* which has become asymmetrical and which extends at its feet, remain imprecise.

When in 388/998 al-Muẓaffar, son of the famous chief minister of Cordova, al-Manṣūr, conducted an expedition as far as Fās, he attempted to embellish the Ḳarawiyyīn. A beautiful cupola was constructed at the entrance of the axial nave of the oratory. A *minbar* was set up and a cistern was laid out, but neither have been rediscovered.

At the end of the 4th/10th century the mosque was an edifice of fine proportions. The texts tell us nothing of its decoration, but the Ḳarawiyyīn was without rival in the Maghrib.

C. In the age of the Almoravids [see AL-MURĀBIṬŪN] Fās had become the most populous city in the Maghrib, and the Ḳarawiyyīn became too narrow for the faithful. The *ḳāḍī* Ibn Muʿīsha al-Kinānī

obtained from the *amīr* ʿAlī b. Yūsuf, the great builder of the dynasty, the authorization to enlarge once more the famous oratory. The funds were gathered together, thanks to the correct resumption of the mosque's revenues, which had been fraudulently diverted by some administrators, and doubtless with the help of the state treasury. About 528/1134 the work was begun. As early as 531/1136 two new cupolas received their final inscription, but the construction was not completed until 537/1143. As for the new *minbar*, it was not finished until 538/1144. It may then be concluded that the work lasted fifteen years, at the end of which the mosque was augmented in the direction of the *ḳibla* by three supplementary bays, which, as in all the rest of the building, preserve the arch as a thoroughly-exaggerated curve providing a new and magnificent *miḥrāb*. The arcades of the enlargement, for the twenty-one naves, take on once more exactly the dimensions of these of the Idrīsid oratory, such as it had been transformed by the Zanāta prince. It was traditional in the mosques of the west to mark the pre-eminence of the axial nave which leads towards the *miḥrāb*. The Almoravids wanted to mark it exactly on the outside, and they built a raised principal nave that dominates the roofs of the bays with a doublesloped tiled roof. This high nave, richly decorated, allows for the arrangement of a luxurious series of five cupolas. The first, on a square plan, is situated in front of the *miḥrāb*; then a huge dome covers the two other bays corresponding to the enlargement. Some very beautiful Kūfic inscriptions attribute the work to the reign of the *amīr* ʿAlī b. Yūsuf. "The seven ancient bays of the axial nave were reshaped and decorated: today there are still five cupolas to be found; the three bays which antedate the Almoravid extension are covered by two domes with stalactites forming a flanged cupola; another dome with stalactites has taken the place of the cupola of al-Muẓaffar; on the three remaining bays a flanged ʿAlawite cupola is situated between two doubly-sloped roofs" (H. Terrasse). Finally, at the same time there was erected behind the *miḥrāb* a mosque of the dead (*d̲j̲āmiʿ al-d̲j̲anāʾiz*), the first without doubt in Morocco of this genre of edifice, and the most beautiful. This annex, like the median bays of the prayer hall, presents an elegant cupola with stalactites, sheltered beneath a roof in a pavilion, in accordance with the Andalusian method. Also, to reconcile the pious desire to pray over the dead in the mosque itself and the necessity of not polluting the oratory by the presence of a corpse, the mosque of the dead connects with the mosque of the living by three doors, each bearing a twin arcature. If the work of the Almoravids was conceived with the greatest respect for the ancient parts of the building, one must recognize there the desire to magnificently ornament the Ḳarawiyyīn in the manner of the great mosques of the Empire, those of Tlemcen (Tilimsān) and Marrākas̲h̲ in particular. The ornamental richness that they brought together in the axial nave testifies to the expertise of the artists of the time and to the opulence of the Hispano-Moorish art of the 6th/12th century. But all these decorations were to be covered again in plaster, towards 1150, for fear that the Almohad conquerors would get rid of them, as happened at Tlemcen and Marrākas̲h̲ where this precaution against the rigour of the partisans of God's Unity was not taken in time.

For the study in detail of the Almoravid decoration, the epigraphy of the bronzes, the *minbar* etc., one should consult the work of Terrasse, mentioned at the beginning; this has served as a basis in the preparation of this article.

Later, the dynasty of the Almohads [see AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN], doubtless satisfied by the arrangements made to erase the name of the abhorred and cursed ʿAlī, brought to the mosque some utilitarian arrangements and above all an admirable reconstruction of great splendour.

The dynasty of the Marīnids [*q.v.*] respected the work of the past, built the present *ʿanaza* [*q.v.*], enriched the liturgical furniture, added several splendid mountings on the bells taken from the Christians and proceeded to undertake numerous restorations. Finally, what was an illustrious feat, they created the Library. The Saʿdids [*q.v.*] had two fountain-pavilions constructed which survive today in the *ṣaḥn*, in imitation of those which still exist in the Court of the Lions at the Alhambra of Granada. No concern for utility explains their construction (pl. xv of the art. FĀS).

The ʿAlawīs were not sparing in their care for the venerable mosque. It is under their reign that the exceptional competence of H. Terrasse allowed the rediscovery, with their original freshness and sometimes colour, of the richnesses of the Almoravid décor that was believed to have been destroyed for ever and which had remained choked with plaster for eight centuries.

Al-Ḳarawiyyīn is thus not only the great sanctuary of the town of Fās, but an eminent witness of the Hispano-Moorish art in architecture as in the decorative arts.

Bibliography: In addition to the sources given at the beginning of the article and to those that are found in the art. FĀS, one should add that the two essential Arabic texts for the history of the mosque in the Middle Ages are the *Rawḍ al-ḳirṭās* of Ibn Abī Zarʿ and the *Zahrat al-Ās* of al-D̲j̲aznāʾī. The comprehensive plan of the mosque and its annexes was sketched and published by E Pauty, *Le plan de l'Université Qarawiyyin à Fès*, in *Hespéris*, iii/4 (1923) (pl. I). The mosque of the dead has been studied by B. Moslow, *Les Mosquées de Fès et du Nord marocain*, P.I.H.E.M.T., xix, Paris 1938; whilst G. Marçais, *L'architecture musulmane d'Occident*, Paris 1954, 387-8, has given what is essential on the Saʿdid portions of the *ṣaḥn*.

For the Arabic inscriptions, see the *RCEA*, iv, No. 1478; vi, No. 2099; viii, Nos. 3031 and 3061; ix, No. 3545; xv, No. 5626; xvi, Nos. 6080 and 6081. See also the critical article of ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Tāzī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ bināʾ al-Ḳarawiyyīn*, in D̲j̲āmiʿat al-Ḳarawiyyīn, *al-Kitāb al-d̲h̲ahabī*, Muḥammadiyya 1379/1959.

ii.—ORGANIZATION OF THE TEACHING

At exactly what date can one speak of higher education of the Ḳarawiyyīn? It is really difficult to answer this question with precision. Muḥammad al-Manūnī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-Ḳarawiyyīn*, in D̲j̲āmiʿat al-Ḳarawiyyīn, *al-Kitāb al-d̲h̲ahabī*, Muḥammadiyya 1379/1959, thinks that it is in the reign of the Almoravids that the University really became attached to the mosque; but the Ḳarawiyyīn was not the only place of worship where there was teaching.

From the beginning of the 6th/12th century until our own time, the glory of the Ḳarawiyyīn was its body of scholars (*ʿulamāʾ*). It attracted a host of students from all the regions of Morocco, North Africa, Andalusia and even the Sahara, and the Moroccan dynasties and the people of Fās were actively concerned with housing them, in order to be

able to provide instruction; the Marīnids in particular erected the charming *madrasas* [*q.v.*] which still excite the admiration of visitors. The university attained its apogee in the 8th/14th century, but, later, the masters, in devoting their efforts to reconciling the requirements of custom and those of the religious law, could not prevent the decline of the intellectual and teaching methods, above all after the definitive rupture with Spain, and, consequently, with Europe. When, under the Saʿdids, Fās lost its rank of capital in favour of Marrākas͟h, al-Ḳarawiyyīn remained turned in on itself and set in its traditional teaching. It continued to exist, without damage but without progress, by virtue of the Islamic institutions which took centuries to disappear. In reading Leo Africanus, as also Marmol, references are to be found that lack neither interest nor pungency. Finally, some reforms were imposed under the dynasty of the ʿAlawids. In 1203/1788 the Sultan Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh decided to limit the authors, programmes and hours. The essence of this regulation is to be found in the work of Ibn Zaydān, *al-Durar al-fāk͟hira bi-maʾāt͟hir al-mulūk al-ʿAlawiyyīn bi-Fās al-zāhira*, Rabat 1356/1937, 60-1. But fifteen years later, if one believés a Spaniard who travelled under the name of ʿAlī Bey al-ʿAbbāsī, things were going no better. Nevertheless, it is reported that the Sultan Mawlāy Sulaymān (1207-38/1793-1822) used often to visit the classes, question the students and reward the best replies. Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, nephew of the above, devoted himself to new reforms and, by a *ẓahīr* dated Muḥarram 1261/January 1845, reorganized the teaching of the Ḳarawiyyīn (see Ibn Zaydān, *op. cit.*, 79-82). In the present state of our knowledge, we have few means of attempting to evaluate the results attained by this new regulation of the studies, inspired by a sound and clear teaching method.

The general organization of the university before 1912 is described in R. Le Tourneau, *Fās avant le Protectorat*, Casablanca 1949 (book vi). It aimed at giving to the faithful as perfect a knowledge as possible of the truths of belief and of the line of conduct to adopt in the light of these truths. Dogmatism and conformity were the dominating factors in the teaching, which no longer embraced the universality of human knowledge, as before; it was reduced to the strictly religious disciplines. Among the branches of learning professed, certain had gradually disappeared; such was the case of Ḳurʾānic exegesis (*tafsīr*), of which the classes must have ceased in the reign of the Sultan Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, of astronomy (*tand̲j̲īm*), dialectic (*kalām*), mysticism (*taṣawwuf*), which disappeared in 1906, lexicography (*lug͟ha*), philology (*taṣrīf*), geography (*d̲j̲ug͟hrāfiyā*), medicine (*ṭibb*), divination (*d̲j̲adwal*).

The university was not organized in the European manner, nor even in that of Cairo or Tunis. It was placed under the control of the chief *ḳāḍī* of Fās, a kind of rector, but without a proper specialised administration. The scholastic year was unknown. No registration was imposed; the teaching was free; the duration of studies was not fixed, but custom demanded that classes be pursued for five years at least. No examination ratified the studies, a simple certificate (*id̲j̲āza* [*q.v.*]) being handed by the professor to every student who had given proof of application and of a certain ability. Three weeks of leave were accorded on the occasion of the great Muslim festivals, and a month on the occasion of the Spring festival, during which the Sulṭān of the *ṭalba* (plur. of *ṭālib*, student) was chosen (see E. Doutté, *La Khutba burlesque de la fete des Tolba au Maroc*, in *Recueil de mémoires et de textes publiés en l'honneur du XIV*[e] *Congrès des Orientalistes*, Algiers 1905).

It is impossible to know the number of students at the end of the 19th century—a thousand perhaps, but certainly less at the beginning of the following century. They were divided into two categories: the Fāsīs by origin and the strangers at Fās (*āfāḳiyyūn*), who lived, especially the poor ones, in the *madrasas*. The two groups mixed together little.

Nomination to the rank of professor (*mudarris*) depended on the Sultan following an empirical process which seems to have been always accepted by all. The salaries were only small, but, each year, the government made some gifts in kind; it was well understood that in return one had to demonstrate loyalty towards it. The professors enjoyed the most complete freedom, although tradition demanded that they give at least one lesson a day. The first-class professors, numbering 17 in 1904, enjoyed great renown and were called the "Great Scholars" (*al-ʿulamāʾ al-kibār*). It cannot be said that the masters of the Ḳarawiyyīn formed a genuine body, except for granting investiture to a new sultan, along with other personages, or for replying to the consultations that the sovereign sometimes demanded of them. Fās held its doctors in high esteem, but there is no doubt that they were no longer as their illustrious predecessors had been. In their social milieu, their influence, however, remained considerable.

After the establishment of the French Protectorate in 1912, the Sultan Mawlāy Yūsuf signed, on 23 D̲j̲umādā II 1332/19 May 1914, a *ẓahīr* which created a council of improvement charged with looking again for means to improve the studies and their administration, as well as to study the situation of the teaching personnel. Some years later (1918), the university had been entrusted to a Council of Direction and reattached to the Ministry of Justice. In 1346/1927, the professors were submitted to progress and received a fixed salary corresponding to the class in which they were ranked (for further details, see Ibn Zaydān, *op. cit.*, 133-8).

After many plans, often keenly contested by the conservative milieux of Morocco and especially of Fās, an important reform was introduced to the Ḳarawiyyīn by two *ẓahīrs* of the future King Muḥammad V, the first dated 12th D͟hū 'l-Ḳaʿda 1349/1st April 1931, the second 15th Muḥarram 1352/10th May 1933. The teaching was divided into three cycles: elementary, secondary and final or higher. The last comprised two sections: the first was reserved for the Religious Law, the sources of this law, *ḥadīt͟h* and *tafsīr*; the second entirely modern, was devoted to literature, Arabic language, history and geography. The hours were imposed on the professors as on the students, some examinations were organized and the vacations regularized. The masters received professional recognition, general supervision was reinforced, discipline enjoined, etc. (see Ibn Zaydān, *op. cit.*, 146-66). The old university, now rejuvenated, became a State institution in 1947.

After independence, al-Ḳarawiyyīn was thoroughly reorganized by the royal decree No. 1.62.249 of 12th Ramaḍān 1382/6th February 1963. Now a public establishment, endowed with a civil corporate nature, the university was placed under the control of the Ministry of National Education. It is before all "charged with (1) assuring the education of specialists in the Islamic disciplines and Arabic language; and (2) promoting academic research in the fields of the *s͟harʿ* and the Arabic language". It comprises: (1) the Faculty of the *S͟harīʿa* (Muslim law) which was opened

in Fās in October 1960; (2) the Faculty of Arabic Studies, whose centre is at Marrākash; (3) the Faculty of Theology (*Uṣūl al-dīn*) created at Tatwān; and (4) some institutes attached to it, of which the most important is the *dār al-ḥadīth*, at Rabat, which produces scholars in the Islamic sciences. Each faculty is directed by a dean, assisted by a deputy, both of them appointed by the Directorate of Higher Education of the Ministry. The university at present (1972) comprises about a thousand students and each year grants an ever-increasing number of degrees (110 in 1970). Each academic year also produces a generation of educated young people who find a place less and less easily in modern Morocco. The Moroccan Government is not unaware of the problem, for which there is no easy and satisfactory solution.

Today, the university no longer functions at the foot of the pillars of the ancient mosque; it has been transferred to an old French barracks where the students no longer lead the mediaeval life of yesteryear. Meanwhile the professors, even the less aged, continue to teach in a traditional spirit and, consequently, to form young people who do not move in the same atmosphere as their companions in modern education.

Bibliography: Apart from the sources given in the text and those which are to be found in the article FĀS, see for further details: Marmol (16th century), *De l'Afrique*, tr. d'Ablancourt, ii, Paris 1667; Badia y Leblich (ʿAli Bey), *Voyages d'Ali Bey el Abbassi en Afrique et l'Asie*, 3 vols., Paris 1814 (see on Fās, i, ch. viii); G. Delphin, *Fas, son université et l'enseignement supérieur musulman*, Paris 1889; A. Pérétié, *Les madrasas de Fès*, in *AM*, xviii (1912); P. Marty, *Le Maroc de demain*, Paris 1925, ch. i; L. Brunot, *Le personnage de Barabbas dans la fête du sultan des Tolba à Fès*, in *Mélanges Gaudefroy-Demombynes*, Paris 1935; Leon l'Africain (16th century), *Description de l'Afrique*, tr. A. Épaulard, Paris 1956, i; Djāmiʿat al-Ḳarawiyyīn, *al-Kitāb al-Dhahabī fī dhikrāhā al-miʾa baʿd al-alf* (245-1379/859-1960), Muḥammadiyya 1959, numerous articles of very unequal documentary value, and a bibliography of some European publications, especially in French (232-4); R. Le Tourneau, *Évolution politique de l'Afrique du Nord musulmane, 1920-1961*, Paris 1962; J. J. Waardenburg, *Les Universités dans le monde arabe actuel*, The Hague 1966; Abd el-Hadi Tazi, *Al. Qaraouiyyine*, Beirut 1973 (in Arabic, with French summary).

iii.—THE LIBRARY

The library of al-Ḳarawiyyīn is not situated within the mosque, but in an annex building. As the inscriptions preserved in the building itself and published (*RCEA*, xvi, Nos. 6081-2) indicate, it was created in 750/1349 by the Marīnid Sultan Abū ʿInān Fāris [*q.v.*], and enlarged by the Saʿdid Sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr [*q.v.*].

Its richness, once famous, attracted to Fās European scholars in search of ancient works. But in the 19th century it had fallen into a pitiable state of abandonment, dilapidation and pillage. The supervision of the library was in principle incumbent on the *naḳīb* [*q.v.*] of the university's pious foundations, but he shifted the responsibility onto a student agreed by a higher authority. No catalogue or register of loans has been discovered, as in Marrākash at the Library of the Mosque of Ibn Yūsuf. Many borrowers must have neglected to return the works, to such an extent that at the beginning of the 20th century the number was estimated at no more than 1600 manuscripts and 400 printed books. Some are very valuable or very rare, in particular the 5th volume of the *Kitāb al-ʿIbar* of Ibn Khaldūn, with a dedication in the famous historian's own hand. There are also some volumes there bearing the acts of donation of certain Moroccan princes. The most ancient manuscripts date back a thousand years, and the most numerous of them result from gifts, in the form of *ḥabus*, of the Saʿdid Sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr. The Ḳarawiyyīn also received an important part of the library of the ʿAlawī Sultan Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh at the time when it was dispersed among the towns of Morocco.

In 1918, the catalogue was published and provoked a certain sense of disappointment, but, later, some valuable manuscripts were discovered in unlisted files. In the reign of Muḥammad V the Library was enlarged and modernized, its administration remodelled, supervision of it reinforced and its departments enriched. Today it counts, in addition to very numerous printed books, more than 4,000 manuscripts, and has resumed its activity and its secular role.

Bibliography: See the works of Pérétié, Marty, Le Tourneau and Ibn Zaydān, cited above; also A. Bel, *Catalogue des livres arabes de la Bibliothèque de la Mosquée d'El-Qarouiyine à Fès*, Fās 1918; E. Lévy-Provençal, *Note sur l'exemplaire du Kitāb al-ʿibar offert par Ibn Ḫaldūn à la Bibliothèque d'al-Qarawīyīn à Fès*, in *Hespéris* (1923); H. P. J. Renaud, *Un prétendu catalogue de la Bibliothèque de la Grande Mosquée de Fès daté de 1268/1851*, in *Hespéris* (1934); G. Deverdun, *Un registre d'inventaire et de prêts de la Bibliothèque de la Mosquée Ali b. Youssef à Marrakech, daté de 1111/1700*, in *Hespéris* (1944); J. Luccioni, *Les bibliothèques habous au Maroc*, in *Bull. écon. et soc. du Maroc* xix/66 (1955); ʿĀbid al-Fāsī, *Khizānat al-Ḳarawiyyīn wa-nawādiruhā*, in *RIMA* i (1959), 8-16.

(G. DEVERDUN)

KARAY, REFĪḲ KHĀLID (modern Turkish REFİK HALİT KARAY), Turkish essayist, humorist and novelist (d. 1888/1965). He was born in Beylerbeyi on the Bosphorus, Istanbul. His father, Meḥmed Khālid of the Karakayîsh Oğullarî (later shortened to Karay by Refīḳ Khālid), was chief treasurer at the Ministry of Finance. Trained at the Galatasaray lycée (1900-6), which he left before graduating, Karay became a clerk in a department of the Ministry of Finance and at the same time attended the school of law (*Mekteb-i Ḥuḳūḳ*) until the restoration of the Constitution in 1908; he then abandoned both job and study and became a journalist. After contributing to various papers, he founded in 1909 his own shortlived *Ṣon Ḥawādith*. In the same year he joined the new literary group *Fedjr-i Ātī* (Dawn of the Future), formed for a brief period by the young generation of poets and writers, which was no more than the closing phase of the *Therwet-i Fünūn* movement.

His real personality as a writer took shape in 1910 when he began to contribute, under the penname *Kirpi* ("hedghog"), to the humorous magazines *Ḳalem* and *Djem*, of which he soon became a leader writer. His powerful satirical essays, mixed with subtle humour, were written in a masterly style and were directed against the leaders of the Committee of Union and Progress, the party in power, and these immediately established his unchallenged reputation. Following the assassination of Grand Vizier Maḥmūd Shewket Pasha in June 1913, Refīḳ Khālid, although he did not belong to any party and was not a militant, was arrested together with several hundred opposi-

tion "suspects" and banished to Sinop, on the Black Sea. Ṭalʿat Pasha himself, who had been the target of one of his ruthlessly sarcastic articles, included his name in the list of people "to be punished" (R. H. Karay, *Minelbab ilelmihrab*, Istanbul 1964, 36). He spent the following five years in exile in Sinop, Çorum, Ankara and Bilecik, during which time he remained silent except for a few essays and short stories which were published, under the pen-name *Aydede*, in the Istanbul daily *Peyam*, and later, under his own name, in Gökalp's famous *Yeñi Medjmūʿa*.

On his return from exile towards the end of World War I, he contributed to the newspapers *Zamān* and *Ṣabāḥ* (of which he became later a leader writer). When in 1918 the war was lost and the Unionist leaders fled the country. Refīḳ Khālid's satires against them and the committee baceme more vitriolic. He joined the Liberal Union Party (*Ḥürriyet ve Iʾtilāf Firḳasi*) and became increasingly involved in the anti-Nationalist politics and activities of the Istanbul governments of the 1919-22 period. His many articles and satirical essays, in which he tried to discredit the resistance movement in Anatolia led by Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha, depicting it as a resurgence of Unionist ambitions, and his efforts to disrupt the telegraphic communications of the Nationalists while he was Director-General of Posts and Telegraph during the collaborationist governments of Dāmād Ferīd Pasha, made him *persona non grata* in the eyes of the Ankara government. His arrest and trial was one of the conditions put forward by the Nationalists for any compromise with the sultan's government in October 1919 (S. Selek, *Anadolu İhtilâli*, Istanbul 1968, 304). Following the victory of the Nationalists in Anatolia in September 1922 and soon after the arrival in Istanbul of Reʾfet Pasha (Bele) as their special representative, the writer and journalist ʿAlī Kemāl, a close friend and collaborator of Refīḳ Khālid, a leading opponent of the Nationalists and former Minister of the Interior, was kidnapped and murdered in Izmid on the way to his trial in Ankara (F. R. Atay, *Çankaya*[2], Istanbul 1969, 341-42). On learning this, Refīḳ Khālid joined a group of leading members of the Liberal Union Party, most of whom had collaborated with the army of occupation in Istanbul, and took refuge in the British Embassy. He was taken later to Tashkïshla barracks with other refugees, but managed to slip away from there and left Istanbul on a French ship on 9 November 1922. (Later he was included among the 150 "undesirables" (*Yüzellilikler*) excepted from the amnesty provisions of the Lausanne Treaty of 1923). He went to Djūniyya in the Lebanon where he wrote his political memoirs; their serialization in the Istanbul daily *Akshām* in 1924 caused a great furore and it was consequently suspended. In the same year he moved from Djūniyya to Aleppo, where the editors of the Turkish newspaper *Doghru Yol* invited him to work. He published his essays, short stories and articles in this paper and published his books in Aleppo, remaining there until the general amnesty of 1938 when he returned to Turkey. During the last 27 years of his life he lived in Istanbul, carefully avoiding politics, devoting all his time to contributing to many papers and magazines and writing a great number of essays and sketches and many popular novels. He was the president of the Turkish P.E.N. club when he died in Istanbul on 13 July 1965.

As he confessed in a famous interview (Rüshen Eshref, *Diyorlar ki*, Istanbul 1334/1918, 247-59), Refīḳ Khālid was completely ignorant of classical Turkish literature and of the works of the mid-19th century modernists (*Tanẓīmāt* School). He avidly read everything the *Therwet-i Fünūn*, his immediate predecessors, published at the turn of the century. He admired their technique but rejected their French-inspired themes and characters and their artificial and precious style (excepting, however, some writings of Khālid Ḍiyāʾ, Meḥmed Raʾūf and Ḥüseyn Djāhid). Thus he started his epoch-making career from scratch. Apart from one or two forerunners at the end of the 19th century, he pioneered realism in the novel and short story and switched his attention from the over-exploited capital (Istanbul) to the Anatolian countryside; he specialized in subtle social and political satire without having recourse to gross and obscene language. He advocated and practised the use of spoken Turkish as a literary medium as early as 1909, *i.e.*, before Ömer (ʿUmar) Seyf ed-Din and his associates inaugurated the movement of *Yeñi Lisān* (New Language) which aimed at the simplification of written Turkish. Refīḳ Khālid's published works, numbering 37, can be divided into the following categories:

(1) Humorous and satirical essays, on incidents of everyday life, topical events or political personalities, which reveal his real personality. These have been put together in the following volumes: *Kirpinin dedikleri* ("What the Hedgehog said"), containing essays published between 1909-19, second enlarged edition, Istanbul 1336 (1920), in Roman script 1940; *Tanıdıklarım* ("My Acquaintances"), Istanbul 1335 (1919), in Roman script 1941; *Sakın aldanma, inanma, kanma* ("Don't be deceived, don't believe, don't be taken in"), Istanbul 1335 (1919), in Roman script 1941; *Agho Pashanïñ Khāṭïralarï* ("Memoirs of Agho Pasha the Parrot"), Istanbul 1338 (1922), in Roman script 1939; *Ay peshinde* ("In Pursuit of the Moon"), Istanbul 1339 (1923); *Ghughuḳlu sā-ʿat* ("The Cuckoo Clock"), Istanbul 1341 (1925), in Roman script 1940; *Bir avuč sačma* ("A Handful of Nonsense"), Aleppo 1932.

(2). Short Stories. Refīḳ Khālid's short stories have been collected in *Memleket Ḥikāyeleri* ("Stories from the Country"), Istanbul 1335 (1919), in Roman script 1939 (French tr. Belkis Tavad, *Contes turcs*, Istanbul n.d.), sometimes considered as his masterpiece. Except for a few stories which belong to his early period (1909-12), these stories were written during his five-year exile in Anatolia where he was able to study closely the types and customs of villagers and provincial townspeople. An invaluable documentary on everyday life of pre-World War I Central Anatolia, these stories are told with a rare virtuosity of natural style unprecedented in modern Turkish literature. He observes and describes landscape, provincial towns and local types—peasants, shopkeepers, notables, teachers, khodjas and civil servants—with powerful realism, without always seeking to penetrate the soul of his characters. His *Gurbet Hikâyeleri* ("Stories of Exile"), Istanbul 1940, contain mainly sketches using much autobiographical material, a feature of his later works.

(3). Novels. Refīḳ Khālid wrote only one novel between 1909 and 1929, *Istanbul'uñ Ič Yüzü* ("The inside Story of Istanbul"), Istanbul 1336 (1920), in Roman script as *Istanbul'un Bir Yüzü* ("One Face of Istanbul"), Istanbul 1939, perhaps his best. Written in the form of a diary of a woman of humble origin, brought up in the mansion (*konak*) of a Ḥamīdian pasha, this novel is a series of masterly sketches of Istanbul "society" between 1900-20, where the last vestiges of the old régime, the influential magnates of the all-powerful committee of Union and Progress and the degenerate nouveaux-riches of the war years

are depicted with scintillating and merciless sarcasm. After 1930 and particularly after his return from exile in 1938, he serialized in newspapers and magazines a great number of popular novels (19 of which were published in book form and some also filmed) of mediocre literary value, written mainly for the purpose of making a living, as he himself admitted (Mustafa Baydar, *Edebiyatçılarımız ne Diyorlar?*, Istanbul 1960, 108). But some of these novels, particularly *Sürgün* ("Exile"), Istanbul 1941, *Anahtar* ("The Key"), Istanbul 1947 and *Bu Bizim Hayatımız* ("This is our Life"), Istanbul 1950, are worth mentioning for many important autobiographical data and period descriptions. Among his non-political and non-satirical essays the volume *Üç Nesil Üç Hayat* ("Three generations, Three ways of Life"), Istanbul 1943, contains lively sketches of everyday life in Istanbul from the 1860s onwards. A considerable number of his essays and articles published in his very popular humorous magazine *Aydede* (from January 1922, 90 issues, and again in 1948-49, 125 issues) have not been collected in book form.

(4). Plays. Refīḳ K͟hālid wrote two plays: *Tiryāki Ḥasan Pasha*, a historical play about the famous defender of the fortress of Kanizsa in Hungary in 1601. The play, which had a great success at the time (1909), has not been published. He wrote his second play, a one-act comedy, while in Syria: *Deli* ("The Madman"), Aleppo 1931, in Roman script, Istanbul 1939. It is the story of a mental patient restored to health who, on experiencing the effects of the radical social reforms of the 20s, goes irrevocably mad again. Kemal Atatürk stated on reading the play that "it did not satirize the reforms but emphasized them" and on his suggestion, Refīḳ K͟hālid (together with the remaining survivors of the 150 "undesirables") was included in the amnesty for the 15th anniversary of the republic in 1938 (Y. K. Karaosmanoğlu, *Gençlik ve Edebiyat Hatıraları*, Ankara 1969, 87-90).

Refīḳ K͟hālid has been almost unanimously accepted as the unchallenged master of modern Turkish prose (Occasional reservations appear to be motivated by personal bias, *e.g.*, Yahya Kemal Beyatlı, *Siyasi ve Edebi Portreler*, Istanbul 1968, 50-53). It has been said that no other writer wrote a more natural, spontaneous Turkish, based on the spoken language. This judgement is still held by many critics to be true even for contemporary literature. It is no doubt correct for the period 1908-28; but it has not been sufficiently noticed that the profound transformation of the language and style and literary taste which took place from the 1930s onwards is beginning to "date" his language and style, which was truly unmatched during the pre-reform period.

Bibliography: Ismāʿīl Ḥabīb, *Türk Tedjeddüd edebiyyatī taʾrīk͟hi*, Istanbul 1340 (1924), 634-7; Edmond Saussey, *Prosateurs turcs contemporains*, Paris 1935, 215-27; Münci Enci, *Kendi Yazıları ile Refik Halit*, Istanbul 1943; Cevdet Kudret, *Türk Edebiyatında Hikâye ve Roman*, Ankara 1970, ii, 159-86; Behçet Necatigil, *Edebiyatımızda İsimler Sözlüğü*, revised 7th ed., Istanbul 1972, s.v.

(Fahir İz)

KARBALĀʾ, a place in ʿIrāḳ some 60 miles SSW of Bag͟hdād celebrated by the fact that the Prophet's grandson al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī was killed and his decapitated body buried there (*Ḳabr al-Ḥusayn*). For all these events, see AL-ḤUSAYN B. ʿALĪ. When it became a place of pilgrimage, Karbalāʾ became known as Mas͟hhad (al-) Ḥusayn.

The name Karbalāʾ probably comes from the Aramaic Karbelā (Daniel, III, 21) and from the Assyrian Karballatu, a kind of headdress; see G. Jacob, *Türkische Bibliothek*, xi, 35, n. 2. It is not mentioned in the pre-Islamic period. K͟hālid b. al-Walīd camped there after the capture of al-Ḥīra (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iv, 250). At al-Ḥāʾir, where al-Ḥusayn was buried, the Ḳabr al-Ḥusayn was built and very soon began to attract pilgrims. As early as 65/684-5 we find Sulaymān b. Ṣurad going with his followers to Ḥusayn's grave where he spent a day and a night (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 545 ff.). Ibn al-At͟hīr, v, 184, ix, 358, mentions further pilgrimages in the years 122/739-40 and 436/1044-5. The custodians of the tomb at quite an early date were endowed by the pious benefactions of Umm Mūsā, mother of the Caliph al-Mahdī (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 752).

The Caliph al-Mutawakkil in 236/850-1 destroyed the tomb and its annexes and had the ground levelled and sown; he prohibited under threat of heavy penalties visiting the holy places (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1407; Ḥamd Allāh al-Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, 32). Ibn Ḥawḳal (ed. de Goeje, 166), however, mentions about 366/977 a large *mas͟hhad* with a domed chamber, entered by a door on each side, over the tomb of Ḥusayn, which in his time was already much visited by pilgrims. Ḍabba b. Muḥammad al-Asadī of ʿAyn al-Tamr, supreme chief of a number of tribes, devastated Mas͟hhad al-Ḥāʾir (Karbalāʾ) along with other sanctuaries, for which a punitive expedition was sent against ʿAyn al-Tamr in 369/979-80 before which he had fled into the desert (Ibn Miskawayh, *Tadjārib al-Umam*, ed. Amedroz in *The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, ii, 338, 414). In the same year, the S͟hīʿī Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*] took the two sanctuaries of Mas͟hhad ʿAlī (= al-Nadjaf) and Mas͟hhad al-Ḥusayn (M. Ḥāʾirī) under his special protection (Ibn al-At͟hīr, viii, 518; Ḥamd Allāh al-Mustawfī, *loc. cit.*).

Ḥasan b. al-Faḍl, who died in 414/1023-4, built a wall round the holy tomb at Mas͟hhad al-Ḥusayn (Ibn Tag͟hrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, ed. Popper, ii, 123, 141), as he also did at Mas͟hhad ʿAlī (Ibn al-At͟hīr, ix, 154).

In Rabīʿ I 407/Aug.-Sept. 1016, a great conflagration broke out caused by the upsetting of two wax candles, which reduced the main building (*al-ḳubba*) and the open halls (*al-arwiḳa*) to ashes (Ibn al-At͟hīr, ix, 209).

When the Saldjūḳ Sulṭān Malik S͟hāh came to Bag͟hdād in 479/1086-7, he did not neglect to visit the two Mas͟hhads of ʿAlī and al-Ḥusayn (Ibn al-At͟hīr, x, 103). The two sanctuaries at this time were known as al-Mas͟hhadān (al-Bundarī-al-Iṣfahānī, *Zubdat al-nuṣra*, ed. Houtsma, in *Recueil des textes . . .*, ii, 77) on the analogy of the duals al-ʿIrāḳān, al-Baṣratān, al-Ḥīratān, al-Miṣrān, etc.

The Ilk͟hān G͟hāzān in 702/1303 visited Karbalāʾ and gave lavish gifts to the sanctuary. He or his father Arg͟hūn is credited with bringing water to the district by leading a canal from the Frāt (the modern Nahr al-Ḥusayniyya) (A. Nöldeke, *Das Heiligtum al-Ḥusains zu Kerbelāʾ*, Berlin 1909, 40).

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 99, visited Karbalāʾ in 727/1326-7 from al-Ḥilla and describes it as a small town which lies among palm groves and gets its water from the Frāt. In the centre is the sacred tomb; beside it is a large *madrasa* and the famous hostel (*al-zāwiya*) in which the pilgrims are entertained. Admission to the tomb could only be obtained by permission of the gate-keeper. The pilgrims kiss the silver sarcophagus, above which hang gold and silver lamps. The doors are hung with silken curtains. The inhabitants are divided into the Awlād Rak͟hīk and Awlād Fāyiz,

whose continual feuds are detrimental to the town, although they are all Shīʿīs.

About the same date, Ḥamd Allāh al-Mustawfī (*op. cit.*) gives the circumference of the town as 2,400 paces; he mentions there also the tomb of Ḥurr Riyā (b. Yazīd), who was the first to fall fighting for Ḥusayn at Karbalāʾ.

The Ṣafawid Shāh Ismāʿīl I (d. 930/1524) made a pilgrimage to al-Nadjaf and Mashhad Ḥusayn.

Sulṭān Sulaymān the Magnificent visited the two sanctuaries in 941/1534-5, repaired the canal at Mashhad al-Ḥusayn (al-Ḥusayniyya) and transformed the fields which had been buried in sand into gardens again. The Manārat al-ʿAbd [*q.v.*], formerly called Engusht-i Yār, was built in 982/1574-5. Murād III in 991/1583 ordered the Wālī of Baghdād, ʿAlī Pasha b. Alwand, to build or more correctly, restore, a sanctuary over the grave of Ḥusayn. Soon after the capture of Baghdād in 1032/1623, ʿAbbās the Great won the Mashhads for the Persian empire. Nādir Shāh visited Karbalāʾ in 1156/1743; while he is credited with gilding the dome in Mashhad ʿAlī, he is also said to have confiscated endowments intended for the priests of Karbalāʾ.

The great prosperity of the place of pilgrimage and its large number of inhabitants is emphasised on the occasion of the pilgrimage of ʿAbd al-Karīm, a favourite of Nādir Shāh. Radiyya Sulṭān Bēgum, a daughter of Shāh Ḥusayn (1105-34/1694-1722), presented 20,000 *nādirīs* for improvements at the mosque of Ḥusayn.

The founder of the Ḳādjār dynasty, Āghā Muḥammad Khān, towards the end of the 12th/18th century, presented the gold covering for the dome and the *manāra* of the sanctuary of Ḥusayn (Jacob, in A. Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, 65, 4).

In Dhu ʾl-Ḥidjdja 1215/April 1801, in the absence of the pilgrims who had gone to al-Nadjaf, 12,000 Wahhābīs under Shaykh Saʿūd entered Karbalāʾ, slew over 3,000 inhabitants there and looted the houses and bazaars. In particular they carried off the gilt copper plates and other treasures of the sanctuary and destroyed the shrine. But after this catastrophe contributions poured in for the sanctuary from the whole Shīʿī world.

After a temporary occupation of Karbalāʾ by the Persians, Nadjīb Pasha in 1259/1843 succeeded by force of arms in enforcing the recognition of Turkish suzerainty over the town; the walls of the present old town were now for the most part destroyed. The governor Midḥat Pasha ln 1288/1871 began the building of government offices, which remained incomplete, and extended the adjoining market place (documents on the history of Mashhad Ḥusayn are given in A. Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, 35-50).

In 1965 Karbalāʾ had 81,500 inhabitants (1970 estimate, 107,500), a number swollen to well over 100,000 during Muḥarram with its influx of pilgrims. Karbalāʾ has always been a particularly rich town, not only because of its possession of the shrine but also because it has been a starting-point for Persian pilgrim caravans to Nadjaf and Mecca and a "desert port" for trade with the interior of Arabia. The old town with its tortuous streets is now surrounded by modern suburbs. About half of the resident population is Persian, and there is a strong mixture of Indian and Pakistani Muslims; there have long been Indian connections through the shrine's benefiting from the former ruler of Oudh's bequests. Of the remaining Shīʿī Arabs, the most important tribes amongst them are the B. Saʿd, Salālma, al-Wuzūm, al-Tahāmza and al-Nāṣiriyya. The Dede family has been especially prominent; it was rewarded with extensive estates by Sulṭān Selīm I for constructing the Nahr al-Ḥusayniyya.

The name Karbalāʾ strictly speaking only applies to the eastern part of the palm gardens which surround the town in a semi-circle on its east side (Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, 41). The town itself is called al-Mashhad or Mashhad al-Ḥusayn.

The sanctuary of the third Imām lies in a court yard (*ṣaḥn*) 354 × 270 feet in area, which is surrounded by *līwāns* and cells. Its walls are decorated with a continuous ornamental band which is said to contain the whole Ḳurʾān written in white on a blue ground. The building itself is 156 × 138 feet in area. The rectangular main building entered by the "golden outer hall" (picture in Grothe, *Geogr. Charakterbilder*, pl. lxxviii, fig. 136) is surrounded by a valued corridor (now called *djāmiʿ*; A. Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, 20, l. 3) in which the pilgrims go round the sanctuary (*ṭawāf*) (Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums*[2], 109-12). In the middle of the central domed chamber is the shrine (*ṣandūḳa*) of Ḥusayn about 6 feet high and 12 long surrounded by silver *mashrabiyya* work, at the foot of which stands a second smaller shrine, that of his son and companion-in-arms ʿAlī Akbar (Masʿūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh*, ed. de Goeje, *BGA*, viii, 303).

"The general impression made by the interior must be called fairy-like, when in the dusk—even in the daytime it is dim inside—the light of innumerable lamps and candles around the silver shrine, reflected a thousand and again a thousand times from the innumerable small crystal facets, produces a charming effect beyond the dreams of imagination. In the roof of the dome the light loses its strength, only here and there a few crystal surfaces gleam like the stars in the sky" (A. Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, 25-6).

The sanctuary is adorned on the *Ḳibla* face with magnificent and costly ornamentation. Two *manāras* flank the entrance. A third, the Manārat al-ʿAbd, rises before the buildings on the east side of the *Ṣaḥn*; south of it the face of the buildings surrounding the court recedes about 50 feet; on this spot is a Sunnī mosque. Adjoining the Ṣaḥn on the north side is a large *madrasa* the courtyard of which measures about 84 feet square with a mosque of its own and several *miḥrābs* (on the present condition of the sanctuary: cf. A. Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, 5-26, on its history 35-50 and on its architectural history, 51-66).

About 600 yards N E of the sanctuary of Ḥusayn is the mausoleum of his half-brother ʿAbbās. On the road which runs westward out of the town is the site of the tent of Ḥusayn (*khaymagāh*). The building erected there (plan in Nöldeke, pl. vii; photograph in Grothe, pl. lxxxviv, fig. 145) has the plan of a tent and on both sides of the entrance there are stone copies of camel saddles.

On the desert plateau (*ḥammād*) west of the town stretch the graves of the devout Shīʿīs. North of the gardens of Karbalāʾ lie the suburbs, gardens and fields of al-Bḳēre, to the north-west those of Ḳurra, and to the south those of al-Ghādhirīya (Yāḳūt, iii, 768). Among places in the vicinity, Yāḳūt mentions al-ʿAḳr (iii, 695) and al-Nawāyiḥ (iv, 816).

A branch line diverging north of al-Ḥilla connects Karbalāʾ with the Baghdād-al-Baṣra railway. The sanctuary of Ḥusayn still has the reputation of securing entrance to Paradise for those buried there, hence many aged pilgrims and those in failing health go there to die on the holy spot.

Bibliography: al-Ṭabarī, indices; Ibn al-Athīr, indices; al-Iṣṭakhrī, BGA, i, 85; Ibn Ḥaw-

ḳal, *BGA*, ii, 166; al-Maḳdisī, *BGA*, iii, 130; al-Idrīsī, *Nuzha*, iv, 6, tr. Jaubert, ii, 158; Yaḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ii, 189, iii, 695, iv, 249; al-Masʿūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh*, *BGA*, viii, 303; al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 162, 456, 471; al-Zamakhsharī, *Lexicon geogr.*, ed. de Grave, 139; Ḥamd Allāh al-Mustawfī al-Ḳazwīnī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, 32, tr. 39; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Riḥla, ed. Defrémery-Sanguinetti, ii, 99 f.; O. Dapper, *Umständliche und eigentliche Beschreibung von Asia*, Nürnberg 1681, 137; Carsten Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien u.a. umliegenden Ländern*, ii, Copenhagen 1778, 254; J. B. L. J. Rousseau, *Description du pachalik de Bagdad*, Paris 1809, 71; C. J. Rich, in *Fundgruben des Orients*, iii, Vienna 1813, 200; J. L. Burckhardt, *Bemerkungen über die Bedouinen und Wahaby*, Weimar 1831, 390, 444, 452; K. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xi, Berlin 1844, 837 ff., 842; M. v. Thielmann, *Streifzüge im Kaukasus, in Persien und in der Asiatischen Türkei*, Leipzig 1875, 309-401; Nolde, *Reise nach Inner-Arabien*, Braunschweig 1895, 113; M. v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, ii, Berlin 1900, 274, 278, 281; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, repr. 1930, 78; A. Nöldeke, *Das Heiligtum al-Husains zu Kerbelâ*, Berlin 1909 (= *Türkische Bibliothek*, ed. G. Jacob, xi, 30-4, with further references); H. Grothe, *Geographische Charakterbilder aus der asiatischen Türkei*, Leipzig 1909, xiii and pl. lxxvii-lxxxiv, with figs. 136, 138-45; L. Massignon, *Mission en Mésopotamie* (1907-1908), i, Cairo 1910, 48 (= *MIFAO*, xxvii); Lamberto Vannutelli, *Anatolia meridionale e Mesopotamia*, Rom 1911, 361-3; G. L. Bell, *Amurath to Amurath*, London 1911, 159-66; St. H. Longgrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq*, Oxford 1925, Index; A. Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, New York 1927, 40-2, 279, 351 (= *American Geographical Society, Oriental Explorations and Studies*, No. 3). (E. Honigmann)

KARBIYYA the cross-reference to this heading under ḤAMZA B. ʿUMĀRA is an error, since the subsect in question of the Kaysāniyya is called in the sources Karibiyya or Kuraybiyya [*q.v.*], the *kunya* of its founder being Abū Karib or Abū Kurayb.

ḲARDĀ and **BĀZABDĀ**, ancient districts of Upper Mesopotamia (al-Djazīra), often mentioned together. The first place derives its name from Bēth Ḳardū, the land of the Carduci, which became Bāḳardā; according to Yāḳūt, s.v., this form is found "in the books", but the local people say Ḳardā. The district comprised *ca.* 200 villages, the most notable being al-Djūdī and Thamānīn, and the district of Faysābūr; it produced mainly corn and barley. The original *chef-lieu*, Ḳardā, lost its importance and was replaced by Bāsūrīn.

Bāzabdā, for its part, is the name of a district in the region of Djazīrat Ibn ʿUmar [*q.v.*], lying to the west of the Tigris, and also of a village lying opposite the latter town.

Bibliography: Ibn Rusta-Wiet, 118; Ibn, Khurradādhbih, 95, 245, 251; Bakrī, 222; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, index; idem, *Tanbīh*, 47; Maḳdisī, *Badʾ*, iii, 25; Ibn Ḥawḳal-Wiet, 211, 212; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 176; Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 158; Le Strange, 93; Ṣūlī-Canard, ii, 123; M. Canard, *H'amdânides*, 110-12. (Ed.)

AL-**KARDŪDĪ**, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD AL-ḲĀDIR B. AḤMAD AL-GULĀLĪ AL-ḤASANĪ AL-IDRĪSĪ, Moroccan legal scholar and author (1216-65/1801-49) who was for some time *ḳāḍī* of Tangier. He is the author of the following works: (1) a *fahrasa* in which are recorded the names of his masters and also the *idjāzas* given by certain of them, such as al-Kūhin and al-Damnātī; (2) a commentary on the *Iṣṭilāḥ al-ḳāmūs*; (3) another commentary on the introduction (*khuṭba*) of Ibn Mālik's *Alfiyya*; (4) a history of the ʿAlawī dynasty called *al-Durr al-munaḍḍad al-fākhir fī mā li-abnāʾ mawlānā ʿAlī al-Sharīf min al-maḥāsin wa 'l-mafākhir* (unfinished); and (5) a treatise on the need for modernising the army, *Kashf al-ghumma fī bayān anna ḥarb al-niẓām wādjib ʿalā ḥādith al-umma* (lith. Fez 1303/1885).

He died at Fez, where he was buried outside the Bāb al-Futūḥ, near the tomb of Yūsuf al-Fāsī.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 217 and n. 1; M. al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-fahāris*; ʿA. Ibn Sūda, *Dalīl*, i, 149, ii, 288, 324, 471.

(M. Lakhdar)

KARĪM KHĀN ZAND (MUḤAMMAD KARĪM), (*ca.* 1164-93/*ca.* 1751-79), the founder of the Zand dynasty and the *de facto* ruler of the greater part of Persia. Having no claim to the title of shāh, he instead, assumed, that of *wakīl*, "regent, lieutenant". Brought up during exile of the Zand tribe imposed by Nādir Shāh Afshār, on the latter's death he succeeded in conducting the Zands from their exile in northern Khurāsān to the village of Pīriya, modern Parī, 30 km. south east of Malāyir, where the clan, originally a lateral branch of the Lakk [*q.v.*], had had their settlements prior to their deportation. In the course of clashes with neighbouring chieftains, he displayed great military skill. In alliance with the Bakhtiyārī ʿAlī Mardān Khān [*q.v.*], he seized Iṣfahān; there, in 1164/1751, they placed on the throne a Ṣafawid boy of eight, whom they styled Ismāʿīl III. In his service Karīm held the office of commander-in-chief, and ʿAlī Mardān that of guardian of the sovereign, *wakīl*. Fearing ʿAlī Mardān's duplicity, Karīm captured Iṣfahān, took Ismāʿīl III under his own guardianship, assumed the title of *wakīl* and put ʿAlī Mardān Khān to flight. When the latter's attempt to win support for a new Ṣafawid puppet failed and the Bakhtiyārī chief was assassinated by a Zand commander, Karīm found himself obliged to defend Iṣfahān and Shīrāz against other claimants, including the Ḳadjār Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān, the Afshār Fatḥ ʿAlī, and the Afghān Āzād Khān. At the end of a fierce struggle for the vacant throne, during which Muḥammad Ḥasan was assassinated by his own tribesmen in 1172/1759, Fatḥ ʿAlī and Āzād Khān had no option but to join forces in 1176/1763 and in 1179/1765; Karīm, already more popular than the other contestants, emerged as the undisputed ruler over the whole of Persia except Khurāsān, which he purposely left in the hands of Nādir Shāh's descendants. Although subsequently he had repeatedly to suppress local revolts, such as those of the Kaʿb tribes in Khūzistān, the Līrāvī nomads in Kūh-i Gīlūya, of Taḳī Durrānī in Kirmān, Naṣīr Lārī in Fārs, Mīr Muhannā in the Persian Gulf region, and Ḥusayn Ḳulī Ḳadjār in Astarābād and Māzandarān, on the whole his rule brought a period of sorely needed peace to Persia. When Ismāʿīl III, who had deserted Karīm in 1165/1752, returned in 1172/1759, he formally deposed him as incompetent, holding him, however, in honoured captivity with a large pension in Ābāda [*q.v.*]. Karīm did not drop the title of *wakīl*, using it thereafter in the sense of *wakīl al-raʿāyā* ("regent for the people") rather than that of *wakīl al-dawla*. He established his capital in Shīrāz, enriching it with magnificent buildings, some of which stand to this day. Through prudent husbandry he developed commerce, handi-

crafts and agriculture, encouraged foreign trade, and granted some commercial privileges to European companies in the Persian Gulf, mainly in order to utilize their power to enforce order and security on the coasts. His sole expedition beyond the Persian frontiers was the capture of Baṣra in 1190/1776, which was a challenge to the commercial supremacy of this Ottoman port rather than an attempt to destroy Ottoman rule in Mesopotamia. Karīm's last years were darkened by the loss of a young son, the death of a beloved wife, and a series of illnesses (colic, tuberculosis, etc.), which ended in his death in 13 Ṣafar 1193/2 March, 1779. He was buried in Shīrāz, whence the hostile Ḳādjārs transferred his remains to Tehran and later to Nadjaf. Karīm's rule was a paternal monarchy, based on tribal traditions common among the Lakk and Lur nomads. His bodily strength, his skill in arms, his sense of humour, his concern for his people's welfare, and his anxiety to secure prosperity for the inhabitants of Shīrāz, have provided materials for a series of folk tales, specimens of which can be found in *Tadjribat al-Aḥrār*, *Fārs-Nāma-yi Nāṣirī*, *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā-yi Nāṣirī*; cf. also J. Malcolm, *History of Persia*.

Bibliography: Ṣādiḳ-i Nāmī, *Ta'rīkh-i Gītī Gushā*, ed. Sa'īd Nafīsī, Tehran 1317, index; Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ghaffārī, *Gulshan-i Murād*, unpublished, see Storey, *Persian Literature*, ii 2, 331; Luṭf-'Alī Beg Ādhar, *Ātashkada*, Calicut 1249, 481-8; A. Gulistāna, *Mudjmal al-Tawārīkh-i Ba'd-i Nādirī*, Tehran 1320, index; *Rūz-Nāma-yi Mīrzā Muḥammad-i Kalāntar*, Tehran 1325, 41-68; Muḥammad Khalīl-i Mar'ashī, *Madjma' al-Tawārīkh*, index; Rustam al-Ḥukamā', *Rustam al-Tawārīkh*, Tehran 1969, index (most of this author's account is barely credible); Riḍā Ḳulī Hidāyat, *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā-yi Nāṣirī*, litho. Tehran 1270, ix, 6-50; Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Ḥasan-i Fasā'ī, *Fārs-Nāma-yi Nāṣirī*, Tehran 1313, i, 205-12; 'Abd al-Razzāḳ-i Dunbulī, *Tadjribat al-Aḥrār*, Tabrīz 1971, ii, index; Muḥammad Ḥasan Ṣanī' al-Dawla, *Muntaẓam-i Nāṣirī*, Tehran 1299, 298-317; A. A. Vazīrī, *Ta'rīkh-i Kirmān*, Tehran 1340, 321-9; A. Kasravī, *Ta'rīkh-i Pānṣad Sāla-yi Khūzistān*, Tehran 1312, index; A. Navā'ī, *Karīm Khān-i Zand*, Tehran 1344; Ch. Picault, *Histoire des revolutions de Perse*, ii, 328-68; A. J. Wilson, *The Persian Gulf*, repr. London 1954, index; P. M. Sykes, *A history of Persia*, ii, repr. 1951, index (contains several mistakes); J. B. Kelly, *Britain and the Persian Gulf*, 1795-1880, Oxford 1968, index; J. R. Perry, *Karīm Khān Zand: a critical history based on contemporary sonrces*, Cambridge Ph. D. thesis, 1970, unpublished. For other references, including some consular and travellers' reports see Cl. Huart in *EI*[1] (despite its brevity and errors), and Mehdi Roschanzamir, *Die Zand-Dynastie*, Hamburg 1970, index.

(A. H. ZARRINKOOB)

KĀRIMĪ, name of a group of Muslim merchants operating from the major centres of trade in the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk empires, above all in spices. No satisfactory etymology has yet been given of the word *Kārimī*, *Kārim* or *Akārim*. Quatremère follows al-Ḳalḳashandī's statements and maintains that the name derives from *Kānim*, a territory in Western Sudan, which was altered into *Kārim*. Al-Ḳalḳashandī commented that the word occurred as such in the *dīwān*s and had no meaning in Arabic, and Ibn Mādjid [*q.v.*] does indeed mention the ancient (*ḳadīm*[an]) pepper route from the *Bilād al-Kānim* (Western Sudan). Littmann proposes an Amharic origin, deriving it from the word *Kuararīma*, a spice imported into Ethiopia by the *Kārimī*.

It is certain that the Kārimī were in the first place merchants of the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea, so that Littmann's idea that the word *Kārimī* may be connected with the name of some kind of merchandise is suggestive. From al-Maḳrīzī's description of the Cairene markets it is clear that the amber (= *kārim* or *kahramān*) market was very active. Yellow amber is still named *kārim* in Egypt, and the origin of the term *Kārimī* may thus be explained. Blochet also advocates this derivation. G. Wiet remarks that the source of yellow amber is to be sought in the Baltic region and not in the merchandise of the Indian Ocean. Wiedemann, who did not occupy himself with the Kārimīs, cites Nuwayrī, who mentions the import of amber from the Byzantine empire, *i.e.* through Byzantine markets. Fischel, Goitein, Ashtor, Naura, R. de Miglio, Darrag, Sublet and Cahen on the other hand concentrated more on the development of the Kārimī corporation than on the origin of the term.

It is evident from the Arabic documents that the word Kārim was also used to design a fleet, especially a merchant fleet. The Geniza documents point to a similar meaning of the term.

In any case, the term Kārim occurs for the first time in a text transmitted by al-Ḳalḳashandī. It relates that the Fāṭimids established a special fleet (of five, later of three ships) to protect the Kārimī-ships on their journeys between 'Aydhāb and Sawākin against the pirates of the neighbouring islands, especially the Dahlak group. The command was committed to the *wālī* of Ḳūṣ [*q.v.*], sometimes however to an emir in direct contact with the government in Cairo. Saladin lent growing support to the Kārimī-trade, which yielded high revenue from the taxes imposed. Al-Maḳrīzī reports that Saladin demanded beforehand the taxes for four years when the Kārimī-merchants (*Tudjdjār al-Kārim*) came from Aden in 577/1181. It is worthwhile noting that al-Maḳrīzī speaks of "merchants" and not simply of "Kārim", in the sense of a trade or a fleet.

One year later (578/1182) the Kārimī encountered their most serious crisis, with the attempt of the Crusaders to establish themselves into the Red Sea. This constituted a very great danger to Islam, for the Crusaders would thus threaten the sacred territory of the Ḥidjāz, but Saladin's greatest concern was the danger to the Egyptian monopoly of the transit traffic in the Red Sea. However, Saladin's victory over Renaud de Châtillon enabled him to keep the Frankish powers and merchants away from this most important trade route between the West and the Far East, and promoted the expansion of the Kārimī merchants.

In 579/1183 Saladin's nephew and deputy in Egypt, Taḳī al-Dīn 'Umar, built the famous *funduḳ al-Kārim* in al-Fusṭāṭ, the port district of Cairo. At this period both Jewish and Coptic merchants had more or less to abandon their major enterprises in the Red Sea. They were replaced by Muslim merchants, principally the Kārimī.

Lack of sources makes it difficult to write the history of the Kārimī during the Ayyūbid period after the death of Saladin. The Mamlūk sultans, however, maintained the commercial policy of their predecessors and thus promoted the expansion of the Kārim enterprises.

The transition from Ayyūbid to Mamlūk government in Egypt was full of interior and exterior problems: the crusade of Saint Louis and the advance

of the Mongols on the one side, and on the other the revolts of the Arab tribes settled in Egypt. During this critical period the Kārimī and other wholesale merchants thought it wise to reduce imports into Egypt, especially when al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Ḳuṭuz [*q.v.*], to help finance his campaigns, imposed such drastic levies on the merchants of Egypt that they lost one third of their wealth. Baybars I [*q.v.*] abolished these measures, and ordered his *wālī* in Ḳūṣ and ʿAydhāb to treat the merchants well, so that ships sailed without delay from Yemenī ports to ʿAydhāb. Ibn Wāṣil [*q.v.*] reports that no one took action against them and that their property did not suffer any losses at all.

The activities of the Kārimī started a new chapter in the history of the development of the Egyptian capital and of commercial financing. If the capital of a wholesale merchant, Muslim or *dhimmī* in Egypt is estimated before the Kārimī period at 10,000 to 30,000 dīnārs, the fortune of a Kārimī-merchant amounted to one million dīnārs or more. Because of his financial capacity, the reputation of the Kārimī Naṣr al-Dīn Muḥ. b. Musallam al-Bālisī (d. 776/1375), whose fortune was calculated to amount to ten million dīnārs, went beyond the boundaries of the mercantile circles of Egypt. Muslim merchants from India, who carried on trade in Egypt, Mecca and Aden, confirmed that no Indian possessed such a huge fortune, except one (Indian) unbeliever,—and he was associated with Naṣr al-Dīn. Tādj al-Dīn al-Kārimī, known as al-Damāminī (d. 731/1331) left 100,000 dīnārs, a more credible figure than the one reported about al-Bālisī. Describing the enormous wealth of the Saha, the unbelieving Indian merchants from Dawlatābād [*q.v.*], Ibn Baṭṭūṭa remarks (iv, 49): "They resembled the Kārimī-merchants in Egypt". Elsewhere (iv, 259) he compares the Sati of China with the Kārimīs.

The Kārimīs earned higher profits than the third of the purchase-price allowed by Muslim law. Besides bartering, they paid both in cash and by cheque. Indeed, through their network of markets and transactions, the Kārimīs operated a kind of banking institution, the most important clients of which were sultans and amirs whom they assisted not only with credits but also by supplying troops and arms. The Mamlūk sultan was not the only ruler to borrow money from the Kārimīs. The king of the Yemen also was given credits when he found himself in financial difficulties. Even Mansā Mūsā, the king of Māli who owned the gold-mines in western Sudan, borrowed money from a Kārimī-merchant before he left Mecca to return home.

The Kārimī commercial houses were primarily family-owned firms, each generation inheriting the experience, assets and clients of the preceding one, and the younger members being sent away for training to the various markets of the huge enterprise. Freemen as well as slaves represented the firms, studied the markets, brought in clients, imported and exported merchandise. One Kārimī is reported to have sent his slaves as representatives to the markets of the Indian Ocean and in the western Sudan in order to trade and carry through transactions in his name. Of the Kārimī Naṣr al-Dīn Muḥ. b. Musallam, whose father, grandfather and paternal uncle had also been merchants, it is reported that none of his slaves died while they were trading on his behalf in India, the Yemen, Ethiopia, Māli and Bilād al-Takrūr, so that his affairs had not sustained any loss on that account.

During the reign of sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥ. b. Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*] the Kārimī-merchants numbered two hundred, owning at least a hundred slaves authorized to make important business-tours.

Al-Asadī (Ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba [*q.v.*]) is evidently not exaggerating when he remarks that the activities of the Kārimī merchants reached from the Maghrib to China. Some were as powerful and rich as "kings", with their own armed caravans, and with guards, commissioners, partners, slaves and servants. They had the *kūsāt* (cymbals) sounded before the gates of their palaces, usually the prerogative of high state-officials.

A considerable amount of the merchandise imported from the Orient by the Kārimīs and other merchants was transported from the Yemen to the Ḥidjāz and Syria, but mostly to Cairo and also to Alexandria and Damietta, the two most important Egyptian ports on the Mediterranean, where Frankish merchants, especially Venetians, came to trade. The Egyptian merchant regarded these Italians as his opponents, both as businessmen and as capitalists. The Venetians, it is true, tried to extend their commercial and financial activities over Europe and the Byzantine Empire, while Asia and Africa were left to the Kārimīs. However, the friendly relations between the Mongol Empire and the Occident enabled the Italians, for almost a century (*ca.* 1250-1350), to travel inside Asia as far as China, but the Kārimīs also remained in these areas, where both met. More important however was that the caravan-trade by land and sea across the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea did not lose its position during the period of the "Pax Mongolica".

Both the Frankish merchants and the Kārimī had to solve the problem of piracy, the former in the Mediterranean, the latter in the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, and also to face similar difficulties on the desert routes in Africa and Asia. Both also pursued business in the towns, but in this connection there was a fundamental difference between the two. The towns of the Christian West in the Middle Ages were struggling to free themselves from feudal lords, whereas the oriental, Muslim towns were, during that period, under the control of central authorities and their governors. Thus the political rôle of the Kārimī-merchant can hardly be compared with that of his opponent, the occidental merchant. The Kārimī took part in politics only indirectly, since the authorities set bounds to his capital and his freedom of trade.

Nevertheless, the stability of the government and the good relations between the sultan of Egypt and the countries on the Mediterranean, the Black Sea and the Indian Ocean enlarged the Kārimīs' activities and crowned with success their endeavours to establish trade-relations between Egypt and these countries and even beyond, as far as western Sudan and China.

During the period of the Crusades the Kārimīs were by far the most important wholesale-merchants. The most prominent among them, in financial, political and religious respects, was granted the official title of "leader" or "chief" (*kabīr*, *raʾīs*), and in all the territories under Egyptian domination, as well as in the sultan's palace itself, he was treated with esteem and honour. Although contemporary sources do not enable us as yet to establish the way in which a *raʾīs* or *kabīr* was elected or how he exercised his power, we can form a general idea thanks to a story told by Ibn Ḥadjar al-Asḳalānī [*q.v.*]. In his Annals he relates that the great Kārimī-merchant Zakī al-Dīn al-Kharrūbī, on his return from the Ḥidjāz

to Egypt in 786/1384, had made costly gifts to sultan Barḳūḳ and the leading emirs. He was attacked by Shihāb al-Dīn al-Fāriḳī, an influential Yemenī merchant resident in Egypt (possibly the head of the Yemenī Kārimīs and brother of the contemporary Yemenī vizier al-Ashraf). Al-Kharrūbī then produced a letter addressed to him by the Yemenī king, in which was cited a letter by al-Fāriḳī, alleging that corruption was rife in Egypt since there was no effective ruler; al-Fāriḳī had therefore suggested to the Yemenī king that he should send no more tribute, because the ruling Egyptian sultan was one of the basest and most contemptible of the Mamlūks. Barḳūḳ ordered that al-Fāriḳī should be imprisoned, have his tongue cut out, and his property confiscated; al-Kharrūbī on the other hand was presented with a costly robe of honour and granted the title *Kabīr al-Tudjdjār*. This passage tells us something about the conditions required to obtain this title: it was a symbol of the most privileged position among the merchants, acquired by loyalty, unimpeachable religious and political behaviour and wealth.

Government policy was to favour the Kārimī-merchants. The *nāẓir al-bahār wa'l-kārim*, inspector of spices and Kārim-merchandise, was responsible for the interests of the Kārimīs in the Red Sea and Egypt and collected customs and taxes from them. This function was so esteemed that it was sometimes assigned to the vizier or the *nāẓir al-khāṣṣ*. The final decision however was with the sultan since the dues levied on Kārimī merchandise accrued to his treasury. Under al-Muʾayyad Shaykh the importance of this function is demonstrated in a diploma of appointment, the text of which has been transmitted by Ibn Ḥidjdja al-Ḥamawī [*q.v.*] and in which the post is offered to the Shāfiʿī *faḳīh* Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bārizī. Since Upper-Egypt was during a long period the ordinary trade-route for the import of oriental merchandise, another letter of appointment emphasized that the chief *wālī* of Upper Egypt, *Wālī Wulāt al-Ṣaʿīd*, should pay special attention to the commercial aspects of his post, as being "the gate to the Yemen and Ḥidjāz". A third letter of appointment mentions the great importance of Kārimī activities in Upper Egypt: it is the chief *wālī*'s duty to treat them well and to promote their interests.

In 832/1429 Barsbāy [*q.v.*] introduced his monopoly of pepper and a rigid supervision of the market. He bought pepper in Djudda on his own account and even forbade the merchants to deal in it before he had concluded his own affairs. He also curtailed the pepper and spice trade with the Franks in Alexandria by fixing prices. The Franks were hard hit since they had to acquire the pepper at a price which was about 50 dīnārs above the market-price. They were forced to limit their purchases and often had to return home without having sold their merchandise. The Egyptian merchants also sustained losses. When the Kārimī-merchants tried to trade clandestinely with the Franks, Barsbāy threatened in 833/1430 to bar them completely from trade. Two years later he forced them not to trade at all without his permission. In 838/1435 he curtailed the spice-trade in Djudda and fixed the prices for the trade with the Occident. The ensuing difficulties between Egypt and the western traders were further increased by the Catalan and Turkish pirates. Čaḳmaḳ (841/1438-756/1453) restricted the period of residence of the Frankish merchants in Egyptian ports to six months at most.

The deteriorating situation of the Kārimī-merchants during the 9th/15th century was however due not only to the policy of the Mamlūk sultans, but also to increasing economic crisis in Egypt, and to the policies of the Yemenī king al-Nāṣir Aḥmad, who tried to extend his power over the Ḥidjāz and to oust Egypt from its privileged position there, while in the Yemen he established a reign of terror. The Kārimīs fled to India or Djudda, leaving part of their fortunes behind in Aden. Also the merchants and ships' captains from China sustained losses. When despatching a gift in 823/1421, the emperor of China made a strong protest against the measures of the Rasūlid ruler. The Egyptian government meanwhile not only tried to lure the merchants and captains from Aden to Djudda, but to establish a state-monopoly.

On the northern frontiers of the Mamlūk domains the political situation remained tense during the 9th/15th century and necessitated continuous Egyptian expeditions, which burdened the state-finances. By increasing the prices of monopoly merchandise, Ḳāʾitbay [*q.v.*] financed sixteen military expeditions, which cost altogether 8 million dīnārs, besides the soldiers' pay. Since the rural economy was not able to cover these expenses, they had to be borne by imposts on trade, which caused a set-back to the Kārimī-merchants. From then on they started losing their lucrative business. Many of them entered the sultan's service, and became the wholesale merchants of Egypt *par excellence*. Others emigrated to India, especially to Kalikat [*q.v.*] and Cambaya, and many turned to monetary transactions, less profitable to themselves but causing many difficulties to the State. They exported so many copper coins, that the sultan in 832/1429 strictly forbade their export to Djudda. The prohibition, however, had to be repeated in 839/1437. How difficult the merchants' position was during Barsbāy's reign is clearly indicated by a contemporary's note that a merchant had to contract a loan in order to cover his expenses while he possessed a stock of merchandise valued at 10,000 dīnārs.

The Red Sea merchants, in contradistinction to their colleagues in Cairo, tried openly and expressly to assert their rights with the sultan. Even Shāh-Rukh, the Tīmūrid ruler, became involved in this quarrel. He denounced the collection of taxes in Djudda which were not in accordance with the *sharīʿa*, and called the *fuḳahāʾ* and *fatwā*-experts in Cairo "the riding animals of their master's wilfulness". Shāh-Rukh tried to intensify the tension between the Mamlūk sultan and the oriental merchants, but did not succeed in forcing the sultan to abandon his monopolizing policy or to collect taxes solely according to ḳurʾānic prescriptions. The short-lived penetration of the Chinese fleet to the East African coast and the Gulf of Aden in the first decades of the 9th/15th century could not avail the Kārimīs against the arbitrary behaviour of the sultans, nor could the establishment at this period of close relations between Ethiopia and Europe alter the policy of the sultan of Egypt towards the Kārimīs. Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Tawrīzī, the son of a Kārimī Muslim of Persian origin, who sold arms and European cloth in Ethiopia, was arrested on the charge of high treason. He was accused of having gone to Europe via the Maghrib by order of the Negus in order to incite Alphonso of Aragon against the Muslims. He was convicted and executed in Cairo in 832/1429. Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʿAsḳalanī and his pupil al-Sakhāwī questioned the legality of this verdict and were of the opinion that al-Tawrīzī had promoted the cause of Islam in Ethiopia where he was said to have been in high esteem because of his activities. The envoys of Negus Yeshāḳ did indeed reach the court of Alphonso V (C. de la Roncière, *La découverte de l'Afrique au*

moyen âge, ii, 116; F. Cerone, *La politica orientale di Alfonso di Aragona*, in *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane*, xxvii (1902), 39-43, 65-66), who accepted the alliance with Ethiopia. The Negus wanted to start trade in the Red Sea, with Sawākin taking over the leading position of al-Djudda. Barsbāy however tried to secure its monopolizing position by ordering ships not to call at the port of ʿAydhāb [*q.v.*]. A revolt of the local tribes, who turned pirates, was crushed and the town was destroyed in 829/1426. According to Leo Africanus 4,000 inhabitants were killed while the rest emigrated to Dongola or Sawākin, the port of Ethiopia. The Mamluk sultans extended their power over both Massawa and Sawākin, the prince of the latter becoming a vassal of the sultan and receiving his diploma from the chancellery in Cairo.

According to Ibn Taghrībirdī, the Kārimīs did not appear on the Egyptian markets in 859/1455, and after 889/1484 they are no more mentioned in contemporary sources. So far as we know, the last two Kārimīs in Egypt, ʿAlī b. Muḥ. b. Yūsuf Ḳalyūbī and ʿAlī b. Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan b. ʿUlayba, died in 897/1491-92.

Not only the Kārimīs but the merchant-class as a whole lost their high entreprenurial position. Shortly before the Ottomans took over in Egypt, two mere butchers acted as representatives of the merchant-class. The Egyptian wholesale trader had lost his international business connections, which he did not win back till the late 19th century. During Egypt's confrontation with two strong foreign powers, the Portuguese and the Ottomans, the Kārimīs and other Egyptian merchants neither joined the Venetians against the new competitors from the West, nor did they try to combat the mismanagement of the Mamlūks. Adhering to the deeply rooted conception according to which state authority belonged to the military, they did not think of seeking political power. It is true that many Mamlūks, from the 8th/14th century onwards, had sold their *iḳṭāʿ*s [*q.v.*] and had thus enabled merchants to acquire land, notwithstanding the opposition of the government and the *fuḳahāʾ*. Thus the Kārimī merchant Nāṣir al-Dīn b. Musallam (d. 775/1373) is said to have come into possession of 3,438 *faddāns*, for which a land-tax of 10,000 dīnārs was due. This situation influenced the Egyptian *iḳṭāʿ* system, but cannot be said to have been the Kārimīs' expression of "Wille zur Macht". The Kārimī and other people who acquired *iḳṭāʿ*s never succeeded in stepping into the political and military power of the Mamlūks. They submitted to them, although this brought about their own decline.

Bibliography: E. Ashtor, *The Karimi Merchants*, in *JRAS* (1956); A. S. Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, London 1938; E. Blochet, *Histoire d'Égypte de Makrizi*, in *ROL*, viii (1900/1901), 540; Cl. Cahen and R. B. Serjeant, *A fiscal Survey of the Medieval Yemen*, in *Arabica*, iv (1957); A. Darrag, *L'Égypte sous le règne de Barsbai*, Damascus 1961; R. R. di Miglio, *Il commercio Arabo con la Cina dal X secolo all'avvento dei Mongoli*; *Il commercio Arabo con la Cina dall' Avvento dei Mongoli al XV secolo*, in *AIUON*, N.S., xv (1965), xvi (1966); W. Fischel, *Über die Gruppe der Karimi-Kaufleute*: *Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Orienthandels unter den Mamluken*, in *Studia Arabica* I (Rome 1939); idem, *The Spice Trade in Mamluk Egypt*, in *JESHO*, i (1958); S. D. Goitein, *New Light on the Beginnings of the Karim Merchants*, in *JESHO*, i (1958); idem, *A Mediterranean Society*; *the Jewish Community in the Arab World*, 2 vols., University of California Press 1967-71; W. Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant au Moyen Age*, 2 vols., Leipzig 1885-6; S. Labib, *At-Tujjār al-Kārimiyya*, in *Bulletin of the Egyptian Society for Historical Studies*, Cairo, iv (1952); idem, *Geld und Kredit*, in *JESHO*, ii (1959); idem, *al-Asadī* (= *ibn Ḳāḍī Shuhba*) *und sein Bericht über Verwaltung und Geldreform in* 15. *jhdt.*, in *JESHO*, viii (1965); idem, *Les Marchands Karimis en Orient et dans l'Ocean Indien*, in *Colloque International d'Histoire Maritime, présenté par M. Mollat*, Paris 1970; idem, *Handelsgeschichte Ägyptens im Spätmittelalter*, Wiesbaden 1965; Fr. C. Lane, *The Mediterranean Spice Trader*, in *The American Historical Review* (1940); E. Littmann, *Besprechung des Beitrages von W. Fischel über die Gruppe der Karimi-Kaufleute*, in *Orientalia*, viii (1939), 174-6; R. Naura, *Les Karimis aux Archives de Venise*, in *JESHO*, i (1958); J. Sublet, *Abd al-Latif al-Takriti et la famille des Banu Kuwayk, Marchands Karimi*, in *Arabica*, ix, (1962); M. Weber, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*; *Abriss der universalen Sozial und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 3rd ed., Berlin 1958; G. Wiet, *Les marchands d'épices sous les sultans mamlouks*, Cairo 1955. (SUBHI Y. LABIB)

ḲARĪN (A.) means "companion" in the largest sense (synonym of *muṣāḥib* in *LA* and the *Ṣaḥāḥ*, and of *khidn* in al-Bayḍāwī on Ḳurʾān, XLI, 24/25). However, for people in pre-Islamic Arabia and for Muḥammad, the word also suggested a man's spirit-companion or familiar, and this is the commonest usage in the Ḳurʾān, where *ḳarīn* is used eight times. If a human companion is meant in XXXVII, 49/51, *Shayṭān* is a *ḳarīn* in IV, 42/38, and the use of the plural *ḳuranāʾ* in XLI, 24/25, together with the context, shows that tempting spirits are meant here. In this verse and in XLIII, 35/36, 37/38, a *shayṭān* is assigned (*ḳuyyiḍa*) by God as a *ḳarīn*; al-Bayḍāwī on L, 22/23, is dubious whether by *ḳarīn* a *shayṭān* or an angel is meant, but for L, 26/27, he is sure that a *shayṭān* is involved. In this he follows the oldest exegetical tradition as already related by al-Ṭabarī in his *Tafsīr*, xxvi, 93-4. Every human being has a *ḳarīn* at his side, that is, a *shayṭān* and an angel to accompany, the first of whom tempts him into evil and the second induces him to do good. The *shayṭān*, sometimes called a *djinnī*, will be thrown into hell-fire at the Judgment along with the human companion whom he has led astray. These two *ḳarīn*s are therefore different from the recording angels who accompany each human being (Ḳurʾān, LXXXII, 10-12).

Even the prophets have such a *shayṭān*, but that of Muḥammad was converted by him to Islām; a great many traditions bearing on this are given in the *Āḳām al-mardjān* of al-Shiblī, ed. 1326, 26-7. A very suggestive and full ethical-theological treatment of the whole subject is in the *Iḥyāʾ*, Book xxi, of al-Ghazālī, *Kitāb ʿadjāʾib al-ḳalb*, ed. with comm. *Itḥāf al-sāda*, vii, 264-5, where the traditions are given in detail; cf. D. B. Macdonald, *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*, 274-5. At the other extreme is the folkloristic development in popular Islâm; for it see S. M. Zwemer, *The Influence of Animism on Islam*, ch. vi.

Another use of *ḳarīn* in old Arabia was for the *djinnī* who accompanied a poet and brought to him his verses [see SHAYṬĀN, TĀBIʿA]. This use has been transferred in Islām to the angel who consorted with the Prophet and brought him his revelations (LA, s.v.; Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arab. Philologie*, i, 5-6; D. B. Macdonald, *op. cit.*, 19-20).

Bibliography: in addition to the references in the article, see Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, i, 385,

397-8, 401, 460, ii, 323; al-Dārimī, *Musnad, Riḳāḳ, bāb* 25; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ Ṣifāt al-Munāfiḳīn*, trad. 69 (ed. with al-Nawawī's commentary, Cairo 1283, v, 362; Constantinople 1334, viii, 138).

(D. B. MACDONALD*)

ĶĀRINIDS, a local dynasty of Ṭabaristān, who reigned over a part of the mountainous regions from the age of Khusraw (Chosroes) I (531-79 A.D.) until 225/840.

Origins. The Ķārinids claimed descent from Ķārin son of Sūkhrā, whose ancestor was none other than the legendary blacksmith Kāwah [*q.v.*]. According to the Arab and Persian chronicles, Sūkhrā was the most powerful among the great men of the Sāsānid Empire at the time of Kawādh I (488-531 A.D.), but the conflict of sources with which A. Christensen concerned himself in *Le Règne de Kawādh I et le communisme mazdakite*, 94-5, led him to ask himself whether Sūkhrā and his elder son Zarmihr are not in reality one and the same person. The Ķārinids traced the origin of their power to the age of Khusraw I, who allegedly rewarded Zarmihr and Ķārin son of Sūkhrā for the help they brought him to repel an attack of the Turks (Ibn Isfandiyār, 93-5; Ẓahīr al-dīn, 37). In fact, it is probably a case of a legend invented for the glory of Ķārin, confused furthermore with a namesake, the chief of the great noble family of Ķārin (Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sasanides*[2], 98-9). Ķārin son of Sūkhrā received as domains Wandā-Ummīd Kūh (to the south of Āmul; Rabino di Borgomale, *Māzandarān and Astarābād*, 2), Āmul, Lafūr (on the eastern source of the River Bābul, which then passes by Māmtīr, see Minorsky in *EI*[1], art. *Māzyār*) and Firrīm, which is called Kūh-i Ķārin: "Ṭabaristan was also partitioned between Ķārin and the chiefs established at Ṭamīsha, and Ķārin became Ispahbad" (Ibn Isfandiyār, 95; Ẓahīr al-Dīn, 31-5; Balʿamī, ii, 297-8). Ķārin was allegedly confirmed in his post by Hurmizd IV (579-90 A.D.).

According to the local historians of Ṭabaristān, Ķārin reigned 37 years and was replaced by his son Alanda for 52 years (Ẓahīr al-Dīn, 167, 321), but these chronological data are fanciful and do not appear to correspond with the age of these persons (cf. below). The actual centre of the Ķārinid principality has not been precisely determined, being situated according to some at Firrīm (cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal, 377, tr. 367; Casanova, *Les Ispehbeds de Firrīm*, in *A Volume of Oriental Studies presented to E. G. Browne*, 117-22), and according to others elsewhere (Minorsky in *EI*[1], *art. cit.*). In any case, at the time of the Arab conquest the Ķārinids must have lost Āmul, which was the capital of Prince Farrukhān Gīlānshāh, ancestor of the Dābūyids [*q.v.*] and of the Bāduspānids [*q.v.*] and they recognized his suzerainty (Balʿamī, iii, 493). They sent some troops to help the governor of al-Rayy to resist the Arab advance after the battle of Nihāwand (21/649), but in vain (Balʿamī, iii, 489-91; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2653-4). The submission of the local chiefs of Dunbāwand, Ķūmis and Gurgān on condition of tribute led the different *ispahbads* and *marzubāns* of Ṭabaristān to surrender in their turn. Given the difficult character of the land, Suwayd b. Muḳarrin accepted the conditions of their capitulation: to pay 500,000 dirhams and remain tributaries of the Arab Empire, but without obligation to send military contingents in case of war and without the interference of the Arabs in the internal affairs of these principalities (Balʿamī, iii, 492-3; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2659-60). But even these slight dues (compared with the tribute paid to the Sāsānids; Ibn Isfandiyār, 118) were not to be discharged regularly or in full, judging by the evolution of the proportionate forces maintained by the central power and the local princes (al-Balādhurī, 337-8), for numerous expeditions were launched against these regions to restore the caliphal authority.

We know scarcely anything of the Ķārinid princes before the revolt of Wandād-Hurmuzd in 165/781, and we must have recourse to the history of Ṭabaristān and of other local princes for some incidental references. According to the local historians (Ibn Isfandiyār, 98), a new dynasty was created about 45/665 in the Sharwīn Mountains situated in the south-east of Ṭabaristān (Ibn al-Faḳīh, 305) with Firrīm as centre (*Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 135-6); it is very difficult to recognize in these different names mountains that form the eastern chain of the Elburz, for they have changed in name or their names may be easily confused, even when one does not come across several names for one and the same mountain (Rabino di Borgomale, *Māzandarān and Astarābād*, 2). Always according to the local historians (Ibn Isfandiyār, 98-9, 237; Ẓahīr al-Dīn, 206-7, 323-4), the inhabitants of Kūh-i Ķārin helped Surkhāb son of Bāw to regain his throne from the usurper Adhur-Walāsh (the Zarmihrid?), who had assassinated his father *ca.* 59-60/679-80 and had maintained himself for 8 years. Surkhāb was crowned *Pādhshah* at Firrīm, which would suggest a return to the Ķārinid patrimony, but the suzerainty remained with the son of Farrukhān Gīlānshāh, Gīl Gawbarā, who took the title of King of the Mountains (Farshwādgarrshāh; Ibn Isfandiyār, 97; Ẓahīr al-Dīn, 42).

It was not until 97/716 that Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, strengthened by his success at Gurgān, tried to annex Ṭabaristān also to the Umayyad empire, but he fell in his turn in an ambush (like Maṣḳala b. Hubayra in 54/674, Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath in 55/675), and had to content himself with imposing a tribute sufficiently heavy for him to turn back against Djurdjān, which had revolted in his absence (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1320-1, 1327-9; al-Balādhuri, 336-8 etc.). Nevertheless, the inhabitants of Ṭabaristān revolted afresh under Hishām (105-25/724-43); (al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 381), then under Marwān II (al-Balādhurī, 338; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 308). The ʿAbbāsids were meanwhile recognized in the course of their rebellion (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 2016; Ibn al-Faḳīh, 275-7), and al-Manṣūr himself succeeded in imposing on the local chiefs the payment of the tribute they had paid to the Sāsānids, following their complicity in the revolt of Sunbādh in 137/755 (Ibn Isfandiyār, 118). The conquest of Ṭabaristān was achieved in the course of the years 142-3/759-60 and resulted in its annexation to the ʿAbbāsid empire, which led to the installation of military garrisons in the mountainous regions, notably at Firrīm and at Khurramābād (Ibn Isfandiyār, 122-3). The Bāwandids profited from the disappearance of the Dābūyids by taking the title of *Padishwārharshāh* (Ibn Isfandiyār, 126), indicating by it their pre-eminent position in Kūhistān. The local princes appear to have adapted themselves poorly to ʿAbbāsid tutelage, and they revolted in 165/781, when the governor of Ṭabaristān tried to apply an increase in the taxes ratified by the jurist Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, arguing that Ṭabaristān had surrendered by force (Ibn Isfandiyār, 125). The inhabitants of Ummīdvar-Kūh (to the South of Āmul) went to find the Ķārinid prince Wandād-Hurmuzd, who lived near Dunbāwand (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 129), and promised him their help, if he would revolt (Ibn Isf., 126).

The Revolt of Wandād-Hurmuzd. Wandād-

Hurmuzd assured himself of the alliance of the other local princes (Sharwīn the Bāwandid in the Sharwīn Mountains, Shahriyār the Bāduspānid in the Bāduspān Mountains, Masmughān Walāsh (the Zarmihrid?) at Miyāndurūd near Sāriya, Wandād-Safān the Ķārinid in the Wandād-Safān Mountains to the west of Ṭabaristān), and proclaimed a revolt, which began with a massacre of the Muslims (Ibn Isf., 122-3). Exploiting the lie of the land, Wandād-Hurmuzd held the mountainous regions for several years (165-8/781-5) and inflicted numerous defeats on the caliphal armies. Al-Mahdī had to organize four expeditions, each of growing importance, at the head of which he placed generals of ever-greater renown (Sālim al-Farghānī, the Amīr Firāsha, ʿUmar b. al-ʿAlāʾ in 167/783, Taym b. Sinān), but in vain. He had to send the heir to the throne, al-Hādī, in person, accompanied by the general Yazīd b. Mazyad, to obtain the surrender of Wandād-Hurmuzd (Ibn Isf., 44-5 126-31; Ẓahīr al-Dīn, 155-9; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 517-8, 551, 705; Ibn al-Faķīh, 304). The latter was imprisoned in Baghdād (al-Yaʿķūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 487), and his brother Wandād-Safān had sought his own destruction in executing a client of the caliph, Bahrām b. Fīrūz, recently converted to Islam. Wandād-Hurmuzd was meanwhile freed after having promised to give up his brother to the caliph, but once in his mountains, he did nothing about it (Ibn Isf., 131-2; Ẓahīr al-Dīn, 160). His hostility to Islam persisted as before (Ibn Isf., 140), and he profited by acquiring 1,000 *djarīb*s of demesne lands in the environs of Sāriya that had been put up for sale (Ibn Isf., 132; Ibn Rusta, 150, tr. 173). Wandād-Safān continued his opposition to ʿAbbāsid penetration by having executed Djaʿfar b. Hārūn, sent by the caliph in 187/803 to carry out again the cadastral survey (Ibn Isf., 141-2). These multiple acts of insubordination forced Hārūn al-Rashīd, at the time of his move to Rayy in 189/805, to summon Wandād-Hurmuzd and to reaffirm solemnly the sovereignty of the caliphate and to exact guarantees of submission: Wandād-Hurmuzd had to join in paying tribute, to send troops in event of war, and at the same time was constrained to "offer" some domains to the caliph (the Maʾmūnī lands) and to send his son Ķārin as hostage to the court. In exchange, he was reinvested as "*Ispahbad of Khurāsān*" (Ibn al-Faķīh, 304; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 705; al-Yaʿķūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 514; Ibn Isfandiyār, 44, 142-3). Despite the fame of the revolt of his grandson Māzyār, it seems to us that the personality and movement of Wandād-Hurmuzd merit more consideration on the part of historians, for he effected a coalition that only Ḥasan b. Zayd was able to recreate in 250/864, and opposed with success the attempts to repress his revolt, whereas Māzyār collapsed without fighting in 225/840.

Ķārin was sent back to his father in 192/808 (al-Yaʿķūbī, ii, 520; Ibn Isf., 143). In the course of the struggle between al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn, ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān in 195/811 offered some presents to the "princes of Daylam, the mountains of Ṭabaristān and the neighbouring regions" and made them promise that he would cut the route from Khurāsān to Baghdād (which was dominated by the mountains of Ṭabaristān) and that he would hinder the arrival of reinforcements for Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn, commander of the troops of al-Maʾmūn. The local princes promised their help (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 820), but ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Māhān was killed near al-Rayy.

According to the local historians, Wandād-Hurmuzd died in the time of al-Maʾmūn (198-218/813-33) after having reigned 50 years. His son Ķārin succeeded him for 40 years (Ibn Isf., 144-5; Ẓahīr al-Dīn, 321), but this information is certainly false, for, if one adds the 30 years of a reign that these same sources attribute to Māzyār, one cannot see how these two princes could have reigned 40+30 years, when there were 27 years between the accession of al-Maʾmūn (in 198/813) and the execution of Māzyār (in 225/840). Besides, Ibn Isfandiyār (145-7) recounts the participation of Ķārin in the campaign of al-Maʾmūn against the Byzantines (the first dating from 215/830), whilst further on he contradicts himself in saying that Māzyār profited from this campaign to eliminate his adversaries.

The fact remains that Ķārin lost his possessions bit by bit, following the attempts of his rival Shahriyār to nibble them away. Then, when he succeeded his father, Māzyār found himself at the head of a diminished principality (Ibn Isfandiyār, 146). He even lost his possessions completely following a battle against Shahriyār, who annexed his domains. Māzyār took refuge with his cousin Wandād-Ummīd, son of Wandād-Safān, but the latter was constrained to give him up to the Bāwandid (Ibn Isfandiyār, 146-7). Whilst, according to Ibn Isfandiyār, Māzyār escaped from prison and made his way to Baghdād and to the caliph al-Maʾmūn (*ibid.*), al-Ṭabarī (iii, 1015) attributes to the governor of Ṭabaristān, ʿAbd Allāh b. Khurdhādhbah, the victory over Shahriyār the Bāwandid and the sending of Māzyār to al-Maʾmūn in 201/816-7 (then at Marw, since the Caliph did not return to Baghdād until 204/819; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 253; Balʿamī, iv, 518). Whatever may be the case, Māzyār had to become a convert to Islam and received the name of Abu'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Ķārin, with the title of "*mawlā* of the Commander of the Faithful" (al-Yaʿķūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 582; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1298; Ibn Isf., 147). He was afterwards named, in 207/822-3, co-governor of Ṭabaristān, Rūyān and Dunbāwand with Mūsā b. Ḥafṣ, and charged specially with the control of the mountainous regions that he knew best (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1066, 1096; Ibn Isf., 148). On his return to Ṭabaristān, Māzyār appears to have begun by eliminating the other local princes, both his own kinsmen, notably his brother Kūhyār (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1295; al-Balādhurī, 339) and his nephew, Ķārin, son of Shahriyār (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1283), as well as his rivals, the Bāwandids: *ca.* 210/825-6, he invaded the Sharwīn Mountains, defeated Shāpūr, son of Shahriyār, and even had him executed on learning that he would become a convert to Islam and a "*mawlā* of the Commander of the Faithful" like himself (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1093; Ibn Isfandiyār, 148). He annexed the Sharwīn Mountains and added the title of *Malik al-Djibāl* to his already pompous titulature: "Gīl-Gīlān, Ispabadh of Khurāsān, Padishkhwārgarshāh" (al-Yaʿķūbī, *Buldān*, 276, tr. 81), which is identical to that of Farrukhān Gīlānshāh at the time of the Arab conquest (cf. Balʿamī, iii, 493). These titles do not indicate any claim to Khurāsān, in contradiction to what several historians have thought (Azizi, 186; Minovi, 24; Minorsky, in *EI*[1], art. *Māzyār*), otherwise al-Maʾmūn would not have used this titulature in his correspondence with Māzyār (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1298 gives the variant Ispahbad/Ispahbadhān).

This policy of concentrating power for his own sole profit is at the origin of the "treason" of his own kinsmen in 225/840, who saw in it the only means of their being restored as princes (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1283, 1291, 1295).

Mūsā b. Ḥafṣ died in 211/826-7 and was replaced by his son Muḥammad (Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 286), but

Māzyār seems not to have had a high opinion of him (Ibn Isf., 148). He sought to extend his control over the plains of Ṭabaristān with brutal methods, which alienated the Muslim population of the towns against him after already attracting the hostility of the local Zoroastrian landowners (Ibn Isf., 148-9). Complaints were then addressed to the Caliph, but Māzyār refused to go to Baghdād for fear of being removed from office on this occasion. On the insistence of al-Maʾmūn, he sent the *ḳāḍīs* of Āmul and Rūyān to inform the Caliph of his actions. The *ḳāḍī* of Āmul claimed that Māzyār had abjured the faith, but the Caliph did not believe this accusation (cf. al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1270-1). Despite his ever more independent bearing (he called himself "ally" and no longer "client" of the Caliph; cf. al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 582), al-Maʾmūn named him later as sole governor of Ṭabaristān (Ibn Isf., 150-1), and al-Muʿtaṣim confirmed him in his post in 218/833. Having also become a veritable petty king, with an administration modelled on the central power and a considerable personal strength (cf. al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1292), he reached a new degree of insubordination in refusing to send his *kharādj* to the Ṭāhirids of Khurāsān, to whom he was administratively subject. The Caliph agreed to spare him (probably against the advice of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir), and his agents received the *kharādj* from Māzyār at Hamadhān and sent it on to the Ṭāhirid agents (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1268).

According to a version of al-Ṭabarī (iii, 1269), "Māzyār was also in correspondence with Bābak; he encouraged him (in his revolt) and proposed to help him", but this sentence is perhaps truncated like the sentence on the stirring-up of the peasants (also 1269), whose correct reconstruction (1278-9) gives a completely different meaning. Let us note that there is no question anywhere else of any complicity of Māzyār with Bābak, although the rumours and accusations hurled against al-Afshīn are very numerous. Towards the beginning of 223/end of 837, there was planned an expedition of al-Afshīn against Māzyār, but only because of his tyranny and his insubordination (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1269-71; al-Balādhurī, 339; Ibn Isf., 152; Ẓahīr al-Dīn, 167). The thesis of a vast "anti-Arab plot" fomented by Bābak, al-Afshīn, Māzyār and the Byzantine Emperor Theophilus at this period is only a fabrication made up by the historians (M. Minovi, 26; M. Azizi, 212, 364, etc.).

Feeling himself threatened also, Māzyār ordered the cadastral survey to be carried out again and the *kharādj* to be levied before the end of the month of Tīr/August 838, and his agents surveyed in two months what had usually been surveyed in twelve months and in three sessions (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1270-2). Besides, the tension between Māzyār and the Ṭāhirids worsened the more ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir succeeded in setting the Caliph against this "tyrannical and insubordinate prince-governor", the one who led Māzyār to rebel, revolt, refuse the *kharādj* and impose his ascendancy over the mountains of Ṭabaristān and its adjacent parts (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1269). Certain sources even assert that this insubordination was encouraged by al-Afshīn, who urged Māzyār to revolt (al-Ṭabarī, 1269, 1305, etc.). If it is undeniable that one meets with this accusation against the rival of the Ṭāhirids, who had become ambitious after his victory over Bābak in 222/837 and over Theophilus in 223/838, it is not certain that it corresponds to reality, for as al-Yaʿḳūbī suggests (*Taʾrīkh*, ii, 583), when al-Afshīn addressed himself in these terms to Māzyār: " 'By God, your falsehood will not save you from death. Don't perpetrate a falsehood to end your life', then Māzyār regained his composure and protested 'By God, he has not written to me or entered into correspondence with me . . .' ". The position of al-Afshīn is made clear by the sources: having heard of the conflict that set Māzyār in opposition to the Ṭāhirids, he "hoped that this conflict would be at the root of the dismissal of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir from the government of Khurasān" (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1269), for "he believed that, if Māzyār revolted, he would hold out for a long time against ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir and would resist until al-Muʿtaṣim was obliged to send him, as well as others, to combat him, and that he would dismiss ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir, and appoint him in his place and charge him with the suppression of Māzyār" (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1305). All this allows us to reject the theses of "anti-Arab" revolt leading to the restoration of the power of the Persians, that several historians have freely adopted (notably M. Minovi and M. Azizi, although Gh. H. Sadighi had refuted these assertions as far back as 1938).

The Revolt of Māzyār. Māzyār revolted openly "after six years and several months of the caliphate of al-Muʿtaṣim" (al-Balādhurī, 339), *i.e.* the end of 224/839. Certain sources (al-Balādhurī and Ibn Isf., 152) use the word *kafara* which has led several historians to maintain that he apostasised (Minovi, 24; Azizi, 187). This interpretation is erroneous, for all the other chroniclers use the verb "to revolt" or a synonym, and al-Balādhurī himself uses the word *kafara* as a synonym of "to revolt".

He compelled the inhabitants to offer him the oath of allegiance, and in order to assure himself of them, he put their goods under sequestration and made them surrender hostages (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1269, 1273). In addition, he had imprisoned "all those whom he believed to hate him in secret" (*Kitāb al-ʿUyūn*, iii, 399; Miskawayh, vi, 504), from amongst the inhabitants of Sāriya, Āmul, Rūyān and western Ṭabaristān (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1273-4, 1278, 1283). He had the ramparts of Āmul, Sāriya and Ṭamīsha demolished, which alerted ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir (Ibn Isf., 150-2; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1274-5). However, the inhabitants of Āmul sollicited the intervention of al-Muʿtaṣim, who decided finally to put an end to this prince-governor who had revolted (Ibn Isf., 153-4).

Ṭabaristān was surrounded on all sides by five armies sent by ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir (to the east and south-east) and al-Muʿtaṣim. Māzyār believed himself secure, for he had recalled his brother Kūhyār, to whom he had entrusted the defence of the Ḳārin Mountains (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1295), and his nephew Ḳārin b. Shahriyār, charged with defending the Sharwīn Mountains and the eastern chain as far as Djurdjān (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1283). As for the rest of the routes of entry into Ṭabaristān, his confidants Sarkhāstān and al-Durrī had to prevent the entrance of troops, the first from Djurdjān, the second from al-Rayy (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1295-6).

Seeing himself surrounded, Māzyār tried to disencumber himself of the prisoners by rousing *al-akara al-mukhtārīn min bayn al-dahāḳīn*, but his manœuvre miscarried (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1278-80 and not 1269, which has inspired more than one commentary of it as a social, agrarian, Mazdakite movement etc.). The collapse of Māzyār was quick; some soldiers of Sarkhāstān brought in some soldiers of al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn with whom they had fraternized, and not Ṭamīsha was taken by surprise (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1278-80). Ḳārin b. Shahriyār surrendered all the heartlands of his possessions and the Sharwīn Mountains to Ḥayyān b. Djabala in exchange for the promise of his restoration as prince (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1282-3). Two

brothers, Muḥammad and Dja'far b. Rustam, rallied the soldiers of Rūyān and some fortresses of Kalān and Shālūs against their commandant, the brother of al-Durrī, who had surrendered to Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1299). Having learnt of these successes and the execution of Sarkhāstān and al-Durrī, who had both tried to take flight, the inhabitants of Sāriya and of Marraw rebelled the same day, the 13th Sha'bān 225/18th June 840 (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1299). The decisive blow was struck against Māzyār by his brother Kūhyār, who was sollicited by all the generals to deliver Māzyār to them in exchange for his own restoration (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1286-8, 1291, 1296-7). Kūhyār delivered him finally to al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn in Sha'bān or in Ramaḍān 225/June-July 840 (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1299). Māzyār was escorted to Sāmarrā, where he arrived in Shawwāl/August (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1303). Al-Afshīn was not arrested until 4th Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da/5th September, not after having been denounced by Māzyār, but on the pretext of having been the instigator of the revolt of Mankdjūr in Ādharbaydjān (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1305). His trial took place the very next day (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1303) and Māzyār was cited as witness for the prosecution. It is remarkable that Māzyār was only reproached in the course of his interrogation for having revolted and not for having abjured the faith. Māzyār accused al-Afshīn of being the instigator of this revolt, but his statements seem inconsistent and most sources say that he retracted (al-Ya'ḳūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, ii, 583; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1298; Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 363). Māzyār was condemned to be flogged, and expired after having received several hundred blows (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1303). The Ḳārinids disappeared as a dynasty, more especially as Kūhyār was executed by the Daylamī guards of Māzyār for his "treason" (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1293-4). Ṭabaristān was thereafter administered by the Ṭāhirids (Ibn Ḥawḳal, ii, 381, tr. 370).

Bibliography: Sources: Apart from the chronicles of Ya'ḳūbī, Balādhurī, and Ṭabarī—whose information is taken up by the *Kitāb al-'Uyūn*: *Historia Chalifatus al-Motacim*, Leiden 1849—Miskawayh, Bal'amī, Ibn al-Athīr, etc., one should note above all: Ibn Isfandiyār, *An abridged translation of the History of Ṭabaristān*, Leiden 1905 (Persian text completely edited at Tehran 1933), and Ẓahīr al-Dīn, *Geschichte von Ṭabaristân, Rûyân und Mâzandarân* (Persian text), St. Petersburg 1850. Studies: H. L. Rabino di Borgomale, *Māzandarān and Astarābād*, London 1928; idem, *Les dynasties du Māzandarān*, in *JA* (1938); M. Minovi, Māzyār, Tehran 1933 (2nd ed. 1954); Gh. H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens au IIe et au IIIe siècles de l'Hégire*, Paris 1938; M. Azizi, *La domination arabe et l'épanouissement du sentiment national iranien*, Paris 1938; J. M. Unvala, *Numismatique du Tabaristan*, Paris 1938; M. Rekaya, *La place des provinces sud-caspiennes dans l'histoire de l'Iran de la conquête arabe à l'avènement des Zaydites (16-250 H./637-864 J.C.): particularisme régional ou rôle "national"?*, in *R.S.O.*, xlviii (1974), 117-52; idem, *Māzyār, résistance ou intégration d'une province iranienne au monde musulman au milieu du IXe siècle ap. J.C.*, in *Studia Iranica*, ii/2, (1973), 143-92.

(M. Rekaya)

KĀRĪZ [See ḲANĀT].

KARKADDAN, preferable to *Karkadann*, and KARKAND (fem. *karkanda*, Maghribī, *kerkedān*) are arabicized forms of the Persian *kargadān* from Pahlavi *karg*. They denote primarily the Rhinocerotidae of India and the East Indies including (a) the Indian rhinoceros (*Rhinoceros unicornis*), also called *mirmis*, *ziba'rā*/*zib'arā* and *sinād*; (b) the rhinoceros of Java (*Rhinoceros sondaicus*), which al-Bīrūnī calls by its Sanskrit name *kunda*; and (c) the rhinoceros of Sumatra (*Didermoceros sumatrensis*), which is Persian *nishān*, becoming *nisyān* and *nūshān*.

Well before Islam and the Muslim conquest of Persia, the Arabs knew the African species of rhinoceros through Ethiopia. They kept the local names and arabicized them, so that the Black Rhinoceros (*Diceros bicornis*) becomes *ḥarīsh*, *ḥarīs* (from *arwaharīs*, *wārwahrīs*, "a large horned beast"), *khirtīt* and *kharṭīṭ*; Burchell's Rhinoceros or the White Rhinoceros (*Ceratotherium simum*) became *hirmīs*, *abū ḳarn*, *umm ḳarn* and *'anaza*. These pachydermata were known to the Romans; first, Pompey offered one to the circus games in 55 B.C. and Later, the Emperor Domitian depicted them on his coins. An excellent picture of one is preserved in the celebrated Palestrina mosaic. In Islam, with the arrival of the 'Abbāsid dynasty, the term *karkaddan* seems to have become synonymous with *ḥarīsh*.

Because they live in the same habitat, the rhinoceros is often found in literature associated with the elephant (see FĪL). They are both known for their weight and prodigious strength, but the elephant, long subjugated to the service of man in the Indies and Persia, was familiar to all, while the fierce and sensitive one-horned beast (*waḥīd al-ḳarn*, from the Greek μονόκερος) was almost unknown in the Near East. In fact, it became the source of a group of fabulous legends which resulted in the myth of the Unicorn, not only in Islam but also in Christianity. Popular credulity soon served to place it among the fantastical animals, and the *Ikhwān al-ṣafā'*, preserving this mysterious atmosphere in their *Rasā'il* (Beirut 1957, ii, 258-62), suppose it to be the vizier of the phoenix (*'anḳā' mughrib*) in the course of the animals' law-suit against man.

It should be remembered that the more or less extravagant accounts about China, the east Indies and this Asiatic animal which were already known in Persia had been channelled through India or heard from the mouths of merchants. It was highly praised for the special virtues of its nasal spur, which was believed to be a horn. In fact, it is only an excrescence of the skin made of compressed hair and without any bony support. It was, therefore, in simple good faith that one of the ancient Greek doctors, Ctesias, became the propagator of a fable which he had told to him. He had been in the service of Artaxerxes, and on his return to Cnide about 398 B.C. he compiled his *Persica* and his *Indica* (summarized 1300 years later by Photius, patriarch of Constantinople) in which he mentioned the "white donkey", the unicorn of the Indies (ἰνδικὸς ὄνος). The name is taken up again by Aristotle (*Hist. Animal.*, I, 118) and translated *ḥimār hindī* by al-Djāḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān*, vii, 123).

From the description given by Ctesias arose the perpetual confusion on the part of most subsequent authors, whether Muslims or not, between two animals: the single-horned rhinoceros and the swift Antilope Cervicapre with straight spiralling horns. This animal took pride of place in Hindu mythology. The confusion was carried over into Arabic by cosmographers, naturalists and lexicographers with the terms *ḥarīsh* and *karkaddan*. With certain writers these terms denoted only the rhinoceros, and then with others only the Cervicapre (so al-Ḳazwīnī and Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī—see the margin of al-Damīrī, Cairo 1356/1937, i, 233). Finally, with a third group the two animals blended into a famous

quadruped figure like that already presented in Greek by the Latin zoologist Aelian (*De natura animalium*, XVI, 20) under the hellenized Indian name of καρτάζωνον/καρκάζωνον. The Persian *kargadān* can be recognized in this word, and some philologists would see the Sanskrit *kartajan* (in the sense of "master of the wilderness"). By contrast the same Aelian speaks in another chapter (XVII, 44) of a ρινόκερως, "horned nose", a formidable enemy of the elephant which he impales on his horn, but Aelian makes no comparison with the previously described "monoceros". Later, Pliny the Elder and then Julius Solinus (*Polyhistoria*, tr. A. Golding, 1587) augmented the unicorn's monstrosity by giving him a horse's body, elephant's feet, swine's tail, a deer's head and a long slender horn, with a terrifying appearance, in the middle of the forehead.

In the end, the animal became the terror of man and every beast in his vicinity fled "a hundred parasangs away". Such an animal had been supposedly produced by the crossing of an elephant with a mare, and it was the only horned soliped. It was famed for the speed of its running. According to the sources, the fertile female of the species carried its young from three to seven years, and the young acquired all its teeth in the first year so that it could push its head from its mother's womb and browse on the foliage in passing. As soon as it was born, it ran away swiftly to escape the licking of its mother's tongue which bristled with prickles, and this formidable licking was one of the "Chinese tortures" inflicted on condemned men.

The *karkaddan* could live 700 years, but was not able to reproduce until the age of 50. Its impenetrable leather was used by the Chinese to cover their breastplates, yet the monster was moved by the cooing of a turtle dove, whose company it sought. Similarly, it would dart to the side of a young virgin positioned in the forest to attract it. Pretending to suck at the milkless bosom, it would drop intoxicated (*nis̲h̲yān*) and give itself up to the hunters all around, who would kill it and remove its precious horn. This last fable suggests the famous "Lady of the Unicorn" story of mediaeval Christianity. But the main interest of this zoological rarity remained that single horn, with its special extraordinary properties (*k̲h̲awāṣṣ*).

In Arabic, one of the earliest if not the earliest occurrences of the *karkaddan* is found in the important anonymous chronicle [see AL-SĪRĀFĪ and SULAYMĀN] on India and China (*Ak̲h̲bar al-Ṣīn wa'l-Hind*, ed. and tr. J. Sauvaget, Paris 1948, § 28), on which most of the Muslim geographers and cartographers, especially al-Masʿūdī (*Murūd̲j̲*, ed. and tr. Pellat, §§ 430-2), have largely drawn. Sauvaget translates as follows: "The *vichān* recorded in the region of Dharma is none other than the rhinoceros. It has on the front of his forehead a single horn and in this horn is a mark [which is] the representation of a creature like [for example] a picture resembling a man. The horn is entirely black and the picture placed in the middle is white. This rhinoceros is smaller in height than the elephant and it is almost black in colour. It resembles the buffalo but is so strong that no other animal has strength like it. It has no joint in the knee or the ankle; from its foot to its haunch is just one single member. The elephant turns tail before it. It chews the cud like oxen and camels and it is permitted [to consume] its flesh; we have eaten it. It is numerous in this Kingdom, in the jungle, and is found in every region of India; the horns which come from these beasts are very beautiful. In the horn there may happen to be the picture of a man, a peacock, a fish or even other pictures. The Chinese make belts of these and the price of them in China reaches 2,000-3,000 dīnārs or more according to the beauty of the picture." The *Chronicle* further adds that there were imported into China "ivory, incense, copper ingots, sea shell ... and this *vichān* which I have described and which is the rhinoceros".

The reason for the fame in China of the rhinoceros horn, itself called *karg/kark*, *k̲h̲irtīt*, *k̲h̲artūt*, and *k̲h̲utū* (see Ibn al-Akfānī, *Nuk̲h̲ab al-d̲h̲akhā'ir*, in *Machriq*, xi (1908), 764 f.), which is given here, is not the only one. Indeed, the alchemists and magicians of antiquity in Ethiopia as well as in the Indies had noticed a chemical reaction, in that this organic matter swelled when brought into contact with certain poisonous products. This property immediately aroused the interest of eminent persons. Those who were ceaselessly exposed to intrigues and plots saw in this the "touchstone" to reveal poisoned drinks and dishes. The Chinese and Abyssinian princes then became accustomed to fashioning bowls, goblets and even the handles of knives from it, imagining that they would thus protect themselves from the treacherous intentions of their enemies. To plunge again into the realm of the fabulous, it was but a short step for the therapeutists from the idea of a poison test to suggesting it as an antidote, and from there they did not hesitate to attribute exceptional properties to the horn, whole or pulverized. From east to west it was presented as a panacea which was sought after at great expense.

The one who possessed this sovereign remedy was protected from the evil eye and spells; he escaped all accidents, including his horse falling; mere contact with the horn instantly cured colic and a woman in childbirth was instantly delivered by it; powdered and diluted it could be administered to cut short an epileptic fit and the convulsions of a maniac; it could even neutralize the effects of venom. Finally, and above all, this powder, called *obat* among the Asiatian pharmacists, was the most effective of a number of aphrodisiacs and was able to overcome senile impotence. In short, the product had such success that the apothecaries, druggists, healers and charlatans were not able to meet the demand and had recourse to substitute products, introducing not only *unicornum verum* but also *unicornum falsum* to the drug market. For most of the time, both of them were in fact no more than the long tooth on the spur of the narwhal (*Monodon monoceros*) *ḥarīs̲h̲ al-baḥr*, the tusks of the walrus (*fīl al-baḥr, fazz*) or even those of the mammoth exhumed from the Siberian soil. All this ivory would arrive from the far north by the fur-traders' route; Bulg̲h̲ār [*q.v.*] was one of the chief exchange centres. The true rhinoceros horn actually reached China by caravans from the kingdom of Assam (*Ḳāmarīsa*), or by Muslim coasters which obtained it from the ports of the Irrawadi delta, from the gulf of Siam (Kirdand̲j̲), in Cambodia, Champa (Annam), Malaya [see BAḤR AL-HIND] and in the Red Sea from Ethiopia. Considering the fact that the traffic was so intense, if there had not been some falsification in the rhinoceros horn trade, this not very prolific animal would certainly have totally disappeared from all the countries which knew it for many centuries, as is the case in Borneo. A census of 1937 showed that only 70 were recorded in the whole of Malaya.

In the west, confusion persisted until the 12th/18th century about the identity of the one-horned beast/unicorn and this confusion had been reinforced by the way the Septuagint translators in their transla-

tion of the Bible into Greek had translated the Hebrew term *re'em*. The term occurs seven times in the Bible, three in the Psalms of David, and designates a fierce and dangerous desert animal they rendered as *monokerōs*, after hesitation, without any other precise details. The Latin Vulgate took over the name as *unicornus* and so established the unicorn in vulgar Latin.

Meanwhile, there were some clear minds on the Arab side which could not accept all these extravagant ideas about the position of the *karkaddan-ḥarīsh*; they were certain that they recognized in this term the true pachyderm, the Asian species as well as the African. Among these was the geographer al-Yaʿḳūbī (*Buldān*, tr. G. Wiet, Cairo 1937, 191). Of course, al-Djāḥiẓ himself does not allow himself to tell stories about the animal, and he denounces the ridiculous credulity of the scholars of his time on this subject (*Ḥayawān*, vii, 124); but he was not able to draw the parallel between the *ḥimār hindī* of Aristotle and the *karkaddan-ḥarīsh*. His suggestion about the route followed by the horn-traders is particularly imaginative (op. cit., vii, 129). According to him, it arrived by caravans in Baghdād and left again by sea from Baṣra for China. Unfortunately, he does not say from where it came, and so it is not clear whether he is discussing the true horn from India or Abyssinia or the false horn from Lapland.

Two centuries later the naturalist and Christian doctor ʿUbayd Allāh b. Djibrīl Ibn Bukhtīshūʿ [see BUKHTISHŪʿ], a polyglot like his ancestors, removed all ambiguity by affirming that "... the *karkand* is the animal which the Arabs call *ḥarīsh* and the Armenians *ri'm/rīm* ..." (in *ʿIḳd al-djumān*, ms. *Dār al-kutub*, Cairo). It must be made clear that the Biblical *ri'm/rīm* has no connexion with the white gazelle (*Gazella leptoceros*) to which the Arabs later gave this name [see GHAZĀL]. With these far-sighted authors can be included other "debunkers" of the fabulous one-horned beast, invented by some traveller-explorers who had encountered the rhinoceros in the course of their wanderings in Asia. Among the Christians there was Marco Polo, who saw the pachyderm in Sumatra in 1291 and who gave an accurate description of it, though slightly permeated with disappointment (*Description du Monde*, French version by L. Hambis, Paris 1955, 243). *Ca.* 40 years later the Muslims had the evidence of the Moroccan Ibn Baṭṭūṭa [*q.v.*], who had had the opportunity of observing the beast three times in the Punjab in 734/1333 (*Riḥla*, Cairo 1346/1928, ii, 4). He was impressed by the size of its head and quotes the local saying that "the *karkaddan* is all head". Mounted on an elephant, he even had to take part in a hunt, together with the Sultan of that place, and he was able to see the rhinoceros brought down and the trophy with its horn displayed in the prince's encampment. But the traveller does not say whether or not he tasted the flesh of the animal, as did the writer of the Chronicle.

As the legends surrounding the *karkaddan* were gradually forgotten, the question of the permissibility of eating its flesh no longer met with any objection, for the animal was recognized as an herbivore. But in the Middle Ages, in an atmosphere charged with the miraculous, certain strict legal writers were able to envisage a prohibition on its consumption if it could be shown that the beast resulted from the cross-breeding of a mare and an elephant. The question has been resolved in time with more exact knowledge of the pachydermata. In our own time, in Islam as elsewhere, the rhinoceros is no longer regarded as a curiosity except in a zoo, and there are only but a few small Muslim tribes in black Africa who hunt it as meat.

Bibliography: Besides the references cited in the text: Amīn al-Maʿlūf, *An Arabic Zoological Dictionary/Muʿdjam al-ḥayawān*, Cairo 1932, s.v. Rhinoceros; Ed. Ghaleb, *al-Mawsūʿa fī ʿulūm al-ṭabīʿa, Dictionnaire des sciences de la nature*, Beirut 1965, ii, s.v. *karkaddan*; B. Heuvelmans, *Sur la piste des bêtes ignorées*, Paris 1955, i, 140-7; Ibn Sīda, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, viii, 58; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, ii, 37-8; W. Ley, *Exotic Zoology/Animaux Fabuleux*, Paris 1964, 7-23; P. Loevenbruck, *Les animaux sauvages dans l'histoire*, Paris 1955, 75-84; M. Lombard, *La chasse et les produits de la chasse dans le monde musulman, VIII-XI^e siècles*, in *Annales E.S.C.*, 1959/3, 572-93; Dr. Odell Shepard, *La légende de la licorne*, Boston 1930.

Iconography. In the plastic arts of Islam, the rhinoceros has not aroused the interest accorded to many other better-known animals, especially the elephant [see FĪL]. Without the legends and the wonderment provoked by its nasal excrescence the *karkaddan* would have remained completely unknown to Muslim artists in Arab countries, and so it is rather in the works of Persian, Moghul and Indian artists that almost true-to-life representations of the formidable pachyderm are to be found.

Arab painting itself seems to have been limited to imaginary interpretations of the fabled one-horned beast without defining it in any greater detail than the unicorn was defined in Christian iconography. It can be found depicted in the most varied of guises—antelope, equida, bovida, feline and, above all canida; this last is perhaps due to a linguistic type of confusion arising from the similarity of spelling in Pahlavi of *gurg* "wolf" and *karg* "rhinoceros". The "Histories" of Gushtāsp and Isfandiyār, as well as the accounts of Iskandar and Bahrām [*q.v.*], give examples of word plays between *suturg* (= "large"), *buzurg* (= "big"), *gurg* (= "wolf"), *targ* (= "helmet"), *tagarg* (= "hailstone"), *marg* (= "death)" and *karg* (= "rhinoceros") which are often difficult to explain. Further, these four creatures are believed to have succeeded in the exploit of killing a *karg* (= *karkaddan*), an exploit to be compared with one of the twelve tasks of Hercules (see W. Ley, *op. cit.*, 19). The rhinoceros can be discovered in very rare ʿIrāḳī manuscripts of the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries included among the monsters and the fantastic animals. These are illustrated and describe various types of beast and cosmography like those of al-Ḳazwīnī (*ʿAdjā'ib*, in ms. B.N. Paris, no. 2775, 682/1283; ms. Bayer. Staatsbibl. Munich, C, Ar. 464, 678/1280; ms. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, no. 5451, *ca.* 782/1380); of Ibn Bukhtīshūʿ (*Manāfiʿ al-ḥayawān*, ms. Pierpont Morgan Libr., New York, no. 500, *ca.* 694/1295); of the anonymous *Naʿt al-ḥayawān* (ms. Brit. Mus., no. OR. 2784); of Ibn Durayhim al-Mawṣilī (*Manāfiʿ al-ḥayawān*, ms. Escurial, Madrid, no. Ar. 898, dated 755/1354; see E. de Lorey, *Le Bestiaire de l'Escurial*, in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, xiv (1935), 1-11); of al-Djāḥiẓ (*al-Ḥayawān*, ms. unic. Bibl. Ambros., Milan, no. Ar. A.F.D. 140; see C. J. Lamm and O. Löfgren, *Ambrosian fragments of an illuminated manuscript containing the Zoology of al-Ǧāḥiẓ*, in *Univ. Års.*, Uppsala 1946); and of Ibn Ghānim al-Maḳdisī (*Kashf al-asrār*, ms. unic., Süleymaniye, Istanbul, Kara Ismail 565).

With the initiative of the non-Arabic styles from the second half of the 7th/13th century, and with the Persian schools which followed them up to the

12th/18th century, pictorial art took on a much more realistic approach in its treatment of animal subjects. In it the rhinoceros again became simply a large game animal, a trophy which every prince would like in his bag and which he tracked from high up on his elephant, rounding them up in great droves like the Sāsānid monarchs. The *Bābur Nāma* [*q.v.*] in its Persian translation of the 10th/16th century by ʿAbd Raḥim Khān (ms. Brit. Mus., no. Or. 3714, fol. 352; [see FĪL], pl. XXIII, and S. I. Tulajev, *Miniatures from a 16th century manuscript*: *Bâbur Nâmah*, in *Marg*, xi (1958), 45-8), offers a typical example of a return to the more accurate forms of the animal (see Eletr M. Riad, *Birds and animals in Mughal painting*, in *Bull. Coll. Arts*, Baghdad Univ., i (1959), 12-18). The miraculous element has remained and it is a very commonplace animal, worthy of popular imagery, in what can be made out to be the rhinoceros in certain miniatures of the 10th/16th century, like the one which H. R. d'Allemagne has reproduced on the frontispiece of his fine work on Persia (*Du Khorassan au pays des Backhtiaris*, Paris 1911). He has taken it from a Persian manuscript (Collect. Verver), and it represents the animals coming in a delegation up to the mullah Djāmī [*q.v.*] to complain of their ill treatment at the hands of man, and the rhinoceros which walks beside the elephant has rather the profile of a bear. But it is interesting that the miniaturist has dressed it with the same elaborate ornaments as its noble neighbour, wishing thus to put them both on an equal footing and giving the impression that the *karkaddan* too was in the service of man. Also distinctly ingenuous are the animal figures illustrating a copy of the *Cosmography* of *Shaykh* Aḥmad Miṣrī (*Ķānūn al-dunyā waʿadjāʾibu-hā*, ms. Bibl. Musée Topkapı Sarayı, Istanbul, Revan 1638, 970/1563) as are those of a copy of al-Ķazwīnī *ʿAdjāʾib*, ms. Bayer. Staatsbibl., Munich, no. C Ar. 463, of the 12th/18th century), both designed for the intellectual curiosity of a very wide-ranging public.

Apart from the miniatures, the rhinoceros appears in the animal compositions of great woollen Indian carpets woven in the 11th/17th century and intended seemingly to decorate the mosques and palaces of the great Mughals. The technique is Persian, but the motif is typically Indian, like the fragment preserved at the Musée du Louvre (Legs Jeuniette) and reproduced by G. Mignon (*Manuel d'Art musulman*, Paris 1927, ii, 383). Quite a fantastic faun can be seen there in dark tints, among which in lighter shades elephant and rhinoceros heads stand out clearly and with astonishing reality. Probably in an allusion to some legend, a hare rises from the mouth of the pachyderm towards its horned nose. Scenes like this evoke a mythology which is very strange to the Muslim world.

Investigations into modes of artistic expression other than the miniature and tapestry, by their negative results, lead to the certainty that these two techniques alone have given a place to the rhinoceros—and a very modest place in the light of those occupied by lions, panthers, cheetahs, gazelles and elephants, not to speak of the world of birds—in all the industrial and plastic arts of the Muslim world.

Bibliography: Apart from the references cited in the text, see Collection *Les Trésors de l'Asie*, ed. Skira, Geneva 1962, with (a) R. Ettinghausen, *La peinture arabe*; (b) B. Gray, *La peinture persane*; (c) M. Bussagli, *La peinture de l'Asie centrale*; and (d) D. Barrett and B. Gray, *La peinture indienne*. (F. VIRÉ)

ĶARĶANA (Kerkennah; local pronunciation: Ķarķna) is an archipelago lying off the eastern coast of Tunisia, 15 miles from the Sfax coast (between 11° and 11° 20' E. and between 34° 36' and 34° 50' N.). It consists of two main islands; to the north-east is the larger one of Kerkena (Cercina to the ancient world, Sharķī to the geographers) and to the south, Mellita (Cercinitis). The first stretches from north-east to south-west in the shape of a spear head 27 km. long and averaging 7 km. in width. The second assumes the shape of a triangle with a base of 14 km. and a height of 7-8 km. Formely it was linked to the larger island by a causeway built by Romans, but it has long been separated from it by a narrow strait, al-Ķanṭara, 800 m. wide and fordable at low tide; a narrow channel had been cut out to allow boats to pass through. To-day a road, which has replaced the ancient causeway, reconnects the two islands. The archipelago also includes seven inhabited islets, four of which border the northern coast.

The total area above sea-level is about 69 sq. miles of more or less arable land. The archipelago is supported by an immense underwater shelf which extends from Ras Kapoudia (La Chebba) in the north to the Maharès parallel in the south. It is partially separated from the "Channel of Kerkennah" where the depth of the water is almost 20 m. Otherwise, to find depths of 10 m. it is necessary to go up to 40 miles north of the archipelago. The depth of the water around these islands varies from zero to 5 m. with long, inshore stretches of one metre. Al-Bakrī (*Descrip. de l'Afr. Sept.*, 51) remarked: "In the sea around Sfax there is an island called Karkina, which occupies the centre of El-Casir. It is situated ten miles from Sfax beyond a sea which is dead and not very deep, and the surface of which is never rough." El-Casir here denotes the broad sandbanks, and because of these numerous banks it is possible to reach the south and south-east of the islands only by the "holes" (*baḥīra*—light depressions of 3-4 metres surrounded for several feet by shallows) and by the "wādīs". These underwater wādīs are vast depressions hollowed out in the middle of the sandbanks; they can be from 5-12 m. deep and as much as 300 m. wide. These wādīs never occur just on the coast and are all south of the islands or on the southern slope of a bank; they have been formed by swell currents and are maintained by the interplay of the ebb and the flow. An incoming wave is partially absorbed by the sand and it goes out again in "a little river in the shape of a hair". This then develops into a large wādī of which one or the other branch merges into a hole where the current carries away the silt.

The islands are very low-lying and the highest points of these little pieces of land, which hardly rise from the sea, scarcely exceed 13 m. But the "land" of the Kerkenians is not restricted to the 36 km. on which their archipelago is stretched, from the marabout of Sīdī Yūsuf (Mellita) to Bordj Inf al-Rakīk or to the little island of Roumedia. Their "land" also includes the many banks which surround the archipelago where they have "sown" their fisheries. Their maritime life is largely governed by the underwater geography.

The south-south-eastern coast is flat and almost rectilinear and the villages along it are numerous, but the north-north-eastern coast is very jagged and the water penetrates into the many *sebkhas* which alternate with arable beds on the larger island. There are no wādīs to irrigate an already mediocre soil or to alleviate the insufficiency of the rain (less than 200 mm. per annum). A few wells are used for the live-

stock and for watering the ground and most of these give brackish water. Before the sinking of an artesian well in 1953, the Kerkenians used cisterns for their drinking water.

History. The Greek authors scarcely mention Cercina (Herodotus, *Hist.*, IV, 195; Agathemerus, *Hypotyposis*, V.21,22; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibl. Hist.*, V.12,4; Plutarch, *Parallel Lives.*, Dion, 25, Marius, 40; Strabo, *Geogr.*, bk. II, ch. 5,20 and bk. XVII, ch. 3,17). Polybius, (*Hist. Gen.*, III, 96,12), states clearly that at the time of the second Punic war the consul Cn. Serv. Germanus landed at Cercina (217 B.C.) after he had ravaged Menynx (D̲jerba), and spared it only on the payment of a ransom of 10 talents of silver.

There are numerous details in Latin writers. In 195 B.C. while trying to flee towards Antioch from Syria to escape from the Romans, Hannibal took refuge at Cercina. But fearing lest he be followed by the boat-owners from the port, he had tents pitched for himself and his retinue, using yards and sails. He offered his hosts a sumptuous feast and leaving them to enjoy their libations seized the opportunity to flee (T. Livy, *Hist. Rom.*, bk. XXXIII, ch. 48). In 88 B.C. Marius and his son took refuge there in a fishing boat. At the time of the civil wars between Pompey and Caesar, Sallust received the order to take refuge with his vessels on the island of Cercina for "the republicans had laid up some provisions there". (*Bell. Afr.*, VIII, 2, 3 and XXXIV, 1-3). Towards the beginning of the Christian era, as a punishment for his culpable relationship with the daughter of Augustus, C. Sempr. Gracchus was sentenced to be deported there for fourteen years and he was executed in the year 15 (Tacitus, *Ann.*, I, 53 and IV, 3). Under Diocletian the archipelago paid allegiance to Byzantium under the supervision of officials living in Hadrumete (Sousse). There were two cities there; Cercina on the larger island and Cercinitis on the little island of Mellita, of which there are still some remains on the northern coast. A type of Christianity seems to have developed there (*Notic. episc. Byz.*, 47), for ruins of Christian sanctuaries have been brought to light.

No more mention is made of the archipelago until the 5th/11th century. In 491/1098 it was in the hands of the Zīrids (that is to say, greater Ḳarḳana, for Mellita was used for pasture by the Sfaxians who sent their animals there (Yāḳūt, IV, 66-7). For the five centuries that Ḳarḳana was to be used as a place of refuge or a beachhead, it was raided several times and its population dispersed or carried off captive.

Taking advantage of the rivalries which separated the Ḥammādides and the Zīrids, Roger II of Sicily imposed his sovereignty on Mahdiyya and undertook a raid on Ḳarḳana: "It is certainly a fine island and is well populated, although there is no town there". (al-Idrīsī, *Descr. de l'Afr.*, ed. Dozy 1866, text 126-7, tr. 150). He took possession of it in 548/1153, but from 1158 he had to face a revolutionary movement. Ḳarḳana was recaptured from the Normans of Sicily by the lieutenants of the Almohad prince ʿAbd al-Muʾmin. A hundred years afterwards Peter of Aragon attacked D̲jerba (1284) and the islands of Ḳarḳana (1287). When Roger of Lauria captured them they were conceded to him "in fief to the Holy See with an hereditary title and under an annual rent of fifteen ounces of gold". It was conceded to Ramon Muntaner, the memorialist captain, by Frederick of Sicily from 1311 until 1315 with "all rights and revenues and the power to do as he wished with it for three years" (*Cronicá (1265-1336)*, ch. 265). Twenty years later, the islanders rose against the Christian powers and recovered their independence (1335). Under the reign of Abū Fāris, there were in 1423 fresh sightings of the men of Aragon. The Kerkenians could not resist; their population was decimated and a great number were taken prisoner—3,450 to judge from the *Fragment. Hist. Siculae*, (cols. 1095-6). In 1510 the archipelago became the bone of contention between the Turks and the Spaniards, and Peter of Navarre led an unfortunate expedition there against an island which he found almost empty "with a few poor Berber hamlets" (Marmol, *l'Afrique*, 536-8). For a time it became a vassal to the Spanish, but it was taken again by the Turks in 1560. It had to suffer a new Spanish invasion in 1576 in which 1,000 Kerkenians were taken captive, and 15,000 sheep were carried off. Other raids occurred in 1596 and 1611.

The people who remained in the seven villages mentioned by the *Relación anónima de los meritos y servicios de D. Alvaro Basan* (1576) "live on the produce of the palms and by fishing, raising numerous sheep, weaving wool and growing vines, figs and olives".

The Ḳarḳana islands were gradually repopulated. One account from the beginning of the 19th century mentions ten villages on the larger island and the small town of Mellita on the smaller one. The successive influxes of population were of very varied origin. Many came from eastern Tunisia, a few marabout families must have been of southern Moroccan origin, others came from little Syrte (D̲jerba, Zuwag̲h̲a), but the houses, clothing customs and language all point especially to a sub-Sahelian influence. The case of Mellita must be examined separately, because this island was only recently populated by people from *blēd el-aʿrāb*, from semi-nomadic regions of the Sahelian or the Sfaxian hinterland. While the inhabitants of greater Ḳarḳana pronounce their words like city dwellers, those of Mellita have a bedouin type of speech.

The population of the archipelago scarcely exceeds 13,000 inhabitants, but more than 25,000 live on the mainland. Kerkenian emigration is beginning to develop since Ḳarḳana is no longer isolated. Indeed, for a long time the inhabitants were forced by isolation to be self-sufficient within a limited economic pattern and at village level there was a strong social cohesion.

Kerkenian life. As islanders the Kerkenians seek their subsistence and find their livelihood primarily from the sea. Isolated by the shallows which encircle the archipelago, these sea-folk try to take full advantage of them by erecting barrages to catch fish and establish fishing grounds (*s̲h̲ərfīya*) there. The palm tree is very extensive on the archipelago, and its branches mark the paths in the fishing grounds and serve as hurdles in the fishing traps. They hang up their nets (*drīna*) on the projecting points of the trunk. As lagoon fishermen, they also know how to take advantage of the natural habits of the fish like the flying mullet. To kill it they use the water falling from a simple channel (*dəmmāsat əl-bərr*) which is discharged into the sea in the direction of the flow. Overpopulation necessarily drove the workers more and more to the sea. A man by purchase or by hiring would lay claim to an area for fishing, such as the very smallest part of a sandbank, where it was possible to establish a fishing ground, set bait for the octopus or gather sponges.

The shallows extend very far out to sea. To travel among them the Kerkenians have devised a boat, the *lūd*, which is broad and without a keel and therefore well adapted to the contours of the sea-bed. They use it for going to sell their fishing produce on the coast and for going even far as Greece to deliver and trade

in dried octopus. Renowned as sailors, they have tackled the business of transporting goods from port to port along the coasts and they have crossed the sea as far as the Orient on board their two-sailed santel, which is well suited to them.

The coastal trading with the stops made on land gives them the opportunity to learn new techniques here and there and to bring back working materials, together with a useful replenishment of supplies. They obtain esparto (*ḥalfa maḥbūla*) in this way, and to gather this they have to go to the Sahelian hinterland or the gulf of the lesser Syrte.

The Kerkenian sea is not really sufficient to guarantee a food supply, so they have to look for complementary activities in the limited agriculture the archipelago permits or as craftsmen. They use everything from the palm-tree: the fibres of the trunk, the tigelles, the palm branches and the stem. Taking advantage of the magnificent retting bed for the esparto offered by the shallows, they undertake there the twisting of alfa for ropes or for plaiting baskets and camel panniers.

The day comes when the islander's ease of adjustment to difficult circumstances, his connexions with the coast, his success in his studies—Ḳerḳana benefits from an exceptional percentage of children attending school—give him the chance to emigrate, and then he will leave the archipelago, but not without leaving some of his family there. Doing seasonal activities or employment in the fishing or shipping companies, being a minor civil servant in the large towns, holding important management posts—almost 30,000 Kerkenians live in this way in Sfax, Sousse, La Goulette, Tunis, outside the archipelago to which faithfully they love to return: "*yā ḳarḳna, yā ḳarḳāra*", "O Kerkena, you always bring back your children to yourself!"

Bibliography: A very rich bibliography has appeared in A. Louis, *Les Îles Kerkena (Tunisie), étude d'ethnographie tunisienne et de géographie humaine*, Tunis 1961-3, 3 vols.; see also A. Louis, *Documents ethnographiques et linguistiques sur les îles Kerkena*, Textes en arabe dialectal avec trad., commentaire et glossaire, Algiers 1961-2.

Apart from these works and the references cited in the article see: A. d'Avezac, *Îles de Qerqeneh*, in *Îles d'Afrique*, volume of *l'Univers Pittoresque*, Paris 1858, 76-85; De Mas-Latrie, *Traités de paix et de commerce et Documents divers concernant les relations des Chrétiens avec les Arabes de l'Afrique Septentrionale, au Moyen Age*, Paris 1866; H. Von Maltzan, *Reise in den Regenschaften Tunis und Tripolis*, Leipzig, iii, 76-93; J. Servonnet and F. Lafitte, *En Tunisie, le Golfe de Gabès en 1888*, Paris 1889, 332-402 and pls. I, IV-VII; A Allemand-Martin, *Les Îles Kerkenna. Essai de colonisation agricole*, in *La Géographie*, x (1904), 201-22; P. A. Hennique, *Une page d'archéologie navale. Caboteurs et pêcheurs de la côte de Tunisie. Pêche des Éponges*, Paris 1888; A. Guibert, *Le périple des Îles*, Tunis 1937, ch. ii: *Les Îles Kerkena ou le dernier paradis*, 47-98; J. Despois, *Les Iles Kerkena et leurs bancs* in *Revue Tunisienne*, 1937, 247-301, 10 plates and 3 maps out of the text; A. Bouyssonie, *Dans les parages de la petite Syrte: des hauts fonds marins et de certains problèmes juridiques qui s'y rapportent*, Sfax 1945; A. Cateau, *Introduction à l'étude du vocabulaire maritime en Tunisie: technologie du lûd*, in *R.Afr.* (1946), 140-83; O. Kaak, *Djazīrat Ḳarḳna fi 'l-adāb wa 'l-ta'rīkh*, Sfax 1955. (A. LOUIS)

KARKARN [see BISBARĀY].

AL-**KARKH**, a loan word from Aramaic *karka* meaning "fortified city", "city" (Fraenkel, *Fremdwörter*, xx; Pauly-Wissowa, iv, 2122, 2124; *Supplement*, i, 275, 283). In Islamic times, the word is associated with various towns. Found in areas of Aramaic culture before the Islamic conquest, such towns are distinguished from one another by adding the name of their geographic location, *e.g.*, Karkh Baghdād, Karkh Sāmarrā (cf. Yāḳūt, *Mushtarik*, 368-70; *Muʿdjam*, iv, 252-7).

In Baghdād, al-Karkh refers to a specific area (Bāb al-Karkh) and more generally to the whole of the west side below the Round City of Caliph al-Manṣūr, the founder of Islamic Baghdād (cf. Iṣṭakhrī, 84; also Ibn Ḥawḳal. ed. Kramers, 241-2). According to Yaʿḳūbī, whose account reflects conditions of the 2nd/8th century, the limits of al-Karkh in length were Ḳaṣr Waḍḍāḥ (north) and the Tuesday Market (south). The limits in width were the fief of al-Rabīʿ (west) and the Tigris (*Buldān*, 246; see Le Strange, *Baghdad*, Maps III, IV and VII).

As the Aramaic name shows, the al-Karkh quarter was already in existence before the foundation of Baghdād by al-Manṣūr (145/762), as a small independent township said to have been founded by the Sasanid Shāpūr II (309-379 A.D.), and which like the other earlier settlements on the site of the future capital of the caliphs was no doubt mainly inhabited by Aramaic Christians.

Before the building of the city of al-Manṣūr, the old market of the west side (Sūḳ Baghdād) was situated in al-Karkh, and there is reason to believe that the Karkh markets continued to service the large population of that area when the Round City was built (Ṭabarī, ii, 910, 914). Towards the end of his reign, in 157/774 al-Manṣūr decided to redevelop the commercial districts to the south of the Round City and re-locate certain markets that had been situated there. To this end government funds were allocated to various entrepreneurs to build their own establishments in al-Karkh. The government on its part also widened the network of roads leading in and out of the suburb (Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Cairo, i, 79-82; Ṭabarī, *Annales*, iii, 323-4; Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 241).

Al-Karkh was watered by the Nahr ʿĪsā [*q.v.*], the most northerly large canal of the Euphrates in ʿIrāḳ, as well as by its branches, the Ṣarāt and the Karkhāyā. The latter is the "Karkhian Canal" which left the Nahr ʿĪsā below the small town of al-Muḥawwal near the village of al-Barāthā (see Yāḳūt, i, 665) and supplied the southern part of the western half of Baghdād, *i.e.*, the mercantile quarter and its neighbourhood, with its branch channels, which in places ran underground. Numerous bridges carried the busy traffic over it. On the Karkhāyā and its canal system see Ibn Serapion, ed. Le Strange in *JRAS* (1895), 17-26, 286-8, 292-3; Suhrāb, *ʿAdjāʾib*, ed. von Mžik, 123-4; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Cairo, i, 79-82; Yāḳūt, ii, 252; Streck, *Babylonien*, 85-90; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 52-56, 63-80; Herzfeld in Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise*, ii, 110. What made al-Karkh commercially advantageous was this intricate network of canals, the most important of which was the Ṣarāt, a waterway large enough to allow for the passage of deep boats, and which connected the Euphrates and the Tigris, the major river systems of ʿIrāḳ.

The suburb, which had its own Friday mosque, was probably considered a municipal entity unto itself, one of several urban aggregations which made up the general metropolitan environment (J. Lassner, in *JESHO*, x, 53-63). Detailed descriptions of the various locations in al-Karkh are preserved by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Yaʿḳūbī, and the unedited Mashhad Ms. of Ibn al-Faḳīh, *K. al-Buldān*. The most systematic

presentation is that of Suhrāb, *Aʿdjāʾib* = Ibn Serapion, which is arranged according to canalization.

Al-Karkh was heavily populated by Shīʿīs, and beginning in the 4th/10th century, frequent altercations took place between Shīʿīs and Sunnīs, particularly from the neighbouring Bāb al-Baṣra and Bāb al-Muḥawwal quarters. The area suffered considerable damage during the period of Būyid decline and that of the Saldjūḳs which followed, as the government found neither the inclination nor the funds to sustain the markets (M. Canard, *Baghdād au IVe siècle de l'hégire*, in *Arabica*, ix (1964), 268-87; G. Makdisi, *The Topography of Eleventh Century Baghdad: Materials and Notes*, in *Arabica*, vi (1959), 178-97, 281-309). Under the Būyids, who had ʿAlid sympathies, the already frequent encounters and frictions between the Sunnīs and Shīʿīs of the capital became more and more serious. Bloody street fighting between the two hostile sects, often accompanied by pillaging and incendiarism, was the order of the day. Al-Karkh was usually in the very centre of this civil strife; its inhabitants were always at daggers drawn with the Sunnīs of the adjoining quarters (Bāb al-Baṣra, etc.). Djalāl al-Dawla (416-35/1024-44), under whom the situation had become unusually serious, was even on one occasion, in 422/1031, reduced to take refuge with his Shīʿī co-religionists in al-Karkh. In 445/1053 a considerable part of al-Karkh was laid in ashes as a result of these feuds. A great fire had previously devastated al-Karkh under the Caliph al-Wāthiḳ (227/842-232/847), but the destruction was very soon made good. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (5th/11th century) observes that much of the canal system had become silted up in his time and no trace of them can be found today. By the modern period, this once great urban area had been reduced to a truncated section along the river bank.

In course of time, numerous mosques and tombs arose in the area of al-Karkh in the wider sense, by which the whole southern half of Baghdād west of the Tigris was often meant. The most celebrated is the tomb-mosque of the local saint Maʿrūf b. al-Fayzurān al-Karkhī (d. 200/816) and the alleged tomb of Zubayda, the wife of Hārūn al-Rashīd, barely 300 yards south of it. Both mausoleums still exist and are important starting points for studying the topography of old Baghdād. In their present form they were renovated by Caliph al-Nāṣir (575/1180-622/1225), but they have been frequently restored since then. On the tomb of al-Karkhī, which as early as the 3rd/9th century was one of the most popular places of pilgrimage in Baghdād and which lies in the middle of an impressive cemetery as in the ʿAbbāsid period, cf. Streck, *op. cit.*, 159; Le Strange, *op. cit.*, 98-100, 350; Massignon, *Mission*, 49, 108; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, ii, 172-3. For the so-called grave of Zubayda, see Le Strange, *op. cit.*, 100, 161 f., 350 f.; Massignon, *op. cit.*, 108 f.; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 173. On other mosques and tombs in the west side of Baghdād see Massignon, *op. cit.*, 64 f., 94 f.

Al-Karkh was not only the largest but also the most long-lived quarter of the western half of Baghdād. When the quarters around it had gradually fallen into ruins, it stood quite isolated—as early as Yāḳūt's day for example (beginning of the 7th/13th cent.)—like a separate town, as it had been in the earliest period after the foundation of Baghdād. It was a mile distant from the then still inhabited quarter of Bāb al-Baṣra (in the southeast of the old Round City of al-Manṣūr). In the later Middle Ages (cf., for example, Ibn Baṭṭūta in the 8th/14th century) the name of the Bāb al-Baṣra quarter was not infrequently extended to all the quarters of western Baghdād still standing, *i.e.*, even to include al-Karkh; cf. Le Strange, *op. cit.*, 336; Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, ii, 114 f. We may point out here that the topography of al-Karkh and its vicinity in Yāḳūt is not quite in agreement with the other sources. It appears that the local knowledge of the author of the *Geographical Dictionary* at the time of writing was no longer quite reliable, as many of the places had disappeared with no trace. This situation continued into modern times with al-Karkh consisting of but a fraction of its mediaeval environment (cf. Le Strange, 84, 159).

The other important Karkh was that of Sāmarrā, the second imperial capital which was built some 60 miles up the Tigris from Baghdād by the Caliph al-Muʿtaṣim in 836. It was known as Karkh Sāmarrā and also Karkh Djuddān (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv, 255-6). The site, which is older than Sāmarrā, was originally situated at some distance from the palace area; however, as the city grew towards al-Mutawakkiliyya, it became part of a continuous line of occupation extending some 20 miles along the river front. Unlike Karkh, Baghdād which was entirely a commercial district, and was the only area of Baghdād that was entirely devoid of a military colony, Karkh Sāmarrā was a military cantonment housing some of the caliph's Turkish guard under the command of General Ashnās (Yaʿḳūbī, *Buldān*, 258-9; Yāḳūt, iv, 256). Moreover, the Turkish forces were isolated from the general populace. They were permitted to marry only women chosen for them, and no commercial establishments other than a distributive outlet for foodstuffs was to be found there. With the decline of Sāmarrā many areas were abandoned, but al-Karkh continued to be occupied.

Bibliography: *BGA*, indices; al-Ṭabarī, indices. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh*, Cairo ed. (= G. Salmon, *L'Introduction topographique à l'histoire de Baghdâdh*, Paris, 1904); index to the Arabic text in J. Lassner, *The Topography of Baghdad in the Early Middle Ages*, Detroit 1970; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*; Ibn al-Athīr, index; M. Streck, *Babylonien nach den Arab. Geographen*, Leiden 1900, 92-7; Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, Oxford 1900, indices; idem, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, indices; L. Massignon, *Mission en Mésopotamie*, Paris 1912, i, 49, 99, 108; F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat und Tigrisgebiet*, ii, Berlin 1920, 105, 110, 112, 114 ff.; E. Herzfeld, *Geschichte der Stadt Samarra*, Berlin 1948.

(M. Streck-[J. Lassner])

KARKHA (KERKHA), a river in Luristān and Khūzistān, whose source lies in the region of Nihāwand. Its upper and middle course is strictly a tributary of the mountain system of the Zagros, where the valleys run in the same direction as the chains, the watercourses passing at times from one to the other by short transverse gorges. From which results the uncertainty over nomenclature, the rivers changing name with the divided regions that they traverse.

The Karkha is made up of the union in the region of Nihāwand of a certain number of watercourses: Čashm-i Kāẓim, Sura Kunč, Kar Sara, Āb-i Kulan and Sīrwān Rūd. On the first part of its course in a north-west direction the river bears the name of Gamasāb or Gamasiyāb (corrupted to Garasiyāb). Then begins the crossing of some of the folds of the Zagros in a general south-west direction, during which the river receives its name of Karkha; in this region around Bīsutūn it is swelled by the Shādjū,

which itself receives the Kangarshāh, then by the Ḳara Ṣu from Kirmānshahān and finally by the Āb-i Karind. Then striking the chain of the Kabīr Kūh, the river turns towards the south-east, taking the name of Āb-i Ṣaymara and receiving its first important tributary from the left bank, the Kashgan, swelled itself by the Maydan, the Khorramābād and the Kūlkū. On the right bank it is joined by the Laylum and the Āb-i Zāl.

After the confluence with this last, the river, having become the Karkha again, begins its lower course towards the south, its powerful alluvia contributing, with those of the Kārūn, to the obstruction of the Tigris's course. All this region constitutes a genuine delta formed by the convergence of the Karkha, the Kārūn and the Āb-i Diz. As soon as the Karkha reaches the region of Pā-i Pul, the canals begin which link it to the Āb-i Diz and its tributaries, such as the Nahr Tabal Khān and the Nahr Daghdarī. The ruins of Susa lie on one of its eastern branches, which later takes the name of Shawr. The Karkha ends in the region situated to the south of Nahr Hāshim, where it receives the Shaṭṭ al-Djamūz, but one of its branches, thrown back towards the north-west by the thrust of the alluvia of the Kārūn, continues as far as the region of Sūsandjird and the marshes of the Hor al-Ḥawīza (al-Ḥuwayza).

In antiquity, the river was called the Choaspes, a tributary of the Tigris on the left bank, whose waters were so pure that they alone had the honour of being drank at the table of the kings of Persia. The Arab geographers refer to it without giving it a particular name, except, on occasion, that of "river of Susiana" (*nahr al-Sūs*). Ibn Khurradādhbih locates its source in the district of Dīnawar and makes it a tributary of the Dudjayl (Kārūn). Al-Yaʿḳūbī, while recapitulating this last source, makes the river rise in the region of Hamadhān and gives it the name of Hinduwān. Ibn Rusta speaks of a great river running at the foot of Mt. Bihistūn (Bīsutūn), with an important source driving five mills. On the two banks in the region of Nihāwand a black sealing-clay of excellent quality was extracted, according to Ibn al-Faḳīh. On the map of al-Iṣṭakhrī-Ibn Ḥawḳal, the Nahr al-Sūs is marked as watering the town of Susa and finishing near a watercourse (or canal), the Nahr Tīrā; in the riverbed lies the tomb of the Prophet Daniel, an object of veneration and procession on the part of the People of the Book, particularly during the periods of dryness. Al-Muḳaddasī, also speaking of the tomb, refers, with regard to the town of Baṣinnā, to a river called Tigris (Didjla), which is without doubt the Karkha; the river in question ran within a bowshot of the town and drove seven mills set up on some boats. As for the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, it tells us that the river of Shūsh rises in "the environs of Karkha on one of the spurs of the mountains of al-Djibāl" and then runs towards the regions of Shūstar (Tustar) and Shūsh (Susa) which it irrigates; however, before reaching the boundaries of the land of Baṣunnay (Baṣinnā), this irrigation exhausts completely the waters of the river.

As a final note the bridge situated between al-Ṣaymara (Ṣaymere) and al-Ṭarḥān (cf. Yāḳūt, iii, 439, Schwarz, *op. cit.*, iv, 472), considered as a masterpiece of construction, may well correspond to the Pul-i Khusraw on the Karkha.

Bibliography: Ibn Khurradādhbih, 176; Yaʿḳūbī-Wiet, 72-3, 228; Ibn Rusta-Wiet, 193; Iṣṭakhrī, ed. M. G. ʿAbd al-ʿĀl al-Hīnī-M. Sh. Gharbāl, Cairo 1381/1961, 64 and map at p. 62; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 251, 255, tr. Wiet, Paris-Beirut 1964, 248, 252-3; Muḳaddasī, 407-8; *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, 75, 214 (under the name of Shāʾūr, Shāvūr); Idrīsī-Jaubert, i, 382; Yāḳūt, Beirut 1374-6/1955, i, 442 (Tigris of Baṣinnā: Didjla B.), iii, 281; Abu ʾl-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm*, 314-5; Rawlinson in *JR Geog. S.*, ix, 189; M. Besnier, *Lexique de géographie ancienne*, Paris 1914, 208; Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire géographique, historique et littéraire de la Perse*, Paris 1861, 327; P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arabischen Geographen*, iv, Leipzig 1921, 304-5, 364-5, 393, 453, 472, 488, 501; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, 233, 240; R. Blanchard, *Asie occidentale*, in *Géographie Universelle*, viii, Paris 1929, 130, 224; *The Times Atlas of the World*, London 1968, pl. 32.

(P. Schwarz-A. Miquel)

AL-**KARKHĪ** [see AL-KARADJĪ].

ḲARḲĪSIYĀ (also Ḳarḳīsiya), a town in al-Djazīra on the left bank of the Euphrates, close to the confluence of the Khābūr, a little above 35° N. Lat. Ḳarḳīsiyā is simply an Arabic reproduction of the Graeco-Roman name (τὸ) Κιρκήσιον, (τὸ) Κιρτήσιον κάστρον or Κιρκίσιον (Κιρκισία in the *Notit. episcop.*, ed. Parthey, 87), Circesium, Syriac Kerkusion, Latin = castrum Circense, "the castle with the circus"; cf. Nöldeke, *op. cit.* (see *Bibl.*), p. 3. Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī in Yāḳūt, iv, 65, ll. 21 ff., still knew the etymology of the place-name (Ḳarḳīsiyā, arabicised from Kirkīsiyā, from *kirkīs* = Ar. *ḥalba*, hippodrome). The name Circesium for the place at the mouth of the Khābūr in any case first appeared, when a Roman military station was built there. This perhaps may have been even before Diocletian. It was, however, this Emperor who first made the place of great importance by making it a powerful fortress on the extreme frontier of the Roman Empire in Southern Mesopotamia. From this it seems quite impossible that Circesium could have been a latinisation of the Aramaic Karkā = town [see AL-KARKH], as Moritz, *Palmyrene*, 37, supposed; for the opposite view, see Streck, in *ZA*, xxvii, 259.

In the fourth century A.D. Circesium passed into the hands of the Persians by the shameful treaty made by the Emperor Jovian (363). The Arabs next captured it in the conquest of al-Djazīra. The occupation by the Muslims, which took place, apparently without fighting, under the commander Ḥabīb b. Maslama who was sent by ʿIyāḍ b. Ghanm, probably happened in the year 19/640, not 16/637, as many sources say. Cf. al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 176, and also 111, 175, 178, 179; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2478; Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 409 ff.; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv, 65 ff.; Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, i, 82; Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, ii, 402, iii, 732, 755 f., 799. Ḳarḳīsiyā became the capital of the district of Khābūr in the province of Diyār Bakr. On account of its very characteristic situation, Ḳarḳīsiyā is mentioned by all the Arab geographers in their descriptions of the river-courses and roads, but no detailed account of it is given. The place probably did not attain any great size in the Islamic period either. The high percentage of Jews (500 families) found by Benjamin of Tudela in the second half of the 12th century there is remarkable; see his travels ed. and tr. Grünhut and Adler (Jerusalem 1903, Frankfurt a/M. 1904), i, 49, 21 f. and ii, 47.

In the history of the wars of mediaeval Islām, we find Ḳarḳīsiyā often mentioned. When ʿAbd al-Malik was engaged in his campaign against Muṣʿab, governor of ʿIrāḳ and brother of the anti-caliph ʿAbdallāh b. al-Zubayr, he had to devote his attention to

Ḳarḳīsiyā in 71/690, where the Ḳaysī Zufar b. al-Ḥārith was ruling independently and had successfully resisted the governor of Ḥims who had been sent against him. After a siege of some length, Zufar had to submit to the caliph's army; cf. Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 275 f.; Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, i, 431; J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1902, 115-6, 119-120, 126; Canard, *H'amdânides*, 138. In the wars fought in the 5th/10th century on Mesopotamian soil in the Ḥamdānid epoch, we find Ḳarḳīsiyā playing a part along with al-Raḥba, a day's journey down the Euphrates from it; cf. Canard, *op. cit.*, 492, 545-7. The rulers of Egypt repeatedly extended their power as far as Ḳarḳīsiyā, for example the Ṭūlūnid Aḥmad, from whom, however, the Caliph al-Muʿtamid's vigorous brother al-Muwaffaḳ was able to retake it in 268/881; see Wüstenfeld, *Die Statthalter von Ägypten zur Zeit der Chalifen*, in *Abh. GGW* (1876), xxi, part 3, 20. Several centuries later the Egyptian Sulṭān Baybars again advanced his frontier up to the Khābūr, when he took Ḳarḳīsiyā from the Mongols in 663/1264; cf. Weil, *Gesch. der Chalifen*, iv, 96.

At the present day, the site of Ḳarḳīsiyā is marked by a miserable village of 30-40 houses and hovels of clay and an extensive ruined site adjoining it. It is now called Busayra (Besêra; sometimes written Buṣeyra); older travellers give the form Abū Seray etc. Busayra is probably a corruption of Abū Seray (as, along with other authors, Moritz, *op. cit.*, 37, thinks); it has been with less probability taken as a derivative from Basīr, the older name—recorded by Abū ʾl-Fidāʾ for 732/1331—of the present Dayr al-Zōr, as believed by Herzfeld. According to Herzfeld, the old name Ḳarḳīsiyā still survives locally in the form Ḳarḳīsa.

Busayra lies on an irregularly-shaped tongue of land formed by the Khābūr at its junction with the Euphrates and is about half an hour's journey distant from its mouth. Communication with the hinterland is broken by a ditch so that we have a well-marked peninsula. The plan of the old fortress can still be easily recognised; it forms a rectangle, the longer side of which runs along the Khābūr, while the shorter faces the Euphrates from which it is now about 1,000 yards distant. Four more or less well preserved towers and a fort-like building (praetorium, serai) can still be seen, from which Moritz (*op. cit.*) suggests that the modern name Abū Seray (Busayra) may be derived. The fairly extensive town lay to the north-east of the fortress and is still marked by numerous walls of earth. Descriptions of the modern ruins are given by Sachau, Moritz and Herzfeld; Sachau and Herzfeld also give plans.

The important part once played by Ḳarḳīsiyā as a trading centre as a result of the important roads which meet here—from Syria to Babylonia, Mawṣil to Syria—has in modern times been to a great extent regained by the town of Dayr al-Zōr [*q.v.*] on the Euphrates above mentioned, a few hour's journey above the mouth of the Khābūr.

Bibliography: on the town in the pre-Islamic period, see Pauly-Wissowa s.v. and s.v. Chabora; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, x, 15, 139, 236, 1129, xi, 266-74, 695; Layard, *Niniveh and Babylon*, London 1853, 283 f.; Chesney, *Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*, London 1868, 250; Nöldeke in *Nachr. GGW*, 1876, i, 1 f.; Sachau, *Reise in Syrien u. Mesopot.*, Leipzig 1883, 286-8; Moritz, *Zur antiken Topographie der Palmyrene* = *Abh. Pr. Akad.*, 1889, 37-9; Chapot, *La frontière de l'Euphrate*, Paris 1907, 294-7; Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archaeol. Reise im Euphrat- und Tigrisgebiet*, i, Berlin 1911, 172-4. Arabic sources: *BGA*, *passim*; Ibn Serapion, ed. G. Le Strange, in *JRAS* (1895), 10, 51; al-Ṭabarī, Indices; al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 528, 739; Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-mushtāḳ*, tr. Jaubert, ii, 138, 142, 145, 150; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv, 65; Ibn al-Athīr, Index; al-Dimishḳī, *Nukhbat al-Dahr*, ed. Mehren, 191; Abu ʾl-Fidāʾ, *Annales*, ed. Reiske-Adler, i, 235, iv, 51, 509, v, 17; idem, *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, 273, 281, and tr., ii, 49, 57.

(M. Streck*)

KARKŪR, more exactly *kərkūr* (the word is only known in Maghribī colloquial Arabic, cf. Berber *akərkur*), "a heap of stones", and more especially "a sacred heap of stones". The cult of heaps of stones is extremely ancient and distributed all over the world. It seems to come not from an act of litholatry in the strict sense but from a rite of transference or expulsion of evil; the individual, picking up a stone, causes the evil of whatever kind that afflicts him to pass onto it—as the case may be, fatigue, physical or moral suffering, sin, the dangerous power that attaches itself to a man in certain sacred neighbourhoods, or all these things together—and gets rid of it by throwing it or depositing it with the stone on a place suitable for absorbing it; the accumulation of these expiatory pebbles forms the sacred piles of stones which rise all along the roads, at difficult passes and at the entrances to sanctuaries. Alongside of these, the throwing or placing of a pebble or the building of a little pyramid of stone often becomes one of the obligatory rites of the pilgrimage and the rite losing its primitive character has been sometimes taken for a true offering-rite. The piles of stones are often built at the place where a man has been killed and buried; this has been explained from the desire to bury more deeply a dead man whose spirit might be tempted to come out and avenge itself or, less plausibly, as a kind of homage to the dead; but this casting of stones can also be explained rather as a rite for the expulsion of evil (a dangerous place, the infection of death, proximity of disturbing magical forces). It appears, therefore, that we always find rites of purification as the origin here (a general view in J. G. Frazer, *The golden bough*[3], Part VI, *The scapegoat*, 8-30, with a certain number of references relating to the Islamic world; French tr. *Le bouc émissaire*, Paris 1925).

Pre-Islamic Arabia knew the rite of casting stones and sacred heaps of stones. The rites of the *ḥadjdj* have preserved evidence of this, but several varying interpretations have been made [see djamra, ḥadjdj, radjm], and the sources give other examples (see T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 188-95).

Islam found the cult of piles of stones in all or almost all the lands that it conquered and although orthodoxy looked askance at it, it had to accommodate itself, as to so many other popular practices, which owed their origin to paganism in the remote past. Piles of stones are especially numerous in certain regions [see radjm], but nowhere has their cult been so developed and is so vigorous as in North Africa, especially in the south of Morocco, where it has been especially studied by E. Doutté (*Marrakech*, Paris 1905, 58-108; *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1908, ch. x; see also E. Westermarck, *The Moorish conception of holiness* (*Baraka*), Helsingfors 1916, 26 ff.). There, one may say, there is not a pass, or ravine or cross-roads which has not its little pyramids of stones or its great *kərkūr* to which every passer-by adds his pebble, not a rustic sanctuary but has its sacred piles of stones.

Sometimes the *kərkūr* itself, as in other cases a spring, a tree or a rock, has given rise to a sanctuary which has become islamised in a marabout fashion. It is also very common to find under the aegis of a saint several of these cults combined—strange sanctuaries which perpetuate the ancient rites of paganism, still vigorous after twelve centuries of Islam.

Bibliography: given in the article.

(H. BASSET*)

KARLĪ-ĪLI, also KARLO-ĪLI, "the land [see ĪL] of Carlo", Ottoman name for a district of north-west Greece (Acarnania and most of Aetolia), as corresponding approximately to the territories of Carlo Tocco I (1381-1430).

Carlo's father, Leonardo, had been created count of Cephalonia in 1357; he had extended his original dominions of Cephalonia, Zante and Ithaca to embrace the island of Leucas (Leucadia, Santa Maura; Turkish: Aya Mavra) and, on the mainland, Vonitza (1362). Laying claim to the Despotate of Epirus, in 1417 Carlo made himself master of the regions of Arta (Ambracia, Larta; Turkish: Narda) and Ioannina (Turkish: Yanya [*q.v.*]). At his death his territories extended to the south to the Gulf of Patras (Lepanto, Turkish Aynabakhtī [*q.v.*], remaining in Venetian hands); he had also acquired a foothold in the Morea with the port of Clarentza. When he died at Ioannina in 1430, leaving no legitimate heir, Memnon, one of his five bastard sons, appealed to Murād II against Carlo's nephew Carlo II (1430-48). As soon as Thessaloníki (Selānik [*q.v.*]) was taken, Murād sent Sinān Pasha, the *beglerbegi* of Rūmeli, against Ioannina, which surrendered (October 1430); Carlo II retained the rest of his dominions against the payment of an annual tribute. On his death (September 1448), the guardians of his son Leonardo, a minor, appealed to Venice for protection. The sultan thereupon took Arta (1449), and in 1460 Angelokastron was lost, leaving to Leonardo on the mainland only Vonitza. In 1479 Venice, annoyed at Leonardo's approaches to the king of Naples, did not include Leonardo in the treaty concluding the war of 1463-79. Meḥemmed II was already planning his descent on southern Italy, and found the pretext for attacking Leonardo's island principality in an alleged slight to an Ottoman *sandjakbegi* (probably a member of the Tocco family). Upon the approach of the fleet under Gedik Aḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*], then *sandjak-begi* of Valona (Turkish: Awlonya [*q.v.*]), Leonardo fled, and Aḥmed Pasha occupied Vonitza, Santa Maura, Cephalonia and Zante. (In 1481 Cephalonia and Zante were recovered by the Tocchi, only to be lost to Venice; Venice retained Zante (until 1797); she had to cede Cephalonia to Bāyezīd II in 1485 but recovered it in 1500).

The earliest references to "Karlī-īli" in Ottoman sources are confused. The statement in ʿĀshīkpashazāde (§ 56) that in 787/1385 Timürtash Pasha raided "as far as Karlī-éli" has been condemned as a misreading (for "the land of Kraljević", *i.e.*, Prilep; see, most recently, Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches sur les actes*..., Munich 1967, 197-8), though H. İnalcık suggests that the reference is to "the land of Carlo Thopia" (see ARNAWUTLUḲ, col. 653b). ʿĀshīkpashazāde seems again to be in error when, in describing (§ 130) Meḥemmed II's campaign of 864/1460 in the Morea, he calls certain fortresses there (Mistra, Leondári, ? Astros) "Karlī-éli", a statement repeated by Neshrī, Ibn Kemāl, Saʿd al-Dīn, etc.; nevertheless, southern Aetolia was evidently occupied by the Ottomans in the course of this campaign: see Hopf, *Gesch. Griechenlands*, ii, 136, and cf. Sphrantzes, ed. Grecu, 124 (a *subashī* in Angelókastron in autumn 1460).

When Karlī-īli was formally constituted a *sandjaḳ* (with Angelókastron as its *chef-lieu*) is not clear. It is not named by Promontorio de Campis (*ca.* 1475, ed. Babinger) among the 17 *sandjaḳ*s of Rūmeli; but the *djizya* returns for 894/1489 mention "*liwā-i Karlo*" (*Belgeler*, i/1 (1964), 101), and a *sandjaḳ-begi* ("*mīr-i liwā-i Karlī*") is named for 909/1503 (M. T. Gökbilgin, *Edirne ve Paşa Livâsi*, Istanbul 1952, 481). (For slightly later appearances of Karlī-īli in lists of the *sandjaḳ*s of Rūmeli, see *İkt. Fak. Mecm.*, xv (1953-4), 303; *Bell.*, xx (1956), 253, 260, and n. 170; and cf. *İA*, art. *Rumeli* (H. İnalcık), 771-2. For the number of households, overwhelmingly Christian, about this time, see *JESHO*, i (1957-8), 32).

The "*Beglerbegilik* of the Sea" [see DJAZĀʾIR-I BAḤR-I SAFĪD], created for Khayr al-Dīn (Barbarossa) [*q.v.*] in 940/1534, comprised at first, besides Gelibolu, only Rodos, Eghriboz and Midilli [*qq.v.*] (see Ramberti, in A. H. Lybyer, *The government of the Ottoman Empire*..., Cambridge, Mass. 1913 (repr. New York 1966), 256, 259, and cf. for Ramberti's reliability, 314); Karlī-īli was added later, perhaps in 957/1550, when Turghud Reʾīs [*q.v.*], entering Ottoman service, was appointed its *sandjaḳ-begi* (see Aziz Samih İlter, *Şimalı Afrika'da Türkler*, ii, Istanbul 1937, 189 and 194, discussing Pečevī [i, 346-7] and Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Tuḥfat al-kibār* [Istanbul 1329, 67-8]); it certainly figures among the *sandjaḳ*s of this *eyālet* in the 11th/17th century, *e.g.*, *apud* ʿAyn-i ʿAlī, *ca.* 1018/1609 (*JA*, ser. 6, xv (1870), 266); Kočī Beg, *ca.* 1050/1640 (ed. A. K. Aksüt, Istanbul 1939, 110); and Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *ca.* 1056/1656 (*Tuḥfat al-kibār*, 147; his inclusion of Karlī-īli in "Rūmeli" in the Djihānnümā is an anomaly: he was perhaps here using a list of the 10th/16th century, see *İA*, art. *Rumeli*, col. 772b).

Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (J. von Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosna*, Vienna 1812, 127-9) names seven *ḳaḍā*'s: Préveza (an error?), Aya Mavra, Vónitsa, Angelókastron, Xerómeron, Váltos and Vrakhórion. Evliyā Čelebi travelled through the region in 1081/1670. His itinerary is not easy to follow. He names six *ḳaḍā*'s (omitting Préveza) (viii, 626). The eastern boundary of the *sandjaḳ* (p. 623) is the Yīlan Čayī = R. Phídharis/Évinos. He describes further the townships of "Zebān" (Zapandi), "B.hūr" (Bokhóri, Hypokhorion), Mesolónghi, Anatolikó = Etolikón, and "Ḳālīve" (Kalivia).

Aya Mavra and Vonitsa, falling to Morosini in 1095/1684, were ceded to Venice by the Treaty of Karlowitz (Karlofča [*q.v.*], 1110/1699) (see further, for the history of the Ionian Islands, YEDI ADALAR). At the end of the 18th century, Karlī-īli came under the sway of ʿAlī Pasha Tependelenli [*q.v.*]. In the very first weeks of the War of Greek Independence (1821-9), Mesolónghi and Vrakhóri had joined the revolt, and the district was the scene of much fighting. The northern frontier of the new kingdom, as finally drawn (1832), left all Karlī-īli to Greece.

Bibliography: W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, London 1908 (repr. 1964), index, s.v. Tocco; Fr. Babinger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte von Qarly-eli vornehmlich aus osmanischen Quellen*, in Εἰς μνήμην Σπ. Λάμπρου, i, Athens 1933, 140-9 (= *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen*..., i, Munich 1962, 370-7) (on members of the Tocco family in Ottoman service); Pīrī Reʾīs, *Kitabi Bahriye*, Istanbul 1935, 317-24; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, viii, Istanbul 1928, 620-37; I. G. Giannopoulou,

Ἡ περιήγησις τοῦ Ἐβλιᾶ Τσελεμπῆ ἀνὰ τὴν Στερεὰν Ἑλλάδα in Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Στερεοελλαδικῶν Μελετῶν, ii (1969), 139-98, esp. 182-92; idem, Ἡ διοικητικὴ ὀργάνωσις τῆς Στερεᾶς Ἑλλάδος κατὰ τὴν Τουρκοκρατίαν (*1393-1821*), Athens 1971, esp. pp. 73-89, with further references; F. C. H. L. Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce*[2], Paris 1826-7, iii, 438 ff.; J. C. Hobhouse, *A journey through Albania* ...[2], London 1813, i, 193-211; W. M. Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, London 1835 (repr. 1967), i, 106-75, iii, 488-578, iv, 1-43; D. Urquhart, *The spirit of the East*, London 1838, i, 45 ff.; *Grèce* (Guides-Joanne, Hachette), Paris 1911, 321-5.

(V. L. Ménage)

ĶARLOFČA (in modern Turkish, Karlofça; Carlowicz in common western usage), a town, now Sremski Karlovci, in northern Yugoslavia. It lies close to the Danube on the northern slopes of the Fruška Gora in Sirmium (Serbo-Croat Srem, Ottoman Sirem), $45^1/_2$ miles by rail north-west of Belgrade. It has a population (1961 est.) of 6,390.

The first notice is of A.D. 1308, when it was known as Karon. In the later middle ages under Hungarian rule—its castle (*ķalʿa*) was, as the seventeenth-century Ottoman traveller Ewliyā Čelebī pointed out, the work of the kings of Hungary—Ķarlofča came under Ottoman rule in Shaʿbān 927/ July 1521, in the course of the campaign which culminated in the conquest of Belgrade. Its reduction was the work of the Bosnian *ghāzīs* under the future *beglerbegi* of Belgrade, Yaḥyā Pāshā-zāde Küčük Bālī Beg (F. Tauer (ed.), *Histoire de la campagne du Sultan Suleyman* I*er* *contre Belgrade en 1521*, Prague 1924, 47, n. 152; cf. Ferīdūn, *Munshaʾāt*[2], i, 508-10).

In Ottoman sources, the encountered forms of the name are: in a late 10th/16th century *defter-i mufaṣṣal*, Ķārlovčī/Ķārlōčī (? = Hung. Karlócza); in the mid-11th/17th century, Ķārlōfča; by the early 12th/ 18th century (Rāshid), Ķārlovīče (this last form perhaps reflecting the by then current Austrian (*i.e.* German) usage of Karlowitz).

Under Ottoman rule, Ķarlofča came initially under the authority of the *beglerbegi* of Belgrade; later, after the conquest of Budin and the formation of that *eyālet* (948/1541), Ķarlofča became and remained subject to that place. Within the *sandjāķ* of Sirem it formed a *niyāba* of the *ķaḍāʾ* of Varadin (Peterwardein). In the later 10th/16th century, according to a *defter-i mufaṣṣal* from the reign of Selīm II (B. McGowan (ed.), *Defter-i Liwā-i Sirem*, unpubl. Columbia Ph.D. thesis, 1967, 241-9 [= text, ff. 65v-68r]), Ķarlofča possessed the largest Christian population in the *sandjāķ*. Within the five quarters of the town was a civilian population of 487 households, all Christian. By the time Ewliyā Čelebī visited Ķarlofča the population was partly Christian and partly Muslim. The collection of the *kharādj* and *bādj-i bāzār* taxes was in the hands of Ottoman officials from Budin; the *ķalʿa* contained a garrison of about fifty officers and men.

Ķarlofča's subsequent fate, and its sole claim to historical significance, were both determined by the course of the war of 1094-1110/1683-99 between the Ottoman Empire and Austria and her allies—Poland, Venice, and, belatedly, Russia—of the *Sacra Liga*. After the Ottoman defeat at Mohácz (1687), Ķarlofča passed under Austrian rule. Its historical significance, however, lies in its almost fortuitous selection as the site for the diplomatic gathering generally known as the Congress of Carlowicz which assembled there in October 1698 and by the end of January 1699 had brought laboriously to birth a series of agreements regulating the territorial and other adjustments consequent upon the war.

Within the limits of this article no extensive treatment of the Congress of Carlowicz can be attempted. Lacking as we do not only a corpus of documents for the congress and for its essential diplomatic "prehistory", but even a satisfactory edition of the Turkish and Latin or Italian texts of the treaties themselves, recent attempts to place the Ottoman side of the congress proceedings on a more secure basis must be regarded as (in some ways) provisional. Some general remarks concerning the significance of the settlement may however be made.

Congress diplomacy, which had evolved rapidly in Europe after the end of the Thirty Years' War (1648) was for the first time applied to a settlement involving an Islamic state. Thus was brought about the simultaneous culmination and incipient erosion of the Islamic concepts of *dār al-Islām* and *dār al-ḥarb* which had determined in large measure the settlement of, *e.g.* previous conflicts between the Ottomans and the Austrian Hapsburgs. With the unwilling Ottoman acceptance of (a) diplomatic mediation (*tawassuṭ*) by the representatives at the Porte of England (Lord Paget) and the United Provinces (Colyer) and (b) the provisions in the treaties for a demarcated frontier, the assumptions which had hitherto determined the Ottoman state's relations with the lands of *dār al-ḥarb* were no longer tenable, and the military and diplomatic balance for the first time tipped steeply against them.

The Ottoman negotiators at Carlowicz—the *raʾīs ul-kuttāb* Rāmī Meḥmed Efendi and the chief dragoman Alexander Mavrocordato—were well aware of this long before the congress opened; indeed, there is much to recommend the view that the real transformation of Ottoman attitudes took place in a series of secret negotiations between ʿAmudja-zāde Ḥusayn Köprülü, the Ottoman grand vizier, and the Austrian chancellor, Kinsky, with Mavrocordato and Paget serving as intermediaries, during the latter part of 1697 and the early months of 1698. The basis for the settlement which was then worked out was that of *uti possidetis/ʿalā ḥālihi*, *i.e.* that each side should hold what it possessed at the conclusion of hostilities. Ottoman diplomatic objectives, which went some way beyond the strict application of this principle, were to be achieved only in part at the congress, despite skilful diplomacy by Rāmī Meḥmed Efendi and Mavrocordato. The Ottomans failed to obtain the evacuation by Austria of Transylvania and its restoration to the rather ambiguous status which it had enjoyed before 1683, but were able to maintain their authority over the strategic salient of Temeshvar (Timişoara) as far as the Muresh and Tisa rivers. They were also able to hold the immediate hinterland of Belgrade in Sirmium and to retain a foothold in Slavonia and Croatia. Conversely, against Poland the Ottomans were obliged to relinquish the strong fortress of Ķamaniče, which had never surrendered, and thus lost control of Podolia in exchange for Polish abandonment of claims to Moldavia. No permanent settlement with Russia was reached at Carlowicz: a truce for two years was regularised at Istanbul in 1112/1701. The latter stages of the congress were mostly taken up with the imposition of terms on Venice, the weakest of the Sacra Liga powers, who was in the end forced to give up her conquests north of the Morea.

No conclusive assessment of the Carlowicz settlement should yet be attempted. Diplomatically it was

perhaps less of a defeat for the Ottoman Empire than has been commonly accepted, and the Ottomans were able to withdraw from a disastrous war with their pride, if not their territories, intact. Within governing circles of the Empire the settlement nonetheless was to generate considerable opposition, particularly from military elements, and it is probably in these internal repercussions, leading up to the Edirne Incident of 1115/1703, as much as in the actual territorial adjustments, that its significance lies.

Bibliography: Ewliyā Čelebī, *Seyāḥatnāme*, vii (Istanbul 1928), 144-5. Meḥmed Rāshid, *Ta'rīkh*[2] (Istanbul 1282), ii, 415-74 (texts of treaties at pp. 449-73; western-language versions were published in *Flugschriften* soon after the conclusion of the congress, in Vienna, Venice and elsewhere; cf. also R. Knolles, *The Generall Historie of the Turkes*[6], iii, London 1700, *ad finem*, for the first English edition of the treaties). For important Ottoman works still in MS. form, cf. the references given in the article by İ. Parmaksızoğlu, s.v. *Karlofça*, in *İA*. The account by J. von Hammer, *GOR*, vi (Pest, 1828), 636-78, is based in part on these, and is still useful on that account. The studies on the Congress of Carlowicz by Popovic (1893) and Munson (1940) are now superseded; the results of recent research by R. A. Abou-El-Haj are to be found in his unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Princeton 1963) and in articles in *JAOS*, lxxxvii/4 (1967) and lxxxix/3 (1963), and *Islam*, li/1 (1974).

(C. J. Heywood)

ĶARLUĶ, early Arabic form Kharlukh, Persian Khallukh (whence frequent confusion in the sources with the Khaladj [*q.v.*], Chinese Ko-lo-lu (northwestern Middle Chinese *Kâr-lâ-luk), a Turkish tribal group in Central Asia. They were originally a small federation of three tribes (whence the name given to them in the Uyghur Shine-usu inscription ca. 760 of Uč Ķarlıķ; the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 98, on the other hand, mentions seven tribes of the Ķarluķ), and comparatively unimportant. Their paramount chief never bore the title of *khaghan* or *khan*, but in the 7th and 8th centuries had that of *élteber* (perhaps "possessor of a land or people"), one of only moderate rank (see A. Bombaci, *On the ancient Turkic title Eltäbär*, in *Proceedings of the IXth meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference*, Naples 1970, 24, 57-8), and Kāshgharī does not mention them amongst the twenty Turkish tribes listed in the introduction of the *Dīwān lughāt al-turk* (tr. Atalay, i, 28). Kāshgharī does, however, mention the Ķarluķ in connection with certain Turkish words or phrases, and defines them as a nomadic tribe, distinct from the Oghuz, but, like them, counted as Turkmen (tr. i, 473, cf. Barthold, *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, iii, *A history of the Turkman people*, 78).

Our first information on the Ķarluķ comes from Chinese sources, which mention them as having been subjugated by the Western T'u-chüeh or Turks *ca.* 640-50. At this time they were a pastoralist people located on the upper reaches of the Irtysh River and north of the T'ien Shan. In the early years of the 8th century they passed under the control of the Eastern T'u-chüeh empire, and the Orkhon inscriptions mention the rebellion of the Ķarluķ against the Khaghan in 711-14 (see Sir Gerard Clauson and E. Tryjarski, *The inscription at Ikhe Khushotu*, in *RO*, xxxiv/1 (1971), 27-8, 29). The Ķarluķ took part with the Basmıl and Uyghur in the general upheaval which brought about the disintegration of the Eastern T'u-chüeh empire (743-5), but were in turn defeated by the Uyghur and compelled to move westwards towards Transoxania (on all these events, see E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1900; Liu Mau-tsai, *Die chinesische Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken (T'u-küe)*, Wiesbaden 1958; L. N. Gumilev, *Drevnie Tyurki*, Moscow 1957; J. R. Hamilton, *Les Ouigours à l'époque des Cinq Dynasties*, Paris 1955).

They now come within the orbit of Muslim writers. According to Iṣṭakhrī, 290, the boundary between the Ķarluķ and the Oghuz was the region of Isfīdjāb on the middle Syr Darya, and the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (372/982), 97, cf. Map v, 279, places them south of the Issik-Köl, *i.e.*, on the southern fringes of the Semirečye. Their ruler now appears in Muslim sources with the title of *yabghu* (Arabic form *djabbūya*, probably reflecting a western Turkish dialectical pronunciation of the word), adopted equally by the chief of the Oghuz [see GHUZZ]. There were also Ķarluķ who had penetrated southwestwards into the upper Oxus basin and Ṭukhāristān, where Arabic sources mention them in connection with the Arab campaigns against the epigoni of the Hephthalites in this region; the prince of the Ķarluķ here also bore the title of *yabghu*.

These Ķarluķ on the northern fringes of Transoxania were long a refuge for political and religious dissidents and refugees fleeing before the Arab advance into Central Asia; thus the Yabghu, together with the local Soghdians and the ruler of Tibet, supported the rebellious Arab governor in Samarķand, Rāfiʿ b. Layth, against the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd. Such contacts, however, probably disposed the Ķarluķ to reception of the Islamic faith and culture, whereas the more westerly Oghuz remained at a perceptibly lower cultural level. The campaign of the Sāmānid Amīr Ismāʿīl b. Aḥmad [*q.v.*] against Talas in 280/893 struck into the heart of their lands, and commercial and religious penetration must have followed; the geographers of the 4th/10th century mention the existence of mosques in several towns east of Talas. The comparatively advanced state of the Ķarluķ at this time is reflected in the statement of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* that they were a pleasant-natured people, near to civilized folk in their living standards; the same source describes several of their settlements in the southern part of the Semirečye where some of the Ķarluķ practiced agriculture and whither merchants resorted (97-8, 286 ff.).

The royal family of the Ķarakhānides, who put an end to the Sāmānid amīrate in Transoxania at the close of the 4th/10th century and divided its lands with the Ghaznavids, may conceivably have sprung from the Ķarluķ (this thesis is maintained by O. Pritsak, *Von den Karluk zu den Karachaniden*, in *ZDMG*, ci (1951), 270-300); but equally possible candidates are such groups as the Čigil, Yaghma, Türgesh, etc., and it is strange that Kāshgharī, who sprang from the Ķarakhānid milieu, does not mention a Ķarluķ origin for the dynasty [see ILEK-KHĀNS]. Some Ķarluķ tribesmen certainly remained as a nomadic tribal group within the Ķarakhānid dominions, for in the 6th/12th century we hear of tension between them and the Ķarakhānid khāns; it was the pretext of help for the Ķarluķ at odds with Čaghrī Khān of Samarķand which enabled the Khwārazm-Shāh Il Arslan to invade Transoxania in 553/1158 (see Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 288-9; Bosworth, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, v, 148-9, 187-8).

At the opening of the 7th/13th century there were Ķarluķ rulers in the region to the north of the Ili River and eastwards from their earlier centre in the southern Semirečye, *e.g.*, in Almalıgh and Ķayalıgh,

where these Khāns were under the suzerainty of the Ķara Khitāy [*q.v.*] (Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 74-5; Barthold, *Four studies . . . i. History of the Semirechyé*, 103-4). Ķarluķ tribal contingents joined the army of Čingiz-Khān in 616/1219 and took part in the invasion of Transoxania, but after the Mongol period, the name of the Ķarluķ becomes less frequent in the history of Central Asia, without ever disappearing completely. Thus the *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī* of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dughlāt, tr. Elias and Ross, 309, mentions a commander (*sirdār*) of the Ķarluķ tribe in Transoxania involved in warfare of the early 9th/15th century. At the present time, various Turkish groups of northeastern Afghānistān, in the regions of Badakhshān and Ķattaghān, call themselves Ķaluķ or Ķarluķ; see G. Jarring, *On the distribution of Turk tribes in Afghanistan, an attempt at a preliminary classification*, in *Lunds Universitets Årsskrift*, N.F. xxxv/4 (Lund-Leipzig 1939), 71-3 and index.

Bibliography: In addition to works cited above, see Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[3], index; idem, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, chs. iii-v; Bosworth, *The Turks in the Islamic lands up to the mid-11th century*, in *PhTF*, iii, Wiesbaden 1970; *İA* art. *Karluklar* (Rahmeti Arat). The information of the Islamic geographers is utilized in Minorsky's copious commentary to the section on the Ķarluķ in *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 97-8, 286-97. (C. E. Bosworth)

KARM (A.), the vine. To one who knows the official attitude of Islam towards wine [see KHAMR], the vitality of the cultivation of the vine in the majority of mediaeval Muslim countries may appear paradoxical. Nevertheless, it is incontestable, and is explained by the force of tradition in some countries where the vine has long been established, by the multiple uses of the grape (fresh fruit, dried raisin, vinegar, pharmaceutical uses, the lees as fertilizer, etc.), by the survival of non-Muslim communities, and also by the laxity of many Muslims themselves. This vitality is attested in particular, perhaps due to the written tradition, by the very considerable and exceptional place that the Muslim agronomists accord to the vine in comparison with the other species studied, from the easterner Ibn Waḥshiyya or the *Calendar of Cordova* to the Andalusians of the 5th/11th and the 6th/12th centuries, to whom we owe the essential part of that which will be summarized below. Their knowledge resulted from the combination of the data of the ancient authors, rediscovered and assimilated (with, in Spain, Junius = Columella added to the sources known in the Orient) with the intensive day-to-day experience constantly renewed.

To summarize this knowledge is difficult, since one of the principal characteristics of the cultivation methods described is precisely the meticulousness of their application and the multiplicity of the methods followed. Nevertheless, it appears generally that the vines cultivated, more numerous than in our days and transported by the Arabs from one end of their conquered lands to the other, did not remain stabilized and were the object of experiments of selection and acclimatization that we know particularly with regard to Spain (between the plain and the mountain, for example), but that were also tested in the East, where Ibn al-Faķīh (*BGA*, 125) and the Persian agronomists of the Mongol period in particular preserve for us the names of various kinds of vines. The vegetative cycle of each vine-plant being different, the agronomists, applying the principle of the complementary nature of a defect and a quality (such as adaptation to dryness or humidity, etc.) mainly made use of the diversities of the climates and soils of the Mediterranean zone and the Near East.

Some systems of cultivation predominate in the Andalusian treatises: (a) The low vine, planted in holes or trenches (recommended, but little practised) about 1.40 m. apart, supported or in low clumps, thinned out very little in order to protect the grape against the sun: a method of cultivation reserved for warm sites; (b) The climbing vine, classical in the Mediterranean region, where the creeper was used as support for the fruit trees with shallow roots, whose height had to be controlled so that they did not injure the vine; in contradiction to the ancients, the Andalusians rejected the intercalary cultivation that exhausts the vine, and especially the association of the vine and the fig-tree. The best soils were alluvial, humid, but not saturated, according to the westerners, and also sandy according to Ibn Waḥsiyya, but one might also make use of the rich soils for the species that derive nourishment easily; the principle of complementarity took the place of the modern idea of forced cultivation. The choice of sites was adapted to the vines' wants; slopes and hillsides for the low vines, valleys and plains for the climbing ones, mountains in order to test the quality of a vine-plant; it was banned from the marshlands, sources of the vine's diseases. The preparatory work was a deep tillage with the spade, with trenches larger than the furrows of tillage in the earth of mediocre quality and holes for the good localities with a depth of at least 2 cubits (almost a metre) for protection against the sun. The surface work of the end of the first year was a loosening with the pruning knife to spare the roots, those nearest to the surface meanwhile being cut back to strengthen the deepest.

Reproduction in the nurseries was done in the form of taking cuttings, layering (*takbīs*) and sowing in a manner conforming to the practices of our days. The stratification was systematic. As for the shoots, cuttings and layered branches, it is often pointed out that they should not be planted together in the same hole, which proves that it was done. Most authors agree in recommending planting in spring, although the early species might be planted in autumn (hesitations that one would still encounter today); the Egyptian fiscal treatises speak of planting in February or March. The vinestocks, once tested for three years in very poor soil, they were transplanted in the vineyard chosen to receive them.

Well spread out fertilization was especially necessary in the planting and pruning, above all when vines were made to follow another vegetable insufficiently treated with animal manure, usual in the Middle Ages; it was reduced to a powder, and, according to an Aristotelian principle, the ashes of the stems of the plant itself were preferred; this preference for dry fertilizer is a particularly modern aspect of Andalusian viticulture. Irrigation depended on the climate, the soil and the plant chosen; watering by hand was frequently carried out in order to proportion better the quantity of water needed to obtain really syrupy and not-too-full grapes.

Among the measures taken to increase the vine's productivity, pruning (*zabr*) was the principle practised in winter with the iron pruning knife (*mindjal*) already described by Columella; the aim was to draw the sap towards the best developed wood. Grafting, already known to the ancients, was the subject of descriptions and experiments infinitely more varied among the Muslim agronomists. Everything was taken into consideration, form and colour of the

grape, the syrupiness of the juice, the early or late quality of the vine-plant, the degree of alcohol, etc. In order to improve the species for the achievement of precise needs, fantastic means were sometimes adopted (*e.g.*, grafting the vine on the olive-tree). On the technical level it was grafting by terebration (*taṭāʿama* according to Ibn Ḥadjdjādj cited by Ibn al-ʿAwwām).

Like today, the protection of the vine against diseases and bad weather distressed the vine-grower, who was impotent before the scourge. More than the Romans, the Andalusians feared the proximity of the sea and, with good reason, drizzle. The symptoms of diseases, very exactly described by Ibn Waḥshiyya, correspond to anthracosa, rust and jaundice; the remedy prescribed drew its inspiration from the curative panacea, namely a mixture of oil, wine and water applied to the stock of the exposed level; Ibn Ḥadjdjādj added straw there, which moreover protected against frosts.

Without our being able to furnish for all the Muslim countries the same precise details as for Spain and ʿIrāḳ, we can assert, thanks especially to the geographers' information, the presence almost everywhere of the vine, at least until the nomad invasions of the later Middle Ages, and often later: in Arabia, Mesopotamia, Iran, Central Asia, Syria, Egypt; in the Mongol period, Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī was still to see in Turkish Asia Minor the vines inherited from the Armenians and Greeks. The princely courts never had difficulty in providing wine, and the poets who used to sing of it must have had some acquaintance other than theoretical. The Crusaders must have developed the vine on the Syrian coast. There is no doubt, however, that the vine declined at the end of the Middle Ages, as much through the growth of strictness and conversions as through the interference of nomads. On the other hand, without it being possible here to make more than one passing allusion, it is known that the conditions of European colonization and international modern commerce led in certain Muslim lands, in particular in North Africa, to the development of new vineyards on some almost completely new bases, whose monocultural character, often excessive, in its turn presents some difficult problems of readaptation today.

Bibliography: Ibn Waḥshiyya, *al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya* (uned., see IBN WAḤSHIYYA; the Egyptian sources analysed by Miller-Wodarg, in *Islam* (1953); on Andalusian agronomy see FILĀḤA, ii; the vine is dealt with by Ibn Wāfid, Spanish tr. and ed. Millás-Vallicrosa, in *al-Andalūs*, viii (1943), 281-332; Ibn Baṣṣāl, Spanish tr. by idem, in al-Andalūs, xiii (1948), 397-430; Abu 'l-Khayr al-Ishbīlī, MS. Paris B.N. 4764, fols. 64 ff.; Ibn al-ʿAwwām, ed. Bianquieri (mediocre edn.), Madrid 1802, French tr. Clement-Mullet, Paris 1864-7, chs. ii (fertilizing), vii (tillage), ix (pruning), xiv (diseases), xvi (preservation), (See Lucie Bolens, *Les méthodes culturales au Moyen Age d'après les traités d'agronomie andalous*, Genève 1974.) and pharmacological and botanical works, such as the *Calendrier de Cordoue*, new ed. and French tr. Ch. Pellat, Leiden 1961. See also *passim* the principal Arab geographers, Ibn Djubayr, etc. Among the modern works, see the general ones on the principal countries, such as, for Spain, that of Lévi-Provençal, for the Maghrib those of Brunschvig and Idrīs, for Iran that of Spuler, and the chapter of Petrushevsky in *Cambridge History of Iran*, v. For non-Hispanic Muslim agronomy, see Cl. Cahen, in *JESHO*, 1971.

(L. BOLENS and CL. CAHEN)

ḲARMAṬĪ, pl. Ḳarāmiṭa, name given to the adherents of a branch of the Ismāʿīliyya [*q.v.*]. Originally it is generally reported to have referred to the followers of Ḥamdān Ḳarmaṭ [*q.v.*], an Ismāʿīlī leader in the *sawād* of al-Kūfa, whose surname Ḳarmaṭ (also Ḳarmaṭūya) is variously explained in the sources as meaning short-legged or red-eyed. It is to be noted, however, that the Imāmī scholar al-Faḍl b. Shādhān of Naysābūr, who died in 260/873-4, already wrote a refutation of the Ḳarāmiṭa (*al-Radd ʿalā 'l-Ḳarāmiṭa*). Thus either the missionary activity of Ḥamdān must have commenced long before the year 261/874-5 or 264/877-8, which the sources give as the date of its beginning, or his surname was itself derived from the name of the sect. The movement directed by Ḥamdān was, in any case, merely part of the general Ismāʿīlī movement of his time whose leadership he recognized. After Ḥamdān's revolt against the leadership in 286/899 and his subsequent disappearance, the term Ḳarāmiṭa was generally used for those Ismāʿīlī groups which joined this revolt and consequently refused to recognize the claims of the Fāṭimid caliphs to the imāmate. Sometimes it was pejoratively applied also to the Ismāʿīlīs supporting the Fāṭimid imāmate. The present article, however, will deal only with the history of the former groups and their relationship with the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī movement.

From the schism until *ca.* 300/913. The split of the movement in 286/899 left the Ismāʿīlī communities which repudiated the claim of ʿUbayd Allāh, the later Fāṭimid Caliph al-Mahdī, to the imāmate without united leadership and in a doctrinal crisis. In Mesopotamia Ḥamdān and his chief assistant ʿAbdān [*q.v.*] discontinued all missionary activity. ʿAbdān was consequently murdered by another *dāʿī*, Zikrawayh [*q.v.*], at the instigation of a relative of ʿUbayd Allāh residing in al-Ṭālikān. Zikrawayh, threatened with revenge by the followers of ʿAbdān, had to go into hiding. In 289/902 he sent his son al-Ḥusayn (or al-Ḥasan), known as the *Ṣāḥib al-Shāma*, to the Syrian desert in order to convert the Banū Kalb. Al-Ḥusayn succeeded in winning the support of the clan of Banū 'l-ʿUlayṣ and some of the Banū 'l-Aṣbagh, who adopted the religious name al-Fāṭimiyyūn. He was joined then by the *Ṣāḥib al-Nāḳa*, who according to the account of al-Ṭabarī was al-Ḥusayn's brother Yaḥyā, while according to the account of the sharīf Akhū Muḥsin, he was the aforementioned relative of ʿUbayd Allāh. The *Ṣāḥib al-Nāḳa* assumed the leadership, claiming to be a descendant of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl. After he was killed during a lengthy, unsuccessful siege of Damascus in Shaʿbān 290/July 903, the *Ṣāḥib al-Shāma* succeeded him as the leader. He, too, claimed to be a descendant of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl and assumed the titles *Amīr al-muʾminīn* and *al-Mahdī*. After vainly attacking Aleppo he occupied Ḥimṣ, Ḥamāt, Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān, Baʿlabakk, and Salamiyya, the former residence of the leaders of the Ismāʿīlī movement, where he ordered a general slaughter of the Hāshimīs and other inhabitants. According to a Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī source, he had at first tried to lure ʿUbayd Allāh, who had left Salamiyya earlier in fear of the Ḳarmaṭīs, to return and assume the leadership. When his attempts failed, he pillaged ʿUbayd Allāh's palace in Salamiyya and killed all members of his family and his household who had remained there. After a severe defeat, the *Ṣāḥib al-Shāma* left his followers and tried to reach Mesopotamia, but was captured and executed in Baghdād in Rabīʿ I 291/Jan. 904. In 293/906 Zikrawayh sent another *dāʿī*,

known as Abū Ghānim Naṣr, to his followers among the Banū Kalb. They sacked Buṣrā and Adhriʿāt, again attacked Damascus, pillaged Ṭabariyya and the suburbs of Hīt. In Ramaḍān 293/July 906 Naṣr was killed by some of his supporters who wanted to gain amnesty from the government. Zikrawayh now sent another messenger to his remaining supporters announcing to them that the day of triumph and of his personal appearance was near. Joined by Zikrawayh's supporters in the *sawād*, they entered al-Kūfa in a surprise attack, but were driven out again. In Dhū 'l-ḥidjdja 293/Oct. 906, Zikrawayh came forth from his hiding place in al-Ṣawwān near al-Ķādisiyya. They defeated an ʿAbbāsid army and overwhelmed the caravans of Khurāsānian and western Persian pilgrims on their return from Mecca killing most of the pilgrims. In Rabīʿ I 294/Jan. 907 Zikrawayh was wounded and captured in a battle and died a few days later. Many of his supporters were rounded up and executed. The Ķarmaṭī revolts in Syria came to an end. Some of Zikrawayh's followers in the Sawād denied his death and expected his return. In 295/907-8 a *dāʿī*, Abū Ḥātim al-Zuṭṭī, was active among the Ķarmaṭīs in the Sawād. He forbade them to eat certain vegetables and to slaughter animals. His followers were therefore named Baķliyya [*q.v.*], a nickname which was subsequently applied to the Ķarmaṭīs in the Sawād in general. Most of the Ķarmaṭīs there clung to their earlier belief that Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl was alive and would return as the Mahdī.

In al-Baḥrayn, Abū Saʿīd al-Djannābī [*q.v.*], sent by Ḥamdān and ʿAbdān, had begun his career in 273/886-7 long before the schism. After the murder of ʿAbdān he sided with the rebels against ʿUbayd Allāh and killed Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Ṭamāmī, a *dāʿī* with whom he had previously cooperated. Abū Zakariyyāʾ had been sent before him, probably by Ibn Ḥawshab, the *dāʿī* in the Yaman (the *nisba* al-Ṭamāmī seems to refer to Ṭamām, a market town in Lāʿa where Ibn Ḥawshab first resided), and like Ibn Ḥawshab remained loyal to the Fāṭimids. According to the *ķāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār, Abū Saʿīd, after killing Abū Zakariyyāʾ claimed to represent the Mahdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, who would appear in the year 300/912-3.

In the Yaman the two *dāʿīs*, Ibn Ḥawshab [see MANṢŪR AL-YAMAN] and ʿAlī b. al-Faḍl, working separately in the region of Djabal Maswar and in the Bilād Yāfiʿ, at first remained faithful to ʿUbayd Allāh, though the loyalty of Ibn al-Faḍl was not above suspicion and his relations with Ibn Ḥawshab, the senior *dāʿī*, were at times strained. As both endeavoured to expand their territories, Ibn al-Faḍl proved more successful. After reoccupying Ṣanʿāʾ in Ramaḍān 299/May 912 he repudiated his allegiance to the Fāṭimid caliph, abolished the *sharīʿa*, and claimed to be the Mahdī. Rejecting the reproaches of Ibn Ḥawshab he demanded the latter's submission and besieged him on the Djabal Maswar for eight months. The siege ended in failure, though Ibn Ḥawshab was forced to surrender one of his sons to Ibn al-Faḍl as a hostage. Ibn al-Faḍl then turned Ṣanʿāʾ over to the Yaʿfurid Asʿad b. Abī Yaʿfur, who recognized his suzerainty, and returned to his residence in al-Mudhaykhira. After his death in Rabīʿ II 303/Oct. 915 his son al-Faʾfāʾ (?) succeeded him and killed many of his associates. Asʿad b. Abī Yaʿfur revolted and took al-Mudhaykhira after a long siege in Radjab 304/Jan. 917. Four months later he ordered the execution of al-Faʾfāʾ and other Ķarmaṭī leaders and sent their heads to Baghdād, thus extinguishing the movement of Ibn al-Faḍl.

In the area of al-Rayy, the Ismāʿīlī community, known locally after its first *dāʿī* Khalaf al-Ḥallādj as Khalafiyya, was well established before the split. Circumstantial evidence indicates that it did not recognize the imāmate of ʿUbayd Allāh and continued to expect the return of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl as the Ķāʾim. The *dāʿī* Ghiyāth, after engaging in disputations with the Sunnīs, was forced to flee to Khurāsān, probably during the last decade of the 3rd century/903-13. There he predicted the coming of the Mahdī at a certain date. As the date passed without the prediction having come true, Ghiyāth, who had returned to al-Rayy, lost the support of his followers and disappeared soon afterwards.

Information about the early Ismāʿīlī movement in Khurāsān and Transoxania is extremely fragmentary. Anti-Ismāʿīlī sources state that the first two *dāʿīs* there were sent successively by ʿUbayd Allāh after his rise to power in the Maghrib in 297/909 and were active in Naysābūr. Yet there is evidence that Ismāʿīlī activity was important in eastern Persia from an early date. The fact that the Imāmī al-Faḍl b. Shādhān in Naysābūr found it necessary to write a refutation of the Ķarāmiṭa may indicate their presence there before 260/874. At the time of the split al-Ṭāliķān was a centre of Ismāʿīlī propaganda from where *dāʿīs* were sent to other eastern regions. A notice of the Imāmī author Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ķummī writing *ca.* 290/903 indicates that at this time ʿUbayd Allāh's doctrine, which traced the imāmate after Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiķ through his son ʿAbd Allāh, rather than Ismāʿīl, had numerous adherents in Khurāsān. On the other hand, Ghiyāth, the *dāʿī* of al-Rayy upholding Ķarmaṭī doctrine, during his stay in Khurāsān converted the amīr al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Marwazī in Marw al-Rūdh. As a result, Ismāʿīlism spread throughout the provinces of al-Ṭāliķān, Maymana, Harāt, Ghardjistān, and al-Ghūr, where the amīr al-Ḥusayn was powerful. It is thus likely that both Fāṭimid and Ķarmaṭī Ismāʿīlism were strongly represented in eastern Persia during this period.

From *ca.* 300/913 to the accession of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Muʿizz (341/953). In the first decade of the 4th century/912-23 the Ķarmaṭī movement appears to have regained its ideological unity which prepared it for the great outburst of activity during the following decade. An important role in this process was played by the *Kitāb al-maḥṣūl* of the Transoxanian *dāʿī* al-Nasafī [*q.v.*], which introduced a Neoplatonic cosmology into Ismāʿīlī gnosis and reaffirmed the imāmate of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, who was to return as the Mahdī. The book evidently soon gained wide acceptance in Ķarmaṭī circles. Equally important was the activity of Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī [*q.v.*], a disciple of Ghiyāth, who took over the leadership of the *daʿwa* in al-Rayy during this decade, dislodging the descendants of Khalaf. Abū Ḥātim displayed great energy, sending *dāʿīs* to Ṭabaristān, Iṣfahān, Ādharbaydjān, and Djurdjān and carrying on a correspondance with Abū Ṭāhir, the leader of the Ķarmaṭīs in al-Baḥrayn. He seems to have claimed to be the lieutenant (*khalīfa*) of the absent imām having superior authority to all other *dāʿīs*, a rank that was also later held by the *dāʿī* of al-Rayy. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī, governor of al-Rayy 307-11/919-24, the Daylamī leader Asfār b. Shīrawayh, and Mardāwīdj, the founder of the Ziyārid dynasty, came at least temporarily under his influence. The success of Abū Ḥātim's *daʿwa* among the Daylam is also indicated by the conversion of Siyāhčashm (killed *ca.* 316/928), Djustānid king of Daylam, in Alamūt.

In al-Baḥrayn, the Ḳarmaṭīs, after the murder of Abū Saʿīd in 300/913, remained peaceful until 311/923. In this year they began under the leadership of Abū Saʿīd's son Abū Ṭāhir al-Djannābī [*q.v.*] a series of devastating campaigns into southern ʿIrāḳ during which they sacked al-Baṣra and al-Kūfa repeatedly and raided pilgrims' caravans. Like Abū Ḥātim, Abū Ṭāhir at this time was predicting the appearance of the Mahdī for the near future, interpreting the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in 316/928 as a sign for the end of the era of Islam and the advent of the final religious era. In 313/925 some thirty Ismāʿīlīs, whose *dāʿī* kept up a correspondance with Abū Ṭāhir, were arrested in the mosque of Barāthā [*q.v.*] in Baghdād. With them were found white clay seals bearing the inscription: "Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, the imām, the Mahdī, the friend of God". In 315-6/927-9 Abū Ṭāhir led a new campaign threatening Baghdād itself, which he apparently expected to take. While he pushed as far as al-Raḥba, the Ḳarmaṭīs of the *sawād* of al-Kūfa, joined by the Arab tribes of the Banū Dhuhl, Rifāʿa and ʿIdjl, rose under their *dāʿīs*, among them ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, a nephew of ʿAbdān. They ravaged the area of al-Wāsiṭ and entered al-Kūfa by force, but were soon subdued by an ʿAbbāsid army. Those escaping joined Abū Ṭāhir as he returned to al-Baḥrayn. They stayed there and were known as the ʿAdjamiyyūn. Abū Ṭāhir's activity reached its climax in his conquest of Mecca during the pilgrimage season in 317/930. The Ḳarmaṭīs committed a barbarous slaughter among the pilgrims and inhabitants and carried off the Black Stone of the Kaʿba, thus palpably demonstrating the end of the era of Islam.

In Ramaḍān 319/Sept.-Oct. 931, Abū Ṭāhir handed the rule over to a young Persian from Iṣfahān in whom he recognized the expected Mahdī. However, events took a different turn from what had commonly been expected for the advent of the Mahdī. The date was evidently chosen to coincide with the passing of 1,500 years after Zoroaster (= end of the year 1242 of the era of Alexander) for which prophecies attributed to Zoroaster and Djāmāsp predicted the restoration of the reign of the Magians. The young Persian was said to be a Magian and a descendant of the Persian kings. Iṣfahān, his home town, had long been associated by the astrologers with the rise of a Persian dynasty which would overthrow the Arab caliphate. The chief priest of the Magians, Isfandiyār b. Adharbād, was executed a few years later by the caliph al-Rāḍī for his complicity with Abū Ṭāhir. The Persian ordered the cursing of all the prophets and the worship of fire. He then encouraged various extravagant abominations and put some prominent Ḳarmaṭī leaders to death. After some 80 days Abū Ṭāhir was forced to kill him and admit that he had been duped by an impostor. The episode severely demoralized the Ḳarmaṭī movement. The Ḳarmaṭīs from ʿIrāḳ left al-Baḥrayn and many, among them the chief of the ʿIdjl Abū 'l-Ghayth b. ʿAbda, apostatized, disclosing the secrets of the *daʿwa*. Tribal Arab Ḳarmaṭīs came to offer their service in the armies of Sunnī rulers. A group of seventy of them is mentioned for the first time in 320/932 in the army of the ʿAbbāsid general Muʾnis. Later sizable Ḳarmaṭī contingents served in ʿAbbāsid, Barīdid, Ḥamdānid and Būyid armies.

The leading *dāʿīs* were shocked by the episode in al-Baḥrayn, which hurt the reputation of the movement by the accompanying manifestations of libertinism and anti-Arab sentiment and by its disastrous end. The tendencies of Abū Ḥātim's *Kitāb al-iṣlāḥ*, in which he criticized certain aspects of al-Nasafī's *Kitāb al-maḥṣūl*, are best understood on the assumption that it was written after the events in al-Baḥrayn and was meant partially as a veiled censure of them. It uncompromisingly repudiates antinomian tendencies in the *Kitāb al-maḥṣūl*, insisting that the sixth era, that of the prophet Muḥammad and Islam, had not been closed with the first coming of the seventh imām, Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, as the *Kitāb al-maḥṣūl* implied. Only after his return would he open the seventh, lawless era. Abū Ḥātim's criticism of the *Kitāb al-Maḥṣūl* was repudiated by other *dāʿīs*, among them Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Sidjistānī [*q.v.*], who in his *Kitāb al-nuṣra* defended most of al-Nasafī's views, including their antinomian implications. Despite such internal dissension the *daʿwa* soon regained strength, though engaging more in literary than in revolutionary activity. ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, who had been captured by the government troops suppressing the Ḳarmaṭī revolt in the Sawād in 316/928, escaped from prison in 320/932 and remained in Baghdād writing philosophically-tinged books which he ascribed to ʿAbdān. This was also the practice of other *dāʿīs* in ʿIrāḳ in this period, like the brothers Abū Muslim and Abū Bakr b. Ḥammād in al-Mawṣil and ʿAlī b. Waṣīf, who resided in al-Raḳḳa and later in al-Mawṣil. The sons of Ḥammād in al-Mawṣil and Ibn Nafīs in Baghdād were, according to Ibn al-Nadīm, high-ranking *dāʿīs* subordinate to Abū Yaʿḳūb, the *khalīfa* of the imām residing in al-Rayy. This Abū Yaʿḳūb was the successor of Abū Ḥātim (d. 322/934) and may well be identical with Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Sidjistānī who at this time did not recognize the Fāṭimid imāmate, as is evident from his *Kitāb al-nuṣra*. The Ismāʿīlī missionary activity in northwestern Persia remained successful in this period. The Sallārid al-Marzubān b. Muḥammad, ruler of Ādharbaydjān (330/941-346/957), and his brother Wahsūdān, ruler of al-Ṭarm, were both converts. On his accession al-Marzubān took ʿAlī b. Djaʿfar, an Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī*, as his vizier and permitted him to preach the doctrine openly. A coin of Wahsūdān minted in 343/954-5 attests his adherence to Ḳarmaṭī Ismāʿīlism. There is no tangible evidence that the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* during this period made any progress in winning over the dissident communities in the east. The story related by the anti-Ismāʿīlī polemicist Ibn Rizām that the *dāʿī* al-Nasafī, who during the last years before his execution in 332/943 was active at the Sāmānid court in Transoxania, imposed a fine on the ruler Naṣr b. Aḥmad, whom he had converted, to be sent to the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḳāʾim, must be viewed with reserve.

The Ḳarmaṭīs in al-Baḥrayn also returned to their former beliefs, claiming that they were acting on the orders of the hidden Mahdī. Abū Ṭāhir carried out raids on a minor scale to southern ʿIrāḳ and the coast of Fārs and continued to obstruct the pilgrimage. After the failure of earlier negotiations, he reached an agreement with the ʿAbbāsid government in 327/939 under which he promised to protect the pilgrimage in return for an annual tribute and a protection fee to be paid by the pilgrims. The aggressiveness of the Ḳarmaṭīs now subsided. After the death of Abū Ṭāhir in 332/944 his surviving brothers, ruling jointly, continued his peaceful policy. In 339/951 they finally returned the Black Stone of the Kaʿba for a high sum paid by the ʿAbbāsid government, after having rejected earlier offers, including one by the Fāṭimid caliph al-Manṣūr.

After the accession of the Fāṭimid al-Muʿizz (341/953). The fourth Fāṭimid caliph, al-Muʿizz, from early in his reign made determined

efforts to regain the support of the dissident Ismāʿīlī communities in the east for the Fāṭimid cause. For this end he revised the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī doctrine so as to accommodate some of their tenets. Thus he re-affirmed the central Ḳarmaṭī belief that Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl was the Ḳāʾim, whose acts, he maintained however, were to be carried out by his lieutenants (*khulafāʾ*), the Fāṭimid imāms, who were his descendants. These efforts were to a good extent successful, though few specific details are known. Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Sidjistānī, now the chief representative of Ismāʿīlī Neoplatonism, was won over and in his works written after the accession of al-Muʿizz fully supported the Fāṭimid imāmate. Al-Muʿizz permitted the introduction of the Neoplatonic cosmology into Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī doctrine, including the works of its earlier representatives, al-Nasafī and Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī. Others of the dissidents, however, resisted his efforts. Ibn Ḥawḳal, writing *ca.* 367/978, refers to the numerous Ismāʿīlī community in Ādharbaydjān as Baḳliyya, indicating their Ḳarmaṭī persuasion. The sharīf Akhū Muḥsin shortly after 372/983 states that the school of ʿĪsā b. Mūsā in Baghdād conserving the doctrinal heritage of ʿAbdān continued to exist in his time. Most notable, however, was the failure of al-Muʿizz to win the allegiance of the Ḳarmaṭīs of al-Baḥrayn.

The encyclopaedia of the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ* [*q.v.*], composed in al-Baṣra about the middle of the 4th century/*ca.* 960 by a group of secretaries and scholars, should be regarded as an attempt to reunite the non-Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlīs on a common doctrinal basis countering the ideological offensive of the Fāṭimid. While adopting the Neoplatonic cosmology, the authors avoided touching on the points which had previously provoked controversy among the *dāʿīs*. They put their teaching under the auspices of the hidden seventh imām whose reappearance in glory they predicted for the future. They expressly affirmed that the descendants of the seventh imām had "fallen from his rank", thus repudiating the Fāṭimid claim to the imāmate. Written in al-Baṣra, at this time practically a dominion of the Ḳarmaṭīs of al-Baḥrayn, the encyclopaedia must have had at least their passive approval if it was not actually encouraged or commissioned by them.

The latent antagonism between the Ḳarmaṭīs of al-Baḥrayn and the Fāṭimids erupted into an open clash after the Fāṭimid conquest of Egypt in 358/969. The Ḳarmaṭīs had before demonstrated their interest in the Syrian political scene by establishing friendly relations with the Ḥamdānids and the Ikhshīdids. In Rabīʿ II 353/May 964 they had pillaged Ṭabariyya. In 357/968 al-Ḥasan al-Aʿṣam [*q.v.*] invaded Syria at the head of the Ḳarmaṭī army, took Damascus and, after defeating the Ikhshīdid al-Ḥasan b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ṭughdj, sacked al-Ramla. That the campaign had not been undertaken on behalf of the Fāṭimids is proved by coins minted in al-Ramla immediately after the withdrawal of al-Aʿṣam, on which the suzereignty of the ʿAbbāsid caliph together with the Ḳarmaṭī rulers of al-Baḥrayn is recognized. In Dhū 'l-ḥidjdja 358/Oct.-Nov. 969, three months after the Fāṭimid army had occupied Egypt, a Ḳarmaṭī army under al-Aʿṣam's cousins Kisrā and Ṣakhr again attacked and defeated al-Ḥasan b. ʿUbayd Allāh at al-Ramla, but then a peace was concluded under which the Ikhshīdid promised to pay annual tribute. As the main body of the Ḳarmaṭī army withdrew, a small force was left and was defeated together with al-Ḥasan b. ʿUbayd Allāh by the Fāṭimid army conquering al-Ramla in 359/970. In 360/971 al-Aʿṣam, aided by the Būyid ʿIzz al-Dawla and the Ḥamdānid Abū Taghlib with arms and men, retook Damascus and al-Ramla, expelling the Fāṭimid army, and everywhere proclaimed the ʿAbbāsid suzereignty. He then besieged Cairo, but after a minor setback in Rabīʿ I 361/Dec. 971 he withdrew and returned to al-Aḥsā, probably because important internal decisions were pending there. By Ramaḍān 361/June 972 he reoccupied al-Ramla, defeating a strong Fāṭimid army. After the arrival of the Fāṭimid al-Muʿizz in Cairo (Ramaḍān 362/June 973), he proceeded to attack Egypt by sea and by land while an ʿAlid ally invaded Upper Egypt. After a defeat before Cairo in Radjab 363/April 974, al-Aʿṣam returned to al-Aḥsā and then concluded a truce promising obediance in order to secure the release of his secretary Abū 'l-Munadjdjā who was captured by the Fāṭimid army in Damascus. The truce, under which al-Muʿizz agreed to pay the tribute formerly paid by the Ikhshīdids, was kept until the death of al-Muʿizz in Rabīʿ II 365/Dec. 975, but immediately after the accession of al-ʿAzīz a Ḳarmaṭī army under Djaʿfar, Kisrā, and Isḥāḳ, cousins of al-Aʿṣam, joined the rebel Alftakīn (Alptegīn) in Damascus and then occupied al-Ramla. Before the advancing Fāṭimid army under Djawhar, they fell back to Damascus. Strengthened by the arrival of al-Aʿṣam, Alftakīn and the Ḳarmaṭīs besieged Djawhar first in Zaytūn al-Ramla and then in ʿAsḳalān for about 17 months, finally permitting him to withdraw to Egypt. They were defeated by a massive Fāṭimid army under al-ʿAzīz near al-Ramla in Muḥarram 268/Sept. 978. The Ḳarmaṭīs under Djaʿfar, who had taken over the command after the death of al-Aʿṣam in Radjab 366/March 977, left for al-Aḥsā and agreed to a peace under which al-ʿAzīz paid a sizable annual tribute to them.

After the death of the Būyid ʿAḍud al-dawla (372/983) the Ḳarmaṭīs of al-Baḥrayn sought to reassert their hold over southern ʿIrāḳ. In 373/983-4 they attacked al-Baṣra and had to be bought off by a tribute. In 375/985 a Ḳarmaṭī army under Isḥāḳ and Djaʿfar occupied al-Kūfa. As the Būyid government tried to reach a peaceful settlement, they began to confiscate crops and money in the country. The government, forced to act, inflicted two humiliating defeats on the awesome enemy near al-Djāmiʿayn. The Ḳarmaṭīs were forced to withdraw and were permanently deprived of their influence in ʿIrāḳ. In 378/988 al-Aṣfar, chief of the Banū 'l-Muntafiḳ of ʿUḳayl, defeated the Ḳarmaṭīs severely, laid siege to al-Aḥsāʾ and pillaged al-Ḳaṭīf, carrying off the booty to al-Baṣra. The Ḳarmaṭīs lost their privilege of escorting and taxing the pilgrims' caravans, claimed now by al-Aṣfar and other tribal chiefs, and were reduced to a purely local, self-contained power. Little is known about their later history. In 382/992 they renewed their nominal allegiance to the Fāṭimid al-ʿAzīz, presumably in return for a resumption of the Fāṭimid tribute, which had been cut off after the victory of al-Aṣfar. These ties cannot have lasted long. During the reign of al-Ḥākim (386/996-411/1021) their relations with the Fāṭimid caliphate were hostile. Nothing is known about their relations with the later Fāṭimids. In religious doctrine they remained permanently apart from the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa*. Outside al-Baḥrayn, Ḳarmaṭī communities after the decline of the Ḳarmaṭī state were rapidly absorbed into Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlism or disintegrated. No information definitely concerning such communities after 378/988 is available, though reports about a wealthy sectarian leader named al-Shabbās (d. 444/

1052-3) and his family, who had numerous followers in the *Sawād* of al-Baṣra, among the "Ḳarāmiṭa" and scattered tribes, may indicate a survival of some form of Ḳarmaṭī Ismāʿīlism in southern ʿIrāḳ.

In *ca.* 459/1067 the Ḳarmaṭīs of al-Baḥrayn lost control of the island of Uwāl after an insurrection of the inhabitants and a defeat of the Ḳarmaṭī fleet. Soon afterwards, al-Ḳaṭīf was taken from them by a local rebel. In 462/1069-70 ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī al-ʿUyūnī, chief of the Banū Murra b. ʿĀmir of ʿAbd al-Ḳays residing in the northernmost part of the province of al-Aḥsāʾ, rose against them. After a victory over the Ḳarmaṭīs and their tribal allies, he laid siege to al-Aḥsāʾ for seven years. Aided by a troop of 200 Turkoman horsemen from ʿIrāḳ, he took the town in 469/1067 and subdued a revolt of the Ḳarmaṭīs and the Banū ʿĀmir b. Rabīʿa in 470/1077-8, putting a definite end to the Ḳarmaṭī reign. Probably in order to strengthen his rear against his Turkish allies, he had recognized the suzerainty of the Fāṭimid al-Mustanṣir, who in Rabīʿ II 469/Nov. 1076 appointed the Ṣulayḥid ʿAlī b. Muḥammad as his overlord and protector.

The Ḳarmaṭī state in al-Baḥrayn. Ḳarmaṭī religious propaganda, though promising the replacement of the injustices and oppression of established Muslim society with a rule of justice and equity, did not elaborate a specific social programme. Some early experiments with communal ownership of property remained ephemeral. Historical factors and a concern for the welfare of Ḳarmaṭī subjects combined to produce a state in al-Baḥrayn whose order and justice evoked the admiration of non-Ḳarmaṭī observers like Ibn Ḥawḳal, al-Muḳaddasī and Nāṣir-i Khusraw.

Abū Saʿīd al-Djannābī conferred in major decisions with a ruling council known as *al-ʿIqdāniyya*, which comprised the most important officials of the government. Most prominent among them was al-Ḥasan b. Sanbar (or Shanbar), the head of a powerful family from al-Ḳaṭīf who had become an early supporter and father-in-law of Abū Saʿīd. After the latter's death, his seven sons joined the ruling council. In accordance with the will of Abū Saʿīd his eldest son, Saʿīd, at first succeeded to the leadership and was replaced by the youngest son, Abū Ṭāhir, when the latter reached maturity in 310/922-3. Abū Ṭāhir ruled with the aid of his brothers and a council of seven viziers, most prominent among whom was Sanbar, the son of al-Ḥasan b. Sanbar. After Abū Ṭāhir's death the leadership was held collectively by his surviving brothers, known as *al-sāda al-ruʾasāʾ*. The sons of Abū Ṭāhir, though highly regarded and property owners, remained excluded from the rule. In 358/969 Sābūr, the eldest son of Abū Ṭāhir, demanded the rule in succession to his father, was arrested by his uncles and died, probably murdered. Partisan strife within the ruling family persisted after the incident and in 360/971 the caliph al-Muṭīʿ is reported to have endeavoured diplomatically to restore concord. Numismatic evidence suggests that at least after the death of Saʿīd in 361/972 grandsons of Abū Saʿīd came to be admitted to the ruling council, though a position of pre-eminence was retained by Abū Yaʿḳūb Yūsuf, now the only surviving son of Abū Saʿīd. When Yūsuf died in 366/977, six of Abū Saʿīd's grandsons succeeded to power, perhaps representing the descendants of the six sons of Abū Saʿīd other than Abū Ṭāhir, whose descendants seem to have been permanently excluded. When Nāṣir-i Khusraw visited al-Aḥsāʾ in 443/1051, the ruling council continued to consist of six descendants of Abū Saʿīd, presumably co-opted, and six viziers, now apparently all descendants of Ibn Sanbar (Sanābira). Descendants of Abū Saʿīd called *sāda* were still known in al-Aḥsāʾ in the early 7th/13th century.

In the time of Ibn Ḥawḳal, the income from the fruit and grain estates in al-Baḥrayn was assigned to the members of the Ḳarmaṭī community (*muʾminūn*). This arrangement probably dates back to the time of Abū Saʿīd. The revenues from the customs received on the island of Uwāl on all ships passing through the Persian Gulf was distributed among the male and female descendants of Abū Saʿīd (*ca.* 400). All other revenues from taxes and fees, the tribute of ʿUmān, the protection fees paid by the pilgrims and governments, booty from military campaigns was disposed of by the ruling sons of Abū Saʿīd in agreement with Sanbar. Whatever was not used for purposes of government was divided up annually. One fifth was put into the treasury of the Mahdī, three fifths were distributed among the male descendants of Abū Saʿīd according to a fixed ratio, and one fifth was given to Sanbar for distribution among the members of his family (*ca.* 20). In Būyid times there was a Ḳarmaṭī customs house at the gate of al-Baṣra besides the one of the Būyid government. Permanent representatives of the Ḳarmaṭīs resided in al-Kūfa and al-Djaʿfariyya, a town in the desert near al-Baṣra which they had occupied. They were granted extensive land holdings in the region of Saḳy al-Furāt by ʿIzz al-Dawla and in the area of al-Wāsiṭ by ʿAḍud al-Dawla. During the reign of ʿAḍud al-Dawla and the beginning of the reign of Ṣamṣām al-Dawla a permanent representative of the Ḳarmaṭīs, Abū Bakr b. Shāhūya, resided in Baghdād and wielded considerable political influence.

The able-bodied Ḳarmaṭī sectarians living in al-Aḥsāʾ were well trained militarily and constituted the backbone of the Ḳarmaṭī army. In addition Arab tribal auxiliary troops regularly joined the Ḳarmaṭī campaigns. They belonged chiefly to the Banū Kilāb, who gradually seem to have been fully integrated into the Ḳarmaṭī community, and the Banū ʿUḳayl. In the last phase of the Ḳarmaṭī state the ʿĀmir b. Rabīʿa of ʿUḳayl were charged with the external defence of al-Aḥsāʾ and were paid for their services by a share of the crops of the Ḳarmaṭī farms.

In the time of Nāṣir-i Khusraw, 30,000 purchased negro slaves were employed by the council on the farms. No taxes or tithes were paid by the inhabitants of al-Aḥsāʾ. Anyone impoverished or indebted could obtain a loan until his affairs were re-established. No interest was taken on loans, and all local business transactions were carried out with token money of lead. Any artisan newly arriving in al-Aḥsāʾ was given a loan for the purchase of tools and material needed to establish himself. Repairs of houses were carried out by the slaves of the rulers free of charge. There were mills maintained by the government where grain was ground for the inhabitants without cost. Since the time of Abū Saʿīd prayers, fasting and other Muslim rites had been abolished. A foreign merchant had, however, been allowed to build a mosque for the use of Muslim visitors. People strictly abstained from drinking wine. Fine fabrics were woven and exported to al-Baṣra and elsewhere.

Bibliography: Besides the chronicles relevant for the period the following sources are important: al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaḳ al-shīʿa*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1931, 61-4; Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳummī, *al-Maḳālāt wa 'l-firaḳ*, ed. Muḥammad Djawād Mashkūr, Tehran 1963, 83-8; Masʿūdī, ***Tanbīh***,

104 f., 380-7, 389-96; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 25-7, 295 f., 349; *Fihrist*, 186-90; *Mudhakkirāt fī ḥarakat al-Mahdī al-Fāṭimī (istitār al-imām wa-sīrat Dja'far al-Ḥādjib)*, ed. W. Ivanow, in *BFac. Ar.*, iv (1936), Ar. sec., 89-133. Substantial extracts from the lost anti-Ismā'īlī polemical work of the sharīf Akhū Muḥsin, which is well informed about the Ḳarmaṭī movement in 'Irāḳ but often unreliable concerning other branches of the movement, are given by Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar*, vi, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munadjdjid, Cairo 1380/1961, 44-156; al-Maḳrīzī, *Itti'āẓ al-ḥunafā'*, i, ed. Djamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, Cairo 1387/1967, 151-202; idem, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ 1280, 391-7; and al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, partially translated by S. de Sacy, *Exposé de la Religion des Druzes*, Paris 1838, i, introd., 74-238. 'Abd al-Djabbār al-Hamadhānī, *Tathbīt dalā'il al-nubuwwa*, ed. 'Abd al-Karīm 'Uthmān, Beirut 1966, 386-99, 594-614. *Ta'rīkh akhbār al-Ḳarāmiṭa*, ed. Suhayl Zakkār, Beirut 1391/1971, contains relevant extracts from the history of Thābit b. Sinān, from *Bughyat al-ṭalab* by Ibn al-'Adīm and *al-Muḳaffā* by al-Maḳrīzī. Al-Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār al-bāḳiya*, ed. E. Sachau, Leipzig 1878, 212-14; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma*, ed. Muḥammad Dabīr Siyāḳī, Tehran 1335, 109-12; Muḥammad b. Mālik al-Ḥammādī, *Kashf asrār al-Bāṭiniyya*, ed. 'Izzat al-'Aṭṭār, Cairo 1357. The account of Ibn Khaldūn, *al-'Ibar*, Beirut 1958, iv, 181-95, which describes the leaders of the Ḳarmaṭīs in al-Baḥrayn as vassals of the Fāṭimids, is a historical construction without source value. Modern scholars have expressed widely varying views on the relationship between the Ḳarmaṭī movement and the Fāṭimids. See in particular: M. J. de Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahraïn et les Fatimides*[2], Leiden 1886; B. Lewis, *The Origins of Ismā'īlism*, Cambridge 1940; W. Ivanow, *Ismailis and Qarmatians*, in *JBBRAS*, xvi (1940), 43-85; idem, *Ismaili Tradition concerning the Rise of the Fatimids*, London 1942; Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan and Ṭaha Aḥmad Sharaf, *'Ubayd Allāh al-Mahdī*, Cairo 1947; A. E. Bertels, *Nasir-i Khosrov i Ismailizm*, Moscow 1959, 80 ff.; W. Madelung, *Fatimiden und Baḥrainqarmaṭen*, in *Isl.*, xxxiv (1959), 34-88; idem, *Das Imamat in der frühen ismailitischen Lehre*, in *Isl.*, xxxvii (1961), 43-135; S. M. Stern, *The Early Ismā'īlī Missionaries in North-West Persia and in Khurāsān and Transoxania*, in *BSOAS*, xxiii (1960), 56-90; idem, *Ismailis and Qarmatians*, in *L'élaboration de l'Islam*, Paris 1961, 99-108. For Ḳarmaṭī coins, see G. T. Scanlon, *Leadership in the Qarmaṭian Sect*, in *BIFAO*, lix (1960), 29-48. M. J. de Goeje, *La Fin de l'Empire des Carmathes*, in *JA* ser. 9, v (1895), 5-30.

(W. MADELUNG)

KARMĪSĪN [see KIRMĀNSHĀH].

ḲARMŪNA (today CARMONA), town in Spain situated 40 km. to the North-East of Seville and numbering 24,738 inhabitants. The ancient Roman Carmo was conquered by Mūsā b. Nuṣayr in 93/712 (Ibn al-Shabbāṭ and others say that it was occupied by Ṭāriḳ b. Ziyād), and Ḳarmūna was the name given to a *madīna* and a *kūra* adjacent to those of Ishbīliya and Ḳurṭuba. Of ancient construction, Ḳarmūna was endowed with strong, stone walls, and its fortress was almost impregnable. According to al-Ḳimyarī (*Rawḍ al-mi'ṭār*, text 158-9, tr. 190), it possessed an arsenal, public baths and a great mosque with seven arches supported by marble columns. Situated on a hill, it dominated an extensive and fertile *vega*, amply provided with water and populated with numerous villages; the fields of the *vega* produced wheat and barley; there existed—and still do in our days—some quarries of limestone and clay, as well as garnets "which sparkled there in the night as though they were lamps" (Fagnan, *Extraits*, 62). The mountains of Ḳarmūna being populated by Berbers, the territory felt the effects of the great rebellions which affected the south of al-Andalūs, notably that of the Yemenīs who supported the pro-'Abbāsid al-'Alā' b. Mughīth and who, in 146/763, besieged 'Abd ar-Raḥmān I in the town for two months. In 229/844 Ḳarmūna was the refuge of the Sevillians fleeing the Madjūs [*q.v.*], and, during the years of the agitation of the Muwallads, Berbers and Arabs of Seville against the Amīr 'Abd Allāh (end of the 3rd/9th century), it was one of the centres of the insurrection, and fell in 300/913 and 301/914 to the power of Muḥammad b. Ḥadjdjādj, who held it until the *ḥādjib* Badr was able to subdue in 305/917. Even before the fall of the Caliphate, it was governed by the Berber Banū Birzāl, who made it into a practically independent principality in 414/1023-4. During the war against al-Mu'taḍid, Karmūna was for some time, probably in 459/1066-7, in the hands of al-Ma'mūn of Toledo, who restored it by error to the petty kingdom of Seville. Occupied by the Almoravids in Rabī' I 484/May 1091, it passed to the power of the Almohads in 542/1147. For a certain time (555-6/1160-1) it was dominated by Ibn Hamushk. After its fields had been ravaged by the Christians in the time of Alphonso VIII, it was conquered and repopulated by Fernand III of Castille during the summer of 645/1247.

Bibliography: Apart from the sources cited in the article, see Ibn Ghālib, *Farḥat al-anfus*, partially ed. Luṭfī 'Abd al-Badī', in *RIMA*, i (1955), 292. Itineraries and other information in Rāzī-Lévi-Provençal, *La "Description de l'Espagne"*, in *al-And.*, xviii (1953), 94, 95; Idrīsī, *Maghrib*, text 174, 206, tr. 208, 253-4 (very brief reference); Yāḳūt, iv, 69, calls it Ḳarmūniya; Fagnan, *Extraits*, 105, 106; J. Alemany Bolufer, *La geografía de la Peninsula Ibérica en los autores árabes*, in *Rev. Centro Est. Hist. de Granada y su Reino*, ix (1919), 126, x (1920), 142; Cl. Sanchez Albornoz, *Itinerario de la conquista de España por los musulmanes*, in *Cuadernos de Hist. de España*, x (1948), 31, 50; E. Lévi-Provençal and E. García Gómez, *Una crónica anónima de 'Abd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir*, Madrid-Granada 1950, index; Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, index; Ibn al-Shabbāṭ, in *RIEI*, xiv (1967), 110; H. R. Idris, *Les Birzalides de Carmona*, in *al-And.*, xxx (1965), 49-62; J. Bosch-Vilá, *Los almorávides*, Tetouan 1956, index; A. Huici Miranda, *Hist. política des imperio almohade*, Tetouan 1956, index; J. González, *Las conquistas de Fernando III en Andalucía*, Madrid 1946, 104, 105; idem, *Repartimento de Sevilla*, Madrid 1951, index; Simonet, *Hist. de los mozárabes*, index; a long description of Carmona, with numerous bibliographical references, in *Diccionario geográfico de España*, Madrid 1958, vii, s.v.

(J. BOSCH-VILÁ)

KARNĀL, town and district of the province of the Pandjāb.

1. The town is situated a few miles W. of the Djamnā R. in 29°41′ N. 76°59′ E. and 73 miles (117 km.) north of Dihlī. It was in British times the administrative centre of a district of the Pandjāb, but historically and ethnologically it belongs to Hindustān rather than the Pandjāb. It is now in the Ambiala division of the Hariana province of the Indian Republic. In 1961 its population was 72,109.

The language commonly used by the inhabitants is a dialect of Western Hindī. It is no doubt a place of great antiquity, and the name is traditionally derived from Karna of the *Mahābhārata* (Karnālaya = Abode of Karna). But it was not of great importance in early times, and it is not mentioned in the accounts of the invasions of India by Maḥmūd Ghaznawī and Muʿizz al-Dīn. Its prosperity seems to have commenced with the construction of the canal from the Djamnā by Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ (see Shams-i-Sirādj, *Tarīkh-i Fīrōz Shāhī*, in Elliot and Dowson, *Hist. of India*, iii, 300). The country became productive and rich, and being on the direct road to Dihlī from the north became an object of attention to invaders and rebels. Thus in 980/1573, while Akbar was engaged in Gudjarāt, Karnāl, Pānīpat, and Sōnpat were plundered by Ibrāhīm Ḥusayn Mīrzā. Djahāngīr halted at Karnāl in 1013/1604 during his pursuit of his rebellious son, Khusraw (Elliot and Dowson, vi, 296, also Beveridge's tr., *Jahangīr's Memoirs*, i). In 1120/1708 during the reign of Bahādur Shāh, Karnāl was attacked and plundered by the Sikh rebels (Elliot and Dowson, vii, 419). But the most noteworthy event in its history was the great victory of Nādir Shāh over Muḥammad Shāh in 1152/1739 which was fought just outside the walls of the town. The imperial army was before the battle encamped on the banks of the canal, where it was re-enforced by the 30,000 cavalry of Burhān al-Mulk, *Nāẓim* of Awadh (Oudh). But Nādir Shāh's army was better disciplined and provided with abundant artillery, and the defeat of Muḥammad Shāh's forces was sudden and complete. After the break-up of the Mughal empire following on this invasion (and those of Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī and the Mahrāttas), Karnāl and the surrounding district again became a prey to the Sikhs. Gadjpat Singh of Djīnd took possession of it in 1763 after the battle of Sirhind, but Nadjaf Khān recovered it in 1775. After this the Sikhs and Mahrāttas contended for its possession with varying results. The intrepid adventurer, George Thomas, drove out the Sikhs in 1798, but only held it for a short time. Gurdit Singh, the Sikh chief of Lādwa, then held it for a space until driven out by a British force under Skinner in 1803, after Lake's defeat of the Mahrāttas at Dihlī.

After these events, Karnāl became the headquarters of a British district and was until 1841 the most advanced military post towards the north-west. When the mutiny of 1857 broke out, Karnāl was held by the British with the assistance of the Sikh Rādjā of Djind and the Muslim Nawwāb of Karnāl, and remained an important link in the chain of communications between the Pandjāb and Dihlī. Its later history is uneventful. The canal originally constructed by Fīrūz Shāh and afterwards extended by ʿAlī Mardān (whose name it bore) in the reign of Shāh Djahān I, was entirely remodelled by British engineers and now irrigates a very extensive tract. The only building of importance is the tomb of the Saint Bū ʿAlī Ḳalandar (d. 725/1323), locally said to have been built by Ghiyāth al-Dīn (probably Tughluḳ), but the actual construction is a much more modern building. Both Pānīpaṭ and Karnāl claim to have this saint's tomb.

2. The district is in the Ambiala division of the province of Hariana lying between 29°11′ and 30°15′ N. and 76°11′ and 77°17′ E. Its area is 3,062 sq. miles (7,930 km.²), and its population in 1961 was 1,490,430. In addition to the Djamnā, the small rivers called Čitāng and Saraswati flowing from N.E. to S.W. traverse part of the district. Towards the end of the 6th century A.D. it became the centre of a powerful kingdom to which Harshavardhana succeeded in 606. He spread his rule over Northern India from the Bay of Bengal to the Satladj and Gūdjarāt and was an enthusiastic supporter of Buddhism. After Harsha's death his empire rapidly broke up. The district was sacked by Maḥmūd of Ghazna, and traversed by Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām whose defeat and subsequent victory over Prithwī-Rādj took place at Tirāorī, a small town farther to the south near Karnāl in 588/1192. This place is called Tarāīn and Ṭalāwarī by the chroniclers. At this place there is a fine *sarāy* of the Mughal period converted into a fort by the Sikhs in the 18th cent. A few miles from Karnāl is also the small town of Kundjpura founded by Nidjābat Khān, an Afghān claiming Ghorghushti descent, in the time of Muḥammad Shāh. It was a fort in a marsh, and was called by its founder Kundj-pura, or the Crane's town; hence the family takes its present name of Kundjpuria. Nidjābat Khān afterwards took the side of Nādir Shāh but fought against Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī. All the sovereign powers of the *Nawwābs* were taken from them in 1849. The *Nawwāb* Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān upheld the authority of the British Government during the mutiny of 1857. The *Nawwāb* Aḥmad ʿAlī Khān did good service to the British Government in 1857, and received substantial *djāgīrs*.

In the southern part of the district the principal place is Pānīpat [*q.v.*].

The other principal Muslims of the district of Karnāl are Rādjpūts of the Čawhān, Mandhār, Ghōrēwāha and Juriwar clans. Some of these clans have sections which still retain the Hindū religion. The conversion to Islam is generally asserted to have taken place in the reign of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ.

Bibliography: Ibbetson, *Settlement Report of Karnāl and Pānīpat*, Lahore 1883; idem, *Outlines of Panjab Ethnography*; Douie, *District Gazetteer of Karnāl*, Lahore 1890; idem, *Settlement Report. Karnāl and Ambāla*, Lahore 1891; V. A. Smith, *Early Hist. of India*, 3rd ed., Oxford 1915; Oldham, *The Saraswati*, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1893; Skinner, *Military Memoirs*, London 1851; Massy, *Chiefs and families of note in the Panjāb*, Allahabad 1890; Crooke, *Popular Religion of Northern India*, i, 219, Westminster, 1896; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Orient. Transl. Fund, xiv, London 1904, s.v. Sthānēswara; Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, iii, London 1871.

(M. Longworth Dames)

KARNĀṬAK, properly the Kanarese (Kannaḍá) speaking district of southern India, Sanskrit *karnāṭaka*; the word seems to be derived from Dravidian roots meaning "black country", *i.e.*, the country with the "black cotton soil" which characterizes the south Deccan plateau. The region is approximately that of the modern Mysore (Mahisur) state; but it was already applied in mediaeval times to part of the Telugu-speaking region as well, as in the time of the Vidjayanagara [*q.v.*] kingdom. After the Deccan confederacy had defeated the Vidjayanagara forces at the battle of Tālīkoṭa in 972/1564-5 the Muslims took over the Vidjayanagara Karnāṭak lands, and used the term to apply not only to the plateau lands but also to the coastal lands on the east coast below the Ghāṭs; with European involvement in south India in the 18th century the term came to be erroneously applied, as "Carnatic", to the coastal region alone. In this sense it figures in the title of the *nawwābs* of the Carnatic, more correctly called *nawwābs* of Arkāt.

The town of Arkāt (12°54′ N., 79°20′ E.) became a hereditary holding in the family of Saʿādat Allāh Khān in the early 18th century; Saʿādat Allāh was a Nawāʾit (a Muslim tribe of southern India reputed to be of Hāshimite descent, driven from ʿIrāḳ by al-Ḥadjdjādj in the 2nd/8th century) who had commanded Awrangzīb's forces in the operations against Mysore. His nephew, Dost ʿAlī Khān (1145-53/1732-40), is usually recognized as the first *nawwāb*, nominally a dependent of the first Niẓām of Ḥaydarābād but in practice exercising considerable independence. The town and its surrounding district changed hands many times between Ḥaydarābād, English, French and Ḥaydar ʿAlī's armies, still held by the latter when the *nawwāb* Muḥammad Alī, an ally of the British, assigned the revenues of "the Carnatic" to the East India Company in 1781. In 1801 the full sovereignty of Arkāt and "the Carnatic" was ceded to the company by the *nawwāb* ʿAẓīm al-Dawla. The title of *nawwāb* was abolished under the governor-generalship of the Earl of Dalhousie in the 1850s.

The region is poor in Muslim monuments, except for the ruins of the fort at Arkāt and the *nawwābs*' palace, the *maḳbara* of Saʿādat Allāh Khān (inscr. 1145/1732-3) and the *Djāmiʿ masdjid* in the same town the tombs of Tipū's family at Vellūr ("Vellore") and the palace of the Vidjayanagara rulers at Čandragiri, where their capital was moved after their defeat at Tālīkoṭa, which contains much evidence of the Muslim influence in Vidjayanagara building styles [see HIND, Architecture].

Bibliography: See bibliography to ARCOT; further references in Pearson and Supplements, s.v. *Nawabs of Arcot.* (J. BURTON-PAGE)

KARRĀMIYYA, a sect which flourished in the central and eastern parts of the Islamic worlds, and especially in the Iranian regions, from the 3rd/9th century until the Mongol invasions.

(1). Origins. The founder, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Karrām (thus vocalized by Samʿānī, who says that his father was a vine-tender, *karrām*, but there is some support for the readings Karām or Kirām), is known from biographies, in *e.g.* Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, fols. 476b-477a; Dhahabī, *Mīzān al-iʿtidāl*, Cairo 1325/1907, iii, 127; idem, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, *sub anno* 255/869 (abridged version in Leiden Ms. 1721, fols. 73b-75a); Subkī, *Ṭabaḳat al-shāfiʿiyya al-kubrā*[1], ii, 53-4; and Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, iv, 375-7. A prime source for all these, ultimately, was al-Ḥākim al-Bayyiʿ's *Taʾrīkh Nayshābūr*, which gave biographies of the *ʿulamāʾ* of that city.

Allegedly of Arab descent (his remoter ancestry is given in his obituary notice in Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 149, year 255/869), Ibn Karrām was born *ca.* 190/806 near Zarang in Sīstān, whence his *nisba* al-Sidjistānī. From there he travelled to Khurāsān in search of knowledge, studying under Aḥmad b. Ḥarb the Ascetic in Nīshāpūr, Ibrāhīm b. Yūsuf al-Mākiyānī in Balkh, ʿAlī b. Ḥudjr in Marw, and ʿAbd Allāh b. Mālik b. Sulaymān in Harāt. He himself related traditions on the authority of Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Djuwaybārī and Muḥammad b. Tamīm al-Firyānānī, whom he later discovered to be unreliable transmitters; because of his reliance on suspect authorities, the later opponents of the Karrāmiyya asserted that the sect allowed the fabrication of *ḥadīths* for inculcating the fear of God (*tarhīb*) and the desire for Paradise (*targhīb*).

After five years in Mecca as a *mudjāwir*, Ibn Karrām returned via Jerusalem to Nīshāpūr and then to Sīstān, where he sold all his possessions in favour of holy poverty and adopted the ascetic garb of rough skins, spreading the doctrines set forth in his treatise *ʿAdhāb al-ḳabr* (see below). The local governor expelled him from Sīstān for stirring up the common people, so he went to preach to the masses in Ghūr, Gharčistān and the rural areas of Khurāsān, denouncing both Sunnīs and Shīʿīs. Hence when he arrived in Nīshāpūr again with a following of weavers and others from the lower classes, the Ṭāhirid governor of Khurāsān, Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. ʿAbd Allāh (248-59/862-73), was justifiably suspicious; the Persian countryside had for long been disturbed by various politico-religious agitators and sectaries. Ibn Karrām was accordingly jailed by the governor for eight years until he was released in 251/865 (some sources state that he had already been briefly imprisoned during his first stay in Nīshāpūr by Ṭāhir b. ʿAbd Allāh, Muḥammad's predecessor as governor). He then left Nīshāpūr and ended his days in Jerusalem, where he died in Ṣafar 255/January-February 869, being buried near the Bāb Arīḥā or Jericho Gate (see Mudjīr al-Dīn al-ʿUlaymī, *al-Uns al-djalīl*, Cairo 1283/1866, i, 263).

(2). Doctrines. Ibn Karrām's theological ideas were set forth in his *ʿAdhāb al-ḳabr* (Punishment of the grave), referring to the questioning of the corpse in its grave by the two angels Munkar and Nakīr, whose identity with the two guardian angels over each living person Ibn Karrām taught [see ʿADHĀB AL-ḲABR]. The work attained considerable currency in its day, but is now known only from citations, principally in Baghdādī's *al-Farḳ bayn al-firaḳ*, Cairo 1328/1910, 202-14, tr. A. S. Halkin, Tel Aviv 1935, 18-30; cf. also Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Milal wa'l-niḥal*, Cairo 1381/1961, i, 108-13, and Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa'l-niḥal*, ed. Cureton, 79-85, tr. Haarbrücker, i, 119-27. Baghdādī personally disputed with an adherent of the Karrāmiyya, Ibrāhīm b. Muhādjir, before the Sāmānid commander-in-chief in Khurāsān, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Sīmdjūr, in 370/980-1, and exposed, so he claims, his abysmal errors. Another of Ibn Karrām's works, the *Kitāb al-Sirr*, is known only from two citations by Ibn al-Dāʿī, a later author.

A salient feature of Ibn Karrām's doctrines was, according to his orthodox opponents, that of literalism and anthropomorphism, so that many heresiologists counted his sect amongst the Mudjassima or Mushabbiha (though Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-islāmiyyīn*, Cairo 1369/1950, i, 205, made it a sub-sect of the Murdjiʾa [*q.v.*]). Ibn Karrām considered that God was a substance (*djawhar*), thus approaching, in Baghdādī's view, the beliefs of the Christians, and that He had a body (*djism*) finite in certain directions when He comes into contact (*mumāssa*) with the throne, thus interpreting the much-discussed ḳurʾānic verse XX, 5, *al-Raḥmān ʿalā 'l-ʿarsh istawā*, "the Merciful One has sat down firmly on the throne"; some of his adherents later substituted the more ambiguous term *mulāḳāt* ("contiguity") for *mumāssa*. Ibn Karrām was also exercised by the questions of the eternity of the world and the ḳurʾānic act of creation, which he reconciled by subtle reasoning. In accordance with the difference between substance and accident, God is subject to certain accidents, such as willing, speaking, perceiving, coming into contact etc., over which He has power, but not over the world and the created object in it, which come into existence not by His power and will but by the divine fiat *kun*! Baghdādī holds this limitation of God's power over created objects which originate in His essence to be an innovation of Ibn Karrām's and to be especially abhorrent. Ibn Karrām also held that God has been eternally qualified by the names attributed to Him

from His acts, *i.e.* that He has been eternally a creator and sustainer of mankind because of an innate, even if unexercised, power of creation (*khāliḳiyya*) and of sustaining (*rāziḳiyya*).

Concerning God's justice, Ibn Karrām held the moderate view that He does not permit the killing of children or of infidels who might come to embrace Islam at maturity or at some later point in their life. He also adopted a moderate view over the Imāmate, allowing that ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya could exist side-by-side as *imāms* requiring the obedience of their partisans, even though ʿAlī was *imām* in conformity with the *Sunna* and Muʿāwiya an usurper. He regarded faith (*īmān*) as constituted simply by a single utterance of the double *shahāda*, enduring for ever and only rendered null and void by apostasy; a person thus declaring his faith remains a *muʾmin* even if he is an unbeliever in Muḥammad's apostleship or is a hypocrite (*munāfiḳ*). Nor were those holding heretical views (*ahl al-ahwāʾ*) to suffer punishment in hell eternally.

Finally, Ibn Karrām held distinctive views on certain legal points, most of these being in the direction of greater flexibility. He taught that the *ṣalāt* could be validly performed in dirty garments and with a dirty body, and he did not require the lesser ablution for contact with unclean objects, *andjās*; furthermore, he regarded the washing of the dead and prayer over them as only a custom (*sunna*) and not an obligation (*farḍ*) like enshrouding and burial.

The ascetic and pietistic strain was very strong in Ibn Kārram's teaching and practice, and did much to win over adherents in Khurāsān; it remained, indeed, a prominent characteristic of the Karāmiyya all through the sect's existence. This emphasis on *taḳashshuf*, self-mortification, and *tawakkul*, utter dependence on God for all aspects of life, derived from his master Aḥmad b. Ḥarb (176/792-234/849), saint and ascetic, and author of a *Kitāb al-Duʿāʾ* mentioned by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, so that Ibn Karrām himself acquired the by-name of *al-ʿĀbid*, "the devotee". His preaching in the courtyard of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem attracted large crowds, the nucleus of the later strong Karrāmī community there; after his death, his tomb became a retreat-centre for his disciples, the forerunner of a special hermitage (*mutaʿabbad*) in Jerusalem, called by the Persian Ṣūfī term *khānaḳāh* (see Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ii, 393, s.v. al-Khāniḳa).

In their later theological development, the Karrāmiyya were, like other Islamic sects, to a certain extent fissiparous, without however these sub-sects departing significantly from the central teaching of Ibn Karrām. Baghdādī, 202, tr. 18, enumerates three sub-sects, the Ḥaḳāḳiyya, the Ṭarāʾifiyya (read thus, rather than Ṭarāʾiḳiyya) and the Isḥāḳiyya, but says that they do not regard each other as heretical. Shahrastānī, 79-80, tr. i, 119, says that there were twelve sub-sects, and names six of them as the Isḥāḳiyya again, the ʿĀbidiyya, the Nūniyya, the Zarībiyya, the Wāḥidiyya and the Hayṣamiyya. Finally, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī in his *Iʿtiḳādāt firaḳ al-muslimīn wa'l-mushrikīn*, Cairo 1375/1956, 67, numbers the sub-sects at seven. The founders of some of these groups are amongst the later scholars of the Karrāmiyya, such as Aḥmad b. ʿAbdūs al-Ṭarāʾifī (d. 347/958) and Muḥammad b. al-Hayṣam (d. 407?/1016-17), who is described by Shahrastānī, 80 ff., tr. i, 120 ff., as the *mutakallim* of the sect, elaborating its theology and its technical vocabulary. The Isḥāḳiyya presumably relate to Abū Yaʿḳūb Isḥāḳ b. Maḥmashādh (d. 383/993), whose family became the mainstay of the Karrāmī cause in Nīshāpūr (see below).

It is not easy to give a just appraisal of the significance of the Karrāmiyya in the development of Islamic religious thought, but the movement was clearly an important one. It is regrettable that we know only of the sect through the eyes of its opponents; the sole surviving Karrāmī work appears to be an anonymous collection of ethical and mystical traditions, British Museum Or. 8049, which Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*[2], Paris 1954, 267-8, tentatively attributed to the Karrāmī leader of Nīshāpūr, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ b. Maḥmashādh (d. 421/1030). Many Sunnī divines, including Ḥanbalīs and Ẓahirīs, were strongly opposed to the sect, and the Shāfiʿī *ḳāḍī* Abū Djaʿfar Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ compiled a polemical work on the errors of its leader, the *Faḍāʾiḥ Ibn Karrām*. However, the geographer Maḳdisī, who in the course of his travels had many contacts with Karrāmī groups, came down firmly on placing them within the bounds of orthodoxy, calling them "an ascetic and God-fearing folk" who derived from Abū Ḥanīfa (*Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm*, 365).

It seems that we should consider the Karrāmiyya as a Sunnī group engaged in defending a central position against the Muʿtazila on one side and the *Ahl al-Ḥadīth* on the other; a later authority like Maḳrīzī considered them to be essentially opponents of the Muʿtazila (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 357). Massignon, *op. cit.*, 263-4, speaks of Ibn Karrām as one of the great thinkers in Muslim scholasticism, who supplied a new and profound examination of the theological questions raised by Muʿtazilism, one which was not purely theoretical but which was formed in the light of mystical and moral experience. Notable is Ibn Karrām's introduction of a new philosophical-theological terminology, *e.g.*, *kayfūfiyya*, "the quality of God" and *ḥaythūthiyya*, "the ubiquitousness of God", stigmatized by Baghdādī as *ʿibārāt sakhīfa*, "ridiculous expressions" but which nevertheless show Ibn Karrām's inventiveness and his awareness of need here. Certainly, the sect flourished for some three centuries, and it was suggested by an older generation of orientalists, including Van Vloten and Ribera y Tarragó, that the *khānaḳāh*s and *madrasas* of the Karrāmiyya which sprang up in widely-separated parts of the Islamic world (see below) were centres for instruction and evangelism as well as for the ascetic life, and that they formed a model and stimulus for the Ashʿarī, Ḥanafī and Ḥanbalī *madrasa*-building movement of the 5th/11th century; this link remains, however, unproven [see also KHĀNḲĀH].

(3). Subsequent history. During the course of the 4th/10th century, the Karrāmiyya spread over many parts of the central and eastern Islamic world. In Jerusalem, they had a numerous representation, with their own *khānaḳāh*s and sessions for *dhikr*, and in Fusṭāṭ or Old Cairo they had a special quarter of their own; but the sect was unrepresented in the Maghrib (Maḳdisī, 179, 182, 202, 238). It was Khurasān, Transoxania and the eastern Iranian fringes which became the most enduring stronghold of the sect, and their *khānaḳāh*s were to be found in Gūzgān, Khuttal, Farghāna, Marw and Samarḳand (Maḳdisī, 323). In Harāt, the main *ʿaṣabiyya* or factional strife (probably with some social as well as religious basis) was at this time between the Karrāmiyya and the ʿAmaliyya.

We know most about the Karrāmiyya in Nīshāpūr, where they were a strong and bellicose faction under

the leadership of the Banū Maḥmashādh (see above). Here as elsewhere, the hold of the Karrāmiyya on the populace doubtless stemmed from the exemplary ascetism of their leaders' lives and their evangelistic and teaching activity; Abū Yaʿḳūb Isḥāḳ b. Maḥmashādh is said to have converted large numbers of *dhimmīs* and Zoroastrians by his trenchant preaching. Supported by the secular power, in the shape of patronage from the founder of the Ghaznavid dynasty Sebüktigin and then from his son Sulṭān Maḥmūd, the Karrāmiyya enjoyed a temporary ascendancy over their opponents in Nīshāpūr, comprising the Ashʿarī-Shāfiʿī *ʿulamāʾ*, the ʿAlids and, as appears from the biography of the famous Shaykh Abū Saʿīd al-Mayhanī, the Ṣūfīs. They fell from power, however, after 402/1011-12, when Maḥmūd withdrew his patronage, but they nevertheless continued to be an appreciable element in the city. The local historian of Bayhaḳ, Ibn Funduḳ, and Ibn al-Athīr record civil strife in Nīshāpūr and Bayhaḳ during 488/1095 or 489/1096 between the local Karrāmiyya on one side and the Ḥanafīs and Shāfiʿīs on the other, and this ended in Nīshāpūr with the killing of the Karrāmī leader Maḥmashādh and the razing of their *madrasa* (see on all these events Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[3], 289-90; C. E. Bosworth, *The rise of the Karamiyyah in Khurasan*, in *MW*, 1 (1960), 5-14; idem, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040*, Edinburgh 1963, 185-9; R. W. Bulliet, *The patricians of Nishapur, a study in medieval Islamic social history*, Cambridge, Mass. 1972, index).

The last stronghold of the Karrāmiyya was in Ghūr, the mountainous region of central Afghānistān, one not long converted to Islām. According to the historian of the Ghūrids, Djūzdjānī, the Ghūrid sultans Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 599/1202-3) and his brother Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 602/1205-6 were originally adherents of the Karrāmiyya, in conformity with the beliefs of the masses of their subjects, but transferred their allegiance to the Shāfiʿī law school. Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn's favour to the great Shāfiʿī scholar Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī [*q.v.*], who disputed in the Ghūrid capital Fīrūzkūh with the popular Karrāmī divine Ibn Ḳudwa, caused a popular uprising there, compelling Rāzī to return to Harāt. Rāzī's polemics with the Karrāmiyya are important evidence for this last phase of the sect's existence, and contain much information on Karrāmī theology. After the Mongol invasions, we hear nothing of the sect, which must have been submerged in the general holocaust in Khurāsān; when later authors like Ibn Taymiyya write against the Karrāmiyya, they are merely drawing on material in the older authorities (see Bosworth, *The early Islamic History of Ghūr*, in *Central Asiatic Journal*, vi (1961), 128-33, and A. Maricq and G. Wiet, *Le minaret de Djam, la découverte de la capitale des sultans ghorides*, Paris 1959, 49-50).

Bibliography: largely given in the article. The most complete and sympathetic account of Ibn Karrām's thought is given in Massignon's *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*[2], 260-8, 318-19; see also A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim creed*, Cambridge 1932, index; H. Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrinés . . . d'Ibn Taymiyya*, Cairo 1939, 81, 159; A. S. Tritton, *Muslim theology*, London 1947, index; W. M. Watt, *Islamic philosophy and theology*, Edinburgh 1962, 79, 184; A. M. A. el-Galli, *The history and doctrines of the Karrāmiyya sect, with special reference to ar-Rāzī's criticism*, Edinburgh M. Litt. thesis 1970, unpublished; F. E. Peters, *Allah's commonwealth, a history of Islam in the Near East 600-1100 A.D.*, New York 1973, 426-7, 462-3. The older view of the Karrāmiyya as ignorant anthropomorphists is expressed in D. B. Macdonald, *The development of Muslim theology, jurisprudence and constitutional theory*, New York 1903, 170-2, 195, 291-2.

(C. E. Bosworth)

ḲARRĪ [see ḲERRĪ].

KARS, a garrison town and administrative centre in Eastern Turkey, situated on 40°37′ N. and 43°06′ E., *chef-lieu* of the *il* (province) of the same name, which is bounded by the U.S.S.R. and the *ils* of Artvin, Erzurum and Ağrî and contains the *ilçes* (districts) of Posof, Hanak, Çıldır, Ardahan, Göle, Susuz, Arpaçay, Selim, Digor, Sarıkamiş, Kağızman, Tuzluca and Aralık, with that of Kars itself. In 1960 the population of the provinces of Kars was 543,000; in 1965 (provisional), 606,521, of which 20% was urban and 80% agricultural or rural (*Kars Il yıllığı* 1967, Ankara n.d.).

The etymologies suggested tentatively by Barthold (EI[1])—Georgian—and by Kırzıoğlu (*İ.A*)—Turkish—for Kars cannot be sustained. In mediaeval Armenian sources the forms Karuç (*Karuts*) or Karuç berd are encountered (A. K. Sanjian, *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts 1301-1480*, Cambridge Mass. 1969, index; N. Adontz, *Armenia in the period of Justinian*, Lisbon 1970, 206). A 16th-century identification of "Chars" with the Chorsa of Ptolomey should perhaps be noted (G. T. Minadoi, *Historia de bello inter Turcas et Persas*, in P. Bizarus, *Rerum persicarum historia*, Frankfurt 1601, 516; cf., however, C. Müller (ed.), *Claudii Ptolomaei geographia*, Paris 1883-1901, i/1, 941 and n.). Byzantine usage (Τὸ Κάρς) is supplied by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, ch. xliv; Muslim forms are Ḳars in Ibn al-Athīr (ed. Tornberg, x, 27; xii, 169, 295, 300, 306), Ḳarṣ or Ḳārṣ in Yāḳūt (ed. Wüstenfeld, iv, 57), Ghars in al-Fāriḳī (quoted in V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian history*, London 1953, 90-1) and in Djuwaynī, *Taʾrīkh-i Djahān-Gushā* (ed. Mīrza Muḥammad), ii, 161. Ottoman usage favoured the form Ḳārṣ.

From Umayyad times the region of Kars lay on the frontiers of the Muslim world. The decline of Arab power after the middle of the 2nd/8th century gave more independence to Armenia under the Bagratid dynasty and early in the 3rd/9th century the Armenian prince Smbat (held hostage at Sāmarrāʾ from 190/806 to 210/825 and called Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Ḳārisī by the Muslims) ruled over Kars as a vassal of the ʿAbbāsids (J. Laurent, *Arménie entre Byzance et Islam*, Paris 1919, 290-1 and n.; cf. the *De administr. imperio*, ii (*Commentary*), ed. R. H. J. Jenkins, London 1962, 158). In 222/837 Isḥāḳ, the amīr of Tiflīs, halted in the vicinity of Kars an army sent by the Byzantine emperor Theophilus as part of an unsuccessful attempt to detach Armenia from Muslim suzerainty (Laurent, *op. cit.*, 211-2).

The importance of Kars in the 4th/10th century derived in part from its situation on the important trade route Ānī-Kars-Ḳālīḳalā (= Erzurum) - Trebizond (Minorsky, *Studies*, 105): Kars shared with Ḳālīḳalā and Malātya the commerce of Armenia and, according to Aristakès of Lastivert (tr. and ed. E. Prud'homme, Paris, 1864, 89), its inhabitants "lived peacefully in the midst of riches of all kinds gathered together by land and sea". Under the ruler Abas (reigned 929-51 (*De adm. imp.*, ii, 179))—and not, as in *ibid.*, i, ch. xliv, under Ashot, who died in 890—Kars became the seat of the Bagratid dynasty. From

962 it served as the capital of the Armenian kingdom of Vanand, which was erected by the ruler of Ānī, Ashot III, for his younger brother Mushegh, and his successors (cf. *EI*[1], ĀNĪ).

By 1022 the kingdom of Vanand was surrounded on three sides by Byzantine territory (Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, 173); its last ruler, Gagik (1028-64), continued to hold his position even after Ānī had been incorporated into the Byzantine Empire (1044). In face of the Saldjūḳ threat—in 446/1054-5 Tughrïl Beg had destroyed the forces of Gagik and besieged Kars for three days (Honigmann, *op. cit.*, 181)—he was induced to renounce his rights voluntarily in favour of the Emperor Constantine X Ducas, receiving in return a town in the Cilician Taurus.

The early history of Kars as a Muslim town is confused. In 456/1064 its inhabitants appear to have submitted voluntarily to Alp Arslān (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 27); ten years later, however, in 1074, King Giorgi II of Georgia received Kars from one of his vassals. In *ca.* 472-3/1080 he was attacked by a Turkish force under the amīr Aḥmad, who "shortly before" had conquered Kars; subsequently, for much of the 6th/12th century, Kars lay within the Ṣaltūḳid amīrate (cf. Minorsky, Studies, 84, n. 1). In 548/1153 Kars was occupied and destroyed by the Ḳïpčaḳ Turks, but in the same year it was retaken by the Ṣaltūḳid Mālik ʿIzz al-Dīn (cf. the Arabic inscription, commemorating the reconstruction of the citadel in that year, discovered by the Ottomans in the course of their own rebuilding in 987/1579. The text is provided by Ewliyā Čelebī, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, ii (Istanbul, 1314), 330). During the mid-6th/12th century Kars also lay within the sphere of influence of the Shaddādid amīrs of Ānī: in Shaʿbān 556/August 1161 troops furnished by "the lord of Ghars and Surmari" assisted in an attempt by the Shaddādid amīr Faḍlūn b. Minučihr to regain his capital from the Georgian king Giorgi III (Minorsky, *op. cit.*, 88-91, quoting al-Fāriḳī).

Kars remained in Muslim hands until 603/1206-7, when it was taken by the Georgians (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 169). It was besieged in vain by the Khwārazm-shāh Djalāl al-Dīn in 623/1226; in 636-7/1239 it was occupied by the *noyon* Čormaghun and incorporated into the Mongol Empire. Hethum, king of Little Armenia, who visited Kars *ca.* 649/1251, found there the Mongol camp, from which Baydu governed the territories under his command. According to Ḥamd Allāh al-Ḳazwīnī (*Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, ed. Le Strange, 93), at a later period Kars belonged, with Ānī, to the Īlkhānid province of Georgia (Gürdjistān wa Abkhāz): it was described at this time as one of the chief towns of Georgia (Le Strange, 181).

In 759/1358 Kars passed to the Djalāyirids; and in 782/1380 to the Ḳarā-Ḳoyunlu. In 788/1386 the region of Kars, at that time under the local ruler Pirūzbakht, was devastated by Tīmūr and turned into a wilderness (cf. Sanjian, *op. cit.*, 152), while Kars itself, it is said, was levelled to the ground (cf. *Ẓafar-nāma*, ed. Tauer, index). The years 796/1394, 802/1400 and 805/1403 again saw Tīmūr pass by Kars en route for summer pasture in the Bingöl area of Čïldïr, but soon after his death the Tīmūrid province of Ānī, within which Kars was situated, reverted to Ḳarā Ḳōyunlu control. The local ruler Pīr Ḥusayn b. Sahat is said by Armenian sources to have rebuilt and restored Kars in 815/1412; later, in 871-2/1467, Kars passed into the hands of the Aḳ-Ḳōyunlu ruler Uzun Ḥasan.

Kars suffered much from the strife which accompanied the rise to power of the Ṣafawids: for example, in 920/1514, when the Ottoman sultan Selīm I encamped close by Kars on his return from the victorious Čaldirān campaign, the town was said to be once more in a ruinous condition.

By 940/1534 Kars was in Ottoman hands, and in 955/1548 the sultan Sulaymān I ordered work to be done on the fortifications. It was not until the renewal of the Ottoman-Ṣafawid conflict in the late 10th/16th century, however, that Kars fully came into its own as a fortress of vital strategic importance for the Ottoman state, as both a bastion against Ṣafawid incursions into north-eastern Anatolia, and a base forward of Erzurum from which the difficult task of keeping open the road to Tiflīs and holding the new Caucasian conquests could be supported.

In the opening campaign (Djumādā II 986/August 1578) of the long Ottoman-Ṣafawid struggle for the Caucasus, Kars was the scene of the first engagement —"una fiera scaramuzza"—between Ottoman forces under Lālā Muṣṭafā Pasha, and those of the Ṣafawids (Cesare Campana, *Compendio historico, delle guerre . . . tra Christiani, & Turchi* . . . , Venice 1597, f. 20). On 2 Djumādā 'l-Akhir 987/27 July 1579 an Ottoman army under Lālā Muṣṭafā Pasha encamped at Kars, and proceeded rapidly, in the face of acute difficulties caused by a lack of suitable workmen and by the dense fogs and bitter cold which set in after 2 Radjab/25 August (Minadoi, *op. cit.*, 557), to fortify the town for use as a base from which to relieve Tiflīs (Campana, *op. cit.*, f. 25; Pečevi, *Taʾrīkh* ii (Istanbul 1281), 56; Selānikī, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1283, 153-4. For the relevant European *Flugschriftenliteratur*, see C. Göllner, *Turcica* ii (Bucharest - Baden-Baden 1968), nos. 1706-1835, *passim*).

Under Ottoman rule Kars was raised (988/1580) to be the administrative centre of an *eyālet* of six or seven *sandjāḳ*s. Ewliyā Čelebī, who visited Kars in 1057/1647, variously lists (*op. cit.*, i, 185, 192; ii, 329) the *sandjāḳ*s and their revenues (for other statistical accounts of the revenues and divisions of the *eyālet* of Kars, dating from the mid 11th/17th century, and giving alternative readings, see P. Rycaut, *Present State of the Ottoman Empire*[3], London 1670, 54, and J. von Hammer, *Osm. Staatsverfassung*, ii, 259). The town and its principal monuments at this time are described by Ewliyā Čelebī, *op. cit.*, ii, 329-33, which can be supplemented by J.-M. Thierry, *A propos de quelques monuments chrétiens du vilayet de Kars*, in *Revue des Études arméniennes*, n.s. iii (1966), 73-90, and by the several works of K. M. Fahrettin (= F. Kırzıoğlu). According to Ewliyā Čelebī, the Ottoman forces in Kars, together with those of Vān and Akhiskha, were renowned for their courage and bravery as borderers (*op. cit.*, ii, 331), and in the Ottoman chronicles of the 11th/17th century Kars figures prominently and frequently in the accounts of the wars with the Ṣafawids during this time.

European travellers to Kars were few before the 19th century. G. F. Gemelli-Carreri, who was there in May 1694, described Kars as a "large, but not populous city", with two walls of earth and a good garrison, which sent out forty horse every night to patrol the border with Ṣafawid territory (*A collection of voyages* . . . , iv, London 1704, 109).

During the campaigns of Nādir Shāh, Kars was besieged several times (1735 twice; 1744) (L. Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, London 1938, *passim*; cf. also the despatches of Stanhope Aspinwall, London, Public Record Office, S. P. 97/32). By the end of the 18th century the *eyālet* of Kars had become one of the poorest in the Ottoman Empire, and was one of several provinces unable to provide sufficient revenue

to support a *wezīr—i.e.*, a pas͟ha of three *ṭug͟hs* (S. J. Shaw, *Between old and new* . . ., Cambridge, Mass. 1971, 168-9; cf. M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau générale*[2], vii (Paris 1824), 306-7).

As part of the administrative reforms of the *Tanẓīmāt* period, the *eyālet* of Kars was reduced to the status of a *sand͟jāḳ* in the *wilāyet* of Erzurum (cf. *Sāl-nāme* for 1292), but the military and strategic importance of the fortress itself was underlined once more by the Russian expansion southward through the Caucasus during the early 19th century. Kars was besieged successfully by Russian forces three times: in 1828, 1855 and 1877 (details and bibliography in W. E. D. Allen and P. Muratoff, *Caucasian Battlefields*, Cambridge 1953). Kars at this time took on a considerable, if specious, significance for both British diplomacy and English public opinion, which regarded it as the "traditional bulwark against Russian expansion southwards" (B. Sumner, *Russia and the Balkans 1870-1880*, Oxford 1937, 516), and for the Russians themselves, as a war objective (*ibid.*, 623-4). By the terms of the abortive Treaty of San Stefano (3 March 1878) and article 56 of the Treaty of Berlin (13 July 1878), the *sand͟jaḳ*s of Kars and Ardahan, and the port of Batum, were ceded to Russia.

The number and composition of the inhabitants of town and province of Kars were seriously affected by the Russo-Turkish wars of the 19th century and by the events of World War I. As early as 1828 the majority of the original Armenian population were said to have deserted Kars after the Russian evacuation, while in the years after 1877 a steady migration of Muslims into Ottoman territory was counterbalanced by the settlement of Armenians and Russians in Kars itself and by massive colonization of the vacated rural districts (the statistics in *Brokhaus-Yefron Entsik. Slovar'* (1895) *svv.* Kars', Karsskaya Oblast', were adapted by Barthold for the *EI*[1] version of this article).

Kars was the scene of fierce fighting in World War I. By the terms of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (3 March 1918) it was returned to the Ottoman Empire, but in fact remained in the hands of the Armenian nationalists until Turkish troops entered the town on 25 April 1918. Under the terms of the Mudros armistice (30 October 1918) the Turkish armies were obliged to withdraw to the west of the 1914 Russo-Turkish frontier. The Turks of Kars, however, established (6 November 1918) a provisional government under Fak͟hr al-Dīn Pīrīog͟hlu (Fahrettin Pirioğlu), which claimed suzerainty over the province of Kars and the surrounding Turkish-speaking or Muslim districts as far as Batum and Gümrü (Aleksandropol'). After a period of confused fighting against Armenian, Georgian and British units, the Turkish régime in Kars was overthrown by a British expedition from Batum (19 April 1919) and some of its leaders were deported to Malta. During May 1919 Kars reverted to Armenian control, while the local Turkish leaders who survived took the hills and began to look to the Kemalists for aid. With the British withdrawal from Transcaucasia, and the Turco-Soviet rapprochement (1920), the independent Transcaucasian republics were quickly liquidated, and with the rapid collapse of Armenia the Turkish XVth Army Unit under Kâzim Karabekir Pas͟ha recaptured Kars on 30 October 1920. The *ḳaḍā*s of Čildir and Posof (23 February 1921) and Ardahan (7 March 1921)—all nowadays within the *il* of Kars—also soon came under Turkish control.

By the Treaties of Gümrü (Aleksandropol') with the Armenian Republic (2 December 1920), of Moscow (March 1921) with the Soviet régime, and of Kars (13 October 1921) with the Soviet Armenian, Georgian and Ad͟harbayd͟jānī republics, the present boundary between Turkey and the U.S.S.R. was established. By this time, after seven years of warfare and enforced migration, the non-Muslim population had disappeared, and the province and town of Kars had taken on their present ethnic characteristics.

Bibliography: (in addition to the works mentioned in the text), Naʿimā, *Taʾrīk͟h*, Istanbul 1147, *passim*; J. von Hammer, *Geschichte*[1] (repr. Graz 1964), i, 269, ii, 420, iv, 75, 358, 477, 619, v, 82, viii, 57. For recent Turkish works and the productions of local historiography see K. M. Fahrettin, *Kars Tarihi*, i (Istanbul 1953) and the same author's article *Kars* (*Tarih*) in *İA*. The numerous Russian and western works which deal with the military history of Kars in the 19th century are given by W. E. D. Allen and P. Muratoff in their work cited above. Cf. also for the events of 1914-21, H. Bayur, *Inkilab Tarihi*, Ankara 1943-67, and K. Karabekir, *Istiklal Harbimiz*, Istanbul 1960. (W. Barthold-[C. J. Heywood])

ḲARṢANA [see ḳurṣān]

ḲARSHI, word for "castle", already attested in ancient Turkish and Uygur (Turfan, the *Kutadg͟hu Bilig*) and perhaps connected with "Kerd͟jiye" in Tokharian B. It was later adopted with this meaning by the Mongols. The town of Nak͟hs͟hab, or Nasaf [*q.v.*], was called Ḳars͟hi after a castle built two parasangs from the town by the Čag͟hatay ruler Kebek K͟hān (1318-26). The stream which flows through the steppes was called Ḳars͟hi-daryā. The town is mentioned in Bābur's [*q.v.*] memoirs and a popular etymology of the name exists. The town was formerly an important trade-centre with more than a thousand houses, sixteen mosques, three caravanserais and twelve *madrasas*; it produced carpets, saddles, bronze wares and later tobacco.

Bibliography: Sharaf al-dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, *Zafarnāme*, ed. M. Ilāḍād, i, Calcutta 1885, iii; G. Le Strange, 470 ff.; R. Rahmeti Arat, in *İA*, s.v. (B. Spuler)

KARS͟HŪNĪ, name of the Syriac script used by the Christians of Syria and Mesopotamia for writing Arabic. The origin of the word is obscure, and neither the place nor date of its first appearance is known. None of the etymologies which have been proposed seems tenable, but it does seem that the original Syriac form of the word was *gars͟hūnī* and that since the Arabic alphabet had no letter corresponding to the Syriac *gomal*, it was transcribed with an initial *kāf*. Since the Arabic alphabet has 28 characters and the Syriac one only 22, each of the following Syriac letters was used to transcribe two Arabic characters: *taw* = *tāʾ* and *t͟hāʾ*; *gomal* = *d͟jīm* and *g͟hayn*; *koph* = *kāf* and *k͟hāʾ*; *dolat͟h* = *dāl* and *d͟hāl*; *ṭeth* = *ṭāʾ* and *ẓāʾ*; and *ṣod͟he* = *ṣād* and *ḍād*. In order to avoid confusion, certain of these characters could be written with a superscript or subscript point, but usage here was not constant. From the 10th century A.D. till the present day, all the Syrian Christians, whether western or eastern, Maronite, Jacobite or Nestorian, have used this writing system, although it seems that the Melkites have never employed it. In India, the name Kars͟hūnī is also applied to the Syriac script used for writing Malayalam, the vernacular language of the Malabar Christians.

Bibliography: R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus syriacus*, Oxford 1868, i, 790; R. Duval, *Traité de grammaire syriaque*, Paris 1881, 11; C. J. David, *Grammaire de la langue araméenne*, Mosul 1896,

149-55; A. Mingana, *Garshūnī or Karshūnī?*, in *JRAS* (1928), 891-3; M. Cohen, *La grande invention de l'écriture et son évolution*, Paris 1958, 165, 177.

(G. Troupeau)

KART (possibly kurt), the name of a dynasty which ruled Herāt from 643/1245 to 791/1389. It was founded by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad I Kart, who was descended from the Shansabānī house of Ghūr, the family to which the brothers Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad and Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām belonged. As Herāt recovered from the devastating raids of the armies of Čingiz Khān, Shams al-Dīn gradually gained power, and by 643/1245 had established himself as ruler of the state, and used the title of Malik, borne by his descendants. In 649/1251 the Great Khān Möngke, when reorganizing the administration of his empire, confirmed Shams al-Dīn Kart as governor of Herāt, Balkh and the country lying between those provinces and the Indian frontier. During the latter part of Shams al-Dīn's reign his son Rukn al-Dīn acted as his coadjutor, but predeceased him, dying in 682/1283, and when Shams al-Dīn himself died in 684/1285, he was succeeded by Rukn al-Dīn's son, Fakhr al-Dīn. As the power of the Mongol Īl-Khāns of Persia declined, that of the Kart Maliks of Herat increased, and they governed for the first time nearly the same territory as modern Afghānistān, which was protected by them against Mongol devastations. Fakhr al-Dīn befriended the powerful amīr Čoban, who had been regent of Persia during the minority of Abū Saʿīd, the fourteenth Īl-Khān. When Abū Saʿīd, apprehensive of the growing power of his family, attacked it, the amīr Čoban sought asylum with Ghiyāth al-Dīn, who received him, but in 727/1327 treacherously put both him and his son Djalaw Khān to death. Ghiyāth al-Dīn himself died in 728/1328 and his two elder sons, Shams al-Dīn II and Ḥāfiẓ, who succeeded him in turn, died in 729/1329 and 731/1331. The historian Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī attributes their deaths, following one another at such short intervals, to the divine displeasure incurred by Ghiyāth al-Dīn's treachery towards amīr Čoban.

Ḥāfiẓ was succeeded by a third brother, Muʿizz al-Dīn, who sent an army to the assistance of Malik Ḳuṭb al-Dīn of Kirmān, driven from his capital by the amīr Mubāriz al-Dīn. This army was defeated and a second army sent to the aid of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn was shut up in Kirmān and compelled, at the end of 741/1340, to capitulate. Muʿizz al-Dīn, who died in 771/1370, left two sons, Muḥammad, who held the government of Sarakhs, which he retained after his father's death, and Ghiyāth al-Dīn Pīr ʿAlī, who succeeded him in Herāt. In 782/1380 the Tīmūr sent an envoy to Herāt to claim the allegiance of its ruler and his presence, with a contingent, at the forthcoming muster of his army; but Ghiyāth al-Dīn Pīr ʿAlī detained him on various pretexts while he provisioned the city and completed its defences. The envoy was obliged to return to Samarḳand and report the failure of his mission, and in the spring of 783/1381 Tīmūr marched to Harāt and captured the city, its ruler and his eldest son, Pīr Muḥammad, after a few days' siege. Some of its leading citizens were deported to Shahr-i Sabz and its defences were dismantled, but the Malik and his two sons, the younger of whom had been induced to surrender the strong fort of Ishkalča, were pardoned, and Ghiyāth al-Dīn Pīr ʿAlī was permitted to retain Herāt as a vassal of Tīmūr until 791/1389, when the dynasty was extinguished.

Bibliography: B. Spuler, *Mongolen*[3], esp. 155-61 (with references to the sources, esp. Djuwaynī; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Taʾrīkh*; Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, *Ẓafarnāma*; Ibn ʿArabshāh, *ʿAdjaʾib*); A. Janata, *Die Bevölkerung von Ghor*, in *Archiv für Völkerkunde*, xvii-xviii (1962-63,) 123-9.

(T. W. Haig-[B. Spuler])

ḲARṬĀDJANNA, a name by which three places are known: Carthage, Cartéia (Ḳarṭādjannat al-Djazīra) and Carthagena. This synonymy seems to be the cause of numerous confusions between the ancient Punic capital and Ḳarṭādjannat al-khalfāʾ (and not al-khuladāʾ as Yāḳūt interprets it). These confusions have been studied by J. Vallve, *Carthage et Carthagène au VIII[e] siècle*. The name of the town, seat of a bishopric, must be the translation of Cartago-Spartaria, alluding to the abundance of esparto grass in the region.

According to al-Ḥimyarī (*Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, no. 139, who copies al-Idrīsī), "Carthagena is the port of Murcia. It is an ancient town, which dates from antiquity. It possesses an anchorage where large and small ships can anchor. Provisions abound there and are sold there permanently at a cheap rate. In its dependencies is a district by the name of al-Fudūn: there are few places where the soil is of such good quality, and it is reported that a single fall of rain is sufficient to assure the next harvest, and the grain which grows there is excellent. By land it is 40 miles from the town of Carthagena to Murcia. It is near this town of Carthagena that ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Mūsā b. Nuṣayr defeated Tudmīr b. ʿAbdūs, who has given his name to the *kūra* of Tudmīr." The text of the treaty between ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and Tudmīr is the only one of Muslim Spain which has been preserved *in extenso* and of which we have several versions.

The town, in so far as it was one, does not seem to have enjoyed much importance, despite the enthusiasm of the description which Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ḳarṭādjannī gives of it in the 12th-13th centuries (cf. his *Ḳaṣīda maḳṣūra*; a summary analysis in E. García Gómez, *Observaciones sobre la Qaṣīda...*, in *al-And.*, 1933/1, 81-103) and the Arab sources-geographical as much as historical—are exceptionally laconic. A part of the *djund* of Egypt was installed there by Abu'l-Khaṭṭār [*q.v.*] in the district of Tudmīr [*q.v.*], of which we may have a reflection in the *Crónica del Moro Rasis* which placed it under the governorship of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḳaṭan. It is in this region that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣiḳlabī disembarked (in 143/763, following the orders of the ʿAbbāsid al-Mahdī), in his attempt to overthrow the Umayyads, at the time of the alliance of Ibn al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*] with Charlemagne. Subsequently, the confrontation for power between the descendants of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān made this place the domain of Sulaymān and later of ʿAbd Allāh al-Balansī. When the continual feuds between Muḍarīs and Yemenīs wearied ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II [*q.v.*], the latter profited from them to found in the year 216/831 an administrative centre, Murcia, which marks the real beginning of his ascendancy over the region.

After the fall of the caliphate, Carthagena always followed the lot of its administrative capital and passed successively in to the hands of the slaves Khayrān and Zuhayr, of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Manṣūr and of Mudjāhid of Denia. According to the *Mémoires of the amīr ʿAbd Allāh*, during the siege of Aledo [*q.v.*], it would appear that the dispute for the possession of the Murcian-Carthagenan region was the apple of discord that made Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn [*q.v.*] resolve to dethrone the petty kings. The province was subdued by Ibn ʿĀʾisha [*q.v.*].

It then passed into the power of Ibn Hamushk and of Ibn Mardanīsh [*q.v.*] and, after its submission to the Almohads, it followed the general decadence and became part of the domains of Sayyid al-ʿĀdil when he rose up in the Levant. It then belonged to Ibn Hūd and finally to Zayyān b. Mardanīsh who, after the loss of Valencia in 635/1238, took refuge in Murcia, from where he was pursued by Bahāʾ al-Dawla. In 1243, the whole region of Murcia-Carthagena surrendered to the future Alphonso the Wise, but there was an uprising there in 1246 and the last indomitable rebels were not exterminated until 1274. Carthagena, judged too coastal in situation and exposed to the attacks of the corsairs and Turks, does not seem to have had so many Moriscos [*q.v.*] as one would reasonably suppose, by contrast with Murcia where there must have been a heavy enough immigration of Granadans deported to Castille, at least those from the region of Cuenca. The port of Carthagena was one of the points via which the expulsion of the Moriscos was effected in 1611.

Bibliography: Apart from the works in the article, cf. the geographical sources and ʿUdhrī, *Masālik*; among the chroniclers, Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān* (above all the volume published by A. Huici), the old monograph of M. A. Gaspar Remiro, *Historia de Murcia musulmana*, Saragossa 1905; J. Bosch Vilá, *Los Almorávides*, Tetouan 1956; A. Huici Miranda, *Historia política del imperio almohade*, Tetouan 1957; idem, *Historia musulmana de Valencia y su región*, Valencia 1969-70; E. Canabate Navarro, *Historia de Cartagena desde su fondación*; J. Vallvé, *La división territorial en la España musulmana*, ii, *La cora de "Tudmīr" (Murcia)*, in *And.*, xxxvii (1972), 161-6.

(P. CHALMETA)

KARŪKH, a town in the region of Bādghīs [q.v.] of modern northwestern Afghānistān and, according to Ibn Ḥawḳal (4th/10th century), the biggest town of the region after the capital Harāt. It had a Friday mosque and was famed for its fruits, especially apricots and raisins. Its particular claim to fame in mediaeval times was as an enduring centre of the Khawāridj on the eastern Iranian fringes. In 259/873 the Ṣaffārid *amīr* Yaʿḳūb b. al-Layth had to cope with a serious rebellion of the eastern Khawāridj centred on Karūkh under their "commander of the faithful" ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Mutawakkil ʿalā 'llāh; over a century later, according to Muḳaddasī, Karūkh was still a Khāridjī centre. A modern village with the same name survives at Karūkh.

Bibliography: *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 105; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 410; C. E. Bosworth, *The armies of the Ṣaffārids*, in *BSOAS*, xxxi (1968), 543-4. (ED.)

ḲĀRŪN, the Biblical Korah (Num. XVI), is mentioned three times in the Ḳurʾān (XXVIII, 76-82, XXIX, 39/38, and XL, 25/24). In the latter two verses, he appears with Hāmān as a minister of Firʿawn, and all three of them behave proudly towards Moses, stigmatising him as a magician and impostor. In the first passage (XXVIII, 76-82), Ḳārūn is one of Moses' people, but treats them in an insolent fashion because of the immense riches which have been given to him, as he believes, because of the knowledge which is in him (*ʿalā ʿilmⁱⁿ ʿindī*). He makes a great public display of his wealth, and is swallowed up by the earth with his palace (*dār*), an example of those who prefer the fleeting wealth of this world to the recompense of Allāh in the next world awarded to those who believe and do good works.

This tale, which alludes vaguely to the rebellion of Korah and, more explicitly, to his punishment (Num. XVI, 31-3, XXVI, 10), is probably an echo of some moralising story. The commentators and the writers on the *ḳiṣāṣ al-anbiyāʾ* have added to it a lengthy legend, in part derived from rabbinical literature (see *Jewish encyclopedia*, vii, 556 ff.; Sale's notes to his Ḳurʾān tr.; and al-Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣāṣ*, Cairo 1314, 120 ff.). In this legend, Hāmān and Ḳārūn are bracketed together because of their riches and their avariciousness, thus explaining why the latter has become Pharaoh's minister.

In Islam, the legend of Ḳārūn has had two divergent developments: (1) In order to explain the origin of his proverbial riches, and because of his special "knowledge", he has become one of the founders of alchemy. This role appears early; see, *e.g.*, al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bukhalāʾ*, 41, tr. Pellat, 67, and an allusion in al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 177 = ed. Pellat, § 3312. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 352, tr. in M. Berthelot, *La chimie au moyen âge*, Paris 1893, iii, 27, states that the revelation of the "process" was "made by God to Moses and Aaron [sc. in order to gild the *Tābūt al-Tawrāt*, al-Kisāʾī, *Ḳiṣaṣ*, 229] and that it was Ḳārūn who operated in their name. The latter accumulated a vast horde of gold and silver, but at the request of Moses, was punished by God for his arrogance, his pride and the evil behaviour which his recently-acquired riches had led him into". According to al-Ṭabarī, Zotenberg, i, 382-4, he was originally a goldsmith, and according to al-Kisāʾī, *op. cit.*, 229, Moses' sister was Ḳārūn's wife, and it was she who learnt about alchemy in order to teach her husband (according to the commentators, he was Moses' nephew). (2) In Egypt, his name is associated with various lakes. Thus what is left of Lake Moeris in the Fayyūm bears his name (Birkat Ḳārūn; see Guides Bleus, *Égypte*, 1956, 241-2, where a popular etymology Birkat al-Ḳurūn "Lake of the Horns" is erroneously given), and a *Madīnat Ḳārūn* has recently been begun in the neighbourhood. Also, beside the Birkat al-Fīl to the south of Cairo, near the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, there was formerly a Birkat Ḳārūn which had evidently associations of supernatural legend. Al-Maḳrīzī describes it (*Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ 1325, iii, 261-2) and tells that Kāfūr [*q.v.*] who built beside it a house was said to have been driven from it by djinn. It figures also in the Story of Djudhar the Fisherman in Zotenberg's (cf. *Not. et Extr.*, xxviii, i, 167 ff.) Egyptian Recension of "The 1001 Nights" (Nights 606-24) as a place where spirits take refuge from magicians. Von Hammer suggested (*Der Tausend und Einen Nacht noch nicht übersetzte Märchen*, tr. Zinserling, ii, 32; tr. Trébutien, i, 291) that Ḳārūn had here become confused with the Egyptian Charon.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xx, 62 ff.; *Taʾrīkh*, index; Rāzī, *Tafsīr*, ed. Cairo 1308, vi, 421 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, index; Ibn Nubāta, *Sarḥ al-ʿuyūn*, Cairo 1964, 51-4; Shiblī, *Āḳām al-mardjān*, 218; A. Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?*, ²Leipzig 1902, 153; D. Sidersky, *Les origines des légendes musulmanes...*, Paris 1933, 95-7.

(D. B. MACDONALD*)

KĀRŪN, the largest river in southern Persia. It rises in the north-eastern part of the district of ʿArabistān (earlier called Khūzistān), a little above Lat. 32° N. on the Zarda-Kūh, which belongs to the Bakhtiyārī mountain system or, to be more accurate, on one of the ranges named Kūh-i Rang, one of the highest mountains in south-western

Persia (estimated at 13,000 feet). The actual source of the river, according to Sawyer (*Bibl.*, *op. cit.*, 486, with a picture), is about 10 miles above the place called Ser-i Česhme-i Kurang "main source of the Kurang (Kuran)". The Zāyinda-Rūd likewise rises on the Zarda-Kūh and flows eastwards towards Iṣfahān. As the source of the Kārūn is only about 100 miles from Iṣfahān, Shāh ʿAbbās I thought of leading the Kārūn into the Zāyinda-Rūd by a tunnel through the mountains. Although almost finished at his death, the work was not continued by his successors; the remains of it may still be seen (cf. Layard, *Bibl.*, *op. cit.*, 50 f.).

The upper part of the river's course extends from its source to its exit from the mountains at Shustar, and the middle course from Shustar to al-Ahwāz or Naṣriyya, where it breaks through the spurs of the Djabal Ḥamrīn; its lower course runs through the alluvial plain formed by the Kārūn system. As a result of its very meandering course, the river covers about 500 miles from its source to its mouth in the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab, although a straight line between the two points is only about 150 miles. In its upper course the Kārūn makes two great loops in about 32° N. Lat.

A little above Shustar, the Kārūn divides into two navigable arms which unite again about thirty miles away at the village of Band-i Ḳīr (near the mediaeval ʿAskar Mukram) and thus form an island. The western arm is the main stream, the Kārūn proper; it is now called Āb-i Shuṭayṭ (Shuṭayt = little river) and further down also Āb-i Buzurg Shustar (= great water of Shustar). The eastern arm is artificial in origin, and is now called Āb-i Gargar; the Arab geographers of the Middle Ages know it by the name of Masruḳān (Mashruḳān, Musruḳān) which is explained as a corruption of the Persian Ardashīr-Kān (= "Ardashīr's trench"). The form Ardakhshīragān is noteworthy: it occurs in a Syriac chronicle edited by Guidi in the *Actes du 8e Congres des Orientalistes*, Leiden 1891, 32 (and cf. thereon Nöldeke in *SB Ak. Wien*, cxxviii (1893), Abh. ix, 42). The first Sasanian king is said to have been the maker of this watercourse. The Persian geographers of the 9th/15th century call the western branch, which carries the bulk of the water, Čahār Dānika ("four-sixths"), the eastern Dū Dānika ("two-sixths") (cf. Le Strange, 236). These names are still known locally, according to Layard (*op. cit.*, 27). In the 4th/10th century, according to Arabic sources, the Masruḳān canal did not enter the main stream, the Kārūn proper, at ʿAskar Mukram, but ran parallel to it and reached the Persian Gulf by a course of its own.

The Kārūn delta begins a little above the village of Sābla. Three channels break off from the main arm, which continues its course till its junction with the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab at Muḥammara; these all run South-east to the Persian Gulf and finally end their course in estuaries (*khawr*, *khōr*), which are at times swamps. Their names are: (1) The Shaṭṭ (or Rūd) al-Ḳadīmī (= "the old stream"), which leaves the Kārūn about an hour's journey above Sābla and broadens out into the Khōr Mūsā (also called Khōr Moi Allāh). This is probably the oldest course of the Kārūn; (2) The Shaṭṭ "al-Amaya" (as it is usually written on maps) or al-Aʿmā (= the blind stream), probably so called because its bed is usually choked with mud. It is also called Shaṭṭ Ḳobān (Goban) from the district which lies on its right bank; Portuguese writers of the 17th century reproduced the name as Rio de Gabão (cf. Tomaschek, 75 f.). This second arm begins at Sābla and finally expands into the Khōr Silidj (Selige in Kinneir, 292); it is perhaps the second oldest arm of the Kārūn; (3) The Shaṭṭ Bamishīr (Bahmishīr, Behemshīr), which leaves the Kārūn 6 miles below Sābla and expands into the Khōr Bamishīr before entering the sea. This third branch of the Kārūn is considerably wider and holds more water than the other two. According to the *Persian Gulf Pilot*, 284, it is 54 miles long (40 as the crow flies). This may now be regarded as the natural mouth of the Kārūn.

The two western branches of the Kārūn, the Shaṭṭ al-Aʿmā and the Bamishīr, form two long islands with the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab, which runs parallel to them, the main Kārūn in the north and the Persian Gulf in the south. The eastern one, bordered by the Shaṭṭ al-Aʿmā (Ḳobān) and the Bamishīr, is called Ḳobān (Gobān, Gobbān); the western, between the Bamishīr and the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab, is now usually called Djazīrat ʿAbbādān, a name it already had in the Middle Ages, from the town of ʿAbbādān [*q.v.*], which probably originally lay at the mouth of the delta. The latter island is also called Djazīrat al-Khiḍr after the prophet al-Khiḍr [*q.v.*], highly revered in Muslim popular belief especially in ʿIrāḳ as a patron of water, who had or still has a sanctuary near ʿAbbādān ("Chodder Abbadan" in Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, ii, Copenhagen 1778, 206), which is mentioned as early as the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries by al-Dimashḳī (*Nukhbat al-Dahr*, ed. Mehren, 97, 18) and Ibn Baṭṭūta (ii, 19). Alongside ʿAbbādān, the most important place in the Middle Ages seems to have been al-Muḥriza (Muḥrizā) and the island seems occasionally to be called after it. For Muḥrizā see Yāḳūt, i, 502, 712, iii, 598, iv, 709; al-Dimashḳī, 97; al-Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-Bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 280. The Persians gave this island the name Miyān Rūdān (= "between the rivers", "Mesopotamia"; see, *e.g.*, Yāḳūt, iv, 708, and Le Strange, 48).

As has been noted, the Kārūn at an earlier period probably entered the sea through the Shaṭṭ al-Aʿmā, apart from the riverbed represented by the Shaṭṭ al-Ḳadīmī, which is perhaps the oldest bed. According to the mediaeval Arab geographers, the different branches and tributaries of the Dudjayl (Kārūn) united at a place called Ḥiṣn al-Mahdī. Whether the Nahr Sidra (= Lotus-river), which also enters there, must be considered the main arm of the Kārūn from al-Ahwāz onwards is doubtful: cf. Le Strange, 237; Schwarz, *op. cit.*, 306. The reunited Kārūn, called Nahr Ḥiṣn al-Mahdī (see Schwarz, *op. cit.*), then enters its estuary (Fayḍ Dudjayl), which ends at Sulaymānān on the coast (for Ḥiṣn al-Mahdī and Sulaymānān cf. Le Strange, 48, 243, and in *JRAS* (1895), 302; Schwarz, *op. cit.*, 306, 329-330, 400). Ḥiṣn al-Mahdī perhaps lay in the neighbourhood of the present Sābla; Sulaymānān is perhaps to be located somewhere in the region of the Khōr Silidj; the end of the course of the Kārūn in the Middle Ages would thus practically coincide with the modern Shaṭṭ al-Aʿmā. In the Middle Ages there must have been several other separate smaller mouths of the river. In these topographical investigations it should not be forgotten that southern ʿIrāḳ and Khūzistān, the delta of the great rivers, have undergone far-reaching changes in their hydrographic structure in the course of thousands of years. In ancient times the Persian Gulf extended much farther into the present mainland, so that the Kārūn, Karkhā, Euphrates and Tigris all had separate mouths; cf. Andreas in Pauly-Wissowa, i, 1394, 2811. During the Middle Ages and in modern times the coastline has steadily advanced southwards.

The bed of the Kārūn from Sābla to Muḥammara seems to be the work of human hands. In the 4th/10th century the Būyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*] constructed a canal, which was called ʿAḍudī after him, to secure direct communication between the Tigris and Kārūn (from al-Baṣra to al-Ahwāz). As in those days the Kārūn apparently flowed into the Persian Gulf through the Shaṭṭ al-Aʿmā, in its main lines the ʿAḍudī probably corresponded with the present course of the Kārūn between Sābla and Muḥammara. It is very doubtful that that work was something cntirely new; more probably he undertook the restoration of an older channel which had fallen into neglect. A century earlier we have evidence from the Arab geographers of the existence of a canal called Nahr al-Djadīd (= New Canal) which led from Ḥiṣn al-Mahdī (near Sābla?) to the Tigris and may well have coincided with the ʿAḍudī. From a still earlier period we have the Bayān canal, the course of which may wholly or in part have coincided with the ʿAḍudī or Nahr al-Djadīd. Whether there was in ancient times —about the period of Alexander—an artificial channel connecting the Kārūn and Tigris and following the same direction cannot be ascertained with certainty; on this question, see Andreas in Pauly-Wissowa, i, 1394. In modern times, the name Ḥaffār (= "digger", usually spelled Hafar in books of travel and in maps) has come into use for the stretch of the Kārūn between Sābla and Muḥammara, and the name suggests that here too we have the work of human hands, not a natural bed. At the present day, however, this name is limited to the short stretch, only about an hour's journey long, from the beginning of the Shaṭṭ Bamishīr (the mouth proper of the Kārūn at the present day) to Muḥammara. It should also be noted that in the second half of the 12th/18th century, Sulaymān, the powerful *shaykh* of the tribe of Kaʿb (on him see below), destroyed the connexion between the Kārūn and the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab by placing a dam (*band*) across the Ḥaffār at Sābla and leading the water into the Shaṭṭ al-Aʿmā. The district of Ḳobān thereby soon became very prosperous. But during Karīm Khān's [*q.v.*] second invasion, the dam in the Ḥaffār was destroyed (cf. Kinneir, *op. cit.*, 90). On the communication between the Kārūn and Tigris by the ʿAḍudī, Nahr al-Djadīd, Bayān and Ḥaffār canals see Kinneir, 90, 293-294; Layard, 55-56; Tomaschek, 76-77; Ainsworth, i, 174, 184; *Persian Gulf Pilot*, 296; Le Strange, 48, and *JRAS* (1895), 308-9; Schwarz, 309, 311, 390.

While still in the mountains, the Kārūn receives a number of abundant tributaries, for example, above Sūsan the Āb-i Bāzuft on the right and the Āb-i Bars (Bors) on the left. A little above Čamani Yorgha the Talak joins it. The most important tributary is the river of Dizfūl, the Dizfūl-Rūd or Āb-i Diz. It and its tributary, the Shāwūr, were at one time (and in part still are) connected with the Karkhā and the Kārūn by canals. On the Dizfūl-Rūd and Shāwūr, see Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 215, ii; 218, 13, 15; Le Strange, 233, 239, and *JRAS* (1895), 312; Schwarz, 303-305; Ritter, ix, 193 f.; Layard, 56 f.; see also von Bode, ii, 193; Loftus, 329, 342, 346; J. Dieulafoy, *passim*; Sawyer, 490 f.

The Kārūn is not only connected with the Tigris and Karkhā in the west, but in the east it is linked up with the Djarrāḥī of Kurdistān-Rūd or Āb-i Kurdistān (the Ṭāb of the Arab geographers; see Le Strange, 270; Schwarz, 5 f.). At Sābla a canal navigable by boats leaves the Shaṭṭ al-Aʿmā and runs to Dawraḳī (Dōraḳ-Fallāḥiyya [see DAWRAḲ]) on the Djarrāḥ.

The more important towns on the Kārūn in mediaeval as in modern times lay on its central course between Shustar and al-Ahwāz. At the two termini of this stretch stood the two capitals of the mediaeval province of Khūzistān, al-Ahwāz and Tustar (Shustar). Al-Ahwāz [*q.v.*], formerly the capital proper of this district, is situated at the important point where the Kārūn, breaking through its last barrier, the Djabal Ḥamrīn range, enters the plain. For Tustar see SHUSTAR, and on the site (particularly the bifurcation which begins there) Graadt van Roggen, 174 f.

The lower course of the Kārūn from al-Ahwāz to Muḥammara has no places of great importance on its banks. Muḥammara, at the junction of the Kārūn and the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab, is, however, a place of unusual importance. It was at the beginning of this century the best harbour in Persia, easily accessible at any time.

In the mountainous upper course there are no longer any towns of importance. In late antiquity and in the Middle Ages the most prominent were Sūsan (also called ʿArūdj or ʿArūḥ and Djābaliḳ) on the right bank, and Īdhadj [*q.v.*] or Māl-Amīr opposite. Along the upper course in parts runs a road protected by many forts, now mostly in ruins. The Kārūn in general is historically one of the most interesting rivers in Persia owing to the numerous ruins from ancient times which are everywhere found on its banks.

In the military history of the Middle Ages the Kārūn basin only occasionally occurs as the scene of fighting; cf. Schwarz, 299-300. During World War I possession of this territory became very important on account of its oil-fields; cf. Schweer, 140-4.

As early as the Sasanians, powerful dams (*shadhrawāns*) with the necessary sluices had been erected at various places to enable the water thus dammed to be led by numerous small canals to fields on a higher level, especially on the central stretch of the Kārūn. Throughout the Middle Ages this irrigation system was kept in excellent repair and transformed the land it watered into flourishing gardens. Since then, however, most of these works have fallen more and more into ruin as a result of neglect, and great stretches of once fertile country have become desert again. The most celebrated was the gigantic dam at Shustar, which was regarded in the east as one of the wonders of the world. Its erection is ascribed to the Sasanian king Shāpūr I (241-272 A.D.). On this great system of dam and sluices here, which after considerable restoration is still partly in use to-day, see Ritter, ix, 186 f.; Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Araber und Perser zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Leiden 1879, 33; Justi, in *Gr.I.Ph.*, ii, Strassbourg 1896 f., 318; Le Strange, 235; Schwarz, *Iran*, 296. At Wāʾis, a few hours' journey below Band-i Ḳīr, the ruins of a great dam may still be seen (cf. Herzfeld, 76). In al-Ahwāz, at the rapids there, considerable remains of a triple ancient system of dams still exist. Band-i Ḳīr (= "Bitumen-dam") took its name from the ancient dam coated with bitumen.

The Kārūn is the only river of Persia that admits of navigation. Communication is maintained with the Persian Gulf through the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab and the Shaṭṭ Bamishīr. There is evidence that as early as the Umayyad period there was regular traffic up the river as far as al-Ahwāz (cf. Schwarz, 300). The Kārūn was into the 20th century navigable as far as Shustar. The only obstacles were the rapids caused by the gypsum rocks below al-Ahwāz (see the very full description by Wells, 156 f.), which make unloading

and reshipment necessary. Movement along the river has since expanded. The valley possesses rich oil fields in modern times. In 1888 the Kārūn was opened to international navigation.

Bibliography: *BGA*, *passim*, especially the Indices s.vv. (Nahr) Dudjayl and (Nahr) Masruḳān; Ibn Serapion, in *JRAS* (1895), 30; 32, I f. (text) and 307-313 (tr. and notes); Yāḳūt, ii, 555; iv, 527, f.; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 195; 215; Ibn Baṭṭūta, ii, 23-4; Le Strange, 207, 232-247; P. Schwarz, 295-308, 310-11; J. M. Kinneir, *A geographical memoir of the Persian Empire*, London 1813, 87-90, 96-99, 102-105; H. C. Rawlinson, in *JRGS*, ix (London 1839), 64 f., 73-78, 81, 88 f.; Selby, in *JRGS*, xiv (1844), 219-46; Layard, *ibid.*, xvi (1846), 27-28, 44, 50-65; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, 46, 162-204, 219-220, 225-227, x, 26, 28, 31, xi, 1021-25, 1028-30; C. A. von Bode, *Travels in Luristan and Arabistan*, London 1845, ii, passim (especially 162 f., 193, 273 f.); W. K. Loftus, *Travels and research in Chaldaea and Susiana*, London 1857, 289-93, 298-300, 329, 343, 346, 423-31; Fr. Spiegel, *Eranische Altertumskunde*, i, Leipzig 1871, 108-11; A. Arnold, *Through Persia by caravan*, London 1877, ii, 39 f.; A. Houtum-Schindler, in *Z.G.Erdk. Berl.*, xiv (1879), 307 f.; H. L. Wells, in *Proc. RGS*, v; Bateman Champain, *ibid.*, (1883), 121-38, 146-9, 152; Stolze and Andreas, in *Pet. Mitt.*, Suppl. fasc., no. 77, Gotha 1885, 48, 56; J. Dieulafoy, *La Perse, la Chaldée et la Susiane*, Paris 1887; W. F. Ainsworth, *A personal narrative of the Euphrates expedition*, London 1888, ii, 168-89, 205 f., 219-32; idem, *The River Karun*, London 1890; H. B. Lynch, *Karun valley*, in *Proc. RGS*, xii (1890); Tomaschek, *Küstenfahrt Nearchs*, in *SB Ak. Wien*, cxxi (1890), Abh. viii, p. 73-84; G. N. Curzon, *The Karun River*, in *Proc. RGS*, xii, 509-32; idem, *Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, *passim* (see the Index; especially ii, 314 f., 330 f., 336); Mrs. Bishop, *Journeys in Persia and Kurdistan*, London 1892; H. A. Sawyer, in *GJ*, iv (London 1894), 481-501 (with notes by Lynch and Mackenzie, 502 f.); T. E. Gordon, *Persia revisited*, London 1896, 100 f.; *The Persian Gulf Pilot* (originally compiled by Constable and Stiffe), London 1898, 284-93, 296-9; Billerbeck, in *Mitt. V.A.G.*, iii (1898), part 2, 29-34, 46-50; Graadt van Roggen, in *Mém. de la Délégation en Perse*, vii (Paris 1905), 167-207; E. Herzfeld, in *Pet. Mitt.*, liii (Gotha 1907), 73-79, with route map on Plates vi and vii (Kārūn from Shustar to Ahwāz-Naṣriyya); W. Schweer, *Das türkisch-persische Erdölvorkommen* Hamburg 1919 (= *Abh. des Hamburg. Kolonialinstituts*, xxx), 22, 57-72, 110-117, 140-142, 177-219, and map 3 (Kārūn valley). Schweer also gives (pp. 153 f. and 165 f.) further references to the literature and maps to be consulted.

(M. Streck-[J. Lassner])

KĀRWĀN, a word ostensibly of Iranian origin, later arabicized, whence Eng. "caravan", Fr. "caravane", Ger. "Karawane", etc. Its early form *kārbān*, meaning "supervising work", probably evolved in the Pahlavi period. The Pahlavi form may have been *kārpānde*, in which case it would be a noun made up of *kār* meaning "army" or "war" plus the suffix *-van*, signifying a group of travelling merchants; convoys of provisions, goods and animals also were called *kārbān*. However, this may well be a popular etymology for a word of uncertain origin. The more widespread meaning dates from the early Islamic period (M. Muʿīn, *A Persian dictionary*, iii, 2817; caravans are described in the works of the 5th/11th century poets Firdawsī and Farrukhī [*qq.v.*]).

Caravan routes demonstrate the distribution and direction of trade routes, although the latter existed before the caravan system was developed. Journeys of various kinds were undertaken in caravan-like "convoys". In the pre-Islamic period the Arabs had for long used the word *ʿīr*, and later the more usual word *ḳāfila*, as the equivalent of *kārwān*; the word *ḳāfila* was current at the beginning of the 7th century A.D. for gatherings of traders (cf. Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, Cairo 1936, i, 253, 312). In Turkish, the word *arkïsh*, meaning caravan, is attested from the 8th century A.D. (Clauson, *Etymological Dictionary*, 216-7).

Caravans were composed of horses, mules, donkeys, and especially camels. Camel-caravans were used over open plainland and deserts, while in the mountainous regions mules, donkeys, and more rarely horses were used. In some regions, however, the nature of the caravan was quite different: in India, caravans made up of 100-200 carts each pulled by 10-12 oxen were used for the bulk transport of grain (J.-B. Tavernier, *The six voyages*..., London 1678, ii, 28 ff.; Peter Mundy, *Travels*..., ii, pp. xxxvii, 45, 249, 250, 281, 283).

HISTORICAL SURVEY

Camel caravans became widespread because of the greater load that the animal could carry (on the domestication of the camel, see BADW). The size of the load a camel can carry varies according to the climate: in hot countries such as India the camel can carry only a small load of 600-650 lbs, whereas those employed between Tabrīz and Istanbul and accustomed to the cold, could carry 1000 lbs (Tavernier, i, 49-50).

The oldest feature in the history of the western Asiatic caravan trade is the so-called "Silk Route". This route connecting China and Central Asia was extended to Farghāna and thence to southern and western Asia, and provided a means of transporting the products of distant countries by means of large caravans consisting of hundreds of camels. In the Islamic middle ages, Baghdād was the point of departure for routes to east and west, the principal itineraries being: (1) From Baghdād northwards along the Tigris to Mosul - Hatra - Ḥarrān - or Sindjār - Nisibis - Raḳḳa - Manbidj - Aleppo - Ḥamā - Ḥimṣ - Baʿlabakk - Damascus - Ramla - Cairo - Alexandria, and thence by ship to North Africa; (2) From Baghdād the route along the west bank of the Euphrates, which it crossed at Hīt, and thence to Damascus, was the shortest route across the desert; and (3) The eastbound route went from Baghdād to Hamadān, thence to Rayy - Nīshāpūr - Marw - Bukhārā and Samarḳand, and so to the western terminal of the silk route at Farghāna, by which China could be reached. One route ran from Khīwa in Khwārazm to the mouth of the Volga, and thence up the Volga to the Baltic countries; another passed north of the Caspian Sea to the northern ports of the Black Sea.

The organization and marching arrangements of a caravan may be illustrated by the account of one consisting of about 600 camels and 400 mules which made the journey from Diyārbakr to Mawṣil in 1838. The camals, tied together with rope in groups of ten or twenty, walked in single file; their owners rode small donkeys or horses, travelling in front, while the servants walked. The camels would not move un-

less led by the donkey. When the caravan came to a site where it was to spend the night, the leader of the caravan would move on ahead and point out the camping-place. The cargo was unloaded and the large bales were arranged to form a rectangular enclosure, within which each traveller prepared his own sleeping quarters. Then the camals and mules were untied and driven out to graze, but the horses were fettered. As it grew dark, the camels were rounded up and tethered in line within the enclosure (*Lettres du Maréchal de Moltke sur l'Orient*, Paris 1872, 229-30).

From early times, commercial journeys had been made at set periods, so that several important cities grew up at the terminals of regular routes: most notably, Mecca's existence depended entirely upon the caravan-trade. Once a year, a caravan was organised to set out in a specific direction, such a caravan comprising some 2500 camels, as well as horses and mules. At this period, a caravan of 1000 camels was regarded as medium-sized, while a caravan of 450 camels and 100 mules and donkeys, operating between Bag̲h̲dād and Aleppo, was considered small. The camels in a caravan might be used as mounts, but generally were beasts of burden. The distances covered each day varied according to the climate. On average, caravans travelled 6, 8, 10 or 12 hours each day, each day's journey being made in two stages: from 3 or 4 in the morning until 10, and in the afternoon from 2 or 3 o'clock until 8. Since a single camel can carry a load equivalent to that of three, four, or even five horses, it was a much cheaper mode of transport. In the Mediterranean region, caravan journeys were closely linked to maritime traffic; during the winter months, when transport by sea was impossible, three caravans, setting out from Sid̲j̲ilmāsa on the northern Saharan fringe, would travel to Cairo via Ḳayrawān, Tripoli and Barḳa. Such caravans operated also in the summer months, covering the distance between Tunis and Cairo in two or three months. Caravans covering long distances were known as "seasonal" (*mawsim*) caravans, in India "monsoon" caravans (S. D. Goitein, *Studies in Islamic history and institutions*, Leiden 1968, 303). Caravans operated in the summer months in Anatolia, in the Balkans and in Ād̲h̲arbāy-d̲j̲ān: thus caravans arrived at Izmir between February and June and in October (Tavernier, i, 46-7); but Anatolia and the Balkans lie outside the desert regions—caravans would arrive in Egypt and in other countries of North Africa in September-October, and even in April, May and June. During the summer, it was quite impossible to cross the desert between Bag̲h̲dād and Aleppo. In *ca.* 1640, caravan traffic out of Hormuz operated between December and March. In north-west Africa, caravans arriving south of Oran (Algeria) in November were of importance in this century (F. Braudel, *The Mediterranean* ..., Eng. tr. London 1972, i, 259-60).

CARAVAN ROUTES AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CARAVAN TRADE

There were along the caravan routes fixed points at which the caravans halted for the night, and in desert regions there were furthermore water cisterns at intervals of 15 km. These halting-places were regarded as "guest-houses", and were often organized by the pious as *waḳf*-foundations, the usual designation for them being *ribāṭ* [*q.v.*]. The establishment of such *ribāṭ*s dates from the 4th/10th century and reached its peak under the Great Sald̲j̲ūḳs. In various works composed in the 6th/12th century, the word *ribāṭ* is used as a synonym for "caravanserai" and spread to Central Asia as a result of the Mongol invasions. The caravanserai reached its highest development in Sald̲j̲ūḳ Anatolia, especially in the 7th/13th century; caravanserais or *k̲h̲ān*s were built at intervals of 30-40 km. along the north-south and east-west routes as international trade increased. Their strong walls and towers provided security; and their facilities might include sleeping-quarters, kitchens, storehouses, baths, mosques, and even hospitals for the sick (O. Turan, *Selçuk kervansarayları*, in *Bell.*, x/39 (1946), 477-95). In this period, the central authorities appointed to each caravan an official entitled *Amīr-i Kārbānsālār*, under whom was an escort commanded by a *rāhdār* or *tutkavul*.

Whatever the object of the caravan, whether trade or the fulfilment of the pilgrimage, its rate of travel varied from period to period. A pilgrimage caravan of 30-40,000 camels could travel from Cairo to Mecca in forty days, helped on its way by its military escort. In the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries, in spite of the Portuguese development of the Cape maritime route, trans-Saharan trade developed considerably, although there was some modification of the traditional routes (Braudel, *op. cit.*, i, 181-2). In the 11th/17th century the route between Persia and Izmir was popular, although it took 100 days: the journey to Iṣfahān via Mawṣil and Hamadān took 58 days; the busiest route to Persia, that from Aleppo via Bire-d̲j̲ik, Diyārbakr and Tabrīz, took 42 days, and 66 days to Iṣfahān. Towards the middle of the 11th/17th century, however, the importance of the caravans trading between Persia, India and the Ottoman Empire diminished, as a result of the formation of English and Dutch trading companies operating by sea; the only major commodity left for overland transport was silk. The spice trade continued, but the old spice routes were abandoned (N. Steensgaard, *Carracke, caravans and companies*, Odense 1973, 174, 192).

With the development of other means of communication, the composition of the caravans changed and the number of animals decreased. Yet although the number of animals employed in a single caravan might decrease, the number of caravans organized each year might increase. Commercial caravans travelled between Bag̲h̲dād and Baṣra four times a year in the 10th/16th century and small caravans travelled regularly between Syria and southern ʿIrāḳ: there were three caravans a year between Damascus and Bag̲h̲-dād. The Bag̲h̲dād caravan went to Damascus once a year and to Aleppo twice. This situation continued unchanged until the end of the 12th/18th century. In Anatolia, caravans were organized on a smaller scale; because of the broken terrain, mules and donkeys were used in some regions instead of camels, as was the case in northern ʿIrāḳ.

ORGANIZATION

Security was a vital consideration. Caravans usually had an armed escort, sometimes of professional soldiers, and at every halting-point would be joined by new groups of travellers. During the night a continuous look-out had to be kept against raids by bandits, and at intervals the sentinels would call to one another *k̲h̲aberdār*! and a drum was beaten (P. Mundy, *Travels*, ii, 41-2; Thévenot, part 3, 19). A leader responsible for organizing the whole caravan was known as the *kervān-bas̲h̲ī* (in Persia and India, *kārvān-kes̲h̲* or *kārbānsālār*), and he had one or two assistants. Each group of 15-20 camels under its own leader was under the general supervision of the main leader, who determined the route to be followed, the

halting-places, and the order of the constituent groups in the caravan, and who was responsible for the general security. To travel in a caravan was slower, but safer, since special, additional guards, supplied by the government, were available in desolate areas. In the mid-11th/17th century, the leader of the caravan was sometimes elected by the merchants. If a merchant had six camels, one of the six beasts, and if he had three, one of the three, carried his essential gear. For every horse or camel in the caravan its owner paid a fixed fee to the leader; thus, if the caravan was a large one, the leader might make a great deal of money, part of which he paid to the guards and part of which he spent on necessities along the way. At places where customs duty was collected, 4 *ḳurush* was taken for every camel-load and 2 *ḳurush* for a horse-load (Tavernier, part 1, 7, 8, 9, 10, 45, 46; *Travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan in Asia, Africa and Europe during the years 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802 and 1803*, London 1814, i, 112-13).

In desert areas, where water was scarce or unobtainable, paid scouts called *takshīf* were employed to find water. When the wind obscured the track, the *takshīf* had to go on ahead to find the way, so that occasionally he was the first to die (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iv, 381-3; cf. Leo Africanus, *The history and description of Africa*, London 1898, i, 173-4). In some places, such as the Western Sudan, blind scouts were used, who found the way by their sense of smell. Caravan-leaders in the Sahara had links with the Berber tribes; here four main routes connected north and east Africa: (1) the route by Sidjilmāsa and Walata to Senegal and the upper Niger; (2) the Ghadamès-Ghat route to Hausaland and Air; (3) the Tripoli-Fezzān-Kawar route to Bornu and Lake Chad; and (4) furthest east, the route Cyrenaica-Kufra-Wadai. The first three routes were completely under the control of the Berbers, who dug wells along them and supplied the needs of passing caravans. These long and dangerous journeys were made only once a year, but by large caravans; thus in 1805 a caravan of 2000 persons and 1800 camels, travelling from Taghaza to Timbuktu, perished of thirst (E. W. Bovill, *The golden trade of the Moors*², London 1958, 52, 235, 236). The traditional caravans continued to operate in Africa into this century: thus in 1908 a caravan of 20,000 camels set out from Air to travel via Ghadamès and Ghat (Bovill, *op. cit.*, 236, 238).

Records of the late 19th century give detailed accounts of caravan travel in the desert. In Tripoli (North Africa), after several merchants who wished to organize a caravan had reached agreement among themselves and obtained permission from the provincial authorities, they would, by the intermediary of a *shaykh* known to be competent and trustworthy, conclude agreements with the *shaykhs* through whose tribal lands they would pass. If the *shaykh* accepted the proposal, he would come to the provincial capital accompanied by men armed *raḳḳāṣūn*, skilled at picking up stragglers, and *khabīr*, who knew the routes and the places where water was to be found. In the capital all details of the wages to be paid, etc., were settled, committed to writing, and confirmed by the provincial authorities; a *manshūr* or formal document incorporating these conditions was given to the *shaykh* who was to act as conductor of the caravan; he was empowered to take all measures to protect the lives and goods of the participants and to determine any legal or criminal questions that might arise. The promoters of the caravan would cause public proclamation to be made. Not all who responded were necessarily professional merchants; private individuals might take part as a speculation, informing the *shaykh* that they needed six camels (three for the goods that they hoped to sell at a profit, one to ride on, one for water, and one for food). On the basis of this information, the *shaykh* would arrange the disposition of the caravan (Müsevvid-zâde Derviş, *Osmanlı Imparatorluğuna ait vesikalar*, in *İstanbul Dergisi*, n.s. i/10-12 (Istanbul 1940), 393-4). The *shaykhs* of the caravan and the leaders of the armed guards were each given a burnous according to rank. Such a caravan travelling to Central Africa, where coinage was unknown, would carry goods for barter.

CARAVAN TRADE BETWEEN THE 9TH/15TH AND 19TH CENTURIES

In the Ottoman Empire, an extensive caravan network satisfied all the requirements of transport and communications. Towards the end of the 9th/15th century the most important caravan route across Anatolia was that between Bursa and Tabrīz; it began with a northern and a southern branch (Kastamonu-Bolu; Ankara-Çorum) and then traversed Amasya, Tokat, Erzindjān, Erzurūm and the Aras valley. This was principally a silk route (H. İnalcık, in *Bell.*, xxiv/93 (Ankara 1960), 45-96). A document of 1019/1610 gives the following information about the composition of a caravan travelling from Baghdād to Aleppo: its 120 merchants had baggage amounting to 942½ *yüks*, one *yük* being the two bales slung across a beast of burden (Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, MM 7499). There were also smaller caravans operating between cities; termed *makkārī* ("for hire"), they would transport merchants and travellers for a fare. In Istanbul in the time of Murād IV, 3000 people were engaged in this business (Ewliyā Čelebī, *Seyāḥatnāme*, i, 520; H. Ongan, *Ankara'nın 1 numaralı şer'iye sicilli*, Ankara 1958, 64; see, for the *makkārīs* operating between Damascus and Baghdād, Muṣṭafā Ḍiyā, *Rehnümā-yi Baghdād*, Damascus 1314, 4-5). Most of the people comprising a caravan were merchants engaged in trade with foreign countries, but travellers would also join a caravan in order to enjoy its security: in the late 11th/17th century it was impossible for small groups of travellers to move about in the Ottoman Empire otherwise, because of the threats from Arab tribesmen and bandits (C. Le Bruyn, *Travels*, London 1718, ii, 329; Başbakanlık Arşivi, MD no. 115, pp. 285, 306). Caravan operations were carried on also in the European territories of the Ottoman Empire, numerous *khāns* surviving in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Albania and elsewhere (cf. Hamdija Kreşevljakovic, *Hanovi i Karavansaraji u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo 1957). Regular journeys were made between Istanbul and Belgrade by what was known as the "Belgrade caravan"; it continued to function into the 19th century (for a document of 1803, see Başbakanlık Arşivi, Cevdet tasnifi, iktisat no. 2029; see also S. Dimitriyevic, *Les caravans de Dubrovnik dans la Serbie du sud au XVII*ᵉ *siècle*, Belgrade 1958).

Mule caravans operating in Anatolia had their own special characteristics. The leading animal, which kept some way ahead of the others and carried a smaller load, was called *peshek*, the next was called *djindār*, and the next again *peshdār*. All the animals carried small bells around their necks, which could be heard an hour's distance away. Halts were made at *khāns* either to deliver the goods carried or to transfer them to other animals. Cameleers and muleteers formed a trade-guild (see C. Çahit Güzelbey,

Gaziantep'te kervancılık, in *Gaziantep Kültür Dergisi*, v/79 (Gaziantep 1962), 79, 80, 94).

Whereas caravans travelled in Persia by night, in the Ottoman Empire travelling was done by day, for protection against bandits. A leader of a caravan could determine the hour by the position of the stars. He was followed by a *bayrakdār* "standard-bearer", who had a standard wrapped around a staff which he would wave at times of danger in order to warn the musketeers protecting the caravan. The Baghdād-Aleppo caravan also included coffee-makers, a *čawush* who transmitted the leader's orders, a *mu'adhdhin*, and various tradesfolk—shoemakers, barbers, farriers and carpenters. The group of people at the rear was termed *ḥamla* (J. B. L. J. Rousseau, *Voyage de Bagdad à Alep* (1808), Paris 1899; cf. Tavernier, *Voyages*, 47, 60).

According to Peter Mundy (ii, 45), a caravan travelling from Surat to Agra in India in 1630 contained 250-300 carts and about 1800 people; the number increased as it proceeded, since inhabitants of famine-stricken regions would join it in order to escape starvation. There were no *khāns* in India, but in the cities there were public buildings termed *sarāy*. According to Peter Mundy again (ii, p.xxxvii), the last caravan of the season contained 268 camels and 109 carts.

PILGRIM CARAVANS

Caravans of pilgrims travelling to the Holy Cities were under the supervision of the *Amīr al-ḥadjdj* (Ewliyā Čelebi, x, 424-5, 435, etc.). It was the regular practice to make money payments to the Bedouin chiefs through whose territories the caravan passed (Tavernier, 62-3). In Ottoman times, the provisioning, watering and protection of the pilgrim-caravans was a major enterprise (the Cairo caravan consisted of 40,000 people). The Cairo caravan was in two sections; 10,000 people from North Africa formed the rear in the outward journey, but came back first. For descriptions of the pilgrim caravan, see H. Maundrell, *A journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem in 1697*, Beirut 1963, 171-3; F. Hasselquist, *Voyages and travels in the Levant in the years 1749, 1750, 1751, 1752*, London 1776, 77-83; E. W. Lane, *The manners and customs...*, chs. 24, 25; J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, London 1829, 247-8; and see MAḤMAL.

DECLINE

The caravan trade declined as a result of the great changes in the technology of transport which occurred in the 19th century. In some regions, caravan journeys were discontinued after the introduction of steamships. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 brought a swift decline, yet caravans continued until the First World War. Later still, motor transport began to displace the camel. Although the great desert route was scarcely used after the mid-19th century, Damascus continued to be the centre for what remained of this trade—no longer a matter of thousands or hundreds of camels, but small numbers meeting local needs (C. P. Grant, *The Syrian Desert: caravans, travel and exploration*, London 1937, 156-7). The construction of railways also dealt a severe blow to caravan trade in some areas, *e.g.* in Anatolia, from 1859 onwards. Yet so late as 1918, five great caravan routes to the Holy Cities were still travelled—from Baghdād and neighbourhood; from Syria; from the Persian Gulf area; from the ʿUmān district across Arabia; and from Egypt. Three factors may be said to have accelerated the decline: (1) the requisitioning of animals by governments and local authorities; (2) attacks from bandits; and (3) lack of bridges and the foul road conditions after rain.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the text): Muḥammad b. Hindū-Shāh Nakhčiwānī, *Dustūr al-kātib fī taʿyīn al-marātib*, ed. A. Ali-zade, Moscow 1964, i, 228-9, 552-3; Piero Tafur, *Travels and adventures, 1435-1439*, London 1926, 83; O. Turan, *Selçuklular ve Türk-İslâm medeniyeti*, Ankara 1964, 262; J. Jomier, *Le Mahmal et la caravane égyptienne...*, Cairo 1953; H. Sahillioğlu, *Bir tüccar kervanı*, in *BTTD*, ix (Istanbul 1968), 63-9; A. Çaycı, *Büyük Sahra'da Türk-Fransız rekabeti (1858-1911)*, Erzurum 1970; P. Tournefort, *A voyage into the Levant*, London 1718, ii, 180, 325; W. C. Brice, *Caravan traffic across Asia*, in *Antiquity*, xxviii (1954), 78-84; A. Sprenger, *Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients*, Amsterdam 1962; F. Taeschner, *Das anatolische Wegenetz...*, Leipzig 1924-6; J. Sauvaget, *Les caravanserails syriens du Hadjdj de Constantinople*, in *Ars Islamica*, iv (1937), 98-121; K. Müller, *Die Karawanserai im Vorderen Orient*, Berlin 1920; S. F. Mouhtar, *Travels and transportation in the Ottoman Empire during the XIXth century* (unpublished thesis, Cornell 1928); anon., MS description of caravan routes from Istanbul into Arabia, Ist. Un. T.Y. 93638; J. P. Ferrier, *Caravan journeys*, London 1856, 53; A. L. Salvator, *Caravan routes between Egypt and Syria*, 1881; H. Schreiber, tr. S. Thomson, *The history of roads*, London 1961, 24-51; F. Taeschner, *Die Entwicklung des Wegenetzes...*, in *Anadolu Araştırmaları*, i/1 (Istanbul 1959), 169-93; A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, 461-72, Eng. tr. 492-505; M. I. Rostovtzev, *The caravan cities*, London 1932; R. Mauny, *Tableau géographique de l'Ouest Africain au moyen âge*, Dakar 1961, 398-403.

(CENGİZ ORHONLU)

ḲARWASHA, originally the name of the argot of the Maghribīs practising the trades of sorcerer and treasure-seeker in Egypt, today applied to the *Dakārna* (sing. *Dakrūnī*) of Sudanese origin installed in the Village of the Sudanese close to Madāmūd in Upper Egypt and elsewhere. They are scribes manufacturing amulets at the markets. These are carried under the armpit wrapped in a square red leather case. They are effective, it is said, against the evil eye or diseases, to attract customers into a shop, to obtain the favours of a woman, to keep or regain the love of a husband and to speak "without fear" in front of the judge, the mayor or any another magistrate. The *Dakārna* make use of a secret language among themselves (*ruṭaynā*, in the spoken Arabic of Upper Egypt *ruṭāna*) which is called *ḳarwasha* (from the verb *ḳarwash* "to speak" or again *balhama* from the verb *balham* "to speak in an incomprehensible fashion"). A part of the vocabulary is of Maghribī origin: *mizyān* "good", *bizzāf* "much", *sibsa* "cigarette". They sometimes even affect the Moroccan accent: *žimžima* "head" and not *djimdjima*. The grammar is that of the spoken language of the region of Luxor. The man is called *diyāblu* pl. *diyablāt* (of Spanish origin: *diablo* "devil"). *Budd-i* "I want". *Esh budd-ak* "what do you want?". *Diyāl* (after a vowel *dyāl*), used for forming a possessive genitive, is in current use: *el-yūsufa dyāl-u* "his wife", *el-kabbārī dyāl-ha* "her husband", *es-sutra dyāl el-muksa* "the door of the house". *Bi-dyāl* has become a preposition; *djayyim es-sibsa bi-dyāl en-nūra* "light the cigarette with the match"; *nūḍ bi-dyāl-i* "leave me"; *djayyim el-mimāt min ed-diyāblu lli bi-dyāl-ak* "take the money from

the man who is with you." The prefix *ka* of the verb tends to disappear: *lamma ka-ykūn el-wāḥid fi l-lammām* "if anyone is in the market".

A large number of terms are artificial creations: *alif* "reed, pen" (because of the elongated form which recalls that of the letter *alif*), *mīm* "ink-well" (round like the letter *mīm*), *d̲j̲īm* "excellent" (abbreviation of *d̲j̲ayyid*) with the polyvalent verb *d̲j̲ayyim* "to do. take, cook, manufacture", originally "to do well". Water is called *rāwiya* "that which waters", the "market" *lammām* is the "gatherer" (of people) and *nawwāḍa* (f.) the "road" is the "walker" (from *nāḍ, yinūḍ* "to go off, walk"). *Yūsfa* "woman" recalls Yūsuf, the ideal of a "young and handsome man". The dog is called *nabbāḥ* "that which barks", the pigeon *ṭayyāra* "that which flies", and the female donkey *d̲j̲arrāya* "that which runs". Several terms come from the slang of the Ḥalab: *ʿadwān* "meat", *baṣṣāṣa* "eye", lit. "that which looks", *ṭana* (*yiṭni*) signifies at the same time "to beat" and "to kill", *inṭana* (*yinṭini*) "to die". *Kabbārī*, among the Ḥalab "sheikh" or "mayor", here also designates the "husband". The *ḳarwas̲h̲a* is enriched by adopting numerous *dakūni* words: *d̲j̲agur* "king", *murta* "horse", *lēl* "donkey", *fattā* "white". The origin of several words remains uncertain: *ʿabbu* "fellāḥ" and *ʿabbūwa* "fellāḥa", *ẓarbūn* or *kīr* "black man", *tidiḳ* "small", *wūtiḳ* "to sit down" and *wattaḳ* "to bring". This small vocabulary of several dozen words very frequently employed has ended up in becoming a real professional argot.

Bibliography: Vycichl, *The slang of the Ḥalab of the Sudan*, in *Kush*, vii (Khartoum 1959), 223-8; idem, *Qarwasha*, in *Actes du Congrès d'études des cultures méditerranéenes d'influence arabo-berbère*, Malta 1972. (W. VYCICHL)

ḲARYA, A., pl. ḳurā, "town, village". The various forms used in the Semitic languages to indicate a "dwelling-place, a place where people meet" are best derived from an original biliteral root *ḳ-r*. Phoenician *ḳart*, as in *ḳart-ḥadašt*, "Carthage", represents this basic root with a feminine ending. The same is true of the Hebrew *ḳèret* and the emphatic state *ḳarta* (with *alef*), which occurs in Targumic, Samaritan and Christian-Palestinian texts. In Syrian and in Christian-Palestinian *ḳerē*, a *y* is added to the basic root without the feminine ending, whereas *ḳ-r-y* + *t* is found in the Hebrew construct state *ḳiryat*, Arabic *ḳarya* and South-Arabic *ḳirya*. In Hebrew this construct state often occurs in such place names as Ḳiryat Arbaʿ (Hebron, K̲h̲alīl [*q.v.*]), Ḳiryat Yeʿarīm, Ḳiryat Sefer, the plural being Ḳiryot. A connection with Cirta is rejected by Nöldeke, who argues that a Phoenician place-name is not likely to be found as far inland as Constantine (Ḳusṭanṭīna [*q.v.*]); moreover, Polybius (37, 3, 11) has Σχίρταν.

In the Ḳurʾān, the singular *ḳarya* indicates an important town. Mecca (XLVII, 14), Medina (II, 5), Sodom (*e.g.*, XXI, 74, XXV, 42), Nineveh (X, 98) and the coastal town (VII, 163: *al-ḳarya ḥāḍirat al-baḥr*) are so called. Except for the reference in XII, 82, both singular and plural stand for a town that has been or will be destroyed by Allāh for its inhabitants' rejection of the message of the Prophet or of his predecessors. The dual *al-ḳaryatayn* (XLIII, 30) indicates Mecca and Medina, whereas *umm al-ḳurā*, "the mother of towns" (VI, 91, XLII, 5), designates Mecca. This term was probably already used before Islam because of Mecca's leading position in the religious and economic life of the Ḥid̲j̲āz. The expression is likely to be a translation of the Greek *metropolis*. Abū Manṣūr al-Azharī [*q.v.*] states in his *Tahd̲h̲īb* that every city is the *umm* of the towns around it. Ibn al-Kalbī [*q.v.*], cited by Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih [*q.v.*] (*al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, ed. Cairo 1321, iii, 97), mentions six *ummahāt al-ḳurā al-ʿarabiyya*: Yat̲h̲rib, al-Ṭāʾif, K̲h̲aybar, Wādī al-Ḳurā, Dūmat al-D̲j̲andal and al-Yamāmā.

Ḳarya may also be used to indicate a *madīna* [*q.v.*], but only if it is qualified by an epithet denoting greatness. Arab philologists derive the word from the roots *ḳ-r-y* or *ḳ-r-w*, "to collect", "to store", or from *ḳarā*, "to collect people for hospitality", "to investigate a country in order to choose a residence" and "to head for some place".

Bibliography: J. Barth, *Vergleichende Studien*, in *ZDMG*, xli (1887), 605; idem, *Die Nominalbildung in den Semitischen Sprachen*, 2nd ed. Leipzig 1894, 20b; H. Lewy, *Die semitischen Fremdwörter im Griechischen*, Berlin 1895, 142; M. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, Weimar 1898, 365; Le comte de Landberg, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabe Méridionale*, I, *Ḥaḍramout*, Leiden 1901, 689; Th. Nöldeke, *Zur Bildung des Plurals beim aramäischen Nomen*, in *Beiträge zur Semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Strasbourg 1904, 61-62; idem, *Zweiradikalige Substantive*, in *Neue Beiträge zur Semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Strasburg 1910, 131; Gesenius-Buhl, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*, 16th ed., Leipzig 1915, s.v.; Koehler-Baumgartner, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti libros*, Leiden 1953, s.v.; Gesenius-Brown, *A Hebrew and English lexicon of the Old Testament*, Oxford, repr. 1957, s.v.; Cyrus H. Gordon, *Ugaritic textbook*, Analecta Orientalia 38, Rome 1965, no. 2278; Ch.-F. Jean and J. Hoftijzer, *Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'Ouest*, Leiden 1965, 266. (A. N. AL-WOHAIBI)

ḲARYA AL-SUFLĀ, a village in north-eastern Arabia (27° 29′ N, 47° 52′ E), about 165 m. above sea-level and having a population of about 970 (1958 estimate). It is popularly known as Ḳurayya, after its larger twin village, Ḳarya, or Ḳarya al-ʿUlyā [*q.v.*], 19 km. to the west-north-west. The settlement of the site as a *hid̲j̲ra* of Ik̲h̲wān [*q.v.*] was contemporaneous, or nearly so, with the founding in 1338/1919 of Ḳarya al-ʿUlyā. The colonists were Muṭayr tribesmen led by Hāyif al-Fug̲h̲m, chief of the D̲h̲awu ʿAwn section of that tribe's ʿIlwa division. For notes on events connected with the founding of both villages and for a bibliography, see ḲARYA AL-ʿULYĀ. (J. MANDAVILLE)

ḲARYA AL-ʿULYĀ, a village in north-eastern Arabia. Situated at 27° 33′ N, 47° 42′ E about 170 m. above sea-level and having a population of 2,200 (1963 estimate), it was founded as a *hid̲j̲ra*, or colony of the Wahhābī Ik̲h̲wān [*q.v.*] by members of the ruling clan of the Muṭayr tribe. From about 1930, it has been a minor Bedouin market centre. It is often called simply Ḳarya, the full name being used to differentiate it from neighbouring Ḳarya al-Suflā [*q.v.*]. The two are sometimes referred to together as Ḳarayāt (a vernacular plural). The establishment of Ḳarya was a major incident in the 1919-20 boundary dispute between ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Āl Suʿūd, known as Ibn Suʿūd, and the ruling house of Kuwayt; it led to the bloody battle of al-D̲j̲ahrāʾ (Muḥarram 1339/October 1920), when the Ik̲h̲wān attacked the forces of Sālim b. Mubārak Āl Ṣabāḥ at al-D̲j̲ahrāʾ, 30 km. west of Kuwayt town.

Ḳarya al-ʿUlyā was a well-known watering place of Muṭayr long before 1338/1919, when Turayḥīb b. Bandar b. S̲h̲uḳayr of the Dūs̲h̲ān clan, Muwaha sec-

tion, of that tribe founded a *hidjra* there with the approval of Ibn Suʿūd. Relations between Nadjd and Kuwayt had already been strained in 1337/1919 by news of Sālim's plans to build a fort at Dawḥat Bilbūl, 110 km. east of Ḳarya on the Gulf coast. Ibn Shuḳayr's building activities at Ḳarya, probably encouraged by Ibn Suʿūd as a counter-measure, led to protests from Kuwayt and finally the dispatch of a 400-man Kuwaytī force, which was routed by Muṭayr at the wells of Ḥamaḍ, north-east of Ḳarya, in Shaʿbān 1338/May 1920. Ibn Suʿūd, whose Ikhwān led by Fayṣal b. Sulṭān al-Dawīsh had attacked before arrival of a letter from their sovereign urging restraint, agreed to return loot taken from Kuwaytī tribes but maintained his territorial claim. The Ikhwān marched on al-Djahrāʾ as negotiations and British mediation broke down and after an abortive move toward Ḳarya by Kuwaytī forces reinforced by Shammar tribesmen. Both Ḳaryas in 1928-29 were important military bases of Muṭayr in raids against Kuwayt and ʿIrāḳ; they were also dissident centres during the concurrent Ikhwān rebellion against Ibn Suʿūd.

After the collapse of the aggressive Ikhwān movement in early 1930, Ḳarya remained as a market for Bedouins and as a customs station on the main motor track between Kuwayt and al-Riyāḍ. A large mud fort which the Saudi Arabian Government ordered to be built there in 1355/1936-37 was in good repair in 1974. The track gradually fell out of use, but the village continued to serve Bedouins on a route into the wells, pastures, and settlements of al-Ṣummān [*q.v.*]. The village is administered by an *amīr* who reports to the governor of the Saudi Arabian Eastern Province in al-Dammām.

Bibliography: Amīn al-Rīḥānī, *Taʾrīkh Nadjd al-ḥadīth wa mulḥaḳātih*, Beirut 1928, 244-46; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Nāṣir, *ʿUnwān al-saʿd wa'l-madjd*, Mss.; H. R. P. Dickson, *Kuwait and her neighbours*, London 1956, 54, 251-53, index; Suʿūd b. Hudhlūl, *Taʾrīkh mulūk Āl Suʿūd*, al-Riyāḍ 1380/1961, 122-26; Ḥusayn Khalaf al-Shaykh Khazʿal, *Taʾrīkh al-Kuwayt al-siyāsī*, Beirut 1962-65, pt. 4, 222-58. (J. Mandaville)

AL-ḲAṢĀB, a town in South Arabia in the Wādī Bayḥān and the main town of the area called Bayḥān al-Ḳaṣāb [*q.v.*]. As the population has grown and the inhabited area extended, the town itself has come to be known as Bayḥān al-Ḳaṣāb or Bayḥān al-Ḳaṣab, and it is now usually mapped under one of these names. At the end of the 19th century the town had 12 citadels and 400 houses and was surrounded by palm-groves. Cotton was, and is, an important crop and is used for the manufacture of high-grade cloth in great demand in the area. Indigo has long been extensively cultivated and is used in local dyehouses to produce the dark-blue cloth popular in South Arabia, and is sold for use on the body. The town had a large Jewish quarter, its habitants, as elsewhere in Southern Arabia, specializing in working silver and leather. These people have now gone, emigrating between 1948 and the independence of Southern Yemen. The soil in and around the town is fertile and, in addition to cotton and indigo, it produces barley, red millet, summer millet, grapes, dates and vegetables. Since the end of the Second World War wells have been bored and agricultural development generally has been fostered. Educational facilities have been expanded and health centres opened in the town and the area generally.

Bibliography: C. Landberg, *Arabica*, v, Leiden 1898, 30-34; A. Grohmann, *Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet*, i, Vienna 1922, and ii, Vienna 1933 (index); Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Waysī, *al-Yaman al-Kubrā*, Cairo 1962. (T. M. Johnstone)

ḲAṢĀB, TEODOR (Mod. Turkish TEODOR KASAP), Ottoman Turkish writer, journalist and playwright (1835-1897). He was born in Kayseri, the son of Sarafim Kasaboghlu, a Greek draper. He lost his father at the age of eleven and moved to Izmir where he attended a Greek school and at the same time worked as an apprentice in the store of a relative. A French officer, a nephew of Alexandre Dumas *père*, who was on his way home at the end of the Crimean War, met him there (1856). Struck by his honesty and intelligence he arranged for his further studies in Paris. There Ḳasāb became Alexandre Dumas' private secretary and accompanied him on various trips, particularly in Italy during the Garibaldi campaign (1860). He introduced Namîk Kemāl and other Young Ottomans to Alexandre Dumas. Early in 1870 he was in Istanbul, where he taught French in various schools and founded *Diogène*, a French and Greek language humorous magazine. In November 1870 he began to publish *Diyojen*, the Turkish edition of the same paper and the first humorous magazine in Turkish. Started as a weekly, *Diyojen* was published later twice and finally three times a week. Several leading writers of the time such as Namlk Kemāl, Abu 'l-Ḍiyāʾ (Ebüzziya) Tewfīḳ and ʿAlī Bey (Direktör), contributed regularly to it. The articles and cartoons evincing subtle social and political satire made it a very popular journal but also a target for censorship and *Diyojen* was suspended four times and finally closed in January 1873 after two years of publication. One of the main themes of social satire was ridicule of the westernizing snob, a theme which was taken up and elaborated later by several writers like Aḥmed Midḥat, Redjāʾī-zāde Ekrem and Ḥusayn Raḥmī [see HIDJĀʾ]. In April 1873 Teodor Ḳaṣāb began to publish a new humorous journal, *Činghîraḳlî Tatar*, which was soon suppressed, and in October of the same year a third, *Khayāl*, in which he continued his satirical essays. In August 1875 he founded a political daily, *Istiḳbāl*, which lasted until September 1876. In both journals Ḳaṣāb bitterly criticized the patently pro-Russian policy of the grand vizier Maḥmūd Nedīm Pasha. While the First Constitution was being debated in Turkey, Ḳaṣāb published several articles criticizing its various clauses, and after its promulgation on 23 December 1876, a famous cartoon in his *Khayāl* ridiculed the clause limiting the freedom of the press. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, who bore a personal grudge against him because of an earlier incident (see below), had him tried and sentenced to three years' imprisonment. He fled to Paris, where he published *Lettres à Said Pasha* (1879) in which he criticized ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's authoritarian régime. From Paris he moved to Naples where, in collaboration with the Young Turk ʿAlī Shefḳatī (d. Paris 1896), he continued to publish *Istiḳbāl* lithographically. When the court of appeal quashed the sentence and the sultan pardoned him, he returned to Istanbul and was later (1882) given a position in the Imperial Library at Yîldîz Palace, where he worked and translated reading material for the sultan "safely" away from press and politics until his death in 1897.

One of his sons, ALEXANDRE, who entered the Ottoman diplomatic service, rose to be head of department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the government of Istanbul which came to an end in 1922.

Apart from his contributions to Turkish humorous

journalism and the literature of political satire, Teodor Ķaṣāb played an important part in the development of Turkish theatre in the 1870s, through his skilful adaptations of French plays and his numerous articles in which he discussed the principles and techniques of the developing modern Turkish theatre. He is the author of the following adaptations: (1) *Pinti Ḥamīd* ("Ḥamīd the Miser"), Istanbul 1290/1873, a successful adaptation, superior to Aḥmed Vefīķ Pasha's better known *Azarya*, of Molière's *L'Avare* (1668). Although Pinti Ḥamīd is a well known popular character who symbolizes stinginess, the prince Ḥamīd Efendi (the future ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II), suspicious as he was and known to be rather close, tried unsuccessfully to stop the performance of the play at the last minute (for details see the letter of Ķaṣāb's son Diogenes to Ismāʿīl Ḥabīb Sevük quoted in the latter's *Tazimattan beri*, i, Istanbul 1940, 218). (2) *Ishkilli Memo* ("Memo the Suspicious"), Istanbul 1291/1874, from Molière's *Sganarelle ou le cocu imaginaire* (1660), in Roman script *Işkilli Memo*, Istanbul, 1965, ed. Cevdet Kudret with an introduction on Teodor Ķaṣāb; (3) *Para Meselesi*, Istanbul 1292/1875, translated from Alexandre Dumas *fils' La question d'argent* (1857); (4) *Lükresya Bordjiya*, Istanbul 1292/1875, from Victor Hugo's *Lucrèce Borgia* (1833). He also translated many novels, the best known among them being *Monte Kristo*, Istanbul 1288/1871, from Alexandre Dumas *père*'s *Le Comte de Monte Cristo* (1845), the popularity of which inspired Aḥmed Midḥat's famous novel *Ḥasan Mellāḥ* (1292/1875).

Teodor Ķaṣāb contributed considerably to the liberal and reformist movement of the Young Ottomans and advocated a larger use of the techniques and concepts of the traditional Turkish theatre, such as *Karagöz* and *Orta oyunu*, in modern plays. Both in his articles and his plays, Ķaṣāb used colloquial speech and avoided a flowery style.

Bibliography: M. N. Ozön, *Namık Kemal ve Ibret Gazetesi*, Istanbul 1933, *passim*; M. C. Kuntay, *Namık Kemal* I, Istanbul 1944, 586-96; Ihsan Sungu, *Diyojen*, in *Aylık Ansiklopedi*, Istanbul 1945, s.v.; N. Moschopoulos, *Theodōros Kasapēs*, in *Megalē Hellēnikē Enkyklopaideia*, s.v., Refik Ahmet Sevengil, *Türk Tiyatrosu Tarihi*, III, *Tanzimat Tiyatrosu*, Istanbul 1961, 85-86 and *passim*; F. A. Tansel, *Namık Kemal'in mektupları*, i-ii, Ankara 1967 and 1969, see indices. (F. İz)

ĶAṢAB (A.), noun of unity *ķaṣaba*, any plant with a long and hollow stem like the reed (*Arundo donax*), to which the term is especially applied (see *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, xi, 46). The bamboo is called *khayzurān*, but *ķaṣab* is a component of certain expressions denoting in particular the sugar cane (*ķaṣab al-sukkar*, etc.) [see following article] and the sweet flag (or fragrant rush, *ķaṣab al-dharira*; see H. P. J. Renaud and G. S. Colin, *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb*, Paris 1934, 152; M. Levey, *The medical formulary ... of al-Kindī*, Madison-London 1966, 316), or even the papyrus reed (*ķaṣab al-bardī* or just *al-bardī* [see PAPYRUS]).

The reed had various uses: for making hurdles and wattles; lattice-work mats, pens [see KALAM] and children's toys (*e.g.* see Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/1, 165). It is further known that it was used in many places for making light huts; at Baṣra, when it was first laid out as a military camp, even the mosque and the governor's residence were made from reeds, which were rolled up before departure in an expedition and used again on return (Ibn al-Faķīh, 188; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 346-7; al-Ṭabarī, i, 2384; Yāķūt, i, 640). These structures, susceptible to fire (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2487), were later replaced by ones out of sun-dried brick. It should be noted that reeds were especially abundant in the neighbouring Baṭīḥa [*q.v.*], and their value was such that it was said to Ziyād that "a reed is more valuable than a palm-tree". Al-Djāḥiẓ, who recounts this saying (*K. al-Buldān*, ed. Pellat in *Machriq* (1966), 200-1; ed. Ṣ. al-ʿAlī, Baghdad 1970, 504), adds that "I did my utmost to catalogue the advantages of different kinds of reeds, their uses and the things that can be made out of them, but failed and had to abandon the idea"; it is regrettable that he in fact gave up this plan, since he could have certainly composed a whole monograph about the reed in civilisation.

Amongst the numerous other meanings of *ķaṣab* (see Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.), one should note that it denotes a coloured linen cloth manufactured at Tinnīs, or a white one made at Damietta, or sometimes a cotton cloth made at Kāzarūn (Mez, *Renaissance*, Eng. tr. 461-2), out of which women's fine veils were woven (Abu 'l-Ķāsim, *Ḥikāya*, 54), some set with precious stones (*ibid.*, 53). Dozy further mentions a silken material, as well as a kind of brocade encrusted with little strips of gold or silver.

Bibliography: Given in the article. (ED.)

ĶAṢAB AL-SUKKAR, sugar cane, also called *ķaṣab al-maṣṣ*, because one sucks it (see below), and *ķaṣab ḥulw* (Gloss. Idrīsī). Cultivated sugar cane may be from a wild variety, but the attempts which have been made to cultivate the wild species which is related to it have not been successful. The country of origin of sugar cane cultivation is Bengal, from where, in the 7th century B.C., it must have passed to China. Herodotus did not know of it, nor did Ctesias, physician of Artaxerxes Memnon (*ca.* 416), but in the age of Alexander the Great, Nearchos, his admiral, and Onesicritos, who composed a history of this ruler's expedition, speak of a reed of India producing "honey without bees", as does Megasthenes, who was the ambassador of Seleucus Nicator. Theophrastos, author of a history of plants who died in 287 B.C., speaks of a *meli kalaminon*, an expression that is translated as "reed honey". Pliny did not know of sugar cane, but Dioscorides mentions a kind of coagulated honey from India and Yemen that is gathered from a reed.

It is not known exactly when the cultivation of sugar cane passed from India to Persia. The scholars of the celebrated School of Medicine of Djundaysābūr, which flourished between 532 and 579 A.D., knew of sugar cane through their relations with India. It is not impossible that they had a part in the introduction of sugar cane into Persia, where it found favourable ground for its cultivation in the hot and humid swampy land of Lower Mesopotamia and Khūzistān (cf. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen-Age*, ii, 680-1). After the conquest of Persia by the Arabs, the cultivation of sugar cane was developed by them fairly rapidly, wherever the conditions of the climate responded to the needs of the plant, and it reached as far as the Muslim West.

I. — MUSLIM EAST

The zones of cultivation of sugar cane in the Eastern Muslim world are quite numerous, for several regions have low ground enjoying a hot and humid climate favourable to its cultivation and able to be irrigated easily. The cultivation of sugar cane has also developed:

in Khūzistān or Ahwāz, in the region of Tustar, watered by the Masruķān canal diverted from the Dudjayl, in that of Djundaysābūr, that of Sūs (Susa)

on the banks of the Karkha, a tributary of the Dudjayl (see al-Iṣṭakhrī, ed. Cairo 1961, 65; Ibn Ḥawḳal², 253-4, 257; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 130; Le Strange, 236-46; Heyd, *op. cit.*, ii, 680-1);

in the region of Baṣra, in the 4th/10th century, according to Bayhaḳī, who wrote in the age of al-Muḳtadir (*Kitāb al-Maḥāsin wa'l-masāwī*, ed. Schwally, 623);

in Ṭabaristān to the south of the Caspian, in the region of Mīla (*Ḥudūd*, 134);

in Fārs, Makrān, Kirmān (see Ibn Ḥawḳal², 302-3, 232, 313, 325; Le Strange, 329; *Ḥudūd*, 124; cf. Yāḳūt, ii, 6, 346, at Sābūr and Shahrastān);

in Khurāsān, in the region of Balkh (*Ḥudūd*, 108);

in Sind (al-Iṣṭakhrī, 102; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 320; *Ḥudūd*, 91);

in ʿUmān (cf. *EI*¹, art. ʿOMĀN; Lippmann, 151);

in Syria-Palestine, at Kābūl, Tyre, Beirut, cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal², 176 (Beirut); al-Muḳaddasī, 162 (Kābul), 180; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-Nāma*, 40 (Tripoli); Tafel and Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte*, ii, 368 (Tyre, plantations in the hands of the Venetians at the time of the Crusades); Foucher de Chartres, at Bulunyās (in Cl. Cahen, *La Syrie*, 473; cf. Mez, *Renaissance*, 410, 439); in the Ghawr of the Jordan valley (Yāḳūt, iii, 822; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iv, 87); at Tiberias (al-Muḳaddasī, 161; cf. also Le Strange, *Palestine*, 17; Heyd, ii, 685);

in Egypt, the cultivation of sugar cane has been attested there by some papyri in the 2nd century A.D. (see Mez, *Renaissance*, 410 and n. 2); yet, if this cultivation was not exactly introduced there by the Arabs, it was in fact they who developed it, along the length of the Nile, from Upper Egypt to its mouth, the best ground being the low-lying land watered by the branches of Rosetta and Damietta (Heyd, ii, 678-8, citing Idrīsī-Jaubert, i, 123 ff. and Abu'l-Fidā', ii/1, 140). Al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 21, notes the great richness of Egypt in sugar and al-Ḳalḳashandī, iv, 87, says that production far exceeded that of the Ghawr. It may be seen in the article SUKKAR how much this production was developed in the time of the Mamlūk Sultans (see Ibn Ḥawḳal², 137, 138 (Sanhur), 142 (Ṣāfiyya, Damīdjamīl), 164, cf. Nāṣir-i Khusraw, 51; Lippmann, 138, 140);

in Sindjar, the word *ḳaṣab* in al-Muḳaddasī really seems to designate the sugar cane there (cf. Le Strange, 124; but Ibn Ḥawḳal is silent on this subject, 220);

in the Yemen, al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat Djazīrat al-Arab*, ed. Müller, 198;

according to al-Zuhrī, a geographer of the 6th-7th/12th-13th century, edited by Hadj-Sadok (*B. Ét. O.*, xxi, 184, no. 333), it was also cultivated in Abyssinia.

Sugar cane was cultivated in several of these regions, not only for the manufacture of sugar, as was practised in Khūzistān and Egypt [see SUKKAR], but also to be chewed or sucked, hence the term *ḳaṣab al-maṣṣ*. It is this that al-Muḳaddasī, 161, notes at Tiberias where, he says, the people spent two months of the year "playing the flute", *i.e.* sucking the cane (*yazmirūna: yamuṣṣūn al-ḳaṣab*), cf. Yāḳūt, iii, 510.

It is curious that the Arab geographers do not mention at all the cultivation of sugar cane in a region where it is grown at present, sc. Cilicia; in Tarsus for example, in September, sugar cane is sold in the streets.

In the work *Nuzhat al-anām fī maḥāsin al-Shām* (see below), 355, mention is made of a *ḥadīth* reported by ʿAffān b. Muslim (on this personage, see Brockelmann, I, 157) who says: "The one who sucks sugar cane after his meal will have joy throughout the day". The Prophet doubtless did not know of sugar cane; the author also adds, *wa-llāh aʿlam*. See also in this opuscule, 356, some verses on sugar cane.

Beyond the regions indicated as belonging properly to the Muslim East, the cultivation of sugar cane was introduced by the Arabs, or in imitation of them, not only into the West (North Africa, Morocco, Spain, see below), but also into the following countries:

into Cyprus, where the cultivation of the cane was highly developed in the environs of Limassol, in the south of the island, and at Bafa (Paphos) in the West. In the period of the Crusades, the family of Cornaro, the King and the Knights of St. John had plantations in the region of Colossi (Heyd, ii, 9 and 687-91);

into Rhodes, Crete (Candia) and even Greece in the Morea (Heyd, ii, 689);

into Sicily. The Arab geographers and al-Idrīsī do not speak of the cultivation of sugar cane in this land (the *ḳaṣab fārisī* that Ibn Ḥawḳal, 122, mentions there may not be sugar cane, see *BGA*, iv, 325, although Lippmann, 110, thinks that it does designate sugar cane). Nevertheless, it is certain that, towards the middle of the 4th/10th century, sugar was already being manufactured in Sicily and this sugar was being consumed in Ifrīḳiya, for the *Riyāḍ al-nufūs* of al-Mālikī, dedicated to the scholars of Qayrawān, mentions that a *faḳīh* called Abu'l-Faḍl al-ʿAbbās b. ʿĪsā, who died between 331/943 and 335/947 in the war against Abū Yazīd, refused to eat a cake that he believed to have been made with sugar from Sicily, as a result of rights conceded by the (Fāṭimid) usurper. It is certain that Roger II and his successors encouraged the cultivation of sugar cane in Sicily, and the diploma cited by Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani in Sicilia*, ii, 509, iii, 808, show that this cultivation was flourishing in the 6th/12th century and that sugar was being manufactured at Palermo. This cultivation continued until the end of the 9th/15th century.

We are informed about the cultivation of sugar cane and its complicated technique (repeated ploughing and harrowing, division of the field into small squares —*aḥwāḍ*—which the water reaches by channels, planting, irrigation, measures to bring on growth, struggle against weevils by means of tar, the two successive harvests, the first called *al-raʾs*, the second *al-khilfa*, which usually gives better sugar than the first, etc.), by the Arab treatises on agriculture, and the works relative to financial administration, especially on Egypt. We are unable to give the details here and to explain the technical terms. We will only say that the planting was done in February-March (month of phamenōth) and that the harvest took place in November-December (month of koyak), that three kinds of cane were distinguished, the black, the white and the yellow of which only the two last were pressed (cf. Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Mufradāt al-adwiya wa'l-aghdiya*, ed. Būlāḳ, 1291, ii, 304; al-Dīnawarī, *Kitāb al-nabāt*, cited in Abu'l-Baḳā' ʿAbd Allāh al-Miṣrī, *Nuzhat al-anām fī maḥāsin al-Shām*, Cairo 1341, 354). The details on the cultivation of sugar cane are to be found in the following works:

Ibn al-ʿAwwām, French translation in J. J. Clement-Mullet, *Le Livre d'agriculture d'Ibn al-ʿAwwām*, Paris, i (1865), 365 ff., German translation in E. O. von Lippmann, *Geschichte des Zuckers . . .*, Leipzig 1890, 147 ff.; Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Būlāḳ, tr. in D. Müller-Wodarg, *Die Landwirtschaft Aegyptens in der frühen Abbasidenzeit*, in *Islam*, xxxi-xxxii, 45-8; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-ʿarab*, viii, 264 ff.; Ibn Mammātī, *Kitāb Ḳawānīn al-dawāwīn*, ed. A. S. Atiya, 221, 226, 242 ff., 246 ff., 266-7; Nābulusī, *Kitāb*

*Luma*ʿ *al-ḳawānīn* . . ., ed. Cl. Cahen in *B.Ét.O.*, xvi (1958-60), and tr. in *Quelques aspects de l'administration égyptienne médiévale*, in *Bull. de la Fac. des Lettres de Strasbourg*, 1948, 116-7; Ma<u>kh</u>zūmī, Ms., tr. in preparation.—For the cultivation at the end of the 12th/18th century in Egypt, whose methods were essentially the same as those of the Middle Ages, see *Description de l'Égypte*, 2nd ed., xvii, 173 ff., cf. M. Jomard, *Recueil d'observations et de mémoires sur l'Égypte*, Paris, n.d., 6 vols., iv (bearing the date 1830). See also A. Mazahéri, *La Vie quotidienne des Musulmans au Moyen-Age* (X-XIIIe s.), 1951, 227 ff.

Bibliography: Apart from the works cited in the article and the *Geschichte des Zuckers* of v. Lippmann, see also S. de Sacy, *Chrestomathie*, i, 276, ii, 7; von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte*, ii, 186-7, 200; I. Löw, *Der Zucker, Ein Kapital aus der Flora der Juden*, in *Chemische Zeitung*, li (1927); P. Schwarz, *Die Zuckermühlen von Ahwāz*, in *Islam*, vi (1915), 269 ff.; E. Wiedemann, *Ueber den Zucker bei den Muslimen*, in *Beiträge*, 52, and *Nachträge zu dem Aufsatz über den Zucker*, 55; J. Ruska in *EI*[1], art. SUKKAR; A. K. S. Lambton in *EI*[2], art. FILĀḤA (for Iran). (M. CANARD)

II. — MUSLIM WEST

Sugar cane, reached the West (Ma<u>gh</u>rib, Spain, Sicily, the Balearic Islands, Provence, etc.) in the wake of the Arab expansion in the Mediterranean. Greek and Roman antiquity seems, in fact, to have recognized it as a botanical curiosity only (Dioscorides, Pliny, Strabo, etc.). The exact dates of its first appearances in the various Mediterranean lands are not known precisely. It can, however, be presumed that they followed closely on the advance of the Arabs, who had discovered its cultivation in the East (Mesopotamia) and encouraged it for economic and fiscal reasons. The first allusion to it in the Ma<u>gh</u>rib is found in the "Book of Plants" (*Kitāb al-Nabāt*) by the eastern botanist Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī (d. 282/895). From the 4th/10th century, its presence is noted by as many of the principal Muslim historians, geographers or voyagers as of European ones. As a result, we have precise evidence in Ibn Ḥawḳal for the 4th/10th century, al-Bakrī for the 5th/11th century, al-Idrīsī and the *Kitāb al-Istibṣār* for the 6th/12th century, al-ʿUmarī for the 8th/14th century, and Leo Africanus and Marmol for the first and second half of the 16th century.

In Spain, where it is described in the reign of ʿAbd al-Rahman I (cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, *L'Espagne musulmane du Xe siècle*, 165-7), during the Muslim period the growing of sugar cane extended from Valencia and Castellón de la Plana to the mouth of the Guadalquivir. Its cultivation suffering from the expulsion of the Moriscos; it was henceforth limited to the area between Malaga and Alméria, which it still occupies at the present time, the principal areas being found around Motril, Almuñecar, Nerja, etc.

In Algeria, Tunisia and Libya, it was noted at Algiers, Aw<u>dj</u>ila, Surt, Ḳasṭīliya and Tozeur.

In Morocco, it spread from north to south, from Tangiers and Ceuta (Balyūna<u>sh</u>) to Goulemine and to Ḳṣābī along the Atlantic coast, with Ul<u>dj</u>a of Salé, Ḥawz of Marraku<u>sh</u> and Sūs as the main localities. For this country, textual evidence can be cross-checked with tradition and especially with recent research and discoveries in archaeology. Fifteen sugar-refinery foundations, of which six have been excavated, have been identified in the Ḥawz of Marraku<u>sh</u> under the Tensift (Sidi <u>Sh</u>iker), the Ḳsob water course (Suwayra ḳadīma) and <u>Sh</u>i<u>sh</u>awa (where two foundations were found), as in Sūs.

The variety cultivated must have been hardy, and because of the region's geographical situation in a semi-arid marginal zone, the cane could only have prospered with the aid of a massive irrigation system and very elaborate cultivation techniques (cf. Ibn al-ʿAwwām). Indeed, some vast irrigation networks comprising numerous remarkable works of art have been uncovered in Morocco at the same time as the sugar refineries. In all regions, canals for carrying water, aqueducts and recovery basins have been uncovered, indicating a use of water both skilful and economical, for it was also used to drive the mills. Today sugar cane cultivation has completely disappeared from Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia. In Morocco, however, a "sugar-refinery plan" envisages the revival of its cultivation alongside that of sugar-beet in regions where water has been dammed up, not necessarily in those where sugar cane was formerly grown. There are various reasons for the disappearance of this plant but, for the whole of the Mediterranean, the primary cause was the disruption of the sugar market following the discovery of new territories and subsequent increasingly valuable investment in the West Indies and America. Burdened by the onerous need for irrigation, only in Spain cane production could withstand the competition of the New World lands; yet it should not be forgotten that sugar cane contributed to the economic prosperity of the Muslim lands of the West for almost eight centuries.

Bibliography: A complete bibliography will be found in P. Berthier, *Les anciennes sucreries du Maroc et leurs réseaux hydrauliques*, Rabat 1966, as well as an account of the research and excavations carried out in Morocco from 1948 to 1960. (P. BERTHIER)

ḲAṢABA. 1. General. Originally the essential part of a country or a town, its heart, and later (a) fortified castle, residence of an authority in the centre of a country or a town; and (b) principal town, chief town.

In the first sense the word occurs especially in the Muslim West, where it designates, outside the towns, the residence of an important personage (particularly in the Atlas) or a garrison billeted in a fortress and, within the towns, the citadel seat of government; in the latter sense it corresponds to the *ḳal*ʿ*a* of the East.

A particularly interesting development of the word, always in the West, is furnished by its application to the most ancient part of a town; in relation to the later urban developments this old town, encircled by walls, has come to be considered as the town "par excellence", the heart of the whole town: *al-madīna*, *al-ḳaṣaba* (*ḳaṣba*, *kasbah*). A final stage in this development is represented by the colonial epoch, which designates by these words the native town as against that of the Europeans.

In the sense of chief town, the best definition of the term is furnished by the geographer al-Muḳaddasī. If the *miṣr*, in relation to the *iḳlīm* (province), or the *madīna* (city), in relation to the *kūra* (district), effectively perform the role of chief town, this role is not conceivable outside the relationship of each of these towns with the district dependent on it. The *ḳaṣaba*, on the contrary, is the chief town in general, the administrative centre whose administrative or geographical entity does not matter; the word then refers to a general function, and not to an exact

situation, which al-Muḳaddasī translates figuratively by saying that if the *amṣār* are like the kings and the *mudun* like the army, the *ḳaṣabāt* are like the chamberlains. The insistence on the function, and not on the actual situation of the town, is so strong that one finds, on occasion, the word *ḳaṣaba* to designate, as in the West, the heart of a town, as in connection with Palmyra where it refers to the central quarter situated in the ruins of the temple of Baal.

Bibliography: Muḳaddasī, tr. A. Miquel, Damascus 1963, 18, 19, 24, 92, 135 (and n. 90), 160 and *passim*; Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, 52, 60, 363, 374; *EI*[1], s.v. (A. Miquel)

2. North Africa. The term in the sense of "fortress-citadel", in the dialectal form *ḳaṣba*, plural *ḳṣābī* (diminutive *ḳṣība*), is widespread in the whole of Northern Africa as far as Timbuktu (Mali). It was none the less so in the Iberian Peninsula where it has survived, until our own days, in the form *alcazaba* (Spanish), *alcaçova* (Portuguese). The word has been gallicised for a long time, in several forms, of which the most commonly accepted by the dictionaries is *casbah*.

Essentially, in origin, the *ḳaṣaba* is a citadel which, while being attached to the wall surrounding a fortified town, remains sufficiently independent to constitute a keep capable of continuing the resistance, even after the fall of the city, or to serve as a refuge for the governor if the population revolts against his personal authority or that of the prince that he serves.

Its position is naturally fixed according to the best strategic situation, and is sometimes blended with that of an older military establishment. It proudly dominates the town from the height of a hill and may be situated on a watercourse, a cliff, a sea front. According to the countries and local means of construction it may be of hewn stone, rubble or puddled clay (*ṭābya*). If on a plain, its plan is generally a fairly regular quadrilateral; if on a mountain it espouses practically all the facilities for defence furnished by the topography and relief. A door, generally the sole one and with a single angle, joins the *ḳaṣaba* to the town that it defends or from which it holds itself aloof. Frequently, an emergency escape postern, called the Gate of Treason (Bāb al-G̲h̲adr), would in the old days connect the citadel directly with the country. It allowed the reception of information, reinforcements and provisions or the secret abandonment of the *ḳaṣaba*, so as to have no need of surrender.

Such were the *ḳaṣabāt* of the network that the caliphs of Cordova set up in Spain or the Mag̲h̲rib, and such were those that the Almoravids built for the defence of their empire in the Atlas and the Rīf and, in particular, at Marrakesh.

Under the Almohads in the 6th/12th century and under the dynasties succeeding them, the Ḥafṣids at Tunis and Marīnids at Fās, the sense of the term was enlarged in proportion to their creations. Al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī (*Ṣubḥ*, v, 103) and al-ʿUmarī (*Masālik al-abṣār*, French tr. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, ii, Paris 1937, index) definitely insist that the Mag̲h̲ribi *ḳaṣaba* is equivalent to the Eastern *ḳalʿa* [*q.v.*]), but the term is applied to every fortified town and even to the imperial towns of Marrakesh, Tunis and Fās al-D̲j̲adīd. These enclosed in their walls not only the palace of the sovereign and his confidants and the dwellings of his dependents, but one or more mosques, the fiscal services, the guards' barracks, baths, prisons, shops and even markets. They also had great main squares (*āsārāk* from the Berber *asarag*) where the people could assemble for the festivals and the army participate in ceremonies. Finally, some gardens more or less large (*āgdāl* [*q.v.*], and, then, some princely or private cemeteries completed the new urban complex. The great gates with a single angle, which were then constructed between town (*madīna*) and citadel (*ḳaṣaba*), are among the finest monuments which remain to us from this brilliant period (at Marrakesh: Bāb Agnā; at Rabat: Gate of the Wūdāya).

Under the S̲h̲arīfian dynasties of Morocco, the Saʿdids in the 10th/16th century and especially the ʿAlawids from the 11th/17th century to our own days, the word serves currently to designate small fortresses of a very simple plan erected in places and analogous with the Turkish *burd̲j̲*s and *kunak*s of Algeria, but more solidly constructed. Mawlay Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*] must have had sixty-six *ḳaṣabāt* constructed and had many others restored. Some constituted fortified outposts against hostile tribes, and frequently Berbers, whilst the others, in being spread out the length of the principal roads of the empire, watched over crossing points and bridges and sheltered travellers at the end of a stage (a list of them and the strength of their garrison is to be found in the study of Lt. de la Chapelle, *Le Sultan Moulay Ismaïl at les Berbères Sanhadja du Maroc Central*, in *AM*, xxviii (1931), 25, 29). Finally, in the neighbourhood of certain towns (Meknès, Salé) some fortified surrounding walls had been built which served as a dwelling for the black slaves (*ʿabīd*) or which were reserved for the contingents furnished by the tribes of whom military service was required. A certain number of these *ḳaṣabāt*, after the final disbanding of the troops, have today been transformed into residential quarters.

A very large number of Moroccan agglomerations bear the name of *ḳasba*, or its diminutive *ḳṣība* (P. Lancre, *Répertoire alphabétique des tribus ... et des agglomérations de la zone française de l'Empire Chérifien ...*, Casablanca 1939). The most important is Kasba-Tadla, a small town of 12,000 inhabitants on the Wādī al-rabīʿ, whose bridge has made its fortune.

By extension the Europeans apply the word more or less legitimately to the beautiful and sometimes immense half-civil, half-military dwellings of the important *ḳāʾid*s of the Moroccan Atlas and the Saharan oases. These vast *ḳaṣabāt* express in a material form the power that some powerful chiefs had acquired during the 19th century at the expense of the petty Berber republics, weakened by the strife of the opposed *leff*s [*q.v.*]. The Europeans have in the same way Arabised as *ḳaṣabāt* the *tig̲h̲remtīs* and *āgādīrīs*, defensive forts or fortified granaries of the same regions. These magnificent pieces of architecture, some of which go back to the 18th century, have been judiciously studied by H. Terrasse, Dj. Jacques Meunié and R. Duru (see *Bibl.*). They testify to the vitality of the rural Moroccan civilization, but the fragility of their construction and their decoration and the decadence of the Berber institutions render their conservation difficult.

In certain cities, Algiers for example, all the quarters of the ancient town combined bear the name of Casbah. This toponym, due to historical circumstances, has since 1830 enjoyed a great literary, cinematographic, and especially journalistic fame.

Bibliography: Apart from the references given in the art., see BINĀʾ, BURD̲J̲, ḤISN, and the details given for all the large towns in the Muslim West in the collection Guides Bleus (Hachette-Paris). G. Salmon, *La Qaçba de Tanger*, in *Archives Nationales*, i (1904); Capt. Maitrot, *Une*

vieille Kasbah (Médiouna in Morocco), in *Recueil des Notices et Mémoires de la Société Archéologique du Département de Constantine*, li (1917-18), with plan; P. Ricard, *Pour comprendre l'art musulman dans l'Afrique du Nord et en Espagne*, Paris 1924; H. Basset and H. Terrasse, *Sanctuaires et forteresses almohades*, Collection Hespéris, v, Paris 1932; H. Terrasse, *Kasbas berbères de l'Atlas et des oasis*, Paris 1938 (with illustrations); *La Kasba, Acropole de Tanger*, special no. of *Tanger-Rivièra*, Tangier 1939; R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, index; F. Hernandez, *The Alcazaba of Merida*, in K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, ii, Oxford 1940; L. Torres Balbas, *La alcazaba almohade de Badajoz*, in *al-Andalus*, vi (1941); idem, *Excavaciones y obras en la alcazaba de Malaga*, in *ibid.*, ix (1945); J. Despois, *L'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1949, index; R. Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le Protectorat*, Paris 1949; J. Caillé, *La ville de Rabat jusqu'au Protectorat, histoire et archéologie*, Paris 1949, 3 vols.; H. Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc*, Casablanca 1950, index; Ch. Allain and J. Meunie, *Recherches archéologiques au Tasghimout des Mesfioua*, in *Hespéris* (1951); R. Duru, *Une qasba berbère au pied du versant sud de l'Atlas*, in *L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui*, No. 35 (1951) with plans; J. Meunié, H. Terrasse and G. Deverdun, *Recherches archéologiques à Marrakech*, Paris 1952; H. Terrasse, *La forteresse almoravide d'Amergo*, in *al-Andalus*, xviii (1953); G. Marcais, *L'architecture musulmane d'occident*, Paris 1954, index; R. Ricard, *Recherches sur la "Porte de la Trahison" dans la forteresse hispanique*, in *al-Andalus*, xx (1955); J. Caille and J. Hainaut, *La Qasba des Gnaoua*, in *Hespéris* (1955); J. Meunié and Ch. Allain, *La forteresse almoravide de Zagora*, in *Hespéris* (1956); R. Duru, *Une qasba des Aït Quarrab* (plans and photographs), in *Hespéris-Tamuda* (1960); G. Deverdun, *Marrakech des origines à 1912*, Rabat 1959-66; Dj. J. Meunié, *Greniers-citadelles au Maroc*, Paris 1961, 2 vols., idem, *Architectures et habitats du Dades, Maroc pré-saharien*, Paris 1962; F. Nasser, *Emprunts lexicographiques du français à l'arabe*, Beirut 1966, No. 754; M. Morsi, *Moulay Ismāʿīl et l'Armée de métier*, in *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, xiv (1967), 2; R. Landau, *The Kasbas of southern Morocco*, London 1969.

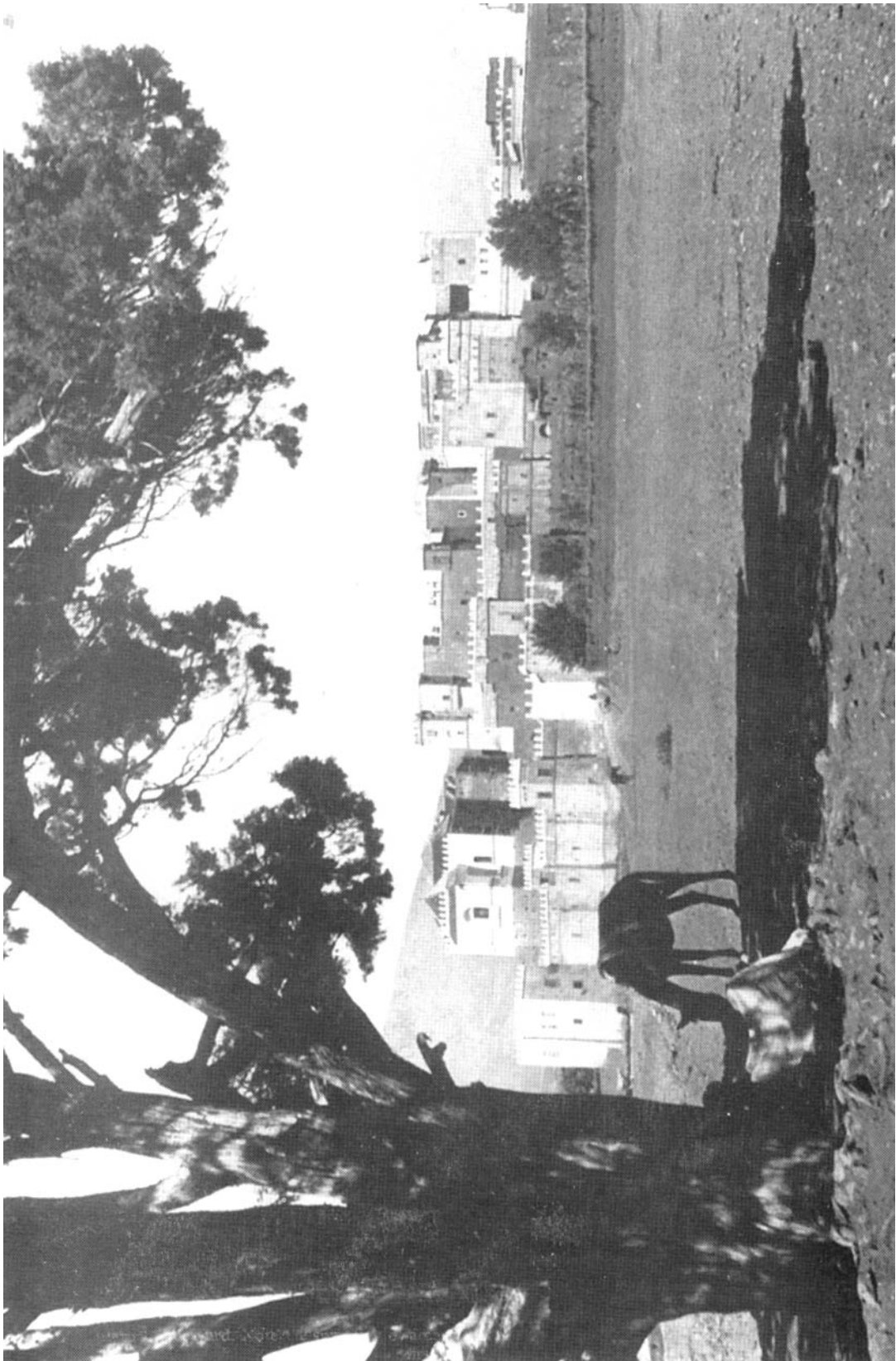
(G. Deverdun)

ĶASAK [see čerkes].

KASALA (variant, Kasalā; conventional spelling, Kassala), a town and province in the east of the republic of the Sudan, extending from the frontier of Egypt to that of Ethiopia. Geographically, the province contains five distinct types of country. (1) A rough triangle in the south, bounded by the railway, the river Rahad and the Ethiopian frontier, where al-Ķallābāt (Gallabat) is the principal town, is a westward extension of the central clay plains of the Sudan. (2) North of this is the Buṭāna, a plain lying between the Blue Nile, the main Nile and the river ʿAṭbarā, which provides grazing for nomadic and semi-nomadic Arab tribes, of which the Shukriyya is the most important. The town of al-Ķaḍārif (Gedaref) on the border between this and the previous region originated as the market of the Shukriyya, and was called Sūķ Abū Sinn from the name of the tribal chief. A section of the Bedja [*q.v.*] tribe of Bishārīn [*q.v.*] has been established in the eastern Buṭāna and on the ʿAṭbarā since the 12th/18th century. (3) The ʿAtbāy consists of the plains lying east and north of the ʿAṭbarā and fringing the Red Sea Hills. This is mostly nomad country, inhabited by Bedja ranging from Ummarār (Amarar) in the north through Bishārīn and Hadanduwa to Banū ʿĀmir in the south. It includes, however, the fertile cotton-producing delta of the river Ķāsh (Gash), at the head of which, beneath the spectacular isolated Djabal Kasala (2,791 ft.), is the town of Kasala, the provincial capital. To this area, inhabited by the Ḥalānka tribe of Bedja, the now obsolete name of al-Tāka was formerly given. (4) The Red Sea Hills, a northern extension of the Ethiopian Highlands, are sparsely inhabited by nomadic Bedja. Sinkāt (Bedja, Ōkāk) is a market-town and administrative centre occupying a strategic position on the route (now followed by the railway) between the Red Sea and the Nile. (5) The coastal plain, while supporting a nomadic Bedja population, has been the site in succession of the ports of Bāḍiʿ, ʿAydhāb [*q.v.*], Sawākin (Suakin) and Port Sudan. The town of Tūkar (Tokar) lies in the delta of the Baraka. Traditionally the granary of the region, it now produces cotton.

Until the 19th century, most of what is now the province of Kasala was tribal territory, open to trade and cultural influences through the Red Sea ports, and, from the 10th/16th century, within the sphere of influence (rather than the effective control) of the Fundj [*q.v.*] sultanate of Sinnār. Holy men played an important part in the region. Ḥasan b. Ḥassūna (d. 1075/1664-5), the grandson of an immigrant from the Maghrib, established a patriarchal lordship in the central Buṭāna, based on the herding of flocks and the export of horses to Sinnār and other Sudanese states; he maintained a slave-household and army (see Yūsuf Faḍl Ḥasan (ed.), Muḥammad al-Nūr b. Ḍayf Allāh, *K. al-ṭabaķāt fī khuṣūṣ al-awliyāʾ waʾl-ṣāliḥīn waʾl-ʿulamāʾ waʾl-shuʿarāʾ fī ʾl-Sūdān*, Khartoum 1971, 133-48; cf. S. Hillelson, *Sudan Arabic texts*, Cambridge 1935, 194-99). In the 12th/18th century, the holy clan of the Madjādhīb, propagators of the Shādhiliyya *ṭarīķa*, acquired great influence among the eastern tribes from their centre at al-Dāmir at the junction of the ʿAṭbarā with the Nile. Burckhardt in 1814 noted the security that they afforded to travellers passing between al-Dāmir and Sawākin (J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia*, London 1819, 268). The devastation of al-Dāmir in 1822 by the Turco-Egyptian commander, Muḥammad Bey Khusraw al-Daftardār, and the flight to Sawākin of the chief of the clan, led to a further strengthening of Madjdhūbī influence among the Hadanduwa. In the later 12th/18th century, on the disintegration of the Fundj sultanate, the Shukriyya emerged as the dominant tribe in the Buṭāna. (See H. A. MacMichael, *A history of the Arabs in the Sudan*, Cambridge 1922, i, 250-3.)

The establishment of Turco-Egyptian rule in the riverain areas made possible the conquest of the nomadic tribes. Although the Hadanduwa were raided in 1823 and again in 1831-2, their effective subjugation was achieved by the *hükümdār* (governor-general) Aḥmad Pasha Abū Widān, who invaded al-Tāka in 1840 and established a garrison-post, from which developed the town of Kasala. The resistance of the Hadanduwa was finally broken by his successor, Aḥmad Manikli Pasha, who made a punitive expedition in 1844. Meanwhile, a new Ṣūfī *ṭarīķa*, the Khatmiyya, was being propagated among the Bedja by al-Ḥasan, the son of its founder, Muḥammad ʿUthmān al-Mīrghanī. He established his headquarters at al-Khātimiyya, near the town of Kasala, where he died and was buried in 1869. In 1864-5 he played an important part as a mediator during serious mutinies of Sudanese (*i.e.*, black) troops at Kasala. (See J. S. Triming-

Ḳaṣaba of Telouet (Morocco). Photograph by courtesy of Mme Dj. Jacques-Meunié

ham, *Islam in the Sudan*, London 1949, 231-5.)

The Red Sea littoral, and more specifically the ports of Sawākin and Maṣawwaʿ, had been part of the Ottoman Empire since the 10th/16th century. The two towns were granted to Muḥammad ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a on an annual lease in 1846 but reverted to the *vilayet* of the Ḥid̲j̲āz in 1849. In 1865 they were assigned to the Khedive Ismāʿīl for life, a concession which in the following year was made hereditary. This grant coincided with the boom in cotton resulting from the American Civil War, and the khedivial governor of Sawākin, Aḥmad Mumtāz Pas̲h̲a, established an experimental cotton plantation at Ṭūkar. Appointed in 1870 general governor of the Red Sea Littoral (*i.e.*, Sawākin, Maṣawwaʿ, the Somali coast and al-Tāka) he projected a very extensive development of cotton production in his province, which at first appealed to the Khedive but proved impracticable.

There were no significant developments in the region in the early phase of the Mahdia. The Bed̲j̲a were initially uninterested in a movement promoted by Arabic speakers, while the S̲h̲ukriyya were on friendly terms with the khedivial administration, to which their chief (*nāẓir*), ʿAwaḍ al-Karīm Aḥmad Abū Sinn, gave loyal support. In May 1883 the Mahdī sent as his emissary ʿUt̲h̲mān b. Abī Bakr Diḳna al-Sawākinī (Osman Digna), a member of a trading family of Sawākin and of partially Bed̲j̲a descent. Rivalry between the Mad̲j̲ād̲h̲īb and the K̲h̲atmiyya gave him an ally in the head of the former group, S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Ṭāhir al-Ṭayyib al-Mad̲j̲d̲h̲ūb, who brought over to the Mahdist cause his own adherents among the Hadanduwa. Sinkāt and Ṭūkar were besieged and fell in February 1884. Lacking sea-power, ʿUt̲h̲mān Diḳna was unable to capture Sawākin, which, garrisoned and commanded by the British, remained an enclave in Mahdist territory. Of the Egyptian garrisons in the interior, al-Ḳaḍārif surrendered in April 1884, and Kasala in July 1885 after a long siege, while al-Ḳallābāt and al-D̲j̲īra near the Abyssinian frontier were successfully evacuated.

Two military provinces with their headquarters at ʿAfāfīt near Ṭūkar and al-Ḳallābāt (subsequently al-Ḳaḍārif) guarded the heartlands of the Mahdist state against a hostile periphery—the British in Sawākin, the Italians in Eritrea, and the Christian power of Abyssinia. The effectiveness of the Mahdist forces was diminished by mutual ill-feeling between ʿUt̲h̲mān Diḳna and his Bed̲j̲a followers on the one hand and the Arab commanders and warriors on the other. In spite of a successful Mahdist raid under Ḥamdān Abū ʿAnd̲j̲a, which penetrated to Gondar (January 1888), and the death of the Abyssinian ruler, John IV, after a battle at al-Ḳallābāt (March 1889), the position on this frontier was virtually a stalemate throughout the Mahdia. On the other sectors the situation of the Mahdists deteriorated. A British force took ʿAfāfīt in February 1891, dislodging ʿUt̲h̲mān Diḳna and ending the threat to Sawākin. In July 1894 the Italians captured Kasala by prior agreement with the British, but retroceded the town to Egypt in December 1897. The last effective Mahdist army in the region was withdrawn from al-Ḳaḍārif by Aḥmad Faḍīl, who joined the K̲h̲alīfa ʿAbdallāhi after the decisive defeat of Kararī (September 1898) and died with him at Umm Diwaykarāt (24 November 1899).

Under the Condominium (1899-1955) and the independent republic of the Sudan, the history of the region has increasingly been merged in the general development and modernization of the country. The province of Kasala as originally formed did not include the northern and coastal districts until it was amalgamated with the Red Sea Province in 1930. While the intractable Bed̲j̲a remained a difficult problem for administrators, economic and educational progress assisted their integration into the Sudanese community. Factors of economic change in the province have been the construction of Port Sudan (1906-9) and the extension of cotton cultivation in the Ḳās̲h̲ and Baraka deltas after the First World War. Ancillary to the latter development was the construction of a railway link between Port Sudan and Kasala (1924) and the subsequent extension of this line to Sinnār.

Bibliography: See the bibliography under BED̲J̲A and add the following: K. M. Barbour, *The republic of the Sudan*, London 1961; Richard Hill, *Egypt in the Sudan*, 1820-1881, London 1959; P. M. Holt, *The Mahdist state in the Sudan, 1881-1898*[2], Oxford 1970; D. C. Cumming, *A history of Kassala and of the province of Taka*, in *Sudan Notes and Records*, xx/1 (1937), 1-45; xxiii/1-2 (1940), 1-54, 225-69. (P. M. HOLT)

ḲASAM (A.), from the verb *aḳsama*, designates the oath in general. The word has two other synonyms, *yamīn*, and *ḥalf*. Ibn Rus̲h̲d (*Bidāyat al-Mud̲j̲tahid*, i, 394), wishing to emphasize their equivalence from the point of view of terminology, uses the three words without differentiation in the first paragraph of the *kitāb al-aymān* of his *Bidāya*. In fact, when he deals with the judiciary oath, custom has imposed the word *yamīn* [*q.v.*] and the verb *ḥalafa* almost exclusively. But even in that which concerns the extrajudiciary oath, with which the discussion that follows is concerned, the word *yamīn* has a tendency to supplant *ḳasam*. It is also a fact that, in the treatises of *fiḳh*, whichever school is considered, and in the collections of *ḥadīt̲h̲*, the chapter dedicated to [extrajudiciary] oaths is almost always entitled *bāb* or *faṣl al-aymān*.

In the lines that follow, the judiciary oath will not be discussed; nevertheless, there will be occasion to consider, in the field of penal procedure, the *ḳasāma*, an oath pronounced fifty times, which, although connected with the judiciary oath, derives etymologically from the word *ḳasam*.

The extrajudiciary oath is that by which a person binds himself to do or not to do a certain specific physical or juridical act, by invoking the name of God or one of the divine attributes (*al-Raḥmān, al-Ḳādir, al-Nāṣir*, etc.). At least, that is the definition that the works of *fiḳh* give of it, for, in the Ḳurʾān, the word *ḳasam* or the verb *aḳsama*, which figure expressly in the *sūras* of the Meccan period (VI, 109; XVI, 38; LVI, 75; LXVIII, 17; LXXXI, 15; LXXXIX; 5; XC, etc.) or which are implied in many of the other *sūras* of the same period, apply, in general, to the oaths pronounced by God himself, which are known to cause some difficulties for commentators of the Ḳurʾān. Already in the Medinan *sūras*, the word *yamīn* is frequently substituted for *ḳasam* (II, 225; V, 89) and marks the first stage of an evolution leading to the concept which becomes that of *fiḳh* with regard to extrajudiciary oaths which bring about voluntary bonds, while the verb *aḳsama* is still to be found in these Medinan *sūras* (for example, V, 53).

The bond undertaken under oath is not, in general, a juridical obligation, in the sense that the one who has sworn to perform an act cannot be constrained judicially to carry it out. In a case where he did not respect his oath, he would be perjured (*ḥint̲h̲*), but it is then a matter of sin, a moral fault, for which he must account to God alone. Nevertheless, *fiḳh*, following very close to the Ḳurʾānic text (V, 39) pro-

vides him, in the hypothetical case where he has involuntarily broken his oath, with a means to put his conscience in order, that is, by expiation, *kaffāra*. Expiation for a broken oath may be to give sustenance to 10 paupers, to distribute clothing to them or to free a slave; and, if, through lack of resources, any of these expiations is not possible, the perjured man must fast for 3 days. These regulations, having been laid down in the Ḳurʾān, are evidently common to the teaching of all the Schools. The latter are all divided, however, on the methods of application of each of them. For example, should the fast last for 3 consecutive days? Yes, reply the Ḥanafīs and the Ḥanbalīs, but no, according to the Mālikīs and the Shāfiʿīs (Dimashḳī, *Raḥmat al-Umma*, ii, 79-80). The same divergences are found in that which concerns the quantity of food to be given to the poor, or the quality of the clothing which is distributed to them. It must be emphasized that, as with the oath itself, the expiation, which sanctions its non-execution, has no characteristic of juridical obligation, and no-one, not even the public authority, can constrain the perjured man to perform expiation. All this is laid out on a strictly moral and religious plane.

The *fuḳahāʾ* were asked if it was not possible for someone, who had sworn to accomplish a certain act deliberately, to substitute the expiation for the performance of his oath, although nothing prevented him from accomplishing his vow. Strangely enough, the Ḥanafīs and Ḥanbalīs refuse him this option, a prohibition that is not in accordance with the character of vows freely consented to as with the oath and expiation.

The statement of the jurists with regard to oaths (*aymān*) is, in form, very close to that which they adopt in that which concerns a real juridical act. Necessary capacity, conditions of form and substance, null and void formulas, moment of performance of the vow undertaken, effects of the suspensive condition, expedients (*ḥiyal*) to change the law, all would let us suppose that it was concerned with vows which, although unilateral, bound their author by strict juridical obligation. Certainly, a careful examination of the dispositions of each school on the question, and especially the non-juridical sanction, which consists of *kaffāra*, quickly restores to these dispositions their real character of strictly religious and moral rules. That is not to say that all the works of the jurists on the question were devoid of practical interest. Throughout the centuries, the pious Muslim did not generally attach great importance to the distinction, familiar to specialists, between moral and juridical sanction. His concern was to know whether his conduct here below was reprehensible or not, and whether it would bring him chastisement in the next world. So it was that the long discussions dedicated in the books of *fiḳh* to oaths (*aymān*) often associated with vows, *nudhūr* [*q.v.* NADHR] presented him with a very great interest.

It is not possible to enter into detail on the solutions proposed by authors (different, moreover, according to the schools) for particular cases of oaths and all the kinds that were imagined.

Only one example will be given because of the long discussions that the works of *fiḳh* dedicate to this particular case. It concerns the oath called *ẓihār*, which may be translated very vaguely as "incestuous comparison". The word is derived from *ẓahr*, "back". Presumably the husband says to his wife: "You are for me like my mother's back", *ka-ẓahri ummī*, or any other comparison of a part of the body of his wife with that of a woman he could not marry without committing incest. In pre-Islamic Arabia it was a general form of repudiation, but the Ḳurʾān condemned everything of that kind (XXXIII, 4 and LVIII, 2-3). Its pronunciation constituted nothing other than a sin, and a serious one, which could only be wiped out by expiation. This is different from the ordinary expiation for oaths not respected, and consists of freeing a slave, or in default, fasting for 2 months (during the day only, of course). If not, the husband would have to distribute the midday and evening meal to 60 paupers.

In a general manner, the solutions of *fiḳh* hinge on two essential points. In the first place, it is concerned with knowing when one may consider that an oath has been respected, the expressions used by the one who swore being borne in mind. On this point, the replies are very often of a lexicological order and baffle all systemization. The second point concerns expiation; this is not automatically incurred by the simple fact that the oath has not been performed. There are actually some oaths which, due to an actual or theoretical fault, do not call for expiation, although they have not been respected. It is in this category that one places the *yamīn al-ghamūs*, or oath to perform a deed that one knows to have been already performed. There would not be any *kaffāra*, except in the Shāfiʿī school. In the same way, the *laghw al-yamīn*, an oath taken by mistake (through a slip of the tongue) or in a thoughtless manner, does not require expiation (Dimashḳī, *op. cit.*, ii, 73). The same applies, if one follows an oath with an *istithnāʾ*, a reservation, of which the most usual is "If God wills". No more can someone who is not *mukallaf* (fully capable) bind himself validly by oath, but the majority of the schools (except the Ḥanafī school) admit that the oath of the unbeliever (*kāfir*) is valid, and that he will be held liable to expiation if he does not carry out his vow.

During the centuries, the usages, variable according to the regions, have added different ceremonials to the very simple form of the oath that was foreseen by *fiḳh*, in order to render the vow more solemn, and to bind further its author. There were also oaths pronounced in sacred places such as the Kaʿba at Mecca, or simply within a mosque, which conferred on them a higher value in popular belief.

In the same fashion, oaths are sworn by touching the tomb of a saint or holding bread and coffee in the hand, or placing on the heart an excerpt from the Ḳurʾān or the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Bukhārī. Sometimes this supplementary ceremonial represents a pre-Islamic practice, still strongly marked by paganism, such as pronouncing the oath and throwing salt in the communal fire of the tribe, or within a circle in which cinders and pieces of fabric have been scattered. There are some moments of the day when oaths acquire a particular importance, such as that which follows the evening prayer.

On all these practices which are unknown to *fiḳh*, see Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, iii, 338, 342; Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, 311; Landberg, *Arabica*, v, 133-4; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 306; Lane, *Manners and Customs*[3], i, 168, 470.

Oaths judicially sanctioned. As has been stated and repeated above, the whole theory of the extrajudiciary oath is placed on a moral and religious plane, and consequently very often means that the question may be treated in the first part of the works of *fiḳh*, dedicated to ritual (*ʿibadāt*). Nevertheless, in two fields of law, *i.e.* enfranchisement and repudiation, the oath involved in the past (and sometimes today) a juridical sanction, in the sense that

the one who swore to free his slave or repudiate his wife was held liable to carry out his vow, without being able to substitute a *kaffāra* or expiation, through which he would have been able to free himself from his obligation.

In the matter of enfranchisement, every declaration to this effect, even not dependent on the fulfilment of an act by the master or the slave or any other person, had the validity of an oath of enfranchisement, *al-ḥalf bi'l-ʿitḳ*) and this oath (which did not, however, mention the name of God) irrevocably entailed the liberty of the slave or the slaves alluded to in the master's declaration.

Ancient *fiḳh* had set up two institutions both based on an oath which, although not having as principal object the breaking-up of marriage, led indirectly to this result. The first of these institutions is the *liʿān*, or "oath of anathema", by which the husband accuses his wife of adultery or disowns the child that she carries in her womb. To this end, the husband prayed five times an oath in the form *as̲h̲hadu bi-llāhi*, and the last oath was followed by the formula "may I be cursed, if I lie".

The *īlāʾ* was an "oath of continence", the husband swearing in the name of God not to have sexual relations with his wife for at least 4 months. When this time had passed without a resumption of conjugal relations, the marriage was not automatically broken up except in Ḥanafī law, the other schools allowing the wife to judge the occasion for the severance, which would take place by a repudiation that the husband would pronounce, or that the *ḳāḍī* would formulate in his place.

Very soon the rules of precedent, especially those relating to the *īlāʾ*, had fallen into desuetude. The jurists do not dedicate very long discussions to them, except on account of the importance of the scriptural evidence relating to these two institutions, and not for their usefulness, which had become practically nil.

The oath of repudiation. On the other hand, the oath of repudiation, *al-ḥalf bi'l-ṭalāḳ* or still more *al-yamīn bi'l-ṭalāḳ*, has always been in very current usage among the Arabic-speaking Muslim populations. In certain circles, notably that of the small traders, it is not rare in the course of a conversation for one of the speakers to swear two or three times, in order to assert his determination or his good faith: "May my wife be repudiated if such a thing does or does not happen, if I am right or if I am wrong, etc.". The matters are of no consequence, each one knowing that he is uttering idle words, pronounced mechanically and without attention being paid to them. The moralists have always severely reproved this bad habit, for, in any case, it leads to a blameworthy result, whether the one who has sworn does not respect his oath on the pretext that he had formulated it without a serious intention to repudiate and he finds himself perjured, often several times a day, or whether he respects it and separates from his wife, from whom he had no intention to separate and whom he had no occasion to reproach.

What juridical validity did the jurists attach to these oaths of repudiation? Only the D̲j̲aʿfarīs (and the Ẓāhirīs in the past) have always denied them all legal validity, for the reason, among others, that they do not contain the name of God in their formulation. The other juridical schools regard them as conditional repudiations, and as such, involving the break-up of the marriage, when the condition is realized. Whether the wife avails herself or not of the oath or the husband respects it in separating from his wife or does not respect it in continuing to live with her, are questions of fact, which do not modify at all the principle itself, *i.e.* the oath of repudiation determines, in law, the repudiation of the wife, if the tacit or explicit condition that it contains is realized. This troublesome solution of the jurists is still applied today in a certain number of Muslim countries.

Egypt is the first Muslim state to have attempted to restrain the execution of the rule of precedent. The Egyptian law of 10 March 1929 declares as null and void conditional repudiations and oaths of repudiation, when these are dependent on an act being done or not done by the wife; but if the condition is different (*i.e.* if it is not dependent on the will of the wife) the oath of repudiation is valid. Several Muslim countries (Sudan, Jordan, Syria) have adopted in their turn the Egyptian distinction. One must turn to the Moroccan Code of the Personal Statute of 1958 and the Iraqi Code of the Personal Statute of 1959 to find a radical condemnation of every oath of repudiation, whatever may be the nature of the condition on which the repudiation is dependent.

ḲASĀMA.—Derived etymologically from *ḳasam*, this differs from it in its mode of being taken and its strict field of application. It is concerned with an oath repeated 50 times, either by the *ʿaṣaba* of the victim of a murder (Mālikī rite), or by the inhabitants of the place of the crime (Ḥanafī rite) an oath by which is asserted the guilt or, on the contrary, the innocence of an individual presumed to have killed someone. This oath dates from the pre-Islamic period, when it always constituted a procedure of accusation, a weapon in the hands of the members of the victim's tribe, seeking to make use of retaliation (*ḳiṣāṣ*) against the man presumed to be guilty. The juridical schools of Islam, in adopting this pre-Islamic custom, do not make it produce the same result. Actually, in *fiḳh*—merely quoting the Ḥanafī and Mālikī doctrines which are clearly opposed—the *ḳasāma* is, in the first of these systems, a procedure for the defence of the one presumed guilty, and, in the second, a procedure of accusation.

According to all the early Ḥanafīs (sc. those of Kūfa), when in a non-public place (which excludes the mosque), quarter of a town, house, boat, etc., the corpse of a person was discovered, when there were not two male witnesses to point out the murderer, and when the *walī al-dam*, the nearest *ʿāṣib* relative of the victim, came to demand justice, 50 people had to be made to swear to having found it in this place, that they were not involved in this crime and that they did not know the murderer. If 50 people could not be gathered (if the crime was committed in a house, for example), it was possible to make the same person swear several times, in such a manner that the total of 50 oaths was reached. In the light of this, the *walī al-dam* could not apply retaliation and had to content himself with the pecuniary compensation (*diya*) provided in such a case.

The Mālikī school, following the teaching of the scholars of Medina, has kept the characteristics of the *ḳasāma* which it had in pre-Islamic Arabia, that is to say, those of a procedure of accusation. It is also a fact that in the hypothetical case of a murder of which the author is unknown, the *ʿaṣaba* relatives of the victim swore a total of 50 oaths (the same person could swear several times provided that this was not more than 25 times) that such an individual, against whom is weighted serious presumptive evi-

dence, was the one who committed the murder. The notion of serious presumption (*lawth*) has acquired thereby in this school, and in those that have adopted the same conception of *ķasāma*, a fundamental importance. Serious presumptive evidence was held to be not only the fact that the victim, before dying, had accused the presumed murderer, but also the presence of this last person, with his blood-stained clothing, not far from the victim, or even the testimony of a single witness to the murder. With these conditions combined, the *walī al-dam* would bring retaliation against the one presumed guilty, such that he could then, as a result, have him put to death. The Mālikī version of the *ķasāma*, in which oaths liable to bring about death were taken by the relatives of the victim who, *ex hypothesi*, were not present at the murder, has formed the subject of some criticisms on behalf of one party, that has nevertheless remained a minority, of the ancient doctrine (Ibn Rus̲h̲d, *Bidāya*, ii, 419).

Finally, it does not appear that this institution functioned much, even in the past when the penal law of Islam had a certain practical application.

Bibliography: See the chapter *aymān*, in the works of *fiķh*, *e.g.* Marg̲h̲īnānī, *Hidāya*, Cairo 1936, ii, 54-5; Ibn Rus̲h̲d, *Bidāyat al-mud̲j̲tahid*, Cairo 1952, i, 394; Ibn Ķudāma, *Mug̲h̲nī*, Cairo 1367, viii, 676-7; J. Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten*, Strasbourg 1914; Y. Linant de Bellefonds, *Traité de droit musulman comparé*, Paris - The Hague 1965, ii, nos. 1001 to 1011, 1021.

On the *ķasāma*, see al-Kāsānī, *Badāʾiʿ al-ṣanāʾiʿ*, Cairo 1910, vii, 286-7; K̲h̲alīl b. Isḥāķ, *Muk̲h̲taṣar* (tr. Bousquet) nos. 298-9; R. Brunschvig, *Considérations sur le droit musulman ancien*, in *Studia Islamica*, iii (1955), 69-70; N. J. Coulson, *A History of Islamic Law*, Edinburgh 1964, 93-4; J. Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law*[1], Oxford 1964, 184.

(J. Pedersen-[Y. Linant de Bellefonds])

AL-KĀSĀNĪ, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Masʿūd, called Malik al-ʿUlamāʾ "King of Scholars" was one of the greatest jurists of the Ḥanafī law school. His *nisba* stems from Kāsān, in Farg̲h̲āna, to the north of the Syr Daryā in Central Asia. He was the pupil of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Samarķandī (d. 539/1144), the author of a treatise regarded as authoritative in the Ḥanafī school, sc. his *Tuḥfat al-fuķahāʾ* (printed at Damascus in 1964), and married this scholar's daughter Fāṭima, herself well-versed in the legal sciences. Appointed to a position in Aleppo in 543/1148, he taught there till his death in 587/1189, in the famous Madrasa Ḥalawiyya. In Aleppo, he was always treated with respect and consideration by the authorities, who recognised his deep legal knowledge and the orthodoxy of his teaching; he frequently attacked the Muʿtazila and heretical innovators (the *ahl al-bidʿa*).

His main work, and the one which made him famous, is the *Kitāb Badāʾiʿ al-ṣanāʾiʿ fī tartīb al-s̲h̲arāʾiʿ* (Cairo 1327-48, 7 vols.). According to his biographers, this work is a commentary on the *Tuḥfa* of al-Samarķandī; but in reality, neither in form nor content is this a commentary in the usual sense of the term. As the author explains at the outset of his work, he wished to "imitate" the work of his predecessor; this is why each of its chapters begins by stating the plan of the subject matter, a plan to which al-Kāsānī is then rigorously faithful. He also owes to al-Samarkandī a certain tendency towards systematisation. Nevertheless, it must be conceded that the "imitation" is far superior to the original model. In Ḥanafī legal literature, the *Badāʾiʿ* constitutes a master-piece of a quality which was never reached subsequently. The term "commentary" has been attached to al-Kāsānī's work simply because his biographers wished to stress an aspect of his life which they thought worthy of remark, and said *s̲h̲araḥa Tuḥfatahu wa-tazawwad̲j̲a bintahu* "he wrote a commentary on his *Tuḥfa* [of al-Samarķandī] and married his daughter".

Despite his qualities of clarity, methodicalness and learning, al-Kāsānī's work nevertheless did not exercise any great influence on the later development of Ḥanafī law. It does not seem that legal scholars of his own time were particularly impressed with his importance; thus properly speaking, he had no disciples, and the *Badāʾiʿ* was not made the starting-point for numerous commentaries, as was the case with the *Hidāya* of his contemporary al-Marg̲h̲īnānī (d. 593/1197). At a later date, his ideas are hardly mentioned in the great compilations of Ḥanafī law, and even then with no more weight attached to them than to those of other Ḥanafī jurists. The appearance at the beginning of this century (1328/1909) of the first edition of the *Badāʾiʿ* quickly gave rise to a real excitement over this work amongst contemporary jurists, and it can be said that the teaching of Ḥanafī law became then completely polarised around it. Apart from the *Badāʾiʿ*, al-Kāsānī apparently wrote a work called *al-Sulṭān al-mubīn fī uṣūl al-dīn*, apparently lost; and Brockelmann mentions a Ķurʾān commentary called the *Kitāb al-Taʾwīlāt* which exists only in manuscript.

Bibliography: Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ Ḥalab*, ii, 295-6; al-Ķurashī, *al-D̲j̲awāhir al-muḍīʾa*, ii, 244-6; Ibn Ķuṭlubug̲h̲a, *Tād̲j̲ al-tarād̲j̲im fī ṭabaķāt al-Ḥanafiyya*, Baghdad 1962, 84-5; Tas̲h̲köprüzāde *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda*, Ḥaydarābād 1329, ii, 135; Brockelmann, I 375, S I 643; Sarkis, *Dictionnaire de bibliographie arabe*, Cairo 1928, col. 1540; Y. Meron, *The development of legal thought in Ḥanafī texts*, in *St. Isl.*, xx (1969), 87 ff.

(W. Heffening-Y. Linant de Bellefonds)

ĶAṢAṢ [see ķiṣṣa].

KASB (A.), in economic life, gain. As is well known, in its main trends Islam is not a doctrine of renunciation of the world, but one of respect for the commandments of God according to the uses of the world, which He has given to man for his benefit. There is therefore no objection whatsoever to a man's realising, as long as it is by legal means, the gain necessary to improve his life and that of his dependents. The Prophet was born into a society of merchants, to whom he often spoke in their own language. He himself had been a merchant and never denigrated this period of his life. Among his disciples were many merchants, whose revenues were increased for the maintenance of the young community. Of course, the Prophet did attack the Ķuras̲h̲īs of Mecca, striking specifically at their economic interests, but this was because of their egoism and denial of his Message and was not a condemnation of their commercial activity as such (Ķurʾān, II, 193-4, VII, 28, XII, 9, LXII, 9-10, etc. tr. Blachère, index to the word "fortune"; cf. also Rodinson (ch. 2), W. Ule, Heffening, etc. cited in the Bibl.). In the process of being fixed during the first centuries after the Hid̲j̲ra, the *Ḥadīth* developed the same line of thought, although bypassing some secondary doubts that concealed real problems. This very general article will be restricted to pointing out various directions in teaching and practice, referrring for more detailed analysis to the various methods

by means of which a "gain" might be realised.

Ibn Khaldūn, considering the problem of gain or profit at the end of the classical Muslim period, as it might be presented to a sociologist (although in accord with the Book of God), enumerates (tr. de Slane, ii, 223 f. = Rosenthal, ii, 311 f.) the different means of obtaining it and the two different forms it can take: gain for simple subsistence, or true profit, premium, each resulting to some extent from the application of human effort to the gifts of nature. They can thus be procured, apart from by force or through political power (taxes), by means of agriculture, industry and commerce. This last source is far and away the most respected in Islam.

As would be expected, reflections on the legitimacy of gain became more common from the time of the great economic leap forward of the 3rd/9th century; in fact, it was nearly always the legitimacy of commercial gain which was considered. The affirmation of the legitimacy of gain, as long as it was the fruit of honest toil, was underlined in the face of the ascetic tendencies of some spiritual groups outside Islam, and inside it of the nascent Ṣūfism, which sometimes preached a strict ideal of poverty and sometimes relied on God, that is on begging, on the charity of the faithful, in fact of the efforts of others and not of oneself (unless preaching or intercession with God can be so called) for the acquisition of whatever is necessary for oneself and one's family. It is symptomatic that it was among the Ḥanbalīs, who had most contact with poorer people and with the petite bourgeoisie, that the reaction against anti-economic trends is most pronounced. "Two kinds of food taste best", says a celebrated *ḥadīth* widespread in this milieu, "those produced by your own hands and those carried on your own back". Here, subsistence is in question, but even so, true profits are permitted, though under the strictest regulations. A polemic discovered by S. D. Goitein is highly relevant here. Deriving from a Ḥanafī milieu (always in this period closest to practice), it is a tract attributed, perhaps wrongly, to al-Shaybānī, but one which certainly dates from the 3rd/9th century; it is true that it has come down to us through the medium of a successor, but it is sufficiently clear. In essence, it gathers together all the relevant *ḥadīth*s and therefore all the guarantees legitimising gain. This indicates that the problem was indeed one faced by pious men, but that their conclusion was frankly positive, as it has been in all religions during periods of economic development. The attitude remained the same after the great expansion. H. Ritter has recently drawn attention to the contributions of various authors to the subject, al-Ghazālī in particular (end of the 5th/11th century). As would be expected, al-Ghazālī stresses spiritual values and condemns the dishonest merchant, but he equates the honest merchant with a fighter in the *djihād*, thereby demonstrating his regard for commerce.

Teachings from other sources were combined with those of Islam *stricto sensu*. Ritter and Plessner have demonstrated the importance of the ideas of Neopythagorean Bryson, whose work was translated into Arabic at a fairly early date, in the economic thinking of Islam, both Sunnī and Shīʿī, and of Judaism. Through his works were channelled Platonic and Aristotelian traditions. Incidentally, although this was not their own perspective, the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* also admit work as a source of gain, at least for subsistence (cf. Y. Marquet, in *Arabica*, vii (1961), 225 f.).

Without wishing to lay stress on this aspect, which will be more amply covered elsewhere, we must consider practice alongside doctrine. As has been noted, this is mostly concerned with commerce. The conception of merchants entailed here is one of a permanent accord, which can be traced right back to antiquity: the purpose of commerce, as expounded by the author of the *Tabaṣṣur bi'l-tidjāra* (3rd/9th cent., ʿIrāḳ), by Abū'l-Faḍl al-Dimashḳī (probably 5th/11th century, Fāṭimid region), and by Ibn Khaldūn, is to realise a profit through the difference between the purchase price in one area and the selling price elsewhere. It has therefore an essentially speculative aim; commerce certainly needs production, but it is not its conscious aim to stimulate it, even though only agriculture and industry are, in the material sense, properly productive. Here we must introduce the ideas developed in Islam concerning prices: in one sense they are willed by God and must therefore be left free, but even so a Muslim ruler is obliged to preserve them from excessive speculation, particularly in the case of basic commodities, just as he is obliged to regulate manufacture, weights and measures, currency, etc.

As in all ancient and mediaeval societies, lending an interest, in all the guises by which it was then known, was highly unpopular and officially forbidden. Early Islam stigmatised *ribā*, a term whose exact meaning is unknown. It entailed, evidently, a condemnation, from a moral point of view, of those who grew rich through the misery of others, without the loan granted helping the borrower in any way to retrieve his fortunes, such as lending dates to a starving man, etc. However, as is often the case with sacred texts, this was applied literally to quite different circumstances, especially in proportion as the economic decline of later Islam drew attention to its faults without their being sufficiently analysed. It was therefore concluded, right up to the present day, that all lending at interest was forbidden. In fact, in periods of economic expansion, in the Islamic world as elsewhere, the interdiction was twisted, in the most transparent fashion, by being applied to non-Muslim communities. Thus it was generally accepted that lending at interest was prohibited amongst coreligionists but not between one faith and another, which in the practical life of a multi-confessional society amounted to its reinstatement (see further RIBĀ). Above all, Islam knew, practised and officially ratified customs aimed at securing a profit for money put to work, principally by means of investments in commercial enterprises or domains. This could be done through partnership, *shirka* [*q.v.*], or through capitalist merchant commenda, *ḳirāḍ*, *muḍāraba* [*qq.v.*], the money placed acquiring part of the profit in reward for the service rendered or in compensation for the risk taken. Muslim practice, whatever the original reasons behind it, was considered by merchants of all confessions as preferable to previous traditions (A. Udovitch, *Partnership and profit in Medieval Islam*, Princeton 1969). It was in continual usage, which attests the fact that the Muslim economy certainly relied on profit. The forms it took were those which in large measure soon became general in the Mediterranean and Western world. At the end of the Middle Ages, only the latter gradually outdistanced the Muslim economy.

Bibliography: it is impossible to give here a general bibliography of a subject so amply treated at an elementary level; see the specialised articles, particularly TIDJĀRA (in *EI*[1] by Heffening), RIBĀ, ḲIRĀḌ, BAYʿ, etc.; to the first, while awaiting the new edition, add E. Bussi, *Il concetto*

di commercio e di commerciante nel pensiero giuridico musulmano, in *Studi in memoria di Aldo Albertoni*, iii (1938), 7-53; A. K. S. Lambton, *The merchant in medieval Islam*, in *A locust's leg, Studies in honour of S. H. Taqizadeh*, London 1962, 121-30.

For bibliography of quite a general nature, see C. Becker, *Islam und Wirtschaft*, in *Islamstudien*, i, 54-65; H. Ritter, *Ein arabisches Handbuch der Handelswissenschaft*, in *Der Islam* (1917) (where the author discusses the statements of various writers, al-Ghazālī in particular, on economic themes); M. Plessner, *Der Oikonomikos des neupythagoriers Bryson*, 1928; S. D. Goitein, *The rise of the Middle Eastern bourgeoisie*, in *Cahiers d'Histoire mondiale / Journal of world history* (1957); idem, in *Studies in Islamic history and institutions*, 1966; M. Rodinson, *Islam et Capitalisme*, 1966 (chs. 2-4); Subhi Labib, *Capitalism in mediaeval Islam*, in *Journal of Economic History* (1969); *Studies in the economic history of the Middle East*, ed. M. A. Cook, London 1970 (1967 symposium); W. Ule, *Islam und Wirtschaft*, in *Der Islam* (1971), 136-67 (on its origins).

(Cl. Cahen)

As a theological term *kasb* means "acquisition", "appropriation". The verb *kasaba*, usually in the 1st form and sometimes in the 8th (*iktasaba*), is frequently found in Ḳur'ānic vocabulary, mainly with the sense of "acquiring" those rewards or punishments which are the fruit of moral acts, and so a loose translation could render *kasaba* here as "carrying out an action". Therefore, "Each soul is paid a fair price for whatever has accrued to it" (Ḳur'ān, II, 281; cf. *inter alia*, XIV, 51, XL, 17, LXXIV, 38, etc.). According to the text, this is the very reason for the creation of the world, "God created the heavens and the earth in truth (*bi'l-ḥaḳḳ*), and so that each soul could be rewarded for whatever it had acquired" (XLV, 22). *Kasaba* alludes to the "acquisition" (of the fruit) of each act, good or evil; *iktasaba*, which is very close in meaning, is used in the Ḳur'ān only for human actions in general (IV, 36), or for acts which merit punishment (II, 286, XXIV, 11, XXXIII, 58). Verse II, 286 says: "To each soul (is given) that which it has acquired (*kasabat*) and against each (is recorded) that which it has acquired (*iktasabat*). It should be noted that when discussing this verse, al-Zamakhsharī, followed by al-Bayḍāwī, stresses the meaning contained in the 8th form.

The *maṣdars* of these two verbal forms, *kasb* (pl. *aksāb*) and *iktisāb*, have had a long history in the *ʿilm al-kalām*, especially in the Ashʿarī school, where they were employed to define that which reverted to man in a "freely" accomplished and morally qualified act. The Ashʿarī *kasb* is a narrow margin in which is inscribed the relationship between the act created by God and human responsibility. The school's subtle analyses tend to safeguard both the notion of "free choice" (*ikhtiyār* [*q.v.*]) strongly expressed within the subject, and the just, frequent retribution augured in the Ḳur'ān, while at the same time taking nothing away from God, who "created you, you and that which you do" (*Ḳur'ān*, XXXVII, 96). Some writers prefer to use *iktisāb* (al-Ghazālī); the majority use one term or the other indiscriminately. According to al-Zamakhsharī, commenting on Ḳur'ān, II, 286, it appears that *iktisāb*, in its reflexive connotation, lays stress on psychologically proven reality. The discussions about *kasb* were famed for their very elaborate dialectic, as witness the maxim of their opponents (notably the Ḥanbalīs): "more tenuous than al-Ashʿarī's *kasb*", *adaḳḳ min kasb al-Ashʿarī*. But perhaps this subtlety, or obscurity, can be clarified when the historical evolution of the committed arguments is taken into consideration.

1. *Pre-Ashʿarī* kalām. It was, in fact, from his predecessors that al-Ashʿarī took the concept of *kasb* as the "acquisition" of acts (see W. Montgomery Watt, *The Origin of the Islamic doctrine of acquisition*, in *JRAS* (1943), 234-7; idem, *Free will and predestination in early Islam*, London 1948, *passim*; idem, *The formative period of Islamic thought*, Edinburgh 1973, index).

It seems to have been in Ghaylān's teaching and in Murdji'ī circles that the root *k-s-b* first took on a technical meaning: to distinguish between science and knowledge "acquired" by man's efforts, *ʿilm muktasabī*, and "necessary" science or knowledge, *ʿilm ḍarūrī*. *Kasb* here remains very close to its initial sense of acquisition of profit. *Muktasabī* (associated with *naẓarī* "discursive", "speculative") and *ḍarūrī* (associated with "immediate" and "self-evident") became traditional distinctions in the study of the sources or "channels" (*asbāb*) of knowledge (cf. Gardet and Anawati, *Introduction à la théologie musulmane*[2], Paris 1970, 375-83).

Ḍirār b. ʿAmr was the first to employ the root *k-s-b* in analysing human action, applying it to the problem of man's free choice in the face of divine omnipotence. According to Ḍirār, human action arises from "two agents": God, who creates it, and man, who acquires it (see text *apud* al-Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1369-73/1950-4, i, 313). The stress Ḍirār lays on the *two* agents (*fāʿilān*) tends to indicate that this "acquisition" arises from an intrinsic efficacy of human action, but one which cannot exist without a divine motion operating at that moment. A little later, al-Nadjdjār divorced this union of causes and opposed *khāliḳ* (creator, always God) and *fāʿil*, "agent" (*ibid.*, i, 315). Action comes under God's power in the sense that God wills it at the moment that it is accomplished and does not wish it when it is not brought about, but its actual execution belongs to man. Therefore, man possesses "power over the *kasb*", he is *ḳādir ʿalā 'l-kasb* (*ibid.*, ii, 218). One of al-Nadjdjār's disciples, Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Burghūth, emphasised, on the basis of Ḳur'ānic texts, that the same term could not be applied to man, and to God (*ibid.*, ii, 198): whether *fāʿil* is the province of man, as the texts of the *Maḳālāt* seem to indicate, or whether, as al-Baghdādī says in *al-Farḳ bayn al-firaḳ* (ed. Cairo 1328, 197), God is Agent, the same term cannot be applied to man, who remains no more than the "acquisitor", the *muktasib*, of his action. The Rāfiḍī Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, and after him Djaʿfar b. Ḥarb, also used *kasb* and *iktisāb* to describe the relationship between man and his voluntary actions: it can be said that human action is "free" (*ikhtiyārī*) in the sense that man wills it and acquires it (*iktisābī*); but it remains "constrained" (*iḍṭirārī*) in the sense that man plays no part in its efficient cause, which is created by God (*ibid.*, i, 100).

These early *mutakallimūn* therefore tried, by employing the concept of "acquisition", to retain for man his own part in the act he accomplished. But while for Ḍirār this part remained a positive action, a participant in the single divine creator Action and thus subordinate to It, al-Nadjdjār and al-Burghūth, anxious to preserve the division between Creator and creature, would not allow of such a conception. For them, man possessed nevertheless a "power" (*ḳudra*) over the acquisition of his actions. Judging from this evidence, al-Shahrastānī's dubbing such scholars

Djabariyya in his *Kitāb al-Milal wal-niḥal* (ed. Badrān, Cairo 1370/1951, 138-9) must be revised.

The thesis of man "the acquisitor" (*muktasib*) was certainly opposed to the Muʿtazilī thesis of man "the creator" (*khāliḳ*) of his actions. Al-Djubbāʾī questioned the very notion of *kasb*. His arguments have been preserved, scattered throughout the *Maḳālāt* and more concisely in the writings of ʿAbd al-Djabbār (*Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, ed. ʿAbd al-Karīm ʿUthmān, Cairo 1384/1965, 363-79).

2. *The major trends of Ashʿarī* kalām. Ashʿarism, on the other hand, developed "acquisition" as one of his main directives against the *Iʿtizāl*. There is no mention of it as such in the credos of the *Maḳālāt* or the *Ibāna*, which would suggest that the "theory of *kasb*" was propounded by his disciples rather than by al-Ashʿarī himself. However, the concept does appear in the *Maḳālāt* and the *Ibāna*, and it re-emerges in *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ*, several times in chapter v (on *ḳadar*) and at the beginning of chapter vi (on *istiṭāʿa*): cf. R. McCarthy's ed. and Eng. tr. in *The Theology of al-Ashʿarī*, Beirut 1953, 37-58/53-81, *passim*. This was one of the school's constant themes, and when ʿAbd al-Djabbār (*loc. cit.*) reported al-Djubbāʾī's strictures, he added his own refutation of all the early Ashʿarī formulations. Al-Bāḳillānī died in 403/1013 and ʿAbd al-Djabbār in 415/1025. Right up to the present day, the Ashʿarīs defend the "theory of *kasb*" and refute Muʿtazilī objections to it, both in their major treatises (al-Djuwaynī, al-Ghazālī, al-Djurdjānī, etc.) and in their basic manuals (al-Sanūsī, al-Bādjūrī, etc.). Their definitions and analyses appear always to be linked to the ideas of *ḳudra ḥāditha* (the "contingent power" created by God) and *istiṭāʿa* ([*q.v.*], the ability to act).

Ashʿarī *kasb* and *iktisāb* are undoubtedly heirs to the first trends of *ʿilm al-kalām*, those predecessors whom al-Ashʿarī liked to call the *ahl al-ithbāt*. But the preoccupation with combatting the *Iʿtizāl*, and with allowing man nothing that was not subject to the immediate and sole power of God, which was what al-Ḍirār for example saw as the real and positive nature of *kasb*, or even with al-Nadjdjār's "power over *kasb*", gave way to a pure "attribution" or "imputation" extrinsically created by God in the human subject. The extreme subtlety or obscurity imputed to Ashʿarī *kasb* by opponents like Ibn Taymiyya perhaps derived from the fact that in the direct reference to an act freely completed, which is the basic meaning of the root *k-s-b*, became no more than a psychological semblance, without any reality *ab intra*. In Ḍirār and al-Nadjdjār, *kasb* and *iktisāb* can still be translated as "acquisition" or "appropriation"; but the strict Ashʿarī concept demands that we speak of "extrinsic attribution" and "juridic imputation".

To sum up: Ashʿarī *kasb* or *iktisāb* is the link between the "contingent power" to act and the accomplished action, but with no concommittant intrinsic effect of the first on the second (*e.g.* al-Djuwaynī, *Irshād*, ed. and Fr. tr. Luciani, Paris 1938, 119/191-2). The power, action and *kasb* are directly created by God within the human subject, which is, as al-Djurdjanī states (*Sharḥ al-Mawāḳif*, ed. Cairo 1325/1907, viii, 48), no more than the receptacle, the place (*maḥall*): an expression frequently found in the manuals of this school. Subsequently, *kasb* was conceived of as pure "connection" (*taʿalluḳ*; al-Sanūsī, *Muḳaddimāt*, ed. and Fr. tr. Luciani, Algiers 1908, 70-1), or, following Ibn Ḥazm, as the "positioning in annexation" (*istiḍāfa*, cf. *al-Fiṣal fi'l-milal*, ed. Cairo 1347, iii, 48) of the effect produced and the subject from which it derives, without a man having any efficacity over his act, "without even his being assured of the production of that act" (al-Bādjūrī, *Ḥāshiya ʿalā ... Djawharat al-tawḥīd*, ed. Cairo 1352/1934, 61). In strictest Ashʿarism, this concept of *kasb* attributes to "acquisition" an "imputation" deriving solely from the inscrutable divine Will.

Other analytical essays, perhaps influenced by the legacy of Ḍirār or al-Nadjdjār, or by Māturīdī elucidations (see below), suggest that *kasb* should be defined as a "wish" (*irāda*) which is created as it were by accident (*ʿaraḍ*), but always acknowledging that the three conditions present—contingent wish, contingent power and effect produced—are directly created by God, without their being an intrinsic subordinate link between them. The Muʿtazilīs objected that an accident (the *kasb*) could not be inherent within another accident (the human act). In reply, Ibn Ḥazm asserted that this inherence was possible (*op. cit.*, iii, 51-2). Al-Bādjūrī (*loc. cit.*) discussed both trends and their respective definitions, acknowledging both as valid, but declaring that the theory of *kasb*-will was less "reliable" than that of *kasb*-relation.

3. *The Ḥanafī-Māturīdī tradition* (*including some Ashʿarī thinkers*). The earliest discussions which form the basis of the trends known as Māturīdī ignore the problem of *kasb*. Neither the *Fiḳh Akbar I* nor the *Waṣiyyat Abī Ḥanīfa* makes any mention of it. However, probably influenced by the first Ashʿarī speculations, the *Fiḳh Akbar II* (a.7; Eng. tr. A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim creed*, Cambridge 1932, 191, where the text is reported at the end of a.6) affirms that all men's actions are in truth their "acquisition" (*kasb*). The later text called the *Fiḳh Akbar* of al-Shāfiʿī, edited by Wensinck as *Fiḳh Akbar III*, states (a.18, *ibid.*, 266) that "God created in man the power of *kasb*".

Just as Ashʿarī *kasb* was related to the school's opinions on the general problem of divine omnipotence and human freedom, so the concept of *kasb* expounded by the *kalām* scholars whom al-Māturīdī refers to was dependent on their explanation of human action. For them, the (ontological) root of an act arises from the power (*ḳudra*) of God, and its (moral) qualification, which obeys or disobeys divine Law, arises from the power (*ḳudra*) of the individual (cf., for example, the brief summary of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Ibn ʿAlī, *Naẓm al-farāʾiḍ*[2], Cairo n.d., 72). *Kasb* is precisely this qualification, and therefore derives from human "power". Subsequently, some measure of an effect by man on his action was acknowledged, which was a return, beyond al-Ashʿarī, to the older views of Ḍirār and al-Nadjdjār. The definition of *kasb* as *ṣifa*, a moral quality (*ibid.*, 73), is the usual response in tracts of a Māturīdī bent (cf. al-Nasafī, al-Taftāzānī, al-Laḳānī, etc.). Some Ashʿarīs, while adhering to their school's viewpoint on the analysis of human action, especially on the "capacity to act" (*istiṭāʿa*), opted for a theory very close to *kasb-ṣifa*. Among these latter, the Ḥanifīs-Māturīdīs are fond of citing al-Bāḳillānī (*ibid.*); Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (*Muḥaṣṣal*, ed. Cairo n.d., 143) can also be included here.

Thus we have three appreciably different concepts, all three permitted in the official doctrine of *ʿilm al-kalām*: *kasb*-relation (strict Ashʿarism), *kasb*-will (secondary Ashʿarī trend) and *kasb-ṣifa* (Māturīdīs and some Ashʿarīs). It should be noted that through their theory of *kasb*, however it was defined precisely, the Ashʿarīs, like the Māturīdīs-Ḥanifīs, deliberately opposed Djabariyya as well as Muʿtazila, and on this based their belief in man's responsibility for his own

actions. Whether as pure relation, contingent will or moral quality, it was, they stated, in proportion to *kasb* that God, on the day of judgement, would reward or punish accomplished actions.

Bibliography: given in the article. To this can be added Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb* on Ḳur'ān, II, 286; H. Stieglecker, *Die Glaubenslehren des Islam*, Munich, Paderborn, Vienna 1959-62, 103 ff.; L. Gardet, *Les grands problèmes de la théologie musulmane: Dieu et la destinée de l'homme*, Paris 1967, 60-4. (L. Gardet)

KASBAH [see ḲAṢABA].

KASF [see KUSŪF].

KASH, the modern SHAHR-I SABZ ("green town") on account of the fertility of its surroundings), a town in Özbekistān on what was once the great trade route between Samarḳand and Balkh. According to Chinese authorities, Kash (Chinese transcription K'ia-sha or Kié-shuang-na, also K'iusha, as a town Ki-she) was founded at the beginning of the seventh century A.D.; cf. J. Marquart, *Chronologie der alttürkischen Inschriften*, Leipzig 1898, 57; *Ērānšahr* etc., Berlin 1901, 304; E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Toukiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, 146. In 372/982 it is mentioned by *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 113 (§ 25, 15) as well-irrigated and protected by a citadel; it exported mules, manna and red salt. Yāḳūt's statement (*Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv, 274; Barbier de Meynard, *Dict.*, 488 f.) on the authority of Ibn Makūlā, who died in 473/1080-1, that in Transoxiana the name was everywhere pronounced *Kiss* is very doubtful. For the later period the pronunciation *Kesh* (Kishsh) is proved by the frequently recurring expression *Kesh-i Dilkesh*. The accounts of the Arab conquest are discussed by Marquart in particular (*Ērānšahr*, see Index). The *Kesh* of the Sāmānid period is described very fully by the Arab geographers (al-Iṣṭakhrī, 324 f.; Ibn Ḥawḳal[2], 501 f.; al-Muḳaddasī, 282). The town in those days was a third of a *farsakh* (about a mile) in length and breadth. The old city (*madīna*, Persian *shahristān*) as well as the citadel (*ḳuhandiz*) were already deserted, and only the outer town (*rabaḍ*) was inhabited; in the vicinity of the earlier Kash a new town was arising. This suggests that the modern town has a site different from that of the Kash which existed before the Muslim conquest. Nothing is known of other transferences of the site. Kash is never mentioned in the history of the Mongol conquest, so that it must have submitted to the Mongols (617/1220) without resistance. The name Shahr-i Sabz first appears—on coins also—about the middle of the 8th/14th century. Many buildings were erected in Kash by Tīmūr, who was born in the district of Kash, and his contemporaries; thereon, cf. W. Barthold in *Zapiski vost. otd. arkh. obshč.*, xxiii, 1 f. Especially famous is the palace Aḳ Sarāy built at the end of 782/beginning of 1380 by builders from Khwārazm; cf. Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī, *Ẓafar-Nāma*, Calcutta 1887-8, i, 301 f., and the notices by Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī and ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Samarḳandī, in Barthold, *Ulugbeg i ego vremya*, Petrograd 1918, 23, Eng. tr. Minorsky, in *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, ii, Leiden 1958, 26; very little survives of this palace; on the inscriptions cf. N. Sitnyakowskiy in *Protokoll Turk. Kružka Lyub. Arkh.*, v, 114 f. As late as the 10th/16th century Kash or Shahr-i Sabz is described by Ḥāfiẓ-i Tānish (*ʿAbd Allāh-Nāma*, Ms. of the Asiatic Museum, 574 age, f. 87b) as an important town usually governed by a prince of the ruling house, while the administration of Nasaf or Ḳarshī [*q.v.*] could be left to a military official (*Darugha*). In the 19th century, the amīr Naṣr Allāh of Bukhārā (1826-60) tried during the whole of his reign to subjugate the town; he succeeded only in 1860, but his successor lost Kash as early as 1865. In 1870 it was ceded by the Russians to the *amīr* of Bukhārā. At the present day the situation is reversed and Shahr-i Sabz is an unimportant town in comparison with Ḳarshī, the result of the political changes in the 12th/18th century. The district of Shahr-i Sabz is surrounded to the N. by the Hażret-Sulṭān hills, to the S. by the Bay Suntaw-mountains and irrigated by the Ḳara-Daryā with its affluents.

Bibliography: Le Strange, 469 f.; Barthold, *Turkestan*[3], index, esp. 134 f.; idem, *K Istorii orosheniya Turkestana*, St. Petersburg 1914, 125 f.; B. Spuler, *Iran*[3], index; idem, *Geschichte Mittelasiens*, Leiden 1966, index (s.v. Shahr-i sabz). (W. Barthold/B. Spuler)

KĀSHĀN (Ḳāsān, Ḳāshān; 33°59′ lat. N., 51°27′ long. E.), a town of the Djibāl, on the ancient N. – S. axial route of central Iran, chief town of a *shahristān* of the central province (*Ustān-i markazī*); it gives its name to an oasis adjoining the Dasht-i Kavīr on the N.E. and on the E., closed on the W. and on the S. by the buffer of the median chain of central Iran (3,900 m. at the Kūh-i Karkas). Despite its altitude (945 m.), the town has a warm climate (average of 38° C. in July, obs. 1881-4), has a bad reputation for scorpions and suffers from lack of water. This has been supplied by the perennial spring of Fīn and by the traditional systems of *ḳanāt*s and *āb anbār*s (cisterns); constructed under Shāh ʿAbbās the Great, the Ḳurūd Dam also supplied the town; and likewise from the Ṣafawid period, the Ḳamsar Dam served for irrigation until the floods of 1958. Today, the sinking of deep wells and water supply works allow a much greater provision of water for drinking and for irrigation. Apart from its craftsmanship and textile industries, the district is renowned for its natural products (figs and pomegranates from Fīn, rose water from Ḳamsar, melons, grapes etc.).

At the S.W. exit of the town, the site of Tepe Sialk/Sīalg testifies to the ancient occupation of the oasis (3 periods from the 5th to the 3rd millenium; a small Indo-European "state" destroyed around the 8th C. B.C.; objects preserved in the Louvre and Tehran Museums; see R. Ghirshman, *Fouilles de Sialk*, i-ii, Paris 1938-9; idem, *l'Iran des origines à l'Islam*, Paris 1951). The region abounds in Sāsānid remains (*čahār ṭāḳ* of Niyāstar/Niyāsar and Naṭanz). Although the name Ḳāsān/Ḳāshān may not be attested before the 4th/10th C. and its origin remains uncertain, the importance of the Sāsānid town is proved, notably by its resistance to the Arab invasion (anecdote of the scorpions: see al-Muḳaddasī, 390; the town furnished soldiers for the Sāsānid army: see H. Narāḳī, *Ta'rīkh-i idjtimāʿī*, 28; the legend of the Magian kings having left from Kāshān for Jerusalem was circulated in an early period: see Monneret de Villard, *Le leggende orientali sui magi evangelici*, Vatican 1952, 83 ff. and index s.v. Qāšān). According to various authors, the Islamic city was founded (or fortified) by Zubayda Khātūn, wife of Hārūn al-Rashīd, and then claimed by the Imāmī Shīʿīs, who are said to have constructed a fortified surrounding wall to protect the town from the attacks of the Daylamīs (*Mir'āt-i Ḳāsān*, 6-7). Subsequently attached to the governorship of Iṣfahān, it then formed with Ḳumm its own governorship, or at times two distinct governorships. Renowned from the Saldjūḳid period for its *madrasas*, its

scholars, its calligraphers, its administrators (known by the *nisba* Kā<u>sh</u>ī, Kā<u>sh</u>ānī, Fīnī, Rāwandī, etc.) and its glazed ceramics (*haft rang* or *minā'ī*), it was relatively spared by the Īl<u>kh</u>ānids, the Tīmūrids and the Turcomans, who derived profit from its craftsmanship (pottery, brassware, textiles). It enjoyed its greatest prosperity under the Ṣafawids; a true cultural capital of Islamic Iran in the 10th/16th century, it was favoured by <u>Sh</u>āh ʿAbbās and his successors who embellished it with a palace, gardens, avenues and covered bazaars. From 4,000 to 5,000 hearths in 1524 (Tenreiro), it counted 5,000 to 6,000 in 1565 (Mestre Afonso), and Chardin enumerates 6,500 houses in 1673 (counting 5 to 6 persons per hearth or house). The town was then renowned for its gold brocades (*zar baft, zarī*), its silks (thread and fabric), its velvets (*ma<u>kh</u>mal*), its wool or silk carpets (sometimes embroidered with gold and silver), its painters and calligraphers, its scholars and theologians and above all its famous *kā<u>sh</u>ī* [*q.v.*] widespread in the Islamic world. After having suffered the Af<u>gh</u>ān and Af<u>sh</u>ārid domination, with their massacres and exactions, the town was destroyed by an earthquake in 1192/1779 in the time of Karīm <u>Kh</u>ān Zand. Although reconstructed by this sovereign and "embellished" by Fatḥ ʿAlī <u>Sh</u>āh Ḳā<u>dj</u>ār, it has only recently recovered a part of its prosperity (modernization of the textile industry, improvement of the roads and railways, of which the Tehran-Zahidan line is in the process of completion). After the depression of the 18th century (*ca.* 15,000 inhabitants at the beginning of the 19th century), the city was repopulated (*ca.* 30,000 inhabitants in 1840, *ca.* 50,000 in 1908). Nevertheless, the development of the oasis has been checked, mainly due to the transfer of the axial N. – S. route to the W. of the median chain. While the census of 1956 reflects the exodus towards Tehran (*ca.* 46,000 inhabitants), that of 1966 seems to indicate an improvement (58,468 inhabitants). Numerous authors have stressed the enthusiasm for work and natural disposition of the Kā<u>sh</u>īs for the arts, literature and philosophy, as well as their spirit of independence. Although their devotion to the *Ahl al-Bayt* and the twelve Imāms may be generally attested since the Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳid period, the majority of the settlements of the district were Sunnī at the time of the conquest of <u>Sh</u>āh Ismāʿīl, and the faith of the people of the town itself also poses a problem (see B. Scarcia Amoretti, in *AIUON* (1969), 263-8; M. Mazzaoui, *The origins of the Ṣafawids, Šīʿism, Ṣūfism and the Ġulāt*, Wiesbaden, 1972, 31, n. 3). The ancient Jewish community of the town, which served as a refuge to the Jews of Iran under Nādir <u>Sh</u>āh, is now in decline (2,000 persons in 1907, 525 in 1956). As elsewhere in Iran, factionalism divided the social body there, practically until the end of the Ḳā<u>dj</u>ār period. Despite natural destructions and sackings, the town has preserved a part of its historic architectural appearance: from the Sal<u>dj</u>ūḳid period, a minaret of the <u>Dj</u>umʿa Mosque dated 466/1074, the solitary Zayn al-Dīn Minaret with a height of 47 m, the remains of the <u>Dj</u>alālī fortress and a part of the fortified double surrounding wall; from the Mongol period, the <u>Kh</u>ʷā<u>dj</u>a Tā<u>dj</u> al-Dīn Mausoleum; built in 867/1463, the Mas<u>dj</u>id-i Mīr ʿImād or Mas<u>dj</u>id-i Maydān-i Fayḍ (constructed over a more ancient building, of which the *miḥrāb* dated 632/1235 is in the Berlin Museum); from the Ṣafawid period, the Imāmzāda Ḥabīb b. Mūsā shelters the tomb of <u>Sh</u>āh ʿAbbās the Great (*miḥrāb* of the ancient mausoleum dated 668/1270 in the Tehran Museum); from the Ḳā<u>dj</u>ār period, the Madrasa-i Sulṭānī or Mas<u>dj</u>id-i <u>Sh</u>āh, the Mosque and the Madrasa-yi Āḳā Buzurg, the present garden palace of Fīn. Among numerous *imāmzādas*, the town notably shelters the mausoleums of the <u>Sh</u>īʿī poet Muḥta<u>sh</u>am Kā<u>sh</u>ānī (d. 996/1588) [*q.v.*] and of the <u>Sh</u>īʿī theosophist Mullā Muḥsin-i Fayḍ Kā<u>sh</u>ānī (d. 1091/1680).

Bibliography: Apart from the works cited, see for the Arab geographers Schwarz, *Iran*, repr. Hildesheim – New York 1969, 568-76 and index; Le Strange, 209; Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse*, 434-5. Persian sources: *Ta'rī<u>kh</u>-i Ḳum*, ed. Sayyid <u>Dj</u>alāl al-Dīn Tihrānī, Tehran 1313 <u>sh</u>., 74 ff. and index; *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 133; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 67-8 and index; Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī, *Haft iḳlīm*, ed. <u>Dj</u>awād Fāḍil, Tehran, ii, 445-6; ʿAbd al-<u>Dj</u>alīl Ḳazwīnī Rāzī, *Kitāb al-naḳḍ*, ed. Muḥaddi<u>th</u>, Tehran 1331 <u>sh</u>., 168-70 and index (*Kilīd-i naḳḍ*, Tehran 1336 sh.); Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Karīm Ḍarrābī, *Mir'āt-i Ḳāsān yā Ta'rī<u>kh</u>-i Kā<u>sh</u>ān*, ed. Īra<u>dj</u> Af<u>sh</u>ār, Tehran 1341 <u>sh</u>. Travellers: A. Baiao, *Itinerários de Índia a Portugal po terra*, Coimbra 1923 (Tenreiro, 23; Mestre Afonso, 164); Michele Membré, *Relazione di Persia* (1542), ed. G. Scarcia, etc., Naples 1969, 52; T. Herbert, *Some years travels* . . ., London 1665, 232-3; Chardin, *Voyages*, ed. Langlès, Paris 1811, ii, 461-3, iii, 1-11; Olivier, *Voyage*, Paris 1807, iii, 94-7; Ouseley, *Travels*, London 1819-23, iii, 86-94; Morier, *Second Journey*, London 1818, 161-2; Mme. Dieulafoy, *La Perse*, Paris 1887, 194-212; De Sercey, *La Perse en 1839-1840*, Paris 1928, 226-9; Watson, *A History of Persia*, London 1866, 130-1; E. Aubin, *La Perse d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1908, 263-8. Studies: L. Lockhart, *Persian Cities*, London 1960, 120-6; Minorsky, *Calligraphers and painters*, Washington 1959, 30-1 and index; *Farhang-i <u>Dj</u>ug<u>h</u>rāfiyā'ī-yi Īrān*, Tehran iii, 222-4; H. Narāḳī, *Ta'rī<u>kh</u>-i i<u>dj</u>timāʿī-yi Kā<u>sh</u>ān*, Tehran 1345 <u>sh</u>.; idem, *Ā<u>th</u>ār-i ta'rī<u>kh</u>ī-yi <u>Sh</u>ahristānhā-yi Kā<u>sh</u>ān wa-Naṭanz*, Tehran 1348 <u>sh</u>. (J. Calmard)

KĀ<u>SH</u>ĀNĪ, Āyatullāh abu 'l-Ḳāsim, an Iranian *mu<u>dj</u>tahid* who played a role of some importance in the events of the early post World War II period. Born in the late 19th century, Kā<u>sh</u>ānī went at an early age to Na<u>dj</u>af, where he studied under two of the *mu<u>dj</u>tahids* prominent in support of the Iranian constitutionalist cause, Muḥammad Kāẓim <u>Kh</u>urāsānī and Mīrzā Ḥusayn <u>Kh</u>alīlī Ṭihrānī. In 1919 he was sentenced to death *in absentia* by the British for opposing the mandate in ʿIrāḳ, but escaped to Iran. Throughout the reign of Riḍā <u>Sh</u>āh he abstained from political activity, but was exiled in June 1942 by the British military authorities for alleged contacts with German agents. His postwar political career began in 1948 with the organization in Tehran of demonstrations against the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. With the beginning of the campaign for the nationalization of the oil industry, Kā<u>sh</u>ānī's importance grew as he came to be one of the chief organizers of mass support for Dr. Muḥammad Muṣaddiḳ's National Front. He had, too, a number of representatives in the Ma<u>dj</u>lis, a group known as the *Mu<u>dj</u>āhidīn-i Islām*. Personal differences arose between Kā<u>sh</u>ānī and Muṣaddiḳ, and Kā<u>sh</u>ānī became alarmed, moreover, at the militant irreligiosity that showed itself in the last days of Musaddiḳ's rule. He therefore supported the royalist coup d'état of 19 August 1953 that overthrew Muṣaddiḳ. Kā<u>sh</u>ānī's remaining years were uneventful, and his death in 1962 passed largely unnoticed.

Bibliography: Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, *Ṭabaḳāt aʿlām al-shīʿa*, Najaf 1375/1956, i/l, 75-6; L. P. Elwell-Sutton, *Persian Oil: A Study in Power Politics*, London 1955, 195-6; Richard W. Cottam, *Nationalism in Iran*, Pittsburgh 1964, 152-5; Hamid Algar, *The Oppositional Role of the Ulama in Twentieth Century Iran*, in *Saints, Scholars and Sufis*, ed. Nikki R. Keddie, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1972, 231-55. (H. ALGAR)

KĀSHĀNĪ, ḤĀDJDJĪ MĪRZĀ DJĀNĪ, the Bābī historian, was a merchant of Kāshān who, with two of his three brothers, Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Ismāʿīl Ḍabīḥ and Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Aḥmad, was among the earliest disciples of Mīrzā ʿAlī Muḥammad, the Bāb[*q.v.*]. When in 1847 the Bāb was being conducted from Iṣfahān to his prison at Mākū, the brothers bribed his escort to allow him to be their guest for two days and two nights at Kāshān. In the following year Kāshānī, with Bahāʾ Allāh, Ṣubḥ-i Azal and other prominent disciples, attempted to join the Bābī insurgents of Shaykh Ṭabarsī near Bārfurūsh in Māzandarān, but was captured by the royal troops and imprisoned for some time at Āmul, until ransomed by two merchants of Kāshān. "We find him always impelled, as it would appear, by religious zeal, now at Bārfurūsh, now at Mashhad, now at Ṭihrān." The Bāb was put to death on July 9, 1850, and Kāshānī occupied the next two years in writing his history of the movement, for which task he was qualified by personal acquaintance not only with the Bāb, but with Ṣubḥ-i Azal, Bahāʾ Allāh and almost all the early apostles of the Bābī religion, and by his detailed and accurate information on every event connected with the movement during the first eight years of its existence. His history (which, for some mystical reason not readily comprehensible he styled *Nuḳṭat al-Kāf* "the Point of Kāf"), is accurate, but is disfigured by fulsome and almost idolatrous adulation of his hero and by coarse abuse of his persecutors. When Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh resolved to strike a blow at the adherents of the new religion, Kāshānī was forcibly removed from the shrine of Shāh ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm, about six miles south of Ṭihrān, where he had taken sanctuary, and thrown into prison, where he shared the cell of Bahāʾ Allāh. On Sept. 15, 1852, he was put to death at Ṭihrān in company with twenty-seven of his co-religionists. As an act of policy, in order to divert vengeance from himself and his minister, the Shāh handed the heretics over to various communities for execution and Kāshānī was delivered to Āḳā Mahdī, *Malik al-Tudjdjār* ("chief of the merchants"). According to one account he suffered death by the bowstring, and according to another the merchants and shopkeepers of the city inflicted wounds on him until he perished.

Of his brothers Ismāʿīl died at Ṭihrān and Aḥmad, who, after the death of the Bāb, recognised Ṣubḥ-i Azal as his successor, was slain at Baghdād by some Bahāʾīs [*q.v.*], followers of Bahāʾ Allāh.

Bibliography: Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Djānī, *Nuḳṭat al-Kāf*, ed. E. G. Browne in GMS; Browne, *A Traveller's Narrative, written to illustrate the Episode of the Bab*, Cambridge 1891; idem, *The Taʾrīkh-i-Jadīd, or New History of Mīrzā ʿAlī Muḥammad the Bāb*, Cambridge 1893. (T. W. HAIG)

AL-**ḲĀSHĀNĪ**, AL-ḲĀSHĪ, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAlī, called Ibn Bāba or Bābā, Persian author of the Saldjūḳ period, and boon-companion or *nadīm* by profession. He apparently flourished in the second half of the 5th/11th century and early years of the next one; Bagdatlı Ismail Paşa, *Īḍāḥ al-maknūn*, i, 546, says that he died in 510/1116-7, and this is approximately confirmed by Yāḳūt, who says that he died at Marw. Only Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ff. 80a, 437b, and Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, i, 412, iv, 296-7, have any significant information on him. It seems that he worked in his homeland of Djibāl, then travelled to Baghdād, and ended up in Khurāsān, probably at the court of the Saldjūḳ *amīr* Sandjar.

His only surviving work is the *Kitāb Raʾs māl al-nadīm* "The boon-companion's stock-in-trade", dedicated to a so-far unidentified patron, the *Amīr* and *Raʾīs* Saʿd al-Mulk Abu 'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. Bahrām, who was most probably a member of Sandjar's court circle. This *adab* work contains material useful for boon-companions and story-tellers, and draws heavily on such earlier authors as Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, Ibn Ḳutayba, Kushādjim and Thaʿālibī; the long, closing historical section, however, has valuable and unique information on the Ghaznawids (tr. and comm. in Bosworth, *The later Ghaznavids: splendour and decay* (forthcoming). Ibn Bāba was also the author, according to Yāḳūt, of a book on the sects of the Shīʿa, so far lost.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see V. A. Hamdani, *Some rare manuscripts in Istanbul*, in *JRAS* (1938), 562-3; C. E. Bosworth, *Early sources for the history of the first four Ghaznavid Sultans* (977-1041), in *IQ*, vii (1963), 17-18; *GAL*, I, 140, S I, 586 (here wrongly called Ibn Bānī); critical ed. with introd. of the *K. Raʾs māl al-nadīm* by M. S. Badawi, Manchester Ph.D. thesis 1975 (unpublished). (C. E. BOSWORTH)

KASHF, the act of lifting and tearing away the veil [which comes between man and the extra-phenomenal world]. Al-Djurdjānī's *Taʿrīfāt* (ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1845, 193) states that, according to the Arabic lexicon, *kashf* means "to take away the veil", but in technical terminology (*iṣṭilāḥ*) it means "to make appear in a complete and actual realisation the mysterious senses and the realities which are behind the veil". It is worthy of note (see below) that this definition copies word-for-word a text of the Imāmī scholar Ḥaydar Āmulī, some twenty years the senior of al-Djurdjānī. Experience of *kashf* works within and brings about *mukāshafa*, which may be translated as "unveiling" in the sense of "illumination" or "epiphany". Their opposing correlatives are *satr* and *istitār*, the acts of veiling and occultation.

The technical environment of the word's use, as evoked by al-Djurdjānī, is essentially that of *taṣawwuf* and of Shīʿī theology. The verb *kashafa* (but not the *maṣdar kashf*) occurs several times in the Ḳurʾān in its current sense of to uncover (part of the body) and to take away (misfortune, evil, danger, torment). However, two texts serve as the basis for future elaborations: "We have lifted thy covering off thee (*kashafnā*), and today thy sight is sharp" (L, 22) and "The portending [Last Day] is near at hand, Short of Allāh, there is no-one can lift it away" (LIII, 57-8). The first of these two texts is cited by al-Ghazālī at the opening of his *Munḳidh*.

1. *Some examples of Ṣūfī elaborations:*

(a) al-Kalābādhī. It seems that in the first centuries (e.g. in al-Ḥallādj) the opposite (*muḳābal*) of *satr* or *istitār* was not so much *kashf* as *tadjallī* "[divine] irradiation". Al-Kalābādhī, *K. al-Taʿarruf*, ed. Arberry, Cairo 1352/1933, 90, headed his ch. lviii *Fī 'l-tadjallī wa 'l-istitār*. He distinguishes three types of *tadjallī*: that of the essence, that of the attributes of the essence and that of the status

(*ḥukm*) of the essence. He then goes on to state precisely that the *tadjallī* of the essence is *mukāshafa*.

(b) al-Ḳushayrī. This last idea is more clearly set forth by al-Ḳushayrī and according to the distinctions which subsequently became the classic ones (*al-Risāla al-ḳushayriyya*, Cairo n.d. 39-40). He says that there are three stages in the progression towards Reality. The first, *muḥāḍara*, is getting oneself into position vis-à-vis the objective sought. It remains "behind the veil", and pre-supposes the presence of the heart and the transmission of the proof (discursive, *burhān*); the person who restricts himself within the guidance of the intellect (*ʿaḳl*) can only apprehend God through His miraculous signs (*āyāt*). The second stage is that of *mukāshafa*, the lifting of the veil. There is no further need to search for the way; reasoning (*burhān*) gives way to evident proof (*bayān*), and the indirect indications of God disappear before His attributes. But this stage is still only an intermediary one, a kind of "raising of the curtain" on to the world of mystery. It inevitably leads to the third stage, *mushāhada*, direct vision, the "presence of the reality" (*ḥaḳīḳa* [*q.v.*]), without the intermediacy of proof, even intuitive proof (*bayān*), and which opens on to the divine Essence.

(c) al-Anṣārī. *Kashf* and *mukāshafa* are thus like an entrance to an "illuminative" way. This category of an intermediary stage or "entrance to the way" occurs again in other texts. Thus in al-Anṣārī's *Manāzil*, each "halting-place" (*manzil*), or almost each, comprises three progressive degrees. Now in many instances, *kashf* is mentioned in connection with the second degree. E.g. it is at the second degree of *tabattul* ("consecration to God") that he comes back from "watching for the lightning-flash of the unveiling", *shayma barḳ al-kashf* (*K. Manāzil al-sāʾirīn*, ed. and Fr. tr. S. de Laugier de Beaurecueil, Cairo 1962, 25/67). A third degree goes beyond this. There are similar observations (*ibid.*, 37/76; 54/90; 64/97) in regard to *taslīm* ("total submission"), *uns* ("intimacy") and *firāsa* ("sagacity"). But in regard to *ʿazm* ("determination"), *kashf* appears right at the first degree (*ibid.*, 51/87), because there cannot be authentic *ʿazm* except after having seen "the lightning-flash of unveiling". On the other hand, *kashf* marks the ascent to the third degree of *yaḳīn* ("certainty"): for the first degree of certainty (or "certain knowledge") is acceptance of the Word of God; the second degree (or "certain vision") goes beyond the sphere of argument; but the third degree or "real certainty" presupposes "the sudden breaking of the dawn (*ṣubḥ*) of unveiling", which seems to be, in its turn, the first of the three stages of this third degree (*ibid.*, 54/90). "Lightning-flash" or "dawn" is always like an irruption of light coming from "outside" which thus appears in the various stages and spiritual states of the phenomenon of *kashf*. It marks the entrance into a new manner of apprehending reality, a superior manner, the effect of divine *tadjallī*, an immediate and certain knowledge which goes beyond all discursive argument and all argumentative proof, rational or traditional.

(d) al-Hudjwīrī. The writings of *taṣawwuf* almost all evoke the "lightning-flash of *kashf*": in some cases as a first perceiving of the "world of mystery" where argument based on *burhān* gives place, as al-Ḳushayrī insists, to the "evident proof" of *bayān*, and in other cases, as the definite entry into this very world itself, where there is no longer any need for the intermediacy of proof of any kind whatever. Accordingly, al-Djurdjānī (*Taʿrīfāt*, 245) defines *mukāshafa* as "a state which *bayān* cannot in any way describe". *Kashf* and *mukāshafa* are thus freely put into connection with the superior worlds, those beyond the senses, *djabarūt* and *malakūt*, beyond *mulk* [see ʿĀLAM]. Also, some of the general treatises on Ṣūfism employ the term *kashf* in their very titles, as in the famous *Kashf al-maḥdjūb* of al-Hudjwīrī, written in Persian (Eng. tr. by R. A. Nicholson, GMS, Leiden-London 1911). The spiritual steps forward envisaged by al-Hudjwīrī are the destroying of the veils which hide reality. The raising of the veil will be the supreme state of enjoyment in Paradise, and it is only the state of *kashf* "which is the degree of closeness (*ḳurb*)" which makes possible the miracles of saints (*ibid.*, 111, 226). There is thus no question now of any intermediary stage. Al-Hudjwīrī seems to place himself more in the line of al-Sarrādj than in that of al-Ḳushayrī, and does not hesitate to bend into a new sense the borrowings which he makes (without naming any source) from the latter. Thus when he compares *muḥāḍara* and *mukāshafa* (*ibid.*, 374-5), he defines the first as "the presence of the heart in the subtleties of *bayān*", and the second as "the presence of the inner secret (*sirr*)" in the field of intuitive vision (*ʿiyān*). If *muḥāḍara* definitely refers to the miraculous signs (*āyāt*) of God, as al-Ḳushayrī says, then *mukāshafa* is already open to glimpses of direct vision (*mushāhada*); contrary to the analyses of the *Risāla al-ḳushayriyya*, he no longer seems to distinguish them apart. It is described as a continuous and admiring *tremendum* in face of the infinite grandeur of God. A little later, al-Hudjwīrī compares the diurnal state of *kashf* to the nocturnal one of *satr* ("occultation") and suggests that a divine meeting (*wadjd*) cuts across, but according to very different activations, the troubled and burning desire for an "other place", which is that of the *ḥāl al-ḥidjāb* (lit. "state of the veil"), and also the peaceful vision of the *ḥāl al-kashf*.

2. *A certain usage in theology: that of al-Ghazālī.*

Kashf occurs frequently in this scholar's vocabulary. But it is a question here of a usage not merely "mystical" of this term, but of a "theological" one, seeing that spiritual experience becomes for al-Ghazālī in effect an article of faith. References to *kashf* are to be found not only in the *Iḥyāʾ*, but equally in the *Iḳtiṣād*, the *Mustaṣfā* and the *Munḳidh*; *kashf* lays the foundation for *yaḳīn*, the assured certainty of genuine faith (as opposed to faith received purely by being handed down, *taḳlīd*). The *Munḳidh* states that "The key to most of the branches of knowledge is the light (*nūr*) which God shines into the heart". Also, "Whoever imagines that *kashf* depends on logically-arranged arguments reduces the immensely-wide mercy of God to narrow proportions ... *Kashf* must be sought from this [divine] light" (*Munḳidh*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd, Cairo 1372/1952, 55). *Kashf*, the unveiling of the world of mystery, is mentioned several times in the *Iḥyāʾ*; see the main references in Farid Jabre, *Essai sur le lexique de Ghazālī*, Beirut 1970, 244. Also, the *Iḥyāʾ*, ed. Cairo 1352/1933, iv, 218, doubtless in conformity with the tradition from al-Ḳushayrī, places *kashf* and *bayān* in connection with each other.

If *kashf* appears in many of al-Ghazālī's works, *mukāshafa* is found in the vocabularies of the *Iḥyāʾ* and the *Fayṣal* only. As Jabre notes, *op. cit.*, 245-6, this second term is used in a double sense: (a) subjective, an interior state brought about by *kashf*, and (b) objective, meaning "the truths, the objects

of the act of unveiling". Al-Ghazālī's famous distinction between *ʿulūm al-muʿāmala* (ritual observances, social customs and ethical rules) and *ʿulūm al-mukāshafa*, by means of which realities are apprehended, is well-known. The *Iḥyāʾ*, i, 18, says that the *ʿilm al-mukāshafa* is the knowledge of what is concealed (*bāṭin*), and is the aim of all the sciences. It is the science of the saints (*ṣiddīḳūn*) and those "brought near to God". It is a light which shines into the heart if the latter is purified and freed from its reprehensible qualities, a light which bears upon God, His essence, His angels, His acts, the prophets and the future life (cf. *ibid.*, i, 48). It is not argumentation, nor simple acceptance, but an intuitive and sure grasping of the subject. "By *ʿilm al-mukāshafa*, we mean the pulling-aside of the veil so that the Real One shows Himself in all his splendour; and this is effected with a clarity which sets the object present right before the eyes, without any possible grounds for doubt" (i, 18; see other references in Jabre, *op. cit.*, 246, and *idem, La notion de certitude selon Ghazālī*, Paris 1958, index, s.v.). *Mukāshafāt* and *mukāshaf* appear equally all through the *Iḥyāʾ*.

Hence for al-Ghazālī, *kashf* is a light, a freely-bestowed grace from God, which at the same time alone bestows its quality of certain knowledge. In so far as the later *ʿilm al-kalām* was open to influences from al-Ghazālī (or directly from Ṣūfism), *kashf* and *mukāshafa* were sometimes freely accepted; but the most classic treatises hardly ever refer to them.

3. *Brief references in Shīʿism.* In Shīʿism, the spiritual experience of *kashf* inevitably came to form a theological (or "theosophical") dimension. The apprehension of the "hidden meaning" (*bāṭin*), which is the perfection of Islam and which is the prerogative of the great Imāms, led to a high value being placed on *kashf*. To give only one significant example, the two treatises of the Imāmī Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī, ed. Henry Corbin and Osman Yahya as *La philosophie shīʿite* (Tehran-Paris 1969), deal with *kashf* as a manner and a method of knowledge. The *Djāmiʿ al-asrār* mentions it, after *waḥy* (revelation though angelic intermediacy) and *ilhām* (divine, interior inspiration), as a participation stemming from the universal intellect and the universal soul (*La philosophie shīʿite*, 448-53). When Āmulī defines *kashf* (*ibid.*, 462), it is in the same lexicographical and technical terms as were to be copied from him by al-Djurdjānī, as already mentioned above. The ending of the chapter distinguishes, among other things, (a) *kashf ṣuwarī* (the "imaginal" perception of reality) whose irradiations (*tadjalliyāt*) reach the senses of sight and hearing; mention is made in this connection of the master Ibn ʿArabī; and (b) *kashf maʿnawī*, which is of the spiritual order (*rūḥī*); the text emphasises strongly *mukāshafāt* received in this fashion (*ibid.*, 464-72). In his *Risāla .. fī maʿrifat al-wudjūd*, Āmulī enumerates three modes of knowledge: by the intellect (*ʿaḳl*), by transmission (*naḳl*) and by *kashf* (*ibid.*, 623), and only the last one leads to the apprehension of Reality.

Hence it is with some justification that, in regard to Ḥaydar Āmulī, the phrase "the method of *kashf*" has been used (cf. Peter Antes, *Zur Theologie der Schiʿa*, Freiburg 1971, 49, 68), this method being an intuitive one in which certainty is sought from spiritual illumination. Āmulī's admiration for Ibn ʿArabī and for the latter's deliberate scheme for "reconciling" the Ṣūfīs and the Imāmīs, is well-known. Āmulī's work was to influence all later Twelver theology, and is in fact the applying of the Ṣūfī *kashf* to the Shīʿī search for the hidden meanings of things. If we bear in mind that his definition of *kashf* was adopted as it stood by the Sunnī al-Djurdjānī, we can accordingly discern, despite the divergencies of various climates of thought, a continuity of viewpoint.

Ismāʿīlī writings put the accent on the idea of the "state" of *kashf* from a double point of view, both gnostic and cosmic. The title chosen by al-Hudjwīrī in the 5th/11th century, *Kashf al-maḥdjūb*, designates equally the 8th/14th century treatise of the Ismāʿīlī scholar Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Sidjistānī, and *kashf* now introduces an ontology and cosmology of gnostic type. Furthermore, the classic opposition or *muḳābal* of *kashf-satr* is frequently found, this time set forth according to wide cosmic perspectives, in the Ismāʿīlī cycles of metahistory. The *aeva* of "proto-history" (Corbin) and of post-history are unfolded according to alternate phases of "unveiling" ("epiphany", as tr. Corbin) and "occultation". The length of these cycles may vary, and may refer indifferently to the "premordial Adam" (the "Perfect Man"), to the "partial Adam" (the Ḳurʾānic Adam) or to the "spiritual Adam" for the intelligible realities. According to al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, a Yemenī *dāʿī* of the 6th/12th century, the cycle of unveiling (*dawr al-kashf*) is 50,000 years, and the cycle of occultation (*dawr al-satr*) is seven millenia. The present age, since the creation of the "partial Adam", is the fourth millenium of a cycle of occultation, which has been preceeded and will be succeeded by a cycle of unveiling (cf. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, *Risālat al-mabdaʾ wa 'l-maʿād*, ed. and Fr. tr. Corbin, *Trilogie ismaïlienne*, Tehran-Paris 1961, 121-3/181-3).

An exhaustive study of *kashf* in Shīʿī thought—Imāmī and Ismāʿīlī—would in fact require an extensive exposition.

Bibliography: given in the article.

(L. Gardet)

KĀSHGHAR, a town in Chinese Turkestān (Sin Kiang); the same name is still used in Chinese official documents. The name Kāshghar first appears in Chinese transcription (K'iu-cha) in the *T'ang-shu*; cf. E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, 121 f. On the pre-Islamic Kāshghar and the ruins of Buddhist buildings in the vicinity, see A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Oxford 1907, i, 52 f.; idem, *Serindia*, Oxford 1921, 80 f. Arab armies did not reach Kāshghar; the story of Ḳutayba's campaign in 96/715 is, as shown by H. A. R. Gibb in *BSOS*, ii (1923), 467-8, a mere legend. Since *ca.* 132/750, Kāshghar was under Ḳarluḳ rule and turkicized by them. On the flight of a prince of Farghāna to Kāshghar in the time of the Caliph al-Manṣūr (136-58/754-75) see the article farghāna. In the Sāmānid period a *Dihḳān* of Kāshghar with the name or title Ṭughān Tigīn is mentioned (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 37), with whom the rebel prince Ilyās b. Isḥāḳ took refuge; whether this *Dihḳān* had already adopted Islam is not mentioned. At a later date Satuḳ Boghrā Khān is mentioned as the first Muslim Khān of Kāshghar; in the oldest reference to him that we have (Djamāl Ḳurashī in Barthold, *Turkestan*[2], 255, 257) the date of his death is given as 344/955-6. This story already contains features which are certainly legendary; in the story of the building of the first mosque we have the well-known folklore motif of the cutting of an ox-skin into strips. The later legend, reproduced by F. Grenard (*JA*, Ser. 9, vol. xv, 1 f.), has not this feature but

contains many other legendary traits and absolutely false dates. The year 344 A.H. is perhaps too early, as probably the story of the adoption of Islam by a numerous Turkish people (200,000 tents) in 349/960 must be referred to the Turks of Kās͟hg͟har; this story is found not only in Ibn al-At͟hīr (viii, 396) but also in Ibn Miskawayh (*The Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid Caliphate*, ed. Margoliouth and Amedroz, Oxford 1921, text, ii, 181, tr. v, 196); the original source is probably T͟hābit b. Sinān al-Ṣābiʾ (cf. Ibn al-At͟hīr, viii, 476, 491; *The Eclipse* etc., *Index*). The tomb of Satuḳ Bog͟hrā K͟hān is in Artūč (now pronounced Artus͟h) north of Kās͟hg͟har, where it is still shown.

Under the rule of the Ilig-K͟hāns [see ILEK-K͟HĀNS], who confessed Islam since *ca.* 950, Kās͟hg͟har was politically the most important town in the Tarim basin; perhaps it was also the most important from the point of view of culture. In the 5th/11th century there was already in existence a work in Arabic on the history of the town, composed by Abu 'l-Futūḥ ʿAbd al-G͟hāfir (or ʿAbd al-G͟haffār) b. Ḥusayn al-Almaʿī al-Kād͟jg͟harī (*sic*); the author's father, who survived his son (according to al-Samʿānī by about ten years), died in 486/1093. On father and son and the works of the latter, see al-Samʿānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, ed. Margoliouth, Leiden-London 1912, ff. 470a, 472a; D͟jamāl Ḳuras͟hī in Barthold, *Turkestan*, i, 123 f. The rulers—since 1130 under the overlordship of the Ḳarak͟hitay—were in a special mausoleum (Arabic *al-d͟junbad͟ha al-k͟hāḳāniyya*) on the bank of the Tümen; the first prince buried there died in Muḥarram 424/Dec. 7 1032-Jan. 5 1033, and the last in Rad͟jab 601/22 Feb.-23 March 1205. During their rule, Maḥmūd al-Kās͟hg͟harī [*q.v.*] wrote his great Turkish dictionary in Bag͟hdād, and Yūsuf K͟hāṣṣ Ḥad͟jib his *Ḳutadg͟hu bilig* in Kās͟hg͟har. During Mongol rule a *madrasa* was built in Kās͟hg͟har by Masʿūd Beg (see BUK͟HĀRĀ); in its library was the copy of the *Ṣiḥāḥ* of al-D͟jawharī used by D͟jamāl Ḳuras͟hī for his translation (E. Sachau and Éthé, *Cat. of the Persian. . . . Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library*, Oxford 1889, col. 983). Kās͟hg͟har was later under the rule of the Dūg͟hlāt Amīrs [see DŪG͟HLĀT]; the last of them, Abū Bakr, reigned till 920/1514, according to the statement of his relative Ḥaydar Mīrzā [*q.v.*] for forty-eight years (Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dug͟hlāt, *Taʾrīk͟h-i Ras͟hīdī*, tr. E. Denison Ross, London 1895, 253, 326); but this is contradicted by the author himself, who says that Kās͟hg͟har was not conquered by Abū Bakr till 885/1480-1. Abū Bakr is the founder of the modern town. He destroyed the old fortress and in the last years of his reign rebuilt it on a new site, on the other side of the Tümen on the tongue of land between this river and the Ḳīzīl Ṣū (*ibid.*, 286-7, 295).

Under the rule of the "Mongol" K͟hāns (cf. the *Bibliography* to ČAG͟HATĀY-K͟HĀN) and later under that of the Kalmücks and Chinese (since 1759) the capital of the district was no longer Kās͟hg͟har but Yārkand. It was only since the reconquest of the country by the Chinese in 1877 that Kās͟hg͟har again attained considerable importance as the residence of the Tao-Tʾai, who was over the western and southern part of Chinese Turkestān as far as the oasis of Čerčen, and as the one-time residence of the Russian and English consuls. On Kās͟hg͟har in 1873 see H. W. Bellew in Sir T. D. Forsyth, *Mission to Yarkand in 1873*, London 1875. On conditions at the turn of the present century, see especially L. Kornilow, *Kas͟hg͟hariya*, Tas͟hkent 1903 (review by Barthold, in *Zapiski vost. otd. ark͟h. obs͟hč.*, xv, 131 f.) with plan of Kās͟hg͟har on p. 268, and M. Hartmann, *Chinesisch-Turkestan*, Halle a/S. 1908, especially 45 f., 89 f., with a plan of the town from Kornilow. The most important building in Kās͟hg͟har and vicinity is Ḥaḍrat Apāḳ, the tomb of the famous saint of the 11th/17th century. Kās͟hg͟har has now approximately 70,000 inhabitants (mostly Sunnī Uyg͟hur Turks).

Bibliography: *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 96 (§ 13/1), 280 f.; Yāḳūt, ed. Beirut (1957), iv, 430 f.; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, 258; Barthold, *Turkestan*[2], index; B. Spuler, *Iran*, index; idem, *Geschichte Mittelasiens*, Leiden 1966, index; A. Schultz, in *Mitteilungen aus dem Seminar für Geographie der Univ. Hamburg*, 1921.

(W. BARTHOLD-[B. SPULER])

AL-**KĀS͟HG͟HARĪ**, MAḤMŪD B. AL-ḤUSAYN B. MUḤAMMAD, Turkish scholar and lexicographer of the 5th/11th century whose work, the *Dīwān lug͟hāt al-turk*, is one of the most significant records of the Turkish languages and also an important source for the history of the Turkish peoples. The only information which we possess on his life comes from his own work, and that much is only fragmentary. It seems that he came from Barsg͟hān on the southern shores of the Isik-Köl (cf. *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 98, 292-3), and was born into a noble family connected with the Ḳarā-K͟hānids [see ILEK-K͟HĀNS]. Kās͟hg͟harī was deeply grounded in Islamic culture and learning, and he himself states that he had travelled extensively and visited many of the Turkish lands before journeying to Bag͟hdād. It may well be that internal conflicts within the Ḳarā-K͟hānid confederation led him to undertake these travels and to go to Bag͟hdād. In the latter city he mingled with the circles of scholars, and realised that there was a great interest in the Turkish peoples and their languages; hence he was stimulated to compose two works on them. He began to write his *Dīwān lug͟hāt al-turk* in 464/1072. According to the information in the book itself, he wrote four redactions of it during the period 464-76/1075-94). The original of the *Dīwān* is lost, but the unique surviving manuscript, dated 27 S͟hawwāl 664/1 August 1266, is a good copy, though not entirely free from errors. Kās͟hg͟harī's second work, a Turkish grammar called the *K. D͟jawāhir al-naḥw fī lug͟hāt al-turk*, has been lost, and is known only from the author's own reference to it.

Kās͟hg͟harī's work is of particular importance for the Turkic languages, and also for the history, geography and folklore of the Turkish peoples, for this linguistic corpus consists not of coherent texts in one particular Turkic language, but of a comparison-oriented explanatory dictionary and a modest grammatical outline of the language. In fact, it represents the first scholarly approach, and thus the first description of the linguistic material by a particular method, to these languages. At the same time, both in its introduction and in the individual entries, Kās͟hg͟harī's work contains a number of facts and remarks —occasionally supported even by personal experience and observation—about the process of the differentiation and spread of Turkic languages, cited in order to elucidate the situation in the 5th/11th century. The information he gives on the writing of Turkic peoples (sc. the Uyg͟hur script) is also useful from a linguistic point of view.

Although he aims at a fairly comprehensive coverage of the Turkic languages, and includes several of them in his dictionary, the linguistic material in the work is primarily a record of the 5th/11th century

Turkish spoken in Kāshghar, which he terms Khāḳānī Turkish. Kāshgharī's work is related essentially to Ḳarakhānid linguistic records. Aside from the material on Kāshghar, the linguistic date from the Oghuz and Ḳïpčaḳ are of considerable value. The dictionary was originally designed as a language-manual for scholars in Baghdād who had some contact with Turkic peoples. Hence he deliberately adopted the methods of Arabic grammar and lexicography in describing his linguistic material. While Arabic grammar served, to some extent, as a guideline, the products of Arabic lexicographic literature also furnished him with a complete entry-word list, a sort of lexicographic questionnaire, with which he confronted the Turkic word-stock, his own mother-tongue. It is highly probable that this starting point considerably enlarged the word-stock in his work. The fact that the Turkic linguistic material had to be fitted into the categories of Arabic grammar certainly impelled Kāshgharī carefully to study his material. Yet the fact that the work was prepared in Baghdād—at a great distance from the homeland of the Turkic peoples—made him unable to complement and control his linguistic material to the fullest extent; and it is open to question how far he grasped those modest opportunities for such control which were probably available in Baghdād. Also questionable is the extent to which the—assumed—repeated redactions of the work enhanced or diminished the authenticity of the linguistic material. Since we do not possess the autograph manuscript of the work and the copyist was not a Turk, the relation of the copy to the original raises similar questions.

Kāshgharī's dictionary pays particular attention to place names, tribal names, proper names, ranks and titles. Explanatory notes in the work include historical data and personal experiences as well as specimens of Turkic folklore, verses, proverbs, etc., which make the work an important source for these last, which are of particular significance as coherent Turkic texts, in addition to their historical-folkloristic value. Kāshgharī's comparative remarks are also highly instructive, though his material is less rich in this respect. The elements in the author's mother-tongue included in his work should be regarded as a record of the standard usage of local scholars, for, as we have noted, Kāshgharī's main aim was to make Arab scholars acquainted with the Turkic languages. He rightly regarded his mother-tongue as one representative idiom of this language-group. At the same time, and understandably enough, he refused to include those Arabic loan-words which he considered irrelevant in this context. However, those words already played an important role in the *Ḳutadghu bilig*, the most significant literary monument of the period, and it seems highly probable that they had also found their way into the spoken language. One major merit of Kāshgharī's work, however, lies precisely in the fact that he tends to focus his attention on the word-stock of the "everyday" spoken Turkic languages. His dictionary thus complements our knowledge of the Ḳarakhanīd language, obtained mainly from the *Ḳutadghu bilig*.

Although Kāshgharī's knowledge of the difference between the individual Turkic languages moves within certain objective bounds and his remarks are sometimes contradictory, he must be given credit for using the comparative approach to the full in his work. His main concern is with the language of Kāshghar, the Oghuz and Ḳïpčaḳ areas; he established as fact the separation of these two language groups, and the related data may well be considered as the first surviving evidence of them. In the case of certain extinct Turkic languages without any written record, his data are their only documentation.

Though in evaluating Kāshgharī's facts and data, certain errors (the background of the manuscript, the author's knowledge, etc.) must always be taken into account, comparative linguistic folkloric, historical and geographic studies have often emphasized the particular value of the work as a source. His dictionary is a product of the intellectual sphere of the early Arab-Turkic symbiosis, when the methods of Arab linguistics were applied to the material of Turkic languages, which until then had been barely documented, thus creating a source of unprecedented value to comparative and historical linguistics and to the study of the history of the Turkic peoples in this period. As well as contributing greatly to the extension of our knowledge of the early Turkic word-stock and of the various Turkic languages, the work is also a valuable guideline in the chronology of the early Turkic records, the majority of which are chronologically uncertain Uyghur texts. Like the other Ḳarakhānid linguistic records, Kāshgharī's dictionary is classified chronologically as Middle Turkic—a term deriving from the practical classification of the Common Turkic linguistic monuments—on the basis of its chronological place between the runic inscriptions, the early Uyghur texts and the later Turkic linguistic records.

Bibliography: 1. Total and partial editions and translations of the *Dīwān*: Maḥmūd b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Kāshgharī, *Kitāb dīwān-i lughāt al-Turk*, ed. Kilisli Muʿallim Rifʿat Bilge, Istanbul 1915-7; B. Atalay, *Divanü Lûgat-it-Türk tercümesi*, Ankara 1939-41, see A. B. Taymas, in *TM*, vii-viii (1940-2), 212-52, xi (1954), 75-100); idem, *Divanü Lûgat-it-Türk tıpkıbasımı*, Ankara 1941; idem, *Divanü Lûgat-it-Türk dizini*, Ankara 1943; D. Dilçin, *Arap alfabesine göre Divanü Lûgat-it-Türk dizini*, Ankara 1957; Makhmud Koshġariy, *Turkij süzlar devoni* (*Devonu luġotit turk*, ed. S. M. Mutallibov, Tashkent 1960-3; G. Abdurakhmonov and S. Mutallibov, *Devonu luġotit turk* (*Indeksluġat*), Tashkent 1967; Mutallibov, "*Divanu luġat-it-turk*" *Makhmuda Kashgarskogo* (*Perevod, kommentarii, issledovanie*), thesis, Tashkent 1967.

2. Dictionaries including the vocabulary of the *Dīwān*: C. Brockelmann, *Mitteltürkischer Wortschatz nach Maḥmūd al-Kāšγarīs Dīvān luγāt at-Turk*, Budapest-Leipzig 1928; idem, *Zu meinem mitteltürkischen Wortschatz.* (*Eine Erklärung*), in *KCsA*, ii (1926-32), 390-1; Sir Gerard Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*, Oxford 1972; V. M. Nadelyaev *et. al.*, *Drevnetjurkskij slovar'*, Leningrad 1969.

3. General works: W. Barthold, *Orta Asya Türk taʾrīkh ḥaḳḳında dersler*, Istanbul 1927, 83-5 = *Zwölf Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens*, Berlin 1935, 92-5; A. Bombaci, *Storia della letteratura turca*, Milan 1956, 81-106, Fr. tr. *Histoire de la littérature turque*, Paris 1968, 68-76; M. F. Köprülü, *Türk dili ve edebiyatı hakkında araştırmalar*, Istanbul 1934, 33-4; idem, *Çagatay edebiyatı*, in *İA*, Caferoğlu, *II. Türk dili tarihi notları*, i, Istanbul 1943, 42-5; idem, *İlk Türk dilcisi Kâşgarlı Mahmut*, Ankara 1938; idem, *Kâşgarlı Mahmut*, Istanbul 1970; idem, *La littérature de l'époque des Karakhanides*, in *Philologiae Turcicae fundamenta*, ii, Wiesbaden 1964, 267-75;

Brockelmann, *Osttürkische Grammatik der islamischen Literatursprachen Mittelasiens*, Leiden 1954; M. Mansuroğlu, *Das Karakhanidische*, in *Philologiae Turcicae fundamenta*, i, Wiesbaden 1959, 87-112; Ülkütaşır, *Büyük Türk dilcisi Kâsgarlı Mahmut*, Ankara 1972 (124-56: detailed bibliography).

4. Studies on various subjects relating to the *Dīwān*: Brockelmann, *Maḥmūd al-Kašgharīs Darstellung des türkischen Verbalbaues*, in *KSz*, xviii (1918-9), 29-49; idem, *Altturkestanische Volksweisheit*, in *Ostasiatische Zeitschr.*, viii (1919-20), 50-75; idem, *Maḥmud al-Kasγarī über die Sprachen und Stämme der Türken im XI. Jahrh.*, in *KCsA* i/1 (1921), 26-40; G. Bergsträsser, *Das Vorbild von Kāšġarī's Dīvān luġāt at-turk*, in *OLZ*, xxiv (1921), 154-5; Brockelmann, *Altturkestanische Volkspoesie* i-ii, in *Asia Major*, i (1923), 1-22, (1924), 24-44; F. Hommel, *Zu den alttürkischen Sprichwörtern*, in *ibid.*, 182-93; Brockelmann, *Naturlaute im Mitteltürkischen*, in *UngJb*, viii (1928), 257-65; idem, *Hofsprache in Altturkestan*, in *Donum natalicum Schrijnen*, Nijmegen-Utrecht 1929, 222-7; A. Z. Valîdî Togan, *Dîvân-ı Lugât üt-Türk'ün telif senesi hakkında*, in *Atsız mecmuası*, ii, no. 16 (1932), 77-8; idem, *Mahmūd Kaşgarī'ye ait notlar*, *ibid.*, ii, no. 17 (1932), 133-6; O. Pritsak, *Karachanidische Streitfragen 1-4*, in *Oriens*, iii (1950), 210-28; idem, *Mahmud Kâşgarî kimdir?*, in *TM*, x (1953), 243-6; E. Rossi, *A note to the manuscript of the Dīwān Luġat at-Turk*, in *Charisteria Orientalia praecipue ad Persiam pertinentia* (*Joanni Rypka... sacrum*), Prague 1956, 280-4; L. Bazin, *Les dates de rédaction du "Divan" de Kāşġarī*, in *Acta Or. Hung.*, vii (1957), 21-5; S. Ahally, *Slovar' Makhmuda Kashgarskogo i turkmenskij jazīk*, Ashkhabad 1958; T. Banguoğlu, *Kâsgariden notlar: I-III*, in *Türk dili araştırmaları Yıllığı belleten* (1958), 87-113, (1959), 1-26, (1960), 23-48; Kh. Khasanov, *Makhmud Kashgarskij* (*Žizn' i geografičeskoe nasledie*), Tashkent 1963; T. A. Borovkova, *Otnositel'no pervogo izdaniya slovarya Makhmuda Kashgarskogo*, in *Narodi Azii i Afriki*, 1964, no. 5, 133-5; idem, *Grammatičeskiy očerk yazīka "Dīvānu lugāt-it-turk" Maḥmūda Kāšgari*, thesis, Leningrad 1966; K. Czeglédy, *Kāšġarī földrajzi neveihez. Tanulmanyok a magyar nyelv életrajza köréből*, Budapest 1964, 60-5; J. M. Kelly, *On defining Dhū ath-Thalāthah and Dhū al-Arbaʿah*, in *JAOS*, xci (1971), 132-6; idem, *Remarks on Kāšγarī's phonology. I. Linguistic terminology*, in *UAJb*, xliv (1972), 179-93; Z. Korkmaz, *Kâşgarlı Mahmut ve Oğuz Türkçesi*, in *TD*, xxvii, no. 253 (1972), 3-26; G. G. Musabaev, *Kâsgarlı Mahmut'un yasamı üzerine yeni veriler*, in *ibid.*, 110-20 = *Nekotorīye svedeniya o žizni Machmuda Kašgari*, in *Issledovaniya po tyurkologii*, Alma-Ata 1969, 48-62. The Soviet Turcological Journal (*Sovetskaya Tyurkologiya*) has since 1970 contained a large number of articles on the *Dīwān*.

(G. HAZAI)

KĀSHĪ, a Persian word designating the tiles or trimmed pieces of faïence serving to cover completely or partially the main fabric of buildings in a design principally decorative but also, at times, to protect them against humidity. This term, which also exists in Turkish, is an abbreviation of *Kāshānī*; the town of *Kāshān* [*q.v.*] was in effect the most important and most famous centre of production in Iran. It appears already in Abū'l-Ḳāsim, author of the first treatise dedicated to this subject (*ca.* 700/1300) in the form *kāshī-garī*, which means literally "the art of making the *kāshī*", but for this author it had a wider sense and designated the art of faïence. (See J. W. Allan, *Abū'l-Qāsim's Treatise on ceramics* in *Iran*, xi (1973), 111-20). In the Arab authors this term becomes *ḳāshī* (Yāḳūt, iv, 15) or *Ḳāshānī* (Yāḳūt, *ibid.*; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 415, 463, ii, 130, 225, 297, iii, 79).

The origin of the *kāshīs* is linked with the techniques of pottery and with that of baked brick. So it has connections with a very ancient art. The excavations of Čughā-Zanbil (Khūzistān) have brought to light several types of dappled tiles (13th century B.C.). (See P. Amiet, *Elam*, Paris 1966, pl. 261). There have also been discovered (*ibid.*, pl. 383-92) some polychrome-coated tiles with zoomorphous decoration at Susa (*ca.* 8th and 7th centuries B.C.). The famous Frieze of the Archers (Louvre, 5th century B.C.) is a well-known example of the enamelled brick of the Achaemenids (M. Rutten, *Les arts du Moyen Orient ancien*, Paris 1962, pl. xxx) that the Assyrians and Babylonians also knew about (Assyrian Palace of Khorsābād, 722-705 B.C.; Gate of Ishtār at Babylon 6th century B.C.). Later on, in the period of the Parthians and Sāsānids, this art experienced a certain decline and appears to be represented only by mosaics (Bīshāpur, 2nd half of the 3rd century, see R. Ghirshman, *Parthes et Sassanides*, Paris 1962, pls. 180-6).

Moreover, it is this technique which prevailed at the beginning of the Muslim period and the mosaics of this era are of Hellenistic or Byzantine inspiration. They were also much used for floors (rest room of the bath of Khirbat al-Mafdjar; D. and J. Sourdel, *La civilisation de l'Islam classique*, Paris 1968, pl. 124), as well as on the walls (Dome of the Rock, dated 691, above, art. ARCHITECTURE, pls. IV-VI; Great Mosque of Damascus, dated 775, Sourdel), *op. cit.*, pl. iv), but the use of *kāshīs* in the form which later spread seems to emerge in the 5th/11th century. One of the first examples of its tentative appearance is to be found at the top of the minaret of the *masdjid-i djāmiʿ* of Dāmghān (2nd half of the 5th/11th century, C. Adle and A. S. Melikian Chirvani, *Les Monuments du xi^e s. du Dâmqân*, in *Studia Iranica*, i/1 (1972), pl. xxvii). The enamel was also applied, according to A. Godard, *L'Art de l'Iran*, Paris 1962, 366, to render the characters of the inscription more visible, *i.e.* more legible, on the exterior of buildings (cf. also *ibid.*, pl. 132; M. B. Smith, *The Manārs of Iṣfahān*, in *AI*, 1936/2, fig. 212). Approximately at the same period points of turquoise blue enamel appeared on buildings (Gonbad-i Surkh, dated 1147 at Marāgha, A. U. Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art*, repr. Tokyo 1964, viii, pl. 341). This new type of insertion of quite small enamelled tablets drew its inspiration from the embossed joints of plaster which are already in existence on the buildings of the 5th/11th century. The arrangement of these small tablets then developed without interruption and various decorative schemes were adopted (funerary tower of Muʾmina Khātūn, dated 1186, at Nakhdjavan, *ibid.*, pl. 345; Gūr-i Amīr, dated 1405, at Samarḳand, *ibid.*, ix, pls. 541-3). Emanating from these first productions, two techniques saw the light of day: that of the faïence mosaic or *kāshī-yi muʿarraḳ-kārī*, and that of the faïence tile or *kāshī-kārī*.

Kāshī-yi muʿarraḳ-kārī (or simply *muʿarraḳ-kārī*): this technique consists of cutting, according to precise forms, pieces of monochrome *kāshī* of different colours to compose a polychrome design (technique described by Godard, *op. cit.*, 383-4; H. E. Wulff, *The traditional crafts of Persia*, Cambridge Mass. 1966, 121-5, figs. 188-94; Pope, *op. cit.*, pl. 546). One of the

first examples of the use of this process in Iran is the Imāmzāda Dja'far (dated 1325) at Iṣfahān (Godard, 384). Perfection was achieved at the Imāmzāda Darb-i Imām (dated 1453), situated in the same town (*ibid.*, 386) and especially at the Blue Mosque (Masdjid-i Kabūd, 1453) of Tabriz (*ibid.*, pls. 145, 146; Pope, *op. cit.*, viii, pls. 452-6).

Kāshī-kārī: by contrast with the above, in this process the design is reproduced on tiles of baked earth which are then painted, generally with different metal oxides, to become polychromatic, then rebaked. This technique, which varied widely according to periods and places, has given birth to two great schools, the *kāshī-yi falazzī-rang* (glazed) and the *kāshī-yi haft-rang* (polychrome/seven colours).

The first are from the 3rd/9th century at Baghdad and at Sāmarrā. They were even exported as far as Ḳayrawān (D. Talbot Rice, *Islamic Art*, London 1965, fig. 35) to be used in the Great Mosque (*ca.* 862). But it was the *kāshīs* manufactured principally at Kāshān, from the 7th/13th to 9th/15th centuries, that were the most famous. Their metallic glints were produced by "a thin film of metal obtained by reducing in the kiln a metallic oxide applied on the enamel" (J. Sauvaget, *Introduction à l'étude de la céramique musulmane*, Paris 1966, 36-8; Wulff, *op. cit.*, 119-20). Two categories of glazed tiles exist: first, the flat *kāshīs* in the form of a star or a cross (cf. panel of the Louvre dated 1267; *Art de l'Islam, catalogue de l'exposttion de l'Orangerie des Tuileries*, Paris 1971, pl. and no. 58), and then much greater *kāshīs*, often modelled in a manner to constitute the elements of a *miḥrāb* (cf. that of the sanctuary of the Imām Riḍā at Mashhad, dated 1215, and that of the Mosque of the Maydān of Kāshān, dated 1226; M. Bahrami, *Recherches sur les carreaux de revêtement lustré dans la céramique persane du xiii*[e] *au xv*[e] *s.*, Paris 1937; Pope, *op. cit.*, iv, 1569-90, x, pls. 702, 704, 721-7).

The *kāshī-yi haft-rang* were particularly in favour from the reign of Shāh 'Abbās I (1588-1629). This sovereign, a great builder, judged the *kāshī-yi mu'arraḳ* too slow and costly to produce, and replaced them on certain buildings with painted tiles (interior of Masdjid-i Shāh, dated 1612-28, at Iṣfahān; Godard, *op. cit.*, 393-4; *Iran-Shahr*, ii, 1827-31; Pope, *op. cit.*, ix, pls. 547-9; A. Lane, *Later Islamic Pottery*[2], London 1971, pl. 63).

The manufacture of *kāshī* fell into decline from the 17th-18th centuries onwards, and the notable productions were not numerous (Madrasa Mādar-i Shāh, Iṣfahān, dated 1706-14; Masdjid-i Sipahsālār, Tehran, dating from 1879). At present, this art has experienced, in Iran, a certain revival. Some architects have attempted, sometimes successfully, to incorporate this fundamental element of Iranian decoration in the new architecture of the country (tomb of Khayyām at Nishāpūr, constructed by Sayhūn).

The Persians also took this industry to Syria. These *ḳishānīs* were produced at Damascus. However, it is in the Turkish lands that this art experienced a great development; the Saldjūḳid Palace of Ḳubādābad (7th/13th century) had very fine faïence tiles in the form of stars and crosses (Talbot Rice, *op. cit.*, fig. 185; Cl. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, London 1968, figs. 61-2). The Mosque of 'Alā' al-Dīn (dated 1220) at Konya displays a very elaborate technique of faïence mosaic (Lane, *op. cit.*, 39). The Ottomans were also interested from the beginning in this art (Yeşil Cami at Bursa, 1419-24; Talbot Rice, *op. cit.*, fig. 189). The best *kāshīs* were produced at Iznik, which was an extremely important and active centre from about 1490 to the beginning of the 18th century (see, *e.g.* Mausoleum of Sultan Sulaymān (dated 1566) at Istanbul; *ibid.*, figs. 194-5; see also A. Lane, *op. cit.*, 39-65, pl. 32; C. E. Arseven, *Les arts décoratifs turcs*, Istanbul 1952, 148-75; O. Aslanapa, *Turkish Art and Architecture*, London 1971, 270-8).

Bibliography: given in the article.

(C. Adle)

AL-KĀSHĪ or AL-KĀSHĀNĪ, GHIYĀTH AL-DĪN DJAMSHĪD B. MAS'ŪD B. MAḤMŪD, Persian mathematician and astronomer who wrote in his mother tongue and in Arabic. Few biographical details are available, but it is known that during his lifetime he witnessed three eclipses of the moon, the first being visible at Kāshān on 14 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 808/2 June 1406. Dates occurring incidentally in his works mark a few stages in his life; in 809/1407 he finished his *Risāla kamāliyya* or *Sullam al-samā'*, which deals with the size or distances of the celestial bodies; in 816/1413 he completed the *Zīdj-i khāḳānī*, perhaps dedicated to Shāh Rūkh at Harāt, in which he improves the Ilkhānid tables of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, employing differences of the second order in the case of interpolation of *buht* (see E. S. Kennedy, in *Studies in honour of S. H. Taqizadeh*, London 1962, 117-20).

The year 819/1419 seems to have been the most decisive of his life: it was then that he completed a brief treatise on astronomical instruments (ed. and tr. E. S. Kennedy, in *JNES*, xx/2 (1961), 98-108), dedicated to Prince Iskandar of the Ḳara-ḳoyunlu, in which he describes briefly but accurately many of the instruments mentioned in the *Almagest* (5, 1; 5, 2, etc.) as well as others devised by earlier Muslim astronomers. In this same year he finished the first version of his *Nuzhat al-ḥadā'iḳ* and, accepting the invitation of Ulugh Beg [*q.v.*], probably proffered at the instigation of Ḳāḍī-zāda al-Rūmī, he settled in Samarḳand. From this town he wrote to his father (Eng. tr. E. S. Kennedy, in *Orientalia*, xxix/2 (1960), 191-213) describing the lifestyle of the court, his relationship with Ulugh Beg and Ḳāḍī-zāda al-Rūmī, and the problems with which the latter was particularly concerned. This document is of exceptional scientific interest; in some passages he brings to mind, in quite a different context, the tests undergone by poets when they were admitted to the sovereign's court. He assisted in the establishment of Ulugh Beg's tables and took part in the construction of the great observatory, the ruins of which can still be seen and which, in the opinion of Sayılı (*The observatory in Islam*, Ankara 1960, 260-89), probably influenced the first European observatories.

In 826/1423 he completed his *al-Risāla al-Muḥīṭiyya* (ed. with Ger. tr. by P. Luckey, *Der Lehrbrief über den Kreisumfang*, Berlin 1953; Russ. tr. by. B. A. Rosenfeld, V. S. Segal and A. P. Yushkevič, Moscow 1956) in which he established the value of π with extraordinary exactitude, so that $2\pi = 6; 16, 59, 28, 1, 34, 51, 46, 14, 50$ in sexagesimal notation and 6.2831853071795865 in decimal notation. Allied to the algorithmic methods of this work is the determination of sine 1° worked out by an iterative method (cf. A. Aaboe, in *Scripta Mathematica*, xx (1954), 24-9). This problem, one with which Ḳāḍī-zāda was preoccupied, was recorded by his grandson, Mīram Čelebi, in his commentary on the tables of Ulugh Beg entitled *Dastūr al-'amal wa-taṣḥīḥ al-djadwal*. It can be seen here that al-Kāshī employed the equation: $\sin d = 3 \sin d - 4 \sin 3d$, which was used in the Western world by F. Viète (1540-1613)

and established the value of sine 1° = 0.017 452 406 437 283 571.

In 829/1426, he completed the second version of the *Nuzhat al-ḥadāʾiḳ*, in which he described an equatorium similar to that of Chaucer (see D. J. Price, *The equatorie of the planets*, Cambridge 1955); this, which he called a *ṭabaḳ al-manāṭiḳ*, was designed to determine the position of the planets by manual means; the first references to such an instrument appear in the work of the Hispano-Arab Azarquiel [see AL-ZARḲALĪ]. In the same year he composed a *Lawḥ al-ittiṣālāt*, enabling the rapid calculation of linear interpolations. These two works are edited and translated by E. S. Kennedy, *The planetary equatorium*, Princeton 1960.

In 830/1427 he dedicated to Ulugh Beg's library his *Miftāḥ al-ḥisāb* (ed. with Russ. tr. B. A. Rosenfeld, V. S. Segal and A. P. Yushkevič, Moscow 1951). In the prologue to this work he gives an (incomplete) list of his works and in the explanatory part expounds the arithmetical operations, teaches the method of extracting roots by the system which today is called after Ruffini-Horner, calculates the Tartiglian triangle [see AL-KARADJĪ], demonstrates that he knew the proof by 9, works out the sum of series up to the fourth power of natural numbers (cf. F. Woepcke, *Sommations de séries*, in *Journal de mathématiques pures et appliquées*, x/2 (Paris 1865), 32-6), develops, like the ancient Babylonians, the absolute sexagesimal system, and devises decimal fractions which, despite the endeavours of Emmanuel Bonfils of Tarascon (14th century), were not recognised in Europe before Stevin of Bruges (1585); he also indicates the rules for passing from one system to another, gives auxiliary tables for various computations, deals with trigonometry and algebra and solves some undetermined systems [see AL-KARADJĪ].

Al-Kāshī died on 19 Ramaḍān 832/22 June 1429 at Samarḳand.

Bibliography: Apart from references in the text, Brockelmann, II, 231, S II, 294; Suter, 173, no. 429; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, iii, 158, viii, 43. (J. VERNET)

KĀSHIF, MUḤAMMAD SHARĪF B. SHAMS AL-DĪN AL-SHĪRĀZĪ (*ca.* 1001/1592-after 1063/1653), a Persian prosewriter and poet with the *takhalluṣ* Kāshif (the forms Kāshif-i Kumayt, cf. Rosen, loc. cit., and Sharīfā Kāshif, cf. *Tadhkira-i Naṣrābādī* in the synopsis by A. Sprenger, *Cat. Oudh*, 91, are also mentioned). He lived in Iṣfahān and later in Ray, where he was a *ḳāḍī* for 15 years. His brothers Ismāʿīl Munṣif and Muḳīma were also known as poets. Only two works by Kāshif seem to have survived. Both deal with ethical questions and were written in the ornate style current in the Ṣafawid period. *Sirādj al-Munīr*, completed in 1030/1621 or slightly earlier, is modelled on Saʿdī's *Gulistān* but is more religious in character than the latter work. *Khazān u Bahār* is chiefly an adaptation of the Persian version of al-Tanūkhī's *al-Faradj baʿd al-shidda* by Ḥusayn b. Asʿad al-Muʾayyadī al-Dihistānī (7th/13th century). These works were still frequently copied in the 13th/19th century and have been lithographed several times both in Iran and India (cf. Khānbābā Mushār, *Fihrist-i kitābhā-i čāpī-i fārsī*, Tehran 1337-1342 sh., i, 945, ii, 2138). Other works, recorded in the *Khātima* of *Khazān u Bahār* are the prose works *Durr-i Maknūn* and *Ḥawāṣṣ-i bāṭin*, the *mathnawī*s *Laylā u Madjnūn*, *Haft Paykar* and *ʿAbbās nāma*, and lyrical poetry.

Bibliography: autobiographical notice in the epilogue (*khātima*) of *Khazān u Bahār*, cf. the description in V. Rosen, *Les manuscrits persans de l'Institut des langues orientales*, St. Pétersbourg 1886, 285 f.; Ch. Rieu, *Cat. of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, ii, 861 f., *Supplement*, 250 f.; al-Shaykh Āḳā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, *al-Dharīʿa ilā taṣānīf al-Shīʿa*, Nadjaf-Tehran 1355 ff., vii, 151 f., viii, 108, xii, 161 f.; Aḥmad Munzawī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-i khaṭṭī-i fārsī*, ii/2, Tehran 1349 sh., 1601 f., 1628 ff. (J. T. P. DE BRUIJN)

KĀSHIF AL-GHIṬĀʾ, surname of the Imāmī scholar SHAYKH DJAʿFAR B. KHIḌR B. YAḤYĀ AL-MĀLIKĪ AL-DJANĀDJĪ AL-NADJAFĪ. Shaykh Djaʿfar was born in al-Nadjaf in 1154/1741 or, more likely, in 1164/1751, according to conflicting records. His father, whose family belonged to the Arab clan of Banū Mālik, had come from Djanādjiyā (Ḳanāḳiyā), a village in the region of al-Ḥilla, to al-Nadjaf, where he won a high respect for his piety and religious learning. Shaykh Djaʿfar studied in al-Nadjaf and Karbalāʾ under the most famous Imāmī scholars of the time, among them the Āḳā Muḥammad Bāḳir al-Bihbihānī and the Sayyid Mahdī Baḥr al-ʿUlūm al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī. After the death of the latter in 1212/1797, Shaykh Djaʿfar was recognized as his successor in the leadership of the Imāmī community.

Shaykh Djaʿfar was actively engaged in the local affairs of al-Nadjaf as well as in the concerns of the Imāmī community at large, and entertained close relations with both the Ottoman authorities in Baghdād and the Ḳādjār ruler Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh (1212-50/1797-1834) of Persia. In reply to a pamphlet of the Wahhābī ruler al-ʿAzīz b. Saʿūd (d. 1218/1803) espousing Wahhābī doctrine and attacking Shīʿism, he wrote a rebuttal *Risālat manhadj al-rashād li-man arāda al-sadād*. During the siege of al-Nadjaf by the Wahhābīs in 1220/1805, he led the successful resistance of the inhabitants. In 1221/1806 he served the Ottoman governor of Baghdād, ʿAlī Pasha, as an envoy to the Persian army advancing on that city and brought about a peaceful settlement. To Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, during whose reign he visited Persia frequently, he dedicated his general *fiḳh* work *Kashf al-ghiṭāʾ ʿan mubhamāt al-sharīʿa al-gharrāʾ*. The book became popular with students of Imāmī law and earned him his surname Kāshif al-Ghiṭāʾ. He repeatedly authorized Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh to lead *djihād*.

In treatises and in public debates in ʿIrāḳ and Persia he vigorously supported the Uṣūlī doctrine of *idjtihād* [*q.v.*] against the Akhbārī position. This brought him into sharp conflict with the Akhbārī leader Mīrzā Muḥammad al-Naysābūrī al-Akhbārī. When the latter found refuge at the court of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh in 1223/1808 and tried to defame him personally, he wrote a scathing attack on him entitled *Kashf al-Ghiṭāʾ ʿan maʿāyib Mīrzā Muḥammad ʿaduww al-ʿulamāʾ* and sent it to the shah. Towards the end of his life he became involved in a bloody conflict between the Zuḳurt and the Shimirt, two factions of the inhabitants of al-Nadjaf, which led to a feud lasting over a century. He died at the end of Radjab 1227/early August 1812 and was buried in al-Nadjaf. Several of his descendants have distinguished themselves in scholarship.

Bibliography: Al-Khʷānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-Djannāt*, Tehran 1367, 152-4; al-Nūrī al-Ṭabarsī, *Mustadrak al-wasāʾil*, Tehran 1318, iii, 397 f.; Tunakābunī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-ʿulamāʾ*, Tehran n.d., 183-98; Muḥsin al-Amīn al-ʿĀmilī, *Aʿyān al-shīʿa*, xv, Damascus 1359/1940, 413-47; H. Algar, *Religion and state in Iran 1785-1906*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1969, index s.v. Najafī, Shaykh Jaʿfar.
(W. MADELUNG)

KĀSHIFĪ, kamāl al-dīn ḥusayn b. ʿalī, surnamed al-Wāʿiẓ ("the preacher"), Persian writer and preacher. Born at Bayhaḳ or Sabzawār, where he spent part of his youth, Kāshifī then lived in Nishābūr, Mashhad, and for about 20 years at Harāt, during the reign of Abu 'l Ghāzī Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā [*q.v.*]. There he received encouragement from the sultan and from ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī [*q.v.*]. He was well-known as an eloquent preacher with an exceptionally beautiful voice and as a profilic writer of Persian prose. Kāshifī lived to a ripe old age, dying in 910/1504-5 at Harāt. Because he was born at Bayhaḳ, a Shīʿī centre, he was regarded as a Shīʿī in Harāt, but his relationship with Djāmī [*q.v.*] and his companionship with ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī resulted in his being considered a Sunnī in Bayhaḳ. His famous son, Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī Ṣafī (d. 939/1532-3) in his *Rashaḥāt ʿayn al-ḥayāt* (lith. Lucknow 1308/1890) mentions his father's adherence to the Naḳshbandīs [*q.v.*], who were Sunnīs. However, some of Kāshifī's works, such as his *Rawḍat al-shuhadāʾ*, attest that the author was an Imāmī Shīʿī. In any case, the *Laṭāʾif al-ṭawāʾif*, written by Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī Ṣafī (Tehran 1336/1957), and different works by Kāshifī, express the authors' devotion to the *Ahl al-Bayt* [*q.v.*] "the family of the Prophet". In some of Kāshifī's books, such as *al-Risāla al-ʿaliyya fi'l-aḥādīth al-nabawiyya* (Tehran 1966) and *Futuwwat-nāma-yi sulṭānī* (Tehran 1971), his tendency towards Ṣūfism is obvious. Ḥusayn Wāʿiẓ occasionally wrote Persian poems under the pen name of Kāshifī. His only known child was the above-mentioned Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī Ṣafī, the author of several books, who succeeded his father as a celebrated preacher in Harāt.

The following list of Kāshifī's works is not in chronological order, as the dates of many of his writings have not been established. Of the author's works, the best known are the *Anwār-i Suhaylī* and *Rawḍat al-shuhadāʾ*: (1) The former, which is the basis of Kāshifī's fame in the East and the West, is a new version of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [*q.v.*], translated into Persian by Abu 'l Maʿālī Naṣr Allāh. Kāshifī's aim in recasting these fables, done at the suggestion of Niẓām al-Dīn Amīr Shaykh Aḥmad al-Suhaylī (d. 907 or 908/1501-3), a Turkish amīr at the court of Sultan Ḥusayn, was to simplify the difficult style of Abu 'l-Maʿālī. Kāshifī omitted Abu 'l-Maʿālī's first two chapters, reducing the book to 14 chapters. But the *Anwār-i Suhaylī*, "The Lights of Canopus" or rather "The Lights of Suhaylī", written in a very decorative style, cannot compare with the first Persian translation of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, and Kāshifī did not achieve his object. The book has been published several times: in Calcutta 1804 etc.; Hertford (by Ch. Stewart) 1805, (by J. W. Ouseley) 1851; Bombay 1853; and repeatedly since then in India, Iran and Europe. A versified version of the work exists, entitled *Shakaristān* and made by Amīr Khusraw Dārāʾī (Tehran 1947). The Ottoman Turkish translation of the work, entitled *Hümāyūn-nāme* by ʿAlī Čelebi (d. 950/1543-4), became widely known in Europe; its translation into French is one of the sources of La Fontaine's Fables. The *Anwār-i Suhaylī* has also been translated into English (by E. B. Eastwick, Hertford 1854, and by A. N. Wollaston, London 1878). Parts of the book have been printed in text and translation in Europe (see Ethé, *Cat. Pers. Mss., India Office*, No. 757). Having achieved fame in India, the work found an imitator, Abu 'l Faḍl b. Mubārak, minister of the Emperor Akbar and author of the *Āyīn-i Akbarī*, who compiled the *ʿIyār-i dānish* (996/1588); (2) *The Rawḍat al-shuhadāʾ*, "Garden of the Martyrs", a Persian martyrology of ʿAlī and his family, particularly of the Imām Ḥusayn [*q.v.*], was written at the wish of Prince Murshid al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh, called Sayyid Mīrzā, in 908/1502-3. It comprises ten chapters (*bābs*) and a conclusion (*khātima*). It has been published many times; abridgments entitled *Dah madjlis* and *Muntakhab-i Rawḍat al-shuhadāʾ* are also available (see Storey, i, 212, 1261). Popular among Shīʿīs and used in the commemorative speeches of Muḥarram, the book has left a lasting mark on the mourning ceremonies called *rawḍa*. The work was translated into Turkish, with additions, by Fuḍūlī [*q.v.*] of Baghdād (d. 970/1562-3) under the title *Ḥadīḳat al-suʿadāʾ* (see Storey, i, 213; Gibb, *Ottoman Poetry*, iii, 90). There is a metrical paraphrase in Dakhanī: the *Rawḍat al-shuhadāʾ* by Walī, composed in 1130/1718 (Storey, i, 213). Translations in Urdu and Hindī also exist (see Ḥaydar-Bakhsh Ḥaydarī, *Gul-i maghfirat*, Lahore 1965, Introduction by Nāẓir Ḥasan Zaydī, 8, 9, 19).

Other works are: (3) *Djawāhir al-tafsīr li-tuḥfat al-Amīr*, an extensive Persian commentary on the Ḳurʾān, written at the request of ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī in 890/1485. Kāshifī intended to compile it in four volumes, but discontinued his work after finishing the first volume, which included the first three *sūras* and part of the fourth. Later, he wrote a shorter commentary. *Djawāhir al-tafsīr* has a detailed introduction dealing with the 22 branches of ḳurʾānic sciences. Manuscripts of the work are extant (see Rieu, *Cat. Pers. Mss., British Museum*, i, 11; Ethé, No. 2680; Storey, i, 12, 1195; Aḥmad Munzawī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-yi Fārsī*, Tehran 1969, i, 42); (4) the *Mawāhib-i ʿaliyya* is a shorter commentary on the Ḳurʾān, composed in 897-9/1491-4 and dedicated to ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī, from whose name the work's title is derived. It is also called *Tafsīr-i Ḥusaynī*, after the author. The book has been lithographed several times in India (Storey, i, 13), Iran, and printed in four volumes in Tehran 1938-50. There is a Turkish translation by Abu 'l Faḍl Muḥammad b. Idrīs Bidlīsī (d. 982/1574-5) and also an adaptation, *Mewākib tefsīri*, by Ismāʿīl Ferrukh Efendi (d. 1256/1840), Istanbul 1959. Urdu and Pashtu translations also exist (Storey, *loc. cit.*); (5) the *Akhlāḳ-i Muḥsinī*, a book on ethics, was completed in 900/1494-5 as an offering for Abu 'l Muḥsin, a son of Sultan Ḥusayn. It comprises 40 chapters, and has been published several times in India, Tehran, Hertford, London, etc. Translations exist in English by H. G. Keene, Hertford 1851; in Turkish, under the title *Anīs al-ʿārifīn*, by ʿAẓmī, 974/1566-7; and extracts from the latter translated into German, published by R. Peiper, Breslau 1848, *Das Kapitel von der Freigebigkeit*, etc.; (6) *al-Risāla al-ʿaliyya fi'l-aḥādīth al-nabawiyya*, a Persian commentary in eight chapters on the 40 *ḥadīths*, compiled in 875/1470-1. It was influenced by the *Maṣābīḥ al-ḳulūb* of Abū Saʿīd al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sabzawārī (d. 854/1450), one of the Shīʿī *ʿulamāʾ*, and dedicated to Shams al-Dīn Abu 'l Maʿālī ʿAlī al-Mukhtār al-Nassāba al-Naḳīb. A Turkish translation was made by Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Ṭāshköprüzāde (d. 1030/1620-1) for Sultan Aḥmad I (see *ʿOM*, i, 349-50; A. Karahan, *İslam-Türk edebiyatında Kırk Hadis*, Istanbul 1954, 109-11 and index s.v. Ḥusayn Vāʿiẓ; (7), (8) Two anthologies from Rūmī's Mathnawī: the first entitled *Lubāb-i maʿnawī fī intikhāb-i Mathnawī*, and the second a rearrangement of this entitled *Lubb-i Lubāb-i maʿnawī*. The latter was

compiled at the suggestion of Musayyib, one of the eminent officials at the court of Harāt, in 875/1470-1 (lith., Bombay 1885, Lucknow; printed, Tehran 1940); (9) *Risāla-yi Ḥātimīyya*, a short Persian treatise including the story of Ḥātim Ṭāʾī [*q.v.*], compiled for Sultan Ḥusayn Bāyķarā in 891/1486 (printed, Ch. Schefer, *Chrest. Pers.*, Paris 1883, i, 174-203; Tehran 1941); (10) *Makhzan al-inshāʾ*, a treatise on the art of Persian epistolography, containing all a secretary must know: forms of address, forms of answer, topics which must be stated, forms of prayer used in letters. It was completed in 907/1501-2, in the name of Sultan Ḥusayn and the author's patron, Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī; (11) *Ṣaḥīfa-yi shāhī*, another treatise, including some epistolary writings in Persian and a few in Arabic, is dedicated to Sultan Ḥusayn (lith., Lucknow 1844, Cawnpore 1848); (12) *Badāʾiʿ al-afkār fī ṣanāʾiʿ al-ashʿār*, a work on figures of speech and errors, particularly in poetic usage (see A. Munzawī, iii, 2126); (13) *Futuwwat-nāma-yi sulṭānī*, printed in Tehran 1971, is one of Kāshifī's most valuable works. As well as having a fluent style, the book is the most detailed of all the Arabic and Persian treatises written on *futuwwa* [*q.v.*]. Kāshifī compiled all the information about *fityān* handed down from earlier generations and never before mentioned in books. At the same time, he used important written sources. Some special aspects of the mediaeval history of Iran, *i.e.* about the *fityān* and their social organisation, are fully described; (14) the *Asrār-i Ķāsimī*, a short Persian treatise on witchcraft, spells and alchemy, in five parts, is written in the name of Amīr Sayyid Ķāsim, one of the eminent personalities of the period (lith. Bombay 1872, etc.). Kāshifī's son wrote a commentary on this book, entitled *Kashf-i Asrār-i Ķāsimī* (lith., Bombay 1894, 1910; printed in Berlin); (15) *Tuḥfat al-ṣalāt*, with eight chapters and a conclusion; (16) *Marṣad al-asnā fī istikhrādj asmāʾ al-ḥusnā* (lith., Bombay 1893, 1905); (17) *Zād al-musāfirīn* (*mathnawī*, lith., Lucknow 1885); (18) *Sabʿa Kāshifiyya*, completed in 878/1473-4, containing seven treatises on astronomy and astrology, entitled *Mawāhib al-Zuḥal, Mayāmin al-Mushtarī, Ķawāṭiʿ* (or *Sawāṭiʿ*) *al-Mirrīkh, Lawāmiʿ al-Shams, Mabāhidj* (or *Mafātīḥ*) *al-Zuhra, Manāhidj al-ʿUṭārid* and *Lawāʾiḥ al-Ķamar* (or *Ikhtiyārāt-i nudjūm*); (19) *al-Tuḥfa al-ʿaliyya fī ʿilm al-ḥurūf wa-bayān asrārihā*, compiled in the name of Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh Naķshbandī; (20), (21) Two more commentaries on the Ķurʾān, entitled *Mukhtaṣar al-Djawāhir*, "abridged from *Djawāhir al-tafsīr*", and *Djāmiʿ al-sittīn*, Kāshifī's dictated commentary on the *Sūrat Yūsuf* (ch. xii), which is probably identical with the *Tafsīr-i sūra-yi Yūsuf* by Tādj al-Dīn Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Zayd of Ṭūs (Tehrān 1967; see Storey, i, 29, 1195, 1210; A. Munzawī, i, 38); (22) *Sharḥ-i Mathnawī*; (23) *Risālat al-ʿulwiyya*; (24) *Risāla dar ʿilm-i aʿdād*; (25) *Risāla dar awrād-u adʿiya*; (26) *Fayḍ al-nawāl fī bayān al-zawāl*; (27) *Mafātīḥ al-kunūz* on alchemy; (28) *Mayāmin al-iktisāb fī ķawāʿid al-iḥtisāb*; (29) *Āʾīna-yi iskandarī* or *Djām-i Djam*; (30) *Mā lā budda fi 'l madhhab*; (31) *Minhādj al-wilāya*; (32) *Faḍl al-ṣalāt ʿala 'l-nabī*; (33) *Mirʾāt al-ṣafā fī ṣifāt al-Muṣṭafā*; (34) *Sharḥ-i Kitāb al-Surūr fī ʿilm al-ṣanʿa* by Sufyān al-Thawrī (lith. Bombay); (35) *al-Naķāwa fī ādāb al-tilāwa*, on the method of reading the Ķurʾān (A. Munzawī, i, 120); (36) *Dīwān-i Kāshifī* (*ibid.*, iii, 2490); (37) *Ṭabaķāt-i Khwādjagān-i Naķshbandiyya* (*ibid.*, ii, 1274); (38) *Maʿārif al-Yaķīn* (*ibid.*, ii, 1394); (39) *Manāķib al-awliyāʾ* (*ibid.*, ii, 1423; Storey, i, 213); (40) *Madjālis-i waʿẓ* (A. Munzawī, ii, 1678), etc.

Bibliography: In addition to the works and sources mentioned in the text: ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī, *Madjālis al-nafāʾis*, Pers. tr., Tehran 1944, 93, 268-9; Khwāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, Tehran 1373/1953-4, iv, 345-6; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, i, 199, 204, ii, 230, 319, 360, 363, 641-2, iii, 43, 421-2, 461-2, 500-1, iv, 485, v, 239, 353, 376, 466, 483, vi, 244, 280-1, 643; N. Shūshtarī, *Madjālis al-muʾminīn*, Tehran 1375/1956, i, 113-4, 547-8; Maʿṣūm ʿAlī-Shāh, *Ṭarāʾiķ al-ḥaķāʾiķ*, Tehran 1960-66, iii, 114; Browne, iii, 441-4, 463, 503-4 (Pers. tr., *Az Saʿdī tā Djāmī*, by ʿA. A. Ḥikmat, Tehran 1960, 639-41, 643-5, 734-8); Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, *al-Dharīʿa ilā taṣānīf al-Shīʿa*, Nadjaf and Tehran 1936 etc., cf. relevant titles; M. R. Djalālī Nāʾīnī, Introduction, in *Mawāhib-i ʿaliyya*, 7-132; ʿA. A. Dihkhudā, "Kāshifī", in *Lughatnāma*, Tehran 1946 etc.; ʿA. Khayyāmpūr, *Farhang-i sukhanwarān*, Tabrīz 1961, 479; Kh. Mushār, *Muʾallifīn-i Kutub-i čāpī "Fārsī-yu ʿArabī"*, Tehran 1961, ii, 810-16; J. Rypka, *Iranische Literaturgeschichte*, Leipzig 1959, index s.v. Ḥusain Wāʿiẓ, and p. 600 (bibl.), Eng. tr. *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, index s.v. and p. 789. (GHOLAM HOSEIN YOUSOFI)

KASHĪSH-DAGHĪ [see ULU DAGH].

KASHĪNĀ, KASHNĀ [see KATSINA].

ĶĀSHĶĀY, the name of a Turkish people living in the Fārs province of Iran. Persian works refer to this people as Ķashķāʾī. The exact origin of the name is not known. In western Turkish *ķashķa* is the name given to a blaze on the forehead of animals such as horses, sheep and cattle; in Čaghatay the word also means "brilliant" and "gallant". It is probable that the name Ķāshķāy is related to one of these meanings, especially the former, *i.e.* a blaze. It is impossible to agree with the claims of the chroniclers of the Ķādjār period that the word is derived from *kačmak* "to flee, escape". The Ķāshķāy are a comparatively recent community, not referred to in works earlier than the 18th century. A branch of the Khaladj [*q.v.*], whose original territory was the Sāwa region, used to live in Fārs during the 19th century, and whilst we have no knowledge of the causes leading to the formation of the Ķāshķāy, it is probable that many Turcoman communities living in Fārs gathered around the strong Shāhilu tribe of the Khaladj during the Afghan invasion, thus forming this people. It seems also that some small tribes belonging to such peoples as the Lurs, Kurds and Shuls also joined this union.

The territory of the Ķāshķāy extended from the northwest of Fārs to the southeast, comprising Shash Nāhiya, Čahār Danke, Kāmfīrūz, Ardahān, Kāzarūn, Farrāshband, Maḥall Arbaʿa, Fīrūzābād, Maymand, Afraz, Khundj and Mahūr Milānī. Of these, the first five were their grazing grounds, while the rest were their winter quarters. The khāns generally wintered in Fīrūzābād. Until recently the territory of the Ķāshķāy was considered a separate administrative region under the name of the Vilāyat-i Ķashķāʾī.

The tribal organization of the Ķāshķāy was similar to that of other Turkish peoples, *i.e.* they were divided into the *boy* (*ṭāʾifa*), the *boy* into the *oba* (*tīra*), and the *oba* into families (*odjak*). The tribal head was the *ilkhān*, while the *boy* was headed by the *kalantar* (*boy begi*), and the *oba* by the *katkhuda*. The *il begi* was the deputy ilkhān and the actual ruler. He was elected from among the close relatives of the ilkhān, such as his son or brother. The ilkhān,

always a member of the ruling family of Khans, was appointed by the Shāh. Among the many *boys* and *obas* of the Ķāshķāy people, the following were of the greatest historical importance: Bayāt (from the Oghuz tribe), Igdir (Oghuz tribe), Beg Dili (Oghuz tribe), Čarīkhlu (Čarīklu, an Oghuz tribe?), Shāmlu, Aghač-Eri (of the Ķarā-Ķoyunlu), Khaladj, Musullu (of the Aķ-Ķoyunlu), and Oryad (Mongol?). These sub-tribes were not very populous. One characteristic of the Ķāshķāy people was that it had a strict tribal code, which determined all conduct and was obeyed by every member, from the Khān down to the simplest member of the community.

The great majority of the Ķāshķāy led a nomadic life, raising horses, camels and cattle. An important number of these nomadic people, however, had fields near their pastures, which were watered and protected by peasants living in the neighbourhood. In return for these services, the peasants, called *raʿiyyat-i Ķashķāʾī*, received two sheep and some share of the crop each year. Being servants of the Ķāshkāy was regarded as good fortune by the peasants of Fārs, for in this way they enjoyed the help and protection of the Ķāshķāy and were free from the molestations of government officials. The Ķāshķāy exported sheep, longhaired lambskins similar to the Kara Köl sheep of Bukhārā, wool, carpets and rugs. Ķāshkāy carpets woven from pure wool, decorated with traditional motifs and dyed with natural dyes, are still in high demand both in Iran and abroad.

The Ķāshķāy women occupied an important place in the social life of their community, and as among the ancient Turks, the Ķāshķāy observed the rule of demanding *bashlīk* (*bashluk*) in marriage.

Ķāshķāy Turkish is a dialect of Oghuz, i.e. southwestern, Turkish. Like the *ozans* of the Oghuz, the Ķāshķāy had their *ʿāshīķs*, who sang songs of love and bravery and recited the legend of Köroghlu.

Dupré (1807-9) gives their number as 12,000-15,000 (*Voyage en Perse*, Paris 1819, ii, pp. 463-4), while Lady Sheil (mid-19th century) writes that they had 30,000-40,000 tents (*Glimpses of life and Manners in Persia*, London 1856, 398-9). Curzon (1889), on the other hand, gives their number as 25,000 (*Persia and the Persian Question*, London 1892, ii, 112-3) but he mentions that formerly they had comprised 60,000 tents and were capable of raising 120,000 horsemen. This figure is greatly exaggerated, since the Ķāshķāy were in fact never able to raise more than 15,000 horsemen. They put 5,000 horsemen in the field against the British during World War I.

Their first important chiefs were Ḥasan Khān and his brother Ismāʿīl Khān, who both lived during the time of Karīm Khan Zand [*q.v.*] (d. 1193/1779), but for reasons unknown, Ḥasan Khān's hand was cut off, and Ismāʿīl Khān's eyes put out towards the end of the Zand period. Djānī Khān (d. 1239/1823-4), the son of the latter, and Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān (d. 1268/1851-2), the son of Djānī Khān, his brother Muḥammad Ķulī Khān (d. 1867-8), and his son Sulṭān Muḥammad Khān, were the most prominent Ķāshķāy chiefs during the 19th century. Of these, Muḥammad ʿAlī Khān and his son Djihāngīr Khān took wives from the Ķādjārs. One of the main rivals of the Ķāshķāy dynasty was the Hādjdjī Ibrāhīm family living in Shīrāz. This family ruled over the five large tribes (Khamsa) in Fārs with the support of the government. Another enemy of the Ķāshķāy were the Bakhtiyārī, their northern neighbours. When constitutional monarchy was established in Iran, by law the Ķāshķāy were represented in parliament by Hādjdjī Karīm Khān of the ruling family. Although the Ķāshķāy, with the secret encouragement of the government, fought the British in Fārs towards the end of World War I, they were defeated. Like the other tribes, the Ķāshķāy were disarmed by Riḍā Shāh in 1930 and brought under government control. During the operations carried out for this purpose, the Il-Khān Ṣawlat al-Dawla was brought to Tehran and imprisoned there, and his sons were forced to leave Iran. During World War II, and after the removal of Riḍā Shāh from the throne, the sons of Ṣawlat al-Dawla, who had himself died in prison, returned from exile. Of these, Nāṣir was elected Il-khān and started administering the Ķāshķāy. When the Ķāshķāy, according to their tribal tradition, refused to surrender to the British the German agents who had taken refuge in Ķāshķāy, they were faced with the danger of being crushed as a possible consequence of an armed expedition against them. They were fortunately saved from this plight by the intervention of the Turkish ambassador (1943). In 1963 the government of Iran decided to carry out land reform in Ķāshķāy territory and to subject the Ķāshķāy people to the authority of the central government Ķāshķāy resistance was overcome by force, the tribesmen disarmed and the family of khāns forced to leave Iran for the second time.

Bibliography: For detailed information and bibliography on the Ķāshķāy see F. Sümer, *Kaçarlar devrinde Türk oymakları*, in *Selçuklu Araştırmaları Dergisi*, V, Ankara 1973. (F. SÜMER)

KASHKŪL, a Persian word denoting an oval bowl of metal, wood or coconut (calabash), worn suspended by a chain from the shoulder, in which the dervishes put the alms they receive and the food which is given them. The etymology of this word is obscure; a popular one is given by the Persians: *kash* "draw" (imperative) and *kūl* "shoulder", "what one draws over the shoulder"; but as we find a form *khačkūl* attested in the older poets (Anwārī, Sayf Isfarangī), this explanation can hardly be accepted. The dictionaries give as the first sense "beggar" and then "beggar's bowl"; it seems impossible to decide how correct they are.

This term passed at a late date into Arabic, and appears in the title of the *Kitāb al-Kashkūl* of Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī (953-1030/1547-1621) [see AL-ʿĀMILĪ], which is a collection of passages taken from various sources. It is sometimes used in modern Arabic in this sense, in which, as well as denoting "beggar's bag", it denotes a kind of album or collection of press cuttings. In Algerian colloquial Arabic, it has retained the sense of "begging bowl, bowl made of wood or of esparto grass" (Beaussier, s.v.); in Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v., we also find the forms *kashkul* and *kashkala*.

Bibliography: *Farhang-i Rashīdī*, s.v. *Khačkūl*; *Burhān-i Ķāṭiʿ*, s.v. *kashkūl*; R. du Mans, *Estat de la Perse en 1660*, ed. Schefer, 217; Ricaut, *Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, figure in ch. xvii; Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*[1], i, 337; A. von Kremer, *Topographie von Damascus*, ii, 4; E. G. Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians*, 52. (CL. HUART*)

KASHMĪR (Sanskrit: Kashmīra; Persian: Kashmīr; Kashmīrī: Kashīr), a region of northern India.

I. BEFORE 1947

1. Geography. It is situated in the western Himālayas about 5,000 ft. above sea-level, and is shaped like an elliptical saucer with a similarly-shaped level

valley in the centre. This valley, comprising an area of 1,800 or 1,900 sq. miles, is about 84 miles in length, from south-west to north-east, while its width varies from 20 to 25 miles. It is surrounded by high mountain ranges, whose highest peaks rise up to 18,000 ft. The inner slopes of these mountains possess lateral valleys, some quite large and very picturesque. The whole area within the mountain boundaries is about 3,900 sq. miles. Through the central plain flows the Djehlam (Vitastā), which is joined by numerous rivers and streams which drain the slopes of the mountains. The high mountains which surround the valley are pierced by a number of passes through which it has, over the ages, maintained contact with the outside world. The most important passes are the Bānihāl, the Būdil, the Pīr Pandjāl, the Tōshmaidān, the Ḥādjdjī Pīr and the Zōdjī-Lā. According to an ancient legend mentioned by Kalhaṇa and the Nīlamata, Kashmīr was once a lake; there is a certain geological basis for this in the lacustrine deposits found in the alluvial plateaus called *karēwas* or *uḍars*.

The name Kashmīr does not occur in Vedic literature. Its earliest reference is found in Pāṇini's grammar. Later the *Mahābhārata* and some of the Purānas also refer to it. There is no mention of Kashmīr by Herodotus or in the accounts of Alexander's invasion, but Ptolemy's use of Kaspeiria definitely refers to Kashmīr. It is not clear when the Chinese first used it, but when Hiuen Tsiang visited Kashmīr in 631, he called it the kingdom of *Kia-shi-mi-lo*. Muslim historians and geographers like Abu 'l-Fidā and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa omit mention of Kashmīr altogether. Al-Muḳaddasī and al-Idrīsī refer only to its geographical location. Al-Masʿūdī's account of Kashmīr, which he calls Ḳashmīr and its capital the "town of Ḳashmīr", is on the other hand long, but not always reliable. It is, however, al-Bīrūnī who gives a detailed and authentic description of Kashmīr. Although he never visited Kashmīr, he obtained his information in the Pandjāb and in Ghazna from reliable sources, and describes the habits and customs of the people of Kashmīr. He refers to the passes leading out of the valley and traces the course of the river Djehlam with considerable accuracy.

Nothing is known of the aboriginal inhabitants of Kashmīr. The present Kashmīrīs are probably a mixture of different races—Aryan, Mongol, Turkish and Afghān. The total population of Kashmīr, according to the 1971 census, is 2,435,701, out of which the Muslims are 2,289,530.

The staple food of the inhabitants of Kashmīr is rice, which is also the most important crop. The winter in Kashmīr is very severe, but from May to October it is very pleasant. This, combined with the picturesque scenery of the Valley, attracts tourists from all over the world.

The Kashmīrī language, according to Grierson, belongs to the Dardic group, though it has been considerably influenced by Sanskrit and Persian and, latterly, by Urdū; it is now written in Persian characters. Kashmīr's language of court and culture was Sanskrit until it was replaced by Sulṭān Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn in the 9th/15th century. Persian then continued to flourish, but in 1889 Urdū was made the court language. Although efforts are being made to develop Kashmīrī, Urdū remains the official language as well as the language of culture.

2. History to the 14th century. The early history of Kashmīr is shrouded in legend until we come to the time of Aśoka the Great who, according to the records of the Chinese pilgrims, erected many monasteries and stupas and Śaivite shrines in the Valley. It was also he who laid the foundation of Srīnagarī, which was near the present Srīnagar, and which has given a name to it. However, the medieval Muslim chroniclers of Kashmīr refer to Srīnagar as the "town of Kashmīr" (Shahr-i Kashmīr).

Kashmīr's history again assumes a legendary character until the time of Kaniṣka, the Kushan ruler of north-western India, who was a Buddhist and who organised the Fourth Buddhist Council in Kashmīr. In 178 A.D. the Kushan rule was replaced by the Gonanda dynasty, under which Buddhism declined because of the policy of persecution followed by some of its rulers.

Ca. 528 A.D., Kashmīr came under the rule of Mihirakula, the White Hun ruler, who, according to the tradition preserved by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, encouraged Brahmanism and persecuted Buddhism. Towards the middle of the 6th century, the Kashmīr ruler Matrgupta acknowledged the sovereignty of Harsha-Vikramāditya of Udjdjayn. But beyond this, nothing is known of Harsha's connection with Kashmīr.

In 627 was laid the foundation of the Kārkō'ta dynasty (the origin of this designation is uncertain) by Durlabhavardhana, a man of obscure origin. Hiuen Tsiang, who arrived in Kashmīr during his reign, says that Buddhism was in decline but that the country was peaceful and prosperous. The greatest ruler of the Kārkō'ta dynasty was Lalitāditya-Muktāpīda, who reduced Kāng'ra, Pūnč, Radjaurī and Djammū, but Kalhaṇa's account of his conquests round the whole of India is legendary. In 733 Lalitāditya sent an embassy to the Chinese Emperor Husan-tsuang (713-55), seeking help from him against the Arabs who were pressing from the south and the Tibetans and Turkish tribes from the north. He was a great builder, his greatest building being the temple of Mārtand, which owes a great deal to the Gandhāra school and which became a model to all subsequent temples in the valley. Lalitāditya also carried out extensive drainage works, reclaimed large areas for cultivation and established law and order. Ou-K'ong, who visited Kashmīr a few years after Lalitāditya's death, found Buddhism in a flourishing condition.

Since the successors of Lalitāditya were worthless, his dynasty was replaced by the Utpala dynasty founded by Avantivarman (855-83), grandson of Utpala, who was related by marriage with the Kārko'tas. Avantivarman founded the town of Avantipūr, which still bears his name, and built great temples there. His able engineer Suyya, whose name still survives in the modern town of Sōpūr (old Suyyapura), constructed irrigation channels, and by measures designed to prevent floods, reclaimed land from the river and marshes and thus made Kashmīr prosperous. Avantivarman's son and successor, Shaṁkaravarman (883-902) imposed heavy taxes, and introduced the system of forced labour (*bēgār*) which remained, until recent times, a characteristic feature of Kashmīr life. He was succeeded by weak rulers who were puppets in the hands of Tantrins or feudal chiefs. In 950 Kshēmagupta ascended the throne. But he too was weak and the real authority was exercised by his wife Diddā, who was the daughter of the ruler of Lohara. On her husband's death, she herself ascended the throne in 981 after destroying her son and her grandson one after another. She ruled ably until 1003, when she appointed Saṁgrāmarādja, her nephew, as her successor.

Under the Lohara kings, who were mostly incompetent, social and political conditions in Kashmīr

greatly deteriorated; the people were subjected to corvées and to all kinds of oppressive taxes. The Damaras or feudal chiefs grew powerful and by their constant revolts plunged the country into confusion. Since Rāmadeva (1252-73), the last ruler of the dynasty, had no child, he adopted Lakshmanadeva, the son of a Brahman, as heir-apparent. It was under Lakshmanadeva's son, Sūhadeva (1301-20) that the Mongols, led by Zuldjū, invaded Kashmīr in the spring of 720/1320. The origin of Zuldjū is obscure, but he appears to have been a Mongol from Turkistān. He entered Kashmīr by the Djehlam valley route; Sūhadeva did not offer any resistance but fled to Kishtwār. The Mongols continued their ravages in the valley for 8 months and then withdrew before winter. The anarchy that followed the invasion and withdrawal of the Mongols paved the way for the establishment of the Islamic Sultanate.

3. The foundation of the Sultanate. It was in the 2nd/8th century that Kashmīr came for the first time in contact with the Muslims. Two governors of Sind, Djunayd and Hishām b. Amr al-Taghlibī, attempted to invade the fringes of Kashmīr, but they could only reach as far as the southern slopes of the Himālayas.

Maḥmūd of Ghazna in 404/1014 and again in 412/1021 tried to conquer Kashmīr but did not succeed. When finally Muslim rule came to be established, it was not the result of a foreign invasion but of a palace revolution. Taking advantage of the chaos into which Kashmīr was plunged after the Mongol withdrawal, Riñchana (Lhachen rGyalbu Riñchana), the son of a Ladākhī chief, who had sought refuge in Kashmīr, made himself master of the country. He embraced Islam under the influence of a Suhrawardī saint, Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn, commonly known as Bulbul Shāh, and adopted the name of Ṣadr al-Dīn. He was the first Sultan of Kashmīr.

At the death of Riñchana, his widow Kō'tā Rānī, on the advice of the nobles, married Udayānadeva, the brother of Sūhadeva, and made him king; and when he died, she herself became ruler. But her authority was challenged by Shāh Mīr, a soldier of fortune, who was most probably of Turkish origin.

Turkish adventurers began to enter the Valley from the end of the 5th/11th century, and were employed by Hindū kings in their armies. Shāh Mīr also came in search of fame and fortune and was employed by Sūhadeva. He gradually became so powerful that when Udayānadeva died, he refused to acknowledge Kō'tā Rānī's authority. He defeated her and, in 739/1339, ascended the throne under the title of Sulṭān Shams al-Dīn, thus laying the foundations of his dynasty which ruled Kashmīr until 968/1561.

4. The Sultanate Period. Very little is known of the two successors of Shams al-Dīn, Djamshīd and ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn. But the latter's son Shihāb al-Dīn (755-75/1354-73) appears to have been an able ruler. After consolidating his position at home, he was able to reduce Djammū, Pūnč, Radjaurī, Čamba, Baltistān and Ladākh; but the accounts in the Kashmīr chronicles that he conquered Multān, Kābul, Badakhshān and Samarḳand and that he defeated Fīrūz Shāh Tughluḳ are apocryphal. An important event that had considerable impact on the social and religious life of Kashmīr was the arrival of Sayyid ʿAlī Hamadhānī, a Kubrawī saint, once during his reign in Rabīʿ I 774/September 1372 and again in the reign of his younger brother and successor Ḳuṭb al-Dīn in 781/1379 and 785/1383. Sayyid ʿAlī is said to have come with 700 Sayyids and to have made large-scale conversions to Islam.

During the reign of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn's son, Sikandar (792-816/1389-1413), there came Sayyid Muḥammad, the son of Sayyid ʿAlī Hamadhānī. Under his influence, Sikandar tried to enforce the *Sharīʿa* and established the office of the Shaykh al-Islām, and he began to persecute the Hindus by forcibly converting them to Islam and destroying their temples. But the accounts given in the chronicles of the wholesale destruction of temples have been greatly exaggerated, for there is evidence to suggest that the massive temples of Mārtand and Avantipūr were destroyed by earthquakes and not by Sikandar, for gunpowder was unknown in Kashmīr in the 8th/14th century.

The policy of religious persecution pursued by Sikandar was reversed by his son, Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (823-75/1420-70), who is popularly called "Budshāh" or the Great King. He virtually abolished the *djizya*, gave money to Hindus to rebuild their temples, and allowed those who had been forcibly converted to Islam to return to their old religion. This, however, did not check the progress of Islam because, although the successors of Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn followed a policy of religious toleration, yet through the efforts of Ṣūfīs and *rishīs* conversions continued, so that by the end of the 9th/15th century, a majority of the inhabitants of Kashmīr had embraced Islam. But at the same time, Islam itself became diluted with non-Muslim usages and practices, and it has retained this character to this day.

History and tradition combine to credit Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn with the introduction of various arts and crafts for which Kashmīr has become famous. He sent Kashmīrīs to Iran and Turkistān to learn the arts of book-binding, wood-carving and papier-mâché, and those of making shawls, carpets and paper. He also invited craftsmen from these countries to instruct his people in various skills. Of all the arts in which the Kashmīrīs achieved excellence, that of book-binding and paper-making has since the 19th century disappeared, but the other crafts are still flourishing and provide employment to a large number of people.

The Hindu *rādjās* had built their temples in stone, but the Sulṭāns popularised the constructional use of wood. Sikandar's two buildings which have survived, the Khānḳāh-i Muʿallā (Mosque of Shāh Hamadhān) and the Djāmiʿ Masdjid, are constructed in wood. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, on the other hand, built both in wood and brick. His mosque of Madanī is constructed in wood, but the tomb of his mother and the tomb of Madanī represent the masonry style, and their chief feature is the use made of Persian tiles. The chief feature of the wooden style of architecture is that the pyramidal roof projecting over the whole structure is built in three tiers, and is surrounded by an open pavilion for the *muʾadhdhin*, over which rises the steeple with its final.

Under Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, the Shāh Mīr dynasty reached the zenith of its power and glory. But after his death, succession disputes, incompetent rulers and refractory and intriguing nobles brought about its downfall. In consequence, Kashmīr was subjected to foreign invasions. In Rajab 947/November 1540, Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dughlāt, a cousin of Bābur, who was in Humāyūn's service, invaded Kashmīr and seized power. At first he ruled with ability and justice, but later he failed to protect the Kashmīrīs from the high-handedness of the Mughals. Moreover, he banned Shīʿism and all Ṣūfī orders, and compelled every Muslim to accept the Ḥanafī law school. The result was that the Kashmīr nobles united against him and brought about his defeat and death in Ramaḍān 958/October 1551. But this did not bring peace to the Valley, because a struggle for power began among the

nobles belonging to the Raina, Māgre and Čak families. In the end, the Čaks emerged victorious. They had migrated from Dardistān in the reign of Sūhadeva, and were, according to al-Bīrūnī, of Turkish origin. They were converted to Shīʿism by Mīr Shams al-Dīn, a Nūrbakhshiyya dervish, who visited Kashmīr from Persia in 886/1481 and 907/1502. The Čaks ruled the Valley from 968/1561 to 994/1586, when it was conquered by Akbar.

The Mughals had invaded Kashmīr in the reigns of Bābur and Humāyūn. Akbar, who claimed Kashmīr because it had been conquered by Mīrzā Ḥaydar on behalf of Humāyūn, had also sent an army to the conquest of Kashmīr in the summer of 968/1561. But it had been defeated by Sulṭān Ghāzī Shāh Čak (968-70/1561-3). It was not until 993/1585 that Akbar found himself sufficiently free to direct his attention once again to Kashmīr. On 3 Muḥarram 994/20 December 1585 he despatched Rādjā Bhagwān Dās to invade the valley. The Kashmīr forces offered serious resistance at the pass of Būliāsa. But Sulṭān Yūsuf Shāh (988-94/1580-6), being weak and indolent and convinced that it would be impossible to defeat the Mughals, secretly visited the Mughal camp on 3 Rabīʿ I 994/14 February 1586 and concluded a treaty with Bhagwān Dās. By this treaty he was to retain his throne, but coins were to be struck and the *khuṭba* recited in the name of the Emperor. Akbar, however, did not honour the treaty, and when Yūsuf Shāh was presented to him he ordered his imprisonment.

Meanwhile, betrayed by Yūsuf Shāh, the Kashmīr nobles set up his son, Yaʿḳūb Shāh, on the throne. Yaʿḳūb was brave and resourceful, but he was a religious fanatic and tried to make Shīʿism the state religion. In consequence of Yaʿḳūb's intolerance, a number of Sunnī nobles, headed by Shaykh Yaʿḳūb Ṣarfī, proceeded to Akbar and requested him to annex Kashmīr. Akbar sent a large army, first under Ḳāsim Khān and then under Yūsuf Khān Riḍwī. Yaʿḳūb carried on a valiant struggle, but, betrayed one by one by his followers, he finally surrendered towards the beginning of Ramaḍān 996/end of July 1588, whilst Akbar had arrived in the Valley in Djumādā II 996/May 1588.

5. The Mughal Period. Akbar visited Kashmīr three times. During his first visit, he abolished the *djizya* and corvée and deputed officers to assess land revenue. But as the assessment was heavy, the Čaks, who had not reconciled themselves to Mughal rule, caused an abortive rising. Akbar, who arrived in Kashmīr for the second time in Muḥarram 1001/October 1592, treated the rebels generously, and tried to conciliate the Kashmīrīs by reducing the taxes and by entering into matrimonial alliances with the Čak nobles. But in spite of this, the Čaks remained sullen and rebellious.

Djahāngīr and his queen Nūrdjahān loved Kashmīr and visited it eight times. They built palaces and laid out beautiful gardens at Ačabal, Vērnāg, Nishāṭ and Shālimār. Twice during Djahāngīr's reign the Čaks, anxious to recover their lost power, took up arms but they were crushed. In 1044/1632 Shāhdjahān appointed Ẓafar Khān governor of Kashmīr. Ẓafar Khān laid out gardens and ruled with justice. He secured a *farmān* from the Emperor, abolishing all oppressive taxes, and this was inscribed on a stone-slab and fixed on the southern gate of the Djāmiʿ Masdjid in Srīnagar. Kishtwār had been occupied under Djahāngīr, and now Ẓafar Khān conquered Baltistān and Ladākh.

The rule of the Great Mughals, from Akbar to Aurangzīb, was, on the whole, just and benevolent. Kashmīr, at the time of the Mughal conquest, was torn by religious strife and feudal rebellions. The Mughals gave peace and promoted trade, industry and agriculture. Kashmīr, however, lost her separate identity and became like any other province of the Empire. The Kashmīrī ruling families of the Čaks, Māgres and Rainas were replaced by a hierarchy of Mughal officers who were responsible for the administration of the country. Moreover, Kashmīr, which had achieved a high degree of culture under the Sulṭāns, was intellectually impoverished: because of the absence of local patronage, poets, painters and scholars left the valley and sought employment at the Mughal Court.

6. The Afghans and the Sikhs. Mughal rule after the death of Aurangzīb became inefficient and corrupt and failed to maintain law and order. Hence in 1160/1747, some of the Kashmīrī nobles wrote to Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī Durrānī [*q.v.*] inviting him to annex Kashmīr. He accordingly despatched a large force in 1165/1752. The Mughals were defeated and Kashmīr passed into the hands of the Afghāns. The Afghān rule was harsh and oppressive, however, and the burden of taxation was heavy. The Shīʿīs were persecuted by the Afghān governors and there were constant Shīʿī-Sunnī riots.

In 1819 Kashmīr was conquered by Randjīt Singh, the Sikh ruler of the Pandjāb. The Sikh rule, which lasted from 1819 to 1846, was also oppressive. The famous Djāmiʿ mosque of Srīnagar was closed to public prayers and, in addition, several mosques were declared to be the property of the state. The slaughter of cows was declared punishable by death. Butchers, bakers, boatmen, scavengers and even prostitutes were taxed. Heavy taxation of the shawl trade led to the decay of this industry. The effect of all this was the impoverishment of the people and their emigration to the Pandjāb and northern India.

7. The Dōgrās and Modern Kashmīr. Sikh rule over Kashmīr came to an end after their defeat in the First Anglo-Sikh war. By the treaty of Amritsar (16 March 1846) the British transferred Kashmīr for a sum of 75 lakh of rupees to Rādjā Gulāb Singh, the Dōgrā ruler of Djammū. Gulāb Singh's rule was better than that of the Sikhs, but no improvement took place in the condition of the people. The high price of rice, which was made a government monopoly, and the high-handedness of officials brought great suffering to the people. The Muslims, who formed over 90% of the population of Kashmīr, had to pay a tax for the Dharmarth, a Hindū religious trust, established by the Mahārādjā. They could not slaughter cows and some of their mosques continued to be in possession of the government.

Ranbīr Singh, who succeeded his father Gulāb Singh in February 1856, was an able ruler. He tried to revive the shawl industry which had been declining. He began the construction of the cart road between Srīnagar and Rāwalpindī and built a track between the Valley and Djammū. A telegraph and postal service was also introduced. However, he made no efforts to redress the grievances of the Muslims.

At the death of Ranbīr Singh on 15 September 1885, his eldest son, Pratāp Singh, succeeded him. Since Pratāp Singh was an imbecile and strong government was necessary in view of the threat of a Russian invasion of India, he was deprived of all authority, and his state was placed in the hands of a Council of Regency under the control of the British Resident. It was not until March 1921 that Pratāp Singh was restored to full powers. During this period, valuable reforms were introduced under the direction

of the Resident. But in one respect they were deficient. The interests of the Muslims were ignored. The Muslims, influenced by the pan-Islamic, Khilāfat and Non-co-operation movements, had become politically conscious and were demanding their rights. In 1924, when the Viceroy, Lord Reading, visited Srīnagar, some members of the Muslim community submitted a Memorial demanding the complete abolition of corvée, larger representation of Muslims in government service, and the restoration of mosques in possession of the government. The Mahārādjā's response to this was to exile the signatories of the Memorial and to confiscate their property. This, however, only served to increase the discontent among the Muslims. On 13 July 1931, open demonstration against the despotic rule of Harī Singh, who had succeeded his uncle Pratāp Singh in 1925, took place under the leadership of Shaykh Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh, who from now onwards begins to play a dominant role in Kashmīr politics. Harī Singh's government replied by floggings, arrests and shootings in various parts of the Valley. However, owing to the pressure of the Government of India, a Commission was appointed under the presidentship of B. J. Glancy to inquire into the grievances of the Muslims. The report of the Commission did not, however, satisfy them. In October 1932 the Djammū and Kashmīr Muslim Conference was set up, and in March of the next year it launched a Civil Disobedience Movement, demanding a constitutional government. This led the Mahārādjā to appoint a Constitutional Reforms Commission under the presidentship of Glancy. But since its recommendations, too, failed to satisfy the Muslims, the agitation against the government continued.

Meanwhile, Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh and his close associates realized that in order to achieve their goal, it was necessary to win over the Hindu and Sikh inhabitants of Kashmīr. So they converted the Muslim Conference into the National Conference. But some members did not approve of this and decided to keep the old organisation alive and drew closer to the policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League. The National Conference on the other hand, subscribed to the aims and aspirations of the Indian National Congress. In October 1939 it passed a resolution demanding responsible government and in May 1946 it launched the "Quit Kashmīr Movement" under the leadership of Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh. The Kashmīr government arrested ʿAbd Allāh and his colleagues and unleashed a reign of terror.

Bibliography: Kalhaṇa, *Rājataraṅgiṇi*, tr. M. A. Stein, London 1900; *Nilatapurāna*, ed. K. S. J. M. De Vreese, London 1936; Kshemendra, *Lokaprakāsha*, ed. Jagaddhar Zadoo Shāstrī, Srīnagar 1947, German tr. A. Weber, in *Indische Studien*, xviii, 289-412; Abu'l-Rayḥān Muḥammad al-Bīrūnī, *Taḥḳīḳ mā li'l-Hind*, tr. E. G. Sachau as *Al-Bīrūnī's India*, London 1888; M. A. Stein, Notes on *Ou-Kong's Account of Kashmīr*, Vienna 1896; S. Khosla, *History of Buddhism in Kashmīr*, Delhi 1972; J. C. Chatterjee, *Kashmir Shaivism*, Srinagar 1911; S. C. Ray, *The Early History and Culture of Kashmīr*, Calcutta 1957; R. C. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmīr*, London 1933; Jonarāja, *Rājataraṅginī*, ed. S. Kaul, Hoshyārpur 1967; Shrīvāra and Shuka, *Rājataraṅginī*, ed. S. Kaul, Hoshyārpur 1966. The Sanskrit chronicles of Jonarāja, Shrīvāra and Shuka deal with the reigns of the Sulṭāns of Kashmīr and Akbar's conquest of Kashmīr. These have been tr. by J. C. Dutt as *Kings of Kashmīra*, 3 vols., Calcutta 1879-98; Abu'l-Faḍl, *Akbar-nāma*, tr. H. Bever dge, iii, London 1939; Niẓām al-Dīn, *Tabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, iii, Calcutta 1935; Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt, *Ta'rīkh-i Rashīdī*, tr. E. D. Ross, ed. N. Elias, London 1895; Muḥammad Aʿẓam, *Ta'rīkh-i Aʿẓamī*, ed. Muḥammadī Press, Lahore 1303/1885, Urdu tr., Munshī Ashraf ʿAlī, Delhi 1846; G. M. D. Ṣūfī, *Kashmīr*, Lahore 1948; Mohibbul Ḥasan, *Kashmīr under the Sulṭāns*, Calcutta 1959; R. K. Parmu, *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmīr*, New Delhi 1969; P. Brown, *Indian Architecture (Islamic Period)*, London 1942; W. H. Nicholls, *Muslim Architecture in Kashmīr (Archaeological Survey of India Report 1906-7)*, Calcutta 1909; G. Grierson, *The Wise Sayings of Lallā-Vālyānī*, London 1920; P. N. K. Bamzai, *A History of Kashmīr*, Delhi 1962; P. N. Bazaz, *The History of Struggle for Freedom in Kashmīr*, New Delhi 1954; W. H. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmīr*, London 1895; J. Erwin, *The Kashmīr Shawl*, London 1955; M. A. Stein, *Memoir on Maps Illustrating the Ancient Geography of Kashmīr*, in *JASB*, lxviii, 1899 (Extra no. 2), 1-232; H. De Terra and T. T. Paterson, *Studies on the Ice Age in India and Associated Human Cultures*, Washington 1939. (MOHIBBUL HASAN)

ii. SINCE 1947

The project of partitioning the Indian Peninsula announced on 3rd June 1947 by the British Prime Minister affirmed that the ancient princely states should be free to choose their future destiny; yet on 25th July 1947 Lord Mounbatten, Viceroy and Governor-General, advised the princes to ask to be joined to India or Pakistan, while taking into consideration the religious distribution of the populations and the peoples' wishes.

With regard to Kashmīr, two factors militated in favour of annexation to Pakistan: the population having a Muslim majority (77% in the census of 1941) and the geographical situation of the region. However, the Mahārādjā refused to choose, although he consented to sign a provisional agreement with the Pakistani Government which was to take effect on and after 15th August 1947.

In October 1947, some men of the Pathan tribes who had come from Pakistan began to give aid to the Muslims who had revolted in the region of Pūnč and approached within a short distance of Srinagar, capital of Kashmīr. On 26th October, the Mahārādjā requested military aid from India and signed the annexation of Kashmīr to the Indian Union. The Indian Government accepted, while stipulating that this accession of Kashmīr to India should be ratified ultimately by popular consultation. Yet, since 1947, this consultation has never taken place.

The war which followed between India and Pakistan came to an end on 1st January 1949, and, on 17th July 1949, agreement was reached on the demarcation of the ceasefire line in Kashmīr.

In the part under Indian control, the constituent Assembly elected in October 1951 adopted a project for a constitution which safeguarded, thanks to the ability of Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh, the autonomy of the State of Djammū and Kashmīr, but abandoned to the central government of Delhi the fields of Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications. On 9th August 1953, Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh was arrested and his government replaced by that of Bakhshī Ghulām Muḥammad, who sought to reinforce the links with the Indian Union. On 17th November 1956, the Assembly adopted the definitive Constitution of the State which declared its integration with India. This

Constitution, accepted by the central government, took effect on 26th January 1957. In October 1963, the Indian Government forced the resignation of Bakhshī Ghulam Muḥammad, accused of the mishandling of administrative and social affairs. The year 1964 was marked by the accession to power of G. M. Ṣādiḳ and the freeing of Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh.

In the part of Kashmīr under Pakistani control (Āzād Kashmīr), Sardār Muḥammad Ibrāhīm took charge of the local government on 24th October 1947; he was replaced in May 1950 by Ghulām ʿAbbās, who retired at the end of the year 1951 to make way for Colonel Shēr Aḥmad Khān in June 1952. The latter resigned in June 1956. There then succeeded to the Presidency of the local government Mīr W. Yūsuf Khān for a very short time; ʿAbd al-Ḳayyūm from 1956; Sardār Muḥammad Ibrāhīm from 1957; and K. H. Khurshīd from 1959.

Relations between India and Pakistan on the subject of Kashmīr worsened seriously after an agreement on the delimitation of the frontier between Sinkiang and Pakistani Kashmīr was signed on 26th December 1962 between China and Pakistan. Despite a certain détente during the year 1964, the situation became critical from the beginning of 1965. Incidents multiplied in the month of August in the territory of Kashmīr. On 5th September, the Pakistanis crossed the ceasefire line in the direction of the town of Djammū and the Indians replied on 6th September by launching an attack on Lahore (in the Pakistani Pandjāb). Hostilities came to an end on 22nd September 1965, the two belligerents accepting the ceasefire order imposed by the United Organization. Thanks to the repeated efforts of the U.S.S.R., India and Pakistan signed on 10th January 1966 the Tashkent Agreement which stipulated the withdrawal of troops to their positions prior to 5th August 1965 and which envisaged negotiations to resolve the differences which brought India and Pakistan into opposition over Kashmīr. Since this date the situation has not developed much and the theses of the two contestants have not changed.

In Kashmīr under Pakistani control the President of the Government of Free Kashmīr, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Khān, promulgated in September 1968 a new constitution fixing the method of electing the head of the government and the composition of the council of ministers. In Kashmīr under Indian control, which has become a State of the Indian Union, G. M. Ṣādiḳ, head of the local government was deposed on the 12th December 1971 and was replaced by S. M. Ḳāsim in the post of Prime Minister.

The Indo-Pakistani conflict of December 1971, which led to the independence of Banglā Desh, has had scarcely any repercussion on the problem of Kashmīr, although India wishes to take advantage of her recent victory and intends to ask Pakistan to proceed with some readjustments of the ceasefire line.

Bibliography: Aziz Ahmad, *The Kashmir Dispute*, Karachi 1959; Prem Nath Bazaz, *Azad Kashmir: a democratic socialist conception*, Lahore 1951; idem, *The History of struggle for freedom in Kashmir*, New Delhi 1954; idem, *The Shape of things in Kashmir*, New Delhi 1965; Lord Birdwood, *Two Nations and Kashmir*, London 1956; A. Guimbretière, *Le Problème du Cachemire*, in *Orient*, Paris 1966; Sisir Gupta, *Kashmir, a study in India-Pakistan relations*, New York 1966; M. M. R. Khan, *The United Nations and Kashmir*, Djakarta 1955; J. Korbel, *Danger in Kashmir*, Princeton 1954; B. L. Sharma, *The Kashmir Story*, Bombay 1967. (A. Guimbretière)

KASHMĪRĪ is the most important member of the Dardic sub-group of Indo-Aryan languages, with 2,000,000 speakers in Jammū and Kashmīr in India and about 250,000 in the adjacent region in Pakistan in 1961. While prolonged cultural influence from Northern India has brought Kashmīrī closer than the other Dardic languages to the rest of Indo-Aryan, it exhibits many of the characteristic phonological features of Dardic resulting from the separate development of the group in the Middle Indian period. Kashmīrī has also developed a complex vocalic system, involving vowel-harmony, which has made the satisfactory adaptation of the Perso-Arabic script difficult. This script is now, however, in standard use for writing the language, which is officially recognized under the Indian constitution.

There are minor phonetic differences between the language of Hindus and that of Muslims, who constitute the majority of Kashmīrī speakers; educated Muslim speech is distinguished by the preference for Arabic and Persian rather than Sanskrit words. Muslim Kashmīrī literature, less extensive than the Hindu in the earlier period, reached its first flowering only in the 19th century with adaptations of Persian themes: later, the influence of Urdū predominated, and is still to be observed in the increasing quantity of Kashmīrī writing produced since 1947.

Bibliography: G. A. Grierson, *A manual of the Kashmīrī language*, Oxford 1911; Braj B. Kachru, *A reference grammar of Kashmiri*, Illinois 1969; B. A. Zakhar'in and D. I. Edel'man, *Yazuik Kashmiri*, Moscow 1971. (C. Shackle)

AL-KASHSHĪ, Abū ʿAmr Muḥammad b. ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Imāmī traditionist flourishing in the first half of the 4th/10th century and author of one of the basic Imāmī *ridjāl* works dealing with the reliability of the transmitters from the imāms. Though his place of origin is not specified in the biographical sources, it can safely be identified as Kishsh in Transoxania [see kash] since most of the informants from whom he transmitted were from this or other towns in Transoxania and the neighbouring regions. His *nisba* thus should more properly be read al-Kishshī, though traditionally it was later read al-Kashshī in accordance with the less correct reading of the town's name as Kashsh. He studied in Samarḳand under Muḥammad b. Masʿūd al-ʿAyyāshī, the outstanding Imāmī scholar and disseminator of Imāmism in Transoxania in the early 4th/10th century. There is evidence that he visited ʿIrāḳ, since he related directly from some western Persian and ʿIrāḳī transmitters and some Imāmī scholars in Baghdād transmitted his book from him without an intermediary.

Like his teacher al-ʿAyyāshī, al-Kashshī was later criticized by Imāmī scholars for relating on the authority of weak (*ḍuʿafāʾ*) transmitters and of non-Shīʿīs (*ʿāmma*). His *Kitāb maʿrifat al-nāḳilīn ʿan al-aʾimma al-ṣādiḳīn*, which differs from other early *ridjāl* works in that it fully quotes the biographical reports of earlier sources with their chains of transmission, was abridged and expurgated by the Shaykh al-Ṭāʾifa Abū Djaʿfar al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067). Only this abridged version of the book is extant. Along with the *Kitāb al-ridjāl* and the *Kitāb fihrist kutub al-shīʿa* of Shaykh al-Ṭūsī and the *Kitāb al-ridjāl* of al-Nadjāshī, it is considered one of the four basic Imāmī *ridjāl* works.

Bibliography: al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist kutub al-shīʿa*, ed. Sprenger, ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ, and Ghulām Ḳādir, Calcutta 1855, 309; idem, *al-Ridjāl*, ed. Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ Āl Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, al-Nadjaf 1381/1961,

497; al-Nadjāshī, *al-Ridjāl*, Tehran n.d., 288; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1353, 90-1; *Ikhtiyār maʿrifat al-ridjāl al-maʿrūf bi-ridjāl al-Kashshī*, ed. Ḥasan al-Muṣṭafawī, Mashhad 1348 (critical edition).

(W. Madelung)

ḲASHTĀLA, Arabic name for Castile in Spain. The first, and not the least problem, is that of the original name of the territory called, from the 9th century onwards, Castilla. This name appears to be derived from Latin *castellum*, and would have been given to the region because of the abundance there of fortified places. Arabic *al-Kilāʿ* would accordingly be the expected translation, but many sources (Yāḳūt, al-Idrīsī, al-ʿUdhrī, al-Ḥimyarī, Ibn ʿIdhārī, al-Maḳḳarī, etc.) have Ḳashtāla, Ḳashtīla, or Ḳasṭīlya. Above all, al-Rāzī on several occasions mentions enemies *min aḳṣā Banbalūna wa-Alaba wa 'l-Ḳilāʿ wa-ahl Ḳashtīliya* (cf. al-ʿUdhrī, *Masālik*, who also uses al-Ḳilāʿ and Ḳashtīla). This excludes the identification al-Ḳilāʿ/Ḳashtīliya explicit or implicit in modern historians (cf. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. musulmane*, i, 143, 204); hence one must seek another etymology, different from the Spanish late Latin (which uses predominantly *castrum*) and look for an Arab-Islamic borrowing.

One thinks naturally of the Tunisian Ḳasṭīliyya [*q.v.*], and it seems that one should follow the opinion of J. Oliver-Asín in his *En torno a los orígenes de Castilla, su toponimia en relación con los árabes y beréberes*, Madrid 1974, who cites, with phonetic equivalences, the frequency of Arabic and Berber toponyms in a region whose ancient centre was called Medina Castella. This hypothesis is partly confirmed by the frequency of "Ifrīḳiyan" toponyms in al-Andalus, cf. idem, *Les Tunisiens en Espagne à travers la toponomie*, in *Cahiers de Tunisie*, xviii (1970), 15-20. Hence according to Oliver-Asín, there must have been an "African latinisation" of the region, brought about by the latin-speaking Berbers of Tunisia (which would explain the peculiarities of this "Castilian", different from other Hispanic Roman dialects).

Al-Rāzī's text points to a juxtaposition of al-Ḳilāʿ and Ḳashtīliya under the rule of the Count Fernan Gonzalez (Fardhiland Gundishalb), which makes investigation of the relationship between the two toponyms necessary. The first known mention in Christian sources is in a Castilian document of the Abbot Vitula in 800, in the Mena valley, who speaks of the *territorio Castelle*, whilst the *Crónica Albeldense* speaks specifically of *Bardulia qui nunc vocatur Castella*. This is a region which is progressively extended, as it becomes organised as an autochthonous unit, on the topographical and juridical margins of the kingdom of Oviedo; this has led S. de Moxó, *¿Castilla, principado feudal?*, in *RUM* (1970), 229-57, to speak of an "autonomous territory". This situation away from the centre of royal power led to its constitution as a "frontier march" and the need for an immediate and local authority in the shape of a *comes* or Count (Alava, Mijangos, Oca, Barga, Pancorbo, Cellorigo, Castrogeriz, Lara, Cerezo). We now have a document drawn up in 852 *in territorio Castellense* which speaks of a *Rodericus comite in Castelle*. Castile had to fight in order to expand. This fighting comprised mainly attacks, but also replies to expeditions by the Banū Ḳasī [*q.v.*] and the Banū Dhū 'l-Nūn [*q.v.*], as well as the campaigns of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III [*q.v.*] in 917, 920 and 924 (San Esteban de Gormaz, Mitonia, Valdejunquera). On the other hand, the famous *ghazwat al-khandaḳ* of 939 was repulsed with heavy losses by a coalition of Leonese, Castilians and Navarrese. It was at this time that Fernán Gonzalez, *comes totius Castelle*, either carried along by a feeling of Castilian autonomy or himself provoking it, obtained from the king of Leon the right to pass on his country hereditarily to his descendants. The campaigns of Ibn Abī ʿĀmir [*q.v.*] ruined the region of Leon and the Catalonian-Aragonese region, but largely spared Castile, then in revolt against Garci Fernandez, and in vassalage to Cordova; this in part explains why, after the fall of the ʿĀmirids, the initiative passed almost wholly to this region.

This primitive region of Bardulia, Castella Vetula, was to pass on not only its dialect of Spanish and some of its institutions to the neighbouring regions (above all, New Castile), but also an ideology of conquest (reflected by the "chansons de geste") which in the end monopolised in effect the war against the Hispano-Arabs and imposed a political supremacy which involved the extinguishing of the "mudéjar" [*q.v.*] tolerance of Aragon. At one and the same time, Castile brought about, to its own profit, the unification of Spain.

Bibliography: In addition to the works cited above, see J. Perez de Urbel, *Historia del Condado de Castilla*, Madrid 1945; idem, *Los primeros siglos de la reconquista*, in *Historia España* of Menendez Pidal, Madrid 1964, vi, 3-348; J. Mª Ruiz Asensio, *La rebelión de Sancho Garcia, heredero del condado de Castilla*, in *Hispania Sacra*, xvii (1969), 31-7; Cl. Sanchez-Albornoz, *Alfonso III y el particularismo castellano*, in *CHE*, xiii (1950), 19-100; P. Chalmeta, *The clash between ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III and the Christians at Simancas-Alhandega: a new interpretation*, in *Islam and the Medieval West*, conference held at Binghamton, New York, 1975 (proceedings forthcoming).

(P. Chalmeta)

BANŪ **ḲASĪ**, one of the important *mawālī* families who figure prominently in the history of al-Andalus. Together with the Banū Ṭawīl and the Tudjībids [*qq.v.*], they divided between them effective power in the region of Aragon. The history of this region only becomes clear when considered in the light of the centripetal-centrifugal struggles which are a constant feature of Spanish history. The Banū Ḳasī followed an opportunistic policy in order to preserve their virtual autonomy, but they were at the same time relatively faithful to the Umayyads and served in a very real fashion as a shield against pressure from the Christians of the North in the period of the beginning of the Reconquista and from the Carolingians. Their heyday was thus in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries.

According to Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat ansāb al-ʿArab*, 502, "Ḳasī was Count of the [Upper] March in the time of the Goths. When the Muslims conquered al-Andalus, he went to Syria and became a Muslim at the hands of al-Walīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik, a bond of patronage of which he was very proud. This is the reason why the Banū Ḳasī always took the side of Muḍar in their fights with Yemen. This Ḳasī gave birth to Fortūn . . .". The first really well-known member of this family was Mūsā b. Fortūn, who vanquished Saʿīd b. al-Ḥusayn al-Anṣārī who had rebelled against Hishām I in the region of Tortosa and Saragossa in 172/788-9. On his death, his widow remarried with Iñigo Arista, the first ruler of Pamplona. One can readily discern in the links arising from this union a major cause of the intermediary role played by Mūsā b. Mūsā, kinsman to the Basques, who gave himself out as the "third king of Spain" (see on him Cl. Sanchez Albornoz, *La auténtica ba-*

talla de Clavijo, in *CHE*, ix (1948), 96-116, and idem, *El tercer rey de España*, in *ibid.*, xlix-1 (1969), 5-49).

In *ca.* 226/840-1, Mūsā b. Mūsā, at that time at Arnedo (as governor?) was ill-treated by the *wālīs* of Saragossa and Tudela (thus according to al-ʿUdhrī's version) and rebelled, capturing the commander Ḥarīth b. Bazīʿ. An expedition sent by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II forced him to submit, but he retained Arnedo, and in this peace agreement the *amīr* confirmed his half-brother Yannaḳo b. Yanniḳo (= Iñigo Iñiguez) in possession of his lands for a tribute of 700 dīnārs per annum; this marks the birth *de jure* of the kingdom of Pamplona. The raids which followed with the aim of bringing him to submission were systematically directed against his Basque allies, showing the importance of their support. In 230/844 Mūsā marched down with his troops as far as Seville in order to repulse an invasion of the Northmen. In *ca.* 236/851 he captured Emenon, Count of Périgord and the Duke of Gascony, in what seems to have been a "proto-Crusade" and in what was fierce fighting. This important victory explains to a considerable extent why the succession of Muḥammad I in 238/852 marks a new stage in relations with the central government and why Mūsā became governor of Huesca, Tudela and Saragossa. In 242/856 he raided the region of Barcelona on the *amīr*'s orders and conquered Tarrasa. It is at this time that he began to style himself "tertium regem in Spania". According to the *Crónica de Alfonso III*, between 243/857 and 245/859 the rebels in Toledo involved Mūsā's help, and he sent to them his son Lubb as governor. But *ca.* 245/859 he was decisively defeated by Ordoño I of Leon and lost the fortress of Albelda which he had just built; hence the *amīr* deposed him from the governorship of the Upper March in 246/860-1. The end of Mūsā, mortally wounded by his son-in-law Azrāḳ b. Mantīl, is given in detail by Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya.

For ten years after 248/862-3 the Banū Ḳasī were completely quiescent. Then in 257/870-1 Lubb b. Mūsā b. Mūsā occupied Saragossa, Tudela and Huesca. After his death in 258/872, his brother Ismāʿīl b. Mūsā seized the town, whilst Fortūn b. Mūsā occupied Tudela. The *amīr* Muḥammad sent several unsuccessful expeditions against him. The rebel was captured in 270/883 by Muḥammad b. Lubb, who then took his place, but who had to sell the town in the following year to the Umayyads because he was unable to withstand the pressure from the Tudjībids stirred up by the *amīr*. In exchange he received the governorship of Arnedo, Tarazone and Djarīsh, and later that of Tudela. He was killed whilst besieging Saragossa in 276/890; it has been suggested that he was conniving with ʿUmar b. Ḥafṣūn [*q.v.*], but al-ʿUdhrī says nothing of this. His son Lubb b. Muḥammad was governor of Tudela and Tarazone and died fighting the Navarrese in 294/907. The decay of the Banū Ḳasī henceforth became accentuated. Muḥammad b. Lubb occupied Lérida, but was expelled by its inhabitants in 315/927, and in 317/929 he was murdered as a result of the ambitions of his brother-in-law Raymond, lord of Pallars.

Bibliography: In addition to the works cited above, see Ibn al-Ḳūṭiyya, *Iftitāḥ*; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*; Garcia Gomez and Lévi-Provençal, *Textos inéditos del "Muqtabis" de Ibn Ḥayyān sobre los origenes del reino de Pamplona*, in *And.*, xix (1954), 295-315; Ibn al-Athīr; Afif Turk, *El reino de Zaragoza en el s. XI*, Madrid 1956; M. Ocaña Jimenez, *Banū Qasī*, in *Diccionario historia de España*; and above all, al-ʿUdhrī, *Nuṣūṣ masālik*, partial tr. F.Granja, *La Marca Superior en la obra de al-ʿUdhrī*, in *Est. E.M. Aragón*, viii (1966). (P. Chalmeta)

ḲĀṢID [see safīr].

ḲAṢĪDA.

1. In Arabic. — *Ḳaṣīda* collective *ḳaṣīd* is the name given in Arabic to some poems of a certain length. It is derived from the root *ḳaṣada*, "to aim at", for the primitive *ḳaṣīda* was intended to eulogize the tribe of the poet and denigrate the opposing tribes. Later it was concerned with the eulogy of a personality or a family from whom the poet was soliciting help or subsidies. Although the funerary elegy (*marthiya* or *rithāʾ*) does not seem to have been included originally under the same designation, the form of the *ḳaṣīda* may nevertheless be classified in this poetic genre. On the other hand, the poetic satire (*hidjāʾ*), which, furthermore, does not go beyond insult in verse, is often called *ḳaṣīda* by the ancient poets, even though it does not present all the characteristics of the *ḳaṣīda*.

The classical *ḳaṣīda*, represented ideally by the pre-Islamic or at least archaic poems [see muʿallaḳāt], collected and perhaps also given their form during the first centuries of Islam, has been defined by Ibn Ḳutayba in a famous passage many times translated and commented upon (see Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Introduction au Livre de la poésie et des poètes*, Paris 1947, xvi-xviii, 13-15, 54-55), and then by the various literary critics who pronounced their judgments (particularly Ibn Rashīḳ, see A. Trabulsi, *La critique poétique des Arabes*, Damascus 1955, *passim*). It contains a series of successive developments whose conventional character implies a tradition already immemorial. The *ḳaṣīda*, which numbers at least seven verses, but which generally comprises far more, consists essentially of three parts of variable length: (1) a prologue in which the poet sheds some tears over what was once the camping place of his beloved now far off (*bukāʾ ʿalā ʾl-aṭlāl*), then describes the charms of the latter, which he forebears to pursue (the *nasīb* [see ghazal]). (2) The poet's narration of his journey (*raḥīl*) to the person to whom the poem is addressed. This part of the *ḳaṣīda* is a pretext for descriptions of the desert and the hero's mount, as well as for lyrical flights of eloquence, for example on the insignificance of man. (3) As a general rule, this *raḥīl* leads without any great transition into the central theme, constituted by the panegyric of a tribe, a protector or a patron, or in satire of their enemies.

The Arabic *ḳaṣīda* is a very conventional piece of verse, with one rhyme, whatever its length, and in a uniform metre. Consequently, the charm and originality of certain of the themes employed cannot prevent boredom and monotony from reigning over these never-ending poems. These formal constraints were moreover resented by the poets themselves; they are without doubt the cause of the fragmentary character of many of the pieces, which took a particularly long time to compose. Tradition reports numerous examples of poets paralysed by the tyranny of the form. Furthermore, this situation can no doubt provide a good explanation for the hesitations with regard to the original structure of a given poem: a poet could well have recited a *ḳaṣīda* on different occasions with more or less important variants, additions or suppressions. A number of *ḳaṣīdas* have doubtless never contained all the essential parts of the ideal piece, and it is always very unwise to assert that such a poem has been lost or truncated on the pretext that one knows only a part of the work. Certain ancient pieces, nevertheless describable as *ḳaṣīdas*, do not even contain the essential part, praise or satire.

At the end of the 2nd/8th century, the classical *kaṣīda*, while it continued its triumphant reign among poets with a classical tendency, on the other hand bursts forth among the "modern" poets and gives birth to a whole series of autonomous poetic genres, which are however already present in embryo form in the themes employed by the classical *kaṣīda*; thus the *nasīb* gives birth to the erotico-elegiac genre, directly associated with the Bacchic genre; the description of the desert becomes description of nature and gardens; the description of the mount and the ride results in the poetry of war or hunting; etc.

All these genres are represented in independent pieces, to which the name of *kaṣīda* continues often to be given, even though incorrectly. The long classical metres become shorter, and lend themselves better to musical adaptation.

The tripartite form of the *kaṣīda* survived through the agency of the post-classical poets who did not always observe it strictly (see notably R. Blachère, *Abou ṭ-Ṭayyib al-Motanabbī*, Paris 1935, *passim*), until the modern period in its neo-classical form. The Bedouin or partially sedentarised societies—as in Mauritania—still cultivate it with delight.

The classical or neo-classical *kaṣīda* can in certain cases be a vehicle for information of a historical nature. It is always advisable to use it in this respect only with the greatest prudence (see further M. Canard, *Les allusions à la guerre byzantine chez Abū Tammām et Buḥturī*, in A. A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, i, Brussels 1935, 397-403).

The collective *kaṣīd*, designating in the aggregate these ample and elaborate pieces, was in ancient times opposed to the *radjaz* [*q.v.*] which is a rough and everyday verse form, in a rudimentary metre of constant structure.

Bibliography: The classical bibliography is immense. It is to be found, in an almost exhaustive state, in R. Blachère, *HLA*, as much in the "general references" i, XVIII-XXXIII, as at the end of the chapters or paragraphs dedicated to archaic poetry; see especially i, 82-186, ii, 243-453, iii, 455-716. See also, ʿARŪḌ, GHAZAL, HIDJĀ, SHIʿR.

Among the more recent studies, one should see especially: M. C. Bateson, *Structural continuity in Poetry*, Paris-The Hague 1970; R. Jacoby, *Studien zur Poetik der altarabischen Qaṣīde*, Wiesbaden 1971; J. E. Bencheikh, *La création poétique à Bagdad de 200 à 250. Modes et procédés* (forthcoming).

On contemporary survivals, see M. el-Moktar Ould Bah, *Introduction à la poésie mauritanienne*, in *Arabica*, xviii (1971), 1-48.

(F. KRENKOW-[G. LECOMTE])

2. In Persian. — The Persian *kaṣīda* is a lyric poem, most frequently panegyric, which appears in this form in the earliest Persian poetry (G. Lazard, *Les premiers poètes persans*, i, Paris 1964, 12). Later theorists of this poetry codified its forms with undeviating constancy. In their view, the *kaṣīda* is one of the realisations of the rules they imposed on poetry, which, according to Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (*Miʿyār al-ashʿar*, written in 649/1251, ed. Tehran 1942, *faṣl* 1 of the introd.), consists of metre and rhyme, which provided him with the sections of his treatise. His predecessor Shams-i Ḳays (*al-Muʿdjam fī maʿāʾīr ashʿār al-ʿadjam*, completed after 630/1232, ed. Tehran 1960, 196) even insisted: "even if the discourse has a metre, if it is not in rhyme it is not poetry". The first theorists whose work is extant (al-Rādūyānī, *Tardjumān al-balāgha*, written in the 5th/11th century, Istanbul 1949; Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāṭ, *Ḥadāʾiḳ al-siḥr fī daḳāʾiḳ al-shiʿr*, written in the 6th/12th century, Tehran 1961; for the others, see Ḳazwīnī, intro. to the *Muʿdjam* of Shams-i Ḳays, 11) were still rhetoricians, and their writings reveal the essential norms imposed on the Persian panegyric lyric. More than a mere knowledge of rhyme, prosody and rhetoric were needed for the composition of a *kaṣīda*: the author had to be well-versed in the learning of his day so that he could make timely use of it and had to possess, above all, what Niẓāmī ʿArūḍī called *badīha*, the ability to improvise (*Čahār maḳāla*, written in the mid-6th/12th century, Tehran 1963, 48), which was worth a fortune to many of the poets at court. The golden age of the *kaṣīda* was also the great era of poetic theory, so much so that each found in the other its main field of activity. The theoretical works produced after the 7th/13th century, which are still best known in the West through translations (by Blochmann, Garcin de Tassy, Gladwin and Rückert), have little to teach us about the *kaṣīda*.

The theorists of Persian poetry borrowed their terminology from Arabic, but none, at least of those whose work has been cited, ever omitted to point out the difference between the two types of poetry of which they were aware. The *ʿarūḍ*, that is the ending of the first hemistich (*miṣrāʿ*) of the first distich (*bayt*) of the *kaṣīda*, had to supply the one single rhyme for the whole poem. The rhyme was repeated in each *ḍarb*, the final part of the second hemistich of each distich, according to complex rules. No study has yet been made of these rules, but fortunately we do have P. N. Khānlarī's basic study of Persian metre (*Wazn-i shiʿr-i fārsī*, Tehran 1969). Quantitatively, a poem cannot be a *kaṣīda* unless the number of its distichs exceeds 15 and does not exceed 30. As a general rule, the poet must ensure that the meaning of each *bayt* is independent of its neighbours; in Persian poetry, *taḍmīn* [*q.v.*] is an error unless it is dictated by a rhetorical figure. The *kaṣīda* comprises three parts; The first, the exordium, must command attention by touching the hearts of the listeners, an effect which is often achieved by a *ghazal*, a courtly song, either by describing the beauty of the beloved and the state of the lover (*nasīb*), or through the amorous poet making his listeners share in his condition (*tashbīb*); by the time of Shams-i Ḳays, these distinctions no longer existed, as he himself remarks (*Muʿdjam*, 413), because of the wealth of the subjects treated in the exordium: mainly love, nature and wine. The *kaṣīda* is first and foremost a poem composed for a princely festival, especially the spring festival (*nawrūz*) and the autumn one (*mihrigān*); it can also be a poem on the occasion of a funeral, a victory or an earthquake, the themes being adapted according to the circumstances. The *madḥ*, eulogy for a prince or protector, is the central portion of the *kaṣīda*; put into a sensitive frame of mind by the exordium (*tashbīb*), the listener will be carried away by the poet's skill; all that is required is a degree of rhythm in the eulogy, a strong effect of *balāgha* (a wealth of meaning in a few words) but an uncontentious one, and the transport of the soul out of its ordinary element (cf. *Čahār maḳāla*, 42). After the eulogy comes the petition: the poet must know how to "wrap up" his request, says al-Rādūyānī (*op. cit.*, 128), stirring the person being praised to reward him by the charm of his poem and the renown it engenders. Three *bayts* require particular care: the first (*maṭlaʿ*), because it opens the poem and signals all the areas of expression; the transitional *bayt* (*makhlaṣ*) between *tashbīb* and *madḥ*, which must

skilfully introduce the name of the person being eulogised; and the last bayt (*maḳtaʿ*), which must be of a quality that redeems any mediocrities in the work.

Among the variations in the *ḳaṣīda* and its components with which have emerged through the ages two types of poem that appeared very early on are especially significant: the *tardjīʿ*, a *ḳaṣīda* (cf. *Muʿdjam*, 400) written in a single metre composed of parts which each have their own rhyme and are separated by a distich (*tardjīʿ band*) that often serves as a refrain; and the *musammaṭ*, a *ḳaṣīda* (cf. *Tardjumān*, 104-5) made up of rhyming figures.

From the outset, the *ḳaṣīda* was connected with courtly life in Iran, where it perpetuated poems recited in honour of the Sāsānid kings, and it had almost as many schools as there were important dynasties, at any rate until the arrival of the Mongols. This latter precipitated a group of phenomena which had begun earlier, principally the breaking up of the "feudal" system and a liberalisation of city life and the extension of the religious way of life and expression to differing sectors of society. The *ḳaṣīda* was in turn philosophic, mystic, meditative, then hymnodic under the Ṣafawids, and panegyric once more when it returned to the ancient style under the Ḳādjārs. In fact, it ceded to the *ghazal* [*q.v.*] its privileged place in Persian lyric poetry.

The Persian *ḳaṣīda*, a homogenous phenomenon of a great culture, is a largely unexplored field open to the modern study of mediaeval poetry. Its authors were acutely aware that the poetic ethos was embodied in form (in the sense employed by P. Zumthor); regardless of its later destiny, the *ḳaṣīda* made a definitive mark on Persian poetry.

Bibliography: Apart from works cited in the article, M. Bahār, *Taʾrīkh-i taṭawwur-i shiʿr-i fārsī*, Tehran 1956; A. Bausani, *Storia della letteratura persiana*, Milan 1960, 298-9, 307-526; C.-H. de Fouchécour, *La description de la nature dans la poésie lyrique persane au XIe s.*, Paris 1969; R. Levy, *An introduction to Persian literature*, New York 1969, 27-33; B. Reinert, *Ḫāqānī als Dichter*, Berlin 1972; J. Rypka, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 94-5, 913; Dh. Ṣafā. *Gandj-i sukhan*, i, Tehran 1961, intro. 45-59. (C.-H. de Fouchécour)

3. In Turkish. — It was under the influence of classical Iranian literature that the Muslim Turks adopted and developed the *ḳaṣīda*, a verse form very different from their own traditional poetry. The Turkish *ḳaṣīda* has the same rhyme scheme and metric patterns as the *ḳaṣīda* in Arabic and Persian and at first appears very similar, though in fact, a study of the subject matter, the *nasīb*s, and the organisation of the poems shows that there are considerable differences. At first the Turks tended to use the *mathnawī* and quatrain (*ḳiṭʿa*) which, to some extent, resembles their own older verse forms, rather than the *ḳaṣīda* and *ghazal*. The fact that the earliest verse works in Islamic Turkish literature, such as *Kutadgu bilig*, *ʿAtabat al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ* or *Dīwān-i ḥikmat*, are written in the *mathnawī* and *ḳiṭʿa* forms, supports this view.

Variation in the form and nature of the *ḳaṣīda* were inevitably the reflection of the geographical, social, economic and cultural differences between the Arab, Iranian and Turkish worlds. It is easy to see these differences in the first and best-known section of the *ḳaṣīda*, the *nasīb* or the *tasbīb*. In this opening section, the Arabs usually chose love themes or descriptions of desert life, while the Persians and above all, the Turks tended to rhapsodise on the beauties of their native lands or to describe geographical phenomena or social events.

Theoretically, a complete Turkish *ḳaṣīda* should contain six sections: *nasīb*, *taghazzul*, *girīzgāh*, *madḥiyya*, *fakhriyya* and *duʿāʾ*. The *nasīb* is the *ḳaṣīda*'s longest section, and the subject which it describes often gives its name to the whole poem. A great variety of subjects is possible: religious fervour, love, nature, wise or moralising thoughts, buildings, war or peace, descriptions of towns, holy days and festivals, mourning or rejoicing. If a *ḳaṣīda* has a section embracing subjects more often found in *ghazal*s, such as love or wine, then this section is called *taghazzul*. The passage marking the transition from the *nasīb* to the main part of the *ḳaṣīda* consists of one or more couplets and is called *girīz* or *girīzgāh*.

The couplets known as the eulogy or *madḥiyya* comprise the central part of the *ḳaṣīda*, and it is here that the poet praises the person to whom the *ḳaṣīda* is addressed. The recipients of *ḳaṣīda*s were usually men who held high office in the state, such as sultans, viziers or *shaykh al-islām*s or they might be palace officers, men of religion or men of wealth. This section is always fairly long, and usually comprises the real reason for writing the poem. In cases where the poet hopes to ingratiate himself with influential people and receive in return favours or office, then the exaggerated praise usually exceeds reasonable bounds and detracts from the sincerity of the works. The *fakhriyya* is the last but one section of the *ḳaṣīda* where the poet praises himself; and in the final section, the *duʿāʾ*, the poet implores God for the prosperity of the Sultan or person to whom the *ḳaṣīda* is addressed, and expresses his thanks for the completion of the work.

However, Turkish *ḳaṣīda*s do not invariably contain all these sections. Very often, one or more are left out, the most frequent omissions being the *taghazzul*, *fakhriyya* and *duʿāʾ* sections. For example, the greatest Turkish *ḳaṣīda* writer, Nefʿī of Erzurum ([*q.v.*], 979/1572?-1044/1635) wrote some *ḳaṣīda*s which contain all these sections, and so did Fighānī of Trabzon ([*q.v.*], 920/1505?-937/1532) and Nedīm of Istanbul (1092/1681-1142/1730). Nevertheless, the *dīwān*s of these and many other poets contain *ḳaṣīda*s with no *taghazzul* or *fakhriyya* and some even with no *nasīb*. The subject and arrangement of the Turkish *ḳaṣīda* has thus varied according to the poet, the era, the place, and the social conditions.

In Turkish, as in Arabic and Persian *ḳaṣīda*s, the first couplet is *muṣarraʿ*, that is, the first two hemistiches are rhymed. Thereafter, the second hemistich in each couplet rhymes with the first couplet. The first couplet is called the *maṭlaʿ* and the one towards the end where the poet reveals his pen-name (*makhlaṣ*) is called the *tādj bayt*. Turkish also adopted the term *bayt al-ḳaṣīd* for the couplet considered the finest in the poem. The usual length of a Turkish *ḳaṣīda* is between 15 and 99 couplets, but in fact, some longer ones exist.

*Ḳaṣīda*s may take their name from the general subject matter. One inspired by the unity and existence of God and describing His qualities and acts is called *tawḥīd*, while a supplication and prayer to God is called *munādjāt*. *Naʿt* is the name for a *ḳaṣīda* praising and expressing devotion to the Prophet Muḥammad. A *ḳaṣīda* in praise of a great man describing his virtues and achievements is called *madḥiyya*, while a satirical *ḳaṣīda* attacking an enemy or someone of whom the poet disapproves is called *hidjwiyya*. Also, it is common in classical Turkish literature to name the *ḳaṣīda* after the subject of the

nasīb. Hence *ķaṣīdas* describing spring, summer, autumn or winter are called *bahāriyya*, *ṣayfiyya* (or *tammūziyya*), *khazāmiyya* and *shitā'iyya* respectively. If the *nasīb* describes a festival or New Year's Day, then the *ķaṣīda* is called *bayramiyya* (or *'īdiyya*) or *nawrūziyya*. A Ramaḍān *ķaṣīda* is a *Ramaḍāniyya*; *ķaṣīdas* commemorating a royal accession, circumcision or wedding, or a death are *djulūsiyya*, *sūriyya* and *marthiyya*. *Ķaṣīdas* can also take their name from the letter of the rhyme or from the word repeated after each rhyme (*radīf*). If, for example, the rhyme letter is *lām*, *mīm* or *rā'*, then the *ķaṣīda* is a *lāmiyya*, *mīmiyya* or *rā'iyya*. Similarly, if the *ķaṣīda* has a *radīf* such as *ṣu*, *sünbül* or *kerem*, then it would be named accordingly. Some *ķaṣīdas* describe particular cities which then gave their name to the poem, such as the Edirne, Istanbul or Baghdād *ķaṣīdas*. Others describe things, places or events such as appointments or removals from office, and hence one finds the *Nile ķaṣīda*, the *Polish Campaign ķaṣīda*, *ķaṣīda on the return from the German Campaign*, *ķaṣīda on the building of the mosque* or *pavilion*, the *ḥalwā-party ķaṣīda*, congratulatory *ķaṣīdas* (*tabrīkiyya*), appointment *ķaṣīdas* (*tawdjī'iya*) or dismissal *ķasīdas* (*'azliyya*). Even after the Tanẓīmāt, *ķaṣīdas* continued to be written in accordance with modern thoughts and feelings, cf. Nāmıķ Kemāl's [*q.v.*] *Freedom ķaṣīda*.

Ķaṣīda writing in Turkish began to develop in the 7th/13th century with Dehhānī and in the 8th/14th with Aḥmadī, Aḥmad-i Dā'ī and Shaykhī. In the 9th/15th century, with such poets as Aḥmad Pasha, Mihrī Khātūn, Nedjātī and Mesīḥī, it became a widely accepted and popular form. In the 10th/16th century, the golden age of classical Turkish verse, it reached a high level of accomplishment through the efforts of such poets as Revānī, Lāmi'ī, Fighānī, Ḥayretī, Dhātī, Khayālī, Fuḍūlī, Fevrī, Nev'ī and Bāķī. But the greatest Turkish *ķaṣīda* writer, Nef'ī, lived in the following century. The other famous 11th/17th century poets—Waysī, 'Azmī-zāde, Ḥāletī, 'Aṭā'ī, Ṣabrī, Nā'ilī, Neshātī and Nābī—never reached the same standard as Nef'ī, but nevertheless show great maturity in technique and in handling of the subject matter. In the 12th/18th century, the *ķaṣīda* partly managed to retain its old status, thanks to the poetic genius of Nedīm at the beginning and Shaykh Ghālib at the end of the century, but in general it lost its old artistry, scope of subject matter and novelty of expression. Poets like Thābit, Naẓīm, Sāmī, Sayyid Wehbī and Ḥāmī-yi Āmidī kept the form alive, but the *ķaṣīda* was by this time becoming outmoded; it was a form tied to a single rhyme and could hardly help being repetitious. In these circumstances it could only die out.

However, the generation following the Tanẓīmāt (122/1839) continued to express the new thought in this form. Shināsī ([*q.v.*], 1239-1288/1824-1871), Ḍiyā Pasha ([*q.v.*], 1240-1297/1825-1880) and Nāmıķ Kemāl all occasionally wrote *ķaṣīdas*. Today the form has disappeared; modern social and cultural conditions are hardly favourable.

Bibliography: Djemāl al-Dīn, *'Arūż-i Türkī*, Istanbul 1291/1874; E. J. W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, i, London 1900, 83-87; Mu'allim Nādjī, *Iṣṭilāḥāt-i edebiyya*, Istanbul 1307/1889-90, 161-68; Meḥmed Ṣalāḥī, *Ķāmūs-i 'Othmānī*, Istanbul 1329/1911, 217; 'Alī Ekrem, *Naẓariyyāt-i edebiyya*, Istanbul lithograph 1333/1915, i, 254; Fuad Köprülü, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, Istanbul 1926, 161-64; Tâhir Olgun, *Edebiyyat Lûgatı*, Istanbul 1936, 62-63; Zeki Pakalın, *Tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1951, ii, 206-9; *İstanbul kütüphaneleri türkçe yazma divanlar katalogu*, Istanbul 1947-65, catalogues of the manuscripts of various Turkish *dīwāns*; Abdülkadir Karahan, *Nef'ī*, Istanbul 1967, 24-32; Abdülkadir Karahan, *Nef'ī divanından seçmeler*, Istanbul 1972, introduction; *İA* art. *Nasīb*; Nihad Sâmi Banarlı, *Resimli Türk edebiyatı tarihi*, Istanbul 1971, fasc. 3 (1972), 186-90. (ABDÜLKADIR KARAHAN)

4. In Urdu. — In Urdu poetry, it is the *ghazal* that takes pride of place, both quantitatively and qualitatively, and the *ķaṣīda* is less important. It is the generally accepted view that only two Urdu poets, Sawdā and Dhawķ [*qq.v.*], composed *ķaṣīdas* of a standard comparable with that achieved in Persian by Anwarī and Khāķānī [*qq.v.*]. Most Urdu *ķaṣīdas* are, formally speaking, encomia addressed by the poet to his actual or intended patron; in this aspect, they are designed above all else to display both his virtuosity in the craft of poetry and the range of his learning. A more lasting value derives from the fact that the form also offers the poet scope for the extended expression of his feelings on any poetic theme that inspires him; and some *ķaṣīdas* are definable as such only in terms of form (length and rhyme-scheme). Thus one of Sawdā's most famous poems in *ķaṣīda* form is a *shahrāshūb*, a bitter and indignant commentary on the political, social, economic, cultural and spiritual degeneration of society in the Mughal Empire of his day. Ghālib [*q.v.*] who, however, wrote most of his *ķaṣīdas* in Persian and only a few in Urdu, in general dispenses with the praise of his patron in a few lines, and devotes the bulk of the *ķaṣīda* to the elaboration of his views on life and love and poetry.

(R. RUSSELL)

ĶĀSIM, the name of several Ottoman princes.

1. ĶĀSIM, son of the second ruler of the Ottoman dynasty, Orkhān. All that is known of him is that he died in 748/1347.

2. ĶĀSIM ČELEBI or Ķāsim Yūsuf, one of the seven sons of Bāyezīd I, b. 792/1390. Since he was too young to take part in the battle of Ankara (1402), he remained at Bursa. After the defeat and capture of his father there began a struggle for power amongst his elder sons, Sulaymān, 'Īsā, Muḥammad and then Mūsā. When Sulaymān retreated towards the Ottoman territories in the Balkans, he passed through Bursa and took with him Ķāsim and his sister Fāṭima. Shortly afterwards Ķāsim was sent as a hostage to the Byzantine emperor Manuel II and remained at Constantinople till his death in 820/1417. According to certain traditions, he was buried in the church of the monastery of St. John of Studion (which became the Imrahor Djāmi' after the Ottoman conquest).

3. ĶĀSIM, son of Sultan Meḥemmed I, died in 809/1406 at the age of one or two years only.

4. ĶĀSIM, son of prince Aḥmad and grandson of Bāyezīd II. Born *ca.* 906/1501, died in 924/1518. Soon after his accession, in March 1512, Selīm I put to death his brothers, but met the resistance of two of his nephews, Murād and Ķāsim, sons of Aḥmad. They speedily fled abroad, Murād to the Persian ruler Shāh Ismā'īl I (he may have been one of the causes behind Selīm I's Persian campaign; he escaped from him after the battle of Čaldirān, and died in 1517, possibly poisoned or possibly murdered; certain accounts further identify him with the Ottoman pretender who suddenly appeared at Amasya in 1519). Ķāsim (whom Von Hammer calls 'Alā' al-Dīn and whom he makes die of the plague soon after his arrival in Cairo) fled to Egypt and the Mamlūk sultan; after the conquest of Egypt, Selīm tried to seize Ķāsim, and although he succeeded temporarily in eluding the

Ottoman sultan, he was captured in January 1518 and immediately killed.

5. ḲĀSIM, one of the nine sons of Sultan Aḥmad I, born in 1022/1613 of the same mother as Sultans Murād IV and Ibrāhīm I, the famous Kösem Māh-peyker; he lived in confinement within the Palace till his death. Murād IV, afraid of the possibility of his brothers' seizing power or being raised to the throne in a revolt, had them all killed successively, with the exception of Ibrāhīm; Ḳāsim was executed on 2nd Shawwāl 1047/17th February 1638.

Bibliography: Von Hammer, *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, tr. Dochez, Paris 1844, bk. viii, 149, bk. xxii, 410, 414, bk. xlviii, 479; Ismail Hami Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi*, i, Istanbul 1947, 131, 133, 135-6, 148, 153; ii, Istanbul 1948, 5, 8, 50-1; iii, Istanbul 1950, 269, 312, 325, 353, 366, 371, 387; A. D. Alderson, *The structure of the Ottoman dynasty*, Oxford 1956, index.

(R. Mantran)

al-ḲAṢĪM, a district in northern Nadjd in the central part of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Lying west of the northern end of the long scarp of Ṭuwayḳ [*q.v.*], the district is intersected by the lower reaches of Wādī 'l-Rumah [*q.v.*] shortly before that great watercourse loses itself in the eastern sands.

In classical Arabic the term *ḳaṣīm* (nom. unit.: *ḳaṣīma*) is applied to sandy areas where the *ghaḍā* bush abounds. This description fits the district, which has large masses of sand to the north (ʿIrḳ al-Maẓhūr), the east (Nafūd al-Thuwayrāt), and the south (Nafūd al-Sirr), all of which curve round the contour of the Arabian Shield [see DJAZĪRAT AL-ʿARAB, ii]. The district also contains smaller stretches of sand running contrary to the Shield's contour, such as Nafūd al-Ghamīs, which trends from west to east.

The twin cities of Burayda (the present capital) and ʿUnayza [*qq.v.*] form the heart of al-Ḳaṣīm. Farther up Wādī 'l-Rumah is al-Rass, the main outpost of the district on the side towards al-Ḥidjāz. North of al-Rass are al-Khabrā', al-Bukayriyya with its neighbour al-Hilāliyya (both originally colonies of the tribe of Subayʿ), al-ʿUyūn (ʿUyūn al-Djiwā') and Ḳuṣaybā'. Along the eastern edge of al-Ḳaṣīm in a line from north to south are the oasis settlements of Aba 'l-Dūd, al-Tannūma and ʿAyn Ibn Fuhayd, which, along with other places, are known collectively as al-Asyāḥ ("the Plains"). This line is continued farther south by al-Shamāsiyya, al-ʿAwsadjiyya (or al-ʿAwshaziyya) and al-Midhnab.

Among the districts of Nadjd, al-Ḳaṣim stands out for the relative richness of its natural and human resources. When stockraising was one of the principal occupations of Arabia, al-Ḳaṣīm was known abroad for the fine quality of the horses brought to market there by the nomad breeders. The Ḳuṣmān (pl. of Ḳaṣīmī) are a talented and industrious people whose trading branches as far away as Egypt and India made them for a long time the most cosmopolitan of the inhabitants of Nadjd (on the caravaneers of al-Ḳaṣīm, see ʿUKAYL).

References in the Arab geographers and the old poets indicate that the district has borne the name of al-Ḳaṣīm since pre-Islamic times. The inhabitants supported Khālid b. al-Walīd as Islam established its ascendancy in central Arabia. Among the tribes once roaming there were ʿAbs of Ghaṭafān, Banū Asad and Tamīm [*qq.v.*]. Of these, only Tamīm is still present in force, the others having been succeeded by members, sometimes settled, of Subayʿ, Muṭayr, Ḥarb, Banī Khaḍīr, etc.

In the 5th/11th century Dārim of al-Rass built up a state including other parts of Nadjd as well, but its decline was fairly rapid after his death. No authentic records attest to the founding of any of the main towns now existing before the 10th/16th century. The district was preoccupied with local affairs and petty conflicts until 1182/1768-9, when Āl Suʿūd of al-Dirʿiyya in al-ʿĀriḍ [*q.v.*] to the south, bent on securing the adherence of the rest of Arabia to the doctrines proclaimed by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb [*q.v.*] by force of arms if necessary, dispatched the first expedition into al-Ḳaṣīm. Many of the Ḳuṣmān enthusiastically accepted Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's interpretation of Islam, but others stubbornly clung to their ingrained beliefs and practices. A leading figure in the ultimate winning over of al-Ḳaṣīm to the unitarianism (*al-daʿwa ila 'l-tawḥīd*) of Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb was Ḥudjaylān b. Ḥamad of the ʿAnāḳir of Tamīm, governor of Burayda for Āl Suʿūd from the late 12th/18th century until the invasion of Nadjd by Ibrāhīm Pasha of Egypt. On his way back home in 1234/1818 Ibrāhīm took Ḥudjaylān to Medina, where he died an octogenarian.

After the destruction of Āl Suʿūd's capital al-Dirʿiyya [*q.v.*] by Ibrāhīm's forces, its place was taken by al-Riyāḍ [*q.v.*]. For nearly a century afterwards al-Ḳaṣīm, as the key intermediate district, was the bone of contention between Āl Suʿūd of al-Riyāḍ and the new rival power of Āl Rashīd with its base at Ḥā'il in Djabal Shammar [*q.v.*] northwest of al-Ḳaṣīm. Whichever side held al-Ḳaṣīm tended to dominate the other side, and the tide of battle kept flowing back and forth. Internal dissensions in al-Ḳaṣīm, particularly between Burayda and ʿUnayza as well as between contending aspirants to political control in both cities, prevented the district, despite its resources, from effectively resisting for long the hegemony of one or the other of the opposing houses. The issue between the two protagonists was finally decided in the early 14th/20th century with the defeat of Āl Rashīd in al-Ḳaṣīm by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Āl Suʿūd, even though Āl Rashīd then had the support of regular Ottoman troops.

In recent times many of the Ḳuṣmān, above all the people of Burayda, have been among the most devout and energetic proponents of Ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb's unitarianism. Great progress in communications, education and other fields has, however, somewhat tempered the severity of the puritanical spirit of the Ḳuṣmān.

Bibliography: *Tādj al-ʿarūs*, s.v. *ḳṣm*; Yāḳūt (*al-Ḳaṣīm, Burayda, ʿUnayza, al-Rass, al-Rumma* [= al-Rumah]); Ḥusayn b. Ghannām, *Rawḍat al-afkār*, Bombay n.d.; ʿUthmān b. Bishr, *ʿUnwān al-madjd*, Cairo 1373; Ḥamad b. Laʿbūn, *Ta'rīkh*, Mecca 1357; Ibrāhīm b. ʿĪsā, *ʿIḳd al-durar*, Cairo 1954-5; idem, *Ta'rīkh baʿd al-ḥawādith*, al-Riyāḍ 1966; Muḥammad b. Bulayhid, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-akhbār*, Cairo 1951-3; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sharīf, *Minṭaḳat ʿUnayza*, Cairo 1969; G. Rentz, unpublished dissertation on Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, Berkeley 1947; C. Guarmani, *Northern Najd*, London 1938; C. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, London 1936; A. Blunt, *A Pilgrimage to Najd*, London 1881; A. Musil, *Northern Neǧd*, New York 1928; H. Philby, *Arabia of the Wahhabis*, London 1928; idem, *Saʿudi Arabia*, London 1955; M. v. Oppenheim et al., *Die Beduinen*, Leipzig and Wiesbaden 1939-68.

(G. Rentz)

ḲĀSIM b. AṢBAGH b. MUḤAMMAD b. YŪSUF b. NĀṢIḤ b. ʿAṬĀ' AL-BAYYĀNĪ, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD, famous traditionist, philologist, historian and genealogist, *mawlā* of the Spanish Umayyads,

who was born at Baena (Bayyāna) in the *kūra* of Cordova in 244/859 or 247/862 and died in the capital in 340/951-2. At Cordova, he was the pupil of Muḥammad b. Waḍḍāḥ, al-Khushānī and other noted scholars. In 274/887, he made an extended trip to the Orient, and in Mecca, Baghdād, Egypt, Ḳayrawān and other cities acquired an education in tradition, the Ḳurʾānic sciences, poetry and history from the various renowned specialists in these subjects; amongst his masters were a son of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, Thaʿlab, al-Mubarrad and Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Tāhartī. He acquired also a knowledge of the numerous works of Ibn Ḳutayba. On his return to Spain, people flocked to him from all parts to hear his instruction; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III and his son al-Ḥakam were amongst his numerous pupils.

Ḳāsim b. Aṣbagh introduced into Spain the works of Ibn Ḳutayba and other *adab* works, including the *Maʿārif*, the *Adab al-kuttāb*, which was highly regarded and much commented upon, as well as the *Gharīb al-Ḳurʾān* and *Mushkil al-Ḳurʾān*. For his part, he wrote a *muṣawwaf* based on the *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd and following the plan (*abwāb*) of Ibn al-Djarūd's *al-Muntaḳā*, and an abridgement of this last called *al-Mudjtanā*, dedicated to al-Ḥakam and containing 2,490 traditions divided into 6 volumes. He also wrote a fine work on genealogies, one on the honorific titles of the Umayyads, Ḳuraysh and Kināna, a *Kitāb fi'l-nāsikh wa'l-mansūkh*, and another work on the rare *ḥadīth*s of Mālik b. Anas not found in the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*; but none of these seem to have survived. Accordingly, the most important of Ḳāsim b. Aṣbagh's works is for us his translation of Orosius's *Historiarum libri septem adversus paganos*, which he did in collaboration with a Mozarab; this work, of both historical and geographical interest, was of immense importance in the development of geographical literature in al-Andalus, and Aḥmad al-Rāzī, Ḳāsim b. Aṣbagh's disciple, utilised it to a considerable extent.

Bibliography: Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 491-3 and index; Ibn al-Faraḍī, no. 1068; Ḍabbī, no. 1298; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vi, 154; Ibn Bashkuwāl, 96; Bencheneb, *Étude*... *Idjāza*, 281; Ḥumaydī, *Djadhwa*, Cairo 1953, no. 769; Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībādj*, 222; Pons Boigues, 59-61; Ḥ. Muʾnis, *al-Djughrāfiya wa'l-djughrāfiyyūn fi 'l-Andalus*, Madrid 1386/1967, 30-1, 55-7, 418; H. Monès, in *St. Isl.*, xx (1964), 71; Ch. Pellat, *Ibn Ḥazm*..., in *al-And.*, xix (1954), 77-8, 86 (= tr. of Maḳḳarī, ii, 116, 118-19); G. Levi della Vida, *La traduzione*... *di Orosio*, in *al-And.*, xix (1954), 257-93; M. ʿAlī Makkī, *Ensayo sobre las aportaciones orientales en la Espana musulmana*, Madrid 1968, especially 199-200, 207-8, 272-4. (J. Bosch-Vilá)

AL-ḲĀSIM B. **ʿĪSĀ** B. IDRĪS, ABŪ DULAF, Arab military commander, poet and musician, d. at Baghdād between 225/840 and 228/843. His tribe of the ʿIdjl was part of the great confederation of the Bakr b. Wāʾil and of the Rabīʿa group. The fortunes of the family seem to have been linked to the spread of the ʿAbbāsid propaganda by an accident of birth, in that Abū Muslim [*q.v.*], the future *dāʿī* for the dynasty, first saw the light in the house of ʿĪsā b. Maʿḳil, brother of Idrīs, the grandfather of Abū Dulaf.

This family settled at Karadj [*q.v.*], near to Nihāwand, where it possessed vast estates. Abū Dulaf's father began to construct the palaces and fortresses of a compact ʿIdjlī fief, of which Abū Dulaf himself was to be the brilliant representative at the caliphal court in Baghdād. However, we know comparatively little about his military career. On 15 Djumādā II 195/15 March 811 he commanded, on the orders of the caliph al-Amīn, the right wing of the army led by ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā against Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn; but this army dispersed without fighting when its commander was killed in an assassination incident. This participation clearly affected adversely Abū Dulaf's interests. When al-Maʾmūn became caliph, he gave orders for measures against him; later, he reproached him for allowing panegyrics considered semi-blasphemous to be addressed to himself by the poet ʿAlī b. Djabala al-ʿAkawwak [*q.v.*], who was executed. This hostility had at least one further motive behind it; the ʿIdjlī chief was a fervent partisan of the ʿAlids. At a time when the régime was taking up an attitude well away from the Shīʿī ideology, it was obviously disturbed about the existence of a vassal firmly installed in a difficult region.

Abū Dulaf is then found as governor of Damascus for al-Muʿtaṣim. He led against Bābak a contingent of volunteers raised from his dependents. He was part of the group of Arab chiefs whom the Iranian general al-Afshīn attempted to eliminate in order to gain an ascendancy over the caliph and to retain power. On this occasion, the caliph's attitude was extremely ambiguous; he gave his agreement to al-Afshīn, but at the same time warned Ibn Abī Duʾād about what was afoot, and the chief *ḳāḍī*, who was allied on the maternal side with the ʿIdjl, intervened in a decisive fashion.

Abū Dulaf has left behind the reputation of being a warm, intelligent and extremely generous personality. Himself a littérateur, musician and poet, he managed to form around himself an important circle of scholars and artists. From amongst his own poetry, there is extant only a small number of short poems written in a simple but powerful language, and in his *fakhr* poems, in a style with elements of nobility and strong martial touches. He was also the author of works on hunting, military and political themes, none of which have survived.

Abū Dulaf was a much-sought after Maecenas, and he entrusted the presidency over his salon to his brother Maʿḳil, himself a poet and impassioned music-lover, a man of great refinement and sensibility. He brought into his elder brother's circle ʿAlī b. Djabala and Bakr b. al-Naṭṭāḥ, and he secured invitations for Abū Tammām and Diʿbil and for such celebrated singers as Mukhāriḳ. Many other poets and artists of lesser fame also found a welcome in Djibāl and a congenial environment, e.g. Djuʿayfirān al-Muwaswas, the powerful satirist Manṣūr b. Bādhān al-Iṣbahānī and Muḥammad b. Wuhayb. An examination of this list confirms the fact that membership of this circle revolved round either tribal alliances or adhesion to Shīʿism. For these professional poets, the attraction of largesses was multiplied here by an assurance of finding with a powerful patron a mind occupied with common sympathies and feelings.

The historical sources record several descendants of Abū Dulaf. His grandson Bakr b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz tried to recover the principality of his forefathers, but was put to flight and then poisoned in 285/898 during the caliphate of al-Muʿtaḍid; Abū 'l-Ḳāsim Hibat Allāh b. ʿAlī was vizier to the Imām al-Ḳāʾim bi-amr Allāh; Hibat Allāh's brother Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī was chief *ḳāḍī* of Baghdād; and his son Abū Naṣr ʿAlī b. Hibat Allāh, known under the name of Ibn Mākūlā, was a learned traditionist and author of highly-esteemed works.

Bibliography: *Aghānī*, viii, 246-55, notice, xix, 289-91, xx, 153-5, and index; Ṣūlī, *Akhbār*

Abī Tammām, 121-4; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, 478; Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 111-12, ii, 217; Yāķūt, ii, 99, iv, 446; *Fihrist*, 175, 240; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamhara*, 312-14; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIķd*, i, ii, iii, vi, in the index; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, i, 367, iii, 1172-3; Ibn Tayfūr, *Kitāb Baghdād*, 132-9; Yaʿķūbī-Wiet, 74; Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, 216; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 4-7; Washshā', *Muwashshā*, 283; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, ii, 57; Bakrī, *Simt al-la'ālī*, 331 and index; Ṭabarī, index; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, no. 6869, xii, 416; Khalidiyyān, *al-Tuḥaf wa'l-hadāyā*, 15-16, 109; Ibn Khallikān, no. 538, iv, 73; Ibn al-Djarrāḥ, *Waraḳa*, 106-8; Ḥusrī, *Zahr*, iv, 147-8, 197-8. See also *diwāns* of Abū Tammām and Diʿbil.—ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Ashtar, *Diʿbil*, Damascus 1967, 96-102 and index; J. E. Bencheikh, *Les voies d'une création*, unpubl. thesis, Paris 1971, 98-104; S. Boustany, *Ibn al-Rūmī*, Beirut 1967, 240; Sourdel, *Vizirat*, i, 259-60.

(J. E. BENCHEIKH)

ĶĀSIM (QASSEM), **ʿABD AL-KARĪM** (1914-63). ʿIrāķi officer and dictator, born in Baghdād of poor parents. His father was a Sunnī Arab and his mother possibly of Fayli (Shīʿī-Kurdish) descent; he himself claimed to be purely Arab. After working as a teacher Ķāsim entered military college and was commissioned in 1934. By 1955 he was a brigadier. Early in the 1950s he set up one of the cells then proliferating in the army in clandestine opposition to the Western-orientated monarchy, and in perhaps half-conscious imitation of the Egyptian example. By dint of his shrewdness, his gift for dissimulation and, most important, his independent operational command (of a brigade group near Baghdād) he became chairman of the Free Officers Central Committee in about 1956—though he never reached anything like the position of ʿAbd al-Nāṣir at a comparable stage of his career. An army movement ordered in support of Jordan gave Ķāsim his chance. In the night of 13-14 July 1958 a brigade taken over by Ķāsim's protégé ʿAbd al-Salām ʿĀrif occupied the capital almost without opposition. King Fayṣal II, the crown prince ʿAbd al-Ilāh and, a day later, Nūrī al-Saʿīd were killed and the republic proclaimed. Immediately afterwards a "Republican Decree" declared Ķāsim commander-in-chief, prime minister and acting minister of defence, with ʿĀrif as his deputy and minister of the interior. The cabinet was mainly civilian and represented most shades of political opinion—proof of the initial popularity of the revolution. From then and until his murder Ķāsim was virtual dictator, though a provisional constitution was promulgated within a fortnight of the revolution.

Ķāsim's one fixed political principle was his jealous regard for the independence of ʿIrāķ, vis-à-vis Arab unity. In the summer of 1958 this meant disappointing an important sector of ʿIrāķī opinion headed by his own deputy, as well as deeply offending ʿAbd al-Nāṣir then at the peak of his career. By August the fronts were clear; by the end of September ʿĀrif had been ousted from all his posts (and was under suspended death sentence three months later). Further escalation of Arab nationalist resentment led in March 1959 to a revolt led by the commander of Mosul garrison, Brigadier ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shawwāf. Ķāsim rode the storm, chiefly through a working alliance with the Communists who, on the Syrian precedent, stood to lose all through the absorption of ʿIrāķ into the United Arab Republic. With the revolt crushed, and the nationalist menace temporarily suppressed, Communist ambitions became a threat to Ķāsim's rule. In the following confrontation Ķāsim proved infinitely superior to the Communists in determination and tactical ability; moreover, in this contest he could count on solid army support. After the summer of 1959 the Communist situation deteriorated until they had been edged out of every position of consequence they had acquired during their advance, and they became a barely tolerated marginal group. Ķāsim had first staved off the Communists' importunities by promising the legalization of political parties. The law was duly promulgated in January 1960, but after a brief spurt its effects petered out, and ultimately none remained legally active except a phantom pseudo-Communist Party tolerated by Ķāsim. From about the spring of 1960 all genuine political life degenerated into disgruntled torpor, plotting or, in the case of the Kurds, open warfare (from September 1961). Externally, Ķāsim upset the West by his disputes with the oil companies and by his inept attempt to seize Kuwayt after it had become independent (June 1961). Relations with the Soviet Union cooled because of Ķāsim's treatment of the Communists, though not before he had virtually re-equipped the army with Soviet supplies. On the Arab front Ķāsim never lived down his reputation as an enemy of the nationalist cause. Ķāsim may be fairly described as politically bankrupt long before a coup, engineered by a combination of Baʿthist and nationalist anti-Communist officers (not all of them committed to ʿAbd al-Nāṣir) put a bloody end to him and his régime on 8-9 February 1963.

For all his failures, Ķāsim cannot be written off as negligible. He was comparatively chary of violence. He was genuinely interested in social progress, at least at the beginning of his rule; the Agrarian Reform Law of 30 September 1958 is a milestone in the social history of ʿIrāķ. He was one of the most secular-minded rulers in the Arab world in recent times. Though he occasionally paid lip-service to the excellence of Islam, religion really had no place in his scheme of things, and his usual adroitness deserted him when he dealt with men and matters of religion. This trend of his was well known. It is instructive that Ķāsim's "atheism" caused in all probability deeper resentment among far wider circles than more narrowly defined issues of a more "modern" nature. His Personal Status Law (1959), applicable to Sunnīs and Shīʿīs alike, was repealed after his overthrow.

Bibliography: ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Djidda, *Thawrat al-zaʿīm al-munķidh*, Baghdad 1960 (eulogistic); U. Dann, *Iraq under Qassem*, Jerusalem 1969; M. Khadduri, *Republican ʿIraq*, London 1969.

(U. DANN)

ĶĀSIM AGHA, b. ? 978/1570 architect-in-chief at the Ottoman court. His proper name was Meḥmed Ķāsim but he was known as Ķodja. He was born in a village between Awlonya (Valona) and Berat (Byelograd) in Albania (Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, viii, 695). Collected through the *devshirme* and brought to the Imperial Palace, he was accepted in the courts of gardeners of the Imperial Household (*khāṣṣ-bāghče ghulāmī*) where he grew up. During the great promotion (*čiķma*) which took place at Meḥemmed III's accession to the throne, he was made an apprentice with the court architects (Zarif Orgun, *Hassa mimarları*, Istanbul 1939, 7). In 1032/1623 he was made court architect-in-chief (*Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iv, 49). He became good friends with the Grand Vizier Ķara Muṣṭafā Pasha, an Albanian like himself. On the latter's execution he was dismissed as court-architect-in-chief, an office until then conferred for life, and

was exiled to Gelibolu. However, through the solicitations of *ḳāḍī-ʿasker* Djindji Ḥusayn Efendi, he returned to Istanbul and was again appointed court-architect-in-chief in Rabīʿ al-Ākhir 1055/June 1645 (Naʿīmā, *Tārīkh*, v, 35, 112, 167). In Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1061/October-November 1651 he was made *kedkhüdā* of the Wālide Sulṭān (Naʿīmā, *Tārīkh*, v, 51). However, at the instigation of the *dār ül-seʿāde aghasi* Sarī Süleymān Agha, he was dismissed in Muḥarram 1062/December 1651-January 1652 and exiled to Cyprus, but through the intervention of the Wālide Sulṭān enabled to return to Istanbul (Naʿīmā. *Tārīkh*, v, 179). After long service, he died in Istanbul at *ca.* one hundred years of age.

Ḳāsim Agha is known both as an artist and as a politician. As court architect-in-chief he built the Činili Djāmiʿ in Üsküdar, the pavilion of the Balṭadjīs in the Palace of Üsküdar, the Sepetčiler Ḳaṣrī of the Palace of Topḳapu and the Yeñi Wālide Djāmiʿi in Istanbul. His mastery as an architect is apparent from the Činili Djāmiʿ and from the ʿAtīḳ Wālide Djāmiʿi. The pavillion of the Balṭadjīs and the Sepetčiler Ḳaṣrī no longer exist. As a politician, Ḳāsim Agha was one of the influential personalities of the 12th/18th century, with activities falling in the reigns of Sultans Ibrāhīm and Meḥemmed IV. He established friendships with prominent people, such as Ḳara Muṣṭafā Pasha, the *Sheykh ül-Islām* Bahāʾī Efendi [*q.v.*], Čelebi Kedkhüdā Bey, Sarī Süleymān Agha, Djindji Ḥusayn Efendi, Khadīdje Turkhān Wālide, and his recommendations and suggestions influenced the affairs of state. With Kösem Wālide Māhpaykar Sulṭān and Melek Aḥmed Pasha, he was on bad terms, and his meddling in political affairs caused his exile on two occasions. However, his most important function in Ottoman political history was to pave the way for Köprülü Meḥmed Pasha to become Grand Vizier and obtain power.

Bibliography: Naʿīmā, *Tārīkh*, Istanbul 1281, iv, 35, 52, 72, 112, 117; v, 169, 178, 250; vi, 218, 220. Aḥmed Refīḳ, *ʿĀlimler we ṣanʿatkārlar*, Istanbul 1924, 205. For Ḳāsim Agha's Sepetčiler Ḳaṣrī, see *TOEM*, v. (İSMET PARMAKSIZOĞLU)

ḲĀSIM AMĪN, Arab publicist and writer on social topics, was the promoter, in Egypt, of the emancipation of the Arab woman and upheld her right, as well as her corresponding obligations, to participate in the renaissance of the Arab-Islamic world which saw the light of day at the end of the 19th century.

He was born in Alexandria in 1863 (cf. Aḥmad Bahāʾ al-Dīn, preface to *Taḥrīr al-marʾa*, ed. Dār al-Maʿārif, Cairo 1970, 10; but the sources do not all agree as to the date and place of his birth), of an Egyptian mother and a father of Turkish origin; his family settled in Cairo, where Ḳāsim, after his secondary studies, registered at the Khedival school of law (*Madrasat al-ḥuḳuḳ al-khudawiyya*) and gained his "licence" in 1881. After a period of instruction by a great lawyer of the Egyptian capital, he went to complete his studies of law in Paris where he continued to follow, with the passion and restlessness that had been his since the first signs of them appeared in Cairo, the new developments of the Egyptian political reality, *i.e.* the British intervention of 1882 which led to the occupation of Egypt by the English and the failure of the revolt of ʿUrābī Pasha [*q.v.*].

Ḳāsim Amīn made his first contribution to the programme of reform already partially put into practice in Egypt and the most advanced regions of the Arab-Islamic world, by renewing contacts already established in Cairo with the two greatest reformers of modern Islam, Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and his disciple Muḥammad ʿAbdūh [*q.vv.*]; these latter had taken refuge in Paris where they had undertaken the publication of the Arabic language weekly *al-ʿUrwa al-wuthḳā*, financed by a secret Muslim society of the same name, of which only eighteen issues appeared and in which Ḳāsim Amīn offered his collaboration.

Ḳāsim Amīn died when still young, in 1908, without having had the satisfaction of seeing realised the reforms in favour of the Arab woman for which he had fought and which continued to be the object of the struggle in Irāḳ of the poet Djamīl Ṣidḳī al-Zahāwī [*q.v.*], in Tunisia of al-Ṭāhir al-Ḥaddād [*q.v.*] and in Egypt, notably, of the woman writer Malak Ḥifnī Nāṣif [*q.v.*], surnamed Bāḥithat al-Bādiya.

It was during his stay in Paris that, thanks to his contacts with a milieu always very clearly oriented towards socio-cultural progress, and perhaps equally, according to certain sources, under the influence of a sentimental attachment to a young Frenchwoman, his conviction matured that it was necessary to awaken public opinion, in Egypt and in the Arab world in general, to one of the most urgent social problems, that of raising the living conditions of women. It is evident that every attempt at reform in this field involved a persistent struggle against the partisans of the traditionalist current in the country, enemies of every change, even if it had a clearly social character, because they considered every innovation as an affront and outrage to tradition and the memory of the ancestors.

Ḳāsim Amīn fully realised the difficulties of the task and worked towards the achievement of his objective by using not only the weapons of juridical dialectic with which his profession as a lawyer supplied him abundantly and effectively, but also an argument of an emotional and moral character to which he was predisposed by his own temperament; this action aimed at assuring women of a more dignified social situation by means of instruction, equality of rights with men, abolition of the wearing of the veil, and revision of the matrimonial law with its two scourges of polygamy and repudiation.

The resistance of Egyptian conservatism was so obstinate that it was only in *ca.* 1922 (about a quarter of a century after the appearance of *Taḥrīr al-marʾa*, and solely in the upper classes) that the suppression of the veil was allowed and, in 1925, that the first secondary school for girls was created with a programme and subject matter similar to those of the equivalent for boys.

His patriotic feeling is to be found in his book *Les Égyptiens*, Paris 1894, that he wrote in French in reply to the Duc d'Harcourt who, in *L'Égypte et les Égyptiens* (1893) judged the country, and especially its social structure, from an exaggeratedly "colonialist" point-of-view, and he attempted to discredit him; but it is his two works, *Taḥrīr al-marʾa* ("The emancipation of women") and *al-Marʾa al-djadīda* ("The new woman"), that he dedicated to the social advancement of the woman. The first provoked the reaction of the most ardent representatives of Egyptian conservatism, among them Ṭalʿat Ḥarb and ʿAbd al-Madjīd Gharyān, who replied, the first in his *Faṣl al-khiṭāb fi'l-marʾa wa 'l-ḥidjāb* (Cairo n.d.) and the second with *al-Dafʿ al-matīn* (Cairo n.d.). The other work by which Ḳāsim Amīn intended to answer precisely the attacks of these despisers of every innovation, gave rise to a reply not only from the same Ṭalʿat Ḥarb, in *Tarbiyat al-marʾa wa 'l-ḥidjāb*, but also from the scholar and publicist Muḥammad Farīd

Wadjdī in *al-Marʾa al-muslima* (Cairo 1319/1901).

It is with these two works that Ḳāsim Amīn's name has been linked, as an apostle of the rights of the woman, far more than with the Parisian work which has been discussed above and with the collection of meditations and maxims entitled *Asbāb wa-natāʾidj wa-akhlāḳ wa-mawāʿiẓ*, Cairo 1898 (reprinted 1913 under the title *Kalimāt fiʾl-akhlāḳ* in an appendix to the edition of the *Risāla fī Mudāwāt al-nufūs* of Ibn Ḥazm (cf. Brockelmann, S I, 696-7).

Bibliography: *Taḥrīr al-marʾa*, Cairo 1899 (German trans. of O. Rescher, Stuttgart 1928); *al-Marʾa al-djadīda*, Cairo 1901; the two works have been made the subject of numerous other editions whose prefaces supply biographical information on Ḳāsim Amīn and his social activities. It is hardly necessary to draw attention to the study of R. Paret, *Zur Frauenfrage in der arabisch-islamischen Welt*, Stuttgart 1934, for the historical account of the social situation of the woman in Islam, a fundamental work. For specific bibliographical information on most of the works mentioned in Brockelmann, S III, 330-1, see I. Y. Kračkovskiy, *Kasim Amin, sovetnik appellyutsionnogo suda. Novaya ženshčina. Perevod so 2-go arabskogo izdaniya i predislovie*, in *Mir Islama*, i (1912), app., 119 ff.; *OM*, v (1925), 606, ix (1929), 237-42 *passim*; Ḥusayn Haykal, *Tarādjim miṣriyya wa-gharbiyya*, Cairo 1929; Doria Ragaï (Shafik), *La femme et le droit religieux de l'Égypte contemporaine*, Paris 1940; A. Khākī, *Ḳāsim Amīn*, Cairo 1944; F. S. Fuʾād, *Taʾrīkh ḥayāt al-marḥūm Ḳāsim Amīn*, Cairo n.d.; U. Rizzitano, *La funzione della donna orientale*, in *Oriens '44*, ed. J.T.L.O., Rome 1945. Some pages of *Taḥrīr al-marʾa* have been translated in Anouar Abdel-Malek, *Anthologie de la littérature arabe contemporaine*, ii (*Les essais*), Paris 1965. (U. Rizzitano)

ḲĀSIM-I ANWĀR, the *laḳab* of MUʿĪN AL-DĪN ʿALĪ ḤUSAYNĪ SARĀBĪ TABRĪZĪ, mystic, poet and leading Ṣafawid *dāʿī*.

Born in 757/1356 in the Sarāb district of Tabrīz in Ādharbāydjān, Muʿīn al-Dīn ʿAlī became at an early age the disciple (*murīd*) of the shaykh of the Ṣafawid *ṭarīḳa* Ṣadr al-Dīn Mūsā [*q.v.*], who bestowed on him the *laḳab* of Ḳāsim-i Anwār, "Distributor of Lights", as the result of a vision experienced by his disciple. Muʿīn al-Dīn ʿAlī saw himself standing in the Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ at Ardabīl, holding in his hand a great candle from which the members of the congregation lit their own candles, the light of which illumined the whole mosque (a fuller, and variant, version of the vision is contained in the *Madjālis al-ʿUshshāḳ*; see Nafīsī, cited in bibliography, 23 ff.). Ṣadr al-Dīn Mūsā, who had recognized at an early stage the peculiar intensity of the devotional powers of Ḳāsim-i Anwār, interpreted this vision to mean that his disciple was destined to distribute among the other novices the divine light with which he was endowed.

After the completion of his training at Ardabīl, Ḳāsim-i Anwār received from the hands of Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn Mūsā the *khirḳa* which entitled him to proselytize and give spiritual guidance (*irshād*). At some later stage, Ḳāsim-i Anwār is said, by Djāmī [*q.v.*] and sources based on Djāmī, to have become the disciple of a certain Ṣadr al-Dīn ʿAlī Yamanī (for reasons for doubting the authenticity of this tradition, see the article of Savory cited in the bibliography). After a period of missionary activity in Gīlān, Ḳāsim-i Anwār went to Khurāsān. Opposition from the *ʿulamāʾ* forced him to move from Nīshāpūr to Harāt, which became his base of operations for half a century. According to his own statement, Ḳāsim-i Anwār was established at Harāt by 779/1377-8, and he remained there until his expulsion from the city in 830/1426-7.

In that year, Ḳāsim-i Anwār was implicated in the attempted assassination of the Tīmūrid ruler, Shāhrukh [*q.v.*], by a Ḥurūfī [see ḤURŪFIYYA] named Aḥmad the Lur. Ḳāsim-i Anwār was not, himself, a member of the heretical Ḥurūfī sect. In the present writer's view, his alleged complicity in the assassination plot was a convenient excuse for the Tīmūrid political and religious authorities to rid themselves of a man whose missionary activities had become a source of embarrassment to them. The sources alternatively allege that Ḳāsim-i Anwār was expelled from Harāt because (a) Mīrzā Bāysunḳur b. Shāhrukh [see BĀYSONGHOR, GHIYĀTH AL-DĪN] bore him a personal grudge; (b) he did not show proper respect toward Shāhrukh and his sons; (c) the majority of the young men of Harāt had become his disciples, and his popularity with these elements constituted a source of possible mischief. (A) and (b) may be dismissed; (c) more probably goes to the heart of the matter (the charge of moral turpitude made against Ḳāsim-i Anwār in connection with his association with these young men is unlikely to have been the sole reason for his expulsion). The Tīmūrid authorities took action against Ḳāsim-i Anwār because his activities as a *dāʿī* had been too successful; he had become too popular with admittedly heterodox elements, and Shāhrukh was fearful of a possible revolt. There is no doubt that Ḳāsim-i Anwār was closely associated at Harāt with followers of the Khalwatī [*q.v.*] *ṭarīḳa*, and the Khalwatīs, together with the Niʿmat Allāhīs, Naḳshbandīs [*qq.v.*] and other Ṣūfī *ṭarīḳas*, played an important part (not yet adequately investigated) in preparing the ground for the Ṣafawid revolution. There is evidence that Ḳāsim-i Anwār's success as a proselytizer was not confined to the young men of Harāt. Many notables of the city, and sons of Tīmūrid *amīrs*, are also said to have become his disciples; this, of course, would have given Shāhrukh additional grounds for anxiety.

After his expulsion from Harāt, Ḳāsim-i Anwār resided at the court of Shāhrukh's son, Ulugh Beg, at Samarḳand. Some years later, he returned to Khurāsān, and died at Khardjird in Rabīʿ I 837/Oct.-Nov. 1433.

Ḳāsim-i Anwār was the author of a number of mystical treatises, and of a *dīwān* comprising *ghazals*, *rubāʿīs*, several *mathnawīs*, and occasional pieces. Some of his poems are in Turkī, and others in the local dialect of Gīlān. E. G. Browne claimed to have found "unmistakable" traces of Ḥurūfī influence in one of his poems, but such a connection cannot be proved on the evidence of his poems. The language of these is rather the conventional stock-in-trade of Ṣūfīs, and the style reminds one of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [*q.v.*]. Like Rūmī, he was more concerned with meaning than with elegance. Ḳāsim-i Anwār normally used the *takhalluṣ* (*nom-de-plume*) Ḳāsim or Ḳāsimī, but sometimes also the full form of his *laḳab*, Ḳāsim-i Anwār.

Bibliography: For further details, and a fuller. discussion of the problems involved, see R. M. Savory, *A 15th-century Ṣafavid propagandist at Harāt*, in the *Semi-Centennial Volume of the Middle Western Branch of the American Oriental Society*, Bloomington, Indiana 1969, 189-197. For a full bibliography of the Persian sources, and a valuable analysis of the historical and literary evidence, see

Saʿīd Nafīsī's introduction to his edition of the collected poems (*Kulliyyāt*) of Ķāsim-i Anwār, Tehran 1337/1958. On Ķāsim-i Anwār's Turkish poems, see G. M. Meredith-Owens, *The Turkish verses of Qāsim al-Anvār*, in *BSOAS*, xxv/1 (1962), 155-61. (R. M. Savory)

ĶĀSIM PASHA, Djazarī, Ottoman officer and poet of the 9th/15th century; he belonged to a family who had come from Egypt and entered Ottoman service. His father was Meḥmed Djazarī, who had worked in the Imperial Dīvān and had become *nishāndji* in 869/1464-5. (*Külliyât-ı Divan-ı Kabulî*, ed. İ. Hikmet Ertaylan, Istanbul 1949 p. 304 f.). Ķāsim, like his father, entered the Dīwān-ī Humāyūn and served in various offices, rising to the position of *defterdār*, and was for a time in Amasya with Bāyezīd II (before his accession) and served as his *defterdār*. Djazarī Ķāsim, who is known to have been *nishāndji* in 886/1481, attained the rank of vizier, holding the post for about three years; he also served for a time in Salonika. He died in 887/1485, and was buried beside the *medrese* which he had built near the tomb of Emīr Sulṭān in Bursa.

Djazarī Ķāsim Pasha achieved fame in his own day as a competent poet, using the *makhlaṣ* Ṣāfī. Although it is known that his poems were collected in a *dīwān*, no manuscript has yet come to light; however, an incomplete text of his versified discourses exists in the Ali Emiri library in Istanbul (*manzum eserler*, no. 1000/1). ʿĀshiķ Čelebi [*q.v.*] states that he was influenced by Aḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*] and that he wrote competent *ghazal*s (ed. G. M. Meredith-Owens, London 1971, p. 214 a).

He established several pious foundations: a mosque in the Čaghaloghlu quarter of Istanbul (*Istanbul vakıfları tahrir defteri, 953/1546 tarihli*, ed. Ö. L. Barkan and E. H. Ayverdi, Istanbul, 1970, p. 53); a *medrese* and bath in the Emīr Sulṭān quarter of Bursa (*Güldeste*, 66); a mosque at Kefe (Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Kefe tahrir defteri, no. 370).

Bibliography: Bibliographical works have confused three Ķāsīm Pashas: Djazarī, Ewliyā, and Ķodja (for whom see ʿAṭāʾī, 104); thus Meḥmed Thüreyyā makes Djazarī Ķāsim live until 950 (*SO*, iv, 47; cf. also Aywānsarāyī, *Ḥadīķa*, i, 79, 80, 280). According to Sehī, 24, Djazarī Ķāsīm died and was buried in Salonika.

Additional information may be found in the following works: ʿĀshīķpasha-zāde, ed. ʿĀlī, Istanbul 1332, 192, 193; Neshrī, ed. Taeschner, i, 231; Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-tawārīkh*, Istanbul 1279, i, 216; Ķodja Ḥusayn, *Badāyiʿ al-waķāyiʿ*, ed. I. S. Tveritinova, Moscow 1961, ii, fol. 414 a; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, i, 335, 340, ii, 17; M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *XV-XVI. asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa livâsı*, Istanbul 1952, 153, 433, 434; Koyunluoğlu Memduh Turgut, *İznik ve Bursa Tarihi*, Bursa 1935, 155, 164, 196. (C. Orhonlu)

ĶĀSIM PASHA, Ewliyā, Ottoman officer of the second half of the 9th/15th century. It is conjectured that he was the son of Todor Muzak, the great Albanian lord (ʿĀshīķpashazāde, ed. ʿĀlī, Istanbul 1332, 191; Neshrī, ed. Taeschner, i, 230; H. İnalcık, *Fatih devri üzere tetkikler ve vesikalar*, Ankara 1954, 162). It is not known at what date he was taken by the *devshirme* to be brought up in Ottoman service; however, as he came to prominence during the reign of Meḥemmed II, this probably occurred towards the end of Meḥemmed I's reign. The most important post he had was that of Beglerbegi of Rūmeli, and it is known that he spent a part of his life at Edirne. In 883/1478, he caused to be built a domed mosque, a hospice (*ʿimāret*) and a double *ḥammām* near the district of Selkhāne on the Tundja river (Hibrī, *Anīs al-musāmirīn*, ed. S. İlgürel, unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, Istanbul 1972, 33, 41, 67; for the *waķfiyye* dated 1 Shaʿbān 883/28 October 1478 relating to this pious foundation, see Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, N.E. 7744/B). Ķāsīm Pasha died in 890/1485 and was buried near his mosque. His *laķab* Ewliyā is attributed to the fact that he had previously had a dervīsh convent built in Edirne.

Bibliography: in addition to works mentioned in the text: Oral Onur, *Edirne kitabeleri*, Istanbul 1972, 129; Osman Nuri Peremeci, *Edirne Tarihi*, Istanbul 1939, 66, 67, 145; M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *XV-XVI asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa livâsı*, Istanbul 1952, 48 (n. 58), 434 (n. 688), 524; Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Tapu-tahrir defteri, no. 370, p. 546. (C. Orhonlu)

ĶĀSIM PASHA, Güzeldje, Ottoman vizier in the reign of Süleymān the Magnificent, after whom a quarter of Istanbul is called. The facts given about his life in historical records are few and scanty. The earliest historical reference to him concerns his appointment to Ḥamā as *sandjaķ beg* following the victory of Mardj Dābiķ. During his term of office, Ķāsim Pasha suppressed the revolt of Ibn Ḥafsh, a rebel Arab amīr. Having been appointed *Anadolu beglerbegi* on Süleymān's succession to the throne, Ķāsim Pasha took part in the expedition against Rhodes (928/1522), and was made governor of Egypt in 930/1524. As he was unsuccessful in this office he was dismissed, but before long he was appointed *kapudan-ī deryā* (commander of the navy), and then governor of Istanbul (*muḥāfiẓ*) during the Hungarian expedition in 932/1526. He was later appointed *Rumeli beglerbegi*, and the third vizier in 935/1529. As such, he took part in the siege of Vienna in the same year, and the ʿIrāķ expedition in 941/1535. His prestige, however, did not remain high for long; for unknown reasons, he was dismissed from office as third vizier and was appointed *sandjaķ beg* of the Morea, a position of lesser rank, before 944/1537. Ķāsim Pasha remained in this office until 948/1541, when he retired, but he was not allowed to return to Istanbul, indicating that he was still held in disfavour by the sultan. Contemporary historians do not give his year of death, but he probably died after 959/1552. Although more recent writers claim that he is buried in Gelibolu (Gallipoli), his grave has not been located.

Among his contemporaries, Ķāsim Pasha was no more than second-rate. He rose rapidly in office, but his fall was equally abrupt. However, he was interested in both building and charitable concerns. He started reconstructing the quarter of Istanbul named after him during his term as third vizier, and had the architect Sinān build a mosque a *madrasa*, an *ʿimāret* and a bath-house. He is also known to have built a mosque at Boz Burun. He had a daughter called Nafīsa Khānum, who built a *masdjid* and a school in the quarter named after her father.

Bibliography: given in İA s.v. (F. Sümer)

ĶĀSIMIYYA, a neo-Mamlūk household and faction in Ottoman Egypt in the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries. The eponym, Ķāsim Bey the Defterdār, is an obscure figure, who apparently flourished in the early 11th/17th century, although an origin-legend given by al-Djabartī places him in the reign of Sultan Selīm I. The household, in which there appears to have been originally a Bosniak element, emerged as an effective force in politics about the middle of the 11th/17th century, its power

resting on accumulated wealth and an alliance with the older indigenous faction of Ḥarām, just as its opponents, the Dhu 'l-Faḳāriyya [*q.v.*], allied with the rival faction of Saʿd. Hostility between the two groups manifested itself in 1057/1647, when the Ottoman viceroy combined with the two leaders of the Ḳāsimiyya, Ḳānṣawh Bey and Māmāy Bey, to overthrow the powerful ***amīr al-ḥadjdj*** Riḍwān Bey al-Faḳārī. A countercoup by the Dhu 'l-Faḳāriyya was, however, successful, and in the resulting proscription of the Ḳāsimiyya, Ḳānṣawh and Māmāy were put to death. After Riḍwān's death in 1066/1656, the fortunes of the Ḳāsimiyya gradually revived under their leader, Aḥmad Bey the Bosniak. In a revolt of the Dhu 'l-Faḳāriyya in 1071/1660, Aḥmad Bey gave strong support to the viceroy Gürdjü Muṣṭafā Pasha, and was personally responsible for the killing of three beys who had received a safeconduct. His own assassination was procured by the next viceroy (1072/1662). Thereafter until the early 12th/18th century, factional hostility between Ḳāsimiyya and Dhu 'l-Faḳāriyya was unimportant. In 1123/1711 a clash between rival corps of the Ottoman garrison in Cairo, the Janissaries and ʿAzabs (*ʿAzebān*), involved the Mamlūk factions, the Ḳāsimiyya supporting the ʿAzabs. By their victory in this insurrection they re-established their ascendancy in Egypt, but at the same time reopened the fatal vendetta with the Dhu 'l-Faḳāriyya. Ismāʿīl Bey b. Īwāẓ Bey, the head of the Ḳāsimiyya, as the holder of supremacy (*al-riʾāsa*) was entitled "commander of Cairo" (*amīr Miṣr*), a term synonymous with the better known ***shaykh al-balad***. Conflicts between the adherents of Ismāʿīl, the Īwāẓiyya, and a rival Ḳāsimi household, the Shanabiyya, resulted in the assassination of Ismāʿīl in 1136/1724, and gave the Dhu 'l-Faḳāriyya an opportunity to gain the supremacy. In 1142/1730 they finally broke the power of the Ḳāsimiyya. Surviving members of the faction took service under Shaykh Humām of Hawwāra [*q.v.*], who at this period dominated Upper Egypt, and they became assimilated to his tribesmen. The last Ḳāsimi notable, Ṣāliḥ Bey, played a part of some importance in the relations between Humām and ʿAlī Bey [*q.v.*], who procured his assassination in 1182/1768.

Bibliography: See the bibliography under DHU 'L-FAḲĀRIYYA, and add the following: Ibrāhīm b. Abī Bakr al-Ṣāliḥī al-Ḥanbalī, *Tarādjim al-ṣawāʿiḳ fī waḳʿat al-ṣanādjiḳ*, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, MS. arabe 1853, which gives a detailed account of the revolt of 1071/1660; P. M. Holt, *The beylicate in Ottoman Egypt during the seventeenth century*, in *BSOAS*, xxiv/2 (1961), 214-48; idem, *Al-Jabartī's introduction in the history of Ottoman Egypt*, in *BSOAS*, xxv/1 (1962), 38-51; idem, *The career of Küçük Muḥammad* (1676-94), in *BSOAS*, xxvi/2 (1963), 269-87; idem, *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent, 1516-1922*, London 1966, 80-95. (P. M. HOLT)

ḲĀSIMOV, the chief town of a district of the province of Ryazan (USSR), which was the capital of a khānate whose sovereigns bore in Russian the title of "tsar" or "tsarevitch" and whose existence is a historical curiosity.

The khānate of Ḳāsimov was founded between 856/1452 and 860/1456 by Ḳāsīm, the son of Khān Ulugh Muḥammad of Ḳāzān, who was driven from his *ulus* by his brother Maḥmūdek in 850/1446. Ḳāsīm escaped to Moscow and entered the service of Grand Prince Vasili II, who conceded to him the small town of Gorodets (or Gorodok Meshčerskiy), which later received the name of Ḳāsimov (in Tatar, Khān Karmān) in his honour.

It was a small principality—a feudal, Tatar vassal of Moscow, whose tsar nominated or confirmed the khāns; their position vis-à-vis Moscow was comparable to that of the khāns of the Crimea vis-à-vis their overlords, the Ottoman pādishāhs, but their autonomy was more limited. The internal affairs of the khānate were in fact administered by a Russian *voyvoda* named by the *Posol'skiy Prikaz*. The khāns received a salary from Moscow and collected the *yasaḳ* of the local population, composed mostly of Finns, Mordvins and Meshčerans and some Russian colonists; the Muslim Tatars formed only a minority. Ḳāsīm remained a Muslim, but served the grand prince of Moscow faithfully; this was the first time that a Čingizid had become his vassal. After this, and almost throughout its entire history, Ḳāsimov served as a place of refuge for the various Čingizid princes driven from their *ulus*. They were used by the Russians against their cousins and co-religionists of the Golden Horde and of Ḳāzān.

In 872-3/1468, after the death of Maḥmūdek in Ḳāzān, Ḳāsīm, at the head of a Muscovite army, tried to seize power in Ḳāzān, but failed. His son Dāniyār succeeded him in 873/1469 and reigned until 891/1486. He took part, on the side of the Muscovites, in the war against Aḥmad Khān of the Golden Horde. At his death, Ivan III offered the *ulus* of Ḳāsimov to Khān Nūr Dawlat Girāy, who had been chased from the Crimea in 883/1478. Nūr Dāwlat reigned at Ḳāsimov until his unexpected death between 903/1498 and 908/1503; like Ḳāsīm, he was a loyal subject of the grand prince of Moscow, whom he served devotedly. After his death, the throne of Ḳāsimov was occupied for some time by his sons, Satīlghan and Djanay. *Ca.* 918/1512, the Girāy were replaced by another Čingizid branch. The first ruler was Shaykh Awliyār (grandson of Khān Küčük Muḥammad, descended from Orda, brother of Batu and the first khān of the "White" (or "Blue") Horde and cousin of Khān Sayyid Aḥmad). In 922/1516, his young brother, Shāh ʿAlī (the "Shigaley" of Russian sources), succeeded him and remained intermittently the khān of Ḳāsimov until his death on 10 Shawwāl 974/21 April 1567.

The period between 927/1521 and 959/1552 is that of the struggle between Moscow and the Crimea for the possession of the *ulus* of Ḳāzān. In this conflict, Shāh ʿAlī played a very active role. Twice he was placed by the Russians on the throne of Ḳāzān—between 925/1519 and 927/1521, then again in 953/1546. While he was governing Ḳāzān, he was replaced at Ḳāsimov by his brother Djān ʿAlī—who also was khān of Ḳāzān between 938/1532 and 941/1535 (he died in a popular uprising).

Shāh ʿAlī, who died childless, had as a successor a distant cousin, Sāyin Bulāt, the great-grandson of Khān Aḥmad of the Golden Horde, who was converted to Orthodox Christianity in 981/1573, took the name of Simeon Bekbulatovič and reigned in Ḳāsimov until almost 991/1583. In 982/1574, Ivan the Terrible named him in his place "tsar and grand prince of all the Russias". The next two years, during which Russia was ruled by a Čingizid prince was a period unique in Russian history.

Simeon Bekbulatovič died in 1616; but between 981/1573 and 991/1583, he had been replaced in Ḳāsimov by Muṣṭafā ʿAlī, another Čingizid prince, who was also descended from Khān Aḥmad of the Golden Horde. During the period of troubles, the throne of Ḳāsimov was occupied by other Čingizids: at first by a member of the dynasty of the khāns of

Kirgiz Ḳazaḳ, Uraz Muḥammad, who took part in the civil war and was killed in 1610, and then, under the Romanovs, by the descendants of Kučum, the last khān of Siberia. His grandson Arslān is mentioned as "tsar" of Ḳāsimov in 1023/1614; the son of the latter, Sayyid Burhān, seems to have ascended the throne towards 1036/1627. This prince was baptized under the name of Vassili and ruled until his death, which occurred suddenly in 1678. He was the last sovereign of Ḳāsimov. For a few years after his death until 1092/1681, his mother, Fāṭima Sulṭān, who apparently remained a Muslim, was still mentioned as "princess" of Ḳāsimov. The town was then annexed administratively to the crown domains.

Bibliography: Velyaminov-Zernov, *Issledovaniya o Kasimovskikh tsaryakh i tsarevičakh*, St. Petersburg 1863-87, 4 vols.; N. I. Shishkin, *Istorya goroda Kasimova s drevneyshikh vremen*[2], Ryazan 1891; Zambaur, *Manuel*, 249; Reşid Rahmeti Arat, *Kasım Hanlığı*, in *IA*, vi, 380-6.

(A. Bennigsen)

ḲĀSIYŪN (Djabal), mountain which forms part of the Anti-Lebanon and rises to the north-west of Damascus [see dimashḳ]. Two tributaries of the Baradā [*q.v.*], the Nahr Thawra and the Nahr Yazīd, up until the middle of the 20th century used to irrigate the orchards of Nayrab, which rose in tiers on its southern flank.

This mountain has a sacred character because God is said to have spoken to it and also due to ancient traditions which relate to some grottoes opening in the midst of the slope. Three of them, Muṣallāt al-Khiḍr, Maghārat al-Djawʿ and Maghārat al-Dam, which marks the place where the blood of Ḥabīl was shed and where people used to come and pray for rain, today constitute a modern oratory known by the name of Ḳubbat al-ʿArbaʿīn in memory of forty prophets—seventy according to certain traditions—who died of hunger there; a legend speaks of Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyā having allegedly stayed there forty years with his mother. Slightly to the south-west of this oratory, is situated the Grotto of Adam, also called Kahf Djibrīl or al-Kahf, an oratory dedicated to the Aṣḥāb al-Kahf, the Seven Sleepers of Sūra XVIII. This grotto is a place of pilgrimage frequented in our own time.

There existed formerly on the slopes of Ḳāsiyūn two famous Christian monasteries, Dayr Murrān and Dayr Samʿān. In the 6th/12th century some refugees, who had come from Jerusalem after the capture of the Holy City by the Crusaders, founded the quarter of al-Ṣāliḥiyya; then mosques, *madrasas* and cemeteries multiplied there. At the beginning of the 7th/13th century, the Kurds established there the suburb of al-Akrād. After 1898, some Muslim refugees from Crete had the quarter of al-Muhādjirīn constructed in its western part. In our days, these suburbs, which have become integrated with the city, continue to develop, while a radio-television station functions at the summit of the mountain.

Bibliography: Rubaʿī, *K. Faḍāʾil al-Shām wa-Dimashḳ*, ed. S. D. Munadjdjid, in *MMIA* (1951), 56-8, 62-8; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashḳ*, i, Damascus 1954, 102-4, 112-3, tr. N. Elisséeff, *La description de Damas*, Damascus 1959, 63, 184-7, 198; Harawī, *K. al-Ziyārāt*, ed. J. Sourdel-Thomine, Damascus 1953, 11, tr. 26-7; Ibn Shaddād, *al-Aʿlāḳ al-khaṭīra* (Description of Damascus), ed. S. Dahan, Damascus 1956, index; Yāḳūt, s.v.; Ibn Ṭūlūn al-Ṣāliḥī, *Taʾrīkh al-Ṣāliḥiyya*, ed. A. Duhmān, 2 vols. Damascus, 1949-52, index; Ibn Kannān, *Murūdj al-sundusiyya*, ed. A. Duhmān, Damascus 1947, index; M. Kurd ʿAlī, *Ghūṭat Dimashḳ*, Damascus 1952, index; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, index; H. Sauvaire, *Description de Damas*, in *JA* (1894-6) (see general index of E. Ouéchek, Damascus 1954); R. Dussaud, *Topographie Historique de la Syrie*, B.A.H., iv, Paris 1927, 291-310; R. Thoumin, *Géographie Humaine de la Syrie Centrale*, Tours 1936, 54, 89, 174, 228, 240; L. Dubertret, *Aperçu de Géographie Physique sur le Liban, l'Antiliban et la Damascène*, in *Notes et Mémoires*, iv (1945-8), 199; H. Zayyāt, *Les couvents de Damas et de ses environs en Islam*, in *Mashriḳ* (1948-9), 403-11, 425-48; L. Massignon, *Le culte des VII Dormants d'Ephèse*, in *Opera Minora*, iii, Beirut 1963, 153-4.

(N. Elisséeff)

KASKAR, the name of a town in ʿIrāḳ. When al-Ḥadjdjādj [*q.v.*], the governor of ʿIrāḳ appointed by the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik had put down the rebellion there, he began in 83-6/702-5 to build a new town which was called Wāsiṭ ("centre") because it was midway between the two older Arab capitals of this province, al-Kūfa in the north and al-Baṣra in the south. For the site of the town he chose the vicinity of Kaskar, on the Tigris, which had played a not unimportant part in the Sāsānian period. The new Muslim town was built on the east bank of the Tigris, while Kaskar lay opposite it on the west side; a bridge of boats linked the two halves of the city. Neither Wāsiṭ nor Kaskar exist at the present day, and until modern times their exact situation was uncertain as the Tigris bed has changed its course, bypassing the sites and rendering them obsolete by the 8th/14th century. The exact relationship between Kaskar and Wāsiṭ is not clear. Recent excavations at Wāsiṭ indicate the administrative importance of the city as the centre of Umayyad rule (F. Safar, *The Sixth Season's Excavations*, Cairo 1945). The remarkable similarity of the administrative buildings to those of the Round City at Baghdad (O. Grabar, *Al-Mushatta, Baghdad, and Wasit*, in *The World of Islam, Studies in Honor of Phillip K. Hitti*, London 1959, 98-108) raises the question of whether Kaskar was originally intended to serve as the residential area for the general populace as distinct from Wāsiṭ, which would then have housed the administration and perhaps military garrison. A similar situation apparently prevailed at al-Raḳḳa-al-Rāfiḳa (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ii, 734). In the course of time, Kaskar was subsumed by the more famous site. For further information on wāsiṭ, see the article.

Kaskar probably dates back to the Assyrian period. A Babylonian town, Ka-as-ka-ri, appears to be mentioned in a fragment of an inscription probably of the time of Assur-banipal in the British Museum ([18] 82:3-23:128; see Bezold, *Catalogue*, 1824; cf. Streck, *Assurbanipal*, Leipzig 1916, pp. lxxxviii, 790). The place is perhaps also mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud (*Yōmā*, fol. 10a, where Bashkar should probably be amended to Kashkar; see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, New Series, iii/2, Berlin 1901, 164). In any case Kaskar, called Kashkar in Syriac and Christian Arabic sources, is one of the oldest Christian towns in Babylonia. It frequently appears in the ecclesiastical history of this region. The episcopal diocese of this name was considered second in importance within the Nestorian church. Its occupant was the right arm of the patriarch of Seleucia-Ctesiphon [see al-madāʾin] and his representative when the office was vacant.

Among the signatories to the acts of the Syriac councils from the period 410-790 were bishops of

Kas̲h̲kar (Guidi in *ZDMG*, xliii, 411, and Chabot in *Notices et extraits*, xxxvii (Paris 1902), 675). According to the Syriac "Chronicle of Arbela" there was a bishop in Kas̲h̲kar as early as the first half of the 3rd century A.D. The Christian Arabic "Chronicle of Seʿert" also mentions an occupant of the episcopal see there of the period before 410 A.D. On the bishopric of Kas̲h̲kar and for a list of its occupants, see J. Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire Perse sous la Dynastie Sassanide*, Paris 1904, passim (see the index s.v.); Sachau, *Die Chronik von Arbela* (= *Abh. Pr. Ak. Wiss.*, 1915, no. 6), 21; Sachau, *Zur Ausbreitung des Christentums in Asien* (= *Abh. Pr. Ak. Wiss.*, 1919, no. 1), 30-1.

The town of Kas̲h̲kar, like the bishopric which bore its name, was the home of many founders of monasteries, as may be seen from the work compiled in the 8th century by Yes̲h̲ūʿdenaḥ, entitled *Keṯābā de Nak̲h̲pūtā* (ed. Chabot in *Mélange d'archéol. et d'histoire de l'École Française de Rome*, xvi (Paris 1896), 225 f.); the Great Abraham (d. 588) was especially famous (see Yes̲h̲ūʿdenaḥ, no. 14; Labourt, *op. cit.*, 315; A. Baumstark, *Gesch. der syrisch. Litteratur*, Bonn 1922, 130). One of the most influential personalities at the court of the Sāsānian King K̲h̲usraw II Parwēz (590-628) was Ābā of Kas̲h̲kar; on him see Baumstark, *op. cit.*, 123. On other Syriac writers who belonged to Kas̲h̲kar (ʿAbdīs̲h̲ōʿ, Grig̲h̲ō, Eliyā) see Baumstark, *op. cit.*, 30, 128, 420. For the Syriac sources on Kas̲h̲kar, see also the indices in Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London 1870, and idem, *Cat. of the Syriac manuscripts in Cambridge*, Cambridge 1901, 1284, also in Sachau, *Katalog der syrisch. Handschr. in Berlin*, Berlin 1899, 923.

In the Arsacid period, there seems to have been a little kingdom of Kaskar, which was destroyed by the first Sāsānian, Ardas̲h̲īr I; cf. Nöldeke, *Gesch. der Arab. und Perser zur Zeit der Sāsāniden*, Leiden 1879, 13 n. 5. In the Sāsānian province of ʿIrāḳ, Kaskar is mentioned as one of the 72 administrative districts; see Streck, *op. cit.* (see *Bibl.*), 15, 18. It probably—as later under the Muslims—comprised roughly the district east of the Tigris, from the modern Kūt al-Amāra in the north to the region of the mouth of the Tigris. Sometimes it is mentioned as equivalent to the district of Maysān [*q.v.*]. On this, cf. Schaeder in *Isl.*, xiv (1924), 17 f. The bishopric of Kas̲h̲kar must have coincided pretty much with the Sāsānian district of the same name; cf. the map in Sachau, *Die Chronik von Arbela*, 16.

Kaskar is also given as the name of the capital of Daylam, which was usually called Dūlāb; cf. G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the East. Cal.*, 174; de Morgan, *Mission scientifique en Perse*, i, Paris 1894, 276.

Bibliography: *BGA*, *passim*; al-Balād̲h̲urī, *Futūḥ*, 582; Yāḳūt. *Muʿd̲j̲am* iv, 274; al-Ḳazwīnī, *Āt̲h̲ār al-Bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 299; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, GMS, xxiii/i, 162, 6; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, 39, 43, 80; idem in *JRAS* (1895), 44 ff.; M. Streck, *Babylonien nach den arab. Geograph.*, ii, Leiden 1902, 318 f., 321 f.; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, x, 191.

(M. Streck-[J. Lassner])

KASR, from the root KSR, with the sense in Arabic of "to break", as a mathematical term means "fraction". Ibn al-Bannāʾ [*q.v.*] in his *Talk̲h̲īṣ aʿmāl al-ḥisāb* gives the following definition: "A fraction is the relationship between two numbers when it is a part or several parts. The relationship between the part and the number which bears the same name is called a fraction". The part or the numerator is called *basṭ*; the number with which it is in relationship (*samī*) is called *imām* (*Talk̲h̲īṣ*, *Kas̲h̲f al-d̲j̲ilbāb*). Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī (9th/15th century) uses the terms *ṣūra* and *maḳām*, as do al-Kās̲h̲ī (ms. Tunis 2039, f. 7a) and the Revue de l'Académie du Caire, 1957; *mak̲h̲rad̲j̲* or *muk̲h̲rad̲j̲* is also found (the Ik̲h̲wān al-Ṣafāʾ), connecting the idea of the fraction to that of division (*k̲h̲ārid̲j̲*, the term being specialised to translate "quotient"). The idea of the part, by definition less than the whole, led the Arabic authors to consider the fraction as being, by its very essence, inferior to the idea of the unit; at the base of this is the concrete idea of dividing up a given amount. Ibn al-Bannāʾ is very explicit here: "The addition of fractions stops when one arrives at a fraction whose numerator is less by a unit to its denominator". Al-Ḳalaṣādī says in a precise fashion that "One does not say four fourths or five fifths" (*Kas̲h̲f al-astār*, ms. Tunis 3292, f. 39b).

For denoting fractions whose denominator lies between 3 and 10, the paradigm *fuʿl* or *fuʿul* is used; for "half" or "equal part", however, *niṣf* is used. This category of fractions is called *muntaḳ* "pronounceable" or *maftūḥ* "open", cf. al-Kās̲h̲ī, *Miftāḥ al-ḥisāb*, ms. Tunis 10301, ff. 73b-74a. The rest are called *aṣamm* "deaf"; they are expressed by using the expression *d̲j̲uzʾ min* ... ("a part of ...", "a part from amongst ...").

For the notation of fractions, it was al-Ḳalaṣādī who first used the symbols still in use today, sc. writing the numerator above the denominator and separating the two terms by a horizontal line (*Kas̲h̲f al-asrār*, f. 17b). Since this notation was new, al-Ḳalaṣādī seems to stress its explanation, using the expressions *ʿalā raʾsihi* ("placed above it") and *mā fawḳ al-k̲h̲aṭṭ* ("that which is above the line"); see the commentary on the *Talk̲h̲īṣ*, ms. Tunis 307R, f. 111b.

From the time of Ibn al-Bannāʾ onwards, the Arab mathematicians distinguish five kinds of fraction:

(1) simple or ordinary fractions (*mufrad*);

(2) fraction of relationship (*muntasib*), as in this example from al-Ḳalaṣādī

$\frac{3\cdot 1\cdot 4\cdot 5\cdot}{4\cdot 3\cdot 7\cdot 9\cdot}$ which is written in modern notation:

$$\cfrac{5+\cfrac{4+\cfrac{1+\frac{3}{4}}{3}}{7}}{9}=\frac{5\times7\times3\times4\quad 4\times3\times4\quad 1\times4\times3}{9\quad\times\quad7\quad\times3\quad\times\quad4}=\frac{480}{756}$$

(3) disjunct fractions (*muk̲h̲talif*), which do not have the same denominator

(4) subdivided fractions (*mubaʿʿaḍ*), or fractions of fractions, noted by al-Ḳalaṣādī

$\frac{6\ 4\ 1}{7\ 5\ 3}$ or $\frac{6}{7}\times\frac{4}{5}\times\frac{1}{3}=\frac{24}{105}$, the numbers making up the numerator and denominator being separated, but without using any dots

(5) excepted fractions (*mustat̲h̲nā*), separated by the substraction sign.

In geometry, the idea of the fraction is usually conveyed not by *kasr*, but by the terms *nisba* "relationship" or *tasmiya* "denomination". However, words derived from the root *K S R* are used to translate the concept of area: *kassara*, *taksīr* "area", *mukassar* "square of a unit of linear measure" (al-

K͟hwārazmī, *Kitāb al-D̲j̲abr wa 'l-muḳābala*, 55; *Murs̲h̲ida*, ms. Tunis 2042, f. 28b; *Rasāʾil Ik̲h̲wān al-Ṣafāʾ*, 60). This usage may be connected with the idea of the fraction; thus in effect, in order to calculate the area of a field, it is divided up into a certain number of squares equal to the unit of surface. It may be accordingly noted that the Arab authors made a distinction between the concept of area (number, arithmetical concept) and that of surface (geometrical concept).

In the work of al-Kās̲h̲ī (d. 840/1436), *al-Fawāʾid al-bahiyya fi 'l-ḳawāʾid al-ḥisābiyya*, known as the *Maḳālāt D̲j̲ams̲h̲īd* (mss. Tunis 169, 2039), we have the first text concerning the introduction of decimal fractions (*kusūr aʿs̲h̲āriyya*). Al-Kās̲h̲ī, writes W. Hartner, "anticipates by more than a century and a half the theory of these fractions, introduced into Europe, no doubt independently, by the Flemish scholar Simon Stevin in 1585".

Bibliography: In addition to the works cited above, see K̲h̲wārazmī, *K. al-D̲j̲abr wa 'l-muḳābala* Cairo 1939; Ibn al-Bannāʾ, *Talk̲h̲īṣ aʿmāl al-ḥisāb*, ed. M. Souissi, Tunis 1969; idem, *Rafʿ al-ḥid̲j̲āb ʿan ʿilm al-ḥisāb*, mss. Tunis 10301, 206a, 184a; Ibn Haydūr, *Risāla fī uṣūl ʿilm al-ḥisāb*, ms. Tunis 90R; Kās̲h̲ī, *Miftāḥ al-ḥisāb*, ms. Tunis 10301; idem, *Maḳālāt D̲j̲ams̲h̲īd*, mss. Tunis 169, 2039; Ḳalaṣādī, *Kas̲h̲f al-astār ʿan ḥurūf al-g̲h̲ubār*, ms. Paris 5350, mss. Tunis 3292, 3934, 4775; idem, Commentary on the *Talk̲h̲īṣ*, ms. Paris 2764; J. Ruska, *Zur ältesten arabischen Algebra*, Heidelberg 1917, 20, 54; M. Souissi, *La langue des mathématiques en arabe*, Tunis 1968, 303-7.

(M. SOUISSI)

ḲAṢR [see Suppl., *s.v.* BALĀṬ].

ḲAṢR FIRʿAWN [see WALĪLĪ].

ḲAṢR AL-ḤAYR AL-G̲H̲ARBĪ, Umayyad castle in the Syrian desert at 60 km. SSW of Palmyra (Tadmur [*q.v.*]) on the track connecting this oasis to Damascus via Ḳaryatayn and the one leading from Ḥimṣ [*q.v.*] to al-D̲j̲awf [*q.v.*] through the pass of Harbaḳa. The whole of the Umayyad ruins include a *ḥammām*, a *k̲h̲ān*, a large garden (*bustān*), a zone of cultivable lands irrigated by canalizations connected with a *birka* and with the Roman dam of Harbaḳa, and a residential palace which occupies an important place in the history of Umayyad architecture and environment in the Near East.

Before the organization of this *bādiya* [*q.v.*], sedentaries had already settled there in the Roman period. In the middle of the 6th century A.D. al-Ḥārit̲h̲, the G̲h̲assānid phylarch, ordered the construction of a Jacobite monastery, the dam was repaired and the site was occupied again. In 109/728, four years after his accession to the caliphate, His̲h̲ām b. ʿAbd al-Malik [*q.v.*] had a residential palace constructed by workmen from Ḥimṣ on this site, which could be al-Zaytūna (the olive-garden). He lived there before constructing Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-S̲h̲arḳī [*q.v.*] to the east of Tadmur. During the ʿAbbāsid period the site was abandoned, but it was reoccupied under the Ayyūbids and the Mamlūks.

The dam of Harbaḳa, constructed by the Romans in the 1st century A.D., brought about the development of a rich oasis. The Roman construction is situated at some 16 km. south of the site of the northern slopes of the D̲j̲abal al-Rawāḳ, at a distance of 1500 m. from the well of ʿAyn Barda. A lake 1550 m. long and 800 m. wide, fed by water flowing down from the mountains, was held back behind a massive rectilineal wall, closed in between two facings formed by large steps of huge stones running from the base to the top. This artificial reservoir is now filled up. Through three inlets the water flowed into a mainly subterranean canalization which brought it to a cultivated area where was found, at about 600 m. to the west of the palace, a *birka*, 60 m. long and 3.65 m. deep, surrounded by an embankment and fed by the canal. Further on the water arrived at the *bustān* to the east of which there was a dam that retained the water. The orchard measured about 45 hectares in area and was surrounded by a large enclosure of bricks, whose substructure consisted of limestone and which had semi-cylindrical buttresses, built alternately inside and outside the wall. The orchard, provided with an irrigation system consisting of water-distributors and sluices, had two entrances. The traces of the watchman's house can still be seen. Upstream, on a lateral drain, are the ruins of a water-mill. Close to the *birka* rise the vestiges of an almost square construction, about 55 m. long, none of its angles is a right angle. This is the *k̲h̲ān al-milḥ*, "whose walls had been of mud brick resting on a base of well cut stone." On the eastern side was a large gateway which has now been removed to the National Museum at Damascus. Its lintel carried an inscription dated Rad̲j̲ab 109/Oct.-Nov. 727. The entrance was framed by two wings which stood out 18 m. from the façade along the northern and southern walls. In the southern wing was a mosque, as can be concluded from a still-existing *miḥrāb* with small columns; the northern wing contains a drinking-trough. Inside there is a central court-yard 22.50 by 23 m., surrounded by a portico 2.50 m. deep. On the northern, western and southern sides are three rooms 48 m. long and 4.80 m. wide, possibly stables or cattle sheds. On the eastern side there are six rooms of various size and a vestibule.

Lying 30 m. north of the palace there was a bath of classical type, dating from the Roman-Byzantine period. It had four cool rooms, the southern one containing a *miḥrāb*, and a suit of three warm rooms constructed over hypocausts.

Externally the palace was of a square construction 70 m. long—the equivalent of 200 Roman feet—, with a wall of limestone of 2 m. surmounted by mud brick which rests upon a zone of burnt brick. This wall has a semi-circular buttress in the middle of each side, except the oriental one, where two half-towers flank the entrance-gate. The corners are protected by round towers, except at the north-western angle, where the enclosure incorporates a Byzantine tower, which on its southern side has a machicolation defending a gate. Later, this tower served as watch- and relay-tower for the fire-signals between Bayḍa and Ḳaryatayn. The rounded buttresses of the wall, unknown in Roman and Byzantine fortifications, are Sasanian elements.

Through a round-arched gate, 3 m. wide, provided with a semi-circular tympanum built in brickwork covered with cubes of glass and two jambs of 4 m. decorated with leafwork of vine-tendrils, one enters a large entrance passage 11 m. long, cradle-vaulted and provided with small benches on each side. It leads into a courtyard of 37 m. square, paved with a small basin in the centre. The portico has columns with Corinthian capitals, the bases of which consist of Doric capitals. At the angles of the portico, which is 4 m. deep, are square-sectioned piers.

The palace is a residence on two floors. The ground-floor consists of six independent sets of rooms (*bayts*), accessible through the portico. According to Creswell, their disposition originates from the palace of the Roman governor at Boṣrā [*q.v.*]. The plan of the

upper floor repeated that of the ground-floor, with which it is connected by two staircases. All around ran a gallery with small columns and balustrades. The residence, which had no windows on the outside, received light through the doors and through stucco grilles in the tympanums of the doors, none of which was found undamaged on the spot during the excavations. It has been possible to replace a great number of these window-grilles (*claustra*), made in stucco and then bored out with a trepan. They now give an idea of the richness and variety of the geometrical and floral motifs. Creswell has remarked that Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr is the first example of the use of stucco ornament in Muslim architecture.

It has been possible to reconstruct many elements of figurative art: human beings or animals in bas-relief in one of the divisions of the semi-towers of the entrance, and on the panels of the interior balustrade. There are even genuine sculptures, among which figures the statue of a man, almost life size, sitting on a throne, with a crown (*tādj*) on his head, knees wide apart and heels close together, generally identified as Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik. Human beings and animals are also represented in the large compositions which are painted in fresco on the floor of the two staircase rooms of the palace. One, 5 by 4.58 m., is divided horizontally into three parts. On the upper one two musicians are depicted, on the second one a hunting scene, representing "the caliph on horseback with bow and arrow and using stirrups, which is almost the oldest known record of their use" [see ARCHITECTURE, I, 613a]; on the lower part, badly preserved, one can distinguish animals and a human being leading a bovine. On the second painting, 5.24 by 4.43 m., there is in the centre a great medallion with a large bust of a woman on a background of foliage, with on upper side there are marine centaurs and on the lower animals, including a fox and two crested stilt-legged aquatic birds.

On the walls of the rooms on the ground floor there have been discovered simple geometrical motifs, in which the lozenge dominates, and imitations of marble facing, painted in fresco-colours and executed schematically. The central part of the eastern wing, the most decorated of the palace, has been reconstructed in the National Museum of Damascus.

Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr is particularly important, not only because it has the characteristics marking Umayyad castles, as defined by Henri Stern (*Note*, 81): "A rectangular fence with rounded, buttressed towers and *bayt*s within it and a mosque are the centre of an area of agricultural exploitation irrigated by means of a big dam", but the variety of its various architectural elements and the riches of its decorations make it a first-class piece of evidence for the study of art and civilization in the Umayyad period.

Bibliography: A. Poidebard, *La Trace de Rome dans le Désert de Syrie*, in *BAH*, xviii (1934), 187-9; D. Schlumberger, *Les fouilles de Qasr el-Heir el-Gharbi (1936-38), Rapport préliminaire*, in *Syria*, xx/3-4 (1939), 195-238, 324-73; id., *Deux fresques omeyyades*, in *Syria*, xxv (1946), 86-102; H. Stern, *Note sur l'architecture des châteaux omeyyades*, in *Ars Islamica*, xi-xii (1946), 72-97; S. Abd ul-Haqq, *Reconstruction of a wing of Ḳasr al-Hayr al-Gharbī in the Damascus Museum* (in Arabic), in *Annales Archéologiques de Syrie*, i (1951), 5-57; M. Dunand, *De l'Amanus au Sinaï, Sites et Monuments*, Beirut 1956, 142-5; H. G. Franz, *Die Stückfenster im Qasr al-Hair al-Gharbī*, in *Wissenschaftliche Annalen*, v (1956), 465-83; V. Strika, *Sull' interpretazione da ḥayr nel periodo ommiade*, in *AIUON* (1968), 139-49; K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, Oxford 1969, i/2, 506-21; A. F. al-ʿUsh, *Catalogue du Musée National de Damas*, Damascus 1969, 155-64; see also the article ARCHITECTURE.

(N. ELISSÉEFF)

ḲAṢR AL-ḤAYR AL-SHARḲĪ, important Umayyad agricultural settlement in the Syrian desert at the foot of the Djabal Bishrī, about 100 km. NE of Palmyra and 65 km. S of Ruṣāfa-Sergiopolis. It lies at the intersection of the road joining Mayyadīn on the Euphrates to Palmyra and Ḥimṣ with the one leading from Ḥalab to Rusāfa and permitting to reach Baghdād and Baṣra by crossing the pass of Tayyibe, situated at 14 kms. to the N–NE. The village of Tayyibe is usually identified with Oriza mentioned in the Annals of Assurbanipal (ʿUrḍ of the Middle Ages).

Many travellers who took that route between the 14th and the beginning of the 19th centuries, have been able to see the ruins of Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr. Later, towards 1840, the desert route to India was abandoned in favour of the "Overland Road" and the site was mentioned no more.

The ruins, visited by A. Musil in 1908, were rediscovered and studied on the surface by Albert Gabriel in 1925 and by K. A. C. Creswell in 1928 and 1930, before being excavated by Oleg Grabar in 1964, 1966 and 1969.

The whole of the settlement covers an area of over 6 × 3 km., surrounded by a wall 17 km. long. The southern part comprises a curious system of canalizations and openings which have been variously interpreted. At the northern angle, down stream from a large artificial *wadī*, are two square enclosures, reinforced by semi-circular towers, the small one being called *al-Ḳaṣr*, the big one *al-Madīna*. Their fronts are orientated perpendicularly to the cardinal points, whereas the eastern and western axes are not in even line with each other, there being a difference of 10 m. These are the oldest fortified Muslim enclosures that exist.

The small enclosure has a side-line of 70 m., the eastern front not being parallel to the western front, which is the only one to have a gate. The wall, 2.03 m. thick and *ca.* 14 m. high, is built with pieces of limestone, in courses 0.35 m. thick and strongly joined with gypsum. Each angle of the wall is reinforced by a round tower 4.43 m. in diameter and two semi-circular towers on each front; altogether 12 towers all covered with a small cupola of bricks. On the western front the disposition is different because of the monumental gate which is flanked by two semi-towers 4.15 m. in diameter, jutting out 2.95 m. The entrance, 3 m. wide, is surmounted by a round arch and a tympanum of masonry. The higher parts of the towers have a decoration of bricks and of stucco panels with vegetative motifs, representing the oldest decoration of this kind in Islam. In the centre above the entrance a parapet consisting of three consoles form the oldest Muslim example of a machicolation (*saḳḳāta*) being used as an element of defence and no longer as latrine.

To enter the inner side of the fence, one passes through a flagged vestibule 5.30 m. wide and 7 m. deep, flanked by two rooms facing a courtyard with sides of 37 m., and is surrounded by a portico 5 m. wide with arcades resting on columns 0.55 m. in diameter and a shaft of 3.70 m., surmounted by capitals of acanthus leaves. This portico gives access to many rooms with cradle vaulting, 12 m. deep but of different width. On the upper floor, under the gallery, are rooms with flat wooden ceilings whose

disposition corresponds to the plan of the ground floor. Nothing is known about the use of these rooms. The building was constructed at two periods: begun under Hishām [*q.v.*] and finished in the early ʿAbbāsid period. Fragments of ceramics indicate that it was occupied from the 5th-7th/11th-13th centuries.

The big enclosure with sides of 160 m. has a stone wall 2.12 m. wide which is in a very bad condition. On each front are towers with rounded corners 4 m. in diameter, and 6 semi-circular towers, altogether 28 towers, standing at a distance of 26.25 m. from axis to axis, except those which flank the entrance constructed in the middle of each front. To be noted are two sally-ports on the eastern front and some inside staircases which lead one to imagine that there was once a gallery facing the interior front of the wall. At the top of the towers, which are crowned with a cupola in bricks, is a room with three loop-holes permitting shooting to the front and sideways. The entrances are all identical: 3 m. wide, surmounted by a lightly broken arch, with a tympanum in masonry and a parapet with two openings. The parapet of the northern gate has five machicolations and covers the space between the two flanking towers. In the middle of the enclose extends a vast open space, the *Mīdān*.

At the southeastern corner survive the vestiges of eight big pillars, some of which support arcades. Creswell has discovered there a mosque, the plan of which shows close analogy with that of the Great Mosque in Damascus. This sanctuary is dated by an inscription of 110/728-9. The prayer-room, 22 m. deep and 37 m. wide, has a central nave with pillars in T-form while the remains of arcades mark off three aisles. The room faces a courtyard with a cistern fed by water from a canalization.

The arch at the southeastern corner of the court-yard is slightly broken and in shape a Norse arch: it is the oldest example of this type actually known.

According to O. Grabar there is, to the south-west of the mosque, an official building, the *dār al-imāra*, with a courtyard surrounded by a portico, rooms and a reception-hall, the back wall of which leans against the enclosure wall.

To the north of the mosque, in the extension of the western wall, a street 3.50 m. wide is bordered, on its eastern side, by installations with ovens and presses, that reveal the existence of soap-works. In the same area, a bath faced the *mīdān* and not towards the south-west; an enormous cistern should also be noted there.

The vestiges of the northwestern part of the en-closure suggest that it may have been destroyed during the Ķarmaṭī expeditions of the beginning of the 4th/10th century.

In the space of 42 m. which separates the two en-closures there rises a square tower with sides of 2.94 m. and 10 m. high. An entrance on the south side gives access to a spiral staircase. The analysis of the construction permits us to date it to the same period as the enclosures, with a post-Umayyad re-construction. Why does the tower stand isolated? There is no minaret attached to the mosque, hence possibly it served as minaret for both enclosures. If so, it would be the third known minaret in the history of Islam.

To the south of the *Ķaṣr* and the *Madīna*, a vast polygonal enclosure 17 km. long covers an area of 850 hectares. One can distinguish a wall to retain water, alternately reinforced on both sides with four rows of stone 0.30 m. high, above which there are rows of mud bricks at a height of about 2 m. and a row of stone to protect it. There is also a wall for lock-gates, the buttresses of which have a diameter of 2 m. and are at 10 m. distance from each other; they frame a series of four locks, 1.11 m. wide and 1.55 m. high, with double vaults of bricks. The locks worked through a system of sliding-doors. The water arrived from the region of Tayyibe through two subterranean aqueducts. This enclosure poses prob-lems of interpretation: accordingly some have considered it a lake to store water for irrigation, others that it was a reserve for animals. H. Seyrig considered it to be a large garden protected against Bedouin razzias.

To epitomise the history of the site: it may be recalled that an installation, dating from the 7th century B.C., is mentioned in the contemporary texts; the Roman occupation in the Palmyran period was followed by a Christian period, the Umayyad con-structions and finally building activities at the be-ginning of the ʿAbbāsid period. Destroyed by the Ķarmaṭīs in 289/1002, the complex became part of the *iķṭāʿ* [*q.v.*] of Shīrkūh and his successors, the *amīrs* of Ḥimṣ; it was devastated by the Mongols in Radjab 702/March 1303. It was certainly reoccupied before being ruined in 1048/1638 by order of Murād IV, in order to prevent the creation of a Bedouin centre of rebellion. From the end of the 19th century onwards, the ruins have been giving shelter to nomad encampments.

The site of Ķaṣr al-Ḥayr poses identification problems: most of the authors identify Tayyibe with Oriza-ʿUrḍ while Ķaṣr al-Ḥayr, according to Ptolemy, followed by A. Musil, is identified with Adada, an ancient Roman camp. In 1939 J. Sauvaget positively identified the ruins with Ruṣāfat Hishām, built on the site of al-Zaytūna; later he abandoned this hypothesis which had already been weakened by the excavations of K. Otto-Dorn at Ruṣāfa-Sergio-polis in 1952. O. Grabar proposes to identify the site with ʿUrḍ and to consider the vestiges of the "castle" as being those of a caravanserai, which in that case would be the oldest *khān* [*q.v.*] of Muslim architecture.

Bibliography: A. Gabriel, *Kasr el-Heir*, in Syria viii (1927), 302-29; R. Dussaud, *Topographie Historique de la Syrie*, Paris 1927, 247 f.; A. Musil, *Palmyrena. A Topographical Itinerary*, New York 1928, 72-9; H. Seyrig, *Les jardins de Kasr el-Heir*, in *Syria*, xii (1931), 316-8; id., *Retour aux jardins de Kasr el-Heir*, *ibid.*, xv (1934), 24-32; A. Gabriel, *A propos de Kasr el-Heir*, in *Syria*, xiii (1932), 317-20; K. A. C. Creswell, *Another word on Qasr al-Hair*, in *Syria*, xviii (1937), 232-3; J. Sauvaget, *Remarques sur les Monuments omeyyades*, in *JA*, ccxxxi (1939), 1-13; id., *Notes de topographie omeyyade*, in *Syria*, xxiv (1944), 96-112; M. Du-nand, *De l'Amanus au Sinai, Sites et Monuments*, Beirut 1953, 145-6; O. Grabar, *Qasr al-Hayr, Preliminary Report*, in *Ann. Arch. Syrie*, xv (1965), 107-20; xvi (1966), 29-46; id., *Preliminary Report on the Third season of excavations at Qasr al-Hayr* (*1969*), in *Ann. Arch. Syrie*, xx (1970), 45-54; K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*², Oxford 1969, i/2, 522-44. (N. ELISSÉEFF)

ĶAṢR IBN HUBAYRA, town in ʿIrāķ. Situated half way between al-Kūfa and Baghdād, the town was founded by Yazīd b. ʿUmar b. Hubayra, the last Umayyad governor of ʿIrāķ (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 287; Muķaddasī, 53, 115, 121, 130; Iṣṭakhrī, 85; see also Ibn Ḥawkal, 166, ed. Kramers, 243; Yāķūt, *Muʿdjam*, iv, 946 (confused with Madīnat b. Hubayra: Reite-meyer, *Die Städtegründungen der Araber im Islam*, Leipzig 1912, 49). The site should not be confused

with Madīnat b. Hubayra, which was situated closer to al-Kūfa, where the same Yazīd began building until forced to abandon the site by order of the Umayyad caliph Marwān II (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 287; Ṭabarī, iii, 80, 183; Yāḳūt 1, 680; 3, 280; 4, 123, 946; see also Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 6 n. 1; *Lands*, 71). Yāḳūt reports that the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Saffāḥ established his capital at Ḳaṣr b. Hubayra, completing the construction begun by Yazīd, and named it al-Hāshimiyya, but as the populace persisted in calling the town by its original name, he felt compelled to abandon the site for a location nearby. This account apparently confuses the report of Balādhurī which indicates that al-Saffāḥ settled at Madīnat b. Hubayrah (Yāḳūt, iv, 546; Balādhurī, 287; see also AL-HĀSHIMIYYA, where Yāḳūt's account is given greater credence). The 4th-5th/10th-11th century geographers report that it was the largest town between Baghdād and al-Kūfa and was situated close to the Euphrates and the bifurcation of various water channels which brought wares to its many markets. With its decline some time before the 6th/12th century, al-Ḥilla became the major town of the area [see AL-ḤILLA]. (J. LASSNER)

AL-ḲAṢR AL-KABĪR, Alcazarquivír, a town in Northern Morocco, about 50 miles south of Tangier on the right bank of the Wādī Lukkus; at one time, this ran through it, but the course of the stream was diverted to prevent inundations. Lying in a vast plain commanded on the east by heights, it is divided into two parts, al-Sharīʿa in the north and Bāb al-Wād on the south, between which lies the market-place. The only buildings of any importance are the great mosque which is pre-Almohad, the mosque of Sīdī al-Azmīrī and the Djāmiʿ al-Sayda, finished in 1100/1689. Within and around the town are many *ḳubba*s dedicated to local saints. The most venerated marabouts are Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ḳurshī (Ḳurashī), a native of Spain who came towards the end of his life to teach in al-Ḳaṣr, where he died in 568 or 573/1172-73 or 1177-78; Sīdī Ben Aḥmed, Sīdī ʿAlī b. Khlef b. Ghālib, usually called Mūlāy ʿAlī Bū Ghālem and regarded as the patron saint of the town; and lastly Sīdī Bel-ʿAbbās, who is really a Jewish rabbi, Yūda Yabalay.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the population was about 9,000, belonging for the most part to the Khlot, Ṭlīḳ and Djbala. It also included Rīfans, a few families originally from Tetwān and Fās as well as Algerians who left Tlemcen and Oran as a result of the French occupation. The Jews numbered 2,000. Industry, at one time flourishing, is limited to the manufacture of cloths for local needs. Agriculture, on the other hand, is prosperous in the country around as a result of the system of co-operation between townsmen and tribesmen. Al-Ḳaṣr is thus a busy market for corn, barley, beans and flax.

History. The site of al-Ḳaṣr perhaps corresponds to that of a Roman town (Oppidum novum?) which had already disappeared by the time of the first Muslim invasions. In the 2nd/8th century a fortress was built in these regions by the Danhādja, a branch of the Kutāma. According to al-Ziyānī, it was built in 102/720-721 by the Amīr ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Kutamī, whence the name Ḳaṣr ʿAbd al-Karīm (al-Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. Dozy and de Goeje, text 78; tr. 89; *Kitāb al-Istibṣār*, ed. von Kremer, Vienna 1852, 78; tr. Fagnan, Constantine 1900, 140; also Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, i, 401; tr. ii, 323) or Ḳaṣr Kutāma, which the town kept for several centuries. Al-Bakrī, however, makes a distinction between Sūḳ Kutāma "a large and magnificent town situated on the river Lukkus with a *djāmiʿ* and a very busy market" and Ḳaṣr Danhādja "a castle built on a hill and commanding a large river". Ibn Khaldūn, on the other hand (*op. cit.*, text i, 188, tr. ii, 291), connects Ḳaṣr Kutāmī with the Danhādja (cf. also *Kitāb al-Istibṣār*). Sūḳ Kutāma was the capital of the state governed by Idrīs b. al-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm. Al-Muḳaddasī, 219, ed.-tr. Pellat, 7, mentions Sūḳ al-Kutāmī among the towns dependent on Fās (al-Sūs al-adnā). Although eclipsed by the rapid development of Fās, al-Ḳaṣr seems to have retained a certain amount of commercial importance. Al-Idrīsī mentions its very busy bazaars. But it was only under the Almohads that the town rose out of the semi-obscurity in which it was vegetating. Yaʿḳūb al-Manṣūr surrounded it with a fortified wall and made a hunting-ground and a hospital called Ḥārat al-Mudjārīn. This is perhaps why he was regarded by Leo Africanus and Marmol as the actual founder of al-Ḳaṣr. Under the Marīnid dynasty, the town was given a *madrasa* by Abū ʿInān which attracted many students and was still frequented in the 10th/16th century. Al-Ḳaṣr recognised the authority of the Marīnids from 620/1223-1224 onwards. In 687/1288-1289 the latter appointed as its governor the *Raʾīs* Abu 'l-Ḥasan b. Ashḳīlūla, whose descendants for long remained lords of the town. The memory of this local dynasty, whose members, in alliance with the Banu 'l-Aḥmar of Granada, distinguished themselves in the holy war, is still alive to-day.

The period following the disappearance of the Banū Ashḳīlūla was one of calamities. The Portuguese, established on the coast, threatened the town. The inhabitants did not dare to cultivate the soil more than six miles from the walls. In 1503 the governor of Açila, Don Juan de Menecez, attempted to take it but without success. In the century following, al-Ḳaṣr became the most advanced post of the "volunteers of faith" (*Mudjāhidīn*) who harassed the Christians settled on the coast. During the period of anarchy that preceded the establishment of the ʿAlawī dynasty, the town became the residence of the *Ḳāʾid* Ghīlān, who had gained possession of all Gharb. Driven from his capital by Mūlāy al-Rashīd in 1078/1668, Ghīlān was able to return to it on the death of this prince. He held out there till 1084/1673 when he was defeated and killed by Mūlāy Ismāʿīl. Al-Ḳaṣr fell again, this time finally, into the hands of the Sharīf, who dismantled its walls.

Bibliography: Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. de Slane, text 110, tr. 250; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, tr. Épaulard, 252-4; *Description of Africa*, Hakluyt Society, London 1896, 496; Marmol, *Africa*, ii; Mouliéras, *Le Maroc inconnu*, ii, 358 ff.; Ch. De Foucauld, *Reconnaissance au Maroc*, 14 sqq.; de Cuevas, *Estudio general sobre geografia del bajalato de Larache*, n.p. 1882; J. Costa, *El-Ksar el-Acabir*, Tangier 1887; G. Le Châtelier, *Notes sur les villes et tribus de Maroc en 1890*, Paris 1902; Budgett Meakin, *The Land of the Moors*, 333 ff.; Frances MacNab, *A Ride in Morocco*, London 1902, 83-110; Michaux-Bellaire and Salmon, *El-Qçar el-Kebir, Une ville de province au Maroc septentrional*, in *Arch. marocaines*, 1904; A. Peretié, *Le raïs el-Khadir Ghailan* in *ibid.*, 1911.

(G. YVER)

AL-ḲAṢR AL-ṢAGHĪR, a town in Morocco, now in ruins. It lay on the south bank of the Straits of Gibraltar, 14 miles W. of Ceuta, 23 miles

E. of Tangier, at the head of a bay sheltered by a spur of the Djebel Ghomāri at the mouth of a navigable river.

In ancient times this site was perhaps occupied by a Phoenician factory and then by a Roman town (Lissa or Exilissa of Ptolemy). A fortress was erected there quite early in the period of Muslim occupation, in 90/708-9, according to al-Ziyānī, in *Archives Marocaines*, vi, 494, on the territory of the Maṣmūda, whence the name of Ķaṣr Maṣmūda (cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, ed. de Slane, i, 280, 13, tr. ii, 134) which is given it by the author of the *Kitāb al-Istibṣār* and by al-Idrīsī. Al-Bakrī calls it al-Ķaṣr al-Awwal to distinguish it from al-Ķaṣr al-Kabīr [*q.v.*]. According to him, it was inhabited by the Banū Ṭarīf and surrounded by great plantations. Under the Almohads it took the place of Marsā Mūsā as the port of embarkation for Spain. Many authors call it therefore Ķaṣr al-Madjāz (*Geogr. d'Aboul-féda*, tr. Reinaud, II/i, 185; Ibn Khaldūn, *loc. cit.*), or Ķaṣr al-Djawā "Castle of the crossing" (Ibn Abī Zarʿ, *Rawḍ al-Kirṭās*, ed. Tornberg, 138, 143, 146). The Almohads erected important buildings in it and established naval dockyards there. But the prosperity of the town declined in proportion as the rulers of the Maghrib lost their hold on Spain. Deprived of the income which the transport of the armies had assured them, the inhabitants turned to piracy. Al-Ķaṣr therefore became one of the first towns that the Portuguese sought to capture. In 1458 King Alfonso V attacked it with a fleet of 80 ships and an army of 17,000 men; after repelling two assaults, the Muslims, overwhelmed by the Christian artillery, capitulated. They were, however, granted permission to retreat with their arms and baggage. Alfonso V entered the town on Oct. 19, 1458. The great mosque was turned into a church, the fortifications were strengthened and a garrison installed under the command of Don E. de Minecez. Two attempts made by the Sulṭān of Fās in 1458 and 1459 to recapture the town did not succeed. In 1463 the tribes of Andjerra recognised the suzerainty of Portugal and in 1471 Sulṭān Mūlāy Saʿīd signed a treaty by which he ceded al-Ķaṣr to the king of Portugal.

Al-Ķaṣr remained in Christian hands till 1540 but during this period it was continually being attacked by the Moors. John III therefore decided to evacuate it after previously dismantling it. Some years later (1559) a French prince, Antoine de Bourbon, king of Navarre, obtained al-Ķaṣr in exchange for the men-at-arms that he was to supply to the Sharīf of Fās, but the intrigues of the king of Spain, Philip II, prevented the treaty from being carried out. Since that date no attempt has been made to rebuild the town. The inhabitants abandoned it and the harbour became silted up and no longer used except by smugglers. The site is marked by the ruins, still imposing, of the Portuguese fortress, by ditches, and by the remains of the wall and the ruins of the gate through which the citadel communicated with the town proper.

Bibliography: Bakrī, *Descr. de l'Afrique*, ed. de Slane, 104-105, tr. 243; Idrīsī, *Descr. de l'Afrique* etc., ed. Dozy and de Goeje, text 166, 167, 168; tr. 199, 200, 201; *Kitāb al-Istibṣār*, ed. von Kremer, Vienna 1852, 24; transl. Fagnan, Constantine 1900, 48; Ruy de Pina, *Chronica de Sennor Rey D. Alfonso V*, ch. lxxxviii; *Colleciao de livros ineditos de historia portugueza*, i, 454-467, Lisbon 1790; Pienot Deseilligny, *Traité d'Antoine de Bourbon avec le chérif de Fez*, Maroes 1891; Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, tr. Épaulard, 265; *Description of Africa*, Hakluyt Society, London 1896, 508, 514, 629; E. de La Primaudaye, *Villes maritimes du Maroc*, in *Revue africaine*, 1872; Michaux-Bellaire and Peretié, *El-Qçar eç-Çeghir*, in *RMM* (1916), 329 ff.

(G. YVER)

ĶAṢR-I SHĪRĪN, town in the south-western part of the district of Ardilān or Persian Kurdistān in 34°30′ N. lat. and 45°30′ E. long. (Greenwich) on the right bank of the Ḥulwānrūd. To the west and south-west of Ķaṣr-i Shīrīn lies the great range of Agh-Dagh; in the S.E. also on the left bank of the river run imposing mountain chains. Ķaṣr-i Shīrīn was an important caravan station from the earliest times. The most important route through it is the very old road from Baghdād to the Iranian highlands—the Ṭarīķ Khurāsān of the Arabs of the Middle Ages. Ķaṣr-i Shīrīn lies about half-way between the two stations of Khāniķīn [*q.v.*] in the south-west and Sar-i-pul (in mediaeval times Ḥulwān, south of Sar-i-pul) in the east. Less important roads also branch off here to the north, north-west, and south-east.

The modern Ķaṣr-i Shīrīn (1600 feet above sea-level) is an insignificant town surrounded by a wall of earth and stone. Outside the walls on the east is a commodious caravanserai; to the west is a fort in modern style which, according to Aubin (*op. cit.* in *Bibl.*), Djowān Mīr built at the beginning of the 19th century, using it to plunder passing pilgrims to Karbalāʾ and merchants. Opposite the town on the left bank of the river lies the Bāgh-i Shāh, "King's Gardens", a park laid out with date-palms and orange and pomegranate trees by Naṣr al-Dīn Shāh on the occasion of his pilgrimage to Karbalāʾ.

The most remarkable feature of Ķaṣr-i Shīrīn, which makes it one of the most interesting places in Persia to the historian or archaeologist, is the extensive system of ruins dating from the Sāsānian period in its vicinity. The name Ķaṣr-i Shīrīn, "Shīrīn's Palace", dates from the later period of the Sāsānian empire. Shīrīn, a Christian, was the favourite wife of Khusraw II Parwēz (560-628 A.D.), who called the great palace he built as a summer residence after her. Ķaṣr-i Shīrīn and the neighbourhood was the scene of the unhappy love-story of Shīrīn and the royal architect Farhād [see FARHĀD WA-SHĪRĪN]. A rock tomb south of Ķaṣr-i Shīrīn is popularly known as Ūtāķ-i Farhād, "Farhād's chamber"· see Sarre and Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, 10. The famous lute-player, Bārbud (on him see Vullers, *Lexicon Persico-Latinum*, i, 168, and Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 63), also spent some time at the imperial court at Ķaṣr-i Shīrīn.

The period of Ķaṣr-i Shīrīn's glory was only brief. Ten years after the death of Khusraw II the Sasanian empire collapsed before the Arabs, and in the Muslim period the palaces of Ķaṣr-i Shīrīn seem no longer to have been inhabited. They fell quickly into ruins. Yaʿķūbī, *Buldān*, 270, mentions the ruins as early as 278/891. Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 388, mentions that as a result of an earthquake in 345/956 the walls of Ķaṣr-i Shīrīn cracked. Such Arab and Persian authors as Ibn Rusta, Yāķūt, al-Ķazwīnī and Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī emphasize the great scale of Ķaṣr-i Shīrīn, with its halls, hermitages, treasure houses, etc. and the splendid gardens containing very rare animals, but give no detailed descriptions. Yāķūt and al-Ķazwīnī give especially the story of the origin of the palace, which the former (iv, 113) actually regarded as one of the wonders of the world.

We owe the most accurate description of the modern ruins to the French expedition of J. de Morgan. The main ruins lie on a broad plateau north-east of the modern town. Near the latter is the rectangular citadel flanked by six round towers (called Ḳalʿa or Ḳaṣr-i Khusraw, also Ḳalʿa-i Khusrawī) surrounded by a ditch. North of the Ḳalʿa are further mounds of ruins whose object is unknown. About 500 yards to the N.E. is the wall of a gigantic park, enclosing the summer-residence proper of the king, which measures, according to de Morgan, 300 acres. The wall round it, which also served as an aqueduct, reaches 20 feet at the highest part and is about 6,000 paces in extent. Another aqueduct-wall divides the park into two parts. The water for the irrigation of the gardens was brought from the Ḥulwān-Rūd; the aqueduct can still be traced in the Ḥulwān-Rūd valley until it is lost in the maze of ruins of Ḥawsh Kurī. In the centre of the whole scheme is the main palace, now called ʿAmārat-i Khusraw ("house of Khusraw") or Ḥādjdjī Ḳalʿasi ("pilgrim's palace"). In front of the palace still exists a 600-yard long stretch of the aqueduct flanked by two kiosks. West of the ʿAmārat-i Khusraw stands a smaller, similar vaulted building with four doors and a square principal chamber. It is now called *Čuār Kapu* or *Čār Darvāza* "Four Doors", or *Ḳalʿa-i Čuār Kapu*, "Palace of the four "Gates"." The purpose of this building is obscure.

About 3 miles E. of Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn is another late Sasanian ruined palace, popularly believed to have contained the stables belonging to the palace of Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn. These ruins, which consist of a palace 600 feet long with annexes and another mound of ruins, are the latest of all the palaces of Parwēz so far known.

Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn is, of course, a site of much greater antiquity, but it has not been ascertained what ancient city stood here.

Bibliography: *BGA*, *passim*, especially vii, 164 (Ibn Rusta); Yāḳūt, iv, 112 f.; al-Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-Bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 295-7; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 43 ff.; Le Strange, 63; Pietro della Valle, *Reise-Beschreibung*, Geneva 1674, ii, 4; Olivier, *Voyage dans l'empire Othoman, l'Égypte et la Perse*, v, Paris 1807, 8; Kinneir, *A geographical memoir of the Persian Empire*, London 1813, 305-6; Buckingham, *Travels in Assyria, Media and Persia*, London 1830, i, 64-78; Ker Porter, *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia*, London 1822, ii, 212-19; G. Keppel, *Personal narrative of travels in Babylonia, Assyria*, London 1827, i, 297 f., ii, 306 f.; C. J. Rich, *Narrative of a residence in Koordistan*, London 1836, ii, 263-72; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix, 438-88, 509; J. B. Fraser, *Travels in Koordistan, Mesopotamia* . . ., London 1840, ii, 175 ff.; J. de Morgan, *Mission scientifique en Perse*, ii, 81 f., 111; iv, 341-59 (with a general plan of the ruins on Pl. xl and plans of the three palaces of Ḳaṣr-i Shīrīn on Pl. xlii, xlvi, xlix and that of Ḥawsh Kurī on Pl. li, and also excellent pictures). Justi, in *Gr.I.Ph.*, ii, 540; E. Aubin, *La Perse d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1908, 351 f.; E. Herzfeld, in *Pet. Mitt.*, lii, 52-3; idem, in Sarre and Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, Berlin 1910, 131, 236-40; idem, *Die Aufnahme des sasanidisch. Denkmals von Paikuli* (= *Abh. Pr. Ak. W.*, 1914, no. 1,6-8; Mrs. Bishop, *Journey in Persia and Kurdistan*, London 1891, i, 79.

(M. STRECK-[J. LASSNER])

ḲAṢR YĀNĪ [see KAṢRYĀNNIH].

KASRA, the Arabic grammatical term denoting the vowel *i*: *kasra* designates the written sign itself, *kasr* the sound in question (Wright, *Ar. Gr.*[3], I, 8A). This distinction corresponds, for example, with the text of al-Dānī, *al-Muḥkam fī naḳṭ al-maṣāḥif*, Damascus 1379/1960, 42, ll. 4-7, and *Ḳitāb al-Naḳṭ* (Bibl. Isl., 3, 1932), 137, ll. 8-11, but *kasr* can also have another interpretation: the verb *kasara* (*i*) "to break", can be used to mean: "to provide [a *ḥarf*] with a *kasra*", the mouth being considered "broken" at the time of the pronunciation of the *kasra* (according to Abu 'l-Aswad al-Duʾalī, see below). *Kasr* can also be the infinitive (*maṣdar*) of the verb, as in genealogical works, for example, al-Suyūṭī, *Lubb al-lubāb*, Leiden 1840, 211, l. 11: *al-Ḳifṭī bi 'l-kasr wa-sukūn al-fāʾ*, "al-Ḳifṭī, with the *kasra* [under the *ḳāf*] and the *sukūn* of the *fāʾ*". The verbs *fataḥa* (*a*) "to open" and *ḍamma* (*u*) "to bring together the parts [of a thing]" have been similarly used, the first for the *fatḥa*, the second for the *ḍamma*, with the same remark for the *fatḥ* and *ḍamm* and likewise referring to the words of Abu 'l-Aswad (see below).

The first notation of the *kasra* and the two other *ḥarakāt*, *fatḥa* and *ḍamma*, was made by means of full points (al-Dānī, *Muḥkam*, 23, l. 11; 42, l. 12), in order to remedy the deficiencies of ḳurʾānic script and at first to indicate the *iʿrāb*, and its invention is invariably attributed to Abu 'l-Aswad al-Duʾalī (d. 69/688-9 [*q.v.*]): "When you see that I have opened (*fataḥtu*) my mouth with the *ḥarf*, mark a point above the *ḥarf*. If I bring together (*ḍamamtu*) [the lips of] my mouth, mark a point before the *ḥarf* [on the left, in the middle]. If I break (*kasartu*) [my mouth], put the point under the *ḥarf*. And if I make one or the other follow a nasal sound (*ghunna*) [nunation], place two points instead of one point" (al-Sīrāfī, *Akhbār al-naḥwiyyīn*, Bibl. Arabica, ix, Algiers 1936, 16, ll. 8-12). This legendary account at least shows some degree of observation of the physiology of the mouth during the pronunciation of the *ḥarakāt* and favours a purely Arabic origin for the technical terms applied to them [see ḤARAKA WA-SUKUN]. The Muslim references agree in crediting the readers of Baṣra, Naṣr b. ʿĀṣim and Yaḥyā b. Yaʿmur with the invention of the vowel points (see R. Blachère, *Introduction au Coran*[2], Paris 1959, 80-2, 89-90); this innovation was not imposed without long resistance (*ibid.*, 95-98), but at the time of al-Dānī (d. 444/1053) it was still in use (*ibid.*, 98).

Care must be taken in distinguishing the vowel points in the body of ḳurʾānic script. They are characterized by the use of red points; a green point is used for the *hamza* (the unvoiced glottal occlusive); and a yellow point for the *tashdīd* (gemination) (Abū Bakr b. Mudjāhid, cited by al-Dānī, *Muḥkam*, 23, ll. 9 ff.; see also, *ibid.*, 19-20, for other old practices in the use of colours). All these points constitute *al-shakl al-mudawwar*. But the diacritical points of the *ḥurūf* are *bi 'l-sawād* "in black" (*ibid.*, 22, l. 11; 43, l. 15), like ḳurʾānic script, and according to al-Dānī (43, l. 16) serve to establish a distinction between the diacritical marks and the *ḥarakāt*; see his chapter (35-41) on the diacritical marks. In matters of *iʿrāb*, the *kasra* was the sign of *djarr* (or *khafḍ*) [see IʿRĀB]. On the nature of the *kasra* and the other *ḥarakāt*, see ḤARAKA WA-SUKŪN. For the way in which the presence of the *kasra* is explained, in the second term of the *iḍāfa*, see IḌĀFA.

Some further points: (1). The points indicated concern *al-ḥarakāt al-mushbaʿāt*, the normal ones (literally "satisfied"). The latter are opposed to the *ḥarakāt*, not *mushbaʿāt*: sounds reduced by the *ikhtilās* or the *rawm* (see H. Fleisch, *Traité*, i, 36 f.,

49 g), or deviations through *ishmām*: *innamā huwa imālat al-kasra naḥwa l-ḍamma ḳalīlan* (al-Dānī, *K. al-nuḳaṭ*, 136, l. 13), "it is merely a weak inflexion of the *kasra* towards the *ḍamma*", *i.e.* an inclination of *i* to *ü* (see also H. Fleisch, *ibid.*, 1 36 g, 49 h). For the notation of these particular sounds, see the chapter of al-Dānī, *Muḥkam*, 44-8, more briefly: *K. al-Nuḳaṭ*, 136, l. 10 - 137, l. 3.

(2). In the first three chapters of the *Muḥkam* (2-13), al-Dānī has collected the Muslim traditions on the first form of the Ḳur'ān, the inventions of vowel points, and the resistance to that innovation or the concessions to it.

(3). Why were points employed? *Al-īdjāz wa 'l-taḳlīl*, "concision and brevity" was sought (al-Dānī, *Muḥkam*, 43, l. 17). In fact, there was very likely an influence of the usage of non-Islamic communities (see R. Blachère, *loc. cit.*, 79). For the Syriac, "the vowel point or the diacritical point known from the 4th century has served as the vocalization in most manuscripts" (L. Costaz, *Grammaire syriaque*[2], Beirut 1964, § 11).

Bibliography: In the text. (H. Fleisch)

KASRAWĪ TABRĪZĪ, sayyid aḥmad, Iranian historian, linguist, jurist and ideologist. Born on 29 September 1890 and educated in Tabrīz, he entered the theological profession in 1910, but soon left it because of his liberal ideas and modernistic tendencies. In 1919, he entered the Ministry of Justice, which he left in 1929 to practise law, soon after returning a verdict against Riḍā Shāh's royal court in favour of a group of peasants. He also taught history in the University of Tehrān, which he left in 1934 on an issue involving academic freedom.

Kasrawī wrote several books on history and on language and linguistics. Among these are his history of the Iranian Constitutional Revolution, in which he had been a participant; a detailed study of the pre-Saldjūḳ dynasties of north-western Iran (*Shahriyārān-i gumnān*, 3 vols., Tehrān 1928-30), and a monograph on the Ādharī language. He also expounded his views on "reforming" the Persian language—in grammar as well as vocabulary.

In 1933, Kasrawī began a critical study of life and society, with particular emphasis on the Iranians, whom he found decadent, morally corrupt and unfit as citizens. They were, he believed, ignorant of the "truths of life", because of centuries of "evil teachings" (*bad-āmūzī*), whose harmful effects should be shown to them so that they could perceive the truths, thus finding salvation. He tried to accomplish this task in the periodicals *Paymān* (7 vols., 1933-42) and *Parčam* (1941-2), some sixty books, and frequent lectures. A book in four parts, *Wardjāwand bunyād*, was to sum up his views, but only three parts appeared (Tehrān 1943).

Kasrawī's strongest attack was on Shīʿism, which he considered the source of much evil, on the grounds that it teaches *taḳiyya* and *tabarru'* [*qq.v.*], the *imām*s' power of intercession, and belief in an ever-living hidden *imām*; that it places undue and destructive emphasis on past issues and events irrelevant to current life, *e.g.*, the succession to Muḥammad, and the martyrdom of Ḥusayn and others; and that it encourages harmful acts, such as pilgrimages to the graves of the *imāms* and others and the Muḥarram rituals. All this, he maintained, makes the Shīʿī unfit for a useful and constructive life. For similar reasons, he combated Bahā'ism, Ṣūfism, materialism (i.e. the doctrine of "the survival of the fittest" and its implications), and superstitions (fortune-telling, belief in good and bad omens, amulets, divination, etc.).

He also attacked much of Persian poetry, concentrating on Khayyām, Saʿdī, Rūmī, and particularly Ḥāfiẓ. This poetry, he asserted, is replete with doctrines such as fatalism, Ṣūfism and *kharābātīgarī* (as in Khayyām's ideas), with excessive praise of wine and shameless talk of homosexuality. It encourages beggary, flattery, cowardice, hypocrisy and the like.

As an act of confession, and to draw attention to their activities, Kasrawī and his supporters instituted a festival, on the first day of winter, to destroy harmful writings which they had owned before joining the group. Called *Djashn-i Kitāb-sūzān*, "festival of book-burning", this activity attracted considerable hostility.

In Kasrawī's view, there are two opposing forces or "essences" (*gawhar* or *sirisht*) within each individual. *Djān* is the source of egoism; from it emanate self-interest, greed, injustice, jealousy, etc. *Rawān* is the source of altruism; from it emanate self-sacrifice, justice, sympathy, honesty, truth-seeking, etc. Related to *rawān* is *khirad*, the faculty of distinguishing right from wrong, good from evil. *Djān* and *rawān* are constantly at war. The duty of religion, and of similar institutions, is the strengthening of *rawān*. Religion means "learning the truths" and living by the dictates of the *khirad*. It should help man to subdue his *djān*, and find happiness. Recent progress in science and technology should be matched by progress in the "way of life", especially religion. Islam has lost its effectiveness, cannot meet the challenges of modern times, and needs to be brought up-to-date.

Among Kasrawī's constructive teachings were those on government, economics, education, and the status of women. He advocated representative government and a modified capitalism. Each individual should partake of the pleasures of life, including its material rewards, in proportion to his merit and his labour. The individual's working capital should be limited, to prevent unfair competition, and to assure the priority of merit over money. Machines should be small enough, where possible, to be operated by individual owner-operators. Large enterprises should be owned only by partnerships. "Land should be owned by him who tills it, who keeps it cultivated". Failing this, he should sell it or hand it over to others. Few middlemen should intervene between the producer and the consumer. The government's functions should be limited chiefly to legislation, national security and defence, foreign relations, education, public health. It should not engage in agriculture, commerce, and, in general, industry.

Education means preparing for life, and the strengthening of *rawān*. Compulsory education should include literacy and basic science, in the elementary school, and the "truths of life", including civics. Vocational and professional education and work in advanced science should follow. "Evil teachings" should not be taught under any circumstances, unless they are clearly exposed as harmful.

Women should not enter certain professions, e.g., law, engineering and politics, but should vote. Bigamy should be permitted only when the first wife is barren. Those with contagious diseases should not marry. *Kābīn* ("marriage portion"), *shīrbahā* (bride price), and *djahīz* ("dowry") should be eliminated. Divorce should be available to women as well as to men, and on the same grounds.

Kasrawī denied that he claimed to be a prophet (*payghāmbar*). He termed his ideology *Pākdīnī* "purity-of-religion" (occasionally *Āzādigī*), and referred

to it as a *rāh*, "road, path", not a *dīn* "religion". "*Pākdīnī* is Islam's successor and its continuation", although he was rarely very explicit on the relationship between the two.

Kasrawī's writings created a widespread intellectual movement, particularly among the youth. He formed a fraternal organization, called the *Pākdīnān*, "the pure of religion", or the *Āzādigān*, preaching this doctrines with missionary zeal and in the teeth of intense antagonism. The numerical strength of his followers is not known.

Kasrawī's bold and outspoken views, particularly those on religion and literature, met with vehement and violent opposition: some of his books were banned; his supporters were often persecuted and socially ostracized; and, finally, charges of "slander of Islam" were brought against him. On 11 March 1946, at the last session of the preliminary hearings on those charges held in the Palace of Justice in Tehrān, he was assassinated by the Fidāʾiyyān-i Islām [*q.v.*], who had only wounded him in an earlier attempt in April 1945. His followers continue, however, to be active.

Bibliography: The only detailed account of Kasrawī's life is found in his own *Zindigānī-yi man* (Tehran 1945) and *Dah sāl dar ʿadliyya* (Tehran 1945), covering his life up to about 1929. A bibliography (neither complete nor always accurate) of his books is found in K͟hānbābā Mus͟hār, *Muʾallifīn-i kutub-i čāpī-yi fārsī wa ʿarabī az āghāz-i čāp tā kunūn*, i, Tehran 1961, cols. 437-46; and a partial bibliography of his articles on language and history is in Īrad̲j̲ Afs͟hār, *Index Iranicus*, i, Tehran 1961. A selection of his scholarly articles has been collected by Yaḥyā D̲h̲ukāʾ, in *Čihil maķāla-yi Kasrawī*, Tehrān 1956. (M. A. Jazayery)

ĶAṢRYĀNNIH, Arabic version of the mediaeval Sicilian place name *Castrum Ennae*, itself already deformed in local speech usage; the Arabised form itself gave rise to *Castrum Iohannis* and thence the Italian Castrogiovanni (modern Enna). Situated at the altitude of 2,950 ft./988 m. in the centre of Sicily, it is the highest town of the island. Amongst numerous versions of the name given in the Arabic sources, Ķaṣryānnih seems to be the most acceptable; it appears in Yāķūt's *Mus͟htarik*, with the exact pronounciation, including the geminated *nūn*, specified, although it does not appear in his *Muʿd̲j̲am*.

It was besieged from 214/829 onwards by the Arab-Berber army of Asad b. al-Furāt [*q.v.*], who had landed two years previously at Mazara, and this fortified rock became the symbol of Christian resistance in the island after the capitalution of Palermo in Rad̲j̲ab 216/August-September 831. For a period of thirty years, the town and citadel underwent various vicissitudes, and the fortunes of war went backwards and forwards until the Byzantine stronghold surrendered in Ramaḍān 243/January 859. The concluding military operations were prepared and led by al-ʿAbbās b. al-Faḍl, *amīr* of Sicily 236-46/851-61, who during the preceeding years had sapped the resistance of the defenders by continuous assaults. Nevertheless, according to the sources, it was a Christian captive who brought on the surrender through his showing the Muslims, in order to save his own skin, a secret way into the fortress. Certain Arabic chronicles say that al-ʿAbbās celebrated this victory by building a mosque in Castrogiovanni, and immediately afterwards, he went on to restore the citadel's fortifications.

The rule of the Kalbid *amīrs* came to an end *ca.* 431/1040, and in the general state of anarchy which followed and which continued to rack the island till the arrival of the Normans, Ķaṣryānnih, together with Girgenti and Castronuovo, formed part of the possessions of the *ķāʾid* Ibn al-Ḥawwās [*q.v.*]. Some months after the Normans landed in Sicily (Muḥarram 453/February 1061), Robert Guiscard laid siege to the fortress, whose garrison had meanwhile been reinforced by new troops sent by the Zīrids from Africa, but difficulties made him give up the attempt. The Count Roger made a fresh attempt, and after some temporary successes, he finally compelled it to capitulate. Western chroniclers place the capture of the stronghold, thanks to Altavilla, at dates which vary between the middle of 480/1087 and the opening months of 481/1088, whilst the Arabic chroniclers place it three years later. The local ruler Ibn Ḥammūd surrendered himself without resistance, and according to the Norman historian Malaterra, became a convert to Catholicism.

The Arabic sources all agree that Ķaṣryānnih constituted not only a stronghold which was powerfully fortified and difficult to dismantle, but was also an important town in a fertile and well-irrigated region, with commodious markets, a lively commercial activity, abundant provisions and an excellent urban organisation.

Bibliography: The Arabic sources with information on Ķaṣryānnih have virtually all been brought together by M. Amari in his *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*, Ar. text, Leipzig 1857, Ital. tr. Turin-Rome, i-ii, 1880-1; see also for other details Amari, *Storia dei musulmani di Sicilia*[2], Catania 1933-9, index, and see further U. Rizzitano, *L'Italia nel* Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-miʿṭār fī ḫabar al-aqṭār *di Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī*, Cairo 1958, also in *Bull. of the Fac. of Arts, Cairo University*, xviii/1 (May 1956), 170-1.
(U. Rizzitano)

ĶĀṢṢ (a.), pl. *ķuṣṣāṣ*, "popular story-teller or preacher, deliverer of sermons" whose activity considerably varied over the centuries, from preaching in the mosques with a form of ķur'ānic exegesis to downright charlatanism. This term does not appear in the Ķurʾān, although the verb *ķaṣṣa* is quite often used (see Flügel, *Concordantiae*) always, except in VI, 57, with the meaning "to recount, to relate, to report" a generally edifying narration [see ķiṣṣa] and frequently in the first person, when the narrator is God Himself. The *LA* (root *ķṣṣ*) reproduces *ḥadīt͟h*s in which appear the word *ķāṣṣ* (*al-ķāṣṣ yantaẓir al-maķt*) and the verb *ķaṣṣa*, in the absolute use, with the meaning "to tell, to recount stories" and also "to preach" (*ķaṣṣa ʿalā l-nās*); the Prophet is reported to have said "None but an *amīr*, a subordinate [of an *amīr*] or a proud man shall preach" (*lā yaķuṣṣu illā amīr aw maʾmūr aw muk͟htāl*), where we have translated *ķaṣṣa* by "to preach" because it probably concerns the *k͟huṭba* [*q.v.*]. It would be difficult to date precisely the intransitive use of the verb in the sense of "to perform the function of a popular story-teller or deliverer of sermons" which was to become current (e.g. al-D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iii, 24·5 and *Bayān*, i, 367-9) for it seems likely that the *ḥadīt͟h*s cited in the *Lisān* may be later and may date from the time when the men of religion and the mystics had reacted against the *ķuṣṣāṣ*.

Indeed, if it is reasonable to suppose that all pious Muslims early deemed it their duty to improve the religious sentiments of the uninformed majority, the function of the *ķāṣṣ* did not yet exist at the

time of the Prophet; according to al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 253-4, there was a distinction between the private *ḳāṣṣ* and the official one, instituted by Muʿāwiya who, after morning prayer, was supposed in particular to curse the enemies of Islam and all the infidels and, after the *khuṭba* on Fridays, to explain the Ḳurʾān; however, only in Egypt are there traces of the existence of this function, which was occupied firstly by the *ḳāḍī*, then little by little fell into disuse. From the 4th/10th century onwards this *ḳāṣṣ* was replaced by the *mudhakkir* and by the *wāʿiẓ* [*q.vv.*].

Otherwise the office was loosely defined. At its inception it was supposed to consist of commenting on the ḳurʾānic narratives concerning the fates of extinct peoples, the example of biblical characters and on the whole, the edifying features scattered among the *sūra*s, not without, in the case of certain "sermonisers", going as far as real exegesis. The tradition according to which Tamīm al-Dārī (d. 40/660) was allegedly the first to dedicate himself to this activity is subject to caution because Tamīm [*q.v.*] became a legendary figure. On the other hand, in his chapter on the *awāʾil* (*Maʿārif*, 557; copied by Ibn Rusta-Wiet, 225), Ibn Ḳutayba hesitates between ʿUbayd b. ʿUmayr al-Laythī (d. 68/687-8) and al-Aswad b. Sarīʿ al-Tamīmī (d. 36/656), whom al-Djaḥiẓ quotes chiefly in his exposition on the *ḳuṣṣāṣ* (*Bayān*, i, 367-9).

The first popular preachers were certainly admitted to the mosques to carry out their activity, particularly in ʿIrāḳ, since ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib is said to have expelled them from the one in Baṣra, nevertheless making an exception in favour of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (al-Makkī, *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb*, Cairo 1310, ii, 21, 25, 28; Ibn al-Ḥādjdj, *Madkhal*, Cairo 1348, ii, 13, 145); this last detail is, however, suspect, for al-Ḥasan was only fifteen years old when ʿAlī entered Baṣra, and it is probable that the later Ṣūfis who quote him as their authority, but do not, however, number him among the *ḳuṣṣāṣ* (whom they detested), wanted to claim in this privilege further evidence of his prestige and of the quality of his preaching. Wherever the truth may lie, it is conceivable that the ʿAlī's decision, if it was real, was inspired by the desire not to make in any way official ideas foreign to Islam. Even those *ḳuṣṣāṣ* motivated by the best intentions would mix in with their commentary the edifying narratives drawn from the Ḳurʾān, Judaeo-Christian legends and stories from the *Djāhiliyya* (cf. Ṭaha Ḥusayn, *Min ḥadīth al-shiʿr wa'l-nathr*, Cairo 1936, 48-9), before beginning to falsify the concepts of the first religious authorities and to appeal to the ideas of the Iranian tradition in order to make a greater impression on their hearers. Eventually prohibitions followed (see al-Makkī and Ibn al-Ḥādjdj, *op. cit.*), and there are more attestations of this in 279/892 and 281/894 (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2131, 2165) in a period, it is true, when the function of the *ḳāṣṣ* had changed in character.

The repetition of official measures would lead one to believe that they were ineffective; even if they were banished from the mosques, the "sermonisers" in fact enjoyed great success with the uneducated masses, and gathered round them a more attentive, more eager and often denser audience than that of the *fuḳahāʾ* and other scholars, who tended to adopt a disdainful attitude towards them, more especially as in any discussion they were sure of carrying the day, thanks to their easy flow of speech. There were, however, among them men of great learning and Ibn al-Djawzī, who is still nevertheless hostile towards them, very rightly stresses this (*Talbīs Iblīs*, Cairo, 1340, 131); the list which al-Djāḥiẓ provides (*Bayān*, i, 367-9; used by L. Massignon, *Essai*, 141 ff. and Ch. Pellat, *Milieu*, 108 ff.) is instructive in this respect. It includes, among others, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, his brother Saʿīd and his son Djaʿfar, Ibrāhīm al-Taymī, and in particular, Mūsā b. Sayyār al-Uswārī (see *Lisān al-Mīzān*, vi, 120, 136; al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, 37), who commented on the Ḳurʾān in Arabic and Persian, as well as another *ḳāṣṣ*, Abū ʿAlī al-Uswārī (d. after 200/815; see *Lisān al-Mīzān* iv, 372-3), who at the age of 36 did not manage to exhaust his flow of commentary and who, in addition, expressed himself in very correct language. These two people are described as Ḳadarīs [see ḲADARIYYA], as was another well known *ḳāṣṣ*, Ṣāliḥ al-Murrī (d. 172/788-9; cf. Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilya*, Cairo 1351-6/1932-7, vi, 165-77); the Raḳāshīs equally distinguished themselves by their talent in this field.

L. Massignon (*Essai*, 143-4) considers that the 2nd/8th century is "especially at Baṣra, the century of "sermonisers" who, without any official mandate, and before the ʿAbbāsid rules and regulations for the Friday sermons, delivered *ḥuṭbas* to arouse the fervour of the faithful. This spontaneous movement ... is the origin of the apologetic catechesis in Islam". Probably the activity of a great number of *ḳuṣṣāṣ* was quite disinterested to begin with, each *zāhid* or *nāsik* feeling an obligation to preach, even to the point where later mystical theology claimed several of them; but if some strove by their narrations to edify the faithful, and to arouse their religious zeal, others were not slow to be employed by the supporters of the various political and religious doctrines, which were emerging at that time.

From the year 65/685, in the course of the affair of the Tawwābūn [*q.v.*], there were in the crowd gathered to avenge the murder of Ḥusayn, three *ḳuṣṣāṣ*. Al-Ṭabarī (ii, 559) records their names and their speeches designed to sustain the zeal of the fighters; other examples have been collected by Goldziher (*Muh. St.*, ii, 162), who thought, however, (ii, 168-9) that these "sermonisers" had no partisan tendencies. Again in the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries, Shīʿīs and Ḥanbalīs did not overlook this useful means of reaching the masses (cf. G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl*, Damascus 1963, 323); it is true that the representatives of the two rival factions sometimes came together and shared the takings (*Muh. St.*, ii, 165-6). The names of three Ḳadarīs are cited above, and it seems legitimate to believe that from the 2nd/8th century the Muʿtazilīs themselves had used "sermonisers" to spread abroad their opinions. This partly explains that interest which al-Djāḥiẓ takes in them, who was, moreover, always ready to admire eloquence even in the common people.

It appears therefore that the prohibitions were also justified by the care which the authorities were taking to limit propaganda carried on by word of mouth by the opposition parties, knowing well that they were provoked in the first place by the complaints of religious figures anxious to put an end to these abuses. Indeed, to enliven their narratives, the *ḳuṣṣāṣ* did not hesitate to quote the apocryphal traditions (and it is probable that they contributed to the propagation of the *ḥadīths* put together from all sorts of different fragments), fabulous deeds and marvellous stories which the credulous masses took for gospel truth, thus placing

the authentic Islamic tradition in real jeopardy. Because of this conduct, they incurred the theoretical and practical condemnation of the religious authorities. Al-Ghazālī (*Iḥyā'*, xix/3) protests against the reprehensible doings of *ḳuṣṣāṣ* and the *wu''āẓ* [see WĀ'IẒ] who mixed heresies with their subject-matter; Ibn al-Djawzī (*Talbīs*, 131) and the mystics gave strong advice not to join their congregations because they lacked integrity. In Spain, where they were less numerous (al-Muḳaddasī, 236), for the Mālikīs would scarcely tolerate them, the word *ḳāṣṣ* had become synonymous with "storyteller", and the authors of works of *ḥisba* do not fail to express a desire that the activity of the *ḳuṣṣāṣ* should be limited. Ibn 'Abdūn (cf. Lévi-Provençal, *Séville musulmane*, Paris 1947, § 54) wished to forbid them, as fortune tellers were forbidden, to install themselves in the cemeteries, and they were also prohibited from telling stories in which the Prophet was mentioned. Ibn 'Abd al-Ra'ūf (cf. R. Arié in *Hespéris-Tamuda*, i/3 (1960), 362) calls the *ḳāṣṣ* a mere story-teller of the streets.

At this period, and already for a long time in the Orient, it was indeed difficult to distinguish a "sermoniser" from one of those narrators of whom al-Mas'ūdī speaks (*Murūdj*, v, 86; viii, 161 ff.); al-Djāḥiẓ himself (*Rasā'il*, ed. Sandūbī, 129) shows the poor and the *ḳuṣṣāṣ* begging at the doors of the mosque, whilst Ibn Ḥanbal is reported to have said, "the most mendacious of men are the *ḳuṣṣāṣ* and the beggars" (al-Makkī, *Ḳūt*, ii, 25; Ibn al-Ḥādjdj, *Madkhal*, ii, 146); The author of the *Kitāb al-Tādj* (40; tr. *Le livre de la Couronne*, 68) speaks of the "wiles of *ḳuṣṣāṣ* and men who go round with performing monkeys". So, after having been a popular exegete of the Ḳur'ān and a "sermoniser", the *ḳāṣṣ* became a sort of buffoon who mainly replaced edifying narrations by comical and often improper stories especially ridiculing biblical characters (see for example the story of the wolf that did not eat Joseph; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha* iv, 260). Some became veritable mountebanks, who contrived to "play to the gallery", provided that the collection afterwards produced a substantial reward. From the rivalry among these comedians sprang the *muwallad* proverb "a *ḳāṣṣ* loves not another *ḳāṣṣ*" (al-Maydānī, ii, 76). It is understandable therefore that the discredit thrown on an otherwise respectable function rebounded on the serious preachers of popular sermons, and they were replaced by more or less official preachers.

All things considered, passing from edifying narrations to profane stories was very easy, and the *rāwī* [*q.v.*] or the *meddāḥ* who narrates the episodes of *The Thousand and One Nights* or chivalric romances—not without playing the rôle of a political agent if the opportunity presents itself—is easily comparable to the later *ḳāṣṣ*, whereas the *mukaddī* [*q.v.*] who recounts his own adventures and foreshadows the Spanish *pícaro* is not far removed from him. [See also MAḲĀMA].

Bibliography: Largely given in the text. I. Goldziher (*Muh. Studien*, ii, 161-70; tr. L. Bercher, 198-208) has largely exploited the *K. al-Ḳuṣṣāṣ* of Ibn al-Djawzī, and the pages which he devoted to the "sermonisers" represent the most thorough study of this social group. See further, L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*; Ch. Pellat, *Milieu* (on the *ḳuṣṣāṣ* of Baṣra); A. Mez, *Renaissance*, index; M. S. Swartz, *Ibn al-Jawzī's Kitāb al-Quṣṣāṣ wa'l-Mudhakkirīn*, ed., Eng. tr. and introd., Beirut 1971; C. E Bosworth, *The mediaeval Islamic underworld*. i. *The Banū Sāsān in Arabic society and literature*, Leiden 1976, 24 et seqq,; see also Suyūṭī, *Taḥdhīr al-khawāṣṣ min akādhib al-ḳuṣṣāṣ*, éd. Muḥ. Ṣabbāgh, Beyrouth 1973. (CH. PELLAT)

KASSALA [see KASALA].

ḲASSĀM, the title given in Ottoman law to the trustee who divided an estate between the heirs of a deceased person. Ottoman law recognised two types of *ḳassām*, those under the *ḳāḍī'asker* [*q.v.*] and the others employed locally in each *ḳāḍī*'s [*q.v.*] court (*Ḳānūn-nāme*, Veliyüddin Efendi 1970, ff. 66 a-b). The earliest references to the post date from the 9th/15th century.

The *ḳassām* received a fee from the heirs called *resm-i ḳismet* in payment for the trusteeship of the estate. *Resm-i ḳismet* levied from a member of the military (*'askerī*, [*q.v.*]) class was entered in the *ḳāḍī'asker*s' accounts, so that in places where the military class was numerous, *ḳassām*s appointed by the *ḳāḍī'asker*s divided inheritances (*Ḳānūn-nāme-i Āl-i 'Othmān*, *TOEM* suppl., Istanbul 1329/1911, 40). These military *ḳassām*s recorded their transactions in separate registers, called *ḳassām* registers (*ḳassām defterleri*) (Ö. L. Barkan, *Edirne askerî kassamına ait tereke defterleri 1545-1659*, *Belgeler*, in *Türk Tarih Belgeleri Dergisi*, iii/5-6, Ankara 1966). The local *ḳassām*s, called *shehrī* or *beledī* and acting in the name of the *ḳāḍī*, kept registers recording the *resm-i ḳismet* levied from non-military townspeople and villagers. There was a separate *ḳassām* register for each *ḳāḍī*'s district. In the division of inheritance *ḳassām*s were obliged to respect the rights of orphans and the law forbade them to overvalue goods or to levy *resm-i ḳismet* where this was not the legal requirement (*Ḳānūn-nāme*, Veliyüddin Efendi 1970, f. 66b; cf. also the *Ḳānūn-nāme* of 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Abdī Pasha, *MTM*, iii, Istanbul 1331/1913, 541). The *ḳassām*'s register of 924/1518 from the court of Bursa shows the procedure in the division of inheritance. The belongings of a deceased person were first examined in the presence of the *ḳassām* and entered in the register. An expert then valued their worth which was recorded on each item, before the *ḳassām* assessed the proportion to which the husband, wife or others heirs were entitled. After the deduction from the total of the *ḳassām*'s fees and the deceased's funeral expenses, the remainder was handed over to the heirs (İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin ilmiye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1965, 124).

Occasionally, the government appointed inspectors to examine the proceedings of the military *ḳassām*s and to collect the *resm-i ḳismet* levied in the name of the *ḳāḍī'asker*s. *Ḳassām*s from the three wings of the cavalry (*süvārī*) divisions were despatched to Anatolia and Rumelia for this purpose. These mounted inspector-*ḳassām*s took delivery from the *ḳāḍī*'s treasury of the *resm-i ḳismet* that had been raised, and had the registers sealed by the *ḳāḍī* or deputy who transferred the money. The mounted *ḳassām*s had the authority to remove a local military *ḳassām* and appoint another in his place (İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *op. cit.*, 121 ff.).

The question of who had the right to the *resm-i ḳismet* led occasionally to disputes between the local and the *ḳāḍī'asker*s' *ḳassām*s. A major factor in these disputes was the tendency of the military *ḳassām*s to extend the military class in order to increase the revenue on the *ḳāḍī'asker*s' account for which they worked. To prevent this, the government intermittently issued decrees to define who belonged to the military class, but they were never able to stop

the practice altogether (Başbakanlık Archives, Istanbul, *Dīwān-i hümāyūn mühimme defteri*, vol. iv, 120; vol. lxx, 35). There was a *ḳassām* in the covered market in Istanbul and another in Galata, whose duty it was to deputise for the *ḳāḍī'asker* of Rumelia in settling disputes concerning the division of inheritances (Hezārfenn Ḥusayn, *Talkhīṣ al-bayān fī ḳawānīn-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, f. 140 a).

The functions of the *ḳassām*s began slowly to diminish in the 19th century. After the Tanẓīmāt [*q.v.*]the separate offices of the *ḳāḍī'askers*' and *ḳāḍīs*' *ḳassām*s were abolished, to be replaced by a single office in Istanbul called the Treasury *ḳassām*'s office (*bayt al-māl ḳassāmlighi*), which combined the functions of all the others (Luṭfī, *Ta'rīkh*, Istanbul, 1290/1873, vi, 30). The court concerned with inheritance, known as the *ḳismet-i belediye maḥkemesi*, was, at about the same time, united with the lower *bāb* court. Thereafter, the *bāb* courts supervised the division of inheritance among the heirs (*Dīwān-i hümāyūn mühimme defteri*, no. 261, serial nos. 36, 440).

In the years 1333-34/1915-16 there was a section called the general *ḳassām* (*ḳassām-i ʿumūmī*) in the Courts Department of the Office of the *Shaykh al-Islām* [*q.v.*]. At the head of the section was an official called the General *ḳassām* (*ḳassām-i ʿumūmī*) with two assistants as first and second advisory *ḳassām* (*ʿIlmiye teshkīlātī*, Istanbul 1334/1916, 155 ff.). With the abolition of the *sharīʿa* courts under the Turkish Republic, the civil section of the court of first instance (*asliye mahkemesi hukuk dairesi*) replaced the *ḳassām* court.

Bibliography: in addition to the works mentioned in the text: Başbakanlık Archives, Istanbul, *Dīvān-i hümāyūn mühimme defterleri*, no. 80, p. 160 serial no. 408, p. 335 serial no. 816; no. 131 p. 147; L. Fekete, *Türkische Schriften aus dem Archive des Palatins Nikolaus Esterhazy, 1606-1645*, Budapest 1932, 470; Halit Ongan, *Ankara'nın I numaralı şerʿiye sicil defteri*, Ankara 1958, index; Ömer Lutfi Barkan, Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi (eds.), *İstanbul vakıfları tahrir defteri, 953 (1546)*, Istanbul 1970 (for a list of the *ḳassām*s, see *Mahkeme kadı ve nâibleri indeksi*, 467-69); İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanli devletinde kapıkulu ocakları*, Ankara 1943, i, 318; H. A. R. Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic society and the west*, i/2, London 1957, 124, 125, 130 n; M. Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1946, ii, 209, 210; Aḥmed Wefīḳ Pasha, *Lehče-i ʿOthmānī*, Istanbul 1293/1876, 914. (CENGİZ ORHONLU)

AL-**ḲAṢṢĀR**, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. ḲĀSIM B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿALĪ AL-ANDALUSĪ, Moroccan scholar of Ḳaysī origin and born in Fās in 938/1531-2. He is said to have been called al-Ḳaṣṣār ("the fuller") because one of his ancestors had had a fuller as his tutor.

He became *Muftī* of Fās and preacher at the Ḳarawiyyīn mosque, and was very well versed in the sources of *ḥadīth* and the science of genealogy. He had numerous, outstanding pupils, including for instance Abu 'l-ʿAbbās al-Murābī, who wrote a book about him called the *Tuḥfat al-ikhwān*. Al-Ḳaṣṣār left behind several valuable collections of papers, and there are attributed to him hagiographical works on Idrīs I and Idrīs II, two *fahrasas* and a biography of Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Ṣiḳillī al-Ḥusaynī, called *al-Rawḍ al-zāhir fī nasab sayyidī Muḥammad Ṭāhir*.

He died whilst travelling from Fās to Marrākush in either Shaʿbān or Ramaḍān 1012/January-February 1604, and was buried near the mausoleum of Abu'l-ʿAbbās al-Sabtī in Marrākush, one of the seven saints of that city.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Shorfa*, 101 and n. 4, 244-5, 394; M. al-ʿArabī al-Fāsī, *Mir'āt al-maḥāsin*, 148; Ifrānī, *Nuzha*, ed. Houdas, 192, tr. 312; *Ṣafwa*, 16; Ḳādirī, *Nashr*, i, 62; idem, *al-Nashr al-kābir*, i, ff. 22b-25a; Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣa*, iv, 121; Kattānī, *Salwa*, ii, 62 and the references cited; Ibn al-Muwaḳḳit. *al-Saʿāda al-abadiyya*, i, 89; M. Ben Cheneb, *Idjāza*, § 19; ʿA. al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-fahāris*, ii, 317-19; ʿA. Ibn Sūda, *Dalīl*, i, 139, ii, 312, 401. (M. LAKHDAR)

ḲAṢṢĀRA, ABU 'L-ḤUSAYN ʿALĪ B. IDRĪS B. ʿALĪ AL-ḤIMYARĪ, jurist, poet and historian of Morocco, who was born and lived in Fās, where he put together a *Dīwān*, in one volume; a history called *Taḥḳīḳ al-akhbār ʿamman māta min ʿulamā' al-ḳarn al-thālith ʿashar*; and above all, three commentaries, the most important being the one on the *Sharḥ Bannānī ʿalā Sullam al-Akhḍarī*, the second on Ibn Hishām's *al-Muwaḍḍiḥ* and the third on the *Bahrām al-Ṣaghīr*. He died at Fās on 13 Radjab 1259/9 August 1843, and was buried in that city.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 369 and n. 4; Kattānī, *Salwa*, ii, 265; ʿA. Ibn Sūda, *Dalīl*, i, 255, ii, 390. (M. LAKHDAR)

AL-**ḲASṬALLĀNĪ**, ABŪ 'L-ʿABBĀS AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ABĪ BAKR AL-KHAṬĪB SHIHĀB AL-DĪN AL-SHĀFIʿĪ, an authority on tradition and theologian, born on 12 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 851/20 January 1448 in Cairo, where he spent his life as a preacher —apart from two stays of some duration in Mecca —and died on Friday, 7 Muḥarram 923/31 January 1517. He owed his literary fame mainly to his exhaustive commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī entitled *Irshād al-Sārī fī Sharḥ al-Bukhārī*, which exists in numerous manuscripts and printed copies; of these latter, the earliest may be that of Būlāḳ of 1267 and next the Lucknow edition of 1869 (others in Brockelmann, I, 165, S I, 262-3). The Cairo edition in 1325-6 gives the glosses of Yaḥyā al-Anṣārī and the Cairo edition of 1279 those of Ḥasan al-ʿIdwī (d. 1203/1887). In the field of *Ḥadīth* he wrote a *Muḳaddima* which was printed at Cairo (n.d.) with the commentary of ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Abyārī (d. 1305/1883). Great popularity is enjoyed in the Muslim world by his history of the Prophet entitled *al-Mawāhib al-laduniyya fī 'l-Minaḥ al-Muḥammadiyya*, which he completed on 15 Shaʿbān 899/21 May 1474 and which caused him to be accused of plagiarism by al-Suyūṭī. It exists in numerous manuscripts and has also been printed several times, *e.g.* Cairo 1281, several times commented on, *e.g.* by al-Zurḳānī (d. 1122/1710), printed in 8 vols., Bulāḳ 1278, 1291, and translated by ʿAbd al-Bāḳī into Turkish, printed Istanbul 1261; al-Nabhānī published a synopsis of it entitled *Al-Anwār al-Muḥammadiyya min al-Mawāhib al-Laduniyya*, Beirut 1310-12. Finally in the same field, he prepared a commentary on the *Kitāb al-Shamā'il* of al-Tirmidhī (Brockelmann, I, 170, S I, 268). Besides studying the science of tradition, he worked also at the readings of the Ḳur'ān. His principal work on the subject is entitled *Laṭā'if al-Ishārāt li-Funūn al-Ḳirā'āt*. He also wrote a biography of the teacher of Ḳur'ān reading, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Shāṭibī (Brockelmann, I, 520, S I, 725), and a commentary on the *Muḳaddima* of al-Djazarī on *Tadjwīd* (*op. cit.*, II, 259). Finally, he also wrote on mysticism and

personal piety; among his works in this sphere are his *Maḳāmāt al-ʿĀrifīn*, *Masālik al-Ḥunafā' ilā Mashāriʿ al-Ṣalāt ʿala 'l-Nabī al-muṣṭafā*, and his commentary on the *Burda* of al-Buṣīrī (Brockelmann, I, 310).

Bibliography: ʿAlī Bāshā Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-tawfīḳiyya*, Būlāk 1306, vi, 11; Wüstenfeld, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Araber*, no. 509; Brockelmann, II, 87-8, S II, 78-9.

(C. Brockelmann)

ḲASṬALLANĪ (kestelī, kestellī), muṣliḥ al-dīn muṣṭafā, Ottoman theologian and Ḥanafī jurist, d. 901/1495-6. He was a native of Kestel (Latin *Castellum*), a village near Bursa, where later in his career he built a mosque; from this village comes his *nisba* of Kestel(l)ī or, more grandiloquently, Ḳasṭallānī. He studied at Bursa under the famous scholar Khiḍr Beg, *mudarris* at the Sulṭān *madrasa* there, and after concluding his legal and theological studies became himself a teacher in Mudurnu, in the Urudj Pasha *madrasa* at Dimetoḳa (Demotica), and then in one of Meḥemmed II's newly-founded "eight *madrasas*" in Istanbul. Later he became *ḳāḍī* in Bursa, Edirne and (in 886/1481) in Istanbui. In this latter year he also became *Ḳāḍī-ʿAsker* [*q.v.*] of Rūmeli, the first man to hold this office after the division of this important post into two, Ḥādjdjī Ḥasanzāde Meḥmed Efendi becoming *Ḳāḍī-ʿAsker* in Anatolia. He was dismissed with a pension in 891/1486 during the reign of Bāyezīd II, and died in 901/1495-6 in the capital, being buried in the Eyyūb cemetery.

Ḳasṭallānī was the author of a number of highly-esteemed legal works in Arabic, including glosses to al-Taftazānī's commentary on the *ʿAḳā'id* of Nadjm al-Dīn al-Nasafī (cf. Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iv, 226, Brockelmann, I, 549); a work on seven difficult problems (*ashkāl*) in al-Djurdjānī's commentary on al-Īdjī's *K. al-Mawāḳif fī ʿilm al-kalām* (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, vi, 240); an epistle on the orientation of the *ḳibla*, *R. fī Djihat al-ḳibla* (*ibid.*, iii, 387); and a work called *Yaḳaẓa dhawī 'l-iʿtibār* (*ibid.*, vi, 511).

Bibliography: Tashköprüzāde, *Shaḳā'iḳ al-nuʿmāniyya*, Tkish. ed. by Medjdī, Istanbul 1269/1853, 161 ff.; Meḥmed Thüreyyā, *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iv, 491 f.; ʿĀshīḳpashazāde, *Ta'rīkh*, Istanbul 1332/1914, 224.

(F. Babinger)

ḲASṬAMŪNĪ, modern Turkish form kastamonu, a town (pop. 1970, 29,338) situated in the western Pontic zone of northern Turkey (41°22'N, 33°47'E), the provincial capital (*il merkezi*) and a busy market town for the surrounding region. The *il* (province) of Kastamonu—an area roughly equivalent to the ancient Paphlagonia—which is divided at present into fourteen administrative sub-divisions (*ilče*), is bounded by the Black Sea on the north, and by the *il*s of Zonguldak, Čankırı (Ḳanghrī), Čorum and Sinop, and had a population (1970) of 446,601.

The town of Kastamonu lies on both sides of a narrow valley (Kastamonu deresi or Kara-čomak deresi) which has been formed by a minor tributary of the upper Gökırmak. The centre of the town, situated on the left (west) bank, is dominated by the precipitous mass of the citadel. This, the "lofty stronghold of the Turkomans" of Ibn Saʿīd, is a congeries of Byzantine, Saldjūḳ, Čandarid and Ottoman work, lacking in inscriptions, ungarrisoned and deserted since the reign of Maḥmūd II, and finally almost destroyed by an earthquake in 1943.

The toponym of Kastamonu remains obscure in its origins. As Ramsay long ago pointed out, although Kastamonu was situated on "the most important Roman road in the north of Asia Minor" (sc. Nicomedia Iznikmid/İzmit)—Pompeiopolis (Tashköprü, near Kastamonu)—Amaseia (Amasya)), and was evidently an important city in later Byzantine times, it is never mentioned in Roman or early Byzantine documents. Consequently attempts to identify Kastamonu with, e.g. Germanicopolis (Ainsworth, Boré, and many later writers) or with Sora (Doublet, *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, 1889), or to supply specious derivations from even the Hittites (Gas-Tumanna > Kastamonu) (Yücel, ch. vii) or from its known association with the Comneni, must founder on the fact that no form earlier than the 11th century Byzantine usage of κασтάμων has yet been traced.

From this form (or, rather, as commonly in such direct transfers, from the accusative κασταμόνα—cf. P. Wittek, *BZ* (1935), 49-50) derive the various forms of Arabic and Turkish usage. Most commonly, from the Saldjūḳs down to and throughout the Ottoman period, the name is given as Ḳasṭamūnī. Cf. however, the variants Ḳashtamūnī (Idrīsī, cf. Miller, *Mappae Arabicae* i/2, sheet 4; iii/1, p. 4); Ḳasṭamūnīyā (al-Dimashḳī, *K. Nukhbat al-Dār*, ed. Mehren, 228); Ḳaṣṭamuniya (al-ʿUmarī, ed. Quatremère, 340; ed. Taeschner, 23, 39-40), and also the various western corruptions: civitas Constamnes (Albertus Aquensis); Castamea (Clavijo); Castamina, Castamena (Promontorio de Campis (c. 1475), ed. Babinger); Chastarmina, Casstimana (Benedetto Dei); Castemol (Menavino); for the 19th century: Castemboli, Castemouni (Boré, 1838); Costambone (Murray, *Handbook for Asia Minor* [c. 1870]).

The political history of Kastamonu during the four centuries which lie between its first seizure by the Turks in the aftermath of Manzikert (463/1071) and its second and final absorption into the Ottoman state, as a *sandjāḳ* in the *eyālet* of Anadolu (866/1461-2), is often confused, and the establishment of the exact sequence of political authority has not, despite efforts by Cl. Cahen and others, been satisfactorily achieved. Until the expansion of the Ottoman state in the first part of the 8th/14th century, and the consequent shift westwards of the frontier between *dār al-Islām* and *dār al-ḥarb*, the town and fortress of Kastamonu formed the centre of a vast province, which was dominated by the Turkomans of the *udj*, and formed a battleground for the conflicting and successive claims of Byzantine, Dānishmend and Saldjūḳ rulers, and of various more or less local autonomous dynasties, of which the Isfendiyār-oghullarī or Čandarids [*q.v.*] were the most significant.

As early as 1073-4 the Byzantine emperor Alexis Comnenus had great difficulty in escaping from some Turkomans in the vicinity of Kastamonu: according to a dubious tradition the city is said to have been conquered by a certain ʿOthmāndjīḳ Beg, one of the commanders of the Dānishmend Malik Aḥmad Ghāzī, shortly before the latter's death (Ḥusayn Hezārfenn, *Tanḳīḥ al-tawārīkh*, tr. A. D. Mordtmann, *ZDMG*, xxx (1876), 470)—a tradition which attributes to Kastamonu the former name of Aklanos. A slightly different version is given by Kātib Čelebī, *Djihān-numā*, 629. In 1101 the Lombards and Turks clashed near and at Kastamonu, but Dānishmend rule seems to have endured until the invasion of Paphlagonia by John Comnenus (?1126 or 1132), by the winter of which latter year Kastamonu was again in Muslim hands. By the latter

part of the 6th/12th century, Kastamonu had passed under the control of the Saldjūḳs of Rūm. Clearly Kastamonu belonged to the dynasty, who established there—possibly as early as 608/1211, and certainly by 625—the enigmatic figure of Ḥusām al-Dīn Čupan (Čoban) as their *beglerbegi*. The political role of the Turkomans during this period is a matter of conjecture; one possibility is a *de facto* division of authority between the provincial authorities of the Saldjūḳs, controlling the town itself, and the Turkoman amīrs, in virtual control of much of the hinterland of the province. At a lower level, it is clear that a Greek or Hellenized (and Christian) population continued to exist under Saldjūḳ rule; the province was also a source for Greek slaves, obtained in razzias on the *udj*, and destined for the Saldjūḳ army.

The history of Kastamonu during the period of Īlkhānid domination in eastern and central Anatolia is also not entirely clear. At first under the rule of one Yavtash, as *beglerbegi*, by c. 660/1262 the town was controlled by a creature of the Mongols, one Tādj al-Dīn Muʿtazz, to whom it was secured as an *iḳṭāʾ*. He died in 676/1277: his son Mudjīr al-Dīn Amīrshāh (d. 701/1302), succeeded to his offices. Also during this period, Kastamonu was held at times, and for short periods, by the son (Ḥusām al-Dīn Alp Yörük) and the alleged grandson (Muẓaffar al-Dīn Yavlaḳ Arslan) of Ḥusām al-Dīn Čuban. The grandson certainly founded the second oldest surviving Muslim monument in Kastamonu, the so-called Atabeg Djāmiʿi (672/1273), held political power before 679/1290, and died in the disturbances of 691/1292. Furthermore, before 671/1271 Kastamonu had been administered by a son of the *pervāne* Muʿīn al-Dīn, whose son Meḥmed Beg once more reconquered it in 1295-9.

Cahen has argued that there was no connexion between the descendants of Čupan and the family which, in the last years of the shadowy Saldjūḳ sultanate of Rūm, founded the most notable of Kastamonu's dynasties, the Isfendiyār oghullarl/Čandarids. By 715/1314 Čandar's son, Sulaymān Pasha, was already master of Kastamonu, apparently as a vassal of the Īlkhānid ruler Abū Saʿīd. Certainly Īlkhānid coins were struck there in 725/1325 (Lane-Poole, *Cat. B.M.*, vi (uncertain); Yaman i, 105) and apparently as late as 740/1339 (Zambaur, *Münzprägung*, 195). Around this time Kastamonu was visited by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (winter of 1331/2 or 133/4), who stayed there forty days and described it as one of the largest and finest cities [?of Rūm], where commodities were abundant and prices low. Ibn Saʿīd (*apud* al-Ḳalḳashāndī, *Ṣubḥ*, v, 342) described Kastamonu as a stone-built town of medium size, possessed of mosques, markets and baths, but without walls, and situated in a region of streams and abundant gardens—terms which have been applied, *grosso modo*, by most Muslim travellers and their western successors down to the 20th century.

Kastamonu was incorporated into the Ottoman state by Bāyezīd I in 794/1392; restored to its native dynasty by Tīmūr after Ankara, and once more conquered, this time by Meḥemmed II, in 866/1462. The supersession of the old dynasty was symbolised by the appointment of Djem Sulṭān as provincial governor of Kastamonu in Radjab 873/January 1469, a post which he held until the middle of Shaʿbān 879/late 1474. What seems to be the earliest (*ca.* 1469-74) notice of Kastamonu under restored Ottoman rule—the "Capitaneati dui di Castamina"—is given by the Genoese man of affairs Promontorio de Campis: "magna citta; . . . prouincia degna et utilissima", with revenues of 14,000 ducats and the obligation of sending 2550 men into the field.

The geographical position of Kastamonu in relation to the Ottoman military and courier road network—it lay to the north of the great road of the *orta ḳol* from Üsküdar to the east, which, linking Gerede, Tosya and ʿOthmāndjlḳ (Osmancık), left Kastamonu relatively isolated on the far side of the lofty Ilgaz (Olygassus) range—perhaps explains in part its relative obscurity under Ottoman rule and the paucity of travellers to it until the 19th century. Evliyā Čelebi's description of the town is lacking, and in the 12th/18th century Kastamonu seems to have been unvisited by any major traveller, although it is known that Aḥmed Pasha Bonneval was briefly exiled there in the middle of the century.

The first report by a western visitor is that of J. M. Kinneir, who passed through in 1814. He computed the town to possess 30 mosques with minarets, 25 *ḥammāms*, six *khāns* and a Greek church. The baazars were well-supplied, but the inhabitants were described as being frequently exposed to famine, particularly after a severe winter had impeded local agriculture. A more extensive description was given by the French traveller Eugène Boré (1838), who was the first to give an account of the *ḳalʿe*, "elévant hardiment dans les airs ses tours et ses remparts en lambeau", and who found the local administration in the hands of the new men of the Tanẓīmāt. More scrupulous in his observations, in the year following Boré, was W. F. Ainsworth, who laid down a plan of the fortress.

The population of Kastamonu, in later centuries at least, was preponderately Muslim. According to Ainsworth the Christian inhabitants were expelled *ca.* 1730 to a village on the Göklrmak, but were later permitted to return. Ainsworth speaks of 160 Greek and 20 Armenian households out of a total of 12,000 and a manifestly exaggerated population of 48,000; Kinneir, a quarter of a century earlier, had estimated 300 Greek and 40 Armenian families in a *population* of 12,000. At the end of the 19th century Cuinet, working on published Ottoman statistics, estimated the population to be 13,200 Muslims, 1,795 Greeks and 572 Armenians.

By the early 19th century Kastamonu, like much of Ottoman Asia, had fallen into economic decay. Kinneir regarded the commerce as "trifling", and noted the lack of manufactures; Boré, likewise, "L'appauvrissement et la gêne" of the inhabitants, and the great decline in trade, with only tanning being carried on actively. Ainsworth, however, one year later, speaks of "the crowded and bustling city" of Kastamonu, with a large trade in wool of a quality almost equal with that of Ankara; in copper wares, and in cotton cloth. The cotton was brought up from Adana and worked up in the town.

The economic and political collapse of Turkey after the First World War reduced the fortunes of Kastamonu to a low ebb. Not lying on a railway, it had not shared in the opening up of Anatolia at the end of the 19th century. More recently, however, the rapid expansion of road transport in Anatolia has brought a new prosperity to the Kastamonu, which now presents an appearance reminiscent of Ainsworth's description, in a setting still little changed from those days.

Bibliography: Apart from works cited in the text, Mehmed Behcet, *Kastamoni āthār-i*

ḳadīmesi, Istanbul 1341; T. M. Yaman, *Kastamonu tarihi*, i, Istanbul 1935; A. Gökoğlu, *Paphlagonia ... eski eserleri ve arkeolojisi*, i, Kastamonu 1952; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1894, iv, 462 ff.; J. M. Kinneir, *Journey through Asia Minor* ..., London 1819, 28 ff.; Eugène Boré, *Memoire d'un voyageur en Orient*, Paris 1840, 273-82; W. F. Ainsworth, *Travels and researches in Asia Minor*, 1842, i, 76 ff.

A map of the sandjāḳ of Kastamonu, and a panoramic photograph of the town as it appeared at the end of the 19th century, were tipped into some examples of the *Ḳasṭamūnī vilāyet sāl-nāmesi 1310* (Kastamonu, n.d.).

In the absence of any exhaustive published survey of the monuments of Kastamonu (cf. the three works in Turkish, at the head of this bibliography, and the summary description of the monuments included by B. Darkot in his art. Kastamonu in *İA*), reference must be made to unpublished sources. A modern survey, at a scale of 1:1000 (three sheets), and showing in detail all historical sites, is in the possession of the Kastamonu *Belediye* (municipal authority). Cf. also an unpublished *Rapor* of 20 Ocak 1975 on the (Muslim) antiquities of Kastamonu, drawn up for the Eski Eserler ve Müzeler section of the Turkish Ministry of Culture. An extensive photographic survey of the monuments was undertaken by Besim Çeçener, Güzel Sanatlar Enstitüsü, Fındkılı, Istanbul. Reference should also be made to a report by Doğan Kuban (*Kastamonunun tarihı yapısı ... ilgili rapor*, Istanbul, 1967, 21 8 pp., duplicated. All this material is in the custody of Bay Hüseyin Aydın, Fen işletleri müdürü, Belediye Sarayi, Kastamonu, who kindly allowed reference to be made to it.

Cf. further *RCEA* xii, 178, 188; xiii, 46; xvi, 43, 133, 183-4 (all taken from Behcet and Yaman); C. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, London, 1968 (consolidates recent research on the pre-Ottoman period); and, to supplement the bibliography s.v. Čandar, the articles by M. Yaşar Yüçel, *AÜDTCFD* xxiii/1-2 (1966) and *Belleten*, xxxiv (1970).

(C. J. Heywood)

ḲASṬĪLIYA. 1. A district, and originally, the *chef-lieu* of the *kūra* of Ilbīra in Muslim Spain, which should not be identified and confounded with Granada (Ilbīra). The Arab authors who describe Granada, Ilbīra and Ḳasṭīliya (*ḥāḍirat Ilbīra*) stress the fertility of its soil, comparing it to the Ghūṭa of Damascus and mentioning the existence of marble quarries; these descriptions all apply to the zone including Granada and its *vega*, bounded on the north by the Sierra Elvira. The exact identification of Ḳasṭīliya, the *ḥāḍirat Ilbīra* of Ibn Ḥayyān, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, and before them, probably of al-Rāzī, has been a subject of sharp contention since the 19th century (see Fray Angel Custodio Vega, in *España sagrada*, liii and liv: *De la Santa Iglesia Apostólica de Iliberri* (*Granada*), Madrid 1961, and especially the conclusions noted on pp. 63-4). We believe that Ḳasṭīliya was an ancient fortress which became the first residence of the *wālī* or *ʿāmil* of the *kūra* of Ilbīra and which remained there from the conquest till 400/1010, when it was destroyed by the Berbers, causing the displacement of the political centre of the *kūra* to Granada. Its site must therefore lie between Atarfe and Pinos Puente, in any spot or spur of land at the foot of the Sierra Elvira.

The Ḳasṭīliyas of Ifrīḳiya [see below, 2] and al-Andalus—not to be confused with Ḳashtāla, Ḳashtīla or Ḳashtīliya, the Castile of the Christians [see ḲASHTĀLA]—must be connected with Latin *castella* (pl. of *castellum*), since there existed strongholds in the Djarīd, a land of *ḳuṣūr*, just as in the *Municipium Florentinum Iliberritanum*, which became the diocese of Iliberri (Granada); the Iberian etymology put forward by Dozy in his *Recherches*[3], i, 335, looks improbable.

Bibliography: (in addition to the references in the article, and especially Fray Angel Custodio Vega's book and the bibliography there): Rāzī-Lévi-Provençal, *La "Description de l'Espagne"*, in *And.*, xviii (1953), 66-7; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Iḥāṭa*, ed. ʿInān, Cairo n.d., i, 99, 104; Yāḳūt, iv, 97, Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muḳtabis*, ed. M. M. Antuña (mentions p. 55 Ḳasṭila (*sic*), and p. 100 Ḳasṭīla, *ḥāḍirat Ilbīra*); F. J. Simonet, *Descripción del Reino de Granada*, Madrid 1861, 27-37; although Ḳasṭīliya is not expressly mentioned there, see also Ḥimyarī-Lévi Provençal, *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, text 24, tr. 30; art. GHARNĀṬA. For Ḳasṭīliya in both al-Andalus and in Tunisia, see now especially J. Oliver Asin, *En torno a los origines de Castilla: su toponimia en relación con los árabes y los beréberes*, in *And.*, xxxviii (1973), index. (J. Bosch-Vilá)

ḲASṬĪLIYA, or ḲAṢṬĪLIYA, or ḲASṬĪLA. 2. A place name of Tunisia which in the Middle Ages sometimes designated a town (Tawzar or Tūzar), but more often the district of which this town was the chief centre. It is the modern region of the Djarīd, which now forms part of the governorate of Ḳafṣa [*q.v.*] (population 321,000, density of pop. 17.45 per km², according to the 1966 census), and forms the region of the Shotts. As in the past, the region's main resource is the date palm: one million trees, of which 31% are of the highly-esteemed "degla" variety (1962 enquiry). Tourist development of the Sahara, helped by the provision of hotels which are sometimes most luxurious, has brought to this region, at present a somewhat deprived one, an additional resource.

History. Ḳasṭīliya was probably first reduced to submission by ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ [*q.v.*], and definitely conquered for Islam *ṣulḥ*[an] and without resistance, by Ḥassān b. al-Nuʿmān [*q.v.*], whence the relatively favourable status awarded to its Christian inhabitants. In its subsequent history, it naturally suffered from the troubles which racked the rest of Ifrīḳiya, and especially from the Khāridjī rebellions of the mid-2nd/8th century, the revolts of the *djund* under the Aghlabids, the warfare against the Fāṭimid *dāʿī* and the rising of Abū Yazīd al-Nukkārī [*q.v.*]. As a result of these troubles, Ibrāḍism gained numerous followers there, and Shīʿism had some success, especially at Nafṭa. The invasions of the Banū Hilāl in mid-5th/11th century, moreover, favoured the rise of a little independent principality, which was soon absorbed by that of the Banu 'l-Rand of Ḳafṣa. Ḳasṭīliya was then disputed and the Almohad position there attacked by the adventurer Ḳarāḳūsh and the Banū Ghāniya [*qq.v.*]. Under the Ḥafṣids, there was constituted at the beginning of the 8th/14th century another petty principality, governed by the Banū Yamlūl and an assembly of notables (*mashyakha*), which had a highly-troubled existence until it was finally eliminated, at the same time as were other local dynasties, by Abū Fāris (802/1400). Later on, the anarchy of the 19th century much aggravated the misery of the region, which was left virtually unprotected against the exactions of the nomads and the oppressive taxation of the central government.

Historical geography. The toponym Ḳasṭīliya is not found exclusively in Tunisia. Apart from the variant Ḳas̲h̲tāla for Castile, Yāḳūt, iv, 347-8, cites Ḳasṭalla in Spain, and Ḳasṭīliya in the district of Elvira [see preceeding art.]. He also mentions al-Ḳasṭal, a place name between Aleppo and Damascus. The ancient citadel of Mesarfelta, between Tobna (Thubunae) and Biskra (Vescera) also bore the name of Ḳasṭīliya. We have here clearly a toponym of Latin origin, derived from *castella*, pl. of *castellum* "citadel". The incoming Arab conquerors used it to denote first of all Tūzar (= Thusuros), the main fortress of the *limes* backed by the oasis, and then the whole region dependent upon it.

According to al-Yaʿḳūbī (d. *ca.* 282-92/895-905), this region comprised four oases: "The main one is called Tūzar, and is the residence of the governors the second is Ḥāmma; the third, Taḳyūs; and the fourth, Nafṭa" (tr. Wiet, *Les Pays*, 212). Only Taḳyūs (= Thiges) has now vanished today and given place to Dégache. This division is given by most of the later Arab geographers, and especially by al-Bakrī and Yāḳūt. Ibn Ḥawḳal, al-Muḳaddasī and al-Idrīsī merely give descriptions of the towns without giving information on the extent and boundaries of the region. But in later authors, Ḳasṭīliya, now called the Bilād al-D̲j̲arīd, spills over to include Ḳafṣa in the north and the region of Nafzāwa to the south of the Shotts (Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, *ʿIbar*, vi, 199), and even Biskra, Gabès and the island of Djerba (John-Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, ii, 442-3). The place name Bilād al-D̲j̲arīd ("Land of the Palms"), or simply al-D̲j̲arīd, appears for the first time after the middle of the 8th/14th century, from the pen of Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, who henceforth uses it as much if not more than Ḳasṭīliya to designate this region. The ancient term of Ḳasṭīliya gradually disappeared, and is today completely unknown except to specialists. Already al-Tid̲j̲ānī (wrote in *ca.* 706/1306), Ibn Abī Dīnār (*ca.* 1110/1698) and al-Wazīr al-Sarrād̲j̲ (1149/1737) only use it when citing material from earlier authors. John-Leo Africanus, who visited Tunisia in 1517, knew nothing of the term.

Until the 3rd/9th century, there was no appreciable Arab element in Ḳasṭīliya. Al-Yaʿḳūbī writes that "The inhabitants are non-Arabs, descendants of the ancient Romans, Berbers and Afāriḳa" (*loc. cit.*), *i.e.* Latinised and Christianised Berbers. Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, speaking of the disturbances of 224/839, mentions Zuwāg̲h̲a, Luwāta and Miknāsa Berbers (*ʿIbar*, iv, 428). The ethnic map cannot have varied much till the middle of the 5th/11th century, sc. till the Hilālian invasions which brought into the region the Sulaym, and especially the Kuʿūb section of this latter tribe. From this moment, the ethnic picture began to change noticeably, and Christianity, which had maintained itself there, began to disappear. In 706/1306 al-Tid̲j̲ānī noted a large number of ruined and abandoned churches (*Riḥla*, 162), and he also commented with horror on the practice of eating dogs, which had not yet quite disappeared.

Mediaeval Arabic authors unanimously describe Ḳasṭīliya as a rich and prosperous land. According to al-Bakrī, the tax-yield reached 200,000 *dīnārs* in the middle of the 5th/11th century, compared with a mere 50,000 for Ḳafṣa. In the 8th/14th century, Ibn K̲h̲aldūn marvelled at the density of population there (*mustabḥirat al-ʿumrān*, *ʿIbar*, vi, 199). There was there an ingenious irrigation system, which struck all observers, and the region produced a vast quantity of dates. Al-Yaʿḳūbī mentions an important cultivation of olives, subsequently vanished. In the 4th/10th century, according to Ibn Ḥawḳal, sugar cane was one of the richest products of the region, but by the next century, says al-Bakrī, was yielding only a mediocre crop, nor was the banana flourishing very well. On the other hand, citrus fruits (*al-muḥammaḍāt*), and above all the citron (*al-utrud̲j̲*), were of unsurpassed quality. Also cultivated were flax, henna, cumin and caraway, and the fennec-fox, esteemed for its fur, was trapped. Ibn Ḥawḳal further states that Ḳasṭīliya was in his time an important commercial focal point, bustling with merchants from all countries. Its main import was corn, traditionally fetching a high price, and it exported dates, at the rate of a camel's load for two *dirhams*, says al-Muḳaddasī, and wool—implying the existence of extensive sheep-rearing—and all sorts of woollen products. Trans-Saharan trade to the countries of black Africa was certainly one of the reasons for the region's prosperity in the Middle Ages, and it is known that Abū Yazīd al-Nukkarī's father, who was originally from Taḳyūs or Tūzar, took part in this (Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, *ʿIbar*, iv, 84).

Bibliography: 1. Sources (classified chronologically): Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥalam, *Futūḥ*, ed. and partial tr. A. Gateau, *Conquête de l'Afrique du Nord et de l'Espagne*, Algiers 1942, 64/65 et n. 66, p. 156; Ibn K̲h̲urradād̲h̲bih, *Masālik*; Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Buldān*, ed. and partial tr. Hadj-Sadok, *Description du Maghreb . . .*, Algiers 1949, 6/7, 31; Yaʿḳūbī, Buldān, tr. G. Wiet, *Les Pays*, Cairo 1937, 212; Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, Beirut n.d., 92; Muḳaddasī, *Aḥsan al-Taḳāsīm*, ed. and partial tr. Ch. Pellat, *Description de l'Occident . . .*, Algiers 1950, 4/5, 26/27, 60/61, 64/65; Bakrī, *Masālik*, ed. and tr. de Slane, *Description de l'Afrique Septentrionale*, Paris[2] 1965, 14/35, 48-9/102-5, 71/146, 74-5/152-3, 148/284; Idrīsī, *Nuzha*, partial ed. H. Pérès, Algiers 1957, 75; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, Beirut 1957, ii, 57-8, iv, 347-8; Tid̲j̲ānī, *Riḥla*, Tunis 1958, index s.v. al-D̲j̲arīd; Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, *ʿIbar*, Beirut 1956-9, index to vols. iv, v, vi, and vii, s.v. Ḳasṭīliya, Ḳaṣṭīliya, Bilād, al-D̲j̲arīd and al-D̲j̲arīd; John-Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, tr. A. Epaulard, Paris 1956, ii, 442-3, 470; Ibn Abī Dīnār, *Muʾnis*, ed. M. S̲h̲ammām, Tunis 1967, index s.v. Ḳasṭīliya and al-D̲j̲arīd; al-Wazīr al-Sarrād̲j̲, *Ḥulal*, ed. M. H. al-Hīla, Tunis 1970, index s.v. al-D̲j̲arīd; V. Guérin, *Voyage archéologique dans la Régence de Tunis*, Paris 1862, i, 250-70; V. Mayet, *Voyage dans le Sud de la Tunisie*, Paris 1887, 187-243.

2. Studies. H. Attia, *Modernisation agricole et structures sociales. Exemple des Oasis du Djerid*, in *Rev. Tunisienne de Sc. Sociales*, no. 2 (Féb. 1965), 59-93; R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, index s.v. Qasṭīliya, Djerid and Tozeur; S. Ferchiou, *Différentiation sexuelle de l'alimentation au Djerid*, in *L'Homme* (1968); J. Ganiage, *Les Origines du Protectorat français en Tunisie*, Paris 1959, index s.v. Djerid; H. R. Idris, *Zīrīdes*, index; Ch. A. Julien, *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1956, ii, index s.v. Djerid et Qasṭīliya; A. Laroui, *L'histoire du Maghreb*, Paris 1970, 117, 125, 135-6, 216; M. N. Lejri, *Le recensement général de la population (Mai 1966)*, in *Rev. Tunisienne de Sc. Sociales*, nos. 17-18 (June 1969), 127-71; A. Martel, *Les confins saharo-tripolitains de la Tunisie (1881-1911)*, Paris 1965, index s.v. Chott et Djerid; M. Rouissi, *Le fait migratoire au Djerid*, in *Rev. Tunisienne de Sc. Sociales*, nos. 17-18 (June 1969), 567-86; M. Seklani, *La mobilité intérieure dans le Sud tunisien*, in *Rev. Tunisienne*

de Sc. Sociales (Dec. 1970), 163-74; S. M. Stern, *Three North-African Topographical Notes* (*Islamic-Roman*), in *Arabica*, I (1954), 343-5; M. Talbi, *Émirat aghlabide*, index; Ch. Tissot, *Géographie comparée de la province romaine d'Afrique*, Paris 1884, ii, 30-1, 682-4. (M. Talbi)

KASTORIA [see Kesriye].

ĶĀT (A; the form *dj̲āt* is also found, Amharic *čāt*), the name of a smooth-stemmed shrub (*Catha edulis*, Forskål; *Methyscophyllum glaucum*, Ecklon and Zeyher) which reaches a height of 12 feet and belongs to the family of Celastraceae. It grows in the eastern part of Africa, from the Cape to north of Lake Ṭānā (Ṣānā), and in southwestern Arabia. The leaves and the young shoots of this shrub contain an alkaloid, katin, which produces a euphoric, stimulating, exciting but finally depressing, effect when chewed or drunk in a decoction. It is widely used in Ethiopia, Djibouti, East Africa and the Yemen. The bunches of twigs or shoots (*kilwāt*, pl. *kalāwīt*) of the *ķāt* shrub can only be utilised a short time after being gathered, hence in order to transport them and to keep them fresh as long as possible, they are bound up in fresh, moist foliage. *Ķāt* addicts choose young and tender leaves and branches, and chew them up to form a ball about as big as a nut; they then keep on chewing this for hours, especially during social gatherings. In this respect, *ķāt* is a factor making for social cohesion and peace, but this is outweighed by its harmful effects. Whilst the state of euphoria induced may be accompanied by a certain feeling of intellectual expansion, this happy feeling is soon succeeded by a state of anxiety which is alleviated by drinking a decoction of coffee husks (*ķis̲h̲r*); all reports state unanimously that the habitual use of *ķāt*, despite its supposed prophylactic qualities, ruins the physical and mental health of people and, from an economic point of view, causes widespread damage. The 7,900 lbs. of it officially exported by air every year from Ethiopia to Djibouti (not counting the large quantities of *ķāt* shoots smuggled illegally) take up 40%-60% of people's salaries (J.-C. Guillebeau, in *Le Monde*, 2 April 1974). It has been calculated that in the Yemen, 300 million dollars' worth of it is consumed each year, with the price of a bunch of *ca.* 250 gr. taking up roughly the salary of a skilled workman, in a land where 90% of the men and almost 60% of the women are more or less regular addicts. The ravages caused by this narcotic have engaged the attention of the World Health Organisation (cf. *Medical aspects of the habitual chewing of khat leaves*, Doc. APD/127, Rev. I, 1964), and some economists have put forward remedies which seem, however, hard to apply (see M. S. el-Attar, *Le sous-développement économique et social du Yémen. Perspective de la révolution yéménite*, Algiers 1964).

Because of the widespread consumption of *ķāt* leaves, the raising of this shrub, which is propagated by means of cuttings, plays a great role and gives a considerable income to its cultivators on the plateaux, and above all to the middlemen dealing in it.

Ķāt is mentioned for the first time in a work dating from 1332-3 A.D. (see A. Dillmann, *Die Kriegsthaten des Königs ʿAmda Ṣion*, in *SB Ak. Berlin* (1864), 1012-13); al-Maķrīzī (d. 846/1442) cites in his *Ilmām bi-ak̲h̲bār man bi-arḍ al-Ḥabas̲h̲ min mulūk al-Islām*, ed. Rinck, Leiden 1790, 11, *ķāt* as a plant found at Awfāt (Eth. Īfāt, in eastern S̲h̲oa) and whose leaves are eaten. ʿAbd al-Ķādir al-Dj̲azīrī, who wrote in 996/1587, says that ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-S̲h̲ād̲h̲ilī al-Mak̲h̲āʾī (d. 827/1424) was said to have introduced coffee [see kahwa] into the Yemen, and this took the place of *kafta*, sc. *ķāt* leaves, which had previously been used; however, the use of the latter soon revived, when coffee began to be exported on a large scale. A document called the *Ķānūn Ṣanʿāʾ* (given in *RIMA*, 1964) and containing two decrees regulating the town in 1164/1748 and 1234/1819 respectively, shows that in the interval between these two dates, the price of a bunch of *ca.* 280 gr. and of the best quality went down by a half and corresponded at the beginning of the 19th century to one-quarter of a workman's salary, *i.e.*, it was comparatively cheaper than today. This document also shows that the consumption of *ķāt* was officially authorised, although Ibn Ḥadj̲ar al-Hayt̲h̲amī (d. 974/1567) had written—in reply to questions about its use which had come from people in Ṣanʿāʾ and Zabīd, and without taking up a definite attitude towards the contradictory opinions of reputable scholars on the effects of *ķāt*—that its use fell into the category of *s̲h̲ubuhāt* which ought to be avoided (*Taḥd̲h̲īr al-t̲h̲iķāt min akl al-kafta wa 'l-ķāt*, in *al-Fatāwī al-kubrā al-fiķhiyya*, Cairo 1308, iv, 223-34).

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article, the works of European travellers include: La Roque, *Voyage de l'Arabie heureuse*, Amsterdam 1716, 275; Niebuhr, *Description de l'Arabie*, Paris 1779, ii, 240 (his colleague the botanist Forskål was the first to study *ķāt*); Botta, *Relation d'un voyage dans l'Yémen*, Paris 1841, 45-6, 83, 90, 98-9; idem, in *Arch. du Muséum d'histoire naturelle*, ii (1841), 71-2; Maltzan, *Reise nach Südarabien*, 213, 347, 400; A. Deflers, *Voyage au Yémen*, Paris 1889, 90, 121-2; idem, in *Jnal. de Pharmacie et de Chimie*, xxii (1890), 174-5. See further: Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xii, 795-8; Barbier de Meynard, in *PELOV*, 1883, 108-9; Beitter, *Pharmacogn.-chem. Untersuchung der* Catha edulis, Strasburg 1900; G. W. Bury, *Arabia infelix*, London 1915, 113-14, 152-4; A. Grohmann, *Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet*, Vienna 1922, 253-6; M. Mancioli and A. Parrinello, *Il qat* (Catha edulis), in *La clinica terapeutica*, xliii/2 (1967), 102-72 (with bibl.); M. Le Bras, *Le problème du kat*, in *Pount*, ii (1967), 17-27; J. Guedel, *Incidences médico-sociales de la consommation habituelle du kat*, *ibid.*, 29-37; M. Charpin, *Incidences chirurgicales de la consommation habituelle du kat*, *ibid.*, vi (1969), 25-9; J. Chelhod, *La société yéménite et le kat*, in *Objets et mondes*, xii/1 (1972), 2-33 (with bibl.); M. Rodinson, in *JA* (forthcoming). (J. J. Hess*)

ĶAṬʿ (A), cutting off. The Arabic verb *ķaṭaʿa* has been very widely used in a variety of literal and metaphorical senses; this diversity is often of interest for both religious and cultural history.

The infinitive *ķaṭʿ* does not occur in the Ķurʾān, but the finite verb occurs both in the literal and in a rather metaphorical sense: Sūra V, 42 (38): "Cut off the hands of the thief and the female thief"—the well-known prescription which has passed into *fiķh* and is sometimes briefly designated as *ķaṭʿ al-liṣṣ*; Sūra VIII, 7: "and [Allah] may cut off the root of the Infidels", *i.e.*, extirpate them. Sūra II, 25 and XIII, 25 (27) "[those who] cut up what Allah has ordered to join"; Sūra XXIX, 28 (29) "will you cut the road?", *i.e.*, commit highway robbery; Sūra XXVII, 32 "I decide nothing".

To the early reciters of the Ķurʾān (*ķurrāʾ*), *ķaṭʿ* or *waķf* was the pause in reading, based on the sense or otherwise. Later a distinction was made between the short pause for breath, and the other pauses,

based on the sense; according to some, *ḳaṭʿ* indicated only the first; according to others only the second.

The grammarians use *alif al-ḳaṭʿ* for the disjunctive *hamza* which, opposed to the so-called *hamzat al-waṣl*, cannot be elided [see ALIF]. *Ḳaṭʿ* further indicates the deliberate cutting, for a special purpose, between elements of a sentence which syntactically are closely connected, *e.g.* instead of *al-Ḥamdu li 'llāhi 'l-Ḥamīdı* one might say *al-Ḥamdu li 'llāhi 'l-ḥamīdu* (= *wahuwa 'l-ḥamīdu*), or ... *'l-ḥamīda* (= *aʿnī 'l-ḥamīda*).

In prosody, *ḳaṭʿ* indicates cutting short the ending of certain metrical feet, *e.g.*, the shortening of the metrical foot *fāʿilun* to *fāʿil* = *faʿlun* or of *mustafʿilun* to *mustafʿil* = *mafʿūlun*. This shortened form is then called *maḳṭūʿ*.

For mathematicians, *ḳaṭʿ al-makhrūṭ*, the conic section, is of importance; specifically *ḳaṭʿ zā'id* is the hyperbola, *ḳaṭʿ nāḳiṣ* the ellipse, *ḳaṭʿ mukāfī* the parabola and *ḳaṭʿ mukāfī mudjassam* the paraboloid.

In astrology, *ḳaṭ* indicates scission = ἀναίρεσις, specifically κλιμακτήρ, climacteric.

Ḳaṭʿ (*al-waraḳ*), in the sense of format of paper, has had a certain importance in the history of official administration. The Arabic papyri are of many different formats, but according to Grohmann the Arabs seem to have adopted both the dominations and sizes from the Greeks. In any case, one can recognize a certain continuity in the dimensions of the format. An ordinary roll of papyrus of 20 leaves, about 5 metres long, was called *ḳirṭās* (from Greek χάρτης, Aramaic קירטס) and the sixth part of it, *ṭūmār* or *ṭūmār ḳirṭās* (τομάριον χάρτου). In the papyrus texts parts of the roll are mentioned frequently, *e.g.* 2/3 roll (*thuluthay ḳirṭās*), 1/3, 1/6 (*ṭūmār*) and also 1/2 and 1/3 of a *ṭūmār*. The surviving documents emanating from the Egyptian provincial chancellery of Ḳurra b. Sharīk (90-96/709-714) [*q.v.*] are distinguished by an exceptionally large format and wide spacing between the lines. Documents emanating from the government chancellery of the Umayyads in Damascus have apparently not survived but it seems that as early as Muʿawiya's reign distinctions of format were known according to the rank of the addressee. This information comes from a lost *Kitāb al-ḳalam wa'l-dawāt* of Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar al-Madā'inī, who is perhaps identical with Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Madīnī (d. 581/1185, Brockelmann S I, 604, 10c). According to this work, caliphs were addressed on 2/3 *ṭūmār* (*li 'l-khulafā' fī ḳirṭās min thuluthay ṭūmār*), governors on 1/2, finance directors and secretaries on 1/3, merchants on 1/4, bookkeepers and geometricians on 1/6. Apart from these distinctions, it is worth noting that literary papyri have an almost square format whereas an oblong format, later on called *safīna*, was reserved for the Ḳur'ān. According to a statement by Ibn ʿAbdūs (d. 331/942), al-Walīd I (86-96/705-715) was the first Umayyad caliph who was addressed on *ṭawāmīr* and who introduced a larger format and a more elegant writing (*wa-amara bi-an tuʿaẓẓama kutubuhu wa-yudjallala 'l-khaṭṭ*). But ʿUmar II (99-101/717-720) was opposed to such extravagance and ordred the clerks to write closely (*bi-djamʿ al-khaṭṭ*); his own writings were only one span wide (*fa-kānat kutubuhu innamā hiya shibran*).

The state chancellery of the ʿAbbāsids had also a distinction of formats, described by al-Ṣūlī (d. 335/946); he mentions the sizes of the sheets (*al-maḳādīr allatī yuktab fīhā min al-ḳarāṭīs*). The formats are the same as those used under the Umayyads, to which was added a 2/5 format for special (*khāṣṣ*) documents, autographed or dictated by the vizier. Al-Ṣūlī's informant on this point was Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl b. al-Khaṣīb al-Anbārī, an intimate of the caliph of one day al-Murtaḍā (296/908) = Ibn al-Muʿtazz [*q.v.*].

From the Mamlūk period we have no less than three lists which show some development in the formats. The oldest is that preserved by Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl-Allāh al-ʿUmarī (d. 749/1349) in which he describes the sizes of the formats of the sheets (*maḳādīr ḳaṭʿ al-waraḳ al-ladhi yuktab fīhi*). Here also there are five formats, which however include only three of the early ones: 2/3, 1/2 and 1/3. The largest is an in-folio (*al-ḳaṭʿ al-kāmil*) used for treaties and the smallest is an ordinary format (*ḳaṭʿ al-ʿāda*) used for decrees and appointments of the lowest rank. The latter was therefore the format most commonly used and corresponded with the two early formats 1/4 and 1/6. The author adds that the formats are thus sufficiently explained and that the rest may be inferred by analogy (*tafṣīl lā'iḳ ḳis ʿalayhi wa-bi 'llāhi 'l-tawfīḳ*).

Al-Ḳalḳashandī (d. 821/1418), the greatest authority on the secretarial art, also deals thoroughly with the formats and their history. His lists contain nine Egyptian and six Syrian formats. Besides the five ancient Egyptian sizes, he mentions three in-folios: two from Baghdād, a larger and a smaller, and a third from Syria. He also adds a particularly small size for use with carrier-pigeons (*al-ḳaṭʿ al-ṣaghīr min waraḳ al-ṭayr*). The four Syrian sizes were intended for the chancelleries in the province of Syria: *kāmil*, *1/2 ḥamawī*, *ʿāda* and *waraḳ al-ṭayr*. From al-Ḳalkashandī's explanations, it is clear that he does not conceive the names of the format as indicating parts of the sheet, but as indicating the width in Egyptian ells as used for measuring cloth, *e.g.*, 2/3 = *thuluthā dhirāʿ bi-dhirāʿ al-ḳumāsh al-Miṣrī*.

After al-Ḳalḳashandī, the number of formats increased still further and resulted in an excess of formats too numerous to systematize. An anonymous description of Egyptian chancellery procedure, dating from the end of the 9th/15th century, is preserved in a Paris manuscript under the title *Dīwān al-inshā'*. Quatremère used this in his introduction to his *Histoire des Mongols*, while Karabacek used it to try and introduce some order into the scattered data. In assuming that the Egyptian textile ell was 48.886 cm. and that the relationship of breadth to height was on average two to three, he was able to calculate all the formats in centimetres. His findings are put together in a table comprising fifteen formats, including the classical five formats, and in addition, no less than seven folio formats. Despite the enormous effort involved, the findings are somewhat uncertain, and an edition of the text would be desirable. This Egyptian development came to an abrupt end with the Ottoman conquest in 1517. As an Ottoman province, Egypt had no state chancellery.

Ottoman documents, according to Fekete, were always long and narrow, but the so-called Imperial Letters to foreign rulers had very varied and sometimes huge formats. The Arabic formats were apparently not known, but many styles of writing had names like *sülüs* and *ṭumar*. In the Mongol state chancellery also, paper was long and narrow, on the Chinese model. In the Arab east, *ḳaṭʿ* as a format is still not entirely forgotten (cf. the dictionaries of Belot, Elias, Wehr), while in Turkish the word *ḳiṭʿa* is in common use (cf. Samy, Heuser, Ağakay).

In religious history, the expression *ḳaṭaʿa yamīnan* = "to swear an oath", which Pedersen (*Der Eid bei*

den Semiten, 46 and 12 n. 5) compares with the Hebrew *ḳārat berīt* = "to make a covenant". As in other Semitic languages, *ḳaṭaʿa* acquires the meaning of "resolve", "decide". In logic, it means "to assert something decisively or refute someone completely" or, *e.g.* *ʿalima ḳaṭʿan* or *ʿala 'l-ḳaṭʿi*, "to know something with absolute certainty", *dalīl ḳaṭʿī*, "a conclusive proof". Compare further titles of books listed in Brockelmann, such as *al-Burhān al-ḳāṭiʿ*, *Ḳawāṭiʿ al-burhān*, *al-Barāhin al-ḳāṭiʿa* or *al-Ḳaṭʿiyya*.

A small Shīʿī sect is known as the *Ḳaṭʿiyya* because they "cut off" the line of Imāms with the death of Mūsā al-Kāẓim.

Bibliography: Apart from the general dictionaries, see Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.; M. Aʿlā, *Dict. of Techn. Terms*, s.v. Mathematics: Thābit b. Ḳurra al-Ḥarrānī, *Fī Ḳaṭʿ al-makhrūṭ alladhī yusammā 'l-mukāfī* ("On the parabola"), by H. Suter, in *SBPMS*, xlviii and xlix (1916-7), 65-86; Ibrāhīm b. Sinān b. Thābit, *Fī masāḥat ḳaṭʿ al-makhrūṭ al-mukāfī*, tr. and comm. by H. Suter in *Vierteljahrsschrift der Naturforschenden Gesellschaft in Zürich*, lxiii (1918), 214-28.— Astrology: C. A. Nallino, *Del Vocabolo qaṭʿ nell' astrologia araba*, in *RSO*, viii/4 (1921), 739-43. — State affairs: T. W. Arnold and A. Grohmann, *The Islamic book*, London 1929, 56 ff.; A. Grohmann, *From the world of Arabic papyri*, Cairo 1952, 32, 43, 45; idem, *Einführung und Chrestomathie zur arabischen Papyruskunde*, Prague 1955, 65, 68, 78; N. Abbot, *Studies in Arabic literary papyri*, i, 1957, 2, ii, 1967, 8 f.; Ibn ʿAbdūs al-Djahshiyārī, *Kitāb al-wuzarā' w'al-kuttāb*, ed. H. v. Mžik, Leipzig 1926, fol. 22a, 24b; J. Latz, *Das Buch der Wezire und Staatssekretäre von Ibn ʿAbdūs*, Walldorf-Hessen 1958, 35; Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ṣūlī, *Adab al-kuttāb*, Cairo 1341, 148; Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Faḍlallāh al-ʿUmarī, *al-Taʿrīf bi'l-muṣṭalaḥ al-sharīf*, Cairo 1312, 89 f.; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿsha*, vi, 189; *Ḍau' al-ṣubḥ*, i, 412-5; W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Hamburg, 1928, 114; Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, ed. and tr. Quatremère, I, Paris 1836. CXXXIII-VII; J. Karabaček, *Das arabische Papier*, in *Mitteilungen aus den Papyri Erzherzog Rainer* ii-iii, 148 ff.; Max van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus inscriptionum arabicarum*, i, 442; L. Fekete, *Einführung in die osmanisch-türkische Diplomatik*, i, 1926, XII; B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, Wiesbaden 1955, 290. — The Ḳaṭʿiyya: al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa 'l-Niḥal*, ed. Cureton, 127. (W. Björkman)

ḲAṬʿ AL-ṬARĪḲ [see ḳatl, ṣuʿlūk].

ḲAṬĀ (a.) is a collective noun (noun of unity: *-a*, pl. *ḳaṭawāt*, *ḳaṭayāt*) denoting the ornithological family of Pteroclididae or, with their Spanish name, *gangas* (English, sandgrouse), but without distinguishing species. This term, onomatopaeic for the cry of these birds, is a typical example of the language ingeniously adapting itself to the norms of Semitic triliteralism. It is given the root Ḳ-Ṭ-W/Ḳ-Ṭ-Y from which is derived the diminutive *ḳuṭayy* and to which are connected all the dialectal forms like *ḳṭāya/gṭāya*, *ḳṭawiyya/gṭawiyya*, *gaṭwa*, *gāṭū*, *gaṭṭū*.

In Islamic lands six species of sandgrouse are known; they are scattered among a score of geographical races but confined to the semi-desert and steppes. Out of six types the Arabs have distinguished just three, to which the others have been assimilated. The rather precise descriptions which encyclopaedists have given to these three different species make them easily identifiable (see al-Damīrī, Cairo 1356/1937, i, 252-6; Kushādjim, *Maṣāyid*, Bagdad 1954, 277-9; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, ii, 71). First of all they identify the *kudrī* (pl. *-iyya*, *kudr* and rarely *kadārī*, also called *ʿarabī* and *awraḳ*) corresponding to Lichtenstein's or the Close-Barred Sandgrouse (*Pterocles Lichtensteini*) which is the smallest of them. It has black spots and lacks a pointed tail. The male has a double yellow pectoral band clearly defined by a black bar. It lives not only in Africa (in the Ahaggar, the Aïr, the Sudan, Ethiopia and Somalia) but also all along the western seaboard and in the south of Arabia as far as ʿUmān. It is unknown in central Arabia, but reappears in ʿIrāḳ and in Iran. Very similar to this sandgrouse is the Crested Sandgrouse (*Pterocles coronatus*) which has the same distribution in Africa apart from Ethiopia and Somalia. It reappears from the south of Sinai to the south of Palestine and from ʿIrāḳ as far as Balūčistān.

The second type recognised by the desert peoples is the *djūnī* (pl. *djūn*; also called *ghadaf* and *ghatmā'*, Persian *siyāh sīnah*, Turkish *bāḳir ḳarā*, Maghribī *guṭṭār*, *gaṭā ḥurr*, Berber *tigernāḍ*), which is the Black-bellied sandgrouse (*Pterocles orientalis*). It is found only in a zone between the 30th and 40th parallels north; in Africa only in the Maghrib from the Atlantic to the frontier of Cyrenaica (it is evenly distributed throughout southern Spain); in the east from Turkey to India; and in the north as far as the Tarbagatai. It is not recorded in the Sahara or Arabia. This sandgrouse, which is about the size of a large pigeon, and perhaps a third bigger than the *kudrī*, is recognizable by the velvety black of its abdomen, its dark wing quills, its cream pectoral band, its short tail and its light rasping cry, very different from the hoarse and sonorous "kata".

Two other sandgrouse have a dark belly, and from a back view may be confused with the former. They are on the one hand the Chestnut-bellied or Small Pintailed Sandgrouse (*Pterocles exustus*), which is found in Egypt, from Fayyūm to Luxor; in Africa, from Senegal to the Red Sea; in the south of the Sahara in a narrow band as far as Somalia; then in the South of Arabia except in the Yemen. In the north it is common in the Near East, and in the east, from Palestine to India. On the other hand, the Spotted Sandgrouse (Pterocles Senegallus; Sahara *gaṭṭū*, *gāṭū*) occupies broadly all the African Sahara between the lines Tiznit to Gabès in the North and Cape Juby to Somalia in the south; it is absent from the Maghrib. To the east of the Red Sea it occurs in all of Arabia, and in the north it is recorded from Jordan to Afghānistān and to the Punjab. It is the most widely distributed of the sandgrouse and is distinguished by the absence of a pectoral band and has, like the Black-bellied Sandgrouse, a blue supercilium. In the Sahara the Touareg population who, not without reason, liken the sandgrouse to the Columbidae, confuse under the same names the Crested Sandgrouse and Lichtenstein's Sandgrouse: *tamahaḳḳ*, from *tikadiwt* pl. *tikadewin*, (= "little stone") in the Adrar; *tagidūk* in the Aïr; and *idebir/tidebirt* pl. *idbar/tidbar*, *idberen/tidbirin* in the Ahaggar.

The last of the species of sandgrouse and the third distinguished by the Arabs is the *ghaṭaṭ*, (from its guttural cawing), the Large Pintailed Sandgrouse (*Pterocles alchata*, a taxonomic preservation of the

Arabic generic name). Its geographical distribution is the same as that of the Black-bellied Sandgrouse but extending also to Cyrenaica. As big as the latter, the cata has a white belly with a broad bright red band bordered by a black stripe across the chest. In the female, this breast plumage is bright yellow transversely crossed by a black streak like that of the male Lichtenstein's Sandgrouse. Both sexes have their eyes camouflaged with black.

The nomads could well be excused for having differentiated only three species of sandgrouse out of six, on account of the close similarity of the plumage of each one. All are predominantly sandy-yellow, with fine speckles giving a pearl-grey tone (*māriyya*) which assures complete mimesis, and all the species also display identical behaviour. With the added factor of sexual dimorphism, only a skilled ornithologist could draw up an inventory of this rather homogeneous family. On the other hand, few observers other than these desert people have known in detail the biology of the sandgrouse which, placed between the Columbidae and the Gallinaceae, are essentially granivorous and live principally at ground level. On the ground they look like little partridges with short legs, but in flight they resemble pigeons (see above, the Touareg names, which apply to the Columbidae also). Because their habitat is the semi-desert regions they are obliged to cover long distances (sometimes 50 km. or more) in order to quench their thirst. For this purpose they assemble in large flocks (*sirb*, pl. *asrāb*, *raʿla* pl. *riʿāl*) and reach the watering place in a great turmoil of cries in order to keep in contact; they cleave the air rapidly and some bathe while the mothers gorge themselves with water so that on their return they can regurgitate it into the parched gullets of their chicks. Their stop at the water source is very short and the birds hurry to get back to their own grounds.

From the earliest times in their life in solitary places, the Bedouin have had the time to notice all the details of the behaviour of the sandgrouse and to incorporate them into the dicta which the pre-Islamic poets turned to account (see al-Maydānī, *Amthāl*, ii, 110; al-Damīrī, ii, 252-6; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, v, 217, 287, 573-81 and index). The sandgrouse, which is very fierce, flees at the slightest alarm and cries out in its distinctive manner. Therefore it is said: *ansab min al-ḳaṭā*, "more easily recognisable than the sandgrouse" or *aṣdaḳ min al-ḳaṭā*, "more plainly revealing itself than the sandgrouse". At night they are always alert and it is difficult to surprise them in their sleep; hence the nickname *ghaḍāra* (after Ibn Siduh) and the adage *law turika l-ḳaṭā laylan la-nām*, "if you leave the sandgrouse at peace at night, he will go back to sleep".

Kur'ānic law recognises the delicate flesh of this bird as licit for consumption, and it is a choice prey for the flesh-eaters and rapacious predators who relentlessly search it out, as another dictum demonstrates: *bīḍ al-ḳaṭā yaḥḍunu-h l-adjdal*, "It is the Saker falcon which sits on the eggs of the sandgrouse". The back hallux of the foot of the sandgrouse is very atrophied, hence to describe something very minute it can be said *aḳṣar min ibhām al-ḳaṭā* "shorter than the sandgrouse's thumb". The female lays her eggs right on the ground, in a tuft of grass (*ufḥūsa*), two or three eggs speckled with brown (*ʿurm*), from which comes her nickname *umm thalāth* "mother of three eggs". This extraordinary instinctive ability to come straight back to her nest, among the hundreds of nesting-places of the colony, after each "watering party", and then to recognise her own hatched chicks (*djawzal* pl. *djawāzil*) in order to give them water, this maternal solicitude joined with the attachment of the mate which shares all the tasks of educating the young, were such good examples that the admiration of the nomad was expressed in the saying *ahdā min al-ḳaṭā* "with a better sense of direction than the sandgrouse". Exposed and defenceless in a hostile world, where "the survival of the fittest" is the rule, these little chicks of the sandgrouse are unable to do without the protection and experience of their parents, from whom they have much to learn in the art of self-preservation, amid the many perils which threaten them; but in such a good school, they soon manage to acquire this permanent mistrust which is the secret of survival of the species. The tent dwellers, in their laconic way, knew how to crystalise all the wisdom to be drawn from this contrast of powerful and weak in this saying: *laysa ḳaṭān mithl ḳuṭayy* "Sandgrouse old and sandgrouse young make a pair".

It is of course round these watering points that man has at all times lain in wait for and captured the sandgrouse as a source of food, using in the process all the tricks and inventions born of his ingenuity in the art of birdcatching. Nooses, trip-nets, snares and all kinds of booby-traps are set up for them at the watering place, as a number of pre-Islamic verses prove. Very few poets indeed of the *Djāhiliyya* and the beginnings of Islam have omitted to cite the sandgrouse and its daily visit to the pool, which exposed it to the greed of the stalker. There are, first of all, these verses poignant with reality from the famous *Lāmiyyat al-ʿArab* (verses 36-42) attributed to Shanfarā. The poet, having returned to a life close to nature, overtakes at the watering place the parched flights of sandgrouse and contends with them for the vital element. Ḥumayd b. Thawr knew how to present the bird in its habitat (*Dīwān*, Cairo 1371/1951, 53 no. 6, verses 16-27), while Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā shows it fleeing before the attack of the falcon (*Dīwān*, ed. Ahlwardt, 36 no. 10, verses 13-24), a theme taken up again by al-Akhṭal (*Madjānī ḥadītha*, ii, 96). Also touching is the composition variously attributed to the Madjnūn of the ʿĀmir, to Ḳays b. Dharīḥ and to Tawba b. al-Ḥumayyir (al-Damīrī, ii, 253; Aghānī, ii, 40; *Ḥayawān*, v, 577), which is thus conceived: (metre *wāfir*, rhyme *-āḥū*): "My heart, on the evening when it learned that he should go away with Laylā of the ʿĀmir on the morrow, in the morning or in the evening, was like a sandgrouse which had fallen into a snare and which struggled ceaselessly throughout the night, but in vain, its wing caught fast in the mesh."

The treachery of the nets did not escape Zuhayr when, comparing the speed of his charger with that of the sandgrouse in flight, he said (*Dīwān*, Tunis 1323/1905, 44 verse 13, metre *baṣīṭ*, rhyme *-kū*); "He is as swift as one of these [untiring] sandgrouse of the pools, but one which the drawers of water have chased, and whose companion the snares have ravished." In his turn, ʿUbayd (d. 90/709) evokes the same picture in this verse (*LA*, s.v. *SH-B-K*, metre *baṣīṭ*, rhyme *-dū*. "Or a flight of sandgrouse of Fayḥān which the snares and stalkers chased from the watering place of Yathriba".

Another characteristic of the sandgrouse which the poets have brought into relief is its embarrassed gait, caused by the smallness of its feet; it walks,

waddling along with measured step, head and tail erect and with its chest thrown out, evoking rather well the portly and majestic bearing of the woman of ample form, the ideal of feminine beauty for the Arabs. Al-Kumayt, among others, knew how to exploit this comparison (see *Ḥayawān*, v, 576); but it would not be possible to mention here all those who include the sandgrouse in their rhymes without making the list too long.

In the more concrete domain of the hunt, with the development under the ʿAbbāsids of the sport of hawking [see BAYZARA], an attempt was made to attract the goshawk to the sandgrouse, but without great success. Access to the grounds of this bird was already difficult, and the sandgrouse was little inclined to fly off individually. It was impossible to dislodge it from the dense thickets where it took refuge without recourse to a hunting dog (*zag̲h̲ārī*); bustards, partridges and francolins were put to flight more easily. As for falcons, they were too noble for this low flying. On the other hand they perfected the methods of capture with the net by joining to the swinging trip net the contrivance of a live calling bird (*daʿwā*) with a young pigeon disguised as a sandgrouse. ʿĪsā al-Asadī (7th/13th century) indicates in his vast cynegetic encyclopaedia (*al-D̲j̲amhara fī ʿulūm al-bayzara*, ms. Escurial, Ar. 903, fols. 159b-160a) the way to transform this pigeon by dyeing its plumage with saffron or henna, and by docking its tail, to make it look like a sandgrouse. The stalker at the hut (*kawwāk̲h̲*) would set up his net upwind on days of high wind and place the pigeon a few metres in front, being able to make it move with the aid of a leash. When the flock of sandgrouse arrived flying very low in the wind, the hunter would make the calling bird jump about. To complete the resemblance, he would make the cry of the young sandgrouse by means of a decoy call made with a fine tongue of leather which vibrated between two wooden plates with the wind. The birds would begin their descent and would immediately see themselves covered by the clap net which dropped down. This method of hunting was very much in favour in ʿIrāḳ, and al-Asadī adds that the bird-netters of Bag̲h̲dād rivalled each other in exploits, sometimes going so far as to capture in this way more than fifty sandgrouse at a stroke.

Finally a third procedure, rather less sporting, consisted of going to the nesting sites, stretching above each nesting group a little net which was firmly fixed all around, only leaving a narrow access corridor to the eggs. The sitting bird (it was the male by day), which had fled on the arrival of the hunter, would come back very quickly to the nest to pursue its task and would reach the breeding place by using the corridor. The stalker, hiding not far away, would wait until all the nests were occupied again and getting up suddenly would come running and shouting loudly; the sandgrouse, panic-stricken, would rush into the meshes which stopped their flight. In modern times, firearms in most Muslim countries have supplanted most of these stratagems. As for the Touareg, they neither hunt nor eat the sandgrouse or even the pigeon any more; to them, catching this game is an amusement left to the children.

All things considered, it must be recognised that if it had not been for the ancient desert poets and the sporadic attention which they accorded the sandgrouse in their animal descriptions, which served as a setting for their *ḳaṣīda*s (see R. Blachère, *HLA*, ii, 449), this bird would have been completely unknown in literature.

Bibliography: Apart from the references mentioned in the text: E. B. Allouse, *al-Ṭuyūr al-ʿirāḳiyya, Birds of Iraq*, Baghdad 1960, ii, 185-93; F. O. Cave and J. D. Macdonald, *Birds of the Sudan*, London 1955, 162-4; F. Hue and R. D. Etchecopar, *Les Ptéroclididés*, in *Rev. Fr. Ornithol./L'Oiseau*, xxvii (1957) 35-8 and bibliography; the same, *Les Oiseaux du Nord de l'Afrique*, Paris 1964, 298-306; the same, *Les Oiseaux du Moyen Orient*, Paris 1971, s.v. *Pterocles*; Ibn Siduh, *Muk̲h̲aṣṣaṣ*, vii, 171 f.; L. Lavauden, *Les Vertébrés du Sahara*, Tunis 1926, 105-6; H. Lhote, *La chasse chez les Touareg*, Paris 1951, 161; A. Maʿlouf, *Muʿd̲j̲am al-ḥayawān, An arabic zoological dictionary*, Cairo 1932, 215; Col. R. Meinertzhagen, *Birds of Arabia*, London 1954, 455-65; G. Mountfort, *La vie d'un désert*, Paris 1966, 92, 134; M. D. Show, *Voyages*..., The Hague 1743, i, 327. (F. VIRÉ)

ḲAʿṬABA, a small town close to the southern boundary of the Yaman Arab Republic (Northern Yaman) in the administrative district of Ibb [*q.v.*]. A short distance to the south of the other side of the boundary lies al-Ḍāliʿ, formerly the capital of the ʿĀmirī amīrate [*q.v.*] and now a forward base of the People's Democratic Republic of the Yaman (Southern Yaman).

Ḳaʿṭaba is located between the upper reaches of the Wādīs Tuban and Banā. Terraced fields in the surrounding rocky terrain produce cereals, fruit, coffee and *ḳāt* [*q.v.*]. At an altitude of over 1200 m. Ḳaʿṭaba is still much lower than D̲j̲abal D̲j̲iḥāf to the south and "the mighty rampart of the Yemen mountains" to the north. Although travellers can go from Aden to Taʿizz via Ḳaʿṭaba, the main route swings westwards before reaching al-Ḍāliʿ and Ḳaʿṭaba. The way north from Ḳaʿṭaba towards Yarīm and Ṣanʿāʾ is very difficult to traverse. Ḳaʿṭaba's importance derives primarily from its position as a border stronghold.

Ḳaʿṭaba is not mentioned by the older geographers such as al-Hamdānī, though they speak of the tribe of D̲j̲aʿda [*q.v.*] as dwelling in this region. In the 12th/18th century Ḳaʿṭaba was fought over by Yāfiʿ [*q.v.*] and other peoples in the vicinity. After the opening of the Suez Canal in 1286/1869, the Ottoman government reinforced its authority in the Yaman and stationed a garrison in Ḳaʿṭaba. British influence having spread from Aden into the hinterland, a joint Anglo-Ottoman commission worked from 1319/1902 to 1323/1905 in demarcating a boundary line that left Ḳaʿṭaba just inside Yamanī territory. This line still divides Northern Yaman from Southern Yaman.

During World War I, Ottoman forces advanced from the Yaman against Aden, which they failed to capture after a long siege. After the close of the war, the Turks withdrew from the Yaman, and the Imām Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad Ḥamīd al-Dīn [*q.v.*] acquired full sovereignty over the country. As Yaḥyā claimed that the areas under British protection south of the boundary rightfully belonged to the Yaman, clashes took place along the line, with Ḳaʿṭaba being one of the most sensitive spots. Although Yaḥyā and Britain concluded the Treaty of Ṣanʿāʾ in 1352/1934, providing for the maintenance of "the situation existing in regard to the frontier [*al-ḥudūd*]", the troubles did not cease. Yaḥyā was assassinated in 1367/1948. When a revolution overthrew his grandson Muḥammad al-Badr in 1382/1968, the new Yaman Arab Republic adopted the old territorial claims of the imamate,

but the republican government was diverted by the civil war aginst al-Badr and his supporters.

In 1383/1963 the National Liberation Front, a leftist party in Aden and its hinterland, began an armed struggle against the British in Djabal Radfān south of Ḳaʿṭaba. This struggle culminated with the Front seizing power when the British evacuated Aden in 1387/1967 and establishing what is now called the People's Democratic Republic of the Yaman. Relations between the two Yamans have been strained, and the Aden government has charged that Northern Yaman uses Ḳaʿṭaba and other places as bases for subversive activities against its territory.

Bibliography: Hamdānī; al-Wāsiʿī, *Taʾrīkh al-Yaman*, Cairo 1366/1947; al-Djirāfī, *al-Muḳtaṭaf min taʾrīkh al-Yaman*, Cairo 1370/1951; Admiralty Handbook, *Western Arabia and the Red Sea*, London 1946; G. Bury, *Arabia Infelix*, London 1915; idem, *The Land of Uz*, London 1911; W. Harris, *A Journey through the Yemen*, London 1893; E. Macro, *Yemen and the Western World*, London 1968; J. Plass and U. Gehrke, *Die Aden-Grenze in der Südarabienfrage*, Opladen 1967. (G. Rentz and W. Boswell)

ḲATABĀN, a pre-Islamic people of southwest Arabia, for knowledge of whom we are dependent on the ancient native inscriptions. They were known to the Greek and Latin geographers, under the names Κιτιβαῖνιται, Cattabanenses and other variants, but the data available from that source need to be controlled against the background of the primary epigraphic sources. Muslim writers had no knowledge of them as a people, though Yāḳūt records Ḳitbān as a simple place-name "in the region of Aden".

The distinctive culture of pre-Islamic southwest Arabia was that of a settled farming population, having at the base of its social structure the village community. A plurality of such communities formed a social unit described by a term corresponding to the Arabic word *shaʿb*; the cohesion of this unit was fundamentally economic, secondarily political and social, but it was not a kinship-group. At a third level of grouping we find cases where one *shaʿb* gained a dominance or hegemony over several neighbouring *shaʿb* groups. Finally, there is a fourth level of differentiation within the culture area as a whole, based on linguistic criteria: the language of the inscriptions is classifiable into four main dialects, and when the Greek geographers tell us that there were four principal "nations" in the area, it is clear that they are using the linguistic criterion of differentiation.

The existence of these various levels of grouping has led to some confusion in the use of the term Ḳatabanian, for scholars have not always been careful in distinguishing the levels at which the term is applicable. It is certain from the inscriptions that Ḳatabān was a *shaʿb*, whose territory consisted of the present-day Wādī Bayḥān [*q.v.*], and probably also the Wādī Ḥarīb [*q.v.*] parallel to it on the west; in ancient times, Bayḥān had been the name merely of one of a number of village communities which together constituted the *shaʿb* Ḳatabān. At certain periods in its history, however, the *shaʿb* Ḳatabān was the dominant element in a hegemony which extended over the highland plateau south of the Wādī Bayḥān (now the Yemeni province of al-Bayḍāʾ, anciently Awsan), and beyond that into Dathīna [*q.v.*], the lowland area at the foot on the escarpment which forms the southern boundary of the plateau. The classical geographers tell us that the Ḳatabanians extended as far as the Red Sea and Indian Ocean coasts: but in so doing they were probably referring to the linguistic "nation", *i.e.* the ethnic group which used the same dialect as the *shaʿb* Ḳatabān, for there is no epigraphic evidence to show that the latter ever exercised real political control over so wide an area. The most we can say is that there were certain social linkages between the Ḳatabanian heartland and the isolated highland massif in the extreme southwest of the peninsula of which today Taʿizz is the administrative centre, for the township of *Harbat* in the Wādī Ḥarīb was founded by immigrants from Sawwa, not far from Taʿizz.

There are some indications that, in the earliest phase of our historical records, it was the *shaʿb* Awsan which was the dominant partner in a confederacy covering to some extent the same area as the later Ḳatabanian confederacy. This is the most probable interpretation of the Ṣirwāḥ inscription (RES 3945), which records that Saba crushed Awsan and liberated Ḳatabān from Awsanian domination. F. Hommel supposed this to mean that Awsan then vanished completely and finally from the map, which is certainly wrong, since mention of Awsan occurs again much later— probably when the Ḳatabanian confederacy had in its turn broken up.

The chronology of Ḳatabān is still in some dispute. An American school, of which the protagonists are W. F. Albright and A. Jamme, hold that its history stretches from the 6th century B.C. or even earlier, down to the early years of the Christian Era. A continental school, headed by J. Ryckmans and J. Pirenne, dates the whole process some two centuries or so later. The only certainty at the moment is that there is no mention whatever of Ḳatabān in inscriptions from the 4th century A.D. onwards; and we are forced to believe that by this time Ḳatabān had disappeared from the political and social map. This is why Muslim writers knew nothing of it as a social entity, for such knowledge as they had of pre-Islamic affairs extends only to the couple of centuries immediately preceding Islam. It could also be surmised that it was the disappearance of Ḳatabān that paved the way for the rise of Bayḥān from being a mere village community to a social entity giving its name to the whole Wādī, but at the same time speaking of the king of Ḥaḍramawt as overlord: this suggests that Ḳatabān may have been overthrown by a Sabaean-Ḥaḍramī alliance, which assigned the former lands of the *shaʿb* Ḳatabān to Ḥaḍramī overlordship.

Apart from the uncertainty of the absolute chronology, a diversity of attempts have been made at establishing an internal relative chronology; but it is doubtful whether even the best of these can yet be regarded as definitive.

Archaeology. In this respect, the Wādī Bayḥān is better known than any other area of comparable size in the culture area, thanks largely to the intensive research campaigns of 1950-51 under the auspices of the American Foundation for the Study of Man. These concentrated much of their attention on a site now known as Hadjar Kuḥlān, anciently Θοῦμνα, Thomna, etc., and inscriptionally *Tmnʿ*. It lies at the far northern end of the Wādī, and though now engulfed in desert sands, was formerly a highly prosperous settlement. There was a rectangular walled town, one quarter of the area of which was an open market space, wherein stands a stela of ancient date containing the market regulations; a temple outside the walled town; and a burial ground at a small rocky outcrop now called Ḥayd Bin ʿAḳīl some few kilometres north-east of the town. This site was the metropolis of the Ḳatabanian confederacy in its

heyday; but it came to a violent end, being destroyed by fire. There are, however, indications that the original headquarters of the *s͟haʿb* Ḳatabān, before it emerged into paramountcy over the confederation, may have been at the site now called Had͟jar Bin Ḥumeyd, approximately halfway between Had͟jar Kuḥlān and the present administrative centre at Bayḥān al-Ḳaṣāb, for the stratigraphic evidence here seems to indicate a very high antiquity indeed for the site.

Three possible routes link the Wādī Bayḥān with the Wādī Ḥarīb. One can skirt the northern end of the mountain range separating the two *wādīs*, but this route must always have been insecure, exposed as it is to attacks from desert tribesmen. Somewhat further there is a pass known as Naḳd Marḳad, devoid of inscriptional records but having on the eastern approach two stone walls which start from the sides of the valley and gradually converge, as they ascend, to a narrow opening at the summit of the pass; this ensures that caravans could only cross the pass at that precise point, thus facilitating customs control. Further south again there is a much more impressive relic. Due west of Had͟jar Bin Ḥumeyd, the Wādī Mablaḳa strikes up into the dividing mountain chain. At the head of this, one ascends by a steep zigzag climb up the mountainside, along a finely paved path of pre-Islamic date; at the very summit of the col, a way has been cut deep into the natural rock. The construction of the whole route is recorded in an inscription at the summit.

Another portion of what was evidently the same plan crossed a similar pass-road named Ẓr in an inscription; the exact location of this is unknown, but it certainly led westwards out of the Wādī Ḥarīb towards the Wādī D͟jūba and Mārib.

The whole Wādī Bayḥān was in ancient times agriculturally exploited by an elaborate irrigation system which has been studied in detail by a member of the 1950-51 expedition, G. van Beek.

In the Wādī Ḥarīb, the only site that has been inspected (though not yet systematically excavated) is that of the previously mentioned township *Harbat*, now called Had͟jar Ḥinu al-Zurayr, slightly north of the western exit from the Mablaḳa pass. The part of the Wādī further north has for political reasons been, until quite recently, inaccessible to scientific research. The same is true of the Wādī Mark͟ha, to the east of the Wādī Bayḥān, with its important site of Had͟jar al-Nāb, from which one could hope for considerable accretions to our knowledge of Ḳatabān.

Other sites in the Wādī Bayḥān itself which might repay further investigation include Maryama, situated at a point where the Wādī bifurcates some 8 km. south of Bayḥān al-Ḳaṣāb, and just west of a pass leading towards the Wādī Mark͟ha.

The market regulations of *Tmnʿ* attest the keen interest of Ḳatabān in trade. A further index of this interest is the existence of a well-documented series of Ḳatabanian coins, starting in the 3rd century B.C. with imitations of Athenian "owl" coinage, and later developing into native types. *Tmnʿ* must to some extent have been a centre of international trade, for the Minaeans, who seem to have monopolized the traffic in aromatics, hae a resident colony there supervised by their own official called the "*kabīr* of the Minaeans in *Tmnʿ*"; and one type of Ḳatabanian coinage has a legend not in the usual "monumental" script of the settled populations, but in a north Arabian script style.

Ḳatabān in its later phase showed a very high degree of artistic achievement; and its art is mani festly greatly influenced by Greek models.

Religion. The History of Ḳatabān lies wholly within the polytheistic period, and its pantheon, as elsewhere in the culture area, was dominated by a triad of principal deities. Firstly, a lunar god called in the Ḳatabanian speaking territory by the name ʿAmm (in the other linguistic nations he had different names). Secondly, ʿAt͟htar, so named throughout the culture area, the male counterpart of north Semitic Ashtaroth/Astarte, and usually considered to be the Venus-star. Thirdly, a solar goddess with no distinctive name but referred to simply as "sun", or by one or more of a series of feminine epithets. All the major deities, in fact, embrace a number of hypostases distinguished by varying epithets. There were also minor deities, whose functions and characteristics it is difficult to define.

About actual religious practices we know very little, for the Ḳatabanian language texts are as a whole markedly more secular in tone than the Sabaean ones. One interesting sidelight is that part of Dat͟hīna was farmed by *métayers* of the *s͟haʿb Kḥd*, while the proprietorial rights were vested in two clans of the *s͟haʿb* Ḳatabān: and this landlord-tenant relationship expressed itself in a common allegiance to a hypostasis of ʿAmm with the distinctive epithet "of Labak͟h" (this last the name of a prominent mountain on the west side of the Wādī Bayḥān)—see Beeston, *Qahtan*, ii.

Institutions. The titular head of the *s͟haʿb* Ḳatabān was a king, *malik*; but he was by no means an autocrat. Legislative enactments were passed in the name of the king together with other functionaires having a variety of titles impossible to interpret with any precision, but who may have been grouped together under a name etymologically related to Arabic *sayyid*. The composition of the body probably varied according to the business in hand; in the market regulations a prominent role is played by the "overseer" (*ʿhr*) of the market, in irrigation texts by the landlords. The king was not supreme legislator but rather chief executive. His functions were to register, promulgate and secure the carrying out of the acts of the legislative body; to initiate major public works; and to act as commander in war.

He had moreover a dual role. By virtue of being head of the *s͟haʿb* Ḳatabān he was also head of the confederacy in which the *s͟haʿb* Ḳatabān was the dominant member—in rather the same way that the Queen of England is also "head of the British Commonwealth". As head of the confederacy, he used formally the title *mkrb* (vocalization unknown) of Ḳatabān, *i.e.* in this context, the Ḳatabanian confederacy. It must be stressed that a theory propounded by F. Hommel, and still unfortunately being given currency, has in the last few decades been proved conclusively to be unfounded and is not now believed by any expert: namely, that *mkrb* was the title of the "priest-ruler" (Accadian *ensi*) of a theocratic state anterior to the establishment of a secular state headed by a king.

The crucial evidence on this point is the inscription at the head of the Mablaḳa pass. This is in two parts: in the first (RES 2550) the credit for sponsoring the work is claimed for an individual styling himself *mkrb* of Ḳatabān; in the second (Ryckmans 390, not published until 1949), the director of public works states that he superintended the work "on behalf of his lord the king of Ḳatabān". King and *mkrb* are the same individual. It is clear that, to a member of the *s͟haʿb* Ḳatabān, his superior was simply "king of

Ḳatabān", but the latter, in sponsoring a major public work for the benefit of, and probably financed by, the whole confederacy, used the title *mkrb* which stressed his position as head of the confederacy and not merely of the *sha*ʿ*b*.

While it is possible that every *mkrb* may have been also a king, the reverse is not true. There are several instances of two brothers, or a father and son, being designated "joint kings of Ḳatabān", but the title *mkrb* never occurs in dual or plural. It would be safe to conclude, at least provisionally, that when there were two joint kings of the *sha*ʿ*b*, only one could be formal head of the confederacy.

Certain holders of the *mkrb* office list and elaborate series of other formal titles, among which two phrases deserve note. The *mkrb* is tax-collector (*qẓr*, cf. Tigrinya *taqʷāṣāri*), chief administrator (*qyn*), and priest, of the tutelary deity of the confederacy, ʿAmm; he was thus responsible for federal tax-collection and other administration, and for the maintenance of the federal cultus. Further, he is "first-born" (*bkr*) of that deity: this expression has to be evaluated in the context of the fact that all members of the Ḳatabanian confederacy are collectively the "children of ʿAmm", that is, under the special protection of the tutelary deity of the confederacy; there is no reason to think that "first-born" implies anything more than the primacy of status enjoyed by the head of the confederacy in relation to the other "children of ʿAmm".

One institution which emerges with greater clarity in Ḳatabān than elsewhere is the *corvée*. The maintenance of the great irrigational installations which served a number of properties was the responsibility of the landowners concerned, and the latter were obliged to provide for this purpose one day's *corvée* labour in each period of fifteen days (RES 3854 as reinterpreted in Beeston, *Calendars*, 6-7).

Language. The dialects of the culture area constitute an independent language within the southern branch of the Semitic languages, as distinct from Arabic as is, on the one hand Aramaic, and on the other Ethiopic (albeit in the later, post-Ḳatabanian, phase a good many Arabic lexical items begin to creep in). Of the Ḳatabanian dialect itself, the most noteworthy features are: (a) the prefix of the causative verb-system, and the base of the third person independent and affixed pronouns, are sibilants, as they are in Minaean and Ḥaḍramī, whereas Sabaean has *h* in these forms; (b) the imperfect indicative of verbs has a *b*-prefix, contrasting with absence of the prefix in subjunctive and jussive.

The script is the South Semitic alphabet used throughout the culture area (either directly ancestral to, or at all events closely related to, Ethiopic script), but with a fairly distinctive Ḳatabanian ductus, which in the earlier phases resembles Minaean ductus and in the latter phases evolves its own characteristic style of great beauty. The alphabet contains 29 consonantal symbols, representing the 28 consonant phonemes of Arabic plus an extra unvoiced sibilant phoneme.

Bibliography: W. F. Albright, *The chronology of ancient South Arabia*, in *BASOR*, cxix, 5-15; A. F. L. Beeston, *Qahtan*, fasc. i, *The mercantile code of Qataban*, fasc. ii, *The Labakh texts*, London 1959-71; idem, *Epigraphic South Arabian calendars*, London 1956; idem, *Descriptive grammar of Epigraphic South Arabian*, London 1962; idem, *Kingship in ancient South Arabia*, in *JESHO* xv (1972), 256-68; R. L. Bowen, F. P. Albright et al., *Archaeological discoveries in South Arabia*, Baltimore 1958; B. Doe, *Southern Arabia*, London 1971 [excellent photographs and descriptions of sites, but unreliable on history and epigraphy]; M. A. Ghul, *New Qatabāni inscriptions*, in *BSOAS*, xxii, 1-22, 419-38; G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia*, London 1922; M. Höfner and H. von Wissmann, *Beiträge zur historischen Geographie des vorislamischen Sudarabien*, Wiesbaden 1953, 35-77; A. Jamme, *Le panthéon sudarabe préislamique*, in *Le Museon*, lx (1947), 57-147; idem, *Pièces épigraphiques de Ḥeid bin Aqīl*, Louvain 1952; Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenzyklopädie*, s.v. KATABANI; J. Pirenne, *Paléographie des inscriptions sud-arabes*, i, Brussel 1956; idem, *Le royaume sud-arabe de Qatabân et sa datation*, Louvain 1961; *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique*, tom. 6-7, Paris 1935-50; G. Van Beek *et al.*, *Hajar bin Ḥumeid*, Baltimore 1969; J. Walker, *A mysterious South Arabian coin-legend*, in *NC*, 6th ser., viii, 39-42.

(A. F. L. Beeston)

ḲATĀDA b. **DIʿĀMA** b. ḲATĀDA AL-SADŪSĪ, ABU'L-KHAṬṬĀB, a Successor, who was blind from birth and who became proverbial (see, *e.g.*, Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, i/1, 2) for his prodigious memory and his knowledge about genealogies, lexicography, historical traditions, Ḳur'ānic exegesis and the readings, and *ḥadīth*. Of Bedouin origin, he spent his life in Baṣra, where he is said to have gone about without a guide. He was the pupil of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and Ibn Sīrīn, and also transmitted the Ṣaḥīfa of Djābir b. ʿAbd Allāh (Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 10, Eng. tr. ii, 23). He was considered to be a proponent of the doctrine of free will [see ḲADARIYYA], and it was he who gave their name to the Muʿtazila, but it is also said that he later renounced his Ḳadarī views. His exegetical teaching was written down by Saʿīd b. Bashīr (*Fihrist*, 51), who died in 168/784-5, according to Ibn ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, i, 265-6. He was supposedly born in 60/680, and died of plague at Wāsiṭ in 117/735, but the information on the place and date of his death is contradictory.

Bibliography: Ibn Baṭṭa-Laoust, 31; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 462 and index; Ibn Khallikān, no. 514 (= ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, iv, 85-6); Dhahabī, *Ḥuffāẓ*, i, 115-17; Ibn alʿImād, *Shadharāt*, i, 153-4; Ibn Saʿd, vii/2, 1-3; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 509-11; Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilya*, ii, 333-45, no. 198; Ibn Djazarī, *Ḳurrā'*, ii, no. 2611; Ṣafadī, *Nakt*, 230; *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, viii, 351; Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, xvii, 9-10; Massignon, *Essai*, index.

(Ch. Pellat)

ḲATĀDA b. **IDRĪS**, usually known as Abū-ʿUzaiyyiz, the ancestor of the *sharīf*s of Mecca from the beginning of the 7th/13th century. He was born in the district of Yanbuʿ, probably soon after 540/1145-6. Yanbuʿ, a fortress, on the Mecca-Medina road, was then dominated by the Ḳatāda family, one of the ʿAlawī families which belonged to the branch of al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī. At the beginning of the 7th/13th century Mukaththir b. Ḳāsim, *sharīf* and ruler of Mecca, died. He was succeeded by his son Muḥammad, the last *sharīf* from the ruling family of the Hawāshim. Ḳatāda b. Idrīs, who had earlier succeeded in uniting his tribe with the other tribes of the district of Yanbuʿ under his leadership, captured Mecca and killed Muḥammad b. Mukaththir. The last *sharīf*s of the Banū Hāshim had lived in an atmosphere of constant family strife and quarrels. Meanwhile, Ḳatāda had established himself in Yahbuʿ and extended his power southwards in the direction of Mecca, thus preparing his attack on the holy city.

Ḳatāda was a man of political genius. He pursued the idea of founding an independent state in Arabia, recognizing the weakness of both the ʿAbbāsids of Bag͟hdād and the Ayyūbids of Egypt and Syria. Since neither they nor the Zaydīs of Yaman presented any real threat, he endeavoured to capture the whole of the Ḥid͟jāz. After repairing the ruinous walls of Mecca, he captured al-Ṭāʾif and brought the T͟haḳīf tribes under his dominion. Ḳatāda rebuilt the fortress of Yanbuʿ, organized his army and then tried to capture Medina, but Sālim b. Ḳāsim, the *s͟harīf* of Medina, and a member of the Ḥusaynī branch of the ʿAlawī family, thwarted his purpose.

Although Ḳatāda was a S͟hīʿī, he acknowledged the suzerainty of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Nāṣir. On the whole, however, his relations with the caliph were frequently strained and sometimes broke into open hostility. Nevertheless, the caliph, who was working to reunite the Muslim world under his leadership, once invited him to visit Bag͟hdād. It is said that Ḳatāda started on his journey to the capital, but returned to his own country when he was met by an embassy of the caliph which had in its train fettered lions. Be this legend or fact, this much is certain, that Ḳatāda embodied his idea of the "splendid isolation of Ḥid͟jāz" in verses which are a typical illustration of his negative attitude towards foreign powers. Probably his encouragement of the Zaydī occupation of Yaman is to be viewed in the same light.

In 609/1212-13, the mother of D͟jalāl al-Dīn, leader of the Assassins, lord of Alamūt and the ally of al-Nāṣir, the ʿAbbāsid caliph, went to Mecca on the pilgrimage. Her visit coincided with the murder of Ḳatāda's cousin. Ḳatāda, who greatly resembled his cousin, was sure that he himself was the intended victim and that the murderer was an Assassin sent against him by the caliph. Greatly angered, he attacked and looted the ʿIrāḳī pilgrims and imposed a heavy fine on them, much of which was paid by the lady of Alamūt.

In his last days Ḳatāda undertook an expedition against Medina. Illness, however, induced him to return to Mecca, where he was killed in 618/1221 by his son Ḥasan, who suspected him of favouring one of his relatives as candidate for the throne. His descendants were ruling *s͟harīf*s in Mecca until 1916, when Ḥusayn converted the sharīfate into a kingdom.

Bibliography: Sibṭ Ibn al-D͟jawzī, *Mirʾat al-zaman*, Hyderabad 1952, viii, 617-8; Fāsī, *Shifāʾ al-g͟harām bi-ak͟hbār al-balad al-Ḥarām*, Cairo 1956, ii, 198-9; Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt al-d͟jinān*, Hyderabad 1339/1920-1, iv 39; Maḳrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, Cairo 1956, i, 206; ʿIṣāmī, *Simṭ al-nujūm al-ʿawālī*, Cairo, iv, 207-14; Wüstenfeld, *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, ii, 69, 214, 260 ff.; iii, 14, 83; Ibn al-At͟hīr, xii, 134, 169, 261 ff.; al-Sind͟jārī, *Manāʾiḥ al-Karam*, fols. 121 ff., in Snouck Hurgronje's Ms.; Aḥmad Zaynī Daḥlān, *K͟hulāṣat al-Kalām*, Cairo 1305, 23; idem, *ʿUmdat al-Ṭālib*, Bombay 1318, 121 ff.; Ibn K͟haldūn, *ʿIbar*, Būlāḳ 1284, iv, 104 ff.; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taʾrīk͟h*, Istanbul 1286, ii, 137; Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, 73 ff.; idem, *Qatadah's policy of splendid isolation of the Hijaz*, in *A Volume of Oriental Studies presented to E. G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922, 439-44, where Ḳatāda's poem is discussed (= *Verspreide Geschriften van C. Snouck Hurgronje*, iii, 355 ff.).

(A. S. Wensinck-[S. Zakkar])

KATAHR, a district of India to the east of Dihlī lying between the Rāmgangā and S͟hāradā rivers and hence the eastern part of the tract which, in the first third of the 18th century, came to be known as Rohilkhanḍ [*q.v.*]; but in Mug͟hal times the name seems to have been applied loosely to the whole of that tract. The name (*Katahr* in the oldest Muslim sources, but *recte Kaṭahr*) is variously derived: W. Crooke, *Tribes and castes of the North West Provinces* and *Oudh*, Calcutta 1896, iii, 176, takes it as the name of the common soil of the tract, "a brownish loam of a thirsty tenacious nature requiring copious rain for irrigation"; others from the Kaṭehriyā Rād͟jpūts of the region, who may derive their name from the characteristic soil, although a local tradition takes it from their putative original home in Kāṭhīāwāṛ.

The Hindū tribes of the region had a reputation for turbulence and intransigence, and there are several accounts of operations against them in the sultanate period: in 652/1254 by Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd, as a reprisal for the murder of a Muslim officer (Minhād͟j al-Sirād͟j D͟jūzd͟jānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, s.v. 9th regnal year); by Balban in 665/1267, after reports that the inhabitants were plundering all around them without restraint and that the local *iḳṭāʿdār* could no longer control them—his severe measures are said to have kept the region quiet for the next 30 years (Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Baranī, *Taʾrīk͟h-i Fērōz S͟hāhī*, ed. Bib. Ind., 55-9); Baranī (*op. cit.*, 288) includes the whole of Katahr in the regions affected by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn K͟hald͟jī's revenue reforms (*ca.* 701/1301); in about 779/1377-8 the murder of the governor of Badāʾūn by Rāy Khaṛgū, the chief of the Kaṭahriyā Rād͟jpūts, led to a terrible vengeance by Fērōz b. Rad͟jab ("Fērōz S͟hāh Tug͟hluḳ"), who laid waste the district, slaughtered thousands of Hindūs and enslaved some 23,000 more, and issued an order of regular punitive raids for the next five years, himself hunting regularly at Sambhal, "leaving nothing but the game" (Yaḥyā Sirhindī, *Taʾrīk͟h-i Mubārak S͟hāhī*, 140). Under the weak "Sayyid kings" of Dihlī, especially K͟hiḍr K͟hān and Mubārak S͟hāh [*qq.v.*], Katahr was in practically a continuous state of rebellion (*Taʾrīk͟h-i Mubārak S͟hāhī, passim* after p. 182). Thereafter Katahr seems to have changed hands frequently between the Dihlī sultanate and the S͟harḳī [*q.v.*] sultanate of D͟jawnpur, although it appears seldom in the chronicles. The last recorded rebellion from the region is that of one Ḳanbar Beg, shortly before Humāyūn's death, in 963/1555.

Under Akbar the *sarkār* of Badāʾūn, the principal town in the Katahr region, became part of the *ṣūba* of Dihlī; later the importance of Badāʾūn declined, and under Shāhd͟jahān the chief town of the region was Barelī ("Bareilly"). Awrangzēb later included the more western town of Sambhal in the *sarkār*, thus extending the connotation of "Katahr" to the region now generally known as Rohilkhanḍ. For its later history, see s.v. rohilkhanḍ

See also hind, above, map facing p. 428; badāʾūn; sambhal.

Bibliography: given in the article.

(J. Burton-Page)

KATAK [see orissa].

KATANGA (now Shaba), region in the south-east corner of the modern Republic of Zaïre, formerly Congo (now Kinshasa). Here, between the Congo-Zambesi watershed and the forests of the central Congo basin, the land slopes gently down, hundreds of miles of open bush country, relatively heavily populated, producing corn, rice, sugarcane and other crops. Falls on the Lulaba River cut Katanga off from water transport on the Congo; the

region's main avenues of approach were from Benguela via Bihé on the west, and from Lakes Tanganyika and Nyasa on the east. The principal highway of Islamic penetration in eastern Africa, however, from the coast to Lake Tanganyika, where by 1840 a permanent trading centre had been established at Ujiji, continued thence due east to Maniema and the Luapula valley, where Islam has struck its deepest roots in Zaïre. Only a branch route turned southwards. Tippu Tip, the most outstanding of the so-called "Arabs" from the east coast of Africa, in the Congo, may perhaps for a time, about 1870, have operated in conjunction with Msiri, ruler of Katanga, against the Lunda of Kazembe; but later it was reported that Msiri had plundered one of Tippu Tip's lieutenants. Tippu Tip travelled through Urua, in northeast Katanga, early in his career, but found the area disappointingly sparse in ivory, the main export item, together with slaves, to the east coast, and his attention was finally diverted northwards. For these reasons, the story of Islam in Katanga remains but a minor theme in the general development of Islam in Zaïre.

A state called Garenganze had grown up in the Katanga region under Msiri, a Nyamwezi immigrant. Nyamwezi trade with Katanga may have begun as early as 1800; Msiri's father, Kalasa, had often visited the region to buy copper. Msiri was once able, with the aid of a few guns, to render valuable help to the local Sanga chief, and became his heir. Both the Sanga and the Lamba over whom Msiri also became ruler, had been vassals of neighbouring Kazembe; Msiri successfully beat back an attempt by Kazembe to re-assert his authority. Msiri, strengthening his position as much as possible by encouraging immigration, welcoming refugees, amassing slaves, and building up an armoury, came to rule an area the size of Great Britain, from the Lualaba to Lake Mweru and the Luapula, and from the Luvua to the Congo/Zambesi watershed.

Such a state was attractive to traders, and these came from all quarters, Zanzibar, Uganda, Nyamwezi country, the Zambesi, Lake Nyasa, Angola and the Congo basin. Some of the incoming traders Msiri tempted to stay on, with gifts of land and women. Ivory, salt, slaves, iron and copper were exported. Copper, crosses of which served as currency in the region, was particularly important. The Arabs introduced brassworking at Ujiji, one part of zinc from the coast to two of Katanga copper. Arab influence grew at Bunkeya, Msiri's capital; the "Arabs" had reception days at court, when their master traders presented Msiri with gifts. Msiri depended upon these traders, above all for his arms supply; but he was envious of their wealth and fearful of their power. When in 1886 the first Christian missionary, F. S. Arnot, arrived, Msiri welcomed him, in part as a counterweight to the "Arabs". At Arnot's first interview with Msiri, he was introduced to several "Arab" traders from Zanzibar. The "Arabs" had evidently promulgated infamous stories about the English, to prejudice Msiri against them, but he suspended judgment, remarking that he did not yet know the English while he did know the "Arabs". Arnot visited a camp of "Arab" traders at the capital, where he saw numerous slaves, mostly full-grown men and women. He watched a man being bought for ten yards of calico, and was told that a woman or a young lad might fetch from twelve to sixteen yards. Grown men, untameable and liable to escape, were less valuable. Slave sticks were in use. Slave babies were often killed. Arnot, of the Plymouth Brethren, was followed by other Brethren missionaries. Rivalry grew between the missionaries and the "Arabs": the latter ridiculed reading the Bible from left to right, the material poverty—in accord with strict Brethren principles —of the missionaries, and their failure to supply Msiri with munitions. The extent of Islamic religious influence in Katanga is hard to gauge, but was almost certainly very slight: Muslim written charms were evidently prized for healing; some immigrants from the east recommended that Msiri punish theft by amputating the hand, but he demurred, preferring the death penalty; he did prohibit smoking and snuff. But these are only scraps of evidence, and may not all even reflect Islamic influence.

Until the end of 1891, Msiri steadfastly refused to acknowledge the claim of the Congo Free State of King Leopold of the Belgians, to the territory, and in December of that year he was killed by a State agent. These events happened in relative isolation from the mainstream of Muslim development further north. There, in 1887, Tippu Tip accepted appointment as governor by the Congo Free State, placing his domains nominally under the State. This rapprochement did not last long: in 1892 war between the State and the "Arabs" broke out, and by 1895 the power of the latter was broken, their main leaders dead or fugitives. In Katanga, there was confusion, unchecked "Arab" slave-raiding and famine; Msiri's authority had begun to crumble even before his death, and the State was only very gradually able to impose control. The State introduced, incidentally, a new Islamic element, for some of the State troops were Hausa Muslims.

Following the consolidation of the Congo Free State, later the Belgian Congo, the natural links eastwards of Congolese Muslims were for a time dislocated. The Belgian authorities were generally more suspicious of, and hostile to, Islam than were French and British colonial governments in several other, more Muslim, part of black Africa. Contacts with East Africa recovered, partly as a result of German employment of coastal Muslims as government servants in the interior of German East Africa. In 1932-5, the Ķādirīya *ṭarīķa* was observed spreading among the Muslims of the Congo. The first national Muslim Congress met in Kasongo in March 1964.

Bibliography: F. S. Arnot, *Garenganze*, London 1889; Ruth Slade, *King Leopold's Congo*, London 1962; C. Young, *The Congo*, in J. Kritzeck and W. H. Lewis, *Islam in Africa*, New York 1969, with many further references.

(H. FISHER)

ĶATANIYA [see ṢIĶILIYYA].

ĶAṬAR, in the local pronunciation Giṭar, a peninsula of some 4,000 square miles in area which juts out into the Arabian Gulf. It is about 115 miles long and 55 miles broad at its widest part. The discoveries of the Danish archaeological expeditions from 1956 to 1964 show that Ķaṭar had been inhabited since prehistoric times, the earliest object found, a pair of hand-axes, dating from about 4,000 B.C. The earliest Arabic prose source to mention it is the *Kitāb al-masālik wa 'l-mamālik* of Ibn Khurradādhbih, who notes it briefly as one of the stops on the route from Baṣra to ʿUmān; this despite the fact that it is believed to have provided the *nisba* of the Azraķī Khāridjī Ķaṭarī b. al-Fudjāʾa. It is briefly mentioned by al-Hamdānī in a list of Arabian place-names and elsewhere as a halt on a route. Even much later, neither Yāķūt nor Ibn Manẓūr gives significantly more information

on Ḳaṭar. It is mentioned in Umayyad poetry; indeed, Yāḳūt cites a reference from Djarīr. Ibn Ḥawḳal makes an early mention of Ḳaṭarī pirates, and Masʿūdī mentions the waters of Ḳaṭar as a source of pearls.

For such a prominent physical feature, it attracted strangely little notice from European travellers in the Gulf area. Early maps show Ḳaṭar only as a slight bulge on the mainland and the first representation of it as a peninsula is on Arrowsmith's map of 1825. Although by 1825 two ships of the Indian Navy had surveyed this whole area, it was not until comparatively recently that the complete outline of Ḳaṭar was accurately mapped.

Yāḳūt mentions Ḳaṭar as a settlement (*ḳarya*) and Pedro Teixeira at the end of the 16th century calls it "a port of Arabia". Whether or not it was a "settlement" or a "port", much of the history of Ḳaṭar does centre around settlements on or near the sea rather than round a country. It was only under the ruling Āl Thānī dynasty that the various city states were finally united.

In 1766 the Āl Khalīfa clan of the ʿUtūb immigrated from Kuwayt and occupied Zubāra on the western shore of the peninsula. With their arrival begins the modern period in the history of the country and the only one for which we have adequate information. At this time there were already settled in Ḳaṭar the Āl Musallam clan of the Banū Khālid in Ḥuwayla, the Maʿāḍīḍ and other Āl b. ʿAlī in Fuwayriṭ, and in Dawḥa (then called Bidʿ) (cf. above), Suwaydī refugees (Sūdān) from that part of eastern Arabia later called Trucial Oman.

A little later, ʿUtbī kinsmen of the Āl Khalīfa, the Djalāhima, joined them at Zubāra. Dissension arose between them, and the latter removed to Ruways where they took to piracy. Although they were later nearly exterminated by the Āl Khalīfa and their allies, their piracies combined with their feud with the Āl Khalīfa were an important factor in the history of the area.

The occupation of Baṣra by the Persians from 1776-9 brought an influx of merchants to Zubāra and it became for some time the centre of the pearl trade and of trade in general in eastern Arabia. It successfully defended itself against a number of Persian attacks and after the failure of the 1783 expedition, the Āl Khalīfa, together with ʿUtūb from Kuwait, mounted a successful expedition against Baḥrayn and Aḥmad b. Khalīfa became the first ʿUtbī ruler of those islands.

The Djalāhima, by this time at Khawr Ḥassān (now called Khuwayr), began to play a dominant role in Ḳaṭar and, by 1809, under the famous Raḥma b. Djābir, then in alliance with the Wahhābī power, they controlled even Zubāra. Indeed in 1810-11, through the alliance with the Djalāhima, a Wahhābī, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUfayṣān, governed Ḳaṭīf, Ḳaṭar and Baḥrayn. In 1811 after a successful expedition by Sayyid Saʿīd of Muscat against Zubāra and Khawr Ḥassān, the Wahhābīs withdrew from Baḥrayn and Ḳaṭar and the Āl Khalīfa returned to power. Raḥma withdrew to Dammām and pursued his feud with the Āl Khalīfa from there and from other centres in the Gulf. During all of this time he was careful in his piracies not to attack British ships, and this policy gave him immunity from their reprisals. Indeed, in 1817 he fought successfully against the Ḳawāsim, the pirates of Raʾs al-Khayma and al-Shāriḳa, who so successfully harried the ships of the area, including those of the British.

Meanwhile Bidʿ (later Dawḥa) was destroyed by a British cruiser in 1821 as a reprisal for acts of piracy committed by some of its inhabitants, but by 1823, under the Āl Bū ʿAynayn, was still the only port in the peninsula to possess trading ships. Though still in this period and until 1840 nominally subject to the *Shaykh* of Baḥrayn, in fact, though not openly contested, his suzerainty was not accepted, though for a time Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh did indeed reside in Ḳaṭar.

It is a feature of all of the earlier history of Ḳaṭar that the inhabitants of its city-states would remove or be removed within the area. Many of these migrations are of importance later when they are used as proofs in the kind of territorial disputes which were important to the area after 1918. Thus in 1828 the Āl Bū ʿAynayn were removed after a revolt to Ruways and Fuwayriṭ and the inhabitants of Ḥuwayla were re-settled in Baḥrayn after a revolt in 1835. More important for Ḳaṭar, however, were movements of the Banī Yās from the area of Abū Ẓabī [*q.v.*]. The Banī Yās under Suwaydān, by their maritime depredations from Dawḥa, brought the then ruler of Abū Ẓabī close to war with Baḥrayn. This raiding ceased when Suwaydān returned to Abū Ẓabī in 1828, but the Banī Yās had fines for piracy laid on them in 1835 and many emigrated to Khawr al-ʿUdayd to avoid payment of these, leaving only in 1878. In this period this group was the cause of much friction between Ḳaṭar and Abū Ẓabī. The piracies of one of these emigrants, Djāsim b. Djābir, continued despite energetic attempts to apprehend him. In 1841, however, his ship was seized and burnt at Dawḥa, although Djāsim himself escaped.

The Ḳaṭarīs were also involved to some extent in the hostilities of 1840-9 between the rival Baḥraynī *shaykh*s, ʿAbd Allāh and Muḥammad. The Ḳaṭarīs went to the aid of Muḥammad, who had seized Murayr and Fuwayriṭ in Ḳaṭar, when he used them as a base for the successful attack on Muḥarraḳ in Baḥrayn, which established him firmly there in 1843. But for the peace agreed in 1851 between the Shaykh of Baḥrayn and the Suʿūdī Amīr, Fayṣal b. Turkī would have occupied Dawḥa, Wakra and Fuwayriṭ. He was in the position to do so and it seems sure that their inhabitants would have preferred this to the Baḥraynī connection. Certainly, after this time the *shaykh* of Baḥrayn paid a yearly tax to the Suʿūdīs to ensure the safety of Ḳaṭar from attacks by tribes within their sphere of control. However, late in 1867 Baḥrayn and Abū Ẓabī launched a joint attack on Dawḥa and Wakra, totally destroying them and removing their population. From then to the present day, relations between Ḳaṭar on the one hand and Baḥrayn and Abū Ẓabī on the other have remained uneasy.

One of those who had fled from Dawḥa was Muḥammad b. Thānī of the Āl Thānī of the Maʿāḍīḍ. He was induced, because of his great influence, to sign an agreement in September 1868 with the British, by the terms of which he was virtually established in Dawḥa. Although this was in effect the beginning of the rule of the Āl Thānī, little is known of them before this date other than that a kinsman, ʿĪsā b. Ṭarīf, had emigrated from Ḳays Island to Dawḥa in 1843 and was killed in battle four years later near Fuwayriṭ.

In mid-1871 a deputation was sent to Dawḥa by the Turks, who had recently occupied Ḳaṭīf, and Shaykh Djāsim (perhaps better Ḳāsim) b. Muḥammad of the Āl Thānī was persuaded to accept the Turkish flag. Despite this Bedouin and Wahhābī forces

driven out of al-Ḥasā began to use Ḳaṭar as a base for military harassment of the Ottomans. The Turks as a result landed troops and guns at Dawḥa in 1872 and stationed themselves nearby; but the Āl Thānī nevertheless remained the paramount *shaykhs*: in 1876 Djāsim was appointed *ḳāʾimmaḳām* of Ḳaṭar, and in 1879, after the death of his father, governor of Dawḥa. Relations were no longer good, however. By 1890 Djāsim had attempted to resign his responsibilities and there were outbreaks of hostilities between the big tribal alliances.

In 1878, however, Djāsim was able to evict the Naʿīm from Zubāra, which they had settled some years earlier, their repeated piracies having provided adequate pretext. This action had far-reaching repercussions, since the Naʿīm were the last tribal group in Ḳaṭar to accept the writ of Baḥrayn consistently, and this acceptance of their suzerainty gave substance to Baḥraynī claims to rule all or part of Ḳaṭar. Zubāra remained an uninhabited place long after this engagement. This event caught the imagination of the Ḳaṭarīs and they have much oral literature on this theme and on the theme of the hostilities between Ḳaṭar and Abū Ẓabī in the years immediately following.

The Banī Yās had left ʿUdayd in 1878; then in 1880 the Ḳubaysāt removed to Abū Ẓabī, and the consequent loss of Ḳaṭarī influence in ʿUdayd caused further bitterness in Djāsim. The next ten years were marked by some maritime raids but more by raids on land between these two principals. The raids increased in scale and one of the engagements, a raid against Dawḥa in 1888, ended in the death of Shaykh Djāsim's son ʿAlī.

Relations with the Turks were also worsening, and in early 1893 Djāsim refused a summons from the visiting *wālī* of Baṣra. The Arabs were provoked into an engagement to the north of Dawḥa. In this, however, the Turks were forced to withdraw in poor order, although their losses were much lighter than those of the Arabs. Peace was soon restored, and a later rising in 1898 seems to have been a small affair in comparison. The jurisdiction of the Turks still extended not much beyond Dawḥa.

In 1895 two *shaykhs* of the Āl b. ʿAlī, Sulṭān b. Salāmah and Nāṣir b. Mubārak, made an attempt to seize Baḥrayn. These *shaykhs* had removed from Baḥrayn and gathered a sizeable armada in the north of Ḳaṭar. They had the support of the local Ottoman *mudīr* and also apparently of Shaykh Djāsim, though the latter claimed that he was not concerned. Peace was made only after a large number of ships had been seized or destroyed by the British.

Shaykh Djāsim died in 1913, shortly after the conclusion of the convention by which Turkey renounced any claims to Ḳaṭar. Then during 1916 Britain's relations with Ḳaṭar were regulated by a treaty on the same lines as those with Baḥrayn and Trucial Oman. Some of its clauses, however, were not put into effect at that time; and no resident Political Agent was appointed, responsibility falling to the Political Agent in Baḥrayn.

The status of Zubāra would still seem to have been a matter of dispute. Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh (1913-49) occupied it in 1937, and though this was not accepted by Baḥrayn, the matter has been left largely in abeyance. In 1949 Saudi Arabia raised a claim to a strip of land in South Ḳaṭar, but although these claims were discussed in 1952 they were not pursued. Boundary disputes in Eastern Arabia have assumed a different complexion since the discovery of oil in the area. Oil was discovered in Ḳaṭar in 1940, the discovery well having an estimated production capacity of 5,000 barrels a day. War shortages, however, inhibited further development. By 1969 output had however reached nearly 17 m. tons and there has been considerable development, especially off-shore, since 1969.

Meanwhile the population of Ḳaṭar, although it has increased greatly, is still relatively small (about 150,000 in 1970) and concentrated largely around the capital Dawḥa. The British role in Ḳaṭar after the end of hostilities in 1945 was related increasingly to specialist and technical aspects of external and defence affairs and the country has been since September 1971 an independent Arab country.

Bibliography: J. G. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, ʾOmān and Central Arabia*, Calcutta 1908 and 1915 (repr. 1970); C. U. Aitchison, *A collection of treaties, engagements and sanads relating to India and neighbouring countries*, 5th (rev.) ed., Calcutta and Delhi 1929-33; J. A. Saldanha, *Précis of correspondence regarding the affairs of Persian Gulf, 1805-53*, Calcutta 1906, *Précis of Nejd affairs, 1804-1904*, Calcutta 1904, *Précis of Bahrein Affairs, 1854-1904*, Calcutta 1904 and *Précis of Katar affairs, 1873-1904*, Calcutta 1904; R. H. Thomas, *Selections from the records of the Bombay Government*, New series XXIV, Bombay 1856; C. R. Low, *History of the Indian Navy*, London 1877; *Annual administrations reports of the Persian Gulf Political Residency and Muscat Political Agency*, Calcutta 1875 onwards; W. G. Palgrave, *Narrative of a year's journey through Central and Eastern Arabia*, London 1865; *Iraq and the Persian Gulf*, NID, 1944; J. B. Kelly, *Eastern Arabian Frontiers*, London 1964; idem, *Britain and the Persian Gulf, 1795-1880*, Oxford 1968; B. C. Busch, *Britain and the Persian Gulf, 1894-1914*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1967; S. Özbaran, *The Ottoman Turks and the Portuguese in the Persian Gulf, 1534-1581*, in *Journal of Asian History*, vi I (1972), 45-87; A. Abu Hakima, *History of Eastern Arabia, 1750-1800*, Beirut 1965; Muṣṭafā Murād al-Dabbāgh, *Ḳaṭar—Māḍīhā wa-ḥāḍiruhā*, Beirut 1961; Khalīfa b. Ḥamad al-Nabhānī, *Al-tuḥfa al-nabhāniyya fī tārīkh al-djazīra al-ʿarabiyya*, Cairo (various dates); Muḥammad Sharīf al-Shaybānī, *Imārat Ḳaṭar al-ʿarabiyya bayn al-māḍī waʾl-ḥāḍir*, I, Beirut 1962; Maḥmūd Shukrī al-Ālūsī, *Tārīkh Najd*, Cairo 1924; Fuʾād Ḥamza, *Ḳalb djazīrat al-ʿarab*, Cairo 1933. (T. M. Johnstone)

ḲAṬARĪ B. AL-FUDJĀʾA, the last chief of the Azraḳī Kharidjīs [see AZĀRIḲA], celebrated both as poet and as orator. He belonged to a clan of the Tamīm (the tribe which furnished one of the most noteworthy contingents to these rebels), the Banū Kābiya b. Ḥurḳūṣ b. Māzin (Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 82). The name of his father, al-Fudjāʾa, is said to have been a surname and his real name was Djaʿwana. Like other Arab chiefs, al-Ḳaṭarī had a double *kunya* (cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, i, 267, Eng. tr. i, 242): Abū Muḥammad in peace and Abū Maʿāma in war (Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ed. Hārūn, i, 342, iii, 264). Of his youth we only know that he took part under the command of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Samura, along with several other chiefs, among whom was al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra al-Azdī, destined later to become his bitter enemy, at the submission of Sidjistān in 42/662 (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 396; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Istīʿāb*, Ḥaydarābād 1318, 405; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, Cairo 1325, iv, 161). He must have reached a fairly mature age when, in 69/689,

he was acclaimed "Caliph" of the Azraḳīs when the latter, defeated by al-Muhallab and his lieutenants, were passing through a very serious crisis. Ḳaṭarī, endowed with tremendous energy and indifferent to danger, was able to arouse the enthusiasm of his partisans, and after leading back the remnants of the army into the mountains of Kirmān, reorganised them; he then went down again into ʿIrāḳ, occupied Ahwāz and threatened Baṣra. Kept for a long time in check by al-Muhallab, he nevertheless succeeded in maintaining his position on the left bank of the Dudjayl even after ʿIrāḳ, as a result of the defeat of Muṣʿab b. al-Zubayr at Maskin (72/691), had fallen into the hands of ʿAbd al-Malik. Finally al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf, appointed governor of ʿIrāḳ, decided to reappoint al-Muhallab to the command against the Azraḳīs, in which he had been replaced without success by other chiefs. Al-Muhallab soon drove the rebels across the Dudjayl and assuming the offensive, pursued them into the very centre of their power, Kirmān. Ḳaṭarī nevertheless was able to hold out for a long time in his lines (it is to this period that a silver coin with a legend in Pahlavi and Arabic of the year 75/694 struck in the name of Ḳaṭarī as *Amīr al-Muʾminīn*, refers [see *ZDMG*, xii (1858), 52, no. 303]). The dissensions that broke out within the Azraḳī army between Arabs and *Mawālī* resulted in a split: Ḳaṭarī had to leave the town of Djīruft which was the Azraḳī headquarters and take refuge along with the Arabs in Ṭabaristān, while the *Mawālī* continued to hold Djīruft under the command of their chief, ʿAbd Rabb or ʿAbd Rabbihi (there are two individuals of this name among the *Mawālī*, distinguished by the epithets *al-Kabīr* and *al-Ṣaghīr*, and the sources give the rank of commander sometimes to one and sometimes to the other, or even distinguish two groups of the *Mawālī* which separated successively from al-Ḳaṭarī and were led by ʿAbd Rabbihi the Great and the Less respectively). This division proved fatal, for al-Muhallab had no difficulty in routing the *Mawālī* and killing their chief; al-Ḥadjdjādj sent the Kalbī warrior Sufyān b. al-Abrad against Ḳaṭarī: or rather the latter (according to a tradition recorded by al-Yaʿḳūbī) as governor of Rayy received the appeal which the *iṣpahbādh* [*q.v.*] addressed to him on behalf of the people of Ṭabaristān who were exasperated by the rigid application of the *djizya* by Ḳaṭarī. The Azraḳīs, surprised by Sufyān's troops in a defile in the mountains, suffered a decisive defeat. Ḳaṭarī, who fell under his horse and was abandoned by his followers, was discovered and killed by a local inhabitant. His head was cut off and borne in triumph to Kūfa and then to Damascus to be presented to the caliph. The remnants of the Azraḳīs under ʿAbīdā b. Hilāl al-Yashkurī fled to Sadhawwar, a stronghold near Kūmis (Yāḳūt, iii, 62) where they sustained a long siege from Sufyān; having exhausted their supplies, they made a desperate sortie and were wiped out. The chronology of these events is far from certain: the sources which say that Ḳaṭarī was in command for 13 or even 20 years are of no value. According to Wellhausen (see *Bibl.*), the election of Ḳaṭarī as caliph probably took place at the end of 69 A.H. and his death in 78 or 79.

Ḳaṭarī b. al-Fudjāʾa represents in striking fashion the type of Khāridjī intransigeant and also that of Arab *sayyid*, half-cavalier and half-brigand. Like the other Azraḳīs, as a result of his fanatical zeal, he preached and practised *istiʿrāḍ* [*q.v.*] and declared the *ḳaʿada* or quietists to be infidels. On the other hand, he was proud of his Arab blood and of his Bedouin character.

Like several other illustrious Khāridjīs, he had a real talent as orator and poet. One of his alleged orations is recorded by Djāḥiz, *Bayān*, ii, 126-9; *ʿIḳd*[1], ii, 195-6, *Fihrist*, 125, but R. Blachère (*Hist. de la Lit. arabe*, iii, 734) thinks that it might have been written in the 3rd/9th century. A few pieces in which he celebrates his wife Umm Ḥākim, who was also a convinced and brave Khāridjī, have been preserved. But amongst the most famous of his poems is the fragment given in the *Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām (i, 333, see also i, 44, 286), and often cited with numerous variants. His poems of a politico-religious character are remarkable for the elevated style and a heroic contempt for death and place their author in the first rank of Khāridjī poets.

Bibliography: al-Ṭabarī, ii, 764, 823, 829, 944, 1003, 1017-20, 1032, al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl*, 285-9, 311; al-Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, index; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, index; al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 229-30; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, xi, 122-5; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkāsha, 411, 431, 600; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, 126, Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, s.v. (No. 555 Wüstenfeld); al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-Adab*, iv, 261; al-Shahrastānī, *Milal*, 89-90; ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī, *al-Farḳ bayna 'l-Firaḳ*, Cairo 1328, 65-6; R. Brünnow, *Die Charidschiten unter den ersten Omayyaden*, Leiden 1884, 44-6; J. Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam* (*Abh. G. W. Gött.*, N. S., 1901, v/2), 36-41. (G. LEVI DELLA VIDA*)

KĀTH, the ancient capital of Khwārazm [*q.v.*], situated on the east bank of the main channel of the Amū Daryā or Oxus a short distance from modern Khīwa. According to Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iv, 222, Kāth meant in Khwārazmian a wall or rampart within the steppe, even if it enclosed no buildings, but there is nothing in what we know of Khwārazmian to confirm this; it is conceivable that there is some connection with Sogdian *kath*, *kanth*, "town", though this is wholly conjectural. The site of Kāth was affected by changes in the channels of the river, and was accordingly moved at various times.

Little is known of Kāth in the pre-Islamic period. Markwart conjectured that in the early 5th century A.D. Bahrām Gūr's brother Narseh may have been established in Kāth as *marzbān* or warden of the northeastern Iranian territories newly conquered from the Turkish Ḳaghan (*A catalogue of the provincial capitals of Ērānshahr*, ed. G. Messina, Rome 1931, 44-5). It became the capital of the Afrīghid dynasty of Khwārazm-Shāhs, and at the time of Ḳutayba b. Muslim's invasion of Khwārazm in 93/712 it is described, under the name of al-Fīl, as one of the three cities of that region (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 423; Ṭabarī, ii, 1237-8). As well as being the centre of the old Khwārazmian culture—a culture impaired by the destructions of the Arabs—it was also, according to an 8th-century *Notitia episcopatum*, the seat of a bishopric of the Christian church, χουάλης; this bishopric was probably Orthodox or Melkite, and had links with the Khazar lands on the lower Volga (see Tolstov, *Auf den Spuren der altchoresmischen Kultur*, 246-7, 359). The caliphal envoy Aḥmad b. Faḍlān came to the Khwārazm-Shāh's court at Kāth in 309/921-2 en route for Gurgāndj and the journey across the steppes to Bulghār (A. Z. V. Togan, *Ibn Faḍlāns Reisebericht*, Leipzig 1939, §§ 7-8).

It is to the geographers of the 4th/10th century that we owe the most detailed descriptions of Kāth at the time of its florescence, in particular to Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawḳal, Maḳdisī and the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*.

Maḳdisī, 287-8, calls it Shahristān, *i.e.*, the capital of the province, and describes its splendid bazaars and Friday mosque and its community of scholars, whilst commenting unfavourably on the filthiness of its streets, which were probably often waterlogged because of the numerous canals or *ariḳs*. The city had been dominated by the ancient citadel, with its triple enceinte and palaces, of the Afrīghids called Fīl or Fīr (the latter form in Bīrūnī), but this fortress and the older city itself were gradually undermined by the river waters and in the early 4th/10th century had to be abandoned. The vestiges were, however, still visible in 384/994 to Bīrūnī [*q.v.*], himself a native of the *bīrūn* or environs of Kāth (*al-Āthār al-bāḳiya*, ed. Sachau, 35). A new town had therefore to be built further eastwards, away from the encroaching river. The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (completed 372/982), tr. 121, cf. 370-1, spells the city's name as Kāzh and calls it "the gate of the Turkistān of the Ghūz and the emporium of the Turks, Turkistān, Transoxania and the Khazars". The author mentions amongst its products textiles and mailed or quilted coats, and names one of its exports as snow; its people, he says, are celebrated for their warlike qualities and their zeal as *ghāzī*s or fighters for the faith against the pagan Turks.

The end of Kāth's great days as the political centre of Khwārazm came in 385/995 when the Afrīghids were overthrown by the Maʾmūnid amīrs of Gurgāndj [*q.v.*], long the political and commercial rival of Kāth; Kāth was now eclipsed and sank into a subordinate position (on these events, see KHWĀRAZM and KHWĀRAZM-SHĀHS). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa passed through al-Kāt, as he calls it, in 732/1332-3, and describes it as a small place and as being the only settlement on the road from the city of Khwārazm (sc. Kunya-Urgenč, older Gurgāndj) to Bukhārā (*Riḥla*, iii, 20, tr. Gibb, iii, 549-50). During the early 8th/14th century, Kāth and Khīwa, one day's journey from it, fell within the Čaghatayid Khānate; and in 773/1372 Kāth was devastated by Tīmūr during his warfare with Toḳtamīsh, but subsequently had its walls restored by him. By the 11th/17th century it was on a dry canal, hence the ʿArabshāhid Khān of Khīwa, Anūsha b. Abī 'l-Ghāzī (1074-98/1663-87) built a new Kāth on the western side of the Oxus. The ruins of old Kāth became known as Shaykh ʿAbbās Walī, after a local saint, and are now known as Shabbaz (Tolstov, *Auf den Spuren*, 83); a modern village and fort occupy part of the ancient site.

Bibliography: For general history, see E. Sachau, *Zur Geschichte und Chronologie von Khwârazm*, in *SBWAW*, lxxiii (1873), 489 ff.; Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, 144-6, 185, 275 ff.; and S. P. Tolstov, *Auf den Spuren der altchoresmischen Kultur*, Berlin 1953, 246-7, 253 ff. The accounts of the Islamic geographers are resumed in Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 446-8. (C. E. Bosworth)

ḲĀṬHIYĀWĀṚ [see DJUNAGAṚH].

KAʿTI, MAḤMŪD B. AL-ḤĀDJDJ AL-MUTAWAKKIL, Soninke scholar and *ḳāḍī* who died at Arkiya near Tinbuktū on 1 Muḥarram 1002/27 September 1593. His date of birth is not known, though he is said to have been born during the reign of Askia al-Ḥādjdj Muḥammad I (898-934/1493-1528). The few details we have of his life appear in scattered references in the *Taʾrīkh al-fattāsh* and al-Saʿdī's *Taʾrīkh al-Sūdān*. Among his teachers was Aḥmad (b. Muḥammad) b. Saʿīd (d. 976/1568), who was active in Tinbuktū from 960/1553. He received favours from Askia Dāwūd (reigned 956-90/1549-82) and married one of his daughters. In 996/1588 we hear of him as *ḳāḍī* of Tindirma, a town on the Niger south of Lake Fati.

Maḥmūd Kaʿti wrote a work of history concerned with Songhay (and perhaps also the earlier states of the Western Sūdān). His historical interests were inherited by his sons, Ismāʿīl (also a *ḳāḍī*), Yūsuf and Muḥammad al-Amīn, who appear to have made some written notes, perhaps adding to their father's work. Maḥmūd's son-in-law, al-Mukhtār Gombele (? - text *k-n-b-l*), also shared these interests and passed them on to an unnamed son who drew on the Kaʿti family's materials and other sources written and oral in compiling the *Taʾrīkh al-fattāsh* some time after 1075/1654-5.

The *Taʾrīkh al-fattāsh* may have been begun by an earlier Kaʿti (also called Maḥmūd) in 925/1519, but Levtzion has argued that the attempt to link the work with the reign of Askia al-Ḥadjdj Muḥammad I arises from the 19th-century manipulation of the text by (or at the behest of) Aḥmadu Lobbo [*q.v.*]. The historicity of the earlier Maḥmūd Kaʿti and the precise history of the text itself remain problems as yet unsolved.

Bibliography: The *Taʾrīkh al-fattāsh* was published with a French translation by O. Houdas and M. Delafosse, Paris 1913-4 (Publ. de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, Ve série, vol. X). Problems of the work's authorship and textual history have been studied by J. Brun, *Notes sur le Tarikh el-Fettach*, in *Anthropos*, ix (1914), 590-6; J. O. Hunwick, *Studies in the Taʾrīkh al-Fattāsh: (1) Its authors and textual history* in *Research Bulletin* (Centre of Arabic Documentation, Ibadan) v (1969), 57-65; N. Levtzion, *A seventeenth-century chronicle by Ibn al-Mukhtār: a critical study of the Taʾrīkh al-fattāsh*, in *BSOAS*, xxxiv (1971), 571-93; idem, *Maḥmūd Kaʿtī fut-il l'auteur du Taʾrīkh al-Fattāsh?*, dans *Bull. IFAN*, xxxiii/4 (1971), 665-74. (J. O. Hunwick)

ḲAṬĪʿA, pl. *ḳaṭāʾiʿ*, a Muslim administrative term designating, on the one hand, those concessions made to private individuals on state lands in the first centuries of the Hidjra (see ḌAYʿA), and, on the other hand, the fixed sum of a tax or tribute, in contradistinction to taxation by proportional method or some variable means. The verb *ḳaṭaʿa* is also used to mean "to impose", normally followed by *ḳaṭīʿatan*. (C. Cahen)

KĀTIB (A.) pl. *kuttāb*, secretary, a term which was used in the Arab-Islamic world for every person whose rôle or function consisted of writing or drafting official letters or administrative documents. In the Middle Ages this term denoted neither a scribe in the literary sense of the word nor a copyist, but it could be applied to private secretaries as well as to the employees of the administrative service. It can denote merely a "book-keeper" as well as the chief clerk or a Secretary of State, directly responsible to the sovereign or to his vizier. The use of *kātib* is therefore essentially allied to the institution of the *dīwān* [*q.v.*], which mainly derives from the administrative traditions of the Sasanid and Byzantine empires.

i. In The Caliphate

There were probably already secretaries in Arabia at the time of the Prophet. A "merchant republic" could not do without its accountants, and the mention of "documents" in the Ḳurʾān confirms that writing was used. The recension of the Ḳurʾānic text could not have been effected without the help of men capa-

ble of writing down the message conveyed by the Prophet. This explains why the lists of *kuttāb* which have been handed down to us generally begin by referring to the secretaries of the Prophet. Finally, the lists of fighting men with the right to an allowance, which were instituted from the reign of Caliph ʿUmar, could have been drawn up only by secretaries.

However, it was only after the first conquests and after the establishment of the capital at Damascus that administrative services, chancery and finances developed, as much in the capital itself as in the provinces controlled by the central authority. It is known that in the first years of the Umayyad caliphate they continued to use the language of the conquered country; Greek in Syria and Pahlavi in ʿIrāḳ and Iran. This implies that the secretaries working in these offices, whether converted to Islam or not, were autochthonous. Moreover, the rôle played by the Christian administrators in Damascus at the time of the first Umayyad caliphs is well known; Sardjūn, the father of John of Damascus, was in all probability chief of the Treasury in the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik.

When the *dīwān*s were arabicised at the time of the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik, the secretaries were still recruited from the local population, among whom the Muslims were becoming more and more numerous. This Arabicising and Islamicising movement, far from pushing the indigenous peoples out of public service, confirmed their position. The development of bureaucracy in its different aspects compelled the Umayyad rulers and then the ʿAbbāsids to use the *mawālī*. They most certainly had an excellent knowledge of Arabic, but had picked up from their forefathers a whole administrative tradition connected in particular with calculating the taxes due from the different types of land, irrigated or unirrigated. The land tax [see KHARĀDJ] instituted by Muslim law seems really to have been very closely inspired by the previous financial system and the administrative practices adapted by the nascent Muslim state were also inherited from the states which it had supplanted.

Only when a scribe made a career on account of other qualities and capabilities did his functions begin to gain in an importance which was independent of his person. Such a *kātib* was, *e.g.* Ziyād b. Abīhi. His high intelligence and great talent for organisation had drawn people's attention to him as scribe and registrar (Ṭabarī, Ī, 2465). When later he made himself responsible for the security and the government of ʿIrāḳ, he introduced there, with the help of a group of *kuttāb* whom he himself taught and controlled (Djahshiyārī, *Wuzarā*ʾ Cairo 1357/1938, 22), a system of administration which was considered exemplary. As in Sasanid times, the rank and position of the secretaries begin to be marked by certain privileges, and discernible in a certain standard of dress, residence and food and also in social intercourse. This improved situation, however, was mostly acquired through the relationship of dependency. The *kātib* had to submit himself to his master and comply with his moods. A beautiful hand, a faultless orthography and a correct text after dictation were postulated. In accuracy, offences against the language, errors in writing or understanding might result in loss of position (J. Latz, *Das Buch der Wezire und Staatssekretäre von Ibn ʿAbdūs al-Ğahšiyārī, Anfänge und Umaiyadenzeit*, Bonn 1958, 38-46). The scribe as such played a subordinate rôle.

In reality, little is known of the secretaries who were the direct assistants of the Umayyad caliphs. During the Umayyad period the caliphs, who had no viziers in their employ, administered the central services directly by means of secretaries of state. Certain of these had the privilege of presenting the letters to the sovereign and of thus playing a political rôle. Of these the one about whom most is recorded is the *mawlā* Sālim, the secretary of the caliph Hishām [*q.v.*], to whom is attributed a treatise about *siyāsa*, which is probably the oldest one of its kind written in Arabic and proves the strength of the Iranian political traditions. But the personal secretary of the last caliph, Marwān II [*q.v.*], called ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd [*q.v.*], is equally well-known for his literary activity and is thought to have been one of the founders of Arabic prose.

Out of this situation two types of clerks and secretaries began to develop, according to function, talent and character: on the one hand there was the secretary who, in his quality of expert official and linguist, gave the written documents the form as required by the orders received; on the other hand there was the secretary who, on top of that, exerted on his own account an influence on the contents, being his master's adviser and right hand. While the latter was preparing the way for the functions of the later vizier, the former became the main representative of literary culture (*adab*). Already during the period of the first ʿAbbāsids this public secretary was considered the *adīb* par excellence. The undeniably subtle sense of linguistic expression and its nuances, already natural to the Arabs, had found a vast field of activity in the governmental and administrative correspondence, continuously increasing with the growing expansion of the chancellery's activities within a complex system of government. Official documents were increasingly often judged by the elegance of the wording and the allusions and references hidden behind this. Peculiar distinction was thus imparted to the writings because they presented instructions, enactments, orders or notices in a form which aroused surprise and admiration in the receiver. It is evident that specialists in this branch were called upon, and also that the *kātib* needed the qualities not only of a diplomatic stylist but also of an encyclopaedist in order to cope with these and similar requirements. It was essential for him to possess what was later formulated and commented upon by the well-known critic, vizier and head of a chancellery Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (d. 637/1239) [*q.v.*] in eight concise phrases at the beginning of his *al-Mathal al-sāʾir* (2nd *faṣl*): 1. a thorough knowledge of the *ʿarabiyya*, its grammar and 2. its vocabulary; 3. a familiarity with the proverbs, the accounts of the *Ayyām* and similar stories; 4. wide reading in all branches of prose and poetry; 5. sound knowledge of the theory of state and administration; 6. absolute familiarity with the Ḳurʾān and 7. the traditions going back to the Prophet; 8. command of prosody and poetics (see G. E. von Grunebaum, *Der Islam im Mittelalter*, Zürich-Stuttgart 1963, 323 ff.).

In the ʿAbbāsid era, when the seat of central administration had been moved to ʿIrāḳ, the secretaries of Iranian origin undeniably played an ever more important rôle. The typical example of these Iranian *mawālī* who, according to certain accounts, thronged the courts of the first ʿAbbāsid caliphs, was the famous Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [*q.v.*]. He did not have a position in the central administration, but at the caliph's wish drew up a memorandum in which he showed his

perfect knowledge of the problems of government which prevailed at that time of change. He also composed a treatise for the courtiers on the art of pleasing the sovereign, a treatise directly inspired by Iranian or Indo-Iranian literature and one which highlighted the personal nature of relations existing at that time between the secretaries and the sovereign.

If in the ʿAbbāsid era (as indeed already in the Umayyad one) the *kuttāb* were for the most part non-Arab, they did not form a closed corps. The *kātib* needed a solid training as much in the art of letter-writing as in the world of finance. At an early stage, families of *kuttāb* began to arise, although it was not necessary to be the son of a *kātib* to practise this profession. Thanks to their own intelligence and aptitude, sons of merchants and land-owners appeared as directors of important services in central administration and even as viziers. Yet the *kuttāb* in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries had a class-consciousness which could be seen in their costume (the gown called a *durrāʿa*) and also in a certain intellectual orientation. Al-Djāḥiẓ, in particular, in a famous *risāla* stigmatizes the arrogance of secretaries and their sympathies towards Iranian traditions; he even accuses them of lukewarmness towards Islam. In this direction the secretaries, in spite of the obscurity surrounding the question, were certainly supporters of the *shuʿūbiyya* movement [*q.v.*]. Brought up on Iranian literature and admirers of the Muʿtazilī thinkers, they were apt to consider that their culture did not need the Islamic "leaven" in order to develop, and ought, on the contrary to be inspired by ancient (notably Persian) models.

Despite this tendency to restrict the influence of the religious message of Islam, they were none the less faithful servants of the caliphate. It seems that no real accusations of treason could be brought against the famous Barmakīs [see BARĀMIKA]; they were guilty only of having too great authority and of having practised a policy of conciliation with regard to certain opposition factions, which soon the caliph thought would be dangerous. But from the end of the 3rd-4th century onwards, the *kuttāb* had financial responsibilities which grew as treasury difficulties were increasing for the caliphs. At the same time they often belonged more or less secretly to the Shīʿī movement which used them to control the caliphate. Their loyalty was not as great as it was before, state secretaries of Christian religion or origin being excepted.

Nevertheless they played a large part at the end of the 3rd/4th century in working out the formula of government by the caliph which was then put into practice, but not without many risks, and which could never be finally worked out in detail. If the *kuttāb* of Shīʿī views were trying to diminish the might of the caliph with the intention of seizing power for themselves and disposing of the resources of the treasury, the others were striving to strengthen the authority of the caliph, while at the same time subjecting it to the control of the chiefs of the departments.

In the era of the great *amīrs*, the *kuttāb* were eclipsed by the military chiefs who virtually laid hands on the government. They were no less indispensable to the running of business and to the administration of finance, which demanded technical knowledge, than to the drawing up of official documents such as letters. In the epistolary field, where in that time there was the most excessive affectation of mannerism, the secretaries drew up documents which were useful propaganda instruments. There are thus preserved different collections of official correspondence which appeared to contemporaries as examples of *balāgha* and are often precious documents for historians. The most famous is one left by the Sabian secretary Ibrāhīm al-Ṣābiʾ [*q.v.*], and see also INSHĀʾ. But there were also among the secretaries genuine specialists in financial affairs, whose merits were often compared with those of the "drafters of documents" (see in particular, al-Tawḥīdī, *Kitāb al-Imtāʿ*, i, 96-7).

The rôle of secretaries in Baghdād in the Saldjūḳ period is not very clear. What at least is known is that the central services were, for the early part, under the control of the sultans, just in the same way as it was before, during the Buwayhid period. But the caliph had in his service his own team, more or less important, of secretaries, as in the Buwayhid period. These secretaries were always predominantly Iranian in origin, yet in the period of the Saldjūḳs the function of the *kuttāb* tended to merge with that of the *ʿulamāʾ* insofar as all officials of the state were formed in the same establishments, the *madrasas*. The taste of the former *kuttāb* for Iranian literature and the sympathies of the secretaries in the Buwayhid period for Muʿtazilī thought faded away and from the 5th/11th century onwards, the secretaries, confronted with foreign elements of Turkish origin, belonged to the same social sphere as the men of religion but had slightly different preoccupations. During this period, the *ḳāḍīs* came to fulfil functions previously reserved for the *kuttāb*, to become involved in governmental affairs and to draw up chancery documents. At the time of the Mamlūḳs, this tendency to unify the two spheres became much more accentuated; secretaries and men of religion constituted what were called "the men wearing turbans".

There is an abundance of literature referring to the secretaries, and this is of three distinctive types: the didactic treatises on the training required for secretaries; the collections of anecdotes relating to secretaries; and the polemical treatises. It is clear that in certain works, these three types could exist together.

The didactic treatises are the most important. The oldest is probably the *Risāla ilā 'l-kuttāb* of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd [*q.v.*]. Later came *al-Risāla al-ʿadhrāʾ*, attributed to Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Shaybānī and written in the middle of the 3rd/4th century (published by. M. Kurd ʿAlī, *Rasāʾil al-bulāghā*), the *Kitāb al-Kuttāb wa-ṣifat al-dawāt wa'l-ḳalam*, composed in the same period by ʿAbd Allāh al-Baghdādī (see D. Sourdel, *Le "Livre des Secrétaires de ʿAbdallāh al-Bagdādī"*, in *BEO*, xiv (1952-4), 128-52) and the *Adab al-kātib* of Ibn Ḳutayba [*q.v.*], which, although it contains solely philological advice, has a very instructive introduction (G. Lecomte, *L'Introduction du "Kitāb adab al-kātib" d'Ibn Qutayba*, in *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, iii, Damascus 1957, 45-64). As for the *Kitāb al-Kharādj wa-ṣināʿat al-kitāb* of Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar [*q.v.*], this is a good work which deals with the various technical questions, a knowledge of which was essential for the secretaries. The different treatises on the land-tax and the first geographical works were also intended for secretaries. The *Adab al-kuttāb* of al-Ṣūlī (d. 335/946), edited in Cairo in 1341/1923, specially teaches calligraphy and the formulae of protocol; the *Kitāb al-kuttāb* of Ibn Durustawayh (d. 346/957), edited in Beirut in 1927, deals only with orthography and calligraphy whilst the *Risāla fī ʿilm al-Kuttāb* of Abū

Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī [*q.v.*] is equally concerned with calligraphy.

Among the collections of anecdotes, besides the *Kitāb al-Wuzarā' wa'l-kuttāb* of al-Djahshiyārī [*q.v.*], edited in Cairo in 1357/1938, the *I'tāb al-kuttāb* of Ibn al-Abbār (d. 688/1289), edited in Damascus in 1961, deals with circumstances in which the secretaries of different periods were out of favour. One polemic treatise against secretaries was written by al-Djāḥiẓ (see C. Pellat, *Une charge contre les secrétaires d'État attribuée à Ǧāḥiẓ*, in *Hespéris* (1956), 29-50.

Finally, in a later period encyclopaedic works appeared, intended in the first place for chancery secretaries. The model is the famous *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā fī ṣinā'at al-inshā'* of al-Ḳalḳashandī (d. 821/1418) [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: In addition to the works cited above, see D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, *passim*; M. Grignaschi, *Les "Rasā'il Aristāṭālīsa ilā-l-Iskandar" de Sālim Abū l-'Alā'* in *BEO*, xix (1965-6), 8-83, esp. p. 11; H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig*, Beirut 1969, 227 f.; W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Aegypten*, Hamburg 1928; M. Kanter, *The Kātib in Fact and Fiction*, in *Abr Nahrain*, xi (1971), 42-55. (R. Sellheim-D. Sourdel)

ii. In Persia.

From the fall of the Īl-Khāns to the end of the Ṣafawids.

A characteristic change of the *kātib*'s position, already noticeable under the Īl-Khāns, took place in the successor states of Mongol Persia. The Mongolian and Turkish terms remained to some extent the same as before, although not necessarily with the same meaning. New terms were of course also introduced, partly for institutions that continued as such or were slightly modified. Fluctuating usage, in which obsolete and current expressions were used simultaneously, makes understanding of the technical terminology difficult. It goes without saying that here only the most important outlines can be sketched of a development which has not yet been studied sufficiently.

The great number of secretaries in the Djalā'irid administration should be related to two different facts: the tripartite division of the administration into a military, a civilian and a religious section on the one hand, and the specific ethnic composition of the army, most of the soldiers being Turks or Mongols, on the other. Following the Īl-Khānid tradition, there thus existed, especially in the military administration, a class of secretaries especially knowledgeable in Turkish or Mongolian. It was their task to translate into these two languages original documents probably written in Persian, and in 'Irāḳ also in Arabic. Though counted among the *kuttāb*, they were called by the Turkish term *bitikči*, probably to distinguish them from the Persian-speaking secretaries. The most important secretary in the military administration was called *bitikči-yi aḥkām-i mughulī* or *kātib-i mughulī-niwīs*. But the continuance of Īl-Khānid usage brought about the fact that even the secretary of the governmental financial administration, who served under the *mustawfī al-mamālik* or state treasurer, was counted among the *bitikčīyān*, with the title of *ūlūgh bitikči-yi mamālik*. However, the local financial secretaries who served under him did not belong to the *bitikčiyān*. It is still dubious whether the last-mentioned were in fact of Turkish or Mongolian origin, or whether they were local inhabitants who has mastered Turkish or Mongolian. The first place among the Persian-speaking *kuttāb* was held by the *munshī al-mamālik*, who was in charge of the *dār al-inshā'* (the "State Chancellery"), a subsection of the Great *Dīwān* (*dīwān-i a'lā*, *dīwān-i buzurg*) directed by the grand vizier. In the different sections of the *munshī al-mamālik*'s chancellery, two classes of *kuttāb* were employed: the *munshīyān* whose task it was to draft documents, and the so-called *muḥarrirān* charged with preparing fair copies; among the latter very skilled calligraphers were found. The archives formed a separate department of the *dār al-inshā'*.

The nomination of secretaries was probably reserved to the grand vizier. The *kuttāb* in general, and the *munshī al-māmālik* specifically, were expected to be trustworthy, to be masters of protocol and to possess both stylistic and calligraphic qualities. In the religious administration, mainly concerned with the maintenance of the religious law and the interests of pious foundations, a number of *kuttāb* were also to be found, *e.g.* the *kātib-i dār al-ḳaḍā'* (secretary of the supreme court) and the *mu'arrikh-i ḥudjadj wa-ḳabālāt*, an archivist who kept a permanent register of legal evidences and contracts of sale.

We may draw conclusions about the organization of the chancelleries in Tīmūr's time from the situation under his successors. In their time, specific linguistic expressions continued to indicate the difference between the various groups of *kuttāb*. Under Ḥusayn Bāyḳarā, the secretaries of the so-called "Turkish *dīwān*" had the title of *bakhshī* or *niwīsandagān-i turk*. This *dīwān* dealt with affairs concerning the army and the Turkish subjects. Distinct from them were the *wazīrān* or *niwīsandagān-i tādjīk*, the Persian speaking *kuttāb*, who were the secretaries of the *dīwān-i māl*, the "Persian *dīwān*", responsible for finances and the affairs of the non-Turkish population. On no account could a *kātib* of the Turkish *dīwān* be called *wazīr*. It seems that relations had been similar under the Turcoman dynasties, as may be deduced from a remark of Ḥasan Rūmlū, a *ḳizilbāsh* chronicler, who says that one of his ancestors had served as *bakhshī* under the Aḳ-Ḳoyunlu.

Under the Ṣafawids also, the head of the State Chancellery was called *munshī al-mamālik* (under the Tīmūrids, as well as having this title, he is said to have also been called *ṣāḥib-dīwān-i inshā'*). The Ṣafawid administration was characterized by a duality in the civil service—the State Chancellery and the Treasury—, which had already existed before. Each single department of the Ṣafawid treasury (*daftarkhāna*), which was headed by the *mustawfī al-mamālik*, consisted of the financial section proper and a chancellery. The *lashgar-niwīs*, head of one of the most important subsections of the *daftar-khāna*, corresponded to the Īl-Khānid and Djalāyirid *ūlūgh bitikči-yi mamālik*. He was the paymaster of the troops of the provincial governors and also of the court and provincial officials, and had an imposing chancellery at his disposal. On the other hand, the *dār al-inshā'*, the State Chancellery of the *munshī al-mamālik*, was in charge of the state correspondence such as diplomatic letters and all kinds of charters. When under 'Abbās I a special royal administration (the *sarkār-i khāṣṣa-yi sharīfa*) was set up at the side of the already existing governmental administration, a special chancellery had of course to be created

for this purpose. A number of duties were transferred from the *munshī al-mamālik* to the head of the new chancellery, the *wāḳiʿa-niwīs* or *madjlis-niwīs*. In the course of the 11th/17th century, the *madjlis-niwīs* surpassed the *munshī al-mamālik* both in rank and sphere of competence. Moreover, the *madjlis-niwīs* enjoyed to a much greater extent the confidence of the ruler. Only in so far as the number of the subordinate *kuttāb* was concerned was the *munshī al-mamālik* superior to the *madjlis-niwīs*.

A handbook of administration, the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, shows that in the early 12th/18th century, 28 *kuttāb* were subordinate to the *munshī al-mamālik*: one *munshī-yi dīwān* who prepared drafts, and 27 *muḥarrirān* who wrote out the fair copies. In the chancellery of the *madjlis-niwīs*, the *raḳam-niwīs-i dīwān-i aʿlā* corresponded to the *munshī-yi dīwān*; he was assisted by three assistants. In this chancellery a further six *kuttāb* were also employed, among whom was a registrar and a *nāma-niwīs*, who was most probably responsible for the fair copies of the diplomatic letters (*nāma* or *maktūb*). Thus ten *kuttāb* were subordinate to the *madjlis-niwīs*. The *daftar-khāna* too was influenced by the division of the administration into a governmental and a royal demesnial sector. Although the division within the *daftar-khāna* was not complete, the interests of state and crown were assigned to different subsections. Under the Ṣafawids, charters were occasionally written in Turkish, but nothing is known about a classification of the *kuttāb* according to linguistic criteria.

Bibliography: H. Busse, *Persische Diplomatik im Überblick, in Isl.* xxxvii (1961), 202-245; idem, *Untersuchungen zum islamischen Kanzleiwesen*, Kairo 1959; G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, ii, Wiesbaden 1965, s.v., *bitikči* and *baḫšī*; Ghiyāth al-Dīn b. Humām al-Dīn Khwāndamīr, *Nāma-yi nāmī* (selected parts in Persian and German with scholarly comment by G. Herrmann under the title *Der historische Gehalt des "nāmä-ye nāmī" von Ḫāndamīr*, doct. thesis, Göttingen 1968); W. Hinz, *Die persische Geheimkanzlei im Mittelalter*, in *Westöstliche Abhandlungen* (*Festschrift Tschudi*), Wiesbaden 1954, 342-56; idem, *Die Resālä-ye Falakiyyä*, Wiesbaden 1952; Djahāngīr Ḳāʾim-Maḳāmī, *Taḥḳīḳ dar bāra-yi shughl wa-waẓīfa-yi munshī al-mamālik*, in *Barrasīhā-yi tārīkhī*, v/2 (1349 sh.), 181-208; Maḥmūd Mīrāftāb, *Dastūr al-kātib fī taʿyīn al-marātib* (*des Moulānā Hendūšāh Naḫǧawānī*), doct. thesis, Göttingen 1956; Momin Mohiuddin, *The Chancellary and Persian Epistolography* [*under the Mughals: Bâbur to Shâh Jahân*], in *Indo-Iranica*, xvii (1964), no. 1, 1-28, no. 3, 1-16, xviii (1965), no. 2, 1-40, no. 3, 48-70, no. 4, 13-50, xix (1966), no. 1, 27-42, no. 2, 29-60, no. 4, 16-56; Muḥammad b. Hindushāh Nakhčawānī, *Dastūr al-kātib fī taʿyīn al-marātib*, i/1-2, ed. A. A. Alizade, Moscow 1964-71; H. R. Roemer, *Staatsschreiben der Timuridenzeit*, Wiesbaden 1952; R. M. Savory, *A Secretarial Carreer under Shāh Ṭahmāsp I. (1524-1576), in Islamic Studies*, ii (1963), 343-352; *Tadhkirat al-Mulūk, A Manual of Ṣafavid Administration* (*ca. 1137/1725*), tr. and explained by V. Minorsky, London 1943. (B. FRAGNER)

iii. IN INDIA.

The term *kātib* does not occur in Indo-Muslim chancellery usage in the sense of a secretary; here *kātib* is merely the writer or the scribe. The equivalent of "secretary" in Indo-Muslim nomenclature is *dabīr* in the sultanate period and *munshī* in the Mughal period. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, because of his Arab background, is the only writer to use the term *kātib* in relation to the court of Delhi. Under the Ghaznawids, whose administrative practices constitute an essential strand of Indo-Muslim tradition, the Correspondence Department, known as the *dīwān-i risālat*, was already one of the three principal ministries and had a large and trained staff with a sizable salary bill. The minister in charge, known as the *ṣāḥib-i dīwān-i risālat*, was a trusted adviser of the sultan. It is also clear that during the Ghaznawid period, and especially during Abū Naṣr Mishkān's long stewardship of the *dīwān-i risālat*, the norms of drafting and rules of departmental administration had become well-established. A unit of the *dīwān-i risālat*, equipped with official papers and registers, "accompanied the Sultan on his campaigns and progresses round the realm" (Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 42-3, 60-4, 91-7, quotation from 91; Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, 142-4).

With the foundation of the sultanate of Delhi, there seems to have been a change of nomenclature. The term *dīwān-i risālat* now came to designate the Department of Religious Affairs (this view of I. H. Qureshi, *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhī*, Karachi 1958, 175, though contested by several writers including A. B. M. Habibullah, seems to be sound, as it is clearly supported by Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Baranī, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, 153, 558, and ʿAfīf, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, 279). The Correspondence Department was re-designated the *dīwān-i inshāʾ* (Baranī, 153, 337; Amīr Khusraw, *Khazāʾin al-Futūḥ*, 184; Amīr Khusraw, *Iʿdjaz-i Khusrawī*, 44, 124). The term *dabīr-khāna* also appears in the *Inshāʾ-i Māhrū*, 166, and may have signified the office of the *dīwān-i inshāʾ*. The head of the ministry was known as the *dabīr-i khāṣṣ* (ʿAfīf, 224; see also evidence cited by Qureshi, *op. cit.*, 86). The designation appearing in the *Inshāʾ-i Māhrū*, 117, namely *ṣāḥib-i dīwān-i mamālik-i inshāʾ* (in a letter to the holder of the office) seems to be a descriptive and not an official title. Similarly the phrase *dīwān-i dabīr*, occurring in the *Iʿdjāz-i Khusrawī*, i, 66, does not appear to have been the official appellation of the ministry.

It seems certain (though monographs on the subject ignore it) that the chief *dabīr* had the title of *ʿumdat al-mulk*. In the list of dignitaries given by Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Baranī at the commencement of the account of each reign, this title appears four times in connection with the names of *dabīrs* (*Tāʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, 24, 240, 379, 454), during four different reigns. A study of these entries also suggests that the chief secretary was as well known as *ʿalāʾ dabīr* as *dabīr-i khāṣṣ*. Baranī rarely if ever uses the designation *dabīr-i khāṣṣ*. That *ʿalāʾ* in *ʿalāʾ-dabīr* was not a personal name becomes clear from the fact that Baranī mentions an *ʿalāʾ-dabīr* in the reigns of Balban (p. 25), Kayḳubād (p. 126; *ʿalāḳa-dabīr* is evidently a miswriting for *ʿalāʾ-dabīr*) and ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī (p. 240). It therefore seems that *ʿalāʾ-dabīr* was the name of the office of the chief secretary and *ʿumdat al-mulk* his official title. For *ʿumdat al-mulk* as the title of the chief secretary there is additional and conclusive evidence in the *Inshāʾ-i Māhrū*, where Malik Aʿazz al-Dīn Ḥādjdjī *Dabīr* of Fīrūz Shāh's reign (Baranī, 528) is frequently called *ʿumdat al-mulk* (*Inshāʾ-i Māhrū*, *passim*). Māhrū's letter to this official on the conferment of the title

of *ʿumdat al-mulk* also suggests that it was given to him on his appointment to the office of the chief *dabīr*. (*Inshāʾ-i Māhrū*, 192-3). However, the title *malik al-umarāʾ* attached by Māhrū to the name of this *dabīr* need not be taken seriously, for he does so in the case of several other high officials.

It is remarkable that when Īltutmish had to issue an important proclamation nominating his daughter Raḍiyya as his successor, he assigned the task to his *mushrif* (*Tabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, ed. Nassau Lees, 185). This either means that the Correspondence Department was for some time called the *dīwān-i ishrāf* (as Habibullah, *Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*, Lahore 1945, 223, suggests), or indicates the continuation of the tradition of the Ghaznawids under whom the *mushrif* (as stated by Bosworth, 94-6) looked after a variety of matters connected with the king's affairs.

The *dabīr-i khāṣṣ* had many *dabīr*s, calligraphers and clerks under him. Some who performed specific duties had corresponding designations, *e.g.* the *khāṣṣa-niwīs* and the *shab-niwīs* (*Inshāʾ-i Māhrū*, 160, 164, 166). The *khāṣṣa-niwīs* was the secretary attached to the court or on court duty (cf. the *munshī-i-ḥaḍrat* of ʿUtbī, in Qureshi, *op. cit.*, 86n). The *shab-niwīs* was evidently the secretarial officer on night duty in the palace. The *dāwātdār* was the keeper of royal inkpot or inkhorn (*Tab. Nāṣirī*, 242). The relationship of the *dāwātdār* with the *dīwān-i inshāʾ* is not clear. The *dabīr-i sarā* has been described by Qureshi (*op. cit.*, 65) as the registrar of the palace. The *dabīr-i sarā* invites comparison with Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's *kuttāb al-bāb* in his account of the sultan of Delhi's court (*Riḥla*, iii, 219), rendered by Gibb, *Travels*, iii, 659, as "the scribes of the door", and by Mahdi Husain, 57, as "the gate secretaries".

It seems that the chief *dabīr* and his staff were highly paid (as they had been in the Ghaznawid days). The following statement in the Masālik *al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār* of Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿUmarī (pp. 31-2), though possibly touched by hyperbole, does indicate that the salaries of the secretarial staff were high: "He (the sultan) has four *dabīrs*, *i.e.* private secretaries (*kātib al-sirr*), and everyone of them has a city on the coast yielding large revenue. Everyone has about 300 scribes of whom the lowest and the less paid has 10,000 *tanka*s as (annual) salary. As regards the highest of them, they have villages and estates and some of them have fifty villages".

The princes had their own *dabīr*s (Amīr Khusraw, *Fawāʾid al-Fuʾād*, 127, cited in K. A. Nizami, *Some aspects of religion and politics in India during the 13th century*, London 1961, 214). The same practice obtained during the Mughal period, see below.

During the period of the sultanate of Delhi, the *dīwān-i inshāʾ* was counted as one of the four principal ministries of the central government (Barani, *Tāʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, 153). The duties of the chief secretary and other officers of this ministry were the same as under the Ghaznawids. They composed *fatḥ-nāma*s, royal letters addressed to other kings, important letters or proclamations issued in the king's name, and the like. Important documents received at the court, such as a letter from a foreign dignitary or an *ʿarḍ-dāsht* from a minister or a high noble, were read out to the sulṭān by the *dabīr-i khāṣṣ* or one of the *dabīrs* (ʿAfīf, 223-4). The practice common among the Mughal emperors of having important documents drawn up by any high minister (and not by the chief secretary alone) was not unknown in the pre-Mughal period. Thus ʿAyn al-Mulk Multānī, who was a great *munshī* but never an office-holder in the *dīwān-i inshāʾ*, drafted numerous state documents during the reigns of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ and Fīrūz Shāh; particular mention may be made of the manifesto issued by Fīrūz Shāh to the religious classes, the officials and nobles, and the common people of Lakhnawtī (Bengal) when launching an invasion of the territory (*Inshāʾ-i Māhrū, passim*; for the manifesto, see pp. 15-17). Similarly Amīr Khusraw, one of the greatest masters of style in Persian *inshāʾ*, appears never to have occupied a position in the *dīwān-i inshāʾ*, but one may assume that his services were utilised in drafting important documents by contemporary sultans from Kayḳubād (acceded 686/1287) to Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ Shāh (died 725/1325). The *fatḥ-nāma* written by Amīr Khusraw on the occasion of Balban's victory over a rebellious governor of Lakhnawtī is given in his *Iʿdjāz-i Khusrawī* (v, 4-14); Amīr Khusraw claims this as his first *fatḥ-nāma*, and since he was not till then in the service of the court of Delhi, it is not clear if he was commissioned to draft the document.

The Indian Mughals followed a more active foreign policy than did the sultans of Delhi, and sent out and received many more embassies than their predecessors. It is therefore all the more surprising that for a long time they did not have a proper chancellery and a secretary of this. We do come across frequent mentions of *munshī*s (*e.g.*, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, i, 4; *Tūzuk-i Djahāngīrī*, Aligarh 1863-64, 185; ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Lāhawrī, *Pādshāh-Nāma*, i/1, 148, s.v. *dabīr*), bur for a long time there is no mention of a correspondence department. (The position has been recognized both by I. H. Qureshi, *Administration of the Mughul Empire*, Karachi 1966, 82, and by Momin Ibrahim, *The Mughal contribution to Persian epistolography*, Edinburgh University Ph.D. thesis, 1958 (unpublished), chapter i). From the time of Shāh Djahān onwards "frequent mention is made of the *dār al-inshāʾ*" (Momin Ibrahim). Ibrahim also opines that the bureau of correspondence was attached to the office of the *bakhshī* which "handled the administrative side of the secretariate only".)

This lack of concern for a correspondence department becomes to some extent understandable when we consider the fact that it was common practice with the Mughal emperors to assign the drafting of important documents to ministers and dignitaries other than the official *munshī*s. Thus Akbar's royal letters were drafted mostly by Abu 'l-Faḍl, who did not occupy an official position as a secretary, and occasionally by other distinguished personages attached to the court (*e.g.* Akbar's letter to Shāh ʿAbbās I, drafted by Āṣaf Khān Mīrzā Djaʿfar, see *Bayāḍ* 1995, Oriental Public Library, Bankipore, fol. 133b; for other sources and a full discussion, see Riazul Islam, *Calendar of Documents on Indo-Persian Relations* (unpublished), Document no. A.41). In one instance, two drafts were prepared for Akbar's reply to ʿAbd Allāh Khān Uzbeg, one by Abu 'l-Faḍl and the other by Ḥakīm Abu 'l-Fatḥ Gīlānī (see Bhagčand, *Djāmiʿ al-Inshāʾ*, B.M.Or. 1702, fols. 201a-202a; for a full discussion see *Calendar of Documents on Indo-Persian Relations*, Document no. TX.330). The practice of having important letters drafted by high officials other than the *munshī* continued under Shāh Djahān, even though by this time a *dār al-inshāʾ* had come into being. Shāh Djahān's letters to foreign potentates were drafted mostly by Saʿd Allāh Khān, chief *dīwān* (*i.e.* the *wazīr*) of the empire (*Maktūbāt-i Saʿd Allāh Khān*, ed. Nāẓir Ḥusayn Zaydī, Lahore 1968, *passim*; Riazul Islam, *Calendar of Documents on Indo-Persian*

Relations, section on Shāh Djahān, *passim*). Indeed there is a petition from Shaykh Abu 'l-Fatḥ Ḳābil Khān, *munshī* of Awrangzīb ʿĀlamgīr, complaining that this work was being appropriated by the imperial *dīwān* (*Ādāb-i ʿĀlamgīrī*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ghafūr Čawdhrī, Lahore 1971, 834).

The head of the *dār al-inshāʾ* was known variously as *mīr munshī*, *dārūgha-i dār al-inshāʾ* and *munshī al-mamālik*. As the same officer, Muḥammad Sharīf Ḳābil Khān, is mentioned in the *Maʾāthir-i ʿĀlamgīrī*, (Bib. Ind. 1871) as *darūgha-i dār al-inshāʾ* on p. 140 and *mīr munshī* on p. 190, it can be assumed that the two designations stood for the same post. It is remarkable that Shaykh Abu 'l-Fatḥ Ḳābil Khān, though generally called *munshī al-mamālik* (see the MSS of his *Ādāb-i ʿĀlamgīrī*) is nowhere alluded to as such in the *Maʾāthir-i ʿĀlamgīrī* or the *ʿĀlamgīr-Nāma*; nor indeed is his brother Muḥammad Sharīf Ḳābil mentioned as *munshī al-mamālik* in the *Maʾāthir-i ʿĀlamgīrī*.

Some idea of the status and emoluments of a Mughal *mīr munshī* may be had from the fact that the annual stipend given to Abu 'l-Fatḥ Khān on retirement was Rs. 5,000 (*Maʾāthir-i ʿĀlamgīrī*, 26), and that his brother Muḥammad Sharīf Ḳābil Khān, who became *darūgha-i dār al-inshāʾ* in 1085/1675, had the rank of 1000/70 (*i.e.*, 1000 personal rank, 70 troops) when he was dismissed from the office in 1090/1680 (*Maʾāthir-i ʿĀlamgīrī*, 190). Thus neither the rank nor the salary of the post seems to have been high. But the post, with its privilege of *taḳarrub* ("proximity") to the person of the emperor, gave an immense influence to the incumbent, so that Muḥammad Sharīf was able to amass twelve laks of rupees in cash alone in five years—a circumstance which eventually brought about his fall (*ibid.*).

As pointed out earlier the Mughal princes used to have their own official *munshīs*. Indeed, Abu 'l-Fatḥ Ḳābil Khān made his career as the *wālāshāhī munshī* (a prince's secretary) of Prince Awrangzīb; he served the Emperor Awrangzīb ʿĀlamgīr for only a very short period (*Maʾāthir-i ʿĀlamgīrī*, 140, 190; for some other instances, see *ibid.*, 91; Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhab al-lubāb*, I, 740).

The Hindūs produces many *munshīs* and Hindū *munshīs* wrote numerous *inshāʾ* works, the most well-known being the *Inshāʾ-i Harkaran* of Djahāngīr's reign. From the period of the Afghān Sūrs onwards they attained increasing proficiency in Persian epistolography, and soon came to occupy a strong position in secretarial and clerical cadres. The most celebrated of the Hindu *munshīs* were Čandr Bhan Brahman whom Shāh Djahān gave the title of *Rāy-i Rāyān*, and Ānand Rām "Mukhliṣ", *mīr munshī* of the Emperor Muḥammad Shah (Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, Calcutta 1935, 227-9; Momin Ibrahim, *op. cit.*; Riazul Islam, *Calendar of Documents on Indo-Persian Relations*, Intro., 56).

Bibliography: Among the Persian sources, the chronicles of the sultans of Delhi and of the Mughal emperors contain only scanty and occasional references to the subject. Even Baranī, though full of detail on general administration, does not say much about the *dabīr* or the *dār al-inshāʾ*. It is remarkable that two celebrated treatises on *inshāʾ*, Amīr Khusraw's lengthy *Iʿdjāz-i Khusrawī* and Maḥmūd Gāwān's *Manāẓir al-Inshāʾ*, contain next to nothing about the position and functions of the *dabīr*. Mughal works too seldom discuss the subject at length and systematically. The following primary sources nevertheless contain useful pieces of information on the subject: Minhādj b. Sirādj Djuzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, Calcutta 1863-4; Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Baranī, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, Calcutta 1862; Amīr Khusraw, *Khazāʾin al-Futūḥ*, Aligarh 1927; Id., *Iʿdjāz-i Khusrawī*, Lucknow 1867; ʿAyn al-Mulk Māhrū Multānī, *Inshāʾ-i Māhrū*, ed. Shaykh Abdur Rashid, Lahore 1965; Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, tr. Otto Spies and others, published in the *Muslim University Journal*, Aligarh (1936); Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, Paris 1853-59; Eng. tr. H. A. R. Gibb, iii, Cambridge 1971, and by Mahdi Husain, Baroda 1953; Shams Sirādj *ʿAfīf*, *Tāʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, Calcutta 1888-91; Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Aʾīn-i Akbarī*, Calcutta 1867-77; *Ruqʿāt-i Ḥakīm Abu 'l-Fatḥ Gīlānī*, ed. M. B. Husain, Lahore 1968; *Maktūbāt-i Saʿd Allāh Khān*, ed. N. H. Zaidi, Lahore 1968; Shaykh Abu 'l-Fatḥ Ḳābil Khān, *Ādāb-i ʿĀlamgīrī*, ed. Abd al-Ghafūr Čawdhrī, Lahore 1971; *Tūzuk-i Djahāngīrī*, Aligarh 1863-64; ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Lāhawrī, *Pādshāh-Nāma*, Calcutta 1866-72; Muḥammad Ḳāẓim, *ʿĀlamgīr-Nāma*, Calcutta 1865-73; Shāh Nawāz Khān (Ṣamṣām al-Dawla), *Maʾāthir al-Umarāʾ*, tr. Beveridge and B. Prashad, Calcutta 1911-52; Sāḳī Mustaʿīd Khān, *Māʾathir-i ʿĀlamgīrī*, Calcutta 1871; Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhab al-Lubāb*, Calcutta 1860-74; Bhāgčand Munshī, *Djāmiʿ al-Inshāʾ*, B.M.Or. 1702; Sayyid ʿAlī Naḳī, *Kitāb-i Haft Ḍābiṭa*, MS National Museum, Karachi. For a fuller list of *inshāʾ* sources, see bibliography in Riazul Islam, *A calendar of documents on Indo-Persian relations* (unpublished).

Modern studies: Muḥammad Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931; Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal administration*, Calcutta 1935; A. B. M. Habibullah, *Foundation of Muslim rule in India*, Lahore 1945; Sri Ram Sharma, *Mughal government and administration*, Bombay 1951; I. H. Qureshi, *Administration of the Sultanate of Dehlī*, Karachi 1958; idem, *Administration of the Mughal Empire*, Karachi 1966; C. E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids: their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran*, Edinburgh 1963; Ibn Hasan, *Central structure of the Mughal Empire*, Karachi 1967; Riazul Islam, *Indo-Persian relations: A study of the political and diplomatic relations between the Mughal Empire and Iran*, Tehran 1970; Momin M. M. Ibrahim, *The Mughal contribution to Persian epistolography*, Edinburgh Ph.D. thesis, 1958 (unpublished); idem, *Calendar of documents on Indo-Persian relations*, 1500-1750 (unpublished). (Riazul Islam)

KĀTIB ČELEBI, appellation of MUṢṬAFĀ B. ʿABD ALLĀH (1017-67/1609-57), known also (after his post in the bureaucracy) as ḤĀDJDJĪ KHALĪFA (Khalfa), historian, bibliographer and geographer, the most conspicuous and productive scholar, particularly in the non-religious sciences, of the 11th/17th century Ottoman Empire. He was born on Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1017/February 1609 in Istanbul, his father being a soldier. He began his education at the age of five or six, and at 14 was apprenticed to the *Anadolu Muḥāsebesi*'s office, where he learned accountancy and *siyāḳat* [*q.v.*]. In 1033/1624 he went with the army in the campaign against Abaza Pasha (*Fedhleke*, ii, 55), and two years later was present on the Baghdād campaign (*Fedhleke*, ii, 83), his father dying at Mawṣil on the way back. In that year he was appointed to a post in the *Süvārī Muḥāsebesi* office. Returning to Istanbul in 1038/1628-9, he attended

the lectures of Ḳāḍī-zāde, which greatly impressed him (*Fedhleke*, ii, 182). In 1038-40/1629-30 he was present on Khusrew Pasha's campaign against Baghdād; and in 1043/1633-4, when the army wintered at Aleppo, he took the opportunity to make the Pilgrimage. In 1044-5/1635 he took part in the campaign against Erivan. After these ten years of service with the army, a legacy enabled him to settle in Istanbul and devote himself to study, attending the lectures of various scholars, principally Aʿradj Muṣṭafā Ef. (*Fedhleke*, ii, 392). Having failed to receive promotion, he resigned from his post in the Finance Department and spent three years in retirement, until in 1058/1648 his writing of the *Taḳwīm al-tawārīkh* (no. 4 below) and the intervention of his patron ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Efendi, then *Shaykh al-Islām*, procured him the rank of *ikindji khalīfe*. Many of his works were composed in the ensuing years, among them translations made from Latin texts with the help of a French convert, Shaykh Meḥmed Ikhlāṣī. He died suddenly, on 27 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1067/ 6 October 1657, and was buried by the Zeyrek Djāmiʿi (photograph of his gravestone, since renewed, in *Keşf-el-zunun* (no. 12 below), i, introd., between cols. 18 and 19). His contemporaries described him as good-tempered, taciturn and philosophic, leading an unambitious life with no passion except for study; he would mix both with ascetics and pleasure-lovers, and he neither smoked nor drank. Naturally grave, he disliked satire and there is little humour in his works. One of his hobbies was growing flowers. He is always measured in his criticisms and his relation of events; and his prose style is simple, unencumbered by grandiloquent similes and clichés.

Works. 1. *Fadhlakat aḳwāl al-akhyār fī ʿilm al-taʾrīkh wa'l-akhbār*, or *Fadhlakat al-tawārīkh*, a universal history in Arabic, to 1049/1639. The *muḳaddima* is in four *faṣl*s, of which the second deals with the significance, the scope and the uses of history; the third, which was to list the 1300 sources, is lacking in the unique MS.; the fourth deals with the rules which the historian must follow. Unique MS. (author's draft); Bayezit 10318 (dated 1052/ 1642). Summary of scope in *İncelemeler* (see *Bibl.*), 40-3, and see also M. Halil Yinanç, *ibid.*, 93-100; Turkish tr. of brief passages in *Seçmeler* (see *Bibl.*), 187-94. —2. *Fedhleke*, a chronicle of Ottoman history, in Turkish, from 1000/1591 to 1065/1654-5. Among the sources are Ḥasanbegzāde, Pečevī [*qq.v.*] and ʿAbd al-Ḳādir (Topčular Kātibi); it was extensively used by Naʿīmā [*q.v.*]. Autograph MS.: Atif Ef. 1914; edn. in 2 vols. Istanbul 1287. See *İncelemeler*, 43-5. — 3. *Tuḥfat al-kibār fī asfār al-biḥār*, a history of Ottoman naval engagements to the year 1067/1656, in Turkish, with recommendations and criticisms on naval affairs and information on the fleet and its armament. MS. Revan 1192 (Karatay, no. 787) has marginalia in the author's hand, maps and pictures, and three *taḳrīẓ* (by the *Shaykh al-Islām* and the *Ḳāḍīʿaskers*). Edns.: Müteferriḳa Press 1141/1729; Istanbul 1329/1913. Eng. tr. (to p. 70 of the 1329 edn.), James Mitchell, *The history of the maritime wars of the Turks*, London 1831. See *İncelemeler*, 45-8: *Seçmeler*, 80-113. —4. *Taḳwīm al-tawārīkh*, chronological tables of events from the creation of Adam to the year 1058/1648, to serve "as an index to the *Fadhlaka*" (no. 1 above) Autograph MS. (?): Esad Ef. 2399; edn. (with continuation to 1146): Müteferriḳa Press 1146/1733. Ital. tr. by Rinaldo Carli, *Chronologia historica* ..., Venice 1697. Continued, with commentary, to 1191/1777 by Shamʿdānīzāde [*q.v.*] as *Murʾi al-tawārīkh* (edn. of first vol. to 926/ 1520, Istanbul 1338 h.). See *İncelemeler*, 48-54; *Seçmeler*, 114-8. —5. *Rawnaḳ al-salṭana*, excerpts on the history of Constantinople translated into Turkish from *Historia rerum in Oriente gestarum* ..., Frankfurt 1587 (see V. L. Ménage, in *BSOAS*, xxvi (1963), 173-4). Unique MS.: Konya, İzzet Koyunoğlu Libr. See *İncelemeler*, 56. —6. *Taʾrīkh-i Firengī*, a Turkish translation, made in 1065/1654-5, of Johann Carion's *Chronicle* (probably the Latin edn., Paris 1548, see V. L. Ménage, in *Iran and Islam*, ed. C. E. Bosworth, Edinburgh 1971, 423). Unique MS.: Konya, İzzet Koyunoğlu Libr. Excerpts published in the newspaper *Taṣwīr-i efkār* from no. 55 (1279/1863) onwards, whence three passages in *Seçmeler*, 175-7. See *İncelemeler*, 54-6. —7. *Irshād al-ḥayārā ilā taʾrīkh al-Yūnān wa'l-Rūm wa'l-Naṣārā*, a short compilation, from the *Atlas Minor* (see no. 10) and other works, on the religion, the systems of government and the dynasties of Christian Europe. See *İncelemeler*, 57; B. Flemming, *Verzeichnis ... Deutschland*, xiii/1 = *Türkische Handschriften*, Teil i, Wiesbaden 1968, no. 117; V. L. Ménage, in *Iran and Islam*, 421-3. —8. *Sullam al-wuṣūl ilā ṭabaḳāt al-fuḥūl*, a compendium of biographies in Arabic, arranged alphabetically (part one: by personal name; part two: by *nasab*, *kunya* or *laḳab*), in effect a companion work to no. 12 below, compiled from over 100 sources and completed in 1058/1649. Autograph (draft) MS.: Şehit Ali Paşa 1877. See *İncelemeler*, 57-61; *Seçmeler*, 195-204. — 9. *Djihān-nümā*. This work, planned to be a great cosmography, was never completed. In the first version, begun in 1058/1648, the author dealt with the seas, Muslim Spain, North Africa, and the Ottoman provinces of Rūmeli, Bosnia and Hungary; the second version, begun in 1065/1654 after he had acquired a copy of the *Atlas Minor* (see no. 10), covers Asia, from Japan to the Ottoman borders (Van). Most of the first version was translated by J. von Hammer as *Rumeli und Bosna* ..., Vienna 1812; the second version was the basis for the Müteferriḳa Press text of 1145/1732. For the complex textual history, see the articles of Fr. Taeschner, Pearson, *Index islamicus 1906-1955*, nos. 8860, 18345, 18643 and (a summing-up) 8861 = *Imago Mundi*, i (1935), 44-8; and *İncelemeler*, 61-73. For partial translations, see Babinger, 200. —10. *Lawāmiʿ al-nūr fī ẓulmat Aṭlas Minūr*, a Turkish translation, with many marginal comments, of the *Atlas Minor* of G. Mercator and L. Hondius. Autograph MS.: Nuruosmaniye 2998. See *İncelemeler*, 73-6; *Seçmeler*, 178-83. —11. *Ilhām al-muḳaddas fī fayḍ al-aḳdas*, a short treatise on the solutions, in the light of *fiḳh*, to three astronomical problems. See Bedi N. Şehsuvaroğlu, in *Incelemeler*, 141-76; *İncelemeler*, 76-7; *Seçmeler*, 143-5. —12. *Kashf al-ẓunūn ʿan asāmī 'l-kutub wa'l-funūn*, the great bibliographical dictionary in Arabic. The introduction deals with the importance of learning and the classification of the various branches of knowledge; the main text lists some 14,500 titles in alphabetical order, with some commentary. Principal edns.: G. Flügel, *Lexicon bibliographicum et encyclopaedicum* ..., 7 vols., Leipzig and London 1835-58 (Ar. text with Latin tr. and indexes); ed. Şerefettin Yaltkaya and Kilisli Rifat Bilge, *Keşf-el-zunun*, 2 vols., Istanbul 1941-3 (using the autograph fair copy of the first third, MS. Revan 2059 [Karatay, no. 6566], and the autograph draft for the rest, MS. Carullah 1619. See *İncelemeler*, 77-9; *Seçmeler*, 205-45. —13. *Tuḥfat al-akhyār fi 'l-ḥikam wa'l-amthāl wa'l-ashʿār*, a commonplace book drawn mainly from Arabic, but also from Persian and Turkish sources, containing passages on literature and philosophy,

family-life and good government, curious information on animals and plants, tales, poems, proverbs, etc. See *İncelemer*, 79-81; *Seçmeler*, 246-65. —14. *Dürer-i müntes̲h̲ire ve g̲h̲urer-i müntes̲h̲ire*, a collection of passages from biographical works. Unique (autograph) MS.: Nuruosmaniye 4949. See *İncelemeler*, 81-2; *Seçmeler*, 146-52. —15. *Dustūr al-ʿamal fī iṣlāḥ al-k̲h̲alal*, a memorandum setting out the causes for the deficits in the state finances and suggesting remedies. Edn.: Istanbul 1280 (appended to ʿAyn-i ʿAlī, *Ḳawānīn-i Āl-i ʿOt̲h̲mān*); *Seçmeler* (complete text), 153-61. German trans.: W. F. A. Behrnauer, in *ZDMG*, xi (1857), 111-32. See *İncelemeler*, 82-4; B. Lewis, in *Isl. St.*, i/1 (1962), 78-81. —16. *Rad̲j̲m al-rad̲j̲īm bi'l-sīm wa'l-d̲j̲īm*, a collection of curious questions in *fiḳh* and of odd *fatwās*; apparently lost. See *İncelemeler*, 84-5. —17. A *s̲h̲arḥ* of the *tafsīr* of al-Bayḍāwī [*q.v.*]; perhaps never completed, no. MS. known. See *İncelemeler*, 85. —18. *Ḥusn al-hidāya*, a *s̲h̲arḥ* of the *Muḥammadiyya* of ʿAlī Kus̲h̲čī [*q.v.*]; apparently lost. See *İncelemeler*, 85. —19. *D̲j̲āmiʿ al-mutūn min d̲j̲all al-funūn*, abridgements of and comments on 27 works which the author taught: a compendium of "general knowledge" for the man of culture. Unique MS. (in part autograph): Topkapı Sarayı, Emanet Hazinesi 1763. See *İncelemeler*, 85-6; *Seçmeler*, 266-7. —20. *Muk̲h̲taṣar D̲j̲āmiʿ al-mutūn*, an abridgement of the above- no. MS., known (see *Kas̲h̲f al-ẓunūn*, Flügel, no. 3952). *İncelemeler*, 86 and n. 3. —21. *Mīzān al-ḥaḳḳ fī 'k̲h̲tiyār al-aḥaḳḳ*, a discussion of various questions which at the time were causing violent controversy (see Naʿīmā, vi, 229-30 (*sub anno* 1066); İ. H. Uzunçarsılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, iii/1, Ankara 1951, 364-6), with the author's solutions, composed in 1067/1656. Edns.: Istanbul 1281, 1286, 1306. Eng. tr.: G. L. Lewis, *The Balance of Truth*, London 1957 (see J. R. Walsh, in *IQ*, v/1-2 (1958), 63-79). See *İncelemeler*, 87-90; *Seçmeler*, 162-71. —22. *Ḳānūnnāme-i tes̲h̲rīfāt*, known only from a mention in *Mīzān al-ḥaḳḳ*; see *İncelemeler*, 54.

Bibliography: The principal source for Kātib Čelebi's life, his studies and his works is the autobiographical *k̲h̲ātime* to the *Mīzān al-ḥaḳḳ* (*Seçmeler*, 165-70; tr. G. L. Lewis, pp. 135-47), with some further details in the *Sullam al-wuṣūl* (*Seçmeler*, 202-3). Earlier studies: Bursalı Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *ʿOt̲h̲mānlı mü'ellifleri*, iii, 124-31; Brockelmann, II, 427-9, S II, 635-7; A. Adnan-Adıvar, *La science chez les Turcs ottomans*, Paris 1939; expanded version; *Osmanlı Türklerinde ilim*, Istanbul 1943, 115-32. The fullest study is by O. Ş. Gökyay, in *Kâtip Çelebi: hayatı ve eserleri hakkında incelemeler*, Ankara (TTK) 1957, 3-90 (an expanded version of the article in *İA*, s.v. Kâtib Çelebi). Add now also *ʿUšâqîzâde's Lebensbeschreibungen* ... (*Zeyl-i Šaqâ'iq*), ed. H. J. Kissling, Wiesbaden 1965, no. 158. Selections from 15 of his works, in the original Turkish or translated from Arabic, in O. Ş. Gökyay, *Kâtip Çelebi'den seçmeler*, Istanbul 1968.

For MSS. in the libraries of Turkey, see *İncelemeler*; of Europe, see Babinger, 195-203 (some further references, for nos. 2, 3, 4, 7, 21 above, in B. Flemming, *Verzeichnis* ..., xiii/1, nos. 162, 160, 36, 117, 379, respectively).

(Orhan Şaik Gökyay)

KĀTIB-i RŪMĪ [see sīdī re'īs].

al-**KĀTIBĪ**, nad̲j̲m al-dīn abu'l-ḥasan ʿalī b. ʿumar (d. 657/1276), known by the title of Dabīrān, was a philosopher and logician of the Shāfiʿī school. He came from Ḳazwīn and although K̲h̲ʷānsārī, quoting Kutubī, called him Kās̲h̲ī, sc. from Kās̲h̲ān, this is not correct; and he was a pupil of At̲h̲īr-al-Dīn Abharī. It is known that he helped establish the Marāg̲h̲a [*q.v.*] observatory along with Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī [*q.v.*] and several other scholars, including Mu'ayyid al-Dīn ʿArūḍī, Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn Marāg̲h̲ī and Muḥyī al-Dīn Ak̲h̲lāṭī. He is the author of many works and treatises, two of which are particularly important. The first is *al-Risāla al-s̲h̲amsiyya* (*The Logic of the Arabians*, original Arabic with Eng. tr. by A. Sprenger, appended to Tahānawī, *Kas̲h̲s̲h̲āf*, 1856), which he wrote for S̲h̲ams al-Dīn Muḥammad D̲j̲uwaynī. This was commented upon by several scholars, the most important of whom are Saʿd al-Dīn Taftāzānī [*q.v.*] and Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Rāzī. Rāzī's commentary, entitled *Taḥrīr al-ḳawāʿid al-manṭiḳiyyah fī s̲h̲arḥ al-risāla al-s̲h̲amsiyya* (Tehran lith. ed. 1304) is still used as a text book in traditional Islamic schools.

His second major work, *Ḥikmat al-ʿayn*, deals with metaphysics and natural sciences. This work too has attracted many commentaries, among them that of Muḥammad b. Mubārak S̲h̲āh, known as Mīrak-i Buk̲h̲ārī (St. Petersburg 1904), who has also quoted Ḳuṭb al-Dīn S̲h̲īrāzī's marginal notes on the same work. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-D̲j̲urd̲j̲ānī, known as al-S̲h̲arīf, Kamāl al-Dīn Masʿūd S̲h̲īrāzī and Mīrzā D̲j̲ān Bāg̲h̲nuwī, each wrote marginal notes on the above commentary. Ḥasan b. Yūsuf al-Ḥillī, known as ʿAllāma, also wrote a commentary on *Ḥikmat al-ʿayn*, called *Īḍāḥ al-maḳāṣid* (Tehran 1959).

Kātibī was influenced in his thinking by Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn al-Rāzī [*q.v.*] and wrote commentaries on his *al-Muḥaṣṣal* and *al-Mulakhkhaṣ*, which he called respectively *al-Mufaṣṣal* and *al-Munaṣṣaṣ*. He also had some correspondance and discussions with Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī on problems of logic, such as predication and contradiction, and on philosophical problems, like the proof of necessary existence. In this respect he rejects the proofs of necessary existence based on the falsity of the circle of infinite regress and demonstrates another kind of proof in his *al-Risāla fī it̲h̲bāt al-wād̲j̲ib* (ʿAlī Yāsīn, *Muṭāriḥāt falsafiyya*, Baghdad 1956). His arguments, which became known as *S̲h̲ubuhāt*, were discussed by various scholars, and Kamāl al-Dīn Husaynī Fasā'ī wrote a book called *Ḥall s̲h̲ubuhāt al-Kātibī*.

Bibliography: Kutubī, *Fawāt*, Cairo 1951, ii, 134; K̲h̲ʷāndmīr, *Ḥabīb al-Siyar*, Tehran 1333, iii, 107; Ḥamdallāh Mustawfī, *Tārīk̲h̲-i guzīda*, Tehran 1339, 590, 706; K̲h̲ʷānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-d̲j̲annāt*, litho ed.[2], Tehran 1367, 479; Muḥammad ʿAlī Ḥazīn, *Tad̲h̲kira*[2], Iṣfahān 1334, 30; Ṭās̲h̲köprüzāde, *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda*, Cairo, Dār al-kutub edn. n.d., i, 299, 302; *Kas̲h̲f al-ẓunūn*, i, 685, ii, 1063; *Īḍāḥ al-maknūn* (suppl. to *Kas̲h̲f al-ẓunūn*), i, 415, ii, 56; Brockelmann, I, 466, S I, 845; ʿAbbās Ḳumī, *al-Kunā wa' 'l-alḳāb*, Sidon 1939, iii, 801; ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, *Tārīk̲h̲-i Mug̲h̲ūl*, Tehran 1341, 191, 503, 507, 511; ʿAlī Naḳī Munzawī, intro. to *Īḍāḥ al-maḳāṣid*, Tehran 1959, 4-10. (M. Mohaghegh)

KĀTIBĪ, s̲h̲ams al-dīn muḥammad b. ʿabd allāh, a Persian poet. According to Dawlats̲h̲āh, he was born in a village between Turs̲h̲īz and Nīs̲h̲āpūr. Through most of his life he sought in vain the patronage of Tīmūrid amīrs in Herāt, Astarābād and S̲h̲arwān, and finally that of the Turcoman ruler Iskandar b. Ḳarā Yūsuf in Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān. Eventually he returned to Astarābād, where he died of the plague about 839/1435-6, apparently at a young age. Besides a *dīwān* of *g̲h̲azal*s, *ḳaṣīda*s, etc., he left a number of *mat̲h̲nawī*s, viz. *Tad̲j̲nīsāt* or *Dah Bāb*, *D̲h̲ū Baḥrayn* or *Mad̲j̲maʿ al-Baḥrayn*, *D̲h̲ū Ḳāfiyatayn*, *Ḥusn u ʿIs̲h̲ḳ*, *Nāẓir u Manẓūr*, *Muḥibb u Maḥbūb*, and

Bahrām u Gul-andām. Towards the end of his life he undertook to compose a *kh͟amsa* in imitation of Niẓāmī of Gand͟ja, but did not complete it.

Notwithstanding Nawāʾī's lavish praise of Kātibī, and the lengthy accounts of him given by Dawlatsh͟āh and Browne, he is a mediocre poet. D͟jāmī rightly describes (in his *Bahāristān*) his verses as *sh͟utur gurba*, "camels and cats", *i.e.*, uneven and unequal in quality. His poetry is characterized by excessive use of rhetorical artifice, imitation (mainly of Amīr Kh͟usraw and Ḥasan of Dihlī), commonplace and bizarre ideas, and clumsy and immature diction. Perhaps because of these failings, very few of his verses have been published.

Bibliography: Dawlatsh͟āh, *Tadh͟kirat al-Sh͟uʿarāʾ*, ed. Browne, London-Leiden 1901, 381-91; Browne, *LHP*, iii, 487-95; Amīr ʿAlī-Sh͟īr Nawāʾī, *Mad͟jālis al Nafāʾis*, ed. ʿA. A. Ḥikmat, Tehran 1323; Dh͟. Ṣafā, *Gand͟j-i Sukh͟an*, ii, Tehran 1340², 271-3. (I. Dehghan)

KATIF (A.) "shoulder"; *ʿilm al-katif* or *al-aktāf* denotes scapulomancy or omoplatoscopy, *i.e.* divination by the use of the shoulder-bones. This art forms a part of the practices of physiognomy. It is universal in scope, inasmuch as it provides for the foretelling of what will happen in the different regions of the earth towards which the four sides of the scapula are pointed according to the signs revealed by it. From this point of view the *ʿilm al-aktāf* is to be linked with the practice of cleromancy of the *d͟jafr* [*q.v.*] and the *malāḥim* (cf. T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 219 ff.).

How was this skill practised? Three methods are known to us. The first is to lay the scapula on the ground before cooking it, to examine it and to deduce from it indications of future events (war, fertility, drought) according to the shades of colour on it. It may be yellowish, leaden, red or greenish and the meanings of these colours are applied to the regions towards which the four sides of the scapula point (cf. Ḥād͟jd͟ji Kh͟alīfa, ed. Flügel, i, 387).

The second method consists of taking the scapula with the flesh stripped off and exposing it to the rays of the sun. The special lines and shapes which then appear are examined by the physiognomists and they deduce from them signs of universal events, but rarely of individual cases (cf. Y. Mourad, *La physiognomonie arabe*, Ar. text, 12). "Neither the age nor the sex nor the colour of the sheep are important ... There is no fixed moment for the ceremony of divination. It is performed at any time and in any place." (Letter from P. Anastase al-Karmalī to Alfred Boissier, in *Mantique babylonienne et mantique ḥittite*, 52).

A third method involves cooking the scapula before using it. This is described in a *Risāla fī l-aḥkām al-katifiyya* (ms. Cairo 4451; cat. v, 338; anon.): "If anyone wishes to practise scapulomancy, he must take a sheep and before cutting its throat, he must formulate in his mind the question to which he would like to obtain an answer. Then he will slaughter it and broil its scapula."

This third method seems to have prevailed in North Africa, where it could have been connected with the practices of the ancient haruspices (cf. Mauchamp, *Sorcellerie*, 148; Doutté, *Magie et religion*, 371 f.; for details see *Divination arabe*, 396 f.). According to the only example of a divination by scapulomancy found in ancient literature, which goes back to the period of ʿUmar b. al-Kh͟aṭṭāb, the observation was made in the East on the fresh, raw scapula (cf. al-Ṭabarī, i, 2575-6, quoted above, art. ISTISḲĀʾ). It is the same in the *Risāla fī ʿilm al-aktāf* attributed to al-Kindī (mss. Nuruosmaniyye 2412, 42 fol.; Şehîd ʿAlī Paşa, 1812, 51 fol.; Bursa, Ḥusayn Çelebi, 882 fol. 84ᵃ-89ᵃ; cf. M. Plessner, *Deux manuscrits d'Istanbul attribués à al-Kindī*, in *Islamica*, iv (1931), 557). The introduction states that al-Kindī translated this treatise from the Greek; it was attributed to Hermes the Sage.

Apart from this *risāla* and the anonymous one from Cairo, no other writings on scapulomancy have appeared, despite the affirmation of P. Anastase that "there is an entire literature on the science of scapulae which would require deep study" (*apud* Boissier, *op. cit.*, 53). He himself had only a copy of the *risāla* attributed to al-Kindī (*ibid.*, 51). No writings of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, thought to have been the originator of scapulomancy, have yet come to light.

Finally, according to P. Anastase, "To-day there is no family or tribe which knows this science ... but it is studied in specialist books. There is", he writes, "a special terminology which is not found in Arabic dictionaries, even the most extensive" (*ibid.*).

Bibliography: T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Leiden 1966, 395-7; A. Boissier, *Mantique babylonienne et mantique ḥittite*, Paris 1935, (letter of P. Anastase dated 26 September 1934); Y. Mourad, *La physiognomonie arabe et le Kitāb al-firāsa de Fakh͟r al-Dīn al-Rāzī* (thesis), Paris 1939, Ar. text 12; Ḥād͟jd͟jī Kh͟alīfa, ed. Flügel, i, 387; Ed. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1909, 371-2; E. Mauchamp, *La sorcellerie au Maroc*, Paris n.d., 148. (T. Fahd)

AL-**ḲAṬĪF**, a large oasis in Saudi Arabia on the southern shore of the Persian Gulf.

1. Geography and demography. The oasis fronts on Tārūt Bay, named after the island facing its centre. Although al-Ḳaṭīf was for centuries a seaport of considerable importance, it is now, due to the shallowness of its waters, used only by small craft. Most of the maritime traffic had been diverted to the oil-shipping port of Raʾs Tannūra (Ras Tanura) on the narrow peninsula which forms the north side of the bay and to the commercial port of al-Dammām [*q.v.*] at the southern extremity of the bay.

The oasis stretches about 22 km. from north to south along the coast of the bay. In the far north the town of Ṣafwā and its girdle of date palms are cut off from the bay by Ṣabkh͟at D͟jāwān (*ṣabkh͟a* = "salt flat"), from the main body of the oasis by Ṣabkh͟at Ṣafwā and the sands of al-D͟jabd͟jūb, and from the inland village of Umm al-Sāḥik by the sands of al-Dawāgh͟ir. In the centre of the oasis is the town of al-Ḳaṭīf proper, popularly called al-Ḳalʿa after the old Ottoman (not Portuguese) fort razed in recent times. The more important villages in its vicinity are al-Ḳudayḥ and al-ʿAwwāmiyya to the north, and al-D͟jārūdiyya, Umm al-Kh͟amām, al-D͟jish͟sh͟, and ʿAnik to the south. Separated from the rest of the oasis by the sands of al-Badrānī is the interior village of al-Ād͟jām (pronounced *lod͟jām*). The oasis ends in the south with the flourishing town of Sayhāt on the coast.

The sands mentioned above and other sands hem in the oasis on its inner side from north to south and in many places are encroaching on the palm groves. A remarkable string of *ʿayn*s or springs lies along the north-south axis just west of the eastern edge of the sands. Many other *ʿayn*s are scattered throughout the groves between the sands and the bay.

The island of Tārūt has five main villages, the largest of which are Tārūt near the centre and Dārīn at the southern tip of the island. Dārīn, mentioned in a verse by al-Aʿsh͟ā, was the name commonly given

to the island in ancient times. A causeway now joins the island to the mainland.

The great majority of the people of al-Ḳaṭīf consists of Dja'farī Shī'īs. The suggestion, sometimes made, that traces of Ḳarmaṭian doctrines survive there seems to be completely baseless. It is to be hoped that ampler details of the history of this ancient Dja'farī community and the related Dja'farī community of al-Baḥrayn [*q.v.*] can some day be uncovered.

2. History. The finding of ancient South Arabian and Aramaean inscriptions bears witness to the great antiquity of al-Ḳaṭīf as an inhabited oasis. Unfortunately, the extensive use of the land by the current dwellers impedes the carrying out of thorough archaeological operations. H. von Wissmann has argued persuasively for the identification of al-Ḳaṭīf as the site of the renowned city of Gerrha described by Strabo and other classical sources, but this identification is not yet proved beyond doubt.

In the early 4th century A.D. the Persians under Shāpūr II established themselves in al-Ḳaṭīf and along the adjoining Arabian coast, the hinterland of which was then known as al-Baḥrayn. This occupation, interrupted at times by the Lakhmids, did not end until three centuries later. For a sketch of the events of that time see the article on 'ABD AL-ḲAYS, then the dominant tribe in al-Baḥrayn. The subtribe of Djadhīma b. 'Awf inhabited the oasis of al-Ḳaṭīf but kept its capital at nearby al-Zāra, the location of which is uncertain. The population also included Magians, Jews, and Christians (many members of 'Abd al-Ḳays were Christians before Islam). The persistence of Christianity is illustrated by the fact that a Nestorian synod was held at Dārīn as late as 56-7/676.

As Islam spread eastwards in the Peninsula, al-'Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī reached al-Baḥrayn in 8/629-30, and 'Abd al-Ḳays sent an embassy to the Prophet in Medina. During the *ridda* some of 'Abd al-Ḳays rebelled; in 11/632-3 al-Ḥuṭam b. Ḍubay'a seized al-Ḳaṭīf, but in the next year he was defeated and killed by the forces of al-'Alā'. The Muslims then forced the Persian garrison of al-Zāra to capitulate, after which they crossed over to the island of Dārīn (Tārūt). The rebellion against the caliphate continued until 19/640, but it is not known whether al-Ḳaṭīf was involved in the later stages.

In 67/686-7 the Khāridjī Nadjda b. 'Āmir al-Ḥanafī won a victory over 'Abd al-Ḳays at al-Ḳaṭīf and made the oasis his headquarters, only to be overcome not long afterwards by his fellow-Khāridjī Abū Fudayk.

The history of al-Ḳaṭīf for the next two centuries or so remains obscure. In 286/899 the Ḳarmaṭian Abū Sa'īd Ḥasan b. Bahrām al-Djannābī [*q.v.*] invaded the oasis and put many of the inhabitants to the sword, thereby inaugurating an independent Ḳarmaṭian state in eastern Arabia with its capital in the oasis of al-Aḥsā' to the south. The Ḳarmaṭians suffered a temporary setback four years later when Ibn Bānū, the governor of al-Baḥrayn, inflicted severe losses on them in a battle at al-Ḳaṭīf, but they soon recovered the oasis and regained power.

The tribe of 'Uḳayl, which in the late 3rd/9th century was moving into the region, in time took over supremacy there from 'Abd al-Ḳays. In al-Hamdānī's time (early 4th/10th century), however, the inhabitants of al-Ḳaṭīf were still described as belonging to Djadhīma b. 'Awf of 'Abd al-Ḳays under a chief named Ibn Mismār. Ibn Ḥawḳal (mid-4th/10th century) lists al-Ḳaṭīf as one of the Ḳarmaṭian cities. In 378/988-9 al-Aṣfar and his tribesmen of al-Muntafiḳ waged war against the Ḳarmaṭians and plundered al-Ḳaṭīf, carrying off abundant booty to al-Baṣra.

The Persian traveller Nāṣir-i Khusraw in 433/1051 met an Arab dignitary in al-Ḳaṭīf whose ambition was to drive the Ḳarmaṭians, "men without religion", out of their capital al-Aḥsā'. Seventeen years later Abu 'l-Bahlūl al-'Awwām b. al-Zadjdjādj, master of the islands of al-Baḥrayn, who was loyal to the 'Abbāsids, defeated the Ḳarmaṭian adherents among 'Uḳayl in a naval battle off al-Ḳaṭīf. The final destruction of Ḳarmaṭian power in this region came at the hands of the 'Uyūnids [*q.v.*] of 'Abd al-Ḳays, whose base was in al-Aḥsā'.

Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Jewish communities in the East between 554/1159 and 569/1173, gave the number of Jews in al-Ḳaṭīf as 5,000, a figure no doubt exaggerated (the Rabbi does not seem to have reached al-Ḳaṭīf itself). He also reported that the pearl fisheries there were controlled by a Jewish official.

About 598/1201-2 Abū Bakr b. Sa'd, the Salghurid Atābeg of Fārs, took over al-Ḳaṭīf and al-Aḥsā'. By the first half of the 7th/13th century the 'Uyūnids were yielding to pressure by the Salghurids and by the new dynasty of the 'Uṣfūrids of 'Uḳayl, which was usurping authority in al-Aḥsā'.

From the 8th/14th century, Hormuz on the Persian side of the Gulf rose to prominence in trade and politics. In 731/1330-1 Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Tahamtan, King of Hormuz, is said to have occupied al-Ḳaṭīf and other places on both sides of the Gulf. In the following year, however, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa found that al-Ḳaṭīf was ruled by a family founded by one Djarwān of 'Uḳayl, a family described by al-Sakhāwī as "remnants of the Ḳarmaṭians". Ibn Baṭṭūṭa characterised the various clans of Arabs living in al-Ḳaṭīf as "extremist Rāfiḍīs" (the common term among Sunnīs in the Gulf for Shī'īs).

In the mid-9th/15th century the Djabrids, a branch of the 'Uṣfūrids, became dominant in al-Aḥsā'. The Djabrid Adjwad helped the fugitive prince Salghur of Hormuz secure the throne of his homeland, in return for which Salghur granted Adjwad, on payment of tribute, control over al-Baḥrayn and al-Ḳaṭīf, whose profits from trade made them the richest possessions of Hormuz.

After the Portuguese conquest of Hormuz in 913/1507, the Djabrids kept their hold on al-Ḳaṭīf for a time. The Djabrid Muḳrin made the pilgrimage in 926/1520, bringing with him pearls, amber, aloes wood, and other costly products; he is said to have distributed 50,000 dīnārs to the poor in the Holy Cities. On his return he discovered that the Portuguese were invading the islands of al-Baḥrayn, and he met his death in resisting them. The King of Hormuz, subject and ally of the Portuguese, sent an underling to besiege al-Ḳaṭīf. The final blow to the Djabrids came from Shaykh Rāshid b. Mughāmis of al-Baṣra in 931/1524-5.

The chief of al-Ḳaṭīf swore allegiance to Sulaymān the Magnificent in Baghdād in 941/1534, and in 958/1551 Ottoman forces built a new citadel in al-Ḳaṭīf. After Portugal lost Hormuz to the British and Persians in 1031/1622, al-Ḳaṭīf became a more important centre for Portuguese trade in the Gulf. The finest Arabian horses were exported from there to India, being brought to the port by Bedouins from the interior. Large quantities of pearls from the beds of al-Baḥrayn were shipped from al-Ḳaṭīf, as many of the fishers came from the oasis. The Portuguese paid for the horses and pearls with cloth from Sind

and Cambay and with silver money. Another item for export was dates, inferior in quality to those of al-Baṣra, but better and more lasting when dried. In 1036/1637 the Portuguese admiral Ruy Freyre came to the rescue of al-Ḳaṭīf when it was threatened by Persia.

The Ottoman grip on this distant part of Arabia proved weak, particularly as the Āl Ḥumayd, the paramount chiefs of the tribe of the Banū Khālid, gained strength and expanded their dominion. The Banū Khālid had special ties with al-Ḳaṭīf, where nomads of the tribe owned date groves at ʿAnik and numbers of them came there to camp during the harvesting season. Barrāk b. Ghurayr Āl Ḥumayd expelled the Ottoman governor from al-Aḥsāʾ in 1074/1663-4. As one of the principal seaports for the Banū Khālid (the other being al-ʿUḳayr farther south), al-Ḳaṭīf won favour from merchants for its moderate customs duties and the protection it provided for their persons and property.

In 1202/1788 the Banū Kaʿb of southern al-ʿIrāḳ plundered al-Ḳaṭīf, which was just recovering from a devastating plague that had made its way south from al-Baṣra.

The Banū Khālid could not withstand the onslaughts of the Āl Suʿūd [*q.v.*], the paladins of the reform movement of the Wahhābiyya [*q.v.*], who routed the army of the tribe in the battle of Ghuraymīl south of al-Ḳaṭīf in 1204/1789-0. Two years later Suʿūd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Āl Suʿūd captured the strongholds of Sayhāt and ʿAnik in al-Ḳaṭīf and meted out harsh treatment to the Shīʿī inhabitants, whom he looked upon as the worst of heretics. The payment of many pieces of gold induced Suʿūd to spare the port (*al-furḍa*) and the people who had taken refuge there. In this fashion, the Āl Suʿūd subdued all this part of eastern Arabia and incorporated it in their realm. During the reign of Suʿūd, the *ḳāḍī* he assigned to al-Ḳaṭīf was an immigrant from Persia (a Shīʿī converted to Sunnism ?).

The Sublime Porte delegated Muḥammad ʿAlī, its Viceroy in Egypt, to deal with the threat to Ottoman suzerainty posed by the Āl Suʿūd and the Wahhābiyya. The Viceroy's son Ibrāhīm Pāshā, took the Āl Suʿūd's capital, al-Dirʿiyya [*q.v.*] in 1233/1818, after which Ibrāhīm sent a detachment on to al-Ḳaṭīf in search of supplies. When Captain Sadleir, the emissary of the British government in India coming to congratulate Ibrāhīm, reached al-Ḳaṭīf in 1234/1819, the detachment was preparing to pull out. Accompanying it on its way westwards, Sadleir became the first Western explorer to traverse the whole breadth of Arabia.

Although the chiefs of the Banū Khālid were in charge once more, the most striking figure in the region of al-Ḳaṭīf in the next few years was the celebrated seadog Raḥma b. Djābir, who finally lost his life in 1242/1826 in a naval battle off al-Ḳaṭīf against the Āl Khalīfa of al-Baḥrayn, against whom he had long been waging war.

After the Turco-Egyptian evacuation of central Arabia, Turkī b. ʿAbd Allāh reintroduced the rule of the Āl Suʿūd, and the chiefs of al-Ḳaṭīf gave him the *bayʿa* in 1245/1830. Four years later he ordered his son Fayṣal to al-Ḳaṭīf to suppress dissident elements in Sayhāt supported by the Āl Khalīfa. While there, Fayṣal received news of his father's assassination in al-Dirʿiyya, and as the new Imām he hastened back to the capital.

Muḥammad ʿAlī again adopted a forward policy in Arabia in 1254/1838. Fayṣal was defeated and carried off to Egypt as a prisoner. A Turco-Egyptian force was quartered in al-Ḳaṭīf. Ibn Bishr describes the administration as "[benevolent] rain at first, but in the end hail and thunderbolts". The force, however, stayed only two years. The new head of the Āl Suʿūd, ʿAbd Allāh b. Thunayyān, appointed Fayṣal's slave Bilāl b. Sālim al-Ḥarḳ as his first representative in al-Ḳaṭīf in 1258/1842. In the following year, Fayṣal escaped from Cairo and returned to Arabia, where this second reign of his lasted for the next twenty-two years. The probity of his government was illustrated by his anger over what he at first considered the unjustified action of his Amīr of al-Ḳaṭīf in having the leading Shīʿī there beaten to death, though he later pardoned the Amīr. Fayṣal in at least some of his campaigns was joined by levies of the people of al-Ḳaṭīf.

In 1288/1871 Midḥat Pasha, the Ottoman *Wālī* or governor of Baghdād, dispatched an expedition that landed at Raʾs Tannūra and quickly moved on to al-Ḳaṭīf. During this final Ottoman occupation, al-Ḳaṭīf formed one of the three *ḳaḍāʾ*s of the misnamed *Sandjaḳ* of Nadjd (the *Sandjaḳ*, with its capital at al-Aḥsāʾ, consisted of territory lying east of Nadjd proper). But ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who was restoring the fortunes of Āl Suʿūd, swooped down on the Sandjaḳ in 1331/1913 and drove out all the Ottoman garrisons, including the one in al-Ḳaṭīf. Since then the oasis has belonged to the domains of the Āl Suʿūd.

In 1357/1938 oil was first discovered in Saudi Arabia at al-Ẓahrān (Dhahran) not far south of al-Ḳaṭīf. With the expansion of operations a new oilfield was found straddling the oasis, after which it was named the Qatif Field. Large numbers of the people of the towns and villages there work for the oil company or in businesses connected with the oil industry. With production and revenues from oil soaring, the oasis is enjoying new prosperity and undergoing a reshaping of its economic and social life. It still lies half-hidden by its cloak of millions of palms, which produce abundant harvests of dates, a crop supplemented by fruits and vegetables, the variety of which has been diversified by great improvements in the irrigation and drainage systems and by the introduction of modern agricultural techniques.

Bibliography: In addition to the sources cited by Grohmann in *EI*[1] s.v., see H. v. Wissmann, *Zur Geschichte und Landeskunde von Alt-Südarabien*, Vienna 1964; idem and H. Gätje, in *Vorbereitung für die Mainzer Akademie*, Wiesbaden 1964; Y. El-Khachab, *Nāṣir è Ḥosraw*, Cairo 1940; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, tr. Gibb, ii, Cambridge 1962; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ*, i, Cairo 1353; W. Caskel in *Oriens*, ii (1949) [Djabrids]; E. Prestage, ed., *Chapters in Anglo-Portuguese Relations*, Watford 1935; M. v. Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, iii/1, ed. W. Caskel, Wiesbaden 1952 [the Banū Khālid]; S. Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq*, Oxford 1925; Ḥusayn b. Ghannām, *Rawḍat al-Afkār*, Bombay, n.d.; ʿUthmān b. Bishr, *ʿUnwān al-Madjd*, Cairo 1373; G. Sadlier [Sadleir], *Diary of a Journey across Arabia*, Bombay 1866; J. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, ʿOmān, and Central Arabia*, Calcutta 1908-15. (G. RENTZ)

KATĪN [see KHĀTŪN].

ḲĀṬĪRDJĪ-OGHLĪ MEḤMED PASHA (?1010-79/?1601-68) a statesman descended from the Turcomans of Ḥamīd [*q.v.*] who rose to fame from a career of brigandry. Since he always spoke his local dialect, he acquired the nickname *Türkçe Bilmez* ("he who knows no Turkish") (Muṣṭafā Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1280/1863-4, iv, 382). He was the

son of Aḥmed Agha called *ḳāṭirdjī* (the muleteer) on account of his profession. Ḳāṭirdjī Meḥemmed spent his childhood on the family farm in Ağlasun and when he was 19, in 1029-30/1620-21, he joined his father's caravan journeys. He later separated from his father to operate his own caravan between Afyon [*q.v.*] and Čivril and later, after his father's death, he took over his business (Hikmet Turhan Dağlıoğlu and Nuri Katırcıoğlu, *Katırcıoğlu kimdir?*, in *Isparta Halkevi Ün Mecmuası*, iii, no. 25 (Isparta 1936), 356, 357). Ḳāṭirdjī-oghlī came to be much loved in the region, and the people of Isparta sent him to relay their complaints and wishes to a tax-collector who had perpetrated great injustices and irregularities. The tax-collector, however, instead of taking an understanding attitude inflamed the people further by throwing Ḳāṭirdjī-oghlī into prison. Thereupon the people rebelled, freed him from goal, removed the tax-collector and took the administration into their own hands. Ḳāṭirdjī-oghlī let the course of events carry him along. For a while he disappeared and then, in 1057/1647, appeared again operating with the brigand Ḳara Ḥaydar (Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, Istanbul 1314/1896-7, ii, 416 ff.). After Ḳara Ḥaydar's capture in 1059/1649, he gathered around himself the scattered groups of brigands and, joining forces with Gürdjü ʿAbd al-Nabī, marched on Üsküdar with the intention of procuring his pardon. However, in the clash with government troops, ʿAbd al-Nabī's hesitancy led to his defeat. He was compelled to retire first to Söğüt (Naʿīmā, iv, 428) and then in the direction of Isparta. Through the medium of ʿĪsā Agha who was at that moment in the town of Čay, he sought a pardon; and through him he received a conciliatory letter from the Grand Vizier Ḳara Murād Pasha indicating that he would be pardoned (*ibid.*, iv, 452). He came to Istanbul towards the end of 1059/1649 and, after an audience with Meḥemmed IV, he received the long-desired pardon and, moreover, was appointed *sandjaḳ begi* of Beyshehir (Wedjīhī, *Ta'rīkh*, Süleymaniye, Hamidiye Library 917, f. 36; Ḳara Čelebi-zāde ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Efendi, *Dhayl-i rawḍatu'l-abrār*, Istanbul University Library, Turkish manuscripts, 3272, f. 38; Naʿīmā, iv, 452). He was later appointed *beglerbegi* of Ḳarāmān and sent against Abaza Ḥasan Agha. In 1061/1651 he was appointed governor of the *eyālet* of Shahrizūr, but refused the post and stayed in Ḳarāmān. Although this was an act of disobedience, the Grand Vizier was more concerned with the removal of his rival Ipshīr Muṣṭafā Pasha and did not worry him, pretending not to have known of his actions. Shortly afterwards Ḳāṭirdjī-oghlī was appointed to the governorship of his native *sandjaḳ* of Ḥamīd. However, the intervention of Murād Pasha, who was *ḳapudan-i deryā* [*q.v.*] prevented a clash between the two men. After this, Ḳāṭirdjī-oghlī approached the Grand Vizier and, tendering his obedience, received a pardon (*ibid.*, vi, 17, 32). In 1065/1655 he was ordered to the Crete campaign and achieved great distinction in the fighting there between 1067/1657 and 1069-70/1659. In 1077-78/1667 he was on Crete with the title of *beglerbegi* of Ḳarāmān. He was appointed *beglerbegi* of Anadolu on 3 Rabīʿ al-Akhir 1078/22 September 1667 and died in action at the siege of Candia on 13 Rajab 1079/17 December 1668 (ʿOthmān Dede, *Ta'rīkh-i Fāḍil Aḥmed Pasha*, Süleymaniye, Hamidiye Library 909, ff. 44, 45, 62; Rāshid, *Ta'rīkh*, Istanbul 1282/1865, i, 179, 216; Silaḥdār Meḥmed Agha, *Ta'rīkh*, Istanbul 1928, i, 447, 492, 493). Ḳāṭirdjī-oghlī had a son called Shapčī-Bashī Ḥusayn Agha, whose descendants still survive today.

Bibliography: in addition to the works mentioned in the text: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿAbdī Pasha, *Weḳāyiʿ-nāme*, Topkapı Sarayı, koğuslar kısmı, 915; Nūrī Khanyevī, *Ta'rīkh-i Iḳritis*, Istanbul University Library, Turkish manuscripts, 2536; ʿOthmān Dede, *Djawāhir al-tawārīkh*, Köprülü, 231; Meḥmed Khalīfe, *Ta'rīkh-i Ghilmānī*, Istanbul 1340/1921-2; Kātib Čelebi, *Fedhleke*, Istanbul 1286/1869, ii; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, iii/1, Ankara 1952; Richard Hartman, *Qatyrdschyoghlu, ein Sittenbild aus der Osmanischen Geschichte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, in *Islamica*, ii/2 (1926), 237-70; Dağlıoğlu and Katırcıoğlu, *Katırcıoğlu*, in *Isparta Halkevi Ün Mecmuası*, iii, no. 25 (Isparta 1936), 26-7, 41-4; Fehmi Aksu, *Seri mahkeme sicilleri*, in *ibid.*, iv, no. 42 (1937), 601-3; M. agatay Uluçay, *Saruhanda eşkiyalık ve halk hareketleri*, Istanbul 1944; Hafize Tuncer, *Katırcıoğlu Mehmed*, unpublished graduation thesis, history seminar library, Istanbul University, no.618, 1961; J. von Hammer, *Histoire*, xi. (CENGİZ ORHONLU)

ĶATL (A.), killing, putting to death, used in the two principal meanings of the word, sc. the crime of murder and the punishment of execution.

i. AS A CRIME

(1). In the Ḳur'ān unlawful slaying is forbidden in a series of verses, which date from the second Meccan period to nearly the end of the Medīna period. The passages may be arranged chronologically as follows (cf. Th. Nöldeke-Fr. Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, i, and H. Grimme, *Mohammed*, ii; when the exact order in the particular periods cannot be ascertained, the passages are here arranged in the order of the sūras and verses):—XVII, 33, 35 (second Meccan period; according to O. Procksch, *Über die Blutrache*, 74, 4, later than VI, 152): "Kill not your children for fear of being brought to want; We will provide for them and for you; verily the killing them is a great sin ... Neither slay the soul which God hath forbidden you to slay unless for a just cause; but whosoever shall be slain unjustly, We have given his next of kin (*walī*) power (to demand satisfaction) but let him not exceed the bounds of moderation in the killing; indeed he is protected"; XXV, 68 f. (second Meccan period):—(and the servants of the Merciful are those) "who slay not the soul, which God hath forbidden to be slain unless for a just cause ... for he who does this commits sins (or: will bring retribution upon himself); his punishment will be doubled on the day of the Resurrection and he shall remain in it covered with ignominy for ever; except him who repents and believes and performs good works; for them God will change their evil deeds into good" ... (here killing and unbelief are considered together so that the question, what happens to a believer who kills unlawfully, is left quite out of the question); VI, 152 (third Meccan period; similar to XVII, 33, 35); IV, 94 f. (about the years 3-5; according to Procksch, *op. cit.*, 80, to be dated between the treaty of al-Ḥudaybiyya and the capture of Mecca): "it is not lawful for a believer to kill a believer unless by mistake (by *khaṭa'*); but if anyone kill a believer by mistake he shall set free a slave who is a believer and pay a *diya* to the next of kin of the dead man, unless they waive it ... ; but if the person slain belong to a people hostile to you, but a believer, a slave who is a believer shall be released; but if he belong to a people with whom ye have a treaty, a *diya* must be paid to his relatives and a slave who is a believer set free; if anyone cannot afford to do this, he must fast for two successive months so that Allāh may

look upon him again . . . ; but if anyone kill a believer deliberately (*ʿamd*) his reward is hell in which he shall remain for ever and Allāh wrathful against him and curse him and shall prepare a great punishment for him". (The true interpretation is undoubtedly this, that every Muslim who kills another Muslim with *ʿamd* is condemned to eternal hell-fire and that Allāh will not accept his repentance, a view which is ascribed to Ibn ʿAbbās, Ibn Masʿūd, Zayd b. Thābit and al-Ḍaḥḥāk; the view held by ʿIkrima and others that the verse refers to the particular case of a *murtadd* who has killed a believer is not to be accepted; this is already a transition to the view that has finally prevailed, which tones down the literal wording of the passage, either by adding with Mudjāhid "unless he repents" or by holding, as has become usual, that Allāh will not leave a Muslim eternally in hell, and can even remit entirely the threatened punishment of hell-fire; but this is only the result of speculation and combination with other passages in the Ḳurʾān (*e.g.* XI, 108-10; XXXIX, 54) and is therefore to be rejected; IV, 33 f. (from about the same time; similar to IV, 95); LX, 12 (probably dates from soon after the treaty of al-Hudaybiyya; similar to XVIII, 33).)

There are two further passages, in which it is asserted that Allāh forbade the Jews to kill: II, 78 ff. (from about the first half of the year 2 A.H.) and V, 35 (probably of the year 6 or 7; according to Grimme, to be dated before the battle of Badr).

There are also a number of verses in which killing is not exactly forbidden but is more or less strongly deprecated and represented as a mark of the unbeliever, just as committing no murder is a sign of the believer, *e.g.*, LXXXI, 8 f. (first Meccan period); II, 28 (probably third Meccan period; according to Grimme, Medinan, before the battle of Badr); VI, 138, 141; XVI, 61; XL, 26 (same time); VIII, 30 (after the battle of Badr); V, 33 (shortly before the capture of Khaybar). In numerous passages in this connection the unbelievers are reproached with the slaying of prophets, *e.g.* II, 58, 81, 85 (from the first half of the year 2); IV, 154 (after the outbreak of open war with the Jews of Medīna); III, 177, 180 (probably soon after the battle of Uḥud); XX, 108 (shortly before the war with the Banu 'l-Naḍīr?); V, 74 (later Medinan period).

(2). Supplements to the Ḳurʾān passages from the *Sīra*, accounts of the life of Muḥammad. In the so-called ordinance of the community, which dates from the first Medinan period, it is laid down that no believer may kill a believer on account of an unbeliever; in another passage it is said: "If anyone kill a believer and is convicted, then vengeance for bloodshed must be done, unless the *walī* of the man slain waive it". In all probability Muḥammad had in mind in the murderer a non-Muslim member of the community (Procksch, *op. cit.*, 71): this agrees with the development given above. In the *bayʿa*, the initiation into the community, the initiate had to pledge himself, among other things, not to commit an unlawful act of slaying (cf. Ḳurʾān, LV, 12). Once Muḥammad cursed a murderer [see ḲIṢĀṢ]. In the so-called first Kaʿba oration (of the year 630), the genuineness of which is not absolutely certain, however, on every point and which seems doubtful on this particular point, there appears the by no means exactly defined conception of *Ḳatl shabah ʿamd* (see below, 5c); Muḥammad is also said to have declared there that all blood-guilt attached to a Muslim dating from the period of paganism was to be cast off, which extends the corresponding passage of the ordinance of the community. Finally, it is to be mentioned that the *Sīra* knows of several cases of deliberate and of unpremeditated slaying; so far as they are liable to be punished, they are dealt with in the article ḲIṢĀṢ.

(3). Comparison of the views of authoritative circles in the Muslim community in the older period as preserved in *Ḥadīth*. It is obvious that in the *Ḥadīth* also the slaying of a Muslim is strictly forbidden; by the adoption of Islām (and of monotheism at all) life and property are protected. The life and property of a Muslim are as inviolable (*ḥarām*) as the day of sacrifice in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja in the sacred territory of Mecca (al-Bukhārī, *Diyāt*, *bāb* 8, etc.). All blood-guilt, which has weighed a man down from an earlier period, is thus wiped out by the adoption of Islām, even if the crime was committed just before conversion to Islām. Only if a Muslim kills another, or, to be more exact, if he commits a crime worthy of death, can he be slain. Everyone is perfectly agreed that killing with *ʿamd* is one of the deadliest sins (*kabāʾir*); it is usually considered the gravest sin, along with the *shirk* (polytheism, *e.g.* al-Bukhārī, *Diyāt*, *bāb* 1, 2), whether it is asserted of killing with *ʿamd* in general or of the killing of newborn girls usual among the heathens. Therefore many *ḥadīths* express disgust at killing; *e.g.* "the slaying of a Muslim is to Allāh like the cessation of the world" or "the cessation of the world is even less to Allāh than this"; "if someone is killed in the east and another in the west approves of it, he is guilty of the person's blood"; "man is a work of Allāh; cursed be he who destroys Allāh's work". The first murder which introduced killing into the world is the subject of special condemnation: Cain is accessory to every later murder. Murder is punished in the next world as well as on earth; on the Day of Judgment cases of the shedding of innocent blood will be judged first. As to the punishment itself, a whole stratum of *ḥadīths* reflects the already mentioned view of Ibn ʿAbbās and others regarding the eternalness of punishment in hell for slaying with *ʿamd*; *e.g.* "whosoever sheds blood in an unlawful way, for him there exists no way for escape"; "whosoever contributes, though only by a word, to the slaying of a Muslim must despair of the mercy of Allāh". In several passages the deliberate murder of a Muslim is considered equivalent to unbelief (*ḥadīths* in which a warning is simply uttered against murder being a sign of the unbeliever are, of course, not dealt with here). It is even said: "if two Muslims attack one another with swords and one kills the other, both go to hell (unless it was a case of legitimate self-defence), the slayer for his deed and the slain because he wished to kill the other" (see *e.g.* al-Bukhārī, *Diyāt*, *bāb* 2); and: "if all the inhabitants of heaven and earth together had killed someone, they would all go to hell". In these two passages it is not exactly demonstrable that eternal punishment in hell is meant, but it is very probable. In several of the traditions mentioned, Ibn ʿAbbās appears as the authority. Such *ḥadīths* were naturally rendered harmless by "interpretation" by the representatives of the other view, if they were not entirely suppressed, which did happen to not a few. Thus the description of deliberate murder as unbelief is sometimes interpreted to mean that it is a very grievous sin and sometimes taken as a reference to the refusal of the protection of Islamic law, which occurs in both cases, to the life of the slayer or of the unbeliever. This was not found sufficient, however, but traditions were put into currency to prove the contrary, namely that Allāh would accept the repentance of a murderer,

even if he had committed several murders; one of these traditions is provided with a grotesque story, the object of which is quite apparent, as corroboration. In one tradition the *kaffāra*, especially the liberation of a slave, is represented as a means to save the murderer from the merited punishment of hell, obviously by someone who demanded it even in the case of *ḳatl* with *ʿamd* (see below *sub* 6a). It is even asserted in public controversy against the views of the other side that after the Day of Judgment no Muslim will go to hell and that, on the contrary, all sins will be forgiven them. The killing of a *muʿāhad*, a non-Muslim under the protection of the Islamic state, is threatened with punishment in the next world (*e.g.* al-Bukhārī, *Diyāt*, *bāb* 30; al-Dārimī, *Siyar*, *bāb* 60; the Ḳurʾān is silent on the question); but, as might be expected, the view is very rarely expressed that this punishment is eternal. The prohibition of suicide, which we do not find laid down in the Ḳurʾān, is given in the *Ḥadīth*, and the suicide is threatened with eternal punishment in the next world.

As an appendix to the above we may briefly mention the connection of several kinds of animals with *ḳatl*, which is also dealt with in tradition. Muḥammad had, as is related, recommended the slaughter of dogs but later withdrew the order, although the dog always remained subject to certain exceptional regulations (cf. KALB); the *sunna* further orders the killing of the *wazagh*, a kind of lizard, but if possible it should be done with one blow: on the other hand the killing of ants and of cats is forbidden (among the authorities for this last tradition is Abū Hurayra); on the killing of snakes cf. Guillaume, *The Traditions of Islam*, 116 f.

As regards the value of the traditions just quoted, the genuineness of none of them can be proved; while the falsity of those, which seek to save the murderer of a Muslim from hell, is apparent, it is also probable of those which hold the contrary view.

(4). The controversy regarding the punishment of the murderer of a Muslim centres round a passage in the Ḳurʾān, which in itself could and must form a foundation for it, and is in part at least independent and original. This controversy and the conception of *ḳatl* in general are, however, very closely connected with the disputes aroused by the Khāridjīs, Ḳadarīs and Muʿtazilīs; for details see these articles; here it is sufficient to recall the following questions:—"is the committing of deadly sins—and killing with *ʿamd* is certainly one of them—unbelief?"; "Does man create his own actions, including sins, himself, or do they happen through *ḳadar*?"; and "Can man by his intervention interfere with Allāh's decision, for example, by killing another, shorten the period predestined for the latter's life?" We have more than one example of these questions being applied to *ḳatl*, and they have been cited in discussing *ḳatl* (see *e.g.* Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*[1], 98 f.; 2nd ed., 92 f., Fr. tr. *Le dogme et la loi d'Islam*, 78-9). But the Muʿtazilī view of the eternalness of hell-punishment for him who commits a deadly sin and does not repent, is specially important in this connection; al-Zamakhsharī gives an explanation of the verse of the Ḳurʾān in question from this point of view. Finally, the consensus of orthodox opinion agreed that the deliberate killing of a Muslim is certainly a deadly sin, but the slayer, on the other hand, if he repents and voluntarily submits to the punishment prescribed, will not be further punished in the next world and, even if he does not repent, will in no case remain in hell eternally (agreement was reached on this point even before the rise of the *Fiḳh*-schools; therefore there is no *ikhtilāf* of the *madhāhib* on this question); this view has found its way into all textbooks of *Fiḳh* and of doctrine.

(5). A statement of the prevailing Ḥanafī views on killing. *Ḳatl* in the *fiḳh* is the act of a man whereby the life of a fellow-man is brought to a close (the death need not immediately follow the act). It may be qualified by any of the five "legal categories": duty or necessity (*wādjib*), *e.g.* the killing of the *murtadd*; recommended (*mandūb*), *e.g.* when the *ghāzī* kills his unbelieving kinsmen if they insult Allāh or his Prophet; permitted (*mubāḥ*), *e.g.* when the Imām kills the unbelieving prisoner of war, in the case when the reasons for killing him exactly balance those for granting his life; killing in self-defence is also allowed, *i.e.* in defending oneself against an illegal attack on one's life, person or property, in defending oneself or someone who comes to help, if the attack cannot otherwise be averted (on further questions there is *ikhtilāf*, also on the question whether a man who surprises another in adultery with his wife or endeavouring to see into his harem, and kills or mutilates him, is acting legitimately or not; one tradition on the subject is interpreted in different ways); disapproved (*makrūh*), *e.g.* when the *ghāzī* kills his unbelieving kinsmen without their having insulted Allāh or his Prophet; illegal and therefore forbidden (*ḥarām*).

Illegal killing as the result of actions in themselves legal may take place in five ways:

(a) as *ʿamd*, *i.e.* someone wilfully makes another the direct object of an action in general fatal, so that the other dies as a result; according to one view, the intention of killing is necessary for the conception of *ʿamd*, which, however, is always presumed in the case of any act generally fatal in its result, which is illegally inflicted on another. Thus for example, any one, who strikes a blow at the hand of another with an instrument adapted in general for killing, but inadvertently hits his neck and kills him, is *ceteris paribus* unanimously regarded as equally guilty with the man who strikes another in the neck with the same instrument, wilfully intending to kill him and slays him. This killing is a sin (*maʾtham*) and in general is punished by *ḳiṣāṣ*, or else the slayer is bound to pay the heavier *diya* and to lose any possible legacy from the deceased to himself;

(b) as *khaṭʾ* (or *khaṭaʾ*), *i.e.* there is no intention of committing an act illegally on the other as in the case of (a), while the action itself is premeditated: two kinds are distinguished, according as the *khaṭʾ* (mistake or misadventure) which shows that the killing is not wilful, is in the intention of the doer (*fi 'l-ḳaṣd*) or in the carrying out of the action (*fi 'l-fiʿl*). The former is the case when someone treats another as a wild beast or a *ḥarbī*, (an infidel not enjoying the protection of the Islamic state, against whom the *djihād* is to be waged) the killing of whom is not illegal, and kills him; the latter when someone unlucky hits another, while shooting at a target or at a *harbī*, so that he dies, or strikes at the hand of another person but inadvertently hits the neck of a third person and kills him; this killing is not sin but brings with it (without *ḳiṣāṣ*) the obligation upon the *ʿāḳila* of the killer to pay the smaller *diya* and to lose any claims to any inheritance from the deceased as in (a); besides the obligation of the killer to perform the *kaffāra*;

(c) as *shabah* (or *shibh*) *ʿamd* = similar to *ʿamd*, *i.e.* someone intentionally makes another the direct object of some action, not always but sometimes fatal, and death results. Actions which experience has

shown not to be fatal at all are thus quite excluded, such as striking the hand with a reed pen; if anyone dies as a result of such an action as this, it is an unfortunate accident, which is not followed by any penal consequences. This killing is a sin and brings with it (without *ḳiṣāṣ*) the obligation upon the *ʿāḳila* of the slayer to pay the heavier *diya* and to lose any possible inheritance from the deceased as in (a), and in addition the slayer is bound to perform the *kaffāra*. This category only exists in cases where death actually results; in cases of bodily injury, which by the way, are similarly classified, the action is regarded as *ʿamd*;

(d) as *djārī madjrā 'l-khaṭ'* (or *mudjrā madjrā 'l-khaṭ'* or *ḳā'im maḳām al-khaṭ'*) "equivalent to *khaṭ'*", *i.e.* the factor of deliberation is lacking in the action (and also the intention of directing the action illegally against another) in the circumstance of (b) and (c), for example: someone falls upon another in his sleep or falls from a roof upon him and kills him; the legal results are the same as in (b);

(e) as *ḳatl bi-sabab* "indirect killing", *i.e.* someone brings about the death of another without doing anything directly against him; *e.g.* he digs a well and someone falls into it and dies as the result; sometimes this category is treated as a subdivision of (d); but it is a matter of indifference, whether the act, which indirectly results in the death of another, is deliberate or not, intentional or unintentional; even if the action has been planned in some very cunning way, such as setting a savage beast on another person with the intention of causing his death, it does not alter the situation. The legal consequences are in any case limited to the obligation upon the *ʿāḳila* of the doer to pay the lighter *diya*; larger works on *fiḳh* usually discuss very fully the question what acts are to be considered direct causes of death and which are *ḳatl bi-sabab* and in which there can be no question of a causing of death so that no legal consequences result.

Two cases are especially dealt with in the *fiḳh* books: (α) The causing of a premature birth or abortion and (β) killing through giving false evidence.

(α) If in causing an abortion or premature birth, the embryo—which must be sufficiently developed to be of human form—is brought into the world dead or dies after the birth or the mother dies, it is not a case for the application of *ḳiṣāṣ*; there is in any case no *ḳatl ʿamd* in the mother whose killing is dealt with under the above rules and the embryo before completion of birth is legally not in full possession of its powers but is usually regarded as a limb of the mother. Hence we have the following law: if the head of a child appears out of the mother's womb at birth and the child cries (and is therefore certainly alive) and then someone cuts off its head, it is not a case for *ḳiṣāṣ* and only the punishment prescribed for producing an abortion is to be inflicted. Different amounts are to be paid for the embryo according to the different cases, and if it comes alive into the world and then dies the person who causes its death is liable to *kaffāra*; he also loses any inheritance that might have come to him.

(β) If anyone is killed on evidence which shows that a crime deserving death has been committed and then the witnesses recall their evidence or in other ways it is proved that their testimony was false, *ḳiṣāṣ* cannot be executed on the witness; the *diya* must be paid, the heavier if the false evidence was deliberately given, the lighter if otherwise.

(6). We may add the following—taking only the most important points—to the above exposition of the Ḥanafī system, with reference to *ikhtilāf* (difference of opinion among the schools).

(a) On *ʿamd*: the difference of opinion within the Ḥanafī school already mentioned, regarding the part of the intention to kill in *ʿamd* is also found outside the Ḥanafī school; among the Shāfiʿīs the view which does not demand the existence of the intention to kill has become predominant, and the evidence for the other views is sometimes interpreted as meaning a presumption of intention. Abū Yūsuf and al-Shaybānī, in agreement with Mālik, al-Shāfiʿī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, assume *ʿamd* if the action is as a rule fatal; Abū Ḥanīfa, on the other hand, limits it to the use of a weapon or of a thing which can be used like a weapon to cut off limbs; among such he includes fire; deliberate killing, for example with a large unsharpened stone, or a big stick, which in the ordinary way would kill, or by drowning in water, which would be generally regarded as of sufficient depth to do so, is therefore considered by the former as *ʿamd*, but by Abū Ḥanīfa as *shabah ʿamd*, relying on a passage in the so-called first temple speech of Muḥammad, which the champions of the other view naturally interpret otherwise, and this view was later considered the better by the Ḥanafīs. The qualification of the various actions generally differs sometimes considerably and the Ḥanafīs often make use of *istiḥsān*, exercise of discretion. In the Mālikī and Ḥanafī view no *kaffāra* is to be performed for *ʿamd*; al-Shāfiʿī, on the other hand, demands it if the *ḳiṣāṣ* is not executed and both views are given on the authority of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal.

(b) On *khaṭ'*: that *khaṭ'* is not a sin is more exactly explained to mean that it is neither permitted nor forbidden, but that this killing is rather *fiʿl al-ghāfil*, "action of a thoughtless person", and is to be judged in the same way as the act of a mentally defective person or of an animal. Except in the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, categories (d) and (e) [sub 5] are not distinguished from *khaṭ'* which also was the earliest Ḥanafī view (*ZDMG*, lviii, 338) and *ḳatl bi-sabab* has generally the same legal consequences as *khaṭ'*; we thus have three kinds of *ḳatl*: *ʿamd*, *shabah ʿamd* and *khaṭ'*, of which *shabah ʿamd* is considered to be composed of *ʿamd* and *khaṭ'*.

(c) On *shabah ʿamd*: this category is also called *ʿamd khaṭ'*, *khaṭ' ʿamd* or *khaṭ' shabah ʿamd*; in contrast to it, *ʿamd* is also called *ʿamd maḥḍ* and *khaṭ'* also *khaṭ' maḥḍ* (pure *ʿamd* or *khaṭ'*); the application of *ḳiṣāṣ* is said to be permissible by al-Shāfiʿī if the killer, for example, repeats the blow with an instrument not normally adapted for killing so frequently that the person attacked dies; the act is then considered *ʿamd*; one of the two opinions handed down on the authority of Abū Yūsuf and al-Shaybānī is to the same effect while the view that became predominant in the school was to the contrary. Mālik allows *ḳiṣāṣ* in *shabah ʿamd* in general.

(d) On *ḳatl bi-sabab*: Mālik, al-Shāfiʿī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal demand *kaffāra* in addition, if the placing of the cause of the death was illegal.

(e) Different views also prevail as to the amount to be paid for the killing of an embryo.

(f) On causing death through false witness: if the false evidence was deliberately given, according to al-Shāfiʿī and the better-known opinion of Mālik, *ḳiṣāṣ* can be executed on the witnesses.

Notes on the question of permission, request, compulsion and assistance in illegal killing.

(*a*) If someone kills another by his request or with his permission there is neither *ḳiṣāṣ* nor obligation to pay *diya*.

(*b*) No definite punishment is laid down for the case of a request to kill someone; such a request does not mean the exculpation of the slayer; only if the person requested is a minor or a slave claims may be made from the *ʿāḳila* of the minor, or from the proprietor of the slave.

(*c*) A forces B to kill C; then, according to Abū Ḥanīfa, the *ḳiṣāṣ* is executed on A, according to Mālik and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal on B; as to al-Shāfiʿī's view, there is no doubt that A is liable to *ḳiṣāṣ*; as regards B both possible views are transmitted, of which the one that ultimately became predominant in the school makes him also liable to *ḳiṣāṣ*. Mālik further makes A also liable to *ḳiṣāṣ* if the compulsion comes from a person having authority, or from a master to a slave.

(*d*) A holds B and C kills him while he is held; in this case Abū Ḥanīfa and al-Shāfiʿī make C liable to *ḳiṣāṣ* and A to *taʿzīr*, which is more definitely defined as imprisonment. According to Mālik, both are to be regarded as culprits and therefore liable to *ḳiṣāṣ* if the holding was necessary to facilitate the slaying and B was not able to escape after being held. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal's opinion is given in two versions; according to the one, *ḳiṣāṣ* is executed on C and A is punished with imprisonment for life, according to the second opinion, A and C are both liable to *ḳiṣāṣ*.

ii. AS PUNISHMENT

The punishment of death may be described quite generally as *ḳatl*; in the following account cases in which it is applied are given seriatim; in contrast to *radjm* and *ṣalb* (cf. below) *ḳatl* is also used in the narrower sense of execution with the sword.

(1). In the cases of illegal killing described in detail above, the nearest relative of the dead man, who in this capacity is called *walī al-dam*, is entitled to kill the culprit in retribution if certain definite conditions are fulfilled. This punishment is called *ḳiṣāṣ* or *ḳawad*, names which also cover retribution exacted for wounds which are not fatal; for further information, see ḲIṢĀṢ.

(2). There are special regulations regarding sorcerers (*sāḥir*), about whom there are also various traditions. Mālik, al-Shāfiʿī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal recognise sorcery (*siḥr*) as an actual force. Abū Ḥanīfa disputes this, but there is a consensus of opinion that it is forbidden to study it; it is even described as unbelief (*kufr*) almost as a general rule. Māik and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal say that the sorcerer is to be killed with the sword simply for studying, teaching and practising magic; al-Shāfiʿī limits this punishment to the case in which someone has been killed by sorcery (*i.e.* he makes it a case for *ḳiṣāṣ*, which in practice is only justified by the confession (*iḳrār*) of the guilty person; while the punishment in Abū Ḥanīfa, Mālik and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal is regarded as *ḥadd*); two different, more lenient views are credited to Abū Ḥanīfa. Opinions differ on particular questions, such as whether the conversion of the sorcerer effects a remission of the punishment, whether a woman is to be punished equally with a man, how sorcerers of the *Ahl al-Kitāb* are to be treated, how far soothsaying is to be considered sorcery.

(3). The punishment of death by stoning (*radjm*) —in certain circumstances also by the sword (*ḳatl*)— occurs as *ḥadd* in certain cases of immorality; on this see ZINĀʾ.

(4). Highway robbery (*ḳaṭʿ al-ṭarīḳ*) may also in certain circumstances be punished with death. The authority for this is Ḳurʾān V, 37 f. (from about the year 6 or 7, before the capture of Khaybar; Grimme puts the verse before the battle of Badr): "The punishment of those who fight against Allāh and His prophet and create ruin upon the earth is that they shall be slain or crucified or have their hands and feet cut off on the opposite sides or be banished from the country. This is their humiliation in this world and in the next world they shall be severely punished—unless they repent before ye have them in your power . . . ". It can be asserted with certainty that this refers to the unbelievers, very probably to the Jews; ruthless war is ordered to be waged on them and their repentance is the adoption of Islam. There are still traces of this interpretation in the commentaries. But in general this passage is connected with Muḥammad's attitude to certain *murtadd*s which will be dealt with in section (5); this cannot be correct, if only because the procedure there practised does not entirely conform to these rules, so that they were forced to restore harmony in a different fashion. Those *murtadd*s were considered as highway robbers, from the point of view of the later definition rightly and only in this way could a law for the punishment of highway robbers be found in the Ḳurʾān.

The more important laws of the *Sharīʿa* are the following. Only such persons as are adults in full possession of their faculties and who are able to be dangerous to travellers are to be considered highway robbers. According to Abū Ḥanīfa, highway robbery can only take place in the open country, according to Mālik, al-Shāfiʿī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal in the town also. Mālik gives the Imām—and this is certainly the correct interpretation of the passage in the Ḳurʾān, which is also found in the commentaries—absolute freedom in the choice of punishment, even in the contingency of a cumulative application, whatever form the robbery may have taken; but if the person concerned has killed someone (in this connection killing implies a murder to which *ḳiṣāṣ* might be applied), he must at least be executed with the sword The three other Imāms grade the punishment to fit the different forms of robbery on the highway; according to Abū Ḥanīfa, the criminal is put to death if he has caused the death of his victim; if he has also robbed him (and in such a way, it must always be understood, that the *ḥadd* for theft can be carried out; see SĀRIḲ), he may be further punished by cutting off his hands and feet on alternate sides and with crucifixion (*ṣalb*) which in that case takes the place of killing with the sword; if he has only committed a robbery, we have only the cutting off of hands and feet on alternate sides; according to al-Shāfiʿī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, he is killed, if he has killed his victim; if he has also committed a robbery, he is crucified after being put to death; if he has only committed a murder, he is punished by cutting off his hands and feet on alternate sides; if he has only made the neighbourhood unsafe, then, according to Abū Ḥanīfa, al-Shāfiʿī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, he is put in prison; whether this must be done in another place is a debated point. In Abū Ḥanīfa and Mālik (also in some Shāfiʿīs, but their view is rejected by the school) crucifixion consists in the criminal being tied alive to a cross or a tree and his body ripped up with a spear so that he dies, and this is certainly the more original form; according to al-Shāfiʿī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, he is first killed with a sword and then his corpse is ignominiously exposed on a tree or cross. All these punishments are *ḥadd* and a right of Allāh; therefore any renunciation by the *walī al-*

dam of the *ḳiṣāṣ* is of no avail even though it is he who has the right to carry out the *ḳatl*. If the criminal repents before he falls into the hands of the authorities (what exactly is meant by repentance is disputed) these *ḥadd* punishments are dropped; but claims by individuals to *ḳiṣāṣ* etc. can still be enforced against him.

(5). The *murtadd*, that is the renegade from Islām, is liable to the death-penalty if his apostasy is proved. If we leave out the passages dealing with the *munāfiḳ*s [*q.v.*] who are separately dealt with—their execution is, however, described under certain conditions in Ḳur'ān, IV, 91—there is no such law in the Ḳur'ān referring specially to the *murtadd*, although XVI, 108 (third Meccan period), II, 214 (of the year 2), III, 80-4 (Medīna; placed by Grimme shortly before or after the battle of Uḥud), 102 (soon after the battle of Uḥud), IV, 136 (of the same period) threaten the eternal punishment of hell for all those who apostasise from Islam and do not repent, as well as for all unbelievers, and in III, 95 f., 142, and IX, 67, a warning against apostasy is uttered. Among the traditions we find in various forms the story that Muḥammad, contrary to the rules of the *Sharīʿa*, cruelly mutilated and killed some *murtadds*, who had killed one or more of his herdsmen and driven away the camels, but the tradition is probably correct just for this reason. This contradiction was felt and an endeavour was made in the *ḥadīth*s to justify the cruelty of the punishment, and even the text was altered. Of ʿAlī also a cruel act, of another kind, however, is recorded in a similar case, but Ibn ʿAbbās is said to have protested against it. Two *murtadds*, each of whom had killed a Muslim, were executed by Muḥammad's orders after the capture of Mecca; a third man, against whom there was nothing but his apostasy, was also placed on the list of the proscribed; his foster-brother ʿUthmān, however, obtained security (*amān*) for him although Muḥammad would gladly have seen someone kill him before immunity was granted; he later became a Muslim again. There is also a saying of Muḥammad's: "Slay anyone who changes his religion" or "He who secedes from you shall die", and others similar, *e.g.* that the blood of a Muslim could only be shed for apostasy, *zinā* and *ḳatl ʿamd*; there is also a story that Muʿādh b. Djabal killed a *murtadd* because Allāh and His Prophet had so ordained; Muḥammad is also said to have ordered that conversion should first of all be attempted and a period of three days allowed for this; but all this can hardly be genuine. There are also the traditions regarding the *Ahl al-Ridda* [see RIDDA] who refused the *zakāt* and were treated as apostates by Abū Bakr. The tradition "He who is a good Muslim will not be punished for his sins from the pagan period, but he who is a bad Muslim will have them counted against him" does not refer to the *murtadd*, as it is usually said to do.

The punishment of death laid down by the *Sharīʿa* for the *murtadd* is sometimes described as *ḥadd*, sometimes not; in the latter view he is simply killed as an unbeliever (*kāfir*) and the punishment need not be carried out in every individual case. Only an adult in full possession of his faculties and not acting under compulsion can become an apostate from Islam; opinions are divided regarding a man who apostasises while intoxicated or a minor (on the verge of his majority) capable of discernment (*murāhiḳ*, *mumayyiz*). There is also difference of opinion regarding the attempt at conversion and the granting of a period, usually fixed at three days, for reflection. If the *murtadd* does not repent, he is to be beheaded with the sword; torture and cruel methods of execution are forbidden. According to al-Shāfiʿī, his punishment is left to his owner, if he is a slave. Abū Ḥanīfa and his school limit the punishment of death to male apostates and the consensus of opinion excludes the minor; a woman (and also a minor) is imprisoned and beaten every three days till she repents; according to Abū Ḥanīfa (contrary to Abū Yūsuf and al-Shaybānī) she may also be made a slave and this is recognised as right by the school. Anyone who puts to death a *murtadd* of whatever kind without powers granted by the authority, is generally liable not to *ḳiṣāṣ*, but only to *taʿzīr*. The same rules generally hold for repeated apostasy.

Similar to the punishment of the *murtadd* is that of the *zindīḳ*, *i.e.* anyone who, professing to be a Muslim, is really an unbeliever or anyone who belongs to no religion (cf. Massignon, *Al-Hallâdj*, i, 186 ff.). The conversion of a non-Muslim to another non-Muslim religion is similarly dealt with, although such a one is not called *murtadd*. He can only escape punishment by adopting Islam; on the whole of this cf. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii, 215 f., Eng. tr. ii, 199 ff.

How exactly one becomes an unbeliever and therefore a *murtadd* is disputed in particulars, especially the question how far this is the case with irreverent utterances regarding Allāh or one of His prophets; there are various special enactments regarding the latter, which threaten the death penalty to non-Muslims and in part allow a Muslim no remission of punishment if he recalls the words.

For further information, see MURTADD.

(6). There is no law in the Ḳur'ān for dealing with a man who omits the *ṣalāt* (ritual prayer) (*tārik al-ṣalāt*), where its performance is, on the other hand, often strictly enjoined, and not a single unequivocal *ḥadīth* on the subject can be found—quite apart from any question of genuineness. The *Sharīʿa* lays down the law as follows. Anyone who does not perform the *ṣalāt*, as in duty bound, without denying its obligatoriness (anyone who does this is *murtadd*) and has no—even invalid—excuse for this, then according to Mālik, al-Shāfiʿī and the more popular of the two views credited to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, if he does not atone, *i.e.* makes good his omission and says he will never commit the fault again, he is to be executed with the sword. This punishment is also sometimes described as *ḥadd*. According to Abū Ḥanīfa, the culprit is imprisoned till he again performs the *ṣalāt*. In all these views he is considered a Muslim, while the other view attributed to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal deals with him entirely as an unbeliever, *i.e.* a *murtadd*; but these regulations are modelled on those for apostasy (cf. the remarks on the *Ahl al-Ridda* above).

There are two more cases in which the suppression (*ḳitāl*) of the enemies of orthodox Islam is prescribed; killing, of course, plays the main part and therefore we must discuss this aspect of the process here.

(7). Firstly, the fighting of the *bughāt* is prescribed. It is said in Ḳur'ān, XLIX, 9 (late Medinan period): "If two parties of the believers contend with one another, make peace between them; but if one oppresses the other (*baghat*—from which *bughāt* is the plural of the active participle), fight against the party which oppresses until they again obey Allāh's command; and if they do this, make peace between them with equity and act with justice" (this refers to a quarrel among the Anṣār). Oppression is often forbidden and disapproved of elsewhere. But Muḥammad at any rate did not know the later conception of *bughāt*, although its development begins at a point closely connected with this. Some traditions on the

bug͟hāt are in agreement with the legal enactments. The *S͟harīʿa* understands by *bug͟hāt* sectarian-minded Muslims who reject the authority of the Imām, are able-bodied, so that they might offer resistance, and justify their attitude, although erroneously, with their dogmatic conviction (they are to be distinguished from highway robbers, for example—individual *bug͟hāt*, who are guilty of breaches of the law are punished like them—on the one hand, and unbelievers on the other). If they do not attack the orthodox community, they need not be attacked; otherwise their suppression is a duty of the Imām (the head of the Islamic community) and a *farḍ al-kifāya* for the Muslims [see FARḌ]. This punishment is also sometimes called *ḥadd*. In general, the rule is that only participants in the actual battle can be killed during the fighting. Fugitives, wounded, those who surrender and prisoners, as well as women and children, cannot be put to death. According to Abū Ḥanīfa, the Imām may kill a prisoner if he knows that he would again join the *bug͟hāt* if spared; according to him, a captured slave who has been fighting by the side of his master can also be killed.

(8). Regarding *Dj̲ihād* [*q.v.*], there are also traditions regarding the following regulations. If the unbelievers with whom war is being waged are not among those from whom the *dj̲izya* can be taken—and who exactly those are is a matter in dispute—the men are killed, if they do not adopt Islam and the women and children enslaved. If, on the other hand, they refuse Islam and will not pay the *dj̲izya*, they are to be fought. All able-bodied men can be killed so long as they are not taken prisoners; men incapable of bearing arms, as well as women and children, cannot in general be so dealt with unless they take part in the fighting or assist in it some way; they are to be taken prisoners and enslaved. The free, able-bodied prisoners may be (*a*) executed with the sword if they will not now adopt Islam; (*b*) made slaves; (*c*) exchanged for Muslim prisoners; (*d*) ransomed; or (*e*) set free without a ransom being paid (in all these cases by the Imām). Anyone who kills a prisoner without authority is only punished with *taʿzīr*.

Every unbeliever who does not pay the *dj̲izya* or does not belong to a people which has a treaty with the Muslim community or is not a *mustaʾmin* [see ḲIṢĀṢ] is *ḥalāl al-dam* (to be killed with impunity) and may at any time be killed by any Muslim without his being liable to *ḳiṣāṣ* or to pay any *diya* or perform *kaffāra*. This enactment is only the natural consequence of the *dj̲ihād* law and Muḥammad himself not infrequently made use of it.

(9). The views of the S͟hīʿīs on all the points dealt with above agree almost entirely with one or other of the Sunnī views.

(10). The infliction and execution of the death penalty was in practice very often in strong contradiction to the regulations laid down in the *S͟harīʿa* [see ʿADHĀB; Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, ii, 200, etc.]. The historians afford many examples for the actual practice and so do accounts of European travellers; on the conditions in the empire of the caliphs in the 4th/10th century, see Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islâms*, 347 ff., also Massignon, *Al-Hallâdj*, i, especially 220 ff., 292 ff.; on those in Egypt in the first half of the 19th century see Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, end of the chapter on *Religion and Law*; on those in Persia in the same period see Polak, *Persien*, i, 328 f.; on those in the Ottoman empire of the 18th century see Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman*, esp. vi (1824), 244 ff.; for Turkey the *Ḳānunnāmes* [*q.v.*] are also useful (cf. *Mitteilungen zur osmanischen Geschichte*, i, 13 ff.); among the published sources quoted there are of special importance: Digeon, ii, 245, 262; v. Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 125, 133, 143-50; *TOEM*, iii (1328), Appendix i, 27 f., ii, 1-4, 7, 9; *MTM*, i/2, 341 f.) and from the *Ḳānunnāme* itself (edited there; 19-21, 32-4).

Bibliography: The *fiḳh*-books, the works given in the article ʿADHĀB, especially Juynboll, *Handbuch des islāmischen Gesetzes*, 284-309, and the literature there given; the articles MURDER and EXECUTION in T. P. Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam*. Besides the articles already referred to, the article ʿADHĀB and those dealing with the Arabic expressions not explained above should be consulted; and see further Bahnasī, *al-ʿUḳūba fi 'l-fiḳh al-islāmī*², Cairo 1961; L. Bercher, *Les délits et les peines de droit commun prévus par le Coran*, Tunis 1926 (excellent work); Arévalo, *Derecho penal islamico, escuela malekita*, Tangier 1939; Mensing, *De bepaalde straffen in het Hanbalitische Recht*, Leiden 1936; Anderson, *Homicide in Islamic law*, in *BSOAS*, xiii/4 (1951), 811-28; Gräf, *Probleme der Todesstrafe im Islam*, in *Z. f. vergl. Rechtswiss.*, lix (1957), 83-122; A. Turki, *Situation du "tributaire" qui insulte l'Islam*, in *Stud. Isl.*, xxx (1969), 39-71; J. Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, ch. xxiv; R. Brunschvig, *Justice religieuse et justice laïque dans la Tunisie des Deys et des Beys*, in *Stud. Isl.*, xxiii (1965), 27-70. (J. SCHACHT)

ḲAṬRĀN (*ḳiṭrān*, *ḳaṭirān*) is 1. tar obtained by dry distillation (*taṣʿīd* "vaporisation") of organic substances; 2. the residuum left after the distillation of tar, *i.e.*, liquid pitch; 3. cedar-oil (in Dioscorides κεδρία, Ar. *ḳadriya*) extracted from cedarwood. The substance is obtained from several kinds of coniferous trees, especially the Cedrus Libani (Ar. *s͟hadj̲ar al-s͟harbīn*), but also from the Oxycedrus L. and various kinds of cypresses. The substance was already widely used in antiquity for many technical and therapeutic purposes and was not unknown in ancient Arabia: scabby animals were smeared with *ḳaṭrān* (see the references in M. Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, 1970, 217). On the mention of *ḳaṭirān* in Ḳurʾān, XIV, 50, see A. Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qurʾān*, 241 ff. *Ḳaṭrān* smells strongly; as a medicine, it is hot and dry in the third degree; applied to the skin it kills lice and ticks, and is beneficial against scratches, itching, elephantiasis and dropsy. It is also of value against the sting of venomous serpents and promotes the growth of flesh in ulcers.

Bibliography: *al-Maḳālāt al-sabʿ min kitāb Diyāsḳūrīdūs* (*La 'Materia medica' de Dioscórides*, ed. Dubler and Terés, ii), 30, 80, 237; al-Kindī, *Aqrābādhīn. The medical formulary* ..., transl. M. Levey, 1966, 316 (no. 234); idem, *K. Kīmiyāʾ al-ʿiṭr wa-'l-taṣīdāt*, ed. K. Garbers, Leipzig 1948, 305-8; al-Rāzī, *al-Ḥāwī*, xxi/1, Hyderabad 1388, 97-99, 276; Ibn Sīnā, *Ḳānūn* (Būlāḳ ed.), i, 419 f.; Ibn Sīnā, *Urdj̲ūza fi 'l-ṭibb. Poème de la médecine* ..., par Jahier et Noureddine, Paris 1956, vv. 930, 1055; W. Schmucker, *Die pflanzliche und mineralische Materia medica im Firdaus al-ḥikma des ʿAlī ibn Sahl Rabban aṭ-Ṭabarī*, Diss. phil. Bonn 1969, 350 f. (no. 582); G. Kircher, *Die "einfachen Heilmittel" aus dem "Handbuch der Chirurgie" des Ibn al-Quff*, Diss. phil., Bonn 1967, 306-8 (no. 206); Ibn Hubal, *K. al-Mukhtārāt*, Hyderabad 1362,

ii, 172; Maimonides, *Sharḥ asmāʾ al-ʿuḳḳār*, ed. Meyerhof, Cairo 1940, no. 341; Moshe ben Maimon (Maimonides), *Lexicography of drugs*, ed. S. Muntner, Jerusalem 1969, 96; Anonymus [Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Ibn al-Rūmiyya], Ms. Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye 3589, fol. 89b; Suwaydī, *K. al-Simāt fī asmāʾ al-nabāt*, Ms. Paris 3004, fols. 239a, 274b-275a; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Djāmiʿ*, Būlāḳ 1291, iii, 60-2 = Leclerc no. 1317, and iv, 25 = Leclerc no. 1812; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Tafsīr Kitāb Dīsḳūrīdūs*, Ms. Mecca, Maktabat al-Ḥaram, 36(5) Ṭibb, fol. 5a; Dāwūd al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkira*, Cairo 1371, i, 211, 261; *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb* . . ., ed. Renaud and Colin, Paris 1934, nos. 352, 442; A. Ch. Achundow, *Die pharmakologischen Grundsätze des Abu Mansur Muwaffak bin Ali Harawi* (Kobert's "Historische Studien . . . Dorpat", iii, Halle 1893), 242; *El Libro Agregà de Serapion*, ed. G. Ineichen, ii, Venice-Rome 1966, 350; I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden*, iii, 1924, 30 f.; E. Wiedemann, *Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, ed. W. Fischer, Hildesheim-New York 1970, ii, 139, 237, 294, 313, 375, 377.

(A. Dietrich)

ḲAṬRĀN, a Persian poet. The recorded details of his life are meagre. ʿAwfī gives his full name as Ḥakīm Sharaf al-Zamān Ḳaṭrān al-ʿAḍudī al-Tabrīzī. Hidāyat refers to him as Ḥakīm Ḳaṭrān Abū Manṣūr al-Djabali al-ʿAḍudī. His father's name, according to Dawlatshāh, was Manṣūr, but this is not supported by any earlier authority. That he was born in Shādi-ābād, near Tabrīz, seems certain from one of his verses. Therefore, the *nisbas* Tirmidhī, Djabalī, Djīlī, Urmawī, ʿAdjalī, etc., given by different sources, must be false. The epithet ʿAḍudī, despite Hidāyat and others, is not derived from the Buwayhid ʿAḍud al-Dawla. ʿAḍud al-Dawla's death occurred in 372/983, but judging from the reference made in one of his *ḳaṣīdas* to the return of his patron, Faḍlūn, to Tabrīz in 481/1088, our poet lived at least until that year. (Accordingly, the date 465/1072 given for his death by Hidāyat and others is wrong). Nafīsī suspects that ʿAḍudī is a corruption of Azdī (p. 473). If so, it could well be related to the name of the Arab tribe of which the Wahsūdanids (see below) were descendants. Ḳaṭrān's patronage came chiefly from: a) the Shaddādid amīrs of Gandja, especially Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Mūsā Lashkarī, and Faḍlūn b. Abi 'l-Suvār. These two, particularly the latter, were so generous to Ḳaṭrān that he is said to have fled from the excessive bounty of Faḍlūn (Djāmī, *Salāmān u Absāl*; Khāḳānī, *Dīwān*); b) the Wahsūdānid or Rāwwādid *amīrs* of Ādharbāydjān, descendants of Rāwwād b. Muthannā 'l-Azdī, especially Abū Manṣūr Wahsūdān b. Muḥammad and his son Abū Naṣr Mamlān.

Ḳaṭrān was the first Ādharbāydjānī poet to write in the Persian of Khurāsān (*i.e.* Darī). Nāṣir-i Khusraw met him in Tabrīz in 438/1046, and remarked that "He wrote good poetry, but did not know Persian well. He came to me bringing the *dīwāns* of Mundjīk and Daḳīḳī, which he read with me, questioning me about every passage in which he found difficulty . . ." (*Safar-nāma*, Berlin 1341, 8).

Ḳaṭrān's difficulty in Persian apparently led him to write a Persian lexicon, which according to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa was entitled *Tafāsīr fī lughat al-Furs* (*Kashf al-Ẓunūn*, i, Istanbul 1941, 296). Ḳaṭrān's contemporary, Asadī Ṭūsī, referred to this book in the preface to his own lexicon, *Lughat-i Furs* (ed. ʿA. Iḳbāl, Tehran 1319). However, the book has not been preserved. The *mathnawī* called *Ḳaws-nāma*, dedicated to Amīr Muḥammad b. Ḳumādj, attributed to Ḳaṭrān by Dawlatshāh and later sources, is not his (Ṣafā, 421-3). Ḳaṭrān's poems have long been taken for Rūdakī's (d. 329/941), mainly because of the similarity of names of the Sāmānid Naṣr b. Aḥmad (Rūdakī's patron), and Abū Naṣr Mamlān. Even in his now published *Dīwān*, consisting of over 8,000 *bayts*, there are 951 *bayts* from Rūdakī (Nafīsī, 473). Ḳaṭrān ranks among the greatest poets of 5th/11th century Iran. He displays in his poetry an astonishing fluency and euphony of language—although his excessive use of rhetorical artifices contrasts with the simplicity of his predecessors and enables a connoisseur of Persian poetry particularly to distinguish his work from that of Rūdakī.

Bibliography: Ḳaṭrān, *Dīwān*, ed. M. Nakhdjavānī, Tabrīz 1333; Riḍā-Ḳulī Khān Hidāyat, *Madjmaʿ al-Fuṣaḥāʾ*, ed. M. Muṣaffā, Tehran 1339; S. Nafīsī, *Muḥīṭ-i Zindagī va Aḥwāl va Ashʿār-i Rūdakī*, Tehran 1341; Dh. Ṣafā, *Tārīkh-i adabiyyāt dar Iran*, ii, Tehran 1339; E. G. Browne, *LHP*, ii; A. Ateş, *Katran*, in *İA*.

(I. Dehghan)

KATSINA (Katsena, Kashna, Kashina, Casena), a name applied to several Nigerian localities, the earliest of which had its ancestry with the "Hausa [*q.v.*] *bakwai*". Two more Katsinas emerge with Leo Africanus (*ca.* 1513): "Casena", a rather poor country, and "Guangara" (Wangara), identified with Katsina-Laka (N.W. of Zaria) and associated with Muslim learning. Katsina attracted the celebrated *ʿālim*, al-Maghīlī (d. 910/1504), who taught *Ḳurʾān* and *fiḳh*: Muḥammad al-Tāzakhtī (known as Ayda-Aḥmad, d. 935-6/1529); and Makhlūf . . . al-Bilbālī al-Marrākushī (d. 939-40/1533).

The coming of the Wangara (especially under Muḥammad al-Korau, d. 948-9/1541-2?) signalled a shift in succession (matrilineal to patrilineal), leadership (Wangara Muslims displace Durbawa pagans), in religion and in ethnic composition. Birnin-Katsina (the walls of which date from 976/1568) was distinguished for its tobacco and leather; it contained over 100 principal quarters (each of which generated its own peculiar artisan and ethnic quality), a circuit of about eight miles, stretching to nearly 14 miles (1853), and a metropolitan population of 300,000.

Katsina waxed and waned within the shadow of stronger powers (Mali, Songhay, Bornu, Sokoto), achieving its pinnacle of power in the 17th and 18th centuries. Here, in Barth's phrase, ". . . that state of civilisation which had been called forth by contact with . . . Arabs seems to have reached its highest degree . . . the Hausa language . . . attained the greatest richness of form and the most refined pronunciation, and the manners of Katsena were distinguished by superior politeness from those of the other towns of Hausa". During this "golden age", Katsina emerged as the entrepôt of Hausaland and gave birth to some of the most renowned scholars of Sūdānī Islam: Shaykh al-Shuyūkh al-Bakrī of Yandoto (*ca.* 1009/1600); the poet Muḥammad al-Kashināwī (Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, Hausa: Dan Marina, d. 1065-6/1655); the jurist Abū ʿAbd Allāh . . . al-Barnāwī (Hausa: Dan Masanih, d. 1078/1667); the numerologist and astrologer (who entered the learned circle of the Egyptian historian ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī) al-Ḥājj Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Fulānī al-Kashināwī (d. 1154/1741); the astronomer, mathematician and astrologer Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Kashnāwī (*ca.* 1145/1732); and al-Ṭāhir b. Ibrāhīm al-Fallātī, who wrote a scholarly treatise on the treatment of haemorrhoids (d. 1190?/1776?), and seems to have emanated from the long line of scholars in the Yandoto tradition of al-Bakrī.

With the rise of Sokoto and the submission of Katsina (1807), the ruling lineage sought refuge in a new city, Katsina-Maradi (Niger Republic). The abandoned city, which became an *imārat* in Sokoto's gift, underwent a rapid decline. The British administration (from 1906) encouraged an economy of groundnuts and cotton. The scholarly tradition of Katsina, though but a shadow of its former brilliance, gained fresh impetus with the establishment of Katsina Training College (1921), and through its walls passed two of Nigeria's most famous sons, Sir Ahmadu Bello and Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa.

Bibliography: Aḥmad Bābā, *Nayl al-ibtihādj bi-taṭrīz al-dībādj* (cf. versions in A. D. H. Bivar and M. Hiskett, *The Arabic Literature of Nigeria in 1804: A provisional account*, in *BSOAS*, xxv, 1 (1962), 104-48); Muḥammad Bello, *Infāḳ al-maysūr*, ed. C. E. J. Whitting, London 1951. For further reading consult Hiskett and Bivar.

(J. R. Willis)

KATTĀN, Arabic word denoting both flax and linen.

The Arabs already knew and esteemed linen fabrics in pre-Islamic times. In this early period these were usually called *ḳubāṭī*, *i.e.* Coptic stuff, since they were imported from Egypt. Until the later Middle Ages Egypt remained famous for its flax and its linen fabrics. The Geniza documents, which mainly date from the 5th/11th century, contain copious documentation on the flax trade. From these documents it appears that flax was mainly grown in Upper Egypt. There were many kinds of flax: S. D. Goitein has found no less than 22 varieties, mostly called after particular localities, mentioned in Geniza documents. Consequently, the prices of flax varied a great deal. In Fāṭimid times the province of Fayyūm was an important centre of flax-growing and Būṣīr Ḳūrīdis was a large market for this commodity. In this period Egypt exported great quantities of flax to Tunisia and Sicily and even to southwestern Persia.

The Muslims inherited from the Byzantines a flourishing linen industry, which was located in Lower Egypt. The most important centres were Tinnīs, Damietta, Dabīḳ and Shaṭā, but linen was also manufactured in many small towns and villages surrounding these places. In all these towns, Coptic weavers produced white and coloured linen, *ḳaṣab* and *sharb*, two kinds of very fine linen, and *diḳḳ*, brocaded linen; Arab writers also mention gold-embroidered linen. The fabrics, and garments made from them, were exported both to Muslim and to non-Muslim countries. The Egyptian linen industry began to decline in the first half of the 7th/13th century, when the factories of Tinnīs, Damietta and Dabīḳ were closed; their decline was probably the consequence of the increasing import of European textiles.

Another region which produced flax and had a linen industry was the Persian province of Fārs. There the towns Sīnīz, Kāzarūn and Tawwadj had in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries linen factories which were famous for their products. Shīrāz, Djannābā and the small towns of Darīz and Furdj exported linen fabrics to other provinces of Persia.

In Egypt linen was the staple textile for many centuries, as is borne out by hundreds of inventories of trousseaux found in the Cairo Geniza. During the flourishing period of the Egyptian linen industry its products were used not only for making garments, but also as table-cloths, for tents and even for the covering of the Kaʿba.

Bibliography: R. B. Serjeant, *Materials for a history of Islamic textiles up to the Mongol conquest*, Beirut 1972 (originally in *Ars Islamica*, ix-xvi [1942-51]), index; S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, i, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1967, 224 ff.; Ḥ. Zayyat, *Les habits de lin fin chez les Arabes* (in Arabic), in *Machriq*, xli (1947), 137 ff.; E. Ashtor, *Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l'Orient médiéval*, Paris 1969, 142, 340.

(E. Ashtor)

AL-**KATTĀNĪ**, the name of an important and celebrated family of Fās, belonging to the Sharīfian branch of the Idrīsids [*q.v.*]. The Kattāniyyūn are descended in effect from Muḥammad, the son of Idrīs II, the one who shared out his kingdom amongst his brothers. They accordingly held power in Fās until they had to flee, but returned in the 10th/16th century. Their family house was situated in a quarter named after a certain Ibn Ṣawwāl, and fronted a steeply-sloping street; for this reason, one of their first biographers, Muḥammad al-Ṭālib Ibn al-Ḥādjdj (d. 1273/1857), who was a *ḳāḍī* in Marrākush and in Fās, gave to his work on them the title *Naẓm al-durr wa 'l-laʾālī fī shurafāʾ ʿaḳabat Ibn Ṣawwāl*.

Morocco owes to this family a remarkable succession of scholars, jurists and literary men, the latter mainly distinguished in the biographical field. Above all, the family attained its greatest fame at the end of the last century and the beginning of this one, not only through the intellectual and moral qualities of its members, but also, after 1890, through the influence which it exercised in the region of Fās, in Meknès and in other large towns of Morocco as the founder of a religious order.

Amongst the best-known members of the family one may mention:

ʿUmar b. Ṭāhir al-Kattānī (d. 1309/1891-2), author of a work on the families of Fās converted to Islam.

Abū ʿAbd Allāh Djaʿfar b. Idrīs al-Kattānī (1240-1323/1824-1905), known both as a scholar and also for his disinterested conduct, author of numerous works on his family.

Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar, son of the preceding, b. at Fās 1275/1858-9. Drawn to the east, he went to live in Medina *ca.* 1910 after having twice made the Pilgrimage; he then returned to his native town in 1926 and died there *ca.* 1927. He threw special light on his family by his *Salwat al-anfās wa-muḥādathat al-akyās bi-man uḳbira min al-ʿulamāʾ wa 'l-ṣulaḥāʾ bi-Fās*. This work, a model of its kind, is a far-reaching survey of the *shurafāʾ*, *fuḳahāʾ*, *ʿulamāʾ*, teachers and holy men of the city of Fās. It is at the same time a treatise on the cult of saints and a source of prime importance for the religious history of Fās, its development, its topography and its toponomy.

The last of the great and well-known Kattānīs, who had to shoulder the responsibilities of head of the family during the years in which Morocco came to independence, is the Shaykh Abu'l-Asʿad Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥayy. Like his predecessors, he was an erudite scholar and the possessor of a fine library. He had travelled in the east and studied there. He wrote a great number of books and articles, amongst which may be mentioned a family history *al-Maẓāhir al-sāmiya fī 'l-nisba al-sharīfa al-kattāniyya* and a *Fihris al-fahāris*, published in 2 vols. at Fās in 1346/1927-8. He was Keeper of the Library of the Ḳarawiyyīn before the Protectorate, and he took part in compiling the first catalogue of the books scattered about the various places of this ancient university when an inventory was decided upon in 1915. However, Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥayy not only kept up his noble family tradition of Islamic scholarship, but he

also retained with them, as an Idrīsid *sharīf*, a violent hatred of the reigning ʿAlawī dynasty. He was imprudent enough to become involved with el-Glaoui in the plot which in August 1953 ended in the deposition and temporary exile of Sīdī Muḥammad. When the latter returned to power and Morocco received its independence, Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥayy had to go into exile in France, where he died on 28 September 1962 at the age of 77.

Bibliography: M. G. Salmon, *Les Chorfa idrisides de Fes*, in *AM*, iii (1904), 446-8; *Catalogue des livres arabes de la bibliothèque de la Mosquee d'El-Qarouiyine à Fes*, Fās 1918, 4, 11; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les manuscrits arabes de Rabat*, Paris 1921, 143; idem, *Les historiens des Chorfa*, Paris 1922, 377 ff.; *Introd. à la connaissance du Maroc*, Casablanca 1942, 236-8, 240; R. Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le protectorat*, Casablanca 1949, index; G. Drague, *Esquisse d'histoire religieuse du Maroc*, *Cahiers de l'Afrique et de l'Asie*, ii, Index, 308; *Annuaire de l'Afrique du Nord*, i, Paris 1962, 303.

(A. FAURE)

KAVAKLI. [see ÇAKMAK, MUSTAFA FEVZI].

KĀWAH transliteration according to the *EI* rules of the name of a person who is supposed to have played an important rôle in the Iranian epic, in Persian Kāveh < Kāvagh, in Arabic Kāwah, Kāwī, Kābī. This person was a blacksmith who, after having had his son put to death by the tyrant Zohak (in Arabic, al-Ḍaḥḥāk; see ZUHĀK), raised the population of Iṣfahān against the usurper, taking as a banner his leather apron, which as the *drafsh-i Kāwiyān* became the Iranian national flag. Having thus brought about the fall of Zohak, he set up Farīdūn [*q.v.*] on the throne and was himself nominated commander of the army and then governor of Iṣfahān. Christensen has shown that in the expression denoting this flag, *Kāwiyān*, is connected not with Kāveh but with *kavi* "king, prince" [see KAYĀNIDS] and that the legend is of late, Sāsānid origin.

Whatever the truth, the Arabic historians frequently reproduced the legend, especially as the *drafsh-i Kāwiyān* is associated with a glorious episode in the history of Islam. The tale goes that the emblem of the Iranian rulers fell into the Muslims' hands at the celebrated battle of al-Ḳādisiyya [*q.v.*], although an author like Masʿūdī, who calls the blacksmith here Kābī, has the honesty to cite equally the capture of al-Madāʾin or even of Nihāwand [*qq.v.*] (*Tanbīh*, ed. Ṣāwī, 76).

The *drafsh-i Kāwiyān* involved here cannot have been the blacksmith's apron, which must have become worn out in the course of the centuries, but a flag which is described by the historians differently. According to al-Ṭabarī, i, 2175, it was 12 cubits long and 8 wide and made out of panther skins, and Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 224 = § 1556, cf. Balʿami-Zotenberg, iii, 395, adds that it was encrusted with precious stones and mounted on poles fitted one into the other; al-Khwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ*, 115, says that it was made from a bear or lion skin, and al-Maḳdisī, *Badʾ*, v, 184, from that of a kid or lion, and later, from brocade and gold; and Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, iii, 135, tr. Rosenthal, iii, 168-9, adds that a talismanic device of numbers was woven on the flag.

There emerges from these few references that no author had been able actually to see the flag, for the simple reason that it had long before ceased to exist. According to one tradition—to be regarded with caution—it was Ḍirār b. al-Khaṭṭāb [*q.v.*, and add the capture of the *drafsh*] who got hold of the flag and who received in return for it 30,000 [*dīnārs*], when it was in fact considered to be worth 200,000 (*Murūdj*, *loc. cit.*) or 2,000,000 (*Tanbīh*, *loc. cit.*); Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ then sent it to ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, who had it cut up into pieces and divided amongst the Muslims (al-Thaʿālibī, *Histoire des rois de Perse*, ed. and tr. Zotenberg, Paris 1900, 38 f.).

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the article, there is a description of the flag in A. Christensen, *Sasanides*, 502-4; see also idem, *Kayanides*, index; Carra de Vaux, *Le livre de l'avertissement*, 123-5; Ṭabarī-Zotenberg, i, 117 ff.; Djāḥiẓ, *Tarbīʿ*, 77 and index.

(ED.)

AL-**KAWĀKIBĪ**, ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. AḤMAD B. MASʿŪD, a pioneer in the theory of Panarabism, was born in (?) 1849 into a family of notables long settled in Aleppo, and died in Cairo in 1902. Orphaned at an early age, he was brought up by an aunt in Antioch, where he became a pupil of his mother's maternal uncle, said to have been sometime tutor to Prince ʿAbbās Ḥilmī (1874-1944) [*q.v.*]. He also attended *al-madrasa al-kawākibiyya* in Aleppo. He perfected Turkish and Persian as well as Arabic, and acquired some knowledge of secular subjects but not of a European language. He led an active literary and political life, editing the official Aleppo paper *Furāt* in its Arabic and Turkish sections from 1875-1880 (?). In collaboration with Hāshim al-ʿAṭṭār, he brought out in 1878 the first private Arabic weekly in Aleppo, *al-Shahbāʾ*, which lasted for only 15 issues. This, as well as a second paper, *al-Iʿtidāl*, were closed by order of the *wālī* in 1879. He was involved in the municipality and in other commercial and political ventures, particularly in the Régie des Tabacs. After quarrelling with the *wālī*, he was tried and found guilty, but appealed in Beirut and was acquitted. His property was confiscated, however, and he was forced to emigrate to Cairo in 1898 or 1899. From Egypt he toured various Muslim countries and went as far as Karāčī; his sudden death stopped another planned tour into the heart of Arabia. In Cairo he is said to have received the monthly salary of 50 guineas from the Khedive ʿAbbās Ḥilmī in order to win for him the suffrages of the *shaykh*s of Aden and the Nine Protectorates for the caliphate which he wished to assume.

Al-Kawākibī published two books, drafted while he was still in Syria, both of which have been convincingly shown to derive from Western models. He used two pseudonyms: al-Sayyid al-Furāti and al-Raḥḥāla K. *Umm al-Ḳurā*, which echoes the views expressed by W. S. Blunt in *The Future of Islam* (1882), was written in the guise of the proceedings of a secret society and was first published under a pseudonym in 1899, almost certainly clandestinely, the place of publication being given as Port Said. It was not until Rashīd Riḍā [*q.v.*] serialised it in *al-Manār* [*q.v.*], April 1902-February 1903, that the book became widely known. The book makes the first sure and permanent transition in Arabic from Panislamism to Panarabism. It discusses the caliphate and argues that the problems of Islam would be solved by transferring the caliphate from the house of ʿUthmān to Ḳuraysh. An Arab caliph would be installed in Mecca and would exercise, with the concurrence of a special council of consultation (*shūra*), political authority over the Ḥidjāz only. This caliphate would be devoid of all other political and military powers; its spiritual nature, as well as the special position of the Arabs within Islam, are greatly stressed. *Ṭabāʾiʿ al-istibdād wa-maṣāriʿ al-istiʿbād* first appeared as a series of anonymous

articles in *al-Mu'ayyad* of ʿAlī Yūsuf in 1900. It is to a large extent a faithful rendering in Arabic of *Della Tirannide* (1800) by Vittorio Alfieri. Notes for other publications were destroyed or lost.

Bibliography: *Al-Manār*, v (1320/1902-3) 237-40 and 276-82; Muḥammad Rāg͟hib al-Ṭabbākh, *Iʿlām al-nubalāʾ bi taʾrīk͟h Ḥalab al-S͟hahbāʾ*, vii, Aleppo 1926, 507-24; Sylvia Kedourie (née Haim): *The ideas of a precursor, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī (1849-1902), in relation to the trend of Muslim-Arab political thought*, Ph. D. thesis 1953; Sylvia G. Haim, *Alfieri and al-Kawākibī*, in *Oriente Moderno*, xxxiv (1954), 331-4; Ettore Rossi, *Una traduzione turca dell'opera "Della Tirannide" di V. Alfieri probalmente conosciuta da al-Kawākibī*, in *ibid.*, xxxiv (1954), 335-7; Sylvia G. Haim, *Blunt and al-Kawākibī*, in *ibid.*, xxxv (1955), 132-43; Sāmi al-Dahhān, *ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī*, Cairo n.d.; N. Tapiéro, *Les idées réformistes d'al-Kawâkibî 1265-1320/1849-1902*, Paris 1956; *al-Aʿmāl al-Kāmila li-ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī maʿa dirāsa ʿan ḥayātihi wa-āt͟hārihi*, ed. Muḥ. ʿUmāra, Cairo 1970; Elie Kedourie, *The Politics of Political Literature: Kawakibi, Azoury and Jung*, in *Middle Eastern Studies*, viii/2 (1972), 227-40.

(SYLVIA G. HAIM)

ĶAWĀLA, Kavala, port on the Aegean Sea coast opposite the island of Thasos, on the frontier between Macedonia and Thrace. In classical times, there was on this site the town of Neapolis, which served Philippi (P. Lemerle, *Philippes et la Macedoine Orientale*, Paris 1945, 529, 544). In the Byzantine period, the town was known as Christoupolis, but the Ottoman sources always refer to it under the name Ķawāla. It was conquered in Murād I's reign at a date which is difficult to determine; in August 1373 it was still in the possession of the grand primicius Alexis, who had just repulsed an attack by Turkish pirates of unspecified origin and obedience (*Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum sive acta et diplomata res veneto-graecas atque Levantis illustrantiae*, ed. R. Predelli, ii, 164-6; Lemerle, *op. cit.*, 209 ff.). It probably fell into Turkish hands shortly after the fall of Serres in 1383, since it was situated on the route of penetration into Macedonia.

At the time of Meḥemmed II, in *ca.* 883/1478-9, the district of Ķawāla comprised the town and 11 villages, with 546 non-Muslim hearths, 23 Muslim hearths, 25 unmarried persons and 28 widows; its revenue was 34,136 aspers. The town itself was made up of 75 non-Muslim hearths, 12 Muslim hearths, 8 unmarried persons and 8 widows. The district's natural resources included cereal cultivation, silk worm rearing, and above all, silver mining, the mines for which formed part of the sultan's personal domains. Ethnically, there were in the district Turks, Greeks and Slavs, notably Serbs, judging by their onomastic. The Muslims in the mining villages were all artisans (Census returns for eastern Macedonia, Başbakanlık archives, tapu and tahrir registers no. 7, pp. 88-98; M. T. Gökbilgin, *XV.-XVI. asırlarda Edirne ve paşa livası*, Istanbul 1952, 145; N. Beldiceanu, *Les actes des premiers sultans conservés dans les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale à Paris*, ii, *Règlements miniers 1390-1512*, Paris-The Hague 1964, 215-17; Ö. L. Barkan, *894 (1488/89) yılı cizyesinin tahsilâtına âit muhasebe bilançoları*, in *Belgeler*, i/l (Ankara 1964), 115). The town of Ķawāla had been surrounded by walls towards the time of the high Middle Ages (Lemerle, 141). At the time of the Rhodes campaign, Sulaymān the Lawgiver fortified the town and repaired the aqueduct there, whilst the Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pas͟ha had a mosque and other charitable works constructed there (Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, viii, Istanbul 1328, 118).

Ķawāla was the centre of a *sand̲jaḳ* of the *D̲jazāʾir eyāleti* under the administration of a *deryā begi*; its district included 12 *ziʿāmet*s and 235 *tīmār*s; the *sand̲jaḳ* was divided into seven *ḳāḍāʾ*s. In the town resided an *alay-begi*, a *s͟hayk͟h al-islām*, a *naḳīb al-as͟hrāf* and a *ḳāḍī* (with a salary of 150 *aḳčes*). Ewliyā Čelebi describes its fortress, built on a hill, mentions five *maḥalles* with 500 houses, and enumerates the religious foundations.

In 1095/1684 Francesco Morosini laid siege to Ķawāla without success. In 1133/1721 *armatoloi* (*martolos*) are mentioned for the last time in the *ḳaḍāʾ* of Ķawāla, and in other districts as well. During the 12th/18th century and in the first half of the 19th, the *sand̲jaḳ* of Ķawāla was usually granted to the pas͟ha of Salonika for him to enjoy its revenue and was governed by one of his representatives (*mütesellim*) (see I. Vasdravellis, Ἱστορικά Ἀρχεῖα Μακεδονίας i-ii, Salonika 1952-4, *passim*). In the 12th/18th century there was a French vice-consulate at Ķawāla, and from 1159/1746 a Venetian one also. In 1215/1800, or a short time before, the town had 3,000 inhabitants, and the produce of Egypt, Izmir and Thasos, destined for the hinterland, were brought to its harbour; iron cannon-balls, made in Pravista, and Macedonian tobacco were exported to Istanbul. Thus its harbour was fairly busy, but because of its small extent it could not be used as anchorage for warships.

After the administrative re-organisation of 1864, Ķawāla constituted a *ḳāḍāʾ* of the *sand̲jaḳ* of Drama, which belonged to the *vilāyet* of Salonika. At the end of the 19th century its population increased and reached well over 10,000, the Muslim and Greek elements being predominant. In ecclesiastical administration, Ķawāla was subordinate to the bishop of Xanthi.

In the 18th and 19th centuries, the cultivation of cotton, and above all tobacco, constituted the district's main source of wealth (F. Beaujour, *Tableau du commerce de la Grèce*, i, Paris Year VIII, 91). Ķawāla also derives much fame from the fact that it was the birthplace of Muḥammad ʿAlī Pas͟ha (D̲j. Zaydān, *Mas͟hāhir al-s͟harḳ*, Cairo 1910, i, 1; E. Z. Karal, *Osmanlı tarihi*[8], Ankara 1970, v, 125 ff.). He built there a school (*mühendis-k͟hāne-yi k͟hayriyye*), a *madrasa*, a mosque, a library and a soup-kitchen (*ʿimāret*), and assigned the revenues of the island of Thasos for the upkeep of his pious foundations (*Ķāmūs al-aʿlām*, Istanbul 1314/1896, v, 3704-5). Today, his house is a museum.

One of the clauses of the Treaty of San Stefano (March 1878), made at the end of the Russo-Turkish War, envisaged the cession of Ķawāla to the Bulgarians, but this was never put into practice, and a few months later the treaty was replaced by that of Berlin (13 July 1878). At the time of the First Balkan War, Ķawāla fell into Bulgarian hands (November 1912), but during the Second Balkan War, the Greek fleet seized it (July 1913); by the Treaty of Bucarest (10 August 1913), the town was ceded to Greece (Nicolaides, *Griechenlands Anteil an den Balkankriegen*, Vienna-Leipzig 1914, 367 ff.; E. Z. Karal, *Osmanlı tarihi*, Ankara 1962, viii, 57-80; Y. H. Bayur, *Türk inkilabı tarihi*, Istanbul 1940, i, 13; T. Bıyıklıoğlu, *Trakyada millî mücadele*, Ankara 1955, i, 8 ff.). As part of the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey, the Turks of the Ķawāla district were settled in western Anatolia.

Bibliography: Given in the article, but see also K. Chioious, Ἱστορία τῆς Καβάλας, Kavala 1968; A. Vakalopoulos, Ἱστορία τῆς Μακεδονίας, *1354-1833*, Salonika 1969; S. Papadopoulos, Ἐκπαιδευτιὴ και κοινωνικὴ δραστηριότητα τοῦ Ἑλληνισμοῦ τῆς Μακεδονίας κατά τόν τελευταῖο αἰώνα τῆς Τουρκοκορατίας, Salonika 1970.
(I. BELDICEANU-STEINHERR - J. G. GIANNOPOULOS)

KAWĀR, a group of oases in the southern Sahara, in the Republic of Niger, situated between the Tibesti Mountains in the east and the Aïr in the west, halfway between Fezzān in the north and Lake Chad in the south. The administrative centre is Bilma, which lies at 18° 41′ N and 12° 55′ E. Kawār is a chain of oases 75 km. long from north to south, but only one to five km. wide, where water flows in abundant springs on the eastern edge of the Ténéré. It has naturally been utilised by the caravan route from Fezzān to Chad. Its 3,000 to 4,000 inhabitants, who are divided into 14 frequently fortified villages, are a mixture of Kanouri (the dominant language is Kanouri), Teda and Touareg. They live by exploiting some 100,000 palm trees and the salt marshes, most important of which is Kalala near Bilma. The salt, pressed into loaves, is exported by the *azalay*s [*q.v.*] of the Touaregs, who transport it to Agades and then to Hausa territory.

These oases do not seem to have been known to classical antiquity, despite the proximity of Fezzān and the representations of chariots engraved on the rock at Dj̲ado and Latouma.

The history of Kawār is obscure. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam mentions it first, telling of its conquest in 46/666 by ʿUḳba b. Nafiʿ. Al-Idrīsī, in 549/1154, devotes a whole passage to it but his description is so confused that, with the exception of Ankalalas = Kalala, the toponyms cited cannot be identified. He lays stress chiefly on its important alum mines, whose produce, he says, was exported to the Mediterranean. Perhaps he has confused this with salt, for alum of soda, which is in fact very abundant at Kawār, has very little commercial use, unlike alum of potassium, which is not found there.

The very important Chad-Fezzān caravan route through which slaves from Hausa territory were exported was controlled from the 7th/13th century by the Kanem-Bornou, who extended their domination over the Kawār and the Fezzān.

Precise written reports on the region date only from the 19th century: Denham, Clapperton and Oudney (1823) then Vogel, Rohlfs, Nachtigal and Monteil in succession explored the great track traversing it. They report that the people obtained their livelihood from the sale of dates, salt-mining and the slave caravans which passed northwards, and were hard-pressed by the Touareg and Teda.

The Sanūsiyya established a *zāwiya* there and the Turks of Tripoli tried to establish their authority, as in Dj̲anet and Tibesti. Kawār was occupied in 1906 by the French, who installed a military post at Bilma, putting an end to the pillaging which periodically victimised the inhabitants.

Bibliography: Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Conquête de l'Afrique du Nord et l'Espagne* (*Futūḥ Ifrīqiya wa-ʾl-Andalus*), Arabic text and Fr. tr. A. Gateau, Algiers 1942; Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*, ed. and tr. Dozy and De Goeje, Leiden 1866, repr. 1968; Denham and Clapperton, *Narrative of travels* . . ., London 1826; H. Barth, *Voyages* . . ., Fr. tr. Paris 1860, iv, 231-4; G. Nachtigal, *Sahara et Soudan*, Fr. tr. Paris 1881, i, 275-84; L. P. Monteil, *De St. Louis à Tripoli par le lac Tchad*, Paris n.d. 1895?; Y. Urvoy, *Histoire de l'Empire du Bornou*, Dakar 1942; M. Lesourd, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-Kawār*, Dakar 1946, 1-54; Ch. Le Coeur, *Dictionnaire ethnographique teda*, Paris 1950; W. Cline, *The Teda of Tibesti, Borku and Kawar*, Menasha 1950; J. Chapelle, *Nomades noirs du Sahara*, Paris 1957; H. J. Hugot, *Missions Berliet-Ténéré-Tchad. Doc. scientifiques*, Paris 1962.
(R. MAUNY)

AL-**ḲAWĀSIM** (sing. Ḳāsimī), the ruling family of al-S̲h̲āriḳa (Sharjah) and Raʾs al-K̲h̲aymā [*qq.v.*], two of the member states of the United Arab Emirates. The Ḳawāsim, who claim to be *s̲h̲arīf*s, are an offshoot of the Huwala, Arabs long established on the Persian side of the Persian Gulf, some of whom have returned to their original homeland. It is not known when the Ḳawāsim came back. Raʾs al-K̲h̲ayma under its older name Dj̲ulfār was the native town of the noted Arab pilot S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Mādjid [see IBN MĀDJID]. Writing in the late 9th/15th century, he also mentions al-S̲h̲āriḳa, but he does not indicate whether there were Ḳawāsim in either place.

References to the Ḳawāsim in the historical records become frequent in the 12th/18th century. In 1131/1719 the Portuguese, who still had a factory at Kung on the Persian side of the Gulf, retaliated for Ḳāsimī attacks on their shipping by driving Ḳāsimī vessels into the port of Raʾs al-K̲h̲ayma and enslaving the prisoners they took. Rās̲h̲id b. Maṭar, the first Ḳāsimī figure to emerge from the shadowy past, may have been the ruler of Raʾs al-K̲h̲ayma as early as that time. He was said to be a grandson of Ḳāsim, the eponym of the family. During the civil war that split the people of ʿUmān apart in the years immediately following, the Ḳawāsim sided with the G̲h̲āfirī faction (Northern Arabs) against the Hināwīs (Southern Arabs). A few years later, the ruler of Raʾs al-K̲h̲ayma built a port at Bāsidū on the island of Ḳis̲h̲m which drew trade away from the British factory at Bandar ʿAbbās, whereupon the British Agent in Persia in 1139/1727 forced this ruler to make good the loss suffered by the East India Company. In 1149/1737 Nādir S̲h̲āh's forces launched an amphibious invasion of ʿUmān, and a Persian garrison stayed in Raʾs al-K̲h̲ayma (still often called Dj̲ulfār) for over a decade afterwards, but by 1176/1763 the Persian admiral in the Gulf was reported to have exhausted his resources in paying subsidies to the ruler of Raʾs al-K̲h̲ayma.

When the German explorer C. Niebuhr passed through the Gulf in 1178/1765, he learned that Rās̲h̲id b. Maṭar al-Ḳāsimī of Raʾs al-K̲h̲ayma held other territories as well, including some on the Persian coast. This region had not long before recognised the suzerainty of the Ibāḍī Imāms of ʿUmān but had regained independence and was often at war with its former overlords. Rās̲h̲id had a considerable fleet, and his trading vessels were active even beyond the Gulf. According to Niebuhr, almost all Rās̲h̲id's subjects were Ḥanbalīs, which meant that they would be fertile ground for the Ḥanbalī proselytising of the Wahhābiyya [*q.v.*] of Nadj̲d in the years to come.

With the British consolidating their control of India, the Persian Gulf became one of the main avenues for communications with the home country, and the transit of British vessels over its waters grew more frequent. In 1192/1778 the Ḳawāsim seized a small British ship and held it for ransom, an incident that helped to touch off a long conflict between the

two parties in the Gulf. The British were prone to describe an act such as this as simple piracy; the Ḳawāsim were inclined to regard it as consonant with the Islamic precept for waging *d̲j̲ihād* against the infidels.

In the early 13th/late 18th century Wahhābī influence burgeoned along the coast where the Ḳawāsim were based. Rās̲h̲id b. Maṭar's son Ṣaḳr acquired the title of Amīr of ʿUmān under Āl Suʿūd, the religious and secular chiefs of the Wahhābiyya. After a victory over the Ibāḍīs of ʿUmān, Ṣaḳr's son Sulṭān turned over a fifth of the spoils for dispatch to the Wahhābī capital al-Dirʿiyya.

Further British commercial penetration into the Gulf brought about clashes, in a number of which British merchantmen were captured. The British took to using the name Ḳawāsim in the corrupted English form Joasmee as a generic term for all Arabs in the Gulf who harassed their shipping. Suʿūd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Āl Suʿūd deposed Sulṭān b. Ṣaḳr for reasons that remain obscure, but Sulṭān's successor continued harrying the British. In retaliation, a British fleet in 1224/1809 sailed to Raʾs al-K̲h̲ayma, burned many Ḳāsimī craft in the harbour, and sent troops to occupy the town for a day, during which they plundered it and set it on fire. This British blow did not long deter the Ḳawāsim, who proceeded to add an American, a French, and some Hindu ships to their prizes. A new British expedition took Raʾs al-K̲h̲ayma in 1235/1819, and a detachment of sepoys under a British officer held it for three months before turning it over to Sulṭān b. Ṣaḳr, who, having incurred the displeasure of Āl Suʿūd, was in the good graces of the British. The British then imposed a general treaty of peace on the Arab chiefs of the lower Gulf, referred to in the text as "the friendly (literally "pacified") Arabs". Sulṭān signed as chief of al-S̲h̲āriḳa, though in later agreements he was designated chief of Raʾs al-K̲h̲ayma and al-S̲h̲āriḳa or chief of the Ḳawāsim.

In 1251/1835 the British induced four of the chiefs of the lower Gulf, including Sulṭān, to adhere to a maritime truee for six months, covering the season for pearl diving in the summer. This truce was renewed repeatedly, and the stretch of coast to which it applied, formerly called by the British the Pirate Coast, came to be known as the Trucial Coast. The last limited truce, which was good for ten years, was superseded in 1269/1853 by a treaty of peace in perpetuity, which provided for "a perfect maritime truce ... for evermore", which was to be watched over by the British government.

British control over the Trucial States was strengthened by the exclusive agreement of 1309/1892, signed by the Ḳāsimī rulers of al-S̲h̲āriḳa and Raʾs al-K̲h̲ayma among others, which bound the Arab signatories not to enter into any agreement or correspondence with any power other than Britain.

In 1322/1904 Persia, which not long before had taken over the former Ḳāsimī possession of Lind̲j̲a on the Persian side of the Gulf, tried to annex the island of Abū Mūsā and one of the two islands named Tunb, which the British regarded as belonging to al-S̲h̲āriḳa. Thanks to British intervention, this attempt was thwarted.

After the death of Sulṭān b. Ṣaḳr in 1282-3/1866, the position of leadership long enjoyed by the Ḳawāsim on the Trucial Coast slipped away into the hands of their southern neighbours, Dubayy and Abū Ẓabī [*qq.v.*]. Dubayy became the foremost Trucial port for trade, and Abū Ẓabī under its energetic ruler Zāyid b. K̲h̲alīfa (d. 1326/1908) built up substantial political and military strength. Abū Ẓabī then declined somewhat during the period when Zāyid's four sons followed each other as his successors, but under his grandson S̲h̲ak̲h̲būṭ, oil was discovered in its territories in commercial quantities in 1379/1959, the first such discovery on the Trucial Coast. As the oil industry developed, Abū Ẓabī outdistanced its sister Trucial States in an almost incredible fashion, achieving thanks to its small population the highest per capita income of any country in the world. In 1386/1966 oil was found off the shore of Dubayy, which took second place as a Trucial Coast producer, though still far behind Abū Ẓabī.

Towards the end of 1391/1971 the British relinquished the dominance they had maintained over the Gulf for well over a century, withdrawing all their military forces and giving up the RAF base at al-S̲h̲āriḳa. Just before they left, Iran occupied the islands of Abū Mūsā and Greater and Lesser Tunb inside the mouth of the Gulf. The occupation of Abū Mūsā was carried out in agreement with al-S̲h̲āriḳa, but Raʾs al-K̲h̲ayma attempted to resist the Iranian landings on the Tunbs. In 1392/1972 oil was struck in the waters off Abū Mūsā, with the profits from its exploitation to be divided equally between al-S̲h̲āriḳa and Iran.

As the British moved out, the seven Trucial States banded together in the new United Arab Emirates. Abū Ẓabī and Dubayy, the richest members, acquired respectively the presidency and vice-presidency of the union. Sulṭān b. Muḥammad b. Ṣaḳr al-Ḳāsimī, the ruler of al-S̲h̲āriḳa, and his distant cousin Ṣaḳr b. Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Ḳāsimī, the ruler of Raʾs al-K̲h̲ayma, joined the Supreme Council. Other members of the Ḳāsimī family received portfolios as Minister of Labour and Labourers, Minister of Electricity and Water, Minister of Justice, and Minister of State for Supreme Council Affairs. Britain terminated all its existing treaties with the Trucial States and concluded a new treaty of friendship with the United Arab Emirates.

Bibliography: ʿUt̲h̲mān Ibn Bis̲h̲r, *ʿUnwān al-Mad̲j̲d*, Mecca 1349; Admiralty, *A Handbook of Arabia*, London 1916-7; idem, *Iraq and the Persian Gulf*, London 1944; C. Aitchison, ed., *A Collection of Treaties* [5], xi, Calcutta 1933; C. Belgrave, *The Pirate Coast*, London 1966; J. Buckingham, *Travels in Assyria, Media and Persia*, London 1829; G. Ferrand, *Instructions nautiques*, i, Paris 1921-3 [S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn Ibn Mād̲j̲id]; D. Hawley, *The Trucial States*, London 1970; L. Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, London 1938; J. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, ʾOmān, and Central Arabia*, Calcutta 1908-15; C. Low, *History of the Indian Navy*, London 1877; C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772; H. Moyse-Bartlett, *The Pirates of Trucial Oman*, London 1966; R. Temple, *Sixteen Views of Places in the Persian Gulph*, Bombay 1811 (dramatic scenes of the British expedition against Raʾs al-K̲h̲ayma in 1809).

(G. Rentz)

KAWKAB [see NUD̲J̲ŪM].

KAWKAB AL-HAWĀʾ, the Compass Dial, mediaeval fortress in Palestine whose name has been corrupted into "Coquet" by the Frankish authors who also cite it by the name of Belvoir. Constructed not far from Mount Tabor (al-Ṭūr) on a promontory 297 m above the Valley of the Jordan and situated 4 km to the south of the Lake of Tiberias and 14 km to the north of Baysān [*q.v.*], a watchpost in the G̲h̲awr, it controlled the province of

the Jordan and guarded the fords into Galilee, notably below the confluence of the Yarmūk, the Djisr al-Madjāmiʿ (Bridge of the Confluence).

The castle presents a plan of Byzantine type; it "consisted of a rectangular keep enclosed in a surrounding wall 160 m by 120 m flanked by square towers, with a salient and door let into it in the midst of each front" (Deschamps, 121-3), and there are ramps at the base of the openings. The northern front dominates perpendicularly the Wādī'l-Bira, the three other fronts are bordered by ditches cut twenty metres into the rock.

It was reinforced in 534/1140 by the King Fulk. The Hospitallers acquired it in 563/1168 and added to the defences. In 578/1182, the troops of Saladin were repelled by the Franks on the neighbouring plateau of Kawkab, but after his success at Ḥiṭṭīn [*q.v.*], the Kurdish prince contemplated the conquest of Galilee, and on the 15th Dhu'l-Ḳaʿda 584/5th January 1189, aided by the contingents of his brother al-ʿĀdil, he approached to seize Kawkab, bastion of the Crusaders' resistance in the Holy Land.

In the reign of al-ʿĀdil, Kawkab was occupied by the *amīr* Ṣārim al-Dīn Ḳaymaz al-Nadjmī; then ʿIzz al-Dīn Usāma received it as an *iḳṭāʿ*. He kept the castle until the day when al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿĪsā, younger brother of al-Kāmil and prince of Damascus, took it from him (609/1212). In 616/1219, the Franks occupied Damietta, and al-Muʿaẓẓam gave the order to dismantle Kawkab; the work was suspended during the diplomatic discussions between the Sultan al-Kāmil and the Legate Pelagos, then resumed, and al-Muʿaẓẓam completed the dismantling of the place in Dhu'l-Ḳaʿda 624/October 1227, so that the Franks of Frederick II might not eventually take advantage of it. At the beginning of 638/end of 1240, the Hospitallers recaptured the castle from the Ayyūbids. At the end of 638/beginning of 1241, with peace restored, Kawkab was confirmed as Frankish territory, but at the beginning of 645/summer of 1247, when al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb resumed operations, the Franks, who had not been strong enough to defend the place, had to surrender it. Under the Mamlūks, Ḳalʿat Kawkab was part of the province of Ṣafad. In our time there is a village near the ruins of the castle which bears its name.

Bibliography: G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 483; Ibn Shaddād, *al-Aʿlāḳ al-Khaṭīra*, ed. S. Dahan, Damascus 1963, 161, 223; Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids, Mamelouks and Crusaders, Selections from the Ta'rīkh*, by M. Lyons and J. Riley Smith, Cambridge 1971, ii, 61; Yāḳūt, iv, 328; ʿImād al-Dīn, *al-Fatḥ al-ḳussī...*, tr. H. Massé, Paris 1972, index; M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, BAH iii, Paris 1925, 124; T. E. Lawrence, *Crusader Castles*, London 1936, 40, fig. 47; P. Deschamps, *La défense du royaume de Jérusalem*, BAH xxxiv, Paris 1939, 14, 121-3, 236; S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, Cambridge 1954, iii, 218, 229, 370-1; K. M. Setton, *A History of the Crusades*, Philadelphia 1955-62, i, 586-7, 619, ii, 415, 564, 789; J. Prawer, *Histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem*, Paris 1969-70, i, 334, 557, 663, pl. xv, ii, 39, 155-6, 286.

(N. Elisséeff)

KAWKABĀN, the name of several places in south Arabia.

1. The name of a sanctuary mentioned in the inscription Halévy No. 686, 3—4, copied from a building in ʿAden by J. Halévy (*miḥrābān Kawkabān*). Cf. also F. Hommel, *Grundriss der Geographie und Geschichte des alten Orients*, ii, Leipzig 1925, 707.

2. The name of a castle near Ẓafār north of Nāʿaṭ. It was called Kawkabān, "the two stars," i.e. star-castle, because it was adorned with silver stripes outside, the roof was covered with white slabs of stone, the interior panelled with cypress wood and paved with mosaic, different gems, onyx and corundum, which shone like stars at night. This marvellous building was naturally ascribed to the Djinn. This castle is perhaps also mentioned in the inscription Glaser No. 238, 3 (*Bayt wa-Kawkabān*), which comes from Bayt Ghufr in the vicinity. The castle is said to be still standing.

3. A little village on a great cliff on the right side of the Wādī Salāma, N. E. of Ḥadja and called Kawkabān-Ḥadja to distinguish it from other places of the same name.

4. Capital of the province of the same name, N.W. of Ṣanʿā'. The town of Kawkabān lies at a height of 8,750 feet above sea-level in 15° 31′ 42″ N. Lat. on the southern part of the ridge which begins about half a mile S. E. of the town of Kawkabān at the left towards Ṭawīla and runs S. E. to N. W. for several hours' journey. It is part of the great Maṣānaʿa plateau and is called Djabal Ḍulāʿ. The south-eastern part of the range, the especially precipitous part, is separated from the main massif by an almost straight ravine, the Wādī Nabhān, which runs from Shibām past the one gate of the town of Kawkabān (Bāb al-Ḥadīd) to the Wādī Naʿīm west of the Djabal Kawkabān. Two roads run over this mountain, cut off only by the ravine of the Wādī Nabhān, the one through the town of Shibām, following the very deep ravine of Nabhān which is bridged over, an old winding narrow path of steps hewn out of the rock, and the second, an easier one, running in the Ḳāʿa Ḍulāʿ and crossing a bridge over the Wādī Nabhān just before reaching the Bāb al-Ḥadīd. The town of Kawkabān stretches from the Bāb al-Ḥadīd to the S. E. and runs quite close to the eastern slope of the cliff all along that side. This part seems to be the oldest. Not very far from the gate on the great open square in the centre of the town (in the northern part) is a double wall for the most part now in ruins. Between the two walls a great number of skilfully walled pits have been cut out of the ground, which served as granaries for the old inhabitants. Similar granaries, but of more recent date, are to be found in the southern part and outside the town. The town itself consists of a large number of excellently built houses of red stone the architectural effect of which is often striking; the doors of the houses are often ornamented with fine iron work. The houses of the former Imāms now for the most part decayed or shot to pieces are particularly striking with their splendid façades. Besides the principal mosque with minaret, the only one in the town, there are seven small mosques. The water supply is provided from two huge and finely built reservoirs; the one, called Muṣallā, lies in the south, exceedingly deep and enclosed on the west side by a wall 60 to 80 feet high. The second, to the east of it, begun but not quite finished by Sayyid ʿAbd al-Karīm about 1840, is called Barīk al-Ziyādī. There are also four smaller cisterns. This water-supply would suffice for a town three times the size of Kawkabān. The Jewish quarter lay E. S. E outside the town but consisted almost entirely of low stone houses with little windows and doors.

A stone bridge with huge arches led across the Wādī Nabhān to the Bāb al-Ḥadīd but it was blown up by the Arabs in 1872.

Kawkabān is an ancient city dating from the Ḥimyar period, as inscriptions found there show. Al-Hamdānī mentions a stronghold of Kawkabān on the summit of the Djabal Dhukhār which is certainly identical with the old town of the modern Kawkabān. In troubled times its strength made it a desirable place of refuge—in 1569 the Turks besieged the stronghold in vain—and for centuries Kawkabān has been important as a capital and residence of the Imāms of the principality of the same name. The latter comprised in addition to Kawkabān the towns of Shibām, Ḥadja, Ṭawīla, the Khabt Mirwāḥ (between Kawkabān and Ḥarrāz), the lands of Miswar, Sāriʿ, Ḥofās, Milḥān, Ahdjir, ʿArūs, Banū Khayyāṭ, al-Shahdhiya Lāʿa, a part of the Banū Ḥubaysh, the Banū Nāshir and of al-Aḥmar. The old dynasty of the country, which traced its descent from the Imām Hādī of Ṣaʿda, was able to retain its imāmate even during Turkish rule and to maintain its independence from the Imāms of Ṣanʿāʾ after the Turks were driven out in 1630. C. Niebuhr (*Beschreibung*, 256; see the *Bibliography*) has given a genealogical survey of the princes of Kawkabān. When the Turks again invaded Yaman in 1872 and subjected the country, Kawkabān after a seven months' severe siege also passed to the Turks but only after capitulation. The last ruler of Kawkabān, Sayyid Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who had bravely defended the town against the Turks, afterwards lived in Ṣanʿāʾ on a pension given to him by the Sublime Porte. At Glaser's visit in 1883 his brother Sayyid Yaḥyā still lived in the old ancestral home in Kawkabān, which is remarkable for the splendid stucco-work of the interior and the rich ornamentation of its façade. The windows and doors had all sorts of varied shapes, colours and ornaments.

Kawkabān was in the early 20th century almost depopulated; although the houses, which in spite of much destruction were still imposing, afforded accommodation for some 30,000 people, there were then barely 100 in the town; from the town one gets a splendid view over the fertile fields and valleys of the country around, especially the plain of Shibām, a part of the plain of Ṣanʿāʾ and the surrounding hills.

5. Kawkabān al-Sbāʿa is in Maḥwīd, west of the town of Kawkabān (4), but belongs to Ṭawīla, a small place of no special importance.

Bibliography:

1. J. Halévy, *Rapport sur une mission archéologique dans le Yémen*, *JA*, series 6, vol. xix, 1872, 266.

2. D. H. Müller, *Die Burgen und Schlösser Südarabiens nach dem Iklîl des Hamdânî*, i., *S. B. Ak. Wien*, xciv, 1879, 354, note 1, 369 and note 4, 370, 410, 411; Yāḳūt, iii, 422, iv, 327 (the castle is here and in the following work wrongly located on the Djabal Kawkabān near Ṣanʿāʾ); *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāʿ*, ii, 523; E. Osiander, *Zur ḥimjarischen Alterthums- und Sprachkunde*, *ZDMG*. x, 1856, 25, 26; E. Glaser, *Geographische Forschungen im Yemen 1883*, fol. 71a.

3. C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, 252; E. Glaser, *Geographische Forschungen im Yemen 1883*, fol. 58b.

4. al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat Djazīrat al-ʿArab*, ed. D. H. Müller, Leiden 1884-91, 107, 195; D. H. Müller, *Die Burgen und Schlösser Südarabiens*, i, 352, n. 2, 353, 355, 356; Yāḳūt, iv, 437; C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, 190, 191, 196, 197, 252, 255; C. Ritter, *Die Erdkunde von Asien*, viii/i, Part xii., Book 3, Berlin 1846, 711, 728, 734; A. Sprenger, *Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients*, in *Abhandl. f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes*, iii/3, Leipzig 1864, 136, 153; idem, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern 1875, 73; Ch. Millingen, *Notes of a Journey in Yemen*, in *JRGS*, 1874, xliv, 123; E. Glaser, *Geographische Forschungen im Yemen 1883*, fols. 8a, 51a-55b, 124b; idem, *Meine Reise durch Arḥab und Hâschid* in *Petermann's Mitteilungen*, xxx 1884, 173; idem, *Von Ḥodeida nach Ṣanʿâ vom 24. April bis 1. Mai 1885*, *ibid.*, xxxii, 1886, 43; A. Deflers, *Voyage au Yemen*, Paris 1889, 68-72; E. Glaser, *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, ii, Berlin 1890, 151; W. B. Harris, *A Journey through the Yemen*, Edinburgh 1893, 20, 21; H. Burchardt, *Reiseskizzen aus dem Yemen*, in *Zeitschr. d. Gesellsch. f. Erdkunde zu Berlin* (1902), 603; M. Hartmann, *Der islamische Orient, Berichte und Forschungen*, ii, *Die arabische Frage*, Leipzig 1909, 545; H. Krumpholz, *Eduard Glaser's astronomische Beobachtungen im Yemen im Jahre 1883*, in *S. B. Ak. Wien* (math.-naturw. Klasse), cxx, 1911. Part iia, 1921, 1922; F. Stuhlmann, *Der Kampf um Arabien zwischen der Türkei und England*, in *Hamburgische Forschungen*, i, Brunswick 1916, 71; Aḥmad Rāshid, *Taʾrīkh-i Yaman wa-Ṣanʿāʾ*, Istanbul 1291.

5. E. Glaser, *Geographische Forschungen im Yemen 1883*, fol. 54a. (A. GROHMANN)

ḲAWM (A.), plural *aḳwām*, *aḳāwim*, *aḳāyim*, people. The word occurs also in Nabataean, Palmyrene and Ṣafaitic inscriptions in the name of the deity Shayʿ al-Ḳawm "support of the people", see Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, i, Index s.v. According to some lexicographers, the word applies in the first place to men; evidence for this opinion is afforded by passages from literature where *Ḳawm* is used in opposition to *nisāʾ* (women). The term does not primarily suggest the meaning of nation. A man's *Ḳawm* are his *shīʿa* and his *ʿashīra*. In this limited sense, the word occurs also in the well-known tradition: "Who clings to a *Ḳawm* without the permission of his *mawālī* (*patroni*), is cursed by Allāh, the angels and the prophets" (Bukhārī, *Faḍāʾil al-Madīna*, *bāb* 1). Used without the article, it has the same meaning as English "people", French "gens" and German "Leute", *e.g.* Sūra V, 63: "People who do not understand"; cf. IX, 61 (also with the article, XII, 87). The plural has the same meaning. In a tradition it is said: "There will be people (*aḳwām*) in my community, who will proclaim licentiousness regarding women and wine" (Bukhārī, *Ashriba*, *bāb* 6).

In the Ḳurʾān the term is chiefly used in connection with the prophets, Muḥammad's predecessors: the people of Ibrāhīm, Lūṭ, Nūḥ (*e.g.*, VII, 146; II, 91; XXII, 43; XXVI, 105, 160; XXXVIII, 11), *i.e.* their unbelieving contemporaries. In this sense it is also used in connection with Muḥammad himself: "Thy people declare Him a lie, though He is the Truth" (VI, 66). The same use of the term is to be found in the *Ḥadīth*, *e.g.* Bukharī, *Anbiyāʾ*, *bābs* 19, 31, 54 etc.

Ḳawm is, however, also used in a sense that comes nearer to the modern conception of "people", *e.g.* in the tradition referring to one of the festivals: "Every *Ḳawm* has its festival, and this is ours" (Bukhārī, *ʿĪdayn*, *bāb* 3). *Al-Ḳawm* with the article has sometimes an emphatic meaning, *e.g.* Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, v, 72, where Ṭufayl, one of

ʿĀʾis̲h̲a's brothers, relates a dream which he had. He dreamt that he passed by some Jews and said to them: "Verily, you would be the people, were it not that you pretend that ʿUzayr (Ezra) is the son of Allāh". They answered: "And you would be the people, were it not that you say: *Mā s̲h̲āʾ Allāh wa-mā s̲h̲āʾ Muḥammad*", etc.

In Atchin (Atjèh) the term has acquired a peculiar form and use: *kawôm* has here the genealogical meaning of "all those who descend from one man in the male line", see Snouck Hurgronje, *The Achehnese*, Index s.v. *kawôm*.

For special meanings of the word see Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.; and see also GŪM.

(A. J. Wensinck)

ḲAWMIYYA (A.), nationalism.

1. In the Arab world east of the Mag̲h̲rib.

The term derives from *ḳawm*, a term of tribal provenance used to denote a group of people having or claiming a common ancestor, or a tribe descended from a single ancestor. One's *ḳawm* is simply one's people, either genealogically determined or mythologically and folklorishly depicted. In this century, *ḳawmiyya* refers to the movement of nationalism among the Arabs of the Ottoman dominions in the Fertile Crescent that were conquered by the Allies in the Great War. The use of the term has spread since the Second World War to other parts of the Arabic-speaking world. After the mid-20th century, *ḳawmiyya* became the expression of a purported economic, political and social Arab revolution. Essentially, though, *al-ḳawmiyya al-ʿarabiyya* is the term widely used for the movement of Arab nationalism. Arab intellectuals since the last war have tried to formulate theoretical and philosophical foundations as well as historical and ideological premises for this nationalism. Most active among them were Syrian, Lebanese and Iraqi politicians, teachers, journalists, writers and publicists. Prominent among the more recent exponents and advocates of Arab nationalism have been the Baʿt̲h̲ (Baath) party, founded in 1943, and its antecedents among smaller radical Arab youth movements in Iraq and Syria in the nineteen-thirties. In 1955, D̲j̲amāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir (Nasser) of Egypt took up the banner of *ḳawmiyya* in connection with his drive for hegemony in the Arab Middle East.

Briefly, the advocates of Arab nationalism argue the existence of an Arab nation (*umma ʿarabiyya*) which, though actually divided into separate states, ought to be united in a single, organic sovereign political entity. What binds the members of the Arab nation together is a common faith, Islam, a common language, Arabic, a single culture, Islamic, and a shared history. Economic and other practical grounds for unity have, until recently, rarely been formulated or proposed. Religious sentiment, common identity and an aspiration to political unity, that is, have been the fundamental ingredients of the movement of Arab nationalism, Arabism and Pan-Arabism—all aspects or variants of *ḳawmiyya*—in this century.

In a "Memorandum respecting Pan-Arabism" to the then British Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden, dated May 27, 1936, Gilbert Mackereth, HM Consul in Damascus, opined:

> There is no doubt of the existence of an Arab movement, but there is considerable doubt regarding its potentialities.
>
> (F. O. 371/19980, Public Record Office).

Even in 1936 one of the movement's objectives was Arab unity, the creation of an Arab state which would comprise the whole of the Arab nation. But its exponents at that time were confined to Iraq, Lebanon and Syria, all of them new states under British or French mandate. It was also a period when advocates and leaders of the movement were engaged in defining the Arab nation geographically and ideologically. Egypt was still distant from the concerns of *ḳawmiyya*, occupied as she was with the question of her relations with Britain. The Arabs in the Peninsula were strongly anchored in an Islamic perception of things political and in a basically tribal social ethos, neither concerned nor particularly interested, nor in need of a secular national identity.

However, 1936 provided a fresh external stimulus to the Arab movement of *ḳawmiyya* in the form of the Palestine problem, involving an Arab-Jewish antithesis in Palestine under the British mandate. Yet, forty years later today, the movement's aspiration of unity remains unfulfilled, and the same ambivalence regarding the meaning, importance and existential form of *ḳawmiyya* continues to plague it. Instead of one Arab nation-state, there are several Arab states.

As elsewhere in the world, the only definition basic to the several existing Arab states is a territorial one. *Ḳawmiyya*, as an all-encompassing concept of Arab nationalism, is a self-contradictory, unrealistic doctrine. Not only because the Arab nation is dispersed in several states, but also because it is difficult anywhere in the world to have a complete, or perfect, nation-state, *i.e.* one where the state is co-extensive with one nation. Nor is there a satisfactory criterion of nationality based on race, language and religion, or culture and history. Yet *ḳawmiyya*, like nationalism elsewhere, remains a potent doctrine and a powerful political myth. Even though the only absolutely clear division between countries is territorial, there is some substance to the "idea of the nation" to the extent that there is a deeply felt urge or need to identify with a group. To this extent also, *ḳawmiyya* must be viewed as a psychological concept.

The most powerful basis of *ḳawmiyya* among the Arabs in the last thirty years has been an emotional one, deriving from an idealised religious culture, Islam, and a more recent historical experience under Ottoman rule and European influence. In societies where for many centuries identity was religiously determined or based, and ethnically distinguished in a mosaic of co-existing religious and ethnic communities, corporate loyalties are scarce and difficult to develop.

Ḳawmiyya may be viewed as a compensatory movement among the Arabs on two levels. Firstly, as a reaction to prolonged Ottoman domination, under which the question of national identity within the *umma*—community of believers—did not arise. Secondly, as a response to territorial-political arrangements that were imposed by European powers upon the dissolution of the last Muslim empire in 1920, *ḳawmiyya* provides a potential integrative force against the fragmentation of political reality.

Because Arab societies did not experience a movement for the secularisation of political identity, life and perceptions comparable or parallel to that of Europe beginning in the Middle Ages, the very concept of the nation-state and the movement of nationalism remained an extrapolation, the transposition and extension of an essentially religious-based political culture. Their members have always

been conscious of their Islamic identity. *Ḳawmiyya* has been an attempt to make them conscious of their *Arab* identity. The tradition of communal, ethnic and religious differentiation has been an obstacle to the integrative assumptions and aspirations of *ḳawmiyya*. More recently, the proliferation of sovereign independent territorial Arab states has been a powerful trend. Consequently, nationalist ideology drifted into being a rationalisation of primordial Islamic sentiments and became particularly useful as a rallying sentiment against external threats or enemies. *Ḳawmiyya*, in short, has so far failed to give the Arabs, politically organised in several states, a secular identity separate from their Islamic-based one.

One precondition of *ḳawmiyya* emerged in the 19th century, namely, the historical consciousness or recognition of a difference, an exclusiveness, from others, *i.e.* from non-Arabs. This occurred with the rapid, forceful European military, economic and political penetration of the East, and the impact of the political ideas and institutions which this brought with it. The revival of the Arabic language, notions and schemes of religious reform, the over-apologetic and intellectually weak defence of Islam against the onslaught of European modernity were all consequences of this re-awakening or renaissance (*nahḍa*). It provided the requisite mythological and other justification for first, Islamic, and later Arab, opposition to alien rule, preparatory to demands for self-determination. Modern reform in the Ottoman State itself, leading to the adoption of nationalist doctrines by the Turkish ruling classes—a radical departure from the integrative universalism of the *umma*—eventually provoked movements of Arab separatism, culminating in the British promotion of an Arab Revolt in the Ḥid̲j̲āz against the Ottoman sultan-caliph in the First World War. More important was the development of fairly modern state administrations in several of the Arab provinces, providing the foundations of and habituation for local-national autonomy. The rise of native élites concerned with the development of secular institutions of government, administration, legislation, adjudication, education and the economy, gave added impetus to this trend. The experience in several Arab states was not, however, uniform, giving rise to disparities and differences between them, which in turn, rendered the unity aspirations of *ḳawmiyya* more difficult to realise.

Ḳawmiyya presupposes the existence of an Arab nation, its solidarity, exclusiveness—and its unity. But all these assumptions are founded on an essentially religious base; on Islam the faith, on Arabic, the language of its Holy Book, on the *s̲h̲arīʿa*, its revealed sacred law, and on the history of its glorious conquests and empire. It also overlooks the ethnic and sectarian diversity that existed under an Islamic universalism. The particularism of modern nationalism therefore remained opposed to the universalism—and tolerance—of its source of inspiration, so that the efforts of the advocates of *ḳawmiyya* have been mainly directed at reconciling the difference and seeking (unsuccessfully so far) a symbiosis between *ʿurūba* (Arabism, which is at the heart of *ḳawmiyya*) and *dīn* (religion). The best they have been able to achieve has been to translate the solidarity of the Islamic *umma* into the unity of the Arab nation. But in order to do that they had first to construct a special role for the Arabs in Islam in counter-distinction to that of other, non-Arab, Muslims. This was the major preoccupation, for example, of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī [*q.v.*] (d. 1902) and S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Muḥammad Ras̲h̲īd Riḍā [*q.v.*] (d. 1935) earlier in this century. More recently, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bazzāz (d. 1971) tried to argue that there was no contradiction between Islam and Arab nationalism. Theoretically, the relation between religion and state did not constitute a particular problem in Islam. As a religious movement, Islam founded a state and acquired an empire by conquest. The modern fusion of Islam and Arabism therefore is not surprising. Moreover, just as the unity of Islam and the solidarity of the faithful has been a doctrinal tenet but only a political myth, so also Arab unity today is a potent myth of *ḳawmiyya* though politically non-existent. It is a prescriptively ideological, substitute reality. The *wiḥda* of *ḳawmiyya*'s Pan-Arabism has been as elusive and problematic as the ideal of Pan-Islamism before it, or for that matter, the ideal of other, non-Muslim pan-movements, *e.g.* Pan-Germanism, Pan-Slavism or Pan-Hellenism.

Nationalism is, by definition, a secular concept or idea. Behind it, in Europe at least, lay a formidable array of philosophical speculation about secularism and authority in the state, from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance, the Reformation and the Enlightenment, and all of it supported, distorted and confused by a pre-Christian classical tradition. *Ḳawmiyya*, on the other hand, has not managed to free itself from its Islamic antecedents and foundations because there has been no comparable philosophical, speculative basis to Arab secularism. Elements and manifestations of the latter have, however, struggled through the surface of Arab societies, and have become discernable in the conduct of their public affairs by powerful rulers or chiefs who were able to command the traditionally-perceived personal loyalty of their subjects or followers and had centralised administrations at their disposal.

Even though the concept is arbitrary, and despite its limited scope, one can argue that *ḳawmiyya* in the sense of a feeling of Arabness within the wider Ottoman-Islamic dominion first expressed itself in the rejection of the Ottoman caliphate some seventy-five years ago. It suggested not only that the Arabs were different from the Turks but, more significantly, that they were entitled to have an Arab caliph. This was accompanied by incipient secret organisations among Arab officers in the Ottoman army before and during the Great War, demanding the recognition of Arab rights to decentralisation and local autonomy within the Ottoman empire. These early agitations culminated in the dynastic, separatist revolt led by S̲h̲arīf Ḥusayn of Mecca in the Ḥid̲j̲āz (1916-18) in the First World War. His son Fayṣal's short-lived Arab Kingdom in Damascus (1918-20) constituted the basis of the myth of modern Arab nationalism and a justification of *ḳawmiyya*. The mandate arrangements imposed by Britain and France in the Fertile Crescent, however, transformed the movement for a time into one of the newly-created Arab states demanding a greater measure of and, ultimately, full, independence from, those two European powers.

The unity-variant of *ḳawmiyya* re-emerged after 1936, but remained the preoccupation of Arab nationalists in the Fertile Crescent. A combination of external circumstances in Europe, affecting British and French control in the region, and events in Palestine, provided the impetus for the adumbration of regional schemes of Arab unity (*e.g.* the

Fertile Crescent, and Greater Syria of the Hashimites). At the same time, Christian and Muslim Arab intellectuals sought to define the Arab nation and formulate a nationalist ideology. The writings of Cōstī (Ḳusṭanṭīn) Zurayḳ, Edmund Rabbath, ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAlāyilī and others were all in this vein. But it was the Second World War and its consequences that accelerated the movement of *ḳawmiyya* and inflated the number of its advocates as well as followers. Wooed by both the Axis powers and Allies on account of the strategic importance of their territories, the Arab countries were encouraged by Britain at one point to strengthen their ties in some form of union. The Arab League, an organisation of sovereign independent Arab states, was the result in 1945.

Whereas the stimulus for *ḳawmiyya* in the First World War was dynastic and non-ideological, in the Second World War and after it became ideological and, purportedly, secular. The leading writer on the question, Sāṭiʿ al-Ḥuṣrī, became the main exponent of a romantic, idealist conception of *ḳawmiyya* in an attempt to exorcise religion from the nationalist idea. Borrowing from Rousseau, Hegel and Mazzini, he promoted the spiritual conception of the nation as a moral and psychological construct, the independent personality of the state as a historical necessity, and nationalism as a pre-existing universal principle borne out by history. He offered nationalism and the sanctity of the "spirit of the nation", the priority of the organic whole that was the nation over the individual, *i.e.* *ḳawmiyya*, as the new faith of the Arab. He proposed loyalty to the Arab Nation as a spiritual and moral obligation for every Arab. In effect, however, Ḥuṣrī superimposed an alien, European conception of the nation on the Islamic *umma*, and made the romantic feeling of *ḳawmiyya* the embodiment of the sanctity of the national personality. Islam was rendered the "national culture" of the Arabs rather than just their religion. It incorporated the real Arab spirit, and at the same time provided a substitute for the old religiously or communally-based identity of the Arab.

Others also wrote in a similar romantic vein in trying to define *ḳawmiyya*. ʿAlāyilī, for instance, emphasised an internal consciousness among the Arabs of their "complete social existence". Al-Bazzāz asserted there was no contradiction between "true nationalism and true religion". In the nineteen-fifties, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Sharāra called *ḳawmiyya* an emotion. The nation, he argued, is a human not a geographical reality. It is a wider concept than the state, the people or the fatherland. The feeling of being an Arab therefore transcends territorial boundaries, particularly since man is "mind, soul, or spirit more than he is body". Michel ʿAflaḳ, the Christian co-founder of the Baath party, declared *ḳawmiyya* "is love above everything else". Its revolutionary variant is a "psychic current"; and the Arab nation therefore constitutes one political, economic and cultural entity, regardless of its existential divisions.

After 1948, the Arab-Israel conflict radicalised and at the same time divided the movement of *ḳawmiyya*. By 1949, old Arab régimes were being overthrown, mass movements with ideological pretensions like the Baath and Nasserism from Egypt proclaimed the inevitability of *wiḥda*, Arab unity. Subsequent parallel events in Iraq and the Sudan in 1958, in the Yemen in 1962, in South Yemen in 1967 and in Libya in 1969, brought fresh adherents to radical *ḳawmiyya*, which became prominent for its opposition to the West and its projection of the economic and social reform of Arab society. While the rejection of and struggle against the state of Israel in the region provided a common foe for *ḳawmiyya*, the radicalisation of its aims by military régimes in several Arab states purporting a new kind of Arab socialism polarised their rulers. For a decade at least (mid-1950s to the mid-1960s), *ḳawmiyya* was re-defined to exclude conservative, reactionary Arab rulers, régimes and societies.

The practical manifestation of a radical *ḳawmiyya* in this period was greater inter-Arab conflict and a struggle for Arab leadership between its protagonists, Egypt, Iraq and Saudi Arabia. Nevertheless, new and older Arab states enshrined the Islamic-Arab identity of their nations or peoples in their formal constitutions. A period of inter-Arab subversion and civil war (*e.g.* the Lebanon, 1958; the Yemen, 1962-67) heightened the struggle for the leadership of *ḳawmiyya*. All the same, the traditional divisions beneath the sentiment of Arab nationalism persisted in their tribal, ethnic and communal form, as they erupted in the Yemen and South Yemen, Iraq and the Lebanon.

Nasser failed to integrate the Arab nation by propaganda, revolution or force. Likewise, the Baath party failed to achieve unity or socialism in its home territory of Syria, in Iraq and in Jordan. The Arab socialism of both Nasserism and Baathism as the new expression of *ḳawmiyya* failed to unite the disparate and far-flung parts of the Arab nation; its foremost champion, Nasser of Egypt, suffered a humiliating defeat at the hands of the *umma*'s archenemy, Israel, and ended up a totally-dependent client of the communist Soviet Union.

The disappearance of Nasser from the Arab scene and the concatenation of events leading up to the October 1973 war against Israel, together with the emergence to prominence of very rich though otherwise weak oil-producing Arab states, have all given *ḳawmiyya* a new lease of life but with a different emphasis. Gone are the Pan-Arab illusions of the Baath and the Prussian pretentions of an Egyptian leadership. The solidarity of the Arab nation as constituted in several independent states on the basis of mutual interest, the perception of a common economic-political-cultural threat of a common enemy, Israel, and the prospect of an Arab regional economic bloc to rival that of the industrial West, are now the more prominent and vaunted features of *ḳawmiyya*. A concerted policy against the "other", the "outsider", seems to be its practical expression whenever possible. But since the richest of the Arab states, the financiers of this new edition or version of *ḳawmiyya*, are also socially and politically the most traditional, socialism is no longer the current policy of Arab nationalism. Even if it were, it and *ḳawmiyya* are once again the expressions of the solidarity of the *umma*, the Arab-Islamic nation, whose prospects of power, prestige, dignity and glory will vindicate the righteous and virtuous universalism of the Islamic tradition and heritage. The re-fusion of *ʿurūba* (Arabism) and *dīn* (religion) has been made more effective by the infusion of *māl* (wealth). The use of the latter in the struggle against Israel and Imperialism, and for the restoration of the rights of the Palestinians, is now the quintessence of the solidarity of the Arab nation and of *ḳawmiyya*. The struggle, however, between the latest protagonists of this new version of Arab nationalism for leadership and hegemony will continue; the complex economic, social and communal problems will persist. But the sentiment of *ḳawmiyya* in its latest form will be mobilised in the confronta-

tion with alien intruders in the *umma*'s territory, *e.g.* Israel, foreign exploiters of the Arab nation's wealth and those who seek its political subjugation. Internecine struggles which may foreshadow and cause the annihilation of particular groups, as in the case of the Jordanian crushing of the Palestine guerrillas in 1970-71, or the communal clashes in Lebanon in 1958 and 1975-6, or the ethnic conflict between Kurds and Arabs in Iraq, or the tribal-cum-ideological civil wars in the Yemen, South Yemen and ʿUmān, will persist or occur from time to time; distrust between rulers and subjects or between Arab régimes may not disappear, but the sentiment of *ḳawmiyya* is not a doctrine or ideology that relates to the social, economic or political order of the Arab nation, the rights and duties of its citizens, or the relations between governments and their subjects. Rather it is a psychological need of those who still find it difficult to accept the burden of a corporate loyalty to their respective states when other primordial loyalties exist to project a comforting collective difference from the outside world. It has a soothing modernising effect that glosses over the reality of the fundamental distinction and dichotomy in political behaviour of the Muslim versus the non-Muslim. Minorities subscribe readily to it because it affords them the illusion of a secular political formula, whereas the vast majority of Muslim Arabs, as distinguished from the minority of their Westernised élite spokesmen, hardly give it a thought, for the time being at least—or need it.

Modern media and communications have decidedly enhanced the sharing in the sentiment of *ḳawmiyya* among greater numbers of Arabs, especially those living in urban centres. New financial power may well lead to the kind of co-operative economic endeavour—which has so far eluded the Arabs—that may reduce and finally abolish social, economic and political differences between Arab states and societies, thus inducing an organic integrative unity between them. Like Consul Mackereth forty years ago, however, one must still conclude that there is no doubt of the existence of an Arab movement, *i.e.* *ḳawmiyya*, but there is still considerable doubt regarding its potentialities in the directions suggested here.

Bibliography: M. ʿAflaḳ, *Fī sabīl al-baʿth* ("Towards the Baath"), 1959; ʿA. al-ʿAlāyilī, *Dustūr al-ʿarab al-ḳawmī* ("The Arab national constitution"), 1941; G. Antonius, *The Arab Awakening*, 1938; ʿA. R. al-Bazzāz, *al-Islām wa 'l ḳawmiyya al-ʿarabiyya* ("Islam and Arab nationalism"), 1952; *On Arab nationalism*, 1965; M. Berger, *The Arab world today*, 1962; J. Berque, *The Arabs: their history and future*, 1964; C. Ernest Dawn, *From Ottomanism to Arabism*, 1973; S. G. Haim (ed.), *Arab Nationalism, an anthology*, 1962; A. Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age 1798-1939*, 1962; Ṣ. al-Ḥuṣrī, *Ārāʾ wa-aḥādīth fi ʾl-ḳawmiyya al-ʿarabiyya* ("Views and Considerations on Arab nationalism"), 1951; E. Kedourie, *Arabic Political Memoirs*, 1974; idem, *England and the Middle East: the destruction of the Ottoman Empire 1914-21*, 1956; idem, *The Chatham House Version*, 1970; M. H. Kerr, *The Arab Cold War*, 1971; M. Khalil, *The Arab states and the Arab League*, 2 vols., 1962; B. Lewis, *The Middle East and the West*, 1964; R. W. MacDonald, *The League of Arab States*, 1968; H. Z. Nuseibeh, *The Ideas of Arab nationalism*, 1956; N. Rejwan, *Nasserist Ideology*, 1974; A. Saʿīd, *al-Thawra al-ʿarabiyya al-kubrā* ("The Great Arab Revolt"), 1934; A. Ṣāyigh, *al-Fikra al-ʿarabiyya fī Miṣr* ("The Arab Idea in Egypt"), 1959; H. Sharabi, *Nationalism and revolution in the Arab world* (1966); ʿA. L. Sharāra, *Fī 'l-ḳawmiyya al-ʿarabiyya* ("On Arab nationalism"), (1957); W. C. Smith, *Islam in modern history*, 1957; H. Tütsch, *Facets of Arab Nationalism*, 1965; P. J. Vatikiotis, *Conflict in the Middle East*, 1971; Z. N. Zeine, *Arab-Turkish relations and the emergence of Arab nationalism*, 1958; *The struggle for Arab independence*, 1960; C. Zurayḳ, *al-Waʿī al-ḳawmī* ("National Consciousness"), 1949.

(P. J. VATIKIOTIS)

ii. IN THE MAGHRIB.

In the Maghrib the term *Ḳawmiyya* occurs as a plural of *ḳawmī* (goumi, "goumier"), a member of a *ḳawm* (goum), to mean a contingent of cavalry levied from a tribe (Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.), a practice continued by the French. In the sense of nationalism, nationality, its use has been affected by the common employment of French as the language of politics. This gives "nationalisme" as a term in place of both *ḳawmiyya* and *waṭaniyya*, whose translation as "patriotisme" tends to be reserved for an earlier, more traditional sentiment (cf. Ch.-A. Julien, Avant-propos to B. Slama, *L'Insurrection de 1864 en Tunisie*, Tunis 1967, ix). On the other hand, in Morocco the nationalist party *al-Ḥaraka al-ḳawmiyya* founded by el-Ouezzani (al-Wazzānī) in 1937 is translated as "Le Mouvement populaire" to maintain the distinction from its rival, *al-Ḥizb al-waṭanī* (or *Ḥizb al-Waṭaniyyīn*), "the 'nationalist' party", founded by Allal el Fassi (ʿAllāl al-Fāsī) (R. Le Tourneau, *Evolution politique de l'Afrique du Nord musulmane, 1920-1961*, Paris 1962, 209-10). The specific distinction achieved here in Arabic, however, is indicative of a more fundamental distinction between the two terms, which might be represented as the familiar distinction between Arab nationalism as the nationalism of a people without a national state, and the nationalism of each Arab country. It must nevertheless be seen in its North African context. In Tunisia and Morocco it has been fairly straightforward: both these countries could claim to exist independently of France. In Algeria on the other hand, the country and the nationality of its peoples were both French. Instead there was discrimination on the grounds of religion. The Senatus Consulte of 14 July 1865 decreed that Algerian Muslims (and, until the Décret Crémieux of 1870, Algerian Jews) should be French subjects and therefore of French nationality, but, because of the religious law under which they lived, not French citizens unless and until they renounced that law for the French civil code. The distinction thus made for the Muslim population on the basis of its Islam became the starting-point not only for a separate treatment but also for an attitude on the part of the European population, which by 1900 considered "nationalisme musulman" the equivalent of "Islamisme" and even of "cléricalisme" (Ch.-R. Ageron, *Les Algériens musulmans et la France, 1871-1919*, Paris 1968, 918-20). That this should be considered nationalism at all was seen by Ferhat Abbas (Farhat ʿAbbās) in the 1930s as an obstacle to the political and economic emancipation of the indigène in a French society (Ch.-A. Julien, *L'Afrique du Nord en marche*, 3rd ed., Paris 1972, 99-100). At the same time, however, it was elevated to the dignity of nationhood under the name of *ḳawmiyya* in the writings of Ben Badis (Ibn Bādīs [*q.v.*]), the leader of the *Salafiyya* in

Algeria between the two world wars, drawing upon the thought of Muḥammad ʿAbduh and the ideas of Arab nationalism represented by S͟hakīb Arslān. For Ben Badis the Muslim population of Algeria was distinguished by its *ḳawmiyya*, its "national identity", based upon Islam but including equally the Arabic language and the Algerian homeland. This gave rise to a *d͟jinsiyya ḳawmiyya*, an "ethnic nationality" to be distinguished from the *d͟jinsiyya siyāsiyya*, the "political nationality" of France (A. Merad, *Le Réformisme musulman en Algérie de 1925 à 1940*, Paris and the Hague 1967, 396-9). The active expression of this national identity was nationalism under the name of *waṭaniyya*, "patriotism", a sentiment never extinct (cf. Ageron, *Les Algériens musulmans*, 920-2), now on a par with the *waṭaniyya*, the nationalism, of Algeria's neighbours. This formula, adopted in principle by Messali Hadjdj, ultimately became that of the FLN (Front de Libération Nationale) (cf., *e.g.* M. M. al-D͟jazāʾirī, *Taʾrīk͟h al-D͟jazāʾir*, Jerusalem n.d., 453), being developed in the sense of the New Left in the French writings of Frantz Fanon (cf., *e.g. L'An cinq de la révolution algérienne*, Paris 1959, trans. *A Dying Colonialism*, London 1970). Since the independence of Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia it has survived into the argument over historical and cultural identity (cf., *e.g.* G. Ayache, *Le sentiment national dans le Maroc au XIX^e siècle*, in *Revue Historique*, ccxl (Oct.-Dec. 1968), 393-410; M. Lacheraf, *L'Algérie, nation et société*, Paris 1965; Y. Lacoste, A. Nouschi and A. Prenant, *L'Algérie, passé et présent*, Paris 1960; M. Sahli, *Décoloniser l'histoire*, Paris 1965; also J. Berque, *Le Maghreb entre deux guerres*, 2nd ed., Paris 1970, 421-48, with references). On the one hand *ḳawmiyya* refers to the Arab nation at large, when it is both the condition and the activity of the people; on the other hand, it is defined with reference to the nation states into which the nation at large is divided. The ambiguity appears in the expression *wād͟jib ḳawmī*, "national duty", employed by R. Bounar (*El-Maghrib el-Arabi*, Algiers 1968, Introduction), for the task of writing a cultural history of Algeria which in the event could only be accomplished with reference to the Mag͟hrib as a whole, the Arabs and Islam. For the adjective *ḳawmī*, the commonest form, the result is a meaning of "national" in the cultural rather than the political sense, in which *waṭanī* is more appropriate (cf., *e.g.* ʿAllāl al-Fāsī, *Ḥadīt͟h al-mag͟hrib fi 'l-mas͟hriḳ*, Cairo, 1956, 199: *(al-)rūḥ (al-)ḳawmiyya*, "(the) national spirit"; *ibid.*, 200: *al-ḥuḳūḳ al-waṭaniyya*, "the nationalist claims"; al-ʿAlawī, *al-Anwār al-ḥasaniyya*, al-Muḥammadiyya 1966, Preface, 3: *al-turāt͟h al-ḳawmī*, "the national heritage"; *al-Ḥabīb Bū Ruḳayba; ḥayātuhu, d͟jihāduhu*, Tunis 1966, 47: *al-ḥaraka al-waṭaniyya*, "the nationalist movement").

Bibliography: In the article. (M. Brett)

iii. In Persia.

Ideas of political nationality, of the territorial and ethnic nation and of nationalism, either as a consciousness, on the part of individuals or groups, of membership in a nation or a desire to forward the strength, liberty or prosperity of a nation, were introduced into Persia in the 19th century as a result of Western European influence. Prior to this there was no precise equivalent in Persian for the terms "nation", "nationality", "nationalism" and "nationalist". Various words were used for "people" and the group or community, but none conveyed exactly the sense of nation. One of the earliest was *umma* (now obsolete). The members of the *umma* had a common government and were found in a more or less defined territory, and between its members there was a certain closeness of contact, community of interest, and a sense that they possessed a distinct identity and common history; but what distinguished them from other communities or nations was not these things but religion. The conception of the people as the *umma* was succeeded by that of the *raʿiyyat*, "the flock", *i.e.* the subjects, and what distinguished them from other "flocks" was the person of their "shepherd" or ruler. *Ḳawm* and *ṭāʾifa* both implied a certain closeness of contact between the members of the group so described—a common language, common interests and a certain degree of common feeling and will—but neither was necessarily found in a more or less defined territory, or united by the idea of being subjects of a common government; both terms sometimes had tribal implications. *Waṭan* in early usage meant simply the locality from which a person came and among the mystics in mediaeval times it was used in the sense of "the heavenly kingdom". (Cf. a passage in the *Ṣafwat al-Ṣafā* of Ibn Bazzāz, completed in or about 759/1358, in which the *S͟hayk͟h* was asked about the phrase in the Traditions *ḥubb al-waṭan min al-īmān*, "Love for the homeland is an article of faith". "The infidel, for example," his questioners said, "loves his country, which is Europe. How, in such case, can 'love for the homeland' be an article of faith?" The *S͟hayk͟h* replied that the word *waṭan* in the phrase quoted from the traditions, referred to a heavenly kingdom not to a geographical area. British Museum, Ms. Add. 11745, p. 289.) In modern times *waṭan* means exclusively fatherland or motherland, in which sense it is synonymous with *mīhan*. *Niz͟hād* merely defined race, not nationality, and in modern times the compound *niz͟hād-parastī* is used in a pejorative sense to mean racialism; *ahl* (and its plural *ahālī*), "people", meant those dwelling in a defined area but not specifically a nation, though *ahliyyat* is used in modern legal language to mean nationality. Lastly there is the term *millat*, which was first used with reference to a religious group or community, and later people, and finally, in the 19th and 20th centuries, came to be used to denote a political nation (cf. *d͟jāmiʿa-i milal*, "League of Nations", and *milal-i muttafiḳ*, "United Nations"). The term, however, is not entirely free from certain ambiguities. In colloquial Persian *millat* also means "the people" (*i.e.* the lower classes); this presumably is connected with the late 19th- and 20th-century use of *millī* to mean "popular", in phrases such as *ḥukūmat-i millī*, "popular government", and *d͟jabha-i millī*, "Popular Front". It also, however, means "private" as opposed to "governmental", but in contemporary Persian *millī kardan* means "to nationalise". The supporters of the Persian constitutional revolution were known as *milliyūn*, "nationalists" (*i.e.* those who supported "popular" government). The term, however, was not generally applied to nationalists outside Persia and is now virtually obsolete. *Milliyyat* was used by Mīrzā Ḥusayn K͟hān Sipahsālār Mus͟hīr al-Dawla in the second half of the 19th century to mean "nationalism", which he alleged had been brought into existence by the French Revolution (see F. Ādamiyyat, *Fikr-i Āzādī*, Tehran 1961, 60), but it did not achieve widespread currency in this sense and normally means nationality.

Although there was no term to express nationality in the early centuries or in mediaeval times, there was a concept which did imply a consciousness of

distinct identity, defined historically and geographically, which can be described by the modern term *īrāniyyat*, "being a Persian". This was associated with and experienced in a sharing of a common cultural and literary background. It did not imply a consciousness of political nationality or a territorial and ethnic nation, although it carried with it the memory of the old Persian empire. This memory, after the decline of the Shuʿūbiyya [*q.v.*], was kept alive by the poets, but in the course of transmission the details became blurred and historical accuracy was lost, legend triumphing over history. The literary tradition expressed in and through New Persian, the emergence of which as a literary language had been one of the achievements of the Shuʿūbiyya movement, in no small measure held together the Persian people during long years of political decay. It constituted a common bond and kept alive their common feeling and pride in their heritage. Linguistic frontiers, however, did not coincide with ethnic frontiers. Arabic continued to hold an immensely important place as the language of religion, and large numbers of those within the geographical frontiers of Persia spoke Turkish, Kurdish, or some local dialect.

Under Muslim government Persia became part of a wider world in which Islam was the bond. Under the ʿAbbāsids the concept of the universal empire was revived, but in a new guise. So far as an identity was recognised, it was the world of Islam. With the fragmentation of the caliphate, the minor dynasties did not foster the rise of national feeling since they were hostile to the centralisation of government. Slave armies, too, were a bar to the growth of national feeling. Even where political organisations had a wider scope, as they did under the Saldjūḳs, Mongols and Tīmūrids, they meant little to their subjects, and the nomadic tradition of their leaders constituted a new obstacle to the development of national feeling. There was thus little opportunity in mediaeval Persia for the development of nationalism based on a more or less defined territory, inhabited by a group of persons in close contact with each other, inspired by the idea of a common government, holding certain interests in common, and possessing a certain degree of common feeling and common characteristics. On the whole, government had been "unrighteous" and so far as aspirations of future good government united the people these were of messianic and universalist not nationalist character. As for common interests, these too, so far as they transcended the craft, the quarter or the tribe, tended to be religious, while as for common characteristics, the reality was that there was more to divide than to unite. First there were ethnic differences, which did not coincide with territorial or provincial boundaries: the dichotomy between Arab and ʿAdjam (non-Arab), which had prevailed in the early centuries had been succeeded by that between Turk and Tādjīk (non-Turk); secondly there were religious and sectarian differences, between Muslims and non-Muslims and between Sunnīs and Shīʿīs; thirdly there was a separation between the settled population and the semi-settled, the rural population and the townspeople, the military classes and the rest. These lines of cleavage, so far as they were not religious, were social and economic, not political. The nearest approach to political difference was, perhaps, to be found in the intellectual field, between those who were influenced by the old Persian theory of state as against those who subscribed to Islamic conceptions. But even in this field the position was not clear-cut. After the Islamic conquest the former ruling classes, so far as they were not wiped out, were converted to Islam and many of them entered the bureaucracy and served the new rulers (a pattern to be repeated after later conquests). The desire to get rid of alien rule was, therefore, if not absent, at least weaker than might otherwise have been the case.

With the rise of the Ṣafawids in the 10th/16th century, Persia emerged for the first time since the Islamic conquest as a territorial state. A sense of separateness from the rest of the Islamic world and of national unity vis-à-vis the Ottoman empire was deliberately fostered by the adoption of Ithnā ʿAsharī Shīʿism as the official religion. The conflict between the two empires was nevertheless largely expressed in terms of religion: in terms of Sunnī-Shīʿī strife rather than of Turko-Persian hostility. What was new was the broad territorial segregation of the two sects, which was not, however, paralleled by a separation of ethnic groups. Under the Ṣafawids, Shīʿism, which had earlier largely been the refuge of the dispossessed and under-privileged, became the banner of Persian nationalism; but since for the Shīʿa the true king was the Hidden Imām, and temporal rulers, so far as they were "unrighteous", were usurpers, this nationalism could not easily be associated with the concept of political nationality. The attitude of the Shīʿa towards the government was thus ambivalent and opposition movements tended to be of a messianic nature. Popular Shīʿism however retained some of its former functions: the Muḥarram plays still offered the people an outlet into which they could project their own sufferings. Although the Ṣafawid period to some extent paved the way for the rise of political nationalism, it was not until the late 19th century that patriotism began to be separated from religious sentiment and national loyalties began to take the place of the older religious loyalties.

By the turn of the 18th century, British progress in India had begun to give rise, in some circles, to apprehension lest British commercial activity in Persia might lead to political domination (cf. Rustam al-Ḥukamā, *Rustam al-Tawārīkh*, ed. Muḥammad Mushīrī, Tehran 1969, 383, 385). At the same time, unfavourable comparisons began to be drawn between conditions in Persia and those in other countries (cf. *ibid.*, 395). By the second decade of the 19th century the danger of foreign domination was clear for all to see, and the intrusion of western European countries and Russia was intuitively felt as a threat to Muslims and the lands of Islam. As in Turkey, modernisation began in response to military pressure. The Russian advance in the war temporarily concluded by the Peace of Gulistān (1813) brought home to the Persian government that the Persian army could not withstand Russian attack unless it was modernised (though none of the subsequent attempts at modernisation were pushed with vigour or persistence). Nationalism, patriotism and modernism in Persia thus became closely interwoven.

Meanwhile, government officials who visited foreign countries as representatives of the government, merchants, and others who travelled abroad began to ask the reasons for Persia's backwardness. Some came to the conclusion that this was due to a lack of justice and orderly administration, and that it was respect for law which guaranteed the modernism and progress of western Europe. As these opinions spread among a wider circle, a movement of protest against corruption and injustice gradually developed. This movement, which took its inspiration from the example of western Europe, had overtones of

patriotism and nationalism, but it was not, in the beginning, anti-foreign, though it was to become so later partly as a result of the events connected with the Tobacco Régie and Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's attempts to bolster up the finances of the country by the grant of concessions and the contraction of loans. As the movement became anti-foreign, so its Islamic colouring became more marked—patriotism was still largely a religious sentiment. Nevertheless, so far as it was a protest against bad government and demanded as a remedy administrative reform, it was modernist and its supporters were nationalists in the sense that they aimed at some measure of self-government or government by the people, though they saw this primarily in terms of restrictions on the arbitrary power of the shah and not in the exercise of responsible power by elected representatives of the people.

In 1811 ʿAbbās Mīrzā sent two students to England "to study whatever would be beneficial for him and his country". Five more were sent in 1815 to study engineering, medicine, artillery, mathematics and natural sciences. Two of these attained to high office: one, Mīrzā Djaʿfar Mushīr al-Dawla, who studied engineering, became head of the council of state set up by Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, and the other, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Shīrāzī, who studied English, French, Latin, natural sciences, history and printing, became official translator to the government and subsequently a minister. He wrote a diary in which he described British parliamentary government and institutions (*Safar-nāma*, ed. Ismāʿīl Rāʾin, Tehran 1969-70) and appears to have had a great admiration for freedom and liberty as he saw it in England. He also visited Russia and Turkey. Writing of the *tanẓīmāt*, he castigates obscurantist *mullās* who opposed them. Abu'l Ḥasan Shīrāzī, who was sent to England by Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh, wrote in his *Ḥayrat-nāma* of the justice and security prevailing in England, and compared conditions in his own country in unfavourable terms with what he had seen in England. Khusraw Mīrzā, the son of ʿAbbās Mīrzā, who was sent with a mission to Russia in 1829 to apologise for the murder of the Russian envoy Grebaiedov in the previous year by a fanatical mob, wrote in his diary, "It would be a pity if when we see with our own eyes the progress and order which our neighbour has achieved in a short time, we should not think [how we could achieve similar progress], but go about with our eyes closed in foreign parts." (See further, *Fikr-i Āzādī*, *op. cit.*, 21 ff.). Another Persian to describe in his diary British parliamentary institutions was Mīrzā Khānlar Khān Iʿtiṣām al-Mulk, who went as a secretary to the Persian mission in England in 1864-5 (see *Dimukrāsī-i Inglistān* in *Sukhan*, ii/2 (Bahman 1323/1944), 96-104).

It was not, however, until the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh that modernism and nationalism began to make strides. The Amīr Niẓām Mīrzā Taḳī Khān Amīr Kabīr, his first *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*, who had visited both Russia and the Ottoman Empire, initiated various military, financial and administrative measures designed to strengthen the power of the central government. He founded the *Dār al-Funūn*, which was the first school to teach modern sciences, in order to train officials for the new army and the new bureaucracy. He also attempted to decrease the power of the religious classes. His reforms proved largely abortive. More important in the spread of modern ideas was Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān Sipahsālār Mushīr al-Dawla. He studied in France, and served in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Bombay, Tiflis, and Istanbul. From 1871 he held various ministries in Tehran including that of *ṣadr-i aʿẓam* for some three years from December 1871. His letters from Turkey discuss European politics, freedom movements in the Ottoman Empire, the spread of education and civilization in Europe, and governmental reform in Persia. He considered an assembly composed of representatives of the people, freedom, the rights of the individual and equality before the law prerequisites for life in the modern world. Writing of the Greek rebellion, whose nationalist nature he recognised, he wrote, "The nationalist principle established by the French empire that every nation should be governed by its own people and not be a prisoner to the government of another people has spread to these parts" (*Fikr-i Āzādī*, *op. cit.*, 60). In another letter he wrote that foreign states measured a nation's progress, education and power (*istiʿdād*) by four things: (i) the existence or otherwise of a well-ordered press carrying full reports of foreign and internal news; (ii) its encouragement of crafts, industries and trade; (iii) the quality of its foreign representation; and (iv) its possession of a powerful, disciplined army equipped with modern weapons able to defend the country against any eventuality (*ibid.*, 69). He believed that the backwardness of a country brought about foreign intervention, and both he and Amīr Kabīr in their advocacy of modernisation were concerned to prevent foreign intervention. But they were in a difficulty: modernisation was, in existing circumstances, hardly possible without foreign capital and expertise. This, indeed, was the justification of the abortive Reuter concession (see Maḥmūd Farhād Muʿtamid, *Sipahsālār-i Aʿẓam*, Tehran 1947, 151 ff.). There was at the same time another and contrary trend, also inspired by a kind of nationalism, which was opposed to modernisation. Many believed that development would involve foreign influence and that as long as the country's resources were not developed Persia would be left to manage her own affairs. The attitude to the spread of communications was also ambivalent because of a fear that it might facilitate external attack.

Among those who were associated, or in contact, with Ḥusayn Khān and who played an important part in fostering the demand for modernisation were Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān Mustashār al-Dawla, Madjd al-Mulk Sīnakī, Malkam Khān, and (through him) Djamāl al-Dīn Afghānī [*q.v.*], and Mīrzā Aḳā Khān Kirmānī. They were concerned both to forward the strength, liberty and prosperity of Persia and to ensure that the people had a greater share in the government of the country. Madjd al-Mulk in his *Risāla-i madjdiyya*, written in 1871-2, attacking the negligence of the shah and the state of the administration, states that the power of great nations was based on the people (ed., Saʿīd Nafīsī, Tehran 1941-2, 11), and demands an assembly to assure the prosperity and order of the kingdom (37). Mustashār al-Dawla, who became chargé d'affaires of the Persian legation in Paris in 1866-7, and also visited London during the three years he spent in Paris, wrote in 1888-9 to Muẓaffar al-Dīn, then *walī ʿahd*, stating that Persia could only escape disaster by the promulgation of reforms and new laws; only this would enable her to regain respect among civilized nations. In his essay *Yak kalima*, which achieved wide circulation, he describes the strong and orderly military administration, prosperity, wealth, industry, education, security and freedom prevailing in France and England. He cites the old

Islamic tag, "No government (*sulṭān*) without wealth (*māl*), no wealth without development (*ʿimārat*), and no development without justice", and asks why Persia was so backward in spite of the fact that Islam was based on justice. His conclusion is that the secret of European progress was the supremacy of the law and that this was lacking in Persia. He then discusses the French constitution and the benefits deriving from it, and finally argues that whereas the *sharīʿa* of Islam had been forgotten by the Muslims in their political conduct, the rights of man guaranteed by the French constitution were, in effect, the very rights which any Muslim should enjoy (Tabrīz 1907, reprinted in Rasht 1909).

In the latter years of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, disgust at the abuse of power by the ruling class and the obscurantism of sections of the religious classes spread and the reaction to Persia's humiliations at the hands of European powers grew (though this was not to be a major factor in Persian nationalism until after the grant of the constitution). Unfavourable comparisons were increasingly drawn between Persia and Western European states while a small minority questioned the exercise of unfettered power by the shah. Many believed that Western Europe held the secret of progress (though few had any very clear idea of what this might be); they hoped that the adoption of western systems of government would both secure this "secret" and ensure reform and thus enable Persia to resist the encroachment of foreign powers, which the corruption of its government was facilitating. Malkam Khān = Nāẓim al-Dawla, a Persian Armenian from Djulfā (Iṣfahān), educated in Paris and minister in London from 1872 to 1889, was the great exponent of this point of view. His writings, influenced by John Stuart Mill and Mirabeau, became more radical as time passed. In tracts and essays and in the Persian paper *Ḳānūn*, which he founded and edited in London in 1890, he inveighs against internal disorder, corruption and despotism and the external pressure exerted on Persia "from St. Petersburg and Calcutta". The only answer to these evils in his view was technical progress, and administrative and constitutional reform (which he was at pains to show were not contrary to the *sharīʿa*). At first Malkam Khān appears to have believed that reform "from above" was possible. He presented an early essay, *Kitābča-i ghaybī*, probably written between 1859 and 1860 in imitation of the Turkish *tanẓīmāt*, to Mīrzā Djaʿfar Mushīr al-Dawla (who, as stated above, had been one of the first students to be sent abroad by the government) and urged him, as an elder statesman and because of his knowledge of foreign countries, to show it to Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh and explain the truth to him. He goes on to assert that the Persian state was down-trodden by neighbouring states and afflicted by various miseries, especially corruption. He warns that conditions in the outside world would not remain static: the Indian Mutiny would not go on for ever and Russia would not always remain preoccupied with the injuries she had suffered in Europe: claimants to the Persian provinces would arise. Two waves, one from St. Petersburg and the other from Calcutta, were advancing on Persia. Ministers, Malkam Khān alleges, considered the antiquity of Persia to be a protection against all calamities: however much they were warned that the advancing waves would submerge them, they would say, "we have been thus for 3,000 years and we shall survive this flood also". But, Malkam Khān points out, conditions had changed: Persia could no longer withstand the power of neighbouring states. Europe had made important technical advances of which Persia had no conception and great progress especially in financial administration, while Persia lagged hopelessly behind. He then sets out his ideas for reform based on a separation of legislative and executive powers (*Madjmūʿa-i āthār-i Malkam Khān*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥīṭ Ṭabāṭabāʾī, Tehran 1948-9, 1 ff.).

In another essay, *Dastgāh-i dīwān*, devoted mainly to the need for financial reform, Malkam Khān warns his readers of the fate of Turkey and states that "The Persian government in the face of the encroachment of foreign conquest was in no way different from the Ottoman government. Protection of the Christians was a secondary problem: the essential problem was that the ebullience of European power had made impossible the survival of uncivilised states" (*ibid.*, 74 ff.). In a later essay entitled *Tanẓīm-i lashkar wa madjlis-i idāra yā intiẓām-i lashkar wa madjlis-i tanẓīmāt*, Malkam shows himself to be one of the few writers who realised that reform of one branch of the administration could not be carried out in isolation. He pours scorn on the idea that it would be possible to have a European arsenal without a European tax administration and reiterates the need for a government based on law (*ibid.*, 98 ff.). By the time of the assassination of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh the threat to Persian independence was seen by Malkam to be increasingly serious, and he appealed to all, whether Persians, Ādharbāydjānīs, Kurds or Afghāns, to sink their differences and unite to base the rule of the shah on a new unity (*ibid.*, 182 ff.). In an essay entitled *The call to justice*, presented to Muẓaffar al-Dīn in 1905, Malkam Khān again warns of the threat to Persian independence posed by the progressive states of the world and urges the establishment of a legislative assembly, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press. Distinguishing between freedom and licence, he seeks to interpret freedom in terms of the Islamic principle of "enjoining the good and forbidding evil" (*ibid.*, 194 ff.).

Mīrzā Āḳā Khān Kirmānī (1853-87), who spent a great part of his life in Istanbul, was influenced, among others, by Rousseau and Montesquieu. He uncompromisingly rejected Islam and saw Mazdak as the prototype of European socialists, anarchists, nihilists, and communists (*Sih Maktūb*, quoted by F. Ādamiyyat, *Andīshahā-yi Mīrzā Āḳā Khān Kirmānī*, Tehran 1967, 238). Like Malkam Khān he regarded the adoption of Western sciences, industry, and political structures as a fundamental condition to progress. He held that the Persian people must forget their past and lay completely new foundations for their national life if they wished to retain their independence and enjoy power and respect in the world. Pointing to the example of the Caucasus, which had been lost to Russia, India, "which was held prisoner by five thousand English soldiers", and Turkey, "which was forced to submit to the slightest whim of the English ambassador", Mīrzā Āḳā Khān warned that Persia would be made into a colony if she failed to advance in knowledge or to develop her own resources. "Today", he wrote, "we, the subjects of Persia (*raʿiyyat-i Īrān*), are trampled underfoot by internal tyrants and criticised, blamed and despised by foreign governments and civilised peoples. Tomorrow we shall be trampled on by the hoofs of the transport animals of their military forces and captives of their soldiers and armies" (*Ṣad khaṭāba*, quoted by F. Ādamiyyat, *op. cit.*, 229-30). While he was in favour of the adoption of European learning

and technical skills, he condemned the aggression of European powers against other nations (*Hasht bihisht*, quoted by F. Ādamiyyat, *op. cit.*, 231-2). He, like Malkam Khān, aimed at a national awakening and advocated modernisation in order to stem the encroachment both of foreign powers against the national frontiers and of the shah and his government against the freedom of the people. Influenced by earlier writers, especially Djalāl al-Dīn Mīrzā-yi Ḳādjār and Mīrzā Fatḥ ʿAlī Ākhundzāda (Akhundov), who, although he spent the greater part of his life in the Caucasus in the service of the Russian government, was an ardent Persian patriot, the nationalism of Mīrzā Āḳā Khān Kirmānī looks back to pre-Islamic Persia, and tendencies towards anti-Arabism as well as anti-Semitism in general are to be found in his works (see further F. Ādamiyyat, *op. cit.*, 252 ff.).

The themes of Malkam Khān and Mīrzā Āḳā Khān Kirmānī were taken up by others, including Mīrzā Āḳā Furṣat Shīrāzī, who in a series of essays describes freedom, equality and knowledge as the key to progress and attributes the miserable condition of Persia, which he compares unfavourably with India, to ignorance and despotism (*Maḳallāt-i ʿilmī wa siyāsī*, Bombay 1904-5, ii, Tehran 1907-8), Malik al-Mutakallimīn, who emphasises the need to develop Persia's resources and, pointing to the example of Japan, advocates the establishment of factories (see M. Malikzāda, *Zindagānī-i Malik al-Mutakallimīn*, Tehran 1946, 91 ff.), and Persians living in the borderlands such as Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Nadjdjārzāda (Talibov) in his *Masālik al-Muḥsinīn*, and Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Marāghaʾī in his *Safar-nāma-i Ibrāhīm Beg*. All of these made a significant contribution to the intellectual ferment culminating in the movement for constitutional reform in the early years of the 19th century (on the nature of this movement see further A. K. S. Lambton, *The Persian constitutional revolution of 1905-6*, in *Revolution in the Middle East*, ed. P. J. Vatikiotis, London 1972, 173-84. See also DJAMʿIYYA, Persia and DUSTŪR, Īrān).

Those who prepared the way for the constitutional revolution were drawn largely from the upper ranks of the bureaucracy, the religious classes and the merchants. As the movement spread, it became articulated largely in a demand for "equality" and "liberty", neither of which was defined in legal terms. Both were seen broadly as freedom from tyranny and envisaged by the majority within a temporal framework designed to permit the unhindered operation of the Islamic ethic and the living of the good life in accordance with the sacred law. The underlying intention was to seek to ensure justice and to limit extortion. The shah's neglect of abstract principles of justice was felt to have led to an impoverishment of the people and a growth of foreign influence and intervention in the affairs of the country. Largely for this reason the movement became a nationalist movement in that it was a demand by the people for a greater share in the government of the country and a protest against the placing of the material resources of the country under the control of foreigners (which, in view of the interpretation placed on freedom, was inevitably seen as an attack as much on Islam as on Persia).

There was, however, a paradox: both sides looked to foreigners: the constitutionalists to Britain (though the 1907 convention with Russia was a great surprise and disappointment to them), and the reactionaries to Russia, with the ruling classes of which they felt, perhaps, a greater affinity than with the mass of the Persian people. Although the support which the reactionary party and Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā as *walī ʿahd* and later as shah received from Russia in their attempts to frustrate the efforts of the constitutionalists inevitably gave an anti-Russian aspect to the constitutional movement, it was predominantly a "popular" rather than an anti-foreign movement. Among the *andjumans*, the popular political societies, it developed as a movement of resistance to oppression and a demand for the right of the people to manage their own affairs (see further A. K. S. Lambton, *Secret societies and the Persian revolution of 1905-6*, in *St. Antony's Papers, No. 4, Middle Eastern Affairs No. 1*, London 1958 and *The political rôle of the anjumans 1906-11*, in *St. Antony's Papers, No. 16, Middle Eastern Affairs No. 3*, London 1963). The bond which united them was not a concept of territorial or ethnic nationality or memory of "good" government but rather Islam: the true king was, for them, the Hidden Imām.

With the humiliations suffered by Persia after the suspension of the constitution in 1911 and the disorder prevailing during the Great War, there was a swing away from "popular" nationalism towards nationalism coupled with anti-imperialism and socialism and also "romantic" nationalism. Abu 'l Ḳāsim ʿĀrif (d. 1934), the poet of the constitutional revolution, extolled patriotism and freedom, but Adīb Pīshāwarī (1844-1930), who had been one of the first poets to write in praise of patriotism and nationalism, wrote increasingly against anti-imperialism, while Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Farrukhī (1888-1939) linked patriotism with socialism. In general poets and writers turned increasingly towards a glorification of pre-Islamic Persia. A literary movement to deepen national thought and pride (in stimulating which the writings of orientalists played a considerable part), began in Berlin, where a number of Persians had taken refuge during the 1914-18 war and founded a literary magazine, significantly called *Kāwa* after the legendary blacksmith [see KĀWAH]. ʿIshḳī (1893-1924), Pūr Dāʾūd (1889-1969) and others reminded their readers of the spirit of ancient Persia. Sayyid Muḥammad ʿAlī Djamālzāda (born *circa* 1895), at one time co-editor of *Kāwa* with Sayyid Ḥasan Taḳīzāda (d. 1969), and others wrote essays extolling the Persian past; and Aḥmad Kasrawī (1888-1945) published a large number of political and religious tracts of a nationalist and anti-Islamic nature (see further B. Alavi, *Geschichte und Entwicklung der modernen persischen Literatur*, Berlin 1964).

During the war of 1914-18 and in the years immediately afterwards, there were uprisings of a quasi-nationalist nature led by Mīrzā Kūčik Khān in Gīlān (1915-20), Khiyābānī in Ādharbāydjān (1920), and Muḥammad Taḳī Khān in Khurāsān (1921), but none of them was nationalist in the wider sense or spread to the whole of the country. After the coup d'état in 1921, power was concentrated in the hands of Riḍā Khān, who proceeded to build up the armed forces. By 1925 he had reasserted the authority of the central government over most of the country and on 31 October of that year he assumed the crown. Measures were also taken to restore Persia's position vis-à-vis foreign powers and to limit their intervention in Persian affairs. The capitulations were abolished in 1926 [see IMTIYĀZĀT]. Determined to make Persia a modern state, Riḍā Shāh pressed forward industrial expansion and economic development and extended the scope of government. Requiring more funds to finance these developments, he turned to

the oil industry to satisfy his need. The post-war depression had brought down oil prices and with them royalty payments. In 1932 the Anglo-Persian Oil Company concession was denounced and a new agreement was negotiated in 1933 under which royalty payments were increased. Islam was deliberately weakened, and westernisation forced. The memory of pre-Islamic Persia was fostered. The traditional provincial names were replaced by numbers as a device to efface "the memory of the historic provinces with their persistent traditions of diversity and autonomy" and to create unity and uniformity. An attempt was also made to "purify" Persian of Arabic words and weaken the memory of her cultural debt to the Islamic empires of the past. In the beginning Riḍā S̲h̲āh's nationalism was influenced by the example of Turkey, which he visited in 1934. Later, however, he turned rather to the model of the dictatorial régimes of Western Europe, especially Hitlerite Germany. The new nationalism, which developed during his reign, appealed mainly to the military leaders, who found the ideal of the self-sufficient police state seductive, those intellectuals who provided the personnel of the bureaucracy, the younger generation brought up in the new schools, and those merchants who benefitted from his commercial policy, and was very different from the nationalism of the constitutional period (see further A. K. S. Lambton, *The impact of the West on Persia*, in *International Affairs*, xxxiii/1 (Jan. 1957), 21 ff.).

In 1941 Riḍā S̲h̲āh abdicated as a result of events connected with World War II. In the ensuing years Persia suffered new humiliations. Foreign troops were stationed in the country. Their presence did not technically constitute a military occupation, but Russian troops in the north and north-west prevented orderly administration by the Persian government and did not evacuate the country after the conclusion of the hostilities until recourse was had to the United Nations. There was once more a feeling that national unity was menaced, and coupled with this there was a growing sense of frustration at the failure of successive governments to undertake reform. A feeling of revolt against the "establishment" grew. Various groups, at one extreme the Fidāʾiyyān-i Islām [*q.v.*] and at the other the Tūda Party (who were communist-inspired), were active. Their common desire was for power and control over the sources of national wealth, but their positive policies were less clearly defined, and in any case sometimes in conflict. Finally, under the leadership of Dr. Muṣaddiḳ cohesion was given to the discontent. The movement of protest was focussed on the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and was transformed into a campaign for liberation from supposed foreign domination. Nationalisation of the oil industry (achieved in 1951) became the immediate goal. With the alliance of Dr. Muṣaddiḳ and the religious leader Sayyid Abu'l Ḳāsim Kās̲h̲ānī, who interpreted the protest movement in terms of Islam, it spread throughout the country as a popular movement for the defence not only of Persia but also of Islam. After the reassertion of the monarchy following the overthrow of Dr. Muṣaddiḳ by a military coup d'état in 1953, "popular" nationalism once more declined to be replaced in due course by a new self-styled "positive" nationalism imposed from above, one of the manifestations of which was the celebration in 1971, after several years of planning, of what was regarded as the 2500th anniversary of the foundation of the Persian monarchy by Cyrus (see further IRAN, History; ḤIZB, Persia; and also J. M. Upton, *The history of modern Iran, an interpretation*, Cambridge Mass. 1960).

Bibliography: given in the article.

(A. K. S. LAMBTON)

iv. IN OTTOMAN TURKEY.

This word was used in Ottoman Turkish to express the new idea of nationalism which originated in Central and Eastern Europe during the 19th century. This new nationalism was not the older patriotism of Western Europe founded in a citizen's loyalty to his country, his state and its mode of government and in which a degree of individual liberty was usually involved. It was anethnic, linguistic, and sometimes cultural nationalism, romantic and subjective in its appeal, and often illiberal. When it reached the Ottoman Empire this brand of nationalism quickly vitalised the independent ambitions of the non-Muslim religious communities (*millets*), and more slowly those of the non-Turkish Muslims.

The Ottoman Turks were not much affected by this new form of nationalism for two interconnected reasons. In the first place, the Turks of the Empire, despite a vigorous flowering of Turkish "national" self-consciousness in the 9th/15th century, had subsequently submerged themselves in Islam and assumed the responsibility for the expansion and maintenance of the Islamic community. The new nationalism could not easily strike a responsive chord amongst them. Secondly, the Ottoman Turks had previously been exposed to Western European patriotism, which had a greater appeal since it did not create ethnic or linguistic impediments to continued Ottoman unity and strength. To express the notion of *patrie* the Ottoman Turks used the words *waṭan* and *millet*. By the mid-19th century, *waṭan*, meaning in former usage one's home, village, town, or region, fully developed the meaning of *patrie*, and was much in use in the Turkish press. The word *millet* was also used to denote the *patrie* of the Ottoman Empire, but with revealing confusion, it was also employed to mean the Islamic community. Not without significance, perhaps, when Turkey did come to regard itself as a nation the word used was not *ḳawm* but *millet*.

A patriotism centred on Ottomanism and Islam served largely to insulate the Turks from the new nationalism of the 19th century and to help preserve the Ottoman position. However, the ground was being prepared for the new conception of nationalism to take root. Interest in the Turks *qua* Turks was aroused in the first place by the publication in London in 1832 of a *Grammar of the Turkish language* by Arthur Lumley Davids (1811-32). It included the history as well as the language of the Turks, and became known in Turkey. Two other foreigners whose work was of very considerable influence were the renowned Hungarian Turcologist, Arminius Vambéry (1832-1913), and the colourful Léon Cahun, whose *Introduction à l'histoire d'Asie* (1896) glorified the role in history of the Turkish nomadic tribes.

A number of factors helped this new interest in Turcology to develop. Hungarian scholars were interested in the possibilities of discovering some common heritage with the Turks as a counterweight to Pan-Slavism. Anglo-Russian rivalry in Central Asia also brought Turkish studies to the fore. Exiles in Turkey after the abortive 1848 revolutions in Europe spread the new nationalist ideas. A later impetus occurred through the advent of politically experienced exiles from Turkish and Tartar areas of Russia at the end of the 19th century. These

influences awoke a slow response among the Turks. It was only as the non-Muslim peoples obtained independence, and when there were national stirrings among the Muslim subjects of the Empire, that a truly Turkish nationalism based on a common race, language and culture became more feasible. Among Ottoman Turks who took up the theme were the historian Aḥmad Wafīḳ Pas͟ha (1823-91) [*q.v.*] and Süleymân Pas͟ha (1838-1932), the first Ottoman historian to write about the pre-Islamic Turks. Attention was also given to the Turkish language: the first modern Turkish grammar appeared in 1851, the *Ḳawāʾid-i ʿOt͟hmāniyya* of Fuʾād and D̲jewdet Pas͟ha [*q.v.*]. The first Turkish turcologist in any real sense was Ned̲jīb ʿĀṣīm (1861-1935).

It was not, however, until the Young Turk period, and with the diminution of the Empire, that a more general interest could be aroused. A Turkish Society (*Türk Derneyi*) was established in 1908 to study Turkish culture in its many aspects. From this initiative shortly emerged a journal, *Türk Yurdu*, ("Turkish Homeland") which began to develop a political Turkism, notably under Akčuraog͟hlu Yūsuf [*q.v.*]. Numerous Turkist societies, *Türk Od̲jaklari*, ("Turkish Hearths") were also founded to study and promote Turkish culture. Closely associated with *Türk Yurdu* was the greatest exponent of Turkish nationalism, Ḍiyāʾ (Ziya) Gökalp [*q.v.*]. In some of his writings he went so far as to envisage the political union of all Turks in a new *Tūrān*, but the international situation, notably the strength of Russia, gave little prospect for the realisation of this Pan-Turkist dream, save for a brief period of confusion in Central Asia following the Russian Revolution of 1917. Nevertheless, Turkish nationalism continued to develop, markedly affected by two factors, firstly the Armenian massacres of 1916, and secondly, the defection of Arab Muslims to the Allied side in the first World War.

By 1918 it was clear, however, that attempts to promote an Ottoman, Pan-Islamic or Turanian unity were either irrelevant or impracticable. Yet some basis for a national unity had to be found if what was left of Turkey in 1918 was to be defended against Allied claims. National feeling was now concentrated on the rescue of the Anatolian homeland from the occupying Christian powers, particularly from the Greeks. Whilst religious feeling was still obviously important in this situation, a new emphasis appeared in Turkish nationalism—the territorial. It had obvious impact: the Turkish peasant's hearth and home, his *waṭan* was at stake. After the War of Liberation the Republic sought to justify this new nationalist attachment by promoting historical enquiries to show that Anatolia was in fact the ancient land of the Turks. This might be interpreted as a return, in a new context, to the less romantic patriotism of earlier European inspiration, but the attachment to the land, to national folk-lore, popular tradition and national solidarity was romantic to a marked degree. For the Atatürkist élite, nationalism was also firmly secularist, as the abolition of the caliphate and the disestablishment of Islam in 1924 testified.

The secular, cultural and territorial nationalism of the Atatürkist period has remained the predominant form of nationalism in Turkey since the Second World War, but it has not been universally accepted. Whilst it is difficult to make clear divisions among the different schools of thought, it may be said that the secular nationalists have divided into two groups. There are those who support the liberal democratic, and strictly territorial, political system as representing the national spirit, and others who would qualify their support by insistence on the need for a greater degree of socialism to allow the full expression of national feeling. This latter group attaches itself to the left-of-centre *Cumhüriyet Halk Partisi* (Republican People's Party). One school of thought has attempted, however, to define nationalism to include Islamic, as well as pre-Islamic, Turkish history. This current of thought has found a ready audience among the new professional, commercial and industrial middle classes, and actual promotion through the *Türk Ocakları*. revived in 1949 after their abolition in 1932. This modification of nationalism has appealed to many members of right-of-centre political parties, notably the former *Demokrat Partisi* (Democrat Party) and the *Adalet Partisi* (Justice Party). Important elements in the Turkish intelligentsia have sought, however, to give greater weight either to Islam or to Turkish nationalism (and to Pan-Turkism) than the usual compromises envisage. An Islamic trend which nevertheless accords a place to nationalism is represented by Necmettin Erbakan's *Millî Selâmet Partisi* (National Salvation Party) which in 1973 won 48 seats in the elections for the 450-member National Assembly. An extreme nationalist party under Alparslan Türkeş, which accords a place to Islam, is the *Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi* (Nationalist Movement Party) which, however, won only 3 seats in the 1973 National Assembly. Territorial nationalism, Islam and Pan-Turkism are not easy to combine. This is evident in the writings of the influential Dr. Riza Nur [*q.v.*] (1879-1942), who advocated *inter alia* a republican form of government, restoration of the caliphate, and the reunion of all Turks under the leadership of those of Anatolia.

A number of nationalist associations have been established recently in Turkey, particularly in the 1960s, partly in response to increased leftist activity. Large general congresses of nationalists were held in 1967 and 1969. One association of particular significance which has emerged is the *Küminizmle Mücadele Derneği* ("Society for Opposing Communism"), which has been active in demonstrations against left-wing groups. Reviews which in recent years have supported secular nationalism include *Varlık* ("Existence"), *Dost* ("Friend"), *Yeni Ufuklar* ("New Horizons") and *Yedi Tepe* ("Seven Hills"). Turkist and Islamic nationalism have been represented *inter alia* by *Türk Kültürü* ("Turkish Culture"), *Türk Birliği* ("Turkish Unity") and *Tohum* ("Seed"). The strength of modern Turkish nationalism is difficult to assess, since every political association claims to be nationalist. Certainly, for many Turks a wholly secular nationalism is not proving to be satisfactory. [See also ḤURRIYYA, ISTIḲLĀL (Independence), ISHTIRĀKIYYA and TŪRĀN.]

Bibliography: Recent comprehensive studies: B. Lewis, *The emergence of modern Turkey*, revised ed., London 1968, 317-55; idem, *The Middle East and the west*, London 1963, 70-94; N. Berkes, *The development of secularism in Turkey*, Montreal, 1964, 313-59; idem, *Ziyā Gökalp; his contribution to Turkish nationalism* in *MEJ*, viii (1954), 375-90; K. Karpat, *Modern Turkey*, in *Cambridge History of Islam*, ed. P. M. Holt, A. K. S. Lambton and B. Lewis, Cambridge 1970, i, 551-65; idem, *Ideology in Turkey after the revolution of 1960*, in K. Karpat et al., *Social Change and politics in Turkey*, Leiden 1973, 317 ff.; J. M. Landau, *Radical politics in modern Turkey*, Leiden 1974,

193 ff.; İ. E. Darendelioğlu, *Türkiyede milliyetçilik hareketleri*, n.p. 1968; E. Rossi, *Dall'impero ottomano alla republica di Turchia; origini e sviluppi del nazionalismo turco sotto l'aspetto politico-culturale*, in *OM*, xxiii (1943), 359-88. Other works: Yusuf Akçuraoğlu, *Türkcülük*, in *Türk Yılı*, i (1928), 289-455; Ziyā Gökalp, *Türkčülügün esāslarî*, Ankara 1339/1920, English tr. R. Devereux, *The principles of Turkism*, Leiden 1968; idem, *Turkish nationalism and western civilisation, selected essays of Ziyā Gökalp*, tr. and ed. N. Berkes, London 1959; U. Heyd, *Foundations of Turkish nationalism*, London 1950; C. W. Hostler, *Turkism and the Soviets; the Turks of the world and their political objectives*, London 1957; idem, *The Turks and Central Asia*, in *MEJ*, xii/3 (1958) 261-9; Ercümend Kuran, *The impact of nationalism on the Turkish élite in the nineteenth century*, in *Beginnings of modernization in the Middle East: the nineteenth century*, ed. W. R. Polk and R. C. Chambers, Chicago 1968, 109-17; Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman thought*, Princeton, N.J. 1962; idem, *Jön Türklerin siyasî fikirlerin 1895-1908*, Ankara 1964; E. E. Ramsaur, *The Young Turks: prelude to the revolution of 1908*, Princeton, N.J. 1959; F. Tachau, *The search for national identity among the Turks* in *WI*, n.s., viii (1962-3), 165-76; Z. V. Toğan, *Hatıralar*, Istanbul 1969.

(C. H. Dodd)

v. In Central Asia.

("Central Asia" is here taken to include the Ḳazakh, Özbek, Tādjik, Ḳîrghîz and Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republics).

The European ideas of the nation, national frontiers and national government, which began to spread to Asia and Africa at the turn of the 19th century, have so far had a much smaller impact on the Muslim peoples of Central Asia than on the rest of *Dār al-Islām*. At the time of the Russian conquest, the Central Asians were generally regarded as being both politically and culturally the most backward of all Muslims, and the Tsarist régime did little to change this situation. No plans existed for eventual self-government, or even for local participation in provincial government, and in 1907 the small Central Asian representation in the Russian Duma (parliament) was abolished. Literacy did not exceed 3% and there were no establishments of higher education other than the *madrasas*. The large military garrison was composed of Russian imperial troops; Central Asian Muslims were exempt from conscription in the imperial forces, and there were no Muslim military formations in the Russian-ruled provinces. Conditions in the vassal states of Bukhārā and Khīwa were no more advanced, and in many respects, less so.

Such stirrings of national consciousness as existed were aimed rather at the defence of Islamic culture against Russian encroachment than at self-government and separation from Russia. The nearest thing to a coordinated endeavour was the "Djadīd" movement (from *uṣūl-i djadīd*), which originated among the Tatars of Kazan and the Crimea, but eventually had a considerable vogue in the urban areas of the Turkestan Governorate-General and the Khānate of Bukhārā. Something more closely approaching a nationalist movement began among the small Ḳazakh intelligentsia after the Russian revolution of 1905, but its aims, like those of the Djadīds, were cultural rather than political.

The great Turkestan rebellion of 1916 has been called "a national liberation movement". It was certainly directed against the Russian presence, but it was unco-ordinated and had no specifically political aims. Its ruthless repression by the Tsarist government had the temporary effect of favourably disposing the Muslims to the Revolution of 1917, which they imagined would mean the end of Russian rule; and the hope thus engendered gave rise to several small movements aiming at some kind of independent state or states. Such aspirations were, however, strongly opposed not only by the new Soviet régime, but by the 2-million strong element of Russian settlers who, whether they supported the Revolution or not, were not prepared to hand over the region to Muslim rule. The Djadīds, too, always at loggerheads with the *ʿulamāʾ*, now found themselves equally opposed to the new régime. By 1921, any prospect of an organised national movement with clearly defined political aims had receded, but guerilla Muslim resistance to the Soviet government continued in the shape of the so-called Basmači [*q.v.*] movement. Although violent and widespread, this movement lacked cohesion, competent leadership and the necessary resources, and by 1922 it had virtually collapsed.

By the end of 1920, complete Soviet control over the region was a foregone conclusion, and since the new régime was fundamentally opposed both to Islam and to the idea of nationalism, any chance of the emergence of a Central Asian state or states based on Muslim principles became even more remote than it had been in Tsarist times. The constitution of the so-called Bukhāran Peoples' Republic formed on the overthrow of the khānate in 1920 declared that "no published laws of the Republic may contradict the foundations of Islam", but this constitution was abrogated on the absorption of the republic into the Soviet Union in 1924, and the whole concept of Islam was thus finally removed from the Soviet political fabric. Some Central Asian intellectuals had participated to a limited extent in an attempt to achieve Muslim solidarity made from within the Communist Party by Mīr Sayyid Sulṭān ʿAlī Oghlu (Sultangaliyev), a Tatar Communist from Kazan. But the movement ended with his arrest in 1923 and subsequent disappearance.

As a means of combating nationalism and of solving the "national problem", the Soviet Government adopted a "nationalities policy". As applied to Central Asia this involved the classification as "nations" of the larger Muslim communities, most of whom had not previously thought of themselves as such. In 1924 the former administrative borders were abolished and the whole territory, including that of the erstwhile khānates, was divided into "republics" bearing the names of these "nations". Although described officially as "fully sovereign", they have never been so by any standards recognised elsewhere in the world of Islam, since the overriding authority in all matters relating to policy, justice and, indeed, every human activity rests with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union centred in Moscow. An attempt has been made, so far with only partial success, to remould the cultures of all the Muslim peoples in the region, now numbering about 22 million, on lines described as "national in form and socialist in content". There is much evidence of passive Muslim resistance to many social and cultural institutions of the Soviet régime, but none of any organised or active opposition to it. The facts about the alleged unmasking of a nationalist plot in the Özbek Republic in 1937 have never been established.

It is hard to say how far the Soviet nationalities policy has succeeded or will succeed in the future in excluding or holding in leash the national sentiment which has contributed towards the freeing of so many non-Soviet Muslim communities from foreign or non-Muslim rule. During the past fifty years none of the features characteristic of nationalist movements elsewhere have been present in Central Asia: namely, competent and easily identifiable national leaders with some freedom of speech and action; religious and cultural freedom; aid and encouragement from abroad; native military formations trained in the use of modern weapons; and support from liberal opinion in the metropolitan country. On the other hand, by artificially creating nations and stimulating the growth of those which had previously only existed in embryo, the Nationalities Policy has brought into being organisms which, far from remaining static, seem to be gradually acquiring a real national identity. It can be said that while nationalist movements of the kind which convulsed the Muslim peoples of the Middle East and North Africa are, in the present circumstances, highly improbable, national consciousness and the desire to dispense with alien rule are still very much alive. But what kind of state or states towards the formation of which this national consciousness may be tending is still uncertain.

Bibliography: G. Safarov, *Kolonial'naya Revolyutsiya* (*Opyt Turkestana*) ("The Colonial Revolution: the case of Turkestan"), Moscow 1921; A. Park, *Bolshevism in Turkestan*, New York 1957; S. A. Zenkovsky, *Pan-Turkism and Islam in Russia*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1960; A. Bennigsen and C. Quelquejay, *Les Mouvements nationaux chez les Musulmans de Russie*, The Hague 1960; idem, *Islam in the Soviet Union*, London 1967; G. E. Wheeler, *The modern history of Soviet Central Asia*, London 1964; idem, *The peoples of Soviet Central Asia*, London 1966; R. Vaidyanath, *The formation of the Soviet Central Asian Republics*, New Delhi 1967; B. Hayit, *Turkestan im XX Jahrhundert*, Darmstadt 1956.

(G. E. WHEELER)

vi. IN MUSLIM INDIA AND PAKISTAN.

The growth of Muslim nationalism, or Muslim separatism as it is usually called, was one of the most striking developments on the Indian subcontinent under British rule. It stemmed from the Aligarh movement, an educational and political campaign aimed mainly at protecting the power of the Muslim service élite of northern India, which developed around the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College founded in 1875 by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan at Aligarh in the United Provinces. In the early 20th century, men associated with this movement made Muslim separatism a significant factor in Indian politics. In 1906 they founded an All-India Muslim League. Then, using the League as their platform, they first persuaded the government to introduce separate electorates (with special weighting to take account of their "political importance") in the Morley-Minto reforms of 1909, and soon afterwards persuaded the Congress, the organisation of Indian nationalist politics, to accept the same principle for the next package of reforms in a pact made at Lucknow in 1916. By this time Muslim separatism would appear to have been an established fact in Indian political life, but it would be quite wrong to see its development from this point to 1947 as an ever-ascending line on a graph, because for the twenty years after 1916 it was a declining force. First, Muslim Leaguers agitated with Congressmen against the government in the Khilāfat non-co-operation movement of 1919-23, then in the 1920s and 1930s many lost interest in League politics altogether: some preferred the class-based politics of the United Provinces' Zamīndār Party or the Punjab Unionist Party, others the Islamic politics of the Khilāfat Party, and yet others the Indian nationalism of the Congress itself. So weak did Muslim separatism become that the Muslim League held no annual sessions between 1933 and 1936. And it was not until the 1937 elections, after the 1935 Government of India Act had considerably extended the franchise and had given Indians virtual autonomy at the provincial level, that Muslims again began to support separatist politics in large numbers. From then on, the Muslim League went from strength to strength till, in part because of the rapid change in circumstances brought about by World War II, in part because of the political failures both of the Congress and of the British, and in part because of both the political skill of Jinnah and its own success as a political organisation, it succeeded in establishing a separate Muslim state on the Indian subcontinent when the British transferred power in 1947.

An important point to note about Muslim separatism is that at no stage did it receive equal support from all Muslims. Their condition and their interests varied greatly in the different parts of India. There were differences of background; some, particularly in northern India, were descended from invaders or adventurers who had come from Arabia, Afghanistan, Persia and Central Asia to make their fortunes from the fabled wealth of Hindustan, but the majority were descended from Hindus who, during the period of Muslim supremacy, had been converted to Islam. There were differences in their level of islamisation; the humble Muslim villager in Bengal or Madras, who spoke the local vernacular and who followed most of the local social and religious customs, had much more in common with his Hindu neighbour than did his co-religionist living in a town in northern India whose culture and whose customs were much more distinctly Islamic. There were also differences in their distribution throughout the subcontinent; in the Punjab and in Bengal (after 1911) Muslims were a majority of the provincial population, but in no other province for most of British rule did their numbers exceed 20%. Finally, there were differences in their economic and political position; traditionally the Muslims of Bengal or Sind or Madras were cultivators with little economic strength and less political power, but the Muslims of north India, in particular those of the United Provinces, were not only wealthy, holding much land and many positions in government service, but were also accustomed to being the dominant political group in the area. These differences dictated a variety of responses to the challenges presented by the modernising tendencies of British rule to their livelihood, their religion and their political power. Indeed, for most Muslims under the British a political stance based on their faith made no sense in the context of local or provincial politics. Muslim separatism found support mainly in the United Provinces. Men from this area founded Aligarh College and the All-India Muslim League. They chiefly organised this League throughout its existence and used it to win Muslims elsewhere in India for their separatist politics. When separatism was strong, it was because it suited their interests; when it was weak, as it was in the 1920s and 1930s, it was because it did not.

Why some Indian Muslims should have organised for politics on a religious basis has been hotly debated. Four main lines of argument have been put forward to explain this phenomenon: that the Muslims were backward in taking advantage of western education, had therefore fallen behind in the competition for jobs and economic advancement, and therefore organised as a community to protect their interests; that the British deliberately divided and ruled, encouraging Muslims from time to time to organise as a separate group in order to strengthen their imperial position; that Indian nationalism was too strongly associated with a frequently aggressive Hindu revivalism to allow Muslims to play a full and unreserved part in it; and that the Muslims had always been a separate community on the Indian subcontinent which fact was expressed in the separatist tendency of their politics. There are grains of truth in all these arguments, but as they stand they are too simple by half.

Of course, the fact that Muslims had some common religious experience must lie at the base of any explanation of why some Muslims organised for politics on a communal basis; but it is not the sole or even the chief cause of why they did so. The threats which British policy in education, in bureaucratic reform and in local self-government levelled at the position of the Muslims in the United Provinces, making them fear that they might become backward, played a part; they lay behind the foundation of Aligarh College and the All-India Muslim League. A Hindu revivalism, which aimed to promote the Nagari script and the Hindi language and to protect the cow, was also important; early responses to the massive changes which government was bringing about in north Indian society were organised by Hindus and Muslims working in concert, but Hindu revivalism in the late 19th century helped increasingly to divert these responses into communal channels. Moreover, throughout its existence the close association of Hindu revivalism with the Congress made it hard for Muslims to join the Indian nationalist movement. This type of revivalism was not restricted to Hindus; it also developed amongst Muslims and helped to harden their consciousness of being Muslim. It found powerful expression in the writings of Ḥālī, S̲h̲iblī and Iḳbāl, and it infused aspects of the movements for a Muslim university, for the preservation of the Turkish K̲h̲ilāfat, and for the establishment of Pakistan. Crucially important was the tendency of the British to see their Indian subjects primarily not as members of different races, nor as speakers of different languages, nor even as representatives of different interests, but as followers of different faiths. They shared out patronage along religious lines, particularly to Muslims in northern India, whom at one time they saw as the greatest threat to the empire and at another as the most important supporters of it. Such perceptions of Indian society and such policies played a vital role in the development of separatism; without them Aligarh College would never have survived its early years and the Muslim League would never have won separate electorates. Crucially important too was the fact that for much of the time the Muslim platform was a particularly rewarding one for Muslim politicians from the United Provinces to adopt; up to the second decade of the 20th century because of the attitudes of the government, and later, in the age of mass agitation and growing electorates, because these politicians had in the *ʿulamāʾ* a tremendously powerful, if double-edged, weapon for mobilising mass support. They introduced the *ʿulamāʾ* into politics in 1918 with the aim of making capital out of the K̲h̲ilāfat issue, but were overwhelmed by the agitation which followed. They introduced the *ʿulamāʾ* again in the campaign for Pakistan, and the *ʿulamāʾ*, this time subordinate to the politicians, played an important part in winning over to the Muslim League Muslims in provinces where they were a majority of the population (sc. Bengal, Sind, North-West Frontier Province and Punjab). Without the support of these Muslims there could be no Pakistan.

Such were the factors which encouraged some Muslims to organise on a communal basis in Indian politics under the British. Such, in sum, were the causes of Muslim nationalism. If, for those who followed, Muslim nationalism was mainly a religious matter, for those who led, it was a matter less of the desirability of separate Muslim political organisation or later of a separate Muslim state in which they could live according to the *S̲h̲arīʿa*, than of the need to ensure that they continued to wield the power in northern India which they had wielded for hundreds of years.

Bibliography: W. Cantwell Smith, *Modern Islam in India*, London 1946; R. Gopal, *Indian Muslims: a political history (1858-1957)*, Bombay 1959; I. H. Qureshi, *The Muslim community of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent (610-1947)*, The Hague 1962; Aziz Ahmad, *Islamic modernism in India and Pakistan 1857-1964*, London 1964; A. Hamid, *Muslim separatism in India: a brief survey 1858-1947*, Oxford 1967; K. B. Sayeed, *Pakistan: the formative phase 1857-1948*², London 1968; H. V. Hodson, *The great divide*, London 1969; S. S. Pirzada (ed.), *Foundations of Pakistan: All-India Muslim League documents 1906-1947*, Karachi 1970, 2 vols.; C. H. Philips and M. D. Wainwright (eds.), *The partition of India: policies and perspectives 1935-1947*, London 1970; P. Hardy, *The Muslims of British India*, Cambridge 1972; D. J. A. Page, *Prelude to partition: All-India Muslim politics, 1909-32*, D. Phil. thesis, Oxford 1974, unpublished; F. Robinson, *Separatism among Indian Muslims: the politics of the United Provinces' Muslims 1860-1923*, Cambridge 1974. (F. ROBINSON)

KAWN WA-FASĀD, "generation and corruption". The expression is frequently found in the vocabulary of *falsafa* as the translation of the two Greek words γένεσις and φθορά, and it is also how Aristotle's *De generatione et corruptione* is rendered in Arabic. The references entail an analysis of cosmology, a measure of psychology and some metaphysical developments of the *Falāsifa*. The ideas in question acquired various nuances of meaning, by measure of the system and theory of each *faylasūf*, but they always harked back to the Aristotelian meaning. The term is most frequently met with in the phrase "world of generation and corruption", *ʿālam al-kawn waʾ l-fasād*, as a designation of the sublunary world, which is subject to change; by contrast, the worlds above are free of this. A few quick references are sufficient here: al-Fārābī speaks of the corruptible elements placed within nature, "the corruptible facts" (*al-as̲h̲yāʾ al-mutakawwināt al-fāsida*; see *Commentaire sur le Peri Hermeneias*, ed. W. Kutsch and S. Marrow, Beirut 1971, 75, 191); and Ibn Sīnā, in his treatise on "The branches of the speculative sciences" (*Aḳsām al-ʿulūm al-ʿaḳliyya*) considers a study of *kawn wa-fasād* as one of the objects of "natural science" (see *Tisʿ rasāʾil*, Cairo 1326/1908, 106).

First and foremost *kawn* evokes the idea of exist-

entialisation. This is the principal meaning it acquired in the vocabulary of *ʿilm al-kalām: kawn* is the advent in nature of the existent thing (*kāʾin*, plur. *kāʾināt*), which makes it, for the Muʿtazilī (*e.g.* al-ʿAllāf) as well as for al-Ashʿarī, to some extent synonymous with *wudjūd*. But for the advocates of the (philosophical) atom (*djuzʾ* [*q.v.*]) in particular, an existent thing presupposes a body and subsequently a dimension. Thus *kawn* came to mean the existentialisation of corporal beings and *wudjūd* of all existence, supraperceptible as well as perceptible. For the *Falāsifa*, *kawn* (plur. *akwān*), the customary translation of γένεσις, was more precisely applied to beings subject to growth, without losing its primary meaning of existentialisation, with its reference to the dimension of bodies. According to Ibn Sīnā, for example, *kawn* can either be a synonym for *wudjūd* or can designate a being *in fieri*, depending on the context. M. Jean Jolivet (*L'intellect selon Kindī*, Leiden 1971, 123; cf. *Rasāʾil al-Kindī*, ed. Abū Rīda, Cairo 1369/1950, i, 204) suggests that for Kindī *kawn*, linked to *fasād*, was already defined as substantial change, "changing existence". One of al-Kindī's main texts on the subject is the brief *risāla* on "The efficient proximate cause of generation and corruption" (*al-ʿilla al-fāʿila al-ḳaribiyya li 'l kawn wa 'l-fasād*; *ibid.*, i, 208-13).

Yet there is a noticeable difference between the ideas of al-Kindī and those of his successors. The latter's vision of the world is emanistic; *akwān* are therefore the last necessary effect of *fayḍ*, the productive flow of being, necessarily emanating from the prime Being. For al-Kindī, *kawn*, however much a matter of becoming it may be, depends for its first efficient cause on a free creation *ex nihilo*, thereby being linked with the Ḳurʾānic meaning of *kun fā-yakūn*, (God said) "So be it! and it is so" (Ḳurʾān, II, 117); cf. *Rasāʾil al-Kindī*, i, 373-4. But whether it is a question of the creationism of al-Kindī, or the emanationism of his eastern successors, or the eternity of the world of Ibn Rushd, the idea of becoming, generation, (substantial) change remains linked to *kawn*. Even if *akwān* depend in the last resort (freely or necessarily) on the prime efficient Cause, their coming into being is nevertheless linked to the interaction of secondary causes. By this token, the heavenly bodies, subject to local movement but not to becoming, are not answerable to *kawn*. *Falsafa* vocabulary does not consider them as *akwān*. Therefore, in his *risāla* on "The prostration of distant (heavenly) bodies and their submission to respect for God", al-Kindī (*op. cit.*, i, 253 ff.) faithful to his creationism, affirms the direct creation *ex nihilo* of the Heavenly Bodies because they are not subject to generation and corruption (cf. Jolivet, *op. cit.*, 107).

In fact *kawn*, and its opposite correlative *fasād*, taken as a whole, are the object of the fourth sort of movement which Aristotle calls "substantial movement". Such is the status of the beings composed of matter and form belonging to our sublunary world, which are destined to die, to be transformed, and to reappear in new forms. The word *fasād* belongs to the Ḳurʾānic vocabulary, where it signifies a state that is radically bad, in contrast with good. It can be rendered as (moral) "corruption", occasionally as "état de violence" (tr. D. Masson) or as "scandale" (tr. R. Blachère). Thus in Ḳurʾān, III, 41: "Corruption (or "scandal") has appeared on the land and on the sea because of what men's hands have done". The moral vocabulary of *ʿilm al-kalām* contrasts *ṣāliḥ* with the adjective *fāsid*, whatever is healthy with whatever is corrupt, often using them synonymously with *ḥasan*/*ḳabīḥ*. In law (*fiḳh*), *fasād* signifies the invalidity of a juridical act [see FĀSID]. The cosmology of the *Falāsifa* proceeds from these moral and juridic meanings to a physical one and employs *fasād* to render the Greek φθορά. In this case, the corruption of the compound matter and form depends on an intrinsic coming into being (*kawn*). Therefore *fasād*, like *kawn*, also belongs to the fourth sort of movement, which, says al-Kindī, is "movement which transfers a thing from its own essence (*ʿayn*) to another" (*Rasāʾil*, i, 217; tr. Jolivet, *op. cit.*, 121). This definition, with slight variations, is found in the works of his successors. It is because of its "intrinsic power to decay" (*ḳuwwat fasādihā*), says Ibn Sīnā, that a physical compound decomposes, and this power resides in matter (*e.g. Nadjāt*, Cairo[2] 1357/1938, 188).

The problem of "generation and corruption" was linked to the production of all beings in the sublunary world, and for Ibn Sīnā was especially related to the problem of a separate Intellect which acted as a "giver of forms", *wāhib al-ṣuwar*, as well as to that of "enacting" and "receiving" causes (*ḳābiliyya*). When later *kalām* (*e.g.* al-Ghazālī in *Maḳāṣid* and *Tahāfut*, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, al-Īdjī, al-Djurdjānī) set forth and discussed the theses of *falsafa*, they employed the expression *kawn wa-fasād* and the definitions elucidating it.

Bibliography: given in the article. References to the topic in the writings of the *Falāsifa* are very numerous, both in original, systematic expositions and in commentaries on Aristotle. (L. GARDET)

ḲAWS (A.), bow (noun of uncertain gender). The numerous types of bow attested at various times in the Islamic world are designated by expressions which include this word, in a very general sense, together with adjectives (*ḳaws ḥidjāzī*, *fārisī*, etc.) or nouns in annexation to it (*ḳaws al-ḥusbān*, *ḳaws al-ridjl*, etc.). Furthermore, one often finds qualities inherent in the weapon used to designate various types of bow (*al-katūm*, *al-rahīsh*, *al-zawrāʾ*, etc., see below, § 3).

1. *Generalities and origins*

In classical antiquity and the Christian west, gallantry was especially displayed in close combat, so that the short sword and the straight sword were regarded as the noble weapons, as the poet Lucan clearly states: *Ensis habet uires, et gens quaecumque uirorum/bella gerit gladiis* (*Pharsalia*, viii, 385-6). Arms involving the hurling of projectiles (bows, arbalests and slings) were regarded as treacherous arms whose use was left to mercenary soldiers (Cretan archers and slingsmen from the Balearic Islands in the Roman army, Genoese crossbowmen in 14th century France). On the other hand, in the sphere of the martial arts in Islamic lands, the bow held the outstanding place, as the abundance of technical literature devoted to *rimāya* [*q.v.*] shows. The information which we possess is only fragmentary, and comes from studies and published treatises stemming from the latter half of the last century; the principal ones are given below, in chronological order.

Hammer-Purgstall, *Über Bogen und Pfeil*, Vienna 1853 (a work based on the treatise of Muṣṭafā Kānī, which stresses religious and social aspects and leaves unexplored technical considerations); Schwarzlose, *Die Waffen der alten Arabern*, Leipzig 1886 (a lexicographical study devoted to the weapons of the pre-Islamic Arabs and based on a systematic analysis of ancient poetry); Fries, *Das Heereswesen der Araber*, Tübingen 1921 (a study of the Umayyad army,

based on al-Ṭabarī, but with comparatively little information on archers); Hein, *Bogenhandwerk*, in *Isl.*, xiv-xv (1925-6) (a study of archery among the Ottomans made from the points of view of construction and of sporting use, and based on the *Talkhīṣ rasā'il al-rumāt* of Muṣṭafā Kānī); Klopsteg, *Turkish archery*, 1934 (deals with certain developments out of the preceeding study, with more exact technical details); Faris and Elmer, *Arab archery*, Princeton 1945 (the first critical edition of a treatise on archery dating from *ca.* 1500); Zajączkowski published at Warsaw in 1956 a Mamlūk treatise on archery of unknown authorship and included in a treatise on farriery and the care of horses; Boudot-Lamotte, *Contribution à l'étude de l'archerie musulmane*, Damascus 1968 (the section on archery from a treatise on arms composed for Saladin by Marḍī); Latham and Paterson, *Saracen archery*, London 1970 (a treatise by the Mamlūk Ṭaybughā, with commentary and illustrations).

The traditional items of information given in the treatises on *rimāya* generally agree that the origin of the bow goes back to a heavenly gift bestowed on Adam through the intermediacy of the Archangel Gabriel. Adam then used with great profit this divinely-hallowed weapon, with its miraculous character, in order to preserve his crops from birds' depredations, and he passed the weapon on to his descendants, amongst whom Abraham, "father of the Arabs", apparently had a great reputation as an archer. Little is known about the archers of the pre-Islamic period, or about what kind of bow they used (see below, § 3). It seems that certain tribal groups especially favoured this weapon, such as the B. Saʿd of Tamīm, whose skill at shooting was praised by various poets, including al-Ḳulākh b. Ḥazn. The Prophet is said to have been a skilled archer whose mastery of the bow was revealed at the battle of Uḥud, and he had several bows whose names are preserved by tradition. Al-Ṭabarī, ed. Cairo, iii, 184-5, mentions three of these, taken from the B. Ḳaynuqāʿ, sc. *rawḥā'*, *shawḥaṭ* (also called *al-bayḍā'*) and *ṣafrā'*, this last made from *nabʿ* wood. ʿAbd Allāh Efendi (*apud* Hein) numbers the Prophet's bows at six, adding to the three already mentioned *sadād*, *zawrā'* and *katūm*. The existence of these bows is attested, but without precise references, in *LA*, iii, 208. The most famous archer of the period of the Islamic beginnings was undoubtedly, according to tradition, the "Paladin of Islam" Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ, whom the Turkish archers' guilds later made their patron. Saʿd distinguished himself at Uḥud with a little group of archers, whose names are preserved in the *K. al-Maghāzī* of al-Wāḳidī.

It is somewhat surprising to note that the word *ḳaws* appears only once in the Ḳur'ān, in *S. al-Nadjm* (LIII, 9), in which it only figures, however, as a measure of distance: *fa-kāna ḳāba ḳawsayni aw adnā* "[the angel] was two bow-lengths off or nearer". *S. al-Anfāl* (VIII, 62) nevertheless implicitly emphasises the essential part assigned to the bow in the fight against the unbelievers: *aʿiddū lahum mā-staṭaʿtum min ḳuwwatin* "prepare against them whatsoever force you are able to gather". The word *ḳuwwa* here is often glossed by the authors of the treatises on archery as "the force of bows". This remarkable restrainedness of the Ḳur'ān is on the other hand amply compensated for by the numerous traditions to be found all through the *ḥadīth* literature. From the main corpora, one may cite: Abū Dāwūd, *Djihād*, 23; al-Bukhārī, *Djihād*, 78, 80; *Anbiyā'*, 16; *Manāḳib*, 4; al-Dārimī, *Djihād*, 14, 23; Ibn Ḥanbal, i, 92, 124, 137, 264, iv, 50, 144, 146, 148, 154, 368, v, 31; Ibn Mādja, *Muḳaddima*, 11; *Tidjārāt*, 67; *Djihād*, 19; Muslim, *Imāra*, 169; *Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥāba*, 41, 2; al-Nasā'ī, *Djihād*, 26; *Khayl*, 8; al-Tirmidhī, *Djihād*, 11; *Manāḳib*, 26 (see Boudot-Lamotte, *Contribution*, 40-5).

It is unnecessary to point out that these pieces of information contain no precise technical details which would enable us to reconstruct with any sureness the types of bow used at the time of the *maghāzī*. One possibility might be by means of the makers of bows, concerning whom no research has yet been done. One finds many times in Islamic onomastic the *laḳab* of "al-Ḳawwās". According to a piece of information in the *Aghānī*, xiv, 36, al-Djāḥiẓ mentions (*Ḥayawān*, v, 233-5) two famous bow-makers, ʿUṣfūr al-Azdī and Māsikha, the latter having been, according to tradition, the first man to make bows. Ibn Rashīḳ, *ʿUmda*, ii, 222, repeats this information in order to explain the adjectives *ʿuṣfūriyya* and *māsikhiyya* applied to bows. Amongst these uncertainties, one fact seems incontrovertible: that unlike the Persians, amongst whom archery had long been an ancient tradition and was one still living in Islamic times, the ancient Arabs used the bow more for hunting than for warfare. On one hand, archery was little practised from horseback, and on the other, the prevalence of single combats since the time of the *Ayyām al-ʿArab* did not require it [see DJAYSH. i]. Hence it was in Iran, and more precisely, in Khurāsān, where Abū Muslim organised his army, that new techniques, unknown to the Umayyads, were introduced in the domains of siege warfare as in that of archery. These Khurāsānians were themselves progressively replaced under al-Muʿtaṣim by Turks brought from Central Asia, accustomed to fighting on horseback, as al-Djāḥiẓ remarks in his well-known *Risāla fī manāḳib al-Turk wa-ʿāmmmat djund al-khilāfa*, ed. Van Vloten, Leiden 1903. The coming of the Saldjūḳs intensified the employment of the horse-archer, whose astonishing successfulness came from the union, born in Central Asia, of the horse and the bow, whose symbolic forms may well have inspired the graphic shape of the *ṭughras* [*q.v.*]. These horse-archers formed, one need hardly point out, an extremely-mobile light cavalry force which contrasted sharply with the heavily-armed cataphracti which were used at that time in the west.

The counter-crusade begun by Saladin caused a florescence of treatises on *djihād* and *furūsiyya* in which there were treated, for the first time systematically, the techniques pertaining to each branch of weaponry (see Cahen, *Traité*, and on bows, Boudot-Lamotte, *Contribution*). In the Mamlūk period this literature devoted to arms—often didactic in aim and utilising the form of the *urdjūza*—developed considerably, and amongst the topics dealt with were the manufacture and use of weapons, with archery occupying a prominent place (see Latham and Paterson, *Saracen archery*). After Baybars' defeat of the Mongols at ʿAyn Djālūt, there was created the *maydān* or training-ground for horse-archers. The introduction of firearms did not lead to the sudden disappearance of the bow. Indeed, the handling of the arquebus, slow and cumbersome, left the archers with a superiority in the field, at least at the outset; moreover, as Ayalon has noted [see BĀRŪD, iii], "To equip a soldier with an arquebus meant taking away his bow and, what was to the Mamlūk more distasteful, depriving him of his horse, thereby reducing him to the humiliating

status of a foot soldier, compelled either to march or to allow himself to be carried in an ox-cart".

Thus there speedily succeeded to the foot archers of the first Arab *dj̲unds* Persian mounted archers and then Turkish ones, whose participation in Islamic battles only ceased with the dawning of the modern period (the arquebus was introduced among the Mamlūks in 895/1490 under Sultan Ḳā'itbāy, some 125 years later than in Europe; see Ayalon, *loc. cit.*).

2. *The treatises*

The fundamental work, to which most of the authors of treatises on *rimāya* refer, is that called *al-Wāḍiḥ* by a certain Ṭabarī, whom Muṣṭafā Kānī states is "the father of all the books written about the bow". For Kānī, this Ṭabarī had to be the famous historian, but Ahlwardt believed, no doubt correctly (*apud* Ritter, 136), that it must be someone of the same name, whose complete designation was Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, d. 694/1295.

The intensification of *dj̲ihād* under the Ayyūbids stimulated the development of technical literature on archery. The oldest treatise is by a certain Murḍā, or more likely, Marḍī (see Brockelmann, I, 495), whose *nasab* is only partly known, Ibn ʿAlī b. Marḍī, and his *nisba*, al-Ṭarsūsī, apparently indicating an origin from Ṭarsūs. It was composed for Saladin *ca.* 570/1174 in collaboration with a celebrated arms manufacturer of Alexandria, Ḥasan b. al-Abraḳī, and is called *Tabṣirat arbāb al-albāb fī kayfiyyat al-nadj̲āt fi 'l-ḥurūb min al-aswā' wa-nas̲h̲r iʿlām al-aʿlām fī 'l-ʿudad wa 'l-ālāt al-muʿīna ʿalā liḳā' al-aʿdā'*. Amongst the different weapons studied (see Cahen, *Traité*), bows occupy the favoured place (see Boudot-Lamotte, *Contribution*). Later in time (end of the 8th/14th century) but rich in its subject-matter and enjoying a wide diffusion is a didactic poem in 149 verses and the *radj̲az* metre, accompanied by a technical commentary, attributed to Ṭaybug̲h̲ā al-As̲h̲rafī al-Baklamis̲h̲ī al-Yūnānī and called *K. G̲h̲unyat al-ṭullāb fī maʿrifat ramy al-nus̲h̲s̲h̲āb* (on the different manuscripts of this treatise, in various recensions, see Latham and Paterson, *Saracen archery*, xxxvi-xxxviii). The catalogues of Arabic, Turkish and Persian manuscripts further mention treatises on *rimāya*, so far unedited; but so far as is yet known, none of these is earlier than that of Marḍī or richer in information than that of Ṭaybug̲h̲ā. Accordingly, our information on the teaching of *rimāya* remains fragmentary and limited for the period between the Ayyūbids and the Ottomans. We know little about the master-archers whose teachings are handed down in the treatises, apart from the fact that, on the evidence of their *nisbas*, they stemmed from K̲h̲urāsān and Transoxania. One might conclude that most of them lived in the middle years of the 3rd/9th century, since it was from this date that the ʿAbbāsids started raising large numbers of troops from K̲h̲urāsān and Transoxania. Three great figures are constantly cited, and it seems that their techniques (as will be explained in § 3 below) corresponded to three main technical methods. They are Abū Hās̲h̲im al-Bāwardī (sc. from Abīward), Ṭāhir al-Balk̲h̲ī and Isḥāḳ al-Raffā'. Furthermore, certain techniques are attributed to masters cited more irregularly, sc. Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Tirmid̲h̲ī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Harawī, Abū 'l-Fatḥ Saʿīd al-Samarḳandī, Muḥammad b. Itārak al-Sarak̲h̲sī, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Kāg̲h̲idī, Abū Mūsā al-Ḥarrānī, Ḥayawayh al-Balk̲h̲ī, and Abū Mūsā al-K̲h̲arrāz. For a detailed consideration of these, see J. D. Latham, *The archers of the Middle East: the Turco-Iranian background*, in *Iran*, viii (1970), 97-103.

The treatises show a certain resemblance in their structure, and one can broadly distinguish an introduction made up of traditions, followed or preceeded by considerations on the origin of the bow and lexicographical information; a central core containing an enumeration of the basic principles (*uṣūl*) and secondary ones (*furūʿ*) laid down by the master-archers; whilst the close is often made up of various tactical considerations.

3. *The various types of bow*

The various kinds of bow are described with a great variety of names, often composed of two vocables, under the influence of lexicography; whence the oppositions *ḳaws ḥidj̲āzī/ḳaws fārisī*; *ḳaws al-yad/ḳaws al-ridj̲l*; *filḳ/ḳaḍīb*; etc.

Ḳaws ḥidj̲āzī. The type of bow used by the pre-Islamic Arabs was that of the simple, wooden bow, either short on long, depending on the cross section adopted; there is abundant evidence in the Arabic sources for this. In one passage, Herodotus seems to refer to the Arabs' use of composite, reflex bows: Ἀράβιοι ... τόξα δὲ παλίντονα εἶχον πρὸς δεξιὰ μακρά, in which παλίντονα ("stretched towards the rear") could refer to reflex bows (see Hein, 357). It is quite possible that composite bows were known in parts of Arabia, and Herodotus may have been correct as far as he went; the composite bow was well-known in the Iranian world, and eventually became the standard weapon of the Sasanid archers. The requisite horn may have been imported, if long-horned cattle or goats were not available within the peninsula. But Herodotus is a very early source to cite for the position in Arabia in say the 6th century AD; by that time, as remarked above, the Arab bow was essentially the simple wooden one. The Arabic sources state repeatedly that the Arabs made their bows from *nabʿ* (*Grewia tenax*), which was apparently perfectly suitable for this; to this day, the primitive peoples of Somalia make effective bows, up to a length of almost 2 m., out of *Grewia tenax*. This *nabʿ* was regularly imported into Arabia; Persian caravans loaded with it used to leave al-Madā'in/Ctesiphon via al-Ḥīra and Yamāma for the Yemen (*Ag̲h̲ānī*,[1] xix, 110, 116), and Mount Ḳasr was famous for its *nabʿ*. Further mentioned in the construction of the pre-Islamic Arab bows are *s̲h̲awḥaṭ* or *murrān* (*cornus mas.*) and *nas̲h̲am* (*chadara velutina*).

Ḳaws wāsiṭiyya. Apparently the Arab composite bow. The adjective stems not from the town of Wāsiṭ on the Tigris but must be understood in its proper sense of median, intermediate, probably with reference to the components of this bow (see *Saracen archery*, 10).

Ḳaws al-yad. "Hand-bow", as opposed to the *ḳaws al-ridj̲l* or arbalest (see below).

Between these two comes the *Ḳaws al-bunduḳ* "pellet- or stone-bow", the archetype of the arbalest used solely for shooting birds and already known in the Prophet's time. The projectile used was a ball of hardened clay (*dj̲ulāhiḳ* or *bunduḳ*). However, it should be noted that projectiles like balls or pellets can be shot from a hand bow as well as from a cross-bow, and we know that hand bows were used thus from the time of Tutankhamun onwards, see *JESHO* (1972), 226; it was merely a matter of fitting a suitable pocket on to the string, and such pockets can be seen in Islamic miniature paintings.

Filḳ (also *s̲h̲arīdj̲*). A bow consisting of a single

stave split length-wise and spliced with glue; see *LA*, ii, 306, and al-Thaʿālibī, 372.

Ḳaḍīb. A bow made of a stave all of a piece and unspliced, sc. a self-bow (*ibid*., 372).

Farʿ, *fadjdjāʾ*, *fidjw*, *munfadjā*. All these terms designate self-bows (*LA*, viii, 247, xiv, 355; al-Thaʿālibī, 372; al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 283).

Katūm, *fāridj*, *furdj*. A bow made from a single stave, hence it does not vibrate when loosed (*LA*, xii, 507; al-Thaʿālibī, 373).

Djaʾsh. A light and weak bow which, contrary to the preceeding one, vibrates when loosed (*LA*, i, 149; al-Thaʿālibī, *loc. cit.*).

ʿĀtiḳa. An old bow whose wood has become red (Ibn Durayd, 37; al-Thaʿālibī, *loc. cit.*).

Rahīsh, *murtahisha*. A bow whose string, at the moment of loosing, strikes the part called the *ṭāʾif*; such a bow, usually slim and light, vibrates when loosed.

Zawrāʾ, *ḳaws munḥaniya*. Probably a bow with a strong bend (*LA*, iv, 334) made from *nasham* wood (*chadara velutina*).

Bāyina. A bow which uses too long an arrow, this being considered a fault because it reduces the draw and consequently makes the shot less powerful.

ʿAtala. Powerful Persian bows which are very curved (thus in the treatises as well as in the lexica).

Arbalests. Ranging from the stone- or pellet-bows mentioned above to the powerful siege machines with winding mechanisms, there existed a whole array of arbalests. Mentioned below are only those which appear most frequently in the treatises on *djihād* and *furūsiyya*. It should be noted at the outset that if the expression *ḳaws al-ridjl* seems to be used for arbalests in general, certain authors give it the more precise sense of "foot-bow" and distinguish it from the *ḳaws al-rikāb* "stirrup-bow" or *arbalista ad unum pedem*, an arbalest with a stirrup for one foot only, just as in the west this last was distinguished from the *arbalista ad duos pedes* (see Payne-Gallwey, *Crossbow*, 60). One may distinguish, in order of increasing complexity:

Ḳaws al-ḥusbān. This is a hand bow adapted to shoot short arrows, and it had therefore an arrow guide but no nut or locking mechanism.

Ḳaws al-ridjl. A cross-bow of any kind, with a stirrup or not; for an illustration of a simple cross-bow, see *Saracen archery*, xxx.

Ḳaws al-rikāb. A cross-bow with a stirrup, in which the foot is placed, see *ibid*., xxxi. A cross-bowman thus armed carries round his waist a strap at whose two extremities are hooks and by means of which he engages the bowstring. Having placed his foot or feet in the stirrup, he straightens up and thereby pulls on the cord which thus reaches the catch (*ḳufl*) of the stock or arrow-guide (*midjrāt*).

Djarkh (< Persian *čarkh* "circle, wheel"). An individual arbalest whose bow is drawn back by means of a wheel (whence its name); by this very long arrows, approaching the length of javelins, could be fired (for an illustration of one type, see *Saracen archery*, 18). The Muslims borrowed from the Mongols the usage of multiple-firing arbalests called *čarkh-kamān*, which the *čarkhandazān* of Hülägü's army used [see ḤIṢĀR. iii. Persia].

Ḳaws al-ziyār. This was no longer a portable arbalest but a siege-engine mounted on a fixed chassis. It was used during the warfare between Saladin and the Crusaders, and corresponds *grosso modo* to the "grand arbalest with a wheel" used in Europe for sieges and described by Viollet le Duc (*Dict. d'architecture*, v, 241-3).

Siege-engines [see ḤIṢĀR], of a more or less static nature, like the stone-hurler or *ʿarrāda* [*q.v.*] and the mangonel or *mandjanīḳ* [*q.v.*] were, according to their importance, set up on mountings or even manufactured on the spot (as did the Ottomans later with their cannons). This necessitated the presence of specialist corps, mainly of carpenters (these last being also used to make supports for the galleries in mine-shafts), as well as the besieging troops. One should also note that certain of these siege-engines could be used to hurl pots full on incendiary naphtha or *naft* [*q.v.*].

4. *The terminology of the components of the bow* (see fig. 1)

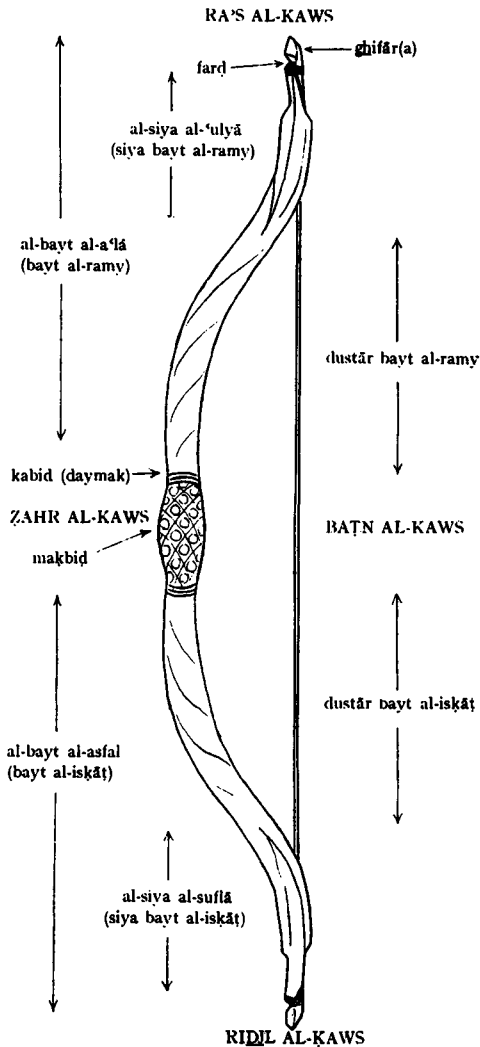



Fig. 1.

This terminology presupposes that the bow is held vertically, in position for firing, and this determines the four main "regions" of the bow, sc. the upper part (*raʾs al-ḳaws*) and the lower part (*ridjl al-ḳaws*), from the vertical axis, and on the horizontal axis, the internal face or "belly" (*baṭn al-ḳaws*), facing the archer, and the external face or "back" (*ẓahr al-ḳaws*).

The sources frequently liken the composite bow to the human body, and most parts of it take their name from parts of this last (e.g. *ẓahr*, *baṭn*, *rukba*, *ʿunuḳ*, *ḳabḍa*, *ẓufr*, etc.), thus the arc of the bow has as its centre or focal point the *kabid* (lit. "liver"), and the term *dīmak/daymak* is used for "arrow-pass", sc. the side of the handle continuous with the *wadjh* ("face"), the part facing the archer as he shoots; it derives from Persian *dīma* "cheek".

Once the bow has been strung and held in a recurved position, each of its limbs delimits, together with the bowstring, a sector or "house" (*bayt*). Thus we have, with the upper limb, an "upper house" (*bayt aʿlā*), also called "house of shooting" (*bayt al-ramy*), because the shot is made according to this plan. The lower limb determines the "lower house" (*bayt asfal*) or "house of perpendicularity" (*bayt al-isḳāṭ*), i.e. that which falls away towards the ground. At 3/4 of the way along its length, each limb makes a sharp angle of return, at *ca.* 60°, in the backwards direction; this bend has to be very resistant, since it bears the thrust of the recurved limb. Marḍī calls this part *dustār* (Persian "twisted cord, turban"), i.e. the torus, which corresponds to the Arabic terms *ṭāʾif* "edging, that which skirts the edge" and *ʿunuḳ*. However, Ṭaybughā uses *dustār* in a quite different sense, sc. that of "the working part of the limb", and this gives better sense, see the diagram of the terminology of the bow in *Saracen archery*, 162. Since each "house" has its torus, there is in effect an "upper torus" or "torus of the house of shooting" (*dustār bayt al-ramy*), and a "lower torus" or "torus of the house of perpendicularity (*dustār bayt al-isḳāṭ*). The torus is followed by the rigid, straight end of the limb, the "end-piece" or *siya*, whose extremity has a bone or ivory ferrule, *ghifār/ghifāra* = "cover or cap". In this ferrule there is gouged out the groove or "nock" (*farḍ*), where the loop of the bow-string (*ʿayn al-watar*) fits. When the string is in place, the end-piece appears like the neck of a violin; at its base and just before the bend of the torus, there may be a string-bridge whose function is to keep the bow-string constantly within the plan of the bow. As with the other parts coming in pairs, one speaks of an "upper end-piece" for that of the "house of shooting" (*siya ʿulyā* or *siya bayt al-ramy*) and a "lower end-piece" for that of the "house of perpendicularity" (*siya suflā* or *siya bayt al-iskāṭ*).

5. *Arrow and quivers*

The three main words denoting the arrow seem to convey the following distinctions: *sahm* (arrow made from a reed; but Ṭaybughā, in *Saracen archery*, 24, says that this was of hard, solid wood)—*nabl* (wooden or Arab arrow)—*nushshāb* (Persian arrow). *Sahm* is the most general term if one believes Herodotus, for whom the Arabs as well as the Persians originally used arrows made from reeds (*apud* Hein, 26). According to Ibn al-Tiḳṭaḳā, the Persians called the Arab arrow (generally made from wood) *nabl* (Fries, 53), whilst the word continually used in the accounts of battles fought in the eastern provinces of the Umayyad empire to indicate the Persian arrow is *nushshāb*, of whatever material it may be made (*ibid.*). Leaving aside the divergencies found in certain manuscripts, the constituent elements of a wooden arrow, as they appear in the relevant treatises, are as follows (see fig. 2).

The wood (of the shaft) (*ḳidḥ*), whose forepart (towards the head) is called the *ṣadr* or foreshaft, and whose rear part, of wider section, is the *matn*. The *ṣadr* includes a socket (*ruʿẓ*) meant to take the head. This delicate end of the wood of the shaft is reinforced

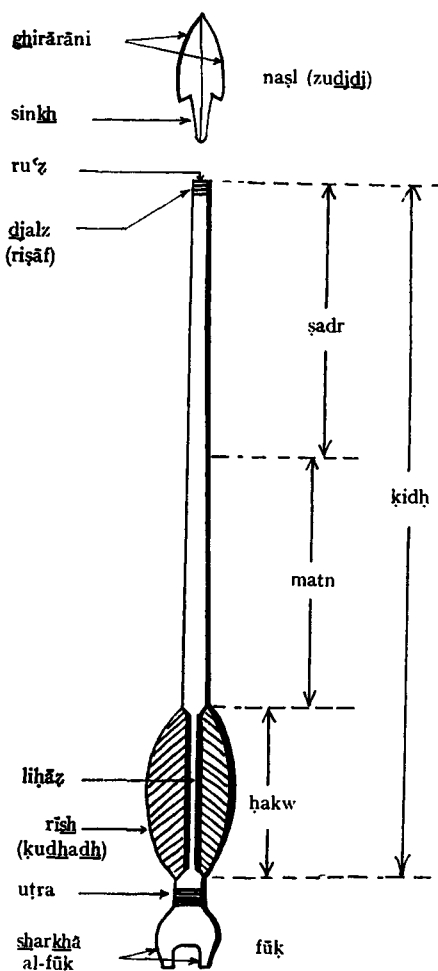



Fig. 2.

by a binding of sinews (*djalz* or *riṣāf*). The part of the *matn* which receives the fletchings (*rīsh*) is the section which is somewhat constricted and is called the waist (*ḥaḳw*); it terminates in an enlargement where is made the nock (*fūḳ*) which is meant to be embedded in the nocking-point of the bow-string (*maʿdin al-watar*). The base of the *matn*, which is situated just above the nock, undergoes, at the moment of release, a violent thrust which might tend to break the arrow at this point; hence it has a ligature of sinews (*uṭra* "cuticle") which is the counterpart of that of the upper part of the *ṣadr* (the *djalz* or *riṣāf*). The arrow is, in this way, reinforced at both of the ends of least resistance. The two sides of the nock are called *sharkhā al-fūḳ*. The head (*naṣl* or zudjdj), which may have two edges (*ghirārān*), has a pointed tang (*sinkh*) which is embedded within the *ruʿẓ*.

In the treatises on *rimāya*, quivers are given various, sometimes contradictory names. Thus we find: *djaʿba*, a fairly large, leather quiver having a lid fixed by means of a cord (*mikhdhaf*). There are two Persian terms: *tīrkash*, a quiver made of horse-hair and used by archers from the province of Gīlān, and *nim-ling*, a quiver made of various skins sewn together and analogous to the preceeding one. *Ḳindīl* (< Greek κανδῆλα, see Dozy, *Suppl.*, ii, 410),

a cylindrical quiver in which the arrows are placed with their heads downwards, as opposed to the procedure with the *dja'ba*. Concerning the *kināna*, a quiver made from skins, the lexicographical evidence is somewhat contradictory. *LA*, xiii, 321-2, gives the two senses of quiver made from skin and quiver made from wood, and Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, Cairo 1958, 27-8, notes that "if [the quiver] is made from skin, it is called *kināna*, if made from wood, *djafīr*, and if made from two pieces fastened together, *ḳaran*. The term *kināna* comprises all these nuances". *Djafīr*, according to *LA*, iv, 143, "resembles the *kināna*, but is bigger and can hold a large number of arrows. A *ḥadīth* seems to show that this quiver was of purely Arab origin: "Whoever takes an Arab bow and its quiver (*djafīr*), God will keep poverty away from him" (*ibid.*). *Ḳaḍba*, a quiver made from the *nab'* wood (*Grewia tenax*). *Ḳaran*, a quiver made from pieces of leather put together so that the air can circulate through interstices left so that the fletchings of the arrows do not deteriorate. *Wafḍa*, a quiver made from skin entirely, with no wood in its construction (the word originally denotes a shepherd's leather bag). Finally, one should note a metaphorical phrase for "quiver" connected with its capacity, sc. *umm thalāthīn* (al-Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, Cairo n.d., i, 590). Another pointer to the capacity of certain quivers is provided by al-Wāḳidī, who in his account of the battle of Uḥud notes that an archer called Abū Ṭalḥa spread out in front of the Prophet, as a sign of his faithfulness, the contents of his quiver (*dja'ba*), amounting to 50 arrows (*apud* Fries, 54).

6. *Gauntlets and thumb-rings*

The very strong pressure of the bow-string on the fingers and thumb at the time of the draw necessitates some protection here, provided by a leather gauntlet with the fingers reinforced with horn, bamboo or other hard material and held on the wrist by a thong or strap. According to the technique adopted for locking the bow-string (*'aḳd*), this gauntlet can have 2, 3 or 4 fingers, but is never a complete glove. It may be designated by the arabised Persian word *kushtubān/kishtibān*, a doublet of *angushtvāneh/angushtbāneh* (see Dozy, *Suppl.*, s.v.); however, this is also the normal word for "thumb-guard", "drawing-ring", see J. D. Latham, *Keshtebān: a Persian loan-word in Arabic*, in *JRAS* (1968), 65-7. The modern archer's gauntlet is a copy of this. The so-called "Mongolian" method of taking the bow-string with the thumb requires the use of a thumb-stall, *khati'a* (sometimes, but incorrectly, *khayta'a*). Good archers seem especially to appreciate rings made from hard substances like bone or ivory and corresponding exactly to the shape of their thumb, carefully carved and sometimes decorated with great artistry (see *Arab archery*, 123-4; Hein, in *Isl.* xv, 18-22; Klopsteg, 67-70; Latham and Paterson, *Saracen archery*, pl. 7 A-B).

7. *The phases and principles of shooting*

The act of shooting can be broken down into a certain number of phases, each of which is developed with detail and precision and with reference to the practice of the main master-archers, in the treatises on *rimāya*. It is not possible to enter into detail here (see for this, Latham and Paterson, *Saracen archery*, and Boudot-Lamotte, *Contribution*), and only a brief review of these phases, treated chronologically, is given here.

(a) *Ītār*, act of stringing or bracing the bow. This operation needs special care, as much to avoid damaging the bow as to avoid injury. Certain particularly powerful bows require the intervention of a helper or of special contrivances, bracing mechanisms, such as the *kharkumān* "bracing-board" (from Pers. *khar* + *kumān*?).

(b) *Ḳabḍa*, grasp, sc. the position of the left hand (for a right-handed person) on the grip or handle (*maḳbiḍ*) of the bow. In order to distinguish this technique from that of the *'aḳd* (see below), the authors sometimes call this more precisely *al-ḳabḍa bi 'l-shamāl*.

(c) *'Aḳd* or *ḳafla*, the ock, locking, sc. the position on the bow-string of the fingers of the right hand, and especially that of the thumb in the "Mongolian" technique of locking (*al-'aḳd bi 'l-ibhām 'alā 'l-watar*). In order to achieve a concise and clear exposition of this, the authors of the treatises generally refer to counting by means of the fingers [see ḤISĀB AL-'AḲD]. In effect, the thumb in the locking position and the fingers which, in various manners, come to lock the position in order to ensure a good draw of the string during the whole process of the draw, form a figure which is expressed by the corresponding numeral in the system of digital computation. Three locks seem to be especially favoured, sc. 63, 69 and 83.

(d) *Tafwīḳ*, nocking. This consists of bracing the arrow's nock (*fūḳ*) on the binding of the bow-string. There must be no play there, so that when the archer draws back the arrow, together with the bow-string, he accompanies the latter in its rearwards path to the chosen anchorage-point (see below).

(e) *Madd*, the draw, drawing (also *naz' al-watar*). This consists of bringing the bow-string back towards oneself. This technique has variants in terms of the anchor-point selected, which can be at different levels: eyebrow, ear-lobe, moustache, chin, sternum.

(f) *Naẓar*, aim. This has various techniques according to the corrections which must be made in height and direction.

(g) *Iṭlāḳ* or *iflāt*, the loose, loosing. This is the last and certainly the most important phase of shooting, which demands the archer's entire concentration, an "emptying of the heart" (*takhliya-yi ḳalb*) and a setting-aside of all other thought (*mā siwā*). The master-archers insist in this attitude, which is like that of the supplicant at the time of the *takbīr al-iḥrām*. There seem to be three basic *iṭlāḳs*. In the first, called *mukhtalas* "snatched", the archer draws rapidly and looses immediately without any break in time. In the second, called *sākin* "held", he draws slowly, holding the draw in order to verify that the position of the shot is good and then looses calmly. The third is called *mafrūk* "twisted", and involves a light, partial draw—a brief moment at rest—and then a sudden end to the draw followed immediately by the loose.

Like the religious lawyers or *fuḳahā'*, the authors of the treatises distinguish five *arkān*, sc. the bow, the string, the arrow, the thumb-ring and the archer, and in the manner of *fiḳh*, they divide the phases of shooting which have been surveyed above into *uṣūl* and *furū'*. It is thus possible to draw up the following table from the information of the chief master-archers:

Abū Hāshim—4 *uṣūl*, sc. *ḳabḍa*, *'aḳd*, *madd*, *iṭlāḳ*.

Ṭāhir—to the 4 *uṣūl* given above is added an *aṣl* called *i'timād* which consists of holding firmly in the left hand the grip or handle of the bow whilst the right-hand fingers make a good locking of the string, the two hands exerting equal forces.

Isḥāḳ—*intiṣāb* (position facing the target), *ītār*, *tafwīḳ*, *ḳufla*, *ḳabḍa*, *madd*, *iflāt*, *fatḥa*, together with a *far'*, shooting from beneath a shield (*al-ramy taḥt al-turs*).

Abū Mūsā al-Kharrāz—4 *uṣūl*, sc. *ʿaḳd, ḳabḍa, naẓar, iflāt*, and 6 *furūʿ*, sc. *itār, tafwīḳ*, shooting from beneath a shield, shooting with a breastplate, knowledge of weapons for their use in combination, ways of changing weapons in the course of a battle. He also adds two moral qualities, *khaṣla*: not to shoot at anyone or anything contrary to the will of God, and to show patience.

Muḥammad al-Harawī—7 *uṣūl*, sc. *itār, tafwīḳ, ḳufla, ḳabḍa, madd, naẓar, iflāt*.

Finally, one may note that all these different techniques seem to come down to three main physical types, those of the three Imāms of *rimāya*, sc. Hāshim (tall), Ṭāhir (short and stocky) and Isḥāḳ (medium height).

8. *Training and tactical use*

The preceeding considerations concern shooting mainly on a horizontal plane. The Mamlūks especially developed two forms of practice shooting in a vertical plane, one up into the air (*ramy al-ḳabaḳ*) and one downwards (*ḳighadj*). The archer familiar with these techniques could use his weapon to maximum advantage in the various circumstances arising during battle.

Ramy al-ḳabaḳ "shooting at a gourd" (Tkish. *ḳabaḳ* "gourd"). A pole approximately 25 feet high was erected in the *maydān*, with a gourd or other spherical or oval object at its end, which the mounted archer must reach when his galloping horse passed by the pole. Little is known about the origins of this shooting exercise, which must have come from Central Asia and Turkmen practice. This exercise was very popular under the Mamlūks, and reached its apogee between 658/1260 and 694/1295 in the sultanates of Baybars I, Ḳalāʾūn and al-Ashraf Khalīl, often giving rise to splendid festivities. A description is given in the Mamlūk historians Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, viii, 6, and al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, iii, 180. On *ramy al-ḳabaḳ*, see especially Latham and Paterson, *Saracen archery*, 77-8, 172, and Hassanein Rabie, *The training of the Mamlūk Fāris*, in *War, technology and society in the Middle East*, ed. V. J. Parry and M. E. Yapp, London 1975, 153-63.

Ḳighadj (< Tkish. *kiğaç* "slope, incline"; the faulty transliteration of J. T. Reinaud *kycadj* gives the word as it must have appeared after the passage of Tkish. *ğ* to Ar. *ḳ*). In Ṭaybughā (*Saracen archery*, 78-9, 172-3) this term denotes either an exercise in which the archer, shooting parallel with his left thigh, shoots at a ground target, or else any kind of downwards shot made from horseback. According to Morier, *Second journey through Persia*, London 1818, 169, the word denoted shooting rearwards by a group of cavalrymen at full galop.

In open country, the archers whose function was to break, from a distance, the charge of the enemy were normally placed in the front rank. (Crossbowmen were also used for this aim, but with varying effect. If the arbalest gave an advantage of greater precision and a more powerful shot, it had serious disadvantages: heaviness, cumbersomeness and above all, a distinctly slower frequency of shooting, since a good crossbowman could only with great difficulty let off two bolts in the time during which an archer could shoot off twelve arrows. Hence the crossbow was primarily used for the defence or attacking of fortresses.) In the second rank came infantrymen sheltered behind shields and provided with weapons for cut-and-thrust in close combat (lances, swords). In the third rank were placed detachments of cavalry meant for hurling in at decisive moments [see ḤARB. ii. The caliphate]. The Turks, and then the Mongols, gave pride of place on the battle field to cavalrymen armed with short and very powerful reflexed, composite bows. The tactic of these horse-archers consisted of drowning the enemy under a hail of arrows whilst one or both of the wings moved round to envelope the enemy's wings or rear [see ḤARB. iv. Persia].

The "Scythian" method of shooting over the shoulder. This was a tactic stemming from the nomadic peoples of Central Asia, who were trained from childhood in riding and archery. The tactic must have been adopted, as Rostovtseff showed (see Bibl.), by the Scythians of the 8th-2nd centuries BC, and then passed to the Tatars; it made a vivid

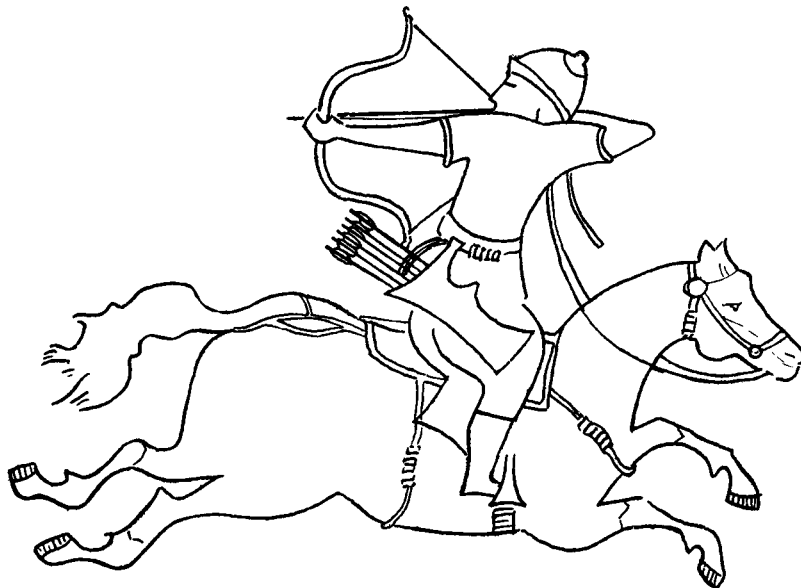



Fig. 3.

impression on classical authors, in whom the expression "Parthian shot" became a synonym for treachery (on the Scythians' tactics, see Herodotus, iv, 120; Xenophon, Anabasis, iii, 3, 10). This archer avoided close combat by making a series of attacks and retreats which had a definitely demoralising effect on the enemy. Greek and Latin authors often refer to this, and especially significant in this connection is the verse of Propertius, iv, 3, 65-6, describing "the cunningly-contructed bow which lets fly against the fleeing cruppers", *plumbea cum tortae sparguntur pondera fundae/Subdolus et uersiis increpat arcus equis.*

It is moreover the concept of nomadic steppe cavalrymen which is at the bottom of mediaeval representations of Centaurs galloping along and shooting arrows behind them; see on this Z. Kadar, *L'influence des peuples cavaliers sur la formation des representations medievales des Centaures*, in *Acta Archaeologica*, ii/4 (Budapest 1952), 307-18.

This method of shooting, more "Scythian" than "Parthian", considering its ultimate origin, recurs in Turco-Mongol military traditions and is perfectly illustrated in the famous 15th century miniature of the Top Kapu Saray, 2163 Istanbul (see fig. 3). Its persistence over the course of centuries is remarkable, and Sulimirski (see Bibl.) has seen a last vestige of it during the modern period (long after firearms had toppled the bow from its primacy) in the rearwards shooting practiced—on horseback and with pistols—by the Cossacks of the 19th century and up to the time of the Polish-Bolshevik warfare of 1920.

Bibliography: Apart from the works mentioned in the text, see G. L. Anderson, *Turkish Archery*, in *British Archer*, xvi, (Dec. 1964-Jan. 1965), 150-1; D. Ayalon, *Notes on the Furusiyya exercises and games in the Mamluk Sultanate*, in *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, ix, 31-62; idem, *Studies on the structure of the Mamluk Army*, in *BSOAS*, xv/1-2 (1953), 203-28 and 448-76, xvi/3 (1954), 57-90; N. Baba, *The ancient sport of Archery*, in *La Turquie kémaliste*, no. 44 (1941), 17-23; H. Balfour, *On the structure and affinities of the composite bow*, in *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, xix/2 (1899), 220-46; F. R. Baḳi, *Kitāb faḍāʾil al-ramy fi sabil Allāh*, in *IC*, xxxiv/3, 195-218; A. de Bertier, V. Cordier et A. Guglielmini, *Le tir à l'arc*, Paris 1900; W. Boeheim, *Das Waffenwesen in seiner historischen Entwicklung*, Leipzig 1890; H. Bonnet, *Die Waffen der Völker des alten Orients*, Leipzig 1926; A. Boudot-Lamotte, *Contribution à l'étude de l'archerie musulmane, principalement d'après le manuscrit d'Oxford, Bodléienne Huntington n° 264*, Damascus 1968; A. Boudot-Lamotte et F. Viré, *Contribution à l'étude de l'archerie musulmane, Notes complémentaires*, in *Arabica*, xvii/1 (1970), 47-68; E. Bulanda, *Bogen und Pfeil bei den Völkern des Altertums*, Vienna-Leipzig 1913; E. H. Burke, *The History of Archery*, London 1958; Cl. Cahen, *Un traité d'armurerie composé pour Saladin*, in *BEO*, xii (1947-48); P. Clover, *Bowman's Handbook*, 3rd edn., Portsmouth 1955; K. A. C. Creswell, *A bibliography of the architecture, arts and crafts of Islam to 1st Jan. 1960*, The American University at Cairo Press 1961; A. Demmin, *Die Kriegswaffen in ihrer historischen Entwicklung von der Steinzeit bis zur Erfindung des Zündnadelsgewehre*, Leipzig 1869; P. L. Duchartre, *Histoire des armes de chasse et de leurs emplois*, Paris 1955 (86-124, the bow and crossbow); M. E. Elott, *Technique of the Oriental Release*, in *Archery* (Dec. 1962), 18-21 and 43; N. A. Faris and R. P. Elmer, *Arab Archery, an Arabic manuscript of about A.D. 1500*, Princeton 1945; A. Fischer, *Pfeile aus nabʿ-Holz*, in *ZDMG*, lviii (1904), 877-87; J. Flinton, *Musings on the Thumb Ring*, in *JSAA*, i (1958), 38-9; N. Fries, *Das Heereswesen der Araber zur Zeit der Omaijaden nach Tabari*, Tübingen 1921; Hamidullah, *Les champs de bataille au temps du Prophète*, in *REI* (1939), 1-13; J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Über Bogen und Pfeil, Der Gebrauch und die Verfertigung derselben bei den Arabern und Türken*, in *Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil. Hist. Kl. iv (1853); G. A. Hansard, *The Book of Archery*, London 1840; J. Hein, *Bogenhandwerk und Bogensport bei den Osmanen nach den "Auszug der Abhandlungen der Bogenschützen (telhis resail er-rümat) des Mustafa Kani", Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis des türkischen Handwerks und Vereinwesens*, in *Der Islam*, xiv-xv (1925); E. Herrigel, *Le Zen dans l'art chevaleresque du tir à l'arc*, Paris 1970; K. Huuri, *Zur Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Geschützwesens aus orientalischen Quellen*, Helsinki-Leipzig 1941 (Societas Orientalis fennica, ix, 3); Ibn Sīdah, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*; F. W. Isles, *Turkish Flight Arrows*, in *JSAA*, iv (1961), 25-8; P. E. Klopsteg, *Turkish Archery and the Composite Bow*, 2nd edn., Evanston, Ill. 1947; Kushādjim, *Kitāb al-Maṣāyid wa-l-Maṭārid*, ed. A. Talas, Baghdad 1954; P. Laplaige, *Glossaire de l'arc et de l'arbalète*, Montdidier 1958; J. D. Latham et W. F. Paterson, *An Analysis of Arrow-weights in an Islamic Military Manual*, in *JSS*, x (1965), 253-61; idem, *Saracen Archery, An English version and exposition of a Mameluke work on Archery (ca. A.D. 1368) with Introduction, Glossary and Illustrations*, London 1970; F. V. Luschan, *Bogenspannen, Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie*, in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xxi (1889), xxiii (1891); A. S. L. M. Lutful-Huq, *Muḥammad al-Aḳsarāʾī, Nihāyat al-suʾl wa-l-umniyya fī taʿlīm aʿmāl al-furūsiyya: A critical edition*, London 1956 (unpublished thesis); M. Maindron, *Les armes*, Paris 1890; G. Marckam, *L'art de tirer à l'arc*, London 1634; A. Marre, *Manière de compter des anciens avec les doigts des mains*, in *Bulletino Boncompagni*, i (1868), 309; L. Medinger, *L'arc turquois et les archers parthes à la bataille de Carrhes*, in *Rev. Arch.*, VIe série, ii (1933), 227; L. Mercier, *Aly ben Abderrahman ben Hodeïl el-Andalusy, La parure des cavaliers et l'insigne des preux*, Paris 1924; J. J. Modi, *Archery in Ancient Persia*, in *JRAS*, xxv (1917-21), 175-86; Montandon, *Traité d'ethnologie culturelle*, Paris 1934 (esp. 419: loosing of the arrow: primary, secondary, tertiary and Mediterranean methods); E. S. Morse, *Ancient and modern methods of arrow release*, in *Essex Institute Bulletin*, xvii (1885); idem, *Additional notes on arrow release*, Massachusetts 1922; W. F. Paterson, *The Archers of Islam*, in *JESHO*, ix (69-87); idem, *Thumb Guards*, in *JSAA*, vi (1963), 14-5; R. Payne-Gallwey, *The Crossbow*, London 1958; S. T. Pope, *Bows and arrows*, California U.P. (Berkeley), 1962 (1st edn. 1923); idem, *Hunting with the Bow and arrow*, New York 1947 (1st edn. 1923); G. Rausing, *The Bow, Some Notes on its Origin and Development*, Lund 1967; M. Reinaud, *Extraits des historiens arabes des Croisades*, Paris 1829; J. T. Reinaud, *De l'art militaire chez les Arabes au Moyen Age*, in *JA*, Ser. IV, vol. xii (1848); H. Riedel, *Leibesübungen und körperliche Erziehung in der osmanischen und kâmalisti-*

schen Türkei, Würzburg 1942; M. Rostovtzeff, *The Parthian Shot*, in *American Journal of Archaeology*, xlvii (1943), 174-87; R. Roth, *Histoire de l'archerie*, Paris 1964; Ruska, *Arabische Texte über das Fingerrechnen*, in *Der Islam*, x (1920), 87-119; S. de Sacy, *De la manière de compter au moyen de la jointure des doigts usitée dans l'Orient*, in *JA*, iii (1823), 65; Dr. T. Pope Saxton, *A study of bows and arrows*, 1923; G. T. Scanlon, *A muslim Manual of War, being Tafrīj al-kurūb fī tadbīr al-ḥurūb by ʿUmar ibn Ibrāhīm al-Awsī, edited and translated*, Cairo 1961; A. Schaumberg, *Bogen und Bogenschützen bei den Griechen mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Denkmäler bis zum Ausgang des archäischen Stils*, Nuremberg 1910; F. W. Schwarzlose, *Die Waffen der alten Arabern aus ihren Dichtern dargestellt*, Leipzig 1886; R. C. Smail, *Crusading Warfare 1097-1193*, Cambridge 1956; F. A. H. Stein, *Archers d'autrefois, archers d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1925; G. C. Stone, *A Glossary of the Construction, Decoration and Use of Arms and Armour in All Countries and in All Times*, New York, 1961 (1st edn. 1934); T. Sulimirski, *Les archers à cheval, cavalerie légère des Anciens*, in *Rev. Inter. d'Hist. Milit.*, iii/12 (1952), 447-61; Thaʿālibī, *Fiḳh al-lugha wa-sirr al-ʿarabiyya*, Cairo 1378/1959; G. de Vauresmont, *Le tir*, Paris 1910 (esp. shooting with the bow, 87-108); Viollet le Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné du mobilier français de l'époque carolingienne à la Renaissance*, Paris 1874 (articles "Arc" and "Arbalète"); A. J. Wensinck, *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane*, Leiden 1936; R. Wilcox, *Something about the Thumb Ring*, in *The Archer's Magazine* (Nov. 1962), 16-17; A Zajączkowski, *Mamelucko-turecka wersja arabskiego traktatu o lucznictwie z. XIV w.*, in *RO*, xx (1956), 139-261; A. Zaky, *Military literature of the Arabs*, in *IC*, xxx/2 (April 1956), 163-72; W. F. Paterson, *Archery in Moghul India: an illustrated manual of instruction in the collection of the Marquess of Bute*, in *IQ*, xvi/1-2 (Jan.-June 1972), 81-95; J. D. Latham, *The meaning of Maydān as-Sibāq*, in *JSS*, xiii (1968), 241-8; F. Lake and H. Wright, *A bibliography of archery*, Simon Archery Foundation, University of Manchester Museum, 1974.

(A. Boudot-Lamotte)

ḲAWS ḲUZAḤ, the Arabic term for the rainbow, formed from *ḳaws* "bow" (*Ḳws* in the inscriptions of Jordan; *Ḳawsh* in the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser, Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal; *Ḳūsu* in Babylonian inscriptions of the time of Darius and Artaxerxes I; *Ḳūsu*, *Ḳūshu*, *Ḳishi*, *Ḳūshi*, in the Old Testament; *Kos*/*Kōs*/Κοξε, amongst the Nabataeans; *Ḳaws*, *Ḳays*, in Arabia), an Edomite deity known during the first millennium and later venerated by the Nabataeans (cf. Vriezen, *The Edomitic deity Qaus*, 330 ff.). He was a war-god, symbolised by the bow, just as Adad berqu, god of the tempest, was symbolised by lightning (D. van Buren, *Symbols of the gods in Mesopotamian art*, 1945, 67), and as Dhu 'l-Khalaṣa, the archer-god of the Arabian pantheon, was symbolised by arrows (see T. Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie centrale avant l'hégire*, 61 ff.).

After the manner of Dhu 'l-Sharā which eclipsed him, Ḳaws acquired other prerogatives, those of most of the gods of the desert regions, such as the protection of the vegetation by ensuring rain, a prerogative symbolised by the rainbow. Hence in the nomadic milieu, the name Ḳaws was followed by *ḳuzaḥ* in order to define his speciality. *Ḳuzaḥ*, pl. of *ḳuzḥa*, "a coloured band of yellow, red and green" (Yāḳūt, iv, 86 ll. 3-4; *TA*, ii, 209, l. 11 from foot) denotes the successive appearance of bands of colour in the rainbow. As the divine symbol became substituted in general usage for the divine name whose attributes it was eventually to determine, *ḳuzaḥ* sometimes came to designate the god himself. Hence is attributed to Muḥammad the saying "Do not say Ḳaws Ḳuzaḥ, because Ḳuzaḥ is the name of a demon (*shayṭān*), but say Ḳaws Allāh" (Yāḳūt, iv, 85-6), and Djāḥiẓ adds, "just as one says the House of Allāh, the pilgrims of Allāh and the lion of Allāh" (*Ḥayawān*, ii, 28-9); here, the symbol is taking the place of that which was originally symbolised. This is confirmed by the fact that this *shayṭān* (a term applied to the pagan idols) became, in Islamic cosmological tradition, the angel in charge of the rainbow (Yāḳūt, iv, 86 l. 4).

Furthermore, Ḳuzaḥ, the abridged form of Ḳaws Ḳuzaḥ, still denotes at Muzdalifa the pick placed at the right of the *imām* when he occupies the place reserved for him for the Pilgrimage ceremonies; before Islam, this designated, in the same spot, the pyre where the sacred fire of Muzdalifa was kindled (cf. Fahd, *op. cit.*, 10). When considered together with Ḳaws Ḳuzaḥ, this fire could have been one of rogation or *istisḳā'* [*q.v.*].

In short, Ḳaws Ḳuzaḥ is the Arabic variation of the name of a divinity whose importance is attested by a number of theophoric names found among the peoples moving round the region between Central Arabia and the Jordan, such as Ḳawsh-malaku and Ḳawsh-gabri, two kings of Edom in the times of Tiglath-Pileser III (744-27 B.C.) and Esarhaddon (680-69 B.C.); *Ḳwsbr*, *Ḳwsmlk*, amongst the people of Liḥyān; *Slmtḳs* amongst the Minaeans, *Ḳwsʿnl*, *Ḳwsny*, *Pgʿḳws*, in the inscriptions of Tell Khulayfa (7th century B.C.); Ḳusudjadaʿ, Ḳusudjahabi, Barḳusu, in the Babylonian period; and Kosdaros, Kosnatanos, Kosmalachos, Kosbanos, etc. in the Hellenistic period.

The absence of such theophoric names composed with Ḳaws in Arab onomastic is striking and unusual, given the fact that there exist names compounded with Ḳays, such as Imru' al-Ḳays and ʿAbd al-Ḳays (explained in *Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, i, 85, and Baṭalyūsī, *Sharḥ dīwān Imri' al-Ḳays*, Cairo 1308, 3, as being connected with an idol called al-Ḳays, on analogy with the type of theophoric names fairly common in Arab onomastic).

Should one then conclude that Ḳaws and Ḳays are two forms of the same name? With Wellhausen, *Reste*², 67, and G. Ryckmans, *Les religions arabes préislamiques*², 206, 226, and against Nöldeke, in *ZDMG*, xl (1887), 714, and *ERE*, i (1908), 660-1, A. Fischer, *EI*¹ art. ḳais, A. Grohmann, *Die Araber*, 1963, 85, and M. Hofner, in *Wörterbuch der Mythologie. Die alten Kultur. I. Vordere Orient*, ed. Haussig, 460-1, we maintain that Ḳaws and Ḳays denote one and the same god (cf. Fahd, *op. cit.*, 136-40).

This god is Ḳaws and not Ḳays, for the following reasons: (1) the absence of the name Ḳays from the Arab pantheon as described by Ibn al-Kalbī in his *Kitāb al-Aṣnām*, the source of all writings on the question; (2) the absence of theophoric names composed with Ḳays in the inscriptions gathered in Arabia and in the vast region traversed by Arabs to the north of the peninsula (cf. Lankester Harding, *An index and concordance of pre-Islamic Arabian names and inscriptions*, 921, in which only theophoric names with Ḳaws are attested); (3) the isolated position of the two theophoric names composed with Ḳays in comparison with the large number of those composed with Ḳaws; and (4) the existence in

Minaean of a theophoric name *Ḳysmnwt* (cf. Jamme, in *Oriens antiquus*, vi, 181-2, text no. 1211), in which *ḳays* occupies the place of *imruʾ* and of *ʿabd* and not that of a divine name.

Should one therefore deduce from this transformation of Ḳaws into Ḳays, in the kingdom of Kinda, an attempt to appropriate the ancient Edomite deity by the powerful tribal confederation of the Ḳaysīs?

Bibliography: Th. C. Vriezen, *The Edomitic deity Qaus*, in *Oudtestamentische Studien*, xiv (1965), 330-53; T. Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie centrale à la veille de l'hégire*, Paris 1968, 136-40; A. Fischer, AL-ḲAIS, in *EI*[1]; H. Derenbourg, *La poète antéislamique Imruʾ l-Ḳais et le dieu arabe al-Ḳais*, in *Études de critique et d'histoire*, 2e série (Bibl. de l'École des Hautes Études, Sciences religieuses, vol. vii); G. Lankester Harding, *An index and concordance of pre-Islamic Arabian names and inscriptions*, Toronto 1971.

(T. FAHD)

Independently of *ḳaws ḳuzaḥ*, other expressions are used in Arabic to denote the rainbow: *Ḳaws Allāh, Ḳ. Rasūl Allāh, Ḳ. al-samāʾ, Ḳ. al-g̲h̲amām, K. al-muzn, ʿalāʾim al-samāʾ, Ḳ. Ḳaziʿ*. The words *ḳusṭān* (dust), *ḳusṭānī, ḳusṭalānī* and *ḳusṭalaniyya* have a quite different origin. Muslim scholars include the rainbow among the *āt̲h̲ār al-ʿulwiyya*, the superior phenomena. The rainbow is usually opposite the spectator, while the sun is at his back and there is a dark cloud or wall behind drops of water; the drops may be in a cloud or formed at springs, water-wheels, in turbulent rivers where spray is formed, in the steam of baths or in water which is ejected from the mouth in a spray (see *Beitr. V*). Frequent reference is made to a description by Ibn Sīnā (see E. Wiedemann and M. Horten, in Bibl., among others) who was on the top of a very high hill at the foot of which lay a vast bank of mist; the sun was above the hill and Ibn Sīnā saw a rainbow on the mist below him.

Numerous descriptions of rainbows occur in literature, *e.g.*, in the *Ḥamāsa* (F. Tuch, *ZDMG*, iii, 200 ff.), also by the Ḥamdānid Sayf al-Dawla and by the poet al-Waʾwāʾ (see F. Dieterici, *Mutanabbī und Saif al-Daula aus der Edelperle des T̲h̲aʿālibī dargestellt*, Leipzig 1847, 129, 175).

The more or less strictly scientific studies of the rainbow are also numerous. Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa (iv, No. 9,640) quotes a special *ʿIlm Ḳaws Ḳuzaḥ* concerning which he deals with all questions that can arise. According to him, "it investigates how the rainbow is formed, the reason why it is formed and why it is circular; further the reason for the difference in its colours, why it appears after rain at the end of a day and why it is often seen by day but only rarely at night by moonlight. It further investigates the astrological significance (*al-aḥkām*) of its appearance". Descriptions on similar lines are found, for example, in the works of al-Ḳazwīnī (*ʿAd̲j̲āʾib al-Mak̲h̲lūḳāt*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 98; *Kosmographie*, tr. Ethé, 201); in the *Rasāʾil Ik̲h̲wān al-Ṣafāʾ*, Bombay 1305, ii, 52 ff. (cf. F. Dieterici, *Die Naturanschauung der Araber*, Berlin 1861, 87); also by al-Ḳarāfī in his *Kitāb al-Istibṣār fīmā tudrikuhu 'l-abṣār*; and in the *Risāla fī Ḳaws Ḳuzaḥ* of al-Tuḳātī (see Berlin Catalogue by Ahlwardt, No. 5691); two anonymous works have been published by Cheikho (*al-Machriq*, xv (1912), 736-44). A considerable section in a meteorological work (Ahlwardt, Berlin Catalogue, No. 6054), and no doubt many other passages, deal with our phenomenon. The most important and most comprehensive work, however, is from the pen of Ibn Sīnā in his *S̲h̲ifāʾ* (see *Bibl.*).

The descriptions of the rainbow are in general very accurate. Not only the simple rainbow but also the double and even triple are described. The first is said to be produced by the sun's rays themselves, the second by the rays shining through the rays from the first and the third by the rays from the first two; the bows therefore are successively weaker. It is emphasised that the rainbow is not always composed of the same colours, a phenomenon which has been fully investigated by M. Pernter. It is also mentioned that the rainbow is particularly beautiful when the sun is on the horizon.

The older treatment of the theory of the rainbow goes back to Aristotle, with whose meteorological works the Arabs were acquainted. T̲h̲ābit b. Ḳurra is said to have translated a commentary by At̲h̲āfrūdīṭus = Epaphroditos (?) on Aristotle's essay on the rainbow (Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 59). Aristotle is followed by Ibn Sīnā, Ibn al-Hayt̲h̲am, al-Ḳarāfī etc., although in many details they make additions and corrections to his views. It is always assumed that the rainbow is produced by beams of light or visual rays which are regularly reflected on the raindrops, on very minute reflecting surfaces. Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī [*q.v.*] gave a brilliant exposition of the correct explanation, as far as was possible in the general state of knowledge in his day, when the dispersion of light was unknown. Like us he says that the light is once or twice reflected in the interior of the globule of water and then radiates out from it; thus we have the main and secondary rainbow. He also endeavours to investigate the cause of the colours although, of course, not satisfactorily. By experiments he proves the correctness of his results, which are on a much higher level than those of Theodoricus of Freiburg (about 1300).

From *ḳuzaḥ* comes a word *taḳāzīḥ*, meaning "showing the colours of the rainbow" or briefly, "the colours of the rainbow". It is defined by Kamāl al-Dīn as "different graduated colours in the region between blue, green, yellow, red, smoke-coloured white, that is, as regards sensual perception".

The rainbow is also given an astrological significance according to the zodiacal sign in which it appears. In the Ram it means plague and death (Ahlwardt, Berlin Catalogue, No. 5906, *al-Ḳawl ʿalā ṭūl Ḳaws Ḳuzaḥ*). In another manuscript, (No. 5915, 1) it is said that in September a rainbow indicates great tyranny and oppression.

Bibliography: I. Goldziher, *Abh. zur arabischen Philologie*, 1896, i, 113; E. Wiedemann, *Beitr. V., Auszüge aus arabischen Encyclopaedien*, in *Sitz. Ber. P. Med. Soz. Erlg.*, 1905, xxxvii, 423-34; idem, *Beitr. XIX, Brechung des Lichtes in Kugeln nach Ibn al-Hait̲h̲am und Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī*, 1910, xlii, 15-58; idem, *Theorie des Regenbogens von Ibn al-Hait̲h̲am*, 1914, xlv, 39-56; idem, *Zur Optik von Kamāl al-Dīn*, in *Archiv für die Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und Technik*, iii, (1912), 161-77; idem, *Arabische Studien über den Regenbogen*, *ibid.*, iv (1912), 354-60 (further references are given here); M. Horten and E. Wiedemann, *Avicenna's Lehre vom Regenbogen nach seinem Werk al-S̲h̲ifāʾ*, in *Meteorol. Zeitschr.* (1913), 533-44; I. Würschmidt, *Die Brennkugel*, in *Monatshefte für den naturwissenschaftl. Unterricht*, iv (1911), 93-113; idem, *Dietrich von Freiberg über den Regenbogen und die durch seine Strahlen erzeugten Eindrücke*, in *Beiträge zur Gesch. der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, xii (1914),

part 5-6; G. Hellmann, *Neudrucke von Schriften über Meteorologie*, etc., No. 15; the passages mentioned from the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, from Dieterici, 23-41, and from al-Ķazwīnī from Ethé, 127-42; Mallon, *Ķawṣ Ķuzaḥ*, in *al-Machriq*, iii (1900), 241, note; O. Gilbert, *Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums*, Leipzig 1901, 600 ff. (for a comparison of the Arab views with those of the Greeks). (E. Wiedemann)

ĶAWṢARA or ĶŪSIRA, Italian island, now called Pantelleria, situated 64 miles/100 km. from Sicily and 55 miles/76 km. from the Tunisian town of Kelibia (Clypea); it is volcanic in structure, lacking any fresh water and culminating in a height of 2,600 ft./836 m. The area is 83 km²., and the population 10,000. The name Ķawṣara (vocalised thus by Yāķūt —who suggests an Arabic etymology, "date basket" —and in most of the sources) is actually of Greek origin, being a deformation of Cossyra, more easily discerned in the form attested and favoured by Bakrī, sc. Ķūsira. It must have been generally pronounced Ķūṣra, then Arabised in the written texts, by assimilation to an Arab form, as Ķawṣara.

Lacking any great strategic or economic value, Ķawṣara figures little in the historical sources, and only a few items of information on it can be found in the Arabic sources. At the time of the invasion of Ifrīķiya in 27/647-8 by ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ [*q.v.*], the inhabitants of Djazīrat Sharīk (Cape Bon) gathered at Clypea and took refuge temporarily on Ķawṣara. Half-a-century later, in *ca.* 81/700, ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ķaṭan—who ended up as governor of Spain—devastated the island, probably operating from Egypt as his base. Ķawṣara doubtless subsequently suffered further from attacks by the Muslim fleets which began to rove the Mediterranean. In 221/836 it was still in Byzantine hands, and served as a base for their fleet, operating against the Aghlabids, involved after 212/827 with the conquest of Sicily. It is unknown exactly when the Aghlabids took it, but it was apparently in their possession by 250/864, and after this date, the island became completely arabised and islamised, forming part of Ifrīķiya till the Almohad period.

It was inevitably involved in the fighting between the Normans of Sicily and the Zīrids. It was in the waters of Ķawṣara that the fleet of 400 ships fitted out by al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs (407-54/1016-62) to assist the Muslims of Sicily was wrecked in Dhu 'l-Ķaʿda 416/January 1026. It was also there that the fleets of Pisa and Genoa, who were preparing to attack Ifrīķiya, concentrated in 480/1087-8. The island's Muslims warned Tamīm (454-501/1062-1108) by carrier pigeon of the danger threatening him. In 517/1123 the Norman fleet, en route for Mahdiyya, sacked and laid waste Ķawṣara, and massacred its inhabitants. Finally, in 543/1148-9, the Sicilian fleet, under George of Antioch, occupied the island before going on to seize the Zīrid capital.

The island was then apparently recovered by the Almohads who freed Ifrīķiya from the Christian presence and unified the Maghrib, but this was not for long. By the terms of the treaty of 15 Djumādā II 618/5 August 1221 made with the Emperor Frederick II, the Almohad governor of Tunis ceded Ķawṣara to Sicily, on condition that the Muslims of the island might enjoy administrative and legal autonomy and that half of the taxation levied on them should go to Ifrīķiya (Mas-Latrie, *Traités*..., Paris 1866, 153-5). From this time onwards, Ķawṣara shared the destiny of Sicily, and was thus for some time dependent on the crown of Aragon; it probably received from the Catalans its new name of Pantelleria. However, the rulers of Tunis did not totally give up the idea of regaining it. A curious treaty made in 1403 laid down the ways in which the ruler of Aragon might take control of Djerba, whilst the ruler of Tunis might get Ķawṣara; but this arrangement was never put into effect.

The people of Ķawṣara long remained Muslim. Yāķūt (d. 626/1228) states that in the 7th/13th century they comprised Wahbī Ibāḍīs (originally from Djerba?), whose austere way of life was perfectly adapted to the isolation and meagre resources of the island. The new Christian rulers did all they could to keep them. Thus one finds Alfonso of Aragon complaining to the Sultan of Tunis in 1438 that certain Ḥafṣid officials were encouraging them to emigrate. His envoy demanded the return of the emigrants, and even the planting of new Ifrīķiyans in the island. The date of the spreading of Christianity is unknown. Fazello, cited in Amari, *Storia*, iii, 895, tells us that at the beginning of the 10th/16th century Christians and Muslims wore the same garments and spoke the same language. According to Bonnet, a Provençal merchant enslaved at Tunis, whence he had managed to escape, this language was in 1670 (the year in which he took refuge in Ķawṣara) the same as that spoken in Malta. It must therefore have been an Arabic already much transformed.

The island's resources have always been fairly slight. Its woods provided wood of excellent quality, and wild goats are said to have been hunted. In mid-17th century, according to Bonnet, "the island's trade consists entirely of wine, charcoal and wood which the people export to Sicily and Malta" (P. Grandchamp, *Un marchand provençal*..., 14).

Bibliography: Sources. Bakrī, *Masālik*, ed. de Slane, repr. Paris 1965, 45/97; idem, *Djughrāfiyat al-Andalus wa 'l-Maghrib*, ed. A. A. al-Ḥādjdjī, Beirut 1968, 226-7); Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. Beirut 1965-6, vi, 339, ix, 349, x, 166, 197-8, 612, xi, 125; Yāķūt, ed. Beirut 1957, iv, 413; Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Baghdādī, *Marāṣid*, Cairo 1955, iii, 1133 (résumé of Yāķūt); Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī, *Rawḍ*, partial ed. U. Rizzitano, in *Bull. Fac. of Arts, Cairo Univ.*, xviii (May 1956), 172-3; Balawī, *Tādj al-Mafriķ*, ms. B. N. Tunis, no. 15060, f. 24a; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muķaddima*, Beirut 1956, 454-5; idem, *ʿIbar*, Beirut 1956-9, v, 433, vi, 331. Studies. H. H. Abdul-Wahab, *Ķiṣṣat djazīrat Ķawṣara al-ʿarabiyya*, in *Egyptian Historical Jnal.*, ii/2 (Cairo 1949), 55-73, also in *Waraķāt*, ii, Tunis 1966, 277-316, Fr. tr. in *Procs. of the Royal Soc. of Hist. Studies*, i (Cairo 1951), 57-78; Amari, *Storia dei musulmani di Sicilia*, Catania 1933-5, index s.v. Pantelleria; H. Bresc, *Pantelleria entre l'Islam et la Chrétienté*, in *Cahiers de Tunisie*, lxxv-lxxvi (1971), 105-28; R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, i, 26, 225, 249, 272; Ch. E. Dufourcq, *L'Espagne catalane et le Maghreb aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles*, Paris 1966, index s.v. Pantelleria; P. Grandchamp, *Un marchand provençal esclave à Tunis (1669-1670)*, Tunis 1939, 13-14; H. R. Idris, *Les Zīrides*, 168, 174, 288, 335, 356, 527; M. Talbi, *Émirat aghlabide*, 267, 439. (M. Talbi)

KAWTHWAR, a word used only once in the Ķur'ān (CVIII, 1: "Yes, we have given you *al-kawthar*"); the short Sūra CVIII is given the name *surāt al-kawthar*. The word comes from the root K-TH-R "to be abundant" in the *fawʿal* formation, which is not rare (*e.g. nawfal*: other examples in Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik*, i, 34). The *kawthar* which occurs in ancient

poetry (see quotations in Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, 261, and Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, i, 92) means "abundance". Some ancient writers of *tafsīr* interpret *kawthar* in Ḳur'ān, CVIII, 1 as "abundant goodness" (*al-khayr al-kathīr*; cf. Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xxx, 180-1).

This etymological meaning, however, although it did not totally disappear, gave way to a traditional interpretation. According to this the Prophet himself regarded *al-kawthar* as the proper name of a river in Paradise (cf. Ibn Hishām, 261 *in fine*, and specially al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xxx, 179)., or as a pond which was shown to him at the time of his ascension to the Throne of God, and which was designated for him (al-Ṭabarī, *ibid.*, 180; cf. A. J. Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed*, Cambridge 1932, 231). This last explanation is considered most credible by al-Ṭabarī; *al-kawthar* was, then, becoming something almost synonymous with *ḥawḍ* [*q.v.*], "the Prophet's pool", at which believers quench their thirst when entering Paradise. Its existence is affirmed in several "professions of faith". But more frequently *al-kawthar* will be the river which feeds the pool. According to a subsequent idea (cf. *Aḥwāl al-kiyāma*, ed. Wolff, 107), all the rivers of Paradise flow into the *ḥawḍ al-kawthar*, also called *nahr Muḥammad*, as specially belonging to the Prophet.

The most ancient Sūras already mention "the spring" (*ʿayn*), "the living spring" (*ʿayn jāriya*) which waters Paradise (LXXVII, 41; LXXXVIII, 12 and *passim*); the Medinan Sūras describe in more detail the "rivers" (*al-anhār*). In XLVII, 15, for example: "There will be rivers there, the water of which is incorruptible, rivers of milk which never sour, rivers of wine sweet for those who drink of them, rivers of clear honey". This description suggests the rivers of Paradise of Judaeo-Christian eschatology, flowing with oil, milk, wine and honey. It is of note that oil is replaced by "incorruptible water" (*ghayr āsin*), so precious in the deserts of Arabia (cf. J. Horovitz, *Das koranische Paradies*, 9). *Ḥadīths* and *tafsīrs* delight in describing *al-kawthar* on this same model. But taking into consideration the root meaning of "abundance", *al-kawthar*, the "river of the Prophet" presents itself as the quintessence of the rivers of Paradise. In certain versions quoted by the *Tafsīr* of al-Ṭabarī it is said: "Its waters are whiter than the snow and sweeter than honey", or, "And its waters are of wine". Surpassing the Ḳur'ānic description are others endowing it with "banks of gold" or a bed of "rubies and pearls" with a perfume "more penetrating than musk" (cf. Soubhi El-Saleh, *La vie future selon le Coran*, Paris 1972, 36 and ref.). Rationalising or modern *tafsīrs* easily lend a metaphoric sense to these details.

Bibliography: given in the article. The principal traditional references to *al-kawthar* are (cf. Soubḥi El-Saleh, *op. cit.*, 36, n. 6 and Annexe I): Bukhārī, viii, *Riḳāḳ*, 119; *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal, ii, 112; Tirmidhī, ii, *Tafsīr*, to CVIII, 240; Ibn Mādja, *Zuhd*, 307; later, Baghawī, *Maṣābiḥ al-Sunna*, ii, *Ḥawḍ*, 145; Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, *Ḥādī l-arwāḥ ilā bilād al-afraḥ*, 131, etc.

(J. Horovitz - L. Gardet)

ḲAWUḲLU, Turkish "the man with the *Ḳavuḳ*", a character of the Turkish *Orta oyunu* theatre.

Turkish *ḳavuḳ* indicates a rather high, variously-shaped cap, with a headband, *ṣarïḳ*, wound round it (Ağakay, *Türkçe sözlük: sarık sarılan başlık*). Such caps of varying shape and colour according to rank were worn by officers of the Janissaries (cf. Maḥmūd Shewket, *ʿOthmānlï teshkīlāt ve ḳiyāfet-i ʿaskeriyyesi*, Istanbul 1325, i, 29 ff.). Other professions too had their own special *ḳavuḳ*, there were *wezīr*, *mollā*, *kātib* and *pashalïḳ ḳavughu*, some with specific names: *kallāvī*, *khorasānī*, *müdjewweze*, *selīmī*, *ʿörf* (cf. Emin Cenkmen, *Osmanlı sarayı ve kiyafetleri*, Istanbul 1948). In official language, even an Arabic plural *ḳawāwiḳ* was formed. However, the popular mind conceived of the Ḳawuḳ wearer in a different fashion: *kavuk büyük ama altında efendi yok*, "an imposing cap but no gentleman underneath it"; *kavuk sallamak*, "to wave one's cap", *i.e.*, "to say yes and amen to everything"; *kavukçu* or *dalkavuk*, "coaxer or wheedler"; *kavuk giydirmek*, "to put on a cap", *i.e.*, "to impose upon someone".

A special *ḳawuḳlu* appears as one of the two main characters of the Turkish popular theatre *Orta oyunu* [*q.v.*]. Such theatres had existed previously, but so far as we know, the term *Orta oyunu* occurs for the first time in 1833. The heyday of the *Orta* theatre was towards the end of the 19th century; it then became known in Europe through Kúnos's descriptions. The hero of the comic play was the *Ḳawuḳlu*, just like Ḳaragöz [*q.v.*] in the shadow-plays. The other main character, Peshekār, was a kind of theatre-director, corresponding somewhat to Ḥadjīvād in the shadow-play. The *Ḳawuḳlu*'s dress, including a caftan (*djübbe*) and trousers (*shalvār*) was red, even the cap (see the plates in Kúnos and Gerçek's publications). Often appearing as a pedlar, artisan or servant, the *Ḳawuḳlu* was a clown whose comedy lay in his misunderstanding the words of the other actors, his mindless execution of orders, which he twisted and exaggerated, his immoderate bragging, slyness and ready wit, and his imitation (*taḳlīd*) of foreign voices and dialects, especially those of the non-Turks in the Ottoman Empire. Dextrous juggling was also part of his performance. Only the main lines of the action were known; the *Ḳawuḳlu* had to improvise all the jokes, so that his performance was a demanding one. About 40 titles of plays, some identical with those of the shadow-play, are known, and 25 names of famous *Ḳawuḳlu*s have come down to us. Special mention should be made of Ḥamdī (d. 1911), ʿAbdī (= ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ, d. 1914), Kel Ḥasan (d. 1929) and Nāshiṭ (1889-1938) (see Gövsa, *Türk meşhurları ansiklopedisi*, with plates). Performances by these and other *Ḳawuḳlu*s are still remembered by the populace. Ḥamdī, when asked by Kúnos where he had learnt his art, answered significantly that his uncle and comrades had been his teachers. In origin, the *Orta* theatre was probably influenced by foreign elements; Bombaci has suggested influences from Jews, Greeks and perhaps Gipsies.

During the Reform period, this type of theatre met with serious competition from the European theatre, and many modernists wanted to forbid it outright. At the time when modern-type stages were set up, Ḥamdī made an attempt with the so-called *suflörlü oyunlar*, but without real success. Kel Ḥasan was more fortunate and died a rich man. In recent times, the *Orta* theatre has almost completely disappeared and endeavours to revive it are only occasionally heard of.

Bibliography: I. Kúnos, *Orta-oyounou*, Budapest 1888; idem, *Das türkische Volksschauspiel Orta ojunu*, Leipzig 1908; J. Horovitz, *Spuren griechischer Mimen im Orient*, Berlin 1905; Selim Nüzhet Gerçek, *Türk temaşası, Meddah, Karagöz, Orta oyunu*, Istanbul 1930; Th. Menzel, *Meddāḥ, Schattentheater und Orta oyunu*, ArO Monographie x, Prague 1941; Nurullah Tilgen, *Orta oyunu*

üstadı Kavuklu Hamdi, Istanbul 1948; A. Bombaci, *Orta oyunu*, in *WZKM*, lvi (1960), 285-97; Metin And, *Kavuklu Hamdi'den üç orta oyunu*, Ankara 1962; H. Uplegger, *Das Volksschauspiel*, in *Philologiae turcicae fundamenta*, ii, Wiesbaden 1964, 147-70. (WALTHER BJÖRKMAN)

ḲĀWURD B. ČAGHRĪ BEG DĀWŪD, called also Ḳara Arslan Beg on his coins and by authors like Mīrkhʷand, the founder of a line of virtually independent Saldjūḳ amīrs in Kirmān which endured for some 140 years until the irruption into the province of Oghuz from Khurāsān.

The origins of Saldjūḳ rule in Kirmān are obscure: there are discrepancies in the accounts of the sources, and the opening pages of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm's local history of Kirmān are missing. Kirmān had been recovered by the Būyids after the Ghaznavid occupation of 422-5/1031-4 (on which see E. Merçil, *Gazneliler'in Kirman hâkimiyeti (1031-1034)*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, no. 24 (1970), 35-44) and formed part of the amīrate in southern Persia of ʿImād al-Dīn Abū Kālīdjār Marzubān. After the collapse of Ghaznavid power in Khurāsān, Saldjūḳ bands began raiding southwards through Ḳūhistān and Ṭabas to Kirmān. A raid on the chief town, Bardasīr or Kirmān, was repulsed by Abū Kālīdjar's vizier Muhadhdhib al-Dawla Hibatallāh al-Fasawī in 434/1042-3 (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 349); whether Ḳāwurd or Ibrāhīm Ināl was the leader of this foray is unclear. However, shortly before the Būyid amīr's death in 440/1048-9, the rebellious Daylamī commander in Bardasīr, Bahrām b. Lashkarsitān, delivered the capital into Ḳāwurd's hands, and Būyid rule was thus ended (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 349-50; Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 2-3).

Ḳāwurd now began a reign of over a quarter-century in his apanage, acknowledging the supreme suzerainty of Ṭoghrīl Beg and then, somewhat grudgingly, that of his own brother Alp Arslan. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm gives considerable information about his internal policy. Over the ensuing years, he proved himself an energetic and capable ruler in Kirmān. He behaved as an almost independent prince, with such insignia of royalty as the ceremonial parasol or *čatr*, the use of his own *ṭughrā* or official emblem on documents (incorporating the Saldjūḳ bow and arrow motif), and the adoption of honorific titles such as ʿImād al-Dawla, found on his coins together with his *ṭughrā*. Like the Saldjūḳs in other parts of Persia, he took care to win over the Persian official and religious classes, assigning them administrative and judicial positions and marrying several of his daughters to local ʿAlids. He retained in his service many of the local Daylamī soldiers, but his reputation also attracted to Kirmān considerable numbers of Turkmens, to whom land grants or *iḳṭāʿ*s were assigned. He established a high degree of public security, taking draconian measures against those notorious brigands, the Kūfičīs or Ḳufṣ [*q.v.*], and was active in the charitable and public works expected of the wise Perso-Islamic ruler. He built caravanserais and baths, set up markers on roads through the desert, and built guard posts at strategic points (Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 10). One of his guard towers, still standing on the road from Bam to Sīstān at a point between Fahradj and Gurg, was identified as such by Sir Percy Sykes, *Ten thousand miles in Persia or eight years in Iran* (London 1902), 418. He maintained a high standard of coinage, according to Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, 4, a piece of information confirmed by his extant coins, comprising dīnārs and dirhams, and minted at Bardasīr, Djīruft and Shīrāz (see on these, C. Alptekin, *Şelcuklu paraları*, in *Selçuklu araştırmaları dergisi*, iii (Ankara 1971), 440, 554-60); and the transit trade across Kirmān to Sīstān, India and the Persian Gulf was also encouraged.

With regard to external policy, Ḳāwurd mounted an expedition across the Gulf from Hormuz and seized the former Būyid dependency of ʿUmān; he sent a force under one of his sons to Sīstān; and he came, together with Alp Arslan, to succour Ṭoghrīl during the Turkmen rebellion of 451/1059 led by Ibrāhīm Ināl. The situation in Fārs, where the last Būyids were clinging to the vestiges of power, was his special concern. In 454/1062 he marched against the Shabānkāraʾī Kurdish leader Faḍlūya, defeating the latter and bringing about the final crumbling of Būyid rule in Shīrāz, though it was several years before Faḍlūya's defiance was completely crushed and Faḍlūya himself killed by Alp Arslan's forces in 461/1069.

Ḳāwurd had recognized Alp Arslan's succession to their father Čaghrī Beg as Saldjūḳ ruler in the east, and in 456/1064 he recognised him as supreme sultan after Alp Arslan had appeared in Kirmān. Ḳāwurd was nevertheless restless under this subordination to his brother; he withdrew his allegiance from Alp Arslan in 459/1067 and only restored it when the latter came again with an army. On Alp Arslan's death in 465/1072 he determined on a definite bid for power, basing his claim to overlordship in the Saldjūḳ family on his long experience as a ruler and commander, combined with his rights under the old Turkish principle of seniorate, the succession right of a senior, capable male member of the ruling family or clan, as against the young Malik Shāh's claim to succeed his father. The armies of Ḳāwurd and Malik Shāh met near Hamadhān in Djumādā I 466/January 1074 (thus in Ḥusaynī; in Bundārī and Ibn al-Athīr, in Shaʿbān/April). Many of the more traditionalist Turkmen elements in Alp Arslan's old army inclined to Ḳāwurd's side, and Ḳāwurd counted on wholesale defections; but Malik Shāh's slave commanders and his Kurdish and Arab contingents held firm, and Ḳāwurd was defeated and captured. Malik Shāh was inclined towards mercy for his uncle, who at one point offered to retire to ʿUmān; it seems to have been the vizier Niẓām al-Mulk who connived at Ḳāwurd's execution by strangling, or, according to some accounts, by poisoning (the fullest account of Ḳāwurd's rebellion and death is in Ḥusaynī, 56-8; see also Bundārī, 48, Rāwandī, 126-7, and Ibn al-Athīr, x, 53-4). Malik Shāh nevertheless preferred to leave the relatively isolated province of Kirmān as an autonomous unit, and restored it to Ḳāwurd's son Rukn al-Dawla Sulṭān Shāh within a few months.

Bibliography: the salient events of Ḳāwurd's career are to be found in the general sources on Saldjūḳ history, sc. Ḥusaynī's *Akhbār al-dawla al-saldjūḳiyya*, Bundārī's *Zubdat al-nuṣra*, Rāwandī's *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, Ẓahīr al-Dīn Nīshāpūrī's *Saldjūḳnāma*, Ibn al-Athīr, Barhebraeus, etc. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm's *Taʾrīkh-i Saldjūḳiyyān-i Kirmān*, ed. Houtsma in *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seljoucides*, i, Leiden 1886, ed. M. Bāstānī Pārīzī, Tehran 1964, cf. Houtsma, *Zur Geschichte der Selǵuqen von Kermân*, in *ZDMG*, xxxix (1885), 362-402, is supremely important as a special history of the dynasty. Information from the local histories of Kirmān is given in the text and notes of Muḥammad Bastānī-Pārīzī's edition of Aḥmad ʿAlī Khān Wazīrī's *Taʾrīkh-i Kirmān*

(*Sālāriyya*), Tehran 1340/1961. Of secondary literature, see Sykes, *A history of Persia*, London 1915, ii, 102, and Bosworth, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, v, ch. 1. For Ḳāwurd's coins, see the monograph of Alptekin mentioned above.

(C. E. Bosworth)

KĀWŪS, Banū, an Iranian dynasty which reigned in the districts of Rūyān and Rustamdār, the coastal plain and the mountainous interior respectively, of the western parts of the Caspian province of Māzandarān [*q.v.*] in the second half of the 9th/15th century and in the 10th/16th century. The dynasty was in fact one of the two branches into which the ancient line of the Bādūspānids [*q.v.*], whose genealogy went back to Sāsānid times, split in the middle years of the 9th/15th century.

The Bādūspānids had been confined to the fortress of Nūr by the Caspian campaigns of Tīmūr in 794/1392, but the amīr Kayūmarth b. Bīsutūn (807-57/1404-53) later regained control of Rūyān, where he forcibly introduced amongst the previously Sunnī population there the Shīʿī faith which he had acquired during exile in Shīrāz. On his death after a 50 years' reign, his eldest surviving son Kāwūs (857-71/1453-67) seized power, but had to agree to a partition of the Bādūspānid territories with his brother Iskandar. Kāwūs kept Nūr and other parts of the piedmont of Rustamdār, whilst Iskandar received the mountainous inland districts of Kudjūr and Lāridjān. The two lines continued in parallel down to the Ṣafawid conquest. The adhesion of the Banū Kāwūs to the Shīʿī traditions of much of the Caspian region was strengthened by Kāwūs's own marriage to a daughter of one of the Sayyids of Āmul and by later alliances with the family of Marʿashī Sayyids.

The history of this petty dynasty is largely one of local warfare against rival potentates in Māzandarān, often with help from neighbouring rulers in Gīlān; thus in 910/1504-5 Bīsutūn b. Djihāngīr b. Kāwūs (904-13/1498-9 to 1507) succeeded in taking over all Rustamdār and Kudjūr, with the exception of the fortress of Kudjūr itself, from the fraternal branch of the Banū Iskandar. The line of the Banū Kāwūs expired through a combination of internecine strife in Māzandarān and of outside intervention by the Ṣafawid Shāh ʿAbbās I, determined now to assert the central government's authority in the Caspian provinces. After bringing Gīlān under control, the shah charged Farhād Khān in 1596/1004 with the subjugation of all the princelings of Māzandarān. Bahman b. Kayūmarth of the Banū Iskandar, at this time master in Lāridjān and Āmul, was removed and his death procured by a rival, after which his territories were granted to one of the shah's Ḳizilbāsh amīrs. Djihāngīr b. ʿAzīz of the Banū Kāwūs was besieged in Kudjūr, captured and executed, and his territories granted to the *Ḳūrči-Bāshī* Allāh-Ḳulī Beg. Both these lines of Bādūspānid epigoni were thus extinguished.

Bibliography: 1. Primary sources—Ẓahīr al-Dīn Marʿashī, *Taʾrīkh-i Gīlān u Daylamistān*, ed. Rabino, Rasht 1330/1912; idem, *Taʾrīkh-i Ṭabaristān u Rūyān u Māzandarān*; ʿAlī b. Shams al-Dīn Lāhidjānī, *Taʾrīkh-i Gīlān*; Iskandar Munshī, *Taʾrīkh-i ʿālam-ārā-yi ʿAbbāsī* (these three last in Dorn's *Muhammedanische Quellen zur Geschichte der südlichen Küstenländer des Kaspischen Meeres*, St. Petersburg 1850-8, i-ii, iv, and subsequent Tehran editions). 2. Secondary sources—H. L. Rabino di Borgomale, *Mázandarán and Astarábád*, London 1928, 14, 144-6; idem, *Les dynasties du Māzandarān ... d'après les chroniques locales*, in *JA*, ccxviii (1936), 443, 466-74, with a genealogical table at p. 448 (the lists in Zambaur, *Manuel*, 191, and Sachau, *Ein Verzeichnis muhammedanischer Dynastien*, in *APAW* (1923), No. 1, p. 9, are unreliable). On the end of the dynasty, see L.-L. Bellan, *Chah ʿAbbas I, sa vie, son œuvre*, Paris 1932, 44 ff., 64-71.

(C. E. Bosworth)

ḲAWWĀS (A.), occasionally also *Ḳawwāṣ* (*e.g.* in the Arabian Nights), in modern Turkish *kavas*, properly bowman (from *ḳaws* "bow"), came to denote in general "musketeer" and finally also "policeman-soldier", especially the one in the service of highly-placed Turkish officials and foreign ambassadors. From this term is derived the French "cawas" and the German "Kawasse". In Turkey the *Ḳawwās* were, until 1826, chosen among the Janissaries (*Yeñi čeri* [*q.v.*]) and were called *yasaḳčī*. Their function was to protect foreign embassies and consulates and to escort diplomats leaving their residences, whether officially or unofficially; it was their duty to assure the latter unimpeded passage. In the Capitulations [see imtiyāzāt] it was laid down (for France in 1740) that foreign diplomats were entitled to choose their own *Ḳawwās*; the Turkish government could not impose anyone on them (see T. Xavier Bianchi, *Nouveau guide de la conversation*, Paris 1852, 273 f.; G. Noradounghian, *Recueil*, i, 1897, 289, § 45). According to an agreement of 23 Ṣafar 1280/9 Aug. 1863, the *Ḳawwās* were four in number for consulates-general and consulates in the capitals of the *vilāyets*, three for other consulates, and two for vice-consulates and consular agents. The governor of the *vilāyet* was informed of their nomination (Aristarchi Bey, *Législation ottomane*, Istanbul 1883-8, iv, 15 ff.).

In Turkey, the office of the *Ḳawwās* was abolished by the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923. However, the term *Ḳawwās*, or a similar expression, is still current in colloquial usage, both in Turkey and in other Islamic states also, to denote the servants and guards of foreign embassies.

Bibliography: given in the article, but see also the *Description de l'Égypte*, Paris 1822.

(Cl. Huart - [B. Spuler])

KAYA [see Ketkhudā].

ḲAYALİḲ, a mediaeval town in the region of the present-day Kopal in Southern Kazakhstan, identified by A. N. Bernshtam with the hill-fort Dungina 18 km. S.W. of Taldî Kurgan. It is first mentioned as the headquarters of the Ḳarluḳ chieftain Arslan Khān, who submitted to Čingiz-Khān in the spring of 607/1211. Ḳayalîḳ was originally included in the territory assigned by Čingiz-Khān to his eldest son Djuči [*q.v.*]; it was afterwards nominally part of the Čaghatay Khānate though administered, like the whole agricultural zone from Ūyghūristān westwards to Khʷārazm, by Masʿūd Beg [*q.v.*]. The Great Khān Möngke, upon his accession, ordered Ḳaydu [*q.v.*] to reside in the Ḳayalîḳ region, which Pelliot sees as evidence that it belonged to the apanage of the line of Ögedey, and in fact we are told by Waṣṣāf that it lay on the frontier between Ḳaydu's territory and that of the Čaghatay Khān Duʾa. William of Rubruck spent 12 days in Ḳayalîḳ (which he calls Cailac) in Ramaḍān-Shawwāl 651/November 1253. He describes it as a large town with a busy market; it had three Buddhist temples. According to Waṣṣāf the last battle between Ḳaydu and the Great Khān's forces was fought at a place a few days distant from Ḳayalîḳ. This appears to be the last mention of the town, which does not figure in the campaigns of Tīmūr. We must assume that

like Balāsāghun [*q.v.*] it was destroyed at some time during the first half of the 8th/14th century.

Bibliography: Djuwaynī-Boyle; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*, i/1, tr. O. I. Smirnova, Moscow-Leningrad 1952; Waṣṣāf, Bombay ed.; *The Journey of William of Rubruck to the Eastern Parts of the World*, 1253-55, *as narrated by himself*, tr. and ed. W. W. Rockhill, London 1900; V.V. Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, i, Leiden 1956; P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, i, Paris 1959, s.v. Caidu. (J. A. BOYLE)

KAYĀNIDS, Iranian dynasty, for the most part mythical, which owes its name to the title of *kavi* (see *Gr. I. Ph.*, ii, index s.v.) > Pahlavi *kay* (pl. *kayān*, or in Arabic, *akyān*) born by several persons cited, with some variants, in both the religious and the national tradition. A. Christensen has devoted to the dynasty a monograph, *Les Kayanides*, Copenhagen 1931, to which reference should be made for all the problems raised in regard to ancient Iran.

The main source for all the Islamic historians and writers concerned with the dynasty is the *Kitāb Siyar mulūk al-ʿAdjam*, the Arabic translation made by Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [*q.v.*] of the *Khudāy-nāma*, but the earliest Arabic authors give only somewhat confused information on the more or less mythical rulers who preceded the Sāsānids, leading one to think that they must have used other sources, especially oral ones (see, *e.g.*, Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 652 ff.). Ibn al-Kalbī, cited in al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 133-4 = § 558, even considers that the Kayānids were the first kings on the earth. Al-Masʿūdī himself, without instancing the Pīshdādids [*q.v.*], to whom he erroneously gives the name of Khudāhān (ii, 237 = § 659) in fact makes the Kayānids the second dynasty, to be followed by that of the Arsacids (Ashkān [see MULŪK AL-ṬAWĀʾIF]) and finally that of the Sāsānids [*q.v.*]. Al-Ṭabarī before him, and then the later historians and writers, all follow the same classification without mentioning the Achaemenids as such. Firdawsī, for his part, devotes *ca.* 27,000 distichs to the Kayānids.

In the religious tradition, a dozen personages bear the title of Kay, but the dynasty proper comprises, according to Islamic authors:

KAY ḲUBĀD (Kavi Kavāta), the founder. The religious tradition (Christensen, *op. cit.*, 70-1) gives no information on his ancestors and confines itself to retailing the legend of the adoption by Uzāv (Arabic, Zaww/Zāb), the last Pīshdādid king, of a newly-born child abandoned on the waters. The national tradition (Christensen, 107-8) is unaware of this story and provided a genealogy making Kay Ḳubād a descendant of Manūshčihr and, through the false reading of the presumed name of his father, the son of Zaww/Zāb himself. After this latter's death, Rustam [*q.v.*] was deputed to search out Kay Ḳubād, who was found in a palace in the Alburz Mountains. His reign was filled with prosperity, but was partly devoted to defending Iran against the Turanians (see al-Ṭabarī, i, 533-5, 597; Balʿamī-Zotenberg, i, 407; al-Dīnawarī, *Ṭiwāl*, 14; al-Thaʿālibī, *Hist. des rois de Perse*, 150-2; al-Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, 104; Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fārs-nāma*, 14; Firdawsī, *Shāh-nāma*, ed. and tr. Mohl, index).

His successors were KAY KĀʾŪS [*q.v.*], in whose reign there took place the epic fights between Siyāwush and Afrāsiyāb [*q.v.*], and then KAY KHUSRAW [*q.v.*], who took vengeance on Afrāsiyāb. There then followed:

(KAY) LUHRĀSB (Lōrāsp), descendant of a brother of Kay Kāʾūs. He founded or enlarged the town of Balkh [*q.v.*], and it is said to have been he who sent against Palestine Nebuchadnezzar (Bukht-Naṣṣar [*q.v.*]), who destroyed Jerusalem, dispersed the Jews and carried them off into captivity (however, Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 652, places these events in the reign of Bahman, contemporary of Moses). Luhrāsb was killed by the Turks who came to besiege him (see Christensen, 117-18 and index; al-Ṭabarī, i, 620; al-Masʿūdī, ii, 121-3 = §§ 544-6; al-Dīnawarī, 26; al-Maḳdisī, *al-Badʾ wa'l-taʾrīkh*, iii, 149; al-Thaʿālibī, 244; Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, 36; Firdawsī, iv, 279-357). His son and successor

BISHTĀSB (Kavi Vishtāspa, Vishtāsp, Bishtāsf, Kushtāsb, Hystaspes) quarrelled with his father, so went to Rūm, where he married the king's daughter and accomplished various exploits before returning home, where his father passed on to him the crown. He had reigned for 30 years when Zoroaster [see ZARĀDUSHT] converted him to his new religion. He had to face an attack from the Turks who finally carried off his two daughters, but his son Isfandiyār (Spandyādh) rescued them, provoking however Bishtāsb's jealousy over his exploits, so that he sent his son to his death in charging him to attack Rustam, who was judged to have become too independent. Although legend dwells at length on this personage, Christensen considered him to be "une figure entièrement historique" (see *Les Kayanides*, 119-24 and index; al-Ṭabarī, i, 416, 645-9, 675-8, 691, 813, 869, 1053; al-Masʿūdī, ii, 123-7 = §§ 547-50; Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, 36-7, al-Thaʿālibī, 255-377; Ibn al-Balkhī, 48-52; al-Bīrūnī, *op. cit.*, 105; al-Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, iii, 149 ff.; Firdawsī, iv, 359-751). The throne then passed to his grandson

BAHMAN (Vahman, son of Isfandiyār, who was also called later Ardashīr or Kay Ardashīr in order to make him the ancestor of the Sāsānid dynasty. The history of his reign is influenced by outside traditions. Al-Masʿūdī asserts that the return of the Jews to Jerusalem took place during his reign, and according to Dīnawarī, Bahman had a Jewish wife who converted him for a while to Judaism; despite this, he is considered to have strengthened the Zoroastrian faith. He was a great builder, and was also a warrior-king who killed Rustam and avenged his father (see Christensen, index; al-Ṭabarī, i, 649-54; al-Masʿūdī, ii, 127-9 = §§ 550-2; Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, 37; al-Bīrūnī, *op. cit.*, 105, 111; Balʿamī-Zotenberg, i, 500-1; Ibn al-Balkhī, 52 ff.; al-Thaʿālibī, 379 ff.; Firdawsī, v, 7-19). Bahman is represented as the father and the spouse of

HUMĀY [*q.v.*], who gave him a son,

DĀRĀ/DĀRĀB [*q.v.*]. Darius I, whose successor was

DĀRĀ/DĀRĀB II. In this fashion, the national tradition bridges the gap which separates the reign of Bishtāsb from Alexander's conquests, with the Achaemenids being mixed up with other lists of rulers. Humāy, also called Čihrāzād, is mixed up with a daughter of Bishtāsb, and it was for a Humāy that the kernel of the *Thousand and one nights* was put together [see ALF LAYLA WA-LAYLA], a point which poses difficult problems. The descendants of Bahman form a fairly confused mélange; another son is attributed to him, Sāsān, who was set aside from the succession, but the Sāsānid dynasty is attached to him by a forged genealogy and the legitimacy of the line thereby assured.

Bibliography: Given in the text. (ED.)

AL-**KAYD,** name of a fictitious star, defined in the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* (ed. van Vloten, Leiden 1895, 229) as *nadjm naḥis fi 'l-samāʾ lā yurā wa-lahū ḥisāb maʿlūm yustakhradju bihī mawdiʿuhū*, "an ill-

omened invisible star in the heavens, having a known ephemeris from which its position can be derived". It is not mentioned in *LA* and *TA*. Although occurring in at least one oriental text printed in Europe (*Anonymus Persa de Siglis Arabum et Persarum*, ed. and tr. J. Gravius, London 1648), it seems to have escaped the attention of historians of astronomy, and was rediscovered independently by Hartner (1939) and Kennedy (1957); see Ruska-Hartner [1, 206], Hartner [1], and Kennedy [1].

The earliest mention of al-Kayd so far known is found in Ibn Hibintā's *al-Mug͟hnī* (Suter, No. 31), written in 214/829 (Bayr. Staatsbibl., Munich, Cod. ar. 852, fols. 67v. and 71v.), where five of al-Kayd's six companions (see below) are also listed. According to this work, al-Kayd is "one of the stars with a tail; it appears once every hundred years and travels retrogradely, like the lunar nodes, through the zodiac, making one sign in 12 years". Its position is found in the following way: "Subtract 90 from the number of complete (Persian) years which have elapsed since the epoch of the Yazdagird era (17 June, 632). From the remainder subtract in turn the highest multiple of 144 which it contains. Multiply the second remainder by 360 and divide the product by 144. The result will give the longitude of al-Kayd measured backward from the first point of Aries. Subtract it from 360° to obtain the longitude as usually expressed" (Kennedy [1, p. 45]). Thus al-Kayd has a *retrograde* motion of $2^1/_2°$ per Persian year. It passed through the vernal point at the beginning (1st Farvardīn) of the years of the Yazdagird era 91 (25 May 722), 235 (19 April 866), 379 (14 March 1010), 523 (6 Feb. 1154), 667 (1 Jan. 1298), etc. This rule is corroborated by a number of other manuscripts containing references to al-Kayd and tables of its motion. Others, however, are based on slightly divergent parameters. In the case of tables computed for the Islamic calendar, the divergencies, which concern the initial longitude in year 91 of the Yazdagird era as well as the mean motion, might be due to errors of computation, but since there are tables expressed in the Yazdagird calendar which are based on a deviating initial longitude, it is evident that various traditions concerning the motion of al-Kayd must have been in existence. Thus Mīram Čelebī's table in his *Commentary on the tables of Ulug Beg* (Aya Sofya Ms. 2697, fol. 241v.) gives the longitude of al-Kayd on the first day of A.Y. 655 as 29°52′47″, while according to the rule it should be 30° straight (cf. Hartner 1, Pl. 5 and p. 21, where the last passage, caused by misreading 600 for 655, is to be cancelled]), which implies that al-Kayd passed through the vernal point some 17 days before the beginning of A.Y. 91, on Asfendarmed 14 of A.Y. 90.

Kennedy [1, 50] gives a list of al-Kayd's yearly and daily motions as well as of its longitude at A.Y. 91 according to various Islamic authors. Now the table of S͟hihāb al-Dīn al-Kūm-Rīs͟hī's *K. al-lumʿa fī ḥall al-kawākib al-sabʿa*, apparently copied from Ibn al-S͟hāṭir, to whom the author refers, operates with the same yearly motion of -2; 29, 59, 18° (sexagesimal fractions) and the same initial longitude as Ibn Yūnis' *Ḥākimī zīd͟j*, which proves that this value for the yearly motion, corresponding to a complete revolution of al-Kayd in 144 Persian years, 4 days, has a long tradition. Accepting that this was not accidental, Hartner [1, 14] has shown that al-Kayd passed through the point of summer solstice on 8 November 324 B.C., a day very close to the one accepted by numerous Islamic authors (al-Farg͟hanī, Ḥabas͟h, al-Masʿūdī, al-Bīrūnī, Ibn Yūnis, Kūs͟hyār al-D͟jīlī) as the beginning of the era of the death of Alexander the Great: Thoth 1, 425 of the era Nabonassar = 12 November 324 B.C. (Alexander actually died on 13 June 323 B.C.); this era, also called *Aera Philippi Arrhidaei*, operates with vague years of 365 days, as does the era of Yazdagird. Certain particulars of the Islamic version of the Romance of Alexander seem to confirm this hypothesis of an actual connexion. Here above all the figure of K͟haḍir [*q.v.*] has to be mentioned, which has a striking similarity with the Indian demon Rāhu. Both are put to death after having sipped from the fountain of life (in India the *amrta* drink), but both survive because immortalised by the drink. K͟haḍir, having become a maleficent demon, is fettered with heavy chains to the bottom of the sea, while Rāhu's head, severed from his body, and his tail, now called Ketu, become the intransigent enemies of the luminaries. In astrology [see D͟JAWZAHAR] those two parts of the eclipse monster are identified with the lunar nodes. As these nodes behave like planets, making a (retrograde) revolution along the ecliptic in the course of 18.6 years, they are treated as such, with their exaltations (ὑψώματα, *as͟hrāf*) in Gemini and Sagittarius, and figure in horoscopes as maleficent stars; see Hartner 2, pp. 120-134.

According to another Indian tradition, however, Ketu takes the shape of a comet (*dhūmaketu*, "smoke-ketu") appearing at irregular intervals as a threat to the superior world and to mankind. Obviously, it is this manifestation of Ketu from which the Arabic al-Kayd was derived, semantically as well as etymologically. This is also attested by the fact that the only information to be drawn from Islamic authors is that al-Kayd is of Indian origin. At a time not yet definable on the basis of our present knowledge, the irregular cometary Ketu was incorporated into the system of astrology and, for this purpose, had to be regularised by ascribing to it planetary qualities and a uniform motion, retrograde along the ecliptic, in accordance with its closest relatives, the nodes of the lunar orbit. Thus the Indian Ketu found its way twice into Hellenistic astrology. The reasons for attributing to the pseudoplanet Ketu-Kayd a revolution of 144 vague years (precise or approximate) are unknown. A. Sachs (see Neugebauer [1, 211]) has identified a comet (*zal-lum-mu-ú*) with a revolution of half this period, 72 years, in the cuneiform text TU 11 (rev. 27), written in Uruk during the Seleucid period, which, as Neugebauer says with due precaution, comes somewhat close to the period of Halley's comet, 76 years, so that it could have been "taken as a prototype and its period modified to 72 because of some unknown astrological speculation. But all this is sheer guesswork." This is true indeed, but another possibility cannot be excluded, that different comets appearing accidentally at an interval of around 144 years were regarded as identical, *i.e.*, periodically recurring, as for instance the following, chosen at random from the Chinese annals (see Ho Peng Yoke [1]): 233 B.C., 87 B.C., A.D. 55, A.D. 200, A.D. 343.

The recollection of the cometary origin of al-Kayd is clearly alive for Islamic authors, as is shown by the fact that al-Kayd is often listed together with six companions called *kawākib d͟hawāt al-ad͟hnāb*, "stars with tails", travelling the ecliptic retrogradely with the same velocity, and thus at a constant distance from al-Kayd. According to the best extant manuscripts, among which the *zīd͟j* of D͟jamāl al-Dīn Abu'l-Ḳāsim b. Maḥfūẓ (Paris, Bib. Nat. 2486,

fol. 99 f.) ranks foremost, their names are as follows: D͟hu'l-d͟hu'āba, "The one with a tuft", Liḥyān, "Beard", Sar-i-mūs͟h (arabicised Sarmūs͟h), "Head of the mouse", G͟haṭīṭ, "Death-rattle", G͟harīm (misspelled ʿAẓīm in Ms. 2486), "Adversary", and Kalāb, "Hydrophobic delirium". They all illustrate at the same time the cometary character and the frightening danger of these fictitious celestial objects.

Contrary to what might be expected, these seven tailed stars follow each other at very irregular distances. When al-Kayd passes through the vernal point (longitude 0°), Sarmūs͟h stands at *ca.* 60°, G͟harīm at *ca.* 214°, G͟haṭīṭ at *ca.* 265°, while the remaining three stand extremely close together: D͟hu'l-d͟hu'āba, at 160°1′, Kalāb, at 162°34′, and Liḥyān, at 162°43′. As is seen, the two last are only 9′ apart (less than one-third of the moon's apparent diameter). It seems justified to assume that this reflects the memory of a large comet with a head stretching over a relatively vast area, such as Halley's or the great comet of 1811.

There are numerous variants of these names due either to misreading or to substitution; of the latter, two are of interest: Ṭayfūr, which Kennedy [1, p. 44] doubtless is right in equating with the Greek comet Typhon (Bouché-Leclarcq [1, p. 359]), and Nayzak (Persian, "spear"), which is used otherwise to denote all kinds of unexpected celestial phenomena, such as comets, meteors, and also the supernova of A.D. 1006 (see Goldstein [1], and Nallino [1, Vol. ii, p. XIII, 8], who has no other reference either to al-Kayd or to his companions. The Persian name Sar-i-mūs͟h is clearly reminiscent of the Pahlavi Mūs-parīk, which together with the dark sun (Mitr-î tamî) and the dark moon (Mâh-ī tamî) plays a preponderant rôle in the *Bundahišn*, ch. v, A (Anklesaria [1], 54-65), where they appear as antagonists of the luminaries. It seems that the idea of dark counter-planets adumbrated there was later extended to a heptad of such, viz. al-Kayd and his companions, each of whom was considered the dark adversary of one of the visible planets. Neugebauer [1] has shown that al-Kayd also occurs in Byzantine literature. where it is called ἀΐτ. The tables refer to Yazdagird years and operate with a motion of $-2^1/_2°$ and an initial longitude at A.Y. 91 of 0°. Hartner identified al-Kayd in the Horoscope of Bantay Srei (near Ankor Tom, Cambodia), valid for the date 28 April 1295, see Beer [1, 207 f.].

Finally, a misunderstanding of a passage in which al-Kayd is mentioned (the Astronomical Aphorisms of Cardano, who borrowed it from the Latin translation of Abū Saʿīd S͟hād͟hān's *Mud͟hākara*; the Arabic original (Ms. Ankara, Ismail Saib 199) was identified by F. Sezgin, see of this fols. 15b, 16a, 20b, 21a) gave rise to Tycho Brahe's great discovery that comets are not generated in the sphere of fire, as postulated by Aristotle, but are celestial bodies, and that, consequently, the millenary dogma of the existence of ethereal spheres is untenable (Hartner [3]).

Bibliography: Anklesaria [1] = *Zand-Ākāsīh, Iranian or greater Bundahišn*, transliteration and English tr. by B. T. Anklesaria, Bombay 1956; Beer [1] = A. Beer, *Astronomical dating of works of art*, in *Vistas in Astronomy*, ix (ed. A. Beer), 1967, 177-223; Bouché-Leclercq [1] = A. Bouché-Leclercq, *L'Astrologie grecque*, Paris 1899; Goldstein [1] = B. R. Goldstein, *Evidence for a supernova of A.D. 1006*, in *The Astronomical Journal*, lxx/1 (1965), 105-14; Hartner [1] W. Hartner, *Le problème de la planète Kaïd*, Les Conférences du Palais de la Découverte, Série D, No. 36, Paris 1955 (also in W. Hartner, *Oriens Occidens*, Hildesheim 1968, 268-86); Hartner [2] = W. Hartner, *The pseudoplanetary nodes of the moon's orbit in Hindu and Islamic iconographies*, in *Ars Islamica*, v/2, Ann Arbor 1938 (also in *Oriens Occidens*, 349-404); Hartner [3] = W. Hartner, *Tycho Brahe et Albumasar*, in *La science au seizième siècle*, Paris 1960 (also in *Oriens Occidens*, 496-507); Ho Peng Yoke [1] = Ho Peng Yoke (Ho Ping-Yü), *Ancient and mediaeval observations of comets and novae in Chinese sources*, in *Vistas in Astronomy*, v, (1962), 127-230; Kennedy [1] = E. S. Kennedy, *Comets in Islamic astronomy and astrology*, *JNES*, xvi (1957), 44-51; Neugebauer [1] = O. Neugebauer, *Notes on al-Kaid*, in *JOS*, lxxvii (1957), 211-15; Nallino [1] = *Al-Battānī sive Albatenii opus astronomicum*, ed. tr. C. A. Nallino, Vol. i-iii, Milan 1899-1907; Ruska-Hartner [1] = J. Ruska and W. Hartner, *Katalog der orientalischen und lateinischen Originalhandschriften, ... des Inst. f. Gesch. d. Medizin u.d. Naturwissenschaften in Berlin*, in *Quellen und Studien z. Gesch. d. Naturwiss. u. d. Medizin*, vii, Berlin 1939, 155-302.

(W. HARTNER)

ḲAYDU, the son of Ḳas͟hi, the fifth son of the Great K͟hān Ögedey, was born according to D͟jamāl al-Ḳars͟hī *ca.* 633/1235-6. The statement, still sometimes repeated, that he took part in the campaigns in Eastern Europe in 637-8/1240-1 is due to a confusion with his uncle, Ḳadan. Upon the accession of the Great K͟hān Möngke, he was ordered to reside in the region of Ḳayalīḳ [*q.v.*]. Upon the election of Ḳubilay [*q.v.*] to the K͟hānate, he took the part of the latter's brother Arīg͟h Böke in the civil wars that followed. When Arīg͟h Böke surrendered to the Great K͟hān, Ḳaydu continued the struggle, remaining in open or latent hostility to Ḳubilay and his successor Temür Öld͟jeytü throughout the remainder of his life. He opposed Burāḳ [*q.v.*], Ḳubilay's nominee to the Čag͟hatay K͟hānate [*q.v.*] but they afterwards reached an agreement with each other and for thirty years the Houses of Ögedey and Čag͟hatay worked in harmony under the leadership of Ḳaydu. The accounts of his death are contradictory. He appears to have been wounded in a battle with the Great K͟hān's forces and to have died shortly afterwards. His death occurred, according to Kās͟hānī, in Rad͟jab 702/February-March 1303, at a place called Ḳulan Bas͟hī in the vicinity of Ḳaraḳorum.

Bibliography: Ras͟hīd al-Dīn, *The successors of Genghis Khan*, tr. J. A. Boyle, New York-London 1971; Waṣṣāf, Bombay edn.; Kās͟hānī, *The History of Uljaytu*, ed. Mahin Hambly, Tehran 1969; V.V. Barthold, *Four Studies on the history of Central Asia*, i, Leiden 1956; P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, i, Paris, s.v. *Caidu*. (J. A. BOYLE)

ḲAYG͟HUSUZ ABDĀL (? - 818/? - 1415), Turkish mystic poet and writer of the 8th-9th/14th-15th centuries, generally considered the founder of the Bektas͟hi Darwīs͟h literature. The little which is known about his life is half legendary and based on traditional writings of the order. Aḥmed Sirrī Baba, the only author who gives exact dates for his life, does not mention his sources (*al-Risāla al-aḥmadiyya fī ta'rīk͟h al-ṭarīḳa al-bektāshīyya*, Cairo 1352, quoted by A. Gölpınarlı, *Türk Tasavvuf Şiiri Antolojisi*, Istanbul 1972, 174). Ḳayg͟husuz seems to have been a disciple (*murīd*) of Abdāl Mūsā (whose shrine is in Elmali near Antalya), a follower of Ḥād͟jd͟jī Bektās͟h of K͟hurāsān (d. 660/1270), the patron of the Bektas͟hīyya, who himself was a

disciple of Bābā Isḥāḳ, the leader of the famous religio-social Bābāʾī revolt of 638/1240 against the Saldjūḳs. Kayghusuz spent several years in Egypt, at the beginning of the 9th/15th century, where, according to tradition, he founded the Bektāshī convent, which became one of the most important centres of the order. His ideological formation can be traced to Bābāʾī and Bektāshī influences and his literary personality, particularly in language and style, owes much to Yūnus Emre, the great mystic poet of 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries, who also seems to have been exposed to the influence of the heterodox Bābāʾī movement [*q.v.*].

Subtle irony, satirical humour and a strong *joie de vivre* characterize Ḳayghusuz' poetry, and his fluent, vivid, powerful prose created popular mystic works (*Risāle-i Ḳayghusuz, Kitāb-i Maghlata, Kitāb-i Dilgüshā* or *Budalā-nāme*) which are among the masterpieces of early Ottoman Turkish literature. Ḳayghusuz' works have not been edited. Lithographic editions are not reliable. His poems are frequently confused with those of Ḳayghusuz Vizeli ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, a 10th/16th century popular mystic poet of the Malāmatīyya order. For comparatively reliable Ms. texts of Ḳayghusuz Abdāl see the *medjmūʿa*, Nuru Osmaniye, no. 4904; Ankara General Library, Ms. nos. 169, 824 and 867, and Istanbul Belediye Library, Cevdet section Ms. no. 216. For selections, see Bibliography.

Bibliography: M. Fuad Köprülü, *Türk edebıyatında ilk mutasavvıflar*, second ed. Istanbul 1966, *passim* (see index); Sadettin Nüzhet Ergun, *Türk şairleri*, Istanbul 1936-45, article Abdal Musa, 164-71; A. Gölpınarlı, *Kaygusuz Abdal*, Istanbul 1953; Fahir Iz, *Eski türk edebiyatında nesir*, Istanbul 1964, 100-18; A. Gölpınarlı, *Türk tasavvuf şiiri antolojisi*, Istanbul 1972, 174-95.

(F. Iz)

KAYGİLİ, ʿOTHMĀN DJEMĀL (modern Turkish OSMAN CEMAL KAYGILI), Turkish novelist, short story writer and humorous essayist (1890-1945). He was born in an Istanbul suburb outside the city walls, the son of a local grocer. He lost his parents at an early age and, after finishing the neighbourhood high school, he was trained as an army clerk and worked in various departments of the General Staff (1906-13). Following the assassination of the grand vizier Maḥmūd Shewket Pasha in June 1913, he was arrested together with many "suspects" of the opposition and banished to Sinop on the Black Sea, where he wrote his long short-story *Čuvaldji Sheykhiniñ Khalefi* (published later in *Alay*, 5, February 1920). Some of his fellow-exiles, particularly Refīḳ Khālid Karay [*q.v.*], who was already a celebrity, encouraged him and induced him to become a professional writer. Released from Sinop, he continued to serve, during World War I, as an army clerk in various military units in Anatolia. Following a serious illness he returned to Istanbul in 1917 and was discharged because of disability in 1918 at the age of 28. He devoted the rest of his life to his literary work, making his living by odd jobs and later by teaching in various schools. He died in Istanbul in 1945.

ʿOthmān Djemāl Kaygīlī began his career as a humorous writer and from 1920 onwards contributed to a great number of dailies (*e.g. Ṣabāḥ, Iḳdām, Akshām, Waḳit, Ačīḳsöz*, etc.) and periodicals, particularly *Alay, Aydede, Aḳbaba* and his own shortlived *Āyīne* (*Ayna*, 1921-23). Most of these writings, including some short stories and novels and his memoirs (*Akşamcılar* serialized in *Açıksöz* 1936-37), have not been published in book form.

Kaygılı belongs to the school of Turkish writers and novelists who, during the last decades of the 19th and early 20th centuries, produced works which were inspired by the technique and style of traditional Turkish folk literature and popular story-tellers, and were addressed to and enjoyed by larger audiences than the works of the élitist writers of the same period. Kaygılı adopts on the one hand the informal technique, free and easy style and familiar digressions of Aḥmed Midḥat, with his sympathy and understanding for the way of life of simple folk, and on the other follows Ḥüseyn Raḥmī Gürpinar and partly Aḥmed Rāsim, in their concentration on observing and describing Istanbul lower and lower-middle class life in the suburbs. He himself belonged to this world and spent most of his life in its midst. He is, however, a less brilliant and more limited and modest successor of his outstanding masters. But his emphasis on details of Istanbul folklore and the study of certain types (particularly gypsies, refugees from the Balkans (*muhacirs*), street children, popular singers and musicians, etc.) characterise his work, which contains invaluable documentary material for Istanbul suburban life for the period between the two World Wars.

Kaygılı's main published works are: 1) *Eshḳiyā Güzeli*, Istanbul 1925 (collection of short stories); 2) *Sandalım Geliyor Varda!* (two long short-stories), Istanbul 1938; 3) *Çingeneler* (a novel on the life of gypsies outside Istanbul city walls, considered his best work), Istanbul 1939 and 1943; and 4) *Aygır Fatma* (a sentimental love story), Istanbul 1944. He wrote several plays, in which he himself acted, produced puppet plays and tried to revive the Karagöz and Orta Oyunu theatres. (*qq. v.*). His only published play is *Üfürükçü* ("The Curer by Breathing"), Istanbul 1935. His remarkable contributions to research into Istanbul folklore have been published in articles or serialised in various Istanbul dailies. Only his studies on Istanbul slang (*Istanbul Argosu Lügati*, Istanbul 1936) and on the coffee-houses where popular poets-singers performed (*Istanbul Semai Kahveleri ve Meydan Şairleri*, Istanbul 1937), have been published in book form.

Bibliography: Tahir Alangu, *Cumhuriyetten sonra Hikâye ve Roman*, Istanbul 1959², 95-122 (with excerpts); Cevdet Kudret, *Türk Edebiyatında Hikâye ve Roman*, ii, Istanbul 1970², 220-40 (with excerpts); Behçet Necatigil, *Edebiyatımızda İsimler Sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1972⁸, s.v.; Halit Fahri Ozansoy, *Edebiyatçılar Çevremde*, Ankara 1970, 104-10).

(F. Iz)

ḲĀYĪ, one of the Oghuz tribes to which, as claimed by some Turkish chroniclers, the Ottoman dynasty belongs. The Ḳāyī were considered as the noblest of the Oghuz tribes. The high prestige which they enjoyed seems to have rested on the fact that most of the rulers or *yabghus* of the Oghuz people living along the Syr Daryā (Sayḥūn = Jaxartes) during the period between the 9th and 11th centuries were from this tribe. Some of the names of these kings are mentioned in the chapter of *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh* dealing with the legendary history of the Oghuz Turks. However, the Ḳāyī tribe appears to have played a major rôle in the conquest and settlement of Anatolia, and consequently there are more place-names in Anatolia called after this tribe than any other tribe. What is really remarkable, however, is that in addition to the abundance of such place-names, there were in Turkey large Ḳāyī organizations living a tribal existence in the Denizli, Menteshe

and Konya regions in the 10th/16th century. Furthermore, there were smaller Ķāyī branches in the *sandjaķ*s of Ḥamīd (Isparta-Burdur), Ankara, Saru Khan, Kara Ḥiṣār (Afyon) and Sis (Kozan) in the 10th/16th century.

A small branch of the Ķāyī who had not emigrated to the west was left behind among the Transcaspian Turkomans, but these people surprised some European travellers when they told them that the Ottoman dynasty had originated from their tribe. The earliest chronicler to claim that the Ottoman dynasty belonged to the Ķāyī tribe was Yāzīdji-oghlu ʿAlī, who wrote his work during the reign of Murād II (824-55/1421-51). Although this claim can be questioned, it has some probability. The use of the Ķāyī emblem as the official emblem of the Ottomans begins with the reign of Murād II. The Ķāyī emblem is seen on coins struck during his reign, as well as on the weapons belonging to his successors; many weapons on display in the Topkapı Museum bear this emblem, and such emblems are quite similar to those given in *e.g.*, *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*. Through its connection with the Ķāyī, the son of Gün Khān, the eldest son and successor of Oghuz Khān, the Ottoman dynasty considered itself superior in nobility to other Turkoman dynasties, and to the sons of Čingiz Khān.

Bibliography: F. Sümer, *Oğuzlara ait destani mahiyette eserler*, in *Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, xvii, 362-3, 369-74; idem, *Oğuzlar (Türkmenler), Tarihleri-Boy Teşkilâtı-Destanları*, Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi yayınlarından, Ankara 1967, index. (F. Sümer)

KAY KĀʾŪS, mythical second king of the line of Kayānids [*q.v.*] whose name contains twice over the royal title *kay* (Kay Ūs > Kāʾūs). His history has been delineated by A. Christensen from the Iranian religious tradition and from the national tradition echoed by the later Muslim historians (*Les Kayanides*, Copenhagen 1931, 73-90, 108-14). This Islamic historical tradition makes him the son of Kay Abīwēh > Abīh (except for Balʿamī, Firdawsī and al-Thaʿālibī, who make him the son of Kay Kubād [*q.v.*]). He was a warrior-king who, according to Firdawsī, led a campaign into Māzandarān, which was inhabited by demons and protected by the white *dīw* (*dīw-i sefīd*), who caused a hail of stones to come down on the royal army during the night. Rustam son of Zāl [*q.v.*] set out to deliver the king from imprisonment, and on his way became the hero of seven adventures which have become celebrated in poetry; the white *dīw* was overcome in his sleep and the blood from his heart restored their sight to the king and his army.

This ruler protected his country, and was clement towards the weak but severe against the powerful. He enjoyed the divine favour and the *dīw*s were subject to him. Hence when he rose up against heaven, the *dīw*s built for him a palace and a high tower in the Alburz Mountains, from which he and his troops went up, partly by their own efforts, partly by a magical machine, and partly in a sort of conveyance borne by eagles and vultures in front of which were dangled pieces of meat fixed on lance-points. The divine favour was consequently withdrawn from him and he fell to the ground; he himself was preserved alive, but his army perished.

In the course of a war launched against the Yemen, Kay Kāʾūs had married the daughter of the king of Yemen, Suʿdā (whose name was Iranised to Sūdābeh, although she is also considered as the daughter of Afrāsiyāb [*q.v.*]). The advances of this woman had been repelled by Kay Kāʾūs's son Siyāwush [*q.v.*], but she now spread calumnies against him in the king's presence; he had to flee for refuge with Afrāsiyāb, but the latter finally killed him. Kay Kāʾūs is said to have reigned 50 years; he was stripped of the throne by Kay Khusraw [*q.v.*] and imprisoned till his death.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 597 ff.; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, index; Dīnawarī, *Ṭiwāl*, 15; Thaʿālibī, *Hist. des rois de Perse*, ed. and tr. Zotenberg, 153-234; Maķdisī, *al-Badʾ wa'l-taʾrīkh*, iii, 147 ff.; Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, ed. Gottwald, 35; Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fārs-nāma*, 40 ff.; Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, 104; idem, *India*, i, 95, 193; Balʿami, i, 465; Firdawsī, *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Vullers, i, 315-ii, 764, ed. and tr. Mohl, i, 486-ii, 557; J. Darmesteter, *Études iraniennes*, Paris 1883, ii, 221 ff. (Cl. Huart *)

KAYKĀʾŪS, name of two Saldjūķid sultans of Rūm (Asia Minor).

Kaykāʾūs i. Succeeding his father Kaykhusraw I [*q.v.*] after the battle in which the latter perished (608/1211), he at first had to rid himself of the rivalry of his brothers Kayferīdūn and Kayķubādh [*q.v.*]. After that he had no further internal difficulties. His reign is particularly marked by the combination of a policy of peace towards the Greeks of Nicaea with interventions on the southern, northern and eastern frontiers. In the south, where Kaykhusraw had taken Anṭāliya, he tried to combine interventions against the Armenians of Cilicia, carried out in favour of the Latin prince Bohemund IV of Antioch and his ally al-Ẓāhir of Aleppo, with trade treaties with the Cypriots and the Venetians. In the north, the great success of his reign was the acquisition of Sinop, a new maritime outlet, this time for the Black Sea; this port had the advantage of not belonging clearly either to Nicaea or Trebizond. There he collected a fleet, to be directed especially against the Crimea. But when Kaykāʾūs, after the death of al-Ẓāhir in 613/1216, tried to conquer Aleppo on behalf of his vassal of Samosata, the exiled Ayyūbid al-Afḍal [*q.v.*], he was defeated by the Ayyūbid of Mesopotamia al-Ashraf [*q.v.*]. He tried to take revenge by organising an anti-Ayyūbid coalition with the help of Luʾluʾ [*q.v.*], the ruler of al-Mawṣil, but he died before this project could be realized (618/end of 1220). He had kept up good relations with Bahramshāh of Erzindjān and al-Mughīth of Erzurum, his neighbours in Asia Minor, and also with the caliph al-Nāṣir [*q.v.*] whom he conciliated by adhering to his reformed *futuwwa* [*q.v.*]. He may also have encouraged the expansion of literature written in Persian, which was then beginning in his territories, and showed an interest in Ṣūfism in the person of Ibn ʿArabī [*q.v.*]. The same period is by and large the one in which began the real development of cities, architecture, mosques, *madrasa*s, caravanserais, etc., a list of which cannot however be given here.

Kaykaʾūs ii, ʿIzz al-dīn, son and one of the successors of Kaykhusraw II, who had left three minor sons: the eldest, ʿIzz al-Dīn, son of a Greek woman; the second, Rukn al-Dīn Kilidj Arslān, son of a Turkish woman, and the youngest who was ailing, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, son of a Georgian woman. For several years the high dignitaries, in particularly the freedman Karatay, who exercised the real power, tried to maintain a kind of condominium of the three brothers, and then of the two remaining after the suspicious death of the youngest during a mission to the Mongols. But when ʿIzz al-Dīn and Rukn al-Dīn had attained their majority, this policy

proved to be impossible. In fact, the opposition of the two princes was based on the attitudes which they represented and on the milieus which supported them. Rukn al-Dīn, who exercised his prerogatives in the eastern part of Asia Minor, relied upon the Mongols with whom he was in contact, and upon their trusted official at his court, the *Parwāna* Muʿīn al-Dīn Sulaymān [*q.v.*]. ʿIzz al-Dīn, who reigned in western Asia Minor and was allied with his Greek family and the Turkmen groups on the frontier, adopted the latter's anti-Mongol attitude. A series of complicated episodes marks this struggle: at the death of Karatay (652/1254), Rukn al-Dīn revolted at Kayseri and was taken prisoner, but two years later the Mongols invaded again Anatolia under the command of Baydju. This invasion was in a way more dangerous than the one of 641/1243, because its aim was the very settlement of a part of the Mongols in Asia Minor, by which their exactions would consequently increase. ʿIzz al-Dīn, defeated in a battle in which had taken part Michael Paleologus, then exiled at Nicaea (see below), fled to Greek territory, while Rukn al-Dīn was proclaimed sultan at Kayseri. But when he left to pay homage to the supreme Khān, ʿIzz al-Dīn re-appeared at Ḳonya (655/1257). The Khān Möngke, who wanted their common collaboration or at least peace between them in view of the organizing of his campaign against the caliph, re-established the partition of dominions and the two brothers took part in the campaign of the Il-Khān Hülegü in Syria in 658/1260. But when the latter had left, they started their struggle again. ʿIzz al-Dīn, menaced by the Mongols, had to flee, this time for good, to Constantinople, which his old friend Paleologus had reconquered from the Latins. But this flight turned out unlucky for him. The new Emperor, desirous to turn all his forces against the Latins and the Mongols of Russia, tried to make peace with the Mongols of Iran and Asia Minor, who in turn had just broken off relations with those of Russia. Imprisoned on the northern borders of the Byzantine state, ʿIzz al-Dīn was freed by a Mongol raid, but he was only able to withdraw to the Crimea, from where he could observe the events in Asia Minor. Without having tried to recover his throne, he died there in 678/1279-80. A certain number of Turks who had followed him remained in Dobrudja, where they still carry his name, deformed into the Gagauzes [see DOBRUDJA]. In Asia Minor his popularity among the Turkmens was attested by revolts made in his name and by the support which his sons were to find there later on. It is certainly not by chance either that the great Turkmen epic of the *Dānishmend-nāme* was in its first form dedicated to him.

Bibliography: Anticipating the article SALDJŪḲIDS, the essential bibliography relative to the 7th/13th century before 1243 and to the period of the Saldjūḳid-Mongol condominium is given here. For a larger, descriptive bibliography, see Cl. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, London 1968, 427-40.

a. *From the end of the 6th/12th century to 1243.*

Muslim Anatolian sources were only written down during the second period (in Persian), but go back to the first. The most important is Ibn Bībī, *al-Awāmir al-ʿAlāʾiyya*, facs. edn. of the unique ms. by Adnan Erzi, Ankara 1956, critical edn. started by the same and Necati Lugal,—Vol. i, the only one published, 1957; a somewhat abridged version was published in 1902 by M. Th. Houtsma in *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Saldjukides*, iv; German tr. of this, with additions from the original, by H. Duda, *Die Seltschuchengeschichte des Ibn Bibi*, 1959. For this period see also in second place the anonymous *Tarih-i âl-i Selcuk*, facs. edn. with Turkish tr. by Nafiz Uzluk, 1952.

The Arab sources are those of the Ayyūbid period; see AYYŪBIDS. Important for the present purpose is the *Zubda* of Kamāl al-Dīn b. al-ʿAdīm of Aleppo, ed. Sāmī Dahān, iii, and the *Taʾrīkh Manṣūrī* of Muḥammad b. Naẓīf al-Hamawī, facs. edn. by P. Gryaznevitch, Moscow 1960 (unpubl. German tr. at the University of Vienna).

Use should also be made of the Christian sources in Armenian, Syriac, Greek, Georgian and occasionally even Latin. The Armenian sources include those of Armenia proper and those of Cilicia. For the period under consideration only the latter are really important, the main being the *Historien Royal* (perhaps = Sempad the Constable, ed. Akelian 1956, partial English tr. by S. Der Nersessian, complete French tr. by G. Dédéyan, doctoral thesis, Sorbonne, Paris 1972 (to be published). The Georgian sources have been sufficiently collected in M. F. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, 2 vols., i, 1849. The contributions of the Byzantine sources (above all Nicetas Akropolites, Pachymeros) have conveniently been gathered in B. Lehmann, *Die Nachrichten des ... über die Seltschuken*, 1939.

Important is the *Chronography* of Bar Hebraeus [see IBN AL-ʿIBRĪ] in Syriac (which is better than the Arabic version), ed. and tr. E. W. Budge, 1932. An anonymous Syriac chronicle reaching the year 1235 has been published by J. B. Chabot in the *Corpus Scriptorum Orientalium*; a translation of the part dealing with this period is still awaited.

Of special interest for the transition between the two periods are the lengthy extracts from the Latin missionary Simon de St. Quentin in Vincent de Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale*, recently grouped and translated by J. Richard under the title *Histoire des Tartares*, 1966.

The majority of the inscriptions which have been published in various publications have been brought together, with a bibliography, in *RCEA*; many coins have been described in S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of the oriental coins in the British Museum*, viii, and in Ahmed Tevhid, *Catalogue des anciennes monnaies islamiques du musée d'Istanbul*, iv, 1904. Acts of *waḳfs* of various periods of the 7th/13th century have been published, especially by Osman Turan in *Belleten* (1947-8). For archaeology, see articles on the various cities.

Modern general works: *İA*; Cl. Cahen, see above and *Le commerce anatolien au XIII^e^ siècle*, in *Mélanges .... Louis Halphen*, 1951; Osman Turan, *Selcuklular zamaninda Türkiye*, 1971.

b. *From 1243 to the beginning of the 8th/14th century.*

To Ibn Bībī (extending to 1280) and to the anonymous *Taʾrikh* can now be added Karīm al-Dīn Mahmūd Aḳsarāy, *Musāmeret ül-akhbār*, ed. Osman Turan, 1947 (German analysis by Fikret Işiltan, 1943). Among the many Arabic sources of the period of the first Mamlūks, special attention should be given to Baybars al-Manṣūrī (unpublished) for the middle of the 7th/13th century and to the *Life of Baybars* of ʿIzz al-Dīn b. Shaddād. The second part of the latter, the only one to be found so far, is still unpublished but a Turkish translation was published by Şarafuddin Yaltkaya (*Baypars Tarihi*, Istanbul 1941); the first part is extensively used

by various authors, especially by Yunīnī, ed. Hyderabad 1954-5. Several Armenian authors from Greater Armenia mention the Mongols of eastern Asia Minor, but only the *Historien Royal* pays attention to Anatolia proper. The Greek historians to be consulted are again Pachymeros and Nicephoros Gregoras, ed. with Latin tr. in the Bonn *Corpus*.

To the recent general bibliography can now be added Faruk Sümer, *Anadoluda Mogollar*, in *Selçuklu araştırmaları dergisi*, i (1969-70), 1-147; Necat Kaymaz *Pervâne Mu'înü'din Süleyman*, 1970; S. Vryonis, *The decline of medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the process of Islamization in the XIth-XVth century*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1971.

(CL. CAHEN)

KAY KĀ'ŪS B. ISKANDAR, prince of the Ziyārid dynasty in Persia and author of a well-known "Mirror for Princes" in Persian, the *Ḳābūsnāma*.

'Unṣur al-Ma'ālī Kay Kā'ūs was the penultimate ruler of the line of Ziyārids [*q.v.*] who ruled in the Caspian provinces of Ṭabaristān or Māzandarān and Gurgān in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries. His main claim to fame lies in the *Ḳābūs-nāma*, written in 475/1082-3, when the author was 63 years old, for his favourite son and intended successor, Gīlān-Shāh. The little that we know of his life must be gleaned from historical sources like Ibn Isfandiyār's *Ta'rīkh-i Ṭabaristān* and from the *Ḳābūs-nāma* itself. We know that he spent eight years as a boon-companion of the Ghaznavid Sulṭān Mawdūd b. Mas'ūd (reigned 433-40/1041-8), accompanying him to India, and some time also with the Shaddādid Amīr Abū 'l-Aswār Shāwur (413-49/1022-57) in Transcaucasia, and that he succeeded to the throne in 441/1049-50. Ziyārid power was, however, gradually restricted by the rising supremacy of the Saldjūḳs in the eastern Iranian world, and the Saldjūḳs exercised a virtual suzerainty over Ziyārid lands. Kay Kā'ūs died a few years after the *Ḳābūs-nāma* was written and was succeeded by Gīlān-Shāh, but the latter was overthrown by the Ismā'īlīs of Alamūt in *ca.* 483/1090.

The *Ḳābūs-nāma* is an early specimen of the Persian *andarz-nāma* genre, *i.e.*, it gives counsel for rulers. It speaks of duty to God and the necessity for ethical behaviour, but in fact recognises expediency as the most practical basis for government. The title derives from Kay Kā'ūs's grandfather, the celebrated Ḳābūs b. Wushmagīr [*q.v.*], whom the author clearly admired for his ruthlessness. The book's introduction and 44 chapters range over the topics of kingship, leadership in battle, and administration, but much space is also allotted to more mundane and intimate matters such as the buying of horses and slaves and the regulation of marital and family life. The Persian prose style is simple and direct, and the whole work is plentifully interspersed with aphorisms, historical anecdotes and verse quatrains (mostly by the author himself).

The work has always remained popular, as the numerous extant manuscripts attest. At least three Ottoman Turkish translations were made, the earliest being done for Sulṭān Murād II (824-55/1421-51), and manuscripts of these are quite common also.

Bibliography: Concerning the alleged *manuscript* of the *Ḳābūs-nāma* dating from 483/1090, around which a considerable literature grew up, see the summing up of M. Minovi, *Qābūs-nāma'nin yeni nüshasi hakkında*, in *Şarkiyat Mecmuası*, ii (1958), 105-30. The *Ottoman Turkish versions* that have survived are: (a) the translation by Merdjimek Aḥmed b. Ilyās, dated 835/1431, ed. Kazan 1298/1880-1, Istanbul 1944; (b) the translation by Naẓmīzāde Muṣṭafā, dated 1117/1705 (cf. Ch. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Turkish Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London 1888, 116-17). The earliest rendering into a Western language, the German translation by H. F. von Diez (Berlin 1811), which was based on the Turkish versions, had a great influence on the Oriental studies of W. F. von Goethe (cf. *Noten und Abhandlungen zu besserem Verständnis des West-östlichen Divans*, ed. Wiesbaden 1948, 286-92). *Translations* from the Persian original were made by A. Querry (Paris 1886, Fr.), P. B. Vachha (Bombay 1916, Eng.), R. Levy (London 1951, Eng.), E. E. Bertel's (Moscow 1953, Russ.) and Amīn 'Abd al-Madjīd Badawī (Cairo 1378/1958, Ar.). The best *edition* of the text of the *Ḳābūs-nāma* available at present was published by Ghulām-Ḥusayn Yūsufī, Tehran 1345 *sh.*/1967 with elaborate notes and a bibliography. Older editions which are still of some importance are those by Riḍā-ḳulī Khān Hidāyat (Tehran 1285/1868-9), S. Nafīsī (Tehran 1312 *sh.*, 1342 *sh.*[2]), R. Levy (London 1951) and A. 'A. Badawī (Tehran 1335 *sh.*/1956). *Studies*: Ethé, in *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, ii, 347, 349; Browne, *LHP*, ii, 276-87 (extensive analysis); A. 'A. Badawī, *Baḥth dar barā-yi Ḳābūs-nāma*, Tehran 1335/1956; Malik al-Shu'arā' Bahār, *Sabk-shināsī*[2], Tehran 1337/1958, ii, 113-22; A. J. Arberry, *Classical Persian literature*, London 1958, 76; A. Bausani, *Storia della letteratura persiana*, Milan 1960, 790-3; J. Rypka *et alii*, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 221, 426-8, with bibliography of texts, translations and studies; Dhabīḥ Allāh Ṣafā, *Nathr-i fārsī az āghāz tā 'ahd-i Niẓām al-Mulk-i Ṭūsī*, Tehran 1347/1968, 281-5. Dh. Ṣafā, *Ta'rīkh-i adabiyyāt dar Īrān*, ii, Tehran 1339 *sh.*[3], 898-902; G. Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*, Paris 1963, 100-3.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

KAY KHUSRAW, the third mythical ruler of the Iranian dynasty of the Kayānids [*q.v.*], corresponding to Kavi Haosrovah of the religious tradition (see A. Christensen, *Les Kayanides*, Copenhagen 1931, 90-2 and index). He is reckoned as the son of Siyāwush/Siyāwakhsh [*q.v.*] and the grandson, through his mother, of Afrāsiyāb [*q.v.*], and according to the national tradition (Christensen, 114-17) was born after his father's death and was brought up amongst the mountain shepherds of Ḳalū near Bāmiyān, in ignorance of his illustrious origin. This, however, showed itself early; at the age of seven he could use a bow and arrows, and at ten he had no fear of any tiger or lion. Gūdarz, an Iranian nobleman who was descended from the blacksmith Kāwī [*q.v.*] saw in a dream that the heir to the throne was living in the territory of Turan, and he sent his own son Gēw (Wīw) in search of him; this last discovered him and brought him and his mother back to Iran, not without surmounting a host of dangers.

He then found himself in competition with his uncle Burzfarrah/Farīburz, but obtained the throne of his grandfather Kay Kā'ūs [*q.v.*] by seizing, according to Firdawsī, the fortress of Bahmandīz near Ardabīl [*q.v.*], the place where he then erected the sacred fire of Ādhur-Gushasp (according to Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, Kay Khusraw killed a dragon called Kūshīd and built in this place a fire-temple Kūshīd for Gushāsp).

A journey through his empire demonstrated to

him the devastations caused by the Turanians, and he swore to undertake a war of retaliation against them. With the help of all the nobility, he launched various expeditions, of which the first ones, despite the prowess of Gūdarz, failed because of the cowardice of Burzfarrah/Farīburz. The second ones, however, were crowned with success. Kay Khusraw fitted out four armies, the main one of which was given to Gūdarz, who secured a decisive victory over Turan, whilst the other ones surrounded the enemy; Afrāsiyāb himself took to flight, but was overtaken and killed by Kay Khusraw, who thereby avenged the death of his father.

After Afrāsiyāb's death, peace reigned and the king soon retired from power, handing on the crown to Luhrāsb. He set forth on a great journey and disappeared mysteriously after having washed himself in a spring, whilst a group of his companions perished in a snow storm.

Bibliography: Ṭabarī, i, 604 ff.; Dīnawarī, *Ṭiwāl*, 19-23; Thaʿālibī, *Hist. des rois de Perse*, ed. and tr. Zotenberg, 218-43; Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, 36; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 120-1 = §§ 543-4; Maḳdisī, *al-Badʾ wa'l-taʾrīkh*, iii, 149; Firdawsī, *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Vullers, ii, 670-9, 701-3, 710, iii, 1442 = ed. and tr. Mohl, ii, 416-30, 462-5, 576-iv, 273; Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fārs-nāma*, 44 ff. (Cl. Huart *)

KAYKHUSRAW, name of three Saldjūḳid sultans of Rum.

Kaykhusraw i, son and one of the successors of Kilidj Arslān II [*q.v.*]. When the latter, at the age of about seventy, decided *ca.* 583/1187 to divide his territories among his ten sons, a brother and a nephew, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw got Sozopolis or Uluborlu, on the borders of the Byzantine territory, perhaps because he was the son of a Byzantine mother. He thus came in contact with Greek Christians on one side, with groups of Turkmen frontier warriors (*udj*) who were pushing forward in that direction on the other. When jealousy arose among the brothers and one of them, Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, laid hands on their old father, the latter appealed to Kaykhusraw, who restored him to his throne in Ḳonya. But after Kilidj Arslān had died (588/1192), Kaykhusraw proved incapable of having his supremacy recognised by his brothers. Some of them even began to conquer for themselves parts of the other's heritage. Rukn al-Dīn, heir to Kuṭb al-Dīn who had died in 593/1197, reconquered Ḳonya and restored to his own profit the unity of the paternal heritage, while Kaykhusraw withdrew to his original base near the Byzantine feudal lord Maurozomos. However, when Rukn al-Dīn directed his policy towards conquests to the east of Anatolia, certain Turkmens became discontented. With their help Kaykhusraw, after the death of Rukn al-Dīn, who left only a minor son, reconquered, this time definitely, the whole of the reunified state of Rūm (601/1205). Kaykhusraw had locally intervened in various directions in the quarrels which were then devastating the Byzantine Empire. In 1204 the Latins had captured Constantinople and a limited Greek kingdom under Theodore Lascaris had come into existence in Asia Minor with Nicaea as its capital. Lascaris was on bad terms with Maurozomos, whom Kaykhusraw first took with him to Ḳonya but for whom he later obtained the cities of Khunas and Laodicea (the later Denizli) that were contested between the two states. Maurozomos is probably the personage whom Ibn Bībī calls the "Comnenos *amīr*", who for twenty-five years played an important part in the Saldjūḳid state.

Lascaris and Kaykhusraw both had a common interest in peace, but the latter's attention, in opposition to his predecessor's, was no less attracted to the interest the Saldjūḳid state might have in expansion in western Asia Minor. He tried to expand his territory at the expense of the remains of the Byzantine Empire, which had no defenders left between Nicaea and Trebizond or Armeno-Cilicia. If he could not secure again a foothold on the Black Sea at Samsun, recently occupied temporarily by the Turkmens, he obtained on the other hand a very important success by acquiring, on the southern coast of Anatolia, Anṭāliya, which was the first real maritime outlet the Saldjūḳid state had ever possessed. Shortly afterwards, however, the relations between Kaykhusraw and Lascaris again became strained. The Latin or Greek enemies of the latter, together with the indiscipline of the Turkmen, frontier warriors had undoubtedly something to do with this development. In 608/1211 the two rulers were opponents in a battle near Antioch of the Meander; Kaykhusraw remained victorious, but was killed under obscure circumstances. There was never more to be any considerable war between the two states.

Kaykhusraw, who had received from his father a name derived from Iranian mythology, gave analogous names to his two sons, sc. Kaykāʾūs and Kayḳubād. In his time interest in Persian literature was growing, and since the Saldjūḳids of Iran had disappeared, their Anatolian relatives had become the representatives of the former's Iranian tradition. Hence when the Persian author Rāwandī wrote the history of the Iranian Saldjūḳids, he dedicated his work to Kaykhusraw.

Bibliography: see kaykāʾūs.

Kaykhusraw ii, son and successor (in 634/1237) of Kayḳubād [*q.v.*].

The very power of his father was at the root of some of the difficulties that manifested themselves under his reign. Together with the Mongol invasion that took place in his days, they led to the catastrophe from which the Saldjūḳid state was never to recover.

He was not the successor-designate of Kayḳubād, who for political reasons had chosen as such one of the two sons he had had by his Ayyūbid wife. But Kaykhusraw II was the eldest son and the only one already to possess real power. His "usurpation" resulted in a series of executions which accentuated the anti-aristocratic policy of Kayḳubād. Not only his half-brothers and their mother were strangled, but many *amīrs* and high dignitaries were put to death and the Khwārazmians who had settled in Asia Minor were forced to flee. Even Saʿd al-Dīn Köpek, his counsellor in all this, was done away with. This policy, in order to be acceptable, had to be accompanied by military successes. Like his father at the end of his reign, Kaykhusraw II tried above all to drive away his Ayyūbid rivals from his south-eastern frontiers and perhaps to build up a bulwark in the east against the Mongols.

The death of the two powerful Ayyūbids al-Kāmil and al-Ashraf favoured him. Allying himself with the many enemies of al-Kāmil's son al-Ṣāliḥ, who attacked the latter in Mesopotamia and Syria, Kaykhusraw II succeeded in taking possession (639/1241) of Āmid, the strategic key to the upper basin of the Tigris. He married a Georgian princess and, with the obligation of military help, obtained a certain suzerainty over the Ayyūbids of Aleppo, the Armenians of Cilicia, the "Empire" of Trebizond

and even to a small extent over that of Nicaea (while negotiating with the Latins of Constantinople about a marriage), Friar Simon of St. Quentin, a missionary who was staying in Rūm at that time, where he was well received by the sultan, never tires of giving high praise to the latter's richness and power.

However, signs of interior weakness appeared among the decimated aristocratic groups and even more among the Turkmens. From the very beginning, there had been differences of attitude between the officials of the régime who were urbanised, islamicised and semi-iranicised, and the semi-nomad Turkmens who were much closer to their ancestral traditions than to the exigencies of a civilized state. Their number and problems had increased by the drive of the Khwārazmians and Mongols. They were ripe for propaganda, which normally took a religious form, such as the *bābāʾī* [*q.v.*] movement which kept the best Saldjūḳid troops occupied for three years in central Asia Minor before being ostensibly crushed by the interventions of Frankish mercenaries. The real root of the problem remained, however, untouched.

Shortly afterwards there appeared on the frontiers of Rūm the first real Mongol army ever to be seen there, under the command of Baydjū.

In the winter of 1243-4, helped by treacheries previously prepared, the Mongols captured Erzurūm and in spring they started conquering Asia Minor proper. As a matter of great urgency, Kaykhusraw II asked his Muslim and Christian neighbours, reconciled by the common dangers, for reinforcements of all possible means. The impatience of some and the panic of others induced Kaykhusraw II to face the Mongols without waiting for all these contingents to arrive, but with an already very heterogenous army. He was utterly defeated (6 Muḥarram 641/26 June 1243) by the Mongols at Köse Dagh, between Erzindjān and Sivas. A few days later they took Sivas and Kayseri. The sultan, having hastily collected his treasures, fled at once to Anṭāliya in western Anatolia. In a certain way, he momentarily outlived his power, his vizier Muhadhdhab al-Dīn having succeeded in concluding an agreement of protection with the Mongols. In fact, however, the large tribute which was promised and the loss of prestige of the sovereign prepared the way for the ruin of the state. Turkmen revolts broke out on the frontiers and it was of little consequence that Kaykhusraw II, with the help of an Armenian rebel, was able to take some revenge on king Hethum of Cilicia for having handed over the queen-mother of Rūm to the Mongols. He died in winter 1245-6, about forty years old, leaving behind only sons who were minors.

Bibliography: see KAYKĀʾŪS.

KAYKHUSRAW III, one of the sultans who reigned in name only over Asia Minor under the effective tutelage of the Mongols or their lieutenants.

Brought to the throne at an age between two and five (663/1265?) by the *Parwāna* Muʿīn al-Dīn Sulaymān [*q.v.*] after the murder of his father Rukn al-Dīn Kilidj Arslān, he always remained a puppet, first in the hands of Muʿīn al-Dīn, and after the latter's death (1277), in the hands of vizier Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī. At his majority, he put himself personally under the protection of the Mongol Īl-Khān Abaḳa. But when one of his cousins, Masʿūd, son of ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaykāʾūs, disembarked in Asia Minor from the Crimea, Abaḳa granted Kaykhusraw, at least theoretically, suzerainty over the Ḳarāmānid territory. After the death of Abaḳa, Kaykhusraw III compromised himself in the revolt of Kangirtāy against the new Īl-Khān Aḥmad. The latter, whose policy was totally opposite to that of his predecessor, then conferred the sultanate on Masʿūd and ordered Kaykhusraw to be strangled (1284). The unfortunate sultan's widow and minor sons, however, soon obtained the western half of the former sultanate from Aḥmad's successor Arghun, but the only result was that Masʿūd ordered them in in their turn to be put to death (1285).

Bibliography: see KAYKĀʾŪS.

(CL. CAHEN)

KAYḲUBĀD, name of three Saldjūḳid sultans of Rūm.

KAYḲUBĀD I, ʿALĀʾ AL-DĪN was the most distinguished of the Saldjūḳid sultans of Rūm, to whom many later sovereigns would connect themselves. Removed from power by his brother and predecessor Kaykāʾūs I [*q.v.*], he succeeded him in 618/1220. His foreign policy made his dynasty one of the most powerful of his time. In the south he expanded his power, from the very beginning of his reign, over a great part of the Cilician Taurus, where he settled Turkmens. He enlarged his maritime frontiers, in particular by conquering Kalon-Oros, renamed ʿAlāʾiyya, which he made his winter residence and the place of safe keeping for his treasury. On the Black Sea, he disputed the domination of Trebizond and organised, under the command of *amīr* Čupan of Kastamonu, the memorable maritime expedition which assured a Saldjūḳid protectorate over the Crimean harbour of Sughdāḳ. In the east, taking profit from rivalry among the Ayyūbids, he annexed with the help of one of them, al-Ashraf, the Arṭukid possessions on the right bank of the Middle Euphrates. Forging ahead of the reinforcements requested by Dāwūd-Shāh, the Mangudjaḳid of Erzindjān, he annexed the latter's principality and made it an apanage for his eldest son Kaykhusraw [*q.v.*]. If it had not been for the invasion of the Khwārazmians, the Saldjūḳid principality of Erzurūm would have undergone immediately the same fate.

The Khwārazmians had conquered for their prince Djalāl al-Dīn Mangubirtī [see DJALĀL AL-DĪN KHWĀRAZM-SHĀH] an ill-defined empire in Iran and Georgia. But further to the west they were continuously in search of a refuge against the growing Mongol pressure.

They had just taken Akhlāṭ, the key to Asia Minor, from al-Ashraf and were now about to attack the whole region. Kayḳubād, who had not been dissatisfied at seeing his rivals weakened, urgently summoned to his aid both his former enemies and his friends. The main contingent, consisting of various Syrian troops, was brought to him by al-Ashraf. After hard fighting the Khwārazmians were crushed at Yasi-Čumen, to the west of Erzindjān. The principality of Erzurūm was taken away from its prince, Djahān-Shāh, who had taken the side of Djalāl al-Dīn. Under the pretext that a Mongol raid had taken place through the territory of the Georgians, Kayḳubād took away from them several frontier fortresses (thence, in order to restore peace, the wedding-project of Kayḳubād with the Georgian heiress [see KAYKHUSRAW]), and occupied in his turn the ruined Akhlāṭ, in which al-Ashraf had lost interest. The territory of the Turks now reached in the west the frontiers of the 11th century Byzantine Empire. On the other hand, with Djalāl al-Dīn having died and with his troops fleeing before the Mongols, Kayḳubād thought that he could realise a

profitable operation for the defence of his enlarged territories by settling the Khʷārazmians there.

But the Ayyūbids, favoured by the defeat of the Khʷārazmians, had intensified their grasp on Upper Mesopotamia and the two ambitious powers were from now on facing each other without any buffer-state left. Al-Kāmil, the suzerain of the Ayyūbids, to whom the Syrians had given the impression that he could obtain an easy conquest, invaded Asia Minor but was defeated (631/1233) because contingents who were opposed to the expedition served him badly in the mountain passes of the Taurus. Kayḳubād was then able to set out on a policy of penetration into the upper Tigris region. He was lucky to die (634/1237) before the Mongols had sent into Asia Minor more than reconnaissance raids which were of no consequence. The disaster which his successor was to experience made Kayḳubād in the eyes of posterity the last of the really great sovereigns of his dynasty; he had in practice been the most powerful.

We are not as well-informed about his internal policy, but may surely characterise it amongst other things by his inflexible will to keep the great *amīrs* of the régime within obedience. His reign is marked by many construction projects, including ramparts, caravanserais, mosques and *madrasas*; excavations are gradually revealing his palaces of Ḳubādābād and Kayḳubādiyya [see KAYḲUBĀDIYYA]. The sultan himself is said to have been a gifted personality, equally endowed physically and intellectually.

Bibliography: see KAYKĀʾŪS, to which should be added H. Gottschalk, *al-Malik al-Kāmil*, Wiesbaden 1950; idem, *Der Bericht des Ibn Nazīf über die Schlacht von Yasičimen*, in *WZKM*, vi (1960), 55-67.

KAYḲUBĀD II, one of the sons of Kaykhusraw I [see KAYKĀʾŪS II].

KAYḲUBĀD III, one of the sons of ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaykāʾus II, who from the Crimea tried in 1282 to reconquer the throne of his father in Asia Minor. He had to take refuge in Cilicia, but reappeared in 1297 and, with the support of the Īl-Khān Ghāzān, occupied the nominal sultanate of Rūm until the Mongol ruler put him to death in 702/1303.

Bibliography: see KAYKĀʾŪS. (CL. CAHEN)

KAYḲUBĀD, MUʿIZZ AL-DĪN, Sulṭān of Dihlī (686-9/1287-90) grandson of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban [*q.v.*], whom he succeeded. His father Bughrā Khān was Balban's younger son, absent in Bengal at the time of his death. Kayḳubād's maternal grandfather was Sulṭān Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd (644-65/1246-67). Kayḳobād had been strictly educated under Balban's supervision, but after his accession at the age of 17 or 18 embarked on a career of unbridled licentiousness. In matters of state he fell under the influence of Malik Niẓām al-Dīn, *amīr-i dād*, nephew and son-in-law of the *kotwāl* of Dihlī.

In 687/1288 Kayḳubād set out from Dihlī eastwards to encounter his father, Nāṣir al-Dīn Bughrā, who had assumed sovereignty in Bengal. The meeting, which took place on the banks of the Ghāghra, proved amicable; it is commemorated in detail by Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī's *Mathnawī Ḳirān al-Saʿdayn*. The historian Baranī attributes to the father on this occasion lengthy counsels which, if they did not effect a lasting improvement in the young Sulṭān's morals, persuaded him to remove by poison his minister Niẓām al-Dīn. This occurred some months after his return to Dihlī.

The disinclination of the Sulṭān to rule brought forward at his court factions based on racial groupings among the *amīrs* and *maliks* of his court. Probably early in the reign, a Mongol invasion brought about a massacre of the *Naw-Musalmān* (converted Mongol) *amīrs*. After the death of Niẓām al-Dīn, the contest for power was between the old-established Turkish *maliks* and the Khaldjī faction led by the *ʿĀriḍ al-mamālik* Djalāl al-Dīn Fīrūz (Sulṭān 689-95/1290-6). Kayḳubād fell ill, with a paralysis thought to have been brought on by his excesses, and the Turkish *maliks* set his infant son Shams al-Dīn Kayumarth upon the throne; but Djalāl al-Dīn Fīrūz Khaldjī gained possession of the young Sulṭān and the capital, and was shortly afterwards to ascend the throne. Meanwhile, Kayḳubād, starved for three days, was attacked by the son(s) of a Turkish *malik* whom he had put to death, wrapped in a rug, beaten and thrown into the river Jamunā to drown.

Bibliography: Amīr Khusraw, *Ḳirān al-Saʿdayn*, Aligarh 1918; Baranī, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, 1862, 126-83; ʿIṣāmī, *Futūḥ al-Salāṭīn*, Madras 1948, 184-208; Sirhindī, *Taʾrīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī*, 52-9; Badāyūnī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, i, 157-66; Farishta, *Taʾrīkh*, Bombay 1832, i, 146-52. Secondary works in English: Sir T. Wolseley Haig in *The Cambridge history of India*, iii, 82-7, and in *EI*¹ s.v.; K. A. Nizami, in M. Habib and K. A. Nizami, eds., *A comprehensive history of India*, Delhi 1970, v, 303-10; M. Wahid Mirza, *The life and works of Amir Khusrau*, repr. Lahore 1962, 65-77, 174-6. On the manner of Kayḳubād's death, see S. H. Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim history*, i, Calcutta 1939, 263-4. (S. DIGBY)

KAYḲUBĀDIYYA, a palace built by the Rūm Saldjūḳ ruler ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayḳubād I (616-34/1219-37) in the years between 1224-26, *ca.* 4 miles northwest of Kayseri. The place is now called Kiybad Çiftliği, at the foot of the Kiybad Dağ; nearby is the plain of Mashhad (Mashhadiyya), where reviews of the troops took place. The road Kayseri-Boğazköprü, on which the palace was situated, was in use from pre-Roman times down to the Ottoman domination. Situated northeast of Konya in the heart of the Rūm Saldjūḳ territory, Kayḳubādiyya was one of the favourite residences of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayḳubād I. He stayed there quite often, received at Kayḳubādiyya the submission of Malik al-Dīn Dāwūdshāh, the lord of Erzindjan, in 625/1228, and died in this palace in 634/1237. His son and successor Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw ascended the throne at Kayḳubādiyya. The palace belongs to the series of foundations and monuments erected by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kayḳubād I, one of the most brilliant Rūm Saldjūḳ rulers, at Konya, Alanya (ʿAlāʾiyya), Ḳubādābād, Sivas and Erzindjan. Excavations of the site were undertaken in 1964.

Bibliography: H. W. Duda, *Die Seltschukengeschichte des Ibn Bibi*, Copenhagen 1959, 131, 145, 197-200; G. Bartsch, *Das Gebiet des Erciyes Daği und die Stadt Kayseri in Mittel-Anatolien*, in *Deutsche Forschungsreisen*, ed. H. Spreitser, Hanover 1935, 87-202 (table XXV: map of Kayseri and surroundings); M. Zeki Oral, *Kayseri'de Kubadiye Sarayları*, in *TTK Belleten*, xvii (1953), 501-17; O. Aslanapa, *Kayseride Keykubadiye Köşkleri Kazısı* (1964), in *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi*, xii (1964), 19-22; *İA*, s.v. Keykubâd I; *EI*¹, s.v. Kaiḳobād I; C. E. Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties*, 129-31. (H. BUSSE)

ḲAYL is recorded by Nashwān b. Saʿīd (*Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Našwān's im Šams al-ʿulūm*, ed. A. Ahmad, Leiden-London 1916, 89) as a title of pre-Islamic Yemeni "kings". It is well

attested in Sabaean-language inscriptions from around the beginning of the Christian era onwards; the form *ḳayl*, however, seems to be mainly characteristic of the 5th-6th centuries A.D., while earlier it appears mostly as *qwl*, plural *ʾqwl* (and Nas̲h̲wān himself says that *ḳayl* derives from *ḳayyil* and is a derivative of the root with median *w*). Inscriptional evidence shows that the *ḳayl* was in fact subordinate to the *malik* "king". In Sabaean social organisation of the relevant period, the grouping called a *s̲h̲aʿb* [cf. ḲATABĀN] was constituted of a number of clans, one of which occupied a dominating position, with other clans subordinate to it. The dominant clan was the hereditary stock from which the leader of the whole *s̲h̲aʿb* was drawn: as Ibn K̲h̲aldūn says (*Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, i, 240, tr. Rosenthal, i, 270), "leadership over any group always passes from one individual to another within a single stock" (*fī manbitin wāḥidin*); the dominant clan was the *manbit* to which was restricted the potentiality of furnishing the leadership (*riʾāsa*) over the whole group. This leader was the *ḳayl*. In warfare, the members of the subordinate clans fought under the immediate command of the *ḳayl* of their *s̲h̲aʿb*, though he himself was under the orders of the king as commander-in-chief.

Bibliography: G. Ryckmans, *Le qayl*, in *Hebrew and Semitic studies presented to G. R. Driver*, Oxford 1963, 144-55. (A. F. L. BEESTON)

KAYL [see MAKĀYĪL].

KAY-LUHRĀSB [see KAYĀNIDS].

KAYMAK [see KĪMĀK].

ḲAYN, from the Arabic root *ḳ y n* which has the basic meaning of "to adorn, embellish", comes by extension to denote artisan, workman (*ṣāniʿ*), although current usage reserves it above all for blacksmith (*LA*, s.v. *ḳyn*). It does not occur in the Ḳurʾān; on the other hand, it occurs in many *ḥadīt̲h̲*s, generally in its particular sense of "ironsmith". The feminine *ḳayna* means "singing girl". However, since the men working at this trade usually belonged to the lowest stratum of the population, *ḳayn* became a deprecatory term applied to slaves. In the satirical poems of D̲j̲arīr, his antagonist al-Farazdaḳ is sometimes called *ibn al-ḳayn* (*Ag̲h̲ānī*, Beirut 1956, xix, 37, 41, 84), and this was regarded in the desert as such an insult that al-Ak̲h̲ṭal, intending to eulogise Simāk al-Asadī, satirised him involuntarily by mentioning that one of his ancestors had been a blacksmith.

This unfavourable view of the *ṣāniʿ* has continued to be current amongst the Bedouins (H. Wahba, *D̲j̲azīrat al-ʿArab fī 'l-ḳarn al-ʿis̲h̲rīn*; R. al-ʿUzayzī, *Ḳāmūs al-ʿādat ... al-urdunniyya*. Amman 1973-4, ii, 177). They consider the artisan as an outsider, even if he and his family have lived amongst them from time immemorial; he can never be integrated into the tribe, and no Arab nomad, of however low birth, would consider marriage links with him (R. Montagne, *Vie sociale et politique de l'Arabie du Nord*, in *REI* (1932), 74).

The *ḥaddādīn* (pl. of *ḥaddād* "blacksmith") are often originally oasis dwellers (Montagne, *op. cit.*), and sometimes belong to outcast tribes like the Nawār (A. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, 104 n. 2) or the Ṣulaba. They form a separate caste (Doughty, *Arabia deserta*, index s.v. *Ṣâny*), and consider themselves as unrelated, *banū ʿamm* (A. Musil, *The manners and customs of the Rwala Bedouins*, New York 1928, 281). Their lowly status protects them from the consequences of raids, and they accordingly enjoy an almost total immunity here. During an attack on a clan in which they have chosen to reside, they stay apart from the fighting, doing nothing to defend either themselves or their goods, because of the right of protection which they enjoy. If goods of theirs are carried off by mistake, they can be confident of recovering them rapidly. In each clan they have in practice a brother (*ak̲h̲*), the blacksmith of the group, who has the duty of restoring any goods seized by mistake (Musil, *op. cit.*, 281-2).

It is worthy of note that *ḳayn* in Sabaean is free of any pejorative sense such as is found in North Arabia. It seems to be agreed that its meaning here is "the one who arranges something", which is in accord with the etymology in Arabic. It would therefore appear to be used for a high official, superintendent or minister, whose duties are concerned with religion and the sacred. There is a sense of this supernatural aspect in the Ḳurʾān when it says "We sent down iron, in which there is violent force and also benefits for the people" (LVII, 25), and it attributes the invention and manufacture of mailed coats to David, after receiving instruction from God Himself (XXXIV, 10-11, XXI, 80).

The divine origin of iron is confirmed in several *ḥadīt̲h̲*s. Thus according to Ibn ʿUmar, "God brought down to earth four elements: iron, fire, water and salt" (al-Tabarsī, *Mad̲j̲maʿ al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Ḳurʾān*, Beirut 1961, xxiii, 157). More explicitly, Ibn ʿAbbās says, "The hammer, the anvil and tongs came down with Adam". In another tradition, five tools are said to have come down from Paradise with Adam, the anvil, tongs, the needle, the hammer and the whetstone (al-Ṭabarī, *D̲j̲āmiʿ al-bayān*, xxvii, 122; Alūsī, *Bulūg̲h̲ al-ʿarab*, iii, 400). Finally, in the *ḥadīt̲h̲* concerning the general prohibition of cutting down plants in the Meccan *ḥaram*, an exception is made for the *id̲h̲k̲h̲ir*, a fragrant plant used to decorate houses and tombs, but also used by blacksmiths (al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ii, *K. al-d̲j̲anāʾiz*, 80-1; *LA*. s.v. *ḳyn*; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à La Mekke*, 8-9).

The *ḳayn*'s position is thus ambivalent. Although an object of scorn, at the same time he enjoys certain privileges associated with sacred personages. As in the so-called primitive societies, amongst the desert Arabs the smith is a being apart. According to the Rwala beliefs, God created the first smith at the same time as the first Bedouin (Musil, *op. cit.*, 281). The taboos surrounding him are not solely explicable by mere contempt for mechanical activity; another factor must be taken into consideration: the superstitious fear of being contaminated by the impurity of the artisan-magician, of coming into contact with this formidable power, the secret of whose divinity he holds, and which made the Sabaean *ḳayn* an intermediary between man and the sacred.

Was the blacksmith's art taught to the Arabs of the North by those of the South, as alleged by the chroniclers (al-Balād̲h̲urī, *Ansāb al-as̲h̲rāf*, i, Cairo 1959, 467)? This hypothesis may be acceptable in that in Yemen today, the blacksmith is not regarded with any particular disfavour, the most despised class being that of the *ʿanāḍīl* (barber, butcher, cupper, etc.).

Bibliography: In addition to references in the text, see also J. Chelhod, *Le monde mythique arabe*, in *Jnal. de la Soc. des Africanistes*, xxiv (1954), 4 ff.; idem, *L'organisation sociale au Yémen*, in *L'Ethnographie*, N.S. no. 64 (1970), 75 ff. (J. CHELHOD)

AL-ḲAYN or BANŪ 'L-ḲAYN, often contracted

to Bal-Ḳayn (cf. Bal-Ḥārith, etc.), the name of one or more Arab tribes. The best known is part of the tribal group of Ḳuḍāʿa, and al-Ḳayn is here interpreted as the nickname of al-Nuʿmān b. Djasr, so that the tribe is known as al-Ḳayn b. Djasr. The word *ḳayn* means "worker in iron", "smith", or possibly "slave", and is used as a term of contempt in the *Naḳāʾid Djarīr wa'l-Farazdaḳ*. There is no evidence, however, of any connexion of Bal-Ḳayn b. Djasr with smiths. They act as a normal Bedouin tribe, and indeed are specially proud of their achievements (cf. verse in Ibn Khallikān-de Slane, i, 40). Among the tribes against whom they fought were the Kalb (Abū Tammām, *Ḥamasa*, ed. Freytag, i, 77; Yāḳūt, iii, 241, iv, 49; Ibn Saʿd, iii/2, 27 f.; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-Ghāba*, ii, 224; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, ii, 45), Bahrāʾ (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 283), Ghaṭafān (*Aghānī*[1], ii, 194). The names of various places in their tribal grounds are known (see Yāḳūt, Index of tribes). One (Thadjr) is between Wādi 'l-Ḳurā and Taymāʾ; most of the others appear to be further north. Among neighbouring tribes were the Kalb, Balī and ʿUdhra. Some of the tribe may have been friendly with Muḥammad, since at the expedition of Dhāt al-Salāsil in 8/629 the Muslims hoped for help from them (Wāḳidī, ed. Marsden Jones, ii, 770 f.); but a contingent of Bal-Ḳayn fought against the Muslims at Muʾta about the same time, and also at the Yarmūk and perhaps Fiḥl (Ibn Hishām, 792; Ṭabarī, i, 1611, 2347). There is no record of their having sent a deputation to make an alliance with Muḥammad, and so the report of Sayf b. ʿUmar (Ṭabarī, i, 1872) that they had an *ʿāmil* and that some joined in the Ridda presumably refers only to a small section. The majority probably became Muslims after the conquest of Syria.

In the Second Civil War (*fitna* of Ibn al-Zubayr) they supported Marwān (Ṭabarī, ii, 478; Masʿūdī, *Tanbī*, 308), but a little later ʿAbd al-Mālik decided against them in a dispute with the Kalb about a place called Ḳurāḳir (Yāḳūt, iv, 49). There was a contingent of 600 of them in the Umayyad army sent against the Khāridjī rebel Bahlūl in 119/737 (Ṭabarī, ii, 1623; Ibn al-Athīr, v, 156). The last that is heard of them is as being involved in intertribal fighting in Damascus in 176/792 (Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 87 f.).

Two brothers from the Bal-Ḳayn, Mālik and ʿAḳīl, are said to have been the boon-companions of Djadhīma al-Abrash of Ḥīra [*q.v.*] and were noted for being inseparable (Ibn Khallikān-de Slane, iii, 653; *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, i, 535, 2, poem 67, 21). The best-known member of the tribe was the poet Abū 'l-Ṭamaḥān, who in pre-Islamic times had been friendly with Muḥammad's uncle al-Zubayr b. ʿAbd-al-Muṭṭalib and also with ʿAbd Allāh b. Djudʿān (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 229 f.; Ibn Khallikān-de Slane, i, 40; Caussin de Perceval, i, 131, ii, 232).

Al-Ḳalḳashandī (*Nihāyat al-arab fi ansāb al-ʿarab*, Cairo 1959, 71) has two tribes called Banū 'l-Ḳayn. Besides the one described above there is a part of Asad (b. Khuzayma); but it is possible that there is confusion with Asad, the great-grandfather of al-Ḳayn b. Djasr, since little is recorded of this tribe except the name. A group of Bal-Ḳayn, perhaps actually smiths, were found at the mines of Banū Sulaym at Farān and may have been part of the Balī (Yāḳūt, iii, 865). The suggestion has been made that the Bal-Ḳayn are descended from the Kenites of the Old Testament, *e.g.*, by Th. Nöldeke, *ZDMG*, xli, 181, but there is no convincing evidence to support this.

Bibliography: given in the article.

(W. Montgomery Watt)

ḲAYNA, pl. *ḳaynāt* or *ḳiyān* "female singing slave".

The Arab lexicographers do not completely agree on the primitive meaning of the term (see *LA*, *TA*, etc. s.v.), the real origin of which is unknown to them. They tend to apply it in the first place to a female slave (*ama*, *djāriya*), charged in general with various tasks; secondly, and more specifically, to the female singer who had a servile status (*ama* or *djāriya mughanniya*). Some lexicographers are inclined to connect *ḳayna* with a Vth form *taḳayyana* "to embellish oneself" (al-Washshāʾ, *Muwashshā*, 164, uses the expression *al-imāʾ al-mutaḳayyināt* in a sense close to *al-mutaẓarrifāt* "the elegant, the refined ladies"), others want to see it as the feminine form of *ḳayn* "workman", more specifically "smith" and to give it the primitive meaning of "working woman" or "woman hairdresser". Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Asad (*al-Ḳiyān wa 'l-ghināʾ fi 'l-ʿaṣr al-djāhilī*, Cairo [2]1968, 15-24) has devoted a thorough study to this term. Starting from a biliteral **ḳn*, he points out the semantic affinity of the "radicals" *ḳyn*, *ḳnn*, *ḳny*, and remarks the existence of cognate words in various Semitic languages. He sees a phonetic and semantic relation between χρίνω and *cano* on one side, and *ḳayna* on the other, and concludes that these are loanwords from Arabic. We shall limit ourselves here to underline the rightness of these connections, without being decisive about the direction of a possible borrowing and without following P. Anastase (*al-Iklīl*, viii, 165) who considers *ḳayna* to be a derivative of χαίνω or *cano*, while considering at the same time the Arabic *ghannā* "to sing" to be the origin of either verbs. What can be stated with near certainty is that the Assyrian *ḳinītu* has very probably become Arabic *ḳayna* [see Ghināʾ]. At an early period also other words are attested to indicate the female singer: *karīna* (Ibn Khurradādhbih, *Kitāb al-lahw wa 'l-malāhī*, ed. I. A. Khalifé, Beirut 1969, 20), *musmiʿa* (which is perhaps Islamic, *ibid*, 17), *dādjina* and *muddjina* (Asad, *op. cit.*, 27), *ṣadūḥ* and *ṣādiḥa* (ibid., 28) and finally *djarāda* "locust".

According to a well-founded tradition, the first female singers among the Arabs are reported to have been two slaves called al-*Djarādatān*[1] or *Djarādatā ʿĀd*. They are even given individual names the spellings of which take all the form CCāC (al-Ṭabarī, i, 234-6; see al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, index). The name of the mythical person to whom they allegedly have belonged is also known: Muʿāwiya b. Bakr al-ʿImlaḳī. The continuity of the tradition is assured by the affirmation that the inhabitants of Yathrib inherited the use of *ḳiyān* from the ʿĀdites who had disappeared from history, (Ibn Khurradādhbih, *op. cit.*, 20). The sources also attest female singing-slaves in the future Medina at the end of the Djāhiliyya (*e.g. Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, xv, 34, about Uḥayḥa b. al-Djulāḥ). Mecca, which had remained outside the alleged ʿĀdite influence, is said to have known music and singing thanks to al-Ḥārith b. Kalada on his return from al-Ḥīra (see al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, index, s.v.; Asad, *op. cit.*, 115, 116, 118, 131, discusses this tradition). This detail confirms the origin of the *ḳayna* as proposed above, the more so because the sources report many traditions on the *ḳiyān* of the Naṣrids, as they do on those of the Ghassānids. According to Ibn Khurradādhbih (*op. cit.*, 36), Djabala b. al-Ayham al-Ghassānī [*q.v.*] is said to have had ten *ḳiyān*, five of whom, apparently Byzantine, sang in *rūmiyya*.

In Arabia, outside the main towns, some *ḳiyān*

were living among the Bedouins, if the poets are to be believed, whose works can, however, not be credited with perfect authenticity.

As far as can be judged, the female slave singers may have been divided into two main categories, the rôle of one group, owned by a town or Bedouin person of standing, was to entertain their master, alone or in the company of guests, without prejudice to other relations they could have with him. The other group, quite inferior in rank, were attached to taverns or followed wandering wine-merchants, and one can easily imagine that they could give themselves to a form of prostitution. The poets (*e.g.* Tarafa, vv. 49-52 of the *Muʿallaḳa*; al-Aʿs͟hā, in *Rawāʾiʿ*, no. 31, 26-7; Labīd, v. 61 of the *Muʿallaḳa*) associate these women with drinking-bouts, and describe them so as not to leave any doubt about their marginal activities. Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Asad (*op. cit.*, 163-253) has thoroughly studied the influence exercised by these two pre-Islamic groups of *ḳiyān* on the social and literary fields, and more particularly on al-Aʿs͟hā.

From the period shortly preceeding Islam, we have detailed information on some *ḳiyān*, in particular on two new "locusts", the D͟jarādatān[1] of ʿAbd Allāh b. D͟judʿān [*q.v.*] who was engaged in the slave-trade in both sexes. Shortly afterwards, female slave-singers apparently served in Mecca as instruments of propaganda against the Prophet who had migrated to Medina, namely Fartanā and Ḳarība/Ḳurayba, who were owned by ʿAbd Allāh b. K͟haṭal (see al-D͟jāhiz, *Tarbīʿ*, index, s.v. Fartanā; *Sīra*, ii, 410; *Nasab Ḳurays͟h*, 442-3; Asad, *op. cit.*, 86-7). They are said to have been sentenced to death by Muḥammad after the conquest of Mecca for having propagated satirical songs against him (the traditions diverge however on the actuality of their punishment). Another *ḳayna*, Sāra by name (see Asad, *op. cit.*, 88), and owned by ʿAmr b. Abī Ṣayfī (*Nasab Ḳurays͟h*, 90-1), was sent to the Ḳurays͟h by Ḥāṭib b. Abī Baltaʿa to announce the Prophet's intention to seize Mecca (*Sīra*, ii, 398, 410, 411). Sentenced to death, she escaped momentarily the supreme penalty. A list of ancient *ḳiyān* can be found in chapter xiv of the *Ḥāwī 'l-funūn wa-salwat al-maḥzūn* of Ibn al-Ṭaḥḥān, an author of the 5th/11th century (ms. *Dār al-kutub* no. 539, Fine Arts) published by Asad, *op. cit.*, 269-72.

At the same period there existed certainly many other anonymous *ḳiyān* who were engaged in their usual activity. These slaves were surely of non-Arabic origin (*e.g.* the *ḳayna* of Ḥassān b. T͟hābit was called Sīrīn, Ibn K͟hurradād͟hbih, *op. cit.*, 36). Thus there were probably white slaves among them, but the majority must have been black or half-caste. If some were perhaps still singing in a foreign language, like those of D͟jabala b. al-Ayham, the others had been brought up in an Arab environment and knew perfectly well the language of the poets whose works they interpreted. The absence of reliable documents prevents however any decisive affirmation.

The information becomes less unreliable when in the 1st/7th century the development of music and singing [see G͟HINĀʾ] in the holy cities of the Ḥid͟jāz brought about a zeal for collecting traditions which we know, to be sure, only from later sources. On the other hand, however acute the later juridical disputations on the admissibility of these two pursuits, they in fact paradoxically developed, in spite of some attempts to stem their spread, in Mecca and especially in Medina, where one would have expected stronger puritanical feeling. This problem is further connected with those of love-poetry [see G͟HAZAL] and humour [see AL-D͟JIDD WAʾL-HAZL].

While the prohibition of wine must have entailed the disappearance of a great part of the female singers of the lower reaches of the profession, real schools can be seen growing around musicians and singers who were instructing pupils of both sexes. Among the females, free and freed women appeared, but mainly slaves, whose masters considered that sort of education to be a means of increasing the commercial value. In order to be chosen among the young slaves, whose number was now increasing, due to the conquests, the future *ḳiyān* had of course to be beautiful and to have a melodious voice, but to be at a premium on the market they also needed talent and skill, *i.e.* a fairly advanced musical education and intellectual culture. From the 1st/7th century onwards the famous stories of *ḳiyān*, bought at huge prices (thousands of *dīnārs* are mentioned), have been adopted into *adab*-literature, often with somewhat embellished details. Sallāma [*q.v.*] and Ḥabāba [*q.v.*] belong to them, but several others could be mentioned. Isḥāḳ al-Mawsilī pretends (Ag͟hānī, v, 156) that the singers who had thus been educated, were originally black (*sūd*) or "yellow" (*ṣufr*), *i.e.*, white women, and hints that they did not stand out for their beauty. For, he says, his father Ibrāhīm was the first to consider the physical qualities of the *ḳiyān* important, in view of the increase of their value in the eyes of those interested. This information is belied by traditions going back to the 1st/7th century.

ʿAzza [*q.v.*] and D͟jamīla [*q.v.*] gave concerts in honour of personalities of Medina, and the latter was surrounded by a considerable number of *ḳiyān* who constituted the choir. It was under the direction of these two artists, famous in the history of the Arabs, that the great singers of the 1st/7th century were formed [see G͟HINĀʾ]. Out of these one needs only to mention Maʿbad [*q.v.*], who in his turn taught *ḳiyān*, both female musicians and singers, who were very much in demand. The best pupils of the Medinese school easily found buyers in ʿIrāḳ, particularly in Baṣra where a new school, competing with the one of Medina, was quickly to come into existence and which produced some of the most famous female singers of the court at Bag͟hdād. There were formed Bad͟hl (*Ag͟hānī*, ed. Beirut, xvii, 32-7), *ḳayna* of al-Hādī and al-Amīn, ʿArīb (*Ag͟hānī*, xxi, 58-102) whose career reached from the reign of al-Maʾmūn to that of al-Mutawakkil, Mutayyam al-Hās͟himiyya (*Ag͟hānī*, vii, 280-93) and S͟hāriya (*Ag͟hānī*, xv, 320-8) who was adopted by Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī and whose biography Ibn al-Muʿtazz did not judge himself unworthy to write. Al-D͟jāḥiẓ (*Rasāʾil*, ed. Hārūn, ii, 288-90), gives a detailed list of Baṣran *ḳiyān*, whom he prefers to the Kūfan. From that time onwards it is not always easy to make a distinction between the slaves who had become famous for having given birth to caliphs (those born from a mother who was a free woman are very few), those who had distinguished themselves as poets (like ʿInān [*q.v.*] or Faḍl) and the singers proper who could at the same time share the caliph's couch or that of a very high personality, compose verses, sing their own or those of other poets and play a musical instrument (like Maḥbūba). In fact, many *ḳiyān* were capable of writing short poems and of improvising occasional pieces; competing in this field with the court poets, they rivalled them in virtuosity, especially in the classical game of the

idjāza [*q.v.*]. In an unpublished thesis (*Recherches sur la poésie des qiyān*, Paris-Sorbonne 1970), A. Chirane has brought forward the name of more than a hundred *ḳiyān* to whom verses are attributed, without counting several dozens of anonymous poetesses, whose preserved works represent only a tiny part of the compositions and improvisations. In general, this kind of poetry cannot be called exemplary, but is has the merit of being spontaneous and unusually refreshing. Love (*ʿishḳ* [*q.v.*]) is largely celebrated, while amorous reproofs (*ʿitāb*) and lamentations over forced separations also abound. On the other hand, one finds eulogies of high-ranking personalities, elegies on the death of the master and pieces in which the *ḳiyān*, far away from their native land, express their nostalgia. Wine and descriptions find their place also, next to epigrams which were held in high esteem in these refined milieux.

These women had received a thorough education. They had to give proof of talent and vast knowledge of Arabic language and poetry. We are told that al-Rashīd, before taking a decision, instructed al-Aṣmaʿī to examine one of them; she answered her examiner with such assurance that she "seemed to read the answers from a book" (al-Anbārī, *Nuzha*, ed. ʿA. ʿĀmir, 72-3). It was due to the erudition of another *ḳayna*, pupil of the grammarian al-Māzinī, that the latter had the honour to be admitted to the court (see Pellat, *Milieu*, 250). These slaves knew a great number of verses by heart, which was in itself normal; some, however, although everything in their daily life removed them from religion, were well-versed in the traditional sciences and had studied the Ḳurʾān, as suggested by the story of a *ḳāriʾa* related by al-Masʿūdī (v, 428-31 = § 2184-5), who gives a beautiful example of *ṭarab* [*q.v.*]. Besides, it is known that the Holy Book was chanted and that the *ḳirāʾa bi 'l-alḥān*, favoured by the development of singing at Medina (see M. Talbi, in *Arabica*, v/2, 1958, 183-90), spread afterwards to other areas of the Muslim world, in spite of the hostility of the *fuḳahāʾ* (see, *e.g.*, M. Talbi, *Emirat aghlabide*, 307).

Thanks to the school founded by Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī [*q.v.*] and developed by his son Isḥāḳ, himself formed by a *ḳayna* called ʿAtīḳa, Baghdād tended at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century to secure pre-eminence over Baṣra, which had not in fact succeeded in putting an end to the monopoly which the school of Medina had possessed in the formation of the *ḳiyān*. Indeed, still in the 3rd/9th century ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II summoned to Cordoba the so-called "Medinese women" Faḍl, ʿIlm and Ḳalam, while the last-mentioned, a native of Navarre, had only been sent to the Ḥidjāz to round off her education there (see H. Pérès, *Poésie andalouse*, 40-1; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 267-8). The Umayyad *amīr*, who took them as concubines, caused a special pavilion to be constructed for them inside his palace where they conducted a real orchestra. In the early 3rd/9th century, the Aghlabid *amīr* Ziyādat Allāh (201-23/817-38) sent to Baghdād a messenger entrusted with purchasing *ḳiyān* for 30,000 *dīnār*s (Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, v, 396; cf. Ḥ. Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Waraḳāt*, ii, 195). At the end of the century, in spite of the prohibition issued in the meantime by al-Muhtadī (see al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 2 = § 3111) it was from Baghdād that the "king" of Seville, Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥadjdjādj (286-98/899-911) ordered the purchase of Ḳamar, who contributed to the diffusion of ʿIraḳī poetry which she knew perfectly well (H. Pérès, *op. cit.*, 41). She was one of those who expressed in verses their regret for having left their native land.

One or several *ḳiyān* of this category were often offered to the caliph (like Maḥbūba, a gift of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāhir to al-Mutawakkil; see al-Masʿūdī, ed. Pellat, index). But it also happened that the ruler made his choice himself. Having heard Ḳalam al-Ṣāliḥiyya singing during a private session, al-Wāthiḳ expressed the wish to buy her, but her owner required a prohibitive price together with an official document appointing him to the government of Egypt. This incident was at the origin of al-Djāḥiẓ' *Tarbīʿ* (see ed. Pellat, Introd.).

At the other extremity of the social scale of the *ḳiyān*, there were also cabaret singers in ʿIrāḳ (curiously enough, Bashshār, *Dīwān*, i, 136, describes as *bikr* a *ḳayna* singing among drinkers), but it is hard to know whether they are the singers who are celebrated (or criticised) by the poets in the verses quoted, *e.g.* by al-Washahāʾ (*op. cit.*, 119-28), or whether the latter are inspired by more distinguished *ḳiyān*, whose existence is attested with certainty. To be sure, there came into existence, first at Baṣra, then in other cities as far away as Cordoba, the very profitable profession of *ḳayyān* or *muḳayyin*, the germ of which had already existed much earlier. It consisted in acquiring young slaves fit to become *ḳiyān*, in forming them under strict rules and in hiring out on various circumstances their services to private persons. The *ḳayyān* organised also musical sessions in the hope that such a passion would arise among the guests that they would not hesitate to pay the most exorbitant prices in order to obtain the object of their ardour. In particular, there is mentioned the case of a certain ʿUmar (or al-Faḍl) b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Baṣrī, Abu 'l-Naḍīr/Abu 'l-Baṣīr (al-Ṣūlī, *Awrāḳ*, i, 8-10; *Aghānī*, xi, 267-74) who was at the same time a minor poet, a singer and a *muḳayyin*. His memory is kept alive thanks to the sharp criticisms addressed to him by Abān al-Lāḥiḳī (al-Sūlī, *op. cit.*, i, 9; *Aghānī*, xxiii, 24; Rifāʿī, *ʿAṣr al-Maʾmūn*, ii, 317). Other names are also known, for they appear in the beginning of al-Djāḥiz's *Kitāb al-Ḳiyān* (ed. Finkel, *Three Essays*, 53-75; ed. Hārūn, *Rasāʾil*, ii, 139-82; tr. Pellat, in *Arabica*, x/2 (1963), 121-47). In this small masterpiece, the author describes the *ḳayna*-type whom he shows exerting herself to seduce the well-to-do visitors and whose moral portrait he describes with great fineness. Thus we gain an insight into the rôle the *ḳiyān* were playing towards the members of the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie: adroitly they were provoking *ʿishḳ* while the wives of these men, kept in seclusion and generally uneducated, were quite incapable of exercising such an irresistible appeal. The *Kitāb al-Ḳiyān*, unique in Arab literature, was plagiarised with a certain talent by al-Washshāʾ, whose *Muwashshā* contains also a choice of verses illustrating in particular the ravages caused by the *ḳiyān* in the hearts of the enamoured (119-28). This treatise, composed for the benefit of the refined milieux (*ẓurafāʾ*), gives also an accurate description (*ibid.*, 164) of the clothes of the *imāʾ mutaḳayyināt*, who dressed in vividly-coloured robes made of dyed material, while the free women wore only natural fabrics. There are also many details on the customs of those milieux, on the phrases written on the footwear, on the forehead, on the palm of the hand, etc. (*ibid.*, 236 ff.).

The monographs devoted to the *ḳiyān* and cited for instance by Ibn al-Nadīm and Yāḳūt were

probably far from having the same literary value as the works of al-Djāḥiẓ and al-Washshā', for they were likely to contain exclusively anecdotes and verses in the same way as the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, the notices of which have been usefully gathered together by F. al-ʿAmrūsī, *al-Djawārī 'l-mughanniyāt*, Cairo 1945. The following titles have been brought to light: K. *Ḳiyān al-Ḥidjāz* and *K. al-Ḳiyān* of Isḥāḳ b. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī (*Fihrist*, 202; *Udabā'*, vi, 56); *K. al-Ḳiyān* of Yūnus al-Mughannī (*Fihrist*, 207); *K. al-Ḳaynāt* of al-Madā'inī (*Udabā'*, xiv, 133); *Ashʿār al-djawārī* of al-Mufadjdjaʿ (*Fihrist*, 123; *Udabā'*, xvii, 194); *K. Ḳiyān al-Ḥidjāz* and *K. Ḳiyān Makka* of Sulaymān b. Ayyūn (*Fihrist*, 212; *Udabā'*, xi); *K. Akhbār al-ḳiyān* of Abū 'l-Faradj himself (*Udabā'*, xiii, 99; Brockelmann, S I, 226). To this list of works which do not seem to have been preserved, should be added, apart from the chapter of Ibn al-Ṭaḥḥān mentioned above, anthologies like the *Ṭabaḳāt* of Ibn al-Muʿtazz, the *Murūdj* of al-Masʿūdī or the *Nafḥ al-ṭīb* of al-Maḳḳarī, the sections on the *ḳiyān* in encyclopaedias like the *ʿIḳd* of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (iv, 127-38), the *Mustaṭraf* of al-Ibshīhī (ii, 211-7), the *Nihāyat al-Arab* of al-Nuwayrī (v, passim), works relating to women (*e.g.* Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, *Akhbār al-nisā'*, ed. N. Riḍā, Beirut 1964, or the study of ʿU. R. Kaḥḥāla, *K. Aʿlām al-nisā'*, Damascus 1379/1959), or also those devoted to poetesses but which have also been lost. Useful information can finally be found in: *Nisā' al-khulafā'*, attributed to Ibn al-Sāʿī (ed. M. Djawād, Cairo n.d.), and in *al-Mustaẓraf min akhbār al-djawārī* of al-Suyūṭī (ed. Ṣ. al-Munadjdjid, Beirut 1963).

Even if some *ḳiyān* are still mentioned occasionally after the 4th/10th century but then almost always anonymously, the tradition, judging from the sources available, is essentially based on those of the first centuries of the *hidjra* who acquired a lasting celebrity. After Medina and Baṣra, Baghdād was the centre of the Muslim world in this respect. Al-Tawḥīdī (*Imtāʿ*, ii, 183) counts 460 slave (and 120 free) female singers at al-Karkh [*q.v.*], giving the names of about 20 of them and citing the pieces of poetry they would sing. The *ḳiyān* celebrated by al-Azdī (*Ḥikāyat Abī l-Ḳāsim*, 70 ff.) were also from Baghdād. He describes, like al-Tawḥīdī (*ibid.*), scenes of *ṭarab*, *i.e.* of that delirious joy to which persons who are otherwise self-controlled and conscious of their dignity have often surrendered themselves. Thus Baghdād supplied the most appreciated female slave singers (see in particular the history of the Fāṭimid Tamīm al-Muʿizz (d. 368/978) in Mez, *Renaissance*, Eng. tr. 401), whatever their land of origin may have been. The passage of Ibn Buṭlān (d. 454/1062) brought forward by Mez (*op. cit.*, tr. 161; text in *Risāla fī shirā' al-raḳīḳ wa-taḳlīb al-ʿabīd*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1954, 374; taken up again by al-Saḳaṭī, *Ḥisba*, 50, Spanish tr. by Chalmeta in *al-Andalus*, xxxiii/2 (1968), 375 and note 8) refers probably to the *ḳiyān*, for it is said there that the ideal slave is the Berber woman who from the age of nine spends three years at Medina, three at Mecca and then nine in ʿIrāḳ where she learns *adab*.

It is also known that shortly after the conquest of the Maghrib, *ḳiyān* were trained on the spot, while exchanges took place with the Orient (M. Talbi, *Emirat aghlabide*, 35). Much later, the existence of female slave-singers is still attested in Ifrīḳiya (R. Brunschvig, *Ḥafṣides*, ii, 412; cf. Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, 388), but it is possible that some came from the Orient or from Spain. It was in any case a Berber woman who, having been offered to al-Muʿtamid by Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn, met with a tragic end because of a blunder she had perpetrated (H. Pérès, *op. cit.*, 13). She had undoubtedly been trained in Morocco, but since the arrival of Ziryāb [*q.v.*], who possessed *ḳiyān* himself, Cordoba had become an important training-centre. Thus henceforth the aristocracy and bourgeoisie did not need to address themselves to Baghdād, from where the import of *ḳiyān* became exceptional (see E. Lévi-Provençal, *op. cit.*, iii, 316). We even have an eloquent evidence of Ibn al-Kattānī (H. Pérès, *op. cit.*, 383-5; in the 2nd ed. he corrects this to al-Kinānī; E. Lévi-Provençal, *op. cit.*, iii, 317), a physician employed by al-Manṣūr and al-Muẓaffar (see al-Ḍabbī, *Bughya*, no. 81; Boustany, *DM*, iii, 477) who died in 420/1030. He taught his slaves logic, philosophy, geometry, music, astronomy, astrology, grammar, prosody, *adab* and calligraphy, and then sold them at a very high price (in one case for 3,000 *dīnārs*). The Andalusian *ḳiyān* played also conjuring tricks and even executed exercises of skill with weapons, and formed orchestras called *sitāra* after the name of the curtain which in the Orient separated in theory the caliph from the singers and musicians (Mez, *op. cit.*, 479). After the fall of the Umayyads in Spain, the *Mulūk al-ṭawā'if* in their turn disputed among themselves for the most talented singers. The coming of the Almoravids and Almohads did not put an end to their activities, but from the 6th/12th century onwards, Seville had robbed Cordoba of the monopoly it had enjoyed before. A reliable evidence of this is to be found in a text of al-Tīfāshī (d. 651/1253), *Mutʿat al-asmāʿ fī ʿilm al-samāʿ*, quoted by Ḥ. Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb in his *Waraḳāt*, ii, 231-2, where is given a detailed account of the training of the Sevillian female singers who were sold in North Africa. In the north of the peninsula the *ḳiyān* served to a certain extent as a link between Muslims and Christians, who both kept them in their entourages. Some still sang in Arabic, and Ibn Bassām describes in this respect moving scenes (see H. Pérès, *op. cit.*, 386-7). On another plane, the Andalusian *ḳiyān* are probably no strangers to the insertion of Romance words in the *khardja* of the *muwashshaḥāt* and to the structure itself of these pieces [see MUWASHSHAḤ and ZADJAL].

Since the abolition of slavery, *ḳiyān* proper are no more met with, but those who in the Middle Ages formed troupes survive at present in the free female singers who in Morocco are called *shīkhāt* (sing. *shīkha*, f. of *shīkh* = *shaykh*). They form companies and participate in family feasts or solemn ceremonies. In Fās "their very diversified repertoire included Andalusian songs, poems in colloquial language and even Algerian songs" (R. Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le protectorat*, Casablanca 1949, 561). The *ghennāyāt*, of inferior rank, sometimes even composed small poems for family feasts (E. Aubin, *Le Maroc*, Paris 1912, 345-51).

We are, however, very far from the *ḳayna* of the classical period, who played a much larger rôle, even to such a degree that any history of Arabo-Islamic civilization cannot omit to recognize it. Not only, as S. Jargy (*La musique arabe*, coll. "Que sais-je?", no. 1436, Paris 1971, 39-40) has remarked, was "there at the origin of every career of the great singers in Islam a *qayna* whose pupil he was", but on the literary plane the *ḳiyān* also contributed to the development of the so-called "modernist" (*muḥdath*) poetry, both by their own compositions, the value of which was by their very nature quite varied, and by their function as inspirers of the poets. At the zenith of ʿAbbāsid civilisation some of

them kept real literary salons where the participants, while listening to music and songs, vied in wit and improvisation. Countless are the poets who, inspired by *ḳiyān*, celebrated their seduction or complained of their cruelty. In this respect almost all great names of *muḥdath* poetry should be cited, whatever may be the opinion of Ibn Ḳutayba who, in the introduction of the *Adab al-kātib*, fulminates against the secretaries of the administration whose ideal it was to recite "trashy verses" in praise of a *ḳayna* (see G. Lecomte, in *Mélanges Massignon*, iii, 51).

Bibliography: The main sources have been cited in the article. To these may be added: Dj. ʿAbd al-Nūr, *al-Djawārī*, coll. *Iḳra'* no. 59, Cairo 1947; A. M. al-Ḥawfī, *al-Mar'a fī 'l-shiʿr al-djāhilī*, Cairo 1954, 438-65; the histories of Arabian music mentioned in the *Bibliography* of the article GHINĀ; H. G. Farmer, *The sources of Arabian music*, Leiden 1965; ʿĪsā Sāba, *al-Mughanniyāt fī 'l-adab al-ʿArabī*, Beirut 1954; D. Boustany, *Ibn ar-Rūmī*, Beirut 1967, 56-61 and bibliography; ʿAbd al-Karīm al-ʿAllāf, *Ḳiyān Baghdād fī 'l-ʿaṣr al-ʿAbbāsī wa-'l ʿUthmānī wa-'l-akhīr*, Baghdad 1969 (not seen); J.-C. Vadet, *L'esprit courtois en Orient*, Paris 1968, 241-6; J. E. Bencheikh, *Les voies d'une création*, 214-6 (doctoral thesis, Sorbonne 1972, forthcoming); S. D. Goitein, *Slaves and slavegirls in the Cairo Geniza records*, in *Arabica*, ix/1 (1962), 1-20.

In the *Thousand and One Nights*, *ḳiyān* are quoted in the 334th, 383rd, 436th and 896th nights. On the status of slaves, see ʿABD; on their position in society, B. Lewis, *Race and color in Islam*, New York-London 1971, and bibliography; see also ʿĀLIMA.

(CH. PELLAT)

ḲAYNUḲĀʿ, BANŪ, one of the three main Jewish tribes of Yathrib. The name differs from the usual forms of Arabic proper names but has nothing Hebrew about it. Nothing certain is known regarding their immigration into Yathrib. They possessed no land there but lived by trading. That their known personal names are for the most part Arabic says as little regarding their origin as the occurrence of Biblical names among them; but there seem to be no valid reasons for doubting their Jewish origin.

In Yathrib they lived in the south-west part of the town, near the *Muṣallā* and close to the bridge over the Wādī Buṭḥān, where they occupied two of the strongholds (*āṭām*) characteristic of Yathrib. They were goldsmiths, among other trades; Bukhārī (*Farḍ al-Khums*. 1, *Maghāzī*, 12) incidentally mentions a goldsmith of the Ḳaynuḳāʿ. On their expulsion they left behind them arms and tools, which were divided among the Muslims after Muḥammad had received (for the first time) his fifth share. The number of their fully equipped fighting men varies between 400 and 750 in references to it.

After the dominating power in the old Yathrib had passed from the Jews to the Banū Ḳayla, the Ḳaynuḳāʿ were allied to the Khazradj [*q.v.*]. In Muḥammad's settlement of the relations between believers and other sections of the community they are not mentioned, any more than are the Naḍīr [*q.v.*] and the Ḳurayẓa [*q.v.*]. From this we may infer (with Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 226 f.) that the document in its present form belongs to the period after the elimination of the Ḳurayẓa (end of 5/April 627).

After the battle of Badr (Ramaḍān 2/March 624) Muḥammad's relations with the Jews of Medina became troubled. The Jews as a body had adopted an unfriendly attitude to the Prophet. From the religious point of view they became inconvenient; and from the political angle, as a powerful foreign body within the newly converted town, they were a great danger. When Muḥammad felt his position strengthened by the battle of Badr, he must soon have determined on expelling his enemies. The Ḳaynuḳāʿ, as they lived in the city itself, were the first he wished to be rid of. Regarded in this light, his attack on the Ḳaynuḳāʿ (in all probability as early as Shawwāl 2/April 624) is sufficiently explained. Special reasons for the attack given by Muslim writers have no more than anecdotal value. Sometimes this reason is said to have been a jest that a Muslim made to a Jewish woman, sometimes the Ḳaynuḳāʿ are said to have behaved with particular arrogance. Sūra III, 12 f. is said to refer to these incidents; according to Wāḳidī (177) and Ibn Sa'd (ii/1, 19) Sūra VIII, 58, does too. Sūra III, 13, refers to the victory at Badr as an example and warning, and VIII, 58, speaks of vengeance against people from whom treachery is feared.

After 14 days' siege, the Ḳaynuḳāʿ surrendered without striking a blow; the men were bound and seemed to have feared the worst. The energetic intervention of ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy [*q.v.*], chief of the Khazradj and leader of the Munāfiḳūn, however, brought an improvement of their lot. They left first for the Jewish colonies in the Wādī 'l-Ḳurā, north of Medina, and from there to Adhriʿāt in Syria.

The Banū Ḳaynuḳāʿ did not, however, emigrate to the last man. A few members of the tribe embraced Islam, perhaps more from opportunism than from conviction, and these could remain at Medina. Ibn Hishām/Ibn Isḥāḳ gives a list of 30 Ḳaynuḳāʿ adversaries of the Prophet (351 f.). This may refer to the time before the expulsion, but five or six of the names in the list reappear in Wāḳidī's report on Ibn Ubayy's funeral (in 9/631) among those hypocrites "from Banū Ḳaynuḳāʿ and others" who pressed forward to the bier (1058 f., Wellhausen, 415). Another member of the Ḳaynuḳāʿ, ʿAbd Allāh (originally al-Ḥuṣayn) ibn Salām [*q.v.*], "their *ḥabr* and most learned man", whose name concludes the list of Ibn Isḥāḳ, became a convinced Muslim, immediately after Muḥammad's arrival at Medina, as is commonly related; according to another version thought by Horovitz more credible, he was converted in 8 A.H., two years before Muḥammad's death (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, ii, Calcutta 1893, 780-2).

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, 383, 545-7; Wāḳidī, ed. Marsden Jones, London 1966, 176-80 (abbrev. German tr. by Wellhausen, 92-4); Ibn Saʿd, ii/1, 19 f.; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, i, ed. Hamidullah, Cairo 1959, 285, 308 f.; Ṭabarī, i, 1359-64; Diyārbakrī, *Tā'rīkh al-Khamīs*, Cairo 1283, 408 ff.; Ḥalabī, *Sīra*, Cairo 1384/1964, ii, 474-8; L. Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam*, i, 520-4; A. J. Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, Leiden 1908, 39, 146-51; R. Leszynsky, *Die Juden in Arabien*, Berlin 1910, 60-3; Frants Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, Leipzig 1930, 248 f.; H. Z. Hirschberg, *Yisra'el baʿArabh*, Tel Aviv 1946, index; W. M. Watt, *Muḥammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 181 f., 192-8, 208-10, 216 f., 219 f., 226-8.

(A. J. WENSINCK-R. PARET)

AL-ḲAYRAWĀN, a town in central Tunisia, 156 km. from Tunis and 57 km. from Sousse. It is situated at an altitude of 60 m. and is the chief town of a governorate of 336,000 inhabitants which stretches over an area of 680,000 hectares. Its population of 34,000 inhabitants in 1956 had become

47,000 during the census of 3rd May 1966, and then 56,000 in 1972. Temperatures vary considerably, ranging from a few degrees below zero in winter to 40° C and over in summer. The sirocco blows there for an average of 21 days *per annum*. The rainfall varies from an average of 250 mm. or 300 mm. in the town and its surrounding area to 500 mm. and over in the regions west of the governorate. It changes considerably from one year to another, ranging from drought to catastrophic floods; the flood in 1969 was particularly devastating. Work is soon to begin on the damming of the Wadi Zéroud, which will store 80,000,000 cubic metres of water, and also on that of the Wadi Merguellil, for which plans are even more advanced. This is bound to avoid these dangerous floods and it will increase the irrigable area, which at present extends to 14,000 hectares, but of which only 8,000 are actually cultivated.

Al-Ḳayrawān is essentially involved with agricultural pursuits and the efforts of the last two decades have resulted in a considerable development of arboriculture. In 1972 there were 3,500,000 olive trees, and 3,800,000 almond trees were counted in the governorate; in third place came apricot trees. The areas sown with cereal crops vary much from year to year according to the promise of autumn rains. From 58,000 hectares in 1968 they rose to 200,000 in 1972; they were only 75,000 hectares in 1956, but they had reached 225,000 in 1959. The livestock in 1972 amounted to 260,000 sheep, 14,000 cattle, 20,000 goats and 11,000 camels. The industrial sector is still embryonic, but has a group of about ten small enterprises (dyeing, spinning, woodwork, confectionery and food preservation) which emply about 1,000 people; it seems unlikely that these will be greatly expanded.

By contrast, the artisan sector continues to occupy the first place in the town's activities. Working with wood, copper and alfa, the production of jewellery, lanterns and sieves, as well as the traditional dyeing and weaving, brings employment to 1,200 craftsmen. But what makes al-Ḳayrawān's reputation is the handproduced "long-wool" carpets. Recently the National Office of Craft Industry has been created, and it has been notable for allowing newly-qualified female workers into its workshops. It has modernised the designs to a certain extent without changing the family and essentially feminine character of the craftwork. In 1972 4,500 home-craftsmen (*saddāya*) were counted. The production of carpets rose from 56,000 m² in 1962 to 130,000 m² in 1972, and it is likely to develop further. Yet all these enterprises do not succeed in assuring full employment, because of the high birthrate. A third of the active male population is underemployed or on short-time working.

The actual town of al-Ḳayrawān is composed of the native quarter, with its narrow winding streets and souks, which roughly preserve the general appearance given to them in the 18th century. This native quarter is still surrounded by it crenellated ramparts, which are built of solid brick. They are flanked at intervals by round buttresses and measure a little over 3 km. In the east and the north-east the suburbs of Gueblia, Djeblia and Zlass. In the South, between Bāb al-Djallādīn (Skinners' Gate), which since independence has been renamed Bāb al-Shuhadā' (Martyrs' Gate) and which leads to the native quarter, and the Railway Station, the modern town is situated; here are found the administrative services, the banks, the hotels, etc. A working class district, *Sīdī Saḥnūn*, has been built in the east and another, a group of 400 villas belonging to the more prosperous classes, is called *al-Manṣūra*.

One of the principal monuments of the town, apart from the Great Mosque, is the Djāmiʿ thalāthat bībān, the Mosque of the Three Doors, the façade of which is a beautiful example of Aghlabid architecture. It was founded in 252/866 by the Andalusian Muḥammad b. Khayrūn al-Maʿāfirī, but was altered in the 9th/15th century. There is also the Aghlabid cistern at the Tunis Gate; the Zāwiya of Sīdī ʿAbīd al-Gharyānī of the 8th/14th century; the Zāwiya of Sīdī al-Ṣāḥib, which was first of all a simple and very old mausoleum covering the tomb of a Companion of the Prophet, Abū Zamʿa al-Balawī, and on the site of which the Murādid bey Ḥammūda erected the present building in the 11th/17th century; and the Zāwiya of Sīdī ʿUmar ʿAbāda, built in the 19th century.

i. Foundation

All the Arab invasions, which culminated in the conquest of Byzacena, were initially careful to avoid the coastal route. The invaders penetrated into the country by the region of Ḳasṭīliya [*q.v.*], from where they attempted to reach the centre and the north. Avoiding the shore on the east, which was dangerous for conquering forces who were not yet adequately experienced in seamanship, and the mountains on the west, which were well suited for ambushes and surprise attacks, they had no alternative but to use the corridor which ended naturally in the region of Ḳammūniya, that is, the corridor of al-Ḳayrawān. This town, which was first of all a military base, owed its origin to the strategy dictated by the relief of the country and from the fighting tactics of the invaders. Traditionally its foundation is attributed to ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ, but in fact it took place by easy stages and several military leaders contributed to it.

The battle of Sufetula (27/647-8) had practically delivered Byzacena to ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿd b. Abī Sarḥ, the Byzantines being driven back behind their second line of fortification defending the Proconsularium. It is neither impossible nor improbable that the conquerors pushed their raids on this occasion right into the region of al-Ḳayrawān, for they had to evacuate the country when they were charged a heavy tribute. Ibn Nādjī (*Maʿālim*, Tunis 1320/1902, i, 30) points out that at al-Ḳayrawān there is a mosque dedicated to Ibn Abī Sarḥ which in some way commemorates his sea journey.

Later, events begin to take shape when Muʿāwiya b. Ḥudaydj led three campaigns in succession to Ifrīḳiya, in 34/654-5, 41/661-2, and 45/665. Three times, in fact, he made use of the same route as his predecessor and ended in the region of Ḳammūniya or al-Ḳayrawān, where he set up his camp. In 34/654-5 Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam declares that Ibn Ḥudaydj "seized several fortresses and took considerable booty. He set up a garrison camp (*ḳayrawān*) near al-Ḳarn" (*Futūḥ*, partially ed. and tr. by A. Gateau, Algiers 1948, 57). He reappears still established at Ḳarn in 41/661-2 (Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, Leiden 1948, i, 15). Finally, in 45/665 he reappears yet again at Ḳarn (al-Mālikī, *Riyāḍ*, ed. Ḥ. Muʾnis, Cairo 1951, i, 17-18; Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, i, 16; Ibn Nādji, *Maʿālim*, i, 39-40). In this connection al-Mālikī notes: "Ibn Ḥudaydj had laid the foundations of a town at al-Ḳarn (*ikhtaṭṭa madīnatan ʿind al-Ḳarn*) before ʿUkba had founded (*taʾsīs*) al-Ḳayrawān and he settled there during the period that he spent in Ifrīḳiya". Ibn Nādjī states for his part that "on his return to Ḳammūniya, Ibn Ḥudaydj built dwellings in the region of al-Ḳarn

to which he gave the name of Ḳayrawān, when the site of [the actual] Ḳayrawān was not yet either inhabited or urbanised (*g̲h̲ayr maskūn wa-lā maʿmūr*; *Maʿālim*, i, 41). The site named al-Ḳarn ("hill, peak") by Ibn Ḥudayd̲j̲ owes its name to its relief. It probably refers to the hill 171 m. high which is called today Baṭn al-Ḳarn and which is situated in a tourist region 12 km. north-west of the actual town of al-Ḳayrawān on the road to D̲j̲alūla (M. Solignac, *Recherches sur les installations hydrauliques*, in *AIEO* x, (1952), 12, n. 10).

The primary reason for the foundation of al-Ḳayrawān was its elevated position, which gave it protection from surprise attacks and floods. The Ḳayrawān founded by Ibn Ḥudayd̲j̲ did not maintain its rôle as capital of Ifrīḳiya but it was never destroyed again; however, when it ceased to be the capital it no longer bore the name of al-Ḳarn. In 124/742 the K̲h̲ārid̲j̲ī ʿUkās̲h̲a was beaten there by Ḥanẓala b. Ṣafwān, governor of Ifrīḳiya. Al-Ḳarn is mentioned again at the end of the 2nd/beginning of the 8th century (Abū 'l-ʿArab, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Ben Cheneb, Paris 1915, 67; al-Mālikī, *Riyāḍ*, i, 18). Afterwards all trace of it disappears. Neither al-Bakrī nor al-Idrīsī cite it, and for Yāḳūt (*Buldān*, Beirut 1957, iv, 333) al-Ḳarn was no more than a mountain in Ifrīḳiya.

In 50/670 the founder of the Umayyad dynasty, Muʿāwiya, while keeping Ibn Ḥudayd̲j̲ as the governor of Egypt, took Ifrīḳiya from him and entrusted it to ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ. On rejoining his post he "was not very satisfied with Ḳayrawān which was built before his time by Muʿāwiya b. Ḥudayd̲j̲" (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, 65). The sources, (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, 64-6; al-Mālikī, *Riyāḍ*, i, 6-7, 19; Ibn ʿId̲h̲ārī, *Bayān*, i, 19-20; Ibn Nād̲j̲ī, *Maʿālim*, i, 7-9), however, tell us forcefully the details (verging on the miraculous) of how ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ, followed by his most illustrious companions, including a large number of the *Ṣaḥāba*, was left to search for a new site. His choice fell on part of a plain which was then covered with vegetation, the haunt of reptiles and wild beasts. There the new Ḳayrawān was founded. ʿUḳba immediately donated two institutions indispensable for its spiritual and temporal progress, sc. a mosque and a government house (*dār al-imāra*), built opposite each other. He spent the five years of his first governorship watching over this building without undertaking any other expedition.

Abū 'l-Muhād̲j̲ir Dīnār who succeeded him "greatly disliked the idea of settling where ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ had built" (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, 68/69). We are told (Ibn ʿId̲h̲ārī, *Bayān*, i, 22; Ibn Nād̲j̲ī, *Maʿālim*, i, 42-3) that he set fire to the foundations of his predecessor and moved the capital two miles further along the road to Tunis, to a region inhabited by the Berbers. The new capital, of which the remains have recently been located, received the name Takirwan (Ibn Nād̲j̲ī, *Maʿālim*, i, 43). The choice of this Berber-sounding name as well as the town's position were all part of a government programme begun by Abū' l-Muhād̲j̲īr to encourage a policy of rapprochement with the indigenous leaders. This policy did not please the caliphate. ʿUḳba took the road to Ifrīḳiya again in 62/682, and his first action was to move the capital back to the site which he had already previously chosen. Thereafter, al-Ḳayrawān did not change its location any more.

Everything proves that this place had formerly been occupied by a Roman or Byzantine town which, like many others in the period of the Muslim conquest, had fallen into ruins. The first buildings erected by the Arabs certainly profited from the re-use of building materials which had been found abandoned on site. These various materials of greater or lesser importance can still be seen, not only in the monuments but also in modest dwellings. During recent restoration work (1969-72), much more has been discovered, including some items in the foundations of the Great Mosque. Not far from al-Ḳayrawān in the north is a place called al-Aṣnām (al-Tīd̲j̲ānī, *Riḥla*, Tunis 1958, 118; Ibn ʿId̲h̲ārī, *Bayān*, i, 58-9) which undoubtedly owes its name ("the Idols") to the great number of statues which the conquerors encountered. Furthermore, al-Bakrī (*Masālik*, ed. de Slane, Paris 1965 22/52-3) declares that the Place of the Mint (*Sūḳ al-Darb*) was occupied by a church in antiquity. The sources elsewhere plainly affirm that al-Ḳayrawān was raised on the ruins of an ancient town named Ḳūniya or Ḳamūniya (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, 58, 74; al-Mālikī, *Riyāḍ*, i, 12, 18, 19, 21; al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, 75; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iv, 399, 415, Ibn Nād̲j̲ī, *Maʿālim*, i, 39-41). There is no reason at all to doubt their suggestions, which are amply borne out by other archaeological evidence.

There remains the question of the choice of the site. No-one suggests that this choice was unfortunate, but why should this unfavourable part of the steppe have been chosen for the economic development of a great capital? Ibn K̲h̲aldūn sets the tone of the debate when he says he believes that the Arabs are poor town planners. To support his opinion he cites the examples of Baṣra, Kūfa and of al-Ḳayrawān as badly chosen sites (*Muḳaddima*, 647). Modern authors share this view (J. Despois, *Kairouan. Origine et évolution d'une ancienne capitale musulmane*, in *Annales de Géog.*, xxxix (1930), 161; P. Sebag, *Kairouan*, Zürich 1963, 16). In fact, the site of al-Ḳayrawān was not so badly chosen as one might think. It should be remembered that an ancient town had prospered there because, when the town was founded the site was not as steppe-like as it subsequently became. Although there was no sudden change of climate, settlers accomplished a considerable transformation. Ibn ʿId̲h̲ārī (*Bayān*, i, 20) states that ʿUḳba, to build the city, gave the order to deforest the area (*an yaḳṭaʿū al-s̲h̲ad̲j̲ar*). In the 4th/10th century al-Bakrī reveals elsewhere (*Masālik*, 26/61) that the forest of olive-trees at al-Ḳayrawān was sufficient by itself to furnish the town with all the wood it needed without suffering the least damage. The soil was certainly rich, thanks to the "fertilising silt" of the Merguellil and the Zéroud wadis, according to J. Despois (*loc. cit.*).

All therefore that really needed to be done was to solve the problem of a water supply, which had been solved once by the Romans and was later solved again by the Arabs. A few miles south of the site chosen for the foundation of al-Ḳayrawān they found a hydraulic construction system which they named Ḳaṣr al-Māʾ ("the Water Castle"). This system was fed from an aqueduct which gathered the waters of the Mams, 33 km. to the west, and today called Hans̲h̲īr Dwīmīs (M. Solignac, *op. cit.*, 19-21, 126-61). ʿUḳba stopped there (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ*, 68/69, on his return to Damascus in 55/675, and afterwards the place became an assembly point for caravans heading for the east (Abū 'l-ʿArab, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 25; al-Mālikī, *Riyāḍ*, i, 30, 69-70; Ibn Nād̲j̲ī, *Maʿālim*, i, 52, 147; Ibn ʿId̲h̲ārī, *Bayān*, i, 32, 44, 259). The Arabs lifted the region out of its ruined state and gave it back prosperity by pursuing

and extending the irrigation policy of their predecessors. The wells and cisterns with which (almost without exception) all the mosques and houses were provided (Ibn Nādjī, *Maʿālim*, i, 13, 25; al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, 23/53), made an appreciable contribution to the great works for which the Aghlabids are justly famed. Hence until the middle of the 5th/11th century, all the geographers boast of the fertility of that region. In all, the area chosen for the foundation of al-Kayrawān, apart from the strategic advantages it offered, was amenable to development and to the provision of an economic infrastructure necessary for the development of a large town. Only human error made this region into a steppe.

ii. History

Scarcely was al-Kayrawān founded when it had to be evacuated. The disaster of Tahūda to the south of Biskra cost the life of its chief founder ʿUkba b. Nāfiʿ, and all his companions were killed to the last man. This marked the beginning of the exodus towards the east. The conqueror was the Berber Kusayla [*q.v.*], and he took up residence in the town, which had not been abandoned by all its Arab-Muslim population, and made it the capital of his short-lived kingdom (64-9/684-9). Zuhayr b. Kays al-Balawī, and especially Ḥassān b. al-Nuʿmān came back later to recover it.

Four decades of peace then passed before the capital of the Maghrib was seriously threatened by the Berbers. In 124/742 it was about to be submerged by waves of Khāridjīs, but it was saved *in extremis* by the two unexpected victories of al-Karn and al-Aṣnām. Fortune failed it in 140/757-8 when the Warfadjūma Khāridjīs, of Ṣufrī tendencies, seized it with the complicity of certain of its inhabitants, and for more than a year held it under their domination. They massacred in particular the Kurashi elements of the population, who were the Arab aristocracy. It was liberated in Ṣafar of the following year (June-July 758) by the Ibāḍī Abū ʾl -Khaṭṭāb working from Tripoli. He left there as governor ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rustam, the future founder of the kingdom of Tāhart. But this was not for long; in Djumādā I 144/August 761, Muḥammad b. al-Ashʿath came to bring it back into the bosom of the east, and he proceeded to fortify it under directions from the caliph al-Manṣūr. For the first time he provided it with a surrounding wall, which was begun in Dhu l-Kaʿda 144/February 762 and finished in Radjab 146/September-October 763.

But these measures, which were imposed after the events just reviewed, did not save al-Kayrawān from trouble. In 154/771 it was besieged by a coalition of Ṣufrī and Ibāḍī Berbers. Its inhabitants were reduced to eating "their beasts of burden, their dogs and their cats" (Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, i, 76). Resistance was in vain; the town was stormed after its gates had been set on fire and a breach made in its walls. This was the last ordeal to which the Khāridjīs subjected it. Yazīd b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī (155-71/772-88) was despatched from the east with impressive resources, and came to take it in hand again and to put an end to the convulsions of Khāridjism in Ifrīkiya.

But there arose another danger, that of the *djund*. Al-Kayrawān became the gambling-stake of the rebel military leaders. In 194/810 Ibrāhīm I (184-96/800-12), in order to punish it for having treated with the army rebels, had the ramparts taken down and removed its gates. But it was guilty of the same offence again. In the meantime the gates had been put back, and in 209/824 the inhabitants opened them to Manṣūr al-Tunbudhī. This time their punishment was a draconian one and Ziyādat Allāh I (201-23/817-38) "razed the walls of the town until he had made them level with the ground", (Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, i, 100). His successors were able to reign quite peaceably until the Shīʿī propaganda extended to Ifrīkiya. The citadel of Sunnism did not support its sovereigns when they were in danger, but adopted towards them a passive or even hostile attitude. The last of the Aghlabids left his capital secretly at night, and the commander of his armies had to follow him under a hail of stones.

The reign of the Fāṭimids accentuated the differences between the city of Sīdī ʿUkba and the power henceforth to be indisputably exercised by heretics. On 20th Shaʿbān 299/11th April 912, the storm broke. A rabble set the over-arrogant Kutāma against the exasperated tradesmen, and several hundred prisoners were taken (Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, i, 166; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Beirut ed. 1966, viii, 53). ʿUbayd Allāh was able to calm men's minds, but it did not prevent the people of al-Kayrawān from supporting the insurrection of the Khāridjī Abū Yazīd al-Nukkārī (332-6/943-7). They were deceived by him, and finally abandoned him, but it did not exempt them from punishment. Al-Mansūr, once the rebel had been defeated and killed, seized a group of them and had them tortured and executed.

The reign of the Zīrids before the rejection of the Shīʿī heresy, was no more readily accepted. The very arrival of al-Muʿizz (407-54/1016-62), when he carried out his first official visit to al-Kayrawān, was greeted by an attempt on his life and by a dreadful uprising (15 Muḥarram 407/24th June 1016). The people of al-Kayrawān massacred indiscriminately all whom they suspected of being Shīʿī. The bodies of the victims were burned and buildings set on fire at will. The disturbances spread as far as al-Manṣūriyya, which in turn was sacked and pillaged. Despite the efforts of the authorities to restore calm, a fresh riot broke out several months later on the occasion of the ceremonies of ʿĪd al-Fiṭr (1 Shawwāl 407/3 March 1017) presided over by al-Muʿizz. Again blood flowed freely, and this time the reaction of the authorities was brutal. Al-Kayrawān was delivered into the hands of the troops of al-Manṣūriyya. Not a single shop escaped being pillaged and they set fire to the main business thoroughfares (*kibār al-aswāk*). This was but the prelude to greater woes. The Banū Hilāl, although they did not devastate every town of Ifrīkiya, nevertheless made a complete ruin of what remained of the grandeur of al-Kayrawān. The town was besieged from 446/1054 onwards and it was abandoned to them by al-Muʿizz, who retreated to al-Mahdiyya in 449/1057.

After that it is little heard of. Unlike Kābis, Kafṣa, Tūzir, al-Mahdiyya, Sūsa or Safākis, al-Kayrawān caused no concern to the Ḥafṣids. No local dynasty seized power there under their reign. The nomad Arabs of the region, meanwhile, played a certain rôle on the political stage. They attempted, a little late, to oppose ʿAbd al-Muʾmin b. ʿAlī, the founder of the Almohad dynasty and already master of the whole of Ifrīkiya. They were hewn to pieces, and their leader the Riyāḥid Muḥriz b. Ziyād was defeated (556/1161, Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, vi, 494). In 582/1186-7 the Almohad al-Manṣūr, who had come from Morocco to suppress the danger of the Banū Ghāniya, moved from Tunis towards al-Kayrawān where he set up camp before taking the offensive in the direction of al-Ḥāmma, thus making good the first losses sustained by his army (Ibn Khaldūn,

ʿIbar, vi, 510). Some years later Yaḥyā b. Ghāniya seized the town, and with it, all Ifrīḳiya. His success was as resounding as it was short-lived. Al-Ḳayrawān quickly returned to Almohad and then Ḥafṣid administration. In 669/1270 the landing of Louis IX at Carthage threw the whole country into a state of turmoil. The holy city founded by Sīdī ʿUḳba vibrated with enthusiasm for *djihād*; al-Mustanṣir, thinking that Tunis was under too great a threat, even intended to move his government there (Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, vi, 670). But the epidemic which put an end to the conflict robbed him of this honour. Several years later it again had the opportunity of playing a definite political rôle by favouring the accession of "the impostor", Ibn Abī ʿUmāra (681-3/1283-4), to the throne. In bestowing on him the *bayʿa* it assured him, we are told (Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, vi, 691), of the support of Safāḳis of Sūsa and of al-Mahdiyya.

Its name again comes into prominence in the course of the struggle of the Sultan Abū Yaḥyā Abū Bakr against Abū Darba (718-24/1318-24). But the most important event occurred in Muḥarram 749/April 1348. Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Marīnī, who had just occupied Ifrīḳiya, was beaten by the nomadic Arabs near al-Ḳayrawān, where he was later hemmed in (Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, vi, 564, 814-6, 819). He was in fact able to get free and reach Tunis again, but this defeat was a sure mark of his decline and gave rise to the evacuation of the country.

After this al-Ḳayrawān did not achieve notice until the end of the reign of the Ḥafṣids, which closed in the shadow of discredit. So it was without difficulty that Khayr al-Dīn Barbarossa, already the master of Algiers, stormed Tunis (18th August 1534), proclaimed the downfall of the dynasty and among other things placed a garrison at al-Ḳayrawān. The following year (14th July 1535), Charles V reinstated Mawlāy al-Ḥasan on his throne under a special Spanish protectorate, but the whole of the south of the country escaped him. At that time al-Ḳayrawān became the capital of an independent principality governed by a marabout, Sīdī ʿArafa, of the tribe of the Shābbiyya. In 1542 Mawlāy al-Ḥasan tried to recover it but he was forsaken by his troops. So the Shābbiyya remained in power until the intervention of the *raʾīs* Dragut who, working outwards from Tripoli, came, routed them and occupied the town (3rd January 1558), leaving Ḥaydar Pasha there as governor. In 1574 the latter joined his forces with those at Tripoli to support Sinān Pasha, who came at the head of an imposing fleet to end once and for all the Ḥafṣid dynasty and Spanish domination (Ibn Abī Ḍiyāf, *Itḥāf*, Tunis 1963, ii, 18-21, places these events in 981/1573). Tunisia was then organised as a Turkish *pashalik* with Ḥaydar Pasha, the former governor of al-Ḳayrawān, at its head (Ibn Abī Ḍiyāf, *Itḥāf*, ii, 27).

The reign of the Murādids accentuated the decline of al-Ḳayrawān. Ḥammūda Pasha showed some interest in the town, for in 1631 he came to rout the Awlād Saʿīd from the region and he set up a garrison of spahis (*ūdjak*) in the place. But soon there was civil war between ʿAlī Bey and his brother Muḥammad. Al-Ḳayrawān took the side of the latter, and after the settlement of 1678, which divided the country between the two pretenders, it became the seat of its own government (Ibn Abī Ḍiyāf, *Itḥāf*, ii, 55). Later it turned hostile towards Murād Bey Abū Bālā (1699-1702), hence he besieged it and imposed a severe collective fine upon it. Then it was delivered up to the pillaging of Khalīl, bey of Tripoli, in return for his alliance against Algiers. The following year, in 1701, the order was given to the inhabitants to proceed with the destruction of their own town except for the mosques and the *zāwiya*s, which were the only buildings spared (Ibn Abī Ḍiyāf, *Itḥāf*, ii, 76). The tyrant was however assassinated, which allowed his successor, Ibrāhīm al-Sharīf, to repair the damage, and the inhabitants of al-Ḳayrawān were authorised in 1703 to resettle their town and to rebuild its ruins (Ibn Abī Ḍiyāf, *Itḥāf*, ii, 81).

Later, the inhabitants benefitted from the benevolence of the founder of the Ḥusaynid dynasty, Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī (1705-35), who paid particular attention to the restoration of the mosques; they were faithful to him to the very end. It was in al-Ḳayrawān that he found refuge, and was then besieged for five years by his nephew ʿAlī Pasha. In the end he was captured and beheaded (13th May 1740). At the same time forty of the notables of al-Ḳayrawān were hanged and the wall surrounding the town was dismantled (Ibn Abī Ḍiyāf, *Itḥāf*, ii, 112-8). Afterwards Muḥammad al-Rashīd (1756-9), son of Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, arrived and seized for himself the benefits of power, and received recognition by the children of the founder of the dynasty. Its city wall was rebuilt, tax exemptions were granted to it, and the life-style of its inhabitants was visibly improved.

The reign of Ḥusayn II was, however, less favourable. During this period a heavy fine was imposed on the town which completely ruined its inhabitants; they were reduced to selling their goods and chattels to be free from it. Also in 1864 it was one of the most active hotbeds of the uprising led by ʿAlī b. Ghadhāhum. It was within its bounds that the Zlās of the region, led by al-Subūʿī b. Muḥammad al-Subūʿī, held a conference with the Banū Zīd, the Hamāma, and the Frashīsh. But it was a conference from which no concrete action emerged. Later, in 1881, just when the French protectorate of Tunisia was being established, al-Ḳayrawān again achieved honourable status; it became one of the most active centres for the call to resistance. From the 15th to the 20th June 1881 a conference in the Great Mosque brought together the representatives of the various tribes and made a decision to intervene at the side of the Pasha of Tripoli. When this intervention produced no result, and any isolated army action was thought worthless, the town was finally occupied without resistance on 26th October 1881. Only the Zlās continued limited operations for some time.

iii. Historical geography

According to the vows of its founder, al-Ḳayrawān was supposed to "perpetuate the glory of Islam to the end of time" (Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, i, 19; Abū 'l-ʿArab, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 8). To a certain extent it has fulfilled this mission. It is still a holy and venerated town, but over the centuries it has lost its rôle of a great metropolis. As described above, it has known both the peak of splendour and the depths of disaster.

ʿUḳba had begun his work by marking out the site for the Great Mosque and the Government House (*dār al-imāra*). The space around and within a perimeter of 13,600 cubits, about 7.5 km. (Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, i, 21), must have been apportioned out by tribes as it was in Baṣra and Kūfa which were founded in similar conditions. But there is no precise information on this matter, only a few indications. We learn, for example (al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, 23), that the Fihr, the Ḳurashī clan of the founder of the town, had settled to the north of the Great

Mosque at the time of Hi<u>sh</u>ām b. ʿAbd al-Malik (105-25/724-43). Again, in the 3rd/9th century, the districts had preserved distinct ethnic or denominational characteristics. This is indicated by Ḥārat Yaḥṣub (ʿIyāḍ, *Madārik*, partial edition by M. Talbi under the title *Biographies Aghlabides ...*, Tunis 1968, 71), Raḥbat al-Ḳura<u>sh</u>iyyīn (ʿIyāḍ, *Madārik*, 369), Darb al-Fir<u>sh</u>ā<u>sh</u> (ʿIyāḍ, *Madārik*, 359), and a Sūḳ al-Yahūd (ʿIyāḍ, *Madārik*, 359).

From the outset, al-Ḳayrawān was built in stone, thanks to the re-used building materials which were found on the site. Its perimeter indicates that it was planned as a large city designed to group together all the Arabs of Ifrīḳiya, primarily the warriors who would often then be followed by their families. Its initial population could hardly have fallen below 50,000.

Like Baṣra and Kūfa, originally it had no defensive wall and it remained an open city for nearly a century. The vicissitudes of history forced it, as we have seen, to be enclosed, from 144/762 onwards behind ramparts ten cubits thick (al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, 24). The reign of Yazīd b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī (155-71/722-88) was particularly beneficial to it. It was he who organised the town souks and specified the type of activity within them. (Ibn ʿI<u>dh</u>ārī, *Bayān*, i, 78). He was a person of some prestige and attracted to himself poets and men of science. Al-Ḳayrawān was itself in process of becoming one of the most important centres of Muslim civilisation.

The town reached its zenith in the 3rd/9th century when it became the capital of an independent kingdom. A fortified chief residence for the prince, al-ʿAbbāsiyya [*q.v.*] was built nearby (184/800). Another, more luxurious and spacious, Raḳḳāda, followed (263/877). The city had become too important, and began to disturb the authorities. It no longer needed to be defended, but it was necessary to take precautions against it, so it was deprived of its ramparts in the circumstances already described.

What were its dimensions then? Al-Bakrī (*Masālik*, 25-6) tells us that the main street (*al-Simāṭ*), which ran along the east side of the Great Mosque, measured, from the Abū 'l-Rabīʿ in the south to the Tunis Gate in the north, two and a third miles, that is (allowing 1,600 m. to the mile in al-Bakrī) a little less than 4 km. It can be assumed that the town had the same dimension in the opposite direction. Such an area assumes a population of several hundred thousand people. This estimation is confirmed by other evidence. Again according to al-Bakrī, the town numbered 48 *ḥammāms*, and a count was taken once on the occasion of the feast of *al-ʿA<u>sh</u>ūrāʾ* of 950 oxen slaughtered for the needs of the inhabitants, which represents a minimum of 200 tons of meat. Even if this is an exaggeration, it indicates a not inconsiderable size. Al-Yaʿḳūbī, who wrote in the second half of the 3rd/9th century, says for his part, that one rubbed shoulders with all kinds of people: Arabs from Ḳuray<u>sh</u>, from Muḍar, from Rabīʿa, from Ḳaḥṭān and from other tribes too; Persians from <u>Kh</u>urāsān; finally, Berbers from Rūm (Latins) and still others (*Les Pays*, tr. G. Wiet, Cairo 1937, 210). Alongside the Muslim majority there were also to be found Jews and Christians. Al-Faḍl b. Rawḥ (177-8/793-4) had authorised the building of a church there (Pseudo-Ibn al-Raḳīḳ, *Taʾrī<u>kh</u> ...*, ed. M. al-Kaâbi, Tunis 1968, 185). In the middle of the 3rd/9th century, the church in al-Ḳayrawān had several heads (ʿIyāḍ, *Madārik*, 132), and epigraphy shows us that until the 5th/11th century, Christians there had kept the use of Latin in their funerary inscriptions.

Because of all these people, the water system organised from the reign of Hi<u>sh</u>ām b. ʿAbd al-Malik (105-25/724-43) onwards was no longer sufficient (al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, 26). The population had certainly continued to grow under the A<u>gh</u>labids, which explains the construction of new water reservoirs to meet the growing needs. The immense cistern built at the Tunis Gate by Abū Ibrāhīm Aḥmad (242-9/856-63), the remains of which may still be admired, was the most grandiose construction among the fourteen similar works.

The Great Mosque, the oldest and most prestigious religious building of the Muslim West, also followed the pattern of expansion and assumed a new aspect. It was in the 3rd/9th century that it took on its present form and proportions, except for a few details. It was Ḥassān b. al-Nuʿmān [*q.v.*] who had renovated it. Afterwards it was enlarged towards the north and probably provided with the present minaret in the reign of Hi<u>sh</u>ām b. ʿAbd al-Malik. Yazīd b. Ḥātim reconstructed it in 157/774. In the end, Ziyādat Allāh I had it completely demolished, but probably kept the minaret and had it reconstructed (221/836), having regard for the outline, drawn up by ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ, of the wall of the *ḳibla*, even though it was badly orientated, having a deviation of 31° towards the south. Abū Ibrāhīm Aḥmad enlarged it and embellished it again (248/862-3). From this moment onwards, the work of its restoration and decoration changed nothing of its general appearance. The Zīrid al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs (407-74/1016-62) endowed it with the present *maḳṣūra* replacing that of the A<u>gh</u>labids and making it into a library. Other restoration and decoration were carried out under the Ḥafṣids and in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. The last restoration dates from 1970-2.

The development of the town favoured its intellectual advance. In the 3rd/9th century al-Ḳayrawān became one of the principal cultural centres of Islam. "Mālik (d. 179/795) considered it, together with Kūfa and al-Madīna as one of the three great capitals of the Muslim sciences" (Ibn Nā<u>dj</u>ī, *Maʿālim*, ii, 38). Well before al-Ṭabarī, Yaḥyā b. Sallām al-Baṣrī (124-200/741-815) was writing there and taught his *Tafsīr* which has been partially preserved (two mss. at Tunis BN 7447, and collection of H. H. Abdul-Wahab); this was the first great monument of Muslim exegesis. Asad b. al-Furat (*ca.* 142-213/759-828), after following the lectures of Mālik, of the Ḥanafī Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan and a host of other oriental masters, entrusted to his Asadiyya a personal synthesis of the different teachings he had received and made many disciples who continued his tradition. His attempt would have led to a specifically al-Ḳayrawān school of *fiḳh* if only his prestige had not been eclipsed by that of Saḥnūn (*ca.* 160-240/777-854), who was undoubtedly the grand master of the epoch. His monumental *Mudawwana*, which conveys to us the teaching of Mālik according to the version of Ibn al-Ḳāsim, became the breviary of the men of al-Ḳayrawān. Students from all quarters flocked to his lectures, including some from Muslim Spain, where no less than 57 students were authorised to spread his teaching. Philological activity has left us no great work, but it was sufficiently important for Abū Bakr al-Zubayrī to devote a special chapter to it in his *Ṭabaḳāt al-naḥwiyyīn wa'l-lu<u>gh</u>awiyyīn* (Cairo 1954, 254-72). Medicine was well represented by Ziyād b. <u>Kh</u>alfūn, Isḥāk b. ʿImrān and Isḥāk b. Sulaymān (al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, 24; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-anbāʾ*, ed. and tr. A. Noureddine and H.

Jahier, Algiers 1958, 2-9). Their works, translated into Latin by Constantine the African in the 5th/11th century, were taught in Salerno.

The reign of the Shīʿī Fāṭimids was certainly not favourable to this citadel of Sunnism. The triumphant Kutāma claimed the right of sacking this opulent city as a reward for their effort. In actual fact, it suffered little. Despite the construction of a rival city, Ṣabra al-Manṣūriyya (336/947-8) near it, towards which commercial activity tended to shift, it maintained its prosperity and was able to triumph over certain natural disasters: an earthquake (299/911-2); a fire in the souks (13th Dhū 'l-Ḥidjdja 306/17th May 919); a flood (308/920-1); famine and an epidemic (317/929). The positive statements of two contemporaries, Ibn Ḥawḳal (*Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, Beirut n.d., 94) and al-Muḳaddasī (*Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm*, ed: and partial tr. Ch. Pellat, Algiers 1950, 14-7), agree that the reliability of the water supply was actually better assured. The Fāṭimid al-Muʿizz had actually had "a system of canals constructed which came down from the mountain and filled the reservoirs after crossing his palace at Ṣabra" (*ibid.*, 15). The town was at that time crossed by 15 main thoroughfares (*darb*), the names of which have been partly preserved (*ibid.*, 17) and its area had grown even larger, "a boundary of a little less than three miles", according to al-Muḳaddasī (*ibid.*, 15) (on the basis of 1900 m. to the mile in al-Muḳaddasī, about 5.5 km.). It is evident that its population had considerably increased, and this was the peak of its expansion.

From that point onwards, an era of stagnation began for al-Ḳayrawān as for the rest of Ifrīḳiya, which was followed by inexorable decline. There were several bursts of revival which just enabled it to keep a foot on the ladder of a country definitely in decline, but they could not retrieve for it its former glory. The transfer of the caliphate to Cairo (361/972) came as a severe blow to Ifrīḳiya. The reserves of precious metal followed the Fāṭimids to Egypt and al-Ḳayrawān lost for ever its rôle as a capital. The first Zīrids hardly ever lived there, but exhausted themselves with the interminable battles in the central and more distant Maghrib. Although it was prosperous at the beginning of their reign, it was brought under severe pressure to satisfy the demands of the master of Egypt. The vice-regent ʿAbd Allāh al-Kātib extracted no less than 400,000 *dīnārs* in 366/976-7 from 600 of the leading citizens; some of them had to pay as much as 10,000 *dīnārs* each (Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Bayān*, i, 230); this brought ruin for many.

Some decades later in 395/1004-5 the town experienced famine and a dreadful epidemic, concerning which Ibn ʿIdhārī (*Bayān*, i, 256-7), following Ibn al-Raḳīḳ, has preserved an interesting description. Each day they buried their dead by hundreds in common graves; the dwellings were empty and the services, the ovens, *ḥammāms* etc. were paralysed. The city was depopulated and a helter-skelter flight of refugees sought shelter far away, even as far as Sicily. Some years later, in 405/1014-5, the merchants were again forced to transfer their trade to Ṣabra. The Ṣanhādja were also involved. Everything seemed to have conspired to stifle the Sunnī capital which, struck by so many misfortunes, saw its prosperity fade and its population dwindle. The perimeter of the city-wall, linked by a corridor to Ṣabra (which al-Muʿizz built in great haste when he was hard-pressed in 444/1052-3) did not exceed 22,000 cubits or *ca.* 10.5 km. (al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, 25). Thus the city had returned almost to the proportions of the earliest nucleus as delineated by ʿUḳba b. Nāfiʿ.

If the information gathered from our sources is correct, as seems probable, it must be accepted that it was reduced to a third of the area reached at its zenith. This means that on the brink of all the misfortunes which awaited, it was already no more than a shadow of itself. The culture there had, however, always maintained a certain lustre. The Mālikī *faḳīhs* Ibn Abī Zayd al-Ḳayrawānī (d. 386/996) and al-Ḳābisī (d. 403/1012) the Ashʿarī al-Ḳālānisī (d. 359 or 361/969-71), the physician Ibn al-Djazzār (d. *ca.* 395/1004), the historian Ibn al-Raḳīḳ (d. after 418/1028), the astrologer Ibn Abī al-Ridjāl (d. *ca.* 426/1034-5), whose *K. al-Bāriʿ fī aḥkām al-nudjūm* was translated into Castilian, Latin, Hebrew and ancient Portuguese, the poets Ibn al-Rashīḳ (d. 456/1064) and Ibn Sharaf (d. 460/1067), and still others, had brilliantly continued the traditions of their predecessors. But they were the last glowing torches of a town whose socio-economic infrastructure had crumbled and against which the sword was drawn. The final blow was struck by the Banū Hilāl, who, on 1st Ramaḍān 449/1st November 1057, two days after al-Muʿizz had left Ṣabra to take refuge in al-Mahdiyya, set about pillaging it and devastating it. Ibn Rashīḳ in a moving elegy (*Dīwān*, Beirut n.d., 204-12) uttered the funeral eulogy for the battered city.

The middle of the 5th/11th century was the chief turning point in the history not only of al-Ḳayrawān but of all Ifrīḳiya. It was the end of an era which was altogether quite a splendid one and the beginning of another much less brilliant. Town and city life clearly receded before the pastoral and nomadic influences, and the effect of the Bedouin on the country was a scourge which persisted until the 19th century. In this new general atmosphere of decadence, al-Ḳayrawān changed from being a great metropolis into a poor town of the steppes. It was deserted by what remained of its inhabitants and continued to diminish. Ten years after the blow from the Banū Hilāl, there was a makeshift wall encircling the Great Mosque and what remained of the western quarter. This wall, which assumed approximately the outline of the present day wall, was a little longer than 3 km. Al-Idrīsī notes (*Nuzha*, partial ed. H. Pérès, Algiers 1957, 80) that when he was writing (that is, in the middle of the 6th/12th century just before the Almohad conquest) al-Ḳayrawān was only a ruin (*aṭlāl dārisa wa-āthār ṭāmisa*), that what remained of it was incompletely surrounded by earthen ramparts, and that it was in the hands of Arab nomads who levied taxes on a poor and wretched population. As for Raḳḳāda and Ṣabra, they simply disappeared completely. It was the nadir of its fortunes.

The reign of the Almohads, and especially that of the Ḥafṣids, brought back to it a relative peace and allowed the town to rise a little from its ruined state. In the 7th/13th century private enterprise gave it better ramparts. With the rise of the Marabout movement it also began to fill with *zāwiyas* (Ibn Nādjī, *Maʿālim*, iv, 227). But the population, mostly composed of urbanised bedouin elements, was henceforth much less refined. Yāḳūt (d. 626/1228) wrote: "Today all one sees are worthless bumpkins (*ṣuʿlūk*)". (*Buldān*, Beirut 1957, iv, 420). The impression received by al-ʿAbdarī (*al-Riḥla al-Maghribiyya*, ed. M. al-Fāsī, Rabat 1968, 64, 66, 82), who went there on pilgrimage in 688/1289, was not much better.

In fact, a new life at a much more modest level had begun for al-Ḳayrawān. In a general context of constant regression it was able to preserve a certain status, but without any measure of its past grandeur. Even so, it was respectable enough among the other towns of the kingdom and adapted itself to its new economic rôle, that of being a market town and commercial centre for the Bedouin. Its souks, although very much reduced, with their goods carried off towards the west, continued to offer indispensable products: leather, cloth and metal. It received in exchange the products of pastoral activity. Leo Africanus who visited it in 1516, that is at the end of the Ḥafṣid period, describes it in this way: "At present only poor workmen are to be seen there, for the most part tanners of sheepskins and goatskins. They sell all their leather garments in the towns of Numidia where there is no European cloth" (*Description de l'Afrique*, tr. A. Epaulard, Paris 1956, ii, 398). Later on, particularly at the beginning of the reign of the Ḥusaynids, al-Ḳayrawān recovered and gained second place in the country. Al-Wazīr al-Sarrādj (d. 1149/1736-7) noted at the beginning of the 18th century: "At this moment, after Tunis, no larger town than al-Ḳayrawān is known in all of Ifrīḳiya. Among its inhabitants are the best scholars, the most skilful people and the most astute business men" (*Ḥulal*, ed. M. H. al-Hīla, Tunis 1970, i, 244). The impression is confirmed by J. A. Peysonnel, who wrote: "al-Ḳayrawān is one of the largest towns in the kingdom. It is situated on a brackish plain, half a league in circumference, is very well populated and very commercial. It has been ruined several times but was well repaired under the Bey Hassem ben Aly ... Much woollen cloth was made there, burnouses, sufficielis, and other materials special to the country ..." (*Relation d'une voyage sur les côtes de Barbarie, fait par l'ordre du roi en 1724 and 1725*, ed. M. Dureau de la Malle, Paris 1838, i, 113; see also i, 160). L. R. Desfontaines, who visited al-Ḳayrawān in January 1784, for his part, notes that it was "the biggest in the kingdom after Tunis; it was even better built and cleaner than the latter ... The trade of al-Ḳayrawān consists principally of animal skins which the inhabitants know how to put to different uses. Here are made bridles, saddles and shoes according to the fashion of the land. They also made woollen cloths called barakan. The people there have a happier life than anywhere else, being exempt from taxes in recompense for the services which they rendered to the grandfather of the present Bey" (*Fragments d'un voyage dans les régences de Tunis et d'Alger fait de 1783 à 1786*, ed. M. Dureau de la Malle, Paris 1838, ii, 61). V. Guérin, who spent three days there from 18th to 20th August 1861, thinks also that it was, with barely 12,000 inhabitants, "after Tunis one of the most highly populated towns of the regency". (*Voyage Archéologique dans la Régence de Tunis*, Paris 1862, ii, 334). It came before Sfax, which scarcely numbered more than 10,000 inhabitants, and before Sousse, Monastir and Mahdiyya, whose populations did not exceed 5,000 or 8,000. It was, however, situated "in a real desert, almost entirely deprived of trees and even of bushes" (V. Guérin, *Voyage* ... ii, 326). All told, the city founded by Sīdī ʿUḳba, despite the ruining of its hinterland, showed, at least until the days of the protectorate, that despite everything it was more viable than other centres which were apparently better situated.

Its religious prestige was certainly not irrelevant to its survival. With "about 50 zaouïas and 20 mosques" (V. Guérin, *Voyage* ... ii, 328), it was indubitably in the middle of the 19th century the spiritual capital of the country. It was then considered to be a holy town and in principle forbidden to non-Muslims. Today it has no such sacred character, and tourists have free access to its sanctuaries. As for its population, the city of Sīdī ʿUḳba occupies only the fifth place in the country, but is also the chef-lieu of the most under-developed governorate of the country. It still, however, maintains a certain aura of sanctity and attracts the most illustrious visitors. And when the point of the unification of the countries of the Maghrib is brought up, there are those who find that "the capital of this federation of independent states ought to be Kayrawan, the spiritual capital of the Moslems since many centuries and thus appropriate to symbolise the return to the glory of the past of the World of the Islam" (*La Presse*, a Tunisian daily, of 21 Sept. 1973).

Bibliography: There are too many sources for one to note them all, and the most important of them have been mentioned in the text. *Studies*: Apart from those mentioned in the text: T. Bachrouch, *Le gouvernement des beys muradites au XVII^e siècle*, unpubl. thesis, Aix-en-Provence 1973, 15, 19, 115-6, 137, 142; J. Berque, *Du nouveau sur les Banû Hilâl?*, in *SI*, xxxvi (1972), 99-113; R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie Orientale sous les Ḥafṣides*, Paris 1947, i, 357-76; Cl. Cahen, *Quelques mots sur les Hilaliens et le nomadisme*, in *JESHO* (March 1968), 130-2; A. Cayaci, *La question tunisienne et la politique ottomane (1881-1913)*, Neuchatel 1963, index, Ar. tr. A. Temimi, Tunis 1973, index; Ennabli-Mahjoubi-Salomson, *La nécropole romaine de Raqqāda*, Tunis 1971-3, 2 vols.; P. Fagault, *Tunis et Kairouan*, Paris 1889 [record of a journey made in 1887], 216-82; J. Ganiage, *Les origines du protectorat français en Tunisie (1861-81)*, Paris 1959, index; H. R. Idris, *La berberie orientale sous le Zirides, X^e-XII^e siècles*, Paris 1962, ii, 411-28; idem, *De la réalité de la catastrophe hilalienne*, in *Annales E.S.C.*, xxiii (1968), 390-61; idem, *L'invasion hilalienne et ses conséquences*, in *Cah. de Civ. Médiévale*, xi/3 (1968), 353-71; A. Lézine, *Notes d'archéologie ifriqiyenne*, i, *Le plan ancien de la ville de Kairouan* (to be used with caution), ii, *Sur une porte ancienne de la Grande Mosquée de Kairouan*, in *REI*, xxv (1967), 53-77; A. Lézine and P. Sebag, *Remarques sur l'histoire de la Grande Mosquée de Kairouan*, in *IBLA*, no. 99 (1962), 245-56; Dick de Lonlay, *En Tunisie, souvenirs de sept mois de campagne*, Paris 1882, new. ed. 1938, 291-325; Ammar Mahjoubi, *Nouveau témoignage épigraphique sur la communauté chrétienne de Kairouan au XI^e siècle*, in *Afrika*, i, (Tunis 1966), 85-105; G. Marçais, *Tunis et Kairouan*, Paris 1937; idem, *L'architecture musulmane d'occident*, Paris 1954, index; G. Marçais and L. Poinsot, *Objets kairouanais IX^e au XIII^e siècle*, 2 fasc., Tunis 1948-52; A. Martel, *Les confins saharo-tripolitains de la Tunisie (1881-1911)*, Paris 1965, index; Ch. Monchicourt, *Études kairouanaises*, in *RT* (1931-6); P. Penet *Kairouan, Sbeitla, le Djérid, guide illustré du touriste dans le sud-ouest tunisien*, Tunis 1911, 1-41; J. Poncet, *Le mythe de la "catastrophe" hilālienne*, in *Annales E.S.C.*, xxii (1967), 1099-1120; B. Roy and P. Poinssot, *Inscriptions arabes de Kairouan*, 2 fasc., Paris 1950-8; H. Saladin, *Tunis et Kairouan*, Paris 1908, 98-140; M. Talbi, *L'Émirat Aghlabide*, Paris 1966, index; idem, *Kairouan et le mālikisme espagnole*, in *Études*

d'orientalisme... Lévi-Provençal, Paris 1962, i, 317-37; Saʿd Zag̲h̲lūl, *Taʾrīk̲h̲ al-Mag̲h̲rib al-ʿArabī*, Cairo 1965, index; A. Zghal, *Modernisation de l'agriculture et populations semi-nomades*, The Hague 1967, 27-31, 64-78; *La situation de l'emploi dans le gouvernorat de Kairouan*, Roneo-typed publication of the Ministry of Planning, Tunis, February 1973. (M. TALBI)

AL-**ḲAYRAWĀNĪ**. [see IBN ABĪ ZAYD AL-ḲAYRAWĀNĪ].

AL-**ḲAYS** [see ḲAWS ḲUZAḤ].

ḲAYS, DJABAL, also known by the Persian name Kīs̲h̲, one of the most important of the commercially-relevant islands in the Persian Gulf (*Baḥr ʿUmān*), especially following the ruin of Sīrāf. The island was some four *farsak̲h̲*s from the coast opposite the port of Huzū, and was four *farsak̲h̲*s in circumference; it contained a residence of the ruler of ʿUmān, and was characterised by garden areas and splendid constructions. Water was supplied by means of wells, and by rain water which was collected in cisterns. Ḳays was famous for its pearl fisheries, as were also the surrounding islands. Yāḳūt indicates that its ruler was held in great respect owing to the size of his fleet, and he seems to have exercised a monopoly over various commercial concerns. Some intellectual activity was also observed.

Bibliography: G. le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 257, citing relevant bibliography; also Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv, 215-6. (J. LASSNER)

ḲAYS B. **ʿĀṢIM** B. SINĀN B. K̲H̲ĀLID B. MINḲAR B. ʿUBAYD B. MUḲĀʿIS, ABŪ ʿALĪ (according to other versions: ABŪ ṬALḤA or ABŪ ḲABĪṢA), a muk̲h̲aḍram chief of the Banū Muḳāʿis and leader of his tribe. Tribal tradition emphasised his generosity, care for people under his protection, mildness and leniency. Al-Aḥnaf b. Ḳays reported the story, recorded in the compilations of *adab*, of how Ḳays b. ʿĀṣim received calmly the news about the murder of his son and magnanimously pardoned the murderer who was brought fettered into his presence. A poet of Sulaym, ʿAbbās b. Mirdās, praised his noble behaviour towards his *djār*. He is counted among the magnanimous ones (*ḥulamāʾ*) and the nobles of the *Djahiliyya* who abstained from drinking wine. His re-introduction of the practice of burying alive female infants is connected with a story of a woman of his family who, when captured in a raid on the tribe, preferred to remain with her captor and refused to return to her tribe. In order to prevent the recurrence of such an ignominy he decided to bury his daughters alive; verses 8-9 of Sūra LXXXI are said to have been revealed in connexion with this practice of Ḳays b. ʿĀṣim.

Ḳays is recorded as a leader of his tribe in the stories of the battles which took place in the first decade of the 7th century. He was victorious in all of his battles, except that of Abraḳ al-Kibrīt where he was captured with his mother and two of his sisters. In the battle of al-Sitār he is said to have killed Ḳatāda b. Salama al-Ḥanafī; if this report is true, Ḳatāda must have been a very old man when Ḳays killed him, as he had already been a tribal leader during the Expedition of the Elephant and had been warned by Ṭarafa of the advancing troops of Abraha (see Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaḳ*, ed. K̲h̲ursheed Aḥmad Fariq, Hyderabad 1383/1964, 69). The attack on the ʿAbd Ḳays at Djuwāt̲h̲a, in which Ḳays distinguished himself, seems to have been led by al-Ahtam. The attack on the Lahāzim (see W. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-Nasab*, Leiden 1966, ii, 26-27) at Nibādj-T̲h̲aytal was a joint action undertaken by Ḳays at the head of the Muḳāʿis and Salāma b. Ẓarib, chief of the Adjārib (see Caskel, *op. cit.*, 144). His rapid action and his effective tactics assured them of victory. In the battle of al-Kulāb II (where the tribal units of Tamīm gathered after the slaughter of al-Mus̲h̲aḳḳar) Ḳays became the leader of the troops of Saʿd and by his energetic action and bravery helped to win the battle; the Tamīm attacked by allied Yamanī tribes took spoils and captives. It was at this battle, which took place at the beginning of the second decade of the 7th century, that Ḳays clashed with al-Ahtam. The animosity between these two leaders and the rancour between Ḳays and al-Zibriḳān b. Badr are echoed in the recorded verses of *hidjāʾ* and in the stories about the deputation of Tamīm to the Prophet. A *mat̲h̲al* story reports the part played by Zayd al-K̲h̲ayl (who left his tribe for some time and dwelt in the camp of Ḳays) in repelling an attack of the ʿIdjl against the Muḳāʿis; Ḳays denied Zayd's meritorious deed and because of this gained the epithet "the liar".

Tamīmī tradition stresses the role of Ḳays in the deputation of Tamīm to the Prophet, emphasising that the Prophet was impressed by him and named him "the chief of the nomad people" (*sayyid ahl al-wabar*). A spurious tradition records a conversation between the Prophet and Ḳays, in which Ḳays told the Prophet that the first man who applied *radjaz* in driving camels (*ḥidāʾ*) was the ancestor of the Prophet, Muḍar; the first man who received information about the appearance of a Prophet named Muḥammad was Sufyān b. Mudjās̲h̲iʿ al-Dārimī, who accordingly named his new born son Muḥammad. It is apparent that the tendency of this tradition is to stress the Prophet's link with Muḍar and Tamīm. The alleged sincerity of Ḳays' belief is indicated in a story of his divorce of his beloved wife from the Banū Ḥanīfa, because she refused to embrace Islam. The Prophet exhorted Ḳays to donate some of his flocks to the poor and needy, and is said to have forbidden tribal alliances to be formed in Islam. The Prophet appointed Ḳays tax collector of the Muḳāʿis and the Buṭūn (see Caskel, *op. cit.*, 230).

After the death of the Prophet, Ḳays seems to have wavered in his loyalty to Medina. He doubted the stability of the Medina establishment and preferred to divide the taxes collected for Medina among his tribe. This he apparently did according to some kind of agreement with al-Zibriḳān; when al-Zibriḳān later hurried to Abū Bakr with the taxes levied from his tribal units, Ḳays felt himself deceived and accused al-Zibriḳān of treacherous behaviour. Both leaders showed no hostility towards Medina at the beginning of the *ridda*: they escorted ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ in their territories when he was on his way from ʿUmān to Medina; they took a neutral stand towards Medina while waiting to see whether Medina would stand fast against the tribal revolts.

Ḳays further aided Sadjāḥ, but no war action of his on her behalf is recorded. After the revolt of the Banū Ḥanīfa was crushed, Ḳays joined al-ʿAlāʾ al-Ḥaḍramī when he was on his way to al-Baḥrayn, but even then he simply escorted him through the territories of the Saʿd; only later did he decide to fight on his side. He fought bravely, and is credited with the killing of al-Ḥuṭam and Abdjar b. Budjayr.

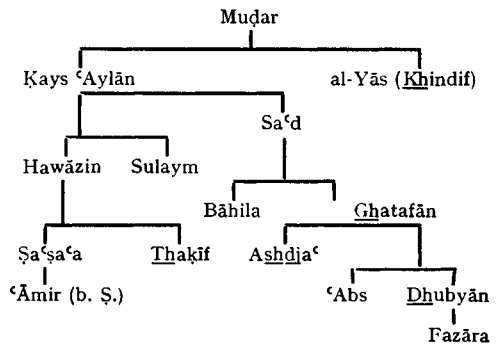
Ḳays settled in al-Baṣra. He is said to have had 33 sons and many daughters. Ṭalaba b. Ḳays was known for his generosity; Muḳātil b. Ṭalaba was in the deputation of the nobles of Tamīm and ʿĀmir b.

Ṣaʿṣaʿa sent by Ibrāhīm b. ʿArabī to ʿAbd al-Malik. Mayya, the daughter of Muḳātil b. Ṭalaba, was the beloved of Dhū 'l-Rumma.

According to Ibn Kathīr, Ḳays died in 47/667. He enjoined his sons not to reveal his place of burial, because he feared the Banū Bakr b. Wā'il, whom he had fought and who hated him. Following the example of the Prophet, he gave orders to refrain from lamentations at his funeral. He was eulogised by ʿAbda b. al-Ṭabīb in his famous elegy in which he said "The death of Ḳays was not the death of one man: it was [as if] the edifice of a people had fallen down".

Bibliography: *Aghānī*, index; Ṭabarī, index; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, Ms. ʿAshir Ef. 597/8, fols. 1019a-1020b; al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Muṣṭafā al-Saḳḳā, Cairo 1368/1949, index; Abū Zayd, *al-Nawādir fī 'l-lugha*, ed. Saʿīd al-Shartūnī, repr. Beirut 1387/1967, 92; al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *Amālī*, ed. Muḥammad Abū 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1373/1954, index; al-Marzubānī, *Nūr al-ḳabas*, ed. R. Sellheim, Wiesbaden 1964, index; al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī, *al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Ch. Lyall, Beirut 1920, 317, 741; Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭāhir, *Balāghāt al-nisā'*, al-Nadjaf 1361, 51, 87-8; Ibn Ḥubaysh, *al-Maghāzī*, Ms. Leiden, Or. 343, pp. 13, 25, 72; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamharat al-nasab*, Ms. Br. Mus., Add. 23297, f. 78b; al-Wāḳidī, *al-Ridda*, Ms. Bankipore, Cat. xv, 1042, fols. 27b-29a; Ibn Aʿtham, *al-Futūḥ*, Hyderabad 1388/1968, 50-51, 53; al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Bayān wa 'l-tabyīn*, ed. al-Sandūbī, Cairo 1351/1932, index; idem, *al-Ḥayawān*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo 1384/1965, iii, 490; Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Maʿānī al-kabīr*, Hyderabad 1368/1949, i, 507, ii, 825, 1025; idem, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, Cairo 1349/1930, index; idem, *al-Maʿārif*, ed. al-Ṣāwī, Cairo 1353/1935, 131 (repr. Beirut 1390/1970); Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar*, ed. Ilse Lichtenstaedter, Hyderabad 1361/1942, 126, 237-8, 248; al-Thaʿālibī, *Thimār al-ḳulūb*, ed. Muḥammad Abū 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1383/1965, 315, no. 484; al-ʿAbbās b. Mirdās al-Sulamī, *Dīwān*, ed. Yaḥyā al-Djubūrī, Baghdād 1388/1968, 61-2; Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Baṣrī, *al-Ḥamāsa al-Baṣriyya*, ed. Mukhtār al-Dīn Aḥmad, Hyderabad 1383/1964, ii, 60, no. 157, 238, no. 4; al-Buḥturī, *al-Ḥamāsa*, ed. L. Cheikho (repr. Beirut 1387/1967), 245, no. 1321; Abū Tammām, *al-Ḥamāsa*, *Sharḥ al-Tibrīzī*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī 'l-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1357/1938, ii, 285-6; al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Muḥammad Abū 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1376/1956, index; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, ed. Aḥmad Amīn, Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī, ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo 1368/1949, index; Ibn Durayd, *al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo 1378/1958, index; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Istīʿāb*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Bidjāwī, Cairo n.d., iii, 1294-96, no. 1240; al-Ḳurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, Cairo 1387/1967, iii, 56, xix, 233; Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Iṣāba*, Cairo 1325/1907, v, 258, no. 7188; Ibn al-Athīr, *Usd al-ghāba*, Cairo 1286, iv, 219-21; al-Ḳālī, *Amālī*, ed. al-Maymanī, Cairo 1344/1926, index; al-Bakrī, *Simṭ al-la'ālī*, ed. al-Maymanī, Cairo 1354/1936, i, 487-8; al-Haythamī, *Madjmaʿ al-zawā'id*, Beirut 1967 (repr.), iii, 107-8, iv, 221-2, ix, 404; al-Bukhārī, *al-Adab al-mufrad*, ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, Cairo 1379, 328-9; al-Fattāl al-Naysābūrī, *Rawḍat al-wāʿiẓīn*, al-Nadjaf 1386/1966, 487; al-Yazīdī, *al-Amālī*, Hyderabad 1367/1948, 101; al-Wāḳidī, *Maghāzī*, ed. M. Jones, London 1966, iii, 975, 979; al-Zadjdjādjī, *al-Amālī*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, Cairo 1382, 29, 88-9; Abū Dāwūd, *Ṣaḥīḥ sunan al-Muṣṭafā*, Cairo 1348, i, 59; al-ʿAskarī, *Djamharat al-amthāl*, ed. Muḥammad Abū 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm and ʿAbd al-Madjīd Ḳaṭāmish, Cairo 1384/1964, index; Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Durra al-fākhira*, ed. ʿAbd al-Madjīd Ḳaṭāmish, Cairo 1971, i, 164-5, no. 187, 287-9, no. 400, 324, no. 511; al-Maydānī, *Madjmaʿ al-amthāl*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī 'l-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1379/1959, i, 220, no. 1179, ii, 65-6, no. 2711, 169, no. 3211; al-Ḳurashī, *Djamharat ashʿār al-ʿArab*, Beirut 1383/1963, 34-5; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaḳāt*, Beirut 1380/1960, vi, 319, vii, 36; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *ʿUyūn al-athar*, Cairo 1356, ii, 203; Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra*, ed. al-Saḳḳā, al-Abyārī, Shalabī, Cairo 1355/1936, iv, 206-7; 212-13, 270; al-Maḳrīzī, *Imtāʿ al-asmāʿ*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad Shākir, Cairo 1941, i, 434, 439, 509; al-Zurḳānī, *Sharḥ ʿalā 'l-mawāhib al-ladunniyya*, Cairo 1325, iii, 44; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-buldān*, s.v. Abraḳ al-Kibrīt, Djadūd, Thaytal, al-Kulāb, Musallaḥa, al-Sitār; al-Muʿāfā b. Zakariyā, *al-Djalīs al-ṣāliḥ al-kāfī*, Ms. Topkapi Saray, Ahmet III, no. 2321, fols. 19b, 154a; al-Maḳdisī, *al-Bad' wa-l-ta'rīkh*, ed. Cl. Huart, Paris 1899, v, 109; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, Beirut—al-Riyāḍ 1966, viii, 31-2; Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, ed. Muḥammad Abū 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1962, xv, 128, 130 ult.; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-adab*, Būlāḳ 1299, iii, 427; al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-ādāb*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Bidjāwī, Cairo 1389/1969, ii, 965; Ibn Abī 'l-ʿAwn, *al-Tashbīhāt*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Muʿīd Khān, Cambridge 1369/1950, 323; al-ʿAskarī, *al-Maṣūn fī 'l-adab*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn, Kuwayt 1960, 16; Thābit b. Abī Thābit, *Khalḳ al-insān*, ed. ʿAbd al-Sattār Farrādj, Kuwayt 1965, 90; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djamharat ansāb al-ʿArab*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo 1948, 205-6; idem, *Djawāmiʿ al-sīra*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās, Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Asad, Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir, Cairo n.d., 25, 290; Dhū 'l-Rumma, *Dīwān*, ed. C. H. H. Macartney, Cambridge 1919, 624 (no. 79, v, 57); al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak*, Hyderabad 1342 (reprint al-Riyāḍ), iii, 611-12; Djarīr and al-Farazdaḳ, *Naḳā'iḍ*, ed. A. A. Bevan, Leiden 1908-12, index; Ch. J. Lyall, *Translations of Ancient Arabian Poetry*, London 1930, 33-4, 84; W. M. Watt, *Muhammed at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 138; al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Maghribī, *Adab al-khawāṣṣ*, Ms. Bursa, Ḥu. Çelebi 85b, fols. 36b-37a; Ch. Pellat, *Risāla fī l-ḥilm*, Beirut 1973, index. (M. J. Kister)

ḲAYS ʿAYLĀN, one of the two subdivisions of Muḍar, which along with Rabīʿa was reckoned as constituting the sons of ʿAdnān, the so-called Northern Arabs [see DJAZĪRAT AL-ʿARAB]. The other subdivision of Muḍar was Khindif or al-Yās. ʿAylān is sometimes said to be the father of Ḳays, but it is more likely that the double name means "Ḳays (owner) of ʿAylān" (sc. a horse, dog or slave). The following is an abbreviated genealogical table:

- Muḍar
  - Ḳays ʿAylān
    - Hawāzin
      - Ṣaʿṣaʿa
        - ʿĀmir (b. Ṣ.)
      - Thaḳīf
    - Sulaym
    - Saʿd
      - Bāhila
      - Ghaṭafān
        - Ashdjaʿ
        - ʿAbs
        - Dhubyān
          - Fazāra
  - al-Yās (Khindif)

Ḳays ʿAylān does not appear to have functioned as a unit before Islam, and in the accounts of "the days of the Arabs" only the individual tribes are named. In Umayyad times, however, the alleged genealogies became a convenient basis for bringing together groups of clans so as to constitute something like a political party. This process began when small contingents from different tribes were lodged together in the cities of the empire; for Baṣra cf. C. Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien*, Paris 1953, 23 and *passim*. Eventually, but probably not until after the death of Muʿāwiya in 60/680, two main groups are found to be taking shape. One is known as Kalb or Yemen or the Southern Arabs, while the other is Ḳays ʿAylān or simply Ḳays, less often Muḍar. Because Muʿāwiya had relied on Kalb, and his son Yazīd I had a Kalbī mother, many Ḳaysīs supported Ibn al-Zubayr. While at first other groups are mentioned, such as Rabīʿa, gradually the polarity of Ḳays and Yemen came to dominate Umayyad politics. Nineteenth-century historians spoke of this as if it were primarily a continuing and expanding tribal feud, based on such facts as the great loss of life at the battle of Mard̲j̲ Rāhiṭ in 684; and it was the inability of the Umayyad rulers to reconcile the two groups which eventually led to their collapse. Recently, M. A. Shaban (*Islamic History, A.D. 600-750/A.H. 132*, Cambridge 1971) has forcefully argued that the Ḳays came to be identified with the expansionist policy followed by ʿAbd-al-Malik and al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲, while the Yemen stood for stable frontiers and the assimilation of non-Arabs. He sees the reigns of Sulaymān and ʿUmar II as an attempt to reverse the policy of expansion, and likewise that of Yazīd III. In these reigns, Ḳaysīs were replaced by Yemenīs, but the successors of ʿUmar II and Yazīd III turned back to the Ḳaysīs, and the disintegration of Umayyad rule proceeded. A point in favour of Shaban's view is that after the establishment of the ʿAbbāsids little is heard of the hostility between Ḳays and Yemen.

Bibliography: For genealogies, etc. see *Tād̲j̲ al-ʿArūs*, s.v. *ḳys*, *ʿyl*; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿarif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 31, 38-44, ed. ʿUkās̲h̲a, 64, 79-91. For the historical role of Ḳays see J. Wellhausen, *The Arab Kingdom and its Fall*, tr. M. G. Weir, Calcutta 1927, Index, s.v. Qais, Qaisite, Kalb, Kalbite, Yemen, Yemenite; and Naji H. Hadi, *The Role of the Arab Tribes in the East under the Umayyads* (University of Edinburgh Ph. D. thesis, 1973; to be published in Arabic).

(W. Montgomery Watt)

Ḳays and Yaman in the Ottoman period.

The reader will find under Kalb b. Wabāra some information on the rivalry of the North and South Arabs (represented respectively by Ḳays and Kalb) before and after the birth of Islam, and especially in Spain. In the course of the centuries, this hostility diminished considerably, but there was a resurgence of it, in a somewhat artificial way, in the course of the factional conflicts in Lebanon and Palestine during the Ottoman period.

In the course of the struggle for power among dominant families, coalitions were formed which used the names of Ḳays and Yaman to denote the political identification of the rival camps. This division preserved a kinship connotation, and kinship—real or imagined, original or adopted—was a legitimate reason for schisms and wars in Arab society. The political character of the Ḳays-Yaman conflict in Lebanon and Palestine during the Ottoman period is revealed through two crucial facts: (a) many adherents of each of these parties (and even some of their leading families, such as the Abū G̲h̲ōs̲h̲ family in Palestine) were not Arabs at all, but Circassians, Turkmens, or Kurds; (b) families of allegedly Arab origin changed sides with little regard to actual descent, such as the ʿAlam al-Dīn family in Lebanon (S̲h̲idyāḳ, i, 129), or a family split in two parts supporting opposing factions. Only powerful clans which managed to maintain their position for a long period were consistent in their factional adherence.

During the Mamlūk period, the Yaman faction in Lebanon was led by the ʿAlam al-Dīn family, in opposition to the ruling Buḥturs who were considered Ḳays. The latter faction supported the Maʿns when they succeeded the Buḥturs in 922/1516. In 993/1585 a Yaman conspiracy against the Maʿnī Amīr Ḳorḳmaz almost succeeded, but his son Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn II re-established Ḳays supremacy.

A second short tenure of power of the Yaman ʿAlam al-Dīn family occurred after the downfall of Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn II in 1042/1633. This resulted in a great massacre and in civil war, but from 1045/1635 to the end of the century the Ḳays Maʿns had the upper hand. Under the S̲h̲ihābs, the successors of the Maʿns, the Yaman party, with Ottoman support, succeeded in gaining power once more for a short time in 1121/1709, but in a fierce battle at the village of ʿAyn Dārā, which took place in 1123/1711, the Yaman forces were utterly routed and their leaders, the ʿAlam al-Dīn family, were slaughtered to a man. Thus Yaman power in Lebanon was completely crushed, and the Yaman Druzes who survived were expelled from Lebanon and sought refuge in the Ḥawrān, with the exception of the Arslāns, who were allowed to retain the lower G̲h̲arb, which was a part of their original *muḳāṭaʿa*. New political divisions emerging in the Lebanon after the battle of ʿAyn Dārā no longer adopted the nomenclature of Ḳays and Yaman; from then onwards, the factions were called after their leading families.

In Palestine, the division into Ḳays and Yaman is of long standing. According to al-Nimr (i, 59) the Mamlūk Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāʾūn (1293-1340) allocated the north of D̲j̲abal Nābulus to the Yaman faction and the south to Ḳays. In the 10th/16th century again, the population of various regions of Palestine was divided into these two factions, and fighting frequently erupted (U. Heyd, *Ottoman documents on Palestine 1552-1615*, Oxford 1960, 85-6). In the 18th and 19th centuries factional wars under the banner of Ḳays and Yaman were fought primarily in the Nābulus and Jerusalem areas. The D̲j̲abal Nābulus witnessed an open fight between the Ṭūḳān and the Nimr families between 1794 and 1823, and perpetual conflict, including incessant armed clashes, between the ʿAbd al-Hādīs and the Ṭūḳāns in the 1840s and 1850s. Throughout this period the rival camps, townsmen, *fallāḥīn* and Bedouin, were identified with the Ḳays and Yaman factions, and even families whose descent was unclear felt the need to adhere to one of them. Thus the Ṭūḳans, at the start of their rule, declared their affiliation to Yaman (*aʿlanū yamaniyyatahum*) in order to win support from the *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲*s of the *nāḥiya*s (al-Nimr, ii, 415-16). At the same time, the Judaean hills were also the scene of clashes between *fallāḥīn* divided into Ḳays, led by the Samḥān family, the Laḥḥāms, the ʿAmrs, and the Barg̲h̲ūt̲h̲īs, and Yaman, led by the Abū G̲h̲ōs̲h̲ clan. Most of the inhabitants of Christian Bethlehem were Yaman, while those of Christian Bayt Jālā, as well as the

Muslims of the Hebron area, were Ḳays. The adherence of the Bedouins to one faction or another was determined mainly by the affiliation of the neighbouring *fallāḥīn* or by internal division among the Bedouins themselves.

However, factional ties between the Djabal Nābulus and the Judaean hills were minimal, and in the principal engagements the parties of one region were not assisted by their counterparts from the other region. Inter-regional ties between members of the same faction were found primarily on the fringes of the two regions, and more on the Ḳays than on the Yaman side. Moreover, there were differences between the two areas. The Nābulus notables led the factional war and took an active part in it, and fighting sometimes even occurred in the city. The town quarters were split along factional lines and city-dwellers joined in the village skirmishes. As against this, Jerusalem was never the scene of fighting in the factional wars, and the city notables neither led the fighting nor did they play an active part in it. Yet when there was a weak Pasha, Jerusalem's notables were able to turn the factional strife to their own advantage, and the leading rural families of both camps had their allies in the *madjlis* of the town. In general, only when a strong Pasha ruled an area was there a truce in the factional strife. However, both in Palestine and in Lebanon, the Ottomans used to support one faction (often the weaker one) against the other in order to further their own political aims. With the growing centralisation of Ottoman rule during the second half of the 19th century, factional wars in Palestine gradually subsided, although identification with Ḳays or Yaman and some of the customs connected with this division persisted among part of the rural population.

The faction was usually referred to as a *ṣaff*, but also as an *ʿiṣāba*, *farīḳ*, *ṭāʾifa*, or *ḥizb*. Affiliation to a faction was termed *naʿra*, *ʿaṣabiyya*, *shahwa*, or *niḥla*. A member of the same faction was called *ṣāḥib* and an enemy *ḳawmānī*; a one-day battle was a *ḥarāba*, and if it lasted longer than one day, it was called a *kawn*. The head of the faction used to make an annual tour of villages loyal to him (*yaḳṭaʿ ʿaṣ-ṣufūf*). These visits served as points of time in their chronology.

Each faction had its colour—Ḳays red, and Yaman white—which distinguished its flag and its members' clothes, women's veils and especially the bride's canopy or veil. A Ḳays bride was forbidden to move into Yaman territory dressed in red: she was obliged either to conceal her red clothing with white or to change her clothes and veil at the border. Intermarriage between the two factions was not unusual, and many legends about fights resulting from this custom are told (on terminology and customs see especially al-Nimr, ii, 430-2, but also numerous other sources).

Bibliography: Ṭannūs al-Shidyāḳ, *Akhbār al-aʿyān fī Djabal Lubnān* (1859), Beirut 1954, i, 126-9, 288; ii, 18-22; Kamal Salibi, *The modern history of Lebanon*, London 1965, 6-11; J. Finn, *Stirring times*, i-ii, London, 1878; R. A. S. Macalister and E. W. G. Masterman, *The wars of Yaman and Kais in the southern half of Palestine*, in *PEFQS* (1906), 33-50; E. N. Haddad, *Political parties in Syria and Palestine (Qaisī and Yemenī)*, in *JPOS* (1920-1), 209-14; ʿUmar al-Ṣāliḥ al-Barghūthī, *Taʾrīkh Filasṭīn*, Jerusalem 1923; Iḥsān al-Nimr, *Taʾrīkh Djabal Nābulus wa'l-Balḳāʾ*, i, Damascus 1938; ii, Nābulus 1961; Muḥammad ʿIzzat Darwaza, *al-ʿArab wa'l-ʿurūba min al-ḳarn al-thālith ḥattā al-ḳarn al-rābiʿ ʿashar al-hidjrī*, ii, Damascus 1960; S. Shamir, *Belligerency in a disintegrating society: factional warfare in Ottoman Syria on the eve of the period of modernization*, in *Abr-Nahrain*, xii (1972), 75-84; M. Hoexter, *The role of the Qays and Yaman factions in local political divisions*, in *Asian and African Studies* (Jerusalem), ix/3, 1973.

(G. Baer and M. Hoexter)

ḲAYS B. AL-KHAṬĪM B. ʿADĪ is, together with Ḥassān b. Thābit [*q.v.*] the most important poet of Yathrib. He was a member of the B. Ẓafar (Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 181) of the Aws [*q.v.*], whom he defended both by words and by the sword in contests with the Khazradj [*q.v.*]. Apart from some late and very dubious pieces of information, very little is known of his life, but it is known that he exacted vengeance for the murders of his father and grandfather, and this gave him a great reputation amongst posterity; these actions were, however, later subject to all sorts of legendary accretions and motifs which sometimes recall the legend of Cyrus and form a parallel to the story of Perzival (see Singer, *Arab. und europ. Poesie im Mittelalter*, in *Abh. Pr. Ak. Wiss.*, phil.-hist. Kl., xiii (1918), p. 7 of the reprint). In regard to the active part which he took in the political and military activities of his tribe, we have constant reference in his *Dīwān* to a whole series of *ayyām* of the Aws, but he did not take part, apparently on account of a wound received previously, in the decisive battle of Buʿāth [*q.v.*], so much celebrated in later song. He was treacherously murdered some time before the *hidjra*, and tradition relates that he was avenged even before he himself had breathed his last gasp.

Ḳays was involved in polemics with almost all the Khazradjī poets of his time, notably with Ḥassān b. Thābit and ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa, who both survived him by a considerable period of time. Although he was still alive at the time when the Prophet began his preaching, his *Dīwān* shows no traces of a knowledge of it, and all the later sources describing a meeting between him and the Prophet seem to be pure invention.

The oldest manuscript of his *Dīwān*, dated 419/1028, is the Top Kapu Saray one, and forms an appendix to the *Dīwān* of Ḥassān b. Thābit. The recension of the poems goes back to Ibn al-Sikkīt, but the definitive editor of the *Dīwān* seems to have been al-Sukkarī. What has survived is clearly only a fragment of the original. It was published by T. Kowalski, *Der Dīwān des Ḳais b. al-Ḫaṭīm*, Leipzig 1914; by I. Sāmarrāʾī and A. Maṭlūb, Baghdad 1381/1962; and by Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Asad, Cairo 1381/1962.

Ḳays is reckoned amongst the authors of the *mudhahhabāt* chosen by Abū Zayd al-Ḳurashī who, in his *Djamhara* (123), places him in the fourth *ṭabaḳa*; but Ibn Sallām (*Ṭabaḳāt*, 190) does not go along with those who would place Ḳays above Ḥassān. His poetry, both in his *ghazals* and also in his *fakhr* poems and his *ḥikam*, reveals the two sides of life, the sedentary and the nomadic, which was characteristic of the oasis dwellers in his time. His descriptions of war and portraits of women are celebrated. What is typical of real Bedouin life, sc. the description of the riding camel, the ride through the desert and the chase, are almost entirely lacking in his poems. One might say that if Ḳays was highly esteemed by later generations, it was more for his chivalric character than for his poetic gifts. His poetry is nevertheless a very important source for our knowledge of conditions in Yathrib just before

the coming of Islam and for certain customs there, in particular, those concerning the blood-feud.

Bibliography: The sources are given in the introductions to the various editions of the *Dīwān*. There should be noted, in particular, Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa*, index; Buḥturī, *Ḥamāsa*, index; Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, 321; Ḥassān, *Dīwān*, ed. Barḳūḳī, 121-3 (cf. W. N. ʿArafat's edn., London 1971, index); *Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, iii, 3-26; Ibn Shuhayd, *Zawābiʿ*, ed. K. Bustānī, 128-31; *Iṣāba*, no. 7348; Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafāʾ bi-akhbār al-Muṣṭafā*, Cairo 1374; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, ed. Būlāḳ, iii, 168; Abkaryūs, 251-3; Nöldeke, in *ZA*, xxix, 205-16; Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 70-1; R. Blachère, *Hist. de la litt. arabe*, 310-11; Brockelmann, S I, 56; F. F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, iii, 20-2.

(T. KOWALSKI*)

KAYSĀN, ABŪ ʿAMRA, a *mawlā* [*v.q.*] of ʿUrayna, who belonged to the Badjīla, was one of the prominent *Mawālī* in Kūfa during the revolt of al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd al-Thaḳafī [*q.v.*]. Little is known about his early life; the first important information is that prior to the revolt of al-Mukhtār he was known to be a Shīʿī sympathiser. Kaysān also was among the notables of the Shīʿa and the influential men of al-Mukhtār's followers who were sent to Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar to win his support for al-Mukhtār. When al-Mukhtār seized Kūfa, he appointed Kaysān as leader of his personal guard (*ʿalā ḥarasihi*). This was possibly because he trusted him more than the others and because he was the most influential of his *Mawālī* supporters. Kaysān's high standing among the *Mawālī* is reflected in the fact that when they became aware that al-Mukhtār was trying to reconcile the *Ashrāf* they communicated their resentment to Kaysān, their chief.

As leader of al-Mukhtār's personal guard, Kaysān played an important role in punishing those *Ashrāf* who were responsible for the killing of al-Ḥusayn, among them ʿUmar b. Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ and Shamir b. Dhu'l-Djawshan. His activities in this respect gave rise to a common Kūfan saying applied to anyone deprived of his wealth, "Abū ʿAmra has visited him" (*zārahu Abū ʿAmra*) or "Abū ʿAmra entered his house" (*dakhala Abū ʿAmra baytahu*). He was also described as "more wicked than Iblīs". This, however, seems to be an outcome of the historical tradition, to which we owe our information, and which grew up in Kūfa, especially in the milieu of the *Ashrāf*, and therefore is anti-*mawālī*. According to Ibn Ḥazm and Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī, the Kaysāniyya were the followers of al-Mukhtār and Kaysān Abū ʿAmra.

In the battle of al-Madhār (about the middle of 67/686), the *Mawālī* in al-Mukhtār's army were commanded by Kaysān. It seems probable that he was killed in this battle, for nothing more is heard of him.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḳutayba, *Kitāb al-Maʿārif*, Cairo 1934, 1960, 107; *Kitāb al-Imāma wa'l-siyāsa* (attributed to Ibn Ḳutayba) ii, Cairo 1925, 19, 24; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, v, Jerusalem 1936, 228, 229, 237, 238, 252, 253, 254; al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-tiwāl*, 296, 297, 298, 300, 307, 308; Ṭabarī, ii, 633, 634, 636, 637, 638, 661, 663, 670, 671, 673, 674, 720, 722, 971-73; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-dhahab*, v, 180, 226; Al-Tawḥīdī, *al-Imtāʿ wa'l-muʾānasa*, ii, Cairo 1933-45, 53; Al-Kashshī, *Maʿrifat akhbār al-ridjāl*, Karbalāʾ 1962, 117; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal*, iv, Cairo 1317-20, 94; Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī, *Risālat al-hūr al-ʿīn*, Cairo 1947, 182; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, iv, 186-87, 199-200, 220-21, 227, 236, 241; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, Ms. Ayasofya, no. 3522, xix, fols. 17-24; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa'l-nihāya*, viii, 268, 270, 287-88; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, i, 75; Friedlaender, *The heterodoxies of the Shīʿites in the presentation of Ibn Ḥazm*, in *JAOS*, xxix (1908), 34; A. A. Dixon, *The Umayyad Caliphate 65-86/684-705, A Political Study*, London 1971, index.

(A. A. DIXON)

KAYSĀNIYYA (more rarely Mukhtāriyya) is the name applied by the heresiographers to those supporters of al-Mukhtār [*q.v.*] recognising Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya [*q.v.*] as their *imām* and as the Mahdī [*q.v.*]. The name is derived from Abū ʿAmra Kaysān [*q.v.*], chief of the guard and leader of the *mawālī* under al-Mukhtār. Its choice, made probably by the opponents of the movement, may reflect the importance they attributed to the *mawlā* element in it. Actually, many supporters of the movement, among them some of the most radical, were Arabs, especially from Yamanī tribes, and there is no evidence that they generally looked to Kaysān as their leader during the lifetime of al-Mukhtār. It is possible, however, that Kaysān survived the latter and became the chief of the movement after his death. He is reported to have been more extreme than al-Mukhtār, charging the caliphs preceding ʿAlī with infidelity, while al-Mukhtār condemned only ʿAlī's opponents in the battles of the Camel and at Ṣiffīn. He asserted that the angel Djibrāʾīl transmitted divine revelations to al-Mukhtār, who could hear, but not see, him. He is also reported to have claimed that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya was appointed by ʿAlī as his executor (*waṣī*), thus excluding his brothers al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn from the imāmate. This doctrine, however, was more likely formulated only later in opposition to Imāmī and Zaydī denials of the rights of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya and, in any case, conflicted with the common view of the Kaysāniyya upholding the consecutive imāmate of the three sons of ʿAlī. Kaysān's rôle was apparently soon generally forgotten, for the name Kaysāniyya was also explained as deriving from the surname Kaysān which al-Mukhtār allegedly was given by ʿAlī, or from the name of a *mawlā* of ʿAlī killed at Ṣiffīn from whom, it was claimed, al-Mukhtār had received his ideas.

In the accounts of the chroniclers the sectarian supporters of al-Mukhtār are most often pejoratively called Sabaʾiyya [see ʿABD ALLĀH B. SABAʾ] to denote their Shīʿī extremism. They are condemned in particular for their worship of a wooden chair, variously described as a relic of ʿAlī or an intentional imitation of the ark of the covenant of the Jews, in which several Yamanī clans were most active. They are also frequently called Khashabiyya [*q.v.*] after the wooden clubs widely used by them as a weapon [see KĀFIRKŪB].

In a wider sense Kaysāniyya is used by the heresiographers as a collective name for all the sects which evolved out of the movement of al-Mukhtār and traced the imāmate through Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya. The accounts about these groups are confused and sometimes contradictory. The main developments can be summarised as follows:

After the death of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya in 81/700 many of his supporters believed that he was alive and concealed in the Raḍwā mountains west of Medina, from where he would reappear as the Mahdī. Their beliefs are reflected in the poetry of Kuthayyir [*q.v.*] and later of al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī [*q.v.*]. They are usually called Karibiyya or Kuraybiyya [*q.v.*]

after their leader Abū Karib (Kurayb) al-Ḍarīr, though al-Nawbakhtī mentions the Karibiyya as a separate group who stated that they did not know the whereabouts of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya. According to al-Nawbakhtī, Ḥamza b. ʿUmāra al-Barbarī in Medina was an extremist originally belonging to the Karibiyya. He then claimed to be an *imām* and prophet, asserted the divinity of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya and taught antinomianism. Ḥamza's activity cannot, however, have begun until long after the death of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya if he is identical with the homonymous secretary of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya *ca.* 128/748. Abū 'l-Ḳāsim al-Balkhī mentions as a separate group the followers of Ḥayyān al-Sarrādj, who maintained that Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya had died in the Raḍwā mountains but he and his *shīʿa* would return to life. With their aid he would rule and establish justice on earth. They thus held the doctrine of *radjʿa* [*q.v.*], the return to life of some of the dead before the resurrection. This account is in conflict with Imāmī reports in which Ḥayyan al-Sarrādj appears as a prominent Kaysānī denying the death of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya in the time of Imām Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ. One group of the Kaysāniyya asserted that Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya had been condemned by God to stay in the mountains of Raḍwā as a punishment for his submission to the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik. He surrendered the imāmate as a "deposit" (*wadīʿa*) to his son Abū Hāshim ʿAbd Allāh since he knew that the latter would die childless. Abū Hāshim thus became the silent (*ṣāmit*) *imām* during the absence of the speaking (*nāṭiḳ*) *imām* who must eventually return to rule the world.

Another group affirmed that Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya had died and that the *imām* after him was his son Abū Hāshim [*q.v.*], whom he had appointed as his successor. Abū Hāshim provided his followers with a more active leadership than his father had done. When he died childless *ca.* 98/717-8, his party, known as the Hāshimiyya [*q.v.*], split into several groups. One group claimed that Abū Hāshim was the Mahdī and that he was alive hiding in the mountains of Raḍwā. Another group maintained that he had appointed his brother ʿAlī as his successor. They later continued the imāmate through ʿAlī's son al-Ḥasan, the latter's son ʿAlī, to the latter's son al-Ḥasan, affirming that the imāmate belonged exclusively to the descendants of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, one of whom would be the Mahdī. Some of them then cut the line of *imām*s after al-Ḥasan, claiming that he had not appointed a successor, and they then looked forward to the return of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya.

The bulk of the Hāshimiyya, however, recognised Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās as the *imām* after Abū Hāshim, asserting that before his death Abū Hāshim had handed the appointment to his father ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh in trust for him since Muḥammad was still a minor. The appointment of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī was disputed by a group claiming that Abū Hāshim had appointed as his successor ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya [*q.v.*] b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Djaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib, who also was still a minor, and had handed the appointment to Ṣāliḥ b. Mudrik. The two parties agreed on the arbitration of the dispute by one of their chiefs, Abū Riyāḥ, who decided in favour of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī. The mass of the supporters of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya therefore joined the party of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī and were known as the Riyāḥiyya.

Among the *ghulāt* [*q.v.*] were regularly classed the Bayāniyya, the followers of Bayān b. Samʿān [*q.v.*]. Bayān and Ṣā'id al-Nahdī were at first supporters of Ḥamza b. ʿUmāra in Kūfa. After the death of Abū Hāshim the Bayāniyya affirmed that he would return as the Mahdī. They adopted extremist views concerning Abū Hāshim and asserted that he had conferred prophethood on Bayān on behalf of God. Bayān is accused in particular of a crude anthropomorphism. He and some supporters were executed in Kūfa in 119/736.

A prominent rôle in the introduction of the theory of metempsychosis and other extremist ideas is ascribed in the sources to a group called Ḥarbiyya (more rarely Kharibiyya) or Ḥārithiyya after their leader, whose name is given with much variation as ʿAbd Allāh (b. ʿAmr) b. (al-)Ḥarb (al-Kharib) or al-Ḥārith al-Kindī al-Kūfī or al-Madā'inī or al-Shāmī. The variations in the name may indicate the fusion of more than one person into a single identity. After the death of Abū Hāshim, Ibn Ḥarb taught the transmigration of souls, and held that the Divine Spirit (*rūḥ Allāh*) had been present in the Prophet Muḥammad and had successively been transferred to ʿAlī, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, Abū Hāshim and finally to Ibn Ḥarb, who thus had become the *imām* until the reappearance of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya. When his followers discovered, however, that his claim of omniscience was spurious, the bulk of them renounced him and accepted ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya as their *imām* in succession to Abū Hāshim. According to some sources, Ibn Ḥarb was converted to Ṣufrī Khāridjism and died holding Ṣufrī beliefs.

The party tracing the imāmate through the ʿAbbāsid Muḥammad b. ʿAlī and his son Ibrāhīm to the ʿAbbāsid caliphs is commonly called the Rāwandiyya [*q.v.*], though some heresiographers restrict the name to those who asserted that the first *imām* after the death of the Prophet was his uncle al-ʿAbbās and that the imāmate continued among his descendants. This doctrine, however, probably originated only during the reign of the caliph al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85), while the name Rāwandiyya already appears in historical reports of events before the year 120/738. According to al-Nawbakhtī the name is derived from a sectarian leader named ʿAbd Allāh al-Rāwandī, while other sources, probably less reliably, derive it from one al-Ḳāsim b. Rāwand or Abu 'l-ʿAbās al-Rāwandī. ʿAbd Allāh al-Rāwandī is mentioned in a list of the *dāʿī*s of the ʿAbbāsid Muḥammad b. ʿAlī. His son Ḥarb (d. 147/764) and his grandson Naṣr b. Ḥarb were prominent leaders of the Rāwandiyya in the caliphal army in Mesopotamia during the reigns of al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī. The name evidently referred at first merely to a faction within the ʿAbbāsid movement in Khurāsān, composed chiefly of *mawālī* and holding extremist views, and was then extended to mean the whole ʿAbbāsid *shīʿa*.

As sects within the early ʿAbbāsid movement, al-Nāshi' mentions the Bukayriyya and the Khidāshiyya. The former were named after Bukayr b. Māhān (d. 127/744-5), the Kūfan *dāʿī* chiefly responsible for the organisation of the ʿAbbāsid movement in Khurāsān. The Khidāshiyya were the followers of ʿAmmār b. Yazīd, nicknamed Khidāsh, a *dāʿī* active in the area of Naysābūr and Marw. When he was disowned by the *imām* Muḥammad b. ʿAlī for doctrinal deviation, his supporters held that Muḥammad b. ʿAlī had forfeited the imāmate and that it had passed to Khidāsh. After the execution of Khidāsh in 118/736 they affirmed that he was alive and had been raised to heaven by God.

After the execution of Abū Muslim [*q.v.*], the leader of the ʿAbbāsid movement in Khurāsān, by the caliph al-Manṣūr in 137/755, some of his supporters maintained that the imāmate had been transferred from the caliph al-Saffāḥ, al-Manṣūr's predecessor, to Abū Muslim and that Abū Muslim was alive. They were called the (Abū) Muslimiyya. Opposed to them were the Rizāmiyya, named after their chief Rizām b. Sābiḳ, who upheld the succession of al-Manṣūr to the imāmate, though they refused to repudiate Abū Muslim, and affirmed that the imāmate would remain in the ʿAbbāsid family until the resurrection, when a descendant of al-ʿAbbās would be the Mahdī. Rizām is mentioned as a leader of the Rāwandī extremists in 141/758 when a riot by a group of them in the court of the palace of al-Manṣūr was bloodily suppressed. In the ensuing persecution of the extremists, Rizām sought refuge with the caliph's son Djaʿfar and was granted amnesty.

A further schism in the ʿAbbāsid *shīʿa* occurred in 147/764 when al-Manṣūr deferred the succession of his nephew ʿĪsā b. Mūsā, who had been named by al-Saffāḥ to succeed al-Manṣūr, and appointed his own son Muḥammad al-Mahdī as his immediate successor. One party considered the action of al-Manṣūr as illegal and recognized ʿĪsā b. Mūsā and later some of his descendants as their *imāms*. The other party asserted that the action of al-Manṣūr was legal, since the order of the living *imām* should supersede that of a dead *imām* and since ʿĪsā had agreed to sell his rights. They recognized al-Mahdī as the *imām* after al-Manṣūr.

After his accession (158/775) al-Mahdī induced the ʿAbbāsid *shīʿa* to repudiate the imāmate of ʿAlī and his descendants and to embrace a purely ʿAbbāsid imāmate beginning with al-ʿAbbās and based on the right of inheritance. The partisans of this doctrine were known as the Hurayriyya after their leader Abū Hurayra al-Rāwandī (rarely al-Dimashḳī). By denying the imāmate of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya and Abū Hāshim this group left the fold of the Kaysāniyya. Extremist doctrines, such as deification of the *imāms*, or belief in their omniscience, and dispensation from the religious law for those knowing the *imām*, are ascribed to most of the sects of the ʿAbbāsid *shīʿa*.

The party supporting the imāmate of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya, consisting mainly of the former Ḥarbiyya, is commonly known as the Djanāḥiyya [*q.v.*]. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya is reported to have encouraged their extremist beliefs, claiming that the Divine Spirit had devolved through the prophets and *imāms* to him and that he was able to resurrect the dead. After he had died in the prison of Abū Muslim in 131/748-9, a group of his followers claimed that he was alive and hiding in the mountains of Iṣfahān. Some said he would return as the Mahdī, while others held that he would surrender the leadership to a descendant of ʿAlī before his death. Another group of his supporters admitted that he was dead and that they were left without an *imām*. Al-Shahrastānī mentions a sect which asserted that his spirit had passed to Isḥāḳ b. Zayd b. al-Ḥārith and calls it the Ḥārithiyya, distinguishing it from the earlier Ḥarbiyya. This Isḥāḳ is perhaps to be identified with the Isḥāḳ b. ʿAmr named by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Khwārizmī as the chief of a sect of the Kaysāniyya which he calls the Isḥāḳiyya. Other sources, evidently erroneously, describe ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥarb (or al-Ḥārith) as still active among the followers of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muʿāwiya after the latter's death. To this group in particular is attributed the elaboration of extremist theories on the transmigration of souls, their pre-existence as shadows (*aẓilla*), the denial of the resurrection, of the judgment, and of paradise and hell in their conventional sense, and the cyclical history of recurrent eras (*adwār*) and aeons (*akwār*) initiated by seven Adams. They related these doctrines on the authority of the Companion Djābir b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī and of Djābir al-Djuʿfī (d. 128/745-6).

During the Umayyad period the Kaysāniyya in its various branches constituted the bulk of the radical wing of the *shīʿa*. By the middle of the 2nd/8th century (767) the movement was rapidly disintegrating. There is no evidence of any Kaysānī groups surviving into the 3rd/9th century. Towards the end of this century some Ḳarmaṭī groups are reported to have temporarily acknowledged a son, Aḥmad, or a grandson, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya as the expected Mahdī. Neither name refers to a historical person or is mentioned in the accounts of the Kaysāniyya movement. Their adoption by these Ḳarmaṭī groups evidently reflects a spontaneous development in the Ismāʿīlī movement rather than a survival of Kaysānī beliefs.

In ʿIrāḳ the mass of the adherents of the Kaysāniyya was absorbed by the rising tide of Imāmī Shīʿism. A substantial part of the religious doctrine first elaborated in the Kaysāniyya, *e.g.*, on *badāʾ* [*q.v.*], *radjʿa* and important aspects of the theory of the imāmate, was adopted by orthodox Imāmism. Other Kaysānī doctrines were passed on among the *ghulāt* adhering to Imāmī lines of *imāms*. In Persia and Transoxania the Rāwandiyya and the Djanāḥiyya-Ḥarbiyya groups were largely merged into various syncretist sects often generically termed Khurramiyya [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Al-Nāshiʾ, *Masāʾil al-imāma*, ed. J. van Ess, Beirut 1971, 24-41; al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaḳ al-shīʿa*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1931, 20-37, 41-7; Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳummī, *al-Maḳālāt wa'l-firaḳ*, ed. M. Djawād Mashkūr, Tehran 1963, 21-3, 25-46, 48-50, 55-7, 60, 64-70; al-Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-islāmiyyin*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1929-30, 5 f., 18-23; al-Maḳdisī, *al-Badʾ wa'l-taʾrīkh*, ed. Cl. Huart, v, Paris 1916, 128-33; al-Khwārizmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. G. van Vloten, Leiden 1895, 29-31; ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī, *al-Farḳ bayn al-firaḳ*, ed. Muḥammad Badr, Cairo 1328, 16 f., 27-38, 53, 227 f., 233-7, 254 f.; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal fi 'l-milal*, Cairo 1384/1964, iv, 112, v, 20-23, 25 f., 28 f.; Shahrastānī, 109-15; Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Ḥūr al-ʿīn*, Cairo 1367/1948, 157-61, 182-4; Murtaḍā b. Dāʿī Rāzī, *Tabṣirat al-ʿawāmm*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1313, 169, 178-80; al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ 1294, ii, 351-4; H. D. van Gelder, *Moḥtar de valsche Profeet*, Leiden 1888, 82-94; G. van Vloten, *Recherches sur la domination arabe, le Chiitisme*, etc., Amsterdam 1894, 40-53; J. Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam*, Berlin 1901, 87-95; I. Friedländer, *The heterodoxies of the Shiites according to Ibn Ḥazm*, in *JAOS*, xxix (1908), *passim*; C. van Arendonk, *Les débuts de l'Imāmat zaidite au Yemen*, Leiden 1960, 10-5; S. Moscati, *Il testamento di Abū Hāšim*, in *RSO*, xxvii (1952), 29-34, 44-6; idem, *Per una Storia dell'Antica Šīʿa*, in *RSO* xxx (1955), 251-67; Wadād al-Ḳāḍī, *al-Kaysāniyya fi 'l-taʾrīkh wa 'l-adab*, Beirut 1974. On the Rāwandiyya: F. Omar, *The ʿAbbasid caliphate*, Baghdad 1969, 192-9.

(W. MADELUNG)

ḲAYṢAR.

1. In early Islam. — The usual name in Arabic for the Roman and Byzantine emperor. The word represents the Greek Καῖσαρ and came to the Arabic through the intermediary of the Aramaic (see Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, Leiden 1886, 278 f.). The borrowing must have taken place at quite an early period, as the word in Syriac later appears almost in the form *Ḳesar* (see Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, s.v.). The Arabs, centuries before Muḥammad, had relations with Roman and to a greater extent with Byzantine emperors. As early as the Περίπλους, a Roman Καῖσαρ is mentioned as conqueror of Εὐδαίμων Ἀραβία (probably Caracalla, from 198 A.D. co-regent of Septimius Severus, see F. Altheim-R. Stiehl, *Die Araber in der alten Welt*, i, Berlin 1964, 44). In A.D. 244 an Arab from Ḥawrān reigned for five years under the name Dareus Julius Philippus. In Syria at the beginning of the 6th century A.D., the Banū Ghassān replaced the Banū Salīḥ as Arab allies, σύμμαχοι, of Byzantium. The chief Ghassānid phylarch was accorded high honours and a title like *patricius* (*biṭrīḳ*) and allowed to wear the crown of a client king of the Byzantine emperor [see GHASSĀN]. For the Ghassānids and all the inhabitants of north-western Arabia, Ḳayṣar, the Byzantine emperor, was of course the highest ruler, as was Kisrā, the king of the Persians, for the Lakhmids and all the inhabitants of north-eastern Arabia. Among the old Arabic poets, Imraʾ al-Ḳays [*q.v.*] more than once mentions Ḳayṣar, who, indeed, played a great part in his life. For later poets also, Ḳayṣar—alongside Kisrā—is still a current symbol of power and wealth.

The word Ḳayṣar is not found in the Ḳurʾān, but it occurs quite frequently in the biography of Muḥammad, in Ḥadīth collections, in commentaries on the Ḳurʾān and in general historical works. It is always used without the article, like a proper name, and cannot be followed directly by a genitive, from which too it is clear that the word was considered as a proper name. Heraclius, the famous Byzantine emperor of the time of Muḥammad, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, is therefore called *Hiraḳl* or *Ḳayṣar ʿaẓīm* (or *malik*) *al-Rūm*. The word *Ḳayṣar* is often omitted for example in a list of "the kings of the Romans/Byzantines" (*mulūk al-Rūm*) from Augustus to Heraclius (Ṭabarī, i, 1741-1744), in a report of the capture of Amorium (838 A.D., Ṭabarī, iii, 1234: *Tūfīl ibn Mīkhāʾīl, ṣāḥib/malik al-Rūm*), and in a report of the battle of Malāzgerd (1071, Ibn al-Athīr, x, 44-46: *Armānūs* [= *Romanus*], *malik al-Rūm*).

According to Ibn Saʿd (i/1, 43, 45 f.), Hishām b. ʿAbd Manāf, great-grandfather of Muḥammad, received from Ḳayṣar a letter of safe conduct for merchants from Mecca visiting Syria (see M. J. Kister, in *JESHO*, viii (1965), 116 f.). A great number of texts mention the letter which is said to have been sent by Muḥammad through Diḥya [*q.v.*] to the governor of Boṣrā and through him to the emperor Heraclius. In many versions, the emperor interrogates Abū Sufyān regarding the new prophet, and (in contrast to Kisrā) appears to be inclined to Islām; only fear of his subjects prevents him from openly professing the new religion (for references see below). ʿUmar contrasts the neediness of the Prophet's existence with the luxurious living of Kisrā and Ḳayṣar (Bukhārī, *Tafsīr*, 66, 2; Ibn Madja, *Zuhd*, 11). During the affair of Ḥudaybiyya, ʿUrwa ibn Masʿūd, having visited the Prophet in his camp, tells his Meccan compatriots that though he has travelled as an envoy to the kings, to Ḳayṣar, to Kisrā and to al-Nadjāshī, he has never seen any king so greatly honoured as Muḥammad is by his Companions (Bukhārī, *Shurūṭ*, 15; cf. Ibn Hishām, 745). The following utterance of Muḥammad is reported as a kind of prophecy: "If Kisrā perishes (variant: Kisrā has died), there will be no Kisrā after him. And if Ḳayṣar perishes, there will be no Ḳayṣar after him. By Him in whose hand my soul lies, you will spend their treasures in the way of God" (Bukhārī, *Farḍ al-Khums*, 8, *Aymān*, 3, *Djihād*, 157; Muslim, *Fitan*, 75; Wāḳidī, 460). Cf. the critical remark of Muʿattib ibn Ḳushayr during the siege of Medina by the "Allies", "Muḥammad promises us the treasures of Kisrā and Ḳayṣar, whereas it is not safe for one of us to go to the privy" (Wāḳidī, 459 f.; Ibn Hishām, 357). Another prophetical utterance ascribed to Muḥammad is: "The first troops of my community who will assault the city of Ḳayṣar (*i.e.*, Constantinople) shall be forgiven [their sins]" (Bukhārī, *Djihād*, 93).

Bibliography: Muḥammad's letter to Ḳayṣar (a) *without* the conversation with Abū Sufyān: Wāḳidī, ed. M. Jones, Oxford 1966, 555 f.; Ibn Saʿd, ii/1, 63; Ṭabarī, i, 1559-61; Ibn Saʿd, i/2, 15 f.; Abū ʿUbayd al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām, *Kitāb al-Amwāl*, Cairo 1353, 254-6 (§§ 623-5); Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 83 f.; Ṭabarī, i, 1565-67; Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 161 f.; Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iv, Berlin 1889, 98; W. M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 345-7—Muḥammad's letter to Ḳayṣar (b) *including* the conversation with Abū Sufyān: Bukhārī, chs. *Djihād*, 102, *Tafsīr*, 3, 4, *Badʾ al-Waḥy*, 6; Muslim, *Djihād*, 74; Ṭabarī, i, 1561-5; Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 163; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, ii, Calcutta 1893, 557 f.; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Mukhtaṣar taʾrīkh al-bashar*, ed. and tr. Fleischer, as *Abulfedae Historia anteislamica*, 132-4.

(A. FISCHER - A. J. WENSINCK - A. SCHAADE - R. PARET)

2. In Islamic history.—In the Meccan period, Muḥammad's sympathies were with Heraclius against Kisrā and echoes of the struggle between the two are recorded in *Sūrat al-Rūm* (Ḳurʾān, XXX). But in the Medinan period this attitude was reversed, the basis of the reversal being religious: since Islam is the true religion of the "straight path" and has universalistic claims, Byzantium and its Ḳayṣar become the enemy of Islam and the Islamic state, which must eventually triumph and capture Constantinople itself. On this is based the new Muslim conception of Ḳayṣar. His dominion is part of *Dār al-Ḥarb* (the Abode of War), he is an infidel, and war against him is *djihād* (holy war). This hostile and contemptuous attitude towards Ḳayṣar was strengthened by the military victories of the Arabs over the Byzantines. Thus, the religious and military bases on which Arab respect for Ḳayṣar had rested in pre-Islamic times disappeared in the first century of the Muslim era; the new attitude was reflected in such designations for Ḳayṣar as *ṭāghiya*, "tyrant", or such expressions as *kalb al-Rūm*, "the dog of the Romans", used by Hārūn al-Rashīd in addressing Nicephorus.

The image of Ḳayṣar among the Arabs in the four centuries or so after the battle of al-Yarmūk in 15/636 naturally fluctuated with the military fortunes of the two states over which Caliph and Ḳayṣar ruled. The first part of this period, Umayyad and early ʿAbbāsid, was, generally speaking, one of Arab successes against the Byzantines; but the tide turned against the Arabs with the coming of the Macedonian dynasty, and the striking successes of the Ḥamdānids proved ephemeral.

The Turks opened a new chapter in the relations between Islam and Byzantium, one that lasted for some four centuries from their victory at Manzikert in 463/1071, until their capture of Constantinople in 857/1453. Under the impact of Turkish military victories, the image of the Byzantine Ķayṣar reverted to what it had been before the period of the Macedonians. The basic factor was the conquest and turkification of the Byzantine heartland, Anatolia, and the diminution of the dominion of the Ķayṣars. The Saldjūķ sultan Alp Arslan defeated the Byzantine emperor Romanus Diogenes at Manzikert and took him captive in 463/1071, setting the tone for two centuries in Saldjūķ relations with, and attitude towards, Ķayṣars of the Comneni, the Angeli and the Lascarids.

The Ottomans presided over the last phase of Ķayṣar's humiliation; their attitude to him and his dominion was the classical Islamic one, confirmed by their series of astounding victories in the Balkans. The final chapter in this drama of the Muslim-Byzantine conflict, which had lasted for some eight centuries, was written by the sultan's victory over the last of the Palaeologi, Constantine XI. Muḥammad the Conqueror captured Constantinople, and added to his titles of Ghāzī and Khān that of Ķayṣar itself, which he was able to do, since he was not caliph but sultan; the title proved valuable for his imperial designs for the reconquest of the Byzantine territories lost by the Ķayṣars in Europe and Asia.

Bibliography: Ķur'ān, XXX; Ibn Hishām, *The life of Muhammad*, tr. A. Guillaume, Oxford 1967, 653-7; Ibn Khurradādhbih, *al-Masālik wa 'l-Mamālik*, ed. de Goeje, *BGA*, vi, 16-17; Irfān Shahīd, *On the patriciate of Imru' al-Qays*, in *The world of Islam*, ed. Kritzeck and Winder, London 1959, 74-82; idem, *The Iranian factor in Byzantium during the reign of Heraclius*, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xxvi (1972), 295-320; M. Canard, *Les relations politiques et sociales entre Byzance et les Arabes*, in *ibid.*, xviii (1964), 35-56; A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, Brussels 1935, 1950, 1968, i-ii, 1; *Cambridge mediaeval history*, iv, *The Byzantine Empire*, part I, chs. xvii-xix; *Cambridge history of Islam*, i, chs. xvii-xix on the Turks, 231-373, 527-67.

(Irfan Shahid)

ĶAYSĀRIYYA (also ĶAYṢĀRIYYA), plur. *ķayāsīr*, the name of a large system of public buildings laid out in the form of cloisters with shops, workshops, warehouses and frequently also living-rooms. According to de Sacy, *Relation de l'Égypte par Abd Allatif*, Paris 1810, 303-4, the *ķaysāriyya* was originally distinguished from the *sūķ* probably only by its greater extent, and by having several covered galleries around an open court, while the *sūķ* consists only of a single gallery. At the present day in any case, the term *ķaysāriyya* is not infrequently quite or almost identical in meaning with the Persian word *kārwānsarāy*, which first came into use in western Asia in the 16th century, or the likewise modern analogous names, *khān*, *wakāla* (okella), *funduķ* [*q.v.*] and *bezistān*.

Origin. The word *ķaysāriyya* is certainly of Greek origin: καισάρεια ("imperial", an abbreviation for ἡ καισάρεια ἀγορά "the imperial market". As H. Thiersch has shown, the old quadrangular court (with or without cells around it) of the *agora* inspired the *ķaysāriyya*, which was used on the one hand as a warehouse for goods (whence developed the market-place) and on the other hand, without any doubt, usually also as lodgings. The expression ἡ καισάρεια recalls the fact that the oldest of these public buildings were imperial, *i.e.*, state institutions, while in the Muslim period they were mainly due to private initiative (foundations of rich merchants, members of royal families or high officials). Thiersch thinks (*Pharos* ..., 233) that the place where the idea of these buildings originated—like many other things in the new Muslim period—seems to have been Alexandria, which was especially rich in covered market-places and halls. Whether we should actually consider the Καισάριον (Caesareum), the temple of Caesar in Alexandria, to which the market-place and warehouses were attached (Strabo, xvii, 794), as the original in name and fact of the *ķaysāriyya* (as does Vollers in *ZDMG*, li, 302), is uncertain. A derivation of the word *ķaysāriyya* from the name of the Palestine town of Ķaysāriyya [*q.v.*], which de Sacy (*op. cit.*) upheld, can hardly be supported with sound arguments. The word in any case was originally used only in those districts which, like Syria, Palestine and parts of North Africa had been under Byzantine rule. The idea was only transferred later to other lands, especially to Spain and the east. In Spanish, *alcaiceria* (*cayceria*, *caeceria*), and in Portuguese, *alcaçarias*, are loanwords (cf. Dozy-Engelmann, *Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais dérivés de l'arabe*[2], Leiden 1869, 73, 79; D. Leopoldo de Eguilaz, *Glos. etim. de las palabras españolas* ... *de origen oriental*, Granada 1886, 126).

On the usage of the word in the Islamic world, the following references may be given. In Egypt we have especially good evidence of its use in Cairo. Al-Maķrīzī (d. 845/1441) in his description of the city gives a large number of *ķaysāriyyas* (cf. *al-Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāķ 1270, ii, 86-91; E. Reitemeyer, *Die Städtegründungen der Araber im Islam*, 1912, 117). Later its place was gradually taken by the word *wakāla* (*okäle*, *okelle*) and in Niebuhr's time (1761) only the market-place in the suburb of Būlāķ was still called Kissarie. In Fās by *ķaysāriyya* one understands the central market (for cloth, carpets, jewels, etc.) shut off by gates and walls from the other parts of the town, and at night occupied only by watchmen (see Dozy, *op. cit.*, ii, 432; R. Le Tourneau, *Fès*, 374-5). Moreover, the word is currently used in Morocco to denote the courtyards, whether covered or not, surrounded by shops whose main commodity is cloth. In Spain, the *ķaysāriyya* was, as in Morocco, the centre for trade in luxury articles and cloth (see L. Torres Balbás, *Alcaicerias*, in *al-And.*, xiv (1949), 431-55. P. Chalmeta, *El señor del zoco*, index; E. Lévy-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, index). In Syria and Lebanon we have evidence of the use of the word *ķaysāriyya* as the "name of the shops of the wholesale dealers" in Beirūt (see Niebuhr, *op. cit.*, ii, 469, and K. Müller, *Die Karawanserai*, 7), in Damascus (see Ibn Djubayr, *Riḥla*[2], ed. Wright and de Goeje, 288, and Seetzen, *Reisen durch Syrien* etc., Leipzig 1854-9, i, 269) and also in Aleppo (see Ibn Djubayr, 252; Yāķūt, ii, 307; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 151; J. Sauvaget, *Alep*, 79-80, 221-2). In al-Ḥasā in Eastern Arabia, the quarter of the town that contains the shops is called el-Gayṣariyye (see *Der Islām*, viii, 32). In ʿIrāķ we find a square called *Ķaysāriyya* in Mōṣul (see Ibn Djubayr, 235); in al-Salāmiyya near Mōṣul (Yāķūt, iii, 113); in Irbil (Yāķūt, i, 186); in Baghdād (see Massignon, *Mission*, 92 (the present bazaar centre); in Karbalā' (see Massignon, *op. cit.*). In Persia, in Iṣfāhān (see Ritter, ix, 49; Vullers, *Lexic. Persico-Lat.*, ii, 753a, and cf. also (Ispahan) Pietro della Vale, *Viaggi* (Brighton 1843), ii, 8, German tr. (Ghent 1674), iii, 5; [Dupré], *Voyage en Perse*,

Paris 1819, ii, 125, and W. Ouseley, *Travels in Various Countries of the East*, iii, 1819, 16); in Tabrīz (see Ritter, ix, 856); in Khwārazm (Urgandj) (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 4).

We may further note that, according to a reference in Niebuhr, *op. cit.*, about the middle of the 18th century, large public buildings in the Barbary States were called casseries. In Algiers at the present day *ḳaysāriyya* means barracks (see Dozy, *op. cit.*); after the first half of the 17th century it was used to denote the Janissaries' barracks (Père Dan, *Hist. de Barbarie et ses corsairs*[1], 1637, 2nd edn. 1649, 88: *Casseries ou Funduques*). In the ruined cities of Ḥawrān the palaces of the erstwhile Roman or Byzantine governors are now also called *ḳaysāriyya*; see Wetzstein, *Reisebericht über Hauran* etc., Berlin 1860, 55. In general, it appears that in modern times the use of the word *ḳaysāriyya* as market-place and suchlike has to a great extent given way to newer words like *khān*, *wakāla*, *funduḳ* and *bezestān*. For the economic functioning of the *ḳaysāriyya*, see SŪḲ.

Bibliography: Niebuhr, *Reisebeschr. von Arabien*, etc. i, Copenhagen 1774, 111, 121; Quatremère, in *Not. et Extr.*, xii, 468; Fleischer, *Diss. critica de glossis Habichtianis*, Leipzig 1836, 39; Zenker, *Türk.-arab.-pers. Hand-Wörterb.*, 728c; Dozy, *Suppl.*, ii, 432; G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 89; H. Thiersch, *Pharos, Antike, Islam und Occident*, Leipzig 1909, 223-33; L. Massignon, *Mission en Mesopotamie*, ii, Cairo 1912, 92; K. Müller, *Die Karawanserai im vorderen Orient*, Berlin 1920; E. Herzfeld, *Etimologia d'al-Qaisāriyyah*, in *Oriente Moderno*, i, 691, and the editorial note thereon. (M. STRECK)

ḲAYṢARIYYA, ḲAYṢĀRIYYA, Caesarea, a name bestowed during the reigns of the Roman emperors of Augustus and Tiberius on at least seventeen places in the Roman territories of the Near East and North Africa (Pauly-Wissowa, v, 1288-9). The Arab sources know only of two places with this name, however, cf. Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, s.v. Ḳaysāriyya.

1. A town on the Palestine coast, classical Caesarea Maritima, some 25 miles (40 km) south of Haifa or Ḥayfā.

Originally a 4th century B.C. Sidonian settlement known as Strato's Tower, apparently after its founder, the town was erected into an imperial city by Herod in 13/12 or 10/9 B.C. and given the name of Caesarea in honour of Herod's suzerain Augustus, the old name speedily falling into oblivion. The city now flourished, in part because of its fine harbour, as the main port of Sebastia or Samaria. Although it had a Jewish population, with traditions of Jewish learning so that a portion of the Palestinian Talmud was edited there, it was essentially a stronghold of Roman power and Hellenism, and until the Arab conquest served as the capital of the Roman and then Byzantine province of Palestine. It was further an important centre of Christian learning, with its bishopric the metropolitan seat for the whole province, and in the 4th century A.D. Eusebius was its bishop.

The accounts of the conquest of Caesarea in the Muslim sources are greatly influenced by the fact that this heavily-defended and well-protected city symbolised in the eyes of the Muslims the whole might of Christian and Byzantine power in Palestine, and it was the last place there to fall to the Arabs. Since its capture was thus regarded as the summit of Muslim military success in Palestine, the early accounts of its conquest exceed in number and detail those relating to Jerusalem. The numbers of its defenders were highly exaggerated in order to magnify the achievement, and one tradition goes as far as to put the figure at 930,000 of the besieged as against only 17,000 Muslim besiegers (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 141, but see Barhebraeus, *Chronographia*, ed. Budge, 37 v, who puts the number of defenders at 7,000). The siege was begun by ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, till he left for Egypt, and by ʿIyāḍ b. Ghanm, who was probably the original commander on the spot, but whose rôle was later minimised by tradition, seeking to glorify either ʿAmr or Muʿāwiya. The latter eventually took over from his sick brother Yazīd and captured the city in Shawwāl 19/Sept.-Oct. 640 after a siege of probably seven months, inflated in most of the Arabic sources to seven years, calculating the beginning of the siege from the opening of the Syrian campaign as a whole; 4,000 captives were taken (cf. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 140-1, 212; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 57-8; Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, 172-3; idem, *Buldān*, 329; Ṭabarī, i, 2396-7, 2399, 2579; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *ʿIḳd*, ed. Amin *et alii*, i, 124; Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, 757; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh*, iv, 395; de Goeje, *Mem. sur la conquête de la Syrie*[2], 166 ff.; Caetani, *Annali*, iv, 31-2, 156-62).

In face of the normal control of the eastern Mediterranean by the Byzantine fleet (despite periodic Umayyad successes there), Islamic Ḳayṣariyya was held essentially as a defensive position against Byzantine descents on the coastland. During the revolt of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, the Byzantines seized the opportunity of Umayyad distraction to attack both Ḳayṣariyya and ʿAsḳalān (Ascalon) and damage them; but once secure in power, ʿAbd al-Malik rebuilt and refortified the two places, along with other coastal points such as Acre and Tyre (Balādhurī, 142). But on the whole, the Arab disinclination towards seafaring (cf. Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mawḍūʿāt*, Medina 1966, *ii*, 227) made it difficult for the Umayyad caliphs to persuade Arab warriors to settle in the coastal towns.

Ḳayṣariyya went through a period of deterioration under the ʿAbbāsids, who tended to neglect Syria in favour of their eastern provinces. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn (254-70/868-83) fortified again the Palestinian shore, but nothing is mentioned in the sources specifically about Ḳayṣariyya, whose harbour had by this time filled up with sand. The Arab geographers in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, as well as Nāṣir-i-Khusraw in the 5th/11th, describe its fertile district and the abundance of its agricultural products, but make no mention of its harbour (Muḳaddasī, 35, 154; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma*, ed. Schefer, 18; Idrīsī, in *ZDPV*, viii (1885), 11; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 474, 475). In 364/975, the Byzantine offensive launched a year previously against the Islamic territories by the Emperor John Tzimisces reached as far south as Ḳayṣariyya (Runciman, *A history of the Crusades*, i, 31). The renewed Byzantine rule, however, was short-lived. But the old danger to the wealth of the city came at that time from the Bedouins of Banū Djarrāḥ (a clan of Ṭayyiʾ), led by their chief Mufarridj b. Daghfal, who succeeded around 360/971, during the disturbances which marked the end of the Ikhshīdids, in establishing himself in the coastal plain mainly around Ramla. Bedouin power continued to grow throughout the first half-century of the Fāṭimid rule. Between 402/1012 and 404/1014, Mufarridj laid siege to the coastal towns and even installed in Palestine an anti-Caliph of his own (Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd

al-Anṭakī, ed. Cheikho, 160, 201). In 414/1024, the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Ẓāhir nominated Muntak̲h̲ab al-Dawla, governor of Ḳayṣariyya, as governor of Palestine with the special assignment of ridding the country of Ḥassān b. Mufarrid̲j̲, who had succeeded his father as the leader of Banū D̲j̲arrāḥ (Maḳrīzī, *K̲h̲iṭaṭ*, Cairo 1270, i, 354). Although Ḳayṣariyya was never famous as a great Islamic centre of learning, some names of *ʿulamāʾ* who lived or studied there can be found in the sources (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iv, 214, 778; Ibn Tag̲h̲rī Birdī, *Nud̲j̲ūm*, ii, 204; Ibn ʿAsākir, iv, 185, 232, 460, vi, 212).

The First Crusade did not threaten Ḳayṣariyya seriously. Only in 494/1101, after Baldwin I had established himself as king of Jerusalem, did the Crusaders attack the city, with the help of a Genoese naval force. After the fall of Arsūf on 27 D̲j̲umādā II/29 April, Ḳayṣariyya was besieged and fell on May 17. The male population was almost completely wiped out, and the women, the *ḳāḍī* of the town and its governor were taken prisoners. Among the booty the Genoese found a green vessel which they decided was the Holy Grail; later, they brought it to Genoa, where it is still preserved in the Cathedral of San Lorenzo. As a prize for their participation in the conquest, the Genoese received a third of the town with permission to call the second cathedral of the city after their patron San Lorenzo. (On this conquest, see Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, *ʿIbar*, v, 186, and Runciman, ii, 73-4). After the conquest Ḳayṣariyya became an independent Signoria (which belonged to the Garnier family), one of the first to be established in the country (Runciman, ii, 93, 191).

The Crusaders built in Ḳayṣariyya a small harbour within the borders of the large ancient one, and its Frankish population grew to about 5,000 people, a considerable size in terms of Crusader towns.

In 583/1187, after the battle of Ḥaṭṭīn [*q.v.*] and the occupation of Acre, Ḳayṣariyya was easily conquered by Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn's generals, Badr al-Dīn Daldirim and G̲h̲aras al-Dīn Ḳilid̲j̲ (Abu Shāma, *K. al-Rawḍatayn*, ii, 87; Ibn al-At̲h̲īr, xi, 356; al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Fatḥ al-Ḳussī*, 33).

With the appearance of the armies of the Third Crusade, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, knowing his weakness on the sea and anxious to deny the Crusaders a foothold on the coast, ordered in 586/1190 the demolition of the fortifications of Caesarea (Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, i/1, 104, Mud̲j̲īr ad-Dīn, *al-Uns al-d̲j̲alīl*, 324). Richard-Coeur-de-Lion recaptured Caesarea in 587/1191 (al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī, *op. cit.*, 377-83), after which a strong garrison was established there, but the city fortifications were not rebuilt until 615/1218, with the main effort concentrated on the rebuilding of the citadel on the southern pier of the harbour. In 617/1220, the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿĪsā managed to occupy the city while the main Crusader forces were besieging Dimyāṭ (Damietta); he found it completely empty, the Genoese navy having evacuated the population from its citadel (Ibn Tag̲h̲rībirdī, *op. cit.*, vi, 239).

The city remained nominally in Muslim hands until 625/1228 when al-Malik al-Kāmil of Egypt ceded it to the Emperor Frederick II, together with Jerusalem and other territories in Palestine. When Louis IX arrived in the Holy Land in 648/1250-1, new fortifications, completed in April or May 1252, were begun, and were hailed as the finest building enterprise ever undertaken in Palestine (Joinville, *Chronicle*, London 1908, 253). This time the work comprised the building of the whole city, including a mighty wall which protected it from both sea and land and its ancient moat was excavated, cleaned and deepened, thus giving the city wall a maximum height of 70 ft. (22 m.).

But even these mighty fortifications could not save Ḳayṣariyya when the Mamlūks resolved on destroying the remnant of the Crusader strongholds along the Syrian littoral, once they had checked the Mongol invasion in 658/1260. In 662/1264 the first Mamlūk attacks on the districts of Ḳayṣariyya and ʿAt̲h̲līt̲h̲ began under the Amīr Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Kaymarī (Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, i/1, 513), but the final campaign headed by Baybars took place in 663/1265. A fierce frontal attack by the Mamlūks forced the defenders to retreat to the citadel (called *al-khaḍrāʾ* in the Muslim sources). Under the heavy bombardment of Baybars' ballistas, the Crusaders had to enter into negotiations. On 5th March 1265 they were evacuated by ship and the sultan ordered the destruction of the fortress.

The occupation of Ḳayṣariyya enabled the Mamlūks to move both southwards against Jaffa and Arsūf and northwards against ʿAt̲h̲līt̲h̲ and Acre (Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt*, iv, 161; Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, i/1 526-8; Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī, *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 434; Mufaḍḍal b. Abī 'l-Faḍāʾil, in *Patr. or.*, xii, Paris 1918, 132-3; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Durrat al-Aslāk*, in *Orientalia*, ii, 250; Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, *op. cit.*, v, 385).

Instead of the coastal line of fortifications, which were ultimately completely demolished, Barbars resolved upon establishing a new line of defence along the foothills deep in the country, more defensible by the Muslim forces. The fortress of Ḳāḳūn was, therefore, rebuilt to replace Ḳayṣariyya and Arsūf (Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, i/1, 557).

The site of Ḳayṣariyya remained deserted for about four centuries, cf. Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī, iii, 237. In the 11th/17th century, some fishermen briefly tried to settle there. Its ruins became a source for building material, especially when D̲j̲azzār Pās̲h̲ā built his mosque in Acre at the end of the 12th/18th century.

In 1884, in the wake of the Austrian occupation of Bosnia, the Ottoman government brought Muslim refugees from there and settled them in Ḳayṣariyya, but the endemic malaria reduced them to a miserable condition, and during the Arab-Israelī war of 1948 the place was deserted.

The first archaeological survey of the site was carried out in 1873 by the Palestine Exploration Fund, but systematic excavations were made during the 1950s and 1960s by Italian and Israeli archaeologists. Parts of the town have been reconstructed, notably part of the Crusaders' wall and the Roman theatre, which is used today for musical performances.

Bibliography: In addition to the sources mentioned in the article, see K. V. Zetterstéen, *Beiträge* . . ., Leiden 1919, 238; F. M. Abel, *Geographie de la Palestine*, (Paris 1938), ii, 151, 162, 171, 193 ff., 200; idem, *Histoire de la Palestine*, i-ii, Paris 1952; V. Guérin, *Descr. Geogr. . . de la Palestine*, 2e Partie, ii (Paris 1875), 321-39; S. Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, London 1936, 267; D. Ayalon, *The Mameluks and Naval Power*, in *Proceedings of The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, i, No. 8 (Jerusalem 1965); cf. idem, *EI*², art. *Baḥriyya*; S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades* (London 1971), index; S. Asaf and L. A. Mayer, *Sefer Ha-Yis̲h̲s̲h̲ūv*, ii (Jerusalem 1944), 54-5; cf. also the bibliography in *EI*¹, art. *Ḳaiṣārīya*. (M. SHARON)

ḲAYṢARIYYA, or Kayseri, a town in central Anatolia, at an elevation of 3,300 feet, at the northern base of the Erd̲j̲iyas Dag̲h̲ī. The Roman imperial

name Caesarea for this town was rendered Ḳayṣariyya in Arabic, Ḳayseriye in Ottoman, and Kayseri in modern Turkish.

1. *History*. Even before the Hittite empire, the area was a mercantile centre with a thriving Assyrian trading colony named Kanesh. As Mazaka, the site was the capital of the kingdom of Cappadocia, later of the Roman province of Cappadocia. Caesarea was first in precedence among the Christian bishoprics of Asia Minor, and as the seat of the Cappadocian fathers, Basil, Gregory of Nyssa and Gregory of Nazianzus, a centre of Christian thought and monasticism. Pillaged and devastated by the Sasanids and then rescued by Heraclius in A.D. 611, the town was again beautiful and wealthy when Muʿāwiya forced it to pay tribute in 26/647. (Michael the Syrian, tr. Chabot, ii, 400, 441; Abu 'l-Faradj, tr. Budge, i, 97). In the reign of Hishām (105-25/724-43) Maslama led two raids on Ḳayṣariyya and perhaps occupied the town temporarily; two of Hishām's sons also led campaigns there. In the 5th/11th century Byzantine policies and the Turkish invasions precipitated a migration of Armenian Gregorians into this Greek Orthodox area (Michael the Syrian, iii, 133).

Ḳayṣariyya was sacked by Turkmens in 459/1067 (see Cahen, *Le premier penetration turque*... in *Byzantion*, xviii (1948), 25). Some time after the battle of Manzikert the town, perhaps then in ruins, became part of the Dānishmend state (Michael the Syrian, iii, 173; Abu 'l-Faradj, i, 229). Chroniclers of the First Crusade who passed through Ḳayṣariyya do not describe it. Malik Muḥammad, the son of its conqueror Ghāzī Dānishmend, finally restored the town (Michael the Syrian, iii, 237; Abū 'l-Faradj, i, 258). In 563/1168 Ḳilidj Arslān II took it from the Dānishmendids (Abu 'l-Faradj, i, 293). Frequently a royal residence for the Saldjūḳs. Ḳayṣariyya again became a leading centre of trade and culture. In 641/1243 Mongol armies under Baygu massacred thousands, carried off the young into captivity, and plundered and destroyed the royal treasury and many splendid houses and buildings (Abū 'l-Faradj, i, 407; Ibn Bībī, tr. Duda, 230 f.). In 675/1277 Baybars occupied the town without resistance, but he withdrew south of the Taurus when his appearance failed to produce the anticipated uprising of Turkmens against their Mongol rulers; the Mongols then took vengeance on the city (Abū 'l-Faradj, i, 457).

From 744/1343 to 783/1381 Ḳayṣariyya was under the Eretna dynasty, and eventually became their capital; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa calls the town one of the largest in Anatolia. The Eretna were overthrown by a native of Ḳayṣariyya, Ḳāḍī Burhān al-Dīn, who ruled from Sivas. The Ottoman sultan Bāyazīd took the city in 800/1398, but after Tīmūr defeated him, Ḳayṣariyya fell to the Ḳarāmān dynasty. For almost a century, the Turkmens of Ḳarāmān and the Dhu 'l-Ḳadrids contested for this prize. The Mamlūks helped the Dhu 'l-Ḳadrids to take the city from the Ḳarāmānids in 827/1419; in 839/1436 the Ottomans helped the Dhu 'l-Ḳadrids to regain it once more. Although the Ḳarāmānids recovered the town in 869/1465, Meḥemmed II restored it to the Dhu 'l-Ḳadrids in 871/1467. The Ottomans finally brought Ḳayṣariyya under direct rule some time after they took Ḳara Ḥiṣār Develi in 879/1474, but before the Mamlūk-Dhu 'l-Ḳadrid attack on the city on 895/1490. The town lay exposed to Mamlūk and Ṣafawid ambitions until Selīm I removed the threat from both these powers.

In the early 11th/17th century the region of Ḳayṣariyya was infested by *Djalālī* rebels; Ḳara Yazīdjī won a victory over an Ottoman army on the plain of Ḳayṣariyya in 1008/1600, and twice shortly thereafter, brigands dared to besiege the walled town. The urban population suffered considerably; many villagers were killed or abandoned their lands in fear, temporarily dislocating the system of land taxation. In 1027/1618 Simeon of Poland found the town quite ruined in appearance because its people so feared the *Djalālīs* that they would not do any reconstruction work (Polonyali Simeon, tr. H. Andreasyan, 158 f.). In 1034/1624 the rebel forces of Ābāza Ḥasan were scattered near Ḳayṣariyya by the vizier Čerkes Meḥmed. In 1059/1649 Ewliyā Čelebi found the town prosperous, but no longer any more so than Sivas or Maraš. After half a century under the rule of Čapanoghlu derebeys, Ḳayṣariyya returned to direct Ottoman rule in 1814.

In the Ottoman Empire Ḳayṣariyya was a *liwā* or *sandjaḳ* of the Ḳaramān *eyālet* until 1864, when it was transferred to the *wilāyet* of Anḳara. In the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries, Ḳara Ḥiṣār Develi, the only *ḳaḍāʾ* in the *sandjaḳ*, was more than once claimed by the *ḳāḍī* of Nigde. At the end of the 19th century, there were two *ḳaḍā*'s, Incesu and Develi. Under the republic, Ḳayṣariyya became a *vilayet* or *il*.

2. *Commerce, Industry, and Agriculture*. Ḳayṣariyya's continuing importance as a commercial centre comes from its location on well-defined north-south and east-west trade routes. Perhaps more important, it is the centre of a small, densely populated, fertile, well-watered area between the Ḳïzïlïrmaḳ river on the north and the Erdjiyas Daghl on the south, which can provide the agricultural surplus necessary to support a town (for density, see Bartsch, 130 f.; Tanoğlu *et al.*, *Türkiye Atlasi*, map no. 67). The agricultural wealth of Ḳayṣariyya comes from two sources: wheat and barley from the plain (Kayseri ovası) extending from the Ḳïzïlïrmaḳ to the salt lake of Pelas; and fruits and vegetables cultivated by skilful use of terracing and irrigation on the lower slopes of Erdjiyas and its foothills. During the prosperous times of the Rūm Saldjūḳs, Sivas, Ḳonya, and Ḳayṣariyya were the mercantile centres of Anatolia, yielding only gradually to Ottoman Bursa in the 8th/14th century.

The 16th-century tax registers (*daftar-i khāḳānī*) refer to dye houses, tanneries, slaughterhouses, mills and linseed oil presses, and to the manufacture of boza, wine and candles. Vineyards, orchards and gardens were dotted about the town, while wheat and barley were grown on its outskirts. The neighbouring villages produced grains and an array of fruits and vegetables, particularly grapes (used for raisins, *pekmez* and wine). Cotton and honey were important; and walnut trees and rice were cultivated (see Barkan, *Kanun-nameler*, "Kayseri", in index; Beldiceanu, *Karaman*, 45 f., 70 f., and *passim*).

Simeon of Poland compared Ḳayṣariyya's gardens and vineyards to those of Edirne (p. 160). Ewliyā Čelebi stated that its wheat and barley were famous and praised the abundant and varied fruits and vegetables (iii, 184). Kinneir extolled the "extraordinarily abundant vegetables", the fruits unrivalled in all Anatolia for abundance and variety, and the abundant pasturage (pp. 103 f.). Barkley admired the rich plain of wheat, barley, rice, and cotton, with the hills full of vineyards, plums, apples and quinces (p. 156). Hamilton cited gallnuts and yellow berries (buckthorn berries) sold to Izmir, and

tragacanth, madder, blue dye made from lees of wine and sultana raisins (ii, 267, 255, 263; cf. Ainsworth, 307). Mordtmann added to these potatoes and anise, as well as wine, brandy and beer (p. 142, 145).

From Saldjūḳ times onwards, cotton and coarse cotton cloth were among the most important industrial products of Ḳayṣariyya. Kinneir found merchants from all over Syria and Anatolia gathered there to buy cloth and raw cotton (p. 100; cf. Lucas, 173). Ḳayṣariyya horses were famous; sheep, cattle, and water buffalo were raised for the sausage and pastirma industry for which Ḳayṣariyya was famous; in Ewliyā Čelebi's time these meats were so much in demand in Istanbul that they could not be procured even in Ḳayṣariyya itself. Hides, used particularly for the yellow morocco leather (*sarî sahtiyan*), which was prized throughout the empire, and for the local footwear industry, were an equally famous product. Up to the present day, Ḳayṣariyya produces large numbers of its unique carpets and kelims.

Simeon mentioned extensive caravanserais, bedestāns, shops and bazaars, and numerous goldsmiths and jewellers (p. 158). Ewliyā Čelebi noted that, like Bursa and Edirne, the town had two bedestāns and that tradesmen made excellent profits (iii, 180 f., 184). Inciciyan reported that goods from Istanbul and India were sold in its bazaars, and Kinneir called it the trade emporium for Anatolia and Syria (Simeon, 159 n.; Kinneir, 100). Lucas called the bazaars extensive, especially the ones for cotton (i, 173) and Hamilton reported them to be extensive and rich, and full of cheap imports (ii, 267 f.). Von Schweinitz, admiring the fine bazaars, judged Ḳayṣariyya to be the most important town in inner Anatolia (pp. 116 f.) and Mordtmann called it one of the most important trading places in Anatolia (p. 492); he says that trade *ca.* 1850 was completely in the hands of local "Cappadocian Christians". However, in the 11th/17th century, Muslims were also active in trade in Kayseri.

The salt lake at Pelas and salt mines at Ḥādjdjī Bektāsh kept the town amply supplied with salt; and gypsum was available (Hamilton, ii, 246; Ainsworth, 311; Moltke, 329; Mordtmann, 147). In the 19th century a big saltpetre works was located near the lake, at Sarloghlan (Hamilton, ii, 259; Mordtmann, 147). Volcanic tufa everywhere provides excellent, cheap, building material.

The railway line from Ankara reached Ḳayṣariyya in 1927, and connexions to Samsun in 1930 and to Ulukişla in 1933 made the city a major rail centre. Of late there have also been constructed good road connexions.

In 1935 a huge state textile mill (currently employing nearly 2,500 people) was set up, financed largely by a Soviet loan. Ḳayṣariyya also became the site of an aeroplane assembly plant. In 1965 the city had 16 factories with more than 50 employees (5 state factories and 11 built with private capital). Another 100 factories have more than 5 employees, and there are 500 factories with 1 to 5 employees (*Kayseri il yıllığı*, 202). Machine works, wood and metal products, rubber products, pressure cookers and milk pasteurization are among the leading industries. Cotton and wool manufactures, carpets and kelims, hides and leather, grains, wool, livestock, fodder and pastirma continue to be among the leading products. As a result, Ḳayṣariyya is more highly industrialised and has a noticeably higher standard of living than most Turkish towns.

3. *Demography*. Records of the population of the town are available from 1500 to 1583, 1813 to 1907, and 1927 to 1970.

Four Ottoman tax registers (*daftar-i khāḳānī*) have preserved 10th/16th-century population statistics. In 905/1500, the town had 2287 *nefer* (tax-paying males), of whom 86 % were Muslims and 14 % were *dhimmīs* (1961/326). Early in Sulaymān's reign there were 2367 *nefer*, of whom 81 % were Muslims and 19 % were *dhimmīs* (1907/457). Later in Sulaymān's reign there were 3530 *nefer*, 81 % Muslims and 19 % *dhimmīs* (2870/660). In 991/1583 the town had 8251 *nefer*, 78 % Muslims and 22 % *dhimmīs* (6435/1816). The urban population practically quadrupled in less than a century and the rural population also grew rapidly. The anarchy of the 9th/15th century helps explain both the small population of 1500 and the capacity for rapid growth once security was restored (*Başbakanlık arşivi tapu defter* nos. 33, 387 and 976; cf. no. 38; *Ankara tapu kadastro dairesi*, no. 136). In 991/1583 the city had 6015 *khānes* or households at 5.5 persons per *khāne* or 33,082 inhabitants (4 × 8251 is 33,004, so perhaps multiplying the *nefer* by 4 gives the numerical population of the town). The proportion of non-Muslims increased from 14 % in 1500 to 22 % in 991/1583. Armenians, who made up 82 % of the non-Muslim population in 905/1500, rose to 89 % in 991/1583, increasing at a much faster rate than the Greeks. No Jews are registered in these surveys but in 1059/1649 Ewliyā Čelebi mentions a synagogue (iii, 183).

Official statistics cease in 991/1583. Simeon of Poland estimated that there were 500 Armenian *khānes* in 1026/1618; either he underestimated or the *Djalālī* uprisings had brought about a catastrophic population decline (p. 158). Ewliyā Čelebi mentioned 600 *khānes* within the walls, but most of the urban population lived outside the walls in the 10th/16th century (iii, 177).

The census of 1831 recorded 13,466 males in the town (7,903 adult males, 5,317 males under 12, 215 from the military class, and 31 disabled), a population of about 26,932; alternatively, 5,184 *khānes* are mentioned (at 5 people per *khāne* 25,920) (Karal, *Ilk nüfüs sayımı, 1831*, 113). These figures are consistent with Kinneir's population estimate in 1813 of 25,000, including 1,500 Armenians, 300 Greeks and 150 Jews (p. 100). Texier asserted that the official population in 1834 was 60,000, *i.e.*, 11,900 houses (10,000 Turkish, 1,500 Armenian, 400 Greek); and Hamilton estimated 10,000 houses in 1837. Their figures seem to have a single, erroneous, source, or possibly they refer to the *ḳaḍā'* of Ḳayṣariyya (Texier, 544; Hamilton, ii, 267). Poujoulat, also in 1837, reported 9,000 Turks, 6,000 Armenians and 4,000 Greeks, a total of 19,000 (a gross overestimate of the proportion of Christians, i, 213). On the basis of information provided by a local notable or *aʿyān* in 1839, Ainsworth reported (p. 308) 18,522 inhabitants (12,176 Muslims, 5,237 Armenians and 1,109 Greeks. Any decline might be attributed to the severe earthquake of 1835, which destroyed many homes and killed 665 people (Poujoulat claims 4,000 dead, which must be an exaggerated estimate or else a figure for the whole province). However, Mordtmann plausibly asserts that the population figure given by Ainsworth was for "males", not "inhabitants", *i.e.*, there was a population of about 37,000 (Ainsworth, 310; Hamilton, 258, Poujoulat, i, 210 f.).

Cholera killed some 3,000 people in 1848; in 1849 Mordtmann gave the population as 18,413 males (12,344 Muslims, 5,002 Armenians and 1,067 Greeks), presumably 36,826 inhabitants, a reliable figure (pp. 141, 143). In 1858 Barth estimated 8,000 inhabited

houses (of 10,000 in the city), *i.e.*, *ca.* 40,000 people, a substantial increase in the decade (p. 58). Cuinet in 1892 estimated the population of the Ḳayṣariyya *ḳaḍā'* at 72,000 (45,000 Muslims, 9,000 Armenian Gregorians, 14,400 Greek Orthodox, 800 Armenian Catholics and 1,200 Protestants), but the *ḳaḍā'* included numerous villages around Ḳayṣariyya (i, 307). Townshend estimated 50,000 inhabitants in 1904 (including 20,000 Christians, of whom three-quarters were Armenians (p. 119). The Anḳara *wilāyet sālnāme* of 1907 records a population of 54,011 for the town (17,536 Muslim men, 17,168 Muslim women, 9,521 non-Muslim men, 9,786 non-Muslim women (p. 209). The population apparently doubled between 1813 and 1907.

The 10th/16th-century Muslim population of Ḳayṣariyya included nomadic, settled and sedentarising Yürüks, Turkmens and Kurds. Afs̲h̲ār nomads were numerous on the rich pastures of Uzun Yayla; in the mid-19th century they were joined by a large immigrant group of Čerkes. Kurds and Afs̲h̲ārs are still numerous, and Uzun Yayla constitutes one of the main preserves of Čerkes in Turkey.

Since the earliest tax records of the late 9th/15th century, the majority of the population of both the town and province of Ḳayṣariyya have been Muslims. Large numbers of Orthodox and Gregorian Christians have inhabited the town and the neighbouring villages, often intermixed with Muslims and with one another. In the town Ḳayṣariyya, Gregorians outnumbered Orthodox by three or four times in both the 10th/16th and 19th centuries. Greek and Armenian were spoken only in a few villages; most Christians were turcophone even after efforts towards hellenisation and armenisation began under outside stimulus in the 19th century (see R. M. Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*; Inciciyan, quoted in Simeon, 161 n; Simeon, 158 and n; and Ewliyā, iii, 183: "Kurdče" presumably is an error for "Ermenice". See also the periodical *Mikrasiatika Kronika*). In 1922 a congress of Orthodox Christians of Anatolia, meeting in Ḳayṣariyya, asserted that they were Anatolian Christians of Turkish nationality, repudiated the "Greek" hierarchy, and established a Turkish patriarchate; their effort miscarried, however, because Orthodox Christians of Anatolia were included in the compulsory Greek-Turkish population exchanges (Teoman Ergene, *Istiklal harbinde türk ortodokslarɪ*, 18 ff., 23-42).

After the Armenian débâcle and the Greek population exchanges, the first republican census revealed that Ḳayṣariyya's population had declined to 39,544; only 1277 Armenian Gregorians and 6 Greek Orthodox remained in the town. The population increased to 46,181 in 1935 (up 23 %), 52,467 in 1940 (up 21 %), 57,863 in 1945 (up 15 %), 65,488 in 1950 (up 34 %), 82,405 in 1955 (up 26 %), 102,596 in 1960 (up 25 %), 126,653 in 1965 (up 22 %), and 167,696 in 1970 (up 33 %). The population of the town has increased four-fold in less than half a century, a rate of growth faster even than that of the 10th/16th century (*Kayseri il yɪllɪğɪ*, 122, 124-7).

4. *Culture.* A Library made *waḳf* in 1210/1796 by the *Re'īs ül-kuttāb* Rās̲h̲id Efendi preserves the original collection of 943 works (926 manuscripts, 17 printed volumes), and additions have been made (see Ahmed Okutan, *Kayseri Umumi Kütüphanesi Raşit Efendi kismi Usul-i hadis ve hadis ilmine ait arapça elyazma eserler katalogu*, Istanbul 1964). The town also has an İl Halk Kütüphanesi and a small museum, filled mostly with pre-Islamic artifacts.

The ancient site of the town (Eski S̲h̲ehir) is located on the southern edge of the city, near the Baṭṭāl G̲h̲āzī tomb, where the plain meets the lowest foothills of the Erd̲j̲iyas. Ḳayṣariyya is rich in architectural monuments, which have been well listed by H. Edhem and A. Gabriel. The inner castle and a large section of the former wall have been preserved, as well as several *madrasas*, mosques, tombs, and *k̲h̲āns* dating from as early as the Sald̲j̲ūḳ period. Most notable of these are the Ulu Cami, Çifte madrasa, Huand Hatun mosque-*madrasa*-baths complex, Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Kilič mosque, Döner Kumbet, Ḳurs̲h̲unlu mosque (built from a plan of Sinān), and the Vizier *k̲h̲ān*. A vigorous programme of preservation and restoration is under way.

A reputed tomb of Baṭṭāl G̲h̲āzī, located beneath the courtyard of the recently rebuilt Baṭṭāl G̲h̲āzī mosque, is visited by local pilgrims. The tomb of D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Rūmī's teacher, Sayyid Burhān al-Dīn, is also noteworthy. For other Muslim, Christian and mixed places of pilgrimage, see Ewliyā, iii, 186-9, and Carnoy-Nicolaides, *passim*. Seven *madrasas* were reported in Ḳayṣariyya in Sald̲j̲ūḳ times, as many as in Ḳonya and more than twice as many as in any other Anatolian town (see A. Kuran, *Anadolu medreseleri*, i). In Sulaymān's time, the city had 3 Friday mosques, 20 *masd̲j̲ids*, 10 *madrasas*, 17 *zāwiyas*, 3 baths, and 107 shops.

The living pattern of winter in the town and summer in vineyards on the foothills of Erd̲j̲iyas plays a significant rôle even today in the economic and social life of Ḳayṣariyya. It has frequently been a theme in local poetry (see A. Satoğlu, *Kayseri Şairleri*, and also *Erciyes halkevi dergisi*). The climate was considered healthy (Ewliyā, iii, 182; Hamilton, ii, 268; Mordtmann, 141; and Kinneir, 104). Several 19th-century travellers called Ḳayṣariyya filthy, and a town containing slaughtering, meat processing, leather and tanning industries could hardly have been otherwise. Some travellers called the stone houses of the town tasteful, and Moltke and von Schweinitz considered it beautiful. The beauties of Erd̲j̲iyas, with its luxurious gardens and clear streams, were obvious to those who saw them.

The people of Ḳayṣariyya have been noted for their religious orthodoxy and for their business acumen. Hasluck maintained that the town had a "black Sunnī" tradition (513, 23n.). Carnoy-Nicolaides related a legend that no Jew could live in Ḳayṣariyya, a reference to the supposed commercial acumen of its inhabitants (226-6). Ewliyā Čelebi explained that the local people were hardworking because of the cold climate (iii, 182). Simeon of Poland was aware that they were considered "dyers of asses" (160; Carnoy, 247 f.). It is widely believed in Turkey today that the people of Ḳayṣariyya have a special propensity for business and are hardworking and diligent.

Bibliography: G. Bartsch, *Das Gebiet des Erciyes Dagi und die Stadt Kayseri im Mittel-Anatolien*, in *Jahrbuch der Geographischen Gesellschaft zu Hannover für 1934 und 1935* (1935), 87-202; H. Edhem, *Kayseriye şehri*, Istanbul 1334; A. Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie*, i, *Kayseri-Nigde*, Paris 1931; E. Carnoy and J. Nicolaides, *Traditions populaires de l'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1967; P. Stirling, *Turkish village*, London 1965; R. Janin, *Césarée*, ii, in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclesiastiques*, xii, 199-203; *Kayseri il yɪllɪğɪ*, 1968, Ankara; K. Özdoğan, *Kayseri tarihi*, Kayseri 1948; Köy İşleri Bakanlığı, *Köy*

envanter etüdlerine göre Kayseri, 1965; Maden Tetkik ve Arama Enstitüsü, *Türkiye jeoloji haritası (Kayseri)*, Ankara 1963; B. Darkot. in *İA*; M. Streck, in *EI*[1]; M. T. Gökbilgin, *XVI. Asır başlarında Kayseri şehri ve livası*, in *Zeki Velidi Togan'a armağan*, Istanbul 1950-5, 93-108; N. Beldiceanu—I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches sur la province de Qaraman au XVI*e *Siècle*, Leiden 1968; O. Barkan, *Kanunnameler*; Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, ed. and tr. J.-B. Chabot, 3 vols., Brussels, reprint 1963; Gregory Abu'l Faraj (Bar Hebraeus), *Chronography*, ed. and tr. Wallis Budge, 2 vols., London 1932; Teoman Ergene, *İstiklal harbinde türk ortodoksları*, Istanbul 1951; N. Kaymaz, *Pervâne Mu'inü'd-din Süleyman*, Ankara 1970; Yaşar Yücel, *Kadi Burhaneddin Ahmed ve devletleri (1344-1398)*, Ankara 1970; I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu beylikleri . . .*, Ankara 1969; Polonyali Simeon, *Seyahatnamesi 1608-1609*, tr. H. Andreasyan, Istanbul 1964; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥatnāmesi*; Paul Lucas, *Voyage*, 2 vols., Paris 1712; J. M. Kinneir, *Journey through Asia Minor, Armenia, and Koordistan in the years 1813 and 1814*, London 1818; C. Texier, *Asie Mineure*, Paris 1862; W. J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia*, 2 vols., London 1842; W. Ainsworth, *Journey to Angora by Kaisariyah, Malatiyah, and Gergen Kalehsi, to Bir or Birehjik*, in *J. of the Royal Geographical Society*, (1841), 275-340; H. von Moltke, *Briefe über Zustände und Begebenheiten in der Turkei aus den Jahren 1835 bis 1839*, in *Gesammelte Schriften*, viii, Berlin 1893; A. D. Mordtmann, *Anatolien Skizzen und Reisebriefe aus Kleinasien*, ed. F. Babinger, Hanover 1925; H. Barkley, *A Ride through Asia Minor and Armenia*, London 1891; H. Barth, *Reise von Trapezunt durch die nordliche halfte Klein-Asiens nach Scutari im Herbst 1858*, in A. Petermann, *Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt über Wichtige Neue Erforschungen*, Gotha 1860; W. M. Ramsay, *Impressions of Turkey during twelve years' wanderings*, New York 1897; H. von Schweinitz, *In Kleinasien, ein Reitausflug durch das Innere Kleinasiens im Jahre 1905*, Berlin 1906; A. F. Townshend, *A Military Consul in Turkey (1903-1906)*, London 1910; Arshak Alboyajian (Alpoyachian), *History of Armenian-Caesarea*, 2 vols., Cairo 1937 (in Armenian); Everekli (or Kayserili) Anastasios Levidis, *Kappadokia*. 5 vols., Athens 1885 (in Greek); Endürlüklü Pavlos Karolidis, *Kappadokia* (in Greek); Johannes Joannides, *Kaysariyya*, 1296/1897 (Turkish with Greek characters); Ahmet Nazif, *Mirat ul-Kaysariye* (unpublished ms.); *Erciyes Halkevi Dergisi* (local journal); A. Satoğlu, *Kayseri şairleri*, Ankara 1970; M. Baydur, *Kültepe (Kaneş) ve Kayseri tarihi üzerine araştırmalar*, Istanbul 1970; H. Koçer, *Kayseri ülemasi*, Istanbul 1972; Ali Rıza Önder, *Kayseri basın tarihi*, Ankara 1972; R. Jennings, *Loans and credit in early 17th century Ottoman judicial records—the Sharia court of Anatolian Kayseri*, in *JESHO*, xvi (1973), 168-216; idem, *Urban population in Anatolia in the 16th century*, in *IJMES*, vi (1975).

(R. JENNINGS)

KAYSERI [see ḲAYṢARIYYA].

ḲAYTAḲ (self designation, Kaydaḳlan, pl. Kaydaḳ: Russ. Khaydaki, Kaytagi, Kaytaki, Karakaytaki; other forms, Khaytaḳ, Ḳaytakh, ḲaraḲaytakh), a small Dāghistān [*q.v.*] group, which forms with Ḳubači [*q.v.*] and Dargin [*q.v.*] the Dargin division of the Dargino-Lak group of the Ibero-Caucasian languages.

According to the census of 1926, ethnically there were 14,430 Ḳaytaḳs, and 14,469 claiming Ḳaytaḳ as their mother tongue: in 1930 (estimation by Grande) there were 14,470 Ḳaytaḳs. The Ḳaytaḳs inhabit ten *aul*s in the Kaytak district, and the southern (mountainous) part of the Dakhadaev district, in the valley of the Ulu-Chai, in the Dāghistān A.S.S.R. Ḳaytaḳ territory lies between the Dargin and Tabasaran areas.

The first mention of the Ḳaytaḳ was in the 4th/10th century, by Arab authors. According to Muḥammad-Rafi, the Ḳaytaḳs paid tribute to the *shamkhal* of Ḳaziḳumukh in the Laḳ [*q.v.*] country. At the end of the 8th/14th century the Mongols penetrated Ḳaytaḳ territory and there is evidence that there was a strong Mongol influence on the Ḳaytaḳs. A large proportion of the Ḳaytaḳ population was destroyed by Tīmūr.

With the fall of the Golden Horde, the feudal principality of the *utsmiyat* of Ḳaytaḳ arose as a major power in northern Dāghistān (dubious etymology of the word *utsmi* from *isim*, "the renowned"). Its territory was larger than the area inhabited today by the Ḳaytaḳs and its population was composed of many tribes besides the Ḳaytaḳs—Laḳs, Dargins and Southern Ḳumyḳs. As legend has it, the *utsmi* descended from the Arab governors of Ḳala' Ḳuraysh, who had islamicised the area in the 2nd/8th century, and Ḳaytaḳ was one of the first regions of central Dāghistān to be islamicised. The Ḳaytaḳ are Sunnīs of the Shāfiʿī School. In the 10th/16th century the *utsmi* was one of the strongest rulers in Dāghistān, and in the 12th/18th century was economically and politically very significant, carrying on complex foreign policies, supporting at different times Turkey and Persia.

In 1802 a Russian protectorate was imposed on the *utsmi* ʿĀdil Khān. Direct Russian administration came to the lower Ḳaytaḳ in the pre-Caspian area in 1820, and to the Ḳara-Ḳaytaḳ in the mountain area in 1862. In 1844 the *utsmiyat* was suppressed.

The social structure of Ḳaytaḳ *utsmiyat* was similar to the structure of the Avar [*q.v.*] society: a rather complicated feudal hierarchy—*begs*, *čanka*, *uzden* (free peasants), and non-free classes: *čagar* (peasants submitted to servitude), *rayat*s (serfs), and *ḳul*, which coexisted beside the system of the "free societies" based on the joint family (*tukhum*). There existed an endogamic marriage system.

The *ʿādāt* of Ḳaytaḳ were collected in written form in the 17th century by the *utsmi* Rustam Khān. The Arabic text was translated into Russian in 1868 (*Sbornik Svedenii o Kavkazskikh Gortsakh*, Tiflis 1868).

Due to the lack of good agricultural land, agriculture played a minor role in the traditional economy. Sheep and goat raising, with some horses and cattle, was the predominant economic activity. Handicrafts were well developed, especially the weaving of wool and silk. Ḳaytaḳ women from Barshamai and Čabakhni were renowned for their embroideries. The present economy still stresses sheep raising (with a transhumance system) in the mountainous areas, and the raising of cattle and horses in the lower mountains and foothills.

Ḳaytaḳ is a vernacular language, consisting of two dialects: Mağalis-Ḳaytaḳ (in the north) and Ḳara-Ḳaytaḳ (in the south). Dargin is used as the first literary language and second (sometimes first) spoken language. Russian is the second written language. The Ḳaytaḳ are being culturally and linguistically assimilated by the Dargin.

Bibliography: A. Bennigsen and H. Carrère d'Encausse, *Une République Sovietique Musulmane: le Daghestan, Aperçu Démographique*, in *REI*, xxiii (1955) 7-56; Geiger, Halasi-Kun, Kuipers, Menges, *Peoples and Languages of the Caucasus*, 's-Gravenhage 1959; B. Grande, *Spisok Narodnostey S.S.S.R.*, in *Revolutsiya i Natsional'nosti*, iv (1936), 74-85; E. N. Kusheva, *Narodî Severnogo Kavkaza i i̲k̲h̲ Sviazi s Rossiei, Vtoraya polovina XVI—30 Godi XVII Veka*, Moscow 1963; *Narodî Dagestana*, Moscow 1955; *Narodî Mira*, Moscow 1962, i (Narodî Kavkaza); A. S. Omarov and R. G. Mars̲h̲aev, *Postanovleniya Rustem K̲h̲ana Kak Istočnik po Istorii Kaytaga XVII v.*, in *Učenye Zapiski Instituta Yazka i Literaturo Dag. filiala A.N. SSSR*, vii, Mak̲h̲ač-Kala 1960; S. A. Tokarev, *Etnografiya Narodov S.S.S.R.*, Moscow 1958. (R. Wixman)

AL-**KAYYĀL** (also ibn al-kayyāl), aḥmad b. zakariyyā', S̲h̲ī'ī gnostic from Daskarat Bayt al-Nār near Bayhaḳ active around the turn of the 3rd/9th century. According to al-S̲h̲ahrastānī, he was originally a *dā'ī* of some Ismā'īlī *imāms*. Having been disowned by the *imām* for his heretical views, he first claimed the imāmate for himself and then asserted that he was the *ḳā'im* [*q.v.*]. He gained some adherents and left writings in Arabic and Persian which were still extant in the time of al-S̲h̲ahrastānī (d. 548/1153). Abū 'l-Ma'ālī states that al-Kayyāl "appeared" in the year 295/907-8, perhaps referring to his arrival in Transoxania. He claimed that he was entrusted with abrogating the law of Islam and proclaiming a new law. He composed a scripture in Persian which he called his Ḳur'ān and invented a secret alphabet which only he could read. At the Sāmānid court in Buk̲h̲ārā he gained the favour of the vizier Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-D̲j̲ayhānī [*q.v.*]. If the name is correctly given, al-Kayyāl was still alive after 326/938 when this al-D̲j̲ayhānī became vizier. There may be, however, a confusion with the latter's father, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-D̲j̲ayhānī, who was vizier from 302/914-5 to 310/922-3. Al-D̲j̲ayhānī at first encouraged him to propagate his doctrine in Kis̲h̲s̲h̲. When he failed to win adherents there, the vizier directed him to the countryside of Marw, where he gained a numerous following. He died after appointing a butcher as his successor. When al-D̲j̲ayhānī died (Muḥammad b. Muḥammad died in 330/941-2), the movement disintegrated. Ibn Funduḳ al-Bayhaḳī (d. 565/1169-70) states, however, that in Samarḳand neophytes (*murîdān*) and adherents of the school of al-Kayyāl were in evidence in his day and his books were available there.

Al-Kayyāl's gnostic doctrine as described by al-S̲h̲ahrastānī elaborated correspondences between a higher, spiritual world, a lower, corporeal world, and the human body and relied on *ḥurūf* [*q.v.*] and allegorical interpretation of the Ḳur'ān. It shows distinct affinities with Ismā'īlī gnosis, though no traces of the Neoplatonic cosmology introduced in Ismā'īlism about the beginning of the 4th/10th century [cf. ismā'īliyya, Doctrine]. Indian as well as Manichaean influences on his thought have been suggested. His doctrine on the imāmate was refuted by the philosopher Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā' al-Rāzī (d. 313/925 or 320/932-3).

The assumption by some modern scholars that he may be identical with Aḥmad, the son of the alleged founder of Ismā'īlism 'Abd Allāh b. Maymūn al-Ḳaddāḥ [*q.v.*], is no longer tenable. The account of the late Ismā'īlī author Idrīs b. al-Ḥasan (d. 872/1468), according to whom al-Kayyāl was a *dā'ī* of the Ismā'īlī *imām* 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, is fictitious and based solely on the statements of al-S̲h̲ahrastānī.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 301; *Rasā'il Ik̲h̲wān al-Ṣafā'*, Bombay 1306, iii, 20; Abū 'l-Ma'ālī, *Bayān al-adyān*, ed. Hās̲h̲im Raḍī, Tehran 1964, 67-9; S̲h̲ahrastānī, i, 138-41; Bayhaḳī, *Ta'rīk̲h̲-i Bayhaḳ*, ed. Aḥmad Bahmanyār, Tehran 1317, 253; Murtaḍā b. Dā'ī Rāzī, *Tabṣirat al-'awāmm*, ed. 'Abbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1313, 7; Idrīs 'Imād al-Dīn, *'Uyūn al-ak̲h̲bār*, iv, ed. Muṣṭafā G̲h̲ālib, Beirut 1973, 357-8; M. J. de Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahraïn*[2], Leiden 1886, 20; L. Massignon, *Esquisse d'une bibliographie Qarmate*, in *A Volume of Oriental Studies presented to Edward G. Browne*, ed. T. W. Arnold and R. A. Nicholson, Cambridge 1922, 331; H. H. Schaeder, *Die islamische Lehre vom vollkommenen Menschen*, in *ZDMG*, lxxix (1925), 234; W. Ivanow, *Ismailis and Qarmatians*, in *JBBRAS*, xvi (1940), 64-5, 81, 83-4; W. Madelung, *Fatimiden und Baḥrainqarmaṭen*, in *Isl.*, xxxiv (1959), 44-5; Mahdī Muḥaḳḳiḳ, *Faylasūf-i Rayy Muhammad b. Zakariyyā-yi Rāzī*, Tehran 1352, 42-3. (W. Madelung)

ḲAYYIM (a.), originally: "he who stands upright", then (with *bi*, *'alā*, *li* or the genitive alone), he who takes something upon himself, takes care of something or someone and hence also has authority over them. Thus we find the pre-Islamic poet al-Ḳuṭāmī (*Dīwān*, ed. Barth, Leiden 1902, no. 26) already speaking of a "*ḳayyim* of water", *i.e.* apparently the man in charge of it, the supervisor, and the poet Bā'it̲h̲ b. Ṣuraym (*Ḥamāsa* of Abū Tammām, ed. Freytag, 269, verse 2) speaks of the *ḳayyim* of a woman, *i.e.* he who provides for her, her husband. The first mentioned meaning, (supervisor etc.), is then found in all possible applications, administrator of a pious foundation, of baths, superintendent of a temple, caretaker of a saint's grave, etc.; indeed, in al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Da'awāt*, *bāb* 10 (ed. Krehl-Juynboll, iv, 189), in Muḥammad's night prayer, the expression is even applied to God as the director of heaven and earth, and this application seems also to be present in 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'a, ed. P. Schwarz, no. 91, where the poet swears by the "religion of the Ḳayyim". Here, of course, it is most probably a question of an inversion (perhaps caused by the metre) of the Ḳur'ānic expression *al-dīn al-ḳayyim* (see below) on the model of *Bayt al-Muḳaddas*, etc. (cf. Wright, *Grammar*[3] ii, §§ 95-6, and al-Ḳasṭallānī, comm. on Buk̲h̲ārī, *Ṣawm*, *bāb* 67, end).

The meaning "provider, husband" of a woman is frequently found in the eschatological traditions, in which it is said that with the approach of the last day the number of women will increase in proportion to men, so much that there will only be one *ḳayyim* for every 50 women.

The adjectival meaning "commanding" (a branch of knowledge) perhaps arises out of the same sphere of conceptions as "provider", "master"; it is found in a biographical notice of a scholar in Yāḳūt, *Mu'd̲j̲am*, ii, 225. On the other hand, *ḳayyim*, also an adjective meaning "correct, right", repeatedly found in the Ḳur'ān in the expression *al-dīn al-ḳayyim* and similar combinations, may have to be semasiologically separated from the former meaning.

Bibliography: *Ḳayyim* = administrator: al-Buk̲h̲ārī, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Waṣāyā*, *bāb* 32 (ed. Krehl-Juynboll ii, 196), and al-Ḳasṭallānī, s.v.; Yāḳūt, iii, 856; al-Maḳḳarī, ii, 547; al-Ṭabarī, i, 814;

al-Ḳazwīnī, *Āthār al-Bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 125. *Ḳayyim* = husband: al-Bukhārī, *op. cit.*, *Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 110 (ed. Kr.-J. iii, 453), and *passim*; ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa, *op. cit.*, no. 269; *Ḳayyim* = correct, orthodox: Sūra IX, 36, and *passim*; XCVIII, 4 and thereon, al-Ḳasṭallānī's note on the quotation of this passage from the Ḳurʾān in al-Bukhārī, *op. cit.*, *Īmān*, *bāb* 34 (Kr.-J., 19).

(A. Schaade*)

ḲAYYŪM NĀṢIRĪ (1825-1902), born in the village of Yukarī Shīrdanī in the canton of Sviazsk in the government of Ḳāzān, was one of the first and greatest modernist reformers amongst the Tatars of the Volga. After studying at the *madrasa* of Ḳāzān, where he learnt Arabic, Persian and Russian, Nāṣirī founded at Ḳāzān his own school where, for the first time, such secular subjects as history, arithmetic, geography and Russian language were taught—these being at this time novelties and innovations which bordered on heresy.

Ḳayyūm Nāṣirī wrote over 50 works in Tatar, Turkish, Arabic and Persian; as the possessor of an encyclopaedic mind, he combined the skills of the philologist, folklorist, historian, geographer and ethnologist. His supreme merit was to have created a Tatar literary language, based on the dialect spoken in Ḳāzān, which replaced the Čaghatay or Eastern Turkish previously used by Tatar writers and which now permitted the extraordinary flowering of Tatar literature towards the end of the 19th century.

His most famous works are the *Fevākih ul-djulesā* (Ḳāzān 1884), the *Enmūzedj* (Ḳāzān 1895, on the syntax of the Tatar language), the *Lehče-i tātārī* (Ḳāzān 1895-6, 2 vols.) and above all, his famous *Ḳāzān kālīndārī*, an annual publication which appeared from 1870 to 1897 and which represents the best source of information on the origins of *djadīd* reformism amongst the Muslims of the Russian empire.

In Russian language, his two basic works are *Obraztsī narodnoy literaturi Kazanskikh Tatar* ("Examples of the popular literature of the Tatars of Ḳāzān"), in collaboration with N. F. Katanov, in *Izvestiya Obshčestva Arkheologii, Istorii i Etnografii*, xiii/5 (Ḳāzān 1896), 374-427, and *Pover'ya i Obryadī Kazanskikh Tatar obrazovavshiesya pomimo Vliyaniya na nikh sunitskogo Magometanstva* ("The beliefs and rites of the Tatars of Ḳāzān formed outside the influence of Sunnī Islam"), in *Zapiski Imperatorskogo Russkogo Geografičeskogo Obshčestva*, vi (Moscow 1880), 243-70.

Bibliography: There have been numerous books and articles dealing with Ḳayyūm Nāṣir in Ḳāzān Tatar, Turkish, Russian and French. In Russian, the most important is *Kayyum Nasiri (1825-1945). Materialy naučnoy sessii posvyashčennoy 120 letiyu so dnya roždeniya* ("Materials of the scientific session devoted to the 120th anniversary of his birth"), Acad. of Sciences, Ḳāzān Division, Ḳāzān 1948, pp. 136 (also published in Tatar). In Turkish, there is the important study of Saadet Çagatay, *Abd-ül-Kayyum Nasiri*, in *AÜDTCFD*, x/3-4 (Ankara 1952), 147-60. Finally, in French there is Ch. Lemercier-Quelquejay, *Un reformateur Tatar du XIX siècle, ʿAbdul Qayyum al-Nasyri*, in *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Sovietique*, iv/1-2 (Paris 19), 117-42 (with a complete bibliography). (Ch. Lemercier-Quelquejay)

KĀZ [see ḳabḳ].

KAZA [see ḳaḍāʾ].

ḲAZAḲ. The word *ḳazaḳ* in the Turkic language can be first documented in the 8th/14th century in the meaning "independent; vagabond". These and similar meanings, such as "free and independent man, vagabond, adventurer, etc." are known in the modern Turkic languages too. During the turmoils under the Tīmūrids, the word signified the pretenders in contrast to the actual rulers, and also their supporters, who led the life of an adventurer or a robber at the head of their men. At the same time, the word began also to be applied to nomad groups which separated from their prince and kinsmen and so came into conflict with the state; later it had also the meaning "nomad", in contrast to the sedentary *Sart* population in Central Asia. The status of *ḳazaḳ* is also regarded as a very old social institution of the nomad Turkic peoples. The word became the name of a political unit and later an ethnic designation by having been applied in the former meanings to those groups of the Özbek tribal confederacy that had abandoned the Khān Abu'l-Khayr and migrated to the north-east steppes of Turkistān. These ethnic groups formed the core of the population of the present *Ḳazaḳistān* (Kazakhstan), retaining later this name. However, it is probable that other Turkic, and probably Mongol, elements were also involved in the ethnogenesis of the modern Ḳazaḳ people. The struggles with the Kalmuks in the 11th/17th century forced the three Ḳazaḳ hordes to make an approach to Russia and to accept the Russian supremacy. Until the beginning of the 20th century, this took the form of a very loose and nominal connection. According to the former Russian tradition, *i.e.* to distinguish the Turkic Ḳazaḳs from the Slavic Kazaks or Kozaks (*Cossacks*), the Ḳazaḳs in Central Asia were also called Ḳazaḳ-Ḳīrghīz in learned and correct parlance. The word *kazak*—borrowed from the Turkic languages—appears in the Russian linguistic records first at the end of the 14th century with a wide range of meanings. The military meaning came later into predominance by applying the word to those military groups which played an eminent role in medieval Russian history. The form *kozak* (Cossack) used in western European languages goes back to the Ukrainian and Polish pronunciations. No certain etymology of the word *ḳazaḳ* has yet been given. The generally known inner-Turkic etymology, from *ḳaz-* "to flee, to escape" + suffix (nom. act.) *aḳ*, is not well documented in the linguistic sources and does not find universal acceptance. The recent etymology of the Turkic ethnic name *ḳaz* (< *az*) + the Iranian ethnic name *sak*, *i.e.*, *saka*, is a vague hypothesis which can hardly be confirmed by historical facts.

Bibliography: The relevant linguistic and historic data (with a critical survey of the various etymological approaches) are brought together by G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, iii, Wiesbaden 1967, 462 ff. An analysis of these facts from a historico-ethnological aspect is given by L. Krader, *Ethnonymy of Kazakh*, in *American Studies in Altaic Linguistics*, Bloomington-The Hague 1962, 123 ff. A. von Gabain analyses the social status of *ḳazaḳ* elements in the history of the Turkic peoples in her article *Kasakentum, eine soziologisch-philologische Studie*, in *Acta Orient, Hung.* xi, 161 ff. The Russian linguistic and historic relations are described by G. Stökl, *Die Entstehung des Kosakentums*, Munich 1953, and G. F. Blagova, *Istoričeskie vzaimootnosheniya slov* kazak *i* kazah (*The mutual historic relations of the words* kazak *and* kazah), in *Etnonimī*, Moscow 1970, 143 ff.

(with a lengthy bibliography on the linguistic and historical background of the ethnonymy).

(W. Barthold-[G. Hazai])

ḲĀZĀN, ḳazān, a town on the middle Volga, now the capital of the Autonomous Republic of Tatarstan in the USSR, and in the 15th and 16th centuries capital of the Khānate of the same name.

According to legendary accounts, the town was founded by Batu Khān in a Turkish and Muslim region which had been part of the ancient kingdom of Bulghār [*q.v.*] before the Mongol invasions.

The Khānate of Ḳāzān was founded in the first half of the 15th century by a Čingizid descendant, Ulu Muḥammad, son of Djalāl al-Dīn and grandson of Toḳtamïsh, at the time when the Golden Horde was breaking up. From the start, the Khānate took an active part in the internecine wars of the Russian principalities. In 1438 Muḥammad besieged Moscow and destroyed Kolomna. In 1445, his son Maḥmūdek defeated and took captive the Grand Prince of Moscow Vasili II, whom he released shortly afterwards. In the same year, Maḥmūdek seized the town of Ḳāzān, where a prince called ʿAlī Beg was ruling. In the following year, Ulu Muḥammad was put to death by Maḥmūdek, and at the same time, two of his sons, Ḳāsim and Yaʿḳūb b. Ulu Muḥammad, took refuge in Russia. Ḳāsim received from the Grand Prince of Moscow as an apanage the town of Gorodok, which in his honour assumed the name of Ḳāsimov and became the capital of a vassal Khānate of Moscow [see ḳāsimov] whose rulers were the aides of Russian policy. Maḥmūdek reigned till 1462; his successors were then his sons Khalīl (1462-7) and Ibrāhīm (1467-79). The latter waged war against Muscovy, at first with success, and in 1468 succeeded in temporarily capturing Viatka, but in 1469 the Russians went over to the offensive and came to besiege Ḳāzān. They compelled Ibrāhīm to set free all the Russian prisoners in Ḳāzān, without however managing to place their protégé Ḳāsim on the throne there. After his death in 1479, Ibrāhīm was succeeded by his son ʿAlī (according to certain sources, Ilhām). In 1487, the brother of this last, Muḥammad Amīn, sought refuge in Russia and then appeared before Ḳāzān at the head of a Russian army. After a three-weeks' siege, the town surrendered; ʿAlī was exiled to Vologda and Muḥammad Amīn installed as Khān. In 1495 he was expelled from the town by an incursion of Tatars from the Khānate of Sibir, led by their Khān Mamūḳ b. Ibāḳ, who ruled in Ḳāzān for a year, until in 1496, defeated by the Russians and at the wish of the local populace, he made over the throne to ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, younger brother of Muḥammad Amīn. In 1502 ʿAbd al-Laṭīf was summoned to Russia and the throne given back to Muḥammad Amīn. The latter was at first faithful to the Russian alliance, but soon rebelled against the tutelage of the Grand Prince of Moscow, and put to death and confiscated the goods of the Russian merchants who had come to the annual fair at Ḳāzān. He carried on the war against Muscovy with success, and in 1506 the Khān even defeated a Russian army near Nižniy Novgorod. A peace agreement made in 1507 established a state of equilibrium between the two rival principalities.

Muḥammad Amīn died in 1518, and with him the line founded by Ulu Muḥammad became extinct, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf having died in the previous year.

The Khānate now entered upon a period of anarchy marked by unceasing warfare between the partisans of an orientation towards Russia and those of a "nationalist" policy backed by the Crimean Khānate and the Noghay Horde. For more than thirty years, various Russian-supported candidates succeeded to the throne—the Khāns of Ḳāsimov Shāh ʿAlī and his brother Djān ʿAlī (sons of Awliyār Khān of Astrakhan)—and the Girāy princes Ṣāḥib and Ṣafāʾ, supported by their cousins of the Crimea.

The Russians were the first to take advantage of the unsettled conditions in Ḳāzān. In 1519 the Grand Prince Vasili III placed on the throne Shāh ʿAlī (first reign, 1519-21). The latter was expelled in 1521 by the Tatar nobles who asked the Crimean Khān Muḥammad Girāy to appoint his brother Ṣāḥib (half-brother through his mother of the last Khān Muḥammad Amīn) over Ḳāzān. In this same year, the two Tatar princes led a grand expedition against Muscovy and advanced right to the walls of the Russian capital. The regions of Moscow, Nižniy Novgorod and Riazan were totally laid waste, and hundreds of thousands of prisoners were taken and sold at Kefe in the Crimea, but the Tatars, victorious in open warfare, failed in their attacks against Moscow and Riazan, and their great expedition ended in a half-success.

In 1524, on the death of his brother Muḥammad, Ṣāḥib Girāy returned to the Crimea as Khān there, leaving in Ḳāzān his thirteen-year old nephew Ṣafāʾ Girāy. From now onwards, the Russian pressure became more acute, not in the shape or reprisal raids, but in that of a slow and systematic advance. In order to ruin his rivals, the Grand Prince of Moscow forbade Russian merchants to trade in the Tatar capital and founded an annual fair at the monastery of St. Makarii which soon became the successive rival of that at Ḳāzān. Also, with the beginning of the construction of the fortress of Vasilsursk at the confluence of the Volga and Sura in 1523, there began the occupation of the Middle Volga region by the Russians.

Ṣafāʾ Girāy was chased out in 1530 by the pro-Russian party and replaced by Djān ʿAlī, but the latter perished in 1535 in a rising stirred up by the partisans of the Girāys. Ṣafāʾ Girāy was recalled and maintained himself in Ḳāzān till 1546, defying Russian efforts to re-assert their suzerainty, until in that year he was once more driven out and briefly replaced by Shāh ʿAlī. As soon as the Russian forces accompanying Shāh ʿAlī withdrew, Ṣafāʾ Girāy returned to Ḳāzān and retained the throne till his death in 1549. His successor was his twelve-year old son Ötemish, who in 1551 was deported to Russia, where he was baptised under the name of Alexander and lived till 1566. Shāh ʿAlī was reinstalled in Ḳāzān for the third time. In 1552 he was overthrown by a popular revolt, and the Tatars summoned to the throne Yādigār Muḥammad, of the line of Khāns of Astrakhan. But shortly afterwards, the Russian armies of Tsar Ivan IV appeared before Ḳāzān and took it by assault on 2 October 1552. The Khānate was then annexed to Muscovy.

The conquest was followed by the systematic occupation of the whole country by the Russians. The Tatars were expelled from Ḳāzān. The best lands in the river valleys and round the towns were confiscated and distributed to the Russian nobles and the monasteries. Colonies of Russian peasants were settled in the most fertile areas, and, in order to prevent popular risings and incursions of the Crimean Tatars, the land was covered by a network of Russian fortresses. Because of this, from the 17th century onwards, the population of the ancient Khānate became very mixed, the Tatars forming only 40% of the people there.

Christian evangelism was actively pursued. After 1555, Ḳāzān was the seat of an archbishopric and then a metropolitan see. Already by the end of the 16th century there was an important group of indigenous converts, Tatars, but above all, Finnic peoples, the Kryas͟hens (in Tatar, Kryas͟h), who although Christian conserved their usage of the Tatar language.

The Russian conquest led to a profound upheaval in Tatar society. The ancient nobility was stripped of its lands, and in order to survive, had to transform itself to a merchant oligarchy, which in turn gave rise in the 17th century to a mercantile bourgeoisie. From the time of Catherine II onwards, this class became the guiding one amongst the Tatar nation, and in the second half of the 19th century, out of all the Turkish and Muslim peoples of the Russian empire, it was from the Tatars of Ḳāzān that the intellectual and political leaders of the Pan-Turkish movement in Russia arose.

The modern town of Ḳāzān retains little from the time of the ancient K͟hānate. One of the towers in the citadel still today has the name of the Princess Sūyūmbigi, wife of Ṣafā' Girāy (she had previously been the wife of D͟jān ʿAlī and was later to be that of S͟hāh ʿAlī), but the manner and date by which her name was applied to this tower is unknown, and it is equally difficult to decide what is Tatar and what is Russian in the fabric of the tower.

From the 18th century, Ḳāzān no longer had any military importance, and was occupied without any difficulty (with the exception of the citadel) by Pugačev in July 1774; at that time, the town had 2,867 houses. Even at this date, it was of more importance as an administrative and cultural centre than Nižniy Novgorod. Ḳāzān's university, founded in 1804, became famous above all for its Oriental Faculty (more exactly, the oriental section of the Historico-Philological Faculty). In 1855, as a result of the opening of the Oriental Faculty of the University of St. Petersburg, teaching of oriental languages was stopped at Ḳāzān, and the library and other teaching equipment largely transferred to the capital. After 1861, the teaching of oriental languages began again at the University of Ḳāzān. According to the 1897 census, the town had 131,508 inhabitants, and in 1911, 182,477 of whom 30,781 were Tatars.

Today, Ḳāzān is the capital of the Tatarstan ASSR, with a population in 1970 for the republic of 3,131,238 of whom 1,536,431 were Tatars, 1,328,738 Russians, 153,496 Čuvas͟h, 30,963 Mordvins and 24,533 Udmurts. The urban population is largely Russian: 934,387 Russians against 593,665 Tatars.

The Tatars [*q.v.*] of Ḳāzān now represent a people of the diaspora; 75% of a total population of 5,930,670 live outside their national territory.

Bibliography: H. H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, ii, 363-429; K. Tuks, *Kratkaya istoriya goroda Kazani*, Kazan 1817, repr. there 1899; V. Velyaminov-Zernov, *Izsledovaniya o Kasimovskikh tsariakh i tzarevicakh*, in *Trudi Vost. Lta Arkh. Obshč.*, i (1863), part ix (Ger. tr. J. T. Zenker, Leipzig 1867); G. Kuntzevič, *Istoriya o Kazanskom tzarstve i Kazanskiy letopisetz*, St. Petersburg 1905, with a survey of the literature; Hādī Aṭlāsov, *Ḳāzān k͟hānlig͟hi*, Kazan 1914 (mainly from Russian sources; on p. 133, gives text of Ṣāḥib Girāy's edict; review in *Zap.*, xxiii, 421-2); P. Zarinskiy, *Očerki drevnei Kazani*, Kazan 1877; M. K͟hudiakov, *Očerki po istorii Kazanskogo k͟hanstva*, Kazan 1923. On the University, see especially N. P. Zagoskin, *Ist. Imp. Kazanskogo universiteta*, Kazan 1902, and Barthold, *Materiali dlya istorii fakul'teta vost. yazikov*, iv, St. Petersburg 1909. The most recent and the most complete study on the K͟hānate of Ḳāzān is by R. R. Arat, *İA* art. *Kazan*. (W. BARTHOLD [A. BENNIGSEN])

KĀZARŪN (Kāzirūn; lat. 29° 37′ N., long. 51° 38′ E.), town and district (*s͟hahristān*) of Fārs (7th *ustān* of Iran), bordered by the *s͟hahristāns* of Behbahān, S͟hīrāz [*q.v.*], Fīrūzabād [*q.v.*], and Būs͟hahr [*q.v.*]. Situated on the edge of the Southern Zagros (orientation N.—S.E.; alt. of 2 to 3,000 m. to the north, of the River Fahliyān; below 2,000 m. to the South), the *s͟hahristān* has, due to its altitude and the proximity of the Persian Gulf, a warm to very warm climate in summer, temperate to cold in the other seasons, the variations being largely due to altitude. The town is situated in a vast plain, at about 800 m. altitude, among chalky ridges, on the route of famous vertiginous passes (Kutal-i pīr-zan, Kutal-i duk͟htar, in the direction of S͟hīrāz, about 120 km. to the E.; and those of K͟his͟ht and Kumārid͟j, in the direction of Būs͟hahr, about 180 km. to the S.W.). With its palm and orange groves, the *bak͟hsh* of Kāzarūn is particularly verdant and fertile (cereals, rice, dried fruits, citrus fruit, tobacco, opium, sesame, cotton, flax, products of stock-farming, etc.); the water comes from *ḳanāts* [*q.v.*], cisterns and wells; its horsebreeding was renowned, as well as its green pasturage covered with narcissi in spring time. The tribes (Ḳas͟hḳā'ī, Mamasanī) wander in the region and its peripheries.

According to the legend, Kāzarūn was founded by the mythical king Ṭahmurāt͟h and results from the union of three villages, Nūrd, Darīst (Darbast), Rāhbān (Rāhs͟hān), built in the *ḳanāts* of the same names which supply the town with water (Ibn al-Balk͟hī, *Fārs-Nāma*; Ḥamd Allāh Musṭawfī, *Nuzha*). A dependency of Bis͟hāpūr [S͟hāpūr *q.v.*] at the end of the reign of S͟hāpūr I (241-72), Fīrūz (459-84) made it a town, and Kavād/Ḳubād͟h (488-531) enlarged it (Fasā'ī, *Fārs-Nāma-i Nāṣirī*, 248). The region abounds in Sāsānid remains, including the *čahār ṭāḳ* said to be from Kāzarūn discovered by M. Siroux (see Mustawfī, *Iḳlīm-i Fārs*, 111, and index; on the inscription of Sar Mas͟hhad, Ph. Gignoux in *JA* (1968), 387-418). The ruin of S͟hāpūr, towards the end of the 4th/10th century, made Kāzarūn the principal town of the ancient S͟hāpūr K͟hurra. Al-Muḳaddasī, 433, also designates it "the Damietta of Persia", famous for its linens and cotton fabrics; the Būyid Prince ʿAḍud al-Dawla [*q.v.*] had had an exchange built there for the textile merchants; the houses were sumptuous, adorned with gardens; built on a height, the mosque dominated the bazar. At the beginning of the 6th/12th century, the Sald͟jūḳid Atabeg Čāvlī, governor of Fārs, had the town rebuilt after it had been ravaged by the S͟habānkāra chief Abū Saʿd (Zarkub-i S͟hīrāzī, *S͟hīrāz-Nāma*, 29-30); but only the fortified farms in the environs were then prosperous; the brokers were fraudulent, and dishonesty had become general (Ibn al-Balk͟hī, *Fārs-Nāma*). According to Amīn Rāzī, Kāzarūn "was always a source of scholars and mine of theologians" (lists in *S͟hīrāz-Nāma*, 131 ff.; *Haft Iḳlīm*, i, 208 ff.; *Fārs-Nāma-i Nāṣirī*, 249 ff.), of whom the most eminent were S͟hayk͟h Abū Isḥāḳ Kāzarūnī [*q.v.*], founder of a *ṭarīḳa* (4th-5th/10th-11th century), his reviver Amīn al-Dīn Balyānī (7th-8th/13th-14th century) and D͟jalāl al-Dīn Dawānī (9th/15th century [*q.v.*]). The *Kāzarūnī* (or *Isḥāḳī* or, more often, *Murs͟hidī*)

ṭarīḳa—which had ramifications as far as India and China, played a great role in the Ottoman empire in the 9th/15th century and in pre-Ṣafawid Iran—was rich and influential (protection of sailors and merchants in the Indian Ocean; political and economic role). Because of its Sunnī obedience, the order was persecuted by the Ṣafawid Shāh Ismāʿīl [*q.v.*].

Despite having suffered dissensions between Zand pretenders at the end of the 12th/18th century, the town profited from the development of the port of Būshahr, which assured an outlet for its exports in the 19th century (Curzon, *Fārs-Nāma-i Nāṣirī*, 247). Ouseley estimates its population at 4-5,000 inhabitants in 1811, Curzon at 2-2,500 inhabitants (1892); reports and later censuses indicate an increase (12,000 in 1913; 25,328 in *ca.* 1950; 36,659 in 1956; 39,902 in 1966). Apart from the Sāsānid remains and a Ḳādjār bas-relief, one may see in the region and the town numerous Islamic mausoleums and tombs of descendants of Salmān-i Fārsī (*Iḳlīm-i Pārs*, 108, 110; *Fārs-Nāma-i Nāsirī*, 249). The plain is adorned with the small lake of Fāmūr, full of fish, to the east of the town, and with the orange groves of Bāgh-i Naẓar (*Fārs-Nāma-i Nāṣirī*, *Iḳlīm-i Fārs*, 110). Apart from its mausoleums, the town has no remarkable historical remains. It is divided into four quarters (*maḥalla*); Bāzār, Bālā, Gunbad, Muṣallā or Suflā. There is still an industry there for the shoes of canvas and leather (*gīva*) that MacGregor recommended for the Indian Army (Curzon). The present economic recession of the region is linked with the decline of the port of Būshahr, which has removed from Kāzarūn its role of principal stage on the route from Shīrāz and deprived it of outlets for its products.

Bibliography: (1). For the Arab geographers, see: Schwarz, *Iran*, repr. New York 1969, i, 33 and index; Le Strange, 266 ff. and index; B. de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse*, 472 ff.; (2). *Persian sources*: Zarkub-i Shīrāzī, *Shīrāz-Nāma*, ed. Ismāʿīl Djavādī, Tehran 1350/1971, 28 ff., and index; Ibn al-Balkhī, *Fārs-Nāma*, ed. Le Strange and Nicholson, 145 ff. and index; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 165 ff., trans. 125 ff.; Amīn Aḥmad, *Haft Iḳlīm*, ed. Calcutta 1939, i, 207 ff.; Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Djughrāfiyā*, man. Ch. Adle, f. 298 (repeats Ibn al-Balkhī); Ḥadjdjī Mīrzā Ḥasan Fasāʾī, *Fārs-Nāma-i Nāṣirī*, Tehran lith. 1313/1895-6, 246 ff.; (3). Travellers: W. Francklin, *Observations made on a Tour from Bengal to Persia...*, London 1790, 244 ff., 341 ff.; E. S. Waring, *A Tour to Sheeraz*, London 1807, 22; Morier, *Second Journey*, London 1818, 49; Ouseley, *Travels*, London 1819-23, i, 271-8; G. N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, London 1892, ii, 205 ff.; (4). Studies: *Rapport du Ministère de l'Intérieur sur le Fars*, Tehran 1913, 118 ff.; Masʿūd Kayhān, *Djughrāfiyā-yi mufaṣṣal-i Irān*, Tehran 1310/1932, i, 227 ff. and index; *Farhang-i Djughrāfiyāʾi-i Irān*, Tehran 1330/1951, vii, 180 ff.; M. T. Mustawfī, *Iḳlīm-i Pārs*, Tehran 1343/1964, 108 ff. and index; M. Dj. Behrūzī, *Shahr-i sabz yā... shahristān-i Kāzirūn*, Shīrāz 1346/1967; F. Meier, *Die Vita des Scheich Abū Ishāḳ al-Kāzarūnī* (edn. of *Firdaws al-murshidiyya...*), Leipzig 1948; A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia*[2], London 1969, index. (J. Calmard)

KĀZARŪNĪ, Shaykh Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm b. Shahriyār, founder of a Ṣūfī order variously known as the Murshidiyya, Isḥāḳiyya and Kāzarūniyya. He was born in Kāzarūn, near Shīrāz in Fārs, in 352/963, and died there in 426/1033. He left his birthplace only once, in 388/998, to study *ḥadīth* and to perform the *ḥadjdj*. His initiation into the Ṣūfī path was at the hands either of Ibn Khafīf of Shīrāz (d. 371/981), or of one of his disciples, Ḥusayn Akkār. Several features give a distinctive aspect to Kāzarūnī's life and work, among them his proselytisation among the unconverted population of Kāzarūn and its environs: he is reputed to have converted no fewer than 24,000 Zoroastrians and Jews to Islam, thus establishing the Muslims as the majority in the area (Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār, *Tadhkirat al-awliyāʾ*, 244-54; Maḥmūd b. ʿUthmān, *Firdaws al-murshidiyya fī asrār al-ṣamadiyya*, 416). In this endeavour, he faced and vanquished the hostility of Khūrshīd, the Zoroastrian governor of Kāzarūn. He was also concerned with extending the frontiers of Islam, and organized the annual dispatch of *ghāzī*s to fight on the Byzantine frontier, an activity that earned him the title of *Shaykh-i ghāzī*. The *khānaḳāh* that he established in Kāzarūn had an important social function, and provided regular charity for the poor and for travellers. Sixty-five similar *khānaḳāh*s were established elsewhere in Fārs by Kāzarūnī's disciples during his lifetime, and formed the nucleus for the later expansion of the order.

All the branches of the order were to show the same charitable concern for the poor that had marked Kāzarūnī's life, and the distribution of soup at one Isḥāḳī *khānaḳāh*, that at Bursa, continued sporadically into fairly recent times (Meḥmed Shems el-Dīn, *Yādigār-ı Shemsī*, 220). By the 8th/14th century, the order had spread westwards into Anatolia and eastwards as far as China. In Anatolia, the followers of Kāzarūnī were known as Isḥāḳīs: they had centres in Erzurum, Amasya, Konya (founded 821/1418: Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı, *Mevlânâ'dan sonra Mevlevilik*, Istanbul 1953, 11) and Bursa (founded 884/1479: H. Adnan Erzi, *Bursa'da İshaki dervişlerine mahsus zaviyenin vakfiyesi*, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, ii (1942), 423). It may be presumed that, drawing upon the example of their founder, they played a great part in the conquest and Islamisation of Anatolia. From Anatolia, the Isḥāḳiyya spread into Rumelia (there was a *tekke* at Edirne: see Ewliyā Čelebi, iii, 454) and south to Aleppo (W. Caskel, in *Isl.*, xix, 284 f.). The eastward expansion of the order to India and China seems to have been seaborne, and connected with the protection afforded to voyagers by Kāzarūnī's *baraka*, and, after his death, by the soil from his grave. A gift of money would be vowed to the Kāzarūn *khānaḳāh* as guarantee of safe passage, and the sum was then collected by agents in foreign ports: Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 88-92; iv, 10,3 mentions Calicut, Cambay and Kolam in India, and Zaytun (Canton). This system appears to have been formalised by ʿUmar b. Abi 'l-Faradj al-Kāzarūnī (d. 704/1304). The soil from Kāzarūnī's grave was reputed to be able to calm stormy waters when cast into the sea, as well as having the properties of a panacea and a talisman. The central *khānaḳāh* at Kāzarūn was suppressed by the Ṣafawids at the beginning of the 10th/16th century (Mīrzā Ḥasan Fasāʾī, *Fārsnāma-yi Nāṣirī*, Tehran 1314/1896, 249), and the Anatolian branch of the order appears to have faded out in the following century, although traces of it persisted much later. Mention may also be made of a derivative of Kāzarūnī's order, the Rūzbihāniyya, founded by Rūzbihān Baḳlī of Shīrāz (d. 606/1209): this was restricted to Fārs and did not last for much more than a century.

Bibliography: Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār, *Tadh-*

kirat al-awliyā', ed. Mīrzā Muḥammad Khān Ḳazwīnī, Tehran 1346 sh./1967, 244-54; Maḥmūd b. ʿUthmān, *Firdaws al-murshidiyya fī asrār al-ṣamadiyya*, ed. F. Meier, Leipzig 1948; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 64, 88-92; iii, 244-8; iv, 89, 103, 271; ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-Uns*, ed. Mahdī Tawḥīdīpūr, Tehran 1336 sh./1957, 254-5; Meḥmed Shems el-Dīn, *Yādigār-i Shemsī*, Bursa 1332/1914, 219-20; Köprülüzâde Meḥmed Fu'ād, *Abū Isḥāq Kāserūnī und die Isḥāqī-Derwische in Anatolien*, in *Isl.*, xix (1931), 18-26; H. Adnan Erzi, *Bursa'da İshaki dervişlerine mahsus zaviyenin vakfiyesi*, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, ii (1942), 423-9; A. J. Arberry, *The biography of Shaikh Abū Isḥāq al-Kāzarūnī*, in *Oriens*, iii (1950), 163-72; J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, 15, 21, 236. (H. ALGAR)

ḲĀZBÊGĪ [see SIKKA].

KAZBEK [see ḲABḲ].

ḲĀZDUGHLIYYA, the third of the great neo-Mamlūk households of Ottoman Egypt. The Ḳāzdughliyya differed from the Dhu'l-Faḳāriyya and the Ḳāsimiyya [*qq.v.*] in that it was founded and maintained in its first decades by officers of the Seven Corps of the Ottoman garrison, not by beys. Its eponym, Muṣṭafā al-Ḳāzdughlī, is described by Djabartī as being *Rūmī* by origin, *i.e.*, he was *Rūm ūshāghi*, hence free-born and not a *mamlūk* (cf. Stanford J. Shaw (ed.), *Ottoman Egypt in the eighteenth century: The* Niẓâmnâme-i Mıṣır *of Cezzâr Aḥmed Pasha*, Cambridge, Mass. 1962; 23-6 of English text, 7-8 of Turkish text). He took service as a bodyguard (*sarrādj*) to Ḥasan Balfiyya (the reading B. Ighīh occurring in the printed text of Djabartī is not sound), who was *āghā* of the ʿAzebān corps in 1085/1674-5 and of the Gönüllüyān in 1093/1682, and rose under his patronage to be *kahyā* of the Janissaries. In this position he clashed with Küčük Meḥmed, a Janissary *bāshōdābāshī* who dominated the corps between 1087/1676 and 1106/1694. Returning to Egypt after two years of exile in the Ḥidjāz, he procured the assassination of Küčük Meḥmed, and thereafter held considerable political power until his own death in 1115/1703-4. Ḥasan Balfiyya was allied to the Dhu'l-Faḳāriyya (the head of which faction, Ismāʿīl Bey al-Kabīr al-Faḳārī, had married his daughter), and this political connexion was continued by Muṣṭafā al-Ḳāzdughlī and the household that he founded.

The factional struggles of the early 12th/18th century resulted ultimately in the victory of the Dhu'l-Faḳāriyya and Ḳāzdughliyya over the Ḳāsimiyya (1142/1730). This did not mean that henceforward a united Mamlūk group controlled Egypt. Rival households continued to dispute for power. Among these, the most important was the Ḳāzdughliyya, of whom the leading *amīr* was Ibrāhīm al-Ḳāzdughlī, later briefly *kahyā* of the Janissaries. He had been emancipated in 1148/1735-6, and his first important post was that of *serdār* in the Pilgrimage of 1151/1739. On his return, his influence grew in Cairo, and he began to build up a party against ʿUthmān Bey Dhu'l-Faḳār, who had been commander of the Pilgrimage. Essentially the rivalry between the two was a struggle for the *riyāsa* (*ri'āsa*), the supreme position among the Mamlūk *amīrs*. An attempt by the leading *amīr* of the Djulfiyya household, Riḍwān, *kahyā* of the ʿAzebān Corps, to mediate was unsuccessful, and he became a supporter of Ibrāhīm. Ibrāhīm's faction attempted to assassinate ʿUthmān. He was only wounded, but the houses of his party were attacked and plundered. ʿUthmān fled to Upper Egypt, where the governor of Djirdjā was a *mamlūk* of his household. They made their headquarters at Asyūṭ, where they were joined by remnants of the Ḳāsimiyya and others. Defeated there, and in a second battle in the Sinai peninsula, ʿUthmān made his way to Istanbul, where he was well received at court (*ca.* 1157/1744-45). He never returned to Egypt, but died in Istanbul in 1190/1776.

The allied *amīrs*, Ibrāhīm *Kâhyā* al-Ḳāzdughlī and Riḍwān *Kahyā* al-Djulfī, proceeded to place their followers in key positions. For some years there were troubles with rival Mamlūk groups, but these ceased by 1161/1748. Ibrāhīm thus attained the *riyāsa*, nominally in association with Riḍwān, but the latter had no further interest in affairs of state. He occupied himself with magnificent buildings, luxurious living and the patronage of poets. Both Ibrāhīm and Riḍwān appointed three of their *mamlūks* to the beylicate—the first entry of the Ḳāzdughliyya into this order, which they were subsequently to monopolise. Ibrāhīm laid his hands on the revenues of Egypt and purchased numerous *mamlūks*, some of whom he provided with establishments and fortunes by marrying them to the widows of former *amīrs*. For about seven years he held unprecedented authority, during which time Cairo was quiet and free from revolts, while there was public security in the provinces. He died in his bed in Ṣafar 1168/Nov.-Dec. 1754. Riḍwān survived his colleague, but his power soon crumbled. The senior Ḳāzdughlī *amīr*, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān *Kahyā*, stirred up the household of Ibrāhīm against him. One of Riḍwān's own *mamlūks*, in league with the Ḳāzdughliyya, tried to assassinate him, and Riḍwān died of the wound while fleeing from his enemies. This event, about six months after the death of Ibrāhīm, marked the end of the Djulfiyya as a political force.

The Ḳāzdughliyya now controlled Cairo and appointed ʿUthmān al-Djirdjāwī, the senior bey of Ibrāhīm's household, to the *riyāsa*. About this time two others of their number were promoted to the beylicate, Ḥusayn al-Ṣābūndjī and *Bulūṭ Ḳāpān* ʿAlī (generally known as ʿAlī Bey al-Kabīr [*q.v.*]). ʿUthmān Bey soon offended his colleagues by his harsh behaviour, and in 1170/1756-57 he was removed from the *riyāsa*, which was conferred on al-Ṣābūndjī. The new *shaykh al-balad* (*i.e.*, holder of the *riyāsa*) now sought to attain plenary power with the support of Niṣf Ḥarām, the section of the populace traditionally allied with the Ḳāsimiyya. He set to work to weaken and disperse his *khushdāshiyya*, but his plan miscarried, and he was assassinated in Ṣafar 1171/Oct.-Nov. 1757. The *riyāsa* was now conferred upon another of Ibrāhīm *Kahyā*'s former *mamlūks*, ʿAlī Bey al-Ghazzāwī, sometimes called (rather confusingly) ʿAlī Bey al-Kabīr, either because of his seniority, or because the terms *kabīr al-balad* and *kabīr al-ḳawm* were used as synonyms for *shaykh al-balad*. In 1173/1760 al-Ghazzāwī went to the Ḥidjāz as commander of the Pilgrimage. Before leaving, he had set on foot a plot to dispose of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān *Kahyā*, who was still a power among the Ḳāzdughliyya. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān learnt of this and made an alliance with *Bulūṭ Ḳāpān* ʿAlī Bey. At a meeting of the grandees, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān reminded them of his position as head of the Ḳāzdughliyya household, and nominated ʿAlī Bey as *shaykh al-balad*, himself taking the lead in promising to obey him. Hearing of this, al-Ghazzāwī handed over the command of the Pilgrimage caravan, and fled to Gaza. Three months later he

returned to Cairo, where he died shortly afterwards.

ʿAlī Bey was now in control. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān *Kahyā*, who had hoped to use him as a compliant tool, was soon undeceived. He was banished to the Ḥidjāz in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1178/April 1765, and only returned to Egypt, a dying man, in 1190/1776, after the death of ʿAlī Bey. The despotic ascendancy of the *shaykh al-balad* and his dubious loyalty to the Ottoman sultan are reflected in his inscription in the mausoleum of al-Shāfiʿī, where he assumes the ambiguous but challenging style of *ʿAzīz Miṣr* [*q.v.*]. ʿAlī was ousted from Egypt (Muḥarram 1186/Apr. 1772) by his own *mamlūk*, Muḥammad Bey Abu'l-Dhahab, who succeeded to the position of *shaykh al-balad*, but who himself died during an expedition against Shaykh Ẓāhir al-ʿUmar (Rabīʿ II 1189/June 1775).

Thereafter no single Ḳāzdughlī *amīr* dominated, but three grandees competed for power: Ismāʿīl Bey, the *khushdāsh* of ʿAlī Bey, and two of Abu'l-Dhahab's *mamlūks*, Ibrāhīm Bey al-Kabīr [*q.v.*] and Murād Bey. In 1200-1/1786-87 the presence in Egypt of an Ottoman force under Djezāʾirli Ghāzī Ḥasan Pasha [*q.v.*] temporarily reinforced the position of Ismāʿīl Bey, who was appointed *shaykh al-balad*. He died of plague in 1205/1791, whereupon Ibrāhīm and Murād established an uneasy duumvirate. The disorders of the period produced a new political development—risings of the civilians of Cairo, supported and even led by members of the *ʿulamāʾ*. The French occupation of Egypt (1798-1801) struck a fatal blow at the Ḳāzdughliyya, as at the entire neo-Mamlūk regime. Murād Bey died during the occupation (4 Dhū 'l-Ḥidjdja 1215/18 April 1801), while Ibrāhīm Bey never regained power after his flight to Syria in 1798. For a few years after the evacuation of the French, two of Murād's *mamlūks*, ʿUthmān Bey al-Bardīsī and Muḥammad Bey al-Alfī (the latter a protégé of Britain), were among the contenders for power, but they died in November 1806 and January 1807 respectively, and their factious *mamlūk* households were incapable of resisting the growing strength of Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha. The handful of *mamlūks* who fled with Ibrāhīm Bey to Dongola in 1811 were the last organised remnant of the Ḳāzdughliyya.

Bibliography: Djabartī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-āthār* (Būlāḳ ed.), especially the obituaries, of which the following are chiefly important: Muṣṭafā al-Ḳāzdughlī (i, 91-2); Ibrāhīm al-Ḳāzdughlī (i, 191-92); ʿUthmān Bey Dhu'l-Faḳār (i, 178-85); Riḍwān al-Djulfī (i, 192-204); ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḳāzdughlī (ii, 5-8); Muḥammad Abu'l-Dhahab (i, 417-20); Ismāʿīl Bey (ii, 219-20); Murād Bey (iii, 167-71); ʿUthmān al-Bardīsī (iv, 42-44); Muḥammad al-Alfī (iv, 26-43). For ʿAlī Bey al-Kabīr and Ibrāhīm Bey al-Kabīr, see the articles (above, I, 391-2; III, 992). See further P. M. Holt, *The career of Küçük Muḥammad (1676-74)*, in *Studies in the history of the Near East*, London 1973, 231-51; W. Livingston, *The rise of Shaykh al-balad ʿAlī Bey al-Kabīr: a study in the accuracy of the chronicle of al-Jabartī*, in *BSOAS*, xxxiii (1970), 283-94. (P. M. HOLT)

KAZI-ASKER [see ḲĀḌĪ ʿASKAR].

ḲAZI-KUMUKH [see KÜMÜK].

AL-**KĀẒIM** [see MŪSĀ AL-KĀẒIM].

KĀẒIM ḲADRĪ, ḤUSAYN (in modern Turkish HUSEYİN KÂZIM KADRİ), 1870-1934, Turkish writer and lexicographer. His father, Ḳadrī Bey, the son of the vizier Edhem Pasha, was a civil servant and the unpopular but colourful governor of Trabzon for ten years (1892-1902) under ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II. After attending various schools, Ḥusayn Kāẓim graduated from the English School of Commerce in Izmir. He taught in schools, briefly tried journalism after the promulgation of the Constitution of 1908 and later served as a governor in the provinces, notably in Aleppo (1910) and Salonika (1911). He was elected to the Ottoman Parliament in 1912. During World War I, he retired to Beirut, where he compiled his great Turkish dictionary. He was again elected to the Ottoman Parliament in 1920 and served successively as Minister of Agriculture, of Commerce and of *Waḳf*s, and in the same year joined Aḥmed ʿIzzet Pasha's unsuccessful mission to the nationalist government in Ankara. Ḥusayn Kāẓim is the author of a great number of works of uneven value, whose topics range from language, literature, religion and politics to law, commerce and agriculture. During the ideological struggle of the post-constitutional period, he joined the "Islamists" and made remarkable contributions to the movement, *i.e.* *Istiḳbāle doghru*, Istanbul 1329, *Felāḥa doghru*, Istanbul 1331, *Yirmindji ʿaṣırda islāmiyyet*, Istanbul 1339, *10 temmūz inḳılābınıñ netāʾidji*, Istanbul 1336. He published, for the first time in Turkey, the poems of the Turkoman poet Makhdūm Ḳuli: *Makhdūm Ḳuli Dīvānı*, Istanbul 1340. An interesting contribution on the linguistic and literary problems of the Turkish-speaking peoples is his series of articles *Türk lisānlarınıñ tevḥīdi* ("The unification of the Turkish languages"; *Idjtihād*, nos. 31-35, September-November 1327 *rūmī*/1911), where he points out the growing influence of Ottoman Turkish on the Āzerī and Ḳazan written languages and suggests that an academy should work out a *lingua franca* for all the Turkish-speaking peoples based on Ottoman Turkish. Ḥusayn Kāẓım published a number of booklets and articles on improving the methods of agriculture in Turkey. Of particular importance is his series of 17 articles published in *Idjtihād* (nos. 155-174, July 1923-February 1925), where he expounded his theories of land reform and agricultural education in Turkey.

Ḥusayn Kāẓım's major contribution, however, is his comprehensive Turkish dictionary, *Büyük Türk Lughatı*, in four large volumes (vols. i and ii, Istanbul 1927 and 1928, in Arabic script, vols, iii and iv, Istanbul 1943 and 1945, in Roman script: transcribed from the compiler's manuscript by his daughter Rikkat Kunt). In the introduction the author gives a survey of the development of "classical" Turkish written languages such as Uyghur, Čaghatāy, Ottoman, Ḳazan and Āzerī, with the elements of grammar. The dictionary itself covers the vocabulary of the main Turkish written languages and "words of the Ḳoybal, Yaḳut, Čuvash and Kirghiz dialects with supporting examples" as stated in the sub-title. Completed during World War I, Ḥusayn Kāẓım's dictionary, which reflects the contemporary state of research in the field, was a landmark in turcological studies in Turkey up to the period of the 1930s, when more up-to-date research in the universities and by the Turkish Philological Society (Türk Dil Kurumu) superseded it, although the "Turkish Radloff", as it is sometimes called, can still be at times a useful work of reference.

Bibliography: given in the article. (F. İz)

KĀẒİM KARABEKIR, Turkish general and statesman, born in Istanbul in 1882, the son of Meḥmed Emīn Pasha. He was educated at military

schools in Istanbul, graduating first in his class from the *Ḥarb Akademisi* in 1905, one year after Muṣṭafā Kemāl (Atatürk). He served in several important actions in Thrace, and took part in the movement to crush the counter-revolution of Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd in 1909. Later he worked in the intelligence section of the German Advisory Group, and in World War I served as Chief of Staff to General von der Goltz on the ʿIrāḳ front. He then became commander of the 2nd Corps in the Caucasus, and fought successful battles at Erzurum and Erzincan. At the end of the war he commanded the 14th Corps in Tekirdagh. Early in 1919 he was appointed by the sultan's government to command the 5th Corps in Erzurum, but soon became instrumental in organising Turkish nationalist forces to fight the War of Independence, becoming one of the first important figures to espouse the nationalist cause. He was quickly appointed commander of the eastern front by the nationalist leadership under Muṣṭafā Kemāl, and invitations to the Erzurum Congress of the Association for the Defence of Rights of Eastern Anatolia were sent out over Karabekir's name. One of his major military successes was the defeat of the Armenians at Kars and Gömrü in late 1920. In the same year he took a seat in the first Grand National Assembly as deputy for Edirne.

He resigned from the army in October 1924, when Atatürk insisted that all officers choose either a military or a political career, and the next month became a chief founder of the Republican Progressive Party (*Teraḳḳīperver Djümhūriyyet Fïrḳasï*). The Progressives generally advocated slower and less drastic reform and secularisation than did Atatürk's Republican People's Party, and differed from Atatürk on a number of matters of political organisation, although the Progressives' programme resembled that of Atatürk in many aspects of economic, financial and foreign policy. Karabekir played an important role in it because he was considered one of the major potential rivals of Kemāl, and the Progressives were opposed to the principle of an Assembly without an organised opposition. The party was dissolved in June 1925 coincidentally with the uprising of Kurdish tribes in the eastern provinces. The Progressives' urging of moderate treatment for the rebels was one factor which led to Karabekir and several others being brought before an Independence Tribunal in 1926. He was acquitted, but retired from politics and public life till after Atatürk's death in 1938. In 1939 he came out of retirement and entered the 6th Assembly as an R.P.P. deputy for Istanbul. In 1946 he was elected President of the Assembly, an office which he held until his death in 1948.

Bibliography: In addition to several books by Karabekir on military subjects, see his *İstiklâl Harbimizin Esasları*, Istanbul 1951. Also Ibrahim Alâettin Gövsa, *Türk Meşhurları Ansiklopidesi*, Istanbul 1946; Lord Kinross, *Ataturk*, London and New York 1965, *passim*. On the Progressive Party see Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, London 1962; Kemal Karpat, *Turkey's Politics*, Princeton 1959, 46-8; Frederick W. Frey, *The Turkish Political Elite*, Cambridge, Mass. 1965, 323-35; Walter F. Weiker, *Political Tutelage and Democracy in Turkey*, Leiden 1973, chs. 2, 13. For Atatürk's version of Karabekir's role see Mustafa Kemal [Atatürk], *Nutuk*, *passim*.

(W. F. WEIKER)

KĀẒIM RASHTĪ, SAYYID, leader of the Shaykhī sect after the death of its founder, Shaykh Aḥmad Aḥsāʾī, in 1242/1826. Born in 1213/1798, Sayyid Kāẓim Rashtī evinced deep religious feelings while still a child, and claimed to behold the *imāms* in a series of visions of increasing intensity. In the course of one such vision, at the age of fifteen, he was instructed to seek out Shaykh Aḥmad Aḥsāʾī, then resident in Yazd, and to become his pupil. Having reached the presence of the *shaykh*, he soon became his most favoured disciple, and Aḥsāʾī is reputed to have said to him, "No one understands me but you". After Ahsāʾī had been declared a *kāfir* by the *ʿulamāʾ* of Ḳazwīn, he went to Kirmānshāh and then left for Arab ʿIrāḳ. Kāẓim Rashtī followed him, settling in Karbalāʾ, where he spent the rest of his life. He fell heir not only to the following of Aḥsāʾī, but also to the polemics and hostility that certain of the *shaykh*'s doctrines had aroused. Much of his activity was devoted to the defence and further elaboration of these doctrines, in particular the resurrection of the "Hurḳalyan body" (*djism-i hūrḳalyāʾī*), the denial of the corporeal ascension of the Prophet, and the description of the *imāms* as the efficient cause (*ʿillat-i ghāʾi*) of creation. Although in the course of oral debate with the *ʿulamāʾ* of Karbalāʾ, led by Sayyid Ibrāhīm Ḳazwīnī, he was obliged to admit that the apparent meaning of Aḥsāʾī's teachings was contrary to the faith, he vigorously defended Shaykhī doctrine and denounced its opponents in his many writings, *Dalīl al-mutaḥayyirīn* being the most notable. He enjoyed good relations with Nadjīb Pāshā, governor of Baghdād, and his house was spared when an Ottoman army sacked Karbalāʾ in 1259/1843. After his death later in the same year, he was succeeded as Shaykhī leader by Ḥādjdjī Muḥammad Karīm Khān Kirmānī. Another pupil of Kāẓim Rashtī, Sayyid ʿAlī Muḥammad Shīrāzī, declared himself to be the "Bāb" and had his claim accepted by many former Shaykhīs.

Bibliography: Muḥammad ʿAlī Tunukābunī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-ʿulamāʾ*, new ed., Tehran n.d., 53-6; A. L. M. Nicolas, *Essai sur le Chéikhisme*, ii, Paris 1914, *passim*; Nabil, *The Dawn-Breakers*, New York 1932, 10-12, 19-46; Aḥmad Kasravī, *Bahāʾīgarī*, Tehran n.d., 18-20; Mīrzā Muḥammad ʿAlī Mudarris, *Rayḥānat al-adab*, new ed., Tabriz 1347/1968, ii, 308-9; Henry Corbin, *L'École shaykhie en théologie shīʿite*, Tehran 1967, 25-8; idem, *En Islam iranien*, Paris 1972, iv, 232-6.

(H. ALGAR)

KĀẒIMAYN, a town and one of the most celebrated Shīʿī places of pilgrimage in ʿIrāḳ. It is a little over one km. from the right bank of the Tigris, which here describes a loop, being separated from the river by a series of gardens. Kāẓimayn itself is prettily situated among palm-groves. It is connected with the west side of Baghdād, about three miles away, by regular bus and taxi services, replacing the horse-tramway laid down by the governor Midḥat Pāshā (1869-72), who did a great deal for Baghdād. Kāẓimayn is now also a station on the Baghdād-Samarrāʾ railway, which runs along the right bank of the Tigris. It forms a *ḳaḍāʾ* belonging to the *muḥāfaẓa* of Baghdād and administered by a *ḳāʾim-maḳām*. Its population grew rapidly from 169,993 in 1947 to 235,745 in 1957; most are Shīʿīs. Unfortunately there are no official figures for the number of Persians among them. However, according to the 1957 census the number of Persians in Baghdād was 5,156, and in ʿIrāḳ as a whole 23,783. Access to the sanctuaries is strictly forbidden to non-Muslims as well as to all unveiled women.

The name Kāẓimayn, *i.e.* "the two Kāẓims", refers to the two ʿAlids buried here, the *Imām* Mūsā

b. Dja'far al-Ṣādiḳ, nicknamed al-Kāẓim (d. 186/802) and his grandson the *Imām* Muḥammad al-Djawād (d. 219/834), the seventh and ninth *Imāms* of the twelver Shī'a (Ithnā 'Ashariyya [*q.v.*]). The town is also called Kāẓimiyya in reference to the nickname of the *Imām* Mūsā b. Dja'far al-Ṣādiḳ. It is also known among the common people as al-Kāẓim, *i.e.* the city of al-Kāẓim. Finally, the name *Imām* Mūsā is also found. However, all these names have come into use only recently, for the town was originally called al-Mashhad al-Kāẓimī and Mashhad Mūsā b. Dja'far.

There is evidence of pilgrimage to these 'Alid tombs as early as the 7th/13th century (Ibn Khallikān, iv, 395). At the present day Kāẓimayn is one of the four greatest sanctuaries of the Shī'a. Its favourable position at the junction of the road to the three other Shī'i places of pilgrimage, Samarrā' in the north and Karbalā' [*q.v.*] and Nadjaf [*q.v.*] in the south, accounts for the fact that many thousands of pilgrims pass through it annually, especially during the first ten days of the month of Muḥarram (*'Ashrat Muḥarram*), which are exclusively dedicated to the memory of the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī and his family. One of the four *mudjtahids*, the principal spiritual leaders of the Shī'a, lives in Kāẓimayn.

The present city of Kāẓimayn was originally a part of the Kassite Empire during the reign of Kurigalzu; he built a new capital called after him Dūr-Kurigalzu, whose remains are still in existence at 'Akār Ḳūf, about ten km. to the west of Kāẓimayn. During the Sasanian period the name Ṭassūdj Ḳuṭrabbul is mentioned as denoting what was later called Maḳābir Ḳuraysh. Prior to the building of Baghdād by the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr (136-58/754-75) [*q.v.*], the place was called al-Shūnīzī. When Baghdād was built, al-Manṣūr detached the cemetery of al-Shūnīzī al-Ṣaghīr and made it a private cemetery for his family (though later non-Ḳurashīs were also buried there), calling it Maḳābir Ḳuraysh. This cemetery is also called Maḳābir Bāb al-Tibn, because of its proximity to that gate. His son Dja'far al-Akbar (d. 150/767) was the first to be buried there. It was only when the "two Kāẓims" were buried there that the name Maḳābir Ḳuraysh was changed in later times to al-Mashhad al-Kāẓimī and Kāẓimayn. In Yāḳūt's time (623/1226), Maḳābir Ḳuraysh was a fairly populous suburb surrounded by a wall. About a century later, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī found that this place, formerly reckoned a suburb of Baghdād, was now an independent township.

The sanctuary of Kāẓimayn is one of the exceedingly splendid and rich monuments which 'Irāḳ owes to the Shī'a, and for which Persia and the Shī'a of India supplied the necessary funds. With its domes and the pinnacles of its minarets covered with gold, it is visible to the traveller from a long way off. Who first built the 'Ālid sanctuary at Kāẓimayn is unknown. All we know is that in 336/947, by the order of the Buwayhīd Mu'izz al-Dawla [*q.v.*], two wooden boxes were put over the two graves, two wooden domes were erected above them, and a surrounding wall was built. The present faience-covered building is due to the Ṣafawīd Ismā'īl I (908-30/1502-24), whose family claimed descent from the *Imām* Mūsā al-Kāẓim (see above). The inscription published by Massignon (*Mission*, 99) of the year 926/1519, refers to the complete transformation of the old building by the shāh. The restauration not quite completed by Ismā'īl was finished by the Ottoman sultan Sulaymān I, who occupied Baghdād in 941/1534. The covering of the domes with golden tiles was done, according to the inscription, in 1211/1796 by the command and at the expense of Shāh Agha Muḥammad Khān [*q.v.*], the founder of the Ḳādjār dynasty. On the occasion of his pilgrimage in 1870, Shāh Nāṣir al-Dīn had the gold plating on the principal dome and on the roofs of the minarets renewed (cf. Cuinet). The double cupola flanked by four minarets shows that two saints are buried beneath it. Close to this mausoleum stands an isolated pavilion under which are shown the graves of Dja'far (formerly supposed to be that of Ismā'īl) and Ibrāhīm, sons of the *imām* Mūsā. The cupola of the building is modern and a gift of Salīm Pasha (cf. Massignon, *op. cit.*, 100). It may be noted here that there is at Ḥadītha on the Euphrates (between 'Āna and Hīt) a small sanctuary which is said to contain the tomb of Muḥammad, son of Mūsā al-Kāẓim (see Herzfeld, in Sarre-Herzfeld, ii, 321). On the tomb of a certain Ḥamza b. Mūsā al-Kāẓim in Ḳaryat al-Bāshiya (in 'Irāḳ), cf. Massignon, *op. cit.*, 60. In the vicinity of Astarābādh [*q.v.*] there is also an *imāmzāde* (tomb chapel) where a descendant of the *Imām* Mūsā named *Imām* Kāẓim is said to be buried (cf. Melgunof in *ZDMG*, xxi, 325, and in *Das südliche Ufer des kaspischen Meeres*, Leipzig 1868, 119-20).

Like the sepulchral mosques of other places of pilgrimage, that of Kāẓimayn is surrounded by a very broad court-yard (*ṣaḥn*) enclosed by a wall. This latter was rebuilt in 1298/1880, with the permission of the Turkish government, by a wealthy Persian named Farhād Mīrzā and adorned with ceramic work and inscriptions containing whole *sūra*s of the Ḳur'ān; (cf. Massignon, *op. cit.*, 110). In the great court, in the course of time, extensive buildings for the housing of the numerous pilgrims have grown up, especially along the enclosing wall. At the present time the area of the sanctuary is full of shopping centres, markets, modern hotels and many travel agencies.

At various periods, especially during the frequent fighting in the capital between Sunnīs and Shī'īs, the sanctuary area was repeatedly burnt and plundered, notably in the years 443/1051 and 622/1225. On the conquest of Baghdād by Hūlāgū in 656/1258 it was again reduced to ashes. To these disasters must be added the frequent floods, as for example in the years 367/977, 466/1073 and 614/1217. It may be mentioned that in 1216/1801, on the occasion of the Wahhābī invasion, the treasures of the sanctuary of Karbalā' were removed to Kāẓimayn (see Jacob in A. Nöldeke, *cited below*, 48, n. 1).

Adjoining the wall of the courtyard is a Sunnī mosque with the tomb of the famous Ḥanafī lawyer Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/789) [*q.v.*]; cf. Massignon, *op. cit.*, 57, 100). Le Strange (*Baghdad*, 161 f., 350 f.), is mistaken in locating the grave of Zubayda, the wife of Hārūn al-Rashīd, in or near this Kāẓimayn (cf. against this Massignon, *op. cit.*, 110 f., and Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, ii, 111, and also the article AL-KARKH).

Opposite Kāẓimayn on the left bank of the Tigris, connected with by a modern bridge which replaced one of boats, is the suburb of Mu'aẓẓam. In this place is the highly-venerated sepulchral mosque of Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767) [*q.v.*], the founder of one of the four Sunnī schools of Islamic law (on this tomb cf. M. von Oppenheim, ii, 241, Streck, i, 162; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 190-2; Langenegger, 61-2; Massignon, *op. cit.*, 78-9). It is from the epithet of Abū Ḥanīfa al-Imām al-A'ẓam or al-Mu'aẓẓam (the "highly venerated" *imām*) that this suburb of Baghdād takes its name.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, i, 443 (Bāb al-Tibn), iv, 79 (Ḳuraysh), and 587 (Maḳābir Ḳuraysh); Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 108; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 35; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 119; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo ed., iv, 395; Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, *al-Fakhrī*, 287; *Djāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh*, ii, 295; *al-Ḥawādith al-Djāmiʿa*, 333; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, i, 110-11, 120-21; R. al-Karkūklī, *Dawḥat al-Wuzarāʾ* (Arabic tr.), 46, 217; T. al-Rāwī, *Baghdād Madīnat al-Salām*, Iḳraʾ ser., xxvii, 84-5; M. al-Ālūsī, *Taʾrīkh Masādjid Baghdād wa-āthāruhā*, 116-7; M. Djawād, *Mashhad al-Kāẓimayn*, 7; *Mawsūʿat al-ʿAtabāt al-Muḳaddasa*, ed. Dj. al-Khalīlī, i, 9-11, 22, 61, 73; iii, 30, 39, 42, 50; *al-Madkhal ilā Mawsūʿat al-ʿAtabāt al-Muḳaddasa*, ed. Dj. al-Khalīlī, 123-9; M. H. Āl-Yāsīn, *Taʾrīkh al-Mashhad al-Kāẓimī*, Baghdad 1967, 19-20, 24, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 41, 42, 49-50, 52-3, 55-7, 61, 69, 73, 85-6, 89-90, 92-4, 103-6, 110-14, 117-9, 135-45, 154-6, 163-9; Streck, *Babylonien nach den arab. Geographen*, i, Leiden 1900, 156-7, 160; Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 158-65, 350-52; [Rousseau], *Description du Pachalik de Bagdad*, Paris 1809, 17-8; Rousseau, *Voyage de Bagdad à Alep (1808)*, ed. L. Poinssot, Paris 1899, 7-9; Ker Porter, *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia*, London 1822, ii, 280-1; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xi, 773, 777, 795; D. de Rivoyre, *Les vrais Arabes et leur pays*, Paris 1884, 85-91; J. Dieulafoy, *La Perse, la Chaldée et la Susiane*, Paris 1887, 587-91; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, iii, Paris 1894, 142-5; M. v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum persischen Golf*, Berlin 1900, ii, 239-41, 263, 281; E. Sachau, *Am Euphrat and Tigris*, Leipzig 1900, 29-31; Chiha, *La Province de Bagdad*, Cairo 1908, 169, 174-5, 177, 179; E. Aubin, *La Perse d'aujourd'hui*, Paris 1908, 361-5; A. Nöldeke, *Das Heiligtum al-Husains zu Kerbela*, Berlin 1909 (= *Türkische Bibliothek*, xi), 28, 33, 48, 58; P. Langenegger, *Durch verlorene Lande. Von Bagdad nach Damaskus*, Berlin 1911, 4, 61-2, 70-71; idem, *Die Baukunst des Irâq*, Dresden 1911, 93, 106, 109, 114, 121 (and title page); L. Massignon, *Mission en Mesopotamie*, ii, Paris 1912, 57, 67, 99-100; E. Herzfeld, in Sarre-Herzfeld, *Archaeolog. Reise im Euphrat und Tigrisgebiet*, ii, Berlin 1919, 102-3, 145-6 (see also Index in vol. iv, 42).

(M. Streck-A. A. Dixon)

KĀẒIMĪ [see sikka].

al-**KĀẒIMĪ**, ʿAbd al-Muḥsin b. Muḥammad, Shīʿī poet of ʿIrāḳ, born in Baghdād in 1282/1865 (but according to his daughter Rabāb al-Kāẓimī, in 1289/1872), who died in Cairo on 1 May 1935. He received elementary instruction in Arabic and Persian and then continued to study Arabic literature on his own initiative. In 1308/1890 he met Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī [*q.v.*] in ʿIrāḳ and was influenced by his revolutionary ideas. Soon afterwards he left ʿIrāḳ, but whether for reasons of political, business or poetic ambition is unclear. He travelled to Persia, India (1897) and finally to Egypt (1899), where he was welcomed by the leading literati. He became a close friend of and received financial aid from Muḥammad ʿAbduh [*q.v.*] and Saʿd Zaghlūl [*q.v.*], and dedicated panegyrics to them during their lives and elegies after their deaths. For some time al-Kāẓimī tried in vain to obtain a pension from the Khedive ʿAbbās Ḥilmī II [*q.v.*]; this apparently was foiled by the jealousy of Aḥmad Shawḳī [*q.v.*]. From 1919 onwards al-Kāẓimī dedicated many poems to the Central Committee of the Syrian Unity Party, and panegyrics both to Saʿd Zaghlūl and to the Hāshimite kings in Transjordan. He was an avid supporter of Arab national unity and consequently became best known as *Shāʿir al-ʿArab* (the poet of the Arabs).

The poetic diction, images and metaphors of al-Kāẓimī's poems are derived from Bedouin life, while their structure is throughly rooted in classical poetic models. His panegyrics reveal him to have had a proud and forceful personality as well as being a talented poet. He tends to boast of these qualities in his poetry at times, stressing his ʿAlawī descent and asking for donations. Many of al-Kāẓimī's poems deal with fortitude, vaingloriousness and love, while others touch upon social and political aspects of Arab life or express nostalgia for ʿIrāḳ. He embellished his poetry with maxims and proverbs, complaints about life, the calamities of the times and his own sickness. He was noted for his poetic improvisations (*irtidjāl*), although the ʿIrāḳī scholar Yousif Izzidien claims that al-Kāẓimī memorised them beforehand. Al-Kāẓimī's printed works are: *ʿAwāṭif waṭaniyya... [wa] taḥiyyat al-shāʿir al-ʿArabī ilā djanāb al-duktūr Wilsūn...*, Cairo 1919, 30 pp.; *Dīwān al-Kāẓimī*, vol. i, Damascus 1939, 361 pp.; *Dīwān al-Kāẓimī shāʿir al-ʿArab*, ed. Ḥikmat al-Djādirdjī, vol. ii, Cairo 1367/1948, 336 pp.; and *Muʿallaḳāt al-Kāẓimī fī Saʿd Zaghlūl*, ed. Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, Cairo 1924.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S III, 489; Yousif ʿIzzidien, *Fi 'l-adab al-ʿArabī al-ḥadīth*, Baghdad 1967, 201-20; idem, *Shuʿarāʾ al-ʿIrāḳ fi 'l-ḳarn al-ʿishrīn*, Baghdad 1969, 33-55. See also the comprehensive bibliography in J. A. Dagher, *Maṣādir al-Dirāsa al-Adabiyya*, ii/I: *al-Rāḥilūn (1800-1955)*, Beirut 1956, 676-8.

(S. Moreh)

al-**KĀẒIMĪ**, ʿAbd al-Nabī b. ʿAlī, an Imāmite *faḳīh* and traditionist whose life spanned two of the chief areas of Shīʿī concentration, the *ʿatabāt* of ʿIrāḳ and the Djabal ʿĀmil in Syria. He was born in Kāẓimayn in 1198/1784 to a father of Medinan origin, and studied there under a number of prominent *ʿulamāʾ*, the most important being Sayyid Muḥammad Riḍā and his son Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh al-Shibrī. He was appointed treasurer at the shrine of Kāẓimayn, but in 1244/1828 migrated to the Djabal ʿĀmil, settling in the village of Djūyā. Initially unknown, he soon became the most influential *ʿālim* in the area, enjoying the patronage of the *amīr* Ḥamad, ruler of the Djabal ʿĀmil. He died in Djūyā in 1256/1840. The most important of his numerous works are *Takmilat al-ridjāl*, a biographical dictionary of transmitters of Shīʿī *ḥadīth*, based on al-Amīr Muṣṭafā al-Tadjrīshī's *Naḳd al-ridjāl*; an abbreviation of a work on the *sunna*, *al-Iḳbāl* by Aḥmad b. Ṭāʾūs; and *al-Ḥaḳḳ al-ḥaḳīḳ*, a refutation of teachings of the Akhbārī school concerning *ḥadīth*. Only the first of these has been printed, and manuscripts of al-Kāẓimī's other writings are rare. Two of his sons, Shaykh Djaʿfar al-Kāẓimī and Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Kāẓimī, were also *ʿulamāʾ* of some note.

Bibliography: Introduction by Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ Baḥr al-ʿUlūm to his edition of *Takmilat al-ridjāl*, Nadjaf n.d., i, 56-70; Muḥsin al-Amīn al-ʿĀmilī, *Aʿyān al-shīʿa*, Nadjaf 1382/1962, xxxix, 172; Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, *al-Dharīʿa ilā taṣānīf al-shīʿa*, Nadjaf 1384/1964, iv, 417.

(H. Algar)

al-**KĀẒIMĪ**, Ḥaydar b. Ibrāhīm, an Imāmī *ʿālim* of the early 19th century. Born in Kāẓimayn

in 1205/1790, he spent his entire life there, dying in 1265/1849. He was the ancestor of the Āl Ḥaydar, a celebrated learned family of Kāẓimayn. Among his works may be mentioned *al-Bāriḳa al-Ḥaydariyya*, concerning *uṣūl* (the principles of jurisprudence), and *al-Madjālis al-Ḥaydariyya*, consisting of scenarios for the *taʿziya*, the so-called Shīʿī passion play.

Bibliography: Muḥammad Mahdī al-Kāẓimī, *Aḥsan al-wadīʿa*, Baghdad 1347/1929, ii, 21; Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, *al-Dharīʿa ilā taṣānīf al-shīʿa*, Nadjaf 1384/1964, ix, 3. (H. ALGAR)

AL-KĀẒIMĪ, MEḤMED SĀLIM (1868-1914), a Turkish political journalist of the late Ḥamīdian and early constitutional period. Better known by his *nom de plume* ʿAwn Allāh Kāẓimī, he was born in Istanbul in 1868. He was the son of Hüseyn Ḥüsnī Beg, who was private secretary (*mabeyin kātibi*) to the sultan. His family came from Erzurum in eastern Anatolia where al-Kāẓimī's grandfather, ʿAlī Beg, had been a *derebey* [*q.v.*]. He was given a traditional education, though he learned French as well as Arabic and Persian. Finding no suitable position in the stratified bureaucracy of the period, like many well-to-do, educated young men of his day he turned to journalism. In 1889 he and his brother Sulaymān Tawfīḳ began to publish *Mürüwwet*, which they described as "an Ottoman newspaper dedicated to the benefits of property and in the service of the state" (*menāfiʿ-i mülk we dewlete khādim ʿOthmānlī gazetesidir*). He left the country, fearing that he was about to be arrested for an article he had written, and returned to Istanbul some time later using the alias ʿAwn Allāh Kāẓimī. He was arrested in 1901 on account of his alleged involvement in the *Müshīr* Fuʾād Pasha incident, in which ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II's secret police, suspecting Fuʾād Pasha of conspiracy, clashed with the general's men. Meḥmed Sālim was sentenced to penal servitude for life and exiled to the town of Sivas. He was caught attempting to escape, and transferred to the fortress at Sinop.

Meḥmed Sālim returned to Istanbul after the Young Turk revolution of July 1908 and became the president of the *Fedākārān-ī Millet Djemʿiyyeti*, one of the many ephemeral political clubs which sprang up following the revolution. On 16 September 1908 he began publishing the *Ḥuḳūḳ-ī ʿUmūmiyye* as the organ of this association. The stated aim of this paper was "to serve the constitutional administration and national unity" (*idāre-i -meshrūṭaya ve ittiḥād-ī millete khidmet etmek*). The association seems to have been composed of much the same elements as the *Ittiḥād we Teraḳḳī Djemʿiyyeti* [*q.v.*], that is to say people who had opposed the old régime, but who, feeling that their earlier sufferings had gone unrecompensed, now turned against the government. They are alleged even to have indulged in the blackmail of some members of the old régime.

The government suspected Meḥmed Sālim's organisation of illegal activities, so that on 14 January 1909 the premises of the *Ḥuḳūḳ-ī ʿUmūmiyye* were raided by the police. Meḥmed Sālim was arrested, and the *Fedākārān-ī Millet Djemʿiyyeti* was disbanded. He was acquitted by the court, and appointed *mutaṣarrif* of Kirkūk (ʿIrāḳ). When the counter-revolution of 31 March 1325 (o.s.)/13 April 1909 broke out he was suspected of involvement and arrested. A court martial found him innocent, and he was again acquitted. Soon afterwards he left for Kirkūk and died there in 1914.

Apart from his journalistic writings, Meḥmed Sālim wrote about his adventures in *Soñ Müdāfaʿa* (Istanbul 1326/1910), and *Dīwān-ī ḥarbī ʿörfī we ʿAwn Allāh al-Kāẓimī* (Istanbul 1327/1911).

Bibliography: Three brief and almost identical biographies are to be found in Ī. Alaettin Gövsa, *Türk meşhurları ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul 1946, *Türkiye ansiklopedisi*, Ankara 1957 (where he is recorded as Mehmed Selim) and *Türk ve dünya meşhurları ansiklopedisi*, Ankara 1957-8, where he is listed under Kâzımî (Gövsa). Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiyede Siyasî Partiler*, Istanbul 1952, 233-9, is invaluable for the activities of the *Fedākārān-ī Millet Djemʿiyyeti*. See also Ahmet Cevat Emre, *Iki neslin tarihi*, Istanbul 1960, 130-1. A study of the press of the period, especially Meḥmed Sālim's papers *Mürüwwet* and *Ḥuḳūḳ-ī ʿUmūmiyye* (incomplete collections of both available in Millet Kütüphanesi, Istanbul and Türk İnkilâp Tarihi Enstitüsü Kütüphanesi, Ankara), is essential for a better understanding of the man and his ideas. (F. AHMAD)

KAZIMOV [see ḲĀSIMOV].

ḲAZWĪN, a town and district north-west of Tehran and south of Gīlān. The town is situated in 36° 15 N. and 50° E., at a height of 4,165 ft. above sea level, about 90 miles from Tehran, on the edge of a wide alluvial plain with mountains about five miles to the north. It stands on the site of an ancient city built by Shāpūr II, which according to tradition was in turn on the site of a city built by Shāpūr b. Ardashīr (Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*, ed. E. G. Browne and R. A. Nicholson, 1910-13, 830, French tr. Barbier de Meynard, *Description historique de la ville de Kazvin*, in *JA* (1857)). Its population according to the census of 1966 was 81,000.

i. GEOGRAPHY and HISTORY

Ḳazwīn guards the passes to the north leading through Ṭabaristān to Rasht and the Caspian Sea, and is situated at the junction of the roads from Rasht to Tehran and Tabrīz to Tehran. From Ḳazwīn roads also lead off to Hamadān and Ḳumm. In the 19th century there were four roads leading from Ḳazwīn to Tehran, three used by muleteers and the other by those riding *čāpār* (*Safarnāma-i Mīrzā Ḥusayn Farāhānī*, ed. H. Farma-Farmaian, 1964, 9-10). The climate is temperate with a mean maximum temperature in summer of 34.5 C. and a mean minimum temperature in winter of -5.4 C. The annual rainfall in 339.1 mm. with frequent snowfalls in January and February. In spite of its favourable situation as regards communications, Ḳazwīn never rivalled Ray, Nīshāpūr or Iṣfahān in the Middle Ages. The reason is partly to be found in lack of water, which placed a severe limitation on its growth. Iṣṭakhrī states that Ḳazwīn had enough water for drinking purposes only; this was provided by rainfall and the water of one *ḳanāt* (*Masālik al-mamālik*, Leiden 1927, 201). Until recently the plain of Ḳazwīn was irrigated entirely by *ḳanāt*s and four small streams (see further Muḥammad ʿAlī Gulrīz, *Mīnūdar yā bāb al-djannati Ḳazwīn*, Tehran 1961, 259 ff. and *Safarnāma-i Mīrzā Ḥusayn Farāhānī*). Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī states that these streams flowed in spring; in a good year their water reached the gardens of Ḳazwīn, but rarely flowed into the town in summer, the water being used by the estates situated upstream (*Nuzha*, Persian text, 222). In 1963 the Ḳazwīn Development Authority was set up to develop the water resources and agriculture of the area (see further A. K. S. Lambton, *The Persian land reform 1962-1966*, Oxford 1969, 281).

Ḳazwīn lies in the earthquake belt and has been

damaged by earthquakes on several occasions. Earthquakes in the town were recorded in 249/863-4, 360/970-1, 513/1119-20 (Gulrīz, 872-3), 514/1120 (N. N. Ambraseys, *On the seismicity of south-west Asia, data from a XV century Arabic manuscript*, in *Rev. pour l'étude des calamités*, xxxvii (Geneva 1961), 10), and 562/1169 (Chardin, *The travels of Sir John Chardin*, London 1691, 382); and when James Morier passed through the town in 1809 he states that the city was largely in ruins as a result of a fairly recent earthquake (*A journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor to Constantinople*, London 1812, 254). Extensive damage from earthquakes was suffered by Ṭāliķān in 889/1484-5, Rūdbār in 956/1549-50 (Gulrīz, 873), and the southern part of the Ķazwīn plain in 1962 (N. N. Ambraseys, *The Buyin-zara (Iran) earthquake of September 1962, a field report*, in *Bull. of the seismological society of America*, liii/4 (July 1963), 705-40). Floods severely damaged the town in 965/1557-8 and again in 1267/1850-1 (Gulrīz, 874). Outbreaks of plague (*ṭāʿūn*) are recorded in 1045/1635-6 and several outbreaks of cholera (*wabā*) in the 19th and 20th centuries (Gulrīz, 876).

Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī states that the town was surrounded by extensive gardens, orchards and vineyards, which produced excellent grapes, almonds and pistachio nuts in abundance. Large quantities of raisins were exported. Melons and water melons were cultivated after the land had been flooded once and fruited well without another watering. Much grain was also grown. Good pastures existed in the neighbourhood. These, he alleges, were better for camels than in other provinces, and the Ķazwīnī camel more expensive than others (*Nuzha*, 58, 222). At the present day good quality sheep are bred at Sh̲āl, a village to the south-west of the town of Ķazwīn, and in its neighbourhood. Textiles were woven in Ķazwīn from the early centuries of Islam down to modern times, but did not compare in excellence with those from more famous centres such as Iṣfahān, Kās̲h̲ān or Kirmān.

The boundaries of Ķazwīn have varied from time to time. In Islamic times it was first made into a province (*s̲h̲ahr*) by Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd, who gave to it the districts of Bas̲h̲āriyyāt and part of Das̲h̲tbī (which formerly belonged to Hamadān), Abharrūd and part of Ķāķazān (*Taʾrīk̲h̲-i guzīda*, 833). In 284/897-8 K̲h̲araķān became part of Ķazwīn, which then comprised 765 villages (Ibn al-Faķīh, *Kitāb al-buldān*, Leiden 1885, Fr. tr. H. Massé, *Abregé du livre des pays*, Damascus 1973, 289), and in the reign of al-Muʿtaṣim Nasā and Salķānrūd were also transferred to it from Hamadān (*ibid.*, 280). In the 8th/14th century Ķazwīn comprised only 300 villages, and was divided into 8 districts or *nāḥiya*s (*Nuzha*, 59); Don Juan writing in 1602-3 states that there were 20 walled towns in the province of Ķazwīn and 1,000 open villages (*Don Juan of Persia*, tr. and ed. G. Le Strange, London 1926, 40). In 1884 it consisted of eleven *bulūk*s, K̲h̲arrūd (Dūdānga), Ķuhpāya (Kūhpāya), Abharrūd, Bas̲h̲āriyyat, Iķbāl, Fis̲h̲kildarra (Pis̲h̲kildarra), Das̲h̲tābī (Das̲h̲tbī), Ķāķazān, Rāmand, and Afs̲h̲āriyya; while Rūdbār (in which Alamūt is situated) was one of its dependencies (*Safarnāma-i Mīrzā Ḥusayn Farāhānī*, 24-5). In modern times Ķazwīn constitutes a *s̲h̲ahristān* consisting of 6 districts (*bak̲h̲sh*), namely, a central district consisting of the town, Āb Yak (comprising the subdistricts or *dihistān*s of Fis̲h̲kildarra, Kūhpāya, and Bas̲h̲āriyyāt); Muʿallim Kalāya (sub-districts Rūdbār and Alamūt); Ḍiyāʿābād (sub-districts Ķāķazān and Dūdānga); Āvid̲j̲ (sub-districts East and West K̲h̲araķān and Afs̲h̲āriyya); and Būʾin (sub-districts Zahrā, Das̲h̲tābī and Rāmand).

The population of Ķazwīn at the present day is mainly Turkī-speaking, large influxes of Turkish tribes into the district having taken place in Mongol times (see further below). In the Zahrā district the people speak Tātī (D̲j̲alāl Āl-Aḥmad, *Tātnis̲h̲īnhā-yi bulūk-i Zahrā*, Tehran 1959). Various tribes, many of which were semi-nomadic until recent times, are to be found in the different districts. Among them are the Īnānlū and Bag̲h̲dādī S̲h̲āhsivān, who apparently came to K̲h̲araķān and Sāva towards the end of the 18th century and were settled by Āķā Muḥammad K̲h̲ān Ķād̲j̲ār in their present location. The winter quarters of the Īnānlū were between Sawd̲j̲ Bulāg̲h̲, Zarand, and Zahrā, and their summer quarters in K̲h̲araķān. The Bag̲h̲dādī S̲h̲āhsivān wintered in the neighbourhood of Tehran and in the district between Ķumm, Sulṭānābād (Arāk), Sāva and Tehran, and summered in K̲h̲araķān and K̲h̲alad̲j̲istān (Hamadān) up to the frontiers of K̲h̲amsa. Other tribes in the Ķazwīn district include the Lak, Čiginī, G̲h̲iyāt̲h̲vand, Ķākāvand, D̲j̲alīlāvand, Ras̲h̲vand, Māfī Bahtūʾī, Čumus̲h̲gazak, and Kalhūr. In about 1932 Riḍā S̲h̲āh forbade migration, but it was resumed after his abdication (Gulrīz, 853 ff., Parvīz Vard̲j̲āvand, *Sarzamīn-i Ķazvīn*, Tehran 1970, 460 ff.). Some of the S̲h̲āhsivan are now settled in Rāmand, Zahrā, K̲h̲araķān and Afs̲h̲āriyya, where they are engaged in stockraising and agriculture (*Sarzamīn-i Ķazvīn*, 463).

Under the Sasanians Ķazwīn was a frontier town, whose garrison was engaged in repelling the attacks of the Daylamites. This situation continued, or was repeated, in the early centuries of Islam. This, too, probably militated to some extent against its becoming a commercial and cultural centre, though Muķaddasī speaks of it as being a mine of *fiķh* and *ḥikma* (*Aḥsan al-taķāsīm*, ed. de Goeje, Leiden 1906, 392). It was conquered for the Muslims by al-Barāʾ b. ʿĀzib and Zayd b. al-D̲j̲abal al-Ṭāʾī in 24/644 during the caliphate of ʿUmar b. al-K̲h̲aṭṭāb. When al-Barāʾ besieged the fortress of Ķazwīn, the people sued for a *ṣulḥ* agreement and were offered the same terms as had been given to the people of Abhar. Unwilling, however, to pay *d̲j̲izya*, they accepted Islam. Al-Barāʾ subsequently assigned pensions in the district to Ṭulayḥa al-Asadī for the upkeep of his men. They multiplied and transmitted the estates which they held to their descendants who, according to Ibn al-Faķīh, still held them some two hundred years later and had title deeds for them from the government. From Ķazwīn al-Barāʾ carried out raids into Daylam and Gīlān and also took Zand̲j̲ān. Saʿd b. al-ʿĀs, who succeeded al-Walīd b. ʿUķba as governor of Kūfa, also made raids into Daylam, and built a town at Ķazwīn, Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲, after he became governor of most of Persia on behalf of the Umayyads, appointed his son Muḥammad governor of the frontier regions. Yazīd b. Muhallab, Ķutayba b. Muslim, and Naṣr b. Sayyār also appointed governors over Ķazwīn, as did the early ʿAbbāsids.

A second town at Ķazwīn was built by Mūsā al-Hādī beside the one built by Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ and called Madīna Mūsā. He bought the nearby Rustamābād and constituted it a *waķf* for the benefit of the town. Mubārak the Turk, a freedman of al-Hādī, also built another town at Ķazwīn in 176/792-3 and called it after himself.

When Hārūn al-Ras̲h̲īd passed through Ķazwīn on his way to K̲h̲urāsān, he was impressed by both the

tribulations which the local people suffered on account of the Daylamites and their efforts to combat them. Accordingly, he remitted the *k͟harād͟j* of the town and substituted instead an annual payment of 10,000 *dirhams*, and ordered a wall to be built round Madīna Mūsā and Mubārakābād. This was not, however, completed until the caliphate of al-Muʿtazz, when Mūsā b. Bug͟hā finished it in 254/868 (see also Gulrīz, 105 ff., who quotes a manuscript history of Ḳazwīn, the *Kitāb al-tadwīn fi ak͟hbār Ḳazwīn* by Rāfiʿī, who died in 623/1226, on further details concerning the walls of Ḳazwīn). Hārūn al-Ras͟hīd also built a Friday mosque in Ḳazwīn and constituted various *k͟hān*s and other buildings into a *waḳf* for its benefit. During al-Ḳāsim b. al-Ras͟hīd's governorship of Ḳazwīn, D͟jurd͟jān and Ṭabaristān, it appears that there was an increase in the land held by the government, a number of local landowners placing their estates under al-Ḳāsim's protection by a *tald͟jiʾa* contract, by which they paid *ʿus͟hr* to the public treasury and a second *ʿus͟hr* to him for his protection. In this way they retained possession of their estates, while the ownership passed to the government (Balād͟hurī, *Futūḥ*, 310-11, Ibn al-Faḳīh, 282-3, *Taʾrīk͟h-i guzīda*, 830 ff., *Nuzha*, 58). The anonymous *Mud͟jmal al-tawārīk͟h* mentions a rebellion by Kawkabī, an ʿAlid, which was put down by Mūsā b. Bug͟hā during the reign of al-Muʿtazz (ed. Malik al-S͟huʿarā, Tehran 1940-1, 363).

The population of the town at this time appears to have been mainly Arab. After Mūsā b. Būḳā completed the town wall, the population increased. It consisted of various tribes or families, most of whom traced their origin back to the first Arab settlers. Among them were the *Sādāt*, the majority of whom, according to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, were characterised by their humility, knowledge, piety and courtesy. He states that they supported themselves by their own work and did not demand pensions, thus implying that they held aloof from the temporal power and retained their independence. K͟hʷāndamīr, writing later, states that the people of Kazwīn were noted for their chivalry (*muruwwat*) and humanity (*insāniyyat*) (*Taʾrik͟h-i ḥabīb al-siyar*, Tehran 1954-5, iv, 654).

Ḳazwīn retained its importance as a frontier town during the struggles between the caliphate and the ʿAlids in the Caspian provinces. When al-Muʿtaṣim became caliph he determined to bring the Daylamīs into subjection. Fak͟hr al-Dawla (thus in Mustawfī) Abū Manṣūr Kūfī, whom he sent to Ḳazwīn as governor, together with his sons occupied himself against the Daylamis for nearly twenty years from 223/838. In all, Fak͟hr al-Dawla appears to have held the post of governor for some forty years on behalf of the caliphs, except for two years when he governed on behalf of Ḥasan b. al-Bākir, the ʿAlid, who took possession of Ḳazwīn in 251/865-6. For a brief period Ḳazwīn came under Sāmānid rule when Ilyās b. Aḥmad became governor in 293/905-6. In the following year, however, Fak͟hr al-Dawla Abū ʿAlī, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī's forefather, became governor on behalf of the caliph and held the town for twenty-seven years, though in 301/913-14 it was placed together with Ray, Dīnawar, Zand͟jān, Abhar and Ṭārum, under the general charge of ʿAlī b. Muḳtadir (*The eclipse of the ʿAbbasid caliphate*, ed. H. F. Amedroz and D. S. Margoliouth, Oxford 1921, i, 33). In 304/916-17 Yūsuf b. Abi 'l Sād͟j [see SĀD͟JIDS] made an abortive attempt to claim Ḳazwīn (*ibid.*, i, 45 ff.), but was put to flight by Asfār b. S͟hīrūya [see ASFĀR B. S͟HĪRAWAYHĪ], who made himself master of Ḳazwīn and of an area stretching from Ṭabaristān and Gurgān to Ḳumm and Hamadān. In 315/927-8 Asfār routed an army sent against him by al-Muḳtadir outside Ḳazwīn, although it was aided by the people of the city. Asfār then seized the citadel, killed many of the inhabitants, did much damage to the city, and imposed a vast contribution of money on the inhabitants. He was later dispossessed by Mardāwīd͟j and killed (*ibid.*, i, 161-2; Masʿūdī, *Murūd͟j al-d͟hahab* ed. C. Barbier de Meynard, repr. Tehran 1970, ix, 6, 9 ff.). Ḳazwīn subsequently fell to Rukn al-Dawla, and the district remained in Būyid hands for upwards of a hundred years. In 358/968-9 there was an outbreak of disorder in the town and Abu 'l Fatḥ ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn, Rukn al-Dawla's *wazīr*, who was sent to put it down, imposed a fine of 1,200,000 *dirhams* on the people (*Taʾrīk͟h-i guzīda*, 837).

In 421/1030, Ḳazwīn passed into G͟haznavid hands. Up to this time Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī's forefathers were apparently still governors of the town, but at this point no suitable member of the family was available for the post of governor and they became instead *mustawfīs*. About 424/1033-4 Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad D͟jaʿfarī succeeded to the government, which he and his sons held for about sixty years. The last of the line, Fak͟hr al-Maʿālī Abū ʿAlī S͟haraf͟shāh b. D͟jaʿfarī, was very wealthy and he and his followers held much property in the neighbourhood. He died in 484/1091-2 and was survived by one daughter (*Taʾrīk͟h-i guzīda*, 837 ff.).

The first contact between Ḳazwīn and the G͟huzz appears to have been in 430/1038-9 when the inhabitants, with a payment of 7,000 *dīnārs*, bought off the G͟huzz and Fanā K͟husraw, the Daylamī, who had taken Ray in 428/1037, slaughtering many of its inhabitants (Ibn al-At͟hīr, *al-Kāmil*, ix, 269-71). Nāṣir-i K͟husraw visited Ḳazwīn in 438/1046, and describes it as follows: "It had many gardens, without walls or thorn hedges or any obstacle to prevent entry into them. I saw it to be a good city. It had a strong wall and embattlements. It had good bazaars, except that it had only a little water from one *kārīz*. . . The *raʾīs* of the town was an ʿAlid. Of all the crafts in the town, the shoe-makers (*kafs͟hgar*) were the most numerous" (*Safarnāma*, ed. C. Schefer, Paris 1881, Persian text, 4).

In spite of the proximity of Ḳazwīn to the Ismāʿīlī stronghold Alamūt [*q.v.*], the Sald͟jūḳs do not appear to have regarded it as an important governorship to be given to a powerful *amīr* or *malik*. Soon after the Ismāʿīlīs were established in Alamūt, Abu'l Maḥāsin Rūyānī persuaded the Ḳazwīnīs to decree death to anyone coming from the direction of Alamūt lest mingling with the Ismāʿīlīs should give rise to disaffection within Ḳazwīn (M. G. Hodgson, *The Order of the Assassins*, The Hague 1955, 123). There were also many fortresses in the mountains of Rūdbār held by the Ismāʿīlīs, whence they were able from time to time to molest and trouble the Ḳazwīnīs, as they did in 523/1129 when they killed some 400 persons in revenge for an Ismāʿīlī envoy who had been lynched in Iṣfahān whither he had gone to see Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad (*ibid.*, 102). During the period when Muḥammad b. Buzurg Umīd was grandmaster (532-57/1138-62) there were raids and counter raids against Ḳazwīn from Ismāʿīlī strongholds (*ibid.*, 145). Somewhat later, in 560/1165, the Ismāʿīlīs of Rūdbār built a fortress outside Ḳazwīn, whence they were able almost to lay siege to the town (*ibid.*, 158).

During the late Saldjūḳ period Ḳazwīn was disputed by various *maliks* and *amīrs*, including Ṭughril b. Muḥammad, to whom it was assigned by Sandjar (Bundārī, *Zubdat al-nuṣra wa-nukhbat al-ʿuṣra*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma, Leiden 1889, 134). Under the Khwārazmshāhs, renewed attacks were made from Ḳazwīn on the Ismāʿīlīs. When Djalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan succeeded his father Muḥammad as grandmaster of the Ismāʿīlīs in 607/1210 he professed Islam and was known as Djalāl al-Dīn Naw-Musalmān. The people of Ḳazwīn, knowing all too well the dissimulations and tricks of the Ismāʿīlīs, were reluctant to accept his claims and demanded proof. He went to great lengths to win them over and induced them to send some of the leading men of Ḳazwīn to Alamūt and burnt Ismāʿīlī works in their presence (Djuwaynī, *Taʾrīkh-i Djahāngushā*, ed. Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī, GMS, London 1916, iii, 243-4).

During the struggle between the Khwārazmshāhs and the Mongols, Ḳazwīn from time to time changed hands, until finally the Khwārazmshāhs were defeated. In 617/1220 the Mongols are alleged to have carried out a massacre of the people of Ḳazwīn (Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Ẓafarnāma*, quoted by Browne, iii, 96-8). Mangū Ḳāʾān appointed Iftikhār al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Bukhārī governor in 651/1253-4. He and his brother Imām al-Dīn Yaḥyā held office until 677/1278-9. Iftikhār al-Dīn is said to have learnt Mongolian and to have translated *Kalīla wa-Dimna* into it. In the disorders which preceded the reign of Ghāzān Khān (694-703/1295-1304) Ḳazwīn, like other parts of the Ilkhān empire, suffered decay because of the extortion of *ilčīs* and others. Many people left the town, so much so that Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī alleges that the Friday prayers could not be performed (*Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*, 592-3). He also mentions the usurpation of *waḳf* land by Mongols in Pishkildarra (*Nuzha*, 67). At the end of the reign of Uldjāytū (703-16/1304-16) the government of Ḳazwīn passed to Ḥusām al-Dīn Amīr ʿUmar Shīrāzī and Ḥādjdjī Fakhr al-Dīn Aḥmad the *mustawfī*. Abū Saʿīd Bahādur (716-36/1316-35), at the beginning of his reign, assigned Ḳazwīn to the expenses (*ikhrādjāt*) of the establishment or household (*urdū*) of his mother (*Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*, 842).

It was in Mongol rather than Saldjūḳ times that the population of the Ḳazwīn province was profoundly modified by the introduction of a considerable number of Turkish tribes, though some were no doubt already settled there under the Saldjūḳs. In spite of this, it seems that many of the great families of Ḳazwīn, when Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī was writing, still traced their origins to an Arab ancestor, and many of them held large estates. One family mentioned by him, the Shīrzādiyān, came from "the middle classes" (*awsāṭ al-nās*), their ancestor having been a shepherd. Certain changes were, however, taking place and a number of Turkish families had established themselves. One, the Ḳarāvulān, had bought many estates, but had already lost its position when Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī was writing. Another was the Būlātmūriyān, the first of whom, Amīr Takash, came to Ḳazwīn as *shiḥna* in the time of Ögedey (*Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*, 842 ff.). The dominant rite was the Shāfiʿī. There were also a few Ḥanafīs and Shīʿīs (*Nuzha*, 57).

After the break-up of the Ilkhān empire, Ḳazwīn, which had long since lost its character as a frontier town, seems to have had an uneventful history until Ṣafawid times. Already under Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī (907-30/1502-24), who was faced with the problem of holding both the Ottoman and the Uzbeg frontier, Ḳazwīn, situated on the main route from Ādharbāydjān to Khurāsān, acquired a new importance. When Tabrīz was temporarily lost to the Ottomans during the reign of Ṭahmāsp (930-84/1524-76), Ḳazwīn, less vulnerable to attack and holding a central position between the vitally important provinces of Ādharbāydjān and Khurāsān, became the capital in 962/1555, hence its *laḳab dār al-salṭana*. It continued to hold this position until Shāh ʿAbbās built a new capital in Iṣfahān [*q.v.*]. Although Ḳazwīn ceased to be the capital, it did not become an independent province but was administered by a *wazīr*, *dārūgha*, *kalāntar* and *mustawfī* appointed by the central government. Towards the end of the reign of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn it was made into a province, under a *beglarbegī*, and a certain Ṭahmāsp Khān, a military slave (*ghulām*), was appointed over its A sum was allocated for his remuneration (*mudākhil*) on the taxes (*wudjūhāt*) of the surrounding districts and Rānkūh, and in return he was required to keep 300 soldiers (Mīrzā Rafīʿā, *Dastūr al-Mulūk*, ed. M. T. Dānishpazhūh in *Rev. de la fac. des lettres et des sciences humaines*, Tehran University, xvi/1-2 (Nov. 1968, 75). From the size of this contingent, it would seem that Ḳazwīn was not one of the more important provinces.

Like various other towns, Ḳazwīn became divided in Ṣafawid times into two factions, the Ḥaydarī and the Niʿmatī. Alessandri, who visited Ḳazwīn during the reign of Ṭahmāsp, mentions them, and states that four districts belonged to one faction and five to the other, and that enmity and frequent bloodshed had prevailed between them for over thirty years (*Narrative of the most noble Vincento d'Alessandri*, Hakluyt, first series, xlix, 224). The participation of these factions in the Muḥarram and Ṣafar ceremonies in the early 20th century is also recorded (Gulrīz, 386-7).

In the Mongol and pre-Mongol period Ḳazwīn had been a centre of orthodoxy, in spite of, or perhaps because of, its proximity to Daylam and later Alamūt. Nevertheless, there was a Shīʿī quarter in Ḳazwīn in Saldjūḳ times (Ḥusayn Karīmān, *Tabarsī va madjmaʿ al-bayān*, Tehran 1962, i, 149), and, as stated above, there were some Shīʿīs in Ḳazwīn when Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī was writing (cf. *Nuzha*, 58, *Taʾrīkh-i guzīda*, 843). Widespread conversion to Shīʿism probably did not take place until the early Ṣafawid period, and even after this crypto-Sunnīs as, for example, Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharīfī, who was associated with Ismāʿīl II's conversion to Sunnism, were to be found among prominent local families (Iskandar Munshī, *ʿĀlamārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, Iṣfahān 1956, i, 148, 213 ff. See also E. Eberhard, *Osmanische Polemik gegen die Safaviden in 16. Jahrhundert nach arabischen Handschriften*, Freiburg 1970). During the reign of Ṭahmāsp the Nuḳḳawī heresy spread to Ḳazwīn, where it was led by a certain Darvīsh Khusrāw. According to Iskandar Munshī (a hostile witness), he was "a low-class fellow" from the Darb-i Kūshk quarter. He abandoned the craft of his fore-fathers, who had been *muḳannīs*, and became a *ḳalandar*. After a period of travel and association with Nuḳḳawīs, he returned to Ḳazwīn, where a following gathered round him. The *ʿulamāʾ*, apprehensive at his growing popularity, charged him with heresy and he was forbidden to sit in the mosque where he had taken up his quarters. After the death of Ṭahmāsp he resumed his activities and people again assembled round him. He was

eventually put to death as a heretic in 1002/1593-4 (*ʿĀlamārā*, i, 473-6; see also Gulrīz, 444 ff.).

The death of Ṭahmāsp was followed by disorders in Ḳazwīn. Rebellious Turkomans seized Ṭahmāsp Mīrzā, one of the late shah's younger sons, set him up as a puppet, and occupied the city for a brief period. In the spring of 994/1596 Ḥamza Mīrzā, who had been besieging Tabrīz, then in Ottoman hands, marched on Ḳazwīn, routed the Turkomans, took Ṭahmāsp Mīrzā prisoner, and overthrew the rebellion. Little damage appears to have been done in the town. Don Juan, who was there shortly afterwards, describes Ḳazwīn as follows: "The country round is most fertile: it has great orchards and extensive gardens. Its population numbers above 100,000 householders [or 450,000 souls], and, that one may know its greatness, I have for curiosity, counted many times over its mosques, and of these there are more than 500. The royal quarter and the palace both are most sumptuous, and so extensive that you may go in a straight line through the purlieus for over a quarter of a league". (*Don Juan of Persia*, 40). The account given by a gentleman in Sir Antony Sherley's suite, who arrived in Ḳazwīn in December 1598, when it was still the capital, is rather less favourable. He states that there was nothing remarkable about the town except a few mosques and the doorway of the palace of the king, which was well built. According to him the town was a little smaller than London (*Sir Antony Sherley and his Persian adventure*, ed. E. D. Ross, London 1933, 153). Antony Sherley's brother, Robert, died in Ḳazwīn in 1627, as also did Sir Dodmore Cotton.

Father Paul Simon, the first superior of the Discalced Carmelites in Persia, writing in 1607, states that Ḳazwīn, which was by this time no longer the capital, was a very large city, not smaller than Iṣfahān. There were good buildings and an abundance of commodities for subsistence and entertainment, and "everything to be found as in any of these our [Italian] cities" (*A chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia*, London 1939, i, 119). Pietro della Valle, who was in Ḳazwīn in 1618, found in it "nothing to satisfy the expectations of a royal residence, and only two things worthy of observation, the gate of the king's palace, and the grand maidan or square". Sir Thomas Herbert, on the other hand, reported of Ḳazwīn in 1627 that it was "equal for grandeur to any other city in the Persian Empire, Spahawn excepted". He states that its walls were seven miles in circuit and estimates its population at 200,000 (see Curzon, i, 36). Olearius, however, some ten years later put the population at only 100,000 (*The travels of Antony Jenkinson*, in *Early Voyages and Travels to Russia and Persia*, Hakluyt, first series, lxxii, 1886, repr. New York n.d., i, 134 n. 1), while Chardin, who was there in 1674, describes its walls in ruins, and the town as having "lost all those perquisites that set forth the pomp and grandeur of a sumptuous court". It contained, according to his account, 12,000 houses, and 100,000 inhabitants, its chief feature being the palaces of the grandees, which, he alleged, had passed for generations from father to son (see further Curzon, i, 35-6).

Ḳazwīn's importance in Ṣafawid times was due not only to its becoming, for a period, the capital but also the attempts to increase trade with Europe through southern Russia. Antony Jenkinson mentions the presence in Ḳazwīn of merchants from India in 1561 (*The travels of Antony Jenkinson*, i, 149). Arthur Edwards, who made several voyages to Persia on behalf of the Muscovy Company, wrote in 1567 that velvets and other wares were made in Ḳazwīn but not of as good quality as could be obtained in Europe, and, in 1569, that many spices were to be found in Ḳazwīn but in goodness they were "nothing like to such as be brought into England out of other places, and the price is so high, that small gain will be had in buying of them" (*Early voyages and travels to Russia and Persia*, ii, 405). In the account of the mission of Sir Antony Sherley it is stated that there were a great many merchants in Ḳazwīn, but not many rich ones, also several artisans, such as gold-smiths and cobblers, who made the best shoes in the whole country out of segrin [shagreen], in green, white and other colours. There were also some master craftsmen who made gilded and coloured bows with arrows to match, and others who made richly gilded horse-saddles with gilded and coloured saddlebows (*Sir Antony Sherley and his Persian adventure*, 153). Father Paul Simon records that Ḳazwīn was much frequented for trade, because there was an abundance there of silks, carpets and brocades (*A chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia*, i, 119).

The disorders which took place at the end of the Ṣafawid period brought a temporary halt to Ḳazwīn's prosperity, and there appears to have been a considerable decrease in the population, due in part, presumably, to the decline in trade. Maḥmūd the Afghan, after he had taken Iṣfahān, detached a force of some 6,000 men under Amān Allāh K͟hān to take Ḳazwīn, which surrendered in 1722. In January 1723, however, there was a popular uprising (*lūṭībāzār*) led by the *kalāntar*s [*q.v.*] of the city against the Afghans. They were attacked in every quarter and retreated to Iṣfahān. They are reported to have lost some 2,000 men (Sir John Malcolm, *History of Persia*, London 1829, i, 443-4; J. Hanway, *An historical account of the British trade over the Caspian Sea*, London 1762, ii, 188). In 1726 Ḳazwīn submitted to the Ottomans on condition that the governor sent to the city was not accompanied by troops. The agreement was not kept; 12,000 men under ʿAlī Pās͟hā were sent, only to be driven out shortly afterwards. Ḳazwīn then declared for As͟hraf (Hanway, ii, 245; Malcolm, i, 443-4). Hanway, writing in 1744, quotes a Persian merchant as saying that whereas formerly Ḳazwīn had had 12,000 houses, it had then only 1,100 (i, 156).

At the beginning of the 19th century Ḳazwīn still manufactured velvets, brocades, and cotton cloth (J. Morier, *A second journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor to Constantinople in the years 1810-1816*, London 1818, 203) and was beginning once more to flourish. One of the royal princes, Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā, then still a boy, was appointed governor by Fatḥ ʿAlī S͟hāh in 1213/1798-9, and retained this post until 1221/1806-7 (Bāmdād, *S͟harḥ-i ḥāl-i rid͟jāl-i Īrān*, Tehran 1966, iii, 430). Ḳazwīn's position, at the juncture of roads from the new capital Tehran, Tabrīz, the second city of the empire, and Enzeli on the Caspian Sea, gave it a new importance, both strategic and commercial. Fatḥ ʿAlī S͟hāh recognized the first when he placed its governor under the orders of ʿAbbās Mīrzā [*q.v.*] in 1818 with a view to facilitating his march on Tehran from Ād͟harbāyd͟jān in the event of his accession to the throne (Great Britain, Public Records Office, F.O. 60/13, Willock to Castlereagh, no. 9, Tehran, 7 May 1818). The main reason for the revival of Ḳazwīn, however, was the growing importance of the trade routes through Trebizond and over the Caspian Sea. Malcolm notes its prosperity in 1801 as "the mart of all the commerce

of the Caspian" (quoted by C. Issawi, *The economic history of Iran, 1800-1914*, University of Chicago 1971, 262) and Consul Abbott, reporting on the trade in Persia in 1841, states that Ḳazwīn ranked equally with Tehran in the extent of its commerce and contained perhaps as many thriving and wealthy merchants from all parts of the country as any other city in Persia (Great Britain, Public Record Office, F.O. 60/92, Report on trade for 1841. Document (with omissions) in Issawi, *op. cit.*, 118). Mīrzā Ḥusayn Farāhānī, who passed through Ḳazwīn in 1884, states that it had 600 shops, 8 caravansarais, 40 mosques, 9 *madrasas* and 12 ice-pits (*yakhčāl*) (*Safarnāma*, 14 ff.). The importance of Ḳazwīn as an entrepôt for trade is also shown by the fact that in 1890 the Imperial Bank of Persia opened a branch there, taking over the agency of the New Oriental Banking Corporation (Issawi, 346). Communications were meanwhile improved. By the 1880s single wire lines belonging to the Persian government connected Ḳazwīn to Tehran (*ibid.*, 153-4). Metalled roads from Ḳazwīn to Tehran in 1899 and from Ḳazwīn to Hamadān in 1906 were completed under a concession granted to a Russian company in July 1893, and in 1913 a contract for a service of motors till the end of 1919 on the roads from Ḳazwīn to Rasht, Tehran and Hamadān was obtained by a Russian subject, and some cars were put into service (*ibid.*, 201).

In spite of the commercial importance of Ḳazwīn in the 19th century, there does not appear to have been any appreciable growth in population, though it is difficult to compare the figures given for different periods since the estimates are not necessary based upon the same criteria. Morier, writing in the early part of the century, puts the population at 25,000 (*A second journey*, 203), as also does William Ouseley (*Travels in various countries of the East, particularly Persia*, London 1819, iii, 377. Cf. also G. A. Olivier, *Voyage dans l'Empire Ottoman, l'Égypte et la Perse*, Paris 1801, iii, 49). A later report dated 1868, gives the same figure (United Kingdom, Parliament, Accounts and papers 1867-68, Thomson to Allison, Tehran, 20th April 1868, "Report on Persia". Document (with omissions) in Issawi, 28), but the census taken in 1298/1880-1 and 1299/1881-2 puts the population at 64,362 (Gulrīz, 391 ff.). Mīrzā Ḥusayn Farāhānī on the other hand states that it was 7,000 families or some 30,000 persons. The town was then divided into 17 districts (*maḥalla*). Its walls were mainly in ruins, but 12 gates were still standing (*Safarnāma*, 14-15). According to Curzon, the population was reputed to be 40,000 in 1889, but the actual figure was probably not more than two-thirds of this (*Persia and the Persian question*, London, i, 35). Various estimates for the early part of the 20th century, possibly following Curzon, also put the population at 40,000 (*Gazeteer of Persia*, Simla 1905, ii, 314; Sobotsinski, *Persiya: statistiko-ekonomičeskii očerke*, St. Petersburg 1913, quoted by Issawi, 34).

Ḳazwīn played little part in the events leading up to the grant of the constitution. In the first National Consultative Assembly it was represented by two deputies, and a provincial council (*andjuman-i vilāyatī*) was elected. Popular *andjumans* were also set up and established contact with the Tehran *andjumans*, but were dissolved after Muḥammad ʿAlī attacked the Assembly in 1908. After resistance to Muḥammad ʿAlī had been organized in Tabrīz and Iṣfahān and the nationalist movement had spread to Gīlān, the supporters of the constitution in Ḳazwīn, having taken *bast* in the Turkish *shāhbandarī*, established contact with the nationalists in Gīlān. The latter under Yeprim Khān took Ḳazwīn in 1909 and advanced from there on Tehran (Gulrīz, 861 ff.). In July, with a view to exerting pressure on the nationalists, Russia sent troops to Ḳazwīn. Most of these were withdrawn in March 1911, but in December more Russian troops were sent (*Gazeteer of Persia*, Simla 1914, ii, 310). In the troubled years after the suspension of the Assembly in 1911 and during World War I there was a general break-down of law and order in the province of Ḳazwīn as elsewhere. In June 1918 the headquarters of the "Dunsterforce" was established in Ḳazwīn, whence operations were undertaken against the Djangalīs. During the reign of Riḍā Shāh Ḳazwīn declined. As communications improved it ceased to be an important entrepôt and many of the merchant community and considerable numbers of the population in general moved to Tehran.

Bibliography: given substantially in the article, but add: Ḥusayn ʿAlī Sutūda, *Taʾrikhča-yi Ḳazwīn*, in *Barrasīhā-yi taʾrīkhī*, iv/4 (1969), 97-132, iv/5-6 (1969-70), 165-210; R. Mottahedeh, *Administration in Būyid Qazwīn*, in *Islamic civilisation 950-1150*, ed. D. S. Richards, Oxford 1973, 33-45.

(A. K. S. Lambton)

ii. Monuments

Most of Ḳazwīn's mediaeval mosques have disappeared, including the early mosque of Rabīʿ b. Khuthaym (possibly identical to the Djāmiʿ al-Thawr or Djāmiʿ al-Tūt of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥadjdjādj), the Great Mosque founded by Hārūn al-Rashīd, and four others mentioned by Zakariyyā al-Ḳazwīnī. In the 4th/10th century Ḳazwīn consisted of an inner and outer city with two Friday mosques. The town walls, begun by Hārūn al-Rashīd, eventually comprised 206 towers and 12 gates. They were rebuilt in 572/1176 by the vizier Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Marāghī; mud brick was used throughout except for the battlements and the huge gates.

The earliest surviving Islamic building yet identified in Ḳazwīn is the dome chamber of the Masdjid-i Djāmiʿ, which possibly rests on a pre-Islamic structure. Its long *awḳāf* inscriptions (a rarity in Iranian architecture) date it to between 500/1106 and 508/1114, and mention the patron, the *amīr* Abū Manṣūr Khumartāsh b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿImādī. This dome chamber adjoined a pre-existing *madrasa* built in the 4th/10th century by the Ṣāḥib Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbbād. According to Zakariyyā al-Ḳazwīnī, the size of this dome was unparalleled anywhere. He relates how the masons despaired of vaulting such a huge space until a passing boy suggested that they fill the interior with straw. Although the dome chamber's ground plan, with its double openings on all sides but the *ḳibla*, resembles those of major Saldjūḳ mosques in central Iran, the elevation is markedly different. The model may perhaps have been a large-scale fire temple. The internal zone of transition avoids the complex trilobed squinches of central Iran in favour of a broad simple squinch with a superposed hexadecagon of similar form. The ratio of width to height is less than in other Saldjūḳ dome chambers. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī records that the mosque was given two *īwāns* in 548/1153; if the north *īwān* dates from this time (its decoration is certainly Saldjūḳ) one would expect a matching southern *īwān* preceding the dome. Possibly the Saldjūḳ mosque even had four *īwāns*. The present mosque is unusually large; among religious buildings in Iran, only the

shrine of the Imām Riḍā at Mas̲h̲had and the Iṣfahān Ḏj̲āmiʿ are more extensive. It is mostly of Ṣafawīd and Ḳād̲j̲ār date; the south *īwān*, for example, bears an inscription of S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās II dated 1069/1658-9.

The Ḥaydariyya mosque or *madrasa* (its original function is uncertain) has close stylistic links with K̲h̲umartās̲h̲'s dome and could be dated a few years later. Its square dome chamber stands to the south of a courtyard surrounded by Ḳād̲j̲ār structures. The damaged squinch zone develops from that of K̲h̲umartās̲h̲'s dome, for the arches of the hexadecagon have tapering bases which fill the spandrels between the arches of the octagon, an imaginative integration of the two levels. The exquisite decoration, mainly in brick and plaster, is notable both for a masterly floriated Kufic inscription and for a very early use of glazed ornament. A distinctive architectural and decorative style was developed in Ḳazwīn during the Sald̲j̲ūḳ period and influenced buildings in the surrounding areas, such as the mosques of Ḳurwa and Sud̲j̲ās.

The so-called mausoleum of Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, which was recently restored, is of Mongol date. It has a square base, a square zone of transition with bevelled corners and a conical roof over an internal dome. Similar tomb towers abound in Māzandarān. The only completely Ṣafawīd monument in Ḳazwīn is the much-ruined palace of S̲h̲āh Ṭahmāsp, now a museum; a heavily restored *pīs̲h̲ṭāḳ* and a kiosk with some faded wall paintings survive. The last two centuries are represented by the Masd̲j̲id-i S̲h̲āh, the S̲h̲āhzāda Ḥusayn and an extremely rich and varied network of vaulted bazaars and caravansarais now being demolished.

Bibliography: A. Godard, in *Āt̲h̲ār-è Īrān*, i (1936), 193-201; D. N. Wilber, in *A Survey of Persian Art*, ed. A. U. Pope, Oxford and New York 1939, 996; P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arabischen Geographen*, repr. Hildesheim and New York 1969, 705-22.

(R. M. HILLENBRAND)

AL-ḲAZWĪNĪ, ABŪ ḤĀTIM MAḤMŪD B. AL-ḤASAN AL-ṬABARĪ, a S̲h̲āfiʿī jurist, teacher of al-S̲h̲īrāzī. He belonged to Āmul in Ṭabaristān where he began his studies. In Bag̲h̲dād he studied under Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfarāʾinī d. 406/1015-16, the law of inheritance under Ibn al-Labbān (d. 402/1011-12) and the *uṣūl* under Ibn al Bāḳillānī (d. 403/1012-13). He taught in Bag̲h̲dād and Āmul in 440/1048-9. Al-S̲h̲īrāzī describes him as his best teacher. Of his works the following are mentioned: 1) *Kitāb Tad̲j̲rīd al-Tad̲j̲rīd*, a synopsis of the legal work of the same name by al-Maḥāmilī (d. 415/1024-25); 2) *Rawnaḳ*, a synopsis of the *Lubāb al-Fiḳh* of al-Maḥāmilī (Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī K̲h̲alīfa, *Kas̲h̲f al-Zunūn*, no. 5702); 3) the *Kitāb al-Ḥiyal fi'l-Fiḳh* (ed. J. Schacht, Hanover 1924), the only one that has survived and one of the oldest works of the scanty S̲h̲āfiʿī literature on legal quibbles (*ḥiyal*). The book, unlike the Ḥanafī works of the same name by al-S̲h̲aybānī, al-K̲h̲aṣṣāf etc., was very little used for the practical purpose of getting round the S̲h̲arīʿa, but was rather primarily intended to point out legal quibbles which were forbidden or disapproved of, in keeping with the stricter S̲h̲āfiʿī standpoint, which regards the *ḥiyal* used by the Ḥanafīs as contemptible.

Bibliography: al-S̲h̲īrāzī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Fuḳahāʾ*, in al-Nawawi, *Biogr. Dict.*, ed. Wüstenfeld, no. 688; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-s̲h̲āfiʿiya al-kubrā*, Cairo 1324, iv, 12; Wüstenfeld, *Schafiʿiten*, no. 371 (= *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, 1891, xxxvii).

(W. HEFFENING)

AL-ḲAZWĪNĪ (K̲H̲AṬĪB DIMAS̲H̲Ḳ), D̲J̲ALĀL AL-DĪN ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. ʿUMAR (666-739/1268-1338), Chief *Ḳāḍī* in Syria and Egypt and author of two famous compendiums on rhetoric. Almost nothing is known about his early life. Most biographers mention that he was born in Mosul and that his elder brother, Imām al-Dīn ʿUmar, was born in Tabrīz in 653/1255. If it is true that the two brothers were related to ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Rāfiʿī (d. 623/1266; see Brockelmann, I, 393, S I, 678), as is reported by Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *al-Muk̲h̲taṣar fī ak̲h̲bār al-bas̲h̲ar* (Cairo 1325?), iv, 129 (cf. a quotation from al-Rāfiʿī by Ḳazwīnī in Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-s̲h̲āfiʿiyya*, Cairo 1324/1906, v, 124, and a note on the *nisba* al-Rāfiʿī in al-Asnawī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-s̲h̲āfiʿiyya*, Bag̲h̲dād 1390/1970, i, 572), the *nisba* al-Ḳazwīnī is explained. Ḳazwīnī himself claimed descent from Abū Dulaf al-ʿId̲j̲lī [*q.v.*] (cf. Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi-'l-wafayāt*, ed. Dedering, iii, Damascus 1953, 243; Ṣafadī probably knew Ḳazwīnī personally, since he held an *id̲j̲āza* from him and praised him in a poem quoted by Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, v, 239) and this claim is often reported in biographies, either explicitly or as part of the genealogy of Ḳazwīnī, though it cannot be proved (see Maṭlūb, 99-101). Unfortunately, these biographies do not mention when and under what circumstances Ḳazwīnī's family left their native town and give no details on the intellectual background of Ḳazwīnī's father, who was his first teacher (Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān*, Hyderabad 1337/1918-9, iv, 301, asserts that both his father and his grandfather held the rank of Chief *Ḳāḍī*; cf. also Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Ḳuḍāt Dimas̲h̲ḳ*, ed. Ṣ. Munad̲j̲d̲j̲id, Damascus 1956, 82, ll. 8-10, 87, ll. 14-16), or the studies of rhetoric he might have pursued at an early age. Since the *Asrār al-balāg̲h̲a* and the *Dalāʾil al-iʿd̲j̲āz* of ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-D̲j̲urd̲j̲ānī (d. 471/1078) were inaccessible to some scholars even in the Middle Ages, it would be interesting to know where Ḳazwīnī studied these two books, and whether he might possibly have composed the *Talk̲h̲īṣ* and the *Īḍāḥ* before coming to Damascus.

Some biographers assert that Ḳazwīnī held a position as *ḳāḍī* in a district of Anatolia when he was about twenty years old (this prompts Ibn Tag̲h̲rībirdī to raise the question whether Ḳazwīnī originally followed the S̲h̲āfiʿī *mad̲h̲hab*; see Maṭlūb, 107-8) and that he was already an accomplished scholar when he and his brother came to Damascus in or before 689/1290 (the date "after 690" given by Ibn Kat̲h̲īr, *al-Bidāya*, Cairo 1351/1932, xiv, 185, cannot be correct; see Maṭlūb, 108). His teachers, the most important of whom was ʿAlam al-Dīn al-Birzālī [*q.v.*], appear to have been interested mostly in *fiḳh*, *ḥadīt̲h̲*, logic, and the *ʿilm al-awāʾil*, and there are no indications that Ḳazwīnī owed his interest in rhetoric to any of them (Maṭlūb, 114-16). Apart from the two books he wrote on this subject, there is some further evidence of his talents as a man of letters: he is reported to have encouraged the study of *adab* through his lectures and to have composed an anthology of the poetry of Arrad̲j̲ānī [*q.v.*]. Ibn al-Ḳāḍī (*Durrat al-ḥid̲j̲āl*, Cairo 1390/1970, ii, 115) mentions a commentary on the *Tāʾiyya* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ by him, and Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī (*Ṣubḥ al-aʿs̲h̲ā*, i, 469) cites a commentary on a didactic poem on prosody by Sāwī (d. 749/1348; see Brockelmann, S II, 258). Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Subkī [*q.v.*] held an *id̲j̲āza* for the *Talk̲h̲īṣ al-miftāḥ* from Ḳazwīnī (see Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris fī taʾrīk̲h̲ al-madāris*, Damascus 1367/1948, i, 38-9) and Suyūṭī prided himself on possessing an autograph of this book (Ḳazwīnī's

handwriting was famous), on which he based his *urdjūza* (the *ʿUḳūd al-djumān*; see the ed. published in Cairo in 1358/1939, 3, and Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, Cairo 1326/1908-9, 66). Other indications of his literary talents come from a *taḳrīḍ* by him on a work by Djamāl al-Dīn b. Nubāta [*q.v.*] and the praise bestowed by biographers and poets on his eloquence (see Maṭlūb, 116-8, 139-52), which may have earned him the title Khaṭīb Dimashḳ (Taftāzānī, *al-Sharḥ al-muṭawwal*, Istanbul 1330/1911-2, 3; Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa, i, 210; Mehren, 7; this title does not appear as part of his name in any of the biographies known to the author of this article though the fact that he held the office of *Khaṭīb* is mentioned). Some assert that Ḳazwīnī knew Persian and Turkish in addition to Arabic. His competence in *fiḳh* was, according to Ibn al-ʿImād (*Shadharāt*, vi, 123), reflected in a work on the *uṣūl*.

In sharp contrast to the scarcity of information on Ḳazwīnī's early career, and the isolated data on his activities as a man of letters, are the many details on his official career, the most important of which are the following: He held various teaching positions and deputised for his brother (who had been appointed *ḳāḍī* in 696/1297) and Nadjm al-Dīn b. Ṣaṣrā [*q.v.*] in 705/1305, and became *khaṭīb* and *imām* of the Mosque of the Umayyads in 706/1307, and Chief *Ḳāḍī* and *Ḳāḍī* of the Army of Syria in 724/1324, having received the appointment in person from the Mamlūk sultan al-Nāṣir during a visit to Cairo (in 711/1311 he had distinguished himself by his personal courage in resisting the imposition of heavy taxes by one of al-Nāṣir's lieutenants, but this opposition had apparently not met with disfavour from al-Nāṣir, who had his lieutenant imprisoned; see Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, iii, Hyderabad 1373/1954, 235-6). Soon afterwards, in 727/1327, he was appointed Chief *Ḳāḍī* in Cairo, succeeding Badr al-Dīn Ibn Djamāʿa [*q.v.*]. This appointment marked the height of his career. No *ḳāḍī* was said to have gained an influence over a Turkish ruler comparable to Ḳazwīnī's. Unfortunately Ḳazwīnī's position was adversely influenced by the dissolute life of his sons, who were charged with corruption. In the end al-Nāṣir was unable to ignore the numerous complaints (Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, ed. M. Ziyāda, Cairo 1941, ii/2, 439-42; according to Ibn Ḥadjar, *al-Durar*, iv, Hyderabad 1350/1931, 4, he had been advised of these complaints as early as 724) and felt himself compelled to dismiss Ḳazwīnī and appoint him to his former position in Damascus, where he died soon afterwards on 15 Djumādā I 739/30 November 1338.

Of Ḳazwīnī's writings only the *Talkhīṣ al-miftāḥ* and the *Īḍāḥ fī ʿulūm al-balāgha* appear to have survived. The *Talkhīṣ* is a digest of the third section of the *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm* by Sakkākī [*q.v.*], which in turn is based on the *Asrār al-balāgha* and the *Dalāʾil al-iʿdjāz* of ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī [see ISTIʿĀRA]. The *Īḍāḥ* is an enlarged version of the *Talkhīṣ*. Both works, though not free from dryness and some casuistry, gained wide circulation, as is evidenced by the numerous manuscripts and commentaries that have come down to us; and their popularity to this day is shown by the existence of various printed editions (lists of manuscripts, printed editions, and commentaries in manuscript or in print in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, 210-11, 473-9; Brockelmann, II, 22, S II, 15; Maṭlūb, 169-82; 184-90). They completely superseded not only the two books by Djurdjānī, but also the work by Sakkākī. At the same time, however, they secured a firm place for the methodical approach that had been initiated by these two authors and influenced the older, unsystematic method of discussing literary theory in collections of chapters on the figures of speech (*badīʿ*) which continued to be practised. The main differences between the presentation of Ḳazwīnī and that of Sakkākī are: (a) Ḳazwīnī's classification of the *madjāz ʿaḳlī* as part of the *ʿilm al-maʿānī* (see Mehren, 30; Sakkākī classifies this group of figures under the *ʿilm al-bayān*); (b) the addition of a section on the *badīʿ* clearly distinguished from the sections on the *ʿilm al-maʿānī* (based on Djurdjānī's *Dalāʾil*) and the *ʿilm al-bayān* (based on Djurdjānī's *Asrār*; Sakkākī in dealing with these figures only speaks of "special methods frequently used for the purpose of embellishing a literary composition"); (c) the addition of chapters on *sariḳa*, *ibtidāʾ*, *takhalluṣ*, and *intihāʾ* [*qq.v.*]. Ḳazwīnī also consulted and discussed the two books by ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Djurdjānī and the *Kashshāf* of Zamakhsharī, and borrowed from some of his other predecessors, often without acknowledging his borrowings (Maṭlūb, 191-243). The oldest manuscript of the *Talkhīṣ* carried the date 724 (Maṭlūb, 164). The *Īḍāḥ*, which was intended as a supplement to the *Talkhīṣ*, cannot have been written before the *Talkhīṣ*, but nothing further is known about the date of composition of these books or the circumstances under which they were written.

Bibliography: Biographies appear in all the chronicles and collections of biographies dealing with the end of the 7th/13th and the 8th/14th centuries. The most important have been quoted in the article, but reference should also be made to Ṭashköprüzāde, *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda*, Cairo 1968, i, 209-10. Abstracts from the *Talkhīṣ* in A. F. Mehren, *Die Rhetorik der Araber*, Copenhagen-Vienna 1853; commentaries in *Shurūḥ al-talkhīṣ*, Cairo 1937. The only detailed study of Ḳazwīnī and his work is A. Maṭlūb, *al-Ḳazwīnī wa-shurūḥ al-talkhīṣ*, Baghdad 1387/1967; see also the introduction to H. Ritter's ed. of Djurdjānī's *Asrār al-balāgha*, Istanbul 1954, 6-7.

(S. A. BONEBAKKER)

ḲAZWĪNĪ, ḤAMD ALLĀH [see ḤAMD ALLĀH MUSTAWFĪ].

AL-ḲAZWĪNĪ, NADJM AL-DĪN ʿABD AL-GHAFFĀR B. ʿABD AL-KARĪM, a Shāfiʿī jurist and Ṣūfī who died in Muḥarram 665/October 1266. The most important of his writings was a work known either as *al-Ḥāwī fi 'l-furūʿ* or *al-Ḥāwī fi 'l-fatāwī*, or simply as *al-Ḥāwī*, which became a widely used textbook of Shāfiʿī *fiḳh*, and was the subject of numerous commentaries and glosses: seventeen are listed by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (*Kashf al-ẓunūn*, ed. Yaltkaya and Bilge, i, cols. 625-7). A versified paraphrase of the work, *al-Bahdjat al-wardiyya*, by Zayn al-Dīn ʿUmar b. Muẓaffar al-Wardī (d. 749/1348) became especially popular. Al-Ḳazwīnī also wrote *al-Lubāb fi 'l-fiḳh*, a briefer work than *al-Ḥāwī*, and himself composed a commentary on it, *al-ʿIdjāb fī sharḥ al-lubāb*; and a book on mathematics is also attributed to him. In addition to his accomplishments as a jurist, he was celebrated as a Ṣūfī possessed of wondrous powers. While travelling to Mecca for the *ḥadjdj*, he was seen to be working on *al-Ḥāwī* in the depth of the night, with the paper illumined by a mysterious light from his fingers. During this journey, he is related to have met Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234), founder of the Suhrawardī order or *ṭarīḳa*, who encouraged him to complete the writing of *al-Ḥāwī*. He spent most of his life in Ḳazwīn, where he was celebrated for his luminous fingers as well as other *karāmāt*.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S I, 679; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, ed. Yaltkaya and Bilge, i, cols. 625-7, ii, col. 1043; Yūsuf b. Ismāʿīl al-Nabhānī, *Djāmiʿ karāmāt al-awliyāʾ*, Cairo 1381/1962, ii, 194; Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, Cairo 1324/1906, v, 118; Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, Cairo 1954, iv, 157.
(H. ALGAR)

AL-ḲAZWĪNĪ, ZAKARIYYĀʾ B. MUḤAMMAD B. MAḤMŪD Abū Yaḥyā (Ḥādjdji Khalīfa, iv, 188-9: Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Kūfī al-Ḳazwīnī), famous Arab cosmographer and geographer. He drew his origin from an Arab family (his ancestor, Shaykh Abu 'l-Ḳāsim b. Hibat Allāh al-Ḳazwīnī, was probably descended from Anas b. Malik [*q.v.*]), who had been Persianised after settling at Ḳazwīn in Persia. Judging from certain solecisms to be found in al-Ḳazwīnī's works, Arabic does not seem to have been his mother tongue.

He was born at Ḳazwīn, probably towards 600/1203 and seems to have received there his legal education. At a moment difficult to establish he left his native town, went to Baghdād and stayed also some time in Damascus where he met, probably towards 630/1233, the well-known philosopher and mystic Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240 [*q.v.*]). It was apparently at this period that he visited al-Mawṣil where he met Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (d. 637/1239 [see IBN AL-ATHĪR], and perhaps also the town of Sindjār. Al-Ḳazwīnī travelled also in Persia and paid a visit to the town of Djannāba. According to Ibn Taghrībirdī, he stayed for a long time in al-Wāsiṭ and al-Ḥilla, where he fulfilled the function of *ḳāḍī* under the reign of the last ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mustaʿṣim (640-56/1240-58). We do not know where he met the Arab philologist and geographer Ibn Saʿīd al-Gharnāṭī [*q.v.*] who went to the East in 648/1250. From al-Kūfī, one of his *nisbas*, it would follow that he lived for a certain time in Kūfa. After Baghdād had taken by the Mongols in 656/1258, he retired from public life to devote himself entirely to scientific activities. It is quite probable that he found a Maecenas in the Persian historian and statesman al-Djuwaynī (d. 682/1283 [*q.v.*]), from 661/1262 governor of Baghdād on behalf of Hūlāgū and his successor Abāḳā. It is perhaps because of his presumed protection that he dedicated his cosmographical work to al-Djuwaynī. He died in 682/1283. (On his name and life, see his *Cosmography*, ii; *Āthār al-bilād*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1848, 121, 232, 263, 293, 310, 334, 349, 367-8 and *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt*, in margins of al-Damīrī, *Ḥāyat al-Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1319/1901-2, 3; S. de Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*[2], iii, 447, 448 ff.; F. Wüstenfeld, in *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen*, i (1848), 349 ff.; M. Reinaud, *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, tr. i, Paris 1848, pp. cxliii-cl; Brockelmann, *GAL* I, 481; M. Streck, *al-Ḳazwīnī*, in *EI*[1]; I. Yu. Kračkovsky, *Arabskaya geografičeskaya literatura*, in *idem*, *Izbrannye sočineniya*, iv, Moscow-Leningrad 1957, 359-60.)

Al-Ḳazwīnī is the author of two works, a cosmographical one and a geographical one. The first, commonly named *Cosmography*, has the title *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt wa-gharāʾib al-mawdjūdāt* "Prodigies of things created and miraculous aspects of things existing". This work is divided into two parts, the first of which treats of supraterrestrial things, and the second of terrestrial ones. In the first part the author describes the celestial phenomena, i.e. the moon, the sun, the stars, and speaks then of the inhabitants of heaven, the angels. At the end of this part he explains the problems of chronology and of the Arabic and Syrian calendars. The second part begins with a treatise on the four elements, the meteors and the winds. The author then describes the division of the earth into seven climates and gives a description of all the known seas and rivers. Having explained the causes of earthquakes and of the formation of mountains and wells, he passes in review the three kingdoms of nature: the mineral, the vegetable and the animal. The description of the animal kingdom is preceded by that of man, his character and anatomy, and by a characteristic of human tribes. The other living beings are discussed after *djinns* and *ghūls* have been dealt with.

Al-Ḳazwīnī's *Cosmography*, the first systematic exposition of cosmography in Muslim literature, enjoyed great popularity in the whole of the Islamic world, as is attested by a great number of manuscripts representing several Arabic versions, by Persian and Turkish translations and by the revisions of the work. J. Ruska (*Ḳazwīnī-Studien*, in *Isl.*, iv (1913), 14-66, and 236-62) has shown against Wüstenfeld (see the latter's edition of the *ʿAdjāʾib, Kosmographie i.* Göttingen 1849, pp. vii-xii) that there were four different Arabic versions of the *Cosmography*, the second of which, represented by Cod. Monac. 464, the oldest manuscript known so far, and by many others, seems to be the best. Wüstenfeld however, for his edition of the *ʿAdjāʾib*, has chosen the most recent version (iv) which is only an 18th century recast of al-Ḳazwīnī's original work. This recast is represented by ms. Gotha 1508. Besides, Wüstenfeld has greatly complicated his edition by rejecting several fragments of version (iv) and replacing them with fragments taken from manuscripts belonging to other versions of the *ʿAdjāʾib*. Thus he has fabricated a completely new text which does not represent any of the existing versions of the work. Besides Wüstenfeld's edition, there is also a Cairo edition (n.d., 8°, 416 pp.), based on a manuscript related to Cod. Monac. 464 and analogous to the edition of the *Cosmography* published in the margins of the edition of al-Damīrī's *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān* (Cairo 1319/1901-2).

The manuscripts of the *Cosmography* are often illustrated with *i.a.* geometrical tables and miniatures representing plants, animals and various monsters, which have sometimes a high artistic value (on the Arabic versions, the Persian and Turkish translations and the manuscripts of these versions, see al-Ḳazwīnī, *Kosmographie*. i, ed. Wüstenfeld, iii-xii; Streck, *op. cit.*; ʿA.M. ʿAḳḳād, *al-Fuṣūl*, 123-7; Brockelmann, S I, 883; Kračkovsky, *op. cit.*, 362-5; M. Kowalska, *Eine unbekannte Handschrift al-Ḳazwīnīs Kitāb ʿAǧāʾib al-maḫlūḳāt*, in *Folia Orientalia*, i/2 (1959), 326-32).

The sources of the *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt* have not yet been studied (see on this problem Pertsch, *Kat. d. arab. Handschr. zu Gotha*, iii, 431). Going through Wüstenfeld's edition one can discover some twenty-odd authors whose works have been used, from al-Djāḥiẓ and Ibn al-Faḳīh down to Ibn al-Athīr, the most often-quoted being the one by Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī and the anonymous treatise entitled *Tuḥfat al-gharāʾib* (see M. Kowalska, *Remarks on the unidentified Cosmography Tuḥfat al-ġarāʾib*, in *Folia Orientalia*, ix (1967), 11-8). The connexions between the *Cosmography* and Yāḳūt's *Muʿdjam al-buldān* are still to be established.

From what has been said above, it is evident that there does not yet exist any critical edition of the *Cosmography*. Wüstenfeld's edition stimulated a translation by H. Ethé (Leipzig 1868) which

comprises, however, only the first part. At the beginning of the 19th century A. L. de Chézy translated the chapters on the minerals, the vegetables and the human being (see S. de Sacy, *op. cit.* iii, 385-516). In his *Über die Ursprung und die Bedeutung der Sternnamen* (Berlin 1809), L. Ideler published an annotated edition of the chapter on the stars. Of the partial editions, translations and studies of the *Cosmography* the following are mentioned here by way of example J. Ruska, *Das Steinbuch aus der Kosmographie des ... al-Ķazwīnī*, Heidelb. Prog. d. Oberrealschule, Kirchhain N.-L. 1896; *Über den falschen und den echten Ķazwīnī*, in *Mitt. Gesch. Naturwiss.*, xiii (1914), 183-8; S. J. Anbacher, *Die Abschnitte über die Geister u. die wunderbaren Geschöpfe aus Qazwīnī's Kosmographie...*, Kirchhain N.-L. 1905; F. Taeschner, *Die Psychologie Ķazwīnī*, thesis Kiel, Tübingen 1912; E. Wiedemann, *Über die Kriechtiere nach al-Qazwīnī*, dans *SB Phys.-med. Soc. Erlangen*, xlviii-xlix (1916-7), 222-85; *Übersetzung und Besprechung des Abschnittes über die Pflanzen von Qazwīnī*, *ibid.*, 286-321; G. Jacob, *Studien in arabischen Geographen*, Berlin 1892, iii, 94-124: *Ornithologisches zu Qazwīnī*; G. Ferrand, *La Tuḥfat al-albāb de Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī al-Ġarnāṭī*, dans *JA*, (Oct.-Dec. 1925), 230-35; A. Seippel, *Rerum normannicarum fontes arabici*, Oslo 1896-1928, 102-3 and 140-1 and *Adnotationes criticae*, pp. XLVI and LXVI-LXVII.

Al-Ķazwīnī's second work, commonly called *Geography*, is known from several manuscripts belonging to two different versions. The oldest, entitled *ʿAdjāʾib al-buldān* "Prodigies of the Countries" (see Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iv, 186) was composed in 661/1262-3 (see Reinaud, *op. cit.* cxliv). The second completely revised version dates from 674/1275-6. It carries the title *Āthār al-bilād wa-akhbār al-ʿibād* "Monuments of the Countries and History of their Inhabitants" (see Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 154). The four manuscripts of the second version served Wüstenfeld as the basis for his edition of the *Geography/Cosmography, ii: Āthār al-bilād*, Göttingen 1848. Another edition, Beirut 1380/1960-1, is in fact only a reproduction of Wüstenfeld's publication.

The description of the earth in the *Āthār al-bilād* follows the Ptolemaic division of the *oikoumene* into seven climates. The cities, countries, mountains, rivers etc. situated in each of these climates are described in alphabetical order. The description of each city or country contains geographical and historical facts and also biographical data on famous personalities originating from them. Thus the *Geography* resembles the *Muʿdjam al-buldān* of Yāķūt so far as the disposition of the material is concerned (except that in al-Ķazwīnī's work the material is distributed over seven different dictionaries according to the division in climates). Certain articles of the *Geography*, concerning e.g. various mountains, rivers etc. can also be found in the *Cosmography*, often with exactly the same tenor.

Besides the two Arabic versions, several Persian revisions and Turkish abridgements of the *Geography* are known. Towards 808/1403 al-Bākuwī gave a new version of it, which is independent of the two Arabic versions mentioned above (on the various versions and translations of the *Geography* and on the manuscripts of this work, see Wüstenfeld, *Kosmographie.* ii, pp. iii-x; Streck, *op. cit.*, Brockelman, S I, 882-3).

As opposed to the sources of the *Cosmography*, those of *Āthār al-bilād* have been object of some studies. Already F. Wüstenfeld had compiled a list (very incomplete, however) of the sources used by al-Ķazwīnī (*Gött. Gelehrte Anzeigen*, i, (1848), 351). He returned to this problem in his edition of Yāķūt's *Muʿdjam al-buldān* (Leipzig 1866-70, v, 46-7) where he propounded the opinion that al-Ķazwīnī made extensive use of this work, without mentioning this use. W. Jwaideh (*The Introductory Chapters of Yāqūt's Muʿjam al-Buldān*, Leiden 1959, 44, n. 1) has shown that al-Ķazwīnī borrowed from Yāķūt the preliminary descriptions of all seven climates. In 1967 M. Kowalska published the first serious study on the sources of the *Geography* in an article entitled *The Sources of al-Qazwīnī's Āthār al-Bilād*, in *Folia Orientalia*, viii (1966), 41-88, in which she gives a detailed analysis of those sources. From this it appears that nearly 360 articles out of the *ca.* 600 which form the total of al-Ķazwīnī's geographical dictionary contain data borrowed from the *Muʿdjam al-buldān*, and that a very considerable part (viz. 157) of these 360 articles contain nothing else but extracts from Yāķūt's work. Thus the *Muʿdjam al-buldān* forms the principal source of the *Āthār al-bilād*. M. Kowalska's study shows also that all quotations from al-Yaʿķūbī, Ibn al-Faķīh, Ibn Faḍlān, Ibn Ḥawķal, al-Muķaddasī and from the two *risāla*s of Abū Dulaf to be found in al-Ķazwīnī's *Geography*, have been borrowed by the latter not from the original works of the geographers in question but from the *Muʿdjam al-buldān*. She has also established an almost complete list of the fragments al-Ķazwīnī has extracted from other Arabic sources, from which are cited here the works of Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad al-Ṭurṭūshī (= Ibrāhīm b. Yaʿķūb al-Ṭurṭūshī; see T. Kowalski, *Relatio Ibrahim ibn Jaʿkūb de itinere slavico*, Cracow 1946, 21-35), al-Bīrūnī, al-ʿUdhri, Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī and an anonymous cosmographical treatise of the 12th century entitled *Tuḥfat al-gharāʾib*. Finally, she has compiled a list of al-Ķazwīnī's oral informants. The author of the *Āthār al-bilād* owes his knowledge of West Africa to two of these informants (see M. Kowalska, *Zwei wenig bekannte muslimische Reisende in West-Sudan im 13. Jh.*, in *Folia Orientalia*, iii (1961), 231-4).

Although rather uncritical and lacking an index, Wüstenfeld's edition of the *Āthār al-bilād* became nevertheless the starting-point of several partial editions, translations and special studies on the various chapters of the work. These studies are: G. Jacob, *Studien in arabischen Geographen*, Berlin 1892, ii, 38-9, 60-1; idem, *Arabische Berichte von Gesandten an germanische Fürstenhöfe aus dem 9. und 10. Jarhhundert*, Berlin-Leipzig 1927, 21-33; A. Seippel, *Rerum normannicarum fontes arabici*, 24-5, 44 and *Adnot. crit.*, pp. XII-XIII, XX; G. Ferrand, *Le Tuḥfat al-albāb d'Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī al-Ġarnāṭī*, in *JA* (1925), 235-9; M. C. Lyons, *Some Aspects of Al-Qazwīnī's Āthār al-Bilād*, in *Glasgow Univ. Or. Soc. Trans.*, xx, (1963-4), 63-76; M. Kowalska, *Namensregister zu Ķazwīnī's Āṯār al-Bilād*, in *RO*, xxix/1, (1965), 99-115, xxx/1, (1966), 119-34; idem, *Al-Qazwīnī's Āthār al-Bilād and the quotations from Abū Dulaf's Narrative*, in *Atti del III Congresso di Studi Arabi e Islamici, Ravello 1966*, Naples 1967, 427-35.

Al-Ķazwīnī was the greatest of Arabic cosmographers. He was at the same time astronomer, geographer, geologist, mineralogist, botanist, zoologist and ethnographer. Like all his predecessors (who appeared already in the 6th/12th century), he was only a good compiler who neither produced a new fact nor created any new theory. Being, however, very learned and very cultivated at the same time, he succeeded in synthesizing all the facts known

in his time about the above-mentioned sciences. His principal merit lies in his having accomplished the raising of cosmography to a literary genre of extremely high level. He was also a talented vulgariser who knew to express himself clearly and realized that erudition should not exceed certain limits, in order not to discourage the general public. His language is clear, simple and varied, although he often does not give anything but a mosaic of extracts from sources, arranged nevertheless in a skilful way. Highly appreciated by certain modern Arabists who sometimes compare him to Herodotus and Pliny (Reinaud, *op. cit.* p. cxliv; see also Streck, *op. cit.* and Kračkovsky, *op. cit.* 358-9), al-Ḳazwīnī has been judged far too severely by other scholars. G. von Grunebaum (*Medieval Islam*, Chicago 1947, 301-2, 304) quotes two passages from the *ʿAdjāʾib al-makhlūḳāt* to illustrate the decline of critical science in the 7th/13th century, and G. Wiet (*Introduction à la littérature arabe*, Paris 1966, 210) looks upon al-Ḳazwīnī's *Cosmography* as a work "devoid of critical mind" and "lacking originality". Accordingly, M. Kowalska (*The Sources*, 87-8) calls him "an amateur geographer ... [who] selected the available data rather uncritically often in a quite accidental way". She also insists that he "has plagiarized the writing of the older geographers and historians". Indeed, the impression cannot be resisted that al-Ḳazwīnī surpassed all the other Arabic cosmographers and geographers in plagiarism. This results clearly from the way in which he unscrupulously plundered the *Muʿdjam al-buldān* without even mentioning the name of the author of his main source.

Al-Ḳazwīnī exerted a great influence on the Arabic cosmographers and geographers of later periods. His two works have been turned to account by authors like Shams al-Dīn al-Dimashḳī (d. 727/1327), Aḥmad b. Ḥamdān al-Ḥarrānī (writing *ca.* 732/1332), Ḥamd Allāh Ḳazwīnī (d. towards 750/1349), al-Damīrī (d. 808/1405), Ibn al-Wardī (d. 861/1457) and several others, down to Maḥmūd b. Saʿīd al-Safāḳusī (d. after 1233/1818). On this question, see *inter alia*, A. F. Mehren, *Manuel de la cosmographie du moyen âge*, Paris-Copenhagen-Leipzig 1874, 165, 168, 179, 186-91, 198 and *passim*; Kračkovsky, *op. cit.*, 365, 385-6, 493, 598, 618 and 748-9.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(T. LEWICKI)

AL-ḲAZZĀZ, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. DJAʿFAR AL-TAMĪMĪ, was born in Ḳayrawān and spent most of his life there. Attached to the Fāṭimid caliphs, who held him in high esteem and loaded him with gifts, he followed them—probably for a very brief time—to Egypt and then returned to Ḳayrawān, where he devoted himself to teaching the linguistic sciences until his death in 412/1021-2, aged about 90. Respected by the great and loved by the people for his powerful personality, his exemplary life and his great liberality, he was venerated by his students, most of whom became prominent men of letters, such as Ibn Rashīḳ, Ibn Sharaf and Ibn al-Barr, whose teaching of language and grammar was authoritative in Spain, and also al-Ḥātimī, the celebrated detractor of al-Mutanabbī.

Although considered by critics an excellent poet of verses "at once natural and studied" and often referred to by Ibn Rashīḳ for problems of literary criticism (see refs. to *al-ʿUmda* in the bibliography below), it is chiefly for his numerous and voluminous works on grammar and lexicography that al-Ḳazzāz seems to have commanded attention in his lifetime. The following titles are cited: (1) *Kitāb al-ḥurūf*, which seems to be the same as *al-Djāmiʿ*, is a vast compilation bringing together the meaning of each particle, *ḥarf*, its use, its value, and its role in the sentence; (2) *Kitāb al-ʿasharāt* (published Sidon 1344/1925-6), a lexicographic work on words carrying ten or more different meanings; (3) *Kitāb al-ḥulā wa 'l-shiyāt*, Sidon 1344/1925-6, on the anatomy of the human body, for the use of scribes and slave dealers; (4) *Kitāb al-muthallath*, on patterns with triple vocalisation; (5) *Kitāb al-ḍād wa 'l-ẓāʾ*; (6) *Kitāb al-taʿrīḍ wa 'l-taṣrīḥ*; (7) *Kitāb mā yadjūz li 'l-shāʿir fī 'l-ḍarūra*, on poetic licence; éd. M. Kaʿbī, Tunis 1971; (8) *Iʿrāb al-Duraydiyya*, a commentary on the poem called *al-Maḳṣūra* by Ibn Durayd; (9) *Sharḥ Risālat al-balāgha*, on a work of rhetoric; (10) *Kitāb abyāt al-maʿānī*, on the riddling verses of al-Mutanabbī; (11) *Kitāb mā ukhidha ʿan al-Mutanabbī min al-laḥn wa 'l-ghalaṭ*, on the criticisms arising from certain instructions in the poetry of al-Mutanabbī; (12) *Kitāb adab al-sulṭān wa-'l-taʾaddub lahu*, in 10 volumes, probably a work on the rules of conduct for princes and those to be observed towards them. (For the mss. of these works, see Brockelmann in the Bibliography below.)

By the nature and worth of his teaching and his writings, al-Ḳazzāz seems to have played a determining role in the philological orientation which characterises the "Literary School of Ḳayrawān" under the Zīrids.

Bibliography: Ibn Rashīḳ, *al-ʿUmda*, Cairo 1955, i, 72, 107, 131, 155, 174, 183, ii, 78, 85, 186, 187, 188, 245; Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasa*, Beirut 1963, 362-3; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, Cairo 1922, viii, 111; xviii, 105-9; xix, 37; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1948, iv, 9-11; al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, i, 318, iii, 84-7, 315; idem, *al-Muḥammadūn min al-shuʿarāʾ*, Beirut 1970, 185-6; Ibn Diḥya, *al-Muṭrib*, Cairo 1954, 88; al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, MS. 2327 Paris, f. 130; Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī*, ii, 304-5; Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, Cairo 1955-6, i, 133, no. 340; Maḳḳarī, *Nafḥ*, Cairo 1949, i, 374; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 29; idem, *Muzhir*[3], Cairo, i, 88 (in which the person identified with Ibn al-Ḳazzāz in the footnote is in fact another writer), 96; Ḥ. Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Bisāṭ al-ʿaḳīḳ*, Tunis 1330, 57; idem, *Waraḳāt*, Tunis 1965, i, 102-3; Maymanī, *Ibn Rashīḳ*, Cairo 1343, 37-9; Brockelmann, S I, 539; R. Blachère, *Un poète arabe du IVe siècle de l'Hégire*, Paris 1935, 292; H.-R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Zirides*, Paris 1962, 779-80 and index; ʿA.-R. Yāghī, *Ḥayāt al-Ḳayrawān*, Beirut 1962, 95, 137-40; Ch. Bouyahia, *La vie littéraire en Ifrīḳiya sous les Zīrides*, Tunis 1972, index.

(CH. BOUYAHIA)

KEČE. [see LIBĀS].

KEČEDJĪ-ZĀDE. [see FUʾĀD PASHA; ʿIZZET MOLLĀ].

KEČIBOYNUZU IBRĀHĪM ḤILMĪ PASHA (b. 1160/1747, d. 1240/1825) Ottoman Grand Vizier, November 1806-June 1807. The son of a Janissary officer, he rose through various posts in the corps to the chief command (hence he is sometimes referred to as Ibrāhīm "Agha"). Upon the dismissal of Ḥāfiẓ Ismāʿīl Pasha (14 November 1806), provoked by the attempt to use the troops of the Niẓām-i Djedīd [*q.v.*] in Rūmeli, he was appointed Grand Vizier. As *serdār* against Russia (war having been declared by the Porte on 22 December), he led a refractory army of Janissaries and volunteers to Silistre (May 1807), where, however, no military

activity ensued. When news of the final rising against Selīm III (the "Kabakčī waḳʿasī", 25 May) reached the camp, the Janissaries rose in sympathy and Ibrāhīm fled into hiding at Rusčuk. He was dismissed on 18 June. The various governorships he held thereafter are listed in *SʿO*, i, 154. For the context of these events and full bibliography, see S. J. Shaw, *Between old and new. The Ottoman Empire under Selim III, 1789-1807*, Harvard Middle Eastern Studies no. 15, 1971, and SELĪM III. (ED.)

KĔDAH. [see KALAH].

LE **KEF.** [see AL-KĀF].

KEFE, KAFA, KAFFA, the old name of the town of modern Theodosia (Russian Feodosia), on the southeastern coast of the Crimea. In classical times its name was Theodosia, and it was founded in the first half of the 7th century B.C. as a colony from Miletus in Ionia. It is first mentioned in 390 B.C., and according to the sources, the town derived great profit from exports to Greece, having a port with a capacity for 100 ships. However, the town's trade was harmed by attacks of the Scythian tribes living in the steppes to the north of Kefe. Kefe is recorded by Constantine Porphyrogenitus in the form *Kapha* as the place where the people of the Chersonese fought with the king of the Bosphorus. In the following centuries, Kefe was founded. This place was known as *Caphum* in Roman days, and the Byzantines erected a column which bears an inscription with the date 819 A.D. (E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks in South Russia*, repr. New York 1965, ii, 555-8; Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-encyclopädie*, v, A, 2, cols. 1921-2; for the other accounts concerning the name Kefe, see J. Buchan Telfer, *The Crimea and Transcaucasia*, London 1876, i, 74). With one or two exceptions, the name Kefe is not mentioned in other sources before the 13th century.

Geographical conditions linked the Crimea, and naturally Kefe, to the Ḳīpčaḳ steppes, and also via the Black Sea to Anatolia, and especially to Istanbul. In the development of the East-West and South-North transit trade, Kefe played a great role. Like other Crimean ports, it was dependent on Byzantium, but autonomous in its internal affairs. When the Latins captured Constantinople in 1204, it became dependent on the Byzantine kingdom of Trebizond. From the 13th century onwards, the Saldjūḳs of Rūm became concerned with the Crimean peninsula; there were some Turkish traders active at that time in Kefe, and the Kefe-Sinope-Istanbul route was the most used in the Black Sea (G. I. Bratianu, *Recherches sur le commerce génois dans la Mer Noire au XIIIe siècle*, Paris 1929, 228). When Genoa and Venice obtained permission to trade in the Byzantine lands, the Genoese assumed the more active role in the Black Sea and in the region of Crimea. The Crimean ports benefited from the peace established within the steppes by the Mongols, and the Genoese, probably *ca.* 1266, received permission to trade and to live in Kefe with the consent of the Golden Horde Khān Mengü Tīmūr, as well as from Urān Tīmūr, grandson of Djoči, who was the ancestor of the Crimean Khāns and who had been granted the land as an appanage (Bratianu, 198 ff.; W. Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant au Moyen-âge*, repr. Leipzig 1939, ii, 163 ff.). The Genoese built city walls around Kefe and also founded some other trade colonies near it. At the time when Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Kefe, it could accommodate 200 ships (*Riḥla*, tr. Gibb, i, 142-3). Kefe had a cosmopolitan population, and was nominally dependent on the Golden Horde Khān (decree of Tīmūr Ḳutlugh dated 800/1398, cf. A. Nimet Kurat, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivindeki Altınordu, Kırım ve Türkistan hanlarına ait yarlık ve bitikler*, Istanbul 1940, 148-9). Apart from the many Muslims, there were also Genoese, Greeks and Armenians and it was estimated that in 823/1420 the population in the city was *ca.* 40,000 (Schiltberger, *Travels and Bondage*, London 1879, 49, 50). Pero Tafur says that the city was as big as Seville, but twice as crowded; and since the slave-trade was important there, there were agents of the Mamlūk state despatching slaves from the Caucasus to Egypt (*Travels and Adventures, 1435-1439*, London 1926, 132, 133 ff.). In Kefe there was a *tudun* whose task was to look after the Muslims on behalf of the Golden Horde Khān, and also a customs officer to collect the duties on commerce (Kurat, *op. cit.*, 64, 149; Heyd, *op. cit.*, ii, 370).

After the Giray Crimean Khānate came into existence, it began a continuous struggle with the Genoese. With the support of an Ottoman force, Ḥādjdjī Giray (d. 860/1456) besieged Kefe; the Genoese bought them off by agreeing to pay a tribute of 3,000 gold pieces (Heyd, ii, 383), although Ḥādjdjī Giray continued to exert pressure on the town.

Attempts by the Genoese to impede Ottoman trade in the Black Sea determined the Ottomans to move against Kefe. Gedik Aḥmed Pasha conquered Kefe with 300 ships of varying tonnage at the beginning of Ṣafar 880/June 1475 (ʿĀshīḳpashazāde, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1332, 213-15; Ibn Kemāl, *Tewārīkh-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, ed. Şerafettin Turan, Ankara 1954, 421-3; Heyd, ii, 401 ff.). Kefe and other Genoese strongholds were now taken directly under Ottoman sovereignty, whilst the landward parts and high plateau of Crimea were left to the Crimean Khānate. In the time of Bāyezīd II (886-918/1481-1512), Kefe became a princely *sandjaḳ* and first the prince Meḥemmed, and then after his death, Süleymān son of Selīm I, became the governors of this *sandjaḳ*. During his struggle for the throne, Selīm had had to stay in Kefe for a while (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, N.E. 98; Çagatay Uluçay, *Yavuz Sultan Selim nasıl padişah oldu*, in *TD*, ix (Istanbul 1954), 81, 89-90).

The trade of Kefe was now in the hands of Turkish Muslim traders, following the Kefe-Sinop-Istanbul and Kefe-Trebizond routes, and according to the Kefe customs record book, dated 892/1487, trade was brisker than before (see Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Kefe mukataası defteri, No. 5280 *mükerrer*).

The internal condition of the town is known from a *taḥrīr* register from the reign of Süleymān I; according to this, Kefe was divided into three sections, the Ič Ḳalʿe (Inner fortress), the Frenk Ḥiṣārī (the European castle) and the Ḳalʿe altī (the lower side of the castle); Muslims resided in Ič Ḳalʿe and Frenk Ḥiṣārī, and Christians (such as Greeks, Armenians, Russians), Jews and Circassians used to stay in Ḳalʿe altī (Khāk-ī-Ḳalʿe) (Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü; Tapu-Taḥrīr defteri, No. 370, pp. 481-3).

Muslims	*quarters*	*local groups*	*house-holds*	*single persons*
Frenk Ḥiṣārī	10	—	139	34
Ḳalʿe-i Bīrūn	11	—	176	52
non-Muslims				
Khāk-ī Ḳalʿe		26		
Greeks	—		519	27
Armenians	—		1338	74
Russians	—		34	1
Circassians	—		11	—
Jews	—		92	1
Totals	21	26	2309	189

In the quarters where Muslims lived, there were 17 small mosques and 2 large ones. The taxes collected from Muslims and Christians were assigned as personal revenues for the *sandjak beg*. Goods imported into Kefe included hemp, dyestuffs, various kinds of thread, cotton cloth, beeswax, oil, fat, rice, cheese, hardware, etc. (Kefe mukataası defteri, No. 5280 *mükerrer*). Exports included various kinds of fruits, olives, dried and fresh fruits, wheat, corn, barley, chickpeas, lentils, flour, honey, olive oil, horses, cattle, various kinds of leather, dried fish and caviare (*Ḳānūn-name-i iskele-yi Kefe*, Taputaḥrīr defteri, No. 370, p. 479). Above all, slaves captured in South Russia and the Ḳîpčaḳ steppes were sent to Kefe, which was a traditional centre of the slave-trade. The annual customs income of Kefe was 620,000 *aḳčas* (*Ḳānūn-nāme-yi iskele-i Kefe*, pp. 479, 483; for the *pendjik* duty (sc. that which used to be taken for each slave) in 1118/1706, see Kâmil Kepeci Tasnifi, No. 5277, p. 70b). In 1052/1642 there were 4,000 houses in Kefe; 3,200 of these were occupied by Muslims and the rest by the minorities, especially by Armenians and Greeks (Chardin, *Voyages*, Amsterdam 1701, i, 104). When Ewliyā Čelebi visited the city, the Muslims used to live in 80 districts, and Christians used to live as 120 local groups. Within and outside the town, there were 9,060 houses, 20 fountains, 105 *sebīls*, 9 inns for bachelors, 1,010 shops, 160 flour mills, 50 smaller mosques, 60 big mosques, 9 dervish *tekkes*, 45 schools, 10 public baths and 43 traders' caravanserais. Among the 167 different craftsmen, the most notable were tailors, jewellers, shoe makers, and prayer-rug weavers; most of the population in the second half of the 11th/17th century were involved in the slave trade or the oil and export of honey (*Seyāḥatnāme*, vii, 673 ff., 678-9, 682). In the town of Kefe, which now acquired a characteristic Turkish appearance, the most prominent buildings included the mosque of Sultan Selīm I; the mosque of Prince Süleymān; the Kule Kapisi mosque, built in 888/1483; the Sultan Süleymān public bath; the Kodja Ḳāsim Pasha Khān, built in 981/1573; the Wezīr Khān; the tomb of Muṣṭafā (d. 1070/1659-60); and the Shehīd Baba Ziyāreti (Ewliyā Čelebi, vii, 673 ff., 682; Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Ali Emiri Tasnifi, I. Mahmud kismi, No. 1522, III. Osman kismi, No. 563).

In the face of pressure from the Cossacks and Russians from the 11th/17th century onwards, the fortress of Kefe was strengthened in the second half of that century (*ibid.*, vii, 671 ff., viii, 31).

Kefe, though normally a *sandjaḳ*, was sometimes treated as an *eyālet* also (Başbakanlik Arsiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi, Ruus defteri, No. 262, p. 217, see also Mühimme defteri, No. VII, pp. 19, 22-3 and various other places). It was finally erected into an *eyālet* in 1010/1602 (C. Orhonlu, *Osmanlı tarihine ait belgeler*; *Telhisler (1595-1605)*, Istanbul 1970, 78), and it remained as such till 1191/1777. There was no organisation of *tīmārs* or *zeʿāmets* in the *eyālet*, but instead it had an administration which consisted of a *māl defterdāri* and the deputy clerks of the *Dīwān*; a customs superintendent with a staff of 50, an Agha of Janissaries, a *djebedji aghasî*, and a *Topdju aghasî*. There was a fleet of 5 ships under the command of the Admiral of Kefe (Ewliyā Čelebi, vii, 668). When the *beylerbeyi* of Kefe was occupied elsewhere, his deputy was the *sandjaḳ beyi* of Kefes (Fîndîḳlîlî Meḥmed Agha, *Nuṣretnāme*, simplified version by Ismet Parmaksızoğlu, Istanbul 1963-6, i, 145, 167, ii, 417). In the first half of the 11th/17th century the *eyālet* of Kefe consisted administratively of the *ḳaḍāʾs* of Kerč, Sughdāḳ and Menkūb, and there were 3,200 households paying the poll-tax or *djizya*. This last was collected by a *muḥaṣṣil* instead of the *defterdār*. Since the incoming Christian population of the province was increasing, the *djizya* land registers of the province had frequently to be brought up to date. Hence in 1042/1633 the *beylerbeyi* of Kefe was authorised to assume this responsibility as *muḥaṣṣil-i emwāl* and *muḥarrir-i Kefe* (Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Maliyeden Müdevver Defterler, No. 3722, pp. 51, 52). In the following century, the customs of the port of Kefe, plus the *ʿöshür* and other taxes coming from Gözleve, Taman, Balîklagî, Ḳalʿe-i Djedīd, Kerč and Ḳîzîltash in 1181/1767 produced 4,238,500 *aḳčas*. Trade was no longer in the hands of Muslims, but in the hands of traders looking to Russia (Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi, No. 199, p. 299, 343; for the state of the revenue of Kefe in 1118/1706, see Kâmil Kepeci Tasnifi, No. 5277, p. 14a). The Turks used to call Kefe "Istanbul the Lesser" or "Half of Istanbul", because of its ethnic diversity.

During the Ottoman-Russian War of 1149-51/1736-9, Kefe in Muḥarram 1149/May 1736 narrowly escaped attack by a Russian army (*Kırım tarihi veya Necati Efendi'nin Rusya sefaretnamesi*, ed. Faik Reşit Unat, in *Tarih Vesikaları*, xv (Istanbul 1949), 226). The military command (*Seraskerlik*) of Kefe was first instituted during the above-mentioned War, and later the *Seraskerlik* of the Crimea, with this office held by the *Beylerbeyi* of Kefe. The last *Beylerbeyi* of Kefe was Abaza Meḥmed Pasha who was appointed in Shawwāl 1184/February 1771 (for the *beylerbeyis* between 1168/1755 and 1185/1771, see Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Tahvil Defteri, No. 16, p. 42). At the end of the war beginning in 1182/1768, Kefe and the Crimea were both captured by the Russians. The Muslim Turkish population started even in the opening stages of the war to migrate into the interior of the Crimea and also left by ship to other Ottoman territories. At that time, the population of Kefe was 20,000 and included many Greeks and Armenians; it was recorded that there were about 50 small and big mosques and 56 churches (*Kırım tarihi veya Necati Efendi'nin Rusya sefaretnamesi*, in *Tarih Vesikalari*, xiv (Istanbul 1944), 139, 147, 225). The Russians attacked Kefe again in 1191/1777 and captured it. Despite the Ayvalîkavak order for the reduction of troops (1193/1779), the Russians continued to hold Kefe as well as some other strategically important parts of Crimea, and strengthened their defences.

When Kefe was finally captured by the Russians in 1197/1783, its port was mined, and there had been much destruction; according to the oldest Russian map of the town, there were in it 29 mosques, 13 Greek churches and 22 Armenian ones. Out of 813 houses, 694 belonged to Turks. (For the situation in 1782, see W. Eton, *A Survey of the Turkish Empire*, London 1799, 328-9, 333; cf. also P. Mines Bijiskyan, *Karadeniz kıyıları tarih coğrafyası*, tr. H. D. Andreasyan, Istanbul 1969, 97). Catherine II of Russia gave the city its old name of Theodosia (Russian Feodosia), but for a short time its name was still officially accepted as Kefe. Despite efforts at restoration, the town's position remained depressed, and in 1823 it still looked neglected. However, the direct trade with Istanbul revived somewhat. In that time the population of Kefe consisted of Greeks, Jews and Turks; some of the Jews were Karaite

Turks [see KARAITES ii] (G. Matthew Jones, *Travels in Norway, Sweden, Finland, Russia and Turkey, also on the Coasts of the Sea of Azof and of the Black Sea*, London 1827, ii, 219-20, 222; for the state of Kefe in 1836, see E. Spencer, *Travels in Circassia and Krim Tartary*, London 1837, ii, 234-5). Although the Russians called the city Feodosia, the name of the town was still Kefe to most of its population, even as late as 1836 (E. Spencer, *Travels in Circassia*, ii, 235). At this period, Kefe was in the transitional stage between being a Tatar and a Russian town, but gradually gained the characteristics of a summer resort, and in the latter part of the 19th century it was a city with a population of 10,000, with an additional 3,000 to 5,000 summer visitors every year (Telfer, *The Crimea and Transcaucasia*, ii, 142, 144 ff.). In 1897, only 3,200 of the whole population of 27,238 were Crimean Tatars.

Bibliography: (other than those sources mentioned in the article) : ʿAbd al-Ghaffār Ḳlrîmī, *ʿUmdat al-tawārīkh*, ed. Necib Asim, Istanbul 1343, 166, 176, 178, 181, 182; Josafa Barbara and Ambrogia Contarini, *Travels to Tana and Persia*, ed. Lord Stanley of Alderley, London 1873, 27, 28, 29, 140; H. Grenville, *Observations sur l'état actuel de l'Empire Ottoman*, ed. A. S. Ehrenkreutz, Ann Arbor 1965, 50; Baron F. de Tott, *Mémoires sur les Turcs et les Tartares*, Amsterdam 1784, ii, 147-8; J. Buchan Telfer, *The Crimea and Transcaucasia, being the narrative of a journey in the Kouban, in Gouria, Armenia, Ossety, Imeritia, Swannety, and Mingrelia, and in the Tauric range*, London 1876, i, 72, 73, 74; Maria Guthrie, *A Tour, performed in the years 1795-6, through the Taurida, or Crimea...*, London 1802, 148-50, 152 ff.; A. W. Fisher, *The Russian Annexation of the Crimea, 1772-1783*, Cambridge 1970, 13, 14, 86, 94, 105; Martin Bronevsky, *Tartarise Descripto*, in *Zapiski Odesskogo Obščestva Istorii Drevnosti Opisaniye Krima*, Odessa 1867, Tkish. tr. Kemal Ortaylı, *Kırım*, Ankara 1970; *Lettres sur le Caucase et la Crimée*, Paris 1859, 442-51; Ethem Feyzi Gözaydin, *Kırım, Kırım türklerinin yerleşme ve göçleri*, Istanbul 1948; Muṣṭafā Kesbī, *ʿIbret-nümā-yi dewlet*, Millet Kütüphanesi, Ali Emiri-Tarih kısmı, No. 484; J. Webster, *Travels through the Crimea, Turkey and Egypt... 1825-28*, London 1830; R. Lyall, *Travels in Russia, the Crimea, the Caucasus, and Georgia*, London 1825; Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü Mühimme Defteri, No. ii, hüküm 654, 953, 1990, 2166; Mühimme Defteri No. iii, hüküm 3, 4, 43, 78, 83, 89, 213; Mühimme Defteri, No. xv, hüküm 1026; Mühimme Defteri, No. xviii, hüküm 72, 86, 64, 196, 90, 515, 502, 926; Tapu-Tahrir defterleri, Nos. 920, 921 (concerning the *seraskerlik* of Kefe during the 1736-8 warfare); H. Inalcık, *Yeni vesikalara göre Kırım Hanlarının Osmanlı tabiliğine girmesi ve ahidname mes'elesi*, in *Belleten*, xxx (1944), 208, 109 ff.; Barthold, *EI*¹ art. *Kafa*; H. Inalcık, *İA* art. *Kırım*. (C. ORHUNLU)

KELEK, KELLEK, KELIK (Turkish-Arabic) is a curious raft made of bags of goat's hair, which is already known from the sculptures of Nineveh and has hardly changed in the course of centuries. It is the Akkadian *kalakku*, Syriac *kəlakkā*. The word, particularly mentioned by travellers in Mesopotamia and Persia, is said to be typical for the upper part of the Tigris. The *kelik* used between Diyārbekir and Baghdād is put together as follows. On a layer of 100 to 300, and sometimes even 400, inflated goatskins, each tied up with two strings one metre long and made of liquorice-fibre, are laid five bars of *kawak*-wood 6-10 cm. thick and about 7 m. long. On these are put diagonally, at intervals of 40 cm., 30 bundles of reeds each consisting of two parts. Seven bars, each 15 cm. thick, cover the bundles diagonally and over these are laid 8 cross-bars consisting of 2 parts. When persons are transported, reeds are spread plentifully on this construction and one or two small shelters, made of wood and covered with mats (*ʿarshe*), are erected on it for the travellers. Depending on its size, the *kelek* has two to six oars. On arrival at Baghdād, the cargo is unloaded, and the wooden construction removed: the bags are taken out, deflated and dried; they can then be kept for about 2 years. The *kelekči* then loads them up on a donkey and returns home. The journey down the river Tigris may be hampered by the wind, which drives the *kelek* to the bank, where the traveller may have to wait several days for better weather.

Several passages of the *Thousand and one nights* show that the *kelek* was not always such a complicated raft. Just like the *ṭawf* (pl. *aṭwāf*), it could be constructed of wood only; Sayf al-Mulūk builds a *kelek* of long trunks tied together with cords (ed. Habicht, iv, 245¹¹, 246³ ff., tr. Littmann, Wiesbaden. 1953, v, 265 f.). He even (*ibid.*, 264¹⁴, tr. v, 279) utilises doors of aloe and sandalwood, which he ties together with cords of silk. In the manuscripts of the *Thousand and one nights*, the word *kelek* has on the other hand not always been understood by the copyists, who have often substituted for it *fulk*, which graphically comes near to it, although the context requires the meaning "raft". The confounding of *kelek* with *fulk* "Noah's Ark" (in the Ḳurʾān) may have led to the assumption that *kelek* has the same meaning, even though this is as wrong as relating *ṭawf* (*ṭōf*) to *ṭūfān* "deluge".

Bibliography: H. Kindermann, "*Schiff*" *im Arabischen, Untersuchung über Vorkommen und Bedeutung der Termini*, Bonn (thesis), 1934, in particular 89 f. and index, s.v.; Hellmut Ritter, *Mesopotamische Studien. I. Arabische Flussfahrzeuge auf Euphrat und Tigris*, in *Isl.*, ix (1919), 141-3 (illustrated); André Parrot, *Déluge et Arche de Noé* (ill.), in *Cahiers d'Archéologie Biblique*, i, 2nd ed., Neuchâtel 1953. See also bibl. in *EI*¹, s.v.

(H. KINDERMANNN)

KEMĀKH, Armenian Gumukh or Ani, usual Syriac form Ḳamaḥ, modern Turkish Kemah, a small town in eastern Anatolia on the Ḳarā Ṣū or upper Euphrates, now the centre of a *kaza* of the same name within the *vilayet* of Erzincan, and a station on the railway connecting Sivas with Erzincan. The present form of the name derives from Greek κάμαχα. The Arabic geographers and historians usually refer to it as Kamkh (thus in Ibn Ḥawḳal², 192, 195, tr. Wiet, 188, 190-1; al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 447), although Yāḳūt, iv, 479, confirms that Kamakh was the more usual form.

During the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid periods, Kemākh was a frontier fortress, possession of which oscillated between the Arabs and the Byzantines. The first Arab attack under Ḥabīb b. Maslama [*q.v.*] was a failure. A second attempt by Ṣafwān b. Muʿaṭṭal was also unsuccessful, but he made another attack together with ʿUmar b. al-Ḥubāb al-Sulamī in 59/678-9, and this time the fortress capitulated; the occupation by the Muslims was, however, short-lived (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 184 ff.). The Greeks lost it once again, this time to Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik [*q.v.*], and it continued to change hands between the two sides. In 149/766 the caliph

al-Manṣūr despatched against it a successful force under al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad and ordered its fortification as a frontier post against the Khazars (al-Yaʿkūbī, *loc. cit.*). The Byzantines recaptured it in 177/793-4, and apart from a period during the caliphate of al-Maʾmūn, it remained nominally subject to the Emperors until the Battle of Mantzikert.

The first Türkmen raids on Kemākh came in 449-50/1057-8, and shortly after the Battle of Mantzikert or Malāzgerd [*q.v.*] in 463/1071, it was in the hands of Mengüdjek Aḥmad, who apparently had received the area round Erzindjan, including Kemākh, as a grant from Alp Arslan. Inscriptions on the Great Mosque at Diwrīgī state that Mengüdjek Aḥmad had captured Kemākh from the infidels. He made it his capital and was buried there on his death in 512/1118. In 536/1142 the Mengüdjek principality was divided amongst three heirs, the capital falling to Malik Maḥmūd. In 622/1225, the Saldjūk sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Kaykubād [*q.v.*] annexed Erzindjan, and the last Mengüdjekid Dāwūd Shāh sought an alliance against him by offering Kemākh to the *amīr* of Erzurum al-Ashraf and to the Khwārazm-Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn Mankūbirtī. Both of these refused to intervene, and the Saldjūk ruler annexed the region including Kemākh (Ibn Bībī, *Tawārikh-i āl-i Saldjūk*, ed. Houtsma, in *Recueil de textes* . . ., Turkish text, iii, 387-8, Persian text, iv, 148-9). After the Mongol conquest of Anatolia in 641/1243, Kemākh came within the Il-Khānid dominions.

Political instability in this region consequent on the decline of the Il-Khānids makes it difficult to follow the fortunes of Kemākh in the 8th/14th century. It seems to have at first formed part of the domains of the Eretna dynasty [*q.v.*] and then to have enjoyed a semi-independence between the rival factions of Ḳāḍī Burhān al-Dīn [*q.v.*] and Muṭahharten, the *bey* of Erzurum. In 796/1394 the *wālī* of Kemākh submitted to Burhān al-Dīn and requested assistance against the agression of Muṭahharten. In 799/1396-7 Burhān al-Dīn placed Kemākh under his own direct rule (ʿAzīz b. Ardashīr Astarābādī, *Bazm u razm*, ed. M. F. Köprülü). Shortly after this, the town fell to the Ottoman sultan Bāyazīd I (Solak-zāde, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1298, 374).

However, in 804/1402 Tīmūr captured the town on his way to confront Bāyazīd at Ankara (Ibn ʿArabshāh, *ʿAdjāʾib al-maḳdūr*. Eng. tr. J. H. Sanders, London 1936, 174-5). After the battle, Tīmūr appointed a certain Mīrzā Shams al-Dīn as governor of Kemākh. Soon afterwards, it came under the rule of ʿUthmān Ḳarā Yülük, the founder of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu dynasty [*q.v.*], and remained under their control, despite a siege by the Ḳarā Ḳoyunlu Pīr ʿUmar (Abū Bakr-i Ṭihrānī, *Kitāb-i Diyārbakriyya*, ed. Lugal and Sümer, 33, 35, 69-71). It was the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu Uzun Ḥasan who established the laws of Kemākh in the *Ḳānūn-i Ḥasan Pādishāh*, which the Ottomans adopted with little change.

After the fall of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlus in 908/1502, Kemākh passed briefly into the hands of the Ṣafawids, until in 921/1515 it fell to the Ottoman sultan Selīm I; henceforth, it remained part of the Ottoman empire till the collapse of the latter. The Ottoman *Ḳānūn-nāme* of 922/1516, based on the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu laws, gives the impression that the town derived much of its wealth from the transit trade through the Euphrates valley (Ö. L. Barkan, *XV ve XVI asırlarda Osmanlı imperatorluğunda ziraî ekonominin hukukî ve malî esasları*, Istanbul 1943, 184-5). In the mid-11th/17th century, according to Ewliyā Čelebi, there was a garrison in the Kemākh fortress of a Janissary chief and 500 soldiers, and the economy of the town depended mainly on the salt mined nearby and sold in the town and on a fine-quality cloth woven there (*Seyāḥat-nāme*, ii, 375-6). In 1830, J. Brant recorded a population there of 400 Turkish and 30 Armenian households (*Jnal. of the Geogr. Soc.*, 1836), and in 1892, V. Cuinet registered for the whole *ḳaḍāʾ* 14,547 Muslims, 3,692 Armenians and 633 Greeks (*La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1892, i, 220 ff.). After its definitive incorporation into the dominions of Selīm I, Kemākh was well within the Ottoman frontiers and hence lost much of its earlier strategic importance; however, during the First World War it again became an important defensive position in the fighting against the Russians.

Bibliography: (in addition to works mentioned in the text): *Murray's handbook, Asia Minor, Transcaucasia, Persia, etc.*, London 1895, 251; J. Markwart, *Südarmenien und die Tigrisquellen*, Vienna 1930; E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches von 363 bis 1071*, Brussels 1935, 56 ff., 70-2, 198-201; Besim Darkot, *İA* art. *Kemah*; Cl. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, London 1968; Yaşar Yücel, *Kadi Burhaneddin Ahmed ve devleti*, Ankara 1970; S. Vryonis, *The decline of medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1971; O. Turan, *Doğu Anadolu Türk devletleri tarihi*, Istanbul 1973.

(C. H. Imber)

KEMAL [see atatürk].

KEMĀL, ʿalī (1867-1922), Turkish writer, journalist and politician. His father Ḥādjdjī Aḥmed Efendi had come as a young man from a village near Çankırı in Central Anatolia to the capital and had made a fortune as a wax-maker and had become the warden of his gild. ʿAlī Riḍā (as ʿAlī Kemāl was called until his student days, see below) was born in 1867 in the Süleymāniye district of Istanbul, to his father's second (Circassian) wife and grew up in a traditional conservative family atmosphere. After attending the local schools, he entered the School of Political Science (*Mekteb-i Mülkiye*), where he particularly enjoyed the courses of Murād Bey (known as Mīzāndji Murād, 1853-1914, the future Young Turk leader in exile, who later made his peace with ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, see B. Lewis, *The emergence of modern Turkey*, index). The *Terdjüman-ı Ḥaḳīḳat* was his favourite newspaper, where he admired the poems and articles of Muʿallim Nādjī, the leader of the literary opposition against the modernists, particularly against ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Ḥāmid and Redjāʾī-zāde Ekrem. He also began to contribute to a student magazine *Gülshen* under the pen-name ʿAlī Kemāl, which gradually replaced that of ʿAlī Riḍā. While a student at the *Mülkiye*, he in 1886 went to Europe, where he spent over a year in Paris and Geneva and improved his French. On his father's death in 1888, he returned to Istanbul to attend to family affairs and complete his studies. Inspired by what he saw in European universities, he attempted to set up, together with a number of his university friends, a students' association (for details see his article *Mekātib-i ʿāliye makhṣūṣ djemʿiyyetler*, in *Iḳdām*, 20 August, 1908). The authorities became suspicious and the *ḳonaḳ* where they held their meetings was raided by the police. The students were rounded up and ʿAlī Kemāl and four others (including ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Memdūḥ, a future Young Turk writer) were sent to prison where they spent several months. Eventually ʿAlī Kemāl and a poet friend of his (Fakhrī of

Ḳastamonu) were banished to Aleppo. He spent five years there, where he was officially attached to the office of the *vālī* with a salary and was also allowed to teach literature and French in the local high school (*mekteb-i iʿdādī*). Interesting details of his life and literary activities in Aleppo are given in his autobiography (see below). In 1894 he managed to escape to Paris and became a regular correspondent of the Istanbul daily *Iḳdām*, in which he published a highly popular series of letters and articles (for the controversy over the doubtful originality of some of his letters, see Ḥüseyn Djāhid, *Ghawghālarïm*, Istanbul 1326 *rūmī*/1910, 37-92). This occurred at a time when no political refugee could get anything published in Istanbul under his own name, and this privilege has been taken as an indication that ʿAlī Kemāl was by no means *persona non grata* in the capital. While in Europe he was in regular contact with the Young Turks, but never became one of them; he disagreed with most of their ideas, and his sympathies lay rather with ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd to whom, as later evidence showed, he offered his services as adviser and informer (copies of his reports (*zhurnals*) and letters to the Sultan and his agents, some in facsimile, have been published; see Ahmet Bedevi Kuran, *Osmanlı imperatorluğunda inkılap hareketleri ve milli mücadele*, Istanbul 1959, 302-9, and Asaf Tugay, *İbret, Abdülhamid'e verilen jurnaller ve jurnalciler*, Istanbul n.d., 200-17). In 1897 he was appointed second secretary in the Brussels Embassy, reportedly as a reward for his rôle in Murād Bey's defection (Yahya Kemal [Beyatlı], *Siyasi ve edebi portreler*, Istanbul 1968, 78), but the Ambassador, Munīr Pasha, who disliked him, never let him take up his appointment However, ʿAlī Kemāl was allowed to use the title and to draw his salary for several years (*Ṭanīn* of 20 July 1324 *rūmī*/2 August 1908 and Süleyman Nazif's biographical notes used by Ibnülemin M. K. İnal, see Bibliography). From Paris he moved to Egypt and became the superintendent of the estates of two Egyptian princesses, Aḥmed Djelāl ed-Dīn Pasha's step-daughter and Maḥmūd Mukhtār Pasha's wife. He contributed to local Young Turk papers and founded the newspaper *Türk* (which was Ottomanist, in spite of its title). He made a fortune by speculating on the stock exchange, but went bankrupt following a crash in the market. When he returned to Paris in 1908, the revolutionary officers in Macedonia, in contact with the Young Turk organisation in Europe, had begun to prepare their move against the Sultan. ʿAlī Kemāl corresponded with the Palace and arrived in Istanbul a few days before the revolution of 23 July 1908. He was in the Sultan's presence when the crisis was being discussed (Yahya Kemal, *op. cit.*, 79). ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd rewarded his advisory services with a purse containing 450 gold pieces (*Ṭanīn*, 25 July 1324 *rūmī*/7 August 1908; ʿAlī Kemāl admitted this, but corrected the sum to 260 pieces, *Iḳdām*, 27 July 1324 *rūmī*/9 August 1908). The conservative journalist Aḥmed Djewdet (1862-1935), who had no sympathy for the committee of Union and Progress (CUP) now getting ready to seize power, invited ʿAlī Kemāl to be the leader-writer of his *Iḳdām*. His first article *Māḍīden Ātīye* ("From the Past to the Future") appeared on July 30 1908, one week after the Revolution. A flood of articles followed daily on politics, history, education, literature, language, etc. After an absence of twenty years from the country, he wrote with great zeal and enthusiasm, in a somewhat didactic but entertaining and very personal style which soon made him one of the most popular journalists of the period. At the same time he taught diplomatic history in the Faculty of Letters and at the *Mülkiye*. His dislike of the CUP, which in the meantime employed everything (including political assassination) to influence and control the new régime, soon developed into a bitter hatred, and he began to attack daily the Committee's policy and methods. On 12 March 1909 ʿAlī Kemāl handed over his column to Dr. Riḍā Nūr, deputy for Sinop, who published his famous article of warning which was greeted as a manifesto interpreting all the grievances of the opposition: the CUP was accused of oligarchic tendencies, *ḳomitadji* tactics, bribery, favouritism, intolerance of opposition, etc. ʿAlī Kemāl was a candidate of the Ottoman Liberal Party (*ʿOthmānlï Aḥrār Fïrkasï*) in the by-election of April 1909, but was defeated by the CUP candidate. He became more violent in his accusations. Outstanding Unionists such as Ḥüseyn Djāhid and Bahāʾ ed-Dīn Shākir attacked him in equally violent terms in CUP organs like *Ṭanīn* and *Shurā-yï Ümmet* and exposed his ambiguous relations with ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd. The disturbing atmosphere created by the relentless campaign of the opposition press like *Iḳdām*, *Mīzān*, *Serbesti*, *ʿOthmānlï* and particularly *Volḳan*, led on 13 April to a mutiny of the soldiers, incited by fanatical and disgruntled elements (for a good analysis of the mutiny and its background see Sina Akşin, 31 *Mart Olayı*[2], Istanbul 1970). ʿAlī Kemāl hid in the house of an English friend and fled to Europe as the army sent by Young Turk headquarters in Salonika (*Ḥareket ordusu*, originally *Ḥarekāt Ordusu* "Operations Army") marched on the capital. In Paris he contacted unionist leaders like Fetḥī (Okyar) and Djāwīd in the hope of a compromise with the CUP. When this failed, he contributed articles to *Meshrūṭiyyet*, Sherīf Pasha's anti-Unionist organ abroad. He had already become a member of the Liberal Union (*Ḥurriyet ve İʾtilāf Fïrḳasï*) founded in November 1911. In July 1912 the group of "Saviour Officers" (*Khalāṣkār Ḍābiṭān Grupu*) brought down the Unionist government, and the Liberals assumed Power. ʿAlī Kemāl returned to Istanbul and resumed his leaders in the *Iḳdām*. But on 23 January 1913, the Unionists carried out a violent *coup d'état* (*Bāb-ï ʿĀli Baskïnï*) and ʿAlī Kemāl was arrested. Djemāl Bey (later Pasha and a member of the Unionists triumvirate), the military governor of Istanbul, visited him in prison and bribed him into leaving the country; hence ʿAlī Kemāl went to Vienna on a government allowance (see Djemal Pasha, *Memoirs of a Turkish statesman, 1913-1916*, London 1922, 16; revised Turkish edition, *Hatiralar*, edited by his son Behçet Cemal, Istanbul 1959, 22-26). He returned to Istanbul in May 1913. The assassination of the grand vizier Maḥmūd Shewket Pasha on June 11 1913 gave the CUP the opportunity to crush the opposition completely. ʿAlī Kemāl, who had promised Djemāl Pasha to keep out of politics, was however safe. With his support, he was allowed to publish the same year a daily paper, the *Peyām*, to which some leading young writers contributed (Refik Halit Karay, *Minelbab İlelmihrab*, Istanbul 1964, 63-64) but which was suppressed on the outbreak of the World War I.

ʿAlī Kemāl spent the war years completely secluded from public life on the island resort of Büyükada and along the Bosphorus shores. He collected manuscripts and rare books and concentrated on the study of classical literature and history. After the signing of the armistice of Mudros (30 October 1918), which sealed the fate of the Unionist régime, Mihran Efendi, the editor of the daily *Ṣabāḥ* invited ʿAlī Kemāl to

be a leader-writer of his paper, and he eagerly accepted. By this time the three CUP Leaders Enwer, Ṭalʿat and Djemāl had fled the country. He immediately began his violent attacks against the Unionists, daily enumerating the mistakes and misdeeds they had perpetrated before and during the War. The Allied fleet reached Istanbul on 13 November; the whole city was put under allied control, and hundreds of Unionists were arrested. The Greeks, supported by the Allies, had landed in Izmir and were advancing towards the interior. ʿAlī Kemāl joined the first cabinet of Dāmād Ferīd Pasha as Minister of Education (4 March 1919). He acted with moderation for a while, and resisted the partisan pressures of the Liberal Union (Yahya Kemal, *op. cit.*, 87-8). In the meantime, the nuclei of the national resistance movement were being set up all over the country and the first guerillas began to combat the Greek invaders on the Aegean coast. ʿAlī Kemāl, who became Minister of the Interior in the second Dāmād Ferīd Pasha cabinet on May 19 1919 (the very day of Muṣṭafā Kemāl's landing at Samsun), soon completely espoused the polity and strategy of Sultan Meḥemmed VI, his Grand Vizier and their associates: sc. to ignore the violations of the armistice terms; to follow the instructions of the Allies and in the hopes of winning lenient peace terms, to offer no resistance to invading foreign armies, although this amounted, in the eyes of the nationalists, to collaborationism. ʿAlī Kemāl was convinced that Muṣṭafā Kemāl's movement in Anatolia was nothing but a resurgence of Unionist ambitions, organized and supported by the survivors of the CUP (see particularly his article *Ittiḥād we Teraḳḳī öldü, yashasın Ittiḥād we Teraḳḳī!* "The CUP is dead, long live the CUP!", in *Peyām*, 20 December 1919). This fundamental misjudgment of the national ferment in Anatolia caused him to mislead many of his readers and eventually sealed his own fate. On 18 June 1919, ʿAlī Kemāl, as Minister of the Interior, sent out to the provinces a circular against the formation of militia units and preparations for national defence, and assured the British authorities that every officer and government official obeying Muṣṭafā Kemāl's orders would be court-martialled (G. Jaeschke, *Türk kurtuluş savaşı kronolojisi*, Ankara 1970, 43-45). On 23 June he issued his famous secret circular in which he announced that "Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha had entirely failed in his new mission, and that he had been recalled in accordance with the demands of the English High Commissioner, and that orders issued by him should not be obeyed (Ghāzī Muṣṭafā Kemāl, *Nuṭuḳ*, Ankara 1927, 22, English tr.[2], *A Speech ...*, Istanbul 1963, 26-27). ʿAlī Kemāl was forced to resign (June 26) under the pressure of some of his colleagues in the cabinet who were sympathetic to the resistance movement (for the circumstances of his resignation, see his statement in *ʿAlemdār*, 3 July 1919; R. H. Karay, *op. cit.*, 138-143; and Jaeschke, *Türk kurtuluş savaşı ile ilgili ingiliz belgeleri*, Ankara 1971, 130-32). He complained of these colleagues to the Sultan who answered: "Your loyalty has been a great consolation and a source of great hope to me. The Palace will always be open to you at any time" (Ghāzī Muṣṭafā Kemāl, *op. cit.*, 22-5, English tr. 28). On 3 August 1919, ʿAlī Kemāl revived his *Peyām* and continued his campaign, with daily attacks on the leaders of the resistance movement in Anatolia and their supporters in Istanbul. Later *Peyām* was amalgamated with Mihrān Efendi's *Ṣabāḥ*, becoming *Peyām-ı Ṣabāḥ* (1st January 1920), with ʿAlī Kemāl as permanent leader-writer. ʿAlī Kemāl's activities and writings unified and strengthened the Liberal Union which had shown signs of disintegration. He became one of the two most enthusiastic supporters (the other being Refīʿ Djewād of the *ʿAlemdār*) of the collaborationist policy of the Sultan and of Dāmād Ferīd Pasha, which was to obey the instructions of the occupying forces and to try to suppress the resistance movement. Following this line of policy, ʿAlī Kemāl welcomed the reinforced allied occupation of Istanbul (16 March 1920), praised the successes of the Sultan's "disciplinary" troops dispatched to fight the Nationalists, and wrote a jubilant leader (25 May 1920) on the publication of the famous *fetwā* (11 April), followed by the death sentences *in absentia* on Muṣṭafā Kemāl and his associates. News of the Nationalists' successes made him vacillate occasionally; he would praise the bravery of the Turkish soldiers, but soon would relapse into his usual tirades with the *leitmotiv* of "false nationalism and the dangers of ignoring world opinion", etc. His vitriolic articles continued till as late as the end of August and early September 1922, when the Nationalists won a decisive victory and the routed Greek army was heading back towards Izmir. Only in his last three articles (8, 9, 10 September), when the Nationalist armies had reached the Aegean, did he admit his error and greeted "the great victory of the Turk" and claimed that "the goals had always been the same". But it was now too late. The Nationalist government had already decided to bring all those who had collaborated with the enemy to Ankara for trial. But as this proved difficult in occupied Istanbul, one man was chosen as a test case, and this was to be ʿAlī Kemāl, as the most prominent representative of the collaborators (see Dr. Riḍā Nūr, *Ḥayātım we Khāṭıratım*, British Museum, Or. 12591, 486b). Upon instructions from Ankara, Colonel Esʿad (later Pasha, 1875-1932), military governor and director of police of Istanbul, who was a trusted man of the Nationalists, took the necessary measures; on November 18 ʿAlī Kemāl was arrested by two plain-clothed policemen in a barber's shop in Beyoğlu (Péra) and taken by motor-boat to Izmid en route for Ankara and his trial. Nūr ed-Dīn Pasha, commander of the first army, interrogated him briefly in his headquarters. A big crowd was waiting outside. ʿAlī Kemāl met his death in the square when he was being taken away. The circumstances of his death, a mob lynching according to the received version, are variously reported in the sources. According to some, his death was arranged or precipitated by Nūr ed-Dīn Pasha for reasons of personal prestige (see Falih Rıfkı Atay, *Çankaya*[2], Istanbul 1969, 341-42; Yahya Kemal, *op. cit.*, 94-99; Riḍā Nūr, *op. cit.*, 487b; *Istanbul Ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul 1961, s.v.). ʿIṣmet Pasha (Inönü) then foreign minister, who with his party arrived on the very day of the incident at Izmid on his way to the Lausanne Peace Conference, publicly showed his strong disapproval of Nūr ed-Dīn Pasha for having ignored the government's instructions and having taken justice into his own hands.

ʿAlī Kemāl was primarily a journalist. His early articles in the *Iḳdām* (from 1894 onwards), which he forwarded from Paris as a "special correspondent", are mostly compilations from the French press, with occasional personal or autobiographical digressions (see below). Some of his articles published in Young Turk papers abroad throw light on contemporary ideological differences (e.g. his answer to Aḳčuraoghlu Yūsuf's famous essay, both published in the *Türk*, Nos. 24-34, Cairo 1904, reprinted later with the same essay, Aḳčuraoghlu Yūsuf, *Üč Ṭarz-ı*

Siyāset, 1327 *rūmī*/1911, 33-45). The thousands of articles which he published first in the *Iḳdām* and later in his own *Peyām* (which have not been collected) are of great documentary importance for understanding the atmosphere of the period and for following the development of political, social and cultural problems during the 1908-1914 period; but they should be read together with the articles of his great opponent Ḥüseyn Djāhid [Yalçin] in the *Ṭanīn*, the organ of the CUP. His articles of the last phrase, published in the revived *Peyām* (August-December 1919) and in the *Peyām-ı Ṣabāḥ* (1920-1922) typically reflect the frame of mind and the psychology of the Sultan's government and its supporters in occupied Istanbul during the time of the resistance movement in Anatolia. Apart from translations from the French, serialised in newspapers or published in book form and various minor publications, ʿAlī Kemāl is the author of the following works: (1) *Pāris muṣāḥabeleri* (a selection of his articles and letters published in the *Iḳdām* in the 1890s, 2 vols., Istanbul 1329, 1331 r./1913, 1915); (2) *Fetret* (written in England in 1895, published in Istanbul 1329/1913). Intended to be a novel, this book consists of a series of loosely-connected essays around its hero Fetret, the product of a mixed marriage, in which the author expounds his ideas on modernism, westernisation, literature, history and culture, and indirectly criticises his opponents of the *Therwet-i Fünūn* literary school, particularly his main adversary Ḥüseyn Djāhid; (3) *İki hemshīre* (Istanbul 1315/1899), a long short story, with much autobiographical material from the author's exile years in Aleppo; (4) *Čölde bir sergüzesht* (Istanbul 1316/1900; 2nd ed. of Nos. 3 and 4 published together under the title *Bir ṣafḥa-i shebāb*, Istanbul 1329/1913); (5) *Ridjāl-i İkhtilāl* (Istanbul 1329/1913), a study of the French Revolution and its impact on France and other European countries, consisting mainly of detailed biographies of Condorcet, Saint-Just, Danton and Robespierre; (6) *Edebiyyat-ı ḥaḳīḳiyye dersleri* (Istanbul 1330/1914), a collection of 12 essays, originally serialised in the *Iḳdām*, based on a course "Realism in Literature" given at the Sorbonne in the 1890s, with occasional remarks on contemporary Turkish literature; (7) *Rāshid müʾerrikh mi shāʿir mi ?* (Istanbul 1334/1918), an informal study on the 18th century chronicler Rāshid, prompted by Aḥmed Refīḳ's enthusiastic article on Aḥmed III and his grand vizier and son-in-law Ibrāhīm Pasha (*Sultan Ahmed-i Thālith we Dāmādı*, in *Yeñi Medjmuʿa*, No. 34 (1918), 149-53), in which ʿAlī Kemāl compares the method and techniques of oriental historiography with those of modern western history-writing, mercilessly condemning the former. After a long exposition on Oriental and particularly Ottoman classical poetry, he concludes that Rāshid was a mediocre historian but a remarkable poet of the Nabī school. This work is particularly interesting since it is, in a way, a recapitulation of the themes and *leitmotivs* which ʿAlī Kemāl elaborated and repeated in all his writings, adopting all the negative judgments passed on the Turks and the Ottoman Empire by European writers and observers, and thus developing a deep complex of inferiority *vis-à-vis* Europe and Europeans. Here we have the clues to his cosmopolitanism, his anti-nationalism and his feeling of helplessness in face of the West, his recurrent claim that it is futile to challenge the Great Powers (*Düwel-i Muʿaẓẓama*), and finally his constant advice for an acquiescent foreign policy and his *a priori* admission of the superiority of everything western (see also his articles of 12, 15, 17, 21, 23 January and 23 March 1909 in the *Iḳdām*); (8) *ʿÖmrüm*, ʿAlī Kemāl's memoirs about his early life, his school years and his exile period in Aleppo, were first serialised in the *Peyām* in 29 instalments from December 1329r.-/1913. A revised version was serialised in 32 instalments in the revived *Peyām* from 14 July 1335-r./1919. They have not been published in book form, but a critical edition in roman script was prepared by Berna Kazak in 1954 (Istanbul University Library, unpublished thesis, No. 2621).

When he was not involved in politics or in personal quarrels with his rivals, ʿAlī Kemāl wrote essays on *dīwān*-poetry, articles on contemporary literary problems, and occasionally poems which he published in the *Peyām-ı Edebī*, the literary supplement of his paper, to which many outstanding writers (Riḍā Tewfīḳ, Aḥmed Refīḳ, Yaḥyā Kemāl, Yaʿḳūb Ḳadrī, etc.) contributed. In poetry and literary criticism, ʿAlī Kemāl was a disciple of Muʿallim Nādjī (1850-93), a neo-classicist and an ardent opponent of the modernist school. He admired the *dīwān*-poetry, had a very low (and wrong) opinion of classical Turkish prose (about which, like most of his contemporaries, he knew very little), and utterly despised the three generations of literary modernists: the *Tanẓīmāt*, the *Therwet-i Fünūn* and the "National Literature" (*Millī Edebiyāt*) schools. He explained his views on Turkish literature in detail in a long letter which he sent in 1918 to Rūshen Eshref (Ünaydın), who had been interviewing the leading writers of the period (Rūshen Eshref, *Diyorlar ki*, Istanbul 1918, modern Turkish ed. by Şemsettin Kutlu, Istanbul 1971). In spite of the personal cachet of his style (surprisingly much praised by the purist poet Yaḥyā Kemāl, *op. cit.*, 71-2), ʿAlī Kemāl had an awkward, anachronistic way of writing. Following the tradition of the classical Ottoman *munshīs*, he filled his essays with copious *cliché* quotations from the Arabic, Persian and Turkish verse. Like a few "recalcitrant" contemporary writers (e.g., Djenāb ed-Dīn, Shihāb Süleymān Naẓīf, ʿAlī Ekrem, etc.) he took a hostile stand against the language reform movement of the post-1908 period and completely ignored the general trend towards the turkification of the written language. His hair-splitting concern with grammatical rules did not much help to improve his style, as stated by the great contemporary stylist (and his friend and colleague) Refīḳ Khālid (*op. cit.*, 63).

A prolific writer of great vitality, with a remarkable encyclopaedic knowledge, ʿAlī Kemāl lacked the sense of history and reality. He wasted his talents in endless futile arguments, and ruined his career and himself by following his unbounded ambition, his blind obstinacy and his violent partisanship to the very end.

Bibliography: in addition to the works cited in the article, see Ali Çankaya, *Yeni Mülkiye tarihi ve Mülkiyeliler*, ii, Ankara 1968-9, 937-41; Yusuf Hikmet Bayur, *Türk inkılabi tarihi*, i, ii, iii, Istanbul 1940-53, index; Celâl Bayar, *Ben de yazdım*, vi, vii, İstanbul 1968-9, index; Feroz Ahmad, *The Young Turks*, Oxford 1969, 28, 122, 173; Mahmud Kemal Inal, *Osmanlı devrinde son Sadrıazamlar*, 14 parts, Istanbul 1940-53, index; idem, *Son asır Türk şairleri*, 12 parts, Istanbul 1930-42, index; Âsim Us, *Hatiralar*, Istanbul 1966, 46-54; M. and Dj., *ʿAlī Kemāl Izmide nasıl sewk olundu ?* in *Resimli Gazete*, Nos. 71-9, Jan.-March 1341/1925; Bilâl N. Şimşir, *Ingiliz belgelerinde Atatürk*, i, Ankara 1973, index.

(Fahir İz)

KEMĀL, MEḤMED, NĀMİḲ one of the most prominent figures of Turkish literature in the second half of the 19th century, whose fame is due to his works in various fields, including his patriotic and political life.

I. *Life*. Kemāl's mother was Fātima Zahrāʾ K͟hānīm, the daughter of ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Pas͟ha and Mak͟hdūme K͟hānīm. His father Muṣṭafā ʿĀṣim Bey, who was well versed in history, mysticism and especially in astrology, had many a poet, scholar and statesman among his ancestors. His ancestry goes back to S͟hehīd Ṭopal ʿOt͟hmān Pas͟ha of the Mora (Morea or Peloponese), who had been Ṣadr-i Aʿẓam in the 18th century and was famous for his acts of heroism; Kemāl was particularly proud of him. Kemāl was born on 26 S͟hawwāl 1256/21 December 1840 at Tekfūrdag͟hī (Tekirdag͟hī) and spent his early years with his grandfather. Together with his grandfather, who in Istanbul held the offices of *Mühürdār* and *Kesedār* (M. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, *Bir türk diplomatīnīñ evrāḳ-i siyāsiyyesi*, Istanbul 1306, 11) and in the provinces those of *mütesellim, muḥaṣṣīl* and *mutaṣarrīf*, he stayed in Gelibolu, Tīrk͟hala (Trikala), Afyon Ḳaraḥiṣārī (1846), Kütahya (1848), Ḳarṣ (March 1853-July 1854) and Ṣofya (May 1855-September 1856). When Kemāl was 8 years old he lost his mother in Afyon (30/31 August 1848), and he married in Ṣofya Nesīme K͟hanīm, the daughter of the *ḳāḍī* of Nīs͟h, when he had reached the age of 16. Shortly after that he returned to Istanbul in the company of his grandfather, who was dismissed from his office of Ḳaymaḳām of Ṣofya. Following the deaths of his grandfather and grandmother, Kemāl had to settle down in his step-mother Dürriyye K͟hānīm's house in K͟hūbyā, as the mansion of ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Pas͟ha had to be sold in order to pay his debts.

Since ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Pas͟ha was resident in Istanbul in between two appointments, Muṣṭafā ʿĀṣim was able to deal with the spiritual upbringing of Kemāl during these periods; another important influential factor was his grandfather, whose virtues are praised by the poets of Afyon and who was a member of the Mawlawī convent next to their house. It is probable that Kemāl was instructed in *samāʿ* and in Persian whilst resident in Afyon. All the sources seem to agree on the fact that he attended the *Dār al-Maʿārif* in Istanbul for about a year and a half when he was 12-13 years old (Maḥmūd Ojvād, *Maʿārif-i ʿUmūmiyye Naẓāreti tārīk͟hče-i tas͟hkīlāt ve idjrāʾāti*, Istanbul 1338, 40, 97; ʿOmar Fārūḳ Akün, *Namık Kemāl*, in *İA*, ix, 55b). Kemāl, whose spiritual life was nourished with poetry and music as well as with mystical knowledge, was schooled in the works of Muḥyī 'l-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī when he was apprenticed to the *müderris*-poet Sayyīd Meḥmed Ḥāmid (1779?-1854), under whose guidance he started reading Turkish *dīwān* poets such as Nābī and sections of the *Mat͟hnawī*, while resident in Ḳarṣ (Banı Çiçak Kırzioğlu, *Namık Kemal'ın Karstaki hocası müderrıs büyük Hâmid Efendi*, in *Türk Kültürü*, no. 2/22, August 1964; for this were used the works of M. F. Kırzioğlu, *1855 Ḳarṣ Ẓaferi* and *Ḳarṣ Tārīk͟hi*). During the time he spent in Ḳarṣ he was also busy with sports like hunting and horse-riding.

We are not able to trace back the exact date of the beginning of Kemāl's official career; however, we know that already in the year 1859 he was a secretary to the Bāb-i ʿĀlī. When Leskofčalī G͟hālib was appointed to be Chief Secretary of Customs (*Emtiʿa Gümrük'ü Taḥrīrāt Bas͟hkātibi*) (March 19 1860), Kemāl was his assistant, and following the former's appointment to Tripoli as the Director of Customs (*Gümrük Emīni*) in September 1861, Kemāl became a member of the Chamber of Translation of the Sublime Porte, where he stayed until March 20 1867, when he was appointed to be the Assistant Governor of Erzurum. Meanwhile, he was giving voluntary lessons in orthography and composition at the *Djemʿiyyet-i Tedrīsiyye-i Islāmiyye*, of which he was a founder; he kept up these lessons until his departure for Paris (M. Cevād, *op. cit.*, 97; ʿOt͟hmān Ergin, *Türkiye maarif tarihi*, Istanbul 1940, ii, 406; *Taṣwīr-i efkār*, nos. 208, 285, March 13 and 30 1865, nos. 365, 400, 402, 403, February 13, June 28, July 6 and 10 1866). The early years of Kemāl, who returned to Istanbul from Ṣofya at the age of sixteen, were the most exciting period of his life, on account of the reforms introduced during the *Tanẓīmāt* period. The programme of reforms was announced by the Imperial Edict of 18 Feb. 1856; on 22 Oct. 1860 Āgāh Efendi, together with S͟hināsī, started to publish the first non-official newspaper, the *Terdjümān-i aḥwāl* and later, on 28 June 1862, S͟hināsī started the *Taṣwīr-i efkār*. The new thoughts of patriotic and nationalist zeal, as found in the writings of S͟hināsī (such as his political and social articles and his stage-play *S͟hāʿir evlenmesi*), the starting of the publication of learned and literary journals, *Medjmūʿa-i funūn* in July 1862 and the *Mirʾāt* in March 1863, were all factors that played a role in the extension of Kemāl's intellectual horizon. He took lessons in French with the *k͟hulafāʾ* of the Office of Translations at the Porte (*Terdjeme Odasī*), Manṣūr Efendi; he moved in such literary and political circles as the *Endjümen-i ʿS͟huʿarāʾ* (1861), which comprised old and new style poets, the printing office of the *Taṣwīr-i efkār*, and the Ṣarafim *Ḳirāʾatk͟hānesi* (public reading room).

The alteration of the Succession Law for Egypt (*Miṣīr Werāt͟het Ḳānūnu*), which was decided upon at the beginning of May 1867, ordained that the Khedivate should pass from father to son and not to the eldest of the khedivial family. But before this, Muṣṭafa Fāḍil Pas͟ha, who was by this to lose his right of succession, was advised by the Porte to leave Istanbul for some time, and had left for Europe in April 1866. In his letter to ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, which was printed in French and separately in Turkish (1866), he declares that in order to make possible the realisation of the reforms it was necessary to replace the Ministers, and in his answer to an article in the newspaper *Le Nord* of 1 Feb. 1867, he declares the persons having the new ideas (*efkār-i djedīde ṣāḥibleri*) to be of the same opinion. In addition to the Turkish translation of this answer, published in the *Taṣwīr-i efkār*, Kemāl makes the statement that the *Türkistan'līñ erbāb-i s͟habābi* ("Youth of Turkistān") who support M. Fāḍil, put the interest of the nation before personal interest and are ready to realise in the near future their ideals, will astound the Europeans, who accuse the Ottomans of backwardness (No. 461, 23 Feb. 1867). His article on the Eastern Question, his *Lāyiḥa*, because it made known to the people the weakness of the state, was regarded by the government as anti-patriotic, so he was forbidden to contribute to the *Taṣwīr-i efkār* and was appointed assistant governor of Erzūrum, with the rank of *Rutbe-i t͟hāniyye ṣinf-i evvel-i mütemāyizi* (*Ḥürriyyet*, no. 23, 3 November 1868; *Taṣwīr-i efkār*, no. 469, 24 March 1867). On the invitation of M. Fāḍil Pas͟ha, with whom he had come to an agreement, he did not go to Erzūrum. Together with other members of the

Society of Young Ottomans, like Ḍiyā', Suʿāwī, Āgāh and others, he fled to Paris. All these young men, who were, together with their families, supported in their daily needs by M. Fāḍil and partly by Prince Murād assembled in Paris on 30 May. Their aim was to strive for the rights of the people, as well as to make known to them their duties, for the opening of the National Assembly and the enthronement of the Shahzāde Murād. When on 30 June 1867 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz came to Paris on a state visit, he proposed to M. Fāḍil that he should return to Istanbul; this he did, not in the company of the Sulṭān, but on 20 September. At that time, Kemāl and his colleagues started from 31 August onwards to publish the *Mukhbir*. But on account of the writings of Suʿāwī against M. Fāḍil and in favour of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, they announced by way of a letter, written in April or May 1868, that the *Mukhbir* did not represent the Society of Young Ottomans. In this way, the Society split into two. Beginning on 28th June 1868, Kemāl and his associates started to publish the *Ḥürriyyet* ("Freedom") as a counterweight to the *Mukhbir*. But they were threatened with the discontinuation of the financial support, and were told that an amnesty and permission to return to Istanbul would no longer be a possibility if they continued to write against ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and ʿAlī Pasha. Thereupon Kemāl and some of his colleagues declared in a letter dated 7 Jan. 1870 that they had no share in the writings printed in the *Ḥürriyyet* and that they disassociated themselves from its contents. In a letter from the Ministry of Public Security dated 10 Aug. 1870, they were permitted to return to Istanbul. On October 25, Kemāl and his friends arrived back in Istanbul.

Since the articles which he published at the time of his return in the *Diyozhen* (whose first volume came out on 12 Nov. 1872) and in the newspaper *ʿIbret* (which began publication on 15 June 1872, and of which he found himself the editor-in-chief) were regarded as against common decency, first Kemāl was appointed *mutaṣarrif* of Gelibolu (Gallipoli) (11 July 1872), and a little later the newspaper was closed (19 July 1872). On 31 July Midḥat Pasha was appointed Grand Vizier and on 26 Sept. Kemāl set out for Gallipoli. When the suspension of the newspaper *ʿIbret* had been lifted, Kemāl, in a letter sent from there (No. 20, 30 July 1872), held forth on the unjustifiable suspension of this newspaper and the pressure which he and his friends had suffered to accept an office in the provinces. On 6 December came the news that ʿĀṣim Pasha had been appointed *mutaṣarrif* of Gallipoli (*Djerīde-i ḥawādith*, no. 2056), while Kemāl was discharged from office on 11 December (M. C. Ḳuntay, *Namık Kemal*, i, Istanbul 1944, 234; ii/1, Istanbul 1949, 126, 134). Returning to Istanbul (*Ḥadīḳa*, no. 28, 22 Dec. 1872), he continued his publications in the *ʿIbret*.

On 6 April 1873, the day on which the *ʿIbret* was closed because it supported the demonstrations at the first performance of his play *Waṭan yakhud Silistre* at the Gedik Pasha theatre on 1 April, Kemāl and his friends were arrested and by a *fermān* of 10 April sent into exile. After having been imprisoned in a narrow cell in the barracks of Maghosa at Famagusta in Cyprus, he was later transferred to a more spacious room, and, under the protection of the *mutaṣarrif* of Cyprus, he was enabled to communicate with the outside world through his visitors, whom he was free to meet. Through the help of his friends, and specially that of the Shahzāde Murād, he and his family in Istanbul could live a comfortable life. Being granted an amnesty soon after the accession to the throne of Murād V (31 May 1876), he and his friends set out for Istanbul on 14 June; whilst being guests in Izmir, they received the news about the event of Čerkes Ḥasan and on 20 June they arrived in Istanbul. His exile in Famagusta, which lasted 38 months, was in fact his most productive period.

On 11 Sept. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd came to the throne, after having taken the oath on 31 August, because of Murād V's illness, and Kemāl was appointed firstly on 18 Sept. a member of the Council of State (*Shurā-yi dewlet*) and later, on 2 Nov., a member of the General Assembly (*Medjlis-i ʿumumī*), which was working on the framing of the Constitution (*Ḳānūn-i esāsī*). The *Terdjeme djemʿiyeti* was dissolved at its first meeting in November because it did not accept Suʿāwī, and the *ʿAsākir-i milliyye djemʿiyyeti*, because of the great increase in the number of its members, which worried the government. He opposed the article, added later to the Constitution, by which the Sultan was authorised to expel from the country anyone whom, as a result of a police investigation, he suspected. Shortly after the issue of the *fermān* dated 23 Dec. 1876, promulgating the Constitution, he was arrested on 12 Jan. 1877 on the pretext that he had disturbed the public order. From his letters, the real reason must have been the fact that he had written a verse making an allusion to the dethronement of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd; there was also the search for evidence to justify the exile of Midḥat Pasha from Istanbul, and fear of his possibly lending himself to causing some disturbance or of his being elected a deputy. During his detention, the Parliament was opened (19 March 1877). The enquiry into his case was closed on 10 July and on the 19th of that same month he left for Midilli (Mytilene), where he was ordered to reside. He followed closely the phases of the Turco-Russian war that broke out on 23 April, the Treaty of San Stefano concluding this war on 3 March 1878, the event of Suʿāwī on the 20th May, the Congress of Berlin, which opened on 13 July and the discussions in the Ottoman Parliament, which was adjourned *sine die* in 1878. For the realisation of constitutional government, he gave instructions by letter to his close friends about which subjects they should speak during the debates in the Assembly; they accordingly made speeches and introduced bills (*lāyiḥas*). His exile on Mytilene continued for about two years and a half; then on 18 Dec., 1879 he was appointed *mutaṣarrif* of the island. His struggle against the Italian fishermen, who were causing injury to local fishermen in their sponge-fishing; the fact that the Greeks, who wanted autonomy, were not paying the tax levied in lieu of military service (*bedel-i askeri*) with impunity; and also opposition from his adversaries among the Turkish officials—all these were reasons for his temporary dismissal (Feb.-May 1881). Having been restored to office, he held it for more than four years, after which the newspapers dated of 17 Oct. 1884 brought the news that he was to change places with the *mutaṣarrif* of Rhodes, Āgāh Efendi (*Ṭarīḳ*, nos. 203, 207; *Djerīde-i ḥawādith*, no. 6822), and on 20 October it was made known that he had gone to Rhodes. By the continuous efforts of ʿĀrif Pasha, who was on 5 Nov. 1885 appointed governor of the province of the Aegean Islands (the *Djezāyir-i Baḥr-i Sefīd*), the seat of the provincial administration was transferred from Chios (Saḳīz) to Rhodes (Meḥmed Thüreyyā, *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, iii, 297). So for that reason, Kemāl was transferred to Chios to be *mutaṣarrif* there. From one of his letters it appears that he took up his duties there on 6 Dec. 1887.

During his occupation of these posts as *mutaṣarrif*, his struggles against public disorder and administrative inefficiency, and the smuggling of tobacco and sponges, fatigued Kemāl heavily. He also spent much effort to strengthen the Muslim population, who were in a minority compared to the Christians. He recommended to ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd and to high officials, by his *lāyiḥa*s (memoranda), *ʿāriḍa*s (petitions) and letters, the means that had to be applied in order not to lose the Mediterranean islands. He was awarded the *Bālā rutbesi* and twice the *ʿOthmānlî nishāni* in 1881, 1883 and 1886. Kemāl, who was first taken ill with malaria and suffered later from pneumonia, was exhausted by his tiring official duties, and especially by the shock of the seizure of the first volume of his Ottoman History (*ʿOthmānlî tārīkhi*). He died from a combination of bronchitis and gastric and intestinal complaints, on 2 Dec. 1888 at Chios where he had lived alone, since he had sent his wife and son to Istanbul. By the time of the arrival of his wife, he was already buried. By an Imperial rescript his mortal remains were transported the next day to Bolayir, in accordance with his last injunction to Ebū ʾl-Ḍiyāʾ Tewfīḳ. The design of his tomb, which was erected on behalf of the *Khazīne-i khāṣṣa*, was by Tewfīḳ Fikret.

2. *Works*. Kemāl, like so many other personalities of the *Tanẓīmāt* literature, with their intentions of spreading new ideas and introducing new genres of writing, produced works in nearly every field.

(a) Poetry. Kemāl started his literary life with the writing of poetry. In one of the poetry magazines he wrote some 8 or 10 *ghazel*s while he was fourteen years old, and he wrote for another one until his return from Ṣofya; in the last-mentioned periodical, we find religious, mystical and moral poetry, or that concerning his surroundings, as well as a *ḳiṭʿa* which he wrote at the age of sixteen and in which he satirises the banknotes affair; this *ḳiṭʿa* was taken over by Ḍiyāʾ Pasha in his *Kharabāt*. Only a few of these works from his childhood were included in the six poetry collections compiled later, because he was dissatisfied with them. There exists also a collection of *naẓīre*s of his. His pseudonym of Nāmîḳ was given to him by Eshref Pasha, who highly praised his *merthiye*s and eulogised him as the *Kemāl iḳlîminiñ sulṭānî* (*Dīwān*, Istanbul 1279, 109, 200). When 20 years of age, on making acquaintance with Ḍiyāʾ Pasha, the latter praised his potential as a poet. He wrote *naẓīre*s or "parallels" to the verses of contemporaries and older poets; poems composed jointly with other contemporaries; *djülūsiyyes* (poems in praise of a royal accession to the throne); *medḥiyye*s (eulogies); *hidjviyye*s (satires); *fakhriyye*s (poems of self-glorification); *tārīkh ḳiṭʿasî*s (chronograms), *mutammaṭ ghazel*s in Persian, with undotted letters, and a *Sāḳī-nāme* ("Book of the Cupbearer") parallel (*naẓīre*) to the one of Nedīm. He has left specimens of *dīwān* poetry in nearly all forms and genres. In his articles in the *Taṣwīr-i efkār* are included many patriotic poems. He tried out syllabic metre in ten of his poems, the first of which he composed while in Europe; he composed poems in *mulammaʿ* fashion, half-Turkish, half-Arabic; letters in verse and *sharḳî*s, some of which were set to music; and further, he translated a poem of Edward Goen and the *Marseillaise*. This last, if we are not mistaken, was the first of his poems rhymed in the new style. He produced this kind of verse mainly after *Wāweylā* ("Alas"), which was composed as a *naẓīre* (parallel) to Ḥāmid's *Ṣaḥrāʾ* ("the country"). In his poetical works, the mind dominates strongly over feeling and imagination. Most of his patriotic poems, like *Pilevne sharḳîsî*, *Murabbaʿ*, *Bir muhādjir ḳîzînîn istimdādî*, were written whilst on Midilli, at the time of the Turco-Russian war. Among these poems, by which he acquired his fame, is the *Waṭan ḳaṣīdesi*, of which he published some *beyt*s whilst in Europe (1869) and before his exile to Maghosa (1872).

(b) Articles. Kemāl started his career in journalism, which he made his profession under the influence of Shināsī, with his writings in the *Taṣwīr-i efkār*. He continued his publications while in Europe in the *Ḥürriyyet* and after having returned to Istanbul he contributed to the newspapers *Diyozhen*, the *ʿIbret* and the *Ḥadīḳa*. The most splendid period of his journalistic career was that of the ten to eleven years before his exile to Famagusta. The greatest number of his articles were published in the *ʿIbret* newspaper, of which he was the editor-in-chief. Although he was prohibited from publishing while in exile at Famagusta and on Mytilene, we do come across a small number of articles of his in newspapers such as the *Saʿy*, *Muṣavver medeniyyet*, *Čanṭa*, *Muḥarrir*, *Istiḳbāl*, *Ṣadāḳat* and *Ittiḥād*. These writings are unsigned, unlike those poems of his which were published in the *Terdjemān-i ḥaḳīḳat* ("Interpreter of the Truth") under pseudonyms like Khitām-i ʿAdjemī and al-Dāʿī Kemāl. His articles concern all kinds of events taking place in his surroundings, with a rich variety of subjects. The most effective and influential were those with a political content. In these writings, remaining faithful to the principles of the *Yeñi ʿOthmānlîlar Djemʿiyyeti*, he put forward the ideas which were to become the cause of the Constitution, and he strove to show the defects of nearly every institution as well as the means for its improvement. His most severe criticisms can be found in the writings he produced and published in the *Taṣwīr-i efkār* and the *ʿIbret* at the time when he was contemplating fleeing to Europe and was in no need of an official post, but which were the cause of his being banished to Famagusta. Compared with his works in other genres, he achieved great fame by these various articles, especially those reflecting his political struggles.

(c) Historical works. His works in this field are monographs about the great men of Ottoman and Islamic history, the *Tārīkh-i ʿaskerī* and the *ʿOthmānlî tārīkhi*. — 1. *Bārîḳa-i ẓafer* ("The Sword of Victory") concerns the conquest of Istanbul by Meḥemmed II the Conqueror, and was written in one day. He used artistic prose here, and was convinced that no one adhering to the *dīwān* literature could write a "parallel" to it (Istanbul 1289, 1305). — 2. *Dewlet-i ʿAliyye'niñ devr-i istīlāsîna dāʾir bir maḳāledir*. In this work he treated of the conquests of the Ottoman empire since its establishment up to the end of the reign of Süleymān the Magnificent. Shortly after it was published in instalments in the *Taṣwīr-i efkār*, it was printed in book-form from Jan. 1867 onwards (Istanbul 1289, 1301, 1304). — 3. *Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Eyyūbī*. This is a monograph about the life of the founder of the Ayyūbids and Muslim hero Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin). It was printed, together with the *Devr-i istīlāʾ*, as the first volume of the *Evrāḳ-i perīshān* (Istanbul 1289/1872, 1964). — 4. *Silistre muḥāṣarasî*. He published this under the name of Aḥmed Nāfidh, a man who had himself taken part in the battle of 1853, and on whose mediation Kemāl relied for his communications with Istanbul while in exile in Famagusta (Istanbul 1290, 1946). — 5. *Ḳanizhe*: this was written to recall the praise-

worthy victories of the Turkish soldiers, and contains the conquest of Ḳanizhe during the reign of Meḥemmed III, as well as the acts of heroism of Tiryākī Ḥasan Pasha, and was published under the name of Aḥmed Nāfidh (Istanbul 1290, 1303, 1311, 1335, 1941). — 6. *Terdjeme-i ḥāl-i Emīr Nevrūz*. This contains the life and the struggles of Emīr Nevrūz, who, at the time of the Mongol conquests fought for the sake of Islam and humanity; it was first published under the abbreviation *nūn-ḳāf*, while he was in exile in Famagusta (Istanbul 1293; Arakel 1302; Maṭbaʿa-i Ebüżżiyā, 1302, 1305). Of the above-mentioned works, the *Devr-i istīlā'* and *Ṣalāh al-Dīn Eyyūbī*, to which were added the biographies of Meḥemmed the Conqueror and Sulṭān Selīm, were printed as one volume and published under the name *Evrāḳ-i perīshān* (Istanbul, n.d. [Istanbul 1301]). — 7. Apart from the works mentioned up to here, he prepared, while in Famagusta, his *Tārīkh-i ʿaskerī*, as his entry for a competition for a history-book for the lessons at the *Ḥarbiyye mektebi* or War Academy. Its first volume runs from Sulṭān ʿUthmān up to the end of the period of Sülaymān the Magnificent and the second volume starts with the reign of Sulṭān Selīm II and ends with the conquest of Bozdja-ada (Tenedos) and Limni (Lemnos) in 1657; it was never published, and its manuscript is preserved in the Türk Tarih Kurumu. — 8. In 1886 at Rhodes he started writing the *ʿOthmānlī tārīkhi*, in order to give a more comprehensive version of the *Tārīkh-i ʿaskerī*. When the introduction to this work, which comprises the history of the Roman Empire, and Islamic history up to the years 227-8 of the *hidjra*, was printed (Istanbul 1305/1887), it was denounced, due to certain expressions and phrases, and Kemāl was informed that the printing of this work was forbidden and that copies would be seized. Its manuscript treats the history up to the time of Selīm I; it is kept in the Türk Tarih Kurumu. From this *ʿOthmānlī tārīkhi*, which was written, like his monographs in general, in a narrative fashion, only a part—that up to the reign of Meḥemmed the Conqueror—was published in four volumes in the *Kulliyyāt-i Kemāl* series (Istanbul 1326-7).

(d) Plays. Kemāl, who regarded the drama as a school for the improvement of morals, held the view that, because the Turkish language was not yet simplified to a sufficient degree, it would be impossible to write dramas in syllabic metre; hence all his six plays are written in prose. — 1. *Waṭan yakhud Silistre*. The basic events of this were taken from the battle of Shumnu, during the reign of Maḥmūd II, but in order to make things more impressive, the play was set during the battle of Silistre in 1853. It was presented to the Russian press in 1876 by V. D. Smirnov and it was translated into German by H. Hartt and also by L. Pekotsch, and in Arabic by Muḥammad b. al-Khayyāṭ. Though it was sharply criticised by Murād Bey, it is nevertheless important because it was the first stage-play having as its subject the Ottoman national virtues. Its influence is found particularly in Manastirlï Rifʿat's drama *Yā ghāzī yā shahīd* (*Čanta*, iii, Istanbul 1291), and in his *naẓīre* called *Ṭuna yakhud ẓafer* (Istanbul 1301). It was printed more than ten times between 1873 and 1972, and has been presented a great many times since its first performance up to the present day. — 2. The subject of the story *Dānish Bey yakhud Fākhishe-i Nā'ibe* was thought up on the boat when he was sent into exile at Famagusta and was made into a play there and given the name of *ʿĀkif Bey* (Istanbul 1873, 1873, 1876 and 1966). It is inspired by the battle at the outset of the Crimean War, involving the setting on fire by the Russians of an Ottoman fleet anchored in the port of Sinope on 30 Nov. 1853. This tragedy, which describes the love-adventure of a woman, who takes into her head to marry, after having invented the death of her husband, the captain of a ship, vigorously displays patriotic feelings. — 3. His social-sentimental play is *Zavallï čodjuḳ* (Istanbul 1873, three times; 1874, 1940, 1947, 1960). It describes the tragedy caused by the pressure put on by the family in a question of marriage, and its influence is to be perceived in Ḥamīd's *Ičli ḳiz* and in the *Wuṣlat* of R. Ekrem. — 4. *Gülnihāl*, at first named *Rāz-i dil* ("Heart's secret"), was written at the time *Waṭan* was in rehearsal. In this work, like *Zavallï čodjuḳ* and *ʿĀkif Bey* published unsigned while he was in Famagusta, the conceptions of liberty, justice and oppression are analysed, while being brought to life through the characters by which they are symbolised (Istanbul 1873, 1876, ?1869). — 5. In his *Ḳara Belā*, again written in Famagusta, is described the passionate love of a *ḥarem āghāsï* for the daughter of one of the Indian sovereigns. This play, much appreciated by Kemāl himself, has been sharply criticised (Ist. 1911; Sh. Süleymān, *Tenḳīdāt-i edebiyye*, Istanbul 1911). — 6. The subject matter of his last play *Djelāl al-Dīn Khwārazmshāh*, in which the idea of the unity of Islam is defended, is set in the period of the Mongol invasions. It was finished in 1881 at Mytilene. The date of publication, Cairo 1292/1875, is false. In his lifetime it was partly published in the form of instalments (*Medjmūʿa-i Ebüżżiyā*, v, nos. 49, 50, 31 August and 14 September 1886). Although it was written to be read, it was staged after 1908 (*TOEM*, xxxvii/1, April 1332), 50; republished in simplified language, Istanbul 1969).

(e) Novels. Although Kemāl's novels have not become as famous as his dramas, and were not very successful in general, they still are of importance, because they were the first works in this genre. The novel he wrote while in Famagusta and in which he describes the ruin, materially and morally, of a young man who falls in love with a prostitute, was published shortly after his being granted pardon under the new name of *ʿAlī Bey'in sergüzeshtini ḥāwīdir*, since no permission was given for publishing under its original name *Ṣoñ pishmānlïḳ* (Istanbul 1876, 1969, 1971). This more or less romantic-social work of his was translated into French. His second novel, *Djezmī*, for which the subject matter was extracted from Ottoman, Crimean and Persian history of the 16th century, was written in parts at Mytilene and finished in 1881. Under the influence of Romanticism, Pan-Islamism is the leading idea, and is defended in *Djezmī* (Istanbul 1297, 1299, 1304, 1335 1969).

(f) Criticism. Most of his criticism, in general reflecting his ideas about *dīwān* and western literature, and the simplicity of the language, is composed in epistolary form, because it was written when he was in exile. — 1. In his foreword (*muḳaddime*) to the *Bahār-i dānish* he wrote that during the *Tanẓīmāt* period, people had refrained from translating works from Persian, because of the strong influence of Western literature, and he gave a translation of one of the famous stories written by Shaykh ʿInāyat Allāh in the Urdu language (Istanbul 1291, 1303, 1311). — 2. *Takhrīb-i kharābāt* is a criticism of the first volume of Ḍiyā' Pasha's anthology (publ. Istanbul 1874), including examples of the various kinds of poetry of Arabic, Persian and Turkish *dīwān* literature. It was first published as an article in instal-

ments (*Medjmūʿa-i Ebużżiyā*, nos. 11, 19, 24, 17 January, 15 May and 17 July 1882), and it was later printed in book-form (Istanbul 1301, 1304). — 3. His critical reviews of the second and third volumes of this same work were, after having been printed as magazine articles (*ibid.*, nos. 30-36, 24 January-23 April 1883), published separately also (Istanbul 1301, 1312). — 4. *ʿIrfān Pasha'ya mektūb* was written with reference to ʿIrfān Pasha's blaming the young generation, in the preface to his work *Medjmūʿa-i ʿIrfān Pasha* (Istanbul 1287), for not appreciating the *dīwān* literature (*ibid.*, no. 7, 18 Nov. 1880); as a book publ. Istanbul 1309, 1327). — 5. *Muṭālaʿa-nāme*, was written with reference to R. Ekrem's *Taʿlīm-i edebiyyāt*, and was printed according to a defective manuscript, which has been subsequently found (N. Halil Onat, *Namik Kemal'in tâlim-i edebiyat üzerine bir risalesi*, Ankara 1950); from his letters it seems that he wrote it at Mytilene in 1878. — 6. In his *Muḳaddime-i Djelāl*, finished at Mytilene in 1878, he expressed his opinion with regard to the new forms of literature, which had developed after the *Tanẓīmāt*, namely the political article, the novel and the drama, as well as his thoughts about whether some features of his play *Djelāl al-Dīn Khwārazmshāh* were in accordance with the historical facts or not, and about simplicity of the language (publ. as an article in *Sharḳ*, nos. 1 ff., 1297; *Medjmūʿa-i Ebużżiyā*, nos. 38-44, 4 Nov. 1884-12 Jan. 1885. Istanbul 1305, 1309). — 7. His *Renan müdāfaʿa-nāmesi*, which he finished at Mytilene in Sept. 1883, is his criticism of a lecture called *L'Islamisme et la science*, delivered by Ernest Renan at the Sorbonne on 29 March 1883 (Istanbul 1326; ed. Fu'ad Köprülü, Ankara 1962). — The information given by Aḥmed Midḥat in his *Uss-i inḳilāb* about his opinions on the Constitution was criticised by Kemāl (Istanbul 1295, 197, 220) in his letters dating 24 Aug. and 13 Sept. 1878 (*Edīb-i aʿẓam Nāmīḳ Kemāl Bey'iñ ghayr-i maṭbūʿ āthārīndan -Aḥmed Midḥat Efendi'ye yazdīghī iki mektūb*, Izmir 1324). — 9. Apart from these works of his, he wrote other pieces of criticism, which were published in magazines but were never printed in book-form; these include *Mes prisons muʿākhadhesi* about the Turkish translation (1874) by R. Ekrem of Silvio Pellico's *Le Mie Prigioni*. — 10. *Mukātebāt-i siyāsiyye*, being his criticism on K. P. Rifʿat's *Ḥuḳūḳ-i ʿumūmiye* (Istanbul 1290), which was the latter's translation of Pradié Fodéré's *Principes généraux de droit politique et de législation* (Paris 1869). — 11. The *Intibāh muḳaddimesi*. — 12. His *Laṭīfe* (anecdote), also called *Pilevne muʿākhadhesi*, relating to D. Ḥikmet's *Pilevne Ḳahramānī ʿOthmān Pasha shanīndadīr* (Istanbul 1878). — 13. The criticism he wrote of Maḥmūd Djelāl al-Dīn Pasha's *Sherḥ-i Shefīḳ-nāme* (Istanbul 1290), his *Shefiḳ-nāme* or *Rawḍat al-Kāmilīn mu'ākhadhesi*. — We may also include in this genre his *Lāyiḥa*s (memoranda) and *Taḳrīẓ*s (eulogies of books). But one finds his most sincere and objective criticisms in his private letters, some of them of book length, and containing his frank opinions about the work of his contemporaries and about various controversies during that period.

(g) Other works. Apart from the works mentioned above he produced certain other writings: *Tendhīr al-khinzīr* (Istanbul 1307); *Sergüzesht* (Istanbul 1327); *Ru'yā* (signed in abbreviation *nūn-ḳaf*, n.p.d., Egypt 1908, Istanbul 1326, 1932); *Imtizādj-i aḳvām - wafāy-i ʿahd* (Istanbul 1327); *Ḥikmet al-ḥuḳūḳ*, *Midilli risalesi* and *Medjmūʿa-i siyāset* were never published in bookform.

Bibliography: The above is mostly based on the following works: Fā'iḳ Reshād, *Edīb-i aʿẓam Kemāl*; Ebużżiyā, *Kemāl Bey'in terdjeme-i ḥāli* (Istanbul 1326) and *Yeñi ʿOthmānlīlar tārīkhi* published in the *TE*; ʿA. Ekrem Bolayır, *Namık Kemal* (Istanbul 1933).

Of other sources, his early life and his poetry are clarified by S. N. Erghun (*Namık Kemal hayatı ve şiirleri* Istanbul 1933; *Namık Kemal'in şiirleri* Istanbul 1941), while I. R. M. Kemal Inal has treated in his work of Kemāl's life as an official and his verses (*Son asir Türk sairleri*, v, Istanbul 1938, 819 ff.). For his childhood, see: E. ʿAlī Baḳī, *Namık Kemal'in annesi nerede yatar*, in *Cumhuriyet*, 24 Dec. 1940; *Ülkü*, no. 101, July 1941; *Namık Kemal Afyonda*, Ankara 1949. Some of his articles have been brought together and printed (Ebużżiyā, *Muntakhabat-i Taṣwīr-i efkār*, Istanbul 1304, 1311; A. Ekrem Bolayır, *Külliyyāt-i Kemāl*, Istanbul 1327; M. Nihad Özön, *Namık Kemal ve ʿIbret gazetesi*, Istanbul 1938). See also R. H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman empire 1856-1876*, Princeton 1963, index; A. Bombaci, *Storia della letteratura turca*, Milan 1956, index; *Enciclopedia Italiana*, art. s.v. Most of his works were published by others while he himself was in exile; hence because he was not able to correct them himself, they contain some mistakes and omissions. Among the works which the Türk Tarih Kurumu has bought from his family are manuscripts of some of his works, as well as some printed copies which he has corrected himself. The Society has also brought together about 744 letters, some of which were addressed to him, two books containing his official writings, and also two books with his collected poems. Apart from the poems, these works have not been consulted. His letters, amounting to about 1,000, together with those already available, are, together with a commentary on their contents and documentation, being prepared for the press by the Türk Tarih Kurumu (*Namık Kemal'ın mektupları*, i, *Istanbul, Avrupa ve Maghosa mektupları*; ii and iii, *Midilli mektupları*, Ankara 1967, 1969, 1973). Because of the availability of these volumes, only a basic bibliography is given here; see further the general index to these three volumes.

(F. A. Tansel)

KEMĀL PASHA-ZĀDE, or ibn(-i) kemāl, usual appellations of shams al-dīn aḥmad b. sulaymān b. kamāl pasha, Ottoman scholar and Shaykh al-Islām, b. ?873/1468-9, d. 940/1534.

Life. The identity of his grandfather is obscure. Kemālpashazāde mentions (*VII. Defter*, facs., 293, 325)—but with no hint that he is descended from him—a Kemāl Pasha who was appointed to the vizierate upon the dismissal of Maḥmūd Pasha [*q.v.*] in 872/1468 and died in 875/1470 (for a letter of congratulation, undated, from Prince Bāyezīd, see N. Lugal and A. Erzi, *Fâtih devrine âit münşeât mecmuası*, Istanbul 1956, no. 60); and a *ḳaṣīda* of Ḥāmidī (ed. İ. H. Ertaylan, Istanbul 1949, 306-8) is addressed to "Daftardār Kamāl Pasha" (for the autograph MS., containing a miniature of this Kemāl, see *Fâtih ve İstanbul*, i/1 (1953), 17). According to Ḥüseyn Ḥusāmeddīn, however (*Amasya Ta'rīkhi*, Istanbul 1329, iii, 227: as so often one does not know how seriously to take this work's undocumented assertions), the grandfather became *lālā* to Prince Bāyezīd at Amasya in 870/1465-6 and died there in 875/1470-1. That the grandfather was indeed at some time Bāyezīd's *lālā* is implied by ʿĀshiḳ Čelebi (ed. G. M. Meredith-Owens, f. 37a), but he certainly

died (ʿĀshiḳpashazāde, ed. Giese, p. 197) and was buried in Istanbul: his *türbe* (no longer extant) formed the nucleus of a *maḥalle* (Ö. L. Barkan and E. H. Ayverdi, *İstanbul vakıflari tahrîr defteri*, Istanbul 1970, 149), and Kemālpashazāde set up a *waḳf* in favour of its mosque (*op. cit.*, no. 864).

Kemālpashazāde's father Süleymān "Beg" and "Čelebi" (called by Ḳabūlī *wazīr ibn-i wazīrān* in the last of five *ḳaṣīdas*, cf. *Külliyyât*, ed. İ. H. Ertaylan, 206) is said to have been *muḥāfiẓ* of Amasya and *sandjaḳbegi* of Tokat from 879/1474-5 until after 896/1490-1 (*Amasya Taʾrīkhi*, iii, 230-2, 237-8); he was buried in his father's *türbe* at Istanbul (the date of his death is unknown). Kemālpashazāde's mother was the sister of Ibn Küpeli, *ḳāḍīʿasker* in the middle years of the reign of Meḥemmed II (Tashköprüzāde, *Shaḳāʾiḳ*, i, 303-4; Turkish tr. Medjdī, 215).

Kemālpashazāde began his adult life as a *sipāhī*; but upon noticing the respect paid to Mollā Luṭfī [*q.v.*], a relatively humble *müderris*, by prominent statesmen and soldiers, he decided to embrace the career of *ʿilm* (this incident, recorded by Tashköprüzāde from Kemālpashazāde himself, seems to have occurred in 897/1492, or perhaps even earlier). He began his studies under Mollā Luṭfī, at the Dār al-ḥadīth in Edirne. His first appointment, as *müderris* at the *medrese* of ʿAlī Beg in Edirne, was procured for him by Müʾeyyedzāde ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Efendi, then *ḳāḍī-ʿasker* of Anadolu (and probably an old acquaintance of his father at Amasya), who on the same occasion recommended him to Bāyezīd II as the only fit person to write a definitive History of the Ottomans as the Turkish counterpart of Idrīs Bidlisī's recently-commissioned *Hasht Bihisht*; this incident can be closely dated by the facts that the *Hasht Bihisht* was commissioned in 908/1502-3 [see BIDLĪSĪ] and that Kemālpashazāde was already installed in the *medrese* of ʿAlī Beg in Muḥarrem 909/July 1503 (M. T. Gökbilgin, *Edirne*, 479). He then progressed through a series of *medreses* (Üsküb, Edirne, one of the Ṣaḥn *medreses* at Istanbul, the *medrese* of Bāyezīd II at Edirne).

Presumably while still *müderris* at Edirne, he wrote a *risāla* (sometimes erroneously termed *fatwā*) *fī takfīr al-rawāfiḍ*, demonstrating war against Shāh Ismāʿīl to be *farḍ ʿayn* (Atsız [see *Bibl.*], no. 84; Brockelmann, no. 47b; text published by M. C. Şahabeddin Tekindağ in *TD*, xvii/22 (1968), 77-8 and cf. 55; German summary in Elke Eberhard, *Osmanische Polemik gegen die Safawiden . . .*, Freiburg i/B 1970, 164-5). On 10 Radjab 921/20 August 1515, i.e. shortly after Selīm's return to Istanbul from the Čāldirān [*q.v.*] campaign, he was appointed *ḳāḍī* of Edirne (Ferīdūn, *Munshaʾāt*², i, 467-8). On 14 Shaʿbān 922/12 September 1516, while Selīm was staying in Aleppo after the battle of Mardj Dābiḳ, he was promoted to *ḳāḍīʿasker* of Anadolu (Ferīdūn, i, 480). In Cairo, for some unknown reason (? a protest at the execution of Ṭūmān Bāy), the irascible Selīm dismissed him, but he re-appointed him a couple of weeks later (Rabīʿ I-II/April 1517; Ferīdūn, i, 454, 489). According to an anecdote recorded by Saʿdeddīn (ii, 614-6; cf. Hammer-Purgstall, ii, 519-20), Kemālpashazāde's influence with Selīm was such that the dignitaries, bored with the long stay in Egypt, asked him to convey the hint that the troops wished to return home. In the course of this campaign he gave a ruling in favour of the orthodoxy of Ibn al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*, at col. 708b] (Atsız, no. 85; Brockelmann, no. 47a).

In 924/1518 he acted as *emīn* for a land-survey (*taḥrīr*) of Ḳarāmān (Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 39; cf. N. and I. Beldiceanu, in *JESHO*, xi (1968), 7, 57). Upon being dismissed, or resigning, from the post of *ḳāḍīʿasker* (in 925/1519, according to Medjdī, 387), he again became a *müderris* at Edirne (Dār al-ḥadīth, then *medrese* of Bāyezīd II). Upon the death of "Zenbīlli" ʿAlī Efendi (932/1526) he was appointed Shaykh al-Islām, and held office until his death on 2 Shawwāl 940/16 April 1534. He was buried in the *zāwiye* of Maḥmūd Čelebi, outside Edirne Kapîsl.

Works. Kemālpashazāde was a most prolific writer, in Turkish, Persian and Arabic, in the fields of history, *belles-lettres*, grammar, theology and law. Over 200 works (many of them, admittedly, short *risālas*) are attributed to him. The most important are:

Turkish: (1) History of the Ottomans, begun in 908/1502-3 and composed originally in eight books (*defter*), one for each reign from ʿOthmān to Bāyezīd II. All survive in manuscript except Book 5 (Meḥemmed I) and the first part of Book 6 (Murād II). Book 1 (ʿOthmān), ed. Şerafettin Turan, Ankara (TTK) 1970; Book 7 (Meḥemmed II, largely based on Neshrī and Tursun [*qq.v.*] but containing important original data), ed. Ş. Turan in facsimile (from the autograph *MS*, Fatih 4205, see V. L. Ménage, in *BSOAS*, xxiii (1960), 250-64), Ankara 1954, and in transcription, Ankara 1957. Book 8 reaches to 916/1510. Later, Kemālpashazāde was asked to continue his History. Book 9 (Selīm I) resumes the last years of Bāyezīd II's reign but reaches only to 920/1514 (the apparent date of completion, 19 Ṣafar 926, is expressed by a *muʿammā* in fractions, a literary conceit which appears to be Kemālpashazāde's invention, see H. Ritter, in *Oriens*, i (1948), 237-47). (Two *mss.*—Hazine 1424, Revan 1277—sometimes referred to as a *Selīmnāme* of Kemālpashazāde are in fact by Saʿdī b. ʿAbd al-Mutaʿāl: abridged German tr. by M. T. Speiser, Zürich 1946; see M. C. Şehabeddin Tekindağ, in *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*, i (1970), 217-8 and (incorrect) 208-10). Book 10, extending only to Süleymān's return from the Mohacz campaign in 933/1526, was for long regarded as a separate work (cf. Hammer-Purgstall, iii, p. vi) and was published, with French tr., by Pavet de Courteille as *Histoire de la campagne de Mohacz par Kemal Pachazadeh*, Paris 1859; that this text is the fragmentary Book 10 was shown by L. Forrer (*Isl.*, xxvi (1942), 187; see also, with important data on the *mss.*, Hüseyn Yurdaydın, in *Vakıflar Dergisi*, iii (1956), 107-15). It appears that Book 10 was never given final shape (and that Book 9 was never completed). Various portions of the work also exist in *ms.* under a variety of titles. In spite of its importance, especially for the writer's own times (H. İnalcik has called him "the greatest of all Ottoman historians"), it was very little used by later chroniclers. For the *mss.* in European libraries: Babinger, 61 ff.; in İstanbul: *İstanbul kütüphaneleri tarih-coğrafya yazmaları katalogları*, i/2, 1944, 120 ff., and Atsız, no. 1.

(2) *Dīvān*. Two *ḳaṣīdas* and about 300 *ghazals*, distinguished by having no *makhlaṣ*; partial ed. Istanbul (Iḳdām series no. 5) 1313; cf. E. J. W. Gibb, *HOP*, ii, 347-63. Atsız, no. 2. His famous elegy on Selīm I, appearing early in Book 10 of the History, has been published by M. ʿĀrif, in *TOEM*, part 22, 1411-6, and by F. İz, in *Eski Türk edebiyatında nazım*, i/1, Istanbul 1966, 505-8. (3) A verse translation of the famous *Burda* [*q.v.*] of al-Būṣīrī (Atsız, no. 3). (4) *Yūsuf u Zelīkhā*, a *mathnawī* in 7777 couplets, closely following Djāmī [*q.v.*], dedicated to Bāyezīd II. See Gibb, *HOP*, iii, 12-17; except in F. İz, *Nazım*, i/2, 1967, 786-90. Atsız, no. 4. (5) *Daḳāʾiḳ al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ*,

dedicated to Ibrāhīm Pas͟ha [*q.v.*], on the distinctions between apparent synonyms in Persian; to judge from the numerous *mss.*, the work was widely read. Atsız no. 8.

Persian: (6) *Nigāristān*, in prose and verse, in imitation of the *Gulistān* of Saʿdī [*q.v.*], completed in 939/1533; excerpts, with Latin translation, in *Mines de l'Orient*, i, 401-8; ii, 107-113. Atsız no. 20. (7) *Muḥīṭ al-lug͟hāt*, an Arabic-Persian dictionary composed in 926/1520. Atsız, no. 26.

Arabic: (8) *Tafsīr*, incomplete, the *mss.* comprising *sūra*s 1-38, 67, 78-9, 86, 89, 103: Atsız, no. 27; Brockelmann, nos. 6-10. (9) Four (or five?) distinct collections of *ḥadīt͟h*s (40, 30 and 24) with *s͟harḥ*: Atsız, nos. 39-42; Brockelmann, nos. 13-17 and 132. One collection was translated into Turkish by ʿĀs͟hiḳ Čelebi [*q.v.*] and printed, Istanbul 1316; see A. Karahan, *İslâm-Türk edebiyatında kırk hadis*, Istanbul 1954, 175-8; *BSOAS*, xxiii (1960), 253-4. (10) *Muhimmāt al-muftī*, a collection of *fatwās*: Atsız, no. 47; Brockelmann, no. 45. (11) A *ḥās͟hiya* on some sections of the *Hidāya* of al-Marg͟hīnānī [*q.v.*]: Atsız, no. 48; Brockelmann, no. 151 (?). (12) *Iṣlāḥ al-Wiḳāya*, corrections to the *Wiḳāya* of ʿUbayd al-Maḥbūbī, and (13) *Īḍāḥ al-Iṣlāḥ*, his own *s͟harḥ* to (12), both completed in 928/1522: Atsız, no. 49; Brockelmann, nos. 46, 170. (14) A *ḥās͟hiya* on the *Talwīḥ* of al-Taftāzānī [*q.v.*]: Atsız, no. 50; Brockelmann, no. 151 (?). (15) *Tag͟hyīr al-Tanḳīḥ*, corrections to the *Tanḳīḥ al-uṣūl* of ʿUbayd Allāh al-Maḥbūbī completed in 931/1525, printed Istanbul 1308: Atsız, no. 51 (add *ms.* Murad Molla 623, autograph, see *BSOAS*, xxiii, 253); Brockelmann, II², 278; S II, 301. (16) His own *s͟harḥ* to (15): Atsız, no. 52. (17) A *s͟harḥ* to *al-Farāʾiḍ al-Sirād͟jiyya*, of al-Sad͟jāwandī [*q.v.*], completed in 928/1522: Atsız, no. 53; Brockelmann, no. 42a. (18) A *ḥās͟hiya* to the commentary by al-D͟jurd͟jānī [*q.v.*] on the *Mawāḳif* of al-Īd͟jī [*q.v.*]: Atsız, no. 92; Brockelmann, no. 140. (19) A *ḥās͟hiya* to the *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* of K͟hʷād͟jazāde (for whom see İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, ii, 649-52): Atsız, no. 93; Brockelmann, nos. 94, 161. (20) *Tag͟hyīr al-Miftāḥ*, corrections to and commentary on the *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm* of al-Sakkākī [*q.v.*]: Atsız, no. 140; Brockelmann, no. 154. (21) A *s͟harḥ* to the *K͟hamriyya* of Ibn al-Fāriḍ [*q.v.*]: Atsız, no. 160; Brockelmann, no. 92. (22) *al-Risāla al-munīra*, printed Istanbul 1286, etc.: Atsız, no. 170; Brockelmann, no. 134 and cf. no. 17b. (23) *al-Falāḥ fī s͟harḥ al-Marāḥ*, a *s͟harḥ* to the *Marāḥ al-arwāḥ*, on grammar, of Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Masʿūd, printed Istanbul 1289, etc.; attribution doubtful: Atsız, no. 181; Brockelmann, II², 24; S II, 14. (24) *R. fī taḥḳīḳ taʿrīb al-kalimāt al-ʿarabiyya*, on various non-Arabic words used in Arabic, printed Cairo n.d. (according to Sarkis), Turkish tr. Istanbul 1290; described by Brunschvig [see *Bibl.*], 50-2: Atsız, no. 182; Brockelmann, no. 109. (25) *al-Tanbīh ʿalā g͟halaṭ al-k͟hāmil* (*sic*, not *al-d͟jāhil*) *wa'l-nabīh*, on Arabic words mispronounced, Turkish tr. Istanbul 1289: Atsız, no. 194; Brockelmann, no. 106 [and see G͟HALAṬĀT-I MES͟HHŪRE]. (26) *R. fī maziyyat al-lisān al-fārisī*, on the superiority of Persian over other languages, except Arabic, printed in *Rasāʾil*, Istanbul 1316, 210-6, and Tehran 1332 s.; see Brunschvig, 52-6: Atsız, no. 203; Brockelmann, no. 108.

According to Kātib Čelebi (*Kas͟hf al-ẓunūn*, Flügel no. 13617 = Yaltkaya-Bilge, ii, 1933), he translated for Selīm I, under the title *al-Kawākib al-bāhira, al-Nud͟jūm al-zāhira* of Ibn Tag͟hrībirdī [see ABU 'L-MAḤĀSIN], but no *ms.* is known.

Kemālpas͟hazāde is usually credited with the authorship of the somewhat notorious *Rud͟jūʿ al-s͟hayk͟h ilā ṣibāh fi 'l-ḳuwwa ʿala 'l-bāh*, rendered by R. F. Burton "Book of Age-rejuvenescence in the power of Concupiscence" (Brockelmann, no. 103, for Arabic *mss.* and printed texts and Persian trans.; anon. English trans. *The old man young again*, 2 vols., Paris 1898-9; and see D͟JINS at col. 552b). However, Kātib Čelebi records (*Kas͟hf*, Flügel no. 5878 = Yaltkaya-Bilge, i, 835) that Kemālpas͟hazāde translated it, presumably from Arabic into Turkish, for Selīm I (Atsız lists, no. 7, two Turkish *mss.*); the author is more probably Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Tīfās͟hī, d. 651/1253 (Brockelmann, I², 652; and see AL-TĪFĀS͟HĪ).

There seems to be no foundation for the assertion that Abu 'l-Suʿūd [*q.v.*] was the pupil of Kemālpas͟hazāde. Their names are significantly linked, however, by ʿAṭāʾī (p. 185), in the statement that it was they who, as *muʿallim-i evvel* and *muʿallim-i t͟hānī* of Süleymān I, succeeded (by their *id͟jtihād*) in reconciling the *s͟harīʿa* and the *ḳānūn*—an achievement sometimes attributed to Abu 'l-Suʿūd alone (see also Kātib Čelebi, *Mīzān al-ḥaḳḳ*, 116; Eng. tr. G. L. Lewis, 128). The extent of Kemālpas͟hazāde's contribution remains to be investigated (numerous MS collections of his *fatwās* survive: Atsız, no. 5; Brockelmann, no. 47). As regards other fields, however, his immense reputation rests rather on his industry and on the profundity and extent of his learning than on any originality of thought.

Bibliography: Life. The principal source is Tas͟hköprüzāde, *S͟haḳāʾiḳ*, i, 541-8 = Turkish trans. by Med͟jdī, 381-5 = German trans. by Rescher, 243-5. To cite here the numerous secondary works is superfluous, for they are superseded by three recent studies, all containing references to them and to unpublished sources: İsmet Parmaksızoğlu, art. *Kemâl Paşa-zâde*, in *İA*, fasc. 62 (1954); Ş. Turan, introductory chapter in *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman: VII. defter*, Ankara 1957, pp. ix-xxviii; R. C. Repp, *The origins and development of the office of S͟haik͟h al-Islâm* ..., unpublished D. Phil. thesis. Oxford 1966, 277-96.

Works. The most recent attempt at a bibliography is by [Çiftçioglu Nihal] Atsız, *Kemalpaşaoğlu'nun eserleri*, in *Şarkiyat Mecmuası*, vi (1966), 71-112 (nos. 1-92) and vii (1972), 83-135 (nos. 93-209), listing 19 works in Turkish, 7 in Persian and 183 in Arabic, the last classified by subject (*tafsīr*, *ḥadīt͟h*, etc.); but valuable as it is, it is based only on the manuscript collections of Istanbul, so that it does not supersede D͟jamāl al-ʿAẓm, *ʿUḳūd al-d͟jawhar*, Beirut 1326, 217 f. (214 titles, with some duplications) or, for the Arabic works, Brockelmann: II², 597-602 = nos. 1-124; S II, 668-73 = nos. 125-70; S III, 1306 = nos. 171-9.

A number of his *risāla*s (more than the 28 noted by Atsız) were printed in the Iḳdām series, Istanbul 1316. Facsimiles of ten of his *fatwās* are given in *ʿIlmiyye sālnāmesi*, Istanbul 1334, 346-54; one of his letters, to Süleymān I, is published by S. Turan, in *Tarih Vesikaları*, new series no. 2/17 (1958), 221-4. See also R. Brunschvig, *Kemâl Pâshâzâde et le persan*, in *Mélanges H. Massé*, Tehran 1963, 48-64. (V. L. MÉNAGE)

KEMĀL REʾĪS (d. 917/1511), a Turkish corsair and admiral in the time of Bāyezīd II (886-918/1481-1512), and uncle of the celebrated Pīrī Reʾīs [*q.v.*]. Born in Gallipoli of a Turkish family originally from Ḳarāmān, he joined the campaign of Agriboz in 874/1470 under Maḥmūd Pas͟ha. Later he settled down in that island and was raised to the rank

of *ʿazablar āghāsi̊*. He gained great fame through his corsair activities in the western Mediterranean, so that in 900/1495 Bāyezīd II took him and his nephew Pīrī Re'īs into the Ottoman service at a salary of 20 *aḳčas* per day. In the following year, he conveyed to Alexandria the income of the *awḳāf* of Adana and Tarsus for the Holy Places of Arabia; on his return he was attacked by the Knights of Rhodes in the vicinity of the island, but defeated them (Kemāl Pashazāde, *Ta'rīkh-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, Ali Emiri, VIII. Defter. No. 32, f. 76a). He took part in the Inebakhti (Aynabakhtī) campaign in 904/1499, and he and Burāḳ Re'īs commanded the two newly-built large battle ships (*küke*) which were among the Ottoman fleet at that battle under the supreme command of the Admiral or Küčük Dāwūd Pasha. Kemāl Re'īs's duties in this battle were to prevent the Venetians giving support by sea, and thus assist the *beylerbeyi* of Rumeli, Ḳodja Muṣṭafā Pasha, who was besieging the fortress of Inebakhti by land. During the sea battle near the island of Sapienza on 19th Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1499/28th July 1499, the Venetians, thinking that they were attacking Kemāl Re'īs, mistakenly attacked Burāḳ Re'īs's ship, which also had on board the *sandjaḳbeyi* of Yeñishehir, Kemāl Bey; Burāḳ Re'īs managed to set the enemy ships on fire with naphtha, though he himself and his ship perished. The island of Sapienza was later renamed Burāḳ Re'īs island. Kemāl Re'īs, meanwhile, took up a position near the coast and prevented the Venetian fleet from landing troops behind the Ottoman forces. In the following month he secured several further victories over the Venetians, and played a great role in the capture of Inebakhti and later of Modon, Koron and Navarino by the Ottomans; for his activities in these battles see Ṣafā'ī, *Fetḥ-nāme-yi Inebakhti ve Modon*, Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi, Revan 1271). He was busy with corsair activities in the western and central Mediterranean during the summer of 906-7/1501, and returned to Istanbul in the autumn of that year. Among the rich booty and prisoners taken was the Duke of Catanzaro, and for the ransom of this person 5,000 gold pieces were demanded (H. J. Kissling, *Sultan Bayezid II.'s Beziehungen zu Markgraf Francesco II. von Gonzaga*, in *Münchener Universitätsschriften*, Reihe der Philosophischen Fakültät, Munich 1965, i; for the emended Italian translation, see *Francesco II Gonzago ed il Sultano Bayezid II*, in *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 1967, i, 34-68; Kissling, *Betrachtungen über die Flottenpolitik Sultan Bayezids II 1481-1512*, in *Saeculum*, xx/1, 35-43). It was probably after this success that his daily allowance was increased to 50 *aḳčas*. (Kissling, *Zur Tätigkeit des Kemāl-Re'is im Westmittelmeer*, in *WZKM*, lxii (1969), 155. He died during a campaign in 917/1511 when his ship was caught in in a storm and sank; by that time, his daily allowance was 100 *aḳčas* (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, E. 4661). Notable is his introduction of long-range cannon for the ships of the Ottoman navy.

Bibliography: in addition to references given in the article, see Pīrī Re'īs, *Kitāb-i Baḥriyye*, Introd. and ed. by Fevzi Kurdoğlu-Haydar Alpagot, Istanbul 1935, i-viii; J. H. Mordtmann, *Zur Lebensgeschichte von Kemāl Re'īs*, in *MSOS*, Berlin 1929, 39-49; H. A. v. Burski, *Kemal Reis, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des türkischen Flotte*, Bonn 1928; H. J. Kissling, *Kemāl-Re'īs und der Duca di Catanzaro*, in *Festschrift für Werner Caskel*, Leiden 1968, 202-11; Ismet Parmaksızoğlu, *Kemal Reis*, in *İA*.

(NEJAT GÖYÜNÇ)

KEMAL TAHİR (DEMİR), modern Turkish novelist (1910-1973). Born on 13 March 1910 in Istanbul, his father's family came originally from Alişar village of Şebinkarahisari (in north-eastern Anatolia), where most of their relatives still live. They were known as Demircioğulları, hence the family name Demir, which however Kemal Tahir never used in his writings. His father Ṭāhir Efendi (d. 1957), a naval officer risen from the ranks, was an *aide-de-camp* to the Sultan (*khünkār yāveri*), and also worked in the carpentry shop of the Yıldız Palace (a privileged position, as cabinet-making was ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II's great hobby). He married Nūriyye Khanīm, a *sarāyli̊*, a Circassian girl from Adapazarı brought up in the Palace and attached to the Sultan's household. Ṭāhir Efendi was retired from the navy as lieutenant following the Revolution of 1908, but was called up again during the Balkan War of 1912 and again at the outbreak of World War I. Wounded at the Dardanelles (1915), he served, behind the front, in various military hospitals in Anatolia until he was retired in 1918, when he settled in Istanbul in his brother's home and made his living working as a carpenter on construction projects. Kemal Tahir attended various primary schools following his movements, and continued his education in Istanbul. In 1923 he entered Galatasaray (the leading high school modelled on the French *lycée*), but he had to give up his studies in 1926 when his mother died and he had to earn his own living. Between 1927-32 he worked as a clerk in lawyers' offices and in other odd jobs and eventually settled in journalism, working in various newspapers and magazines as proof-reader, translator, secretary and editor. In 1937 he married İrfan Hanım, a teacher.

His interest in socialist ideas and literature and his close friendship with the famous left-wing poet Nazim Hikmet, brought him into conflict with the government during the rigorous conformist period of the single-party régime. He was accused, together with his friends, of spreading subversive ideas and inciting to mutiny in the Navy (through his brother Nuri, who was a naval N.C.O.) and was sentenced by a naval court to 15 years imprisonment (1938). He spent the first two years of his term in an Istanbul prison; then he was transferred with Nazım Hikmet to Čankırı where they spent 16 months together. In the meantime, he was divorced from his wife. Kemal Tahir spent the years 1941-50 in the prisons of Malatya, Čorum (five years) and Nevşehir until his release following the general amnesty of 1950. He settled in Istanbul in the summer of the same year. He brought with him the drafts and sketches of half a dozen novels and several thousands of pages of notes as materials for further works.

The first five years in Istanbul were a bitter struggle for survival. Under a dozen pseudonyms, Kemal Tahir busily produced or translated a great number of detective stories and adventure novels which were serialized in various popular dailies. Semiha Hanım, his second wife, contributed to the family budget by working as a dressmaker. Following the anti-Greek riots of September 1955, Kemal Tahir was arrested with a number of left-wing suspects, as the incident was thought to be in some quarters a communist conspiracy. He was released after six months' detention. The year 1955 is a turning point in his career, as it saw the publication of two of his books (see below). The same year he set up, together with the humorist writer Aziz Nesin, the publishing house *Düşün*. Kemal Tahir spent the remaining years of his life revising and publishing his drafts and writing new novels and developing his controversial ideas and theories on historical, political,

literary and social problems. His health declined, and he died unexpectedly on 21 April 1973, leaving many incomplete works, particularly his pet project of a historical novel on the famous 15th century rebel Shaykh Bedr ed-Din.

Like most writers of his generation, Kemal Tahir started with poetry. His early experiments were published in Abdullah Cevdet's *Içtihad* and were, characteristically, poems on social themes (*Bardaki Kadınlar*, "Women at the Tavern", No. 318, April 1931; *Açın Türküsü*, "The song of the Hungry", No. 320, May 1931, etc.). These were followed in the early 1930s by poems of symbolist inspiration (then very popular) in the *avant-garde* literary review *Varlık*. Later, under Nazım Hikmet's influence, he returned to social themes and wrote poems in free verse which he published under the pseudonyms of Cemalettin Mahir and Ismail Kemalettin in the review *Ses* (1938-9).

In the meantime, he had been contributing popular short stories and novels to the weekly *Yedi Gün* (1935-40). But his short stories, which revealed his talent, were written in 1940 and serialised in the daily *Tan* in 1941 under the pseudonym Cemalettin Mahir (first edition in book form under his own name: *Göl İnsanları*, Istanbul 1955). These are powerful sketches of the life of peasants and working class people.

Kemal Tahir never returned to the short story, and he serialised his first novel *Sağırdere* (under the pseudonym Körduman) in 1950 (published in book form under his own name in 1955). In this first novel, he describes the everyday life, customs and manners of peasants in their own surroundings (a Central Anatolian village near Čorum) and in the city where they come to find work. This is a forerunner of his series of village novels and opens an important phase in the Turkish "peasant literature", which began to gather momentum in the 1930s. Then followed his *Esir Şehrin İnsanları* ("People of the Captive City"), which was serialised in the Istanbul daily *Yeni Istanbul* in 1952-3 and published in 1956. This work opens the series of "period novels" in Kemal Tahir's career. It is the story of Istanbul under the Allied occupation in 1920-2 and of the bitter struggle between the supporters of the Anatolian Nationalists and the men of the Sultan's government subservient to the occupying powers. The untypical hero of the novel is a young diplomat, Kâmil Bey, the son of a wealthy Hamidian Pasha, who has spent most of his life in Europe and who, on his return to Istanbul becomes a *millidji*, a supporter of the Nationalist cause, to the indignation of his wife who typifies the collaborationist, wealthy "society" women. The hero is in strong contrast with the type of "Westernising snob" frequently ridiculed by many earlier Turkish novelists, e.g. Huseyn Rahmi.

From 1956 until his death, Kemal Tahir produced a dozen novels in these two categories. Outstanding among them are: *Rahmet Yolları Kesti*, ("The Rain Blocked the Roads", 1957), written in answer to Yasar Kemal's best-seller *İnce Memed* (1955, Engl. tr. *Memed My Hawk*, 1961) where the brigand-hero is idealised, whereas Kemal Tahir tries to kill by ridicule the romantic-epic conception of brigands and rejects the idea that "these former deserters and criminals" can lead popular movements or can be real friends of the oppressed; and *Yorgun Savaşçı* ("The Tired Warrior", 1965), perhaps his best novel. It is, in a way, the epic of the generation of the officers who, after the restoration of the Constitution in 1908, went through a series of ordeals: the War in Tripoli with Italy, 1911; the Balkan Wars, 1912-13; and World War I, culminating in the collapse of the Empire, the Greek invasion of Western Anatolia and the occupation of Istanbul by the Allies. The novel tells the story how some of these "tired warriors" rushed to Anatolia to form the nucleus of resistance and fought desparately until Mustafa Kemal's organised movement, which gradually became the master of the situation, took over. *Devlet Ana* ("Mother State", 1967) is a historical novel which caused much controversy in the press. It explores the circumstances which, in the late 13th century, led to the birth of the Ottoman State between the declining Byzantium and the disintegrating Seljuk power. "The generous and just State" realized by the early Ottomans, "towards which Muslims and Christians alike flocked to seek security and welfare", as described in the early Ottoman chronicles, is the basis of the author's "Ottomanist" thesis. This version of "Ottoman revivalism" which he pioneered in literature, rejects everything alien and imposed on the Turkish culture and maintains that the secret of a regeneration is to be found in the "perfect" Ottoman system. In this novel, Kemal Tahir experimented, with unequal success, with a style which is mainly inspired by that of the 15th century chronicles and religious-epic folk stories. In other novels, important issues or episodes of contemporary Turkish history are discussed elaborately, with an approach which is usually different from the received or current versions. The village Institutes, an attempt to realize mass education of the peasantry (*Bozkırdaki Çekirdek*, "The Seed in the Steppe", 1967); the 1926 Unionist conspiracy against Mustafa Kemal (*Kurt Kanunu*, "Wolves' Law", 1969); the short-lived Liberal Party (*Serbest Fırka*) experiment of 1930 (*Yol Ayrımı*, "Cross-Roads", 1971); etc.

Kemal Tahir kept alive the interest and curiosity of his reading public by constantly dwelling on subjects and personalities which have always been a centre of heated controversy: East versus West, tradition versus innovation, the value of the Islamic and Ottoman heritage for Modern Turkey; responsibility for military, political and economic setbacks and cultural stagnation since the Tanzimat; ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II and his policies; the Unionist leaders and the real nature of their party; and lastly, Atatürk, his companions, his reforms and the Republican era which he inaugurated.

Kemal Tahir's approach to all these matters is rather emotional and biased. His admiration for ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II (already rehabilitated by some modern historians) and his reign, and his lack of enthusiasm for the 19th century reformers, for the Young Turks, and particularly for Atatürk, may perhaps be partly explained by his family background and his personal experiences. He never lived in Anatolia for any length of time, and his observations of peasantry are limited to his long years of association with the inmates of Central Anatolian prisons. His subjects of study were, by necessity, offenders of various types: bandits, murderers, thieves, forgers, sexual criminals, etc. This circumstance was bound to condition him when he judged and made generalisations on the way of life, problems and moral values of peasants and conditions in villages.

Kemal Tahir's language and style differ considerably from his contemporaries. His peasants do not speak a local dialect, as is the case with most "village novelists". Also, he almost ignores the language reform movement and avoids, most of the time, the

use of neologisms and prefers a "moderate" style close to that of the preceding generation. On the other hand, he has a repertory of colloquial or slang words and expressions, and his pet pseudo-archaic forms, which he likes to use indiscriminately on all occasions, and his many diverse characters have often disturbingly identical speech habits. In his novels the plot is often a pretext to put forward his ideas, and in every novel there are one of two characters who use every occasion to defend, at length, the author's familiar theses. Many of his novels consist consequently of loosely connected political arguments or didactic tirades.

There can be no doubt, however, that Kemal Tahir ranks among the leading and most remarkable writers of modern Turkey, a writer who invited his readers to re-think on vital issues of Turkish political and cultural life, who experimented in the use of elements of classical and popular Turkish prose, thought to be dead wood by many, and who left two or three novels which will always be considered among the best of his time.

Bibliography: Tahir Alangu, *Cumhuriyetten sonra hikâye ve roman* iii, Istanbul 1965; Behçet Necatigil, *Edebiyatımızda isimler sozlüğü*, Istanbul 1972; idem, *Edebiyatımızda eserler sozlüğü*, Istanbul 1971 (critical summaries of some of Kemal Tahir's works, see index); Fahir İz, in *Cassell's encyclopaedia of world literature*², ii, London 1973, s.v.; Mehmet Seyda (ed.), *Türk romanı* (an open forum on Tahir and *Devlet ana*), Istanbul 1969; Aytekin Yakar, *Türk romanında milli mücadele*, Istanbul 1973: *Türkiye defteri*, no. 6, April 1974 (a special issue on Tahir: important biographical and critical notes by a number of writers); Hulusi Dosdoğru, *Batı aldatmacalığı ve putlara karşı Kemal Tahir*, Istanbul 1974 (with selections from his novels). (Fahir İz).

KEMĀLIYYE. [see EĞİN]

KEMĀNKES̲H̲ ("Archer"), ʿALĪ PAS̲H̲A, Ottoman Grand Vizier. Born in the district of Ḥamīd-ili in Anatolia, he came to Istanbul and was trained in the palace service from which he emerged with an appointment as *beylerbeyi* of Diyār Bakr with the rank of vizier, probably in 1029/1620. Difficulties arising over his executing a well-known provincial official without reference to Istanbul caused his transfer to the governorship of Bag̲h̲dād, where he remained for about a year before being dismissed and retiring to the vicinity of Ḳaysāriyya. Returning to Istanbul following the death of ʿOt̲h̲mān II (Rad̲j̲ab 1031/May 1622), he was made a lesser (either fourth or third) vizier and subsequently replaced the Grand Vizier Mere Ḥusayn Pas̲h̲a, who was turned out of office in D̲h̲u ʾl-Ḳaʿda 1032/August 1623.

Though there were serious problems in various parts of the empire during ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a's vizierate (the rebellion of Ābāza Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a [*q.v.*] continued in Anatolia, for example, and Bag̲h̲dād fell to the Ṣafawid ruler S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās I), he appears to have concerned himself mainly with affairs in Istanbul. He played a leading role in the second deposition of the incompetent sultan Muṣṭafā I (D̲h̲u ʾl-Ḳaʿda 1032/September 1623), but is otherwise chiefly remembered in the sources for his attempts to secure his position, building a sizeable fortune through such means as bribery and the sale of offices and attempting to undermine those whom he felt to threaten him. With the encouragement of his father-in-law, the highranking scholar Bostān-zāde Meḥmed Efendi, he succeeded in bringing about the dismissal of the *S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Islām* Zekeriyyā-zāde Yaḥyā Efendi, who had offended him by alluding in conversation to his susceptibility to bribery; he was unable, however, to obtain that post for his father-in-law, an aim which, had it been achieved, might have resulted in a dangerous concentration of power. He was less successful in his moves against two former Grand Viziers, Gürd̲j̲ü Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a and K̲h̲alīl Pas̲h̲a: having arrested them on the pretext of supposed subversive letters to Ābāza Pas̲h̲a, he refused to produce the letters for inspection when challenged and the two men were set free. The immediate cause for his dismissal and execution on 14 D̲j̲umādā II 1033/3 April 1624 is said to have been his attempt to conceal from Murād IV the news of the fall of Bag̲h̲dād. His considerable possessions were confiscated and his body buried in the grounds of the ʿAtīḳ ʿAlī Pas̲h̲a Mosque in Istanbul.

Bibliography: *The Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe in his Embassy to the Ottoman Porte, from the year 1621 to 1628 inclusive*, London 1740, 173-4, 179, 230; Pečewī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, ii, 397-401; Kātib Čelebi, *Fed̲h̲leke*, ii, 38-9, 52; Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, ii, 260-6, 296-8; ʿOt̲h̲mān-zāde Aḥmed Tāʾib, *Ḥadīḳat al-wuzarāʾ*, Istanbul 1271, 72; Aywānsarāyī Ḥüseyn, *Ḥadīḳat al-d̲j̲awāmiʿ*, Istanbul 1281, i, 150; *İA*, s.v. (by M. Münir Aktepe). (R. C. Repp)

ḲENĀ. [see ḲUNĀ]

KENʿĀN PAS̲H̲A, also nicknamed Ṣarī ("pale-faced") and Ṭopal ("Lame"), High Admiral (*Ḳapudān Pas̲h̲a*, [*q.v.*]) under the Ottoman Sultan Meḥemmed IV, d. 1069/1659. He originated from the northeastern shores of the Black Sea (Russian or Circassian?) and came as a slave into the service of Baḳīrd̲j̲i Aḥmad Pas̲h̲a, Ottoman governor of Egypt. On the latter's execution he was taken by Sulṭān Murād IV into the Palace and educated there. He was promoted to be Ag̲h̲a of the stirrup-holders (*Rikāb-dār ag̲h̲asi*) (Chronicle of Wed̲j̲īhī, f. 91b of the Vienna MS.), became a favourite of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm after his accession (1049/1640) and married his daughter ʿĀtike Sulṭāne. He was at the same time appointed third vizier but banished soon after Ibrāhīm's death 1058/1648) to Crete. In S̲h̲awwāl 1062/Sept. 1652, he returned to Istanbul and was appointed to the charge of the defences of the Dardanelles. In S̲h̲awwāl 1063/Sept. 1653, he was given the governorship of Ofen, but deprived of it in D̲h̲u ʾl-Ḳaʿda 1065/Sept. 1655, and in Rabīʿ II 1066/Feb. 1656, appointed governor of Silistria. On 9 Rad̲j̲ab 1066/3 May 1656 he was appointed Grand Admiral. On 3 Ramaḍān 1066/26 June 1656, while in command of the Ottoman fleet sent out against the Venetians, he suffered a severe defeat in the Dardanelles, the greatest naval reverse inflicted on Turkey since the battle of Lepanto; the Venetians then occupied the islands commanding the Dardanelles and thus severed links with the Mediterranean for the Turks (cf. Kātib Čelebi, *Tuḥfat al-kibār fī asfār al-biḥār*, Istanbul 1329, 133-4; Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*¹, vi, 183-5; Von Hammer, *GOR*, v, 649 ff.). The whole weight of the Sulṭān's wrath fell upon Kenʿān Pas̲h̲a who was immediately thrown into prison. He was finally released on the intercession of his Russian countrywoman, the Sulṭāna-mother (Kösem Wālide; [*q.v.*]) but was dismissed from the office of Grand Admiral almost immediately on 26 Ramaḍān 1066/18 July 1656. Two years later he was appointed *Ḳāʾim-maḳām* of the imperial stirrup (*riḳāb-i humāyūn*), but the very next month dismissed again and sent to Bursa as commander

of the garrison (*muḥāfiẓ*) to protect the city against the rebel Ābāza Ḥasan's possible attack (Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīkh*[1], ii, 660; Von Hammer, *GOR*, vi, 37). But he then left Bursa to join the rebel leader in Anatolia, possibly out of jealousy towards the Grand Vizier Köprülü Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a. However, he shared the fate of Ābāza Ḥasan and other rebel leaders, and was executed at Aleppo on 23rd D̲j̲umādā I 1069/16th February 1659 (cf. Naʿīmā, ii, 685). His head was shortly afterwards brought to the *Dīwān* in Istanbul and eventually buried at Üsküdar.

If this is the Kenʿān Pas̲h̲a mentioned by Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāma*, iii, 366 (and he certainly never was governor of Oczakov any more than was Ḳod̲j̲a Kenʿān Pas̲h̲a (d. 1062/1651) who is also often confused with the Grand Admiral, e.g. in the *Sid̲j̲ill-i ʿOt̲h̲mānī*, iv, 83), he was also an author and composed a *Ṣaltīḳ-nāma* in honour of Ṣarī Ṣaltīḳ Baba [*q.v.*]. His own warlike exploits, especially his military operations in the years 1036-8/1626-8 were celebrated in a rhymed *Pas̲h̲a-nāma* by the poet and judge Ṭulūʿī Ibrāhīm Efendi (of Ḳalḳandelen) of which there is a copy in the British Museum (Sloane MS. 3584); cf. Ch. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Turkish MSS*, 191 f., with detailed summary of contents. The possibility that it celebrates the above mentioned Ḳod̲j̲a Kenʿān Pas̲h̲a who had a very similar career to his namesake and contemporary (both were, for example, governors of Ofen), has always to be remembered. The biographical data regarding Ṣarī Kenʿān Pas̲h̲a are much confused, as the article in Rāmiz Pas̲h̲azāde Meḥmed, *K̲h̲arīta-i Ḳapudānān-i Deryā*, Istanbul 1285, 65-6, and Sāmī Bey Fras̲h̲erī, *Ḳāmūs al-Aʿlām*, 3900, who follows it, show. According to this authority,. Kenʿān Pas̲h̲a was buried beside the school not far from Ḳīrḳ Čes̲h̲me.

Bibliography: Silāḥdār, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1928, i, 123, 137, 155; Wed̲j̲īhī, *Taʾrīk̲h̲*, Istanbul University Library, T.Y. no. 2543, ff. 31a, 49b; ʿAbdī Pas̲h̲a, *Weḳāyiʿ-nāma*, Istanbul University Library, T.Y. no. 4140, ff. 30a-44b; Ḳarā Celebizāde, *D̲h̲ayl-i rawḍat al-abrār*, Istanbul University Library, T.Y. no. 1550, ff. 125a-183b; Meḥmed Ḥāfid, *Safīnat al-wuzarāʾ*, ed. I. Parmaksızoğlu; *Sid̲j̲ill-i ʿOt̲h̲mānī*, iv, 83; Von Hammer, *GOR*, x, 497; M. Münir Aktepe, in *İA*, s.v.

(F. BABINGER - [N. GÖYÜNÇ])

KENÈH [see ḲUNĀ]

KENYA, a state of East Africa bounded on the east by the Indian Ocean, on the north by Ethiopia and the Sudan, and in the south by Tanzania. It was formerly a colony of the British Empire, but became independent in December 1963. The Muslim population in the country formed about 6% of a total figure of 8,636,263 in 1962. Assuming that the number increased annually by the present rate of 3.4%, the Muslim population would number some 800,000 out of a total population of 10,942,705 in 1974. The Muslims themselves generally feel that their numbers have been under- estimated. A claim that they represent a quarter of the population has been advanced, although no special census has been made to determine the actual number of Muslims in the country. The Muslim communities in Kenya today comprise various races and tribes, together with all the major sects of Islam, with a definite predominance of the S̲h̲āfiʿī *madhhab*. A tribe like the Pokomo is 85% Muslim, whereas the Duruma is 25% only.

In the pre-Islamic period, the Kenya coastlands were visited by merchants from southwestern Arabia [see YAMAN, ZAND̲J̲], and some Arabs settled there. But it is difficult to fix a date for the earliest arrival and settlement of Muslims on the coast. Local traditions and chronicles of recent origin speak of Muslim settlement going back to the caliphate of ʿUmar b. al-K̲h̲aṭṭāb, but no reliable evidence, archaeological or other, has been advanced to support such claims. During some four centuries, between Ptolemy's *Geography* and the first Arabic sources, there are no reliable data on the coast. The first Arabic source of note is al-Masʿūdī, who relates in the 4th/10th century that the island of Ḳanbalū (taken to be Pemba or Zanzibar) was ruled by a Muslim family and that its population consisted of Muslims and non-Muslims. Excavations recently carried out at a site on Manda island indicate that a thriving town existed there by that time. "Some of the buildings were of coral stone set in mortar, though many were of mud and wattle, masonry walls built against the sea are of very large coral blocks, many weighing over a ton—a massive form of construction found nowhere else in Sub-Saharan Africa" (Neville Chittick, *Zamani*). The excavation unearthed vast quantities of Islamic pottery and some shards of Chinese porcelain which indicate direct contact with other Islamic regions. The contacts with China were probably only through intermediairies. By the 4th/10th century, commercial relations were being pursued not only with South Arabia, but also with the Persian Gulf. Immigrants from Persia, known as the Banādir, also seem to have come to settle on the Somali coastal towns. They intermarried with autochthonous Bantu-speaking groups and thus contributed to the foundation of Mogadishu which, by the 7th/13th century, had developed into the most important Muslim town on the whole coast. Many of these S̲h̲īrāzīs, as the Persian-African families became known, later moved south and settled at such places in Kenya as Shanga and Manda and became part of the ruling families in Malindi, Mombasa and Vumba Kuu. On Pate (Patta) island, an Arab family from ʿUmān, the Nabhānī, formed a ruling dynasty through a similar process of integration. The sultanate of Vumba Kuu, on Kenya's southern coast, was the result of S̲h̲īrāzī settlement and intermarriage between these Muslims and local Africans. In the 12th/18th century, an Arab family of S̲h̲arīfs from Ḥaḍramawt, the Bā ʿAlawī, established a dynasty which adopted the title of *Dīwānī* for the ruler, but maintained the custom of giving him a Bantu nickname—a symbol of cultural exchange and synthesis, which was also reflected in the investiture ceremonies of the *Dīwānī*, which included Bantu and Muslim rites. The Nabhānī rulers of Pate also adopted a Bantu throne-name, *Fumo* ("spear").

Such ethnic and culture integration renders inaccurate the description of these city-states as "Arab colonies". Their dominant feature was not their Arab nature but Islam, and they have been compared with some of the western Sudanese Muslim states.

Between the 7th/13th and 10th/16th centuries, sc. up to the arrival of the Portuguese, the Muslim city-states enjoyed their greatest days of cultural and material efflorescence. They were largely independent of one another, the so-called Zand̲j̲ empire being a myth; they quarrelled and fought one another many times (Mombasa's and Malindi's enmity towards each other became proverbial), but there was a great deal of commercial and cultural interdependence among them. At this time towns produced an abundance of sorghum, millet, rice and bananas,

largely for their own use, but obtained their wealth from ivory, ambergris, gold and slaves. Gold came from the Sofala region in Mozambique, and was largely responsible for the comparative greatness reached by Kilwa [*q.v.*] and possibly for the Banādir emigration to the South. In return for their exports, the Muslims of the coast imported household utensils and wares. As their wealth increased, Islamic goods were augmented by greater quantities of Chinese wares indirectly acquired, probably from Cambay in India [see KHAMBĀYAT]. Also from India came glass beads that were used for barter locally. Silk was imported by the wealthy. Some towns had local industries: Pate was known for its production of fine gaily-coloured woven fabrics. In short, when the Portuguese arrived they were astonished by the urban material culture and civilisation of the "Moors" they encountered.

Their exploitation of the Muslim rulers of Mombasa, Kilwa and other city-states was part of their policy to out-flank Islam. Mombasa was burnt down at least twice. The two-centuries long episode of this Portuguese presence certainly contributed to the economic decline and cultural stagnation of the Muslim city-states, although it was by no means the only factor. Disruptive human movements on the mainland, such as that of the Galla, were also a noteworthy factor, as was the general decline of the central regions of Islam during the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries.

Mombasa's Muslims had appealed to the *Imām* of ʿUmān for help to overthrow their Portuguese oppressors. Their call was answered, although the liberation took some decades to be achieved. By the third decade of the 18th century, the Portuguese had been driven south of the Ruvuma. During their presence on the coast, Islam had remained triumphant; and although there are references in Portuguese sources to some local people becoming Christian, none survived the Portuguese expulsion. Christianity had to be sown anew on the coast from the middle of the 19th century onwards.

The Portuguese were succeeded by ʿUmānī Arabs as nominal overlords of the coast, local chiefs and *shaykh*s enjoying a great deal of autonimy and real local authority. These ʿUmāni Arabs belonged to the Ibāḍiyya sect [*q.v.*]. However, by the time of their arrival the coast had evolved as a predominantly Shāfiʿī region. This may be ascribed to the influence of Ḥaḍramī *sayyid*s or *sharīf*s who had settled on the coast in large numbers during the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries. Through intermarriage with Africans, these *sharīf*s and their descendants came to determine not only the *madhhab* of East African Islam but also greatly influenced Swahili literature and culture generally. The legacy of this Ḥaḍramī Arab settlement and scholarship is to be seen in the methods of teaching Islām, the religious manuels used, the cult of saints, the veneration for *sharīf*s, the poetic verse form and content of the Swahili epic or *utenzi*, etc. The Lamu archipelago, Zanzibar and the Comoro islands, became the main centres from which radiated the influence of the *sharīfī* families. A notable religious intelligentsia developed on the coast which became, and remained, the point of reference for the whole of East African Islam. By the 19th century, cultural traffic linked South Arabia to the Banādir, to the coast southwards up to Mozambique, and to the offshore islands: the Lamu Archipelago, Zanzibar, Pemba, Mafia and the Comoro islands. Ḥaḍramī towns like ʿĪnāt and Tarīm, Mecca and Medina, sometimes Cairo and occasionally Istanbūl, helped to mould the minds of East African Muslim scholars. Students from the East African towns travelled to the Ḥidjāz, Ḥaḍramawt, and sometimes Egypt, to study under renowned scholars. The acquisition of an *idjāza* from one of these scholars established its recipient as a teacher in a mosque or in his own home, in the Arabic language, Ḳurʾānic exegesis, *ḥadīth*, *Sharīʿa*, etc. From this educational system there developed a strong body of *ʿulamāʾ*, from amongst whom the Bū Saʿīdī rulers appointed their *ḳāḍī*s.

Some of the most outstanding names among these *ʿulamāʾ* for the latter part of the 19th and early part of the 20th centuries, are Sayyid Aḥmad b. Ṣumayt and his son ʿUmar; Shaykh ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Mazrūʿī and his son al-Amīn; Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad Bā Kathīr, Sayyid Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥusaynī, the great Lamu scholar, better known as Sayyid Manṣab, and Sayyid ʿAbd al-Raḥmān bin Aḥmad, the first Chief *Ḳāḍī* or *Shaykh al-Islām* to be appointed in Kenya in 1897.

In addition to them there were and still are the Ḳurʾān teachers (*Waalimu*, sing. *Mwalimu*) and schools that abounded and still abound in every Muslim town and village. In the Ḳurʾānic school, the Muslim child learnt to recite the Ḳurʾān, and to write in Arabic characters, but rarely to write in that language. Overwhelming dependence on such a school led to the emergence of generations of coastal Muslims who were Ki-Swahili- rather than Arabic-speaking. During his visit to the coast, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa noted this trend, as the result of absorption and integration of Arabs within an African society. Ki-Swahili developed quite early as the *lingua franca*, though it relied heavily upon Arabic vocabulary. Arabic and Arabic culture enriched Ki-Swahili and enabled it to develop a significant literary tradition, sc. in the verse epic known as *utenzi* or *utendi* [see SWAHILI]. The most famous of such didactic epics is *al-Inkishāfi*, written *ca.* 1800 by Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Nāṣir, which uses the decline of Pate as a moral to emphasise the transitoriness of material wealth and enjoins its readers to lead a virtuous life.

The ruins still standing in Pate, now a mere village, testify to a time of great prosperity. But this prosperity came much later than the local traditional source, the *Chronicle of Pate*, has indicated. N. Chittick's reappraisal of the *Chronicle*, in the light of archaeological work done by himself in the area, shows that the town was of a modest size before 700/1300, developing very gradually and not achieving its greatest period of efflorescence until the 11th/17th century. This is attested by the rich deposits of Chinese porcelain discovered from the 10th/16th century levels upwards. On the strength of these archaeological discoveries, Pate has been ranked with Kilwa in Tanzania as two of the three most prominent towns of Muslim civilization south of Somalia, the third being Lamu. It achieved prosperity and strength during the reign of the Bāṭāwī dynasty, which had acquired power through intermarriage with the indigenous Wasania, a hunter-gatherer group from whom the Muslims had been purchasing ivory on the mainland, and during the reign of the subsequent dynasty, the Nabhānis, its days of prosperity lasted well into the 12th/18th century.

The dates of the birth and death of Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī, the author of *al-Inkishāfī* are deduced, rather than factually known, from the internal evidence of the poem and from the inscription on the

tomb of his uncle, Ṭālib b. Nāṣir, who died in 1169/1755. Thus it is assumed that the poet was a youth by then and may have witnessed not only some of the glories of the mansions and life of Pate, but also evidence of the internecine fighting that contributed to its decline. It was subdued first by the Mazrūʿī rulers of Mombasa and later by the Bū Saʿīdī sultans of Zanzibar. By the time the poem was written Pate had fallen into ruin (see W. Hichens, *Sayyid Abdallah bin Ali bin Nasir*). The Ki-Swahili verses amply evoke a life of great luxury, when at least the ruling classes were familiar with porcelain wares and when furnishings were made from silk and brocade.

Another outstanding example of Ḥaḍrami contribution to Swahili religious culture is Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh. He was a descendant of the venerated *shaykh* Abū Bakr b. Sālim, the 11th/17th century *sharīf* of Ḥaḍramawt, renowned for his erudition, piety and poetry. According to the *Pate Chronicle*, the people of the town appealed to him to pray for their deliverance from their enemies. It is not certain whether these enemies were the Portuguese or the Galla. In any event, descendants of his two sons ʿAlī and Ḥusayn, settled on the coast and provided some of its most notable figures in the field of theology and literature. Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh was the son of ʿAlī's great-great-grandson; from Ḥusayn's line came Sayyid Manṣab (1828-1922), the renowned jurist of Lamu.

From the Lamu archipelago the poetic tradition spread south and ventured into new fields of comment. By the 19th century, a poet like Muyāka b. Ḥādjdjī al-Ghassānī of Mombasa was writing romantic poetry and patriotic verses in defence of Mombasa's independence, then under the rule of the Mazrūʿī dynasty, and against ʿUmānī attempts to impose their overlordship upon Mombasa and other towns on the coast. All those who appreciated this Ki-Swahili literary efflorescence became *wenyeji* "those who belonged" and *wastaarabu* (from Ar. *istaʿraba* "the civilised ones". These *wenyeji* differentiated themselves somewhat from the recent immigrants from Ḥaḍramawt or ʿUmān who, until they had integrated themselves, were considered alien to this local Muslim culture of the Swahili-speaking people of the coastal towns.

There is little evidence that this Swahili Muslim culture penetrated far beyond the littoral before the 19th century. However, there is evidence of some form of "diplomatic", commercial, and religious interaction with some African tribes in the immediate neighbourhood, notably the Miji Kenda groups: the Digo to the South of Mombasa, the Rabai, Ribe and Duruma to the west, the Giriama in the Malindi area, the Kambe, Chonyi, Kawna and Jibana, and the Segeju on the Kenyan-Tanzanian border. Before the 19th century expansion inland, a significant degree of intermarriage took place between the coastal Muslims and these groups. Duruma and Rabai acted as middlemen for goods exchanged between the Arab-Swahili people and interior peoples like the Kamba; diplomatic-cum-military "pacts" were made between groups of Miji Kenda people and coastal townspeople. The Segeju helped Malindi not only to ward off the danger from the mysterious cannibalistic Zimba, who literally ate their way northwards, but also to take Mombasa in 1592; African auxiliaries fought on Mombasa's side against Malindi. The so-called *Nyika* "people of the bush", or a section of them, helped in finally expelling the Portuguese from Mombasa in 1728 and in the restoration of Mazrūʿī rule in 1746 during the struggle for supremacy between the Mazrūʿī and the Bū Saʿīdīs; installation ceremonies of Mazrūʿī governors (*wālīs*), were attended by neighbouring African notables. After the defeat of the Mazrūʿī of Mombasa, their Bū Saʿīdī successors not only recognised the autonomous political status of the longer-established Muslim groups known as the *Ithnā-ʿashara ṭāʾifa*, the so-called Twelve Tribes, but also acknowledged the long established "pacts" that had been established between the various *ṭawāʾif* and neighbouring African groups, whereby the former acted as "agents" for the latter in relations with others. The vestiges of these bilateral relations lasted well into the early years of colonial rule.

To the south of Mombasa, in the area between Gasi and the northern areas of present-day Tanzania, a similar pattern of relationships developed between the Digo and the Segeju on the one hand and the leading Muslim families on the other, except that the politico-military relationships were reinforced by a significant religious impact. The Bā-ʿAlawī *sharīfī* families in this area, centred upon the *Dīwān*-ship of Vumba Kuu, were responsible for the Islamisation of the Digo and the Segeju. The Segeju had become wholly Islamised and the Digo on the coast had virtually all become Muslims by the time colonial rule arrived.

Islam expanded into the interior of Kenya or the rest of East Africa only in the 19th century, particularly after the Bū Saʿīdī ruler of ʿUmān, Sayyid Saʿīd b. Sulṭān, decided to move his capital to Zanzibar. He attracted a large number of compatriots, Indians, Ḥaḍramis and Balūčis, to serve in his garrisons, custom-houses, and civil administration. Others came to exploit the economic and commercial potentialities of these newly-acquired tropical dominions of ʿUmān. By this time, trade in ivory, rhinoceros horns and other inland products as well as slaves had already proved lucrative. Under Saʿīd this trade was now promoted to unprecedented heights. Caravans, financed by Indian credit, which was shrewdly wooed by Saʿīd, moved into the interior with goods such as cloth, beads, knives, axes, etc., to exchange for the inland products already cited. The slaves were not only exported, but used in large numbers to found a plantation system in Zanzibar and on the mainland coast; Malindi in Kenya is a unique example which demonstrates the success of this agrarian industry. As late as 1846, it had been found "deserted and ruined" by the Christian missionary J. L. Krapf as a result of Galla raids. It was Arab settlement and agrarian development that revived it. By the 1870s, vast acres of land around the town had come under cultivation of maize, millet and fruit of various kinds, and it was described as the granary of the coast and to some extent of Arabia through a thriving export trade.

The indigenous Shāfiʿī Arab-Swahili Muslims were now reinforced by Indian Muslims, among whom the Khodja or Shīʿa Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs, the Mustaʿlian Ismaʿīlīs (Bohorās) and the Ḥanafī Memons predominated. An 1875 census of the Indian population reveals that there were more Indian Muslims than Indian non-Muslims on the coast, particularly Ismāʿīlīs. In Kenya they were to be found in Mombasa, Malindi and Lamu, either as agents of firms having headquarters in Zanzibar, or as wholesale or retail merchants. Unlike the Hindus, the Indian Muslims generally arrived with their families and showed readiness to settle down on the isle and coast ruled by a fellow-Muslim.

However, from the outset they maintained a cer-

tain degree of social and religious aloofness. They began to build exclusive quarters, sectarian mosques and independent religious organisations, in fact forms of internal government or autonomy which were acknowledged or tolerated by the Sulṭān of Zanzibar as well as by the colonial government thereafter. Thus the Ismāʿīlīs looked and still look upon the person of the Āgā Khān as their spiritual and administrative head. Locally they appointed *mukhi*s (treasurers) and *kamadia*s (accountants) to run their religious and socio-economic affairs. Later, at the turn of the century, a council was formed at Zanzibar to supervise the local mosque (*djamāt Khāna*) and the congregations (*djamāt*s) on the mainland, when a split arose within the Ismāʿīlī community (1880-1910); secessionists protested against the Āgā Khān's claims to divinity and what was considered to be his excessive control over the local mosque. Later, Zanzibar lost this overall control as the community spread on the mainland and into the interior, and provincial councils were created to look after the spiritual affairs and general welfare of the community in various parts of East Africa.

The Bohorās [*q.v.*] formed and still form the second largest Asian Muslim community. The Bohorās who migrated to the East African coast belonged and still belong to the *Dāʾūdī* faction. By 1875 there were 543 Bohorās (as compared to 2725 Khodja Ismāʿīlīs and 116 Memons) at different places in Zanzibar and on the coast. As the supreme spiritual and administrative head of the Bohorās, *al-dāʿī al-muṭlaḳ* appointed representatives to attend to the welfare of his followers. Officials bearing the rank of *ʿāmil*, agent, were sent to Zanzibar and Mombasa towards the end of the 19th century. The *ʿāmil*, also known as *miyān ṣāḥib*, looked after every Bohra congregation of 50 families. He dealt with religious, social and economic problems. His permission was and is essential for every religious ceremony. Among the most important duties, he performed the collection of dues for the Summoner, the administering of the covenant (*mīthāḳ*) to the followers; and the instruction in religion and religious history through sermons. It was not until the 1920s that congregational or *djamāt* councils were formed by the Bohoras to look after their secular affairs.

The earliest Ithna-ʿasharīs, or Twelvers, arrived on the coast late in the 19th century during the split that occurred among the Ismāʿīlī Khodjas, late in the 19th century, over the claims of divinity by the Āghā Khān. Many Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs are said to have defected to the Twelvers. Like the other two Shīʿī sects, they organised themselves into *djamāt*s or congregations, each with its own council. In place of a *dāʿī*, the Ithna-ʿasharīs have *mudjtahid*s, the most scholarly among whom was appointed *ʿuẓma*, the interpreter of the faith to the community. No *mudjtahid* was appointed to East Africa. Instead, low-ranking *mulla*s performed religious functions within the *djamāt*s. Prayers were performed in the communal mosque whilst sermons, festivals and feasts were held in the *Imām-bārā* [*q.v.*]. Thus by the last quarter of the 19th century, the Muslim population of Kenya had begun to be variegated in a sectarian and ethnic way.

By that time, too, nuclei of Muslims had been created in the interior. It has often been observed how important the caravan trade and trade routes have been in the spread of Islam from early times in different parts of Africa. In Kenya, and East Africa generally, this phenomenon took place particularly during the second half of the 19th century. Until the 1850s trade movements had mostly been from the interior to the Muslim coast. Ivory in particular was brought down to the coast and sold to the Arabs and the Swahili by the Kamba, at first through Duruma and Giriama middlemen, later directly. Gradually, this virtual monopoly of the Kamba was broken. Arabs and Swahili began to move inland significantly after 1860, in order to acquire trade goods directly from inland African peoples. This trade by now had come to include the slave trade, although Kenya was not as affected by the ravages of the slave trade as Tanzania was. In Kenya slaves were secondary to ivory, cattle, rhinoceros horns and other goods.

The Arabs and Swahili in Kenya were not able to establish bases as important and permanent as their counterparts did at Tabora and Ujiji in Tanzania. (The Maasai plains were never entirely free from danger to permit that.) The Kikuyu only grudgingly permitted some trade on the edges of their country; on the whole, they discouraged close ties with the coastal Muslims. Trade was more successful with western Kenyan peoples, among whom a network of caravan routes was gradually spun. Although not as substantive and lucrative as the trade in Tanzania and Congo, it was of some importance. The Arab-Swahili penetration was dependent upon a series of stop-overs that were chosen for the friendliness of their inhabitants and the abundance of provisions.

Through these trade connections, nuclei of Muslim traders and Muslim influence were implanted in the interior of Kenya within the body politic of small chieftaincies. Many of these traders passed also as men of medicine, of a novel kind with which the African of the interior was not familiar. The new magico-medical powers, the weapons they used and could deliver and the luxury goods they bartered, made them welcome and assured them great prestige. Trade relations led to at least some seasonal settlement and intermarriage and thus the nuclei of Muslims grew in size and importance. As the caravan traffic increased during the 1870s, 1880s and 1890s, especially with the decline of the Maasai, the Muslim traders began to make their influence felt upon the internal politics of inland African societies. Centres of such influence were established at such places as that of Kitoto, at Sapei and at that of Mumias, the last being the important capital of the Wanga kingdom in Western Kenya, ruled by Mumia, who allied himself closely with the Swahili traders.

Another factor, that led to the infiltration of Muslim influence into Kenya was tribal movement. The Somalis had been pressing south from the Horn of Africa since the 6th/12th century. It was their expansion that forced the Galla to their south to press hard upon the Muslim coastal people and cause a significant degree of depopulation and abandonment of many towns. Both Malindi and its appanage, Gedi, suffered decline as a result of Galla raids. Malindi had been eclipsed by 1667, and, as we have seen, it was Arab settlement in the 19th century that led to its revival. By the middle of the century, Muslim Somalis began to move decisively against the Galla to their south. They crossed the Juba river in force about 1850, thus making contact with the Galla who dominated the region of the Tana. An uneasy coexistence of some 15 years was broken when the Somalis turned upon the Galla, decimated them and occupied their territory. Thus began the invasion and settlement of another part of Kenya by Muslims and the slow religious interaction between nomadic Muslims and their neighbours. It is this process that has slowly led to a practical islamisation of such groups as the Rendille, Boran, and the Galla them-

selves. Today each of these groups is at least 90% Muslim.

By the last quarter of the 19th century, much of East Africa as a whole had come to form a huge Muslim sphere of influence, inspired by Zanzibar and based upon trade, leading to the saying that "when they pipe in Zanzibar, people dance on the shores of the great lakes". European travellers, explorers and missionaries observed these trends, and some were perturbed by them for political or religious reasons or for both. Livingstone and Stanley, whose reports did so much to mobilise Christian missionary efforts, were as much concerned about the slave trade as about Islamic influence. The Muslim traders generally welcomed the European missionaries and explorers, giving them all the necessary help in their ventures inland, even in the foundation of mission stations. No hostility was engendered towards Christianity as a religion. It was only when attempts were made to interfere with their trade, particularly the slave trade, that the Arab-Swahilis reacted with hostility, as did the African peoples who were their partners in this trade. Only in Buganda a religious conflict arose when the Christian missionaries, Catholic and Protestant, regarded the influence established by Muslims at the *Kabaka*'s court as the basic enemy. This was the prelude to the religious wars that broke out late in the 19th century in that country, political power being the prize each side was fighting for: was Arab-Muslim power to be allowed to prevail over Christian-European power?

This was the most relevant and crucial question by the mid-1880s. The European scramble had begun. The extent of the suzerainty of the Muslim sultan of Zanzibar was being challenged by the Germans and the British. In 1884 the Germans declared protectorates over several areas in Tanzania. In 1885 they took advantage of local political and dynastic rivalries and declared a protectorate over the Witu Sultanate, founded *ca.* 1865 on the mainland of Lamu by a scion of the Nabhānī family, after their original centre of power, Pate, had been taken by Zanzibar. Since then the founder of the Witu Sultanate, Aḥmad Fūmolutī (nicknamed *Simba* "lion"), had warded off all diplomatic and military attempts to make him acknowledge Zanzibari overlordship. He took advantage of the European scramble to seek German protection from further Zanzibari pressures. In 1886 an Anglo-German agreement signalled the beginning of the dismemberment of the Zanzibari Bū Saʿīdī sultanate. The sultanate was restricted to a ten-mile coastal strip between the Mozambique border and Kipini (in Kenya), some offshore islands and a 5 to 10 miles' radius round the Banādir ports. The rest of East Africa came under British and German influence, the former including most of present-day Kenya and southern Somalia, the latter comprising the present-day Tanzanian mainland.

The period between 1886 and 1895 witnessed widespread Arab-Swahili reaction and resistance against the advancing colonial designs of the two European powers. This resistance was provoked by several factors: fear of loss of political influence or trade in the interior, European interference with the traditional administration and the social, cultural and religious way of life. The Germans 'determination to "Germanise" the Tanzanian coast and humiliate the sultan's representatives sparked off the Abu<u>sh</u>iri revolt in 1888, led by the Arabs but with widespread African backing. The blockade of the coast by European powers, whose aim was to strangle the revolt, was seen by the Muslims as a Christian alliance against them. In August 1890, after the revolt was over, the Germans and British sought to eradicate pin-pricks in each other's spheres by coming to another agreement, whereby Germany gave up her protectorate over Witu. This led to the first Witu uprising. Fumo Bakari, Simba's successor, feeling himself betrayed by Germany, ordered some German prospectors out of his Sultanate. When they resisted, a fight ensued in which nine of the Germans were killed. The British government, to whom Witu had been handed over, was forced to carry out a punitive expedition. Two other revolts broke out in Witu under the leadership of Fumo Bakari and Fumo ʿOmari. In 1894 Fumo ʿOmari was exiled to Zanzibar, by then another British protectorate, where he eventually died. The following year, the Mazrūʿī revolt was sparked off at Takaungu, a stronghold of the family lying to the north of their former centre of power, Mombasa. It was caused by British interference with the traditional method of choosing a *wālī*; Mbārak, who was regarded as the logical successor, was bypassed by a pro-British *wālī*. Mbārak renounced British authority and spear-headed the revolt which engulfed virtually the whole Kenyan coast from Malindi to the Tanzanian border. Mbārak was supported by his uncle, Mbārak b. Rā<u>sh</u>id, son of the last independent Mazrūʿī chief of Mombasa who was overthrown by the Bū Saʿīdī; in the past he had led several revolts aginst Zanzibari authority. Although this was basically a family revolt, it gained support from coast Africans long associated with the family as well as from Swahili chiefs, one of whom regarded it as a *<u>dj</u>ihād* and raised the flag of Islam. It was not until March 1896 that the revolt spent its force in the face of heavier odds. But rather than submit, the leaders and many followers chose to seek refuge in German territory in the south.

The suppression of the Mazrūʿī revolt meant the loss of any Arab or Muslim aspiration to maintain political independence not only in Kenya, but also the whole of East Africa.

However, in Kenya as in Zanzibar and the Tanzanian mainland under German rule, some semblance of Arab-Muslim administration was maintained. The first Commissioner of the East Africa Protectorate, which comprised most of Kenya (the western province being part of the Uganda Protectorate until 1902) was Arthur Hardinge, who had served in Muslim countries, such as Egypt and Turkey, an experience that had implanted in him some sympathy for Islam. Having vanquished Kenya's coastal Muslims, he granted them a special position in the administration of the Protectorate. Muslims were needed to establish a viable, new cadre in the administration, the judiciary, the military and the transport fields because they were the only literate indigenous people with some knowledge ot administration and a working relationship with the peoples of the interior. Thus an Arab-Muslim administrative hierarchy was established, composed of *liwālī*s (governors), *mudīr*s and *ḳāḍī*s, the first two being administrative officers in *liwālate*s and *mudīriyyet*s on the coast. Hardinge's plans to train more Arabs and "upper class" Swahili who could serve as officers beyond the coastal strip never materialised. In fact, as time passed, the number of *liwālī*s and *mudīr*s was reduced for reasons of economy or retrenchment.

In so far as Islam was concerned, the new European colonial era brought positive, if indirect results. If Muslim power had been shattered, the faith itself

spread inland with the extension of the *Pax Britannica*, despite the hostility of Christian missionaries and some officials who regarded Islam either as a rival to Christianity or as a threat to European rule. The spread of Islam during colonial rule was as haphazard as in pre-colonial times. Diverse factors account for this. The building of the Uganda Railway to join the two British Protectorates brought fresh Indian immigrants, many of whom were Muslims, some of whom stayed behind and encouraged others to come out from India. Thus the Indian Muslim population in Kenya increased in number and moved inland, employed either in the railway administration or privately employed as merchants, shop-keepers, hunters, etc. The medical officers, veterinary officers and clerks of the railway administration had amongst them the pioneer members of the Aḥmadiyya movement [*q.v.*] in Kenya. But the celebrated militant missionary activity began only in the 1930s. The railway also facilitated travel of local Muslims. Arabs and Swahili moved more easily inland to settle and trade and thus founded such Muslim "locations" as Pangani and Pumwani in Nairobi. Individual Muslim traders were soon to be found in other townships where they married, settled and created new nuclei of Muslims, e.g. at Kendu Bay, Kisumu, Fort Hall (now Muranga), and the Machakos district. Some local converts contributed to the growth of these nuclei.

A second noteworthy factor that facilitated the diffusion of Islam was the colonial administration's employment of Swahili, Somali and Sudanese Muslim troops in its punitive expeditions and in the manning of garrisons. On retirement or discharge, many of these soldiers settled in the interior and married local wives. Kibera, the Sudanese "colony" in Nairobi is one example of an ex-soldier settlement. The early administration also employed craftsmen, interpreters and tax-collectors of Swahili Muslim origin; domestic servants, in areas as far as Uganda, were often Swahili, as were many of the foremen of the first European settler farms. Thus the non-Muslim and non-Christian Africans were made conscious of the comparatively privileged position of the Muslim as a soldier, foreman, craftsman, official and domestic servant. Consequently some of them became admirers of, and converts to, to Islam.

This favourable feeling towards Islam was also to be found in neighbouring Tanzania, where the Germans had trained and employed Swahili officials known as *akidas* and *jumbes* on a significant scale, and in 1913 the German government was led also to subsidise Catholic and Protestant missions to train subordinate officials.

This reaction lends significance to the discovery by Smuts, a British military officer, of a secret German document, circulated to administrative officers, in which they were ordered to do everything in their power to curb the spread of Muslim influence; great publicity was given to this document on the Kenyan coast in order to portray the Germans as enemies of Islam and to counter German claims that they were the defenders of Islam by being allies of the Ottoman sultan-caliph. The British authorities countered the Ottoman sultan's proclamation of a *d̲j̲ihād* against Britain and a curse upon all Muslims who did not respond to his call, with a proclamation, signed by the sultan of Zanzibar, denouncing the German deception that the Kaiser had been converted to Islam and criticising the Ottoman Sulṭān for having lost his reputation as the defender of Islam by siding with the Germans. Copies of this declaration in Arabic and Ki-Swahili were distributed all along the coast. Equally widely distributed was the *S̲h̲arīf* Ḥusayn's proclamation of June 1916, renouncing his allegiance to the Turkish sultan and denouncing the heretical measures of the Turkish Committee of Union and Progress.

As it turned out, Britain need not have feared a large-scale *d̲j̲ihād* in the East Africa Protectorate. The Muslim population of the coast had never displayed active religious fanaticism on a significant scale. Two decades earlier (1895-6), they had been equally unenthusiastic in their response to Egyptian religious exhortation to rise against the Sulṭān of Zanzibar and his British mentors, who had begun to interfere with the lucrative slave trade. This was part of an Egyptian design to occupy the East African coast, from which they planned to forge a route to the inter-lacustrine regions of central Africa to supersede the one down the Nile, which was causing undue delay in obtaining men and equipment. The Egyptian expedition along the coast got no further than Lamu, and failed to exploit the religious sentiments and the economic motives of the coastal Muslims.

Even so, by the outbreak of the First World War, the indigenous Muslim population of the coast was smarting under a series of blows. Punitive expeditions had shattered all aspirations to political independence between 1890 and 1900. In 1907 the ordinance abolishing slavery was promulgated, which dealt a final, heavy blow to agriculture, the mainstay of the economy of the coast. Game regulations entailing the purchase of licences and competition from Europeans and Indians reduced Arab-Swahili participation in the ivory trade. In 1908 the Land Titles Ordinance was passed, and it led to vast acres of land being either alienated or declared crown land; some of these lands were leased or given freehold to European planters.

Thus at the turn of the century, the indigenous Muslims of Kenya found it essential to embark upon a drastic reappraisal of their status under the new colonial order, especially in regard to education. When the British authorities began in 1910 to take up responsibility for public education, there was at first no provision for the teaching of Arabic and the Ḳurʾān, and it was only in 1924 that the government introduced Ḳurʾānic lessons in the schools of Mombasa and Malindi.

Also, two very short-lived reform organizations came into being amongst the Arab-Swahilis of Mombasa—the Mohamadan Reform League and the Afro-Asian Association. The latter was basically a political association, but established a Muslim school in 1937. The most important Muslim Reformer in Kenya was undoubtedly S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ al-Amīn b. ʿAlī b. Nāfiʿī al-Mazrūʿī [see AL-MAZRŪʿĪ] who in his weekly *al-Iṣlāḥ* envisaged the creation of a body to defend Muslim interests. Other non-coastal, non-Arab, Muslims issued in 1931 a memorandum addressed to a Parliamentary Joint Select Committee on Closer Union of East Africa expressing their fears of the threats to Islam in Kenya, whereas Christianity was being encouraged by all means possible. In February 1935, a delegation of three Indian Muslims left Kenya for India to collect funds and personnel, in order to initiate a Muslim missionary movement in Kenya and thus counter-balance the Christian missionary endeavour by turning more Africans into Muslims; but its members returned without achieving any immediate results. Only the Aḥmadiyya movement showed interest in the initiation

of a missionary movement, but its offer was refused. A year before, in 1934, the *Taḥrīk-i-Djadīd* ("New Scheme") for intensive propagation of the Aḥmadiyya creed had been put into effect in East Africa when its first missionary Shaykh Mubārak Aḥmad arrived in Tabora, Tanzania. The Aḥmadiyya helped build or repair mosques and produced literature on Islam on a large scale, culminating in the production of a Ki-Swahili translation of the Ḳur'ān in 1953. They had about 1500 adherents in Kenya according to an authoritative estimate of 1974, compared with just over 1000 in Uganda and some 2,700 in Tanzania.

Despite Shaykh al-Amīn al-Mazrūʿī's efforts to provide practical guidance, none of his major proposals were implemented by the Muslims. They became more and more reconciled to the idea of living in separate groups, without organic links between African, Arab, Swahili and Indian Muslims. In Kenya the Indian Muslims were and still are the best-organised and the most prosperous. Hence they have been able to finance and build schools and, in the case of the Ismāʿīlīs, to build hospitals and contribute significantly to the educational and medical services in the country. The East African Muslim Welfare Society, founded in the 1930s, was a charitable Ismāʿīlī organisation aimed at raising the status of the most depressed members of the Muslim community, particularly the African.

A most noteworthy project of the Muslims in Kenya was launched after the Second World War. The colonial government, the Āgā Khān and the Sulṭān of Zanzibar jointly contributed towards the building of a Mombasa Institute of Muslim Education (MIOME), which encompassed a long-promised academic Secondary School for Arabs and Swahili. The Institute was to lay emphasis upon technical and vocational training, but Islamic studies were included to balance these secular studies. The Institute was seen as a precursor of a Muslim University, but within a few years of its opening in 1951, however, the Institute had to accept non-Muslims and changed its name first to "Mombasa Institute of Education", then to "Mombasa Technical Institute" and lately to 'Mombasa Polytechnic'.

Bibliography: N. Chittick, ch. in *Zamani: a survey of East African history*, ed. B. A. Ogot, 1973; also his articles, *A new look at the history of Pate*, in *Journal of African History* x/3 (1969), and *Discoveries in the Lamu Archipelago*, in *Azania*, ii (1967); ʿAbd Allāh Ṣāliḥ Al-Fārsī, *Tarehe ya Imam Shafi na Wanavyuoni Wakubwa wa Mashariki ya Afrika*, 1945; G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, *Select documents on the East African coast*, 1966; M. Guillain, *Document sur l'histoire, la géographie et le commerce de L'Afrique Orientale*, Paris 1856; A. Hardinge, *A diplomatist in the East*, 1928; L. P. Harries, *Swahili Poetry*, 1962; W. Hichens (ed. and trans.), *Sayyid ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī b. Nāṣir, al-Inkishāfi*, 1972; A. C. Hollis, *Notes on the history of Vumba*, in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, xxx (1900); J. Kirkman, *The Arab city of Gedi*, 1954; P. Leinhardt, *The Mosque College of Lamu and its social background*, in *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, liii (1959); E. R. Martin, *Some aspects of the Ahmadiyya movement in East Africa*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Nairobi, 1974; R. Oliver, *The missionary factor in East Africa*; A. H. J. Prins, *The Swahili-speaking peoples of Zanzibar and the East African coast*, 1961; R. B. Serjeant, *The Sayyids of Hadramawt*, Inaugural Lecture, School of Oriental and African Studies, London, 1957; A. I. Sālim, *The Swahili-speaking peoples of Kenya's coast 1895-1965*, Nairobi 1973; Abdul Hamid M. El Zein, *The sacred meadows: a structural analysis of religious symbolism in an East African town*, Chicago 1974. (A. I. SĀLIM)

KENZ (Nubia). [see AL-KANZ, BANŪ —]

AL-**KERAK.** [see KARAK]

KERASŪN. [see GIRESŪN]

KERBELA [see KARBALĀ']

KERBENESH, Ottoman name for Karpenésion (Karpenisi, Carpenitze), a small township in northern Aetolia. The district was probably occupied under Bāyezīd I [*q.v.*], when the adjacent regions of Salona, Domakia and [Neo-] Patras fell to the Turks (Hammer-Purgstall, i, 249-50, following Chalcocondyles); when it is first named in a published Ottoman source (the *djizya* returns of 894/1489, *Belgeler*, i/1 (1964), 100, n. 2), as K.rāb.n.sh, it is grouped with "Badra" (Neopatras, Badradjik), Dömeke, Čataldja (Pharsala) and Mundeniče (Bodonitsa). At this period it was presumably administered as part of the *sandjak* of Tirkhāla [*q.v.*]; it appears later as a *ḳaḍā'* of the *sandjak* of Aynabakhtī [*q.v.*] (see M. T. Gökbilgin, in *Bell.*, xx (1956), 277, n. 128, 278, n. 131). The locality is famous in modern Greek history as the scene of the victory of the Suliot leader Marco Botzaris (21 August 1823).

Bibliography: Evliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, viii, 611-2 (rough draft only); Greek tr. I. G. Giannopopoulou, in Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Στερεοελλαδικῶν Μελετῶν, ii (1969), 172-3; F. C. H. L. Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce*², Paris 1826-7, iv, 21-5; Μεγάλη Ἑλληνικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια, s.v. Καρπενήσιον; I. G. Giannopoulou, Ἡ διοικητικὴ ὀργάνωσις τῆς Στερεᾶς Ἑλλάδος κατὰ τὴν Τουρκοκρατίαν (*1393-1821*), Athens 1971, 100-2 (with full references). (V. L. MÉNAGE)

KERČ, a seaport at the eastern tip of the peninsula of that name at the eastern end of the Crimea [see ḲRĪM] in the modern Crimean *oblast* of the Ukrainian SSR.

The district was clearly a well-populated one in pre-historic, Cimmerian and Scythian times, since it contains a large number of *kurgans* or burial mounds, many of which have been excavated since the last century. In classical times, it was from the 6th century B.C. onwards the site of the flourishing Ionian Greek colony of Pantikapaion, later called Bosporos and the capital of the principality of Bosporus Cimmerius (see Pauly-Wissowa, xviii/3, 780-825, s.v. Panticapaeum). After coming under the control of Mithridates VI of Pontus (end of the 2nd century B.C.) and then, from the time of Augustus, of Rome, it suffered badly during the barbarian invasions of such steppe peoples as the Sarmatians, Huns and Goths. From the late 7th century A.D. it was held by the Khazars [*q.v.*] as the capital of their foothold in the eastern Crimea, with the residence of the *tudhun* or governor there.

The name Kerč first appears in Islamic sources under various forms, such as Karz, Kardj, al-Karsh, etc., and may derive from a Greek form Korizos/Kyrizos (see J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und Ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1903, 162-3, 506-7). In Ibn Rusta, 143, tr. Wiet, 160, we have K.r.kh ~ *Kardj as the Byzantine port on the northern coastland of the Black Sea to which the Magyars then living there brought Slav captives for sale, and the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 158, cf. 182-3, mentions the *Daryā-yi K.r.z.* With the decline and break-up of the Khazar

confederation in the early years of the 11th century, Kerč fell to the Kiev Russians and for some decades the eastern Crimea formed part of the Russian principality of Tmutarakan in the Taman peninsula across the Straits of Kerč, under the patriarchate of Matrega in the Taman peninsula, whilst in 1332 it was to become a metropolitan sea itself (see Heyd, *Hist. de la commerce du Levant*, ii, 184-5). In the 12th century Kerč was in the hands of the Ķïpčaķ or Comans, and it may be the town of Rhōsia mentioned in a treaty of 1169 between the Byzantine Emperor Manuel Comnenos and the Genoese. In the 13th century, Crimea and South Russia became part of the vast territories of the Golden Horde. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, travelling from Karsh/Kerč to Kafa, describes his meeting with Christian Comans (*Riḥla*, ii, 355-7, tr. Gibb, ii, 469-70, cf. Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, Paris 1945, 137). From 1289 onwards there was a Venetian consul in Kerč (Heyd, *loc. cit.*), and by 1318 it was in the hands of the Genoese, who had established themselves on the southern littoral of the Crimea with their centre at Kafa/Kefe [see KEFE] or Theodosia; it was a consulate subordinate to Kafa under the name of Cerco or Cerchio. In *ca.* 1400 there are mentioned Alan or Gothic princes in Kerč, remnants of the waves of barbarian invasions through South Russia in the Dark Ages, who are described as *Domini Gothiae* or *Signori de la Tedoro* (B. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde, die Mongolen in Russland 1223-1502*², Wiesbaden 1965, 314-15) and who presumably exercised theoretical jurisdiction over the town and its hinterland. In the 15th century there was pressure on the Genoese colonies in the Crimea from the Giray Khāns, and then later in the century, after the attacks of the Ottoman commander Aḥmed Pasha Gedik [*q.v.*], these settlements on the coastland fell into Ottoman hands. Henceforth, Ottoman trade with the Crimea and South Russia was channelled through Kafa rather than Kerč, and the latter's commercial prosperity went into a decline.

After the conquest of Azov in 1696, Peter the Great in the peace negotiations of 1698 sought the session of Kerč to Russia, but this was refused, and after the Peace of Carlowitz [see ĶARLOVČA], Kerč remained in Ottoman hands. Sultan Muṣṭafā III in 1114/1702 built the fortress of Yeñi Ķale near Kerč to protect it (see Von Hammer, *GOR*², iii, 909). Nevertheless, Kerč and Yeñi Ķale were occupied by Catherine the Great's troops in 1185/1771 without resistance, and their cession to Russia confirmed in the Treaty of Küčük Ķaynardja [*q.v.*] in 1188/1774 (*GOR*², iv, 622, 638). It remained of small importance, although in 1821 Tsar Alexander I raised it to the status of a town, and its main function was as a trans-shipment point to shallow-bottomed vessels crossing the Sea of Azov to the Don-Donets basin ports. During the Crimean War, it was in 1855 occupied by the invading Allies, and in the Second World War it was held by the Germans from the winter of 1941-2 till 1944 and was the scene of fierce fighting. Its economic and industrial importance today derives from iron ore deposits, exploited since the end of the 19th century and now sent to the Donbas industrial area, and limestone quarries in the vicinity of the town; it is furthermore the base for an important fishing fleet, and in 1970 had a population of 128,000 (see *BSE*², xx, 565-6).

Bibliography: given in the article.

(C. E. Bosworth)

KERIMBA ISLANDS, a group of islands lying in lat. 12° S. off Musambiķ (Mozambique) between the mouths of the Ruvuma and Lurio rivers, with administrative headquarters at St João de Ibo on Querimba Is. They were part of the sphere of influence of the mediaeval state of Kilwa, but with an independent ruler. They were islamised at an unknown period, possibly in the 12th century. They were seized by the Portuguese in 1522 because of their important ivory trade: many mosques and large houses were destroyed. João dos Santos went to convert them to Christianity in 1593: the upper class was Muslim, but the majority pagan. In 1769, when the ʿUmānī Arabs were developing the slave trade from Zanzibar, the Portuguese commander accused the Arab and Swahili traders "of depriving the Portuguese of their ivory trade, God of the souls of Africans who were being enslaved by the Muslims, and the King of his taxes." Regrettably, a recent account describes only the earlier Portuguese buildings: a systematic survey of the mosques and Muslim cemeteries has yet to be made.

Bibliography: Fr. João dos Santos, O.P., *Etiopia Oriental*, Evora 1607, ed. Mello de Azevedo, Lisbon 1891, i, 273 ff.; E. Axelson, *The Portuguese in South-East Africa, 1488-1600*, Cape Town 1973; idem, *The Portuguese in South-East Africa, 1600-1700*, Johannesburg 1960; E. A. Alpers, *Ivory and slaves in East and Central Africa*, 1975; G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, *The French at Kilwa Island*, 1965; A. Gomes e Sousa, *As Ilhas Querimbas*, in *Boletim da Sociedade de Moçambique*, no. 122, 1960.

(G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville)

KERKHA. [see KARKHA]

KERKENNA. [see ĶARĶANA]

KERKUK. [see KIRKŪK]

KERKUR. [see KARKŪR]

KERMĀN. [see KIRMĀN]

KERMĀN SHĀH. [see KIRMĀN SHĀH]

KERMIYĀN. [see GERMIYĀN]

ĶERRĪ (conventional spelling, Gerri), a site on the east bank of the main Nile in the Sudan, lying at the southern end of the Sabalūķa gorge, about 44 miles north of the confluence of the Blue and White Niles. At the convergence of the route along the Nile and one across the Bayūḍa desert crossing the Nile at this point, Ķerrī was a settlement of political importance from the 10th/16th to the 12th/18th century as the seat of the ʿAbdallābī *shaykh*s, who levied tribute on the nomads during their annual migration-cycle, and, as the principal vassals of the Fundj [*q.v.*] of Sinnār, were regarded as the overlords of the Arab tribes. The first two ʿAbdallābī *shaykh*s derived prestige from their role as holy men and agents of islamisation in a fringe-region, rather than from purely tribal leadership. This is indicated by the ascription of a Sharīfī ancestry to the eponym, ʿAbd Allāh Djammāʿ al-Ķuraynātī al-Ķāsimī (fl. 10th/16th cent.), who is reputed to have overthrown Soba, the capital of the Nubian Christian kingdom of ʿAlwa [*q.v.*]. Tradition associates ʿAmāra Dūnķas, the founder of the Fundj dynasty, with him in this exploit, while another tradition (reported by James Bruce) speaks of a victory of the Fundj over the ʿAbdallābī chief (anachronistically styled "Wed Ageeb", i.e. Walad ʿAdjīb) near Arbadjī on the Blue Nile in 1504. The two traditions are not necessarily incompatible, and the second would explain the subordination of the ʿAbdallābī shaykhs to the Fundj rulers. A legend that Ķerrī was a Nubian stronghold captured by ʿAbd Allāh Djammāʿ so far lacks archaeological confirmation, while Bruce's statement that the

Fundj compelled the ʿAbdallāb to transfer their capital to Arbadjī is unsupported in other sources ʿAdjīb al-Kāfūta, the son of ʿAbd Allāh Djammāʿ by the daughter of a holy man, Ḥamad Abū Dunāna, is represented in ʿAbdallābī tradition as a pious Muslim, who enforced the Sharīʿa and made the Pilgrimage. He is distinguished by the title of *māndjilak*, held by the great vassals of the Fundj. He nevertheless fought against his suzerain, and temporarily extended his rule up the Blue Nile, but was subsequently defeated and killed by the Fundj ruler, ʿAdlān I b. Ūnsa I, at the battle of Karkōdj in 1016/1607-8. ʿAdjīb's tomb at Ḳerrī was surmounted by a dome (*ḳubba*), typical of the burial-place of a holy man but not of a tribal chief; it was a place of pilgrimage. Of the later *shaykhs* of Ḳerrī, Dhiyāb b. Bādī established in 1149/1736 a *waḳf* at Medina for the benefit of immigrants from the Fundj territories. His harshness resulted in the depopulation of Ḳerrī, and it was perhaps for this reason that his uncle and successor, ʿAbd Allāh III b. ʿAdjīb III (d. 1160/1747) transferred the capital to Ḥalfāyat al-Mulūk, further to the south on the main Nile. Crawford's assertion that this transfer took place in 1798 under ʿAbd Allāh IV is unjustified. Ḥalfāyat al-Mulūk remained the capital of the shaykhdom until the Turco-Egyptian invasion in 1821 ended the old régime.

Bibliography: O. G. S. Crawford, *The Fung kingdom of Sennar*, Gloucester 1951, 65-9; James Bruce, *Travels to discover the source of the Nile*[2], Edinburgh 1805, vi, 370-1, 425-6; A. E. D. Penn, *The traditional stories of the ʿAbdullab tribe*, in *Sudan Notes and Records*, xvii/1 (1934), 59-82. The oral traditions of the ʿAbdallāb have been published by Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Naṣr, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿAbdallāb*, Khartoum 1969; a useful preliminary study of ʿAbdallābī history is Sīd Ḥasan Muḥammad Khalīl, *Djawānib min taʾrīkh al-ʿAbdallāb* (unpublished dissertation, Khartoum 1969). A photograph of the *waḳfiyya* of Dhiyāb b. Bādī (a unique document) illustrates the article of Ṣalāḥ Muḥyī al-Dīn, *Makhṭūṭa taʾrīkhiyya ʿan mulūk al-ʿAbdallāb*, in *al-Khurṭūm*, Dec. 1967, 58.
(P. M. HOLT)

KESRIYE, Ottoman name for KASTORIÁ, a town in Macedonia, situated on the shores of a lake with the same name, at the northern most point of the upper reaches of the River Aliákmon.

An important centre of Christian art during the last centuries of the Byzantine era, it fell under the rule of Stephan Dušan (1331-55) and his successors, and in 1380 to the Albanians. Between 1385 and 1393 it came into Ottoman hands—by capitulation, according to tradition. It was the capital of the homonymous *ḳaḍāʾ* of the *pasha sandjaghī* in the *eyālet* of Rūmeli (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Rumeli und Bosna*, J. von Hammer, Vienna 1812, 96; M. T. Gökbilgin, in *Belleten* xx (1956)), and, after the administrative reorganisation of 1864, of a *ḳaḍāʾ* of the *sandjak* of Koritša in the *wilāyet* of Manastir. According to Ewliyā Čelebi, it was a *ḳaḍāʾ* of 150 *aḳčes* with 110 villages, and a *khāṣṣ* of Fāṭima Sulṭān. Outside its fortress (in the *varosh*), there were 20 *maḥalles*, 16 of which were Greek and one Jewish. The town had a *djizdār*, a *muḥtesib*, a *bādj-dār*, a *shehir ketkhudāsī* and a *kharādj aghasī*.

The fur industry flourished in this small town, especially from the beginning of the 11th/17th century. Fur merchants from Kastoriá distributed their products by caravan to important urban centres in regions north of Macedonia and set up commercial establishments in Istanbul, Vienna, Leipzig, Dresden and Moscow. Although the area was often unquiet because of the activities of the Klepths and the Albanians, the town's flourishing industry and economic prosperity contributed to the construction—especially in the 12th/18th and the 13th/19th centuries—of many Christian churches and its characteristic town houses, which are interesting examples of folk architecture. Greek schools were also established with funds supplied by wealthy emigrants. The Greeks were represented before the Turkish authorities by the *ḳodja bashīs*. After 1870, the district was the scene of rivalry between Greeks and Slavs, with its metropolitan, Germanos Karavanghelis (1900-7), playing a leading role. With the Balkan War it became part of the Greek state (11/24 November 1912).

Bibliography: Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, v, 575-6; P. Tsamises, Ἡ Καστορία καί τά μνημεῖα της, Athens 1949; A. Vakalopoulos, Ἱστορία τῆς Μακεδονίας *1354-1833*, Salonika 1969; V. Demetriades, Ἡ Κεντρινὴ καὶ Δυτικὴ Μακεδονία κατὰ τὸν Ἐθλιγία Τσελεμπή, Salonica 1973. For art: A. Orlandos, Τά Βυζαντινὰ μνημεῖα τῆς Καστοριᾶς, in Ἀρχεῖον τῶν Βυζαντυνῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἕλλαδος, iv (1938), 3-213; St. Pelekanides, Καστορία I. Βυζαντιναὶ τοιχογραφίαι. Salonika 1953; N. Moutsopoulos, Καστορία. Τά ἀρχοντικά. Athens 1962.
(J. G. GIANNOPOULOS)

KETĀMA. [see KUTĀMA]

KETKHUDĀ. This Persian term "master of the house, head of the family", Pahlavi *katak-xvatai*, acquired, in addition to the above meanings, those of husband, chief of a tribe, headman of a village and tithe-officer in a town (Chardin, *Voyages*, ed. 1811, iv, 77, "dixenier de quartier") responsible to the *kalāntar* [*q.v.*] (cf. M. Muʿīn, *Persian dictionary*, Tehran 1345, iii, 2921). In Ottoman Turkish, it evolved into the form *kᵛahya*, with the meanings "steward of a household", "head of an artisans' gild" (see below).

(i) IN OTTOMAN TURKISH ADMINISTRATIVE USAGE

Already in Il-Khānid Persia we find the *kadkhudā* acting as the representative of the village *vis-à-vis* the government, and under the Ṣafawids they were in charge of collecting taxes and responsible for the administration of a village or town (cf. A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia*, London 1953, 122, 144, 168, 175, 430 and *passim*). We find the form *kedkhudā* in Anatolian Saldjūḳ usage of the 7th/13th century (Osman Turan, *Türkiye Selçukları hakkında resmi vesikalar*, Ankara 1958, 13), and the form *kᵛahya* may have evolved during Ottoman times.

The term *ketkhudā* is used in the Ottoman state administration from the 9th/15th century onwards (*Ḳānūn-nāme-yi sulṭānī ber mūdjeb-i ʿorf-i ʿOthmānī*, ed. R. Anhegger-H. Inalcık, Ankara 1956, 17, 31-2), in the sense of someone who looks after the affairs of an important government official or influential person, i.e. the *ketkhudā* was an authorised deputy official. Hence there were *ketkhudās* below the *āghā* or *reʾīs* in charge, e.g. of the treasury, the dockyards, the police guard, the Janissaries, the taxation registers, the Grand Vizierate, the imperial pantry, the bodyguard of *čāwūshs*, of the artillery corps, etc. (see ʿAbdurraḥmān Vefīḳ, *Tekālīf ḳawāʿidi*, Istanbul 1328, i, 192-3). The office was conferred by a diploma (*berāt*), in which the respect and loyalty of those to be under him was enjoined (Başbakanlık Arsiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi, Ruus defteri, no.

217, pp. 14, 180, no. 216/a, p. 7). Provincial governors (*beylerbeyis*) and district governors (*sandjāḳbeyis*) had their *ketkhudās* (cf. Kātib Čelebi, *Fedhleke*, Istanbul 1286, i, 290; Başbakanlık A.G.M., Dīwān-ī Humāyūn Mühimme defteri, no. 2, p. 390). As in Persia, there were in Turkey *ketkhudās* of villages charged with administrative duties there. The most important of those officials bearing this title was, however, the *ketkhudā* of the Grand Vizier (*Ṣadāret ketkhudāsī*). In 1214/1799 it seems that this official was not only concerned with the affairs of the Grand Vizier in the *Dīwān-ī Humāyūn*, but of those of the other viziers also, hence it was decreed that he should concern himself with the affairs of the former only (Khaṭṭ-ī humāyūn tasnifi, no. 13283). The official supervising the *tīmār*-holders in the *eyālets* and *sandjaḳs* was called the *ketkhudā yeri* (see the Elaziğ judicial records, Diyarbekir Ziya Gökalp Müzesi, no. 362, p. 137), and the same title was found in the corps of Janissaries (see I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin teşkilâtından Kapıkulu Ocakları*, Ankara 1943, i, 211-13).

Provincial governors had their own *ketkhudās* stationed in the capital Istanbul to represent their interests; these were called *ḳapî ketkhudāsîs*. Similar representatives were allowed to trusted state servants, and in 1209/1795 there were six *ḳapî ketkhudālîḳs* pertaining to the viziers (Nūrī, *Taʾrīkh*, Süleymaniye, Âşir Efendi, no. 239, f. 88b). Dependent and tributary princes, such as those of Transylvania, Moldavia and Wallachia, and even the Khāns of the Crimean Tatars, had their representatives in Istanbul with this same title. We also find it used to denote the envoys or ambassadors of some foreign countries.

Finally, it should be mentioned that the *ketkhudās* of towns and cities were abolished by a decree of 1204/1790 (Khaṭṭ-ī Humāyūn tasnifi, no. 9500), and that the term was also used within the nomadic tribes. A tribal chief would appoint a *ketkhudā* for each of the subordinate clans in his tribe, and when hereditary chieftainship was abolished by the state, a person chosen by general consent of the tribesmen and from amongst themselves was appointed as *ketkhudā* (see C. Orhonlu, *Osmanlı imparatorluğunda aşiretleri iskân teşebbüsü, 1691-1669*, Istanbul 1963, 13-14).

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): Hüseyin Kâzim Kadri, *Türk lûgatı*, Istanbul 1945, iv, 27, 38; M. Z. Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sozlüğü*, Istanbul 1951, ii, 251-5; A. H. Lybyer, *The government of the Ottoman empire ...*, London 1912, 96, 125; Von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, ii, 102-3, 105 (Tkish. résumé in *Hukuk Fakültesi Mecmuası* (1941), 564-86); L. Fekete, *Die Siyāqatschrift ...*, Budapest 1955, 608; G. Demorgny, *Essai sur l'administration de la Perse*, Paris 1913, 50, 55; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic society and the West*, i/1, index, s.v. *kâhya*; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanli devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, index.

(Cengiz Orhonlu)

(ii) In the Ottoman Turkish Gilds

In Turkey the *ketkhudā* was also the head of a gild who dealt with the material and administrative aspects of gild life (whereas in the earlier period of gild history, a *shaykh* fulfilled the ceremonial functions). He was usually chosen by the gild notables without formal election, and his appointment was then confirmed by the *ḳāḍī*. Recently published documents do not seem to bear out the theory of Gibb and Bowen (i/1, 289) that "until much later [than the middle of the 11th/17th century ?] *kâhyâs* continued in all cases [even in gilds with Christian members] to be Moslem; but eventually this office ... was granted in some instances to non-Moslems"; there were non-Muslim *ketkhudās* in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries, as well as Muslim *ketkhudās* of non-Muslim gilds in the 12th/18th century.

The gild *ketkhudas* represented the gild *vis-à-vis* the authorities. They conveyed government orders and announcements to the gild members, and made certain that these instructions were carried out; for instance, it was their task to supervise the implementation of orders concerning the standards of production and of commodities sold. They provided the government with any services and labour which were required, and if necessary, they guaranteed the reliability and good character of the members of the gild.

The gild *ketkhudās* were also responsible for the supply of certain goods to the authorities and for distributing raw material needed by artisans and craftsmen; and it was the task of the heads of practically all Turkish gilds to arbitrate in disputes among their members, and the task of some of them to supervise a fund for mutual help.

In later times, individuals who were not members of the gild were frequently appointed *ketkhudās*, for instance, retired officials who thereupon agreed to renounce their pension. During the reign of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, favoured courtiers were appointed by the Sultan, often because the gild members hoped thereby to further their own concerns.

Bibliography: ʿOthmān Nūrī, *Medjelle-yi Umūr-i Belediyye*, i, Istanbul 1922, 496-768; H. A. R. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, i/1, London 1950, 284-92; G. Baer, *The administrative, economic and social functions of Turkish guilds*, in *IJMES*, i (1970), 28-50; idem, *The structure of Turkish guilds and its significance for Ottoman social history*, in *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, iv (1971), 176-96.

(G. Baer)

(iii) In North Africa

The term *ketkhudā* was not used in North Africa in the period of Turkish domination, but the form *kāhiya* was current in Tunisia until recent times to designate the subordinates of the caïds or governors at the head of administrative divisions called *kihāya*. In a more general way, *kāhiya* was in general use with the sense of "assistant to a high official, president or director" (e.g. *kāhiyat raʾīs* = vice-president); the deputy of the Public Prosecutor of the Republic was called *kāhiyat al-muddaʿī ʾl-ʿumūmī*, and an under-secretary of state *kāhiya wazīrī*. In Algeria, the *kahya* was a bey's lieutenant, but also a police superintendent and even a simple corporal in the army of the *amīr* ʿAbd al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*]. The use of the term for a subordinate endowed it with the pejorative meaning of "inferior quality". (Ed.)

KHĀʾ, the seventh letter of the Arabic alphabet, here transcribed as kh. Its numerical value is 600, according to the eastern order [see abdjad].

Definition: voiceless post-velar fricative. According to the Arabic grammatical tradition: *rikhwa*, *mahmūsa*, *mustaʿliya*. For the *makhradj*: *min adnā ʾl-ḥalḳ* (from that part of the throat nearest to the mouth) (al-Zamakhsharī, *Mufaṣṣal*[2], ed. Broch, § 732); Ibn Yaʿīsh (*Sharḥ*, ed. G. Jahn, 1460, 1. 6) defines it thus: "the *khāʾ* is nearer to the mouth than the *ghayn*". The Arabs accordingly placed the *khāʾ* in the throat and considered it as a laryngeal (ac-

cording to the terminology of H. Fleisch, *Traité de philologie arabe*, i, 59), as with the *ghayn*. However, G. Krotkoff, in *WZKM*, lix-lx (1963-4), 242, 11. 4-5), puts forward "post-velar" as corresponding to *min adnā 'l-ḥalḳ* (cf. M. Bravmann, *Materialen und Untersuchungen zu den phonetischen Lehren der Araber*, 44, and H. Blanc, in *Procs. of the Internat. Conference on Semitic Studies*, Jerusalem 1965, 17). The text of the *Mufaṣṣal* is clear: *adnā 'l-ḥalḳ* is the upper part of the throat, as opposed to *awsaṭ al-ḥalḳ*, the middle part, and *aḳṣā 'l-ḥalḳ*, the lower part. Then there comes, as the first sound pronounced within the mouth, *al-kāf*.

The articulation described is phonemic; for the phonological oppositions which define this phoneme kh, see J. Cantineau, *Esquisse d'une phonologie de l'arabe classique = Mémorial J.C.*, Paris 1960, 175. According to him, its realisation is "fairly close to the German *ch* in *Nacht*", and it is its localisation which is relevant. For the incompatibilities of kh, see *ibid.*, 201. Kh (and gh) are by their nature *mufakhkhama* and prevent the occurence of *imāla* in most of the (eastern) Arabic dialects (Cantineau, *Les parlers arabes du Horan*, Paris 1946, 127). But this is not the case in Cairo (N. Tomiche, *Le parler arabe du Caire*, Paris-The Hague 1964, 32), nor in Maāsser Beit ed-Dine, Lebanon, where people say *khāf* "he was afraid" (Fleisch, in *MUSJ*, xxxi (1954), 298) and *khān* "he betrayed" (*ibid.*, 312).

Classical Ar. kh is the continuation of a voiceless velar fricative kh of common Semitic. It "becomes *ḥ* in Canaanitic Aramaic, in Tigre and Tigrinya (Ethiopic languages), and in Soqoṭrī (Modern South Arabian); it becomes zero in most of the other [modern] Ethiopic languages" (W. Leslau in *Manual of phonetics*, Amsterdam 1957, 329).

In Classical Ar., kh undergoes few non-conditioned alterations; see Cantineau, *Cours*, 71. As a conditioned alteration, one only need mention the possibility of assimilation of unvoicedness and voicedness, between kh and gh, when they are found in final or initial position of a word, thus: -gh kh > khkh- and -kh gh- > ghgh- (see Fleisch, *Traité*, i. § 12 p.). The same type of assimilation is found in some modern Arabic dialects, as at Tlemcen (W. Marçais, *Le dialecte arabe parlé à Tlemcen*, Paris 1902, 26); note also the special case of Baghdād (Blanc, *Communal dialects in Baghdad*, Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs, x (1964), 3, 24 (c)).

Bibliography: given in the article.

(H. Fleisch)

KHABAR (a.), plural akhbār, akhābir, report, piece of information. The word is not used in any special context in the Ḳurʾān. In the *ḥadīth* it occurs among other passages in the tradition which describes how the djinn by eavesdropping obtain information from heaven (*khabar min al-samāʾ*) and how they are pelted with fiery meteors to prevent them from doing so (al-Bukhārī, *Adhān*, *bāb* 105; Muslim, *Ṣalāt*, tr. 149); al-Tirmidhī, *Tafsīr*, Sūra lxxii, trad. 1).

In his collection al-Bukhāri has a chapter entitled *Akhbār al-āḥād*, which, as the *tardjama* indicates, deals with the validity of traditions regarding *adhān*, *ṣalāt*, fasting, the law of inheritance, and judicial procedure, and which are only given on the authority of one man [see ḥadīth].

Al-Ghazāli gives the name *akhbār* to the traditions that go back to Muḥammad. He distinguishes the sayings of the Companions by the term *āthār* (see his *Iḥyāʾ*, passim). On such and similar technical distinctions see Lane's *Lexicon* s.v., and *Dict. of Techn. Terms*, ed. Sprenger and Nassau Lees, s.v.

Akhbār is further often found in the titles of historical works (see Brockelmann, Index ii); in the singular, *khabar* denotes a piece of information of a historical, biographical or even anecdotal nature, and comes to correspond to *ḥikāya* [*q.v.*].

Ṣāḥib al-Khabar was the title of one of a ruler's officers in provincial capitals whose duty it was to report to his master all new happenings, the arrivals of strangers etc. This post was often given to the director of the postal service [see barīd].

(A. J. Wensinck)

KHABAR, in Arabic grammar, refers to the constituent parts of the nominal phrase, e.g. *Zaydun karīmun* "Zayd is noble"; here, *Zayd*, the first term, is *mubtadaʾ*, and *karīm*, the second one, is *khabar*. For the verbal phrase, the corresponding terms are *fāʿil* agent and *fiʿl* verb. The Arab grammarians, as can readily be seen, recognised two types of phrase, the nominal and the verbal, in their language. They also recognised clearly the necessity of the *ʿaḳd*, the nexus linking the two terms of these phrases, and they called it *isnād* "the act of leaning one thing against another", the linkage between *al-musnad ilayhi*, the first term, and *al-musnad*, the second one. But *musnad ilayhi* and *musnad* both remained terms of grammatical logic, used for the analysis of the nexus of the two types of phrase; *mubtadaʾ-khabar* and *fāʿil-fiʿl* are the only terms recognised in the formation of the nominal phrase in the first pair, and in that of the verbal phrase in the second pair. Each type of phrase was studied for itself; the idea of subject remained alien to the Arab grammarians (see Fleisch, *Études sur le verbe arabe*, in *Mélanges Massignon*, ii, 153-5).

The *khabar* is *marfūʿ*, i.e. in *rafʿ*, the nominative, as also the *mubtadaʾ*. For an Arab grammarian, it was necessary to determine the *ʿāmil*, here called *al-rāfiʿ* "that which puts it in *rafʿ*", the *khabar* and also the *mubtadaʾ*, for the question is connected. This was the subject of great discussions between the Kūfan and Baṣran grammarians, and even amongst the Baṣrans themselves; see the 5th Question discussed in Ibn al-Anbārī, *K. al-Inṣāf*, ed. G. Weil, 21-6, with a résumé in Ibn Yaʿīsh's *Sharḥ* of the *Mufaṣṣal of Zamakhsharī*, ed. G. Jahn, 101, ll. 15-16.

In dislocated phrases, which were outside normal analysis, of the type *Zaydun dhahaba abūhu* "Zayd, his father left", the Arab grammarians considered the phrase taken up after *Zayd* as *khabar* (Zamakhsharī, *Mufaṣṣal*[2], ed. Broch, § 26).

After *inna* and its "sisters" (*anna*, *lākinna*, *layta*, *laʿalla* and *kaʾanna*) the *khabar* is *marfūʿ*. The Baṣrans and Kūfans disputed over determination over the *ʿāmil* here, sc. about the *rāfiʿ* which puts the *khabar* here into *rafʿ* (see the 22nd Question discussed in the *K. al-Inṣāf*, 81-4, *Mufaṣṣal*, § 3, and Ibn Yaʿīsh, 124, l. 23-125, l. 17).

For the *khabar* of *kāna* and its "sisters", sc. verbs like *aṣbaḥa* "it took place in the morning" or *amsā* "it took place in the evening", the Arab grammarians had the task of explaining the *naṣb* or accusative of the *khabar*, as in *kāna ḥakīman* "he was wise". They solved this by referring to an analogy with the *fāʿil* and *mafʿūl* of a verb (*Mufaṣṣal*, § 97, and Ibn Yaʿīsh, 282). In fact, this accusative can be explained as a complement indicating state, a *ḥāl*; this explanation had already been given by the Kūfans against the Baṣrans (*K. al-Inṣāf*, Question under discussion, 348-51; see also Fleisch, *L'Arabe classique. Esquisse d'une structure linguistique*[2], 181). The *naṣb* is found after the negative *mā* (less usually after *lā*) when

this has the value of *laysa* (*Mufaṣṣal*, § 38, and Ibn Yaʿīsh, 132-4). This also involves the question of the *mā ḥidjāziyya* (*K. al-Inṣāf*, 19). See Question under discussion, 76-9, and Ibn Yaʿīsh, 132, ll. 24-5.

For the *khabar*'s place, see the Questions under discussion: *K. al-Inṣāf*, No. 9, pp. 34-6, No. 17, pp. 70-2, and No. 18, pp. 73-6. For the separation between *khabar* and *naʿt*, see Question No. 100.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the text, see Sībawayh, *Kitāb*, Paris edn., ch. iii, 17-19, 120-1, 136; Mubarrad, *K. al-Muḳtaḍab*, references in *al-Fahāris* (Cairo 1388/1968-9); Zadjdjādjī, *Djumal*, 48-50, 53-69, 119-20; Raḍī 'l-Dīn al-Astarābādhī, *Sharḥ al-Kāfiya*, Istanbul 1275/1858-9, 76-101; Ibn Mālik, *Alfiyya*, vv. 113-63; *Sharḥ* of Ibn ʿAḳīl, Cairo 1370/1951, i, 163-76; *Sharḥ* of al-Ushmūnī, Cairo 1375/1955, i, 88-128; Abū Ḥayyān al-Andalusī, *al-Manhadj al-sālik*, ed. Glazer, 36-67.

(H. Fleisch)

KHABAR AL-WĀḤID. Literally, tradition or report going back to one single authority. Synonyms are *khabar al-āḥād*, *khabar al-infirād* and *khabar al-khāṣṣa*. According to the generally-accepted definition, a *khabar al-wāḥid* is a report which falls short of the predicate *mutawātir* [*q.v.*] (or, as certain scholars assert, *mashhūr* [*q.v.*]) in that it has only one or a few (from two to five) transmitters in every *ṭabaḳa* of its *isnād*. The first classical scholar who writes about the *khabar al-wāḥid* is, according to Nawawī (cf. *Sharḥ ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Cairo 1349, i, 131), Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820). In his *Risāla* he devotes two chapters to it. He argues that a *khabar al-wāḥid* constitutes an argument (*ḥudjdja*), if only there is at every stage of the *isnād* one reliable transmitter (*thiḳa* [*q.v.*]), his reliability being dependent on the following six conditions: (1) he should have a strong faith; (2) he should be known for his veracity in transmitting traditions; (3) he must be able to grasp the meaning of what he transmits; (4) he should pay heed to the exact wording; (5) he should transmit from memory, and (6) he should be free from *tadlīs* [*q.v.*]. The *khabar al-wāḥid* forms in itself an *aṣl* and can only in part be compared with juridical testimonies (*shahādāt*). It can only be invalidated by one or more other reports which present an opposing view and which, at the same time, meet the requirements of reliability more adequately.

Most Muslim scholars agree in that the *khabar al-wāḥid* can be considered as conveying a probability (*ẓann*), not definite knowledge (*ʿilm*), although various traditionists hold the opinion that those contained in the compilations of Bukhārī and Muslim also convey *ʿilm* to the exclusion of all others. The majority of orthodox Muslim scholars finally agreed on the fact that, inasmuch as a *khabar al-wāḥid* conveys at least a probability, every Muslim is bound by it and is obligated to live by it.

Among those who reject the *khabar al-wāḥid* as a valid criterion or an obligation are the *Ḳadariyya* [*q.v.*], the *Rāfiḍa* [*q.v.*], certain members of the *Ẓāhiriyya* [*q.v.*] (although Ibn Ḥazm lends full credit to them, cf. *al-Iḥkām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām*, ed. Shākir, Cairo 1345-7, i, 108) and the *Muʿtazila* [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Tahānawī, *Dictionary of the technical terms* . . ., Calcutta 1862, 1463; Nawawī, *Sharḥ ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Cairo 1349, i, 130 ff.; Shāfiʿī, *Risāla*, ed. Aḥmad M. Shākir, Cairo 1940. 369-471; J. Schacht, *The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, Oxford 1950, 40 ff., 50 ff.; Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, *K. al-Djarḥ wa 'l-taʿdīl*, Hyderabad 1952-3, i/1, 37; Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ, *ʿUlūm al-ḥadīth wa-muṣṭalaḥuhu*, Damascus 1959, 152; J. Robson, *Traditions from individuals*, in *JSS*, ix (1964), 327-40; G. H. A. Juynboll, *The authenticity of the tradition literature; discussions in modern Egypt*, Leiden 1969, index, s.v. *āḥād*.

(G. H. A. Juynboll)

KHABBĀB B. AL-ARATT, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH or ABŪ YAḤYĀ or ABŪ MUḤAMMAD or ABŪ ʿABD RABBIHI, a Companion of the Prophet. Tradition is not unanimous about his origin. Some reports state that his father was captured in a raid launched by the Rabīʿa in the Sawād, sent to Mecca and sold as a slave to Sibāʿ b. ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā al-Khuzāʿī, a confederate (*ḥalīf*) of the Banū Zuhra; Sibāʿ (who was later killed by Ḥamza in the battle of Uḥud) gave him as a gift to his daughter Umm Anmār who freed him. In a tradition attributed to ʿAlī he is said to have been the first of the *Nabaṭ* to embrace Islam. Other traditions claim that the mother of Khabbāb, a professional circumciser, also gave birth to Sibāʿ; it is for this reason that Ḥamza when killing Sibāʿ, shouted to him "O son of the woman cutting the clitoris". By virtue of this kinship, Khabbāb claimed to be a confederate of the Zuhra in Mecca. Some reports say that this father was from Kaskar or from the vicinity of al-Kūfa. A quite different tradition states that al-Aratt was a Tamīmī, of the Banū Saʿd, who was captured in a raid and sold in Mecca to Umm Anmār al-Khuzāʿiyya, who freed him. This version, adopted by his descendants, gives his pedigree as follows: Khabbāb b. al-Aratt b. Djandala b. Saʿd b. Khuzayma b. Kaʿb b. Saʿd from Tamīm. Another account records that Khabbāb was a freed slave (*mawlā*) of Thābit b. Umm Anmār; Thābit, these sources claim, was a *mawlā* of al-Akhnas b. Sharīḳ al-Thaḳafī, who in his turn was a confederate of the Zuhra. These contradictory traditions do not help to establish exactly his origin and his position in Mecca, but he must have been of a very low status, as he was doubly dependent, being a *mawlā* of a family which was in turn in a relation of dependence as confederates of the tribal group of Zuhra. Khabbāb himself was a blacksmith, a profession regarded as base in Mecca and in the Arab peninsula in general. The tradition of his Sawādī origin seems preferable because of his father's incorrect Arabic speech, which is indicated by his nickname *al-Aratt*; this would seem to point to Arabic not being his native language, and he probably spoke Nabataean, sc. neo-Aramaic. Although a *mawlā*, Khabbāb apparently acquired some influence in the Khuzāʿī family of his master. It was he who promoted the plan that the family of Sibāʿ should join the Zuhrī ʿAwf b. ʿAbd ʿAwf (the family of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf) as confederates and he indeed succeded in carrying out his plan.

Khabbāb was one of the earliest converts to Islam. He is usually mentioned as the sixth or the seventh man who embraced Islam. A unique tradition granting him an usually high position in Islam says that he was the first man who embraced Islam.

Khabbāb is recorded as one of "the weak ones" in Mecca. Lacking any protection (*manaʿa*), he was exposed to persecution and cruel torture. The noble Ḳurashīs and leaders of tribes used to mock the Prophet when they saw him in the company of Khabbāb and other poor men, and some verses in the Ḳur'ān were revealed to the Prophet in this connection. It is said that Khabbāb was attached to the Prophet and heard some chapters of the Ḳur'ān from his mouth, and that he witnessed the conversion of ʿUmar to Islam when present in the house of ʿUmar's sister, reading chapters from the Ḳur'ān.

Having left Mecca as a *muhādjir*, Khabbāb dwelt in Medina, together with al-Miḳdād b. ʿAmr, in the house of Kulthūm b. Hidm; after the death of the latter they moved into the house of Saʿd b. ʿUbāda. In some sources, Khabbāb is included in the list of the *Aṣḥāb al-Ṣuffa* [see AHL AL-ṢUFFA]. The Prophet set up the relation of brotherhood between Khabbāb and Djabr b. ʿAtīk. Khabbāb participated in the battle of Badr and was entrusted with the division of the spoils. Tradition usually adds that he took part in all the other battles of the Prophet: he is, however, not mentioned in the list of warriors recorded in the stories of the battles.

No details are available about the vicissitudes of his life during the caliphates of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. ʿUthmān granted him possession of Ṣaʿnabā or Istīniyā in the vicinity of al-Kūfa and he settled in al-Kūfa. Shīʿī tradition claim that he took part in the battle of Ṣiffīn and Nahrawān; some Shīʿī sources mention that he signed the document of arbitration at Ṣiffīn.

Khabbāb died in 37 AH (or 39) at the age of 63 (or 73) as a rich man, leaving about 40,000 dirhams in cash. He regretted before his death that he had accumulated wealth; he was afraid lest he might have forfeited his reward in the next world, as he had received it already in this world. Khabbāb gave orders that he should be buried outside al-Kūfa, thus initiating a change in the then custom of burying the dead in their own houses. ʿAlī is said to have prayed over his grave when he returned from the battle of Ṣiffīn. He transmitted 32 utterances of the Prophet, some of which were recorded in the canonical collections of *ḥadīth*, and some traditions of the Prophet were transmitted by his daughter. A son, ʿAbd Allāh, was cruelly killed by the Khawāridj.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, Cairo 1355/1936, i, 271, 368-370, 383, ii, 337; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Beirut 1377/1957, iii, 164-7, v, 245; al-Wāḳidī, *al-Maghāzī*, ed. M. Jones, London 1966, i, 100, 155; al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥamīdullah, Cairo 1959, i, index; idem, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, Beirut 1377/1958, 381-2; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, index; idem, *al-Muntakhab min kitāb dhayl al-mudhayyal*, Cairo 1358/1939, 57; Khalīfa b. Khayyaṭ, *al-Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Akram Ḍiyāʾ al-ʿUmarī, Baghdād 1387/1967, 17, 126; idem, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Akram Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn, Baghdād 1386/1967, index; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaḳ*, ed. Kh. A. Fāriḳ, Hyderabad 1384/1964, 294/295; idem, *al-Muḥabbar*, ed. Lichtenstaedter, Hyderabad 1361/1942, 288; al-Minḳarī, *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn*, Cairo 1382, 506, 530; Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Maʿārif*, ed. al-Ṣāwī, repr. Beirut 1390/1970, 138; ʿAbd Allah b. al-Mubārak, *Kitāb al-zuhd wa ʾl-raḳāʾiḳ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Aʿẓamī, Malegaon 1385/1966, 183-4; al-Ṭayālisī, *al-Musnad*, Hyderabad 1321, 141-2; Muḳātil, *Tafsīr*, Ms. Top Kapu Saray, Ahmet III, 74, ii, fols. 43b, 165b, 224b; al-Wāḥidī, *Asbāb al-nuzūl*, Cairo 1388/1968, 146, 251; al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *al-Mustadrak*, Hyderabad 1342, 381/383; al-Masʿūdī, *al-Tanbīh wa'l-ishrāf*, ed. al-Ṣāwī, Cairo 1357/1938, 199 (quoted by Mughulṭāy, *al-Zahr al-bāsim*, Ms. Leiden Or. 370, fol. 118a); Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, Cairo 1351/1932, i, 143-7, 359-60; al-Kalāʿī, *al-Iktifāʾ*, Cairo 1387/1968, i, 336; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Istīʿāb*, Cairo 1380/1960, 437-9, no. 628; Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *ʿUyūn al-athar*, Cairo 1356, i, 272; Ibn Ḥazm, *Djawāmiʿ al-sīra*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, N. al-Asad, Shākir, Cairo, n.d., index; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa ʾl-nihāya*, Beirut-al-Riyāḍ 1966, vii, 288; idem, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, Cairo 1384/1964, i, 496-7; idem, *Shamāʾil al-rasūl*, Cairo 1386/1967, 358; al-Bayhaḳī, *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*, Medina 1389/1969, i, 425, ii, 57; Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Bayhaḳī, *al-Maḥāsin wa'l-masāwī*, Cairo 1380/1961, i, 109-11; al-Haythamī, *Madjmaʿ al-zawāʾid*, Beirut 1967, ix, 298-9; al-Māwardī, *Aʿlām al-nubuwwa*, Cairo 1319, 77; Ibn Abī ʾl-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ nahdj al-balāgha*, Cairo 1964, xviii, 171-2; Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Dimashḳī, *Djāmiʿ al-āthār*, Ms. Cambridge Or. 913, fol. 339a; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, Cairo 1957, ii, 234-5; idem, *Taʾrīkh al-islām*, Cairo 1367, ii, 175-6; al-Kāzarūnī, *al-Sīra al-nabawiyya*, Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 18499, fol. 106a; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, Hyderabad 1325, iii, 133-4, no. 254; idem, *al-Iṣāba*, Cairo 1325/1907, ii, 101, no. 2206; al-Fāsī, *al-ʿIḳd al-thamīn*, Cairo 1384/1965, iv, 300-3, No. 1119; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Khaṣāʾiṣ al-kubrā*, Cairo 1386/1967, ii, 262; ʿAlī b. Burhān al-Dīn, *al-Sīra al-ḥalabiyya*, Cairo 1351/1932, i, 355; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, ed. Aḥmad Amīn *et alii*, Cairo 1368/1949, iii, 238; al-Muttaḳī al-Hindī, *Kanz al-ʿummāl*, Hyderabad 1388/1968, xv, 343, no. 941; al-Madjlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, Tehran 1270, viii, 728; al-Nabulusī, *Dhakhāʾir al-mawārīth*, Cairo 1352/1934, i, 200-2, nos. 1811-20; al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, Nadjaf 1384/1964, ii, 22; Ibn Bābūya al-Ḳummī, *Kitāb al-khiṣāl*, Tehran 1389, 312; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-buldān*, s.v. *Ṣaʿnabā* and *Istīniyā*; W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, Oxford 1953, index.

(M. J. KISTER)

KHABN. [see ʿARŪḌ]

KHABRĀʾ (pl. KHABĀRĪ), a silt flat, as the term is commonly used in the Syrian Desert. This desert, which comprises part of Syria, Jordan, and northern Saudi Arabia, is mostly composed of highly dissected terrain. The rainfall, which usually occurs in the form of sudden cloudbursts, picks up a large amount of material from the erosion remnants and carries it inland downstream at high velocities. When such a stream reaches a gently sloping and wide open area, the ensuing loss in the velocity of the water stream causes the silts to be deposited. A *khabrāʾ* is the resulting silt flat. In these parts of the Middle East, a *khabrāʾ* is very often of great archaeological significance. Along the edges of such a *khabrāʾ* people have built ring-shaped dams, with an up-stream opening, where after the central hollowed-out depression has been coated with silt, the water can be naturally stored for a long time, occasionally lasting throughout the entire dry summer season. Such an open, ring-shaped storage dam is locally called a *maḥfūr* (pl. *maḥāfīr*). The *maḥāfīr* vary in size, from *ca.* 10 to as much as 35 or 40 metres in diameter; the ring-shaped dam wall is from about one metre to two-and-a-half metres in height. Lithic remains in such sites, which are very common and appear to be very old but have not yet been properly dated, would tend to indicate that the builders were not only thinking of making available a few watering holes for their livestock, but were also planning to attract wild game, such as the then plentiful gazelles, to be easier targets. (F. S. VIDAL)

KHĀBŪR, the name of two rivers.

(i) The larger Khābūr is one of the chief affluents of the Euphrates, which it joins at Ḳarḳisiyya [*q.v.*].

It originates in the Northern Mesopotamian mountains, flows through the plain of Mesopotamia, passes

between Djabal ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and the Sindjār mountains, where it takes a southern direction, which it changes in the last part of its course into a southwestern one.

Its springs, as well as those of its numerous tributaries, are chiefly connected with three important towns, Raʾs al-ʿAyn (Reshʿayna of the Syrians) in the northwest, Mārdīn in the north and Naṣībīn in the northeast. The springs at Raʾs al-ʿAyn are said to be three hundred in number; they were shut off by iron grills, in order to prevent people from being drowned in them.

Downstream from Raʾs al-ʿAyn the Khābūr is joined by the river of Mārdīn, which is called by the Arab geographers Ṣawr; on Sachau's map it bears the name of Nahr Zrgān. Just before passing between Djabal ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and the Sindjār mountains it is joined by the river of Naṣībīn. The Arab geographers apparently mean this river when speaking of the Hirmās; on Sachau's map it is called Djaghdjagha. The course and the nomenclature of this and other tributaries are still uncertain.

The Arab geographers mention several more or less important places situated on the Khābūr between Djabal ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and Ḳarḳisiyya, such as Shāʿā, Tunaynīr (upper and lower T.), Ṭābān (also on Sachau's map), ʿArbān or ʿArābān (also on Sachau's map), Sukayr, al-Shamsāniyya (probably Sachau's Shemisan), Mākisīn ("the customs-house"), al-Ghudayr ("the pool"), and Ṣuwar (Sachau's eṣ-Ṣawar). At Mākisīn there was a bridge of boats. Much cotton was grown here, and by it lay the small lake of deep blue water called al-Munkhariḳ, which was said to be unfathomable.

The whole region through which the Khābūr flows, and especially its lower course, was renowned for being fertile; its trees are mentioned in Arabic poetry, and its fruits were exported to the towns of al-ʿIrāḳ. However, when Sachau travelled in the area (1899) the large fertile valley was devoid of towns, villages and human beings in general.

Bibliography: *BGA*, i, 74; ii, 155; v, 133 f.; al-Idrīsī, tr. Jaubert, ii, 150; Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*, ed. Reinaud, 52; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 383; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*, ed. and tr. Le Strange, *GMS*, xxiii, index; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xi, 253 ff.; Reclus, *Nouvelle Géographie Universelle*, ix, 448 f.; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge 1905, 94 ff.; E. Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, Leipzig 1883, index and map; idem, *Am Euphrat und Tigris*, Leipzig 1900, 134 f.; Chesney, *The Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris*, London 1850, index; idem, *Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*, London 1868, 250; Ainsworth, *Travels in Asia Minor*, ii, London 1842, 118; M. von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf*, index.

(ii) The lesser Khābūr, one of the tributaries of the Tigris which flows past the mountains of southern Armenia, south of Lake Van and west of Lake Urmiya. It passes between the mountain ranges which are now called Djabal Harbāl (north) and Zākha Dagh (south). The latter mountains derive their name from the town of Zākhō. The Khābūr joins the Tigris between Maghāra and Mazra. The Arab geographers often call it Khābūr al-Ḥasaniyya, after the town of this name. Here the river was spanned by a magnificent stone bridge which was looked upon as a miraculous piece of mason's work. Al-Ḥasaniyya probably survives in the hamlet of Ḥasan Agha.

Bibliography: al-Dimashḳī, *Nukhbat al-Dahr*, ed. Mehren, 190 f.; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ii, 384; Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 93; Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xi, 168; Chesney, *The Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris*, index.

(J. Lassner)

KHADĪDJA, first wife of Muḥammad, daughter of Khuwaylid of the clan of Asad of the tribe of Ḳuraysh in Mecca. Before her marriage to Muḥammad she had been married twice, to Abū Hāla al-Tamīmī, a client of the Meccan clan of ʿAbd al-Dār, and to ʿUtayyiḳ (or ʿAtīḳ) b. ʿĀʾidh (incorrectly ʿĀbid) b. ʿAbd Allāh of the Meccan clan of Makhzūm. The order of these marriages is disputed, as is also the *ism* of Abū Hāla and his genealogy. To Abū Hāla she is mostly said to have borne two sons with the (usually feminine) names of Hind and Hāla, and to ʿUtayyiḳ a daughter, Hind. She was probably divorced from Abū Hāla (cf. Sprenger, *Leben*, i, 197), since divorce was common in Mecca (cf. Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 435-55), but ʿUtayyiḳ is said to have died, leaving her a widow. This gets some confirmation from the fact that his nephew al-Sāʾib b. Abī 'l-Sāʾib became Muḥammad's business partner (al-Azraḳī, 471). Before she married Muḥammad she owned property and was able to engage in trade (as did also Asmāʾ bint Mukharriba, mother of Abū Djahl). This independence is most probably due to the persistence of old practices based on matrilineal kinship (cf. the fact that Khadīdja's sister Ruḳayḳa had a daughter known as Umayma bint Ruḳayḳa). In 605 (or earlier) Khadīdja arranged for Muḥammad to go to Boṣrā in Syria as steward of her merchandise. He executed this commission satisfactorily, and after his return she offered him marriage. The tales that she was impressed by miracles connected with Muḥammad may be discounted, and likewise the story that she gained her father's consent when she had made him drunk. The contract of marriage is mostly said to have been made for her by her uncle ʿAmr b. Asad, while Ḥamza acted on behalf of his nephew Muḥammad. The couple apparently lived for a time in a *bayt* in the *dār* of Khadīdja's nephew, Ḥakīm b. Ḥizām b. Khuwaylid, in Mecca (al-Azraḳī, 463); but during the boycott Ḥakīm took food to his aunt who was then among the Banū Hāshim. It was from Ḥakīm that Khadīdja received Zayd b. Ḥāritha, who had been brought as a slave from Syria, or bought at Ukāẓ. At the time of the marriage Muḥammad is said to have been twenty-five (or twenty-three or twenty-one) and Khadīdja forty (or twenty-eight). At least five children were born to Khadīdja and Muḥammad: four girls (Zaynab, Umm Kulthūm, Fāṭima, Ruḳayya) and one or possibly two boys (al-Ḳāsim, ʿAbd Allāh; but these may be the same, and it is generally agreed that al-Ṭāhir and al-Ṭayyib are names of ʿAbd Allāh).

Marriage to Khadīdja was an important turning-point in Muḥammad's career, mainly because, as is explicitly stated, she supported and encouraged him, fostering his confidence in himself and his mission. After the experience of the call to prophethood, she reported it to her relative Waraḳa b. Nawfal, who was a Christian, and he declared it was an experience similar to that of Moses when he received the Law. This doubtless helped to confirm Muḥammad's belief in the genuineness of the experience. The marriage is probably referred to in the verse (XCIII, 8), 'Did he not find you needy and enrich you?', since Khadīdja's wealth would enable him to engage more extensively in commercial operations. Though there is no mention of further journeys to Syria, Muḥam-

mad seems to have been trading in partnership with al-Sā'ib, as already mentioned. Khadīdja is said to have died three days after Abū Ṭālib in the year 619 (sc. three years before the Hidjra).

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, 119-22, 153-6, 232, 277, 1001; Ibn Sa'd, viii, 7-11; i/1. 84 f., 130, 141; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1127-30, 1151, 1156 f., 1159, 1166, 1199, 1766; *Iṣāba*, iii, 130; *Usd al-Ghāba*, v. 434-9; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 9-11, 18, 77-9, 83, 99 f., 408, 452; al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Ḳuraysh*, Cairo 1953, 21, 207, 230 f., 234; W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, Cambridge 1885; F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, Leipzig 1930, 118-21; W. M. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca, Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1953, 1956, indices.

(W. Montgomery Watt)

KHĀDIM, from Arabic KHADAMA "to serve (a master)", means properly "servant, domestic", but it has acquired the euphemistic sense, first in Arabic and then in the other Islamic languages, of "eunuch"; hence the word is often ambiguous. In this article, only servants of free status are covered; for slaves, see 'ABD and for eunuchs KHAṢĪ.

At the side of the slaves, there have always been free servants (coll. *khadam*, pl. *khuddām*). Anas b. Mālik [*q.v.*] entered Muḥammad's service as a youth (al-Bukhārī, *Djihād*, *bāb* 74 etc.) and he records it to his master's credit that the latter had never said a harsh word to him nor even ever asked him for an explanation of his doings (al-Bukhārī, *Waṣāyā*, *bāb* 25). Servants were used on journeys especially, and put up the tents, etc. These latter are called *farrāsh* (lit. spreaders of the carpets), a name which is, however, given to servants who look after the beds and the house generally (Lane, *The Thousand and One Nights*, London 1859, ii, 202, no. 16).

In Egypt in Lane's time there was an organisation of servants. They were under special *shaykh*s to whom anyone who required a domestic had to apply; these *shaykh*s were responsible for any dishonesty or breach of trust by their people (Lane, *Manners and Customs*, London 1899, 139). There were also free female servants who performed the lowest household duties (*op. cit.*, 147, 197) for a very small wage (168). Some of the male servants used to shave their beards (573).

In Ottoman Turkish houses of the upper classes, these people, who were usually addressed by their name followed by Agha, worked as cooks, gardeners, janitors, etc., and they had to avoid the women's apartments in the house with which they communicated by the swivel-box (*dolāb*). If they were married they did not live in their master's house.

The women servants in the konaks lived in the women's apartments and had very little personal freedom. They sometimes belonged to impoverished Turkish families or were the children of former servants and slaves. They were called *ḳalfa* (from *khalīfa*) or *halā'iḳ* (from *khalā'iḳ*) and the men *ushak*, *deftiyer*, *hizmetk'ar* (*khidmetkār*). The servant girls (*hidmetdji* = *khidmetdji*) were usually Greeks or Armenians.

Uniformed officials in the imperial and official services were divided into various corporations (chamberlains, janitors, musicians) and were included under the general name *hadama* = *khadama*. On such corporations see also Von Hammer, *Constantinopel und der Bosporus*, Pest 1822, ii, 395 ff.

In North Africa, *khādim* (dial. *khādəm*) has acquired the specialised meaning of "negress", and *khdīm* is used for a domestic servant. However, classical *khādim* retained an honourable usage in Morocco, where all letters sent out by the Sultan's chancery to his officials began with the formula *khadīmanā 'l-arḍā* "to our well-pleasing servant". In contemporary Moroccan usage, *ṣāḥəb*, pl. *ṣḥāb*, is more commonly found. Within the great families, there exists in effect a clientage of *ṣḥāb* who usually receive no regular salary but live on the bounty of their master. They accompany him on the road, look after his mount, and order illumination for trips at night, etc. If their master is a great *ḳā'id* or the head of a brotherhood, he appoints one of his *aṣḥāb* to accompany travellers who are passing through the areas over which his authority extends. This is a sign that they are under his protection. In Fez, there existed a corporation of female cooks who performed odd jobs within the household (Le Tourneau, *Fès*, 562) and were paid in kind.

In the *zāwiya*s servants form a guild to which is entrusted the care of pilgrims and of the buildings; cf. Depont and Coppolani, *Les confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1897; Doutté, *l'Islam algérien en l'an 1900*.

The *Ḥadīth* has handed down various sayings of Muḥammad which endeavour to secure good treatment for servants; in these it is not always possible to distinguish whether the reference is to free men or slaves. The *khādim* is responsible for his master's possessions (al-Bukhārī, *Waṣāyā*, *bāb* 9); on the other hand alms which he bestows out of his master's property bring him a heavenly reward (al-Bukhārī, *Zakāt*, *bāb* 25). One should be ready to forgive one's servant (al-Tirmidhī, *Birr*, *bāb* 32); he should neither be beaten nor cursed (al-Tirmidhī, *bāb* 30, 31, 85); and the servant who has prepared a meal has a right to partake of it (al-Bukhārī, *Aṭ'ima*, *bāb* 55; al-Tirmidhī, *Aṭ'ima*, *bāb* 44, etc.

One may note finally that, amongst the titles of the Ottoman Sultans, was that of *Khādim al-Ḥaramayn* "Servant of the two sacred areas", and also that at Mecca, one could purchase the title of *khādim al-masdjid* (Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.). The collective *khadam* is further used, often linked in paronomasia with *ḥasham*, to denote the partisans and entourage of a great man, above all, of a military leader or ruler. (A. J. Wensinck*)

KHĀDIM AL-ḤARAMAYN (A.), "servant of the two holy places" (sc. Mecca and Medina), a title used by a number of Muslim monarchs. Adopted by the Ottoman Sultan Selīm I after the conquest of Egypt in 922/1517 and used by some of his successors, it was regarded in late Ottoman times as a Caliphal title, and was said to have been taken over by Selīm from the last 'Abbāsid caliph in Cairo. This does not correspond with the evidence, and appears to be part of the mythology of the Ottoman caliphate. As far as can be ascertained, the title was never used by the 'Abbāsid caliphs, whether in 'Irāḳ or in Egypt. It was however used by several Mamlūk sultans, and it was from the sultans, not the caliphs, of Egypt that the Ottomans adopted this title along with other possessions and perquisites of the Sultanate. Al-Ḳalḳashandī (*Ṣubḥ*, vi, 46) is quite explicit, and lists it among the titles (*alḳāb*) of the Sultans. The first to use the title appears to have been Saladin, and the earliest known occurrence is in a restoration inscription in the Ḳubbat Yūsuf in Jerusalem, dated 587/1191 (*CIA*, *Jerusalem*, ii, no. 150 = *RCEA*, ix, no. 3447). The introduction of this new title was probably a move in the rivalry between Saladin and the caliph al-Nāṣir, over the leadership of the pilgrimage and related questions concerning the holy places in the Ḥidjāz (on this rivalry see E.

Sivan, *Saladin et le calife al-Nasir*, in *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, xxiii (1972), 126 ff., especially 139 ff.).

In the Jerusalem inscription of 587/1191 the words *al-ḥaramayn al-sharīfayn* are followed by *wa-hādha 'l-bayt al-muqaddas*, "and this sanctified house", i.e. Jerusalem. This formula recurs, without the *ḥaramayn*, in a Jerusalem inscription of 589/1193 (*CIA*, *Jerusalem*, i, no. 36 = *RCEA*, ix, no. 3464). In two inscriptions of Baybars, the title *khādim al-ḥaramayn* is followed or preceded by the words *Ṣāḥib* (or *Malik*) *al-Ḳiblatayn*", master (or king) of the two Ḳiblas", presumably Mecca and Jerusalem (Damascus, 659/1261, and Kara 664/1266; *RCEA*, xii, no. 4476 and no. 4554). The same formula is attested for other Mamlūk sultans, e.g. Ḳalāwūn (Cairo, 683-4/1284-5; *CIA*, *Egypt*, i, no. 82 = *RCEA*, xiii, no. 4852) and al-Ashraf Khalīl (Cairo, 687/1288; *CIA*, *Egypt*, i, no. 95 = *RCEA*, xiii, no. 4895).

Khādim al-ḥaramayn or some variant of it (e.g. *Khādim ḥaramay Allāh wa-rasūlihi* (Ḳā'it-bāy, Cairo, 885/1480; *CIA*, *Egypt*, i, no. 325) was used only intermittently by the Mamlūk sultans, and does not seem to have formed part of their standard titulary. An undated letter, purporting to have been sent by Tīmūr to Bāyazīd I, complains of the use by the Mamlūk sultan of the title "*Sulṭān* (sic) *al-ḥaramayn*". The writer regards this as presumptous, and considers it a sufficient honour to be the servant (*Khādim*) of the two holy places (Ferīdūn, *Münshe'āt*, i, 128, cf. T. W. Arnold, *The Caliphate*, Oxford 1924, repr. London 1965, 151). According to a Turkish chronicler, the Ottomans used to address the sultans of Egypt as *Sulṭān-ı ḥaramayn babam*, "my father the Sultan of the two holy places", but Meḥemmed II replaced this by the less deferential *Khādim-i ḥaramayn* and even *ḳarındashım Mıṣır Sulṭānı*, "my brother the Sultan of Egypt" (ʿĀshıḳpāshazāde, *Tewārīkh-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, Istanbul 1332 anno 863, p. 209; the passage occurs among the anonymous addenda to ʿĀshıḳpāshazāde's chronicle. Cf. Selâhattin Tansel, *Osmanlı kaynaklarına göre Fatih Sultan Mehmed'in Siyası ve askeri faaliyeti*, Ankara 1953, 337-8).

According to Arabic sources Selīm I was hailed, during the conquest of Syria and Egypt, by the preachers in the mosques of Aleppo and later of Cairo (Arnold, *Caliphate*, 140-1 and 145, citing Ibn Iyās, *Ta'rīkh Miṣr*, iii, 98, and Ḳuṭb al-Dīn, *Chroniken der Staat Mekka*, iii, 278-9; cf. Von Hammer, *Histoire*, iv, 280 and 448). Ottoman sources attach some importance to this recognition by the Sharīf of Mecca, thus confirming his authority over the holy places, but significantly, without reference to the title (e.g. Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-tewārīkh*, ii, 371-2; Solaḳzāde, *Ta'rīkh*, 480; on some documents, see Selâhattin Tansel, *Yavuz Sultan Selim*, Ankara 1969, 215-7). In a letter to the ruler of Mecca, announcing his accession, Süleymān refers to his father Selīm as *Khādim bayt Allāh wa'l-ḥaram fātiḥ mamālik al-ʿArab wa'l-ʿAdjam*, "Servant of the house of God and the sanctuary, conquerer of the lands of the Arabs and Persians" (Ferīdūn, i, 448, cf. Arnold, 155). This appears, however, to be an honorific description rather than a title. In his own documents Süleymān, while listing Mecca and Medina among his possessions, does not seem to have used the title Khādim. It appears, however, on coins of Süleymān struck in Baghdād in 942/1535-6 (i.e., after its capture from the Persians), 985/1551, and 960/1553 (Khalīl Edhem, *Meskūkāt-ı ʿOthmāniyye*, Istanbul 1334, 250-2), and remained in occasional but not common use under later sultans. Thus in the treaty with Poland of 1016/1607, it figures among the titles of the sultan in the preamble (Hammer, *Histoire*, viii, 407, citing the *Destūr al-inshā'* of Ṣarī ʿAbdullāh). It occurs in the signature of Maḥmūd I (İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, 292-3), and reappears in some other documents of the 12th/18th century, in a somewhat modified form, as "servant and adjudicator (*ḥākim*)" of Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem (H. Scheel, *Die Schreiben der türkischen Sultane and die preussischen Könige in der Zeit von 1721 bis 1774*, in *MSOS*, xxxiii/II (1930), 30, 34, 37, 39, 62, 65, 67, 70). A similar formula is used in documents of Selīm III (M. Guboglu, *Paleografia şi diplomatica turco-osmana*, Bucarest 1958, 60).

(B. Lewis)

KHĀDİM ḤASAN PASHA ṢOḲOLLİ, Ottoman Grand-Vizier. We have no information about his origin, but he was brought as part of the *devshirme* [*q.v.*] to the Imperial Palace and given a post in the Ḥarem in the department of the white eunuchs; later, he became chief treasurer of the Inner Palace or Enderūn. In Djumādā I 988/June 1580, he was appointed governor of Egypt in place of Mesīḥ Pasha, but after complaints about him, dismissed in Rabīʿ II 991/May 1583, and on arrival in Istanbul imprisoned in Yedikule. However, he was pardoned and released after presenting valuable gifts to Nūrbānū Sulṭān, the mother of Murād III, and was appointed governor-general of Anatolia.

In Djumādā II/June 1585 he joined the Ottoman army at Sivas under Özdemir-Oghlu Pasha, en route for Persia. At the battle of Alivar he commanded the right wing of the Ottoman army, and continued campaigning against the Persians in Ramaḍān 993/September 1585 after the conquest of Tabrīz. In the spring of 995/1587 he was appointed governor of Anatolia by Ferhād Pasha, and in Dhu'l-Ḳaʿda 996/October 1588, governor of the province of Shirwān after the death of Djaʿfar Pasha. During the reign of Meḥemmed III he was called to the Palace in Istanbul in Dhu'l-Ḳaʿda 1003/July 1595 to be fourth vizier, and remained there as acting Grand Vizier when the young Sultan was absent campaigning at Egri. While in this office, and with the backing of the Wālide Sulṭān, he prevented Esʿad Efendi, son of the well-known Khōdja Saʿd al-Dīn Efendi and recently-appointed *ḳāḍī* of Istanbul by Meḥemmed III, from entering Istanbul, retaining Akhī-zāde ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Efendi in this office.

In Djumādā I 1005/December 1596, as *Ḳā'immaḳām*, he welcomed Meḥemmed III back from the Egri campaign with a magnificent ceremony. In Rabīʿ I 1006/November 1597, he became Grand Vizier in place of the Bosnian Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pasha, the second vizier Djerrāḥ Meḥmed Pasha being passed over for this office by the young Sultan. However, Khādim Ḥasan Pasha's grand vizierate proved very short. When the *Shaykh al-Islām* Bostān-zāde Meḥmed Efendi died, he refused to confer the office of *Shaykh al-Islām* on the sultan's choice Khōdja Saʿd al-Dīn Efendi, but appointed either the poet Bāḳī Efendi or Ḳarā Čelebizāde Ḥusām al-Dīn Efendi, which caused the already existing enmity between him and Saʿd al-Dīn Efendi to become worse. Consequently, Khādim Ḥasan Pasha's old opponents, Ghazanfer Agha Saʿd al-Dīn Efendi and the commander-in-chief of the Janissaries, Tırnaḳdjı Ḥasan Agha, whose execution he had sought from the Sultan, banded together under the influence of the Wālide Sulṭān Ṣafiyye against him, and secured his downfall on charges of corruption. On 2nd Ramaḍān 1006/8th April 1598, during the ceremony of laying the foundation of the Wālide Sulṭān (Yeñi)

Mosque at Eminönü, Bostāndji-Bashī Ferhād Agha arrested Khādim Ḥasan Pasha and confined him in Yedikule; six days later he was executed. He was buried in a tomb beneath his *medrese*, after the confiscation of all his property at Eyüp by the state. Near the Çagaloğlu palace and opposite to the present day Emniyet Sandığı there were situated a mosque and a *medrese* which were built by him, and also a public fountain built after him in 1594/1002.

Another Soḳollī Khādim Ḥasan Pasha was the son of Soḳollī Meḥmed Pasha. He took part in the campaign of Egri [*q.v.*] of 1004-5/1596, was *beglerbegi* of Rumeli, and died later than the Grand Vizier of the same name.

Bibliography: Istanbul, *Başbakanlık Arşivi*, Mühimme defteri, no. 43, p. 9; ʿAbd al-Karīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *Taʾrīkh-i Mıṣır*, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. turc. no. 86, f. 7a; Ḥarīmī Raḥīmi-zāde Ibrāhīm Čāwūsh, *Ghundja-yi bāgh-i murād*, Ist. Univ. Libr. Tkish. no. 2372, ff. 54a-97b; Sheref Khān, *Sheref-nāme*, tr. M. E. Bozaslan, Istanbul 1971, 290, 294; Muṣṭafā Selānikī, *Selānikī Taʾrīkhi*, Ist. Univ. Libr. Tkish. 6027, ff. 283b-292b, ed. Istanbul 1281, 318-44 (important for the events of Khādim Ḥasan's grand vizierate); Aḥmed Pasha, *Ḥasan Bey-zāde taʾrīkhi*, Ist. Univ. Libr. Tkish. no. 6028, ff. 341b, 366a-367b; Meḥmed Hemdemī, *Solāḳ-zāde taʾrīkhi*, Istanbul 1297, 614, 632, 640, 644-6; Ibrāhīm Pečewī, *Pečewī taʾrīkhi*, Istanbul 1283, ii, 110, 210, 284-5; Kātib Čelebi, *Fedhleke*, Istanbul 1286, i, 72, 95, 102; Meḥmed b. Meḥmed, *Nukhbet al-tawārīkh waʾl-akhbār*, Istanbul 1276, 200; Naʿīmā, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1282, i, 144-5, 174, 185, 187; ʿOthmān-zāde Ṭāʾib, *Ḥadīḳat al-wuzarāʾ*, Istanbul 1271, 48; Ṭayyār-zāde Aḥmad ʿAṭāʾ, *Taʾrīkh-i ʿAṭāʾ*, Istanbul 1292, ii, 44; Ḥüseyin Aywansarayī, *Ḥadīḳat al-djawāmiʿ*, Istanbul 1281, i, 98; Von Hammer, *GOR*; Jouannin and Van Gaver, *Turquie*, Paris 1840, 180; Bekir Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı-İran siyası münasebetleri*, Istanbul 1962, i, 157-159, 149, 192, 196; Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, Ankara 1951, iii/1, 122, iii/2, 351, 357; Ismail Hâmî Danişmend, *Izahlı Osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi*, Istanbul 1961, iii, 498; Abbas Kulu Agha Bakikhanov, *Gulistān-i Īrān*, Baku 1970, 88, 108; Meḥmed Thüreyyā, *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, ii, 125; Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, iii, 1946; Orhan Köprülü, *Türk ansiklopedisi*, art. *Hasan Paşa (Hadım)*; M. T. Gökbilgin, *İA*, art. *Mehmed III*; Izzet Kumbaracılar, *Istanbul sebilleri*, Istanbul 1938; ii; Tahsin Öz, *Istanbul câmileri*, Ankara 1962, i, 66. (MÜNİR AKTEPE)

KHĀDİM SÜLEYMĀN PASHA (? - 954/1547), Ottoman governor of Egypt, commander of the campaign of 945/1538 against the Portuguese in India and Grand Vizier. When Selīm I died in 926/1520, Süleymān Pasha was holding the office of *oda-bashī* at the Imperial Palace. In addition to this, on the accession to the throne of Ḳānūnī Sulṭan Süleymān, he was given the office of *khazīnedār-bashī* procured for him through the favour of the historian Saʿd al-Dīn (Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-tewārīkh*, Istanbul 1279, ii, 395; Koca Hüseyin, *Bedāyiʾü ʾl-weḳāyiʿ*, ed. Tveritinova, Moscow 1961, ii, fol. 501a). Later on he was sent to the Hungarian frontier to protect the border, and in 931/1524-25 was appointed governor (*beglerbegi*) of Shāni (*Wulāt Dimashḳ fī ʿahd Āl ʿUthmān*, ed. S. Munadjdjid, Cairo 1949, 8, 9). In the following year he was appointed governor of Egypt for the first time (22 Shaʿbān 931/13 June 1525 to 17 Shaʿbān 941/22 January 1535, see ʿAbd al-Karīm b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, *Taʾrīkh-i Mıṣır*, Süleymaniye Genel Kütüphanesi, Hekim-oğlu Ali Paşa, MS 705, fol. 8a). He then joined the Baghdād campaign of the Sulṭān, and afterwards became governor of Anatolia, acquiring the rank of vizier (Luṭfī Pasha, *Tewārīkh-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, Istanbul 1341, 358). On 11 Radjab 943/25 October 1536 he was once more given the *beglerbeglik* of Egypt. He stayed in the office until the year 945/1538, when he organised his famous campaign against the Portuguese in India.

Süleymān Pasha had planned a campaign to Yemen during his first governorship of Egypt, and had persuaded the Istanbul authorities to agree to this. He could not, however, put it into action as he had to join the Baghdad campaign of 941/1534-5 (Pečevī, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1282, i, 219). Now the situation was favourable to his plans; the Muslims of Gudjarāt had been asking the Ottomans to help against the Portuguese, and the local ruler, Bāhādur Shāh, had sent a special envoy to Istanbul for this purpose. The Ottoman government determined on an expedition into the Indian Ocean (Luṭfī Pasha, 358; Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Makkī al-Nahrawālī, *al-Barḳ al-Yamānī fī fatḥ al-ʿUthmānī*, Riyāḍ 1967, 70). Süleymān Pasha's fleet consisting of 72 vessels with siege guns and about 6,500 soldiers, including 1500 Janissaries, left Suez on 24 Muḥarram 945/22 June 1538 (R. S. Whiteway, *The rise of Portuguese power in India, 1497-1550*², London 1967, 256; anon., *Rüstem Pasha Taʾrīkhi*, Istanbul Üniversite kütüphanesi, MS 2438, fol. 205b; cf. al-Nahrawālī, 71; Kātib Čelebi, *Tuḥfat al-kibār fī asfār al-biḥār*², Istanbul 1329, 57, 58). The Pasha sailed down the Red Sea, passing Djidda and the island of Kamarān and arrived at the straits of Bāb al-Mandab. From there, he proceeded to the harbour of Aden, where he had ʿĀmir b. Dāwūd, the ruler of the town, hanged from the yard-arm of his flagship. Aden now passed under Ottoman control and became a *sandjaḳ* dependent on Yemen (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, N.E. 6454).

After 19 days sailing Süleymān Pasha appeared before the coast of Gudjarāt on 9 Rabī II 945/4 September 1538, having lost four ships of his fleet during this sail. Süleymān Pasha first attacked and took the fortress of Gogala (called by the Portuguese Villa des Rumos and by the Muslims Bandar-i Turkī) and then that of Kat, but failed to reduce the strong Portuguese fort of Diu. Maḥmūd III, the successor of Bāhādur Shāh of Gudjarāt, bearing in mind the fate of the *amīr* of Aden, failed to help the Ottomans (Ḥādjī al-Dabīr, *Ẓafar al-wālih bi-Muẓaffar wa-ālihi*, ed. as *An Arabic History of Gujarat*, Baroda 1970, i, 226-7). On arrival of the news that the Portuguese fleet was approaching, and despite the fall of the outer fortress of Diu, Süleymān Pasha withdrew his siege artillery and on 12 Djumāda I/6 October, sailed back to the Red Sea (*Particular relation of the expedition of Solyman Pacha from Suez to India against the Portuguese at Diu*, in Robert Kerr and F. A. Eden, *A General History and collection of Voyages and Travels*, Edinburgh 1812, vi, 258-87). On the way, he stopped at Shiḥr on the coast of Arabia, an important town for trade. There he aided Badr, the ruler of Shihr to extend his power as far as Ẓufār (Dhofar) on condition that he paid an annual tribute (for the letter of this ruler, sent to Istanbul and dated Shaʿbān 945/Jan. 1539, see Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi, N.E. 6704). On 8 Radjab 1538/30 November 1538 he proceeded towards Aden (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, N.E. 6704;

R. B. Serjeant, *The Portuguese off the South Arabian coasts*, Oxford 1963, 76-7, 86, 95-6), passed the strait of Bāb al-Mandab and stopped at Djīzān, where he was given information about events in Yemen during his absence at Diu (Pečevī, i, 223-4). He now took strong measures to re-establish Ottoman authority there, appointing Muṣṭafā son of Bīyīklī Meḥmed Pasha over the *eyālet* of Yemen before returning to Suez (for his activities in Yemen, see Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, N.E. 9663, original report of Süleymān Pasha; for critics of his activities see al-Nahrawālī, 89-90, and Luṭfī Pasha, 381-2).

Süleymān Pasha was now invited to Istanbul and made the second vizier, while Luṭfī Pasha was the Grand Vizier (*Rüstem Pasha Ta'rīkhi*, fol. 218a). In Muḥarram 948/May 1541, when Luṭfī Pasha was dismissed from the Grand Vizierate, he took over this office and held it for three and a half years (Luṭfī Pasha, 386). Shortly afterwards he was sent to Artuḳābād in the Tokat region of Anatolia to guard it lest the Ṣafawīds cross the Ottoman border whilst the main Ottoman army was engaged in Hungary, and he stayed there until the campaign in Hungary was over (during this time Sulṭān Süleymān sent him a *fetḥ-nāme* for the capture of Isṭabor, dated Djumadā I 948, see Ferīdūn Beg, *Munsha'āt al-Salāṭīn*[2], Istanbul 1274, i, 551-4). On 13 Ramaḍān 951/28 November 1544, Süleymān Pasha was dismissed by the Sulṭān after an argument with a former governor of Egypt, Khusrew Pasha, over the income of the *eyālet* of Egypt. He was now retired and resided at Malkara (in Gelibolu) until the end of his life (Luṭfī Pasha, 433; *Rüstem Pasha Ta'rīkhi*, fol. 238a). He died there in Shaʿbān 954/September 1547, still under suspicion about the income of Egypt (*Rüstem Pasha Ta'rīkhi*, fol. 251; Süleymān Pasha tried to prove his innocence over his activities in Egypt, see Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, N.E. 2906).

Whilst governor of Egypt, Süleymān Pasha made improvements in the citadel district of Cairo and built a *zāwiya* and two mosques, one at Būlāḳ and the other in the citadel (Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi, Divan-i hümayun Ruus defterleri, No. 208, 2 Djumāda II, 954; R. Vesely, *Trois certificats délivrés pour les fondations pieuses en Egypte au XVI*[e] *siècle*, in *Oriens*, xxi-xxii (1968-69), 252-5, ff.). He also built another mosque, a *ribāt* and a bath in Yemen (ʿAṭā', *Ta'rīkh*, Istanbul 1292, ii, 21).

Bibliography: (in addition to works mentioned in the article): Isḥāḳī, *Laṭā'if al-uwal fī man taṣarraf fī Miṣr min al-duwāl*, Süleymaniye Genel kütüphanesi, Reisülküttab, MS. 697, fols. 163b, 164a-b; Muṣṭafa ʿĀlī, *Kunh al-akhbār*, Üniversite kütüphanesi, MS. 5959, fols. 276a-b, 339b-340a; Süheylī, *Ta'rīkhi Mīṣr-i Djedīd*, Istanbul 1142, 54, 55; Djalāl-zāde Muṣṭafā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-mamālik fī daradjāt al-masālik*, Üniversite kütüphanesi, MS. 5997, fols. 266a, 267b; ʿOthmān-zāde Tā'ib, *Ḥadīḳat al-wuzarā'*, Istanbul 1271, 27; Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*[2], Ankara 1964, ii, 321, 392-7, 507, 549; J. von Hammer, *Histoire*, v, 59, 297-9, 302-3, 328, 386; Diego do Couto, *Da Asia* (*Lisboa 1778-1788*), Decada IV, 600 ff.; Lopes de Sousa Coutinho, *Historia do Cerco de Diu*, Lisbon 1890. For the other Portuguese sources on the Diu campaign, see the various articles of L. Ribeiro in *Studia* (Nos. 10, 13-14, 18); Fevzi Kurdoğlu, *Hadim Süleyman Paşa'nın mektupları ve Belgrad'in muhasara plânı*, in *Bell.* xiii (1940), 53-87; Cengiz Orhonlu, *XVI. asır başlarında Kızıl-deniz sahillerinde Osmanlılar*, in *TD*, xvi (1962), 1-24; Şerafettin Turan, in *İA*, art. *Hadım Süleyman Paşa*; R. Vesely, *Un Document de construction émis pour Suleyman Pacha*, in *Ar. Or.* xxxi (1963), 423-40. (C. ORHONLU)

AL-KHAḌIR (AL-KHIḌR), the name of a popular figure, who plays a prominent part in legend and story. Al-Khaḍir is properly an epithet ("the green man"); this was in time forgotten and this explains the secondary form Khiḍr (approximately "the green"), which in many places has displaced the primary form.

(i) IN THE ḲUR'ĀN AND IN ORIENTAL LEGEND

Legends and stories regarding al-Khaḍir are primarily associated with the Ḳur'ānic story in Sūra XVIII, 59-81, the outline of which is as follows. Mūsā goes on a journey with his servant (*fatā*), the goal of which is the *madjmaʿ al-baḥrayn*. But when they reach this place, they find that as a result of the influence of Satan, they have forgotten the fish which they were taking with them. The fish had found its way into the water and had swum away. While looking for the fish the two travellers meet a servant of God. Mūsā says that he will follow him if he will teach him the right path (*rushd*). They come to an arrangement but the servant of God tells Mūsā at the beginning that he will not understand his doings, that he must not ask for explanations and as a result will not be able to bear with him. They set out on the journey, however, during which the servant of God does a number of apparently outrageous things, which causes Mūsā to lose patience so that he cannot refrain from asking for an explanation, whereupon the servant of God replies: "Did I not tell you that you would be lacking in patience with me?" He finally leaves Mūsā and on departing gives him the explanation of his actions, which had their good reasons.

This servant of God is called al-Khaḍir by the majority of the commentators. Others, however, identify him with Mūsā's servant (see below). Both interpretations have their roots in Oriental legends. The Ḳur'ānic story may be traced back to three main sources: the Gilgamesh epic, the Alexander romance and the Jewish legend of Elijah and Rabbi Joshua ben Levi. The two first are, of course, again closely related to one another; at the same time it should be noted that the fish episode is lacking in the epic and is only found in the romance (cf. R. Hartmann in the *ZA*, xxiv, 307 ff.).

The main features which the three sources have in common with the story in the Ḳur'ān are the following:

The Gilgamesh epic. Overcome with melancholy at the death of his friend Engidu, the hero Gilgamesh sets out on a series of travels to look for his ancestor Utnapishtim (Khasisatra, Xisouthros) who lives at the mouth of the rivers and who has been given eternal life. Gilgamesh wants to ask him about the plant of life which will save man from the power of death.

The Alexander romance. The fish episode (with which we are here concerned), which shows Alexander on the search for the spring of life, is found in greatest detail in Syriac literature, in the Lay of Alexander (cf. C. Hunnius, *Das syrische Alexanderlied*, in *ZDMG*, lx, 169 ff.). Alexander is accompanied by his cook Andreas (cf. the article IDRĪS). During the laborious journey through the land of darkness Andreas on one occasion was washing a salted fish in a spring; the contact with the water

made the fish live again and it swims away. Andreas jumped in after it and thus gained immortality. When he told Alexander his adventure, the latter at once realised that this was the well of life. All attempts to find it again failed: Alexander is denied the immortality which becomes the lot of the unfortunate cook, who does not know what to do with it.

The Jewish legend (printed in Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrasch*, v, 133-5) tells how Rabbi Joshua ben Levi goes on a journey with Elijah under conditions laid down by Elijah, like those above of the servant of God in the Ḳur'ān. Like the latter, Elijah does a number of apparently outrageous things, which affects Joshua as it did Mūsā. Zunz, *Gesammelte Vorträge*, x, 130 first pointed out the similarity of this story to the Ḳur'ānic legend. A comparison of the main features of these three sources with Sūra XVIII, 59 ff. suggests the following conclusions, questions and hypotheses.

The chief figure in the Ḳur'ānic story is called Mūsā. Some commentators doubt his identity with the great prophet (see below). There is not, however, the slightest hint of another Mūsā anywhere in the Ḳur'ān. On the other hand, we have no legends of Moses, which make him, like Gilgamesh and Alexander, go on the great journey. We might suggest the following explanation of the difficulty. The figure of Joshua ben Levi, with which Muḥammad first became acquainted through the Jews and which does not again appear in Muslim legend, was identified, as we shall see, with Joshua b. Nūn. This identification may have resulted in a confusion of his master Elijah with Joshua b. Nūn's master Moses. Mūsā thus represents Gilgamesh and Alexander in the first part of the Ḳur'ānic story and Elijah in the second.

The figure of the travelling companion is not connected with the Gilgamesh epic where it is not found, but with the Alexander romance and the Jewish legend. It probably comes in the first place from the romance. This is suggested by the fact that the companion is called *fatā* (here meaning "servant"), a term that points to Alexander's cook rather than to Rabbi Joshua; the first episode, which also is only found in the Alexander romance, points in the same direction.

The *madjmaʿ al-baḥrayn* is given as the goal of the journey. The expression has no direct original either in the epic or the romance, although there are points of contact in both. Utnapishtim lives *ina pi narati*, i.e. at the mouth of the river. It is not quite certain what the expression means, but it is probable that the place in the extreme west is meant where the sources of all running water are. This, however, still leaves the dual in the Ḳur'ānic expression unexplained. This is still the case, if we attempt to trace it to the Alexander romance, where (i.e. in the Syriac Alexander legend; see Budge, *op. cit.*, 259) Alexander with his army crosses a strip of land between the eleven bright seas and the ocean. It is also possible that the expression goes back to none of these but to another story unknown to us, which perhaps never found its way into literature, in which there was mention of the meeting place of two seas. According to western Semitic cosmology, this is the end of the world where the oceans of earth and heaven meet.

We can likewise only guess at the origin of the rock (v. 62). It also belongs to cosmology (see A. J. Wensinck, *The ocean in the literature of the Western Semites*, in the *Verh. Ak. Amsterdam*, xix/2, 26 ff.). It is found neither in the epic nor in the romance, again an indication that the Ḳur'ānic story borrowed from other sources also.

The servant of God at the *madjmaʿ* recalls Utnapishtim-Khasisatra. He is called (v. 64) one to whom God's mercy had been shown, to whom divine wisdom had been granted. This sounds almost like a translation of the name Khasisatra and the granting of divine favour is perhaps an echo of Utnapishtim's immortality.

The test of patience to which he subjects the newcomer comes from the Jewish legend only; the servant of God in this respect thus represents Elijah.

(ii) Development in Islam

The commentators, *ḥadīth*, and historians have collected a mass of statements around the Ḳur'ānic story, additions which, like the story itself, came for the most part from the three sources already mentioned.

The first question discussed is whether the principal character is Mūsā b. ʿImrān or Mūsā b. Mishā (= Manasseh) b. Yūsuf b. Yaʿḳūb, i.e. a descendant of the patriarch Jacob (al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, iv, 333; al-Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf*, on v. 59). Commentators are almost unanimous in favour of the former alternative and base their opinion on the following legend which is transmitted in several forms. When Mūsā, the famous prophet, was one day preaching to the children of Israel, he was asked if there was any man wiser than he. When he replied in the negative, Allāh revealed to him that his pious servant, al-Khaḍir, was wiser than he. He thereupon decided to visit this wise man. The story comes from Jewish legend; it is found in a considerable number of Arabic sources (al-Bukhārī, *ʿIlm, bāb* 16, 19, 44; *Anbiyā', bāb* 27; *Tafsīr*, Sūra XVIII, *bāb* 2-4; Muslim, *Faḍā'il*, tr. 170-4; al-Tirmidhī, *Tafsīr*, Sūra XVIII, *bāb* 1; al-Ṭabari, i, 417; *Tafsīr*, xv, 165 f; Fakhr al- Dīn al-Rāzi, *op. cit.*, iv, 333).

The (salted) fish serves as a guide to the route; the place where it is lost or revived by contact with water is the spring of life where al-Khaḍir lives (al-Ṭabarī, i, 417). A further indication of the spring of life is that is is marked by the rock, for it rises at its foot (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv,. 167; al-Bukhārī, *Tafsīr*, Sūra XVIII, *bāb* 4). The rock is also located before the river of oil or the river of the wolf (al-Bayḍāwī and al-Zamakhsharī on Sūra XVIII, 61; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv, 164). Some connection between a river of oil and the spring of life is in itself not impossible. According to many statements, oil is a feature of Paradise rivers. Then ذئب would be an error in writing زيت, which could easily arise. Vollers consider the reverse probable; he thinks that "river of the wolf" is a translation of the name Loukos, which is not uncommon in classical literature as a river-name. If this hypothesis is correct, one might think of the Lukkos in Morocco or the Lycus on the Syrian coast, two regions with which the idea of extreme west is associated, as we shall see directly.

The *madjmaʿ al-baḥrayn* is explained in various ways. Some regard it as "the place where the Persian Ocean unites with the Roman Sea, to the east" (al-Bayḍāwī on Sūra XVIII, 59; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv, 163). This points to the isthmus of Suez and is an echo of the idea that the coast of Syria was the extreme west (see A. J. Wensinck, *Bird and tree as cosmological symbols in Western Asia*, in the *Verh. Ak. Amsterdam*, 1921, 17 ff.). Others say that it is the junction of the Roman Sea with

the Ocean (Ṭandja, Ifrīkīya; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv, 163, and al-Zamakhsharī on the passage). This view reflects a later cosmological standpoint which regarded the Straits of Gibraltar as the extreme west. A farfetched explanation is that the union of the two seas means the meeting of Mūsā and al-Khaḍir, the two seas of wisdom (e.g. al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* i, 318).

When Mūsā first sees Khaḍir he is wrapped up in his cloak, as the Ḳur'ān says, "because he was sleeping", says al-Ṭabarī (i, 418). When he sees a bird drinking out of the sea he says to Mūsā: "Your wisdom is as insignificant compared with that of God as the amount the bird drinks is compared with the sea" (al-Ṭabarī, i, 418; al-Bukhāri, *Tafsīr*, Sūra XVIII, *bāb* 3; al-Rāzī, *Mafātiḥ al-ghayb*, iv, 333-4). Al-Khaḍir lives on an island (al-Ṭabarī, 1, 422), or on a green carpet (*ṭinfisa*) in the heart of the sea (*ʿalā kabid al-baḥr*; al-Bukhāri, *Tafsir*, Sūra, XVIII, *bāb* 3).

The test of patience is embellished by the commentators with a wealth of detail. It would take up too much space to go into them here; cf. the commentaries on Sūra XVIII, 59 ff., and the works on history and tradition mentioned in the *Bibliography*.

As may be expected from what we have said above, another branch of tradition lays particular emphasis on the connection between al-Khaḍir and Alexander's search for the spring of life. Friedländer, however, goes much too far when he says (*Die Chadhirlegende*, 108-9) "that originally Chadhir had nothing at all to do with the puzzling servant in verse 64—who belongs to quite a different cycle of stories—but with the servant of Moses (Alexander) who has charge of the fish in verse 59 ff., in other words, he is identical with Alexander's cook whom we know so well from Pseudo-Callisthenes and the Syriac homily". For Khaḍir is, as we have seen and will see further, connected with Utnapishtim as well as with Alexander's companion.

There is no translation of the Alexander romance in the Arabic literature known to us (cf. Weymann's book, in *Bibliography*). On the other hand, there are a number of, in part unedited, versions of the Alexander saga, which have been examined by Friedländer. It would take us too far to go into the differences between these versions with regard to our subject. These sources show their independence of the Ḳur'ān not only by the fact that they make Khaḍir the companion of Dhu 'l-Ḳarnayn, but also by the complete absence of any reference to the *fatā* of the Ḳur'ān. Al-Khaḍir usually appears as the commander of Alexander's vanguard on his march to the spring of life. In al-Ṣūrī's version he is called the king's vizier and has become the principal character, throwing the king himself into the background; in ʿUmāra he is Alexander's cousin, conceived and born in similar circumstances to him and at the same time. The usual account of the journey to the spring of life makes Alexander and al-Khaḍir go their ways separately; in some versions, the latter has the fish with him and discovers the miraculous well through the fish's becoming alive when it touches the water; in other stories, on the other hand, there is no mention of the fish and al-Khaḍir recognises the spring by other signs; in others again he dives into it without knowing its virtues (e.g. al-Ṭabarī, i, 414). In one version in Niẓāmī, al-Khaḍir does not go with Alexander but with Elijah to the spring, out of which both drink and both become immortal.

The descriptive character of the name al-Khaḍir is so obvious from its meaning that tradition could not but give the hero's real name, as well as his genealogy and date. We find him most frequently called Balyā b. Malkān. In al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, iii, 144) the latter is called a brother of Ḳaḥṭān and thus given a place in the South Arabian genealogy. This makes it probable that Malkān is identical with Malkam (I Chronicles, viii, 9), who is also included among the South Arabian patriarchs. This genealogy is next traced back to Shem through Fālagh (Phaleg) and ʿĀbir (Eber) (e.g. al-Ṭabarī, i, 415; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 92; al-Nawawī, on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, v, 135). Is this Balyā (بليا) perhaps not a corruption of Elia (ايليا), which is identical with a Syriac form of the name Elijah? On the other hand, Elijah is also given in the Muslim form Ilyās as al-Khaḍir's proper name and also Elisha, Jeremiah (cf. God's words in *Iṣāba*, 887), Khaḍrūn (al-Ṭabarī, i, 415; al-Diyārbakrī, *Ta'rīkh al-khamīs*, i, 106, and Friedländer's *Chadhirlegende*, 333, under Chadhir).

Ibn Ḥadjar also gives the following genealogies (*Iṣāba*, 883-4): (1) He is a son of Adam (weak *isnād*); with this is connected the story (*Iṣāba*, 887-8; Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistāni, *Kitāb al-Muʿammarīn*, 1) that al-Khaḍir took care of Adam's body and finally buried it after the flood; (2) He is a son of Ḳābil called Khaḍrūn; (3) He is al-Muʿammar ("the Long-lived") b. Mālik b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Naṣr b. al-Azd; (4) He is Ibn ʿAmā'il b. al-Nūr b. al-ʿĪṣ b. Isḥāḳ; (5) He is the son of Pharaoh's daughter; (6) He is a Persian, or his father was a Persian, his mother a Greek or vice versa; it is also said that he was born in a cave, fed there on the milk of wild beasts and finally entered the service of a king (al-Damīrī, i, 318; Ibn Ḥadjar, 891-2); cf. also his meeting "on the market-place of the Banū Isrā'īl" with the man who asks him for alms *bi-wadjh Allāh* (*Iṣāba*, 894-5).

This does not, however, exhaust the traditions about his names and genealogy. We shall only quote here the following from Maracci, *Prodromi* to Sūra xviii, 57; Alchedrus, quem fabulantur Moslemi eundem fuisse, ac Phineas filium Eleazari, filii Aaron; cujus anima per metempsychosin emigravit primo in Eliam, deinde ex Elia in S. Gregorium, quem propterea Mahumetani omnes summo honore prosequuntur. The latter identification is probably due to a confusion with St. George, with whom al-Khaḍir has certain points of resemblance; cf. thereon Clermont-Ganneau in *Revue archéologique*, xxxiii, and Friedländer *op. cit.*, 275. Clermont-Ganneau further pointed out the relationship between the consonants *kh-ḍ-r* and the North Semitic group *ḥ-ṣ-r*. The name has also been taken as a corruption of Khasisatra (Guyard in *RHR*, I, 344-5) or connected with Ahasuerus, the wandering Jew (Lidzbarski in *ZA*, vii, 116).

Very varying dates are given for al-Khaḍir's period. Sometimes he is called a contemporary of Abraham, who left Babel with him (al-Ṭabarī, i, 415); sometimes he is put in the period of Afrīdūn; he is a contemporary of Alexander and lived down to the time of Mūsā (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, 886); according to others, he was born in the period of Nāshiyā b. Amūṣ (i.e. Isaiah b. Amos) (al-Ṭabarī, 415-6). The divergence in these statements is partly connected with his immortality (see below).

More important are the explanations of the name given in the oriental sources. He is said to have become green through diving into the spring of life and thus got his name (Ethiopic Alexander romance; cf. Friedländer, *op. cit.*, 235-6). As already

mentioned, he lives on an island (al-Damīrī, *op. cit.*, 317); he is also said to worship God on the islands (al-Ṣūrī, see Friedländer, *op. cit.*, 183; al-Thaʿlabī, 197). This may point to al-Khaḍir's having originally been a marine being. The following circumstances point in the same direction: he is frequently called the patron of seafaring people (e.g. *Taʾrīkh al-khamīs*, i, 107); he is said to be appealed to on the Syrian coast by sailors in stormy weather. In India he has become a regular river-god under the name Khwādja Khiḍr [*q.v.*], who is represented sitting on a fish. Clermont-Ganneau and Friedländer sought the origin of the figure mainly in this direction, the latter on the assumption that the Greek Glaukos legend reached the Muslims through a Syriac intermediary (*op. cit.*, 107 ff.). But apart from the fact that we know nothing of any such intermediary, a connection between al-Khaḍir and Glaukos would only explain one aspect of the former; nor would it tell us anything about the origin of the figure. Indeed, one may doubt whether it is right to seek for the origin of a figure so complicated as al-Khaḍir, who has characteristics in common with Utnapishtim, with Alexander's cook and other figures.

There are other things to be considered. In a number of Arabic explanations of the name, al-Khaḍir is conceived not as belonging to the sea but to the vegetable kingdom. "He sat on a white skin and it became green" (e.g. al-Nawawī on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, v, 135; cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xv, 168). "The skin", adds al-Nawawī, "is the earth". Al-Diyārbakrī (i, 106) is still more definite. "The skin is the earth when it puts forth shoots and becomes green after having been bare". According to ʿUmāra, al-Khaḍir is told at the spring of life: "Thou art Chadhir and where thy feet touch it, the earth will become green" (Friedländer, *op. cit.*, 145). Wherever he stands or performs the *ṣalāt*, it will become green (al-Nawawī, *op. cit.*; al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, iv, 336). These are statements (especially the last) which remind us of a Messianic passage in the Old Testament: "Behold the man whose name is the branch and he shall grow up out of his place" (Zechariah, vi, 12). Al-Khaḍir is really connected with two Messianic figures—with Elijah [see ILYĀS] and with Jesus; these three form with Idrīs [*q.v.*] the quartette of those who have not tasted death (*Taʾrīkh al-khamīs*, i, 107).

The variations in the character of al-Khaḍir result in different views regarding his nature. If he is a prophet (see *Iṣāba*, 882 ff.), it remains doubtful whether he is to be included among the Apostles (al-Nawawī, *op. cit.*, 135). He is, however, also human, angelic, mundane and celestial (al-Ṭabarī, i, 544, 798). Popular piety as well as Ṣūfī circles readily regard him as a saint (*walī*). According to one Ṣūfī view, every age has its Khaḍir, in so far as the *Naḳīb al-awliyāʾ* for the time being is al-Khaḍir (*Iṣāba*, 891). As *walī*, if three times appealed to, he protects men against theft, drowning, burning, kings and devils, snakes and scorpions (*Taʾrīkh al-khamīs*, i, 107; *Iṣāba*, 903). Sky and sea and all quarters of the earth obey his sway; he is God's *khalīfa* on the sea and his *wakīl* on land; he can make himself invisible at will (ʿUmāra, in Friedländer, *op. cit.*, 145). He flies through the air, meets Elijah on the dam of Alexander and makes the pilgrimage to Mecca with him every year (cf. *Iṣāba*, 904 ff.). Every Friday he drinks from the Zamzam well, and Solomon's pond and washes in the well of Siloam (*Taʾrīkh al-khamīs*, i, 107; Friedländer, *op. cit.*, 148-9, 151); he can find water below the ground and talks the languages of all peoples (al-Ṣūrī, in Friedländer, 184).

His immortality is particularly emphasised (cf. Rückert's poem "Chidher"; ʿUmāra in Friedländer, *op. cit.*, 145; Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī, *Kitāb al-Muʿammarīn*, 1; *Iṣāba*, 887 ff., 892, 895). According to the *Iṣāba*, 882, he was given immortality after a conversation with his friend, the angel Rafāʾīl, in order to establish the true worship of God on the earth and maintain it. Ibn Ḥadjar describes a meeting between al-Khaḍir and Muḥammad in various versions (*Iṣāba*, 899 ff.). On meetings with individuals who lived at a later date see *ibid.*, 908 ff.; on the table which was let down to him from heaven, see *ibid.*, 919; on his presence at the battle of Ḳādisiyya, see *Murūdj al-dhahab*, iv, 216.

He lives in Jerusalem and performs his *ṣalāt* every Friday in the mosques of Mecca, Medīna, Jerusalem, Ḳubāʾ and on the Mount of Olives; his food is *kamʾa* and water-parsley (*Taʾrīkh al-khamīs*, i, 107; *Iṣāba*, 889-90, 904).

On his marriages we have as early as classical *ḥadīth* (Ibn Mādja, *Zuhd*, *bāb* 23) a legend also mentioned by al-Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ*, 193 ff., which in its main features must have come from Christian sources. It is the motif of the pious youth who, married by his parents against his will, persuades his young wife to preserve her virginity (cf. the Syriac *Acts of Thomas*, 2nd Praxis). The story links up with that of Pharaoh's daughter's handmaid.

Bibliography: The commentaries on the Ḳurʾān, XVIII, 59-81; II, 261; XI, 86; XXVII, 40; and the works on *ḥadīth* and history quoted above: al-Thaʿlabī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, Cairo 1290, 125, 190 ff.; al-Diyārbakrī, *Taʾrīkh al-khamīs*, Cairo 1283, i, 106 ff.; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, Calcutta 1856-88, 882 ff.; al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, Cairo 1274, i, 317 ff.; al-Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-asmāʾ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 228 ff.; Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjistānī, *Kitāb al-Muʿammarīn*, ed. Goldziher, in *Abh. zur ar. Philologie*, ii, 1; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-dhahab*, iv, 216; Firdawsī, *Shāhnāma*, ed. Mohl, vi, 216-17; ed. Macan, iii, 1340; Niẓāmī, *Sikandar-nāma*, in the poem on Alexander's search for the water of life; Ethé, *Alexanders Zug zum Lebensquell*, in *SB Bayr. Ak.* (1871), 343-405; Clermont-Ganneau, *Horus et Saint Georges d'après un bas-relief inédit du Louvre*, in *Revue d'archéologie*, xxxii-xxxiv; S. I. Curtiss, *Ursemit. Religion im Volksleben d. heut. Orients*, Leipzig 1903, index s.v. Chidr; Dyroff, *Wer ist Chadhir?* in *ZA*, vii (1892), 319-27; I. Friedländer, *Zur Geschichte der Chadhirlegende*, in *AR*, xiii (1910) 92 ff.; *Alexanders Zug nach dem Lebensquell und die Chadhirlegende*, in *ibid.*, 161 ff.; idem, *Die Chadhirlegende und der Alexanderroman*, Leipzig 1913; M. Lidzbarski, *Wer ist Chadhir?*, in *ZA*, vii (1892) 104-16; Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alexanderromans*, in *Denkschr. Ak. Wien*, xxxvii, 5; K. Vollers, *Chidher*, in *AR*, xii (1909), 234-84; G. Hart, *Chidher in Sage und Dichtung* (Sammlung gemeinverst. wiss. Vorträge, No. 280); Weymann, *Die äthiopische und arabische Übersetzung des Pseudokallisthenes*, Kirchhain 1901; R. Paret, *Sirat Saif ibn Dhi Jazan*, Hanover 1924, index I, s.v. Khaḍir; G. W. J. Drewes, *Drie Javaansche Goeroes*, Leiden, diss. 1925, 56-7, 195-9.

(A. J. WENSINCK*)

KHAḌĪR, BANŪ (sing. Khaḍīrī), a generic term in Nadjd [*q.v.*] for Arabs of dubious ancestry, i.e. not recognised as descendants of either ʿAdnān or Ḳaḥṭān [see DJAZĪRAT AL-ʿARAB. vi. Ethnography]. The derivation of the term is uncertain.

In any case, it is not to be taken as the name of a tribe, though there are sections of Banū Khaḍīr in various towns of Nadjd (see the tentative list in Lorimer, ii, 1004).

Many of Banū Khaḍīr are tillers of the soil for Arabs of pure descent who own the land they work. Rarely is a Khaḍīrī himself a landowner. Banū Khaḍīr as cultivators are numerous in the oases of al-Aflādj, Ḥawṭat Banī Tamīm and its neighbours, al-ʿĀriḍ, Sudayr, and al-Ḳaṣīm [*qq.v.*], as well as west of the Ṭuwayḳ escarpment in Ḍarmā and al-Ḳuwayʿiyya.

Men of Banū Khaḍīr, however, often rise above the rank of common labourer. When the British official and explorer Philby first became acquainted with the court of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Āl Suʿūd in 1336/1917-18, Khaḍīrīs were serving the Wahhābī ruler as treasurer and as master of ceremonies, while others, along with slaves, made up the bulk of his bodyguard. At least three of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's early secretaries were Khaḍīrīs, and the brother of one of these went on to become his powerful Minister of Finance.

In the old Arabia, Banū Khaḍīr were subjected to a strong tabu: no matter how high a station in life a Khaḍīrī held, any Arab of pure descent, humble though his circumstances might be, would flatly refuse to give him a daughter as his bride. In the new Arabia of the later 20th century, with great changes taking place in the economic and social structure, this tabu may be weakening.

Bibliography: Admiralty, *A Handbook of Arabia*, i, London 1920; J. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, ʾOmān, and Central Arabia*, ii, Calcutta 1908; H. Philby, *Arabia of the Wahhabis*, London 1928; idem, *The Heart of Arabia*, London 1922; M. v. Oppenheim and W. Caskel, *Die Beduinen*, iv/1, Wiesbaden 1967. (G. Rentz)

AL-KHAḌIR, DJAZĪRAT, a name given by the Arabs to Abbādān [*q.v.*], because al-Khaḍir [*q.v.*] is supposed to have appeared there. According to a legend, a ragged man appeared on the bank of the Bahmānshīr canal and asked the master of a passing sailing-boat to ferry him across. The master refused. Thereupon the stranger ordered the boat to come to the spot where he was standing, pulled it out of the water by the anchor chain, and left it high and dry. Then he disappeared. Farmers of the neighbourhood built a mud wall around the boat. The wall was repaired by a builder, called Usta Djumʾa, in 906/1501. In 953/1546, a shrine with a cupola was built and the alleged anchor of the boat hung up inside. The shrine is now an object of pilgrimage.

(V. Melkonian)

AL-KHAḌIR, MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤUSAYN (the name al-Khaḍir/al-Khiḍr being adopted during his stay in the east), scholar, poet and writer of Tunisian origin. He was born at Nefṭa in 26 Radjab 1293/21 July 1876, and studied first at a Ḳurʾānic school before coming with his family to Tunis in 1888. In 1889 he entered the Great Mosque for his secondary studies and followed the courses of ʿUmar b. Shaykh, Muḥammad Nadjdjār and Sālim Būḥādjib, who were known for their reformist ideas. He gained the *taṭwīʿ* or diploma of completion of secondary studies in 1989, and began to teach at the Zaytūna, interrupted his career to make a trip to the east, but halted at Tripoli and ended up by retracing his steps in 1889. He subsequently began his activities by founding the first Tunisian journal in Arabic, *al-Saʿāda al-ʿuẓmā*, in 1322/1904. He was appointed *ḳāḍī* of Bizerta in 1905 and continued to teach at the town's Great Mosque, then left his post and took up his teaching post at the Zaytūna in 1906. His first lecture during this year, at the council of the Association of Former Ṣādiḳians, was on the subject "Freedom in Islam". In 1907 he passed succesfully a competitive examination for the teaching qualification, and in the next year began to lecture at the Ṣādiḳī College. According to Mahdī ʿAllām, he refused a post as magistrate on the mixed tribunal, and entered the Khaldūniyya, completing three courses in the highest establishments of the capital. During this period, he gave lectures on "the evolution of the Arabic language", *iṣlāḥ* and Ibn Khaldūn, and encouraged his peoples at the Zaytūna to demand reforms in the teaching programmes. In 1902 he made a journey to Algiers and had made various contacts with his old pupils and with the local scholars.

In 1912 his uncle Muḥammad al-Makkī b. ʿAzzūz left for Istanbul, and this may have given him the notion of definitively leaving Tunisia for a new sphere of action, the east. Hence in this same year, he moved permanently to the Near East and toured through most of the Arab lands. At this time, he was appointed professor at the *Madrasa sulṭāniyya* in Damascus, but his political activities, envisaging a better Arab-Turkish understanding, irritated Djemāl Pasha, who imprisoned him for endangering the state's security. Six months later, on 29 January 1917, he was set free, probably on the intervention of the Sublime Porte, and summoned to Istanbul to work with the Arabic correspondence section of the Ministery of War. In the Ottoman capital he met various of his Tunisian compatriots, some of whom had been exiled for their "subversive" activities, sc. ʿAlī Bāsh Ḥanba, Muḥammad Bāsh Ḥanba, Ṣāliḥ Sharīf and Ismāʿīl Ṣfayhī.

Still believing that it was possible to save the caliphate, he and others of his compatriots put themselves at the service of the Ottomans and was given charge of a special mission to Berlin concerned with arranging the escape of North African soldiers serving in the French army; the Porte had promised its supporters in the Maghrib to help them with these deserters for a war of liberation in the Maghrib.

After the war, he returned to Damascus and taught at the military college, at the Ottoman school and at the *Madrasa sulṭāniyya*. In 1919 he was appointed as a member of the Damascus Academy, but soon left the Syrian capital in 1920 in order to escape from the French authorities, who would certainly have called him to account for his pro-Ottoman activities in Berlin. He only returned there in 1937, and then only for a two months' stay.

In 1920 al-Khaḍir settled in Cairo, and had excellent relations with the Taymūr family; and in 1923 he founded the Association of North African Colonies. The work of ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ, *al-Islām wa-uṣūl al-ḥukm*, which appeared in 1925 (tr. L. Bercher, in *REI* (1933), 353-90, and (1934), 163-222), and that of Ṭāhā Ḥusayn on pre-Islamic poetry (1926) drove the *shaykh* to reply in two *naḳḍs* which placed him in the public eye in Egypt when they appeared respectively in 1926 and 1927. The first work contains the same number of chapters (nine) as ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Rāziḳ's, and is dedicated to King Fuʾād, who was considered by certain *ʿulamāʾ*, including al-Khaḍir, as the best qualified person to assume the caliphate. In it, al-Khaḍir succinctly summarises each of the original author's chapters and then refutes his arguments; in his opinion, the caliphate is far from being a religious obligation, since Islam leaves to its adherents freedom to choose the form of government

most suitable for them. But to argue from this that Islam separates the temporal from the spiritual, and has no political traditions, is to misunderstand the very message of the Prophet.

According to him, Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's work is at fault because it denigrates the Arab-Muslim heritage, and even that of Islam. Again following the same plan as the original author, al-Khaḍir tries to show that the former, the follower of Descartes and Margoliouth, expressly passes over in silence the methodical spirit of an al-Ghazālī or Ibn Khaldūn, with the manifest aim of discrediting the great figures of Islamic civilisation. Did not the old *ruwāt* themselves express doubts about some pre-Islamic poetry?

In 1926, al-Khaḍir founded the *al-Hidāya al-Islāmiyya* society and became editor of its journal, bearing the same name. The editorship of the journal *Nūr al-Islām*, founded in 1929 and which in 1955 became the journal of the Azhar, *Madjallat al-Azhar*, was also entrusted to him. In 1932 he became an Egyptian subject and was made a member of the Cairo Academy, of which he remained a permanent member until his death. He began to lecture at the Azhar, and his career reached its culmination in 1952 when he became rector of this celebrated institution. He left this post in 1954, after the ejection from power of General Nadjīb (Neguib), and died in Cairo four years later, on 13 Radjab 1377/2 February 1958.

The list of his works is very long. Several articles and lectures, published in Tunis or the east in the form of epistles, have been collected together into books as part of a general edition under his nephew, ʿAlī Riḍā al-Tūnisī. One may cite here: *Khawāṭir al-ḥayāt* (*dīwān*); *Naḳd K. al-Islām wa-uṣūl al-ḥukm*; *Naḳd K. Fī 'l-shiʿr al-djāhilī*; *al-Sharīʿa al-islāmiyya*; *Balāghat al-Ḳurʾān*; *Tūnis wa-Djāmiʿ al-Zaytūna*; *Muḥammad Rasūl Allāh*; *al-Ḳiryās fi'l-lugha al-ʿarabiyya*; *al-Khiṭāba ʿind al-ʿArab*; *ʿUlamāʾ al-Islām fi 'l-Andalus*; *al-Khayāl fi 'l-shiʿr al-ʿarabī*.

Bibliography: Mahdī ʿAllām, *al-Madjmaʿiyyūn*, Cairo 1966, 158; Fāḍil b. ʿĀshūr, *Arkān al-nahḍa al-adabiyya*, 39; Ḥ.Ḥ. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *al-Mudjīl fi 'l-adab al-Tūnisī*, Tunis 1968, 333; Sh. Ghirbāl, *al-Mawsūʿa al-ʿarabiyya al-muyassara*, Cairo 1965; A. M. Kerrū, *Aʿlām mansiyyūn*, in *al-ʿAmal*, Tunis (supplement of 21.2.69 to 18.4.69).

(J. MAJED)

KHʷĀDJA (P.), a title used in many different senses in Islamic lands. In earlier times it was variously used of scholars, teachers, merchants, ministers and eunuchs. In mediaeval Egypt, according to Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, vi, 13, it was a title for important Persian and other foreign merchants (cf. *CIA*, *Égypte*, i, no. 24). In Sāmānid times, with the epithet *buzurg* "great", it designated the head of the bureaucracy; later it was a title frequently accorded to wazirs, teachers, writers, rich men, and merchants. In the Ottoman Empire it was used of the *ulema*, and in the plural form *Khʷādjegān* [*q.v.*] designated certain classes of civilian officials. In modern Turkey, pronounced Hodja (modern orthography *hoca*) it designates the professional men of religion, but is used as a form of address for teachers in general. In Egypt and the Levant (pronounced Khawāga or Khawādja), it was used for merchants, then more particularly for non-Muslim merchants, and then as a more or less polite form of address for non-Muslims in general. In India it designates those Ismāʿīlīs who follow the Agha Khān.

Bibliography: Ḥasan al-Bāshā, *Alḳāb*, 229-30; Dozy, *Supplément*, i, 410.

(ED.)

KHʷĀDJA-I DJAHĀN, title of high dignitaries in various sultanates of India, notably the sultanate of Dihlī, the Bahmanids, and the sultanate of Madura. It seems to have first been used during the time of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ (724-52/1324-51), gradually replacing *ṣadr-i ʿālī* as the honorific title of the *wazīr* (I. H. Qureshi, *The administration of the sultanate of Dehlī*[4], Karachi 1958, 85, with further references); the title was later accorded to other very high officials. Many such officials are known to history by this title (sometimes qualified by a *nisba* or *laḳab*) rather than by their personal names, of whom the most important are the following:

1. Khʷādja-i Djahān Aḥmad Ayāz (?668-752/?1270-1351), who early in the 8th/14th century had held office as *kōtwāl* of Sirī under ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn and the later Khaldjīs, received the title of Khʷādja-i Djahān on Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ's accession in 724/1324 (Yaḥyā Sirhindī, *Taʾrīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī*, ed. Bib. Ind., 98) and became his *wazīr*, inferior in dignity only to the sulṭān's nephew Fīrūz b. Radjab [see FĪRŪZ SHĀH TUGHLUḲ]; although effective power in the *dīwān-i wizārat* was exercised (according to Shams-i Sirādj ʿAfīf, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, ed. Bib. Ind., 394-6) by the *nāʾib wazīr*, Khān-i Djahān Tilangānī [*q.v.*]. His period of office is most remembered for his "rebellion", which seems rather to have been a grave indiscretion, at the time of Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ's death: the whereabouts of Fīrūz were not known, and it was rashly assumed that he had been killed by the Mongols; the Khʷādja placed a boy of six, of unknown paternity, on the throne, asserting that he was a son of sulṭān Muḥammad. When the delayed news of Fīrūz's accession, on his campaign in Sind, reached Dihlī, the Khʷādja-i Djahān panicked instead of submitting immediately and delivering up the puppet. The other nobles, seeing the 84-year-old Khʷādja-i Djahān as the highest representative of the despotic reign of sulṭān Muḥammad, demanded his execution; whereupon the old man, anticipating his destruction, caused a friend to decapitate him privately. (Discussion in M. Habib and Afsar Begam, *Political theory of the Delhi sultanat*, 159 ff.).

2. Malik Sarwar, who had been *shaḥna-i shahr* under Fīrūz b. Radjab and his successor Abū Bakr, supported Fīrūz's son Muḥammad against the latter and was given the title of Khʷādja-i Djahān, *ca.* 791/1389 (Sirhindī, *Taʾrīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī*, 146), although when Muḥammad succeeded to the throne in 792/1390 Khʷādja-i Djahān were merely *nāʾib wazīr*. He later succeeded to the wazīrate, and retained it under ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Sikandar and Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd. The latter appointed him governor of Djawnpur in 796/1394, with the title of *sulṭān al-sharḳ*, and when Maḥmūd fled before Tīmūr's advance Sarwar had the *khuṭba* read in Djawnpur in his own name. For his subsequent history see SHARḲIDS.

3. Khʷādja Surūr, *ḳāʾid al-baḥr* in the Madura sultanate in *ca.* 745/1344, was appointed *wazīr* and entitled Khʷādja-i Djahān "after the fashion at Dihlī", according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iv, 204), who adds that a fixed fine was prescribed for any who should address him differently.

4. The earliest instance of the title among the Bahmanids appears on the accession of Ismāʿīl Mukh as the first independent sultan of the Deccan in 747/1346, when it was bestowed on Nūr al-Dīn, one of the *amīrān-i ṣada* of Dawlatābād (ʿIsāmī, *Futūḥ al-salāṭīn*, 500 ff.). When Ismāʿīl Shāh abdicated in favour of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ḥasan Bahman Shāh, the

first of the Bahmanids, the title of Khʷādja-i Djahān was given to:

5. Aʿẓam-i Humāyūn, son of the *wazīr* (and the sultan's father-in-law) Sayf al-Dīn Ghōrī [*q.v.*], who was appointed governor of the Bahmanids' Tilangānā province.

6. Khʷādja-i Djahān Astarābādī figures as the *wazīr* of the sultan's ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Aḥmad II in 839/1436, the first clear instance of the title going to one of the foreign (Āfāḳī) faction whom the sultan favoured at the expense of the local Dakhnīs.

7. On his accession in 862/1458 Humāyūn Shāh also favoured the Āfāḳī faction, appointing Maḥmūd Gāwān [*q.v.*] *wazīr* and *wakīl-i sulṭana*, and Malik Shāh, said to be of Čingizid descent, *ṭarafdār* of Tilingānā with the title of Khʷādja-i Djahān; he is usually referred to as Khʷādja-i Djahān Turk. He was distinguished as a general in this reign and that of the minor Aḥmad III (865-7/1461-3), in which he was a member of the council of regency. The animosity of the dowager queen caused him to be murdered in 870/1465-6.

8. A "local" noble, Khʷādja-i Djahān Dakhnī, figures as the Bahmanids' governor of Pārendā *ca.* 900/1495, supporting the Bahmanids and their Barīdī ministers against the breakaway factions in Bīdjāpur and Aḥmadnagar.

Bibliography: given in the article. For the Bahmanī nobles see also H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi (eds.), *History of medieval Deccan*, i Hyderabad 1973, index s.v. Khwāja-i Jahān.

(J. Burton-Page)

KHʷĀDJA KHIḌR (or khizr in India), is in many part of India identified with a river-god or spirit of wells and streams. He is mentioned in the *Sikandar-nāma* as the saint who presided over the well of immortality. The name was naturalised in India, and Hindūs as well as Muslims reverence him; it is sometimes converted by Hindūs into Rādja Ḳidār. On the Indus the saint is often identified with the river, and he is sometimes to be seen as an old man clothed in green. A man who escapes drowning is spoken of as evading Khʷādja Khizr (Temple, *Legends of the Panjāb*, i, 221). In a poem by a Balūč regarding a fight on the Indus, a boat is unloosed "to float on the Khʷādja's waves", and it is asserted "the Khʷādja himself will remember that battle". (*Popular poetry of the Baloches*, i, 74), and by one poet his name is substituted for that of Mīkāʾīl as one of the archangels. His principal shrine is on an island of the Indus near Bakhar, which is resorted to by devotees of both creeds (*Sind Revisited*, ii, 226). Manucci, who was present at the siege of Bakhar in 1069/1658, alludes to this shrine under the name of Coia Quitan. Burnes also mentions it in his *Travels into Bokhara*.

The saint is believed to ride upon a fish, which was adopted as a crest by the Kings of Oudh, and appears on their coins. Possibly in this case there is also a survival of the fish-avatār of Vishnu. Muslims offer prayers to Khʷādja Khiḍr at the first shaving of a boy, and a little boat is launched at the same time, as also at the close of the rainy season. See further al-khaḍir.

Bibliography: Crooke, *Popular religion and folklore of North India*, London 1896; R. Burton, *Sind revisited*, London 1877; Temple, *Legends of the Panjāb*, i, Bombay 1884; M. Longworth Dames, *Popular poetry of the Baloches*, London 1907; W. Irvine, *Storia do Mogor* (*Manucci*), London 1907; A. Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara*, London 1834; J. Wise, *Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal*, in *JASB*, lxiii/3 (1894), 38 ff.; Jaʿfar Shariff-G. A. Herklots, *Islam in India, or the Qānūn-i-Islām*, London 1832, repr. 1972, 38-9, 67, 135-6.

(M. Longworth Dames*)

KHʷĀDJA Muʿīn al-dīn Ḥasan Sidjzī. [see čishtī]

KHʷĀDJA-ZĀDE. [see khōdja-zāde]

KHʷĀDJEGĀN-i DĪWĀN-i HUMĀYŪN, a title given to the heads of the imperial chancery of the Ottomans. Although the date of its origin is uncertain, the title was certainly known in the 10th/16th century (Hüseyin Hezārfen, *Telkhīṣ ül-beyān fī ḳavānīn-i āl-i ʿOthmān*, 160a, 161a, 177a, etc.; Tevḳīʿī ʿAbdurraḥmān Pasha, *Ḳānūnnāmesi*, in *MTM*, iii (Istanbul 1331), 520; von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, repr. 1963, i, 93, ii, iii, ff. 127 ff.; A. H. Lybyer, *The government of the Ottoman empire*, Cambridge, Mass. 1913, 168 f.). Because the title of *khʷādjegān* was bestowed annually, the term *khʷādjegānlīḳ* became a synonym for *manṣab* ("high office", "rank") and *meʾmūriyyet* ("official duty"). Those officials who were subordinate to the chief clerks (*ḳalem reʾīsleri*), sc. the holders of *khʷādjegānlīḳ* posts, were called "assistants" (*khalīfe*) of the *khʷādjegān* or "pupils" (*shāgird*) of the *khʷādjegān*s. From the mid-11th/17th century onwards, the application of the term widened, and it was also given to various officials additional to the chief clerks of the *dīwān*. The conferment of the *khʷādjegān* rank and the retention of the *khʷādjegān*s in their offices always took place in the first half of the month of Shawwāl each year (Čelebi-Zāde Ismāʿīl ʿĀṣim, *Dheyl-i Rāshid*, Istanbul 1282, 169, 266, 379, 465; Česhmī-Zāde Muṣṭafā Reshīd, *Česhmī-Zāde Taʾrīkhi*, ed. Bekir Kütükoğlu, Istanbul 1959, 21; for a conferment made in Ṣafar, however, see Rāshid Meḥmed, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1282, v, 123). For this ceremony, the Grand Vizier would prepare a conferment list and present it to the sultan for approval; if it was desired to dismiss an official holding the title of *khʷādjegān*, he would write three names on the list, and because it was known that the last name was the name of the person preferred by the Grand Vizier, the sultan would appoint him. (For the 6th Shawwāl 1134/20th July 1722 list of *khʷādjegān* conferment, see İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948, 152, n. 1; for an undated conferment list of a later period, see Başbakanık Arşivi, A-TSF.).

In the 10th/16th century, there were 25 chief clerks forming the *khʷādjegān* group. In a document belonging to the first half of the 11th/17th century, they numbered 15: the chief finance officer *Defterdār*, the *Defterdār* of Rumelia, the *Defterdār* of Anatolia, the *Nishāndji*, the *Defterdār* of the Danube, Chief Secretary (*Reʾis ül-kuttāb*), the Senior *Rūznāmečedji* (Clerk in charge of financial transactions), the Junior *Rūznāmečedji*, the *Čawūshbashi*, the Chief Accountant (*Bash muḥāsebedji*), the Accountant of Anatolia, the Accountant of the *Kharādj*, the Accountant of the *Awḳāf*, the Chief tax farmer (*Muḳāṭaʿadjī*) and the Tax farmer of Istanbul (*Kemānkesh Ḳarā Muṣṭafā Pasha Lāyiḥasī*, ed. Faik Reşit Unat, in *TV*, 1/6 (Istanbul 1942), 454).

By the mid-12th/18th century, because the *khʷādjegānlīḳ* was also conferred on those who did not hold an official post, the numbers of people holding this rank grew to several times more than the holders of the actual office. Junior officials, besides the chief clerks, might now have the title, such as the clerk of a Pasha's treasury. Such a person thereby had the opportunity of being promoted to a higher post; when dismissed from this office his name would be

rubbed out from the register of *khʷādjegāns* (*khʷādjegī defteri*) in order to give an opportunity for other officials (cf. the procedure applied to Yūsuf Efendi, the Junior *Awkāf* Accountant, described in Aḥmed Wāṣif, *Maḥāsin ül-āthār we-ḥaḳā'iḳ ül-akhbār*, Istanbul Archaeology Museum Library, no. 355, f. 101). One notes the excessive number of those holding this rank. In 1180/1766 the officials included in the *khʷādjegān-i Dīwān-i Humāyūn* were as follows: the General Deputy to the Grand Vizier, the *Defterdār* of the *Shiḳḳ-i evvel* (the finance accounts of the first division of the Ottoman Empire relating to Turkey in Europe), the *Re'īs ül-kuttāb*, the *Čāwūshbashi*, the first secretary to the Grand Vizier (*Tedhkire-i evvel*), the Master of court ceremonies, the Secretary to the Grand Vizier, the head of the government chancery office (*Beylikdji*), the Secretary to the Ketkhudā Beg, the *Defterdār* of the *Shiḳḳ-i thānī* (the second financial division of the Ottoman Empire, comprising Anatolia), the *Defterdār* of the *Shiḳḳ-i thālith* (the third division of the Ottoman Empire, including Hungary, Iraq, Syria, Egypt and Arabia), the Master of the Mint, the Prefect of the City (*Shehr emīni*), the *Emīn* of the Register, the Second Secretary to the Grand Vizier, the Senior *Rūznāmečedji*, the Chief Accountant, the Accountant of Anatolia, the Secretary to the Janissaries, the Overseer of the Kitchen, the Collector of Documents for the Cavalry (*Atli muḳābeledjisi*), the Accountant of the *Ḥaramayn* (Mecca and Medina), the Accountant of the *djizya*, the *Arpa Emīni*, the *Māliyye tedhkiredjiliği*, the Controller of the Office of Suspended Payments (*Mevḳūfātdji*), the Overseer of Ṭopkhāne (*Ṭopkhāne nāẓiri*), the Secretary of the *Sipahis*, the Secretary of the *Silāḥdārs*, the Junior *Rūznāmečedji*, the Collector of Documents for the Infantry (*Piyāde muḳābeledjisi*), the Junior Accountant of the *Awḳāf*, the *Kalyonlar kātibi* (sc. the clerk who provided supplies for the galleons and kept the accounts), the Secretary for Expenditure, the Secretary of the *Djebedjis*, the Overseer of the Arsenal, the Chief Secretary of the Fortress (*Büyük ḳal'e tedhkiredjisi*), the Chief tax Farmer (*Bash Muḳāṭa'adji*), the Junior Secretary of the Fortress (*Küčük ḳal'e tedhkiredjisi*), the Tax Farmer of the *Ḥaramayn*, the Tax Farmer of Istanbul, the Tax Farmer of the *Khāṣṣ* revenues, the *Emīn* of the *Kāghid-i bīrūn*, the *Emīn* of the *Kāghid-i Enderūn*, the *Ta'rīkhdjilik*, the Tax Farmer of Bursa, the Tax Farmer of Avlonya and Egriboz, the Overseer of payments from the treasury (*Sergi nāẓiri*), the Secretary of the gun-carriage drivers, the Secretary of the *'ulūfedjiyān-i yemīn*, the Secretary of the *'ulūfedjiyān-i yesār*, the Secretary of the right wing of the *Ghürebā* cavalry, the Secretary of left wing of the *Ghürebā* cavalry, and the *Emīn* of the Istanbul powder-factory, in total 53 officials (Česhmi-Zāde Muṣṭafā Reshīd, *op. cit.*, 20-1, compare this list with the ones who were in the *Khʷādjegān-i Dīwān-i Humāyūn* in 1167/1754, in Aḥmed Wāṣif, *Ta'rīkh*, Istanbul 1219, 33-4. For their places in the state ceremonies, see Nā'ilī 'Abdullāh Pasha, *Dīwān-i Humāyūn'a 'ā'id teshrīfāt*, in *TTEM*, xciii (1926), 258 ff.).

The *Khʷādjegān* system continued in the same manner until 1249/1833. Thereafter the conferring of titles and appointments started to be made in Sha'bān, superfluous appointments were abolished, and civil servants were divided into four categories (Meḥmed Thüreyyā, *Nukhbet ül-weḳāyi'*, Istanbul n.d. 21-2). In 1250/1834, when the Ministry of the Civil Service (*Mülkiyye neẓāreti*) was established, part of the *Khʷādjegān* was incorporated in it, and thus a new scheme of rank and promotions was formed (Meḥmed Thüreyyā, *op. cit.*, 40-1; for the innovations in the field of administration after 1254/1838, see Luṭfī, *Ta'rīkh*, Istanbul 1302, v, 114). The rank no longer had any importance, since every clerk who could write and express himself well was given the title of *Khʷādjegān*; in 1254/1838 it was therefore decided that the rank of *Khʷādjegān* should be conferred on those who could qualify by examination (Luṭfī, *op. cit.*, v, 102, 126). But it had now lost almost all its prestige. It maintained its existence as a minor rank given to the office clerks (*Ḳalem āmirleri*) among the new ranks invented after the *Tanẓīmāt* reforms (Luṭfī, *Ta'rīkh*, Istanbul 1328, viii, 155-6. For the status of the rank in 1270/1854, see Meḥmed Thüreyyā, *op. cit.*, 280, and see also M. Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlügü*, Istanbul 1946, i, 695).

Bibliography: given in the article.

(Cengiz Orhonlu)

KHʷĀDJŪ, Kamāl al-Dīn Abu 'l-'Aṭā' Maḥmūd b. 'Alī, a Persian poet.

1. Life. He was born, as stated in the epilogue of his *Gul u Nawrūz*, on 20 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 689/24 Dec. 1290, in Kirmān (the date 15 Shawwāl 679/7 Feb. 1281, given by Browne, is erroneous). He spent a short part of his life in Kirmān where he received his education. Later he travelled widely and met several of his contemporaries amongst the poets, men of letters, and mystics, and became the disciple of Rukn al-Dīn 'Alā' al-Dawla of Simnān (d. 736/1345). He spent the latter part of his life in Shirāz, where *inter alios* he associated with his younger contemporary, the great Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ḥāfiẓ (d. 791/1389) [*q.v.*], and enjoyed the patronage of the Indjū'id ruler Abū Isḥāḳ Indjū (742-54/1341-53) [see Indjū]. Besides Shaykh Abū Isḥāḳ Indjū, his panegyrics were chiefly addressed to Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd Bahādur (716-36/1316-35), the Muẓaffarid ruler Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad (713-59/1314-58) and their viziers. He died at Shīrāz in 753/1352 and is buried there. Browne, *LHP*, iii, 229, remarks that "... his verse, while graceful and pleasing, lacks any conspicuous distinction or excellence". However, contrary to Browne's remark, Khʷādjū ranks amongst the great Persian poets. Even in his lifetime, he attained celebrity throughout Persia, especially as an ingenious and skilful *ghazal-writer*, and Ḥāfiẓ himself took him for his model in several of his *ghazals* (Suhaylī, 47-54; Shafaḳ, 481).

2. Works. (a) His *Dīwān*, containing *ḳaṣīdas*, *ghazals*, *tarkībs*, *rubā'īs*, etc., in two parts, *Ṣanāyi' al-Kamāl* and *Badāyi' al-Djamāl* (in 10,736 and 4,340 *bayts* respectively), an edition of which was printed at Tehran by A. Suhaylī-Khʷānsārī in 1336/1957.

(b) His *Khamsa*, in imitation of Niẓāmī's poem, consisting of: 1. *Humāy u Humāyūn*, a romantic *mathnawī*, in the metre of the *Iskandar-nāma*, containing 4,407 *bayts*. In addition to having the *Iskandar-nāma* as a model, the poem seems to be an imitation of the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsī. The prologue contains the *madḥ* of Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd and his vizier Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad. Composed at Baghdād in 732/1331-2, the poem was printed at Bombay in 1289/1872.

2. *Gul u Nawrūz*, also a romantic poem, in the metre of *Khusraw u Shīrīn*, consisting of 2,615 *bayts*. It was composed, according to the epilogue, in 742/1341-2, and dedicated to Tādj al-Dīn Aḥmad 'Irāḳī. The poem, as stated in the text, is a translation from Hindī and definitely passes for the first poem of Khʷādjū's *Khamsa*.

3. *Kamāl-nāma*, a mystical *mathnawī* in the metre of *Haft Paykar*, composed in 744/1343-4. It is divided into twelve *bābs* and 1,849 *bayts*. In the prologue the poet praises Shaykh Abū Isḥāḳ Ibrāhīm of Kāzarūn (d. 426/1035), and in the epilogue addresses Shaykh Abū Isḥāḳ, the ruler of Shirāz.

4. *Rawḍāt al-Anwār*, also a mystical poem, in the metre of the *Makhzan al-Asrār*, consisting of 20 *maḳālas* and 2,224 *bayts*. Composed in 743/1342-3, the poem is addressed to Shams al-Dīn Maḥmūd Ṣāʿin, the vizier of Abū Isḥāḳ Indjū. This poem was printed at Tehran in 1307/1928.

5. *Gawhar-nāma*, on ethics and mysticism, in the metre of *Khusraw u Shīrīn*, composed in 746/1345-6, consisting of 1,032 *bayts*. The dedication is to Amīr Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad and his vizier Bahāʾ al-Dīn Maḥmūd.

(c) Other compositions: *Sām-nāma*, a romantic *mathnawī* in *mutaḳārib* metre; *Mafātīḥ al-Ḳulūb wa Maṣābīḥ al-Ghuyūb*, a selection of Khʷādjū's poems; and three *riṣālas* in prose: *Risālat al-Bādiya*, *Sabʿ al-Mathānī*, and, *Munāẓara-i Shams wa Saḥāb*.

Bibliography: Dawlatshāh, *Tadhkira*, ed. Browne, 249 ff.; *Tārīkh-i Guzīda*, ed. Browne, i, 818; Browne, *LHP*, iii, 222-9; Khʷādjū-i Kirmānī, *Dīwān-i Ashʿār*, ed. Aḥmad Suhaylī Khʷānsārī, Tehran 1336/1957, introd., Ṣ. R. Z. Shafaḳ, *Tārīkh-i Adabiyyāt-i Īrān*, Shiraz 1352/1973, 479-88. (IRAJ DEHGHAN)

KHʷĀF, older orthography (e.g. in Ibn Rusta, 171) Khʷāb, a *rustāḳ* or rural district of Ḳūhistān in eastern Persia, lying between the district of Bākharz [*q.v.*] to the north and that of Ḳāʾin to the southwest, and adjacent to the modern Iran-Afghānistān border. The geographers of the 4th/10th century mention the towns there of Salūmak (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 103, Salūmīdh), Fardjird and Kusūy(a), the latter being especially populous. Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut 1374-6/1955-7, ii, 399, describes the district as having 200 villages and three significant towns, Sandjān, Sirāwand and Khardjird. Also reckoned by some authorities as belonging to the Khʷāf district was the important town of Zawzan; indeed, Ḥamdallāh Mustawfī includes this with Sandjān and Salāma as the three chief towns there. Topographically bounded on the northeast by the Kūh-i Khʷāf, which rises to 8,260 feet (2,517 metres), the comparatively sheltered and fertile Khʷāf plain is described by the Islamic geographers as populous and prosperous agriculturally, producing excellent fruits, the dyestuff madder, and cotton and silk textiles; Mustawfī additionally mentions iron workings there (*Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, tr. 152, 194).

In the early Islamic period, this rather isolated region was one where Zoroastrianism survived tenaciously; the Zoroastrian rebel Bih-ʾāfrīd [*q.v.*] came from here, and a fire temple existed there well into Islamic times (Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iii, 158). Subsequently, however, the region produced a good number of Islamic scholars and literary men, so that Zawzan was called "little Baṣra" from their numerousness. Hence Samʿānī and Yāḳūt list several scholars with the *nisbas* of "al-Khʷāfī" and "al-Zawzanī" (see Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Hyderabad 1382-6/1962-6, v, 219-21, vi, 342-5, and Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*,) including Abū ʿAbd-Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Zawzanī (d. 486/1093), author of a famous commentary on the *Muʿallaḳāt*, see *GAL*, I², 342-3, S I, 35, and Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, ii, 249-50; and Abū Manṣūr ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿīd al-Khʷāfī (d. 480/1087), mathematician and scholar in Baghdād, author of a refutation of Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī called the *Radjmat al-ʿifrīt*, see Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, iv, 222-3. Another native of the area was Faṣīḥ al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Khʷāfī, who was a protégé of the Tīmūrids of Harāt in the first half of the 9th/15th century and who wrote a well-known historical and biographical compendium, the *Mudjmal-i Faṣīḥī*, see Browne, *Literary history of Persia*, iii, 426-8, and Storey, i, 90-1.

In the course of the 6th/12th century, Ḳūhistān, and Khʷāf and Zawzan in particular, became centres of Ismāʿīlī activity, perhaps continuing the earlier traditions of heterodoxy there; hence in 654/1256 the Assassin stronghold of Khʷāf was stormed by Hülegü's Mongol hordes, with a general massacre of the adult inhabitants (Djuwaynī-Boyle, ii, 615-16; see also P. R. E. Willey, *The Assassins in Quhistan*, in *Jnal. of the Royal Central Asian Soc.*, lv (1968), 180-3). Not surprisingly, the succeeding period seems to have been one of economic and social regression for the district; whereas Yāḳūt had recorded 200 villages there, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū (early 9th/15th century), recorded only 30 (see I. P. Petrushevsky, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, v, 496-7). It nevertheless retained some cultural vitality, and Mustawfī comments favourably on the devout Ḥanafī faith of the people of Khʷāf, who were much given to works of charity and to going on pilgrimage. One of the finest surviving monuments of the Khʷāf district dates from the Tīmūrid period, sc. the *madrasa* of Khargird, begun by the architect Ḳiwām al-Dīn Shīrāzī for two of Shāh Rukh's ministers, Aḥmad b. Isḥāḳ and Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad Khʷāfī (see Sir Percy Sykes, *Historical notes on Khurasan*, in *JRAS* (1910), 1148-51, and *Survey of Persian art*, iii, 1126-8).

In recent times, the name "Khʷāf" has been used both for the district and for its chief town, also called Rūy-i Khʷāf, near Khargird. Travellers such as C. E. Yate (1894) and Sykes (1705) visited it and described it during the late Ḳādjār period. Yate found the centre Rūy-i Khʷāf much decayed, with *ca.* 800 inhabited houses, all of whose denizens were Sunnīs, but over half the houses in ruins; the silk industry had died out and had been replaced by the cultivation of opium and tabacco (Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, Edinburgh-London 1900, 127-33; Sykes, *A fifth journey in Persia*, in *Geogr. Jnal.*, xxviii (1906), 580-2). At the present time, Khʷāf forms one of the five component *bakhshs* of the *shahrastān* of Turbat-i Ḥaydariyya in the *ustān* or province of Khurāsān, and this administrative subdivision also includes Zawzan; see *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, ix, 153, 201.

Bibliography: given in the article, but for the information of classical Islamic geographers, see also Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire géographique, historique et littéraire de la Perse*, 213-14, 190-1, and Le Strange, *Lands of the eastern Caliphate*, 357-8; and for the present century, *Admiralty handbook, Persia*, 385-7.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

KHAFĀDJA, a subdivision of the Hawāzin tribe of ʿUḳail b. Kaʿb, which remained as powerful Bedouins longer than most of the other tribes which inhabited the Arabian Peninsula at the dawn of Islām. The genealogists give their affiliation to their kindred clans as Khafādja b. ʿAmr b. ʿUḳayl, and they were subdivided into eleven branches: Muʿāwiya Dhu'l-Ḳarḥ, Kaʿb Dhu'l-Nuwayra, al-Aḳraʿ, Kaʿb al-Aṣghar, ʿĀmir, Mālik, al-Haytham, al-Wāziʿ, ʿAmr, Ḥanz and Khālid. According to Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, fol. 132b, the name of Khafādja is Muʿāwiya b. ʿAmr. However, al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, fol. 204b, is

probably wrong in saying that Khafādja is a name of a woman. Unfortunately, our early sources do not provide us with important information concerning their dwelling-places in pre-Islamic Arabia, presumably because of Khafādja's assimilation with Banū ʿUḳayl out of whom they had emerged. However, from the scattered information found in the late sources, we know that they had their territory to the south-east of Medina and owned some villages, among which Sarw Lubn, al-Sharāʾin, Tathlīth, Thaʿlab and Orāl are mentioned. Later, we find them further to the east at war with the B. Ḥanīfa in al-Yamāma. According to Aṣmaʿī, in Yaḳūt, *Buldān*, ii, 785, they had their dwellings in the 2nd/8th century in the desert near the Ruṣāfa settlement of the Umayyad Caliph Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik. It is probable that the Ḳarmaṭī movement in al-Yamāma in the early part of the 4th/10th century caused them to move further northwards towards the borders of ʿIrāḳ. Here we find them towards the end of that century as masters of Kūfa under their *amīr* Thumāl and his sons. About this time also, we find them around al-Shām, al-Raḥba, Ḥalab and Ḥims, whilst al-Ḳalḳashandī mentions that one of their branches had settled in Lower Egypt.

They may have been at first allies of their cousins the Banū Yuzīd (not Bozīd as in Wüstenfeld's *Tabellen*, or Yazīd as otherwise stated) who established themselves as rulers of Mawṣil and the surrounding country, but were rather in opposition to them. In the year 391/1000 the ʿUḳaylid Ḳarwāsh attacked them in Kūfa and they were compelled to leave the lands and move along the Euphrates towards Syria, where they remained only till the following year, when the ʿAbbāsīd general Abū Djaʿfar al-Ḥadjdjādj called them to his aid when the ʿUḳaylīds besieged al-Madāʾin. This brought them again back to their ancient dwelling-places and as the Baghdād government had probably supplied them with arms, they utilised these a few years later in 402/1011 in an attack upon the pilgrim caravan. Emboldened by this attack, they demanded the lands to the east of the Euphrates which had been in the hands of the ʿUḳaylīds, and marched under the command of Sulṭān, ʿUlwān and Radjab, the three sons of Thumāl, to al-Anbar, laying the whole neighbourhood waste and besieging the town. An army sent against them from Baghdād and supported by the ʿUḳaylīds drove them out and Sulṭān was actually captured, but released upon the intercession of Abu'l-Ḥasan b. Mazyad al-Asadī. No sooner had he been released than in the following year (403/1012), news was received at Baghdād that the Khafādja were plundering the country round Kūfa under Sulṭān. An army was sent against them with support from Abu'l-Ḥasan b. Mazyad, and they were surprised at the river al-Rummān. Sulṭān escaped, but his brother Muḥammad was made a prisoner; as a result, many of the pilgrims, who had been captured in the year 403/1012, were liberated and reached Baghdād. Meanwhile, the ʿUḳaylīd *amīr* Ḳarwāsh had been captured and released, and he now tried to make common cause with the Khafādja and to join Sulṭān b. Thūmāl; but after their junction they were attacked by troops sent from Baghdād and routed, though subsequently pardoned. This gave a few years of comparative peace, but in 417/1026 Dubays b. ʿAlī b. Mazyad al-Asadī and Abu'l-Fityān Manīʿ b. Ḥassān, now chief of the Khafādja, ravaged the lands of Ḳarwāsh in the Sawād [*q.v.*], assisted by troops from Baghdād, and encountered Ḳarwāsh near Kūfa. Ḳarwāsh fled northwards and was pursued by the combined tribes of Asad and Khafādja, who actually took possession of al-Anbār; but after this success the two tribes dispersed again to their pasture grounds. Manīʿ b. Ḥassān then marched, with his followers to al-Djāmiʿayn [see AL-ḤILLA], which belonged to Dubays b. Ṣadaḳa b. Mazyad, and plundered the lands round it; when pursued by Dubays, they turned northwards and attacked al-Anbār. The inhabitants defended themselves for a while, but as the town was not protected by walls, the Khafādja were able to plunder and burn it. On the approach of Ḳarwāsh, they abandoned the town, but soon returned and looted it for a second time. When finally Ḳarwāsh was able to drive them out, he spent the winter in the town and ordered protective walls to be built. Manīʿ now swore allegiance to the Buwayhīd ruler Abū Kālidjār and marched southwards to Kūfa, where he had the *khuṭba* pronounced in the name of Abū Kālīdjar. This had the result that in 420/1029 Dubays severed his allegiance to Abū Kālīdjār, being afraid of the depredations of the Khafādja.

In the following years, the Khafādja sided sometimes with one party and at another time with the other, and when in 425/1033 Dubays had a quarrel with his brother Thābit, they sided with the former; but other quarrels also arose within the Khafādja chiefs, during which ʿAlī b. Thumāl was killed and his nephew al-Ḥasan b. Abī'l-Barakāt became tribal chief. When in 428/1036 the Ḥādjib Bārs Ṭūghān rebelled in Baghdād, the Caliph's general al-Basāsīrī [*q.v.*] employed among others the Khafādjā to quell the revolt, as a result of which Bārs Ṭūghān was executed. We do not hear much about the Khafādja for some years, but in 446/1054 they again made an inroad upon Dubays's town of al-Djāmiʿayn, which they plundered; al-Basāsīrī came to his assistance, and the Khafādja retreated into the desert. They were pursued and their stronghold Khaffān was besieged and apart from its citadel, razed to the ground. When al-Basāsīrī rebelled against the caliph in the same year, he took al-Anbār after a prolonged siege, and we find that among the prisoners he took there were 100 men of Khafādja. There again followed a period of comparative peace, but when in 485/1092 the pilgrims from Baghdād had passed Kūfa they were attacked by Khafādja. When this news reached Baghdād, troops were sent who caused great slaughter among the Khafādja, reducing considerably their future power to do serious damage.

In 499/1105 the Khafādja came into conflict with the Ṭayyiʾ tribe ʿUbāda over some stolen camels, and while the latter could muster about 500 warriors, Khafādja were unable to place a similar number into the field. However, with assistance from the Asadī chief Ṣadaḳa b. Manṣūr they were victorious. This success was, however, of short duration, as in the following year the tribe of ʿUbāda, now assisted by Badrān b. Ṣadaḳa, utterly routed the Khafādja, who were compelled to forsake their pasture grounds and wander northwards towards Syria, while ʿUbāda in future was to occupy the lands adjoining the Sawād. Again in 536/1141 we hear of Khafādja making an inroad into ʿIrāḳ, but the troops sent against them easily drove them off, killing large numbers. How weak Khafādja had become is evident from the fact that in 556/1160 they assembled in the neighbourhood of Ḥilla and Kūfa, asking for the food relief and dates which had apparently been granted them. The governors of the two towns refused to grant their request and Ḳayṣar, the governor of Ḥilla, sent 250 soldiers to

drive them off, a similar force being sent by the governor of Kūfa. They pursued the fleeing Khafādja along the river Euphrates as far as Raḥbat al-Shām, where the Khafādja made a stand, and in the fight which ensued Ḳayṣar was slain while Arghash, the governor of Kūfa, took refuge with the governor of al-Raḥba. The Khafādja then pleaded for forgiveness, stating that they had been constrained to fight by their parlous condition. Their excuse was accepted, as the Vizier Ibn Hubayra, who had marched out against them, saw the futility of pursuing them into the desert. The last time we hear of the Khafādja is in 588/1192, when they came to the assistance of Baṣra when it was threatened by the tribe of ʿĀmir. In addition to the events narrated above in ʿIrāḳ, it is also mentioned that the Khafādja were among the Arab tribes who assisted in the siege of Tiberias in 507/1113 when the Crusader monarch Baldwin had taken refuge there after an unsuccessful raid upon Ḥalab.

Among the poets of this tribe in ancient time was Tawba b. al-Ḥumayyir, celebrated on account of his love for Laylā al-Akhyaliyya and on account of the elegies which the latter composed upon his death in battle.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamharat al-nasab*, fol. 133a (B.M.), fol. 132b (Escorial); ʿArrām, *Djibāl Tihāma*, 7, 251, 252, 254; Ibn Durayd, *al-Ishtiḳāḳ*, 299; al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat Djazīrat al-ʿArab*, 48; al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Aghānī*, v, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75; viii, 178; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-ʿArab*, 469; al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam mā 'staʿdjam*, ii, 631, iii, 888; al-Samʿānī, *al-Ansāb*, fol. 204b; Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, vii, 261, 266; Ibn Djubayr, 187, 211, 230; Yāḳūt, *Mudjam al-buldān*, i, 766, 400; ii, 785; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, v, 69-70; ix, 164-5, 170, 174, 235, 236, 245, 307, 321-2; 352, 354, 374, 375-6, 436-7, 444, 453, 599-600, 601-2; x, 27, 42, 217, 260, 396, 400-2, 421-2, 447-8; xi, 90, 276-7; xii, 80; idem, *al-Lubāb*, i, 381; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-ṭalab*, i, 277; Ibn al-Sāʿī, *al-Djāmiʿ al-mukhtaṣar*, ix, 43; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ii, 49; v, 261; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab*, ii, 256; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, ii, 340; al-Dhahabī, *al-ʿIbar*, iii, 83; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa'l-nihāya*, xii, 152-3; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 113; Ibn Khaldūn, *ʿIbar*, iii, 523, 530; iv, 254-5, 277-8, 279, 491; Ḳalḳashandī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, 146, 232; idem, *Ḳalāʾid al-djumān*, 122-3; al-Maḳrīzī, *al-Bayān wa'l- iʿrāb*, 71; al-Zubaydī, *Tādj al-ʿarūs*, ii, 22; al-Ḥalabī, *Aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, iv, 201; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam ḳabāʾil al-ʿArab*, Damascus 1949, i, 351; al-Khafādjī, *Banū Khafādja*, i, 23, 47; Wüstenfeld, *Tabellen* and *Register*; Caskel, *Das genealogische Werk des Hišām ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbī*, i, 103, ii, 338; A. Nādjī, Basra 1970, *al-Imāra al-Mazyadiyya*, 35-42.

(F. Krenkow-[A. A. A. Dixon])

AL-KHAFĀDJĪ, AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. ʿUMAR AL-KHAFĀDJĪ, called Shihāb al-Dīn al-Miṣrī al-Ḥanafī, was born near Cairo in *ca.* 979/1571 and received his earliest education from an uncle on his mother's side, Abū Bakr al-Shanawānī, whom he himself calls the Sībawayh of his age, and under him he studied both Ḥanafī and Shāfiʿī law; the biography of the Prophet entitled *al-Shifāʾ* by the *Ḳāḍī* ʿIyāḍ [*q.v.*] he read under Ibrāhīm al-Alḳamī, and he even studied medicine under Dāwūd al-Baṣīr. Later he made the pilgrimage in the company of his father and took the opportunity to hear the lectures of the learned men in the two holy cities. After his return from the pilgrimage, he made his first journey to Istanbul, where he found several teachers of outstanding merit, among whom he mentions Ibn ʿAbd al-Ghanī, Muṣṭafā b. ʿArabī and the Jewish Rabbi Dāwūd, under whom he studied mathematics and the books of Euclid. His principal master, however, was Saʿd al-Dīn b. Ḥasan, and when the latter died and his other teacher soon followed him in death, Istanbul became devoid of men of learning. He had meanwhile gained favour and received the post of *ḳāḍī* of the province of Rūmelī, and rising in rank he became *ḳāḍī* of Üsküb under Sulṭān Murād, who finally appointed him to the same office in Salonika. These offices enriched him considerably, and he was ultimately sent as *ḳāḍī-ʿasker* to Egypt. This post, however, he did not hold for long, as through intrigues at Istanbul he was dismissed. This decided him to make another journey to Istanbul, but his expectations here were not fulfilled and he gave vent to his anger in the literary outburst which he entitled *al-Maḳāmāt al-Rūmiyya*. This aroused the hatred of the Muftī Yaḥyā b. Zakāriyyā, and he was ordered to leave the city immediately. As an acknowledgement of his worth as a scholar he received the appointment of an ordinary *ḳāḍī* at Cairo, but he seems to have devoted his remaining years to study and the composition of his works. He died in Cairo on Tuesday 12 Ramaḍān 1069/3 June 1659.

Al-Khafādjī enumerates most of his works in his autobiography, many of them of considerable size, while he himself tells us that many of this treatises were never collected in book-form. His most extensive work is a commentary upon the *Tafsīr* of al-Bayḍāwī which he entitled *ʿInāyat al-ḳāḍī*, and which has been printed in Cairo in four large volumes. The work follows the usual tedious method of explaining almost every word and of reproducing the statements of a large number of other authors who have treated upon the same subject. The same is the case with his second largest work, a commentary upon the *Shifāʾ* of the Ḳāḍī ʿIyāḍ, entitled *Nasīm al-riyāḍ* (printed at Istanbul, 1267, in 4 vols.). His two biographical works, *Khabāya 'l-zawāyā fī mā fī 'l-ridjāl min al-baḳāyā* and *Rayḥānat al-alibba wa-nuzhat al-ḥayāt al-dunyā* give hardly any biographical details, and it is only the arrangement by region which gives us any information on where the persons cited lived. We get, however, a fair amount of contemporary poetry, which enables us to judge to what miserable depth the art of rhyming had sunk. While the first named work exists only in manuscript, the *Rayḥāna* has been printed three times in Cairo (1273, 1294 and 1306), which shows us that the work was appreciated in Egypt. The most valuable portion of this work is an autobiography of the author (in which he has omitted to state when and where he was born) and the *Maḳāmāt al-Rūmiyya*; the autobiography has furnished the material for the account of his life in the work of al-Muḥibbī. Of more value are his *Ṭirāz al-madjālis* and his *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl*. The former is a work of the class called *amālī* in 50 sessions (*madjlis*), whose value consists in having preserved extracts of older works now apparently lost or undiscovered. It is interesting to find him quoting from the *Kitāb al-Maʿānī* of al-Ushnāndānī (printed in Damascus, 1340), the *Fiṣal* of Ibn Ḥazm, the *Fihrist* of Ibn Nadīm or the *Ansāb* of al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, considering how rare manuscripts of these books are. The book is in fact a curious collection of odd information from all kinds of sources. Apparently there are two editions of this book, one Cairo, 1284 and a second without date printed in Ṭanṭa. The *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl fī mā fī kalām*

al-ʿarab min al-da<u>*kh*</u>*īl* is, as indicated by the title, a work dealing with words of foreign origin in the Arabic language. The author has used for this purpose the *Muʿarrab* of al-<u>D</u>jawālīḳī [*q.v.*] and similar works, but is not content with explaining words of foreign origin, as he also gives ample specimens of vulgar errors in correct Arabic speech. Closely resembling this book is a commentary on the *Durrat al-*<u>*gh*</u>*awwāṣ* of al-Ḥarīrī, which was printed together with the *Durra* at Istanbul in 1299; this work, together with his *Ṭirāz*, are probably the best of his compositions. His *Dīwān* is mentioned by al-Muḥibbī and is preserved in manuscript in Copenhagen.

Bibliography: al-Muḥibbī, <u>*Kh*</u>*ulāṣat al-a*<u>*th*</u>*ar*, i, 331-43; Brockelmann, II, 285, S. II, 396.

(F. Krenkow*)

<u>KH</u>AFĀRA (A.) "protection", is used, often together with *ḥimāya* [*q.v.*], to designate certain social practices. Originally, it primarily denoted the protection which Arab tribes extended to merchants, travellers and pilgrims crossing their territories, often in return for payment or as part of an agreement [see Īlāf]. Later, the word's usage became extended to the "protection" in return for an obligatory payment exacted by various social groups from other groups or from richer individuals (e.g., by the *ʿayyārūn* and *futuwwa* [*qq.v.*] in the towns). Once the military class had assumed essential power, military commanders exacted various <u>*kh*</u>*afārāt* from the rural estates, etc., but at the same time the state intervened to control them, to fix a tariff for them, or to revoke them for its own use. See further ḥimāya. (Cl. Cahen)

<u>KH</u>AFḌ or <u>Kh</u>ifāḍ (A.), female excision, corresponding to the circumcision of boys (<u>*kh*</u>*atn* or <u>*kh*</u>*itān* [*q.v.*], terms which may be applied equally to both sexes). There is no mention of it in the Ḳurʾān, but more or less authentic *ḥadīth*s attest to the practice in pre-Islamic Arabia and in a certain measure justify it. Tradition attributes to the Prophet the expression *muḳaṭṭiʿat al-buẓūr* "cutter of clitorises", and the following words addressed to Umm ʿAṭiyya, *i*<u>*dh*</u>*ā* <u>*kh*</u>*afaḍti* (<u>*kh*</u>*afatti*) *fa-ʾa*<u>*sh*</u>*immī wa-lā tanhakī* (i.e., do not excise everything), *fa-ʾinnahu adwāʾ li'l-wa*<u>*dj*</u>*h wa-aḥẓā ʿind al-zaw*<u>*dj*</u>, in which one can discern a somewhat curious aesthetic aspect, a display of masculine egoism and the authorisation to do the operation on condition of not going as far as total ablation of the external genital organs and even complete clitoridectomy. Although the texts and the dictionaries are not very explicit, the synonymy of <u>*kh*</u>*atn*/<u>*kh*</u>*itān* and <u>*kh*</u>*afḍ*/<u>*kh*</u>*ifāḍ* leads one to think that the minimal practice comprised excision of the prepuce of the clitoris.

In the Prophet's mouth, *muḳaṭṭiʿat al-buẓūr* had a pejorative sense; but other items in the ancient vocabulary for designating the operator, <u>*kh*</u>*ātina* and *mubaẓẓira*, formed from *baẓr* "clitoris", do not seem to have a contemptuous connotation. However, a woman is called *baẓrāʾ* when she is affected by clitorism, or believed to be so, and *la*<u>*kh*</u>*nāʾ* when she has not been circumcised; expressions meaning in effect "son of the uncircumcised woman", *ibn al-baẓrāʾ*, *ibn al-la*<u>*kh*</u>*nāʾ*, are considered injurious and synonymous with "son of a whore", the violence of sexual appetite in a woman being considered the result of absence of circumcision. These pieces of information seem to prove clearly that the practice was current among the Arabs (who carry it back, like the circumcision of boys, to Abraham and Hagar [al-<u>D</u>jāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, vii, 27]), and remained so after the coming of Islam, excision becoming a characteristic trait amongst the Muslims. The *A*<u>*gh*</u>*ānī*, ed. Beirut, xxii, 22, tells, for example, that <u>Kh</u>ālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳasrī [*q.v.*], who was the son of a Greek Christian mother, was as a result of this called Ibn al-Baẓrāʾ; in the end, he decided to have his mother circumcised in order to escape satires, examples of which are to be found in the verses attributed to Aʿ<u>sh</u>ā Hamdān (*A*<u>*gh*</u>*ānī*, *loc. cit.*) or to Ziyād al-Aʿ<u>dj</u>am (*LA*, √ *mṣṣ*; the word *maṣṣān*, interpreted by Ibn Manẓūr as meaning *ḥa*<u>*dj*</u><u>*dj*</u>*ām* "barber", "cupper", could well have here the sense of "one who sucks" and connected with such an insult as *yā māṣṣa baẓri ummihi*, which does not necessarily correspond to an actual practice).

Under Islam, the circumcision of girls has never been regarded as obligatory, but has been considered as recommended (e.g. see al-Ḳayrawānī, *Risāla*, 161, 305; Ibn Ḳudāma, *Mu*<u>*gh*</u>*nī*[3], 1947, i, 85); in fact, it is practiced very irregularly in the Muslim world, where whole populations are unaware of it or confine themselves to a symbolic pricking of the clitoris. In the same region, some tribes may perpetuate the custom, whilst their neighbours may have abandoned it, if they have ever known it anyway (see especially, H. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*[2], Paris 1948, 35, 363). In Java, girls are not invariably circumcised; the operation, when performed, is done on girls from 2 to 8 years and is called *suna* (*sunna*), but parents following customary law (*ʿādat* [*q.v.*]) never practice it. The Malays call it *gusaran* "fact of filing down the teeth", because it is preceded, the evening before, by a fictitious filing-down of the teeth. In Atjeh [*q.v.*], female circumcision is done at an early age (see the references given under <u>kh</u>itān). In Persia and Kurdistan, travellers mention that it is done between the ages of 9 and 15 (H. Massé, *Croyances et coutumes persanes*, Paris 1938, 51); on the other hand, it is unknown in Af<u>gh</u>ānistān (C. M. Kieffer, *À propos de la circoncision* . . ., in *Festschrift für Wilhelm Eilers*, Wiesbaden 1967, 201, n. 37). This is likewise the situation in North Africa (G. H. Bouquet, *La morale de l'Islam* . . ., Paris 1953, 70), although the practice is attested for Mauretania, even though this is a Mālikī region (R. Arnaud, *Précis de politique musulmane. i. Pays maures*, Algiers 1906, 65-6), where the excision is done 7 or 8 days after birth. At all events, it would be extremely difficult to draw a map showing the extent of female circumcision, in view of the women's discretion and the men's ignorance, since the latter are not informed about the operation; this practice is unaccompanied by any celebration, and is even called *sirr* "secret" in Moab, according to Jaussen, *op. cit.*, 35, 363, and also *ṭahr*, by analogy with the circumcision of boys.

The only Islamic country, apart from some regions of black Africa (see Boris de Rachewiltz, *Eros noir, moeurs sexuelles de l'Afrique de la pré-histoire à nos jours*, Paris 1963), where any searching enquiries into this practice have been made is Egypt, where <u>*kh*</u>*afḍ* (which according to 18th and 19th century travellers was general and often sought by girls) is still practiced, even amongst certain Copts. Anthropologists and physicians have revealed various degrees in female circumcision, ranging from removal of the labia minora and the prepuce of the clitoris to that of the whole external genitalia ("Sudanese circumcision"), sc. the labia minora and majora together with the clitoris (see M. Karim and R. Ammar, *Female circumcision and sexual desire*, Cairo 1965). The very title of this latter work, based on an examination of 331 women in Cairo, is an indication

of the spirit in which the enquiry was conducted, sc. within a broad movement towards feminine liberation and towards a certain demythologisation which has found a favourable echo in the press (e.g. *al-Ahrām* of 27 January 1959). The Sudanese Republic has decided to abolish the practice, considered nasty and even barbarous, and similar measures have been envisaged to end it in Egypt.

Female circumcision is far from being a surgical operation meant to prevent abnormal deviations of the genitalia (Wilken, *Verspr. Geschriften*, iv, 238 ff.), but is rather a *rite de passage*. One can discern its origin in the primitive mythology of the Egyptians and other African peoples who believed in the bisexuality of the soul of their gods and of men. These bisexual souls project their physiological characteristics in their procreative organs; thus the feminine soul of the man is located in the prepuce, whilst the masculine soul of the woman is in the clitoris. Circumcision and excision accordingly make the boy and the girl respectively shed their feminine and masculine characteristics. Only in this way can the girl claim to be fully a woman capable of sexual life; Egyptian women still look down on an uncircumcised woman by saying "You are like a man".

In Egypt, the operation is carried out by the midwife either in complete secrecy or in the presence of a few invited women, and it is justified by the desire to maintain pre-marital chastity and virginity. It naturally presents serious dangers, of which the authorities are aware; apart from the complications which can sometimes be fatal, the cooling-down of the female temperament and desires, which the operation tends to bring about, causes on the men's part an abuse of drugs, especially of hashish—an unexpected aspect of the consequences of mutilation, whose abolition would produce a three-fold effect.

Bibliography: In addition to the works cited, see above all the extremely well-documented article of O. F. A. Meinardus, *Mythological, historical and sociological aspects of the practice of female circumcision among the Egyptians*, in *Acta ethnographica*, Budapest, xvi/3-4 (1967), 387-97, which has an extensive bibliography on the subject. (ED.)

KHʷĀFĪ KHĀN, MUḤAMMAD HĀSHIM NIẒĀM AL-MULKĪ, historian; his title of Khʷāfī Khān was given him by Muḥammad Shāh and is derived from a family connection with Khʷāf [*q.v.*], a district of eastern Persia, famous for its distinguished men. He was a son of Khʷādja Mīr, a confidential servant of Murād Bakhsh, youngest son of Shāh Djahān. The place and date of his birth are not known, but it seem probable that he was born in India, and a statement in his history (i, 739) implies that his birth took place about 1074/1664. The statement is that 74 years after the death of Shāh Djahān's minister, Saʿd Allāh, he was 52 plus the age of discretion (14?). In other words he was 66 Muslim years old in 1140/1728. His father was Khʷādja Mīr, a confidential servant of Shāh Djahān's youngest son, Murād Bakhsh, and was severely wounded at the battle of Samōgaṙh. Khʷāfī Khān, possibly like Bernier's friend Dānishmand, began life as a merchant, or as an official's clerk, and it was in one of these capacities that he visited Bombay in 1693-4 and had an interview with an English official (ii, 424, and Elliot-Dowson, vii, 350). He served under Awrangzēb, Bahādur Shāh and Muḥammad Shāh in the Deccan and in Gudjarāt, and was long stationed at Surāt. He also lived at Aḥmadābād, which he defends against the strictures of Djahāngīr, and at Rahurī, in Siwdjī's country, and in the beginning of Bahādur Shāh's reign he was governor of Čampānīr (i, 77). Probably he ended his days at Ḥaydarābād in the service of Āṣaf Djāh Niẓām al-Mulk (hence our author's title of Niẓām al-Mulkī) about 1732-33. He was an intimate friend of Shāh Nawāz, the author of *Maʾāthir al-umarāʾ* (who was also a Ḥaydarābādī officer) (see iii, 680 of the Bibl. Ind. edn. of that work, and Khʷāfī Khān, ii, 678).

Khʷāfī Khān wrote a history of the Indian branch of the Tīmūrid dynasties, and called it *Muntakhab al-lubāb* ("The quintessential selection"). It is a standard work and is much admired, especially in the east, for its style, and its accuracy and impartiality, though it is often too grandiloquent for western taste. Still, it is by far the most human and interesting of native histories of India, with the doubtful exception of Badāʾūnī. After an introduction beginning with Turk b. Yāfit, and describing the origins, etc., of the Tatars and Mongols, it gives short biographies of Tīmūr, his third son Mīrān Shāh, and the descendants of the latter, who were the emperor Bābur's ancestors. These are followed by a history of the emperors of Āgra and Dihlī, beginning with Bābur, of whom there is a tolerably full account, and ending with the beginning of the 14th year of Muḥammad Shāh. Bābur conquered India in 932/1526, and the 14th year of Muḥammad Shāh was 1140/1732, so that the history covers a period of over 200 years. The last ten years of the history are given in a very abridged form. The most valuable parts of the work are the accounts of Shāh Djahān and Awrangzēb, for both of whom the author had a high admiration. The history has been published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* (2 vols.), but the edition is not complete, for it wants the first part or volume. This last, however, is very rare, and perhaps does not exist in its entirety. There is only a portion of it in the British Museum. The author refers to it in vol. i, 49 of the printed edition. Khʷāfī Khān also wrote a history of the minor Islamic dynasties of India, but this too has disappeared, though a small portion is preserved in manuscript in the India Office Library (Ethé, *Cat.*, No. 407). It was apparently of little value, being mainly an abridgment of Firishta.

The charm of Khʷāfī Khān's history consists in his digressions and his frequent use of his own observations, and of information derived from his father and brother. He is a somewhat narrow Muslim, and he is too favourable to Shāh Djahān and Awrangzēb. Thus he slurs over Awrangzēb's treacherous capture and subsequent execution of his younger brother, Murād Bakhsh. The capture he represents as a clever manœuvre (it was certainly to the public advantage), but he is evidently half-ashamed of it, for he declines to give the particulars. In his account of Murād Bakhsh's attempt at escape, and his trial and execution, which he got from his father, he does not plainly set down Awrangzēb's responsibility, and continues to pay him a compliment for his generosity in rewarding the man who declined to prosecute Murād for the murder of his father. He also deals lightly with Shāh Djahān's conduct to Khusraw, and to his competitors for the throne, and says nothing about his debaucheries. Still, he is far more honest than Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī [*q.v.*]. His accounts of Shēr Shāh and Djahāngir are very fair, and in the latter of them he has a very interesting account of Nūr Djahān. He says he got it at Sūrat in 1097/1695-6 from a very old man, who as a child had accompanied Nūr Djahān's father on his journey

from Persia to Afghānistān, and India. Khʷāfī Khān too, though like Tacitus, he may tell us too much about emperors and their wars, does not omit the more interesting subjects of plague, and famine, and of internal administration.

Bibliography: Elliot-Dowson, *History of India*, vii (which contains a very full abstract, by Dowson, of the 2nd volume of Khʷāfī Khān); Colonel Lees, *Materials for the history of India*, Hertford 1868, 57-8; there is a manuscript translation of vol. i by Major Gordon in the British Museum (Add. 26, 617). (H. BEVERIDGE*)

KHAFĪF. [see ʿARŪḌ]

KHĀʾIN AḤMED PASHA. [see AḤMED PASHA]

KHĀḲĀN, a title (originally KAGHAN or KHAGHAN) borrowed by the Turks from the Juan-juan and meaning "[supreme] ruler". It was applied by the heathen Turks themselves and the mediaeval Muslim geographers and historians not only to the heads of the various Turkish confederations but also to other non-Muslim rulers such as the Emperor of China. In the form *ḳaʾan* it was borne by the successors of Čingiz-Khān [*q.v.*], the Mongol Great Khāns in Ḳaraḳorum and Peking. Adopted by the Ottoman Sulṭāns, the title, first brought to Europe by the Avars in the 6th century A.D. (the *kaganus* etc. of the early mediaeval chroniclers), survived into the present age.

Bibliography: G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, iii, Wiesbaden 1967, 141-179 (no. 1161); Sir Gerard Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, 611. (J. A. BOYLE)

KHĀḲĀN. [see FATḤ ʿALĪ SHĀH]

KHĀḲĀNĪ, AFḌAL AL-DĪN IBRĀHĪM (Badīl) B. ʿALĪ B. ʿUTHMĀN, outstanding Persian poet, born about 520/1126, d. 595/1199, who left a *dīwān*, the *mathnawī* called *Tuḥfat al-ʿIrāḳayn* and sixty letters.

Reliable material for Khāḳānī's biography is only to be found in his works. His poems and letters mirror both his external and internal life, and so they enable us not only to follow his poetical development, but provide us also with historical information.

Khāḳānī's life can be divided in two main periods. The first period Khāḳānī spent mainly in his home country of Sharwān as panegyrist at the local court. During the second period he led a retired life in Tabrīz. Already at an early time his wish to leave Sharwān and to abandon panegyric poetry was connected with a tendency towards mysticism and escape from the world. Born into a humble family of artisans, the young poet attached himself to the Sharwānshāh Manūčihr, from whose title *Khāḳān-i akbar* his own poetic name is derived. His relations with Manūčihr were changing. More than once he tried to find another patron and his first *ḥadjdj* (551/1156-7) should perhaps be regarded in this context. After Manūčihr's death (554/1159) he was imprisoned but was able to flee to Darband, his usual refuge when something went wrong in Sharwān. In the following years he seems to have established relations with several courts. In 559/1164 we find him in Persian ʿIrāḳ. After he had asked for an annual salary of 30,000 *dirham*s from Manūčihr's son Akhsatān he returned to Sharwān. However, the good relations between the poet and his patron did not last very long. In 566/1171 he undertook a second *ḥadjdj*, but the atmosphere did not improve after his return. The deaths of his son and his wife in 571/1175 caused the decisive turn. He undertook a third *ḥadjdj* with the intention to end his life as a *mudjāwir* in Mecca. He had to return, however, and settled in Tabrīz. Material need and the efforts of high personalities to gain his favour frustrated his hopes of achieving the calm he was longing for and obliged him once more to compose panegyrics now and then. In 578/1183 or 579/1184 he tried to reach Khurāsān, but in Ray the Atabeg prevented him from continuing his journey and he returned to Tabrīz severely ill. In 580/1185 he tried to achieve his aim in another way. After that date we have no more relevant data about his life, which ended in Tabrīz.

Khāḳānī's poetry is based on Persian *concettismo*. The notions at his disposal reached farther than those of other *poetae docti* of his time, especially his detailed knowledge of Christianity. Most of the elements of his poetical motifs are his own creation; this is all the more valid for complexes consisting of elements of motifs as well as of motifs (fantastic aetiology, congruity of images, causal hyperboles etc.). Not without reason he felt himself in this respect superior to his predecessors and contemporaries and he was convinced that future poets also would draw on his muse. During the last decade of his stay in Sharwān his inventiveness in devising new elements of motifs declined. His accent was now on developing and combining motifs. In his Tabrīz period he played with his enormous repertoire of elements of motifs and their combinations, while using his mastery of rhetorical representation in a more pointed manner than ever before.

In the field of formal devices, Khāḳānī created a new type of *ḳaṣīda*, characterised by a number of parts which are thematically mostly independent. In his later Sharwān period he preferred the *tarkīb-band* form. About half of his many *ghazal*s belong to this genre only as far as form is concerned; they do not treat of erotic subjects. Besides *rubāʿīs* and sometimes long *ḳiṭʿa*s, the *Dīwān* contains also a series of shorter and longer Arabic poems, the fruit of Khāḳānī's attempt to write Persian poetry in Arabic.

In the panegyrics, that is in his professional art, Khāḳānī celebrates not only rulers, generals, viziers and scholars, but also friends and relatives. But what he loved most was ascetic Ṣūfī poetry. This is indicated by his other pen-name Ḥaḳāʾiḳī and thereon also his close relationship with Sanāʾī was based. A kind of combination of panegyric and Ṣūfī poetry is to be found in the praise of the Prophet, to whom Khāḳānī dedicates a series of *ḳaṣīda*s, and he derives his honorary title of *Ḥassān al-ʿAdjam* from this fact. His erotic verses usually celebrate profane love, but mystical elements are present in the ghazal *bā ō dil-am ba-mihr u maḥabbat nishāna būdh*, where Iblīs speaks about his Ḥallādj-like love of God. The pangs of love are often mentioned, as Khāḳānī is generally eloquent and resourceful on lamentation. This subject is treated in a lot of his shorter poems and parts of poems, but as well as these in whole *ḳaṣīda*s and not only in the *ḥabsiyyāt* (prison poems). Special attention is given to the description of nature (sky, stars, seasons and landscapes), and his poetic picture of morning and the morning-draught together with its drinking-utensils became very popular. His *ḥadjdj*-travels were less imitated. His first *ḥadjdj* he describes in the *Tuḥfat al-ʿIrāḳayn*, where he addresses the sun in order to describe to her the way to Mecca. Around the sacred subject all kinds of profane praise are entwined. The often-posed question whether Khāḳānī's words represent real experience can probably be answered in the affirmative as far as the satires are

concerned, and perhaps also some elegies, laments, religious poems and ascetic verses. In general, however, the poetic transformation of reality seems to dominate.

Bibliography: The following bibliography is selective rather than exhaustive. Critical editions: *Dīwān*: ed. Sadjdjādī, Tehrān 1338; *Tuḥfat al-ʿIrāḳayn*: ed. Ḳarīb, Tehrān 1333; *Munshāʾāt*: ed. Rawshan, Tehrān 1349. See further: N. Khanikof, *Mémoire sur Khâcâni*, in *JA* (1863), 137-200; (1865), 296-367; B. Furūzānfar, *Sukhan u Sukhanwarān*, Tehrān 1312, ii, 300-52; V. Minorsky, *Khāqānī and Andronicus Comnenus*, in *BSOAS*, xi (1945), 550-78; Ḥ. Āmūzgār, *Muḳaddima-yi Tuḥfat al-khawāṭir wa-zubdat al-nawādir-i Khāḳānī*, Tehrān 1333; O. L. Vilčevskiy, *Khakani*, in *Sovetskoye vostokvedeniye*, 1957, 62-76; idem, in *Epigr. Vostoka* xiii (1960), 59-68; ʿA. Dashtī, *Shāʿir-i dīr-āshnā*, Tehran 1340; A. Ateş, *Hâkânî*, in *İA*; J. Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 202-8; idem, *Ḫāqānīs Madāʾin-Qaṣīde rhetorisch beleuchtet*, in *Ar. O* xxvii (1959), 199-205; Dh. Ṣafā, *Taʾrīkh-i adabiyyāt dar Īrān*, ii, Tehrān 1339[3], 776-94; A. Bausani, *Storia della letteratura persiana*, Milan 1960, 398-405, 633-40; B. Reinert, *Ḫāqānī, Poetische Logik und Phantasie*, Berlin 1972. (B. REINERT)

KHĀḲĀNĪ, also KHĀḲĀNĪ MEḤMED BEY (?-1015/?-1606), a minor Ottoman Turkish poet of the late 10th/16th century, was born in Istanbul. He was the son of Güzeldje Rüstem Pasha who was the son-in-law of Ayās Pasha [*q.v.*], a grand vizier of Süleymān the Magnificent. Very little is known about his life and the data in the sources are often conflicting. All we know is that he mainly lived in Istanbul except for a pilgrimage to Mecca, that he was a *müteferriḳa*, and that later he became a *sandjaḳ beyi* and *muḥāsebedji* in the Imperial *Dīwān* (Riyāḍī, *Tedhkire*, s.v.); he was already an old man in 1007/1598 and died in Istanbul, where he was buried at the cemetery of the Mihr-ü Mah mosque at Edirne Kapı. Khaḳānī is the author of the following works: (1) *Dīwān*. The manuscript copies of this small work, which has not been edited, vary in size and content (for a good copy, see Topkapı Palace Museum Library, No. 680). His *ghazal*s written in a comparatively simple and fluent style follow closely the traditional line without any personal touch; (2) *Miftāḥ-i Fütūḥāt*, completed in 1012/1603 and dedicated to Čighala-zāde Sinān Pasha [*q.v.*] is a commentary, in *mathnawī* form, of a popular *Ḥadīth-i Erbaʿin* version (for a good copy, see Topkapı Palace, Emanet Hazinesi Library, No. 670); and (3) *Ḥilyet ül-Nebewiyye*, better known as *Ḥilye-i Khaḳānī*, completed in 1007/1599, a *mathnawi* in *ramal* metre to which Khaḳānī owes his reputation. It is based on an Arabic traditional account of the Prophet's personal features (a calligraphically written version of which was hung as a "portrait" on the wall in many Turkish homes, until recently). Each feature or virtue is elaborately described in 12-20 *bayt*s. This didactic poem with no literary value became very popular and was often compared with Süleymān Čelebi's famous *Mewlid*, although it has none of the latter's merits. Strangely enough, even writers of usually balanced judgement like Ḍiyāʾ Pasha and Nādjī [*qq.v.*] overpraised the *Ḥilye* (see Bibliography), probably because of the sacred character of its subject. Copies of the *Ḥilye* abound in Turkish and European libraries (a good copy dated 1050/1640 is in the Nuru Osmaniye Library, No. 609-796); it was printed at Istanbul in 1264/1848.

Bibliography: The *tedhkire*s of Riyāḍī, Fāʾizī, Riḍā, s.v.; Muʿallim Nādjī, *ʿOthmānlı Shāʿirleri*, Istanbul 1307/1891, 51; Gibb, *Hist. of Ottoman Poetry*, iii, 193-8; Ali Canib Yöntem, in *İA*, s.v.; Fahir İz, *Eski Türk Edebiyatında Nazim*, i/2, Istanbul 1967. (FAHİR İZ)

KHĀḲĀNIDS. [see SHIRWĀN SHĀH]

KHĀKSĀR, a 20th century Indian movement for national regeneration, initiated in 1931 by a government servant called ʿInāyat Allāh Khān (better known under his honorific of al-Mashriḳī). As a result of wide-spread frustration and despondency, this leader—originally a mathematician who had enjoyed a brilliant career—publicised simplicity of life (*khāk-sār*, i.e., "humble as dust"), discipline and self-sacrifice for the benefit of the country. Under the spell of the results achieved by Fascist régimes, al-Mashriḳī avowed that India was in need of benevolent dictators (see *Asia*, Aug. 1939), and in its outward manifestations his movement in its first stage bore a marked resemblance to the Nazi S. A. organisation; its members wore a khaki dress with a badge of *ukhuwwa* or "brotherhood" stuck on the right upper arm, and carried a *belča* or spade symbolising both the importance of labour and a readiness to fight. Every day they had to report to the local commander about some sort of social service performed after sunset prayers, and each district unit had their drill for at least fifteen minutes. Al-Mashriḳī's followers were chiefly drawn from the petty bourgoisie and better-off labourers. Explicitly non-communal, the movement was open to every man who believed in his Creator, Muslims as well as Brahmo Samadjists, and it claimed to be "the only party in the country above all parties". In its heyday (i.e. *ca.* 1941), it is said to have secured a following of one-and-a-half million adherents, but in 1944 the all-India strength of the Khāksārs had already dwindled to 20,000. Because of provocative actions, they clashed regularly with the provincial authorities of Northern India. Bans on the movement were imposed, and from time to time al-Mashriḳī was imprisoned. After independence, the leader officially announced the disbandment of the movement. Although the master died on August 27, 1963, a small group of faithful Khāksārs are still to be found in the vicinity of the movement's former headquarters at Ičhra, a suburb of Lahore.

Bibliography: J. M. S. Baljon, *A Modern Muslim Decalogue*, in *WI*, n.s. iii/3-4 (1954), 187-200; Y. B. Mathur, *The Khāksār Movement*, in *Studies in Islam* (New Delhi 1969), vi/1, 27-62;, W. C. Smith, *Modern Islam in India*, London 1946 235-45. (J. M. S. BALJON)

KHĀL (A.), pl. AKHWĀL, maternal uncle, whether a full, consanguineous or uterine one. In such a strongly patriarchal civilisation like that of Islam, the status of such an uncle necessarily entrained a certain degree of inferiority compared with that of the paternal uncle, *ʿamm* (pl. *aʿmām*).

The latter is considered as one of the *ʿaṣaba*, and is high up in their hierarchy; he has a right to the whole of the succession if there are no heirs entitled to fixed shares or *ʿaṣaba* with a prior claim to himself. The maternal uncle, on the other hand, never inherits in Mālikī law; even if there is no other heir, the Public Treasury is given preference. The position is similar in Shāfiʿī law, unless the Public Treasury is excessively mismanaged. According to the Ḥanafī and Ḥanbalī schools, the maternal uncles can inherit, but in their capacity as *dhawu 'l-arḥām*. Now it is well-known that this third class of heirs, the invention of these two law schools, can only

succeed to an inheritance in the total absence of any representative of the fixed-shares heirs and the *ʿaṣaba*; even the most favourably-placed are set aside in the presence of a single *ʿāṣib*, however distant in relationship he may be from the deceased.

The same discrimination is found in regard to guardianship (*walāya*) over a person. In the absence of the father, only an *ʿāṣib* can be called upon— this rôle often falls upon a paternal uncle, but never to a maternal one. This inferiority in legal status of the maternal uncle dates from pre-Islamic times, and is moreover characteristic of Sunnī Islam, mainly with regard to the various legal incapacities inherent in the maternal uncle. But even amongst the Shīʿīs, where there is no inequality on the legal plane between maternal and paternal uncle, reliable observers have noted that the populace generally displays more reference towards the paternal than the maternal uncle.

Bibliography: Syed Ameer Ali, *Mohammedan law*[5], 1928, ii, 58; H. Laoust, *Précis de droit d'Ibn Qudāma*, Beirut 1950, 147; Y. Linant de Bellefonds, *Traité de droit musulman comparé*, Paris-The Hague 1973, iii, No. 1285.

(Y. Linant de Bellefonds)

KHĀL, KHAYALĀN. [see firāsa].

KHALʿA. [see khilʿa].

KHALADJ, a people or tribe ostensibly of Turkish origin and living in western Turkistān and then in eastern Afghānistān during the pre-Mongol Islamic period.

1. *History*.

The Islamic geographers of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries place the Khaladj amongst the tribes of the Turks. Thus Ibn Khurradādhbih, 28, 31, includes them in a list of Turkish tribes in the Central Asian steppes; he states that their winter quarters were beyond the Syr Daryā in the Talas region, adjacent to the lands of the Ḳarluḳ, but also that they lived "on this side of the Oxus", i.e., to its south and west. The contradiction illustrates the haze of uncertainty which envelopes the history of the Khaladj in the pre-Ghaznawid period. A frequent cause of ambiguity is the similarity of the consonant ductus of Khaladj, خلج, to that of the name Khallukh, خلخ (= Ḳarluḳ), especially as the Ḳarluḳ also lived in the Talas region but at an early date infiltrated south of the upper Oxus into Ṭukhāristān [see karluḳ]. Kāshgharī, ed. Kilisli Rifʿat Bey, ii, 307 = tr. Atalay, iii, 415, in his long article on the Türkmen, says that the Khaladj originally comprised two of the 24 tribes of the Türkmen, but separated from them and were therefore no longer accounted part of them; and he gives a fanciful etymology for the name, that the two ancestors of the two Khaladj tribes were told by the rest of the Turkmen, *ḳal adj* "stay, remain behind!" (another explanation in the *Oghuz-nāma*, ed. W. Bang and G. R. Rachmati, *SBPr. Ak. W.*, Phil.-Hist. Kl. xxv (Berlin 1932), *ḳal ač* "stay and open!").

Hence there is some uncertainty about the original Turkishness of the Khaladj. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 251-4, connected the Khaladj with the *Kh.w.l.s.* (? *Kholas*) of a 6th century Syriac source discussing the Turkish tribes, and with the *Kholiatai* mentioned in the report of Zemarchos, Byzantine envoy to the Ḳaghan of the Turks in 568, and he opined that the Khaladj were remnants of the Hephthalite confederation, in which case there is the possibility that the Khaladj may have been originally an Indo-Iranian tribe, perhaps remnants of the Sakas subsequently Turkicised. In support of this view is the information of the Sāmānid official Khwārazmī in his *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* (composed shortly after 366/977), ed. Van Vloten, 119-20, that the Khaladj and the Kandjīna Turks (the latter located in the mountains to the north of the upper Oxus, see kumīdjīs) were remnants of the Hephthalites (see C. E. Bosworth and Sir Gerard Clauson, *Al-Xwārazmī on the peoples of Central Asia*, in *JRAS* (1965), 8-9).

We only possess what seems to be unequivocal information on the location of the Khaladj from the second half of the 3rd/9th century onwards. Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 226, records in his notice of Yaʿḳūb b. Layth's death (265/879) that the Ṣaffārid Amīr, in the course of his conquests in eastern Afghānistān, had attacked the Zunbīl or local ruler in Zamīn-Dāwar and had subjugated the Khaladj (*al-Khaladjiyya*) and the people of Zābulistān, and this is confirmed by the *Taʾrīkh-i Sīstān*, 215, which mentions Yaʿḳūb's campaigns there against "the Khaladj and the Turks". In the next century, Iṣṭakhrī, 245, also locates the Khaladj in Zamīn-Dāwar, and states that they were ancient immigrants to the region, that they were pastoralists, and that they had retained their Turkish customs, external appearance and ? language (see Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran*, 36, 271: later sources dependent on Iṣṭakhrī have *libāsihim* "their clothing" for *lisānihim*, but Marquart thought that the reading "their language" was the original one). The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 111, describes the Khaladj as sheep-herding pastoralists in the Ghazna-Zamīn-Dāwar region, but with outlying groups in Balkh and Ṭukhāristān, Gūzgān and the district of Bust.

Some form of suzerainty over these nomads of eastern Afghānistān was exercised by the Sāmānids, and this passed towards the end of the 4th/10th century to Sebüktigin, founder of the Ghaznawid amīrate. Niẓām al-Mulk in his *Siyāsat-nāma*, ch. xxvii, ed. Darke, 135, tr. idem, 108, says that Sebüktigin had already once been sent by his master Alptigin to "the Khaladj and Türkmen" in order to collect taxation due to the Sāmānid central government. The Ghaznawid historians ʿUtbī and Bayhaḳī mention the Khaladj at times, and describe how Maḥmūd recruited them on occasion for his armies; but his son Masʿūd had in 432/1040 to send out from Ghazna a punitive expedition against them. It is interesting that ʿUtbī tends now to link the Khaladj with the Afghāns, which is not surprising, since the Khaladj must have lived in close proximity to the Afghān tribal heartland of eastern Afghānistān.

It appears that there now begins a process of assimilation of the Khaladj to their Afghān environment, leading to what seems very probable, if not wholly proven, sc. the evolution of the Khaladj Turks (whatever their pre-Islamic ethnic origins may have been) into the Pashto-speaking Ghalzay or Ghilzay tribe of Afghāns [see ghalzay]. Minorsky cited a passage from the early 7th/13th century geographer Muḥammad b. Nadjīb Bakrān's *Djihān-nāma*, that the Khaladj Turks had migrated from the Ḳarluḳ region (sc. Turkistān) to Zābulistān, but had now become adapted to their new milieu in appearance and speech, their original language having changed (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 347-8, and *The Turkish dialect of the Khalaj*, in *BSOS*, x (1940-2), 432). Khaladj tribesmen from Zābulistān were utilised by the Ghūrids in their campaigns, and Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Maḥmūd succeeded to power in Fīrūzkūh

in 602/1206 with the help of the Khaladj (Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, tr. Raverty, i, 397).

During the years of warfare between the Khʷārazm-Shāhs and the incoming Mongols (early 7th/13th century), Khaladj troops played a part in the confused fighting in eastern Afghānistān, the Kābul and the Peshawar regions, some of them entering the Mongol armies, others attempting, under the leadership of a Khaladj commander, one Sayf al-Dīn Ighraḳ, to make themselves an independent power in the Kābul River valley; see for details, Minorsky, *The Turkish dialect of the Khalaj*, 432 ff. This became indeed the power-base for Khaladj movements into northern India as far as Bengal, a process already begun under the Ghūrids and continued subsequently under their epigoni the Slave Kings of Delhi; various lines of Khaldjī (thus the Indian pronunciation) military adventurers attained hegemony in, e.g., Delhi and Mālwā, but these Khaldjīs were considered to be ethnically Afghāns. See for the history of these Khaldjīs of India, DIHLI SULTANATE, HIND. iv. HISTORY and KHALDJĪS.

The Mongol invasions created a melting-pot of peoples in Inner Asia and the Iranian world, and the tide of conquest seems to have swept Khaladj elements westwards. Already Muḥammad b. Nadjīb Bakrān (see above) speaks of Khaladj settlements near Bāwurd, sc. Abīward on the northern fringes of Khurāsān, doubtless brought thither during the long struggles of the Ghūrids and Khʷārazm-Shāhs for control of that province. An Özbeg tribe whose name in Russian transcription, Galači, may enshrine a memory of the Khaladj in this region, was registered for Russian Central Asia in the mid-19th century, see G. Jarring, *On the distribution of Turk tribes in Afghanistan*, Lund-Leipzig 1939, 53. Khaladj are mentioned in Kirmān and Fārs from late Saldjūḳ times onwards, and Köprülü in his *İA* article on the Khaladj lists several villages in Ādharbāydjān and Anatolia, and one even in the Crimea, which enshrine the name "Khaladj". But the best-known region of Khaladj settlement in the west is that one in western Persia still known today as Khaladjistān, the mountainous region lying to the south-west of Tehran in the Hamadān direction and to the west of Sāwa, and contained largely within the *shahristān*s of Sāwa and Arāk in the central *ustān* or province. Not only in this region, but also in adjacent ones, extending into the Bakhtiyārī country of the central Zagros, one finds villages with names like Khaladj, Khaladjābād, etc. attesting earlier settlements of the tribesmen (see *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, i, 81, ii, 104, x, 79). These Khaladj may have been established in Mongol times or even earlier, for the *Ẓafar-nāma* of Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī, Calcutta 1887-8, ii, 573, speaks of the Khaladj and Arab nomads of this region being summoned to Tīmūr's standard in 806/1403-4; it is the Turkish speech of these Khaladj remnants, who were visited by Minorsky in 1906 and 1917, which the latter describes in his article on their language, see below.

Bibliography: given substantially in the article, but add Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 79; the two main secondary studies are those of Minorsky, *The Turkish dialect of the Khalaj*, and M. Fuad Köprülü, *İA*, art. *Halaç*.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

2. *Language.*

The Khaladj language ought to be called, more precisely, the Khaladj group of languages, because it is as independent a branch of the Turkish family of languages as, e.g. the south-western (or Oghuz) group or Chuvash, etc. It is spoken (by about 20,000 persons) in 47 villages, situated about 150 miles SW of Tehran. Whereas the linguistic differences from each village to each other village are small, the sum of these differences (sc. from the most remote points, Talkh-āb in the NW of the Khaladj area, and Vinarič, in the SE) is as considerable, or even more considerable, than the differences between Kazan Tatar and Bashkir, or between Ottoman Turkish and Azeri.

The first scholar to have studied the Khaladj language was Minorsky, in 1940 (see bibliography). Only a short time after him, the Iranian scholar Mughaddam, when investigating the Iranian local dialects around Āshtiyān, also gave a short survey of Khaladj. In 1968, the present writer described the peculiar features of Khaladj in an article based on the two older works. In 1968 and 1969 two expeditions to the territory of the Khaladj were undertaken, which produced a considerable amount of material (59 tapes, a vocabulary consisting of 60,000 words, numerous texts, etc.).

The Khaladj groups is characterised by its very outstanding archaisms. Thus it has preserved *-d-* (ancient Turk *adaḳ* "foot" = Ottoman Turkish *ayak* = Khaladj *hadāḳ*); the ancient Turkish *h-* (see bibliography, *Eine seltsame* ...); the proto-Turkish threefold vowel quantity (short, long, diphthongal), etc. Even in morphology, it has preserved many archaic features, such as the ablative in *-da*, the participle in *-gili* (= ancient Turkic *-igli*). Khaladj is especially important in the field of lexicography; there are many ancient Turkish *hapax legomena*, such as *qudghu* "fly", which survive only in Khaladj and in no other Turkish language.

Bibliography: V. Minorsky, *The Turkish dialect of Khalaj*, in *BSOS*, x (1940), 417-37; M. Mughaddam, *Gūyishhā-yi Wafs wa Āshtiyān wa Tafrash*, in *Īrān-Kūda*, xi, Tehran 1318 sh.; G. Doerfer, *Das Chaladsch — eine archaische Türksprache in Zentralpersien*, in *ZDMG*, cxviii (1968), 79-112; idem, *Das Chaladsch — eine neuentdeckte archaische Türksprache*, in *ZDMG*, Supplementa I, 1969, 719-25; idem, *Iran'daki Türk dilleri*, in *TDAYB*, cccii (1969), 1-23; idem, *Irano-Altaistica, Turkish and Mongolian languages of Persia and Afghanistan*, in *Current Trends in Linguistics*, vi, The Hague 1971, 217-34; idem, with the collaboration of W. Hesche, H. Scheinhardt, S. Tezcan, *Khalaj materials*, Bloomington 1971; idem, *O sostoyanii issledovaniya khaladzhkoy gruppî yazîkov*, in *Voprosî Yazîkoznaniya*, 1972, i, 89-96; idem, *Der Imperativ im Chaladsch*, in *FUF*, xxxix (1972), 295-340; idem, *Eine seltsame alttürkisch-chaladsch Parallele* in *TDAYB* (1973), 1-24; idem, *Yavlyaetsya li Khaladzhskiy yazîk dialektom azerbaydzhanskogo yazîka?*, in *Sovetskaya Tyurkologiya* (1974), i, 45-51; H. Scheinhardt, *Halacistan'a bir araştırma gezisi*, in *Çağrı*, 1 eylûl 1968, Nr. 128, 16-7; S. Çağatay, *Türk lehçeleri örnekleri II* (*yaşayan Türk lehçe ve ağızları*), Ankara 1972, 255-60; F. Zeynalov, *Türk dillärinin täsnifi wä "Khaladj dili grupu" mäsäläsi*, in *Yazîk i literatura*, Baku 1972, 37-48; F. Zeynalov, *Ob odnom "drevnem tyurkskom yazîke" v Srednem Irane*, in *Sov. Tyurkol.* (1972), vi, 74-9; S. Tezcan, *Zum Stand der Chaladsch-Forschung*, in *Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur der altaischen Völker*, ed. G. Hazai and P. Zieme, Berlin 1974, 613-20.

(G. DOERFER)

KHALAF B. ʿABD AL-MALIK. [see IBN BASHKUWĀL].

KHALAF B. ḤAYYĀN AL-AḤMAR, ABŪ MUḤRIZ (*ca.* 115-80/*ca.* 733-96), famous *rāwiya* of Baṣra. His parents came originally from Farghāna and had been brought as captives to ʿIrāḳ, and then freed by Bilāl b. Abī Burda [see AL-ASHʿARĪ], whose *mawlā* Khalaf remained. He had a prodigious memory, and knew perfectly Bedouin life, their language, traditions and legends, and he gathered together all the poetic works set before him in order to transmit them to his successors. He is said to have been the pupil of ʿĪsā b. ʿUmar and Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ [*q.vv.*], but did not pride himself on his knowledge of philology and was content with his perspicacity, which allowed him to distinguish easily between authentic and apocryphal verses. However, he became the transmitter of the poetic corpus gathered together by Ḥammād al-Rāwiya [*q.v.*], fully aware of his bad reputation, and brought about a change of tastes among the *ruwāt* of Basra by instructing them about the *nasīb* of the Bedouins (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, iv, 23-4). His teaching was followed particularly by al-Aṣmaʿī and Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī [*q.vv.*], who had great faith in his judgment. Even so, his deep knowledge of archaic poetry, linked with a tendency which was quite frequent in his time, led him to compose poetry of Bedouin type which he attributed then to ancient poets, if at least his contemporaries are to be believed. He is especially accused of having fraudulently placed a number of verses under the name of Abū Duʾād al-Iyādī [*q.v.*], and above all, of being the author of the *Lāmiyyat al-ʿArab*, which al-Shanfarā [*q.v.*] did not in fact write; discussions about the authenticity of this poem have still not ended (see e.g. ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Mallūḥī, *al-Lāmiyyatāni*, Damascus 1966, who attempts in his introduction to show that Khalaf was not the author). At the end of his life, he is said to have condemned his own forgeries, but nothing is known of this. According to al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iv, 181, numerous *radjaz* verses were attributed to him without permission.

He is said to have composed a *K. Djibāl al-ʿArab* of verses in which mountains are mentioned, and his works, of which a few verses are extant, have been gathered into a *Dīwān* transmitted by Abū Nuwās, who is himself said to have written within Khalaf's own lifetime his funeral oration, an elegy in *fāʾ* (*Dīwān*, ed. A. ʿA. al-Ghazālī, Cairo 1953, 574-5).

Bibliography: The suspicion which rests on Ḥammād and Khalaf throws doubt on the recension of archaic poetic texts, so that these two transmitters are frequently cited in the controversies over the authenticity of pre-Islamic poetry. Ahlwardt devoted a monograph to Khalaf, *Chalaf al-Ahmar's Qaside*, Greifswald 1859. See also Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān* and *Ḥayawān*, indices; Ibn Sallām, index; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, index; *Fihrist*, 50, 162; *Aghānī*, index; Marzubānī, *Muwashshah*, index; Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt*, Cairo 1950-5, i, 348-51; Zabīdī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Cairo 1956, 177-81; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 242; Abū Ṭayyib al-Lughawī, *Marātib al-naḥwiyyīn*, Cairo 1955, 46-7; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, iv, 179 ff. = *Udabāʾ*, xi, 66 ff.; G. Jacob, *Schanfarâ-Studien*, in *SB Bayr. Akad.* (1914-15); F. Gabrieli, in *RSO*, xv (1935), 358 ff.; idem, in *Atti ... Lincei* (1946); Blachère, *HLA*, index.

(CH. PELLAT)

KHALAF B. MULĀʿIB AL-ASHHABĪ, with the *laḳab* SAYF AL-DAWLA, ruler of Ḥimṣ and Afāmiya in the late 5th/11th century. He was accused of various misdeeds, including brigandage, and is said, during a siege of Salamiyya, to have thrown the Sharīf Ibrāhīm al-Hāshimī against the tower from a mangonel. In 483/1090, complaints were sent to the Sultan Malikshāh, who ordered his brother Tutush, the ruler of Damascus, and other rulers of Syrian cities to proceed against him. A joint expedition captured Ḥimṣ, and Khalaf was sent in an iron cage to the Sultan in Iṣfahān. He remained in captivity until the Sultan's death in 485/1092, whereupon he was released by the Sultan's widow and sought refuge with the Amīr al-Juyūsh al-Afḍal in Cairo. In 488/1095-6 a delegation from Afāmiya went to Egypt to request a new ruler, and accepted (or perhaps proposed) Khalaf, who returned to Syria, presumably in the Fāṭimid interest. He resumed his activities, and remained in control of Afāmiya until he was murdered by Ismāʿīlī Assassins in 499/1106.

Bibliography: A biography of Khalaf is included in the *Bughyat al-ṭalab* of Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAdīm (ed. from the Istanbul manuscript by B. Lewis in *Mélanges Fuad Köprülü*, Istanbul 1953, 332-6); other sources in Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, 120-1, 149-50; ʿAẓīmī, 368, 371, 378; Ibn Muyassar, 466; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubda*, ii, index. The account in the *Bughya* is based on the (lost) fuller version of ʿAẓīmī, the chronicles of the Banū Munḳidh, and the North Syrian chronicle of Ibn Zurayḳ, as quoted by al-ʿUlaymī, known as Ḥawāʾidj Kash. (B. LEWIS)

AL-KHALAFIYYA, sub-sect (*firḳa*) of the Khāridjī sect of the Ibāḍiyya [*q.v.*] This sub-sect, whose origins were purely political, was founded in what is now Tripolitania around the beginning of the 3rd/9th century by Khalaf b. al-Samḥ, grandson of the Ibāḍī *imām* Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb ʿAbd al-Aʿlā al-Maʿāfirī al-Yamānī [*q.v.*]. Al-Samḥ b. ʿAbd al-Aʿlā, Khalaf's father, was originally the vizier of the Rustamid *imām* ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān [*q.v.*], who held him in high esteem, and then after ca. 196/811-12, he was governor of Tripolitania (*ḥayyiz Aṭrābulus*) on behalf of this *imām*. The new governor resided in the township of Tīmiya or Tīmtī in the extreme east of the Djabal Nafūsa [see AL-NAFŪSA, DJABAL] and was distinguished by his justice and his loyalty towards ʿAbd al-Wahhāb; he died before this last, i.e. before 208/823-4.

The Berber Ibāḍī notables of Tripolitania (sc. the deputy governors of particular tribes or of districts subordinate to al-Samḥ), influenced by the favourable impression left behind by his period of government, but showing themselves completely ignorant of the basic principles of the Ibāḍī doctrines, resolved to appoint his son Khalaf as their chief. This may also be considered as an attempt by the Berber Ibāḍī tribes of Tripolitania to claim for themselves a certain measure of independence of the Rustamid *imāms* in Tāhert. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb refused to confirm the election of Khalaf, but as Khalaf and his supporters refused to yield, and a schism followed, taking in the whole of Ibāḍī Tripolitania except for the western and central parts of the Djabal Nafūsa, whose population, under the governorship of Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ayyūb and then of his successor Abū ʿUbayda ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Djanāwunī, remained Wahbīs and faithful to the Banū Rustam. Having been elected as *imām* by his partisans, Khalaf besieged Tīmiya, his father's old residence, and carried on continuous warfare against Abū ʿUbayda. This only ended when Abū ʿUbayda won a victory over his army in 221/835-6, during the imāmate of

al-Aflaḥ b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, after which Khalaf's principality began to disintegrate. Thus the eastern part of this principality, comprising the northeastern part of Tripolitania, to the east of the meridian of Tripoli, became independent, and according to Ibn Khurradādhbih [q.v.], in ca. 232/846-7 formed a Berber kingdom under Ibn Ṣaghīr al-Barbarī al-Maṣmūdī. Likewise, the Tripolitanian Djefāra, which had also been part of Khalaf's principality, fell at about the same time under the influence of the Nafūsa of the Djabal. Certainly, when the ruler of Egypt Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn in 266/879-80 besieged the Aghlabid town of Tripoli, the people there received help from Abū Manṣūr Ilyās, governor of the Djabal Nafusa and from the *imām*s of Tāhert; he must therefore have been, at this time, in control of all the region between the Djabal and the Mediterranean.

It was apparently shortly after this that Ibn Khalaf, Khalaf b. al-Samḥ's son and successor, who had been expelled from his seat of Tīmiya, took refuge with the Berber tribe of Zawāgha, partisans of the Khalafiyya, in the Rīṣū or Rīṣō peninsula (Rīmū in al-Shammākhī, Ris in Muntaner, the 14th century Catalan chronicler, Rāzū in al-Bakrī, the modern district of al-ʿAkkāra opposite Djerba). Pursued by Abū Manṣūr Ilyās's army, Ibn Khalaf crossed over to Djerba, where he put himself under the protection of a section of the Zawāgha tribe who lived on the island, who nevertheless extradited him and sent him to Abū Manṣūr. According to the North African Ibāḍī historian Abū Zakariyyāʾ al-Wardjlānī [q.v.], this event took place towards the end of the Rustamids, apparently under the rule of the Rustamid *imām* Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. al-Aflaḥ, who reigned from 281/894. Since Abū Manṣūr Ilyās was dead by 283/896-7, at the time of the battle of Mānū, it appears that the Khalafī principality in Tripolitania came to an end in 282/895-6. Ibn Khalaf became Abū Manṣūr's prisoner, and was deported to the Djabal Nafūsa, where he died at some unknown date, by then probably a convert to Wahbism.

Certain Khalafī groups persisted after the fall of their imāmate. Thus there were Khalafī splinter groups at Ghadamès and in the Fezzān in the 3rd/9th century, in the district of Rīṣū and on the island of Djerba in the 4th/10th century, in the town of Zawāgha on the Tripolitanian coast in the 5th/11th century, and in the districts of Yéfren, Bābil, Kikla and Tākbāl in the east of the Djabal Nafūsa, until the middle of the 7th/13th century. According to L. Massignon, there were still remnants of them amongst the inhabitants of the Djabal Nafūsa and the Gharyān in ca. 1925.

Bibliography: E. Masqueray, *Chronique d'Abou Zakaria*, Algiers 1878, 128-44, 152-69, 188-94; Dardjīnī, *K. Ṭabaḳāt al-mashāyikh*, Cracow ms. 275, ff. 23b-27a, 42a-b; Shammākhī, *K. al-Siyar*, Cairo 1301/1884, 161, 178-9, 203, 224-4, 275, 281-3, 342, 546 and *passim*; Muḥammad Aṭfiyyash, *Risāla shāfiya fī baʿḍ tawārīkh*, lith. Algiers 1299/1880, 53; Massignon, *Annuaire du monde musulman*[2], Paris 1925, 132; Lewicki, *Études ibāḍites nord-africaines*, Warsaw 1955, 48-9, 62, 92, 101, 112-16 and *passim*. On the geographical distribution of Ibāḍī groups in mediaeval North Africa, see *RO*, xxi (1957), 312, 324-5, 331, 336-8, 341; and on the Ibāḍiyya in mediaeval Tunisia, see *Accademia Polacca di Scienze e Lettere, Biblioteca di Roma, Conferenze*, fasc. 6, Rome 1959, 8-9, and [P. Cuperly], *Aperçus sur l'histoire de l'ibāḍisme au Mzāb* (*al-Risāla al-Šāfiya fī baʿḍ tawārīkh ahl Wādī Mīzāb de Muḥammad Aṭfiyyaš*), partial Fr. tr. with introd. and notes by Pierre Cuperly, 1973 (= mémoire de maîtrise presented to Fac. of Letters, Paris-Sorbonne, 1971).

(T. Lewicki)

KHALDJĪS, an Indo-Muslim dynasty who ruled briefly in Dihlī 689-720/1290-1320.

The Khaldjīs were probably of Turkish origin [see khaladj, i, History] and the old view that they were Afghāns or Pathans probably arose from Baranī's statement (*Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī*, Calcutta 1862, 171) that the relations of Djalāl al-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh, founder of the dynasty, with the Turks were strained because he belonged to another racial stock (*aṣl*). He was the son of Yughrush (Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad, *Taʾrīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī*, Calcutta 1931, 61), and seems to have entered the service of Sulṭān Balban, who is stated to have left him with his son Bughrā Khān when the latter was appointed to the government of Bengal after the suppression of Ṭughril Beg's rebellion in 678/1280 (ʿIṣāmī gives 670/1271, see *Futūḥ al-salāṭīn*, Madras 1948, 168). Eight years later Bughrā Khān passed him on to his own son Kayḳubād, who had succeeded Balban as Sulṭān of Dihlī, and he subsequently became governor of Sāmāna and then Baran, before being summoned to Dihlī to take charge of the important office of *ʿĀriḍ-i Mamālik*, receiving the title of Shāʾista Khān. As the health of the Sulṭān was deteriorating fast due to an attack of paralysis, the Turkish nobles, led by Itimar Kačan and Itimar Surkhā, deposed him and enthroned his three-year old son under the title of Shams al-Dīn Kayumarth. Fīrūz managed to dispose of his rivals Kačan and Itimar Surkhā, and had them killed, so that most of the Turkish *malik*s and *khān*s now came over to Fīrūz, and he ascended the throne on 3 Jumādā al-Ākhir 689/13 June 1290, according to Amīr Khusraw, *Miftāḥ al-futūḥ*, English tr. in Elliot and Dowson, iii, 536, but Rabīʿ al-Ākhir/April-May, according to the *Taʾrīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī*, 61, as Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn, Kayḳubad having already been killed by a person whose father had been put to death under his orders. As the people of Dihlī believed that the Khaldjīs were not Turks, there was opposition to the transfer of power to them; hence in the beginning, Djalāl al-Dīn stayed in Kayḳubād's palace at Kilūkheri, which was rebuilt and embellished and came to be known as Shahr-i-naw or New City.

Before formally crowning himself, the Sulṭān had made some promotions and transfers, the most important of which, besides the awards conferred on his sons and relations, was the appointment of Balban's nephew, Malik Čhadjdjū Kishlī Khān to the *iḳṭāʿ* of Karā-Manikpūr. However, he raised the standard of revolt in the second year of the reign and marched towards Dihlī. Djalāl al-Dīn, leaving the capital in the charge of his eldest son, Khān Khānān, also moved out of the capital and reached Badāyūn. His advance guard, led by his second son, Arkalī Khān, crossed the Ganges, attacked the rebels and completely worsted them. Kishlī Khān tried to escape, but he was soon surrendered by a Hindu *muḳaddam* or headman with whom he had taken refuge. The Sulṭān treated him mildly and sent him along with other captives to Multān, which had been assigned to Arkalī Khān. Another instance of his mild treatment of offenders was his decision about the murderous thugs who had been captured and brought to Dihlī, and who were simply deported to Bengal.

However, it is rather surprising that in the case

of a *darwīsh*, Sīdī Muwallih, Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn departed from his policy of leniency and allowed him to be killed barbarously under the orders of his son. Muwallih originally came from the northern territories (*wilāyat-i-mulk-i-bālā*, Baranī, 208), and is stated to have stayed for some days with Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Gandjshakar who had advised him not to allow rich people to become associated with him. It appears that he paid no heed to this advice and threw open the door of his hospice (*khānaḳāh*) to men in all walks of life, regardless of their status. His growing popularity roused jealousy, and some of his enemies created a suspicion in the mind of the Sulṭān that Sīdī Muwallih was planning to capture the throne. Djalāl al-Dīn accordingly ordered his arrest, but unable to establish his guilt, the Sulṭān is said to have appealed to a party of Ḳalandar dervishes who were present to do him justice; one of them immediately attacked the Sīdī with a sharp razor, and at the order of Arkalī Khān he was trampled to death under the feet of an elephant. Most of the historians consider it as the murder of an innocent person; Baranī goes to the extent of remarking that after his murder the city was enveloped in the evening by total darkness due to a wind storm (*kālī āndhī*), and adds that in fact the decline of the Sulṭān's power began from that day.

Shortly after Sīdī Muwallih's execution, Djalāl al-Dīn led an unsuccessful expedition against Ranthambor. More determined was the Sulṭān's attitude in expelling the Mongols who had invaded his kingdom with a large army led by a grandson of Hulāgū. He met the invaders near Sunām and inflicted a heavy defeat on their advance guard, after which they accepted his terms and were allowed to go back unmolested. Another military exploit of the year 691/1292 was the invasion of Mālwā by the nephew of the Sulṭān, ʿAlī Garshāsp (later ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī). He captured Bhilsa and, laden with considerable booty, returned to Dihlī and was given the *iḳṭāʿ* of Awadh as a reward in addition to his original assignment of Karā-Manikpūr. Two years later ʿAlī left on a bigger adventure, his objective now being the conquest of Deogīr, the rich capital of the Yadava ruler Rama Čandra. With a force of 7,000-8,000 horse he marched to Elličpūr in Berar, where he gave out that he was a discontented noble of Dihlī and was going to the south to seek service with the ruler of Rajamundri in south Telingana. After resting for two days he marched on Deogīr, took the Rādjā by surprise, defeated him in a battle fought in the vicinity of the town and forced him to take refuge in the fortress. ʿAlī further defeated the eldest son of the Rādjā, Shankar (Singhanadev or Sankhdev, according to some authorities; see K. S. Lal, *History of the Khaljis*, Allahabad 1950, 52, and Elliot and Dowson, iii, 551). Father and son had no option but to beg for peace; the Rādjā had to cede the province of Elličpur and pay an indemnity in the form of hundreds of maunds of gold, silver and jewels, besides horses and elephants. Laden with enormous wealth, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn safely returned to Kara, although the Sulṭān, who was on a hunting expedition in the neighbourhood of Gwalior could have easily intercepted him on his return march, since he had attacked Deogir without his permission.

After his arrival in Kara, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn adopted an attitude of apprehensive penitence and ultimately succeeded in persuading the Sulṭān to visit him and forgive his misdemeanour. Despite the warning of his counsellors, Djalāl al-Dīn left Dihlī and reached the bank of the Ganges, where his nephew was encamping. Just at the moment when the aged Sulṭān was about to embrace him in affection, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn had him murdered, proclaimed himself king (Ramaḍān 695/July 1296), and seized Dihlī.

During his reign of twenty years (695-715/1296-1316), the new Sulṭān not only made extensive conquests resulting in the annexation of the entire region of central and south India, but also established peace in the north by stopping the frequent raids of the Mongols and introducing a number of administrative and economic reforms; here only a brief reference can be made to his multifarious achievements.

ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn had not been on the throne even for a year when the first raid of the Mongols came. They were, however, defeated and pushed back by the Sulṭān's forces. This was soon followed by another raid under a Mongol chief, named Ṣaldī (Baranī 253; Sagdī and Saldī in *Futūḥ al-salāṭīn*, 251); as before ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's brave commander, Ẓafar Khān defeated them capturing 2,000 prisoners. In 699/1299 came one of their greatest raids under the leadership of Kutlugh Khʷādja, when they reached the gates of Dihlī. Rejecting the advice of his counsellors to buy off the raiders, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn assembled a large army, marched out of the city and encamped in the plain of Sīrī. After the death in battle of Ẓafar Khān, the Mongols nevertheless broke camp and retreated. The next Mongol invasion was led by Ṭarghī, who, knowing that the Sulṭān was busy in the siege of Chitor (702-3/1302-3), marched with an army of 120,000 horsemen right up to the Jamuna. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, who had in the meantime returned from Chitor, having suffered considerable losses in matériel, shut himself up in the fortress of Sīrī which was besieged by the Mongols. The Sulṭān is stated to have requested Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyāʾ, a pious Ṣūfī *shaykh*, living near Dihlī, to pray for his victory, and the sudden and unexpected retirement of the Mongols when they were in a clearly advantageous position was attributed by contemporary historians to his prayers. Nevertheless, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn was shaken by this raid and decided to take effective measures to increase the strength of his army and repair and regarrison the old forts in the north-western region. It is not surprising, therefore, that when the next horde of the Mongols came in 705/1305 they found the Sulṭān's army fully prepared to meet them. They avoided the newly-repaired forts, and marching along the line of the Himalayas, reached Amrōha, about 80 miles to the east of Dihlī. The Sulṭān's army commanded by the *malik*s Tughluḳ and Kāfūr intercepted them on their return march and defeating them in battle captured their leaders, ʿAlī Beg and Tartāk, with 8,000 men besides a large number of horses (Baranī, 320; Tartāḳ in Amīr Khusraw, *Khazāʾin al-futūḥ*, 37). ʿAlāʾ al-Din ordered the prisoners to be killed and their skulls to be built into the walls of the fortress of Sīrī. In the following year, the Mongols again entered the subcontinent under Kabak and crossed the Indus near Multān, but Tughluḳ again defeated them on their return march. The last raid of the Mongols in this time (according to some authorities, an off-shoot of the previous one) was led by Iḳbālmand; he was also defeated and slain, and the Sulṭān ordered the captives to be crushed to death. Their successive defeats, the harsh treatment meted out to the captives and Tughluḳ's incursions into their own regions deterred them from raiding the territories of the Dihlī Sultanate as long as ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn occupied the throne. It appears that besides the major invasions mentioned

by the historians the Mongols frequently raided the frontier regions, for according to an inscription, which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa saw in the mosque of Multān, Tug̲h̲luḳ had encountered the Mongols on 29 occasions and it was for this reason that he had come to be known as G̲h̲āzī Malik.

Far more enduring than his victories over the Mongols were ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's conquests in central and southern India. In 698/1299 the Sulṭān sent Ulug̲h̲ K̲h̲ān and Nuṣrat K̲h̲ān to conquer Gud̲j̲arāt. They captured its ancient capital Anhilwara (Paṭan), but its ruler Rād̲j̲ā Karan managed to escape towards Deogīr. Besides the booty, they also brought to Dihlī the idol that had been set up at Somnath in place of the one destroyed by Sulṭān Maḥmūd. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's successes during the first two or three years of the reign led him to entertain wild schemes of conquering the world and founding a new religion. Luckily one of his wise counsellors, ʿAlāʾ al-Mulk, cautiously advised him to abandon the idea of founding a new faith, and to undertake the conquest of Rajputana and other parts of the subcontinent. Accordingly in 699/1299 he sent an army to conquer Ranthambor and subsequently left the capital to supervise the operations in person. In the course of a hunting trip on his way to Ranthambor he was separated from the main party. One of his nephews, Akat K̲h̲ān, finding him unprotected, attacked the Sulṭān and seemingly shot him dead with an arrow. Then he rushed to the camp and proclaimed himself Sulṭān, but before he was able to fully control the situation ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, who had only become unconscious for some time, returned with a party of his followers. Akat was overpowered and put to death, and ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn proceeded towards Ranthambor. During his absence from the capital, two other nephews of the Sulṭān unsuccessfully rose against the central government in their fiefs in Badāyūn and Awadh. More serious than these risings was the rebellion of Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī Mawlā who seized the Red Palace at Dihlī and placed on the throne a *Sayyid* who was, through his mother, a descendant of Sulṭān S̲h̲ams al-Dīn Iltutmis̲h̲. Within a week however, the rebellion was suppressed by Malik Ḥamīd al-Dīn, called *Amīr-i-Kūh*. In the winter of D̲j̲umādā II 701/January 1303, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn marched on Chitor and captured it without much difficulty; its Rajput ruler, Ratan Singh, was brought as a prisoner to Dihlī. Malik Muḥammad D̲j̲āisī, a Hindi poet of the 10th/16th century, has versified a story that ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's attack on Chitor was prompted by his desire to obtain Padmini, the beautiful daughter of its Rād̲j̲ā, but it is not mentioned by any contemporary historian, and cannot, therefore, be accepted as a fact, although it has been included in the chapter on the K̲h̲ald̲j̲īs in *The Cambridge History of India*. After Rajputana, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn turned his attention to Mālwā and sent ʿAyn al-Mulk Multānī in 705/1305 to conquer it. The Rād̲j̲ā forces offered a determined resistance, but they were defeated by the Muslims who captured important places like Ujjain, Māndū and Chanderi. Kānhar Deo, the Rād̲j̲ā of Jalore, was so unnerved by these victories of ʿAyn al-Mulk that he accompanied him to Dihlī and offered allegiance to the Sulṭān. In Ramaḍān 705/March 1306 (according to Amīr K̲h̲usraw, *K̲h̲azāʾin al-futūḥ*, Calcutta 1953, 65) ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn despatched Malik Kāfūr (now Malik Nāʾib) to punish Rama Čandra who had not sent the tribute for several years. He was also commissioned to bring Dewal Dewi, daughter of the fugitive Rād̲j̲ā of Gud̲j̲arāt, as her mother, now in Dihlī, wanted to see her. The princess was abducted and sent to Dihlī, where she was married to ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's son, K̲h̲iḍr K̲h̲ān; the story of their love and marriage was described by Amīr K̲h̲usraw in his *mat̲h̲nawī* entitled *K̲h̲iḍr K̲h̲ān-Dawalrānī*. Appointing his own officers in Elličpur, Malik Nāʾib marched on Deogīr; Rama Čandra offered his submission, and was treated generously by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn; the title of *rāy-rāyān* was conferred on him and he was allowed to govern Deogīr as a vassal of Dihlī.

Two minor expeditions may be mentioned before Malik Nāʾib's next campaign in the south. Siwāna, an important stronghold in Mārwār, was besieged and captured; its ruler Sītal Deo offered submission and presented one hundred elephants and costly gifts. His state was annexed, but he was allowed to retain his fortress. An army was also sent against Jalore, and its Rād̲j̲ā, Kānhar Deo, put to death. Malik Nāʾib left Dihlī in 709/1309 (Baranī, 327) on his second campaign in the south, which was directed against the Kākatya State of Telingana. Its capital, Warrangal, was captured from the ruler Pratapudra Deo II, who submitted and offered a large indemnity in the form of horses, elephants, coined money and jewels besides the payment of an annual tribute.

In 710/1310 Malik Nāʾib and K̲h̲ʷād̲j̲a Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī were again sent to the south. Marching via Deogīr (now governed by Rama Čandra's son) the Sulṭān's army reached Dwāra Samudra, capital of the Hoysāla ruler, Vira Ballāla III. After its fall, Malik Nāʾib moved towards the Pāndya Kingdom in the extreme south. Prince Sundar Pāndya, who had murdered his father but had failed to seize the throne and had been expelled by his brother, Vīrā, had come to the court of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn with an appeal for help. However, on hearing that Malik Nāʾib was marching on his capital Vīra fled from there and the Sulṭān's army captured Madura without any fighting. Malik Nāʾib's last expedition to the south was directed against Deogīr, as its new Rād̲j̲ā had tried to defy the authority of the Sulṭān. The Malik put the rebellious Rād̲j̲ā to death and assumed its government. To make firm the authority of the central government, he had to recapture some fortresses in the south and annex the tract between the Kris̲h̲na and Tungabhadra rivers. Malik Nāʾib is stated to have built a small mosque, known as *ʿAlāʾī Masd̲j̲id*, at Rāmes̲h̲varem, near the sea coast, which was in existence when Firis̲h̲ta wrote his book (Bombay ed., i, 210). Thus in the course of less than eight years, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's generals brought the entire region of the south under the sway of their master. The Sulṭān, however, being a realist in politics, did not assume direct administration there; except for Deogīr, which was annexed and directly governed from Dihlī, the Hindu rulers remained as vassals of the Sulṭān.

Besides his extensive conquests and positive measures to establish peace by stopping the raids of the Mongols, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's reign is marked by a series of administrative, agrarian and economic reforms. The successive rebellions which had occurred during his absence from the capital at the time of the siege of Ranthambor convinced the Sulṭān of the need of inquiring into their causes and taking necessary steps to eradicate the possibility of their recurrence. It seemed to him and his advisers ultimately that they were due to neglect of the internal espionage system, a general use of wine, matrimonial alliances among the families of the nobles, and the concentration of excessive wealth by individuals. In pursuance of curbing this last, he enacted laws according to which

all rent-free lands, including religious endowments, were confiscated to the state, and tax collectors were instructed to collect gold on all possible pretexts, with the result that only small holdings of a few thousand *tankas*' rental were left with the landowners, thus reducing their military power and their ability to rebel, as is clear from the history of the remaining years of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's reign. The internal espionage system was improved, and it was stated that courtiers became so afraid of their conversations being reported to the Sulṭān that when near the palace they dared not speak, and expressed their ideas by signs rather than words. Another ordinance prohibited the use of alcohol and intoxicating drugs; the Sulṭān himself gave up drinking and ordered his wine vessels to be broken and their contents poured out in front of the Badāyūn gate. Those who tried to smuggle wine into the capital suffered exemplary punishment. However, the Sulṭān later relaxed the rigour of these measures by not taking notice of private manufacturers and consumption of wine. Lastly, he issued an ordinance which made it obligatory on the nobles to obtain permission of the Sulṭān for matrimonial alliances among their families. These enactments naturally affected the nobles and wealthy families living in the capital or its suburbs, but ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn knew that the rich and influential persons in the villages could also become a source of danger. The regulations issued by him with regard to the leading men in the villages (*muḳaddams*, *balāhars* and *kh̲ūṭs*) have been misunderstood by some writers; Baranī used the general term "Hindu" for these persons, and possible most of them did belong to that community. According to another ordinance, some new taxes were levied as, for instance, a grazing cess on milch cows and goats.

ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's economic policy, mainly based on a system of price control, was the result of his efforts to maintain a large standing army against threats from the Mongols. Apparently realising that taxes could not be raised indefinitely, and that it was dangerous to decrease the pay of the soldiers, he decided to reduce the prices of commodities and make the necessaries of life so cheap that a horseman could be recruited on a comparatively small pay of 234 *tankas* per annum with 78 *tankas* for keeping an additional horse. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn started with issuing several regulations according to which prices of corn were fixed, government stores were opened, the caravans of newcomers were registered and state revenue in the neighbouring areas was collected in kind. Malik Ḳabūl, an honest and strict officer, was appointed *S̲h̲aḥna-i-Mandī* (market superintendent). He suppressed hoarding, and the Sulṭān ordered that those who gave short measure should have flesh equal in weight to the deficiency cut from their own bodies. The state also fixed the prices of other necessaries of life, such as cloth, for which a separate market was opened in an open plot of land near Badāyūn gate, known as the *Sarāy-i ʿAdl*. Some idea of the resulting cheapness of commodities can be formed from the list given in Baranī's *Tāʾrīk̲h̲-i Fīrūzs̲h̲āhī*, according to which wheat was sold at $7^1/_2$ *d̲j̲ītals* (small copper coins) per maund and rice at 5 *d̲j̲ītals* per maund. The price of a fine horse was for obvious reasons over 100 *tankas*, but a milch cow could be had for 3 to 4 *tankas*, while a goat was sold for 10 to 14 *d̲j̲ītals* only (a silver *tanka* was equal to 64 *d̲j̲ītals*). However, much opposition must have arisen from vested interests, and this explains Barani's remark that all these regulations remained in operation only in the time of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, whilst his son Mubārak S̲h̲āh K̲h̲ald̲j̲ī was unable to enforce them.

ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn was a severe but vigorous ruler, yet owing to rivalries and a quarrel for power between his eldest son, K̲h̲iḍr K̲h̲ān, and Malik Nāʾib, his last days were unhappy. The former was transferred to Amrōha and thus sent away from the capital, but returned to Dihlī on the pretext of visiting the tombs of some of the leading *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲s* there. In the midst of these worries, the Sulṭān died in S̲h̲awwāl 716/ January 1316. Before his death Malik Nāʾib, who had great influence over the Sulṭān, had persuaded him to disinherit K̲h̲iḍr K̲h̲ān, to imprison him in the fort of Gwalior, and to nominate his young son, S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn ʿUmar, as heir to the throne. On the latter's accession Malik Nāʾib assumed the powers of regent and ordered K̲h̲iḍr K̲h̲ān and his brother, S̲h̲ādī K̲h̲ān, who had been imprisoned in Sīrī, to be blinded. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's third son, Mubārak K̲h̲ān, who had also been imprisoned, was also blinded. The prince, however, succeeded in bribing some of the palace guard, and they agreed to murder Malik Nāʾib and his companions. Thus this cruel and ambitious slave of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn was killed only 35 days after his master's death. Mubārak now became the regent of his infant brother, but only two months later he blinded him and ascended the throne under the title of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mubārak S̲h̲āh. The new Sulṭān, a youth of 18, began his reign by setting free a number of prisoners, recalling those who had been banished by his father and rescinding his enactments in regard to heavy taxation and control over prices of commodities, thus gaining considerable popularity.

Soon after his accession Mubārak left for the south where Harpāl Deo, a son-in-law of Rama Čandra, had seized power and defied the authority of Dihlī. On the approach of the Sulṭān's army, however, he fled from the capital, but he was captured and put to death and the administration of Deogīr was entrusted to Malik Yaklakhī; after sending his favourite slave, K̲h̲usraw, on an expedition to Madura, and having spent the rainy season of 718/1318 in Deogīr, the Sulṭān set out for the north. On his return journey a plot was made to kill Mubārak, but the news leaked out and the conspirators were executed. He also ordered his three brothers, K̲h̲iḍr K̲h̲ān, S̲h̲ādī K̲h̲ān and S̲h̲ihāb al-Dīn ʿUmar, to be murdered.

Mubārak now gave himself up completely to a life of debauchery. His infatuation for K̲h̲usraw K̲h̲ān, a slave belonging to a low caste (variously spelt as *parwārī* or *brādū* in the Persian histories), grew day by day until the latter secured an ascendancy over his master, and he decided to kill the Sulṭān and seize the throne. Mubārak was warned of the danger of a conspiracy, but he paid no heed to it and K̲h̲usraw's partisans succeeded in murdering him (720/1320). His head was severed from his body and thrown into the courtyard where the courtiers who were urgently summoned to the Palace could see it. On the following morning, K̲h̲usraw ascended the vacant throne, assuming the title of Sulṭān Nāṣir al-Dīn; his reign, however, proved brief.

According to Baranī, 411, K̲h̲usraw and his followers embraced Islam but were not genuine in the change of faith; they started worshipping idols within the palace, used copies of the Ḳurʾān as stools and wantonly outraged the Muslim women. Some of the Muslim leaders, unable to bear his excesses, decided on his overthrow. D̲j̲ūnā K̲h̲ān (the later Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Tug̲h̲luḳ (725-52/1325-51) left the capital for Sāmāna where his father, G̲h̲āzī Malik, was then posted. The latter organised a campaign and marched

on Dihlī and defeated an army that was sent against him under the command of Khusraw's brother. The final battle was fought near the old fort of Indrapat in which Khusraw was defeated, in spite of his profuse distribution of wealth to win the support of the army and the sympathy of the people. He escaped, but was later found, and Ghāzī Malik ordered him to be beheaded. On the following morning the nobles urged him to accept the crown as there was no one left in the family of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn who could lawfully wear it. Hence Ghāzī Malik ascended the throne of Dihlī in Shaʿbān 720/September 1320 under the title of Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluḳ Shāh and began the line of Tughlūḳid Sultans.

Bibliography: 1. Contemporary and later sources: Amīr Khusraw, *mathnawīs*, particularly the *Miftāḥ al-futūḥ*, *Dawal Rānī-Khiḍr Khān* (also known as *ʿAshiḳa*), *Nūh sipahr* and *Tughluḳ-nāma*, besides the five poems of the *Khamsa* (for various editions see Storey, i, 498 ff.); idem, *Khazāʾin al-futūḥ*, ed. S. Moinul Haq, Aligarh 1927, ed. M. Wahid Mirza, Calcutta 1953; Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Baranī, *Tārīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī*, ed. Syed Ahmad Khan, Calcutta 1862; ʿIṣāmī, *Futūḥ al-salāṭīn*, ed. A. S. Usha, Madras 1948; Yaḥyā Sarhindī, *Taʾrīkh-i Mubārakshāhī*, ed. M. Hidayat Hosain, Calcutta 1931; Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Akbarī*, Bibl. Ind. edn.; M. Ḳāsim Hindū Shāh Firishta, *Gulshan-i-Ibrāhīmī*, ed. Major Briggs and Mīr Khayrāt ʿAlī Khān, Bombay 1831-2; ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Badāyūnī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, Bibl. Ind. edn., also ed. Lucknow, Newal-Kishore; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, Paris 1853-9, Cairo 1287-8.

2. Modern works: K. S. Lal, *History of the Khaljis*, Allahabad 1950; *The Cambridge History of India*, iii; E. Thomas, *The Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, London 1871; I. H. Qureshi, *The administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*[4], Karachi 1958; S. Moinul Haq, *ʿAhd-i-Ḳadīm wa salṭanat-i-Dihlī*, Karachi 1966.

(S. MOINUL HAQ)

KHALDJIS of MĀLWA. [see MĀLWA].

AL-**KHALDŪNIYYA** (AL-**DJAMʿIYYA**), a cultural association established in Tunis under the spiritual aegis of Ibn Khaldūn. It was sanctioned on 22 December 1896/18 Radjab 1314 and its premises officially opened on Saturday, 14 Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1314/15 May 1897 in the presence of the Tunisian authorities.

Its creation was in part due to the united efforts of Tunisians educated at the Ṣādikī College, who were anxious to effect a reconciliation with former students of the Zaytūna. In this aim they were supported by *shaykhs* who were the Zaytūna's instructors. Their action was in line with the political and cultural trends advocated and put into practice by the minister Khayr al-Dīn [*q.v.*], which put a determinedly modern slant on traditional studies and provided the Zaytūna's students with a scientific course of study that gave them an opening into the modern world, which the French socio-cultural presence in Tunisia made essential.

The activities of the Near Eastern reformists, and Shaykh Muḥammad ʿAbduh's two visits to Tunis (in December 1884 and 1903), also had an influence on the teaching of Arabic studies. During his second visit to the city, ʿAbduh even put forward the notion of introducing instruction in science and mathematics into the Zaytūna itself.

In 1893 the modern studies courses followed at the Khaldūniyya were set as obligatory tests in the Zaytūna's examinations and recognised in the official diploma of applied studies which was created by a decree of 28 Djumādā II 1316/12 November 1898 and which conferred job advantages on its holders.

In order to achieve these ends, the association had to smooth over difficulties, combat numerous instances of prejudice and counter the many objections raised by the traditionalists, who considered that the study of modern science was a profane action which might strike a blow at the unity of Islam. The association also had to struggle to balance a very shaky budget and raise the necessary credit to cover the cost of organising courses and lectures, acquiring books for the library and materials which would enable students to begin scientific experiments.

The Khaldūniyya course of studies, taught in modern Arabic, imparted, up to World War I, the rudiments of knowledge which played a valuable part in the diffusion of scientific ideas among students and the adults who attended lectures aimed at popularising ideas on physics, chemistry, zoology, botany, modern literature, history, law, economic and commercial geography and political economy.

The last president, Shaykh Fāḍil Ibn ʿĀshūr, had a Zaytūn university education but was a wholehearted advocate of the modern ideas that, from 1945, took over from the former directors, who were of essentially Ṣādiḳian education. Ibn ʿĀshūr inaugurated the final phase, which concluded with the educational reforms of 1958. Several projects were dear to his heart. He renewed the objectives of the association by setting up many "Khaldūnian" organisations which coincided with a new spirit of nationalism stemming from the Arab League. He created an Arabic general certificate of education based on a general and scientific curriculum in the Arabic language which fitted students for enrollment in the universities of the Arab countries. He also opened an Institute of Islamic Studies which was intended to revitalise Islamic culture, and from 1945 onwards drew attention to the new realities governing the modern world by organising a series of conferences on specific themes. In addition, he set up an Arabic Institute of Law in 1946 with the aim of modernising law studies and improving the education of barristers and magistrates, so that Tunisian justice might be better served. Finally, in the same year he founded the Institute of Philosophy, to educate students who wished to prepare for advanced level philosophy, and also to give wider currency to the major trends of Islamic philosophy.

It is clear, therefore, that from its inception the Khaldūniyya had the dual aim of preparing students for official examinations through a proper course of study and of giving adults the opportunity to round off their general education and diversify their knowledge.

With its combination of instruction and culture, the Khaldūniyya was gradually raised from the status of a private association to that of a national cultural institution which organised courses and conferences and put in train various other activities. To fulfil these tasks, it employed a linguistic tool which served to transmit traditional teaching but was sufficiently flexible to convey and give mastery of modern and scientific knowledge.

Bibliography: M. Lasram, *Une association en Tunisie, La Khaldounia*, Tunis 1906; E. Amar, *La Khaldounia*, in *RMM*, iii (1907), 352-63; F. Ibn ʿĀshūr, *al-Ḥaraka al-adabiyya wa'l-fikriyya fī Tūnis*, Cairo 1956; M. Sayadi, *al-Jamʿiyya al-Khaldūniyya 1896-1958*, Tunis 1974 (in French); A. Abdesselem, *Sadiki et les Sadikiens*, Tunis 1975.

(M. SAYADI)

BANŪ **KHĀLID**, an Arab tribe occupying the central part of the eastern provinces of modern Saudi Arabia, the region along the Gulf coast known since earlier times as al-Aḥsāʾ or al-Ḥasā [*q.v.*]. The tribe at present occupies the territory lying between al-Miḳṭāʿ in the north and al-Bayāḍ in the south, with its centre at the town of al-Ḥasā. For the last two centuries, the chieftainship has been in the hands of the ʿUrayʿir family.

The tribe begins to figure in historical sources from the 10th/16th century onwards, indicating its growing importance. In 989/1581 they fought off Sharīfian forces trying to occupy al-Ḥasā from the sea, but could not prevent the Ottomans, who had the support of the Muntafiḳ tribe [*q.v.*] of Lower ʿIrāḳ, from occupying the region soon afterwards. The Ottomans held it till 1082/1670, when Barrāk b. ʿUrayʿir Āl Ḥamīd, member of an important family of the Banū Khalīd, killed Rashīd b. Maghāmis Āl Shabīb of the Muntafiḳ and drove the Turks from the town of al-Hufhūf or al-Hufūf [*q.v.*], and thus ended the first Turkish occupation of the province. It was Barrāk who established a summer residence in Kuwayt, in a fortress called, like that of al-Hufhūf, a *kōt* or *kūt* (whence the diminutive *kuwayt* from this Indian word). He also sacked the town of al-Dirʿiyya [*q.v.*] in *ca.* 1091/1680, but died soon afterwards, and his brother Muḥammad succeeded as tribal chief. Until his death in 1102/1691, Muḥammad made various incursions into the regions of al-Yamāma, al-Khardj and Sudayr in Nadjd. He was followed by Saʿdūn b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. ʿUthmān, who had been Barrāk's ally in the expulsion of the Turks, and under him the area controlled by the Banū Khālid reached its greatest extent, from Kuwayt in the north to Ḳaṭar in the south. He envisaged also a policy of conquest in Nadjd, where in 1095/1684 the Idrīsid Sharīf Idrīs b. Waṭbān, who at that time controlled al-Dirʿiyya, had been killed by one Sulṭān b. Ḥāmid al-Ḳaysī, who was probably a member of the Banū Khālid, and who had then made himself lord of that town; it was held by Sulṭān and his brother ʿAbd Allāh for some two decades. However, incursions from al-Ḥasā continued, and we find Saʿdūn again attacking and sacking ʿAḳrabā and ʿAmmāriyya in 1133/1721 just before his death in battle in 1135/1723.

A series of internecine conflicts within the family followed, ending in the triumph of Saʿdūn's cousin ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, who was in turn followed by his brother Sulaymān. It was during his reign that Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb [*q.v.*] began his preaching in Nadjd, and Khālidī opposition to this teaching was one of the main causes of the ensuing warfare between the Banū Khālid and the Āl Suʿūd, beginning with the expulsion of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb from ʿUyayna by ʿUthmān b. Aḥmad Āl Muʿammar at the behest of Sulaymān b. Muḥammad, after when he settled at al-Dirʿiyya (1157/1744). Further internal conflict followed amongst the Banū Khālid, with Sulaymān driven out of al-Ḥasā in 1165/1752; he found refuge in al-Khardj, but died there in the same year. The Āl Suʿūd now intervened in al-Ḥasā, at the invitation of discontended members of the ruling family, but when Saʿdūn of the Banū Khālid was defeated at Djadaʿa by the rebels, who were aided by the Muntafiḳ chief Thuwaynī, Saʿdūn actually found refuge in al-Dirʿiyya with his enemy ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad b. Suʿūd and died there shortly afterwards. The rebel leaders Duwayḥis and Muḥammad b. ʿUrayʿir, together with their uncle ʿAbd al-Muḥsin, now became leaders of the Banū Khālid in al-Ḥasā until 1203/1789, when they were briefly succeeded by Zayd b. ʿUrayʿir and Barrāk b. ʿAbd al-Muḥsin. In 1207/1793 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz felt strong enough to invade al-Ḥasā, and two years later totally defeated Barrāk. One Nādjim, of obscure family and not a member of the Banū Khālid, came to power now in al-Ḥasā as a vassal, nominally *wālī* or governor, of the Āl Suʿūd.

The expansionist policies of Suʿūd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who by 1223/1808 controlled the Ḥidjāz, ʿAsīr, al-Ḥasā and Baḥrayn, as well as Nadjd, alarmed the Ottoman Porte, leading to the invasion from Egypt of an army under Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*] which defeated Suʿūd and razed al-Dirʿiyya to the ground in 1233-4/1818-19. This provided an opportunity for the Banū Khālid to regain control in al-Ḥasā, and two brothers from the ʿUrayʿir family, Mādjid and Muḥammad, briefly managed to seize al-Hufhūf and Ḳaṭīf before Ibrāhīm's commander Muḥammad Kāshif appeared there. Mādjid, however, remained ruler of al-Ḥasā until 1245/1830, when he was killed in battle at ʿAḳlā with the resurgent Āl Suʿūd. Al-Ḥasā again passed under Suʿūdī control, despite the temporary re-imposition of Turco-Egyptian control over Nadjd in 1838, until internal conflict within the Āl Suʿūd in 1872 allowed the Ottomans to re-establish their power in al-Ḥasā, with their headquarters in al-Hufhūf. In the following year, the Turkish troops withdrew, and the Porte appointed as local governor or *mutaṣarrif* a member of their old supporters, the Banū Khālid, sc. Bāziʿ b. ʿUrayʿir. His position nevertheless proved unstable, and when the Suʿūdī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Fayṣal attacked him, and besieged him in the citadel of al-Hufhūf, al-Kūt, Turkish forces had to return and drive off the Suʿūdīs.

In 1912 the whole region of al-Ḥasā came into the hands of the founder of modern Saudi Arabia, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz II. This ruler followed a policy of linking the Banū Khālid to his own dynasty by marriage alliances; hence there are many Saudi princes today who have the blood of the Banū Khālid in their veins.

Bibliography: H. St. J. B. Philby, *Saʿudi Arabia*, London 1954; Munīr al-ʿAdjlānī, *Taʾrīkh al-bilād al-ʿarabiyya al-suʿūdiyya*, Beirut N.D.; idem, *ʿAhd Suʿūd al-kabīr*, Beirut N.D.; Sumūw al-Amīr Suʿūd b. ʿAdlūl, *Taʾrīkh mulūk āl-Suʿūd*, Riyadh 1961; Ibn Bishr, *ʿUnwān al-madjd fī taʾrīkh Nadjd*, Beirut 1964; R. B. Winder, *Saudi Arabia in the nineteenth century*, London 1965; Aḥmad Abū Ḥākima, *History of eastern Arabia 1750-1800*, Beirut 1965; Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥukayl, *Kanz al-ansāb wa-madjmaʿ al-ādāb*, Riyadh 1972. (R. Di Meglio)

KHĀLID B. **ʿABD ALLĀH** AL-**ḲASRĪ**, governor for the Umayyads, first of Mecca and later, during almost the entire caliphate of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik [*q.v.*], of ʿIrāḳ. There his position may be compared with that of Ziyād under Muʿāwiya and al-Ḥadjdjādj under ʿAbd al-Malik. Information about Khālid in the sources often seems to be the product of polemic between different political, religious, ethnic and tribal groups, and it should, therefore, be used cautiously.

His clan, the Ḳasr, was a branch of Banū Badjīla [*q.v.*]. While his grandfather and great-grandfather are counted as Companions of the Prophet (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, Calcutta 1854-73, i, 59, iii, 1341), and the latter is known as a hero of the Badjīla, an earlier ancestor is said to have been a Jewish slave, and Khālid himself is often called Ibn al-Naṣrāniyya on

account of his Christian mother. Some scandalous details about Khālid's ancestry seem to reflect anti-Arab Shuʿūbī sentiment (Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.* i, 205 = Eng. tr. i, 188). In a tradition which Goldziher (*ibid.*, ii, 45-6 = Eng. tr. ii, 53-4) classified as a pro-Umayyad fabrication, and which may refer to the rivalry between Khālid and his successor as governor of ʿIrāḳ, Yūsuf b. ʿUmar al-Thaḳafī [*q.v.*], the Prophet gave Khālid's grandfather Asad precedence over a man of Thaḳīf and asked for special blessings on Asad's descendants. The report that Khālid was not a descendant of Asad (Ibn ʿAsākir, Damascus 1332/1914, v, 68) may be a response to this *ḥadīth*. For these and other details of Khālid's ancestry, see especially *Aghānī*[1], xix, 52 ff.

The dates of Khālid's governorship at Mecca are uncertain. Ṭabarī's two reports, one *sub anno* 89/707-8, the other *sub anno* 91/709-10, both attribute Khālid's appointment to the caliph al-Walīd. Some sources, however, refer to Khālid as governor at Mecca under ʿAbd al-Malik (d. 86/705), among them a detailed report in pseudo-Ibn Ḳutayba of the arrest by Khālid, after his arrival as governor in Mecca, of the pious Saʿīd b. al-Djubayr [*q.v.*], a refugee from ʿIrāḳ after the suppression by al-Ḥadjdjādj of the revolt of Ibn al-Ashʿath (*K. al-Imāma wa 'l-siyāsa*[2], Cairo 1969, ii, 51 ff.). The suggestion of F. Gabrieli (*Il califfato di Hishâm*, Alexandria, 1935, 8, n. 2) that the story of the arrest of Saʿīd b. al-Djubayr has been moved forward by pseudo-Ibn Ḳutayba in order to make it follow the account of Ibn al-ʿAshʿath's defeat in 84/703 or 85/704, and that other reports which have Khālid as governor of Mecca under ʿAbd al-Malik all derive from the account of pseudo-Ibn Ḳutayba, seems to be contradicted by the reports of al-Azraḳī, an earlier source, which refer to Khālid as governing Mecca for ʿAbd al-Malik in circumstances which have nothing to do with Saʿīd (F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Chroniken ... Mekka*, Leipzig 1857-61, i, 265, 304-5). Wüstenfeld considered it possible that Khālid governed Mecca on two separate occasions, once for ʿAbd al-Malik and once for al-Walīd (*ibid.*, iv, 148). While the end of Khālid's governorship at Mecca is usually associated with the accession of the caliph Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik (96/715) and his removal of those officials whom he considered had been too close to al-Ḥadjdjādj (J. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, Berlin 1902, 165 ff., Eng. tr. 265 ff.), al-Azraḳī has two traditions which refer to Khālid governing Mecca for Sulaymān and which seem inconsistent with the view that the removal of Khālid from office was one of Sulaymān's first acts as caliph (*Chron. Mekka*, i, 339-40).

Apart from his involvement in the arrest of Saʿīd b. Djubayr, the information about Khālid's activities in Mecca concentrates on aspects of the cult. He is said to have decorated the Kaʿba with gold sent by al-Walīd (Azraḳī, *Chron. Mekka*, i, 146; Yaʿḳūbī, ii, 340), to have been the first to enforce the segregation of the men from the women in the *ṭawāf* (Azraḳī, 265-6), and the first to arrange the lines of worshippers around the Kaʿba (*ibid.*, 304-5). But, on the other hand, he is said to have proclaimed his willingness to violate the *ḥaram* (Ṭabarī, ii, 1231) or to tear down the Kaʿba and remove it to Jerusalem (*Aghānī*[1], xix, 90; pseudo-Ibn Ḳutayba, ii, 51-2), should the caliph desire it, and it is Khālid who is charged with the construction, on the orders of al-Walīd (Ṭabarī, ii, 1199-1200; *Aghānī*[1], xix, 60) or Sulaymān (Azraḳī, 339-40), of a fountain which was intended to supplant Zamzam.

Between his removal from the governorship of Mecca and his appointment to that of ʿIrāḳ, Khālid is mentioned only as one of the two men sent by the caliph Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik to take *amān* to Yazīd b. al-Muhallab [*q.v.*] in a futile attempt to forestall his revolt (Ṭabarī, ii, 1382, 1387-8). His appointment as governor of ʿIrāḳ is dated to the beginning of the caliphate of Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik, but there is some doubt whether it was in 105/723-4 or 106/724-5 (Ṭabarī, ii, 1471; but cf. Dīnawarī, *Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, Leiden 1888, 336, where it is said that it was Yazīd II who appointed Khālid).

It seems likely that Khālid was appointed to ʿIrāḳ in the hope that, since B. Badjīla was not powerful and belonged neither to Muḍar nor Yemen, he would be able to remain aloof from the inter-tribal feuds which had become more intense as a result of the rebellion of the Yemenī Ibn al-Muhallab and the pro-Muḍar policy of Khālid's predecessor, ʿUmar b. Hubayra. Nevertheless, his appointment seems to have aroused the hostility of the Muḍar, and this may have been a factor in causing his removal from office and downfall, an event which the sources attribute to the jealousy of the caliph at the increase of Khālid's wealth as a result of his agricultural works. In relation to the length of his governorship in ʿIrāḳ, information about his administration is sparse. Towards the end of his period of office he suppressed a number of "heretical" movements, among them the revolt of the Khāridjī Bahlūl b. Bishr al-Shaybānī (Ṭabarī, ii, 1622-7), the rising of the Shīʿī *wuṣafāʾ* in Kūfa under al-Mughīra b. Saʿīd (*ibid.*, ii, 1619-21), and that of Wazīr al-Sikhtiyānī in al-Ḥīra (*ibid.*, ii, 1628-9), all of which are dated to 119/737. Khālid is also mentioned in some sources in connection with the execution of Djaʿd b. Dirham [*q.v.*] (al-Dārimī, *K. al-Radd ʿalā 'l-Djahmiyya*, Lund-Leiden 1960, 4). From time to time, Khurāsān and the eastern provinces were placed under his control, and at such times Khālid relied on his brother Asad as his governor in Khurāsān. (For Asad's activities there, see Gabrieli, *Hishâm*, 38-63, with further references). At other times, the caliph appointed the governor of Khurāsān himself. In Baṣra Khālid's representative was Bilāl b. Abī Burda (see Ch. Pellat, *Milieu*, index). Khālid seems to have minted *dirhams* of a high quality (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 469) and to have prevented the minting of coins outside Wāsiṭ (J. Walker, *Catalogue ...*, London 1956, p. lxiii).

In spite of his suppression of the "heretical" movements, there exist a number of traditions referring to Khālid's governorship in ʿIrāḳ which, from a later point of view, would seem to illustrate his indifference to Muslim sensibilities. He built a church for his mother immediately behind the mosque of Kūfa (Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 286); he justified his decision to have a fountain which he had installed in the mosque of Kūfa blessed by a Christian priest by the statement that his prayer was more likely to be heard than that of Abū Turāb (Gabrieli, *Hishâm*, 16 n. 3, citing Ṣibṭ b. al-Djawzī); more explicitly, he declared that "their religion (sc. Christianity) is better than ours" (*ibid.*); he was scornful of those who memorised (*ḥafiẓa*) the Ḳurʾān (*Aghānī*[1], xix, 63); he favoured Zoroastrians and Christians in the distribution of offices and in disputes with Muslims; and according to the *Fihrist* (338 = tr. Dodge, 804) he was a Zindīḳ.

Khālid's fall from office in 120/738 was followed by a period of about 18 months during which he was held in prison in Kūfa, next by a period of residence first in Ruṣāfa, where the caliph Hishām had established his court, and then at Damascus, and finally,

after the death of Hishām and the succession to the caliphate of al-Walīd b. Yazīd, by his deliverance on the orders of the new caliph once again into the hands of his successor as governor of ʿIrāķ, Yūsuf b. ʿUmar al-Thaķafī, under whose torture he died (126/743-4; Ṭabarī, ii, 1641-59, 1778-83, 1812-25).

Bibliography: given in the article.

(G. R. HAWTING)

KHĀLID B. BARMAK. [see AL-BARĀMIKA].

KHĀLID B. ṢAFWĀN B. ʿABD ALLĀH B. ʿAMR B. AL-**AHTAM** (whence the name IBN AL-AHTAM sometimes given to him) AL-TAMĪMĪ AL-MINĶARĪ, ABŪ ṢAFWĀN, of Baṣra (d. 135/752), the companion of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik, Khālid b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ķasrī and probably also of Abu ʾl-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ, was a transmitter of historical traditions, poetry and memorable orations, but was especially famed for his eloquence, since he fulfilled a rôle parallel to that of the poets, in that he was able to improvise a homily or description with abundant usage of rhymed prose and that his sayings enjoyed as wide a circulation as famous verses, but with the difference that no-one ever fraudulently attributed to him a single word (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, i, 317-18).

He belonged moreover to a family, the Banū Minķar, which had in it a considerable number of celebrated orators (enumerated in *Bayān*, i, 355), especially Shabīb b. Shayba, who is often mentioned at the same time as him. His fame became such that two monographs were devoted to him, one by al-Madāʾinī (*Fihrist*, ed. Cairo, 151: *Kitāb Khālid b. Ṣafwān*), and the other by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Yaḥyā al-Djulūdī (*Fihrist*, 168: *Kitāb Akhbār Khālid b. Ṣafwān*). Although he claimed to have undertaken never to find himself alone with a sovereign without reminding him of God, at times he gave pieces of advice of another kind, above all to al-Saffāḥ, in front of whom he defended eloquently his homeland, but was also quite happy to describe women whom the caliph might choose as concubines; as a result of this, he stirred up opposition from Umm Salama and had subsequently to retract (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, §§ 2327-30; Muḥammad b. Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, *al-Hafawāt al-nādira*, ed. Ṣ. al-Ashtar, Damascus 1387/1967, 101-4; Ibn al-Djawzī, *K. al-Adhkiyāʾ*, Beirut n.d., 116-18). His eloquence often consisted of plays upon words, alliterations and witty responses, and some of his aphorisms have a general validity. Yet he had not only favourable qualities; on the one hand, he was accused of committing linguistic solecisms and of not always reflecting over what he was saying, and on the other, he was accused of being a miser (see al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bukhalāʾ*, index). Towards the end of his life he lost his sight (al-Ṣafadī, *ʿUmyān*, 148-9).

Bibliography: Ibn al-Kalbī, *Djamhara*-Caskel, Tab. 76, ii, 343; Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān* and *Ḥayawān*, indices; Ibn Ķutayba, *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*, index; *idem*, *Maʿārif*, index; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh Dimashķ*, v, 53-63; Harawī, *Ziyārāt*, 82; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *ʿIķd*, index; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, index; Yāķūt, *Udabāʾ*, xi, 24-35; *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 351-2; Brockelmann, S I, 105 (not to be confused with al-Ķannāṣ, S I, 93). (CH. PELLAT)

KHĀLID B. **SAʿID** B. AL-ʿĀṢ B. UMAYYA B. ʿABD AL-SHAMS B. ʿABD MANĀF B. ĶUṢAYY B. KILĀB B. MURRA B. KAʿB B. LUʾAYY, d. 13/635, was, according to several traditionists, if not the fourth Companion of the Prophet, at least one of the second group of three. Ibn Isḥāķ, however, places his conversion to Islam at a much later date and thus excludes him from the privileged group of the eight Predecessors (*sābiķūn, mutaķaddimūn*).

As a rich member of the Umayyad clan, he is said to have presented to Muḥammad the slaves inherited from his father; he had some education, and was possibly Muḥammad's third secretary, after ʿUthmān and ʿAlī. He fulfilled this latter rôle, and was also responsible for protocol at the time of the reception of the important tribe of Thaķīf and their allies in the year 9.

Previous to this, when one of the emigrants in Ethiopia, he had been able to strengthen his ties of friendship with the Prophet by helping to arrange the latter's marriage with a woman from his own clan, Umm Ḥabība, daughter of Abū Sufyān, after the death of her husband, with whom she herself had emigrated. Khālid b. Saʿīd had the responsibility of arranging the match (as *walī* or *wakīl*), placed upon him by his companions, although one tradition gives this task to ʿUthmān.

His political career began in the year 10. When Muḥammad sent back to his tribe in Yemen Farwa b. Musayk, who had just come to profess his adhesion to Islam, he appointed Khālid to accompany him and to collect the *ṣadaķa*. At the beginning of the year 11, and just before his death, Muḥammad appointed seven governors for Yemen and ʿUmān, including Khālid for the territory between Nadjrān, Rimaʿ and Zabīd. At the time of al-Aswad's revolt, the governors came together around al-Ṭāhir b. Abī Hāla, who was in charge of the Tihāma of Yemen, but Khālid b. Saʿīd and ʿAmr b. Ḥazm, governor of Nadjrān, left their posts and returned to Medina a month after the Prophet's death, i.e. in Rabīʿ II 11/July 632.

At the beginning of the year 13, Abū Bakr was getting ready the expedition for Syria, and according to a *ḥadīth* of ʿUmar b. Shabba (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2079) gave Khālid b. Saʿīd command of the first army, but then revoked this act before the army set out. Al-Ṭabarī considers the affair to have been of such importance that he takes up Khālid's career since Rabīʿ II 11 and lists his faults, which comprised abandoning his post and daring to present himself in Medina dressed in silks, deriding ʿAlī and ʿUthmān for having let the power slip from the control of the descendants of ʿAbd Manāf, and refusing to recognise Abū Bakr for two months. In the end, Abū Bakr appointed Khālid to defend Taymāʾ until the armies from the south arrived. At first, he carried out his task successfully; many of the local tribes joined him, and he pushed back the Byzantines. However, rushing to cover himself with glory before the other generals arrived, he pursued northwards a Byzantine general who, after simulating a retreat, defeated him. Khālid fled on horseback, leaving ʿIkrima and Shuraḥbīl the task of bringing back his scattered and demoralised forces.

Back in Medina, ʿUmar again brought up the matter of Khālid before Abū Bakr, together with that of Khālid b. al-Walīd, whom he hated even more. Abū Bakr steadfastly refused to dismiss the latter, but this time he allowed ʿUmar to dismiss Khālid b. Saʿīd, to whom he sent a very harshly-worded message. When he reached Medina and sought Abū Bakr's pardon, the latter repulsed Khālid and regretted not having listened to ʿUmar and ʿAlī. According to another tradition, Abū Bakr even forbade him to enter Medina. It was ʿUmar, after he had become caliph, who pardoned Khālid, on condition that he redeemed himself. He was then placed under the order of Shuraḥbīl, and died during the Syrian campaign of this same year, 13/635. The attention

once again accorded to him by al-Ṭabarī, who cites four *ḥadīth*s mentioning his death, shows the interest which Khālid b. Saʿīd seems to have raised; it is probable that his attitude, together with reminiscences of his friendship with Muḥammad, posed a problem of conscience for Abū Bakr.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, al-Ṭabarī, index; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Istīʿāb*. (H. Loucel)

KHĀLID B. SINĀN B. ʿAYTH AL-ʿABSĪ (see his genealogy in Ibn al-Kalbī *Djamhara*, Tab. 133), one of the personages of the interval [see FATRA] between Christ and Muḥammad who, in Islamic tradition, was considered as a prophet; he was even regarded as the first prophet to arise amongst the descendants of Ismāʿīl. He is said to have foretold the coming of Muḥammad, and the latter is said to have greeted Khālid's daughter, who had come to him, with these words "Here is the daughter of a prophet whom his people has lost"; popular belief even went as far as to attribute to him knowledge of Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ (*Thimār al-ḳulūb*, 456). He is mentioned in connection with the fire called *nār al-Ḥarratayn* (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, iv, 476; cf. al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, i 409-10), into which he threw himself and which he extinguished in order to demonstrate the ridiculousness of the cult of fire which had spread amongst the Arabs (*Thimār*, 456), and in connection with the *ʿanḳāʾ* [*q.v.*], whose race God destroyed as the result of a prayer of his (R. Basset, *Mille et un contes*, iii, 203-4). There is already found in al-Djāḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān*, iv, 477) a tradition according to which Khālid is said to have instructed his people to disinter him after death so that he could reveal the secrets of the hereafter; this is often repeated later (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 62, al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 21-2 = §§ 1349-50; al-Harawī, *Ziyārāt*, 61/137; etc.).

These legends, together with the prophethood of Khālid, are rejected by al-Djāḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān*, iv, 478) in the name of the *mutakallimūn* who say that Khālid was a Bedouin, but God never raised up a prophet from amongst the Bedouin, hence Khālid could not have been a prophet (a syllogism taken up, in particular in *Thimār*, 456).

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the text, see Djāḥiẓ, *Tarbīʿ*, index; Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, s.vv. *ʿanḳāʾ* and *siʿlāt*; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, index; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, No. 2355; Maḳdisī, *Création*, iii, 7, 130, 178-9.

(Ch. Pellat)

KHĀLID B. AL-WALĪD B. AL-MUGHĪRA AL-MAKHZŪMĪ, Arab commander at the time of the early conquests. Muslim tradition gives his career as follows. He fought against Muḥammad at Uḥud, but was converted in 6/627 or 8/629 and participated in the expedition to Muʾta and the conquest of Mecca, both in 8 A.H. The Prophet charged him with the destruction of the idol of al-ʿUzzā at Nakhla and later sent him to the B. Djadhīma, whom he wrongfully attacked. In 9/630 the Prophet sent him from Tabūk to Dūmat al-Djandal [*q.v.*] where he captured the ruler al-Ukaydir and sent him to Medina. In 10/631 he was sent to invite the B. al-Ḥārith of Yemen to Islam. On the outbreak of the *ridda* or "apostasy" after the Prophet's death in 11/632, Abū Bakr sent him against the rebels, on which occasion he committed another two misdeeds, first by killing Muslims (through a misunderstanding) and next by marrying the widow of one of the victims. Abū Bakr, however, forgave him and he commanded the Muslims against Musaylima in the Yamāma. In 12/633 he was sent either directly from the Yamāma or via Medina to ʿIrāḳ where he conquered al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*], Dūmat al-Djandal and other places before crossing the desert to Syria to assist the armies there. He stayed in Syria, though his troops returned to ʿIrāḳ (Ṭabarī, i, 2145). On Abū Bakr's death in 13/634, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb immediately dismissed him from the high command, but he fought in Northern Syria under Abū ʿUbayda and conducted a number of campaigns on the Byzantine border before his death in Ḥimṣ (or Medina) in 21/642. His son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was governor of Ḥimṣ and the Djazīra for Muʿāwiya, who is said to have had him killed because he feared his prestige. Khālid b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid, who avenged his father, is found as a commander in 48/668-9, but otherwise nothing significant is heard of the family.

There are two points of major interest in Khālid's career. Firstly, Muslim tradition is extraordinarily eager to discredit him. He is known as *Sayf Allāh*, an epithet he earned in battle against the Romans at Muʾta (Ṭabarī, I, 1617, differently in 1531), but he is condemned rather than celebrated as such, doubtless because the title belongs in the same context as that which designated the armies of Syria as *djund Allāh*, sent to take revenge from the Romans for their oppression of the Jews (Ṭabarī, i, 2409), or which knew ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb as the redeemer (*fārūḳ*, see *ibid.*). Later tradition might have reduced Khālid to *Sayf Rasūl Allāh* (cf. *Khalīfat Allāh*), but instead reduced his contribution, partly by depicting him as selfwilled, as exemplified in his misdeeds, and partly by having ʿUmar dismiss him, though, as De Goeje has pointed out, ʿUmar must on the contrary have appointed him to the high command in the first place.

Secondly, Muslim tradition has Khālid initiate the conquests in ʿIrāḳ, a point contradicted by non-Muslim sources. Sebeos (*ca.* 661 A.D.) has the Arabs divide their armies after their first successes in Syria and send one division to ʿIrāḳ (the returning armies of Muslim tradition), and the Khūzistānī chronicle (*ca.* 680 A.D.) only knows Khālid as the conqueror of Syria. In fact, Ṭabarī, i, 2018, has Abū Bakr instruct Khālid to go to Syria. The doctrinal significance of this shift is that it suppresses Syria's status as the promised land for Jews and Arabs alike (for a similar shift, compare Syria in Sebeos, 95-6, with ʿIrāḳ in Ṭabarī, i, 2254, 2285, 2289). The manner in which the shift was effected is clear when we consider the appearance of the Prophet at the head of the first invasions of Syria in non-Muslim sources (*Doctrina Iacobi*, (*ca.* 634 A.D.), 86-7; *Cont. Byz. Arab.* in *MGH*, xi, 337), which Muslim tradition has reduced to the pointless expedition to Tabūk. It was from Tabūk that the Prophet sent Khālid to Dūmat al-Djandal, the city which he is supposed to have conquered again on his later campaign in ʿIrāḳ, though this was an unlikely détour from al-Ḥīra. On initiating the conquest of Syria, the Prophet must therefore have sent Khālid to Dūmat al-Djandal, which was vital for the control of Syria, and it was from here that Khālid crossed to join the armies in Syria, a more plausible, if less romantic desert crossing than that preserved in Muslim tradition.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, *passim*; Ṭabarī, index; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, index; Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-maghāzī*, ed. M. Jones, Oxford 1966, index; *Doctrina Iacobi nuper baptizati*, ed. N. Bonwetsch in *Abh. G. W. Gott.* n.s. xii (1920); Sebeos, *Histoire d'Heraclius*, tr. F. Macler, Paris 1904, 98;

Nöldeke (tr.) *Die von Guidi herausgegebene syrische Chronik*, in *SBAk Wien*, cxxviii (1893), 33, 45; De Goeje, *Mémoire sur la conquête de Syrie*, Leiden 1900, 10-17, 37-50, 64-70; Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi, Berlin 1899, 37-68; Caetani, *Annali*, ii/2, 917-97 (§§ 155-236), iv, 652-67 (§§ 317-32); H. Lammens, *Études sur le règne du calife Omaiyade Moʿāwiya I*, Paris 1908, 3-14 (on ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid); on the Prophet and the conquests, see P. Crone and M. A. Cook, *Hagarism*, Cambridge 1977. (P. Crone)

KHĀLID B. YAZĪD AL-KĀTIB AL-TAMĪMĪ, ABU 'L-HAYTHAM, a Baghdādī of Khurāsānian origin who was secretary for the army in the vizierate of al-Faḍl b. Marwān (218-21/833-6) [*q.v.*], retaining his office under the ministry of Ibn al-Zayyāt [*q.v.*], until his mind gave way, in circumstances which remain obscure (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xi, 48). He then wandered, almost naked, through the streets of Baghdād, pursued and stoned by a mob of urchins (*Aghānī*, xx, 244; al-Ṣābiʾ, *Wuzarāʾ*, 162-3). He died *ca.* 269/883.

Khālid was the boon-companion of ʿAlī b. Hishām and then of al-Faḍl b. Marwān. He had the entrée to al-Muʿtaṣim's company, was close to the poet ʿAlī b. al-Djahm [*q.v.*], and collaborated with the famous player on the *ṭunbūr*, Aḥmad b. Ṣadaḳa (*Aghānī*, xxii, 216-17, 517-18). But it is his verses which have saved him from obscurity. He described himself as a poet "who tells of the sorrows of his soul, and is not concerned with panegyric or satire" (al-Shābushtī, *Diyārāt*, 16-17; *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, viii, 313). In practice, he was the author of short pieces of up to four verses only. When he went so far as to compose long poems in honour of al-Muʿtaṣim's victories (the ms. of his *Dīwān* contains five eulogies), Diʿbil [*q.v.*] criticised him for tackling something beyond his poetic powers. Khālid's real talent lay in the elegy, in which he describes the lover's torments and the cruelness of his solitude; the memory of the beloved haunts him, and the fatalness cf passion tortures him. His verses are addressed to women and also to ephebes, to whom he devoted numerous poems. He also wrote some moving pieces during the period when his reason was tottering. He complained at that time of the loss of his poems: "He said despairingly that people had not learnt them off by heart, and he himself had forgotten them" (*Aghānī*, xx, 244).

The term most often used by anthologists when speaking of his poetry is *riḳḳa*. We have here a delicate poetic art which expresses, in an elegant language, the various states of a sensitive and sincere mind. The importance of the sound pattern within his verses should also be noted; he often employs twice or three times in a verse the same root, and this mannerism gives shape to a subtle sense of playing with semantic substitutions.

Bibliography: Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, xx, 234-49 and *passim*; Shābushtī, *Diyārāt*, Baghdad 1966, 15-21, with references to the ms. of the *Dīwān*; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, Cairo 1951, i, 296-7, no. 119; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, Cairo 1954, v, 33-4; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, Cairo 1956, 405-6; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, Cairo 1931, viii, 308-14; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. Beirut 1968-72, ii, 232-7, no. 215; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xi, 47-52; Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-ādāb*, Cairo 1953, index; see also J. E. Bencheikh, *Les voies d'une création*, unpubl. thesis, Paris 1971, i, 171 ff.

(J. E. Bencheikh)

KHĀLID B. YAZĪD B. MUʿĀWIYA, ABŪ HĀSHIM, was one of the sons of the caliph Yazīd I and Fākhita bint Abī Hāshim b. ʿUtba b. Rabīʿa. The year of his birth is not recorded, but he was probably born *ca.* 48/668. When his brother Muʿāwiya II died in 64/683 without having designated his successor, a struggle broke out. Ḥassān b. Mālik b. Baḥdal [*q.v.*] favoured Khālid, who was however not elected because he was too young. In his place the elderly Marwān b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*] was chosen, on the condition that he would be succeeded first by Khālid b. Yazīd and then by ʿAmr b. Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ al-Ashdaḳ [*q.v.*]. Marwān furthermore pledged himself to marry Fākhita; in doing so he won over Khālid's followers.

After his return from Egypt, however, Marwān secured the succession for his son ʿAbd al-Malik [*q.v.*], probably because he considered Khālid politically of no importance. When Khālid reminded him of his promise, Marwān insulted him publicly. In revenge the caliph was killed by Fākhita, as the somewhat legendary story has it (in reality Marwān's death in 65/685 may have been brought about otherwise).

ʿAbd al-Malik then became caliph without Khālid being mentioned again. Nor did the latter lay claim to his rights. Relations between them even became friendly. Khālid married ʿAbd al-Malik's daughter ʿĀʾisha (Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, xi, ed. Ahlwardt, 153, ll. 12 ff.), acted as his councellor and joined him in the summer of 71-72/691 in the Ḳarḳīsiyāʾ [*q.v.*] campaign against Zufar b. al-Ḥārith al-Kilābī. For the rest, Khālid seems to have confined his activities to governing his emirate of Ḥimṣ.

Besides ʿĀʾisha bint ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, Khālid married Umm Kulthūm bint ʿAbd Allāh b. Djaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib, Āmina bint Saʿīd b. al-ʿĀṣ b. Umayya and Ramla bint al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām. Romantic stories are current concerning his love for this last. Khālid probably died in 85/704, during the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik; other sources have 90/709.

In the Ridjāl [*q.v.*] literature Khālid is counted among the Ḥadīth scholars, but his rôle as a traditionist was in fact of no importance. Also, as a poet he was no more than an amateur.

Later legend has made Khālid into an alchemist He is said to have ordered Egyptian scholars to translate Greek and Coptic works on alchemy, medicine and astronomy into Arabic, and to have learned alchemy from a Byzantine monk by the name of Maryānos (the name Stephanos is also mentioned). All this is however not historical. These legends can be traced back to an anecdote according to which Khālid was sneered at because he had been robbed of the caliphate and henceforward was wasting his time by trying to get at something impossible (*ṭalab mā lā yuḳdaru ʿalayhi*, Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ivb, 71, ll. 5). This wording was later interpreted as meaning alchemy (*yaʿnī 'l-kīmiyāʾ*). When this interpretation had become part of the anecdote (see, e.g., *Aghānī*[1], xvi, 90, ll. 7 = [3]xvii, 345, ll. 12), Khālid's name became attached to important alchemical works, like the *K. Firdaws al-ḥikma*, a large *dīwān* of alchemical didactic poems, and several other treatises such as the Maryānus-legend, his last will to his son etc. In the Latin Middle Ages works attributed to *Calid filius Jazidi* were in circulation.

Bibliography: Ibn Saʿd, v, 28 ff., 168 f., 212; Zubayrī, *Nasab*, 128; Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān* (ed. Hārūn), i, 328; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ivb, 65-71, 137; v, 128-35, 145, 150, 157 ff.; xi (ed. Ahlwardt), 153, 224 ff.; Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, *Akhbār* (ed. Guirgass), 272, 294, 328; Yaʿḳūbī,

ii, 301-7; Mubarrad, *Kāmil* (ed. Wright), 196 ff.; Ṭabarī, ii, 469-77, 577, 804; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd* (ed. Amīn), Index; Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 307 f.; *Murūdj*, viii, 176; *Aghānī* [1]xvi, 87-92 = [3]xvii, 340-50; *Fihrist*, 242, 244, 354; Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, 302; Ibn ʿAsākir (ed. ʿAbd al-Ḳādir Badrān), v, 116-20; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, iv, 165 ff.; Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 364, 366, 368; iii, 246 f.; Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, iii, 193, tr. Rosenthal, iii, 229 f.; J. Ruska, *Arabische Alchemisten I. Chālid ibn Jazīd ibn Muʿāwija*, Heidelberg 1924; H. E. Stapleton, in *Isis*, xxvi (1936), 128-31; Sezgin, iv, 120-6; M. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam* (HO, Erg. bd. VI/2), Leiden 1972, 192-5; idem, *Katalog der arabischen alchemistischen Handschriften der Chester Beatty Library*, Teil I, Wiesbaden 1974, Index. (M. ULLMANN)

KHĀLID ḌIYĀʾ, USHĀḲĪ-ZĀDE, originally MEHMED KHĀLID, ḌIYĀʾ AL-DĪN (Mod. Tkish. Halid Ziya Uşaklıgıl), 1868-1945, Turkish novelist and short story writer, the greatest representative of prose in the *Therwet-i fünūn* (*Edebiyyāt-i djedīde*) literary school of the late 19th century. His family originated from Ushāḳ in western Anatolia where they were known as Ḥelwādjī-Zāde. Apart from sweetmeat (*ḥelwā*) trading, they also owned the leading carpet business of the area, winning an international reputation under the management of Khālid's grandfather Ḥādjdjī ʿAlī Efendi, who eventually moved his carpet business to İzmir where the family came to be known as Ushāḳī-Zāde. Ḥādjdjī ʿAlī sent his eldest son Khalīl to Istanbul to start a branch of the firm. Khālid Ḍiyāʾ was born there in Eyyūb in 1868 (1284 *Rumi* year), as the youngest of the three children of Ḥādjdjī Khalīl Efendi and his wife Behiyye Khānïm (H. Z. Uşaklıgıl, *Kırk Yıl*, 1 vol. edn., Istanbul 1969, 9-11). Khalīl Efendi was a devout man with a keen interest in Ṣūfism and a knowledge of Arabic and Persian who read, in his spare time, the *Dīwān* of Ḥāfiẓ and Rūmī's *Mathnawī*. The family soon moved to a *konak* near the Süleymaniye district. Khālid attended various local schools and avidly read at home all the folk stories and other popular tales he could get, and also attended frequently performances at the then famous Gedik Pasha Theatre, thus developing a passion for the theatre (*ibid.*, 32-6). Ḥādjdjī Khalīl lost his fortune during the turbulent period preceding and following the war with Russia (1877), and moved with his family to İzmir to live on the property of his father, whose business had continued to flourish. At the age of ten, Khālid discovered the great popular novelist Aḥmed Midḥat [*q.v.*]. This enthusiasm was soon shared by Ḥādjdjī ʿAlī Efendi, who asked his grandson to read this author's famous novels and the books of other writers then in vogue, in the evenings, in the presence of his important visitors. With the help of his grandfather, Khālid quickly built up a library of his own. He first attended the local secondary school (*rüshdiyye*), but soon transferred to a French-language school run by the Mekhitarists, where he was the only Turkish pupil. In the meantime, he had become acquainted with the works of modernist writers like Nāmïḳ Kemāl and ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Hāmid. Some of the teachers in his new school who discovered his talent, guided him in his readings in French literature, in which he read avidly.

Science was his great hobby and he made many translations from popular scientific books, some of which are among his earliest publications. They appeared in the official provincial paper *Aydïn* and in the Istanbul periodical *Khazīne-i evrāḳ* for March 1883. Also at this time, he sent his first original writings to the same periodical. He experimented with a poem *ʿAshḳïmïn mezārï* ("The Grave of my Love") which he sent to the Istanbul daily *Terdjumān-ï ḥaḳīḳat*. It was published, with ironical remarks of Muʿallim Nādjī [*q.v.*], who was later to become the main opponent of the new school. Leaving school at seventeen, he began to work as a clerk in his father's business, took lessons in English and dancing and enjoyed the cosmopolitan life of İzmir society. In 1884 he founded, with his poet friend (later a Young Turk) Tewfīḳ Newzād (1865-1906), the short-lived review *Newrūz* where he serialised the translations of Georges Ohnet's *Le Maître de forges* as *Demirkhāne müdürü*. He made a short abortive trip to Istanbul to try his chance at entering a diplomatic career, but he did, however, meet there important personalities of the literary and publishing world and secured the publication of his *Gharbdan sharḳa seyyāle-i edebiyye* ("Literary current from the West to the East"). Back in İzmir, he was appointed teacher of French at the *Rüshdiyye* and an accountant at the Ottoman Bank, where he was the only Turkish employee. Later, he also taught at the local lycée (*iʿdādī*). In 1886 he founded, again with Tewfīk Newzād, the newspaper *Khidmet* where he published his *Menthūr shiʿirler* ("Poems in Prose") (published in book form in 1889) and began to serialise his first novel *Sefīle* ("The wretched woman"), which was stopped by the censor. Some of his short stories and his second novel *Nemīde* were also serialised in *Khidmet*. The loss of his mother in 1886 inspired his poems in prose *Mezārdan sesler* ("Voices from the grave"), followed by his third novel *Bir ölünün defteri* ("The diary of a dead man"), also serialised in *Khidmet*. In the meantime, Khālid Ḍiyāʾ married Memnūne Khānïm, the daughter of a tax director (and a niece of Köse Rāʾif Pasha, 1836-1911).

He accompanied an uncle on his European trip, as far as the Paris exhibition of 1889; he was particularly impressed by Paris, which he knew so well from Balzac's novels. The years 1889-93 were full of bitter experiences for Khālid Ḍiyāʾ: several losses in the family, including his four month's old daughter and his grandfather, and the arrest and banishment of one of his uncles for being involved in a secret society. In the middle of this turmoil, he finished his fourth novel *Ferdī ve shurekāsï* ("Ferdī and co."), serialised in *Khidmet* (published in book form in 1312/1896). At the same time, he translated specimens from world literature (including Sanskrit and Hebrew) which were later published in four volumes (*Nāḳil*, 1308/1892).

About this time, he met Redjāʾī-Zāde Ekrem, who was passing through İzmir, and who invited him to come to Istanbul to join the group of young writers there. After resigning from the Ottoman Bank, and a brief period as acting director of the Foreign Affairs (*Meṣāliḥ-i edjnebiyye*) Department at the Vilāyet, he received an offer to become First Secretary to the Director of the *Reji* (Régie, administration of the tobacco monopoly) in Istanbul, which he eagerly accepted. This was a turning point in his literary career. He arrived in Istanbul on 31 August 1893 (amid the anniversary celebrations of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II's enthronement) and immediately began to visit the celebrities of the literary and publishing world like Redjāʾī-Zāde Ekrem, Aḥmed Midḥat, Muʿallim Nādjī, Abu 'l-Ḍiyāʾ (Ebüzziya [*q.v.*] Tewfīḳ, ʿAlī Ekrem and Aḥmed Iḥsān. Within a very short time, he had met all the leading writers of the new group: Meḥmed Raʾūf, Ḥuseyn Djāhid

[*q.v.*], Djenāb Shihāb üd-Dīn, and free-lance writers like Rīzā Tewfīḳ (Bölükbashī), Aḥmed Rāsim [*q.v.*] and Ḥuseyn Raḥmī [*q.v.*]. Some time later, he met the poet who was to be his great partner in the new movement, Tewfīḳ Fikret [*q.v.*]. His office, comparatively safe from Ḥamīdian control, since the *Reji* was a foreign establishment, became gradually a kind of a literary club where long and excited discussions were held at a period when a meeting of more than three people was forbidden. Khālid Ḍiyāʾ began to write short stories for Aḥmed Iḥsān's *Therwet-i fünūn* [*q.v.*] (originally a popular science magazine founded in 1891 as the weekly supplement of *Therwet*) and for the dailies *Iḳdām* and *Ṣabāḥ*. In 1894, he also began to contribute to the literary fortnightly *Mekteb* (originally a children's magazine, founded in 1891), where several members of the new group published their works. An article he published in *Mekteb* on Sanskrit literature, where he discussed Indian philosophy and pantheism, was denounced to the Palace by an informer's *jurnal* which claimed that the author was trying "to spread the doctrine of the materialists (*Māddiyyūn*) in the country". Although the article had passed the censorship, Khālid Ḍiyāʾ was summoned to the residence of the Minister of Public Security (*Ḍabṭiyye nāẓīrī*). *Mekteb* ceased to appear, and most of the young writers moved over to *Therwet-i fünūn* which seemed safer, thanks to a friend and a protector of Aḥmed Iḥsān's in the Palace. On Redjāʾī-Zāde's invitation, Khālid Ḍiyāʾ joined it under Tewfīḳ Fikret's editorship (1896). For five years *Therwet-i fünūn* became the most representative organ of the new, western-oriented literary school of *Edebiyyāt-ī djedīde* or *Therwet-i fünūn edebiyyātī*. It was in the *Therwet-i fünūn* that Khālid Ḍiyāʾ serialised his famous novel *Māʾī ve siyāh* (Nos. 273-317) and his masterpiece *ʿAshk-ī memnūʿ* (Nos. 413-79), and many of his short stories and articles appeared there. But all this suddenly came to an end: a *jurnal* sent to the Palace (probably by Baba Ṭāhir, editor of the rival conservative periodical, *Maʿlūmāt*) informed the Ḥamīdian censors that in issue No. 553 of the *Therwet-i fünūn*, published in October 1901, the forbidden words "French Revolution" appeared, in an article translated from the French by Ḥuseyn Djāhid (for details and the text of the article, see Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın, *Edebi hatıralar*, Istanbul 1935, 161-9). The journal was immediately suspended, and when it was allowed to reappear again, all literary writings were banned and it could only publish articles on popular science. Khālid Ḍiyāʾ interrupted the serialisation of his novel *Ḳīrīḳ ḥayātlar* ("Broken Lives"), which had already been mutilated by the censorship, and wrote nothing for more than six years until the Revolution of 1908, meanwhile living in his villa in Ayastafanos (present Yeşilköy). During the nine months' period between the restoration of the constitution in 23 July 1908 and the deposition of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II, following the mutiny of 13 April 1909, Khālid Ḍiyāʾ wrote extensively in many of the dailies and periodicals which quickly mushroomed after the abolition of the censorship. He also serialised in the daily *Ṣabāḥ* his period novel *Nesl-i akhīr* ("The last generation" which he never published in book form; cf. Cevdet Kudret, *Türk edebiyatında hikaye ve roman*[2], 176-80). Also during this period, he was appointed government representative at the *Reji* (virtually a sinecure) and Professor of Western Literature and Aesthetics in the University.

In the meantime, he had become a member of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) [see ITTIḤĀD WE TERAḲḲĪ DJEMʿIYYETI]. On the day of Meḥemmed V's accession on April 27, 1909, he was appointed First Secretary to the new Sultan, and shortly afterwards he was also made a senator. When the CUP government fell from power in July 1912, the new Grand Vizier Ghāzī Aḥmed Mukhtār Pasha suggested to the Sultan that Khālid Ḍiyāʾ should be replaced (Luṭfī Sīmāvī, *Sulṭān Meḥemmed Reshād Khānīn we Khalefinin sarāyīnda gördüklerim*, Istanbul 1924, 82-5). He left the Palace on 30 July 1912 and returned to his writings and to his chair in the University. After the Unionists came back to power in January 1913, he was sent several times to Europe on various missions. At the end of the First World War, he was in Germany, but returned to Istanbul in 1919 and became later the chairman of the governing body of the *Reji*. Otherwise, he lived in seclusion in his country house, concentrating on the revision of his works for a final edition, carefully avoiding any involvement in politics. During the decade following the Nationalist victory in Anatolia (30 August 1922) and the proclamation of the Republic (29 October 1923), many leading personalities of the Istanbul literary world (with the exception of those who had openly disapproved of the Kemālist movement, e.g. Djenāb Shihāb üd-Dīn) found themselves elected to the Grand National Assembly. Khālid Ḍiyāʾ, however, was never considered as a candidate (Yusuf Ziya Ortaç, *Portreler*, Istanbul, n.d. [1960], 34), probably because of his earlier association with the Palace and the Unionist leaders.

When Muṣṭafā Kemāl (Atatürk) started his language reform movement in 1932, with the inauguration of the First Turkish Linguistic Congress in Istanbul, Khālid Ḍiyāʾ joined the host of writers and scholars who declared their enthusiastic approval of the movement (*Birinci türk dili kurultayı, tezler ve müzakere zabıtları*, Istanbul 1933, 330-42; the single exception being Ḥuseyn Djāhid (Yalçin), *ibid.*, 270-9).

Khālid Ḍiyāʾ's last years were troubled with family misfortunes, culminating in the suicide in 1937 of his young diplomat son Khalīl Wedād. His last two public appearances were his participation in 1942 in the 50th anniversary jubilee of his career as a writer and his chairmanship in Ankara of the committee for the "Best novel" prize (awarded to Khālide Edīb's *Sinekli bakkal*). He died on 27 March 1945 in his country house at Yeşilköy near Istanbul. An extremely prolific author, Khālid Ḍiyāʾ contributed to all branches of prose literature as journalist, essayist, publicist, popular science writer, playwright and translator. But his name is particularly associated with the short story and novel, of which he is the real founder in modern Turkish literature.

Novels and short stories in modern sense did exist before him. After ʿAlī ʿAzīz's [*q.v.*] *Mukhayyalāt* (1796), which is a transition between the old and the new type of story-writing, and several translations (mainly from the French) in the 1850's and 1860's, the tendency to modernise the narrative technique is apparent in Turkish literature. If we leave out the pioneer work of the scholar-writer Shems üd-Dīn Sāmī's *Taʿashshuḳ-i ṭalʿat we fītnat* (1872) and experiments by Nāmīḳ Kemāl (*Intibāh*, 1876) and some of his associates (particularly Sāmī Pasha-Zāde Sezāʾis's *Sergüdhesht*, 1889), the great representative of the novel among the generation of *Tanẓīmāt* modernists is Aḥmed Midḥat, whom Khālid Ḍiyāʾ greatly admired; see his note at the end of his un-

finished translation of George Ohnet's *Maître de forges*, *Demirkhāne müdürü*, 1889). Hüseyn Raḥmī, an independent contemporary of Khālid Ḍiyā᾿, was a follower of the Aḥmed Midḥat school and soon became an equally popular novelist. Although Khālid Ḍiyā᾿, as a boy-writer, was an admirer of Aḥmed Midḥat and had a high opinion of Ḥüseyn Raḥmī's talent (*Kırk yıl*, 421), there is hardly any trace of the old Turkish popular narrative technique or the influence of the French novels of adventure and entertainment, even in his early novels of the formative İzmir period (1888-93). These romantic and, at times, over-sentimental, love stories with some elements of realism (particularly in *Ferdī ve shurekāsī*, 1893), already reveal a complete break with traditional methods of story-telling and develop a well-disciplined narrative technique where there is no room for irrelevant digressions or "small talk" with the reader (for synopses and analyses of Khālid Ḍiyā᾿'s individual novels, see *Bibl.*). Khālid Ḍiyā᾿ perfected this technique in his later novels of the Istanbul period, inspired mainly by the method and style of French realists and naturalists, and until the middle of 1930's, his works remained the best examples of realism in the Turkish novel. Two titles stand out: *Mā᾿ī ve siyāh* ("Blue and black", 1897) which describes the dreams, struggles and eventual disillusionment of a young poet and writer, and *ʿAshk-ı memnūʿ* ("Forbidden Love", 1900), generally considered his best novel, which tells the story of the desperate love of a young woman who could not find happiness in her marriage to an elderly rich man. In both these novels and in his later works, the environment and the setting are described in minute detail and the characters are submitted to exhaustive psychological analysis. The setting and the characters are often chosen from upper or upper-middle class of Istanbul, for which Khālid Ḍiyā᾿ has been severely criticised. A stereotype judgement on him is that his characters are not typically Turkish and never leave Istanbul. This is obviously an unfair criticism. Under the Ḥamīdian régime, travel, even within the country, was restricted and supervised, and writers had to confine their observations by necessity to Istanbul. Also as a member of a well-to-do upper-middle class family, and very reserved in temperament, Khālid Ḍiyā᾿ described only the type of people with whom he came into direct contact. We know now, from various sources, particularly from many Turkish and foreign memoirs, that an exclusive upper-class Turkish society flourished in Istanbul following the *Tanẓīmāt*, particularly after the 1880s. It led an *alla franca* (*alafranga*) way of life which is faithfully described by Khālid Ḍiyā᾿ and his colleagues of the *Therwet-i fünūn* school (and ridiculed by others, see Ḥüseyn Raḥmī). Even so, ordinary people, even working-class people, were not been ignored by Khālid Ḍiyā᾿, who described them with equal realism in some of his novels, but particularly in most of his numerous short stories. He himself bitterly complains that the exotic titles of a few of his short stories (e.g. *Mösyö Kanguru* in *Solghun demet*, 1901, *Bravo maestro* in *Bir yazīn ta᾿rīkhi*, 1900) gave rise to sweeping and unfair judgements that he concentrated on non-Turkish subjects (*Kırk Yıl*, 479-81). Moreover, we know that there is a considerable autobiographic element in most of his work, and that many of his characters are based on or inspired by people he himself had known.

As a consequence of their principle of "art for art's sake" Khālid Ḍiyā᾿ and his friends of the movement chose to write in an extremely precious and artificial language which was full of rare Arabic and Persian words and compounds. They thus deviated from the trend of the first generation of modernists (the *Tanẓīmāt* writers) who made an attempt (not always successful) to create a style which would be understood by a larger audience. Khālid Ḍiyā᾿'s manner of writing was indeed very unusual: endless waves of long intricate sentences loaded with lots of unheard of foreign words, interspersed with symmetrical chains of Persian *izāfe*s, but using a faultless technique to construct his plots. Khālid Ḍiyā᾿ realised, before most of his colleagues, that this hopelessly artificial language, created by the *Therwet-i fünūn* triumvirate (Tewfīḳ Fikret, Djenāb Shihāb üd-Dīn and himself) and other members of the new school, was a dead end, and its excesses outbalanced by far what contribution they made to the improvement of Turkish syntax and verse technique. In his memoirs he looks back to this phenomenon of preciosity and finds it "irritating", calling this morbid urge to gild the lily "a disease of the East", but nevertheless trying hard to justify it for the period (*Kırk yıl*, 465-72). Khālid Ḍiyā᾿ spent the last decades of his life touching up the language and style of his novels, "simplifying" them and in some cases re-writing entire passages. In spite of this linguistic handicap, however, Khālid Ḍiyā᾿s works are far from being forgotten today. Although half-a-dozen leading novelists of the succeeding generations almost revolutionised the genre, Khālid Ḍiya᾿ is still considered by many not only the founder but *the* great master of the novel in Turkish literature. Some of his works have been filmed and produced on television, and his complete works are being published in modern Turkish paraphrase (edited by Nevzat Kızılcan, Istanbul, 1975-6). This may perhaps be partly explained by the recent "Ottomanist revivalism" in literature.

Khālid Ḍiyā᾿ published three books of memoirs, the only important work outside his fiction: *Kirk yil*, 5 vols, Istanbul 1936, one vol. ed., Istanbul 1969, which deals with the first forty years of his life, is about his family, his school years and his literary activities in İzmir and Istanbul; *Saray ve ötesi*, 3 vols, Istanbul 1940-2, one vol. ed., Istanbul 1965, reminiscences of the court of Meḥemmed V; *Bir acı hikâye*, Istanbul 1942, is mainly about his son Khalīl Wedād and his death. These memoirs are selective and of limited interest, as the reserved and over-cautious character of the author did not always allow him to treat freely and discuss impartially the people he had known and events he witnessed. Finally, Khālid Ḍiyā᾿'s research work, including his courses in the University, were mostly based on translation or compilation.

Bibliography: Rūshen Eshref (Ünaydın), *Diyorlar ki*, Istanbul 1334/1918, 49-78 (important interview with Kh. Ḍ.); Ismāʿīl Ḥabīb (Sevük), *Türk tedjeddüd edebiyyātī ta᾿rīkhi*, Istanbul 1340/1924, 488-509; Mehmet Attar, *H.Z.U.'in romanlarında yerli unsurlar ve tabiat*, 1940 (unpublished thesis in Istanbul University Library, Tezler, No. 616); Mehmed Kaplan, in *İA*, s.v.; Ali Canib Yöntem, *H.Z.U.*, in *Aylık Ansiklopedi*, No. 12, 386-7 (April 1945); N. S. Banarlı, *Resimli türk edebiyatı tarihi*, Istanbul n.d. [1948], 320-3; L. S. Akalın, *H.Z.U.*², Istanbul 1962; Kenan Akyüz, *Modern türk edebiyatının ana çizgileri*, in *Türkoloji Dergisi*, ii, No. 1, Ankara 1969, 103-8; Cemil Yener, *Bir romancının dünyası*, Istanbul 1959; Olcay Önertoy, *H.Z.U., romancılığı ve romanımızdakı yeri*, Istanbul 1965; F. A. Tansel,

Uşaklıgıl'ın hayatından mülhem küçük hikâyeleri, in *Ülkü*, xv, No. 86 (April 1940); A. H. Tanpinar, *Edebiyat üzerine makaleler*, Istanbul 1969, index; Ahmet Ihsan (Toksöz), *Matbuat hatıralarım*, Istanbul 1930-1, *passim*; Hüseyin Cahit Yalçin, *Edebi hatıralar*, Istanbul 1935, *passim*; Cevdet Kudret, *Türk edebiyatında hikâye ve roman*[2], Ankara 1971, 157-219 (synopses and selection); *Kindlers Literatur Lexicon*, Zurich 1965-72, suppl. 1974 (synopses and analysis of four novels and of *Kırk yıl*, see *Index*). (FAHİR İZ)

AL-KHĀLIDĀT. [see AL-DJAZĀʾIR AL-KHĀLIDĀT].

KHĀLIDE EDĪB (modern Turkish, Halide Edib Adıvar), prominent Turkish novelist, writer and nationalist, (1884-1964). She was born in Beshiktash not far from the Yıldız Palace, where her father Meḥmed Edīb Bey was First Secretary to the Sultan's Privy Purse (*djeyb-i hümāyūn serkātibi*). Edīb was the adopted son of a Sheykh Maḥmūd of Salonica, who brought him up and later sent him to Istanbul for further education (Halide Edib, *Memoirs*, New York 1926, 200). In later life, he served as director of the Tobacco Régie in Yanya (Janina) and Bursa. Khālide's mother Bedrfem Khanīm was a daughter of ʿAlī Agha from Kemaḥ (in northeastern Anatolia), a former Chief Coffee Maker (*Ḳahvedji Bashī*) in the Palace of Prince Reshād (Meḥemmed V) who had become the Warden of the Porters' Guild (*Ḥammāllar Kāhyasī*). At the age of 15, Bedrfem had been married to ʿAlī Shāmil Bey (later Pasha, 1855-1908), but this marriage did not last, and Meḥmed Edīb was her second husband. A few years later she died of consumption. As Edīb Bey soon remarried, Khālide's need for motherly affection was filled by her grandmother, her half-sister Makhmūre and by other members of both households.

The women folk and the servants initiated her into the traditional Muslim and Turkish way of life and the popular stories and epic tales of folk literature. A local *imām* taught her to read and write and recite the Ḳurʾān. When she was eleven, her father sent her for a year to the American College where she learned English and studied the Bible, to the horror of the people at home. Khālide then had an English governess, and several celebrated tutors, particularly Riḍā Tewfīḳ (Bölükbashī, [*q.v.*]), the pioneer of folk-inspired poetry, (Rūshen Eshref, *Diyorlar ki*, Istanbul 1918, 133-4, 179). In 1899 she re-entered the American College as a boarder, where she was the only Turkish pupil. The year 1900 was a turning point in her life, as the mathematician Ṣāliḥ Dhekī Bey (see İ. A. Gövsa, *Türk meşhurları ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul 1948, s.v.) became her tutor; she married him in the year of her graduation (1901), and had two sons by him. During the years 1901-8, she read deeply in Shakespeare, Zola and the Ottoman chroniclers. In July 1908, when the Constitution was restored, she became a writer overnight, urging immediate educational and social reforms. Her articles were published mainly in the daily *Ṭanīn*, organ of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), founded in August 1908 by Ḥüseyn Djāhid and Tewfīḳ Fikret [*qq.v.*], and found an immediate favourable response. Following the counter-revolutionary attempt of 13 April 1909, Khālide thought her life was endangered and went to Egypt and from there to England, where her visit to Parliament particularly impressed her, as did also a speech of the Irish nationalist John Dillon which "was one of the emotional causes which started her on the road of nationalism" (*op. cit.*, 293). Back in Turkey in October 1909, she wrote her first important novel *Seviyye ṭālib* (published in 1910), and while continuing her articles on educational problems, joined the staff of the Women Teachers' Training College (*Dār al-muʿallimāt*), and with the help of the noted educationist Naḳiyye Khanīm (Nakiye Elgün, 1882-1965) reformed its syllabus and administration. In the meantime, she was divorced from Ṣāliḥ Dhekī Bey, having left home immediately after he had told her that he had married a second wife (1910). Soon she was attracted by the new movement of Turkism (*Türkčülük* [*q.v.*]). She wrote her novel *Yeñi Tūrān* (1911) and joined the activities of the Turkish Hearth (Türk Odjaghī [*q.v.*]), where she worked with Ḍiyāʾ Gökalp [*q.v.*] and his associates. When she resigned her teaching position over a conflict of principle with the Minister of Public Instruction Shükrī Bey (see Gövsa, *op. cit.*, s.v.), she became Inspector-General of *Ewḳāf* Schools which the minister, (the later *Sheykh al-Islām* Muṣṭafā Khayrī Efendi [*q.v.*]) decided to modernise. This gave her an opportunity to visit and study the outlying and poorest districts of Istanbul and their people, which incidentally became valuable for her novels. At the same time, she joined with Naḳiyye (Elgün) in the activities of the Women's Club (*Taʿālī-yi Niswān Djemʿiyyeti*) in social relief work and nursing.

In the autumn of 1916, at the invitation of Djemāl Pasha [*q.v.*], Army Commander in Syria, she toured all the important educational institutions there, and then returned to Istanbul after submitting her report. She subsequently continued her educational activity there by organising schools and by reforming the large ʿAyntura Orphanage. Meanwhile, she was married to Dr. ʿAdnān (Adıvar [*q.v.*]), a leading member of the CUP, by proxy (23 April 1917). Her educational work completed, she returned to Istanbul in early March 1918. In the autumn of the same year the war was over. After the Armistice of Mudros (30 October), the CUP triumvirate and many leading members of the Committee fled the country, and the Allied fleets entered Istanbul.

Parliament was dissolved, Italian troops occupied Antalya, and the Greeks, supported by the Allies, landed in Izmir (15 May 1919) and were advancing towards the interior. Sporadic resistance and guerilla warfare started in Anatolia. Khālide Edīb joined in protest rallies, and her name is particularly associated with the historic mammoth meeting of 23 May in Sulṭān Aḥmed Square, where she made a famous moving and dramatic address; her bust stands there today in memory of that unique occasion (Halide Edib, *The Turkish ordeal*, New York 1928, 32-3). In the following week, 55 intellectuals were deported to Malta by the British. In the meantime, Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha (Atatürk) had assumed the leadership of the resistance movement in Anatolia. On 10 August of the same year, Khālide Edīb wrote a famous controversial letter to Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha in support of an American mandate over Turkey (Ghāzi Muṣṭafā Kemāl, *Nuṭuḳ*, Ankara 1927, 56-9; *Speech*[2], Istanbul 1963, 76-80). She represented a group of opinion which thought that in the summer of 1919 there could be an alternative to armed resistance and to the partition of the country, *sc.* by asking for a great power's mandate (H. N. Howard, *The King-Crane Commission*, Beirut 1963, index; Sabahattin Selek, *Anadolu Ihtilali*[2], Istanbul 1968, 276-8; Niyazi Berkes, *Türkiye'de çağdaşlaşma*, Ankara 1973, 419-20). At Khālide's suggestion, an American representative was sent to the Congress of Sivas

(4-11 September) by Charles R. Crane, the co-chairman of the American King-Crane Commission, in order to interview Muṣṭafā Kemāl and to investigate the question of the American mandate (*Nuṭuḳ*, 63, *Speech*², 85-6, Kinross, *Atatürk*, 188, Howard, *op. cit.* 289-90). The idea was discussed and definitely rejected by the Congress (Ali Fuat Cebesoy, *Milli mücadele hatıraları*, Istanbul 1953, 175-6). During the winter months of 1919-20 Khālide kept in close contact with the Nationalists and their supporters in Istanbul and talked frequently to a number of American and British officials, but there came a reinforced occupation of Istanbul by the British (16 March 1920), followed by a raid on the Parliament and more arrests and deportations, so that the recently-elected pro-Nationalist Parliament which had adopted the National Pact (see MĪTHĀḲ-I MILLĪ) had to prorogue itself on March 18 (see B. Lewis, *Emergence*², 251). To avoid certain arrest and deportation (see *Ordeal*, 65-8, and A. E. Yalman, *Gördüklerim ve geçirdiklerim*, ii, Istanbul 1970, 55) Khālide and her husband Dr. ʿAdnān went into hiding in a dervish convent (Özbekler tekyesi) in Üsküdar and left secretly for Ankara. They arrived in Ankara on 1 April 1920 (followed shortly by Colonel ʿIṣmet (Inönü) and Fevzī (Çakmak) Pasha (G. Jaeschke, *Türk kurtuluş savaşi kronolojisi*, Ankara 1970, 96-100), and she immediately began to work in the "Agricultural School", the headquarters of the Nationalists, where she surveyed the foreign press, collected news for the "Anatolian Agency", translated or drafted English and French correspondence and occasionally contributed to the daily *Ḥākimiyyet-i milliyye*, the organ of the Nationalists. She soon became a member of their "inner circle", and with Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha, and five other Nationalist leaders, was condemned to death on 11 May by the sultan's government in Istanbul. In the fighting in central Anatolia, the first victory of the nationalist regular army was won by ʿIṣmet at Inönü (10 January 1921), a few days after the guerilla leader Čerkes Edhem [*q.v.*] had gone over to the Greeks. Khālide Edīb was busy in Ankara, mobilising the women of the city and reorganising the Red Crescent and relief work. Before the Greek offensive of July, she went to Eskishehir and worked as a nurse in the Red Crescent hospital until the fall of the city. On August 5 1921, Muṣṭafā Kemāl was elected generalissimo (*Bash kumandan*), and soon afterwards, Khālide Edīb volunteered for work on the Western front under ʿIṣmet Pasha. During the critical weeks before and during the battle of Sakarya [*q.v.*], 22 August-11 September, she served in the general headquarters (*Ordeal*, 284-310); she was promoted to corporal (*onbashî*), and the name *Khālide Onbashî* became the symbol of Turkish women who took part in the national struggle. Towards the end of December 1921, she moved to Aḳshehir (between Afyon and Konya), the new headquarters, and she spent the best part of the eight first months of 1922 with the army, which was preparing for the great offensive. On 24 August she was summoned to the front just before the offensive started. After the decisive battle of Dumlupinar on 30 August the Greek army began to retreat, burning cities and villages and massacring the civilian population in their wake (Lord Kinross, *Atatürk*, London 1971, 318). After spending a week in recaptured Izmir with the leaders, Khālide, now a sergeant-major, left with a group of journalists to inspect and report on the devastated area between Izmir and Bursa (published in *Izmirden Bursaya*, in collaboration with Yaʿḳūb Ḳadrī and Fāliḥ Rîfḳî, Istanbul 1922). After the armistice of Mudanya (11 October) which confirmed the triumph of the Nationalists, the sultanate was abolished by the Grand National Assembly presided over by Dr. ʿAdnān (1 November) and Khālide settled in Istanbul, as her husband was appointed representative of the Ankara Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Khāridjiyye mürakhkhaṣî*) in Istanbul.

Ideological differences between Muṣṭafā Kemāl, an uncompromising radical, and most of his close associates (including Khālide and ʿAdnān), who were conservatives or liberals, soon developed into a rift culminating with the foundation (17 November 1924) of the Progressive Republican Party (*Teraḳḳîperver Djumhūriyyet Fîrḳasî* [*q.v.*]). This party was soon suppressed (3 June 1925) following the counter-revolutionary rebellion, led mainly by Kurdish *sheykhs*, in the east. Khālide Edīb and Dr. ʿAdnān had left for Europe before the discovery on 15 June 1926 of the conspiracy against Muṣṭafā Kemāl's life, planned mainly by a group of former Unionists. All leading members of the former Progressive Party, suspected of the complicity with the plotters, were arrested. Dr. ʿAdnān was tried in his absence, and although completely acquitted, he and Khālide Edīb lived in self-imposed exile in Europe for fourteen years.

During the four years when she lived in England (1924-8) she wrote her memoirs and continued to write novels which were serialised in the Turkish dailies (see N. A. Banoğlu's interview with Khālide Edīb in the *Yedigün* of 28 May 1939). During 1929-39 she lived mainly in Paris, where her husband was lecturer in Turkish at the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes. In 1929 she was in the United States, and went on a lecture tour of various American Universities. She was a visiting professor at Columbia University during the 1931-2 academic year. In 1935 she went to India to lecture on the political and cultural background and contemporary problems of Modern Turkey, at the *Djāmiʿa Milliyya Islāmiyya* of Delhi, then left for a lecture tour of the principal universities of the sub-continent. Back in Paris, she wrote more novels, particularly her only novel in English, *The Clown and his daughter*, which she later re-wrote in Turkish as *Sinekli bakkal* (see below). She paid a brief visit to Istanbul in August 1935 and returned to Turkey on 5 March 1939 for good, four months after Atatürk's death (10 November 1938). In December 1939 Khālide Edīb was appointed the chairman of the newly-founded department of English at the University of Istanbul where she trained, in ten years, a team of young scholars with whom she worked on new translations of Shakespeare. Elected as an independent member of Parliament for Izmir at the general elections of May 1950, she retired from political life in January 1954. Dr. ʿAdnān died in July 1955 and her health began to decline; she herself died in her modest home in Bayezid on 9 January 1964 at the age of eighty.

Khālide Edīb was a woman of small stature but with extraordinary energy and vitality. Although considered primarily a novelist, Khālide Edīb was an extremely prolific and versatile writer and her enormous output extending over nearly 60 years covers a wide area: novels, short stories and essays, criticism, articles on social, educational and political topics, plays, memoirs, translations and research. Many of her essays, etc. appeared in various dailies and periodicals, where most of her novels were also serialised. Khālide Edīb (who signed her name Khālide Ṣāliḥ until her divorce from Ṣāliḥ Dhekī in 1910) started her career in the daily *Ṭanīn* and since

then she contributed mainly to the dailies *Akshām/Akşam*, *Wakit*, *Ikdām*, *Djumhūriyyet* (*Cumhuriyet*), *Yeni Istanbul* and periodicals *Türk Yurdu*, *Büyük Medjmūʿa*, *Dergāh*, *Yedigün*, *Hayat*, etc. (for a detailed list with dates, see the introduction of İnci Enginün's anthology *Halide Edip Adıvar*, Istanbul 1975).

Her twenty novels can be divided into three categories: (1) Novels where love and passion are the central themes, and the heroines, who predominate, are submitted to elaborate psychological analyses, e.g. some of her early novels like *Seviyye ṭālib* (1910), *Khandān* (1912), *Son etheri* (serialised in 1913, published 1919), *Mewʿūd hüküm* (1919) and the two novels of the twenties: *Kalb aghrīsī* (1924) and its continuation *Zeyno'nun oghlu* (1926). All these novels have considerable autobiographical elements and the passionate, independent, strong-willed heroines symbolise the author's ideal of the emancipated Turkish woman; until she joined the Nationalists in 1921, the settings are mainly those of the "westernised", upper class, well-to-do families following (perhaps unconsciously) the tradition of the preceding *Therwet-i Fünūn* [*q.v.*] school, a fact severely criticised by Gökalp (*Memoirs*, 319); the setting of the last-mentioned two novels switches from Istanbul and Europe to the Anatolian countryside. (2) Novels on the episodes of the War of Liberation: *Āteshden gömlek*, (serialised in *Ikdām* from 6 June to 11 August 1922, published 1923; Eng. tr. by Y. Khan, *The Daughter of Smyrna*, Lahore 1938) and *Vurun kahbeye!* ("Hit the whore!", serialised in *Akshām*, 1923, published 1926); these are based on personal experience and first-hand information, like most of her short stories of the same period (see *Dagha čikan kurt*, Istanbul 1922, enlarged 4th ed. 1963). These novels were pioneering works on this period; they became immensely popular and were filmed several times (see Aytekin Yakar, *Türk romanında milli mücadele*, Ankara 1973). (3) Period Novels. After the age of fifty, Khālide Edīb produced a series of novels in which she proposed to describe the various aspects of Turkish society, beginning with her most famous novel *Sinekli bakkal* (originally written in English as *The clown and his daughter*, London 1935) serialised in the Istanbul daily *Haber* in 1935 and published in 1936, which won the Republican People's Party's prize for the Best Novel in 1942, became an all-time best seller in Turkish literature (33rd edition in 1976) and was filmed in 1968. This is mainly a description of the Istanbul society in its various aspects at the turn of the century during ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II's autocratic rule. A *Karagöz* [*q.v.*] performer and his talented daughter with a beautiful voice who live in a back street of Istanbul ("in the quarter of fly-ridden grocers") are the central characters of the novel, assisted by a great number of secondary heroes, including the inevitable Ḥamīdian *pasha* and Young Turks (synopsis in *Litteratur-lexikon*, see Bibliogr.). This popular novel was presumably conceived to cater for a foreign audience in search of exotic details which explains its somewhat artificial "mystic" atmosphere and its unconvincing dénouement. It was followed by *Tatarcık* ("The Little Tatar") in 1939, an equally unrealistic description of the generation of the young people grown up during the author's years of exile (for a synopsis, see *op. cit.*, and Muzaffer Uyguner, *Halide Edib Adıvar*, Istanbul 1968, 63). After 14 years of absence, Khālide Edīb settled down again in an old district of Istanbul where she soon built up a large circle of friends, but also discovered the new world of the Anatolian peasants and small town-dwellers who had moved to Istanbul. Most of her novels written after the last two mentioned above, particularly *Sonsuz panayır* ("The eternal fair", 1946), *Döner ayna* ("The revolving mirror", 1954), *Akıle Hanım sokağı* ("Akıle Hanım Street", 1958) contain a realistic rendering of her personal experiences and of her observations of Turkish society in the late 40's and the 50's, and describe powerfully the panorama of the various types and problems of a society in the process of rapid political and social change in the years following the World War II.

Her novel *Yeñi Tūrān* (serialised in *Ṭanīn* in 1912 and published the same year, German tr. by F. Schrader, *Das neue Turan*, 1916) stands by itself as a fruit of her brief courtship with Pan-Turanianism or Pan-Turkism, supported at the time by the CUP (synopsis in *Litteratur-Lexicon*, see Bibliogr.); although she later rejected Pan-Turkism as a political creed (Halide Edib, *Türkiye'de şark, garp ve Amerikan tesirleri*, Istanbul 1956, 99-101), this novel is nevertheless imbued with the strong nationalistic spirit that characterises most of her writing. The obvious failures in the post-1908 period of Ottomanism and Pan-Islamism, served further to strengthen her national consciousness (*Memoirs*, 312, 329-34), and during the traumatic years 1911-22, her exuberant nationalism mellowed and was further enriched with her experiences in exile.

Some of her short stories have been collected into three books: *Dagha çıkan kurt* mentioned above; *Kharāb maʿbedler* (1911, 4th ed. 1973) which contains her earliest work; and the posthumous miscellaneous collection *Kubbede kalan hoş sada* (Istanbul 1974).

Khālide Edīb wrote her memoirs in two volumes in English during her years of exile in England (*Memoirs of Halide Edib*, New York 1926 and *The Turkish ordeal*, New York 1928). Apart from their intrinsic literary value, these volumes are of invaluable documentary importance for her biography up to 1922 and for the background of many events in Turkish history between 1900-22. In these, she is extremely honest and candid in recording everything about her own life and, on the whole, fair and balanced in her description and judgement of other people. Thus she is generous in praising many leading men like Ṭalʿat, Djemāl and ʿIṣmet Pashas; but she loses her sense of balance and fairness frequently when she discusses Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha, recognising his unquestionable superiority, his almost superhuman energy and his powers of command, but recognising also his obstinacy. This makes her vacillate between praise and blame; she is unfair to the point of conspicuously leaving out the name of the hero of Gallipoli while referring to that campaign (*Memoirs*, 384), and elsewhere complains that "Turkish people are always the victims of hero worship, especially in military affairs" (*Memoirs*, 341). All this is of course the result of the fundamental conflict between her own liberal views and the radicalism of Muṣṭafā Kemāl. Khālide Edīb published substantially shortened and altered Turkish versions of her memoirs: *Mor salkımlı ev* (serialised intermittently in *Yeni Istanbul*, 1951-55 and published 1963) and *Türkün ateşle imtihanı* (serialised in the weekly magazine *Ḥayat* as *Millî mücadele hatıraları*, 1959-60, published 1962) in which much of the controversial material has been either left out or toned down. Khālide Edīb is not always careful with dates; her chronological data should be used critically.

Apart from her English novel already mentioned, Khālide Edīb published three books in English while

abroad. The first two are based on her lectures in America and in India: *Turkey faces west*, New Haven 1930 and *Conflict of east and west in Turkey*, Lahore 1935. The third book, *Inside India*, London 1937, contains her impressions and thoughts on a country which she "felt to be nearer to my soul-climate than any other country not my own" and where she met Mahatma Gandhi and all the outstanding nationalist leaders of the sub-continent. The Turkish version *Hindistan'a dair* was serialised in *Yeni Sabah* in 1940-1, but not published in book form. Kh̲ālide Edīb was always keenly interested in the theatre, but wrote only two plays, which had no success: the experimental *Kenan çobanları* (produced in Syria 1916, published in 1918) and *Maske ve ruh* (serialised in Yedigün in 1937-8, published in 1945, English version *Masks and souls*, 1953). She directed the translation of four plays of Shakespeare in the Department of English of Istanbul University: *Hamlet* (1941), *As you like it* (1943), *Anthony and Cleopatra* (1943) and *Coriolanus* (1945), and she translated herself George Orwell's *Animal Farm* (*Hayvan çiftliği*, serialised in *Cumhuriyet* in 1952, published in 1954). Her research work mainly consists of a history of English literature from the origins to the end of the 17th century in three volumes, *İngiliz edebiyati tarihi* (Istanbul 1940-9).

Kh̲ālide Edīb's language and style have always been severely criticised both by fellow writers and critics (Rūs̲h̲en Es̲h̲ref, *op. cit.*, *passim*; Cevdet Kudret, *Türk edebiyatında hikâye ve roman*, ii, Ankara 1970, 66-7). It is true that her language is often awkward and ungrammatical, her style untidy and unpolished, but it is equally true that this warm and extremely personal style has a strange charm and an immediate impact upon the reader. As a great admirer of folk literature, she had always disliked the artificial and precious language of most of her contemporaries and wrote, like Refīḳ Kh̲ālid [*q.v.*] in simple, straightforward Turkish, even before the principles of the "New Language" (*Yeñi lisān*) were proclaimed by ʿÖmer Seyf el-Dīn [*q.v.*] and his friends in Salonica. This explains why she is still one of the most-read writers of her generation.

Bibliography: Further to works cited in the article, Ismāʿil Ḥabīb (Sevük), *Türk tedjeddüd edebiyyatī taʾrīkhi*, Istanbul 1924, 628-31; idem, *Tanzimattanberi*, Istanbul 1940, 479-86; Kenan Akyüz, *La littérature moderne de Turquie*, in *PhTF*, ii, Wiesbaden 1964, 587-9; *Kindlers Litteratur-Lexicon*, Zurich 1965-72, suppl. 1974, index; Baha Dürder, *Halide Edib ve sanati*, Istanbul 1940; H. V. Barlas, *Halide Edib Adivar*, Istanbul 1963; O. Spies, *Die moderne türkische Literatur*, in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, v, Leiden 1963, 362-3; Hilmi Yücebaş, *Bütün cepheleriyle Halide Edib*, Istanbul 1964; Türk Dili, *Roman özel sayısı*, Ankara 1964; *Aylık bibliyoğrafya*, Yeni yayınlar, ix 2, Istanbul 1964; Nazan Güntürkün, *Halide Edip ile Adım Adım*, Istanbul 1974; 10 unpublished theses on Kh. E. are available in the Istanbul University library and the departmental library of the Ankara Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi; see the handlists of both Universities under *Tezler*. (Fahir İz)

AL-KH̲ĀLIDĪ, Rūḥī, Palestine scholar, diplomat and politician, born in Jerusalem in 1864 to a well-known family of scholars tracing its origin to Kh̲ālid b. al-Walīd [*q.v.*]. He received a religious and linguistic education in Jerusalem, Nābulus, Tripoli and Beirut, and studied philosophy, law and politics at the Royal College, Constantinople. He continued his studies of political science and of philosophy and Islamic and Oriental studies at the Sorbonne; he later taught Arabic in Paris and attended the 1897 Orientalists' Congress. In 1898 he was appointed Ottoman consul-general in Bordeaux, where he was active in diplomatic and scientific life.

After the proclamation of the Ottoman Constitution (1908), he returned to Jerusalem and was elected for three terms as a deputy of his city to the Ottoman Parliament. He died in Constantinople in 1913.

His *Taʾrīkh ʿilm al-adab ʿind al-Ifranj wa 'l-Arab wa-Fiktor Hūkū* [Victor Hugo], is the first work on comparative literary studies in modern Arabic Literature. He discusses here the similarities and differences between Arabic and European (mainly French) literature, their respective developments, the influence of Arabic literature on European literature, and the rôle of Victor Hugo in introducing such influence to French literature. This work was first published in *al-Hilāl* magazine in 1902-3, and in book form in 1904 under the name of al-Maḳdisī. Only in the later editions of 1912, 1929 and 1932 was the name of the author given. His other works were mainly political and scientific, such as *al-Inḳilāb al-ʿUth̲mānī wa-Turkiyā 'l-Fatāt* was lithographed and dated Bordeaux, 7 October 1908, probably in the author's own writing, and further published in *al-Hilāl*, xvii (1908), and later in Cairo 1909, with the title *al-Inḳilāb al-siyāsī al-ʿUth̲mānī*. Al-Kh̲ālidī also wrote *al-Muḳaddima fī 'l-masʾala al-sh̲arḳiyya mundh̲u nash̲ʾatihā 'l-ūlā ilā 'l-rubʿ al-th̲ānī min al-ḳarn al-th̲āmin ʿash̲ar* (Jerusalem 1925?); *al-Kīmyāʾ ʿind al-ʿArab* (Cairo 1953); *Risāla fī surʿat intish̲ār al-dīn al-Muḥammadī fī aḳsām al-ʿalam al-Islāmī* (Tripoli 1314/1896); and an edition of a booklet by Saʿd al-Dīn al-Kh̲ālidī, known as Ibn al-Dīrī, entitled *al-Ḥabs fī 'l-tuhma wa 'l-imtiḥān ʿalā ṭalab al-iḳrār wa-iẓhār al-māl* (1321/1903). There are other works still in manuscript.

Bibliography: J. A. Dagher, *Maṣādir al-dirāsa al-adabiyya*, ii/1: *al-Rāḥilūn (1800-1955)*, Beirut 1956, 333-35; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*[2], iii, 64; Sarkīs, *Muʿdjam al-maṭbūʿāt*, cols. 813-14; Cheikho, *Taʾrīkh al-ādāb al-ʿarabiyya* (Beirut 1926), 50; al-Kh̲ālidī, *al-Muḳaddima fī 'l-masʾala al-sh̲arḳiyya*, pp. a-h. (S. Moreh)

AL-KH̲ĀLIDIYYĀN[1], the name generally given to two poets of Sayf al-Dawla's [*q.v.*] entourage, the two inseparable brothers Abū ʿUth̲mān Saʿd/Saʿīd (d. 350/961) and Abū Bakr Muḥammad (d. 380/990), sons of Hās̲h̲im b. Saʿīd b. Waʿla. They came originally from a village of the region of al-Mawṣil called al-Kh̲ālidiyya (Yāḳūt, ii, 390), and possibly lived for some time in Baṣra (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xi, 208 affirms this and attributes to Abū ʿUth̲mān the ethnic designation of al-Baṣrī), but became celebrated above all as the librarians of Sayf al-Dawla, to whom they dedicated their occasional verse. They attracted notice through their rivalry with al-Raffāʾ [*q.v.*], who accused them of plagiarism through the use of their prodigious memory; Ibn al-Nadīm displays surprise at this, and gives a reply via Abū Bakr that he knew by heart a thousand books (*sifr*) each of a hundred leaves. Their poetic works, of which specimens can be read in al-Th̲aʿālibī's *Yatīma*, i, 507-30, were gathered together by Abū ʿUth̲mān into a *dīwān* which has not, it seems, been preserved. However, two anthologies compiled by the brothers, *Ḥamāsat sh̲iʿr al-muḥdath̲īn* (or *al-Ash̲bāh wa 'l-naẓāʾir*) and *al-Hadāyā wa 'l-tuḥaf*, are extant (see Brockelmann, I, 147, S I, 41, 226); also attributed to them is a *Mukh̲tār min sh̲iʿr Bash̲sh̲ār*, known through a selection made by Abū Ṭāhir Ismāʿīl al-

Tudjībī and published as *Mukhtār al-mukhtār min shi'r Bashshār* by Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAlawī at Cairo in 1353/1934-5 (cf. *Dīwān Bashshār*, ed. Muḥ. al-Ṭāhir Ibn ʿAshūr, Cairo 1369/1950, i, 90). Finally, the biographers cite further amongst their works: *K. fī akhbār Abī Tammām wa-maḥāsin shiʿrihi, K. Ikhtiyār shiʿr al-Buḥturī, K. fī akhbār shiʿr Ibn al-Rūmī, K. Ikhtiyār shiʿr Muslim b. al-Walīd* (cf. S. Dahhān, *Sharḥ Dīwān Sarīʿ al-Ghawānī*, Cairo n.d., 338, 340, according to al-Ṣafadī, *Ghayth*, Cairo 1305, 143, 187), *K. Akhbār al-Mawṣil* (see Yāḳūt, iii, 363; F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, 405, n. 2) and *al-Diyārāt*.

Bibliography: In addition to works mentioned in the article, see *Fihrist*, 169 (Cairo edn. 240-1); Kutubī, *Fawāt*, Nos. 141, 457; ʿAbbāsī, *Maʿāhid al-tanṣīṣ*, i, 60; M. Canard, *Sayf al Daula*, Algiers 1934, 293-5; Mez, *Renaissance*, Eng. tr. 264-5; R. Blachère, *Motanabbî*, 132, 142.

(CH. PELLAT)

KHALĪFA.

(i) THE HISTORY OF THE INSTITUTION OF THE CALIPHATE

A study of the caliphate, its institution and subsequent developments, has never been attempted in its entirety until the present. The principal reason is that it has not seemed possible to conduct such a survey independently of historical studies relating to different reigns, which are still in most cases insufficient, or even non-existent, whereas studies of doctrine, while more advanced, have not been developed to the same extent with regard to the various periods. The tentative attempts that have been made have therefore been superficial, or lacking sufficient historical perspective. Here we must confine ourselves to making a brief statement of the question and stressing the problems, rather than attempting a complete exposition, which, to do justice to the subject, would require treatment at too great length.

A. The first period

In a sense, the institution of the caliphate was born on the day after the death or the Prophet when the new head of the community, in the event the trusted Companion Abū Bakr, became in 11/632 *khalīfat rasūl Allāh*. The date and the circumstances of the appearance of this institution would seem therefore to be well-established, but two questions arise at once. First, how did the designation of the first caliph take place, and was the procedure adopted observed in subsequent cases? Second, what powers were attributed to this "successor" of the Prophet?

As regards the first point, the tradition adopted by the majority of historians tells of the acclamation of the new caliph by the leading Companions, who gave him an oath of allegiance; this was the first *bayʿa*. Whatever were the circumstances under which this proclamation was made, whatever pressures were applied by ʿUmar to the congregation to have Abū Bakr recognized, whatever may have been the protests of ʿAlī and his supporters, it seems to have been accepted from this time onwards that the oath of the Believers, to which corresponded the promise of the new chief to lead the community on the right path, alone conferred upon him the succession.

For the two caliphs who followed, variations in procedure should be noted. Abū Bakr, before his death in 13/634, had, according to the chroniclers, personally designated his successor in the presence of ʿUmar. The community of Believers was not therefore in a position to state its own wishes, but got the chance to ratify this appointment. The oath in fact, was taken only by the Companions present at Medina, which explains how the authority of ʿUmar could be disputed by certain groups dispersed elsewhere in Arabia, who refused to pay the legally-assessed poor tax [see RIDDA].

ʿUmar, before dying in his turn in 23/644, had decided that a group of six persons, including among others ʿUthmān and ʿAlī, should choose his successor from among themselves. After discussion the choice fell on ʿUthmān, who then received the oath of allegiance. So even with the designation of the first three caliphs, three different methods were explored; all, however, were only to be put into effect if ratified by the community, or by its most influential and closest members.

The second question, that of the powers exercised by the new leaders of the community, is more problematical, since these powers were not at the time defined in a precise fashion. One cannot base conclusions on the sense of the title *khalīfa* (see above) which, suggesting at once the ideas of succession, appointment and authority, remained somewhat vague. These powers seem, essentially, to have authorised the first three successors of Muḥammad to pursue the actions previously set in motion by the Prophet himself for the expansion of Islam and to put into practice the regulations set out in the Ḳurʾānic message, which was to be supplemented by the *Sunna* instituted among the community of Believers in the lifetime of the Prophet.

The continuation of the work begun by the Prophet was seen during the time of Abū Bakr in the fight against the dissidents of Arabia, soon followed by raiding operations towards the north which became a vast movement of conquest. From this time onwards the caliph assumed the role of army commander, and military operations, conducted against infidels or against rebellious Muslims who, for one reason or another refused to accept his authority, became one of his most important responsibilities.

Meanwhile, questions of law, relating to the spheres both of the cult and of social relations, were posed to those caliphs called by the tradition *rāshidūn*, that is to say "those who walk in the right way", as opposed to those who came later and were accused of making the caliphate a family possession. Thus ʿUmar was obliged to take decisions concerning the penal law, certain types of inheritance and the practice of the law of retaliation (Shahrastānī, *Milal*, Cairo, i, 18). To him also are attributed some initiatives in matters of ritual, culminating in the attempt, carried on by ʿUthmān, to set in motion the establishment of the text of the Ḳurʾānic "vulgate".

It was also in the time of ʿUmar that for the first time the question was raised of the financial organisation of the Islamic state. Since members of the Arab tribes were entitled to endowments, ʿUmar instituted the *dīwān*, a register in which the names of beneficiaries were inscribed. In addition, the troops were entitled to a share of the booty, which was gradually replaced by a pension, registered in the same way. The organisation of the *dīwān* [*q.v.*], first established at Medina, later in all the principal cities of the empire, was thus linked to that of the fiscal system, on which it is not possible to dwell here. Let it be said only that it was at the initiative of the two caliphs ʿUmar and ʿUthmān that a treasury was established, which collected and from which were distributed the revenues supplied first by booty, later by property taxes. As this treasury

also met some expenses of communal interest, it should have been seen as the beginning of a financial system which was not strictly in accord with Ḳurʾānic principles for the distribution of booty, but which was made necessary by the development of the new State [see BAYT AL-MĀL]. This innovation was one of the causes of the troubles which culminated in the assassination of ʿUthman in 35/656.

Another cause was the choice by ʿUthmān of members of his own family to undertake the government of the principal provinces; in acting thus he was in effect supplanting the earliest converts to Islam, who by virtue of this title had in general more right than the descendants of Abū Sufyān to participate in the organisation of the community. Two concepts of power came into conflict here, of which one consisted in observing strictly the principles of the Ḳurʾān and giving pride of place to the "first converts", while the other paid greater attention to the efficiency of the apparatus of government. After the confrontation which took place between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya, following the judgement of ʿAdhruḥ [*q.v.*], the second concept held definitive sway.

The murder of ʿUthmān and the events which followed posed to the Islamic community the problem of knowing whether a caliph could be deposed for neglecting his duties. It seems that it was at this time that there appeared the sect later to be known as the Khawāridj which declared the principle that the caliph must not under any circumstances deviate from the ordinances of divine origin (see the interpretation by W. Montgomery Watt, *The formative period of Islamic thought*, Edinburgh 1973, 14-15). The judgement of ʿAdhruḥ itself, the principle of which was denied by the Khāridjīs on the grounds that the cause of good could not be set under discussion, implied a conception of the caliphate according to which the holder of power must answer for his actions, and the justification chosen by Muʿāwiya to explain his action against ʿAlī was the defence of the rights of his kinsman, "unjustly" assassinated at the instigation of his political enemies.

The Umayyads, however, on becoming installed in power, made efforts to eradicate this notion of moral responsibility. At the same time as they had the principle of dynastic succession recognised, they maintained the idea that unconditional obedience was owed to the reigning caliph. Thus Yazīd and his successors paid no heed to the proclamation as caliph of ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*] at Medina in 61/681 nor to the declaration of dethronement pronounced by the leading citizens against the son of Muʿāwiya. It was their opponents, of the movement called Ḳadarī (see *Ḳadariyya*), who vindicated the right to judge the actions of the sovereign, establishing a doctrine which was invoked by Yazīd III, pretender to the caliphate, to justify his revolt against al-Walīd II, accusing him of misconduct. As for the revolutionary movements which appeared at this time, some of them were of a Khāridjī tendency, demanding of the caliph particular moral qualities (they succeeded in proclaiming Ḳaṭarī b. al-Fudjāʾa [*q.v.*] caliph in Fārs and Kirmān; he bore the title *amīr al-muʾminīn* and coined money in his own name for ten years, 69-79/688-99), while the others followed more or less strictly the Shīʿī tendency, that is to say, demanding the accession to the caliphate of either a descendant of ʿAlī, or in the case of the ʿAbbāsid party, of an unspecified member of the Family of the Prophet. It was therefore the legitimacy of the Umayyads that they contested, while at the same time they strove to discredit them, denying their adherence to Islamic principles and accusing them of having usurped the caliphate; the origins and the actions of the ruling caliphs thus being called into question.

On their side, the Umayyads were not content with imposing the notion of unconditional obedience to the caliph; they established at the same time, in effect, the dynastic caliphate. Without abandoning the principle of election followed by oath of fealty (*bayʿa*), Muʿāwiya accomplished his object by means of an election guaranteeing in advance that his son Yazīd would be recognised as his successor. The same procedure was used for the designation of Muʿāwiya II. But on the death of the latter, the problem of succession arose once more, and the Arab "nobility", meeting at Djābiya, made free use of their right to proceed to the choice of a new caliph, without however denying the fact that he should belong to the family of the Banū Umayya. A cousin of Muʿāwiya, Marwān, was duly appointed caliph; to the branch called Sufyānid, there succeeded the Marwānid branch to which belonged all the subsequent Umayyad rulers, all of them nominated by their predecessors, with the exception of the rebel Yazīd III. In fact, from the time of ʿAbd al-Malik onwards, the caliph was in the habit of leaving a written designation, called *ʿahd* (whence the granting to the heir presumptive of the title *walī 'l-ʿahd*, in the sense of beneficiary of a contract concluded between him and the community). The testamentary nomination, bearing the signature of witnesses of repute, thus became the essential mandate which had executive force and relegated the ceremony of the *bayʿa* to a position of secondary importance. It was also the practice for the caliph to nominate two heirs; but such nominations were not acted upon unless an order of precedence had been set. The heir was most often a son of the ruling caliph but could equally well be a brother or a cousin; only one exclusion was maintained, the nomination of the son of a non-Arab concubine; for this reason the prince Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik, who was remarkably active during the reign of his father, neither inherited power nor was entitled to do so.

At the same time this period saw a real attempt by the Umayyads to establish the legitimacy of their dynastic caliphate. Their panegyrists traced back the right of sovereignty from ʿAbd al-Malik to Marwān, then to Muʿāwiya and ʿUthmān. Some even went so far as to express the idea that the Umayyads had inherited the "legacy of Muḥammad". *Ḥadīth*s appeared in which Muḥammad predicted their coming. To be sure, all this was nothing more than the outward signs of a different legitimacy, but the idea was disseminated.

The Umayyads also on the other hand strove to underline the theocratic nature of their powers, as appears notably from the terms of a *khuṭba* of al-Ḥadjdjādj: "The *amīr* of the Believers ʿAbd al-Malik is a leader whom God has chosen as His viceroy upon earth and appointed *imām* for His creatures." The expression occurs also in the texts of testamentary nominations and in the speeches preceeding the *bayʿa*. The ruling caliphs considered themselves in fact as appointed by God, and the title *khalīfāt Allāh* (formerly denounced by Abū Bakr, according to a tradition which appears to be of doubtful validity) came into use from the start of the Umayyad era, helping to establish firmly the duty of obedience to the dynasty.

Moreover, the ruling sovereigns were required to take decisions, touching on problems of general

policy, sometimes directly concerning the sphere of Ḳur'ānic precepts. They were obliged for example to define the place that new converts, non-Arabs becoming *mawālī*, might take in the organisation of a state where the reins of power were held by Arab Muslims. Also, the exigencies of the conquests in the west led them to emply the services of Berber contingents, who played an active role in the conquest of Spain and whose status raised difficulties from that time onwards. More delicate was the fiscal problem which the caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was obliged to settle by means of an edict. His decision to establish fiscal equality between the original Muslims and the converts having proved impossible to put into effect, it was decided to retain the former land-taxes, irrespective of the religion of the occupant of the land. Thus was established the form of the levy called henceforward *kharādj* [*q.v.*] as distinct from the poll-tax called *djizya*, whereas new converts were required to pay a higher tax than that levied on the original Muslims for the lands that they possessed subsequent to the conquest. Hence to this period belongs the definition of the *kharādj* and *djizya* taxes, an important stage in the development of Islamic law, the process of which can only be grasped with difficulty, but which is to be attributed to the activity of the Umayyad caliphs.

B. The ʿAbbāsid caliphate until 658/1258.

New modifications to the concept of the caliphate were brought about by the ʿAbbāsid dynasty, which assumed power in 132/750 and retained it in ʿIrāk until 658/1260, then in Egypt until 923/1517. Its members presented themselves as belonging to the family of the Prophet, and it was with this title that the first among them to accede to power justified their action. They thus maintained the thesis according to which the caliphate must revert to the kinsmen of the Prophet, and more particularly to the descendants of al-ʿAbbās, who were considered to be the best qualified. Nevertheless, this ʿAbbāsid legitimism raised difficulties in establishing principles usable against ʿAbd claims. The principal argument, employed very frequently by the caliph al-Manṣūr in his controversy with the Ḥasanid Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, and subsequently developed on several occasions by the sovereigns themselves or by their panegyrists, followed the principle of right of succession: the descendants of al-ʿAbbās, son of the Prophet's uncle, must take precedence over the "sons of the daughter", that is to say, over those who were descended from the Prophet through his daughter Fāṭima and who were related to his two grandsons al-Ḥusayn and al-Ḥasan. As this argument did not always appear sufficient, the caliph al-Mahdī sought to adduce in addition the thesis according to which al-ʿAbbās had been nominated by the Prophet himself as his successor. Quite independently of this attempt, which did not last long, the panegyrists for their part strove to prove the eminent qualities of al-ʿAbbās, protector and nephew of the Prophet. The legitimism of the ʿAbbāsids thus depended on various arguments, whose vogue changed with the times, arguments which were sometimes radically opposed to those upon which the Umayyad legitimism had been based and which sometimes approximated to them, as when the panegyrists inevitably proclaimed that the sons of al-ʿAbbās were "the best of Ḳuraysh". This legitimism never ceased in any case to be generally recognised, even when the "great *amīrs*" of Shīʿī persuasion held power, and it was in a sense consolidated by the arrival of the Saldjūḳs who, while taking over control of the empire, nevertheless upheld the Sunnī caliphate as it was then established.

Previously, the most dangerous challenge had taken place during the reign of al-Ma'mūn, when this caliph attempted to nominate as his heir the ʿAlid ʿAlī al-Riḍā, considered by him "the best of the descendants of ʿAlī and of al-ʿAbbās". This attempt did not amount to an adoption of the Shīʿī point of view; rather, it aimed at restoring vigour to a broader Hāshimī legitimism, which would have permitted the choice of the *imām* from one or the other of the branches of the Hāshimī family. To this new legitimist concept was linked a doctrine of Zaydī inspiration, according to which the office of *imām* must revert, in the context of a defined line of succession, to the most deserving. If the attempt failed, it was through the opposition of circles in ʿIrāḳ who showed their attachment to the ʿAbbāsid family and their hostility to the new religious policy of al-Ma'mūn, which the latter was forced to abandon.

Whatever may have been the basis of ʿAbbāsid legitimism, it was the priority of the ruling caliphs to reinforce the theocratic nature of their power. The same expressions were employed in their case as in that of the Umayyad caliphs. Al-Mansūr declared himself, it is said, "the power of God on earth" (*sulṭān Allāh fī arḍi-hi*) and the caliphs exacted, like all their predecessors, a duty of unconditional obedience which was founded, from the 3rd/9th century onwards, on the concepts of traditionists of the Ḥanbalī persuasion. In addition, the royal titles adopted by the sovereigns stressed the charismatic quality of their power: the second caliph had himself named al-Manṣūr, "he who receives the victory from God", the third, al-Mahdī, "he whom God leads in the right way", a title which tended at the same time to assimilate the caliphs to the ʿAlid *imāms*. Subsequently, the honorifics al-Amīn, al-Ma'mūn and al-Wāthik bi-llāh, stressed rather the piety of those who bore them; but the personal link between the caliph, and the divinity guaranteeing his power remained strongly marked. One may add that from the reign of al-Ma'mūn onwards, the caliphs did not disdain the title of *imām*, previously considered to be of too Shīʿī a flavour.

Also, the dynastic principle was applied in the same fashion as under the Umayyads, the heir being most often nominated by the ruling caliph after consultation with the most influential supporters of the régime. The procedure adopted bore a solemn character on some occasions; thus the testament of Hārūn al-Rashīd, which named two heirs, establishing a kind of division of the empire between them and specifying the rights and obligations of each towards the other, was displayed in the Kaʿba at Mecca in 185/802; the same procedure was used for the testament of al-Muʿtamid in 261/874.

But as in the preceding period, no rule determined this choice, and the caliph could just as well nominate a distant cousin as one of his sons. It was nevertheless to a son that the sovereign most often sought to bequeath his office, on condition that the son was of the required age or close to it, that is to say, to the age of majority. This need was admitted by all, as it had been already in the Umayyad period, but not the procedure for its application. On the one hand, a minor could be designated heir, since normally he was not required to assume immediately the function of caliph; on the other hand, the age of majority was not fixed in a precise fashion. It was only in 296/908 that the nomination of a caliph 13 years of age, al-Muḳtadir, set a kind of precedent.

The practice of testamentary nominations posed another problem when these contained two names. It often happened that a new caliph sought to cancel the act established by his predecessor, so as to replace the person chosen as second heir and now becoming first heir—his brother most often—and to substitute for him his son, for example. It was necessary in such cases to obtain the abdication of the heir, since there was no procedure allowing for the dismissal of an heir, just as there was none for a caliph, and it was considered that the oath of allegiance already given was binding upon the heir as it was upon the community. In consequence, it was almost always by means of more or less violent persuasion that heirs considered to be undesirable were forced to renounce their rights.

As in the preceding period, it happened sometimes that a caliph died without having designated an heir. The choice then reverted to the community or at least to its most prominent representatives. On the death of al-Wāt͟hiḳ in 232/847, it was a select committee composed of the chief-*ḳāḍī*, of the vizier and some of the officers of the Turkish guard, who proceeded to the nomination of the future al-Mutawakkil. However, at the times of the sickness of al-Muktafī in 296/908, it was the vizier and the leading officials of the realm who chose a successor to the caliph, who had not chosen an heir. So the composition of the electoral council varied according to the circumstances.

Under the ʿAbbāsids, no more than under the Umayyads, was there a procedure for deposing a ruler for moral faults. Where attempts were made to do this, it was a case of local councils, convoked in an arbitrary fashion, proclaiming the dethronement of the ruling sovereign or of the heir presumptive, and these had no more than a limited influence on the course of events. Examples of this were seen when al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn declared one another deposed, or when the population of Bag͟hdād refused to obey al-Maʾmūn and proclaimed as caliph Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī [*q.v.*]. In fact, these situations always culminated in a trial of strength, and the judicial death, banishment, dismissal or abdication of one of the rivals produced each time a judicial solution.

On the other hand, each abdication registered officially by the *ḳāḍīs* led to an interregnum, and abdications were frequent in the history of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. These were almost always forced abdications. One caliph, al-Ḳāhir [*q.v.*], who refused to bow to pressure, had his eyes put out, by which means he was legally incapacitated from fulfilling his duties. But instances of forced abdication were particularly flagrant in the period of the Buwayhid *amīrs*, who brutally deposed two caliphs to replace them with princes of their own choosing. The grand-*amīr* then convoked each time an electoral college comprising the principal dignitaries of the State as well as jurists and members of the ʿAbbāsid and ʿAlid families; but his own opinion was the only decisive one in the final choice.

It is only in the ʿAbbāsid period that one sees in the texts the office of caliph as clearly accompanied by insignia worn by the caliph when giving audience; there is mention of the cloak attributed to the Prophet (*burda* [*q.v.*]), his sceptre (*ḳaḍīb* [*q.v.*]), and of a high bonnet (*ḳalansuwa*), which first appeared no doubt in the Umayyad period (although the information concerning ceremonial in this period remains of dubious interpretation); in addition, in the 4th/10th century, a copy of the Ḳurʾān of ʿUt͟hmān was carried ostentatiously by the caliph. Insignia of this kind, recalling to a greater or lesser extent contemporary or previous courtroom practice, had the object of stressing the eminent qualities of the "successor of the Messenger of God", and a full etiquette governed the conduct of audiences, requiring from visitors and officials precisely defined marks of respect: the principal one being the kissing of the carpet (*taḳbīl*) on coming face-to-face with the sovereign, if not kissing his hand. A similar symbolism marked the manners of solemn processions, and when the caliph appeared in public outside the palace he was preceded by the chief of police bearing the lance (*ḥarba*), at once the symbol of authority and a reminder of the customs of the Prophet.

Between the 2nd/8th and the 4th/10th centuries, the functions of the caliph are easy enough to determine, using the information supplied by the ancient chronicles. The caliph was then seen as the guardian of dogma, and in this capacity opposed innovations (*bidaʿ*) and all that was considered to be such. He was thus permitted to play a part in the formulation of doctrine, and numerous examples of this may be cited: al-Mahdī ordered for example the persecution of the *zindīḳs* [*q.v.*]; al-Maʾmūn and his two successors sought to impose Muʿtazilism as an official doctrine; al-Mutawakkil returned to the traditionalist position which condemned in particular the notion of the "created" nature of the Ḳurʾān; later, al-Muʿtaḍid sought to curb the activities of popular preachers of traditionalist tendencies; al-Rāḍī, [*q.v.*] condemned Ḥanbalī theodicy; al-Ḳādir [*q.v.*], in the full swing of the Buwayhid period, proclaimed his adherence to a profession of faith of Ḥanbalī inspiration in an attempt to prevent the dissemination of other doctrines. On the other hand, the caliphs did not participate in the formulation of law; al-Manṣūr did not take up the suggestion of Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [*q.v.*] to establish a uniform code of law to which judges would be obliged to refer, and from this time onwards, the judicial schools were established, independent of all interference from the caliph. The measures which the caliph could take in the judicial sphere were thus limited to decrees applying to fiscal matters, although he was obliged, in his capacity as leader of the community, to ensure that the law was observed in all its various aspects.

The caliph was the *imām* [*q.v.*] par excellence, and conducted the Friday Prayers in the great mosque. At the end of the 3rd/9th century, however, he was exercising this function only in the great mosque of the caliph's residence, leaving to delegated officials the task of conducting the prayers and performing the *k͟huṭba* [*q.v.*] in the other great mosque of the capital. Similarly, he performed the Pilgrimage in his official capacity or sent a delegate on his behalf. Many of the earlier caliphs performed this religious duty in person, sometimes more than once, as in the case of Hārūn al-Ras͟hīd.

In the same way, the caliph was expected to preside over the periodic expeditions against the lands of the infidel. This was done in person by Hārūn al-Ras͟hīd, then by al-Maʾmūn, while subsequent caliphs delegated this duty to appointed officers. He also conducted campaigns against rebels, whoever these might be; but when operating against particularly ferocious enemies such as the Zand͟j [*q.v.*], he would delegate his powers to an effective regent, in this event, al-Muwaffaḳ, brother of the sovereign al-Muʿtamid. The maintenance of order was in fact one of the normal obligations of the caliph, who was

obliged to defend the community against all types of subversion. It was also the caliph who was obliged eventually to deal with those governors who demanded financial autonomy and the hereditary status of their office. On the other hand, it was his duty to ensure the normal exercises of the judiciary in nominating directly—as the practice had been established since the start of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate—the *ḳāḍīs*, who were themselves subject, from the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd onwards, to the intermediate authority of the *ḳāḍī 'l-ḳuḍāt*. So the caliph delegated his powers to magistrates, but he reserved the right to arbitrate as a last resort in cases of litigation and to settle differences arising between administrators and administered. It was the practice of "redressing of wrong" that every caliph conscious of his reputation conducted in person, while other entrusted it to persons specially appointed for this purpose.

Finally, the caliph ensured the well-being of the state, though this concept was to some extent ignored in the middle period of Islam—that is to say, he ensured the material life of the community. In particular, he managed the levying of taxes of which the revenues were subsequently distributed between soldiers and officials, and these taxes were levied according to rules established at the end of the Umayyad caliphate [see DJIZYA, KHARĀDJ, ʿUSHR, ZAKĀT]. The collection of these taxes was entrusted to agents of the caliph, the *ʿummāl*, who collected sums in cash or contributions in kind from the administered peoples, or to "tax-farmers", who sent to the treasury a lump sum and then recouped the equivalent by means of the sums collected in the territories entrusted to them; the method used remained at the discretion of the caliph. The system varied according to different regions and periods at the will of sovereigns constrained to a greater or lesser extent to cover continually rising expenses; but financial difficulties led the caliph to make a general practice of the farming-out of the taxes, advantageous in the short term but later to prove dangerous, and in the long term making the caliphs dependent on these tax-farmers.

Nevertheless, the details of the powers thus exercised by the caliph and related in precise fashion in the historical texts do not suffice to clarify completely the technicalities of a situation in respect of which two kinds of questions are posed. The first kind arises from the impossibility of deciding with certainty in what measure the authority of the caliph was, or could be, arbitrary or despotic. Certainly, the arbitrary exercise of power was in principle limited by the existence of the law, which the caliph was bound to respect, while enforcing it upon others, and which forbade him in particular to put a Muslim to death, except in precisely defined circumstances. But on the other hand, the duty incumbent on the caliph to suppress all rebellion gave him in this capacity a free hand in treating as a rebel against Islam every rebel against the dynasty, and thus in eliminating, sometimes in summary fashion, the enemies of his own policy.

The second set of problems arises from another difficulty, that of deciding to what extent the caliph himself exercised the powers with which he was invested. It is certain for example that the representatives of judicial authority enjoyed a certain degree of independence, in that they possessed knowledge and technical ability to which the caliph could only with difficulty lay claim; cases of resistance to the caliph on the part of provincial *ḳāḍīs*, or even of the chief *ḳāḍī* of Baghdād, were not uncommon. It is certain also that the arbitrary exercise of the powers of the caliph was restricted, after the end of the 3rd/9th century, by the establishment of High Courts, before which individuals accused of treason or heresy were most often tried; in this period, only rebels caught bearing arms were executed or subjected to torture in a manner not authorised by the law; others were tried before courts where the final decision was taken by one or the other of the *ḳāḍīs* of Baghdād, playing the role of chief magistrate, although the caliph was not bound to ratify this decision.

In addition, it should be noted that in numerous other fields, between the 3rd/9th and the mid-4th/10th century, the caliph no longer reserved for himself the conduct of affairs. We cannot speak in this context of a steady progression, since we observe on the part of some sovereigns reactions in the opposite direction, which were generally of short duration. The evolution was, however, none the less irreversible and the main beneficiary was the vizier [see WAZĪR], a man of trust and reliability whose title appeared at the start of the ʿAbbāsid regime, without from that time onwards being necessarily attributed in a regular fashion. It was to him that the caliph most often delegated the conduct of administrative affairs, and subsequently matters of general policy, including dealings with the governors of provinces and military affairs. The vizier was, however, entrusted with nothing more than the execution of political decisions which he had previously formulated and which had received the approval of his master; he was regularly accountable to him and could be dismissed at any moment, as could any agent of the sovereign, and was only the "minister" *par excellence* of the caliph, employed by him for as long as his activities gave satisfaction and liable to be replaced as soon as he ceased to please. The arbitrary will of a caliph who apparently disassociated himself from the conduct of affairs but wished nevertheless to retain the exercise of power, was much in evidence in these nominations and dismissals, of which we see examples in the reigns of Hārūn al-Rashīd and al-Muḳtadir. On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that the caliph would have difficulty in holding cheap the services of a supporter who could assure him of such-and-such a group of partisans and faithful servants, without whom it would be impossible to govern, and from among whom originated the viziers. Even if there existed among the administrators themselves rival cliques which encouraged the exercise by the caliph of arbitrary power, the presence of these persons, linked to the régime which supplied them, according to the circumstances, with more or less high offices, remained an element of stability likely to discourage abuse of personal power in the golden age of the caliphate.

After the middle of the 4th/10th century, the caliphs ceased to exercise their authority in person, and even ceased to control those to whom they had delegated this authority, in whole or in part. It was then that there began the period of the "grand-amirate", to be replaced a century later by the sultanate. The chief characteristic of this period is that the delegate of the caliph appeared first as a military commander and that after 336/945, that is to say ten years after the appointment of the first "grand-*amīr*", a dynasty of grand-*amīrs* was established and the caliph was not permitted to interfere in the succession of these new officers. The authority that the latter exercised in all matters relating to

the administrative, financial and military spheres was nevertheless officially delegated from him, and the caliph retained, in theory at least, the right to appoint agents. It was thus that he succeeded, in certain exceptional cases, in exercising real power, and in one known instance, the Buwayhid *amīr* was unable in spite of all his efforts to obtain for a Ḥusaynī *sharīf* nomination to the post of chief *ḳāḍī*. For, besides doctrine, the area in which the caliph continued to exercise some influence was the judiciary. There was, however, no clear-cut separation of functions between the caliph and the *amīrs*, and it would be inaccurate to say that the latter exercised "temporal power", while the caliph retained a limited authority in "spiritual" matters. Not only did the caliph consider himself entitled to intervene in all areas of policy, but the *amīr*s did not hesitate to use their authority for settling religious affairs, e.g. in promoting the celebration of specifically Shīʿī feasts.

Moreover, the relations established between the caliphs and their *amīr*s varied constantly. There was during the second half of the 4th/10th century a period when caliphs were frequently dethroned or forced to abdicate to be replaced by persons chosen by the *amīr*s, although the latter did not always obtain by this means the result envisaged. On the contrary, in the first half of the 5th/11th century the caliphs al-Ḳādir and al-Ḳāʾim were able to nominate their own heirs and enjoyed a resurgence of power, feeling themselves supported by the Ghaznavid *amīr*s who appeared in Khurāsān and actively upheld Sunnī policies there. However, at this time there appeared the first examples of titles compounded with *dīn* and attributed to certain local *amīr*s, to Buwayhids as well as Ghaznavids. This practice, the origin of which cannot be definitely identified, doubtless did not correspond so much to a new set-back in the authority of the caliph, as to a devaluation of the titles compounded with *dawla*, which were born at first only by the grand-*amīr*s, later by the Ḥamdānid *amīr*s of al-Djazīra, and were eventually attributed to other *amīr*s of secondary rank. In this period, titles employed in official documents became more and more pompous, and the caliph had himself called *al-ḥaḍra al-muḳaddasa al-nabawiyya*, a title stressing the sacred character of an office now almost entirely void of its original significance.

The arrival of the Saldjūḳ Turks brought, in principle, no changes of an institutional order to the situation. The new *amīr*s behaved like their predecessors, receiving a large measure of power which extended legally to the west, occupied by the Fāṭimids, as to the east; this is indicated notably by the title accorded to Ṭughrīl Beg, *malik al-mashriḳ wa'l-maghrib*, in 449/1057. To be sure, they enjoyed in addition a more exalted title, that of *sultan*, which was perhaps originally chosen to show that they were the sole depositaries of the full range of the powers of the caliph. Another difference, with particular reference to the functioning of the régime, was that the Saldjūḳ sultans claimed to be defenders of the *Sunna* and the Sunnī caliphate, claiming to have come to the aid of the sovereign, with the particular object of re-opening the Pilgrimage route. But the tension was hardly less between the caliphs and the sultans than it had been previously between the caliphs and the grand-*amīr*s.

Thus the sultans had imposed themselves on the caliphs in a manner which the latter could not and did not appreciate: it was with the greatest of displeasure that the caliph al-Ḳāʾim was obliged to give his daughter in marriage to Ṭughrīl Beg, for example. On the other hand, the caliphs and the sultans did not follow the same political-religious orientation. Faced with sovereigns remaining loyal to the traditionalist Ḥanbalī doctrine, the sultans adopted the Shāfiʿī-Ashʿarī line, which was somewhat different, and it was of design that one of the most remarkable viziers, Niẓām al-Mulk, founded in Baghdād as in the eastern provinces *madrasas* intended for the training of future lawyers. It was nevertheless admitted, in this period of domination by Saldjūḳ sultans, that the latter alone should nominate the candidate for the caliphate: this attitude was justified, as we know, in various of the writings of the celebrated al-Ghazālī who, among other things, castigated the "bad doctors", too eager to submit to the authority of the sultans. The doctors for their part, considered themselves at this time to be the true depositaries of the Law, and demanded in consequence no longer the capacity of *idjtihād* for the caliph which in principle was claimed for him in the past, but above all qualities of morality and piety.

In these difficult circumstances, the caliphs did not abandon the attempt to recover their power, undermined as it was from various quarters. Thus, about 460/1067-8, al-Ḳāʾim dismissed a vizier judged to be too amenable to the sultan Alp Arslān. Then his successor al-Muḳtadī, after the death of Malik Shāh, succeeded in profiting from the rivalries between the various claimants to the sultanate to make his own authority better respected. Subsequently, in 485/1092, al-Mustarshid managed to raise an army which permitted him to oppose the Arab chief Dubays, but which did not prevent him from being made a prisoner by sultan Masʿūd. Finally, it fell to al-Muḳtafī, after the death of Masʿūd in 547/1152, to assert definitive sway over ʿIrāḳ. Whatever the circumstances, the disintegration of the Saldjūḳ empire was accompanied by a multiplication in the number of sultans, and this fact alone further enfeebled the position of the Saldjūḳs; it was in 514/1120-1 that for the first time the *khuṭba* was made in Baghdād in the name of two sultans of this family, but the title of sultan had already been taken by the Ghaznavid Ibrāhīm, inasmuch as it appeared on his coinage, although it cannot be confirmed that the titulary in question had received the agreement of the caliph.

A new turning-point in the relations between caliphate and sultanate occured in 547/1152 when the caliph, assisted by an energetic vizier, Ibn Hubayra, chased out of ʿIrāḳ the *shiḥna* who represented the sultan and dismissed from his service Turkish and Iranian mercenaries, replacing them with Greek or Armenian *mamlūk*s. Ibn Hubayra, who then received the title "*sulṭān* of ʿIrāḳ", was also an eminent jurist of Ḥanbalī tendency, who strove in his works to minimise the differences between judicial schools, so as better to reinforce Sunnism.

Finally there appeared on the scene, in 575/1180, a new caliph, al-Nāṣir, who followed the policy of his predecessor but used different means. His knowledge of religious sciences permitted him to pose as the "doctor" whom the community must follow. Deriving support on the other hand from the Ṣūfīs and the members of the *futuwwa* communities which he reorganised under his own direction in 604/1207, he tried to bring about the unification of the community of Islam and to draw into the framework of his authority the greatest possible number of princes.

One of his propagandists, Abū Ḥafṣ al-Suhrawardī, thus formulated a theory of the caliphate which, while retaining the traditional bases, linked to these Ṣūfism and the *futuwwa*, making the caliph the intermediary between God and the believers and giving him the attributes of a kind of *shaykh*.

Al-Nāṣir, who had no vizier as such, was better able by virtue of this to assert his political prerogatives: he succeeded in having his authority recognized by the powerful Ayyūbid Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (576/1181), who for his part declared himself a defender of the caliphate and of Islam. It was nevertheless with difficulty that he obtained the *bayʿa* of certain local *amīr*s of Persia and Upper Mesopotamia. Moreover, the efforts of al-Nāṣir, in which he continued until his death in 622/1225, did not prevent the caliphate from remaining fragile as an institution, and the great reconciliation between Sunnī and Shīʿīs which was one of the most cherished objectives of his policy was never achieved. After only a few more years, the Mongols put an end to the ʿAbbāsid caliphate of Baghdād, executing the caliph al-Mustaʿṣim in Ṣafar 656/February 1258.

Even so, one should not forget the importance of the rôle played throughout the Saldjūḳ and post-Saldjūḳ period by an ʿAbbāsid caliph, whom a number of local rulers recognised as the guarantor of their power. Alongside the sultans, who were not so numerous, even when the sultanate was conferred upon several dynasties (Saldjūḳs of Rūm and of Iran, and Ghaznavids), there were princes of Syria, of Anatolia or of Iran who to some extent put themselves under the authority of the caliph, bearing among their titles a title with the component of *-amīr al-muʾminīn* bestowed by the chancellery of Baghdād and stressing their personal link with the caliph. This was the case with Zankids and Ayyūbids in Syria, Rasūlids in the Yemen, Ghaznavids, Ghūrids and princes of Delhi in eastern Iran and in India, to mention only the most important of this group. Different relationships were established too between the caliph and a prince of the Islamic west such as the Almoravid Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn, who had confirmed by the chancellery of Baghdād the new title of *amīr al-muslimīn* which he had just taken upon himself. But this came about in a political milieu, that of the Muslim West, where the process of evolution had been quite different from that in the East, and where since the 4th/10th century rival caliphates to that of the ʿAbbāsids had appeared.

C. The caliphates of the west.

It was at the beginning of the 4th/10th century that an Umayyad *amīr* of Spain put an end to the situation which had previously arisen in the region: the situation of a local prince who, while not recognising the authority of the caliph of Baghdād, nevertheless allowed the *khuṭba* to be made in his name. Then, in 316/928, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III declared himself *amīr al-muʾminīn*. According to Ibn Khaldūn, this decision was explained by the fact that at that time "the authority of the caliphate of the east was reduced to nothing". To this should be added the fact that the Fāṭimid Shīʿī caliphate had appeared in Ifrīḳiya, and the new caliph of al-Andalus hoped to make himself the champion of Sunnism against this new form of sovereignty.

The new caliphs essentially based their legitimacy on the idea of inheritance. "Sons of the caliphs", they considered the caliphate a "portion" set aside by God for the Banū Umayya, who had inherited it from Marwān, if not from ʿUthmān himself, as was stated by Ibn Bassām who went so far as to call the Umayyad caliph "kinsman of the Prophet" by virtue of his status as a member of Ḳuraysh. Furthermore, in imitation of the Umayyads, the caliphs of Spain adopted the colour of white. They applied the hereditary principle in a stricter manner than did the ʿAbbāsids, not considering the minority of an heir presumptive as an obstacle to his proclamation. But the succession was put into effect by the same process, *bayʿa*, whether preceded by an *ʿahd* or not. Also, the *bayʿa* held a more important place than in the Orient and sometimes the rite lasted several days.

The caliph frequently declared himself the "caliph of God". He governed in a direct fashion, surrounded by a council of viziers, but in the course of the 4th/10th century, he rapidly ceased to take an active interest in the conduct of affairs, relying on a prime minister who bore, in Spain, the title of *ḥādjib*, not that of *wazīr*: whence the appearance, in 371/981, of a dynasty of "major-domos", of which the founder was the famous al-Manṣūr (Almanzor). A kind of sultanate was thus established in Spain also, but it lasted only a short time, since the caliphate came to an end, in a period of disturbances, in 422/1031.

In the West, other Sunnī caliphs appeared subsequently in rivalry to the caliph of Baghdād. If the Almoravids contented themselves, as has been seen, with the title of *amīr al-muslimīn*, which they adopted with the consent of the chancellery of Baghdād, the Almohad ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, successor to the *Mahdī* Ibn Tūmart, *ca.* 525/1132 took the title of *amīr al-muʾminīn*, thus setting himself up as a rival to the ʿAbbāsid sovereign and claiming that he was restoring a caliphate now in decline, in the same way that the *Mahdī* Ibn Tūmart had revived Islam; in addition, the Almohad caliph, just as was previously the Shīʿī *imām*, was the bearer of the *ʿiṣma*. Although the original character of the Almohad movement was gradually effaced, to the point where one chronicler declared that the sons of ʿAbd al-Muʾmin had transformed the caliphate into a *mulk* (al-Maḳḳarī, viii, 23), the Almohad protocol retained in its formulae (*al-ḥaḍra al-ʿaliyya al-sunniya al-ṭāhira al-ḳudsiyya*), a reminder of the initial doctrine. The title of caliph was subsequently taken over by the Ḥafṣids, successors to the Almohads, and likewise by the Marīnids.

D. The Fāṭimid caliphate and the Shīʿī imāmates.

Founded in 297/909 in Ifriḳīya by the Mahdī ʿUbayd Allāh, the Fāṭimid caliphate [*q.v.*], the appearance of which had, as stated above, led to the constitution of an Umayyad caliphate in Spain, had only a temporary historical rôle to play—it lasted in fact only until 567/1171—but dominated a vast expanse of territory, including Egypt snd Syria, and for a brief period came close to endangering the institution of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. It was a Shīʿī caliphate derived from the Ismāʿīlī movement. As such, it presented a different aspect from that of the Sunnī caliphate; the caliph was the *imām maʿṣūm*, impeccable and infallible, supreme interpreter of the Law. This charismatic leader derived his powers from his predecessor by virtue of an explicit nomination (*naṣṣ*), kept secret throughout the preceding reign and revealed only after the death of the caliph, by the man of trust to whom it had been confided. Opinion held that the descent should be by a direct line, from father to son, and by virtue of the Shīʿī doctrine, the community could not remain even for a moment without an *imām*, whom it had no right to nominate.

This principle of accession was applied in a general way throughout the duration of the Fāṭimid caliphate. After the demise of each sovereign the *waṣiyya* of the late caliph, revealed by the senior minister, was put into effect. Nevertheless, after the end of the 5th/11th century the system ceased to function regularly, as the ministers had begun to exert too much influence and to involve themselves in affairs of succession. As early as 411/1021, on the death of al-Ḥākim, who had nominated one of his cousins, his sister Sitt al-Mulk decided that the appointment made by al-Ḥākim was contrary to the rule and intervened to have the son of the late caliph proclaimed. Later, in 487/1094, the minister al-Afḍal proclaimed the succession of one of the caliph's sons, al-Mustaʿlī, whereas another son, Nizār, had, in the opinion of some, been named by the *waṣiyya*. This was the origin of the schism of the Nizārīs or neo-Ismāʿīlīs. Another crisis occurred in 525/1130, when the caliph al-Āmir died without male issue and without having named an heir: this caused some public disorder, if we are to believe the historians; the caliphate passed to a collateral branch of the family. More serious was the initiative taken by the minister Ṭalāʾiʿ in 555/1160 when, upon the death of al-Fāʾiz, he sought out a candidate for the caliphate without troubling to discover whether the late caliph had designated an heir. The new caliph could not be under age, as was the case with al-Fāʾiz; in such an instance a *de facto* regency exercised power, and sometimes the trustees were women. This was what happened for example in the case of the aunt of al-Fāʾiz, and previously in the case of the sister of al-Ḥākim, who for a time made her authority supersede that of a nephew, then seventeen years of age. Let it be added, that throughout the closing years of the régime, the candidate for the caliphate, whose position was the same as that of the *walī ʾl-ʿahd* for the ʿAbbāsids, was appointed by the minister.

The new caliph received a *bayʿa* which apparently did not differ from the *bayʿa* made for the ʿAbbāsid caliphs. This *bayʿa* was, however, in principle simply an expression of homage, and could not in any sense be considered a designation of the sovereign.

The caliph, as *imām*, was in this respect the chief of propaganda, the interpreter of the law, the source of all knowledge. The panegyrists did not cease to develop these themes, stressing that the caliph was the friend (*walī*) of God, intercessor for all; the doctrine of the *walāya* was in fact regarded by the jurists as one of the pillars of the faith. Only the caliph al-Ḥākim went so far as to consider himself an incarnation of the deity, or at least, he allowed himself to be proclaimed as such (in 408/1017).

The theocratic nature of power was thrown into especial relief under the Fāṭimid caliphate. Nevertheless, the conditions for the exercise of power did not differ noticeably from what they were under a Sunnī caliphate. Here also the authority of the caliph fell into decline and, in the 5th/10th and the 6th/11th centuries, power was in the hands of all-powerful ministers who, to the normal title of *wazīr*, succeeded in adding that of *malik* (530/1135), and some of whom passed on their power in what was temporarily a hereditary manner. The last of these ministers was Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, who put an end to the régime, restoring the *khuṭba* to the name of the ʿAbbāsid caliph and depriving the last Fāṭimid caliph al-ʿĀḍid of his rights and powers, without however proclaiming his dethronement.

Although the Ismāʿīlī movement thus succeeded in maintaining an effective caliphate for more than two centuries, there never was such a possibility for the Imāmī movement, whose devotees continue to this day to await the return of the *Mahdī*.

On the other hand, the Zaydī movements led to the creation of Zaydī states ruled by *imāms* descended from al-Ḥasan. One of these states, that of Ṭabaristān, constituted in the mid-3rd/9th century, was short-lived, but the other, the Yemen, constituted in 288/901, lasted into the very recent past, covering, it is true, only a very limited area. The Zaydī *imāms*, though not considered impeccable, were doctors schooled in the religious sciences as well as warriors. The most famous of these was the founder of the state of the Yemen, Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, who took the surname *al-Hādī ilā ʾl-ḥaḳḳ*, as well as the title *amīr al-muʾminīn*, which appeared in the state documents and on the coinage. Al-Hādī, considered by the Zaydīs to be a model sovereign, possessed, in addition to his qualities of courage, a great knowledge of law and great piety. It is said that he strove to apply strictly the prescriptions of Islam, especially in fiscal matters, and to him are attributed a number of scholarly writings. Under the terms of the Zaydī doctrine, the *imām* did not command unconditional obedience, because the subordination of the subjects ceased if the caliph deviated from the prescriptions of the Book and the *Sunna*. On the other hand the imāmate did not necessarily pass from father to son, since it was personal qualities which, in addition to ʿAlid origin, gave entitlement to the imamate. This explains how it was that the Zaydī imāmate succeeded in surviving into the 20th century, in spite of interruptions, especially in the Ayyūbid and Ottoman periods, and in spite of various vicissitudes.

E. The institution of the caliphate after 658/1258.

If the murder of al-Mustaʿṣim and the Mongol invasions did not bring about the effective disappearance of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, the new era which began at this date was nevertheless of a quite different character. The Mamlūks, having taken power in Egypt and Syria, took to Cairo a member of the ʿAbbāsid family, the uncle of the last caliph of Baghdād, and Baybars had this man declared caliph through the good offices of the chief *ḳāḍī* who had verified his genealogy (*Radjab* 659/June 1261). This individual, who took the surname al-Mustanṣir, claimed in his first *khuṭba* all the privileges of the caliph and claimed to extend his authority over the whole Islamic world, to which end Baybars entrusted an army to him. He failed in his attempt to reconquer Baghdād, and the new caliph, al-Ḥākim, who was then proclaimed in Cairo (*Muḥarram* 661/November 1262) and installed in the citadel, no longer had the right to interfere in political life; his presence seems to have had no other purpose than to render legitimate the power effectively exercised by the Mamlūks, according to a regulation which remained in force for two-and-a-half centuries.

From a juridical viewpoint, the caliph remained, it is true, titular holder of a sovereignty which continued to be transmitted in the line of the caliph al-Ḥākim. But the ensemble of powers, including the right of nominating various agents, had been delegated to the sultan, who was henceforward chosen by the Mamlūks and invested with the sultanate by the caliph. The author al-Ḳalḳashandī compares the sultanate to a delegated vizierate, and declares besides that it consisted of a combination

of the *imārat al-istīlā'* with the *wizārat al-tafwīḍ* (*Ṣubḥ*, xi, 72), which shows the importance that he still attached to the investiture by the caliph. The sultanate had none the less acquired a kind of juridical autonomy; when the Mamlūks could not agree on the appointment of a sultan, as happened for example in 815/1412, they entrusted to the caliph the powers of the sultan, which were thus, according to the chroniclers, "added" temporarily to the caliphate.

In addition, the caliphs lost in Cairo certain of their privileges, the right of *sikka*, which was no longer observed from the time of the third caliph onwards, the right of *khuṭba* which seems to have fallen into disuse, while the traditional insignia of the caliphate were henceforward carried by the sultans themselves. The name of the caliph was no longer mentioned in the *khuṭba* at Mecca, but retained the prestige of holding a power of divine origin and of being, as in the past, the "lieutenant of God on earth" (*nā'ib Allāh fī arḍi-hi*). So obedience to the caliph seems to have been, especially for rulers of distant provinces, a kind of religious duty. Investiture at his hands was always sought by various sovereigns, notably the Muẓaffarids of Iran, the sultans of Delhi and the Ottomans of Anatolia. Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī (d. 862/1468) wrote: "The *amīr* of the believers is the lieutenant of God on earth and no prince of east or west can justly call himself sultan if he has not received investiture at his hands." Without this investiture, he could not for example nominate a *ḳāḍī* whose decisions were to be valid.

Various princes of this period refused, however, to recognise the ʿAbbāsid caliphs of Cairo. This happened notably in the case of the Il-Khānid Ghazān Khan, who occupied Damascus in 698/1299 and had himself named in the *khuṭba* "the august sultan, sultan of Islam and the Muslims". As for the Tīmūrid Shāh Rūkh, he considered himself sovereign by divine right and it was his ambition to be recognized as *khalīfa* by the other princes which was refused by the Mamlūk sultan Barsbāy and the Ottoman sultan Murād II.

Moreover, it seems that from the end of the 7th/13th century onwards, certain princes introduced the word *khalīfa* into their titles, without however appropriating the title *amīr al-mu'minīn*; this was done by the Saldjūk sultans of Rūm, protected by the Mongols, and also by the sultans of Dihlī. The Türkmen Uzun Ḥasan (857-82/1453-78) wrote *ca.* 875/1471 to the Ottoman sultan concerning his new capital Shīrāz, calling it the "throne of the caliphate". At the beginning of the 10th/16th century the prince of Transoxania, Muḥammad Shaybānī, put on his coinage the title *khalīfat al-Raḥmān*. While it is admitted that these titles did not always correspond to a precise aspiration, it appears that from the time of the Mongol invasions onwards, the title of *khalīfa* was no longer reserved for the ʿAbbāsid *amīr* of the Believers and that a number of rulers did not hesitate to take it up, as though it were a normal title of Muslim sovereigns.

This title appeared notably in letters of congratulation addressed by allies to Ottoman sultans after certain of their successes. Thus Murād I at the end of the 8th/14th century saw fit to call himself "chosen *khalīfa* of the Creator", and "shadow of God on the earth". A little later, the sultan Bāyazīd did not hesitate to apply to himself verse VI, 165 of the Ḳur'ān: "we have made of you a representative (*khalīfa*) on the earth." In the same way, Meḥemmed I after the restoration of the Ottoman empire at the start of the 9th/15th century, spoke of his "caliphate", a term which the other Ottoman sovereigns did not hesitate to use on certain occasions in dealings with their allies. At all events, and in spite of the fact that Meḥemmed II the Conqueror did not take to himself the title of *khalifa*, official correspondence addressed to the Ottomans by their neighbours did not cease to consider them repositories of the caliphate and Selīm himself, after 1512, was called by his brother "shadow of God on earth".

It is noteworthy that at the same period too, various eulogists applied on occasion to Ottoman sultans the title of *khalīfa* or *khalīfat Allāh*, although these expressions were nothing more than laudatory epithets, appearing generally in texts of rhymed prose and not to be regarded as official titles. More often, indirect expressions such as "the throne of the caliphate" were employed.

In fact, the Ottoman sultans early wished to be considered, without however claiming the title *amīr al-mu'minīn*, as bearers of the sultanate and the caliphate combined, a caliphate conceived by the Muslim thinkers of the time in terms completely different from those of early Islam. Thus two thinkers as different one from the other as Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Khaldūn agree in declaring that the caliphate ceased after the *rāshidūn* caliphs and that the sovereignty exercised by the Umayyads and the ʿAbbāsids had never been more than a sort of "royalty". This was their way of expressing how they were struck by the contrast between the theory of the caliphate as it had been formulated by al-Māwardī and the reality which they saw. It may be added that the lawyers of the Ḥanafī school were also of the opinion that the true caliphate had lasted no more than thirty years, up to the death of ʿAlī. For their part, Persian authors, such as Dawwānī, who wrote in the 9th/15th century, supported the thesis which held to be a caliph every sovereign who became, as defender of the cause of Islam, "representative" of God on earth. As was stressed by Sir Thomas Arnold, the title *amīr al-mu'minīn*, associated with the traditional Ḳurashī caliphate, was then abandoned, while the powerful sovereigns of the Irano-Turkish world sought to adorn themselves with the title of *khalīfa*; they considered themselves, in fact, simply by virtue of their taking power, as sovereigns by divine right and lieutenants of God.

At the same time, they recognised no authority on the part of the caliph of Cairo. This is seen in the episode when the sultan Selīm conquered Syria, then Egypt, making a prisoner of the caliph al-Mutawakkil, treating him with a complete lack of deference and exiling him to Constantinople. Al-Mutawakkil was unable to leave this involuntary exile until the reign of the sultan Sulaymān, returning to Egypt where he died in 950/1543; he made no further exercise of his functions as caliph, except in conferring the investiture on the governor Aḥmad Pasha, a governor who had rebelled against the Ottoman sultan. The fact emerges clearly from the account of these events that the last ʿAbbāsid caliph was considered of negligible importance by the victorious Ottoman sultan.

On the other hand, not one of the historical accounts states in precise fashion that Selīm sought to take to himself the legacy of the caliphate to the extent that might be inferred from the late, popular versions which began to circulate at the end of the 18th century and were collected by Mouradgea d'Ohsson. There is no justification for the view that there was an official transfer of the caliphate to Constantinople. It is true that certain relics of the Prophet and of the Companions were transferred

to the capital of the Ottoman empire; as for sultan Selīm and his successors, they never bore officially in documents of state, inscriptions and coinage, titles other than *sulṭān* and *khāḳān*; they did not use those of *amīr al-muʾminīn* or of *imām*. The only new title adopted by Selīm after the conquest of Egypt was that of *khādim al-ḥaramayn* [*q.v.*], which was in fact a title belonging to the Mamlūk sultans and not to the caliph.

These ill-defined pretentions of the Ottoman sultans towards sovereignty over the entire Islamic world, came into conflict in certain respects, in the east, with the ambitions of the Mughal rulers of India during the 16th and 17th centuries. After the reign of Akbar (963-1014/1556-1605) [*q.v.*], the capital of these faraway but powerful princes, Dihlī, was called *dār al-khilāfa* ("seat of the caliphate") and the coinage of Akbar bore the inscription: "the great sultan, the exalted *khalīfa*." The Mughals, who dealt on equal terms with the Ottomans, continued until the reign of Shāh ʿĀlam II (1173/1760) to qualify themselves with the title of *khalīfa*, although it is unclear to what extent they were thereby disowning the traditional concept of the Ḳurashī caliphate.

Nevertheless, it was the masters of the Ottoman empire who finally enjoyed the distinction, in the 18th century, of being presented by their diplomats to foreigners, including European monarchs, as the holders of the "caliphate". An example of this appeared in 1774 in the treaty concluded between ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I and the empress Catharine of Russia; the sultan was called "the *imām* of the Believers and the caliph of those who profess the divine unity", an expression which at the time was rendered in French by "le Souverain calife de la religion mahométane". The intention was to retain the sultan's religious authority over Muslim populations which had passed under foreign domination; this the Russians did not accept (the treaty was revised in 1783). In any case, from this time onward, and throughout the 19th century, in the various confrontations which occurred between the Ottomans and the European states, the Ottoman sultans strove to present themselves officially as caliphs, that is to say, as the spiritual leaders of the Muslims and defenders of Islam. The distinction, of European origin, between the spiritual and the temporal thus found, through the exigencies of the situation, echoes in Ottoman circles. Hence the constitution formulated in December 1876 by the sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II declared explicitly in its art. 3: "The august Ottoman sultanate, the office of the supreme Islamic caliphate, must devolve upon the eldest of the members of the family"; and in art. 4: "the sultan, in his capacity as caliph, is the protector of the Muslim religion".

Even though the process of giving executive force to the constitution of 1876 was postponed until 1908, the sultan continued to hold to this conception which enabled him to assert his authority over the Arab countries and furthermore to embrace the ideal of pan-Islamic unity, inspired in him by Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī [*q.v.*]. The principle was in any case recognised in the countries of the West, and in Bosnia-Herzegovina, after the annexation of the province to the Austro-Hungarian empire in 1908, the name of the Ottoman sultan continued to be mentioned in the public prayers. In Libya, even after the establishment of the Italian protectorate, the chief *ḳāḍī* of that country was still appointed by the Ottoman *shaykh al-Islām*. In Bulgaria, under the terms of the treaty of Constantinople of 1913, the prerogatives of the Ottoman sultan, though more strictly limited, were nevertheless upheld, as was also the case in Greece at that time.

It should be added that the Ottoman sultans had, in fact, for a number of centuries, exercised functions similar to those of the ancient caliphs, with the difference that they sought to establish a more regular system. In addition to the law, they formulated a code of rules, the purpose of which was in principle to supplement the Law, but which sometimes tended to supplant it; called *ḳānūn*, it was employed by Sulaymān the Great as by the other sultans, and was applied not only to financial questions, but also to questions such as the problem of succession. Later, in the 19th century, the sultans sought, under the pressure of various circumstances, to modernise the structures of the Ottoman state. This is not the place to examine the reforming measures known as the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*], but it should be recalled that it was in their capacity as leaders of an important Muslim community that the sultans introduced modifications in the traditional *fiḳh*, as in the organisation of public powers. The movement culminated in the formulation of the constitution of 1876 which envisaged a parliamentary régime and which did not come into force until 1908.

The installation of a parliamentary régime, then the appearance of the officers of the Committee of Union and Progress, had the effect of calling into question, even before the First World War, the sultanate and the caliphate. The Young Turks had at first been cautious, and if they sought to circumscribe the powers of the sultan, they tended also to use the expedient of the caliphate to maintain Turkish influence over the Arab lands. The issue of the war modified the assumptions of the problem, since the new Turkish nationalism, whose champion was Muṣṭafā Kemāl, had nothing to do with the caliphate. The suppression of the ancient institutions was nevertheless gradual. Muṣṭafā Kemāl began by attacking the sultanate, while recognising the caliphate as "a moral link, sacred and respected by the entire Muslim world." On the 1st November 1922, the sultanate was abolished by the Grand National Assembly of Ankara, which reserved for itself the right to choose the holder of the caliphate under the terms of the Constitution adopted in January 1921 and which declared the sovereignty of the people. The sultan Meḥemmed VI, deposed by means of a *fatwā*, went into exile and was replaced by ʿAbd al-Madjīd, who had been chosen by the Assembly and was asked to consider himself only as the caliph of the Muslims. In fact, the new caliphate was ill-defined, and fruitless discussions were held regarding the functions to be attributed to a figure in whom Muṣṭafā Kemāl, in April 1923, recognised above all "supreme inter-Islamic authority" and the "symbol of Islamic solidarity", and yet who held no real spiritual power, for he did not have the right to appoint *ḳāḍīs*, *muftīs* or preachers. In January 1924 Muṣṭafā Kemāl declared: "The idea of a single caliph, exercising supreme religious authority over all the peoples of Islam, is an idea taken from fiction, not from reality." In February, the caliphate was abolished by the National Assembly which was then endowed with all powers of legislation (*tashrīʿ*). The prayer was delivered in the name of *al-Ḥukūma al-djumhūriyya wa ʾl-milla al-islāmiyya*. Meanwhile, a group of *ʿulamāʾ* had drafted a document which was circulated not only in Turkey but also in the Arab countries and which tried to show that the problem

of the caliphate was a question not of theology but of practical politics, that the caliphate had not been instituted by the Prophet and that it did not constitute a fundamental element of Islam.

The abolition of the caliphate, of which the concept had changed somewhat since the 7th/13th century, was none the less powerfully resented in the Middle-East, where various projects were attempted for the restitution of this institution, considered to be fundamental to the very life of the community of Islam. The sharīf of Mecca, Ḥusayn, made an attempt to have himself recognised as caliph, but succeeded only with a few neighbouring princes. In 1926, two congresses were held, which had the object of debating the issue of the caliphate; one took place in March, in Cairo, the other in July at Mecca, without any result. The western powers, for their part, sought to encourage the restoration of the caliphate, on the condition that the holder be their ally. In 1930 there was denunciation from certain Muslim quarters of the policies of the British, who continued to give financial support to the former Ottoman sultan while backing King Ḥusayn, and those of the French, who favoured the Bey of Tunis. Then in 1931, a congress of *ʿulamāʾ* and political figures was held in Jerusalem. It had no result other than to affirm the spirit of solidarity which still existed among Arab and Muslim countries and which was the origin of the "Congress of Arab Unity" held in 1937 and from which arose the League of Arab States, founded in 1944. Meanwhile, the attempt of King Fārūḳ of Egypt, in 1939, to revive the caliphate to his own advantage, met with vigorous opposition from the Turkish government. The rise of nationalism thus brought about the transformation of a pan-Islamic movement into a simply pan-Arab movement.

In fact, Muslim opinion was in general resigned to the new situation, entrusting interpretation of the Law to the doctors, and political affairs to the *de facto* authorities. Even in 1922, the reformist Rashīd Riḍā had proposed a plan for the reform of the caliphate in his work *al-Khilāfa aw al-Imāma al-ʿUẓmā*; he asserted that no Arab sovereign was worthy to accede to this office and he proposed the holding of a seminar with the purpose of drawing up a list of doctors from among whom the caliph would be chosen; the rôle of the caliph would essentially have been to adapt Islamic law to the conditions of modern life. But such a project was never realised.

More radical was the theory advanced by a *shaykh* of al-Azhar, ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Razīḳ, who, in 1925, wrote an essay entitled *al-Islām wa-uṣūl al-ḥukm* "Islam and the bases of power", which caused a sensation in traditionalist Muslim circles because it laid down a doctrinal basis for the separation of the temporal and the spiritual, and suggested that the government of the Prophet at Medina was not dependent on the prophetic mission. This work was condemned by the *shaykhs* of al-Azhar, but the notion of temporal sovereignty continued nevertheless to take root in Muslim circles during the decades that followed.

Bibliography: Sir Thomas W. Arnold, *The Caliphate*, Oxford 1924 and 2nd edn. 1965 (completed for the modern period by S. Haim), remains the basic work, to be completed, for the older period, by E. Tyan, *Institutions du droit public musulman*, i, *Le califat*, Paris 1954, ii, *Califat et sultanat*, 1957.

On special aspects, see M. A. Shaban, *Islamic history, A.D. 600-750 (A.H. 132)*, Cambridge 1971; W. Montgomery Watt, *God's caliph. Qur'anic interpretation and Umayyad claims*, in *Iran and Islam* (ed. C. E. Bosworth), Edinburgh 1971, 565-74; D. S. Margoliouth, *The sense of the title Khalifah*, in *A volume of oriental studies presented to E. G. Browne*, ed. T. W. Arnold and R. A. Nicholson, Cambridge 1922; Rudi Paret, *Signification coranique de ḫalīfa et d'autres dérivés de la racine ḫalafa*, in *St. Isl.* xxxi, (1970), 211-17; idem, *Ḫalīfat Allah - Vicarius Dei*, in *Mélanges d'islamologie (Armand Abel)*, Leiden 1974, 224-32; D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, Damascus 1959-60.

A. H. Siddiqi, *Caliphate and sultanate in medieval Persia*, Karachi 1969; H. Busse, *Chalif and Grosskönig*, Beirut 1969; G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl et la résurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste au XIe siècle*, Damascus 1963; idem, *Les rapports entre calife et sulṭān à l'époque saljūqide*, in *IJMES*, vi (1975), 228-36; H. Mason, *Two statesmen of mediaeval Islam, vizir Ibn Hubayra, caliph an-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh*, The Hague-Paris 1972; A. Hartmann, *La conception gouvernementale du calife an-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh*, in *Orientalia Suecana*, xxii (1973), 52-61; idem, *An-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh*, Berlin 1975, esp. 109-21; C. van Arendonk, *Les débuts de l'imamat zaidite au Yémen*, Fr. tr., Leiden 1960; R. Strothmann, *Das Staatsrecht der Zaiditen*, Strasbourg 1912.

R. Hartmann, *Zur Vorgeschichte des ʿabbāsidischen Schein-Chalifats von Cairo*, in *Abh. des deutschen Ak. der Wiss. zu Berlin*, phil.-hist. Klasse, 1947, No. 9, Berlin 1950, 3-10; D. Ayalon, *Studies on the transfer of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate from Bagdād to Cairo*, in *Arabica*, vii, (1960), 41-59.

H. Inalcık, *The Ottoman empire, the classical age 1300-1600*, London 1973; H. A. R. Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic society and the West*, ii/1, Oxford 1950; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, passim; M. van Berchem, *Titres califiens d'Occident*, in *JA* (1907/1), 245-335; R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Ḥafṣides*, i, Paris 1940, esp. 40.

(D. Sourdel)

(ii) In political theory

There are two references to *khalīfa* in the Ḳurʾān (Sūra II, 30 and Sūra XXXVIII, 26). The first, "We have made thee a *khalīfa* in the land; then judge between the men with the truth, and follow not thy desires, lest they cause thee to err from the path of God", refers to Adam. The second, "We have made thee a *khalīfa* in the earth; so judge between the people with truth" is addressed to David. The plural (*khalāʾif* and *khulafāʾ*), which occurs frequently, means successors (i.e. progeny) (see further R. Paret, *Signification coranique de ḫalīfa*, in *Studia Islamica*, xxxi (*pars prior*), 211-17, and W. Montgomery Watt, *Islamic political thought*, Edinburgh 1968, 32 ff.). For the commentators such as Zamakhsharī, the concept of Adam included or typified all mankind and the prophets, while David had the dual rôle of king and prophet. Although there is no indication that the word *khalīfa* was intended to serve as the title of the successor of Muḥammad, both the passages quoted above are important for the development of the theory of the *khalīfa* as the successor of the prophet, and his office, the *khilāfa*.

It is asserted by Muslim historians that the term *khalīfa* was first used as the title of the successor of Muḥammad by Abū Bakr, but it is doubtful whether he ever assumed it as a title (Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, 11 A.H., para. 63 n. 1). From the reign of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, however, *khalīfat rasūl Allāh*, successor of the messenger of God, became the common designation of the leader of the community, the *amīr al-muʾminīn* [*q.v.*], the Commander of the Faithful, the title which ʿUmar had adopted on his

election (cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muḳaddima*, ed. Quatremère, Paris 1858, i, 408-14, ed. Beirut 1886, 227-30 and cf. M. A. Shaban, *Islamic history A.D. 600-750 (A.H. 132)*, Cambridge 1971, 19, and idem, *The ʿAbbāsid Revolution*, Cambridge 1970, 140-1 on *amīr al-muʾminīn*). The title *khalīfat rasūl Allāh* implied the assumption by Muḥammad's successor of Muḥammad's functions as judge and temporal leader of the community. Muḥammad's prophetic function, on the other hand, was held to have ceased with him and it was believed that the spiritual guidance of the community had been inherited by the community as a whole. The *khalīfa*, thus, had no authority to give new interpretations to religious matters: his function was merely to maintain old doctrines. His office was simply a delegation of authority for the purpose of applying and defending the *sharīʿa*. The title *khalīfat rasūl Allāh* was commonly applied to the orthodox or rightly guided caliphs (the Rāshidūn), who were regarded as the representatives or successors of Muḥammad. Muʿāwiya's claim to the caliphate, if it was based on the text of the Ḳurʾān (XVII, 35), was to be sultan: as such he was not Muḥammad's deputy but God's, and the title *khalīfat Allāh*, vicegerent of God, appears to have been approved by the Umayyads (D. S. Margoliouth, *The sense of the title Khalifah*, in *A volume of oriental studies presented to E. G. Browne*, ed. T. W. Arnold and R. A. Nicholson, Cambridge 1922, 327). The phrase *khalīfat Allāh* had earlier excited the indignation of Abū Bakr, because of the boldness of its implication. It was, nevertheless, used by Ḥassān b. Thābit in A.D. 35 in an elegy he wrote on the caliph ʿUthmān (*Dīwān of Ḥassān Ibn Thābit* ed. W. N. Arafat, *GMS*, N.S. xxv/1-2, London 1971, i, 96). The ʿAbbāsids later employed the title *khalīfat Allāh*, but its use was resisted by many of the *ʿulamāʾ*, who rejected the idea that the *khalīfa* was the representative of God and the implication of autocratic power contained in the title (I. Goldziher, *Muhammadanische Studien*, ii, 61, H. A. R. Gibb, *al-Mawardi's theory of the caliphate*, in *Studies on the Civilization of Islam*, ed. Stanford J. Shaw and W. R. Polk, London 1962, 158, S. D. Goitein, *Attitudes towards government* in *Studies in Islamic history and institutions*, Leiden 1966, 203). An attempt to limit the true caliphate to the Rāshidūn, on the basis of a tradition attributed to the prophet which states "the caliphate after me will be thirty years: then it will become kingship" (quoted by Margoliouth, *op. cit.*, 328), did not become accepted doctrine. Later Sunnī jurists, however, drew a distinction between the caliphate of the Rāshidūn, the *khilāfat al-nubuwwa* (the vicariate of prophecy) and the later caliphate which they held to have had the character of worldly kingship (*mulk*) [*q.v.* in IMĀMA].

As used in the sources, the terms *khalīfa* and *imām* (and *khilāfa* and *imāma* [*q.v.*], which refer to his office) are broadly interchangeable. The former is primarily applied to the supreme leader of the Muslim community as the ruler of the community exercising the "temporal" functions of Muḥammad, while the latter is applied to him as the religious leader of the community and derives from his function of leading the prayers of the community, which, in the view of the Sunnīs, was his most important function. The propriety of the election of Abū Bakr was, in fact, defended by many jurists on the ground that he had led the prayers. In *fiḳh* literature the terms *imām* and *imāma* are used in preference to *khalīfa* and *khilāfat*. Among later writers traces are occasionally to be found of a distinction between the functions of the leader of the community as *khalīfa* and as *imām*. For example Rāwandī alleges that Ṭughril b. Arslān's atabeg, Muḥammad Pahlavān-djahān, used openly to say, "The *imām* should occupy himself with delivering the *khuṭba* and leading the prayers, which are the best of actions and the greatest of deeds and which uphold (or protect) profane rulers; and he should entrust kingship to sultans and leave rule to this sultan (*i.e.*, Ṭughril)" (*Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, ed. Muḥammad Iqbāl, *GMS*, N.S. ii, London, Leiden 1921, 334).

Politics and religion in Islam were inextricably mixed and the political doctrines of the *khalīfa* as the leader of the community cannot be easily separated from the theological and juridical doctrines concerning his office [see IMĀMA]. The early doctrinal disputes and religious polemics—the controversies over the imamate raised by the first civil war, the development of the Shīʿat ʿAlī and the Khawāridj schisms, the succession of the Umayyads and their overthrow by the ʿAbbāsids, the Muʿtazilī movement and its refutation by the Ashʿarīs, and the polemics against the Rawāfiḍ and Khawāridj—profoundly influenced the development of the political theory as well as the religious doctrine of the *khalīfa*, as also did Hellenistic and Sasanian theories of government.

As the temporal head of the community, whose internal organisation was secured by a common acceptance of and submission to the *sharīʿa*, the caliph was the symbol of the supremacy of the *sharīʿa*. He, like other believers, was subordinate to it and they owed him obedience only as its representative. So far as there was an element of contract in the relations between him and his followers this was to be found in the *bayʿa* [*q.v.*]. Termination of the contract was only permitted if a change took place in the status and condition of the caliph such as might cause prejudice to the rights of the community. The weakness of the position was that no tribunal was specified to decide upon his deposition.

Gradually the political doctrines of the imamate were worked out in the light of political developments (cf. H. A. R. Gibb, *al-Mawardi's theory of the caliphate*, 154-5). Significantly, most of the important expositions of the theory of the caliphate were written, if not at a period of crisis, at least at a time when some fairly major problem faced the Muslim community and was exercising the minds of the faithful.

In the turbulent years following the transfer of power from the Umayyads to the ʿAbbāsids, Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ [*q.v.*], who died probably in 139/756, concerned at the internal dissensions within the community, felt the need for a definition of the powers and authority of the caliph. Recognising the change in the basis of the caliphate which had taken place with the ʿAbbāsid revolution, and believing that the only bond between the caliph and his army was religious conviction, he made right belief the cornerstone of his political programme. Convinced of the need for stability, he proposed a rigid control by the state. He suggested that the caliph should supersede and regulate *raʾy* [*q.v.*] as used in the ancient schools of law and recommended that he should create a code based on (i) precedents and usage (*siyar*), (ii) tradition and analogy, and (iii) his own decisions which would in turn be emended by succeeding caliphs. Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's pleas, however, went unheeded: orthodox Islam rejected the view that *raʾy* was the domain of the ruler and referred the final decision

to *idjmā*ʿ [*q.v.*] (see further S. D. Goitein, *A turning-point in the history of the Muslim state*, in *Studies in Islamic history and institutions*, 149-67).

Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798) [*q.v.*] represents a somewhat different point of view. Disturbed by contemporary practices, many of which seemed contrary to the spirit of the early caliphate as reflected in the works of the Traditionists, he cites a number of traditions in his *Kitāb al-Kharādj* showing the duty of the subjects to their *imām*. The *bay*ʿ*a* by this time was no longer of practical significance and Abū Yūsuf does not attempt to maintain even the principle of election. He is aware of only one source of authority: God's choice by which the caliph became a vicegerent of God on earth (see further S. D. Goitein, *Attitudes towards government in Islam and Judaism*, in *Studies in Islamic history and institutions*, 203 ff.). By implication he holds that the actual possession of power is the necessary basis for authority and a sufficient justification for its exercise, irrespective of the ruler's personal qualifications. Although Abū Yūsuf, who looks upon the caliph as the shepherd of his people, bases the principles of true Islamic government upon the *sunna* of the Rāshidūn and of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, and implicitly protests against the prevailing cult of the Sasanian tradition (cf. Gibb, *The evolution of government in early Islam*, in *Studies on the civilization of Islam*, 45), he opens the way, by his acceptance of the caliph as the *khalīfat Allāh*, to the theory of the ruler as the Shadow of God upon earth, which was later to be transferred to the temporal ruler once the caliph had ceased to be the effective and immediate source of power (cf. A. K. S. Lambton, *Quis custodiet custodes*, in *Studia Islamica* v (1956), 125-48).

Al-Djāḥiẓ (d. 255/868-9) [*q.v.*] approaches the question of the imamate from yet another point of view and bases his argument on the need for an *imām* on the predatory nature of men and their lack of understanding, an argument frequently put forward later in the works of Islamic philosophers and the writers of mirrors for princes (see further Ch. Pellat, *L'imamat dans la doctrine de Ǧāḥiẓ*, in *Stud. Isl.*, xxv (1961), 23-52). Preoccupied with the feud between the supporters of the ʿAbbāsids and their opponents, he raises the question of the duty to resist an impious government. In this, his concern is not with the right to resist *bad* government as such, but simply with the duty to oppose the transgression of the law which was involved by the abandonment of Islamic government by the *imām*. When this happened al-Djāḥiẓ held that it was the duty of the *imām*'s subjects to denounce and depose him, though he limits this duty by the possibility of fulfilment (see further Pellat, *locc. cit.*, and also B. Lewis, *Islamic concepts of revolution*, in *Revolution in the Middle East*, ed. P. J. Vatikiotis, London 1972, 35 ff.).

By the end of the 3rd/9th century the political control of the ʿAbbāsid caliph was on the one hand becoming increasingly eroded by his governors, who had usurped his temporal powers, and on the other threatened by movements of politico-religious dissent. This made a restatement of the basis and nature of caliphal authority imperative. One of the first to attempt this was al-Bāḳillānī (d. 403/1013) [*q.v.*], who in his exposition of the imamate was mainly concerned to defend the Sunnī position against the threat of the Shīʿa (see further A. Abel, *Le chapitre sur l'imamat dans le Tamhid d'al-Baqillani*, in *Le Shi'isme imamite*, Paris 1970, 55 ff., and Y. Ibish, *The political doctrine of al-Baqillani*, Beirut 1966).

Al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058) [*q.v.*], starting from the premiss that authority was delegated by God to the *imām* and that he alone could delegate this to others, is primarily concerned to maintain the theoretical validity of the caliph's authority and his delegation of this in spite of the actual usurpation of his power by others. In *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, he lays down the qualifications of the *imām* [see IMĀMA] and discusses the functions of his office, having in mind the limitations imposed upon the caliph by political circumstances. Like various writers before him, al-Māwardī speaks of the forfeiture of the imamate, without, however, laying down any legal means by which this might be brought about. In his discussion of the formal institutions of government he concentrates mainly upon what constitutes a valid investiture by the caliph of his functionaries, in particular the *wazīr* and the *amīr*. Some two centuries earlier al-Djāḥiẓ had defined political obligation with regard to the overthrow of an impious *imām* in terms of possibility. Al-Māwardī went further. Constrained by necessity and expediency, he limited even the political obligations of the caliph as the executor of the *sharīʿa* by the possibility of fulfilment. (See further H. A. R. Gibb, *al-Mawardi's theory of the caliphate*).

In the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries the jurists continued to wrestle with the problem of how to assert the supremacy of the caliph. They were all concerned to a greater or lesser degree with the caliph's mission as the vicegerent of the prophet, and with his duty to defend Islam and to administer the affairs of the community. Among them were Abū Yaʿlā (380-458/990-1066) Ibn al-Farrāʾ [*q.v.*], Ibn ʿAḳīl (431-513/1040-1119) [*q.v.*], al-Djuwaynī, the Imām al-Ḥaramayn (419-499/1028-1105) [*q.v.*], and al-Ghazālī (450-505/1058-1111) [*q.v.*]. The last named breaks new ground on the subject of the relationship of caliph and sultan in his *Iḳtiṣād al-iʿtiḳād*. The caliph remains the symbol of the supremacy of the *sharīʿa* but the sultan is associated with him and recognised as the holder of coercive power (see further L. Binder, *al-Ghazali and Islamic government*, in *The Muslim world*, July 1955, and H. Laoust, *La politique de Ġazālī*, Paris 1970).

Ibn Djamāʿa (639/1241-733/1333) [*q.v.*], writing after the extinction of the caliphate by the Mongols, broadly speaking transfers to the *de facto* rulers the constitutional theories worked out by earlier jurists, holding that the seizure of power itself gave authority, while Ibn Taymiyya (661-728/1263-1328) [*q.v.*], seeking a more radical solution, denied the obligatory nature of the caliphate (see further H. Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Ibn Taimīya*, Cairo 1939, idem, *Le traité du droit publique d'Ibn Taimīya*, Beirut 1948).

Additional *bibliography*: C. H. Becker, *Islamstudien*, i; W. Barthold, *Khalif i sultan*, in *Mir Islama*, i, 203 ff., 345 ff. (abridged German tr. in *Isl.*, vi (1915), 350 ff.; abridged English tr. by N. S. Doniach in *IQ* (1963), 117-135); Th. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes*, Leiden 1910; T. W. Arnold, *The caliphate*, London 1924; E. Tyan, *Institutions du droit public musulman*, Paris 1956, ii; H. A. R. Gibb, *The heritage of Islam in the modern world* (i), in *International Journal of Middle Eastern studies*, 1 (1970), 3-18; W. M. Watt, *God's caliph: Qurʾānic interpretations and Umayyad claims*, in *Iran and Islam, in memory of the late Vladimir Minorsky*, ed. C. E. Bosworth, Edinburgh 1971, 565-74. For

the works of the Muslim theorists mentioned above see under the relevant articles.

(A. K. S. Lambton)

(iii) In Islamic mysticism

This term may have any of the following meanings, all carrying the idea of vicarship, when used in writings dealing with or pertaining to certain aspects of Islamic mysticism:

1. He may be the *ḳuṭb* or perfect man, *al-insān al-kāmil* [*q.v.*], around whom the spheres of being evolve, upon whom the Muḥammadan Reality (*al-ḥaḳīḳa al-muḥammadiyya*), which is the hidden side (*bāṭin*) of his own reality in the world, irradiates. This makes the *ḳuṭb* the *khalīfa* of the Prophet on the plane of manifestation (*ẓāhir*). In this sense the founders of the *ṭarīḳa*s [*q.v.*] and their successors, when identified with the *ḳuṭb*, are referred to as *khulafā'* of the Prophet (see e.g. Muḥammad Abu 'l-Maḥāsin al-Ḳāwuḳadjī, *al-Badr al-munīr ʿalā ḥizb al-shādhilī al-kabīr*, Alexandria 1314, 19; Muḥammad Māḍī Abu 'l-ʿAzā'im, *al-Ṭuhūr al-madār ʿalā ḳulūb al-abrār*, Cairo 1340, 32; Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Nashshābī, *Asrār al-ḥaḳīḳa li-man yasluku al-ṭarīḳa*, Cairo 1921, 66 f.).

They do not unite *al-khilāfa al-ẓāhira* with *al-khilāfa al-bāṭina*, however, as did *al-khulafā' al-rāshidūn*, but held only *al-khilāfa al-bāṭina* (cf. ʿUbayd Allāh Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad al-Ḳusanṭīnī al-Ḥanṣālī, *Fatḥ al-Raḥīm al-Raḥmān bi-sharḥ naṣīḥat al-ikhwān*, Cairo 1312, 176; Muḥammad al-Nūrī, *al-Nafaḥāt al-hadā'iyya ʿalā wird al-sādāt al-aḥmadiyya*, Alexandria 1316, 109, 111). This is also referred to as *al-khilāfa al-kubrā* (cf. Ẓahīr al-Dīn al-Ḳādirī, *al-Fatḥ al-mubīn fīmā yataʿ allaḳa bi-tiryāḳ al-muḥibbīn*, Cairo 1306, 118).

2. He may be the successor of the (alleged) founder of a *ṭarīḳa* or to the deceased leader of a group of mystics, without the connotations attached to the term as mentioned under (1). The term may refer to his immediate successor (see e.g. Taḳī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Wāsiṭī, *Tiryāḳ al-muḥibbīn fī ṭabaḳāt khirḳat al-mashāyikh al-ʿārifīn*, Cairo 1305; 20, Karīm al-Dīn al-Barmūnī, *Tanḳīh rawḍat al-azhār wa-minyat al-sādāt al-abrār*, Tunis 1325, 343; al-Nashshābī, *Asrār*, 64 f.) or to the successor to *al-khilāfa*, i.e. to the position of supreme leadership over the *ṭarīḳa* or group as shaped by its founder or first leader and/or their successors (see e.g. Djalāl al-Dīn al-Karakī, *Lisān al-taʿrīf bi-ḥāl al-walī al-sharīf Sīdī Ibrāhīm al-Dasūḳī*, ed. Aḥmad ʿIzz al-Dīn Khalf Allāh, Ṭanṭā 1969, 5 f., for *al-khilāfa al-Birhāmiyya*, and al-Djabartī, *ʿAdjā'ib al-āthār*, i, 70, for *al-khilāfa al-Wafā'iyya*).

Equivalent to *al-khilāfa* in this sense is the term *sadjdjāda* [*q.v.*]. According to ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī, *al-Anwār al-ḳudsiyya fī maʿrifat ḳawā'id al-ṣūfiyya*, Cairo-Beirut 1962, 6, i, 185, preference for succession of a deceased *shaykh* [*q.v.*] should be given to the eldest of his disciples. The successor may already have been designated by the *ṭarīḳa*'s leader during his lifetime (on this see e.g. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Bāḳī al-Laknawī, *al-Minaḥ al-madaniyya fī mukhtārāt al-ṣūfiyya*, Medina 1330, 88 ff.). In addition, the *ṣūfī* manuals mention the existence of consensus among the disciples about the successor as a legitimate basis for the assumption of leadership (cf. al-Laknawī, *al-Minaḥ*, 93). Hereditary patrilineal succession to the leadership position became the rule adopted by many of the Ṣūfī orders. This practice is frowned upon by those belonging to al-Naḳshibandiyya [*q.v.*] such as Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Khānī, *al-Bahdja al-saniyya fī ādāb al-ṭarīḳa al-ʿaliyya al-Khālidiyya al-Naḳshibandiyya*, Cairo 1319, 33, and it is discarded as Shīʿa custom by authors belonging to al-Shādhiliyya [*q.v.*], such as ʿAlī Sālim ʿAmmār, *Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī*, Cairo 1951, 62, i, 31.

3. He may be a *murīd* [*q.v.*] who, after having reached a certain stage of mystical perfection as defined by the teachings of the *ṭarīḳa* to which he belongs, is granted permission by his spiritual master to initiate novices and to guide them on the mystical path. This includes permission to transmit the *ṭarīḳa*'s prayers, to lead *ḥaḍra*s [*q.v.*] and to grant the status of *khalīfa* to his own disciples in turn. To this effect a so-called *idjāza* (Pers./T. *idjāzatnāma/icazetname*) [*q.v.*] is granted to him by his spiritual master, possibly during a festive gathering of the *ṭarīḳa*'s members, when the *idjāza* is read (cf. P. Kahle, *Zur Organisation der Derwischorden in Egypten*, in *Isl.*, vi (1916), 157). The actual investiture may consist in the pronounciation of a special oath-formula, the *mubāyaʿat al-khilāfa* (cf. al-Laknawī, *al-Minaḥ*, 89) which differs from the common *ʿahd* formula [*q.v.*]. An *idjāza* of this type may be defined as the deed of spiritual succession granted to a *murīd*. It is generally referred to as *idjāzat al-khilāfa* (Pers./T. *khilāfatnāma, hilafetname*), or just *khilāfa*. This document generally contains a more or less elaborate exposition of rights and obligations of its recipient and mentions the *silsila* [*q.v.*], i.e. the chain of initiation and transmission of mystical knowledge also known as *sanad* [*q.v.*] *al-khilāfa* (cf. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Kashshāshī, *al-Simṭ al-madjīd fī sha'n al-bayʿa wa 'l-dhikr wa talḳīn wa-salāsil al-ṭarīḳ*, Ḥaydarābād 1327, 67 ff.). Provided with the seal of its purveyor, who must have been similarly authorised by his own spiritual master, and sometimes endorsed by a number of witnesses, who may also be *khalīfa*s (cf. Muḥammad b. Mubārak ʿAlawī Kirmānī (Amīr Khurd), *Siyar al-awliyā'*, Dihlī 1302, 179) it constitutes the *khalīfa*'s primary source of legitimation as a teacher of the *ṭarīḳa*. The *idjāzat al-khilāfa* need not necessarily be restricted to the permission to transmit mystical knowledge, but may also contain permission to teach and transmit texts of a different nature. It can also contain permission to initiate into and to teach the methods of more than one *ṭarīḳa* (cf. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Ḥanafī al-Baghdādī, *al-Ḥadīḳa al-nadiyya fī ādāb al-ṭarīḳa al-Naḳshibandiyya wa 'l-bahdja al-Khālidiyya*, Cairo n.d., 45). The fact that somebody has been granted the *idjāzat al-khilāfa* means only that he possesses the prerequisites for initiating and guiding disciples of his own, independent of his spiritual master. He is not under the obligation to do so, and he may very well refrain from setting himself up independently until after his master's death (cf. e.g. Amīr Khurd, *Siyar al-awliyā'*, 169, and for present-day practice, Syed Naguib al-Attas, *Some aspects of Sufism as understood and practised among the Malays*, Singapore, Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 1963, 37). He may also choose not to set himself up independently but to accept the spiritual leadership of another *khalīfa* as his master's legitimate successor. In this case "a renewal of the *ʿahd*" may take place with the latter (see e.g. Maḥmūd b. ʿAfīf al-Dīn al-Wafā'ī, *Maʿāhid al-taḥḳīḳ fī radd al-munkirīn ʿalā ahl al-ṭarīḳ*, Cairo 1960 (various editions), 145). According to the tenets of some *ṭarīḳa*s, a *shaykh* has the obligation to grant the *idjāzat al-khilāfa* to a disciple who has attained perfection

(cf. al-Khānī, *al-Bahdjat al-saniyya*, 43). Other *ṭarīḳa*s, however, like al-Čishtiyya [*q.v.*], and a Khalwatiyya [*q.v.*] branch like al-Sharḳāwiyya, do not seem to have known such a rule, and some of the principal *shaykh*s of these orders refused to grant an *idjāzat khilāfa* to any of their disciples (cf. Ḥamīd Ḳalandar, *Khayr al-madjālis*, ed. K. A. Nizami, Aligarh, n.d., 287 f. On the last regular *khalīfa* of al-Sharḳāwiyya, see Muḥammad ʿAbduh al-Ḥidjādjī, *Min aʿlām al-saʿīd*, Cairo 1969, 63 ff. His *idjāza* was edited by Aḥmad al-Ṭāhir, Cairo 1328). Formal registration of the permission to initiate and the transmission of mystical knowledge in an *idjāza* seems to be a relatively late development (cf. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Sayyid ʿAlawī b. Ḥasan al-ʿAṭṭās, *Ẓuhūr al-ḥaḳāʾiḳ fī bayān al-ṭarāʾiḳ*, n.p. [Bombay] 1312, 26 f.), coinciding with the period in which Islamic mysticism became institutionalised in gradually expanding formal organisations, the *ṭarīḳa*s, during and after the 8th/14th century.

4. He may be the deputy of the head of an order in a particular area. The precondition for assignment to such a position is formal investiture as *khalīfa* and hence possession of an *idjāzat khilāfa*, which is crucial for the legitimation of any claims for the office or position of local deputy. Appointment as *khalīfa* in this sense may be to an already existing group of *murīd*s, in succession to a deceased or suspended predecessor (cf. Muḥammad al-Bakhshī al-Ḥalabī, *Shams al-mafākhir. Dhayl li-Kitāb Ḳalāʾid al-djawāhir*, Cairo 1908, 27; Amīr Khurd, *Siyar al-awliyāʾ*, 197; ʿAbd al-Ṣamad Zayn al-Dīn, *al-Djawāhir al-saniyya wa 'l-karāmāt al-aḥmadiyya*, Cairo 1277, 55), in charge of a particular *tekke* [*q.v.*] or *zāwiya* [*q.v.*] (see e.g. al-Bakhshī, *Shams al-mafākhir*, 64) or, in a particular area where the *ṭarīḳa* has no adherents, in order to proselytise (see e.g. Muḥammad Abu 'l-Hudā al-Sayyādī, *Tanwīr al-abṣār fī ṭabaḳāt al-sāda al-Rifāʿiyya al-akhyār*, Cairo 1306, 110; Muḥammad Hāshim Badakhshānī, *Zubdat al-maḳāmāt*, Lucknow 1885, 70-1, 347, 382; al-Baghdādī, *al-Ḥadīḳa al-nadiyya*, 85). The degree to which these *khalīfa*s could and did act independently of the incumbent(s) of a position of superior authority within the *ṭarīḳa* differs considerably among the various *ṭarīḳa*s over time and in diverse areas. The position of the office of *khalīfa* may differ within the organisational hierarchies of the orders. Thus within the Central African Ḳādiriyya branch, having its centre at Ujiji (Tanzania), *khalīfa*s are inferior to and nominated by a category of officials known as *maakida* (sing. *akida*), (cf. J. M. Cuoq, *Les Musulmans en Afrique*, Paris 1975, 325). Within a *ṭarīḳa* such as al-Aḥmadiyya al-Marāziḳa, the *khulafāʾ* of its semi-autonomous sub-sections (*buyūt*) rank under the *shaykh* of the *bayt*, who is a *khalīfa* himself in the sense mentioned in section 3 above (cf. Muḥammad Ḥasan Shams al-Dīn, *al-Risāla al-Aḥmadiyya al-Thāniyya*, Cairo 1376, 59). In the Maghrib and West Africa, the local deputy of the head of an order is generally referred to as *muḳaddam* [*q.v.*]. This is also the case within a number of Shādhiliyya orders in the Middle East and Egypt, e.g. al-Yashruṭiyya (cf. J. van Ess, *Libanesische Miszellen 6, Die Yašruṭiya*, in *WI* xvi (1975), 1-103, passim), and a now defunct Egyptian branch of al-Nāṣiriyya. Within the latter *ṭarīḳa*, the *muḳaddam*s (*khalīfa*s) ranked under the so-called *nāyib*s, who as provincial deputies of the *ṭarīḳa*'s leader held jurisdiction over them (cf. Ibrāhīm Khalīl, *al-Mardjiʿ*, Cairo 1934, 40 f.). Frequently, the *khilāfa* in a particular area was inherited within the family and developed into a virtually autonomous power position which allowed its incumbents to pay only nominal allegiance to the head or principal leader of their *ṭarīḳa*. In many cases, this constituted the prelude to the formation of an independent branch or an entirely new *ṭarīḳa*. The position of the *khalīfa* as *murshid* [*q.v.*] is to all intents and purposes the same as the position of the head of a *ṭarīḳa*. Therefore, the rules for spiritual leadership, i.e. the pre-conditions which allow one to assume the position of *shaykh*, found in Ṣūfī manuals, also apply to the position of *khalīfa*. It is only in relatively late 19th and 20th century manuals of the Egyptian orders, which became integrated parts of a highly developed bureaucratic organisation, that sets of rules pertaining to the office of *khalīfa* may be found. Within this organisation a limited number of *khalīfa*s in various areas received additional confirmation as local deputies of the heads of their orders from the head of al-Bakriyya [*q.v.*], and formed a special category of dignitaries within the administration. They held jurisdiction over those *khalīfa*s who could only claim this status by virtue of the *idjāzat al-khilāfa* in their possession. Within some of the Egyptian orders, a *khalīfa* may continue to hold some degrees of authority over either the *khulafāʾ* ordained by him or over those within a particular area. In this case, he is referred to by the term *khalīfat al-khulafāʾ*. In Persia under the Ṣafawids [*q.v.*] a similarly-named office existed, which was defined by V. Minorsky as "a special secretariat for Ṣūfī affairs". The incumbent to this office was regarded as the vicar of the king, on whose behalf he acted and appointed *khalīfa*s in the provinces (cf. Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk. A manual of Ṣafawid administration*, London 1943, 55, 125 ff.). A possibly identical office of this name was also known in another Shīʿī *ṭarīḳa*, the Niʿmatullāhiyya [*q.v.*] (cf. R. M. Savory, *The office of khalīfat al-khulafāʾ under the Ṣafawids*, in *JAOS*, lxxxv (1965), 497).

5. He may be the pre-eminent representative and principal propagator of a *ṭarīḳa* in a particular area acting independently, i.e. duly authorised as mentioned in section 3 above but not paying allegiance to any of the *ṭarīḳa*'s leaders elsewhere. It is this meaning which can be most safely adduced whenever the term *khalīfa* is mentioned in conjunction with the name of a *ṭarīḳa* or of a *ṭarīḳa* founder, when the latter is not a contemporary of the *khalīfa* mentioned and when there is no evidence of the existence of this *ṭarīḳa* as an organisation. It should be interpreted as such in passages in a variety of texts in Arabic, Persian and Turkish as diverse as the following ones in which the relevant passage is found on the pages indicated: Muḥammad Ḍayf Allāh al-Djaʿalī, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaḳāt fī khuṣūṣ al-awliyaʾ wa 'l-ṣāliḥīn wa 'l-ʿulamāʾ wa 'l-shuʿarāʾ fī 'l-Sūdān*, Cairo 1930, 40; al-Djabartī, *ʿAdjāʾib al-āthār*, i, 210; Maḥmūd Shukrī al-Ālūsī, *al-Misk al-adhfar*, Baghdād 1930, 141; *Tūzuk-i Djahāngīrī*, ed. Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, Ghazipur 1864, 211; Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, Istanbul 1938, x, 237.

6. Within al-Bektāshiyya [*q.v.*] it refers to a rank of spiritual achievement which could be attained only by those who had been ordained as *bābā*. It is marked by the donation of the *idjāzat al-khilāfa* as mentioned in section 3 above and was the pre-condition for investiture as *dede*. The latter degree entailed, among other rights, the right to participate in the elections of a *dede bābā*. Investiture as *dede* entailed the right to appoint heads (*bābā*s) of *tekke*s.

7. In addition, the term *khalīfa* may denote the representative of the head of the Sanūsiyya order who has been sent on a mission to a *zāwiya* (cf. H. Duveyrier, *La confrérie musulmane de Sidi Mohammed Ben ʿAlī es-Senoūsī et son domaine géographique*, Rome 1918, with notes by C. A. Nallino, 11, n. 1), the head of a holy lineage among the Mourides in Senegal (cf. D. B. Cruise O'Brien, *The Mourides of Senegal. The political and economic organization of an Islamic brotherhood*, Oxford 1971, 111), and in Turkey prior to 1925, the vicar of the head of a *tekke*, as reported by J. P. Brown, *The darvishes or oriental spiritualism*, London repr. 1968, 114. It may take a similar meaning in the Maghrib, where the term may denote the vicar of the head of a *zāwiya* (cf. V. Crapanzano, *The Ḥamadsha*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1973, 81 f.). In Mamlūk Egypt, the offices of the custodians of the shrines of Aḥmad al-Badawī and Ibrāhīm al-Dasūḳī [*qq.v.*] became detached from the leadership positions of the *ṭarīḳas* founded by or named after these saints. Ever since, the incumbent to either of these two offices has been known as *khalīfat al-maḳām*, while the head of the Birhāmiyya *ṭarīḳa* and the heads of the various Aḥmadiyya branches are referred to as *khalīfat Ibrāhīm al-Dasūḳī* and *khulafāʾ Aḥmad al-Badawī* respectively (cf. *Taḳrīr ʿan waẓīfat al-khilāfa bi ʾl-maḳām al-aḥmadī*, n.p. [Cairo], n.d. [approx. 1898], and al-Karakī, *Lisān al-taʿrīf*, 5 f.).

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text, see J. S. Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, 174 ff., and idem, *Islam in the Sudan*, Oxford 1949, 202 ff., which also gives an abbreviated English text of an *idjāzat khilāfa*. On the appointment of *khalīfas* and on the *khilāfat nāmas* issued by a 7th/13th century Čishtī mystic, see K. A. Nizami, *The life and times of Shaikh Farid-u'd Din Ganj-i-Shakar*, Aligarh 1955, 92 ff., and idem, *Some aspects of religion and politics in India during the thirteenth century*, Bombay 1961, 214 ff. and also 349-52 for the texts of two *khilāfat-nāmas* drawn from Amīr Khurd's *Siyar al-awliyāʾ*. The text of a Čishtī *idjāza* translated from the Urdu may be found in G. R. Smith, *A Muslim saint in South Africa*, in *African Studies*, xxviii/4 (1969), 267-8, 277 f. For the text of a Ḳādiriyya *idjāza*, as well as for the text of an *idjāza* of a mixed nature (i.e. *ʿilm* and *taṣawwuf*), in a French translation, see A. Abel, *Les musulmans noirs du Maniema*, in *Corr. d'Orient*, iv (Brussels 1960), 22 and 151 ff. A translation of a late 19th century Aḥmadiyya *idjāza*, together with a discussion of its contents and significance, may be found in E. Kümmerer, *Die Aḥmadīya. Beiträge zur Kenntnisse der ägypt. Derwischordens*, Diss. Tübingen 1953 (unpublished). On the rank of *khalīfa* (T. *halife*) in al-Bektāshiyya, see in addition to J. K. Birge, *The Bektashi order of dervishes*, London 1937, 165 f., where this is dealt with somewhat defectively, Aḥmad Sirrī Dede Bābā, *Ḳānūn al-ṭarīḳa al-Bektāshiyya*, Cairo 1959, 5. For details about the office of *khalīfa* in various *ṭarīḳas* in Egypt in the 19th and 20th century, and concerning the contents and significance of *idjāzas*, see F. De Jong, *The Ṣūfī orders in post-Ottoman Egypt* (forthcoming), in particular chs. iii and x. Examples of Ṣūfī manuals and other texts defining the relationship between the *shaykh* of a *ṭarīḳa* and his *khulafāʾ* as mentioned in section 4 above are: Muḥammad ʿUthmān al-Mīrghanī, *al-Zuhūr al-fāʾiḳa fī ḥuḳūḳ al-ṭarīḳ al-ṣādiḳa*, Būlāḳ 1316, 9 f.; idem, *Minwāl al-ṭarīḳa al-ṭāhira al-nūrāniyya*, in *al-Rasāʾil al-Mīrghaniyya*, Cairo 1939, 108 ff.; ʿAbd al-Salām al-Ḥalawānī, *al-Sīra al-ḥalīliyya*, al-Manṣūra 1339, 97 ff.; Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Muḥsin (ed.), *Murshid al-sālikīn ilā ṭarīḳ al-muhtadīn*, Cairo 1927, 20 ff.; Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Munʿim ʿAbd al-Salām al-Ḥalawānī, *al-Ḳuṭb al-rabbānī Sīdī ʿAbd al-Salām al-Ḥalawānī, bīʾatuhu, nashʾatuhu, ʿilmuhu, ṭarīḳatuhu, atharuhu fī ʾl-umma al-islāmiyya*, Cairo 1970, 22 ff.; Salāma Ḥasan al-Rāḍī, *Ḳānūn ṭarīḳat al-sāda al-Ḥāmidiyya al-Shādhiliyya*, Cairo 1965 (revised ed.), 9 ff. An English translation of these latter regulations is found as an appendix to M. Gilsenan, *Saint and Sufi in modern Egypt*, Oxford 1973. On the position of the *khulafāʾ* in al-Ḥāmidiyya al-Shādhiliyya, a *ṭarīḳa* with which this study mainly deals, see in particular 82 ff. (F. de Jong)

(iv) In the Sudanese Mahdiyya

The term had various significances during the Sudanese Mahdiyya (1881-98).

(1) The originator of the Mahdist movement, Muḥammad Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh, as a leading member of the Sammāniyya *ṭarīḳa*, was commissioned in 1292/1875-6 to appoint *khalīfas* by Muḥammad Sharīf Nūr al-Dāʾim, the head of this *ṭarīḳa* in the Egyptian Sudan: one letter of appointment is extant (see Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Abū Salīm, *al-Murshid ilā wathāʾiḳ al-Mahdī*, [Khartum] 1969, no. 1). (2) After his public manifestation as Mahdī (1 Shaʿbān 1298/29 June 1881), Muḥammad Aḥmad appears to have conferred the title of *khalīfa* on at least some of those to whom he delegated authority to administer the *bayʿa*: two examples have been calendared by Abū Salīm, *al-Murshid*, nos. 23, 62. (3) This use of the term *khalīfa* for local Mahdist leaders fell into disuse, and the title became restricted to three of the Mahdī's principal companions, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Taʿāʾishī [*q.v.*], ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Ḥilū (a pious man of the tribe of Dighaym from the White Nile), and Muḥammad Sharīf b. Ḥāmid (the Mahdī's son-in-law). The Mahdiyya was represented as an eschatological drama, reviving the primitive *umma* in the end-time. In his drama, the Mahdī was the Successor of the Apostle of God (*Khalīfat Rasūl Allāh*), and his three companions the Successors respectively of Abū Bakr (*Khalīfat al-Ṣiddīḳ*), ʿUmar (*Khalīfat al-Fārūḳ*), and ʿAlī (*Khalīfat al-Ḳarrār*). The date of this development is uncertain; perhaps before the Mahdī left Abā (Ramaḍān 1298/August 1881) or during the following months, while he was at Ḳadīr (cf. R. C. [von] Slatin, *Fire and sword in the Sudan*, London 1896, 138; F. R. Wingate, *Ten years captivity in the Mahdi's camp 1882-1892*, London 1892, 14). In a letter dated 5 Radjab 1300/12 May 1883, the Mahdī informed Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-Sanūsī that he had been designated by the Prophet as the Successor of ʿUthmān, but al-Sanūsī ignored this approach. The letter is calendared in Abū Salīm, *al-Murshid*, no. 113; there is a good text in *Manshūrāt... Muḥammad al-Mahdī b. ʿAbd Allāh*, ii, 70-3 (Khartum 1963, photographic reproduction of corpus lithographed during the Mahdiyya).

The pre-eminence of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad was stressed in a proclamation of the Mahdī (17 Rabīʿ I 1300/26 January 1883), where he is styled *khalīfat al-khulafāʾ* (calendared in Abū Salīm, *al-Murshid*, no. 78; text in *Manshūrāt*, i, 30-2). The restriction of the title *khalīfa*, and the special status of ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad, aroused resent-

ment. One of the Mahdī's most influential supporters, al-Manna Ismāʿīl, a holy man of Kordofān, fell from grace and was ultimately executed after claiming the *khilāfa* (see Abū Salīm, *al-Murshid*, no. 112, dated after 4 Radjab 1300/11 May 1883; A. R. C. Bolton, *El Menna Ismail: Fiki and Emir in Kordofan*, in *Sudan Notes and Records*, xvii/2, 1934, 229-41). Another pretender to the *khilāfa*, Fakhr al-Dīn Ḥasan, was reproved in two letters from the Mahdī (calendared in Abū Salīm, *al-Murshid*, nos. 351, 352, dated 2-4 Shawwāl 1301/26-28 July 1884: texts in Abū Salīm (ed.), *Manshūrāt al-Mahdiyya*, n.p., 1969, 76-9).

(4) When on the Mahdī's death, ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad succeeded him as head of the Mahdist state, the analogy to Abū Bakr's succession to the Prophet was emphasized in a proclamation by the two junior *khalīfa*s and the Mahdī's kin (text in Abū Salīm (ed.), *Manshūrāt al-Mahdiyya*, 84-9, dated 8 Ramaḍān 1302/22 June 1885). From this time, ʿAbd Allāh assumed the new style of *khalīfat al-Mahdī*, "the Successor of the Mahdī", which was not used as a formal title by his two colleagues. His reign saw the appearance in Dār Fūr [*q.v.*] of another pretender—the holy man called Abū Djummayza, who claimed the vacant *khilāfa* of ʿUthmān, but who died about the beginning of 1889.

Bibliography: P. M. Holt, *The Mahdist state in the Sudan, 1881-1898*[2], Oxford 1970, 119-25.

(P. M. Holt)

ĀL-**KHALĪFA**, the ruling dynasty of Baḥrayn since 1197/1783. One of the three clans of the ʿUtūb tribe (the others were Āl Ṣabāḥ and Āl Djalāhima) which established itself in Kuwayt *ca.* 1128/1716, the Āl Khalīfa migrated to Zubāra in Ḳaṭar under the leadership of Khalīfa b. Muḥammad in 1179-80/1766. Khalīfa b. Muḥammad died in 1197/1783 while on pilgrimage to Mecca, and in the same year his son Aḥmad wrested control of the Baḥrayn Islands from the Persians. Aḥmad b. Khalīfa continued to reside at Zubāra until his death in 1210-11/1796, Baḥrayn being governed by his sons Salmān and ʿAbd Allāh. They succeeded him as joint rulers of Baḥrayn and its dependencies, and the dual arrangement was continued after Salmān b. Aḥmad died in 1240-1/1825, his son Khalīfa being chosen as co-ruler with his uncle, ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad. On Khalīfa b. Salmān's death in Muḥarram 1250/May 1834, ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad became sole ruler of Baḥrayn.

The remaining years of ʿAbd Allāh's reign were turbulent. He was beset by enemies from without—by the Āl Saʿūd of Nadjd who believed him to be implicated in the murder of Turkī b. ʿAbd Allāh in Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja 1249/May 1834, by the Persians who had never reconciled themselves to the loss of Baḥrayn, and by the Āl Bū Saʿīd of ʿUmān who coveted the island for themselves—and by troubles from within brought on by his own misgovernment and his incapacity to restrain the avarice of his Āl Khalīfa kinsmen. His relations with the British government in India, with whom he had signed a treaty in 1235/1820 to refrain from piracy, deteriorated after 1255/1839 because of his offer in that year to become a tributary of Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha of Egypt. After a series of rebellions in Baḥrayn and Ḳaṭar he was deposed by the leading members of the Āl Khalīfa in Rabīʿ I 1259/April 1843. He died in exile at Masḳaṭ in Rabīʿ I 1265/February 1849.

ʿAbd Allāh's successor was his great-nephew Muḥammad b. Khalīfa, the son of Khalīfa b. Salmān, his former co-ruler. Muḥammad b. Khalīfa's reign (1259-85/1843-68) was hardly an improvement upon his great-uncle's. He was constantly embroiled at home in quarrels with his kinsmen and with his subjects in Ḳaṭar, who several times rebelled against his oppressive conduct and repeated fiscal exactions; whilst abroad he was at feud with the Āl Saʿūd, the Persians, and the Ottoman Turks, all of whom claimed sovereignty over Baḥrayn although only the Āl Saʿūd attempted to pursue the claim by force of arms. Muḥammad b. Khalīfa's struggles with his foes disrupted the maritime peace of the Gulf, which the British Indian government was at pains to preserve. His conduct led that government in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1277/May 1861 to force him to conclude a convention by which he forswore piracy, maritime warfare, and the seaborne slave trade, in return for British recognition of his independence and a guarantee of the security of his territorial possessions against aggression. Six years later, in Djumādā II 1284/October 1867, he attacked and sacked Dawḥa and other ports in Ḳaṭar to punish some rebellious tribesmen. When called upon by the British authorities in the Gulf to afford redress for this breach of the convention, he refused to do so, and as a consequence he was deposed by the British as ruler of Baḥrayn in Djumādā I 1285/September 1868 in favour of his brother ʿAlī.

Muḥammad b. Khalīfa found refuge after his deposition at Ḳaṭīf, where he formed an alliance with his kinsman, Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, son of ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad. Supported by other disaffected members of the Āl Khalīfa and several hundred tribesmen, they descended upon Baḥrayn in Djumādā II 1286/September 1869, overcame ʿAlī b. Khalīfa, and slew him. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh then turned on his allies, imprisoned Muḥammad b. Khalīfa, and declared himself ruler. Two months later he and Muḥammad b. Khalīfa both surrendered to a naval force sent by the British Indian government and were taken as prisoners to India. There they remained in custody until Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh's death in 1294/1877, when Muḥammad b. Khalīfa was transferred to Aden. He lived there for ten years and was then released on condition that he never returned to Baḥrayn. He died at Mecca in 1307/1890.

The new ruler of Baḥrayn was ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī, the 21-year old son of the slain ʿAlī b. Khalīfa. Considerable pressure was exerted upon him by the Ottoman Turks, after their occupation of al-Ḥasā in 1288/1871-2, to acknowledge Ottoman suzerainty, and it was because of this pressure that a convention was concluded by him with the British government in Muḥarram 1298/December 1880 by which he undertook not to enter into relations with any other state or to allow other governments to establish diplomatic or consular agencies in Baḥrayn. He confirmed this undertaking in a further agreement signed in Shaʿbān 1309/March 1892 in which he also engaged not to alienate any of his territory to another power. By this time, most of the Āl Khalīfa possessions in Ḳaṭar had been lost to Djāsim b. Muḥammad Āl Thānī of Dawḥa, who had acknowledged Ottoman suzerainty in 1288/1871. Zubāra, the principal Āl Khalīfa possession in Ḳaṭar, was sacked and destroyed by Djāsim, in alliance with renegade members of the Āl ʿAbd Allāh branch of the Āl Khalīfa, in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1295/November 1878. Although the town was not rebuilt, ownership of its site has been disputed by the Āl Khalīfa and the Āl Thānī ever since.

ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī reigned longer than any other Āl Khalīfa ruler; for although he formally abdicated in

favour of his son Ḥamad in 1342/1923, he continued to hold the reins of government almost until his death in Shaʿbān 1351/December 1932 at the age of 85. Ḥamad b. ʿĪsā, who had been named heir-apparent by his father with the concurrence of the principal members of the Āl Khalīfa as early as 1311/1893, in turn designated his son Salmān heir-apparent in Muḥarram 1359/February 1940, again with the consent of the leading Āl Khalīfa members. Two years later, in Ṣafar 1361/February 1942, Ḥamad died at the age of 76, and Salmān b. Ḥamad succeeded. He ruled until his death in Djumādā I 1381/November 1961, aged 67, being succeeded by his eldest son ʿĪsā, who had been named heir-apparent some years earlier.

A slight but significant devolution of power, under the pressure of domestic and external events, took place in the latter years of Shaykh Salmān's reign, and the process was accelerated by his successor. An advisory council to assist the ruler was established, individual members having responsibility for different departments of government. The councillors were at first predominantly members of the Āl Khalīfa, but after the accession of ʿĪsā b. Salmān they have become more representative through the addition of members from Baḥrayn's mercantile and professional communities. ʿĪsā b. Salmān promulgated a constitution in 1393/1973 which declared Baḥrayn to be an Islamic state with the *Sharīʿa* as the principal source of legislation. It also provided for the setting-up of a national assembly composed of appointed and elected members. The first elections for the 30 elected seats took place in Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1393/December 1973.

In external affairs, the principal changes that have occurred have been the renunciation by the Persian government in 1390/1970 of its claim to sovereignty over Baḥrayn, and the termination of the Āl Khalīfa's treaties with the British government, following Britain's withdrawal from its special position in the Gulf in 1391/1971.

Bibliography: Muḥammad al-Nabhānī, *al-Tuḥfa al-Nabhāniyya*, Cairo 1342; *Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government*, new series no. xxiv, Bombay 1856; J. G. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, ʿOmān and Central Arabia* Calcutta 1908-15; G. R. Tadjbakhche, *La Question des îles Bahrein*, Paris 1960; C. D. Belgrave, *Personal column*, London 1960; A. Abu Hakima, *History of Eastern Arabia, 1750-1800*, Beirut 1965; J. B. Kelly, *Britain and the Persian Gulf, 1795-1880*, Oxford 1968. (J. B. Kelly)

KHALĪFA B. **ABI 'L-MAḤĀSIN** AL-ḤALABĪ, Arab physician who came originally from Aleppo, and was possibly related to the family of Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa [*q.v.*]. The biographical details concerning him are fairly sparse, but it is known that he wrote, probably between 654 and 674/1256-75, a work on ophthalmology called *al-Kāfī fi 'l-kuḥl* (or *fi 'l-ṭibb*). In this he gives a concise sketch of the history of ophthalmology among the Arabs and deals with the anatomy, physiology and hygiene of the eyes, citing the medicaments used for treating eye disorders, and describing also the surgical operations, e.g. for cataract, which can be performed on them. All in all, the work is on a high scientific level, and the text is often accompanied by synoptic pictures and illustrations which throw light on the text itself. Various manuscripts exist, and a German translation has been made by J. Hirschberg and his collaborators.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 364, S I, 899; Sezgin, *GAS*, III, index; J. Hirschberg et alii, *Die arabischen Augenärtze*, Leipzig 1905, ii; G. Sarton, *Introduction*, ii, 1101. (Ed.)

KHALĪFA B. **ʿASKAR**, Libyan nationalist who, after having sought refuge in Tunisia, hastened from November 1914 onwards to assume leadership of the revolt fomented by the Sanūsīs [*q.v.*] against Italian domination. The rebels soon achieved some spectacular successes against the Italians [see LĪBIYĀ], and Khalīfa speedily attempted to raise the Tunisians against France. On 16 August 1915, in a letter to the head of the postal service in Dehibat (southern Tunisia), he called upon the latter to send back to him his family, which had remained in Tunisia, and declared war on the French government. Benefiting from a certain amount of complicity in his plans by the notables of southern Tunisia, he went on to the attack in September of this same year with Tripolitanian troops aided by some tribal elements of Tunisia. These *fellaga* [see FALLĀḲ] at the outset constituted a grave threat for the small outposts strung all along the frontier, and these had to be evacuated, and then they inflicted severe losses on the Franco-Tunisian garrisons of the Dehibat, Tatahouine and Remta outposts, without however managing to occupy them. On 2 October, at the head of 3,000 rebels, Khalīfa suffered a severe defeat before Umm Swīgh, which led to a period of calm for some months along the Tunisian frontier, but the situation became threatening again in the following spring. Armed now with some field artillery, Khalīfa returned to the attack, bombarded Dehibat on 19 June 1916 and then inflicted heavy losses on the Remada garrison; but he was again defeated on 28 June and did not engage in activity with such ardour during the last two years of the Great War. After the Armistice, the Tunisian rebels benefited by measures of clemency, and Khalīfa b. ʿAskar was even able to be reunited with his family, who had been kept as hostages.

Bibliography: See that to LĪBIYĀ and to TUNISIA. (ED.)

KHALĪFA B. **KHAYYĀṬ** [see Ibn Khayyāṭ al-ʿUṢFURĪ].

KHALĪFA SHĀH MUḤAMMAD, Indian Muslim scholar who flourished during the latter part of the 11th/17th and early part of the 12th/18th century. He was the author of an epistolary work in Persian entitled *Djāmiʿ al-ḳawānīn*, also known as *Inshāʾ-yi Khalīfa*. According to Ghulām ʿAlī Khān Āzād Bilgrāmī, Shāh Muḥammad's book was much used in schools, and he spent some time in Bilgrām studying under two local scholars, Shaykh ʿAbd al-Ghafūr and Sayyid Khayr Allāh (d. 1115/1703). The *Djāmiʿ al-ḳawānīn* is divided into four sections: the first two contain long and short letters respectively, the third (divided into two parts) comprises letters of greetings and condolence, and the last gives forms of civilities and styles of addressing in correspondence. The book, as mentioned in the preface, was composed at the incentive of some friends while the author was residing in Kanawdj as a student. The original printed edition of the work (Lucknow 1846) carries a chronogram which gives 1085/1674 as the date of composition.

Bibliography: *Djāmiʿ al-ḳawānīn*, B. M. Add. 19,434; Ghulām ʿAlī Khān Āzād Bilgrāmī, *Maʾāthir al-kirām*, B. M. Or. 1804; cf. Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian manuscripts in the British Museum*, i, 414. (Munibur Rahman)

AL-**KHALĪL**. [see IBRĀHĪM].

AL-**KHALĪL**, The Arabic name for Hebron, a town in southern Palestine, 32 km. south of Jerusa-

lem (31° N 34° E), the only urban centre in the southern Judaean hills and their virtual capital and commercial centre. It has given its name to the entire mountainous region surrounding it, which is known as *Djabal al-Khalīl*, while the whole plateau is known by the name of *Djabal Ḳays*, due to the local tradition which regards the fellahin of the area as of Ḳaysī origin (cf. Volney, *Voyage*, Paris 1787, ii, 194-5, 197). Hence in the Bedouin dialects of southern Palestine, *Ḳēsī* means a peasant, particularly of the Hebron hills.

In mediaeval times Muḳaddasī, 172, mentions Djabal Naḍra (or Naṣra, Nuṣra) as the nearest hills to the town. Since the reading is uncertain (*EI*[1] art. AL-KHALĪL), it is possible that Nuṣra represents a copyist's mistake for *nimra* (Mamre (?); cf. Arculfus, *Early travels*, 6), the north-westernmost spur of Djabal al-Djaʿābira, which dominates the city from the north-east. The town is the highest in Palestine, and one of the highest in the Middle East, ascending on the surrounding hills to altitudes between 925 m. (the old city) and 1,000 m. (the modern parts built in the present century) above sea level. It is situated in the northern reaches of Wādī al-Khalīl which is a tributary of the Wādī Beersheba. Its extremely fertile soil and the fair amounts of rainfall, especially in the northern parts of the area (average of 700-850 mm. a year), along with the skill the inhabitants have acquired in preserving water and utilising the soil, have made this area into one of the most flourishing in the country.

Because of the mountainous nature of the area and its climate, it developed the cultivation of certain fruit trees, particularly apples and grapes, which, according to Muḳaddasī, *loc. cit.*, used to be exported mainly to Egypt. The Hebronites developed, in particular, the cultivation of vines, and throughout the ages they were regarded as the best viticulturists in the Middle East (Karmon, in *Studies on Palestine*, etc., 71-3). They learnt how to prolong the grape season for about six months a year, between July and December, a fact which proved to be of great economic importance. After the Islamic conquest, many vineyards in the lowlands of Palestine had to be abandoned in the wake of the prohibition and decline of wine production and consumption. Hebron then turned its supply of fresh grapes into its main cash-crop.

In addition to this agricultural advantage, Hebron had yet another advantage arising from its topographical setting. It lies astride natural crossroads which lead to the Negev and the coast in the south and south-west to the southern end of the Dead Sea and the main ancient Syrian-Arabian caravan route. Hebron thus offers an alternative to the *Via Maris*, sc. the mountain route which cuts from Baysan through Nābulus and Jerusalem. In the later Middle Ages and until modern times, travellers from Egypt often preferred the Hebron route to the *Via Maris* which could be more easily attacked by Bedouins.

Topography. The ancient town of Hebron (*Ḳiryāt Arbāʿ* (?), see below) was built to the west of Wādī al-Khalīl or the Valley of Hebron, which runs along the modern town in the north-east direction, on Djabal Rumayḍa, on which a tomb called Ḳabr Ḥabrūn is shown today next to *Mashhad al-Arbaʿīn* (called locally today by the name of *Dayr al-Arbaʿīn*), a Muslim sanctuary which in Jewish tradition has been identified with the tomb of Jesse. The Arab town developed on the eastern side of the Vale around the sanctuary of the Tomb of the Patriarchs; until the Crusading period, to the north of it Nāṣir-i Khusraw, 53-4, Le Strange, *Palestine*, 311), and during the Mamlūk period in other directions also, mainly in the south and south-east. Until the beginning of the 19th century, therefore, the town consisted of three sections. The oldest, on the eastermost spur of Djabal al-Djaʿābira (called al-Raʾs), adjacent to the Ḥaram; a smaller section around the Mosque of ʿAlī al Bakkāʾ to the north-west of it on another spur called Djabal Baylūn; and a third section, larger than the previous two, called Ḥārat al-Ḳayṭūn, to the south of the valley. This division of the town into three sections was possibly the factor which prevented the construction of an encompassing wall (cf. Arculfus, *op. cit.*). Each section was partially protected by means of building the houses along the periphery in a continuous line with no doors facing outwards.

Water supply was the main problem of the town. In the pre-Ottoman period, the Muslim sources mention a few springs from which water used to be brought to the town by means of aqueducts. Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *loc. cit.*, cf. Le Strange, *loc. cit.*, mentions a channel conducting water "in no great abundance" from a spring in a nearby village to the town. This must have been the same channel which is later mentioned by Mudjīr al-Dīn as conducting water from the village of Madjdal Faṣīl to a water tank near the northern entrance to the Ḥaram, which was rebuilt by the Mamlūk *amīr* Baktamūr al-Djukandār. In the *zāwiya* of Shaykh ʿAlī al-Bakkāʾ, a water tank and a *sabīl* for a well that was found in the place, were built by Sayf al-Dīn b. Sālār, the Mamlūk *Nāʾib al-Salṭana* in Syria, in 702/1300.

Mudjīr al-Dīn mentions another six springs that supplied water to the town (*al-Uns al-djalīl*, 428). However, the quantity of water supplied by all these springs was meagre and could hardly have supported the population of the city. Since during the later Middle Ages and the Ottoman period, large numbers of pilgrims came to the city and passed through it on the *Ḥadjdj* route to Mecca, the need for greater reserves of water necessitated the construction of two large reservoirs in the Hebron valley. The date of their construction is unknown, but in the Ottoman period and most probably during the time of Süleymān Ḳanūnī they were rebuilt and enlarged. One was called Birkat al-Ḳazzāzīn (today filled up, and a mosque built in its place), and the other Birkat al-Ṣulṭān, a name given to several cisterns built by the Ottomans along the *Ḥadjdj* route, including Solomon's Pools, the large reservoirs in Kurmul (Biblical Carmel) and ʿEin Gēdī. This further attests to the prominence of Hebron as an important station on the Ottoman (and possibly Mamlūk) *Ḥadjdj* route from Jerusalem to the main Syrian route in Trans-Jordan through southern Judaea and the Dead Sea region (Karmon, 74-6).

The name. The ancient Biblical name of Hebron, Ḳiryāt Arbāʿ, is not mentioned in the Arab sources, which are very well-informed about the original name of the town and which they repeat in many versions: Ḥabrun, Ḥafrun, Ḥibrā (or Ḥabrā), Bayt Ḥabrūn, (Muḳaddasī, 172; Yāḳūt, s.v. *al-Khalīl*, Dimashḳī, 201; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, i, 335; iv, 102; Arḍ Ḥabrūn (Ibn Iyās, *Nashḳ al-Azhār* ed. Arnold, *Chrest Arab.*, 66), Mazraʾ at Ḥabrūn (Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maḳdisī, *al-Badʾ wa ʾl-taʾrīkh* (ed. Huart), iii, 53). However, the number of four settlements hinted by the ancient Hebrew name (Arbāʿ, cf. B. Mazar, *Ḳiryāt Arbāʿ*, in *Sefer Ḥevrōn* [in Hebrew], 20 f.) could have some reference to four localities in the

city and its environments mentioned in the Islamic literature: Ḥabrūn, Marṭūm, Bayt ʿAynūn (= Khirbet Beit ʿEinūn; its identification with Aenon of St. John, iii, 23 is very doubtful, cf. *EI*[1], art. AL-KHALĪL), and Bayt Ibrāhīm. According to a famous legend which appears as early as the 2nd/8th century, the Prophet bestowed the different quarters of Hebron on his companion, the oil merchant Tamīm b. Aws al-Dārī (Mudjīr al-Dīn, 428-9). In the early literature, however, there is mention of only two or three localities. Ibn Saʿd mentions Ḥibra and Bayt ʿAynūn (*Ṭabaḳat*, ed. Sachau, i/2, 75, vii/2, 129-30; cf. Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, ii, 420; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1958, 377), and Balādhurī adds to them Masdjid Ibrāhīm (*Futūḥ*, 129; cf. Ḳalḳashandī, i, 335). The name Marṭum, which must have existed as well in this or similar form appears in later literature, and it was mistaken by Nāṣir-i Khusraw as the name of the whole town (though in the corrupted spelling Maṭlūn, *Safar-nāma*, 53, cf. Le Strange 310 and note; Ḳalḳashandī, xiii, 120 has al-Ruṭūm).

The Muslims extended the name which they gave to the sanctuary, Masdjid Ibrāhīm al-Khalīl, to the whole town, in the same way that Bayt al-Maḳdis was extended to the whole of Jerusalem. In both cases, the new name is connected with the sacredness of the respective shrines in Islamic tradition [see AL-ḲUDS]. The prominence of Abraham in Islamic literature from the Ḳurʾān onwards, in which he is called Khalīl Allāh or Khalīl al-Raḥmān (Tadmurī, *Muthīr al-gharām*, 196), and regarded as a true Muslim and builder of the Kaʿba, immediately after the Islamic conquest made his tomb sacred to the Muslims. The early name Masdjid Ibrāhīm (Iṣṭakhrī, 57, Ibn Hawḳal, 113) developed later to Mashhad al-Khalīl (Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *loc. cit.*), Turbat al-Khalīl (Balawī, *Tādj al-mafriḳ*, Ms. BM or. 9252, fol. 62 b) or in short al-Khalīl. It is difficult to ascertain to what an extent the choice of the name al-Khalīl "the friend [of Allāh]" is connected with the early Jewish homily which derived the name Hebron (Hevron) from the name of Abraham, who was also called "Haver" and "Yadid" (a friend) (*Midrāsh Rabba*, on Genesis, section 84; Babylonian Talmud, *Menāḥoth*, 53b). The deep Islamic significance of the attribute al-Khalīl was, however, further stressed in the Islamic tradition which says that Muḥammad was also named *Khalīl Allāh* (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *masādjid*, no. 23, cf. *LA*, *kh-l-l*).

Islamic Significance. The Islamic sanctification of Hebron came in two phases, parallel to and following that of Jerusalem. Whereas at least the name of Jerusalem was known to the Muslims from the time of Muḥammad, they did not know anything about Hebron. In the earliest reports about the conquest of Syria, unlike the case of Jerusalem, its conquest is passed over with no special remark. The sources only mention the legend of the bestowal of the place on Tamīm al-Dārī and his descendants by the Prophet, a fact which was of importance to the beneficiaries alone. They later tried to confirm their claims by presenting a letter from the Prophet to Nuʿaym b. Aws al-Dārī attesting it. Although the Arabic sources mention such a document (*kitāb*), there is no doubt that it is a forgery (*EI*[1], art. AL-KHALĪL; Balādhurī, *loc. cit.*; Mudjīr al-Dīn, 428-9; Ḳalḳashandī, i, 335; cf. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, ii/1, 298, 9 A.H., § 69). However, the tradition about this *iḳṭāʿ* or *waḳf* is very early, and the rights of the Dārīs have been recognised down the ages. At least one abortive attempt was made on the part of the government to abolish them on the ground that the Prophet could not have granted land which he had not possessed (Mudjīr al-Dīn, *loc. cit.*).

For lack of any detailed early Islamic traditions, we must assume from the mention in Balādhurī of the name of *Masdjid Ibrāhīm* that the first phase of the Islamic sanctification of the city was connected solely with the memory of this Patriarch. Similarly, the early traditions about Jerusalem made it holy because of the Biblical episodes and figures which were related to it, (Abraham's sacrifice, the Ark of Moses, Solomon's Temple, etc.). The fact that active worship of the tomb of Abraham was conducted by Jews in Hebron during the Byzantine period, as attested by the 5th century Greek author Sozomenus, puts this assumption on firmer ground. The close and friendly relations, immediately after the conquest of Syria, between the local Jews in Palestine, who were quite numerous in the Hebron area, and the Muslims, may explain this. It also elucidates the Frankish account, according to which the Jews showed the Arabs the entrance to the sanctuary which had been walled up by the Byzantines, and in return they were allowed to live in peace in the town and build a Synagogue next to the Sanctuary (*RHC*, *Hist. occ.* v, 309 f.). The report of Mudjīr al-Dīn, that the Djāwuliyya mosque, adjacent to the sanctuary from the north-east, was built over an ancient Jewish cemetery, attests the historical element in this account.

The second phase of the Islamisation of al-Khalīl came about when the city was connected *directly* with the person of Muḥammad once again according to the same method applied to Jerusalem. The older Biblical traditions were no longer sufficient for an Islam that had to confront both Christianity and Judaism; the Islamised holy places had to be connected to the founder of the faith. The *isrāʾ* and the *miʿrādj* were therefore connected at the beginning of the 2nd/8th centuries with Jerusalem and later with many other places in Syria which had to have a proper Islamic sanctity. Early traditions speak about the *isrāʾ* only from Mecca to Jerusalem (cf. Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *bāb al-miʿrādj*). Later on, probably towards the second half of the century, traditions appeared saying that the Prophet was ordered, during the *isrāʾ*, to descend and pray on Mount Sinai, in Hebron and in Bethlehem before finally reaching Jerusalem (Tadmurī, *Muthīr al-gharām*, 192). Local traditions developed very rapidly connecting the sanctity of Jerusalem with that of al-Khalīl, enhanced no doubt by the interest in establishing the Islamic holiness of Palestine *vis-à-vis* Christianity and in attracting pilgrims and settlers to it. The Cave of the Patriarchs was made the Tomb of Adam as well, his head lying in Jerusalem and his feet in Hebron (Tadmurī, 178 f.; cf. Muḳaddasī, 46; Arculfus, *loc. cit.*). When Abraham died, Allāh said to Hebron, *anti ḳudsī wa-bayt maḳdisī*, and promised that it would be the scene of the resurrection (*Anon.* BM. MS. or. 1510, fols. 54b-55a). Local, popular Islam found a real object of veneration in the tombs of the Saints. Jerusalem had none, but Hebron had plenty of them. In addition to Adam, the Patriarchs and their wives, the tomb of Joseph was also discovered just outside the southwestern wall of the sanctuary and a dome was built over it (in the time of the ʿAbbāsid al-Muḳtadir, Tadmurī, 186-91), and some forty obscure martyrs were also found to be buried on Djabal Ramayda, the tomb of which also became a pilgrimage site (Mudjīr al-Dīn, 427). In the post-Crusader period, Jerusalem and Hebron were called *al-Ḥaramayn al-Sharīfayn*, a

term which, until then, was reserved for Mecca and Medina. During the Mamlūk period, control of the sanctuaries in both towns, including the management of their very extensive endowments, was entrusted to one functionary, either a Mamlūk *amīr* of a local dignitary, who bore the title *Nāẓir al-Ḥaramayn al-S̲h̲arīfayn* (Sak̲h̲awī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-lāmiʿ*, iii, 208, 218, iv, 13, 134, vii, 32, and *passim*; Mud̲j̲īr al-Dīn, *passim*, all through the description of the Mamlūk period e.g. 440-5, 623, 632, etc.; on an inscription: M. Van Berchem, *CIA*, ii, No. 183). Local ceremonies grew up around the visiting of the Tombs of the Patriarchs which were similar to those practices at the visit of the Prophet's Tomb in Medina, and traditions appeared to legalise them. "He who cannot visit me", the Prophet was made to say, "let him visit the Tomb of Abraham . . . The prayer next to it is the *Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲* of the poor . . .", "He who visits the tomb of Abraham, Allāh abolishes his sins", etc. (On the attachment of the sanctity of Hebron to that of Mecca and Medina see K̲h̲ʷārizmī, MS. BM Or. 4584, fol. 22b (Kister)) (Tadmurī, 193-6; Sibṭ b. al-D̲j̲awzī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān*, ed. Jewett, 305; Kister in *Le Muséon* lxxxii (1969), 193). Al-K̲h̲alīl thus developed in popular Islam as a real substitute for Medina in the same way that Jerusalem was supposed to be a minor substitute for Mecca.

For the visitors to al-K̲h̲alīl, the tombs also had a practical meaning. An atmosphere of miracles and mysticism grew up around those tombs. This found expression in popular legends concerning the cave, in which the Patriarchs were supposed to rest, and in which the requests of the believers were promptly fulfilled (e.g. Tadmurī, 139). This atmosphere, the status of the city and the pilgrimage to it, were all supported and stimulated by the practice, peculiar only to this place, of distributing a daily meal to everybody in town. The meal, known only by the name of *al-simāṭ al-K̲h̲alīlī* or *ʿadas al-K̲h̲alīl*, was supposed to honour Abraham's generosity and hospitality. The earliest account of it is given by Muḳaddasī, 172, who relates that the meals, consisting of lentils (*ʿadas*) cooked in olive oil, used to be distributed to both rich and poor. Substantial funds, which comprised of the income of many villages, were endowed for the *Simāṭ*, which was a huge enterprise. At the height of its development, during the Mamlūk period, meals of a certain recipe called *das̲h̲īs̲h̲a* and bread used to be distributed from its kitchens three times a day, in the morning and at noon to the local citizens, and in the evening to the visitors. Fourteen and sometimes even fifteen thousand loaves of bread were baked daily (Mud̲j̲īr al-Dīn, 58-9). The *Simāṭ* was certainly a vast and complicated undertaking, involving diverse activities and high expenditure. It comprised the buying of the grain, milling and baking it, buying oil, lentils and wood for fueling the ovens, and many other things. In times of drought, in the early Ottoman period, grains for the *Simāṭ* were imported from Egypt (Heyd, *Ottoman Documents*, 132, n. 1 to document 81). In view of the frequent maladministration of the endowment for the *Simāṭ*, the success in keeping it functioning almost continuously was in itself regarded as a miracle (see on this particularly, Mud̲j̲īr al-Dīn, 59; Muḳaddasī, *loc. cit.*; Ḳazwīnī, ii, 125; Nāṣir-i K̲h̲usraw, 57-8; Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, i, 505; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Cairo 1928, 33; Balawī, fol. 62b). The endowments established for the *Simāṭ*, in particular, and the *Ḥaram* in general, comprised villages and property all over Syria and especially in the vicinities of Hebron and Nābulus. Here again, Jerusalem and Hebron shared many of these *waḳf*s. An inscription over the main entrance to the *Ḥaram*, from 612/1215, speaks of the *waḳf* made by the Ayyūbid al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿĪsā (*RB* (1923), 812, No. 14; Wiet, *Syria*, v, 228; idem, *RCEA*, x, No. 3752); and another inscription on the Eastern Gate beyond Sara's tomb commemorates the *waḳf*s of the Sultān Barḳūḳ (Mud̲j̲īr al-Dīn, 440; see Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, 445; Ibn Tag̲h̲rībirdī, *Nud̲j̲ūm*, ed. Cairo, vii, 194; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-zuhūr*, i, 111, (for Baybars) and Heyd, *op. cit.*, 92 n. 1, 151, (for the early Ottoman period). In this latter period, and most probably also previously, the inhabitants of Hebron and the villages of its *waḳf* were exempted from government taxes (Heyd, *op. cit.*, 145 n. 4).

A peculiar practice that developed around the *Simāṭ* in the Mamlūk period was a daily drum-beating ceremony performed by the *Ṭablk̲h̲āna* during the evening distribution of the meal. A local legend explained this practice as a commemoration of Abraham, who used to summon his many guests to meals by beating a drum (Mud̲j̲īr al-Dīn, 58).

The development of the sanctuary of Hebron into a popular Muslim shrine, the pilgrimage to it, the ceremonies and practices centred around it, all gave rise to a most unfavourable reaction amongst the strict Islamic orthodoxy. Most of the popular ceremonies which developed around the Tomb, including the *Simāṭ*, were regarded as *bidaʿ*. Early traditions denounced the use of tombs as mosques, ("May Allah curse the Jews and Christians, they turned the tombs of their prophets into mosques", Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *masād̲j̲id*, nos. 16-22). However, the fact that there is a *ḥadīt̲h̲* which says that Muḥammad is Allāh's friend (*K̲h̲alīl*) exactly like Abraham and continues to forbid the usage of tombs as mosques (*ibid.*, no. 23), which is a simple amalgamation of two traditions, shows that the debate around the status of the al-K̲h̲alīl shrine was an early one. The only tomb that Islam has sanctified for the purpose of prayer and pilgrimage is the Prophet's tomb. The above combination of traditions puts Abraham and Muḥammad on the same level in an attempt to give the former's tomb the same status as the latter's. Orthodoxy has never accepted the solution hinted at here. While Muḳaddasī, *loc. cit.*, only raised objections to partaking in the free meals of the *Simāṭ*, in the post-Crusader period, with the wave of Islamic veneration of Jerusalem and Hebron, scholars representing strict orthodoxy like Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Ḳayyim al-D̲j̲awziyya (Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, ii, 40) raised objections to this popular veneration of both sanctuaries and cast doubt even on the authenticity of the locality of al-K̲h̲alīl's tomb. The Mag̲h̲ribī theologian Ibn al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ al-ʿAbdarī (died 737/1336) ruled against entering the sanctuary on the grounds that the exact location of the graves is unknown, and that the present tombs were built by the Franks, who also opened a door in the sanctuary wall. The pious Muslim should heed therefore the previous generations and visit the place only from outside (*al-Madk̲h̲al*[2], Beirut 1972, iv, 258). He was particularly angry about the musicians of al-K̲h̲alīl who used to play trumpets; drums and other instruments after the afternoon prayer (*nawbat al-alil*) and brought people to dance and be amused, all of which he regarded as a grave sin (*s̲h̲aniʿ wa-munkar*). (Kister, *op. cit.*, 195). He also objected to the daily meals of bread and lentils called *ḍiyāfat al-K̲h̲alīl* which he regarded as a desecration of Abraham's memory, for he used to offer his guests meat and not lentils (*ibid.*, 259).

On the other hand, there were *ʿulamāʾ* who argued in favour of the place. Tadmurī and Mudjīr al-Dīn devote long discussions to proving the authenticity of the tombs by reporting stories about people who went into the cave and actually saw the bones or even the intact bodies of the Patriarchs (Tadmurī, 183-4, 188-9). Prominent authorities are quoted calling the place *ḥaram* and *masdjid* to prove that it is not a cemetery and that the prayers and the other ceremonies in it are legal (Mudjīr al-Dīn, 55).

In the long run, the advocates of al-Khalīl were those who triumphed. Both the Mamlūk and Ottoman governments showed considerable interest in the town, in which popular Ṣūfī activity came to be combined with learning. Mudjīr al-Dīn, 425-7, lists 32 *zāwiyas*, mosques and *mashāhid*, in addition to the *Mashhad al-Arbaʿīn* (mentioned above) and the mosque of Shaykh ʿAlī al-Bakkāʾ (died 670/1272, Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, i, 604) and two *madāris*, al-Madrasa al-Fakhriyya and al-Madrasa al-Ḳaymāziyya. This was confirmed by the Maghribi traveller al-Balawī, fols. 62b-63a, who regards al-Khalīl as a place of Islamic scholarship.

History. Historical information about al-Khalīl in the Arabic literature is very spare, since the city, like the rest of Palestine, was never the centre of any important political activity except for during the Crusader period. Sporadic traditions concerning its sanctity already appear in the 2nd/8th century, but it was only at the end of the 9th/15th that, probably for the first time, a more comprehensive work appeared, compiled by the *ḳāḍī* Mudjīr al-Dīn. It seems that he was the first to collect and classify the material then available about it. With the exception of the legend about Tamīm al-Dārī (see above), the Arabic sources are silent about the town. Nothing is said even about its conquest. A Frankish source, which could by no means be considered as reliable, reports that the Byzantines walled the entrance to the sepulchral cave before leaving the town and that the Arab invaders were shown the place by the Jews (for the implications of this, see above).

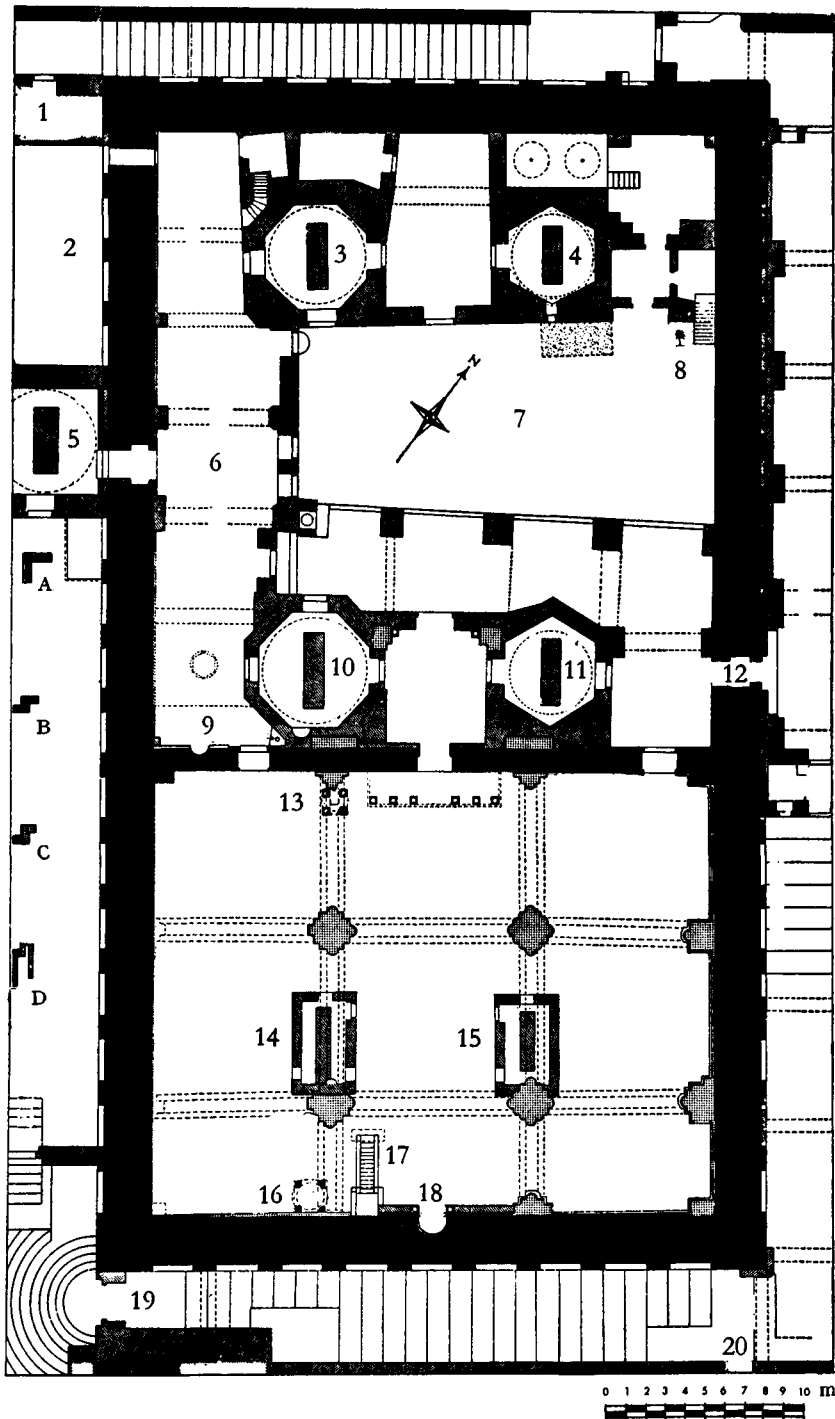
The history of al-Khalīl revolves around two main poles, sc. its sanctuary and its topographical situation, and also its proximity to the desert and its important traffic route.

Until the time of Mudjīr al-Dīn, the sources concentrate on the sanctuary with a few references to the agricultural products of the locality. The first information is, however, no earlier than the 4th/10th century (Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal, *loc. cit.*). From the more detailed information of Muḳaddasī it appears that the Muslims changed nothing inside the sanctuary nor in the traditionally-accepted arrangement of the tombs: Isaac and Rebecca inside the covered (Byzantine Basilican) mosque in the south-east, Abraham and Sara at the entrance and Jacob and Leah on the other (north-western side) of the open court. This arrangement was established at least at the end of the 3rd century A.D., if not earlier (Braslāvī, in *Sefer Hevron*, 288). According to Muḳaddasī, 172-3, the domes over Abraham and Sara were built in the Islamic period (but Mudjīr al-Dīn ascribes the work to the Umayyads). According to Nāṣir-i Khusraw (438/1047), who gives a minute description of the *Ḥaram*, one of the Fāṭimid caliphs ordered that a gate be opened in the north-eastern wall of the Sanctuary enclosure. He also relates, and this was most probably a local story that was repeated later by ʿAbdarī, that until then the interior of the building was inaccessible for visitors (*op. cit.*, 258; cf. Le Strange, 315). The place was highly venerated by the Fāṭimids and other rulers who sent many expensive gifts, and Muslims from many other countries sent their dead to be buried there (*ibid.*, cf. Muḳaddasī, 173, note *d*).

In 425/1033, the *Ḥaram* suffered from the heavy earthquake which destroyed large parts of Ramla and Nābulus (Mudjīr al-Dīn, 269-70). It underwent extensive alterations under the Crusaders, who occupied Hebron in 1099 and converted the mosque into a church, supplying it with a sloping roof (the present building, cf. Le Strange, 311, notes). They called Hebron Saint Abraham, and Godfrey of Bouillon bestowed it in 1100 as a seigneurie on Gerard d'Avesnes (d. 1102). He was followed by Hugo de Rebèque, Rohardus (Rorgius), Galterius Mahomet and Baldwin. In Baldwin's time (1119-20), the sepulchral cave was discovered by Christian monks, a detailed account of which was preserved in a Frankish chronicle (see *EI*[1] art.) and mentioned by ʿAlī al-Harawī and later Arabic chroniclers (cf. Le Strange, 318). It seems that Baldwin and his successors were the governors of Hebron, first under the king of Jerusalem and later, from about 1155, under the lord of Ḳarak. In 1168 Hebron was made a bishopric, and the Crusader convent of ʿEin Gēdī was subordinate to it (*EI*[1] art.; E. Rey, *Les colonies franques de Syrie aux XII*[me] *et XIII*[me] *siècles*, 1883, 384; cf. G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography*, 185).

ʿAlī al-Harawī, who visited Hebron in 567/1171-2, relates how he met a knight who had entered the cave, and gives details about the restoration of the place at the order of King Baldwin II (Le Strange, 316-18). It was then that the ancient flat roof of the covered mosque was replaced by a system of arches and a sloping roof (Vincent, *Hébron*, 166).

Hebron was captured by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, according to most sources, after the conquest of Ascalon (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, Beirut 1966, 360-1); Maḳrīzī (*op. cit.*, i/1, 95) puts it in the same year but before the conquest of Ascalon (583/1187). According to Mudjīr al-Dīn (56), the wooden *minbar* which had been built by Badr al-Djamālī [*q.v.*] by order of the caliph al-Mustanṣir in 484/1092 for the Martyrion (*Mashhad*) of Ḥusayn's head in Ascalon, was brought to the mosque of al-Khalīl, most probably after Ascalon was razed to the ground by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in 588/1192 (for the inscription on his *minbar* see, M. Van Berchem, in *Festschrift Edward Sachau*, Berlin 1915, 300-1; Vincent, *Hébron*, 222, fig. 85, cf. ʿAbd Allāh Mukhliṣ, in *BIFAO*, xxv, 57; Jaussen, *RB* (1923), 579; *RCEA* vii, n° 2790).

After the death of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, Hebron passed into the domains of al-Malik al-Naṣīr Dāwūd of Karak, who was supported by his father al-Muʿaẓẓam ʿĪsā. After the death of the latter in 624/1227, his domains were claimed by his uncle al-Malik al-Kāmil of Egypt. The crisis that ensued threatened to engulf all the Ayyūbid princes in war. At the end of that year, however, a treaty was signed redividing the Ayyūbid territories, and according to this Hebron, together with large parts of southern Palestine, were given to Egypt (Maḳrīzī, *Sulūk*, i/1, 235). Later it came once again under the rule of al-Nāṣir Dāwūd until 642/1244. In this year, during yet another war amongst the Ayyūbids, southern Palestine fell into the hands of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb of Egypt, who was helped by the Khwārazmians. Shortly afterwards, the Khwārazmians changed sides, joining Dāwūd, and Hebron was again returned to him (*ibid.*, 318-22); and in 658/1260,

Plan of the Masdjid Ibrāhīm

A. Herodian structure. — B. Byzantine structure. — C. Ancient structure. — D. Arab structure.

1. Entrance. — 2. Joseph's Mosque. — 3. Jacob's tomb. — 4. Leah's tomb. — 5. Joseph's tomb. — 6. Women's Mosque. — 7. Inner court yard. — 8. Date palm. — 9. Adam's footprint. — 10. Abraham's tomb. — 11. Sarah's tomb. — 12. Entrance. — 13. Canopy (opening in floor). — 14. Isaac's tomb. — 15. Rebecca's tomb. — 16. Canopy (sealed opening). — 17. *Minbar*. — 18. *Miḥrāb*. — 19. Main entrance. — 20. Entrance.

[After Vincent, *Hébron*].

a Mongol detachment captured the city for a short while (*ibid.*, 425).

When Mamlūk rule was established in Egypt and Syria, securing the country from external danger for over 250 years, the sanctuaries of both Jerusalem and Hebron were given particular attention by the central government as well as by the local governors. Hebron came under the jurisdiction of the governor (*nā'ib*) of Jerusalem and its *waḳf*s and other endowments were supervised by a special functionary (*Nāẓir al-Ḥaramayn al-Sharīfayn*). In one case, however, a special *nā'ib* is mentioned for Hebron (Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, 699; cf. Ḳalḳashandī, iv, 199). In 664/1266 Baybars visited Hebron and issued an order banning the Christians and Jews from entering the sanctuary. Until then they could enter the place in return for certain payments (Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, 544). This ban continued in force until Israel occupied Hebron in 1967. In 666/1268 he allocated large sums and rich endowments for the *Ḥaram* and its attendants and ordered extensive repairs to be carried out there, despatching the *amīr* Djamāl al-Dīn b. Nahār to inspect the works (*ibid.*, 445, 563; Mudjīr al-Dīn, 434; Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafawāt*, Būlāḳ 1299, i, 89; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, vii, 194; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, i, 111). He also ordered that the free meal, the *ḍiyāfa* of al-Khalīl, should be distributed some distance from the sanctuary (Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, 565). Ḳalāwūn built in 679/1280-1 a *ribāṭ* opposite the citadel and adjacent to the *Ḥaram*, which was called al-Ribāṭ al-Manṣūrī after him, and a year later, he dedicated the *Bīmāristān al-Manṣūrī* (Mudjīr al-Dīn, 426). The ever-growing number of pilgrims that came to Hebron or passed through it on the way to Mecca necessitated the building of a large water reservoir. Orders were given in 682/1283 that the poll-tax of the *dhimmī*s of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Bayt Djālā and Hebron should be dedicated for this purpose; the construction was entrusted to the hands of the *amīr* ʿAlā' al-Dīn Aydughdī al-Ruknī (Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rīkh*, Beirut 1939, vii, 259; Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, 712). In 713/1313 another water project was completed when the *amīr* Abū Saʿīd ʿAlam al-Dīn Sandjar al-Djāwulī (d. 745/1344-5) dedicated an aqueduct that conducted water to ʿAyn al-Tawāshī at the northern entrance to the *Ḥaram*. The same *amīr* built between 718/1318 and 720/1320 from his private funds the Djāwuliyya mosque adjacent to the north-eastern wall of the sanctuary. Next to the Djāwuliyya were the kitchens, the mills and storage places of the *Simāṭ* (cf. Balawī, *loc. cit.*; Ibn Hadjar, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, ii, 171; Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, ii, 131, 674; Mudjīr al-Dīn, 58, 131). The walls of the covered mosque (*al-mughaṭṭā*) were overlaid with marble by the *amīr* Tankiz, the viceroy (*nā'ib al-salṭana*) of Syria, in 732/1332 (*ibid.*, 55, 57). The citadel (*ḳalʿa*) of the town was rebuilt and dedicated by al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (748-52/1347-51, 755-62/1354-61) (*ibid.*, 426). In 796/1394, during the reign of Barḳūḳ, the *miḥrāb* of the Mālikiyya to the right of the entrance to the covered mosque and the arcade along its western wall (the "Women's Mosque") were built by Shihāb al-Dīn al-Yaghmūrī (*ibid.*, 57-8). Barḳūḳ himself dedicated the village of Dayr Isṭiya in the vicinity of Nābulus solely for the expenses of the *Simāṭ* (*ibid.*, 440). Additional endowments for the *Ḥaram* were ordered by al-Ashraf Īnāl (859/1454) and al-Ẓāhir Khushḳadam, who also renewed the marble covering on the walls of the Djāwuliyya (867/1462-3). Ḳā'it Bāy showed great interest too in the sanctuaries of Hebron and Jerusalem, and used to inspect them in person (Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, vi, 205; Mudjīr al-Dīn, 647; Ibn Iyās, iii, 108). To this period belong three detailed descriptions of the *Ḥaram*, that of Abu 'l-Fidā' Isḥāḳ al-Khalīlī (752/1351), copyied by Suyūṭī and Mudjīr al-Dīn; cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who visited al-Khalīl in 626/1326; and of Balawī, who arrived there in 737/1337. While the latter spoke sceptically about the location of the tombs, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa defended the traditional sites (Balawī, *loc. cit.*; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, 32; cf. Le Strange, 319-20).

The proximity of Hebron to the desert put it and its environs in constant danger from the Bedouins. The roads leading southwards from the town came almost constantly under attack and travellers could rarely pass along them in safety. The Bedouins in Syria and Palestine preserved the old division into Ḳays and Yaman, which also divided the fellahin [see ḲAYS and YAMAN. In the Ottoman period]. The two factions were in constant strife; and from time to time the nomads used to attack the sedentary areas. The Mamlūks could not keep the Bedouins in check all the time, and their military expeditions against them were at best only a temporary remedy (cf. Sharon, *The political role of the Bedouins in Palestine*, in *Studies on Palestine*, ed. M. Maʿoz, Jerusalem 1975, 11-17. On a large Bedouin eruption in 750/1349, see Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, ii, 709, 804). Sometimes the Bedouins were invited to participate in the local rivalries, as happened with a quarrel between the Dārīs and the Kurds when each side invited the Bedouins to help him and the town was almost destroyed (Mudjīr al-Dīn, 632-3).

The Ottomans occupied Hebron in 921/1517 and made it the administrative centre of a *nāḥiya* in the *sandjaḳ* of Jerusalem (Heyd, *op. cit.*, 86 n. 1). Its Muslim inhabitants were exempted from government taxes (*ibid.*, 71-2) and like the Mamlūks, the Ottoman sultans regarded the repair and the maintenance of the sanctuaries in it and in Jerusalem, as well as elsewhere in the country, as a major obligation. Large numbers of pilgrims from all over the empire and from other countries visited them and had to be protected and provided for. Frequent orders were issued from Istanbul concerning the proper management, repairs and upkeep of the holy places, and in case of want of funds, additional new lands were endowed as *waḳf* and skilled workers sent from Damascus for repairs to the *Ḥaram*s (*ibid.*, 15). A document from 959/1552 reports that the domes over the tombs of Patriarchs, which had not been repaired since the time of the Circassian Mamlūks, had fallen to pieces, and orders are issued for their repairs (*ibid.*, 155). From another unique document of the *Mühimme defterleri* dated 991/1583, it appears that the wardens of the *Ḥaram* (*türbedār*) and its doorkeepers were traditionally eunuchs, so as not to disturb the women's tranquillity of mind when they came to pray there (*ibid.*, 157-8).

In 979/1571, an additional source of income was added to Hebron when saltpetre was discovered in its vicinity, and an extensive gunpowder industry was developed there for the Ottoman army (*ibid.*, 129, 137-8). Large quantities of this gunpowder, as well as large quantities of arms, some of which were directly smuggled from the army arsenals in Istanbul, reached the Bedouins and other rebels in the country. Hebron continued to suffer even more intensely from both the Bedouins and the continuous warfare between the Ḳays and Yaman factions. The Ottomans tried in many ways to keep the Bedouins in check, in particular to safeguard the pilgrimage roads. These measures

included building fortresses along the roads, taking hostages from the tribes and nominating 40 *timār* and *zi'āmet* holders, who were exempted from participating in the wars of the empire, but all this was to no avail. Hebron and its vicinity were at the mercy of the Bedouins until modern times. The towns and travellers to and from them had to pay special taxes to the Bedouins (*khāwa*, [*q.v.*]), in order to gain some degree of safety. The mountain villages around the town relied for their defence on their own strength (*ibid.*, 76, 85, 97-8 n. 3, 101-2, 111, 116; cf. Sharon, *op. cit.*, 17-30; cf Hoexter, in *Asian and African Studies*, Jerusalem 1973, 249-311, and Karmon, 79). On the other hand, being the only urban centre in the vicinity and the main market place of the area, the Bedouins usually refrained from attacking Hebron openly, and economically the city was prosperous. In the closing years of the 18th century and during the Napoleonic wars when the coastal towns were almost completely destroyed, Hebron flourished as one of the most important commercial centres in Palestine with the caravans from Egypt prefering the more southerly route through Sinai and Beer Sheba to Hebron and Jerusalem over the insecure coastal one. Glass manufacture also developed rapidly in the town, for which it is famous until this very day. The caustic soda required for this industry was supplied by the Bedouins, who produced it from a plant growing near the shores of the Dead Sea. Other major industries in the city in the 19th century were soap, hides and cotton spinning (Kermon, 80-1).

The town began to deteriorate during the Egyptian occupation of Palestine by Ibrāhīm Pasha (1831-40). While the coastal towns flourished again and were freed from the Bedouin menace, the mountainous areas which opposed the Egyptians suffered. Hebron took an active part in the revolt of 1834. It was besieged by the Egyptians, its citadel destroyed by cannon fire, and it was occupied and sacked. Additional destruction was caused by earthquake that affected Palestine in 1837. Towards the end of Egyptian rule in 1840, a rebel from Dūra near Hebron, 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-'Amr, killed the Egyptian governor of the town, proclaimed the Ottoman sultan and made himself the governor. He terrorised Hebron, especially the Jews and Christians in the town, from whom he used to extort heavy taxes. In 1846 the Ottomans, in pursuit of him, destroyed parts of Hebron with gunfire and the soldiers looted it. The rebel was not caught and he continued to infest the area for many years to come, as we learn from the detailed reports of James Finn, the British consul in Jerusalem and the only source of help to the Jewish community during the 1850s (A. M. Haymson, *The British Consulate in Jerusalem*, London 1939, i, 168-9, 171-2, 198 ff.).

The improvement of security in the country during the second half of the century, with the growth of the European Powers' interest in it after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, brought recovery to Hebron. Its population grew from 8,000-10,000 in the 1870s to about 14,000 at the close of the century. This trend continued after the British conquest of 1917 and the establishment of the British mandate, when Hebron was made the capital of a subdistrict in the Southern District (1922). It also became an important political centre, and its leaders have been fanatical opponents of the Jewish settlement in Palestine. During the riots of 1929, influenced by the *Muftī* of Jerusalem, Amīn al-Ḥusaynī and by local agitators, the mob attacked the Jewish quarter and slaughtered 63 Jews. The rest of the community fled from the town. An attempt to renew the Jewish community in Hebron a few years later was cut short during the riots of 1936. After the war of 1948, Hebron came under the rule of Jordan, until in 1967 it was occupied by Israel during the Six Day's war. Until 1976 it was led by the ancient and powerful Dja'barī family. Its population is over 38,000. During the present century, a large number of Hebronites have emigrated to Jerusalem, where they occupy a very prominent position in the commercial life there.

Bibliography: al-Iṣṭakhrī; Ibn Ḥawḳal; al-Muḳaddasī; Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-mushtāḳ*, Leiden 1974, 363; al-Bakrī, *Mu'djam ma'sta'djam*, Cairo 1945, ii, 420; al-Bākūwī, *Talkhīṣ al-āthār*, ed. Buniyatov, Moscow 1971, 54 (Arabic), 41 (Russian tr.); al-Dimashkī, *Nukhbat al-dahr*, ed. Dorn, repr. Leipzig, 1923, 201, 213; Ibn Baṭṭūta, Cairo 1928, 31-3; al-Tadmurī, *K. Muthīr al-gharām ila ziyārat al-Khalīl*, ed. Matthews, in *JPOS*, xviii (1937), 116 f. (cf. al-Sakhawī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, ii, 276); al-Ḳazwīnī, *Āthar al-bilād*, Beirut 1960; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma*, ed. Schefer, 53-8; Yāḳūt, ii, 194 f.; Suyūṭi, in G. Le Strange, *JRAS*, xix, 289 f.; al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iv, 103; Mudjīr al-Dīn, *al-Uns al-djalīl bi-ta'rīkh al-Ḳuds wa 'l-Khalīl*, Būlāk 1283 (tr. Sauvaire, *Histoire de Jerusalem et de Hébron*, Paris 1876); Riant, in *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, ii (1884), 411-21; Conder, in *PEFQS* (1882), 197-214; *Survey of Western Palestine*, Memoirs, iii, 333-46; Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 309-27 (where most of the geographical authorities are translated); Y. Karmon, *Changes in the urban geography of Hebron . . .*, in *Studies on Palestine during the Ottoman Period*, ed. M. Ma'oz, Jerusalem 1975, 70-86; M. Sharon, *The political role of the Bedouins . . .*, in *ibid.*, 11-30; L. H. Vincent and E. J. H. Mackey, *Hebron, le Haram al-Khalil . . .*, Paris 1923; O. Avisar (ed.), *Sefer Hevron* [in Hebrew], Jerusalem; U. Heyd, *Ottoman documents on Palestine, 1552-1615*, Oxford 1960; T. Wright, *Early travels in Palestine*, London 1848, 6, 45, 86, 160; G. A. Smith, *The Historical geography of the Holy Land*, repr. London 1966, index. For inscriptions: see Jaussen, *RB* (1923), 579, 586, 812; idem, in *BIFAO*, xxv, nos. 1-34; *RCEA*, vii, nos. 2790-91, x, 3752, 3967, xi, 4386, xii, 4787-88, xiii, 4876-7, 4943, 5077, 5146-7, xiv, 5428-30, 5511.

(M. SHARON)

KHALĪL ALLĀH (SHĀH), d. 866/1460, the son of Shāh Ni'mat Allāh Kirmānī (730-834/1329-1431), "a great saint and mystic as well as a poet." Hearing the fame of Ni'mat Allāh's great piety and learning, the Bahmanī ruler Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad I (825-39/1422-34) invited him to Muḥammadābād-Bīdar, his capital. The saint declined the invitation, but sent one of his disciples. The Sulṭān repeated the invitation with the request to send one of his sons, if he could not himself come. Ni'mat Allāh replied that, since he had only one son, named Khalīl Allāh, with whom he did not wish to part, he was sending the latter's son, Nūr Allāh, instead. However, after his father's death, Khalīl Allāh emigrated to the Deccan with his family and many of the followers. Aḥmad I received him with honour, and gave his daughter in marriage to the saint's elder son, Ḥabīb Allāh, and his grand-daughter to the saint's younger son, Muḥibb Allāh. In addition, he accepted Khalīl Allāh as his *pīr* and conferred on him the title of Malik al-Mashā'ikh Burhān al-Dīn Khalīl Allāh, thus

giving up his allegiance to the descendants of the famous saint of Gulbarga, Sayyid Muḥammad Gīsū Darāz (721-825/1321-1422). Under the influence of Khalīl Allāh and his sons, who were Shīʿīs, not only Aḥmad I became a Shīʿī, but Shīʿī forces were strengthened in the Deccan.

Khalīl Allāh continued to be revered by Aḥmad's son and successor, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Aḥmad II (830-62/1427-58) who also regarded him as his *pīr*, and, on the occasion of his coronation ceremony, seated him on his right. Khalīl Allāh was not a poet or mystic like his father; he was a pious man, given to prayer and meditation, and, unlike his elder son, Ḥabib Allāh, kept aloof from war and politics. He was succeeded by his younger son, Muḥibb Allāh, as his *sadjdjāda-nashīn* (spiritual successor). Over his grave a beautiful tomb was erected by Aḥmad II. Another building called Takht-i Kirmānī, because it contained the *takht* or throne on which Khalīl Allāh used to sit, was also constructed in his memory during this period.

Bibliography: H. K. Sherwani, *The Bahmanīs of the Deccan, an objective study*, Ḥaydarābād 1953; H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi, ed., *History of medieval Deccan, 1295-1724*, 2 vols, Ḥaydarābād 1973-4; J. N. Hollister, *The Shīʿa of India*, London 1953; G. Yazdānī, *Bīdar: its history and monuments*, Oxford 1947; Sayyid ʿAlī Ṭabāṭabā, *Taʾrīkh-i Burhān-i Maʾāthir*, ed. Sayyid Ḥāshimī, Delhi 1355/1936; Muḥammad Ḳāsim Hindū-Shāh, *Taʾrīkh-i Firishta*, Lucknow 1281/1864.

(MOHIBBUL HASAN)

AL-KHALĪL B. AḤMAD B. ʿAMR B. TAMĪM AL-FARĀHIDĪ (AL-FURHŪDĪ; see W. Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab*, ii, 343 f.) AL-AZDĪ AL-YAḤMADĪ AL-BAṢRĪ ABŪ ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN, important Arab philologist. Born in ʿUmān, he grew up in Baṣra where he died, at over seventy, in 175/791, or 170/786, or 160/776 (Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 47; Marzubānī, *Muḳtabas*, 56; *Fihrist*, 42). As a young man he adhered to the Ṣufriyya [*q.v.*], but he embraced Sunnī orthodoxy under the influence of his teacher Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī (d. 131/748,) a well-known traditionist and *faḳīh* (Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, i, 382). His studies in Arabic philology were especially encouraged by the two Baṣran scholars ʿĪsā b. ʿUmar al-Thaḳafī [*q.v.*] and Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ [*q.v.*]. All the sources agree that he lived an unpretentious and pious life, in modest circumstances, on the yield of a garden left to him by his father (Marzubānī, *op. cit.*, 56, 58, 67), and on falconry—probably not only occasionally ([al-Ḥusayn] al-Bāzyār al-Miṣrī, *al-Bayzara*, Damascus 1372/1953, 19; Fr. tr. F. Viré, *Le Traité de l'art de volerie*, Leiden 1967, 7 (= *Arabica*, xii [1965], 7); cf. D. Möller, *Studien zur mittelalterlichen arabischen Falknerliteratur*, Berlin 1965, 73 ff.). He had many pupils (see E. Bräunlich, *al-Ḫalīl und das Kitāb al-ʿAin*, in *Islamica*, ii (1926), 66 ff.), the most conspicuous among whom were Sībawayh [*q.v.*], al-Aṣmaʿī [*q.v.*] and the *ṣāḥib al-Khalīl* al-Layth b. al-Muẓaffar [*q.v.*], who completed, edited and published al-Khalīl's lexicon. By his comprehensive studies and intensive teachings al-Khalīl promoted decisively the already existing beginnings of Arabic philology, and thus became its real founder.

As was the case with others, al-Khalīl's scholarly work started from Ḳurʾān exegesis and knowledge of Tradition, as demonstrated in particular by evidence available and source material. It is not known whether he himself wrote on Ḳurʾān exegesis and Tradition (see below). But as a teacher he not only permanently influenced the broad field of philology in his capacity as grammarian, lexicographer and metrist, but he also left an impressive written testimony—though more indirectly than directly —of his competence, acumen and gift of presentation. There is a double reason why his output was so small. First, it was not yet at all common in those days to commit to writing scholarly discussion; secondly, it seems that al-Khalīl had scruples about finally editing his material together with his explanations and commentaries. It is not correct to assume that he was unable to do so through incapacity to generalise from details. Recent investigations have shown clearly that al-Khalīl had a fundamental part in the first systematic grammar of Arabic, the *Kitāb* of his pupil Sībawayh, not only as far as the material is concerned, but also in the systematisation. In this connection it must be remembered that al-Khalīl had already found elements for a theory of the language. It is even possible that such a theory had already been formulated in a fragmentary way and noted down in lecture courses, in answers to questions about individual problems, and the like. But it started to take shape only thanks to the abundance of observations of individual cases, comparisons and proofs adduced by al-Khalīl, which gave the impulse to systematisation. To give Arabic grammar its first comprehensive written form, hardly surpassed later, was reserved for his great pupil, the Persian Sībawayh. This however does not alter the fact that al-Khalīl was the real creator of this science (see G. Weil in the Introduction to Ibn al-Anbarī's *Kitāb al-Inṣāf*, Leiden 1913, 69), as may be seen clearly from almost every page of Sībawayh's work. For details see W. Reuschel, *al-Ḫalīl ibn Aḥmad, der Lehrer Sībawayhs, als Grammatiker*, Berlin 1959; G. Troupeau, *A propos des grammairiens cités par Sībawayhi dans le* Kitāb, in *Arabica*, viii (1961), 309-12; cf. also M. G. Carter, *Les origines de la grammaire arabe*, in *REI*, xl (1972), 69-97, esp. 74 ff.

It has yet to be studied how far al-Khalīl's *Kitāb al-Djumal fi 'l-naḥw* corresponds to those passages which Sībawayh associates with al-Khalīl's name; according to a statement in Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, i, 411, the author of the *Kitāb al-Djumal* was Ibn Shuḳayr (d. 317/929)! In the ms. Ayasofya 4456, 2, dated 601/1204, the work fills 75 folios and deals with *naṣb, rafʿ, khafḍ, djazm, alifāt, lāmāt* (cf. a fragment, Berlin, vi, 212 no. 6902), *hāʾāt, tāʾāt, wāwāt, lām-alifāt, al-ikhtilāf fi maʿānīhi*, in connection with many, mostly anonymous verses (O. Rescher, in *ZDMG*, lxiv (1910), 508 ff.; for the *Incipit*, see Rescher, *Abriss*, ii, 121, note 1). For a second (?) manuscript, see Ḳawala, ii, 118, no. 266 ḳ: *Kitāb Wudjūh al-naṣb* (fol. 1: by Ibn Shuḳayr?), 65 folios; for a third (?) incomplete(?) manuscript, see *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-i khaṭṭī-i Kitābkhāna-i Markazī-i Dānishgāh-i Tihrān*, Tehran 1345/1967, xv, 4075 ff., no. 4981, 3: *Sharḥ Djumal al-iʿrāb*, 16 folios. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1367/1948, ii, 17 no. 206, may well be referring to the *Kitāb al-Djumal* when he mentions a *kitāb fi 'l-ʿawāmil* among al-Khalīl's works.

Further investigation is necessary into a short treatise of two pages by al-Khalīl about the question why the root *fʿl* is used as paradigm (ms. Bodleiana, i, 230 no. 1047,4, dated 654/1256). The longer fragment of 24 folios of a *Kitāb Ṣarf al-Khalīl*, dated 821/1418 (Berlin, vi, 215 no. 6909), is perhaps connected with this treatise.

Appreciation of the significance of al-Khalīl's lexicographical activities has steadily increased as

scholars have recognised him as the author of the first Arabic dictionary, the *Kitāb al-ʿAyn*, and this notwithstanding the fact that even in the early period his authorship of this work was rejected by a majority. Recent investigations have again considerably contributed to the solution of this problem. They have shown that the plan of the dictionary undoubtedly comes from al-Khalīl. It is not arranged alphabetically but—probably under Indian influence—by certain groups of sounds (the phonetic-permutative principle), *i.e.*, after the so-called "order of al-Khalīl": *ʿ, ḥ, h, kh, gh, ḳ, k, dj, sh, ḍ, ṣ, s, z, ṭ, d, t, ẓ, dh, th, r, l, n, f, b, m, w, alif, y, ʾ*. Recent investigations have also shown that al-Khalīl's contribution to the dictionary is hardly more than that of a source, and that the *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* in its present form, especially in regard to the bulk of the material, is to be considered as the work of al-Layth b. al-Muẓaffar [*q.v.*]. Al-Layth may have arranged his compilation soon after al-Khalīl's death. But a little later—probably not long after 200/815—this work was revised by an otherwise unknown Abū Muʿādh ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀʾidh. Additions and corrections, also in the form of refutations (*rudūd*), followed. Many abstracts have been made and it is well known that later lexicographers have repeatedly gone back—directly or indirectly—to the *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* and have often quoted from it. Finally it is worth noticing that the Introduction to the *Kitāb al-ʿAyn*, with the exception of editorial interpolations, may go back directly to al-Khalīl. For details see Bräunlich, *op. cit.*, esp. p. 94, on al-Khalīl's *Kitāb Fāʾid al-ʿAyn*, mentioned e.g. in *Fihrist*, 43; J. Kraemer, *Studien zur altarabischen Lexikographie nach Istanbuler und Berliner Handschriften*, in *Oriens*, vi (1953), 201-38; J. A. Haywood, *Arabic Lexicography*, Leiden[2] 1965, *passim* (reviewed by A. Spitaler, in *OLZ*, lxiii [1968], 50-8); above all Stefan Wild, *Das Kitāb al-ʿAin und die arabische Lexikographie*, Wiesbaden 1965 (reviewed by J. W. Fück, in *Bi Or*, xxiii [1966], 199 ff.; M. M. Bravmann, in *Isl.*, xlvii [1971], 238-44). A first fascicule of the *Kitāb al-ʿAyn* was published by Father Anastase al-Karmalī under the title: *al-Layth b. al-Muẓaffar, Kitāb al-ʿAyn fi 'l-lugha*. Baghdad 1914; of the new edition by ʿAbd Allāh Darwīsh, *Kitāb al-ʿAyn awwal muʿdjam fi 'l-lugha al-ʿarabiyya li-'l-Khalīl b. Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī*, the first volume appeared in 1386/1967 in Baghdad (reviewed by R. ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, in *al-Aḳlām* v/2 [Baghdad 1388/1968] 127-51).

Al-Khalīl's small treatise *al-Ḥurūf*, also called *Risāla fī maʿnā 'l-ḥurūf*, which is not listed by the ancient biographers and bibliographers (see Bräunlich, *op. cit.*, 67), has been published by R. ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, Cairo 1969. The author deals concisely with the additional meanings of the letters of the alphabet and as a rule supports them by citing ancient verses.

While working on old Arabic verses as evidence for the meaning of words, linguistic peculiarities and grammatical constructions (*Fihrist*, 43, mentions among his writings a *Kitāb al-Shawāhid*), al-Khalīl made a surprising and important discovery. The scanning of verses revealed to him that short and long syllables alternate and repeat themselves in strict patterns. He divided these unities, which can be distinguished according to their quantity, into five concentric circles. He thus found an adequate and telling graphical form, equally simple and brilliant, for representing the metre-order of the verses, following each other repetitively, while the rhythmical accent was also taken into account. Al-Khalīl's metrical system has been adopted by all later authors (see, *e.g.*, the manuscripts and summaries Berlin, vi, 323-48 no. 7108-58). The names of the metres (cf. Marzubānī, *op. cit.*, 71) and a series of terms also reach undoubtedly back to him so that metrics were called simply *ʿilm al-Khalīl* (see Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa under the title *ʿarūḍ Ibn al-Ḥādjib*; I. Goldziher, in *WZKM*, xvii [1903], 187-90; see also al-Djāḥiẓ, *al-Muʿallimūn*, on the margin of al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, Cairo 1324/1906, i, 33; idem, *al-Ḥayawān*, Cairo 1356/1938, i, 150). Although al-Khalīl's original work, the *Kitāb al-ʿArūḍ*, does not seem to have survived, the content of this treatise (cf. Zubaydī, *op. cit.*, 291) may be conjectured from later works, like Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi's [*q.v.*] chapter on *ʿarūḍ* [*q.v.*] in his *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, Cairo 1365/1946, v, 424-518. For details see G. W. Freytag, *Darstellung der arabischen Verskunst*, Bonn 1830; G. Weil, *Das metrische System des al-Xalīl und der Iktus in den altarabischen Versen*, in *Oriens*, vii (1954), 303-21; and esp., idem, *Grundriss und System der altarabischen Metren*, Wiesbaden 1958 (reviewed by A. Bloch, in *GGA*, 213 [1959], 67-80). [See also ʿARŪḌ.] Two other works by al-Khalīl, the *Kitāb al-Nagham* and the *Kitāb al-Īḳāʿ*, dealing with tones and rhythmic tempi, are mentioned in *Fihrist*, 43 (see H. G. Farmer, *The sources of Arabian music*, Leiden 1965, 1, nos. 5 and 6; E. Neubauer in *Oriens*, xxi-xxii [1968-9/1971], 196 ff.).

Among the eight works by al-Khalīl enumerated in *Fihrist*, 43, a *Kitāb al-Naḳṭ wa 'l-shakl* is mentioned, an otherwise unknown treatise on diacritical punctuation and vocalisation (in the Ḳurʾān) (see *Gesch. des Qor.*, iii, 262, note 1 and *TA*, iv, 411, 9 s.v. *ʿbd*). According to *Dharīʿa*, i, 38 ff. no. 184, it is identical with the above mentioned *Kitāb al-Djumal*. Such a supposition is however as doubtful as another statement by the same *Dharīʿa*, ii, 325 ff. no. 1292, namely, that al-Khalīl composed a *Kitāb al-Imāma*, allegedly finished by Abu 'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar al-Marāghī (d. 376/986). The correctness cannot be verified from the available sources and literature (see, e.g., Kaḥḥāla, ix, 157; Brockelmann, S III, 1194 should be corrected accordingly). A so-called *Kitāb al-Muʿammā* finally is mentioned only by Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 47, and then in connection with a quite unconvincing story (cf. Haywood, *op. cit.*, 21 and 133).

Bibliography: in addition to the works mentioned in the article: G. Flügel, *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, Leipzig 1862 (reprint: Nendeln 1966), 37-9; Brockelmann, I, 98 f., S I, 159 f., S III, 1194; O. Rescher, *Abriss der arabischen Litteraturgeschichte*, Stuttgart 1933, ii, 119-22; M. al-Makhzūmī, *al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī, aʿmāluhu wa-manhadjuhu*, Baghdad 1960; many sources are mentioned in: Kh. Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, Cairo 1954, ii, 363; ʿU. R. Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, Damascus 1376/1957, iv, 112 f.; al-Wahhābī, *Marādjiʿ tarādjim al-udabāʾ*, Nadjaf 1378/1958, iii, 76-82. The main sources are: al-Bukhārī, *al-Taʾrīkh al-kabīr*, Ḥaydarābād 1363/1944, ii, 183; Ibn Ḳutayba, *al-Maʿārif*, Göttingen 1850, 269 (Cairo 1960, 541 f.); Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shuʿarāʾ*, Cairo 1375/1956, 96-9; Abu 'l-Ṭayyib al-Lughawī, *Marātib al-naḥwiyyīn*, Cairo 1375/1955, 27-41; al-Marzubānī, *al-Muḳtabas*, Beirut-Wiesbaden 1964, 56-72; al-Sīrāfī, *Akhbār al-naḥwiyyīn*, Beirut-Paris 1936, 38-40; al-Azharī, *Tahdhīb al-lugha* (Introduction), in *MO*, xiv (1920), 39 ff.; al-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-naḥwiyyīn wa-'l-lughawiyyīn*, Cairo 1373/1954; *Fihrist*, 42 f.; Samʿānī, fol. 421b; Ibn al-Anbārī,

Nuzhat al-alibbā', Cairo 1386/1967, 45-8 (with references to other sources); Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, iv, 181-3; al-Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt ʿalā anbāh al-nuḥāt*, Cairo 1369/1950, i, 341-7 (with indications of other sources); Ibn Khallikān, s.n.; Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ghāyat al-nihāya fī ṭabaḳāt al-ḳurrā'*, Cairo-Leipzig 1932, i, 275; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, Ḥaydarābād 1325/1907, iii, 163 f.; Suyūṭī, *Bughya* 243-5 (Cairo 1384/1964, 557-60); Ṭashköprüzāde, *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda*, Cairo (*ca.* 1968), i, 106-8; 153-8; 216. (R. Sellheim)

KHALĪL b. **ISḤĀḲ** b. Mūsā b. Shuʿayb, Abu 'l-Mawadda Ḍiyā' al-Dīn, Ibn al-Djundī, Mālikī *faḳīh* of Egypt, born in Cairo 13 Rabīʿ I 776/22 August 1374 (but other dates, in particular 767 and 769 are also given). His father was a Ḥanafī, and it was through the influence of his teacher ʿAbd Allāh al-Manūfī (d. 749/1348) that he adopted the Mālikī law school. He performed the Pilgrimage, and then remained some time in Medina, studying and teaching at the *madrasa* *Shaykhūniyya*. Although generally leading a fairly retiring life, he nevertheless took up arms in the defence forces, and thus took part in the recovery of Alexandria from the Christians in 767/1365-6.

From a juridical point of view, Khalīl represents, just like his model Ibn al-Ḥādjib, a view of law somewhat tinged with Shāfiʿism, the result of a fusion between the Egyptian and the Maghribī aspects of the Mālikī school. He composed various works, of which manuscripts survive: *al-Tawḍīḥ*, a commentary on the *Mukhtaṣar* of Ibn al-Ḥādjib, *K. al-Manāsik*, *Manāḳib al-Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh al-Manūfī*, and *Ḍabṭ al-muwadjdjahāt wa-taʿrīfuhā*; but all these are today forgotten. His *Mukhtaṣar*, however, called by some simply *al-Kitāb* "the Book" par excellence, gained him a great fame, both in the Maghrib and also in the Mālikī centres of West Africa, and furthermore the honorific designation of Sīdī Khalīl.

This *Mukhtaṣar*, then, so obscure because of its conciseness that it can only be understood by means of a commentary, is the most renowned manual in the countries of the Muslim West, where, to some extent replacing the *Muwaṭṭa'* of Mālik and the *Mudawwana* of Saḥnūn, it is everywhere the subject of teaching which is usually based on a host of partial or complete commentaries, glosses and scholia inspired by it (see Brockelmann, II, 83, S II, 96-9). It is divided into 61 chapters dealing with ritual, personal law, the *muʿāmalāt* and various topics.

Orientalists early concerned themselves with it. Between 1848 and 1854, Dr Perron published at Paris, bringing together both text and commentary, a complete French translation called *Précis de jurisprudence musulmane ou Principes de législation musulmane civile et religieuse selon le droit malékite*, 6 vols. The first edition, prepared by Richebém, appeared at Paris in 1855, from which there were successive printings down to 1883; G. Delphin produced a further edition, also at Paris, in 1900. In 1889 E. Fagnan brought out at Algiers the *Concordances du manuel de Sidi Khalîl* (in reference to the edition of 1883). The second complete translation, this time in Italian, was made by I. Guidi and D. Santillana (Milan 1919, 2 vols.). Amongst partial translations, one should mention those of Sautayra and Cherbonneau on personal status and on succession (Paris 1873-4), of Seignette (Constantine 1878, Paris 1911), of Fagnan, on the holy war (Algiers 1908), marriage and divorce (Algiers 1909) and of L. Bercher on apostasy, etc., in the *RT* (1923). The most recent is that of G.-H. Bousquet, *Abrégé de la loi musulmane selon la rite de l'Imâm Mâlek*, i-iv, Algiers-Paris 1956-62; utilising as an aid the commentary of Ṣalāḥ ʿAbd al-Samīʿ, *Djawhar al-iklīl*, the translator has adopted a technique of typography which has allowed him to bring out the translation of the comparatively few words making up this "condensation" and to distinguish the expansions strictly necessary for the comprehension of the text.

Bibliography: Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara*, Cairo 1321, i, 217; Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, ii, 120; Ibn Farḥūn, *Dībādj*, Fās 1316, 117; Aḥmad Bābā, *Nayl al-ibtibādj*, Fas 1317, 95 (given at the beginning of the Paris edition of the *Mukhtaṣar*, and tr. by Fagnan in *Mariage et répudiation*; reproduced by Ibn Maryam, *Bustān*, Algiers 1325, 96, and tr. by Provenzali in his tr. of the *Bustān*, Algiers 1910, 104); idem, *Kifāya*; ʿAsḳalānī, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, Hyderabad 1945-50, ii, 86; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, xi, 92; M. Ben Cheneb, *Étude sur les personnages ... ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Fāsī*, Algiers 1907, No. 293; Morand, *Le droit musulman algérien*, Algiers 1913; M. A. Zouber, *Aḥmad Bābā*, Paris 1977, index; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, ii, 364; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'allifīn*, iv, 113-14.

(M. Ben Cheneb *)

KHALĪL, al-Malik al-Ashraf Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, eighth Mamlūk sultan, reigned 7 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 689 to 12 Muḥarram 693/11 November 1290 to 13 December 1293 as successor to his father al-Malik al-Manṣūr Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*]. Ḳalāwūn's elder son al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ ʿAlā' al-Dīn ʿAlī, the designated heir-apparent, had died in 687/1288, two years before his father, and the *wilāyat al-ʿahd* passed to his younger brother al-Ashraf Khalīl. Khalīl is said not to have enjoyed the particular favour of his father—Ḳalāwūn's seal (*ʿalāma*) was lacking on Khalīl's diploma of investiture (*taḳlīd*)—but it should be stressed that on several occasions he was the official substitute of his father, notably when Ḳalāwūn was absent from Egypt during the siege of Tripoli in 688/1289. Furthermore, Khalīl was the only son old enough to reign and thus the only one to qualify for the dynastic succession.

The battle for a strong sultanate that should be independent from the oligarchy of the *amīrs* left its stamp on Khalīl's short reign. Yet he failed to achieve his aim. In 693/1293 he was killed during a hunting-party in the Nile delta by his deputy Baydarā and a handful of other conspirators. In the beginning, Baydarā had been Khalīl's esteemed *nā'ib*: still in 690/1291 the sultan had granted him the Syrian fortress of al-Ṣubayba (*Alṭāf*, 29 ff.). But later he had been humiliated repeatedly by Khalīl, on one occasion in the presence of the assembled *amīrs*, probably in connection with Baydarā's unsuccesful campaign against the Maronites of Djabal Kasrawān in 691/1292. Other *amīrs* like Ḳarāsunḳur, who later acquired fame for his flight to the Mongols, or the future sultan Ḥusām al-Dīn Lādjīn (see on him P. M. Holt, in *BSOAS*, xxxvi (1973), 521-32), were imprisoned. Although they were set free shortly afterwards, Khalīl failed to secure their loyalty. Khalīl's closest adviser and confidant, his arrogant vizier Ibn al-Salʿūs, a Syrian merchant, did everything to estrange the high *amīrs* even more from the sultan. Under Ibn al-Salʿūs, the vizierate ceased to be in the hands of the military, the *mukalwatūn*, and became the "second office of the state" (Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, viii, 306; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iv, 17).

Ibn al-Salʿūs was the first of a long series of merchants who decidedly influenced Mamlūk policy between 1290 and 1450, particularly under Sultan Barsbāy [*q.v.*] [see KĀRIMĪ].

Khalīl's reign saw the beginning of the flourishing Mamlūk trade policy. After the fall of ʿAkkā [*q.v.*] in 690/1291 Khalīl resumed and strengthened contacts with the Christian Mediterranean powers. He concluded treaties with Venice and Aragon. In his biography of Khalīl, *al-Alṭāf al-khafiyya*, 44 ff., Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir [*q.v.*] mentions an exchange-treaty of Venetian prisoners. With James II of Aragon Khalīl renewed on January 29, 1293 the treaty which Ḳalāwūn had made with James's predecessor Alphonso III, including its provisions concerning the delivery of such forbidden war-materials as iron, weapons, wood and pitch (see K. Müller, *al-Malik al-Aśraf*, 64, quoting Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, xiv, 63-70). He also made contacts with the small principalities of Menteshe, Aydīn and Ḳaramān, which were developing in Anatolia under Mongol suzerainty (*Alṭāf*, 15 f.).

Khalīl won his greatest fame, however, in the Islamic and Christian world alike as the skilled commander of the Egyptian-Syrian armies who captured ʿAkkā (St. Jean d'Acre) after a carefully prepared six-weeks siege. Only the flight from the colours of the *amīr* Ḥusām al-Dīn Lādjīn, the later sultan, before the walls of ʿAkkā, jeopardised the Muslim victory for a short time. Ṣaydā, Bayrūt, ʿAthlīth, Djubayl and Ṣūr, the few remaining strongholds of the Franks, fell into the hands of the Muslims without a fight. All the captured Frankish fortresses were demolished; thus Palestine lost the basis of its economic prosperity. Contemporary chroniclers, especially al-Djazarī [*q.v.*], probably the most important authority for this period, complain seriously of the destructive fury of Khalīl, which fell even upon Damascus and the stronghold of Shawbak in the land of Moab. But it should be remarked that this policy was a calculated one, both on strategic and economic grounds: the Syrian cities should no longer serve as a foothold for Frankish invaders nor attract the lucrative Indian trade which was directed from South Arabia through the Red Sea to Alexandria and Damietta and further to Europe. The undisguised aversion of the Syrians for Ḳalāwūn and his successors reflects the political and economic centralisation of the Mamlūk state after the capitulation of the insurgent *amīr* Sunḳur al-Ashḳar of Ṣahyūn during Ḳalāwūn's reign. The building of a fleet to protect the Syrian coast (*Alṭāf*, 56-61) is not in contradiction with Khalīl's endeavours to monopolise the East-West trade through Egypt.

In contrast with his father, Khalīl seems to have been inspired by religious motifs in his political and military activities. Certainly, the reproach that he was a vile libertine is unfounded. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir pictures Khalīl's zeal in the *Dār al-ʿadl*, the royal court of justice, and speaks highly of his equity and incorruptibility. As opposed to his predecessors and to most of his successors, the sultan had a command of Arabic and concerned himself actively with the *dīwān al-inshāʾ*, until 693/1293 headed by the above-mentioned Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir. Khalīl was eager to secure the homage of the *sharīf* of Mecca Nadjm al-Dīn Abū Numayy (*Alṭāf*, 20), and gave new functions to the ʿAbbāsid shadow caliph al-Ḥākim, the returning of the legitimate ruler of the Islamic world to the old capital of the caliphs being one of the foremost aims of his foreign policy. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir (*Alṭāf*, 6 ff.) records the text of the public *djihād* sermons given by the caliph—another indication of Khalīl's religious zeal.

Khalīl's strategy was mainly directed against the Mongols, "the vile enemy" (*al-ʿaduww al-makhdhūl*), at least after the Franks had been driven away. After the death of Arghūn, the Ilkhāns [*q.v.*] lost their clear military superiority over the Mamlūks. Khalīl grasped his chance, attacked the kingdom of Lesser Armenia and conquered the important stronghold of Ḳalʿat al-Rūm on the Euphrates [see RŪM ḲALʿESI]. One year later, the Armenian king Hethoum II surrendered the fortresses of Bahasnā, Marʿash and Tall Ḥamdūn, commanding the routes to Aleppo, to the Mamlūk ruler. The Bedouins, controlling the strategic Ilkhānid-Mamlūk frontier in the Syrian desert, were also, if only temporarily, subdued. But the great dream of the age, the recovery of Baghdād, Khalīl was not able to bring about.

Information on Khalīl's internal policy is scarce. Three times yearly the troops received a special pay (*nafaḳa*) (Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, viii, 352), which constituted an additional burden on the treasury, already heavily drawn upon by the costly campaigns in Syria. Only Khalīl's early death may have prevented him from redistributing the *iḳṭāʿ*s of the emirs, brought about by sultan Lādjīn a few years later (*al-rawk al-ḥusāmī*). The *amīr*s staunchly resisted any interference with their privileges; Baydarā's refusal to cede his share of the customs dues of the port of Alexandria to Khalīl or his vizier aggravated the strife between the sultan and the most powerful *amīr*s. Other sources of income were not easily accessible. The very lucrative confiscation of the fortunes of Ṭurunṭāy, Ḳalāwūn's *nāʾib*, remained an isolated episode.

Khalīl's murderer Baydarā reigned only for a few days. Unable to capture the citadel of Cairo, the centre of political and military power, he was killed after a short fight against Khalīl's followers, led by the *ustādār* (majordomo) Ḥusām al-Dīn. The eight-years' old al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, Khalīl's brother, was enthroned (for the first time), the real ruler being the new *nāʾib* Zayn al-Dīn Kitbughā, who usurped the throne in 694/1294 under the name al-Malik al-ʿĀdil.

Bibliography: Muḥyī al-Dīn b. ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *al-Alṭāf al-khafiyya min al-sīra al-sharīfa al-sulṭāniyya al-malakiyya al-ashrafiyya*, in A. Moberg, *Ur ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd eẓ-Ẓāhir's biografi över Sultanen el-Melik al-Aśraf Ḫalīl*, Lund 1902; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-fikra fī taʾrīkh al-hidjra*, Ms. British Museum Ar. 1233; Shams al-Dīn al-Djazarī, *Ḥawādith al-zamān* (years 689-699 AH), in J. Sauvaget, *La Chronique de Damas d'al-Jazari*, Paris 1949, 1-32; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar wa-djāmiʿ al-ghurar*, viii, Cairo 1971, 303-52; K. V. Zetterstéen, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlukensultane*, Leiden 1919, 1-25; Mufaḍḍal b. Abi 'l-Faḍāʾil, *Al-Nahdj al-sadīd*, in *Patrologia Orientalis*, xiv (1920), 369/533-411/575; Ibn al-Furāt al-Ḥanafī, *Taʾrīkh al-duwal wa'l-mulūk*, viii, Beirut 1939, 98-171 (largely dependent upon al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*); al-Maḳrīzī, *K. al-Sulūk*, i/3, Cairo 1939, 756-93; K. Müller, *Al-Malik al-Aśraf Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn Ḫalīl. Ein Mamlukensultan am Ausgang der Kreuzzüge*, Dissertation, Bonn 1949; G. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Stuttgart 1846-62, ²Osnabrück 1967, iv, 174-90. (U. HAARMANN)

KHALĪL ALLĀH BUT-SHIKAN, Persian mystic active in South India. Sayyid Burhān al-Dīn Khalīl Allāh was born at Kūbnān, in Kirmān

province of Persia, on Friday 11th Shaʿbān 775/26th January 1374, and was the son and spiritual successor of the celebrated Shāh Niʿmat Allāh Walī of Kirmān [*q.v.*]. He was widely respected as the chief exponent of the Ṣūfī school founded by, and named after, his father. The contemporary Tīmūrid princes Shāh-Rukh Mīrzā and Bāysunḳur Mīrzā, who held him in great reverence, for some time played host to the Sayyid in Harāt. After his father's death in 834/1431, he migrated to the Deccan where the local dynasty of the Bahmanīs were engaged in fierce wars against the neighbouring Hindu kingdoms. It is said that the Muslims came out victorious because of the saint's auspicious participation in one of those battles, and this event accounts for his sobriquet of *But-shikan* ("Iconoclast"). Thenceforth, he became the focal point of the socio-religious resurgence which his preachings created among the Muslims of South India. Two of his sons who had accompanied him to India married into the Bahmanī royal family, and his eldest son, Sayyid Nūr Allāh, who had preceded him to the Deccan at the instance of Shāh Niʿmat Allāh himself, was received with particular marks of honour by all classes of society. Sayyid Khalīl Allāh's most devoted disciple was no less a person than the Bahmanī Sultan Aḥmad Shāh Walī (825-39/1422-36), who was also ordained as his spiritual vice-regent (*khalīfa*).

Whether Sayyid Khalīl Allāh died whilst he was still in India or after he had returned to Persia has been a disputed point among the historians. Firishta, *Taʾrīkh*, 634-5, while asserting that the Sayyid had returned to Māhān in Kirmān, where he breathed his last and lies buried, refers to the opinion of some persons that he could not return to Persia and that he died in India. Modern scholars such as Yazdānī and Shērwānī have said that he died in Bīdar, the Bahmanī capital, in 864/1460 and that his tomb is situated there in the domeless octagonal building called the *Čawkhandī*. This story, however, was regarded as a myth by Sir Wolseley Haig, who considered the said tomb to be merely a cenotaph, and added that the saint's grave is in his father's beautiful shrine at Māhān; see *The religion of Ahmad Shah Bahmani*, in *JRAS* (1924), 77.

Bibliography (in addition to the works mentioned above): T. W. Haig, *Landmarks of the Deccan*, Allahabad 1907; Sayyid ʿAlī Tabātabā, *Burhān-i Maʾāthir*, Delhi 1936; Muḥammad Ẓahīr al-Dīn, *Sulṭān Aḥmad Shāh Bahmanī* [in Urdu], Ḥaydarābād 1937; Ghulām Yazdānī, *Bidar: its history and monuments*, Oxford 1947; H. K. Shērwānī, *The Bahmanis of the Deccan*, Ḥaydarābād 1953; J. Aubin, *Matériaux pour la biographie de Shāh Niʿmatullāh Walī Kirmānī*, Paris 1956.

(ABDUS SUBHAN)

KHALĪL EDHEM [see ELDEM].

KHALĪL EFENDI—ZĀDE, MEḤMED SAʿID EFENDI, one of the *ʿulamāʾ* of the time of Sulṭān Maḥmūd I (1143-68/1730-54). He was the son of Birgili Khalīl Efendi who was twice *Ḳāḍi-ʿaskar* of Anatolia. He studied under his father, then passed through the usual *madrasa* course, and beginning as *mollā* of Yeñishehir in 1135/1722-3, ascended the various steps of the *ʿulamāʾ* hierarchy to the highest office. He was appointed *Shaykh al-Islām* in 1162/1749, but was dismissed within ten months in 1163/1750 on account of his stern and unyielding disposition and banished to Bursa where he died in 1168/1754-5, and was buried near Amīr Sulṭān.

He was regarded as a learned man, ready with his pen, and well-fitted for all the claims of his office. Besides a commentary, he left the Turkish translation of a part of the history of ʿAynī (d. 762/1361). Of his sons and grandsons, several were notable theologians.

Bibliography: A. Rifʿat Efendi, *Dawḥat al-mashāʾikh*, Constantinople n.d., lithographed, 97; Sāmī, *Ḳāmūs al-aʿlām*, Istanbul 1308/1890-1, iii, 2056; Meḥmed Thürayyā, *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, Istanbul 1311/1893-4, iii, 28. (TH. MENZEL*)

KHALĪL GHĀNIM (1846-1903), journalist and author, born in Beirut of Maronite parents and educated at the Lazarists' school in ʿAynṭūra, where he acquired a knowledge of French and English, as well as Arabic and Turkish. Khalīl Ghānim began his career in 1862 as a member of the commercial court in Beirut. He was then appointed dragoman of the Beirut *mutaṣarrifiyya*, and subsequently of the *wilāyet* of Syria. A *wālī* under whom he served, Sakīzlī Aḥmad Asʿad, appointed him dragoman to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs when he became briefly Grand Vizier in 1873. He was promoted dragoman of the Grand Vizierate and its master of ceremonies when Asʿad once more became Grand Vizier in 1875. Following the proclamation of the Ottoman constitution, Khalīl Ghānim was elected a deputy for Syria, and sat in the chamber of deputies until it was prorogued in February 1878. He seems to have become a supporter of Midḥat Pasha, and thus to have attracted the displeasure of Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II. In consequence, he took refuge in the French embassy and fled to France, where he spent the rest of his life, becoming a naturalised French citizen and marrying a Frenchwoman. In 1881, in partnership with Faḍl Allāh Dabbās of Beirut, he started in Paris an Arabic newspaper *al-Baṣīr*, which received a subsidy from the French government and which acted as the advocate of French interests and policies in Tunis and in the Ottoman empire; it was presumably in recognition of these services that he was awarded the *légion d'honneur*. Khalīl Ghānim was also a contributor to the *Journal des Débats* and the *Figaro*, and was prominent in anti-Ḥamīdian and Young Turk activities in Europe. In Paris, he published a periodical *La Jeune Turquie* and in Geneva the *Hilāl*, and in 1895, he joined the well-known Aḥmad Riḍā (Ahmet Riza) [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in publishing the influential Young Turk newspaper *Meshveret*. He published a book *Les Sultans Ottomans* in two volumes (Paris 1902), and was also the author of a *Life of Jesus* and of a work on political economy in Arabic.

Bibliography: Vicomte Philippe de Tarrazi, *Taʾrīkh al-ṣaḥāfa al-ʿarabiyya*, ii, Beirut 1913; Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, ii, Beirut 1969; R. Devereux, *The first Ottoman constitutional period*, Baltimore 1963; E. E. Ramsaur Jr., *The Young Turks*, Princeton 1957; E. Kedourie, *Afghani and ʿAbduh*, London 1966.

(E. KEDOURIE)

KHALĪL MUṬRĀN, Lebanese poet born on 1 July 1872 at Baʿlabakk (Baalbekk). His family is reckoned to have been of Ghassānid origin (Alūf, *Taʾrīkh Baʿlabakk*, 86-118; Ṭunnāḥī, 14). Neither his father, ʿAbdu Muṭrān, nor his mother, Malaka Ṣabbāgh, of whom the latter figures more prominently in his biography (*Dīwān*, iv, 145), seems to have had much influence on his life. It was at Zaḥla (al-Kulliyya al-Sharḳiyya), then at the Patriarchal College of Beirut, that he received respectively his primary and secondary education (*al-Muḳtaṭaf*, June 1888; Djamāl al-Dīn, 44; Ṭunnāḥī, 37-40), a bilingual education in which Arabic, his mother-tongue, combined with French to shape his cultural

development and the nature of his poetry. The stringent Catholic discipline must have served to enhance his sense of moral values, and the restrained attitude attributed to him (*Muḳaṭaf*, Nov. 1939, 467-78; *Madjallat Sarkīs*, special issue, 1913; *al-Kitāb al-Dhahabī*, passim). Mention should be made of the influence of his eminent master Ibrāhīm al-Yāzidjī (d. 1906), from whom he gained his mastery of the language and his concern for perfection. (Evidence of the poet, *Dīwān*, i, 290, 294, ii, 29, 326; and testimony born by al-Yāzidjī, *Anīs al-djalīs*, ix, 371). He imitated al-Yāzidjī in composing the bitter poem which hastened his departure from Lebanon in 1890 (for the poem of al-Yāzidjī, see *Arab awakening*, 1955 ed., 54, and Maḳdisī *al-Ittidjahāt*[1], 80-3; we have two verses from Muṭrān's poem, al-Ṭunnāḥī, 45-6; see Djamāl al-Dīn, 46).

Muṭrān paid a visit to Alexandria and stayed some time in Paris, making preparations for emigration to Chile (Ṭunnāḥī, 58-64; *Muḳtaṭaf*, June 1939, 91). To the time spent in Paris (1890-2), he owes his cultural sympathy with the West. There he discovered French romanticism, in which he became engrossed, and he exposed himself to the literary and artistic trends of the nineties. He became acquainted with a group of militant Lebanese and Syrian emigrés, and with Aḥmad Riḍā, a founder-member of the Young Turks. Imbued with the ideas of the French Revolution, he was inspired and stirred by it. (The celebrations of the 14th of July thrilled him; see Aḥmad al-Ṣāwī, Paris, the references to Muṭrān and Ṭunnāḥī, 61-4.) Asked to restrain his political activities, he left Paris, made his way to Egypt and landed in Alexandria on 11 August 1892 (*ibid.*, 71). The following day, the death of S. Taḳla, founder and proprietor of the daily newspaper *al-Ahrām* (*Muḳtaṭaf*, *ibid.*, 209), gained him access to the journal where he made his debut as a journalist with an obituary poem (unpublished, seven verses quoted in Ṭunnāḥī, 72-3).

In 1899 he abandoned his duties, revisited Lebanon after an absence of ten years (see the poems where he evokes his memories and *Ḳalʿat Baʿlabakk*, in *Dīwān*, 97-101), returned to Cairo and on 1 June 1900 published the first issue (in 40 pages, latter in 96) of his bi-monthly revue *al-Madjalla al-Miṣriyya* (in the issue of April 1901 the main lines of the programme which he proposed to follow are sketched out; see interview in *al-Hilāl*, Jan. 1930, 269-70; *Muḳtaṭaf*, August, 316), which for financial reasons was forced to cease publication in 1902, to re-appear temporarily seven years later, 17 January 1909. Meanwhile, on Friday 6 February 1903 he launched a daily paper, *al-Djawāʾib al-Miṣriyya* (a title borrowed from Fāris al-Shidyāḳ, d. 1887), in which he pleaded for social reform and defended liberty and the public interest.

To this period (1897-1903) belongs the story of his great love which inspired him to write many lyric poems (Ṭunnāḥī, 126-8, 140-1, 151-4, 157; *Dīwān*, i, 144, 184-222, ii, 10, 17, 288, 326). His attachment to Egypt, which he was henceforward to consider a second homeland, became more pronounced (*Dīwān*, ii, 13, 226, 295). A moderate partisan of the nationalist movement, he became committed to its cause. A foreigner, one of a minority, he found in Egypt his social equilibrium. The friendship and admiration which he showed towards Muṣṭafā Kāmil (1874-1908; *Dīwān*, i, 308-13, iv, 292-6) attached him to his successors (Muḥammad Farīd, d. 1919; see *Dīwān*, ii, 233; Saʿd Zaghlūl, d. 1927; see *Dīwān*, ii, 320, iii, 261, iv, 250; and see M. Khoury, *Poetry and the making of modern Egypt*, 134-72), and earned him the favour of the Khedive (*Madjallat Sarkīs*, issue of Sept. 1913). It is to this new attachment, no doubt, that he owes the surname Shāʿir al-Ḳuṭrayn. The enforcement of repressive legislation against the press caused the change of heart of the poet (*Dīwān*, iii, 50) and of the journalist (*al-Madjalla l-Miṣriyya*, 14th Feb. 1909). Inspired poems on the history and the reality of Egypt multiplied.

Speculation on the money-markets brought him, in 1912, to a financial crisis which almost drove him to suicide, (Djamāl al-Dīn, 50; Ṭunnāḥī, 266-7; *Dīwān*, ii, 117-9). Nevertheless, in this same year he was appointed assistant secretary to the syndicate of agriculture. On the 24th of April 1913, a demonstration was organized in his honour at the National University (*Madjallat Sarkīs*, special issue, 190-260).

With the revival of the theatrical movement and the return from Paris of the actor G. Abyaḍ [*q.v.* in Suppl.], he became involved in the theatre as translator and producer (*al-Risāla*, ix, nos. 288-96, 301; Ṭunnāḥī, 280-9). A co-founder of the Society of the Arabic Theatre which he inaugurated on 30 Dec. 1920 (*al-Hilāl*, xxix, 465-72), he was appointed to the post of administrative director of the National Company (1935-42, Muḥammad Taymūr, *Ḥayātunā al-tamthīliyya*, 108-9; *al-Hilāl*, xxxvi, 303-4; *al-Kitāb al-Dhahabī*, 60-7; *al-Ahrām*, 14 Dec. 1937). The tour which he organised in 1924 (Lebanon, Syria and Palestine) increased his reputation. In 1947, he found himself covered in honours (the week of 26-29 of March; *al-Kitāb al-Dhahabī*, passim). Disabled by attacks of arthritis, he succumbed to the disease and died on 30 June 1949.

Muṭrān left a varied corpus of work. Among his unpublished writings, there is mention of a study of Shiblī al-Shumayyil, scientist and philosopher. He also published the *Dīwān* of Ibn Ḳalāḳis (*Maṭbaʿat al-Djawāʾib*). His translations, adapted and sometimes annotated, are diverse: *Le Précis d'Histoire Naturelle* of Victor Duray (d. 1894), which he published under the title *Mirʾāt al-ayyām fī mulakhkhaṣ al-taʾrīkh al-ʿāmm* (2 vols., Cairo 1897); *Tarbiyat al-irāda* (1968), *L'Education de la Volonté* of Payot (*al-Hilāl*, Oct. 1918 and 1924), the survey of political economics of Leroy-Beaulieu (*al-Mūdjaz fī 'l-iḳtiṣād*, 5 vols., in collaboration with Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm). Of his literary translations, mention should be made of his versions of the two Nights of May and of October of Alfred de Musset, and the classic works of the Western theatre which he published in the Arab world during four decades. Perceptive critics sometimes find fault with his Shakespearian translations (Nuʿaymeh, *al-Ghirbāl*, 1957 ed., 166-74; al-Māzinī, *Ḥaṣād*, 1932 ed., 35-50; *al-Risāla*, *loc. cit.*; *Muḳtaṭaf*, summer 1939, 314-5; Nadjm, *al-Masraḥiyya*, 2nd part). Hundreds of articles covering a wide spectrum of themes have still to be collected and edited. His work published posthumously, *Arādjīz ilā 'l-shabāb* (102 *urdjūzas*, *Ḥarīṣa* 1951, one part of it published in *al-Hilāl*, Oct. 1917), which is of a didactic nature, has nothing original to convey.

All of this work today appears as of marginal importance. It is as a poet that he is remembered. In 1908, Muṭrān made a selection of poems and fragments previously published sporadically (for a historical view, see Adham, *al-Muḳtaṭaf*, Dec. 1939, 538-50), revised them, arranged them chronologically, and published them under the title *Dīwān al-Khalīl*. This collection shows the characteristic traits which were to distinguish the integral poetic corpus published in 1949 (4 vols., comprising 434 pieces, a total of 22,000 lines approximately (see the thesis of Ramādī, 216). In this connection may be mentioned

the predominance of lyrical and descriptive poems, narrative poems inspired by history (*Dīwān*, i, 15, 41, 120, 179-83) or social conditions (*ibid.*, 223-45), the militant tendency retained (*ibid.*, 162-4, 308-13), and the poetry inspired by circumstances varying between authentic vigour (*ibid.*, 271-4, 290-2, 308-13) and pale conventional urbanity (*ibid.*, 118, 167-71). The traditional structure of the *ḳaṣīda* with juxtaposed lines disjointed in sense, appears alongside poems where the line becomes an organised unit contributing to the overall effect of the whole. In some instances, the poet abandons metre and simple rhyme and makes use of *takhmīs*, of *tathlīth*, of *madjzū'*, complex or varied rhyming-schemes, and even comes to the point of writing prose poems (*Dīwān*, i, 294-6). Other combinations of style produce new poems. The number of poems grows, but there is no apparently no radical change affecting the nature of his poetry. However, the narrative poem, drawn out to extreme length, finds its ultimate realisation in a long piece of 332 lines, entitled *Nāyrūn* (*Dīwān*, iii 50-73). In this unique exercise he was aiming at a work of definitive nature (*ibid.*, Introd. 48-50). Also, he immersed himself in a patient process of craftsmanship, seeking documentary evidence, researching details and ephemeral nuances, orchestrating sonorous alliterations, manipulating the language to an excessive degree, reconstructing the apocalyptic decadence of Rome (*ibid.*, 61-8), depicting under the portrait of Nero an allegorical potentate embodying the tyranny of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II. So the present takes on a historical perspective through the mask and the cloak of poetic illusion.

The lyric poem, on the other hand, is introspective and goes deeper, as may be illustrated by his poem *al-Asad al-bākī* (*Dīwān*, ii, 17-9), where the conscious being, divided, discovers its *alter ego*, crucified, hung by its wounds, converted and a "tomb which bleeds and walks on the tombs." A play on the senses of words infuses this poem with a remarkable evocative force.

Figures of kings, martyrs and heroes constitute a Legend of the Ages. From its dirges there emerge some genuine personalities. (Djallād, *al-Kitāb al-Dhahabī*, 109-11).

A promoter of modern poetry, he declared that the true modern poet should live his life so as to analyse it, should reject all imitation, uncover the secrets of the human soul, recreate the language through poetry, construct rationally a poetry where the component parts are complete in themselves while contributing to the whole, cultivate purity of form while maintaining authentic spontaneity (*al-Hilāl*, July 1928; *Dīwān*, i and ii, Introd.; his poetry, i, 303-7). He defined his poetry in these terms: -*ḳashība, gharība, aṣriyya, nasdj Muḍār.*

His critics agree in according him a place among the avant-garde of the modernist movement (T. Ḥusayn, *Ḥāfiẓ wa-Shawḳī*, passim; Mandūr, *Muḥāḍarāt*; ʿAḳḳād and B. Fāris in *al-Kitāb al-Dhahabī*, 49-52, 71-3, 74-5).

One should emphasise the organised scheme of composition whereby the poem regains its lost unity, the poems inspired by history, narrative or fable, poems where, militant, he sings of liberty and the dignity of man, reality disguised as allegory, or symbol, lyrical experience which probes itself, dissects itself and emerges rationally from chaos, inspired songs of the human condition and cosmic transcendence meditating on matter; in fact, the entire gamut of romantic themes which are produced in a form that is sober, perceptive, charged with images and tending towards the overall unity of the poem.

Intimately linked to that of Shawḳī (d. 1932) and Ḥāfiẓ (d. 1932), then in decline, his poetry, with its quality of neo-classicism, presaged in many ways the beginnings of a new poetic era.

Bibliography: A. Z. Abū Shādī, *Shuʿarā' al-ʿArab al-muʿāṣirūn*, Cairo 1958; I. Adham, *Khalīl Muṭrān, shāʿir al-ʿarabiyya al-ibdāʿī*, Cairo 1939 (see *al-Muḳtaṭaf*, 1939-40); M. ʿAṭā', *Khalīl Muṭrān (1872-1949)*, Cairo 1969; Brockelmann, S III, 86-96; Y. A. Dāghir, *Maṣādir al-dirāsa 'l-adabiyya*, ii, 703-9, Beirut 1956; Sh. Ḍayf, *al-Adab al-ʿarabī al-muʿāṣir fī Miṣr*, Cairo 1957; ʿA. ʿA. Dasūḳī, *Djamāʿat Apollo āthāruha fī 'l-shʿir al-ḥadīth*, Cairo 1960; N. Djamāl al-Dīn, *Khalīl Muṭrān shāʿir al-ʿaṣr*, Beirut 1949; M. Djiḥa, *Khalīl Muṭrān al-shāʿir* (unpubl. thesis), Beirut 1957; M. Ḥusayn, *al-Ittidjāhāt al-waṭaniyya fī 'l-adab al-muʿāṣir*, 2 vols., Cairo 1954-6; Ṭ. Ḥusayn, *Ḥāfiẓ wa-Shawḳī*, Cairo 1958; ʿU. R. Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-mu'allifīn*, iv, 122, xiii, 385; ʿA. M. Khafādjī, *Maʿ al-shuʿarā' al-muʿāṣirīn*, Cairo 1956. M. A. Khouri, *Poetry and the making of Modern Egypt (1822-1922)*, Leiden 1971; *al-Kitāb al-Dhahabī*, Cairo 1948; M. Kurd, Alī, *Mudhakkirāt*, i; A. Maḳdisī, *Aʿlām al-djīl al-awwal min shuʿarā' al-ʿarabiyya fi'l-ḳarn al-ʿishrīn*, Beirut 1970; M. Mandūr, *Khalīl Muṭrān, Muḥāḍarāt*, Cairo 1954; idem, *al-Shiʿr al-miṣrī baʿd Shawḳī*, Cairo 1955-8; Kh. Muṭrān, *Dīwān*, 4 vols., Cairo 1949; M. Nuʿayma, *al-Ghirbāl*,[5] Cairo 1957; A. Rifāʿī and M. Farīd, *Shuʿarā' al-waṭaniyya*,[2] Cairo 1948; Dj. Ramādī, *Khalīl Muṭrān* (thesis), Cairo 1959; M. A. al-Saḥartī, *Khalīl Muṭrān al-radjul wa'l-shāʿir*, Cairo 1949; Sarkis, *Madjallat Sarkīs*, special no., Cairo 1913, 190-260; A. Sharāra, *Khalīl Muṭrān*, Beirut 1964; T. ʿA. Ṭunnāḥī, *Ḥayāt Muṭrān*, Cairo N.D.; A. ʿUbayd, *Dhikrā 'l-shāʿirayn Shawḳī wa-Muṭrān*, Damascus 1925; M. Wakīl, *Khalīl Muṭrān wa-madrasatuh*, Cairo 1947; *Adīb*, 1949, 1953, 1957; *Ahrām*, esp. 1892-9, 1922, 1937, 1949, and *Mulḥaḳ*, 1950; *Djawā'ib Miṣriyya*; *Dustūr*, Nov. 1938; *Ḥikma*, 1952; *Hilāl*, yrs. 1927, 1928, 1930, 1942, 1947, 1949; *Kalima*, special no., Nov.-Dec. 1939; *Kātib Miṣrī*. no. 5, 1947; *Kitāb*, viii, 1951; *Madjalla miṣriyya* (1900-2); *Mashriḳ*, 1952; *Muḳtaṭaf*, yrs. 1913, 1939, 1940; *Risāla*, vii (1939), xv (1947); *Risāla mukhalliṣiyya*, special no. xiv/5 (1942); *ʿUṣba andalusiyya*, x (1949), xvii (1950).

(A. G. Karam)

KHALĪL PASHA DJANDARLİ, Ottoman Grand Vizier, the eldest son of Djandarlī Ibrāhīm (d. 832/1429), who served as Grand Vizier to Meḥemmed I [*q.v.*]. He was serving as *Ḳāḍī-ʿasker* [*q.v.*] at the time of his father's death. Murād II [*q.v.*] raised him to the vizierate, and by 847/1443 he was Grand Vizier, becoming this sultan's closest adviser. He appears to have been the chief architect of Murād's policy of appeasing Hungary and the western powers in an effort to prevent a concerted crusader attack against the Ottomans in the Balkans. He was chief Ottoman negotiator in the discussions leading to the Treaty of Edirne, concluded with the Hungarians on 24 Ṣafar 848/12 June 1444. On his abdication after the conclusion of peace, Murād appointed Khalīl Grand Vizier to his son Meḥemmed [*q.v.*], and it was presumably Khalīl who recalled Murād on the crusader invasion of Djumādā II 848/September, 1444. Although he commanded a force which guarded the Bosphorus at the time of Murād's crossing to Rumelia with the troops of Anatolia on his way to meet the invaders, he himself was in Edirne [*q.v.*] as the young sultan's guardian at the time of Murād's

victory at Varna. He appears during the years of Murād's abdication to have regarded Murād as the true sultan. Having the loyal support of the Janissaries [see YEÑI ČERI], Khalīl used the Janissary revolt of 850/1446, which he may himself have engineered, as a pretext for recalling Murād to the throne. On the old sultan's reaccession, he retained the post of Grand Vizier unchallenged.

On Murād's death in 855/1451, Khalīl summoned Meḥemmed to Edirne and at first retained the Grand Vizierate, despite the grudge which Meḥemmed evidently bore him for his actions during his first sultanate. Khalīl's cautious and pacific policies in fact suited the delicate political situation at the time of Meḥemmed's accession, with a Ḳaramānid attack [see ḲARĀMĀN-OGHULLARĪ] and the fear that the Byzantines might release the pretender Orkhān. Khalīl appears to have played an important part in negotiating the peace with the Ḳaramānids. It was he, too, who during the campaign, dismissed the Byzantine ambassador who sought an increase in the sum paid to the Emperor for keeping Orkhān in captivity. By securing peace on the borders and causing a breach with the Byzantines, Khalīl created conditions favourable for the Ottoman siege of Constantinople. Perhaps in recognition of his diplomatic achievements, Meḥemmed granted *mülk* lands near Plovdiv or Filibe [*q.v.*], in Shaʿbān 855/September 1451. However, Khalīl's continuous opposition to the siege of Constantinople both before and during the operations aroused the sultan's displeasure. He had, furthermore, a reputation of being a "friend of the Greeks". With the fall of Constantinople, he lost all remnants of his power and influence to Zaganos Pasha [*q.v.*] and the war-party around the sultan. Meḥemmed had him arrested on 21 Djumādā I 857/30 May 1453. He was sent to Edirne and executed a few weeks later.

Bibliography: See DJANDARLĪ (V. L. Ménage), and *İA* arts. *Çandarlı* (I. H. Uzunçarşılı), *Murād II* (H. İnalcık), and *Mehmed II* (İnalcık); and for biographical details and full discussion of sources, F. Taeschner and P. Wittek, *Die Vezirfamilie der Ğandarlyzāde (14./15. Jhdt.) und ihre Denkmäler*, in *Isl.*, xviii (1929), 101-7. In addition to sources discussed here, see Ibn Kemāl, *Tevârih-i âl-i Osman vıı. defter*, ed. Şerafettin Turan, ii, Ankara 1957, 21, 34, 90, 93, for the crisis of 1444, with some details of Khalīl's role; F. Babinger, *Von Amurath zu Amurath*, in *Oriens*, iii (1950), 229-65. Also, for an account of the crisis of 1444, Murād II's abdication and recall to the throne, and events leading to the siege of Constantinople, with some details of Khalīl's role, see İnalcık, *Fatih devri üzerinde tetkikler ve vesikalar*, Ankara 1954, 1-136; and for the text of a deed fixing boundaries of Khalīl's *mülk* near Filibe, see *op. cit.*, 219-23.

(C. H. IMBER)

KHALĪL PASHA ḤĀDJDJĪ ARNAWUD, Grand Vizier under the Ottoman Sulṭān Aḥmad III. He was an Albanian from Elbaṣān born *ca.* 1655. At the time his elder brother Sinān Āghā was *Bostandjî Bashî* [*q.v.*], he entered the *Bostandjî* corps. After the latter's death *ca.* 1105/1649, he became attached to Ḳalaylîḳoz Aḥmad Pasha and served under him in Baghdād, where his protector was *beglerbegi*. On his return to Istanbul, Khalīl became *Khāṣṣaki* [*q.v.*] and in 1123/1711, *Bostandjî Bashî*. On 16 Muḥarram 1128/11 January 1716, having been appointed *beglerbegi* of Erzurum, he was sent by the Grand Vizier Dāmād ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*] to Nish to repair this important fortress, in view of the coming war with the Emperor. In Shaʿbān 1128/July-August 1716 he was appointed governor (*muḥāfiẓ*) of Belgrade, then the key-fortress in the campaign against the Emperor.

After the death of the Grand Vizier Dāmād ʿAlī Pasha on 16 Shaʿbān 1128/5 August 1716 in the battle of Peterwardein, where Prince Eugene of Savoy defeated the Ottomans, Khalīl Pasha acted as commander-in-chief. This was confirmed by Sulṭān Aḥmad III who appointed him Grand Vizier on 4 Ramaḍān 1128/22 August 1716. In this appointment must be seen the influence of the Sulṭān's favourite, Nevshehirli Ibrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*], who at this juncture of events preferred to remain in the background of the war, near the seat of power of the Sulṭān, in the position of *Ḳāʾimmaḳām*. The 1716 campaign ended in another disaster for the Ottomans with the loss of the frontier-fortress of Temeshvar, 4 Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda/21 October 1716, to the Emperor.

After the news of this event, the Grand Vizier Khalīl drew his army back into winter quarters and returned to Edirne. In this manner, a disastrous scattering of the Ottoman army was prevented. The beginning of 1717 saw the rise of the Sulṭān's favourite Ibrāhīm Pasha, who married the 13 year-old daughter of Aḥmad III Fāṭima Sulṭān, earlier widow of the Grand Vizier ʿAlī Pasha. Khalīl Pasha successfully opposed Ibrāhīm's policy of peace with the Emperor, refusing an offer of English mediation. The Grand Vizier insisted on the precondition of Temeshvar's being first evacuated by the Imperial forces. On 2 Radjab 1129/12 June 1717 the army marched from Edirne in the direction of Belgrade and towards the front. In the meantime, the imperial generalissimo Prince Eugene of Savoy had laid siege to the city and fortress of Belgrade. Khalīl Pasha was not able to relieve the city. But having decided, after long tergiversations, on a massive attack, he was utterly beaten by the fully-prepared imperial army, which in fact had attacked first at daybreak on 8 Ramaḍān 1129/16 August 1717. Khalīl Pasha managed to escape with his life, but all the Ottoman artillery, the whole camp equipment and all the archives were lost to the enemy, and the Ottoman losses in men were heavy. The full retreat of the Turkish army to Nish left the governor of Belgrade, Sarî Muṣṭafa Pasha, no other choice than to surrender with full military honours. With proposals for peace from Prince Eugene, this *Pasha* reached Sofia, where he found Aḥmad III and his court. Soon afterwards, on 18 Ramaḍān 1129/26 August 1717 at Nish, Khalīl Pasha was dismissed as Grand Vizier because of his signal military failure before Belgrade. After his fall, he went into hiding and thus saved his life. His hiding-place was discovered in 1133/1721 and he was pardoned by Aḥmad III. Then Khalīl became governor of Lesbos (Midilli) where he remained till 1140/1727. Afterwards he was appointed governor of Salonica and Sedd ül-Baḥr (the Dardanelles). Khalīl Pasha died in 1136/1733. He had the reputation of being a pious Muslim, but became infamous by his losing of Belgrade, *Dār ül-djihād*, to the unbelievers.

Bibliography: *Tāʾrīkh-i Rāshid*, Istanbul 1282, iv, 264, 282 f., 352 f., 362 f. An important source is Silihdār Fîndîklîlî Meḥmed Āghā, *Nuṣret-nāme* (covering the years 1695-1721), ed. in modern Turkish by İ. Parmaksızoğlu, 2 vols. in 5 parts, Istanbul 1962-9, esp. vol. ii (Index s.v. *Halil Ağa Arnavut*), this work being a sequel to that published by Aḥmed Refīḳ in 1928, *Silihdār taʾrīkhi*, 2 vols.; Dilāwerzāde Ömer Efendi, *Dhayl-i Ḥadīḳat al-wuzarā'*, Istanbul 1271, 24 ff.; *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, ii, 292; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Istanbul

1956-9, iv, part 1, 125 f., 128, 131-6, 139 n. 1, 148, part 2, 306 ff., 343, 599; İ. H. Danişmend, *İzahlı Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, Istanbul 1947-56, 1971-2² (4 vols.), iv, 10-11; Dukakinzāde Ferīdūn (Dirimtekin), *1714-1718 Türk Avusturya ve Venedik Seferi* (Suppl. to *Askeri Mecmua*, no. 84), Istanbul 1932; W. Theyls, *Gedenkschriften betreffende het leeven van Karel XII, koning van Zweden*, 2 vols., Leiden 1721, ii, 327, 396 f., 408, 411-18, 444-56, (*Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Charles XII*, Leiden 1722); L. Cassels, *The Struggle for the Ottoman Empire 1717-1740*, London 1966, 5-8; Lady Mary Wortley-Montagu, *Complete Letters*, ed. R. Halsband, 3 vols., Oxford 1965-67 (esp. letters 24-43, which give an excellent view of the time as seen by the wife of the British Ambassador); Hammer Purgstall, *Histoire*, xiii, 316 f., 326-31, 384-8 (Hammer, *GOR*, vii, 210, 217-20, 565 f.); Iorga, *GOR*, iv, 342, 348-52; *Feldzüge des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen*, publ. by K. u. K. Kriegsarchiv, 21 vols., Vienna 1876-92; M. Braubach, *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen*, 5 vols., Munich 1963-5. (J. H. KRAMERS [- A. H. DE GROOT])

KHALĪL PASHA ḲAYṢARIYYELI, Ottoman Grand Vizier and admiral, born probably *ca.* 1570, in the village of Zeytun (now Süleymanlı) in the province of Maraş on the way to Ḳayseri, near Furnuz, at that time an Armenian village with a rich population (iron mines nearby, Andreasyan, 1964). It suffered heavily from destructions done by Djelālī rebels.

As a young boy, Khalīl was recruited by the *Devshirme* [*q.v.*], (Uzunçarşılı, *Kapıkulu*, i, 27, n. 4) and received the full education of the palace-school as an *ič oghlān*. His career may have been promoted by the fact that he had an elder brother who had successfully become Chief Falconer, *Beglerbegi*, Vizier and boon-companion of Murād III, Shahīd Meḥmed Pasha, who lost his life in the so-called "incident of the *Beglerbegi*" on 2 April 1589 (Danişmend, iii, 111 ff.), considered to be the earliest Janissary revolts involving the killing of a Vizier.

In 1606 he was appointed *čaḳırdjı bashı* (Chief Hawker), one of the court positions whose holders were entitled to become *ṣandjaḳbeyi*. Meanwhile, Khalīl had become a friend of the French Ambassador to the Porte, Baron de Salignac. The latter's equerry Bordier reported the frequent hunting parties in the forests east of Üsküdar together with his master, a keen sportsman himself. In *ca.* 4 Ramaḍān 1015/4 Jan. 1607, Khalīl became Agha of the Janissaries. That year's campaign was against the rebels in Asia Minor, commanded by the *serdār* Ḳuyudju Murād Pasha. In the fighting against Kalenderoghlu and Djānbulāṭ ʿAlī Pasha [*q.v.*] he distinguished himself (Gontaut-Biron, ii, 407-12). Also in 1608, Khalīl acquired fame under Murād Pasha in eastern Anatolia. From this time date his relations with Abāẓā Meḥmed, a follower of ʿAlī Pasha Djānbulāṭ, whom he pardoned and adopted as a spiritual son. At the end of the second year of campaigning (1608), the Serdār Ḳuyudju Murād Pasha returned in triumph to the Ottoman capital, and Khalīl returned with his commander and protector.

In 1018/16 Feb. 1609 the *Ḳapudān Pasha* Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmad [*q.v.*] was deposed and Khalīl was appointed his successor. The admiralty had long since become a perquisite of the Sulṭān's court, but although lacking any naval experience, Khalīl became successful at sea as well. His first task was to ferry over the army of the Grand Vizier Murād Pasha to Asia for another campaign against the rebels. This and other services delayed the sailing of the Ottoman fleet till July 1609. Khalīl chased corsairs in the Levant seas, but his fame was established by the defeat of a Maltese squadron off Cyprus and the capture of the "Red Galleon" of 80 guns called "Ḳara Djahannam" by the Turks, commanded by the Chevalier de Fraissinet.

On his return to Istanbul, Khalīl was given by Aḥmad I the rank of Vizier (1018/25 Nov. 1609). On 16 July 1610, Khalīl set out to sea again to chase corsairs, but did not fight any major battle. In this same year, he began to work towards the formation of an offensive alliance between the Dutch Republic, Morocco and the Porte against Spain. His first letter to the States-General in the Hague was sent off on 15 July 1610. Venetian and French opposition to this policy did Khalīl no harm in entertaining good relations with both respective ambassadors.

From 1020/late 1611 till 1022/1613 Khalīl was deprived of the admiralship, and the court favourite Dāmād Öküz Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*] took his place. Being out of office did not weaken Khalīl's position in promoting the Dutch alliance. Meanwhile, a Dutch envoy, Cornelis Haga (1612-39), had arrived in Istanbul on 17 March 1612. With Khalīl's help, the Dutchman was soon received by the *Ḳāʾim-maḳām* and other persons in authority at the Porte. Venetian and French intrigues were also rendered vain by his help, so that the Dutch envoy was given an audience by Aḥmad I on 1 May 1612 and recognised as ambassador of the States-General. Khalīl Pasha remained all along a supporter of Dutch interests at the Porte, but the States-General never entered upon a military alliance with the Porte because of their pacific policy towards Spain at that time (1609-21, Hispano-Dutch truce), and because of general political opinion in Europe being unfavourably disposed towards it.

On 8 Shawwāl 1022/22 Nov. 1613, Khalīl became *Ḳapudān Pasha* for a second time. At once he started the re-equipment of ships in the Sulṭān's dockyard. The Turco-Dutch-Moroccan alliance project was taken up again with the letters to Maulāy Zaydān of Morocco (1012-39/1603-28) and to the States-General. The following year he went to sea and made a raid on Malta and continued to Tripoli (Ṭarabulūs-i Gharb) on a punitive expedition against a local insurgent, Ṣafar Ḍāʾyī, whom he executed. On the return journey, rebellious Greeks in the Maina district (southern Peloponese) were suppressed in co-operation with the local Ottoman Governor, Arslān Pasha. Khalīl was back in Istanbul at the end of November 1023/1614 to be duly honoured by the Sultan. He continued the overhaul and enlargement of the fleet during the winter of 1614-15. A part of the fleet remained in the Archipelago on police duty against Christian corsairs, but no meeting took place with Spanish squadrons or other enemy war-fleets.

On 17 Rabīʿ II 1024/17 April 1615, Khalīl left with a small fleet for the Mediterranean. Off Calabria, a Spanish galleon from Sicily was taken but no great offensive was feasible. At the end of the season, murmurs in Istanbul rose accusing him of having avoided confrontation with the enemy fleet. After his return on 26 Shawwāl 1024/6 November 1615, Khalīl counteracted Habsburg intrigues of the Ottoman plenipotentiary in Vienna, Gratiani (d. 1620), against the Dutch, Venetian and French interests at the Porte. In 1616 Khalīl once again started on the project of equipping a large fleet with the special support of Aḥmad I. A Moroccan embassy to the Porte from Maulāy Zaydān was sent back with letters addressed

to the States-General to foster the alliance scheme cherished by Khalīl. These negotiations failed, however, because of private intrigues of the merchant family of Palache established in Morocco and Holland at the time. Khalīl tried to reaffirm the Porte's authority in Algiers and Tunis and to curtail the predatory raids of the Muslim corsairs of those places against English and Dutch merchant-shipping in the Mediterranean. Cossack naval raids on Black Sea coastal towns forced Khalīl to send a squadron into the Black Sea. He himself went on a short campaign through the Archipelago in this season. Contraband trade here had increased widely, especially that carried by Dutch merchantmen. Upon advice given by the *Dīwān*, Khalīl Pasha was appointed Grand Vizier by Aḥmad I on 8 Dhu'l-Ḳaʿda 1025/17 Nov. 1616.

As Grand Vizier, Khalīl made an end to the levying of *kharādj* on subjects of the four capitulatory nations in the Ottoman Empire, thus ameliorating relations. Further, he ordered the equipping of the fleet against the menace of the Spanish navy. An agreement between a delegation from Algiers and the Dutch Ambassador was made under authority of the Grand Vizier. His main task was, however, to continue the war against Persia in a more successful manner. On 10 Djumādā 'l-awwal 1026/15 June 1617, as *serdār-i ekrem*, he left for the Turco-Persian border. Consequently Khalīl played no role in the succession to Aḥmad I, who died on 23 Dhu'l-Ḳaʿda 1026/22 Nov. 1617, which brought Muṣṭafā I [*q.v.*] on the throne. This Sulṭān was deposed soon afterwards, and Aḥmad I's son ʿOthmān II was installed on 1 Rabīʿ I 1027/26 Feb. 1618. Khalīl was consulted about this matter by letter. Khalīl, having wintered in Diyār Bakr, opened the campaign against Persia in May 1618, after the Turkish plenipotentiary sent by him to Shah ʿAbbās had returned without concluding a truce. On 20 Ramaḍān 1027/10 Sept. 1618, the Ottoman army was defeated by the Persians near Ardabīl. On 6 Shawwāl 1027/26 Sept. 1618, the Grand Vizier concluded peace with Persia on the same terms as the earlier treaties, with the exception of the Persian tribute of silk being reduced to 100 *yük*. This peace treaty of Serāw was ratified by ʿOthmān II on 29 Sept. 1619 and held firm till 1624. Khalīl withdrew to winter quarters at Tokat and the army stayed in Erzurum. The Ottoman position had thus been consolidated in the East. On his return to Istanbul, Khalīl received the news of his dismissal (1 Ṣafar 1028/18 Jan. 1619). He refused the appointment of *beglerbegi* of Damascus and sought refuge in the *tekke* of his spiritual director, the *Shaykh* Maḥmūd Hüdāʾī [*q.v.*] in Üsküdar. However, he kept the rank of vizier and member of the *Dīwān*, probably due to the fact that the Sulṭān could not do without such a popular and capable vizier; this, at least, was the opinion of the Dutch Ambassador, Haga (letter of 17 Jan. 1619/recd. 25 March 1619).

When on 16 Muḥarram 1029/23 Dec. 1619 the then *Ḳapudān Pasha* became Grand Vizier, Khalīl was appointed (for the third time) as admiral in his place. His position was weak, since he served under the former admiral of the fleet, but he continued his anti-Spanish policy, advising ʿOthmān II to invade the territory of the King of Spain, rather than attack Venice, which still possessed a formidable navy. Moroccan support, too, would be available against the Spaniards. However, the Grand Vizier preferred the war in Hungary against the Emperor. War against Poland was advocated by neither of the two statesmen (Sagredo, 604 ff.), but was desired by ʿOthmān. In support of the Sulṭān's army, Khalīl was ordered with 43 galleys to the mouth of the Danube. His fleet suffered heavily during that winter. Spanish moves for a Turco-Spanish armistice were blocked by Khalīl later in spring. On Shaʿbān 6 1030/27 June 1620 he left for the Archipelago. Spanish hostilities provoked him to make a raid on Manfredonia (Shaʿbān 1030/July 1620), and he remained cruising till October. The next year Khalīl went back to the Black Sea in support of the campaign of ʿOthmān II. He had to keep off the Cossacks with a squadron of 40 galleys, returning in November 1621 to harbour.

In the spring of 1622, ʿOthmān II ordered his admiral to set out for the Archipelago, but in May the great revolt burst out [see ʿOTHMĀN II]. During the terror of the revolt, Khalīl remained aboard ship, lying off Seraglio Point. He refused to become Grand Vizier (9 Radjab 1031/20 May 1622), and stuck to this resolution of staying out of the troubles in Istanbul. In June he left with the fleet on its yearly cruise of 1622. In the beginning of 1623 he was still admiral, and supported the policy of peace with Poland. But the new Grand Vizier, Mere Ḥusayn, dismissed him as a rival to power and banished Khalīl to Malkara (Thrace) in April 1623 (thus Haga's letter dated 30 April 1623/recd. 27 June 1623; and Césy's of 14 April 1623, FF 16151 fol. 56; also Sagredo, 633 f.).

It was at this time that Khalīl's fate became linked with that of Abāẓā Meḥmed Pasha [*q.v.*], who, leading the *sipāhī*s, had revolted in Erzurum to avenge the murder of ʿOthmān II and to punish the rival corps of Janissaries for it. Abāẓā was a protégé, a spiritual son (as he was called by the Dutch ambassador Haga) of Khalīl. It was now either the hatred and fear of the Janissaries which kept him out of office, or the support of the *sipāhī*s which pushed him towards it, in the years following 1623. His influence on Abāẓā was much counted upon. Some time after his accession in 1623, Murād IV, or rather the Wālide Sulṭān Kösem [*q.v.*], reappointed Khalīl as a vizier (Sagredo, 638 f., calling him "la miglior testa della Turchia"). Khalīl remained for a long time out of higher office now, opposition to his becoming Grand Vizier being too strong.

On 2 Dec. 1626, Murād IV at last appointed Khalīl to be Grand Vizier once more. His orders were to bring Abāẓā Meḥmed Pasha into submission, the latter being still in revolt in Anatolia. Furthermore, Khalīl had to put an end to the war against Persia by a treaty. It was a hard journey to the winter quarters of the army. In August 1627, Khalīl opened negotiations with Abāẓā at Erzurum, but to no avail; furthermore he could not be subdued, being strongly entrenched in the fortress. Akhiskha [*q.v.*] was lost to the Persians, and the siege of Erzurum was given up by Khalīl in November because of the lack of siege artillery. He thus moved to Tokat for the winter, and the only result of his campaign was the restoring of order in Anatolia and Syria.

The failure on the Persian front, and the failure to negotiate with or force the submission of Abāẓā Meḥmed Pasha, caused Khalīl's dismissal on 1 Shaʿbān 1037/6 April 1628. Only then was it possible to find a *pasha* ambitious enough to take over. This was Khusraw Pasha, the Agha of the Janissaries, who was able to make Abāẓā surrender later in the same year. At the end of May 1628, Khalīl returned to Istanbul retaining his rank of vizier, with his prestige still great. In the next year on 7 August 1629/15 Dhu'l-Ḥidjdja 1038, Khalīl Pasha died.

In private life, Khalīl Pasha had links with various

mystical orders or groups, the Malāmī-Ḥamzawiyya, the Sha'bāniyya, the Khalwatīyya, and especially with the Djilwatīyya order and its *shaykh* Maḥmūd Hüdā'ī from Üsküdar (950-1038/1543-1628), a famous and influential mystic of the period and a religious poet. This holy man was his lifelong spiritual guide, and in the crisis periods of his existence gave him refuge in his *tekke* in Üsküdar, notably in 1028/1619, in 1032/1623 and in 1038/1628. Often Hüdā'ī gave his blessings to the outgoing Ottoman fleet under Khalīl. Curiously, the *shaykh* strongly disapproved of Khalīl's last appointment in 1626. This same mystical bond must have attached him to Abāzā Meḥmed.

Even Christians like the Dutch ambassador Haga were admitted into Khalīl's spiritual friendship with Hüda'ī. It was rare for an Ottoman of the early 17th century to entertain friendships with foreigners and Christians. Undoubtedly Khalīl used these friendships with diplomats like Salignac, Haga, Césy, the Venetian *baili* Nani and Valier, as sources of political information. These and other contacts like the dragomen in his service, the renegadoes of his household, and his Jewish physician, helped him to play the role in foreign policy of the Porte that he did.

On the whole, historians, Turkish and non-Turkish, have praised Khalīl Pasha as a wise and moderate statesman and a good admiral. His constant anti-Spanish policy brought him the favour of the Venetian, Dutch and French historians and contemporaries, as did his loyal fulfilling of the capitulatory obligations of the Porte. Great successes did not come to him, however, either in diplomacy or on the battlefield. His *türbe* still stands near the *tekke* and mausoleum of Hüdā'ī in Üsküdar.

Bibliography: Anon., *Ghazānāme-i Khalīl Pasha*, Ms. Vienna ÖNB, Cod. HO 72 (Flügel, *Die Arab. Pers. und Türk. Hss.... Wien*, ii, 253 f.), and Mss. Istanbul Topkapı Revan 1482 and Süleymaniye Esat Efendi 2139; *Ta'rīkh-i Na'īmā*, Istanbul 1283, ii, 77 ff., 91 ff., 108 f., 112 f., 114-18, 144 ff., 151, 157, 164-9, 185, 192, 246-53, 401-4, 406-12, 416-21; Pečewī, *Ta'rīkh*, Istanbul 1283, ii, 343, 368 f., 408 f.; Ḥādjdji Khalīfa, *Tuḥfet ül-kibār*, Istanbul 1141, fols. 46 f., 49 (ed. Istanbul 1329, 101 f., 103 ff., 107 f.); Münedjdjim Bashī, *Ṣaḥā'if ül-akhbār*, Istanbul 1275, iii, 677; 'Othmānzāde Tā'ib, *Ḥadīḳat ül-wüzerā'*, Istanbul 1271 (repr. Freiburg 1969), pp. 62-65; Pietro della Valle, *Viagge*, Rome 1650, Dutch ed., Amsterdam 1664-65, i, 64, 76, iii, 59, 106, 112, 126 ff.; Gio Sagredo, *Memorie Storiche de Monarchi Ottomani*, Venice 1688; Hammer Purgstall, *GOR*, iv, 439, 469, 478, 507, 526, 532, 570, 576, v, 69, 72, 77; Count Th. de Gontaut-Biron, *Ambassade en Turquie de Jean de Gontaut-Biron, baron de Salignac 1605-10*, Paris 1888-9, 2 vols.; *Sources Inédites*, série 1, pt. II, vols. i-vi (Pays Bas), ii, 578-83, 625-8, 638-43, 652 f., 655 f., 671-4, 741-8, iii, 3, 9, 21, 26, 47 f.; K. Heeringa, *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis van den Levantschen Handel*, 1 vol. in 2 parts, 's-Gravenhage 1910, 155 f., 158, 179, 191, 193-315, 339, 349, 362, 442, 538, 646, 649, 651 ff., 671, 710, 732, 931, 982; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Kapıkulu Ocaklari*, i, Ankara 1943; İ. H. Danişmend, *İzahli Osmanlı Tarihi Kronolojisi*, 4 vols., Istanbul 1947-56 (1971-72² in 5 vols.), esp. iii, 264 ff., 274 ff., 282, 297, 316, 329, 335-39; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanli Tarihi*, iii, 2 parts, index; R. C. Anderson, *Naval Wars in the Levant 1559-1853*, Liverpool 1952; H. D. Andreasyan, *Polonyali Simeon'un Seyahatnamesi 1608-1619*, Istanbul 1964; A. H. de Groot, *Khalil Pasha and Cornelis Haga, The beginning of Turco-Dutch relations 1610-30* (based on unpublished documents, Leiden 1977). (A. H. de Groot)

KHALĪL PASHA KUT. [see enwer pasha].

KHALĪL SULṬĀN [see tīmūrids].

KHALĪLĪ (*ca.* 810-90/*ca.* 1407-85), Ottoman Turkish poet and mystic. Apparently a native of Diyārbakr, where he studied theology, he then moved to Iznik for further study, where he remained for the rest of his life, apart from one year in Istanbul (870/1465-6). He established a dervish convent or *khānaḳāh* in Iznik, becoming its *shaykh*, and died in this office.

At one point in his life, he formed a passionate attachment to a youth, causing him to abandon his studies and to pour out his longing in a long poem, the *Firḳat-nāma* or *Firāḳ-nāma* ("Book of separation"). This was completed in 866/1461-2, and was written in both epic and lyric metres, an alternation of *mathnawī* and *ghazal*. As with much Ṣūfī literature, the poem is capable of interpretation on two levels, that of earthly, homosexual passion, and that of divine love, the latter interpretation being that preferred by the Ottoman anthologists and biographers. The poet seems in the *Firḳat-nāma* to be under the influence of Nesīmī, and Khalīlī seems in general to have had an influence in turn on, e.g. Ḥabībī and Fuḍūlī. He also wrote a *Dīwān* of poetry, not apparently extant complete, though various of his *ghazal*s, *na't*s and *tardjī'*s are quoted in the later *tadhākir al-shu'arā'* or literary biography literature, such as, according to Bursalı Ṭāhir, Ḥādjdjī Kemāl's *Djāmi' al-naẓā'ir* (918/1512). Khalīlī thus forms an interesting and significant figure in 9th/15th century Ottoman literature.

Bibliography: Laṭīfī, *Tedhkere*, Istanbul 1314/1896-7, 147-8; Sehī, *Tedhkere*, Istanbul 1325/1907, 64-5; Edirneli Medjdī, *Shaḳā'iḳ-i nu'māniyye terdjumesi*, Istanbul 1269/1853, 324; 'Alī Emīrī, *Tedhkere-yi shu'arā'-yi Āmid*, Istanbul 1327/1909, 277-91; Bursalı Meḥmed Ṭāhir, *'Othmānlı mü'ellifleri*, ii, 159; Gibb, *HOP*, ii, 379-83; Fevziye Abdullah (Tansel), in *İA* art. *Halîlî*; idem, in *Türk ansiklopedisi*, s.v., xviii, 388-9; Şevket Beysaroğlu, *Diyarbakirli fikir ve sanat adamları*, Istanbul 1957, 33-50; Vasfi Kocatürk, *Türk edebiyatı tarihi*, Ankara 1964, 229-31. (A. Karahan)

KHĀLIṢA (pl. khāliṣadjāt) as a term signifying crown lands comes into general use in Persian sources in the middle ages. It is also applied to lesser rivers, *ḳanāt*s [*q.v.*] and wells belonging to the crown. In early Islamic times the term *ṣawāfī* [*q.v.*] is used to denote crown lands in general, while the terms *ḍiyā' al-khāṣṣa*, *ḍiyā' al-sulṭān* and *ḍiyā' al-khulafā'* are applied to the private estates of the caliph. Under the early semi-independent dynasties which arose in Persia on the fragmentation of the caliphate, the terms *khāṣṣ* and *khāṣṣa* are used of the personal possessions of the ruler with special reference to the revenues paid into his personal treasury from land and other sources. The funds controlled by the *dargāh* were known as *māl-i khāṣṣa* in contradistinction to *māl-i maṣāliḥ*, which were the funds controlled by the *dīwān* (cf. Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, ed. Muhammad Iqbal, *GMS*, London, Leiden 1921, 382). From the reign of the Īlkhān Ghāzān Khān (694-703/1295-1304), the term *khāliṣa* is used as well as *khāṣṣ* and *khāṣṣa*, with which it may sometimes have been synonymous, though it appears to have been applied especially to crown property consisting of dead lands. Under the early Ṣafawids the terms *khāliṣa* and *khāṣṣa* are used apparently indiscriminately, but from the reign of Shāh 'Abbās I (995-1038/1587-1629) *khāliṣa* is applied to royal

estates while *khāṣṣa* is used of provinces and districts under the direct administration of the central government in contradistinction to provinces (*mamālik*) alienated from its direct control. With the fall of the Ṣafawids the distinction between *khāṣṣa* and *mamālik* disappears and under the Ḳādjārs the terms *khāliṣa* (pl. *khāliṣadjāt*) and *amlāk-i khāliṣa* are used to signify crown lands. The term *amlāk-i salṭanatī* is also used in contradistinction to *amlāk-i khāṣṣa* (private estates).

Throughout Islamic times crown lands, originating from conquest, confiscation from rebels and tax defaulters, gift, purchase and reclamation, formed an important category of land in Persia. The basic theory of crown lands goes back to the Ḳur'ānic prescription that one fifth of the booty (*fay'*, [*q.v.*]) was to be set aside for the Prophet Muḥammad while the remainder was to be divided among the combatants. Under the orthodox or rightly guided caliphs, the Rāshidūn, there was general agreement that the caliph might retain in the same way one fifth of the booty, and so far as this concerned land it became crown land, *ṣawāfī*. Special *dīwāns* were from time to time established to administer crown lands and their revenues, but in practice if often happened that little distinction was made between the revenue from the private estates of the caliph, and later of the temporal rulers, on the one hand and the revenue from land which belonged to the community or the state on the other.

With the spread of the Islamic conquests, modifications were made in the theory of what constituted *fay'* and its use. ʿUmar I and ʿAlī are both represented as resisting the division of *fay'* land in the Sawād (Ṭab., i, 2371-2, 2469), while the people of Kūfa sought to exclude their lands from *fay'*, alleging that *fay'* land was to be found only in the Sawād (Ṭab., i, 2375). Drained marshes and swamps, property belonging to fire-temples and post-houses, princes and their wives, and to those who fell in battle, and mills in Mesopotamia were exempted from *fay'* by most authorities. Such lands became *ṣawāfī al-istān* or crown land. Some authorities, however, maintained that the estates belonging to the former Persian royal house and the property of those who had fallen in battle were not so exempted (Ṭab., i, 2468; *Taxation in Islam*, iii, *Abū Yūsuf's Kitāb al-kharāj*, ed. A. Ben Shemesh, Leiden, London 1969, 75; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 272-3; *Taxation in Islam*, i, *Yaḥyā b. Ādam's Kitāb al-kharāj*, Leiden 1967, 53-4; N. P. Aghnides, *Mohammedan theories of finance*, New York-London 1916, 508; F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic taxation in the classic period*, Copenhagen 1950, 50, 224; M. van Berchem, *La propriété territoriale et l'impôt foncier*, Geneva, 1886, 41-2). It is not to be assumed, however, that all former Sasanian crown land in fact became Muslim crown land. Some estates, at the time of the conquests, were usurped by local *dahāḳīn* (Løkkegaard, 111). In the reign of Muʿāwiya there was an increase in crown land (cf. M. A. Shaban, *Islamic History, A.D. 600-750 (A.H. 132)*, Cambridge 1971, 89). Grants of crown land in Lower ʿIrāḳ were made by him in the form of *ḳaṭīʿā* [*q.v.*] to his relatives and supporters. Resentment at this was one of the factors in the revolt of Ibn Ashʿath against Ḥadjdjādj in 82/701. At the time of the battle of Dayr al-Djamādjim the register of *ṣawāfī* lands was burnt and some crown land was temporarily usurped. ʿAbd al-Malik and his son Walīd I further extended the principle of *ṣawāfī* in order to appropriate lands reclaimed from desert, marshes or sea, and granted much of it to members of their own family, though some of these grants were later annulled by ʿUmar II (Shaban, *op. cit.*, 124, 132). In the reign of Walīd I more land was reclaimed from the swamps of Lower ʿIrāḳ by Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik and became his *ḳaṭīʿa* and the owners of many of the estates (*ḍiyāʿ*) along the two Sīb canals entrusted these to him for his protection. These eventually became the estates of the caliph when the heirs of Dāwūd b. ʿAlī b.ʿAbdallāh b. al-ʿAbbās, to whom the Sībayn estates were granted after the fall of the Umayyads, sold them (Balādhurī, 294). Reclaimed and other public lands and endowments in the Ḥidjāz were also assimilated in the reign of Muʿāwiya to *ṣawāfī* land (W. Schmucker, *Untersuchungen zu einigen wichtigen bodenrechtlichen Konsequenzen der Islamischen Eroberungsbewegung*, Bonn 1972, 142).

The measures taken to deal with the conquered territories were often of an *ad hoc* nature. There were wide divergences in practice, and many controversies arose concerning their extent and their administration and the right of the caliph to dispose of them. The main question at issue was whether they were the joint possession of the Muslim community, held by it in common and administered by the consent of its leaders, or were held by the *imām* for the community and were at his disposal (see further Schmucker, *op. cit.*). The jurists in their expositions were concerned primarily with the practical consequences of the ownership of land rather than its legal status. They attempted to regularise and unify the various practices which had grown up during the conquests, basing their classification of the land upon their varying interpretations of separate incidents in the conquests, in particular the conquest of the Ṣawād. Extensive Sasanian crown lands had existed in this district, and under the later Sasanian rulers grants from these had been made to members of the royal family. Registers of Sasanian crown lands were apparently kept, though it was not until the reign of Muʿāwiya that lists of the crown lands which had been in the possession of the Sasanian ruler and the royal family are alleged to have been obtained for Muʿāwiya from Ḥulwān (Yaʿḳūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma, Leiden 1883, ii, 2581; Balādhurī, 290, 295).

Social and political conditions in Khurāsān and Transoxania at the time of the conquest differed from ʿIrāḳ and the neighbourhood, as also did the circumstances of the conquest, and did not affect the evolution of the theory of crown lands. There was no development of crown lands there comparable to what happened in ʿIrāḳ and the neighbourhood.

There appears to have been a great increase in crown lands under the ʿAbbāsids (P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter, nach den arabischen Geographen*, Leipzig, 1929-36, vii, 876). In some cases, the owners of land in the conquered territories transferred their property into crown lands, sharing the proceeds with the caliph in order to obtain protection from lawless elements or unjust tax-collectors (cf. Balādhurī, 310-11; Løkkegaard, 68-70; Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Ḳummī, *Tārīkh-i Ḳumm*, tr. into Persian by Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Malik, ed. Sayyid Djalāl al-Dīn Tehrānī, Tehran 1934, 187). The revenues from crown lands were paid into the *bayt māl al-khaṣṣa*, a distinction being made, in general, between what belonged to the caliph and the state revenue. It was, however, by no means without precedent for money from the *bayt māl al-khāṣṣa* to be used to defray expenses made for the benefit of the whole realm (Løkkegaard, 51-2, 157. Cf. also D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, Damascus 1960, on the *dīwān al-ḍiyāʿ*, ii, 591-2).

The classification of the land by the jurists was affected both by the concepts of communal ownership [see ḤIMĀʾ] prevalent among the early Muslims and the theories of the functions and position of the *imām*. Land conquered by force (*ʿanwatan*) and abandoned by its inhabitants, who had been killed, captured or had fled, was, according to al-Shāfiʿī, treated as booty and divided among the conquerors, unless the latter renounced it, in which case it was immobilised for the public good. Mālik on the other hand considered that such land belonged to the community, while Abū Ḥanīfa held that the *imām* could divide it among the captors, who would pay *ʿushr* on the land so divided, return it to its original owners and levy *kharādj* on them, or immobilise it for the benefit of the Muslim community. Since land conquered by force constituted booty, the caliph had the right to one fifth of it as *ṣawāfī*. Land acquired peacefully because its owners had abandoned it formed a second category. This paid *kharādj*, which represented a *dominium* paid by whoever exploited it, while a third category was constituted by land coming into Muslim ownership by virtue of a treaty, such land remaining in the possession of its original owners on condition they paid *kharādj*.

Crown land, deriving in part from lands conquered by force and in part from the former crown lands of the Persian kings, was thus distinguished from both land belonging to the community and administered by the *imām* and land occupied by its original owners, the ownership of which was vested in the Muslim community. Land belonging to the community could not be sold, though in some cases, possibly irregularly, hereditary grants on such land were made to Muslims. *Ḳaṭīʿa* grants, on the other hand, could be made from crown land, which, from early times, was also granted to individuals as *iḳṭāʿ al-tamlīk* (see further Løkkegaard, 58 ff., and IḲṬĀʿ). In practice, there was a general tendency for the land belonging to the community to become assimilated to crown land and for both to be looked upon as the property of the *imām* (cf. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich und sein Sturz*, Berlin 1927, 171-2). Cases of the usurpation of both were common. (See further A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia*, Oxford 1953, 17 ff.)

The Shīʿī theory of crown land, formulated rather later than the Sunnī, differs only in matters of detail. Land acquired in any way other than war, whether abandoned by its owners or voluntarily handed over to the *imām*, or land which had ceased to be cultivated by its owners, belonged to the *imām*. He could dispose of it to individuals to cultivate, the latter becoming responsible for the tax on the land. Land which was untenanted and without owners, such as beaches and shores of the sea, and the summits of mountains, also belonged to the *imām*. Similarly, after the conquest of enemy territory all the effects, moveable and immoveable, of the conquered ruler, provided such property had not been seized formerly from a Muslim, ally or tributary, became the property of the *imām* (Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūṣī, *al-Nihāya fī mudjarrad al-fiḳh wa'l-fatāwā*, ed. Sayyid Muḥammad Bāḳir Sabzawārī, Tehran 1954, 130-1, 133-4; Nadjm al-Dīn Abu'l Ḳāsim Djaʿfar b. ʿAlī Yaḥya al-Muḥaḳḳiḳ al-Awwal, *Sharāʾiʿ al-Islām fī masāʾil al-ḥilāl wa'l ḥarām* (*Droit musulman*), tr. A. Querry, Paris 1871-2, i, 179-80, tr. into Persian with the title *Mukhtaṣar al-nāfiʿ*, ed. Muḥammad Taḳī Dānishpazhūh, Tehran 1964, 145). There was, however, some difference of opinions as to the disposal of the "fifth" of the booty during the concealment of the *imām* (*al-Nihāya*, 133-4). Dead land or abandoned land belonged to the *imām* and no one could take possession of it except with his permission. He could take possession of it himself, give it away or sell it, though in the case of dead land it was preferable that he should give it to whoever had reclaimed it; he could also buy such land (*al-Nihāya*, 131). All land conquered by force became the property of the Muslim community as a whole and not only of the combatants. It could not be sold, constituted into *waḳf* or given away. Its administration belonged to the *imām* alone. Its proceeds were to be used for the public good (*maṣāliḥ*) (*al-Nihāya*, 130-1; *Sharāʾiʿ*, i, 337; *Mukhtaṣar al-nāfiʿ*, 144-5).

In view of the special position of the law in the life of the Muslim community, no independent theory concerning the legal status of the land or its ultimate ownership was to be expected. The formulation of the jurists, whether Sunnī or Shīʿī, based on their interpretation of the conquests, remained the standard theory, though practice diverged even more widely from theory than in early Islamic times. Just as confusion had existed in early times between *ṣawāfī* and *fayʾ* land, and lack of clarity as to what constituted ownership, to what extent the ruler enjoyed rights of disposal, and to whom and on what terms rights of use might be given, so in later times there was often confusion between the land held by the ruler as the head of the state (*dīwānī* land) and crown land, though the nature of his ownership of the one clearly differed from that of the other. The conception of the community as the owner of the land disappeared and was, as it were, swallowed up in the conception of the ruler as the owner of *dīwānī* land. But whereas under Islamic law the ownership of land held by the community could not be disposed of, the ruler was able to make permanent, temporary and life grants on *dīwānī* land. It may, perhaps, have been argued that such grants were merely of a right of use, but *dīwānī* land was also sometimes constituted into *waḳf*, which implies full rights of disposal. Crown land, as in the case of the earlier *ṣawāfī*, was not all of the same kind: some was acquired by the ruler in his "official" capacity, such as that which had belonged to former rulers, and some by purchase or gift. The latter constituted his "personal" estates. In either case, however, he appears to have enjoyed full rights of disposal over the land. So far as the ruler's "personal" estates were transmitted by inheritance or gift to minor members of his family and not to the suceeding sultan, they became ordinary private property (*milk*). Permanent, temporary and life grants were at all times made from crown land, as from *dīwānī* land, and crown estates were also frequently constituted into a charitable or personal *waḳf*. The fact that crown land could be thus disposed of makes it extremely difficult to estimate its extent at any given moment. Moreover, the registers in which crown land was entered were often destroyed in the upheavals and disturbances which accompanied the transfer of power from one dynasty to another.

When the caliphate fragmented in the 3rd and 4th centuries, the local rulers also acquired by conquest, confiscation, purchase, or gift lands which they converted into crown lands. A similar process took place in the various empires and kingdoms which arose in Persia after the fall of the caliphate. During the reassertion of the temporal power of the caliphate by al-Nāṣir billāh (575-622/1180-1225), his wazir, Mu'ayyid al-Dīn (d. 592/1195-6), appears to have attempted to assert the caliph's ownership to all land. He called in title-deeds (*ḳabālahā*) in Khūzistān and

said "The land belongs to the Commander of the Faithful" (Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, 381-2, Bartold, *Turkestan*, 348).

According to Gardīzī, ʿAmr b. Layth, the Ṣaffārid (265-87/878-900), had four treasuries. One was for his weapons and the other three for funds obtained from various sources and expended on different purposes. One of these was for the monies (*māl-i khāṣṣ*) deriving from grain and estates (*ḍiyāʿ*), which were expended on his personal expenses (*nafaḳāt wa maṭbakh wa mānand-i ān*) (*Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Muḥammad Nāẓim, Berlin 1928, 15; Bartold, *Turkestan*, 221). One of the nine government offices of the Sāmānids mentioned by Narshakhī in the *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* is the *dīwān-i mamlika-i khāṣṣ*, which was presumably concerned either with the ruler's personal estates or with lands whose revenue was paid directly to him (transl. into Persian by Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Naṣr al-Ḳubāvī, adapted by Muḥammad b. Zufar b. ʿUmar, ed. Mudarris Riḍavī, Tehran 1938-9, 31). Narshakhī also mentions the purchase of estates by Ismāʿīl Sāmānī (*ibid.*, 33-5), and an occasion when crown lands (*ḍiyāʿ-i sulṭān*) were exempted from *kharādj* after a flood (*ibid.*, 40). The Ghaznavids also had extensive royal estates (*ḍiyāʿ-i ghaznī-i khāṣṣ*). These were under a special official, who appears to have held an important position (cf. Abu'l Faḍl Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn Bayhaḳī, *Tārīkh-i Bayhaḳī*, ed. ʿAlī Akbar Fayyāḍ, Mashhad 1971, 156). In the western provinces under the Būyids, particularly during the reign of Muʿizz al-Dawla, (320-56/932-67), there was apparently considerable confusion and disorder in the field of land tenure. Former crown land, consisting of the estates held by the caliph, together with most of the Sawād, was assigned to his officers, household and military followers (Ibn Miskawaih, in *The eclipse of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate*, ed. H. F. Amedroz and D. S. Margoliouth, Oxford 1921, ii, 96; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 342). Expropriation was widespread, but it is not clear whether expropriated estates became crown land or state land, though in all probability no clear distinction was made between the two. The *dīwān al-khāṣṣa* in Baghdād is mentioned by Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ in 392/1002 (H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig*, Beirut 1969, 314-15). In Fārs, according to Ibn Zarkūb, most of the land became *dīwānī* land (*Shīrāz-nāma*, ed. Ismāʿīl Wāʿiẓ Djavādī, Tehran 1971-2, 45). ʿAḍud al-Dawla (who ruled in Fārs from 338/949 and over ʿIrāḳ also from 367/977 to 372/982) probably owned many personal estates, some of which he made into *waḳf* for the ʿAḍudī hospital in Shīrāz (*ibid.*, 51).

The Saldjūḳ period was dominated in the field of land tenure and land administration by the spread of the *iḳṭāʿ* [*q.v.*] or land assignment (see further *Landlord and Peasant*, 60 ff.). The territories which fell to the Saldjūḳs were either assigned by the sultan as *iḳṭāʿ*s to his family and followers or were administered directly by the state. Niẓām al-Mulk appears to have regarded the sultan as the sole owner of the soil (*Siyāsat-nāma*, ed. Schefer, Paris 1891-3, Persian text, 28; *Landlord and Peasant*, 61), but crown land, as such, appears to have had small importance. There is little evidence to show that former crown land, so far as it existed, became Saldjūḳ crown land, though isolated crown properties may have survived. For example, the estates of Ighārayn, which ʿAlī b. ʿIsā had resumed many years earlier (Løkkegaard, 62), apparently became the private estates of the Saldjūḳ sultans (Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Leipzig 1866-73, i, 420), while Ibn Balkhī mentions that the Rāhibān *kārīz* (near Kāzirūn) belonged to the ruler (*īn kārīz bi ḥukm-i dīwān-i pādishāh bāshad*) (*Fārs-nāma*, ed. G. Le Strange and R. A. Nicholson, *GMS*, Leiden 1921, 145-6). Alp Arslān appears to have held a number of private estates, some of which had been newly created (Niẓām al-Mulk, *Naṣāʾiḥ-nāma*, ms. in my possession, f. 30b). Mention is also made of estates held by the sultan (*khāṣṣ al-sulṭān*) in Kūfa in the reign of Ṭughril Beg (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 8), which may, however, have been the private estates of the caliphs surviving from earlier times. There are also references to property belonging to the *dīwān-i khāṣṣ* of Sandjar in Basṭām, Marv and Ray (*ʿAṭabat al-kataba*, ed. Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī and ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1950, 56, 67, 72), to peasants on his estates (*barzigarān-i asbāb-i khāṣṣ*) in Marv (*ibid.*, 67) and to the *dīwān-i ʿamal va asbāb-i khāṣṣ* in Ray (*ibid.*, 73).

The rulers of the Saldjūḳ succession states also acquired, like others before them, crown land. Part of Fārs, for example, was held by the Atabegs (543-686/1148-1287), as their personal estates (*amlāk*) (*Shīrāz-nāma*, 94).

The Mongol invasion, in contradistinction to the Saldjūḳ, brought about a large increase in crown lands. Much land, both at the time of the conquest and later, became dead or unclaimed land and this became crown land. Many estates also were confiscated to the crown, though Ḥāfiẓ Abrū states that when Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh was executed in 718/1318-19 his estates were taken by the *dīwān* (*Dhayl-i djāmiʿ-i tawārīkh-i Rashīdī*, ed. Khānbābā Bayānī, Tehran 1971-2, 129). The terms *dālāy* (*dala*) and *īndjū* (originally applied to the subjects of the Great Khan and those whom he had granted to his relatives and others respectively) were at first applied to land which belonged immediately to the ruler and to land granted as apanages to his relatives (cf. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische elemente im Neupersischen*, Wiesbaden 1963, i, 325). The term *dālāy* rapidly went out of use, but the term *īndjū* continued to be used throughout the Ilkhān period to designate land primarily, though not exclusively, granted to the ruler's family and supporters (cf. *Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, ed. K. Jahn, *GMS*, Leiden 1940, 19-20). Gradually the concept of *īndjū* land became assimilated to existing concepts of crown land and came to signify land over which the ruler had full rights of disposal and which he granted on a hereditary title to his family and others. Whether the grantees then had full rights of disposal themselves is not clear. Much of Fārs became *īndjū*. When Aḥmad Tegudar reappointed Abish bint Saʿd over Fārs (*ca.* 682/1283-4), her wazir Niẓām al-Dīn urged Aḥmad to issue a *yirlīgh* declaring the former *khāliṣa* of the Atabegs, much of which had been resumed by the *dīwān*, to be *īndjū* and to share its proceeds with the Atabeg. A *yirlīgh* was duly issued and on this pretext Niẓām al-Dīn converted much land in Fārs into *īndjū*, although it had not, in fact, formerly been *khāliṣa* (Waṣṣāf, *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, lith. 1852-3, 211; *Shīrāz-nāma*, 94). Among the estates confiscated by the Mongols were those of the Ṭabāṭabāʾī *sayyids*. Eventually some of these estates were re-granted to Sayyid Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aḥmad and the Ṭabāṭabāʾī *sayyids* of Fārs were thenceforward known as the Īndjū *sayyids* (Fasāʾī, *Fārs-nāma-i Nāṣirī*, lith., Tehran 1894, ii, 42). Rashīd al-Dīn states that Ghāzān Khān assigned *īndjū* lands to each horde to provide for its upkeep and that of the Mongol princesses. These lands were separated from the *dīwān* and given into the possession of the hordes. He made his own *īndjū* lands into *waḳf* for his sons by his chief wife. At the time of

the composition of the *Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī* all *indjū* lands were alleged to have been in the possession of the deputies (*nuwwāb*) of Ghāzān Khān's wives. Drafts were made on them when money was required for the army (*Tārīkh-mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, 330-1). In 703/1303-4 when Ghāzān decided to give *iḳṭa*ʿs to the soldiery, these were granted on *indjū*, *dālāy* and dead land (*ibid.*, 305; *Landlord and Peasant*, 89-90).

The Persian ministers of the Īlkhāns were, no doubt, largely responsible for the assimilation of the concept of *dālāy* and *indjū* respectively to the concept of state land and crown land which existed in the conquered territories. Among them was Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, who discusses crown land in a brief essay on finance. He is clearly influenced in his exposition by the Islamic conception of *fay*ʾ. He states that one fifth of the booty taken from rebels and others belonged to the ruler and that land, water, quadrupeds, and wealth found in a conquered territory were to be reckoned as royal property. He also claims that "what comes from those who have passed away, and what comes to the king from his fathers" became the *khāṣṣa* of the king and similarly that what came from the kingdom of former kings was royal property. Approaching the problem from the point of view of finance rather than the legal status of the land, he makes the traditional distinction between the king's revenue from his private property (*az khāṣṣa-i ū*) and that destined for the needs of the kingdom (*māl-i maṣāliḥ-i pādishāhī*). The former came from the reclamation or improvement of places which had been in a ruined or bad condition (after the right of the owners had been redeemed) and landed estates (*milk-hā*) which had been bought and from various other sources (*Madjmūʿa-i rasāʾil*, Proc. of the University of Tehran, No. 308 (1956), 32. See also M. Minovi and V. Minorsky, *Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī on Finance*, in *BSOAS*, x/3 (1942), 51 ff.).

As in the case of the earlier *ṣawāfī* there appear to have been different categories of crown land. At the time of Ghāzān Khān, in addition to *indjū* land and *amlāk-i khāṣṣa* (royal estates), mention is also made of *ḍiyāʿ-i ghāzānī* (the personal estates of Ghāzān Khān) (cf. Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh, *Mukātabāt-i Rashīdī*, ed. Muḥammad Shafīʿ, Lahore 1945, 224-5). Dead land also constituted a special category and was called *khāliṣa*. Its extent was very considerable, and Ghāzān Khān, in his efforts to revive agriculture and to restore prosperity, established a special *dīwān*, the *dīwān-i khāliṣa*, for the registration and classification of dead lands.

Reclamation, as in Islamic law, carried with it rights of ownership and sale (*Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, 353-4, 356. Cf. also *ibid.*, 204, and *Landlord and Peasant*, 91). According to Waṣṣāf, in or about 698/1298-9, 20,000 *faddān*s of land, including 3,000 ploughlands (*djuft*) in Baghdād and the neighbourhood, and 3,000 in Shīrāz were transferred to the *dīwān-i khāliṣa*. The latter supplied seed, draught animals, and implements to those who undertook their cultivation. In return so much per ploughland was to be paid annually to the *dīwān-i khāliṣa*. The contracts for cultivation were apparently for a limited period only and on the expiry of this period the seed, draught animals and implements, or a sum of money in lieu thereof, were to be returned to the *dīwān-i khāliṣa* (*Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, 349). What success attended Ghāzān's efforts to reclaim *khāliṣa* and how long the *dīwān-i khāliṣa* existed as a special *dīwān* is not clear.

When the Īlkhān empire broke up into a number of succession states, their rulers also became possessed of crown land. For example, the Muẓaffarids had estates in Kirmān (Muʿīn al-Dīn Naṭanzī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh-i Muʿīnī*, ed. J. Aubin, Tehran 1957, 181). Ḥāfiẓ Abrū mentions the *amlāk-i khāṣṣa* of Amīr Maḥmūd Shāh Īndjū (*Dhayl-i djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh-i Rashīdī*, 187) and Ibn Zarkūb makes an interesting statement to the effect that when Maḥmūd Shāh became independent in Fārs "*indjū* and *dala* became one" (*Shīrāz-nāma*, 101). Between the decline of the Īlkhān empire and the rise of the Ṣafawids in the 16th century there does not appear to have been any major spread of crown lands such as occurred under the Īlkhāns, though further research may cause this statement to be modified.

Under the Ṣafawids the general distinction between *khāṣṣa* or crown land and *dīwānī* or state land, which was now know as *mamālik* (provinces), continued to exist, but was not so much a question of the ownership and the legal status of the land as of the control and expenditure of its revenue. All *dīwānī* (*mamālik*) land was, as Chardin pointed out (*Voyages du Chevalier Chardin en Perse, et autres lieux de l'Orient*, ed. L. Langlès, Paris 1811, v, 382), potentially *khāṣṣa*, since the shah could, whenever he wished, declare it so. In a sense, therefore, there was in theory no difference between his ultimate ownership of *dīwānī* (*mamālik*) land and *khāṣṣa* land. Under Shāh ʿAbbās (985-1038/1587-1629), if not earlier, it appears to have been assumed that all property was owned by the shah, and that only its usufruct, not its outright possession, could be granted (cf. *A chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia*, London 1939, ii, 1032).

The separation between *khāṣṣa* and *mamālik* districts was not absolute, and it appears to have been possible for *dīwān* drafts to have been drawn on *khāṣṣa* land and for transfers to have been made between the *khāṣṣa* and *mamālik* treasuries. A decree given by Shāh ʿAbbās for the gift of land along the Zāyanda-Rūd of Iṣfahān to the Armenians of Djūlāh in 1028/1619 suggests that no very clear distinction was made at that time between crown land and state land. It states that the land to be given to the Armenians was "our royal property (*milk-i nuwwāb-i humāyūn-i mā*)", and instructs the *mustawfī*s of the *dīwān* to delete the land from what belonged to the *dīwān* (*milkiyyat-i dīwān*) (Hunarfar, *Gandjīna-i āthār-i tārīkh-i Iṣfahān*, Iṣfahān 1966-7, 505-6).

Within the general category of crown land there was, as in earlier times, a confusion between land directly administered under the crown and the personal estates of the ruler. Prior to the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās, the terms *khāṣṣa* and *khāliṣa* appear to have been applied indiscriminately to provinces and districts which were under the direct administration of the state in contradistinction to provinces which were alienated as *tuyūl* from its direct control. Broadly speaking, *khāṣṣa* appears to have been applied to large districts or provinces, whereas *khāliṣa* was more often applied to smaller districts reserved to the *khāṣṣa* administration within provinces which were granted as *tuyūl* (K. Rohrborn, *Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1966, 131). Shāh Ṭahmāsp (930-84/1524-76) is alleged to have remitted the *kharādj* for eight years from districts which were *khāliṣa* (Ḥaydar b. ʿAlī Rāzī, *Tārīkh-i Ḥaydarī*, quoted by Rohrborn, 132). On the death of Ṭahmāsp, Iskandar Munshī states that Murshid Ḳulī Khān appropriated most of the *khāṣṣa* estates (*amlāk-i khāṣṣa*) which had belonged first to Ṭahmāsp, and then to Sulṭān Ḥamza Mīrzā and Abū Ṭālib Mīrzā (*Tārīkh-i ʿĀla-*

mārā-yi ʿAbbāsī, Tehran, 1951-2, 381). Other members of the Ṣafawid family also held private estates in different parts of the empire. Zaynab Begum, Ṭahmāsp's daughter, held estates (*amlāk wa raḳabāt*) in Yazd and the neighbourhood (Muḥammad Mufīd, *Djāmiʿ-i Mufīdī*, ed. Īradj Afshār, Tehran 1951-2, iii, 262, 701). Shāh ʿAbbās also possessed extensive personal estates and in 1015/1606-7 or 1016/1607-8 he constituted all of them (*djamīʿ-i amlāk wa raḳabāt-i muktasab-i khāṣṣa-i khʷud*) into *waḳf* for the twelve *imāms*, Muḥammad and Fāṭima (*ʿĀlamārā*, ii, 760-1).

The administration of *khāṣṣa* land was under wazirs appointed by the central government, each *khāṣṣa* district or province having its own wazir. In a farman dated 975/1567 entrusting the wazirate of Gīlān to the wazir of Khurāsān, the latter was instructed to make, with the knowledge and approval of the minor wazirs of Gīlān, payment orders on the taxes and monies (*māl u djihāt wa wudjūhāt*) of each district (*maḥall*) for the wages (*mawādjib*) allotted by royal decrees to the great *amīrs*. He was to take possession on behalf of the *khāṣṣa* administration, of whatever remained (B.M. Or. 4678, ii, 117b, quoted by Rohrborn, 108). In general, it seems that local administration and defence was the first charge on the revenue of the *khāṣṣa* districts. If the revenue of a given district was insufficient for these purposes, it was possible for an additional draft on *khāṣṣa* revenue from some other source to be made available to make good the deficit (cf. Rohrborn, 109).

From the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās onwards a distinction was made between *khāliṣa* and *khāṣṣa*. Muḥammad Mufīd, for example, mentions the *khāliṣadjāt* of the *khāṣṣa* administration (*Djāmiʿ-i Mufīdī*, iii, 173). He also states that a certain Mawlānā Muḥammad Ṣādiḳ (d. 1063/1652-3) was entrusted by the shah with the annual distribution of 1,000 *tūmāns* in cash and kind from the *khāliṣa* to the deserving of Yazd (*ibid.*, iii, 308-9). Rohrborn considers that the distinction between *khāliṣa* and *khāṣṣa* became clearly drawn after Shāh ʿAbbās had decided to pay the standing army and the provincial militia by assignments made on *khāṣṣa* land (*ʿĀlamārā*, ii, 924; Rohrborn 110, 134. Cf. also Chardin, *Voyages*, v, 250-2, 279, 298-9, 303-4, 380-2). Rohrborn gives lists of the *khāṣṣa* provinces up to 995/1587, the year of Shāh ʿAbbās' accession, and after (177-8). In either case the outlying provinces tended to be *mamālik* and the central provinces *khāṣṣa*. In the second period the number of *khāṣṣa* provinces is greater. The most important and richest of them was Iṣfahān, which became the capital under Shāh ʿAbbās. Defence of the *khāṣṣa* provinces was the concern, not of the provincial governor or *tuyūldār*, as it was in the *mamālik*, but of the standing army and local militia (Rohrborn, 118-22). Under Shāh Ṣafī (1038-52/1629-42) Fārs became *khāṣṣa* but, contrary to Chardin's assertion (v, 279), he did not initiate the policy of resuming *mamālik* into *khāṣṣa*. This policy reached its height under Shāh ʿAbbās II (1052-77/1642-67), who, according to Chardin, resumed Ḳazvīn, Gīlān, Māzandarān, Yazd, Kirmān, Khurāsān and Ādharbāydjān (v, 251). The resumption of a province was, however, sometimes only temporary. After the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās II the tendency was for the *mamālik* to expand at the expense of the *khāṣṣa* and at the same time for the distinction between them to become, perhaps, less sharp.

Chardin states that various types of grant were made on *khāṣṣa* land. These were (i) grants in lieu of salary, such grants being sometimes attached in perpetuity to an office, (ii) grants to officers and servants of the royal household and for the pay of the standing army, and (iii) temporary and life grants, which were sometimes continued from father to son over several generations. What remained after the allocation of such grants was administered under the wazirs for the benefit of the *khāṣṣa* administration. So far as crown estates were not rented they were worked on a crop-sharing system, which probably differed little from that in operation in privately owned property. The main difference was that both the *māl* (the taxes) and the *mināl* (what remained after the payment of taxes) belonged to the crown. Kaempfer gives an account of the crop-sharing system prevailing in *khāṣṣa* land round Iṣfahān in or about 1684 (*Amoenitatum exoticarium politico-physico-medicarum*, fasc. v, Lemgo 1712, 91; *Landlord and Peasant*, 127). Du Mans, writing in 1660, states that most of the land was crown land, "*moulki chahy*", as opposed to privately owned (*arbabi*) land. He gives an unfavourable account of the administration of crown land, alleging, like Chardin, extortion by the wazirs and comptrollers (*Estat de la Perse en l'an 1660*, Paris 1890, 227, Chardin, v, 250-4, 276-7, 279). Sanson, on the other hand, alleges that the whole of Persia was the property of the shah, that all estates were held by his grace and that he could, when he wished, resume them (*Voyage ou relation de l'état présent du royaume de Perse*, Paris 1695, 96 ff.). This, however, would seem to be an exaggeration. It is possible that both Sanson and Chardin, whose evidence on the subject of land tenure is not wholly consistent (cf. Rohrborn, 113), in their interpretation of the legal status of the land, were influenced by their knowledge of western European feudal tenure.

Two administrative handbooks, the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* (ed. V. Minorsky, *GMS*, London and Leiden 1943) and the *Dastūr al-mulūk* (Muḥammad Taḳī Dānishpazhūh, *Dastūr al-mulūk-i Mīrzā Rafīʿā*, in *Rev. de la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences humaines*, University of Tehran, xv/5-6 and xvi/1-6), belonging to the late Ṣafawid period and possibly going back to a common original, make a clear distinction between the *khāṣṣa* administration and the *mamālik* administration. The duties of the *mustawfī* of the *sarkār-i khāṣṣa* give an indication of some of the matters (in addition to those pertaining to the royal household) which came under the *khāṣṣa* administration. These were not confined to the administration of crown land. The main duty of the *mustawfī* was to keep the records and files of the taxes and monies (*māl u djihāt wa wudjūhāt*) from the *maḥāll* of Iṣfahān, Gīlānāt, Māzandarān, Kāshān, Bandar [? ʿAbbās], and Yazd, and certain monies (*wudjūhāt*) from other provinces (*sāʾir-i wilāyāt*), and monies from the *djizya* of the Armenians, the sale of tobacco, road tolls (*rāhdārī*), *ad hoc* levies on sheep and goats in Iṣfahān, customs at the ports (*wudjūh-i ʿushr wa khurūdj-i banādir*), the mints, *pīshkash* from *kalāntars* [*q.v.*], fees (*dushulluk wa pīshkashhā-yi muḳarrarī*), and other monies according to the assessments made by the *khāṣṣa* administration (? *sāʾir-i wudjūhāt-i djamʿī-i sarkār-i khāṣṣa*), and to clear the accounts of the taxpayers with that administration (*Dastūr al-mulūk*, xvi/3, 312). The *khāṣṣa* administration was not, however, wholly independent from the *mamālik* administration, since the *mustawfī al-mamālik* could, it seems, make drafts on *khāṣṣa* revenue (cf. *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, ff. 28a-b, *Dastūr al-mulūk*, xvi/3, 299). Further, the grand wazir exercised supervision over both administrations, and documents for the appointment of scribes to the royal secretariat and private house-

hold (*daftarkhāna-i humāyūn wa khāṣṣa*) and of workers in the royal workshops (*buyūtāt*) were issued by the grand wazir with the approval of the *mustawfī al-mamālik*, the *nāẓir-i buyūtāt*, and the *mustawfī-i khāṣṣa*. Applications for remissions of taxation from taxpayers in *khāṣṣa* districts also had to be sanctioned by the grand wazir (*Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, f. 10a).

One of the main tasks of the *khāṣṣa* administration was to administer the land round Iṣfahān, known as the *maḥāll*. This consisted of *khāliṣa*, *awḳāf*, and *intiḳālī* land. The first was under the wazir of the capital. His duty was to arrange for the cultivation of *khāliṣa* land either by concluding tenancies or crop-sharing agreements with the peasants, to ensure that no place lacked peasants or what was needed for its cultivation, to see to the repair of *ḳanāt*s, and buildings (shops, caravansarais, baths, etc.), to protect the peasants from oppression from whatever quarter, to investigate agricultural disputes, to collect the revenue and produce of the *khāliṣa* districts, and, after the deduction of his own salary and the expenses of the administration, to see that what remained was expended upon its proper purposes (*Dastūr al-mulūk*, xvi/3, 319-20; *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, ff. 72a-74a; *Landlord and Peasant*, 119). The second, *awḳāf*, came under the wazir of the *fayḍ āthār* department, whose duty was to see that the land concerned was cultivated according to its capacity, to provide whatever was needed for its cultivation, to see that gardens, buildings, mills, and *ḳanāt*s were in good repair (*Dastūr al-mulūk*, xvi/3, 321; *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, ff. 71a-72a; *Landlord and Peasant*, 121). The third, which came under the wazir of the *intiḳālī* department, possibly consisted of land newly transferred from the *dīwān* to the *khāṣṣa* administration (cf. *Dastūr al-mulūk*, xvi/5, 540). The duties of the wazir of the *sarkār-i intiḳālī* were similar to those of the wazir of the capital (*Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, ff. 82a-b; *Landlord and Peasant*, 120).

With the fall of the Ṣafawids, the distinction between *khāṣṣa* and *mamālik*, which had concerned the administration rather than the legal status of the land, disappeared. The sources use again, from time to time, the term *dīwānī* for land which belonged to the state as opposed to *khāliṣa*, crown land belonging to the ruler and deriving from earlier times, confiscation or purchase. The difference between them is not always clear, however, especially since confiscated land sometimes became *dīwānī* land and sometimes *khāliṣa*. The situation became further confused by later dynastic changes. New *khāliṣadjāt* were created, mainly by confiscation, while some old *khāliṣadjāt* were usurped. In 1151/1738-9 Nādir Shāh (1148-60/1236-47) issued orders for the resumption of the *awḳāf* of Fārs by the *dīwān-i khāliṣa* (*Fārs-nāma-i Nāṣirī*, i, 181, 183, cf. also ii, 46, 86), and in the last year of his reign promulgated a decree for the resumption of all *awḳāf*. Consequent upon this decree a considerable number of *awḳāf* were taken over and entered with *khāliṣa* estates in the land register subsequently known as the *raḳabāt-i nādirī* (Ḥasan Khān Shaykh Djābir-i Anṣārī, *Tārīkh-i niṣf-i djahān wa hama-i djahān*, lith. n.d., 36-8; *Landlord and Peasant*, 131-2). The decree was revoked by Nādir's successor, ʿĀdil Shāh. Some of the confiscated estates were returned to their former owners (*Tārīkh-i niṣf-i djahān*, 49), but Sir John Malcolm, writing at the beginning of the 19th century, states that the lands were never fully restored (*History of Persia*, London 1829, ii, 313).

Under the Ḳādjārs, *khāliṣa*, deriving partly from earlier periods and partly from confiscation for arrears of taxation, rebellion or other reasons, and purchase, became an increasingly important category of land (cf. J. Macdonald Kinneir, *A geographical memoir of the Persian empire*, London 1813, 47). On various occasions the estates of a minister on his fall from power were confiscated, as happened in the case of two of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*s (cf. *Landlord and Peasant*, 147). The estates of Muḥammad Shāh's *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*, Ḥādjdjī Mīrzā Āḳāsī, were also confiscated on the death of his master, while those of Mīrzā Āḳā Khān Nūrī, Nāṣir al-Dīn's *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*, were confiscated on his fall, but later returned (cf. Gīlānshāh, *Yak ṣad u pandjāh sāl-i salṭanat dar Īrān*, Tehran 1951-2, 21, 60). According to E. S. Waring, one eighth of Fārs and Persian ʿIrāḳ was probably in the hands of the shah (*A tour to Sheeraz by the route of Kazroon and Feerozabad*, London 1807, 85). Land taken by conquest also became *khāliṣa*. Zuhāb, so acquired from the Ottomans, thus became *khāliṣa*, and was farmed by the governor of Kirmānshāh, in whose government it lay, to the chief of the Gūrān (H. C. Rawlinson, *Notes on a march from Zohab, at the foot of the Zagros, along the mountains of Khuzistan (Susiana) and from thence through the province of Luristan to Kirmanshah, in the year 1836*, in *JRGS* (1839), 26). In due course, as the conception of state revenue as something distinct from the personal income of the shah became stronger, *khāliṣa* land ceased to be considered as his personal estates and came to be regarded as belonging to the state rather than to him. The same terms continued to be used, but gradually they acquired different and separate meanings. In 1865 there is a reference to the *khāliṣadjāt-i dīwānī* in the official gazette, *Rūznāma-i dawlat-i ʿaliyya-i Īrān*, (12 Ṣafar 1282/8 July 1865) and in 1861 to the *khāliṣa-i dawlatī* (2 Ramaḍān 1277/15 March 1861, in the same journal). E. Stack, writing in 1882, notes that there was "a constant tendency for arbabi land to become diwani, by resumption of religious grants, confiscation, and by escheat" (*Six months in Persia*, London 1882, ii, 248).

Āḳā Muḥammad Khān, the first of the Ḳādjar rulers, who rose to power on the death of Karīm Khān Zand in 1779, is alleged to have bought considerable areas of land in Māzandarān, Astarābād and elsewhere and to have made these into *khāliṣa* (ʿAbd Allāh Mustawfī, *Sharḥ-i zindagī-i man*, Tehran 1945-6, i, 657). Under Fatḥ ʿAlī (1797-1834) there were new additions to *khāliṣa* property in the neighbourhood of Iṣfahān, the estates of his *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*, Amīn al-Dawla, being confiscated for arrears of taxation and becoming *khāliṣadjāt-i ḍabṭī*. In the case of an estate becoming *khāliṣa-i ḍabṭī*, a portion of the revenue might be allowed to the former owner or his relatives as a *mustamarrī* allowance. The estate remained annexed to the crown until its former owner (or his family) were restored to favour, when the estate might, according to the pleasure of the sovereign, be returned (*Landlord and Peasant*, 147). During the reign of Muḥammad Shāh (1834-48) a number of estates were confiscated from rebels and made into *khāliṣa* (ʿAbd Allāh Mustawfī, i, 657). There was also again an increase, albeit temporary, in *khāliṣa* land in the neighbourhood of Iṣfahān. As a result of a series of famine years many villages had become ruined, and so, in order that prosperity might be restored, *dīwān* officials were instructed to provide the peasants with seed, and the names of the villages concerned were included in the lists of *khāliṣadjāt*. Although these lands were subsequently returned to their owners, they continued to be known as *khāliṣa*-

d̲j̲āt-i bad̲h̲rī (*Tārīk̲h̲-i niṣf-i d̲j̲ahān*, 49; *Landlord and Peasant*, 148).

K̲h̲āliṣa land, as at earlier periods, was either directly administered on a crop-sharing basis or let on a tenancy, which in effect amounted to a revenue farm, the farmer concluding crop-sharing agreements with the local peasants (*Landlord and Peasant*, 148-9). *Tuyūls* were also frequently assigned on the revenues of *k̲h̲āliṣa* land either to officials in lieu of salary or as allowances and pensions to the ruler's supporters, tribal leaders or religious dignitaries (cf. Rawlinson, *Notes on a journey from Tabriz through Persian Kurdistan to the ruins of Takhti-Soleiman*, in *JRGS* (1841), 5). In the provinces, the taxes on *k̲h̲āliṣa* land and the government's rent or share of the produce were collected by the provincial governors, provided that they had not been otherwise assigned. Grain obtained in this way was used primarily to provision the army, but also to prevent the creation of artificial shortages and hoarding in times of grain shortages.

By the second half of the 19th century much *k̲h̲āliṣa* land, which still occupied a considerable part of the country, was in a state of decay and made little contribution to the revenue. Some estates had been abandoned by their peasants as was the case in Māzandarān (cf. *Rūznāma-i waḳāʾiʿ-i ittifāḳiyya*, 29 D̲j̲umādā I 1269/2 March 1853). Many villages in the province of Iṣfahān, some of which were *k̲h̲āliṣa*, had also fallen out of cultivation. At the beginning of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn (1848-96) a large sum of money, together with a considerable quantity of grain, was made available on the revenue of Iṣfahān to Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn, the head of the finance department of Iṣfahān, to enable him to bring them back into cultivation. Instead, he spent the money on military supplies and rebelled. After the ensuing disorders were put down, the estates of those implicated were confiscated and became *k̲h̲āliṣa*. Subsequently, however, their former owners regained them by various means.

In 1861, Eastwick wrote that a third, or according to some, half of the land of Persia was *k̲h̲āliṣa*, but that it was said to be much neglected. Advances for the expenses of cultivation at enormous rates of interest were made to the cultivators, who, subject to innumerable arbitrary exactions, were unable to accumulate capital to make improvements, and who would, in any case, not make them if they could "knowing that their rent would be raised or their leases rescinded" (UK. British Parliamentary Papers, 58 (1862)—Accounts and papers: Manufactures and commerce, and trade of foreign countries, Session 6 Feb.-7 Aug. 1862, LVIII (1862). Report by Mr. Eastwick, Her Majesty's Secretary of Legation, camp near Tehran, 5 July 1861, 70). Some two years later, in 1863, an attempt was made to develop *k̲h̲āliṣa* land in Iṣfahān, and an order was issued that the necessary expenses should be provided by the government and that they should be let on a five-year lease (*Rūznāma-i dawlat-i ʿaliyya-i Īrān*, 18 D̲h̲u'l Ḳaʿda 1279/7 May 1863). The measures were abortive. Wakīl al-Mulk, who had been sent about the same time to Kirmān to look into the condition of *k̲h̲āliṣa* property was apparently more successful (*ibid.*, 14 D̲j̲umādā II 1280/26 Nov. 1863).

More land fell out of cultivation during the famine years of 1871-2. No control was exercised over *k̲h̲āliṣa* land, and further confusion ensued in the land registers. Finally in 1874, Ẓill al-Sulṭān, when he was appointed governor of Iṣfahān, concluded *muḳāṭaʿa* contracts for a ten-year period (instead of the more normal three years) for the *k̲h̲āliṣad̲j̲āt* of Iṣfahān, presumably hoping that a long-term contract would encourage the lessees to improve the land (*Tārīk̲h̲-i niṣf-i d̲j̲ahān*, 51 ff.).

Nāṣir al-Dīn and his successor, Muẓaffar al-Dīn, were repeatedly in need of money and on several occasions lots of *k̲h̲āliṣa* land were sold, including, in the latter years of Nāṣir al-Dīn's reign and the early years of Muẓaffar al-Dīn's reign, most of the *k̲h̲āliṣa* round Iṣfahān (*Tārīk̲h̲-i niṣf-i d̲j̲ahān*, 63 ff.). Much of it was bought by the rich notables and the *ʿulamāʾ* (see further *Landlord and Peasant*, 153-4, and cf. also UK. Consular reports 2260/1899, No. 2260 Annual series. Preece "Isfahan, 1897-8", 13). In 1901-2 there was another major sale of *k̲h̲āliṣa land*, when the *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*, Mīrzā ʿAlī Aṣg̲h̲ar Amīn al-Sulṭān, disposed of most of S̲h̲ūlistān to Muʿīn al-Tud̲j̲d̲j̲ār Bushihrī (*Gazeteer of Persia* 3, Calcutta 1910, under Mamassani, 653). For the rest, no effective steps were taken to improve the cultivation of crown lands or to exploit them effectively for the benefit of the state (cf. A. Destrée, *Les Fonctionnaires belges au service de la Perse 1898-1915*, doctoral thesis presented to the Free University of Brussels, 1973, i, 423).

In the 20th century new political exigencies led to the disappearance of some categories of *k̲h̲āliṣa*, the creation of new *k̲h̲āliṣa*, and legislation to deal with it. This legislation, however, was mainly concerned with the sale, acquisition, and administration of *k̲h̲āliṣa* and no general legal principles underlying the existence of such land were formulated. The dichotomy in the administrative field between *dīwānī* (state) land and *k̲h̲āliṣa* (crown) land, so far as it had survived, disappeared after the grant of the Constitution, and in due course the term *k̲h̲āliṣa* came to be applied to crown lands in the sense of state lands and no longer signified the personal estates of the ruler, which were referred to as *amlāk-i s̲h̲āhī* or *amlāk-i salṭanatī* (see further *Landlord and Peasant*, 238 ff., for an account of the history of crown lands since 1906, and A. K. S. Lambton, *The Persian land reform 1962-6*, Oxford 1969, index).

Bibliography: given in the article. It is not possible to give here a list of all texts which might contribute to the history of crown land in Persia since they would include most chronicles and local histories. (A. K. S. Lambton)

AL-K̲H̲ĀLIṢA, Fāṭimid citadel built in 326/937-8 by K̲h̲alīl b. Isḥāḳ b. Ward, who had been sent by the Faṭimid caliph al-Ḳāʾim [*q.v.*] to suppress a rebellion of the Sicilians against the *amīr* Sālim b. Abī Rās̲h̲id.

For strategic reasons, in particular, the possibility of receiving with ease reinforcements by sea, the town was constructed opposite the ancient Cassaro (al-Ḳaṣr) of Palermo [see BALARM] and near to the port. Its construction, at the inhabitants' own expense, was achieved by demolishing a large part of the ancient urban centre, whose walls were carried off, according to Ibn al-At̲h̲īr (for the information of this historian, and of the geographers cited below, see the *BAS*, cited in the bibliography, index). The town, called by its founder al-K̲h̲āliṣa ("the Pure") (Χάλεσα in Greek diplomas of the Norman period, Chalcia, Halcia and more rarely Chalesa in Latin documents down to the 14th century, and Alza or Alcza at the end of the 13th century, a vulgar form from which is derived the present name Ausa), was encircled by walls provided with gateways, apart from the eastern side. Al-Muḳaddasī gives the names of the four gates as Bāb Kutāma, Bāb al-Futūḥ, Bāb al-Bunūd and Bāb al-Ṣināʿa (Bāb al-Baḥr in al-Idrīsī). In the Fāṭi-

mid and Kalbid periods, it was the residence of the Muslim governor and his entourage, and at this time, according to Ibn Ḥawḳal who visited it in 361/972, it possessed neither markets nor hostelries (*funduḳs*), but was provided with administrative services, a small Friday mosque, an arsenal, a prison and baths.

This new "external" town, whose prestige as an administrative centre was linked with all the fortunes of the Muslims in Sicily, is mentioned as one of the five sectors of Kalbid Palermo visited by Ibn Ḥawḳal (in addition to al-Khāliṣa, they are named al-Ḳaṣr al-Ḥārat al-Djadīda, Ḥārat al-Masdjid and Ḥārat al-Ṣaḳāliba). It was then described by al-Idrīsī as part of the *rabaḍ* of Palermo, and by Yāḳūt (d. 626/1229) as a mere *maḥall* in the centre of Palermo.

The disappearance of the walls, from the 14th century onwards, makes identification of the former Fāṭimid citadel difficult within the urban sprawl of modern Palermo, where the name of Kalsa has been extended to a quarter which goes from St. Francis of Assisi square to the port. If the reconstruction of the former urban limits done by Amari (*BAS*, i, 12 n. 3) seems to posit too great an extent for al-Khāliṣa, the hypothesis of Columba seems more acceptable: he proposed an area trapezoidal in shape and covering some 8 hectares, which would be enough to make Kalsa into a citadel including the *amīr*'s residence, administrative buildings, a small Friday mosque, baths and a certain number of other buildings.

Bibliography: *Biblioteca arabo-sicula* (= BAS) raccolta da Michele Amari, Ar. text Leipzig 1857, Ital. tr. Turin-Rome 1880-1, indices; Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*², Catania 1933-9, index; Ibn Ḥawḳal, *K. Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ed. Kramers, Leiden 1938, 119, repr. Beirut 1963, 114, tr. Kramers-Wiet, *Configuration de la terre*, Beirut-Paris 1964, i, 118; Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-miʿṭār*, ed. U. Rizzitano, in *Bull. of the Faculty of Arts*, Cairo University, xviii (May 1956), 151-2; G. M. Columba, *Per la topografia antica di Palermo*, in *Centenario Michele Amari*, Palermo 1910, ii, 395-426.

(A. DE SIMONE)

KHALḲ (A.), creation.

I.—*Lexicographical data.*

Khalḳ, noun of action of the verb *khalaḳa*, which properly means the act of creating, can also be used to designate Creation in its entirety: *wa'l-khalḳ yakūn al-maṣdar wa-yakūn al-makhlūḳ* (*LA*). The noun of the agent, *al-khāliḳ*, defined by the article, is applied only to God and is one of His Names. According to the *LA*, in the speech of the Arabs *al-khalḳ* is used to designate the production of some new thing (*ibtidāʿ*) on a pattern which has not been previously employed (*ʿalā mithāl lam yusbaḳ ilayh*). Abū Bakr b. al-Anbārī, a philologist of the 4th/10th century, gives a slightly different definition: *khalḳ* is either a product (*inshāʾ*) designed on an invented model (*abdaʿa*), or it is the act that determines the proportions (*taḳdīr*) of something which is to be brought into being; thus when ʿĪsā b. Maryam (Ḳurʾān, III, 49) says: "Yes, I will create (*akhluḳu*) for you from clay the likeness of a bird", he does not wish to say that he will bring into existence that which does not exist (*lam yurid annahu yuḥdithu maʿdūmᵃⁿ*). Ibn Sīdah (5/11th century) considers that for God to create is to bring into being a thing which previously was not (*baʿd an lam yakun*). It should be noted that some commentators (al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and Mudjāhid) give the meaning of *dīn* (religion) in the sense of *ḥukm* (the totality of classes of the Law) to the word *khalḳ* in the verse (IV, 119): "They have tampered with God's creation". The reasoning behind this is that God has stamped on creation a nature (*faṭara 'l-khalḳ*) that conforms with Islam; cf. Ḳurʾān, XXX, 30: "nature created by God (*fiṭrat Allāh*) according to which He has stamped the nature of men: there can be no change in God's creation", that is, in the truth of religion (*ṣiḥḥat al-dīn*). Elsewhere, *khalḳ* can mean a mendacious forgery (Ḳurʾān, XXVI, 137): three commentators indicate the reading, "It is nothing but a forgery (*khalḳ*) of the ancients" instead of the customary *khuluḳ*. *Khalḳ* is therefore equivalent to *asāṭīr al-awwalīn*, the legends of the ancients, which is found in a number of sūras (cf. al-Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf*). There is also the expression *aḥādīth al-khalḳ*, which is synonymous with *khurāfāt*, old wives' tales.

Most of these meanings are supplied by relatively late lexicographers and bear the clear stamp of theological reflection on the word *khalḳ*. But the *LA* gives uses which seem to haste back to the primitive meaning of the root. Thus the Arabs say: *khalaḳa'l-adīm*, which means: "to determine before it is cut how much leather is needed to make what is required, and to size it up with a view to cutting out a shopping-bag, a water bottle or a boot". Ibn Manẓūr gives, as an example, one of Zuhayr's verses and a *ḥādīth* from the sister of Umayya b. Abi ʾl-Ṣalt, both evidence from early times, and a verse by al-Kumayt (d. 124/743). With the meaning of a lie, the form *ikhtilāḳ* is also used (Ḳurʾān, XXXVIII, 7). Moreover, although with other *maṣdārs* than *khalḳ*, the verb *khalaḳa* (or *khaluḳa*) means to be worn out (= *baliya*). The root subsequently carries the meaning of being smooth, polished, without cracks (the *LA* gives (*layyin, amlas, musmat* as synonyms of *akhlaḳ*: equal, harmonious). All these meanings are found in the corresponding Hebrew root, *ḥaloḳ*: to shave, distribute, assign a part to; to be flat and polished. In the piʿel, *ḥalleḳ* signifies to differentiate separate, specify (cf. *taḳdīr*); in the hiphʿil, *haḥᵃleḳ* means to smooth, to polish, to plane. It seems therefore that the original sense of *khalḳ* expressed on the one hand the idea of determining parts (as does *taḳdīr*; cf. *ḳaddara 'l-arzāḳ*, to determine sustenance), and on the other the idea of polishing, equalising. These very concrete etymological values can be found in certain Ḳurʾānic terms associated with *khalḳ*, and in the speculations of theological commentaries. The latest and most abstract meanings, grafted on to the earliest ones, constitute one of the bases of speculative and mystical *kalām*, as well as of *falsafa*.

II.—*The Ḳurʾānic vocabulary and the ideas it carries.*

Before considering what creation is in the Ḳurʾān, it must be stated first of all that the words *khalḳ* and *khāliḳ* are the most frequently employed. On only three occasions, in two verses, do we find the usage *al-Bāriʾ*, the Creator, the agent noun from the Semitic root which appears at the beginning of Genesis: *Bᵉreshīt bārā Elōhīm*. These passages are: "He is God, the *Khāliḳ*, the *Bāriʾ*, the Maker (al-*Muṣawwir*)" (LIX, 24); "Return therefore, towards your Creator (*ilā Bāriʾikum*); it is best for you in the sight of your Creator (idem)" (II, 54). It is pointless to look for two English words to translate these two terms, which the lexicographers give as synonyms. Nevertheless, according to the *LA* the *Bāriʾ* is he who creates without imitating a model (*lā ʿan mithāl*); moreover, it is nearly always used for the creation of living beings in particular. In the same way, *bariyya* is synonymous with *khalḳ*. The former term is found

twice in two verses (XCVIII, 6 and 7) and the context clearly underlines that the subject is human creatures. In the *LA*, *al-Bāriʾ* is associated with *al-dh̲āriʾ*, which is not Ḳurʾānic, although the Ḳurʾān uses the verb *dh̲araʾa* with complements which designate living things: plants and cattle (VI, 136), djinns and men (VII, 179). Abū Isḥāḳ and Th̲aʿlab accord it the sense of God multiplying (*yukath̲th̲ir*) the beings in creation. Parallel with *bariyya* we find *dh̲ariyya*, which has a similar meaning but is not used in the Ḳurʾān. The Hebrew *beriʾah* has the etymological sense of "cutting and putting into shape" (*The Jewish Encyclopedia*, art. *Creation*).

Only once do we find the words "work of God" (*ṣunʿ Allāh*); in the context of mountains which seem inert but which God causes to travel like clouds (XXVII, 88), a context that led R. Blachère to translate the expression as "miracle". The commentators (al-Zamak̲h̲s̲h̲arī, al-D̲jalālayn) consider it a strengthening verbal noun of the verb (*maṣdar muʾakkid*) which refers to the entirety of divine acts enumerated in the preceding verses. By these means God has worked a work of God, he has acted as God "who makes all things good" (*atḳana*: *aḥkama*). In this sense, of merely accentuating the idea of a verb, which is retrenched (*maḥdh̲ūf*) in other respects according to the *Kas̲h̲s̲h̲āf*, although it can be found in *d̲jaʿalnā* (we have established) in verse 86, the word *ṣunʿ* has no grammatical value alone and does not expressly designate the divine work of creation. Nevertheless, the presence of this term in the Ḳurʾān has authorised those who allow God to be given names formed by deviation (*is̲h̲tiḳaḳ*) to call the Creator *al-Ṣāniʿ* the Artisan, the Demiurge of the Greeks, the τεχνίτης of some Church Fathers, and the supreme Maker of La Fontaine.

One important root is *s.w.r*. We have already met *al-Muṣawwir* following on from *al-K̲h̲āliḳ al-Bāriʾ*. *Taṣwīr* is an action brought into being by the creative act proper: "We created you, and then We gave you form" (*wa-laḳad k̲h̲alaḳnākum, th̲umma ṣawwarnākum*, VII, 11). The same verb is employed for the shaping of a man in his mother's womb (III, 6). One verse is particularly rich in philosophical meaning: "In the very shape (*ṣūra*) He willed, He created you (*rakkabaka*)". Therefore *taṣwīr*, the constitution of a shape, is a *tarkīb*, a composition. Yet, in the hylomorphism of the *falāsifa*, creation is identified with this timeless insertion and is shaped from a single blow (*dafʿatan*) in matter. By contrast, the Ḳurʾān links the creative act to the 'informing' act by the particle *th̲umma*. According to the grammarians, there is a relationship of diminishing order between *wa* (and), *fa* (and then) and *th̲umma* (and afterwards). There is therefore a certain distance between the act of creating and the act of giving form, the *k̲h̲alḳ* and the *taṣwīr*. The verb *sawā* (to level, smooth; cf. above, the sense "to polish") is linked to *k̲h̲alaḳa* by the particle *fa*: "He who has created you and then proportioned and stabilised you" (*alladhī k̲h̲alaḳaka fa-sawwāka fa-ʿadalaka*, LXXXII, 7); "He who has created and proportioned" (LXXXVII, 2). The close relationship between these two verbs seems to indicate a kind of explanation of the etymological meaning of *k̲h̲alaḳa* by the meaning of *sawwā*. Likewise, *k̲h̲alaḳa* can be explained by *ḳaddara* (cf. above, the meaning of *taḳdīr*): "He created him from a drop of sperm and (*fa*) fixed his proportions" (LXXX, 19); "He has created all things and (*fa*) fixed their proportions of their species" (*fa-ḳaddarahu taḳdīran*, LIV, 49).

What then, can be said about the doctrine of creation *ex nihilo* in the Ḳurʾān? Quite simply that Arabic, like all other languages, has had to use a word which originally signified something concrete and material for an ineffable reality. Similarly in Greek, Aristotle says that Anaxagoras employed Intelligence for "ordering" (κοσμοποιία); afterwards, the word meant God's creation of the world. True, many Ḳurʾānic verses call to mind a demiurgic action when the verb *k̲h̲alaḳa* is followed by the preposition *min*. For example: "He created man of a drop of sperm" (XIV, 4) and various ingredients (*ams̲h̲ād̲j*, LXXVI, 2, males and females according to the D̲jalālayn); "God created every animal of water" (XXIV, 45); "It was He who created man of a drop of water" (XXV, 54), or "of potter's clay" (*salsāl*, LV, 14), note to explain use of archaic "of" not "from" clay (*ṭīn*, XXVIII, 89, VI, 2), of clinging clay (*min ṭīn lāzib*, XXXVII, 12), of an extraction of clay (*sulāla min ṭīn*, XXIII, 12) and of earth (*turāb*, XVIII, 37, XXX, 20, etc.); stinking mud (*hamāʾ masnūn*, XV, 28); "He created the djinn of smokeless fire" (LV, 15). But these examples indicate clearly that the preposition denotes the matter with which these created beings are created, and not a pre-existent matter from which they would be created. This can be seen specifically in the statement of Iblīs who, because he is made from fire, considers himself superior to men, who are made from mud. On the other hand, while *k̲h̲alaḳa* designates the creative act, it can also mean the word *fī*, the mode of being which characterised the appearance of the resulting creative, either used along with the preposition *fī* (in), as in "We created man in the fairest stature" (XCV, 4) and "We created man in affliction" (*fī kabad*, XC, 4); or with the adverbial accusative *ḥāl*, as in "Then We created a speck of sperm into (or as) a drop of blood" (XXIII, 14). Here *k̲h̲alaḳa* has precisely the same meaning as *d̲jaʿala*: to render an object this way or that, to make from that object this thing or that, which is exactly equivalent to one of the usages of the Latin *creare*, e.g. *creare aliquem consulem*, *d̲jaʿala fulānan ḥākiman*, to make someone a governor. In the passage in Ḳurʾān, XXIII, already cited, verse 12 has "We created (*k̲h̲alaḳnā*) man of clay", verse 13 states, "We made (*d̲jaʿalnāhu*) a drop of sperm of clay", while in verse 14 the verb *k̲h̲alaḳnā* reappears. Verse X, 5 follows the same pattern: "It is He who made the sun a radiance (*d̲jaʿala 'l-s̲h̲amsa ḍiyāʾan*) and the moon a light". The preposition *min* does not seem to mean "from", as in expressions like "He created you from a single soul" (*k̲h̲alaḳakum min nafsin wāḥida*, IV, 1, VII, 189, XXXIX, 6). Here, however, the meaning is clear: the text refers to the children of Adam from whom Eve was drawn forth, who are themselves created; also clear is "We created you from a male and a female" (XLIX, 13).

But in a broader sense *k̲h̲alaḳa* appears to mean "to create" like the Hebrew *bārā* as it is understood by the Jewish exegetes. Many Ḳurʾānic verses are the exact replica of the first verse of Genesis; such as "Praise be to God who created the heavens and the earth . . ." (VI, 1). Sometimes the text adds, "and what is between the two" (XXV, 59, etc.). God also created whatever is in the heavens or on earth (X, 6), the sun, the moon, etc. He created day and night. In a word, God's every action on one of his creatures can be called creation. Similarly, the different developmental phases of a created being are also creations: "He created you in your mother's wombs, creation after creation (*k̲h̲alḳ min baʿd k̲h̲alḳ*)" (XXXIX, 6). The same word is used for the act of creation in general, the heavens and the earth encompassing all creatures, and for the particular

creations of each category of beings. This second usage explains the extension of meaning which bring *khalaḳa* close to *sawwā, ṣawwara, ḳaddara, dja'ala, anbata* (LXXI, 17: "God has caused you to sprout from the earth like shoots", which the *Tafsīr al-Djalālayn* elucidates as "He created (*khalaḳakum*) you from the earth, because it is from earth that He created your father Adam"), and to *ansha'a* (to make grow, to produce, to create), which is exactly synonymous with *khalaḳa* in the verse, "It is he who caused you to spring from a single soul" (VI, 98; cf. above). Other examples are: "He produced you from the earth" (XI, 617, LIII, 32) and "Say: it is He who produced you" (LXVII, 23). This root is important, because it is used to express the idea of two creations. In fact, we read: "Then We made him grow (the embryo being completed) in another creation" (*thumma ansha'nāhu khalḳan ākhara*, XXIII, 14)—by blowing the spirit into him, explains the Djalālayn commentary—which can be compared to: "See how God originated creation (*kayfa bada'a 'l-khalḳ*); then God produced the second production (creation) (*yunshi'u 'l-nash'ata 'l-ākhira*)" (XXIX, 20); and to: "On Him rests the second creation (*anna 'alayhi 'l-nash'ata 'l-ukhrā*)" (LIII, 47); and finally to: "You have certainly known the first creation (*al-nasha'ata 'l-ūlā*)" (LVI, 62). Thus in *khalḳ* in general there should be two degrees of production; and commentators battled with these texts.

Nevertheless, creation *ex nihilo* is not the incontestable deduction from the root *khalaḳa* in these Ḳur'ānic contexts, except perhaps in a very few verses such as the words addressed to Zacharias (XIX, 9): "I created you beforehand, when you were nothing" (*wa-lam taku shay'an*); this is the authority for the formula theologians later used to convey creation *ex nihilo*: that which was not, then came into being (*lam yakun, thumma kāna*). The arbitrariness of the divine will can be taken as a sign that nothing else plays any part in creation: "God creates whatever He wishes" (III, 47). God being the sole Creator, and the Creator of all things, then it follows that he creates from nothing. But the verses which are most widely used as the basis for the doctrine of creation *ex nihilo* are those which say: "When God decrees (*ḳaḍā*) a thing He only has to say to it Be! and it is" (II, 117, III, 47, XIX, 35); "We only have to say to a thing when We desire it, Be! and it is" (XVI, 40). Verse VI, 73 is particularly important: "And the day when he says, Be! and then (*fa*) His Word is Reality (*ḥaḳḳ*)"; this can be compared to a number of other verses, where it is said: "He created the heavens and the earth *bi 'l-ḥaḳḳ*" (XXXIX, 5, etc.), which R. Blachère translates as "with gravity". He considers Grimm's translation: "Beide schufen wir durch die Wahrheit" (by the truth: The Book of God) inadmissible, and supports his own reading by pointing out the parallelism of verses 38 and 39 of Sūra XLIV: "We did not create the heavens and the earth ... in a game (*lā'ibīn*, in sport)" and "We did not create them except *bi 'l-ḥaḳḳ*, therefore "with gravity". Lexicographers do indeed give *la'b* (game) as the opposite of *djidd* (a serious, assiduous action, performed steadfastly). But if this parallelism is taken into account, it is not enough to put forward an opposite (*la'b-djidd*); the contradiction must be chosen: God did not create in sport (he was not *lā'ib*, but *ghayr lā'ib*). This goes much further than the simple opposite.

The Ḳur'ān, however, offers various equivalents of *lā'ibīn*: "Do you think that We created you idly (*'abathan*) and that you would not be returned to Us?" (XXIII, 115); "We have not created heaven and earth for nothing" (*bāṭilan*); Blachère "lightly", which is weak; the *Tafsīr al-Djalālayn* makes *bāṭilan* synonymous with *'abathan* and interprets it by *lā li-shay'*). The word *bāṭil* is very strong; it evokes all the futility of error and in the Ḳur'ān itself is opposed to *ḥaḳḳ*. Examples are: "Do not cover the true reality with the futility of error" (II, 42, III, 71); "And say: the truth has come and falsehood has vanished. Yes, falsehood by its nature, must vanish" (*zahūḳ*: which marks the instability and inconstancy of *bāṭil* (XVII, 81); and "Say: Truth has come and falsehood cannot originate or repeat (creation)" (XXXIV, 49).

Thus the creative Word, the *kun* (equivalent to the biblical *fiat*), is not a *flatus vocis*: it brings about being in factual truth. Creation has an end, although God has no need of anything apart from Himself: He is sufficient unto Himself (cf. *wa-staghnā 'llāh*, LXIV, 6). He is learned, wise, living, determined. Creation, say the theologians, disagreeing with some conclusions of Greek philosophy, does not emanate from Him by a natural and necessary process. The *Tafsīr al-Djalālayn* expounds *bi 'l-ḥāḳḳ* (in XLIV, 39) in these terms: "that is to say, We have created by allowing Our Truth (*muḥiḳḳīn*) to triumph, so that Our power and Our unity may be proven." Elsewhere the Ḳur'ān assigns a purpose to the work of creation: "I have created not men and djinns except to worship Me" (LI, 56). This worship profits God nothing, but it is the greatest good of mankind. This good is "in the hand of God" (III, 26); "that which is with God is the good of the pious" (III, 198). All the names of God by which he is designated as He who gives, who pardons, who pours out his bounties in favour of believers, who fear Him and obey Him, are therefore associated with this ultimate end of creation, the return to God. Verse XXIII, 115 (cited above) states this clearly, a point which recurs in XXX, 11: "God originates creation (*yabda'u 'l-khalḳ*), then repeats it (which refers to the latest Life), then unto Him you shall be restored". The same is true of all the passages concerning man. But man is privileged: God appointed him His viceroy on earth, (II, 30); He made all other creatures subject to man: "God has put at your service (on duty for you: *sakhkhara lakum*) whatever is in the heavens and on the earth (XXXI, 20, XLV, 13): the rivers (XIV, 32), the sun and the moon, night and day (XIV, 33, XVI, 12), the sea (XVI, 14), etc. It can therefore be said that man is the purpose of creation, because he has been created with the power to know God, to obey Him, to worship Him, and to return to Him. Creation by the Word, but for the good of the creature, and done out of pure generosity, goodness and munificence, that is *ikrām* (LV, 27 and 78).

Nonetheless, one verse causes problems here. It is written concerning Adam: "He created him from earth, then (*thumma*) He said to him, Be! and he was" (III, 59). The *kun*, therefore, comes after the creation. The Djalālayn's commentary gets over the difficulty by adding after *kun basharan*, "be a human being." This is not on the level of the ultimate creative act; in fact, the work made from earth is already a particular creation. Consequently, like the verb *khalaḳa*, the word *kun* can mean the act of creation *simpliciter* or a subsequent act of specific creation. It must be added, however, that this is the sole example of the use of *kun* with a relative sense in the Ḳur'ān. It is possible to speak of a creation *ex nihilo* which is primordial and universal, then of succeeding creations which give life to particular beings of which occur at different stages of their development. More-

over, the Kur'ān alludes to a first beginning of creation. The expression *bada'a 'l-khalk*, therefore, does not always refer to an absolute beginning, as in, for example, the case of "He began the creation of man from earth" (XXXII, 7). Elsewhere we read: "As we originated the primordial creation (*bada'nā awwala khalkin*), so will We repeat it" (XXI, 104; X, 4, 34, etc.). This refers to the creation of the visible world in its entirety and to a second creation in the hereafter. Al-Zamakhsharī, followed by the Djalālayn, explains that the primordial creation is the fact of giving existence to the world by making it emerge from the void (*idjāduhā ʿan al-ʿadam*). But this raises a grammatical problem: Why "a creation" in the indefinite form? "This is because it is said: *awwal radjulin djā' anī*, where the indefinite mode is employed with the sense of "the first of men who has come to me"; but the indefinite singular is used when what is meant is that they are dealt with in detail one by one (*irādata tafṣīlihim radjulan radjulan*). Therefore *awwal khalkin* means *awwal al-khalā'ik* in the sense of *awwal al-khalā'ik*, the first of creatures, because *khalk* is a *maṣdar* which cannot be put into the plural." The aim of this commentary is not just to point out the idea of creation *ex nihilo* but also to pose the problem of the first creation drawn out of the void, a problem we shall encounter again.

Another term corresponding to *ibtidā'*, noted by the *LA* (above), is found once in the Kur'ān: "The Inventor (*badīʿ*) of the heavens and the earth, when He decrees something, need do no more than say Be! and it is" (II, 111). The *Tafsīr al-Djalālayn* explains *badīʿ* as: "that which gives existence (*mūdjid*) without following a previous model". On the other hand, the Kur'ān does not use the root *ḥ.d.th.* to express, in the IVth form, the idea of producing a new being in time, nor do we find the words *ikhtaraʿa* (to invent) and its derivatives, *kawwana* (to form a being which can generate: cf. generation and conception, *kawn* and *fasād*) and its derivates, nor *awdjada* (to cause to exist).

This creation, which had a beginning, must have an end. Not only because all that is born must naturally die, but because God willed it so: "Then He decreed a final term (*adjal*), a fixed term (*musammā*) in relation to Him" (VI, 2). This refers to the end of each man's life; but it seems that it is the idea of the end of the world, associated with the Judgement Day, that is conveyed by the expression *kudiya 'l-amr* which should be translated "the affair is finished" and not "the order is decreed".

The idea of the end of the world followed by a mustering (*ḥashr*, L, 44) is central to the Kur'ān. As regards the second creation, of the Afterlife, that is, Heaven and Hell, certain verses lead to the conclusion that it will have no end: mankind, it is said, will be there eternally (*khālidūn fīhā abadan*). Yet, though no verse says anything explicit about a final term set on the duration of this stay, some theologians interpreted Sūra XI, 107 and 108 ("So live there forever, as long as the heavens and the earth shall remain ...") as implying the destruction of Heaven and Hell. Therefore Djahm b. Ṣafwān, on the basis of LVII, 3 ("He is the First and the Last"), thought that God would remain alone at the ultimate end of time, just as He had been alone before the creation. But in expounding *mā dāmat al-samawāt wa 'l-arḍ*, al-Zamakhsharī writes: "You must understand by this that the heavens and the earth of the region of the After life are perpetual and created forever." It is written: "Until the day when the earth will be replaced by another earth, and the heavens likewise" (XIV, 48); and "Praise be to God who has bequeathed us the earth" (XXX, 74) in the sense of "the earth of Paradise" (*arḍ al-djanna, Tafsīr al-Djalālayn*), for "we take up our estates in Paradise wherever we wish" (*ibid.*). It can also be said, adds the *Kashshāf*, that here is an *ʿibāra ʿan al-taʿbīd wa-nafy al-inkiṭāʿ*, an expression which means perpetuation in eternity and denies its cessation. This is the sense in which the Arabs say "As long as the mountain of Thabīr endures".

Apart from the allusion in XIV, 48, the Kur'ān does not mention explicitly the creation of Paradise and Hell. Yet it is said that these two places are prepared (*uʿiddat*) for believers and unbelievers (III, 131, 133; cf. XVIII, 102, XLVIII, 6). Similarly, in the account of Genesis there is only an indirect reference to the creation of the angels: "Or did We create the angels female?" (XXXVII, 150). It should also be noted that Iblīs says to God, "You created me from fire" (VII, 12, XXXVIII, 76). We also read: "Everything that is in the heavens and on the earth, the animals in fact (*min dabba*) and the angels ... bows down before God" (XVI, 49). According to the *Kashshāf*, the word "animals" can refer to creatures both in the heavens and on earth, for there are creatures in the heavens which creep as man creeps on earth (*yaddibūn*). It may refer only to beings on earth, and then what is in the heavens is the creature called spirit (*rūḥ*). It could also refer to the angels, who are mentioned also by name because of their special worship. Finally, it is possible that the words "that is in the heavens" can mean the heavenly angels, while the word *malā'ika* which follows *dābba* refers to those on earth, such as the Guardian Angels (*ḥafaẓa*). If the angels in the skies are meant, then they were created at the same time as the heavens and all which they contain, just as Greek Fathers of the Church like Epiphanus had thought.

The text of the Kur'ān poses several other problems: of the creation in six days, of the first created being, and of the process of creation. These will be dealt with under *ḥadīth* and *tafsīr*.

III.—*Khalk in ḥadīth.*

The Prophet was often questioned about the Beginning. One tale recounts this reply: "God was and there was nothing else with Him; His throne was on water (cf. Kur'ān XI, 7). Then he created the heavens and the earth." When someone asked the Prophet where (*ayna*) God was before he created the creatures (*kabla an yakhluka khalkahu*), he said: "He was in a mist (*ʿamā'*); there was no atmosphere either above or below Him, and He created His throne on the water, that is, there was nothing with Him (*laysa maʿahu shay'*)." The role of water in creation is important (cf. Kur'ān XXI, 30, XXIV, 45, XXXII, 8, LXXVIII, 20, LXXXVI, 6). Several *ḥadīths* relate how when water boils it becomes a vapour which constitutes the sky, while it forms on its surface a froth which becomes the earth. The vapour, called smoke (*dukhān* = *bukhār murtafiʿ*, *al-Djalālayn*) plays a part in the Kur'ān (XLI, 11) in the creation of the sky. On this subject, the narratives are simply picturesque amplifications of the Kur'ānic text conveying any number of mythical traditions of Oriental peoples which were transmitted by way of rabbinical *haggādā* or Iranian and Hellenistic gnosticism. A large number of them are found at the beginning of al-Ṭabarī's *Annales*, in al-Masʿūdī works, and, much later, in Madjlisī's *Biḥār al-anwār*. A sea beneath the seven heavens, eight *awʿāl* beneath the sea, and a throne carried on their backs are also

described. This image is an extension of the verse: "And on the borders of the sky shall stand the angels, and on that day eight shall carry above them the throne of their Lord" (LXIX, 17). The word *waʿil* designates the chamois goat which lives on the mountain tops. The plural *awʿāl* or *wuʿal* is applied to those beings dwelling on the height, the *ashrāf*, here the angels (*LA*, *malāʾika ʿalā sūrat al-awʿāl*). At this stage, the distance which separates each rung from the next is a 71, 72, or 73-years' walk (500 according to other versions). But in some texts, the figure 500 represents the thickness (*ghilaẓ*) of each sky.

There are many, though differing, narratives about the days of creation and their duration in terrestial years, about the first day (Saturday or Sunday), and the division of the creative work between the different days. Many of them are designed to refute the Jewish concept of the sabbath day of rest: God never rests because tiredness can never affect Him (cf. Ḳurʾān L, 38). Concerning the successive order of creation the Prophet said: "God created the earth (*turba*) on Saturday, the mountains on Sunday, the trees on Monday, the *makrūh* on Tuesday and light on Wednesday. On Thursday he dispersed the animals (*dawābb*) over the earth, and he created Adam at the end of creation, after the *ʿaṣr* of Friday in the last hour of the last day, during the period which separates *ʿaṣr* from night." But according to another tale, the Prophet replied to Jews who were quizzing him that God had created the earth on Sunday and Monday, the mountains and all the useful matter they contained on Tuesday, trees, water, cities, the prosperity of cultivated lands (*ʿumrān*) and destruction (*kharāb*) on Wednesday, which makes four days (cf. Ḳurʾān XLI, 9-10). On Thursday He created the sky, on Friday, up to the last three hours of the day, the stars, sun, moon and the angels (cf. XLI, 12: "In two days, He, by his decree, established the heavens in seven heavens ... and We adorned the lower heaven with lamps and placed it under a good watchman." Here, says al-Zamakhsharī, the text speaks of the creation of lights, stars and the angels. Then during the first of the remaining three hours, He created the fixed terms of the beings which live and die; in the second He threw the destructive (*āfa*) flame over all that man could take to his use, and in the third He created Adam, giving him the garden (of Eden) to dwell in and ordering Iblīs to bow before him. From these two examples we can see to what extent two accounts can diverge. However, they converge on one important point: God created moral and physical evil (cf. *makrūh*, *kharāb*, *āfa*).

The *ḥadīth*s reveal the identity of the first created being. Most consider that this was *al-Ḳalam*: at God's command it wrote the *ḳadar* and marked out everything which could be engendered in being (*al-kāʾin*). Consequently, if the *ḳaḍāʾ* is the Command by means of which God decides to create being as He wills, the *ḳadar* influences the determination of the temporal order and gives rise to *al-Ḳalam*. According to other traditionists, light and darkness are the first things created. Then came the creation of *ʿamāʾ*, of the mist or cloud (*ghamām*) to which Ḳurʾān II, 210 alludes, followed by the Throne, water (or water, then the Throne), before the creation of the heavens and the earth. But other traditions give a different order: *kalām*, *kursī*, air and darkness, water. (The association between air and darkness recalls an old notion, adopted by the Stoics, that air is black.) Elsewhere a new entity, the *haykal*, appears: it encloses the seas which surround the heavens and the earth and is enveloped by the *kursī*. There is a notable *ḥadīth* on the Intelligence (*al-ʿaḳl*) which, linked to Verse XVII, 85 on the Spirit (*al-rūḥ min amr rabbī*), greatly influenced later speculations (cf. below). The Prophet said: "When God created the Intelligence He said to it, 'Come forward', and it came forward. Then he said, 'Go back', and it went back. Then God said: 'I have created nothing that I love more than you and I will place you only in the creature I love most'."

IV.—*Khalḳ in tafsīr.*

All the Ḳurʾānic commentaries on creation are based on a number of *ḥadīth*s, some on more than others. Generally, they state precisely that it was a creation *ex nihilo* and often explain *khalḳ* by *īdjād*, the gift of existence. But while taking their inspiration from these contexts, they sometimes make it follow that God speaks of His creative act to show that He is Almighty God, to whom worship is owing, because He is Unique, He alone is able to create. Thus when commenting on the verse, "Worship your Lord who created you," al-Zamakhsharī understands the verb *khalaḳakum* as constituting "an explanatory and distinguishing attribute" (*ṣifa mūḍiḥa mumayyiza*) of our Lord (*rabbakum*). *Khalḳ* is therefore associated with divine lordship (*rubūbiyya*). Creation is an act belonging to God, and is shared with no other. *Khalḳ* is also shown as a blessing (*niʿma*).

One problem which caught the attention of the commentators was how to reconcile apparently contradictory verses, such as LXXIX, 28-32, where the creation of the earth and all it contains seems to follow that of the heavenly corners after the creation of all that is on earth. According to Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, the earth must have been created before the sky, but God would not have "spread it out" (*daḥāhā*) before creating the sky, since *taḍhiya* is the act of displaying or unfurling (*basṭ*) not of creating. But, he said, this explanation raises two objections: the first is that since the earth is an immense expanse it is impossible to separate its *khalḳ* from its *taḍhiya*, and if one occurs later so must the other. The second objection is that verse II, 29 proves that the creation of the earth and all it encompasses came before the sky; but the creation of things on the earth is not possible before it is "spread out." Thus both creation and unfurling of the earth came before the creation of the sky. There was an attempt to counter this by distinguishing between the creation and the "levelling" (*taswiya*) of the sky, particularly its division into the seven heavens. The creation of the sky was before the creation of the earth, but its *taswiya* came afterwards. Unfortunately verse LXXIX, 26 makes the construction, lifting of the vault and levelling of the sky all part of the same thing, and all take place before the spreading out of the earth. As a last resort, al-Rāzī suggests extending the preposition *thumma* (and then) in verse II, 29 to mean not an actual order of succession, a *tartīb*, but a simple list of bounties (*taʿdīd al-niʿam*), which enumerate in second place something which could very well actually have been first. The aim of this discussion is to show that some processes like *taswiya* and *taḍhiya*, which come into the general category of *taḳdīr*, are, with a few exceptions, conceived of as creative acts, or at least as aspects of *khalḳ*.

Another contradiction, between XLI, 9-12 and L, 38, concerns the total number of days of creation. The first text seems to give a total of eight days; two for the creation of the earth, four for establishing (*wadjaʿala*) the mountains and diversifying (*ḳaddara*) its nourishment, two for the seven heavens. The second

text states quite precisely that six days sufficed for the creation of the heavens, the earth and what is between them. All the commentators solve this by saying that in XLI, 9-12 we must not make the addition 2 + 4 = 6. The Ḳur'ānic sentence *wa-dja'ala* ... is an *isti'nāf*, a new sentence which goes back to the beginning and means that the creation of the earth and all it entails (mountains, foodstuffs) took place in four days. Likewise, explains al-Rāzī, when we say that it is twenty days' walk from Kūfa to Medina and thirty to Mecca, it does not mean that the distance from Kūfa to Mecca is 20 + 30 = 50, but that Kūfa to Medina takes 20 days and (*isti'nāf*) Kūfa to Mecca 30. Here the *dja'l* and *taḳdir* are considered as creations. Ibn Ḥazm, however, in the *Refutation of Ibn Naghrila*, separates them from *khalḳ*: "The two days during which God created the sky in seven heavens are the last two of the four days when he distributed the crops on the earth, for this distribution is something other then creation." Hardly a satisfying explanation! Finally, some commentators also echoed theological or philosophical conceptions.

V.—*Khalḳ in kalām.*

With the theologians, especially the Mu'tazilīs, the vocabulary of creation grew richer. In the first place, the creative act was expressed by the term *īdjād*, the fact of giving existence to that which did not exist. God is He who also gives existence (*al-Mūdjid*). But in order to endure, existence (*wudjūd*) needs subsistence (*baḳā'*), and that in abundance; *khalḳ* is not only *īdjād* but also *ibḳā'*, the gift of sustenance. Al-Rāzī related this second idea to the one expressed in the Ḳur'ānic term *rizḳ*: the act of catering for, providing for, sustaining. God is *Rāziḳ* and *Razzāḳ* just as He is *Khāliḳ* and *Khallāḳ*. The Ḳur'ān brings together the two ideas: "Is there a creator other than God who gives you sustenance (*yarzuḳukum*)" (XXXV, 3). And, more explicitly: "He who originated creation and repeated it, and He who gives you sustenance from the sky and the earth, is there another than God?" (XXVII, 64). The sustaining power, like the creating power, is associated with the oneness of God. The act of creation is not simply an original snap of the fingers; it must be repeated at each moment of the existence of creatures lest they should sink into the void. This is the Muslim doctrine of continuous creation, which is illustrated to perfection in al-Bāḳillānī's atomism and occasionalism, though it is not a prerogative of Ash'arism alone. Al-Bāḳillānī thinks that an accident cannot last two minutes in succession on a body which God has created in each of those two moments. The Mu'tazilīs are not unanimous on this point: some, the disciples of Mu'ammar, deny that God can create an accident; other affirm it. 'Abd al-Djabbār belongs to the second group, since he speaks of *ḥudūth* (generation of a new thing in time) of accidents, which are therefore *muḥdath* and must have a *muḥdith*, who is God. Nevertheless, the existence of accidents is a weaker proof of the existence of the Creator than that of bodies (*Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, 39 f.).

Khalḳ is an attribute of God; it is an attribute of action and for the Mu'tazilīs, it is like the realisation of an act of goodness (*iḥsān*) or the exercise of justice (*'adl*). But it is necessary to know if God was thus eternally "creatory" (*lam yazal khāliḳan*), or if before the creation of the world He was, in pre-eternity, eternally "non-creatory" (*ghayr khāliḳ*). In general, the Ash'arīs think that *khāliḳ*, as a name of God, was eternally applied to him, but they do not press the analysis of the problem any further. All of the Mu'tazilīs do not deny that God was eternally "non-creatory", "non-providing", "non-operatory". They think that this is true of all those attributes of action which are unambiguously styled (*laysa fī na'tihi īhām*): in fact, God can be just either because justice is of His essence or because He exercises it. Thus, states al-Djubbā'ī, it must be said that He is eternally "not-just" and eternally "not-injust", for as long as the ambiguity lasts, that is, for as long as the object of his justice does not exist. But in the case of the creation there is no such ambiguity: the Creator is He who creates in reality. 'Abbād b. Sulaymān takes another stance: when he was told that God had never ceased to be *khāliḳ*, he denied it; he denied it also when he was told that God had never ceased to be *ghayr khāliḳ*. By this double denial, 'Abbād touched on the philosophical problem of the eternity of God and the temporality of his creation. He maintained in fact that God is before (*ḳabl*), but not before things or after things, just as it is not said that He is the First with regard to things (*awwal al-ashyā'*). The question of divine will was asked in this context of ideas. 'Abd al-Djabbār (*Sharḥ*, 440) writes that God is "willing" by an "innovatory" will (*bi-irāda muḥdatha*). We will not dwell here on his evidence, but will observe that if, as Abū Hāshim thinks (*Sharḥ*, 548), the act of creation is none other than the act of will (*al-khalḳ innamā huwa 'l-irāda*) and the act of creation cannot be realised without the realisation of a created being (*makhlūḳ*, *ibid.*, 549), this way lies the trap which philosophical reflection has spotted in connection with *muradjdjiḥ*, that is, the thing which swings the balance in favour of creation. Is it eternal? Creation must then be eternal. Is it not so? It must therefore be created in its term, and the question stretches back into infinity. Or, perhaps the *muradjdjiḥ*, eternal though it is, was hindered from acting? Therefore there must have been a hindrance, a *tark al-muradjdjiḥ*. And was that eternal or created? This notion leads to the same labyrinth as the previous one.

But theological speculations, by Mu'tazilīs at any rate, never went to these lengths. For them, the essential problem was to know what could be said of God from what the Ḳur'ān teaches. They had not the least doubt that the creation, as regards creatures, was "innovatory". Creation was produced in time and cannot be eternal. The question of the eternity of the creative act, however, underlined in their eyes the general problem of the attributes of essence and action. 'Abd al-Djabbār thought (*Sharḥ*, 115) that God had the power to create and to will by His essence; but saying that His will to create is *muḥdatha* does not imply that He needs a *muradjdjiḥ* in order to create, just as from our own experience (*fi'l-shāhid*, 116) we know that man does not need the will to will something in order to do so.

Relationships between attributes exist. *Khalḳ* is obviously connected with the Almighty (*Ḳudra*). This latter substantive is not Ḳur'ānic, but theologians consider that the word *ḳuwwa*, which occurs in verse II, 165 (*al-ḳuwwa li 'llāh djamī'an*), is its equivalent. God is *khāliḳ* in respect of *ḳādir* (Ḳur'ān, XVIII, 99, XXXVI, 81, XLVI, 33). 'Abd al-Djabbār writes: "The proof which demonstrates that God is the Innovator of the world proves this attribute, His Almighty Being, acting without intermediary" (*Sharḥ*, 151). This is why the Mu'tazilīs say that it was the Almighty who conceived us originally. Creation also proves that God is wise, through the

intermediary of the harmonious company of creatures (*taʾlīf*), the marvels of the animal world and the ordering (*tarkīb*) of the celestial spheres (*ibid.*, 157), in short, well-conducted processes (*al-afʿāl al-muḥkama*).

But the relationship between creation and knowledge did present the Muʿtazilīs with a serious problem. Did God know his creatures before He created them? Did He have any knowledge of what their essential being must be before He gave them existence? Is it permissible to speak of a "before" at all? We have already looked at ʿAbbād b. Sulaymān's thesis. The disciples of Abū 'l-Ḥusayn al-Ṣāliḥī claim that the Creator does not cease to be eternally "within the beforeness of things" (*lam yazal ḳablu 'l-as̲h̲yāʾ*), but not "before things" (*ḳabla 'l-as̲h̲yāʾ*). Following the *Maḳālāt al-islāmiyyīn*, most Muʿtazilīs nonetheless think that He has been eternally before things. Despite the various shades of opinion, this does not indicate a belief in the eternal simultaneity (*maʿiyya*) of God and things. Consequently, the preceding question is asked legitimately in this school. All the scholars agree that God is eternally knowing (*ʿālim*). But does He have eternal knowledge of the elements? Are those things which can be known (cognisables, *maʿlūmāt*) in fact known before they come into being (*ḳabla kawnihā*)? Furthermore, have "things" (a very general term corresponding to *mā*, Greek τι) never ceased to be (albeit as pure cognisables)? Various different answers are given. Al-Fuwaṭī, for example, thinks that God knows eternally what He is, but to say that He knows things from all eternity is tantamount to asserting their eternal co-existence with the Creator. It is not even possible to say that He knows what they will be, because that would be devising (*is̲h̲āra*) them and it is not possible to devise what exists. The name thing can only be applied to that which God has created or destroyed, *mak̲h̲lūḳ* and *maʿdūm*. The pure void (*ʿadam*) is not so named and cannot be known.

Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Ṣāliḥī, however, is of the opinion that God knows things eternally, but "in their moments" (*fī awḳātihā*), that is, that motionless eternity embraces all times in the flow of their moments. The knowledge of God is eternal, immutable, but the objects of this knowledge are subject to a temporal factor. ʿAbbād b. Sulaymān acknowledges that God has eternal knowledge of the creative act (*al-mak̲h̲lūḳāt*) elements or results of acts (*al-mafʿūlāt*). Al-D̲j̲ubbāʾī subscribes to a similar doctrine.

What does this mean? If God has knowledge of substances and accidents before they are created, why does He not also know the elements which are the substances that transmit the accidents? The stress laid on the ideas of action (*k̲h̲alḳ*, *afʿāl*) leads to the notion that God has eternal knowledge of the power which He has to create certain sorts of being without knowing these beings themselves in their concrete and transient reality. Eternal knowledge of the eternal Almighty Power to create, this creative knowledge, can neither, by the preceding definition, be an *a posteriori* knowledge of creation nor a knowledge of creation in the *a priori* of His Idea. In fact, these speculations encompass the problem of Platonism's exemplary Ideas, *mut̲h̲ul*, which the Muʿtazilīs reject. If such models existed in the divine mind, the creatures would resemble their Creator; but "nothing resembles God" (Ḳurʾān XLII, 11). If there was ever in Islām a *ḥadīt̲h̲* that God created man in his image, it was either rejected as unauthentic or interpreted as meaning that man was created in accordance with his own form.

These speculations led to the theory that essences were eternal in the state of nothingness (*fī ḥāl al-ʿadam*). He did not create them to give them an essential existence before making them exist in things, because to create essences in this way implies that they are known beforehand, and this leads once more to the Platonic error they were anxious to avoid. If to create is to bring into being out of the void, it is reasonable to suppose that the essences of created things, like the things themselves, are in the void before creation. They must at least have the determination to be possible, meaning by possible that which is not but could be. This corresponds to God's almighty power, and its *mumkināt* are *maḳdūrāt*. Thus what God knows eternally is His power. The problem, therefore, is to know if God creates all possible beings or if He makes a choice, or again if His power wears itself out in the creation of that which He creates. D̲j̲ahm thinks that the objects of God's power and knowledge have an end and a limit (*g̲h̲āya wa-nihāya*) and that His acts will end in a final act (*wa-li-afʿālihi āk̲h̲ir*). But, agreeing with Islam's deepest conviction, the Muʿtazilīs as a whole believe that God's power is limitless and that the created world does not exhaust it.

VI.—*K̲h̲alḳ in falsafa.*

As a general rule, the *falāsifa* used the word *k̲h̲alḳ* in the sense of creation *ab aeterno*. Proclus formulated this conception precisely in the Commentary on the Timaeus and it was elaborated upon by commentators on Plato and Aristotle. It was revived by al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā. Al-G̲h̲azālī criticised it in his *Tahāfut al-falāsifa*, and his theological arguments were refuted by Ibn Rus̲h̲d in *Fahāfut al-tahāfut* in the name of a pure Aristotelianism which differed significantly from the Avicennan ideas on this question [cf. ḲIDAM]. Ibn Sīnā often uses the term *ibdāʿ* [*q.v.*]. It is the extent to which a thing owes its existence to something other than itself, and is subordinate to this other thing and no other, without the intermediary of matter, instrument or time (*Is̲h̲ārāt, namaṭ*, v, section 9). "The Prime Innovator is an intellectual substance (*d̲j̲awhar ʿaḳlī*) which is innovated (*mubdaʿ*) in the true sense of the word. By his intermediary He (God) innovates an(other) intellectual substance and heavenly body (*ibid.*, VI, 21)." Here we have the theory of the emanation (*fayḍ*) of intelligences and spheres which comes directly from al-Fārābī. Quiddities exist in concrete form in things, abstractly in human thought and as an exemplar in God's knowledge. But, unlike the Platonic Ideas, these are not individualised as if divine thought was their "intelligible place" (τόπος νοητός). God had prior knowledge of the "exemplary representation of universal order" (*tamat̲h̲t̲h̲ul al-niẓām al-kullī*) from which this order is unfolded in its disposition and divisions (*ʿalā tartībihi wa-tafāṣīlihi*), in the intelligible course of its emanation. The two major Neoplatonic principles adopted by the Muslims are present here; that nothing can come from the One but one, and that God has no knowledge of details as such, neither in their material reality nor in their individual essence. Yet verse LVII, 3, which states that God is the Manifest and the Concealed, gives rise to the notion that worldly beings are simply manifestations of God (cf. *al-Fuṣūs fī 'l-ḥikma*: "In as much as He is manifest, he extracts All from His essence . . . His knowledge of All multiplies in a multiplicity which comes after His essence, and All is united by His essence in His unity . . . He is therefore manifest in as much as He is concealed and Concealed in as much as He is

manifest"). Ibn ʿArabī systematised this concept: Being had an interior reality and an exterior expression which are inseparable and dialectically united. This gives rise to the cosmological pair *khalḳ-ḥaḳḳ* corresponding to the ontological pair *ẓahir-bāṭin*. Creation is an expression and a manifestation of God; it is the "epiphany" of God. Beings are manifold mirrors of the divine Essence, which is absolutely one, ineffable and without end. The most beautiful names of God are the patterns from which and for which all the beings in the world are "created" (*Futūḥāt*, i, ch. 4). "The first divine step in creation was resolution (*taḳdīr*), even before the existence of creatures: it is the manner in which creatures are qualified in respect of being manifestations of Divine Reality (*bi-kawnihim maẓāhir li-'l-Ḥaḳḳ*)" (*ibid.*, ii, 11, ch. 3, question 30).

The Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ also believe in emanation, but of a different type than Ibn Sīnā's. They call the Creator (*al-Bārīʾ*) *muḥdith*, *mukhtariʿ*, *mubdiʿ*, *mubḳī*, *mutammim*, *mukammil*. The Intelligence, the prime innovator, has existence (*wudjūd*), sustenance (*baḳāʾ*), completeness (*tamām*) and perfection (*kamāl*). The soul, which comes after him, lacks perfection, while matter has only existence and sustenance. The soul achieves perfection through giving completeness to matter, which by this union has a body. Like Ibn Sīnā they believe that the creative, innovatory act of God affects directly His Intelligence alone, which receives all it requires at a single stroke (*dafʿatan*). Here the Ikhwān make an interesting distinction. When discussing the verse: "*A lahu 'l-khalḳ wa'-l-amr*" (VII, 45) they explain that *khalḳ* designates corporeal things and *amr* spiritual substances. Their general term for creation is *ibdāʿ*.

A distinction of this type is even more marked among later Ismāʿīlis. In *Kanz al-walad*, Ibrāhīm b. Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmidī also speaks of an *ibdāʿ* which arose from a single stroke connected with the Prime Innovator (*al-mubdaʿ al-awwal*) or Prime Intelligence; then came successively the first emanation (*al-Munbaʿith al-Awwal*), *al-Ḳalam*, which subsists in action, and the second emanation, which subsists in power. Both are derived from the Prime Innovator, which was not created (*mukhtariʿ*) as a result of "something which can be called an act of innovation", but which is "the very act of the Highest (*al-Mutaʿālī*), gushing from Him towards existence." The first emanation glorifies, worships and sanctifies the Prime Innovator, and together they testify to the Highest. It too is perfect in its essence and completed in its act. The second emanation, however, while of course glorifying the Prime Innovator, neglected to join it in testifying to the Highest. It also occupied second place and did not acknowledge the first emanation's prerogative. For all these reasons, although perfect in its essence, it is defective (*nāḳiṣ*) in its action, which is therefore power. Here we notice the appearance of a fault committed by the upper world, and the idea of a culpability that is inserted into the process of creation, which is not found in the Ikhwān's thought, gradually develops in later Ismāʿīlism. Evil is therefore born in the spiritual world, that of the *ʿuḳūl* and the angels, although at the "emanatory" (*inbiʿāthāt*) level and not that on the *ibdāʿ*. In his article "*The Ismaili Vocabulary of Creation*" in *SI*, xl (1974) 75-84), a study of the *Kitāb al-Yanābīʿ*, a manuscript of Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Sidjistānī's *Maḳālid* and al-Kirmānī's *Kitāb al-Riyāḍ*, P. E. Walker concludes: "In sum, the creation process ... divides into three distinct levels, each corresponding to the level of reality being created." He cites the *Maḳālid*, which makes a distinction between *aysiyya mukawwana*, *aysiyya munbaʿitha* and *aysiyya maḥḍa*. At the sensible level, things are created by the passage of time and things come to be out of things that were. On a higher plane, things in the intelligible world come forth by emanation or the special process of *al-inbiʿāth*. Above all is creation by *al-ibdāʿ*." He defines creation by *ibdāʿ* as "the radical coming to be of being from what is not being." It is "an eternal, timeless existentiation." H. Corbin compares this theory with al-Kindī's in *Hist. de la philos. isl.*, 220. The source of such innovation is a God there is a recognisable will, one which does not more can be said than what He is not, while adding that He is not what he is not." *Ibdāʿ* is outside the realm of intellectual speculation and is not a process arising from an intelligible act; this gave rise to the voluntarist conception of it. God innovates through a commandment that is also will (*amr-irāda*). Oddly enough, we have here in the use of words a reflection of Ibn Rushd, who, for other reasons, also thought that God, immobile Prime Mover that He is, moves the world through His *amr*. He acknowledges that in God there is a recognisable will, one which does not resemble man's will at all but is for Him analogous to it. Ibn Sīnā, and especially his commentator Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, rejected the intervention of will in the creative act, for to will is to strive for something missing and God does not lack anything. He creates through pure generosity (*djūd*), which these philosophers consider the exact mean between a natural production (*ṭabīʿī*) and a willed creation.

VII.—*Creation in the thinking of the Shīʿī Imāms.*

Imāmī teaching introduces the concept of a pre-eternal creation of "forms of light, precosmic entities" (H. Corbin, *op. laud.*, 75). Many traditions speak of a pleroma of five of these: Muḥammad, Fāṭima, ʿAlī, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. The universe is made from them, governed by them and constructed to receive their temporal manifestations. The Muḥammadan Light is the Prime Innovator of all creation. There are many accounts of this topic in *Biḥār al-anwār*. But all the *Imāms* are of a unique essence. In *Kāfī*, al-Kulaynī recounts a number of *ḥadīth*s about the creation of the *Imāms*: "God created us from the light of His majesty. Then He shaped our already created beings (*ṣawwara khalḳanā*) from clay kept hidden beneath His Throne and made this light dwell there. Thus we are creatures of light and men of light." Another *ḥadīth* speaks of a river flowing beneath the Throne; beneath the Spirits, the Spirit of Holiness and the Spirit which proceeds from God's Commandment (cf. Ḳurʾān, XVII, 85). God takes ten portions of clay, five from Paradise and five from earth. The *Imāms* are created from these and given breath by the two Spirits. Another text says that they are created from the sublimest of the ʿIlliyyūn (cf. Ḳurʾān, LXXXIII, 18-19). Clearly, while based on Ḳurʾānic verses, all these tales embody elements alien to Muslim Revelation and obviously showing Gnostic influence.

VIII.—*Supplementary questions.*

Some *ḥadīth*s state clearly that God created evil and the pains suffered by mankind. Theology, particularly Ashʿarī theology, supported this doctrine, justifying it by saying that creation does not entail that normal causality where effect issues from cause. God can therefore create evil, but it is not necessary to call Him evil. Associated with this question is that of the creation of human actions, a concept which the

Djabriyya upheld, which asserts that God created belief and unbelief, worship and disobedience. All that exists and is not God is created by God. Evil exists and is not God. The conclusion is inescapable.

Elsewhere, we find the doctrine of creation by the Word (the imperative ***kun***, the ***amr***), and creation by generosity (*djūd*). It should be added that some mystics, such as al-Ḥallādj, believed that God created by love. In al-Ḥallādj's eyes, says L. Massignon, concluding his study of the developments of *khalḳ* and *ʿishḳ*, "the mystery of creation is love, essence of the divine essence" (*Passion*[2], iii, 116 and index s.v. *khalḳ*.

Bibliography: given in the article.

(R. Arnaldez)

KHALḲEVİ (Modern Turkish orthography, HALKEVİ, pl. HALKEVLERİ), "People's House", the educational and social centres founded by Muṣṭafā Kemāl (Atatürk) to replace the "Turkish Hearths" (see *Türk Odjaghi*) which were active, with some intervals, between 1912 and 1932. The *Odjaḳs* represented originally the Pan-Turkist ideology of the Committee of Union and Progress (*Ittiḥād ve Teraḳḳī Djemʿiyyeti* [*q.v.*]). Although the government continued to support them after the foundation of the Republic in 1923, they were gradually looked upon as an obsolete institution, out of keeping with Kemalism, which rejected "unrealistic" ideologies (i.e. Ottomanism, Pan-Islamism, Pan-Turanianism) and cultivated a nationalism based on the National Pact (*Mīthāḳ-i Millī*). Hence they were dissolved on 10 April 1930. In the meantime, the Republican People's Party (RPP, see DJUMHŪRIYYET KHALḲ FİRḲASİ) Convention of May 1931 formulated the six fundamental principles of Kemalism: republicanism, nationalism, populism, statism, secularism and reformism, which were going to be disseminated all over the country through a new organisation, the People's Houses. Founded on 19 February 1932, they developed rapidly and their number in cities and towns reached 379 in 1940 and 478 in 1950. In 1939 they were expanded into villages, where they were called *Halk Odası* ("People's Room", pl. *Halk Odaları*), and their number reached 4,322 in 1950. People's Houses and Rooms were under direct control of the RPP, which appointed the heads of the houses and closely supervised their activities which were divided into nine areas: (1) Language and literature, (2) Fine Arts, (3) Theatre, (4) Sports, (5) Social Assistance, (6) Adult Education, (7) Library and publication, (8) Rural development, and (9) Museums and History. In addition to *Ülkü* ("Ideal"), the organ of the Central office in Ankara, almost every important provincial People's House published a periodical which encouraged the study of local popular literature and folklore. The collections of these periodicals (available in the Milli Kütüphane or National Library in Ankara) contain invaluable materials for research in these fields. The most outstanding of these periodicals, *Ülkü* (1933-50) was, under the editorship of the eminent scholar M. Fuad Köprülü, until 1941 a leading review of serious research in the field of Turcology, becoming later a predominantly literary magazine. Although primarily meant for the masses, the People's Houses, which possessed fully equipped libraries and theatres, attracted mostly the educated classes, particularly students, teachers, doctors, lawyers, government officials, etc. Apart from their remarkable achievements in adult education, the People's Houses made a great contribution in the field of drama, as they gradually became a training ground for many actors, producers and playwrights. Following the end of the single-party régime in 1946, the RPP made great efforts to turn the People's Houses into non-party institutions. After the victory of the Democratic Party [see DEMOKRAT PARTI] in the general elections of May 1950, the RPP suggested to the government a compromise to "to save this heritage of Ataturk"; this was nevertheless rejected, and the People's Houses and Rooms were abolished on 8 August 1951 (by law No. 530) and all their property confiscated. After the Revolution of 27 May 1960, the military régime, which stood for the principles of Kemalism, on 12 April 1961 set up Turkish Cultural Associations (*Türk Kültür Dernekleri*). On 21 April 1963, these non-political associations changed their names to *Halkevi*. The revived People's Houses have not yet (1976) recovered their former important position in the country.

Bibliography: Uluğ Iğdemir, *Halkevleri ve Odaları*, in *Aylik Ansiklopedi*, i, Istanbul 1945, 342-5; Necmeddin Esin, *Halkevleri*, in *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, xviii, Ankara, 1970, 411-2; K. H. Karpat, *The People's Houses in Turkey*, in *Middle East Jnal.*, xvii (1963) 55-67; idem, *The impact of the People's Houses on the development of communication in Turkey 1931-1951*, in *WI*, N.S. xv (1974), 69-84.

(Fahir Iz)

KHALKHA, the name of a river which rises on the western slopes of the Great Khingan in Mongolia and empties into the Buyir-Nor; this river appears in the Chinese atlases in the forms Ha-lo-hin or Ha-êrh-ha, which render the name Khalkha. It is mentioned in the 12th century by the "Kin dynastic history" (*Kin-she*) in ch. 94, 3, under the name Ha-lo, very likely an incomplete transcription of this name for the river. It is cited on a few occasions in the Mongol period and the Ming one, appearing very frequently in the Manchu period in the Chinese, Mongol, Russian and western sources. Naturally, it is cited in the Mongol period by Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Berezin, in *Trudy VORAO*, xiii (St. Petersburg 1868), Persian text, 216, Russian tr. 134: *Ḳalā*, and xv (1889), text, 3, 1. 14, tr. 3. For the greater part of its course, this river forms the frontier between the province of Khingan (former Hei-long-kiang) and the Mongolian People's Republic. Since the 16th century, the term Khalkha has designated the northeastern part of Mongolia, from the actual province of Khingan to the eastern frontier of the province of Kobdo, and from the Russian frontier to the territory of Inner Mongolia. The name Khalkha is also used at the present time for the language spoken in almost all of the Mongolian Republic.

Sanang Setsen, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen*, ed. I. J. Schmidt, St. Petersburg 1829, 191, 197, and also the later Mongol chroniclers, speak of 12 Khalkha tribes, and they distinguish five "nearer tribes" and seven "further tribes" (*op. cit.*, 205, also 191, 285). *The Mong-ku she-hi p'u* "Genealogical tables of the Mongols" (L. Hambis, *Documents relatifs à l'histoire des Mongols*, Paris 1969, 235) relates thus: "The eighth son of Batu Mongkä Dayan-Ḫan was called Gärösanǰa; he himself had seven sons who lived among the Qalqa tribes, whence their name of the seven Qalqa banners". On the other hand, J. B. du Halde, *Description ... de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise*, The Hague 1736, 75, mentions thus in regard to the Khalkha: "This name is taken from the river Kalka. At Peking, they are called Kalka tase and Kalka Mongu". The ancestor of all the Khalkha princes was thus Gärösanǰa (or "Geresentse"), son of Dayan-Khān (d. 1543?); cf. on his genealogy, A Pozdneyev, *Mongolia i Mongoli*,

St. Petersburg 1896, i, 472, and especially the genealogy in the *Šara Tūdži*, ed. N. P. Shastina, Moscow-Leningrad 1957, 153-8. From the different branches of this princely family there derive the four *aymaks*, into which the Khalkha, from the east to the west, the *aymak* of Tsetsen-khān, that of Tushetu-khān, that of Sayin-noyan and that of Djasaktu-khān are nominally divided. The Mongol inscription of Dolon-Nor, inscribed on the occasion of the submission of the Khalkha to the emperor Kang-hi in 1691, published and tr. A. Pozdneyev, *op. cit.*, ii, 291 ff., mentions seven sons of "Geresentse", amongst whom the Khalkha were said to be divided in seven divisions (*khoshun*, in Arabic script *koshūn*); these would be the seven "further tribes" of Sanang Setsen. Around 1585, the Khalkha appeared to have adopted lamaist Buddhism, and the Dalai Lama appointed for them a "Kutuktu". The five "nearer tribes" are essentially the Djaraγut (< Djarōd) and the Bārin who live today in the southern part of the Khingan province on the borders of the former Manchuria (cf. B. Ya. Vladimirtsov, *Gde "pyat" Khalkhaskikh pokolenil—Tabun otoj γalγa* ["Where are the 'five tribes of the Khalkha'?"], in *Dokl. Ak. Nauk* (1930), 201-5).

After the proclamation of the Chinese Republic in 1911, the Khalkha proclaimed their independence, but despite Russian intervention, were brought into subjection again by the Chinese government. After many vicissitudes, and after having received aid from the Soviet army in order to suppress the attempts of Ungern-Sternberg, they became independent under the name of "People's Republic of Mongolia", thus putting an end in 1921 to the feudal era. Since this time, and despite the fact that China has never recognised this independence as *de jure*, as official maps show, the Khalkha have undergone a radical transformation through the revolution and through socialisation, having suffered bitterly during the Stalinist period.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(L. Hambis)

KHALKHĀL, in mediaeval times a district and town, now a district only, of Ādharbāydjān in northwestern Persia. It lies to the south of Ardabīl, and is bounded on the east by that part of the Elburz chain which separates Gīlān and Tālish in the Caspian coastlands from the upland interior of Ādharbāydjān, the mountains here rising to over 10,000 feet. Much of the district is drained by the left-bank tributaries of the Kïzïl Uzun affluent of the Safīd-Rūd. In mediaeval times it adjoined on the east the district of Ṭārom and was part of the general region called Daylam [*qq.v.*].

The actual name Khalkhāl is not known before Yākūt, but it may be connected with the Khalkhal which lay in eastern Transcaucasia and was, according to Greek and Armenian authors of the 2nd-5th centuries A.D., the winter residence of the kings and then of Albania or Arrān (Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 118). Yākūt describes Khalkhāl as both a town and a district of lofty mountains and strong fortresses, being two days' journey from Ardabīl and seven from Qazwīn; he himself passed through it as he fled before the Mongols in 617/1220 (*Buldān*, ed. Beirut 1374-6/1955-7, ii, 381-2). Mustawfī (wrote 740/1339-40) is more informative. He states that Khalkhāl district has four component sub-districts, Khāmida-Bīl, Sadjasrūd, Andjīlābād and Mīsdjīn, that it comprises *ca.* 100 villages, with good pasture land and stocks of game, and that its revenue amounts to 30,000 dīnārs a year. The seat of its governors was formerly Fīrūzābād at the top of the Bardalīz Pass; this had been replaced by the town of Khalkhāl, now itself declined to little more than a village (*Nuzhat al-kulūb*, tr. 84). The site of this old capital of Fīrūzābād or Fīrūzān is marked, according to Minorsky, by the modern village of Kabakh.

The district of Khalkhal at present forms a *shahrastān* of the *ustān* or province of Ādharbāydjān East, and has four *bakhshs* or component sub-districts; the *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān* (1330/1951) estimates the population of the whole district at 110,000. The administrative centre is Harawābād, which lies on a relatively easy route across the Tālish mountains to the Caspian, and which seems to have existed as such for some three centuries, though Minorsky surmised that the *al-H.r* of Bīrūnī's *Kānūn* was probably the modern Haraw(*ābād*), see his *Transcaucasica*, in *JA*, ccxvii (1930), 72. The present population is largely Turkish, ethnically and linguistically. The *Farhang*, ii, 104, also mentions a place Khalkhāliyān in Tālish, doubtless in origin a settlement of Khalkhālīs, and Mustawfī, tr. 206, records a fishing village called Khalkhāl on the eastern shore of the Caspian where the Oxus channel debouched from the direction of Khwārazm.

Bibliography: the information of the mediaeval geographers is given by Le Strange, *Lands of the eastern Caliphate*, 169-71, and Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, viii, 1173-4, see also Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire géographique, historique et littéraire de la Perse*, 210-11, and Minorsky, *EI*[1] art. *Tārom*. For the modern period, see *Admiralty handbook, Persia*, 55, and *Farhang-i djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, iv, 193-4, 546-7.

(C. E. Bosworth)

AL-**KHALLĀL**, AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. HĀRŪN, better known as Abū Bakr al-Khallāl (d. 311/923), traditionist, legal scholar and theologian, and an outstanding figure in the history of Ḥanbalism.

Very little is known of his life, however. He was a pupil of Abū Bakr al-Marwadhī (d. 275/889), the author of the *K. al-Waraʿ*, himself one of the favourite pupils of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. He further followed the teachings of the *shaykh* ʿAbd Allāh (d. 290/903), younger son of Ibn Ḥanbal, who transmitted virtually the whole of his father's work and who arranged in an orderly fashion the materials of the *Musnad*. We also know that Abū Bakr al-Khallāl taught at Baghdād in the mosque of al-Mahdī, one of the city's most important ones. He died on the last Friday of Rabīʿ II 311/15 August 923, during the caliphate of al-Muktadir.

Abū Bakr al-Khallāl's literary and dogmatic theological work is almost all lost today, yet it was extremely important. Above all, he was the author of the *K. al-Djāmiʿ*, the first great *corpus iuris* of Ḥanbalism. In this, he brought together and classified all the responsa (*masāʾil*) of the *Imām* Aḥmad which had already been brought together into special collections. This enormous compilation ran to some twenty volumes, and was still in existence in the 8th/14th century, for both Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn al-Kayyim made abundant use of it.

It was for a long time considered that the *K. al-Djāmiʿ* was lost, but an important fragment is preserved in a British Museum ms. (Brockelmann, S I, 311; Sezgin, *GAS*, I, 511-12), of which we have given a short analysis in *Les premières professions de foi hanbalites*, in *Mélanges Louis Massignon*, Damascus 1956-7, iii, 17-22. In this text are contained equally the elements of a profession of faith, of a treatise on public law and of a legal work. It is aimed against

the traditional enemies of Ḥanbalism and, more generally, against the committers of evildoing and disorder (*fasād*) likely to threaten the caliphate and the Sunnī order.

He also composed various manuals setting forth Ḥanbali doctrines, whose importance is attested for us. Aḥmad b. Taymiyya tells us in his *K. al-Īmān* (ed. Cairo, 158) that Abū Bakr al-Khallāl's *K. al-Sunna* was the supreme work of the Ḥanbalī school for the study of its ideas on dogmatic theology (*uṣūl dīniyya*), whilst his *K. fi 'l-ʿIlm* was moreover the best Ḥanbalī manual for setting forth the *Imām* Aḥmad's doctrines in moral theology (*uṣūl fiḳhiyya*).

Al-Dhahabī also held the opinion that Abū Bakr al-Khallāl had written the first summa of Ḥanbalī doctrine, and emphasised the importance of his *K. al-ʿIlal* on the defects of *ḥadīth* (*Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, iii, 7-8).

Finally, Abū Bakr al-Khallāl wrote a history of Ḥanbalism, of which a few leaves survive in the Ẓāhiriyya library at Damascus. The greater part of this work, however, was incorporated in two classic histories of Ḥanbalism which are still extant: the *Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥanābila* of the *ḳāḍī* Abu 'l-Ḥusayn (d. 526/1132) and the *Dhayl* of Ibn Radjab (d. 797/1395).

His work was transmitted, continued and to some extent completed by his chief disciple, Abū Bakr ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Djaʿfar (d. 363/974), better known as Ghulām al-Khallāl (Dhahabī, *op. cit.*, ii, 119-27; *Ikhtiṣār ṭabaḳāt al-ḥanābila*, 334-40).

Abū Bakr ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz completed the *K. al-Djāmiʿ* by his *Zād al-Musāfir* in which he sets down the *masāʾil* which had escaped his master. The work is now lost, but we do have two texts by this same author. One is a *K. al-Amr*, preserved in the Ẓāhiriyya, in which there is a strong criticism of the life of luxury and ease enjoyed by the caliphal circles and the Turkish *amīr*s which formed part of them; the other is a list of *masāʾil* concerning which the author diverges from the doctrine of al-Khiraḳī (*Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥanābila*, ii, 75-118).

Bibliography: *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, v, 112-13; *Ṭabaḳāt al-ḥanābila*, ii, 12-15; *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, iii, 7-8; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāya*, xi, 148; *Ikhtiṣār* 295-7; *Shadharāt*, ii, 261; Laoust, *Le ḥanbalisme sous le califat de Bagdad*, in *REI* (1959), 79-80, 91.

(H. Laoust)

KHALWA, technical term of mysticism, meaning "retirement, seclusion, retreat" (from *khalā* "to be alone"), and, more specifically, "isolation in a solitary place or cell" (*zāwiya*, [*bayt al-*]*khalwa*), involving spiritual exercises. "Seclusion" or "solitude" in general (syns. *ʿuzla, waḥda, infirād, inḳiṭāʿ*) is one of the fundamental principles of asceticism (*zuhd*); and the predilection of early Muslim ascetics for the solitary way of life is a prominent topic of Ṣūfī hagiographic literature. The example of Christian asceticism is likely to have exercised a certain influence in the formation of this ideal, though orthodox Muslim authorities, e.g. Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778), are also quoted as favouring a life in separation from society (Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣbahānī, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, Beirut 1387/1967, vi, 376, ll. 20-2). The Ṣūfī Dhu 'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī (d. 245/860) learnt from a Syrian hermit about the "sweetness of seclusion, invocation (*dhikr*) and of secret conversation with God in private (*al-khalwa bi-munādjātihi*)" (*Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, ix, 356, ll. 14-15). The same Ṣūfī is frequently quoted as "knowing of no better incitement to bring about spiritual sincerity (*ikhlāṣ*) than *khalwa*"; and another celebrated Ṣūfī, Abū Bakr al-Shiblī (d. 334/945), is said to have given this advice, "Cleave to solitude, abolish your name from the (memory of the) people, and face the wall (of prayer) until you die!" (al-Ḳushayrī, *Risāla*, Cairo 1379/1959, 55 f.; Abū Ḥafṣ al-Suhrawardī, *ʿAwārif al-maʿārif*, Beirut 1966, 210; cf. Rūmī, *Mathnawī*, i, vv. 643-9). However, the statements of classical early Ṣūfīs quoted by Ḳushayrī (*Risāla*, 54-6) and Ghazālī (*Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, Cairo 1352/1933, ii, 197-216) reflect a wide spectrum of opinions as to the relative virtues of "solitude" and "community" (*ṣuḥba, mukhālaṭa*). Spiritual isolation from the world was considered higher than material seclusion; and it is clear that periodic retreats rather than permanent seclusion were practised in reality. The Sunna certainly does not favour the solitary way of life, and community life was, in fact, increasingly becoming a characteristic feature of Ṣūfism itself. Thus, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Nūrī (d. 295/907-8) is said to have strongly commended "community" as a means to practise "altruism" (*īthār*) (ʿAṭṭār, *Tadhkirat al-awliyāʾ*, ed. Nicholson, London-Leiden 1907, ii, 46, and Abū Yaʿḳūb al-Sūsī of Baṣra (*ca.* 300/900) is quoted with this statement: "Only the strong ones are able to support solitude, whereas community life (*al-idjtimāʿ*) is more beneficial for people like us, so that each individual's behaviour is controlled by each other" (Abū Naṣr al-Sarrādj, *Kitāb al-lumaʿ*, ed. Nicholson, London-Leiden 1914, 207, ll. 19-21; Ḳushayrī, *Risāla*, 56, ll. 1-3).

In post-classical Ṣūfism, the situation is essentially the same. According to Abū Ḥafṣ al-Suhrawardī ([*q.v.*], d. 632/1234), it is community life which distinguishes the Ṣūfīs from the ascetics, but Suhrawardī explains this difference by claiming that the Ṣūfīs prefer community because, due to their spiritual "health", they are free from the temptations from which the ascetics tried to escape by choosing the solitary way of life (*ʿAwārif*, 108). Still, the Ṣūfīs' spiritual sustenance is "solitude" (*ibid.*, 221), and even in the "common room" (*bayt al-djamāʿa*) of the Ṣūfī *ribāṭ* [*q.v.*], they are supposed to sit on their prayer carpets as if these were their individual retreat (*ibid.*, 108). Besides, the Ṣūfī establishment often has individual cells; and the practice of periodic retreats, which plays an important role in Ṣūfī education (*tarbiya*), is developed into a real institution. Suhrawardī devotes three chapters of the *ʿAwārif* to its description (*op. cit.*, 207-27). Special emphasis is also placed on it by the Kubrawiyya, the Shādhiliyya, the Ḳādiriyya and, of course, the Khalwatiyya. This *khalwa* involves the "Major Holy War" (cf. Rūmī, *Mathnawī*, v, vv. 3785-6), i.e. ascetic discipline, notably vigils, gradually increased fasting, and concentration of the mind, mainly by means of *dhikr* [*q.v.*]. On entering *khalwa*, one should free oneself from wordly possessions and be in a state of ritual purity. Being in the cell should evoke the idea of being in the grave (ʿAmmār al-Bidlīsī, *ca.* 600/1200, in Kubrā, *Fawāʾiḥ al-djamāl*, ed. F. Meier, Wiesbaden 1957, text 60, introd. 32); the cell itself should be a dark room prohibiting the entering of daylight. Its purpose is the "closing up of the external senses" and the "opening of the internal senses" (Kubrā, in M. Molé, *Traités mineurs de Naǧm al-Dīn Kubrā*, in *Annales Islamologiques*, iv (1963), 25; cf. *Fawāʾiḥ al-djamāl*, text 18), i.e. readiness for mystical experiences. However, warnings against attaching too much value to such experiences (*waḳāʾiʿ al-khalwa*) are voiced frequently; the guidance of a spiritual director is, therefore, considered vital. According to Suhrawardī, visionary experiences and extrasensory perceptions in general may serve a certain purpose

on the mystic way, but the ultimate goal of *khalwa* is rather the experience of the "*dhikr* of the divine Essence" through consubstantiation (*tadjawhur*) of its light in the heart (*ʿAwārif*, 216, 219).

This institutionalised seclusion is normally limited to periods of forty days, which is why it is also called *al-arbaʿīniyya*, or *čilla* (from Persian *čihil*); it should not be interrupted except for ritual community prayers, and it should be repeated once every year (*ʿAwārif*, 221). It is conceived as an *imitatio prophetae*, the prophet Muhammad's custom to retreat in a cave in Mt. Ḥirāʾ before he received the Ḳurʾānic revelation being taken as a traditional basis. However, the number forty is linked to the example of other prophets as well, especially Mūsā (cf. Ḳurʾān VII, 138/142). It also symbolises the "forty stages" of the universe, which is the scene of the mystic "journey" (*ʿAwārif*, 207 f.; ʿAṭṭār, *Muṣībat-nāma*, cf. H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, Leiden 1955, 18 ff.).

At the same time, the *khalwa* extends ideally over the whole life of the Ṣūfī (*ʿAwārif*, 221, 226). The practice of retreat is only a means to an end, and the goal of Ṣūfī education is *khalwa* "in spirit" (*khalwat al-maʿnā*), i.e. being spiritually with God in spite of material presence in the world (Kubrā, *Fawāʾiḥ al-djamāl*, 60). The same idea is expressed in the Naḳshbandī formula of *khalwat dar andjuman* (solitude in society). Similarly, Ibn ʿArabī is not speaking of the common practice of retreat when he considers *khalwa* as the highest *maḳām*; he takes it to mean the absolute "emptiness" (*khalāʾ*) of the Perfect Man, i.e. the state of being "filled" with the Absolute (*al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyya*, Cairo 1270, ii, 166 ff.).

Bibliography: in addition to the works mentioned in the text, Tor Andrae, *Islamische Mystiker*, Stuttgart 1960, 70 ff. (for the early period); J. S. Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, glossary s.v. *khalwa* and index s.v. retreat; P. Nwyia, *Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh (m. 709/1309) et la naissance de la confrérie šāḏilite*, Beirut 1972, 89, 127, 237 f.; *Sharḥ Ibn ʿAbbād al-Rundī ʿala 'l-ḥikam al-ʿAṭāʾiyya*, Cairo 1287, i, 18-20; Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān-i Isfarāyinī, *Fī kayfiyyat al-taslīk wa'l-idjlās fi'l-khalwa*, annex to *Kâshif al-Asrâr*, ed. H. Landolt, Wisdom of Persia Series, v, Tehran (forthcoming).

(H. Landolt)

KHALWATIYYA (Turkish: Halvetiyye), a highly ramified and widespread *ṭarīḳa* [*q.v.*].

History and branches. The Khalwatiyya is mentioned as a branch of al-Abhariyya al-Zāhidiyya by Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥarīrī (*Tibyān*, i, 343b), who gives as its founder ʿUmar al-Khalwatī (born in Lāhidj, Djīlān, died in Tabrīz, 800/1397). However, Muṣṭafā Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī [*q.v.*] stresses that ʿUmar's *shaykh*, Muḥammad b. Nūr al-Bālisī, who was called al-Khalwatī because of his frequent retreats, is the first in the Khalwatiyya *silsila* (cf. Muḥammad Ḥasanayn Makhlūf al-ʿAdawī, *Awrād al-Sāda al-Khalwatiyya*, Cairo 1963, 67 and ʿAbd al-Khāliq al-Shabrāwī, *Sirādj Ahl al-Bidāyāt fī 'l-Taṣawwuf*, Cairo 1366, 180). Khalwatī literature mentions Yaḥyā al-Shirwānī al-Bākūbī (born in Shemākhā, Shirwān, d. in Bākū, 869/1464) as the second *pīr*, the first being ʿUmar. There are three *shaykhs* in between the two in the Khalwatiyya *silsila*. Al-Shirwānī is the author of the *Wird al-Sattār*. Its reading is among the obligations imposed upon the members of most branches.

H. J. Kissling (*ZDMG*, ciii (1953), 240), has argued that al-Shirwānī was the real founder. He discarded the suggestion of G. Jacob (Türkische Bibliothek, 9. Band, 80) that the origins of the Khalwatiyya were in the Anatolian *Akhī*-fraternities [*q.v.*]. Among ʿUmar al-Shirwānī's *khalīfas*, who further shaped and spread the order, were ʿUmar Rūshānī (d. 892/1486 in Tabrīz) and Yūsuf al-Shirwānī (d.?). The former became a protégé of the Aḳ Ḳoyūnlu ruler, Uzun Ḥasan, in Tabrīz. He initiated Muḥammad Demirdāsh al-Muḥammadī (d. 929/1524) and Ibrāhīm Gulshanī [*q.v.*], each of whom founded their own orders, al-Demirdāshiyya and al-Gulshaniyya respectively, both with their centres in Cairo. Two branches of the latter order gained some renown: al-Sezāʾiyya, founded by Ḥasan Sezāʾī (d. 1151/1738, Edirne) and al-Ḥāletiyya, founded by Ḥasan Ḥāletī ʿAlī Aʿlā (d. 1329/1911, Edirne). Among the *khalīfas* succeeding Yūsuf Shirwānī the most notable are Shams al-Dīn Aḥmad Sīvāsī (d. 1006/1597 in Sīvās) and ʿAbd al-Aḥad Nūrī al-Sīvāsī (1061/1650 in Istanbul). Both established their own *ṭarīḳas*, known as Shamsiyya [*q.v.*] and Sīvāsiyya.

Initially, the order spread in Anatolia mainly in the Amasya-region when it was governed by Bāyezīd II. Here, the most notable *shaykh* of the order was Meḥmed Djamāl al-Dīn al-Aḳṣarāʾī, known as Čelebī Efendi (d. *ca.* 903/1497, Tābūt Ḳorusu near Damascus). This branch was originally called al-Djamāliyya after him. After the death of his successor, Yūsuf Sünbül Sinān al-Dīn (d. 936/1529 Istanbul), it became known as al-Sünbüliyya. Its history until the middle of the 17th century and its involvement in Ottoman politics have been dealt with by Kissling, *op. cit.*, 233 f. The stages of the order's early history, subsequent to its spread in the region of Amasya, are the following: I.—a spread westwards during the reign of Bāyazīd II (886-918/1481-1512), when the centre of the order's activity shifted from Amasya to Istanbul; II.—stagnation during the reign of Selīm I, concomitant with the increasing Sunnī orientation of the Empire and connected with the conflict with the increasingly Shīʿī-influenced Persia (the names of five Shīʿa *Imāms* were dropped from the *silsila*). III.—a new florescence during the reign of Sulaymān the Magnificent (926-74/1520-66) and Selīm II (974-82/1566-74). Many personalities prominent in the administration (e.g. the Djamālzādes and the grand-vizier Luṭfī Pāsha [*qq.v.*]) had links with the order and favoured it.

In this era the Shaʿbāniyya, named after Shaʿbān Velī al-Ḳasṭamūnī (d. 976/1568), became prominent. Its most notable branch, al-Ḳarābāshiyya, was founded by ʿAlī Ḳarābāsh (d. 1097/1685), who had been active in the Ḳasṭamonu and Ankara areas. His pupil Naṣūḥī Meḥmed (d. 1130/1717, Istanbul) established his own *ṭarīḳa*, al-Naṣūḥiyya, from which the Čerkeshiyya, named after Čerkeshī Muṣṭafā (d. 1229/1813, Čerkes), separated itself. The Khalīliyya and the Ibrāhīmiyya are branches of the latter *ṭarīḳa* and were founded by Ḥādjdjī Khalīl Geredeli (d. 1229/1881, Gerede) and Ḳušadalī Ibrāhīm (d. 1283/1866-7, Scutari) respectively (cf. H. J. Kissling, *Šaʿbān Velī und die Šaʿbāniyye*, in *Serta Monacensia, Festschrift Babinger*, Leiden 1952, 86 ff.).

In the first half of the 12th/18th century a branch of the Ḳarābāshiyya emerged under the leadership of Muṣṭafā Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī and called al-Bakriyya after him. One of his *khalīfas*, ʿAbd al-Karīm Kamāl al-Dīn (d. 1199/1784, Gāza), established his own branch, al-Kamāliyya. Another *khalīfa*, Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Sammān (d. 1189/1775, Mecca), also founded his own order, al-Sammāniyya which spread to the Sudan and Ethiopia, and from Mecca into South-East Asia. A branch of this *ṭarīḳa*, al-

Fayḍiyya, named after Fayḍ al-Dīn Ḥusayn Ghunaym, was active in Istanbul, where its founder lived most of his life and died in 1309/1891 (cf. *Tibyān* i, 306a). Al-Bakrī's *khalīfa* and direct successor in Egypt was Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Ḥifnī (d. 1181/1767, Cairo). The spectacular spread of al-Khalwatiyya in Egypt in the 19th and 20th century is due to the latter's students and their *khalīfas* (cf. al-Djabartī, *ʿAdjāʾib*, i, 298). For details on the various branches which developed in Egypt, see F. de Jong, *The Ṣūfī orders in post-Ottoman Egypt* (in preparation).

Out of a Syrian branch of the Djamāliyya, introduced in Damascus by ʿUways al-Ḳaramānī, a *khalīfa* of Čelebi Efendi, two *ṭarīḳas* emerged: al-ʿAssāliyya, named after Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Harīrī al-ʿAssālī (d. 1048/1638, Aleppo; cf. al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Athar*, i, 248 f.) and al-Bakhshiyya, founded by Muḥammad al-Bakhshī al-Ḥalabī al-Baḳfalūnī (d. 1098/1686, Mecca), which had its centre in the Ikhlāṣiyya *tekke* in Halab (cf. *Tibyān*, i, 108b). The remaining Khalwatiyya branches all have *silsilas* going back to Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn b. ʿĪsā al-Marmarāwī al-Djigitbashī (d. 910/1504, Maghnisa). He had founded his own order, al-Aḥmadiyya, which had spread mainly in and around Maghnīsa. His *shaykh* ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿUshāḳī (d. 890/1485), was a student of Ibrāhīm Ḳayṣariyyalī, who was initiated by Meḥmed Erzindjānī, one of Yaḥyā al-Shirwānī's *khalīfas*.

Further details, including the *silsilas* of most of these orders, are given by Kissling. From al-Ḥarīrī's mention of his initiation into the majority of the branches, which had emerged prior to the middle of the 19th century, it appears that many had active nuclei or propagators around that time. Anderson, in *MW*, xii, 1922, 53 f., reports the number of active *tekkes* of the various branches in Istanbul in 1921 as follows: Djarrāḥiyya (10), Shaʿbāniyya (25), Sünbüliyya (18), Sinānivya (3), ʿUshāḳiyya (5), and four *tekkes* of unspecified branches.

Doctrine and practice.—The writings of the *mashāyikh* of the order manifest in various degrees the influence of Ibn al-ʿArabī's thinking; the position taken with respect to the idea of *waḥdat al-wudjūd* varied over periods of time within the same branch and between the branches. Meḥmed Niyāzī al-Miṣrī, e.g. taught that *waḥdat al-wudjūd* is restricted to certain levels of being (cf. *Tibyān*, iii, 132a). Ḥasan Riḍwān (d. 1310/1892), a *khalīfa* of Ibrāhīm al-Shalḳānī al-ʿImrānī, openly adhered to Ibn al-ʿArabī's ideas (cf. *Rawḍ al-Ḳulūb al-Mustaṭāb*, Cairo 1332). Muṣṭafā Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī opposed monist views altogether (cf. E. Bannerth, *La Khalwatiyya en Egypte*, in MIDEO, viii (1964-6), 11 f.). He stressed the separate identities of God and the human soul, hence conceiving unity with the divine as a conjunction (*ittiṣāl*). Shīʿa conceptions have occasionally been incorporated and elaborated, e.g. by Dāʾūd al-Shāmī (cf. Kissling, *ZDMG*, ciii, 260; idem, *Zur Geschichte des Derwischordens der Bayrāmijje*, in *Südostforschungen*, xv (1956), 248-9). In early as well as later Khalwatī writings it is stressed that the order is basically the *ṭarīḳa* of al-Djunayd (cf. Tibyān, ii, 65a; Sirādj, 160; al-ʿAdawī, 67; Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Mutaʿāl al-Buhūtī, *Itḥāf al-Bashar bi-Sharḥ Wird al-Saḥar*, Cairo 1953, 13). The foundations of this order are considered to be voluntary hunger (*djūʿ*), silence (*samṭ*), vigil (*sahar*), seclusion (*iʿtizāl*), *dhikr*, meditation (*fikr*), permanent ritual cleanness and tying (*rabṭ*) one's heart to one's *shaykh*. In some treatises only the first four are mentioned as such (cf. Muḥammad al-Munīr al-Sammanūdī, *Tuḥfat al-Sālikīn*, Cairo 1934, 26 f.).

In most of the Khalwatiyya *ṭarīḳas* periodic retreat, *khalwa*, is required of the *murīd*. The shortest period recommended is three days and the longest forty days (cf. al-Bakrī, *Hadiyyat al-Aḥbāb fī-mā li'l-Khalwa min al-Shurūṭ wa 'l-Adāb*, in *Sirādj*, 179 f.). Various sets of rules, regulating the *murīd*'s behaviour before, during and after the period of *khalwa*, have been elaborated (see, e.g. E. Bannerth, *Über den Stifter und Sonderbrauch der Demirdâšiyya-Ṣûfis in Kairo*, in *WZKM*, lxii (1969), 125 f., for the *khalwa* rules of this order). Opinions about who may enter the *khalwa* have varied among the various *ṭarīḳas*. According to some branches it is necessary to prepare for initiation, while others hold it to be appropriate only for those who have reached a specific *maḳām* or stage of the soul [see ḤĀL], generally the fifth. *Al-ʿuzla* is recommended to those in the lower *maḳāms* (cf. ʿAbd al-Ḥāfiẓ ʿAlī al-Azharī, *Luḳṭat al-ʿIdjlān wa-Tuḥfat al-Ikhwān*, Cairo 1323, 5, 23). In al-Khalwatiyya seven *maḳāms* are postulated. To each *maḳām*, *dhikr* of one of the seven names (*al-asmāʾ al-sabʿa*), viz. *al-Tahlīl, Allāh, Hū, Ḥayy, Ḥaḳḳ, Ḳayyūm* and *Ḳahhār* is appropriate. On this point, al-Khalwatiyya differs fundamentally from al-Shādhiliyya; in the latter only three *maḳāms* are postulated. The first *maḳām* of *al-nafs al-ammāra*, is conceived as a part of the preparatory stage of *tawba* and only the fifth, sixth and seventh *maḳām* are conceived as reality. These cannot be reached by *idjtihād* but only by divine grace (cf. ʿAlī Muḥammad ʿĀmir al-Mughāzī, *al-Fuyūdāt al-Ihsāniyya wa'l-Tadrīdjāt al-Insāniyya fī Sayr al-Tarīḳ al-Khalwatiyya*, Cairo 1301, 15, 21).

Dhikr of the names is surrounded by a number of ritual prescriptions set out in the manuals. For communal *dhikr* exercises or *ḥaḍras*, similar rules apply, although the ritual itself, the formulas, and the names recited may be different. Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn b. ʿĪsā al-Marmarāwī (see above) is credited for having added five names, (*al-furūʿ*: *Wahhāb, Fattāḥ, Wāḥid, Aḥad, Ṣamad*) to be recited after completion of the other seven names (*al-uṣūl*). This practice is found in the Aḥmadiyya branches. It was incorporated by some Bakriyya branches as well (cf. Muḥammad Fuʾād al-Ḍayfī, *Madjmūʿ al-Fawāʾid al-Muhimma*, Cairo 1930, 108 f.; Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-Djunaydī al-Maymūnī, *Risālat al-Sayr wa 'l-Sulūk ilā 'llāh ...*, Cairo 1308). There are differing opinions about the *dhikr* of names not transmitted by the *shaykh* to the *murīd*, ranging from the point of view that any name is allowed as well as any noise or sound to the view that only the *dhikr* of a clearly pronounced *allāh* is permissible (cf. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Sammān, *al-Nafaḥāt al-Ilāhiyya fī Kayfiyyat Sulūk al-Ṭarīḳa al-Muḥammadiyya*, Cairo 1326, 26; *Tibyān*, iii, 59 f.; al-Munīr, *Tuḥfa*, 21). In addition, other prayer-tasks, fasting and nightly vigils may be required from the *murīd*, which differ considerably between the branches. An element of ritual which all Khalwatiyya *ṭarīḳas* have in common is the reading of Yaḥyā al-Shirwānī's *Wird al-Sattār* at set times and occasions. It consists of three sections which glorify the oneness of God, the Prophet and his prophethood, and the Companions. According to Muṣṭafā Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī, it is the pivot of Khalwatiyya ritual. It should be read aloud by a single person, while the others are listening; this is held to be more beneficial than reciting. It equals silent *dhikr*, the *dhikr* of the heart. The external union on these occasions is believed to lead to an internal

union, which equals *mudjāhada* and should lead to *mushāhada* (cf. al-Bakrī, *al-Manhadj al-ʿAdhb al-Sāʾigh li-Warrādihi fī Dhikr Ṣalawāt al-Ṭarīḳa wa Awrādihi*, Cairo 1332, 145 f.). In other words, participation in the community is conceived of as *murāḳaba* and may lead to *mushāhada*. Here lies a basic difference with other *ṭarīḳas*, e.g. al-Naḳshabandiyya. It is the *shaykh* who, as object for *murāḳaba* of the *murīd*, leads to *mushāhada*. Some Khalwatiyya groups however take the latter position, e.g. al-Djūdiyya (cf. Djābir Aḥmad Muʿammar, *Manhal al-Warrād wa Bahdjat al-Irshād li-man arāda Ṭarīḳa al-Rashād*, Cairo, n.d., 430), where this is expressed by stating that the *fatḥ al-murīd* is proportionate to one's belief in his *shaykh*. Within Turkish Khalwatiyya branches, notably within the Ḳarābāshiyya, the role of the *shaykh* in guiding the *murīd* is conceived of as necessarily a passive one. He is for the *murīd* what the *rūḥ* is for the body. If it goes, all is gone. He should not approve or disapprove of the *murīd*'s behaviour even if the latter were to become *kāfir* (cf. *Tibyān*, iii, 59b).

Restrictions upon membership existed within the Aḥmadiyya and its branches, which did not initiate illiterates. This was held to break off *al-fayḍ* [*q.v.*] and to diminish the light of gnosis (cf. *Tibyān*, i, 53).

Present-day situation.—In Albania the government recognised in 1945 the principal *ṭarīḳas* as independent religious communities with their own leaders. Leader of the Khalwatiyya became ʿAlī Hormova (cf. S. Skendi, *Albania*, New York 1956). This arrangement was brought to an end by the Albanian Cultural Revolution in early 1967. In Macedonia and Kosovo-Methohija 25 Khalwatiyya *tekkes* were functioning in 1939 (cf. G. Palikrusheva, *Dervishkiot red Khalveti vo Makedoniya*, in *Zbornik Shtipskiot naroden Muzey*, i (1958), 105-19). In 1971 *ḥaḍras* took place regularly in *tekkes* in Ohrid, Struga, Kičevo, Shtip (all Ḥayātiyya) and in Peč, Djakovice, Orahovac and Prizren (all Ḳarābāshiyya). For a description and historical information about the latter two *tekkes* see Mücahit Asim, *Kosova'da Esirgenmiş Islam Anıtları*, Çevren ii, 8, Prishtina 1974. In Greek Thrace active groups with a *tekke* existed in Xanthi, Komotini and Echinos.

No data are available for the Khalwatiyya in Turkey after 1925, when the orders were abolished and all *tekkes* and *zāwiyas* were closed. In the Middle East various Khalwatiyya groups are active in Lebanon (Beirut, Tripoli) and Syria (Aleppo, Damascus). Some of these groups have a *silsila* going back to Muṣṭafā b. Muḥammad b. al-ʿAzūz, founder of the Raḥmāniyya *zāwiya* in Naftā (Tunisia); cf. *al-Bayān fī ʿAmal al-Lisān*, Beirut 1964, 63-4. The Egyptian Khalwatiyya al-Djunaydiyya claims substantial membership in Syria (cf. *Madjalla al-Islām wa 'l-Taṣawwuf*, i/5, Cairo 1958, 82). Khalwatiyya and other *ṭarīḳas* active in Egypt are listed in Muḥammad Maḥmūd ʿAlwān, *al-Taṣawwuf al-Islāmī*, Cairo 1958, 71 f. In addition to these *ṭarīḳas* and the *ṭarīḳas* mentioned by Bannerth, the following branches were active in Egypt in 1973: al-Dawmiyya (two branches), al-Djūdiyya, al-Fuʾādiyya, al-Ḥaddādiyya, al-Ḳaṣabiyya, al-Ḥayātiyya, al-Nimriyya, al-Sharḳāwiyya, al-Shawādifiyya and al-ʿImrāniyya al-Ḳubaysiyya. Al-Sammāniyya has its own *shaykh al-sadjdjāda* for Egypt. Some Egyptian Sammāniyya, however, consider themselves as a part of one or another of the Sudanese branches of this order. In Ethiopia, it is the only active Khalwatiyya branch. Little is known about its present functioning beyond what is reported by Trimingham (*Islam in Ethiopia*, Oxford 1952, 247). Nothing is known about the present state of al-Sammāniyya in Indonesia. L. P. Fauque (*Où en est l'Islam traditionel en Algérie?*, in *L'Afrique et l'Asie*, lv (1961), 17-22) provides the most recent information on al-Raḥmāniyya, and he states its membership in Algeria as 230,000.

Bibliography: in addition to the references in the text, see the literature mentioned in the articles by Kissling and the bibliography to Bannerth's article, which gives information about Khalwatiyya orders active in present-day Egypt and includes a translation of Aḥmad al-Dardayr, *Tuḥfat al-Ikhwān* (a set of rules for the *murīd*). Literature not mentioned in these studies may be found in B. G. Martin, *A Short History of the Khalwatiyya order of Dervishes*, in N. R. Keddie (ed.), *Scholars, Saints and Sufis, Muslim Religious Institutions since 1500*, Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1972, 275-305, which is largely based upon the work of Bannerth and Kissling. A Turkish source not mentioned by these authors is the anonymous *Ṭarīḳet ʿAliyye Khalwatiyyeniñ uṣūlu*, Istanbul 1288. For literature and detailed information about the Khalwatiyya orders in Egypt, see F. de Jong, *The Ṣūfī Orders in post-Ottoman Egypt* (in preparation). Muḥammad al-Makkī b. ʿAzīz, *al-Nafaḥāt al-Raḥmāniyya fī Manāḳib Ridjāl al-Khalwatiyya*, Istanbul 1327 (partly published), 11-8, gives a list of Khalwatiyya writings. Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥarīrī (d. 1299/1882), *Tibyān Wasāʾil al-Haḳāʾiḳ fī Bayān Salāsil al-Ṭarāʾiḳ*, Mulḥaḳ Fātiḥ, mss. 430-2, is as valuable for the study of the Khalwatiyya as it is for the study of other orders. Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Būsnawī al-Khāndjī, *al-Djawhar al-Asnā fī Tarādjim ʿUlamāʾ wa Shuʿarāʾ Būsna*, Cairo 1349, contains a number of biographies of Khalwatiyya *shaykhs* based mainly upon the sources mentioned by Kissling. It gives some original data. Meḥmed Tewfīḳ, *Monastir wilāyeti taʾrīkhčesi*, Monastir 1328 (cf. Babinger, 409), gives some information about the Ḥayātiyya in Macedonia and contains a section on Meḥmed Ḥayātī, see p. 234 of the more easily-accessible Serbian translation, *Kratka Istorija Bitolskog Vilajeta*, Belgrade 1932, 190-244. For detailed information about Raḥmāniyya *zāwiyas* in Algeria and Tunisia, see P. J. André, *Contribution à l'étude des confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1956, 263-89.

(F. de Jong)

KHAMĀSA [see muzāraʿa].

KHAMBĀYAT, modern Cambay in Gudjarāt, western India. Variously spelt in Arabic as Kanbāya, Kanbāyat, Kanbāyā, Kinbāya, Kinbātā, the name is derived from Khambhāt or Khāmbha (< *Stambhatīrtha*, i.e. "the place of pilgrimage of the pillar"). According to the Muslim geographers, it was situated about 3 *farsakhs* (9 Arabian miles) from the sea. As one of the most important ports of western India during the mediaeval period, Cambay was famous for the beautiful sandals (*al-niʿāl al-kanbātiyya*) manufactured there. It also produced rice, fine honey and a variety of fruits, but had no date-palms.

Muslims seemed to have settled down in Cambay from early Islamic times; they had Friday mosques and Islam was practised by them freely. Al-Masʿūdī, who visited the town in 303/915, says that the local governor was a Brahmana named Bāniyā (probably Prachanda, of the Brahmavaloka), who was fond of religious discussions with the Muslims and represented *al-Balharay* (Rāshṭrakūṭa Indra III, 914-22 A.D.). During the 11th and 12th centuries A.D., Cambay appears as one of the chief ports of the Anhilvāra

kingdom, and at the time of its conquest by the Muslims in 697/1298, it is said to have been one of the richest towns in India. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa describes it as one of the most beautiful towns of India, with fine mosques and gorgeous buildings constructed by the resident Muslim merchants. It was annexed by the Mughal Emperor Akbar in 981/1573. Its decline as a port and commercial town, which took place during the 11th/17th century, was mainly due to the silting-up of the gulf and the swift high-tide or "bore".

Bibliography: Ibn Khurradādhbih, 56; al-Iṣṭakhrī, 179; Ibn Ḥawḳal², 320; al-Muḳaddasī, 477; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 253-4; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, i, 364, ii, 177, 244, iv, 52-7; Nundo Lal Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of ancient and mediaeval India*, London 1927, 194; *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1908, ix, 292-7; A. S. Altekar, *A history of important ancient towns and cities in Gujarat and Kathiawad*, in *The Indian Antiquary*, liv (Bombay 1925), 47; S. Maqbul Ahmad, *Indo-Arab Relations*, Bombay 1969, 142 n.

(S. MAQBUL AHMAD)

KHAMĪS MUSHAYṬ, also Khamīs ibn Mushayṭ, the main town in interior 'Asīr [*q.v.*] in Saudi Arabia, between al-Ḥidjāz and the Yaman, 22 miles (32 km) almost due east of Abhā [*q.v.*], capital of 'Asīr, on the east bank of the principal branch of Wādī Bīsha, part of the main inland drainage system from al-Sarāt; situated at 42° 45′ long. and 18° 20′ lat., and 6000 feet (1950 m) of altitude. It is more a cluster of villages than a town, and the name is derived from the Mushayṭ clan of the Rushayd section of Shahrān, the leaders of which have been the titular heads of the Shahrān tribe over an unrecorded but probably very long time. To the east and northwest, the Shahrān are by far the most important tribe, while towards the southeast elements of Ḳaḥṭān are also found. Most of the settlements of Khamīs Mushayṭ cluster around the villages of Ḍarb and Ḳambar, and the Thursday (*khamīs*) market is held on the plain between these two villages. Khamīs Mushayṭ is important for strategic and economic reasons. Its easy access to Abhā, Ẓahrān, and Nadjrān made it a favourite staging point for military campaigns, e.g. those of 1338/1920 and 1353/1934. Its agricultural produce grows on terraces to the west and on gently sloping land to the east, irrigated by wells and some eastward-draining monsoon precipitation, and is quite varied, including spring wheat, autumn millet, alfalfa, and a number of fruit trees such as apricots, peaches, plums, pomegranates, and figs. Cattle are more common than camels, and dates must be imported. Khamīs Mushayṭ has thus become the most important interior trading centre between Bīsha and the Yaman. It is also worthy of note that it is here where a traveller from the north first encounters the multiple-storey style of architecture characteristic of South Arabia. Since the early 1960s, Khamīs Mushayṭ has experienced great growth in size and importance with the development of all-weather roads, a main airfield, and the establishment of a military garrison.

Bibliography: Fu'ād Ḥamza, *Fī bilād 'Asīr*, Cairo 1951; Muḥammad 'Umar Rafī', *Fī rubu' 'Asīr*, Cairo 1373. Admiralty Handbook, *Western Arabia and the Red Sea*, London 1946; H. Philby, *Arabian Highlands*, Ithaca N.Y. 1952; W. Thesiger, *A Journey through the Tihama, the 'Asir, and the Hijaz Mountains*, in *GJ* (1947); H. Philby, *The Land of Sheba*, in *GJ* (1938); P. Lippens, *Expedition en Arabie Centrale*, Paris 1956.

(F. S. VIDAL)

KHAMR (A.), wine. The word, although very common in early Arabic poetry, is probably a loanword from Aramaic. The Hebrew *yayn* has in Arabic (*wayn*) the meaning of black grapes. The question has been fully treated by I. Guidi in his *Della sede primitiva dei popoli semitici*, in *Memorie della R. Acad. dei Lincei*, series iii, vol. iii, 603 ff.

1. JURIDICAL ASPECTS

Arabia and the Syriac desert are, in contradistinction to Palestine and Mesopotamia, not a soil fit for the vine; there are, however, exceptions, among which may be mentioned al-Ṭā'if (see H. Lammens, *Ṭāif*, 35 ff. = *MFOB*, viii, 146 ff.), Shibām and other parts of Yaman. Wine, probably of an inferior quality, is also mentioned in Medina (see below). Usually, however, it seems to have been imported from Syria and 'Irāḳ; in early Arabic poetry the wine-trade is chiefly connected with Jews and Christians, who pitched their tent (*ḥānūt*, also a loanword from Aramaic) among the Bedouins and provided it with a sign denoting its character. In it entertainment sessions were held, in the company of female singers who often also belonged to the establishment. The wine was kept in jars or skins, provided with a mouth-piece which was closed by means of a string.

In the days of Muḥammad the people of Mecca and Medina used to indulge in drinking wine as often as an occasion offered itself, so that drunkenness often became a cause of scandal and of indulgence in a second vice, gambling, which together with wine, incurred Muḥammad's condemnation. Tradition has not refrained from describing how Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, Muḥammad's uncle, in a fit of drunkenness mutilated 'Alī's camels (Bukhārī, *Sharb*, *bāb* 13; *Khums*, *bāb* 1; Muslim, *Ashriba*, trads. 1, 2; *Maghāzī*, *bāb* 12; Abū Dāwūd, *Kharādj*, *bāb* 19). The commentaries on the Ḳur'ān also relate how Muḥammad's companions held drinking-parties which caused them to commit faults in ritual prayer (see al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, *ad* sūra XIV, 44; Muslim, *Faḍā'il al-Ṣaḥāba*, trad. 44, cf. 45; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i, 185-6).

The prohibition of wine was not in Muḥammad's programme at the beginning. In Sūra XVI, 69 we even find it praised as one of the signs of Allāh's grace to mankind: "And of the fruit of palmtrees, and of grapes, ye obtain an inebriating liquor, and also good nourishment". But the consequences of drunkenness manifesting themselves in the way just mentioned are said to have led Muḥammad to change his attitude. The first revelation giving vent to these feelings was Sūra II, 216: "They will ask thee concerning wine and gambling (*maysir*). Answer, in both there is great sin and also some things of use unto men: but their sinfulness is greater than their use". This revelation, however, was not considered as a prohibition. As people did not change their customs and the order of prayer happened to be disturbed in consequence thereof, a new revelation was issued, viz. Sūra IV, 46: "O true believers! come not to prayers when ye are drunk, until ye understand what ye say" etc. But neither was this revelation considered as a general prohibition of wine, until Sūra V, 92 made an end to drinking: "O true believers! Surely wine and *maysir* and stone pillars and divining arrows, are an abomination of the work of Satan; therefore avoid them, that ye may prosper".

This sequence of revelations regarding wine is the accepted one among the traditionists and commentators of the Ḳur'ān (see Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, ii, 351-2; Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, v, 58 *ad* sūra IV, 46).

The prohibition of wine may, however, also be looked upon from a wider aspect, as Islam is not the only monotheistic religion which has taken a negative attitude towards wine. It is well known that, according to the Old Testament (Numbers vi, 3-4) the Nazarite who had wholly devoted himself to Yahweh had to abstain from wine and spirits, just as the priests before administering the sacred rites (Lev. x, 9). The Nabataeans, according to Diodorus Siculus (xix, 94, 3), likewise abstained from wine and one of their gods is called in their inscriptions "the good god who drinks no wine". Likewise, abstention from wine belonged to the rule of many Christian monks. All this has its roots in remote Semitic antiquity which ascribed a demoniac character to wine and spirits. The same is true for music, especially singing, which is also prohibited by Islam. It is not improbable that negative feelings of this kind may have worked, together with the motives mentioned above, to induce Muḥammad to prohibit wine.

The prohibition of the Ḳur'ān has been taken over by the jurists; all *madhhabs*, and also the Shī'a, call wine *ḥarām* and the wine-trade is forbidden. For an exposition of the Shāfi'ī view, see al-Nawawī, *Minhādj*, ed. van den Berg, iii, 241; for that of the Ḥanafīs, *Fatāwā 'Ālamgīrī*, vi (Calcutta 1835), 604 ff.; for that of the Mālikīs, Zurḳānī in his commentary on the *Muwaṭṭa'*, Cairo 1280, iv, 26; for that of the Shī'a, *Sharā'i' al-Islām*, Calcutta 1839, 404. Theology reckons the drinking of wine among the gravest sins (*kabā'ir*).

Ḥadīth has many utterances regarding this theme. Wine is the key of all evil (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, v, 238; Ibn Mādja, *Ashriba, bāb* 1). Who drinks wine in this world without repenting of it, shall not drink it in the other world (Bukhārī, *Ashriba, bāb* 1; Muslim, *Ashriba*, trads. 73, 76-8, etc.). Cursed is he who drinks, buys, sells wine or causes others to drink it (Abū Dāwūd, *Ashriba, bāb* 2; Ibn Mādja, *Ashriba, bāb* 6; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i, 316; ii, 25, 69, 71, 97, 128, etc.). Who drinks a draught of wine on purpose shall have to drink pus on Doomsday (Ṭayālisī, no. 1134). Prayer of him who drinks wine is not accepted by God (Nasā'ī, *Ashriba, bāb* 43; Dārimī, *Ashriba, bāb* 3), and faith is incompatible with drinking it (Bukhārī, *Ashriba, bāb* 1; Nasā'ī, *Ashriba, bāb* 42, 44). It is even inadvisable to use it as medicine (Muslim, *Ashriba*, trad. 12; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iv, 311, 317 bis etc.); and it is prohibited to use wine for manufacturing vinegar (Tirmidhī, *Buyū', bāb* 59; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal iii, 119, 260 bis). But times will become ever worse and there will be people who declare wine allowed (Bukhārī, *Ashriba, bāb* 6; Nasā'ī, *Ashriba, bāb* 41 etc.), and so it will be drunk by the generation of the last days (Bukhārī, *Ashriba, bāb* 1; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 176, 202, 213-4).

The prohibition of wine, although unanimously accepted, gave rise to dissensions between the juridical schools, dissensions which are reflected in *ḥadīth* in a historical disguise. The discussions start from the question: what is wine? It is said that, when the use of wine was peremptorily prohibited, the people of Medina poured out in the streets all that they possessed of the appreciated liquor (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 132-3; iii, 26, 189-90, 217, 260 bis; iv, 355-6). Ibn 'Umar declares, on the contrary, that at the time of the prohibition, there was no wine in Medina at all (Bukhārī, *Ashriba, bāb* 2). Anas b. Mālik (*ibid.*) says that there was scarcely any wine from grapes in Medina, when the prohibition was revealed; people used wine from *busr* and *tamr* (two kinds of dates). In another tradition (*ibid., bāb* 3) wine from *faḍīkh* and *zahw* (two other kinds of dates) is mentioned. 'Umar is represented as delivering a *khuṭba* which was meant to settle the question; according to his son 'Abd Allāh, he said: Wine has been prohibited by the Ḳur'ān; it comes from five kinds of fruits, from grapes, from dates, from honey, from wheat and from barley; wine is what obscures the intellect (*wa 'l-khamr mā khāmara al-'aḳl*; Bukhārī, *Ashriba, bāb* 2). The question remained, whether beverages prepared from grapes in a different way were prohibited. There was e.g. a kind of syrup. "When 'Umar visited Syria, the population complained of its unhealthy and heavy climate and they added: This drink alone will heal us. Then 'Umar allowed them to drink honey. Then they said: Honey cannot heal us. Thereupon one of the natives of Syria said to him: May we not prepare something of this drink for you? It has no inebriating power. He said: All right. Then they cooked it till two-thirds were evaporated and one-third of it remained. They brought it to 'Umar, who put his finger into it and licked it. Then he said: This is *ṭilā'* like camels' *ṭilā'* (viz. the pitch with which they smeared their skins). Then he allowed them to drink it" (Mālik, *Ashriba, bāb* 14). According to the first chapter of the same *kitāb*, however, 'Umar punishes a man who had become drunk on *ṭilā'*. Juice from grapes, prepared by pressing them only, is considered as wine. Ṭāriḳ b. Suwayd al-Ḥaḍramī said to the Prophet, We have in our country grapes which we press. May we drink the juice? He said: No. This negative answer is given three times and when Ṭāriḳ asks whether the juice may be given the sick to drink, Muḥammad answers: It is no medicine, it is sickness (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, v, 292 f.). And not only those who drink and sell wine are cursed by Muḥammad, but also those who press grapes and have them pressed in order to drink the juice (Ibn Mādja, *Ashriba, bāb* 6).

Another question of importance arose, in connection with spirits: Had they to be considered as wine or not? All the *madhhabs*, except the Ḥanafīs, have answered the question in the affirmative sense. They have consequently extended the prohibition of wine, in accordance with the intention underlying it. Tradition, which is the best source for the history of the origin of several institutions, shows that the question belongs to the much-debated ones. The standard *ḥadīth*, which is found very frequently in the classical collections, runs as follows (Muslim's version *Imām*, trad. 26 is cited, because it contains important details): "Some men of 'Abd al-Ḳays went to the Apostle of God and said to him: O Prophet of God, we are a tribe belonging to Rabī'a; between us and yourself dwell the infidels of Muḍar, so that we can only reach you in the sacred month. Tell us therefore what we have to tell our tribespeople which will open Paradise for us if we to cling to it. The Apostle of God answered: I order four things and I forbid four things. Serve God without associating anything with him. Perform the *ṣalāt*, pay the *zakāt*, fast the month of Ramaḍān and deliver the fifth part of booty. And I forbid four things: *dubbā'*, *ḥantam*, *muzaffat* and *naḳīr*. They asked: O Apostle of God, how do you know what the *naḳīr* is? He said: Well, it is a palmtrunk which you hollow out; then you pour small dates into it and upon them water. When the process of fermentation has finished, you drink it with the effect that a man hits his cousin with the sword.—Now among these men there was someone who had received a blow of the sword in this way,

but he had concealed it out of shame before the Apostle of God. So he said: But from what vessels should we drink then, O Apostle of God? He answered: From leather skins, the mouthpieces of which are smeared with pitch. They answered: O Prophet of God, our country teems with mice so that no single skin can be kept whole. Then the Prophet of God answered: Even though the mice should eat them, even though the mice should eat them, even though the mice should eat them.

This tradition did not meet with general approval. It is said that the Anṣār or other people complained of their difficulty in finding the skins necessary for preserving drinks without their becoming fermented. Thereupon the Prophet is said to have withdrawn his prohibition, wholly or partly (Bukhārī, *Ashriba*, *bāb* 8; Muslim, *Ashriba*, trads. 63-6, etc.). In some versions of this tradition there occurs the restriction that all the fermented inebriating drinks remain prohibited. Innumerable are the traditions which only contain the rule that all drinks which may cause drunkenness are prohibited in any quantity (*kull muskir ḥarām kathīruhu wa ḳalīluhu*) and this rule has passed into many books of *fiḳh* (Bukhārī, *Maghāzī*, *bāb* 60; Muslim, *Ashriba*, trads. 67-75; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i, 145; ii, 16 bis; iii, 38; iv, 87; v, 25-6; vi, 36, etc.). Of special traditions prohibiting fermented drinks, there may be mentioned the following. It is forbidden or disapproved of to sell raisins if they are to be used for preparing nabidh (Nasāʾī, *Ashriba*, *bāb* 51, 51). It is prohibited to mix together different kinds of fruits so that the mixture should become intoxicating. This tradition occurs frequently; see e.g. Bukhārī, *Ashriba*, *bāb* 11; Muslim, *Ashriba*, trads. 16-29; Nasāʾī, *Ashriba*, *bābs* 4-17; Ibn Saʿd, viii, 360; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i, 276; ii, 46; vi, 242, 292. But each of these kinds may be used separately for preparing a non-fermented drink (Muslim, *Ashriba*, trads. 81-3; Nasāʾī, *Ashriba*, *bābs* 14-18, etc.).

It can easily be seen that the difficulty in this matter was caused by two circumstances. People were accustomed to prepare from all kinds of dates, from raisins and other fruits, drinks which only became inebriating if they were preserved a long time, and probably also if they were prepared after special methods. Where was the line of demarcation between the allowed and the prohibited kind to be placed? Several collections of traditions went so far as to mention *nabīdh* among the drinks prepared by Muḥammad's wives and drunk by him (Muslim, *Ashriba*, trads. 79-89; Aḥmad, i, 232-3, 240, 287, 320-1, 336, 355, 369, 372; ii, 35; iii, 304, 307, 313-14, 326, 379, 384, etc.). Abū Dāwūd (*Ashriba*, *bāb* 10) and Ibn Mādja (*Ashriba*, *bāb* 12) have preserved a tradition on this subject which is instructive. Ibn Mādja's version is given here: ʿĀʾisha said "We used to prepare *nabīdh* for the Apostle of God in a skin; we took a handful of dates or a handful of raisins, cast it into the skin and poured water upon it. The *nabīdh* we prepared in this way in the morning was drunk by him in the evening; and when we prepared it in the evening he drank it the next morning". In another tradition of the same *bāb*, Ibn ʿAbbās says that the Prophet used to drink this *nabīdh* even on the third day; but what was left then was poured out.

All this could, however, not persuade the majority of the *faḳīhs* to declare *nabīdh* allowed; three of the *madhhabs* as well as the Shīʿa prohibit the use of *nabīdh*. The Ḥanafī school, on the other hand, allows it, when used with moderation, for medicinal purposes, etc.

It would take us too far to give here a detailed survey of the opinions of the *faḳīhs* of all *madhhabs*; it would be superfluous, to some extent at least, because the more important differences regard chiefly *nabīdh* only. The following rapid survey is based on the *Fatāwā ʿĀlamgīrī*, vi, 604 ff. (cf. Shaʿrānī's *Mīzān*, Cairo 1279, 192-3).

Allowed according to the *idjmāʿ* is non-fermented, very sweet drink.

Prohibited (*ḥarām*), according to the *idjmāʿ*, are wine and *sakar* of every kind. As to wine, there are six cases: to drink it in any quantity or to make use of it is *ḥarām*; to deny this is *kufr*; to buy, sell, present it, etc. is *ḥarām*; no responsibility (*ḍimān*) rests on him who spoils or destroys wine (*mutlifhā*); whether wine is a possession (*māl*) is an unsettled point; it is *nadjis* just as blood and urine; he who drinks any quantity of it is liable to punishment.

Several kinds of products prepared by means of grapes (*bādhiḳ*, *munaṣṣaf*, etc.) are prohibited according to the majority (*ʿāmma*) of the *faḳīhs*.

Allowed, according to the majority of the *faḳīhs* are *ṭilāʾ* (see above) or *muthallath* and *nabīdh* from dates with the restrictions mentioned above. So is juice from grapes when the process of cooking has made to evaporate two-thirds. Muḥammad (al-Shaybānī [*q.v.*]) has a deviating opinion on this point.

As to the punishment of him who drinks wine, *ḥadīth* tells us that Muḥammad and Abū Bakr were wont to inflict forty blows by means of palm branches or sandals (Bukhari, *Ḥudūd*, *bāb* 2-4; *Ḥudūd*, trads. 35-7). Under ʿUmar's caliphate, however, Khālid b. al-Walīd reported to him that people were indulging in prohibited drinks. Thereupon ʿUmar consulted the Companions, who advised him to fix the number of blows at eighty, a number suggested by the Ḳurʾān which prescribes that those who accuse *muḥsanāt* of *zināʾ*, without being able to prove their accusations by the aid of four witnesses, shall be punished with eighty blows (Sūra XXIV, 4).

Repeated drinking of wine, according to some traditions, was punished by death at Muḥammad's order (Abū Dāwūd, *Ḥudūd*, *bāb* 36; Ibn Mādja, *Ḥudūd*, *bāb* 17; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 136, 166, 191; iv, 93, etc.). It is, however, added in some traditions that capital punishment in such cases is not according to the *sunna* of the Prophet (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, i, 125, 130; cf. Ṭayālisī, no. 183).

The different *madhhabs* have adopted ʿUmar's view; drinking wine is punished with eighty blows; if the transgressor is a slave this number is however reduced to forty, because in the Ḳurʾān the punishment of the handmaid's *zināʾ* is fixed at half the amount of blows with which the free woman is punished (Sūra IV, 30). The Shāfiʿis, however, cling to the practice ascribed to Muḥammad and Abū Bakr; with them the number of blows is consequently forty or twenty (see Zurḳānī, iv, 42; Nawawī, in Muslim, iv, 156).

The prohibition of wine and spirits (according to three of the four *madhhabs*) is one of the distinctive marks of the Muslim world; its consequences can hardly be overrated. This is not seriously affected by the fact that transgressors have been numerous, according to literary evidence. The praise of wine, not uncommon in pre-Islamic poetry, remained one of the favourite topics also of Muslim poets (cf. the wine-songs by Ibn al-Muʿtazz, Abū Nuwās, etc., and see KHAMRIYYA), and at the court of the Caliphs wine was drunk at revelling parties as if no prohibition existed at all (see e.g. *The 1001 Nights*, *passim*). Even the common people could not always and

everywhere refrain from their national drink, date wine of several kinds; the caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz deemed it necessary to promulgate a special edict in order to abolish this custom (see von Kremer, *Culturgeschichtliche Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1873, 68-9).

Wine has a special place in the literary works of the mystics, where it is one of the symbols of ecstasy. In this point they only took over the language of their Christian and non-Christian predecessors. As early as Philo of Alexandria ecstasy is compared with intoxication (see especially his *De Vita Contemplativa*). Among the Ibāḥiyya, language may have been a reflex of practice; but this cannot be said of Ṣūfīs in general, who on the contrary, clung to the ascetic methods of the *via purgativa*. As to Ḥāfiẓ's wine- and love songs, it is an unsettled point whether they are merely metaphorical or not.

Bibliography: Freytag, *Einleitung in das Studium der arabischen Sprache*, Bonn 1861, 272-3; G. Jacob, *Studien in vorislamischen Dichtern*, iii, 2nd ed., Berlin 1897, 96 ff.; A. von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Orients*, Vienna 1875-7, i, 149; ii, 204 ff.; A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islâms*, Heidelberg 1922, index; I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, i, 19-33; idem, in *ZDMG*, xii (1887), 40, 95-6; idem, *Muh. Recht in Theorie und Wirklichkeit*, in *Zeitschr. für vergl. Rechtswiss.*, viii (1889), 408; A. Schaade, *Islam und Alkohol* (*Sonntagsbeilage Nr. 36 zur Vossischen Zeitung* No. 454, Sept. 7, 1913); Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorāns*, i, 182, 3; 199, n. 1, 3; Snouck Hurgronje, *Verspreide Geschriften*, gen. index, s.v. *wijn*; Th. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des isl. Gesetzes*, 178 ff., 304; 3rd ed., in Dutch, 172-3, 208; I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*[1], Heidelberg 1910, 63-7, French tr. Arin, *Le dogme et la loi de l'Islam*, Paris 1920, 53-7; H. Laoust, *Le Traité de droit publique d'Ibn Taimīya*, Beirut 1948, 107-14; Ahmad Fatḥī Bahnasī, *al-Djarāʾim fi 'l-fiḳh al-islāmī*, Cairo 1959, 155-65; Y. Linant de Bellefonds, *Traité de droit musulman comparé*, Paris-The Hague 1965, i, nos. 240-1.

(A. J. Wensinck*)

2. As a product.

Wine has been known in the Orient since the earliest times, and Arabic literature preserves vague memories of its legendary origin, not omitting to recall the demonic aspect, in accordance with Ḳurʾān V, 90-2. It takes account, on the one hand, of Babylonian traditions linked to Biblical characters such as Adam and Noah (cf. the *Midrash* based on Babylonian elements; *Tanḥūmā*, Lublin 1879, 28-9) and, on the other hand, of the Aramaic-Syriac extra-Biblical tradition, thus symbolising that ancient culture of the Fertile Crescent inherited by the mediaeval Muslim world. Certain versions link the origin of wine to the two great civilisations which were neighbours to Islam, that of Rūm and that of India (cf. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 88-92, §§ 518-9; al-Raḳīḳ al-Ḳayrawānī, *Ḳuṭb al-surūr*, B.N. Paris, ar. 3302, f. 42; al-Nawādjī, *Ḥalbat al-kumayt*, Cairo 1938, 11-12; al-Badrī al-Dimashḳī, *Rāḥat al-arwāḥ*, B.N. Paris, ar. 3544, ff. 58a-59a; *Baḥr al-ḥikāyāt*, B.N. Paris, ar. 3588, ff. 107b-108b; the literature of the *awāʾil* [*q.v.*], notably Istanbul, Reisülküttab, 899, f. 98b; Topkapı, E.H. 1329, f. 69; B.N. Paris, ar. 2079, ff. 96a-97a, 5931, f. 252a).

The *Book of Agriculture* attributed to Ibn Waḥshiyya [*q.v.*] points out the importance of the vine in the Fertile Crescent, and alludes to wines in speaking of the various types of grape which are suitable for their manufacture (Leiden ms. or. 303, ii, 87-291).

The Arabs who settled in agricultural regions had no real tradition of viticulture; in fact, in pre-Islamic Arabia vineyards were rare and wine-vaults even more so (however, there were some in al-Ṭāʾif). The quality of the wine was mediocre, and a certain amount must even then have been imported, mainly by Jewish and Christian merchants (after the birth of Islam, this commerce was practised exclusively by these two communities, as a result of the Ḳurʾānic prohibition). One should not suppose that the Bedouin knew nothing of wine (as is claimed by the Shuʿūbīs [Bashshār, *Dīwān*, Cairo 1950-6, i, 378, l. 2, and especially Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān*, Cairo 1898, 244-5; cf. Ibn Ḳutayba, *ʿUyūn*, iii, 237; Ibn Ḥamdūn, *Tadhkira*, Istanbul Ragib, 1083, iii, f. 287a; Ibn Gharsiya, in *Nawādir al-makhṭūṭāt*, Cairo 1951, 250]), nor that they drank it to excess (Ibn Ḥāwi, *Fann al-shiʿr al-khamrī*, Beirut n.d., 11). The truth is that the ancient Arabs were acquainted with wine, though tasting it only on rare occasions such as inter-tribal fairs (cf. G. Jacob, *Studien in ar. Dichtung*, Berlin 1895, 95-109; H. Lammens, *Le berceau de l'Islam*, Paris 1914, 84-5; H. F. Lutz, *Viticulture and brewing in the Ancient Orient*, Leipzig 1922, 33-7, 143-51; Djawād ʿAlī, *Taʾrīkh al-ʿArab ḳabl al-Islām*, Baghdād 1951-9, viii, 162-5).

The expansion of Islam enabled the Muslims to familiarise themselves with new regional types of wine, and the taste of the consumers gained in refinement to the extent that connoisseurs were able to appreciate and distinguish between wines of diverse origin; al-Djāḥiẓ (*Shārib*) speaks even of various "wine-producing regions" (*buldān*). The poets of the Islamic era speak of countries renowned before the advent of Islam for the quality of their wines (for Beirut, see F. Gabrieli, in *RSO*, xv (1935), 39; for ʿĀna, in Upper-Mesopotamia, see al-Akhṭal, *Dīwān*, Beirut 1891, 117; F. Gabrieli, *art. cit.*, 51; J. Bencheikh, in *BEO*, xviii (1963-4), 18-20; cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 223; for Iran see F. Gabrieli, *art. cit.*, 62; for the viticultural tradition, very often of Sāsānid origin, cf. the wine-producing regions mentioned by al-Thaʿālibī, in J. M. Unvala, *King Husrav and his boy*, Paris 1926, 45, and J. Bencheikh, *op. cit.* There were also renowned wine-producing districts in Egypt and in other parts of the Muslim world.

As regards the wine-making process, the information that we have is not very extensive. The grapes were trodden, with a light jumping movement, in a *maʿṣara* (shallow vat), according to an ancient procedure. Wine-presses of circular motion were not introduced in the Orient until very late (some ancient specimens still exist in certain monasteries in the Lebanon). A poet of the 4th/10th century (*apud* al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, iv, 144), describes the *maʿṣara* as a sea of red flames in which the labourer stands, the lower half of his body soaked with the grape-juice. From the 7th/13th century onwards, miniatures provide the best illustrations of the process (see D. S. Rice, *Deacon or drink*, in *Arabica*, v (1958), to which may be added Leningrad ms. S. 23, p. 76); here labourers are seen carrying the grapes, others press them by treading them in a vat, hanging on straps in order to jump more easily; in the vat there is an aperture, allowing the juice to flow out into a receptacle; against a wall stand the amphorae (*dann*, pl. *dinān*) with tapered bases, in which the fermentation takes place (in vaults, seldom in the open), and the maturation (on the storing in amphorae, cf. Leningrad S 23, pp. 44, 103; yet what are

involved are perhaps not wine amphorae, but large water containers, see G. Le-Bon, *La Civilisation*, Paris 1884, 397, and cf. the *khazzān* described by Kushādjim, *Dīwān*, 1313, 83, and al-Suyūṭī, *al-Hay'a al-saniyya*, Univ. of Istanbul, Arap 1476, f. 50). These various stages are described in works of literature, while religious treatises aimed at prohibiting the consumption of certain drinks, concern themselves at some length with the various types of vessel used for fermentation.

The mediaeval anthologies and the treatises of *fiḳh* list various ingredients for the manufacture of alcoholic beverages; fruits: dates (see TAMR), figs, apricots, cherries, mulberries, and various berries; cereals: wheat, barley, maize, millet; honey (hydromel is called *bitʿ*); sugar cane; milk (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Ashriba*, speaks of the making of alcoholic drinks from different kinds of milk), especially mares' milk (for making *kūmis*, introduced at an early stage by the Turks, and attested from the 5th/11th century onwards, which was to become the favourite drink of the Mamlūks [see KUMĪS]). On all these beverages, see SHARĀB.

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text, see Djāḥiẓ, *Risāla fī 'l-shārib wa 'l-mashrūb*, in *Rasā'il*, ed. Sandūbī, 276-84; idem, *Madḥ al-nabīdh*, *ibid.*, 285-91; Ibn Ḳutayba, *K. al-Ashriba*, ed. M. Kurd ʿAlī, Damascus 1366/1947; al-Raḳīḳ al-Ḳayrawānī, *Ḳuṭb al-surūr*, Damascus 1969 (this edition, based on a ms. of the British Museum, does not contain the section quoted above from that of the Bibl. Nat.); Nawādjī, *op. cit.*, 7-8, 166-77; Badrī Dimashḳī, *op. cit.*, 54-66, 74-5; *Concordance de la tradition musulmane*, s.vv. *bitʿ*, *dubbā'*, *fadīkh*, *ḥantam*, *mizr*, *muḳayyar*, *muzaffat*, *naḳīr*; Sarakhsī, *Mabsūṭ*, Cairo 1324-31, xxiv, 1-35; Raffā', *al-Muḥibb wa 'l-maḥbūb wa 'l-mashmūm wa 'l-mashrūb*, ms. Leiden or. 559, ff. 143b-176a; Ghuzūlī, *Maṭāliʿ*, Cairo 1880, i, 128-44; list of drinks by Ibn Sayyār al-Warrāḳ, in Ḥ. Zayyāt, *Fann al-ṭabīkh*, in *Machriq*, xli (1947), 25; Dj. Saʿīd, *Taṭawwur al-khamriyyāt*, Cairo n.d. (J. SADAN)

KHAMRIYYA (A.), designates a Bacchic or wine poem in modern critical terminology, at least since Ṭaha Ḥusayn in 1923 (*Ḥadīth al-Arbiʿā'*, ii, 71). This name does not seem to be attested in the mediaeval nomenclature of the genres. The usual expressions *al-ḳawl fi'l-khamr*, *lahu maʿānī fi'l-khamr*, *waṣṣāf li'l-khamr*, indicate the existence of themes, but do not include any willingness to organise them into an independent poem. In fact, the problem of appellation conceals the problem of evolution, of which the principal stages will be traced here.

i. *In early times: the inserted statement.* The state in which the works of the *Djāhiliyya* have been transmitted to us forbids our pronouncing on the problems that the working of the Bacchic framework poses. It is possible, despite that, to put forward observations which are not without interest. The first concerns the insertion of statements in compositions with many themes, sc. the *Muʿallaḳāt* of Labīd (vv. 57-61), ʿAntara (vv. 37-40), and especially ʿAmr b. Kulthūm (vv. 1-8), where the person involved already has a closer relationship with this type of inspiration. With the elegiac poet Muraḳḳish al-Aṣghar, uncle of Ṭarafa, the Bacchic statement presents itself in the *nasīb* as a syntactic and semantic intrusion. As a tool for comparison, it does not have an autonomous function. Several other poems offer examples of instrumental, inserted statements: in an amorous evocation of ʿAwf b. ʿAṭiyya (*Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, no. 124, vv. 5-6); in a heterogenous sequence of animal descriptions of Mutammim (or Mālik) b. Nuwayra (*Muf.*, no. 9, vv. 28-30); in a sequence of *fakhr* of Rabīʿa b. Maḳrūm al-Ḍabbī (*Muf.*, no. 113, vv. 10-13); or even the object of a poem of *munādama* heightening both bragging and satire in ʿAbd al-Masīḥ b. ʿAsala (*Muf.*, no. 72).

There is reason to question whether this fact reveals the beginning of work on Bacchic statements presented in certain frameworks to which they are strictly subordinated or whether some themes, included in a framework more or less well established, appear in some common thematic areas in several registers. Is it a question of scattered and corollary statements, or of themes properly so-called?

The analysis of two other texts would rather incline one to the second hypothesis, obviously without being able to assert anything as historical. In one of these, attributed to ʿAlḳama b. ʿAbada (*Muf.*, no. 120, vv. 39-45), the Bacchic sequence follows a development of *fakhr*. It is written into a whole that is ruled and ordered by the amatory framework, which rules even the long description of a she-camel. However, we are in the presence of statements already on the lines of Abū Nuwās, with precise vocabulary, images finely welded together and homogeneous language.

Another piece, more important, dating from the first years of Islam confirms our impression. It comes from ʿAbda b. al-Ṭabīb (*Muf.*, no. 26, vv. 66-81), and comprises a sequence of 15 purely Bacchic lines. The juxtaposition of several descriptions (she-camel, fight of a wild bull with dogs, visit to a wine merchant) permits one to note the relationship of the language used on these different occasions. The vocabulary, whose precision borders on technicality, derives from the Bedouin context and the images presented in the Bacchic statements originated in the same socio-cultural background. In fact, this poet is a technician of the *waṣf*, which uses similar realistic writing to describe an animal, a cup-bearer or an ewer. With this poet, there is no sensibility to pleasure, no awareness of voluptuousness. However, this text, in so far as it is genuine, proves the existence of an established framework.

The theory may be advanced that in the Bedouin tradition this framework, used in the form of coherent groups of statements or in inserted fragments, had already been made the object of a certain rectification. Its basic elements are in service, but it remains dependent on the major framework or enclosed in a purely descriptive scheme.

The Precursors of al-Ḥīra: Attention should be drawn to the particularism of a group of poets of al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*] in whom Bacchism constitutes a dominant characteristic, at least, if one wishes to believe the fragmentary texts which are in our possession A new tendency seems to be displayed in an area more propitious to the blossoming of the *khamriyya*, where the literary production reflects an existential attitude and expresses a view of the world. The autonomy of the framework tends to assert itself, the language becomes more supple and better adapted to the nature of the inspiration, and the brief Bacchic poem makes its appearance.

It is possible to make a list of famous poets having more or less strong connections with the sphere of al-Ḥīra. Some use the technique of the inserted statement. For instance, Muraḳḳish al-Aṣghar (cf. above), al-Aswad b. Yaʿfūr [*q.v.*] (*Muf.*, no. 44, vv. 21-4; no. 125, vv. 6-7) and Ṭarafa. With the latter, the principal themes are in service and the

Time

- In the shelter of every contact.
In the shelter of light and fire-time.
- Virgin cloistered wine.

Preparation → Wineharvest / Harvesting → Pressing → Fermentation → Ageing
Preparation → Vineyard

Aspect → LUMINOSITY → Fire-embers-torch-lamp / Stars-lighting-morning-dawn / Jewels-gems → Mingling
Aspect → COLOURATION → Colours / Reflections → Mingling
Aspect → LIMPIDITY-TRANSPARENCY → Purity → Immateriality → Towards mystic speech

Fight against darkness impurity, evil → Towards mystic speech

Bouquet → Perfumes → Fruits / Flowers → Mingling
Bouquet → Breeze-odours → Mingling → Liberated soul

Taste → Savour → Sweetness / Smoothness / Lightness / Pungency → Mingling / Effects → Saliva of the beloved → Towards erotic speech

TABLE 1

Mingling → Bubbles Froth → Luminosity → Pearls-gems-gold / Constellations-stars / Flashes → Purity
Bubbles Froth → Graphic art → Writings-letters / Embroideries
Bubbles Froth → Movement → Locusts

Mingling → Wine in union with water → Short-tempered virgin-chaste-rebellious one → Purity
Wine in union with water → Gentle, submissive wife

Deflowering

Weddings

Voluptuousness of union → Towards erotic speech / Towards mystic speech

Mingling → Effects on the Colour → the Bouquet → the Sparkle

TABLE 2

Artificial paradises → Voluptuousness, Happiness, Eternity of passion, Resurrection

Effects →
- *Physical* →
  - in the body → drunkenness
  - Force and violence / Healing of ills → Going beyond its limits / Destruction
  - Chasms of total drunkenness → Destruction
- *Psychic* →
  - Illusions of drunkenness / Metamorphoses of the drinker → Lightness, Unconcern, Courage, Intelligence, Generosity → All-powerfulness, deliverance from the every day, escape out of time →
- *Spiritual* → spirit delivered from the carnal husk → Disincarnation → Search for love and purity → Mystic speech → Ecstasy

Voluptuousness

Happiness

Eternity of passion

Resurrection

Ecstasy

Mystic speech

Table 3

PERSONAGES

Music ↓ Love ↓

Feminines → *Sāḳiya*, *Ḳayna*, *Mug͟hanniya*, *Musmiʿa*, *K͟hammāra*, *Dihḳāna*

Djāriya

G͟hulāmiyya

Masculines → *Sāḳī*, *G͟hulām* (→ *G͟hulāmiyya*), *Mug͟hannī*, *Nadīm*, *K͟hammār*, *Dihḳān*

Table 4

Bacchic adab: *Futuwwa*, *Baṭāla*

Youth — Unconcern
Beauty — Grace
Elegance — Vivacity

Aristocracy — Culture
Courtesy — Good-breeding
Generosity — Discretion
Sociability

Nadīm

Hedonism

Rejection and provocativeness

Pleasure: vital function
Search for enjoyment

Amorous relations
(hetero- and homosexual)

Love of nature
Participation in the joys of the universe
Pacifism

Quest for freedom
Snatching at life at the time, being carried off to oblivion

Belief in divine mercy

Cynical and insolent debauchery
Indifference to opinion
Frenzy for scandal
Despair of exhaustion

Rejection of moral and religious precepts
Rape of the Ḳur'ānic prescriptions and pretended submission

Satanic pact

TABLE 5

Places: Palace; Tavern, Inn; Gardens, Vines; Merchant's shop; Arbour; Tent; Convent, Monastery

Recipients

for drinking:
Gold-silver-alabaster-topaz crystal-glass

Ibrīḳ	Ewer
Ḳadaḥ	Glass-cup
Ka's	Glass Goblet

keeping:
Jar: *Djarra*, *Dann*, *Khābiya*, *Rāḳūd*
pitcher-jug: *Bāṭiyya*, *Ḥabb*
vase
vat-cask — *Ḥiyāḍ*
leather bottle — *Ziḳḳ*

TABLE 6

philosophy of intoxication appears in relief (*Muʿallaḳa*, vv. 45-57). Although still attached to the *fakhr*, included in a heterogeneous *ḳaṣīda* written in the Bedouin context, this poem introduces a particular treatment of Bacchism.

It is in this sense that several other poets are regarded rightly as true precursors. The Tamīmī Christian author of combined Arab-Iranian culture, ʿAdī b. Zayd [*q.v.*], produced poems of which fragments survive. Their writing foreshadows unquestionably that of the later great tradition. The work of Abū Miḥdjan [*q.v.*] is badly mutilated, but his personality may be viewed as a means to illustrate the attitude of refusal that would characterise his successors. Finally, the *dīwān* of al-Aʿshā Maymūn [*q.v.*] includes about ten pieces, important because of the number of lines devoted to the Bacchic framework, which, however, never constitutes the whole of the poem. We have before us here an autonomous discourse which is written in the space of the *ḳaṣīda* similar to other frameworks. The poet expresses in it a genuine pleasure without a bad conscience or aggressiveness. The monsters of Bacchism, who will appear later, do not dwell there. Moreover, its language is strong, still rough and one may speak of an inspiration still sustained by the Bedouin environment. But the use of numerous Persian words must also be noted, especially when flowers are mentioned —there is the beginning of a poetry of *rawḍiyyāt* or *nawriyyāt* which was to develop later. Thus an Iranian influence is felt which also affected ʿAdī b. Zayd. The work of al-Aʿshā reveals how the tendencies are entangled or juxtaposed and makes therefore hazardous any hypothesis which would claim to distinguish them. One must be content with the observation that several elements of the Bacchic framework are set there and that there is an evolution towards a specific kind of writing and the characteristics of a genre.

ii. *The First Century: consolidation of a framework.* While set entirely under the sign of a historic mutation, the first century of Islam is still a period of transition and, as such, marked by great complexity. In a purely operative manner, it is possible to distinguish two types of production:

(a) Ḥidjāzī Bacchism. In a Ḥidjāz disappointed in its ambitions, which history made of marginal consequence and immobilised as sacred, it is well-known how hedonism developed among the representatives of an idle aristocracy. This was a decisive stage for amorous poetry and Bacchic poetry, which lent support to one another and shared between them some large thematic areas. In view of this, Ḥassan b. Thābit is a forerunner, especially as the local trend is linked with the influence that the court of al-Ḥīra had on him. Even if his work is in part apocryphal, and even if his Bacchic statements survive scattered in mainly laudatory compositions, he was capable of some audacities, of which posterity preserved the memory (Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xv, 164-6).

Ḥidjāzī Bacchism is well represented by Ibn Sayḥān [*q.v.*], a not very productive poet, but one who dedicated himself to wine and love and was often punished for it. Al-Aḥwaṣ is the type of aristocrat of whom it could almost be said that he combined several features of the libertine, while taking care not to give to that word a meaning which would exceed the socio-cultural realities of the time. A great lover of the pleasures which love, music and drink offered him, he put an adventurous insolence into his pursuit of them, saw how far he could go with morality or even with religion, and arrived at a political attitude that was critical of the régime that brought him to the pillory and exile. It is a great pity that the state of his works hardly allows judgement to be made, for certain fragments are significant, notably those that are concerned with the combined treatment of the elegiac and Bacchic frameworks.

(b) ʿIrāḳī Bacchism. Due to the copiousness of his Bacchic work, al-Akhṭal [*q.v.*], another Christian connected with the milieu of al-Ḥīra, appears as the successor of al-Aʿshā, and that despite the harsh evaluation that certain modern critics have placed on his real importance. But once the necessary cautions have been given as to the present state of the *dīwān*, it must be acknowledged that we are analysing here an important treatment of the framework studied. Indeed, Bacchic development is inserted in a *ḳaṣīda*. But the variety of the themes (concerning the preparation of wine and its effects), the diversity of the descriptive processes, and, generally, the coherence of the scheme, allows some interesting observations to be made (M. S. Benani, *Bacchic themes and personalities in the dīwān of al-Akhṭal*, thesis [in Arabic], Algiers 1965, and *Madjallat Kulliyyat al-Ādāb*, Algiers, i (1967), 59-78). One might mention here the overlapping of the themes of water and wine, which compose very rich semantic constellations. Beneficent or destructive, abundant or rare, calm or violent, occupying space with their sound and perfume, leading to drunkenness or suspending it, water and wine join together or confront one another to impose a framework of liquidity which continues in strict relationship with reality. Later poets were to depart from this reality and their work was to become enriched with symbolic significance.

The poetry of al-Akhṭal preserves some characteristics of traditional Bedouin Bacchism as it continued in this first century in a few poems of al-ʿUdjayr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Salūlī (*Aghānī*, xiii, 60, and al-Djumaḥī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 517 ff.) and al-Nābigha b. Shaybān (*Aghānī*, vii, 107-8, 110); cf. Blachère, *HLA*, iii, 505). But it is also connected with another type of inspiration that develops in ʿIrāḳ, especially at al-Kūfa, which sets itself up as heir of al-Ḥīra. With this type must be linked the works of Ḥāritha b. Badr al-Ghudānī [*q.v.*], comprising about 80 lines, which certify that numerous Abū Nuwās-like processes were already in use. A great drinker (*khimmīr*), this noble Baṣran of Tamīm defied the prohibition on drinking where Bedouin bragging takes on quite significant tones of rebellion. But the poet is mediocre and his Bacchism has few nuances, finding only inadequate expression.

Mālik b. Asmāʾ b. Khāridja (*Aghānī*, xvii, 158-67; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 666-7), a senior official of al-Ḥadjdjādj's with few scruples, sings of the pleasures of love, music and wine in this light language which was soon to impose itself on *khamriyyāt*.

But it is above all another Kūfan, a pure Arab, al-Mughīra b. ʿAbd Allāh, called al-Uḳayshir al-Asadī (*Aghānī*, xi, 234-59; cf. Blachère, *HLA*, iii, 515), who represents one of the first truly Bacchic personalities of the literature of the first century. This writer was first of all a picturesque Bohemian with little to recommend him, but amusing and quiet-loving, who haunted the taverns and monasteries of al-Ḥīra, and formed with several companions a group called the *mudjdjān al-Kūfa*. We are here at the beginning of the libertine school of al-Kūfa which was henceforth to be exposed to the repression of official morality.

Al-Uḳayshir is moreover an excellent poet, who describes wine in beautiful language, still strongly

marked by the Bedouin lexical tradition. In this poetry, which is very true to life, describing tavern adventures, the relation is skilful and lively, the Bacchism vigorous and sympathetic. This type of inspiration can be connected with the brief and rather dull pieces of the Kūfan Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Tharwānī (al-Shabushtī, *Diyārāt*, 49, 176, 230-2), an inveterate drinker and lover of young men, found dead among the leather bottles of a low tavern. So, in the first century, various tendencies exploited a well-established framework to which great poets were soon to give fuller expansion.

iii. *The Second Century: the assertion of a literary style.*

(a) *A great forerunner: al-Walīd b. Yazīd.*

The second century, which was to end with the glory of Abū Nuwās, had at its outset that of the caliph al-Walīd b. Yazīd. Between the two men the line of descent is direct. Everything is included between these two poles: a philosophy of existence, the conception of an art, the practice of a language. A style of writing defines Bacchic poetry as a major mode of speech.

Al-Walīd, a controversial personality if ever there was (see our brief sketch of a counter-portrait in *Encyclopaedia Universalis*, *Thesaurus*, s.v.), Arab prince, poet and composer linked with the musical school of the Ḥidjāz, throwing himself into the passions of life, free with a lordly freedom that could not conceive of any limit and, hence, of any morality, is doubly important. He gathered around himself a literary group, in which were Ibn Mayyāda [*q.v.*]; Ibn Shurāʿa; Yazīd b. Ḍabba, an excellent poet, the inseparable friend of the prince (*Aghānī*, vii, 92-100); Yaḥyā b. Ziyād al-Ḥārithī, and many others. Also, conspicuous personalities like Muṭīʿ b. Iyās, Ḥammād al-Rāwiya and Ḥammād ʿAdjrad, the famous libertines of al-Kūfa frequented his salon. The composition of this literary group is significant, and makes understandable the literary admiration of al-Walīd for ʿAdī b. Zayd and for Bashshār b. Burd, whose personality and work incontestably dominates this century.

Moreover, al-Walīd is recognised as the master of modern Bacchism. The author of *al-Aghānī* asserts it already: this poet composed numerous poems which were plundered, notably by al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk [*q.v.*] and Abū Nuwās (*Aghānī*, vii, 21). The quality of the borrowers is itself a homage rendered to a work of which only some fragments have been preserved. The Bacchic inspiration is here very close to the amorous inspiration which predominates. Features of exquisite delicacy in the sentiment, of finesse in the expression, can be neighbours to excesses which still go to set off an insolent elegance. The language by its simplicity and its naturalness breaks away from the heavy machinery of conventional poetry. Bacchism finds suddenly a personality which animates it and a way of writing, even more, a style—that is to say a depth—able to exploit the richnesses of its register. Bacchic speech has combined all its mediums.

(b) *The libertines of al-Kūfa.* The poets of al-Kūfa form a group whose homogeneity is such that it is permissible to speak of a school which becomes notable in the second half of the second century. Al-Kūfa became the centre of a poetical activity, of which the components are complex and the characteristics diverse. Its motivations originate at many levels, and their interactions do not allow them to be disentangled easily. Everything comes within the conception of what could almost be called a counter-culture: the political, the religious, the racial, the economic and the social. It is here, and at its best, that Bacchism appears as the expression of a rebellion, that the attitudes of the poet take on subversive overtones. The rebellion is spectacularly directed against religious precepts: it is not an accident that most of the poets of this group fall under the accusation of *zandaḳa* (cf. for example, *Aghānī*, xiii, 280, 335, but all the sources underline this point), and several of them paid with their life for their desire to reject a constraining socio-cultural system. For it goes without saying that the subversion did not only aim at the Ḳurʾānic law; it was in fact the entire system of a culture that was threatened.

This group includes famous luminaries of the literary milieu, such as Wāliba b. al-Ḥubāb; the three Ḥammāds: ʿAdjrad, al-Rāwiya and al-Zibriḳān; and Muṭīʿ b. Iyās, who all died between 155/772 and 169/787. Their freedom of morals, their anti-religious spirit or their indifference towards religion, their Shuʿūbī tendencies, are a mark of this period. Bashshār b. Burd is their great contemporary. But his work, fundamentally amorous, touches only slightly upon the Bacchic framework, and, if his companions are sometimes drunk, he loves above all to sing of the beauty of the *mughanniya* or singing girl.

Among the libertines one notices the presence of poets who are little-known, but who are nevertheless of great interest for the study of the genre. Such is Bakr b. Khāridja (*Aghānī*, xxiii, 66 ff.; al-Shābushtī, *Diyārāt*, 242-3), a Kūfan *mawlā* of Asad, a poor Bohemian who was deprived of his reason by drink and misery. He spent most of his time in taverns, and took refuge to drink amongst the ruins of al-Ḥīra. He is the author of small pieces which al-Djāḥiẓ and Diʿbil enjoyed.

ʿAmmār b. ʿAmr, whose *kunya* is poorly established as Dhū Kināz or Kubār (*Aghānī*, xxiii, 366 ff.), was the friend of Ḥammād al-Rāwiya and Muṭīʿ b. Iyās; his wife, a shrew, shared in his drinking. A minor poet, he is the author of numerous love poems and some *khamriyyāt*.

Appearing here also is Yaḥyā b. Ziyād al-Ḥārithī (*Diyārāt*, 247 ff.), who gave himself over to some unbridled orgies with his friend Muṭīʿ b. Iyās. The two were accused of *zandaḳa*, and it is true that their provocative attitudes do not leave any doubt as to the unbelief of Muṭīʿ who was absolutely passionate in his anti-religious activities.

With the Kūfan milieu of this period is associated Abū Dulāma [*q.v.*], a habitué of taverns and a great lover of joyful evenings spent far from the palace where he was kept as a buffoon. Exasperated by the religious duties, he hurls several vigorous gibes against Islam. There must be noted in his production some characteristics, notably linguistic, which make one think of an inspiration of popular origin. This fact, attested also in Ḥammād ʿAdjrad, shows firstly that the Bacchic genre is directly opposed to laudatory poetry, whose official function is specific. But one is also left thinking that the poetry of rebellion, based on an existential attitude, and transcribed in a literary or non-literary form—according to the dominant norms—has perhaps drawn vigour and vivacity from a people absolutely excluded from the cultural system (cf. J. E. Bencheikh, *Poétique arabe, Les voies d'une création*, Paris 1975, ch. i).

We may note finally that the works of this group are quite sparse. But they played a decisive role in the maturation of a genre which eventually found its masters in the second half of the century.

(c) *The Pre-Nuwāsians.* Emphasis must be placed on the most original, the most striking of these, and reparations be paid for an injustice that posterity commits against him, sc. Abu 'l-Hindī al-Riyāḥī (it is difficult to establish his exact name: *Aghānī* xx, 293; al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ii, 240 ff.; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, vi, 342; al-Maʿarrī, *Ghufrān*, 168, 208; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shiʿr*, 572; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 136-43, etc.). A poet of Arab origin, he lived mostly in Khurasān and Sidjistān, and this remoteness explains how he came to be forgotten. His talent was nevertheless real. Ibn al-Muʿtazz, who composed in the 3rd century the first anthology of Bacchic poetry that has come down to us, asserts that Abū Nuwās, al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk and Abū Hiffān were able to establish themselves in the genre only after reading his poems (*Ṭabaḳāt*, 142). The author of the *Aghānī* quotes the judgement delivered by Abū ʿUbayda and confirmed by Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī, according to which Abū Nuwās drew all his inspiration from Abu 'l-Hindī (*Aghānī*, xx, 29). Even anecdotes of which he was the hero are attributed to other personalities who were living in a similar way. Remote from cultural centres, Abu 'l-Hindī was unable to defend himself against being pillaged, and it seems that it did not worry him. He was one among these poets whose work contributes to the growth of a trend, to the putting of his own plan into effect, but who, melting into the collective effort of creation, leave little trace in memory. All his importance must be due to this *transmission function* in Arabic poetry.

Abu 'l-Hindī never wrote anything but *khamriyyāt*, which impels al-Iṣfahānī to assert that he was the first Bacchic poet of the Islamic period (*Aghānī*, xx, 293, copied by *Fawāt*, ii, 242). This is clearly false, but not useless for the understanding of an evolution: Abu 'l-Hindī is considered in fact as the first to give independence to the genre, and we must concur in this judgement. In a plain and harmonious language, this poet chisels poems of an excellent workmanship, highly representative of this lively, exciting spirit, that was also to be that of Abū Nuwās.

Aḥmad b. Isḥāḳ al-Khārakī (*Fihrist*; Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 306 ff.; Ibn al-Djarrāḥ, *Waraḳa*, 58, etc.) was, according to Abū Nuwās, the origin of the public practice of debauchery (*mudjūn*) and of the composition of verse describing his drinking bouts and varied sexual activities. He was thus to open a path that his young contemporaries were quickly to follow in a kind of cresendo of libertinism. Out of a *dīwān* of 50 pages that the *Fihrist* attributes to him, there remain several pieces representative of the genre, but without charm and lacking in inspiration.

This Baṣran had rivals. Ismāʿīl b. Yūsuf al-Baṣrī constituted, with Abu 'l-Saffāḥ al-Anṣārī and ʿAbd Allāh b. Riḍā, a group of *mudjdjān* who decided to devote all their poetry to wine (Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 339). The first-named has left a few lines of quality. Also at Baṣra, ʿUkkāsha b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad (*Aghānī*, iii, 251-60) deals differently with the Bacchic framework. This minor elegiac writer expresses his amorous despair, but includes in his poems important, often very happy, Bacchic developments. From the profligate violence of some verses, to the amorous passion of others, there is unfolded the full range of the relations linking the Bacchic and amorous frameworks which undergo a joint evolution.

The Kūfan tradition is maintained in lively manner with Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Khalīl (*Aghānī*, xiv, 165 ff.), a close friend of Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Ḳuddūs, accused with him of *zandaḳa*, but who escaped execution. While he regained, under al-Mahdī, a measure of wisdom or of prudence, which turned him away from pleasures, he composed in his youth Bacchic lines interspersed with panegyrics, and also short well-developed pieces not devoid of elegance, but which are more relevant to the drinking song than the poems.

But Bacchism, in this second century, was not the prerogative of ʿIrāḳ solely. Ibrāhīm b. Harma [*q.v.*], a Ḥidjāzī poet, continually gave himself over to drink throughout his life. Of the 10,000 lines attributed to him, at least a thousand have been preserved (*Dīwān*, Baghdād 1969) and the Bacchic pieces must surely have suffered the greatest loss, for they are very few in number.

(d) *Abū Nuwās: the glory of a genre.* The last third of the century is dominated by poets who include some of the greatest names in mediaeval Arabic literature: al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk, Muslim b. al-Walīd and Abū Nuwās. Among them, other less famous men or men of lesser talent contributed to the masterly blossoming of the genre. The whole work of this period constitutes the most important corpus which we have at our disposal. Later work as good would be produced, but never better; above all, no further developments appear.

Abū Nuwās is not the creator of the *khamriyya* —far from it—and we ascribe to him the glory of inventions that were not his own. But he is a striking figure because he sums up everything that it had been possible for anyone to write before him. He explores the thematic register and refines some statements well; he handles the Bacchic language with an incomparable skill; his poetry and his life are closely linked, and with him the word magnifies the experience. With a talent made up of sensibility, elegance and intelligence, he wrote poems which do not always have the merit of originality, but often have the sparkle of exceptional success. Thus a unique work of its genre, through its abundance, its variety and its quality, comes to crown a long evolution. Abū Nuwās mastered a speech that others had forged for him, and nobody in this field can dispute with him for first place. Such was the domination that he exercised during his lifetime that he was able to force Ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk, for example, to cede to him some of his lines, and posterity was bound to attribute to him much that did not belong to him. A personality of remarkable prominence, he gave to Bacchism its existential significance, one which did not reduce it to the simple pleasure of drinking (cf. J. E. Bencheikh, *Thèmes bachiques et personnages dans le dīwān d'Abū Nuwās*, in *BEO*, xvii (1963-4), 1-84).

In the very incomplete *dīwān* of Muslim b. al-Walīd, a score of poems contain important Bacchic developments. These entail two observations. The first, in certain pieces, relates to the Bacchic note being given priority treatment and becoming a framework in which other themes are inserted. The second deals with the language; Muslim is a master of the *badīʿ*, and does not forget it even in these poems. This concern for formalism makes the expression heavy and goes against the nature of the inspiration.

Ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk produced some verse which is better-developed (cf. Muḥammad al-Munīf, *al-Ḥusayn b. al-Daḥḥāk, aghrāḍ khamriyyātihi wa-ashkhāṣuhā*, Faculty of Letters of Algiers University thesis, 1965). Despite the fragmentary state of his *dīwān*, it is possible to place him among the poets of the first order. One should mention with him Abu 'l-Shīṣ [*q.v.*], cousin of Diʿbil, friend of Muslim and Abū

Nuwās, author of long Bacchic poems revealing a great mastery of the language (Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 77-86). They are furthermore interesting to study, as the survivals of the Bedouin language are quite marked in them. Finally, ʿAmr b. ʿAbd al-Mālik al-Warrāḳ (al-Shābushtī, *Diyārāt*, 172 ff.; al-Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, 218; etc.) was a companion of Abū Nuwās, a lewd drunkard, a wicked rogue of a fornicator and pederast, an arrogant mocker of religion, who wrote a poetry without genius more closely connected with the drinking song than the poem.

iv. *The* khamriyya *after Abū Nuwās: the playing-out of a style of writing.* It seems that, having attained glory, the genre become fixed in the academic. While the formalists reduced poetry to the set exercise, the *khamriyya* was drained of its subversive function. Having become a stylistic exercise, it is not surprising to find it composed by any hand. Some poets whose temperament was as far removed as possible from Bacchism attempted it (al-Buḥturī, for example, wrote a dozen *khamriyyāt*). This evidently contributes to the playing-out of the genre. The surprises, quite rare, come from obscure authors in whom is found a note of sincerity or a felicitous expression.

Besides, the Bacchic tone becomes diversified—and loses some of its strong homogeneity—with the development of the *rawḍiyyāt*, floral poems, of the *dayriyyāt*, poems describing evenings spent in convents or monasteries, and of the *ikhwāniyyāt*, versified friendly letters, whose respective domains are not always easy to delimit. These different forms competed to render familiar a light poetry, with a descriptive tendency, which expressed a pleasure in living surrounded by a peaceful and happy nature. The force of the Bacchic theme becomes insipid in this gentle culture of the Muses.

The 3rd century is dominated by Ibn al-Muʿtazz [*q.v.*] who composed an important Bacchic anthology (*Fuṣūl al-tamāthīl fī tabāshīr al-surūr*). He wrote poems of youth, whose delicacy recalls that of the other talented aristocrat, al-Walīd b. Yazīd. But the well-born *adīb* Ibn al-Muʿtazz, an enemy of every passionate outburst and concerned with an elegant measure, was unable to exploit in depth a framework whose indispensable vitality he did much to lessen.

The voluminous work of Ibn al-Rūmī [*q.v.*] contains several *khamriyyāt* in which he attempts, not without difficulty it is true, a more spontaneous and sensitive language than that of his great compositions. But it is elsewhere that we must look for truly Bacchic temperaments. The literary circle of ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Munadjdjim (cf. Bencheikh, *Les voies d'une création*, thesis, Paris 1972, i, 116 ff.) gathered together a number of libertine poets, among them Abū Hiffān. The latter served his apprenticeship under the direction of Abū Nuwās and was his *rāwī*, but the fragments that remain to us of his works do not permit us to make a pronouncement. At his side, Abu 'l-Shibl ʿĀṣim b. Wahb al-Burdjūmī was admitted into the society of al-Mutawakkil, a lover of scabrous narrative (cf. *Les voies d'une création*, i, 127-8). Indeed, he brings to life a group of jolly rogues who joined in rough escapades in the taverns of Baghdād and Sāmarrā. In the reign of the same caliph there should be noted Muḥammad b. Isḥāḳ al-Ṭarsūsī, who exercised his wit against the month of Ramaḍān (al-Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, 395; *al-Muḥammadūn min al-shuʿarāʾ*, ed. Mammeri, 1973, nos. 102, 134). In fact, these figures provide material for the anecdotal literature which flourishes around Bacchic poetry, but do not leave any striking work.

From this point of view, more interesting is Abu 'l-Ṭayyib Muḥammad b. al-Ḳāsim al-Numayrī. A close friend of Ibn al-Muʿtazz, he exchanged with him a whole correspondence (*Aghānī*, ix, 137; al-Shābushtī, 71 ff.; al-Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, 336-7; etc.). It consists of *ikhwāniyyāt*, friendly invitations to profit from the pleasure of love and drink, where the poet shows himself skilful at making glittering promises, and subtle in expressing his joy in accomplishing them with friends. These notes are sometimes in *sadjʿ* (*Diyārāt*, 74). They deal with the same themes as poetry and offer samples of a Bacchic prose for consideration; it reveals an atmosphere and way of life. Here it is a case of well-born companions who have nothing to do with the "Fauvists" of the preceding century. They handle drunkenness like love, sc. with delicacy and good taste, in an allusive language which suits the courteous elegance of the salons. The *adab* of the *munādama*, already defined by Abū Nuwās, finished by imposing its rules on the *ẓurafāʾ* of polite society.

In the 4th century, Kushādjim [*q.v.*] confirmed this insertion of Bacchism in a poetry of social relationship. This *nadīm*-poet was capable of describing a flower, a cup, a musical instrument in an exquisite, light, delicate language, closely related to a way of life. The social discourse determines the inspiration and the poem is subjected to an essentially descriptive plan (cf. al-Shabushtī, *Diyārāt*, 259 ff.). On the last point, this approach becomes clear in the production of al-Ṣanawbarī (*Diyārāt*, 218-24, which cites several poems that do not figure in the *dīwān*). Here appears very clearly the relationship existing between the *khamriyya* and the poetry of nature. But it must be noted that in the *dayriyyāt*, the Bacchic themes become more and more secondary.

Associated with this tradition is Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbās b. al-Baṣrī, called Ṣāḥib al-Rākūba, a drug seller in the service of the Ikhshīdids of Cairo (*Diyārāt*, 292, 294-7). He is presented as a debauchee (*mādjin*). But in his eclogues, the themes, reduced to commonplace stereotypes, serve above all to introduce here the description of a lake peopled with birds, and there that of narcissi and roses growing on the banks of a stream. In this poetry of a smiling nature, wine is described in it as a supplementary, but not exclusive, joy.

On the other hand, Abu 'l-Faradj Muḥammad al-Waʾwāʾ (al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, no. 367, ii, 301-6), a Damascene poet of simple and harmonious language, returned to the Bacchic tradition in dedicating certain excellent verses to the great themes well-known in the register and in rediscovering, sometimes with felicity, the Nuwāsian inspiration. But we can feel that in this 4th/10th century, still honoured by the works of al-Mutanabbī and Abū Firās [*q.vv.*] (cf. the poems of the latter's *dīwān*, nos. 150, 171, 178 and especially 364, his great *ṭardiyya* which finishes in a Bacchic development), Arabic poetry has nothing more to invent, so that it becomes set, worn out by nearly six centuries of an exceptionally abundant production. The few poets that remain to be cited wrote a poem worthy to be cited in an anthology, and reveal only a fanciful spirit already too familiar; they approach as well as possible these great masters of the past, of whom some are still cited by al-Maʿarrī in his *Risālat al-ghufrān*, 134-45.

In the 5th/11th century Ibn Shibl [*q.v.*] (and in addition, al-Ḳifṭī, *al-Muḥammadūn min al-shuʿarāʾ*, no. 254, 270 ff.; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, x, 23-45), physician, philosopher and poet, composed numerous couplets full of jollity, and a few longer pieces describing

the pleasures enjoyed in a monastery. But the Bacchic note is minor in his work, as attested in the great philosophic poems where he gives himself up to a reflection on existence and the fate of man. Muḥammad b. Khalīfa b. al-Ḥusayn al-Numayrī (al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, no. 403, ii, 402), a poet of Sayf al-Dawla's circle, strove without success in the genre. Ibn al-Nabīh [*q.v.*], a poet of the Ayyūbids, revived a few of the most frequently-repeated statements without introducing the slightest new note. We may conclude this list, which could be filled with the names of several minor authors, by citing three poets of the 7th/13th century.

Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Isʿirdī (619-56/1222-58: *Fawāt*, no. 377, ii, 329-34; *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, v, 284), who grouped the libertine part of his *dīwān* under the title of *Sulāfat al-zardjūn fi 'l-khilāʿa wa'l-mudjūn*, a work which also comprises an anthology section. This poet loved wine, and he speaks of it with passion in some quite long poems running to more than 20 verses. He asserts especially the superiority of alcohol over *ḥashīsh* for the quality of intoxication which it provides. But his poetry is prosaic, heavy, often trivial, deprived as it is of the Nuwāsian brilliance which lent glamour even to obscene developments. A little later, Ibn Nubāta [*q.v.*], poet of the Ayyūbid sovereign Abu 'l-Fidā', inserted Bacchic formulae in heterogeneous compositions. But it is above all Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī who, at the end of the 7th/13th century and in the first third of the 8th/14th one, rediscovered a real inspiration with a richness of themes and remarkable images. The fact is so much more notable, since this poet tock a great interest in the strophic poetry of classical or colloquial language.

v. *Mystical intoxication or substituted speech.* It was, paradoxically, the mystics drunk with their love for God who gave to Bacchism a new impetus. They took possession of a well-established framework and activated it by substituting for hedonistic motivations the decisive quest for happiness in God. From there, a whole symbolism became established. Wine becomes a divine emanation which spreads its rays from one form to another, a symbol of the supreme love which manifests itself in creation. Drunkenness is forgetfulness of all that is not He. Under the effect of this application of meanings, an inner discourse is substituted for a text apparently set in its formulae. For, it must be noted, the mystical poet is not anxious to renew the writing of the Bacchic framework, or he does not care to do so; instead, he adds to it another meaning. At the same time as he accepts and pronounces the fixity of a language, he enlarges his conceptual field. Thus constellations of symbols appear around original themes. A thorough study of these appropriations—it is necessary to reverse the order of things, says al-Nābulusī—would show how a new inspiration was able to raise from within an old language, to illuminate it, but not destroy it. No more than the Bacchic poets of the 2nd/8th century did the mystics conceive a poetic theory. In going beyond the Islamic orthodox vision, they imposed a style of speech, not a writing.

The operation had been attempted with success as early as the middle of the 2nd/8th century in the poems of Rābiʿa al-ʿAdawiyya. The importance of the zones common to the erotic and Bacchic frameworks was to mark out the *khamriyya* for serving the passionate quest of the mystics. The *dīwān* of al-Ḥallādj contains only one quatrain of this type, which is furthermore also attributed to Ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk and Abū Nuwās (*Dīwān*, ed. Massignon, 73, no. 38), but several anonymous poems were later dedicated to the description of mystical intoxications (*ibid.*, 127-30). The saint from Tilimsān, Abū Madyan [*q.v.*], composed some *zadjals* of very marked popular inspiration, illustrating also an ancient tendency of the Bacchic genre to distinguish itself from classical poetry. It is also true that the mystics had at their disposal two keyboards, that of esoteric composition, and that of popular incantation which was to become fundamental in the practice of the brotherhoods. An entire production of *khamriyyāt* was to see the light of day in the East and in the Maghrib, where a representative sample is supplied by Ḥurayfish al-Makkī (d. 801/1398-9; cf. *Dīwān al-Ḥallādj*, 140 ff.).

But it is Ibn al-Fāriḍ [*q.v.*] who draws attention with his great *khamriyya*. In this, indeed, he gives himself to a masterly re-interpretation of the whole Bacchic theme and deepens its symbolic range. Moreover, he does this without renouncing the artifices of a formalistic rhetoric. The mechanisms of poetic writing continue to be used, but here they injure neither the feverish palpitation of the substituted speech nor the powerful rhythm of the incantation. In the 11th/17th century, ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī was to write a commentary on this poem, composed according to the comments made on it by the author of the *Tardjumān al-ashwāḳ*, Ibn al-ʿArabī. Al-Nābulusī reveals also the secret significance of wine in pieces where Bacchic themes are intertwined with developments of love themes. In the mystics, the overlapping of the two registers becomes total in order to express passion and ecstasy. In the *dīwān* of Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shushtarī, very few poems do not have recourse to Bacchic statements (*Dīwān*, ed. al-Nashshār, Alexandria 1960, e.g. poems nos. 5, 8, 9, 12, 20, 26, 31, 38, and the majority of *muwashshaḥāt* and *azdjāl*; cf. also Massignon, *Recherches sur Shushtarī*, in *Mélanges W. Marçais*, 1950, 251 ff.). The quest for the intoxication of love is a central theme which catches in him the nervous rhythm of a popular language. Moreover, he exploits the vein of an Ibn Ḳuzmān, and the narrative of visits to a monastery, or evenings in a tavern, could easily lead to confusion, the language being to such an extent that of the *khamriyyāt*. There could not exist here any of those deceits which sometimes inspired pornographic poems with a pseudo-mystical aim. But it is interesting to note this second substitution of speech, by means of which we return to the origins.

The mystical *khamriyya* continued to be practised, anonymous or obscure, in classical or dialectal language, until the 19th century, where it is attested, for example, in the *dīwān* of the Algerian *amīr* ʿAbd al-Ḳādir (cf. A. Ben Harrath, *Madjallat Kulliyyat al-Ādāb*, i (1967), 47 ff.), and even in the 20th century in its popular form.

vi. *The* khamriyya *in Muslim Spain: atomised speech.* The Andalusian environment suited the fading of Bacchic poetry, especially after the proliferation of the kingdoms of the *Ṭawā'if*. On the literary side, the creation of strophic forms such as the *muwashshaḥ* and the *zadjal* offered a more supple and effective structure to capture this type of inspiration. The use, especially in the *zadjal*, of a semi-popular language, assured a very appreciable source of invention. Linked with the pleasure of life, with the quest for love, with a profound communion with nature, Bacchism competed to express a certain mode of existence in the world.

Paradoxically, the conjunction of these favourable elements provoked, it seems, a contrary result. The Bacchic framework, already exhausted in the East,

falls into such common use here that it becomes increasingly worn out. Used to love or the joys of nature, it is instrumentalised and hardly requires an autonomous plan and specific style any more. If one adds to all this the proliferation of poets, and especially the mutilation that time has wrought in their work it is understandable why it is necessary to speak here of "pulverised" or "atomised" speech, echoing E. García Gómez.

As early as the 4th/10th century, during the period of the *amīrs*, then of the caliphs, Ibn Darrādj [*q.v.*] included Bacchic statements in some *nawriyyāt*, floral poems, which augur the coming of Ibn Khafādja. The prince Abū ʿAbd al-Malik Marwān, great-grandson of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, also followed this path, and Bacchic themes came to sustain in him an inspiration of an erotic or descriptive order.

But it is in the 5th/11th century that Bacchism finds its full extent, as much from the point of view of poetic creation as from that of anthological activity. To the latter, Ibn Shuhayd ascribes the setting of a visit to the valley of the *tawābiʿ*, where he meets especially the inspirational genius of Abū Nuwās during a succession of very interesting poetic confrontations. For his part, the historian Ibn al-Raḳīḳ al-Ḳayrawānī [*q.v.*] dedicated to the Eastern *khamriyyāt* his *Ḳuṭb al-surūr fī waṣf al-anbidha wa'l-khumūr*, still in manuscript, and a *Kitāb muʿāḳarat al-sharab* which has not come down to us. The vizier Abū ʿĀmir Ibn Maslama [*q.v.*] for his *Ḥadīḳat al-irtiyāḥ fī ḥaḳīḳat al-rāḥ*, draws upon the Andalusian works, his own notably, of which a few fragments survive devoted to largely banal forms of enjoyment.

In that which concerns poetry properly so-called, we must make a choice among numerous poets who are often known only by a few lines in anthologies. Ibn al-Abbār [*q.v.*], also an author of floral poems, dedicated a few pieces to the *madjālis al-uns* in which an elegant aristocracy tasted the delights of love, walks and friendly evenings. The striking personality of the century was the sovereign of Seville al-Muʿtamid (cf. R. H. Souissi, *al-Muʿtamid Ibn ʿAbbād et son œuvre poétique*, doctoral thesis, Paris 1973, 135-46). He drank with pleasure and describes the joys of drunkenness in poems where the themes of liquidity and luminosity are touched upon. But the statements do not represent an organised view, even if the signs of an existential anguish often appear. The author's attractive personality does not succeed in giving life to a language that has been over-used. The same observation applies to Bacchic mentions noted in the work of those faithful to the unfortunate prince, sc. Ibn al-Labbān [*q.v.*] (cf. *Dār al-Ṭirāz*, 55; M. al-Karīm, *Fann al-tawshīḥ*, 179 etc.) or Ibn Ḥamdīs [*q.v.*]. The *kātib* ʿAlī b. Aḥmad (al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, no. 304, ii, 140-1; H. Pérès, *La poésie andalouse*, 154) composed short pieces where the astral themes play an important role in the description of the sparkle of the wine.

Bestriding the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries were several poets who attempted the *khamriyya*. Ibn Khafādja [*q.v.*] (cf. Ḥ. Ḥadjdjādjī, *Vie et œuvre du poète andalou Ibn Khafādja*, typed thesis, Paris 1969) did not detach himself in any way from the Nuwāsian vein, which he exploits in brief developments and without originality. His tavern outings supply the opportunity for imitation, and he remains incapable of rendering an atmosphere and painting a living picture. His talent is elsewhere. His nephew Ibn al-Zaḳḳāḳ [*q.v.*] wrote mostly love poems or pastoral verse, a genre in which his uncle was famous. The sole aim of the Bacchic statement in his work is to underline the beauty of nature, or to introduce the presence of a cup-bearer. Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī [*q.v.*] succeeded in a few beautiful descriptions where there must be noted the abundance of comparisons and metaphors making reference to the animal lexicon. Ibn al-Bāḳī [*q.v.*] (cf. e.g. *Dār al-ṭirāz*, 67; *Fann al-tawshīḥ*, 185; *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, iv, 240), and his friend al-ʿAmā al-Tuṭīlī (*Dār al-ṭirāz*, 43; *Fann al-tawshīḥ*, 183; Ibn Saʿīd, *Mughrib*, ii, 453; etc.) sprinkled with Bacchic statements the *muwashshaḥāt* of love in which they excel. Finally, Ibrāhīm b. Sahl al-Isrāʾīlī [*q.v.*] incited his audience to the theme of *carpe diem* and sang promiscuously of his love of wine, flowers and the cup-bearer.

It may well be noted that the framework of the *khamriyya* is truly scattered in a poetry whose plan is no longer to exploit a genre to the full, but to limit itself to the thematic areas common to several frameworks. Eclecticism triumphs and imposes a structure whose analysis leads inevitably to the disintegration of the poem. A good example of this overlapping of themes is given by the production of Abū Bakr b. Zahr (*Fann al-tawshīḥ*, 193 ff., nos. 12-15; *Dār al-tirāz*, 45, 73; *Mughrib*, i, 268, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, i, 440). Bacchic statements are more numerous and precise, but are never detached from the expression of the pains of love in poems articulated in connection with *hawā* ⇄ *mudjūn*, *shawḳ* ⇄ *rāḥ*, *bukāʾ* ⇄ *khamr*. In short, we have a Bacchic elegiac form which innovates neither in one field nor the other.

In fact—and all the fragments which are left to us of an abundant œuvre confirm it (cf. H. Pérès, *La poésie andalouse*, 359-77)—there is no original Bacchic expression in Andalusia.

Even such a picturesque personage as Ibn Ḳuzmān [*q.v.*] does not altogether escape this observation (see E. García Gómez, *Todo Ben Quzmān*, Madrid 1972). This "impecunious Bohemian, open drinker and debauchee" combined all the conditions required to give to the genre a new vigour. He loved wine passionately, and led a dissolute life in the taverns and other places of ill-repute, of which he knew how to paint lively pictures. His inspiration is on a realistic level and his spirit assumes in it lively and colourful features. A certain sense of the burlesque even animates certain scenes. Finally, Ibn Ḳuzmān composed entirely Bacchic *zadjals* among other heterogeneous pieces, in a Spanish dialect intended certainly to be understood in educated circles, as G. S. Colin remarks, but suitable all the same to allow itself to be invested with an inspiration of popular type. Despite all this, the poet did not succeed in breaking away from the old Bacchic language and one is very much disappointed to see him having recourse to formulae which are abundant in the works of his predecessors. Certain successes in this field do not conceal the recourse to hackneyed effects, which we are led inevitably to think belong perhaps to a language which has reached exhaustion in this framework.

The strophic Andalusian forms were definitely unhelpful for the revival of the genre. Practised also in the East, the *muwashshaḥa* continued to exploit a vein long since dried up. Also, in the 6th/12th century there is Yūsuf b. Zaylaḳ (al-Kutubī, *Fawāt*, no. 482, ii, 633 ff. and M. Z. Enani, *Le muwashshaḥ en Orient*, typed thesis, Paris 1973, index), author of quite long poems with nothing that reveals a personality or expresses a voluptuousness. East and West do no more than exchange formulas. The characteristic of a school exercise is that it is repeated *ad infinitum*. For a little longer, Muslim Spain, and

for a long time the Maghrib and the Near East, were to fill with languishing echoes the great silence of a bloodless poetry. After the *nahḍa*, Bacchic statements are rediscovered at the hand of a Amīn Nakhla or an Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Shabbī in elegies with accents of Lamartine, *aghānī al-ḥayāt*. But the time of another poetry had by then come.

vii. *The* khamriyya: *the scope of the poem.* The evolution which led from the technique of inserted statements to the composition of homogeneous *khamriyyāt*, then to the "pulverisation" or "atomisation" of a style of speech, was not accompanied by the enactment of any rules which defined a genre or determined the architecture of a fixed form. The general characteristics that one can discern, belonging to a very much mutilated corpus (except perhaps in the case of Abū Nuwās), do not have an informative value.

(a) *Brevity: the requirements of a style of writing.* The *khamriyya* is a relatively brief poem. Only 41 poems of Abū Nuwās out of 299 have more than 14 lines. In his work, the tendency to conciseness is found again in conventional genres. But this brevity characterises all the Bacchic poets of different periods. A need was felt to keep to a number of lines, ranging from 4 to 15 as a verifiable average, even when it involved inserted statements in multithematic *ḳaṣīdas*. Bacchic writing was composed in a limited compass because the means used in writing the work required it (cf. J. E. Bencheikh, *Poétique arabe*, ch. iii). This requirement of means was to lead the set *ḳaṣīda* on the other hand to a progressive lengthening. What may be called light or spontaneous poetry—all very ambiguous words—must in reality be analysed as a language whose internal connections appear very clearly. We must qualify not the nature of the inspiration, but that of mechanisms which determine the setting of the poem. For the *khamriyya*, this involves the choice of a certain compass—a poem is written in the plan of the creation at the level of the language and notably the phono-semantic organisation.

(b) *The organisation of an allotted space.* There is no rule for the thematic regulation of a *khamriyya*. If we except the poems that are ordered around a narrative and so of a chronology, the poet handles the statements freely (cf. the six thematic tables pp. 999-1001 above). The unity of the inspiration, the fairly strict limits of the framework, assure homogeneity to the whole. We have noted the frequent recourse to amorous or floral themes. It is a matter of common areas exploited by several frameworks. It is possible, moreover, in refining the analysis, to disclose an entire rhetoric of Bacchic discourse which governs small units of this discourse or even imposes a few broad lines of development. A good example is given by the erotic descriptions which often occur at the end of a poem. But it is also possible to note some more subtle or more closely-followed connections between certain statements of unequal importance. The first masters did a great deal in this direction, and the drying-up of the Bacchic vein is justly measured by an inability to imagine new relations between statements which are from now onwards set in unalterable relationship.

(c) *Relations within the frameworks.* It appears from the evidence that the *khamriyya* underwent and exerted influences within these. When it is concerned with *fakhr*, the Bacchic statement does not have the same value as when it is autonomous. Put to the service of the framework of love, or detaching itself from it, inspiring love of nature or instrumentalised in floral poems, this statement follows an evolution and enjoys fortunes that we have analysed historically. There remains one observation to make concerning the particular treatment of erotic themes.

Compared with the themes of the *nasīb*, of the amorous *tashbīb* of an ʿUmar b. Abī Rabīʿa (whose poems contain a few formulaic statements, e.g. *Dīwān*, 107, ll. 7-8; 115, ll. 3-4; 120, l. 10; 149, l. 8; etc.), or with those of courtly love in the work of Bashshār b. Burd and al-ʿAbbās b. al-Aḥnaf, the Bacchic *ghazal* appears specific. It is sensual at first, then tough and truculent, without prudery; it is further without delicacy, and often runs into obscenity. Drunkenness seems to destroy love, retaining only a caricaturist's style. The relation between the two frameworks has therefore become reversed. At first a unity of instrumentalised statements, the *khamriyya* later defines themes of love that are its own, as well as personages who express them. At the point at which courtly poetry refines its nuances but takes refuge in abstraction, the Bacchic *ghazal* on the other hand cloaks itself in the concrete. But one should not see there the simple transcription of orgiastic experiences; instead, one may perceive a desperate attempt to fight against the constraining morality and the good conscience of a socio-cultural system which pronounces the traumatic exclusion of the feminine being. It may also be said that the themes of homosexuality found in the *khamriyya* an opportunity for development without resorting to subterfuges. Bacchism makes its goal what is forbidden and what is recommended. It appears provocative, and its vigorous audacities could have had a subversive effect. But the scheme lacked a philosophy of existence which was detached from pure enjoyment and an ideology which went beyond simple rejection. The elegant master of Bacchic *adab*, Ibn al-Muʿtazz, put an end to an evolution which could have been dangerous, but which proclaimed its failure by not viewing the situation of woman differently. Even in Bacchism, love remains a masculine preoccupation.

(d) *Problems of metric specificness.* The problem of the adequacy of the metre for the framework is a very delicate one. The thesis according to which evolution takes place towards the choice of so-called "light" metres remains from many points of view subject to reservations (cf. J. E. Bencheikh, *Poétique arabe*, ch. "De la mesure au rythme"). The fragmentary state of the Bacchic works keeps analysis within the field of hypotheses most of the time. In the case of developments inserted in a *ḳaṣīda*, it cannot be a question of specificness. In al-Aʿshā, the group of four major metres is formed by the *ṭawīl* (34%), the *kāmil* (14.5%), the *mutaḳārib* (12%) and the *basīṭ* (11%); and in al-Akhṭal, by the *ṭawīl* (53%), the *wāfir* (15.7%), the *basīṭ* (14%) and the *kāmil* (9.2%). The *dīwān* of Abū Nuwās, the only Bacchic corpus sufficiently important to lend itself to enumeration, supplies the following results, drawn from 893 poems: *ṭawīl* (15.45%); *basīṭ* (14.21%); *sarīʿ* (13%); *wāfir* (11.1%) and *kāmil* (8.75%). This general percentage, compared with a percentage drawn from only conventional poetry (panegyric, elegiac, etc.) brings out a perceptible decline of the *ṭawīl* and the *kāmil*, and a slight increase of the *basīṭ* and *sarīʿ* (cf. *op. cit.*, the curves of metric use drawn from three centuries). The one is a long metre, the other a short metre, which leaves the problem intact. Without denying the frequency of the use of so-called "light" metres such as the *sarīʿ* and the *khafīf*, a frequency confirmed elsewhere even in poets as little

modernist as Abū Tammām and al-Buḥturī, it is always worth asking ourselves the real nature of the connection between the metre and the theme treated. It will not be possible for any suggestions to be made in this matter as long as no serious analysis has been made of the connections established between the structures of the phonic chain in operation and the stylistic organisation of the verse which is wedded to the scheme. At this point, we return to the fundamental problem of the language of the *khamriyya*, which has unfortunately not been the object of study. Considerations as to the use of a simple vocabulary and the clarity of a syntactic organisation have certainly not taken place.

The study of Bacchic literature remains to be undertaken. Such a study ought to show how its expression was fed by a variety of philosophic tendencies, and how it analysed a series of spiritual attitudes in historical relationship with given socio-cultural situations. From materialism to the search for the absolute, the *khamriyya* was the field for a multitude of experiments, perhaps founded moreover on the same existential despair. Its scattering away thus signified the failure of individual attempts to escape a condition and an order.

Bibliography: Djamīl Saʿīd, *Taṭawwur al-khamriyyāt fiʾl-shiʿr al-ʿarabī*, Cairo 1945; Muḥammad Ḥusayn, *Asālib al-ṣināʿa, shiʿr al-khamra waʾl-nāḳa bayn al-Aʿshā waʾl-djahiliyyīn*, Alexandria 1960; Ilyā Ḥāwī, *Fann al-shiʿr al-khamrī*, Beirut 1960; M. al-Ṣādiḳ al-ʿAfīfī, *Thawrat al-khamriyyāt*, Beirut 1971. All these are very unequal studies. Several monographs on authors or periods dedicate sections of varying length to the *khamriyya*. (J. E. Bencheikh)

KHAMSA (a.) "five" still possesses, in several Muslim countries, as amongst peoples of ancient times, a magical value in connection with the use of the fingers of the hand as a defence against the evil eye [see ʿayn]. An efficacious method of protection against the evil eye, especially in North Africa but also in certain parts of the Near East also, consists essentially in stretching out the right hand, with the fingers spread out, towards the person whose glance can harm, and in pronouncing a formula containing the word *khamsa*, e.g. *khamsa fī ʿayni-k* "five in your eye". This gesture is supposed to send the evil to its source, but since it is not always possible conveniently to do, pronouncing the formula in the mind retains also a certain prophylactic force, and has in any event the force of a curse.

Various representations of the hand, which were formerly current also in ancient civilisations, may be attached to this belief (see J. A. MacCulloch, in Hastings' *Encycl. of Religion and Ethics*, vi (1913), 495). One of the best-known is the piece of jewellery called "the hand of Fatma", used as an amulet and called *mkhammsa, khamsa, khumsa*, etc. (see W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger*, 285; J.-H. Prost-Biraben, *La main de Fatma et ses antécédents symboliques*, in *Revue anthropologique*, xliii (1933), 370-5), but one often finds, on the walls of houses and elsewhere, the mark of a henna-painted hand, or a more schematic pattern with five branches. Also, many amulets contain patterns made up of five elements.

In certain countries, notably in North Africa, the name of Thursday (*al-khamīs*) likewise possesses a prophylactic value, and it is combined with "five" in formulae against the evil eye, above all in *khamsa wa-khamīs*. Furthermore, Thursday is a day eminently favourable for undertaking enterprises (e.g. travelling) or ceremonies (e.g. circumcision, marriage), and is referred to euphemistically by means of qualificative terms like *mabrūk* or *mubārak* "blessed".

The use of these terms against the evil eye makes them in practice to a large extent inconvenient to use. Thus the reply of *khamsa* pure and simple to a question requiring such a response is avoided, and various euphemisms are employed: *yəddək* "your hand", *ʿadd*/*ʿaddət yəddək* "the number of your hand", etc., or else two numbers whose sum or differences is equal to 5: e.g. at Rabat, *tlāta u-žūž* = 3 + 2.

Bibliography: E. Doutté, *Magie et religion*, 317 ff.; E. Westermarck, *Ritual and belief in Morocco*, ch. viii; idem, *Survivances païennes dans la civilisation mahométane*, Paris 1935, index s.v. "cinq"; E. Panetta, *Pratiche e credenze popolari libiche*, 88, and bibl.; W. Marçais and A. Guîga, *Textes arabes de Takroûna*, Paris 1925, 337-8, 366, 393-4, 396-7, and bibl.; W. Marçais, *L'euphémisme dans les parlers arabes maghrébins*, in *Mélanges Isidore Lévy*, Brussels 1955, 375-6. (Ed.)

KHAMSA is in the technical language of Persian and Turkish literature a set of five *mathnawī* poems. The term is used, first of all, to designate the five epic poems of Niẓāmī [*q.v.*] of Gandja which were composed between *ca.* 570/1174-5 and 600/1203-4. The set contains one didactic poem *Makhzan al-asrār*, in the metre *sarīʿ-i maṭwiyy-i mawḳūf*; three romantic poems: *Laylā u Madjnūn* in the metre *hazadj-i musaddas-i maḳbūḍ-i maḥdhūf*, *Khusraw u Shīrīn* in the metre *hazadj-i musaddas-i maḥdhūf*, and *Haft Paykar* in the metre *khafīf-i makhbūn-i maḳṣūr*; and the *Iskandarnāma* in the metre *mutaḳārib-i muthamman-i maḥdhūf* consisting of two parts, the *Sharafnāma* and the *Iḳbālnāma*. This last work belongs to the genre of the heroic epic as well as to that of the literature of wisdom. There is no general concept connecting these five poems. That they were traditionally regarded as a whole may have been caused by the exceptional brilliance displayed by Niẓāmī in all of them, but it may also be a result of their being transmitted almost exclusively as a complete set in so-called *kulliyyāt* manuscripts. An earlier example of a collective name for a set of *mathnawī*-poems written by a single author is the term *Khizāna-yi Yamīn al-Dawla* ("Treasury of Yamīn al-Dawla", i.e. Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna) applied by ʿAwfī to the romantic poems of ʿUnṣurī (*Lubāb*, ii, 32). The enlargement of the *khamsa* pattern to a set of seven poems by Djāmī constituted in its turn a model for so-called *sabʿa*s which were written by a number of poets from the 10th/16th century onwards. Occasionally, the term *sitta*, a set of six poems, is used for collections of the *mathnawī*-poems of ʿAṭṭār and Sanāʾī.

The entire *Khamsa* as well as its individual poems have from the late 7th/13th century onwards inspired many imitators in Persian as well as in the main literary languages of the Turks (i.e. Čaghatay, Azeri and Ottoman Turkish) and, more rarely, in Kurdish. The attempts to write a parallel (*naẓīra*) to the *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī can be classified into two main types. To the first type belong those efforts which were aimed at producing a *khamsa*, every single part of which would correspond to one of the original poems, not only as far as the subject-matter was concerned but also in the choice of the metre and the characteristic features of Niẓāmī's poems (e.g. the form of the opening lines, the presence of certain sections in the conventional introduction (*dībāča*) of the poems and specific traits in the structure of the tales). Although many Persian and Turkish poets

accepted this challenge, only very few of them succeeded in finishing more than one or two parts of the proposed scheme. The earliest imitation of the *khamsa* was written by the Indo-Persian poet Amīr Khusraw Dihlawī [*q.v.*] between 698-701/1298-1301. It contains the poems *Maṭlaʿ al-anwār*, *Shīrīn u Khusraw*, *Madjnūn u Laylā*, *Hasht bihisht* and *Āʾina-i Iskandarī*. The last poem of this *khamsa* consists only of one part dealing mainly with Iskandar as a seeker of wisdom. The second successful *khamsa* of this type was written in Čaghatay Turkish by ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī between 888-90/1483-5. The poems are entitled: *Ḥayrat al-abrār*, *Farhād u Shīrīn*, *Laylā u Madjnūn*, *Sabʿa-i sayyāra* and *Sadd-i Iskandarī*. Nawāʾī's work was inspired by both the examples of Niẓāmī and Amīr Khusraw.

The second type of *khamsa* is formed by those collections of *mathnawīs* which only contain some imitations of Niẓāmī's works. The number of five is achieved by adding poems which are either entirely original as far as their subject-matter is concerned or may be regarded as imitations of the works of other great *mathnawī*-poets such as Sanāʾī or Farīd al-Dīn ʿAṭṭār. In the *Khamsa* of Khwādju Kirmānī [*q.v.*], for instance, which was written between 732-46/1331-46, only the first poem, *Rawḍat al-anwār*, is a *naẓīra* of Niẓāmī's *Makhzan al-asrār*, whereas the four others, *Humā u Humāyūn*, *Kamālnāma*, *Gul-u Nawrūz* and *Djawharnāma* deviate from the Niẓāmian pattern both as to their subject-matter and, partly, their metres. Collections of this latter type very soon contain even more than five poems, like the six poems in the *kulliyyāt* of ʿImād al-Dīn Faḳīh-i Kirmānī (d. 773/1371-2) (cf. Ahmed Ateş, *İstanbul kütüphanelerinde farsça manzum eserler*, Istanbul 1968, 273 ff.). His mystic *mathnawīs* in the metre *hazadj* show the influence of the works of ʿAṭṭar. The most celebrated instance of an extended *khamsa*, however, is the *Haft awrang* of Djāmī [*q.v.*] (written *ca.* 890/1485). These seven poems are entitled: *Silsilat al-dhahab*, in *khafīf*, *Salāmān u Absāl* in *ramal*, *Tuḥfat al-aḥrār* (a *naẓīra* of the *Makhzan al-asrār*), *Subḥat al-abrār* in *ramal*, *Yūsuf u Zalīkhā* (taking the place of *Khusraw u Shīrīn*), *Laylā u Madjnūn* and *Khirad-nāma-i Iskandarī*. The last five poems are sometimes taken together as the *Khamsa* of Djāmī, but even in this way the scheme does not confirm to that of Niẓāmī. Other notable *khamsa* writers in Persian literature were Hātifī [*q.v.*] who introduced a historic theme in his *Tīmūr-nāma* taking the place of the *Iskandar-nāma*, and Fayḍī [*q.v.*], among whose incomplete set of five poems there is a treatment of the Indian love story of Nal-Daman. In Ottoman-Turkish poetry prominent authors of *khamsas* were Bihishtī; Lāmiʿī, who composed in fact a *sabʿa* to the model of Djāmī; Yaḥyā Bey; ʿAṭāʾī; and Nergīsī [*q.vv.*], who composed his *khamsa* in prose. All these collections consist mainly of poems which do not belong to the canon of Niẓāmī. The imitation of Niẓāmī's poems was particularly popular during the hey-day of the Indo-Persian literature in the 10th-11th/16th-17th centuries.

The numerous imitations of the individual poems of Niẓāmī's *Khamsa* are to some extent parts of unfinished *khamsas*, but this is not necessarily always the case. The most frequently imitated works were the *Makhzan al-asrār* and *Laylā u Madjnūn*. Some of the best *naẓīras* can be found among the parallels to the latter poem, e.g. the *Madjnūn u Laylā* of Maktabī (written in 895/1489) in Persian and that of Fuḍūlī [*q.v.*] in Azeri. Most of these imitations, however, were not very successful. They have either disappeared completely or have only been preserved in very rare manuscript copies.

Bibliography: The *khamsas* of Niẓāmī, Amīr Khusraw and Nawāʾī, as well as the *Haft awrang* of Djāmī, have been described in the following works: E. E. Bertel's *Izbrannie Trudī. Nizami i Fuzuli*, Moscow 1962, 173-360; idem, *Izbrannie Trudī. Navoi i Džami*, Moscow 1965, 31-6, 126-170, 256-72; Muḥ. Waḥīd Mīrzā, *The life and writings of Amir Khusrau*, Calcutta 1935, 190-203; J. Eckmann, in *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, ii, Wiesbaden 1964, 336-48. See further W. Björkman, *ibid.*, 436 ff., 444; A. Caferoğlu, *ibid.*, 640; H. Ethé, in *Gr.Ir.Ph.*, ii, 245-8; *Istanbul kütüphanelerinde türkçe hamseler*, Istanbul 1961, with introd. by Nail Tuman; J. Rypka, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 210 f., 283-5. Cf. also IRAN. vii. LITERATURE and the articles on the individual authors.

(J. T. P. DE BRUIJN)

KHAMSE (WILĀYĀT-I —) [see WILĀYĀT-I KHAMSE].

KHĀN, a Turkish title (*khan* or *ḳan*) first used by the Tʿu-chüeh apparently as a synonym of *ḳaghan*, the later *khāḳān* [*q.v.*], with which its relationship is obscure; it was afterwards normally applied to subordinate rulers. The title is first recorded in Muslim lands on the coins of the Ḳarakhānids or Ilek Khāns [*q.v.*]. Under the Saldjūḳs and Khwārazm-Shāhs, *khān* was the highest title of the nobility taking precedence over *malik* and *amīr*. It was applied by the Mongols to the head of an *ulus* [*q.v.*], *ḳaʾan*, i.e. *khāḳān*, being reserved for the Great Khān in Ḳaraḳorum or Peking. In Ṣafawid Persia, the *khān* was a provincial governor of lesser rank than the *beglarbegi* and higher than the *sulṭān* "deputy governor". The title survived into modern times in much the sense of the English "esquire". In India under the Turkish kings of Delhi, *khān* was the title of the principal nobles, especially those of Persian or Afghān descent; it was still in Mughal times restricted to courtiers, but to-day it is a common affix to the names of Muslims of all classes and is often regarded as a surname.

Bibliography: G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, iii, Wiesbaden 1967, 141-179 (no. 1161); Sir Gerard Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, 630; V. Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, *GMS*, N.S. xvi, Cambridge-London 1943, 25, 43.

(J. A. BOYLE)

KHĀN, a word of Persian origin designating on the one hand a staging-post and lodging [see also MANZIL] on the main communication routes, on the other a warehouse, later a hostelry [see also FUNDUḲ] in the more important urban centres.

I. The highway *khān*. The economic functions served by this institution have changed little from the Middle Ages to the present day. It had its roots in the beginnings of organised highway trade in the earliest times, but it flourished with particular vigour in the Islamic world. The *Khān* was born of the need to ensure safe lodging and protection from robbery for travellers in regions where nomads and hill-bandits posed a threat to security. It was an indispensable factor for commerce on land and sea, necessary in regions where sources of provisions were not regular and where watering-places were few and far between. It seems that it was originally an enclosure protecting a well which in the course of time developed into a work of architecture. Herzfeld connects its origin to the relay-post system (*avahāna*) organized by the Achaemenids on the major com-

munication routes such as the Sardis to Susa highway. These staging-posts which Herodotus calls καταλύσεις and Ctesias calls *emporia* were numerous in the Byzantine empire, where they were set at a distance of 50 parasangs one from another. Little is known of the architectural evolution of these structures in ancient times, for the oldest *khān*s built of unfired brick have disappeared.

The appropriate term to describe the type of building which provided lodging for caravan traffic on the main trade routes is *caravanserai*, transcribed by Pierre Belon of Le Mans as "Carbaschara"; *khān*, with which it is often confused, being applied rather to an establishment where commercial travellers could lodge for a period of time and where facilities weie provided for the sale of their wares. A stopping-place for caravans is often called *manzil* in the ancient Arabic texts.

As communal buildings for public use, mentioned by all the travellers who testify to their vast number in the east, the *khān*s marked the commercial highways once followed by caravan traffic in an area comprising Asia Minor and the "isthmus region", to borrow the phrase of Maurice Lombard, usually set at a distance apart of a day's journey, about 20 miles, the *khān*s of plain and mountain, varying in number according to the degree of prosperity of the region, provided staging posts or places of refuge. Often the *khān* was more than a shelter for travellers, pilgrims and itinerant traders; it was indeed a centre for the exchange of ideas among individuals from different parts of the world.

The institution flourished greatly from the 7th/13th century onwards in Iran, Syria and Anatolia; in this region alone, Erdmann has listed 119 *khān*s belonging to that century. Sometimes it happened that over a period of time there developed around the *khān* a conurbation such as at Khān Shaykhūn or at Djisr al-Shughūr in Syria.

The term appears for the first time in Arabic epigraphy in Syria on the occasion of the foundation of the Khān al-ʿAḳaba in 610/1213 (*RCEA*, No. 3720).

The plan of construction of the highway *khān*, which was most often located in an isolated position, needed to provide for the security of people and of animals and of warehouse goods stored there for long or short periods. The construction material varied according to the regions: it might be brick, fired or unfired; it might be limestone; lastly, it might be basalt. The building comprised rooms for the accomodation of travellers, an oratory and sometimes a bath-house. There were places for the stabling of pack-animals and saddle-animals, covered stables for horses and donkeys, stalls for mules and camels or dromedaries, according to the area. The installations needed to take account of the temperament of each species, for horses cannot endure the smell of dromedaries and mules do not readily accept the proximity of donkeys.

From the outside, the *khān* appears as a quadrangular structure, often having two storeys, with massive towers at each corner and exterior walls supported by buttresses. It resembles a small fortress from which it is distinguished by an entrance protected by salients framing a monumental gateway, decorated to a greater or lesser extent according to the period. This gateway gives access to a deep vestibule on which there open, on either side, the warden's quarters and sometimes shops from which items of basic necessity could be purchased. From here there is access to a large central courtyard, usually square, with a water-cistern. Around the courtyard on ground level there would be storerooms and shops, living-quarters and stables, sometimes a forge for the shoeing of animals. In many *khān*s, the travellers would sleep in a communal hall on raised platforms. In a *khān* of some importance there is an upper floor laid out on the same plan as the ground level, to which there is access by an internal stairway. The dimensions and number of rooms vary, the plan differing according to the region and the period.

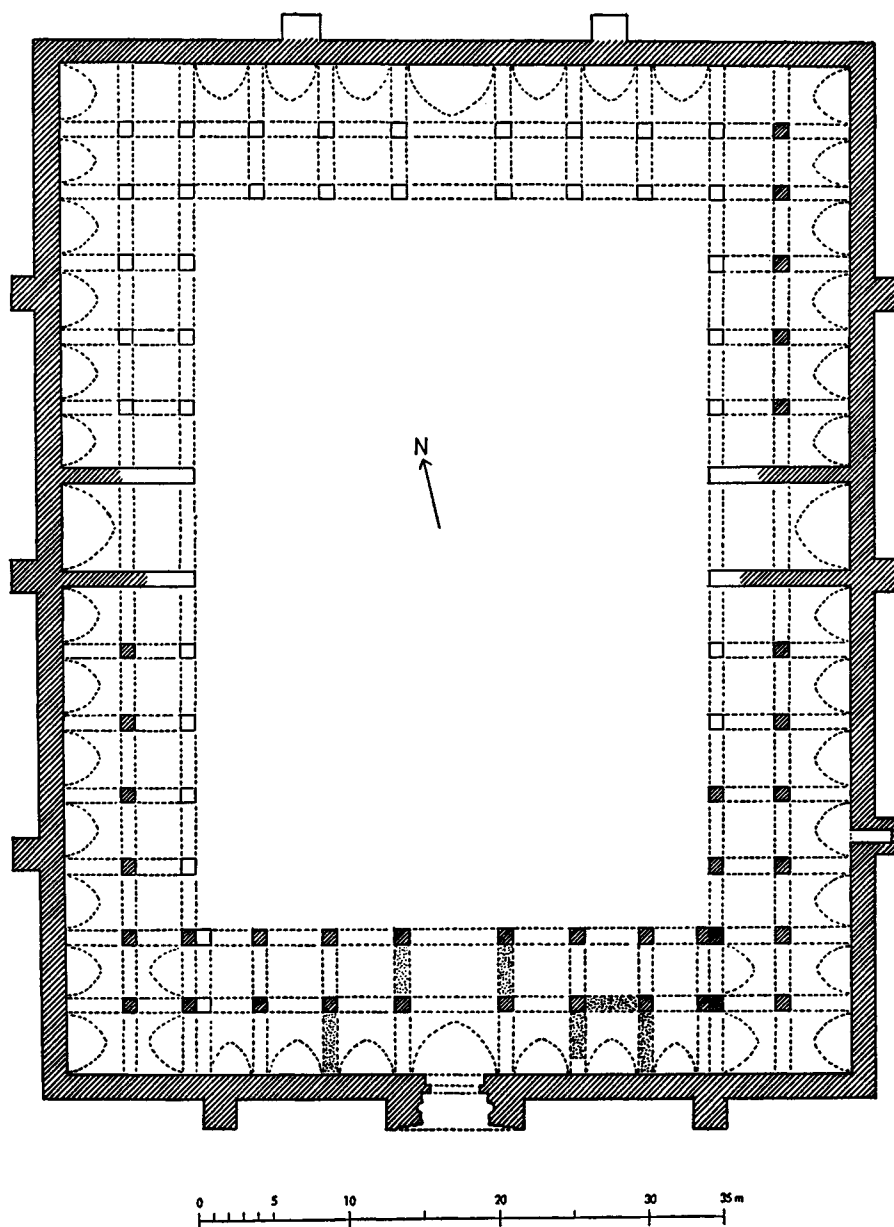
The *khān*s of mountain districts are on a smaller scale than those of the plain. They are built square with corner buttresses; against the inner face of the outer wall there are installations for the accomodation of animals, while the travellers' quarters are built on the inner wall, opening on the central courtyard. There are also, in cold regions, very simple *khān*s without courtyard, consisting only of a hall with one or more aisles, whose archways, with openings for light, rest on columns or pillars while a bench runs the length of the interior, providing sleeping or sitting space. The prices paid by the traveller for accommodation, storage of goods and shelter of animals would very according to the quality and facilities of the highway *khān*. Some *khān*s received *waḳf*s, enabling them to entertain pilgrims free of charge.

The *khān*s which have survived enable us to identify the characteristics distinguishing the various types. At the time of the expansion of Islam in the Near East, there were two types of staging-post in existence; the one, consisting of oblong halls running parallel to the central courtyard, is specifically Iranian. Soon axial *īwān*s appear and the gateway takes on a particular importance. The other consists of a quadrangular structure with galleries enclosing a central courtyard. This "Mediterranean" type existed from the earliest times.

The oldest known Muslim highway *khān* would seem to be, according to the hypothesis of Oleg Grabar, the building dating from the Umayyad era known as Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Sharḳī [*q.v.*]. It consists of a structure with a windowless façade, corner towers and buttresses on the walls, on the inside two floors opening on a courtyard, a peristyle on the ground level and a gallery on the upper floor. It is thus built in the "Mediterranean" type.

There are distinctions to be drawn between the Saldjūk *khān*s of Iran and Anatolia, the Ayyūbid *khān*s cf Syria, the Mamlūk *khān*s of Egypt and Syria, the *khān*s of the Pilgrims' route, the Ilkhānid and Ṣafawid *khān*s of Iran and the Ottoman *khān*s of Asia Minor.

From the Saldjūk period in Iran, where there was a flowering of commercial activity at the end of the 5th/11th century, we know the Khān Zafarānī, between Nīshāpūr and Sabzawār. It is built on a square plan, the exterior walls 75 m. in length, built of unfired brick on foundations of fired brick, with circular towers at the corners. In the centre of the façade a high gateway flanked by towers gives access through a vestibule to the almost square inner courtyard (36 × 38 m.) on to which, as in the *madrasa*s, open four *īwān*s. Those of the lateral sides are enclosed by four rooms on each face, while those of the rear and the vestibule have three rooms on both sides. The lay-out of the courtyard resembles that of the cruciform *madrasa*; it is only the purpose of the rooms which is different. In the one case they are designed for study, in the other for the accommodation of commercial traffic. On the right hand side of the entrance is a mosque, and on the exterior there is a bath-house attached to the building.

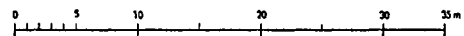
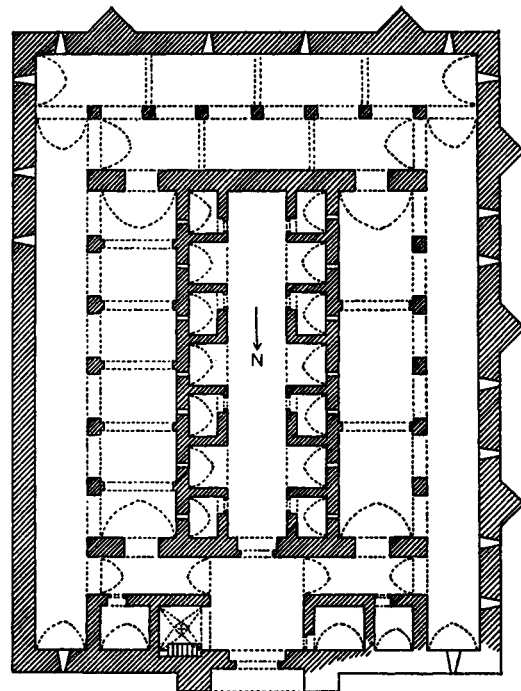
There are some excellent examples of Saldjūḳ

Plan of the Evdir Khān [K. Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray des 13. Jahrhunderts*, i].

*khān*s from the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries in Anatolia. They are of four types. There are *khāns* with a monumental entrance and a vestibule giving access to a central rectangular courtyard surrounded by arched galleries and rooms, as at Evdir Khān (606-16/1210-19) near Anṭaliya, Ḳïrḳgöz Khān (633-43/1236-46), Sulṭān Khān (633/1236) between Sivas and Kayseri, or Yeñi Khān (717/1317) on the road from Tokat to Sivas, and the *khān* of Marand in Ādharbāydjān (730/1330). There are covered *khān*s like Susuz Khān (644/1246) near Burdur, measuring 25 m. by 26 m., with five cradle-vaulted girders and a central cupola. Some *khān*s combine the courtyard surrounded by rooms and the covered building, bringing together the "Mediterranean" and "Iranian" types, as at Sulṭān Khānï (626/1229, restored in 677/1278) 40 km. southwest of Aḳ Sarāy, not to be confused with its namesake near Kayseri. This *khān*, which is entered through a gateway decorated by stalactites, has two sections, one measuring 50 m. by 62 m. with a courtyard bounded by a portico upon which the living-quarters open and by a warehouse as well as a bakehouse and a *ḥammām*; in the centre of the courtyard is an oratory with a cupola standing on four pillars; to the south of the courtyard is the other section; a huge hall measuring 33 m. by 55 m., with five cradle-vaulted aisles and a door at each end, in which the animals were quartered. It is the most important *khān* of the 7th/13th century. Aḳ Khān, to the north-east of Deñizli, built in 650/1252 by sultan Kay Kāwūs, is of a rectangular plan with a square inner courtyard bounded by porticos on two sides and by a vaulted hall supported on ten lines of pillars. Finally, the Alara Khān to the north-west of Alaniya is of yet another design: the inner courtyard is nothing more than a corridor open to the sky with seven rooms on each side, the whole enclosed by long cradle-vaulted halls. Differing in design and dimensions, the Saldjūḳ *khān*s are alike in having corner towers and walls supported by buttresses; they are remarkable for their large gateways, having broken arches decorated with stalactites, framed by intricately worked geometric patterns often consisting of figured decoration.

The Ayyūbid type (6th-8th/12th-14th centuries) in Syria is of square or rectangular plan with central courtyard and a peripheral gallery with cradle-vaulting, broken along the principal axis by an entry corridor, with, in some cases, a room on either side of the vestibule. The gate may be preceded by a salient. In the axis of entry there sometimes opens on the opposite side the wide bay of an *iwān*. The design of Ayyūbid *khān*s is almost always identical, the only variations being in the proportions of the various parts (e.g. Khān al-ʿArūs, Ḳutayfa, and Ḳara to the north of Damascus).

In the later Mamlūk period (9th/15th century) commerce in the Orient was most active and *khān*s multiplied in Syria, especially on the Aleppo to Cairo highway; there is, however, no particular architectural evolution to be noted. The *khān*s of this period are rectangular with windowless walls and a central courtyard containing a water-cistern and surrounded by a gallery, cradle or groin-vaulted, there is a mosque and often a bath-house, the main door-way opens in the façade or in a fore-projection of the wall, and the entry corridor is flanked by two vaulted chambers. Worthy of mention are, in the vicinity of Damascus, Khān Ayāsh to the north and Khān Dunnūn to the south, in Palestine Khān al-Aḥmar, Khān Rastān on a bridge over the Orontes between Ḥims and Ḥamāt, and the *khān* of Ḳalʿat al-Mudīḳ (40 m. by 40 m.) at Apamaeus. There are examples of the same type from the 11th/17th century at Khān Tūmān and at Ḳaramurt (1048/1638), and an enormous *khān* (161 m. by 122 m.) near Baghras [*q.v.*].

In Iran, the *khān* evolved more rapidly and with more frequent changes than in Syria. In the 8th/14th century, in the time of the Īl-Khānids, a new type of *khān* appeared. This is a building on a rectangular plan with the exterior wall reinforced by circular corner towers, and there is a monumental entrance in the form of a bastion with a solid vaulted door-way in an ornamental setting of brick such as that of which traces survive near Marand (730/1330). Within, one enters a vast courtyard bordered by lodging-quarters with *iwān*s in the main axes. A fountain, cisterns and a mosque complete the installation. These *khān*s often have two stories with gallery, on the ground floor there are the stables, and the shops, and there is access by an interior stairway to the first floor and the merchants' quarters, sometimes furnished with fire-places as at Sin (730/1330).

Under the Ṣafawids, in the 10th/16th century, wealthy caravans, signs of the significant progress made by the economy of Central Asia since the Tīmūrids, moved along the trade-routes. Shāh ʿAbbās I

Plan of the Alara Khān [K. Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray des 13. Jahrhunderts*, i].

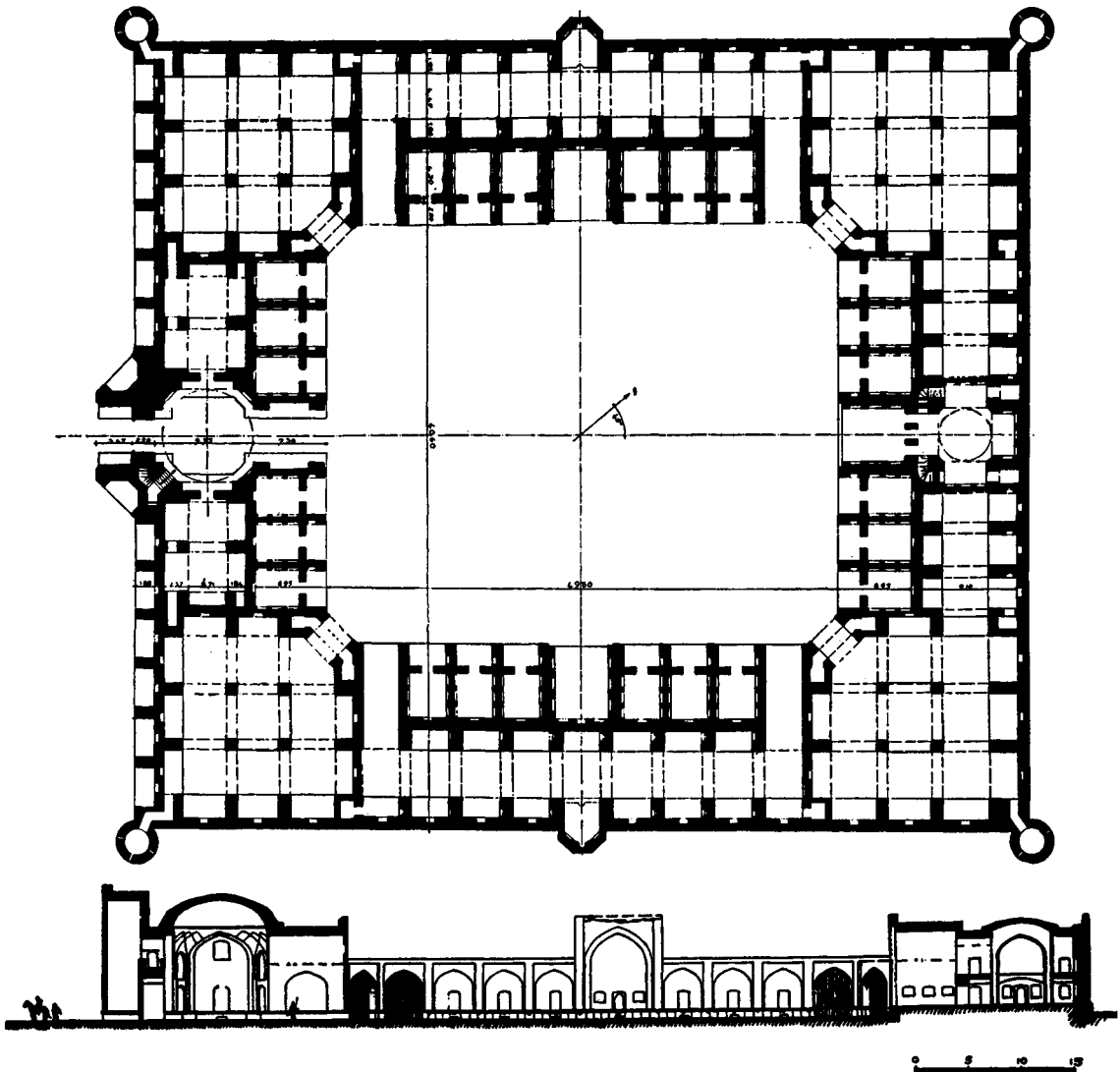
made improvements in highway communications and in the system of staging-posts. The period saw an increase in the number of *khān*s, extending as far as the trade-routes to India. In these *khān*s, the monumental effect of the gate-way with salient is accentuated, while the installations of a religious

nature tend to disappear. In the period following the death of the great sovereign, a concern for symmetry dominates the building-style and huge hypostyle stables appear. At the end of the 11th/17th century, *khāns* on an octagonal plan with circular corner towers are found in mountainous areas. We shall mention three examples, at Amīnābādh, at Khān-i Khurra and at Dahbid on the road between Iṣfahān and Shīrāz.

In Ādharbāydjān, the *khān* typical of the 9th/15th century is that of Sangatchali, near Baku, with its window-less walls, designed on a plan identical to that of the Mamlūk *khāns*. In the 10th-11th/16th-17th centuries there existed in this region two types of *khān*: one, on a square plan with a central courtyard and a lay-out resembling that of the Mediterranean *khān*, and the other, on a rectangular plan, having a long hall open at both ends divided into three aisles, open at both ends with a single entrance in a pillared projection.

In the same period in the Ottoman empire, a large number of highway *khāns* continued to appear, some consisting of one section containing installations bordering on a courtyard open to the sky and another section covered against the winter, others constructed according to the Saldjūḳ prototype, but decorated in a more sober fashion.

A new type appeared, built on a plan almost square, with a long central passage lying along an east-west axis and bounded by shops; in the middle of the passage, two doorways each giving access to an oblong hall running parallel to the passage, with four aisles and three sets of pillars. The chamber on the north side of the passage, provided with a bench, was intended for travellers, while that on the south side sheltered animals and merchandise. Of this type were the Yeñi Khān (10th/16th century), which has recently disappeared, but was formerly on the road from Tokat to Sivas, and Khān Meḥmed Pasha (1028/1619) at Ulukişla to the east of Konya. Finally, at Gebze, on the road from Istanbul to Izmit, there is a *khān* of classical Ottoman type having a rectangular structure, without a central courtyard, and consisting of a double hall with six pillars marking off two sets of seven twin sections.

The last great highway *khān* was built in Iran in

Plan and section of the *khān* of Māder-i Shāh [M. Siroux, *Caravansérails d'Iran et petites constructions routières*].

the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās II (1052-77/1642-66). It is the imposing *khān* of Mādar-i Shāh, a grim and impressive work of architecture 45 km. from Iṣfahān.

Two instances of the structural evolution of the *khān* should be noted, one in Syria, the other in Iran. In the first case, we observe the transformation of a highway *khān* into an urban *khān*: in fact at Djisr al-Shughur, to a *khān* built in 1070/1660, in the course of time a refectory was added, later a hospital; this collection of buildings, on the left bank of the Orontes at the approaches to a bridge, became in the 19th century the nucleus of an urban settlement which grew up around it. The second case is that of the *khān* of ʿAlī-ābād, between Tehran and Ḳum which became at the end of the 19th century the nucleus of a flourishing oasis settlement; with the addition of a *ḥammām*, a flour-mill, two ice-houses and some shops, the *khān* lost its original character, ceasing to be a highway institution and taking on the functions of an agricultural centre.

II. The urban *khān*. While the highway *khān* is a staging-post and a relay-station, the urban *khān* lies at the end of a journey; it is a depot, a place for commercial transactions and brief stay.

In fact, the term *khān* has been applied to hostelries and urban depots in the Near East only since the Mamlūk and Ottoman periods, more especially the latter.

In the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries in Baghdād and Damascus, the large depots bore the name of *dār* with the name of the commodity for which the establishment was noted. The urban caravanserai would have been called *dār al-wakāla* (the house of procuration or agency), before this became a synonym for *funduḳ*, which at the end of the 7th/13th century began to be replaced by *khān* as a designation for suburban hostelries. Later, in the 11th/17th century the *khān* began progressively to take upon itself exclusively the functions exercised within the city-walls by the *dar al-wakāla*, the *funduḳ* (πανδοχεῖον) and the *ḳayṣariyya* [*q.v.*]. In fact, in the town, the *khān* gave lodging to travellers who could lodge there in exchange for a fee paid to the warden who provided bedding and straw. In the present day as in the past we find installed there wholesalers, middlemen, importers' agents, messengers, and retailers looking for merchandise. There is the bulk selling of imported merchandise or export-bound goods; bales and packing-cases are stacked in the courtyard.

The most common type of depot, the *khān*, providing the means to await the time for the transfer of merchandise, is designated either by the name of the founder or by the name of the principal commodity to be sold there. Thus there are to be found in most towns a *khān al-ṣābūn* (*khān* of soap) or a *khān al-zayt* (*khān* of oil).

In the second half of the 9th/15th century, the Mamlūk sultans provided certain facilities for European traders visiting Alexandria. After the grant of capitulations by the Ottoman sultans [see IMTIYĀZĀT], the urban *khāns* flourished greatly in the Near East. The number of visiting Western merchants grew and they no longer confined themselves to staying in the harbour-districts (*iskele*) but went to do business in towns of the interior such as Aleppo and Damascus or Cairo, centres where export and import goods from all over the Orient were accumulated. Until the mid-11th/17th century, ambassadors from the major powers were accommodated in Istanbul in a *khān* specially adapted for their use, the Elči Khāni.

In the 12th/18th century, the *khān* supplanted, as regarded commercial activity, the *funduḳ* which henceforward had only the function of a hostelry for pilgrims and travellers.

While the term *khān* was current in Asia Minor, by contrast in Egypt, the word was considered foreign and, from the start of the 10th/16th century tended to be replaced by the Arabic term *wakāla* used in a concrete sense, transcribed by Western authors as "okel" (and similar forms). The *khān* was to remain nevertheless, and at the end of the 18th century, there were still in Cairo 14 *khāns* as against 206 *wakālas*.

Situated in the middle of the souks in city centres, the *khāns*, by their number and their size reflected the amplitude of the traffic and the economic importance of each city.

Sometimes the urban *khān* would be not a structure, but a group of several specialised markets, like the Khān al-Khalīlī in Cairo, a collection of shops enclosed by two large gateways. Sometimes in the interior opening on the courtyard there would be shops (*ḥāṣil*), leased or bought by the merchants.

The plan of the urban *khān* "has not varied in the course of time: a central courtyard around which developed a row of shops built on to the surrounding wall and opening beneath a covered portico extending, in front of their doors, all around the courtyard. This arrangement simply reproduces, under a less monumental guise, the traditional plan of the agora." This description by Jean Sauvaget applies to the classic type of *khān* which has prevailed in the lands of the Oriental basin of the Mediterranean since the Mamlūk epoch, and subsequently throughout the Ottoman empire, as is attested by a picture of Raffet, depicting the *khān* of Bucharest in the 19th century.

The *khān* could be a pious foundation set up by a rich and illustrious person; it would then be either one of the sources of revenue of a *waḳf* to the benefit of a *madrasa* like the *khān* Mādar-i Shāh in Iṣfahān, or for the upkeep of a mosque, such as the two *khāns* of Bursa which supported the Green Mosque (Yeşil Cami), or the beneficiary of fixed revenues, attributed to it when it served the specific purpose of sheltering pilgrims. Being a profitable business, the *khān* could represent an investment, and more than one *amīr* was proprietor of a *khān* in the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries. At the end of the 9th/15th century, at Damascus, out of five new *khāns*, three were built by *amīrs* and two by merchants; at Aleppo, as against nine *khāns* built by *amīrs*, only one was founded by merchants. The managers of *khāns* would often be the descendants of the founders, and the principal official was the *wakīl al-tudjdjār*, the agent of attorney who attended to the storage and sale of the merchants' goods; the *khān* also received visits from an inspector appointed by the *muḥtasib*. At nightfall, the leaves of the door were always closed while a guardian kept watch in his lodge.

In the Ottoman period, according to J. Sauvaget, the plan is "uniform in principle: around two courtyards of unequal dimensions there are juxtaposed, on ground-level, shops rented by the foreign merchants lodging on the upper floor in rooms opening on a gallery, while a vaulted warehouse protects the stocks of merchandise against theft and bad weather." In some *khāns* the central courtyard is replaced by a covered hall, as at Khān Asʿad Pāshā at Damascus, or sometimes the central courtyard instead of being square becomes a long rectangle, divided crosswise into three suites, as at the Valide Han of Istanbul.

At Aleppo, the oldest *khāns* were situated in the suburbs of the city; Ibn Shaddād (end of the 7th/13th century) mentions eight of them. Within the city-

walls, the oldest *khāns* date from the Mamlūk period; they are in the centre of the city. The Khān Bayrakdīn was constructed by two *amīrs* in 827/1424. Between 815/1422 and 874/1470 numerous *khāns* were constructed. Ibn al-Shiḥna (d. 890/1485) mentions 25 of them within the city-walls and 13 outside. There were other *khāns* built, such as the Khān al-Zayt constructed by the *amīr* Khayr Bek, the Khān al-Ḳaṣṣābiyya begun by the *amīr* Abrak in 916/1510 and completed in 928/1522, and the Khān al-Ṣābūn with its rich façade, attributed to the *amīr* Uzdamur. Aleppo benefited, on the economic plane, from the expansion of the Ottoman empire. The buildings were situated on the edge of the commercial centres, and it was possible to set up on the exterior façades of the *khāns* rows of shops forming a souk, assured by its location of a good supply of business. "The prime example of the type at Aleppo is the *Khān al-Kumruk* (*Khān* of Customs) built in 982/1574, which combines within a single structure 52 shops, and 77 rooms as well as two stone-built souks lit by two cupolas, a total of 344 shops." It had two fountains, a mosque and a monumental entrance. Dating from the end of the 11th/17th century, the *Khān al-Wazīr* (1092/1682), now in ruins, still has its monumental entrance. In this period d'Arvieux counted 68 *khāns* at Aleppo; in the mid-20th century Sauvaget counted 38 still in existence.

At Damascus, the first *khāns* seem to have been built outside the city-walls as at Aleppo. In the 7th/13th century, in the northern suburb of al-ʿUḳayba, was the Khān al-Zindjārī; reputedly a place of debauchery, it was destroyed in 632/1236 and replaced by the al-Tawba mosque. The inner-city *khāns* are situated to the south of the Great Mosque in the western sector of the old city. Ibn Ṣaṣrā mentions five *khāns* at the end of the 8th/14th century, including the *Khān al-Ḥabbālīn* and the *khān* built by the *amīr* Mandjak al-Yūsufī. In the 10th/16th century the *khān* replaced in the city certain *funduḳs* and *ḳaysāriyyas*; thus we have the *Khān al-Zayt* (*Khān* of Oil) and the *Khān al-Harīr* (*Khān* of Silk), a vast building constructed by Darwīsh Pashā in 980/1572. The *Khān al-Kumruk* (*Khān* of Customs) was built at the end of the 10th/16th century and the start of the 11th/17th. Of the two biggest *khāns*, the one, covered by two cupolas, is attributed to Sulaymān Pasha (1145/1732), the other, with nine cupolas of which the central cupola has collapsed, to Asʿad Pasha al-ʿAẓm (1165/1752).

At Tripoli, the third city of Syria, we know of the existence of six Mamlūk *khāns*: *Khān al-Khayyāṭīn*, *Khān al-Ṣābūn*, the *Khān* of the Egyptians, *Khān al-Muhandis*, *Khān al-Manzil* and a *dār al-wakāla* which became a *khān* before 736/1336. Beirut had one *khān* in 766/1365. All the major ports of the Syria-Palestine coast had flourishing *khāns*, such as the Khān al-Firandj at Ṣaydā, one of the caravanserais built by Fakhr al-Dīn [*q.v.*] at the start of the 11th/17th century. There was also a Khān al-Firandj at ʿAkkā (Acre).

In Egypt, the term is applied essentially to the urban institution; it appeared in about 730/1330 designating the building of the Khān Amīr Ḳusūn. The best known is the Khān al-Khalīlī which was built by the *amīr* Djarkaṣ al-Khalīlī at the end of the 8th/14th century and was endowed with two porches by the sultan Ḳānsūḥ al-Ghūrī. This is no longer a building, but a conglomeration of specialist markets opening on the principal street of the commercial centre. It is a commercial estate, a business area with specialised branches for precious textiles, silk-works, embroidered cloth and carpets. There used to be workshops there for spinning and weaving. To this day it serves the functions of the ancient *ḳaysāriyya*.

The *khān* came to its peak of success at Cairo in the time of al-Maḳrīzī (9th/15th century): there were then built the Khān Maṣrūr and the Khān al-Ḥadjdjār (827/1424). In the 11th/18th century, the Khān al-Ḥamzāwī came to rival the Khān al-Khalīlī, while the Khān al-Bāshā became the biggest warehouse of the city and ʿAlī Bey, the famous *shaykh al-balad*, had a vast *khān* constructed at Būlāḳ.

In Baghdād, the identification of monuments is often difficult, for the city has undergone numerous destructions as a result of floods and fires, and often one would know nothing of its monuments were it not for references in the ancient texts. The most ancient *khān* is that of Abū Ziyād mentioned by al-Khaṭib al-Baghdādī (end of the 5th/11th century). Often the *khāns* mentioned by the authors pose a problem of terminology; in fact, they are often cited, notably by Yāḳūt (7th/13th century) under the name of *dār*, as the *Dār al-Ḳuṭn* (House of Cotton), *dār al-Ḳazz* (House of Raw Silk); the term has the sense of a specialised commercial centre, close to that of *ḳaysāriyya*. *Dār* means "palace", there is a *Dār al-Khayl*, the palace of the Cavalry, which was the hostelry reserved for the ambassadors and which was later to become the *Khān al-Khayl*. It owes its name to the stables which were incorporated in it.

In the 6th/12th century there existed a *Khan al-Safatiyyīn* (*Khān* of the Basket-weavers). In the mid-8th/14th century, the *amīr* Mirdjān constructed, in the commercial centre on the left bank of the Tigris, a *khān* which bears his name. In the 10th/16th century Baghdād became an important caravan centre. In 1089/1678 Aḥmad Bushnāḳ built the famous Khān Banī Saʿd. In 1823 the *madrasa* al-Mustanṣiriyya accomodated the Customs service and took the name Khān al-Ortmā; in this period European travellers testify to a great number of *khāns* at Baghdād.

At Iṣfahān, which knew a period of great economic prosperity after the accession of Shāh ʿAbbās I, Chardin counted in the 11th/17th century 1,802 caravanserais. Many have disappeared but the *khān* adjoining the *madrasa* Mādar-i Shāh remains and testifies to the prosperity of the capital at the end of the start of the 18th century.

In Asia Minor, the Ottoman *khāns* are mainly concentrated at Bursa and at Istanbul. The *khāns* of Bursa, the first Ottoman capital, rectangular in form with a central courtyard surrounded by a portico with arcade, are of classic Mediterranean type. The most ancient of these is the Bey Khān (mid-8th/14th century), which at the present day has lost its original form but survives under the name of Emir Khān. Mention should be made of the Ipek Khān (Khān of Silk) dating from the start of the 9th/15th century which, like the Geyve Khān, was constituted as a *waḳf* to the advantage of the Green Mosque and of which only a few traces remain. The Koza Khān (Khān of the Cocoon), with a central water cistern in the courtyard and an octagonal mosque, was built at the end of the 9th/15th century. The Pirinč Khān (Khān of Rice) with two stories, in ruins today, was built in 913/1507.

At Istanbul, the two most ancient *khāns* whose ruins are known to us in the vicinity of the Rustum Paşa Mosque, the Hurmali Khān (Khān of Dates) and the Balkapan Khān (Khān of Honey), date back for their origin to the Byzantine era. The most ancient of the sixteen *khāns* of the Grand Bazaar is the Çuhaci

Hani (Khān of Cloth); it dates from the 9th/15th century. These *khāns* are in most cases spinning-shops at the side of warehouses and retailers' shops. One of the largest warehouses is the Kürkçüler Hani (Khān of the Furriers) constructed by the grand vizier Maḥmūd Pasha in 872/1467; the building is of impressive dimensions (130 m. by 65 m.), with one courtyard measuring 40 m. by 45 m. and another pentagonal in shape, with a perimeter of 140 m. As many as 167 rooms open under the porticos on the ground-level; on the upper floor there are cradle-vaulted rooms with windows opening on the gallery, and in front of each door there used to be a miniature cupola covering the portico. The building remains, but has deteriorated beyond recognition. In the mid-10th/16th century, Sinān built in the name of Rustum Pasha two *khāns* on the banks of the Golden Horn, Čukur Khān (Khān of the Ditch) at Istanbul and Ḳurshunlu Khān (Khān of Lead) at Ghalaṭa. As elsewhere, the term stems from the dimensions of the installations. In the mid-11th/17th century, the buildings could not all have been large, for Ewliyā Čelebi counted 556 *khāns* at Istanbul. It was no longer a question of vast warehouses, but rather of places of sale for provincial and foreign traders.

The two finest specimens from the 11th/17th century are the Wālide Khānī with its three courtyards where all kinds of commerce were enacted, and opposite, the Büyük Yeñi Khān with its long rectangular courtyard bounded by two galleries with arcades; this stone-built edifice underwent modifications in 1178/1764. From the 18th century, we have the Khān Shirmakesh (Khān of the Silversmiths), whose façade has alternate rows of stone and brick and which was completed in 1128/1716 on the foundations of a mint. The original feature of this building is the fact that the rooms are set on both sides of a large corridor on the upper floor and do not open on the courtyard. Taking the examples of Üsküdar, the terminus of caravan-routes on the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus, we may note in the 17th and the 18th centuries different categories of *khāns*: there are large buildings with many rooms and multiple stalls for saddle-animals such as the Mihrimāh Sulṭān and Orta Wālide Khāns, and there are luxury establishments like the Kösem Wālide Khān. There are numerous *khāns* of more modest dimensions, reserved for "merchants of land and sea." There are *khāns* for pilgrims, some of them offering lodging free of charge, but most often the Muslims would be accommodated in the town in *madrasas* or *khānaḳāhs*, while Christians would lodge in monasteries. The Waḳīf Khān (1918) of Istanbul, with its offices and commercial facilities, bears witness to the functional evolution of the contemporary *khān*.

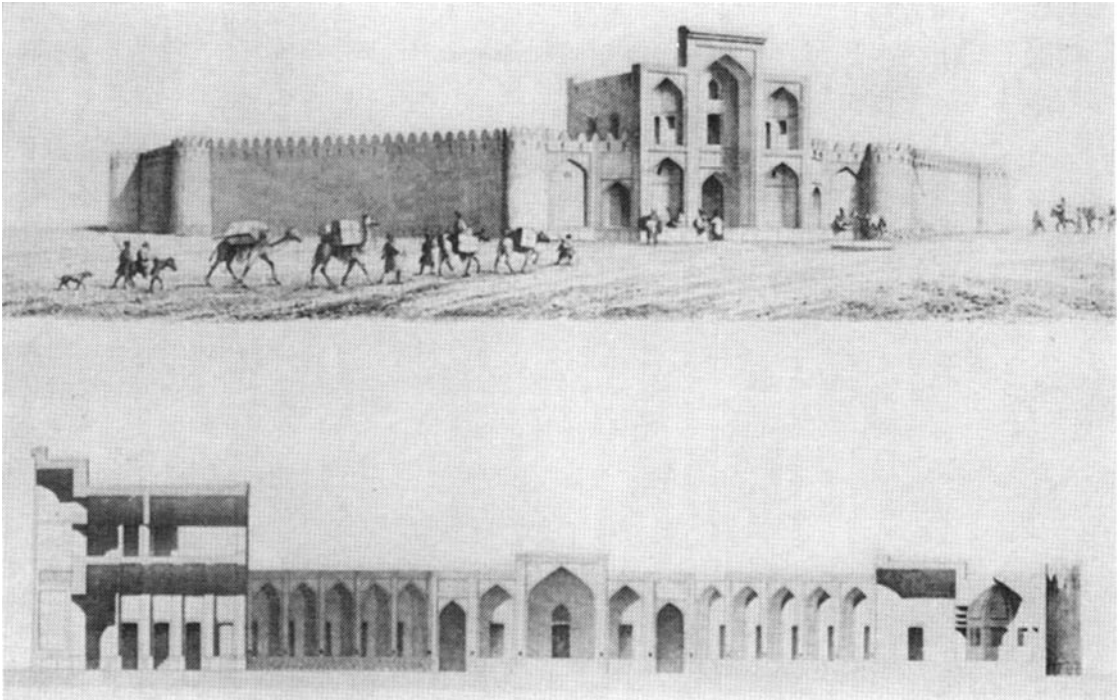
Bibliography: C. E. Arseven, *L'art turc depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours*, Istanbul 1939, 60, 80; A. Barthélemy, *Dict. arabe-français, dialects de Syrie*, Paris 1935-54, s.v. Khān; G. L. Bell, *Amurath to Amurath*, London 1911; A. Darrag, *L'Égypte sous le règne de Barsbay*, Damascus 1961, 421-4; Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v. *wakāla*; K. Erdmann, *Das anatolische Karavansaray des 13. Jahrhunderts, Istanbuler Forschungen*, 21, Berlin 1961; A. Gabriel, *Les monuments turcs d'Anatolie*, Paris 1931-4; idem, *Voyages archéologiques dans la Turquie Orientale*, Paris 1940, 39-40, 239-40, 274-5; idem, *Une capitale turque, Brousse*, Paris 1958, ch. xiii; S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*. i. *Economic foundations*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1967, 186-91; O. Grabar and D. Hill, *Islamic architecture and its decoration*[2], London 1967; E. Herzfeld, *Damascus, Studies in architecture*, in *Ars Islamica*, x (1943), 22-5; idem, *CIA*, *Alep*, in *MIFAO*, Cairo 1955, 346, 375, 403-6; Ibn Ṣaṣrā, *al-Durra al-muḍīʾa*, *A chronicle of Damascus 1389-1397*, i, tr. W. M. Brinner, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1963, 338; Ibn Shaddād, *al-Aʿlāḳ al-khaṭīra*, i/1, ed. D. Sourdel, Damascus 1953, 56, 73, 90-2, 149, 153; I. Lapidus, *Muslim cities in the later Middle Ages*, Cambridge, Mass. 1967, 59-62, 249; R. Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVII*e *s.*, Paris 1962, 81, 457, 482-4; K. Müller, *Die Karawanserai im Vorderen Orient*, in *Bauwissenschaftliche Beiträge*, 6, Berlin 1920; Pope, *Survey of Persian art*, ii, 1245-8; A. Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIII*e *s.*, Damascus 1974, i, 251-4, 260-2, ii, 468-9; R. M. Riefstahl and P. Wittek, *Turkish architecture in southwestern Anatolia*, Cambridge 1931; J. Sauvaget, *Inventaire des monuments musulmans de la ville d'Alep*, in *REI* (1931), 59-114; idem, *Monuments historiques de Damas*, Beirut 1932, VII, 83, 86; idem, *Les perles choisies d'Ibn al-Chihna*, Damascus 1933, 193-5; idem, *Caravansérails syriens du Hadjdj de Constantinople*, in *Ars Islamica*, iv (1937), 98-121; idem, *Caravansérails syriens du Moyen Âge*, in *ibid.*, vi (1939), 46-55, vii (1940), 1-19; idem, *Alep*, Paris 1941, 77, 172, 215, 219; H. Sauvaire, *Description de Damas*, in *JA* (1894-6), General Index by E. Ouéchek, Damascus 1954; M. Siroux, *Caravansérails d'Iran*, in *MIFAO*, lxxxi (1949); D. and J. Sourdel, *Memorial Jean Sauvaget*, ii, Damascus 1961, 106-7; O. Turan, *Selçuk karavansaraylari*, in *Belleten*, x (1946), 471-96; B. Ünsal, *Turkish Islamic architecture*, London 1959, 48-56; D. N. Wilber, *Architecture of Islamic Iran*, Princeton 1955, 37-8, 176-7, 179-80; S. K. Yetkin, *L'architecture turque en Turquie*, Paris 1962, 46-62, 153-8; G. Goodwin, *A history of Ottoman architecture*, London 1971.

(N. Elisséeff)

KHĀN BĀLĪḲ [see KHĀNBALĪḲ].

KHĀN DJAHĀN LŌDĪ (*ca.* 995-1040/*ca.* 1587-1631), military commander under the Mughals of India.

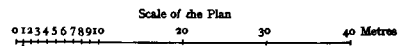
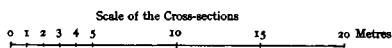
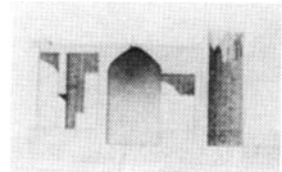
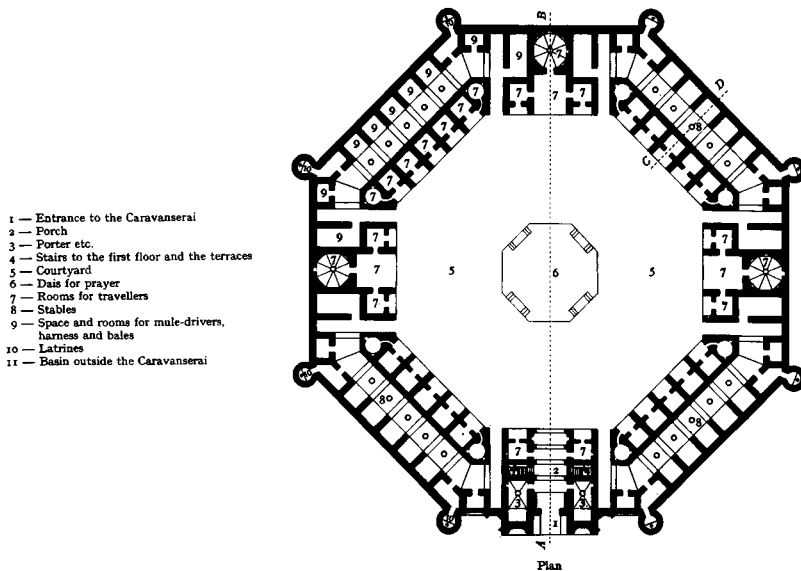
Pīr Khān (Mīr in the printed text of Shaykh Farīd Bhakkarī, *Dhakhīrat al-khawānīn*, ii, Karachi 1970, is a misprint) was the younger of the two sons of Dawlat Khān Lōdī, an officer in Akbar's army and a nephew of the well-known Afghān nobleman, bearing the same name, who had invited Bābur to invade the kingdom of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lōdī. The date of Pīr Khān's birth is not recorded, but, as has been stated by Bhakkarī, he was about twenty years of age early in 1015/1607 when he was first received by Djahāngīr (*Tuzuk-e-Jehangeeree*, ed. Syud ʿAhmud Khan, Ghazeepore 1863, 42; *Dhakhīra*, ii, 74). It can, therefore, safely be assumed that he must have been born in 995/1587. The two brothers took service first under Rādjā Mansingh, and then under Prince Dāniyāl whom Akbar had appointed viceroy of the Deccan and whose service their father had joined. On the death of his father and subsequently that of his elder brother, Pīr Khān was summoned to the court by Djahāngīr, who conferred on him the title of *Ṣalābat Khān* and a *manṣab* of 3,000 *dhāt* and 1,500 *sawār* besides honouring him with the epithet of *farzand* ("son"); later in the same year (and not 1017/1608 as stated by Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*[3], Allahabad 1940, 226; see *Tuzuk*, 61, where the date is given as Radjab 1016/October 1607) he was given the higher title of Khān Djahān.

In the Deccan the Mughal forces had been facing a difficult situation for several years. Hence in 1019/

Cross-section through *A–B*

1 — Entrance to the Caravanserai
2 — Porch
3 — Porter etc.
4 — Stairs to the first floor and the terraces
5 — Courtyard
6 — Dais for prayer
7 — Rooms for travellers
8 — Stables
9 — Space and rooms for mule-drivers, harness and bales
10 — Latrines
11 — Basin outside the Caravanserai

Plan

Scale of the Cross-sections
0 1 2 3 4 5 10 15 20 Metres

Scale of the Plan
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 20 30 40 Metres

Front, sections and plan of the *k͟hān* of Amīnābād͟h [P. Coste, *Monuments modernes de la Perse*, Paris 1867, Pl. lxvi].

1610 the Emperor decided to send Khān Djahān Lōdī to help Khān Khānān ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khān against the Deccanī statesman and commander Malik ʿAnbar (an Abyssinian or Ḥabshī [*q.v.*] by birth). After the fall of Aḥmadnagar, he had set up his headquarters at Khirkī, which was later given the name of Awrangābād by Prince Awrangzīb. The Mughals had suffered several reverses at his hands, particularly because of the guerilla tactics which he used against their slow-moving armies laden with heavy equipment. On his arrival at the base of Burhānpūr, Khān Djahān found that the Khān Khānān had suffered a major defeat and signed a disgraceful treaty, and Aḥmadnagar had also fallen to the enemy. Khān Djahān wrote to Djahāngīr that if he were given the chief command of the Deccan campaign, he would conquer Aḥmadnagar and Bīdjāpūr within two years. The Emperor agreed and sent Khān Aʿẓam with 10,000 troops and 2,000 *aḥadīs* to reinforce the Mughal army. According to the new plan of the campaign, Khān Djahān, Mansingh and the Amīr al-Umarāʾ were to march on Aḥmadnagar through Berār and Khāndesh while ʿAbd Allāh Khān, *Ṣūbahdār* of Gudjarāt, was to proceed from Aḥmadābād by way of Nasik. Both the armies were to coordinate their movements and hem in the Deccanis, but ʿAbd Allāh Khān, ignoring the advice of his colleagues to remain in contact with Khān Djahān, rushed into the territory of the enemy and sustained a defeat. The other army was also subjected to harassment by Malik ʿAnbar's men who had cut their sources of supplies, and managed only with difficulty to withdraw to ʿĀdilābād, in the vicinity of Burhānpūr, where Prince Parwīz was encamping (*Tuzuk*, 107-8).

Djahāngīr castigated the commanders who were responsible for the defeat and transferred them to other places; Khān Djahān was also demoted and posted as Thānadār in Thalnīr, but a year later he was restored to favour. He was again sent to the Deccan with Mahābat Khān, and early in 1026/1617 he was present on the banks of the Narbada to receive Prince Khurram, who had now been appointed supreme commander of the Deccan campaign. The Prince succeeded in concluding peace with the States of Aḥmadnagar and Bīdjāpūr and thus temporarily retrieved the Mughal position in the Deccan. Khān Djahān was among the principal officers who accompanied him on his departure from Burhānpūr and who were received by the Emperor in the fort of Māndū in Shawwāl 1026/October 1617.

In the account of the fifteenth year of his coronation, Djahāngīr says that Khān Djahān, who was a heavy drinker, suddenly abandoned this habit and "thenceforward did not touch wine despite my advice that he should give it up gradually"; possibly this action and a general change in his approach to life were due to his association with Shaykh Faḍl Allāh of Burhānpūr (see *Dhakhīra*, 115). However, in the same year he was appointed *Ṣūbahdār* of Multān because reports were coming from the direction of Ḳandahār of threats on it from the Ṣafawid Shāh ʿAbbās Ṣafawī (*Dhakhīra*, 77). On receiving reports that the Persian forces had besieged it, Djahāngīr issued orders for a relief expedition, but Shāhdjahān, who was to lead it, put forward conditions which the Emperor was not willing to accept.

In the last years of Djahāngīr's reign, the imperial court became a hotbed of intrigues on account of the plans of Nūr Djahān to raise Shahriyār, the youngest son of the Emperor, to power, because he had been married to her daughter by her former husband. Khān Djahān Lōdī, who had returned to the court in 1031/1622 and had been appointed *Ṣūbahdār* of Gudjarāt in the following year, was now ordered to take the place of Mahābat Khān as *Atālīḳ* of Parwīz, and later, on his death in Muḥarram 1036/October 1626, was entrusted with the supreme command of forces in the Deccan with the title of *Sipah-Sālār*. On the death of Malik ʿAnbar, the commander of the forces of Niẓām Shāh offered submission, but this peace did not prove to be a lasting one, and it was not long before the new regent of Aḥmadnagar, Ḥamīd Khān, again declared war. Khān Djahān promptly opened a vigorous campaign, but instead of subjugating the enemy completely he granted him peace, restoring his territories for the very moderate sum of three lakhs of *huns*; some writers have, therefore, accused him of accepting this money as a bribe. It has also been suggested that by granting exceptionally easy terms, he wanted to place Niẓām Shāh under obligation so that he might if necessary seek refuge with him.

At the time of Djahāngīr's death (October 1627), his son Shāhdjahān was in the Deccan. After some hesitation, Khān Djahān Lōdī recognised his succession, and the new Emperor appointed him Governor of Berār and Khāndesh. He was directed to recover the lost territories in the Deccan; but noting his reluctance, Shāhdjahān transferred him to Mālwā and ordered him to co-operate with Mahābat Khān in suppressing the rebellion of Djhūdjhar Singh Bundela. After this campaign, he was summoned to court where however he was greatly disappointed at his lukewarm reception. Fearing danger, he fled in Ṣafar 1039/Sept.-Oct. 1629, and though overtaken with his followers near Dholpur, managed to escape through Gondwana and Berar to the kingdom of Aḥmadnagar, where he hoped to find a refuge. Murtaḍā Niẓām Shāh welcomed Khān Djahān in his camp near Dawlatābād, and assigned to him the *parganah* of Bīr; he probably hoped to use Khān Djahān for recovering his territories lost to the Mughals.

Shāhdjahān realised the threat to the Mughal position in the Deccan, and left Āgra in person in Rabīʿ II 1039/December 1629. Three detachments of Mughal forces under the general command of Aʿẓam Khān invaded the Niẓāmshāhī territories. In Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 1039/June 1630 the Mughals inflicted a heavy defeat on the Deccanīs, but Khān Djahān nevertheless worsted one group of the invading forces. However, on the subsequent appearance of Aʿẓam Khān's army, Khān Djahān lost his nerve. He made a stand, but was defeated and fled towards Shivagaon, and at last managed to reach Dawlatābād, where Murtaḍā had shut himself up in the fortress. In the face of Murtaḍā's unwelcoming attitude, however, Khān Djahān had to leave for Mālwā with the intention of going to the Panjab where he thought he would be able to rally the support of his fellow-tribesmen. The Mughal Emperor had him pursued to Bundelkhand, where his trusted officer, Daryā Khān, was killed in a sharp action with the forces of the Bundelah chief, Bikramādjit (Djumādāʾ II 1040/January 1631). Khān Djahān continued his flight and passing Kalinjar, where his son Ḥasan was captured and put to death by the Mughal commander, he reached and encamped by the side of a pond called Sihindah (see *Maʾāthir al-umarāʾ*, i, 728), where he was attacked and slain by his pursuers. His head was taken to the court by Kāmgār, author of *Maʾāthir-i-Djahāngīrī*, who was given the title of Ghayrat Khān.

Khān Djahān Lōdī was a brave soldier but lacked statemanship, and this led to his downfall and ultimate ruin. The author of the *Dhakhīrat al-khawānīn*,

Shaykh Farīd Bhakkarī, who had served under him, nevertheless praised some of his personal qualities and says that he was a pious person, who passed hours in the society of the *ʿulamāʾ* and *shaykhs*.

Bibliography: 1. Primary sources. Khʷādja Niʿmat Allāh, *Taʾrīkh-i-Khāndjahānī* (goes up to 1021/1612; see Ethé, 576, 577); Shaykh Farīd Bhakkarī, *Dhakhīrat al-khawānīn*, ed. S. Moinul Haq, Karachi 1970, ii; Djahāngīr, *Tuzuk-i-Djahāngīrī*, ed. Syud Ahmud Khan, Ghazeepore 1863; ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Lāhorī, *Bādshah-nāma*, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1866, i; Sujan Rai, *Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh*, ed. M. Zafar Hasan, Delhi 1918; Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhab al-lubāb*, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1860-74, Part i; Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Maʾāthir al-umarāʾ*, Bibl. Ind., i.

2. Modern works. *The Cambridge History of India*, iv; Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, Allahabad 1940; Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, Allahabad 1958. (S. MOINUL HAQ)

KHĀN-I DJAHĀN MAKBŪL, ĶIWĀM AL-MULK, minister and confidant of the Dihlī Sultans Muḥammad b. Tughluķ and Fīrūz-Shāh in the 8th/14th century.

Of Hindu origin (his original name was Kannū "flower"), he stemmed from Tilangānā in South India, and was converted to Islam in 722/1322 when the local Rādja surrendered to a besieging army from Dihlī under the *amīr* Ulugh Khān, the later Sultan Muḥammad b. Tughluķ. The *amīr* accordingly gave him the name of *maķbūl* "the one accepted [into Islam]", and he rapidly became a favourite of Muḥammad b. Tughluķ. The contemporary historian Baranī mentions him in his *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz-Shāhī* as the Malik Maķbūl, the *nāʾib* or deputy *wazīr* of the Sultan, and he acquired the *laķab* or honorific of Ķiwām al-Mulk from the ruler also.

As well as being of undoubted administrative capability, Ķiwām al-Mulk benefited from his Deccani Hindu origin, having no racial or tribal connection with the Turkish military nobility in Dihlī and being therefore utterly dependent on retaining the Sultan's favour. In 727/1327 he was in Dawlatābād or Deogīrī in the Deccan, which the Sultan had made his second capital, and after crushing the revolt of Bahrām Aybā Kīshlū Khān at Multān, was appointed governor of that important frontier province. He was subsequently transferred after a few years in Multān to Dihlī, were he became deputy to the chief financial minister or *Wazīr-i Mamālik*, Khʷādja Djahān, achieving a reputation for strictness and probity in the auditing of the accounts and in the exaction of taxation from the *muķṭaʿs* and provincial governors. He also accompanied the Sultan away from Dihlī on various military campaigns and punitive expeditions. During the years between 746/1345 and 751/1350 he was in the Deccan at Warangal, and in Gudjarāt, subduing rebels, and shortly before Muḥammad b. Tughluķ's death in Sind in 752/1351, he returned to the capital as deputy to Khʷādja Djahān, the viceroy or *Nāʾib-i Ghaybat* in Dihlī during the Sultan's absence.

In the succession crisis on Muḥammad b. Tughluķ's death, Khʷādja Djahān promoted the short-lived cause of the child Maḥmūd against the rival contender Fīrūz-Shāh, the dead Sultan's cousin. Ķiwām al-Mulk, however, espoused the side of Fīrūz-Shāh, and when the latter came to power, the new Sultan rewarded him by promoting him to the office of *Wazīr-i Mamālik*, with the exalted titles of *Masnad-i ʿĀlī, Aʿẓam Humāyūn, Khān-i Djahān*. He now set about restoring order in the fiscal system, after an amnesty on outstanding debts left over from Khʷādja Djahān's tenure of office. He acquired far-reaching executive powers, including the hereditary grant of the vizierate for his family and the power to appoint or dismiss any official in the *Dīwān-i Wizārat*. A strict system of financial control was adopted over the revenues coming in from provincial nobles and over the registering of all presents (*khidmatī*) in either the state treasury or else in the royal storehouse or *kārkhāna*. The purity of the coinage was regulated and the criminal law enforced. The pacific Fīrūz-Shāh tended to leave much of the civil administration in his hands, and when the Sultan was absent from Dihlī, Khān-i Djahān usually assumed full civil and military powers in the capital as *Nāʾib-i Ghaybat*. However, he never forgot that his whole position depended on retention of the Sultan's favour. Thus he cultivated the friendship of Fīrūz-Shāh's favourite slave Bashīrā, who held the office of *Amīr-i ʿArḍ* or Inspector-General of the Army with the personal title of ʿImād al-Mulk, even though the latter was notoriously corrupt. Khān-i Djahān himself acquired extensive *iķṭāʿs* for the support of his official duties and rank, to the value of three million *tankāhs* per annum, and he built in them numerous markets and caravanserais and constructed irrigation canals.

He died, aged over 80, in 770/1368-9, and his office, his *iķṭāʿs*, the title of Khān-i Djahān and all his other privileges were made over to his eldest son Djūna Shāh.

Bibliography: *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz-Shāhī*, ed. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Calcutta 1862; ʿIṣāmī, *Futūḥ al-salāṭīn*, ed. A. S. Usha, Madras 1948; anon., *Sīrat-i Fīrūz-Shāhī* (compiled in 772/1370-1), Ms. Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna; ʿAfīf, *Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūz-Shāhī*, Calcutta 1891; Khānī, *Taʾrīkh-i Muḥammadī*, Ms. B. M. London; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Riḥla*, tr. of section on India by Agha Mahdi Husain, Baroda 1953; Yaḥyā Sirhindī, *Taʾrīkh-i Mubārak-Shāhī*, Calcutta 1931; Shaykh Djamālī Kamlū, *Siyar al-ʿārifīn*, Ms. India Office Pers. 1313. (I. H. SIDDIQI)

KHĀN KHĀNĀN, a high military title in mediaeval Indo-Muslim usage. The term *Khān* [*q.v.*] became popular as the designation of a high officer or nobleman and in a technical sense it was used for a commander of ten thousand soldiers. In reproducing the instructions of Bughrā Khān to his son, Kayķubād, Baranī (*Taʾrīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī*, Bibl. Ind., 145) makes the former speak of a book, *Ādāb al-salāṭīn*, which had been especially brought from Baghdād for the sons of Iltutmish and which he had studied with Khʷādja Tādj al-Dīn Bukhārī; in this the legendary Iranian ruler Djamshīd speaks of the decimal chain of command, in which a *khān* commands ten *maliks*. More historical, however, are the statements of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī in his *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, and al-Ķalķashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, that a *khān* commanded ten thousand soldiers, a *malik* one thousand, and an *amīr* one hundred; this decimal system probably came from Central Asia to the subcontinent.

Khān Khānān (Khān of Khāns) was the highest title conferred on an officer of the State, at least up to the time of Akbar, for Djahāngīr says that there was no title higher than that of *Amīr al-Umarāʾ*, shown also by the fact that normally the title of *Khān Khānān* was held by one person only. The first person to bear this title as recorded in the historical sources on the Dihlī sultanate was Maḥmūd, the eldest son of Sulṭān Djalāl al-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh (Baranī, 176); another case is that of the brother of Khusraw Khān

the usurper (Baranī, 410). Under the Mughals, this title was conferred rather more frequently, the first person to receive it at the hands of Bābur being Dilāwar Khān, son of Dawlat Khān Lōdī. Humāyūn had conferred this title on Bayram Khān; on his dismissal early in the reign of Akbar, Mun'im Khān received and held it till his death in 983/1575. Nine years later it was conferred on Bayram Khān's son, Mīrzā 'Abd al-Raḥīm, who died in 1036/1627. Mahābat Khān (d. 1043/1634) held it in the time of Djahāngīr and in the early years of Shāhdjahān's reign. Subsequently it was conferred on Āṣaf Khān (d. 1051/1641), and in the early years of 'Ālamgīr's reign it was conferred on Mīr Djumla.

Bibliography: given in the article.

(S. Moinul Haq)

KHĀNBALĪḲ (usually written Khān Bālīḳ), the "Khān's town", the name of Pekin, the capital of the Mongol Emperors after 1264 in Eastern Turkī and Mongol and afterwards adopted by the rest of the Muslim world and even by Western Europe (*Cambaluc* and variants in S. Hallberg, *l'Extrême Orient dans la littérature et la cartographie de l'Occident*, Göteborg 1906, 105 f.). According to Rashīd al-Dīn (ed. Berezin, *Trudî Vost. Otd. Arkh. Obshč.* xv, Persian text, 34), Pekin (Chinese, then Čūngdū, i.e. "the middle capital") was called Khānbālīḳ even earlier by the Mongols, apparently as one of the chief towns of the Kin dynasty [see čingiz khān]. As everywhere in the Mongol Empire, Muslims enjoyed considerable prestige in Khānbalīḳ also. Maḥmūd Yalawāč b. Muḥammad al-Khwārazmī (Barthold, *Turkestan*, i, 139), who died there in Rabī' I, 652/April 21-May 20, 1254, was several times confirmed in office as governor of North China (Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, 85, 309). On the assassination of the vizier Aḥmad Fanākatī in 1282 and the events that followed see *ibid.*, 508 ff.; Marco Polo, ed. Yule-Cordier, i, 415 ff.; ed. Hambis, 117-20 and index; P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, i, 10-1. On the town and its situation on the Imperial Canal cf. Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, 455 ff.; on the distances between Khānbalīḳ and other towns by the land routes see Waṣṣāf, ed. Hammer, 24, Indian ed., 12; *Notices et extraits*, xiii, 225 f. (al-'Umarī); Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī, *Ẓafar Nāma*, Indian ed., ii, 219 f. The name Khānbalīḳ for Pekin was also retained after the decline of the Mongol empire in Central and Western Asia and also in Europe. On the five months' sojourn (Dec. 1420-May 1421) of the embassy of Sulṭān Shāh Rukh in Khānbalīḳ see *Notices et extraits*, xiv, 320 ff.; the original narrative, which survives in one MS only (Elliot 422 in Oxford, Bodleiana = *Zubdat al-Tawārīkh* of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, fols. 390b ff.), has so far not been fully investigated (brief account in Barthold, *al-Muẓaffarīya*, 27; *Mir Islama*, 107). There was a mosque in Pekin even in those days. Khānbalīḳ is mentioned as late as the early years of the 18th century in an anonymous history written in Kāshghar (*Zap.*, xv, 251). In the reports of the Russian Ambassadors of the 17th century, the form Kambalīḳ (with variants) is used, under Western European influence (Yu. Arsenyew, *Puteshestviye ... ruskago polannika Nik. Spafariya*, in the *Zap. Geogr. Obshč. zu otd. etnogr.*, x, vip I, Index. Spafari (embassy 1675) is the first to write Pežin under the influence of the North Chinese pronunciation; this pronunciation also explains the names in the modern literature of Central Asia for Pekin (Bačīn or Bādjīn) (e.g. *Ta'rīkh-i Amāniyya*, 24; cf. *Zap.*, xvii, 0188 ff.

Bibliography: (besides the references in the text): Ch. Schefer, *Notices sur les relations des peuples musulmans avec les Chinois ..., Centenaire de l'École de Langues Or. Viv.*, Paris 1895, 1-43; P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, s.v. Cambaluc, i, 140-3 and index.

(W. Barthold*)

KHANDAḲ, ditch, trench or moat. The word seems to have come into Arabic from Persian through Syriac (cf. A. Siddiqi, *Studien über die persischen Fremdwörter im klassischen Arabisch*, Göttingen 1919). It is also known as a place-name (cf. Yāḳūt, ii, 476; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 85). Its best-known application is to the so-called "expedition of the Khandaḳ", in which Muḥammad foiled a Meccan attempt to storm Medina by digging a moat or trench at those parts of the oasis which were open to attack by cavalry. This was in Dhū 'l-Ḳa'da 5/April 627. The Meccans had been preparing for this attack on Medina since the battle of Uḥud two years earlier; they had persuaded several nomadic tribes to send contingents to join the Meccan forces, and altogether had about 10,000 men with 600 horses. Muḥammad, however, had already harvested the grain in the northern part of the oasis, and when the cavalry arrived they were soon short of fodder. Meanwhile, as soon as Muḥammad heard of the imminent departure of the army from Mecca, he summoned the Muslims to help with the digging of the *khandaḳ*, and he himself took part in the work. Most worked with a will, and the digging is said to have been completed in six days. The Meccan cavalry, though on level ground overwhelmingly superior to the Muslim infantry, were repelled when they attempted to cross the *khandaḳ*. With their main offensive tactic thus nullified, the Meccans and their allies were forced to set about besieging Medina—an operation in which they were wholly unskilled. After a fortnight of little military activity but much intrigue and counter-intrigue, the confederacy broke up and the siege was abandoned. The failure of the expedition greatly strengthened Muḥammad's position and led to dejection in Mecca.

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, 668-713; al-Wāḳidī (ed. Jones), 440-96; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1463-85; M. Hamidullah, *The Battlefields of the Prophet Muhammad*, Woking, 1953, 25-30 (= *Islamic Review*, 1952, 1953); F. Buhl, *Das Leben Muhammeds*, Leipzig 1930, 271-4; W. M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 35-9; Ḳur'ān, XXXIII, 9-27; Wensinck, etc., *Concordance*, s.v.

(W. Montgomery Watt)

KHWĀNDAMĪR, surname of the Persian historian Ghiyāth al-Dīn who was born *ca.* 880/1475 into a family of high officials and scholars. His father, Khwādja Humām al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Khwādja Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Khwadja Burhān al-Dīn Muḥammad Shīrāzī, was for many years the minister of Sulṭān Maḥmūd b. Abī Sa'īd, who at the end of his political career became the Tīmūrid ruler of Samarḳand from 899-900/1494-5. The historian Mirkhwānd [*q.v.*] was his maternal uncle and took an important part in his primary education. It is, therefore, likely that Khwāndamīr was actually born in Herat where his grandfather lived, although the *Haft iḳlīm* (ed. Dj. Fāḍil, Tehran 1340 sh., iii, 430) enters him under Bukhārā. The earliest patron of his own career was Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī, who put his vast library at his disposal and to whom Khwāndamīr dedicated his first three books. Shortly after the death of 'Alī Shīr in 906/1500, Khwāndamīr entered the service of Mīrzā Badī' al-Zamān, the eldest son of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bayḳarā, who succeeded his father in 911/1506. During the years of the Uzbek invasion of the Tīmūrīd lands which ended with the conquest of Herat by Shaybānī in 913/1507,

Khwāndamīr was entrusted with diplomatic missions to potential allies of the Sulṭān. He was also appointed to the office of *ṣadr*. When the Uzbeks were marching on Herat, he wrote at the request of the citizens of the town a letter of submission to Shaybānī. He remained in Herat after its capture, and he has given an account of how he and other members of the local aristocracy were squeezed by the Uzbeks (cf. *Habīb al-siyar*, Tehrān 1333 sh., iv, 381 ff.). His verdict on the rule of the Ṣafawids, who took possession of Herat in 916/1510, was much more favourable, yet he seems not to have entered their service. In 920/1514 we find him living as a retired scholar in Pasht (or Basht), a township in the mountainous area of Gharčistān to the east of Herat (*op. cit.*, iv, 397). He then attached himself to Mīrzā Muḥammad-i Zamān, the eldest son of his old master Badīʿ al-Zamān, and performed a mission for him to the ruler of Balkh. Afterwards he returned to his secluded way of life and devoted himself to the writing of his main work, the chronicle *Ḥabīb al-siyar*. Having completed this work in 927/1520, he departed from Herat and travelled by way of Ḳandahār to Āgra where he presented himself before Bābur in Muḥarram 935/ September 1528. He entered the service of Bābur and accompanied him on an expedition to Bengal in the following year. After the death of Bābur in 937/1530 he served his son and successor Humāyūn until his own death. It is commonly said (e.g. Firishta, i, 402) that Khwāndamīr died of dysentery on the return march from an expedition of Humāyūn to Gudjarāt, but Badāʾūnī has recorded a poetic chronogram by Khwāndamīr on the death of the "riddle-maker" (*Muʿammāʾī*) Shihāb al-Dīn, which occurred in 942/ 1535-6 (*Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, Calcutta 1864-9, i, 343). At his own request he was buried at Dihlī, near the tombs of the mystic Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā and the poet Amīr Khusraw.

Works. Khwāndamīr was a voluminous writer, whose collected works are not restricted to historiography proper, but include also political ethics, biography, geography and epistolography. He has left several poems as well, most of which were used as stylistic embellishment for his proseworks. As a poet, Khwāndamīr made use of the penname Muʾarrikh (cf. A. Gulčīn-i Maʿānī, *Shahrāshub dar shiʿr-i fārsī*, Tehrān 1346/1967, 31 f.; idem, *Taʾrīkh-i tadhkirahā-yi fārsī*, ii, Tehrān 1350/1971, 588-90).

His first work, *Maʾāthir al-mulūk*, a collection of political maxims attributed to pre-Islamic kings and sages as well as to the Prophet, the *Imām*s and the secular rulers of the Islamic period, was completed before the death of his uncle Mīrkhwānd, which occurred in 903/1498 (cf. Storey, i, 102; Bregel' *Persidskaya literatura*, Moscow 1972, 380, 1398; A. Munzawī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahāyi khaṭṭī-i fārsī*, ii/2, Tehrān 1349/1970, 1675 ff.).

The *Khulāṣat al-akhbār fī bayān aḥwāl al-akhyār*, which was completed in 905/1499, is a concise world history digested from the *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ* of his uncle but also based upon other historical material which was put at his disposal by ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī. The most original contribution of the author is his description of Herat and of the contemporary divines, scholars and artists living there (cf. Storey, i, 102 ff.; Bregel', 380 ff.; Munzawī, iii, 1398 f. An autograph of this work has been described by A. M. Piemontese, in *RSO*, xlvi (1971), 40-6).

Just about the time of death of his patron, in 906/1501, Khwāndamīr completed a panegyric biography of ʿAlī Shīr Nawāʾī entitled *Makārim al-akhlāḳ* (cf. Storey i, 795; A. Khayyāmpūr, in *Nashriyya-i Dānishkada-i Adabiyyāt-i Tabrīz*, iii (1329/1950), 3-4, 41 ff. and 7, 68 ff.).

A collection of biographies of famous ministers, entitled *Dastūr al-wuzarāʾ*, was dedicated to Khwādja Kamāl al-Dīn Mahmūd, *wazīr* to Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bayḳarā, in 915/1509 (cf. Storey i, 1091; edited by S. Nafīsī, Tehrān 1317/1938).

Khwāndamīr's contribution to epistolary literature is the collection styled *Nāma-i nāmī* (also known as *Inshāʾ-i Ghiyāth al-Dīn*) which is said to contain genuine historical documents. It cannot have been compiled earlier than 929/1522-3 (cf. F. Tauer, in J. Rypka, etc., *History of Iranian Literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 434, 437 n. 53; Munzawī, iii (1350/1971), 2121 f.; G. Hermann, *Der historische Gehalt des "nâmä-ye nâmi" von Ḫândamîr*, Göttingen 1968, unpublished thesis).

The most valuable work of Khwāndamīr is the *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, a general history from the earliest times down to near the end of the life of Shāh Ismāʿīl I (died 930/1524). The title refers to Karīm al-Dīn Ḥabīb Allāh, the Ṣafawid governor to whom the work was eventually dedicated, after the death of the original patron of the writer, Sayyid Ghiyāth al-Dīn Amīr Muḥammad. The work consists of an introduction (*dībāča*), three books (*mudjallad*), dealing respectively with pre-Islamic history, Islamic history up to the end of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, and the period of Mongol and Tīmūrīd rule till the foundation of the Ṣafawid state in Iran, each book being divided into four sections (*djuzʾ*), and an epilogue (*khātima*) containing geographical information. An interesting feature of the composition of the *Ḥabīb al-siyar* is the occurrence of a great number of biographies at the end of the treatment of each major historical period. This innovation in Persian historiography was imitated by writers of the Ṣafawid period (cf. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Nawāʾī, *Ridjāl-i kitāb-i Ḥabīb al-siyar*, Tehrān 1324/1945). The original version of the chronicle (represented by the text of the lithogr. edition, Tehrān 1271/1854-5) was written in 927-30/1520-4. Khwāndamīr continued however to make other, revised copies, the last we know of as yet being marked by a note added to the first volume in Shaʿbān 935/April 1529 while the author was in the camp of Bābur at the *trimohinī*, or the juncture of the Sardjū and the Ganges, during an expedition against Bengal (lith. ed. Bombay 1273/1857, i/4, 84 = ed. Tehrān 1333/1954, i, 587. On the question of the different versions of the *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, see N. D. Miklukho-Maklay, *Redaktsii vseobshčey istorii Xondemir* (*Khabib al-siyar*), in *Pis'menniye pamyatniki i problemi istorii kul'turi narodov vostoka*, Leningrad 1967, 23 f.). The most interesting part of the work is of course the treatment of contemporary history from the moment where the sixth volume of Mīrkhwānd's work had stopped, i.e. at the time of death of Sulṭān Abū Saʿīd in 873/1469. Khwāndamīr used this part of his own work also for a continuation of the seventh volume of the *Rawḍat al-ṣafāʾ* which was left unfinished by his uncle (cf. Storey, i, 92 f.). The historical value of the *Ḥabīb al-siyar* is enhanced by the fact that the author was a close witness, and sometimes even a participant, of such decisive developments as the breakdown of Tīmūrīd power in Central Asia and Eastern Iran under the impact of the Uzbek invasion, and the conquest of Khurāsān by the Ṣafawids. His account of Bābur's early career is one of the best sources for the latter's life and fills the two great gaps in the *Memoirs* of Bābur. He writes in the elegant Persian style of his times but applies the rhetorical embellishment with such moderation that

it does not obscure the factual contents of his text (cf. Storey i, 104-9, 1237 f.; Bregel', 383-93, 1399; Munzawi, vi, 4127-46).

The last work of Khwāndamīr is the *Ḳānūn-i Humāyūnī or Humāyūnnāma*, a description of institutions, ordinances and buildings introduced or erected at the order of that ruler, made at the latter's request and completed probably in 940/1534 (cf. Storey, i, 536, 1313; ed. by M. Hidayat Hosain, Calcutta 1940).

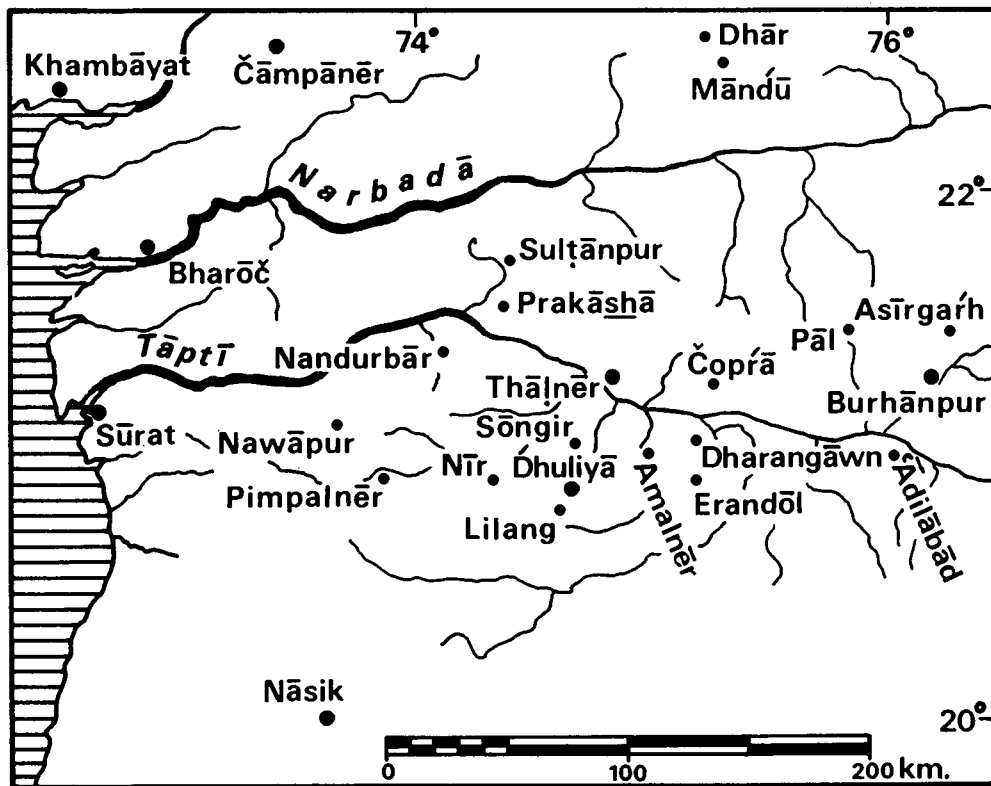
In the introduction to the *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, Khwāndamīr claims also to have made an abridgement of the general history of Waṣṣāf [*q.v.*], but there are no manuscript copies of this known to exist.

The historiographical tradition of Khwāndamīr's family was continued by one of his sons, Amīr Maḥmūd, who wrote a history of the reign of the early Ṣafawids (cf. Storey, i, 304, 1279; Bregel', 854-5, 1468).

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the article, further references to manuscripts, editions and translations of Khwāndamīr's works as well as to secundary sources may be found in the works of Storey and Bregel' mentioned above and in the introductions to text-editions, notably those by M. Hidayat Hosain to the *Ḳānūn-i Humāyūn*, i-xxxvi, and the introduction by Djalāl al-Dīn Humāʾī to the edition of Tehrān 1333/1954 of the *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, i, 2-43.

(H. Beveridge — J. T. P. de Bruijn)

KHĀNDĒSH, a region of west-central India lying to the north-west of the Deccan [see DAKHAN], the upper valley of the river Tāptī (also called Tāpī), and the surrounding plain and forest country bounded on the north by the Satpuṛā hills and the river Narbadā, on the west separated from mainland Gudjarāt [*q.v.*] by the northern ranges of the Western Ghāṭs, on the south by the Sātmālā hills which separate it from the Deccan tableland, and on the south-west by the Laling and Gālnā hills which divide it from the Nāsik district of Mahārāshṭra. There is no well-marked eastern natural boundary, and the governed district, whether under the Dihlī sultanate, the Fārūḳī rulers, the Mughals, or the Marāṭhās, has frequently included territories outside the natural boundaries. The region owes its name to the Fārūḳī rulers who, not being admitted by their more powerful neighbours of Gudjarāt, Mālwā and the Deccan to the status of sultans, were known by the lesser title of Khān; but it has been suggested that the name Khāndēsh is a convenient Islamicisation of an older form. The Mughal *ṣūba* of Khāndēsh was for a time renamed Dāndēsh after Sulṭān Dāniyāl [*q.v.*], youngest son of Akbar.

The Tāptī, an ancient river flowing in a deep bed, is of no value for navigation or irrigation, although perennial; but its tributaries, all the more important of which lie on the left bank, provide irrigation water, and there is an abundance of wells in the central region. This is a 250 km. stretch of rich alluvial plain, ideal for cotton and foodgrains. The northern tract is hill forest, inhabited chiefly by Bhīls; the west and south-west are also well forested. In Mughal times the region was famous for its sugar-cane, indigo, the snow-white rice of Nawāpur, and its fine cotton and the cloth trade, especially the gold and silver brocaded cloth produced at Burhānpur (J. de Thevenot, *Voyages ... en Asie*,[2] Paris 1727, v, 212 ff. —J. B. Tavernier, *Voyages ... aux Indes*, Paris 1676; although Bernier points out that the labour was exacted almost by force and that the labourers were wretchedly poor). Much of its prosperity derived

from the trade-route from the north through the Burhānpur gap, along Khāndēsh, and to Sūrat.

1. History.—The Khāndēsh region was in the time immediately before the first Muslim conquest held variously by the Yādavas of Devagiri (= Dawlatābād) or a branch of the Čawhāns at Asīr. (The latter displaced the Tāks, a tribe (Takshaka) of Scythian origin; the statement s.v. ASĪRGARH identifying Tāks and Čawhāns needs correction.) In 695/1295-6 Asīrgaṙh was taken by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Khaldjī on his return north from the Deccan expedition, although apparently the district was not laid under tribute; although the Čawhān ruler and his family were killed. Asīr seems to have been occupied by another Hindū king. In 705/1306 Malik Kāfūr [q.v.], sent from Dihlī to exact the tribute from Devagiri, occupied Sulṭānpur in the north-east of Khāndēsh; six years later Kāfūr, again collecting tribute, established a governor at Devagiri, and hence presumably at least controlled the western part of Khāndēsh for Dihlī. Muslim power was reinforced firstly by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mubārak Khaldjī, and later by Muḥammad b. Tughluḳ. The fact that Malik Rādjā received this region in *djāgīr* from Fīrūz Shāh in or before 772/1370, and that the region does not figure in the four *aṭrāf* of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Bahman Shāh's kingdom, implies that it continued to be regarded as part of the Dihlī dominions; but many petty Rādjpūt chiefs held sway even within the central Tāptī valley region, and Malik Rādjā's first task as a *djāgīrdār* (later *sipah-sālār*) for Dihlī was bringing them under tribute. Malik Rādjā's independence from Dihlī did not come until about 784/1382 (it is worth stressing that this fell before the independence of both Gudjarāt and Mālwā); for the history of the region from then until the capture of Asīr by Akbar in 1009/1601, see the article FĀRŪḲIDS.

The *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* (tr. Jarett, ii, 222-7) describes the district and its products and revenues at the time of its absorption into the Mughal empire, and European travellers (Fitch, Newberry, Jangigny) supply further information: it was highly fertile and well populated, and its markets well stocked. The *Āʾīn* enumerates its sub-divisions (Nandurbār and the north-west seems to have been made over to Mālwā at this time), and mentions the principal towns and their forts (these are indicated on the map; some locations on this refer to the monuments, described below). But Khāndēsh rapidly became unsettled and its prosperity declined, and travellers in the next ten years (Hawkins, Finch) report bands of outlaws everywhere, necessitating huge armed escorts for travellers, and plundering of the country up to the Tāptī by "Deccanis": these were the bands of Marāṫhā mercenaries trained by Malik ʿAnbar [q.v.] in guerilla warfare for the harassment of the Mughal armies, who conducted their Khāndēsh and Deccan operations from Burhānpur. Roe, in 1618, found conditions little better, although Burhānpur commanded enough trade to attract an English factory. Shāhdjahān's reign saw even worse conditions at first, for the privations of the Deccan warfare were exacerbated by the terrible famine of 1039-40/1630; but conditions improved after Awrangzēb assumed the viceregency of the Deccan in 1045/1636, pacified the district, and introduced revenue reforms based on Ṭodar Mall's earlier settlement (see ḌARĪBA, vi). By the mid-11th/17th century Khāndēsh knew its highest prosperity, as accounts of European travellers (Thevenot, Tavernier, Ogilby) confirm.

The peace was seriously disturbed by the rise of the Marāṫhās under Shivādjī, who in 1081/1670 passed through Khāndēsh after the sack of Sūrat, demanding *čawth* (= a fourth part of the revenues); thereafter he continued to plunder the district (especially the trade towns of Čopṛā, Dharangāwn, Erandol) until his death in 1091/1680. Marāṫhā raids continued under Sambhādjī, Burhānpur falling to them in 1096/1695, and under Shāhū, Shivādjī's grandson; they were not checked until Niẓām al-Mulk [q.v.], chafing against the manipulation of Mughal power by the Sayyids of Bārhā [q.v. in Suppl.], left his governorship of Mālwā and invaded Khāndēsh, then the northernmost province of the Deccan under the Sayyid Ḥusayn ʿAlī. He gained possession of Asīrgaṙh and Burhānpur in 1132/1720, defeated the Sayyids' army, and moved on to assume the viceroyalty of the Deccan, whence he compelled from the Marāṫhās a guarantee of safety for Khāndēsh. His successors after his death in 1161/1748 [see ḤAYDARĀBĀD, i] were less competent: Ṣalābat Djang and the French general Bussy had to cede much of Khāndēsh and other western districts of Ḥaydarābād in return for the guaranteed safety of the centre, and when in 1173/1760 Asīrgaṙh fell to the Peshwa Bādjī Rāo the Marāṫhā possession of Khāndēsh was complete. For some years it remained peaceful, and recovered its prosperity, but later suffered in internecine Marāṫhā struggles, and from plundering by Bhīls and by disaffected Arab mercenaries in Marāṫhā employ. The British, first appearing in 1779, took Burhānpur and Asīr in 1803, and eventually the district was ceded to them in 1818. For the general history of the region under the Peshwas and others see MARĀṪHĀS.

The British assumption of power was met with sporadic resistance from Arab bands (especially at Amalnēr, Sōngir fort), and everywhere from Bhīls (two tribes of whom, the Tāḍvī and the Nirdhī, are Muslim, at least nominally), and it was not until 1846 that the district was finally pacified. With the reorganisation of district boundaries under the British, the Burhānpur-Asīrgaṙh region became part of the Nimār district of the Central Provinces (1864). In 1906 the district was divided into two new districts, West and East Khandesh; these are now known by the names of their headquarters towns, Dhulia and Jalgaon respectively.

Bibliography: For the early period of Khāndēsh history see Bibliography to DIHLĪ SULTANATE; for the Fārūḳī period see that to FĀRŪḲIDS, also ASĪRGARH, BURHĀNPUR, THĀLNĒR. To these now add H. K. Sherwani and P. M. Joshi (eds.), *History of medieval Deccan (1295-1724)*, i, 491-516, Hyderabad 1973 (chapter on Khāndēsh by P. M. Joshi, giving many additional references to contemporary non-Muslim sources). For the Mughal period see MUGHALS, and also: Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* and *Akbar-nāma*, ed. Bib. Ind., index; of later texts, especially ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Lāhawrī, *Pādshāh-nāme*, Bib. Ind., and Khʷāfī Khān, *Muntakhab al-lubāb*, Bib. Ind.; W. Foster (ed.), *Early travels in India*, London 1921, for Fitch, Hawkins, Finch, Coryat; ed. idem, *The embassy of Sir Thomas Roe in India*, Hakluyt Soc.[2] 1926; ed. idem, *English factories in India*, 13 vols., Oxford 1906-27. On trade routes: J. Deloche, *Recherches sur les routes de l'Inde au temps des Mogols*, Paris 1968 (some detailed maps on travellers' itineraries). Systematic geography of the region in O. H. K. Spate, *India and Pakistan: a general and regional geography*,[2] London 1957, index s.v. Khandesh. Now out of date in many particulars, but still very valuable for detailed descriptions of sub-districts, towns, products, ethnography, and history of British period up to 1880: *Gazetteer of*

the Bombay Presidency, xii (*Khandesh*), Bombay 1880; also *Imperial gazetteer of India*, xv, Oxford 1908, 225-39. (J. Burton-Page)

al-**KHĀNDJĪ** [see handžič in Suppl.].

KHĀNFŪ, an Arab name, denoting what was in the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries, the most important port of China, and centre of the maritime commerce with the peoples of western Asia. Certain scholars have in the past (from J. Klaproth, in *JA*, v (1824), 40, up to I. Hallberg, *L'Extrême-Orient*, etc., Göteborg 1906, 213) tried to prove that Khānfū should not be identified with Canton, but the identification of the two cities seems certain. This view derived support from the fact of the confusion between Khansā (Hang-ču) and Khānkhū (Khānfū) made by the informants of Abu 'l-Fidā (tr. Guyard, ii/2, 122-3); but in fact, Khānfū was the name by which Canton was known in the 3rd/9th century to the Arabs, since Khānfū is the rendering of Kuang-fu, the popular form of Kuang-čeu fu. According to Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, i, 272, s.v. "Čin", there is a piece of information in Yi-tsing which states that "Če-na (Čīna) is Kuang-fu (Canton); Mo-ho-če-na (Mahāčīna) is the capital (Č'ang-ngan = Si-ngan fu)"; cf. Chavannes, *Religieux éminents*, 56. Again following Pelliot, thirty years after Yi-tsing (in 730), an identical passage can be found in the Siu Ku-Kin Yi-Tsing t'u-tsi (Tripitaka, *kie*, iii, 93b): "The kingdom of Yin-tu (Indu, India) generally calls Kuang-fu (Canton) 'Če-na' (Čīna), and gives to the imperial capital (Si-ngan-fu) the name of 'Mo-ho-če-na' (Mahāčīna)". This note has passed into the Song kao-seng čum (Tripitaka, *che*, iv, 76b); cf. Bagchi, *Le canon bouddhique en Chine*, ii, 551-2).

In his commentary on the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 224, Minorsky gives some information concerning Khānfū not cited by that source.

It was only in the 8th/14th century that Khānfū was confused with Khansā [*q.v.*] by the Arab travellers and by historians of the Mongols. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iv, 92, 271-2, calls the city Sin-Kālān (cf. Yule, *Cathay*, etc., iv, 109, 120); this name is the Arabic form equivalent to the Indian name of Mahāčīn, whilst the Persian form was Čīn-Kālān. Waṣṣāf, ed. von Hammer, i, Vienna 1856, 43, has Čīn-Kālān; Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, ii, 493, writes "Kōngi (?) which the Persians call Čīn-Kālān", which according to Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo*, 276, should be corrected to Kōnfū, since this is one of the popular forms of Kuang-čeu fu (cf. J. A. Boyle, *The successors of Genghis Khan*, New-York-London 1971, 283-4, "Chin-Kalān"). Finally, Abu 'l-Fidā, in his *Geography*, ed. Reinaud, 363-4, tr. Guyard, 122-3, writes Khānkhū, which may be read as Khānfū (see above); this town (Ferrand, Relations de voyages, 30, 123) is said to be four days' distance by boat from Lūnkhīn-fū, i.e. from Lūkhīn, which is mentioned in the 10th century as the land whose people had recently invaded Čampa. Lūkhīn should be corrected into Lūfū and identified with Long-pien = Hanoi, and as being 20 days by land.

Ibn Khurradādhbih's information (text, 69, tr. 49) on the site of Khānfū (at a distance of 4 days by sea and 20 by land from the most southerly port of China Lūḳīn, modern Hanoi) can only apply to Canton, as was also noted by H. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, St. Petersburg 1911, 22; cf. also Idrīsī, ed. Jaubert, i, 84, 90.

Among the western sources, the name of Čīn-Kālān appears in Oderic of Pordenone (Van den Wyngaert, *Sinica-franciscana*, 458) in the form "Censcala", probably to be read "Cencala"; in John of Marignolli (*ibid.*, 543) in the form of "Cynkalan", in a context which opposes this name, of which he says "it is Greater India", to that of "Cynkali", of which he says "it is Lesser India" and which he calls "Mynibar"; and finally, in the Catalan Map under the form "Cincalan", probably borrowed from Odoric (cf. on all these facts, Pelliot, *op. cit.*, 275-6, s.v. "Cin", and 583, 590, 595-6, s.v. "Çaiton", also 833, s.v. "Silingiu".

Under the T'ang, Canton was an extremely important port, where numerous Muslims settled, who in 758 plundered it (cf. e.g. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue* (*Turcs*) *occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, 173), an event not mentioned in Arabic sources. These last (Abū Zayd al-Sīrāfī, in Reinaud, *Relations des voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde et la Chine*, Paris 1845, 64-5; Sauvaget, *Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde*, Paris 1948, 6, 40; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ed. Pellat, §§ 329 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, vii, 221) mention the circumstances in which a large number of foreigners (120,000 or 200,000) Muslims, Christians, Jews and Mazdeans are said to have perished at the time of the destruction of Khānfū by the rebel general Huang-č'ao in 264/877-8; according to the Chinese sources, Canton was captured by this latter general in 879 (cf. S. Levy, *Biography of Huang Ch'ao*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1955). It is in reference to this event that the importance of this city for overseas commerce is stressed (Pelliot, note on Ferrand's *Voyage du marchand arabe Sulayman en Inde et en Chine, rédigé en 851 suivi de remarques par Abû Zayd Ḥasan* (*vers 916*), in *T'oung Pao*, xxi (1922), 410). According to the Arabic information, the city gave 50,000 *dīnār*s each day to the government (Reinaud, *op. cit.*, text 41; Ferrand, *op. cit.*, 58). When a foreign vessel arrived, the Emperor sent his eunuchs there to select the best goods (Reinaud, text, 73-4); the journey between Khānfū and the capital Khumdān (Si-ngan-fu) took two months (*ibid.*, 77, 103). The ruler (*malik*), i.e. the governor, of Khānfū bore the title of *dīfū* (*ibid.*, 38; according to Reinaud, n. 81, ii, 27, for Chinese Či-fu); cf. on this title, R. des Rotours, *Traité des fonctionnaires et traité de l'armée*, Leiden 1948, ii, 554 *sh. c'e-fu* "army of the capital cities"—one should certainly understand here "[the chief of] the armies of the city", hence the governor. Concerning the treatment of the Chinese of merchants who had come from across the seas, cf. T. Lewicki, *Les premiers commerçants arabes en Chine*, in *RO* (1935), 173-86 (bibliography), and the Persian text of ʿAwfī in Barthold, *Turketsan*, i (texts), 98.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(L. Hambis)

KHĀNIḲĪN, a town in al-ʿIrāḳ, on the Helwān-Čay. The statement that Nuʿmān V, king of al-Ḥīra, was kept here a prisoner till his death on the order of his overlord, the Sāsānian Khusraw II, suggests that there was a fortress here in the period. The bridge of Khāniḳīn must also go back to Sāsānian times; it is built of brick and plaster in several arches across the river valley. At the Muslim conquest, a battle seems to have been fought at Khāniḳīn, for a "day of Khāniḳīn" is mentioned in Ibn al-Faḳīh. Under Arab rule Khāniḳīn was a small town and an unpretentious station on the road from Baghdād to Khurāsān. Ibn al-Muʿtazz praises the wine of Khāniḳīn. According to Abū Dulaf, a naphtha well at Khāniḳīn yielded a considerable revenue to the state. The Zuṭṭ were deported to [the region of] Khāniḳīn after their rising in lower Mesopotamia had been suppressed in 219/834.

Bibliography: al-Yaʿḳūbī, i, 245, ii, 576;

al-Balā͟dhurī, *Futūḥ*, 376; Ibn al-Faḳīh, *BGA*, v, 172; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1028; iii, 1168; Ibn Rustah, *BGA*, vii, 164; *Kitāb al-Ag͟hānī*, ed. Būlāḳ, ii, 31, viii, 186; al-Muḳaddasī, *BGA*, iii, 121; al-Bakrī, ed. de Slane, 320; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 393; G. Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 61, 62, 80. (P. SCHWARZ*)

K͟HĀNḲĀH, a composite word of Persian origin meaning a building usually reserved for Muslim mystics belonging to a dervish order. The terms *ribāṭ*, *tekke* and *zāwiya* [*q.vv.*] refer to establishments with similar aims. After an early period of evolution which is still imperfectly known, these all became widespread throughout the Islamic world down to modern times. The usual translation of "monastery" does not, however, convey the complexity of the institution.

Etymology. From the outset, *k͟hānḳāh* appears in two forms, sometimes in the same author: (1) the Persian form *k͟hānagāh*, often lightened to *k͟hānagah*, with the *nisba* of *k͟hānagāhī* (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 107; Frye, *The histories of Nishapur*, ii, 8a, 22b, 41b, iii, 19a; al-Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, v, 29; Yāḳūt, s.v. *Marw*); and (2) the Arabised form *k͟hānḳāh* and its variant *k͟hāniḳa*. The *nisba* of *k͟hānḳāʾī* seems to be used only by the geographer Muḳaddasī (*Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm*, 44), whilst the normal term is *k͟hānḳāhī* (*ibid.*, 323; Frye, i, 41a, 46b; al-Samʿānī, v, 29; Yāḳūt, s.v. *K͟hāniḳa*). These uncertainties are also felt in the plural. *K͟hawāniḳ*, or sometimes *k͟hawānik* (al-Maḳrīzī, *K͟hiṭaṭ*, ii, 414) is mainly used by Arabic authors, but there is also found the Arabo-Persian form *k͟hānagāhāt* (read as *k͟hānkāhāt* in Arabic) and the Persian plural *k͟hānagāhā*, especially in Persian texts. In regard to meaning, the two component elements are easily identifiable: *-gāh*, Persian locative suffix becoming usually *-ḳāh* in Arabic; and *k͟hān*/*k͟hāneh* with the same ambivalence as *bayt* "house", "room" (*Burhān-i qāṭiʿ*, s.v.). On the other hand, the general sense is quite obscure. In mediaeval times, other etymologies were put forward, starting from *k͟hʷān* "table" or from the root of the verb *k͟hʷāndan* "to recite". These etymologies have the advantage of providing the word with a satisfactory sense in regard to its evolution in the context of mysticism (place of the table, of recitation), but they can only be accepted in defiance of the most elementary rules of Persian orthography and Arabo-Persian phonetics: the vocable *k͟hʷā* never loses its *w* in Persian orthography, and if it passes into Arabic, becomes *k͟hawā* or *k͟hiwā*, cf. Pers. *k͟hʷān* cited above, which becomes Arabic *k͟hiwān*.

History. The word *k͟hānḳāh* seems to appear first of all in authors of the 4th/10th century, who describe it as an institution of their own time and localise these establishments above all in K͟hurāsān and Transoxania. The anonymous author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, writing in Gūzgān in 372/982, gives on this topic highly valuable, though unfortunately so far unconfirmed in other sources, information: "In Samarqand stands the monastery of the Manichaeans (*khānagāh-i Mānaviyān*) who are called *nighūshāk* ("auditores")" (*Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 107, tr. Minorsky, 113). If one bears in mind the valuable information from the same period given by Ibn al-Nadīm in the *Fihrist* about the transfer of the centre of Manichaeism from Babylonia to Soghdia, the presence of these Manichaeans at Samarḳand is not surprising. In regard to this establishment's functions, the use of the word "auditores" seems to show that it was a centre of worship as well as of teaching and evangelism, according to the traditional and well-tried Manichaean system of militant evangelism (Puech, *Manichéisme*, 86 ff.).

A second, highly-important piece of evidence on the early *k͟hānḳāh*s is provided by another contemporary, al-Muḳaddasī. According to him (179, 182, 238, 323, 365, 377), the *k͟hānḳāh*s belonged exclusively to the theological and ascetic sect of the Karrāmiyya. The Karrāmī groups flourishing above all in K͟hurāsān, Transoxania, D͟jurd͟jān and Ṭabaristān, and those of the west in Jerusalem and around the tomb of Ibn Karrām there (d. 255/869), all had their *k͟hānḳāh*s. The *nisba* of *k͟hānḳāʾī* used by al-Muḳaddasī seems to be reserved for the Karrāmīs alone. Mystics (the later users of *k͟hānḳāh*s) are generally called by him (44, 118, 188, 415, 430) Ṣūfīs, distinguished by him into specific groups and linked only with *masd͟jid*s or *ribāṭ*s of the countryside. If one takes this information into account, it must be admitted that the early history of the *k͟hānḳāh* cannot be properly elucidated until the early evolution of the Karrāmiyya and their eventual connections with the Manichaeans are examined [see KARRĀMIYYA].

However, from the end of the 4th/10th century there seems to be an evolution of the *k͟hānḳāh*s (appearance of directors of them in Nīs͟hāpūr, Frye, i, 36b, 41a, 46b, 55b; al-Samʿānī, *nisba* of *k͟hānḳāhī*; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, iii, 131, 344, iv, 127) into establishments connected with certain groups which become almost totally identified with them and largely disguise their origins. These groups are those of the Ṣūfīs, often allied to S͟hāfiʿism and As͟hʿarism; the emergence together of these and their links in eastern Persia have been too little studied (but see H. Halm, *Die Ausbreitung der schafiitischen Rechtsschule*, Wiesbaden 1974, and for the Ṣūfī-S͟hāfiʿī links, *Les étapes mystiques du shaykh Abū Saʿīd*, tr. M. Achena, Paris 1974, 36).

The first half of the 5th/11th century is one of founding and organisation. The Ṣūfī Abū Saʿīd [see ABŪ SAʿĪD B. ABI 'L-K͟HAYR] (d. 440/1048) drew up a code of ten rules for the people in the *k͟hānḳāh* (Achena, *op. laud.*, 324, already noted by Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic mysticism*, 46). He was considered by the next generation as the first to have regulated the communal life in the *k͟hānḳāh*s "according to rules still in use today" (Frye, ii, 74a). Such an enterprise inevitably led to the fabrication of references to it in the past. This is doubtless the reasoning behind the legend of the first *k͟hānḳāh*, allegedly built at Ramla at the opening of the 2nd/8th century (al-Anṣārī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ṣūfiyya*, 9; in fact, according to al-Muḳaddasī, 164 ff., the district of Ramla was sprinkled with coastal *ribāṭ*s). Moreover, the terminology was still indefinite; *madrasa* could mean a centre for Ṣūfīs (R. Bulliet, *The patricians of Nishapur*, Cambridge, Mass. 1972, 253-4), and *duwayra* often alternates with *k͟hānḳāh* to denote the same establishment (*duwayra*/*k͟hānḳāh* of al-Sulamī, in Frye, ii, 82a, iii, 6a, 18a, 27a, 42a, 73a). Finally, from this period onwards, certain *k͟hānḳāh*s are also burial places, a fact which enabled them to benefit from the largesse of pious pilgrims (Frye, ii, 47a).

The second half of the century is marked by the alliance, in effect, of the people of the *k͟hānḳāh*s with the Sald͟jūḳ ruling power. The ideological linkage of Ṣūfism with S͟hāfiʿism-As͟hʿarism in K͟hurāsān now enjoyed an unprecedented expansion, not only on a local scale, but also outside the region (naturally, Ḥanafism was also able to adapt itself and integrate itself within this movement). Sald͟jūḳ expansionism, far from being territorial and political only, was often linked with an ideological expansionism, based in

the first instance on the spirited policies of official patrons. Niẓām al-Mulk and his Khurāsānian imitators were not the only ones to found *madrasas* and *khānḳāhs* (examples of such patronage at Nīshāpūr in Frye, ii, 78b, iii, 192). The Saldjūḳs of the west and their slave commanders, masters of Syria in the third quarter of the 5th/11th century, speedily imitated them at Aleppo and Damascus (lists of Syrian *khānḳāhs* in al-Nuʿaymī, *Dāris*, ii, 139-91, for Damascus; this list repeated with another for Aleppo and other towns by Elisséeff, *Nūr ad-dīn*, iii, 765-71). In Damascus, however, there seem to be two *khānḳāhs* dating from the pre-Saldjūk period; but in reality, these early foundations seem to have had little connection with the later developments in their function and probably only received the name of *khānḳāh* from the Saldjūḳ period onwards (*Dāris*, ii, 146, 151, nos. 164, 166; Elisséeff, *op. laud.*, iii, 768, n. 1). From that time onwards, *ribāṭ* and *khānḳāh* seem to become synonymous; at the end of the 6th/12th century, Ibn Djubayr wrote concerning Ayyūbid Syria, "As for the *ribāṭ*s, called here *khānḳāhs*, there are many of them; they are meant for Ṣūfīs, and are splendid palaces, since Ṣūfīs are real Kings in this country" (*Riḥla*, 256). In ʿIrāḳ, the word *ribāṭ* predominated (J. Chabbi, *Fonction du ribāṭ à Baġdād*, in *REI*, xlii/1 (1974); Achena, *op. cit.*, 351).

In Egypt, the foundation of *khānḳāhs*, following the Saldjūḳ tradition, began logically under the Ayyūbids after the fall of the Fāṭimids in the later 6th/12th century. It continued under the Mamlūks, but with some slowing-down after the second half of the 8th/14th century. The *khānḳāhs* were then gradually transformed into official institutions, hence controlled and not always linked to the Ṣūfī orders, which accordingly tended to move into institutions enjoying more autonomy.

Often they became part of complexes containing several institutions, e.g. *masdjid-madrasa*-mausoleum. Nevertheless, terminology remained still imprecise, and mediaeval historians could not always agree on the name for such and such institution (see for all this period, art. AL-ḲĀHIRA, list of monuments shown on map, and section on Mamlūk *khānḳāhs*; al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 414-27). From the Ottoman period onwards (10th/16th century), *khānḳāhs* were still founded, but they appeared more and more in the form of the Turkish institution of the *tekke* (Pers. *takya*, Ar. *takiyya*). A good number of these various institutions have survived to the present days (see AL-ḲĀHIRA, section on the Ottoman period, *Madrasas, tekkes*). There is, however, a general conclusion to be drawn here: that whilst the *khānḳāhs* did not pass beyond Egypt, constituting the last wave of the original Saldjūḳ expansion, the Turkish *tekke*s were carried along by the Ottoman conquests and reached the Maghrib.

During this time, in the east the Khurāsānian *khānḳāhs* swiftly spread beyond the Saldjūḳ domains and reached the eastern Iranian fringes and Afghānistān, sc. the territories of the Ghaznawids and then the Ghūrids (middle of the 6th/12th century). The severe local upheavals involving these powers seem to have affected them little, but the opposite became true with the Mongol invasions of the early 7th/13th century. The last Ghūrids, soon replaced by their slave commanders, founders of the Dihlī sultanate, fled to India. There followed a migration, which included the Ṣūfīs, comparable to that accompanying the westwards advance of the Saldjūḳs. This does not of course imply that all the Persian *khānḳāhs* disappeared during the Mongol period, nor that new institutions were not built (*Cambridge history of Iran*, v, 372, 511).

But from the course of the 7th/13th century onwards, two new dervish orders, the Čishtiyya and Suhrawardiyya, founded by refugees and soon based upon a widespread network of *khānḳāhs*, appeared in the new sultanate (Kh. A. Nizami, *Some aspects of Khānqah life in medieval India*, in *St. Isl.* viii (1957), 52-69; see also ČISHTIYYA and DIHLĪ). In the 8th/14th century, the reforms imposed on the Ṣūfī movement by Sultan Muḥammad Tughluḳ took the form of a resumption of *khānḳāhs* but also of the extension of their network in the Indian territories [see DJALĀL AL-DĪN AL-BUKHĀRĪ]. This type of institution, brought from Persia in the 7th/13th century, prospered more there than almost anywhere else right down to modern times and constitutes one of the characteristic manifestations of Indian Islam [see HIND, v (a)].

Constitution and functions. It is impossible to give here more than a few bibliographical references, since such a study would be intertwined with the immense and complex question of the links between Ṣūfism and its various forms and the contemporary society and ruling institutions. The most exhaustive work is J. S. Trimingham's *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971; for the way of life in Khurāsānian *khānḳāhs*, Achena, *op. laud.*, 79, 81, 97, 165, 180, 356, etc.; for Egyptian ones, al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, is a rich source; for Indian ones, Nizami, *op. laud.*

Architecture. Since they were institutions meant both for leading the communal life (rooms for prayer, corporate sessions) and also for sheltering individual mystics, often in significant numbers, all *khānḳāhs* contained both types of accommodation (and frequently too various annexes and dependent buildings permitting self-sufficiency). However, there was a great gulf between the sumptuous buildings founded under official patronage (Syria, Egypt) and the first Indian *khānḳāhs*. But neither of these gave rise to a special type of architecture distinct, for instance, from that of the *madrasas* (Elisséeff, *Nūr ad-dīn*, iii, 265, 266). Moreover, at the end of the Circassian period in Egypt (9th/15th century), the *khānḳāhs* were integrated within great funerary complexes; they ceased to have individual living-rooms within them, and became non-residential centres for Ṣūfī activities [see AL-ḲĀHIRA, section on the Mamlūk period, *Khānḳāhs*].

Bibliography: given in the article.

(J. CHABBI)

KHANSĀ or **KHINSĀ**, a town of China, in the province of Che-kiang, and capital of the empire of the southern Sung (1127-1279). From 15 December 1129 till 11 December 1277 it bore the official name of Lin-ngan, and is in fact the town of Hang-ču of the Ming. Under the Mongols it was called *Hing-tsai suo* or *Hing-tsai*, meaning "Temporary residence of the emperor", when the various Islamic transcriptions Khingsāy, Khinsay, Khansa, Khinza, yielding the "Quinsai" of Marco Polo and the "Camsai" of Oderic of Pordenone.

The town is often mentioned in the Mongol period, and described as one of the chief commercial centres; according to both Islamic and western sources, an important colony of Muslims was then located there, perhaps as many as 40,000 persons. Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, ii, 1911, 459, 460, 489, writes Khīngsāy, Khinsāy, and also Quatremère, *Hist. des Mongols . . .*, i, 1836, LXXXVII, Khinsāy, as also K. Jahn and H. Franke, *Die Chinageschichte des Rašīd al-Dīn*, Vienna 1971, 20, l. 12. Waṣṣāf, lith. ed. Bombay 1869,

21-2, writes Khinzāy (or Khanzay, Blochet, *op. cit.*, 489, Quatremère, *op. cit.*, LXXXIX) and (*apud* Barthold) Khitrāy. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *Nuzha*, ed. Le Strange, 215, l. 10 and 261, l. 10, writes Khinsāy. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iv, 284 ff. has Khansā (as in G. Ferrand, *Rel. de voyages et textes géogr.*, ii, 1914, 429), and connects it with the poetess al-Khansāʾ [*q.v.*]. Abu 'l-Fidā, tr. Reinaud, *Geogr. d'Aboulféda*, 124, has Khansa and also Khinza, as in Ferrand, *loc. cit.*, and Blochet, in *JRAS* (1917), 9. Amongst the western sources, as well as Marco Polo, tr. in Hambis, *La description du monde*, 195, 206-14, 217-18, 398, there is Oderic of Pordenone, in Van den Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana*, i, 463 (with apparatus criticus), who writes "Camsay", "Cansay"; Marignolli, in *ibid.*, i, 548, who writes "Campsay"; Pegolotti, in G. F. Pagnini, *Della decima . . .*, Lisbon and Lucca 1766, iii, 1, and Yule, *Cathay*, iii, 148, 172, "Chassai"; and in the *Livre du Grant Caan*, sometimes attributed to John of Cora, in *JA*, vi (1830), 60, "Cassay". On the other forms in various sources, see I. Hallberg, *L'Extrême-Orient dans la litt. et la cart. d'Occident*, Göteborg 1906, 428-9.

Bibliography: The best data can be found in A. C. Moule, *Quinsai*, Cambridge 1957, 1-53, to which may be added the Islamic sources: Quatremère, *op. cit.*, LXXXVII ff., and in Ch. Schefer, *Centenaire de l'Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes*, 19-20, 23-4. On the foreign colony at Hang-ču, see Hirth and Rockhill, *Chao Ju-ku*, St. Petersburg 1911, 16; and on the town, Hirth, *Ueber den Schieffverkehr von Kinsay zu Marco Polo's Zeit*, in *TP*, v, 186-390. (L. HAMBIS)

AL-KHANSĀʾ ("the snub-nosed one" or "the gazelle"), sobriquet of Tumāḍir bint ʿAmr, of the tribe of Sulaym and the clan of Sharīd, Arab poetess of the pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods. She must have been born *ca.* 575 A.D. in the *ʿāliya* of Nadjd, where her tribe was encamping. Only a few details are known of her life: the demand for her in marriage by Durayd b. al-Ṣimma, the old poet-warrior of Djusham, whom she refused; her marriage, after other brief liaisons, with her kinsman Mirdās b. Abī ʿĀmir, for whom she bore six children; her coming to Medina *ca.* 629 with a deputation from her tribe, in order to embrace Islam (a detail very suspect to western critics, as also is the information that she was present at the battle of al-Ḳādisiyya, where four of her sons fell fighting courageously); and her death at an advanced age at the end of ʿUmar's caliphate (634-44) or even, according to another tradition, at the opening of Muʿāwiya's caliphate (661-80).

Al-Khansāʾ's fame rests on her poetic work, and above all on her elegies (*marāthī*) for her two brothers Muʿāwiya and Ṣakhr, successively killed in skirmishes of Sulaym with Murra and Asad. The *marthiya* genre, the elegy over a dead person, especially over one fallen in battle, was very old and widespread amongst the ancient pagan Arabs. It was certainly practised long before al-Khansāʾ, with many well-known poets and poetesses achieving fame in it. The rôle of this poetess of Sulaym, apart from her undeniable personal talent expressing a deeply-felt sorrow, was to develop and perfect in a masterly fashion (as Rhodokanakis clearly demonstrated) the fairly rudimentary rough outlines of her predecessors. The basic stock-in-trade of images and *topoi* in the eulogising of the dead person (his liberality, valour in battle, justice and sagacity, eloquence in tribal contests of oratory, etc.), which still remained fairly stereotyped in al-Khansāʾ's poetry, was enriched by her with new expressions; these became fixed in the history of the genre after her, but she brought in addition to these new stylistic and metrical embellishments which assured her a primacy in the elegiac genre which none could later dispute with her. One should nevertheless add that her verses make striking reading (there are about 1,000 of them, some of doubtful authenticity), especially the most famous of them, not only by their technical accomplishment, but also by the intensity, violence and tenderness of feeling, all of which place al-Khansāʾ well above the average level of accomplishment. She herself proudly proclaimed this, at the fair of ʿUkāẓ and elsewhere, by her insistence on a primacy in grief, no doubt along with a consciousness of her calibre as a poet. Although tradition makes her welcome Islam and even exhort her sons to fight to the death for the new faith, her poetry is wholly pagan in feeling, and her view of life and death is invariably that of the ancient Djāhiliyya.

Al-Khansāʾ's elegies were gathered together into a *Dīwān* in the ʿAbbāsid period, probably by Ibn al-Sikkīt, and enjoyed great fame amongst the Arabs as models of the genre. Apart from the citations in Ibn Sallām, Ibn Ḳutayba, the *Aghānī* and other authors of 9th and 10th centuries, the poems have come down to us in several manuscripts of varying value, on which (and above all on the excellent Cairo ms.) was based the edition with commentaries of Père L. Cheikho (Beirut 1896, preceded by another edition of the same author, Beirut 1888). Père Coppier provided a good French translation (Beirut 1889), and there are other examples in Italian by G. Gabrieli in the book cited below.

Bibliography: T. Noeldeke, *Alchansa*, in *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Poesie der alten Araber*, Hanover 1864, 152-82; G. Gabrieli, *I tempi, la vita e il conzoniere della poetessa araba al-Ḫansāʾ*, Florence 1899, 2nd ed., Rome 1944; N. Rhodokanakis, *Al-Ḫansā und ihre Trauerlieder*, in *SBWAW*, cxlvii (Vienna 1904); R. Blachère, *HLA*, 290-2 (very sceptical, as always, about the poetess's life and the authenticity of a part at least of her work). (F. GABRIELI)

KHʷĀNSĀRĪ, SAYYID MĪRZĀ MUḤAMMAD BĀḲIR MŪSAWĪ ČAHARSŪḲĪ B. MĪRZĀ ZAYN AL-ʿĀBIDĪN (1811-95), was born into a religious notable family in Khʷānsār, Persia. He studied Arabic and theology under his grandfather, Sayyid Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, and others. After his grandfather's death in 1824, however, Khʷānsārī moved with his father to Iṣfahān where he studied *fiḳh*, *ḥadīth*, and other religious subjects under Shaykh Muḥammad Taḳī, the grandfather of Āḳā Nadjafī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], Sayyid Muḥammad Shahshahānī, Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Karbāsī, and Sayyid Muḥammad Bāḳir Rashtī, known as "Ḥudjdjat al-Islām". During a visit to the shrine cities of ʿIrāḳ, Khʷānsārī continued his studies under the religious authorities, from a number of whom he received his degree of *idjtihād*. As a *mudjtahid* he became expert in both traditional and rationalist sciences and gradually received a widely-based recognition as a religious leader in Iṣfahān.

Apart from leading congregational prayers and performing other religious functions, Khʷānsārī lectured regularly before a sizable number of students in the field. Several great religious leaders and sole *mardjaʿ al-taḳlīd*s whom we know of have been mentioned among his disciples, such as Sayyid Muḥammad Kāẓim Ṭabāṭabāʾī Yazdī (d. 1919) and Mīrzā Fatḥ Allāh Shaykh al-Sharīʿa Iṣfahānī (d. 1920) (see A. H. Hairi, *Shīʿism and Constitutionalism in Iran: a study of the role played by the Persian residents of Iraq in Iranian politics*, Leiden 1977, 62-5).

Khwānsārī was also an active and productive writer; the ʿIrāḳī journal *al-Murshid* has ascribed to him 14 books and treatises on Arabic syntax, Islamic dogmatics, jurisprudence, and ethics, and other related subjects (ʿAlī Wāʿiẓ Khīyābānī, *Kitāb-i ʿulamāʾ-i muʿāṣirīn*, Tabrīz 1947, 53-7). The grandson of Khwānsārī's brother, Sayyid Muḥammad Mahdī Mūsawī, has added in his *Aḥsan al-wadīʿa*, i, Nadjaf 1968, 102-28, another four items to the list of Khwānsārī's works, the most well-known of which is, of course, his biographical dictionary, *Rawḍāt al-djannāt fī aḥwāl al-ʿulamāʾ wa 'l-sādāt*, Tehran 1889.

Khwānsārī compiled his *Rawḍāt* in 1869, after having worked on it for over ten years. This book, which contains the biographies of over 700 learned men including the author's own (pp. 126-8), was compiled in an unusual manner which makes reference to it fairly difficult. The following authors therefore compiled separate guides to the book: Mīrzā ʿAṭāʾ Allāh and Sayyid Muḥammad ʿAlī Rawḍātī, Khwānsārī's son and great-great-grandson respectively, Muḥammad Bāḳir Ulfat, and Muḥammad ʿAlī Muʿallim Ḥabībābādī (Luṭf Allāh Hunarfar, *Gandjīna-yi āthār-i tārīkhī-yi Iṣfahān*, Iṣfahān 1965, 825).

Khwānsārī's approach to the subjects discussed in his *Rawḍāt* was not always objective; it was in fact overshadowed by certain sectarian tendencies, especially when he dealt with delicate problems such as that of the possibility of Ṭūsī's active role in the extinction of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate in 1258 (*Rawḍāt*, 605, and Abdul-Hadi Hairi, *Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī: his alleged role in the fall of Baghdad*, in *Actes du vᵉ congrès International d'Arabisants et d'Islamisants, Bruxelles, 31 août-6 septembre 1970*, Brussels 1971, 255-66).

Since its appearance, however, the *Rawḍāt* has enjoyed a great reputation among the students of the field; it has been described by the journal *al-Murshid* as "the best and the most useful" (*aḥsan wa anfaʿ*) source among 14 other biographical dictionaries, such as the *Wafayāt al-aʿyān* of Ibn Khallikān and the *Amal al-Āmil* of al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī (Wāʿiẓ, *ʿUlamāʾ-i muʿāṣirīn*, 54). The fame of the *Rawḍāt* has reached such an extent that its author himself has often been identified by the book and has been referred to by some biographers as Ṣāḥib-i Rawḍāt al-Djannāt ("the author of ...") (Muḥammad ʿAlī Mudarris, *Rayḥānat al-adab*, iii, Tehran n.d., 366-7). Many of his numerous descendants also took their last name from the title of the book and called themselves "Rawḍātī". Khwānsārī, who was buried in the Takht-i Fūlād of Iṣfahān, left seven sons, five of whom succeeded in occupying certain dintinguished religious positions.

Bibliography: Murtaḍā Anṣārī, *Zindigānī va shakhṣīyyat-i Shaykh Anṣārī ḳuddisa sirruh*, 1960; Muḥammad Ḥusayn Nāṣir al-Sharīʿa, *Tārīkh-i Ḳum*, Ḳum 1971; E. G. Browne, *A literary history of Persia*, iv, Cambridge 1953; ʿAbbās Ḳummī, *Hadiyyat al-aḥbāb*, Nadjaf 1930; Muḥammad Ḥasan Iʿtimād al-Salṭana, *Maʾāthir wa 'l-āthār*, Tehran 1888; Mullā ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Iṣfahānī, *Tadhkirat al-ḳubūr, ridjāl-i Iṣfahan*, Iṣfahān 1906: Mahdī Bāmdād, *Sharḥ-i ḥāl-i ridjāl-i Īrān*, v, Tehran 1971; Abu 'l-Faḍl Sāwadjī *et alii*, *Nāma-yi dānishvarān*, Tehran 1878-1906; Zahrā Khānlarī "Kīyā", *Farhang-i adabiyyāt-i fārsī*, Tehran 1969; Ghulām Ḥusayn Muṣāḥib, ed., *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif-i fārsī*, i, Tehran 1966; Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ḥirz al-Dīn, *Maʿārif al-ridjāl*, Nadjaf 1964-5; Ḥasan Shaykh Djābirī Anṣārī, *Tārīkh-i Iṣfahān va Ray va hama-yi djahān*, Tehran 1943; Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, *Ṭabaḳāt Aʿlām al-Shīʿa*, i, Nadjaf 1954; Khānbābā Mushār, *Muʾallifīn-i kutub-i čāpī-yi fārsī wa ʿarabī*, Tehran 1961; ʿAbbās Ḳummī, *Fawāʾid al-riḍawiyya fī aḥwāl ʿulamāʾ madhhab al-Djaʿfariyya*, Tehran 1947; Sayyid Muḥammad ʿAlī Rawḍātī, *Zindigānī-yi Āyat Allāh Čahārsūḳī*, Iṣfahān 1953.

(ABDUL-HADI HAIRI)

KHWĀNSĀRĪ, SAYYID MUḤAMMAD TAḲĪ MŪSAWĪ (1887-1952), a Shīʿī *mudjtahid* of distinguished piety; he was born into a clerical family to which belonged celebrated *faḳīh*s such as Sayyid Ḥusayn (d. 1777) and Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Djaʿfar b. al-Ḥasan (d. 1744). After a preliminary education in Khwānsār, he moved to Nadjaf in 1904 and studied under the then religious leaders, including Muḥammad Kāẓim Khurāsānī and Muḥammad Kāẓim Yazdī. He stayed in ʿIrāḳ until the outbreak of World War I when the Shīʿī autorities of ʿIrāḳ, in an expedient response to the Ottoman declaration of *djihād*, declared a holy war against the British and their allies. Led by the Shīʿī leaders, at whose head was Mīrzā Muḥammad Taḳī Shīrāzī, Khwānsārī joined the *djihād* campaign, which proved however abortive and resulted in his banishment to India while suffering from a wound received in the Mesopotamian war. After 4 years in exile, Khwānsārī returned to his home town and later on, because of the establishment of Shaykh ʿAbd al-Karīm Ḥāʾirī Yazdī [see ḤĀʾIRĪ in Suppl.] of the Circle for Religious Studies in Arāk (Iran), he moved to that city to attend Ḥāʾirī's lectures. In 1922, when Ḥāʾirī moved to Ḳum in order to re-establish its Circle for Religious Studies, Khwānsārī accompanied him. In both Circles he also undertook a series of lectures on Islamic subjects. After Ḥāʾirī's death in 1937, Khwānsārī was recognized as a *mardjaʿ-i taḳlīd* by a considerable number of people and, in co-operation with two other *mudjtahid*s (Ṣadr and Ḥudjdjat), he took the responsibility of the Ḳum Circle, whose students had by then exceeded 700. In 1941 he took the initiative in leading the Friday Prayer, a tradition which had long been abandoned among the Shīʿa in Iran. Khwānsārī's name has also been associated with the 1943 prayer for rain, which was led by him and attended by some 20,000 people in Ḳum; "his prayer resulted in a heavy rainfall which astonished both Iranians and foreigners." (Mullā ʿAlī Wāʿiẓ Khīyābānī, *Kitāb-i ʿulamāʾ-i muʿāṣirīn*, Tabrīz 1947, 211-13).

In the arena of politics also, we see Khwānsārī quite active. He supported the pro-Palestine movement in 1947-8 (cf. *Ustuwār* of those years); he issued a *fatwā* against a feudal candidate from Ḳum for the 17th Iranian Parliament in 1952 (Abdul Hadi Hairi's series of articles in *Ustuwār*, *Ḳānūn*, and *Paykār-i Mardān* of 1952); and he sanctioned Dr. Muḥammad Muṣaddiḳ's measures towards the nationalisation of the Persian Oil in 1952. In his *fatwā*, which gained him an overwhelmingly popular support, Khwānsārī declared that supporting the measures taken by Muṣaddiḳ was a most urgent Islamic duty of every Iranian Muslim (see *inter alia*, *Iṭṭilāʿāt*, *Kayhān*, and *Bākhtar-i Imrūz* of the period).

Bibliography: Abdul-Hadi Hairi, *Shimma-yī az aḥwāl-i Āyat Allāh Sayyid Muḥammad Taḳī Khwānsārī*, in *Muslimīn*, i, 1951; Muḥammad Rāzī, *Āthār al-Ḥudjdja*, i-ii, Ḳum 1954-5; Shaykh Muḥammad Sharīfrāzī, *Gandjīna-yi dānishmandān*, Tehran 1973; Muḥammad Ḥusayn Nāsir al-Sharīʿa, *Tārīkh-i Ḳum*, Ḳum 1971; Sayyid ʿAlī Riḍā Rayḥān Yazdī, *Āʾīna-yi dānishwarān*, Tehran 1967.

(ABDUL-HADI HAIRI)

KHĀN-ZĀDA BĒGUM, the title ("Princess") of Sevin Beg, a grand-daughter of Özbeg, the ruler of the Golden Horde, and the wife successively of Tīmūr's eldest son Djahāngīr and his third son Mīrānshāh. After Mīrānshāh's outbreak of madness at Tabrīz she came in person to Samarkand to report his behaviour to Tīmūr. Dawlatshāh describes the interview with their father-in-law "with colourful details which are not in the other sources and can hardly be true".

Bibliography: Ibn ʿArabshāh, *ʿAdjāʾib al-makdūr fī nawāʾib Tīmūr*, Cairo 1305/1887-8; Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, ed. B. Urunbaev, Tashkent 1972; Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo, *Itinéraire de l'ambassade espagnole à Samarcande en 1403-1406*, ed. I. J. Sreznevsky, St. Petersburg 1881; Dawlatshāh, *Tadhkirat al-shuʿarāʾ*, ed. E. G. Browne, London 1901; V. V. Barthold, *Four Studies in the History of Central Asia*, ii, Leiden 1958. (J. A. Boyle)

KHANZĪT (Grk. Antizene, in Yākūt Hinzīt), name of the province and of the basin enclosed between the great bend of the Euphrates to the NNW of Malaṭya and the Djabal Baharmaz, with the "little lake" Göldjük (Ar. al-Buḥayra) of Dzovk (Ar. al-Baḥīratān) at its foot; one of the great communication routes of history passes from here towards the Tigris sources. This region of Khanzīt was for long Armenian (in the 6th/12th century the Catholicos of the Armenian Church resided at Dzovk); after being conquered by the Arabs it was reconquered by the Byzantines in the 4th/10th century. Then towards the end of the next century it was incorporated in the Turkish territories, first of the Ḥiṣn Kayfā branch of the Artukids for more than a century, and then *ca.* 628/1230, of the Saldjūks of Asia Minor. Its principal town was Khartpert (in Yākūt, Khartabirt, sometimes wrongly read as Khartput, Kharput), situated on a rock, as this Armenian name evokes, near the modern al-ʿAzīz; its Arabic name was Ḥiṣn Ziyād.

Bibliography: E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reichs*, Brussels 1935, index; Cl. Cahen, *Le Diyâr Bakr au temps des premiers Urtuqides*, in *JA*, ccxxvii (1935), 219-76; idem, *La Syrie du Nord*, Paris 1940, index. (Cl. Cahen)

KHAPUTS (Russian designation—Khaputtsï, Gaputlintsï, Khaputlintsï (from the aul Khaput); other designation—Khaputli), a small Caucasian ethnical group, forming with the Krïz [*q.v.*] and the Dzhek the Dzhek subdivision of the Samurian group (Lezhgin, Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, Budukh, Dzhek) of the Northeastern Ibero-Caucasian language family.

According to the Soviet census, in 1926 there were ethnically 12 Khaputs, and linguistically 4,284 (including speakers of Dzhek and Krïz dialects); in 1933 (estimation) there were 3,000 Khaputs, living in several auls in the Shakhdagh area, southwest of Konakhkend (Azerbaidjan S.S.R.). The Khaputs are Sunnī Muslims of the Shāfiʿī rite.

The traditional economy of the Khaputs was based on sedentary animal husbandry, agriculture, and horticulture. The Khaput language is only a variant of Dzhek (as is Krïz), which is a purely vernacular language; Azeri is used as the literary language, and the Khaputs are being culturally and linguistically assimilated by the Azeris.

Bibliography: A. Bennigsen and H. C. d'Encausse, *Une république soviétique musulmane: le Daghestan, aperçu démographique*, in *REI* (1955), 7-56; Geiger, Halasi-Kun, Kuipers and Menges, *Peoples and languages of the Caucasus*, The Hague 1959; S. A. Tokarev, *Etnografiya Narodov S.S.S.R.*, Moscow 1958. (R. Wixman)

KHʷĀR, a group of villages in northern Persia, at present in the *shahristān* of Garmsār in the Central Province (*ustān-i markazī*), centred on approximately lat. 35° 15′ N. and long. 52′ 20′ E. and lying at an altitude of 2776 feet. It is bounded on the north by the mountain districts of Damāwand and Fīrūzkūh, on the east by Simnān, on the west by Varāmīn and on the south by salt desert stretching away to Kāshān and Ardistān. It was often called Khʷār-i Ray to distinguish it from another Khʷār in Fārs about which little is known. As a district, Khʷār was generally considered to include the historically known villages of Ārādān and Dih Namak (earlier Karyat al-Milḥ), but not Lasgird to the east or Ayvānikay (Ayvān-i Kayf) to the west.

Khʷār lies on the plain just east of the pass which is now identified with the Caspian Gates of the Ancient World, and constitutes a stage on the old arterial route that skirts the southern slopes of the Alburz from Rayy to Khurāsān. It was reckoned as three marches from Rayy and three from Simnān. An important route to the Caspian Sea leads north from Khʷār up the valley of the Ḥabla Rūd, and the stone road (*sangfarsh*) that was built under Shāh ʿAbbās to shorten the route from Iṣfahān to Khurāsān starts some 10 km. to the south of the fields of Khʷār and leads south over salt mud flats (*kavīr*) to Siyāh Kūh. Much of the *sangfarsh* is still intact. The name Khʷār was characteristically applied both to the district and to the primary village; today, the name Garmsār is similarly applied to both. Historically, the present centre was known as Kishlāk, and this lies 114.5 km. from Tehrān by the railway line that was completed in 1938. Kishlāk remains the formal name of the *bakhsh* (administrative division) of the district. The name derived from the fact that Khʷār has historically served as the *kishlāk* ("winter quarters") for the population of Fīrūzkūh in the mountains to the north, with which it has always been closely connected. Garmsār is probably simply an iranicisation of Kishlāk, although *garmsīr* is the more common equivalent. Paradoxically, Khʷār was considered to be the coldest part of the province of Kūmiṣ.

Khʷār was a flat, well-watered plain surrounded by mountains on the north and west and looking out on to the great salt desert on the south and east. Alberts, in *Social structure and culture change in an Iranian village* (see bibliography), estimates the total area of the district at 2,000 km.² of which 230 km.² were the cultivable lands of 73 villages, and 185 km.² were cultivated in 1956. Twenty of the villages were *khāliṣa* [*q.v.*]. According to the 1966 Census, the population of the district was 35,678, an increase of some 2,000 over the figure given in the first Census a decade earlier. This population was by no means homogeneous. Apart from Persian-speaking cultivators and transhumants from Fīrūzkūh—some of whom are said to speak a Simnānī dialect—there are several tribal groups which are mostly Turkish speaking. Of these the most significant are Pazuki, Osanlu, Alikahi, and Koti (transliteration uncertain). The Pazuki were traditionally a landowning élite in Ārādān, and appear to have split from a larger Pazuki grouping and settled in Khʷār at the beginning of the 19th century (see Houtum-Schindler, cited in bibliography). The other groups are pastoralist, and in 1958 the Koti still lived exclusively in tents (see Alberts).

Khʷār owed its existence as an agricultural centre

to the Ḥabla Rūd which flows down from Fīrūzkūh. Curzon, *Persia*, i, 293, writes of an "abundant stream" that "descends from the mountains and separates into many channels, of which I must have crossed twenty in the space of half a mile. Cultivation improves in the same ratio, and at Kishlak ..., which is *khalisah*, or Crown property, is responsible for the grain and fodder with which the royal stables are supplied at Teheran".

In the late 1950s, 59 of the 73 villages of Khwār took all their water from the river. Three were supplied exclusively from *ḳanāts* while the remainder used both. There were 30 functioning *ḳanāts* and 15 in disrepair. The water was regulated for irrigation purposes by the Independent Irrigation Authority (*Bungāh-i mustaḳill-i ābyārī*). Regulation and supervision were apparently essential; when the water was low during the summer season, the villages would send representatives to watch upstream distribution points to prevent theft, and during the spring floods, damage was common (see Alberts).

Khwār provides an excellent example of a small-river irrigation system from the Iranian Plateau. The annual statistics of the *Bungāh-i mustaḳill-i ābyārī* for the 1950s show that the average monthly flow of the Ḥabla Rūd at the point where it enters the plain varied between a low in late summer of 2.2 and a high in spring of 22.6 cubic metres per second. (For comparison: during the same period the most important river on the Plateau, the Zāyanda Rūd at Iṣfahān, showed a low of 13 and a high of 202 cubic metres per second).

The existence of such a good and reliable supply of water at an isolated point on a major arterial route makes it *a priori* likely that Khwār would have been one of the earliest centres of agricultural development on the Iranian Plateau. This hypothesis is corroborated by the known antiquity of the name Khwār and the abundance not only of ruins but of impressive archaeological mounds; unfortunately, however, no intensive archaeological research has yet been undertaken that might confirm it.

Because of its position as a stage on the route to Khurāsān, most travellers' accounts, geographies and histories from the earliest times to the present contain some reference to Khwār, yet it seldom seems to have stimulated more than a passing reference to its pleasantness or unpleasantness. It may never have supported a town large enough to engage the traveller's attention, although Ibn Ḥawḳal does use the term *shahr* to describe it. Generally, its fortunes seem to have varied with the long-term trends of the Plateau. Before it was occupied and plundered by the incoming Oghuz in the first half of the 5th/11th century, it was considered populous and fertile. It generally had an independent but low-ranking governor, and much of it became *khāliṣa* under the Ṣafawids. Under Riḍā Shāh, the district became a *bakhsh* of Tehran, and was only restored to its relatively independent status as a *shahristān* during the 1960s.

The district of Khwār is unique as the site of the only detailed village study that has yet been carried out on the Iranian Plateau (by Alberts, see bibliography).

Bibliography: Significant information from early travellers and geographers is assembled in P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arabischen Geographen*, and G. Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*. Among later sources, very few add useful information, but see M. Ḍanssy, *Mémoire sur les observations faites en 1307 par M. le capitaine du génie Truilhier, dans son voyage en Perse*, in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, Deuxième Série, xv, 94-114; C. Clerk, *Notes on Persia, Khorassan, and Afghanistan*, in *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, xxxi (1861), 37-65; A. Houtum-Schindler, *Eastern Persian Irak*, London 1896; G. N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892 (the most detailed account); and A. Gabriel, *Durch Persiens Wüsten*, Stuttgart 1935. Administrative information for the Ṣafawid period is assembled in K. M. Röhrborn, *Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1966. Finally, R. Alberts, *Social structure and cultural change in an Iranian village* is a detailed study of Dāvarābād, one of the major villages of the *shahristān* of Khwār (Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1963, unpublished).

(B. SPOONER)

KHARĀDJ, a word derived, via Syriac, from Greek χορηγία, but attached by the Arabs to the native root *kh. r. dj*. Contrary to its original meaning, the word seems, in the current usage of the Near East, to have denoted "tax" in general, and is in fact found with reference to various specific taxes, thus causing considerable confusion [see DJIZYA]. Arabic technical and legal literature uses it more specifically, at least in the period before the formation of Turkish states, in the sense of land tax, and it is this sense which is exclusively discussed in the present article. For other taxes, see BAYT AL-MĀL, ḌARĪBA, ḌAYʿA and DJIZYA.

I.—IN THE CENTRAL AND WESTERN ISLAMIC LANDS.

At the outset of their conquests, the Arabs—whatever agreements had been made with the conquered towns—were in general careful to levy some kind of tribute which would reflect their own sovereignty and overlordship, whilst leaving to the indigenous authorities the task of raising the taxation according to their own traditions, as being the only authority capable of doing this. Even when a financial organisation more integrated with the new régime was set up, they were unable, or were largely unwilling, to do anything but follow the old traditions here, which were adapted to local geographical traditions and inherited from a long background of bureaucratic state organisations. It was of little importance that for the Arabs, these taxes were an acknowledgement of Islamic domination; for the populace, it was simply a case of the old taxes going to new masters. Because of this continuity, the Islamic fiscal system varied from region to region in such a way that it would never be able entirely to absorb the conceptualisation of the *fiḳh* or the centralising efforts of the ʿAbbāsid administration. It is accordingly all the more necessary to bear this basic truth in mind, since the paucity of information means that there is a risk in applying the state of affairs in certain regions which were privileged in this respect, above all ʿIrāḳ and Egypt, to other parts of the Islamic world, whose individual characteristics must on the contrary be brought out.

Whether the texts of treaties handed down by later authors like al-Balādhurī are completely authentic or whether they have been put together later in order to explain the actual existing differences of organisation, known as such but not actually explicable, they undoubtedly convey the ideas of the first generations of Muslims. Some general principles emerge from amongst the particular practices. The first is the guaranteeing of their lands to all proprietors—at this time non-Muslim—in such a way as

to assure their value. They paid tax on these lands, apart from certain groups of owners on the frontiers, from whom some form of military service was required in lieu of tax, and apart from some pastoralist groups who paid in other ways, e.g. in slaves, beasts, manufactured products, etc. It is true that at the outset, there was a feeling amongst the Arabs that they should acquire the lands, which would then be liable only to the voluntary precept (*zakāt*) paid by the Muslim to the Islamic community; but the first caliphs assured the victory of the principle of the *fayʾ* [*q.v.*], the collective plunder made into a kind of pious or beneficial trust for the benefit of the whole community, present and future, over those who would have treated real property on the same basis as the movable property distributed as *ghanīma* to the individual warriors. The land became therefore normally liable to tax, as it had been under the previous régimes.

Three points should be noted clearly, if one is to understand the future developments. Firstly, at the side of the non-Muslims' individual possessions, the new Islamic state allotted to some leading Muslims grants (*ḳaṭāʾiʿ*) in emphyteusis out of lands inherited from the previous régimes or from the territories of the old landlords who had since disappeared, and these grants were substantially the same as the properties already held by the Muslims in Arabia. From the fiscal point of view, these lands were henceforth only liable to the *zakāt* covering all the Muslims' possessions, taking here the form of a tithe (*ʿushr*); the difference between this tithe and the payments exacted from the cultivators, analogous to the ordinary land tax of the *kharādj*, which was much higher, constituted the beneficial interest of this class of Muslim notables. This distinction must be borne in mind, as will appear later.

Secondly, there had existed under the previous régimes, more or less clearly, the idea of a land tax specifically conceived thus plus that of a poll tax levied on inferior strata of the population. In fact, the levying of the two taxes seems frequently to have been combined in the Byzantine empire, though less frequently, it appears, among the Sāsānids.

Finally, under the Muslims as previously, the tax was in general levied not directly upon individual properties but—outside the suburban areas of the cities—collectively upon the villages, according to the amount and state of the cultivated lands there. Hence the shortfall from an individual in no way reduced the obligations of the collectively responsible body.

Bearing these points in mind, we can study how the *kharādj* system was organised and developed under the new administration, and especially, when conversion of the indigenous peoples began to increase. It is often said that the heavy incidence of the land tax was one of the causes of conversion to Islam, but in practice, this movement of conversion, which was a slow one, took place in a much more complex fashion. The cultivation of village land and the payment of taxation to the treasury were in practice collective responsibilities, so that individual conversions were only possible by means of flight to the towns, this being against the will and interest of the remaining peasants, who were held responsible for the taxation lacking. When the attraction of the towns caused an increase in flight to them, the state, afraid of the loss of revenue involved, forbade flight and sent the fugitives back to their villages, paradoxically arriving at a state in which this type of conversion was stopped (al-Ḥadjdjādj's policy in ʿIrāḳ). Moreover, the idea soon evolved that conversion, if it entailed liberation from tax of a personal character, did not involve freedom from a tax which was a kind of beneficial foundation in perpetuity for the Muslim community. In this case, a distinction was made, wherever it was not clear, between the personal *djizya* and the *kharādj* land tax, and since the convert had to pay the *zakāt* [*q.v.*], the benefit allowed for in the whole operation became very debatable. It was only later, under the pressure of an evolution of the state of affairs, that conversions took place collectively, by whole villages, without the fiscal structure being however changed.

From the technical point of view, there were two great problems in the administration of the *kharādj*: those of perception of the tax and of its method of collection. In all directly administered districts, a land survey or cadaster had been made [see ḲĀNŪN]. But whilst in the lands under the Sāsānid tradition and in others like Egypt, the basis was a fixed unit of land surface, the *djarīb* in the East and the *faddān* in Egypt, in other, former Byzantine lands—as in the greater part of Europe—the unit was the amount of land which could be ploughed by a pair of oxen, which meant differences in actual area involved, according to the differing geographical conditions. In the latter case, the same amount of tax could be levied on two different amounts in area of land; but in the first case, the unit of surface area had to be adjusted in order to fix a level of taxation suitable to the land's potential. The factors involved here were essentially those of irrigation, natural or artificial, but also the general fertility which could be estimated experimentally through a periodic survey of the average yield over a certain number of years, with reductions and even exemptions being granted in the case of natural disasters; this procedure of estimating was called *ʿibra*.

This question was, in fact, linked with that of the method of payment of the tax. In ancient times, there had been, *grosso modo*, no other possibility except the sharing of the crop, according to fixed proportions, between the cultivators and the state. But, as a money economy developed, the inconveniences of this procedure began to be felt, e.g. transport difficulties, fluctuation of prices and consequently, of the real income accruing to the state, profits for speculators and injustices for the tax-payers. Hence the Roman and Sāsānid governments introduced a system involving a fixed tariff of payment, and where possible, payment in money. Conversely, the disadvantages of the new system were not long in appearing: the peasants, rarely having immediately at hand the monetary sums demanded by the treasury, were obliged to borrow, often under ruinous conditions, and grain merchants could speculate on the difference between the low prices at harvest times and the high prices of the stocks of grain subsequently released. The Muslim régime at first retained as they were the Roman and Sāsānid usages which they found in the conquered countries, but under the first ʿAbbāsids there was a reversion, at least in the Sawād of Baghdād, to a proportional payment in kind, which furthermore best corresponded to the requirements of provisioning the great city; whatever one may say, it does not seem that this reform was generally applied elsewhere, and especially not in Iran. Indeed, in many provinces there was a mixed system, i.e. proportional payment in kind was exacted on certain products of the ground (especially grain), whilst others were taxed on a monetary basis (especially plants used in manu-

facturing, hence of more commercial utility). Moreover, even in the case of payment in kind, there was allowed, by means of a table of equivalences (*taʿsīr*), the substitution, at least in certain cases, of one product for another, e.g. a quantity of wheat for a double quantity of barley (barley cost usually only half that of wheat), etc. The system of payment in kind had various names, the most general being *muḳāsama* (lit. "sharing"), that of *kharādj* itself, and at the same time others specially connected with a particular technical term or usage (in Egypt, *mufādana*, taxation by *faddān*), meaning taxation in kind generally. In effect, *muḳāsama* brought the tax-payer into the same status as the share-cropper, especially the share-cropper on state lands, because the latter always paid his dues to the landholder in kind on a basis of proportional sharing-out. It is possible that the *muḳāsama* system spread *pari passu* with that of the military *iḳṭāʿ* [*q.v.*], since in general the *muḳṭaʿ* was a person already accustomed in other circumstances to control property exploited by métayage, and found the direct delivery of grain useful for his animals. Various lesser taxes were added to the *kharādj* proper, despite the lawyers' protests, in order to compensate and remunerate the different officials involved in the perception and collection of the tax.

In Egypt, where various authors dispute whether there ever was properly speaking any *kharādj*, taxation in all forms had its own special features, due especially to the rise and fall of the Nile floods and the use of them by the state since the time of the Pharaohs. In Egypt, the survey made at the time of the seasonal fall of the waters showed not only the area of land involved but also the necessary amount of cultivation to be done in regard to the level to be attained by the floods, whence the amount of taxation that could normally be expected. It is because of the misunderstanding of this system that it has been thought, on the basis of a passage in Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, that this involved a tax system by apportionment, with a global total fixed arbitrarily in advance and then divided out by quotas on the districts and then villages. It was in fact nothing of the kind, but it was possible to calculate in advance the expected total, and for the process of perception, the accountancy offices of the time noted first of all the total and then the details.

In districts where administration was difficult, or simply when it was desired to favour some exalted person, *īghār* [*q.v.*] reductions or *muḳāṭaʿa* tax-farming contracts were granted to be set against the *kharādj*. In many cases, and especially in Egypt, where the system worked to the benefit of the army leaders, a notable guaranteed in advance the sum of taxation which the area was obligated to pay the exchequer (the *ḳabāla* [*q.v.*] system). In Egypt, there was a kind of adjudication process, and the sum handed over was not that of the tax, but of the tax with the subtraction of the equivalent of a salary for the beneficiary, an original local adaptation of what was elsewhere the *ḳaṭīʿa* [*q.v.*] which was to lead to the *iḳṭāʿ*. Furthermore, it appears that the peasants were compelled to cultivate certain lands belonging to the state, on which they paid taxes (*rusūm*) distinct from the *kharādj*, and this was also the case with pasture grounds. There was also added to the tax proper, on all the village, various small exactions in kind (straw, chickens, etc.). Inevitably, many places were in part or wholly bankrupt; in that case, the remaining amount (*bāḳī*) was noted down and carried over to the next assessment. Since this in itself reduced the chances of attaining solvency, a compromise was usually reached after a certain time. In regard to collection of taxation in kind, it often happened that the peasant had not enough seed left from his own share of the crop to sow for the following year; he might then be lent, perhaps as a simple advance, a quantity of seed (*taḳāwī*). The later development of the *iḳṭāʿ* system was to affect the levying of the *kharādj* but not its organisation, which the *muḳṭaʿ* had to respect. A tax paid in kind or narrowly dependant on the harvests was naturally paid according to the solar year; but in the case of tax-farming by contract or of a fixed amount, the exchequer made as many as possible of its demands by the lunar year, as with all other taxes not linked with the land. It appears also that payments were often made not all at once, but e.g. in three instalments; this was especially the case for taxes paid in cash, which the tax-payer had more latitude in obtaining. But apart from this, the taxes levied in kind or in cash on cultivated land were naturally paid over at different times as the crops ripened at various points of time.

For the ʿAbbāsid caliphate, we possess four budgets, bearing almost exclusively on the land tax, and leaving aside the other taxes. These budgets have been discussed in the article BAYT AL-MĀL (add to the Bibl. there Ṣ. al-ʿAlī in the present Bibl., below).

The various modes of tax-levying have already been alluded to. In general, administration and perception of taxation by a state agent (*ʿāmil*) was distinguished from tax-farming (*ḍamān*), which, as explained, should be distinguished from *ḳabāla*. Whatever régime was involved, the tax-collector arrived accompanied by police officers and various technical staff, such as the surveyor (*māsiḥ*) and the assayer-money changer (*djahbadh*), for whose benefit the minor taxes mentioned above were exacted. Naturally, these all had to be given hospitality, which was also done according to a tariff. The various operations stretching from the preliminary survey to the actual collection generated mounds of papers setting forth the situation from the exchequer's point of view on one side, and the tax-payers' one on the other, and the final demand handed over to the payer had to be paid and a receipt obtained.

All that has been said so far rests on a purely eastern documentation and thus concerns the Muslim east exclusively. In the west, the information available and the studies so far made do not seem to admit such precision. A fairly strong impression may nevertheless be gleaned that at the time of the Arab conquests there was not so strong a division made between the possessions left to the indigenous peoples and the Muslim share of property, and that very often the Arabs and Berbers had to acquire lands to which they would have had no right in the east. Whence there resulted, it seems, both in terminology and in practice, a certain confusion between *ʿushr* and *kharādj*, as much in the Maghrib as in al-Andalus. It does not appear—unless perhaps for a while under the Fāṭimids in Ifrīḳiya—that the efforts of the Spanish Umayyads or the Almohads in Morocco and Spain had any result in this direction. The word *kharādj* itself is only used rarely outside Fāṭimid and Zīrid Ifrīḳiya, and only in a vague sense. Other terms appear instead, whose precise meaning is uncertain, and it seems that the tax-payers had in fact to pay much more than an *ʿushr*. In regard to Sicily, al-Dāwūdī's treaty bears witness to the confusion of the jurists themselves.

Further confusions appear to have resulted in the

east itself, in the Anatolia wrested from the Byzantines by the Saldjūḳ Turks. Since most of the lands there were considered as state property, there was no *kharādj* properly speaking, but the peasants, assimilated in some degree to the share-croppers on public lands, did not thereby pay any the less taxation, which was combined with the *djizya* which they had to pay as non-Muslims. In practice, the term *djizya* came to denote the whole complex of their obligations, essentially pertaining to the land, and the word *kharādj*, taken at first in a vague sense, was applied progressively to the personal poll-tax. This inversion of the state of affairs in classical Islamic times was to be extended in time and area all over the Ottoman empire. One is tempted to conclude that, in the general context of the Muslim east, where the Turks were nurtured and formed, the meaning of terms in current usage never corresponded exactly to the official definitions; one may find a confirmation of this in the preservation in Syrian usage of the Byzantine *dīmūs/dēmosion* to denote the basic taxation, which one never finds used thus in official texts before the Crusades, but after then till the Ottoman conquest.

Bibliography: 1. Sources. The first specialist treatises devoted to the *kharādj* and related questions which have come down to us are those of Yaḥyā b. Ādam, ed. Juynboll, Leiden 1896, Abū Yūsuf (written for Hārūn al-Rashīd) and, on a larger scale, the *K. al-Amwāl* of Abū ʿUbayd b. Sallām, ed. Cairo 1353. To these should be added, from a century later, the *K. al-Kharādj* (with a wider range of contents, but incompletely preserved) of Ḳudāma b. Djaʿfar, unedited. The essential core of these three works, from the point of view of taxation, has been tr. by A. Ben Shemesh, *Taxation in Islam*, i (Leiden 1958), ii (1965) and iii (1969), but with a commentary of very unequal value. Abū Yūsuf has been tr. into French by E. Fagnan, Paris 1921. There is a whole chapter on the land tax in Māwardī's *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya* (5th/11th century). Apart from these, there is important information in various other types of work: historical, like Balādhurī's *Futūḥ al-buldān* and Miskawayh's *Tadjārib al-umam*; encyclopaedic, like Khwārazmi's *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* (ʿIrāḳī and Khurāsānī material); mathematical, like the *K. al-Manāzil* of Abu 'l-Wafāʾ al-Būzadjānī (see Ehrenkreutz, *Al-Būzajānī on the maʾṣīr*, in *JESHO* (1965), 90 ff.) and the *K. al-Ḥāwī*, studied by Cahen in *AIEOAlger* (1952); administrative, like the histories of viziers by al-Djahshiyārī [*q.v.*] and Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ [*q.v.*] and the *Taʾrīkh-i Ḳumm*, preserved only in Persian, by Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ḳummī, ed. Tehran 1934; and finally, all the great classical geographers, especially Iṣṭakhrī for Fārs. For ʿIrāḳ in the 8th century, see also the Syriac *History* of Dionysius of Tell-Mahré, analysed by Cahen from this point of view in *Arabica* (1954). We further have some versions of official correspondence archives like those of Abū Isḥāḳ al-Ṣābiʾ, and especially of the Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād, for the Būyid period. In the last century, A. von Kremer brought together from various sources four ʿAbbāsid budgets and studied them, partly in his *Culturgeschichte*, and partly in the *Denkschr. der Akad. der Wiss. Wien*, Phil.-Hist. Cl., xxxvi (1888); on the oldest of these, see now Ṣāliḥ al-ʿAlī, *A new version* . . ., in *JESHO* (1972). H. A. R. Gibb derived material from the *Sīrat ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz* of Ibn ʿAbd Ḥakam (brother of the historian) for his *The fiscal rescript of ʿUmar II*, in *Arabica* (1955). See also, Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ's *Risāla fi 'l-ṣaḥāba*, ed. and tr. Ch. Pellat, Paris 1976.

Egypt is a special case, partly because of the preservation of numerous papyri (or paper documents), and partly because of the original nature of its administrative literature. The interest of the papyri for the study of taxation was first demonstrated by C. H. Becker in regard to his publication of the Papyrus Schott-Reinhardt. Most of the subsequent publications emanate from A. Grohmann, who has himself published a commentary concerning this and has commissioned the economist C. Leyerer to make a synthesis, in *ZDMG*, ciii (1953), 40-69. Some complementary information can be found in the subsequent papyrological works of A. Dietrich (*Arabische Briefe aus* . . . *der Hamburger* . . . *Bibliothek*, 1955), and of J. David-Weill (*JESHO*, 1965, 1971). Finally, Greek papyri should be taken into account (see especially, Bell in *Isl.* (1911-13) and Rémondon in *Chronique d'Egypte*, 1965).

Furthermore, the centralised character of Egyptian administration allowed the composition of highly-detailed administrative and financial treatises which fill out for us the information of the published papyri, especially the *Minhādj* of al-Makhzūmī (6th/12th century), financial content analysed by Cahen in *JESHO* (1962), and the *Ḳawānīn al-dawānīn* of Ibn Mammātī (Saladin's period), of which the administrative passages have been tr. and studied by R. S. Cooper in his unpublished 1973 Berkeley doctoral thesis. Their information may be completed by the *K. al-Fayyūm* of al-Nābulusī, ed. Moritz, cf. Cahen in *Arabica* (1956); Nuwayrī's *Nihāya*, viii *in fine*; and Maḳrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ*. The *Secretary's guide* early used by Sauvaire for his researches on money and numismatics (= ms. arabe, B.N. Paris 4445) and the ch. on finance and administration of the *Rawḍat al-arīb* of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥamawī set forth by M. al-Ḥīla in the *Cairo millenary volume*, ii, 1043-95, are adaptations from the Mamlūk period of Ibn Mammātī.

There is important information on the Yemen in the *Mulakhkhaṣ al-fitan* studied by R. B. Serjeant and Cahen in *Arabica* (1957), and also in other administrative documents in the hands of the first of these two authors.

For the Maghrib, there are extracts from the *K. al-Amwāl* of al-Dāwūdī by ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and F. Dachraoui, in *Études d'orientalisme Lévi-Provençal*, ii (1962), 401-44.

2. Modern studies. Some pre-1950 works may still be mentioned: M. van Berchem, *La propriété territoriale et l'impôt foncier*, 1886; Becker, *Die Entstehung von ʿUšr- und Ḫarāǧland in Ägypten*, in *ZA* (1904), 301-19, also in *Islamstudien*, i, 218-33 (see also his papyri studies mentioned above); and A. N. Poliak, *Classification of land in the Islamic law*, in *AJSLL* (1940).

The basic contemporary works are F. Løkkegaard, *Islamic taxation in the classic period*, and D. C. Dennett, *Conversion and poll-tax in early Islam*, both from 1950, of whose existence Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Raʾīs, *al-Kharādj fi 'l-dawla al-islāmiyya*, Cairo 1957, is unfortunately unaware. A. K. S. Lambton's *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, London 1953, has an interest, for the pre-Mongol period, which goes beyond Iranian territory. The main corrections or partial additions to these works have been given in the course of studies on the texts by the authors mentioned above. One might add, for

the transitional period between the Djāhiliyya and Islam, Grignaschi's communications at the Congress *La Persia nel medio evo*, Accad. dei Lincei 1970-1, and of M. Morony at the Economic History Colloquium at Princeton, 1974. On the origins, see further A. A. Dūrī, *Note on taxation in early Islam*, in *JESHO* (1974), and A. Noth, *Die literarisch-überlieferten Verträge . . .*, in T. Nagel *et alii*, *Studien zum Minderheitenproblem*, 1973. For the ʿAbbāsid period, see Makoto Shimizu, *Les finances publiques de l'état abbaside*, in *Isl.* (1965), and the communications of Hinds and Lapidus at the Princeton colloquium mentioned above. There is a good synthesis in D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, 1960, Part 4, ch. 2. See also the more general works on the period by Dūrī and Sāmarrāʾī, *al-Muʾassasāt al-idāriyya fi 'l-dawla al-islāmiyya*, 1971; that of Mez, *Renaissance*, 1920, is outmoded.

On Egypt in the Ayyūbid period and the beginning of the Mamlūk one, there is now a fine synthesis by Hassanein Rabie, *The financial system of Egypt*, London 1972 (cf. Cooper, cited above). For Syria, see a forthcoming article by Cahen in *JESHO*.

On Saldjūḳ Anatolia, see Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey*, London 1968.

For the Muslim west, see the classic works of Lévi-Provençal for Spain and R. Brunschvig for Ḥafṣid Tunisia, to be completed by H. R. Idris, *Les Zīrides*, 1959; R. Arie, *L'Espagne musulmane au temps des Naṣrides*, 1973; and J. F. P. Hopkins, *Medieval Muslim government in Barbary*, 1960.

(Cl. Cahen)

II.—In Persia.

Terms. *Kharādj* was the basic term for land tax in mediaeval Persia, as in earlier times. By extension, it sometimes came to mean tax or taxes in general. *Kharādj-i abrīshum* in the sense of a tax on silk, or possibly a tribute paid in silk, is found in Īlkhān and later times (Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Nawāʾī, Tehran 1957-60, 607; Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, *Dhayl-i tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, ed. Khān Bābā Bayānī, Tehran 1971, 76). *Kharādj* is also used in mediaeval Persian in the sense of tribute; and *kharādj-gudhār*, which in mediaeval Persian occurs in the meaning of one who pays tribute (Minhādj-i Sirādj-i Djūzdjānī, *Ṭabaḳāt-i Nāṣirī*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, Kābul 1963-4, i, 273, and cf. Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat-nāma*, ed. C. Schefer, Paris 1891-3, Persian text, 7), in modern Persian means a taxpayer in the broad sense (not simply one who pays tribute or land-tax).

By Īlkhān times the terms *māl*, *māliyyāt* and *māliyyāt-i arḍī* were also used to denote land-tax (though *māl* had in addition a wider significance). In Djalāyirid and Tīmūrid documents the phrases *māl wa mutawadjdjihāt* and *amwāl wa mutawadjdjihāt* occur and (probably) mean land tax(es) and other taxes (cf. Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh Nakhdjiwānī, *Dastūr al-kātib*, ed. A. A. Ali-zade, Moscow 1971, ii/1, 150, and *passim*, *Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn*, ed. Muḥammad Shafīʿ, Lahore 1941, i, 322-3), while in Ḳarā Ḳoyunlu, Āḳ Ḳoyunlu and Ṣafawid documents the phrase *māl wa djihāt wa wudjūhāt* is commonly found. Its precise meaning is not clear, but is probably land tax(es), other taxes, and dues (or fees). The phrase *māl wa manāl*, first found in Īlkhān times and in frequent use thereafter, means the tax on a landed estate and that which remains (for the owner) after the tax has been paid. Under the Ḳādjārs, the terms *māl* and *māliyyāt* signify "regular" or "fixed" taxation, consisting of taxes on the land, animals, flocks, herds, shopkeepers, artisans and trade (cf. Sir John Malcolm, *History of Persia*, London 1829, ii, 336 ff., and see also Great Britain, Public Record Office, F.O., 881/7364, Report on the Persian Army by Lt. Col. H. P. Picot, Jan., 1900 (pt. 1, chs. 1 and 2, written by Sir A. Houtum Schindler), 11; C. H. Markham's statement that *māliyyāt* meant "fixed" revenue derived from the land, i.e. that it was exclusively derived from land taxes, is probably an error due to the fact that land taxes formed the major part of the "fixed" taxes, *A general sketch of the history of Persia*, London 1874, 561). Curzon, writing towards the end of the 19th century, defines *māliyyāt* as fixed revenue deriving from (i) regular taxation, i.e. land tax, taxes on animals, flocks and herds, and taxes on shopkeepers, artisans, and trade, (ii) revenues of crown lands, (iii) customs, and (iv) rents and leases (*Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, ii, 470). By about 1900, *kharādj*, as distinct from *māliyyāt*, no longer appears as a separate entry in the revenue accounts (Report on the Persian army, *op. cit.*, 11).

Land taxes and the theory and practice of government. Until modern times agriculture was the main economic activity of the country. The governing classes sought their material foundation in landed property and animal husbandry. The wellbeing of the land was closely affected by the existence or otherwise of "good" government and stability. Further, since the revenue of the state was derived primarily from taxes on the land, the financial wellbeing of the state was dependent upon agriculture prosperity. Governments were concerned to raise as much revenue as possible, but the fact that the ability of the land to provide revenue on a long term basis depended upon its being cultivated and upon the wellbeing of those who tilled it, set, in normal times, a limit to their demands. The peasant was not a serf and was free, at least in theory, to leave his land, though some rulers attempted to curb his freedom. If the burden imposed upon the peasant by the government's demands became intolerable, they would have recourse to flight and leave their lands uncultivated. The state could, in theory, lease the land to someone else or cultivate it itself at the expense of the public treasury (for which cases the jurists laid down certain conditions). But often neither course offered a practical alternative. The possibility of flight was, therefore, to some extent a restraining factor (see further below).

Many writers on the theory of government recognised the connection between stability and the financial wellbeing of the state. The tradition "no *kharādj* on land in a bad (ruined) condition", although not accepted by all schools of law, was widely held and demonstrates the general recognition of the financial dependence of the state on agriculture, and also, implicitly, the importance of "good" government, because one of the most common reasons for the land being left uncultivated was the flight of the peasants provoked by extortion. Ḥamīd al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ḥāmid Kirmānī, addressing Ḳawām al-Dīn Zawzanī, who took possession of Kirmān *ca.* 613/1216-17, states "The king of Islam (may God exalt his dignity) has acquired an extensive kingdom and there is no question but that it will prosper and that produce and benefit from it will accrue to his treasury". He then warns him that there could be no security or prosperity in the province or wellbeing among the peasants "as long as every six months or every year a new governor or *muḳṭaʿ* comes, because

every *muḳṭaʿ* who arrives will take possession of any produce or stocks he sees and will demand *kharādj*, in advance, or by force on produce not yet to hand; and when another *muḳṭaʿ* comes, hungry and unclothed, with an empty pocket to fill, he, too, will impose similar burdens and begin to torment the peasants all over again" (*al-Muḍāf ilā badāyiʿ al-zamān fī waḳāyiʿ Kirmān*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1952-3, 16). ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Kiyā al-Māzandarānī, writing in the middle of the 8th/14th century, makes a similar point. He states, though hardly with complete accuracy if one considers the arbitrary nature of Īlkhānid taxation practices in the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries, "Formerly the custom was that no alteration should be made [in the tax] of any place for which an assessment had been made, so that the subjects (*raʿāyā*) paid to the *dīwān*, year by year, the tax as laid down in the assessment (*māl-i muḳannan*) and, with their minds at ease, occupied themselves in agriculture and the development of the country. Now, since the assessed tax is not permanently fixed [by the *dīwān*] and every year the tax-collectors, when they come, demand the tax in a different way, the subjects, since they have no confidence, withhold their hands from cultivation and the provinces are becoming ruined" (*Die Resālä-ye falakiyya*, ed. W. Hinz, Wiesbaden 1952, 172).

Writers on the theory of government stress the need for justice by the government in the levy of land taxes and other taxes on both practical and ethical grounds. Their exhortations were frequently, perhaps usually, disregarded. The saying attributed to the caliph al-Manṣūr (136-58/754-75) to the effect that one of the four pillars of kingship was a *ṣāḥib kharādj* who would demand the taxes without oppressing the people (Ṭabarī, *Annales*, iii, 398), underlines the importance attached to the land tax as the sinews of the administration and to the observance of justice in its collection. Ḥusayn Wāʿiẓ Kāshifī, writing in 900/1494-5 under the Tīmūrids, makes a similar statement, but substitutes for the *ṣāḥib kharādj* a *wazīr* "who regulates financial affairs", which suggests a decline in the relative importance of *kharādj* compared to other forms of taxation, even though it was still, no doubt, the largest single item (*Akhlāḳ-i muḥsinī*, ed. Ibrāhīm Tādjir Shīrāzī, lith. Bombay 1890-1, 265). A 19th century writer, Nadīm Bārfurūshī (d. 1241/1825-6), asserts that one of the main causes leading to the destruction of a kingdom was the demand for the payment of taxes when the rains failed (*Mufarriḥ al-ḳulūb*, B.M. Or. 3499, f. 203a), from which it is to be inferred that agriculture still provided the economic basis on which the state rested.

Many writers recognise the fundamental importance of proper order in the assessment and levy of *kharādj*. The advice alleged to have been given by ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib to Malik al-Ashtar when he was appointed governor over Egypt in 38/658-9 is frequently quoted as a model to be followed (cf. Waṣṣāf, *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, ed. Muḥammad Mihdī Iṣfahānī, lith. Bombay 1852-3, 440). This was to the effect that he should give greater attention to the development of the land than to the collection of *kharādj*, because the latter depended upon the former, and whoever demanded *kharādj* without developing the land, destroyed the country and the people. If the people complained of the heaviness of taxation, or of some natural calamity, the interruption of irrigation, misfortune, or that the land had become waterlogged or parched, their burden was to be lightened so that their affairs might recover (*Nahdj al-balāgha*, Beirut 1890-1, ii, 45. See further, A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, repr. Oxford 1969, xx ff.). Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh, Ghāzān Khān's *wazīr* (d. 718/1318), recommends that men of wealth and those with high aspirations should be appointed over the collection of the taxes, because such persons, being themselves satisfied, would not act extortionately against the taxpayers, or at least would not be covetous in small things (*Mukātabāt-i Rashīdī*, ed. Muḥammad Shafīʿ, Lahore 1945, 118), while Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh Nakhdjawānī urges the need for consultation in the administration of taxes (*Dastūr al-kātib*, 181-2).

Land taxes and land tenure. In the early centuries the jurists attempted to fit the tax practices of the conquered territories into the framework of Islamic law (see also BAYT AL-MĀL, II. HISTORY). In the theory, as worked out by them, there was a close connection between taxation and tenure. According to their expositions various factors were taken into account in the assessment of the land tax: the mode of conquest, which affected the tenure of the land, the geographical situation of the land, the manner of its irrigation, the crops grown, their yield, and price levels. In practice, however, local custom (which was itself also clearly influenced by most of these factors), was often the decisive factor. It follows, therefore, that there were wide variations from province to province and often from district to district.

In mediaeval times, although conditions were in many respects different from the early centuries, the influence of the *ʿulamāʾ* with the ruling classes and the population in general ensured that the legal theories would not be forgotten and made it possible to reactivate particular issues should circumstances so demand. Thus the principles laid down by the jurists continued to have more than simply theoretical importance. The mode of conquest was, it is true, no longer of crucial importance, but the tenure of the land still affected the levy of *kharādj*. Land fell broadly into four categories: private property (*milk*), crown lands including the personal estates of the ruler which were not always clearly distinguished from crown lands proper [see KHĀLIṢA], *awḳāf*, and dead lands (*mawāt*). In the case of private property, *kharādj* was regarded as a tax on the land or its produce. In the event of a concession being granted on private property, the *kharādj* was paid not to the state but to the concessionaire, who might or might not have been granted exemption from its payment to the state (see further below). Crown lands, the extent of which varied greatly at different times, strictly speaking did not pay *kharādj*, the whole produce belonging to the state. However, they were often conceded to individuals on temporary or life grants, in which case the holder, unless granted exemption, paid *kharādj*, which was regarded as a rent rather than a tax, and the rate of which often differed from that paid on neighbouring estates.

In the 19th century, experience showed that crown lands often tended to be neglected and failed to provide the state with revenue (cf. *British Parliamentary Papers 58* (1862) *Persia*. Report by Mr. Eastwick, Her Majesty's Secretary of Legation, Camp near Tehran, 5 July 1861, p. 70). Accordingly they were sometimes transferred to individuals in the hope of encouraging the spread of cultivation. This was the case in the latter part of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, when, in view of the decay then prevailing in *khāliṣa* land, it was decided to sell them to individuals. In some cases special rates of tax were laid down (Ḥasan Khān Shaykh Djābirī Anṣārī, *Tārīkh-i niṣf-i*

dj̲ahān wa hama dj̲ahān, lith. n.d., 65 ff., Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, 147 ff.).

Lands immobilised as *waḳf* for charitable purposes were frequently granted exemption from the payment of land tax and other dues. Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274), in an essay on finance written for his patron Hūlāgū (or Abāḳā), states that kings considered it ill-omened to levy *k̲h̲arādj̲* on *awḳāf* and ordered their proceeds to be spent entirely on the purposes for which they had been constituted (*Madj̲mūʿa-i rasāʾil az taʾlīfāt-i K̲h̲wādj̲a Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī*, in *Publications of the University of Tehran*, 308 (1956), 34. This was first published by M. Minovi and V. Minorsky, *Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī on finance*, in *BSOS*, X/3 1940-2). In fact, practice probably varied. Under the Īlk̲h̲āns it seems that immunities were extended to *waḳf* land by an extension of Mongol custom, which happened in this case to coincide with local custom. Bāydū is said to have reaffirmed on his accession in 694/1295 an old regulation (*yāsā*) of Čing̲h̲īz K̲h̲ān, which exempted *awḳāf* from taxation (*Tārīk̲h̲-i Waṣṣāf*, 284). Later rulers also granted immunities to *waḳf* land. The Ṣafawid shrine at Ardabīl, for example, enjoyed exemptions and immunities from the 9th/15th century, if not before (cf. V. Minorsky, *A soyūrg̲h̲āl of Jahāngīr Āq-Qoyunlū*, in *BSOS*, ix (1937-9), 956-8, and *Landlord and peasant*, 104. See also H. Busse, *Untersuchungen zur islamischen Kanzleiwesen*, Cairo 1959, for various grants relating to *waḳf* land). Curzon's statement that all religious endowments were exempt from land tax under the Ḳādj̲ārs (*Persia and the Persian question*, ii, 470) is rather too sweeping. Only those *awḳāf* which had been granted exemption by a special decree were exempted, but it is probable that many *awḳāf* came into this category.

A third category of land was formed by dead lands (*mawāt*) which had no owner, and had fallen into disuse. In view of the close dependence of the state upon *k̲h̲arādj̲*, the desirability of bringing such lands under cultivation is clear. The jurists laid down special regulations for their revival (cf. sections on *iḥyāʾ mawāt* in *fiḳh* literature). These provide for the acquisition of ownership and are clearly designed to encourage individuals to undertake the revival of dead lands. Temporary exemptions from the payment of land tax and special rates of tax were moreover frequently granted to those who revived dead lands. Invasion and the overthrow of dynasties were often followed by a spread of dead lands. Perhaps the most striking case was that which occurred at the time of the Mongol attack in the 7th/13th century, which brought disaster to agriculture. When finally G̲h̲āzān K̲h̲ān (694/703-1295/1304) began to reorganise the finances of the state, realising that a rehabilitation of agriculture was a necessary basis to reform, he laid down regulations for the revival of dead lands and gave reductions, which varied from district to district, in the amount of *k̲h̲arādj̲* to which they were liable (see further Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh, *Tārīk̲h̲-i mubārak-i G̲h̲āzānī*, ed. K. Jahn, *GMS*, London 1940, 353-4, cf. also 303 ff.).

The status of lands which had fallen into disuse or been abandoned (*bāyirāt*) but whose owners could not be deemed to have died without heirs (in which case the land became *mawāt*) was more shadowy. The main issue was whether such lands should pay *k̲h̲arādj̲* or not. Ḥanafī jurists argued that since *k̲h̲arādj̲* was levied according to the productivity of the land, it was due whether the owner cultivated the land or not, since by not cultivating it, the owner deprived the beneficiaries of *k̲h̲arādj̲* of their revenue. Mālikīs, however, rejected this view. They held that the owner did not pay *k̲h̲arādj̲* if the land was not cultivated. If, however, the reason for the land being uncultivated was that the owner lacked the means to cultivate it, the *imām* was entitled to lease the land to another person on a *muzāraʿa* contract and to collect the tax from the owner's share of the produce, to lease the land to a tenant and collect the *k̲h̲arādj̲* from the rental, or to have the land cultivated at the expense of the public treasury and collect the tax from the owner's share. Abū Ḥanīfa held that if *k̲h̲arādj̲* payers abandoned their lands, the *imām* might have them cultivated at the public expense or let them on a *muḳāṭaʿa* contract, the entire income from this belonging to the public treasury (see further N. P. Aghnides, *Mohammedan theories of finance*, Lahore 1961, 384-5).

The problem of abandoned lands was a perennial one. It is illustrated by the following incident related by Faḍl Allāh b. Rūzbihān K̲h̲undj̲ī. He describes how Muḥammad S̲h̲aybānī K̲h̲ān, the Uzbeg ruler, asked the *ʿulamāʾ* at his court to give a *fatwā* in 914/1509 on the status of certain lands in the neighbourhood of Samarḳand. These lands had been abandoned by their owners for over thirty years. There was no one left in Samarḳand to cultivate them on behalf of the owners and ensure that the country did not fall into ruin and that the land became liable to tax. They had become virtually dead lands. What, Muḥammad S̲h̲aybānī asked, would be the position if someone revived them? Would ownership be established thereby (as was the case with dead lands)? one of the jurists present said that it would be difficult to give a decree annulling the ownership of those who had abandoned them, but if it was known that the owners had left the land, a decree could be given to make the cultivation of the land permissible (*ibāḥat-i zirāʿat*). The K̲h̲ān replied that this would not solve the problem which he had in mind. *K̲h̲arādj̲* land if cultivated paid *k̲h̲arādj̲*. If its cultivation was abandoned, it was the duty of the governor to impose upon the owner a sum for its *k̲h̲arādj̲* and to ask him why he had allowed the assets of the Muslims to be wasted by letting the land fall out of cultivation. Thus, if the land had an owner, he could be made subject to one of two rulings: either he would cultivate the land (and pay *k̲h̲arādj̲*) or he would pay *k̲h̲arādj̲* by estimation (*bi taḳdīr*) on the land which had fallen out of cultivation. Two objects would be achieved: the land would be brought back into cultivation and it would be made liable to *k̲h̲arādj̲*. By simply declaring the cultivation of the land permissible these objects would not be achieved, because in order for the cultivation of the land to be permissible, it was necessary for the right to demand rent to lapse; in other words if the owner made the land free for cultivation (*mubāḥ*), his right to demand rent ceased, and the ruler could not make it incumbent upon him to cultivate the land or to pay *k̲h̲arādj̲*. Muḥammad S̲h̲aybānī K̲h̲ān then explained that this object in putting the question was that the owners of the abandoned lands should be subjected to one of the two rulings mentioned above.

Finally, Faḍl Allāh b. Rūzbihān, who was also present, stated that if someone became the owner of a property by purchase, his ownership, being based on a contract, was not affected by lapse of time, even if he did not take effective possession of the property. It did not follow from the abandonment of land by reason of a journey that the cultivation of the land became free (*mubāḥ*). The people who had left their estates had clearly done so by force of necessity:

excessive injustice had made it impossible for them to live in their homeland, and the imposition of extortionate dues by the *dīwān* had prevented them from exercising effective ownership over their estates and so they had departed into different regions. It did not follow from the fact that they had left their estates that it was permissible for others to take possession of them (*ibāḥat-i taṣarruf*). Then, in order to show that lapse of time did not affect ownership he related how the Atābeg Abū Bakr Saʿd b. Zangī had been persuaded to restore to their owners estates which he had seized in Fārs (see *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, 163, for an account of this event), and advised the khan to seek conciliation with the owners of the estates in question, if they were known, so that they would return, and once they had returned, to treat them well, so that they would resume possession of their estates. In this way, the land would be cultivated, the kingdom prosperous, and the land liable to *kharādj*. If, however, the owners were not known, the ruler should take possession of the estates, cultivate them, reap their produce by virtue of the axiom "what is cultivated belongs to the cultivator even if he is an usurper" while purposing in his heart that he would give the owners, should they be found, the rent for their land from the public treasury. In this way also the land would be cultivated and be liable to *kharādj*, while the rights of the owners would not be annulled or lost (Faḍl Allāh b. Rūzbihān Khundjī, *Mihmān-nāma-i Bukhārā*, ed. Manūčihr Sutūda, Tehran 1962, 295-9).

The state, however, clearly was not always bound by the letter of the law. Under the Īlkhāns it would appear that taxes were frequently demanded from land which had fallen out of cultivation (cf. *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, 446, 631).

The rates of kharādj. The jurists were generally agreed in the early centuries that the *imām* could increase or decrease the rate of *kharādj* according to the ability of the land to pay and the taxable capacity of the land to pay and the taxable capacity of the payees. It was tacitly assumed that the temporal rulers had similar prerogatives. By the 7th/13th century a tradition appears to have evolved, perhaps deriving from the original theory of *ʿushr* land, that the proper rate for land tax was one-tenth of the produce. Mention of this as the basic rate is found from time to time. There is also frequent reference in documents to a tax or due called *ʿushr*, but whether this was land tax levied at the rate of one-tenth of the produce or a special due is not clear. Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh in a letter to Aḥmad Turka states that he had laid down that the people of Iṣfahān should pay as land tax one-tenth on their cultivated lands (apart from orchards which paid different proportions according to the kind of produce) and that he had sent officials to other provinces to make a similar assessment (*Mukātabāt-i Rashīdī*, 33-4). In a letter to his son Shihāb al-Dīn, when governor of Shushtar and Ahwāz, it is again mentioned that *kharādj* should be taken at a rate of 10% and should be levied in kind (*ibid.*, 121). There is nothing however in the *Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī* to suggest that uniform rates were established over the whole country. In the late 18th century or early 19th century the rate is alleged to have been 10% (see below), and in the 19th century it was, in theory, one fifth of all agricultural produce, or its value in money. According to a report by Mr. R. F. Thomson, dated 1868, this was, as a general rule, somewhat exceeded and 25% could be taken to be the average assessment (excluding dues levied on cattle and flocks and duties exacted for provisions brought to market in the principal towns) (*British Parliamentary Papers*, 69 (1868), *Persia*). Report by Mr. Thomson, Her Majesty's Secretary of Legation, on the population, revenue, military force and trade of Persia, 250-3. Extracts from this report are given in C. Issawi, *The economic history of Iran 1800-1914*, Chicago and London 1971). There was in practice at all times great variety in the rate levied in different districts and on different crops.

The law-books laid down the purposes upon which *kharādj* was to be expended and those who had a right to its proceeds. Control over these matters, as over the rate at which *kharādj* was levied, was similarly tacitly assumed to have passed to the temporal rulers. Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī states that *kharādj* was levied for the expenses of the kingdom (*djihat-i maṣāliḥ-i pādishāhī*, 31). So far as the temporal rulers expended the *kharādj* on the payment of the army (which, in theory, if not in practice, was for the defence of the lands of Islam) and on the officials concerned in its collection, on pensions to the religious classes and the needy, and on public and charitable works, they could be regarded as expending it on the interests of the Muslims (*maṣāliḥ-i muslimīn*). Public opinion did not sanction the expenditure of reserves of *kharādj* on other purposes or the accumulation, a factor which, perhaps, militated against long-term economic development.

Assessment and collection. *Kharādj* was assessed in three main ways, by *masāḥa*, *muḳāsama*, and *muḳāṭaʿa*. These methods, known in the early centuries, continued to be used down to modern times. Under the first the amount due was based on the measurement of the land. Under the second it depended upon the crop yield, while under the third the tax was compounded for a lump sum in cash or kind or both, and did not vary with the area sown or the amount of the crop. Assessment by *masāḥa* did not, however, involve a comprehensive cadastral survey. Usually only the land sown was taken into account, which practice was sanctioned by the tradition "no *kharādj* on land in a bad (ruined) condition", and the tax demand was based on the average yield from good, bad and medium land. There was, however, a difference of opinion among the jurists on the matter of land not under cultivation. Where a part was fallow, some held that *kharādj* should be levied on the whole area but at half the normal rate. The issue turned on the question whether *kharādj* was a tax on the produce of the land or a rent for the land. If the latter, the holder of the land paid whether the land was cultivated or not, provided he was not prevented by *force majeure* from cultivating it. Gardens, vineyards, and date groves were assessed either according to the extent of the land sown or the number of trees on the land, the number of years it had been planted being taken into account. Irrigated crops paid a higher rate than unirrigated, and in the case of the former the rate varied with the method of irrigation. The quality of the land was also taken into account, and to meet the variety of physical conditions a number of tax schedules (*waḍīʿa*, *ṭisḳ*) were sometimes drawn up. The *masāḥa* method of assessment was thus in fact concerned not so much with the extent of the land as with its produce. It differed from the *muḳāsama* system in that the tax demand did not vary in a good year or a bad year. In districts where the climate was capricious this was to the disadvantage of the taxpayer, unless he was able to accumulate reserves to tide him over a bad year. So far as the peasants were concerned, this was probably seldom the case. This may well have been

one of the reasons why assessment by *masāḥa* tended to be replaced by *muḳāsama*.

This method was simpler in that it did not involve a calculation of the area under cultivation. It also had the merit of safeguarding the taxpayer in the event of partial or total crop failures—an important consideration in districts where these were of common occurrence. On the other hand, it was a disincentive to the extension and improvement of cultivation, since the heavier the crop the greater the tax. An added disadvantage was that the taxpayer could not remove the crop until the government's share had been taken, while budgeting was made difficult for the government since its revenue fluctuated and was not known until harvest time.

Valuation or *ʿibra* may have originated simply as an extension of *masāḥa* and *muḳāsama*, the average annual value of the crop over a number of years, usually three, assessed by whatever method, being taken as the basis on which the tax was calculated. The term *ʿibra* is not met with after the early centuries and appears to have been replaced by *ḥarz*, which, in the later centuries, seems usually to have meant not an average calculation made on the basis of three or more years, but an arbitrary valuation arrived at by the tax-collector, sometimes, but not always, after an inspection of the crop during growth or harvest time. Arbitrary valuation, in the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries, under the Īl̲kh̲āns, and also in the 19th century, appears to have been common. The tax-collector, or his agent, would examine the crop *in situ* and estimate the tax due. Some were skilled in the task and made fair estimates, others did not. As the practice grew of assessing the provincial revenue at the centre and leaving its collection to the discretion of the provincial governor, who was then responsible for the remission of whatever sum remained after the deduction of provincial expenses, arbitrary valuation at the local level became increasingly common, whatever the assessment may have been according to the tax rolls drawn up at the centre (see further below).

The *muḳāṭaʿa* method probably prevailed over other methods in the more remote districts and in tribal areas. With the extension of the *iḳṭāʿ* [*q.v.*] from the 4th/10th century onwards, as more and more land became alienated from the direct control of the state, the *muḳāṭaʿa* method became increasingly adopted. Under this system, the landlord, since he knew the demand which the state made upon him, was not deterred from developing the land, while budgeting by the state was facilitated because its income from the land was also known. On the other hand the *muḳāṭaʿa* assessments were frequently out of date: land which had been improved or newly brought into cultivation sometimes paid a very low rate of taxation or was omitted altogether from the assessment, and conversely land which had deteriorated or fallen out of cultivation was assessed too highly. The same, however, was also true of land assessed by other methods, since an assessment once made tended to remain in force irrespective of changed conditions. The *muḳāṭaʿa* assessments, so far as they remained in force for a number of years, did not take account of changes in cropping. With the increase in the cultivation of cash crops in the 19th century this was disadvantageous to the government.

Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī asserts that under just kings in the past valuation (*ḥarz*) had replaced other methods of assessment. They had ordered the tax to be assessed in kind at the rate of 10% or 5% of the annual produce of land and gardens, the figure for which was to be obtained by taking the average annual produce of a good year, a bad year and a medium year. This was the old tradition of *ʿibra* (though Naṣīr al-Dīn does not use the term). The amount in kind was then to be converted into cash at a medium rate, "neither high (dear) nor low (cheap)". He continues, "if the land is not cultivated every year or the garden does not bear fruit every year, the *kh̲arādj̲* is taken at half rate [the variant "*kh̲arādj̲* is not levied" reflects the conflicting views held by different schools of jurists, see above]. Every few years the lands and gardens are re-examined: if land in good condition (*ābādān*) has fallen into bad condition (*kh̲arāb*), its *kh̲arādj̲* is removed on the grounds of 'no *kh̲arādj̲* on (land) in a ruined condition', and if land in a ruined condition has been brought into cultivation (*maʿmūr*), it is to be treated in two ways. If it has been out of cultivation for thirty years, it is exempted from tax for three years and then for the following ten years pays half rate so that its prosperity may be firmly established and men be encouraged to develop it. If it has recently become ruined and been brought back into cultivation, this should be taken into account when fixing the *kh̲arādj̲*. Similarly if land is converted into orchards or orchards are converted into ordinary agricultural land the tax demand should be according to the value of its produce neither less nor more" (30-1).

In actual practice, however, in spite of what Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī says, it is clear that assessment by *masāḥa*, *muḳāsama* and valuation, together with *muḳāṭaʿa*, continued side by side under the Īl̲kh̲āns and later rulers. Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh alleges that valuation (*ḥarz*) and *muḳāsama* predominated in those provinces in which the tax was levied in cash and kind, and that G̲h̲āzān K̲h̲ān determined in 703/1304 to abolish these methods in certain categories of land (Ras̲h̲īd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh, *Tārīk̲h̲-i mubārak-i G̲h̲āzānī*, 267, 354). According to Waṣṣāf, as a result of G̲h̲āzān's reform of the *kh̲arādj̲* the people were relieved from demands for extra payments when the crops were valued (*taksīr dar ḥarz*) and when the tax-collectors drew up the assessments and obtained the acknowledgement of the taxpayers of their liability (*taḳrīr*), from additional payments when the tax was demanded in advance (*tafāwut-i taḳdima*), from excess payments extorted when the amount due for taxes assessed in kind was converted into cash (*zawāʾid-i taʿṣīr*) (see below), and from payment of the expenses and allowances of officials. They were also freed from the control and ascendancy of the *massāḥ* and *ḥarrāz*, whom he described as tyrants towards the peasants (*Tārīk̲h̲-i Waṣṣāf*, 386).

The various methods of assessment mentioned above were, to a greater or less extent, recognised by the jurists. Another method, based on custom, and probably in use in many districts from early times, was to take the ploughland (*dj̲uft*, *zawdj̲*, *kh̲īs̲h̲*) as the fiscal unit. This, in a sense, had something in common with *masāḥa* in that it was concerned with the area cultivated. The size of the ploughland, however, varied with the method of cultivation, the type of soil, the configuration of the land, and the pressure of the population on the land. It corresponded roughly to a single agricultural holding, and sometimes consisted of dispersed plots, and might be fragmented into smaller fractions such as halves or quarters. The amount of the tax and the dues levied on the ploughland varied. In the tax regime of the Āḳ Ḳoyunlu ruler, Uzun Ḥasan, drawn up between the years 874/1470 and 883/1477, mention is made of dues levied on the ploughland (see W. Hinz, *Das Steuer-*

wesen Ostanatoliens im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert, in *ZDMG* c/1, New series, xxv (2950), 177-201, and V. Minorsky, *A civil and military review in Fars in 881/1476*, in *BSOS*, xii (1939), 142. Cf. also P. M. Sykes, *Report on the agriculture of Khorasan*, Simla 1910, 3).

By whatever method the tax was normally assessed, it was paid partly in cash and partly in kind. If assessed by *masāḥa* (except in cases when the whole area, cultivated an uncultivated, was taken into consideration) or by *muḳāsama*, both of which methods were closely concerned with the actual amount of the crop, the assessment was according to the solar year (also known as *sāl-i kharādjī*), which began at the vernal equinox. *Muḳāṭaʿa* contracts, on the other hand, were usually according to the lunar year (see BAYT AL-MĀL, II. HISTORY, and also *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, 403). The general tendency was for the tax, when assessed by measurement, to be paid predominantly in cash. Under the *muḳāsama* method, the tax on grain crops was usually paid in kind but on vegetables and summer crops it was converted into cash. The tax demand in a *muḳāṭaʿa* contract frequently included some grain to be paid in kind. There was, however, great variation in practice in different districts and at different times. In districts which were not self-supporting in grain the tax, although assessed in cash and kind, was paid wholly in cash, the part assessed in kind being converted into cash at one of several prescribed rates of conversion. This was also sometimes the case in districts from which, owing to their remoteness, the removal of grain was impractical (cf. Sykes, *op. cit.*, 3). Malcolm, writing in the early 19th century, states that according to the general rule taxes ought to be paid in cash and kind in equal proportions, but in practice the proportion varied. About the middle of the century the proportion of the total paid in kind was rather less than one-eighth but there were many local variations (see below). Some villages, where the inhabitants were poor, paid almost entirely in kind; but where the landowner was wealthy he preferred to pay in cash, thereby avoiding the interference of minor revenue officials (Malcolm, *History of Persia*, ii, 338-9). In 1844, Abbott noted that the revenue in Māzandarān was raised in money instead of money and produce as formerly, the difference being that what had formerly been collected in kind was priced and demanded in cash (F.O. 60: 108. Abbott, *Journey along the shores of the Caspian*, incl. in Abbott to Aberdeen, No. 8, Encampment near Tehran, 29 June 1844, also quoted in Issawi, *op. cit.*, who refers the quotation, wrongly, to Gīlān).

From the point of view of the peasants, it was to their advantage to pay *kharādj* in kind. If the tax was demanded in cash, having small reserves, or no reserves at all, they were often forced to sell their produce immediately after harvest when prices were at their lowest, in order to realise the cash to pay the tax. It was also in the government's interest to collect the tax partly in kind, because it could use the stocks of grain thus accumulated to provision its armed forces, hold grain against a rise in prices, thus providing itself with additional funds, or, perhaps more importantly, release the grain on to the market in times of shortage or famine thereby lessening the danger of bread riots and forestalling shortages artificially engineered for political purposes. Karīm Khān Zand is alleged to have taken great care to replenish the government granaries regularly in order to ensure supplies of bread at low prices (cf. Muḥammad Hāshim Rustam al-Ḥukamāʾ, *Rustam al-tawārīkh*, ed. Muḥammad Mushīrī, Tehran 1969, 421-2). In the early 19th century also, government granaries were well stocked, and those who had flocked into Tehran as a result of the famine of 1247/1831-2 were fed for seven months from government stores until the new harvest came to hand (Muḥammad Taḳī Lisān al-Mulk Sipihr, *Nāsikh al-tawārīkh*, ed. Djahāngīr Ḳāʾim Maḳāmī, Tehran 1958-9, i, 296; cf. also R. B. M. Binning, *A journey of two years' travel in Persia, Ceylon, etc.*, 1857, ii, 276-7, who alleges that Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh bought up grain and retailed it at ruinous prices). It was also customary for the government in the 19th century, and probably in earlier centuries also, to pay part of the salaries of its officials in kind.

So far as *kharādj* was assessed in cash, from the end of the 3rd/9th century, when an attempt was made to establish a unified system of accounting on the basis of the gold standard with a legal tariff for the exchange of the dirham [see BAYT AL-MĀL, II. HISTORY], it was usually assessed in gold *dīnār*s or some "standard" coin. Actual payment, however, was made in silver coins. There were many different coins in circulation, sometimes of greatly debased value, and the rates of exchange for them against gold *dīnār*s or "standard" coins were subject to fluctuation. By manipulating the conversion rates to its own ad' antage, the government could raise the amount of the tax without changing its nominal rate. In later centuries also the tax continued, for the most part, to be assessed in gold or a "standard" coin, and to be paid in some other coin (see further B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*[3], Berlin 1968, 300 ff. for a discussion of Īlkhānid practice). In the 19th century there were still a number of coins in circulation of varying values in different parts of the country, which made for difficulty over the payment of taxes (see H. L. Rabino di Borgomale, *Coins, medals and seals of the Shahs of Iran, 1500-1941*, London 1945, 61 ff.; cf. also F.O. 60: 165 K. Abbott, *Report on the commerce of the South of Persia*, Trade report, Notes on the trade, manufacturers and productions of various cities and centres of Persia visited by Mr. Consul Abbott in 1849-50).

Frequently the tax when assessed in kind was converted into cash by a procedure known as *taṣʿīr*. Ideally, as Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī stated, a medium price was taken, but in practice a number of rates were fixed arbitrarily and often bore little relation to prevailing prices. Rashīd al-Dīn mentions the heavy burdens placed upon the peasants (*raʿāyā wa muzāriʿān*) by this system (*Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, 267). It not only enabled the government, if it so wished, to raise or lower the amount of tax paid, it also provided an opportunity for the tax-collector or provincial governor to misappropriate sums of money which should rightfully have been paid into the central treasury. It also gave rise to innumerable wrangles between the central government on the one hand and the tax officials and governors on the other when their accounts were being cleared, a process which often ran over one tax year into succeeding years. Waṣṣāf cites numerous cases of officials who were forced to spend time and money over the clearing of their accounts during the reign of the Īlkhāns, and similar instances are frequently met with in later times. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Fūminī mentions the case of Mīrzā ʿĀlamiyān, who was for twelve years *wazīr* of Gīlānāt, Māzandarān, Gaskar and Āstārā, and then *wazīr* of Ḳazwīn and later *wazīr* of Khurāsān in the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās (985-1038/1587-1629). He was accused of not including in his

revenue accounts money which he was alleged to have taken from the taxpayers of Lāhīdjān when converting the tax assessed in rice into cash (*tafāwut-i taʿṣīr-i birindj*), and was finally made to pay this sum (*Tārīkh-i Gīlān*, ed. Manūčihr Sutūda, Tehran 1970, 183 ff.).

Responsibility for the payment of taxes in general, including the land tax, was, in the early centuries, the collective responsibility of the taxpayers of a given district [see ḲABĀLA]. They were required, as a body, to make good the tax due from defaulters. This continued to be the case in practice, since so far as the tax was assessed on provinces and districts at the centre and partitioned locally among the villages and individual taxpayers, in effect those who remained had to make good the taxes of any who had left the district. Arrears were common. J. B. Fraser, writing in the early 19th century, states that there was a continual struggle between the governor of a province and his myrmidons on the one side, and villagers, *ḍābiṭ*s (revenue collectors), and *kadkhudā*s on the other. Few villages paid without requisition. The giving and accepting of douceurs was common (*Narrative of a journey into Khorasan in the years 1821 and 1822*, London 1825, 221). The situation was probably not very different in earlier times.

If assessed in cash, or assessed in kind and converted into cash, the tax was often levied in two or more instalments. So far as it was paid in kind, the division of the crop was normally made at harvest time on the threshing floor. The responsibility for transporting the grain to government granaries was usually that of the landlord. If the land was worked by him under a crop-sharing agreement, the responsibility for the payment of *kharādj* was, according to the law-books, both Sunnī and Shīʿī, the landlord's (cf. Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-kharādj*, tr. E. Fagnan, Paris 1921, 137, Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿĀmilī, *Djāmiʿ-i ʿAbbāsī*, Bombay lith. 1884, 162). In practice, so far as the tax was levied on the threshing floor before the division of the crop between the landlord and the peasants, the tax liability was shared between the two parties. Ghāzān Khān laid down special regulations in 703/1304 for the payment of *kharādj* and the delivery of the amount due in kind on summer and winter crops. The dates when payment fell due in the *garmsīr* and the *sardsīr* respectively differed. The taxpayer was responsible for the transport of the tax quota to the government storehouses within a fixed period (*Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, 264 ff.). There was, however, in the matter of the date when payment fell due and the number of instalments, a variety of practice. For example, in Kāshān, under the assessment made in 1233/1817-18 the tax due in kind in barley was collected from crown lands (*khāliṣadjāt-i dīwānī*) towards the end of May (when the grain harvest had been reaped), and the tax due in cash was levied in three instalments, towards the end of June, September and January (ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Ḍarrābī, *Tārīkh-i Kāshān*, ed. Īradj Afshār, Tehran 1956, 286-7). In Khurāsān at the beginning of the 19th century the revenue in cash was paid in three instalments, the first during the first month of the Persian solar year beginning on 21 March, the second four months later and the third towards the end of the tenth month. Revenue in kind and cash combined was paid in two instalments (Sykes, *op. cit.*, 5).

Extortion by government officials over the collection of land taxes was common. Often the tax was demanded before the harvest was reaped, a practice of which Niẓām al-Mulk disapproved as leading to the ruin and dispersal of the peasants (*Siyāsat-nāma*, 18). In times of financial stringency and military campaigns, it was not only common to demand the taxes in advance but also to demand them several times over (cf. *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, 326, 438, *Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, 267). The arbitrary exactions of government officials were, indeed, often more oppressive than the burden of taxation itself (see also below). The difficulties were, however, not all on one side. Governments and their officials were frequently extortionate, and the peasants feared that unless they counterfeited poverty, they would be supposed to be rich and become a mark for extortion (cf. F.O. 60: 194. Sheil to Shah, n.d.). Perennial difficulties were experienced over tax collection. Arrears were common. Sometimes they were the result of a series of bad years or some natural disaster for which no remission had been granted, and sometimes the result of heavy demands made on the taxpayers; but they were also at times due to the recalcitrance of the taxpayers. There were doubtless village communities other than that of Sīmakān in Fārs whom Mīrzā Muḥammad Kalāntar's statement that they "were never in the habit of paying taxes" would have fitted (*Rūznāma-i Mīrzā Muḥammad Kalāntar*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1946, 20). Estates were not infrequently temporarily taken control of by the *dīwān* until outstanding claims had been settled, while others were confiscated to the *dīwān*. Much of the *khāliṣa* land held by the Ḳādjārs was acquired in this way (see further *Landlord and peasant*, 147; see also Aghnides, *op. cit.*, 389-90).

Remissions of taxation. Tradition demanded that remissions of *kharādj* should be granted in the event of natural disasters, such as flood, drought, and the destruction of crops by pests (see also Aghnides, *op. cit.*, 388), and there is frequent mention in the chronicles of remissions and demands for remission of taxation. Waṣṣāf records that the *kharādj* had not been paid in Fārs in 705/1305-6 as a result of a dry year coupled with the extortion of officials. Accordingly Uldjāytū, who had succeeded in 703/1304, recalled Djamāl al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad Shaykh al-Islām to Shīrāz from Kīsh, whither he had retired after having been in charge of the financial administration of Fārs for a period, to take control of affairs again. Djamāl al-Dīn gave orders for the sums outstanding for *kharādj* to be recorded but not to be demanded from the taxpayers, and for seed and advances to be given to the peasants (*Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, 507; cf. also 446). He died shortly afterwards, apparently in 706/1306 (Aḥmad b. Zarkūb, *Shīrāz-nāma*, ed. Ismāʿīl Wāʿiẓ Djawādī, 1971-2, 99, *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, 446), and there is no record of the results achieved by these measures. Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh gave remissions to the governors of Iṣfahān, Gīlān and Māzandarān in 1247/1831-2 on account of heavy loss of life from cholera and the severe winter of 1830-1, and a decline in silk production (Muḥammad Taḳī Lisān al-Mulk Sipihr, *Nāsikh al-tawārīkh*, i, 296). Despite the disastrous outbreak of silk-worm disease in Gīlān in 1864-5, the tax assessment of the province remained unchanged until 1868 when it was reduced by about 20%, though the relative decline in silk output and in the population's income had been greater (see further G. G. Silbermann, *Persian constitutional revolution: the economic background, 1870-1906*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis (London), 1974, 149 ff.).

Remissions were also sometimes granted as a reward for services already performed, to mark a military victory, the birth of a son, or to encourage future support. Shāhrukh b. Tīmūr in a *fatḥ-nāma*

issued after his defeat of Ḳarā Yūsuf (823/1420-1) announced the remission of one-third (*dū dāng*) of the taxes of the kingdom (*māl-i mamālik-i maḥrūsa*) as a favour (*suyūrg͟hāl*) for his subjects (ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Nawāʾī, *Asnād wa mukātabāt-i tārīk͟h-i Īrān*, Tehran 1962-3, 214). It is not clear whether this was intended to be a temporary remission or a permanent reduction. S͟hāh ʿAbbās remitted the taxes (*māl wa manāl*) of Iṣfahān for one year after his successful campaign in K͟hurāsān in 1007/1595 (Iskandar Muns͟hī, *Tārīk͟h-i ʿĀlamārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, Tehran 1956, i, 587) and in 1025/1616 he is said to have remitted one month's *k͟harād͟j-i dīwānī* (i.e. the instalment due in Ramaḍān) from the S͟hīʿīs in all provinces (*ibid.*, ii, 895). Nādir S͟hāh after his Indian campaign in 1151/1738-9 ordered the taxes to be remitted for three years (Mīrzā Mihdī Astarābādī, *D͟jahānguṣ͟hā-yi Nādirī*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh Anwār, Tehran 1962-3, 334). He subsequently revoked this order (*ibid.*, 422. Cf. also D͟jābirī Anṣārī, *Tārīk͟h-i niṣf-i d͟jahān*, 122).

Charges on the land taxes. In mediaeval Persia, as in earlier times, the main charge on the land tax and the revenues in general was the payment of the army and officials. In times of peace the tax regime tended to be milder than in times of war or when the numbers and influence of the military were increasing. Waṣṣāf's account of Kirmān and Fārs in the late 6th/12th and early 7th/13th centuries illustrates how military adventures and defence affected the revenues. When the governor of Kirmān complained to the Salg͟hurid ruler of Fārs, Saʿd b. Zangī, who had taken the province in 605/1208-9, that the revenues (*ḥāṣilāt*) of Kirmān were not enough for the needs of the administration and the wages of the army (*maṣāliḥ-i salṭanat wa mawād͟jib-i las͟hkar*), the latter issued a decree for an additional levy of one-tenth from landed estates. The people complained of this levy, which was called *fidyat al-mulk*, and so, after his victory in Luristān, Saʿd b. Zangī abolished it (*Tārīk͟h-i Waṣṣāf*, 151). Later, for somewhat similar reasons, the rate of taxation in Fārs, which had been lightly assessed at the beginning of Saʿd b. Zangī's reign, was raised. Warned by his *wazīr* that more revenue would be required to satisfy the greed of Mongol *amīr*s, the expectations of the Mongol princesses and the obligation to provide for their expenses (*ik͟hrād͟jāt*) on the one hand, and to provide for the administration and the military needs of the country on the other, and encouraged by ʿImād al-Dīn Mīrāt͟hī, the head of the *dīwān al-ins͟hāʾ*, who pointed out that the *s͟harīʿa* permitted those in authority to levy sums from the rich for the defence of Islam, Saʿd b. Zangī increased the land tax and imposed a variety of new taxes upon the townspeople. Under this settlement, which was known as the Mīrāt͟hī settlement after ʿImād al-Dīn Mīrāt͟hī, who was responsible for drawing it up, half of the produce was taken from land irrigated by streams and exploited by tribes and peasants, a quarter, fifth, sixth or tenth, according to the situation of the land and the status of its owners, from estates watered by *ḳanāts* or wells, and from orchards, while dues were levied on those who had crop-sharing agreements and on fruit-bearing trees on the basis of measurement of valuation. Waṣṣāf alleges that great severity was practised in the collection of the revenue under this settlement (*Tārīk͟h-i Waṣṣāf*, 161-2).

Additional cesses. Land taxes were not limited to the payment of the basic *k͟harād͟j*. Numerous additional cesses (*farʿ*, pl. *furūʿ*, *ṣādir*, pl. *ṣādirāt*, *ṣādiriyyāt*) for "occasional" purposes were added to the basic tax. Rustam al-Ḥukamāʾ, writing at the end of the 18th or the beginning of the 19th century, states that the traditional rate for the basic tax was one-fifth of the produce from privately owned lands and one-third from land owned by the ruler (*amlāk-i pādis͟hāhī*) and that in either case additional cesses (*ṣādiriyyāt*) should not exceed one-fifth of the tax (*Rustam al-tawārīk͟h*, 172-3, 325). It is not clear whence he derived this theory. It was frequently transgressed if, indeed, it ever existed. The additional cesses in fact sometimes equalled or even exceeded the basic tax.

One of the most common of the additional cesses was that made for the payment of the tax-collectors. Whereas the jurists had laid down that those who collected the *k͟harād͟j*, of whom they required special qualifications, should be paid out of the proceeds of *k͟harād͟j*, sums for their pay were in practice commonly levied in addition as a proportion of the basic tax. They were subject to arbitrary increase or decrease, and varied from province to province, sometimes exceeding the basic tax. Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī states that the additional cess (*farʿ*) for the dues (*marsūm*) of officials had recently been raised and that a cess of 10% or 20% was levied on this account (*az mālhā-yi dah yāzdah davāzdah mīsitānand*) (*op. cit.*, 32). Under the Ṣafawids the additional cess for the expenses of officials was sometimes known as *ʿamalkard-i ḥukkām*. Iskandar Muns͟hī states that in ʿIrāḳ (from the text it is not clear whether he means ʿIrāḳ-i ʿArab or ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAd͟jam or both) an additional cess of five *dīnār*s per one *dīnār* had, in the course of time, been added to the basic tax for the perquisites of the *tuyūldār* and *dārūg͟ha* (*manāfiʿ-i tuyūldārī wa dārūg͟hagī*). This was contrary to both the old assessment and the assessment of S͟hāh Ṭahmāsp, and so S͟hāh ʿAbbās, after his victory in K͟hurāsān in 1007/1595, remitted it (*ʿĀlamārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, i, 587; see also K. Röhrborn, *Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1966, 59-60), thus reducing it from 20% to 16%. Under the Ḳād͟jārs the costs of collection and administration were levied locally under the general head of *tafāwut-i ʿamal* over and above the basic tax (*aṣl*) and additional cesses (*furūʿ*). Bizot, the French financial adviser appointed by the Persian government in 1907, states in a report dated 15 March 1909 that the *tafāwut-i ʿamal* was levied in the form of a percentage of the *māliyāt* and varied from province to province and often exceeded the basic tax. When he was writing it was more or less fixed and where there was a surplus under this head it had to be remitted to Tehran (*Further correspondence respecting the affairs of Persia*, Pt. xviii, April to June 1909, Report by M. Bizot on the financial situation in Persia, Tehran, dated 15 March 1909, incl. in No. 388, Sir George Barclay to Sir Edward Grey, Tehran, 8 April 1909).

The surveyor (*massāḥ*), like the *ʿāmil-i k͟harād͟j*, received his pay from the proceeds of the *k͟harād͟j*, according to the theory of the jurists, but in the course of time dues for the surveyors also were levied in addition to the *k͟harād͟j*. G͟hāzān K͟hān, as stated above, attempted to do away with the need for the surveyor and the valuer, but his efforts were only temporarily, if at all, successful. In a document dated 904/1498-9 for a *suyūrg͟hāl*, the grantee is given exemption from the payment of the due for measurement and valuation (*rasm al-ḥarz wa masāḥa*) (*Landlord and peasant*, 103). According to the Ṣafawid manual, the *Dastūr al-mulūk*, a small sum was levied as a due for the surveyor (*massāḥ*) of Iṣfahān (M. T. Dānis͟hpaz͟hūh, *Dastūr al-mulūk-i Mīrzā Rafīʿā wa tad͟hkirat al-mulūk-i Mīrzā Samīʿā*, in *Rev. de la fac.*

des lettres et des sciences humaines (University of Tehran), XVI/5-6, 552).

Malcolm states that the sum derived from *ṣādir* had been calculated at two-fifths of the fixed revenue (i.e. double the rate mentioned by Rustam al-Ḥukamā'), and ought to have been levied according to definite rules, each person paying in the same proportion as he paid the basic tax. But the governors of provinces, he alleges, usually exercised an arbitrary discretion in collecting the *ṣādir*. It bore most heavily on "the proprietors of estates and citizens" (*History of Persia*, ii, 342-3). Once an additional cess was added for whatever purpose, the tendency was for it to become in due course part of the "fixed" tax (cf. *Landlord and peasant*, 144-5). Fraser relates that not long before his visit to Persia in 1821-2 various additional cesses, which had been imposed to make good the deficiency of the revenue, had been compounded for a figure of 10% of the produce and added to the basic rate, which was also 10%, so that the regular government dues, when he was writing, were one-fifth of the produce. The government, he alleges, had kept ill-faith over the matter and *ṣādirāt* were still levied in capricious and arbitrary forms (*Narrative of a journey into Khorasan*, 211). Thomson reported in 1868 that "It is impossible to discover what people really do pay in excess of the fixed assessment. Some pretend that the irregular exactions amount to a sum equal to the legal assessments, and there does not appear to be any reason for supposing that this is an exaggeration" (Report on Persia, *op. cit.*, 254-5. Cf. also Sykes, *op. cit.*, 4 ff.).

The term *ṣādirāt* covered not only additional cesses assessed in the same way as the basic tax (*aṣl-i māl*), i.e. on the produce or ploughland, but also extraordinary or "occasional" requisitions made on the occasion of the progress of the ruler of a governor through the country, or to meet the expenses of a military expedition, or for some other purpose (cf. J. Morier, *Journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor, to Constantinople in the years 1808 and 1809*, London 1818, 237, and Malcolm, *op. cit.*, ii, 342). Such reliefs also tended to become part of the fixed revenue.

Pasture taxes and taxes on flocks and herds. In addition to the additional cesses and "occasional" requisitions, there were many other taxes and dues which those who lived on the land were required to pay. Some of these were known in the early centuries; many more were added in Īlkhān times and continued to be levied thereafter. They included cattle and sheep taxes, pasture taxes, poll-taxes, dues for officials other than those specifically concerned with revenue collection, together with a great variety of other dues and services. Although they were not paid only by those living on the land, yet since the latter formed the main body of taxpayers, it was upon them that these levies bore most heavily.

Pasture taxes and taxes on flocks and herds (*marā'ī, mawāshī, mawāsh*), in contradistinction to the land tax, appear to have been paid mainly in cash. With the advent of the Mongols and the increase in the numbers of the nomads and their flocks, sheep and cattle taxes assumed greater importance. One of the meanings of the tax introduced by the Mongols and known as *ḳūbčūr* (see below) was a tax on flocks and herds. *Čūpānbegī*, which was levied in the 9th/15th century, was possibly synonymous with *ḳūbčūr* in its meaning as a tax on flocks and herds (cf. Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, *GMS*, London 1943, 177). Shāh 'Abbās, after his victorious campaign in Khurāsān is alleged to have abolished it in that province in 1007/1595. It amounted at that time to nearly 20,000 'Irāḳī *tūmān*s per annum (*Tārīkh-i 'Ālamārā-yi 'Abbāsī*, i, 587). It is unlikely, however, that the exemption was permanent or that it was extended to other provinces. The Muḳaddam tribe of Ḳarābāgh still paid it in the reign of Shāh Ṣafī (1038-52/1629-42) until they were exempted from its payment (Muḥammad Yūsuf, *Dhayl-i tārīkh-i 'ālamārā-yi 'abbāsī*, ed. Suhayl Khwānsārī, Tehran 1938, 286), and it was, according to the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, one of the dues collected by the *ḍābiṭa-niwīs* (f. 68b).

It is not clear how *marā'ī* and *mawāshī* differed from *čūpānbegī*. Iskandar Munshī states that Shāh Ṭahmāsp abolished them in most provinces (*mamālik*), especially in Shī'ī districts (i, 123; see further Röhrborn, 58). This, again, was not permanently effective. In 19th century usage in Kāshān *marā'ī* was a tax on sheep and goats levied at so much per animal which bore young and was in milk. *Mawāshī* (*mawāsh*) was levied on cows, mules and asses at so much per head. The fiscal unit was the village, and only those living in the village and benefiting from its grazing, water and firewood were in theory liable to these taxes. Anyone cultivating land elsewhere and grazing his flocks elsewhere was exempt from these taxes in the village in which he resided. Similarly a difference was made in the incidence of land and water taxes between those who lived in the village and owned land there and absentee landlords. A due known as *nassādjī* was also levied on every man or woman living in the village who had a loom ('Abd al-Raḥīm Ḍarrābī, *Tārīkh-i Kāshān*, ed. Īrādj Afshār, Tehran 1956, 91).

Malcolm states that for the most part the pasture lands allotted to the tribes in Ḳādjār times were considered as a payment in part for their military service, but that a tax was levied upon families according to their wealth and the number of their cattle and flocks (*History of Persia*, ii, 339. See also *Landlord and peasant*, 158, 163-4).

Poll-taxes and dues. Poll-taxes (*sar-shumārī, sar-shumār, sarāna*), and, less frequently, hearth taxes (*rasm-i dūdī, zar-i dūdī, khāna-shumārī, khāna-shumār*) became common after the Mongol conquest (see below). These poll-taxes had nothing to do with the poll-tax (*djizya*), sanctioned by Islamic law and levied on *dhimmīs*, but like the *djizya* they implied an element of subjection. 'Abd al-Razzāḳ records the levy of a hearth tax by Abū Sa'īd in 859/1454-5 and 874/1469 (*Maṭla' al-Sa'dayn*, ed. Muḥammad Shafī', Lahore, ii, 1087, 1410). In the 19th century a poll-tax of one kran was exacted from each male over 18 years of age. The inhabitants of towns did not pay this tax (Report by Mr. Thomson, *op. cit.*, 253). In some villages, however, *sarāna* was exacted from the age of fourteen (*Tārīkh-i Kāshān*, 91).

Djuwaynī, describing the organisation of the Mongol horde, mentions certain contributions to which they were liable, including various dues (*'awāriḍāt*), sums for the maintenance of travellers (*ikhrādjāt*), the furnishing of mounts (*ulāgh*), and provisions (*'ulūfāt*) (*Tārīkh-i Djahāngushā*, ed. Muḥammad Ḳazwīnī, *GMS*, London/Leyden 1912, i, 22). With the spread of the Mongol conquests, these contributions and many others were laid upon the conquered population (see also below). Rashīd al-Dīn mentions various levies made for the provisions of Mongol officials and the establishments of the Mongol princes and princesses—*sūsūn* (provisions for travellers), *'alafa, 'ulūfa, sāwarī,* and *targhū*, among others—which he alleges were abolished under

Ghāzān's reforms (*Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, 255). Uldjāytū, on his accession, announced his intention of continuing Ghāzān's policy and forbade the demand of irregular dues (Abū 'l-Ḳāsim ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Kāshānī, *Tārīkh-i Uldjāytū*, ed. M. Hambly, Tehran 1969, 96). In fact, however, similar levies continued to be made for the ruling classes, and large numbers of different dues and services are mentioned in documents granting *tuyūl*s and *suyūrghāl*s in the 9th/15th century and later (see further *Landlord and peasant*, and H. Busse, *Untersuchungen zum islamischen Kanzleiwesen*. See also documents in T. M. Musevi, *Orta ésr Azérbaijan tarikhiné dair Fars dilindé yazilmish sénédlér*, Baku 1956, and idem, *Baki tarikhiné dair orta ésr sénédléri*, Baku 1967).

One of the most grievous levies was *suyūrsāt* (purveyance), claimed not only by the officials known as *mihmāndār*s, who conducted foreign envoys through the countryside, but also by all great men or messengers travelling on behalf of the ruler. This first reached extortionate proportions under the Īlkhāns (cf. *Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, 270 ff.), and continued to be demanded under later rulers. Clavijo described its levy in the time of Tīmūr (*Embassy to Tamerlane*, ed. G. le Strange, London 1933, 166). Abel Pinçon, writing *ca.* 1605, mentions the ill-treatment of peasants who did not provide supplies for ambassadors, who were conducted through the country by soldiers furnished by the shah (*Antony Sherley, his Persian adventure*, ed. E. D. Ross, London 1933, 166). Under the Ḳadjārs a similar system existed and provisions by way of *suyūrsāt* were extorted from the private stores of the villages. "The villager", wrote Morier, "groans under the oppression, but in vain shrinks from it; every argument of his poverty is answered, if by nothing else, at least by the bastinado" (*Journey through Persia*, 37. Cf. also Fraser, *Narrative of a journey into Khorasan*, 88, 113, 115). The abolition of *suyūrsāt* was announced in the official gazette on 21 February 1851 except for soldiers on the march (F.O. 60: 158. Sheil to Palmerston, No. 29, Tehran, 21 February 1851), but there is no reason to suppose that this prohibition was effective. Sir Justin Sheil, writing in 1854, states that its exaction was attended by violence and oppression. *Muḥaṣṣil*s were the chief offenders. Governors and other functionaries travelling to and from their posts were also a scourge to the country (F.O. 60: 194. Sheil to Shah, n.d.).

The tax assessment and the levy of troops. The provision of troops, so far as this was connected with the grant of *iḳṭāʿ*s and *tuyūl*s, was closely connected with the assessment of the land tax. In 1851, under measures introduced by Mīrzā Taḳī Amīr Niẓām, Nāṣir al-Dīn's first minister, this connection became even closer. The basis of Mīrzā Taḳī Khān's reform was that a certain quota of soldiers or government servants (*nawkar-i dawlat*) should be provided under the group assessment (*bunīča*) of each village, district or tribe, proportionate to the amount of its revenue assessment. The men served in theory for six months of the year and returned to their villages for the other six months. Their pay for this latter period was a charge on the village, as also was the small allowance paid to their families while they were away on service (ʿAbd Allāh Mustawfī, *Sharḥ-i zindagī-i man*, Tehran 1945-6, i, 91-2). A decree issued in 1307/1889-90 laid down that one man per 180 male Muslims in each village was to be taken for military service and 150 *tūmān*s for every 180 non-Muslims, but this was probably never fully operative (see further *Landlord and peasant*, 168 ff.). According to the report on the Persian army dated 1900, quoted above, nominally for every 12-20 *tūmān*s of the assessment one recruit was to be provided. *Dhimmī*s, *sayyid*s, *ʿulamāʾ*, the inhabitants of towns, and peasants on crown lands were exempted. In practice, however, recruitment was fixed in an arbitrary fashion. A village of 500 might furnish the same quota as one with only 50, while a village whose revenue might have declined was still required to provide the same number of men as when its revenue had been much greater (Report on the Persian army, *op. cit.*, 97).

Assignments on the land taxes: iḳṭāʿs, suyūrghāls and tuyūls. The jurists in the early centuries had sanctioned the practice of making assignments on the *kharādj*. Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī had, perhaps, such assignments in mind when he states that there were people whose *kharādj* had been remitted and others to whom a specific sum was allotted as a pension (*idrār*) or for other expenses and put against their *kharādj*. These privileges, he asserts, could be transmitted by sale and inheritance (*op. cit.*, 31), though it is not clear what exactly he meant by "sale" in this connection. Al-ʿUmarī also states that he had been informed that pensions (*idrārāt*), whether in the form of money or villages, remained, like landed property (*milk*), in the possession of the holder, who could dispose of them by sale or gift, or constitute them into *waḳf*, as he pleased (*Das mongolische Weltreich*, ed. K. Lech, Wiesbaden 1968, Ar. text, 96).

The practice of assigning the fiscal rights of the state to the military as *iḳṭāʿ* [*q.v.*], which became common from the 4th/10th century onwards, was, to some extent, an extension of the earlier assignments on *kharādj*. From about the 7th/13th century there was a change in terminology, and the term *iḳṭaʿ* tended to be restricted to land grants made to soldiers (cf. the grants made by Ghāzān, *Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, 303 ff.), though it was also used from time to time in other senses. The beneficiaries had no authority over the peasants except to see that they cultivated their lands or their villages and to collect from them the *dīwān* taxes (*māl wa mutawadjdjihāt-i dīwānī*). The grants could be transmitted by inheritance to a member of the holder's family or followers, provided he was prepared to bear arms, but could not be transferred by sale (*ibid.*, 307). Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī mentions *iḳṭāʿ*s in Ādharbāydjān, Shīrwān and Khurāsān (*Nuzhat al-ḳulūb*, ed. G. le Strange, *GMS*, London/Leyden 1915, Persian text, 83, 92, 93, 147).

In the 8th/14th century the term *suyūrghāl* came to be used for other aspects of the institution formerly designated by the term *iḳṭāʿ*, and was itself replaced in the 9th/15th century by the term *tuyūl* so far as the institution designated earlier by the "provincial" *iḳṭāʿ* was concerned (see further I. P. Petrushevsky, *K istorii instituta soyurgala* in *Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie*, vi (1949). The grants of *suyūrghāl*s by Tīmūr would appear to have been very much like the earlier "provincial" *iḳṭāʿ*s. In post-Tīmūrid times, however, the term *suyūrghāl* for the most part designated a grant of immunity, often hereditary, from the payment of taxation, and frequently, though not by any means always, granted to members of the religious classes. If the grantee held land the grant might include not only immunity from the payment of taxation, but also the right to receive the taxes from the local population and sometimes to exercise rights of jurisdiction. *Suyūrghāl*s were also attached to institutions. Thus, Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn (1105-35/

1694-1722) constituted six hamlets (*mazra*ʿ*a*) in Barāʾān into a *waḳf* for the Sulṭānī *madrasa* in Iṣfahān and granted their revenues (*māl wa d̲j̲ihāt wa k̲h̲āridj al-māl wa sāʾir-i d̲j̲ihāt*) as a permanent *suyūrg̲h̲āl* to the administration of the *madrasa*. No drafts for taxes or other sums (*māl wa d̲j̲ihāt wa sāʾir-i wud̲j̲ūhāt*) were to be made on those hamlets or their peasants on any account (ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Sipintā, *Tārīk̲h̲-i awḳāf-i Iṣfahān*, Iṣfahān 1967, 223).

*Tuyūl*s, on the other hand, were primarily temporary grants in return for services. They frequently carried with them the right to collect (as well as to receive) the taxes, and rights of jurisdiction. They were often in practice, and sometimes in name, hereditary. In theory, however, they had to be regranted on the accession of a new ruler. For example in Ṣafawid times, when the empire was divided into directly administered land known as *k̲h̲āṣṣa* [see K̲H̲ĀLIṢA] and indirectly administered land known as *mamālik*, the taxes, including the land tax, were collected by the provincial governor or *tuyūldār* and retained by him for provincial and other expenses. One of the crucial differences between *k̲h̲āṣṣa* and *mamālik* was that *tuyūl*s were granted on the latter but not normally on the former. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Fūminī quotes Mīrzā ʿĀlamiyān as saying, "in *k̲h̲āṣṣa* districts (*dar ulkā-yi k̲h̲āṣṣa*) the existence of a *tuyūl* has no meaning" (*Tārīk̲h̲-i Gīlān*, 232). This statement, however, does not necessarily hold good throughout the Ṣafawid period. The *tuyūl* granted to Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn Aḥmad Bāfḳī (see below) was on *k̲h̲āṣṣa* land.

S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās in 1019/1611 appointed Burhān al-Dīn *k̲h̲alīfa* of the district of Dizmār in succession to his father and allotted to him, as had been allotted to his father, 34 *tūmān*s 7938 Tabrīzī *dīnār*s on account of the taxes (*māl wa d̲j̲ihāt wa wud̲j̲ūhāt*) of Dizmār as his *tuyūl* and *suyūrg̲h̲āl* from the date of the death of his father. The *kadk̲h̲udā*s and peasants (*ra*ʿ*āyā*) of Dizmār were to recognise him as the holder of the *suyūrg̲h̲āl* and their *tuyūldār* and to pay to him their taxes year by year and to refer to him their affairs, apart from cases of murder (*siwā-yi ḳaḍiyya-i k̲h̲ūn*). The Ṣūfīs (i.e. the Ḳizilbās̲h̲) of Dizmār and Uzumdil were to serve him as messengers and military followers (? *bi d̲j̲ār wa yāsāk*) as they had served his father. The governors (*ḥukkām*), *dārūg̲h̲a*s, *tuyūldār*s, and tax-collectors (ʿ*ummāl*) of Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān in general and Dizmār in particular were not to interfere in any way in his *suyūrg̲h̲āl* or *tuyūl* or to make any drafts or allocations on account of expenses (*ik̲h̲rād̲j̲āt*) or dues (ʿ*awāriḍāt*), in particular the dues of the *dārūg̲h̲a*, the wazir, or the *kalāntar*, etc., which according to the decree of the late sultan (Ṭahmāsp) were not levied on the *suyūrg̲h̲āl*s of the Ṣūfīs (Sarhang Bāyburdī, *Tārīk̲h̲-i Arasbārān*, Tehran 1962, 160).

In the case of most *tuyūl*s and some *suyūrg̲h̲āl*s the grantee was required to perform certain services or to provide military forces. For example Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn Aḥmad Bāfḳī was ordered by S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās to provide 300 men from Bāfḳ and Yazd to serve as attendants in the *k̲h̲āṣṣa* administration and to accompany the royal train on military expeditions. He collected 300 *tufangčī*s from the aforementioned places and returned with them to the capital. S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās then ordered Bāfḳ, Yazd, Sar Yazd, Fahrad̲j̲ (in the Yazd district), some of the districts of Kirmān, districts in the desert regions (*mafāza*), D̲j̲andak-i Nawḳāt and elsewhere to be his *tuyūl*, and he also appointed *suyūrg̲h̲āl*s for his children. Fak̲h̲r al-Dīn attained freedom of action and authority in those regions and spread justice among the people (Muḥammad Mufīd, *D̲j̲āmi*ʿ*-i Mufīdī*, ed. Īrad̲j̲ Afs̲h̲ār, Tehran 1961, iii, 276). S̲h̲āh Sulṭān Ḥusayn granted a *suyūrg̲h̲āl* to Amīr Bāyandur Sulṭān, the governor of Ḳarad̲j̲a Dāg̲h̲, in 1113/1702 allotting to him the sum of 6 *tūmān*s 3,096½ *dīnār*s from the taxes (*māl wa d̲j̲ihāt wa wud̲j̲ūhāt*) of the Dizmār district. After his death this was to pass to his son on condition that he provided seven men for the shah's service (*bi d̲j̲ār wa yāsāḳ-i s̲h̲āhī*). The headman and peasants of Dizmār were to remit the taxes (*māl wa d̲j̲ihāt wa wud̲j̲ūhāt*) and government dues to the grantee (*A soyūrg̲h̲āl of Jahāngīr Āq-Qoyunlū*, 158-60). Nādir S̲h̲āh similarly granted a *tuyūl* in 1156/1743 to Sulṭān Muḥammad Beg, the *ḳurčībās̲h̲ī*, on one of the villages of Burk̲h̲ʷār, which was his private property, so that it should be free of *dīwān* drafts (*hawālad̲j̲āt-i dīwānī*) and he should expend its revenues on his livelihood and perform whatever was demanded by way of service (*lawāzim-i čākirī wa d̲j̲ān-sipārī*) (B.M., Or. 4935, No. 17).

The assumption appears to have been made that the obligation to service was a permanent one and that the *tuyūl* would therefore also be permanent, and it was, in fact, frequently regranted to the original holder's sons and descendants. The following example illustrates this. Muḥammad Mīrzā (later Muḥammad S̲h̲āh), when governor of Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān, granted a *tuyūl* to Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲ī D̲j̲āmī Beg Bāyburdī in 1242/1827, allocating to him the taxes of the village of Nuḳdūz, in the district of Ahar, which was assessed at a lump sum of 15 *k̲h̲arwār*s of rice, as his permanent *tuyūl* just as it had been granted by ʿAbbās Mīrzā in former years to his late father, Ḥusayn Sulṭān, so that he should year by year collect the *dīwān* taxes (*mutawad̲j̲d̲j̲ihāt-i dīwānī*) of that village, expend them on his expenses and perform what was demanded of him by way of service (*bi lawāzim-i k̲h̲idmat-gud̲h̲ārī wa bandagī*) (*Tārīk̲h̲-i Arasbārān*, 260).

The degree to which a district on which or in which a *tuyūl* had been granted was removed from the control of the central government varied. In 1014/1605 S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās sent Mīrzā ʿĀlamiyān to K̲h̲urāsān because peculation and extortion had been reported and ordered that the levy of taxes in *tuyūl*s should be under his supervision (Īvāg̲h̲lī Ḥaydar, *D̲j̲āma*ʿ*a-i murāsilāt ūlu 'l-albāb*. Add. 7688 f. 200b, quoted by Röhrborn, 106-7). For the most part, however, with the grant of a *tuyūl*, especially if this was in the form of a specific amount of cash and/or grain granted to an individual on his own land, the land and its taxes were removed from the control of the central or provincial government. For example, a *farmān* dated 1252/1836 from Muḥammad S̲h̲āh granted to Ḥasan K̲h̲ān Bāyburdī Ḳarad̲j̲a Dāg̲h̲ī as a *tuyūl* the village of Razīn in the district of Ahar, which was his own estate, and gave him its taxes, in cash and kind, as pay, which he was to collect every year and spend on his living expenses. The *farmān* commands Ḳahramān Mīrzā, the governor of Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān, to hand the village over to Ḥasan K̲h̲ān as his *tuyūl* and to consider it immune from the entry of officials (*Tārīk̲h̲-i Arasbārān*, 264). Some years later in 1272/1856 Nāṣir al-Dīn S̲h̲āh issued a *farmān* to the commander-in-chief (*sardār-i kull*), ʿAzīz K̲h̲ān, stating that the 184 *tūmān*s 7300 *dīnār*s in cash and 47 *k̲h̲arwār*s and 50 *mann*s of grain (*d̲j̲ins*) as wages (*mawād̲j̲ib wa mustamarrī*) had been granted to Ḥasan K̲h̲ān Bāyburdī Ḳarad̲j̲a Dāg̲h̲ī on account of the taxes of Bohol and his other estates (*amlāk*) and debited against the revenue of Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲an in the assessment (*dastūr al-*ʿ*amal*). Since Ḥasan K̲h̲ān had

been appointed to serve in Fārs, ʿAzīz Khān was to order his *tuyūl*s to be paid (*wā gudhār namūda*) to him as before and to forbid anyone to interfere in them (*Tārīkh-i Arasbārān*, 268).

The amount of land or its revenue alienated from the crown as *tuyūl*s varied. Rawlinson, writing about 1838, states that it was calculated that about one-fifth of the whole land revenue of Persia was then alienated from the crown (*Notes on a journey from Tabríz through Persian Kurdistán to the ruins of Takhti-Soleïmán*, in *JRGS* (1841), 5, n).

Apart from *suyūrghāl*s and *tuyūl*s, grants known as *hamasāla* were also common. These were allocations on the revenue of specific villages or districts, according to which the taxpayers paid their taxes, up to the amount stipulated, to the holder of the *hamasāla* instead of to the government tax-collector. Since the holders were usually military men or government officials, they were not usually resident in the district on which their *hamasāla* was allotted. It was perhaps for this reason that the local people were sometimes required to certify their consent to the grant of pay (*hamasāla*) on the revenues of their village. A *farmān* from Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn dated 1122/1710 states that Pīrī Beg b. Kalb ʿAlī Beg, the deputy (*nāʾib*) of Nadjaf Ḳulī Beg Yūzbāshī Bāyburdlū, who claimed that his wages (*mawādjib*) were paid by draft, part of which was paid by the people of the villages of Almān and Bohol (both near Ahar) out of their taxes (*māl wa djihāt*), had asked that these sums should be paid as his *hamasāla* in accordance with the certificate (*ridānāmča*) sealed by a group of the people of those villages. The *farmān* orders this to be done with the approval of the department (*sarkār*) of the *ḳurčī*s (*Tārīkh-i Arasbārān*, 251; text also in Ḳāʾim Maḳāmī, *Yak ṣad wa pandjāh sanad-i tārīkhī*, Tehran 1969, 74-5).

Two earlier *fārman*s issued by Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn in respect of Pīrī Beg also concern the payment of his *hamasāla*. The first dated Shawwāl 1113/1702 states that the peasants (*raʿāyā*) of Usnur in the district of Kandawān of Karahrūd were to pay, according to the attestation of the register of the *ḳurčī*s, 6 *tūmān*s annually on account of the annual grant of the *ḳurčī*s. The sum due to Pīrī Beg from this was in arrears. His presence (on duty) having been testified to and confirmed by the *ḳurčībāshī*, his pay was to be made available. The second document, dated Muḥarram 1114/1702 orders the peasants (*raʿāyā*) of the districts mentioned on the back of the document to pay, according to the statement and attestation of the *ḳurčī* register, 1,466 *dīnār*s in cash and 3 *kharvār*s and 50 *mann*s in grain, according to their individual assessments, in respect of the annual wages (*mawādjib-i hamasāla*) of Pīrī Beg, this sum being included in the total sum of 36,000 *tūmān*s odd (due to the *ḳurčī*s) (Ḳāʾim Maḳāmī, *op. cit.*, 63-4).

Under the Īlkhāns, personal immunities, known as *tarkhān*, were granted to Mongol princes and princesses, and also to members of the religious classes and scribes (cf. Djuwaynī, i, 27-8 for the supposed origin of these grants). The historian Waṣṣāf claims to have held such an immunity, though it did not, in fact, protect him from the extortions of the tax-collectors (*Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, 631). It is possible that the hereditary grants of immunity made to the religious classes and others as *suyūrghāl*s (see above) developed out of the *tarkhān*.

The grants known as *muʿāfī* and *musallamī* were also personal immunities. So far as the persons to whom they were granted held land, the immunity included, presumably, immunity from the payment of *kharādj*. Such grants are met with in the early centuries and continued to be made down to modern times.

So far as the *tuyūl* was simply a device for the payment of salary the tendency was, according to Tavernier, for the *daftarkhāna* to allocate the sums due to an official on different places in small sums so that it was uneconomical for the recipient to collect them in person and *taḥṣīldār*s would buy the drafts at a discount and collect them together making a great profit (*Voyages en Perse*, Geneva 1970, 249-50). Chardin, however, states that ʿAbbās II had reformed this practice (v, 422). Under the Ḳādjārs such grants were usually made as block grants and the *tuyūldār* would, as Sheil wrote in 1854, "by some means not very intelligible" make himself the temporary owner of the land to the exclusion of the real proprietor. Almost everyone holding a certain position at court, from the prime minister downwards was, he states, a *tuyūldār* (F.O. 60: 194, Sheil to the Shah, n.d.).

Drafts on the revenue. An even more harmful practice than the alienation of the fiscal rights of the state in the form of *iḳṭāʿ*s and *tuyūl*s was the practice of writing drafts on the revenue. This also arose because of the difficulties experienced in revenue collection and tended to reach high proportions in periods of financial stringency. It first became common under the Būyids and more especially under the Īlkhāns (cf. *Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, 244). The practice was highly detrimental to agricultural prosperity and to the wellbeing of the cultivators, who could never be certain that new demands for sums of money or supplies of grain and other crops would not be made upon them. Not infrequently the drafts made on the revenue exceeded the income. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī Falak ʿAlā-yi Tabrīzī in his handbook on financial administration, the *Saʿādat-nāma*, written during the reign of Ghāzān Khān or Uldjāytū, describes how drafts for salaries and other purposes were drawn on the revenue, and states that drafts in favour of the ruler, the princesses, the princes, and the amirs had priority in that order on available funds (Mirkamal Nabipur, *Die beiden persischen Leitfäden des Falak ʿAlā-yi Tabrīzī über das staatliche Rechnungswesen im 14. Jahrhundert*, Göttingen 1973, Persian text, 52b).

Ghāzān Khān attempted to lessen the evils of the practice. He prohibited the indiscriminate writing of drafts by the officials of the central government and forbade its practice altogether by provincial officials. He appointed a *bitikčī* to be in charge of each province in the supreme *dīwān* and made him responsible for writing drafts on that province, village by village, in accordance with the assessment (*ḳānūn*). These measures were only partially successful. It was found that the village headmen continued to levy more than they ought from the taxpayers. The next step was to require them to send detailed lists of the liabilities of each taxpayer to the *dīwān* so that the taxpayer would know what he was supposed to pay, and the headmen could not make demands on those whose names were not entered in the registers (*ibid.*, 253 ff., and cf. *Landlord and peasant*, 82 ff.).

Under the Ṣafawids and Ḳādjārs it was also common practice to write drafts on the revenue for the salaries of officials, and for pensions and government debts. Under Muḥammad Shāh (1834-48) the issue of *barāt*s or bills on the provincial treasuries in payment of his army, servants and other creditors exceeded tenfold the amount of the revenue. Their value was thus merely nominal, and none but a favoured few,

or those who bribed highly, actually received payment. Sheil, writing in 1846, states that scarcely any portion of the revenue from the provinces reached Tehran. Most of the holders of drafts were therefore glad to sell them at any price. The principal governors had their agents in Tehran to purchase these bills drawn on their respective provinces. The full amount was then afterwards charged in their accounts with the government although perhaps only a fifth or a tenth might have been really paid (F.O. 60: 125, Sheil to Palmerston, No. 117, Tehran, 20 November 1846. See also Lady Sheil, *Glimpses of life and manners in Persia*, London 1856, 386-7). This state of affairs was, in some respects reminiscent of that which prevailed under the Īlkhāns prior to Ghāzān Khān (cf. *Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, 243 ff.).

Revenue farming. Another practice which closely affected the collection of *kharādj* was that of revenue farming. Partly because of a frequent shortage of funds and partly because of the perennial difficulties experienced over the collection of taxes governments frequently had recourse to this practice. The revenue farm [see ḌAMĀN], which might be for a single tax such as *kharādj*, or for all the taxes of a district or province, had some outward resemblance to the *muḳāṭaʿa* contract. In fact, however, it was something different. The latter in the early centuries was for the most part made with the local landowner or tribal leader, who became responsible for the payment of the taxes, apportioned them among the local peasants, collected them and paid them to the government. The taxfarmer, on the other hand, contracted to pay annually to the state, for a stipulated period, a certain sum of money for a specific tax, or all the taxes, of a district or province, which sum he recovered on his own account from the taxpayers. In many cases he bid for his contract. There are cases of local landowners farming the revenue of their own land under a *ḍamān* contract, but in general the revenue farmer was a middleman whose only interest in the land was its revenue.

The system was open to great abuses. Its spread was usually symptomatic of a breakdown in the administration and the finances of the state. The revenue farm became increasingly common with the decline of the ʿAbbāsid empire, but by the 5th/11th century it had largely given way to the *iḳṭāʿ*. After the fall of the Great Saldjūḳs, it again increased. Ibn Djawzī states, under the year 556/1160-1, that the *kharādj* of ʿIrāḳ was put up to contract (*al-Muntaẓam*, Haydarābād, Deccan 1939-40, x, 200). Under the Īlkhāns, especially prior to the reign of Ghāzān Khān, revenue farming, now known by the term *muḳāṭaʿa*, which had lost its original sense, became very common (cf. Maḥmūd-i Āmulī, *Nafāʾis al-funūn*, ed. Abu'l Ḥasan Shiʿrānī, Tehran 1958, i, 328, who defines *muḳāṭaʿa* as *ḍamān-i walāyat*, the farming of a province). In a specimen document (*taslīm-nāma*) for a *muḳāṭaʿa* contract quoted by ʿAlā-yi Tabrīzī, the tax-farmer undertakes to pay by a certain date the sum agreed upon, and is given immunity from interference. He is forbidden to impose new dues or to take more than the customary amount from the taxpayers, while the *dīwān* is enjoined not to make drafts in excess of what is laid down or to send tax-collectors to the province (*Die beiden persischen Leitfäden*, f. 56a. Cf. also *Nafāʾis al-funūn* for a specimen *taslīm-nāma*, i, 312-13).

Expenses for the post (*yām*), *ʿulūfa* and *ulāgh* were allowed against the sums due from the tax-farmers. The fact that the establishments of the Mongol princes, princesses and amirs and the *ortāḳs* (trading establishments attached to the court) also made frequent and unauthorised demands on the peasants for provisions, fodder, and animals complicated the system (cf. *Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī and Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*). In theory a trial balance could be struck at any moment, but the checking of the tax-farmers' accounts was often a lengthy business, as the numerous references to the prolonged investigation of their accounts show (see especially *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*). Although money may often have changed hands at the time of the award of a contract, it appears to have been unusual for payments of the amount due from a farm to have been made in advance. Waṣṣāf records that the Shaykh al-Islām Djamāl al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, who received a *muḳāṭaʿa* contract for the *indjū* and *dalāy* of Fārs for four years from 692/1292-3 for 1,000 *tūmān*s less 114 *tūmān*s expenses (*ikhrādjāt*) allowed him per annum, paid the money due for one year in advance together with various presents for the Īlkhān, the princesses, and amirs so that "no financial demands would be made on the poor peasants nor would the burden of the coming and going of *ilčīs* be laid upon them" (*Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, 168). This was, to judge from Waṣṣāf's account, probably an exceptional case.

In the early years of Īlkhān rule many of the outlying provinces were farmed to the local rulers. The Saldjūḳ rulers of Rūm, ʿIzz al-Dīn Kay Kāʾūs and Rukn al-Dīn Ḳilidj Arslān and their successors, who acted as governors on behalf of the Īlkhāns, appear to have held their governments, nominally at least, on a *muḳāṭaʿa* tenure (cf. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad *Musāmarat al-akhbār*, ed. Osman Turan, Ankara 1944, 62). Kirmān, after paying tribute for some years, was finally fully incorporated into the Īlkhān empire under Djalāl al-Dīn Suyūrghatmish, the Ḳutlugh Khānid, who succeeded to the government of Kirmān in 681/1282. He farmed all the taxes of Kirmān for 600,000 *dīnār-i zar-i rāʾidj*. He was allowed as regular expenses (*ikhrādjāt-i muḳarrarī*) 390,000 *dīnār*s. This sum was broken down as follows: 100,000 *dīnār*s for his personal expenses as governor, 120,000 *dīnār*s for the wages of the army, 10,000 *dīnār*s for guards (*ṭalāya wa ḳarāwulī*), 10,000 for the repair of fortresses, city walls, and the digging of *dīwānī ḳanāt*s, 30,000 *dīnār*s for pensions (*idrārāt*), 90,000 *dīnār*s for provisions (*sūsūn*), 10,000 *dīnār*s for the post (*yām*), 10,000 *dīnār*s for provisions (*ḥawāʾidj*) and *ḳahwa* (? = "wine"), 10,000 *dīnār*s for the wages of the officials of the *dīwān* (Nāṣir al-Dīn Munshī, *Simṭ al-ʿulā*, ed. ʿAbbās Iḳbāl, Tehran 1939-57).

Fārs had a varied fiscal history in the second half of the 7th/13th century. In 662/1263, on the death of the Muẓaffarid Saldjūḳshāh, with the succession of Abish Khātūn, the daughter of Saʿd b. Abū Bakr, who was married to Tāsh Mangū, Hūlāgū's son, it came under direct Mongol rule. The Mongols were unable to establish an effective administration, and some three years later, in 665/1266-7, after an abortive rising led by Sharaf al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, the *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt* of Fārs, a *bitikčī* came to Shīrāz to collect the taxes. He was unable to accomplish his task and in 667/1268-9 Abāḳā sent Inkiyānū to Fārs as governor. He restored order and established an administration. The taxes were collected and the province prospered (*Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, 193). Intrigues led to his dismissal and he was succeeded by Sughundjak Noyan in 670/1271. After investigating the accounts of the province, Sughundjak concluded *muḳāṭaʿa* contracts for the districts of Fārs with the local leaders (*aṣḥāb wa mulūk-i bulūk*) from the beginning of the *kharādjī* year 671/1272-3 on condition that each one should rule

independently in his own district and meet whatever requisitions were made on the revenue of the district by the *dīwān* (*ibid.*, 195). Waṣṣāf states that although there were abundant surpluses under these contracts, yet owing to the numerous dues and requisitions made upon the revenues and the envy and strife prevailing among the local leaders, the revenue was not paid, the holders of drafts were unable to collect their money, the peasants were ruined, and the country lost its prosperity. Finally, in 676/1277-8 Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Malik, a rich merchant with extensive trade connections with the east and the west, accepted a *muḳāṭaʿa* contract for the whole of Fārs. Because of the failure of the local leaders (*arbāb-i bulūkāt*) to pay the sums due to him, all his reserves were rapidly dissipated in this venture (*ibid.*, 197-8). In 678/1279-80 Sughundjak was again sent to Fārs by Abāḳā to investigate the accounts and collect the revenue (*ibid.*, 204). He abrogated the *muḳāṭaʿa* contracts for the districts, demanded arrears and gave his wazīr Khʷādja Niẓām al-Dīn charge of all the districts (*bulūk*s). However, as a result of the intrigues of rival factions, in which some of the revenue farmers were also involved, Sughundjak and Niẓām al-Dīn fell from favour.

Meanwhile Abāḳā died (680/1281) (*ibid.*, 206-8). The next two years were a period of confusion. A Mongol *amīr*, Būlūghān, who had been sent to Shīrāz as a provincial revenue official (*bāsḳāḳ*), succeeded in maintaining his position in that town while refusing, at the same time, to pay the taxes and arrears demanded by the *muḥaṣṣilān* sent by Arghūn, the new Īlkhān. Tāsh Mangū was then sent to Shīrāz as governor with orders to remove Būlūghān. The latter on the approach of Tāsh Mangū set out for Khurāsān. Tāsh Mangū entered Shīrāz and during the next year accumulated much wealth. In or about 682/1283-4 Abish, Tāsh Mangū's wife, was appointed governor by Tegūdār (*ibid.*, 210-11). Partly, perhaps mainly, because of three years of drought and famine in which over 100,000 people were said to have died (*ibid.*, 212, 217-18), little revenue reached the central treasury during her government. She was accordingly summoned to Tabrīz; she and her supporters after examination agreed to pay the arrears of taxation and various other sums. She died, however, almost immediately (685/1286-7) (*ibid.*, 222). A *yarlīgh* was then issued to the governors of Fārs, who had come to Tabrīz with Abish, on their promising to pay 5,000,000 gold *dīnār*s on account of arrears for several years, and they set out with a number of Mongol officials and *amīr*s for Fārs to collect the arrears. Although the governors, tax-collectors and wealthy people were mercilessly mulcted, it proved impossible to collect the full sum and the Īlkhān was forced to reach a compromise with the governors of Fārs (*ibid.*, 224-5).

Fārs may have been an extreme case. But it seems likely that the revenue farmers all over the empire committed abuses. Rashīd al-Dīn states that they extracted double the amount for which they contracted but paid nothing into the treasury (*Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, 258). Ghāzān Khān, who sought to bring the financial administration of the empire under stricter control, considerably decreased revenue farming. It nevertheless continued on a modified scale. Bayāt in Khūzistān, for example, was farmed to the local leaders for a fixed sum which was to be used for the salaries of amirs of four hundred provided that they demanded their dues at harvest time (*Mukātabāt-i Rashīdī*, 179).

Under the Ḳādjārs, revenue farming again became widespread. ʿAbbās Mīrzā, when governor of Ādharbāydjān, is said to have made some progress in abolishing the practice and fixing the revenues of the province on a systematic scale and enforcing their collection (J. B. Fraser, *Travels in Koordistan*, London 1840, i, 8, and cf. Morier, *Second journey through Persia*, 240-1), but his reforms were limited and short-lived, and towards the end of the reign of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh and under his successors revenue farming was again common. It was of two kinds. The first resembled the early Islamic *muḳāṭaʿa* contract, according to which powerful landowners farmed the duty of their estates to prevent the vexatious interference of the subordinate officials of the revenue (cf. Malcolm, ii, 338). The second, and more pernicious, was the system by which governors bid for their districts.

The tax administration: central government records. At the level of the central government, land revenue matters went through the department known as the *dīwān al-istīfāʾ*, which was part of the supreme *dīwān* [*q.v.*]. Its elaborate procedure concerned with the assessment, collection and expenditure of the taxes was transmitted to posterity by the *mustawfī*s [*q.v.*]. However, because of the widespread practice of farming the revenue, of the alienation of land from the control of the central government as *iḳṭāʿ*s, *tuyūl*s, and *suyūrghāl*s, and of the writing of drafts on the revenue, the registers of the *mustawfī*s often bore little relation to the way in which the taxes were actually partitioned and collected in the provinces. The practical steps needed to keep the assessments up to date were seldom taken.

The two handbooks by ʿAlā-yi Tabrīzī, the *Ḳānūn al-saʿādat* and the *Saʿādat-nāma*, which have come down to us (see Mirkamal Nabipur, *op. cit.*), show that in spite of the introduction of new taxes, notably *ḳūbčūr* and *tamghā* (see below) by the Mongols, there was a marked continuity in accounting practice (cf. also Maḥmūd-i Āmulī, *Nafāʾis al-funūn*, whose description of the art of accountancy (*ʿilm-i istīfā*) is largely the same as ʿAlā-yi Tabrīzī's exposition, though less detailed). There were some minor differences in vocabulary and dating, the Khānī solar year having come into operation under Ghāzān Khān (see further *Tārīkh-i Waṣṣāf*, 404), and also certain minor modifications, made, according to ʿAlā-yi Tabrīzī, with a view to a simplification of the accounts for the benefit of the Mongols (f. 33b).

The tax assessments were entered in two registers. One, the *daftar-i māl*, which was concerned with the "fixed" taxes of the villages, included land taxes. The other, *daftar-i ḍarība*, recorded dues and commercial transactions (*muʿāmilāt*), and included *tamghā* taxes, etc. (f. 62b; cf. also *Nafāʾis al-funūn*, i, 324). ʿAlā-yi Tabrīzī's description of the subsidiary registers (*ṣūrat-i mufrid-i wilāyāt*) throws considerable light on the sources of revenue, including land taxes, and their expenditure (see also below). Taking the case of the *tumen* (province) of Kāshān as an example, he sets out the total revenue in cash from (i) "fixed" taxes from *muʿāmilāt* (taxes on production other than agriculture), sheep and cattle taxes (*al-marāʿī*), and land tax (*al-ʿushr*) according to the ancient assessment (*fīʾl-ḳadīm*), and (ii) *tamghā* taxes, responsibility for which had been accepted by a certain *malik*, Nāṣir al-Dīn, for a given year, as from the Naw Rūz. The revenues from "fixed" taxes are set out under taxes from (i) the town (*al-balada*), these being levied on craftsmen (*al-mutaḥarrifa*), who were sub-divided into those who paid 5 per cent *tamghā* and those who did not (and presumably paid higher *ad hoc* rates),

and *dhimmīs* (Jews and Armenians), and (ii) the outlying districts (*al-nawāḥī*), sub-divided under villages. Against this he sets out the sums to be deducted under various heads. These were (a) the expenses of the province (*maṣāliḥ al-wilāya*) as laid down by the supreme *dīwān*, namely allowances (*al-rusūmāt*) for the *bāsḳāḳ*, the *malik* and the scribe (*ḳātib*) and sums for the upkeep of the roads, listed under two districts, and (b) drafts made on the revenue by the court for the upkeep of the establishments of two Mongol princesses (*āsh-i khawātīn*), drafts (*al-iḥtisābiyya*) for a Mongol princess for one year on specific villages, allocations for military personnel (*al-ʿasākir*) attached to falconers (*al-ḳūshiyya*), partly in cash and partly in kind, and partly as expenses (*taghār*), and for post-stations (*al-yām*) and forage for them (*al-sūsūn*) for six months. The revenue from *tamghā* is similarly set out under (a) brokerage (*dallālkhāna*), camel-markets (*khaṭīra*), slave-markets (*nakhkhāsiyya*), cattle and sheep markets (*sūḳ al-dawābb*) and slaughterhouses (*al-sallākhiyya*), and (b) districts, together with the expenses charged against their revenue for various Mongol officials and amirs (ff. 67a-68b). Cf. also Maḥmūd-i Āmulī, who divides the taxes entered in the *daftar-i mufrid wa djāmiʿ* into *māl*, *ḳūbčūr* levied on craftsmen and on districts (*ḳūbčūr-i mutaḥarrifa wa ḳūbčūr-i har nāḥiyatī*), and *tamghā* on transactions (*tamghā-yi har muʿāmila*, i, 326-7).

At the local level in the early centuries the officials placed in charge of the *kharādj* in the different provinces seem to have made some attempt to establish records of villages and cultivated lands. Under the Būyids and the Saldjūḳs copies of these appear to have been held in the *dīwān al-istīfā'* and the *dīwān al-djaysh* and to have served as the basis on which districts were assigned to the *amīrs* and soldiers as *iḳṭāʿs*. But it is doubtful whether these records were kept up-to-date. Once the collection of the *kharādj* and other taxes had ceased to be the direct concern of the central government, there was no great incentive to it to bring the records up-to-date, even had it had the facilities to do so. The existence of seasonal capitals and the fact that when the sultan or shah went on an expedition, military or otherwise, the court and the principal administrative officials frequently went with him, did not favour the accumulation of records. Further, the overthrow of one dynasty by another was sometimes accompanied by the destruction of existing records.

From time to time, partial or complete lists of villages and their lands were made by later rulers. Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh mentions the existence of registers of the income and expenditure of former times (*Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, 187-8). He alleges that consequent upon Ghāzān Khān's despatch of *bitikčīs* to the provinces to register all the villages, many places which had never before been registered became subject, for the first time, to assessment so that detailed lists of the villages were made available in the *dīwān* (*ibid.*, 258, 260, 262. Cf. also *Mukātabāt-i Rashīdī*, 33-4).

Uzun Ḥasan made an assessment between 874/1470 and 883/1477 under which the taxes, as in Īlkhān times, were grouped under three main headings: (i) land taxes, (ii) taxes on industrial production, and (iii) dues. The first consisted of a tax levied in cash on the ploughland (*djuft*) and due in spring; taxes in kind on the grain harvest, the rate varying and rising in some districts to 20 percent; a tax on vineyards, assessed usually in cash, and on nut trees at the rate of one-tenth of the produce; in some districts a levy in firewood and honey; and cattle and sheep taxes levied at the rate of so much per animal. Cesses for government officials were included under the heading of dues. There were considerable local variations (see further *Das Steuerwesen Ostanatoliens im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert, op. cit.*). These regulations were apparently still in operation under Shāh Ṭahmāsp, according to the *Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh* of Ḳāḍī Aḥmad (quoted by Röhrborn, *op. cit.*, 58), and until the end of the 9th/16th century in parts of ʿIrāḳ, Fārs and Ādharbāydjan, according to Sharaf al-Dīn Bidlīsī, (*Scheref-namah*, ed. Veliaminof-Zernof, St. Petersburg 1860-2, ii, 120). They are mentioned in the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk* in connection with the dues of the *ṣāḥib djamʿ* of the *rikābkhāna* (f. 100b). Nevertheless, it is unlikely that Uzun Ḥasan's assessment was put into operation over the whole country, and it cannot, in any case, have operated efficiently during the fratricidal struggles between his son, Khalīl, who succeeded him, and Sulṭān Yaʿḳūb. A considerable part of the country was at that time alienated from the control of the central *dīwān*. Shīrāz was given to the Amīr Alwand, the son of Khalīl, for his expenses (*khʷurish*); the Shabānkāra, on the other hand, was brought directly under the supreme *dīwān* (V. Minorsky, *Persia in A.D. 1478-1490, an abridged translation of Faḍlullāh b. Rūzbihān Khunjī's Tārīkh-i ʿĀlam-ārā-yi Amīnī*, London 1957, 40). Sulṭān Yaʿḳūb after his defeat of Khalīl in 894/1489 made an abortive attempt to reaffirm the authority of the *sharīʿa* in matters of land tenure "in which the limpid clarity of the commandments of the faith had become clouded with the opaqueness of the Chingizian *yāsā*" (*ibid.*, 92. See also Minorsky, *The Āq Qoyunlū and land reforms*, in *BSOAS*, xvii (1955), 449-62). His intention was apparently to collect additional revenue from legal taxes (*abwāb-i kifāyat*) so that the various *tamghā* taxes could be repealed. Accordingly on 4 Rabīʿ I 894/5 February 1489 Ḳāḍī ʿĪsā and Shāh Sharaf al-Dīn Maḥmūd Daylamī, an inspector of the *dīwān*, set out for ʿIrāḳ and Fārs to revise the *kharādj* in conformity with the *sharīʿa* and collect the land taxes. Their main activities appear to have been to resume *suyūrghāls*; their operations were cut short by the death of Yaʿḳūb in 896/1490 (*Persia in A.D. 1478-1490*, 93 ff.).

Under the Ṣafawids there would appear to have existed detailed records of the revenue of the tax districts of the empire and the charges made upon it. These were probably based on earlier records, notably the assessment of Uzun Ḥasan mentioned above. Faḍlī Iṣfahānī records under the years 963/1555 in the *Afḍal al-tawārīkh* that a new assessment (*dastūr al-ʿamal*) was made by the *ṣadr*, Mīr Zayn al-Dīn ʿAlī, and that it was based on "the customs of good administration and care for the subjects, designed to achieve the embellishment of armies (*ḳushūnārā'ī*) and to contribute to the pomp of sovereignty, and founded upon good treatment of the subjects and soldiers (*sulūk bā raʿiyyat wa sipāhī*), and concerned the levy of taxes (*māl wa djihāt wa wudjūhāt*) from every district and tribal region (*ulūs*), even [capital] offences and the fining of criminals" (quoted by Röhrborn, 58). Detailed statements of the individual taxpayer's liabilities were in theory, if not always in practice, entered in the registers of the *dīwān* (see *Dastūr al-mulūk* and *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*). There is nothing, however, to show that the revenue records of the Ṣafawids were regularly revised, any more than earlier records had been.

Nādir Shāh in or about 1736 ordered an assessment of all landed properties in Fārs to be made. Their income and expenses were to be estimated, together

with the dues of the peasants (*bāzyārān*). No difference was to be made between *khāliṣa* land in possession of the supreme *dīwān*, land held by sayyids, *ʿulamā* and notables, and private property made into *waḳf* for mosques or *madrasas*. The facts were to be recorded in the registers and a report submitted to Nādir so that the *dīwān* taxes and dues might be justly fixed. He arranged for similar assessments to be carried out in all the provinces of Persia (Fasāʾī, *Fārs-nāma-i Nāṣirī*, lith. Tehran 1894-6, i, 181). The assessment for Fārs appears to have been submitted to Nādir in Kābul in 1738-9, whereupon he issued an order for the resumption of *tuyūl*s and *awḳāf* in Fārs (*ibid.*, i, 183). Similar orders were given in respect of Iṣfahān, but Nādir was assassinated in 1160/1747 before the operation was completed (see further *Landlord and peasant*, 131-2; see also Fasāʾī, *op. cit.*, i, 200-1). In 1739 and 1741 officials were sent to review the revenue assessments of Ādharbāydjān. It is not clear whether their work was ever completed (Nādir Mīrzā, *Tārīkh wa djughrāfiyā-yi dār al-salṭana-i Tabrīz*, ed. Lisān al-Mulk Sipihr, Tehran lith. 1905, 281 ff.). Rustam al-Ḥukamāʾ alleges that Nādir's registers were more accurate than any others, and that those of Karīm Khān Zand (1163-93/1750-79) were also accurate (*Rustam al-tawārīkh*, 325). His registers appear to have remained in force, broadly speaking, until Mīrzā Taḳī Khān Niẓām, Nāṣir al-Dīn's *ṣadr-i aʿẓam*, carried out a new assessment in 1851, many alterations in the value of the land having meanwhile taken place.

In the second half of Nāṣir al-Dīn's reign, between about 1878 and 1882, a number of reports were compiled on the villages, lands and population of most of the provinces of Persia, presumably with a view to achieving greater efficiency in the assessment and collection of the revenue and the levy of troops. New assessments were made in various districts during his reign and under those of his successors (cf. ʿAbd Allāh Mustawfī, *Sharḥ-i zindagī-i man*, Tehran 1945-6, ii, 651-2). Curzon, who visited Persia in 1889-90, however, records that for the most part the assessments were obsolete in date and character (*Persia and the Persian question*, ii, 472). A land survey planned to be carried out under the Ministry of Finance in 1889-90 proved abortive (see further *Landlord and peasant*, 168 ff.).

There were perennial difficulties over the actual collection of taxes, and what happened at the local level often had little relation to the assessment drawn up at the centre. Ghāzān Khān, when he attempted to reform the tax system, found that the local authorities continued to exact more than they should. He sought to remedy this by demanding full returns from the provinces (see below). Although such steps under a strong government may have reduced abuses, the peasants and small landowners were for the most part unable to resist the demands of the tax-collectors, the provincial governors and the military. In the nineteenth century, although the central government continued to draw up the provincial assessments, the provincial governors, instead of collecting the taxes as authorised by the central government, followed a different procedure. Thomson describes this as follows: "In practice, a very complicated and irregular system of taxation is pursued, the main feature of which appears to be that it is designed solely with a view to take as little as possible from the wealthy and influential classes, and to get as much as possible from the hard-working peasant. The object, indeed of all Persian Governors and their subordinates, as well as of the landowners generally, is to avoid simplicity; for the more intricate and uncertain the method employed for levying taxes, the greater are the opportunities afforded to extortion and all sorts of illegal exactions. Instead, therefore, of simply adhering to the above rates, by which the revenue is made to depend upon the actual produce from the land, a sum, often arbitrarily fixed, is demanded from each village, without any reference to failure of crops, insufficiency of water for irrigation, disease amongst their flocks, or other losses to which the peasant may be subjected. The amount to be demanded is determined from time to time by Government assessors, "momeiyez", who are despatched to the various districts to assess the taxes whenever the authorities may feel disposed to alter their amount. The assessor is supposed to perform this duty in accordance with the rates authorised by Government, but great injustice is done on such occasions, as he invariably demands a large fee before giving his decision, and over-estimates the taxes if it is refused, or undervalues them when liberally paid. If the land belongs to an influential person, when taxed at all, the amount is made very trifling, and, in numerous instances, villages which have not been assessed for many years, continue to pay only a nominal sum, though they may have increased in size and wealth, simply on account of the proprietor's high position, while others, which have become impoverished are compelled to pay all the taxes imposed under more prosperous conditions" (report by Mr. Thomson, *op. cit.*, 253).

Revenue from land taxes. It is difficult to estimate the proportion of the revenue provided by land taxes over the centuries. Quantitative data is not available even for the nineteenth century and such records as we have frequently do not distinguish land taxes from other forms of "regular" taxation, while the practice of alienating districts from the control of the central government as *iḳṭāʿ*s and *tuyūl*s, writing drafts on the revenue and the removal of land made into *khāliṣa* or *waḳf* from the control of the revenue authorities make it extremely difficult to interpret the available information. As stated above, agriculture was the main economic activity of the country and land taxes the largest single item of revenue. This continued to be the case even though the Mongol invasion in the 7th/13th century brought about a great increase in the numbers of the nomadic population. The immediate result of this change in the balance of the population, together with the depopulation caused by the massacres accompanying the invasion, and the introduction of a new system of taxation (although this became in due course assimilated to existing tax practices), was to disrupt the financial administration of the country (see further I. P. Petrushevsky, *The socio-economic conditions of Iran under the Īl-khāns*, in *The Cambridge history of Iran*, v, ed. J. A. Boyle, Cambridge 1968, 483-537). A higher proportion of the wealth of the ruling classes was now derived from flocks than was the case formerly, and probably also from trade, but this was not reflected to any marked extent in the revenue which reached the central treasury. The decline in the amount of land under cultivation, on the other hand, adversely affected the revenue from land taxes.

The Īlkhāns. The Mongol system was based on a census (*shumāra*) of the population (cf. Djuwaynī, *Tārīkh-i Djahāngushā*, i, 25, ii, 261, iii, 74, and also V. Minorsky, *Pūr-i Bahā and his poems*, in *Charisteria orientalia*, Prague 1956, especially verse 15) and not, as was the system in Persia, on the land. Further, the Mongol system appears to have

made a distinction between taxes levied on Mongols (who were nomads) and non-Mongols (who were sedentary), a dichotomy which was to some extent paralleled by the differences between taxes paid by Muslims and *dhimmīs* in the Islamic system. The nomad taxes were "occasional", whereas those levied on the sedentary population, were "fixed" or "regular". The precise form of these two groups of taxes varied with the nature of Mongol rule and the role of the nomads in the state at different times and in different places (see further J. Masson Smith, *Mongol and nomadic taxation*, in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (1970), 46-85).

Under the Mongol system there were apparently three main taxes, *ķūbčūr*, *ķalān* (*ķilān*) and *tamghā*. The last named was a tax on commercial goods. What the precise difference was originally between the first two, *ķūbčūr* and *ķalān*, is not entirely clear. According to Bartold *ķūbčūr* was originally levied mainly on nomads. As Quatremère has shown, it was also applied to a 1 per cent tax levied on animals raised in the *yaylāķ*, and, until the collapse of the Mongol empire, also to the poll-tax collected from the *raʿiyya* (the settled population) (*Hist. des Mongols de la Perse*, Paris 1836, i, 256 n.). Bartold concludes that although *ķūbčūr* was originally levied on nomads, it came to mean taxes imposed on cultivators and nomads in contradistinction to taxes levied on commercial goods under the name of *tamghā* (see further Bartold, *The financial situation in the Ilkhanid period*, and Zeki Velidi Togan, *Mongollar devrinde Anadolu'nun iktisadî vaziyeti*, in *Türk hukuk ve iktisat tarihi mecmuası*, i (1931), 1-42 and 135-59, respectively and Ahmet Caferoğlu, *Uyğurlarda hukuk ve maliye istilahları*, in *Türkiyat mecmuası*, iv (1934), 1-45).

According to Djuwaynī, the Mongols, "when they brought countries and peoples under their dominion, followed their established custom and imposed a census entering everyone in tens, hundreds, and thousands, and required of them the needs of the army, the post, expenses (*ikhrādjāt*) and fodder (*ʿulūfāt*) apart from ordinary taxation (*khāridj az māl*) and over and above these burdens they imposed upon individuals a *ķūbčūr* (? *bar bālā-yi in athķāl ķūbčūrī nīz burīda kardand*)" (i, 25). Although Djuwaynī later defines *ķūbčūr* as a tax on flocks and herds (iii, 79), it would appear to have the meaning of some kind of poll-tax, in the passage quoted, a meaning which it could also bear in a passage in Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī's essay on finance (*op. cit.*, 33), which states that five classes were exempt from *ķūbčūr*, namely (i) *tarkhān*s (persons enjoying certain immunities granted by the Great Khān), such as religious leaders, (ii) the old, (iii) the sick, (iv) the poor and (v) children. Rashīd al-Dīn similarly states that according to the *yāsā* of Čingiz Khān, judges, learned men, and ʿAlids (*sic*) did not pay *ķūbčūr* or *ķalān* (*Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, 218). The references to *ķūbčūr* in Pūr Bahā's poems also suggest that it was in the nature of a poll-tax. Further, it is clear from the passage in the *Djahāngushā* describing the *amīr* Arghūn's report on Arrān in 656/1258, and the subsequent reassessment of *ķūbčūr* at 1 *dīnār* for the poor rising to 500 for the wealthy, that *ķūbčūr* was in this instance some sort of poll-tax (ii, 261, and cf. also ii, 256). Again from the description which ʿAlā-yi Tabrīzī gives in the *Saʿādat-nāma* of the tax registers, it would seem that *ķūbčūr* was not a tax on flocks and herds, but rather a poll-tax paid by villagers at so much per head per solar year. The registers contain separate entries for *al-māliyya* and *al-ķūbčūriyya*, and under the former sub-entries for *al-ʿushr*, *al-marāʿī* and *al-muʿāmilāt* (f. 62b). Maḥmūd-i Āmulī also states that there were subsidiary ledgers for *māl*, *ķūbčūr* and *tamghā* for each province; he sub-divides *ķūbčūr* into *ķūbčūr-i mutaḥarrifa* and *ķūbčūr-i har nāḥiyat* (*Nafāʾis al-funūn*, i, 326-7). The inference to be drawn is that whereas *al-māliyya* included land taxes and taxes on flocks and herds, *al-ķūbčūriyya* consisted of poll-taxes.

There is, however, no reason to suppose that *ķūbčūr* meant the same thing throughout the Īlkhān period. Most probably, it was used at different times to mean respectively a poll-tax and a tax on flocks and herds, and also to cover respectively "fixed" or "regular" taxes and "occasional" or "casual" imposts. Rashīd al-Dīn on one occasion speaks of *ķūbčūr-i mawāshī* levied on the Mongol tribes (*ulūs-i mughul*) (*Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, 304), by which he presumably meant a tax levied at so much per head on flocks and herds or an "occasional" tax on flocks and herds. Muʿīn al-Dīn Natanzī referring to the administration of Ķazaghān in Central Asia in the 8th/14th century, states that because of his justice no amir or wazir could take a single *dīnār* from anyone under any pretext except by way of *ʿushr-i djins* and *ķūbčūr-i rasmī* (*Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, 200). The former presumably meant a land tax levied in kind, but it is not clear what was meant by the latter; perhaps it was a poll-tax or a tax on flocks and herds. In documents issued by Yaʿķūb Beg and Alwand dated 884/1479 and 904/1490 respectively granting certain immunities and exemptions to sayyids descended from ʿAlī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā, *ķūbčūr* does not seem to mean a flock tax. The relevant passage reads, "*mawāshī*, *marāʿī* and *tamghā* shall not be taken from them and their peasants (*barzigarān*) shall not be ordered to perform forced labour (*bīgār*) or to beat on hunting expeditions (*shikār*) and *ķūbčūr* shall not be taken from them" (*Untersuchungen*, 159, 166).

So far as the Mongols became in the course of time agricultural proprietors and town-dwellers, they presumably became liable to the "regular" taxes levied on the sedentary population, which, in turn, were assimilated, or had already been assimilated, to the taxes to which the Persian population were traditionally subject. With this the Mongol terms underwent modifications in their meanings. *Ķūbčūr* lost its meaning of an "occasional" tax paid by Mongols. *Ķalān* (a term not found in Djuwaynī) also probably underwent modification. Bartold thinks that it was a tax levied on sown lands and on the peasantry in general. Caferoğlu accepts this view with some reserve. Masson Smith, following Bartold, thinks that *ķalān* meant the pre-Mongol and essentially sedentary taxation of the conquered people and that it designated in the early Īlkhān period *māl*, "fixed" or "regular" taxation paid by non-Mongols (*Mongol and nomadic taxation*, 55). This may be so, but in many of the passages in which the word occurs it could carry a different interpretation. Al-ʿUmarī, quoting al-Djuwaynī on the Mongol army, states that the ruler took from them *ķalān*, *ķūbčūr*, *ulāgh*, and *badraka* (*Masālik al-abṣār wa mamālik al-amṣār*, 11). The passage in Djuwaynī reads *ķūbčūr wa ʿawāriḍāt wa ikhrādjāt-i ṣādir wa wārid wa tartīb-i yām wa ulāgh wa ʿulufāt* (i, 22). This suggests that al-ʿUmarī understood *ķalān* in the sense of occasional levies (*ʿawāriḍāt*), which meaning it could bear in many, if not most, of the passages in which it appears; (cf. also the passage in Sayfī Harawī's *Tārīkh-nāma-i Harāt*, ed. Muḥ. Zubayr al-Ṣiddīķī, Calcutta 1943, 439, which states that Fakhr al-Dīn, the Kurt *malik* of Harāt, gave exemption to the people of Harāt from

ḳalanāt and *ʿawāriḍāt-i dīwānī* in 698/1298-9).

In Ghāzān's *yarlīgh* on the grant of *iḳṭāʿāt* to the Mongol army, although the term *ḳalān* could bear the interpretation of sedentary taxation levied on the conquered peoples, it could equally well mean occasional taxes (*ʿawāriḍāt*), and this is, perhaps, more likely since the passage clearly refers to the Mongol army and not to the population in general. It reads, "It is known to everyone that formerly in the time of our good fathers the Mongol *ulūs* used to demand every kind of requisition (*muṭālibāt*) and vexatious demand (*muzāḥimāt*), such as *ḳūbčūr* on flocks, the upkeep of the great post stations, the bearing of the heavy burdens of the law (*yāsāḳ*) and *ḳalānāt*, which in these days we have once and for all removed" (*Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, 304). On the other hand, the phrase which occurs later in the same document, *mardum-i čirīk ki bi ḳalān dar āmada and wa kūč dihand* (308) could be plausibly explained as "soldiers who have been brought into the assessment for sedentary taxes but [still] perform military service", though it need not necessarily bear this interpretation. If *kūč* means, as Minovi suggests, money paid by someone to the *dīwān* in lieu of performing military service as irregulars (*čirīk*), then the phrase could mean, 'soldiers who have been brought into the assessment for sedentary taxes and give money to the *dīwān* in lieu of service as irregular forces (cf. Badīʿ al-Zamān Fīrūzānfar, *Kulliyyāt-i Shams*, Tehran 1966, pt. vii, 404-5), but this interpretation is not in keeping with the general tenor of the *yarlīgh* in question.

The term *ḳalān* occurs in the *Mukātabāt-i Rashīdī*. In a letter from Rashīd al-Dīn to his son Shihāb al-Dīn, governor of Shushtar, in which the tax lists for Khūzistān are set out, there are separate headings for *tamghā*, *kharādj-i arbāb*, *māl wa kharādj-i dīwānī*, *mawāshī*, *nimār wa ḳappānī*, *niḥāla*, *čirīk*, and *ḳalān bi djihat-i umarā-yi khān ṣādiran wa wāridan* (122-3). Clearly *ḳalān* does not mean in this document either "regular" taxes or land taxes, but rather, possibly, some sort of corvée or service (cf. also Ibn Bazzāz, *Ṣafwat al-ṣafāʾ*, ed. Aḥmad b. Karīm Tabrīzī, Bombay lith. 1911, 68).

The Mongols, when they took possession of Persia, did not establish a uniform administration over the whole empire. Part of the country, as stated above, was farmed. Like the Arabs and Saldjūḳs before them, they largely took over the existing administration, but with this difference that they remained as conquerors living a separate existence from the conquered population to a far greater degree than had been the case with the Arabs, to whom the conquered peoples became assimilated by conversion to Islam, and the Saldjūḳs, who had been converted to Islam before they overran Persia. The Mongols divided their empire into provinces (*mamālik*) or *tumen*s, which broadly followed the lines of the provinces of the former great empires. They relied heavily upon local officials for the financial administration of their empire, and under their influence the Mongol system in the course of time became assimilated to the system which was current in the conquered territories. The Mongols, in the early years of the conquests, were a privileged class. How far, if at all, they were subject to taxation is by no means clear. So far as the revenue assessments were drawn up at the centre by the officials of the *dīwān*, it seems probable that they continued to be based primarily on the land, though, as shown by ʿAlā-yi Tabrīzī, there would appear to have been an increase in poll-taxes and taxes on industry. When, however, these assessments were partitioned locally, it may be that this was sometimes done on the basis of a poll-tax.

Rashīd al-Dīn's account of the Īlkhānid administration prior to Ghāzān Khān suggests that considerable variety prevailed in the fiscal administration. In assessing his account it must be remembered that his object was, in part at least, to show that the administration was in a state of disorder and that extortion had ruined the peasants. He states "before describing how the Lord of the World (Ghāzān Khān) reformed conditions in ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjam, Ādharbāydjān, and the provinces whose *dīwān* taxes consisted of *ḳūbčūr* and *tamghā*, I will mention briefly what a state of confusion had prevailed prior to this. The situation was such that these provinces were given on a *muḳāṭaʿa* contract to governors (*ḥukkām*), each one being assessed at a fixed sum, "regular" expenses (*ikhrādjāt-i muḳarrarī*) being debited against it. The governor used to levy two *ḳūbčūr* from the subjects (*raʿiyyat*) and in some places twenty or thirty *ḳūbčūr*. The governor's instructions were to allocate among the individual taxpayers the sum due on account of *ḳūbčūr* according to the revenue assessment (*djamʿ*) given to him [reading *bunīča sākhtī* for *natīdja sākhtī*]. When an *ilčī* came to the province on account of some matter or to demand a tax or something that was needed, the governor, on that pretext, would impose a *ḳūbčūr* on the individual taxpayers (*ḳūbčūrī ḳismat kardī*), and although many *ilčī*s would come and their expenses (*ikhrādjāt*) and demands (*multamisāt*) would be unlimited, the governor would nevertheless be happy at their arrival and make requisitions upon the taxpayers, now for some important affair, now for the forage and expenses (*ʿulūfa wa ikhrādjāt*) of the *ilčī*s, and now for some special undertaking or demand (*taʿahhud wa multamisāt*). Part of what he collected he would expend on those matters, part he would appropriate himself, and part he would give to the *shiḥna* and the *bitikčī*s so that they would become his accomplices and support him in his lies. Of all the taxes taken from the subjects nothing would be transmitted to the treasury and the taxes of the province (*amwāl-i wilāyāt*) would all be absorbed by "regular" expenses (*ikhrādjāt-i muḳarrarī*) and drafts (*ḥawālāti cand*)" (*Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, 243-4). Unfortunately, it is impossible to tell from the Persian text whether ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjam and Ādharbāydjān were among the provinces whose *dīwān* taxes consisted of *ḳūbčūr* and *tamghā* or whether they fell into another category of provinces.

Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī's account in the *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb* also suggests that considerable variety prevailed. He states that the important province of Khurāsān enjoyed a special status. This was because most of the wazirs and scribes of the supreme *dīwān* were Khurāsānīs, and so they had constituted Khurāsān, Ḳuhistān, Ḳumis, Māzandarān and Ṭabaristān into a separate province (*mamlakat*), the accounts of which were kept apart from those of other provinces. Ḥamd Allāh alleges that they put 200,000 *dīnār*s annually against the revenues nominally for the expenses of the army of Khurāsān, thus reducing the amount due to the central treasury. This situation continued until the reign of Abū Saʿīd, when Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Rashīd al-Dīn found out and stopped the practice. He had intended to draw up an account of the taxes of the province, deduct from the total the regular expenses of the province, sums for the *iḳṭāʿ*s of the soldiers and other local expenses, and to have the rest remitted to the treasury, but he died before he was able to implement these reforms (Persian text, 147. Cf. also *Tārīkh-i mubārak-i*

Ghāzānī which states that prior to Ghāzān's reforms 80% of the drafts on the revenue of Khurāsān were unpaid, 244).

In his account of the revenue of the different provinces and districts, Ḥamd Allāh makes a difference between the revenues of certain towns and their surrounding districts (*wilāyāt*), the former being provided by *tamghā* taxes and the latter by *dīwān* dues (*ḥuḳūḳ-i dīwān*). Among the towns and districts described in this way, all of which were along the main trade routes, were Baghdād, Kūfa, Wāsiṭ, Ḥilla, Iṣfahān, Sulṭāniyya, Ḳazwīn, Ḳumm, Kāshān, Hamadān, Yazd, Tabrīz, Ūdjān, Ahar, Shushtar, Āwa, Sāwa, Zandjān, Marāgha, and Shīrāz. The *tamghā* of the last five were farmed. Writing of Fārs, Ḥamd Allāh states that the *dīwān* dues were in his time 2,871,200 currency *dīnārs* (*dīnār-i rāʾidj*) and that in the provinces (*wilāyāt*) they were levied for the most part in kind (*maḥṣūl*), but in the towns they were fixed as *tamghā* (113). The inference to be drawn is that the taxes outside the towns were mainly land taxes. Ḥamd Allāh makes no mention of *tamghā* or other taxes in his description of the provinces of Kirmān, Khurāsān, Māzandarān or Ṭabaristān. So far as the last three are concerned this may have been because of the special situation which prevailed in Khurāsān. In ʿIrāḳ-i ʿArab, what survived of the assessment of Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf was known as *kharādj-i rātib* and was included, when Ḥamd Allāh was writing, among the sums due to the *dīwān* (*mutawadjdjihāt-i dīwānī*), which amounted in the Khānī year 35 (A.D. 1335) to 300,000 currency *dīnārs*. He points out that if the same amount of land had been under cultivation as in the time of ʿUmar double this amount would have been yielded (29). In Kūfa *kharādj* was paid at the rate of one-third of winter and summer crops, the remaining two-thirds being equally divided between the tenant [reading *tānī*] and the cultivator (reading *barzigar*). The province (*wilāyat*), at the time he was writing, was assessed by the *dīwān* (? *muḳarrar bi dīwān ast*, 31). Orchards (*bāghistān*) in ʿIrāḳ-i ʿArab paid *kharādj*, either according to the old assessment of Ḥadjdjādj or according to a new assessment (*kharādj-i ḥādith*) (31).

There is very little doubt that this "double" system of taxation bore heavily upon the people and also that it was the additional "Mongol" taxes which were felt to be especially onerous (cf. the poems of Pūr Bahā quoted above). Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī alleges that most of the districts of ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjam were ruined because of *ḳūbčūr* and that the people had abandoned their homes, "so much so that in Ḳazwīn the Friday prayers were not performed" (*Tārīkh-i guzīda*, 603-4). The tax officials brought up in pre-Mongol traditions, probably disapproved of the new taxes, just as the *ʿulamāʾ* had earlier disapproved of the *mukūs*. They were unable to abolish them altogether. The most that they could do was to limit them, or sometimes to abrogate them temporarily. In a letter to his son, Amīr Maḥmūd, when the latter was governor (*ḥākim*) of Kirmān, Rashīd al-Dīn states that it had been reported to him that he (Amīr Maḥmūd) had committed oppression against the people of Bam and had ruined them by imposing upon them additional cesses, *dīwān* dues (*tafāwut wa takālīf-i dīwānī*) and repeated royal drafts (*ḥawālāt-i sulṭānī*), and by the levy of *ḳalān*, *ḳūbčūr*, [money for] soldiers (*čirīk*) and various expenses (*ikhrādjāt-i mutafarriḳa* (*Mukātabāt-i Rashīdī*, 11). He instructs him to remit for three years *ḳalān*, *ḳūbčūr*, *ṭayyārāt* (occasional taxes) and the *dīwān* dues levied for Kirmān and the Great Urdu, so that prosperity might return to the deserted places and uncultivated lands, and agriculture be resumed. As for his own estates in Bam, seed and advances for the purchase of draught oxen and food were to be given to the peasants if they so desired (*ibid.*, 12).

The reforms of Ghāzān Khān may have succeeded to some extent in ameliorating the condition of the peasants: certainly Rashīd al-Dīn alleges that prosperity returned during his reign. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, on the other hand, while he gives due emphasis to Ghāzān's reforms, shows that the change in agricultural conditions was not dramatic, though he alleges further improvement under Uldjāytū (*Tārīkh-i guzīda*, 606).

Such figures as are given by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī and Waṣṣāf, incomplete though they are, suggest that the improvement was only marginal and that there was a striking fall in revenue compared to Saldjūḳ times. Prior to the reign of Ghāzān, the *dīwān* received annually, according to Waṣṣāf, 18,000,000 *dīnārs*, or according to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī 17,000,000. After Ghāzān's reforms, the figure rose to 21,000,000 but fell in 1335-40 to 19,203,800. It is not clear whether these figures include the sums which were deducted for the expenses of local administration or not. Under the Saldjūḳ ruler, Malikshāh, *dīwān* revenue had amounted to 215,000,000 red gold *dīnārs*, the equivalent according to Ḥamd Allāh of 500,000,000 currency *dīnārs* (see further Petrushevsky, who estimates the *dīwān* revenue for the pre-Mongol period on the basis of figures in the *Nuzhat al-ḳulūb* to have been 100,580,000 currency *dīnārs*, *op. cit.*, 479 ff.). The figures for the two periods are not necessarily strictly comparable, because the extent of the land alienated from the control of the *dīwān* and of crown lands was not identical. The evidence, fragmentary though it is, would, nevertheless, seem to point to a marked decline in the revenue reaching the *dīwān*, though the decline was not equal in all provinces. If the revenue was still derived largely from land taxes, as would seem to have been the case, such a decline could be largely accounted for by first a decrease in the amount of land under cultivation consequent upon depopulation and the increase in the number of nomads, and secondly the removal of large areas of the country from the fiscal control of the agents of the central government.

Ṣafawids and Ḳādjārs. Under the Ṣafawids, there was a revival both of agriculture and trade, and it seems likely that the sums reaching the *dīwān* from *kharādj* once more increased, but the proportion which they formed of the total may have fallen somewhat. Such figures as are available do not give a detailed breakdown (though an examination of Ottoman records for those provinces which from time to time came under Ottoman domination would doubtless throw further light), while the fluctuation in the extent of *mamālik* and *khāṣṣa* land [see KHĀLIṢA] together with the changing distribution of *tuyūls*, *suyūrghāls*, and *awḳāf* further obscures the situation. Minorsky, on the basis of the figures in the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, puts the revenue towards the end of the Ṣafawid period at 800,000 *tūmāns*, excluding revenue directly collected by the *khāṣṣa* administration. He suggests that land taxes may have been responsible for 61% of the total. This may be an under-estimate. He also analyses the estimates of the revenue given by European travellers, which, he points out, were, in the absence of official statistics and the secrecy surrounding the question of state revenue, purely hypothetical. Chardin, who gives the

fullest account, puts forward, with some reserve, a total figure of 32,000,000 *livres* or 70,000 *tūmāns*. This figure is not far short of that given in the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, but Chardin's figure includes 14,000,000 *francs* from demesnes, i.e. *khāṣṣa*, and only 2,000,000 *francs* from provincial revenues (*Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, 173 ff.).

In the 18th century there was a period of recession. Rustam al-Ḥukamā' puts the revenue, excluding *pīshkash*, under Karīm Khān (whose writ did not run in Khurāsān) at 550,000 *tūmāns* (*Rustam al-tawārīkh*, 322). In the nineteenth, the general trend was again towards expansion, although the total area under the control of Persia had greatly diminished. In the absence of statistics, however, it is not possible to give detailed figures, though an examination of the records of the *mustawfīs* would, no doubt, yield further information. Macdonald Kinneir, writing about 1813, states that the total revenue did not much exceed three million *tūmāns*, of which the land taxes and revenue from crown lands probably amounted to two-thirds (*A geographical memoir on the Persian empire*, London 1813, 47). According to Malcolm the "fixed" revenue amounted, in 1810, to some £ 3,000,000. This derived chiefly from first the produce of crown and government lands, secondly taxes and imposts on landed property (i.e. real estate in towns and villages), rents of houses, caravansarais, baths, shops and water mills, and thirdly duties on goods and merchandise. The last two items had greatly increased under the Ḳādjārs (*History of Persia*, ii, 336, 340).

At the end of the reign of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh (1797-1834), the revenue is reported to have amounted to 2,081,532 *tūmāns* in cash and payments in kind worth 379,217 *tūmāns*. The main constituents of the latter were 163,084 *kharwārs* (675 lbs each) of wheat, at 2 *tūmāns* each, 12,850 *kharwārs* of rice, at 3 *tūmāns* each, and 965 *manns* of silk, at 6 *tūmāns* each. (Revenues of Persia ordered by the late Shah to be paid to the General credit of Government, India Office, LP and S/9, vol. 53, quoted by C. Issawi, *The economic history of Iran*, 361-2.)

By about 1868, despite the sharp fall in silk production in Gīlān, the total revenue had increased by 3½ crores of *tūmāns* (or £ 694,000) and amounted to 4,361,660 *tūmāns* (or £ 1,744,664) in money, most of which was from land tax, besides payments in kind in barley, wheat, rice, and silk valued at 550,840 *tūmāns* (or £ 220,336) (Thomson, *Report*, *op. cit.*, 250-1). The revenue of Khurāsān, which towards the end of the reign of Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh had been *ca.* 200,000 *tūmāns* in money and 46,000 *kharwārs* in grain, was about the year 1876, although the population had decreased (because of the contraction of the frontiers), some 340,000 *tūmāns* in money and 46,000 *kharwārs* in barley and wheat, 620 *kharwārs* in rice and 83 *kharwārs* in tobacco. The whole of this was absorbed in payments for military service, pensions, salaries and other local disbursements (F.O. 60: 379. *Report on the Toorkoman tribes occupying the districts between the Caspian and the Oxus by Mr. Ronald Thomson, Secretary of Legation*, incl. in W. Taylor Thomson to Lord Derby, Tehran, No. 22, 29 February 1876, p. 211). From the fragmentary evidence available it is not clear to what extent this increase may have been due to more effective revenue collection, increased cultivation including more cash crops (which paid a higher rate of taxation), a decrease in the areas of land alienated from the control of the government or other causes.

The great famine of 1869-72 adversely affected the collection of revenue, especially from the southern, central and northeastern provinces, which were the most severely affected by famine and cholera and took several years to recover. Only in and after 1884 did the total revenue from direct taxes surpass, in nominal terms, the total revenue of the pre-famine years. Assessments, however, were not adjusted to the growth in agricultural production which took place in many districts or to the fall in the real value of the kran, and as a result, government revenue from direct taxes at constant prices compared to the pre-famine years had fallen by the late 1890s (see further G. G. Silbermann, *op. cit.*). The figures given by Curzon for the 1888-9 budget show an apparent increase due to the depreciation of the silver currency. The total revenue was calculated at 55,369,516 krans (10 krans = 1 *tūmān*). *Māliyyāt* contributed 54,177,740 krans (taxes paid in cash 36,076,757 krans, taxes paid in kind 10,100,983 krans, and customs 8,000,000 krans), and revenue from other sources 1,191,776 krans (*Persia and the Persian question*, ii, 480-1). By the year 1900 total revenues had ostensibly risen to 7,000,000 *tūmāns* (*Report on the Persian army*, *op. cit.*, 11-12). The proportion of the whole formed by land tax was, however, probably slightly less than had been the case earlier. In 1905, the year preceding the grant of the Constitution, the total revenue was put at roughly £ 1,425,000. *Māliyyāt* (which consisted mainly of land taxes) amounted to £ 800,000. The percentage which it formed of the whole had thus considerably dropped, but it was still the largest single item and almost double the next highest item, which was customs (F.O. 416/26, App. (A) in Hardinge to Grey, London, 23 December 1905, separate and confidential). Thus agriculture still retained in the early 20th century its importance as the main economic activity of the country, and the state still depended, as it had in earlier times, upon land taxes for its current expenditure. Basically, the old patterns of land revenue assessment and collection, which had shown a striking continuity over the centuries, lived on and rulers still looked to the land—and this, in effect, meant to the peasants—to provide them with the material resources to support themselves and their governments.

Bibliography: given in the article.

(A. K. S. Lambton)

III.—In Ottoman Turkey.

This term denoted in Ottoman usage both the land tax and the poll-tax on the state's non-Muslim subjects. In some documents the term *kharādj ruʾūsu* refers to the *djizya* [*q.v.*] payers (M. T. Gökbilgin, *XV-XVI. asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa livası*, Istanbul 1952, 158; the *ḳānūnnāme* of Ḳandiya dated 1081/1670, in Ö. L. Barkan, *XV ve XVI asırlarda Osmanlı imperatorluğunda zirai ekonominin hukuki ve mali esasları*, i. *Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943, 351), whereas the word *kharādj* was only used for the tax put on the land. In the early period, both the *kharādj* and *djizya* were collected by the *kharādjdji*, an official appointed to collect the *kharādj*, so that the officials collecting the *djizya* were also called *kharādjdjis* (Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Maliyeden müdevver defterler, no. 2775, p. 455). This state of affairs can also be seen in a *kharādj* register showing the records of *kharādj* and *djizya* between the years 954-6/1547-9 (Maliyeden müdevver defterler, no. 191).

The lands of the Ottoman Empire were, in financial theory, divided into three categories: (1) *arāḍī-ʿoshriyye*; (2) *arāḍī-i kharādjiyye*; and (3) *arḍ-i*

memleket, but in practice there was a great variety of application. *ʿÖs̲h̲ur* land was the land given to the Muslims at the time of the conquests in return for a tithe. *K̲h̲arādj* land was the land retained by the non-Muslims in return for a tithe or greater proportion levied on its product, the *k̲h̲arādj-i muḳāsama*, plus an annual requirement in cash.

The so-called *arḍ-i memleket* (that is, state or *mīrī* land) was not the property of the subjects (*reʿāyā*) but cultivated by them on a temporary basis; they paid *k̲h̲arādj-i muḳāsama* instead of *ʿös̲h̲ur*, according to the amount of produce obtained from the land, and *k̲h̲arādj-i muwaẓẓaf* instead of the *čift aḳčesi* (Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 4, 66, 297-8, *Ḳānūn-name-i Sulṭān Süleymān ve Ebu's-Suʿūd Efendi'niñ maʿrūḍāt risālesi*, in *MTM*, i (Istanbul 1331), 109).

The 1081/1670 *taḥrīr defteri* of the island of Crete, newly added to the Ottoman Empire in 1080/1669, is the latest and perhaps the last register showing what the *k̲h̲arādj* lands were and how this tax was applied. It was decided that one-fifth should be taken as *k̲h̲arādj-i muḳāsama* from the produce of the lands retained by the non-Muslims. Those harvesting two crops a year would pay *k̲h̲arādj* twice. The vineyards and orchards were surveyed and a *dirham-i s̲h̲arʿī* was taken annually from every *djarīb* of them. *K̲h̲arādj-i muḳāṭaʿa* was a tax taken from the land even if the owner did not sow it. *K̲h̲arādj* lands were the full property of their owners, and therefore they had right to sell them as they liked; when the owner of the land died, it was divided between his heirs. If the non-Muslim owner of *k̲h̲arādj* land abandoned his land and fled, then his land was rented out and its *k̲h̲arādj* was taken from its produce (Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 351-2). The financial difficulties of the Christian *reʿāyā* in a newly-conquered land were taken into consideration. For example, in the island of Cyprus, immediately after its conquest in 980/1572, a register was made, and as a result of it, the non-Muslim subjects, taking into consideration their financial situation, were classified into three groups: the rich, people with average incomes (the middle class), and the people with lower incomes (Barkan, *op. cit.*, 349).

The *k̲h̲arādj* taken from the non-Muslim subjects varied according to the productivity of the land and the type of agriculture practised on it. While 3 *aḳčes* were taken from every 100 vine-stems of a vine-yard in the region of Malatya, 10, 8, 6 or even 4 were taken in the Arab lands (966/1559 *ḳānūnnāme* of Malatya *sandjaḳ*). In Aleppo, 40 *aḳčes* were taken from every 100 fruit trees and 40 from every 1000 vine-stems (978/1570 *ḳānūnnāme* of Aleppo). In Damascus and Jerusalem, one *aḳče* for every 2 olive trees, 2 *aḳčes* for every date palm and walnut tree, one *aḳče* for every 5 other fruit trees, and 10 *aḳčes* for every 100 vine stems, were paid as *k̲h̲arādj* (*ḳānūnnāmes* of Damascus and Jerusalem, in Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 116-7, 207, 217, 220). The money taken from non-Muslims as *k̲h̲arādj* varied because of changes in the value of money, but it does not seem that there was a substantial variation in the amount of annual *k̲h̲arādj* paid by the Christian subjects around the end of the 9th/15th and the beginning of the 10th/16th centuries; the amount of the *k̲h̲arādj* varied between 40 to 50 *aḳčes* during the middle years of the 10th/16th century (Barkan, *op. cit.*, 23, 57, 96, 101, 105, 240, 301, 303). But in some regions, for example in Karadağ (Montenegro), the amount of *k̲h̲arādj* remained at 33 *aḳčes* for a long period between the years 934/1529 to 978/1570 (*Kanuni i Kanunname, Za Bosanski, Hercegevaski, Zverniski, Kliski, Crnegorski, Skadarski sandzak*, Serajevo 1957, 169, 173). However, some groups were exempted from the payment of the *k̲h̲arādj*, including certain groups serving in the army such as the *voynuḳs*, Christian cavalrymen in the Balkans (H. Inalcık, *Stefan Duşan'dan Osmanlı imperatorluğuna*, in *Fatih devri üzerinde Tetkikler ve Vesikalar*, i, Ankara 1954, 173-4), and the *Eflāḳān* or Wallachians serving as guards and watchmen in the fortresses and outposts of such places as Semendre (Smedereve), Vidin and Eramişeva (*Ḳānūnnāme-i Āl-i ʿOt̲h̲mān*, ed. Meḥmed ʿĀrif, Istanbul 1329, 63-4). Also exempted were miners and quarrymen together with their sons (*Ḳānūnnāme-i liwā-i Bosna* (*Kanuni i Kanunname*), 15, 41, 170), and the Christians employed in public service, e.g. as *derbenddjis* (guardians of internal security in the provinces) (Inalcık, *op. cit.*, 224, document dated 12th Djumādā II 860/18th May 1456).

The *k̲h̲arādj* collectors (*k̲h̲arādjdjiler*) had registers listing the amounts of tax required (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, no. 10140, *defter* dated 959, 1552), and the annual *k̲h̲arādj* was collected according to this *defter*. Local officials were required to help the *k̲h̲arādj* collectors (*Kanuni i Kanunname*, 41, 103). The *reʿāyā* acquired a receipt from the collector, which they had to keep. These receipts (*K̲h̲arādj kāg̲h̲ïtlarï*, *k̲h̲arādj tedhkireler*) recorded such information as the name of the tax payer and the name of his father, his country, the colour of his hair, beard and skin, plus his physical description, together with the year, month and day on which the tax was paid (for an example dating from 1765, see Henry Granville, *Observations sur l'état actuel de l'Empire Ottoman*, ed. A. S. Ehrenkreutz, Ann Arbor 1965, 36-7). Because of the incidence of disputes and disagreements between the subjects and the *k̲h̲arādj*-collectors, the activities of the latter were controlled and inspected by officials from the group of *čāwus̲h̲s* of the Imperial court, and in the light of their findings, a new *defter* might be drawn up (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, No. 1531, *defter* of 937/1531, No. 9691, document dated 932/1526). These inspections were made every three years. In the course of them, names of dead persons (*mürde*) were removed from the *defter*, and the names of those who had become old enough (*bālig̲h̲*) to pay *k̲h̲arādj* were added as *nev-yāfte* (Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Maliyeden müdevver defterler, no. 7534, 389; Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 44). Women and children did not pay *k̲h̲arādj*, but male children paid it when they were mature (Granville, *op. cit.*, 36).

The instructions given to the *k̲h̲arādjidjs* defined their duties and sphere of authority. Of these, the oldest document is dated 880/1475-6. According to this, if some of the *reʿāyā* on *tïmār* land ran away, the half of the *k̲h̲arādj* of that land was to be taken from the *tïmār*-holder and the other half from the remaining *reʿāyā*. If one of the *k̲h̲arādj* payers died, then his yearly *k̲h̲arādj* was taken from his family and relatives; if they were not able to pay this, then it would be taken once only from the other villagers, and afterwards his name would be removed from the *k̲h̲arādj* register. *K̲h̲arādj* was collected by the *k̲h̲arādj-emīn* and his staff at the latest before the month of S̲h̲aʿbān every year, with the help of the local officials. The *k̲h̲arādj* money collected each day would be counted up in front of those concerned, weighed and set down in a special register with the help of the local *ḳāḍī*, and recorded village by village. These registers were forwarded with the money to Istanbul through the agency of one of the *k̲h̲arādj* collectors (*Ḳānūn-nāme-i Sulṭānī ber mūdjeb-i ʿörf-i*

ʿOthmānī, ed. R. Anhegger and H. Inalcık, Ankara 1956, 76-8). The heads of Christian villages, and their notables such as priests, were charged with the responsibility of collecting the *kharādj*, *angaria* and the other taxes (cf. *Polonyalı Simeon'un seyahat namesi* (*1608-1619*), tr. H. D. Andreasyan, Istanbul 1964, 134).

The Christian dependent provinces like Ragusa or Dubrovnik, Moldavia and Transylvania were counted among the tributary *reʿāyā* because they paid an agreed, fixed amount every year (the *kharādj maḳṭūʿ*) in gold (cf. N. H. Biegman, *The Turco-Ragusan relationship*, The Hague 1967, 132-3, 138, 140, 142 and C. Orhonlu, *Osmanlı tarihine ait belgeler: Telhisler* (*1597-1607*), Istanbul 1970, 35); but the situation of Ragusa, because it accepted the payment of *kharādj* as a result of a peace agreement and not after conquest, was somewhat different to that of Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania. The tributes taken from the peace agreements made after the victories of the Ottoman Empire in the west, at the times when it was powerful, were also described as *kharādj*, e.g. those paid at certain times by Austria and Venice (L. Fekete, *Die Siyāqat-Schrift in der türkischen Finanzverwaltung*, Budapest 1965, i, 481). In the 11th/17th century, when there was a dispute over the question of borders, the Ottomans claimed (basing their argument on the *defters*) that the villages and towns in dispute belonged to the empire because of the presence there of *kharādj*-paying non-Muslim subjects (Fekete, *Türkische Schriften aus dem Archive des Palatins Nikolaus Esterhazy, 1606-1645*, Budapest 1932, 65 ff., 82 ff.).

From the end of the 12th/18th century, the task of collecting *kharādj* in the largely non-Muslim regions passed into the hands of the non-Muslim local élite (priests, headmen, etc.). From this time, too, the word *kharādj* came to be linked with the word *bādj* in the phrase *kharādj we bādj*, which was current till the *Tanẓīmāt* period (K. Schwarz, *Osmanische Sultansurkunden des Sinai-Klosters in türkischer Sprache*, Freiburg-in-Breisgau 1970, 149 (dated 1112/1700), 162 (dated 1194/1780) 185 (dated 1254/1838). The officers charged with collecting the *kharādj* were everywhere called *kharādj-emīnis*, and at the beginning of the 19th century there was established an office of *kharādj* which looked after various problems involved in the tax and which later also took care of the *djizya* at the same time.

The *Tanẓīmāt* decree of 1839 brought a new concept of citizenship into the society of the Ottoman state, the idea that both the Muslims and the Christians living in the Empire were to be treated as equal before the law. This involved the question of taxation, including the *kharādj*, for the abolition of which there was pressure from Western diplomats in Istanbul.

A decision on this was only taken after the 1856 reforms, when both *kharādj* and *djizya* were abolished, and instead, non-Muslim subjects were to pay a tax in lieu of military service (*bedel-i ʿaskerī*) (cf. G. Muir Mackenzie and A. P. Irby, *Travels in the Slavonic provinces of Turkey-in-Europe*, London 1866, 13, 67); the tax is also mentioned under the names *ʿaskerī*, *kharādj*, *djizya*, *imdādiyye*, *niẓāmiyye*, *bedelāt* (cf. James Barker, *Turkey*, New York 1877, 384; for the *bedelāt-i ʿaskeriyye*, see *Düstür*, Istanbul 1289, ii, 26-33, and see also BADAL).

Bibliography: in addition to the works mentioned in the article, see ʿAbdurraḥmān Wefīḳ, *Tekālif Ḳawāʿidi*, Istanbul 1328, i, 21-23, 54, 263-4; Süleymān Sūdī, *Defter-i muḳtesid*, Istanbul 1307, i, 55-8, 68 ff.; Ö. L. Barkan, *894* (*1488/1489*) *yılı cizyesinin tahsilatına ait muhasebe bilançoları*, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Belgeler, (Ankara 1964), 5-6; H. Hadzi Begič, *Dzizya ili harac, Prilozi*, iii, 51-135, iv, 43-102; idem, *Glavarina u Osmanskej Drzavi*, Sarajevo 1966; C. Orhonlu, *Osmanlı tarihine ait belgeler: Telhisler* (*1597-1607*), Istanbul 1970, 35, 75, 91; C. MacFarlane, *Constantinople in 1828*, London 1829, 225, 226; N. Beldiceanu, *Les actes des premiers Sultans*, Paris 1960, 102, 103, 104, 148, 149, 150; Glisa Elezovič, *Turkski spomenici*, Belgrade 1940, 1952, see index; Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, Haraç-i arazi defterleri, no. 174, 175, 176; *Sultan I. Selim'in Kanunnamesi*, ed. A. S. Tveritinova, Moscow 1969, 107; Theodore Spandouyn Cantacusin, *Petit Traicté de l'Origine des Turqz*, Paris 1896, 142, 143, 144, 145; H. A. R. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic society and the West*, London 1957, i/2, 251, 252; A. H. Lybyer, *The government of the Ottoman Empire in the time of Suleiman the Magnificent*, Cambridge, Mass. 1913, 175; J. von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung des Osmanischen Reichs*, repr. 1963, i, 212, 213, 240, 424, 343, 344, ff. ii, 165, 151; J. Porter, *Turkey*, London 1854, ii, 209-11, 213; Mehmed Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1946, i, 737.

(CENGİZ ORHONLU)

IV.—IN THE INDIAN SUB-CONTINENT

In India, the term *kharādj* was less common in the administrative literature, being replaced by other expressions such as *ḥāṣil* or *maḥṣūl*, meaning revenue or land-revenue. As in other Muslim lands, the *kharādj* in Muslim India also had two distinct forms, to which names of *muḳāsama* and *muwaẓẓaf* or *waẓīfa* were given. The former is defined as an impost which depended on the actual produce of the land, and was leviable only when the land was cultivated; the latter depended on the return that the land was capable of yielding, and was due whether the land was tilled or not. It is the *waẓīfa* which is meant when the term *kharādj* is mentioned by the Muslim writers or historians of India, unless the *muḳāsama* is specifically named.

The earliest record of the imposition of the *kharādj* in Muslim India relates to the reign of Sultan ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad Khaldjī (695-715/1296-1316), who fixed the standard of the revenue-demand at one-half of the produce, an arrangement which set the pattern for the agrarian system in the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries. A notable aspect of the implementation of the *kharādj* was a remarkable degree of harmony in the relation between the Sultan and the tribute-paying Hindu chiefs.

The system initiated by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn was never completely put into effect and soon fell into desuetude; it was not till the time of Shēr Shāh that any effort was made to revive it. The changes which the Dihlī sultans endeavoured to introduce were afterwards perfected in the system which the Mughal administration under Akbar adopted concerning the imposition of the *kharādj*. Akbar first established a uniform standard of length which he termed *gaz-i-ilāhī* [*q.v.* in Suppl.] (corresponding to the Arab *dhirāʿ* [*q.v.*]) and having adopted the *djarīb*, which he called *bīgha*, as the measure of surface area, he fixed it at 3,600 square *gaz*. The land was divided into four kinds on the basis of its potential fertility. Of these four kinds, only the category called Perowty, i.e. land kept out of cultivation for a short time to regain its strength, was in reality the *kharādj-i*

waẓīfa of the Islamic law which Akbar imposed, and the person immediately liable for the *kharādj* was the husbandman, who was assured of all required assistance by the state. In terms of the principles of this kind of *kharādj*, the cultivators who paid taxes direct to the state received proprietary rights from the conquerors in respect of the lands which they tilled.

Akbar's system of *kharādj* revenue collection did not cover his entire dominion, for the outlying *ṣūba*s contained large tracts of land which were left unmeasured; hence, in such cases, the Emperor himself, in accordance with the rules of *kharādj-i muḳāsama*, retained ownership of the land. The tenure and the position of the cultivators under Djahāngīr and Shāhdjahān was pretty much the same as was in vogue under Akbar's policy of settlement. The ownership rights of the husbandmen to the land of the *kharādj-i waẓīfa* continued to prevail even throughout Awrangzīb's puritanical reign. Under Awrangzīb, the religious jurists on whose *fatwā*s or pronouncements the royal orders were issued, sought guidance not from the rules or orders of Shēr Shāh or Akbar, but from the standard Islamic law books or commentaries written at an earlier period in the Arab lands. Standard authorities such as Abū Ḥanīfa and Abū Yūsuf were closely consulted when *farmān*s regarding the *kharādj* were drafted, with the result that Islamic terms, ideas and institutions, which were not in accordance with the facts of indigenous Indian life, were imported into the Muslim Indian system more vigorously.

In the midst of the chaotic political conditions following Awrangzīb's death in 1118/1707, when some strong-armed adventurers took over the reins of rulership as *ṣūbadār*s in outlying areas of the empire, the regular institution of the *kharādj* fell into disruption. The exigencies and characters of the rulers in particular territories brought about various pressures on the land, so that in some localities the cultivator, who was normally left with two-thirds of the produce of the land after paying one-third as *kharādj*, had to remain content with the bare minimum necessary for his and his family's subsistence. This state of affairs continued to prevail in the country till the British rulers brought about a settlement of the land revenue in 1793.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, Calcutta 1867-77; Khāfī Khān, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, Calcutta 1869; W. H. Moreland, *The agrarian system of Moslem India*, Cambridge 1929; Irfan Habib, *The agrarian system of Moghul India*, Bombay 1963; Numan Ahmad Siddiqi, *Land revenue administration under the Moghuls (1700-1750)*, Bombay 1971. (ABDUS SUBHAN)

KHĀRAG (usually shortened to Kharg; Khārak in Arabic), a coral island in the Persian Gulf off the coast of Persia at lat. 29° 16′ N, long. 50° 19′ E. Lying 55 km. northwest of Būshahr [*q.v.*], the island is 8 km. long from north to south and 4 km. broad. Much of it is covered by treeless hills with a maximum height of 75 m. Four km. to the north is the smaller island of Khārgū (Arabic Khuwayrik). Between the two islands and also west of Khārag are banks where pearls of exceptional value were sometimes found until commercial pearling withered away in the present century.

Whether Khārag is to be identified with one of the islands in the Persian Gulf mentioned in the Greek and Roman sources remains uncertain. An examination of burial caves and rock carvings has indicated that a Christian community existed on the island in the 3rd century A.D.

The early Muslim geographers list Khārag as belonging to the *kūra* of Ardashīr Khurra [see FĪRŪZĀBĀD]. It is also described as lying opposite the town of Djannāba [*q.v.*]. According to Ibn Khurradādhbih, Khārag as a port of call on the route from al-Baṣra to ʿUmān and India was known for its cereals, grapes, and dates.

Yāḳūt, who visited Khārag more than once, saw the shrine pilgrims believed to be the tomb of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya [*q.v.*], a belief Yāḳūt declares unhistorical. Yāḳūt quotes Abū ʿUbayda as saying that Abū Ṣufra, the father of the renowned Umayyad general al-Muhallab [*q.v.*], was a native of Khārag who, for his military prowess, was adopted by the tribe of al-Azd. Abu ʿUbayda's statement is corroborated by verses of al-Farazdaḳ.

In modern times Khārag first became prominent in the second half of the 12th/18th century, when the Dutch East India Company made it the main base for its commercial activities in the Persian Gulf. The company's factor, the Prussian Baron von Kniphausen, secured the cession of the island by Mīr Nāṣir, the lord of Bandar Rīg on the mainland 35 km. to the northeast. Building a fort on the northeastern side of the island, the Baron proceeded to develop a flourishing community, described in detail by the Englishman E. Ives and the German C. Niebuhr, who stayed there in 1171/1758 and 1178-9/1765 respectively. Shortly after Niebuhr left, the Dutch were driven out by Mīr Muhannā of Bandar Rīg, who took up residence on the island. Karīm Khān Zand [*q.v.*] then invested the island and forced Mīr Muhannā to flee to al-Baṣra, where he met his end. Karīm undertook to turn Khārag over to the French East India Company, but the suppression of the company prevented the arrangement from being consummated. Again during the reign of Fatḥ-ʿAlī Shāh [*q.v.*], Persia was on the point of giving Khārag to the French but was thwarted by British pressure.

In 1247/1832 bubonic plague on the Persian coast impelled the British Political Residency in the Gulf to move temporarily from Būshahr to Khārgū, and consideration was given to making Khārag its permanent site. When Persian arms advanced against Afghānistān, the British landed troops on Khārag in 1254/1838 and held it until 1259/1842, during part of which time the Residency was headquartered on the island. Lord Auckland, the Governor General of India, dreamed that "Karrak ... could become the Singapore of the Persian Gulph". The initial Russian protest against the occupation of Khārag had failed to sway the British government, but prolonging the British presence there would have run the risk of giving Russia an excuse to move against Persia in the north, and in 1260/1844 the British coal depot was removed from the island.

Britain at the outset of its war with Persia in 1273/1856 again seized Khārag, whose Persian garrison had already been withdrawn. This time the grip on the island was kept for only a little more than a year. General Sir J. Outram, commander of the expeditionary force, advocated without success transferring the Political Residency from Būshahr to Khārag. For years thereafter the island's importance derived in the main from the skill of the pilots it provided for the upper Gulf and from its quarries for stone used in road building.

The growth of the oil industry has given Khārag a newly significant place on the map. The waters off the mainland coast of Persia (now Iran) are too shallow to accommodate large ships, while the island, lying 30 km. away from the coast, has waters deep enough

for this purpose. When Iran's production of oil for export mounted in the mid-20th century, Khārag was selected as the new terminal for shipping crude oil. Pipelines were laid to bring crude in from the producing fields as well as refined products from Ābādān [*q.v.*]. Huge storage tanks were built on Khārag to hold millions of barrels of oil. Tankers coming to carry the oil away berth at a jetty or a sea island; the largest of these vessels displace 500,000 tons. Khārag itself also lies within a recently-discovered area for the production of oil, with the Darius field stretching westwards from the island into the waters of the Persian Gulf. Moreover, the National Iranian Oil Company has constructed on Khārag one of its most elaborate petrochemical complexes. Besides the oil installations, the new prosperity has brought to the island greenhouses for the cultivation of vegetables.

Bibliography: I. Būshahrī, *Naẓarī be-Īrān va Khalīdj-i Fārs*, n. pl. 1949-50; M. Kabābī, *Bandar-i ʿAbbās va Khalīdj-i Fārs*, Tehran 1342; H. Razmārā, *Farhang-i Djughrāfiyā-yi Īrān*, vii, Tehran 1330; Ibn Khurradādhbih; Masʿūdī, ed. Pellat, i, Beirut 1965; Admiralty, *Iraq and the Persian Gulf*, London 1944; *The Cambridge history of Iran*, i, Cambridge 1968; G. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, London 1892; E. Ives, *A Voyage from England to India*, London 1773; J. B. Kelly, *Britain and the Persian Gulf* 1795-1880, Oxford 1968; J. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, ʾOmān, and Central Arabia*, Calcutta 1908-15; C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772; idem, *Voyage en Arabie*, ii, Amsterdam 1780; Schwarz, *Iran*; Sir A. Wilson, *The Persian Gulf*, London 1928; National Iranian Oil Company, *Iran Oil Journal*, Tehran 1974-5. (G. Rentz)

AL-**KHARĀʾIṬĪ**, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Djaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Sahl al-Sāmarrī, traditionist and man of letters, originally from Surra man raʾā (Sāmarrā; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, vi, 297, makes him a native of Samaria/Sāmira), who was, in particular, the pupil of ʿUmar b. Shabba [*q.v.*]. In 325/937 he went to Damascus and taught there *ḥadīth*, dying at ʿAsḳalān (at Jaffa, according to Ziriklī) in 327/939 aged *ca.* 90 years. He left behind several works on ethics and on belles-lettres, one of which has been printed at Cairo in 1350/1931-2, the *Kitāb Makārim al-akhlāḳ wa-maʿālihā*. Others are preserved in manuscript (see Brockelmann, S I, 250); *K. Iʿtilāl al-ḳulūb fī akhbār al-ʿushshāḳ, K. Masāwī 'l-akhlāḳ wa-madhmūmihā, Faḍīlat al-shukr, K. Ḳamʿ al-ḥirṣ bi 'l-ḳanāʿa, K. al-Ḳubūr, K. Hawātif al-djinn wa-ʿadjīb mā yuḥkā ʿan al-kuhhān, Taʿāliḳ li-bn ʿĪsā al-Maḳdisī*.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xviii, 98; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 139; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, f. 192b; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, ii, 309; Ibn Taghrībardī, *Nudjūm*, iii, 265; Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vi, 298; *DM*, iv, 210. (Ed.)

KHARAĶĀNĪ, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad, Persian mystic who died on the 10th Muḥarram 425/5th December 1033 at the age of 73. The *nisba* refers to the village of Kharaḳān situated in the mountains to the north of Bisṭām on the road to Astarābād (modern Gurgān). There are several variants for the vocalisation of this place-name even in the early sources for the life of this mystic. This confusion may very well be the result of the existence of other place names with the same consonant outline, such as Kharḳān near Samarḳand and Kharraḳān between Hamadān and Ḳazwīn. In the poems of ʿAṭṭār, the name of the mystic is consistently treated as a word with a closed first syllable (*Kh. rḳānī*). The form preferred in this article is based on the explicit statement by Samʿānī, who seems to have had a first-hand knowledge of the area (cf. Yāḳūt, ii, 424; see further on this question, Le Strange, 23, 366; Schwarz, *Iran*, vi, 822; R. A. Nicholson, *The Mathnawī . . . , Commentary to Book iv*, 348, *Heading* [2]). Instead of the patronymic "Ibn Aḥmad", which is supported by all the early sources, "Ibn Djaʿfar" is given by Djāmī and by many subsequent writers who were dependent on him.

The few details which are reported concerning the external life of Kharaḳānī point to a humble origin. He is said to have been a donkey-driver at the time when he was called to the mystic path (Samʿānī). As a youngster, he tended the cattle for his parents. But even in his later years he lived very close to the peasants of his home country. He seems to have travelled very little. There are no reports about his formal education, and he claimed to be an illiterate (*ummī*) who was ignorant about the correct pronunciation of even the most commonly used Arabic formulae (Anṣārī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 510); some of his sayings show traces of a local dialect.

Kharaḳānī described himself as a resident (*muḳīm*) *shaykh* who only travelled in the spirit. The renown of his high spiritual rank, gained after long years of extreme ascetism, attracted a great number of pilgrims to the hostel which was attached to his hermitage. Among his visitors were the most prominent representatives of Ṣūfism in his time. The meeting between Abū Saʿīd b. Abi 'l-Khayr and Kharaḳānī in the latter's *khānaḳāh* has been recorded with many details in the hagiographies of both *shaykhs*. ʿAbd ʿAllāh al-Anṣārī al-Harawī, who was much impressed by Kharaḳānī, regarded him as an adept (*muntahī*) and chose him as his spiritual guide. Other well-known visitors were Abu'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḳushayrī, and from outside the mystic circles, Abū ʿAlī Ibn Sīnā and Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna. Whereas the genuineness of the reports about the last two visits is questionable, the attention paid to Kharaḳānī by the great Ṣūfīs of his time is undoubtedly historical, and fits very well into the pattern of Khurāsānian mysticism in the beginning of the 5th/11th century. The learned Ṣūfī *shaykhs* of the larger cities, in particular of Nīshāpūr, took a lively interest in the single-minded and uncompromising spirituality of local mystics who stayed within the geographically, as well as intellectually, much more restricted realm of the small towns and villages where they were born. Another mystic of this type was Abu'l-ʿAbbās al-Ḳaṣṣāb of Āmul, a butcher turned into a mystic, who enjoyed a similar reputation as Kharaḳānī. He is reported as having predicted that his "little bazar" (*bāzārak*) would, after his death, be taken over by Kharaḳānī (Anṣārī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 308). There is no evidence, however, of a formal initiation in the form of the bestowal of a *khirḳa*, as Ḳaṣṣāb did in the case of Abū Saʿīd (cf. Ibn al-Munawwar, 50 f.). Kharaḳānī laid claim to a direct succession to the spiritual essence (*rūḥāniyyat*) of Abū Yazīd Ṭayfūr al-Bisṭāmī [*q.v.*] in spite of the great interval between his lifetime and that of his teacher. Abū Yazīd is said to have announced the coming of Kharaḳānī and to have initiated him in a dream after he had made a series of miraculous nightly visits to the tomb of Abū Yazīd in Bisṭām. A spiritual relationship of this kind, in which the normal requirement of personal contact between *pīr* and *murīd* is disregarded, is often designated as an "Uwaysī"-relationship. Its archetype is the influence exerted by the Prophet on the pious Yemenī Uways

al-Ḳaranī [*q.v.*] in spite of the fact that they never actually met. The line of mystic tradition which runs through al-Bisṭāmī and Kharaḳānī was later in the same century attached to the classic *silsila* of Ṣūfism by Abū ʿAlī al-Fārmadī (d. 477/1084). In addition to his regular affiliation to Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Gurgānī (d. 469/1076-7), al-Fārmadī chose also Kharaḳānī as his initiator, although it is hardly likely that both men ever met personally. In this way, Kharaḳānī has become a spiritual ancestor of the *ṭarīḳa* of the Khwādjagān out of which the Naḳshbandiyya order developed in the 8th/14th century. The interest of later generations in Kharaḳānī's mysticism is also shown by the use of anecdotes about him in Ṣūfī epic poetry, notably in the works of ʿAṭṭār and of Mawlānā Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī. Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā al-Suhrawardī, the *Shaykh al-Ishrāḳ* (d. 587/1191), inserted Kharaḳānī after al-Ḥallādj and Abū Yazīd in the line of *Khusrawāniyyūn* who transmitted ecstatic mysticism to him from a pre-Islamic Iranian source (cf. H. Corbin, *En Islam iranien*, ii, Paris 1971, 36).

It appears from some of the stories told about Kharaḳānī's relationship to contemporary mystics that his claim to the spiritual succession of Abū Yazīd made him into a rival of the leading *shaykh* of the Ṭayfūriyya tradition in Bisṭām, Abū ʿAbd ʿAllāh Muḥammad al-Dāstānī (d. 417/1026), who is often referred to as *Shaykh al-Mashāyikh* (cf. Hudjwīrī, tr. Nicholson, 164; Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt*, 338 f.).

According to his hagiographer, the *shaykh* expressed the wish to be buried in Bisṭām near the tomb of his teacher. In the 8th/14th century his grave was visited there by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iii, 82; Beirut 1379/1960, 390). But al-Ḳazwīnī (*Āthār al-bilād*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1848, 243) asserts that his grave was to be found in Kharaḳān itself. Recently, a mausoleum of Kharaḳānī has been discovered in the village of Ḳalʿa-yi Naw, north-east of Bisṭām; it was not, it seems, erected earlier than the Mongol period (see R. Hillenbrand, in *Iran*, ix (1971), 161).

Apart from the reflection of his personality in the accounts of his contemporaries, a considerable number of the sayings of Kharaḳānī have been preserved. There is no question of a systematic exposition of a coherent mystic doctrine. These sayings contain the account of a direct mystic experience expressed in bold and terse statements which sometimes possess a great poetic force. The influence of the celebrated utterances of Abū Yazīd is unmistakable. A sharp distinction is made between the profane or the "created beings" (*khalḳ*) who remain attached to the created world, and the "brave ones" (*djawānmardān*) who venture out strive for a return to the world of the Command (*ʿālam al-amr*) to which they really belong. The path of the latter goes through severe ascetic training and should end with the total extinction of the self (*fanāʾ*) and the subsequent permanence in the will of God. The ascetic preparation has no value in itself. The attainment of the goal is entirely an act of Divine Grace. This idea is linguistically expressed by the use of passive verbal forms whenever there is a reference to the fulfilment of the mystic's aim. At that stage, the mystic ceases to be the actor of his own deeds and the speaker of his own words. The highest gift granted to the adept is gnostic knowledge (*maʿrifa*) which is to be distinguished from the positive knowledge (*ʿilm*) of the theologians. When the former kind of knowledge has been attained to its full extent, it appears to be identical with the contents of the religious Law. Kharaḳānī emphasizes that he would refuse to travel any path that would deviate from that of the Prophet. In spite of this adherence to Islamic orthodoxy, he dares to discourage other mystics to travel on to Mecca once they have "crossed the deserts of Kharaḳānī", i.e. after they have visited him and have accepted his teaching. The way of Kharaḳānī is a path of sorrow (*andūh*) and anxiety (*ḳabḍ*) which is contrasted to the joyfulness (*shādī*) and relaxation (*basṭ*) of mystics like Dāstānī and Abū Saʿīd. Humility and self-glorification are curiously mixed in the utterances of Kharaḳānī. He claims to be one of the rare true servants of God, and many of his sayings have the form of direct revelations from the Unseen. There are also some accounts of experiences in the higher world. One of his pupils recognises him as the *ḳuṭb* of his age. The superior status of the *shaykh* enables him to act as a mediator for other people before the Divine Judge. On the other hand, Kharaḳānī takes great pains to conceal the graces bestowed on him. Neither his ascetic merits nor his miraculous powers, which in the case of Kharaḳānī consist in particular of the gift of foresight (*firāsa*), should mislead the true mystic into false pretentions. It is therefore to be regarded as a special favour of God to His friends that He helps them to conceal these graces from the eyes of the profane. (On the characteristics of Kharaḳānī's mysticism, see also S. de Beaurecueil, *Ansari*, 65-67).

The sayings of Kharaḳānī have been collected by one of his followers in the *Kitāb Nūr al-ʿulūm*. Of this work, only an abstract seems to have survived in the so far unique manuscript British Museum Or. 249, dated 698/1299 (cf. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the British Museum*, i, 342a; ed. by E. E. Bertel's, in *Iran*, iii (1927), 155-224 = *Izbrannïe Trudï. Sufizm i sufiyskaya literatura*, Moscow 1965, 225-78; the linguistic particularities of this text have been studied in the Introduction to Bertel's edition as well as in M. Taḳī-Bahār, *Sabkshināsī*, ii, Tehran n.d., 226-8 and G. Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*, Paris 1963, 123-4 and *passim*). Considerably more of the contents of the original has been preserved in the long section on Kharaḳānī in the Supplement to ʿAṭṭār's *Tadhkirat al-awliyāʾ*, ii, ed. Nicholson, Leiden-London 1907, 201-55. The *Nūr al-ʿulūm* was divided into ten chapters, the last of which contained hagiographic stories (*manāḳib*) about the *shaykh*. Another chapter was devoted to the prayers (*munādjāt*) of Kharaḳānī. A small separate collection of prayers is also known to exist (cf. H. Ritter, in *Isl.* xxv (1939), 63). The attribution of the edition of the *Munādjāt* of Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī to Kharaḳānī (cf. L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*², Paris 1968, 274) needs to be verified. Two short *risāla*s attributed to Kharaḳānī have recently come to light in Pakistan (cf. A. Munzawi, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-i khaṭṭī-i fārsī*, ii, Tehran 1349 sh., 1101 (nos. 10165-10166). There are also a few quatrains attributed to him (see, e.g. Nadjm al-Dīn Dāya, *Mirṣād al-ʿibād*, ed. Tehran 1337/1377, 25, 28; Amīn-i Aḥmad-i Rāzī, *Haft Iḳlīm*, ed. Dj. Fāḍil, Tehran 1340 sh., iii, 335; Riḍā-Ḳulī Khān Hidāyat, *Riyāḍ al-ʿārifīn*, Tehran 1305/1887-8, 28-9; idem, *Madjmāʿ al-fuṣaḥāʾ*, ed. Tehran 1295/1878, i, 66; Ethé, *Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the India Office Library*, i, Oxford 1903, no. 1747, fol. 1b). A commentary to one of the sayings was written by Nadjm al-Dīn Dāya (cf. F. Meier, in *Isl.* xxiv (1937), 38 n.). One of the divinely-inspired utterances (*shaṭḥiyyāt*) of Kharaḳānī has been studied by Rūzbihān Baḳlī.

Bibliography: In addition to the works quoted in the article: Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-maḥdjūb*,

tr. Nicholson, London 1911, 163; Anṣārī Harawī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ṣūfiyya*, ed. Kābul 1962, index; *Ḥālāt-u sukhanān-i shaykh Abū Saʿīd*, ed. St. Petersburg 1899, 14, 69; Muḥammad b. al-Munawwar, *Asrār al-tawḥīd*, ed. Tehran 1332 sh., 51, 53, 57, 146-58, 234, 269; al-Samʿānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, ed. Leiden-London, fol. 194b; Rūzbihān Baḳlī, *Sharḥ-i shaṭḥiyyāt*, ed. Tehran-Paris 1966, 41, 317-18; Abu'l-Mafākhir Yaḥyā Bākharzī, *Awrād al-aḥbāb*, ed. Tehran 1340 sh., 117; ʿAṭṭār, *Manṭiḳ al-ṭayr*, ed. M. Dj. Mashkūr, Tehran 1347 sh., 114, 167, 170; *Ilāhī-nāma*, ed. Leipzig 1940, 362-3; *Muṣībat-nāma*, ed. Tehran 1338 sh., 360; *Asrār-nāma*, ed. Tehran 1338 sh., 115-6 (cf. H. Ritter, *Das Meer der Seele*, Leiden 1954, index, and 775); Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *Mathnawī-i maʿnawī*, ed. London 1925-1940, iv, *bayt* 1802 ff., 1925 ff.; vi, *bayt* 2204 ff.; Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, ed. Calcutta 1859, 336-8 (no. 364), 381-4; idem, *Manāḳib shaykh al-Islām ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī*, ed. A. J. Arberry, in *IQ*, vii (1963), 65-6; Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam*, London 1914, 87, 133-8, 145; idem, *Studies in Islamic mysticism*, Cambridge 1921, 42-4; Massignon, *La passion d'Al-Husayn ibn-Mansour al-Ḥalladj*, Paris 1922, 426; E. E. Bertel's, in *Islamica*, iii (1927), 54 ff.; S. de Laugier de Beaurecueil, *Khwadja Abdullah Ansari*, Beirut 1963, 62-74; J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, 32, 52 f., 92, 221; *Aḥwāl wa aḥwāl-i shaykh Abu'l-Ḥasan Kharaḳānī, aḳwāl-i ahl-i taṣawwuf dar bāra-i ū ba-ḍamīma-i Muntakhab-i Nūr al-ʿulūm manḳūl az nuskha-i khaṭṭi-i London*, ed. by Mudjtaba Minuwi, Tehran 1354 sh. For further references, see Storey, i, 927 f.

(J. T. P. de Bruijn)

AL-KHARAḲĪ, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. (Abī) Bishr, Bahāʾ al-Dīn and Shams al-Dīn (and also Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Djabbār b. ʿAbd al-Djabbār b. Muḥammad) al-Thābitī al-Ḥusaynī al-Marwazī, Persian mathematician, astronomer and geographer, who also concerned himself with philosophical questions. He seems to have been a native of Kharaḳ (see Yāḳūt, s.v.) near Marw, whence his *nisba* (which Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, *Kashf*, Tehran 1947, 338, reads as al-Khiraḳī). He lived in Marw, whither he had been summoned by the Khʷārazm-Shāh Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad (490-521/1097-1127) or by Atsïz (521-51/1127-56), and he also lived in Nīshāpūr. He died at either Marw or Kharaḳ in 533/1138-9.

Amongst his works, *al-Risāla al-shāmila*, on arithmetic, and *al-Risāla al-maghribiyya* are lost, but there are extant manuscripts of his works on cosmography: (1) *Muntahā 'l-idrāk fī taḳsīm* (or *taḳāsīm*) *al-aflāk*, which included, according to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, 1852-3, three parts—(a) the structure of the spheres, the movements of the heavenly bodies, etc. (b) the shape of the earth, with its division into an inhabited zone and an uninhabited zone, the differences in the ascendants (*ṭāliʿ*) and the ascensions (*maṭāliʿ*), according to geographical position (c) chronology; the conjunctions, especially those of Saturn and Jupiter; and the periods of revolution (*adwār*). In this work there is a description of the five seas borrowed from al-Djayhānī (301/913-14), in which it is asserted that the Atlantic communicates with the Indian Ocean, just as the Black Sea communicates by means of the Don (Ṭānīs) with the Baltic (ed. and tr. C. A. Nallino, *Albatenii Opus astronomicum*, Milan 1903-7, i, 169-75). (2) *Kitāb al-Tabṣira fī ʿilm al-hayʾa*, a work basically concerned with astronomy, and shorter than the preceding work. According to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa 338, it was dedicated to the minister Abu 'l-Ḥusayn ʿAlī b. Naṣīr al-Dīn, and contained two parts concerning the celestial spheres and the earth respectively. In it, the author shows the positions of the apogees for the beginning of the year 1444 of the Seleucid era (1 October 1132), and he brought the longitudes of al-Battānī down to his own time (Nallino, *op. cit.*, i, 240).

In these two works, al-Kharaḳī develops the theory that the celestial bodies do not move along imaginary circles, but are drawn along by material spheres. The antecedents of this view can be found in Ptolemy's *Planetary hypotheses*, and the same idea was set forth by al-Khāzin [*q.v.*] and by Ibn al-Haytham [*q.v.*]. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (633-710/1236-1311) airs this view in his *Nihāyat al-idrāk fī dirāyat al-aflāk*, referring both to al-Kharaḳī and to Ibn al-Haytham, and in Europe, it was known to Roger Bacon (*ca.* 1214-92).

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 624, S I, 863; Suter, *Mathematiker*, 116, 161, 164; Sarton, *Introduction*, ii, 204-5, 750, 956, 1018; E. Wiedemann, *Zur Geschichte des Kompasses* ..., in *Zeitschr. Phys.*, xxiv (1924), 166-288; idem and K. Kohl, *Einleitung zu Werken von al-Charaqī*, in *SPBMS Erlg.*, lviii-lix (1926-7), 203-18; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, vi, 210. (E. Wiedemann - [J. Samsó])

KHĀRĀN, a former native state of western Balūčistān, now incorporated in Pakistan. Geographically, it comprises a wide basin, that of the Mashkel river in the west and the Baddo in the east, between high ranges of mountains, the Raʾs Kūh rising to 9,900 feet; the valley terrain includes an extensive *rīgistān* or sand desert. The population is largely Balūč, with some Brahūīs in the eastern part.

The early history of Khārān is very obscure. Local tradition says that the Nawshīrwānī chiefs entered Khārān in the 8th/14th century. Over the ensuing centuries, these chiefs gave a vague allegiance to rulers in Persia, Kalāt and Afghānistān at different times; up till the period of Nādir Shāh Afshār (mid-18th century), Khārān seems generally to have been considered as an extension of the Persian province of Kirmān. The energetic Naṣīr Khān of Kalāt [see kilāt] brought Khārān under his suzerainty, until conflicts in the latter half of the 19th century between Mīr Khudādād Khān of Kalāt and Āzād Khān of Khārān inclined the latter to the Afghān side. In 1884, Sir Robert Sandeman, the pacifier of Balūčistān, visited Khārān and arranged a settlement between the rival rulers. Khārān continued to acknowledge Kalāt's general suzerainty, but now received an annual subsidy from the Government of India and referred disputes to the British Political Agent in Quetta (see T. N. Thornton, *Colonel Sir Robert Sandeman: his life and work on our Indian frontier*, London 1895, 101, 180-2). It was around this time also that the frontier on the west of Khārān and the adjacent parts of Balūčistān with Persia was demarcated. Few travellers visited Khārān before Sandeman's time; one of the few who did, H. Pottinger (1810), alludes to the fine camels of Khārān and to the fact that the local chief, Sardār ʿAbbās Khān Nawshīrwānī, had recently declared himself independent of Maḥmūd b. Naṣīr Khān of Kalāt (*Travels in Beloochistan and Sinde; accompanied by a geographical and historical account of those countries*, London 1816, 129-30).

Disputes and conflicts with Kalāt in 1940 led to an agreement whereby Khārān was recognized as a separate native state under its own Nawāb. The latter immediately acceded to Pakistan in 1947. In 1952

Khārān was merged into the Balūčistān States Union, till in 1955 the whole of Balūčistān was incorporated in the single unit of West Pakistan. Khārān now forms a District of Pakistan (area 18,553 sq. miles) under a Deputy Commissioner; the population in 1961 was 42,483.

Bibliography: *Imperial gazetteer of India*[2], xv 247-50; R. Hughes-Buller, *Baluchistan District gazeteer series*, 1907; *Population census of Pakistan 1961. District census reports, Kharan.*

(C. E. Bosworth)

KHARĀNA, a fortified building, usually referred to as Ḳaṣr Kharāna. It is strategically located in the Transjordanian desert, 60 km. SE of ʿAmmān in lat. 31° 42′ N. and long. 36° 79′ E., on the edge of a *wādī* at the meeting of several desert tracks. The land is stony, infertile and geologically basaltic (whence conceivably a connection of its name with Arabic *ḥarra* [*q.v.*]), and there is no obvious water supply; 2 km. to the WSW is an Upper Palaeolithic-Mesolithic site, with an abundance of flint implements. The entrance to Ḳaṣr Kharāna (see Plate xxix a) incorporates two stone blocks with part of a Greek inscription, suggesting that there was an earlier building nearby, of the late Roman or Byzantine period.

The building is approximately 35 m. square, and is two stories high; it is built of rough masonry with decorative brick inserts and plaster details. The outer wall has a round tower at each corner, and semi-circular towers at the centre of the N, E and W sides. The single entrance is on the S side, flanked with quarter-round projections, with a large window above and a row of decorative niches. The walls are pierced with loopholes of unusual design, the vertical opening topped by a single stone against which two bricks are set diagonally. Between the two rows of loopholes and an upper row of rectangular openings are horizontal bands of decorative brickwork inserted in the masonry, the bricks being placed diagonally to produce a herringbone pattern.

Inside, the covered entrance leads to a central courtyard, surrounded on all sides by *bayts* of varying dimensions, on two floors. Round the courtyard there was once a gallery, which has now disappeared (see Plate xxix b). Access to the gallery, and to the rooms on the upper level opening off it, was by means of two sloping ramps. The larger rooms on the upper floor are roofed by transverse vaults of stones set end to end, supported on triple engaged columns without bases or capitals, all plastered over. Two of these rooms have semi-domes at the far end, supported at the angles by squinch arches (see Plate xxx a). The rooms are plastered, with simple decorative mouldings, and a number of carved roundels with formal, symmetrical plant designs.

Important evidence for the date of Ḳaṣr Kharāna was the discovery by B. Moritz in 1905-6 of a *graffito* inscription on the wall of one of the upper rooms (see Plate xxx b). This inscription in eleven lines, and another three-line inscription nearby, are amongst the earliest extant painted Arabic texts. The last three lines contain the statement, "ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar wrote [it] on Monday three [nights] remaining from Muḥarrem of the year two and ninety" (tr. N. Abbott). This date corresponds to Monday, November 24th, 710 AD. It has been conjectured that ʿAbd al-Malik b. ʿUmar (whose name is given thus at the beginning of the inscription) was a member of al-Walīd's entourage, returning from a visit to Mecca in 91/710. Whilst the inscription cannot be interpreted in any way as evidence for the Muslim origin of the building, it does provide a useful *terminus ante quem*. Most authorities, and notably K. A. C. Creswell, have identified the building as Sāsānid, and have associated it with the Persian occupation of 614-28 A.D. Creswell, and others, have observed that many of the structural and decorative features, such as the use of elliptical arches, the squinches, the engaged columns supporting transverse arches, and the quarter-round entrance towers, find their parallels in Sāsānid and Mesopotamian architecture; Creswell has also pointed out that the obviously defensive nature of the structure sets it apart from the majority of the later Umayyad desert palaces, which were seldom fortified.

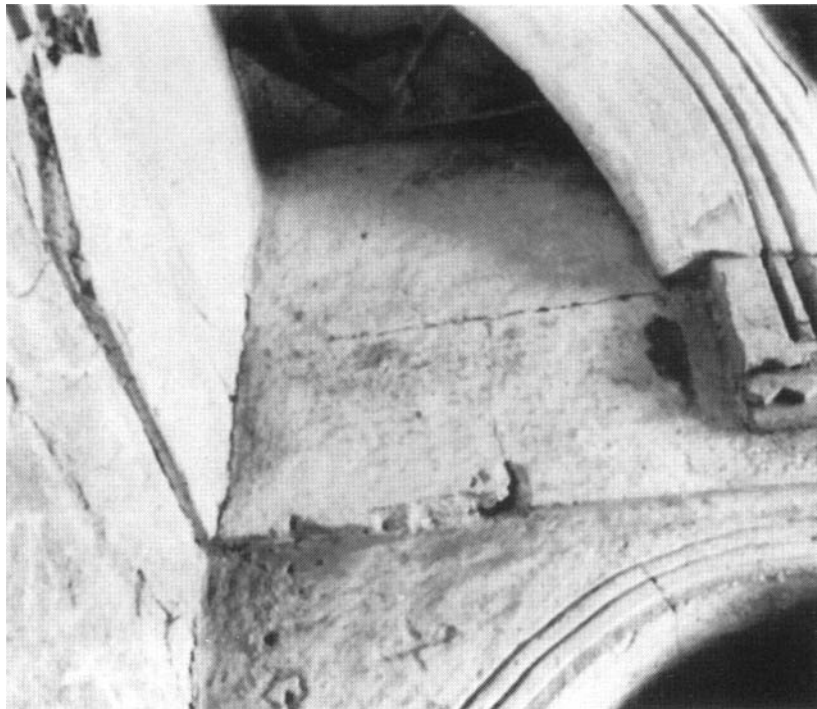
Bibliography: A complete bibliography is given by K. A. C. Creswell in his note on Ḳaṣr Kharāna, *Early Muslim architecture, Umayyads, A.D. 622-750*, Oxford 1969, ii, 44-49. The most important works include the first account of the building by Gray Hill, *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, 1896; J. A. Jaussen and R. Savignac, *Les châteaux arabes de Qeṣeir ʿAmra, Ḥarâneh et Ṭûba*, Paris 1922, contains a detailed description; B. Moritz, *Ausflüge in der Arabia Petraea*, in *MFOB*, iii, (1908); A. Musil, *Ḳuṣejr ʿAmra*, Vienna 1907; idem, *Arabia Petraea*, Vienna 1907-8; G. L. Bell, *Ukhaiḍir*, Oxford 1914; J. Sauvaget, *Remarques sur les monuments omeyyades*, in *JA*, ccxxxi (1939-40); idem, *La mosquée omeyyade de Médine*, Paris 1947; G. Lankester Harding, *The antiquities of Jordan*, London 1969; H. Gaube, *Ein arabischer Palast in Südsyrien, Ḫirbet el-Baiḍa*, Beirut-Wiesbaden 1974, 74-5; J. Warren, *A Sasanian attribution of two buildings in Jordan*, in *Art and Archaeology Research Papers*, xi, London 1977, discusses the relationship with the *ribāṭ* on the citadel in ʿAmmān; for the painted inscription, see *RCEA*, i, 1931, and the discussion of it by N. Abbott, *The Ḳaṣr Kharāna Inscription of 92H (710 A.D.) a new reading*, in *Ars Islamica*, xi-xii (1946).

(J. Carswell)

KHʷĀRAZM, in post-Mongol times increasingly known as Khīwa, the province lying along the lower course of the Amū Daryā [*q.v.*] or Oxus, classical Chorasmia. In the early Islamic period, the southern boundary of Khʷārazm was considered to be at Ṭāhiriyya, five days' journey downstream from Āmul-i Shaṭṭ (modern Čārdjūy), the crossing-place of the Khurāsān-Bukhārā caravan route. Ṭāhiriyya lay just to the south of the gorge of the "lion's mouth", Dahān-i Shīr, where the river narrows at modern Düldül Atlaghān near Pitnyak. However, the Ghaznawid historian Bayhaḳī (5th/11th century) reckoned Darghān (in post-Mongol times, Darūghān-Atā), to the north of the gorge, as the beginning of Khʷārazm. Below the gorge, the Amū Daryā fans out into an extended delta plain, with numerous river channels and irrigation canals (*arīḳ*s), as far as the shores of the Aral Sea. This plain forms an island of fertility and cultivation within the surrounding steppe and desert, linked only with Transoxania by the strips of agricultural land along the Amū Daryā banks, and one would expect that in such a well-watered region, comparable in many ways to the habitat of the Nile and Mesopotamia, a sedentary, agrarian society would early arise. Soviet archaeology has in fact shown that the Kelte Minar Late Neolithic culture was characteristic of the region in the fourth millenium B.C., whilst in the second millenium B.C. the Taza Bagh Yab culture was typical of the Khʷārazmian Bronze Age (see S. P. Tolstov, *Drevniy Khorezm*, Moscow 1948, and A. L. Mongait,

a. General view, showing the main entrance with quarter-round towers (upper section restored)

b. The internal courtyard. Note the springing of arches and the traces of a gallery, now disappeared, on the first floor.

a. Upper floor room, with a semi-dome supported on squinch arches.

b. Squinch arch in upper room, with *graffito* inscription between the springing of the arch and the angle of the walls, dated 91/710.

Archaeology in the U.S.S.R., Moscow 1959, 263-77).

The etymology of the name Khwārazm has evoked much speculation. In his article *Khwārazm* in the *Muʿdjam al-buldān*, ed. Beirut 1374-6/1955-7, ii, 395-8, Yāḳūt offers a folk-etymology relating to two outstanding features of the province, the food gained for the Khwārazmians from the Amū Daryā and its channels, sc. the fish, and the trees and bushes which probably covered some part at least of the region in early times and supplied fuel for cooking; the traveller Ibn Faḍlān (309/921-2) remarks on the cheapness and easy availability of firewood there. Hence, Yāḳūt says, *khwar* = "flesh" (*laḥm*), and *r.z.m.* = "firewood" (*ḥaṭab*). Outside the realm of fancy, an obvious meaning for the name might well be "lowlands", if the *-zmi-* element of the Achaemenid name for Khwārazm, Huwārazmiš, reflects Middle and New Persian *zamīn* "land" and the first element in New Persian *khwār* "low, abject". Another suggestion has connected the first element with *khūrshīd* "sun" and has explained it as "the land of the rising sun", reflecting Khwārazm's position on the north-eastern periphery of the Iranian heartlands; and a further explanation has been that of "fruitful land", linking the first element with New Persian *khwurdan* "to eat". Tolstov has even explained it as "the land of the people Khwarri or Kharri", connecting these with the Hurrians who founded the Mitanni kingdom in northeastern Mesopotamia and the Lake Van region in the middle of the second millenium B.C., presumably positing a migration of the proto-Hurrians westwards from Central Asia. Whether Khwārazm is to be identified with the *Airyanem vaeǰo* "Aryan range" of the Avesta, sc. with the homeland of the old Iranian sacred books, as was maintained by, e.g. Marquart, is unproven but not unlikely; W. B. Henning suggested a possibility that the Gāthās, the oldest part of the Avesta, were composed in northern Khurāsān, the region of Marw and Harāt, perhaps then part of the pre-Achaemenid kingdom of Khwārazm.

It certainly seems that in Achaemenid times Khwārazm was a flourishing land, and on the evidence of the Behistun and Persepolis inscriptions, was subject to some degree of Achaemenid control. Khwārazm or Huwārazmiš provided a "dark-blue stone" (? turquoise) for decorating the palace of Darius at Susa. Herodotus alludes to what he calls "the plain of the Akēs River", i.e. the Oxus, as part of the Achaemenid dominions, and mentions the presence of Chorasmian and Parthian troops in the army of Xerxes as a special division under Artabazus son of Pharnaces; he further says that these soldiers were equipped in the same fashion as the Bactrians, sc. with Median caps, bows and short spears. By the time of Alexander the Great, however, the Khwārazmians had somehow thrown off Persian control, and when Alexander was in Bactria in 328 B.C. he received a visit from the King of Chorasmia, Pharasmanes, and his retinue of 1,500 cavalrymen. Apparently Pharasmanes claimed sovereignty over all the steppes westwards from Chorasmia to Colchis on the Black Sea shores—by no means an impossible boast, given the long-standing political, commercial and cultural connections of Khwārazm with the Volga basin and South Russia.

Once the exiguous Greek sources become silent, we are dependent for literary evidence about the next centuries on the equally fragmentary information from the Khwārazmian Islamic scholar Bīrūnī (d. after 442/1050) [*q.v.*], a Khwārazmian patriot who was clearly conscious of the ancient glories of his homeland. In his *al-Āthār al-bāḳiya*, ed. Sachau, Leipzig 1878, 35-6, tr. idem, *The chronology of ancient nations*, London 1879, 40-2, he has a section on the ancient history and rulers of Khwārazm and on its era. He also wrote a special history of the province, the *Kitāb al-Musāmara fī akhbār Khwārazm*, cited by Yāḳūt (who visited Khwārazm personally in 616/1219-20, travelling from Marw in the depths of the harsh steppe winter) and utilised by Bayhaḳī in the closing section of his *Mudjalladāt* (*Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ, Tehran 1324/1945, 665-91, tr. Arends, *Istorya Masʿuda* (1030-1041)[2], Moscow 1969, 805-36); it is regrettable that no parts of this work on the pre-Ghaznavid history of Khwārazm have survived.

Until recent decades, we have had to depend largely on Bīrūnī for the history of the semi-legendary and pre-Islamic past of Khwārazm. He says that the land was first colonised 980 years before Alexander the Great, sc. before the Seleucid era, i.e. in 1292 B.C., when the hero of Iranian epic Siyāvush came to Khwārazm, and his son Kay Khusraw was established on the throne 92 years later, in 1200 B.C. He starts giving names only with the Afrīghid line of Khwārazm-Shāhs, having placed the ascension of Afrīgh in 616 of the Seleucid era, i.e. in 305 A.D.

The oldest Chinese name for Khwārazm, Yue-kien, given in the annals of the Earlier Han (first and second centuries B.C.), suggests as the centre of Khwārazmian power Gurgāndj [*q.v.*], earlier form Urgāndj, on the left bank of the Amū Daryā in lower Khwārazm. However, Ptolemy mentions that this centre lay on the right bank of the river, corresponding to the position of the royal palace excavated by Tolstov at Toprak-kala and that of the later capital of the Afrīghids, Kāth [*q.v.*] or al-Fīr/al-Fīl, and this seems both historically and archaeologically more probable. The remarkable results of Soviet archaeological work have indeed vastly widened our knowledge of the pre-Islamic history of Khwārazm. Well over 1000 pre-Islamic and early-Islamic coins have been found, together with many inscriptions in the Khwārazmian language and script on vessels, documents, etc. (see on these, below). In general, these results show that Bīrūnī's dates and names are not to be relied upon, for he was writing about matters which he could not verify. Thus V. A. Livshits has shown from dated Khwārazmian artefacts that Bīrūnī's eras from the Siyāvushid foundation of the kingdom and from the establishment of the Afrīghids, were never in actual use; instead, there was an official era beginning in the opening years of the Christian era, and probably to be connected with the rise of the new, pre-Islamic line of Shāhs and the achievement of independence from Parthian control, a control which seems to be attested by the clear Arsacid influence in coin designs, etc. (*The Khwarezmian calendar and the eras of ancient Chorasmia*, in *Acta antiqua academiae scientarum hungaricae*, xvi (1968), 433-46, and see KHWĀRAZM-SHĀHS).

We are wholly dependent on archaeology for any information at all on social and economic topics. Soviet research has provided much basic data, though these may be capable of various interpretations. It has shown the presence of extensive agricultural estates, with outlying field systems irrigated by networks of *arīḳs* or canals, and with central concentration points and fortified citadels, within which the peasants and their herds could take refuge. It is likely that, as at all times in its known pre-modern history, Khwārazm's borders were under pressure from the pastoralist nomads of the surrounding

steppes, probably by peoples like the Massagetes and Sakas in early times, and certainly by Turkish tribes like the Oghuz, Ḳïpčaḳ, Pečenegs, etc. in Islamic times. Bīrūnī speaks in his *Āthār*, 236, tr. 224, of annual expeditions led by the Khwārazm-Shāhs against the Oghuz, so that there was an autumn festival in Khwārazm called *faghburiyya* "that of the King's expedition" (*faghbur* = Iranian *baghpur*). It seems certain that in the 4th/10th century a group of Oghuz, perhaps semi-sedentarised and practising some agriculture and fishing but still inclined by nature to plundering and rapine, were established near the mouth of the Syr Daryā or Jaxartes only ten stages from Khwārazm, and their *Yabghu* or leader spent his winters at their settlement of Yengi-kent (Dih-i naw, al-Qarya al-djadīda, modern Djānkent-kala). The fortified nature of the Khwārazmian agricultural domains can thus be easily explained by this need for security against external marauders. It is less certain that these fortified enclosures were, as Soviet authorities have suggested, designed also for internal defence purposes, in the shape of peasant revolts against the "feudal" landowners of the province.

Tolstov adduces in support of his argument the events surrounding the Arab conquest of Khwārazm in 93/712 by Ḳutayba b. Muslim al-Bāhilī, the lieutenant in Khurāsān of the great governor al-Ḥadjdjadj b. Yūsuf. There had been attempts by the Arabs in the early Umayyad period to extend their raids through Transoxania to Khwārazm, and historians like Balādhurī, Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Athīr mention various raids, such as that led by Salim b. Ziyād in 61/681 against a town on the borders of Khwārazm (possibly Hazārasp) where the local Iranian princes of Soghdia had banded together to resist the Arabs. Ḳutayba was able to intervene in internal Khwārazmian politics because he was summoned in from Marw by the Afrīghid Shāh, unable by himself to make headway in a civil war with his younger brother Khurrazād ("the sun-born one"), who had seized power. Tolstov interprets Khurrazād's movement as one of social protest, of the Neo-Mazdakite type familiar in the disturbed countryside of Persia at this time, a rising of the urban and rural masses against the Khwārazm-Shāh and the landed aristocracy (what Ṭabarī, ii, 1237, calls "the *dihḳān*s and *marzbān*s"). He bases himself on Ṭabarī's information that Khurrazād confiscated the slavegirls, fine horses, precious articles, etc. of those connected with the royal court; but the social implications of all this, if there were any, are not really explicit in the Arabic sources. See H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, London 1923, 42-3; Tolstov, *Auf den Spuren der altchoresmischen Kultur*, Berlin 1953, 239-45; B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 31.

At all events, the two Arab invasions of this year, entailing the killing by the Arabs of the Khwārazm-Shāh himself, brought the province for the first time into the Arab orbit, and the Arabs were able to exact the payment of tribute and the supplying of auxiliary troops. Much damage seems to have been wrought by the incoming Arabs. Bīrūnī says that Ḳutayba slaughtered all those who knew the old Khwārazmian script and who knew the old historical traditions. This is doubtless an exaggeration. The requirement of tribute lapsed, and Islam was certainly not implanted immediately. The Afrīghids themselves did not become Muslim till three generations or so later, perhaps in the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn. The Shāhs continued to join with the Soghdian rulers of Transoxania in common hostility to the Arabs, encouraging intervention by the Turks and Chinese; in 133/751 we hear from Chinese sources of an embassy from the Shāh Shāwushfar(n) (whose name is also known from coins) to the Imperial Court (Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, 145). The Khwārazmian language survived for several centuries to come, and so must some at least of the culture and lore of ancient Khwārazm, for it is hard to see the commanding figure of Bīrūnī, a repository of so much knowledge, appearing in a cultural vacuum.

The persistence of the Khwārazmian language was, in fact, an outstanding manifestation of Khwārazmian ethnic and cultural vitality. Linguistically, this eastern Iranian language occupies a position midway between Soghdian on the east, known to us from a large number of Manichaean, Buddhist and other texts, and the rather less well-known Parthian on the west; an especially interesting feature of Khwārazmian is its conservative character in preserving many Avestan words (cf. the hypothesis, mentioned above, that the Gāthās were composed in northern Khurāsān, then part of the pre-Achaemenid state of Chorasmia). It was a written language well before the Arab conquest, utilising, like Pahlavi, Parthian and Soghdian, an alphabet ultimately derived from the Aramaic one. This early stage of the language is known to us from the finds of Soviet archaeology, coin inscriptions, legends on pottery and silver vessels, documents on wood and leather, and many funerary inscriptions from ossuaries, but few of these texts have so far been satisfactorily published. It seems likely, however, that the Khwārazmian script emerged around the first century B.C. and was probably influenced by the practice of the Arsacid Parthian chancery. Ḳutayba's invasions may have ended the old scribal tradition, but the language itself persisted, now written in the Arabic alphabet but with several characters modified to render the characteristic sounds of Khwārazmian, e.g. ۋ for the labiodental fricative *v* or β, and څ for the africate *ts* (as in Pashto) and probably for its voiced equivalent *dz*; these modified characters are to be found, for instance, in several manuscripts of Bīrūnī's works where Khwārazmian names and terms are cited. It may be that Bīrūnī knew something of the old Khwārazmian script, but this is uncertain. Khwārazmian speech struck the Muslim geographers and travellers to the province as particularly queer and harsh; Ibn Faḍlān compares it to the chatter of starlings and the croaking of frogs (A. Z. V. Togan, *Ibn Faḍlāns Reisebericht*, Leipzig 1939, text 7, tr. 12).

The main sources for our rather exiguous knowledge of later Khwārazmian are the glosses in the Khwārazmian scholar Zamakhsharī's Arabic dictionary the *Muqaddimat al-adab*, together with Khwārazmian sentences in a series of Arabic legal works adapted for use in Khwārazm, in particular, the *Ḳunyat al-munya* of Mukhtār b. Maḥmūd al-Zāhidī (d. 658/1260). Khwārazmian culture and speech felt the pressure of Turkish infiltration from northern Khwārazm southwards, leading to the disappearance of the original Iranian character of the province and its complete turkicisation today, but Khwārazmian speech probably lasted in upper Khwārazm, the region round Hazārasp, till the end of the 8th/14th century. See on the Khwārazmian language, W. B. Henning, in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, 1. Abt., 4. Band, 1. Abschnitt, *Iranistik*, Leiden-Cologne 1958, 25, 56-8, 81-4, 109-20, and D. N. MacKenzie,

in *Cambridge history of Iran*, iii, *The Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanid periods*, ch. xxv(f); the Khwārazmian dictionary on which Henning was working till his death remains unpublished, but a section of it has now been edited by MacKenzie, *A fragment of the Khwarezmian dictionary* . . . , London 1971.

The religious pattern of early Islamic Khwārazm shows the gradual permeation of Islamic faith and learning, so that Khwārazm became, like Khurasān and Transoxania, a bastion of Sunnī orthodoxy and scholarship, attested by the large number of traditionists, lawyers, theologians, etc. with the *nisba* "al-Khwārazmī". The great mathematician Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārazmī (d. after 232/847) [*q.v.*] flourished at a time when the Khwārazm-Shāhs were only just becoming Muslims themselves, and in the following century we have such outstanding figures as the poet and prose stylist Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbās al-Khwārazmī (d. 383/993) [*q.v.*], and the Sāmānid secretary and official Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Khwārazmī [*q.v.*], author of the pioneer encyclopaedia of the sciences, the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*. The Arabic literary and philological sciences flourished there, as is shown by the section on the *fuḍalāʾ Khwārazm* in Thaʿālibī's anthology, the *Yatīmat al-dahr*, ed. Cairo, iv, 194-255, and by the figure of Bīrūnī himself. Bīrūnī normally used Arabic for his learned and scientific works, but he must have been trilingual in Khwārazmian, Arabic and New Persian. One manifestation of the orthodoxy of Khwārazm was, according to Ibn Faḍlān, the customary cursing of ʿAlī at the end of the daily prayers. Muʿtazilism was specially linked in the popular mind with Khwārazm (cf. Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, vi, 155), and according to Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Muʿtazilī ideas were still held by Khwārazmian scholars long after they had disappeared from the Muslim lands further west. We may also suppose that Khwārazm was, like Transoxania, a jumping-off point for dervishes and other enthusiasts to undertake missionary work within the steppes, and Khwārazmian *ghāzī*s manned *ribāṭ*s or frontier posts on the steppe fringes against the marauding Turks.

Zoroastrianism seems to have lasted in Khwārazm till the 5th/11th century, though Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, 235 ff., tr. 223 ff., says that the Zoroastrians were then only a small remnant, who went through the outward forms of their religion and observed its festivals, without knowing much about its inner spirit. Christianity was more flourishing. Bīrūnī again tells us, *Āthār*, 288, tr. 282-3, that the Christians of Khwārazm were Greek Orthodox Melkites, their connections with the Byzantine world being made doubtless via the overland route to the Caspian and South Russia. Although the Christianity of Iran and Central Asia was strongly Nestorian, with its metropolitan centre at Marw, Bīrūnī also mentions a Melkite metropolitan for Iran based on Marw also. There were, moreover, some Jacobites or Monophysites in Khwārazm. An 8th century Melkite *Notitia episcopatum* shows that the Melkite bishopric of Khwālis or Khwārazm fell administratively within the archidiocese of Doros in the Crimea, see the map in Tolstov, *Auf den Spuren*, 247. In the mid-7th/13th century, Latin travellers mention the Christians of Urgenč (Gurgāndj) as stemming from Khazar, Alan and Russian communities, and shortly afterwards, the Armenian king Haiton mentions that the Khwārazm Christians came under the Patriarchate of Antioch (see Barthold, *Zur Geschichte des Christentums in Mittel-Asien bis zur mongolischen Eroberung*, Tübingen-Leipzig 1901, 32-4). In the early Islamic period, we hear of Khwārazmian Christians playing a rôle as officials and secretaries; Ibn Faḍlān found that the faithful intendant of the ʿAbbāsid vizier Abū 'l-Ḥasan Ibn al-Furāt's estate at Artakhushmīthan was a Christian.

The Arab geographers of the 4th/10th century give detailed accounts of the topography and climate of Khwārazm (with much emphasis on the intense cold of the winters) and of the flourishing economic and commercial condition of the province. The political division between the local governors controlling Gurgāndj in the northwest and the Afrīghid Shāhs ruling the ancient capital Kāth in the east, a division which may conceivably go back to Ḳutayba's conquest, though this is uncertain [see KHWĀRAZM-SHĀHS], was a reality in the early 4th/10th century; the rise to power at the end of the century of the Maʾmūnid family in Gurgāndj is probably to be connected with the commercial florescence of the town, situated as it was at the end of the trade route to South Russia and the northern forest zone. The extent of this trade may be gauged by the implanting of colonies of Khwārazmian traders (on the evidence of toponomy) in South Russia and eastern Europe, and by the fact that Ibn Faḍlān, on his mission to the King of Bulghār, left Gurgāndj in a caravan of 3,000 camels and 5,000 people. Kāth itself nonetheless still prospered, and the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 121, describes it as "the emporium of the Turks, Turkistān, Transoxania and the Khazars". A detailed account of the topography and geography of Khwārazm at this time can be found in Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[2], 142-55, see also Le Strange, *The lands of the eastern Caliphate*, 443-59. The geographers' accounts show that cultivation and the pattern of settlement there were still to some extent dependent on the position of the Amū Daryā and its frequently-changing channels; the citadel and palace of the Afrīghid Shāhs in Kāth was gradually undermined by the river waters, and by the mid-4th/10th century the citadel and old city had been abandoned and a new city built to the east. As for the products of Khwārazm, the sources mention fruit (especially melons, which in the Caliphates of al-Maʾmūn and al-Wāthiḳ were exported in leaden, snowpacked containers as far as Baghdād, and which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa also praises as ones of incomparable quality), dried fish, textiles, cheese, snow, bows, etc.; whilst imports from the steppes and forests included sheep, camels, furs, hides, honey, hardwoods, and above all, Turkish and Ṣaḳlabī slaves.

In the 4th/10th century Khwārazm was nominally under the suzerainty of the Sāmānid Amīrs of Bukhārā, but little is known of the internal history of the province during these last few decades of Afrīghid rule. In 385/995 the Maʾmūnids of Gurgāndj overthrew the ancient dynasty and themselves assumed the title of Khwārazm-Shāhs, but in 408/1017 the province passed to the Ghaznawids; this control by Sulṭān Maḥmūd meant the end of political power in Khwārazm exercised by local dynasties, just as the extinction of the Sāmānids in Transoxania meant the end of direct Iranian rule there. In the cases of both regions, the assumption of power by Turkish rulers and the breaking-down of the northeastern bulwark of the Iranian world against pressure from the steppes inaugurated an accelerating process of ethnic and linguistic turkicisation; Khwārazm became wholly Turkish, and in Transoxania, only the restricted district of Tajikistan survives of the formerly vast *Iran extérieur*. Khwārazm came into the Saldjūḳ orbit after the downfall of Ghaznavid power in Khurāsān,

and was ruled by Turkish slave governors on behalf of the Saldjūḳ Sulṭāns. In the last years of the 5th/10th century, the governor Anūshtigin Gharčaʾī succeeded in founding an hereditary line in Khʷārazm, whose members also took the title of Khʷārazm-Shāhs and who were, after the middle years of the 6th/12th century, virtually independent (for details of the history of these three centuries before the Mongol invasions, see KHʷĀRAZM-SHĀHS).

The extensive empire built up by this last line of Khʷārazm-Shāhs nevertheless crumbled before the Mongol onslaught, and the Shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad's capital of Urgenč (the former Gurgāndj) fell to Čaghatay and Ögedey in 618/1221 after a valiant defense. After this, the northern part of Khʷārazm and the lower Syr Daryā region came within the lands of the Golden Horde for 140 years, with only the southern part, including Kāth and Khīwa, coming within the Čaghatayid *ulus*; till *ca.* 751/1350 Khʷārazm was directly ruled by the Golden Horde Khāns, and after the collapse of the Il-Khānids in Persia, Khʷārazm formed the base for military operations against Khurāsān. Thus the greater part of Khʷārazm was politically linked under the Golden Horde with the region with which it had so many ancient links, that of the Volga basin and South Russia, and this unity favoured the growth of commerce across the steppes connecting the two regions; *ca.* 740/1340 Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī found prices almost identical in the Golden Horde centre of Sarāy on the Volga and in Urgenč, and the same weights and measures were in use in both cities (see Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde, die Mongolen in Russland 1223-1502*[1], Leipzig 1943, 275, 390). The capital Urgenč was rebuilt in 628/1231 on a new site some distance from the old Gurgāndj (Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 323, who calls the capital *madīnat Khʷārazm*, in accordance with the tendency to name a capital after the province or region in which it is situated), and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who travelled from Sarāy to Khʷārazm and Transoxania a century later, expatiates on its flourishing state, its fine markets and its populousness; Kāth, on the other hand, had sunk to the status of a village. Khʷārazm also became once more a home of learning and the arts, so that ʿAbd al-Razzāḳ Samarḳandī describes it in his *Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn* as "the rendez-vous of the most distinguished figures of the world", *madjmaʿ-i aʿyān-i djihān*. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa again praises the charitable foundations of Khʷārazm, the *madrasas*, hospitals, etc., some of which had been built by Özbeg Khān's governor there, Ḳutlugh Tīmūr, and he visited the hospice at the tomb of the great Ṣūfī shaykh Nadjm al-Dīn al-Kubrā, killed by the Mongols when they captured Urgenč, and the tomb of Zamakhsharī (*Riḥla*, iii, 3 ff., tr. Gibb, iii, 541 ff.). The tomb of Ḳutlugh-Tīmūr's wife Turā Beg Khānum, which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions, still survives in the ruins of Old Urgenč, Kunya Urgenč, as does that of Nadjm al-Dīn al-Kubrā (see *Āthār al-Islām al-taʾrīkhiyya fī 'l-Ittiḥād al-Sūfiyyitī*, Tashkent *ca.* 1962, Pls. 18, 19).

Two or three decades after Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's visit, there arose in Khʷārazm an independent minor dynasty, the Ṣūfids, of a Ḳongrat Turkish tribe; the coins in Khʷārazm for the Khāns of the Golden Horde cease in 762/1361, and those of Ḥusayn Ṣūfī, founder of the line, commence in 765/1364. Ḥusayn Ṣūfī displaced the Čaghatayids from Kāth and Khīwa, and held off Tīmūr from Khʷārazm till 781/1379. The line revived after a temporary submergence under the Tīmūrids, with help from the Golden Horde Khān Toḳtamīsh, but in 790/1388 Sulaymān Ṣūfī was defeated and this time Tīmūr razed Urgenč to the ground. Khʷārazm never really recovered from this blow, and it seems henceforth to have lost its former importance in both the cultural and commercial life of Central Asia.

In the 9th/15th century, possession of Khʷārazm alternated between the Golden Horde Khāns and the Tīmūrids, but members of the Ṣūfī family seem to have retained local power as governors; ʿUthmān b. Muḥammad Ṣūfī is mentioned in 868/1464 as vassal of the Khān Muṣṭafā. In 911/1505 Khʷārazm passed to Muḥammad Shaybānī, founder of the Özbeg amīrate in Transoxania, and in 916/1510 briefly to the Ṣafawid Shāh Ismāʿīl, the opponent of Shaybānī.

A new local Özbeg dynasty now appears in Khʷārazm, like the Shaybānids of Transoxania descended ultimately from Djoči, son of Čingiz Khān, but only remotely connected with the main line of the Shaybānids. This was the dynasty of ʿArabshāhids (917-end of the 11th century/1511-end of the 17th century), whose genealogy (conjectural in parts) is given by Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie*, 274-5. The centre of the new principality lay at Khīwa, which from Tīmūrid times onwards becomes the principal city of Khʷārazm, and the ʿArabshāhid capital from the amīrate of ʿArab Muḥammad I (1011-32/1602-23) onwards. Khīwa must be an ancient, pre-Islamic Khʷārazmian settlement. Khīwa, older form Khīwaḳ, is already described as a place of fair importance by the 4th/10th century geographers, and became further celebrated as the birthplace of Shaykh Nadjm al-Dīn al-Kubrā [*q.v.*]. Yāḳūt says that its people were in this time still Shāfiʿīs, whereas the rest of Khʷārazm had become Ḥanafī. Now, reversing the older process, the city of Khīwa began to give its name to the whole province, henceforth usually known as the Khānate of Khīwa. The old city of Urgenč, only partly rebuilt by Tīmūr, must have become deserted, for a new Urgenč arose 20 miles northeast of Khīwa, and soon became the most important commercial centre of Khīwa; the ancient capital Kāth, by then very shrunken, had to be completely abandoned when the channel on which it was situated dried up. However, the ʿArabshāhid Khān Muḥammad Anūsha (1074-85/1663-74) built a new Kāth on the left bank of the Amū Daryā below New Urgenč.

The ʿArabshāhids exercised direct rule in Khʷārazm, and held suzerainty over a considerable area beyond it, extending to the northern rim of Khurāsān and to the eastern shores of the Caspian Sea, the regions known as "the side of the mountains", as opposed to "the side of the water", those regions lying along the Amūr Daryā. Two of the Bukhārā Özbeg Amīrs, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Maḥmūd in 945/1538 and ʿAbd Allāh b. Iskandar in 1001/1593 and 1003-05/1595-7, managed briefly to occupy Khʷārazm, but on the whole the ʿArabshāhids maintained themselves against their Transoxanian neighbours, and at times carried warfare as far as Bukhārā itself, as did Muḥammad Anūsha in 1076/1665. Nevertheless, the cultural level of the ʿArabshāhid kingdom was perceptibly lower than that of Transoxania. The best-known ruler of the dynasty was Abu 'l-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān [*q.v.*] (1054-74/1644-63), the author in Čaghatay or Eastern Turkish of the *Shedjere-yi Terākime* on the history of the Mongols and the *Shadjarat al-Atrāk* on the history of the Shaybānids, completed by his son Muḥammad Anūsha; but Abu 'l-Ghāzī states at the outset in the latter work that he was forced to write the history of his land because none of his subjects was educated enough to undertake this task.

After the end of the ʿArabshāhid line, there fol-

lowed various *fainéant* khāns of Čingizid lineage but little competence or power, who were summoned from the steppes; the real holder of power in Khīwa was generally the Inaḳ (i.e. senior member and military chief) of the Ḳongrat tribe, who simply sent these *khāns* back to the steppes when they proved inadequate for his purposes. It was in the 12th/18th century that relations between the Khānate of Khīwa and the expanding power of Russia began to assume some importance. Already, the Ural Cossacks had been attracted by the famed richness of Khwārazm and had raided New Urgenč. In 1717 Peter the Great, drawn by the possibility of opening up an overland trade to Bukhārā and India, and acting on a pretext that was to be much used in the process of the Russian reduction of Central Asia, viz. the release of Russian prisoners, sent a military expedition against Khīwa under the Circassian adventurer Bekovič. The attempt failed, but in 1153/1740 the Persian conqueror Nādir Shāh Afshār conquered Bukhārā and Khīwa temporarily; however, Nādir's nominee to the throne in Khīwa, Tagir, did not long survive the Shāh's withdrawal.

From now onwards, the Khīwa Khānate in general and the topography of the capital begin to be well-known from the accounts of Russian and western European travellers and visitors. Khīwa suffered badly from the raids from the south of the Yomut Türkmens of the Ḳara Ḳum desert, who almost completely destroyed the city shortly before 1184/1770; these Türkmens were however driven off and the city restored in that year by the Inaḳ Muḥammad Amīn. In 1219/1804 the Inaḳ Iltüzer, grandson of Muḥammad Amīn, assumed the title of Khān, and the remaining Khāns of Khīwa were all from his line. Warfare with the Khāns of Bukhārā continued in the early 19th century, and in an expansionist phase under the Khān Muḥammad Raḥīm (1221-41/1806-26) and his son Allāh Ḳulī (1241-58/1826-42), the Khīwa Khānate assumed its greatest extent, from the shores of the Aral Sea and the Syr Daryā mouth, to the south of Marw.

But Russian expansionism now assumed serious proportions. The winter expedition of 1839-40 from Orenburg under General Perovski failed miserably, but soon afterwards, the Khān had to accede to a set of Russian demands, after vainly trying to open up relations with Great Britain. The Russians founded a fort named Kazalinsk at the mouth of the Syr Daryā in 1847, used subsequently as a base against the Khānate of Khoḳand and Tashkent, but also constituting a threat to the flank of Khīwa. The Khānate was prosperous enough internally at this time, as is shown by the *Sifārat-nāma-yi Khwārazm*, the account of the Persian envoy Riḍā Ḳulī Khān, who visited Khīwa in 1267/1851 to negotiate the freeing of Persians captured by the Türkmens in Māzandarān and Khurāsān and then sold in the slave markets of Khīwa (French tr. by Ch. Schefer, *Relation de l'ambassade au Kharezm de Riza Qouly Khan*, Paris 1879). It continued, however, to be harassed by Türkmen depredations, and was at odds with the Khānate of Bukhārā. When in 1873 Russian forces from Orenburg, Krasnovodsk on the eastern shore of the Caspian, Perovski on the lower Syr Daryā and Tashkent, advanced simultaneously on Khīwa, the Khān had to capitulate after some fighting. Sayyid Muḥammad Raḥīm lost all his territories on the right bank of the Amū Daryā to Russia, and in his truncated Khānate on the left bank, was to be under the protectorate of Russia, to consider himself as "the obedient servant of the Emperor of all the Russias", and was to pay a heavy war indemnity. The Khāns of Khīwa were never considered by the Tsarist government to be on the same level as those of Bukhārā. Internal dissensions within Khīwa and attacks by the Türkmens still continued, but the last Khān, Sayyid ʿAbd Allāh (1918-20) faced an invasion by Bolshevik troops and had to abdicate in February 1920 in favour of a nominally independent Khwārazmian People's Soviet Republic. This lasted only till 1924, when the internal frontiers of Central Asia were redrawn by the USSR government on ethnic lines, so that the right-bank areas of the old Khīwa Khānate were incorporated in the Uzbek SSR and the left-bank ones in the Turkmen SSR.

Bibliography: In addition to those works mentioned in the article, see Sachau, *Zur Geschichte und Chronologie von Khwârizm*, in *SBWAW*, lxxiii (1873), 471-506, lxxiv (1873), 285-330; Barthold, *A short history of Turkestan*, and *A history of the Turkman people*, in *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, i and iii; E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches from eastern Asiatic sources*, London 1910, ii, 91-4; F. H. Skrine and E. D. Ross, *The heart of Asia, a history of Russian Turkestan and the Central Asian Khanates*, London 1899; G. E. Wheeler, *The modern history of Soviet Central Asia*, London 1964; Z. V. Togan, *İA*, art. *Hârizm*; *BSE*², xlvi, 324-7; Mayer, *Bibliography of Moslem numismatics*, s.v. Khans of Khiva, Khwarizmshahs and Kungratids.

(C. E. Bosworth)

KHWĀRAZM-SHĀHS, the ancient title of the rulers of Khwārazm [*q.v.*], used regularly in the early Islamic period (cf. Ṭabarī, ii, 1238, events of 93/712) until the Mongol invasions, and sporadically thereafter; hence as with the designations Afshīn and Ikhshīd [*q.vv.*], this is an example of the survival of what was probably an ancient Central Asian Iranian title well into Islamic times.

The Khwārazmian scholar Bīrūnī gives the names and genealogical sequence of the first line of Khwārazm-Shāhs, the house of Afrīgh, which began, so he says, in 305 A.D. and continued until its overthrow by the Maʾmūnids in 385/995; these Afrīghids followed a semi-legendary line of the Siyāvushids, progeny of the Iranian hero Kay Khusraw. Bīrūnī mentions 22 of these Afrīghids, whose average reign spans neatly 31 years, a generation. This fact alone is suspicious, especially as all the 22 may not have ruled successively anyway, and Bīrūnī's reliability for topics relating to the pre-Islamic past of Khwārazm, topics which he could not personally verify, has recently been called in question [see KHWĀRAZM]. A large number of pre-Islamic Khwārazmian coins (i.e. coins dated up till the 8th century A.D.) have been found by Soviet archaeologists, and the archive of the royal palace at Toprak Kala on the right bank of the Amū Daryā or Oxus has yielded some documents. The typical pattern of these coins, adhered to for nearly a millenium, is of the ruler's head on the reverse and of a cavalryman on the obverse, with the ruler's name in the Aramaic-derived Khwārazmian script and the titles *MLKʾ* "king" and later, *MRʾY MLKʾ* "sovereign king". Unfortunately, few of the coin names correspond with those in Bīrūnī's list as we have it (there is, of course, always the possibility of scribal errors in copying these unfamiliar Iranian names), and nothing like the eponym *ʾf.rīgh* of Bīrūnī; perhaps therefore our designation of the first line of Khwārazm-Shāhs as the Afrīghids is more one of convenience than accuracy.

One Shāh who appears on coins as Khusraw is not

mentioned at all by Bīrūnī. However, there are one or two tentative confirmations of Bīrūnī's names, e.g. of the Arthamūkh, Shāh in the time of the Prophet Muḥammad, according to Bīrūnī. At the time of Ḳutayba's two invasions of 93/712 (when the Arabs were invited in by the Shāh to aid him in a succession dispute, but eventually turned on him and killed him), the then Shāh is named by Bīrūnī as Askadjamūk son of Azkādjawār, the form of the latter's name being confirmed on a coin as Askatsvar (in this particular case, the coin of an earlier Shāh of the same name). Askadjamūk's own son Shāwushfar(n) seems to appear on coins, and must in any case be identical with the ruler Shao-she-fien mentioned by the T'ang annals as sending an embassy to China in 133/751 asking for assistance against the Arabs (Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, 145). See for an analysis of these coins legends V. A. Livshits, *The Khwarezmian calendar and the eras of ancient Chorasmia*, in *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientarum Hungaricae*, xvi (1968), 439-44.

The first Islamic name of Bīrūnī is that one typical of the convert, ʿAbd Allāh b. Turkasbātha, whose reign should probably be placed in the early 3rd/9th century. However, even amongst the last Shāhs with Islamic names, Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 310, mentions a Shāh not included by Bīrūnī, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ashkām, who rebelled against his nominal suzerain, the Sāmānid Amīr of Bukhārā, Nūḥ b. Naṣr, in 332/943-4. It seems that the Sāmānids had extended their authority over Khʷārazm by the early 4th/10th century. When Ibn Faḍlān came from Baghdād in 309/921 accompanying the mission from the Caliph al-Muḳtadir to the King of the Volga Bulghārs, his party went firstly to Naṣr b. Aḥmad's court before proceeding to Khʷārazm; and in the operations of 309/921-2 against the Sāmānid rebel Laylī b. Nuʿmān in northern Persia, the Khʷārazm-Shāh joined the Amīr's forces. In practice, the Shāhs were little disturbed except when they sheltered Sāmānid rebels, and in the last years of Sāmānid rule, Khʷārazmian authority extended southwards as far as the northern fringes of Khurāsān and such frontier posts as Farāwa and Nasā. There are extant some coins of the penultimate Afrīghid Shāh, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, from the years 348/959-60 and 366/976-7, see Markov, *Inventarniy katalog*, 295, 975.

One obscure aspect of the post-Islamic conquest history of Khʷārazm is the growth of a rival power to the Afrīghid Shāhs in the west of the province at Gurgāndj (the later Kunya Urgenč, Arabic al-Djurdjāniyya) [*q.v.*]. Gurgāndj is mentioned in the accounts of Ḳutayba's conquest as one of the three main cities of Khʷārazm, together with Kāth and Hazārasp [*q.vv.*], and its rise as a rival to Kāth is probably explicable by its growing commercial prosperity as an entrepôt for steppe and South Russian trade; Gardīzī, *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Nāẓim, 57, speaks of "ancient hostility", *taʿaṣṣubī ḳadīm*, between the people of the two cities. Bīrūnī describes how, whilst the Afrīghids retained the royal authority (*shāhiyya*), another line exercised governorship (*wilāya*) in Gurgāndj at times. The actual relationship between these two lines of power holders is obscure, and there is not enough evidence to assert, as Sachau did, that the Gurgāndj *amīrs* exercised power continuously from the Arab invasion onwards, with a dual system of authority in Khʷārazm. Nor it is clear who was the "Amīr of Khʷārazm" at the time of the ʿAbbāsid Revolution, ʿAbd al-Malik b. Harthama, mentioned in Narshakhī, *Taʾrīkh-i Bukhārā*, tr. Frye, *The history of Bukhara*, 62. It is further strange that so percipient an observer as Ibn Faḍlān, who first visited the Shāh Muḥammad b. ʿIrāḳ in his capital Kāth and then stayed over three months in Gurgāndj waiting for the winter ice and snow to end, does not mention anything of the political situation in Gurgāndj or the existence there of a rival governor. Yet towards the end of the 4th/10th century, Gurgāndj was certainly in the hands of the Maʾmūnid family of *amīrs*, for the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (372/982), tr. 122, describes the town as "formerly belonging to the Khʷārazm-Shāhs", but now under the control of a separate *pādishāh* or ruler, the Amīr of Gurgāndj.

This *amīr*, Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Maʾmūn b. Muḥammad, in 385/995 overthrew the Afrīghids of Kāth and killed the last Shāh, Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, whom Bīrūnī accordingly calls *al-Shahīd* "the martyr". Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Maʾmūn assumed the historic title and founded a brief-lived second line of Khʷārazm-Shāhs (385-408/995-1017), and the Maʾmūnid court of Gurgāndj became a centre of learning and point of attraction for scholars and literary men from all over the eastern Islamic world. The Shāh Abu 'l-ʿAbbās Maʾmūn II b. Maʾmūn (? 399-407/? 1009-17) and his Vizier Aḥmad al-Suhaylī were surrounded by a brilliant concourse of figures like the philosophers Ibn Sīnā and Abū Sahl al-Masīḥī, the mathematician Abū Naṣr al-ʿArrāḳ, and the medical man Abu 'l-Khayr al-Ḥasan b. al-Khammār. The philologist Abū Manṣūr ʿAbd al-Malik al-Thaʿālibī moved to Khʷārazm from his home town of Nīshāpūr, impelled by the unsettled conditions there consequent upon the fall of the Sāmānids, and became an intimate of the Shāh, to whom he dedicated various works, including a "Mirror for Princes", the *Kitāb Adab al-mulūk al-khʷārazmshāhī*, ed. and tr. by T. R. Topuzoğlu, unpublished Manchester Ph.D. thesis, 1975. The Maʾmūnids also adorned their capital with fine buildings, and a minaret now preserved in the ruins of Kunya Urgenč has an inscription describing how Maʾmūn II ordered its building in 401/1011 and supervised the laying of its foundations (see Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*[2], 147 n. 4).

The Maʾmūnids unfortunately came up against the expansionist policies of the Ghaznawid Sulṭān Maḥmūd b. Sebüktigin, who aimed at turning the flank of his enemies the Ḳarakhānids by securing possession of Khʷārazm. In 405/1014 Maḥmūd demanded that Maʾmun II place the Sulṭān's name in the *khuṭba* of the Khʷārazmian territories, i.e. in effect recognise him as overlord of Khʷārazm. Maḥmūd's sister Kah-Kaldjī was successively wife of two of the Shāhs, and when Maʾmūn was assassinated in 407/1017 by a patriotic reaction against his submissiveness to the Ghaznawid, Maḥmūd had a pretext for intervention, the avenging of his brother-in-law. Maḥmūd's army invaded Khʷārazm, defeated the local forces at Hazārasp, unleashed a reign of terror in Gurgāndj against the regicides, and carried off large numbers of slaves to Ghazna. See for these events, Barthold, *Turkestan*[2], 275-9; Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, 56-60, 184-5; Sachau, in *SBWAW*, lxxiv (1873), 290-301.

Thus from 408/1017 onwards, Khʷārazm was incorporated in the immense Ghaznawid empire, and possession of it gave Maḥmūd the preponderance in Central Asia against the Ḳarakhānids. It was difficult to control so distant a province as Khʷārazm dirtcely from Ghazna, hence the Sulṭān appointed as governor there his slave commander Abū Saʿīd Altuntāsh [*q.v.*], with the traditional title of Khʷārazm-Shāh, and

Altuntāsh and his two sons form the short third dynasty of Shāhs (408-32/1017-41). Altuntāsh was the loyal servant of Maḥmūd and his son Masʿūd, defending the frontiers of Khʷārazm by the recruitment of auxiliary troops from the Ḳipčaḳ, Küdjet and Čaghrat Turks, and he died in battle fighting for Maḥmūd against the Ḳarakhānid ʿAlītigin in 423/1032. His son Hārūn succeeded as *de facto* ruler in Khʷārazm, though Masʿūd conceded to him only the title of his representative, *khalīfat al-dār*. The interests of Altuntāsh's line were now clearly divergent from those of the Ghaznavids. Hārūn sought the alliance of the Saldjūḳ Türkmens and the Karakhānids, but Masʿūd procured his murder in 425/1034. His brother and successor Ismāʿīl Khandān became the Sulṭān's bitter foe, and at this time when Masʿūd had his hands full coping with the Saldjūḳ incursions, was able to rule as an independent ruler. Ismāʿīl was expelled from Khʷārazm in 432/1041 by Masʿūd's ally, the Oghuz Yabghu of Djand at the Syr Daryā mouth, Shāh Malik, but by then, Masʿūd himself was dead, and the whole Ghaznawid position in the west had collapsed. See Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040*, 238-9; Sachau, *op. cit.*, 301-12; and GHAZNAWIDS.

Shāh Malik's occupation of Khʷārazm was ended when the Saldjūḳ leaders Ṭoghrïl and Chaghrï came to Khʷārazm and Djand in 433/1042 and drove him out (see O. Pritsak, *Der Untergang des Reiches des Oğuzischen Yabğu*, in *Fuad Köprülü armağanı*, Istanbul 1953, 405-10). Khʷārazm was incorporated into the Saldjūḳ dominions, coming within the eastern half ruled by Čaghrï Beg. Over the next decades, the Sulṭān Alp Arslan had to come twice to the Khʷārazm-Djand region to restore order, and his son Arslan Arghun and a son of the vizier Niẓām al-Mulk were at times governors of Khʷārazm for Alp Arslan and Malik Shāh respectively; Khʷārazm and the surrounding steppes were of particular importance to Saldjūḳs as recruiting grounds for their professional Turkish slave troops or *ghulāms* and as a source for frontier auxiliaries.

Malik Shāh appointed his slave Anūshtigin, keeper of the royal wash bowls (*ṭast-dār*), as titular governor at least of Khʷārazm, but it is not till Berk-Yaruḳ's sultanate that we find another Turkish *ghulām*, Ekinči b. Ḳočḳar, appointed with the actual title of Khʷārazm-Shāh (490/1097). This last was killed in this same year, and the governorship and title were given by the governor of Khurāsān to Anūshtigin's son Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn's appointment inaugurates the fourth and most brilliant dynasty of Khʷārazm-Shāhs (490-628/1097-1231), under whom Khʷārazm became for a while the centre of the most powerful military empire in the eastern Islamic world during the decades between the decline of the Great Saldjūḳs and the appearance of the Mongols. Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad (490-521/1097-1127) governed Khʷārazm as the faithful vassal of Sulṭān Sandjar, being assiduous in his attendance at the Saldjūḳ court. It was his son ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Atsïz (521-51/1127-56) who was the real founder of the dynasty's splendour. Though he remained nominally subject to Sandjar right down to the end, he in fact pursued relentlessly his aim of Khʷārazmian autonomy and virtual independence and of enlarging his territories; notable here was the extension of Khʷārazmian rule over the Türkmens of the eastern Caspian shores and the Manghïshlāḳ peninsula. He skilfully balanced his own interests against those of the Saldjūḳs in Khurāsān and the Ḳara Khiṭay [*q.v.*] in Transoxania, and took maximum advantage of Sandjar's difficulties with the Ḳarakhānids and the Oghuz tribesmen of Khurāsān; for details, see ATSÏZ B. MUḤAMMAD B. ANŪSHTIGIN.

Atsïz's successors, beginning with Tādj al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn Il-Arslan (551-67/1156-72) had greater freedom of action after the death of Sandjar and the collapse of Saldjūḳ power in the east, in so far as relations with the Ḳara Khiṭay allowed, for the latter claimed suzerainty over the Ḳarakhānids in Transoxania and over Khʷārazm. However, provided that tribute was forwarded regularly to the Gür-Khān's *ordu* or military camp in Semirečye, the Ḳara Khiṭay were little disposed to interfere in internal matters. The Khʷārazm-Shāhs especially coveted the Transoxanian possessions of the Ḳarakhānids, and intervened with profit in the quarrels of the Khāns of Samarḳand and their turbulent Ḳarluḳ tribal troops; hence in 553/1158 Il-Arslan invaded Transoxania on the latter's behalf.

The reign of Il-Arslan's son and successor ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Tekish (567-96/1172-1200) brought the Shāhs to new heights of their power, and Tekish was able to check the ambitions of the Ghūrids [*q.v.*] in Khurāsān and to bring about the final demise of the Great Saldjūḳ sultanate in western Persia. Tekish was placed on the throne with Ḳara Khiṭay help, but he soon rebelled against these last, and managed to ward off the Ḳara Khiṭay army which invaded Khʷārazm by the traditional expedient of opening the dykes of Khʷārazm and flooding the land lying in the invaders' path. Over the ensuing years, he was involved not only against the Ḳara Khiṭay again but also against his brother and rival for power Sulṭān Shāh, who had established himself in northern Khurāsān, and against the Ghūrids. He secured his northern frontiers by conciliation of the Ḳïpčaḳ and other Türkmen tribes along the lower Syr Daryā, and the Khʷārazmian armies which came to terrorise Persia and to earn an unenviable reputation for cruelty and barbarity there, included large numbers of steppe Türkmens, many of them still pagan. Tekish first came westwards to Ray in 588/1192 and demanded that the Saldjūḳs and Ildegizid Atabegs of western Persia should place his name in the *khuṭba* immediately after the ʿAbbāsid caliph's one. A year later he mounted a further invasion, and in 590/1194 defeated Ṭoghril b. Arslan, the last of the Great Saldjūḳ line, thus extinguishing this dynasty in Persia. Tekish was now able to occupy all Djibāl as far west as Hamadān, so that his territories became coterminous with those of the resurgent ʿAbbāsid caliphs, and in 595/1199 the caliph al-Nāṣir deemed it prudent formally to invest Tekish with the sultanate of ʿIrāḳ (sc. ʿIrāḳ-i ʿAdjamī, western Persia), Khurāsān and Turkistān; however, when Tekish died in the next year, the population of Djibāl rose and massacred all whom they could find of the hated Khʷārazmian occupying troops.

Tekish's son ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad (596-617/1200-20) continued his father's anti-caliphal policy, but for many years he was preoccupied in the east with his opponents, the Ghūrids, the Ḳara Khiṭay, the Ḳïpčaḳ of the northern steppes, and ʿUthmān Khān, the last Ḳarakhānid ruler in Samarḳand. For long, he was careful not to break with the Ḳara Khiṭay, and welcomed their support in ejecting Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad Ghūrī from Khurāsān in 601/1204. After the Ghūrid sulṭān's death two years later, the Ghūrid empire fell apart, and much of its territories fell briefly into the hands of the Khʷārazm-Shāhs. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn could now dispense with Ḳara Khiṭay support, and when the latter became increasingly

distracted from Transoxanian affairs by the revolt in Semirečye of the Mongol chief Küčlüg, he was by 608/1212 able to kill ʿUthmān Khān and succeed to the remainder of the Ḳarakhānid heritage in Transoxania. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn was now assured of commanding prestige throughout the eastern Islamic world, though like his father, he continued to be satisfied with the circumscribed territorial designation of Khʷārazm-Shāh and with that of Sulṭān. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn knew from captured correspondence that the ʿAbbāsid caliph had in the past incited the Ghūrids against him; and he denounced al-Nāṣir as unfit to rule and proclaimed an ʿAlid as anti-caliph. He began to march on Baghdād, but in the winter of 614/1217-18, snowstorms of unusual severity halted his forces in Kurdistān and Luristān, and news of unrest among the Ḳîpčaḳs compelled him to return to the Khʷārazmian frontiers. The menace of the advancing Mongols, successors to Küčlüg in Semirečye and Kashgharia, coincided with ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's closing years, and this new factor in Middle Eastern affairs was to occupy the attention of his son Djalāl al-Dīn (?)Mingburnu (617-28/1220-31) and to lead to the downfall and complete disintegration of the extensive but transient empire of the Khʷārazm-Shāhs. For these last events, see ČINGIZ-KHĀN and DJALĀL AL-DĪN KHʷĀRAZM-SHĀH, and for the general history of this fourth dynasty of Shāhs, see Bosworth, in *Cambridge history of Iran*. v. *The Saljuq and Mongol periods*, ch. i.

The Mongol governors of Khʷārazm do not seem to have employed the title of Khʷārazm-Shāh, nor did the line of Ṣūfid local rulers in the post-Il-Khānid period adopt it (see for these rulers, KHʷĀRAZM). However, the title was revived sporadically, or at least used in semi-official parlance, for the Tīmūrid Shāh Rukh's governor in Khʷārazm, Shāh Malik (815-29/1413-26) is given it in Faṣīḥ al-Dīn Khʷāfī's anthology, the *Mudjmal-i Faṣīḥī*, and his son and successor Nāṣir al-Dīn Sulṭān Ibrāhīm also bore it until he was driven from Gurgāndj in 834/1430-1 by the Özbeg Khān Abu 'l-Khayr [*q.v.*]. The title is sometimes applied to the Özbeg Khāns of Khīwa, the ʿArabshāhids and their successors, in documents and literary works, but does not seem ever to have been formally adopted by them. Abu 'l-Ghāzī applies it to no rulers later than the Khʷārazm-Shāhs displaced by the Mongols, and even when his son and successor Muḥammad Anūsha (1074-85/1663-74) assumed the title of Shāh after his conquest of Mashhad from the Ṣafawids, he did not add to this the element "Khʷārazm". The Inaḳ Iltüzer, who formally assumed the title of Khan of Khīwa in 1219/1804 and founded the line of Khāns which endured down to the Russian occupation and the Bolshevik Revolution, called himself on his coins (which were never issued, because of his premature death in battle in 1221/1806) "heir of the Khʷārazm-Shāhs" (*wārith-i Khʷārazm-Shāhān*), but this appears to be the last official usage of the title.

Bibliography: Sachau, *Zur Geschichte und Chronologie von Khwârizm*, in *SBWAW*, lxxiii (1873), 471-506, lxxiv (1873), 285-330; Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār al-bāḳiya*, ed. and tr. Sachau; Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*; idem, *A history of the Turkmen people*, in *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, iii; Mīrkhʷānd, *Histoire des sultans du Kharezm*, ed. C. Defrémery, Paris 1842; Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran*; idem, in *Cambridge history of Iran*. v. *The Saljuq and Mongol periods*, ch. i, and J. A. Boyle in *ibid.*, ch. iv; M. Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 1931, 56-60, 184-5; M. Fuad Köprülü, *İA* art. *Hârizmşâhlar*; I. Kafesoğlu, *Harezmşahlar devleti tarihi* (*485-617/1092-1229*), Ankara 1956; Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie*, 208-9; Bosworth, *The Islamic dynasties*, 107-10, Russian version, *Musulmanskaya dynastii*, Moscow 1971, 152-5; Mayer, *Bibliography of Moslem numismatics*, index; Zambaur, *Die Münzprägungen des Islams*, i, 97, 113, 114; L. Richter-Bernburg, *Zur Titulatur der Ḫwārezm-Šāhe aus der Dynastie Anūštegīns*, in *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, N. F., x (1976), 179-205.

(C. E. Bosworth)

AL-KHʷĀRAZMĪ, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. YŪSUF AL-KĀTIB, author of the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* ("Keys of the sciences"), on which his fame rests. His origins were in the north-eastern part of the Iranian world, either in Khʷārazm, south of the Aral sea [*q.v.*], or, as al-Maḳrīzī would suggest, in Balkh in what is now northern Afghanistan (*Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāḳ 1854, i, 258); of course, he may have been born in Balkh while his family came from Khʷārazm.

The *Mafātīḥ* is dedicated to Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿUbayd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-ʿUtbī, vizier to the Sāmānid Nūḥ II b. Manṣūr (366/976-387/997), at whose court in Bukhārā al-Khʷārazmī appears to have served.

Addressed to the class of secretaries (*kuttāb*) to which al-Khʷārazmī himself belonged, the *Mafātīḥ* is an introduction (*madkhal*) to the elements of the sciences (*awāʾil al-ṣināʿāt*) which explains the key terms used by the various groups of scholars, artisans and government officials, in particular those terms which were left out of current lexica. Al-Khʷārazmī did not set out to write an essay on the aim and structure of the sciences, as al-Fārābī (d. 339/950) had done in the *Iḥṣāʾ al-ʿulūm*, or present a *Weltanschauung*, as the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ were doing in their *Epistles* at about the same time. As a dictionary of basic technical terms drawn from many disciplines, and as a description of contemporary practices in the sciences and in the chanceries, the *Mafātīḥ* is of considerable value for the study of Islamic culture.

The book is divided into two roughly equal *maḳālas* or discourses dealing respectively with (i) the religious sciences (*ʿulūm al-sharīʿa*) and the Arabic sciences associated with them, and (ii) the "foreign" sciences (*ʿulūm al-ʿadjam*). Each discourse is divided into sections (*bābs*) and further into chapters (*faṣls*). The subjects of the sections in the two discourses are the following: (i) 1. jurisprudence, 2. dialectical theology (*kalām*), 3. grammar, 4. the secretarial art (*kitāba*), 5. poetry and prosody, 6. history; (ii) 1. philosophy, 2. logic, 3. medicine, 4. arithmetic, 5. geometry, astronomy and astrology, 7. music, 8. mechanical devices, 9. alchemy. Al-Khʷārazmī's book shows that to call the philosophical, natural and mathematical sciences "foreign" was not at that time a sign of rejection of these disciplines, but simply a statement of the fact that they had been developed by non-Arabs (*ʿadjam*). The book clearly implies the conception that to be considered educated, one had to be acquainted with both major branches of learning.

Bibliography: The standard critical edition of *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* is that of G. van Vloten, Leiden 1895, repr. 1968. There are other oriental prints. C. E. Bosworth describes six Istanbul manuscripts not used by van Vloten in *Some new manuscripts of al-Khwārizmī's Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, in *JSS*, ix (1964), 341-5, and comes to the conclusion that they do not add much to the elucidation of the text.

A useful general account is C. E. Bosworth,

A pioneer Arabic encyclopedia of the sciences: al-Khwārizmī's Keys of the Sciences, in *Isis*, liv (1963), 97-111. A number of E. Wiedemann's *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften bei den Arabern* deal with various parts of the *Mafātīḥ*. Originally published in *Sitzungsberichte der Physikalisch-medizinischen Sozietät in Erlangen* between 1906 and 1923, they are now conveniently reprinted in E. Wiedemann, *Aufsätze zur Arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, ed. W. Fischer, Hildesheim-New York 1970, 2 vols. The following is a list of them: Beitr. VI, *Zur Mechanik und Technik bei den Arabern*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, xxxviii (1906), esp. 16-56 = *Aufsätze*, i, 188-228, translation and discussion of discourse ii, sec. 8, on mechanical devices; Beitr. X, *Zur Technik bei den Arabern*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, xxxviii (1906), esp. 307-13 = *Aufsätze*, i, 272-8, deals with disc. i, sec. 4, ch. 7, terms related to irrigation; Beitr. XIV, *Über die Geometrie und Arithmetik nach den Mafâtîḥ al-ʿUlûm*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, xl (1908), esp. 1-29 = *Aufsätze*, i, 400-28, tr. of disc. ii, secs. 4 and 5; Beitr. XVIII, *Astronomische Instrumente*, etc., in *SBPMS Erlg.*, xli (1909), esp. 32-5 = *Aufsätze*, i, 550-3, disc. ii, sec. 6, ch. 4; Beitr. XXII, *Stücke aus den Mafâtîḥ al-ʿUlûm*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, xlii (1910), 303-10 = *Aufsätze*, i, 669-76, terms for weights and measures (disc. i, sec. 1, ch. 5, sec. 4, ch. 6, disc. ii, sec. 3, ch. 7) and terms used in the postal administration (disc. i, sec. 4, ch. 4); Beitr. XXIV, *Zur Chemie bei den Arabern*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, xliii (1911), 72-113 = *Aufsätze*, i, 689-730, tr. of disc. ii, sec. 9; Beitr. XXVII, *Geographische Stellen aus den Mafâtîḥ al-ʿUlûm*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, xliv (1912), 37-40 = *Aufsätze*, i, 812-15, disc. ii, sec. 6, ch. 2, on the construction of the spheres and the regions of the earth; Beitr. XLVII, *Über die Astronomie nach den Mafâtîḥ al-ʿUlûm*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, xlvii (1915), 214-42 = *Aufsätze*, ii, 186-214; Beitr. LXVI, *Zur Geschichte der Musik*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, liv-lv (1922-3), 7-22 = *Aufsätze*, ii, 580-95, disc. ii, sec. 6.

Disc. ii, sec. 3, on medicine, is fully dealt with in Ernst Seidel, *Die Medizin in Kitâb Mafâtîḥ al-ʿUlûm*, in *SBPMS Erlg.*, xlvii (1915), 1-79, with a useful index of terms. A translation of disc. 1, sec. 2, is given by C. E. Bosworth, *al-Ḫwārazmī on theology and sects: the chapter on* kalām *in the* Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm, in *Hommage Henri Laoust*, *BEO*, xxix (1978); and one of disc. i, sec. 4, with extensive commentary, is given by idem, *Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Khwārazmī on the technical terms of the secretary's art: a contribution to the administrative history of mediaeval Islam*, in *JESHO*, xii (1969), 113-64. For a translation of disc. i, sec. 6, chs. 6 and 7, on terms used in historical reports about the Persians and the Arab conquests, see J. M. Unvala, *The translation of an extract from Mafâtîḥ al-ʿUlûm of al-Khwârazmî*, in *Jnal. of the K.R. Cama Inst.*, xi (Bombay 1928), 76-110, with comments on the Persian, Turkish and Indian terms there; and for one of ch. 7, with detailed analysis, see Bosworth and Sir Gerard Clauson, *Al-Xwārazmī on the peoples of Central Asia*, in *JRAS* (1965), 2-12; and for one of ch. 8, with detailed commentary, see Bosworth, *The terminology of the history of the Arabs in the Jāhiliyya, according to Khwārazmī's "Keys of the sciences"*, in *Festschrift for Prof. S. D. Goitein*, Folklore Research Center Studies of the Hebrew University No. 7, Jerusalem 1978. For a translation of disc. ii, sec. 7, see H. G. Farmer, *The science of music in the Mafâtîḥ al-ʿUlûm*, in *Trans. Glasgow Univ. Oriental Soc.*, xvii (1957-8), 1-9. See also Brockelmann, I, 282-3, S I, 434-5.

(A. I. SABRA)

AL-KH͟WĀRAZMĪ, ABŪ BAKR MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ʿABBĀS, Arabic poet and writer (323-83/934-93). Since he alleged that his mother was the sister of the historian al-Ṭabarī, he fabricated for himself the *nisba* of al-Ṭabarkhazī. He was born in Khwārazm and spent his youth there, but left it at an early date. It is difficult to trace his peregrinations, but he seems to have sought out, above all, the company of great men in order to live off their munificience. Hence we find him at Aleppo, in the service of Sayf al-Dawla; at Bukhārā, with the vizier Abū ʿAlī al-Balʿamī, with whom he quarreled, however; at Nīshāpūr for the first time, where he eulogised the *amīr* Aḥmad al-Mīkālī; in Sidjistān with the ruler Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad, who ended up by throwing him into prison; in Gharčistān, where he had similar misadventures; at Arradjān, in the entourage of the Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād; and finally at Nīshāpūr again, where he settled down and died, it was said, of chagrin from a defeat which he suffered at the hands of Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī in a literary contest. If Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī is to be believed (*Mathālib al-wazīrayn*, ed. M. ibn Tāwīt al-Ṭandjī, index), he enjoyed a privileged position with the Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād, acting as an envoy and a spy for him, and the gifts which he received from the vizier were more for his secret activities than for his panegyrics. However, it was not long before the two persons fell out with each other, perhaps in part because al-Khwārazmī admired al-Mutanabbī, whose poetic work he did much to make known in the eastern parts of Islam.

The critics agree in considering al-Khwārazmī as one of most knowledgeable authorities on the Arabic language amongst the ʿAdjam. He was further considered an authority on genealogies, but was above all famed for his prodigious memory, which allowed him, according to an anecdote recorded by many of his biographers, to know by heart a vast number of poems and to transform himself into a teacher of literature. Naturally, he wrote poetry, which has been judged rather severely by his critics; he nevertheless left, besides a *Dīwān*, a collection of *Rasāʾil* (ed. Istanbul; see Brockelmann, S I, 150) which made him famous. One can therefore consider him as a letter-writer of talent, addressing these to great men, princes, viziers, commanders, scholars and officials on the most diverse, and often the most banal, subjects; the documentary value of these letters is by no means insignificant (cf. A. Mez, *Renaissance*, index). They reflect a considerably disturbed life and are written in a rhymed prose embellished with all the rhetorical devices, but in a personal style which is, every thing considered, simpler than that of his great adversary Badīʿ al-Zamān.

Bibliography: Hamadhānī, *Rasāʾil*, Istanbul 1298, *passim*; Tawḥīdī, *Muḳābasāt*, 102; idem, *Mathālib*, index; Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, iii, 54, 110, iv, 114-54; Marzubānī, *Muʿdjam*, 316; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, no. 664; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, 24, 209; Ḳifṭī, *Inbāh*, ed. 1950, i, 277; Yāḳūt, *Irshād*, i, 104 ff. = *Udabāʾ*, ii, 175 ff.; idem, *Buldān*, index; Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, iii, 191; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii, 266; Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 127 (*sub anno* 393); Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iii, 105; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 51; Khwānsārī, *Rawḍāt*, iv, 165; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, vii, 52; Zakī Mubārak, *La prose arabe au IVe siècle de l'hégire*, Paris 1931, 156-70; idem, *al-Nathr al-fannī*, ii, 256-76; Wahhābī, *Marādjiʿ*, i, 146-50. (CH. PELLAT)

AL-KHWĀRAZMĪ (often written AL-KHUWĀRIZMĪ), ABŪ DJAʿFAR MUḤAMMAD B. MŪSĀ, mathematician, astronomer and geographer, who utilised the Arabic language. He lived in the first half of the 3rd/9th century (*ca.* 184-*ca.* 232/800-47), and should not be confused with two other important persons with the same *nisba* [*q.vv.*]. We know that in his youth, during the caliphate of al-Maʾmūn, he worked in the *Bayt al-Ḥikma* [*q.v.*] of Baghdād, but we know very few other biographical details. However, his main works are well known to us, since many of them were translated into Latin in Spain and exercised a powerful influence on the development of mediaeval thought. If the attempts at dating put forward by C. J. Toomer (*Dictionary of scientific biography*, vii (1973), 358b) are correct, almost all these works were composed during the reign of al-Maʾmūn.

His Algebra, called *al-Mukhtaṣar fī ḥisāb al-djabr wa 'l-muḳābala* (ed. with Eng. tr. F. Rosen, *The algebra of*..., London 1831, repr. New York 1969; ed. ʿAlī Muṣṭafā Musharrafa and M. Mursī Aḥmad, Cairo 1939) was translated partially by Robert of Chester as *Liber algebras et almucabola* (ed. with Eng. tr. L. Ch. Karpinski in *UMS*, xi (New York 1915), shortly afterwards, Gerard of Cremona made a second version of it, *De jebra et almucabola* (perhaps the anonymous work published by G. Libri in his *Histoire des sciences mathématiques en Italie*, i, Paris 1858, 253-97; see B. Boncompagni, in *Atti ... Lincei*, iv (1851), 412-35, and A. A. Björnbo, in *Bibliotheca mathematica*, vi (1905), 239-41, which is better and even surpasses Rosen. In this way, there was introduced into Europe a science completely unknown till then, and with it, a terminology which was still capable of growth but already completely developed. This discipline was called by the two technical terms which appear in the titles of the first Latin translations, until the time when Canacci (14th century) began to use only the first one, *algebra*, and two centuries later, this innovation became predominant and the word *al-muḳābala* fell completely into disuse. The term *djabr* may derive, according to Gandz, from Assyrian *gabrū*; this etymology may be feasible, since, in the hundred or so mathematical tablets going back to the second millenium B.C., there appear algebraic problems parallel to those put forward by al-Khwārazmī and which, according to Bruins (*Computation in the old Babylonian period*, in *Acts of the XIIIth International Congress on the History of Science*, held in Moscow 1971), show that the Assyrians knew the six model equations [see DJABR] used by the Muslim scholar. However, from the strictly historical point of view, there is the problem that the word is not attested in any intervening language, such as Greek, and it is difficult to hold that it could have survived solely in Aramaic till the time of al-Khwārazmī. It is more likely that the word comes from medical terminology where *djabr* has the idea of resetting a dislocated limb, just as today, in the dictionary of the Real Academia Española, *algebra* designates an algorism and *algebrista* is a synonym for a specialist in wounds and broken limbs. On the various mathematical operations involved in algebra and on the typical equations used in it, see DJABR and also G. A. Saliba, in *Centaurus*, xvii (1972), 189-204.

Almost at the same time as the *Algebra* was being translated, John of Seville made known the Latin version of an adaption made either by himself or by some Muslim author of al-Khwārazmī's *Arithmetic*, lost in the Arabic but which must have been called *Kitāb Ḥisāb al-ʿadad al-hindī* or *K. al-Djamʿ wa'l-tafrīḳ bi-ḥisāb al-Hind*. John of Seville's work was called *Liber alghoarismi de practica arismetrice* (ed. B. Boncompagni, *Trattati d'aritmetica*, ii, Rome 1857; K. Vogel, *Mohammed ibn Musa Alchwarizmi's Algorismus*, Aalen 1963; A.-P. Juschkewitsch, *Über ein Werk des Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad ibn Mūsā ... zur Arithmetik der Inder*, in *Homage to G. Harig*, 1964, 21-63, with an appendix containing a photographic reproduction of the Cambridge ms.). The connections between the various mediaeval works deriving from al-Khwārazmī's one are not well established, but all of them have the common characteristic that they explain how to work with the numbers which we today call "Arabic" and which were known in the 3rd/9th century in the Iberian peninsula. Concerning these numbers, mediaeval scholars invented all sorts of etymologies and legends. Gaspar of Tejada asserted that "zero is not a sign, but an empty space" (cf. G. Menéndez Pidal, *Los llamados numerales arabes en Occidente*, in *BRAH*, cxlv/2 (1959), 179-208), an idea that one finds much earlier in the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. van Vloten, 58, ll. 1-4, in regard to *tarḳīn*, a line brought into a calculation to indicate "nothing", i.e. to keep the order, and whose value is expressed in Latin by *nulla figura* or in German by *Null*. On the other hand, this same sign appears in Abraham ben ʿEzra to separate the whole number from the fraction. Other popular etymologies of the time derive algorithm from the name of a hypothetical Algor, king or philosopher, or from the coupling of the Arabic article *al-* with Greek *arithmos*, when in reality these technical terms come from the name "al-Khwārazmī", as Reinaud showed (*Mémoire* ..., in *Mém. Acad. Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, xviii/2 (1849), 303-4).

The actual form of the numbers is unimportant for the operations described in the *Liber alghoarismi*, but the existence of operations carried out by means of nine or ten symbols implies a knowledge of the rules expounded by al-Khwārazmī. In Spain, these were known by the 4th/10th century, proving the existence of a system of numeration by position. In regard to the form of the numbers used at that time, this is still debated. Destombes (*Un astrolabe carolingien et l'origine de nos chiffres arabes*, in *Archives intern. d'hist. des sciences*, lviii-lix (1962), 3-45) suggests that the monk Vigila of Albelda was present at the consecration of the monastery of Tipoll in 977 and that he knew the system of numeration by position, which he refers to in the appendix to Book iii of St. Isidore when he cites the skill of the Indians as able to create the nine figures described in the Escorial ms. d. I.2; the numbers are given from right to left and must therefore be incontrovertibly of Arabic origin, and their form derives, according to Destombes, from that of the Visigothic letters used in the second half of the 10th century as they appear on the Carolingian astrolabe. Given the fact that at this time of the appearance of this system of numeration by position, there must have existed various systems of representing the numbers, the need for tables of equivalents becomes evident, such as those of Alvaro of Oviedo. It also explains why in 1229 the Senate of Florence forbade their usage and imposed the practice of expressing numbers wholly in letters in order to avoid the possibility of a minor corruption in the form of the numbers or in the usage of different systems simultaneously, thus giving rise to errors.

The *Liber alghoarismi* and similar works all explain the operations of adding, subtracting, multiplying and dividing; they show how decimal and

sexagesimal fractions should be used; and they use the so-called Egyptian fractions, sc. those with 1 as the numerator and from which one can obtain the others by means of addition (e.g. 1/3 + 1/15 = 2/5; 1/4 + 1/28 = 2/7). This type of fraction already appears in the Rhind papyrus and developed over the ancient and mediaeval periods, especially when the system of Ḳurʾānic inheritance rules gave rise to the *ʿilm al-farāʾiḍ* [see FARĀʾIḌ] and made necessary the perfecting of arithmetical operations using fractional numbers. The system, by now completely developed, was introduced into Europe through the intermediacy of various Spanish versions and through that of Fibonacci.

The operations with sexagesimal fractions, necessary for astronomical computations, are even more interesting. Al-Khwārazmī gives some rules (*Algorismus de minutiis*) which, through an adaptation in a work called *De numero indorum* and above all by John of Seville, were speedily taken into the courses of instruction of the universities. We know that the Arabic works of the 3rd/9th century devoted to these topics contained a table for multiplying in the sexagesimal system, of 59 × 59 or 60 × 60 (= 3,600) cases, parallel to the multiplication table which we call Pythagorean but which first appears in the *Arithmetic* of Boethius (Augsburg 1488); it has been reproduced in *Osiris*, v (1938), 138, and its antecedents can be found in the similar Arabic tables of an earlier period and triangular in shape. A sexagesimal table of the type just mentioned was to be found in the work of Kūshiyār b. Labbān (*ca.* 360-420/971-1029) called *Kitāb fī uṣūl ḥisāb al-Hind* (facs. edn. M. Levey and M. Petruck, *Principles of Hindu reckoning*, Madison 1965; E. S. Kennedy and W. R. Transue, *A medieval iterative algorism*, in *AMM*, lxiii (1956), 80-3), but is unfortunately lost, and the oldest version preserved is that in the Latin version of the *Astronomical tables* of al-Khwārazmī translated by Adelard of Bath (f. 57b). Tables of this type recall those of the cuneiform tablets.

Another of al-Khwārazmī's works which had a great influence in the birth of western science was his *Zīdj al-Sindhind*, astronomical tables translated into Latin by Adelard of Bath (ed. H. Suter, *Die astronomischen Tafeln des Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Khārizmī*, Copenhagen 1914; Eng. tr. and excellent study by O. Neugebauer, *The astronomical tables of al-Khwārizmī*, Copenhagen 1962). This work became the subject of a commentary by a certain Ibn al-Muthannā, lost in Arabic but preserved in Latin (ed. E. Millás Vendrell, Madrid-Barcelona 1963) and in Hebrew (ed. and tr. B. R. Goldstein, New Haven-London 1967), from which it appears that al-Khwārazmī's work had two rescensions; Adelard used the minor one, corrected by Maslama al-Madjrīṭī for the position of Cordova. Some complementary pieces of information on the transmission and the contents of the Tables can be found in *El libro de los fundamentos de las tablas astronómicas* of Abraham ben ʿEzra (ed. and study by J. M. Millás, Madrid-Barcelona 1947) and in the monographs of J. J. Burckhardt, in *Viertel-jahrsschrift der Naturforschenden Gesellschaft in Zürich*, cvi (1961), 213-31, of E. S. Kennedy and M. Janjanian, in *Centaurus*, xi (1965), 73-8, of Kennedy and W. Ukashah, in *ibid.*, xiv (1969), 86-96, and O. Neugebauer, in *A locust's leg, studies in honour of S. H. Taqizadeh*, 209-12.

It is in this translation that the first mediaeval mathematical symbols appear, sc. three tildes in a triangular arrangement followed by a number and placed above another indicate the sum of the first and second; if, on the other hand, there is a single dot, it indicates a remainder. These notation systems as found in the West stem from the Arab world, and their connections with older systems, e.g. those of Diophantus, remain to be studied. An analysis of the *Tables* reveals their mixed character and the multiplicity of sources used. Thus the theory of the moon comes from an intermediate source which did not know the *Almagest*; the methods used for determining the true longitude of a planet stem from the *Sūrya Siddhānta* and the *Janda-Jādyaka*; the values of the movement come from Brahmagupta; and in the ms. of Corpus Christi College (which comes from Adelard's version) there is an allusion to the to-and-fro movement explained at length by Azarqui [see AL-ZARḲALĪ], which stems equally from Indian sources. A similar origin can be recognised in the equation of the sun and in the primitive sine tables with R = 150 (Ibn al-Muthannā alludes to this value) replaced in Maslama's adaptation by others with a base = 60, a number of Hellenistic origin. On the other hand, the methods used to determine the direct and the retrograde movements of the planet stem, directly or not, from the manual *Tables* of Theo. Other elements stem from the *Zīdj maʾmūnī* and the *Zīdj al-shāh*. In the determination of the parallax, the repetitive algorism deriving from the *Janda-Jādyaka* is used, and this presents a certain parallelism with the method used by Kepler to determine the excentric anomaly.

Al-Khwārazmī's other works were not known in the mediaeval world. His geography or *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ* (ed. H. von Mzik, Leipzig 1926), has been the object of a detailed study by C. A. Nallino, *al-Khuwārizmī e il suo rifacimento della Geografia di Tolomeo*, in *Raccolta di studi*, v, Rome 1944, 458-532. It consists of lists of co-ordinates of the main towns and geographical features, which are sometimes, but not always, in harmony with those of Ptolemy. His source of inspiration might possibly have been the mappa mundi constructed for al-Maʾmūn by a team of geographers in which al-Khwārazmī himself would have been included. The *K. Ṣūrat al-arḍ* depends, even if in an indirect manner, on the *Geography* of Ptolemy, some of whose errors he corrects, e.g. the excessive length of the Mediterranean.

His *Istikhrādj taʾrīkh al-Yahūd* (ed. in *al-Rasāʾil al-mutafarriḳa fi'l-hayʾa*, Hyderabad 1948) has been studied by E. S. Kennedy in *Scripta mathematica*, xxvii (1964), 44-9; internal evidence dates it to 208/823. This richly-documented work forms one of the oldest pointers which we possess concerning the Jewish calendar, and it necessitates the revising of many things previously written on the subject. Al-Khwārazmī was further the author of two works on the astrolabe (see J. Frank, *Die Verwendung des Astrolabs nach al-Chwārizmī*, in *AGNM*, iii (Erlangen 1922), of a historical chronicle, *Kitāb al-Taʾrīkh*, and a book on sun-dials, *Kitāb al-Rukhāma*, both these latter lost. In regard to the first of the two, it may be surmised that it gave an astronomical explanation of history like that later given by Abū Maʿshar, al-Nawbakhtī and the writer in al-Andalus Ibn al-Khayyāṭ (d. 447/1055).

Bibliography: In addition to works cited in the article, see Brockelmann, I, 216, S I, 381; Sezgin, *GAS*, v, 228-41; Sarton, *Introduction*, i, 563; Suter, 10; *Nachträge*, 158-60; *Fihrist*, i, 274; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 206, 266; Ibn Ṣāʿid, *K. Ṭabaḳāt al-umam*, tr. Blachère, Paris 1935, 47-8; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 67-9, No. 10012.

(J. VERNET)

KHARBGA, a type of the game of draughts

played in North Africa. Although the root *kh.r.b.g.* is known, yet the origins of this game are lost in the mists of time (squares marked out for it have been found at the tops of pyramids in Egypt). *Kharbga,* which is one of the four games brought into Ifrīḳiya by the Banū Hilāl, is played on a square board made up of holes marked out in the ground or in rock and has 49 component squares or "houses" (*bīt, ḍār*); the board can equally be traced out on a stone slab or on a sack covered over with sand. According to the number of holes along each side, the game is called by the following names, *khamūsiyya* if there are 5, and *sabūʿiyya* if there are 7. The central square is called *ḍār al-wasṭ*, and is remarkable by the fact that after the first move of the first piece it remains unoccupied all through the game; other squares of special note or with particular functions surround the central one and serve in the game as places of security.

The game is played by two people, and once the game is set up (*manṣūb*), the players (*kharbāg* or *kharbāgī*) are surrounded by an audience of interested people who follow the game and offer advice. After having placed on the board, two by two, the different-coloured pieces called *klāb* (sing. *kalb* "dog"; this term is known in the Egyptian, Greek and Arab cultures, see Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.), the players move them in turn. The substance and nature of the pieces varies according to the place where the game is played. They are black and white; the white ones are pebbles or snail shells, and the black ones are dried lumps of camel dung, peach stones blackened by the sun or even date stones. There are 24 of each colour for the games. The first stage is the placing of the pieces two-by-two in the places chosen for this by the players. The course of the game depends on this; each player moves his pieces whilst endeavouring to foresee his opponent's moves, and good players can plot the course of the opponent's moves as far as eight future moves. The game consists of "eating up" the opponent's "dogs" up to the last one by inserting them between two pieces and not going beyond them. In practice, the pieces can in principle be placed anywhere, and the player can move them in any direction, except, it seems, along diagonals. *Kharbga* is played in the spring and out-of-doors, in a specified place between the tents and left vacant for this very purpose. Elderly men come and play the game in the afternoon until sunset. At the backs of shops, *kharbga* is played on sacks, and the shop-owner, who sets out four or five games of the pieces, serves drinks at the same time. Shepherds, whilst out on the job, play on sloping and uneven terrains from where they can keep an eye on their flocks. This social pastime is difficult, and tournaments in it take place, for which *kharbga* enthusiasts travel round from place to place with their own provisions. A stake, called *khṭār* or *sharṭ* or *muḳābil,* is chosen before the play begins, and this stake might be a beast (sheep, goat or camel); in the Hilālian epic, the loser may be liable to more savage stakes, going as far as physical nudity, and even, through tying up, the killing of a near relative.

A different game may be found under this same name of *kharbga* (e.g. with a rectangle on which diagonals are traced), and conversely, the game described above may bear differing names (e.g. the game of *gaṭra* in the Ḥidjāz).

Bibliography: G. Posener, *Dictionnaire de la civilisation égyptienne,* Paris 1959, 141-2, art by J. Yoyotte "Jeux et jouets"; R. Alleau, *Dictionnaire des jeux,* Paris 1964, 275-6; Beaussier, *Dictionnaire,* 161; G. Boris, *Lexique du parler arabe des Marazig,* Paris 1958, 141; E. W. Lane, *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*[a], London 1842, ii, 60; A. Robert, *Jeux et divertissements des indigènes d'Algérie* (*Région de Bordj Bou Arreridj*), in *Rev. Afr.* (1921); *Cahiers de Byrsa,* Carthage, vii (not seen). (L. SAADA)

AL-**KHĀRDJ** [see KHARAG].

AL-**KHARDJ**, a district in Nadjd [*q.v.*], the central province of Saudi Arabia. Al-Khardj stretches from al-ʿĀriḍ [*q.v.*] in the north southwards to the area east of the oasis of al-Ḥawṭa [*q.v.*] in Wādī Burayk (Wādī 'l-Ḥawṭa). To the west the crags of ʿUlayya, a section of the range of Ṭuwayḳ [*q.v.*], rise above the vale of al-Khardj, which is closed in on the east by the steppe desert of al-Bayāḍ.

As the confluence of many *wādī*s (also called *shaʿīb*s), al-Khardj is one of the most fertile places in Saudi Arabia. Wādī Ḥanīfa (classical al-ʿIrḍ) and Wādī 'l-Sulayy flow down from the north to meet at the northwestern corner of the district. Just south of these two, Wādī Nisāḥ, which cuts its way due east through Ṭuwayḳ, empties its flood along with theirs into Wādī 'l-Sahbā', the large valley running east-wards to the sands of al-Dahnā'. From the south, al-Khardj is watered by Wādī 'l-Sawṭ, the northern extension of the trans-Ṭuwayḳ gorges Birk and Burayk, and by Wādī 'l-ʿAḳīmī, which runs parallel to the western edge of al-Bayāḍ.

Besides the water brought by the *sayl*s of these valleys, al-Khardj contains four unusually deep spring-fed pools (*ʿuyūn*), three clustered together in the northern part of the district and the fourth, Khafs Daghra, in the southern part. A channel called al-Sayḥ provides water for irrigation from ʿAyn Samḥā in the north.

The two most important towns in the north are al-Salamiyya and al-Yamāma. The name al-Yamāma [*q.v.*], which in earlier times was applied to much of what is now called Nadjd, has become restricted geographically to this one town, though the older usage has been revived by giving the name to a hotel and other establishments in al-Riyāḍ. Farther south lie Naʿdjān, al-Dilam, and Zumayḳa. The largest of all the towns is al-Dilam (or al-Dalam; al-Daylam in a verse by ʿAntara).

Many of the names given above occur in the literature of the Djāhiliyya and the early Islamic period. The dominant element in the population of al-Khardj then was the Banū Ḳays b. Thaʿlaba, a branch of Bakr b. Wā'il [*q.v.*]. Today the settled people of the valley belong in the main to Āl ʿĀyidh (said to be of Ḳaḥṭān), the Dawāsir, Banū Tamīm, and Banū Khālid [*qq.v.*]. Bedouins are from Subayʿ, the Suhūl, and Āl Shāmir.

The district as such does not figure prominently in historical records until the 12th/18th century, in the middle years of which the men of al-Khardj stood forth among the principal opponents of the new movement of the Wahhābiyya [*q.v.*]. In 1187/1773 Āl Suʿūd of al-Dirʿiyya [*qq.v.*], the secular champions of the Wahhābiyya, captured the foremost enemy town, al-Riyāḍ, which had held the ground between al-Dirʿiyya and al-Khardj. Zayd b. Zāmil, the lord of al-Dilam, took up the gauntlet against the Wahhābiyya and paid a large sum in gold to the Ismāʿīlī chief of Nadjrān [*q.v.*] to join him and others in a campaign against Āl Suʿūd which ended however in failure. In 1190/1776 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad Āl Suʿūd defeated Zayd and secured the submission of al-Dilam. The first *amīr* sent to al-Khardj by Āl Suʿūd was Sulaymān b. ʿUfayṣān, who held office for sixteen years and whose family

remained associated with the district long thereafter.

After Ibrāhīm Pas͟ha of Egypt occupied al-Dirʿiyya in 1233/1818, his lieutenant Ḥusayn D̲j̲awk͟hdār pillaged al-Dilam. When the "Turks" from Egypt withdrew, Turkī b. ʿAbd Allāh Āl Suʿūd made al-Riyāḍ the new Wahhābī capital and reincorporated al-K͟hard̲j̲ in the state. The *ḳāḍī* of al-K͟hard̲j̲ under Turkī was the noted Ḥanbalī divine, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥusayn, a grandson of the founder of the Wahhābiyya.

The "Turks" from Egypt returned to Nad̲j̲d and took al-Riyāḍ. Fayṣal, who had succeeded his father Turkī as the Wahhābī *Imām*, based himself on al-K͟hard̲j̲, where K͟hūrs͟hīd Pas͟ha pursued and overcame him in 1254/1838 in a battle at al-Dilam and Zumayḳa and sent him a prisoner to Egypt, whence he eventually escaped to resume his rule in Nad̲j̲d. Fayṣal appointed a younger son of his, Suʿūd, as *amīr* of al-K͟hard̲j̲. On the death of Fayṣal in 1282/1865, Suʿūd's challenge of the right of his older brother ʿAbd Allāh to the succession precipitated a long civil war that enfeebled Āl Suʿūd and opened the way for the ascendancy of Āl Ras͟hīd of Ḥāʾil. The forces of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh Āl Ras͟hīd caught three of Suʿūd's sons in al-K͟hard̲j̲ and put them to death.

The fortunes of Āl Suʿūd were revived by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, son of Fayṣal's youngest son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz recovered al-K͟hard̲j̲ in 1320/1902 and then repulsed an attack against al-Dilam by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad Āl Ras͟hīd. About ten years later the grandsons of Suʿūd b. Fayṣal, still closely connected with al-K͟hard̲j̲, launched an abortive rebellion against their cousin ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. In the end, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz forgave them and took into his entourage their leader, known as Suʿūd al-Kabīr ("the Older", to distinguish him from Suʿūd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who later became King Suʿūd). Suʿūd al-Kabīr was married to ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's favourite sister, Nūra. As King of Saudi Arabia ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz was fond of visiting al-K͟hard̲j̲ for diversion. He kept his stud of Arabian horses there, and a model farm run by Americans provided him with fresh produce.

Bibliography: See the bibliographies for AL-AFLĀD̲J̲ and AL-DAWĀSIR. (G. RENTZ)

K͟HARD̲J̲A [see MUWAS͟HS͟HAḤ].

K͟HĀRD̲J̲E, K͟HĀRGA [see AL-WĀḤĀT].

K͟HARGIRD, or K͟hard̲j̲ird, has been the name of at least two different places in north-eastern Persia but is at present only current for one of them.

1. K͟hargird in the *s͟hahristān* of Turbat-i Ḥaydariyya, or, more precisely, the *dihistān* of Rūd-i miyān K͟hʷāf, is situated at about 6 km. to the south-west of the latter place. It is now a small settlement, the inhabitants of which live on the growing of cereals and cotton as well as on weaving. Archaeological remains point, however, to a much more prosperous past when K͟hargird was one of the main urban centres of the district of K͟hʷāf [*q.v.*]. Many mediaeval geographers (e.g. Iṣṭak͟hrī, 267 f.; Ibn Ḥawḳal, 440; Muḳaddasī, 298) make mention of it among the cities of the district of Būs͟hand̲j̲ [*q.v.*]. As Būs͟hand̲j̲, identified with modern G͟hūriyān, lay at quite a distance from K͟hʷāf, it is not certain that the latter-mentioned K͟hargird was identical with the K͟hargird which Yāḳūt, ii, 486, counts among the *mudun* of the *ḳaṣaba* of K͟hʷāf, as Le Strange, 357 f., seems to have understood. It is possible that this name, the constituent parts of which occur in several geographic names, was a common appellation for townships of secondary importance in this part of K͟hurāsān.

The modern renown of K͟hargird rests upon the presence of two remarkable monuments of Islamic architecture. The oldest of these is an *īwān* with a *miḥrāb* which, as A. Godard has found, constitutes the remaining part of a *madrasa* built on a symmetric scheme of four *īwāns*. E. Herzfeld read the inscription in floriated Kūfic as a reference to the foundation of the building by the Sald̲j̲ūḳ vizier Niẓām al-Mulk [*q.v.*] (cf. *Isl.* xii (1922), 98-101). It would, then, be the only surviving specimen of the famous Niẓāmiyya *madrasas*. The second building, also a *madrasa*, is a splendid and well-preserved example of Tīmūrid architecture. Two inscriptions contain the records of its foundation by two ministers of Sultan S͟hāhruk͟h, Aḥmad b. Isḥāḳ and Fak͟hr al-Dīn K͟hʷāfī, and the completion of the construction by Ḳiwām al-Dīn S͟hīrāzī, who was the leading architect of the period, and G͟hiyāt͟h al-Dīn S͟hīrāzī in 848/1444-5. The building is remarkable on account of several original features of its outline and its fine decoration of glazed tiles and mosaics.

2. K͟hargird in the district of D̲j̲ām, which is mentioned in the biographies of three prominent mystic poets of the Tīmūrid period, is certainly not identical with the former place. Ḳāsim-i Anwār [*q.v.*] died at K͟hargird of D̲j̲ām in 837/1433-4 and was buried there in the garden of his estate. A mausoleum was erected at this spot to the order of Mīr ʿAlī-S͟hīr Nawāʾī [*q.v.*] in *ca.* 892/1487 (cf. Dawlats͟hāh, 348 f.). In 817/1414 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān D̲j̲āmī [*q.v.*] was born here and his nephew Hātifī [*q.v.*] spent his life in the vicinity of the tomb of Ḳāsim-i Anwār, where he found the inspiration for one of his *mat͟hnawī*-poems. At present, there no longer exists a place by the name of K͟hargird in the area of D̲j̲ām. Several Persian travellers and scholars have since the last century identified its site with modern Langar which lies on the road from Mas͟hhad to Turbat-i S͟hayk͟h-i D̲j̲ām. As a common noun, *langar* of *langark͟hāna* was used to denote an almshouse, as it was frequently attached to the tomb of a holy man. Sometimes it has developed into a place name, and there are quite a few instances of this to be found in K͟hurāsān. A similar development may very well have taken place in the case of K͟hargird. The shrine, which now exists at Langar and which contains no clues for its identification, has been ascribed to an unknown saint of of the 12th/18th century by E. Diez on the basis of a popular tradition recorded by Khanykov.

Bibliography: In addition to the works referred to in the article,—1. C. E. Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, Edinburgh-London 1900, 129 f.; P. M. Sykes, *A fifth journey to Persia*, in *Journal of the Royal Geographic Society*, 28 (Nov.-Dec. 1906), 581; idem, in *JRAS* (1910), 1148-51; E. Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler*, i, Berlin 1918, 29, 71-6; idem, *Persien. Islamische Baukunst in Churasan*, Hagen 1923, *passim*; E. Herzfeld, in *Isl.*, xi (1921), 169; idem, in *ZDMG*, lxxx (1926), 274 f.; idem, *Archaeological history of Iran*, London 1935, 98 and Pl. xvii; R. Byron, in *Survey of Persian art*, ii, 1126-8 and *passim*; A. Godard, Khorasan, in *At͟har-è Iran*, iv (1949); idem, *L'art de l'Iran*, Paris 1962, 353 ff.; *Farhang-i d̲j̲ug͟hrāfiyāʾī Īrān*, ix, 1329 sh., 146; D. Hill and O. Grabar, *Islamic architecture and its decoration A.D. 800-1500*, Chicago 1964, Pl. i and figs. 588-90.

2. C. E. Yate, *op. cit.*, 37; W. Barthold, *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, tr. V. and T. Minorsky, iii, Leiden 1962, 46, and n. 4 (identifies the two K͟hargirds); E. Diez, *Churasanische*

Baudenkmäler, i, 25, 69-70, Pl. 37, 4 and Pl. 39, 1; ʿA.-A. Ḥikmat and ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Mawlawī, *muḳaddama* to ʿAlī-Shīr Nawāʾī, *Madjālis al-nafāʾis*, Tehran 1323 sh., yāʾ-ṭāʾ = *Dīwān-i Ḳāsim-i Anwār*, ed. S. Nafīsī, *muḳaddama*, cv-cvii; *Farhang-i djughrāfiyāʾī-i Īrān*, ix, 375.

(J. T. P. de Bruijn)

al-**KHARGŪSHĪ**, Abū Saʿd (or Saʿīd) ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muḥammad, a celebrated preacher (and therefore nicknamed al-Wāʿiẓ) and ascetic, was born in the Khargūsh street of Nīshāpūr: the arabicised form of his name is al-Kharkūshī. He went to Baghdād in the year 393/1002 on his way to perform the pilgrimage, and thereafter resided at Mecca for a while, returning to Nīshāpūr to die there in 406/1015 or 407/1016. Three works are ascribed to him (Brockelmann, I², 218, S I, 361). The first is a biography of Muḥammad, or rather a classified collection of traditions relating to him, in 8 volumes, variously entitled *Sharaf al-Nabī* (*al-Muṣṭafā, al-nubuwwa*) or *Dalāʾil al-nubuwwa*; a Persian translation of this, by Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Rāwandī, is extant (Storey, *Persian literature*, i, 175-6). The second is a treatise on oneiromancy entitled *al-Bishāra wa ʾl-nidhāra fī taʿbīr al-ruʾyā*, a pietistic compilation. The third, and most important work, is a systematic account of Ṣūfism in 70 chapters, *Tahdhīb al-asrār*, which has survived in a single manuscript (Berlin, No. 2819). This last work derives not directly from al-Khargūshī himself, but from the recension of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Shīrāzī, a notorious charlatan who led a rising against the governor of Ādharbaydjān and died in 439/1047. For this and other reasons the value of the book cannot be rated very high, and it has been shown (cf. A. J. Arberry in *BSOS*, 1938, 345-9) that it is not entirely original, but plagiarises to a considerable extent the *Kitāb al-lumaʿ* of Abū Naṣr al-Sarrādj. Nevertheless it contains material for the history of Ṣūfism not extant elsewhere, and cannot therefore be entirely disregarded.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the article see Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 670-1.

(A. J. Arberry)

wādī al-**KHĀRID** or Ghayl al-Khārid, one of the principal watercourses of the Yemen. It originates about twenty km. north of Ṣanʿāʾ, near Ḥadaḳān in Arḥab, and runs inland in a north-by-north-easterly direction, draining the eastern scarp of the highlands, towards the oasis of the Djawf, where it is joined by the Wādī Madhāb and veers to the south-east. After leaving the oasis, it unites with the Wādī al-ʿAṭf and is lost in the sands of Ramlat Sabʾatayn. According to popular belief, it reappears in the Ḥaḍramawt. Just east of Shirāʿ, in Nihm, where there are hot and mineral springs, it becomes a perennial river, one of the few in South Arabia, and is noted for supporting good-sized fish (*Barbus arabicus*), even in a dry summer. These provide a livelihood to the local inhabitants, who supply them to the Ṣanʿāʾ market. Otherwise, little is known of this part of the *wādī* because of the bad reputation of the inhabitants of Arḥab, and the Ṣanʿāʾ—Djawf road avoids the region. It is, however, well cultivated by the inhabitants, the Dhū Ḥusayn. In the Djawf itself an efficient agriculture is possible only by means of extensive irrigation schemes. This part of Wādī al-Khārid is presumably the river where Aelius Gallus in 24 B.C. fought a battle with the Arabs six days after leaving Negrana (Nadjrān). The *wādī*, however, does not feature with this name in the South Arabian inscriptions, and indeed is not so named till the time of al-Hamdānī, who describes it and its many tributaries in some detail.

Bibliography: al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*; G. W. Bury, *Arabia Infelix, or the Turks in Yamen*, London 1915; E. Glaser, *Meine Reise durch Arḥab und Hâschid*, in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, xxx (1884), 172 ff.; S. D. Goitein (ed.), *Travels in Yemen: an account of Joseph Halévy's journey to Najran in the year 1870, written in Sanʿani Arabic by his guide Hayyim Habshush*, Jerusalem 1941; J. Halévy, *Voyage au Nedjran*, in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, Series 6, vi (1873), 36, 259, 582-4; *A handbook of Arabia*, i, Admiralty War Staff, Intelligence Division, London 1916; W. B. Harris, *A journey through the Yemen*, London 1893; H. Scott, *In the High Yemen*, London 1942.

(A. K. Irvine)

KHĀRIDJA b. Zayd b. **THĀBIT** [see fuḳahāʾ al-madīna al-sabʿa, in Suppl.].

KHĀRIDJITES (*al-Khawāridj*, sing. *Khāridjī*), the members of the earliest of the religious sects of Islām, whose importance lies particularly, from the point of view of the development of dogma, in the formulation of questions relative to the theory of the caliphate and to justification by faith or by works, while from the point of view of political history the principal part they played was disturbing by means of continual insurrections, which often ended in the temporary conquest of entire provinces, the peace of the eastern part of the Muslim empire during the two last years of the caliphate of ʿAlī and during the Umayyad period, and involuntarily facilitating first Muʿāwiya's victory over ʿAlī, then that of the ʿAbbāsids over the Umayyads.

I. The origins of the Khāridjī movement.

Opportunity for the schism was given by the proposal presented to ʿAlī by Muʿāwiya during the battle of Ṣiffīn (Ṣafar 37/July 657) [*q.v.*] to settle the differences arising out of the murder of ʿUthmān, which had provoked the war, by referring it to two referees who would pronounce judgment "according to the Ḳurʾān". While the majority of ʿAlī's army readily adopted this proposal, either because they were tired of war or because the "Ḳurʾān-readers" (*ḳurrāʾ*) hoped there would emerge from this Ḳurʾānic judgment the justification of the furious campaign they had conducted against ʿUthmān which had ended in the latter's assassination, one group of warriors, mainly of the tribe of Tamīm, vigorously protested against the setting up of a human tribunal above the divine word. Loudly protesting that "judgment belongs to God alone" (*lā ḥukma illā li-llāhi*) they left the army, and withdrawing to the village of Ḥarūrāʾ [*q.v.*], not far from Kūfa they elected as their chief an obscure soldier, ʿAbd Allāh b. Wahb al-Rāsibī [*q.v.*]. These first dissenters took the name *al-Ḥarūriya* or *al-Muḥakkima* (i.e. those who repeat the above phrase; cf. *RSO*, viii, 789, note 1), which is often applied by an extension of meaning to the later Khawāridj also. This little group gradually increased on account of successive defections, especially when the arbitration ended in a verdict quite contrary to what the *ḳurrāʾ* expected (probably in Ramaḍān or Shawwāl 37/Feb.-March 658); on this occasion a large number of partisans of ʿAlī, including a number of *ḳurrāʾ* "went out" (*kharadja*) secretly from Kūfa (to which the army had gone during the truce) to join the camp of Ibn Wahb, who in the meantime had gone to the Djūkhā country on the left bank of the Tigris, to a place

which commanded the exits of the roads from Fārs and the bridge-head, at which in those days stood the little village of Baghdād, which later was to become the capital of the empire. The rebel camp lay along the Nahrawān canal. It is to this episode of the exodus from Kūfa that the Khawāridj owe their name ("those who went out"), more probably than to a general epithet expressing the idea that they had gone out of the community of the faithful, as it was later interpreted, probably at quite an early period (cf. the name of the Jewish sect of the Pharisees, which Ed. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, ii, 283-4, derived from the incident of their separation from the partisans of Judas Maccabeus in 163 B.C., quoting in support of his explanation the name of the Khawāridj). Another name given to those first Khawāridj (which has also been extended to their successors and seems to be the one which they gave themselves) is *al-Shurāt* (pl. of *shārī*), the "vendors" i.e. those who have sold their soul for the cause of God (this idea is found in several contemporary verses).

The extreme fanaticism of the Khawāridj at once manifested itself in a series of extremist proclamations and terrorist actions: they proclaimed the nullity of ʿAlī's claims to the caliphate but equally condemned ʿUthmān's conduct and disclaimed any intention of avenging his murder; they went farther and began to brand everyone infidel and outside the law who did not accept their point of view and disown ʿAlī as well as ʿUthmān. They then committed many murders, not even sparing women. Little by little the strength of the Khāridjī army grew by the accession of other fanatical and turbulent elements, including a number of non-Arabs, attracted by the principle of equality of races in the faith that the Khawāridj proclaimed. ʿAlī, who had so far tried to avoid dealing with the rebels, in order to avoid a war in his rear so long as he had to face the army of Muʿāwiya, after the rupture of the preliminaries of peace was obliged to take steps to avert the growing danger. He attacked the Khawāridj in their camp and inflicted a terrible defeat on them in which Ibn Wahb and the majority of his followers were slain (battle of al-Nahrawān, 9 Ṣafar 38/17 July 658 [*q.v.*]). But the victory cost ʿAlī dear. Not only was the rebellion far from suppressed and was prolonged in a series of local risings in 39 and 40, but ʿAlī himself perished by the dagger of the Khāridjī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muldjam al-Murādī [see IBN MULDJAM], the husband of a woman whose family had lost most of its members at al-Nahrawān. The tradition that a conspiracy of Khawāridj had aimed at killing simultaneously ʿAlī, Muʿāwiya and the governor of Egypt, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, is almost certainly apocryphal.

It should be noted that the narratives of Arab historians on the origin of the Khāridji movement are very confused and contradictory, and seem to have lost sight of the real connection between it and the arbitration; on the other hand the nature and date of the latter are quite uncertain. The reconstruction which is given above is that proposed by the writer of this article (see Bibl.) against the view of Wellhausen (followed by Lammens and Caetani), who thinks that the Khāridjī rebellion and the arbitration are independent of one another and even dates the battle of al-Nahrawān before the verdict of the arbiters.

II. The wars of the Khawāridj under the Umayyads.

The wise and energetic administration of Muʿāwiya, succeeding the feeble and vacillating rule of ʿAlī, prevented the agitation of the Khāridjīs from breaking out, but it did not succeed in extinguishing it any more than it succeeded in suppressing the feelings and aspirations of the Shīʿa. Our sources mention several risings that broke out in Kūfa and Baṣra during the twenty years of Muʿāwiya's reign (40-60/660-80), but they were promptly put down and only served to increase the roll of martyrs, the worship and avenging of whom became one of the features of the Khāridjī movement. It is at Baṣra in particular, under the governors Ziyād b. Abīhi and his son ʿUbayd Allāh, that we find most risings and suppressions of risings. These insurrections, of which the most formidable was that of Mirdās b. Udayya al-Tamīmī Abū Bilāl [*q.v.*], settled the tactics of the Khawāridj, whose raids henceforth took the form of guerilla warfare and owed their successes mainly to the rapidity—which soon became legendary—of their cavalry (the names of some of their horses are preserved in Arabic works on hippology). They mobilised unexpectedly, swept through the country, surprised undefended towns and then retired rapidly to escape the pursuit of the government troops. The centres of concentration of the Khawāridj were the marshy country of the Baṭāʾiḥ around Baṣra (see AL-BAṬĪḤA) and around Djūkhā, on the left bank of the Tigris, where their movement had originated, from which they could, if defeated, rapidly gain the mountainous lands of the Irānian plateaus.

It was only with the great civil war that broke out after the death of Yazīd I, that in the midst of the general disorder the Khāridjī movement assumed serious dimensions and contributed more than anything else to render precarious the hold of the pretender ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*], on the territory that he had at first been able to subdue. After the fall of Ibn Zubayr, it was the Umayyad governors who had to wage a hard struggle with these indomitable rebels, enemies alike of victors and vanquished. It is at this time that we begin to distinguish among the Khawāridj half-political and half-theological subdivisions, the origin of which is not at all clear, for the tradition which makes them appear at the same time quite suddenly at Baṣra on the death of Yazīd has probably altered the real succession of events. In any case, we henceforth find the Khawāridj breaking out throughout the eastern part of the empire (Syria was always free from them and Africa only knew them under the ʿAbbāsids) into serious rebellions, at the head of which they placed individuals who have given their names to the *Azāriḳa* or *Azraḳīs*, to the *Ibāḍiyya* and to the *Ṣufriyya* [*q.vv.*]. Of all these movements the most dangerous to the unity of the Muslim Empire and the most terrible on account of its ferociously uncompromising character was without doubt that led by Nāfiʿ b. al-Azraḳ [*q.v.*], which gave the Khawāridj temporary control of Kirmān, Fārs and other eastern provinces, constituted a permanent threat to the security of Baṣra and surrounding country, and which al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra at first, and later al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf only overcame (in 78/698 or 79/699) after long years of effort which ended in the defeat and death of the last and most remarkable of the Azraḳī leaders, the valiant Ḳaṭarī b. al-Fudjāʾa [*q.v.*]. Less serious and less extensive and prolonged, but quite as stubborn as the Azraḳī movement, was the insurrection which was called after Shabīb b. Yazīd al-Shaybānī (76-7/696-7), although he did not begin it but was only its most distinguished leader; it began in the high Tigris country between Mārdīn and

Niṣībīn and its object was the conquest and devastation of Kūfa. The partisans of Shabīb, who advanced only in little bands of several hundred horsemen, but who often gathered round them large bands of malcontents, sowed terror throughout ʿIrāḳ, and having several times defeated al-Ḥadjdjādj's troops were only destroyed by the help of an army of picked troops summoned from Syria. Shabīb himself perished, drowned in the Dudjayl, while trying to reach the mountains of Kirmān; his successors caused a certain amount of trouble to the governors of Yazīd II and Hishām but never again were a serious danger.

Arabia was another field of Khāridjī activity, where during the rule of Ibn al-Zubayr between the years 65/684-5 and 72/691-2 their leaders Abū Ṭālūt, Nadjda b. ʿĀmir and Abū Fudayk captured in succession Yamāma, Ḥadramawt, Yaman and the town of al-Ṭāʾif, and were only restrained by religious scruples from taking the holy cities. They were only destroyed after the intervention of al-Ḥadjdjādj, but they left the seeds of future movements, especially in the eastern part of the peninsula.

Owing mainly to the energy of al-Ḥadjdjādj, Khāridjism seemed definitely quelled. Another factor contributed considerably to its failure, namely the fanaticism and intolerance of the rebels, whose religious disputes ended in splitting their ranks and sometimes resulted in the removal of their ablest leaders on the charge of having on some occasion failed to observe the absolute irreconcilableness of their principles. Another cause of weakness may be recognised in the eternal feud between the Arab element and that of the *Mawālī* which brought fatal consequences along with it, especially among the remnants of the Azraḳīs after the death of Ḳaṭarī b. al-Fudjāʾa. But under the last Umayyads, in the midst of the irreparable collapse of the central government, the Khawāridj again raised their heads, and resumed their exploits, this time not in little bands but in large bodies. While the two most serious risings of this period, those of al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Ḳays al-Shaybānī [*q.v.*] in the Djazīra and ʿIrāḳ and that of ʿAbd Allāh b. Yaḥyā, surnamed *Ṭālib al-Ḥaḳḳ*, and of Abū Ḥamza [see AL-MUKHTĀR B. ʿAWF] in Arabia (in the course of which Medina itself was occupied), ended in defeat, it is nevertheless true that the anarchy which they provoked destroyed the eastern rampart of Umayyad power and enabled the ʿAbbāsid insurrection to penetrate more easily to the heart of the empire.

Under the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, the Khāridjī movement may be said to be practically extinct in ʿIrāḳ and adjoining regions. Except for a few local risings, promptly suppressed, Khāridjism no longer presented any serious danger and only survived as a religious sect, without, however, any remarkable vitality or wide dissemination. In Eastern Arabia, on the other hand, in North Africa and later on the eastern coast of Africa, one of the principal branches of the Khawāridj, that of the Ibāḍiyya, played an important part in politics, and even after this role was ended it continued to be of importance from the religious point of view. It survives in our day with its dogmas, its rites and its special laws.

III. The political and religious theories of the Khawāridj.

The Khawāridj, who, as we have seen, never had any true unity of military and political action, did not have either a uniform body of doctrines. Their teachings seem to us like the particular views of a number of independent sub-sects (the heresiographers number not less than a score including principal and subsidiary together), some of which represent theological schools as well as political movements of a collectivist character, while others confine themselves to expressing differences of individual opinions among the theorists of the sect. One article is common to all: it is that which treats of the question of the caliphate, a question which has been the starting point of all the religious divisions in Islām. On this question, the Khawāridj are opposed equally to the legitimism of the Shīʿa and the quietism of the Murdjiʾa. On the one hand they assert what Wellhausen aptly calls their "non-conformity" i.e. the obligation on believers to proclaim illegitimate and ipso facto deposed the *imām* who has gone off the right path (this is how they justify their abandonment of ʿAlī after his acceptance of the arbitration); on the other hand they declare every believer who is morally and religiously irreproachable to be capable of being raised by the vote of the community to the supreme dignity of the imāmate, "even if he were a black slave". The result is that each of their leaders has been recognised by them as *amīr al-muʾminīn*, although none of them had, among other things, the qualification of Ḳurashī birth. Consequently the only other caliphs besides their own that they recognise as legitimate are Abū Bakr and ʿUmar (the latter is particularly venerated by them); ʿUthmān only during the first six years of his reign; and ʿAlī till the battle of Ṣiffīn.

Another capital article of Khāridjī heterodoxy is the absolute rejection of the doctrine of justification by faith without works. They push their moral strictness to the point of refusing the title of believer to anyone who has committed a mortal sin and regarding him as a *murtadd* (apostate); and their extreme wing, represented by the Azraḳīs, says that he who has become an infidel in this way can never re-enter the faith and should be killed for his apostasy along with his wives and children. Of course all non-Khāridjī Muslims are regarded as apostates. Here we have the principle of *istiʿrāḍ* (religious murder [*q.v.*]) which we find applied from the beginning of the Khāridjī movement, even before it had been formulated in theory, and which found its completest application during the war of the Azraḳīs. This ferocious principle forms a strange but not illogical contrast with the spirit of tolerance shown by the Khawāridj to non-Muslims and which in some of their schools goes so far as to recognise as equal to Muslims in every way those Jews or Christians who will pronounce the *shahāda* with the modification: "Muḥammad is the Apostle of God to the Arabs and not to us." The tendency to the levelling of the Arabs and the *Mawālī* (which was already a result of their attitude to the problem of the imāmate) was pushed so far by one of the theorists of Khāridjī doctrine, Yazīd b. Abī Anīsa (founder of the *Yazīdīya*), that he says that God will reveal a new Ḳurʾān to a prophet among the Persians and that he will found a new religion for them, divine in the same sense as Judaism, Christianity and Islām, which will be no other than that of the Ṣābiʾūn mentioned in the Ḳurʾān.

The same Puritanism which characterises Khāridjism in its conception of the state and of faith is found in its ethical principles: it demands purity of conscience as an indispensable complement to bodily purity for the validity of acts of worship; one of their sects goes so far as to remove Sūra XII from the Ḳurʾān (*Sūrat Yūsuf*) because its contents

are worldly and frivolous and make it unworthy to be the Word of God. If, on the other hand, they seem to be less strict than the orthodox in the punishment they inflict on adulterers, for whom they do not allow stoning, this is due simply to the fact that they do not recognise the authenticity of the famous verses added by ʿUmar to the primitive text of the Ḳurʾān (cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, *Gesch. d. Qorāns*, i, 248-52).

Outside of general principles and a few particular cases, the law and dogmatics of the Khawāridj are not known to us in their totality except for the Ibāḍīyya, whose survival to the present day has preserved in its integrity their religious tradition. The Ibāḍiyya represent (as do the Ṣufriyya on the other side) a comparatively moderate school and their present views, in dogma as well as law, have been to some degree influenced by other Muslim schools. Attention has recently been drawn (by C. A. Nallino, in *RSO*, vii, 455-60) to the very close connection between the dogmatics of the Ibāḍiyya and of the Muʿtazila. It may also be supposed that it was the latter which, in certain points at least, received a stimulus from Khāridjism. What seems beyond doubt is that, as Wellhausen points out, Khāridjism played a very important part in the development of Muslim theology, either directly or by the impetus which it gave to reflection on the problems of the faith.

Although Khāridjism seems to us an essentially popular movement in its origins, we must be careful not to think of it as devoid of intellectualism. On the contrary, the very radicalism of its theories must have exercised an attraction on many cultivated minds, much as similar doctrines have done in other times and countries. It is particularly at the time of the early ʿAbbāsids, under the influence of and at the same time in opposition to the refined and sceptical culture of the period, that we find many scholars and men of letters who were thought to cherish Khāridjī views, without this preventing their frequenting high society and enjoying the favour of the court. The best known of these Khawāridj *sub rosa* was the famous philologist Abū ʿUbayda Maʿmar b. al-Muthannā [*q.v.*], regarding whose fanaticism, in conversation at least, a rather piquant anecdote is recorded by Ibn Khallikān (i, 107 of the 1310 edition; the poetic quotation should be corrected from the *Amālī* of al-Murtaḍā, iii, 88-9). Poetry and eloquence were also cultivated among the Khawāridj, which is explained by the fact that the majority of their leaders, especially in the early days, belonged to the Bedouin element in the military camps of Kūfa and Baṣra. Collections were compiled of the *khuṭab* pronounced by the Khāridjī leaders, and what survives of them, besides giving an excellent idea of their views, gives us a fairly high opinion of their oratorical talent. We also possess numerous fragments of their poetry (which had also been collected in particular *dīwāns*), especially of those of ʿImrān b. Ḥiṭṭān [*q.v.*] (who is at the same time considered one of the founders of the Khāridjī *fiḳh*). A long list of Khāridjī orators, poets and jurists was prepared by Djāḥiẓ (see Ch. Pellat, *Djāḥiẓ et les Khāridjites*, in *Folia Orientalia*, xii (1970), 195-209).

The wars of the Khāridjīs had been recorded from the beginning of Arabic historiography in several works which have not come down to us in their entirety; we know, however, the substance of the more important among them, the authors of which were Abū Mikhnaf, Abū ʿUbayda and al-Madāʾinī from the extracts which have been preserved in the historical sources given below.

Bibliography: Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil*, ed. Wright, *passim* (scattered throughout this work, in no sequence or order, are abundant literary and historical references to our subject; they have been translated by O. Rescher, *Die Kharidschitenkapitel aus dem Kāmil*, Stuttgart 1922); Ṭabarī, i, 3341 ff., ii, *passim*; Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*, in *RSO*, vi, 488-97 (résumé and specimens of the text for the period of the caliphate of ʿAlī; errata: *ibid.*, 925); idem, ed. Ahlwardt, 78-96, 125-51 (for the period of the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik); Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv-vi, *passim*; L. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, ix, 541-56, x, 76-151, 168-95, and *passim* (translation by the author of this article of the historical texts for the period of the caliphate of ʿAlī and of other material relating to the Khawāridj, taken from the collections of *ḥadīth*, etc.); idem, *Chronographia Islamica*, i; R. E. Brünnow, *Die Charidschiten unter den ersten Omayyaden*, Leiden 1884; J. Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam*, i, *Die Chavârig* (*Abh. G. W. Gött.*, N.S., 1901, v, 2; H. Lammens, *Le caliphat de Moʿâwia Ier* (reprinted from *MFOB*), 125-40; G. Levi Della Vida, in *RSO*, vi (1913), 474-88; W. Thomson, *Khārijitism and the Khārijites*, in *Macdonald Presentation Volume*, Princeton 1933, 371-89; F. Gabrieli, *Sulle origini del movimento ḫārigita*, in *Rend. Accad. Lincei*, Ser. vii/2 (1941-2), 110-17; M. Guidi, *Sui Ḫārigiti*, in *RSO*, xxi (1944), 1-14; L. Veccia Vaglieri, *Le vicende del ḫārigismo in epoca abbaside*, in *RSO*, xxiv (1949), 31-44; eadem, *Sulla denominazione Ḫawāriǧ*, in *ibid.*, xxvi (1951), 51-6; M. Kafafi, *The Rise of Khārijism according to Abū Saʿīd Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Azdī al-Qalhātī*, in *BFA*, xiv (1952), 29-48; L. Veccia Vaglieri, *Il conflitto ʿAlī-Muʿāwiya e la secessione khārigita riesaminati alla luce di fonti ibāḍite*, in *AIUON*, N.S., iv (1952), 1-94; eadem, *Traduzione di passi riguardanti il conflitto ʿAlī-Muʿāwiya e la secessione khārigita*, in *AIUON*, N.S., v (1953), 1-98; R. Rubinacci, *Il Califfo ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān e gli Ibāḍiti*, in *AIUON*, N.S., v (1953), 99-121; G. Scarcia, *Lo scambio di lettere fra Hārūn al-Rašīd e Ḥamza al-Ḫāriǧī secondo il "Taʾriḫ-i-Sīstān"*, in *AIUON*, N.S., xiv (1964), 623-45; idem, *Due precisazioni sul ḫārigismo sistanico*, in *AIUON*, N.S., xv (1965), 303 ff.; Shāhrastānī, *Milal*, ed. Cureton, 85-103 (tr. Haarbrücker, *Religionspartheien und Philosophen-Schulen*, 128-56); Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, Cairo 1320, iv, 188-92; ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir al-Baghdādī, *Farḳ* (tr. K. Ch. Seelye, *Moslem schisms and sects* ..., Columbia University Oriental Series, xv, New York 1919, i, 74-115); I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*², 191-6 (1st edn., 204-8, Fr. tr. F. Arin, 159-64); M. Th. Houtsma, *De strijd over het dogma in den Islam tot op el-Ashʾari*, Leiden 1875; F. Gabrieli, *La poesia ḫārigita nel secolo degli Omayyadi*, in *RSO*, xx (1943), 331-72; M. M. Moreno, *Note di teologia ibāḍita*, in *AIUON*, N.S., iii (1949), 299-313; R. Rubinacci, *La professione di fede di al-Ǧannāwunī*, in *AIUON*, N.S., xiv (1964), 553-95; C. Cremonesi, *Un antico documento ibāḍita sul Corano creato*, in *Studi Magrebini*, i (Naples 1966), 133-78; H. Laoust, *Les schismes dans l'Islam*, Paris 1965, 36 ff. (G. Levi Della Vida*)

KHARĪṬA (or **KHĀRIṬA**), "map" in modern Arabic, derived from French "carte", (see I. I. Krachkovsky, *Istoria Arabskaya geografičeskaya literatura* (Moscow-Leningrad 1957), with Arabic tr.

by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn ʿUthman Hāshim as *Taʾrīkh al-adab al-djughrāfī al-ʿArabī*, i (Cairo 1963), 59, n. by translator; cf. Ibrāhīm Shawkat, *Kharāʾiṭ djughrāfiyyī al-ʿArab al-awwal*, in *Madjallat al-Ustādh*, (Baghdad 1962), 2.). In mediaeval Arabic several terms were used for "a map" or "map of the earth", e.g. *djughrāfiyā* or *djaʿrāfiyya* (Greek Γεωγραφία), translated into Arabic as *ṣūrat al-arḍ*; then *rasm al-arḍ*, *ṣifat al-dunyā*, *ashkāl al-arḍ*, *lawḥ al-rasm*, etc.

Cartography had been practised in the Middle East since ancient times, but with the advent of Islam it received a new impetus due to the political and administrative requirements of the expanding Islamic world. Thus in the 2nd/8th century a map of al-Daylam was prepared for al-Ḥadjdjādj b. Yūsuf (d. 95/714); then a map of the Swamps of Baṣra is said to have existed during the reign of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr (136-58/754-75). (Krachkovsky, *op. cit.*, i, 59, 206; cf. Shawkat, *op. cit.*, 2, 3). Whatever the quality of such maps, the Arabs' direct knowledge of the region gathered during their early campaigns, coupled with indigenous methods of drawing maps, probably enabled them to draw these.

It is not, however, until the early decades of the 3rd/9th century that we come across the first detailed world maps drawn in Arabic. This became possible through the introduction to the Islamic world of the Greek, Indian and Iranian astronomical and geographical works in the 8th and the early 9th centuries A.D. Thus from this period until the 17th century, cartography was practised as a science and passed through several stages of development. Muslim astronomers and geographers drew world maps and regional maps, as well as sea-charts, following various traditions until their mediaeval techniques of cartography were replaced by the modern ones.

The first world map, the original form of which is not extant, was constructed by the scholars of Baghdād who worked in the *Bayt al-Ḥikma* "House of Science" [*q.v.*] there under the patronage of the caliph al-Maʾmūn (198-218/813-33). This map was named after the caliph as *al-Ṣūrat al-Maʾmūniyya*. According to al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956), who had seen this map, it depicted "the universe with spheres, the stars, land and the seas, inhabited and barren (regions of the world), settlements of peoples, cities, etc." It was, he says, more exquisite than the world maps of Claudius Ptolemy, Marinos and others, (al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 33; cf. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 183-205). According to al-Zuhrī (lived *ca.* 532/1137), al-Fazārī had made a copy of the map, and al-Zuhrī's own work, the *Kitāb al-djaʿrāfiyya*, was based on this copy of *al-Ṣūrat al-Maʾmūniyya* (al-Zuhri, *Kitāb al-Djaʿrāfiyya*, ed. Muḥammad Hadj-Sadok, Damascus 1968, 306; cf. Krachkovsky, *op. cit.*, 86/7, 279). As the arrangement of the geographical material in al-Zuhrī's work follows the ancient Iranian *kishwar* system [see DJUGHRĀFIYA], it is possible that *al-Ṣūrat al-Maʾmūniyya* represented a synthesis between the Iranian system and the Ptolemaic system according to which the inhabited world was divided into seven climes running parallel to the equator and divided according to the length of the day. It is evident, therefore, that while much of the data of the map was derived from Ptolemy's *Geography*, a substantial amount of it and its arrangement must have come from non-Greek sources.

It was during this period that Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārazmī (d. after 232/84 [*q.v.*]) wrote his geographical work entitled *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ*. Though essentially based on Ptolemy's *Geography*, the work gives in a tabulated form the co-ordinates of places (cities, mountains, rivers, etc.) arranged according to the Ptolemaic climes. There is little doubt that the work must have been originally accompanied by regional maps of each of the climes or by a single world map, but none of these seem to have survived. The four maps produced in the printed edition of the work seem to be later recensions of the original maps depicting *djazīrat al-djawhar*, a map of the seas, gulfs, etc., of the Nile and the Sea of Azov drawn by the author. (For the maps, see *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ed. H. von Mžik, Leipzig 1926, Tafel I (*djazīrat al-djawhar*); Tafel II (shapes of the seas, gulfs, etc.); Tafel III (Map of the Nile); and Tafel IV (Map of the Sea of Azov). Shawkat reasons that since al-Khwārazmī wrote a brief work, he did not draw a complete map of the world but confined himself to drawing the four maps as an illustration, see *op. cit.*, 7-8). Al-Khwārazmī's maps have now been fully reconstructed by S. Razia Jafri on the basis of the data given in his *Ṣūrat al-arḍ* (*A critical revision and interpretation of Kitāb Ṣūrat al-ʾarḍ by Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārizmī*, thesis, Aligarh Muslim University, unpublished). A comparison of these maps with those of the extant maps of Ptolemy (see E. L. Stevenson, *Geography of Claudius Ptolemy*, New York 1932; cf. the map of Afrika by al-Khwārazmī as interpreted by von Mžik (reproduced by Youssouf Kamal, *Monumenta Cartografica Africae et Aegypti*, iii (Époque Arabe), Fasc. I, 1930, 525), shows their close resemblance to each other, just as the maps reproduced in al-Khwārazmī's work resemble those of Ptolemy.

Thābit b. Ḳurra (d. 288/901 [*q.v.*]), who was credited with an excellent translation of Ptolemy's *Geography* into Arabic, also drew a world map called *Ṣifat al-dunyā* (Krachkovsky, i, 206), but it has not survived.

The maps enumerated above followed what may be called the Greco-Muslim tradition in cartography, yet they differed from the maps of Ptolemy in several aspects. First, they did not follow the Ptolemaic technique of conical projection. The cartographers drew their maps with latitudes and longitudes as straight lines as though on a plane surface, and without any regard to the spherical shape of the earth. Al-Bīrūnī (d. after 442/1050 [*q.v.*]), criticising Marinos for some assumptions in his map of the earth, and also al-Battānī (d. 317/929 [*q.v.*]) for his determination of the direction of the *ḳibla*, says that "They treated the meridian circles as parallel straight lines and the parallels of latitudes as straight lines. Thus they have fallen into this outrageous error," (al-Bīrūnī, *The determination of the co-ordinates of positions for the correction of distances between cities*, tr. of *Kitāb Taḥdīd nihayāt al-amākin li-taṣḥīḥ masāfāt al-masākin*, by Djamīl ʿAli, Beirut 1966). Similarly, al-Zuhrī was critical of the scientists who had constructed *al-Ṣūrat al-Maʾmūniyya*, for, he says, while the earth was in fact spherical in shape, they drew the map of the earth on a plane, a method followed in the construction of the astrolabe (*op. cit.*, 304). Again, while in the Ptolemaic maps the inhabited world is divided into seven climes (subdivided into 21 parallels north of the equator and 4 parallels south of it), in the Greco-Muslim maps only the broader division of the climes is followed, while the subdivision into the parallels is neglected. Thirdly, differences in the physical features as depicted on the Ptolemaic and the Greco-Muslim maps can also be noticed. For instance, in the Ptolemaic maps the Indian Ocean is shown as a lake, while on the Greco-Muslim maps it

is shown as having water communication with the Pacific (the "Encircling Ocean") in the south-east. Again, Ceylon in the Greco-Muslim maps is much smaller in size than that shown in the Ptolemaic maps. These and similar dissimilarities were partly due to the more intimate knowledge of Asia and Africa enjoyed by the Muslim geographers and cartographers. Moreover, the Muslim astronomers of the later period had revised the astronomical tables of the Greeks as well as those of the early Muslim astronomers in the light of their own observations, which must have helped the cartographers to draw more accurate maps (for details, see Shawkat, 11, 5).

During the 4th/10th century, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibn Yūnus (d. 399/1009 [*q.v.*]), along with al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Muhallabī, prepared a world map for the Fāṭimid caliph al-ʿAzīz (365-86/975-96). It was drawn on a Tustarī silk cloth and woven in gold and different colours in silk. On it were shown the climes, mountains, rivers, cities, seas and the different routes, and Mecca and Medina were prominently depicted on it. It cost 22,000 *dīnārs*. Except for some differences in the south-eastern coast of Arabia and the northern coast of Africa, it conformed to the map of al-Khwārazmī (*ibid.*, 12-13).

Also in this century, Abū Zayd Aḥmad b. Sahl al-Balkhī (d. 322/934 [*q.v.*]) initiated a new tradition in Islamic cartography which exercised a deep influence on later cartographers and became the most popular style of cartography in the Islamic world. Al-Balkhī wrote a geography of the Islamic world entitled *Ṣuwar al-aḳālīm*, in which he described each of the various provinces, calling it an *iḳlīm*. Though brief, the work was a description of the maps of the provinces drawn by the author with their boundaries, main cities and towns, rivers, mountains and the main roads connecting the cities. He also drew maps of the Indian Ocean, the Mediterranean and the Caspian and a world map in which Mecca occupied the central position. Neither the geographical treatise nor the maps of al-Balkhī have survived independently. However, his maps were copied and probably improved by al-Iṣṭakhrī (*ca.* 340/951 [*q.v.*]) and his treatise incorporated in the latter's work. Al-Iṣṭakhrī drew 21 provincial maps (including one of the world) which are found attached to his *Kitāb Masālik al-mamālik.* (For the maps, see *al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik*, ed. Muḥammad Djābir ʿAbd al-ʿĀl al-Ḥīnī, Cairo 1961; see also *ibid.*, 195-205, for a discussion of the maps by the editor; see also coloured maps in a Persian translation of al-Iṣṭakhrī's work entitled *Masālik wa mamālik*, ed. Īradj Afshār, Tehran 1340/1961). Another geographer who followed the cartographical tradition of al-Balkhī was Ibn Ḥawḳal (*ca.* 367/977 [*q.v.*]). One of the outstanding geographers of the time, Ibn Ḥawḳal produced an excellent work on the geography of the Islamic world, his *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ.* Though essentially based on the Balkhī-Iṣṭakhrī tradition, the work includes the rich personal experiences and observations of the author. For his work, Ibn Ḥawḳal drew 22 maps, including a world map. In his opinion, some of the maps of al-Iṣṭakhrī were excellent, whereas others were confused and full of defects. Hence, on al-Iṣṭakhrī's own request, he revised some of the former's maps (Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, ed. J. H. Kramers, Leiden 1939, ii, 329-30). A glance at the maps of Ibn Ḥawḳal shows that they are superior to those of al-Iṣṭakhrī. A third follower of this school was al-Muḳaddasī (*ca.* 375/985 [*q.v.*]), who was perhaps the most original of the geographers of mediaeval Islam. In his *Kitāb Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm fī maʿrifat al-aḳālīm* he gave a systematic account of the geography and the cultural aspects of each of the provinces of the Islamic world. Having rearranged the provinces, he drew the maps of 12 of them (for al-Muḳaddasī's maps, see Kamāl, iii, fasc. I, 672-7), and claimed to have drawn a more accurate map of the sea round Arabia in the light of his own experiences and the information derived from experiences of sailors whom he had met (al-Muḳaddasī, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *BGA*, iii, Leiden 1877, 10-1). It seems therefore, that the cartographers of the Balkhī school continuously endeavoured to improve the maps of their predecessors.

This new tradition of cartography differed fundamentally both in approach and content from the Greco-Muslim tradition, and could be described as reflecting the Islamic political point of view of the time. As against the Greco-Muslim maps in which ʿIrāḳ was usually placed in the central clime (i.e. the fourth), in the world maps belonging to the Balkhī school, Mecca occupied the central position. Another interesting feature of these round world maps is that south is placed at the top and north at the bottom, for which religious reasons are assigned (Shawkat, 21, n. 3, is of the view that the geographers put south at the top of their maps because of reverence for the cities of Mecca and Medina in Arabia, beyond which there was no land). Again, land is surrounded by the "encircling Ocean" (*al-Muḥīṭ*) and practically the whole of the southern quarter of the earth is shown covered by land, following the Greek concept of *terra incognita* as an extension of the African continent. Then, the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean are depicted as two "gulfs" coming out of the "Encircling Ocean" and reaching nearest to each other at the Isthmus of Suez, thus conforming to the Ḳurʾānic concept of the two gulfs meeting at al-Barzakh [*q.v.*] ("the barrier", XXV, 55/53). Thus the Indian Ocean, though connected with the Pacific in the south-east, has no water communication with the Atlantic. The separate sea maps are usually geometrical in shape, and resemble a bird or some other figure, which are again based on ideas of Muslim traditionists. In these world maps, arbitrary boundaries of the provinces (*iḳlīms*) of the Islamic world, as well those of the non-Islamic regions, are drawn so as to convey an overall picture of the political and the ethnographic divisions of the world. It is, above all, in their provincial (*iḳlīm*) maps that these cartographers display their originality. In each of these maps, the boundaries, cities and towns, rivers, mountains and roads are shown with great dexterity. Obviously, the main purpose of the author was to highlight the Islamic world. These maps, therefore, may be taken as a distinctive achievement on the part of the cartographers of the Balkhī school and an improvement on the mathematical division of the climes of the Greco-Muslim maps.

K. Miller attributed some maps which have traces of the Balkhī school in them to the famous Sāmānid *wazīr* Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Naṣr al-Djayhānī, the author of the lost work called *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik* (written *ca.* 310/922) (*Mappae arabicae*, Stuttgart 1931, Islam Atlas, Band v, Tafel 66-70, 72v and 73r). It is unlikely, however, that these maps were drawn by him, for in his work he followed the Ptolemaic arrangement of the seven climes.

One of the earliest Persian geographical works produced in this century was the anonymous *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* (compiled in 372/982-3). According to V. Minorsky, the author "worked on the basis of some previous map", probably a modified form of Abū

D̲j̲aʿfar al-K̲h̲āzin's maps, upon which he seems to have made some improvements. However, the map upon which the anonymous author worked has not survived. (Minorsky based his view on Barthold's suggestion that al-Balk̲h̲ī's book on geography may have actually been an explanation of Abū D̲j̲aʿfar al-K̲h̲āzin's maps, see *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. 18, n. 5; for Minorsky's view, see *ibid.*, p. xv). It might have belonged to the tradition of the Balk̲h̲ī school.

It was, however, left to al-Bīrūnī to introduce new concepts in physical geography which resulted in innovations in the world maps hitherto drawn by the Muslim cartographers. He was the first to propound the theory that the Indian Ocean must have a connection with the Atlantic through certain channels south of the Mountains of the Moon, the traditional sources of the Nile. He argued that just as *al-Baḥr al-Kabīr* (the Indian Ocean) penetrated into the northern continent (Asia) on the east and entered it in many places, creating many islands there, similarly, the continent, to keep up the balance jutted out into *al-Baḥr al-D̲j̲unūbī* (the Southern Sea) in the west. He continues that in this region, the sea had entered the mountains [of the Moon] and the valleys, with a continuous ebb and flow, and was stormy, causing shipwrecks and preventing sailing, but in spite of this it was still connected with the *Uḳiyānūs* (the Atlantic) through these narrow passages. He then says that towards the south and beyond these mountains, signs of the connection of these two seas have been discovered, even though no-one has personal experience of their connection. Thus al-Bīrūnī conceived of the inhabited continent as being surrounded by the "Encircling Ocean" (*al-Ḳānūn al-Masʿūdī*, Hyderabad 1955, ii, 538); and in his map of the seas, the traditional *terra incognita* is replaced by sea which covers most of the southern quarter, the Indian Ocean is connected with the Atlantic, and Africa acquires a small size (for al-Bīrūnī's map of the sea, see Fig. 1). Al-Bīrūnī's theory was adopted by many a later geographer and cartographer. (For example, see Abu 'l-Fidā, *Taḳwīm al-buldān*, ed. J. Reinaud, *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, Paris 1840, 12-13; Yāḳūt, *Muʿd̲j̲am*, i, 506, and the map of the seas based on al-Bīrūnī, cf. Wadie Jwaideh, *The introductory chapters of Yāqūt's Muʿjam al-Buldān*, Leiden 1959, 30-2). The absence of the *terra incognita* in many of the later world maps and the changing shape of the African continent in them may have been due to the influence of this theory.

Fig. 1. Map of the seas by al-Bīrūnī as contained in his *Kitāb al-Tafhīm li-awāʾil al-tand̲j̲īm* (written in 420/1029), British Museum, MS. Or. 8349, f. 58.

During the 5th/11th centuries, Maḥmūd al-Kās̲h̲g̲h̲arī [*q.v.*] drew a rather unusual world map with a linguistic basis, giving prominence to the Turkish-speaking regions and placing Kās̲h̲g̲h̲ar at the centre of the world, with other regions receding to the periphery. (For his map, see Kamāl, iii, fasc. II, 741; cf. Miller, *op. cit.*, Arabische Welt- und Länderkarten, Band v, Weltkarten, 142-8.)

While the Balk̲h̲ī school was gaining popularity with the cartographers in the east, in Europe some of the most outstanding maps in the Greco-Muslim tradition were still being produced. In Sicily, the well-known geographer al-S̲h̲arīf al-Idrīsī (d. 560/1166 [*q.v.*]), who lived at the court of Roger II, produced a series of world and sectional maps at the orders of the king. Taking the Ptolemaic maps as the basis, he constructed a large silver map. He then draw a world map and by dividing each of the seven climes into ten longitudinal sections, he drew a separate and detailed map of each of these sections. Into these he incor-

porated the geographical information collected from Arabic as well as Norman sources. The maps form a part of his monumental geographical work *Kitāb Nuzhat al-mus͟htāḳ fi 'k͟htirāḳ al-āfāḳ*, and except for the silver map, all have fortunately survived the vicissitudes of time. (For his maps, see Miller, Band i, Heft 2, Heft 3; and Band vi). Al-Idrīsī's maps represent the best example of Arabo-Norman co-operation in cartography.

An interesting world map belonging to the middle of the 6th/12th century exists in an anonymous work entitled *Muk͟htaṣar Ibn Ḥawḳal*, in which the shape of the inhabited world is drawn elliptically rather than round. The Indian and the Atlantic Oceans are separated by a narrow isthmus of land near the sources of the Nile, which is connected with the *terra incognita* and which is partly visible (of the three mss. of this, two carry the title *Kitāb Hay'at as͟hkāl al-arḍ wa-miḳdāruhā fi 'l-ṭūl wa 'l-ʿarḍ al-maʿrūf bi-d͟jug͟hrāfiyā*, Kamāl, iii, fasc. II, 804-17. Kamāl reproduced all the maps belonging to the various mss. of this work. One of these (B.N. No. 2214), according to Kramers, is an abridgement of Ibn Ḥawḳal's ms. Top Kapu Saray No. 3346, which was copied in 479/1086 with supplementary annotations relating to the period of the epitomiser, i.e. 534-80/1139-84, see Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, Introd. pp. v-vi). Among the various maps belonging to the manuscript of this work, there is a map of the Nile reproduced by Kramers in his edition, i, 149, but it differs in detail from the map of the Nile by al-K͟hʷārazmī (see above).

To this century also belong the six maps of Aḥmad al-Ṭūsī, one of the earliest Muslim cosmographers and author of the Persian work *Kitāb ʿAd͟jā'ib al-mak͟hlūḳat* (written *ca.* 576/1180); these were probably drawn in the Balk͟hī tradition, and are the maps of the Caspian (*Baḥr Ḳazwīn*), the Mediterranean, al-D͟jibāl, al-Sind and the Persian Gulf (Krachkovsky, 325).

During the 7th/13th century, a number of world maps were produced, some of which belonged to the Greco-Muslim tradition and others to that of the Balk͟hī school. A peculiar world map belonging to the former tradition and dated 646/1248 is found in a fragment of a Persian geographical treatise. In this map, the Indian Ocean passes south of the Mountains of the Moon and then turning northwards joins the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, thus surrounding what appears to be the continent of Africa. However, the *terra incognita* is also shown covering part of the southern quarter of the earth and then extending northwards around Africa where it joins Spain (see Kamāl, iii (1935), fasc. V, 996; the volume containing the Persian geographical treatise (Leiden ms. Ar. 1899) also contains an astronomical treatise by Aḥmad al-Sid͟jzī copied in 646/1248). The author seemed to have been influenced by al-Bīrūnī, but at the same time persisted in retaining the *terra incognita* on the map, and it was this which led him to connect it with the European mainland. To the Greco-Muslim tradition also belonged the Syriac world map of Bar Hebraeus (Ibn al-ʿIbrī, A.D. 1226-86 [*q.v.*]), Miller, i, 9; v, 169; cf. Krachkovsky, 373-4.

The elliptical world maps attributed by Miller to Ibn Saʿīd al-Mag͟hribī (d. 673/1274 or 685/1286), see Miller, Band v, Tafel 71, and i, 1, 21-2, are more likely to be the work of the anonymous author of the *Muk͟htaṣar Ibn Ḥawḳal.* Ibn Saʿīd's world map, on the other hand, follows the Greco-Muslim tradition, but the *terra incognita* is replaced by sea in the southern quarter of the earth and the Indian Ocean is connected with the Atlantic south of Africa, whose southern part is fork-shaped. However, the author seemed to be confused with regard to the outlines of the continents and the islands. (For the world map of Ibn Saʿīd, see L. Bagrow and R. A. Skelton, *History of cartography*, London 1964, Pl. xxvi).

The maps drawn by the cosmographers of the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries present some special and interesting features. For instance, the world map of Zakariyyā b. Muḥammad al-Ḳazwīnī [*q.v.*] (d. 682/1283) follows the tradition of the Balk͟hī school, but the "Encircling Ocean" is shown as being surrounded by the legendary *d͟jabal ḳāf*, from the southern side of which the legendary *ʿayn al-ḥayāt* ("the Fountain of Life") flows into the *terra incognita.* (Miller, Band v, Tafel 80 (2. Kazwini Gotha). However, his map of the seas is based on that of al-Bīrūnī and the climatic world map is in the Greco-Muslim tradition (*ibid.*, Weltkarten, 129-32). The world map of Sirād͟j al-Dīn Abū Ḥafs ʿUmar, called Ibn al-Wardī [*q.v.*] (d. 861/1457 or 850/1446), is similar to that of al-Ḳazwīnī, following the Balk͟hī tradition of cartography and depicting the legendary *d͟jabal ḳāf* surrounding the "Encircling Ocean" and the *ʿayn al-ḥayāt* (*ibid.*, Band v, Tafel 75-9; Weltkarten, 134-8). On the other hand, al-Dimas͟hḳī (d. 727/1327 [*q.v.*]), drew diagrams, distinctive in their nature, of the relative distribution of various races in the inhabited parts of the world (*ibid.*, Band v, Weltkarten, 139-41).

By this time, new trends seemed to be appearing in Islamic cartography. Of great interest are some maps in which the Muslim cartographers used a grid of horizontal and vertical lines representing latitudes and longitudes, which form small squares within which place names are shown to indicate their geographical positions. Whether this new experiment in Islamic cartography was due to any influence of Chinese cartography, in which the rectangular grid was used as a scale to indicate distances, or whether it was indigenous to Muslim cartographers, is not certain. We have some examples of Mongol maps of this design produced in China during this period; for instance, the Mongol map of A.D. 1329 which formed part of the *History of the Yuan Shih* used the rectangular grid. Krachkovsky believed that this map may have been drawn by a representative of the Iranian-Arab school of cartography and that the place names given on the map were possibly in the Mongolian language initially, and the map later translated into Chinese (Krachkovsky, 398-9). However, since the Islamic maps of this category differ fundamentally from their Chinese prototypes, in that the former use the horizontal and the vertical lines to represent the latitudes and the longitudes, while the latter use them to form squares to indicate distances, it is not unlikely that the concept of using a grid was originally borrowed from the Chinese by the Muslim cartographers, considering the fact that Mongol rule at this point covered much of the region between Iran and China.

A notable example of this class of maps is the world map of Ḥamd Allāh al-Mustawfī (d. 750/1349 [*q.v.*]), in which the inhabited world is divided into 18 equal longitudinal divisions and the longitudes are drawn as straight lines as through on a plane surface, without converging at the poles; similarly, the inhabited world is divided into 9 parallel divisions beginning from the equator and going northwards. Thus, the squares formed are approximately of 10° × 10°, each degree being equal to 56 2/3 Arabian miles (according to al-Ma'mūn's astronomers). Place names are then arbitrarily written within each of the squares, and so are the names of the seven climes around the circum-

ference of the inhabited world. The map shows traces of al-Bīrūnī's concept of sea covering the southern quarter of the earth, and southern Africa is fork-shaped, as in some of the maps discussed above. In his detailed map of Central Asia, Iran, etc. called by Miller "Irankarte", al-Mustawfī used a rectangular grid in which each of the squares represents 1° × 1° and the names of the main cities and towns are given in each of the squares. The map covers longitudes from 64° to 111° from west to east and latitudes from 16° to 45° north of the equator (the Muslim astronomers generally calculated their longitudes beginning from the Canary Islands (0°) to China (180°)). Again, according to al-Mustawfī, his map spreads between the 1st and the 6th clime north of the equator, but these are arbitrarily mentioned and seem to have no relation with the actual astronomical divisions of the climes as worked out by the astronomers. With an arbitrary division of the parallels of latitudes and with no regard for the sphericity of the earth in drawing the longitudes, it was hardly to be expected that the places would find correct geographical positions as known to the Muslim astronomers (Miller, Band v, Tafel 83-6; Band v, Weltkarten, 178-82).

Another example of this category of maps is the world map of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū (d. 833/1430 [*q.v.*]). While the three regional maps accompanying his work on geography are drawn after the tradition of the Balkhī school, his world map belongs to the category under discussion and resembles in many respects that of al-Mustawfī. The world map is superimposed on a grid of squares of 5° × 5° with vertical lines representing the longitudes and horizontal lines representing the latitudes. The longitudes begin at 0° (passing through the west coast of Africa) and then go eastwards up to 180° which crosses a place called Kankdūz and are drawn as straight lines; the latitudes begin at 0° at the equator and go up north up to 90°. The climes indicated along the margins, each of which is divided into two parts arbitrarily, have no relation to the actual astronomical divisions of the climes. The southern quarter of the earth is covered by sea and the southern coast of Africa is round in shape, which is an advance upon some of the earlier maps depicting it as forked (*ibid.*, Band v, Weltkarten, 111-12, 122-3, 178; Band v, Beiheft, Tafel 72, 82. "Kankdūz" (Kang-diz), was a legendary town which, according to the Persians, was built by Kay Kā'ūs or Djam in the most remote east, behind the sea, Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 189).

Muslim astronomers also drew maps of cities and towns and the direction of the *ḳibla* [*q.v.*, 2. Astronomical aspects], of which quite a few examples are extant, see Miller, Band v, 149-54 for the *ḳibla* maps.

In the 10th/16th century, the members of the al-Sharafī al-Sifāḳsī family of Tunisia distinguished themselves by drawing several maps between 958/1551 and 1009/1601. The oldest member of the family, ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, compiled an atlas in eight sheets in 958/1551 (ms. preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris), to which is probably related the world map of al-Sharafī (Oxford, Uri, 1787, I, see Miller, v, 176) belonging to 979/1571-2. The atlas contains several maps: a map of the *ḳibla*; a general map of the world based on al-Idrīsī; and maps of the various coastal regions of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov. To the atlas is also attached an agricultural calendar for each month. The atlas was probably drawn for some sea captain who sailed on the Mediterranean and the Black Sea in Christian and Syrian shipping. The same cartographer was probably responsible for the world map dated 987/1579, which according to Miller, was an attempt to combine the Catalonian sea map with that of al-Idrīsī to produce a new Arabic sea map. Another member of the family, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sharafī, produced a world map in 1009/1601, the eastern half of which was based on al-Idrīsī and the western half (Mediterranean and the Atlantic coast) and the Black Sea on Catalonian portolanos (Krachkovsky, 455-7; cf. Miller, Band v, Weltkarten, 175-7).

Turkish maps and sea-charts.

During this century, Turkish cartographers made some very significant contributions to Islamic cartography. In fact, they may be said to have formed a bridge between mediaeval Islamic and modern cartography. Among the most prominent examples are the maps of Pīrī Re'īs [*q.v.*] (d. 962/1554). He drew a world map, completed in 919/1513, only the western part of which has been preserved. This portion depicts the Iberian peninsula, north-west Africa, the Atlantic Ocean and the coasts of the islands of America. Drawn on a gazelle hide, it includes coloured pictures and notes about the countries, peoples, animals and plants. It was presented to Sulṭān Selīm in 923/1517. A portolano chart, the map has a mathematical basis, and Pīrī Re'īs used some twenty maps in constructing it, four of which were by Portuguese explorers, including the lost map of Christopher Columbus recording the discoveries made by him during his third voyage (A.D. 1498). In 341/1528, Pīrī Re'īs drew a second map showing the northern part of the Atlantic Ocean and the newly-discovered regions of North and Central America. Sevim Tekeli points out that a comparison of the two maps shows that Pīrī Re'īs followed the new discoveries very closely. His sailing manual for the Mediterranean, the *Baḥriyye*, included numerous maps after the fashion of the Italian portolanos and probably based on them, each representing the portion of the Mediterranean coast treated in the respective chapter (see DJUGHRĀFIYA, vi. The Ottoman geographers (Taeschner); cf. Sevim Tekeli, *Pīrī Rais*, in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, New York 1974, x, 616-9).

It may be pointed out here that the world map hitherto attributed to Ḥādjdjī Aḥmad of Tunis and dated 967/1559 (preserved in Marciana, Venice) has now been proved by V. L. Ménage to be of European origin (Taeschner, 2; Ménage, *The map of Ḥājjī Aḥmed and its makers*, in *BSOAS*, xxi (1958), 291-314; cf. Krachkovsky, 457-8; G. Kish, *The suppressed Turkish map of 1560*, Ann Arbor 1957).

We may finally mention the maps of Kātib Čelebī [*q.v.*] (1017-67/1609-57), drawn by him in the first manuscript of his *Djihān-nümā*; these were mainly based on modern European cartography (Taeschner, 2; cf. Abdülhak Adnan Adıvar, *La science chez les Turcs ottomans*, Paris 1939, 107-8). Also, a manuscript of the Near and Middle East was printed by Ibrāhīm Müteferriḳa, dated 1139/1726-7 or 1141/1728-9 (Taeschner, *loc. cit.*).

Arab Sea-charts of the Indian Ocean

Although there are no direct references to the existence of Arab sea-charts in the works of the Arab navigators, Ibn Mādjid [*q.v.*] (d. after 905/1500) and Sulaymān al-Mahrī (first half of the 10th/16th century) (see G. R. Tibbetts, *The navigational theory of the Arabs in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*, in *Agrupamento de estudos de cartografia antiga*, xxxvi (Coimbra 1969), 19), one does find references to Arab sea-charts of a type in the Portuguese and other sources. At an earlier date, according to Marco Polo,

the "Arabs had good charts" (Tibbetts, *Arab Navigation in the Indian Ocean before the coming of the Portuguese*, London 1971, 4; cf. A. Teixeira da Mota, *Méthodes de navigation et cartographie nautique dans l'Océan Indien avant le XVIe siècle*, Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, in *Studia*, xi (January 1963), 72-5). Two references are of some interest here. One of these is the sea-chart described by João de Barros which Ibn Mādjid had shown to Vasco da Gama during his meeting with the latter in East Africa. The chart, according to João de Barros, depicted the entire coast of India and had the meridians and the parallels drawn on it in the Moorish (i.e. Arab) way but had no rhumbs of the winds indicated on it. The squares formed by these lines were very small, hence the coast traced between the two rhumbs of north-south and east-west was very exact. In the opinion of Teixeira da Mota, the parallels may have represented the altitudes of the stars and were probably traced in the scale 1/4 by 1/4 of an *iṣbaʿ* (1° 36′), conforming to the altitudes given in the works of Ibn Mādjid and Sulaymān al-Mahrī, and the meridians could have been lines of equal distance, east-west, at an interval of perhaps 24 hours or 8 *zāms* (1 *zām* being equal to 3 *farsakhs*) (op. cit., 64-5, 69-72; on the value of 1 *zām* (= 3 *farsakhs*), see *ibid.*, 57, n. 9). Teixeira da Mota further points out that according to *Le Livro de Marinharia d'André Pires* (*ca.* 1550), 5 *iṣbaʿ*s of the Moorish maps were to be taken as being equal to 8 parts which was 8° (i.e. 1 *iṣbaʿ* represented 1° 36′, whereas the correct value is 1° 37′ (*ibid.*, 74-5).

The second example is that of the nautical map possessed by a skilled navigator of Mogadishu met by Sir Thomas Roe. Drawn on a parchment, this map was lined and graduated in an orderly fashion. But Teixeira da Mota believes that the map may have actually belonged to the European type, for the pilot spoke Portuguese and the Portuguese had since long established themselves in East Africa and maintained close relationships with the local navigators (*ibid.*, 72-3).

From the above example, it may be concluded that the Muslim navigators of the Indian Ocean did evolve an indigenous technique of drawing sea-charts with graduated lines in which the parallels represented the altitudes of the stars in *iṣbaʿ*s and "the meridians", the fixed distances. According to Tibbetts, the Arab navigators of the Indian Ocean had followed a system of measuring the *masāfāt* or distances (*The navigational theory of the Arabs in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries*, 16). These could have been represented by the vertical lines on the charts.

Finally, it may be said that Islamic cartography, despite its technical drawbacks, as pointed out by scientists like al-Bīrūnī, did serve the purpose of the conqueror, the traveller and the scholar alike throughout the Middle Ages. The mistakes initially made persisted, even though in certain aspects like regional maps there were signs of progress. Its influence in the Islamic world lasted until the 11th/17th century, when it seems to have been replaced by modern cartography.

Bibliography: given in the article.

(S. Maqbul Ahmad)

KHʷĀRIZM, KHʷĀRIZMĪ, etc. [see khʷārazm, khʷārazmī etc.].

KHARLUKH [see karluk].

KHARM [see ʿarūḍ].

KHARPŪT, wrong spelling for khartpert [*q.v.*].

al-**KHARRĀZ**, Abū Saʿīd Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā, mystic of the school of Baghdād. Born in Baghdād probably early in the 3rd/9th century, he joined al-Nibādjī, Abū ʿUbayd al-Busrī, Sarī al-Saḳaṭī, Bishr al-Ḥāfī, Dhu'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī, Muḥammad b. Manṣūr al-Ṭūsī and other Ṣūfī shaykhs. He travelled extensively from an early age, though only few details about his itineraries are known from his own statements. His final departure from Baghdād may be connected with the wave of persecution of the Ṣūfīs instigated by the Ḥanbalī Ghulām al-Khalīl during the co-regency of al-Muwaffaḳ (257-78/871-91), for he is reported to have been accused of infidelity by a group of *ʿulamāʾ* for some daring expressions in his *Kitāb al-sirr*. According to his own testimony, he visited al-Ramla, Jerusalem, and Ṣayda and lived in Mecca for eleven years, regularly visiting Medina in order to perform the pilgrimage from there. He was expelled from Mecca by the governor because of his teaching. During the last part of his life, and perhaps during an earlier period, he lived in Egypt. From there he travelled to al-Baṣra in order to meet the Ṣūfī Abū Ḥātim al-ʿAṭṭār, and he also visited Ḳayrawān. According to the best attested report, he died in 286/899.

Like his contemporary al-Djunayd [*q.v.*], al-Kharrāz strove to combine a doctrine of ecstatic mysticism with orthodox support of the religious law. He affirmed that any esoteric (*bāṭin*) doctrine that contradicts the apparent meaning (*ẓāhir*) of the law is false. Upholding the superiority of the prophets over the saints (*awliyāʾ*), he argued that every prophet is a saint before becoming a prophet. He addressed a letter to a group of Ṣūfīs in Damascus, refuting their heretical view that they could see God with their hearts as the inhabitants of Paradise will see Him with their eyes. In a book on proper conduct in the canonical prayer (*adab al-ṣalāt*), he described the significance of its rites for the Ṣūfī. Al-Kharrāz is credited by al-Sulamī and others with having been the first one to speak about the states of annihilation (*fanāʾ*) and subsistence (*baḳāʾ*) [*q.v.*]. This is not literally correct, for these concepts had been used by earlier Ṣūfīs and were commonplace among his contemporaries. They appear, however, as fundamental in his doctrine and designate the highest stages of the mystic "beyond which no created being can reach". He defined *fanāʾ* as "annihilation of the consciousness of manhood" and *baḳāʾ* as "subsistence in the contemplation of Godhead". At the highest stage, so he stated in his *Kitāb al-ḍiyāʾ*, the mystic loses his (human) attributes and attains the attributes of God, a doctrine disputed by al-Djunayd and expressly condemned as heretical by al-Sarrādj.

Bibliography: al-Sarrādj, *al-Lumaʿ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd and Ṭ. ʿAbd al-Bāḳī Surūr, Cairo-Baghdād 1380/1960, index, s.v. Abū Saʿīd al-Kharrāz; al-Sulamī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ṣūfiyya*, ed. J. Pedersen, Leiden 1960, 223-8; Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, Cairo 1351-7/1932-8, x, 246-9; *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, iv 276-8; al-Ḳushayrī, *al-Risāla al-Ḳushayriyya*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd and Maḥmūd Ibn al-Sharaf, Cairo 1385 1966, index, s.v. Abū Saʿīd al-Kharrāz; Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-maḥdjūb*, ed. V. A. Zhukovskii, Leningrad 1926, 180 f., 311-7, tr. R. A. Nicholson, *GMS*, xvii, 2nd ed., London 1936, 143, 241-6; Anṣārī Harawī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-ṣūfiyya*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī Ḳandahārī, Kābul 1962, 133-6; *Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, ed. Badrān, i, 426-32; Djāmī, *Nafaḥāt al-uns*, ed. Mahdī Tawḥīdī-Pūr, Tehran 1336/1957, 73-6; al-Kharrāz, *Rasāʾil*, ed. Ḳāsim al-Sāmarrāʾī, Baghdād 1387/1967; L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musul-*

الجنوب

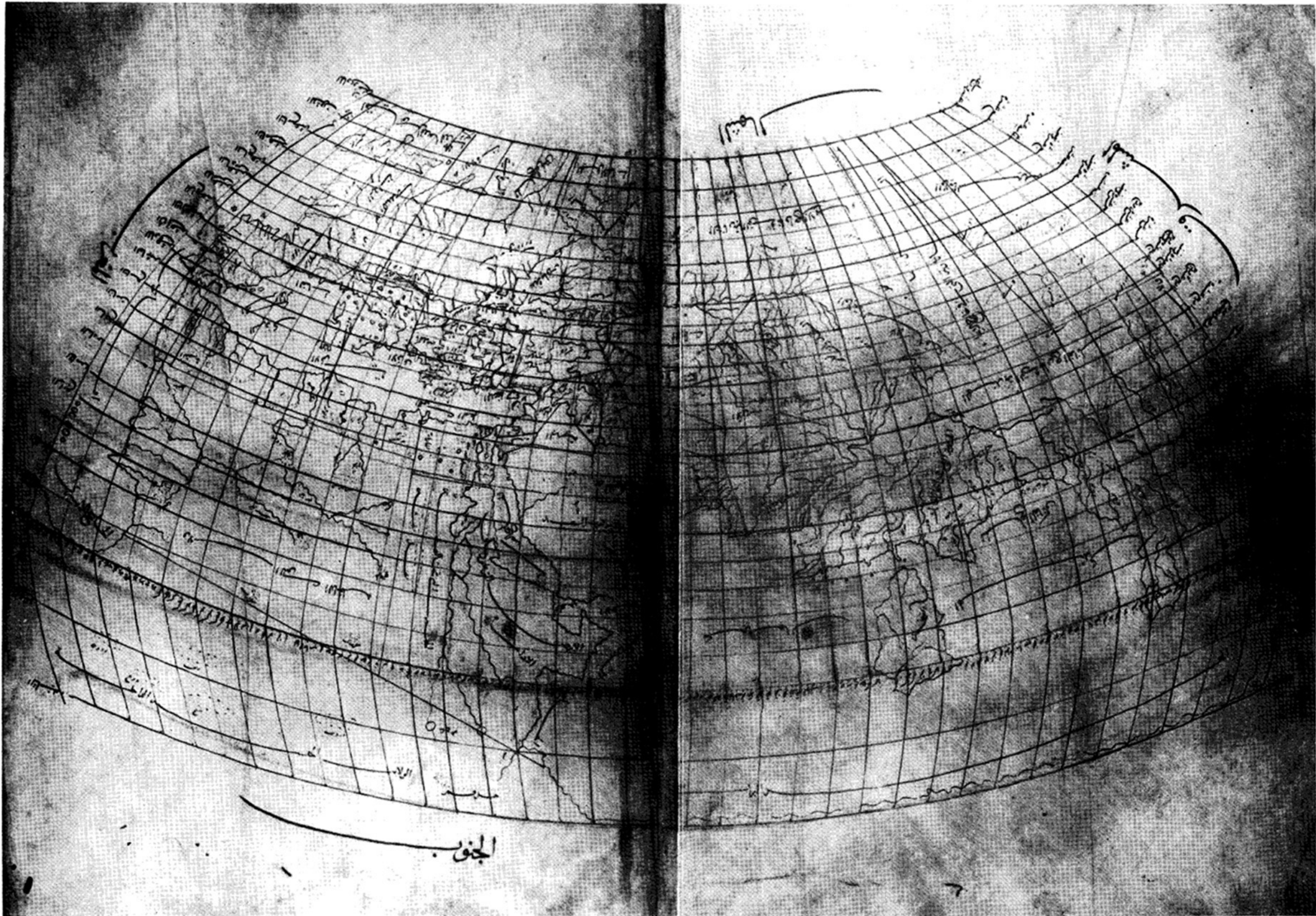



Fig. 2. The world map of Ptolemy translated into Arabic, as contained in the MS. Istanbul, Aya Sofya, No. 2160 (which bears the seal of Bāyezīd II, 886-918/1481-1512).

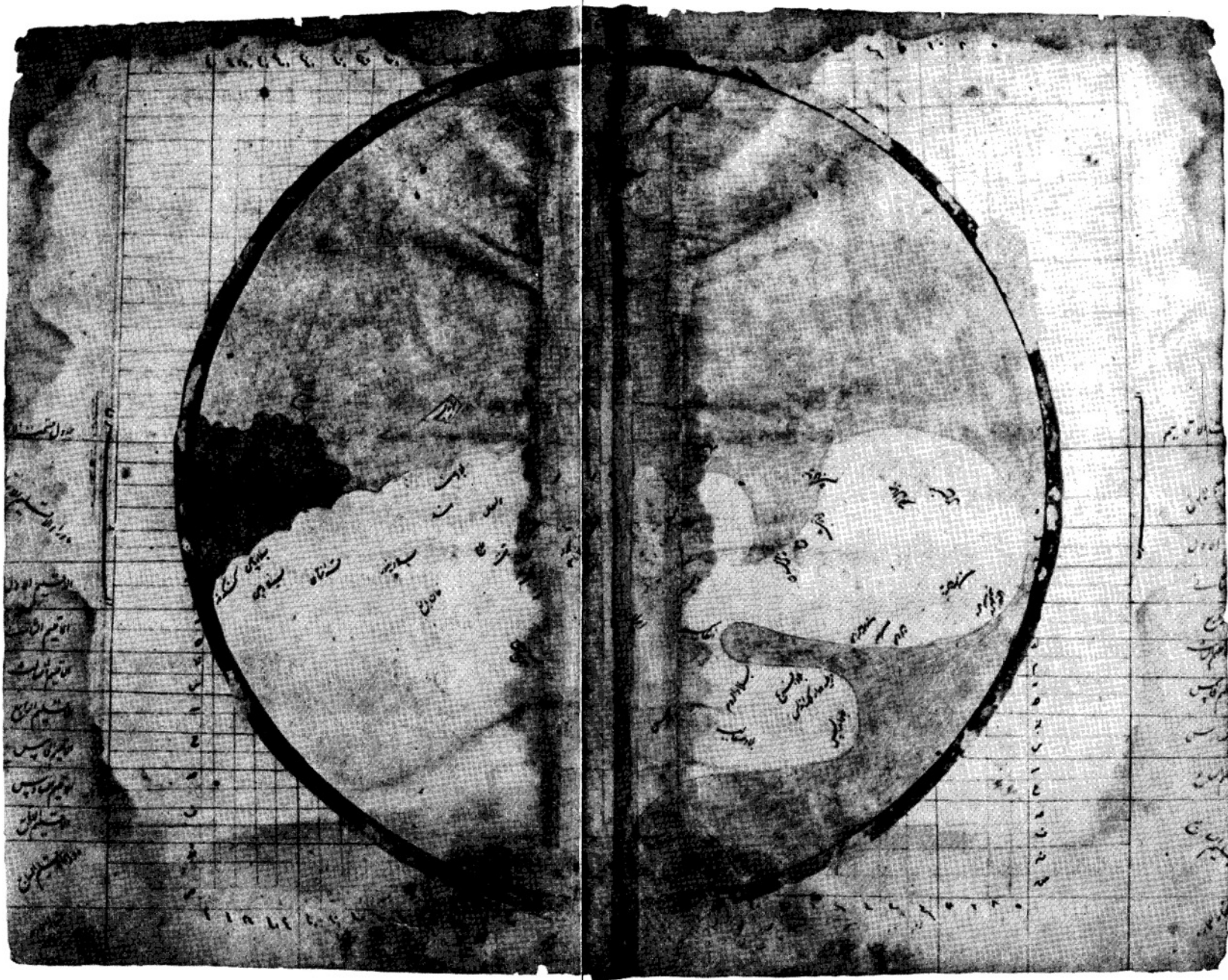



Fig. 3. Map of the world by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū as contained in his untitled work on geography (written between 817/1414-5 and 823/1420), British Museum, MS. Or. 1577, ff. 7b-8a.

Fig. 4. Map of the world as contained in al-Iṣṭak͟hrī's *Kitāb al-Masālik* (written towards the middle of the 4th/10th century), Leiden University Library, Cod. Or. 3101, pp. 4-5.

*mane*², Paris 1968, 302-5; P. Nwyia, *Exégèse coranique et langage mystique*, Beirut 1970, 212, 231-310. (W. MADELUNG)

KHARRŪBA [see MAKĀYĪL].

KHĀRṢĪNĪ (Persian *khār čīnī* "hard substance from China"), also *ḥadīd ṣīnī* "Chinese iron" (J. Ruska, *Tabula Smaragdina*, Heidelberg 1926, 70, tr. 75), to which corresponds the Persian *āhan čīnī* (*Āyīn-i Akbarī*, tr. H. Blochmann, i, 40) is not zinc, as often assumed, but a hard, highly-esteemed alloy, the constituents of which have not been established with certainty. According to the physical qualities attributed to it, *khārṣīnī* would best correspond with hard lead, i.e. an alloy consisting of a mixture of lead, antimony and small quantities of copper, iron and tin. Next to gold, silver, iron, copper, lead and tin, *khārṣīnī* is mentioned as the seventh "metallic substance" (Khwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. van Vloten, 258; Djābir, *K. al-Khawāṣṣ al-kabīr*, see M. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*, Leiden-Cologne 1972, 141; Dimashkī, *Nukhbat al-dahr*, ed. Mehren, 1866, Arab. text 48, tr. 52) and called "mercury" (*ʿuṭārid*) by the alchemists. In his *K. al-Sirr al-rabbānī fī ʿilm al-mīzān*, an alchemical treatise on the theory of the proportions to be mixed, Iznīkī deals with this metal in a separate section (Mss. cited by Ullmann, *op. cit.*, 243). Rāzī compares it with the "Chinese mirrors" (*al-marāyā al-ṣīniyya*) and Djābir with lead (both following al-Bīrūnī, who in his *K. al-Djamāhir*, Hyderabad 1355, 261 f., deals with *khārṣīnī* in a special chapter). This "strange substance" (*djawhar gharīb*) was "all but unknown" to the Arabs: this is probably the meaning of *shabīh bi 'l-maʿdūm* (Khwārazmī, *loc. cit.*); van Vloten's interpretation "colourless" is less likely, since occasionally the yellow colour of *khārṣīnī* is mentioned.

Bibliography: in addition to the references in the article, see E. Wiedemann, *Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, ed. W. Fischer, Hildesheim-New York 1970, i, 49 f., 120, 697, 703 f., 707, 833, ii, 599. (A. DIETRICH)

KHARTABIRT [see KHARTPERT].

KHARTPERT, a stronghold of eastern Anatolia situated on a rock (Armenian, *pert*) 350 m./1,100 ft. above the plain of Khanzit [*q.v.*], to be identified with the Ḥiṣna Zayt of the Aramaic texts (and already in Ammianus Marcellinus, *castellum Ziata*, whence, through a confusion, the Arabic Ḥiṣn Ziyād, a term in use till the 16th century). The corrupted form Kharput is found in colloquial Armenian (whence already in the Byzantine author Cedrenos, ii, 419) and in modern Turkish. The Latin and French authors at the time of the Crusades use forms like Quart-Pierre. Al-Dimashkī, ed. Mehren, 190, thought that Khartpert was the name of the fortress and Ḥiṣn Ziyād that of the settlement as a whole, but this appears to be a personal interpretation.

Khartpert was situated on the Arab-Byzantine borders, which were frequently crossed and re-crossed by armies from both sides. It is mentioned by Ibn Khurradādhbih, but is nevertheless not apparently cited in the Islamic historical sources before 367/977-8, when the Ḥamdānid Abū Taghlib took refuge there with a brother-in-law, a Byzantine vassal. In the 6th/12th century, after the Turkish invasions, it fell temporarily to a Turkmen called Djubuk, and soon afterwards to the Artukids, amongst whom was the celebrated Balak, who imprisoned there Jocelyn of Edessa and Baldwin II of Jerusalem. When Diyār Bakr was partitioned between rival branches of this dynasty, Khartpert fell within that centred on Ḥiṣn Kayfa, and then under a subordinate branch of these last Artukids in 581/1185. The town played a big part at the time of the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Kāmil's expedition of 631/1234 against the Rūm Saldjūk Kaykubād, who annexed it directly. It passed subsequently into the hands of all the powers who transiently held power over the region during the Mongol period, and in the 9th/15th century the Banū Eretna, the Dulghadir, the Ak Koyunlu [*q.vv.*], and finally, after an interval of Ṣafawid control, into the grip of the Ottomans in 921/1515. The Ottoman governors established themselves at the foot of the rock at Mezere, now named Maʿmūrat al-ʿAzīz (a name later extended to all the province, along both banks of the Euphrates). In the 9th/15th century Khartpert had been visited by Joseph Barbaro (*Viaggi*, ed. Venice 1545, 48-9), and it was described in the 11th/17th one by Ewliyā Čelebi.

The population, partly Armenian until the massacres of the present century, had nevertheless been largely Turkicised and Kurdicised over the preceding centuries. According to the register from 936/1530 published by Ö. L. Barkan, its revenue at that time was about 250,000 *akčes*. The town possessed an old mosque and a more recent one built by Uzun Ḥasan, a *madrasa* and 50 (?) schools. Amongst the industries mentioned were saddle-making, silk production, wax, dyeing, and at least in the 6th/12th century, coins were minted here. The 19th century travellers who visited Khartpert give population estimates from between 20,000 (Cuinet's figure) to over 40,000; in 1945 it had a mere 2,095. At the end of the 19th century, Khartpert also had an American mission station.

Bibliography: This is given essentially in the arts. of *EI*¹ (Kramers) and *İA* (Besim Darkot, s.v. *Harput*). It is named in most of the Arabic geographers from Ibn Khurradādhbih and Ibn Serapion onwards (information summed up in Le Strange, *Lands*, 116-17), till the time of Ewliyā Čelebi, ed. 1314/1896-7, iii, 216-17, and the 19th century travellers, Moltke, Brant, Hommaire de Hell, Saudredzki, Taylor, Tozer, Lynch and Lehmann Haupt (summed up in Ritter, *Erdkunde*), and finally Cuinet (cf. Darkot in *İA*). The most important Muslim and other mediaeval historians include Ibn al-Athīr; Ibn al-Azrak al-Fārikī, *Taʾrīkh Mayyāfārikīn*, Marwānid period ed. B. A. L. Awad, 1959, Artukid one resumed by Cl. Cahen in *Le Diyar Bakr au temps des premiers Urtukides*, in *JA* (1935); the historians of the campaign of 631/1234, especially Ibn Wāṣil and Ibn Bībī; those of Jocelyn and Baldwin's captivity (Foucher of Chartres, Matthew of Edessa); and Michael the Syrian and Bar Hebraeus. The inscription of 561/1166 (*REA*, No. 3271) has now been more satisfactorily published by Sauvaget in his *Quatre décrets seldjukides*, Damascus 1947; another unedited inscription has been brought to light. For archeology, see especially A. Gabriel, *Voyages*, 257-8. There is an Artukid coin given in İ. and C. Artuk, *Istanbul ... sikkeler katalogu*, i, 396. (CL. CAHEN)

BANŪ KHARŪṢ, a tribe which has played an important role in the history of the Ibāḍiyya [*q.v.*] in ʿUmān. Descendants of Yaḥmad, a branch of al-Azd [*q.v.*], members of the tribe migrated to ʿUmān in pre-Islamic times and established themselves in a valley which came to bear their name. Wādī Banī Kharūṣ runs down from the heights of the western mountain range of al-Ḥadjar to join Wādī al-Farʿ before debouching on the plain of al-Bāṭina and then

into the Gulf of ʿUmān. On the right bank not far below the juncture of the two valleys is the famous Ibāḍī stronghold of al-Rustāḳ [*q.v.*].

Yaḥmad provided most of the Ibāḍī *Imām*s of ʿUmān before the advent of the Yaʿrubī dynasty in the 11th/17th century, and of these a goodly share were Kharūṣīs. The first Kharūṣi to be elected to the high office appears to have been al-Wārith b. Kaʿb (179-92/795-808), during whose tenure of power the centre of the Ibāḍiyya is believed to have moved from al-Baṣra to ʿUmān. Hārūn al-Rashīd sent an expedition against al-Wārith's Ibāḍīs, who won a signal victory over it near Ṣuḥār. In the words of Wilkinson, the period of rule of al-Wārith and the other early *Imāms* was "in many ways Oman's golden age."

Saʿīd b. Khalfān al-Khalīlī al-Kharūsī was largely instrumental in the choice of ʿAzzān b. Ḳays of Āl Bū Saʿīd, the only Ibāḍī *Imām* elected in the 13th/19th century. When the Imāmate was revived in 1331/1913, Sālim b. Rāshid al-Kharūṣī became the head of the community. Upon his assassination in 1338/1920, the succession went to Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, a grandson of Sāʿīd b. Khalfān, who reigned until his death in 1373/1954. For the careers of these later Kharūṣīs, see ʿUMĀN.

Bibliography: ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥumayyid al-Sālimī, *Tuḥfat al-aʿyān fī sīrat ahl ʿUmān*, Cairo 1332-47; G. Badger, tr., *History of the Imâms and Seyyids of ʾOmân*, London 1871 (the MS. by Ḥumayd b. Ruzayq translated by Badger is in the Cambridge University Library); J. Wilkinson, in D. Hopwood, ed., *The Arabian peninsula*, London 1972; G. Rentz, ed., *Oman and the southern shore of the Persian Gulf*, Cairo 1952. (G. RENTZ)

AL-**KHAṢĀṢĪ**, ABU 'L-FAḌL ḲĀSIM B. AL-ḤĀDJDJ ḲĀSIM B. ḲĀSIM AL-KHAṢĀṢĪ, a Moroccan saint, member of the Djazūliyya order [*q.v.*]. Originally from Andalusia, he owed his ethnic name to the town of al-Khaṣāṣa, which was situated on the al-Ḳalīʿa mountain on the Mediterranean coast. He was born at Fez in *ca.* 1002/1593-4, where he studied and had, in particular, Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh Maʿn al-Andalusī as his pupil. Al-Ḳādirī [*q.v.*] devoted a work called *al-Zahr al-bāsim* to his *manāḳib*. He died at Fez on 19 Ramaḍān 1083/8 January 1673 and was buried in the mausoleum of al-Ashyākh.

Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 273 and n. 6; Ifrānī, *Ṣafwa*, 171; Ḳādirī, *Nashr*, ii, 9; idem, *al-Nashr al-kabīr*, i, fols. 129b-130b; idem, *Iltiḳāṭ*, fol. 30b; Ibn Ayshūn al-Sharrāṭ, *al-Rawḍ al-ʿāṭir al-anfās*, fol. 64a; Kattānī, *Salwa*, ii, 282 ff.; Fuḍaylī, *al-Durar al-bahiyya*, ii, ʿA. Ibn Sūda, *Dalīl*, i, 255. (M. LAKHDAR)

KHASHAB (A.), wood. In the major part of the Muslim world, wood is fairly scarce and for this reason plays a relatively minor rôle in the material life of its populations in comparison with that of societies in which it is more plentiful. However, precisely because its use is limited, it occupies an important place in artistic creation, for example in private furniture and the appurtenances of mosques. Architecturally, it is employed for doors, roofs, arches, etc. and ceilings; it is also used in the galleries of mines, the construction of numerous implements such as presses and hydraulic machines (there are few "vehicles"); brushwood is often used as fuel and its gases (often produced from scrub) provide sufficient heat for metal-working, glass-blowing and ceramics; for cooking, straw is often used. The uses of most interest to the authorities were in the arms-making (archery, javelins and above all siege engines) and naval construction vital to their political ends. See further the articles on the various related techniques, such as NADJDJĀR, DĀR AL-ṢINĀʿA, etc.

Woods and thickets, though generally of less importance in the Middle Ages than in antiquity because of deforestation, were nevertheless more numerous than today. Lebanon was criss-crossed by oaks, prolonged into northern Syria and Asia Minor (Byzantine and then Turkish), where some Turkmens combined the tasks of shepherd and woodman. In Iran, the major forest zone was the mountain slopes region along the Caspian shores which stretched to Armenia on one side and the mountains of Khurāsān and Afghānistān on the other. In the Saldjūk era, the wood carvers of Marw and Ādharbaydjān had a semi-corporate organisation which was far in advance of its time (Cl. Cahen, *Y a-t-il eu des corporations dans le monde musulman médiéval?*, in *The Muslim City*, ed. A. Hourani and S. M. Stern, Oxford 1970, 59). Egypt, which was obviously devoid of conifers, conserved her acacia thickets (*sant*), used particularly for small river craft, and care was taken that they were intelligently managed (cf. Ali Bey Baghat, *Les forêts en Egypte*, in *BIE* (1901), 41-58). The central and western Maghrib (not Ifrīḳiya), Spain and the Mediterranean islands still had fine coniferous forests and various species of oak, etc. Palms and fruit trees were naturally looked after as much as possible for their fruit. The northern regions, especially of Central Asia, were the home of the high-growing poplar (*khalandj*), which was greatly prized for bows. The African and Asian coasts (beyond Arabia and Iran) of the Indian Ocean supplied precious timber such as teak, which was excellent for ships and widely used even for the construction of houses in ports like Sīrāf [*q.v.*]. Archipelagos like the Maldives provided the coconut palm which was used for many nautical purposes (hulls; masts, especially; ropes; etc.).

The practical possibilities of the use of timbers in places other than their native habitats obviously depended on transport. Carriage by land on the backs of animals was almost impossible in the case of large blocks; these were therefore floated over the sea, especially the Indian Ocean, in calm weather. It was also vital that the ports of embarkation should not be too far from the forests, which was the reason for the importance of the little ports in the Gulf of Alexandretta, among others. Smaller blocks and resin pitch could be brought from greater distances (the forest zone of Russia). The urban and craft development of Muslim countries in the classical period and the allied development of agriculture and consequently of irrigation increased the demand for different types of timber, and accentuated the dependence of most Muslim countries on trade with the outside world; the striking maritime activity in southern Arabia and the Persian Gulf, for example, could only be maintained by materials for ship-building furnished by India, Africa and the Maldives. The Mediterranean fleets, inasmuch as they remained important, were provisioned more and more from Italian merchants.

These considerations explain the attention paid to this trade by the authorities. In the documents on Egyptian-Italian trade, for example, the facilities accorded to Italian merchants in Alexandria and likewise Cairo were made dependent in large part on their promise to supply wood for ship-building at a discount (as well as iron), and it had to be delivered to the trading office of the state (*matdjar*) and not to private buyers. The state undertook to

buy in full, without any authorisation for re-exportation. Thus in the time of the Crusades there was a kind of "war of wood" with the Latin East which was sustained by conciliar decrees as clear-cut in intention as they were useless in practice. As early as the 10th century the Byzantine emperor John I Tzimisces had forbidden the sale of timber to the Muslims of the Maghrib, but they managed to buy already-constructed ships at Amalfi or to re-use the valuable parts of unseaworthy vessels. It has been said that the decline in Muslim shipping at the end of the Middle Ages resulted from the scarcity of wood. This idea cannot be accepted in its entirety, since the Byzantines, who had a wealth of wood, still allowed the Italians to achieve mastery of the sea, but this scarcity undoubtedly played a part.

Bibliography: For topics on which the information is both scattered and tenuous, it is impossible to provide a proper bibliography. The essential facts on the production of wood and naval arsenals can be found in the articles by Maurice Lombard (reproduced in a posthumous collection, *Espaces et réseaux au haut Moyen Âge*, Paris and The Hague 1972), *Arsenaux et bois de marine dans la Méditerranée musulmane* (*VIIe-XIe s.*), in *Le Navire and l'économie maritime*... Second colloquium on Maritime History, Paris 1958, 53-106) and *Le bois dans la Méditerranée musulmane*, in *Annales ESC* (1959), 234-54, with good bibliographies up to these dates. For trade, see the histories of Levantine trade and the Crusades, and Cl. Cahen, *Douanes et commerce dans les ports méditerranées de l'Égypte Médiévale*, in *JESHO* (1965), and the few references cited in this article.

(Cl. Cahen)

al-KHASHABĀT, pl. of Arabic *khashaba* "wooden beam", the name given to wooden pillars which in mediaeval times were driven into the seabed at the place where the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab empties into the Persian Gulf. These beacons were placed at six miles' distance from ʿAbbādān, and were meant to guide sailors in danger of been drawn into a dangerous whirlpool and also on occasion to signal the approach of pirates. Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 230, 330-1 = §§ 242, 361-2, mentions three pillars, and al-Khwārazmī, *Mafātīḥ*, 124, states that lamps were lit on their upper parts. Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma*, ed. Schefer, text 90, tr. 246, gives a more exact description. They consisted of four teak columns set obliquely in the water and supporting, at some 60 feet above water-level, a platform with a little shelter for the watchman. This last at night lit up lamps which were protected by glass casings. Al-Idrīsī, *Nuzha*, 3rd clime, 6th section, adds that the watchmen had a boat in order to get back to land.

Bibliography: In addition to the sources mentioned in the article, see Iṣṭakhrī, 32; Muḳaddasī, 12; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 60; *BGA*, iv, *Gloss.*, 225; Mez, *Renaissance*, 479, Eng. tr. 513; E. Wiedemann, *Über Leuchtfeuer bei den Muslimen*, in *Archiv fur Gesch. der Naturwiss. und der Technik*, ii (1909), 151-4, describing the places where beacons of this type were to be found.

(E. Wiedemann*)

KHASHABIYYA, "men armed with clubs", was originally an abusive name for the Mawālī [see mawlā] of Kūfa, who were armed with clubs (*khashab*, sing. *khashaba*) and formed the main part of the followers of al-Mukhtār [*q.v.*] and took the field under his generals, for instance Ibrāhīm b. Mālik al-Ashtar (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 300; Ibn Rusta, *al-Aʿlāḳ al-nafīsa*, *BGA*, vii, 218, tr. Wiet, 259; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh*, ii, 684, 1798; *Aghānī*[1], v, 155; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 226-7 = §§ 1990-1; idem, *al-Tanbīh*, *BGA*, viii, 313; Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maḳdisī, *al-Badʾ wa'l-taʾrīkh*, v, 133; Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 207; Madjd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya fī gharīb al-ḥadīth*, Cairo 1311, i, 294; *LA*, *TA*, s.v.).

The troops which marched upon Mecca by al-Mukhtār's order and released Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya [*q.v.*], who was imprisoned by ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr [*q.v.*], are called *khashabiyya* (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 693; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, v, 74, cf. 76; Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 206-7). They themselves apparently called their cudgels *kāfir-kūbāt* [*q.v.*].

The remark in Ibn al-Athīr's chronicle (iv, 207) that the liberators of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya bore cudgels in order to avoid the use of swords in the *ḥaram*, is as improbable as is the interpretation which connects the name *Khashabiyya* with the wood piled up by Ibn al-Zubayr beside the prison of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya with the threat to have him and his fellow-prisoners burned.

With reference to a *ḥadīth* of ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar in which the performing of the *ṣalāt* behind the *Khashabiyya* is mentioned, the latter name was explained as denoting people who reverently kept the pole or tree-trunk (*khashaba*) on which Zayd b. ʿAlī [*q.v.*] had been executed. But, as Madjd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (*loc. cit.*) observes, this explanation is chronologically untenable.

According to an observation made by Ibn Ḥazm (*Fiṣal*, cf. I. Friedländer, *The Heterodoxies of the Shiites according to Ibn Ḥazm*, in *JAOS*, xxviii (1909), 63, note 1), the *Khashabiyya* regarded the bearing of iron weapons as forbidden till the expected Mahdī had appeared.

The fact that "Revenge for al-Ḥusayn!" (*yā la-thaʾrāt al-Ḥusayn!*, e.g. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 694) was the rallying cry of the *Khashabiyya* possibly tended to replace this name by *al-Ḥusayniyya*, which is graphically only slightly different; the latter is, however, to be retained in places like Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *ʿIḳd*, Cairo 1317, i, 190, and Ibn Badrūn, *Sharḥ Ḳaṣīdat Ibn ʿAbdūn*, ed. Dozy, 187).

Moreover, *al-Khashabiyya* was another name for the Kaysāniyya [*q.v.*] and then was applied to the adherents of the doctrines which were current among the latter, like that of the return (*radjʿa* [*q.v.*]) and that of metempsychosis (*tanāsukh* [*q.v.*]). The poetical representative of these doctrines, Kuthayyir, is called a *Khashabī* and is said to have been gained for the *Khashabiyya* by the poet Khindif al-Asadī (*Aghānī*, viii, 33-4, xi, 47, where *Khindif* is to be read instead of *Khandaḳ*).

According to Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Khwārizmī (*Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm*, ed. van Vloten, 29), the name *al-Khashabiyya* was used for a group of the Zaydiyya [*q.v.*] known as *Ṣurkhābiyya* after a certain Ṣurkhāb al-Ṭabarī, of whom nothing seems to be known; it might be possible to think of the Ṣurkhāb who played a part in Ṭabaristān in the time of Ḥasan b. Zayd [*q.v.*] (cf. Ibn Isfandiyār, Engl. tr. E. G. Browne, Leiden-London 1905, Index). It must be left undecided whether they were called *Khashabiyya* after their weapons or perhaps on account of Kaysānī doctrines which asserted themselves among them. The same statement occurs in Abu 'l-Maʿālī, *Bayān al-adyān*, in *Chrestomathie persane*, ed. Ch. Schefer, i, Paris 1833, 157, where *Ṣurkhāb* is to be read instead of *Ṣ-rḥāt*.

According to a statement given on the authority of al-Layth (apparently Ibn al-Muẓaffar), al-Khasha-

biyya was also the name of a section of the Djahmiyya [*q.v.*], which maintained that Allāh does not speak and that the Ḳur'ān is created (*LA* and *TA*, s.v.).

Bibliography (in addition to the works cited in the article): Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, Leiden-London 1912, f. 199b; Ṭabarī, *Gloss.*, s.v. *kh-sh-b* and *k-f-r*; *BGA*, iv, *Gloss.*, 278; H. D. van Gelder, *Moḫtar de valsche Profeet*, diss. Leiden 1888, 71-3; Wellhausen, *Die religiös-politischen Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam* (*Abh. G.W.G.*, phil.-hist. Kl., N.F., No. 3, Berlin 1901), 80; H. Banning, *Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafīja*, diss. Erlangen 1909, 46-7; Friedländer, *The heterodoxies of the Shiites according to Ibn Ḥazm*, in *JAOS*, xxix, 93-5.

(C. van Arendonk*)

KHĀṢĪ (a.), pl. *khiṣyān* "castrated man, eunuch".

I.—In the central Islamic lands.

From the 4th/10th century especially, several euphemisms were applied to eunuchs, who were numerous in the palaces and frequently invested with important functions: notably *khādim* (coll. *khadam*, pl. *khuddām*), *mu'allim*, *shaykh*, *ustādh* (see M. Canard, *Akhbâr ar-Râdî* . . . , i, 210-1, note), later on *ṭawāshī* (which, according to al-Maḳrīzī, *Hist. des Sultans Mamlouks*, tr. Quatremère, 1/2 (1849), 132, comes from the Turkish *ṭābūshī* = Osmanlī *tapughčī* "servant" and also designating in the administrative language of Egypt a military position in the body-guard), all in the Arabic-speaking world; in Turkish, *khādim/hadīm*, *khwādja/khōdja/hoca* and *agha*, in Persian *khwādja* and *agha/āḳā* [*q.vv.*] were employed. Placed before or after the name of the person concerned, these terms are not generally ambiguous, but employed on their own, in the sing. or the pl., most of them can cause confusion, particularly the first, *khādim* [*q.v.*], equally frequent in the ancient texts to designate normal slaves, and even free servants; it is the same, in Muslim Spain and other parts, with *fatā*, *ghulām* [*q.vv.*], etc., and one never knows exactly what an author intends by these words when the real state of the person cited is not known from other sources. On the other hand, eunuchs were often named Yāḳūt, Kāfūr, 'Anbar, etc. (see in al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, v, 489, the honorific titles corresponding to these names), but nevertheless these appellations are not sufficient to identify them as such. *Khaṣī*, by contrast, is never equivocal, and the same can be said of *makhṣī* (passive participle particularly frequent in the passages of al-Mutanabbī about Kāfūr [*q.v.*]); these terms, as well as *khādim*, are opposed to *faḥl* "stallion", and there is a characteristic example in the distinction between the two famous homonyms, Mu'nis al-Faḥl and Mu'nis al-Khādim [*q.vv.*].

Even so, the use of the preceding terms and of the word *khaṣī* itself allows an uncertainty to continue, for it does not permit the distinction to be made between the two fundamental categories of eunuchs: in Arabic, *khaṣī* designates, properly speaking, the man or animal who has undergone the ablation of the testicles (called among other things *khiṣy/khuṣy*, *khiṣya/khuṣya*, the operation being called *khiṣā'*), whereas the complete eunuch, deprived of all his sexual organs, is a *madjbūb* (pl. *madjābīb*); this latter word, which rhymes with *maslūb* "castrated by evulsion" (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 149 = § 3290), while distinguished from it, rarely appeared in the texts, as is the case with the verb *djabba* and the verbal noun *djibāb*; one encounters at times one or the other in the account of a mutilation inflicted on a slave by his master or even on a free man by a flouted husband who takes vengeance on his rival. With regard to this, one of the most frightful stories is that of a Sindī slave surprised by his master in the company of his wife and punished by the latter in the following manner: *djabba dhakara-hu*; taking the sons of his tormentor as hostages, he forced their father to mutilate himself (*djabba nafsa-hu*) with a knife, after which he threw the children from the top of the house (al-Mas'ūdī, vi, 264-5 = 2472; al-Ibshīhī, *Mustaṭraf*, Cairo n.d., ii, 103).

Similar acts of cruelty enter into the arsenal of folkloric themes, and the *Thousand and One Nights*, where the person of the eunuch plays a certain role (notably 3rd, 7th, 27th, 107th, 237th, 719th nights; see N. Elisséeff, *Thèmes et motifs des Mille et une Nuits*, Damascus 1949, index), offer several examples of the mutilation of a man by a mistress (113th night) or a jealous husband (33rd night), or to punish the seducer of a young girl (39th night); even a schoolmaster is seen depriving himself of his virility (403rd night), and a slave who refuses to be freed, is castrated and sold at a very high price (39th night). Independently of more or less legendary traditions, the case is cited of 'Alḳama b. Sahl, emasculated by a king of Yemen (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, i, 120-1), which caused perhaps the epithet of al-Faḥl to be added to the name of 'Alḳama b. 'Abada [*q.v.*]. The famous story is also reported of the letter of Hishām (*Ḥayawān*, i, 121) or of Sulaymān (*al-Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, iv, 275) or of al-Walīd (*ibid.*, iv, 278) b. 'Abd al-Malik ordering the governor of Medina or Mecca to take a census of (*aḥṣi*) the effeminate men of the two holy towns; having read *ikhṣi*, the official had two (or nine of them) castrated, notably the singer al-Dalāl (*al-Aghānī*, iv, 273 ff.), by one named Badarāḳus/Bardarāḳus, who was a circumciser; this last detail does not figure in al-Djāḥiẓ and, despite the traditions which tend to make it an historical fact, the whole account is, by all appearances, nothing other than a pleasing anecdote, forged to provide evidence of the inconveniences of the Arabic script, but later exploited by anti-Umayyad authors. Some cases of accidental castration were also related, and it seems that some doctors practised from early on such an operation, when the state of an illness made it necessary (*Ḥayawān*, i, 121-3).

At all events, the vocabulary used rarely permits the specification of the exact nature of the emasculation undertaken, and in a famous passage (*Aḥsan al-taḳāsīm*, 242; ed.-tr. Pellat, *Descr. de l'Occident mus. au IVe = Xe siècle*, Algiers 1950, 57-9 (where "inciser", p. 57, should be replaced by "trancher"); Germ., Engl., Span. tr. in A. Mez, *Renaissance*, and on the transl. of this work, ch. xx), al-Muḳaddasī uses the collective *khadam* and the verb *khaṣā* in the part of his description which applies to complete eunuchs, i.e. to the *madjābīb*. To judge by this text, two methods were used for the emasculation of eunuchs that the author has been able to encounter: simultaneous ablation of the testicles (*mizwad*) and the penis or incision of the scrotal sheath (*ṣafan*) and evulsion of the testicles first of all, then cutting of the male member; after this operation a rod of lead was placed in the urethra and replaced after each urination, until the healing was complete, in order to prevent the tissues from joining.

However, this horrible mutilation was not general, and it is probable that the majority of eunuchs were not actually *madjābīb*, but *khisyān* properly so-called, who had undergone a *khiṣā'* consisting, for the operator (*khāṣī*), of incising and at the same time cauterizing the scrotum by means of a red-hot blade

of iron and removing (*sall*, *salb* or *imtilākh*) the testicles. This emasculation is also called *mals* or *matn*, since it is especially associated with rams. As for *widjā'*, another form of castration, it consisted of binding the cord supporting the testicles and making them gush out, when they underwent a crushing (*raḍḍ*) and atrophied naturally; twisting of the cord (*ʿaṣb*) was also known. Al-Djāḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān*, i, 130-1) gives us to understand that the first of these processes was applied to men and speaks immediately afterwards of animals, but it is highly likely that, never having had the opportunity to see the operation practised on a human being, he generalised, although the word *widjā'*, probably deprived of its technical meaning, is also used for a man (see below).

In fact, if curious investigators were able easily to interrogate stock-breeders and obtain exact information on the castration of animals, they were less well informed on emasculation of men, and, as far as we know, al-Muḳaddasī alone reports at first hand the information supplied by eunuchs whom he says he had questioned. Speaking of the *khadam* of Byzantine origin who fell into the hands of the Muslims at the time when the latter made incursions into the territory of Byzantium, this author states that he had come across children whose parents had had them castrated in order to consecrate them to the service of the Church; he also demonstrates that the religious origin of emasculation was not unknown. In fact, the Council of Nicea (325 A.D.) had clearly prohibited eunuchs from the priesthood, but they could be choristers and even priests in the Oriental Church. Moreover, al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, ii, 354 = 771) asserts that Romanus Lecapenus had made his son [Theophylactus], who succeeded in occupying the patriarchal see of Constantinople, undergo this operation. For his part, al-Djāḥiẓ already knew that some nations possessing a régime founded on a religious law (*ahl al-milal*) consacrated castrated children to the service of temples, and he cites the example of the Rūm and the Sabaeans (*Ḥayawān*, i, 124, 125, 128). Concerning Islam, the texts are discreet in this respect, but it is of some interest to note that at a much later period, Nūr al-Dīn [*q.v.*] instituted in 557/1161 a body of ministers of the *ḥudjra* of the Prophet: it consisted of twelve Abyssinian eunuchs, whose number was then doubled by Saladin (N. Elisséeff, *Nūr al-Dīn*, Damascus 1967, ii, 559). In the period of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (i, 278 = tr. Gibb, i, 175), the servants and door-keepers of the Mosque of the Prophet at Medina were also eunuchs of Abyssinian or other origin, under the orders of the *shaykh al-khuddām* (see the text of a decree of nomination in al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, xii, 260 ff.). In the 19th century, J. L. Burckhardt (*Travels in Nubia*, 294) mentions that some eunuchs of Dārfūr were sent by the African kings to the Friday Mosques of Mecca and Medina, and reports (*Voyages en Arabie*, Paris 1835, i, 211-14) that at Mecca, after the *nā'ib al-ḥaram*, came the *agha* of the *ṭawāshī*s; the latter, numbering more than forty and mainly blacks, were entrusted with the policing and cleaning of the Kaʿba and its periphery; a *ṭawāshī 'l-nabī* could not enter the service of an individual after having been attached to the temple. These eunuchs engaged furthermore in commerce and disposed of considerable revenues resulting particularly from the tips that they wrung from the faithful. It might be imprudent to translate by "eunuchs" the word *khadam* employed by Ibn al-Faḳīh (*Buldān*, 100; tr. Massé, 123) as early as the year 278/891 to designate the personnel serving the Mosque of Jerusalem, but this same town possessed, in the 10th/16th century, a *zāwiyat al-ṭawāshiyya* (H. Sauvaire, *Hist. de Jerusalem et Hebron*, Paris 1876, 162 [see also AL-KHALĪL]).

The Arab authors do not seem to have been aware of the existence of "private" eunuchs in the oriental societies of antiquity, as well as in Greece and Rome. Al-Djāḥiẓ considers besides that the Rūm, although Christians, were the first in the world, despite their pretention to charity, to practise this mutilation and adds, an important detail, that it only affected the testicles (*Ḥayawān*, i, 124). With regard to the white slaves of European origin (Slavs, Franks, Galicians, etc.) included under the word Ṣaḳāliba [*q.v.*], al-Muḳaddasī states that they were taken to Spain to be castrated there; the operation was carried out by Jews in a town situated around Pechina (probably Lucena), and the eunuchs who recovered were sold in al-Andalus or sent on to the Orient. This detail confirms the note of Ibn Ḥawḳal (2nd ed., i, 110; French tr. Kamers-Wiet, i, 109) who asserts that "all the slave eunuchs that are found on the surface of the earth originate from Spain. They are made to undergo castration in this land". Moreover, the trade in these slaves was said to be related to the activity of the famous Rādhāniyya [*q.v.*], and it seems apparent that Verdun had been an important centre for the creation of eunuchs (see E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, ii, 125; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 153, ed.-tr. M. Hadj-Sadok, *Descr. du Maghreb et de l'Espagne au III^e/IX^e siècle*, Algiers 1949, 21 and n. 198).

Al-Djāḥiẓ also knew (*Ḥayawān*, i, 113, 118-9) some eunuchs originating from Khurāsān and Sind (the latter castrated by one named Mūsā b. Kaʿb) and above all, like al-Muḳaddasī, some blacks from Africa described as Abyssinians; al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, viii, 148 = § 3288) adds there some Chinese (with regard to China, the author of *Akhbār al-Ṣīn wa'l-Hind*, ed.-tr. J. Sauvaget, Paris 1948, 37, remarks that the Chinese eunuchs are natives of the country who have been castrated (*maslūl*) and gives us to understand that is is not the same in Islam, where all are foreigners).

While one may estimate that the majority of white eunuchs, besides being less and less numerous as the centuries progressed, originated from Spain in the Middle Ages, there is a scarcity of information for a much later period, and it is not known exactly where the operations were performed on those who were found further afield in the harems and courts of the sovereigns of Iran and Turkey.

Concerning the blacks, their origin is sufficiently well-known, for it is evidently identical to that of the slaves [see ʿABD], on which, moreover, there is some precise information. Al-Muḳaddasī distinguishes three kinds: the first, which is, he says without any other specification, the best, was exported to Egypt; the second, that of the Berbers, was sent to Aden; the third "resembles" the Abyssinians. Al-Iṣṭakhrī, 40, remains equally vague in saying that the eunuchs sold in the Muslim lands are neither Nubians, nor Zandj, nor Ethiopians, nor Bedja, but belong to a still blacker race; al-Maḳdisī (*Bad'*, iv, Ar. text 69, tr. 65) speaks of the Zaghal (?) and Zaghāwa; al-Idrīsī (tr. Dozy-de Goeje, 3; partial edn. Pérès, Algiers 1957, 4; ed. Naples-Rome, i, 1970, 18) cites Takrūr [*q.v.*], i.e. Lower Senegal, as a region from which the Moroccan merchants imported gold ore and *khadam*. (It is a fact that the Takrūrīs, besides the Rūm, Indians and Ḥabash, belonged to one of the four races which supplied the Mamlūk sultanate with eunuchs, see D. Ayalon, *Names, titles and 'nisbas' of the Mamlūks*, in *Israel Oriental Studies*, v

(1975), 220.) For his part, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iv, 441; partial tr. H. A. R. Gibb, London ²1957, 336) says that they came from Bornu, via Zawīla [*q.v.*], to the Mediterranean world. But given that emasculation was practised secretly, it is difficult to know the centres where it was carried out in the Middle Ages. According to the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, 165, the Sūdān is, without doubt, the land from which the majority of eunuchs came; in a lively passage, the author adds that the Egyptian merchants stole children there—or bought them from blacks that they had themselves stolen—took them, castrated them and imported them into Egypt where they sold them. A. Mez (ch. xx) mentions that in the 6th/12th century, the town of Hadya, in Abyssinia, ranked as the only place where eunuchs were produced, but the region of Asyūṭ [*q.v.*], in Upper Egypt, is also cited. L. Frank (*Mémoire*, 13-14) estimates, at the beginning of the 19th century, at 100 or 200 the number of young Africans castrated each year in Upper Egypt, at Abūtīdj, to the South of Asyūṭ, on the caravan route leading from Sudan to Egypt. Several years later, Burckhardt who, in 1813-14, visited Upper Egypt and Sudan, was able to discover two centres of production, one in the Borgo district to the west of Dārfūr, the other, more important, at Zāwiyat al-Dayr, also near Asyūṭ (*Travels in Nubia*, 294-6). In the detailed account that he has left, he specifies that the operation was carried out, for a sum of 40 to 60 piastres, by two Coptic monks, under the protection of the government, to whom an annual tax was paid. Contrary to what other authors have said (notably E. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, ii, 125; E. W. Bovill, *Golden trade*, 244: 10% of survivors; H. von Maltzan, *Wallfahrt nach Mekka*, Leipzig 1865, i, 48-9), the Swiss traveller claims that the children (from 8 to 12 years) who died were a very small number. These young eunuchs were valued at 1,000 piastres at Asyūṭ, whilst they had been bought for 300 piastres. The annual figure (150) that Burckhardt gives corresponds to that of Frank; he adds that two years previously Muḥammad ʿAlī had had 200 young slaves from Dārfūr castrated to offer them to the Ottoman Sultan. Until recent times, slavers from Muslim states situated further to the north raided Central Africa; women slaves and eunuchs passed clandestinely via Djibouti to people the harems of the Ḥidjāz (L. Massignon, *Annuaire du monde musulman*, 4th edn, Paris 1955, 357, 385).

A priori, these practices hardly appear legal. Before Islam, although some isolated cases of castration were reported (see above) and although the Arabs of the period without doubt possessed some eunuchs (it is sometimes thought that a reference to them appears in the Ḳurʾān, xxiv 31, where it is said that women can show their finery to their male servants who have no carnal desire, *al-tābiʿīn ghayr ūlī l-irba*), they cannot have had them produced regularly on their territory, so that the question of knowing whether emasculation of men was permitted was not put clearly to the first Muslims. With regard to this, the *ḥadīth* is not very explicit, and we must once more place a certain amount of confidence in al-Djāḥiẓ, who reports a reply of Muḥammad to ʿUthmān b. Maẓʿūn: the latter having expressed the desire to mutilate himself, the Prophet is said to have replied to him that it was fasting (*ṣawm*) that had replaced castration (*khiṣāʾ*; var. *widjāʾ*) in Islam (*Ḥayawān*, i, 128-9); in the collections of *ḥadīth*, it is said simply that Ibn Maẓʿūn wanted to devote himself to celibacy (*tabattul*) and that the Prophet forbade him to do it; Saʿd b. Abī Waḳḳāṣ allegedly cried out, "If he had permitted him to do it, we would have castrated ourselves." (Abu'l-Djārūd al-Nīsābūrī, *K. al-Muntaḳā*, Cairo 1382/1963, 226, and the main collections, in particular al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *K. al-Nikāḥ*, *bāb* 7). The word *widjāʾ* appears in another *ḥadīth* (*ibid.*), according to which the Prophet is said to have recommended fasting for young men who were unable to get married, adding that fasting was a *widjāʾ*. All this evidence confirms the tendency of certain pious Muslims to deprive themselves of the pleasures of the flesh, and illustrates the reaction of the Prophet against the weakening of the community that would have resulted from it. In any case, there is no text forbidding the possession of eunuchs, and it has been noted that Muḥammad received them and accepted one who was offered him by the Muḳawḳis [*q.v.*] at the same time as Mary the Copt (*Ḥayawān*, i, 163). Neither can the Ḳurʾān serve to enunciate a rigorous prohibition. The verses 118/119 of Sūra IV certainly read: "Let God curse (the demon) who said: '... I will ordain them to modify the creation of God' ", but it is open to divergent interpretations: for Anas b. Mālik, Ibn ʿAbbās, ʿIkrima, it is definitely *khiṣāʾ* (of animals rather than of men) that is visualised, whereas for Saʿīd b. Djubayr and Mudjāhid, it is a matter simply of "the religion of God" (in *Ḥayawān*, i, 179). Besides, it is notable that al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, viii, 149 = § 3290) endeavours to demonstrate that castration does not prevent a eunuch from remaining a man. In conclusion, from the juridical point of view, prohibition of practising emasculation appears to have proceeded by a sort of tacit consensus: moreover, it was unnecessary, for it was left to Christians and Jews, preferably outside the *dār al-Islām*, to produce eunuchs, which the Muslims could then acquire without contravening their Law.

As regards animals, the problem is different, since the operation took place within the Islamic world and it was Muslims who were able to practise it. Some forbade the castration of horses only (*Ḥayawān*, i, 159), whereas others relied on a *ḥadīth* according to which the prohibition extends to horses, cattle and sheep, which assure the survival of the species and without the existence of which the females would have no reason for being (*ibid.*, i, 178). ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb was also opposed to the castration of horses and other domestic animals (*ibid.*, i, 178), but it is certain that the breeders could not respect these prohibitions; in fact they dreaded the battles between camel stallions and, although they spared some males that they tied up during the mating season (see *LA*, s.v. *al-sadīm al-muʿannā*), they had a tendency to keep whole only the good stallions who produced mainly females; gelded horses were always very much appreciated, notably for war, for their endurance, their pace and silence (*Ḥayawān*, i, 180); in the same way, in the stock-breeding regions, calves were castrated, for it is extremely difficult to make bulls work, and it was always considered that the flesh of oxen and castrated steers was more tender and tasty (cf. al-Ḳayrawānī, *Risāla*, ed.-tr. Bercher, 323); it was the same with capons (*Ḥayawān*, i, 131). In addition, a special reasoning to justify it was to compare *khiṣāʾ* improperly with the mark of the red-hot iron practised on flocks and herds (*ibid.*, i, 160).

If, in the final reckoning, the castration of domestic animals was always tolerated, and the legality of the possession of eunuchs does not seem to have given rise to serious discussions, considerations on the behaviour of the latter must certainly have sustained conversations (cf. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 148-9 =

§ 3288-90); but al-Djāḥiẓ is probably the first author to have recorded his observations on their characteristics and the transformations that they undergo physically, morally and intellectually (*Ḥayawān*, i, 106 ff.; in a more condensed form in *Mufākharat al-djawārī wa'l-ghilmān*, ed. Pellat, Beirut 1957, 52-5; ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1965, ii, 123-5; cf. al-Bayhaḳī, *al-Maḥāsin wa'l-masāwī*, ed. Schwally, Giessen 1902, 609-12; al-Thaʿālibī, *al-Laṭā'if wa'l-ẓarā'if*, Cairo 1300, 74). He remarks rightly that if emasculation takes place before puberty—which is the most frequent case—the beard and body hair do not grow, but the hair of the head, eyebrows and lashes remain and never fall, exactly as with women, who do not experience baldness (i, 108, 114; cf. al-Tawḥīdī, *Imtāʿ*, i, 160-1). Eunuchs have soft skin, a florid complexion, but they become lined and thin very quickly with advancing age, which does not prevent them from enjoying a great longevity, for they do not use their strength to copulate (i, 137). Their voice, having changed after the operation, is recognisable (i, 113) by everyone (which allows *ḥākiya*s to include them easily in their imitations; al-Masʿūdī, viii, 162, 164 = §§ 3300, 3302). They have long feet, knotted fingers in their old age, long limb bones, and by contrast with castrated animals, thick (which is an error, for they are thin), their muscular tonicity is weak and their flesh is flaccid; their walk is ungainly (*Ḥayawān*, i, 116) due to the weakness of their nerves. Because of the fetidness of their sweat, they give off a peculiar odour, contrasting on this point with the animals who, after castration, smell no longer bad (i, 106; al-Masʿūdī, viii, 149 = § 3290, asserts on the contrary that their armpits do not give off a fetid odour); finally, urinary incontinence is their lot (*Ḥayawān*, i, 158). If the operation takes place in adulthood, the pilary system disappears, with the exception of the pubic hair (i, 113), and strength diminishes (i, 115).

The character of eunuchs is comparable with that of women and children (i, 135-6); like them, they particularly like playing with birds. Finding in food and drink (they appreciate wine especially; i, 158) a kind of compensation for the deprivation of other pleasures, they have a tendency to eat and drink heavily, which, with their continence (vii, 223), explains their obesity (i, 111). They are avaricious, indiscreet, as quick to lose their temper as to show their joy or to weep (i, 135), inclined to gossip and slander. They despise the common people and accept only the powerful and the rich as masters (i, 136, 159). They like domestic work, but are ill-adapted to arduous trades (i, 117); on the other hand, they endure long horse rides better than the Turks and Khāridjīs (i, 136) and are excellent at archery; especially devoted to that are white eunuchs who deploy their warlike qualities against the Byzantine to avenge themselves for the mutilation that the latter have made them undergo; they dedicate themselves to harbouring an implacable hatred (i, 124-5, 173-4). Appreciating the value of that which they have lost (i, 125), they are jealous of and hate the *fuḥūl* (i, 173), and do not lack cruelty; this trait of character shows itself in their taste for cockfights (i, 118).

Intellectually, they are superior to their normal brothers and are better at their trade, but one must not demand of them too much reflection (i, 117); those from Khurāsān are highly appreciated (i, 118), but for the blacks of Abyssinia, Nubia and other parts, castration entails a complete physical as well as moral decline (i, 119).

Eunuchs are often sexually obsessed, and al-Djāḥiẓ speaks (i, 125-8) of a Sabaean who, although he had been castrated in his youth, vowed at a very advanced age that women still excited him. The same author asserts (i, 136) that they are not effeminate—which astonishes him—but that they are frequently homosexuals (i, 136, 172). He even cites the case of one of them who gave himself up to bestiality (i, 172).

However, according to current opinion, *khiṣā'* is associated with the total loss of the sexual faculties, and it is from this point of view that certain Muslims of early times had envisaged it (see above; cf. e.g. al-Maʿarrī, *Luzūmiyyāt*, Beirut 1381/1961, ii, 42; *al-khiṣā' khayr min al-zawādj*); al-Muḳaddasī thinks that emasculation, among the Rūm consecrated to the Church, was intended to spare them the tortures of lust; but, given that mutilation was incomplete, al-Djāḥiẓ (i, 124) reckons that it was intended simply to prevent the monks from impregnating the nuns. In fact, the sexual act remained possible and even provided the eunuch with a durable and profound pleasure. Moreover, according to the same author (i, 166), women like partners whose "erection is swift and ejaculation slow in coming" (*sarīʿ al-ifāḳa, baṭī' al-irāḳa*; i, 167), to such a point that they particularly appreciate their guardians, for with them the embrace lasts a long time (*muṭāwala*) and the dangers of conception are nil (see below), since the eunuch is *ma'mūn al-ilḳāḥ*; furthermore, they can abandon themselves to their pleasure, whereas with their husband they have to show themselves modest and reserved (i, 167); to all these advantages is added the attraction of forbidden fruit. It is known already through Juvenal that the Roman women did not deprive themselves of entering into sexual relationships with their eunuchs, and one may consider as likely, in the light of the details that precede, the orgy that in the prologue of *Thousand and One Nights* drives Shahriyār to avenge himself on the women by having a new wife executed each morning. The amours between the female slaves and eunuchs of Khumārawayh [*q.v.*] appear to have been the cause of his assassination (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 191; Mez, ch. xx) and it is understandable that Muʿāwiya had decided to send only old eunuchs to his wives (al-Masʿūdī, viii, 148-9 = § 3289) and that the Ottomans preferred as harem attendants negroes who had been completely castrated and who were physically ugly. Besides, al-Muḳaddasī records that, according to Abū Ḥanīfa, eunuchs could marry (and take concubines, adds al-Djāḥiẓ, i, 123, 166); however, it must in practice have been very rare (see e.g. Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 39, with regard to a eunuch of ʿAḍud al-Dawla who has as wife an Abyssinian slave), but Burckhardt (*Travels in Arabia*, London 1829, 158-9) asserts that "Extraordinary as it may appear, the grown-up eunuchs [of the Kaʿba] are all married to black slaves." The paternity of the children that their wives brought into the world was naturally attributed to them: this curious assertion is explained by the automatic application of the principle according to which *is pater est quem justae nuptiae demonstrant* and also by the fact that a *khaṣī* is not always *ma'mūn al-ilḳāḥ*: in fact, during the operation, the child might experience such fear that one of his testicles would rise up into his body and escape mutilation (cf. *Ḥayawān*, i, 129, where this statement is followed by the remark that a *madjbūb*, in these conditions, preserves a testicle and remains neither a man nor a woman nor even an eunuch); if it is the left (for it is popularly held that this is the procreative one; *Ḥayawān*, i, 123), the half-eunuch secretes sperm

and can engender children; if it is the right one only, the beard grows, but the case has been known of a man deprived of his left testicle who had a child whom he could not repudiate because he looked exactly like him (i, 123-4).

Generally, eunuchs lived with their master, whether he was a private individual or a ruler, and did not mingle much with the population, especially as they were easily recognisable and as the humbler people did not refrain from hurling gibes at them (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2164; al-Masʿūdī, viii, 180 = § 3318). In the palaces of the caliphs, in Cordoba as in the East, they were always numerous, despite the high price that was asked for them; by way of example, Leo Africanus (tr. Épaulard, 139, 209) states that in Morocco a slave girl was worth 15 *dīnārs*, a man, 20 and a eunuch, 40; in general, it is double the price of an ordinary slave that is mentioned by the sources. The historians charge al-Amīn (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 950 ff.; cf. Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān*, 188: rhyme *-nā* and *nī*) with having bought many more eunuchs than his predecessors and with having had them constantly in attendance at his side, associating them even in the affairs of state. His successors largely imitated his example, and the figures supplied, although to be treated with caution, remain very high; in the time of al-Muktafī (289-95/902-9), there were in the palace 10,000 *khadam*, blacks and whites (*Ṣaḳāliba*), and that of al-Muḳtadir (295-320/908-32) sheltered 11,000, comprising 7,000 blacks and 4,000 whites (Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, *Rusūm dār al-khilāfa*, ed. M. ʿAwwād, Baghdad, 1964, 8). It is remarkable that al-Ḳalḳashandī (v, 92) also mentions the figure of 10,000 for the court of Dihlī, but precise details of this kind are rare and are clearly exaggerated. However, the organisation of the corps of eunuchs is well-known, particularly under the Fāṭimids (see below). In the Islamicised lands of West Africa, the custom of surrounding oneself with Turkish slaves and eunuchs bought in Cairo also spread (Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, tr. M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 65, 90-1); the king of Gao owned a eunuch as early as the end of the 4th/10th century (R. Mauny, *Tableau géographique*, 341) and six centuries later, Leo Africanus (471) encountered at the palace of his distant descendant an indeterminate number who were appointed to guard the women. In the middle of the 10th/16th century, the *askia* Dāwūd maintained 700 (*Tarikh El-Fettach*, 208) and in 1008/1599, the *pasha* Djawdhar [see AL-MANṢŪR] brought back a large number to Morocco (R. Mauny, *op. laud.*, 342; H. de Castries, *Sources inédites, Angleterre* iii, 1925, 146). In the 19th century still, Denham counted 200 of them in the harem of the Sultan of Bornu (E. W. Bovill, *Golden trade*, 245) but Burckhardt (*Travels in Nubia*, 296) states that the number had considerably diminished in Syria and also in Egypt, where there were no more than 300 belonging to the aristocracy who, alone, could afford such a luxury; the whites were extremely rare. Similarly, in the Persian Gulf, even the black eunuchs were very few in number (see B. Lewis, *Race and color*, 84 and bibl. cited there). By the force of circumstances, the white eunuchs were always less numerous than the blacks and, from the 16th century, they became more rare at the Ottoman court (see below); the supply ceased completely with the annexation of the Caucasian regions by the Russians at the beginning of the 19th century (see B. Lewis, *op. laud.*, 81).

In a general way, the eunuchs were authorised to circulate freely in the harems and served as intermediaries between their master and his wives and concubines. This freedom of movement permitted a number of them to become accomplices of the women who hatched plots (see for example M. Talbi, *Émirat aghlabide*, index) and to participate in the political life of the state. Although Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ (*Rusūm*, 91) says only that some [white] eunuchs used to surround the throne of the Caliph, brushing away the flies, while others, armed with cross-bows, killed the birds of ill-omen or those that were too noisy, it is certain that not all were assigned domestic functions, and history provides us with evidence of the political and military rôle that a number of them, as in Greece, Rome or Byzantium, succeeded in playing throughout the centuries.

As early as the 3rd/9th century, al-Djāḥiẓ (*Ḥayawān*, i, 125) reports that some rich eunuchs bought estates in the marches [see ʿAWĀṢIM, THUGHŪR] recruited fighting men and made attacks on the Byzantines to revenge themselves (see above) for their very serious injuries. It may not be by chance that several governors of Ṭarsūs [*q.v.*], notably Bishr, *mawlā* of Ibn Abi'l-Sādj, were white eunuchs who launched expeditions against the Rūm (see Vasiliev-Canard, *Byzance et les Arabes*, ii/1, Brussels 1968, 130) and that Thamal, commanding the naval forces in the Mediterranean, was also one (*ibid.*, index). In the same way, in 307/919 the admirals commanding the Fāṭimid and Byzantine fleets respectively were both eunuchs (al-Kindī, *Judges*, 276). At this period, moreover, there were numerous generals who were *khiṣyān* (for example Masʿūd, Mufliḥ al-Muḳtadirī, etc.; see Vasiliev-Canard, ii/1, index); similarly, some of them were leaders of the Ḥudjariyya [*q.v.*]. Without doubt, the most famous and successful in his enterprises was Kāfūr [*q.v.*], who died in 357/968 after he had been master of Egypt and Syria; it will be noted that he was black. Under the first Fāṭimids, Ustādh Djawhar [*q.v.*] who was a Slav eunuch, played a role so important that he merited a special biography. A little later, Bardjawān [*q.v.*] who was also white, was the tutor of the caliph al-Ḥākim; having assumed the functions of regent of the Fāṭimid Empire, he was killed by another eunuch, Raydān, on the orders of the caliph. The organization of a body of a thousand eunuchs (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 477) under this dynasty will be noted below. In the 6th/12th century a number were to be found in charge of various forces, directing rival states and governing important towns (see, for example, N. Elisséeff, *Nūr al-Dīn*, ii, 327, 340, 385, 484, 557, 657); in the reign of the Fāṭimid al-ʿĀḍid, the black eunuchs exercised a considerable influence (B. Lewis, *op. laud.*, 71-2) it was his *muʾtamin al-khilāfa*, Djawhar, who, in 564/1169, hatched a plot against Saladin (Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 103). Eunuchs were still found among the troops of the latter (ʿImād al-Dīn, *al-Fatḥ al-ḳussī*, 324; tr. H. Massé, 287) who took Ḳarāḳūsh completely into his confidence (Bahāʾ al-Dīn [*q.v.*]). It would be easy to multiply the examples.

In Persia, a notable case cited is that of Manūčihr Khān Muʿtamid al-Dawla, sometime governor of Iṣfahān during the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh; he had been taken prisoner in Fatḥ ʿAlī Shāh's wars with Russia and castrated. On his death, his property was claimed by the Persian crown on the grounds of his having been a slave, though this was disputed (Great Britain, Public Record Office, F.O. 60/29. Murray to Clarendon, No. 69, Baghdad, 8 August 1856). Āḳā Muḥammad Khān, the founder of the Ḳājār dynasty, was a eunuch, having been castrated in childhood by ʿĀdil Shāh, the nephew of Nādir Shāh, into whose hands he had fallen.

It goes without saying that such accession to the throne, which was exceptional, is in contradiction to the law of Islam which demands the physical integrity of the ruler. A. Mez (ch. xx) mentions that a eunuch functioned as a *ḳāḍī* at Damietta, but it is certain that the *khiṣyān*, from the sole fact of their mutilation, were normally excluded from the magistrature [see ḲĀḌĪ]. However, Niẓām al-Mulk (*Siyāsat-nāma*, ed. Schefer, Paris 1891-3, 41) considers that it is preferable to confer the functions of *muḥtasib* on a eunuch and it will be noted that, under the Ottomans, the control of the *waḳf*s of the Holy Cities and most of the mosques was assured up to the 16th century by the *ḳapî aghasî* [*q.v.*], in the 17th century by the latter and the *ḳîzlar aghasî*, respectively the Chief White Eunuch and the Chief Black Eunuch, in the 18th century by the *ḳîzlar aghasî* alone, after the weakening of the power of the whites (see below).

It should be noted that, in different courts of Muslim rulers, the eunuchs were organised in a body at an early date. According to the account of the Byzantine embassy received by al-Muḳtadir at Baghdād on Monday 24 Muḥarram 305/17 July 917 (see Vasiliev-Canard, ii/1, 238 ff.), the Ḥudjariyya and eunuchs of the Caliph were to be seen positioned between the latter and the soldiers; some of them accompanied ambassadors during all their visits. At the court of the Fāṭimids (see al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 480-1), the eunuchs (*ustādh*) used to come immediately after the *amīr*s. The officials in private service were eunuchs, of whom those of greatest dignity wore a turban passing under the chin and were therefore called *muḥannak*. "The most exalted rank among the *muḥannak* eunuchs was held by the one who had the charge of wrapping a special crown round the head of the Caliph for ceremonial occasions ... Next [came] the *ṣāḥib al-madjlis* or master of the audience hall; the *ṣāḥib al-risāla*, or master of correspondence; the *zimām al-ḳuṣūr*, the intendant of the palaces; the *ṣāḥib bayt al-māl*, or director of the Treasury; the master of the registry (*ṣāḥib al-daftar*) who directed the general offices (*dīwān*); the bearer of the inkwell (*ḥāmil al-dawāt*); the superintendent of the Caliph's kinsmen (*zamm al-aḳārib*); the intendant of the table (*ṣāḥib al-māʾida*). Important household offices held by non-eunuchs included the deanship of the descendants of ʿAlī b. Abū Ṭālib ... and the intendancy of the different corps of *ṣibyān*, young men, and other regiments of the army" (M. Canard, *Cérémonial fatimite ...*, in *Byzantion*, xxi/2 (1951), 367 ff.; cf. B. Lewis, *Islam from the Prophet Muhammad to the capture of Constantinople*, New York, etc. 1974, i, 202, 204-5).

For eunuchs at the Ottoman court, see below.

Bibliography: Given essentially in the text, but the titles of some important works have been cited in abridged form: J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Nubia*[2], London 1822; L. Franck, *Mémoire sur le commerce des Nègres au Kaire et sur les maladies auxquelles ils sont sujets en y arrivant*, Paris 1802; E. W. Bovill, *The golden trade of the Moors*[2], Oxford 1958; R. Mauny, *Tableau géographique de l'Ouest africain*, Dakar 1961; B. Lewis, *Race and color in Islam*, New York, etc. 1971; the text of al-Djāḥiẓ of which considerable use had been made was studied by M. Asín Palacios, in *Isis*, xiv, 42-54; see also G. Rotter, *Die Stellung des Negers in der islamischen-arabischen Gesellschaft bis zum XVI. Jahrhundert*, Bonn diss. 1967 (not seen); D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, index; *Kitāb al-ʿUyūn wa-l-ḥadāʾiḳ*, ed. ʿU. Saʿīdī, iv, Damascus 1972-3, index, s.v. *khādim*; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen âge*, Leipzig 1923, i, 126 ff.; R. Dozy, *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*[2], ii, 154; H. Pirenne, *Mahomet et Charlemagne*, [6]1937, 236; R. Millant, *Les eunuques à travers les âges*, Paris 1908. (CH. PELLAT)

II.—IN PERSIA.

In Persia, it was only under the Ṣafawids that the eunuchs (*Khwādjagān*, *Khwādja-sarāyān*) in charge of the women's apartments in the royal palace began to play an important role in political affairs. Chardin placed the number of eunuchs at court at *ca.* 3,000, and says that these were mainly white persons coming above all from the Malabar coast (*Voyages*, Amsterdam 1711, 283-5). But under Shāh ʿAbbās (985-1038/1587-1629) it became common practice to enslave and castrate Georgian and other captives taken in war and to use them as palace servants, especially in the royal *ḥaram*. According to the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, he was the first shah to introduce white eunuchs into the palace alongside the black eunuchs (f. 31a ff.). He also initiated the practice of immuring the royal princes in the *ḥaram*. This practice unfitted them for rule and in due course enabled the palace eunuchs to dominate affairs of state. On the death of Shāh ʿAbbās II in 1077/1667, the palace eunuchs contrived the succession of Shāh Sulaymān and seized control of the state. On the latter's death in 1105/1694, with the connivance of Maryam Begum, Shāh Sulaymān's aunt, they placed Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn on the throne. He left the management of affairs of state entirely to them. They succeeded in extending their influence over military as well as civil affairs, the only check on their power being the faction which prevailed in their own ranks and the rivalry of the religious party under Muḥammad Bāḳir Madjlisī. The irresponsible character of their government and the faction to which it gave rise was one of the main causes of the decline of the Ṣafawid dynasty. The *ḥaram* of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn, and with it the number of eunuchs, reached enormous proportions and swallowed up a large part of the revenue.

After the fall of the Ṣafawids, the eunuchs never again achieved political importance or large numbers. In 1887 it was reported that there were only thirty-eight eunuchs in the royal *ḥaram* (Iʿtimād al-Salṭana, *Rūznāma-i khāṭirāt-i Iʿtimād al-Salṭana*, ed. Iraj Afshār, Tehran 1966, 644).

Bibliography: Muḥammad Taḳī Dānishpazhūh, *Dastūr al-mulūk-i Mīrzā Rafīʿā wa tadhkirat al-mulūk-i Mīrzā Samīʿā*, in *Rev. de la faculté des lettres et des sciences humaines*, University of Tehran, xvi, 3 (1968), 306-7; Thevenôt, *The travels of Monsieur de Thevenôt into the Levant*, London 1687, ii, 99; Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Voyages en Perse*, Geneva 1970, 283-4; Raphaël de Mans, *Estat de la Perse en 1660*, Paris 1890, 20-1; T. J. Krusinski, *The history of the revolution of Persia*, Dublin 1729, 72 ff.; L. Lockhart, *The fall of the Ṣafavī dynasty*, Cambridge 1958, 25 ff.

(A. K. S. LAMBTON)

III.—IN TURKEY.

It is believed that there were eunuchs in the palaces of the Saldjūḳs of Rūm or Anatolia, and in those of the beyliks of the Čandaroghullarî [see DJANDĀRLÎ] in Ḳastamonu in the 8th/14th century (see Fuad Köprülü, *Bizans müesseselerinin Osmanlı müesseselerine tesiri hakkında mülâhazalar*, in *Türk Hukuk ve Iktisat Tarihi Mecmuası*, i (Istanbul 1931), 208-11). Their first appearance in the Ottoman state was in the first half of the 9th/15th century, and these eunuchs

were of two kinds: white (*aḳ agha*) and negro (*ḳarā agha*). According to tradition it was Murād II (824-55/1421-51) who first employed the *khādim aghas* (chief eunuchs) in the palace; during his reign the *aḳ khādim aghas* (white chief eunuchs) in the harem occupied the offices of *ḳapu aghasī* (chief white eunuch in the Imperial Palace), *khazīnedār-bashī* (the title of the fourth officer of the white eunuchs) and *sarāy aghasī* and *ḳilārdjī-bashī* (chief clerk of the imperial pantry); above them all was the *Dār al-saʿāda aghasī* (chief eunuch of the palace) (Ṭayyār-zāde ʿAṭā', *Ta'rīkh-i Enderūn*, Istanbul 1292, i, 34). Later, some eunuchs of particular ability were employed outside the palace. The mention of some well-known government officials bearing the title of *khādim* or *ṭawāshī* in the first half of the 9th/15th century may indicate an earlier date for the employment of white chief eunuchs in the palace. For instance, the appointment on several occasions of Shihāb al-Dīn Pasha (Kula Shāhīn, d. 853/1454) during the reign of Murād II to the office of *beylerbey* of Rumelia means that his early life and upbringing should be placed in the reign of Čelebi Meḥemmed (805-24/1403-21). (Neshrī, *Djihān-numā*, ed. Taeschner, Leipzig 1951, i, 170, 181, 230; M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *XV ve XVI inci asırlarda Edirne ve Paşaeli livası*, Istanbul 1952, 255-7). The use of negroes, that is black eunuchs, in the palace started during the reign of Meḥemmed the Conqueror (855-86/1451-81) and from the beginning of the 10th/16th century we find black eunuchs employed alongside the white ones. In 918/1513 there were 10 white and black *khādims* (eunuchs) serving in the palace (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi arşivi, N.D. 10052). The head of the eunuchs in charge of the Bāb al-saʿāda of the palace was called the *ḳapī aghasī* or *Bāb al-saʿāda aghasī*, which was the highest office in the harem. But in 990/1582 the superintendence of the harem and the office of *Dār al-Saʿāda aghasī* passed into the hands of Ḥabashī Meḥmed Agha and the black eunuchs, and the white eunuchs were relegated to second place and had to be content with the office of *ḳapī aghasī*. However, among the white eunuchs there were some who rose to the office of Grand Vizier, such as Khādim ʿAlī Pasha (first time, 906-8/1501-3, second time 912-17/1506-11) under Bāyezīd I; Khādim Sinān Pasha (922-3/1516-17) in the reign of Selīm I; Khādim Süleymān Pasha (948-51/1541-4) in the reign of Süleymān the Magnificent; Khādim Mesīḥ Pasha (994-6/1585-6) in the reign of Murād III; Khādim Ḥasan Pasha (1005-6/1597-8) in the reign of Meḥemmed III; and Khādim Meḥmed Pasha (1031-2/1622-3) in the reign of Muṣṭafā I.

Although the majority of the eunuchs in the harem were now negroes, there were also some white chief eunuchs amongst them. In the period 990-1087/1582-1676 there were 35 black eunuchs and *ca.* 20 *farrāshs* or servants under them (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, N.D. 1059, 1027, 10181, 6205). The number of *ḳapī aghasīs* or chief white eunuchs varied from 32 to 37 between these same years, but their number fell to 24 in 1676 (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, N.D. 34, 10181, 6205). The absolute supremacy of the negroes in the harem continued until the end of the Ottoman Empire (see Safiye Ünüvar, *Saray Hatıraları*, Istanbul 1964). Outside the Imperial Palace there were also great personages who kept eunuchs, the majority of them black, in their palaces and residences, and indeed, throughout many levels of Ottoman society (see E. W. Lane, *The Manners and Customs of the modern Egyptians*, London 1954, 137).

These black eunuchs were imported from Egypt, often as children between the ages of 8 and 11. The negroes employed in the Ottoman palace were chosen and sent by the *beylerbey* of Egypt. Although as mentioned above, the operation of castration was often done in Upper Egypt, there was also a professional group of *djerrāḥ-ī djellābīs* in 11th/17th century Egypt (Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥatnāme*, Istanbul 1938, x, 376). Mortality was low among those children who had the operation before puberty, but high among those castrated after the age of maturity (cf. Penzer, *The Harem*, 142, 145; M. Çağatay Uluçay, *Harem*, Ankara 1971, 128). The negroes brought to Istanbul as children were brought up in the palace, and those in the Harem formed a corps, the *aghalar odjaḳī*, trained by the senior eunuchs; often they were given flower names. After a strict training and education, they were sent to the palace and to the residences of princes and other great men of state for a kind of probationary period (see Safiye Ünüvar, *op. cit.*, 77). As stated above, castration was normally done outside the heartlands of the empire, e.g. in Upper Egypt. A private person had no legal right in the empire to castrate his slave (M. Ertuğrul Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislam Ebussuud Efendi fetvaları ışığında 16. asır Türk Hayatı*, Istanbul 1972, 120). Thus in 967/1560 an *alaybeg* in Prizren in Serbia attempted to castrate three children from the local *reʿāyā* by force, but caused their deaths; he was thereupon dismissed from his office and punished by being deprived of his *zeʿāmet* (Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Kâmil Kepeci catalogue, Ruus defteri, no. 216, 11).

In 1127/1715 the Grand Vizier Shehīd ʿAlī Pasha tried to remove the black *khādim aghas* from the palace because of their maleficent influence there. He succeeded in getting a decision that negroes were not to be castrated from then onwards and sent his decision to the *odjaḳs* of Egypt and the west in the form of an imperial *firmān*; and he gave strict orders that existing eunuchs should not be brought into Rumelia under any circumstances. But he was killed in the battle of Peterwardein, and the possibility of enforcing this decision was then lost in 1129/1717 (Rāshid, *Ta'rīkh*, Istanbul 1282, iv, 175-6; Derwīsh ʿAbd Allāh, *Risāle-i Ṭabardāriyye*, Köprülü Kütüphanesi, ii, 233, ff. 66a-b). The process of abolishing slavery and the negro slave trade in the Ottoman Empire started during the reign of Maḥmūd II, and in Djumāda II 1273/February 1857 a *firmān* was issued prohibiting slavery and the slave trade in the Ottoman lands (*Dustūr*, Istanbul 1299, 1st series, v, 368, 396, etc.). After this, slavery and the use of eunuchs gradually disappeared, their use persisting longest in the harem of the palace.

Bibliography: In addition to works mentioned in the article, Mehmed Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terminleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1946, i, 701-3, *khādim*, iii, 422-4, *ṭawāshī*; B. Lewis, *Race and Color in Islam*, New York 1971; M. Izzeddin, *Les eunuques dans le palais Ottomane*, in *Oriens*, xxiv, 1962; Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945; P. Rycaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, London 1668; Aḥmed Resmī, *Ḥāmilet ül-küberā*, Belediye Kütüphanesi, M. Cevdet yazmaları, no. k/28; A. H. Lybyer, *The government of the Ottoman Empire in the time of Suleiman the Magnificent*, Cambridge, Mass. 1913; N. M. Penzer, *The Ḥarīm*, London 1936, 125-51, 223; H. A. R. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic society and the West*, Oxford 1950-7, i/1, 76-7, 329, i/2, 92, 170, 177; Mustafa Âlī, *Mevā'idü'n-nefā'is fī ḳavā'idi'l-mecālis*, Istanbul 1956.

(Cengīz Orhonlu)

AL-**KHAṢĪB** [see IBN AL-KHAṢĪB].

AL-**KHAṢĪBĪ**, name given to AḤMAD B. ʿUBAYD ALLĀH B. AḤMAD B. AL-KHAṢĪB, vizier of al-Muḳtadir and al-Ḳāhir, who was probably the grandson of al-Muntaṣir's vizier Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb [see AL-DJARDJARĀʾĪ]. He was originally secretary to the caliph's mother, and then suddenly was made vizier after the fall of al-Khāḳānī, but only filled this office for a few months (Ramaḍān 313-Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 314/Nov. 925-Jan. 927). Faced with the hostility of the military leaders, and treating administrative affairs in a very perfunctory way, he immediately ran into serious difficulties which he was unable to surmount. He re-appears in 318/930 as a financial official in the Persian provinces, and then as one of the caliph's counsellors who brought about the fall of the vizier al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḳāsim. He became vizier for the second time under al-Ḳāhir, from Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 321/Oct. 933 till Djumādā I 322/April 934, but was unable to prevent the intrigues of the former vizier Ibn Muḳla [*q.v.*] nor to put down the discontentments of the palace guards, who ended up by imprisoning the caliph.

Under al-Rāḍī, al-Khaṣībī still held important functions in the central administration, but was exiled for some time to ʿUmān by the vizier Ibn Muḳla, upon whom he was later able to take vengeance. He helped ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿĪsā during his short vizierate (324/936), and died in Baghdād in Shawwāl 328/ August 940.

Bibliography: D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, index; Ṣūlī, *Akhbâr ar-Râḍî billâh*, tr. M. Canard, Algiers 1946-50, index. (D. SOURDEL)

AL-**KHĀSIR** [see SALM AL-KHĀSIR].

KHĀṢṢ (A.) and its fem. *khāṣṣa* "personal, private, pertaining to the state or ruler". In Ottoman administration and society, *khāṣṣ* and *khāṣṣa* were generally used interchangeably, with pls. *khāṣṣahā* and *khawāṣṣ*, see on these various forms, Meninski, ii, 530-1. It appears in Turkish literature for "a person close to the ruler", "something personal to the ruler", in the 7th/13th century, see Mecdud Mansuroğlu, *Sultan veledʾin (1226-1312) türkçe manzumeleri*, Istanbul 1958, vv. 26, 48-9, 53-4, 143-5, 149. The word, used for describing the palace services of a ruler, first appear in the Ghaznawid state (*Taʾrīkh-i Bayhaḳī*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyāḍ, Tehran 1324/1945, 235, 253, 271 and *passim*), and then was used in the Great Saldjuḳ state in regard to the Sultan's personal estates (Niẓām al-Mulk, *Siyāsat-nāma*, ed. Ḳazwīnī, Tehran 1334/1955, 95, 105-6). Under the Khʷārazm-Shāhs and Mamlūks of Egypt, the officer in charge of the ruler's estates was called the *Nāẓir al-khāṣṣ* (al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿsha*, iv, 30). In the Il-Khānid state, the property and the land belonging to the ruler were called *indju*, and sometimes *khāṣṣ-i indju* (see Z. Velidi Togan, *Umumî türk tarihine giriş*, Istanbul 1946, 278-9). The words *khāṣṣ* and *khāṣṣa* were used synonymously during the first period of the Ottoman empire. Then *khāṣṣa* came to be used for the services and matters concerning the ruler and his palace (*khāṣṣa bostandjilari*, *khāṣṣa doghandjilari* etc.), whilst *khāṣṣ* was used rather for the private estates of the ruler; hence we find from the end of the 9th/15th century terms like *khāṣṣ-i pādishāhī*, and sometimes *khāṣṣ-i humāyūn*, *khawāṣṣ-i humāyūn* or *khāṣṣ-i shāhī*, meaning the imperial lands (see Ö. L. Barkan, *Osmanlı imparatorluğunda ziraî ekonominin hukukî ve mali esasları. I. Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943, index).

The *Khāṣṣ* lands followed a course similar to that of the *timār* system. From the existing *timār defters*, it appears that the *khāṣṣ* lands stretch back to the reign of Bāyezīd I (791-805/1389-1403) (Başbakanlık arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, tapu defteri, 1/1, Mis. 331, 332) and beyond. The term *khāṣṣ*, pl. *khawāṣṣ*, in the Ottoman *timār* system was used for the more extensive *timār*s. There were only *timār*s during the first period of the Ottoman state (for the 804/1402 and 807/1405 *timār* entries, see Süheyl Ünver, *Yıldırım Bayezidʾin oğlu Isaʾnın bir emri*, in *Belleten*, xlii (1944), 335, 337), but at the beginning of the 9th/15th century the term *khāṣṣ* was also used for some personal *timār*s worth 46,208, and 50,702 *aḳčes*. (H. Inalcik, *Hicri 835 tarihli suret-i defter-i sancak-i Arvanid*, Ankara 1954, 33-55). Hence at this time the *timār* included the *khāṣṣ*; the *timār*s of begs which were called *khāṣṣ* and *zeʿāmet* were also alike called "great *timār*s". The *ḳānūn-nāme*s show how the *khāṣṣ* was used. In the *ḳānūn-nāme* of Meḥemmed Fātiḥ, it is indicated that the most productive lands in the provinces were to be included in the *khāṣṣ* of the Sultan, and that the *defterdār*s or treasurers had the authority to confiscate the lands of a person, if they discovered that he had very productive land, and give him less productive land as a *khāṣṣ*. The viziers, it was stipulated, were to have *khāṣṣ* lands with an income of 1,200,000 *aḳčes*, the *beglerbeg*s those with an income of 1,000,000, the *defterdār*s those with an income of 600,000 as long as they remained in office; for this see *Fātiḥ ḳānūn-nāmesi*, Istanbul 1330, 28. Because the *sandjaḳ*s, rather than the *eyālet*s, constituted the basis of the administrative system, the *khāṣṣ* lands assigned to a *sandjaḳ* beg were more numerous during the 9th/15th century (for the *khāṣṣ* of the *sandjaḳ beg* of Üsküp, see *Hicri 859 tarihli suret-i defter-i mücmel-i vilayet-i Yeleč ve Izvečan ve Hududide ve Seniča ve Res ve Üsküp ve Kalkandelen ve tevabiha*, ed. H. Sabanovič, Sarajevo 1964, 7). After the organisation of a *sandjaḳ*, the villages and *khāṣṣ* lands there could be terminated as *khāṣṣ* land with the permission of the *sandjaḳ beg*, if it was thought to be necessary, or some of the *timār* land could be made into *khāṣṣ* (M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *XV. ve XVI. asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa livası*, Istanbul 1952, 74; *Hicri 835 tarihli suret-i defter-i sancak-i Arvanid*, pp. xxiii, xxiv, xxviii, 12, 39, 100).

Khāṣṣ lands were granted to the members of the upper ranks of the administration, the *Dīwān-i Hümāyūn*, such as the Grand Vizier and the viziers, and to high officials such as *sandjaḳ beg*s and *beglerbeg*s as long as they held their posts. The *khāṣṣ* lands might be scattered throughout a *sandjaḳ* or province. The *khāṣṣ* holders, when going on a campaign, would take with them one *djebelü* for every 5,000 *aḳče*s of revenue from their *khāṣṣ*, while the *eyālet*s or provinces of Bosnia (739,000 *aḳče*s), Aleppo (700,000 *aḳče*s), Ḳaramān (633,000 *aḳče*s) were the administrative units with the highest *khāṣṣ* income in 933-4/1527-8, the *sandjaḳ beg* of Semendere (622,000 *aḳče*s) had the highest income among the *sandjaḳ beg*s; in contrast to this, the *sandjaḳ beg* of Voynak (52,000) and that of Ḳirḳkilise or Ḳirḳlareli (81,000) had the lowest *khāṣṣ* incomes (for the other provinces, and the *khāṣṣ* lands of *beglerbeg*s and *sandjaḳ beg*s in general, see Barkan, *1527-1528 yılı bütčesi*, 25-8; for the *khāṣṣ* lands of the Grand Vizier, the *Ḳubbe-altı* viziers and retired viziers in 1070/1660, see Hezārfen Čelebi, *Telkhīṣü 'l-beyān fī ḳawānīn-i āl-i ʿOthmān*, 45b, 46a, 47a ff., and cf. Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi, Haslar kalemi defteri, no. 3069).

The *khāṣṣ* lands were administered on the basis of registers made up annually, and according to the sources were divided into three: (1) *khawāṣṣ-i*

humāyūn; (2) the *khāṣṣ* lands of Viziers, *amīrs*, *beglerbegs* and other high officials of the imperial Chancery or *Dīwān*; and (3) the *khāṣṣ* lands called *pashmaklık* which were appropriated to the needs of the Sultan's wives.

Any surpluses from all these at the end of each financial year were added to the *khawāṣṣ-i humāyūn* treasury. The *khāṣṣ* lands given to the Sultan's wives were awarded for life, and could not be transferred to anyone; if the holder of a *pashmaklık khāṣṣ* died or had no further need for it, then it would be transferred to the *khāṣṣ-ı humāyūn* (*Kanun-ı Osmanı mefhum-i defter-i hakani*, ed. I. H. Uzunçarşılı, in *Belleten*, lix (1951), 386; *Rasprava Ali cauşa iz Sofija i timarskoj organizacij u XVI stoljecu*, in *Glasnik Zemal'kog Muzeja u Sarajevo*, Nova seria, ii (Sarajevo 1947), 152).

The *khawāṣṣ-ı humāyūn* and the *khāṣṣ* lands of high officials and administrators formed an important part of the revenues of every province; for example, they constituted 48% of the general revenue of Rumelia, 26% of Anatolia, Ḳaramān, Dhulḳadriye and Rūm (Sivas), 31% of Diyārbekir, 48% of Aleppo and Damascus, and 86% of Egypt. Out of all the Ottoman provinces, they formed 277,244,782 *akčes*, 51% of the total revenue; the other *khāṣṣ* lands and *timārs* comprised 200,186,394 *akčes*, 37% of the total revenue (Barkan, *H. 933-934 (M. 1527-28) mâlî yılına ait bir bütçe örneği*, in *Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, xv (Istanbul 1955), 277). According to the calculations made from the 1071/1660-1 budget, about three-quarters (1 billion, 800 million)of the total revenue of the state (2 billion, 400 million) went to the officials in charge of *khāṣṣ*, *timār* or *wakf* lands; the revenue from *khāṣṣ* lands was not always sent to the capital, but could be spent on the spot (Barkan, *Osmanlı bütçelerine ait notlar*, in *Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, xvii (1960), 190).

The value and extent of *khāṣṣ* lands would vary according to the productivity of the provinces and *sandjaks*. Although the most productive lands were already included in the *khāṣṣ* estates at the beginning of the 10th/16th century, their boundaries and the revenue accruing from them tended to increase by a considerable amount (for the situation in the *sandjak* of Szegedin, see L. Fekete, *Die Siyāḳat-Schrift*, i, 402, 610, 612; for the situation in the *sandjak* of Mārdīn, see Nejat Göyünç, *XVI. yüzılda Mardin sancağı*, Istanbul 1969, 142-7). Apart from the agricultural produce of arable fields, vineyards, orchards etc., there were, also, revenues from the *djizya*, sheep tax, *yaylak* tax, *kishlak* tax, firewood and hay tax, bride tax, *bād-i havā* or irregular taxes, *fudju* tax, pasture tax, *tapu* tax, *čift* tax, taxes on the produce of nomads and revenues from some of the *muḳāṭaʿas* in the towns, all of which constituted the income of the *khāṣṣ* lands. In the cities, such items as taxes on the *bashkāne* (slaughter-houses), *kirishkāne* (catgut factory), the *iḥtisāb* tax, *bozakhāne*, rents from shops, etc., formed part of the revenues of the *khāṣṣ*; however, agricultural products constituted the greater part of the *khāṣṣ* revenues. According to the comparisons made between the years 1550 and 1650-70, there was a 50% decline in the revenues from agricultural products, hence the revenues of the *khāṣṣ* lands were topped up by other means. Accordingly, some of the *timārs* and *zeʿāmets*, and even the *khāṣṣ* lands of viziers, *beglerbegs* and *sandjak begs*, were added to the *khāṣṣ-ı humāyūn* lands (see Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi, haslar kalemi, no. 3064). When a vizier or a *beglerbeg* retired, some of his *khāṣṣ* was added to the *khawāṣṣ-ı humāyūn*, but some was left to him as a retirement *khāṣṣ* (Kâmil Kepeci Tasnifi, no. 3065). From the 10th/16th century onwards, the number of viziers and *beglerbegs* increased, but the *khāṣṣ* lands allotted to them became insufficient and inadequate, and henceforth there was *khāṣṣlar muḍāyaḳası* ("scarcity of *khāṣṣ* lands") in the financial system (Orhonlu, *Osmanlı tarihine ait belgeler, telhisler (1595-1605)*, Istanbul 1970, 13-14, 131; see also Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi, ahkâm defteri, no. 70, p. 214). As a result of this decrease in agricultural income, the *khāṣṣ* lands of viziers, *beglerbegs* and *sandjak begs* began to be transferred to the *khāṣṣ-ı humāyūn* (*Kitāb-ı Müsteṭāb*, Ankara 1974, 40; for various records regarding this, see Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi, haslar kalemi defteri no. 3064).

During the period of the empire's expansion, there were—in accordance with the ordinances regarding *mīrī* land—*khāṣṣa* farms and *khāṣṣa* pastures called *ḳılıč yeri* which were run by the *sipāhīs* and which belonged to a system different from that of the farms of the *reʿayā*; in some places there are records of *khāṣṣ* vineyards, *khāṣṣ* mills, etc. The *sipāhīs*' share in *khāṣṣa* vineyards and orchards was a third or a quarter. Because it was against the law for a *sipāhī* to buy, with acquisition of title-deed, land from his own *timār*, for himself or his family, the *khāṣṣa* farms eventually decreased in the empire (Barkan, *Toprak işçilerinin organizasyon şekilleri*, in *Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, v/i (1939), 213 ff.). The *khāṣṣa* farms which were, in a way, estates of the *sipāhīs*, were run by themselves by way of partnership (see *Ḳawānīn-i ʿörfiyye-i ʿOthmānī*, ed. N. Beldiceanu, Wiesbaden 1967, 14-15). When the register of a province was made up, vineyards, pastures, farms, fruit trees and mills which were recorded among the *khāṣṣ* lands were not sold with title deeds to them, and could not pass into private possession (*Kanuni-i Kanunname*, Sarajevo 1957, 38, 52). Thus lands recorded as *khāṣṣa* would not normally be given with a title deed, and if they were thus given to a *sipāhī*, and then passed into the hands of another *sipāhī*, then title-deeds would be abolished and they would be transformed into a *khāṣṣalıḳ*. The *khāṣṣa* lands were exempted from all taxes and from the entry of officials. The *khāṣṣa* lands could be sold in some regions, but only by obtaining special permission from the government (Barkan, *Osmanlı imparatorluğunda ziraî ekonominin hukukî ve mâlî esasları*, I, *Kanunlar*, 143, 314, 321, 343, 399).

From the 10th/16th century onwards, the term *khawāṣṣ-i humāyūn* started to be used as equivalent to that of *mīrī muḳāṭaʿa*. The officials supervising the *khāṣṣ* lands of *sandjak begs* and *beglerbegs* could not therefore interfere with the revenues of *mīrī muḳāṭaʿa* or *khawāṣṣ-ı humāyūn* in any way (Halit Ongan, *Ankara'nin iki numaralı şer'iye sicili*, Ankara 1974, 128-9). During the middle years of the century, because of financial and administrative difficulties, *mīrī muḳāṭaʿas* and *khāṣṣ-ı shāhī* began to appear as two different types of entities (M. Akdağ, *Türkiye'nin iktisâdî ve içtimâî tarihi*, Ankara 1972, ii, 92-3, 299).

Khāṣṣ-i pādishāhī or *khāwaṣṣ-i humāyūn* and *khāṣṣ* lands were managed by a *voyvoda*, who had under their command the *sekbān* soldiers in order to carry out their duties (M. Çağatay Uluçay, *XVII. asırda Saruhanda eşkıyalık ve halk hareketleri*, Ankara 1944, 319). In some places the *voyvodas* who were in charge of recording the shares of state and of individuals from *khāṣṣ* revenues (Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi, haslar kalemi defteri, no. 3065) were called *khāṣṣ ḍābiṭi* or "*khāṣṣ* officers" (Şikayet defteri, i,

160). However, the taxes on the *reʿāyā* living and working on the *khāṣṣ* lands were collected by *emīns*, who had nothing to do with the *voyvodas* (Maliyeden müdevver defterler, no. 7534, pp. 1047, 1229). Beside the *voyvodas*, there were also some other officials, including the *khāṣṣ kātibis* or clerks, appointed by a decree (Maliyeden müdevver defterler, no. 7534, p. 567). These officials were in charge of managing the imperial *khāṣṣ* lands, with authority to pursue runaway cultivators and safeguard the interests of the imperial treasury in the *khāṣṣ* lands. They also had such duties as ensuring the transference to the treasury of heirless estates and abandoned properties, the inheritors of which had disappeared and had not returned within 6 months (*Kānūn-nāme-i sulṭānī ber mūdjeb-i ʿörf-i ʿOthmānī*, ed. H. Inalcik and R. Anhegger, Ankara 1956, 70-1).

In earlier times permission was not given for the *khāṣṣa* lands to be farmed out on *iltizām* [*q.v.*] (H. Inalcik, *Arvanid livası*, 123-5), but this was not adhered to in later applications (Halit Ongan, *op. cit.*, 8, 43, 85; cf. *Arazi Kanunnâmesi ve Ebusuud Efendi'nin araziye müteallik fetvalarî*, in *MTM*, 1/2 (Istanbul 1331), 324). Although the principle of not giving out *khāṣṣ* lands thus still existed at the beginning of the 11th/17th century, the actual practice had become established (M. Çağatay Uluçay, *op. cit.*, 211). In 1658/1069 the *khāṣṣa* lands of eight viziers, amounting to 23,507,943 *akčes*, were given out as *iltizām* for the sum of 26,272,485 *akčes* (see Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi, haslar kalemi, no. 3069).

During the composition of the register, the children on the *khāṣṣ* lands were not registered as such (*khāridj ez defter*), but were assumed to be registered through the registration of their fathers. Natural calamities such as drought and epidemics affected the *khāṣṣa* lands, leading to the emigration of *reʿāyā* from their villages and farms to other places (Başbakanlık arşiv genel müdürlüğü, maliyeden müdevver defterler, no. 7534, pp. 560, 1661).

Gradually, the *khāṣṣ* lands belonging to the ranks of viziers, *beglerbegs*, and *sandjak begs*, were abolished and were added to the *mīrī muḳāṭaʿāt* lands, and payment in cash was made in lieu of these lands (Maliyeden müdevver defterler, no. 14525, pp. 14 ff.). After the treaty of Ḳarlovca [*q.v.*] in 1110/1699, new *khāṣṣ* lands were allotted to some of the *beglerbegs*, and in some places they were given the right of collecting taxes called *ḥaḍariyye* and *seferiyye*. The government office which existed from the 11th/17th century onwards and was charged with recording matters relating to the *khāṣṣ* lands of the various government officials in the *Dīwān-ī Humāyūn* was called *Khāṣṣlar Muḳāṭaʿasî ḳalemi*. In 1833 this office was combined with the *Bash Muḳāṭaʿadjîlîḳ* and the office of the official historiographer, and then was added to the *Ḥarameyn muḳāṭaʿadjîlîk* under the name of "the three offices", *aḳlām-i thalāthe* (A. Vefīk, *Tekālīf ḳawāʿidi*, Istanbul 1328, i, 217). In 1838 the department of the *Khāṣṣlar Ḳalemi* was in the same room as the *Bash Muḳāṭaʿadjî* in Istanbul and his subordinates below the rank of treasurer (Maliyeden müdevver defterler no. 8999, p. 4). Later, only the *khāṣṣ* lands belonging to the offices of the vizierate, the High Admiral and the *Nishāndjî* were retained, and the rest were added to the *Mīrī muḳāṭaʿāt* or *khāṣṣahā-i humāyūn*. The *zeʿāmets* allotted to other government officials came under the legal ambit of offices given for life, that is as *malikāne*, owned property; but because the revenues appropriated were insufficient, certain revenues were provided, in various ways, for the high officials in Istanbul and in the provinces. Through the *malikāne* system thus established, some advantages, such as the protection of the sources of taxation and the provision of surplus income from the treasury and the maintenance of the productivity of the *muḳāṭaʿas*, were gained. Since no *khāṣṣ* land was allotted to new appointments (in other words, because of the abandonment of this system), provincial governors (*beglerbegs*) considered a *sandjaḳ* as providing a good income if in that region there was more of *muḳāṭaʿat-i mīrī* and less of *timār*, *zeʿāmet* and *waḳf* land (Muṣṭafā Nūrī Pasha, *Netāyidjü 'l-wuḳūʿāt*, Istanbul 1328, iii, 76, 79-80). The *muḳāṭaʿat-i mīrī* lands, with their values recorded in the *defters*, were given to the governors as personal property, and they would give them to the *mültezims* by adding a surplus amount of income. From 1790/1205 onwards, all the *khāṣṣ* lands, including those belonging to the Sultans' wives, were transferred to the jurisdiction of the newly-founded *Īrād-î djedīd* treasury (Djevdet, vi, 60 ff.; Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi, no. 3205). After the *Tanẓīmāt*, the principle evolved of settling every kind of expenditure from the treasury; the *khāṣṣ-i humāyūn* revenues were now given to governors and *mültezims* from the Imperial Mint, and *Muḳāṭaʿat-î mīrī* revenues from the treasury. After 1838, instead of the old system of revenues set apart for the support of officials, a monthly salary was allotted to each of them. In 1839 the *muḳāṭaʿāt* treasury was combined with the *mīrī* treasury, and placed under the control of the Ministry of Finance (Maliyeden müdevver defterler, no. 8999, pp. 6 ff., 38; cf. Muṣṭafā Nūrī Pasha, *op. cit.*, iv, 102, 105 ff.).

Even after the old system was abolished, its memory survived in the names of certain places; for example, one of the names of the Eyyüb *ḳaḍā'* in Istanbul was *Khawāṣṣ-î refīʿa* or *Khāṣṣlar Ḳaḍāsî*; the name Khāṣṣ-köy as the name of villages in Rumelia and Anatolia shows their former status (see *Türkiye'de meskûn yerler kılavuzu*, Ankara 1946, i), the most famous ones having this name being the town of Khāṣṣköy (Haskova) in Bulgaria and the town of Khāṣṣa, founded in 1865, in the Hatay province of Turkey.

The terms *Khāṣṣ-î humāyūn* and *Khāṣṣ-î pādishahī* gradually disappeared after the *Tanẓīmāt*, as explained above, but continued to be used for the services related to the Imperial Palace and to the Sultan, e.g. the *khāṣṣa* treasury, *khāṣṣa avčîlarî* or infantry, *khāṣṣa bostandjîlarî*, *khāṣṣa süvārileri* or cavalry, *khāṣṣa-i kitābet*, *khāṣṣa ordusu* or imperial guard regiments, *khāṣṣa müezzinleri*, *khāṣṣ-î ʿaskeriyye*, *khāṣṣa taburlarî* or battalions, *khāṣṣ ākhur*, treasury for the imperial stables, *khāṣṣ oda*, *khāṣṣ baghče*, *maṭbakh-î khāṣṣ* or imperial kitchen (for the other terms, see Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, index).

Bibliography: apart from the works already mentioned in the text, see: M. Akdağ, *Türkiye'nin iktisadî ve içtimâî tarihi*, Ankara 1971, ii, 263, 264, 279, 299, 315, 316, 320, 321; H. A. R. Gibb -H. Bowen, *Islamic society and the West*, London 1951, i/1, 144-5, 148, n. 4, 238, 253; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtına medhal*, Istanbul 1941; idem, *Osmanlı devleti'nin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948, 105, 106, 164-5, 203-4, 352; J. von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, ii, 157-8, 244-5; *Fātiḥ Ḳānūn-namesi*, ed. M. Arif, Istanbul 1330; *Sultan I. Selim'in Kanun-nâmesi*, ed. Anna Tveritinova, Moscow 1969, see Index; N. Beldiceanu, *Les actes des Premiers Sultans*, 1969, I, 164, II, 86-8; U. Heyd, *Ottoman documents on Palestine*,

1552-1615, Oxford 1960, see index; ʿAynī ʿAlī, *Ḳawānīn-i āl-i ʿOthmān der khulāṣa-i meḍāmīn-i defter-i khāḳānī*, Istanbul 1280, 6-8, 10; Sarī Meḥmed Pasha, *Neṣāʾiḥ ül-wüzerā we'l-ümerā*, ed. and tr. W. L. Wright, Princeton 1935; ʿAbdurraḥmān Wefīḳ, *Tekālīf ḳawāʾidi*, Istanbul 1328, i, 241-2, 297-8; P. Rycaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, London 1668, 51-5; Ö. L. Barkan, *Osmanlı imparatorluğunda ziraî ekonominin hukukî ve malî esasları*, I. *Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943, 104-9, 210; Ö. L. Barkan, *İA*, art. *Timar*; idem, *1079-1080 (1669-1670) malî yılına ait bir Osmanlı bütçesi ve ekleri*, in *Iktisat Fakültesi Mecmuâsı*, xvii (1956), 226, 245, 252, 257, 259; Khiḍīr Ilyās, *Leṭāʾif-i enderūn*, Istanbul 1276; Klaus Röhrborn, *Untersuchungen zur Osmanischen Verwaltungsgeschichte*, Berlin 1973, p. 27, 101-4; M. Fuat Köprülü, *Bizans müesseselerinin Osmanlı müesseselerine tesiri hakkında bazı mülâhazalar*, in *Türk Hukuk ve Iktisat Tarihi Mecmuası*, i (Istanbul 1931), 223-4; M. Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1971, i, 750-2.

(Cengiz Orhonlu)

KHAṢṢ, KHĀṢṢA in Persia [see khāliṣa].

KHĀṢṢ BEG or Arslan Beg b. Balangirī (d. 547 or 548/1153), Turkmen *amīr* under the Great Saldjūḳs of ʿIrāḳ and western Persia. The name Khāṣṣ Beg seems to have been bestowed on him because of his favoured position under Sulṭān Masʿūd b. Muḥammad (529-47/1134-52); it is used in similar contexts in the works of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī and in the *Kitāb Dede Ḳorḳut*. During the latter years of Masʿūd's reign, Khāṣṣ Beg secured an ascendancy in the state, disposing of such rivals as Togha Yürek's son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, governor of Arrān (541/1147), and Boz-aba, governor of Fārs (542/1147). On the sultan's death, Khāṣṣ Beg raised his nephew Malik Shāh b. Maḥmūd to the throne (547/1152), but seeing his incompetence, Khāṣṣ Beg and the other Turkish *amīrs* deposed him in the next year in favour of his brother Muḥammad. However, the new sultan was ill-disposed to tolerate this over-mighty subject, and Khāṣṣ Beg was murdered, together with the *amīr* Djāndār, three days after Muḥammad reached Hamadhān (end of 547 or Ṣafar 548/winter-spring 1153).

Bibliography: Ibn Ḥamdūn, *Tadhkira*, Topkapu Saray, Ahmet III Ms. 2948, fols. 182b-183b; Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, x, 143, 147-8, 153-4; ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, in Bundārī's *Zubdat al-nuṣra*, ed. Houtsma, 192, 198-9, 214-18, 224-30; Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī, *Akhbār al-dawla al-saldjūkiyya*, ed. Iqbal, 114-15, 118-21, 126-7; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Cairo 1301/1884, xi, 47, 52, 60, 64, 74; Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, ed. Iqbal, 237, 241-4, 249, 254, 259-62, 284; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Djāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, ed. Ateş, Ankara 1960, ii, 120-3, 127-39, 159; C. E. Bosworth, in *Cambridge History of Iran*, v, 131-3, 175. (F. Sümer)

KHĀṢṢ ODA, the "Privy Chamber" of the Ottoman palace organisation and the most important of the four departments comprising the *Enderūn* or Inside Service (the others being, in decreasing order of importance, the Treasury or *Khazīne* [*q.v.*], the Privy Larder or *Kilār-ī Khāṣṣ* and the Great and Little Chambers or *Büyük ve Küčük Odalar*.

The *Khāṣṣ Oda* as we know it was created by Meḥemmed the Conqueror, who in his *Ḳānūn-nāme* mentions by title its four chief officers and its staff of 32 pages or *Ič Oghlans* [*q.v.*], who became known as the *Khāṣṣ Oda ghilmānī* or *Khāṣṣ Odalīlar*. Selīm I increased their number to what became the classic one of 40, and entrusted to them *inter alia* the duty of guarding the Prophet's mantle [see khirḳa-i sherīf]; in the 12th/18th century, according to d'Ohsson, they still numbered 40.

The principal ones of these 40 pages waited on the Sultan personally in the *Mā-beyn* apartments [*q.v.*] of the palace, becoming thereby known as the *Mābeyndjis*; their duties included helping him to dress, shaving him, etc. The chief page was the *Silāḥdār* or Sword-bearer, but the supervision of the *Khāṣṣ Oda* was the responsibility of the White Eunuchs, the particular one in charge being known as the *Khāṣṣ Oda Bashī*. In Meḥemmed's *Ḳānūn-nāme*, one of his duties was as *Ṣāḥib-i ʿArḍ* or presenter of petitions to the Sultan. By the 18th century, however, the *Khāṣṣ Oda Bashī*'s duties were, according to d'Ohsson, restricted to certain ceremonial duties as Master of Ceremonies of the Inside Service (*Enderūn Teshrīfātdjī*).

Bibliography: A. H. Lybyer, *The government of the Ottoman Empire in the time of Suleiman the Magnificent*, Cambridge, Mass. 1913, 126-8; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, 322-35, 340-53; H. A. R. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, London 1950-7, i/1, 78, 80-1, 332-3, 358 ff.

(C. E. Bosworth)

KHĀṢṢA, plur. *khawāṣṣ*, also *khāṣṣiyya*, plur. *khāṣṣiyyāt*, "sympathetic quality" is a recurring theme in magic and occult sciences indicating the unaccountable, esoteric forces in animate and inanimate Nature. The conception that everywhere in Nature such forces are active or can be activated, developed during the Hellenistic period. It was believed that all objects were in relation to one another through sympathy and antipathy—as is evident in the mysterious forces of the magnet—and that diseases could be caused and cured, good and ill fortune be brought about as a result of the relations of these tensions. Unlike peripatetic philosophy, this way of thinking renounces a rational explanation of phenomena. It was voiced in the Φυσικά of Bolos of Mendes (*ca.* 200 B.C.), the Λιθογνώμων of Xenocrates (see M. Ullmann, *Das Steinbuch des Xenokrates von Ephesos*, in *Medizinhistorisches Journal*, vii (1972), 49-64; idem, *Neues zum Steinbuch des Xenokrates*, in *ibid.*, viii (1973), 59-76), the *Cyranides* and other hermetic treatises, in the Book of Animals of Timotheos of Gaza and in the books of agriculture. These views also entered into medical and pharmacological literature (see Galen, viii, 421; xi, 823; xii, 192 Kühn; Dioscorides, *passim*) and gained a theoretical foundation in the Neo-platonic doctrine of the graded structure of the world.

The translation of the above-mentioned Greek works carried the doctrine of the occult qualities of Nature to the Arabs, among whom it found an extraordinarily fertile soil and called forth an extensive literature. Muḥammad b. Zakariyyāʾ al-Rāzī, "Djābir b. Ḥayyān", Ibn al-Djazzār, Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ Zuhr, ʿAlī b. Aydamir al-Djildakī and others wrote books with the title *Khawāṣṣ al-ashyāʾ* (or the like). Furthermore, there is hardly any Islamic work on the natural sciences in which the *khawāṣṣ* are not treated at greater or shorter length. The "Books of stones" by Aristotle and Tīfāshī, the "Books of animals,' by Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥawāfir and Damīrī, the "Books of plants" by Ibn Waḥshiyya, the "Books of poisons" by Ibn al-Biṭrīḳ and Ibn al-Mubārak, the encyclopaedias of Ḳazwīnī and Nuwayrī and the manual of medicine by ʿAlī b. Rabban al-Ṭabarī, are all full of information on the most remarkable effects of "sympathy".

Finally, abstract entities were also believed to possess mysterious forces: al-Būnī, al-Djīlī, al-Nadrumī and others wrote about the *khawāṣṣ* of letters and numbers, of the names of Allāh and of the verses of the Ḳur'ān.

Bibliography: P. Kraus, *Jābir b. Ḥayyān*, ii (*MIE* 45), Cairo 1942, 61-95; H. Ritter and M. Plessner, *Picatrix*, London 1962, *passim*; M. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam* (HO, Erg. Bd. VI/2), Leiden 1972, 393-416, see *Index* s.v. *ḫawāṣṣ*. (M. ULLMANN)

AL-**KHĀṢṢA** WA 'L-ʿ**ĀMMA** (A.), two antithetical terms which, as here, and also in the plural *al-khāwaṣṣ wa'l-ʿawāmm*, denote in a general way the élite and commonalty, the notables and the plebs, or the aristocracy and the masses. It is, however, extremely difficult to be more precise about these two elements of the population. Despite the equalitarianism preached by Islam, the existence of social classes within the community is indisputable, and it is certain that the use of these two general terms, by both ancient and modern writers, clearly conceals a much more differentiated social reality. The combination of ideas of religion, race and legal status very soon shook up the structure of Bedouin society and resulted in four basic social groups: the Arab conquerors and their clients from a long time back; the non-Arab converts; the non-Muslims; and the slaves (cf. A. von Kremer, *Kulturgeschichtliche Streifzüge auf dem Gebiete des Islams*, Leipzig 1873, 15, who does not take the slaves into account). However, economic development quickly brought about a social mixture of classes and a new society, organised on different lines, comprising the pure-blooded Arab aristocracy; the bourgeoisie, embracing Arab and non-Arab, Muslim and non-Muslim elements; the people; and the slaves (cf. Ch. Pellat, *Le milieu baṣrien*, 224 ff.). In the succeeding period, the composition of these different classes underwent various more or less profound changes, but authors nevertheless continued to speak about the *khāṣṣa* and the *ʿāmma*; thus, whilst affirming the complexity of Islamic society, a 19th century writer, Ḥusayn al-Marsafī (d. 1890), still uses only these two terms, whilst at the same time he tries to distinguish internal categories and sub-divisions of these two great groups, which nevertheless remain fairly blurred.

Although Sāsānid society had possessed four estates divided into several classes (cf. A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*[2], Copenhagen 1944, 97 ff.), it is not impossible that Persia (and possibly Greece; cf. al-Fārābī, *K. al-Ḥurūf*, 133-4) exercised an influence on the division adopted by the Muslims (cf. al-Thaʿālibī, *Histoire des rois de Perse*, 469, 608, 730; Ibn Nubāta, *Sarḥ al-ʿuyūn*, Cairo 1903, 44-5, ed. 1964, 67), but the aristocratic spirit of the Arabs is enough to account for this dichotomy. All the same, one of the earliest authors to speak about the *khāṣṣa* and *ʿāmma* is Ibn al-Muḳaffaʿ, who in various of his writings uses the terms in the general sense mentioned above, but gives to them a different timbre in one passage of *al-Adab al-ṣaghīr* (ed. Kurd ʿAlī, in *Rasā'il al-bulaghā'*[2], 1946, 13) where he is pointing out the attitude which one should adopt according to whether one is in the presence of a member of the *khāṣṣa*, understood as comprising people of merit and quality, or of the *ʿāmma*, a thousand times more numerous; in practice, this author divides mankind, in relation to himself, into two categories, and in this passage alludes to a personal *khāṣṣa* made up of friends having outstanding moral qualities.

If the same conception is transferred to the level of the rulers, one finds already the idea of a *khāṣṣa* confined to their intimates and confidants. The historians often mention the persons who were closest (*khāṣṣ*) to the caliphs and sultans. Thus Ḳabīṣa b. Dhu'ayb al-Khuzāʿī in relation to ʿAbd al-Malik (see al-Djahshiyārī, *Wuzarā'*, 34); Yazīd b. al-Muhallab had a specially favoured position (*khāṣṣa*) at Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik's side, who allowed his protégé to sit next to him on his throne (*ibid.*, 50); Sālim al-Suddī was part of ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's *khāṣṣa* (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 419 = § 2172); al-Masʿūdī goes as far as saying that Muʿāwiya had his *khāṣṣ al-khāṣṣ*, without however naming anyone specifically. Under the ʿAbbāsids, ʿĪsā b. ʿAlī, al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad and ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥumayd were the *khāwāṣṣ* of al-Manṣūr (al-Djahshiyārī, 37, 97), Abū ʿAbbād Thābit b. Yaḥyā was the *khāṣṣ* of al-Ma'mūn (*Murūdj*, vii, 3, 35 = § 2695, 2723) and Ibn al-Zayyāt was one of the *khawāṣṣ* of al-Muʿtaṣim (Ibn al-Tiḳṭaḳā, *Fakhrī*, 233). Many other examples could be cited of these persons, officials or courtiers, who enjoyed the sovereign's special favour. Naturally, there were amongst all these, a certain number of parasites (cf. al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *K. al-Taṭfīl*, Damascus 1927, 99).

In another sphere, the word *khāṣṣ* was applied to "royal" institutions and estates. Under the ʿAbbāsids and Fāṭimids, landed estates belonging to the caliphs and especially to members of their families were called *ḍiyaʿ al-khāṣṣa*. Similarly, the productions of the *ṭirāz* manufactories were sometimes called *khāṣṣ* (cf. Serjeant, *Materials for a history of Islamic textiles*, Beirut 1972, 158). The *bayt al-māl al-khāṣṣa* was created at a later period by the ʿAbbāsid caliphs in order to distinguish the privy treasury from the public one supplied by state revenues; a department called the *dīwān al-nafaḳāt al-khāṣṣa* was set up during the reign of al-Mutawakkil to take charge of the royal household expenses.

Various viziers, high officials and rebel chiefs who occupy an important place in Islamic history also had their *khāṣṣa* (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *Lubāb*, Beirut n.d., i, 412; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, x, 143; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Madjmaʿ al-adab fī muʿdjam al-alḳāb*, Baghdād 1967, iv, 756; al-Azdī, *T. al-Mawṣil*, 67; al-Djahshiyārī, *op. cit.*, 67; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahdj al-balāgha*, Beirut 1963, iii, 17; etc.).

The *khāṣṣa* described so far had a personal character and only merited being called thus in relationship to the person who had chosen it; whatever its unofficial role may have been, it had no legal status. However, one part at least of the ruler's entourage made up a wider *khāṣṣa*, which was itself able to intervene, or had the right to intervene, in affairs of state, e.g. to share in the designation of an heir presumptive or the installation of a new caliph, without taking into account the fact that certain of its members had precisely-defined functions. It is unfortunately difficult to discern its exact composition, since the sources give hardly any details in this regard. The oath of allegiance called *bayʿat al-khāṣṣa* was given to the caliph, before the *bayʿat al-ʿāmma*, by a group of which we do not know the criteria for its membership. Nor can we enumerate those persons who were privileged to pass through the *bāb al-khāṣṣa* into the palace at Baghdād or at Sāmarrā, who were allowed into the *madjlis* or *dār al-khāṣṣa* (*dīwān-i khāṣṣ* amongst the Mughals of India), or who could be cited before the tribunal of *maẓālim al-khāṣṣa* set up for them (cf. al-Ṣābi', *Wuzarā'*, 20, 22, 27; D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, 338). One is tempted to render *khāṣṣa* or *khawāṣṣ* by "court" or "courtiers", which are terms

vague enough as a blanket designation for what is hard to pinpoint precisely in reality; but one may nevertheless try and define further this idea of *khāṣṣa*.

It is quite probable that the *khāṣṣa* in the east was not substantially different, at least in early times, from that described by E. Lévi-Provençal: "The *khāṣṣa* at Cordova [was] originally composed above all of aristocrats of Arab stock, and more particularly, of relations more or less distant from the prince in power". In official ceremonies "these Ahl Ḳuraysh took first place; they were followed by successive groups of high officials in the central administration" and by the legal and civil magistrates included within the *khāṣṣa*, "whether they were members of the Arab nobility or slave officials", as well as by "the holders of more or less honorific posts, which their riches, old-established or recently-acquired, had allowed them to purchase for money, in order to acquire in this fashion a place in the most privileged social class" (*Hist. Esp. musulmane*, iii, 188 ff.).

For its being placed in an eastern context, this institution ought probably to be given some altered touches (cf. A. Mez, *Renaissance*, ch. x) and to be rounded out by various pieces of information derived particularly from the descriptions of official ceremonies (e.g. see M. Canard, *Le ceremonial fāṭimide et le ceremonial byzantin. Essai de comparison*, in *Byzantion*, xxi (1951), 355-420) or by lists of notabilities and officials (e.g. see al-Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 480-8, tr. B. Lewis, in *Islam from the Prophet Muhammad to the capture of Constantinople*, New York 1974, i, 201-8), but prudence is still necessary.

Lévi-Provençal's last remark provides an easy transition allowing us to pass from the *khāṣṣa* of the state to that of the nation, for without thinking in any way of the venality of appointments, Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Buldān*, 1, tr. Massé, 1, proposed precisely to take it, following here al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā, as the rich and cultivated people, at the side of the rulers and their ministers, with the rest of humanity making up a completely uninteresting *ʿāmma*. If the categories of the rulers and their ministers are only to be expected, the other two are remarkable because this writer includes in the *khāṣṣa* a higher class (*ʿilya*) which has been raised to a higher level through riches, and "people of middling status whose education has made them assimilated to the previous class", i.e. the bourgeoisie, which is largely made up of merchants who have grown rich (and these were often scholars also) and the intellectual élite. The idea of a bourgeoisie is very recent, and al-Marsafī himself still places the middle class amongst the *khāṣṣa*, but one would like to know more about the *shurṭa wusṭā* set up in al-Andalus and probably responsible for ferreting out crimes committed by this intermediate class (cf. Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. musulmane*, iii, 156-7). As for the intellectual élite, it would require an unusual amount of modesty for authors to place themselves in the *ʿāmma* when they talk of the two great social classes. In practice, the secretaries of the administration tend to apply the term *khawāṣṣ* to the ruler's entourage, of which they were a part, whilst literary men and the authors of religious works apply it to an ill-defined élite which corresponds to the educated people mentioned by Ibn al-Faḳīh. It would probably be unfair to base oneself on the criterion adopted by the philologists who wrote works on the *laḥn al-ʿāmma* [*q.v.*], because all the people utilising this medium of expression, not in classical Arabic at all but in dialect, *ʿāmmiyya*, were part of the *ʿāmma*, including gross and untutored rulers. This linguistic criterion cannot then be upheld, especially as authors recognise that the *khawāṣṣ* generally use a language which is different, and in any case, more correct than that of the *ʿawāmm*, even if they may at times commit the faults which, for instance, al-Ḥarīrī has brought out in his *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ fi awhām al-khawāṣṣ*.

If writers do not seem to have composed much else on the *khāṣṣa* and were content to address themselves to it as did Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī with his *Tadhkirat khawāṣṣ al-umma*, the *ʿāmma* is a theme of Arabic literature which was treated from a critical point of view. Thus al-Djāḥiẓ has left a *Risāla fī waṣf al-ʿawāmm*, and Abu 'l-ʿAnbas al-Ṣaymarī was the author of the *Masāwī 'l-ʿawāmm wa-akhbār al-sifla wa 'l-aghtām*, etc. (cf. C. E. Bosworth, *The mediaeval Islamic underworld*. i. *The Banū Sāsān in Arabic society and literature*, Leiden 1976, 30 ff.).

The title given to his opuscule by Abu 'l-ʿAnbas [*q.v.* in Suppl.] shows revealingly a mentality current at that time which tended to make no differentiation between the various elements making up the *ʿāmma* and which tended to assimilate this last to the mass of population which was, in greater or lesser degree, turbulent. Hence the terms *ghawghāʾ*, *awbāsh*, *sifla*, *aghtām*, etc. were applied to the *ʿāmma*, all of these being pejorative expressions inspired by an aristocratic vision which an Abu 'l-ʿAnbas would have been the last to exploit. Whilst the *khāṣṣa* in its proper sense was—justifiably—the recipient of only praises for its moral and intellectual qualities and for the *adab* [*q.v.*] of which it had a monopoly (cf. for example, Abū Ḥayyan al-Tawḥīdī, *Imtāʿ*, iii, 61, 151-2), all possible sins were fathered on to the *ʿāmma*. It was ignorant, without any morality, unrespecting of religious obligations, and let itself be easily manipulated by the *khāṣṣa*, whose play-thing it was (but the two classes then needed each other). It was conformist for some, but easily won over to heterodox teachings for others, and it was the *ʿāmma* which made up the hordes of extremist sects, all the more so because it was incapable of distinguishing the true from the false, hence acted without due reflection and easily rallied to mischief-makers. It does not seem necessary to dwell any further upon this unattractive picture which writers sketch out, but this general picture does not prevent there occuring also in their works more cheering references and examples of praiseworthy deeds accomplished by members of the *ʿāmma*.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the text, see Djahshiyārī, *al-Wuzarāʾ wa 'l-kuttāb*, Cairo 1938, 97, 167, 178, 189; Djāḥiẓ, *ʿUthmāniyya*, Cairo 1955, 250-6; Yaʿḳūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, Beirut 1970, ii, 484, 493, 503; Fārābī, *Kitāb al-Ḥurūf*, Beirut 1969, 133-4; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, index; *Aghānī*, Cairo 1950, xii, 36; Tawḥīdī, *Imtāʿ*, Beirut *ca.* 1953, i, 205, ii, 13, 48-9, iii, 62, 95-6, 151-2; Miskawayh, *Tadjārib al-umam*, ii, 62-3; Thaʿālibī, *Taʾrīkh ghurar al-siyar* ("Histoire des rois de Perse"), new edn. Tehran 1963, 390, 482, 498, 535, 730; idem, *Yatīmat al-dahr*, Beirut 1973, iv, 203; Ṣābīʾ, *Tuḥfat al-umarāʾ fī taʾrīkh al-wuzarāʾ*, Cairo 1958, 15-6, 20, 22, 27, 34-5, 40, 156, 258, 340; Rāghib, *Dhariʿa*, Cairo 1881, 51; Ibn al-Ḳalānisī, *Dhayl Taʾrīkh Dimashḳ*, 215; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vii, 287, viii, 22, 143, 170; Maydānī, *Madjmaʿ al-amthāl*, Cairo 1892, ii, 211; Yāḳūt, *Udabāʾ*, xvi, 87, 271; Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *Fakhrī*, Beirut 1966, 26-7, 268, 270, 294; Bundārī, *Sanāʾ al-barḳ al-Shāmī*, Beirut 1971, 55-6; Ibn al-ʿIbrī, *Taʾrīkh mukhtaṣar al-duwal*, Beirut 1958, 132, 153; Ibn Ḥamdūn, *Tadhkira*, Cairo 1927, 54, 58-9; *Alf Layla wa-layla*, Beirut 1909, iii, 8, vi, 75, 86, 211 and 15 (*sic*); Ibshīhī, *Mustaṭraf*, Cairo 1911-12,

i, 143; Sourdel, *Le vizirat*, i, 338, ii, 592; R. Levy, *The social structure of Islam*, Cambridge 1969, 395; Lane, *Lexicon*, 746-7, 2150. (M. A. J. BEG)

KHĀṢṢAKIYYA (under the Mamlūks). These were the sultan's bodyguard and select retinue. Most of them usually belonged to the corps of the reigning sultan's freedmen (*mushtarawāt, adjlāb, djulbān*). Most of the commanders (*amīrs*) rose from the *khāṣṣakiyya*. They were considered to be the most prestigious body within the Mamlūk military aristocracy, and were the closest to the sultan. Frequent reference is made to their being sent on special missions inside and outside the Mamlūk sultanate, their being appointed governors of some of the Syrian provinces, and their being dispatched to arrest and imprison rebellious amirs and governors. There were amongst them pen-box holders (*dawādāriyya*), cup-bearers (*suqāt*), treasurers (*khāzindāriyya*), masters of the robe (*djamdāriyya*), armour bearers (*silāḥdāriyya*) and shoe-bearers (*bashmaḳandāriyya*). The rest of the *khāṣṣakiyya* held no offices and were inferior in status to the office holders.

The numbers of the *khāṣṣakiyya* varied considerably. The minimum number was 40 and the maximum 1,200. The increase of the number of the *khāṣṣakiyya* was a clear symptom of the decline of the military aristocracy in the later years of the Mamlūk sultanate, but attempts to curb that process met with only partial and temporary success.

Bibliography: D. Ayalon, *Studies on the structure of the Mamluk army*, in *BSOAS*, xv (1953), 213-16, and the bibliography on p. 213, n. 7; Ismail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtına medhal*, Ankara 1970, 347-8. (D. AYALON)

KHĀṢṢEKĪ, Turkish form of Persian *khāṣṣagī* from Arabic *khāṣṣ*, "private, special, confidential", applied to persons in the personal service of mediaeval Turco-Islamic rulers [see further KHĀṢṢAKIYYA].

The term was used in the Ottoman palace service from the 10th/16th to the 13th/19th centuries and in military organisation. The first of these usages was as applied to the Sultan's concubines who were known by the title of *khāṣṣekī*. Their number varied between 4 and 7 (Maḥmūd I had 6, and Selīm III had 7), and these were the special favourites of the sultan, above all other concubines, and honoured by the title of *ḳadın* with their own private apartments and attendants. Those bearing a child to the sultan were called *khāṣṣekī sulṭān*. Thus Khurrem Sultan [*q.v.*], one of the Süleymān the Magnificent's *ḳadıns*, *Khadīdje* Turkhān Sulṭān, one of the seven *khāṣṣekīs* of Sultan Ibrāhīm, Gülnüsh Emetü'llāh Sulṭān, one of the *ḳadıns* of Meḥemmed IV, were all therefore called by the honorific title of *Khāṣṣekī Sulṭān* (for this last lady, see Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, N.D. 2081, 33/10). When a sultan died, some of the *khāṣṣekīs* who were childless or whose children had died might be given in marriage to one of the ministers or high officials. (For documentation on the *Khāṣṣekī Sulṭāns* in the period 936-1223/1530-1809 see Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, Unpublished Catalogue, N.E. 6425.)

The 14th, 49th, 66th, 67th companies or *ortas* of the Janissary corps were called *khāṣṣekī ortaları*. Each one of the *khāsseki* companies was headed by an *agha*, the most senior of these *aghas* bearing the title of *Bash Khāṣṣekī* "Chief *Khāsseki*"; these *khāṣṣekīs*, according to tradition, were introduced during the reign of Meḥemmed the Conqueror. Just as it was customary for the sultan's attendants, together with the greyhounds, to accompany him on his hunting expeditions, so there were four senior *aghas* of the *khāṣṣekī ortas* who walked, two on the sultan's right and two on his left, when he went to the mosque; these *aghas* of the four companies were therefore given the title of *khünkār khāṣṣekī*. The most senior of them, when promoted, became the *Turnadjī bashı* (*ḳawānīn-i yeničeriyān*, Süleymaniye, Esat Efendi Kütüphanesi, no. 2068, ff. 85, 86 etc.). The number of the four *khāṣṣekī* companies amounted to 1,018 in 1032/1623 and 1,210 in 1074/1664 (Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtında kapıkulu ocakları*, Ankara 1943, i, 205). These *khāṣṣekī* companies were dispersed with the abolition of the Janissary corps in 1241/1826.

There were also the *bostāndjī khāṣṣekīs*, numbering 500 in the 12th/18th century, who formed a group within the larger organisation of the *Bostāndjīs* which were looking after the palace gardens and orchards as well as undertaking certain other palace services.

These *khāṣṣekīs* were chosen from among the *bostāndjīs*, and 60, of them acted as escorts for the ruler round the imperial boat, with a *khāṣṣekī agha* in charge of the boat. The *bostāndjī khāṣṣekīs* also acted as diplomatic couriers (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, N.D. 2939, Meḥmed ʿAṭā', *Ta'rīkh-i Enderūn*, Istanbul 1292, i, 293 ff.). One should also mention the *bostāndjī khāṣṣekī* (also called *wezīr ḳaraḳulaghī*), who performed the duty of carrying correspondence between the sultan and the Grand Vizier, and others who held such offices as *kirečči bashı* "Chief lime burner", *balıḳ emīni* (collector of dues on fish brought to market in Istanbul), *sharāb emīni* or *emīn-i khamr* (collector of dues on wine). The *bostāndjī khāṣṣekīs* were abolished in 1244/1829 (Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, 474).

Bibliography: Apart from the sources mentioned in the text, see M. C. Şahabettin Tekindag, *Berkuk devrinde Memluk sultanlığı*, Istanbul 1961, 33, 152; P. Rycaut, *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire*, London 1668, 40-1; Theodore Spandouyn Cantacasin, *Petit Traicté de l'Origine des Turcqz*, Paris 1896, 321-2; J. von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung des Osmanischen Reichs*, repr. 1963, ii, 69, 107, 196, 204; Khıḍır Ilyās, *Leṭā'if-i Enderūn*, Istanbul 1276, *passim*; d'Ohsson, *Tableau général de l'Empire Ottoman*, Paris 1824, vii; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic society and the West*, London 1951-7, i/1, 321-2, 350-1; Çağatay Uluçay, *Harem*, Ankara 1971, 44; Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi, N.D. 5695; Mehmed Zeki Pakalın, *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terımleri sözlügü*, Istanbul 1946, i, 752-4; Ismail Hakki Uzunçarşılı, art. *Haseki* in *İA*; A. D. Alderson, *The structure of the Ottoman dynasty*, Oxford 1956, 80, 81, 106.

(CENGİZ ORHONLU)

KHAṬA' (A.), a mistake, which is made in thought, speech or action (a fault which one has is called *ʿayb*), the opposite of *ṣawāb*, what is correct; hence in the field of knowledge, error; in that of action, omission, failure, all this, of course, unintentional. From the last meaning develops that of wrong which one commits, transgression; whether this is to be regarded as unintentional or—as in *khaṭi'a* and *khiṭ'*—deliberate (sc. a sin) is a disputed point with the lexicographers. *Khaṭa'* and *khaṭ'* (the latter is found only in the *Ḳāmūs*, so that it is hardly classical) are synonymous (or phonetic variants?). *Khaṭa'* is sometimes regarded as an infinitive of *khaṭi'a* used as a substantive (which it originally was and still is), sometimes as a substantive from *akhṭa'a* (which it has become through linguistic usage), and sometimes as belonging to both. The lexicographers have the most diverse opinions regarding the more accurate definition of the meaning

of these two verbs, within the sphere of ideas above outlined. *Khaṭa'* and *khaṭā'* are exceedingly rare in classical poetry (e.g. Abu 'l-ʿAtāhiya, ed. 1888, 120 "sin" (parallel with *dhanb*); also Ḳurʾān, XVII, 33: "sin", as a variant of *khiṭ'*; IV, 94: "transgression"); more frequently only the verbal forms *khaṭi'a* and *akhṭa'a* are used as synonyms.

The use of *khaṭa'* as a technical term is in keeping with the general use of the word; the principal uses of it are as follows:

1. Error in logic (opposite of *ṣawāb*), synonymous with *bāṭil*, the "invalid" (opposite of *ḥaḳḳ*); the former pair of concepts ought to be used in questions of *idjtihād* [*q.v.*] and the latter in questions of *iʿtiḳād* [*q.v.*] (this may be the result of the corresponding use of the word in the Ḳurʾān), so that Islam and the other religions are contrasted with one another in *ḥaḳḳ* and *bāṭil*, opposite views in the *furūʿ* of the *fiḳh* [see FIḲH], as *ṣawāb* and *khaṭa'*; but there is only one verb for each, *aṣāba* and *akhṭa'a*, which points to the artificiality of this distinction, and in reality the rule is often not observed; in other branches of learning also *khaṭa'* and *bāṭil* are used promiscuously, as indeed are *ṣawāb* and *ḥaḳḳ* also. The works which deal with the *uṣūl al-fiḳh* [see UṢŪL] discuss the question whether the *mudjtahid* [*q.v.*] *muṭlaḳ* can err. In the orthodox community, the opinion has prevailed that the *mudjtahid* can err and in cases of difference of opinion only one can be right at a time, and a tradition is even cited on this point; the Muʿtazilīs asserted that every *mudjtahid* is right, and even celebrated orthodox teachers held this view, e.g. Abū Yūsuf, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī, Ibn Suraydj, al-Muzanī, al-Ashʿarī and his school, al-Bāḳillānī, al-Ghazālī; Abū Ḥanīfa adopts a middle view. The champions of the orthodox view believe, in keeping with this, that Allāh has already come to a definite decision before every *idjtihād* and that the correctness or otherwise of the decision of the *mudjtahid* results from its agreement or not with that of Allāh; those of the Muʿtazila assume either different decisions by Allāh which coincide with those of the individual *mudjtahids* and are valid for them and their *muḳallids* [*q.v.*], so that all differing decisions of the *mudjtahids* are equally justified, or they consider one decision more justified than the others and believe that Allāh has taken no decision in such cases but "if He did do so", would express quite a definite one: this supposed decision by Allāh is then compared with those of the *mudjtahids*, and the *mudjtahid* who agrees with it is considered in the right in every respect; but those which differ from it are considered in the right with respect to the basis, the *idjtihād* (*ibtidā'an idjtihādan*), as the *mudjtahid* has endeavoured with all his power to find the decision, in the wrong with respect to the result, the decision itself (*intihā'an ḥukman*). The representatives of the orthodox view, who are essentially in close agreement with this form of the Muʿtazilī view, make the same distinction (the opinion is rejected that the *mudjtahid* who makes a mistake is completely in the wrong); the other Muʿtazilī view, however, is in sharp contrast to this. But this difference only exists in questions of the derivation of legal rules from the *uṣūl al-fiḳh* (*fi 'l-sharʿiyyāt*) and only in the case when no clear decision is given in the *uṣūl*; if there is one, but it has not been regarded by the *mudjtahid*, he is, of course, wrong. In the domain of the *uṣūl al-dīn*, of *kalām* [*q.v.*], particularly in reasoned deductions (*fi 'l-ʿaḳliyyāt*), according to the general consensus, only one view can be right in a case of differences of opinion. Only a few Muʿtazilīs, as whose representatives Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAnbarī and al-Djāḥiẓ are cited, asserted that here also in dogmatics every *mudjtahid* (the word is used in a wider sense, meaning everyone who does all in his power to solve a problem) is right; while al-ʿAnbarī adds so long as he can be still described as a Muslim, and al-Djāḥiẓ without limitation. Tradition on this point is no longer certain, as is apparent in differences in detail and in a certain irresolution; in this Muʿtazilī teaching, however (as in the polemics regarding the *mudjtahid fi 'l-sharʿiyyāt*), the other meanings of *khaṭa'* come into consideration, so that it is doubtless correctly explained that by "being right" is not meant agreement with the actual facts, but that the *mudjtahid* has duly fulfilled the task imposed on him and therefore cannot be punished (while according to the orthodox consensus, every non-Muslim is doomed to the pains of hell eternally), and that that to which his *idjtihād* leads him is what is right for him by Allāh's decree itself. This ambiguity in terminology must have contributed to the ambiguity in tradition. That, taken purely logically, several differing views could be right at the same time, has never been asserted. The *mudjtahid* in the wrong is not punished for his error and is not considered as being in a religious error (*ḍalāl*), but is regarded as excused and is rewarded, since he has done everything that is demanded of him if he has really used all his energy for the derivation of the legal rule. If he has not done this, he is punished for his error; others say that every error of a *mudjtahid* is a sin, but this view is rejected. All this holds only of the *mudjtahids* of the Sunnīs; those of the "Twelver" Shīʿīs are infallible.

2. Unintentional action (opposite of *ʿamd*); this use comes from Ḳurʾān, IV, 94-5 (cf. ḲATL, section i, I; passages like II, 286 and XXII, 5 may have also had an influence). This is of interest here, in so far as it is illegal. It may be more accurately defined as an act contrary to law, in which the intention of committing an illegal act is lacking, while the action itself may be deliberate; any negligence is left quite out of the question in the juridical appreciation. The Muʿtazilīs asserted that one could not be punished by Allāh for it, for punishment is only conceivable for a deliberate illegal act. Orthodoxy on the contrary teaches that, while *khaṭa'* is not a sin (*ithm*), any negligence, however, is something deliberate, and the *khaṭa'*, as its result, is liable to be punished (it was regarded as belonging to the *ʿawāriḍ muktasaba*, happenings only indirectly intended, in themselves not deliberate, for which man can equally be made responsible); but Allāh in his mercy will overlook the punishment in the next world. The *khaṭa'* is thus considered as an ameliorating, often even exonerating, circumstance in the infliction of punishment in this world (*shubha* [*q.v.*]); it cannot be punished by *ḥadd* [*q.v.*]. But not all of Allāh's rights are waived: anyone who, contrary to the prohibition, kills an animal in the *ḥaram* [*q.v.*], the sacred territory of Mecca, whether with *ʿamd* (deliberately) or from *khaṭa'* (unintentionally), has in the opinion of all four *madhhabs*, to make the prescribed atonement. Dāwūd al-Ẓāhirī alone in this case considers *khaṭa'* as an excuse. This is doubtless connected with what is ultimately a pre-Islamic idea, that Allāh has an especial right of ownership to the *ḥaram*, its plants and animals (cf. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le Pèlerinage à la Mekke*, 7, 10). It follows that an unintentional infraction of this right of property is to be atoned for like an intentional one (the substance of this is also found in the following difference of opinion: Mālik and Aḥmad

b. Ḥanbal do not require a special compensation if the animal has an owner—who, of course, must be compensated—i.e. does not belong to Allāh; Abū Ḥanīfa and al-Shāfiʿī demand it in every case, so that they extend their area of application). In *khaṭaʾ* there also is a full liability for any injury done to another. Here *ḳiṣāṣ* [*q.v.*] is a special case; its application is excluded when *khaṭaʾ* is present; and instead, the *diya* [*q.v.*] is to be paid and the *kaffāra* [*q.v.*] to be performed. For further details, see the article ḲATL, Section i, 5, 6, where the variations of *khaṭaʾ* in the meaning of an unintentional act are given. From them it will be seen that this terminological use of the word is based on the two meanings "error" (in the case of *khaṭaʾ fi 'l-ḳaṣd*) and "failure", "accident" (in the case of *khaṭaʾ fi 'l-fiʿl*) and is no more uniform than the use dealt with under I.

Bibliography: The statements of the dictionaries are collected in Lane, *Arabic-English lexicon*, i/2, 761; on its use as a technical term, see *Dictionary of the technical terms used in the sciences of the Musulmans*, i, 401-2; Dschordscháni, *Definitiones*, ed. G. Flügel, 104; for further details the works on *uṣūl* and the *fiḳh*-books are indispensable. See also ḲATL. (J. SCHACHT)

KHAṬĀʾĪ [see ISMĀʿĪL SHĀH].

KHAṬAK, a Pashtūn tribe living in the Kohāṭ and Peshāwar Districts of the North-West Frontier region of former British India, now Pakistān, estimated at about 200,000 individuals; for their genealogy, see the table in AFGHĀN. They are Ḥanafī Sunnī Muslims, and their original home appears to have been the Shawāl valley in Wazīristān. In the early 8th/14th century they were driven by other Pashtūn tribes to the southern portion of the Ṭēri mountains of Kohāṭ, where the main body still lives as neighbours of the Bangash tribe. They speak the so-called "soft" dialect of Pashto [see AFGHĀN, ii. The Pashto language], but a section of this tribe, the Akora Khaṭaks, live in Nowshera *Taḥṣīl* of the Peshāwar District, and they have adopted the "hard" dialect. The Khaṭak are the only major Pashtūn tribe which is divided into the two main Pashto dialects.

Although not mentioned in the *Bābur-nāma*, the Khaṭaks do appear in 10th/16th century documents. Malik Ako (or Akōṛay) led his clan of Khaṭaks to the land they occupy to this day west of the confluence of the Kābul and Indus Rivers. He was granted the land from the Indus to Nowshera (1586) by the Mughal Emperor Akbar, and given the right to levy ferry tolls at the Attock crossing [see ATAK], in return for keeping open this part of the road to Kābul, then a province of the Mughal Empire. This stretch formed part of the famous Grand Trunk Road from Hindustān to Khurāsān. Control of the Attock crossing brought the Khaṭaks into conflict with the neighboring Yūsufzay tribe living north of the Kābul River, who had, at this time, been resisting Mughal encroachments into their areas. The Khaṭaks took advantage of Akbar's attempted suppression of the Yūsufzays to occupy part of their lands. Later, the Khaṭak-Yūsūfzay rivalry was caught up in the struggle for succession between Aurangzīb and his competing brothers (1068/1658). The Khaṭaks were then hard hit by the abolition of the Indus ferry tolls. During most of the second half of the 11th/17th century the Khaṭak and some other tribes were in constant rebellion against Aurangzīb, a resistance in which Khushḥāl Khān [*q.v.*] was the guiding force. He secured the assistance of the Afrīdīs (led by Malik Daryā Khān and Aymal Khān), but failed with the Yūsufzays because of the historic Khaṭak-Yūsufzay feud. There was no major resistance by the Khaṭaks against the Mughals after Aurangzīb. In 1823 the Khaṭaks, in confederation with the Yūsufzays, formed a tribal army under Akbar Shāh, Sayyid of the Pīr Bābā family, and gallantly resisted the advance of the Sikh Mahārādjā, Randjīt Singh. In 1828, Khaṭak tribesmen joined the forces of Sayyid Aḥmad of Barēlī (supported by the family of the Pīr Bābā Sayyids), who defeated the Sikhs. The British found the Khaṭaks "industrious" and "happy folk", strict in the observance of Islam, adhering to the Afghān code of honour, the *Pashtūnwalay* (Col. E. "Buster" Goodwin). The tribe could munster 32,000 able-bodied men, of which 12,000 were in Peshāwar Valley and the rest of Kōhāt (Sir William Barton). Today, Khaṭak individuals play important rôles in politics and business in the North-West Frontier Province. The Khaṭak dance, a version of the traditional *atan* of the Afghan tribes, plays a great part in festivities and folklore.

Bibliography: J. M. Ewart (updated by Evelyn B. Howell), *Story of the N-WFP*, Government Printing Office, Peshawar, 1930; C. Collin Davies, *The Problem of the North-West Frontier, 1890-1908, with a survey of policy since 1849*, Cambridge 1939; J. W. Spain, *The Pathan borderland*, The Hague 1963; Sir Olaf Caroe, *The Pathans 550 B.C.-A.D. 1957*, London 1965 (fundamental work); D. Dichter, *The North-West frontier of Pakistan: a study in regional geography*, Oxford 1967; A. Swinson, *North-West Frontier, 1839-1947*, London 1967; J. G. Elliot, *The Frontier 1839-1947: the story of the North-West Frontier of India*, London 1968; E. "Buster" Goodwin, *Life among the Pathāns* (*Khaṭtaks*), Rawalpindi 1975. Works in the Pashto language: ʿAbdul-Raʾūf Bēnawā, *Pashtūnistān*, Kabul 1951; pp. 228-35 contain a summary of Sayyid Anwar-ul-Haq's Pashto article on the Khaṭaks, published in *Inṣāf*, No. 7, Peshawar 1949. (RAVĀN FARHADI)

KHĀTAM, KHĀTIM (A.) (P. *muhr*), seal, signet, signet-ring, the impression (also *khatm*) as well as the actual seal-matrix; it is applied not only to seals proper, engraved in incuse characters with retrograde inscriptions, but also in the very common seal-like objects with regular inscriptions of a pious or auspicious character; for the latter, which are amulets and further readily distinguished from seals by the absence of a personal name, see ṬILSAM; indeed anything with an inscription stamped upon it may be called *khātam*. Here we are only concerned with seals in the strict sense of the word. The word *khātam* is said by Nöldeke, *Mandäische Grammatik*, 112 to be of Aramaic origin, and in this he is followed by Fraenkel, *Aram. Fremdw.*, 252, who also recognises a loan word in *ḳarḳas*, seal-clay.

The part played by the signet-ring in the east cannot be better illustrated than by the following quotation from Lane (*Modern Egyptians*,[5] 1860, 31). Describing the dress of a Muslim Egyptian he says:

"On the little finger of the right hand (it is allowable to wear it on a finger of the left hand) is worn a seal-ring (*khâtim*), which is generally of silver, with a carnelian, or other stone, upon which is engraved the wearer's name; the name is usually accompanied by the words "His servant" (signifying "the servant, or worshipper, of God"), and often by other words expressive of the person's trust in God, etc. The Prophet disapproved of gold; therefore few Muslims wear gold rings: but the women have various ornaments (rings, bracelets, etc.) of that precious metal. The seal-ring is used for signing letters and others writings; and its impression is considered more valid than the sign-

manual. A little ink is dabbed upon it with one of the fingers, and it is pressed upon the paper; the person who uses it having first touched his tongue with another finger, and moistened the place in the paper which is to be stamped. Almost every person who can afford it has a seal-ring, even though he be a servant".

The use of seals dates from remote antiquity in the east, and they have never been supplanted by the spread of a knowledge of the art of writing and the use of the signature, as has happened in the west. In the east, the seal takes the place of the signature and it is the former that gives validity to a document even if the latter is also used. The seal is also much used as a guarantee that property will be kept intact and thus takes the place of locks and keys. Goods are simply roped up in a packet and the knots sealed with the owner's seal, a plan which to Chardin, for example, appeared more reliable than the western system, owing to the practical impossibility of counterfeiting a seal. It is also used to stamp property as a mark of ownership (e.g. books and bindings) and in this way corresponds to a coat of arms in the west. The possession of another person's seal is evidence that the latter has delegated his authority. There is abundant evidence of these usages in the east from very early times. Pharaoh, for example (Gen. xli, 42), gives to Joseph his signet, as a sign of authority, just as the Sultan of Turkey did to his grand vizier. Jezebel (I Kings, xxi, 8) forges a letter in Ahab's name and seals it with his seal to give it validity. The books of Esther and Daniel give similar examples of the power of the Persian king's seal. Herodotus (i, 195) tells us that every Babylonian carried a seal and the abundance of seals, usually cylindrical in form, that have survived from ancient times in Mesopotamia, illustrates this statement. Seals of the Sāsānid period still exist in large numbers, whether made for mounting in rings or pierced for suspension. In South Arabia also the pre-Islamic civilisation has left numerous specimens of its signets.

No seals of the pre-Muslim Arabs are known. The earliest Arab seals come from Egypt with papyri and belong to the period soon after the conquest. Whether we accept or not the story that only seventeen men in Mecca could write in the time of Muḥammad, we must suppose that seals were in common use in this important commercial centre as in other parts of the east. Tradition, in any case, has a certain amount to tell about the Prophet's *k͟hātam*. Al-Buk͟hārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Būlāḳ 1311-13/1894-6, vii, *libās*, 48, says that the Prophet wished to write to the Byzantines. He was told they would not read his letter unless it had a seal, so he adopted one of silver with the inscription *Muḥammad rasūl Allāh*. According to al-Masʿūdī, he adopted this ring in Muḥarram of the year 7/May-June 628. The Prophet is also said to have originally worn a *k͟hātam* of gold, but gave it up when he forbade the wearing of gold rings and silk and brocade (Buk͟hārī, *loc. cit.*). Women did not observe the prohibition of gold rings and ʿĀʾis͟ha for example wore them (*ibid.*). The Prophet wore his signet on his right hand and used to take it off when he went to the privy (al-Tirmid͟hī *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Būlāḳ 1242/1826-7, i, *libās*, 324). Opinions differ as to the proper hand and finger for the ring, and there is no established rule. Later stories illustrate the Prophet's disapproval of metals other than silver for signet-rings. He is reported to have said that a brass ring savoured of idolatry, that an iron one was emblematic of souls condemned to eternal fire, while words could not express his horror of a gold ring; meeting the wearer of one, he cast upon him a terrible frown and turned away as if he had encountered a dog or an infidel. The Prophet's seal was handed on and used by his successors, who had however also their own seals, until ʿUt͟hmān lost it in a well at Aris, or in Zamzam, or according to others in the Tigris near Mawṣil. The Prophet's interdiction has been generally observed, and it is exceedingly rare to find signet-rings of the more precious metals or mounted with the more valuable precious stones, upon which there was no embargo.

The earliest known seal of a Muslim is that of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, conqueror and governor of Egypt whose signet was a bull (Rainer, *Führer*, No. 556). Whether this is due to local influence, or whether the representation of an animal was not unusual with the pre-Muslim Arabs, is impossible to say. Other Arab seals bearing animals are known of this period, but the rigorous avoidance of images of living things was soon applied to seals also, for we soon find seals in Egypt of the Muslim type, although as late as 88/707, we find the governor Ḳurra b. S͟harīk using a wolf (Rainer, *Führer*, No. 593). The seals of Abū Hāʾim b. Yaḥyā (No. 572) and of the head of the Treasury Rās͟hid b. K͟hālid "who trusts in God" (No. 577) are already of the style that became stereotyped. A notable seal from Egypt is that of the tax-collector Nad͟jd b. Muslim which bears his name in Greek and Arabic (No. 589). Bilingual seals are again found in Syria and Asia Minor in the 4th/10th century (cf. Schlumberger, *op. cit.*, and Halil Edhem, *op. cit.*). Here also under Byzantine influence we find double sided impressions of seals in lead (*bullae*); of these the most notable is that of the Kākūyid ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla of 430/1038-9 with a horseman on the obverse (Halil Edhem, No. 30). Another remarkable seal from the same region is that of the Hamdānid Muḥammad b. Saʿd al-Dawla Abu ʾl-Maʿālī S͟harīf with obverse a bust of St. Theodore and his name in Greek characters (*op. cit.*, No. 31).

The materials of these early impressions are the same as in later times, a special kind of clay (*ḳarḳas*), or lead, appended by cords to the documents as in the mediaeval west also. When the seal is stamped on the documents itself, it is done with a special thick kind of ink and the paper is moistened before receiving the impression; red wax is also used where the climate permits it. As in mediaeval Europe, there are instances recorded in the east of *bullae* of the precious metals, silver and even gold for very special occasions (Reinaud, *op. cit.*, i., p. 112).

Charles White (*op. cit.*) deals very fully with the use of seals among the Turks and the guild of engravers in Istanbul. The latter have, he says, a special quarter in the bazaar called after them *ḥakkāklar čars͟hī*. The members of the guild are Muslims (in contrast to the dealers in stones, who are usually Jews) of fair education conversant with Arabic, Persian and Turkish. A few can decipher the Kūfic character. Their training is a long one. Apprentices after a good education take lessons from the best calligraphers of the day and then serve seven years with a master-engraver. When their indentures have expired, they become journeymen (*kalfa*), until they can acquire a business of their own and be admitted into the guild as master-members (*usta*), the number of whom is limited to fifty. Their shops are regularly searched by the police lest they be tempted to put their skill to illegal uses, such as the engraving of false coin-dies. Such great care is taken to ensure the genuineness of a seal that the trade are forbidden to engrave two seals exactly the same for the same person. When a seal is lost the owner has some trifling alteration made in the new one, such as a change in

an ornament or the date, so that the forgery can be detected if his first seal should fall into evil hands.

The Istanbul engravers date the origin of their art in the time of the caliph ʿU͟thmān and say the first engraver was a certain Muḥammad al-Ḥid͟jāzī who engraved seals for ʿU͟thmān and ʿAlī bearing their names with the additional epithet *ʿabd Allāh*; the rings were of silver and the stones were bloodstones.

White's account of the seals of the sultan and dignitaries of the Ottoman empire follows d'Ohsson. The sultan has three seals of different sizes, all of emerald set in gold with the same inscription, the *tug͟hrā* [*q.v.*] and a religious legend. The first is a small seal always carried by the sultan and handed to his secretary as required. The second is somewhat larger and is entrusted to the grand treasurer of the harem, who uses it for all matters relating to the harem—the Mug͟hal Emperor Akbar similarly had a special seal for all documents relating to the harem. The third imperial Ottoman seal is the seal of state confided to the grand vizier of the day, who is supposed to keep it in his bosom day and night. The head of each department of state has also his own seal for matters relating to his office.

Persons of distinction do not usually wear signet-rings on their fingers. Great dignitaries have a confidential seal bearer (*muhrdār*) who carries the signet in a small bag in his breast pocket and produces it when required inked for the stamp or clean if wax is used. People of humble rank carry their seal in the breast pocket or suspended round the neck. The impression of the signet stands for a signature, although for documents of importance the latter is also necessary. In the case of the sultan, the seal used and the presence or absence of the signature vary with the importance of the document, as does the format of the latter.

Chardin's account of the seals used by the S͟hāh of Persia is similar. There are three seal-keepers (*muhrdār bas͟hī*) but they only affix the seals, which are kept in a box in the palace sealed with the king's own seal. Friday is the usual day for sealing documents; the *muhrdār* prepares the seal and the paper and makes the impression on a sign from the Shah, who does not usually do it himself. There are three great seals, used for military, civil and foreign affairs, and two small seals used for the palace accounts etc. The same inscription is in the centre of the three large seals, *banda S͟hāh wilāyat Sulaymān ast 1080* (A.H.); the small seals have *dīn* in place of *wilāyat*. One of the large seals has a quatrain round it and another has the names of the 12 S͟hīʿī *Imāms*. At the king's death his name is erased and that of his successor engraved on it. Of the general use of seals, Chardin observes that it would not be easy to steal one, as they are worn around the neck and only taken off in the bath; they are also worn on rings. It is rarer to find a seal counterfeited than a signature in Europe. The seal engravers used a drill and a small wheel with emery.

Abu 'l-Faḍl in the *Āʾīn-i Akbarī* devotes a special chapter to the Emperor's seals, which are used in the three branches of the government—"indeed every man requires them in his transactions". (Here we may note that English officials in India in the 18th and 19th centuries found it necessary to have a seal with their names in Persian characters).

At the beginning of his reign, Akbar had a circular seal bearing his name and those of his ancestors back to Tīmūr in the *riḳʿa* characters; later he had a simpler one with his name only in the *nastaʿlīḳ* character. The former was at first used for letters to foreign kings and the latter (known as *uzuk*) for home affairs but the distinction was not maintained. A second seal used for juridical business was lozenge-shaped (*miḥrābī*) and bore an appropriate verse in praise of justness, round his majesty's name. For other business a small square seal with the legend *Allāh Akbar, d͟jalla d͟jalāluhu* was used and the harem, as already stated, had its own special seal.

The great figures of Muslim tradition had of course their seals. That of Sulaymān b. Dāwūd is particularly famous and plays an important part in many of the stories of his miraculous exploits. It was held in particular awe by the *d͟jinn*. D͟jams͟hīd, the Solon of Persia, according to Saʿdī, was the first person to wear his signet on the left hand. In Firdawsī's story of S͟hāpūr II's escape from captivity in Rūm, he reveals his return by sending an impression of his signet to the grand *mōbed*.

Coming to more historical periods, we have a record of the seal inscriptions of all the early caliphs (e.g. in Masʿūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh*, under each caliph; collected by Hammer-Purgstall and von Murr); specimens of the seal impressions of several early Caliphs still exist; (cf. Halil Edhem, *op. cit.*). Tīmūr's seal bore his special mark, three small circles arranged in a triangle, and the motto *rastī rustī*, and an impression still exists in the Bibl. Nationale (de Sacy, *op. cit.*). Joinville mentions a ring of "moult fin or" bearing his signet which was among the presents sent to St. Louis by the S͟hayk͟h al-D͟jibāl. Specimens of the seals of sultans of Turkey and other high Turkish dignitaries are given by Hammer-Purgstall (*op. cit.*). Of these, the most remarkable is the original seal of Sultan Muṣṭafā II of 1106/1694-5 found on the battle field of Zenta (1697) where its bearer, the Grand Vizier Elmas Meḥmed Pas͟ha, was killed. A special medal was struck by the Austrians to commemorate this trophy. The *ṭug͟hrā* is a feature of the imperial Turkish seals; it is said to be an imitation of the impression of the hand, because Ork͟hān's sign-manual was the impress of his hand in red ink. Tīmūr is also said to have used this primitive signature, but we know that he was not illiterate. The *tug͟hrā* is also traced back to the Prophet himself.

Muslims have followed the example of the Prophet in having simple inscriptions on their seals. Sometimes the name alone is used, sometimes it is accompanied by a brief pious inscription, often indicative of humility; if the owner has the name of a person mentioned in the Ḳurʾān, the reference is frequently worked into the seal inscription. The name is given in a simple form and titles are as a rule avoided, in keeping with the general modesty of the signet; for examples of legends, see Reinaud and Hammer-Purgstall; in later times in Persia and India seals became much more elaborate and the seal of a minor official of the Mug͟hal court of the end of the 18th century often has several lines of bombastic inscription and forms a striking contrast to the seal, for example, of the great Sinān Pas͟ha, five times Grand Vizier of Turkey, with its modest inscription "O God Thou art full of mercy, pardon poor Sinān, son of ʿAlī".

The commonest materials for rings are silver or copper; and if a stone is mounted in it with the seal, it is one of the less valuable stones, cornelian, garnet, jacinth, agate, coral; the turquoise is not uncommon and one often sees them carved as amulets with inscription inlaid with gold. When not worn on a ring, the seal is mounted on a handle and carried in a bag; sometimes the stone itself is pierced for suspension and worn round the neck. The shapes of Arab seals

vary; oval is naturally the commonest, but they are also square, hexagonal or octagonal; a round shape is not common except for the largest sizes.

The art of the seal engraver was at its best, like that of calligraphy, in the 16th and 17th centuries. Its decline in the 18th was followed by the practical extinction of the art in the 19th. The names of few celebrated engravers have been preserved. Altun at the court of Tīmūr was reckoned a master of his art. Abu 'l-Faḍl gives the names of four masters of the craft at Akbar's court, each of whom was a specialist in a particular bracnh.

Bibliography: Adrian Reland, *Dissertatio de Gemmis Arabicis*, in *Dissert. Misc.*, Utrecht 1728, iii, 233-51; C. G. von Murr, *Drey Abhandlungen von der Geschichte der Araber*, Nürnberg 1770, 85-102; Hammer-Purgstall, *Abhandlung über die Siegel der Araber, Perser und Türken*, Vienna 1849; J. Reinaud, *Monuments Arabes, Persanes et Turcs*, Paris 1828, i, 1-130; ii, 1-296; D. H. Müller, *Südarabische Alterthümer*, Vienna 1899, 52-7, pl. xiii; de Sacy in *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, Paris 1822, vi, 516-19; A. J. Wensinck, *A Handbook of Early Muhammadan Tradition*, Leiden 1925, s.v. Seals; Halil Edhem, *Catalogue des Sceaux en Plomb Arabes, Arabo-Byzantins et Ottomans*, Istanbul 1904 (in Turkish); Mouradja d'Ohsson, *Tableau Général*, Paris 1790, ii, 132-3, 143; iii, 325; G. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'Empire Byzantine*, Paris 1844, 73-6; Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer, *Führer durch die Ausstellung*, Vienna 1894, *Arabische Abtheilung*, *passim*; E. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*[5], London 1860, 31; C. White, *Three Years in Constantinople*, London 1845, iii, 147-58; J. Chardin, *Voyages en Perse*, Paris 1811, iv, 143; v, 451-63; Mas'ūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh*, tr. Carra de Vaux, Paris 1897; Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Ā'īn-i Akbarī*, tr. H. Blochmann, *Bibl. Ind.*, Calcutta 1873, i, 45, 52, 263-4. For the *Dīwān al-Khatam*, the department of state, allegedly founded by Mu'āwiya as a precaution against the falsification of letters and documents, see DĪWĀN. i. The caliphate. (J. ALLAN)

The stamp which every ruler in the Islamic lands utilised in order to authenticate documents sent out in his name, had a design peculiar to each ruler, and was the symbol of his power. Hence when a caliph proved to be in a physical state unfitting him to govern, his seal was taken from him. Moreover, it was his seal which the caliph entrusted first of all to his confidants, i.e. usually to his successive viziers. Nevertheless, it seems that the caliph always retained a personal seal, quite distinct from the official seal which he used to authenticate his letters.

In the central administration of the 'Abbāsid period, there was an organisation of state specially charged with the task of gathering together the documents, letters and investiture patents prepared by the chancery or *Dīwān al-Rasā'il* and then ready to receive the caliphal seal. This was the *Dīwān al-Khātam*, which played on these occasions a crucial rôle, since it had to be certain in advance that the documents prepared for sealing were in conformity with the caliph's and vizier's instructions on the one hand, and in conformity with the administrative rules then in force on the other hand. In the first decades of the 'Abbāsid caliphate, there were at times bitter contests for control of the *Dīwān al-Khātam*. In practice, the vizier, at a time when his duties and sphere of competence were not clearly defined, could not exercise his powers properly unless he controlled this office; hence it happened that its head might, out of animosity towards the vizier, hold back deliberately the execution of orders and in this way bring all the administrative machine to a standstill. It was at a later period, from the opening of the 3rd/9th century, the custom to give the vizier direct control over the office of the seal, and the chroniclers note generally, in this connection, that the viziers received "the seal and the vizierate". If this detail no longer appears at the end of the century, it is because by that time the vizier's control over the whole of the offices making up the caliphal administration was firmly recognised, and the office of the seal could no longer function except under his direct orders.

Bibliography: D. Sourdel, *Le vizirat 'abbāside*, Damascus 1959-60, index. (D. SOURDEL)

In the Maghrib, at the present time, *khātam* (dialectical, *khāt'm*) denotes not only seal-rings, but any kind of ring worn on the finger. The seal itself, whether mounted on a ring or on a stem, is called *ṭāba'*. Its impress, stamped with thick black or violet ink, served until a recent time for the authentification of official documents, whether emanating from the *banīkas* of the Sharīfian *Makhzen* or from the tribal *ḳā'ids*. For judicial acts, the *ṭāba'* is rarely used; the complicated flourishes of the signatures of the adouls (*'udūl*) and the *ḳāḍīs* take its place. The impresses of most of the royal seals of the Sa'did and 'Alawid houses have been preserved. They are usually circular in shape, but sometimes oval. Reproductions of them can be seen in Nehlil, *Lettres chérifiennes*, Paris 1916, and in H. de Castries, *Sources inédites de l'histoire de Maroc*, Paris 1905 ff. In general, the sultans used two seals, a large one and a smaller one, and the vizier of *ḥādjib* was left with the responsibility of affixing it. The same procedure doubtless obtained in Muslim Spain; the historians of the Umayyad caliphs and *mulūk al-ṭawā'if* often give, after a physical sketch of the ruler and a list of his honorific titles, the legend inscribed on his seal (see Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, 15). (ED.)

KHATH'AM, an Arab tribe (the name is triptote, although in several European editions of Arabic texts we find it wrongly vocalised as a diptote). They inhabited, at least from the 6th century A.D., the mountainous territory between al-Ṭā'if and Nadjrān along the caravan route from Yemen to Mecca. Historiographical theory on the migrations of the tribes, which is bound up with their genealogical systematisation, makes them settle, at the time of the separation of the sons of Ma'add, in the mountains of al-Sarāt [*q.v.*], from which the Azd are said to have driven them at the time of the migration of the South Arabian tribes after the bursting of the dam of Ma'rib, to the lands they occupied in historical times (al-Bakrī, *Mu'djam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 28, 38, 41-2 = Wüstenfeld, *Die Wohnsitze u. Wanderungen d. ar. Stämme*, in *Abh. G. W. Gött.*, xiv, 39, 53, 58 = *Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, ed. Lyall, 113-14, following Ibn al-Kalbī; Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam*, i, 464, ii, 326-7; Wüstenfeld, *Register z. d. genealog. Tabellen*, 130-1). According to this theory, the Khath'am (like the Badjīla [*q.v.*] who figure everywhere as their brethren) were part of the tribes of 'Adnān, their descent being Khath'am b. Anmār b. Nizār (Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 49-50; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Ma'ārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 50; al-Maḳdisī, *Bad'*, iv, 110-11, who all attribute this view to "the genealogists of Muḍar"). But another theory (Ibn al-Kalbi-Caskel, *Ğamharat an-nasab*, Leiden 1966, table 221) connects them with a branch of the Saba' according to the genealogy: Aftal, surnamed Khath'am b. Anmār b. Irāsh b. 'Amr b. al-Ghawth (the latter is also the father of the Azdī tribes) or more

simply, Khath'am b. 'Amr b. al-Ghawth (see also Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāḳ*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 302; Ibn Ḳutayba, 50; Ibn Hishām, 50; *Aghānī*, xv, 151; Wüstenfeld, *Geneal. Tabellen*, 9; Hamdānī, *Djazīrat al-'Arab*, ed. Müller, 116, gives the isolated genealogy: Khath'am b. Rabī'a b. 'Āmir [?]; and Ibn Ḳutayba, 50, makes Anmār the son of Saba', cf. Reiske, *Primae lineae*, 133; Mas'ūdī, iii, 148 = § 998, replaces Irāsh by Iyād). These contradictory statements seem to indicate that, like so many other tribes, the Khath'am do not represent an ethnic unit but rather a confederation of clans of different origins. This seems also to be deducible from the etymology of their name, which connects it with the verb *takhath'ama* "to smear oneself with blood" on the occasion of a pact of alliance (on this custom, cf. J. Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten*, 21-2, 25-6 and the bibl. cited there). Other etymologies which make Khath'am the name of a mountain or of a camel are not worthy of consideration (Ibn Durayd, 302, 304; *Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, 72, 375; *LA*, xv, 56). In any case we always find the Khath'am associated with tribes of the south, either in alliances made on the occasion of expeditions (e.g. *al-Aghānī*, ix, 17; xii, 47-8; xviii, 35-6) or during the *ridda* (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1985-6), or latterly in the grouping of the tribes stationed in the military camps of Baṣra and Kūfa (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2495, 3074; ii, 122; but in ii, 1382, we find them also grouped with the Kināna, Ḳays 'Aylān, Muzayna and even Ḳuraysh, all tribes of the north, under the general denomination of *Ahl al-'Āliya*. It seems that at this time (101/720) the territorial principle had prevailed over the ethnic one). Their principal clans were the Shahrān, Nāhish and Aklub, the latter, according to the South Arabian genealogy, was of another origin (Aklub b. Rabī'a b. Nizār) and was late in entering the tribe (cf. al-Bakrī, 53), but Ibn al-Kalbī (Caskel, table 224) makes him nevertheless descend from Khath'am.

We have no authentic information on the Khath'am for the remote period in the history of the Arabian peninsula (the identification proposed by Blau, *ZDMG*, xxii, 658; xxiii, 561, n. 6 with the Ἀτραμῖται *Adramitae* of Uranios and Pliny, who are to be distinguished from the Χατραμωτῖται of Ḥaḍramawt, is quite untenable). From the 6th century we find them inhabiting, along with other tribes of diverse origins, the districts of Bīsha, Turaba, Djurash and Tabāla; this last was the centre of the cult of the God Dhu 'l-Khalaṣa (on him see Wellhausen, *Reste*₂, 45-8, and T. Fahd, *Panthéon*, 61-8), whom the Khath'am, like the Badjīla, Daws, Bāhila etc., worshipped (Yāḳūt, i, 791; ii, 461, 703; iv, 62, 567 [= *Aghānī*, xi, 152], 578, where there are numerous references to the neighbours of the Khath'am and to the assignation of the part of the territory of Bīsha at the end of the 1st century A.H. to some members of the Umayyad and Hāshimī families; Hamdānī, 135-6; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Kitāb al-Aṣnām*, ed. and tr. Atallah, 29-30).

Among the numerous guerilla wars in which the Khath'am were involved (cf. *Aghānī*, vii, 119; xii, 47, 51-2; xiv, 25; xviii, 35-6; *Naḳā'iḍ*, ed. Bevan, 46; Yāḳūt, ii, 735; iv, 56; Hamdānī, 170), the best known is that of Fayf al-Rīḥ in which their chief Anas b. Mudrik (or Mudrika), allied to the greater part of the Madhḥidj, defeated the Banū 'Āmir b. Ṣa'ṣa'a commanded by 'Āmir b. al-Ṭufayl [*q.v.*], who lost an eye in the battle (*Naḳā'iḍ*, 468-72; Ibn al-Athīr, i, 474; *'Iḳd*, ed. 1293, iii, 102-3; *Dīwān* of 'Āmir, ed. Lyall, Introd., 82-3, nos. x, xi [= *Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, no. cvi.], xii, xix, xxv, xxvii, Suppl., nos. i, 19). Anas b. Mudrik, famous also as a poet, was the hero of another enterprise of the Khath'am, sc. that against the Banū Djusham (*Aghānī*, ix, 17), and that in which he killed the famous poet-brigand Sulayk b. Sulaka (*Ḥamāsa*, 415-16; *Aghānī*, xviii, 137-8; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shi'r*, ed. de Goeje, 217). The biographical notes on Anas, who lived for several years after the introduction of Islam, have been collected by Levi della Vida in Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, x, 499-500 (year 40 A.H., § 347).

The position of the lands of the Khath'am enabled them to play a part in the Abyssinian expedition against Mecca. They tried to oppose Abraha's advance, but beaten by him, they were forced to guide the enemy's army as far as al-Ṭā'if (see the sources collected in Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Pers. u. Araber*, 206-17). The spread of Islam at first left them indifferent (no heed need be paid to the story in al-Ṭabarī, i, 1079-80, of the Khath'amī *kāhina* of Tabāla, Fāṭima bint Murr, who saw a divine light on the face of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the future father of the Prophet. The only interesting feature of the story is the epithet "Judaising", *Mutahawwida*, conferred on the *kāhina*). Their first relations with Muḥammad were certainly hostile (Wāḳidī, tr. Wellhausen, 387; al-Ṭabarī, i, 1730-1), but they ultimately sent him an embassy and recognised him, and accepted a letter from him which declared all the blood-feuds previous to Islam abolished (Ibn Sa'd, i/2, 34, 78; *Annali dell' Islām*, ii, 330, year 10 A.H., § 28, cf. also § 23, 326-7).

On the death of the Prophet, only a section of them rebelled (*Annali*, ii, 573-4, 581, 585, year 11 A.H., § 87-8, 98, 104). The destruction of the sanctuary of Dhu 'l-Khalaṣa by 'Abd Allāh b. Djarīr al-Badjalī must have broken their resistance, along with that of other tribes who were grouped round this turbulent centre (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1985-6). During the wars of conquest we find them in the army of Syria (Ibn 'Asākir, in *Annali*, iii, 588, year 15 A.H., § 66*a*, cf. also al-Ṭabarī, i, 3287, 3408), as well as in those of 'Irāḳ (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2188), and as we have seen, they formed part of the tribes quartered at Baṣra (Pellat, *Milieu*, index) and Kūfa.

Several Khath'amī women were married to Ḳurashīs. One of them played rather an important part in the early history of Islam, Asmā' bint 'Umays [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. Her sister Salmā was the wife of Ḥamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (*Annali*, *loc. cit.*, § 285, Ibn Sa'd, viii, 209); a daughter of Anas b. Mudrik, Asmā', was the wife of Khālid b. al-Walīd (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, Cairo, ed., viii, 6, no. 39; *Annali*, ix, year 37 A.H., § 412; x, 499).

The Khath'amī poets were few in number; the most notable is Ibn al-Dumayna [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(G. Levi Della Vida)

KHAṬĪ'A (pls. *khaṭāyā* and *khaṭī'āt*), moral lapse, sin, a synonym of *dhanb* (pl. *dhunūb*). The root *kh ṭ '* means "to fail, stumble" (in Hebrew, Prov. xix, 2), "make a mistake" (e.g., one says *akhṭa'a* of an archer whose arrow misses the target); [see KHAṬA'].

The form *khaṭī'a* appears five times in the Ḳur'ān, and the root *kh ṭ '* is frequently found there. It combines within itself the three meanings of "error" (*khaṭa'*, e.g., XVII, 33), "culpable lapse" (*khiṭ'*, e.g., XVII, 31; cf. *khāṭi'a*, XCVI, 16), and "sin" (*khaṭī'a*, II, 81, IV, 112, VII, 161; XXVI, 82; LXXI, 25). However, "sin" is more often conveyed by *dhanb*, *dhunūb*; a *sayyi'a* is an evil action, and an *ithm* a very grave sin, a crime against God.

We likewise find sometimes *khaṭī'a*, but more often *dhanb*, and occasionally *ithm* or *sayyi'a*, in works on *'ilm al-kalām*, *fiḳh* and *taṣawwuf*. It would be tedious

to study each of these terms separately; sufficient to say that in endeavouring to pin down the idea and the theological aspect of sin in Islam, reference should be made above all to the article DHANB rather than to that on *khaṭīʾa*.

I. *Ḳurʾānic references*. On one hand, sin brings down divine anger and punishment (for *khaṭīʾa*, see II, 81; IV, 112; LXXI, 25), but on the other hand, it nevertheless remains within the operative sphere of the divine mercy. Thus Abraham says, "It is He whom I ardently desire to forgive me my sins (*khaṭīʾāti*) on the Day of Judgment" (XXVI, 82; cf. VII, 161). God, through His apostles and prophets, summons mankind to Himself in order to pardon their sins (XIV, 10; XLVI, 31; LXXI, 4). If a man avoids grave sin (*ithm*) and depraved actions, he will receive pardon from his Lord (LIII, 32). God gives absolution from sin (*dhanb*) and accepts repentance (XL, 3), and He forgives sins (*dhunub*) completely (XXXIX, 53).

God is the All-Pardoning One whose power to pardon is endless, *al-ghafūr al-ghaffār*, two of the "Most beautiful names" upon which pious Muslims like to meditate [see AL-ASMĀʾ AL-ḤUSNĀ]. However, one sin is unpardonable, sc. the rejection and the disavowal of God and His Oneness (IV, 48, 137; XLVII, 34). Impious persons, guilty of *kufr* and *shirk*, will only receive pardon if they repent (VIII, 38). Those who have perpetrated an evil action (*sayyiʾa*) and remain "encompassed" within their sin (*khaṭīʾa*) will bring down on themselves the torments of everlasting hell-fire (II, 81).

Thus there are three types of sins mentioned in the text of the Ḳurʾān: (1) minor sins, not affecting a man's faith, which can be submitted to the divine mercy (LIII, 32); (2) grave sins (*kabāʾir al-ithm*, according to XLII, 37) and "depraved actions" which God may pardon immediately or may punish for a specific period, according to His mysterious will (cf. II, 284; III, 129); and (3) *kufr* and *shirk*, attacks on the Divine Oneness, which cannot be wiped out except through repentance (*tawba*) and which, failing this last, remain under the threat of eternal hell-fire: "those guilty of *kufr* will be rounded up in Gehenna" (VIII, 36).

II. *The traditions*. There are numerous *ḥadīths* which stress the idea of sinfulness and the fate reserved for the sinner, out of which two main themes emerge:

(1) *Faith and sinfulness*. There is a certain amount of self-contradiction here. (a) Some traditions stress salvation through faith. The divine pardon is assured, provided that there is not rejection of faith in the One God. Thus the Prophet related that Djibrīl appeared before him and comforted him by this assurance: "Every member of your community who dies professing the Oneness of God will enter paradise". The Prophet replied, "Even if such a person is guilty of adultery and theft?" Djibrīl replied, "Even if he is guilty of adultery and theft" (Muslim, *Īmān*, 113). Certain *ḥadīths* (*ibid.*, 201-8) go so far as to affirm that God "does not take into account" sins of simple intention, seeing that the thoughts involved are not expressed in words not realised in deeds. The delicate conscience of the believer who discovers in himself "evil thoughts" which he is "too scrupulous to express", is praised as an act of faith (*ibid.*, 209). (b) However, according to another chain of traditions, "grave sins" are considered as an attack against faith itself: "The Messenger of God said that whoever is guilty of fornication is not a believer, any more than he who steals or drinks wine" (*ibid.*, 100, cf. 101-5, and al-Bukhārī, *Ḥudūd*, i, 6, 20, etc.). (c) In any case, the Prophet's intercession at the Last Judgment for the sins of his community is emphasised in many *ḥadīths* [see SHAFĀʿA].

(2) *What are the "grave sins"*? The Ḳurʾān mentions clearly and on several occasions the *kabāʾir* or "grave sins", grave sinfulness (*ithm*) and "depraved actions" (*faḥshāʾ*), and gives various examples of each class, but without setting forth a precise table. One *ḥadīth*, which has been seen as a version of the "seven capital sins" of Christian morality, enumerates them thus: "The Messenger of God said, Avoid the seven deadly [sins] (*mūbiḳāt*). When he was asked what these were, he replied, 'Associating others with God (*shirk*); sorcery; unlawful homicide (except when there is a legal reason); despoiling an orphan of his property; practising usury; flight from a battle being waged against the enemy; and taking advantage of the weakness and credulity of virtuous women (*muḥṣanāt*)' " (Muslim, *Īmān*, 144; al-Bukhārī, *Waṣāyā*, *bāb* 23). The tendency towards a laxity which tends to blur the distinction between grave and lesser sins is condemned: "Anas related: Indeed, you commit sins which are only a single hair's weight according to your own view, but in Muḥammad's time we used to consider them as grave sins" (al-Bukhārī, *Riḳāḳ*, *bāb* 32).

III. *Tafsīr* and *ʿilm al-kalām*. Discussions and elaborations went on through the course of the ages, emphasising such-and-such Ḳurʾānic verse or such-and-such *ḥadīth*, according to the tendencies of the different schools of thought.

(1) *The distinction between grave sins and lesser ones* (*kabāʾir* and *ṣaghāʾir*). This distinction, which appears in both the Ḳurʾān (e.g., LIII, 32) and *ḥadīth*, was developed at great length by the various schools. The exact definition of *kabāʾir* remained variable. It can be said that the generally-accepted idea of moral lapse or sin was one of disobedience (*maʿṣiya*) to the prescriptions of the divine law, to the point that *maʿṣiya* often becomes a synonym for *khaṭīʾa* or *dhanb*. It was then readily explained that it was the hardening of the heart and persistence in evil-doing which constituted the seriousness of the sin, expressed by Ibn ʿAbbās as "Everything forbidden by God, once persisted in, becomes a grave sin". Moreover, it is related from ʿUmar and Ibn ʿAbbās (text cited by al-Nawawī) that "No sin is a grave one, if one asks pardon for it; but no sin is a venial one if the sinner persists in it". In other words, persistence in minor sins makes them become grave ones.

Is there, then, only a difference of degree between great and small sins? Muʿtazilī tradition, as represented by the *ḳāḍī* ʿAbd al-Djabbār, states that a man whose acts of disobedience (*maʿṣiyāt*) on the whole outweigh his acts of obedience (*ṭāʿāt*) is guilty of "grave sin", whereas, on the other hand, a man whose acts of obedience outweigh his acts of disobedience is only guilty of "lesser sin" (*Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, ed. ʿAbd al-Karīm ʿUthmān, Cairo 1384/1965, 789). For the Ashʿarī al-Djuwaynī (Irshād, ed. Luciani, Paris 1938, 331), every sin is necessarily grave, in relationship to the divine Majesty. Sin is a failure of duty towards God, and every failure of duty towards God is necessarily grave. However, there are sins of greater or lesser degrees of gravity. The two views expressed here are certainly completely divergent, but it seems that one might posit a simple difference of degree amongst the "acts of disobedience".

The leading members of the various schools nevertheless attempted to lay down different kinds of sins.

(a) For the Khāridjīs and Muʿtazilīs, the "actions of the limbs" form an integral part of faith [see ĪMĀN, 1170-1, §§ 1, 3]. Consequently, grave sins which are destructive of faith are deliberate acts of disobedience against the Ḳur'ānic injunctions, above all, against the *ʿibādāt* "pillars of Islam", and against those prescriptions whose non-performance is punishable by the *ḥudūd*. (b) The usual Sunnī trend of thought seeks to establish a list of sins which are, as such, grave, but even here, there is some variation. The Shāfiʿī jurist Taḳī 'l-Dīn al-Shahrazūrī puts forward this tautology: "Every sin which has grown so grave that one can call it a grave sin is in fact a grave sin" (cf. al-Bādjūrī, *Ḥāshiya ʿalā ... Djawharat al-tawḥīd*, ed. Cairo 1352/1934, 114). As for lists of *kabā'ir*, these vary amongst writers; al-Bādjūrī's popular manual gives two differing enumerations, and asserts the validity of both (*ibid.*, 102, 104). These lists refer almost invariably to the *ḥadīth* about the *mūbiḳāt* mentioned above, and to Ḳur'ān, VI, 151, and they freely admit that the number seven is not a limiting one. One may state that the following are unanimously considered as "grave sins": apostasy from the faith, *kufr* and *shirk*, insults to the Prophet, fornication and adultery, sins against nature, murder, usury and black magic; very often, the use of fermented liquors, theft on a serious scale, and flight from the battle field, are added to these.

Al-Nawawī relies on Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Salām in his commentary (ii, 170) in order to set forth this criterion: if there is any doubt about the gravity or lightness of any sin which has been committed, it should be compared with the "seven capital sins" of the *ḥadīth*. If it proves to be less serious than the least grave of those, it belongs to the *ṣaghā'ir*; in the opposite case, to the *kabā'ir*. Other authors define these last as sins connected by the Ḳur'ān with hell-fire, the divine anger, malediction or punishment. Others stress the subjective attitude of the sinner: every sin is grave which is committed without signs of fear or circumspectness, or committed in a heedless fashion; only involuntary acts of negligence in the domain of the control of speech or the passions can be accounted *ṣaghā'ir*. Finally, others (such as Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Wāḥidī) note that the sacred law itself calls certain sins "grave" and describes others as venial, but that it omits to apply either description to several other sins mentioned in it. The prudent believer should therefore eschew all sin, lest he suddenly finds that he has committed one of the gravest possible ones.

(2) *Sinning and repentance.* The idea of repentance (*tawba*) is common to the varying schools. For example, we find it expressed in identical terms in ʿAbd al-Djabbār (*Sharḥ al-uṣūl*, 791), just as in al-Īdjī-al-Djurdjānī (*Sharḥ al-mawāḳif*, ed. Cairo 1325/1907, viii, 314). This formulation is "regret for an act of disobedience (against God) in itself, combined with the firm intention of avoiding it in the future". Cf. also in the *Taʿrīfāt* of al-Djurdjānī, ed. Flügel, Leipzig 1845, 74, the two definitions of *tawba* and sincere *tawba*. But although the notion of repentance is shared, the degree of the necessity to repent is formulated variously by the different schools.

(a) The Khāridjīs and Muʿtazilīs, relying on Ḳur'ān, II, 81, condemn to hell-fire everyone who remains "encompassed" by his own sin, and for those who have committed grave sins, only repentance accepted by God can avoid eternal hell-fire. When a moderate Muʿtazilī like al-Zamakhsharī comments on the words "He pardons whomsoever He wills (Ḳur'ān, III, 129), he explains, "... in *tawba*, for God is only inclined to extend His pardon to those who repent"; and he strongly opposes the interpretation attributed to Ibn ʿAbbās—"God extends His pardon for grave sins to whomsoever seems good to Him, and punishes whomsoever seems good to Him in regard to venial sins". According to the Muʿtazila, it is not that the *tawba* is efficacious in itself, but because of his justice, God is bound to accept it when it is sincere. The Muʿtazilīs of Baghdād explain in general that He remits the punishment on the grounds of repentance (cf. ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *op. cit.*, 790).

(b) The Ashʿarī school, on the contrary, insists on absolute freedom of action by the Almighty. Only the sins of *kufr* and *shirk* necessitate a "turning-back" of the heart before they can be pardoned. If one wanted to establish an equivalence with Christian terminology, one would have to say that, according to the dominant Sunnī trend of thought, only these last-named sins really merit being called "mortal sins" (though the ideas at work here do not really correspond).

A comparison with the "capital sins" certainly fits the *kabā'ir* better, and every "capital sin" is not in itself (in Christianity) a "mortal sin". In Sunnī Islam, God, in His mercy, can therefore either pardon every "grave sin" apart from *kufr* and *shirk*, or else, in His justice, punish it by a period in hell-fire. It is for these sins that the Prophet's intercession can be invoked. Must the believer repent of them? Certainly, if he wishes to remain faithful to the divine prescriptions and regain complete purity of heart and intentions (*ikhlāṣ*). The rules concerning *tawba* [*q.v.*] are very numerous. In regard to perfecting the purity of a man's faith, it is necessarily required. Furthermore, if *tawba* for grave sins is strongly urged, these last can nevertheless be "wiped away" by *istighfār* "asking for pardon". Thus al-Bādjūrī, for instance, states that it can be achieved by repeating 1000 times "He is God, the One", and this is the "great act of achieving release"; by making the pilgrimage to Mecca; or by "fighting in the way of God" (*djihād*). In regard to venial sins, these can be wiped out by the single act of abstaining from grave sins (or by repenting of them); by faithfully observing the religious obligations (*ʿibādāt*); or by ritual ablutions. In regard to these, *tawba*, whilst doubtless praiseworthy, is not required, even for purity of faith.

All this concerns judgments made on the perfection of the believer's status. But one must point out that according to the consensus of Sunnīs, and contrary to the Khāridjīs and Muʿtazilīs, *tawba* for grave sins is not necessary for salvation. If the sinner repents, and if God accepts his repentance, the sin is "wiped out"; it requires neither reparation nor penitence, for it no longer exists. For, as al-Djurdjānī remarks, if God's pardon "were to come into effect after (the sinner's) repentance, it would no longer be an act of pardon" (*Sharḥ al-mawāḳif*, viii, 311). It is when "grave sins" are wiped out neither by *tawba* nor *istighfār* that God can, if He wills, show Himself as Pardoner. To sum up: on one hand, divine punishment of grave sins which have not been repented of is not necessarily obligatory (cf. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, on Ḳur'ān, II, 82), and on the other hand, if the punishment does not come into effect, it can only be temporary. Consequently, "it is untrue that *tawba* is necessary for the pardoning of sins, with the exception of *shirk*" (*ibid.*, v, 455), and one finds the same teaching in other Sunnī *tafsīrs*. According to al-Bayḍāwī on Ḳur'ān, II, 81, the "encompassing" by sin of those threatened with (eternal) hell-fire refers only to those impious per-

sons guilty of *kufr* or *shirk*. Those believers who have committed grave sins do not come under the verdict of this verse.

On all these points, the Ḥanafī-Māturīdī trend of thought is very close to the Ashʿarī attitude, with one difference, however (cf. L. Gardet, *Dieu et la destinée de l'homme*, Paris 1967, 304 and ref.). For the Ashʿarīs, everything is submitted to the inscrutable Divine Will which may, just as it pleases, pardon straight away or punish for a period of time the believer who is guilty of prevarication; and there are no reservations here. It is therefore *possible* that for a *certain* period of time, there will be sinning believers in hell-fire, but it is not certain. For the Ḥanafī-Māturīdī theologians, God's promises must always come into effect, and God has threatened punishment for grave sins, even when committed by a believer. Hence it is "obligatory that certain individuals out of those who have committed grave sins will be punished" (Māturīdī thesis adopted by the Ashʿarī al-Laḳānī, *Djawharat al-tawḥīd*, verse 117). It is uncertain whether such a prevaricating believer will be condemned to spend some time in hell-fire, but it is certain that some sinning believers will spend some time there.

IV. *Taṣawwuf—a few examples.* We find in the works on the spiritual life and on mysticism abundant classifications and analyses of the various kinds of moral sins. In Ṣūfism also the most frequently-employed term is *dhanb, dhunūb*, rather than *khaṭīʾa* (e.g. al-Kalābādhī, *Kitāb al-Taʿarruf*, ed. Arberry, Cairo 1934, 64). One may cite as an example al-Ghazālī, who in his *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* (iv, treatise on *tawba*, ed. Cairo 1325/1933, 2-53), takes over the analyses in Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī's *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb* and endeavours to classify these sins according to their nature and to lay down a precise list of *kabāʾir*:

(1) *The classification of sins* (*dhunūb*). According to Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī and al-Ghazālī, these are of four kinds (a) the "lordly" (*rabbūbiyya*) ones, such as pride, scorn, boastfulness, arrogance, love of praise, love of life, ambition and despotic behaviour; (b) the "satanic" (*shayṭāniyya*) ones, such as envy and deceitfulness; (c) the "bestial" (*bahīmiyya*) ones, such as greed, covetousness, anger and concupiscence; and (d) those attributable to "wild beasts" (*sabuʿiyya*), such as furious anger, lust for battle and murder.

(2) *The enumeration of the "grave sins"*. Al-Ghazālī firmly maintains the distinction between grave and lesser sins (*Iḥyāʾ*, *ibid.*, 28 ff.). The list of grave sins which he puts forward is not governed by the number seven for the *mūbiḳāt* in the *ḥadīth*. He proposes lists varying between four and eleven, and cites al-Makkī's view that there are seventeen. In this last case, they can be grouped as follows: four come from the heart, sc. the sin of *shirk*, persistence in evil-doing, lack of confident belief in God's Mercy and lack of any fear of His power to punish; four come from the tongue, sc. bearing false witness, misusing an upright man (*muḥṣan*), perjury and sorcery; three stem from the belly, sc. drinking wine and intoxicants, despoiling orphans of their wealth and practising usury; two are connected with the genitalia, sc. fornication and homosexuality; two with the hands, sc. murder and theft; one with the feet, sc. flight from the battle field; and finally, one is connected with the whole body, sc. disobeying one's parents.

In regard to moral sin, certain extremist Ṣūfī traditions oscillate between two attitudes which are opposed in principle, but which are at the same time often apparently mixed together in fact. An attitude of laxity carried to excess, with which one might accuse those called the *Ibāḥiyya*, asserts that anyone who attains to union with God no longer has to worry about the fear of sinning, nor about the prescriptions, injunctions and prohibitions of the law. Opposed in this is the rigorism of a special variety of the *Malāmatiyya*, which is characterised by a deeply-rooted care to shun the praise and admiration of men; in order to achieve this, such a person will make no attempt to avoid actions which seem to be scandalous, but will indeed indulge in them. In the first case (the attitude of laxity), we have the abandonment of all asceticism, and in the second "rigorism"), we have ascetic behaviour which goes to the point of being perfectly content with disdain and disapproval, shunning what are undoubtedly sins, but embarking on acts which look like sins in the eyes of men.

However, the dominating fact in the counsels and adjurations of the Ṣūfī masters is the necessity of avoiding any kind of voluntary sin, and this goes to the point of a refined scrupulosity of heart (*waraʿ*). Man, the *ʿabd*, is fallible and a sinner before God, hence he must take account of this feebleness and his small stature as a created being, in relationship to the greatness of the Almighty. Self-control, awareness of one's spiritual condition (*murāḳaba*), is necessary. From the time of al-Muḥāsibī onwards, examination of one's conscience (*muḥāsaba*) is willingly prescribed, and al-Ghazālī insists upon it (*op. cit.*, 336-61, esp. 346; cf. Asín Palacios, *La espiritualidad de Algazel*, iii, Madrid-Grenada 1940, 80-103). Al-Ghazālī goes on to say that the heart is like a mirror which is pitted and spoilt by rust, and which must therefore be cleaned and polished, so that the superior world can be reflected in it.

Bibliography: given in the article.

(A. J. Wensinck — [L. Gardet])

KHAṬĪB (A.), plur. *khuṭabāʾ*, was, among the ancient Arabs, the name for the spokesman of the tribe. The *khaṭīb* is therefore often mentioned along with the *shāʿir*, the poet (Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 934, 938; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, iv, 484), and, like the *kāhin* and the *sayyid*, was one of the leaders of the tribe. The character and significance of his office is clearly explained by Djāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-Bayān wa 'l-tabyīn*, Cairo 1332, i. The distinction between *khaṭīb* and *shāʿir* is not absolutely definite, but essentially is that the *shāʿir* uses the poetic form while the *khaṭīb* expresses himself in prose, often, however, also in *sadjʿ* [*q.v.*] (cf. Djāḥiẓ, *op. cit.*, i, 159); his speech is introduced with *ammā baʿdu* (al-Ḥarīrī, ed. de Sacy, 1822, 42). According to Djāḥiẓ, there were only a few *khuṭabāʾ* who were also *shuʿarāʾ* (i, 27). In the *Djāhiliyya* the *shāʿir* is said to have been more highly esteemed than the *khaṭīb*, but when the numbers of poets gradually increased and the latter's art declined and they became beggars, the *khaṭīb* obtained more prestige (i, 136; iii, 227). The *khaṭīb* is also associated with the story-teller, the *ḳāṣṣ* [*q.v.*], and with the *aṣḥāb al-akhbār wa 'l-āthār* (Djāḥiẓ, i, 167-8 and *passim*); the office was sometimes hereditary in the same family. The *khuṭabāʾ* did not form a gild or caste; they were the men who had the ability to be spokesmen. They appear not only at the head of a *wafd* to negotiate as representatives of their tribe, as we know from the *Sīra* (cf. Goldziher, *Abhandl. zur arab. Philol.*, i, 20), but, like the poets, they were also the leaders in the war of wits with the enemy (*mufākhara*). The *khaṭīb* had to be able to extol the glorious deeds and the noble qualities of his tribe and to narrate them in perfect language and to be able likewise to expose the weaknesses of his opponents. He had therefore to be *faṣīḥ* and know how to employ *balāgha* [*q.v.*] and

in this way to overcome his opponents (cf. *The Mufaḍḍalīyat*, ed. Lyall, xci, 22-3, xcvi, 9; al-Ḳuṭāmī, ed. J. Barth, xiv, 20; Ibn Ḳays al-Ruḳayyāt, ed. Rhodokanakis, *S.B. Ak. Wien*, xliv (1902), 19; *Kāmil*, ed. Wright, 20). Lampoons give the following characteristics of a poor *khaṭīb*: his pronunciation is bad, he turns to and fro, stammers, coughs, strokes his beard and twists his fingers, a sign of cowardice (*Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freytag, 650, verse 5; *Kāmil*, 20). It is in keeping with the character of the ancient Arab *khaṭīb* that he is included among the fighting knights and nobles (al-Ḳuṭāmī, *op. cit.*; Djāḥiẓ, i, 134, 172), indeed, *khaṭīb* itself is used as a name for a brave warrior (Djāḥiẓ, i, 129). When the *khaṭīb* makes a public appearance his insignia are lance, staff or bow (*al-makhāṣir*), just as a man taking an oath carries tokens of masculine honour; he often strikes the earth with it (cf. al-Ḳuṭāmī, xxvii, 6; Labīd, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Khālidī, 27, 45; Djāḥiẓ, i, 197-8, iii, 3 ff., 61-2).

In the earliest days of Islām the *khaṭīb* retained much of his old character. "The prophet came foreward as a *khaṭīb*" after the conquest of Mecca (Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, 823) and spoke publicly with ceremony and authority. But the *khuṭba* now became solely an address to the Muslims, not a part of the war against the enemy and *mufākhara* was no longer part of the activities of the Muslim *khaṭīb*. But it is quite in keeping with the nature of early Islam and with that of the Arab *khaṭīb* that the ruler himself was spokesman and that he not only made edifying speeches from the *minbar* as *khaṭīb* but also issued orders, made decisions and pronounced his views on political questions and particularly questions of general interest. This was the case under the first four caliphs and the Umayyads (cf. Djāḥiẓ, i, 190), and the governors appointed by them also acted as *khuṭabā'* (e.g. al-Yaʿḳūbī, ed. Houtsma, ii, 318; Djāḥiẓ, i, 179). The local governors, appointed by the latter were also entrusted with the control of the *minbar* and of the *ṣalāt* (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 929). Diatribes against and curses on the enemy were part of their *minbar* speeches, e.g. the curses on ʿAlī and occasionally on Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr (Djāḥiẓ, i, 165). *Khaṭīb* was therefore still synonymous with "leader"; a poet of the Khawāridj says: "There will be no peace so long as there is a *khaṭīb* from Thaḳīf on the *minbar*s of this world" (Djāḥiẓ, iii, 135). An inheritance from the ancient Arab spokesman is the staff or lance which the Muslim *khaṭīb* holds in his right hand during the *khuṭba*, a custom which provoked the scorn of the Persians (Djāḥiẓ, iii, 135). But the close connection between the *khuṭba* and divine service gave the Muslim *khaṭīb* a specifically religious character. After the conclusion of the wars of the first generations, this element became more predominant and in the time of the ʿAbbāsids, as early as Hārūn al-Rashīd, the caliph left it to the *ḳāḍī*s to deliver the sermon at the service while he himself was simply a listener (Djāḥiẓ, i, 161). But in theory, the leaders of divine service in the great mosques are representatives of the caliph (cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *Muḳaddima*, Cairo 1322, 173).

The Egyptian Faṭimids still occasionally preached themselves (behind a veil), namely three times in the month of Ramaḍān and at the great festivals (Ibn al-Taghribirdī, ed. Juynboll, ii, 482-6; ed. Popper, 331 ff.; al-Maḳrīzi, *Khiṭaṭ*, Cairo 1334, ii, 322, 327, 329). On this occasion his highest dignitaries stood on the steps of the *minbar* (*op. cit.*, 327, 329), while on the other hand the *ra'īs* of a district often stood on the *minbar* if the *khaṭīb* was preaching, a custom which testifies to the original high rank of the *khaṭīb*, but was later condemned by strict authorities on morals (Ibn al-Ḥādjdj, *Kitāb al-Madkhal*, Cairo 1320, ii, 74). Special *khuṭabā'* were everywhere appointed. There were three of them in Cairo during the earlier Fāṭimid period (for the ʿAmr, Ibn Ṭūlūn and al-Azhar mosques); cf. al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 348; as a rule it seems to have been the honorary office of a *ḳāḍī*; cf. *op. cit.*, 224. On the *ʿĪd al-Ghadīr*, a special *khaṭīb* pronounced the *khuṭba* on a *minbar* with nine steps in the sanctuary of Ḥusayn in Cairo, while the chief *ḳāḍī* conducted the *ṣalāt*; the *khaṭīb* on this occasion was given a silk robe and 30 or 50 *dīnār*s (al-Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 224-5). On other occasions also the *khaṭīb* received a robe of honour (*op. cit.*, ii, 387). The *khaṭīb* usually was also the conductor (*imām*) of the Friday *ṣalāt* at which he preached and, according to Abū Ḥanīfa and a tradition of Mālik, he must actually do so unless there were special reasons for a deviation from the rule. The daily *ṣalāts* are as a rule conducted by other *imāms* (al-Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-sulṭāniyya*, ed. Enger, 181). According to al-Shāfiʿī and Mālik, the Friday worship with *khuṭba* can only be held in one mosque in each town, if the size of the town does not make it impossible, while Abū Ḥanīfa has no such rule. The *khuṭba* was therefore delivered, for example, in Cairo after the end of the Fāṭimid period in the mosque of al-Ḥākim only, because Saladin appointed a Shāfiʿī chief *ḳāḍī*. This state of affairs was altered by Baybars when he appointed a Ḥanafī chief *ḳāḍī* (al-Maḳrizī, *Khiṭaṭ*, iv, 53). Abū Ḥanīfa on the other hand allows the worship in which a *khaṭīb* takes part only in a large town (*miṣr*), in which the ruler of his deputy is present in person. The other schools are less rigorous on the point. But the *imām-khaṭīb* of the Friday service is, according to the other schools also, in theory the representative of "the highest *imām*". Several *imāms* can be chosen, if necessary with their exact functions defined. According to al-Māwardī, 172, the Sulṭān appoints the *imāms* of the larger mosques, in keeping, with the theory of their representative character. But, according to al-Ḳalḳashandī (*Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, Cairo, iv, 39), each mosque under the Mamlūks had its own *khaṭīb* while the Sulṭān only concerned himself with the larger mosques. The office of *khaṭīb* of the important mosques was a very distinguished one. Thus, according to Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, the Shāfiʿī chief *ḳāḍī* himself was *khaṭīb* of the great mosque in the citadel of Cairo (cf. P. Ravaisse, *Zoubdat kachf el-mamâlik*, 1894, 92) and it was regarded as a special distinction, anxiously coveted, when Saladin after the conquest of Jerusalem chose the *ḳāḍī* Muḥyī al-Dīn Abu 'l-Maʿālī to act as first *khaṭīb* in the Aḳṣā mosque (Shihāb al-Din, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn fī akhbār al-dawlatayn*, Cairo 1288, ii, 108 ff.). The document confirming his appointment under the Mamlūks is further evidence of the *khaṭīb*'s dignity (cf. al-Ḳalḳashandī, *op. cit.*, ii, 222-5; al-ʿUmarī, *Kitāb al-Taʿrīf bi 'l-muṣṭalaḥ al-sharīf*, Cairo 1312, 126-7). He is the natural authority to whom new converts announce their conversion to Islām (Ibn al-Ḥādjdj, *Kitāb al-Madkhal*, 76); the people touch his robe *li 'l-tabarruk*, etc. (al-Shaʿrānī, *Kitāb al-Mīzān*, i, 169). According to al-Māwardī, 185, the *khaṭīb* ought preferably to wear black clothes, according to al-Ghazālī, white, while the first mentioned would be *bidʿa* (*Iḥyā'*, Cairo 1322, 131 ff.). His insignia are *al-ʿūdāni*, the "two things of wood" i.e. the *minbar* and the staff or wooden sword which he has to hold in his hand during the sermon, according to the *fiḳh* books also. According to the law of 1911 applied to al-Azhar, art. 59, every one who has passed through the second of the three divisions of the institute can become a

khaṭīb. While in al-Azhar itself only one *khaṭīb* is appointed (al-Zayyāti, *Ta'rīkh al-Azhar*, Cairo 1320, 207), there were in 1909 in the mosque of the Prophet in Medīna 46, in Mecca 122 *khuṭabā'*, besides their deputies. They enjoy certain benefactions and the office is on the whole hereditary (al-Batanūnī, *al-Riḥla al-Ḥidjāziya*², Cairo 1329, 101, 242).

Beside the official *khaṭīb*, the *wā'iẓ* exercised the function of an edifying preacher, when he pleased (cf. A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, 1922, 318 ff.).

Bibliography: I. Goldziher, *Der Chaṭīb bei den alten Arabern*, in *WZKM*, vi (1892), 97-102; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Islam und Phonograph* in *Tijdschrf. Bat. Gen.*, xlii (1900), 401-4 = *Verspreide Geschriften*, 1923, ii, 426 ff.); C. H. Becker, *Die Kanzel im Kultus des alten Islam*, in *Nöldeke-Festschrift*, i, 331-51 = *Islamstudien*, 1924, i, 450-71; idem, *Zur Gesch. d. islamischen Kultus*, in *Isl.*, iii (1912), 374-99 = *Islamstudien*, i, 472-500; T. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islamischen Gesetzes*, 1910, 87-9; E. W. Lane, *Manners and customs of the Modern Egyptians*, Every Man's Library edn., 84; the *fiḳh*-books under *Ṣalāt al-djuma'* and al-Sharānī, *Kitāb al-Mīzān*, Cairo 1329, i, 164-71; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'Iḳd al-farīd*, Cairo 1321, ii, 128 ff.; J. Pedersen, *The criticism of the Islamic preacher*, in *WI*, N.S. ii (1952), 215-31; M. Hammad, *L'évolution de la chaire dans la vie religieuse en Égypte*, in *Cahiers d'hist. égyptienne*, viii (1956), 117-29; see also Pearson, *Index islamicus*, i, 71 suppl., i, 25.

(J. PEDERSEN)

AL-KHAṬĪB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, ABŪ BAKR AḤMAD B. 'ALĪ B. THĀBIT B. AḤMAD B. MAHDĪ AL-SHĀFI'Ī, known as AL-KHAṬĪB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ, was born on 24th Djumādā II 392/10th May 1002 (*Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, xi, 266) in Hanīḳiyā, a village in the neighbourhood of the Nahr al-Malik below Baghdād (Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, vii, 191; see M. Streck, *Die alte Landschaft Babylonien*, Leiden 1900, i, 27). According to Ibn al-Nadjdjār (see Y. al-'Ishsh, *al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī*, Damascus 1364/1945, 17) he was born in Ghuzayya, a hamlet about half-way between Kūfa and Mecca. The son of the preacher (*khaṭīb* [*q.v.*]) of Darzīdjān, a large village on the west bank of the Tigris below Baghdād, he began his studies very early with his father and other *shaykh*s (*Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, xiv, 75-6; iv, 393; i, 351-2). Proceeding from the Ḳur'ān he occupied himself primarily with *ḥadīth*, a science which remained all his life the centre of his interest, even when he extended his learned studies to other branches of science, above all to *fiḳh*, and also after he had become famous as preacher far beyond the walls of Baghdād. At the age of twenty, in the year in which he lost his father (*ibid.*, xi, 359), he set out for Baṣra in search of *ḥadīth*, on which occasions he seems to have stayed also in Kūfa. Three years later, in 415/1024 (Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, i, 246), he set out on a second journey which brought him to the north and east as far as Nīshāpūr. On the way, either on the outward or the return journey, he collected further *ḥadīth* material in Rayy and Iṣfahān, whither his teacher from Baghdād al-Barḳānī (*Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, iv, 373-6) had given him a letter of introduction to Abū Nu'aym [*q.v.*] (preserved in Ibn 'Asākir, *al-Ta'rīkh al-kabīr*, Damascus 1329/1922, i, 400; Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, i, 258 f.; cf. al-Dhahabī, *Ḥuffāẓ*, iii, 276; ²1093), as well as in Hamadān and Dīnawar. How long he remained en route is not known in detail; according to his own testimony (*Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, iv, 374) he was back in Baghdād in 419/1028. In the following years his preaching secured him great fame and he became an authority in *ḥadīth* because of his profound erudition in this field. One of his biographers (al-Dhahabī, *Ḥuffāẓ*, iii, 317; ²1141) says that preachers and teachers of tradition usually had to submit the traditions they had collected to his expert opinion before quoting them in their sermons and lectures. On the other hand, al-Khaṭīb seems to have suffered from the hostility of the Ḥanbalīs, who were numerous and powerful in Baghdād at this period. After having been at first a Ḥanbalī himself like his father, his preference for the Shāfi'ī school—probably definite after a journey to Nahrawān in 430/1038-9 (*Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, xiii, 157)—and his theological opinions, which were quite uncompromising in their Ash'arism, attracted to him the hatred of Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal's pupils who were enemies of all bold theological speculation. In spite of the Ḥanbalī opposition and thanks to the protection of Caliph al-Ḳā'im and the vizier Ibn al-Muslima [*qq.v.*], he succeeded in opening a course of lectures on *ḥadīth* in the al-Manṣūr mosque (Yāḳūt, *Udabā'* i,, 246 f.). Retaining a bitter resentment at the enmity shown to him, al-Khaṭīb seems never to have lost an opportunity in his lectures and writings of making malicious insinuations against Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and the Ḥanbalīs and of even attacking them openly (cf. al-'Ishsh, *op. cit.*, 210-17). On that account, later generations accused him of *ta'aṣṣub* (legal and theological bias) (Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, Hyderabad 1359/1940, viii, 267 f.) and there is a body of polemical literature against him (al-'Ishsh, *op. cit.*, 229-45). Apparently al-Khaṭīb entered upon these direct relations with the court only after his pilgrimage in 445/1053-4 (Ibn 'Asākir, *op. cit.*, i, 398), which directed him on the outward journey to Syria (*Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, ii, 361) and, after a rather long sojourn in Mecca (*ibid.*, vi, 174; viii, 29), on the return journey in 446/1054-5 via Jerusalem (*ibid.*, vi, 316) and several Syrian towns. When the successful rebellion of al-Basāsīrī [*q.v.*] brought about the fall of Ibn Muslima, al-Khaṭīb fled in 451/1059 (*ibid.*, ix, 403) to Damascus. During eight years the highly esteemed al-Khaṭīb was intensively lecturing, above all in the Umayyad mosque (Yāḳūt, *Udabā'*, i, 254 f.; al-'Ishsh, *op. cit.*, 92-119). His teaching activities brought him occasionally also to other Syrian towns like Ṣūr (Tyre), known to him from earlier journeys (R. Sellheim, *Arabische Handschriften, Materialien zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, Wiesbaden 1974, i, 69-73, no. 20). A personal mishap enraged suddenly the Shī'ī circles in Damascus against him. Arrested by order of the Fāṭimid governor, he had a narrow escape from execution only through the intercession of a distinguished Shī'ī personality and by a precipitous flight to Ṣūr. Returning to Baghdād via Ṭarābulus (Tripoli) and Aleppo after the Saldjūḳs had restored order there, al-Khaṭīb, the "Ḥāfiẓ of the east", died in Baghdād on Monday 7 Dhu 'l-Hidjdja 463/5 September 1071 (Ibn 'Asākir, *op. cit.*, i, 401), in the same year as Ibn 'Abd al-Barr [*q.v.*], the "Ḥāfiẓ of the west". In the presence of a great crowd he was buried beside the tomb of the venerated Bishr al-Ḥāfī [*q.v.*].

Al-Khaṭīb's fame is in general based on his biographical encyclopaedia of more than 7800 scholars and other personalities, among whom were also included women, connected with the cultural and political life of Baghdād. He seems to have corrected and completed it right up to the year he died (cf., e.g. *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, iii, 108, 336). It is known under the title *Ta'rīkh Baghdād* and there is a printed edition in 14 volumes: Cairo, 1349/1931 (reprint Beirut 1968). Praiseworthy as al-Khaṭīb's monumental work indeed is, it should not be overlooked that he intended to

produce with his biographical work a reference book for traditionists, through which chains of transmitters (*isnād*), relations between teachers and pupils, questions on the reliability of a *ḥadīth*-scholar etc. can be ascertained, checked and established. The arrangement and contents of the biographies, set down in a not strictly alphabetical order, show also that a traditionist rather than a biographer has been at work. A look at the rest of al-Khaṭīb's extensive scientific production makes it clear that his works on *ḥadīth* have made him the great critical systematiser of *ḥadīth* methodology. In addition to Brockelmann, I, 401 and S I, 563 f., there are mentioned here: *al-Kifāya fī maʿrifat uṣūl ʿilm al-riwāya*, on the ideal *rāwī* (transmitter) (printed Hyderabad 1357/1938, Cairo 1972; cf. al-Albānī, *Fihris makhṭūṭāt* ..., 268, no. 947; Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 183 f.); *al-Djāmiʿ li-akhlāḳ al-rāwī wa-ādāb al-sāmiʿ* (al-Albānī, *op. cit.*, 267, no. 938); *Taḳyīd al-ʿilm*, with the central question whether it is forbidden or permitted to determine traditions in writing (ed. by Y. al-ʿIshsh, Damascus 1949; on this see A. Ateş, in *Ilâhiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* [Ankara], i (1952), 91-103; ʿA. al-ʿAzzāwī, in *MMIA*, xxviii (1953), 330-2; M. Weisweiler, in *Oriens*, vii (1954), 193-4); *Sharaf aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*, a work on the prominent significance of the traditionists (ed. by M. S. Hatîboğlu, Ankara 1971; cf. al-Albānī, *op. cit.*, 268, no. 942; al-ʿIshsh, *op. cit.*, 212, 219); *al-Sābiḳ wa 'l-lāḥiḳ*, a biographical dictionary of traditionists (only known in the Chester Beatty ms. 3508, dating from the 7th/13th century); *al-Muʾtanif fī takmilat al-Muʾtalif wa 'l-mukhtalif*, on the correct spelling and pronunciation of resembling proper names, gentilic names and nicknames, with biographical data, in addition to al-Dāraḳuṭnī's [*q.v.*] *al-Muʾtalif* (cf. al-ʿIshsh, *op. cit.*, 133-4, no. 74); *al-Muttafiḳ wa 'l-muftariḳ*, a biographical lexicon of traditionists who, according to their name, seem to be one and the same person, but in fact are different persons (cf. al-ʿIshsh, *op. cit.*, 131 f., no. 71); *Talkhīṣ al-mutashābih fi 'l-rasm wa-ḥimāyat mā ashkala minhu min nawādir al-taṣḥīf wa 'l-wahm* (al-Albānī, *op. cit.*, 267, no. 937); *al-Asmāʾ al-mubhama fi 'l-anbāʾ al-muḥkama*, a work concerning 171 (?) *ḥadīth*s arranged in alphabetical order according to the personalities who remain anonymous in these *ḥadīth*s, concerning whose identification there exists confusion or difference of opinion, but who are now ascertained by the author (al-Albānī, *op. cit.*, 266, no. 933; R. Sellheim, *op. cit.*, 69-73, no. 20); *Mūḍiḥ awhām al-djamʿ wa 'l-tafrīḳ*, quoted by the author in his *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, xi, 429, 4 (printed in 2 vols., Hyderabad 1378/1959 f.; Hatîboğlu, *op. cit.*, 10; al-ʿIshsh, *op. cit.*, 133 no. 75); *al-Riḥla fī ṭalab al-ḥadīth* (al-Albānī, *op. cit.*, 267, no. 940; cf. Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 175 ff.); *Iḳtiḍāʾ al-ʿilm al-ʿamal* (ed. by al-Albānī, cf. al-Albānī, *op. cit.*, 266, nos. 934 and 941; A. Ateş, in *RIMA*, iv (1958), 14, with table); *al-Faḳīh wa 'l-mutafaḳḳih* (ed. by I. al-Anṣārī, 2 vols., Riyāḍ 1389/1969; cf. al-ʿIshsh, *op. cit.*, 126, no. 34); for further short works on *ḥadīth*, see al-Albānī, *op. cit.*, 266-9. Next to his *Amālī*, which he dictated in the Umayyad mosque at Damascus (al-Albānī, *op. cit.*, 266, no. 935; cf. al-ʿIshsh, *op. cit.*, 121, no. 1), special mention should be made of three other works which in their own way are characteristic for the famous preacher: (1) *al-Taṭfīl wa-ḥikāyāt al-ṭufayliyyīn*, a collection of often delightful stories and verses built around the rich *adab*-theme of the "self-invited guest", naturally provided—as in all the works of the author—with detailed chains of traditions (printed Damascus 1346/1927 and al-Nadjaf 1966; ms. of the 6th/12th century, Chester Beatty 3851); (2) *al-Bukhalāʾ*, (ed. by Aḥmad Maṭlūb *et alii*, Baghdād 1384/1964) is parallel to al-Djāḥiẓ's well-known "Book of misers"; (3) a *Risāla fī ʿilm al-nudjūm hal al-shurūʿ fīhi maḥmūd aw madhmūm*, a treatise on the "permitted" astronomy, including the astronomical chronology, and on the "forbidden" astrology, including the prediction of astronomical events like eclipses (cf. M. Plessner, in *Islamica*, iv (1931), 532 f.). According to al-Samʿānī (d. 562/1167), al-Khaṭīb's works amount to 56 (in al-Dhahabī, *Ḥuffāẓ*, iii, 316; [2]1139). Ibn al-Nadjdjār (d. 643/1245) numbers more than 60 (in al-Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, iii, 13), and Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282) *ca.* 100, *Wafayāt*, Cairo 1367/1948, i, 76 f.). According to a register of al-Khaṭīb's writings up to 453/1061 (cf. Brockelmann, S I, 564), the assertions of biographers and bibliographers and his own research in libraries, al-ʿIshsh, *op. cit.*, 120-37, records a total of 81 titles. He completes and enlarges Brockelmann's list with 23 items referring to manuscripts of hitherto known and also unknown writings of al-Khaṭīb. His inventory can further be completed and enlarged from statements in al-Albānī, *op. cit.*, and others, as indicated above. Finally, the two surveys by al-ʿIshsh, *op. cit.*, 79-91 and 92-119, on al-Khaṭīb's *shaykh*s, colleagues and pupils, one hundred in number, and on the works he read in Damascus, are also helpful.

Bibliography: (a) On the *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*: H. Ritter, *Orientalia*, I, in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, i, 1933, 67-71; J.-P. Pascual, *Index schématique du Taʾrīḫ Baġdād*, Paris 1971; O. Spies, in *Isl.* xlvi (1970), 224 (= Brockelmann, I, 401, 6 f.); other manuscripts, e.g. Chester Beatty 4702, 4818; M. N. al-Albānī, *Fihris makhṭūṭāt dār al-kutub al-ẓāhiriyya al-muntakhab min makhṭūṭāt al-ḥadīth*, Damascus 1390/1970, 266, no. 936, cf. 269, no. 953; for abstracts and continuations see Brockelmann, I, 401, S I, 563 and G. Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl*, Damascus 1963, 31 ff.; al-Khaṭīb's introductory chapter on topography (*Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, i, 4-101) was published with a French translation by G. Salmon, *L'Introduction topographique à l'Histoire de Bagdâdh*, Paris 1904; the *ḥadīth*s were compiled by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ghamarī al-Maghribī, *Miftāḥ al-tartīb li-aḥādīth Taʾrīkh al-Khaṭīb*, Cairo 1355/1936; for further literature see Brockelmann, *op. cit.*; Munir ud-Din Ahmed, *Muslim education and the scholars' social status up to the 5th century Muslim era in the light of Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, Ph.D. thesis, Hamburg 1968. (b) In addition to the works mentioned in the article: Kh. Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, Cairo 1954, i, 166; ʿU. R. Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, Damascus 1376/1957, ii, 3 f. (with the most detailed compilation of sources on al-Khaṭīb); M. ʿA. Mudarris, *Rayḥānat al-adab*, 2nd ed., Tabrīz 1347/1969, ii, 144 f.; M. Ben Cheneb, *L'Idjâza du Cheikh ʿAbd el Qâdir el Fâsy*, in *Actes du XIVe Congr. Intern. des Orient.*, Paris 1908, 344 ff., no. 144; F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, 2, Leiden 1968, index; F. Sezgin, *GAS*, Leiden 1967, i, index.

(R. SELLHEIM)

KHAṬĪB DIMASHḲ [see AL-ḲAZWĪNĪ].

KHĀTIM [see KHĀTAM].

KHATMA, KHITMA (A.), pl. *khitām*, the technical name for the recitation of the whole of the Ḳurʾān from beginning to end, the verbal noun from *khātama*, denominative verb from *khātam* [*q.v.*]. The complete recitation of the Ḳurʾān is, especially if it is done within a short time, a meritorious achievement, e.g. in eight nights, as Ubayy b. Kaʿb is said to have done (Ibn Saʿd, iii/2, 60, 23; cf. on ʿUthmān, *ibid.*, iii/1, 53, 3). It is related of Sulaymān al-Aʿmash

that he accomplished the *khatma* at times according to ʿUthmān's recension and at times according to the reading of Ibn Masʿūd. For a dead man, the reciters were asked to recite the *ḳirāʾat al-khatamāt* (e.g. in the *1001 Nights* in the story of the merchant Ayyūb and his son). In Egypt the *khatma* was used as an entertainment for guests. In modern Mecca the so-called *iḳlāba* is celebrated when a boy has read through the whole of the sacred book (the ceremony after the half or one-third is called *iṣrāfa*). In South Arabia a *khātam* is presented to one who has recited the whole book for the first time.

Bibliography: Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 146, 272; Landberg, *Arabica*, v, 126 ff.; Lane, *Arabian Nights*, i, 382; Goldziher in *Isl.*, vi (1915), 214, on *khatm al-Bukhārī*. (Fr. Buhl*)

KHAṬṬ (a.), writing.

i. — In the Arab world.

The Arabic writing used, according to tradition, as early as the lifetime of Muḥammad, for setting down the sacred text of the Ḳurʾān, subsequently underwent a diffusion corresponding to the expansion of the Islamic faith and to the development of the Islamic civilisation in which it came to full fruition.

A script of alphabetic and phonological type, belonging to the vast family of Semitic scripts, it shows in this capacity the characteristics of a consonantal script, with vocalisation signs added in the form of accents, and thus belongs to the category of scripts of which "the orthography always comprises an element of interpretation by the reader, an ideographic element" (M. Cohen). Its conditions of use and development were therefore determined by its association with the language which it was required to express, in terms of social facts to which we shall have to return, for the Arabic language became very quickly a major academic and literary language, while experiencing here and there divergencies of articulation and pronunciation which belonged to the sphere of colloquial usage and were consequently ignored at the level of orthography. This very individual script was also applied to other languages where the conditions thereby created do not concern us here.

On the other hand, in the evolution of Arabic script, the shapes of the letters themselves underwent changes in appearance which were not only linked to the rare attempts at orthographic adaption imposed by the cultural milieu, but were also determined by other influences, technical, aesthetic and psychological, within Arabo-Islamic society during its evolution in the course of the centuries, not the least of these influences being the assimilation of graphic writing to an art-form.

It would be impossible here to make a proper study of either the nature or the evolution of Arabic writing in its many different manifestations, while taking into account the principal studies dealing the subject, without some preliminary and indispensable remarks, regarding both its scope and its propagation. These remarks can only be brief and inconclusive, because the perspective has been insufficiently pursued to this day: it appeals in fact more to the curiosity of the historian and the sociologist than to that of the specialists who have hitherto interested themselves in decipherment or in stylistic analysis of Arabic writings. It nevertheless opens up directions of research which can only prove to be fruitful, inviting us to consider, behind the simple observation of palaeographic facts, the meaning and the value of the evidence carried by the documents themselves. Here we encounter some of the questions of a general order which have been posed by the linguist Marcel Cohen when he has reflected on the conditions of birth, expansion and transference of different types of script, and has been obliged to envisage them in the terms of the axiom affirming that "the use of the script is a function of its utility in a given society" (see *La grande invention de l'écriture et son évolution*, Paris 1958, *passim*).

The first point to be underlined in this sense is, without doubt, the incomparable prestige which has constantly been enjoyed, in the world of Islam, by an Arabic script borne, it could be said, by the expansion-movement of the religion with which it had been associated from the beginning. As the instrument of materialisation and transmission of a message identified with the Divine Word, this script permitted, among the members of the first Muslim community, the precise conservation of the letter of the revelation and, thus facilitating its study as well as its memorisation, obtained a sort of "sacred character". The reality of this "consecration" is confirmed by the textual Arabic sources; the data regarding this subject, found in the Ḳurʾān itself and the *ḥadīth*, also in personal opinions of various authors, deserve a more extensive and systematic exploration than has been undertaken hitherto (see, for example, the attempt made by F. Rosenthal, *Significant uses of Arabic writing*, in *Ars Orientalis*, iv (1961), 15-23; cf. idem, *Abū Ḥaiyān al-Tawḥīdī on penmanship*, in *Ars Islamica*, xiii-xiv (1948), 1-30).

At the same time, the Arabic alphabet benefited in its diffusion outside Arabia, from the rapid propagation of Arabic as a liturgical and cultural language of the Arabo-Islamic empire, itself constituted shortly after the conquest to which Muḥammad had given the first impulse and which followed almost immediately upon his death. The various usages, profane as well as religious, for which the Arabic script was henceforward adopted, conferred upon it a considerable expansion in its territorial scope: not only did it take the place of local scripts previously employed, in the same way that Arabic was to some extent substituted for the autochthonous languages temporarily reduced to an inferior role; but it was also offered to all Muslims, by means of the teaching of the Ḳurʾān, first written and read in Arabic, as the means of graphic representation of various non-Arab languages, those which continued to be employed or which were gradually revived, in various provinces of this rapidly-fragmented empire, or even those which were introduced, in differing circumstances, by new ethnic elements, but which all encountered, in the course of the centuries, a preferential treatment linked to the development of states and of national feelings. Thus the Arabic script became the script of Iranian languages (such as Persian and Pashto or Afghān) or Turkish languages (such as the ʿOthmānlı Turkish of the Ottoman Empire and other Turkish dialects then current in Ādharbāydjān, in the Caucasus, in Turkestan and as far away as China) languages of the Indian (the Urdu variety of Hindustani) and Malayan peninsulas (the ancient script of Malay, as well as languages belonging to Madagascar and the Comoro islands), languages of North Africa (Berber), of mediaeval Spain (literature of the *al jamia* [*q.v.*]), of Slavonic Europe (the Croat language, for example), and of Black Africa (languages of the Bantu family, such as Swahili, or Sudanese languages, such as Hausa, Peul and Kanouri from the Chad region). At the same time, it was the object of other episodic usages (for more precise details and essential bibliography, see M. Cohen, *Grande invention*, 184-6, and doc. 109-11).

It would thus not only appear difficult to distinguish formally from the Arabic script the various scripts of the Islamic domain which borrowed its alphabet, but it is even more difficult to draw with precision, over the course of the centuries, the contours of the geographical area marked by its usage. The historical mutations of the Muslim world, losing some of its provinces, making gains in other directions and attaining its actual limits by the device of proselytism and peaceful conversion, provoked constant modifications in the parallel developments of a language, a religion and a script, whose contour-lines did not necessarily coincide. There were of course some absolute regressions on the part of Islam and of Arabic speaking (the reconquests of Spain and of Sicily, for example), resulting in a similar abandonment of Arabic graphisms, except in the case of ornamental inscriptions; but there were also cases where the spoken Arabic language declined, ceasing to cope adequately with the administrative or literary requirements, but the Arabic script survived, linked to the maintenance of the academic Arabic languages in circles still Islamised. Also, there were cases of Islamic gains, at once territorial and demographic, especially notable in South-East Asia and Black Africa, which resulted in an expansion of Arabic graphisms surpassing that of the language, to correspond with that of the Muslim faith itself; on the other hand, areas Islamised in ancient times, where Arabic retained its prestige as a religious language, have seen in modern times a decline in the use of the Arabic script, as decisions have been taken favouring the phonetic notation of, for example, Turkish, Malay, Malagasy or African languages into the Latin, and sometimes the Cyrillic alphabet.

The consequences of these various phenomena of replacement, or on the contrary, of adoption, of the Arabic script cannot be evaluated quantitively in a precise manner, any more than can the effects of the recent tendency to an increased utilisation of this script, in the Arab countries, for the practical reasons of the proliferation of documentary material and especially of the progress of education and the spread of literacy, familiarising the vast masses of the population with the alphabet.

This progress at least seems clear-cut, and the crystallisation of sentiments linked to a new consciousness of Arabism and of its cultural patrimony even today reinforces the vogue and the universality of a script which has never ceased to transcend, as a mode of symbolic expression, the frontiers of the Arabic-speaking world. We know in fact to what extent its characters, privileged symbols of a true politico-religious unity, were able, by emotional as well as practical means, to impress upon the minds of Muslims of every race and every country that recognised them, from the classical period of Islam onwards, their superior and incontestable artistic worth.

In that period, in fact, when the triumphant society which had adopted the Arabic characters used them for utilitarian ends (archives, historical inscriptions, coinage, writings of all kinds) or for sacred purposes (copies of the Ḳur'ān, pious inscriptions, religious texts), the script was tending through its use in these media towards a high degree of aesthetic and decorative accomplishment in accordance with certain rules of formal beauty, as well as with the exigencies of literal meaning. The practice of writing Arabic was from that time onward an art, as well as a science, reserved for initiates. All the same, the experts in calligraphy were judged worthy, and this has remained the general rule in every Muslim society, to attain to the double distinction of artist and respected sage, acceding sometimes to the rank of masters of the "science of letters" (see ḤURŪF), itself a branch of the divinatory science of *d̲j̲afr* [*q.v.*] and an instrument of a talismanic art linked to certain aspects of mystical speculation.

This exceptional situation regarding the Arabic script over the centuries, in a particularly vast world where the "thing written" was at once admired and preserved, is insufficient alone to explain the abundance and the variety of documents on which today all knowledge of the forms belonging to this script, and their history, must rely. Developments of another order must also be invoked, among them one factor which in its way considerably influenced the development of Arabic civilisation, viz. the widespread manufacture of paper in the lands of Islam from the 3rd/9th century onward (see KĀG̲H̲ID). The expansion of this industry, which was not without effect in the sphere of economic exchanges and the transmission of sciences, facilitated the manifestations of the art of writing in providing the most convenient medium, with the smoothness of its surface and its lightness, a medium that was durable and not too costly. Sheets of paper of various formats, which could be carried, rolled up, folded and sealed, thus supplied the indispensable material for innumerable letters and archives, the latter sometimes enriched with artistic and illuminated signatures, which came to supersede the rare and costly specimens previously represented by pieces of tanned skin or parchment [see D̲J̲ILD] as well as by papyri [see ḲIRṬĀS]. Their use permitted hand-written books, preserving in Arabic the texts of literary or academic works so that they proliferated at such a rate that the profession of copyis̲t-cum-book-seller became, in the mediaeval Islamic cities, a profitable occupation in the context of the growth in popularity of "reading-rooms" and of private libraries [see K̲H̲IZĀNA]. It was not only intellectual life that gained a fortunate boost; but from that time on, the educated Muslim became a indefatigable writer, recording the oral tradition of his masters through the medium of the written word, never hesitating to comment upon or summarise, pen in hand, his own works as well as those of his predecessors, from whom he gladly reproduced extracts and quotations.

In the same line are the effects of another technical invention, which came much later to the Islamic world, that of printing with movable characters. From its expansion in the Near East in the second half of the 19th century—four centuries after its invention and diffusion in western Europe (although impressions on blocks of wood had made their appearance in the ʿAbbāsid period, in the 4th/10th century for the reproduction of prayers in Arabic and of talismanic formulas; cf. M. Cohen, *Grande invention* pl. 53)—dates a new transformation in the conditions of usage of Arabic writing, which have recently been further aided by the advent of typing and other industrial processes. The phenomenon, interesting to consider in itself, could have resulted in a radical normalisation of Arabic writing, an undertaking which is still recommended in some quarters today in the form of various projects for the improvement or even the replacement of the traditional alphabet. In fact, it resulted only in the hardening of some types of usage, halting, in favour of the most widespread cursive, that is the "oriental" cursive, the evolution of signs which have preserved to this day in printed texts the features of a handwritten script.

We must return to the various functions supplied by Arabic writing in the mediaeval world in order to understand the abundance of stylistic varieties which corresponded, in spite of its constant orthography, to successive or concomitant stages of its development in the course of the centuries.

The writing practised by government scribes in their compilation of archives or their official documents could not be the same as that of calligraphers working to satisfy the taste for luxury of some patron, nor that of pious people copying the texts of the Ḳurʾān, nor that of scholars making rough drafts or taking down speeches and discussions as dictation, nor that of merchants writing private letters and statements of account, nor that of makers of amulets and magical diagrams, for example. The greater or lesser degree of legibility required in each case—whether it was a case of documents intended to be widely read or appreciated solely from an artistic angle, or designs of limited, technical and sometimes even esoteric usage—intervened to modify the types of letters used; thus certain types of script reserved for certain uses are differentiated, scripts of diplomacy or of business accounts, for example, but also artistic scripts illustrated by inscriptions on objects of common usage, such as the illegible anthropomorphic scripts whose letters, on precious objects of inlaid metal, are disguised as the gesticulations of small figures (see on this subject, D.S. Rice, *The Wade Cup in the Cleveland Museum of Art*, Paris 1954, 22-33), or on the contrary, the rigid and simple "kūfic" or "astronomical" scripts used particularly for the figures and other markings born by astrolabes (see for example, M. Destombes, *Les chiffres coufiques des instruments astronomiques arabes*, in *Physis*, ii (1960), 197-210).

Other types may have been given shape by the influence of the many different regional milieux and national temperaments which coexisted in the world of Islam and whose heritages it is difficult to define with certainty. Even if our remarks on this subject may be connected with reflections concerning other families of scripts (see the collective work devoted to *L'écriture et la psychologie des peuples. XXIIe Semaine de Synthèse*, Paris 1963), the ethnico-linguistic procedures which are often applied to these local schools of writing should not be handled without caution. It may be admitted, for example, that the resources of artistic imagination belonging to Iranian and Turkish artisans were the origin of some of the finest compositions which have ever been executed in angular Arabic characters, and it is fashionable to give the credit to the ornamental artists of the eastern provinces. Living in the semi-independent kingdoms of Khurāsān and Sīstān, as well as in the Iranised Baghdād of the Būyids, for example, they could be counted among the artisans most active in the embellishment of ornamental writing, their efforts being parallel to those which they pursued in imposing their own style upon the intricacies of the arabesque. They must also often have been the initiators of the styles which subsequently spread towards the western regions of the world of Islam, and they must have contributed to the popularity there of motifs at once calligraphic and floral, enriched with geometric embroidery, which were adopted there after a short lapse of time. But the exact role played by ethnic association cannot be appreciated any more than the relations uniting, as some scholars express it, the melodic line of Arabic music or song and the almost undulating and dynamic rhythm towards which the most elegant Arabic cursive scripts are always obliged to tend.

At other levels, other technical factors were involved, regarding notably the length of time required to execute a certain specimen of calligraphy one or more times, according to the material and the process chosen, according to the originality peculiar to the "hand" of each artist, and the opportunity he had of transferring inflections or inspiration from different styles. It was often the opportunities offered to the artisans, to the stone-cutters or the scribes, by the material at their disposal, according to the periods and according to the areas, which determined the birth of different styles, attributed also to the personality of the famous calligraphers who invented them or illustrated them and who are mentioned in the accounts traditionally repeated or amplified by the ancient Arab authors. As regards the handling of the pen, echoes are found in western works having taken as the basis of their developments, in the Europe of the 19th century, information still alive in the Ottoman empire (see for example, ch. ii of A. Herbin, *Essai de calligraphie orientale*, Paris 1803). Each time there is stressed the importance of the *ḳalam* [*q.v.*] and of the manner of cutting it; attention is also drawn to the types of ink used; the other items of equipment of the copyist are listed (see the precise details supplied on this subject by A. Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*, i, Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1967, completed by the more recent commentaries supplied by J. Sadan, *Encore du nouveau sur scribes et copistes*, in *REI*, xlv (1975). But we should not at the same time forget the influence exerted by the utilisation of different techniques, which were prevalent both for monumental and furniture inscriptions and could range from incision and sculpture in champlevé, in stone and stucco, to painting on plaster or pottery, to carving on metal, to inscriptions in relief or to the complex construction of mosaics with cubes of glass and especially, with fragments of brick and ceramic.

Actual fact does not allow us to establish, as has sometimes been suggested, that there are two separate categories of Arabic characters, one represented by epigraphic documents of every genre and the other by manuscript texts. It is known, in fact, that the eminent calligraphers often provided, by setting them down on paper, the models for inscriptions subsequently executed in every other manner and that a trait peculiar to the artisans of the mediaeval Muslim world was that they loved to prove their virtuosity by transposing, from one material to another, and from painting to sculpture, or from metal to ceramic, or conversely, worked. It seems, on the other hand, that the supple involutions of rounded letters, sometimes credited solely to the talent of the copyist, are found from the 6th/12th century onward in monumental inscriptions and that there is, on the other hand, no shortage of ancient manuscript having recourse to the angular characters incorrectly described as "lapidary". But in any case, it must be admitted that the nature of the technique practised is often sufficient to explain the variations, at the same time multiple and concurrent, without being of exactly simultaneous usage, that are to be found among inscribed compositions, of the same date and of the same origin, established on different material bases. There is no doubt that here we find the determining cause of much in the way of subsequent stylistic ramifications, of which the birth would otherwise appear fortuitous.

Here should be added the effects of choices which are more difficult to discern in their motivations, for they were linked with the very attitude of mediaeval Muslim society to artistic invention, to its taste for the repetition of formulas and the conventions of workshops, to its admiration for redundance and sumptuousness which developed under the aegis of patrons motivated as much by love of ostentation as by concern for their own glory, and which gave rise to the refinement of sumptuous manuscripts which multiplied in the same way as that of monumental and movable epigraphs. These last factors in the differentiation of shapes acted, however, without going against the spirit of conservatism which marked Arabic writing on the level of orthography and which held to a great extent to the spirit of an Arabo-Islamic civilisation conscious of its superiority, at the same time reserving to a small élite the monopoly of a written communication of limited accessibility and destined to remain thus.

For all these various reasons (more extensively developed by J. Sourdel-Thomine, *The development of Arabic script*, in *Cambridge History of Arabic Literature*, i, ch. 1), the Arabic script was abundantly used in an Islamic milieu over the course of the centuries, and innumerable documents bear witness to it. Such wealth excites admiration, but it also explains the difficulties always encountered by those wishing to study it methodically: the world of Arab palaeography remains that of scattered and unevenly accomplished exploratory studies, where general surveys of sufficient completeness are lacking as well as systematic inventories of such-and-such a series of specimens and the information they provide.

In the absence of any means of ameliorating this deficiency, we shall content ourselves here with presenting a provisional survey of the results obtained. On the one hand we shall stress the defects in orientation of the scanty working-material that exists, and on the other hand we shall indicate the principal opportunities that present themselves for tackling this vast question, pursuing a double approach: bringing out on the one hand the specific traits of an Arabic script remarkable to the present day for the consistency of its system of transcription, whilst drawing attention on the other hand to important chronological phases discernible in the evolution of its shapes. Furthermore, it should never be forgotten that in addition to these major stages, there were secondary phases, linked together. following one another in succession or on the contrary overlapping, in a somewhat anarchic process of development, according to the changing modalities of usage and the great artistic flowering to which allusion has been made above.

As the science of studying Arabic graphisms, which figures among the modern disciplines of orientalism but remains a science in its infancy, Arabic palaeography has not yet given birth to a single manual or introductory work other than one major publication, which after many years of planning remains incomplete. The idea for this work first occurred to Adolf Grohmann when he attended the lectures given on this subject by Josef von Karabacek in 1910 and 1912 at the University of Vienna. Only two volumes have appeared to this date (A. Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*, Teil i, Vienna 1967; Teil ii, Vienna 1971), which there is little hope of ever seeing completed. The historical summary of the first efforts devoted to the study of Arabic writing, first in the Islamic world (i, 4-32), then among a growing group of western orientalists from the beginning of the 17th century to the present day (i, 32-65) is followed, after remarks bearing on materials of writing (*Die Beschreibstoffe*, i, 66-131) only by analyses concerning the types of writing defined by the author as "lapidary" (*Das Schriftwesen. Die Lapidarschrift*, ii, 3-290), types whose study is certainly of vital importance, but whose various aspects are not sufficient to characterise the evolution of Arabic writing in its entirety.

There is also the survey, meticulous but of limited scope, compiled by B. Moritz in 1910 in the first edition of the Encyclopaedia of Islam [s.v. ARABIA]. Other similarly hasty surveys followed, which attempted notably to place Arabic writing among the various systems known of notation of language signs (thus M. Cohen, *Grande invention*, esp. 181-6, 234-8, and 328-30, where the previous works are mentioned and remarks of a methodological order made; see also J. Sourdel-Thomine, *L'écriture arabe et son évolution ornementale*, M. Rodinson, *Le monde islamique et l'extension de l'écriture arabe*, in *L'écriture et la psychologie des peuples*, 249-61, 263-77, and D. Divinger, *The alphabet, a key to the history of mankind*³, London and New York 1968, i, 210-15), or which attempted to place it before a more extensive public by increasing the number of illustrations (thus E. Kühnel, *Islamische Schriftkunst*, Berlin 1942; A. M. Schimmel, *Islamic calligraphy*, in *Iconography of religions*, section xxii/1, Leiden 1970; N. Zayn al-Dīn, *Muṣawwar al-k͟haṭṭ al-ʿarabī*, Bag͟hdād 1968, or idem, *Badāʾiʿ al-k͟haṭṭ al-ʿarabī*, Bag͟hdād 1972). Yet others have been content to place the accent on certain aspects of the problem (thus M. Minovi and Ph. Ackermann, *Calligraphy. An outline history*, in A. U. Pope, *A survey of Persian art*, ii (1939), 1707-42; N. Abbott, *Arabic palaeography* in *Ars Islamica*, viii (1941), 67-104, which combined with a critical study of the preceding account, replies to certain positions adopted by A. Jeffery on the possibilities of identification of ancient Arabic scripts). Finally, there have been others who have confined themselves, either to a geographical area (for example O. Houdas, *Essai sur l'écriture maghrébine*, in *Nouveaux mélanges orientaux*, 1886, 85-112) or to a period (S. al-Munad͟jd͟jid, *Dirāsāt fī taʾrīk͟h al-k͟haṭṭ al-ʿarabī mund͟hu bidāyatihi ilā nihāyat al-ʿaṣr al-umawī*, Beirut 1972), or to both of these at once (S. Y. al-D͟jabūrī, *al-K͟haṭṭ al-ʿarabī wa-taṭawwuruhu fi 'l-ʿuṣūr al-ʿabbāsiyya fi 'l-ʿIraḳ*, Baghdād 1962), or even to the work of a single calligrapher (D. S. Rice, *The unique Ibn al-Bawwāb manuscript in the Chester Beatty Library*, Dublin 1955). Here there are only to be found provisional elements and incomplete syntheses upon groups of graphical variations which seem, by their very volume, to have dampened the enthusiasm of the specialists, who, although a list of their works might give the impression that each of these subjects was covered at length, have never dealt with more than a small part of an immense and still partially unknown field.

But these sometimes superficial works have nevertheless surpassed in ambition the tentative endeavours to which other scholars too often confined themselves, collecting and regrouping, in the form of simple books of plates, specimens considered as typical of Arabic writing used, here or there, in such-and-such a period. Hence the several albums, often with ambitious titles, of which the most important since the end of the 19th century are easily listed (W. Wright, *Facsimiles of manuscripts and in, scriptions*, Oriental series, Palaeographical Society-

London 1875-83; B. Moritz, *Arabic palaeography*, Cairo 1905; E. Tisserant, *Specimina codicum orientalium*, Bonn 1914; A. J. Arberry, *Specimens of Arabic and Persian palaeography*, London 1939; G. Vajda, *Album de paléographie arabe*, Paris 1959; S. al-Munadjdjid, *al-Kitāb al-ʿarabī al-makhṭūṭ ilā 'l-ḳarn al-ʿāshir al-hidjrī*, i. *al-Namādhidj*, Cairo 1960), and to which may be added collections of exercises in decipherment conceived at any early date (such as M. Bresnier, *Eléments de calligraphie orientale*. Algiers-Paris 1855, or L. Cheikho, *Spécimens de cent écritures arabes pour la lecture des manuscrits anciens et modernes*, Beirut 1885 and 1895).

In fact a search has to be made in works belonging to disciplines other than palaeography, in the narrow sense of the term, in order to find some of the most positive results regarding the study of Arab characters. Thus we may mention the important data obtained concerning the writing of the first centuries, through the progress of the science of papyrology. To the conclusions, today considered obsolete, reached by a Silvestre de Sacy and forming the basis for subsequent researches (as in his *Nouveaux aperçus sur l'histoire de l'écriture chez les Arabes du Hedjaz*, in *JA*, x, (1827), 209-31), there have succeeded the publications of results owed to the experience of Adolf Grohmann or of N. Abbott, as well as several other specialists (see on this subject the synthesis-data in A. Grohmann, *From the world of Arabic papyri*, Cairo 1952, esp. 69-93, and *Einführung und Chrestomathie zur arabischen Papyruskunde*, i, Prague 1955, esp. 88-103; cf. *Arabische Papyruskunde*, in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, i/2, Leiden-Cologne 1966). These permit appreciation of the true value of such texts, difficult to decipher but of unquestionable historical authenticity, of which however only most incomplete series have yet been published, in occasional articles or in the catalogues of some great collections.

Also, there is the information provided by works of numismatics, starting with monetary materials (pieces of all kinds, jetons, glass weights and even seals) most often datable with certainty, emanating from equally identifiable mint centres and bearing inscriptions composed invariably in carefully executed scripts. These types of information have seldom been collated as they deserve, though mention should be made of the first results in this field, contained either in catalogues compiled according to modern rules (see the table of letter-forms set out by J. Walker, *A catalogue of the Arab-Byzantine and Post-Reform Umayyad coins*, London 1956, p. cii), or in specialised *Corpus* essays (see for example, the remarks of a palaeographic order contained in G. C. Miles, *Early Arabic glass weights and stamps*, New York 1948, 29).

Studies which have proved particularly fruitful, from the viewpoint of palaeography, are the works devoted by epigraphists to this decorative aspect of Arabic inscriptions and to the ornamental distortions of their characters, which constitute one of the most significant features. Not only has the system inaugurated by Samuel Flury concerning certain artistic schools locatable in time as in space (see for example, his *Islamische Schriftbänder, Amida-Diyarbekr XI. Jahrhundert*, Basel-Paris 1920; idem, *Le décor épigraphique des monuments de Ghazna*, in *Syria*, vi (1925), 60-90; idem, *Le décor épigraphique des monuments fatimides du Caire*, in *Syria*, xvii (1936), 365-76; and *Ornamental Kufic inscriptions on pottery*, in A. U. Pope, *A survey of Persian art*, ii, 1743-69) have continued to be followed for other periods or other places (thus V. A. Kratchovskaya, *Notices sur les inscriptions de la mosquée Djoumʿa à Véramine*, in *REI*, v (1931), 25-38; idem, *Ornamental Naskhi inscriptions*, in A. U. Pope, *Survey*, ii, 1770-85, and *Evolyuisia kufiçeskogo piśma v Sredney Azii*, in *Epigrafika Vostoka*, iii, (1949), 46-100; J. Sourdel-Thomine, *Epitaphes coufiques de Bâb Saghir*, in *Les monuments ayyoubides de Damas*, iv, Paris 1950; idem, *Le coufique alépin de l'époque seljoukide*, in *Mélanges L. Massignon*, iii, Damascus 1957, 301-17, and *Le style des inscriptions arabo-siciliennes à l'époque des rois normands*, in *Études d'orientalisme dédiées à Lévi-Provençal*, i, Paris 1962, 307-15; M. Ocaña Jiménez, *El cúfico hispano y su evolución*, Madrid 1970), but a similar method has been applied to the study of inscriptions on movable objects (L. Volov-Golombek, *Plaited Kufic on Samanid epigraphic pottery*, in *Ars Islamica*, vi (1966), 107-33). Then the procedure used for precise cases has also on occasion received particular attention (thus J. Sourdel-Thomine, *Quelques réflexions sur l'écriture des premières stèles arabes du Caire*, in *Annales islamologiques*, xi (1972), 23-35). Elsewhere, observations of this type have been collected and linked together in an ambitious treatment, such as that which was attempted by Adolf Grohmann, starting from a truly encyclopaedic knowledge of the question, but in a manner too diffused to allow a clear perspective of the evolution of the whole phenomenon (see A. Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*, ii, cited above, of which the plan of research has been announced by the author in *The origin and early development of floriated Kufic*, in *Ars Orientalis*, ii, (1957), 183-213).

Finally, the studies brought to fruition more specifically under the disciplines of codicology, the science of manuscripts and their dating, utilising with profit the examination of their various external characteristics, must in their turn not be forgotten, even if they are still far from attaining a degree of scientific precision sufficient to bring to palaeography the elements of certainty that might be expected. There is, in fact, a contrast between the minute care taken by the scribes, users and owners of every copy of an Arabic text to add to it notes supplying its history, on the one hand, and the insufficient use, on the other hand, made of these notes in modern times to establish the dating of these copies and, thereby, the classification and verification of their scripts.

Certainly, the details recorded in modern catalogues, details supplied by the title pages or the final pages of manuscripts and enabling us to date them by means of their colophons as well as by the various marks of ownership, certificates of donation such as *waḳfs* [*q.v.*], seals, reading marks and certificates of audition that they contain, have served as points of reference, in the case where they have been noted: introductions to critical editions of good quality, presentations of collections, studies bearing on the conditions of transmission of ancient texts, announcements of discoveries shedding new light on opinions previously held (see for example, J. Schacht, *Sur quelques manuscrits de la bibliothèque de la mosquée d'al-Qarawiyyin à Fès*, in *Mélanges Lévi-Provençal*, Paris 1962, 271-84, or S. M. Stern, *A Manuscript from the library of the Ghaznawid Amir ʿAbd al-Rashīd*, in *Paintings from Islamic lands*, *Oriental Studies* no. 4, Oxford 1969).

Nor has use ever been made for purposes of systematic classification nor of description of series of manuscripts belonging to such-and-such a type of

script, for there has been no attempt, on sufficiently broad bases, to make recensions with the purpose of establishing the chronological sequences of dated specimens, which would themselves be subjected to necessary palaeographic analyses. Two difficulties are encountered here: these are (1) the extraordinary quantity of copies of Arabic texts preserved to this day and (2) the insufficient knowledge that we have of them, the resources of some public libraries being incompletely studied in the West as well as in the East, and the relative importance of the contents of private libraries not yet catalogued or even sometimes noticed. It is to be hoped that in the future such inventories will be put to proper use; this will have to depend on a previous recension of the accessible Arabic manuscripts, an enterprise which is at present impossible in spite of the results contained in the monumental collections of works written in Arabic owed to C. Brockelmann and, more recently, to F. Sezgin. These inventories will enable us to fix with confidence the exact moment of appearance of a certain palaeographic feature, belonging to a certain local milieu or a certain well-known workshop. This is not yet possible, but one may at least use for first approximations the remarks supplied by the best catalogues of manuscripts and, by listing autograph signatures or references to contemporary copyists, enlarge considerably the actual field of research of the palaeographers.

To these data may profitably be added the results gleaned from thorough searches of archives containing official or private documents of all kinds (see remarks on the documentary wealth of a source of this type in J. Sourdel-Thomine and D. Sourdel, *Nouveaux documents sur l'histoire religieuse et sociale de Damas au moyen âge*, in *REI*, xxxii (1964), 1-2; *A propos des documents de la grande mosquée de Damas conservés à Istamboul. Résultats de la Seconde Enquête*, in *ibid.*, xxxiii (1965), 73-85). Here there is to be found palaeographic evidence of the first importance, ranging from notary acts [see WATHĪḲA] to requests or personal letters (for publications of letters of this kind see, for example, A Dietrich, *Arabische Briefe aus der Papyrussammlung der Hamburger Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek*, Hamburg 1955; S. M. Stern, *Petitions from the Mamluk period*, in *BSOAS*, xxix (1966), 233-76, with reference to his previous articles on the requests on the Fāṭimid or Ayyūbid epoch; D. Sourdel, *Deux documents relatifs à la communauté hanbalite de Damas*, in *BEO*, xxv (1972), 141-51).

But the most abundant source of elements immediately of use for a rational knowledge of Arabic writing still remain, amid all these manuscripts relics, these copies of the Ḳur'ān, which have already supplied the material for a special chapter of philological and palaeographic research. In the same way that the modalities of recension of the Ḳur'ānic text and the divergencies of reading to which certain of its passages can give rise led to the development, during the early centuries of Islam, of the first grammatical as well as exegetical studies. Hence copies of the Ḳur'ān offer the most solid base that we have to this day for describing the evolution of fine Arabic characters.

Catalogued since the end of the 19th century in the major western collections of which they were a part, these copies were the source of the studies of "hieratic" angular calligraphy which form the basic material for G. Bergsträsser and O. Pretzl (*Geschichte des Qorans*, iii, Leipzig 1938), who summarise in this volume their previous essays and especially for the series of new hypotheses subsequently expressed by N. Abbott (*The rise of the North Arabic script and its Kur'anic development*, Chicago 1939), A. Jeffery (review in *The Moslem World*, xxx (1940), 191-8), R. Blachère (*Introduction au Coran*, Paris 1947, 83-9), and G. Levi Della Vida (*Frammenti coranici in carattere cufico nella Biblioteca Vaticana*, Vatican 1947), without forgetting the very illuminating note by A. Grohmann (*The problem of dating early Qur'ans*, in *Isl.*, xxxiii (1958), 213-31) taking the discovery of a new fragment of the Ḳur'ān on papyrus as a basis for proposing the attribution to the 1st/7th century copies of the style previously called *ḥidjāzī*.

Certainly, the conclusions reached till now, especially concerning the calligraphic material in ornamental "kūfic" known as "lapidary", remain fragile and imprecise. There is no scientifically defensible position other than to suspend in this regard all judgement until there have been made, with the most minute observations of detail, regroupings by families, which comparisons and careful indexing will perhaps enable us to apportion chronologically and geographically. There is no guarantee even that the points of reference established then will not appear to be deceptive in regard to the work of research and analysis which they will require and which would have to take account of extensive collections not yet inventoried like that of the Damascus Ḳur'āns of Istanbul (cf. J. Sourdel-Thomine and D. Sourdel, *Nouveaux documents*). But, in spite of these reservations, the several working hypotheses already adopted, according to which were recently classified in an approximative manner the 164 exhibits of a remarkable exhibition of Ḳur'āns of all kinds (see M. Lings and Y. H. Safadi, *The Qur'an. Catalogue of an exhibition of Qur'an manuscripts at the British Library, 3 April — 15 August 1976*), prove themselves to be indispensible in enabling the reconstruction, by means of Ḳur'anic scripts alone, of the history of Arabic manuscript writing and its enrichment through elaboration of forms and the introduction of illuminations sometimes foreign to the shapes of the letters.

Beside these various scientific considerations, there are furthermore the data supplied by the ancient textual sources which have for a long time served as a basis for the reflections of the specialists and which should not be neglected. Even if most often they do no more than repeat one another and thereby ensure the permanence, to the modern milieux of calligraphers, of notions which were enunciated by the authors of the mediaeval period and which seem to have been subsequently perpetuated without being always fully understood, they show the interest felt by an erudite traditional society in the writing which it used, and they reflect in this sense the fruits of an instructive and solid experiment.

Certainly, the ideas which to this day have been extracted and expressed in western surveys correspond to a view of the problems at once formal and incomplete. What has been largely extracted from them is either the names of famous scribes considered to be the heads of schools and presented in the course of accounts of an anecdotal character, or enunciation of rules of calligraphy remaining obscure in the absence of an adequate terminology, or lists of technical terms, especially those which were in use to designate the styles of writing which scholars were content to enumerate. Even when an approach has been made on a more critical level, and attempts

made to determine the exact bearing of the terms adopted, to this day it is rare for sure conclusions to be reached. Whence arise the discussions which are still pursued among modern authors; and whence certain divergencies of interpretation concerning the text of the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm (end of the 4th/10th century), regarding the *ḥidjāzī* and *kūfī* styles in the writing of the first Ḳur'āns, may be chosen as examples (on this question, see e.g. N. Abbott, *North Arabic script*, 17-18, 23-25, 29-30). Researches such as have been pursued regarding the expression *al-khaṭṭ al-mansūb* or any other expression borrowed from the mediaeval vocabulary of copyists have in fact regularly ended in an impasse, the arguments used succeeding only in producing literary statements devoid of a direct link with the reality of the written documents: the deficiency, which was only accentuated progressively with the transmissions and transpositions of the same formulae from one author and one text to another, already affected the definitions of the most ancient historical sources accessible to us, of which the developments were never accompanied by explicit illustrations.

Nevertheless, this deficiency, which should be stressed, does not prevent the specialised Arabic literature from having a unique position in shedding a light, in certain cases on the past of a writing which forms the subject of the first *kitāb al-khaṭṭ*, *kitāb al-kuttāb* and *kitāb al-kitāba*, dealing with the types of script themselves, the presentation of the letters, the orthography, the grammar, the style, and the administrative techniques. The most ancient of these treatments date back to the 3rd/9th century, such as that of al-Baghdādī, where there are significant links with different passages included in the works of a contemporary polygraph like Ibn Ḳutayba (see D. Sourdel, *Le Livre des secretaires de ʿAbdallāh al-Baġdādī*, in *BEO*, xiv (1952-4), 115-63; cf. J. Sadan, *Encore du nouveau sur scribes et copistes*).

The encyclopaedic enterprises which such endeavours represented, and which sometimes came to give the tinge of a more literary research when they were conducted by an author like al-Tawḥīdī, were constantly reviewed and enriched throughout the mediaeval period until the works of the Mamlūk period which paid particular attention, as previously had the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm, to various types of script or *khuṭūṭ*. The chapter which al-Ḳalḳashandī devotes to these (*Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, ed. Cairo, ii) wonderfully illustrates the importance of information thus gathered by a man of secretarial training, calling upon his own experience of chancellery practices to present a survey in which he enumerates the six principal types of Arabic script, which he designates by the names *al-Ṭūmār al-kāmil*, *mukhtaṣar al-Ṭūmar*, *al-Thulth*, *al-Tawḳīʿ*, *al-Riḳāʿ* and *al-Ghubār*. But one could equally well cite the text, recently published, of an author of the 10th/16th century, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭībī (*Djāmiʿ maḥāsin kitābat al-kuttāb*, ed. S. al-Munadjdjid, Beirut 1962).

All the commentaries thus attached to ancient calligraphic varieties, themselves classed in groups and sub-groups according to a system varying somewhat according to the authors, furnish in fact the elements of a traditional science which preserves its diffuse historical validity and whose ambiguities certain western palaeographers have partially succeeded in surmounting. Not only have they seen there a means of access to details of protocol put into practice in various periods by the bureaucracy of the Muslim states for their official correspondence, but the chronological indications developed in this manner have permitted them to determine, from Ibn Muḳla (273-328/886-940) to Ibn al-Bawwāb (d. 418/1022 or 432/1032) and to Yāḳūt al-Mustaʿṣimī (640-58/1242-58) the most logically-supposed phases of a progression towards the elegance and suppleness which characterised, over the centuries, the evolution of the Arabic writing practised by scribes and copyists.

Such are the works on which at present our knowledge of the history of Arabic writing rests. The provisional assessments which may be drawn from them can conveniently be grouped under a small number of rubrics.

The first of these rubrics concerns the archaic Arabic writing which is seen to appear in the 1st/7th century and the importance of which rests on two fundamental features: the coherence, on the one hand, of its system of consonantal notation based on the existence of an alphabet, defective perhaps but already well established; and on the other hand, the normative quality accorded to it from that time, which was to enable its form to be maintained under the most elaborate of later graphical variations.

This archaic or primitive Arabic writing was employed in Arabia at the very beginning of Islam, from the lifetime of Muḥammad and during the caliphates of his immediate successors. The most ancient sources of evidence other than literary at our disposal are firstly, rare and uncertain: fragments of undated copies of the Ḳur'ānic text or letters of Muḥammad on parchment of which the authenticity has not yet been firmly demonstrated. Subsequently, some inscriptions are found on coinages of the type known as Arabo-Sāsānid or Arabo-Byzantine, and of greater importance are various lapidary remains, notably an epitaph from 31/652 preserved on a stele in the Cairo museum, of which the alphabet has already been extensively studied, and a historical inscription from 58/677-8 in the name of Muʿāwiya found in Arabia near al-Ṭā'if on a dam out in the countryside. These texts permit a clear knowledge of the crude forms, so simple in fact as later to cause confusion, of the seventeen characters which constitute its alphabet, eighteen if we are to include the double letter *lām-alif*, still more counting the variations imposed on the isolated, initial, medial or final letters, put forward by the grammarians, from the 2nd/8th century, according to an original scheme taking account both of their appearance and of their phonetic characteristics. The shapes thus used had been inherited from earlier Semitic scripts, but according to a line of descent which cannot easily be established. They required in any case an orthography which was the object of some later improvements, by the addition of supplementary signs, but which always demanded a reading of the Arabic based on the recognition of the words themselves and thus permitted only to trained scholars to do this.

This orthography was first based on the small number of signs adopted to designate the twenty-eight phonemes of the Arabic language, twenty-five consonants and three semi-vowels, without counting the long vowels *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, corresponding to the three vocalic tones of classical Arabic, and the short vowels which, in a Semitic language are generally considered as foreign to the "skeleton of the word" but which require no less a special system of notation, which became evident, according to the textual sources, before the end of the 1st/7th century. The same sign having been assigned to two or three phonemes, these were subsequently differentiated by the

adjunction, above or below the line, of one, two or three of those diacritical points which have been preserved to this day and to which was added also a special sign, the *shadda* or *tashdīd*, to mark the doubling of a consonant. Thus it became possible to distinguish letters such as *bāʾ*, *tāʾ*, *thāʾ*, *nūn* and *yāʾ*, in their initial and medial forms, or *ḥā*, *khā* and *djīm*, *dāl* and *dhāl*, *rāʾ* and *zāy*, *sīn* and *shīn*, *ṣād* and *ḍād*, *ṭāʾ* and *ẓāʾ*, *ʿayn* and *ghayn* as well as *fāʾ* and *ḳāf*. The introduction of this practice, which in general may be seen as the imitation of a process put into practice by Syriac writing, cannot be dated with certainty, especially as the pointing appeared to be more or less necessary according the difficulty of the words transcribed and according to the more or less hieratic and stylised character required for the writing; but the example supplied by the inscription of Muʿāwiya mentioned above would seem to prove that its use in moderation, in the form elsewhere of little oblique strokes rather then points, dates back to the same antiquity as the use of the Arabic alphabet in the ancient Muslim era. Then, later in the same century, appeared special signs for vowels.

As for the shapes themselves, we should emphasise not only the simplicity of the contours and the irregularity of proportions, but also the abundant use made of ligatures, which joined the letters between themselves in the interior of the words, so as to give the illusion of a continuous line in which the letters were placed. This fact would seem to prove that the Arabic script derives from a "well-worn" script in which characters already degenerate were preferred to facilitate the joining of cursive script; but the question remains open as to where or when this derivation took place, and by means of which models drawn from the vast family of Aramaean writings which was formerly spread over the entire Near East.

The question of origins, for which the basic documentation continues to be limited to the rare inscriptions known as "Proto-Arabic", has excited a number of theories from the statements of Bernhard Moritz, re-examined by Nabia Abbott, to the recent hypotheses of J. Starcky (see on this subject J. Sourdel-Thomine, *Les origines de l'écriture arabe à propos d'une hypothèse récente*, in *REI*, xxxiv (1966), 151-7; cf. on the same point the reservations of A. Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*, ii, 7-33), but to this day the question cannot be considered settled. The ancient Arabic sources, which attribute the invention of the Arabic script to persons of legendary nature, presented, according to the accounts in question, in different contexts, are on this point of very little help: they content themselves with affirming that the script was in use in the Arab kingdom of the Syria-Mesopotamia region as well as in Mecca in the 6th century A.D. On the other hand, the researches of modern scholars have as yet produced only controversial approximations. The opinion which has prevailed for more than fifty years would have it that there was a progressive transformation, in Arabic characters, of the symbols used, several centuries earlier, by the Nabataeans of the kingdom of Petra. The *petitio principi* on which this opinion rests and which consists in assimilating to the inscriptions known as "Proto-Arabic" the "Nabataean-Arabic" inscription of al-Namāra, quite different in appearance and two centuries earlier, has recently been vigorously opposed by specialist scholars of Nabataean who deny the existence, in its cursive forms, of the least resemblance to the future Arabic forms. These same specialists insist on the total hiatus that would in fact exist, as regards writing, between the distant period of the zenith of the Nabataean kingdom, in the 2nd century A.D., and the birth, in the 1st/7th century, of the Islamic state whose development ensured that of Arabic writing. So there arises for them the necessity to search out the prototypes of the Arabic characters in the symbols which served for the notation of other languages used, between the 3rd and the 6th centuries A.D., in the pre-Islamic Near East, especially in the Christian Arab kingdoms of Lower Mesopotamia, around the famous intellectual centre of al-Ḥīra [*q.v.*]. These symbols are not known to us today through any relics, but there remains as a clue the fact that the archaic Arabic script, this "linked cursive with reduced bodies for letters", as it has been strikingly defined, obeys the same principles as the Syriac script, of which some varieties no longer in use could well have been in practice in al-Ḥīra and in its surroundings.

Distinguished from archaic Arabic writing by its concern for equilibrium and regularity—this will be the second rubric—is "the imperial script" of the following period, which deserves the dynastic title of Umayyad. While remaining faithful to the preceding orthographic system, eventually improved in copies of the Ḳurʾān by the notation of short vowels, in the most anciently attested form, that of coloured dots, this script was in fact modelled, from a stylistic point of view, by the taste of the sovereigns who distinguished themselves in this sense by various innovations. Such was the official decision of the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik imposing the use of Arabic on the scribes of the central as well as of the provincial administration, and ordering the composition in that language of the legends on coinage, which represented henceforth a new type, without any décor other than calligraphic. One notes that from his reign date the first specimens of Arabic writing worthy of comparison with Greek inscriptions previous to the conquest, and it is no accident that these specimens are found on milestones, themselves erected according to ancient usages. It subsequently fell to the lot of the son of ʿAbd al-Malik, al-Walīd, to leave on the walls of the first prestige monument of Islam, the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, an epigraphic band of hitherto unequalled importance.

Thus there rapidly came to be felt in full force the effects of a quest for equilibrium imposing on the various letters of the alphabet a stricter form, and permitting their classification into three series based on simple geometric schemes: tall and straight letters producing, above the base line, perpendicular or oblique strokes of variable dimensions; those which develop, on the level of this central axis or slightly above it, loops formed like little circles or like quadrangular figures of variable dimensions; and those finally which exhibit, still in a timid manner, below this same axis, curves which are more or less open and generally treated as simple fragments of almost perfect circumferences. These results had been obtained by the vertical elongation of the *alif*, the horizontal extension of the *dāl* and especially of the *ṭāʾ* or the *kāf*, the harmonisation of the shape of the letters with loops, the extension of the terminal curves of the *rāʾ* and especially of the *kāf* or of the final *nūn*, the eventual turning towards the right of the termination of the final *yāʾ*. The same shapes could be inscribed in a rigid manner on stone or rough parchment, for texts slowly copied and intended to last on account of their religious or historical value (manuscripts of the Ḳurʾān or

royal inscriptions, for example), or on the contrary copied more casually, with rounding and modification of forms, when it was a question of less important texts and of private or even official letters, and written with light pens on the uniform and smooth surface of sheets of papyrus.

Differences in treatment thus began to engender observable graphical variations, without, however, permitting a distinction at that stage between a utilitarian and cursive script, marked solely by the requirements of legibility and speed, and a more dignified script aimed purely at the requirements of art or of prestige. These differences none the less indicate the two directions which were soon to be followed and on the basis of which certain specialists formerly considered themselves authorised to insist on a supposed ancient duality of Arabic writing of which the two equally primitive forms, the angular form known as "kūfic" and the flexible known as "*naskhī*", would correspond to different systems destined to be perpetuated side-by-side. Today emphasis should be laid, contrary to such a hypothesis, on the fundamental unity of the earliest Arabic writing, which Bernhard Moritz and Adolf Grohmann agreed in recognising; but it is nevertheless correct to place in the Umayyad period the individualisation of the currents which subsequently led to the ramification of its styles according to two principal branches.

It is to the nature and the vitality of the first of these currents that the third rubric should then be devoted, envisaging an angular script, at the same time slow of execution and naturally ornamental, whose aesthetic value and nobility always prevailed over convenience, but whose taste for the most varied usages no less characterised the ancient ʿAbbāsid period. Not only were copies of the Ḳurʾān transcribed in this style until the middle of the 4th/10th century, but it was also used to preserve works of erudition or pious texts of all kinds which were written on parchment, while monumental inscriptions owed to it their astonishing decorative quality.

Thus we may speak of a constant flowering of kūfic over several centuries, simple kūfic at first when writers contented themselves with reproducing, in relief and with increased breadth, the thin lines of the Umayyad compositions, subsequently ornamental when the means for enriching and adding to it appeared favourable. The successes at once artistic and epigraphic, whose achievement it permitted while observing the priority of the textual quality of the inscription, became diversified up to the turn of the 6th/12th century, in the form of various styles often deserving to bear the names of regional dynasties which had favoured them individually: one may in fact speak of Aghlabid, Ṭūlūnid, Fāṭimid or Ghaznawid kūfics for example, each presenting its répertoire of calligraphic embellishments, corresponding especially to so many historical and geographical stages in the transformation of Arabic writing in the context of an immense and soon fragmented Islamic empire.

To give an idea of these various styles and of their nature, it is not sufficient to recall the fundamental rules according to which kūfic scripts evolved, obeying a common tendency, that of combatting, by various devices, the imbalance originally present in every epigraphic band, between an upper section that was too empty and a lower section weighed down with characters crammed together. In such cases, a common tendency was to expand into palmettes the upper extremities of characters while their lower teminations little by little gave birth to slender or daring curves returning to the level of the high strokes. Other tendencies subsequently showed themselves, according to which the artists had recourse either to elongations or flexions of the letters themselves, or to casual motifs associated with the characters and situated in their backgrounds.

From the judicious use of these various procedures were born all the various types of "ornamental kūfic" which one may begin to distinguish and classify by means of the systems of analysis of alphabets brilliantly inaugurated by the works of Samuel Flury. There were, for example, the inscriptions where the letters were placed on a background entirely covered with ornamental arabesques, of which the stems could develop into asymetrical branches passing at random over the empty spaces or on the contrary crossing the characters without ever becoming confused with them, then following their coils by means of an independent and more or less involved foliated scroll. There were also techniques of developing, while starting from the letters themselves and their terminal points, either leafed or even flowered stylisations arranged regularly in a festoon, or networks of articulated lines in the style of a more or less important geometric border, capable of being extended into an unbounded knotwork pattern. Some daring experiments went so far as to insert within the letters figures of living creatures, rows of human heads for example or mixed groups of animals and humans. All these decorative processes are evoked, in modern classifications and definitions, by the terms of kūfic, leafed or flowered with ripple scroll, with floral border, with geometric border and finally anthropomorphic border. But at the same time, modifications were made of the outline of the letter itself, sometimes to the point of distorting its appearance and making one forget that the symbols in question could retain an alphabetic function under the distortions to which they were subjected. Thus there came about a proliferation of vertical strokes with counter-curves applied in the guise of "rising tails" to continue, in the upper part of the band, the final letters which originally finished below the base line. Use was already also made of breaks with rectangular turns, of elongations of all kinds, of braiding, indentations, ornamental ligatures and folding knots which characterise especially the multiple varieties of braided kūfic, although such a succinct enumeration cannot possibly take into account the gifts of imagination which made of every new decorative kūfic inscription a work of art that was unique, because based on the previous establishment of an alphabet and of an ornamental répertoire belonging to it.

Now these are precisely the typical details of this genre which marked the specific styles of the local schools which should be distinguished if one is to follow with any advantage the history of kūfic writing. Thus we observe the Syrian character of certain types of *djīm*, *ḥāʾ* or *khāʾ*. Similarly, the taste for braiding certain letters which might be, according to local tradition, the *dāl*, the *kāf* or the *hāʾ* for example, the taste also for superimposed motifs such as knots on tall strokes inserted between neighbouring letters such as the two *lāms* of the word Allāh, would distinguish the works from Khurāsān where, in the 5th/11th century, particularly refined specimens are noted. In still another context, the direct decoration of letters with flowers would have prevailed especially in an Egyptian milieu, and the perfection attained in this respect by Fāṭi-

mid inscriptions, belonging to the style to which the name *Ḳarmaṭī* "Carmathian" was for a long time erroneously applied, would crown the success of efforts begun in the mid-3rd/9th century. Finally, the sobriety which for many years remained in use in the western provinces of the Empire, in Andalusia as well as the Maghrib—which should be interpreted as a sign of artistic regionalism—concealed in the 4th/10th century, at the time of the apogee of the Umayyad caliphate in Spain, the nature of a kūfic script that was already scholarly beneath an archaic appearance of the inscribed line.

In this fashion, one may understand the fragmentation and proliferation of the local schools to which reference should be made in order to supply even a concise picture of the varieties of angular writing practised during the first centuries of Islam. Such a precise picture has never yet been drawn; but only this would enable us to understand the stylistic developments and variations which are seen subsequently to become blurred in the latter phase of this evolution, when kūfic became, after the 6th/12th century, a script set in its purely ornamental role and in some respects outdated. If in fact it continued to be used for the ornamentation of architectural surfaces, it no longer had any other role—and this would be the final phase of its evolution—except to supply controlling outlines to purely decorative compositions, which could without any geographical restriction call upon all the formulae previously tried, mingle them in the most imaginative fashion, and in particular, set a seal on their transfer from East to West. But these compositions, while continuing to be legible, were no more than symbolic, henceforth used only for transcribing short religious invocations without historical counterpart. Aesthetic quality and concealed religious sense were all that counted, and they explain the birth of varieties such as "square kūfic" which had been influenced by certain Chinese characters and which succeeded in engendering, from Central Asia to Turkey, complex and rigid types of lace-work where the distinctive fundamental features of ancient Arabic writing are barely recognisable.

It is, however, this writing whose original aptitudes for flexibility and speed are immediately revealed when one tackles, under the fourth and last rubric, the success gradually enjoyed, in the post-Umayyad period, by a rounded script whose use soon spread well beyond the offices of the administration. Not only, in fact, did this favourite script of the scribes continue to be employed for all purposes, of which there survive especially Egyptian specimens, sometimes with striking contrasts between the more carefully written, hence semi-rigid script used for the text of the document itself and the irregular cursive employed for the signatures of the witnesses; but copyists of widely differing "hands" also used it, after the end of the 3rd/9th century, for the commonest of manuscripts, and the new style came to dominate, in the 4th/10th century, the sphere of copies of the Ḳur'ān. It was the expansion of this hybrid script which has sometimes been called "broken kūfic" or *naskhī* kūfic and which seems to have spread first in the far Iranian provinces, where it was used especially for personal inscriptions on pottery. The emphasis on the play of full and slender strokes obtained by the elegant handling of the pen led to the pre-eminence of triangular as well as diagonal elements, the cursive character of which did not cease to be stressed. Soon this "transitional" script, which itself underwent a number of slightly differing regional interpretations, encountered a new vogue in the Muslim West, where it lasted longer than elsewhere and where it inspired many of the features of later writings in the Maghrib.

At the same time, there came to light in the East the first manifestations of the successive styles of writing of those copyists who appear to enjoy such prestige in the accounts of Arab authors, evoking for each one among them the studies of eminent masters and their pupils. Thus it is known that it was the vizier Ibn Muḳla [*q.v.*] who, in the first half of the 4th/10th century, took the initiative in codifying for the first time in a precise manner, by measuring them with pointing, the relationships of relative proportions binding together the various letters of the alphabet; it also fell to him to make the first systematic treatment of the best-known "six styles". A little later his reputation as a theorist of calligraphy was eclipsed by that of such accomplished artists as the great Ibn al-Bawwāb [*q.v.*] at the start of the 5th/11th century—the period in which cursive writing was judged of sufficiently high prestige to be employed subsequently in copies of the Ḳur'ān—and the no less famous Yāḳūt al-Mustaʿṣimī [*q.v.*] towards the end of the 7th/13th century. This was the period of the apogee of the rounded script often known by the convenient dynastic name of "Ayyūbid *naskhī*", before the scribes of the Mamlūk period turned towards redundant forms and a taste for thick interweavings of vertical strokes, and also before the appearance of novel tendencies, belonging especially to Iran and Turkey, which had two principal objects: on the one hand, the deliberate segmentation of the written line into sections "suspended" obliquely, in the true sense, one above the others according to a new art of writing which developed under the aegis of Īlkhānid and Tīmūrid princes before coming triumphantly into its own with the works of Mīr ʿAlī of Harāt; on the other hand, the methodical pursuit of a "monumentalisation" of cursive writing applied to vast surfaces, as was the rule for example in the schools of Shaykh Ḥamd Allāh in the 10th/16th century or of Ḥāfiẓ ʿUthmān more than a century later.

The rounded graphic forms thus ultimately held sway in the majority of Islamic lands, at all levels of the art of writing, and supplanted the hieratic forms for which they became substituted, since the 6th/12th century, in the lapidary inscriptions themselves. In this context, one could return to some of the remarks previously made in response to the more beautiful and baroque realisations of ornamental kūfic, while bearing in mind that a chronological and geographical classification has not yet been made of the most original schools according to which they flourished. Nevertheless, we should not forget the relative consistency of shapes which remains an essential characteristic and which justifies in a sense the sentimental attachment still shown today by every literate Arab, the attachment to a script of which the apparent variations have never been an obstacle to legibility while being the source of constantly renewed aesthetic achievements.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(J. Sourdel-Thomine)

ii. — In Persia

The calligraphy which developed in Baghdād culminated in Yāḳūt al-Mastaʿṣimī (d. 697/1298), the last great calligrapher at the ʿAbbāsid court. Thereafter Baghdād lost its importance, and in such

calligraphic styles as *muḥaḳḳaḳ*, *riḥān*, *thuluth*, *naskh*, *tawḳīʿ*, *riḳāʿ*, all of which made up the "six styles", *aḳlām-i sitta*, gave place to Harāt, Mashhad, Tabrīz and eventually Tehran in Persia. Persian calligraphers, under the influence of Yāḳūt al-Mustaʿṣimī, carried these six types further, and created a Persian style of calligraphy by writing in them in a way suited to their own taste, and furthermore increased the number of styles by adding their own invention of *taʿlīḳ* and *nastaʿlīḳ*.

Although in the section on *khuṭūṭ al-maṣāḥif*, Ibn al-Nadim's *Fihrist* says that the Persians, in the first period of Islam's appearance, used a type of calligraphy called *kīrāmūz* (read *pīrāmūz*? See *Aṭlas-i khaṭṭ*, 126-30) for writing their copies of the *Ḳurʾān*, yet there is no early-enough attested surviving manuscript here. Badrī Atābāy, on pp. 299-300 of his work *Fihrist-i Ḳurʾānhā-yi khaṭṭī-yi kitāb-khana-yi salṭanatī*, Tehran 1351/1972, gives a Ḳurʾān page as an example of this *pīrāmūz* style of calligraphy, yet this seems hard to prove or disprove. Some Persian scholars, e.g. Bayānī and Rukn al-Dīn Humāyūn-Farrukh have argued that this style of calligraphy emerged during the Sāsānid period and continued until just after the advent of Islam (see *Aṭlas-i khaṭṭ*, 397-8).

In order of their development, the different styles of calligraphy are as follows:

Kūfī. *Kūfī* script continued to be in use for some five centuries after the advent of Islam, especially for writing Ḳurʾāns. Moreover, it was used for writing the titles of manuscripts and their sections and the *basmalas* at their beginnings until almost the end of the 7th/13th century, often as an element of decoration.

The oldest extant Ḳurʾān written in Persian is dated 198/813, and appears to have been written for the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Maʾmūn, see Muḥsin Shāmlū, *Sahm-i Īrān dar nashr u tawṣīʿa-i maʿārif-i islāmī*, in *Wāḥid*, no. lxxxvii, Tehran 1971, 75-85. The Ḳurʾān copied by Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Sharīf in 1323/1905 during the reign of the Ḳādjār Muẓaffar al-Dīn, in *kūfī* and *naskh* script, represents a harking-back to the ancient *kūfī* style of calligraphy.

The *Djalī* type of *kūfī* script was often used, together with *thuluth*, as a decorative element on buildings until recent times. Good examples of *kūfī* writing, in various types, are the inscriptions of the Pīr ʿAlamdār tomb (built in 418/1027) in Dāmghān, and the Ḥaydariyya Mosque (built in the 6th/12th century) in Ḳazwīn.

Muḥaḳḳaḳ ("strongly expressed [word], tightly-woven [cloth]") has as its main characteristic the feature that the left corner of the letters ت پ ب
ی و ن م ل ك ق ف ض ص ش س ژ ز ر ذ د ث
are angled. This script was used for long-page format Ḳurʾāns and also for frames. The long-page format Ḳurʾān of Bāysunghur b. Shāhrukh b. Tīmūr (d. 837/1433), some pages of which have been preserved in Persian museums, is very famous. Djaʿfar-i Bāysunghurī (9th/15th century), ʿAbd Allāh Ṭabbākh-i Harawī (9th/15th century), and ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Tabrīzī (10th/16th century) are the most important calligraphers after Bāysunghur. *Muḥaḳḳaḳ* yielded place to *thuluth* after the end of the 11th/17th century.

Riḥān, *riḥānī*, *rayḥān*, *rayḥānī* ("the aromatic plant basil", "having a fragrance") is a smaller version of *muḥaḳḳaḳ*, i.e. when *muḥaḳḳaḳ* is written in the size of *naskh* it is called *riḥān*. This script was also used for copying Ḳurʾāns, and like *muḥaḳḳaḳ*, started to go out of circulation after the 11th/17th century in favour of *naskh*.

Thuluth ("one-third") is generally said to have derived its name from being based on the principle of a third of each letter being sloping. This is the script from amongst the *Aḳlām-i sitta* which has survived longest. It was and still is used for every kind of frame and for book titles in all Muslim countries. The most able calligraphers in this script are: Bāysunghur (d. 837/1433), Asad Allāh-i Kirmānī (d. 892/1486), Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥāfiẓ Harawī (d. 974/1566), ʿAbd al-Bāḳī-i Tabrīzī (10th/16th century), ʿAlī Ḳulī-i Shīrāzī (10th/16th century), ʿAlī Riḍā ʿAbbāsī (11th/17th century).

Naskh ("act of cancellation, abrogation"). Here, the Persians, just like in *thuluth*, followed the style of Yāḳūt al-Mustaʿṣimī. There are some Persian manuscripts in *naskh* of the 5th/11th century which already show a gradual transition from *kūfī*. The most clear example of this is a manuscript of Abū Manṣūr Muwaffaḳ b. ʿAlī al-Harawī's pharmacological book, the *Kitāb al-abniya ʿan ḥaḳāʾiḳ al-adwiya*, now in Vienna; this was written in 447/1055 by a Persian scribe called Asadī-i Ṭūsī (see Flügel, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der kaiserlich-königlichen Hof-Bibliothek zu Wien*, 1865, ii, 534).

After a period of temporary decline, *naskh*, during the Mongol period, regained its beauty during the Tīmūrid period, but receded again in the 18th and 19th centuries. Persian *naskh* had a flavour of the *riḥān* script until the 18th century. Aḥmad Nayrīzī gave to it in the 12th/18th century a new style and liveliness, until it almost acquired a *nastaʿlīḳ* character; it had an angular look and the verticals of the letters became relatively finer, giving this script a particular beauty and fineness. ʿAbd Allāh Ṣayrafi (8th/14th century), Bāysunghur, ʿAbd Allāh Ṭabbākh-i Harawī, Asad Allāh-i Kirmānī, Muḥammad Hādī-i Iṣfahānī (d. 1135/1722), Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn-i Iṣfahānī (d. 1300/1882), Mīrzā Ṭāhir-i Tabrīzī (20th century) are the most powerful exponents of this script. Modern Persian calligraphers follow the example of Aḥmad Nayrīzī in *thuluth* and *naskh* calligraphy.

Tawḳīʿ is a variety of *thuluth*, with its letters somewhat more compressed and rounded. Another special feature of it is that the letters like و ل ژ ز ر ذ د ا are joined to the letters following them. Sometimes, however, one may come across examples of *tawḳīʿ* in which all the letters are almost joined together; sometimes the final letter of a word would be joined to the first letter of the following word. This script was used in Persia for the final page, sc. that with the colophon showing the date and place of copying and the scribe's name, of elongated format Ḳurʾāns.

Riḳāʿ is a smaller version of *tawḳīʿ* and has the same rules. *Riḳāʿ*, which was formerly used for writing letters, epics and stories, later came to be used for writing the final pages of Ḳurʾāns and especially those of learned books. The Ottoman calligraphers called this script *idjāza* or *khaṭṭ al-idjāza*.

Djalī, *djalīl* was a name given to every large type of script, but was more specifically used for the large type of *thuluth*. The *djalī* variety of *thuluth*, which was little developed during the Saldjūḳ period, gradually started to become more beautiful by the 9th/15th century, and reached its utmost beauty during the Tīmūrid and especially Ṣafawid periods. This script was used for large-sized frames and also for public buildings and their inscriptions.

Its foremost exponents included ʿAbd Allāh Ṣayrafī, Baysunghur, ʿAlī Riḍā ʿAbbāsī-i Tabrīzī and Muḥammad Riḍā Imāmī-i Iṣfahānī (11th/17th century). Amongst their works, Bāysunghur's inscription on the Gawharshād mosque in Mashhad and ʿAlī Riḍā ʿAbbāsī's inscriptions on the Masdjid-i Shāh and the Luṭf Allāh mosque in Iṣfahān are the most beautiful examples in Persian *djalī* script.

Ghubār, *ghubārī* ("dust", "dust-like") is a term for every type of very small script difficult to read with the naked eye, but is often found in the *naskh* script; some very small-sized Ḳur'āns were written in *ghubārī* script.

Musalsal ("strung together") is a term for the letters of *thuluth* script when joined to each other, rather than a special type of script. It was sometimes practised by calligraphers to show off their skill.

Siyāḳat, *siyāḳ*, a script considered to have been used from the Umayyad period onwards, has no artistic appearance and was used in financial registers and suchlike. The question whether it was used during the Sāsānid period has been put forward. See Aḥmad Gulčin Maʿānī, *Risāla dar ʿilm-i siyāḳ*, in *Madjalla-yi Dānishkade-yi Adabiyyāt*, Tehran 1344/1965.

Taʿlīḳ ("suspension, hanging together") is said to have got this name from its letters being connected to each other, and is in fact a compound of *tawḳīʿ*, *riḳāʿ* and *naskh* scripts, according to Persian scholars, and it is alleged that the sinuous style of the letters of the Pahlevi and Avestan alphabets played a rôle in its formation. *Taʿlīḳ* was used for writing books and letters and also in the *dīwān*s for official correspondence; it apparently started to be formed perhaps in the 5th/11th or following centuries, and by the 7th/13th century it emerged in its definite form. It was not used very much until the 8th/14th century, but then started to slowly lose its importance, and give place to *shikasta taʿlīḳ*; the works on calligraphy call the *taʿlīḳ* either *taʿlīḳ-i ḳadīm* or *taʿlīḳ-i aṣl*. The invention of this script is attributed either to one Khwādja Abu'l-ʿĀl (of whom nothing is known) or to Ḥasan b. Ḥusayn ʿĀlī Fārisī Kātib (4th/10th century). Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad-i Shīrāzī (8th/14th century) was one of the great exponents of this script. The letters of *taʿlīḳ* are joined to each other, and letters like و ل ژ ز ر ذ د ا would be joined to the letters following them, and the script simpler than *shikasta taʿlīḳ*.

Shikasta taʿlīḳ ("broken *taʿlīḳ*) is the result of writing *taʿlīḳ* rapidly. The letters are written in a more intricate style, which makes *shikasta taʿlīḳ* difficult to read. It started to appear in the 8th/14th century, and was developed by Khwādja Tādj Salmānīyi Iṣfahānī (d. 897/1491). *Shikasta taʿlīḳ* declined in use when *nastaʿlīḳ* started to spread everywhere in the 10th/16th century, and was used decreasingly after the 19th century. Nowadays it is used in Persia for artistic display and for variety. Khwādja Ikhtiyār al-Dīn Munshī (10th/16th century) was especially famed for this script. Persians customarily call this script simply *taʿlīḳ* without the prefix *shikasta*.

Tarassul ("correspondence") is a name given by the *dīwān* secretaries to a plainer form of *shikasta taʿlīḳ*.

Naskh-i taʿlīḳ, *naskh-taʿlīḳ*, *nastaʿlīḳ*, is said in the works on calligraphy to have been formed by joining *naskh* and *taʿlīḳ*, and this compound gradually came to be pronounced as *nastaʿlīḳ*. Although it is said that it was invented by Mīr ʿAlī Tabrīzī (d. 850/1446), the existing manuscripts contradict this view and show that the invention of this script goes back as far as the 7th/13th century. In Turkey and in Arabic countries it is erroneously called *taʿlīḳ*.

Nastaʿlīḳ, after its emergence, became divided into two styles: (a) that of Mīrzā Djaʿfar-i Tabrīzī (9th/15th century) and Aẓhar-i Tabrīzī; (b) that of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān-i Khwārazmī (9th/15th century). The first style, developed in Khurāsān, was accepted as being particularly suitable to Persian taste, whereas the second style, developed in Western Persia, was gradually forgotten. The first style, later called the "Khurāsānian style", flourished under such able masters as Sulṭān ʿAlī-yi Mashhadī (d. 926/1519), Mīr ʿAlī Harawī (d. 951/1544) and Bābā Shāh-i Iṣfahānī (d. 996/1587), and reached its highest point of beauty with Mīr ʿImād-i Ḥasanī-i Sayfī (d. 1024/1615 or 1027/1617), modern Persian calligraphers follow his path.

Shikasta nastaʿlīḳ, *khaṭṭ-i shikasta*, came into existence at the beginning of the 11th/17th century under the Ṣafawids, as a result of writing *nastaʿlīḳ* rapidly and of the calligraphers being under the influence of *shikasta taʿlīḳ*. Official correspondence had been done in *shikasta taʿlīḳ* until then, but was now replaced by *shikasta nastaʿlīḳ*. Murtaḍā Ḳulī Khān Shāmlū (d. 1100/1688), Shafīʿa (d. 1081/1670) and Darwīsh ʿAbd al-Madjīd-i Ṭālḳānī (d. 1185/1771) are the great masters of this script. *Nastaʿlīḳ* was used in writing literary works, whereas *shikasta nastaʿlīḳ* was used mostly in writing letters and sometimes for official correspondence. Nowadays it is sometimes used in writing poetry in an artistic fashion. The Turks, however, showed very little interest in this particular script.

Taḥrīrī ("epistolary") is a more simple form of *shikasta nastaʿlīḳ*, used for writing letters and taking notes.

Muthannā, *khaṭṭ-i muthannā* ("facing each other"), is not a special script. Although it is possible to apply *muthannā* to any type of script, this was especially done with *thuluth* and *kūfī*.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the text, see Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, Cairo 1348/1929; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā fī ṣināʿat al-inshā'*, Cairo 1332/1914, ii; Muḥammad b. Ḥasan Ṭayyibī, *Djāmiʿ maḥāsin al-kuttāb wa-nuzhat ūlī al-baṣā'ir wa'l-albāb*, ed. Salāḥ al-Dīn al-Munadjdjid, Beirut 1962 (these are the three main works on calligraphy); Mīrzā Sanglakh, *Tadhkirat al-khaṭṭāṭīn*, Tabrīz 1291/1874; C. Huart, *Les calligraphes et les miniaturistes de l'Orient musulman*, Paris 1908; Ghulām Muḥammad Dihlawī, *Tadhkira-i khushnuwīsān*, ed. M. Hidāyat Ḥusaynī, Calcutta 1910; B. Moritz, *EI*[1] *Arabic writing*; ʿAbd al-Muḥammad Khān-i Īrānī, *Paydāyish-i khaṭṭ u khaṭṭāṭān*, Cario 1345/1926; Dost Muḥammad, *Ḥālāt-i hunarwarān*, ed. M. ʿAbdullāh Čaghtāī, Lahore 1936; Pope, *Survey of Persian art*, ii, 1706-84; Arberry, A. J., *Specimens of Arabic and Persian palaeography*, London 1939; Aḥmad b. Mīr Munshī al-Ḥusaynī, *Calligraphers and painters*, tr. V. Minorsky, Washington 1959; ʿAlī Rāhdjīrī, *Paydāyish-i khaṭṭ u khaṭṭāṭān ba-indimān-i tadhkira-i khūshnuwīsān-i muʿāṣir*, Tehran 1346/1967; Mahdī Bayānī, *Aḥwāl wa-āthār-i khūsh-nuwīsān*, 3 vols., Tehran 1345-8/1966-9; Annemarie Schimmel, *Islamic calligraphy*, Leiden 1970; Ḥabīb Allāh Faḍā'ilī, *Aṭlas-i, khaṭṭ, Taḥḳīḳ dar khuṭūṭ-i Islāmī*, Isfahan 1350/1971; Muḥsin Shāmlū, *Sayr-i takāmul wa-numūna-i khuṭūṭ-i*

gūnāgūn-i Ḳurʾān, in *Wahīd*, Tehran 1350/1971, no. xc; ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, *Tārīkh-i khaṭṭ wa nuwīshtahā-yi kohan-i Afghānistān*, Kabul 1350/1971; E. Kühnel, *Islamische Schriftkunst*² 1972. Important works on calligraphy and various styles of writing: Bayānī, *Fihrist-i numāyishgāh-i khuṭūṭ-i khūsh-i Nastaʿlīḳ-i Kitābkhāna-i Millī*, Tehran 1328/1949; idem, *Numūna-i khuṭūṭ-i khūsh-i Kitābkhāna-i Shāhanshāhī-i Irān*, Tehrān 1329/1950; G. Kostigova, *Obraztsy kalligrafii Irana. i Xrednei Azii, XV-XIX vv.* Moscow 1961; Nādjī Zayn al-Dīn al-Maṣrif, *Muṣawwar al-khaṭṭ al-ʿArabī*, Baghdad 1388/1968; idem, *Badāʾiʿ al-khaṭṭ al-ʿArabī*, Baghdad 1391/1971; Muḥammad ʿAzīza, *La calligraphie Arabe*, Tunis 1971.

(ALİ ALPARSLAN)

iii. — IN TURKEY

The Turks also followed the path of Yāḳūt al-Mustaʿṣimī in the *aḳlām-i sitta* until the conquest of Istanbul in 857/1452. But with refinements of mathematical and dimensional precision introduced by Shaykh Ḥamd Allāh (840-926/1436-1520), the famous calligrapher of Sultān Meḥemmed II and Bāyezīd II's reigns, these scripts reached a peak of beauty, and as a result of this a Turkish style emerged. After the conquest, other types of script came into existence, and gradually Istanbul became a centre for the calligraphic art.

The Turks elevated the main Islamic scripts, the *Aḳlām-i sitta*, to the highest point of beauty; hence the expression became current, "the Ḳurʾān was revealed in Mecca, recited in Egypt, and written in Istanbul".

Kūfī. The Saldjūḳs if Anatolia inherited the use of this script from the Great Saldjūḳs of Persia. The best examples of its ornamental use on buildings are on the Karatay *madrasa* (built in 649/1251) and Indje Mināre *madrasa* (built in 662/1264 at Ḳonya.

The Ottomans did not favour the *kūfī* script much, though it had a restricted use during the first two centuries of the empire on buildings in Bursa, Edirne and Istanbul, e.g. the Fātiḥ mosque in Istanbul.

Muḥaḳḳaḳ and *rīḥān*. *Muḥaḳḳaḳ* was especially used for writing inscriptions within frames, and *rīḥān* for writing Ḳurʾāns. These two scripts reached their artistic peak in the 9th/15th century, but from the 10th/17th gave place to *thuluth*. Notable calligraphers here were Shaykh Ḥamd Allāh (840-926/1436-1520), Aḥmad-i Ḳarāḥiṣārī (874-963/1469-1556), Ḥasan Čelebi (d. 1002/1594) and Ḥāfiẓ ʿOthmān (1052-1110/1642-1698).

Thuluth and *naskh*. These two scripts had special forms among the Saldjūḳs of Persia, being called Saldjūḳ *thuluth* and *naskh*, and these continued to flourish in Anatolia, especially with the influence of Shaykh Ḥamd Allāh and his school; subsequently Ḥāfiẓ ʿOthmān raised these two scripts to an aesthetic climax. Modern Turkish calligraphers follow the "school of Ḥāfiẓ ʿOthmān". Some of the important masters of this school are Yediḳuleli ʿAbd Allāh (d. 1144/1731), Küčük Darwīsh ʿAlī (d. 1128/1716), Meḥmed Shawḳī (d. 1306/1888), Naẓīf Bey (d. 1332/1913), Kāmil Aḳdiḳ (d. 1941), Muṣṭafā Ḥalīm Özyazīdjī (d. 1964). The difference between the schools of Shaykh Ḥamd Allah and Ḥāfiẓ ʿOthmān is, in fact, only in minor and superficial details.

Tawḳīʿ and *riḳāʿ*. During the Ottoman period, when a student received his diploma (*idjāzat-nāma*) in *thuluth* and *naskh* calligraphy, his teacher would authorise and sign it using *riḳāʿ* script; hence this last was called *idjāza* or *khaṭṭ-i idjāza*. The calligraphers mentioned under *thuluth* and *naskh* also used these two scripts very beautifully (see album of Shaykh Ḥamd Allāh, Topkapı Sarayi Library, E.H. no. 2084, 2086, and also album of Ḥāfiẓ ʿOthmān, Aḥmed III, no. 3655).

Djalī. The most typical and beautiful examples of *djalī* in the period of the Anatolian Saldjūḳs, although they lack any dynamic quality, are on the portals of Indje Mināre *madrasa* and the Ṣāḥib ʿAṭāʾ *külliyye* in Ḳonya. The first change in *djalī* made by the Ottomans dates from the 9th/15th century, so that a distinctive Ottoman *djalī* starts to emerge. The pioneer here was the calligrapher ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Ṣūfī, writer of the inscription on the Fātiḥ mosque and the Bāb-i Humāyūn in Istanbul. *Djalī* acquired an especially vigorous character in the 19th century through the works of Muṣṭafā Rāḳim (1171-1241/1757-1825), and thus an "Ottoman *djalī* school" was established. Maḥmūd Djalāl al-Dīn (d. 1253/1837) also founded a school of *djalī* reminiscent of Aḥmad Ḳarāḥiṣārī's style of three centuries previously, but it was only followed by a few; Turkish calligraphers today follow the way of Muṣṭafā Rāḳim. Shafīḳ Bey (d. 1297/1880), Sāmī Efendi (d. 1330/1912), Kāmil Aḳdiḳ, Ḥalīm Özyazīdjī and Ḥamīd Aytač (b. 1309/1891) are the eminent masters of this school. *Djalī* script especially was used in inscriptions.

Ghubār, *ghubārī*. Some very small-size Ḳurʾāns were written in this script, meant for carrying on the tips of banners during battle; some examples of these may be seen in the museums.

Musalsal. It appears that the *musalsal* method of writing was followed for some of the texts done in *riḳāʿ* during the period of the Anatolian Saldjūḳs. But this method was most generally applied to *thuluth*. Ahmad Ḳarāḥiṣārī sometimes used the *musalsal* style.

Siyāḳat, *siyāḳ*. We already know that *siyāḳat* was used in the financial land register and *awḳāf* offices by the Saldjūḳs of Anatolia (see Houtsma, *Recueil de textes, Histoire des Seldjoucides d'Asie Mineure*, ii, Leiden 1902, 253). We do not much know about the situation of *siyāḳat* during the first period of the Ottoman Empire, i.e. up to the reign of Meḥemmed II, since very few official registers of this period have survived. We do, however, come across the use of *siyāḳat* in the documents of that Sultan's reign.

Taʿlīḳ. Although we find some simple patterns in this script in the documents of Meḥemmed II's reign, it was little-used in the later periods, and was not favoured to any great extent by the Ottomans. (For examples, see: *Fatḥ-nāma-i Agriboz*. Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi no. E. 10822, and Tahsin Öz, *Topkapı Sarayında Fatih Sultan Mehmed devrine ait vesikalar*, in *Belleten*, xiv (1950) 49. *Shikasta taʿlīḳ* and *tarassul*, like *taʿlīḳ*, were not used in Turkey.

Dīwānī. Although the script, according to the Turkish sources, was allegedly invented for writing official documents and registers of the *Dīwān-ı-Humāyūn* founded by Meḥemmed II after the conquest of Istanbul, there is no doubt that it must have existed before then, probably evolving through the inspiration of *taʿlīḳ*. Reading *dīwānī* depends on a knowledge of its rules, since in this script letters like و ژ ز ر ذ د ا are joined to following letters like ش س ا ل ك following them. *Dīwānī* written contrary to the rules is called *dīwānī ḳırması* "broken *dīwānī*".

This is also a result of writing *dīwānī* rapidly. We do not know the names of the *dīwānī* calligraphers until those of the end of the 19th century, since it was not customary to sign the documents issued by the *Dīwān*. *Dīwānī* reached its peak of perfection in the 19th century. Some of the *dīwānī* calligraphers, famous at the beginning of the 20th century, are Sāmī Efendi, Kāmil Aḳdiḳ, Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī Altunbezer (d. 1946), Ḥalīm Özyazīdjī and the still-living Ḥāmid Aytač. The use of *dīwānī* passed to the Arab lands through the Ottoman influence, and is still used in those countries.

Djalī dīwānī. This is a variant type of *dīwānī* with the letters written within each other, and used for writing *fermāns* and *berāts*. It was written, like *dīwānī*, from the top-right hand of the sheet to bottom-left hand in an oblique direction and with every line rising upwards at its end. The same vowel points used in *thuluth* ar used in this script, and empty spaces are filled with small dots. *Djalī dīwānī* flourished from the 9th/15th century onwards, its perfection being in the 19th century. The calligraphers of *dīwānī* also wrote in this script.

Nastaʿlīḳ. We come across the first examples of this script in Turkey during the reign of Meḥemmed II. It was brought to Turkey by calligraphers coming to the Ottoman court from Persia, and flourished under Darwīsh ʿAbdī (d. 1057/1647) and Kātibzāde Meḥmed Refīʿ (12th/18th century), and reached as high a standard of beauty as in Persia. It was Yasārīzāde Muṣṭafā ʿIzzet (d. 1265/1849) who freed Turkish *nastaʿlīḳ* from Persian stylistic influence, and thus a distinctive Turkish *nastaʿlīḳ* style came into existence. This last has unchanging geometrical and mathematical measurements, and the letters are slightly wider and longer than in Persian *nastaʿlīḳ*. Sāmī, Khulūṣī and Nedjm al-Dīn (d. 1976), are the great masters of this style. Although the Turks called the type of *nastaʿlīḳ* written rapidly and contrary to the rules *taʿlīḳ ḳīrmasī*, it is more correct to call it *nastaʿlīḳ ḳīrmasī*. *Nastaʿlīḳ*, used for writing poety and for inscriptions, was also used in the office of *Shaykh al-Islām*.

Shikasta nastaʿlīḳ. This was very little used in Turkey, though the official papers of the *Shaykh al-Islām*'s office were sometimes written in this script. Turkish *shikasta nastaʿlīḳ* is less complicated than that of Persia.

Rīḳʿa, rīḳʿī. This was probably invented during the second half of the 12th/18th century by simplifying *dīwānī* script, on the evidence of the archival sources. The main characteristics of this script are that its letters are less rounded and more straight. *Rīḳʿa* was used along with *dīwānī* in the *Dīwān-i Humāyūn*, and just like Persian *shikasta nastaʿlīḳ*, it also became a standard form of hand-writing amongst Turks, used for letters and every kind of correspondence.

The type of *rīḳʿa* used in the *Bāb-ī ʿAlī* was an improved form devised by Mumtāz Efendi (d. 1287/1871), and hence was called either *Mumtāz Efendi rīḳʿasī* or *Bāb-ī ʿĀlī rīḳʿasī*. A second change in *rīḳʿa* was made by ʿIzzet Efendi (d. 1320/1902), hence is called *ʿIzzet Efendi rīḳʿasī*; this has softer lines than the previous type. *Rīḳʿa* written rapidly and without adhering to the rules is called *rīḳʿa ḳīrmasī*.

Khaṭṭ-i muthannā. Much importance was originally attached to this script. There are very beautiful patterns of it in the Ulu Cami in Bursa, but use of it decreased after the 10th/16th century. It was also called *ʿaynalī yazī* ",mirror-like writing".

Appendix. Artificial scripts used in both Persia and Turkey.

These are the scripts which have been invented by distorting other scripts.

Resim yazī. This means drawing pictures with script. Although this could have some attractive aspects, the first-class Persian and Turkish calligraphers did not attach great importance to this practice.

Khaṭṭ-i muʿammāʾī. This can be applied to any script, and is the re-arrangement of a *ḥadīth* or some other important saying in a way which is difficult to read.

Khaṭṭ-i shadjarī ("tree-like writing"). In this script, so-called by western scholars, the letters bear a resemblance to the branches of a tree. It was applied to *thuluth*, and was sometimes used in both Persia and Turkey for writing book titles.

Khaṭṭ-i sünbülī ("hyacinth script"). The letters of this script, invented by the Turkish calligrapher ʿĀrif Ḥikmet (d. 1337/1918), resemble a hyacinth, and are also reminiscent of the letters of *dīwānī*.

Ālev yazīsī ("flame-like writing"). The letters of this script, which was invented by the Turkish calligrapher Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī Baltadjīoghlu (still alive), resemble a flame. This style may be also applied to *thuluth*.

Bibliography: In addition to the sources already mentioned in the text, the main sources are: Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī, *Manāḳīb-i hunarwarān*, ed. Ibn al-Amīn Maḥmūd Kamāl, Istanbul 1926; Nafaszāda Sayyid Ibrāhīm Efendi, *Gulzār-i ṣawāb*, ed. Kilisli Muallim Rifʿat, Istanbul 1939; Meḥmed Nadjīb, *Dawḥat al-kuttāb*, ed. Kilisli Muallim Rifʿat, Istanbul 1942; Mustaḳīm-zāda Sulaymān Saʿd al-Dīn Efendi, *Tuḥfa-i khaṭṭāṭīn*, ed. Ibn al-Amīn Maḥmūd Kamāl, Istanbul 1928; Ḥabīb, *Khaṭṭ u khaṭṭāṭān*, Istanbul 1306/1888-9; Ismāʿīl Ḥaḳḳī, *Türk yazīlarīnīñ tedḳīḳine medhal*, in *Dār al-Funūn Ilāhiyyāt Fakültesi Medjmūʿasī*, ii (Istanbul 1926), nos. 5-6; Mahmud Yazır, *Siyāḳat yazısı*, Istanbul 1941; *idem, Eski yazıları okuma anahtarı*, Istanbul 1942; Melek Celâl, *Şeyh Ḥamdullah*, Istanbul 1948; Kemal Çiğ, *Hattat Hafız Osman Efendi*, Istanbul 1949; Süheyl Ünver, *Hekîmbaşı ve hattat Kâtibzade Mehmed Refi*, Istanbul 1950; idem, *Türk yazı çeşitleri ve faideli bazı bilgiler*, Istanbul 1953; Ekrem Hakkı Ayverdi, *Fatih devri hattatları ve hat sanʾatı*, Istanbul 1953; Ibnülemin Maḥmud Kemāl İnal, *Son hattatlar*, Istanbul 1955; L. Fekete, *Die siyāqat-Schrift in der Türkischen Finanzverwaltung*, Budapest 1955; I. Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, *Türklerde yazı sanʾatı*, Ankara 1958; Mālik Aksel, *Türklerde dinî resimler*, Istanbul 1967; M. Bedreddin Yazır, *Medeniyet aleminde yazı ve Islâm medeniyetinde kalem güzeli*, 1972-4; Alī Alparslan, *Écoles calligraphiques turques*, in *Edebiyat Fakültesi Islam Tedkikleri Dergisi*, v (Istanbul 1973) nos. 1-4; idem, *Yazı-Resim*, in *Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Dergisi*, i (Istanbul 1973). Important works on palaeography etc.: Kazim Baykal, *Bursaʾda Ulucami*, Istanbul 1950; M. Guboglu, *Paleografia şi diplomatica Turco-Osmana*, Bucharest 1958; Jan Reychman and Ananiasz Zajaczkowski, *Handbook of Ottoman-Turkish diplomatics*, tr. A. S. Ehrenkreutz, The Hague 1968. See also the sources on palaeography given in 2. Persia.

(ALĪ ALPARSLAN)

iv. — IN MUSLIM INDIA

The earliest extant Arabic writing in the form of

an inscription is found in South India at Trivandrum. This is in an old mosque at Koelum and has been written in a very crude form of *naskhī* style of writing: Ismāʿīl—109 [727]—b. Malik Dīnār, in three lines (*Majalla Ṭilsānīn*, Hyderabad. Dn, i, 51. However, the Pakistan Archaeological Department has recently discovered near Thaṭṭa at Bhanbhore two inscriptions written in *kūfī* script, on marble slabs and dated 290/902 and 294/906 (M. A. Ghaffur, *The calligraphers of Thatta*, Karachi 1968, 49, 63). The conquests in Sind of Muḥammad b. Ḳāsim in the Umayyad period (93/711) had extended beyond Daybul to Multān, and he had built mosques in the conquered area; this doubtless implied the official introduction of Arabic script into the Indian sub-continent. There are two old inscriptions in Sind, one at Rohri on an old mosque of Khʷādja Khiḍr dated 341/952, and the other at Sakhhar showing the date of death of one Saʿd al-Dīn in 483/994. Both are in ordinary *naskhī* characters (*Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, Calcutta 1912, 54, 120).

In the early 5th/11th century, the Ghaznawids [*q.v.*] under Sultan Maḥmūd began raiding into Northern India and established military headquarters at Lahore. Maḥmūd had struck at Lahore his *tankas*, which bore both Arabic and Sanskrit versions on their two sides, and the town also became a centre for literary activity. There is extant in the Panjab University Library, Lahore, an Arabic ms. of the *Bahdjat al-nufūs wa'l-asrār fī ta'rīkh al-hidjrat al-mukhtār* by ʿAbd Allāh b. Mālik which was transcribed at Lahore in 436/1044 in a very ordinary *naskhī* script. The present writer has also discovered an Arabic inscription on the rear wall of the Katčh Masdjid in Aḥmadābād which is dated 24 Rabīʿ I 445/14 July 1053. It is in an ordinary *naskhī* script, and may be read as: "This Mosque was built on 24 Rabīʿ I, year 445". Its authenticity is guaranteed by two Persian separate later inscriptions fixed on its right and left sides, which show that it came from the foundation of the present mosque (*The earliest Muslim inscription in India from Aḥmadābād*, in *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, iii, Calcutta 1939, 647-9).

The Ghaznawid régime was replaced in 586/1190 by the Ghūrids [*q.v.*], whose commanders subsequently established their capital at Dihlī [*q.v.*]. The congregational mosque was built there in 587/1191 of red stone by Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Aybak, the so-called *Ḳuwwat al-Islām*. It was finally inaugurated by the Sultan Muʿizz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām Ghūrī in 594/1198. This mosque's arches and façade bear inscriptions in several varieties of Islamic script, such as *ṭughrā, kūfī, naskhī and thulth*.

Also, during the period of the Slave Kings of Dihlī and after, the copying of manuscripts flourished, the *naskhī* script being especially popular. It is recorded that Shihāb al-Dīn, the calligrapher, was made Ṣadr-i Djahān during the Khaldjī period (*Ta'rīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī*, Calcutta 1862, 353; Farishta, ed. Lucknow, 129, 133, 322, 335, etc.).

The introduction of the *nastaʿlīḳ* script into the sub-continent was mostly due to the Mughals, Mīr ʿAlī Tabrīzī being generally regarded as its originator, who wrote one manuscript of the *Kulliyyāt* of Khʷādjū Kirmānī in 798/1395-6 (B.M. Add. 18.113) at the court of Sultan Aḥmad Djalāyir at Baghdād. There exists an illustrated manuscript of the *Memoirs* of Bābur in this script which was copied by ʿAlī al-Kātib in 937/1530-1 in Alwar state in India, and many calligraphers seem to have used this style of writing. In the mausoleum of Akbar at Āgra, the Emperor's sarcophagus on top of the mausoleum was adorned in inscriptions this style of writing, written by the scribe ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ.

In the pre-Mughal period, when use of the *naskhī* script flourished, special attention was devoted to the writing of the Ḳur'ān, and a special style arose within the sub-continent for the Ḳur'ān, generally called *Bāhar*, referring to a special type of paste which was applied to paper to be used for writing the text of the Ḳur'ān; hence the script used on this paper came to be called the *khaṭṭ-i bāhar* (Wadjīd ʿAlī, *Maṭlaʿ al-ʿulūm wa-madjmaʿ al-funūn*, Lucknow 1913, 331; Cl. Huart, *Les calligraphes et les miniatures de l'Orient Musulman*, Paris 1908, 51). There exists in the Kābul Museum a Ḳur'ān which was transcribed in this style by *ḳāḍī* Abū Bakr Yaʿḳūb b. Nāṣir al-Dīn at Lahri (Sind) on Friday, 17 Rabīʿ I 776/26 August 1374. One manuscript of a commentary on the Ḳur'ān in the library of the Panjab University at Lahore has the text of the Ḳur'ān in this *Bāhar* script and the commentary in ordinary *naskhī*.

During the absence of the Emperor Humāyūn in Persia, Shēr Shāh Sūrī built in stone the grand mosque in the old fort of Dihlī, with its arches and façade adorned with Ḳur'ānic inscriptions, including *Sūrat Yāsīn* on the central part of the façade in *thulth* characters, perhaps the finest example of *thulth* from those days.

Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī [*q.v.*] devoted a full chapter of his *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* to calligraphers and miniaturists, reflecting Akbar's patronage of outstanding artists. *Nastaʿlīḳ* was especially favoured; its exponents included Mullā Muḥammad Ḥusayn of Kashmīr, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, Muḥammad Bāḳir, Mīr Husayn Kalingī and others. Special mention should be made of Sulṭān Bāyazīd Dūrī, who came at Humāyūn's court during the last years of his reign, and wrote one copy of the *Dewāl Rānī Khiḍr Khān* of Amīr Khusraw in 967/1559-60 during the early years of Akbar's reign (see *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore 1934); also, there exists an inscription on the wall of a mosque in Nagawr (Rajputana) composed and written by Kātib al-Mulk Dūrī in 976/1568-9 (*Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1950, 38-9; Badāūnī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, Calcutta 1869, iii, 227-9). There were many other calligraphers at Akbar's court employing various styles; the calligrapher Bāḳī Muḥammad of Bukhārā, who wrote the decorative inscriptions on the tomb of ʿĀtiḳa Khān in the compound of Ḥaḍrat Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā' at Dihlī, should be mentioned here.

At Akbar's court, Ashraf Khān (d. 980/1572) was the *Mīr Munshī* [see KĀTIB, iii. In India], and also a poet; his duties included the inditing of *farmāns* (*Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, iii, 181). The calligraphy used for these *farmāns* was the *khaṭṭ dīwānī*, one defined by Anand Ram Mukhliṣ (d. 1164/1750) as a variety of writing which could not be immediately read by everyone (*Bahār-i ʿAdjam*, i, 376). This style for writing *farmāns* was used only at the Mughal court in India.

Akbar died in 1014/1605, and his son Djahāngīr [*q.v.*] who succeeded him especially encouraged the fine arts. During this period, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm, Muḥammad Ḥusayn of Kashmīr and ʿAbd Allāh, were given the titles of ʿAnbarīn Ḳalam, Zarrīn Raḳm and Mushkīn Ḳalam. He was the lover of the Persian master Mīr ʿAlī of Harāt, and it is recorded that once he was given a special present by Khān-i Khānān ʿAbd al-Raḥīm of Īrānayn of an illustrated manuscript of the *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī (*Tūzuk-i Dja-*

hāngīrī, Lucknow 1914, 351). During the reign of S̲h̲āh D̲j̲ahān, who succeeded his father D̲j̲ahāngīr in 1037/1628, two great calligraphers came to his court from Persia, sc. Rukna, who wrote the manuscript of the *Gulistān* of Saʿdī in 1048/1638, and who was also a poet, and ʿAbd al-Ras̲h̲īd Daylamī, who was related to the famous calligrapher Mīr ʿImād of Persia and was made the royal librarian. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kanbū has a special chapter dealing with the calligraphers, in his *Amal-i ṣāliḥ* (Calcutta 1939, iii, 443-6). It contains mention of Muḥammad Murād of Kas̲h̲mīr, Āḳā Ras̲h̲īd Daylamī, Mīr Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ and Muḥammad Muʾmin, the sons of Mīr ʿAbd Allāh Mus̲h̲kīn Raḳam, S̲h̲araf al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh, Mīr Sayyid ʿAlī Tabrīzī and Mīrzā Muḥammad D̲j̲aʿfar K̲h̲ān, called Kifāyat K̲h̲ān and inventor of the *s̲h̲ikasta* style of writing, and D̲j̲amāl al-Dīn Yūsuf, who also used the *s̲h̲ikasta* hand (see *Ars Islamica*, xi, 423-5).

This interwoven *s̲h̲ikasta* script is defined by Anand Ram Muk̲h̲liṣ in his *Miʾrāt al-iṣṭilāḥ*. One manuscript of the *Gulistān* of Saʿdi transcribed by D̲j̲aʿfar K̲h̲ān Kifāyat K̲h̲ān in 1086/1675-6 is preserved in the National Museum of Pakistan at Karāčī, written for his son ʿAbd Allāh, called Darāyat K̲h̲ān; this style was accordingly called *Darāyat k̲h̲ānī*. Finally, it may be recalled that the Emperor Awrangzīb [*q.v.*] used to write out copies of the Ḳurʾān and send them to the Holy Cities of Arabia, but he never signed these; he was the pupil in calligraphy of Sayyid ʿAlī K̲h̲ān D̲j̲awhar Raḳam, who died in 1097/1686 (*Tad̲h̲kirat-i k̲h̲ūs̲h̲nuvīsān*, Calcutta 1910, 56-7).

Bibliography: given in the article.

(M. Abdullah Chaghatai)

v. — In South-East Asia

Here the Arabic script was, until *ca.* 1500, almost exclusively used for writing Arabic, the Trĕngganu stone inscription, dated probably 726/1326 or 788/1386 and written in Old Malay, being a noticeable exception. At the beginning of the 16th century the Arabic script became one of the most common scripts for Malay and other Indonesian languages. One of the oldest known texts in Arabic script in South Asia is the Arabic inscription of Leran on the northern coast of East Java, probably to be dated 475/1082. This tomb stone of "the daughter of Maymūn" may have been imported, together with its inscription. In any case, it remains so far an isolated testimony to the use of the Arabic script in Indonesia, since the next example, the tomb stone of Sultan Malik al-Ṣāliḥ of Tarai in northern Sumatra, is dated 691/1292. This was followed by a number of other tomb stones, all but one written in ornamental Arabic script of Persian type and probably imported from Gud̲j̲arāt. The exception is the inscription from Minye Tujuh in Atjeh, dated 782/1380 and written in a type of Malayan script, but apparently influenced by the style of Arabic writing. A few other Arabic tomb stones in the Malay peninsula are dated in the 9th/15th century. In Java, the most important are found on Muslim tomb stones (*maeʿsan*) in Troloyo, near Tronnlan. They have a quotation from the Ḳurʾān or other sacred texts in Arabic on one side, and a date expressed in Old Javanese numerals on the other. The script, fully discussed by Damais (*Études Javanaises*, i. *Les Tombes Musulmanes datées de Trâlâyâ*, in *BEFEO*, xlviii/2 (1957), 351-415), corresponds to that of contemporary Arabic inscriptions elsewhere in the Muslim world. The best known Arabic inscription in Java of this period is that on the tomb of Malik Ibrāhīm at Grĕsik, north-east of Surabaya, dated 822/1419 and beautifully written in an ornamental Arabic which is similar to the contemporary inscriptions of Tasai and Gud̲j̲arat.

Bibliography: J. G. de Casparis, *Indonesian palaeography*, in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, vi, section I, 70-2 and literature quoted there. (Ed.)

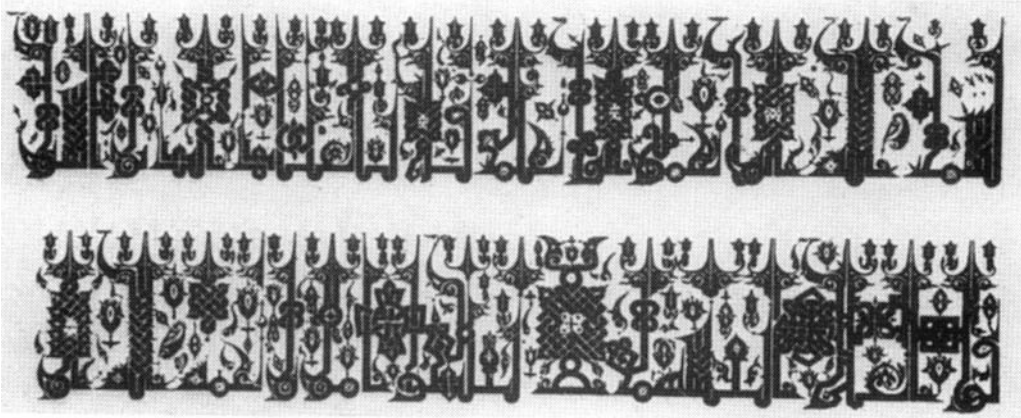
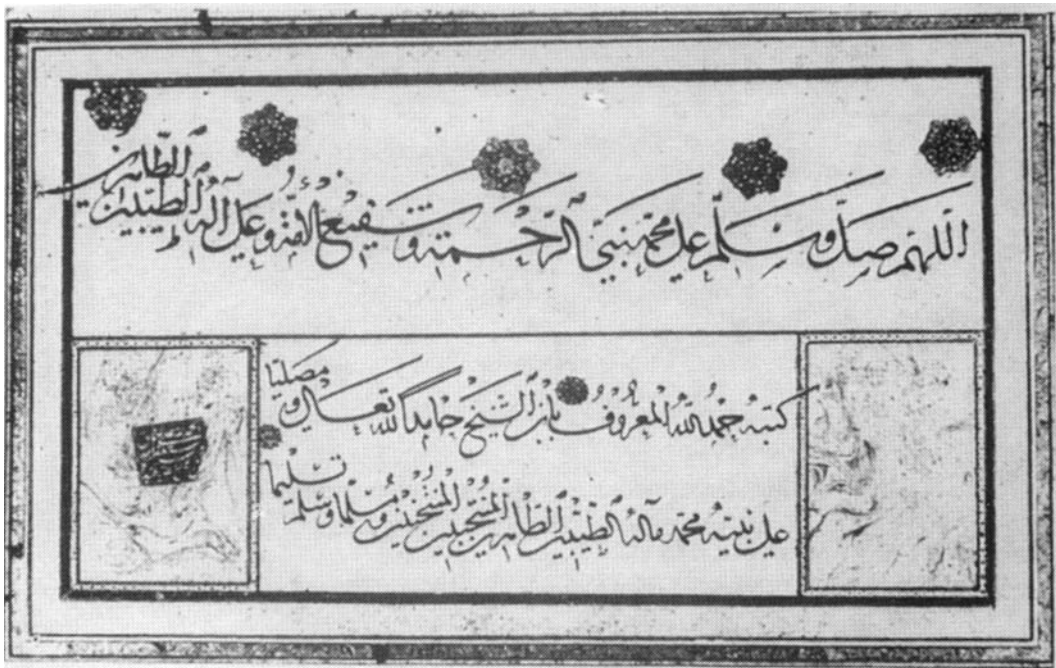
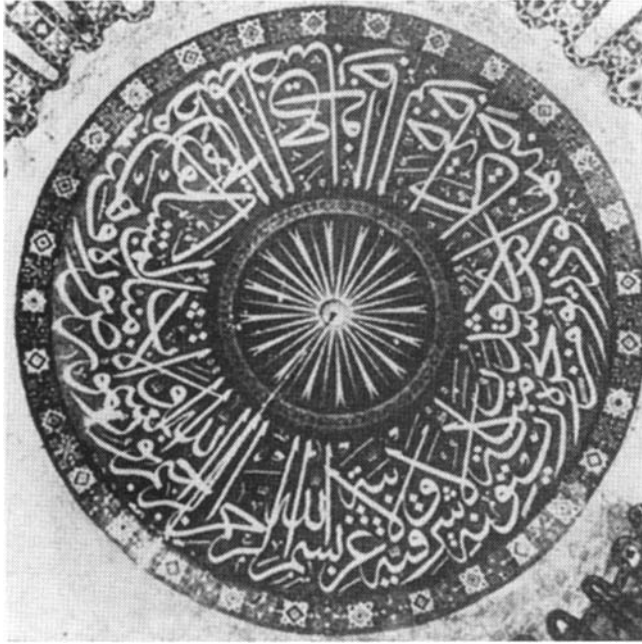
K̲H̲AṬṬ, more precisely *al-k̲h̲aṭṭ bi-raml*, the original name for Arab geomancy. In the Islamic era, *raml* (or *ʿilm al-raml*) was dominant, but with the growing influence of astrology on the occult sciences, the term *s̲h̲akl* (pl. *as̲h̲kāl*), "figure" was used (see below, the expression *as̲h̲kāl al-raml*, *as̲h̲kāl al-turāb*, *ḥulūl al-as̲h̲kāl*), From *s̲h̲akl* are derived "squill" a figure in geomancy, and "to squill", to practise divination by sand, cf. G. Ferrand, in *JA*, 10th Series, vi (1905), 195. In Madagascar, the words *sikili* and *skidy* also denote geomantic figures, cf. G. Ferrand and M. Steinschneider, in *ZDMG*, xxxi (1877), 762-5.

The development from *k̲h̲aṭṭ* to *raml* began with the juxtaposition of the two terms. Indeed, *k̲h̲aṭṭ al-raml* is frequently used to denote geomancy (cf. for example, Ibn K̲h̲aldūn, *Muḳaddima*, i, 203-9, tr. by Slane, i, 232-40, tr. Rosenthal, i, 226-34, Leiden ms., Cat. de Jong and de Goeje, iii, 184). Instead of *k̲h̲aṭṭ*, *ḍarb* began to be used especially in dialect; *ḍarb* is in fact the modern substitute for *ṭarḳ*, which was used originally to denote lithomancy, so we find that *k̲h̲aṭṭ* = *ṭarḳ* = *ḍarb* as terms for geomancy.

At first sight, *k̲h̲aṭṭ* is the line which the geomancer traces on the sand when, strictly speaking, he is practising psammomancy. This is the meaning of *raml* also, but, as well as the sand, *raml* and *k̲h̲aṭṭ* mean the black or white lines on the hooves of wild cattle or on the flanks and the backs of stags (cf. *TA*, vii, 351, l. 29; details in T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Leiden 1966, 197 f.). Lexicographers have shown that *ṭarḳ*, *ʿilm al-k̲h̲aṭṭ* and *ʿilm al-raml* (cf. *TA*, v, 129, l. 4) are perfectly synonymous.

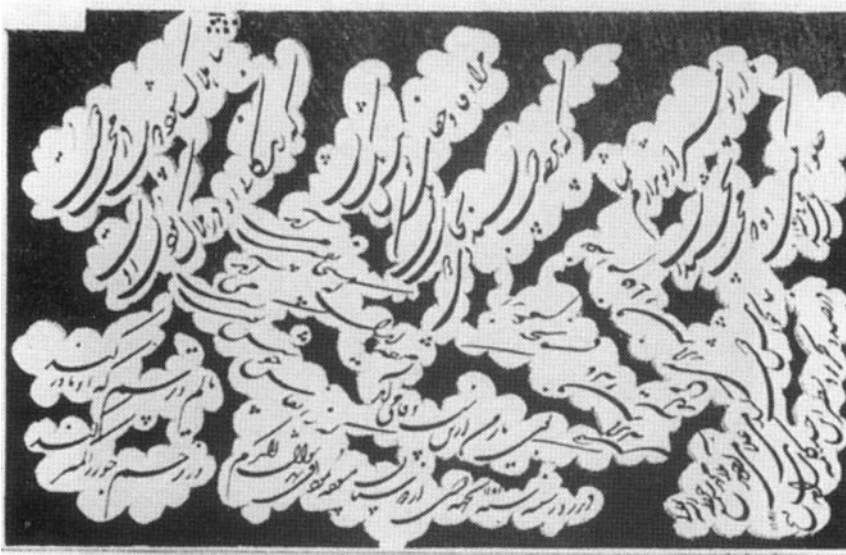
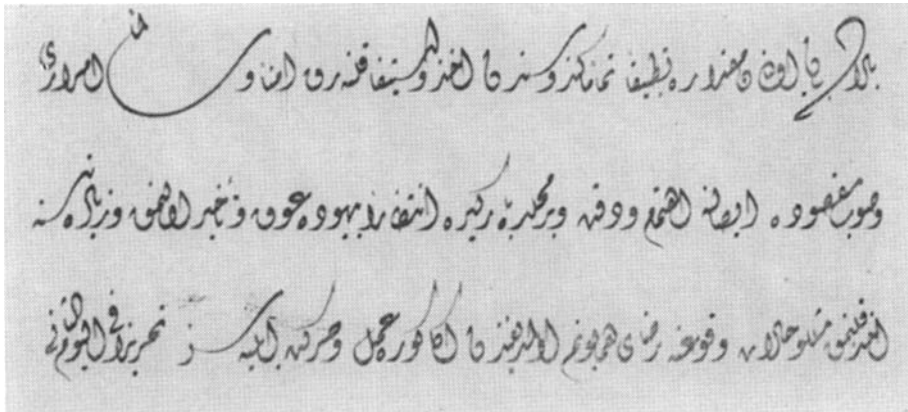
Ṭarḳ and *ḍarb* are also synonymous and originally denoted the "casting of pebbles", that is, lithomancy (*al-ṭarḳ* or *al-ḍarb bi'l-ḥaṣā*). The technicalities of this cleromantic rite are unknown to us, but is supposed to have consisted of casting pebbles on the sand and of interpreting the patterns they made. In a recent source, al-Alūsī, *Bulūg̲h̲ al-arab*, iii, 323, the following definition is found: the *ṭarḳ bi 'l-ḥaṣā* consists of finding the answer to a question, which has been posed by a questioner, from the signs which are given by the way pebbles have fallen on top of each other. Instead of pebbles, grain or nuts could be used (cf. Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, i, 191; ii, 177; tr. de Slane, i, 191; ii, 205 f; tr. Rosenthal, i, 214, ii, 201).

From the marks made by the pebbles on the ground lines were traced in the sand, and from this idea there has been a gradual development which ultimately results in making *ṭarḳ* (or *ḍarb*) *bi 'l-ḥaṣā* the synonym of *k̲h̲aṭṭ bi 'l-raml*. This development occurred very early; Ibn al-ʿArābī (died *ca.* 230/844), following Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī (died 215/830), defined the *ṭarḳ bi 'l-ḥaṣā* as the act of tracing marks on the ground (for details, see *Divination arabe*, 196 ff.).

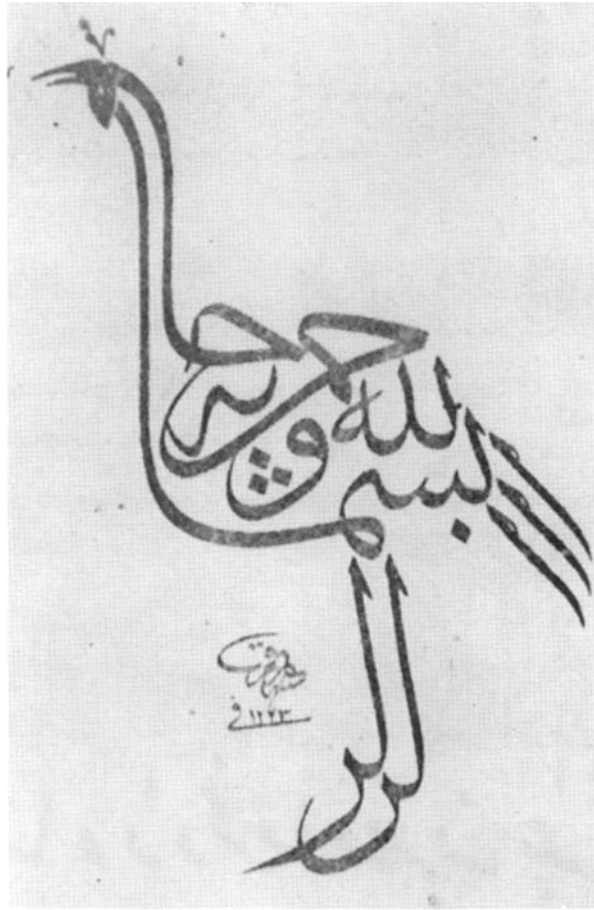
Thus *al-ṭarḳ bi 'l-ḥaṣā* and *al-k̲h̲aṭṭ bi 'l-raml*, two different divinatory practices, became progressively confused in the Islamic era and denoted geomancy in general; this may be explained by the great variety of geomantic procedures. *Ṭarḳ* was the observation of the fall of pebbles on sand; the marks they made were joined by other marks (*k̲h̲uṭūṭ*) in order to complete a figure (*s̲h̲akl*). When these figures became

3. *Thuluth* (top) and *naskh* (bottom) by Shaykh Ḥamd Allāh (Turkey) (Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi, Emanet Hazinesi, No. 2084).

4. *Tawḳīʿ* (top) and *riḳāʿ* (bottom) by Shaykh Ḥamd Allāh (Turkey) (Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi, Emanet Hazinesi, No. 2078).

5. *Dj̲alī th̲uluth̲* by the *ḳāḍī-ʿaskar* Muṣṭafā ʿIzzet (Istanbul, dome of the Aya Sofya) (Ḳurʾān, xxiv, 34).

6. *Musalsal* by Bekir Paktan (Turkey).

7. *Siyāḳat* (Turkey).

8. *Taʿlīḳ* (Iran) (Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi, H., No. 2138).

11. *Muthannā* by Ḥamīd Bey (Istanbul, inscription in Şişli Camii representing Ḳurʾān, IX, 18).

12. *Dīwānī* by ʿIzzet Efendi (Istanbul) (M. ʿIzzet, *Khuṭūṭ-i ʿOthmāniyye*, Istanbul 1309).

13. *Djalī dīwānī* by ʿIzzet Efendi (Istanbul) (M. ʿIzzet, *Khuṭūṭ-i ʿOthmāniyye*, Istanbul 1309).

14. *Riḳʿa* by ʿIzzet Efendi (Istanbul) (M. ʿIzzet, *Khuṭūṭ-i ʿOthmāniyye*, Istanbul 1309).

stylised at a particular place, a board was used, which was covered with sand or even flour, and the finger was drawn over it at random; the shapes formed in this way were then examined. A sheet of paper could be substituted for the board, and on it pencil dots were marked at random or, according to Ibn Khaldūn, on four lines (cf. ref. in Doutté, *Magie et religion*, 3789; compare R. Jaulin, *La géomancie*, 17, n. 1).

Behind this popular, primitive practice lay a divinatory art of extreme complexity. Indeed, since the introduction of astrological and mathematical speculation into the science of geomancy, we must deal with a theory as esoteric as that of the *djafr* [*q.v.*]. As in the *djafr*, one is successful in the study of geomancy by being able to isolate numerous speculations and determining laws from them. The *Analyse formelle* by R. Jaulin, with contributions by R. Ferry, F. Djean and B. Jaulin, achieves this aim. It is not possible to give a complete picture in an article of restricted size. But it should be said that the sixteen shapes, which are obtained by the permutation of the four basic lines and their eight joins, giving rise to four even and four uneven symmetrical shapes, reduce the basic geomantic values by assigning to them agreeable or contrary meanings; they are also associated with the "external" and "internal" elements concerned with more or less reassuring or dangerous, favourable or ill-omened ideas (cf. Jalin, *op. cit.*, 53-71).

In this mathematical analysis, arithmomantic and geomantic considerations have had their part to play, but they do not in themselves make a geomancer. In geomancy, two other components must be represented, astrology and a predisposition to "perceive hidden meanings" (*idrāk al-ghayb*). Ibn Khaldūn emphasises these two aspects in a long paragraph devoted to this art of divination (*Muḳaddima*, i, 203-9, tr. de Slane, 232-42, tr. Rosenthal, 226-34, with references and figures in the notes).

After a description of the sixteen geomantic combinations, each named and classified into favourable and unfavourable, Ibn Khaldūn explains this classification by the astral influences which are brought to bear on each of them. Indeed, the sixteen geomantic combinations are set under the domination of the twelve signs of the zodiac and of the four cardinal points. From then onwards the geomancers, called by him *munadjdjimūn*, "astrologers", have derived meanings to provide geomantic figures from astrological speculations. The author contests the validity of this method, disagreeing with the fact that the astrological deductions have natural signs as their basis while geomantic deductions rest on conventions.

Even more aberrant, Ibn Khaldūn thinks, is the pretension of certain geomancers to succeed in perceiving the unknown by applying their minds to the geomantic figures and then abstracting a complete understanding of the human sphere and penetrating the spiritual realm, in the manner of the soothsayers and, particularly of those among them who practise omoplatoscopy, hydromancy and lecanomancy. Ibn Khaldūn thus concludes: "The truth that you must present to the mind is that the supernatural cannot be revealed by any technique; it cannot be perceived by an élite class of men naturally predisposed to pass from the conscious world into the spiritual". Concerning the doctrine of Ibn Khaldūn relating to divination, cf. *La divination arabe*, 45-50. According to him, the astrologers qualify as the type of men called "Venusians" because of the influence which Venus exerts on them on the day of their birth, by which they are fitted to perceive supernatural phenomena.

Because of a verse in the Ḳurʾān (XLVI, 4), interpreted by some as alluding to geomancy (cf. Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xxvi, 3, l. 3 ff.) and a *ḥadīth* noted by ʿAṭāʾ b. Yasār (Wensinck *et al.*, *Concordance*, i, 40), which speaks of a prophet who practised geomancy excellently, some licence has been given to this art and it has been allowed to experience an amazing expansion across the Islamic world. Like oneiromancy, Arab geomantic science extends beyond the frontiers of the Muslim empire, both to the Indian coasts and the coasts of Byzantium, and to the Latin West and Black Africa and Madagascar (cf. C. H. Becker, *Neue Literatur zur Geschichte Afrikas*, in *Isl.*, iv (1913), 305; B. Carra de Vaux, *La géomancie chez les Arabes*, *ap.* Paul Tannery, *Mémoires scientifiques*, iv (1920), 299-317; A. and L. Delatte in *Mélanges F. Cumont*, Brussels 1936, 575-658).

This expansion has led to a great number of manuals and treatises, examples of which can be found in almost all the Arab collections in the East and the West. Many are anonymous works like: *Risāla fī 'l-raml* (Aya Sofya, 4785 (1), *risāla* 34); *Rasāʾil fī ʿilm al-raml* (*ibid.*, 4860 (64), 1-9, cf. also *ibid.*, 2052 (36), 14); *al-Muntakhab fī ʿilm al-raml* (Asir Ef. 1164, 6 = Reisülkuttâb Mustafa Ef., 11646, ff. 107b-112b); *Kitāb al-raml* (Beşir Ağa, 430; *al-Kawkab al-azhar fī ʿilm al-athar wa 'l-raml* (*ibid.*, 433); *Risalā fi 'l-raml*, in Turkish (Fatiḥ, 3430); *Fi 'l-raml wa 'l-nudjūm* (Ḥamīdiyye, 189, 6); *Fī ʿilm al-raml* (*ibid.*, 1468, 7); *Kitāb fī ʿilm al-raml* (Nuruosmaniye, 3639); *Kutub ʿilm al-raml* (Bağdatlı Vehbi Ef., 920-6; Saray, Ahmet III, 3475 ff.); *ʿIlm al-raml* (Leiden, Cat. de Jong and de Goeje, iii, 184; Gotha, *Cat. Pertsch*, iii, 487 f.); *Ashkāl al-raml* (Cambridge, Trinity College, *Cat. Palmer*, p. 29, the page describes several geomantic figures); several geomantic mss. in Karshūnī at Oxford (Bodleian vi, col. 596 f., no. 180, 3 and 4; col. 598, no. 181, 2, 4, 6); *Kitāb ʿadjīb fī 'l-raml* (Aleppo, Sbath, 58, 5; 580, 1 (abridged) and 2: *K. al-Shadjara wa 'l-thamara wa 'l-nuḳta*, attributed to Daniel, 1180, 1 and 81); Vatican, *Cat. Levi Della Vida*, index, 299-300; Berlin, *Cat. Ahlwardt*, 4200-12; *Kanz al-muḥīṭ* (Copenhagen, xxiii, in Turkish); etc.

Among the best known authors of geomantic works are Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Zanātī, who founded a school in this field. His followers are called al-Zanātiyya, and in fact a ms. from the collection Ismail Saib Sincer (Ankara), I, 2111, not foliated, 24.5 × 17.5 × 1, *naskhī*, no date, entitled *K. fī ʿilm al-raml ʿalā tartīb al-Zanātiyya* ... (the same collection, under No. 1, 1970, contains a *madjmūʿa* with two geomantic drawings; *Bayān fī ḍarb al-raml*, pp. 1-38, attributed to al-Zanātī, and *Risāla min ʿilm al-raml fī 'stikhrādj al-ḍamīr*, pp. 39-61, anonymous); the work which is attributed to him bears different titles: *K. Fatḥ al-aḳfāl fī ʿilm al-ashkāl* (Saray, Ahmet III, 1603, 120 ff., 28 × 20, *naskhī*, very fine illustrated copy, no date); *Ḥulūl al-ashkāl* (Nuruosmaniye, 3638, 28 fol., 25.5 × 17, fine *naskhī*, no date); lithographed in Cairo in 1280/1863 under the title *K. al-Faṣl fī uṣūl ʿilm al-raml*, and also edited in Cairo in 1316/1908 under the title *al-Aḳwāl al-marḍiyya fi 'l-aḥkām al-ramliyya*. There is also *Lubāb al-lubāb fī ʿilm al-khaṭṭ wa-ashkāl al-turāb* (Cairo ms. 7622). The geomancy of al-Zanātī was translated from Persian into Greek verse by the monk Arsenius in 1266 (cf. M. Steinschneider, *Europ. Übersetz.* 7, No. 22).

Next in order of fame comes ʿAbd Allāh b. Maḥfūf

al-Munadjdjim, who, according to the colophons of the mss. Esat Ef. and Rağip Paşa, died before 664/1265. His work is entitled *Muthallathāt Ibn Maḥfūf fi'l-raml* (Râgip P., 964, 72 fols. 21.5 × 16). It is a fine copy made by Aḥmad ʿĪsā from an exemplar dated from 664/1265, *naskhī*; another copy made from the same original but bearing the title *Risālat raml* is found in the collection Esat Ef., 1988 (83 fols., 21.5 × 16, *naskhī*) and was made by Aḥmad ʿIyâd at al-Madrasa al-Ẓāhiriyya. The Berlin ms. 4200 (2), pp. 12-67, has some Berber glosses and contains some tables, and the one at Manchester, 373, is entitled *K. fi'l-raml*. His work was translated into Latin (cf. M. Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, II, 1, No. 125; Thorndike, *A catalogue of incipits of mediaeval scientific writings in Latin* (revised and augmented by Lynn Thorndike and Pearl Kibre, London 1963, 452, 1281, 1553). The title *Liber de tribus figuris spiritum*, placed under the name of Candas the astrologer (Thorndike, *op. cit.*, 1481) recalls the *muthallathāt*.

Several other geomantic writings are known which are enumerated in *La divination arabe*, 202-4. It should be noted that two of them have been translated into Latin, the one of Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Zunbul al-Maḥallī, surnamed al-Rammāl (died after 960/1653) entitled *K. al-Maḳālāt wa-ḥall al-mushkilāt fī ʿilm al-raml* (ms. Üsküdar, Selim Ağa, 547 bis, 168 fols., 29 × 20, *naskhī*, no date), an excellent and well-illustrated treatise with an introduction and thirty chapters (cf. F. Klein-Franke, *The Geomancy of Aḥmad b. ʿAlī Zunbul: a study of the Arabic Corpus hermeticum*, in *Ambix* xx (1973), 26-35) and that of Abū Saʿīd Khalīfa b. Farḥūn al-Ṭarābulsī entitled *Thamarat al-fu'ād al-muḥaddith ʿan al-murād fi'l bawāṭin wa'l-akbād* (ms. Paris 5834, 2; reworked by Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Hārūn al-Sūsī, ms. Algiers 1531; Bayezit Umumî 4652, 23 fols., 19 × 14 *taʿlīḳ*, in Turkish). It was translated into Latin by Hugo Sanctallensis (M. Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, 36, No. 541; P. Tannery, in *CRAIBL* xxv (1897), 519; partially edited *ap.* Tannery, *Mémoires scientifiques*, iv (1920), 373-402; tr. *ibid.*, 405-9).

Other Arabic geomantic writings have been translated into Latin, such as *Alfakini arabici filii Quaestiones Geomantiae a Platone* (= Plato of Tivoli) *in latinum translatae ex antiquo mss. ..., Fasciculus Geomanticus*, Verona 1687, 2nd. ed. 1704 (Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, 64b); similarly, Gerard of Cremona translated an Arabic geomantic work under the title *Liber geomantiae de artibus divinentibus* (Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, 30, No. 84); Bernardinus or Bernardus Silvestris translated a geomancy established according to the twenty-eight mansions of the moon under the title *Experimentarius oder liber fortunae* and many mss. of this survive (cf. *ZDMG*, xxv (1871), 338-90; other references in Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, i, No. 27). An *Astrologia terrestris* attributed to one ʿAlī b. ʿUmar has been translated from Arabic into Italian and German (Steinschneider, *op. cit.*, ii, 3, No. 133; Nic. Catani, *Geomantischer Schöpfungsstuhl*, Freystadt 1716). It is concerned with the treatise of Ibn Maḥfūf (see above).

In addition to the authors cited in *La divination arabe*, the following should be mentioned: Abu ʿImrān al-Zanātī, probably from the Zanātiyya school, *Dhakhīra fi l-khaṭṭ* (ms. Paris, 2758, 9; *GAL*, S II, 1040); Zayn al-Dīn ʿUmar al-Khiṭā'ī, *al-Djadāwil al-zuhrawiyya fī īḍāḥ ʿilm al-raml wa 'l-zā'irdja al-khafiyya* (ms. Gotha, 1317; *GAL* S II, 1041); Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Andalusī, *al-Durr al-muḥīṭ bi-ṣifat al-ʿamal bi-ḥukm al-basīṭ fī ʿilm al-raml* (Berlin Oct., 2467; *GAL* S II, 1040); ʿAlī b. Ḥasan al-Djazā'irī, *al-Ḥāshiya al-ikhtiṣāriyya al-ramliyya al-falakiyya* (*GAL* S II, 1039); Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿīd al-Manānī, *Rafʿ al-ishkāl ʿan waḍʿ al-ashkāl* (Alexandria, *Ḥurūf* 17, 9; *GAL* S II, 1042); Saḥnūn b. ʿUthmān b. Saʿīd b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr al-Wansharīshī (wrote before 1167/1753), *Sihām al-rabṭ fi 'l-mukhammas al-khālī al-wasṭ* (Leiden 1233; Algiers 1535; *GAL* S III, 715); Sharaf al-Dīn b. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn b. al-Ḳāsim b. Muḥammad al-Kawkabānī, a South Arabian writing in 1111/1699, *Sahm al-gharīb fī 'stikhrādj al-ḍamīr bi-lā rayb* (Berlin 4227; *GAL* S II, 567).

Despite its length, this list is far from being exhaustive; the subject deserves a monograph, for geomancy follows only oneiromancy in the prestige it has enjoyed in Islamic lands. Its claim to fame lies in a saying attributed to Muḥammad: "Among the prophets there was one who practised *khaṭṭ*; whoever succeeds in doing it according to his example will know what that prophet knew" (see above).

Bibliography: In addition to the sources in the article, see T. Fahd, *La Divination arabe* 195-204; E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1908, 377 ff.; E. Caslant, *Traité élémentaire de géomancie*, Paris 1935; R. Ambelain, *La géomancie magique*, Paris 1940; B. Maupoil, *La géomancie à l'ancienne Côte des Esclaves*, Paris 1943 (= Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie, 42); idem, *Contribution à l'étude de l'origine musulmane de la géomancie dans le Bas-Dahomey*, thesis, Paris 1943, and in *Journal de la Société des Africanistes*, xiii (1943-6), 1-94; V. Cruzet, *Du "khet-er-Raml" ou art de lire l'avenir sur le sable*, in *RT* (1920), 267-76; R. Davies, *A system of sand divination*, in *Sudan Notes and Records*, iii (1920), 157-62, and in *MW*, xvii (1927), 123-9; N. Elisséeff, *Thèmes et motifs des Mille et Une Nuits. Essai de classification*, Beirut 1959, 127-8 (five examples of the usage of geomancy, three for indicating a person and two for predicting the future); Abou Bakr ben Choaïb, *La bonne aventure chez les musulmans*, in *RA* (1906), 62-70; G. Ferrand, *Un chapitre d'astrologie Arabico-Malgache*, in *JA*, 10th series, vi (1905), 193-273 (a chapter taken from ms. 8 of the Arabico-Malgache collection in the B.N., Paris); Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, iii, 478 f.; J. Maxwell, *La divination*, Paris 1927, 135-7; P. Tannery, *Le Rabolion*, in *Mémoires scientifiques*, iv (1920), 295-311; A. and L. Delatte, in *Mélanges F. Cumont*, Brussels 1936, 575-658; R. Jaulin, *La géomancie. Analyse formelle*, Paris-The Hague 1966 (= Cahiers de l'Homme, N.S. IV).

(T. FAHD)

AL-**KHAṬṬ**, a strip of coast on the Persian Gulf. The Arab geographers are not agreed as to its exact extent. While Yāḳūt limits the name to the coast of al-Baḥrayn and ʿUmān, which is also apparent from the mention of al-Ḳaṭīf, al-ʿUḳayr and Ḳaṭar, al-Bakrī says definitely that al-Khaṭṭ is the whole coast between ʿUmān and al-Baṣra on the one side and Kāẓima and al-Shiḥr on the other. This difference of opinion is probably the result of the variation in extent of ʿUmān and al-Baḥrayn in the wider sense of these terms in course of time.

There are in any case authors who allot al-Khaṭṭ to either the one or the other territory. Al-Khaṭṭ according to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Harawī, for example, is simply a collective name for the villages in ʿUmān, while Ibn al-Anbārī uses al-Khaṭṭ as the name for the coast of al-Baḥrayn. In contrast to

these wide applications of a fairly general term there is a narrow one, according to which al-Khaṭṭ was a particular settlement on the coast which belonged to the ʿAbd al-Ḳays. A. Sprenger has adopted this view, which was held by al-Balādhurī amongst others, and there is much in favour of locating al-Khaṭṭ preferably in the Gulf of al-Baḥrayn. The place was in any case noted as a market for the famous Khaṭṭī lance-shafts imported from India and sold to the Bedouins. The name al-Khaṭṭ seems to be old. If A. Sprenger is right in connecting it with "regio Attene" and "Chateni" in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vi. 28, 147, and the "Atta vicus" in Ptolemy, the name dates back to long before the Islamic period.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, ii, 453-4; *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilāʿ*, ed. T. G. Juynboll, Leiden 1852, i, 358; al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, i, 314; *LA*, s.v.; A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Berne 1875, 92, 116, 118 f., 130 f., 135; M. J. de Goeje, *Mémoire sur les Carmathes du Bahraïn et les Fatimides*, 18, 86 ff.; F. W. Schwarzlose, *Die Waffen der alten Araber*, Leipzig 1886, 217-18; G. Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*, Berlin 1897; E. Glaser, *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, ii, Berlin 1890, 227-8, 251, 260, 263. (A. GROHMANN*)

KHAṬṬ-Ī HUMĀYŪN and **KHAṬṬ-Ī SHERĪF**, the terms used for the decrees and rescripts of the Ottoman sultans, and written by them personally; the former term is the more usual one. A few surviving examples announcing appointments and decrees date from the reign of Selīm I. However until the end of the 10th/16th century, that is till the reign of Murād III, the sultans wrote the *khaṭṭ-ī humāyūn*s sparingly. From the reign of Murād III onwards, the decrease in the power of the Grand Viziers to act independently in state affairs led to a system of obtaining from the sovereign a *khaṭṭ-ī humāyūn* for almost anything except trivial matters. Because of this reluctance to act on their own responsibility, the Grand Viziers customarily made clear their intentions by drawing up a résumé of every proposed official action and submitting it to the sultan for observation and additions; these brief remarks are the sultan's "sublime observations", that is, his *khaṭṭ-ī humāyūn* (Orhonlu, *Osmanli tarihine ait belgeler: telhisler (1597-1605)*, Istanbul 1970, xxii, and *passim*). After this, the surviving *khaṭṭ-ī humāyūns* became commoner, and we have extant those of Murād IV (Aḥmed Refīḳ, *IV. Murād'ln khaṭṭ-ī humāyūnlarī*, in *TOEM*, xxxix (1332), 129-41) and Ibrāhīm (Çagatay Uluçay), *Sultan Ibrahim deli mi idi, hasta mi idi*, in *Tarih Dünyasi*, i-ii (Istanbul 1950), iii (Istanbul 1951), either in the form of independent judgements and decrees or their remarks on the condensed reports drawn up and presented by the Grand Viziers. After the writing of *khaṭṭ-ī humāyūns* by the sultans became customary, there appeared in certain administrative manuals instructions and advice for their drawing up on various matters. Despite this, it should be pointed out that all the *khaṭṭ-ī humāyūns* announcing a decree, did not come directly from the sultan's pen, but rather, the originals were drafts made into fair copies by the ruler's private secretary (Ḳoču Bey, *Risāla*, ed. Ali Kemali Aksüt, Istanbul 1939, 96-7).

*Khaṭṭ-ī humāyūn*s can be classified under several headings: (1) The very brief personal remarks of the sultan on the condensed reports or memoranda sent to him by the Grand Vizier; (2) Decrees concerning appointments and transfers; (3) Documents containing the direct command of the sultan to the Grand Vizier on an important state affair and requesting his remarks. There was also a type of *firmān* or imperial edict, where the sultan gave his own comments on the contents of the *firmān*, in his own hand; the *firmān* was then drawn up by the *Dīwān* and called a "*firmān* adorned with the *khaṭṭ-ī humāyūn*". After the reign of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd I (1187-1203/1774-89) the sultans issued *khaṭṭ-ī humāyūn*s or *khaṭṭ-ī sherīf*s in the form of general instructions written on the memoranda presented for remarks by the Grand Viziers. These instructions might be either written by the sultan personally or by his private secretaries. There was no official person addressed nor date on these *khaṭṭ-ī humāyūns*, though it is possible, from their context, to determine when some of them were written. It appears that during the reign of Maḥmūd II (1223-55/1808-39) because of his centralising and reforming policies, the *khaṭṭ-ī humāyūns* assumed an increased importance. However, from 1248/1832 onwards the system of the sultans expressing their opinions in their own *khaṭṭ-ī humāyūn*s declined, and it became customary for the Grand Vizier to instruct the chief intermediary secretary (*mabeyn bash kātibi*) about what they wished to do, and then have the latter pass it to the sultan for oral commands, which were later put into writing. Thus the "imperial act of will" (*irāde*) took the place of the *khaṭṭ-ī humāyūn*. Nevertheless, the system of the sultans expressing their opinions in a personal *khaṭṭ-ī humāyūn* continued, at the side of the *irāde* system, until the middle of the 19th century. After reaching this stage, even the *firmān*s published by the order and will of the sultan about important affairs and decisions, were called *khaṭṭ-ī humāyūn*; thus the *Tanẓīmāt* decree of 1839 was known as the "*khaṭṭ-ī humāyūn* of Gülhāne", and the imperial decree of 1856 concerning reforms within the empire was likewise called a *khaṭṭ-ī humāyūn*. Henceforth *khaṭṭ-ī humāyūn* came to be regarded as the equivalent of *firmān* (for examples of these types of *khaṭṭ-ī humāyūn* between 1831 and 1860, see Meḥmed Süreyyā, *Nukhbetü'l-weḳāyiʿ*, Istanbul n.d., i, *passim*).

Bibliography: Kemal Edip Kürkçüoğlu, *Kanuni'nin Bâli Beğ'e gönderdiği hatt-ı humayun*, in *AÜDTCFD*, vii/1-2 (1950), 225-31; Enver Ziya Karal, *III. Selim'in Hatt-ı humayunları*, Ankara 1942-6, 2 vols.; Ismail Hakki Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, 58, 68-9, 171, 282, 370-1; idem, art. *Hatt-ı Humayun* in *İA*; *Kānūn-nāme*, Veliyüddin Efendi Kütüphanesi, no. 1970; G. G. Elerescu, *L'Aspect juridique des khatt-i Chérifs, Contribution à l'étude des relations de l'Empire Ottoman avec les principautés Roumaines*, in *Studia et Acta Orientalia*, i (Bucharest 1958), 121-47; von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung des Osmanischen Reichs*, repr. 1963, i, 31, 449. (CENGİZ ORHONLU)

KHAṬṬ AL-ISTIWĀʾ [see ISTIWĀʾ].

KHAṬṬ-Ī SHARĪF [see KHAṬṬ-Ī HUMĀYŪN].

AL-**KHAṬṬĀBĪ**, ḤAMD (> AḤMAD) B. MUḤAMMAD B. IBRĀHĪM B. AL-KHAṬṬĀB ABŪ SULAYMĀN AL-KHAṬṬĀBĪ AL-BUSTĪ, traditionist of SHĀFIʿĪ tendencies and poet, who is said to have been a descendant of Zayd b. al-Khaṭṭāb, brother of ʿUmar, but this genealogy has been questioned. Born at Bust in 319/931, he travelled throughout the Muslim world, from Khurāsān and Transoxania to ʿIrāḳ and the Ḥidjāz, "in search of learning" and also engaged in trade; he studied, particularly in Baghdād, with famous teachers and had in his turn a number of pupils. He died at Bust in either 386/996 or 388/998, according to Yāḳūt, who prefers the latter date. Al-

Thaʿālibī, who reproduces a selection of poems by al-Khaṭṭābī, compares him with Abū ʿUbayd [*q.v.*] al-Ḳāsim b. Sallām for his learning and his piety, and even considered him superior to him because he wrote poetry.

Of the twelve or so works which are attributed to him, one only, so far as we have been able to ascertain, has been published, the *Bayān iʿdjāz al-Ḳurʾān*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAlīm, Aligarh 1953; ed. ʿAbd Allāh Ṣiddīḳ (?); ed. M. Khalafallāh and M. Zaghlūl Sallām, in *Thalāth rasāʾil fī iʿdjāz al-Ḳurʾān*, Cairo 1955, 17-66. Several others exist in manuscript (see Brockelmann, I, 165, S I, 275): *Maʿālim al-sunna* (*al-sunan*), commentary on the *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd (see Brockelmann, S I, 267, adding the manuscripts mentioned by ʿAbd al-ʿAlīm, p. *wāw*); *K. Gharīb al-Ḥadīth*; *Shaʾn al-adʿiya al-maʾthūra*; *Iʿlām al-muḥaddith fī sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (see Brockelmann, S I, 261); *K. al-ʿUzla* (or *al-Iʿtiṣām*); *Iṣlāḥ ghalaṭ al-muḥaddithīn*; *ʿIlm al-ḥadīth*. The other titles mentioned are: *K. Tafsīr asāmī 'l-Rabb* (or *sharḥ al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā*); *K. al-ʿArūs*; *Kitāb al-Ghunya ʿan al-kalām wa-ahlih*; *Sharḥ daʿawāt li-Abī* (= *Ibn*) *Khuzayma*.

Bibliography: Whereas his contemporary Ibn al-Nadīm does not mention him in the *Fihrist*, his friend Thaʿālibī considers him worthy to appear among the poets mentioned in the *Yatīma* (iv, 321). Main notices: Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, 222b; Subkī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shāfiʿiyya*, ii, 218-22; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, iii, 127; Dhahabī, *Tadhkira*, iii, 209; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*; Ibn Khallikān, i, 153-5; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, ed. Ṣāwī, 1934, iv, 301-13; Yāḳūt devotes to him two notices, the first under Aḥmad, *Irshād*, ii, 81-7 = *Udabāʾ*, vi, 246-60, and the second under Ḥamd, *Irshād*, iv, 141-3 = *Udabāʾ*, x, 268-72; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 239; F. Bustānī, *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif*, ii, 494; Goldziher, *Muh. St.*, ii, 256 (where Ceuta should be corrected to Bust, thus in *Muslim Studies*, tr. Barber and Stern, ii, 235 n. 6); Brockelmann, I, 165, S I, 275.

(Ed.)

KHAṬṬĀBIYYA, extremist Shīʿī sect in al-Kūfa founded by Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb al-Asadī [*q.v.*] (killed *ca.* 138/755). Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb claimed that the Imām Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ [*q.v.*] had appointed him as his deputy and legatee (*waṣī*) and taught him the Greatest Name of God. He was at first encouraged by the Imām, but later, probably still before 130/748, was repudiated and cursed by Djaʿfar. As a result, his followers split up into several subsects. The reports of the heresiographers about these early sects are based on two accounts which are partially complementary and partially contradictory, and which can be traced back to the contemporary Hishām b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*] and to Abū ʿIsā al-Warrāḳ (writing after 270/883), whose ultimate source is unknown. The former account is reproduced by al-Nawbakhtī and Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh, while the latter is quoted most extensively by al-Ashʿarī. The following summary combines the two accounts with additional information from other sources.

One group continued to accept Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb as their leader and asserted that he was a messenger prophet sent by Djaʿfar, who was God. They held that there must be at all times two prophets, one speaking (*nāṭiḳ*) and the other silent (*ṣāmit*). In the time of Muḥammad, he had been the speaking prophet and ʿAlī the silent one, and now Djaʿfar was the speaking prophet and Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb the silent one. They considered all *imām*-prophets, including Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb, as God. This doctrine is to be related to the belief ascribed to the Khaṭṭābiyya in general, that the divine Light or Spirit inhered in the bodies of the *imāms*. They held that Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb had lifted the fetters of the religious law from them, considered false testimony in favour of their sectarian brethren as licit, and interpreted the religious duties and sins mentioned in the Ḳurʾān as referring to certain specific persons.

A second group, the Bazīghiyya, were the followers of Bazīgh b. Mūsā the weaver, who was killed during the lifetime of the Imām Djaʿfar. They considered Bazīgh, like Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb, as a prophet sent by Djaʿfar. While they testified to the prophethood of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb, the latter repudiated Bazīgh's claim. They asserted that every one of them was inspired (*yūḥā ilayhi*), that they would not die but be raised to heaven when their worship reached perfection, and that they were able daily to see their "dead". Their claim of immortality was repudiated by the ʿUmayriyya, followers of ʿUmayr b. Bayān al-ʿIdjlī. Like the Bazīghiyya, however, the ʿUmayriyya claimed that they were all *imām*-prophets and that Djaʿfar was God. When they assembled in al-Kūfa to worship Djaʿfar, ʿUmayr was seized and killed by Yazīd b. ʿUmar b. Hubayra (governor 129-31/747-9).

Another group were the followers of al-Sarī al-Aqṣam who claimed that Djaʿfar had sent him as a prophet, calling him Mūsā, the Strong and Trustworthy. They worshipped Djaʿfar, saying that he was Islām and that they were the Sons of Islām (*abnāʾ al-islām*) in accordance with the statement of the Prophet: "Salmān is the Son of Islām".

The Muʿammariyya, followers of Muʿammar b. al-Aḥmar the corn dealer, affirmed that the divine Light had been transferred from ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib through Abū Ṭālib, Muḥammad, ʿAlī and the *imāms* to Djaʿfar, Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb and finally to Muʿammar. With the passing of the Light from the bodies of Djaʿfar and Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb, the latter had become angels, while the persons now claiming to be Djaʿfar and Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb were in fact impostors. Muʿammar was the God on earth who was obedient to the Greatest God in heaven. The Muʿammariyya denied that the world would come to an end and held that the bliss of paradise and the punishment of hell took place on earth. They claimed that they would be raised to heaven alive with their bodies, and also taught libertinism.

The account of al-Warrāḳ enumerates as a further subsect of the Khaṭṭābiyya the Mufaḍḍaliyya, followers of al-Mufaḍḍal b. ʿUmar al-Djuʿfī the money-changer. They agreed with the other Khaṭṭābiyya sects in deifying Djaʿfar and claiming prophethood for themselves, but diverged from them by repudiating Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb. According to an Imāmi report, al-Mufaḍḍal was appointed by the Imām Djaʿfar to guide the followers of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb after the condemnation of the latter. Although some negative statements of Djaʿfar are reported about him, al-Mufaḍḍal, unlike the other Khaṭṭābī leaders, was never excommunicated. He became a trusted agent of the Imām Mūsā b. Djaʿfar (148-83/765-99), during whose lifetime he died.

Statements attributed to the Imām Djaʿfar accent the lowly social status of the followers of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb and al-Mufaḍḍal, characterising them as scum (*safila*) and outcasts (*shuṭṭār*). Some sources identify the Khaṭṭābiyya with the Mukhammisa sect [*q.v.*]. This identification does not appear valid for the early Khaṭṭābiyya sects described above, but must refer to a later stage which may, however, have begun still in the time of the Imām Djaʿfar.

The assertions of some Imāmī sources broadly identifying the nascent Ismāʿīliyya [*q.v.*] with the Khaṭṭābiyya, must be viewed with caution. More specifically, it is reported that a group of supporters of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb after the latter's death joined the followers of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Djaʿfar, claiming that the spirit of Djaʿfar had devolved on Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb, and from him, on Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl. There are also reports associating al-Mufaḍḍal with Ismāʿīl b. Djaʿfar. After the death of Djaʿfar, however, al-Mufaḍḍal supported the imāmate of Mūsā. although he evidently did not approve of the condemnation of Ismāʿīl pronounced in other Imāmī circles. The doctrine of the Ismāʿīlī movement emerging out of obscurity about the middle of the 3rd/9th century shows little affinity with the specific doctrines of either the early Khaṭṭābiyya or the Mukhammisa and generally repudiates Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb. Mukhammisa texts which eventually were adopted into Ismāʿīlī literature, like the *Umm al-Kitāb*, are secondary importations. The bulk of the Khaṭṭābiyya-Mukhammisa evidently remained within the extremist fringe of the Imāmiyya. Mukhammisa doctrine formed the basis of the beliefs of the Nuṣayriyya [*q.v.*], who revere Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb, al-Mufaḍḍal and his son Muḥammad as the *bāb*s [*q.v.*] of the *imām*s Djaʿfar, Mūsā and ʿAlī al-Riḍā.

Bibliography: al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaḳ al-shīʿa*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1931, 37-41, 58-64; Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳummī, *al-Maḳālāt wa 'l-firaḳ*, ed. M. Djawād Mashkūr, Tehran 1963, 50-60, 63 f., 81-5; al-Ashʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-islāmiyyīn*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1929-30, 10-3; al-Kashshī, *Ikhtiyār maʿrifat al-ridjāl*, ed. H. Mostafavi, Mashhad 1348, 290-308, 321-9; Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Ḥūr al-ʿīn*, Cairo 1367/1948, 166-8. I. Friedländer, *The Heterodoxies of the Shiites according to Ibn Ḥazm*, in *JAOS*, xxviii (1907) and xxix (1908); *passim*; L. Massignon, *Sâlman Pâk*, Paris 1934; B. Lewis, *The Origins of Ismailism*, Cambridge 1940, 32-43; W. Ivanow, *Ibn al-Qaddah*, Bombay 1957, 98-110. (W. Madelung)

KHAṬṬĀRA [see ḳanāt].

KHĀTŪN, a title of Soghdian origin borne by the wives and female relations of the Tʿu-chüeh and subsequent Turkish rulers. It was employed by the Saldjuks and Khwārazm-Shāhs and even by the various Čingizid dynasties. It was displaced in Central Asia in the Tīmūrid period by *begüm*, which passed into India and is still used in Pakistan as the title of a lady of rank.

Bibliography: G. Doerfer: *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, iii, 132-41 (No. 1159); Sir Gerard Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, 602-3. (J. A. Boyle)

KHĀWA, a colloquial variant of the classical *ikhāwa* ("brotherliness"), is a term formerly used in the Arabian Peninsula for payments made in return for the right to enter alien territory and for protection while staying there. Whenever there was no central authority strong enough to guarantee freedom of transit for all, travellers or wanderers coming into the *dīra* or range of a powerful tribe would hand over *khāwa*, which usually consisted of livestock such as *ghanam*, or foodstuffs such as ghee, in amounts determined by negotiations. Refusal by merchant caravans to pay *khāwa* could lead to trouble between the nomads demanding it and the towns from which the caravans hailed or for which they were bound. Similar payments made by pilgrim caravans on the way to the Holy Cities were called *ṣurra* ("bag" or "purse"), which is not to be confused with *ṣurrat al-Ḥaramayn*, the sum once sent by Islamic countries such as Egypt and Tunisia for distribution to the poor of Mecca and Medina in the days of the pilgrimage.

As ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Suʿūd [see al-ikhwān.] extended his control over the larger part of the Peninsula, he outlawed the paying of *khāwa*. While *khāwa* may have been extorted clandestinely for a time thereafter, Ibn Suʿūd's crushing of the revolt of the Ikhwān [*q.v.*] by 1348/1930 and the ensuing decline of tribalism, along with the spread of modern communications, brought an end at last to this outmoded practice.

Bibliography: See that given for al-ikhwān. (G. Rentz)

KHAWAND [see akhund].

KHAWĀRIDJ [see khāridjites].

KHAWĀRIZM, KHAWĀRIZMĪ, etc. [see khwārazm, khwārazmī].

al-**KHAWARNAḲ**, a place situated about a mile east of Nadjaf [*q.v.*] in ʿIrāḳ. Inhabited at first by the tribe of Iyād, a palace was built in it by the Lakhmid chief Nuʿmān (d. after 418 A.D.) for his Sāsānian suzerain. It was there that Parwīz heard the news of the defeat of Dhū Ḳār [*q.v.*]. The palace was enlarged and used by the early ʿAbbāsids. It was in ruins in the 8th/14th century. The pre-Islamic Arab poets frequently quote al-Khawarnaḳ as one of the "30 wonders of the world", along with the neighbouring castle of Sadīr (perhaps Ukhayḍir [*q.v.*]). Al-Khawarnaḳ is also celebrated for having given rise to the proverbial expression "the reward of Sinimmār", the Greek architect who had built it and who was executed by Nuʿmān. The name Khawarnaḳ seems to be of Iranian origin (*Huvarna* "with a beautiful roof" according to Andreas, or *Khawarnar*, "place of feasting" according to Vulers), although Ibn Djinnī connected it with the Arabic *Khirniḳ* and Nöldeke with a Rabbinical Hebrew word meaning "arbour, plantation".

Bibliography: R. Basset, *Les Alixares de Grenade et le Chateau de Khaouarnaq*, in *Revue Africaine*, (1906) cclx, 22 f.; L. Massignon, *Mission en Mésopotamie*, in *MIFAO*, xxviii (1910), 36-7 and plate 37; xxxi (1912), 136; B. Meissner, *Eine Reise von Babylon nach den Ruinen von Ḥira und Ḥuarnaq*, in *Sendschriften der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, 1901, no. 2, 19. (L. Massignon)

KHAWĀṢṢ [see khāṣṣa].

KHAWĀṢṢ al-ḲUR'ĀN, the art of drawing prognostications from verses of the Ḳur'ān to which beneficial effects are attributed. The sacred text is used here in the same spirit as in rhapsodomancy (*ʿilm al-ḳurʿa*) and onomatomancy [see djafr and ḥurūf.] But it is here more particularly a case of the "natural properties" (φυσικά) which certain formulae of a magical and superstitious nature can have, based upon suitable Ḳur'ānic verses, letters drawn from these verse, words, names of angels, prophets or God, prayers bearing celebrated names and poems (*e.g.* the *Burda*). Hence these varied elements are treated just as the "science of properties" treats animals, plants and minerals, by calling attention to the sympathy and antipathy which exists between them (on this science, extensively developed in Islam, cf. P. Kraus, *Jābir ibn Ḥayyān*, ii, 61 ff.; M. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*, Leiden 1972, 393 ff.).

Two series of results are sought from this practice, prognostications and beneficial effects (*manāfiʿ*). Medical prognostications are the most sought-after,

and the treatises of popular medicine are crammed with them (*e.g.* see *al-Dā' wa'l-dawā'* of Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya, which deals more specifically with the medical properties of the Fātiḥa; the *K. Khawāṣṣ al-Fātiḥa al-sharīfa* of ʿAbd al-Ḳādir al-Djīlī; and the literature on al-*Ṭibb al-nabawī*).

There is an abundant literature on these properties, and a large number of them are treated in compilations like the *Durrat al-ghawwāṣ wa-kanz al-ikhtiṣāṣ fī ʿilm al-khawāṣṣ* of al-Djildakī (d. 743/1342) or the *Tadhkirat ūlī 'l-albāb* of al-Anṭākī (d. 1008/1599). There exist also some monographs, of which the most famous is the *K. Manāfiʿ al-Ḳur'ān* of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Tamīmī, who wrote at the end of the 4th/10th century (Istanbul Univ. Libr. A 2243, ff. 48, 18 × 13 cm, *naskhī*, N.D. but fairly old). This includes a large number of superstitious uses of the Ḳur'ān aimed at arriving at a knowledge of hidden things. Abū 'l-ʿAbbās al-Būnī (d. 627/1225) wrote both a *K. Manāfiʿ al-Ḳur'ān* (*ibid.*, A 5582, ff. 132, 23 × 14 cm, very fine *naskhī*) and a *K. Sirr al-maktūm min al-ʿilm al-maknūn wa-khawāṣṣ al-Ḳur'ān* (*ibid.*, A 4514, ff. 71, incomplete, 15 × 9,5 cm, *naskhī*). A *K. Manāfiʿ ṣuwar al-Ḳur'ān* and a *K. Khawāṣṣ al-Ḳur'ān al-ʿaẓīm* are attributed to Djaʿfar al-Ṣādiḳ (see Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 530). One should also mention the *Khawāṣṣ al-Burda fī bur' al-dā'* of Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām b. Idrīs al-Marrākushī, which divides up the famous *ḳaṣīda* of al-Būṣīrī into several sections and describes the beneficial effects residing in each (see Ullmann, *op. cit.*, 415-16).

Bibliography: For other works and for fuller details, see T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, 214-45, esp. 241-3. One can also find in Ahlwardt's Berlin mss. catalogue, under no. 4153, the titles of works on the *khawāṣṣ al-Ḳur'ān* and under no. 4176, six works on the *aḥzāb* or *adʿiya* reputed to have special properties. The magical character of such prayers has been demonstrated by Goldziher, *Zauberelemente im islamischen Gebet*, in *Orientalische Studien zu Th. Nöldeke gewidmet*, Giessen 1906, i, 303 ff. (T. FAHD)

KHAWBAR [see KHŌBAR].

KHAWLĀN. 1. The name of a South Arabian tribe, of great antiquity and now divided into two branches. The larger section, which al-Hamdānī calls *Khawlān al-ʿāliya*, is now known as *Khawlān al-ṭiyāl* and dwells south-east of Ṣanʿā' on the upper reaches of the Wādī Dhana, with the lands of Murād to the south-east and Nihm, in the highlands proper, to the north-west. The tribe now belongs to Bakīl. Their territory, which was described by Carsten Niebuhr in 1763 and visited by Eduard Glaser in 1885-6, is a very mountainous region, bisected by numerous tributaries of the Wādī Dhana, and with a widely scattered population. It is noted for the cultivation of cereals and grapes. The chief town is Djahāna, and of lesser import are Bayt al-Kibsī and Tanʿim. The latter was formerly renowned as a centre of the Yemenī Jews and possessed many synagogues. The Khawlān consist of many independent clans and families, rarely under a single ruler, dispersed throughout innumerable fortified villages, and have always been loyal Zaydīs. Their savagely fanatical temperament and warlike disposition have given them a reputation for feuding and division. The Arab genealogists give as their eponymous ancestor Khawlān b. ʿAmr b. Mālik b. al-Ḥārith b. Murra b. Udad b. Zayd b. ʿAmr b. ʿArīb b. Zayd b. Kahlān b. Saba'.

The other branch of Khawlān, variously known as Khawlān al-Shām, Khawlān b. ʿĀmir, or Khawlān Ḳuḍāʿa, lives just south of the Ḥidjāz border, in the mountains north-west of Ṣaʿda, on the Ṣanʿā'-Mecca road, four days' journey from the port of Ḥalī. They too are described by Niebuhr, who mentions a number of their villages but no large towns. Since it is alleged that gold used to be mined in the region at Ḳufāʿa, some authorities, most recently von Wissmann, have identified Khawlān al-Shām with the Biblical Ḥawīla. The district is fertile and produces grapes, wheat, and coffee in abundance. The Khawlān al-Shām are also Zaydīs and have their own *shaykh*, but maintain no contact with the southern Khawlān. Their genealogy may be seen in the variant given for Khawlān by some Arab writers, notably Yāḳūt: Khawlān b. ʿAmr b. al-Ḥāf b. Ḳuḍāʿa b. Mālik b. ʿAmr b. Murra. Since, however, Nashwān states that the Khawlān al-ʿāliya also belonged to Ḳuḍāʿa, the distinction between the two tribes may be taken as regional rather than genealogical. Von Wissmann has suggested that originally the tribe of Khawlān occupied the entire area between Ṣaʿda and Ṣirwāḥ, but was split in antiquity into the two branches by which we now recognise them by the invasion of Ḥāshid and Bakīl, who now occupy the intervening territory, and in whose lands it is interesting to find the village of Bayt Khawlān on Djabal Ḥāḍūr Nabī Shuʿayb [*q.v.*] and the mountain ʿUrr Khawlān.

The two-fold division into a northern and a southern Khawlān is reflected in the ancient inscriptions where the tribe is frequently mentioned. The earliest reference, in *RES* 3022 (Minaean), is probably to the southern branch. The inscription may be dated at the latest to the late 3rd century B.C. and tells how Saba' and Khawlān attacked a Minaean caravan en route from Maʿīn to RGMT (in or near Nadjrān). Later references, which belong for the most part to the time of the Sabaeo-Ḥimyarite wars of the 3rd century A.D., are more explicit in drawing a distinction between HWLN HDL*m*, with which are associated the towns of ṢRWḤ and TNʿM and probably the tribe KBSY*m*, and HWLN GDD*m* (also GDDN, ḏGDDTN, and 'GDDN), which possessed the city of ṢʿDT*m* (*e.g.*, Jamme 577, 601, 616, 629, 649, 658, *CIH* 308). There can be no doubt that the former were Khawlān al-ʿāliya and the latter Khawlān al-Shām.

In Shaʿbān 10/Nov. 631, envoys of Khawlān appeared before Muḥammad in Medina and professed Islam on behalf of their tribe. They were instructed in the teaching of Islam by the Prophet himself, and promised to destroy their idol ʿAmm Anas; they then received the usual gift of honour of 12½ ounces of silver and returned home. After the death of the Prophet they at first joined the general movement of apostasy, but Yaʿlā b. Munya, whom the Caliph Abū Bakr sent against them with an expeditionary force, succeeded in regaining them for Islam in the course of the year 11/632. Politically they were on closer terms with the government in Medina than the other tribes of the Yemen, which was probably the result of their relations with the Persian rulers in Ṣanʿā'. They afforded shelter to the two Persian princes Djushaysh and Fayrūz who were driven out of Ṣanʿā' by the rebellion of the Arabs under Ḳays b. ʿAbd Yaghūth b. Makshūh and supported them till help came from Medina.

Members of the tribe of Khawlān, after their lands were finally opened to Islam upon the subjection of the Yemen in 13/634 or 14/635, played an important part among the southern Arabs who participated in the conquest of Egypt and settled there. We frequently find Khawlānīs in important positions in Egypt; in Old Cairo (al-Fusṭāṭ) they gave their

name to a quarter, and the name generally is not rare in the papyri and on Arab tombstones in Egypt.

2. The name of a village near Damascus. One of the most distinguished of the companions of the Prophet is buried there, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Mis̲h̲kam Abū Muslim al-K̲h̲awlānī.

Bibliography: 1. al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*; idem, *Iklīl*, x, Cod. Berol. Glaser, 22, p. 2; His̲h̲ām b. Muḥammad, *D̲j̲amharat al-nasab*, ed. Caskel; Ibn Ḥawkal, *BGA*, ii, 31, 32; al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Kitāb al-buldān*, *BGA*, vii, 320; Yāḳūt, *Muʿd̲j̲am*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 499, iv, 147; *Marāṣid al-iṭṭilāʾ*, ed. Juynboll, i, 375; ʿAẓīmuddīn Aḥmad, *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Naśwān's im Šams al-ʿUlūm*, *GMS*, xxiv, Leiden 1916; C. H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens unter dem Islam*, Strassburg 1903; L. Caetani, *Annali dell'Islām*, ii, Milan 1907; E. Glaser, *Meine Reise durch Arḥab und Hâschid*, in *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, xxx (1884), 171; idem, *Über meine Reisen in Arabien*, in *Mitth. der Geogr. Gesell. in Wien*, xxx (1887), 23; idem, *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens*, ii, Berlin 1890; *Eduard Glaser's Reise nach Mârib*, ed. D. H. von Müller and N. Rhodokanakis (*Sammlung Eduard Glaser, i*), Vienna 1913; S. D. Goitein (ed.), *Travels in Yemen: an account of Joseph Halévy's journey to Najran in the year 1870, written in Sanʿani Arabic by his guide Hayyim Habshush*, Jerusalem 1941; M. Hartmann, *Die islamische Orient, Berichte und Forschungen*, ii, *Die arabische Frage*, Leipzig 1909; Admiralty Handbooks, *Western Arabia and the Red Sea*, London 1946, 248; A. Jamme, *Sabaean Inscriptions from Maḥram Bilqîs* (*Mârib*), Baltimore 1962; C. Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772; H. von Wissmann and M. Höfner, *Beiträge zur historischen Geographie des vorislamischen Südarabien*, Wiesbaden 1953; H. von Wissmann, *Zur Geschichte und Landeskunde von Alt-Südarabien* (*Sammlung Eduard Glaser, iii*), Wien 1964.

2. Yāḳūt, *Muʿd̲j̲am*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 499; *Marāṣid al-iṭṭilāʾ*, ed. Juynboll, i, 375; ʿAẓīmuddīn Aḥmad, *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Naśwān's im Šams al-ʿUlūm* (*GMS*, 24, Leiden 1916). (A. GROHMANN — A. K. IRVINE)

AL-**K̲H̲AWLĀNĪ**, ABŪ IDRĪS ʿĀʾID̲H̲ ALLĀH B. ʿABD ALLĀH, a Successor who lived from 8/629-30 until 80/699. Apart from Abū Muslim al-K̲h̲awlānī [*q.v.*], with whom he often seems to have been confused, he was the only one of his tribe among the early settlers in Syria, according to K̲h̲alīfa b. K̲h̲ayyāṭ's *K. al-Ṭabaḳāt*, Baghdad 1967, 307 f. During the last years of his life, he was *ḳāḍī* of Damascus under ʿAbd al-Malik. He was considered to be one of the *ʿubbād* (pious devotees) and one of the *ḳurrāʾ* [*q.v.*] of Syria. Before he was appointed *ḳāḍī*, he held the function of story-teller (*ḳāṣṣ*) [*q.v.*] or preacher (*wāʿiẓ*) [*q.v.*] in the mosque. Apparently he took his function very seriously, instructing the people in the *aḥkām*, *ḥalāl* and *ḥarām*, in which he allegedly was an expert. He was also described as a reliable transmitter of traditions, many of which were eventually recorded in the "six books". The most extensive collection of his own sayings is preserved in Abū Nuʿaym's *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*. A few of these sayings can be traced in the canonical *ḥadīt̲h̲* collections provided with complete *isnād*s to Muḥammad. Like Abū Muslim al-K̲h̲awlānī, Abū Idrīs is reputed to have transmitted some *ḥadīt̲h̲ qudsī* [*q.v.*] which smack of Christian influence (cf. Muḥammad al-Madanī, *K. al-Itḥāfāt al-sunniyya fi 'l-aḥādīt̲h̲ al-ḳudsiyya*, Hyderabad 1323, 20, no. 110 and Muslim, *birr*, 55).

Bibliography: Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, v, 122-9; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahd̲h̲īb al-tahd̲h̲īb*, v, 85-7; S̲h̲ams al-Dīn Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Ḳuḍāt Dimas̲h̲ḳ*, ed. Ṣ. al-Munad̲j̲d̲j̲id, Damascus 1956, 5; D̲h̲ahabī, *Tad̲h̲kirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, Hyderabad 1955, i, 56 f.; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, Hyderabad edn., v, 235; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, Cairo 1313, vi, 441. (G. H. A. JUYNBOLL)

AL-**K̲H̲AWLĀNĪ**, ABŪ MUSLIM ʿABD ALLĀH B. T̲H̲UWAB, one of the eight Successors allegedly famous for their asceticism (*zuhd* [*q.v.*]). He was born of the tribe K̲h̲awlān in the Yaman. One report (Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilya*, ii, 125) has it that he only became a Muslim in Syria during the caliphate of Muʿāwiya, but other reports say that he had already been converted to Islam during the prophet's lifetime while still in the Yaman. When al-Aswad b. Ḳays (cf. Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, *Tahd̲h̲īb*, xii, 236 and Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilya*, ii, 128; or: b. Kaʿb, cf. Ṭabarī, i, 1795) al-ʿAnsī D̲h̲u 'l-Ḥimār [*q.v.*] summoned him to embrace his cause, Abū Muslim refused and was consequently thrown into a fire which did not harm him. He was then given leave to travel to Medina, where he arrived a short time after the Prophet's death. Abū Bakr and ʿUmar are reported to have given Abū Muslim a warm welcome, the rumour of his ordeal having preceded him. He eventually settled in Syria. It is also said that he participated in a campaign into Byzantine territory. The sources have preserved various reports in which Abū Muslim boldly criticised Muʿāwiya. Furthermore, it is alleged that he offered Muʿāwiya his services as messenger in an endeavour to appease the latter's attitude towards ʿAlī. He died in 62/682.

Although Abū Muslim is considered as one of the forerunners of Islamic asceticism, reports about his ascetic behaviour are on the whole very few in number. The most extensive account of his habits and the miracles ascribed to him is preserved in Abū Nuʿaym's *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, in which also a few sayings attributed to him can be found. This information is, on the whole, insignificant. It seems, moreover, that he was not only claimed by Muslim ascetics. It is also suggested in several reports that he had affiliations with Jewish as well as Christian circles.

On the one hand, Abū Muslim's suffering at the hands of al-Aswad reminds one of Abraham and Nimrod. Besides, Kaʿb al-Aḥbār [*q.v.*] called him the sage (*ḥakīm*) of the community, although he had to admit to Kaʿb on one occasion that the Torah was right where he himself had been wrong (*Ḥilya*, ii, 128). On the other hand, a Christian monk once asserted that in his books Abū Muslim was mentioned as a companion of ʿĪsā b. Maryam (*ibid.*). Furthermore, cf. the *ḥadīt̲h̲ ḳudsī* discussed below, which smacks of Christian influence.

Although generally recognised as a reliable transmitter of traditions, Abū Muslim is credited in the canonical collections with the transmission of only a few. The best known of these is a *ḥadīt̲h̲ ḳudsī* [*q.v.*]: "My love will be realised for those people who love one another because of me, my love will be realised for those people who visit one another because of me", etc. (cf. Muḥ. al-Madanī, *K. al-Itḥāfāt al-sunniyya fi 'l-aḥādīt̲h̲ al-ḳudsiyya*, Hyderabad 1323, 10, no. 47 and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, Cairo 1313, v, 236, 237, 239 and 328). In several *isnād*s of this tradition (cf. Mālik b. Anas, *Muwaṭṭaʾ*,

ed. ʿAbd al-Bāḳī, ii, 953 f., Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, v, 229, 233, 247) his name seems to be confused with that of another transmitter called al-Khawlānī, namely ʿĀʾidh Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh Abū Idrīs, one time *ḳāḍī* of Damascus. Since Abū Idrīs is considered as really too young (born in A.H. 8, he died in 80/699, cf. *Tahdhīb*, v, 86 f.) to have transmitted this *ḥadīth ḳudsī* from the Companion Muʿādh b. Djabal, Abū Muslim's name may have been inserted to bridge the gap in an otherwise imperfect *isnād*. Confusion of the two Khawlānīs seems to be also apparent elsewhere (cf. Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, iv/b, ed. M. Schloessinger, Jerusalem 1938, 60).

Bibliography: Abū Nuʿaym, *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ*, ii, 122-31, v, 120-2; Nasr b. Muzāḥim, *Waḳʿat Ṣiffīn*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1382/1962-3, 85 f.; Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. Sachau, vii/2, 157 (in this source it is alleged that he came from Baṣra, which is most probably an apocryphal statement not borne out by evidence found elsewhere); Dārimī, *Sunan*, *muḳaddima*, 34; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, ed. ʿUkkāsha, 439; Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-ṭiwāl*, ed. Guirgass, 172 ff.; Bayhaḳī, *K. al-Maḥāsin wa 'l-masāwī*, ed. Schwally, Giessen 1902, 380; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIḳd al-farīd*, index s.v.; Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām alnubalāʾ*, iii, 93; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb at-tahdhīb*, xii, 235 f. (G. H. A. JUYNBOLL)

KHAYĀL, the most important song form in the classical repertoire of north Indian music, is regarded by some to have been invented by Amīr Khusraw (651-725/1253-1325) and attributed by others to Ḥusayn Shāh Sharḳī (862-934/1458-1528), the ruler of Djawnpūr, who was dispossessed by Buhlūl Lodī in *ca.* 1476. Whatever its genesis, there is little doubt that it saw its greatest development during the Muslim period of Indian history and that its major exponents have generally been Muslims. It arose as a reaction to the traditional composition *dhrupad*, whose rigid and austere character seemed to inhibit improvisation and technical virtuosity. In contrast, *khayāl*, as its name implies, was intended to afford greater freedom to the musician's imagination. The two forms continued to exist in competition with one another, their advocates rivalling among themselves and claiming superiority for their respective styles. In the 12th/18th century, *khayāl* received a tremendous impetus as a result of the efforts of Muḥammad Shāh (d. 1161/1748) and that of his court singers Adā Rang and Sadā Rang. It now leads all musical compositions and is regarded as the most significant contribution to the development of music. Its content deals primarily with religious and amorous themes, and consists of a relatively short set piece employed as the basis for improvisation.

Bibliography: Faḳīr Allāh, *Rāg Durpan*, I.O. Pers. Ms. 1937; Mīrzā Muḥammad b. Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad, *Tuḥfat al-Hind*, I.O. Pers. Ms. 1269; Wādjid ʿAlī Shāh, *Ṣawt-i Mubārak*, Lucknow 1853; S. N. Haidar Rizvi, *Music in Muslim India*, in IC, xv (1941); M. Mujeeb, *The Indian Muslims*, London 1967; Aziz Ahmad, *An intellectual history of Islam in India*, Edinburgh 1969; N. Augustus Willard, *Music of India*, Calcutta 1962; H. A. Popley, *The music of India*, Calcutta 1950; N. A. Jairazbhoy, *The Rāgs of North Indian music*, Middletown, Conn. 1971. (MUNIBUR RAHMAN)

KHAYĀL, MĪR MUḤAMMAD TAḲĪ, of Aḥmadābād in Gudjarāt (d. 1173/1759-60), author of a collection of tales in 15 volumes entitled *Bustān-i Khayāl*, composed in Persian prose between 1155/1742 and 1169/1756, at the request of his patron Nawwāb Rashīd Khān, or, according to one manuscript, for the two brothers Nawwāb Rashīd Khān and Nawwāb Muḥammad Isḥāḳ Khān, sons of Djaʿfar ʿAlī Khān (Nawwāb of Bengal 1170-4/1757-61 and 1176-8/1763-5); an account of the contents of this work, which is made up partly of historical legends and partly of fantastic fairy tales, is given by Ethé, *Cat. of Persian Mss. of the Bodleian Library*, No. 480.

Bibliography: Ethé, in *Gr. I. Ph.* ii, 342. (ED.)

KHAYĀL AL-ẒILL ("Shadow fantasy"), popular Arabic name for the shadow-play, possibly brought over from South-East Asia or India and performed in Muslim lands from the 12th century A.D. to the 20th one. Although occasionally presented during the long evenings of the Ramaḍān fast, it has now virtually disappeared with the spread of education, the cinema and television.

The only extant texts of medieval Arabic shadow-plays were composed in the 7th/13th century A.D. by an Egyptian ophthalmologist, Ibn Dāniyāl [*q.v.*], and consist of a humorous pageant of Egyptian life under the Mamlūk ruler Baybars I [*q.v.*]. More frequently, however, the text of a shadow-play amounted to no more than general guidelines for the performers. In the Ottoman period the shadow-play spread through North Africa and other Arabic-speaking countries, as the Ottoman Turks popularised the *Ḳaragöz* [*q.v.*], in which several stereotyped characters amused an unsophisticated audience. The *Ḳaragöz* also penetrated Anatolia, the Arab countries, Greece and Roumania. Iran had its own form of shadow-play, as had Muslim communities in Central Asia, but they did not attain the same popularity.

After Ibn Dāniyāl's time, one finds scattered references to Arabic shadow-plays; however, only from the 12th/18th century onwards is relatively more known. In Syria and in most of North Africa a *Ḳaragöz*-type prevailed, but Egypt held to its own tradition of shadow-play, which usually presented the adventures and misadventures of characters in the market-place or on Nile boats (*e.g. liʿb al-markib, liʿb al-timsāḥ*).

A standard *khayāl al-ẓill* performance in the 18th and 19th centuries was usually constructed on the following lines: a large sheet was hung as a screen on an improvised stage in the open air, in a coffee-house, or, more rarely, in a public hall, and a bright lamp placed behind it. Between the two, small (often 30 cm. high) two-dimensional figurines, of thin coloured translucent leather, were manipulated by the shadow-play master, who was called the *muḳaddim*. He used several sticks to move the head and limbs of the figurines, through holes specially pierced into the figurines; the shadows thus cast on the screen were both lifesize and lifelike. One or more persons assisted the *muḳaddim* in this task and in the recitations of the different characters.

The texts recited were memorised, rather than read, but often seemed also to bear the mark of improvisation, not unlike the *commedia dell'arte*. The *liʿb* ("play") started with a *maṭlaʿ* ("prologue") and was divided into *fuṣūl* ("acts"), although some plays were of one *faṣl* only. Songs and music were interspersed as needed, prose alternating with verse. The vernacular predominated and the contents and style were geared to a familiar background, *e.g.* the bath-house or the market-place. The plot was simple enough, usually based on misadventures and misunderstandings. Slapstick—including severe thrash-

ings and teratological elements—was common, as was an obscenely erotic element bordering on pornography.

Historical shadow-plays were performed, too, but more rarely. The farces, more frequent, were humorous rather than satirical, but had important socio-economic and political undertones. In what amounted to a "comedy of character", many shadow-plays ridiculed the upper classes and denounced the exploitation of the poor, while in North Africa the shadow-play sometimes criticised French rule. In fact, the shadow-play, by its social and political commentary, to some extent anticipated the local press.

Bibliography: The earlier literature on *Khayāl al-ẓill* may be consulted in the pioneer study of this field—Georg Jacob, *Geschichte des Schattentheaters*², Hanover 1925. To this one should add the following: O. Spies, *Tunesisches Schattentheater*, in *Public. d'hommage offerte au P. W. Schmidt*, Vienna 1928, 693-702; N. N. Martinovitch, *The Turkish theatre*, N.Y. 1933; K. Levy, *Laᶜbät elḥotä. Ein tunesisches Schattenspiel*, in *Festschrift für Kahle*, Leiden 1935, 119-24; E. Saussey, *Une farce de Karagueuz en dialecte arabe de Damas*, in *B.Ét.Or.*, vii-viii (1937-8), 5-37; P. Kahle, *The Arabic shadow play in Egypt*, in *JRAS* (1940), 21-34; J. M. Landau, *Shadow plays in the Near East*, Jerusalem 1948; H. Ritter, *Karagös, türkische Schattenspiele*, 3 vols., Istanbul-Wiesbaden 1924, 1941, 1953; J. M. Landau, *Studies in the Arab theater and cinema*, Philadelphia 1958; Ibrāhim Ḥammāda, *Khayāl al-ẓill wa-tamthīliyyāt Ibn Dāniyāl*, Cairo 1963; Metin And, *A history of theatre and popular entertainment in Turkey*, Ankara 1964; idem, *Geleneksel Türk tiyatrosu: kukla—karagöz—ortaoyunu*, Ankara 1969; Mukhtār al-Suwayfī, *Khayāl al-ẓill wa 'l-ᶜarā'is fī 'l-ᶜālam*, ? Cairo, N.D., 153-86.

(J. M. LANDAU)

KHAYĀLĪ, also known as KHAYĀLĪ BEY or KHAYĀLĪ MEḤMED BEY, nicknamed Bekār Memi as he was never married, Ottoman Turkish poet (d. 964/1556). He was born in Vardar Yenidjesi (modern Giannitsa), near Salonica in Macedonia. He did not go through the usual *medrese* training, but taught himself most of the knowledge expected in an educated man of his time, and began, as a very young man, to write poetry. The poets Uṣūlī and Ḥayretī were among his friends. According to ᶜĀshıḳ Čelebi, his closest friend and whose *Tedhkire* is a main source for his biography, he came at an early age under the influence of the Ḥaydarī dervish Baba ᶜAlī Mest-i ᶜAdjemī, who called at Vardar Yenidjesi during his travels, and Khayālī soon joined his party of wandering Ḥaydarī and Ḳalenderī dervishes, roaming from place to place and sharing their free-and-easy way of life. Eventually he ended up in Istanbul, where his poetical talent, intelligence and refinement attracted the attention of the Ḳāḍī Ṣarī Gürz Nūr al-Dīn, who ordered Uzun ᶜAlī, the city *muḥtesib*, to save Khayālī from this vagrant life (ᶜĀshıḳ Čelebi, *Meshā'ir al-shuᶜarā'*, ed. G. M. Meredith-Owens, London 1971, 271a). ᶜĀlī says, however, that Baba ᶜAlī Mest treated Khayālī like his own son and helped him with his further education (*Künh al-akhbār*, biographical section, Topkapı Sarayı, Revan no. 117, f. 494b). ᶜĀshıḳ Čelebi himself came to Istanbul in 942/1536 as a young boy, where he met Khayālī, and their friendship lasted more than twenty years, during which time ᶜĀshıḳ was able to follow the poet's private life and his successful career and, as a scholar and poet himself, advised him occasionally on grammatical problems in his writing. In the capital, Khayālī soon won the favour of Süleymān the Magnificent, to whom he was introduced by the Grand Vizier Maḳbūl (Maḳtūl) İbrāhīm Pasha [*q.v.*], who had patronised the poet on the Defterdār İskender Čelebi's recommendation. Almost all his *ḳasīde*s, which have no particular literary distinction, are dedicated to Süleymān. The over-generous favours of the Sultan aroused the jealousy of most of his fellow-poets, particularly of Dhātī (ᶜĀlī, *ibid.*, f. 495a) and Tashlıdjalı Yaḥyā [*q.v.*] who frequently attacked him with his pungent satires, to which Khayālī did not fail to retort. Following the execution of Iskender Čelebi and İbrāhīm Pasha in 942/1535 and 943/1536 respectively, Khayālī lost two powerful protectors. Although ᶜĀshıḳ Čelebi says unconvincingly that the Sultan's favours never diminished (ᶜĀshıḳ Čelebi, *ibid.*, f. 271b), it seems that Khayālī began to feel uncomfortable at the court during the grand vizierate of Rüstem Pasha [*q.v.*], who was not particularly inclined to the arts. He must have hinted to the poet that his presence in the capital was no longer desirable, for we see Khayālī pressing for a post outside Istanbul, more exactly, to become *Rumeli Ketkhüdāsı* or *Sandjaḳ Beyi*, the latter of which he seems to have obtained. Khayālī's public life after this period is somewhat obscure. His meeting with Fuḍūlī in Baghdād, which must have taken place during Süleymān's sojourn in 941/1534, is mentioned only by ᶜĀlī (*ibid.*, f. 506b) without further comment. He died in Edirne, where he is buried (for the present state of his burial place, see A. N. Tarlan, *Hayâli Bey divanı*, Istanbul 1945, XI).

Khayālī is an outstanding and original *Dīwān* poet of his time. He wrote a few dozen brilliant lyrics which are lost, to the casual reader, in the mass of mediocre *ghazal*s of the most conventional type. His reputation is thus disproportionate to his poetical achievement. It may be that the circumstances in which he left the court after the disappearance of his powerful protectors, and the fact of his apparently being an ᶜAlawī in an environment where orthodox Islam was predominant, were important factors for his comparatively secondary position among his more celebrated colleagues. Although his superiority to Bāḳī [*q.v.*], as claimed by A. N. Tarlan (*Hayali-Baki*, in *Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyat Dergisi*, No. 1 (1946), 26-38), may be debated, since Khayālī is far from having the mastery of form and the flow of style of the "Sultan of Poets", there can be no doubt that some of Khayālī's lyrics are more heart-felt and are more imbued with pervasive mystic passion than is the case with Bāḳī and with the two prominent followers of his school, Sheykh ül-Islām Yaḥyā and Nedīm.

Khayālī's *Dīwān* has been edited by Ali Nihad Tarlan (*Hayali Bey Divanı*, Istanbul 1945); this is based on manuscripts available in Istanbul libraries.

Bibliography: see the *tedhkire*s of Sehī, Laṭīfī and ᶜĀshıḳ Čelebī, and the biographical section of ᶜĀlī's *Künh al-akhbār*, s.v.; Muᶜallim Nādjī, *Esāmī*, Istanbul 1308/1892, 137; Gibb, *Hist. of Ottoman poetry*, iii, 58; Fahir İz, *Eski Türk edebiyatında nazım*, i/1, Istanbul 1966, 272-80 (selections from his *ghazels*). (FAHİR İZ)

KHAYBAR, the name of a famous oasis, and of its principal settlement, about 95 miles/150 km. from Medina; the district owes its renown to events which took place there in the years 7 and 20 A.H., not to natural features which distinguish it from other oases in the region. For this reason the

ancient Arab geographers, although they do mention it, provide only the briefest of information about it, giving special praise to the abundance of its palm trees.

1.—*Geographical information.*

Only al-Bakrī and Yāķūt have devoted to Khaybar as much as two pages in their *Muʿdjams*: the former is concerned primarily with the details of certain places in the interior in the light of their historical importance, the latter informs us that the place-name Khaybar encompassed the entire *wilāya* and that this *wilāya* comprised 7 *ḥiṣns* whose names were: Ḥiṣn Naʿīm, al-Ķamūs (= Ḥiṣn Abī 'l-Ḥuķayķ), Ḥiṣn al-Shiķķ, Ḥiṣn (al-)Naṭāt, Ḥiṣn ʾl-Sulālim (*sic*), Ḥiṣn al-Waṭīḥ and Ḥiṣn al-Katība. All these place-names are found in the historical Arab sources and are listed alphabetically in the *Muʿdjam* of Yāķūt. Wüstenfeld (*Die von Medina auslaufenden Hauptstrassen* ... 15) adds to them two other names, al-Yaʿķūbī, ii, 56, another two, al-Bakrī, 331, one other.

Yāķūt states in addition that Khaybar was the equivalent of *ḥiṣn* in the dialect of the Jews and since there were several of these in the region, the locality was also designated by the plural form Khayābir. He quotes some verses where mention is made of the fever which was endemic in the oasis, and of the abundance of its date-palms.

From the texts of modern geographers we can glean some supplementary information: distance from Medina: 60 *mīls*; altitude: 2,800 feet (thus Doughty ii, 211; Twitchell, 12: 2,200); site: in a *ḥarra* [*q.v.*]; principal settlement: in the main *wādī*, called Wādī Zaydiyya; administrative district: at present, one of the four *imāra*s of Djabal Shammar (see C. A. Nallino, 73); several villages, swampy soil and unhealthy air; 3,000 inhabitants, most of them mulattoes, descendants of negro slaves imported in ancient times to cultivate the oasis (see below). The only satisfying description of the locality is that of Doughty, who stayed at Khaybar from Nov. 1877 to March 1878. The impression given by his notes is that the entire *ḥarra*, despite the fertility of the soil, has a depressing and desolate atmosphere because of its stagnant waters, the salt encrustation of its *wādī*s and above all because of the blackish colour of its basalt rocks. Doughty said on arrival: "all is horror at Kheibar" (ii, 79; cf. 76, 81, 215, etc.). Recently, many changes have taken place at Khaybar. Twitchell informs us that a large dam has been constructed not far from the principal settlement, that other dams are planned and that a road suitable for vehicles now connects the oasis to Medina.

2.—*History*

The earliest mention of Khaybar figures in the bilingual inscription of Ḥarrān in the Ladja: it bears the date "the year 463, one year after the Khaybar expedition" referring therefore to the year 568 A.D. (see E. Littmann, *Osservazioni sulle iscrizioni di Harran e di Zebed* in *RSO*, iv (1911-12), 193 ff.). Ibn Ķutayba (*Maʿārif*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 313) states furthermore that this expedition took place under the king al-Ḥārith b. Abī Shamir (= b. Djabala) who reigned 528 to 569-70 A.D.

In the time of the Prophet, the population of Khaybar was made up of Jewish tribes and of Hebraised tribes. The time of the arrival of the Jews is not known, but one may assume that their departure from Palestine and emigration to Khaybar were part of a considerable migratory movement which took a large number of Jews towards the more fertile regions of North Arabia; that the displacement of such large numbers of people must have had very serious motives, otherwise, it is difficult to understand why it should have consisted of a movement from fertile regions towards the desert; and that the emigration began probably after the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D., but proceeded steadily on account of the persecutions which the Jews continued to suffer in Palestine. Also, in our opinion, a factor would have been invitations sent to relatives and friends by those who, having settled in Arabia, were satisfied with their new situation. How did this satisfaction come about? In our opinion, the Jews found in Arabia conditions favourable to their spirit of initiative and appropriate to their customs. We believe that sufficient attention has not been paid to the following circumstances: (1) The traffic in precious merchandise from India and the Far East, diverted from Mesopotamia to Arabia following a series of grave events, had brought to the inhabitants of the peninsular a certain prosperity; (2) The Arabs were not at that time capable of producing for themselves the tools, the weapons, the textiles, and the jewelry which they needed or coveted, and the Jews, being skilful artisans and drawn by nature towards commerce, were in a position to supply these objects because they understood the art of manufacturing them or the means of importing them; and (3) Arabia was a vast country with a sizable population which offered, now that economic conditions were much improved, considerable opportunities for commerce.

In our opinion, the Jews in Arabia, besides their activity in agriculture (they were the pioneers in the cultivation of the oasis) and their commercial activities in their capacity as craftsmen, bankers and money-lenders, probably carried these on in collaboration with the Arabs. They provided the capital, while the Arabs acted as intermediaries between them and the tribes of the interior. The Jews possessed considerable wealth and it would seem difficult to suppose that this was due solely to the work of farmers and artisans whose production was for local consumption only. In fact, despite the absence of precise information, we possess certain indications. Some objects found by the Muslims in a redoubt at Khaybar (Caetani, 7 a.H., § 6) seem to us significant: a siege-engine, 20 bales of Yemenī cloth and 500 cloaks. Wellhausen, apparently struck by the singularity of the existence of such a machine among the Jews, attempted to explain it, suggesting (tr. of al-Wāķidī, 269, n. 1) that these were used for settling quarrels among the families of the community. It would seem more logical to suppose that it was being stored in a depôt for future sale, in the same way that swords, lances, shields, etc. had been sold by the Jews. Equally, the 20 bales of cloth and the 500 cloaks must have been intended for sale, as it is not conceivable that such a quantity of luxury goods was kept for the exclusive use of the Jews. If one accepts the idea of commercial activities undertaken especially by the Jews of Medina (cf. moreover M. A. Shaban, *Islamic history, a new interpretation (600-750)*, Cambridge 1971, 10, 13), one understands better the reasons for which Muḥammad attacked them in particular. His hostility towards the Jews would have had economic causes similar to those which have brought about persecutions and pogroms in so many countries during the course of history.

According to Caetani (7 a.H., § 7) Muḥammad was moved to attack Khaybar by motives of political opportunism: on the one hand, the pact concluded with Ķuraysh at Ḥudaybiyya gave him the assurance of not being attacked by them during the expedition; on the other hand, if he conquered Khaybar he would

be able to satisfy with ample booty those of his companions who, having hoped to capture Mecca, were disappointed and discontented.

Montgomery Watt has drawn attention to the fact that the Banu 'l-Naḍīr, driven out of Medina, had taken refuge in Khaybar and that their chieftains and the chieftains of other Jewish groups, eager for revenge, were intriguing against Muḥammad along with the Arabs tribes of the neighbourhood. So Muḥammad had not only a just motive for attacking them, but there was also the positive necessity to destroy these enemies, more formidable even than the Ḳuraysh because of their adherence to their own religion, their intelligence and their superior culture. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal (385-6) maintains that the Prophet did not feel sure of the northern fringes of the peninsular: he was afraid lest the Jews established in the oases of Northern Arabia betray him, and lest Heraclius and Kisrā seek help from them against him. The sources give support to the view of Montgomery Watt, showing that the Jews, already responsible for the coalition which had laid siege to Medina in 5 A.H. and worried by the growing power of the Prophet, continued to stir up the Arabs against him. Haykal's opinion, however, is to be rejected in that it is inappropriate to consider an event in the light of subsequent developments. In the year 7 A.H. Muḥammad was not yet a figure to be reckoned with in the estimation of the rulers of the empires to the north of the peninsular. While giving full credit to the opinion of Montgomery Watt, one should not overlook the fact that the Prophet was in great need of arms and money to accomplish his objectives and he knew that he could find these among the Jews at Khaybar (the sources give precise details of the number and type of arms captured by the Muslims from the Jews at Medina and at Khaybar; Caetani, 4 a.H., § 13; 5 a.H., § 49; 7 a.H., § 31).

Muḥammad marched against Khaybar with 1,800 or 1,600 men and 100 horses (according to al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 256, with 1,400 men and 200 horses). The date of departure indicated by Ibn Hishām, sc. Muḥarram 7/May-June 628, is to be preferred to those of the other sources (see Caetani, 7 a.H., § 7 and n. 2). The march of the Muslims was secret and rapid, and the Jews only became aware of their arrival when they went out to their work in the fields. Alarmed, the inhabitants of the oasis took refuge in their homes, confident of their ability to defend themselves there, and from that time onwards each family or group held defensive positions in its own redoubt.

The attack by Muḥammad had been foreseen, but no serious preparations for withstanding it had been made; at Khaybar there was no political authority which could have imposed a communal defence policy, and it seems moreover that discord reigned there (Caetani, 7 a.H., § 9, and 8). Their defensive policy was limited to seeking, with promises of reward, the support of the neighbouring Arab tribes. In fact, several thousands of the Ghaṭafān, pressed by the insistence of and the rewards offered by the Jews, came to Khaybar to offer their aid, but they withdrew at the very moment when their aid was needed. The sources explain their departure, describing how they had left their women, children and livestock in an encampment in the middle of the desert and, hearing great uproar from that place, they believed that the Muslims were attacking it and they rushed to defend their families (another version attributes their departure to a mysterious voice which warned them of danger [Caetani, 7 a.H., § 12]). Now, the Ghaṭafān embraced Islam immediately after the conquest of Khaybar and they did not return to Khaybar until after the successful completion of the operation; Muḥammed conceded to them a hill in the oasis and one may suppose that this concession was the price of their withdrawal.

The process of the military operation has not been clearly described in the sources, and for purposes of reconstruction, the historian cannot base himself on the topography of the oasis, nor on a survey of the remains of ancient constructions in the *ḥarra*, nor on the local tradition which indicates the sites where Muslims and Jews fought one another. The actual place-names, which Doughty collected, differ entirely from those mentioned in the sources (Caetani, 7 a.H., § 6); one site alone can be identified, the place where ʿAlī gave proof of his valour, and this only because there is a mosque bearing his name. We restrict ourselves here to drawing out from the detailed accounts of the sources those aspects which characterised the hostilities and the more famous of the episodes. Two facts should be noted. First, in the oasis there were three regions: al-Naṭāt, al-Shiḳḳ and al-Katība, probably separated by natural diversions (*wādīs*, lava-drifts, swamps). Second, each of these regions contained several *ḥiṣns*. Those which Muḥammad besieged and which provided for the Jews homes, storehouses and stables (Caetani, 7 a.H., §§ 26, 28) could probably be described as "farm-strongholds", the term applied by Ph. Lippens in his *Expédition en Arabie centrale*, Paris 1956, 37, to the buildings in another oasis, also called Khaybar, situated to the south of Mecca on the Bīsha-Abhā road (cf. Fuʾād Ḥamza, *Bilād*, 263); "farm" because after the fashion of the buildings described by Lippens, the *ḥiṣns* of our Khaybar were surrounded by cultivated fields and palm-groves (Muḥammad ordered the felling of 400 palms around one *ḥiṣn* to force the defenders to capitulate; Caetani, 7 a.H., § 17); "strongholds" because they were raised up on the hills or on the basalt rocks of the oasis as to be more defensible, such as the *ḥiṣn* of the principal settlement which stands on a long, basalt crag (Doughty, ii, 76) and the *ḥiṣn* of al-Zubayr which, we are told by the sources, stood on the summit of a cliff (Caetani, 7 a.H., § 27).

The situation following the retreat of the inhabitants into their redoubts was as follows. The Jews, after a rather bloody skirmish in front of one of the *ḥiṣns*, avoided combat in the open country and Muḥammad, having none but the most primitive means of assaulting the fortifications, found himself obliged to invest one *ḥiṣn* after another, and to wait until the capitulation of the defenders should become inevitable through lack of water and food. This did not prevent those besieged from transferring, under cover of darkness, women, children and treasures from one *ḥiṣn* to another as the situation demanded; sometimes the warriors themselves, to make their resistance more effective, passed from one region to another, from al-Naṭāt to al-Shiḳḳ and from al-Shiḳḳ to al-Katība.

There were, during these sieges a number of skirmishes preceeded by duels, a number of sorties by the defenders, some attacks by the Muslims and exchanges of arrow-shots between the two sides (Caetani, 7 a.H., §§ 15, 20, 21, 22, 27, 28, 29, 31); among the Jews there were spies and traitors who, in order to save their own skins, gave useful information to the enemy, in particular, concerning the use of certain machines of war which the Muslims learned to use at this time (Caetani, 7 a.H., § 28). All these episodes are recounted in great detail by the Arab chroniclers; there were others which had much greater

repercussions and consequences for Islamic history and law.

As those besieged in one of the *ḥiṣns* defended themselves stubbornly (Caetani, 7 a.H., §§ 20-3), first Abū Bakr, then ʿUmar, took up the standard in the hope of breaking down their resistance, by putting themselves at the head of the attacks; but they still failed. Muḥammad then declared that the next day he would entrust the standard to "a man who loves God and his Prophet and whom God and His Prophet love"; he then called to ʿAlī (this tradition, reported by Ibn Hishām, 1579 and 1580), shows a Shīʿī tendency) and ʿAlī, cured of his opthalmia after the Prophet had spit into his eyes, killed a valiant Jewish chieftain with a sword-stroke which split in two the helmet, the head and the body of the unfortunate victim. He then gave another proof of his exceptional physical strength. Having lost his shield, he lifted one of the doors of the *ḥiṣn* from its hinges and defended himself with it, then used it to make a bridge whereby the attackers gained access to the redoubt. The door was so heavy that later, when it was put back in place, eight men were needed for the purpose. ʿAlī had showed his prowess at Badr, at Uḥud and elsewhere, but this fact astounded the Muslims (al-Ṭabarī devotes a page and a half to it, 1579-81); it was greatly exaggerated (see Doughty, ii, 126), and finally became one of the reasons for which the *futuwwa* [*q.v.*] made of ʿAlī the prototype of heroes.

At the start of hostilities, the Muslims suffered from lack of provisions (Caetani, 7 a.H., § 24, and cf. 9 a.H., § 41). Their need drove them to kill, dismember and cook a score of asses which had escaped from one of the *ḥiṣns*. Muḥammad declared that the meat of horses, mules and asses was forbidden and the cauldrons in which the ass-meat was being cooked were overturned. This judgement was nevertheless mitigated: it is permissible to eat even forbidden foods when one is forced by necessity (Ḳurʾān, II, 168/173, VI, 119/118, XVI, 116/114).

One of the women taken prisoner in one of the *ḥiṣns*, Ṣafiyya, who was married to a Jewish chieftain, caught the attention of the Prophet (Caetani, 7 a.H., §§ 27, 30, 36 and n. 2, § 48 and n. 4); he threw his mantle over her, a sign that he had chosen her for himself; then Ṣafiyya's husband was put to death because, in disobedience to the orders of the Prophet, he had hidden the treasure of the Banu 'l-Naḍīr. Muḥammad set free his captive and took her in marriage, whence a problem was to arise later for the jurists—to know whether the enfranchisement of the slave could replace the nuptial gift (*mahr*, an essential condition for the legitimacy of marriage), or if the enfranchisement of Ṣafiyya was to be considered as a *jus singulare*, that is to say, one of the *khaṣāʾiṣ* or special privileges of the Prophet (see e.g. al-Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 256).

A Jewess laid before Muḥammad, who was dining with his Companions, a roast sheep (Caetani, 7 a.H., § 37). Muḥammad took from it his favourite part, the shoulder, but putting it to his mouth he noticed that it had a strange taste and spat it out (according to one tradition the sheep spoke to him to warn him). One of his fellow-diners who had tasted the dish fell ill and died some time later. The woman confessed her crime (during the hostilities at Khaybar she had lost her husband and other close relatives), but it is not known whether Muḥammad had her executed or pardoned her (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1584, says that he did not punish her, *tadjāwaza ʿanhā*).

The Prophet ordered the restitution to the Jews of the books containing the holy Scriptures (Caetani, 7 a.H., § 38). It was at Khaybar that he laid down instructions concerning the sale and exchange of precious metals (Caetani, 7 a.H., § 38).

After about a month and a half of hostilities which cost the Muslims very few casualities (a score of dead; Caetani 7 a.H., § 43), the Jews asked the Prophet to offer them an agreement and they capitulated, accepting his conditions (thus Ibn Khaldūn, ii, App. 39, and his version is preferable, in its details, to those of the other sources: Caetani, 7 a.H., § 15 nn. 1 and 2, and § 33). Under the terms of the agreement, the Jews were to remain in the oasis on their land and were to cultivate it, but in future were to hand over one-half of the produce to the Muslims. From a legal point of view, the pact was defective, since it did not define the situation of the Jews and did not say whether they were to remain the owners of the soil which they were to cultivate (Caetani, 7 a.H., § 34); it must be assumed that the problem was not even envisaged by the Prophet, whose sole concern at this time was that the oasis should continue to be cultivated, and by the Jews, since Arabs did not like working on the land. The Prophet limited himself to subjecting the Jews to a perpetual servitude, reducing them to the status of land-serfs.

For this reason, in later years when an interest in legal matters developed among cultivated Muslims, the jurists wondered under what terms the Prophet had left the lands of Khaybar to the Jews, and they defined his settlement as a *muzāraʿa* or a *musāḳāt*, that is to say, according to our terminology, a métayage, land tenure with rent paid in produce.

The decision taken by Muḥammad at Khaybar to leave the lands to the Jewish cultivators was different from those which he had taken at Medina where, in the year 4, he had handed over part of the lands of al-Naḍīr to Meccan emigrants and reserved a part for himself; in the year 5 he had divided 4/5 of the lands of Ḳurayẓa among four family groups (Caetani, 4 a.H., § 13; 5 a.H., § 52). Even at Fadak [*q.v.*] he was later to take a completely different decision. The explanation which he gave for his conduct, when he disposed of the lands of the Banu 'l-Naḍīr as he pleased, was that he had become master of them without the Muslims having had to fight for them; according to the terms of the Ḳurʾān, LIX, 6, they were "what God has given back to his Messenger from them (i.e. from the Banu 'l-Naḍīr), and you spurred neither horse nor camel to capture them", *mā afāʾā Allāh ʿalā rasūlihi minhum fa-mā awdjaftum ʿalayhi min khaylin wa-lā rikābin*. Under the terms of this declaration, goods obtained *ʿanwatan* (by force) were to be divided among the warriors who had taken part in their capture; as to those taken *ṣulḥan* (by treaty), the soldiers had no rights. But the caliph ʿUmar, when he conquered the Sawād—and he conquered it *ʿanwatan*—did not follow the precedent of the Prophet. Far from dividing up the land, he made it a source of future revenues for the Muslim community as a whole; in this he justified himself on the grounds that he would have divided up all the conquered villages "had he not feared lest nothing would be left for the last man" (Yaḥyā b. Ādam, cited in the bibliography, §§ 106, 107, 121). In short, ʿUmar placed the interests of the state above those of individuals, but by his decision he caused discontent among the troops and gave a strong motive for grievance to the opposition which was unleashed against the caliph ʿUthmān and which finally brought about the civil war under the caliphate of ʿAlī. Both the defenders of the policy of ʿUmar on this point and his opponents sought justification in the conduct of the Prophet, and the tradi-

tionists came to their aid—with material suiting the interests of one or the other party, as will be seen below when we shall deal with some of the traditions collected by Yaḥyā b. Ādam (d. 203/810) in his *Kitāb al-Kharādj*, on the nature and the distribution of booty and the spoils of war.

The goods of the Jews (Caetani, 7 a.H., §§ 39, 41-42), of which Muḥammad took possession by his conquest of Khaybar, consisted of movable and immovable property. The former posed no problem; all the objects would have been piled up to await distribution, and anyone who took anything out of turn was compelled to return it. As for the land, the sources are not clear, either what was the kind of property to be divided, or on the manner by which the distribution was effected. Caetani maintains that the Prophet divided solely the produce of the lands of Khaybar; on this point he is categorical (7 a.H., §§ 33, 41 n. 2 218; 10 a.H., §§ 100-102; 20 a.H., § 237; 23 a.H., § 559) and Montgomery Watt, 250, is in agreement with him; Caetani criticises (10 a.H., § 100 n. 1) Baron von Tornauw and M. van Berchem, who did not doubt but that in 7 a.H. the Prophet divided up the property, the former in *Das Eigenthumsrecht nach moslemischen Rechte*, in *ZDMG*, xxxvi (1882), 298, the latter in *La propriété territoriale et l'impôt foncier sous les premiers Califes*, Geneva 1886, 8-9. Caetani bases his conclusion on a passage of al-Balādhurī according to which it was ʿUmar who in the year 20 (see below) attended to the division of the *raḳabat al-arḍ*, an expression to be translated as "the ownership of the land" (cf. Glossary to al-Balādhurī). But some details of the distribution of the goods of Khaybar could also serve as a basis for the arguments of Caetani, for example: ʿUmar in undertaking a new division of the oasis, invited the widows of the Prophet to choose between the guarantee that they would receive their annual share of the produce and [the possession of] the land (*al-arḍ*: Yaḥyā b. Ādam, text 24; another version, the price or the estate (*al-ḍayʿa*), *ibid.*, text 25).

If some scholars have asserted that Muḥammad at Khaybar distributed the lands, it is because Muḥammad, instead of amassing the half of the products of the oasis after each harvest for distribution to those Muslims entitled to them, gave to each Muslim beneficiary of a plot of land (see below how he divided the land of the oasis in plots and how he designated the beneficiaries) the right to exact directly from the Jewish cultivator the half of the products which that plot of land had yielded. In short, he established a relation between such and such a piece of land and a beneficiary, and ʿUmar, when he divided the land, took account of this relation.

The manner adopted for the effecting of these measures was as follows. Muḥammad first detached the share of the fifth which belonged by right to him as the leader of the expedition—he chose the region of al-Katība—and then he divided the territory into 18 major parts, and each of these into 100 plots having the same productive capacity. (Previously, an evaluation had been made of the products which each plot of land and palm-grove could be expected to provide). Lots were drawn for the major parts, and since these subsequently bear names, the list of which has survived, and since these names are sometimes those of eminent Companions, such as ʿUmar and Ṭalḥa, and sometimes those of tribal groups, we may deduce that the responsibility for allocating the 100 plots contained in each major part was entrusted to reliable men, some of them chosen by the Prophet, the others, probably later on, chosen by the tribal groups.

What makes the distribution of goods at Khaybar interesting to the historian is a variant account, presented as a tradition by al-Balādhurī (26) and confirmed by other traditions in the collection of Yaḥyā b. Ādam (§§ 90, 91, 94, 95). These traditions change substantially the account given above of the assessment and distribution of the lands at Khaybar, and change it in such a manner that one is tempted to suppose that all these traditions were invented, in spite of their number (we consider them to be authentic), in order to justify the decision of ʿUmar about the lands of Sawād—a decision which was certainly judged politically correct, if not necessary, by most of the people, but which, to be rendered legitimate in the eyes of all, had to be supported by the precedents of the Prophet refered to in traditions. According to the variant account, the land of Khaybar was divided into 36 parts (instead of 18) and Muḥammad divided half of this amount among the troops (Yaḥyā b. Ādam, § 90); of this half he also received a share for himself (*ibid.*, §§ 91, 94); the other half he reserved to provide funds against administrative needs and matters in hand (*ibid.*, §§ 90, 91), against expenses of his guests, and of delegations coming to him from the interior of the peninsula, and against any other eventuality (*ibid.*, §§ 91, 94, 95). Thus the Prophet, well in advance of the time of ʿUmar, was concerned with the interests of the state.

But let us examine the traditions collected by Yaḥyā b. Ādam which reveal the efforts made by the traditionists to interpret the conduct of the Prophet at Khaybar. First of all, they draw a distinction between *ghanīma* (that which is taken by force, *ʿanwatan* and *fay*ʾ (that which is obtained by treaty, *ṣulḥan*) (Yaḥyā b. Ādam, §§ 1, 2, 11); since it could not be denied that Khaybar had been captured *ʿanwatan* (see e.g. *ibid.*, 18), and since it would have been difficult to expunge traditions according to which the Prophet had reserved for himself part of the lands of Khaybar (see the variant version of al-Balādhurī and Yaḥyā b. Ādam, § 9), there were traditionists who settled the question declaring that the fifth part of the *ghanīma* having first been detached—this part belongs to God and it is "given back" by God to those whom He has named (Ḳurʾān, VIII, 42/41: His Messenger, the Messenger's relatives, the orphans, the needy, the wayfarer—the rest belongs to the Muslims who have captured it, and must be divided among them equitably (Yaḥyā b. Ādam, §§ 4, 11, and cf. 18, 12, end), one part for each warrior and two for his horse, if he has brought a horse with him (the question becomes controversial if he has two, *ibid.*, 5-7). Others (*ibid.*, and 8) declared that the lands are excluded from the *ghanīma*: these (*ibid.*, and § 101) are *fay*ʾ and (*ibid.*, and § 48) belong to the Muslims, that is to say, to the Muslim community (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1583⁹, is explicit: Khaybar was a *fay*ʾ). Others again, resorting to subtelty, claim that the *Imām* after having taken the fifth part and thus having made of the lands a *ghanīma*, may distributed the remaining 4/5 between the warriors who had capture it, or hand over the whole to the Muslims in perpetuity as a *fay*ʾ (Yaḥyā b. Ādam, §§ 9, 10, 12, 101; in the *fay*ʾ there is no fifth share, *ibid.*, § 12, and cf. §§ 11 and 101).

The *Imām* may abstain from the distribution to the warriors, because the Prophet at Khaybar kept for himself a portion of the lands (*ibid.*, § 9; on the significance of the word *waḳafa* in this text, see translator's note on p. 112 no. 9), and other parts were distributed (*ibid.*, § 9). Muḥammed assigned some shares of the produce of al-Katība (his fifth) to his wives and to

certain members of his family. Calculations have been made of the quantity of dates and grain which this fifth would have provided (Caetani, 7 a.H., § 42), and there have been attempts to assess the amount of the rents accruing to the Prophet from the oasis cultivated by the Jews; they were certainly considerable, but Sprenger's idea, that Muḥammad could have maintained with these revenues an army of 4,000 or 5,000 men, is an exaggeration (Caetani, 7 a.H., § 46).

The caliph Abū Bakr made no changes in the situation established by the Prophet at Khaybar; ʿUmar made no change during the first years of his government, but in 20 A.H. he modified it completely. That year (Caetani, 20 a.H., § 234-237) he announced in a speech delivered in the mosque of Medina that he had decided to expel the Jews from Arabia. To justify this decision, which reversed the pact concluded with them by the Prophet, he claimed to have learnt, and to have acquired positive verification, that Muḥammad had declared before his death that two religions could not co-exist in Arabia. According to Caetani, the traditions which report this phrase of the dying Prophet and those which accuse the Jews of misconduct and of crimes were invented; equally, one should doubt the veracity of the suggestion that Muḥammad warned the Jews that he was reserving the right to expel them at a later date, and that he was leaving them their lands only in so far as it was pleasing to God, all land being the property of Muslims. These traditions tend evidently to absolve ʿUmar from the charge of having acted against the will of the Prophet in his decision regarding the land of the Sawād.

Caetani claims that the true motive for the new assessment made by the caliph was contingent and local: the oases could henceforth be cultivated by slaves, whose numbers had been greatly swollen through military campaigns outside Arabia (al-Balādhurī in a way confirms this motive, saying that the Muslims, having become powerful, were now in a position to expel the Jews). Having removed the Jews far away from the oases of Arabia, giving them lands in Syria, ʿUmar proceeded to a new partition of Khaybar, in the sense that he assigned to the beneficiaries of the produce the ownership of the land from which they were receiving their rents.

The success of the Prophet at Khaybar had as an immediate effect an increase in his power, for several tribes, enemies until that moment, embraced Islam and recognised the hegemony of Medina (Caetani, 7 a.H., § 45); another consequence of great importance lay in the economic advantages which Muḥammad and the Muslims, particularly the *Muhādjirūn*, gained from the conquest of the oasis: Muḥammad because from now on he could rely on fixed revenues, the Muslims because it was not only ʿĀʾisha who could cry out "Now we can have our fill of dates". Many had cause to rejoice in the change in their economic situation. However, the historical importance of the event lies not in the facts above indicated, but in the pact concluded between Muḥammad and the Jews which set more or less directly the style for relations between the Muslims, conquering vast territories beyond the confines of Arabia and the non-Muslim peoples who fall under their domination. (For a juridical interpretation of this pact, the relevant traditions and the additions which were made to them, see Santillana, i, 359-62 and n. 235).

The history of Khaybar during the succeeding centuries is bound up with that of the Ḥidjāz and of the Nadjd, and offers nothing of interest.

It may be noted that some Jews either stayed in the oasis or returned there (al-Muḳaddasī, 95: Caetani, 20 a.H., § 220); Varthema, who travelled in Arabia during the early years of the 16th century, noted that in a locality between Damascus and Medina (Khaybar?) lived between 4,000 and 5,000 Jews (but Pirenne doubts this, pp. 215-16). Towards the mid-19th century, the Jews were in considerable numbers there (Pirenne, 76). In the mid-19th century, Khaybar was part of the amīrate of the Āl Rashīd, whose capital was at Ḥāʾil, and it stayed under the domination of this dynasty until its collapse following the death of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Rashīd (1906). It then belonged to the Sharīf al-Ḥusayn of Mecca until 1922, when it was captured by Ṭalāl, son of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Saʿūd (in 1918 he had defeated the troops of the Ḥidjāz near al-Ṭāʾif) (*OM*, iv (1924), 599). On these events, see in particular, H. St. John Philby, *Saʿudi Arabia*.

Bibliography: Mediaeval Arab Geographers: Ibn Khurradadhbih, *BGA*, vi, 129, 248; Hamdānī, ed. D. H. Müller, 124, 130; Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, *BGA*, viii, 246-7, 256-8; Muḳaddasī, *BGA*, iii, 83, and index; Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 331-3 and Index; Idrīsī, *Opus geographicum*, Naples-Rome fasc. ii, (1971) 145, fasc. iv (1974), 347, 351-2; Yāḳūt, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 503-5.

Modern Arab Geographers: Fuʾād Ḥamza, *Ḳalb Djazīrat al-ʿArab*, Cairo 1352/1933, ii, 50, 68, 268, 332-44 and index; *idem*, *al-Bilād al-ʿarabiyya al-saʿūdiyya*, Mecca 1355/1937, 176-82 and index; Ḥāfiẓ Wahba, *Djazīrat al-ʿArab fī 'l-ḳarn al-ʿishrīn*[3], Cairo 1375/1956, 19-21 and index; Kaḥḥāla, *Djughrāfiyyat Shibh Djazīrat al-ʿArab*[2], Mecca 1385/1964, Cairo 1964, 138-40, 186 and index.

European Travellers: Charles Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, London 1924, ii, 77-215 and index s.vv. Kheybar, Kheyâbara, Ḥarrat Kheybar; illustrations of the *ḥiṣn* of the principal settlement, pp. 95, 104, a map of the valleys of the oasis, p. 182; K. S. Twitchell, *Saudi Arabia*, Princeton 1947, 12.

Historical and other sources: Wāḳidī, *K. al-Maghāzī, in verkürzter deutscher Wiedergabe*, ed. J. Wellhausen, 264-96 and index s.v. Xaibar; Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, 755-81; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, ed. de Goeje, 25-9; Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, ed. Houtsma, i, 298, ii, 56-7, 178; Ṭabarī, i, 1575-89, 1590-4, 2594-5; Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 165-71, 444; Ibn Khaldūn, *al-ʿIbar*, Būlāḳ 1284/1867, ii, App. 38-40; Diyārbakrī, *Taʾrīkh al-khamīs*, Būlāḳ 1302/1885, ii, 47-65; Ḥalabī, *al-Sīra al-ḥalabiyya*, Alexandria 1280/1863, iii, 143-8, 155, 172-7, 183; Bukhārī, ed. Krehl, ii, 57-8, iii, 74, 121-2, 127, 128, 129-30, 132-3; Yaḥyā b. Ādam, *K. al-Kharādj*, ed. T. W. Juynboll, Leiden 1896, tr. A. Ben Shemesh,[2] Leiden 1967, *Taxation in Islam*, i, §§ 18, 90, 91, 94, 95, 97, 98 and index (many references to other texts).

Studies: A. Sprenger, *Die alte Geographie Arabiens*, Bern 1875, § 225 (= p. 153) and index s.v. Chaibar; F. Wüstenfeld, *Die von Medina auslaufenden Hauptstrassen*, Göttingen 1862, 15-18; *idem*, *Das Gebiet von Medina*, Göttingen 1873, 69-70 (159-60); L. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islām*, Milan 1905-26, i, ii, 7 a.H., §§ 5-48; 10 a.H., §§ 101-2; 20 a.H., §§ 220-6, 236-7, 241; 23 a.H., § 559; D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto malichita con riguardo anche al sistema sciafiita*, Rome 1925-38, i, 92-6, 207, 217, 359 ff. and index s.v. Bottino; C. A. Nallino, *L'Arabia Saʿūdiana (1938)*, in *Raccolta di scritti*, Rome 1939, i, 73, and cf. 64 and n. 1; M. Ḥ. Haykal, *Ḥayāt Muḥammad*[4], Cairo 1947, 385 ff.; W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 36, 51-4, 212, 217-9, 256 and index; J. Pirenne, *À la découverte de l'Arabie, cinq siècles de science et d'aven-*

ture, Amsterdam 1958, 33, 76, 215 ff., 218; H. St. John Philby, *Saʿudi Arabia*, repr. Beirut 1955, 171, 251, 283. (L. Veccia Vaglieri)

KHAYBAR or Khyber Pass, one of the principal passes (together with the Kurram, Tochi, Gomal and Bolan Passes) through the mountain barrier separating the Indus valley plains from Afghānistān. The pass runs northwestwards for *ca.* 33 miles/50 km. from the Shadi Bagiar opening 3 miles/5 km. beyond Fort Jamrud, itself 7 miles/12 km. from Peshawar, to the barren plain of Loi Dakka, which then stretches to the Kābul River banks. The highest point of the pass is at Landi Kotal (3,518 ft./1,280 m.), an important market centre for the region, after which the road descends to the beginning of Afghān territory and Landi Khana. The surrounding country, now falling mainly within Pakistan, is controlled by Afridi Pathans, with Mohmands to the north.

The pass has been of great strategic importance all through history as a gateway for invading armies to debouch on the plains of northern India. It was probably used by Alexander the Great's generals, and in Islamic times, was used at least once by Maḥmūd of Ghazna and on various occasions by Bābur, and more recently, by Nādir Shāh Afshār and Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī. In the 19th century, it became especially valuable as the most direct channel for the Government of British India to exert pressure on the Kings of Kābul, being little blocked by snow during the winter months. During the First Afghan War (1839-42) there were various skirmishes between British troops and the Afridis. A Khyber Agency was created by the Government of India, with a special officer in charge of it, during the Second Afghan War (1878-80), the guiding policy being non-interference with the Pathans, who were given subsidies, provided that the route through the pass remained unmolested.

After 1881, there were formed the Khyber Rifles, a force of *jezailchis* or tribal levies, who were paid by the Government of India and who guarded the pass until the risings of the Afridis and Orakzais under Mullah Sayyid Akbar in 1897-8. Thereafter, the Khyber Rifles were supported by a mobile British army column in Peshawar, and the British became responsible for the safe passage of caravans through the pass. After the Third Afghan War of 1919 showed the undependable nature of the Khyber Rifles, they were disbanded and their place taken by regular British troops, by Khassadars (local tribesmen enrolled for escort and simular duties, paid by the government but supplying their own arms and equipment), by the Scouts and by the Frontier Constabulary. Under the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon (1899-1905), an extension of broad-gauge railway had been made to Fort Jamrud and a road to Landi Kotal, and in 1925 a narrow-gauge railway was constructed as far as Landi Khana.

After 1947, Pakistan became responsible for the Khyber Agency, which was attached to the Peshawar division of the North-West Frontier region of West Pakistan.

Bibliography: *North-West Frontier Gazeteer, Peshawar District*, vol. A, 1931, Lahore 1934, 84 ff.; C. Collin Davies, *The problem of the North-West Frontier, 1870-1908*, Cambridge 1932, 24, 91-2, 103-4, 111, 135-8; *Sir Olaf Caroe, The Pathans 550 BC-AD 1957*, London 1958, index; J. W. Spain, *The Pathan borderland*, The Hague 1963, index.

(C. E. Bosworth)

KHAYL (a.), a fem. sing. noun with a collective meaning denoting the equine species. The term has no singular and, like *ibil* "camels" and *ghanam* "sheep", it is to be included in the category of collectives for domestic animals forming the basis of nomadic life (see Ch. Pellat, *Sur quelques noms d'animaux en arabe classique*, in *GLECS*, viii, 95-9); however, the plurals *khuyūl* and *akhyāl* are found for it. The extent of the concept of *khayl* covers the whole range of terms comprising, in Islamic society, the activities based upon use of the horse, such as, *inter alia*, the nouns *barīd*, *djaysh*, *djarīd*, *djihād*, *djund*, *faras*, *furūsiyya*, *ḥalḳa*, *isṭabl*, *ṣawladjān*/*čawgān*, *maydān*, *ṣayd* and *sibāḳ* [*q.vv.*]. According to the Arab philologists, *khayl* "horses", from the double radicals *kh. w. l*/*kh. y. l*, is supposed to refer to the "haughty gait" of these proud animals (*li-khtiyāl mishyatihā*); but this ingenious explanation is, even in the eyes of Ibn Sīduh himself, somewhat subject to caution (*Mukhaṣṣas*, vi, 165). One might well ask whether *khayl* is not from a substratum of terms inherited from the languages preceding Arabic, which may be confirmed by the parallel usage of preciser terms, like *faras* "riding horse", *djawād* "excellent runner", *ḥidjr* "mare", *ḥiṣān* "stallion of noble blood", *ramaka* "non-thoroughbred mare", *birdhawn* "nag of non-Arab stock", which all have plurals. In the same way, Latin had, at the side of the classical *equus*, the vulgar *caballus* of Gaulish origin.

Starting from its metonymous sense of "mounted troop", *khayl* furnished, by the process of derivation, some exact denotations, such as *khayāla* "equitation" and *khayyāl* "horseman", but without the knightly connotation of *fāris* or the military one of the old Persian term *suwār* (pls. *aswār*, *asāwir*, *asāwira*); it was also said of the Turanian peoples that they were a *ḳawm khayyāla* "mounted race".

In Arabia, at the outset of Islam, horses were very few in numbers and, thanks to the *kutub al-khayl*, the names and pedigrees are even known for the most famous of them (see G. Levi della Vida, *Les «Livres des chevaux» d'Ibn al-Kalbī et d'Ibn al-Aʿrābī*, Leiden 1928). To possess a horse was a mark of superiority and riches. The only horse-dealers were some horse-breeders plying their trade in Nadjd, and zealously preserving the purity of the Arab breed with small herds left in semi-liberty but keenly watched. In distinction to the camel, which was universally at home in semi-desert terrains and could live adequately off spiny shrubs and saline and acid pasturage (*ḥamḍ*), at horse requires each day water and a sweet nourishing on graminaceous and herbaceous vegetation (*khulla*). Hence it was only possible to rear horses in the zone of steppe vegetation, such as that part of Nadjd watered by the Wādī 'l-Rumah. The horse appeared amongst the nomadic tribes of this region hardly more than a century or two before Islam, and the Banū Taghlib [*q.v.*] boasted of being the first to ride this noble animal (al-Bakrī, *Muʿdjam*, 54; according to the legend, the ancestor of the horses of Taghlib and then of those of other tribes was none other than Zād al-Rākib, offered by Solomon to the Azd of ʿUmān, *Les «Livres de chevaux»*, 5-6). Without giving too much credence to these pretensions, it is undeniable that the nomads of Nadjd took the initiative in adopting the institution of the *ḥimā* [*q.v.*] or "natural reserve for stockbreeding", into which no tribe, except the owners, could enter and where the animals lived and bred completely freely. This method of stockbreeding was the only feasible one in a land of such deprivation, and it was this which the Ghassānids [see ghassān] had followed with success, furnishing horses to the Byzantines, and likewise the Lakhmids [*q.v.*], benefiting from the bloodstock of Persia. It

was doubtless following these examples that the great confederation of Ghaṭafān [q.v.], spread over Nadjd, utilised the system of the *ḥimā*, favoured by having at their disposal relatively rich pasture lands on the fringes and slopes of the great plateau, with drainage from running streams. The results of this well-thought out stockraising policy showed positive results, since in the 6th century, several tribes, including the Banū ʿAbs, were each able to fit out nearly a thousand riders; it is at this time that the *sayyid* assumes the name of *fāris* and the *ra'īs* that of *ḳā'id al-khayl*. One of the oldest-established and most famous of these reserves for breeding horses was the vast *ḥimā Ḍariyya* [q.v.], which in the time of the caliph ʿUthmān had several tens of thousands of beasts, horses as well as camels. Equally flourishing was the *ḥimā* of al-Baḳīʿ near Medina, which had a permanent water supply for the whole year. Correspondingly, the great caravan centres of the Ḥidjāz had near them their own *ḥimā*s forming a protective zone against the depredations of nomads.

The Prophet Muḥammad, conscious of the supreme value of the horse for the success of Islam, was skilfully able to appropriate the resources of the existing *ḥimā*s for the benefit of the new community, at the same time strengthening their inviolate character by their integration of function into the Islamic *ḥaram*. Consequently, the warriors for the faith benefited considerably from these reinforcements for their campaigns of razzias. Admittedly, there was a need at first to cope with the incredulousness and indiscipline of the Bedouin plunderers, but some severe reprisals soon instilled into them a respect for "enclosed tracts belonging only to God and His Messenger" (*lā ḥimā illā li-llāh wa-li-rasūlihi*). The effects of this policy of utilising horses were immediate, and thus one sees the Banū Sulaym, at the time of the conquest of Mecca, bringing to the Prophet the support of some 800 horses. The *ḥaram* territories were enlarged and new ones created.

The Orthodox caliphs, and ʿUmar especially, concentrated their efforts on building up the potential force of horses for Islam; the establishment of the reserves of al-Rabadha, which was several hundred square km. in extent, and of al-Naḳīʿ, showed this tangibly. Following them, the Umayyad caliphs accelerated the expansion of the breeding stud in the Ḥidjāz, and there was added to this already considerable stock those of Syria and Iraq. After the conquest of the Maghrib, there was gained the support of inexhaustible contingents of mounted Berbers, whose Barbary stallions brought an invigorating element into the Arab stock's blood, putting the Muslim cavalry in the forefront compared to that of the western world and gaining for the "Arabs" or "Saracens" the reputation of being essentially a mounted people; thanks to the horse, Islam was able to extend from Spain to the Indus. But by turning their backs on Arabia, the ʿAbbāsids—who had vast resources of Persian and Central Asian horses—doomed the stockbreeding of the Nadjd and Ḥidjāz *ḥimā*s to an ineluctable decline from which it was never able to recover. The tracts left for stockbreeding *in natura*, gradually allowed to run down, gave place to the "garrison settlements" (*ʿaskar*, *muʿaskar*, *maʿaskar*), stables and military stud-farms founded in the vicinity of the capital, the caliphal residences and the great urban centres of Mesopotamia and Syria in the East and of Egypt and the Maghrib in the West. Later on, each local dynasty, once freed from the control of Baghdād, would set up its own policy regarding cavalry remounts and its military potential; the history of each of these powers is essentially contained in this.

The very wide sense given to the term *khayl* could not indicate distinctions in groups of mounts from the numerical point of view. There were ancient terms of the nomadic stockbreeders, like *miḳnab*, *mansir/minsar*, *raʿīl* and *ḳanbal* for herds of up to 50, and *kurdūs*, *djahfal* and *faylaḳ* for 100 and above into the thousands, and in the Islamic period, these passed into military terminology at the side of *katība* "squadron", *khamīs/khums* "fifth part of the army", *ṭalīʿa* "vanguard", *djarrār* "army corps", etc.; but it would be futile to try to find an exact numerical equivalent for each of these, given the widely varying evaluations of the historians and chroniclers.

From a study of numerous mediaeval treatises in Arabic on *furūsiyya* and on the *djihād*, there emerges, in regard to the individual or collective horse-driving, that the majority, if not all, of these texts are of non-Arabic origin, the reason for this being that "les véritables Arabes n'ont jamais constitué de vrais corps de cavalerie susceptibles de devenir des écoles d'équitation, des centres d'émulation, pour mieux dire. Il n'y a d'équitation arabe pure que celles des Bédouins nomades ... qui ont toujours fourni des contingents de cavaliers irréguliers aux autorités dont ils dépendaient, mais pour un temps limité ... Il n'a jamais été dans leur tempérament de se plier à la discipline, à la contrainte continue d'une troupe régulière" (L. Mercier, *Parure* ..., 385-6). In the light of this state of affairs, and after the Islamisation of western Asia had been completed, the caliphs used for their regular cavalry the recently-converted mounted peoples of Iran and Turan, sc. Persians, Turks, Mongols and Türkmens. All Muslim sovereigns continued to draw on this inexhaustible mine of men and horses until the 9th/15th century, and it was from this mine that the masters of real schools of equitation and the authors of treatises on this art, considered now purely as a military art, arose. The handling of horses is only approached with a view to individual combat and the manoeuvres of groups as in tournaments, polo, the *djarīd*, "the gourd-shooting" (*ḳabaḳ*), jousting and arms-play on horseback; at the present time, only the Afghān *buz-kashī* "goat-dragging" can give any idea of the spirit of competition and the enthusiasm animating these equestrian sports, in which virtuosity and brutality existed side-by-side. Far from equalling these feats, the Arabian Bedouins only used their horses for occasional straightforward charges over short distances, getting the maximum from the animal's resources. Hence their method of riding was of the simplest. Not knowing the use of saddles, stirrups and bits, they rode bareback or with a saddle-felt (*mirshaḥa*) strapped on, and with some padding attached in the rough semblance of a saddle. The bridle (*lidjām*, from Persian *likām*) was only a rudimentary cavesson or snaffle-bit, whose snaffle was usually of cord or of wood (see *LA*, root *l. dj. m*). Such a primitive method of harnassing could not permit a tradition of equitation which might become a school. Moreover, shoeing horses with nails (*tasmīr*), a Gallo-Roman invention in the 6th century, being unknown, some Nadjdī tribes used, on hard and pebbly terrains, a sandal of iron or leather (*naʿl*), as is attested in a verse of al-Ḳuḥayf al-ʿUḳaylī (see *Aghānī*, xxi, 250), which must have considerably restricted the horse's speed when ridden fast.

The method of riding used by the Arabs of ʿIrāḳ and Syria was quite different and much more elegant. Amongst the Lakhmids, heirs of the Parthian-Sāsānid

method, and amongst the Ghassānids formed in a similar tradition of the Greeks, the tribes were much more habituated to use of the horse than their brethren in Arabia. They used at that time a method of harnessing perfected long before, and from antiquity till the 8th/14th century, hardly changed. The saddle shaped like a cradle, built upon a wooden saddle-bow (*ḳayḳab*) and shaping both the cantle and the pommel, resembled somewhat the modern type said to be "for rapid riding". Held in place by a single or a double saddle-girth, it generally had also a breaststrap and a buttocks-strap to prevent it sliding either forwards or backwards. For display purposes, a large cloth over the hindquarters, richly decorated (the *kunbūsh*), was added, as many Persian miniatures on equestrian themes show; the saddlery of persons of high rank showed a luxury sometimes excessive, in which applied work in precious metals and encrustations of precious stones competed in display. At a time when the Mamlūks had levelled down the saddle-cantle so that they could shoot backwards in the ancient Parthian method, the Persians conceived the idea in the 8th/14th century of a saddle with a high back, not very compatible with a rational method of riding, but suitable for shooting with the arbalist or cross-bow, which had become a common weapon of war. The soldier thus armed had in fact to rear up in the stirrups and wedge himself against the cantle. This kind of saddle-cum-chair has persisted till the present day, above all in the Maghrib, but was strongly criticised by the Mamlūk Muḥammad Ibn Manglī, in his treatise on hunting written in 773/1371 (*K. Uns al-mala*ʾ . . . , Paris 1880, 13-14), who found in it seven major faults which militated against good riding technique (see F. Viré, review of *Saracen archery* by J. D. Latham and W. F. Paterson, London 1970, in *JSS*, xvi (1971), 260).

As for the bridle and its bit, these remained unchanged from the time of the great civilisations which evolved them. The ensemble comprised essentially a bridoon with a curb-bit (*lazma*), whose slender lower parts, curved inwards in an S-shape (whence the name *nāziki*, from Persian *nāzik* "stylised"), operate as a lever. The beams could be more or less severe in degree, with or without allowing freedom for the tongue, according to the hardness of the mount's mouth. The deplorable invention of the curb-bit, called—perhaps wrongly—"the Arab curb-bit" and a real instrument of torture going contrary to all the natural principles of the horse's handling, seems to have come from a need to reduce the animal to a simple machine, at a time when there had been formed regular corps of mounted cavalry, mounted on entire horses or stallions which were hard to control and with which co-ordinated mass movements required absolute discipline and perfect execution. It is nevertheless true that, from the viewpoint of modern equestrian art, the backed saddle, the Arab curb-bit and the heavy stirrups with soles, all of which make up the image of the perfect "Arab knight" and the Maghribī spahi, show a total ignorance of a rational method of riding based on the mount's accord with his rider's desires. The addition to the bridle of a fixed martingale (Persian *sarafsār* "headrope", Maghribī *djabbādha*, classical *ḥakama*), Persian in origin, appears *ca.* the 5th/11th century in miniature paintings.

Stirrups, used in China from the 2nd century B.C. onwards, were probably known at the time of the Lakhmids, but not very widespread. In the likeness of the stirrups of Mexican gauchos and of the Mongols, these were made of wood, and according to al-Mubarrad (*Kāmil*, ii, 228, and in Ibn Khallikān, Cairo 1299/1882, ii, 192, tr. de Slane, iii, 510), it was allegedly al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra, governor of Khurāsān in 79/699 and leading figure in the suppression of the Khāridjīs of al-Djazīra, who was the first to equip his cavalry units with forged iron stirrups, since the wooden ones then in general usage broke too frequently in the course of military engagements.

Spurs (*mihmāz*, pl. *mahāmiz*; *kullāb*, pl. *kalālīb*; Maghribī, *shabūr*/*shābīr*) were much more in vogue in the Muslim West than the East, this being from the Hispano-Moorish influence; the equipment of the Muslim rider of al-Andalus and that of the Spanish rider hardly differed at all. Moreover, the heavy stirrup with a tread mentioned above, which was a replica in metal of the wooden stirrup-shoes of the "gardians" (cow-boys) of corrida-fighting bulls, came also from Spain. From its being made of iron, there was added to its function of being a foot-rest that of spur, by the use of the heel pressing the sharpened edge of the tread against the horses's flank. Most of the Barbary horses of the Maghrib, having been thus ridden, show on their bellies the marks of a too severe application of this use of this type of stirrup.

These schematic details about the harnessing of horse in Islam cannot be regarded as absolutely authentic for all space and time, since each land and each period had its own usages and customs in regard to equipment, according to its own special resources. Differences of detail appear when one compares, on one hand, the information of western authors like the Andalusī Ibn Hudhayl [*q.v.*] with that of easterners like Ibn al-Mundhir [*q.v.*], and on the other hand, places them alongside the documentation provided by iconography. Riders and horses were indeed one of the most-used themes in the minor arts; miniatures, ceramics, textiles, carved ivories and engraved copperware objects depict a great variety of types of harnessing and accoutrements in sense of princely court-life. The richness which these objets d'art endeavour to depict confirms the description given in the 6th/12th century by the chronicler Ibn al-Ṭuwayr (525-617/1131-1220) of Fāṭimid ceremonial at the festival of the New Year (see M. Canard, *La procession du Nouvel An chez les Fāṭimides*, in *AIEO* Algiers, x (1952), 374-9). He speaks there in fact of saddles worked with gold, silver and enamelling, hung with brocade and siglaton; the 70 mounts of the caliph himself bore necklaces of gold and amber collars round their necks, and anklets plated with precious metals round their feet. An animal equipped was estimated to be worth a thousand *dīnārs*.

With the help of all the Arabic texts dealing with horses and, especially, the two mentioned above plus the "Book of agriculture" (*K. al-Filāḥa*) of the Andalusī Ibn al-ʿAwwām [*q.v.*], one can get an idea of the level of horsemanship practiced by the Muslim cavalryman in the Middles Ages, apart from the Arab Bedouin. The authors, whoever they may be, were never able to disentangle the three concepts of hippiatry, hippology and equestrianism, any more than they were able to observe the mechanism and movement of the horses at its various paces; hence there was no question for them of passages, changes of pace, jumping over obstacles or any of the exercises which make up a fairly advanced equestrianism. The recommended technique was fairly simple, advising a bearing and a seating identical to that taught in Europe to the straightforward military cavalryman right up to the time of mechanisation. This method could be resumed in the formula "legs without reins and reins without legs". Long stirrups and legs held

forward in the so-called "French" manner gave an adequate amount of stability. The insistence of the authors on an indispensable equal length of reins and on the synchronisation of the use of the two spurs brings out clearly the absence of any predominant action of a rein or a leg.

In contrast to all the other treatises, an acephalous manuscript of the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale (Ar. No. 2815) puts forward a more thoughtful method based on constant exercise in a circular training-routine (*nāward*), at all the varying paces and with two hands. Without being described completely and explicitly, it envisages the change of pace and the correct backing, with release of the bit, followed by a period of the grand trot, and describes this perfectly. Nevertheless, this documentation is a late one, and one may well think that it has been inspired by western techniques; one accordingly wonders whether in this method of riding, the average Muslim rider ever, one day, rose to this degree of perfection. Whatever the truth, it must be admitted that over a long period of time, equitation amongst the Muslims regressed, whereas amongst Christendom, it improved progressively up to the methods of the great school of horsemanship.

It can easily be imagined how important, in the economic life of the Islamic world up to the modern period, was the upkeep of cavalry units, with all that they needed of furnishings and equipment. Because of these exigencies, a number of specialist artisans, connected with farriery, saddlery and harness-making, had an era of prosperity, and there are hardly any Islamic settlements without their *sūḳ al-sarrādjīn* or their *bāb al-ḥaddādīn*. A good amount of the basic equipment required for these activities were imported into Baghdād. Saddle-seats came from China; from Berbera [*q.v.*] via the Red Sea and from Ifrīḳiya via Ḳayrawān and Barḳa, where they were tanned, there came luxurious panther skins, the saddle-carpets preferred by the Mamlūks and whose use was spread by the Turks to the cavalry forces of Central Europe. The saddle felts (*misḥ*, pls. *amsāḥ*, *musūḥ*) were sought from Armenia, Adharbāydjān, Ḳūmis and Mawṣil, as well as pack-saddles for beasts of burden, whilst Susa furnished expensive sumpter-cloths. Imports were not limited to these materials and manufactures, but extended also to lively nags (*birdhawn*, pl. *barādhīn*) from the Mongol and Byzantine worlds, equally good as mounts and as beasts of burden; they formed a lively element of trade at markets and fairs set up at the gates of towns. As for mounts of Arab stock, these were most often the objects of direct trade between breeders and purchasers (see the *K. al-Tabaṣṣur* attributed to al-Djāḥiẓ, tr. Ch. Pellat, in *Arabica*, i (1954), 158-60; J. Sauvaget, *Historiens arabes*, Paris 1946, 10-12; M. Lombard, *La chasse et les produits de la chasse dans le monde musulman* (*VIIIe-XIe siècle*), in *Annales*, xxiv/3 (1969), 577-8). Despite all the speculations in horsedealing and trading which this lively commerce in horses engendered within Islam, one can be certain that no-one ever thought of speculating financially in regard to the semen (*ʿasb*) of stallions, since the Prophet had formally proscribed making money out of breeding. According to certain traditions, the mating of mares and asses was allegedly forbidden, but the importance attached to mule-breeding studs [see BAGHL] by people in the Islamic world proves that such a prohibition was never in fact put into force; even so, the mules of the Caucasus, and especially of Bardhaʿa [*q.v.*], were imported and prized for their speed and endurance.

But if the Muslims freely imported horses, their sale outside the *Dār al-Islām* [*q.v.*] was, in the first Islamic century, absolutely prohibited and considered as an illegal act by the majority of jurists, who based themselves, in the interests of the legal requirement of *djihād*, on the divine words "Prepare against them whatever force and cavalry you are able to get together, of those held ready (*min ribāṭ al-khayl*), to overawe thereby the enemy of God and your own . . ." (Ḳurʾān, VIII, 62/60). The horse was thus elevated to the rank of fighter for the faith and received two shares in the plunder if it were of Arab stock, whereas its rider had only one. The horse-potential thus revealing itself, for the new community, as the nerve-centre of warfare and the secret of victory, it was further forbidden for Dhimmīs [see DHIMMA] to ride horses. Later on, when the Islamic frontiers had reached their maximum extension, these rigours were relaxed and applied only then to horses of pure Arab stock, to which Abū Ḥanīfa added valuable mules. However, in Morocco right up to the eve of the Protectorate, the prohibition of riding horses was applied to the Jews, at a time when elsewhere, and for a long time back, this law no longer bore down on non-Muslims. The latter, all through the Ottoman empire, only had the bother of obtaining a special authorisation from the sultan in order to export horses to foreign lands. Since then, all restrictions were abandoned in all Muslim states. Certain lands relaxed these at quite an early date; a proof of this is the felicitous introduction, in the 18th century, into the British studs, of the famous stallions Darley-Arabian and Godolphin-Arabian which inaugurated the Stud-Book and were the origin of the present pure-blooded English stock. From this last and by breeding with new Arab stocks, M. Gayot obtained in 1833, in the Pompadour studs, the perfected type of Anglo-Arab horse, which now holds the top rank in international racing. At the side of that, the Maghribī Barbary horse has continued to restock the numerous stables for training horses and equestrian centres of France, after having built up over a century and more, the glory of the splendid squadrons of North African spahis.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the article, see the bibliographies of the respective articles further referred to within the article. (F. VIRÉ)

KHAYMA (A.) "tent". When the ancient poets and the writers of the Middle Ages spoke of a nomad's tent they generally described it by the very widely-known Semitic term *bayt* [*q.v.*], which refers to a dwelling of some kind, either permanent or temporary, and so is not without ambiguity. A more precise term is *bayt shaʿar*, lit. "dwelling of hair". But this word can also cause confusion since the *ductus* is the same as in *bayt shiʿr*, "verse of poetry". There is, however, less confusion in the spoken language and the expression has a typically bedouin air; it is still current among nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes from North Africa to the Near East where, beside the normal name for tent, *bayt/bēt*, *b. shaʿar*, there occurs no less frequently, in the speech of rural peoples, town dwellers and even transhumants, the term *khayma/khēma*. This word has followed a curious semantic evolution (see below) and has come to acquire the general meaning of a mobile dwelling made of animal hair, wool or any other material except leather. To-day, among many rural people and even town dwellers, the memory of a former nomadic way of life is preserved by their actually using *khayma/khēma* to denote a house, and it has totally replaced *bayt/bēt*. For a number of reasons, therefore, it seems conve-

nient to record under this heading a general exposition of the use of the tent among the tribes of the Muslim world including the nomadic, semi-nomadic and those becoming sedentary.

i. — Ancient Arabia

Arab philologists of the earliest periods of Islam have collected the vocabulary of the tents that were used in pre-Islamic Arabia; in particular al-Aṣmaʿī, author of a *Kitāb al-Akhbiya wa'l-buyūt* (quoted in the *Fihrist*, Cairo ed., 82). Mediaeval commentators on archaic poetry and lexicographers have widely exploited the documentation which they repeat in their work, and from this material ancient terminology may be reconstructed, even though there is no hope of answering all the questions that arise from it. Given that ancestral practices tend to be maintained, it may be possible to infer from the present-day situation, to a certain degree at least, what obtained before and immediately after the birth of Islam.

According to the author of the *Lisān*, the *miẓalla/maẓalla*, made of goat's hair, was the most spacious tent. Although the term has several meanings it does not appear to have been used frequently; one occurrence of it is found in the *Naḳā'iḍ* of Djarīr and al-Farazdaḳ, ed. Bevan, 806, for example.

Next in size came the *wasūṭ*, which was also made of hair according to Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī (in *LA*). This word would seem not to have been widely used, for the lexicographers are not agreed about its meaning and some even take the *wasūṭ* as the smallest tent.

The *bayt* or *bayt shaʿar* was also of goat's hair and of average size. It served as a dwelling for breeders of small livestock (that is to say, of numerous bedouin) and the term takes on a type of generic significance.

The *khibā'* was probably similar to the *bayt* in size, but was distinguished from it by the camel hair (*wabar*) or wool (*ṣūf*) that was used to make the awning. Apparently it was the usual dwelling of the cameleer nomads, who were called *ahl al-wabar* in contrast to *ahl al-madar*, the sedentary peoples. Although the influence of alliteration may have played its part in the formation of these expressions, their literal meaning must have some significance. Even so, it is impossible to be certain whether the distinction between *bayt* and *khibā'*, which are both equally frequent in ancient texts, corresponds to a different geographical distribution, to a contrast between two large categories of nomads in Arabia [see BADW], or simply to different levels of life within one tribe.

Surādiḳ denotes a cloth tent of quite large dimensions; a *fusṭāṭ* was a smaller hair tent used by travellers; the *miḍrab*, described as a "royal *fusṭāṭ*", was likewise a tent under which important people camped when travelling (today the word occurs in military vocabulary); and *ḳubba* was applied to a hide tent (*adīm*).

Finally, there is the term *khayma*. It does not figure in the lists of various tents that can be gathered from classical lexicographical works, but it seems to be approximately synonymous with *ẓulla*, *ʿarīsh* and *ʿarsh*, all of which denote simple shelters. Originally a *khayma* was erected on three or four stakes (*aʿwād*, *āl*) driven into the ground with supporting cross-members (*ʿawāriḍ*) covered with branches (*shadjar*) or grass (*thumān*, one of the *Graminacea*). It was essentially a rudimentary shelter, circular in construction, which the nomads would erect especially near wells and watering-places. Its welcome coolness would have provided shelter from the rays of the sun and they must have also erected frames around their tents to benefit more completely from the slightest breeze. There is, therefore, nothing surprising in the fact that in the Ḳur'ān, LV, 72, the plural *khiyām* denotes the tents in which were the houris. *Ẓulla* (Ḳur'ān, VII, 170/171) means a sort of canopy and these two terms are the only ones of those under discussion which are attested in the Holy Book—except *bayt*, which is very frequent but which never denotes a nomad's tent there.

The meaning of *khayma* given by the dictionaries is found again in classical poetry (e.g. *Naḳā'iḍ*, 173, 333-4, 395, 1004), and just when this meaning evolved —an evolution which is being maintained today—is not known. The extension of the meaning (for which the reason is not clear) had arisen at a fairly ancient period, since the mediaeval lexicographers use *khayma* or one of its plurals to define a tent of any type whatever (e.g. *Lisān*, s.v. *ḳ.b.b.*: *al-ḳubba, min al-khiyām*). Given that in ancient Arabia there does not seem to have been a specific term to denote the awning, it is not impossible that before it was applied to the entire tent, the word had a more restricted meaning; the roof of a *khayma* implies the idea of stretching it over something and it may follow also from a passage of *al-Barḳ al-shāmī* by ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī (ms. Oxford, Marsh 425, f. 64b), where it is stated that among the main products of the town of Āmid appeared *busuṭ*, *furush* and *khiyām*, all woven products.

Whether the material used was hair or wool, the awning of the Arab tent was made of bands (*falīdja*, *shuḳḳa*) sewn side-by-side and forming a rectangle. The length and number of these bands would vary according to the desired dimensions, but their width had to be of the order of 50-80 cm., so that they would be more easily manageable and replaceable. Those that were placed at the two edges, that is, those that form the larger side of the rectangle, were called *kisr* or *kasr*. Inside the awning, one or several bands of hair or wool (*ṭarīḳa*), about twenty cm. wide at the most, were attached to the sewing of the *falīdja*s and ended perpendicularly at the large sides with two *kisr*s. Each *ṭarīḳa* was equipped at each of its extremities with a device for anchoring it called *ḥatār*, and it was to this that the ropes (*ṭunub*, pl. *aṭnāb*) were attached and tied to pegs (*watid*, pl. *awtād*) driven into the ground some distance away with a mallet (*mīṭad* or *mīṭada*). The anchoring of the tent was completed on the small sides of the awning by cords (*iṣār*, pl. *uṣur*/*āṣira*), shorter than the *aṭnāb*, but similarly joined to pegs (also called *iṣār*). The words *ḥatār* and *ḥitr*/*ḥutra* both denoted a band placed vertically around the awning to fill the space which separated it from the ground.

In a *bayt*, so the dictionaries say, the main ridge piece, which was of considerable importance, was called *djā'iz*, but Arab tents do not seem to have used a ridge pole, since the central *ṭarīḳa* takes its place. It is said that this *ṭarīḳa* rested on vertical posts (*ʿamūd*, *diʿāma*, *biwān*/*buwān*) and that there were pads of felt (*libd*, pl. *albād*) on which the chamfered ends of the posts were cushioned to prevent it from being pierced. The same precaution was probably taken for the side *ṭarīḳa*s, which in the big tents leaned on slanting poles, shorter than the others, in order to diminish any sag in the awning. The same construction may still be seen in the East (see below) and it is worthy of note that in North Africa, where the ridge pole is used, it is the only part of the tent, *mutatis mutandis*, not to have a name which is attested in ancient Arabia.

Finally, to prevent water from penetrating underneath the tent it was surrounded by a drain (*nuʾy/niʾy/naʾy/nuʾa*) edged with mounded earth (*iyād*).

Inside, the lay-out scarcely differed from what can be seen today (see below). The section reserved for women, like the palanquin, was generally called *khidr*, pl. *khudūr*, from the name of the curtain which separated it from the rest of the tent; poets frequently hymned the *rabbāt al-khudūr*.

Bibliography: Apart from the dictionaries, see especially G. Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinleben nach den Quellen geschildert*, Berlin 1897.

(CH. PELLAT)

ii. — IN THE NEAR EAST

The noun *khayma* belongs primarily to the city-dwellers' vocabulary. It is applied to various kinds of tents, whatever their form and whatever they may be made from. The desert peoples are aware of this, but for preference they use the term *bayt shaʿr* for their portable home, often abbreviated simply to *bayt*.

Apart from the question of size, bedouin tents vary very little from one region to another. Essentially, the *bayt* is always rectangular and never circular; it is made out of a roof covering of the hairy skin of a black goat, sometimes mixed with camel's wool (*ṣūf*, *wabar*), walls of the same material, poles and cords. The technical terms used to designate the different parts of the bedouin tent are not always identical in all tribes.

The roof is called *saḳf al-bayt* by the Tiyāha of Biʾr al-Sabʿ. It is made up of several oblong bands or panels, *shiḳḳa* (pron. *shegga*), pl. *shiḳaḳ* (*shegag*) sewn together, their number depending upon the importance which one wishes to accord to the tent. The dimensions of a *shiḳḳa* vary. The length generally fluctuates between 8 and 12 m., and the width, which is limited by the weaver's technical skills, is rarely more than 70 cm.

The roof covering is supported by several tent-poles (*ʿamūd*, pl. *ʿumdān*) placed in parallel rows, one of which, in the centre, forms the ridge-pole. Since there is a danger of its being torn through tension and especially through its own weight where it is stretched over the poles, it is reinforced by transverse strips called *biṭāna*, *ṭariga*, etc. These are sewn together on the internal surface in such a way as to hold together between themselves the *shiḳaḳ*. These strips are 10-15 cm. wide, and they extend beyond the dimensions of the tent, from one side to the other, by some 15 cm. After being folded over and sewn, a loop is thereby made at each extremity, through which a small stick can be placed. Thanks to an attachment contrivance which has a V-shape, the connection between these sticks and the tent-pegs (*watad*, pl. *awtād*) can be effected. The pegs are fixed into the ground and held by cords (*ḥabl*, pl. *ḥibāl*, or *ṭunb*, pl. *aṭnāb*), which secure the tent and make the roof covering taut and in place.

The number of poles supporting the roof varies, and it is according to this variation that the different types of tent are classified. However, in this calculation, only the poles of the central row are taken into account, and not those at the two extremities. Hence we have a tent whose ridge-pole rests on a row of three poles, but is nevertheless called *ʿudiya* (Tiyāha) or *gotba* (Sbāʿ), sc. having a single tent-pole. One with two tent-poles is called *fāza* by the Tiyāha, and *mgawren* or *garneyn* by the Sbāʿ. From three tent-poles onwards, the terminology tends to be a general one; with some variations in pronunciation: *muthawlath* (three poles), *murawbaʿ* (four poles), *mukhawmas* (five poles), *musawdas* (six poles). A *bayt musawbaʿ* (seven poles) is of considerable size, some 50 metres long, and bears witness to its owner's power, he being generally a great chief. However, tents of this size are sometimes occupied by Bedouins of only middling status who have newly adopted sedentary life, since they no longer have to make big upheavals and migrations.

The names of the tent-poles vary according to position. In an *ʿudiya* tent, the central pole is called *ʿamūd al-wāsiṭ*, or *ʿamūd al-ʿāmir*; the front one is called *ʿamūd yad al-bayt*; and the rear one, *ʿamūd al-ridjl*, according to the terminology of the Tiyāha.

The tent is open at the side opposite the direction of the wind, and the other three sides are closed by the tent-walls. The rear wall, placed against the direction of the wind, is called *rwag*. A narrow band, about 25 cm. wide, is sewn on to the top edge, and this reinforces it and is attached to the roof covering. The lower edge has sewn on to it another band, the lower (*sufli*) one, some 60 cm. wide, and this trails on the ground, where it is held down by the pegs and by stones. When the wind changes direction, the *rwag* is moved and the opposite side opened up. In summer and weather permitting, the tent is opened as far as possible; even the side-walls are rolled up, thus making the *bayt* into an enormous parasol. At this time, the *bayt* changes its colour; the heavy goat's hair roof covering is replaced by a cotton cloth. Often, old jute sacks are used, on which can still be seen imprinted the exporter's trade-mark.

The *bayt* is divided into two parts, separated by a curtain hooked on to the internal tent-poles, which has sufficient height for the people in one compartment not to be able to see what is happening in the other. One of these two compartments is reserved for receiving menfolk and is called the *rabāʿa* or *magʿad al-ridjāl*. In the middle, a hearth is scraped out and used for making coffee. The other one is reserved for the womenfolk, and is called the *maḥrem* or *mḥarram*. Here, the cooking is done and the provisions stored.

The womenfolk are responsible for preparing the materials and sewing up the various components of the *bayt*, their erection and dismantling. This is an essentially feminine activity, for the men must always be ready to ward off a possible attack.

Despite its apparent frailty, a bedouin tent is hard-wearing and often lasts for a whole generation. The erection, *bināʾ*, of a tent often means that a new hearth has come into being. The master of the new dwelling must, at the moment of taking possession, offer a blood-sacrifice to appease the spirit of the place where the tent has been raised up. The central pole (*al-wāsiṭ*) is then smeared with the sacrificial blood; sometimes the *rwag* is also sprinkled with it. A further sacrifice is necessary if the tent is significantly enlarged. Finally, when the *rwag* is worn out and has to be replaced, a blood-sacrifice often accompanies this operation.

However humble it may be, a Bedouin tent is above all a dwelling-place. It has accordingly certain strictly-defined rights, and contravening them can have extremely serious consequences for the offender. When a stranger comes into a Bedouin's tent, he is considered to be a guest. Any attack on his person, physical or moral, whilst he is there, is felt not only as an insult to the host but equally to his dwelling. In the customary law, reparation for the tent's honour is as severe as the penalty attracted by someone guilty of an involuntary homicide. In his turn, the guest must show great respect for the dwelling

which has received him. If he shows himself unworthy of the confidence shown to him, the tent's master brands him as a traitor to the rules of hospitality; he may then be liable to corporal punishment, abhorrent to the Bedouin, and be perpetually dishonoured.

The right of asylum also inheres in the *bayt*. A murderer who manages to escape his pursuers and to take shelter in any dwelling which is not his own or that of a close relative, has secured refuge from danger. Moreover, it is not necessary, for his security, actually to enter the tent; he may merely touch the ropes or even reach the protective zone around the tent, sc. the inviolable area called by the Bedouin *maḥārim* or *madārik al-bayt*. In order to delimit this, a strong and vigorous man stands at the entrance of the tent and hurls a large stick straight in front of himself. The spot where it falls marks the extreme edge of the zone within which the rights of the tent operate. This idea of inviolability is not dissimilar to that of the sacred area of pre-Islamic times, like the *ḥaram*, the *ḥimā* and the *ḥawṭa*.

Bibliography: This is rich and varied. See Doughty, *Arabia deserta*, London 1926, i, 221 ff. and index, s.v. "tent", etc.; A. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*[2], Paris 1948, 199-200, 340-1; A. Musil, *The manners and customs of the Rwala Bedouins*, New York 1928, 61-2; V. Müller, *En Syrie avec les Bédouins*, Paris 1931, 211-12; R. Montagne, *La civilisation du désert*, Paris 1947, 32 ff.; A. de Boucheman, *Matériel de la vie bédouine*, Damascus 1934, 108 ff.; C. G. Feilberg, *La tente noire*, Copenhagen 1944, 65-78; H. R. P. Dickson, *The Arab of the desert*, London 1949, 66-107; J. Chelhod, *Le droit dans la société bédouine*, Paris 1971, 242 ff.; Naoras Daker, *Contribution ethnographique à l'étude de l'évolution de l'habitat bédouin en Syrie*, unpubl. thesis, Paris 1975 (very important for the study of the bedouin habitat; valuable bibliography). (J. Chelhod)

iii. — North Africa

The nomads and semi-nomads of North Africa and the Sahara live in several different types of tent, but these are basically similar, and the differences can most often be explained by economic and geographical features. Besides *bēt* and *bēt sha'r*, the usage of which has now spread to the major nomadic groups, the word *khēma* is the one most current in Arab speech. In Berber three main terms appear: *ehen* and variations among the Touareg, *ibergen* and variations in the east and south-east of the Berber area, *akham* and variations in the central and western areas. The first two terms are Berber, while the third could be derived from the Arabic, although a convincing etymology has not been established. In the different northern Berber languages, words denoting the main parts of a tent are borrowed from Arabic, treated in different ways and not of major interest. Those belonging to Berber are extremely varied, and could give rise to an interesting study in linguistic geography, but it would be too much to cite in the present article, which must be restricted to discussing essentially Arabic (and Touareg) terminology.

As elsewhere, the rectangular awning is made of bands (*flīj*, pl. *feljha*), 70-100 cm. wide and varying in length up to 18 m. They are black or brown in colour and sometimes have a white border (in Libya). In some regions, the wool and goat or camel hair which make up the main material are sometimes mixed with palm flock (*līf*) or vegetable fibres. A more rudimentary awning can equally well be made with long plaits of dwarf palm leaves (*dūm*), or *drīn* (*stipa barbata*) or of alfa grass (*ḥalfā'* [*q.v.*]). Among the Touareg, the awning is made from the skins of goat, sheep, moufflon (less and less) or even ox, coarsely cut and sewn one after the other to form equal bands (*taghde*). The whole is supported either by a single vertical pole (*tamankayt*) about 2 m. long, surmounted by a little wooden ridge-pole, or by two arches (*agegu*) of tamarisk wood aligned 1.5 m. apart and linked by a cross-bar. In the first type, the vertical pole is used especially in the rainy season so that the awning has a sufficient fall for water to drain away. At other times it is replaced by two poles supporting a cross-bar, but this second type is becoming less common.

In the rest of North Africa, only the first type of frame is used and there are some significant variations in it. In the east the ridge pole is a broad square stay-block (Tripolitania: *ḳerṭās*) which becomes longer and narrower in the Tunisian South (*gorṭās*) and the Algerian South-East (*genṭās*); in Morocco, longer ones are seen, called *ḥammār*, and reaching a length of 2 m. The ridge-pole may be supported by a single vertical pole (*rkīza*), as in the Sahara, Libya and Tunisia, or by two slanting poles as in the large tents of Tripolitania (except the Djabal Nafūsa), or by two intersecting poles, which may be quite short as in Tunisia and Awrās, or simply by vertical poles, more widely spaced as the tent becomes longer.

The *ṭrīga*, the descendant of the classical *ṭarīḳa*, is everywhere to be seen but it is supported by a ridge-pole. Often secondary *ṭrīgas* are added to the main one; they are supported by slanting poles which raise the awning to drain off rain water and to maintain a convenient height inside. The awning is secured with small cords (*ḥbel*, *ṭārfa*, *mezhbed*) which are fastened to the *ṭrīgas* and to the *flījs* on the small sides with wooden hooks; at the other ends they are fixed to pegs (*uted*, *melzem*). Among the Touareg these pegs (*tasdest* in the east and west sides, *unnus* in the north one, *madragh* in the south one) generally number twelve, equally spaced around the cardinal points and fastened directly to the edges of the awning, which they support. On the south side the central peg (*igem*) is longer than the others and is used to raise the awning to provide an entrance. Nowhere does the awning touch the ground, and the empty space is filled according to the climate with brushwood, rush matting or special long narrow covers (*reffa*, *rfāfa*). In North Africa the place where the *ṭrīga* ends on one of the long sides is directed towards the centre of the encampment or the *dawār* [*q.v.*], and access is gained by lifting the edge of the awning; this forms a door during the daytime. Finally, the tent is surrounded by a trench (*ūnī*/*wanī*; cf. above, *nu'y*) for draining away any rain-water.

The classical *ḳayṭūn* "room in a *bayt*" survives as *gīṭūn* (Fr. guitoune), the name given to shelters made of sackcloth or pieces of material or of canvas produced in Europe (South Tunisian: *gāṭūn*). In Morocco, the official tent of state authorities is made of unbleached cloth decorated with black patterns and is of conical design; it is called a *khzāna*.

The nomads load the dismantled tents on to asses. When they arrive at the camping ground the task of erecting them (verb: *bnā*) is reserved for the women. Once the frame and awning have been stretched out on the ground and the pegs put into position—by guesswork but generally exactly spaced—the woman calls her neighbours to help her. She creeps under the awning to lift it over the poles, and then the tent is anchored and the usual furniture put back into place.

Among the Touareg, the left side on entering is reserved for the man and there are placed his seat, his arms, his saddle-bags and also his water-skin. The woman uses the right side where she puts her possessions as well as the bags of food, the kitchen utensils and dishes, which are rudimentary. Two fires are built in front of the tent, one for warming oneself and the other for cooking. Each tent is occupied by a family. The boys sleep with their father, the girls with their mother on sheep skins stretched on the ground; the richer families have carpets.

Elsewhere the interior arrangement of the tent may vary, but it shows some common features. The kitchen utensils usually include a cooking pot, a couscous pan, a dish on which to bake bread, a water jug, platters and winnowing baskets of esparto grass, wooden spoons, leather water bottles—which are also used for churning butter—a sieve, skin bags for dry food, and woollen or hair bags for grain. The fire is kindled in a hollow in the ground, which is surrounded by three large stones or topped by an iron tripod. In some tents an opening is made in the awning above the fire to allow the smoke to escape. A pottery stove is used especially for the preparation of coffee and tea and it is fed with charcoal. The mill is generally shared between several tents. The simplest type consists of two semi-spherical millstones. The upper one is pierced by two holes, one hole in the centre is to receive the grain to be milled and the axle mounted in the nether millstone; the other is set at an angle to hold the wooden crank, which sets it working, and often requires the efforts of two women. In addition to all this equipment, there is a loom for the *flīḏj*s and a second loom for weaving carpets, covers and woollen garments etc. The nomads sleep on mats and wrap themselves in covers. The area kept for the women (*ḵẖālfa*) is sometimes separated by a curtain (*ḥāyl*) hung between the poles, but often carpets, covers, clothes and miscellaneous possessions are piled on nets mounted on legs to provide an adequate separation.

It is the men's responsibility when the *flīḏjs* have to be sewn to make a new awning (they rarely last more than five years) or to replace a damaged band; of course, they also prepare the wooden pieces for the frame.

Each operation is accompanied by prophylactic rites intended to protect men and beasts. The ornamentation of the ridge pole, which has a symbolic value since it supports the whole construction, includes drawings which originally had a magical significance. Finally, various objects and amulets are supposed to ward off the djinn and to assure the prosperity of the tent's inhabitants.

Bibliography: Ch. de Foucauld, *Dictionnaire touareg-français*, Paris 1951, i, 247-9; A. Benhazera, *Six mois chez les Touareg du Hoggar*, Algiers 1908; H. Lhote, *Les Touareg du Hoggar*, Paris 1944, 223-9; G. Delphin, *Recueil de textes pour l'étude de l'arabe parlé*, Paris-Algiers 1891, ch. 39 (French tr. by G. Faure-Biguet, Algiers 1904); E. Ubach, E. Rucknow, etc., *Sitte und Recht in Nordafrika*, in *Zeit. für vergl. Rechtswiss.*, xl/2 (1923), 168-9; Michaux-Bellaire, in *AM*, iv, 109; A. Bernard, *Enquête sur l'habitation rurale en Algérie*; E. Laoust, *L'habitation chez les transhumants du Maroc Central*, in *Hespéris* (1934-5), as a separate book, Paris 1935, 1-79; W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Takroûna*, Paris 1925, 313-32 (concerning the mill). (Ch. Pellat)

iv. — In Central Asia

A light, prefabricated yet rigid tent has until modern times been the standard domicile of the Inner Asian steppe nomads, being usually loaded on the backs of camels for transportation. In order to present the minimum resistance to the keen steppe winds, it has usually been circular in shape. From the western steppes, the domed, felt-covered tents of Turkmen nomads, known as *yurts*, were spread by the migrations of the O̲g̲h̲uz as far west as Anatolia, although the more southerly and westerly Türkmens, such as the Avs̲h̲ar and Ḳas̲h̲ḳāʾī, and the Anatolian Yörüks, gradually took over the use of the black tents made from goat hair, which are apparently more suitable for the damper climate of the more mountainous regions (see on this latter type of tent, C. G. Feilberg, *La tente noire*, Copenhagen 1944). In fact, the word *yurt* seems originally to have meant "homeland, encampment or camping place", and in Orḵẖon and early Turkish, even "an abandoned campsite", cf. Kās̲h̲g̲h̲arī's definition *al-ṭilal wa 'l-rabʿ wa 'l-diman* (Sir Gerard Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, 958); the basic Turkish word for "tent" seems to be *ev* and its cognates (Orḵẖon Turkish *äv, äb*). The term *alačiḳ* and its cognates "temporary, nomadic home", as opposed to *ev* "permanent home, centre of the household or group", is also widely used throughout the Turkish world, appearing in mediaeval Persian (e.g. in the verses of Niẓāmī and of D̲j̲alāl al-Dīn Rūmī) as *alāčuḳ* (see Ulla Johansen, *Alačyq*, in *Reşid Rahmeti Arat için*, Ankara 1966, 286-99).

The tent used in recent times and at the present day by the Türkmens on northeastern Persia, northern Afg̲h̲ānistān and the Turkmenistan SSR has been described in detail by P. A. Andrews, *The White House of Khurasan: the felt tents of the Iranian Yomut and Göklen*, in *Iran. Jnal. of the British Institute of Persian Studies*, xi (1973), 93-110, with especial reference to the two Türkmen tribes named in the title. These possess two main types of tent (1) The *aḳ öy* "white house" (taken from the colour of the covering felts when new) or *ḳara öy* "black house" (from the colour of the felts when old and blackened by smoke). This has a trellis wall, with a doorway in it, circular in plan, with a roof wheel supported by struts from the top of the trellis wall. The size of the tent is referred to by the number of these roof struts, which might go up to 128, yielding a tent of *ca.* 12 m. diameter, though 62 or 64 struts is the average; the large size of tent favoured is to accommodate an extended family. (2) The *göt-tikme*, essentially an *öy* but without the trellis walls, and regarded as an inferior form of the *öy*, though more portable. The wooden frames for the tent were made by a specialist class of carpenters (called *uššāt*, < *ustād*?) of the more agricultural and semi-settled Türkmens.

The Islamic historical sources on the Turkish migrations into the Iranian world and beyond are inexplicit on the technical details of Turkish tents in the mediaeval period, and we can only find odd gleanings, such as the information in Gardīzī, *Zayn al-aḵẖbār*, ed. M. Nāẓim, Berlin 1928, 81-2, cf. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, 282, that when Maḥmūd of G̲h̲azna and the Ḳarā-Ḵẖānid Ḳadir Ḵẖān Yūsuf met at Samarḳand in 415/1025, the Sultan had a personal tent of ruby-coloured S̲h̲us̲h̲tarī brocade, with a canopy and roof of woven brocade (the tent, *sarāy-parda*, which allegedly held 10,000 horsemen, must have been in fact a whole series of tents forming an encampment for Maḥmūd's forces).

The early habitat of the Mongols probably com-

prised both the forest zone of northern Mongolia and the Lake Baikal region and also the steppelands. The characteristic modern Mongol felt tent or *ger* is essentially similar to the Türkmen *öy*, i.e. it has trellis walls, and the roof of light poles, also felt-covered, is born upon a roof-ring, though the shape is usually conical rather than domed. Thus a great deal of wood is required for its construction, a commodity scarce in the steppes and one which often has to be brought from a considerable distance. The Mongols do, however, have another type of tent, the *maykhan*, which is a low tent requiring much less wood and in recent times covered with cotton cloth purchased from Chinese traders; this is taken on Mongol caravans, with the *ger* used for camping at the regular pasture grounds (see O. Lattimore, *The geographical factor in Mongol history*, in *Geogr. Jnal.*, xci/1 (Jan. 1938), 9-10, also in *Studies in frontier history, collected papers 1928-1958*, London 1962, 250-1). It seems accordingly probable that the Mongol *ger* evolved in the prehistoric (sc. pre-13th century) past of this people from the tents of the forest peoples, perhaps from an origin like the tepee or wigwam of the Tuva forest tribe of northern Mongolia, of Turkish peoples of this region like those dwelling in proximity to Mongol tribes around Lake Khubsugul, and of the reindeer-herding Tungus, which is a conical frame covered either with skins or birch-bark (Turkish *uruča*, Mongol *obughaḳay*, cf. A. Róna-Tas, *Preliminary report on a study of the dwellings of the Altaic peoples*, in *Aspects of Altaic civilization, Proceedings of the Fifth Meeting of the PIAC*, ed. D. Sinor, Bloomington-The Hague 1963, 50). Certainly, the Mongol epics of recent times, of the Oirot of north-western Mongolia, describe the hero's tent as made with a framework not of wood but of animal bones, and as covered not with felts (since forest dwellers have no sheep) but with animal pelts (B. Vladimirtsov, *Le régime social des Mongols, le feodalisme nomade*, Paris 1948, 49). In regard to the fittings and furnishings of the *ger*, the central fireplace or hearth has always been the focal point; amongst the Kazak Turks of western Mongolia, this is now usually a four-legged iron fireplace, and it is gradually replacing the old stoves (see Róna-Tas, *Notes on the Kazak yurt of West Mongolia*, in *Acta orientalia Hung.*, xii (1961), 84).

The earliest Mongol sources, such as the *Secret history* and the accounts of the Mongol expansion of the 13th century, both Islamic and European (the latter including e.g. the travel narratives of William of Rubruck and John of Plano Carpini) state that, at that time, the steppe peoples, Turks and Mongols, often transported their tents in ox carts (see Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 50-1, and also ʿARABA and ḲANGHLÎ); these last were not only highly-mobile within the steppes, but could be very quickly loaded up with the tents and the whole encampment (Mongol *küriyän/güriyän* "circle") quickly broken up.

Bibliography: given in the article, essentially, but note that Part A of *Aspects of Altaic civilization* (see above) is devoted to "The dwellings of the Altaic peoples". (C. E. BOSWORTH)

KHAYR (A.), charity, gifts in money or kind from individuals or voluntary associations to needy persons. The religious significance of *khayr* in Islam is still quite clear, although assistance to the needy is nowadays extended mainly by secular governmental agencies; such assistance is regarded as "public welfare" rather than "charity". A public benefit is indeed implied in *khayr*. The word has the sense of freely choosing something, *i.e.* virtue or goodness, a service to others beyond one's kin. It also means goods such as property or things that have material value (H. Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, Wiesbaden 1961, s.v.). There are few studies of *khayr* in earlier or modern times, though there are brief references scattered through the literature on the Ottoman Empire, Khedivial Egypt and the Indian subcontinent.

Khayr must be considered in relation to *zakāt* and *ṣadaḳa* [*qq.v.*]. *Ṣadaḳa* is practically synonymous with *khayr* in the sense of charity. *Zakāt* refers to an obligatory tax collected by Islamic governmental agencies and prescribed in the Ḳurʾān and Sunna. *Zakāt* in its traditional and precise form has almost disappeared, but *khayr*, as a broader and more informal quality and activity, continues. *Khayr* occurs in the Ḳurʾān in its general sense of virtue and good works in obedience to God and religious law (*e.g.* III, 103, XXII, 77, IV, 113) as well as material wealth (*e.g.* C, 8). In interpretations of Ḳurʾān and in philosophical works the term is used similarly.

Private charity and public welfare are extended out of mixed motives: humanitarian, to relieve misery, and political, to reduce instability. On the part of the private donor, moreover, there is the motive of doing good in accordance with religious precepts. This motive operates strongly in *khayr* among Muslims as well as non-Muslims minorities living in larger Islamic communities. Christian and Jewish charities were an important function of the millets under the Ottoman rule and continued after it, often with help from co-religionists in Western countries.

Today charity by individual Muslims to less fortunate members of their religious communities is still widespread. Parallel to these donations are those made by voluntary associations which stand between the individual and the government and disburse larger sums more widely. A United Nations survey made in the mid-1960s found several hundred such associations in Lebanon, Jordan and Syria, and a beginning even in Kuwait, where the government, with vast oil revenues, was already the main distributor of funds going to the needy (U.N. Economic and Social Office in Beirut, *Studies on Social Development in the Middle East, 1969*, New York 1970, 10). The activities of these associations, though significant, have been seldom studied in detail, though published reports and observations yield some details on several countries.

In Egypt in 1960 there were about 3,200 voluntary charitable associations (*djamʿiyyāt dīniyya* or *khayriyya*) with a religious basis, with 700,000 members, a total income of £ E 6 million (coming from members' dues, modest fees paid by the needy, and governmental subsidies), extending a variety of services to several million people at a total cost of £ E 4 million (M. Berger, *Islam in Egypt Today*, Cambridge 1970, ch. 4).

In Iran the structure of voluntary associations seems to be looser. As in other Muslim communities, however, in Iran individual donations are made to local *imāms* for formal institutions such as clinics, schools and scholarships, as well as directly to the needy. Donations to poor families occur mainly on the anniversaries of the deaths of Fāṭima and the *imāms* venerated by Shīʿīs. They are also made in times of threat or danger, even in connection with "modern" activities. For example, in 1974 a businessman started to construct an air-conditioned building, with the help of several architects and engineers trained in the U.S.A., in the most expensive and

modern area of Tehran. Before the first column went up, the foreman told the builder he must sacrifice a sheep for the workers to eat and protect them: the blood of the sacrificial sheep would avert the shedding of the workers' blood on the job. Very little is known about the distribution of funds by the local *imāms*, nor are they taken into account in governmental calculations of need. Donors to these *imāms* do not have a formal role in the distribution of these funds, although they are duly registered by accountants who keep records of income and disbursements (source: personal observation and interviews).

Khayr and *wakf* [*q.v.*] overlap, for example in public conveniences such as water fountains [see SABĪL] and soup kitchens (*ʿimāret*) erected in Ottoman times. Somewhat similar to *khayr*, also, is the largesse often distributed by rulers, especially on accession to power. Such largesse is, in turn, a forerunner of the welfare programme of modern states.

Although women in Islamic countries have not traditionally been active in public affairs, their recent emergence into public roles has been associated with private charity and governmental welfare programmes. Among the earliest employments outside the home which became socially approved for women are teaching, nursing and social work. These professions are regarded as extensions of the Islamic ideal of women as the guardians of home and family. In several countries it has been customary in recent decades for the women members of the families of heads of state (in republics as well as monarchies) to be active in promoting education and the care of the needy. Thus in 1973 the Shāh-Bānū of Iran opened the first national seminar on social welfare by reviewing the development of private philanthropy, defining current social needs, and indicating the need for governmental coordination of the means of meeting these needs (Plan and Budget Organization of Iran, *Nakhustīn siminār-i millī-yi rifāh-i idjtimāʿī*, Isfand 1352 (February 1973), Tehran, n.d. and no pagination). This seminar, indeed, was the prelude to the creation of a new Ministry of Social Affairs a year later. Such ministries had already been established in other countries, for example in Egypt as early as 1939. The first woman to become a member of an Iranian cabinet, Farrukhrū Parsay, was Minister of Education from 1968 to 1974. Similarly, the first woman to join a cabinet in Egypt, Ḥikmat Abū Zayd, became Minister of Social Affairs in 1962.

The state has always assumed some of the burden of assisting the needy. Its role increased as modern industry and urbanisation developed, while public needs grew and the capacity of individuals and voluntary associations to meet the growing expectations declined. The state's assumption of the responsibility for public welfare was a demonstration also of the concentration and expansion of governmental power, which further discouraged private welfare agencies. Under these new arrangements, the public increasingly regards governmental relief of need as a right of the recipient; on the side of the "donor", the public regards aid to the needy as a secular, involuntary obligation performed through the machinery of government.

This development in many Islamic countries is reflected in the currency of the Arabic term for welfare state, *dawlat al-khayr al-ʿāmm*, which did not appear under *khayr* in H. Wehr's first German edition (Leipzig 1952), but did appear in the English edition of 1961 (*Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart*, and *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*). Appropriations for social welfare grew considerably in the 1960s and 1970s, following the establishment of specialised welfare ministries several decades earlier (United Nations Economic and Social Council, *1974 Report on the World Social Situation. Part One: Regional Developments. I. Social Trends in Developing Countries. Western Asia*, New York 1974, 23-5). Iran, for example, allocated about 10% of the total budget of the year 1354 (1975-6) for "social affairs" (Iran, Plan and Budget Organization, *The Budget 1345 and Amended 1353, 1974-75, 1975-76. A Summary*, Tehran n.d., Part 2, p. 7). Increasingly, also, governmental welfare programs are tied to national planning (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, *Social Welfare Planning in the Context of National Development Plans*, New York 1970, 6, 34).

In Islamic countries where socialist ideas and rhetoric have recently made headway, welfare has been tied to ideology and to the religious tradition of mutual social responsibility among Muslims, or *al-takāful al-idjtimāʿī* as developed by several writers, especially in Egypt (Sami A. Hanna and George H. Gardner, eds., *Arab Socialism. A Documentary Survey*, Leiden 1969, 147-200). The increasing role of government has led to widespread exaggeration of achievements, for example a claim by an official Egyptian agency reporting to the United Nations in 1967 that: "After the revolution of 1952, equal opportunities were eventually granted to the people" (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, *Organization and Administration of Social Welfare Programs. A Series of Country Studies. United Arab Republic*, New York 1967, 1). A U.N. evaluation of state programmes only two years later described them as still rather weak in concept, administration and effect (United Nations Economic and Social Office in Beirut, *Studies on Social Development in the Middle East, 1969*, New York 1970, 1, 11-13).

On top of the increasing role of the state came, after World War Two, an increasing role for the organisation of states, the United Nations. Through publications, surveys, seminars and conferences, various U.N. agencies encouraged the "developing" (or formerly "underdeveloped") countries to expand and systematise their welfare programmes. The U.N. also spread the new conceptions of welfare, going beyond traditional "remedial" care of the needy to "preventive" policies to enable the needy to maintain themselves and even further to "developmental" programmes which would enable the people of all classes to play a greater part in national growth based upon broad planning (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, *Proceedings of the International Conference of Ministers Responsible for Social Welfare, 3-12 September* 1968, New York 1969, 76, and *Training for Social Welfare, Fifth International Survey. New Approaches in Meeting Manpower Needs*, New York 1971, 2, 64-5). Special United Nations seminars for the Arab states have been held since 1949 (see, for example, *Fourth United Nations Social Welfare, Seminar for Arab States in the Middle East, Baghdad, 6-21 March 1954*, New York 1955).

These governmental and inter-governmental influences and discussions have all but removed *khayr* by individuals and voluntary associations from public consideration in Islamic countries. *Khayr*, however, continues, and even *zakāt* has been men-

tioned noticeably in one of the aforementioned U.N. seminars. In preparation for it, the U.N. Secretariat sent a questionnaire to seven Arab states, which elicited reports that in most of them this tax was still being collected and spent "in accordance with Islamic principles" (*Third United Nations Social Welfare Seminar for Arab States in the Middle East, Damascus, 8-20 December 1952*, New York 1953, 60). It is possible that the welfare programmes of governments are overestimated through the tendency of states and international agencies to issue many reports, while traditional *khayr* is underestimated because individual donors and voluntary associations are scattered and not given to public reporting.

For a treatment of charity in Turkey see the Supplement, s.v. KHAYR.

Bibliography: given in the article.

(M. BERGER)

KHAYR ALLĀH EFENDI, Ottoman physician, historian and administrator; born in Istanbul *ca.* 1235/1819-1820 of a family which had provided chief physicians for the Empire. He followed in the profession of his father ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Mollā (d. 1270/1853-1854) and after completing the *medrese* education he became the *mollā* of Izmir in 1256/1840-1841, to be promoted in the following year to the rank of *ḳāḍī* of Mecca. Meanwhile, he studied medicine at the *Mekteb-i Ṭibbiyye* and graduated in 1260/1844. Appointed *ders nāẓīri* (director of studies) at the *Ṭibbiyye* School, he transferred from the *ʿilmiyye* (religious) to the *mülkiyye* (civil) branch of administration. Thus in Radjab 1265/May-June 1849 he was appointed a member of the Council of Education. On 25 Radjab 1267/26 May 1851 he was also entrusted with the vice-presidency of the *Endjümen-i Dānish* (Academy of Arts and Sciences) and in Shawwāl 1268/ July-August 1852 he became a member of the *Medjlis-i Wālāy-i Aḥkām-i ʿAdliyye* (High Council for Judicial Ordinances). Nominated *Mekātib-i ʿUmūmiyye nāẓīri* (Minister of Public Schools) on 22 June 1854, he returned to the field of education. Upon the establishment of the Ministry of Education in March 1857 he was charged with the function of *müsteshār* (undersecretary) and on 7 Ṣafar 1275/16 September 1858 he assumed responsibility as deputy minister. On 21 May 1859 he became the administrator of the *Mekteb-i Ṭibbiyye*. In Radjab 1278/ January 1862 he was moved to the directorship of the 6th sector of the Istanbul Municipality [see BALADIYYA]. He was again appointed a member of the *Medjlis-i Wālāy-i Aḥkām-i ʿAdliyye* on Ṣafar 1281/July-August 1864, and in the same year he visited Europe to take a cure. Back in Istanbul, he went to Tehran on 3 May 1865 as Ottoman minister to the Persian court, and died there in Shawwāl 1282/ December 1865-January 1866. His younger son is the well-known poet ʿAbd al-Ḥaḳḳ Ḥāmid [*q.v.*].

Khayr Allāh Efendi contributed much to the modernisation of Turkey through his publications. He undertook to write a general history of the Ottoman Empire, but could not go further than the year 1026/ 1617. This work was published under the title *Dewlet-i ʿaliyye-i ʿothmāniyye taʾrīkhi* (Istanbul 1271-81, 15 vols.), and was later continued by ʿAlī Shewkī, who took it up to the year 1058/1648 (Istanbul, vols. xvi-xviii, 1289-92). The author abandoned the annalistic method of Ottoman chroniclers and adopted the modern systematic treatment of history. He also made use of Western sources written in French. He seems to be the first Ottoman playwright, with his *Ḥikāyet-i Ibrāhīm Pāshā be Ibrāhīm-i Gulshenī* written *ca.* 1260/1844 (first printed in *Türklük*, no. 8 (1939), 77-91, for the second time by Aytekin Yakar, *Hikâye-i ...*, Ankara 1964). His publications also include translations from the French on subjects ranging from medicine to agriculture. Among his printed works are *Maḳālāt-i ṭibbiyye* (Istanbul 1258), a collection of medical articles, *Beyt-i dehkānī* (Istanbul 1264), a treatise on agriculture, *Ḳiṭʿa-i Afrīḳā* (Istanbul 1268), Malte-Brun's work on geography, and *Mesāʾil-i ḥikmet* (Istanbul 1270), a textbook on physics prepared for *rüshdiyye* (secondary) schools. His *Avrūpā siyāḥat-nāmesi*, a narrative of his European tour in 1864, still remains unpublished (Ms., Library of the Faculty of Language, History and Geography, Ankara).

Bibliography: *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, ii, 319; *ʿOthmānlî müʾellifleri*, iii, 50 f.; *EI* [1], s.v.; *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, s.v.; Riḍā Taḥsīn, *Mirʾat-i Mekteb-i Ṭibbiyye*, Istanbul 1328, 50 f.; Maḥmūd Djewād, *Maʿārif-i ʿUmūmiyye Neẓāreti taʾrīkhče, teshkīlāt ve idjraʾāti*, Istanbul 1338, 65; Babinger, 360 ff.; A. Süheyl (Ünver), *Tabip Hayrullah Efendi ve Mekalâtı Tibbiye*, Istanbul 1931; idem, *Osmanlı tebabeti ve Tanzimat hakkında yeni notlar*, in *Tanzimat*, i, Istanbul 1940, 937, 942 f.; A. Adnan Adıvar, *Osmanlı Türklerinde ilim*, Istanbul 1943, 195 f.; Gündüz Akıncı, *Abdülhak Hâmit Tarhan*, Ankara 1954, index; Faik Reşit Unat, *Türkiye eğitim sisteminin geşlimesine tarihi bir bakış*, Ankara 1964, index.

(E. KURAN)

KHAYR AL-DĪN PASHA, Tunisian and Ottoman statesman of the 19th century. He was born in 1822 or 1823 into the Caucasian tribe of the Abkhāz [*q.v.*]. He lost his father in a Russian attack, and subsequently was taken as a *mamlūk* to Istanbul, and brought up in the palace of Taḥsīn Bey, *naḳīb al-ashrāf* and *ḳāḍī-ʿasker* of Anatolia. In 1839 a Tunisian envoy brought him to the court of Aḥmad Bey [*q.v.*], and he soon rose in the favour of the Bey himself and his chief minister Muṣṭafā Khaznadār [*q.v.*]. He entered the army and became commander of the cavalry. As a soldier, he had contacts with the French officers attached to the *maktab ḥarbī* founded in 1840 at Bardo by the Bey in order to train a modern-type army. He also met Maḥmūd Ḳābādū [*q.v.*], poet and teacher, who was the first Tunisian to advocate the introduction of the modern sciences into education.

His first direct contacts with Europe dated from 1846, when he accompanied Aḥmad Bey on his visit to Paris. Between 1853 and 1856 he acquired a profound knowledge of modern civilisation through his residence in Paris as the Tunisian government representative in the legal suit against Maḥmūd ʿAyyād, the former farmer-general of taxes in Tunis, who had fled to France bearing large sums of money. Having been victorious in this legal process, Khayr al-Dīn was rewarded by the office of Minister of Marine (January 1857), and he married a daughter of Muṣṭafā Khaznadār. As minister, he showed himself as a competent and restrained administrator, making the best of the ageing fleet and endeavouring to introduce a better administration.

He was one of the most enthusiastic and vigorous proponents of the modernisation of the Tunisian political system. He greeted with approval the proclamation in 1857 of the *ʿAhd al-amān* and in 1861 that of the Constitution [see DUSTŪR], and he was a member of various commissions set up to implement the promises made in 1857 and 1861, including a law on conscription. He was also a member of the

beylical *madjlis al-khāṣṣ*, and a member, and then president, of the *madjlis al-akbar* or Parliament set up in 1861. In these positions, he worked for reform of the judicial system (which, of course, did not affect personal law, which remained within the sphere of competence of the *sharīʿa* courts, but was confined to criminal law and to commercial and agricultural practices).

In November 1862, Khayr al-Dīn gave up his posts as Minister of Marine and president of the *madjlis al-akbar*, whilst remaining a member of the latter and of the *madjlis al-khāṣṣ*. Behind this partial retirement, which lasted till 1869, was his opposition to a Tunisian loan raised in Europe; the agreement for this was nevertheless made, and it opened the country to bankruptcy. In 1864 a revolt sounded the knell of the period of reforms begun in 1857. During these years, he acted as the Bey's envoy to Istanbul and other European capitals.

When he returned to politics in 1869, Tunisia had to accept, because of Muṣṭafā Khaznadār's maladministration, a financial commission to direct the country's finances, in which French and British influence was paramount; Khayr al-Dīn now became president of this. Till July 1877, he endeavoured—at first, as *wazīr mubāshir*, and then, after Muṣṭafā Khaznadār's fall on 21 October 1873, as *wazīr akbar*—to reform the Tunisian administration and to introduce a sound financial programme which would enable a debt which swallowed up about half of the country's annual revenue to be reduced. Amongst the measures which he adopted during this time was an agricultural regulation defining the rights and obligations of all those concerned with agriculture, including the *khammās* [see MUZĀRAʿA]. He also set up a mixed tribunal for cases between Tunisians and foreigners involving less than 1,000 piastres. He tried to improve the economy by decreasing export dues and increasing import ones. To help corn exports, he planned to build a railway line between Jendouba and Tunis. One of his most valued collaborators at this time was Muḥammad Bayram al-Khāmis [*q.v.*], who became president of the *djamʿiyyat al-awḳāf* and was able considerably to increase the income from these charitable foundations. The sums confiscated from Muṣṭafā Khaznadār were used to finance a new modern school as successor to the *maktab ḥarbī*, *al-madrasa al-ṣādiḳiyya*, opened in 1875 as a place where the Tunisian élite could receive an adequate education.

Khayr al-Dīn wanted above all to fulfil Tunis's financial obligations to the foreign creditors of the financial commission, in the hope of preserving the country's political independence. This involved necessarily a careful and economical policy, precluding the adoption of large-scale reforms. Moreover, the Tunisian people had a greater need, psychologically, for a period of peace and of just government than for reforms, since the memory on the period 1857-64, when taxes had risen and there had been a culmination in the rebellion of 1864, was still very fresh. Nevertheless, Khayr al-Dīn made an effort in 1877 to inject fresh life into the constitution and to re-open the Parliament, at the time when the Turkish constitutionalists had achieved temporary power in Istanbul; but Muḥammad al-Ṣādiḳ Bey [*q.v.*] firmly opposed this.

On the international plane, Khayr al-Dīn was always a firm supporter of close links between the Bey's official suzerain, the Ottoman Sultan, and Tunis. It was, in his view, the best safeguard against an increasingly burdensome European influence; whilst the Ottoman empire continued in existence, the Regency of Tunis could retain a *de facto* political independence. During the Balkan War, in 1876, he showed his support by sending considerable material aid to the Porte, whilst refraining from sending troops in order not to incur French displeasure.

His departure from office on 21 July 1877 was due to various reasons. The Bey, under the influence of persons like Muṣṭafā b. Ismāʿīl, preferred a more pliant and less economy-minded prime minister; because of two consecutive bad harvests, the treasury was empty, and the instalment of debt had to be paid. As for France and Britain, the twin pillars of the financial commission, the latter had never supported Khayr al-Dīn, and France abandoned him above all because of his help to the Porte and his refusal to let the Jendouba-Tunis railway line be linked with the Algerian network.

On his leaving office, Khayr al-Dīn fell into disgrace, and even feared lest his property be confiscated. But in August 1878, thanks to the mediation of Muḥammad al-Ẓāfir, head of the Madaniyya religious order [*q.v.*], he received an invitation from ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II [*q.v.*] to come to Istanbul, where on 4 December 1878 he was made Grand Vizier. The sultan, who had just managed to throw off the Young Ottomans, hoped to find in him an efficient servant in the *Tanẓīmāt* [*q.v.*] style. During the eight months when he was at the head of the Sublime Porte, he was concerned with the deposition of the Egyptian Khedive Ismāʿīl, among other things. The main motive behind his dismissal, on 28 July 1879, was that his personal experience at Istanbul had turned him into a belated Young Ottoman, advocate of a parliamentary system and of ministerial responsibility. Until his death on 30 January 1890, he lived in retirement at Istanbul.

Khayr al-Dīn, as well as being a politician, was one of the first Muslims to be concerned with the causes of the decadence of the *umma* [*q.v.*]. In 1868 he published his study *Aḳwam al-masālik fi maʿrifat aḥwāl al-mamālik*, the greater part of which gave a review of the countries of Europe from the economic, political, etc. points of view. More interesting is the introduction (2-89), in which Khayr al-Dīn sets forth his ideas on the possibility of the Muslims regaining their former grandeur. A good government which inspires the people's confidence is the best means of achieving this. Khayr al-Dīn avers that Europe has not become strong thanks to Christianity, but rather to a good system of government in which the monarch has had to delegate some of his powers. Then he notes that it is permissible for the Muslims to borrow from the Europeans their technical inventions and their political system. It ought not to be difficult for the *umma* to re-introduce good government, since the *sharīʿa* prescribes it, and in the past, it had been shown as perfectly attainable, always bringing with it a period of glory for the Muslims. It should be further noted that, for Khayr al-Dīn, the modern European parliament is nothing but the institution of the *ahl al-ḥall wa 'l-ʿaḳd* [*q.v.*] adapted to modern needs and conditions. He claimed to remain within the tradition of classical Islamic political thought, and this explains why he considered his ideas as valid for the whole of the *umma* and why he was especially concerned with the position of the Ottoman empire, at the time the main Muslim power, and with the *tanẓīmāt*. His opinion on these last was favourable. Although he favoured an Ottoman parliament, he did not consider it indispensable for the realisation of his ideal of a good government.

This explains why at the same time he paid so much attention to the *ʿulamāʾ* and the role which they ought to play in helping modernisation of the *umma*, since they comprised the greater part of the élite and could pronounce on whether the desired reforms were consonant with the *sharīʿa* or not. In this regard, Khayr al-Dīn had an influence on the thought of Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī [*q.v.*]. Concerning Europe, Khayr al-Dīn adopted a suspicious attitude, for he feared that some day or other the Muslim world would fall an easy prey to the expansionist continent.

In the person of Khayr al-Dīn, statesman and theorist were combined in a happy manner, since the politician was himself always faithful to the principles set forth in his *Akwam al-masālik*.

Bibliography: Khayr al-dīn, *Akwam al-masālik fī maʿrifat aḥwāl al-mamālik*, Tunis 1868, Istanbul 1876, Alexandria 1881-2, Tunis 1972 [4] (with an introduction and notes by al-Munṣif al-Shanūfī (Fr. tr. under the title of *Reformes nécessaires aux États musulmans; essai formant la première partie de l'ouvrage politique et statistique intitulé "La plus sûre direction pour connaître l'état des nations"*, Paris 1868, 1875 [2]; Eng: tr. *Necessary Reforms of the musulman states. Essay which forms the first part of the political and statistical work entitled "The surest way to know the state of the nations"*, Athens 1874; new tr. in L. C. Brown, *The Surest Path, the political treatise of a nineteenth-century Muslim statesman*, 65-178); *idem*, *Mémoires*, ed. by M. S. Mzali and J. Pignon as *Khérédine, homme d'état, documents historiques annotés*, Tunis 1971; *idem*, *Correspondance*, partially ed. by M. S. Mzali and J. Pignon, in *RT* (1938) 92-152, (1940) 71-107 and 251-302; I. Abu-Lughod, *The Arab rediscovery of Europe; a study in cultural encounters*, Princeton 1963; Bayram al-Khāmis al-Tūnisī, *Ṣafwat-al-iʿtibār bi-mustawdaʿ al-amṣār wa 'l-akṭār*, 5 vols., Cairo, 1302-11; L. C. Brown *The Surest Path, the political treatise of a nineteenth-century muslim statesman*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1967; J. Ganiage, *Les Origines du protectorat français en Tunisie (1861-1881)*, Paris 1959; A. Hourani, *Arabic thought in the liberal age (1798-1939)*, London 1962; Ibn Abi 'l-Diyāf, *Itḥāf ahl al-zamān bi-akhbār mulūk Tūnis wa-ʿahd al-amān*, 8 vols., Tunis, 1963-6; M. F. Ibn ʿĀshūr, *al-Ḥaraka al-adabiyya wa 'l-fikriyya fī Tūnis*, Cairo 1956, Tunis 1972 [2]; M. R. Inal, *Osmanlı devrinde son sadriazamlar*, Istanbul 1945, vi, 895-960; Muḥammad al-Sanūsī, *al-Riḥla al-ḥidjāziyya* in *Ḥawliyyāt al-Djāmiʿa al-tūnisiyya*, vii (1970), 79-111; M. Smida, *Khéreddine, ministre réformateur*, Tunis 1970; B. Tlili, *Eléments pour une approche de la pensée socio-économique de Khérédine*, in *ROMM* ix (1970), 119-52; idem, *Autour du réformisme tunisien du XIXe-siècle: la notion de liberté dans la pensée de Ḥayr ad-Dīn*, in *CT*, lxxvii-lxxviii (1972), 59-85; G. S. van Krieken, *Les Rapports culturels et idéologiques entre l'Orient et l'Occident, en Tunisie au XIXème siècle (1830-1880)*, Tunis 1974; idem, *Khayr al-Dīn et la Tunisie (1850-1881)*, Leiden 1976).

(G. S. van Krieken)

KHAYR AL-DĪN (KHIḌIR) PASHA, Barbarossa (?870-953/?1466-1546), famous Turkish corsair and Grand Admiral of the Ottoman fleet. He was born at Metellin, where his father Yaʿḳūb, *sipāhī* of Vardar Yenidjesi (*Ghazawāt*, fol. 5b; *Lüdjdjat al-abrār*, in *Künh al-akhbār*, fol. 254a; Ḥādjdji Khalīfa, *Tuḥfat al-kibār*, 25: of Edjeova), had settled after the Turkish conquest of 866/1462; according to Cómara, *Crónica*, 351, his mother Catalina was the widow of a Greek priest. The date of his birth may be fixed in *ca.* 1466, according to the notice of Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, who makes him over 80 at death (for Sandoval, ii, 208, he had likewise *más de ochenta años*, and for Guglielmotti, *Storia della marina pontificia*, iv, 117, he was 77 in 1543). The assertion of Haëdo, that he died aged 63 (*Topografia*, i, 261) and the information contained in a report of 3 June 1534 to the Venetian Senate, where he is described as *di cinquanta e più anni* (Albèri, iii/1, 30), deserve less credence.

Khiḍir began his activities by carrying merchandise to Saros, Salonica and Negroponte in a ship of his. After Selīm I forbade sailing on the Aegean Sea without his authorisation, since he wished to prevent his brother and rival Ḳorḳud's flight (1513; cf. İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, *II.inci Bayezid oğullarından Sultan Korkud*, in *Belleten*, xxx (1966), 583-90), he fitted out a second boat at Metellin, carried corn from the north to Africa, purchased 95 black slaves, sold them in Rumelia, and from there, with his two ships, rejoined his elder brother ʿArūdj [*q.v.*] at Djarba (*Ghazawāt*, fols. 23b-24a). (The date of ʿArūdj's arrival in North Africa is corrected by S. Souček, *Remarks on some Western and Turkish sources dealing with the Barbarossa brothers*, in *Güneydoğu Avrupa araştırmaları dergisi*, i (Istanbul 1972), 63-76 = *The rise of the Barbarossas in North Africa*, in *Archivum ottomanicum*, iii, 1971, 238-50). He achieved numerous exploits by land and sea, but in general remained in the shadow of ʿArūdj, first at Tunis and then at Algiers.

After ʿArūdj's death in 1518, Khiḍir, now controlling only Algiers, had to face the expedition led by Hugo of Moncada, viceroy of Sicily, of 80 sail and 6,000 men (Manfroni, 260, based on Spanish documents; *Ghazawāt*, fol. 68a: 170 ships and 20,000 men; Grammont, 32: 40 ships and 5,000 men). Towards the middle of August, the enemy landed at the mouth of al-Ḥarrāsh and seized a position on the eminence of Kudyat al-Ṣābūn; Khiḍir, with 600 Turks and 20,000 local troops, took the Spanish from the rear and forced them to re-embark. A storm sent a great proportion of the ships to the bottom of the sea, and Khiḍir took numerous prisoners, including 36 officers of high rank (*Ghazawāt*, fols. 69a-71b). Immediately afterwards, he put the sultan of Tlemcen to flight, since this last had allied with the Spanish and had marched on Miliana. In the spring of the next year (1520), he retook Ténès, which had rebelled, whilst his squadron of 18 ships put to flight 15 Spanish ships which had been sent to reinforce the town (*Ghazawāt*, fols. 72a-73a). From this time onwards, according to the *Ghazawāt*, the Christians gave Khiḍir the name of Barbarossa, because of the colour of his beard (see also Charrière, i, 264).

Like his brother, Khiḍir divided the Algerian territories into two provinces, under two local chiefs as governors: Ahmad b. al-Ḳāḍī in the east (where he himself had already been governor), and Muḥammad b. ʿAlī in the west. He assumed the honorific or *laḳab* of Khayr al-Dīn (Ariadeno) and the title of *sulṭān*, according to an inscription of the mosque of Algiers built by him, dated in the first ten days of Djumādā 1 926/19-28 April 1520: *al-sulṭān al-mudjāhid mawlānā Khayr al-Dīn ibn al-amīr al-shahīr al-mudjāhid Abī Yūsuf Yaʿḳūb al-Turkī* (cf. A. Devoulx, *Épigraphie indigène du Musée archéologique d'Alger*, Algiers 1874, 54-5; see also P. Giovio, *Delle historie del suo tempo*, ii, Venice 1557, 315).

In this period Khayr al-Dīn sought help from the

Ottoman sultan, sending an embassy with four ships and with 40 slaves for Selīm I and an equal number for the *pas̲h̲as* of the *Dīwān*, together with a petition of the Algerian people, during the first ten days of D̲h̲u 'l-Ḳaʿda 925/25 October 3- November 1519, whose text has survived in a Turkish translation (in Topkapı Sarayı, publ. by A. Temimi, in *Revue d'histoire maghrebine*, v (1976), 95-101). The envoys were very well received by the sultan (who died on 9 S̲h̲awwāl 926/22 September 1520), and Selīm accepted the overlordship of the kingdom of Algiers and sent via Ḥād̲j̲d̲j̲i Hüseyin an investiture decree (*k̲h̲aṭṭ-i s̲h̲erīf*) and a flag (*sand̲j̲aḳ*). Moreover, he sent to him 2,000 Janissaries and some artillery, and authorised him to enroll volunteers, to whom he promised the rights and privileges enjoyed by the Janissaries (Haëdo, i, 249). The Turkish squadron coming from Istanbul was greeted on 20 September 1520 off Cerigo (see M. Sanudo, xxix, 284). From that moment, the name of the Ottoman sultan was inscribed on coins minted at Algiers and his name placed in the *k̲h̲uṭba*, thus affirming his suzerainty (*G̲h̲azawāt*, fol. 88b; for the coins struck at Algiers from 926/1520, see İ. Artuk, *Kanunî Sultan Süleyman adına basılan sikkeler*, Ankara 1972, 29-31).

Soon afterwards, whilst his fleet was seizing Mostaghanem, K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn helped ʿAbd Allāh unseat Masʿūd in Tlemcen, receiving payment of an annual tribute of 10,000 gold pieces (*G̲h̲azawāt*, fols. 93b-102a).

K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn's domination in Algiers was temporarily interrupted through an attack of the sultan of Tunis, Muḥammad, who had allied with Ibn al-Ḳāḍī and Ḳara Ḥasan, head of the Turkish garrison in Cherchell. Defeated on the lands of the Flissat Umm al-Līl (Grammont, 32), and besieged in the town of Algiers with only limited supplies of food and munitions, K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn was forced to flee with nine ships of Djidjelli, after the population of Algiers itself (divided into eight quarters under eight *s̲h̲ayk̲h̲s*) had risen in rebellion against him.

After having secured the help of the head of the Banū ʿAbbās of Little Kabylia, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn from Djidjelli seized Collo (1521), Bône and Constantine (1522: Haëdo, i, 250-1). He also took up privateering in the Mediterranean. Sailing with seven ships, he captured nine ships loaded with corn, which he divided amongst the population then afflicted by famine. He then had built a galley of 27 banks of rowers, and in the spring of 1523 seized some ships in the Gulf of Genoa and five vessels loaded with corn off the coast of Rome. From there, he set sail for D̲j̲arba, and soon secured control of it, and it was there that the most famous corsairs of the age, like Sinān Reʾīs (Ebreo) and Aydīn Reʾīs (Cacciadiavolo) joined him. With a fleet of 41 ships, K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn and his corsairs ravaged the coasts of the western Mediterranean, seizing large amounts of booty (*G̲h̲azawāt*, fols. 123a-126b; Gomara, 393-5). Now feeling that he was strong, he decided in 1525 to march from Djidjelli on Algiers, invited thither by the populace, who were suffering hardship because of the loss of revenue from the corsair spoils. The occasion for this was Ibn al-Ḳāḍī's prohibition of some ships of K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn's loaded with Moriscoes from mooring in the port of Algiers. Ibn al-Ḳāḍī went forth with 20,000 men to engage K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn, but was beaten at Wādī Bugdura, and then at the hill of the Banū ʿAbbās, where he was beheaded by his own men (*G̲h̲azawāt*, fols. 127a-136b; Grammont, 33). From 1526 till 1528, K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn strengthened his position by retaking Cherchell, where Ḳara Ḥasan had 500 men, at the same time forcing ʿAbd Allāh, sultan of Tlemcen, to pay the tribute for the past six years and to pay in the future 20,000 pieces of gold per annum; he also took Ténès and Constantine again, where the people had rebelled (Grammont, 34), and forced Ḥusayn, brother and successor of Ibn al-Ḳāḍī in Great Kabylia to pay tribute of 30 loads (*yük*) of silver (1528: *G̲h̲azawāt*, fols. 138b-146a).

The Spanish still controlled the island of Peñon, which faced Algiers at a distance of some 300 metres only, but they were poorly-armed and poorly-provisioned. At the opening of May 1529, K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn attacked the fortress and took it on the 27th. With the débris, he built a causeway linking the islet with dry land, and thus secured a roadstead to protect his ships against the winds (*G̲h̲azawāt*, fols. 148a-152b); Grammont, 35). A few days later, an Algerian squadron seized nine Spanish ships which had come to the relief of Peñon (*G̲h̲azawāt*, fols. 154b-156a).

In summer of the same year, K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn sent a detachment of fifteen ships under Aydīn Reʾīs to the vicinity of Oliva in Spain, in order to help the Moriscoes who were in revolt. Aydīn Reʾīs, having loaded his ships with as many Moriscoes as possible, put to flight off Formentera a Spanish squadron commanded by Rodrigo Portundo; of the eight ships here, one was sunk and the rest brought back to Algiers (Gomara, 397-9; Haëdo, i, 253-3; *G̲h̲azawāt* fols. 160b-162a: fifteen ships, of which three were burnt and three sunk). K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn sent two galleys to Istanbul to proclaim this victory to Süleymān. The *čāwus̲h̲* Muṣṭafā told him about the negotiations with the King of France. (*G̲h̲azawāt*, fols. 163a-164b).

In May 1531, news reached K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn that Andrea Doria was sailing towards Cherchell with a fleet of 40 ships, including 20 French ones (*G̲h̲azawāt*, fol. 167a-b), according to the terms of the Treaty of Cambray of 5 August 1529 (Manfroni, 291, assures us that there were 30 ships, including 13 French ones). K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn planned to go out and engage him with 48 ships, but had to delay his departure through lack of supplies (*G̲h̲azawāt*, fol. 172a; Giovio ii, 129-30); he was in the vicinity of the Balearics when Andrea Doria had already attacked the fortress and after being repelled, had fled to Cadix, leaving on the ground 1,400 dead and 646 prisoners (*G̲h̲azawāt*, fol. 175a-b). K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn then ravaged the coasts of Liguria and Spain, capturing abundant plunder.

In 1532, he attacked the sultan of Tlemcen, who had the support of 14 Spanish ships based on Oran, and forced him to pay an increased tribute of 30,000 gold pieces. He then sent five ships to plunder the Spanish coasts, capturing *inter alia* 14 out of the 15 ships responsible for the defence of the coasts. Soon afterwards, he put down a revolt of 7,000 captive Christians, led by twenty Spanish nobles, for whom he had previously refused a ransom of 20,000 sequins (*G̲h̲azawāt*, fols. 215a-223a).

However, K̲h̲ayr al-Dīn assumed the role of intermediary between Francis I and Süleymān, receiving in 1533 a French ambassador making his way towards Aleppo (J. Ursu, *La politique orientale de François Ier* Paris 1908, 79-80). Having received an invitation in a *k̲h̲aṭṭ-i s̲h̲erīf* which Sinān Čāwus̲h̲ brought to him, he left Ḥasan Ag̲h̲a (Sardo) in charge at Algiers and left for Istanbul with seventeen of his ablest *reʾīs* and 44 ships, set on fire a squadron of 18 ships before Messina, sent 25 of his ships to

pursue the fleet of Andrea Doria, who had left Coron for the Adriatic, and finally reached the Ottoman capital at the end fo the year (*Ghazawāt*, fols. 224a-226b).

Shortly afterwards, he departed for Aleppo after an invitation from the Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha, who bestowed on him officially the office of Kapudan Pasha [*q.v.*], with the title of *Djezā'ir beglerbegi* (*Ghazawāt*, fol. 229a; State Archives of Venice, coll. Tkish. docs., dossier xv. 7, last ten days of Radjab 940/5-14 February 1534), which should be understood as "*Beglerbeg* of the Islands" (i.e. *Djezā'ir-i baḥr-i sefīd*), and not of Algiers (cf. Albèri, iii: 1. 30, narrative of Daniello de' Ludovisi of 3 June 1534: "beilerbei del mare"; Ramperti, *Libri tre delle cosei die Turchi*, Venice 1939, c. 22: "beglerbey del mare").

Some months later, Khayr al-Dīn set sail with a fleet of 84 ships, of which 18 were his own, five belonging to corsairs and 61 newly-built. The mission entrusted to him was the conquest of Tunis, whose throne had been claimed by Rashīd, brother of Mawlāy al-Ḥasan. After pillaging Reggio, San Lucido, Cetraro, the Gulf of Naples with the adjacent islands, Sperlonga, Fondi (on the flight of Giulia Gonzaga, see B. Nicolini, *Giulia Gonzaga e la crisi del Valdesianesimo*, in *Atti dell'Accademia Pontaniana*, N.S., v (Naples 1942), 204-8) and Terracina, and then taking on supplies of water and wood at the Tiber mouth (Guglielmotti, iii, 384-5) and capturing Bizerta, he seized La Goletta (*Khalḳ al-Wādī*) on 16 August and then on the 18th, Tunis, which had been abandoned by Mawlāy al-Ḥasan. The whole of Tunisia fell into his hands after Mawlāy al-Ḥasan had been defeated at al-Kayrawān by an army of 10,000 men (*Ghazawāt*, fols. 235a-241a). He then pacified a revolt of the Arabs calling for Rashīd, who had remained in Istanbul, where he died shortly afterwards (Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, 44; Pečewī, *Ta'rīkh*, i, 492).

In April 1535, a new French ambassador, La Forest, visited Barbarossa in Tunis and from there, left for Istanbul; he had the task of preparing a joint expedition of the French and the Ottomans to plunder Corsica and conquer Sardinia and Sicily, then under Spanish control (D. C. Rouillard, *The Turk in French history, thought and literature (1520-1660)*, Paris 1938, 111-12). Charles V decided to take action, and assembled an armada of 300 ships and about 30,000 men. He reconquered La Goletta on 14 June and on the 20th attacked Tunis with the support of the Arabs and over 4,000 Christian captives, who had broken their fetters and now threw the Turkish ranks into disarray (these Turkish forces amounting to 9,700 men). Khayr al-Dīn was hurled out of Tunis and headed for Bône, whence, with 15 ships, he went to Algiers. He set off with 32 ships for the Balearics, burnt and sacked Port Mahon in Minorca (P. Estamislao - K. Aguilo, *Documentos relativos al sitio y saqueo de Mahon por Barbarroja*, in *Revista de Menorca* (1898), 137-56; (1909), 261-80; *non vidi*) and Palma in Majorca, and returned on 15 October to Istanbul (*Ghazawāt*, fols. 257b-272a). In the following spring, he went with 30 ships to the coasts of Calabria, where he sacked La Castella (*Ghazawāt*, fol. 272a-b; G. B. Moscato, *Cronaca dei musulmani in Calabria*, Cosenza 1963, 102).

Till spring 1537, Khayr al-Dīn was busy getting ready the fleet which Süleymān had promised Francis I for supporting his Italian expedition. During this period, Süleymān took up a position with his army at Valona, and the fleet, comprising 280 ships, concentrated along the Albanian coast. Whilst the greater part of the ships under the Third Vizier Luṭfī Pasha headed for the coast of Apulia, Khayr al-Dīn went with 60 galleys to escort 20 ships loaded with provisions from Egypt. He then took part in the unsuccessful siege of Corfu. From there, and after the main part of the fleet had returned to Istanbul, he went with 60 ships and seized Nio, Zea and Naxos. In the next year, 1538, he attacked and occupied Skiatos, Skiros, Tinos, Andros, Karpatos, Kandeleusa and other islands of the Venetians in the Aegean. Also, Crete was plundered for a week and over 15,000 captives taken (*Ghazawāt*, fols. 278a-282b).

On 27 September, the Turkish fleet of 120 ships commanded by Khayr al-Dīn clashed before Prevese with a Christian fleet of 138 galleys and 70 ships (Manfroni, 337), which had been got together by the Emperor, the Pope and Venice, under the command of Andrea Doria; the engagement ended in the retreat of Doria's Imperial forces after some skirmishing by the vanguards (for the battle, seen now A. Büyük-Tuğrul, *Preveze deniz muharebesine ilişkin gerçekler*, in *Belleten*, xxxvii (1973), 51-85). The existence of secret negotiations between Doria and Barbarossa, shown in numerous published documents (see Manfroni, 332 f.; C. Capasso, *Barbarossa e Carlo V*, in *Archivio Storico Italiano*, lxix (1932), 169-209, 304-48) explains why the two admirals never provoked each other and why they both adopted an extremely prudent attitude towards each other. Barbarossa, without hurrying overmuch, pursued the Christian fleet and forced it to retreat to Ste. Maure.

In the next year, Khayr al-Dīn went with 150 ships and reconquered Castelnuovo, taken in the preceding year by the Christian fleet after the battle of Prevese.

Khayr al-Dīn's last appearance on the sea was in 1543, when, after the agreements reached between Süleymān and Francis I, he was given the task of co-operating with the French fleet in the western Mediterranean. After ravaging the Italian coasts, staying three days at Reggio and terrorising Rome by a halt at the Tiber (Guglielmotti, iv, 117-18), he joined the Duc d'Enghien, commander of the French fleet, at Marseilles. The two united fleets sacked Villefrance and unsuccessfully besieged Nice, Khayr al-Dīn attributing this check to the shortcomings of the French fleet (cf. Charrière, i, 578-9). The arrival of Andrea Doria's fleet and the Marquis del Vasto's army compelled Khayr al-Dīn to retreat and to spend the winter at Toulon, which was evacuated on this occasion by its inhabitants. However, he sent 25 galleys under Ṣāliḥ Re'īs and Ḥasan Čelebi to plunder the Gulf of Lyons and the Spanish coasts (J. Laroche, *L'expedition en Provence de l'armée de mer du Sultan Suleyman sous le commandement de l'Amiral Hayreddin Pacha dit Barberousse (1543-1544)*, in *Turcica*, i (1969), 161-211; *Ghazawāt*, second part, ms. 1186 of the B. N., Paris). The Peace of Crépy in 1544 ended the war between Charles V and Francis I, and Khayr al-Dīn sailed back to Istanbul after pillaging the coasts of Tuscany and the kingdom of Naples (ms. 1186, fols. 41a-45a; Guglielmotti, iv, 123-5).

Khayr al-Dīn spent the rest of his life in pious works, amongst other things, having a *medrese* and a mosque built at Beşiktaş, of which however no traces remain (see T. Öz, *Istanbul camileri*, ii, Ankara 1965, 30). He died on 4 July 1546, and was buried at Beşiktaş, with the chronogram مات رئيس البحر [=953/1546] engraved on his tomb. The mausoleum was

built by the architect Sinān (Öz, *op. cit.*, ii, 10), and became the place for the ceremony of investiture for new *ḳapudan pashas* (note at end of ms. 2639 of Istanbul Univ. Library, fol. 392a-b). The Turkish fleet, before leaving on an expedition, would go there and fire a salvo in greeting (Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948, 439; A. Bombaci, *Le fonti turche della battaglia delle Gerbe (1560)*, in *RSO*, xx (1942), 279).

Very little is known of Khayr al-Dīn's private life. He was twice married: once, at Algiers, with a local woman, who bore him a son Ḥasan [*q.v.*], who was on several occasions *beglerbegi* of Algiers; and a second time, at the age of 77, with the 18-year old daughter of the governor of Reggio (pillaged in 1543, see above), Flavia or Maria Gaetani (Haëdo, i, 272; Guglielmotti, iv, 117). He also had a daughter who is buried near his *türbe* (Öz, *loc. cit.*).

Khayr al-Dīn gave the Ottoman empire a well-organised North African province. As Grand Admiral, he strengthened the Ottoman maritime presence, assuring it of a total domination which lasted for over 30 years. He has remained in the Turkish memory as a national hero. His name struck terror in the Mediterranean, but he also had a reputation for generosity and prudence (see the letter written to him by Pietro Aretino, beginning "Salve, o re inclito, bassà degno, capitano invitto e uomo egregio ... poiché la tua generosità, la tua altezza, il tuo valore e la tua prodenza ti sostengono..." (*Il secondo libro delle lettere*, ed. F. Nicolini, Bari 1916, 54-5). Barbarossa replied to him thus: "Certo tu hai più presto cera di capitano che di scrittore" (B. Croce, *Poesia popolare e poesia d'arte*, Bari 1933, 252).

Bibliography: Sources. The most important contemporary source is the *Ghazawāt-i Khayr al-Dīn Pasha* by Sayyid Murād, composed on the basis of directly-communicated reports from Barbarossa and his travelling-companions, and also on the basis of what he himself had personally witnessed; two redactions of the original exist, one in prose and one in verse, and there are other, second-hand redactions. It is preserved in several manuscripts but still unedited, and is divided into two parts; the first narrates Khayr al-Dīn's adventures from his birth till 1541, whilst the second, concerned with the French expedition of 1543-4, has only come down to us in ms. 1186 of the B. N. in Paris. Scholars have used it basically through the intermediary of a bad French translation of an Arabic résumé of the Turkish text (the Arabic text was published at Algiers in 1934 by Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḳādir; on this is based *al-Zuhra al-nāʾira*, ed. S. Baba ʿUmar in *Jnal. d'histoire et de civilisation du Maghreb*, iii (Algiers 1967), 1-18 of the Arabic section). The French tr. was published in two vols. at Paris in 1837 by S. Rang and F. Denis as *Fondation de la Régence d'Alger. Histoire de Barberousse.* On the other hand, the Italian tr. made from a Spanish version of the Turkish text (ms. 1663 of the Escorial, to which the citations in this article refer), made by Giovan Luigi Alçamora in 1578, has been little used. This Italian tr. was published at Palermo by E. Peleaz in *Archivio Storico Siciliano* between 1880 and 1887 and as a monograph in 1887 with the title *La vita e la storia di Ariadeno Barbarossa* (see A. Gallotta, *Le ġazavāt di Ḫayreddīn Barbarossa*, in *Studi Magrebini*, iii (Naples 1970), 79-160).

Another contemporary work on Barbarossa is the *Lüdjdjat al-abrār* or *Lüdjdjat al-akhyār* of Yetīm ʿAlī Čelebi, d. 959/1552 (see A. S. Levend, *Ġazavāt-nāmeler ve Mihaloğlu Ali Bey'in Ġazavāt-nāmesi*, Ankara 1956, 74), of which only one manuscript is known, that in the private library of İ. H. Uzunçarsili. There is an extract from this work in ʿĀlī, *Künh al-akhbār*, 4th section, 3rd part, still unedited; this has been used *apud* Istanbul Univ. Library ms. 5959, fols. 253a-256b. Ḥadjdjī Khalīfa, *Tuḥfat al-kibār fī asfār al-biḥār*, Istanbul 1329, 25-59, is based on the *Ghazawāt*, with some variations. A contemporary Spanish source, written in 1545, is the *Crónica de los Barbarrojas* of F. Lopez de Gómara, published in *Memorial historico español*, vi, Madrid 1853, 327-439. There are also notices on Barbarossa in the *Historia de la vida y hechos del Emperador Carlos V* by Prudencio de Sandoval, written at the end of the 16th century, of which an edition was published at Madrid in 1955 (*Biblioteca de autores españoles*, lxxx-lxxxii), and in the *Topografia et historia general de Argel* by Diego de Haëdo, written towards the end of the 16th century (Valladolid 1612 and Madrid 1927-9, in 3 vols.). The citations in this article refer to this last edition.

Collections of documents: *Colleción de documentos ineditos para la historia de España*, 112 vols., Madrid 1842-95, for which there is a catalogue raisonné by J. Paz, *Catalogo de la colleción...*, 2 vols., Madrid 1930-1; E. Charrière, *Négociations de la France dans le Levant*, i, Paris 1848; E. de la Primaudaie, *Documents inédits sur l'histoire de l'occupation espagnole en Afrique*, in *Rev. Afr.*, xix-xxi (1875-7); M. Sanudo, *I diarii*, 58 vols., Venice 1879-1902; E. Albèri, *Le relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, Ser. 3, vol. i, Florence 1840; M. T. Gökbilgin, *Venedik devlet arşivindeki vesikalar külliyatında Kanunî Sultan Süleyman devri belgeleri*, in *Belgeler: Türk tarih belgeleri dergisi*, i (Ankara 1964), 119-20 (nos. 27-8, 34, 40-1, 61, 82; the document xv. 7 is not included in this collection); idem, *Venedik devlet arşivindeki türkçe belgeler kolleksiyonu ve bizimle ilgili diğer belgeler*, in *Belgeler*, v-viii (1968-71), 1-151 (nos. 131, 188).

Khayr al-Dīn's life is included, from the historical point of view, in H. D. de Grammont, *Histoire d'Alger sous la domination turque (1515-1830)*, Paris 1887; C. Manfroni, *Storia della marina italiana dalla caduta di Constantinopoli alla battaglia di Lepanto*, Rome 1897; A. Samih Ilter, *Şimali Afrikada Türkler*, i, Istanbul 1937.

There are several more or less recent works, the last of which being E. Bradford's *The Sultan's Admiral, the life of Barbarossa*, London and New York 1968, of little worth. (A. GALOTTA)

KHAYR AL-DĪN PASHA [see DJANDARLĪ].

USTĀD **KHAYR AL-DĪN**, Ottoman architect, popularly considered as the founder of Turkish architecture. We have very little certain knowledge of his life, and do not even know when he was born and died, but his father Ustād Murād is known to have restored the Galata Tower after the earthquake of 913/1509. His name is not included in a list of architects in a *defter* from the first years of Sultan Süleymān's reign (Topkapi Sarayı Arşivi, D 7843), indicating that he may no longer have been alive then. In Ayvānsarāyī Ḥüseyin Efendi's *Ḥadīḳat al-Djawāmiʿ*, written in 1193/1779, the following information is given about him: "Khayr al-Dīn, the architect—who was the builder of the Miʿmār Khayr al-Dīn mosque opposite the mausoleum of Sinān Pasha in Dīwān Yolu—was the architect of

Sultan Bāyezīd. He is buried outside the Sinān Pasha mausoleum. There is a quarter bearing his name". This mosque, according to its inscription, was burnt down in 1316/1898 and rebuilt by Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd II. Ṭayyār-zāde Aḥmed ʿAṭāʾ Enderūnī, in *ʿAṭāʾ Taʾrīkhi*, Istanbul 1291, i, 76, attributes to him buildings in Edirne, Amasya and Istanbul during the reign of Bāyezīd II (886-918/1481-1512), and his information is repeated in Meḥmed Thüreyyā, *Sidjill-i ʿOthmānī*, ii, 314.

Khayr al-Dīn seems to have begun his career outside Istanbul. The *külliyye* or complex of religious and educational buildings in Amasya of Sultan Bāyezīd, founded by the prince Aḥmed, governor of Amasya, in his father's name, was his first major work, and was completed in 891/1486. In this project, on the banks of the Kızılırmak River (of which only the *medrese*, mosque, *ʿimāret*, *türbe* and fountain survive today), the architect tried to give unity to the whole site by the plan chosen, which included two large domes, one after the other, and then three smaller domes at their sides.

The second and larger *külliyye* of Sultan Bāyezīd was built by Khayr al-Dīn in Edirne between the years 889/1484 and 893/1488. With its mosque, *ʿimāret*, hospital, *medrese*, baths, kitchen and provision depots, this is one of the biggest social-religious foundations of the 9th/15th century. The mosque, with its many tombs, dominates the architectural complex; it has a lofty dome, 21 m in diameter, mounted on four walls 19 m high. The low, nine-domed, small *tābkhānas* are adjacent to the mosque. At the outer corners of the fountain courtyard, in front of the *tābkhānas*, are two minarets with galleries.

More controversial is Khayr al-Dīn's role in the construction of the mosque of Sultan Bāyezīd in Istanbul, which was designed as a *külliyye* and completed in five years between 906/1501 and 911/1506. In this, the first plan of the single half-domed Fātiḥ mosque is taken up and developed further by the addition of a second half-dome to the north and one small dome on each side. The central dome is 18 m in diameter; the fountain courtyard has two rows of windows, and the two minarets, with single galleries and 87 m apart from each other, are at the outer corners. The various domes and arches of the mosque were restored by Sinān after the 915/1509 earthquake, according to the *Tuḥfat al-miʿmārīn*.

Now Muṣṭafā Nūrī Pasha, in his *Netāʾidj al-wuḳūʿāt* (Istanbul 1327), put forward the name of Kemāl al-Dīn as the architect of the Bāyezīd mosque, whilst more recently, Rıfkı Melûl Meric has suggested the name of Yaʿḳūb b. Sulṭān Shāh as the architect, basing this on records in Istanbul Belediye Library manuscripts; see his *Bayezid camii mimarı*, in *Ilâhiyat Fakültesi, Yıllık Araştırmalar Dergisi*, ii (Ankara 1958), 4-77, and *L'architecte de la mosquée Bayezid d'Istanbul*, in *Procs. First ICTA* (Ankara 1961). There are certainly many obscurities and chronological difficulties about the dating of the building process, but according to the mosque's inscription, work started on it at the end of 906/1501 and was completed in 911/1506; the dome was completed in the third week of Rabīʿ I 910, and in the next month, the outer courtyard of the mosque in the garden of the Old Palace and its boundaries were marked out and enclosed with walls. There does not seem to be any specific information about Yaʿḳūb's hand in it; Khayr al-Dīn had become architect-in-chief previously, and the sources indicate that Khayr al-Dīn was alive after Yaʿḳūb's death. It is also known that he was in charge of construction at the caravanserai, later known as the Pirindj Khān, at Bursa, built by the Sultan as a *wakf* to provide income for his mosque in Istanbul (Bursa Müzesi arşivi, Sharīʿa register-*defters*, No. 20, entry No. 67; Kâmil Kepeci, *Bursa Hanları*, Bursa 1935).

Bibliography: (in addition to sources mentioned in the article): Ewliyā Čelebi, *Seyāḥat-nāme*, Istanbul 1314, i, 142; Saʿd al-Dīn, *Tādj al-tawārīkh*, Istanbul 1279, ii, 211; L. A. Mayer, *Islamic architects and their works*, Geneva 1956; B. Ünsal, *Turkish Islamic architecture in Seljuk and Ottoman times 1071-1923*, London 1959; G. Goodwin, *A history of Ottoman architecture*, London 1971, 143, 150-1, 155, 168; O. Aslanapa, *Turkish art and architecture*, London 1971, 210-14.

(O. Aslanapa)

KHAYRĀBĀD.

i. — A small town in Uttar Pradēsh, India, 27° 32′ N., 80° 45′ E., 75 km. north of Lakhnaʾū (Lucknow) on the Barēlī road, now of small importance but in Mughal times the headquarters of one of the five *sarkārs* of the *sūba* of Awadh (Abu 'l-Faḍl ʿAllāmī, *Āʾīn-i Akbarī*, Eng. tr. Jarrett, Bibl. Ind., ii, 93, 176). Under the kingdom of Awadh [*q.v.*] it became the headquarters town of a *niẓāmat*; but after the British annexation of Awadh its importance declined with the rise of Sītāpur 8 km. to the north. Before the partition of the Indian subcontinent, the population of the town and surrounding district was about 60 % Muslim. Except for the Djāmiʿ masdjid, of the time of Shāhdjahān, its buildings are undistinguished; Abu 'l-Faḍl's lists show it as possessing a brick fort.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Faḍl, *loc. cit.*; H. R. Nevill, *Sitapur: a gazetteer* (= *District Gazetteers of the United Provinces* ..., xl), Allahabad 1905, s.v. Khairabad.

ii. — A settlement on the west bank of the river Indus opposite Aṭak [*q.v.*] (Attock). Whether or not the name was deliberately given for its assonance with Kaṭak at the south-eastern extremity of Akbar's dominions, as Abu 'l-Faḍl asserts (*Akbar-nāma*, ed. Bibl. Ind., iii, 355), the name certainly means "obstacle". A popular legend (not in the *Akbar-nāma*) has it that Khayrābād is the "habitation of well-being" attained after the "obstacle" has been successfully passed, and was named by Akbar after the successful bridging of the Indus at a notoriously treacherous point. The *sarāʾī* of Khayrābād is frequently referred to in accounts of of Akbar's operations in the north-west after 989/1581.

Bibliography: *Akbar-nāma*, iii, index s.v. Aṭak; and see Bibliography to Aṭak.

(J. Burton-Page)

KHAYRPŪR.

1. A former native state of the province of Sind in British India, now in Pakistan, lying to the east of the lower-middle Indus River between lat. 27°46′ and 26°10′ N. and between long. 68°20′ and 70°14′ E., and with an area of 6,018 sq. miles; it is also the name of a town, formerly the capital of the state, lying some 25 miles south-west of Sukkur and Rohri.

The southeastern part of what was Khayrpūr state is largely desert, but the alluvial plains in the north and west, adjacent to the Indus, are fertile and are irrigated by canals from the Indus valley, so that such crops as cereals, cotton, sugar cane, tobacco, oilseed and indigo can be cultivated.

The separate historical existence of the state

dates only from the late 18th century. In 1783 the Balūč chief Mīr Fatḥ ʿAlī Khān Tālpūr overthrew the Kalhoras of Sind and secured a *sanad* from the Durrānī ruler in Ḳandahār as titular ruler of Sind. His nephew Mīr Suhrāb Khān (d. 1830) asserted his power in Khayrpūr town, and founded a state of his own, whilst continuing to acknowledge the supremacy of the Tālpūr Mīr of Sind at Ḥaydarābād. By conquest and intrigue he enlarged his possessions beyond the environs of Khayrpūr town southwards and eastwards to the Great Indian Desert fringes and westwards to the Indus. During the internal convulsions in Afghānistān which led to the supersession of the Sadōzāy line by the Bārakzāy line of Dūst Muḥammad [see AFGHĀNISTĀN. v. History], the Mīrs of Sind withheld tribute, and by *ca.* 1813 the province had become virtually independent; in 1832 the independent existence of Sind was acknowledged by Britain. The Mīrs of Sind attempted to impede the passage northwards of British troops during the First Afghan War (1839-42), but one of the sons of Mīr Suhrāb Khān in Khayrpūr, ʿAlī Murād, was more co-operative, and after the operations in Sind by Sir Charles Napier and its annexation in 1843, ʿAlī Murād became Mīr of Khayrpūr and also honorary *Raʾīs* of Upper Sind.

However, internal disputes in Khayrpūr and friction with the Government of India—Sir Bartle Frere had in 1851 commented on the wretched state of the populace of Khayrpūr—led to ʿAlī Murād being in 1852 deprived of this office as *Raʾīs* and his territories being reduced to his patrimonal possessions of Khayrpūr. The confiscated territories, amounting to some 5,412 sq. miles, were now incorporated into what was at the time the Shikarpūr District. Subsequently, a *wazīr* on loan from British service was placed at the Mīr's side as chief executive with the powers of a District Magistrate, and the Collector of Sukkur acted as British Political Agent in Khayrpūr. Khayrpūr thus subsisted as the only remaining native state in Sind, and in 1866 a *sanad* was granted to Mīr ʿAlī Murād in which the Government of India promised to recognise the succession of any Mīr ascending the throne according to Islamic law. ʿAlī Murād did not die till 1894, and was then succeeded by his son Fāʾiz Muḥammad.

In 1947 Khayrpūr state acceded to Pakistan, but after the administrative reorganisation of 1955 it was merged into the province of West Pakistan, and is now a District, under a Deputy Commissioner, sub-divided into six revenue *taʿlūḳas* (Khayrpūr, Gambat, Kōt Dīdjī, Mīr Wah, Fāʾiz Gandj and Nāra). In 1961 the population of the District was 472,137, this being overwhelmingly rural and 83 % Sindi speaking. The town of Khayrpūr, which is today an important textile centre, had 34,144 inhabitants in 1961.

Bibliography: E. A. Langley, *Narrative of a residence at the court of Meer Ali Moorad, with wild sports in the valley of the Indus*, London 1860; E. H. Aitkens, *Gazeteer of the province of Sind*, Karachi 1907, 121-8, 150-1, 510-19; *Imperial gazeteer of India* [2], xv, 210-16; H. T. Lambrick, *Sir Charles Napier and the conquest of Sind*, Oxford 1952 (Genealogical Table 2 at p. 387, "The ruling house of Khairpur"); H. T. Sorely, *The gazeteer of West Pakistan, including Khairpur State*, Karachi 1968; *Population census of Pakistan 1961. District census report, Khairpur*, Karachi N.D.

2. A town and *taḥṣīl* of the former Bahāwalpūr State [*q.v.*] in West Panjab, now in Pakistan; the town is situated in lat. 29°35′ N. and long. 72°18′ E., 38 miles to the north-east of Bahāwalpūr town. See *Imperial gazeteer of India* [2], xv, 216.

3. A town in the ʿAlīpur *taḥṣīl* of the Muẓaffargaṙh District of West Panjab, now in Pakistan. It is situated in lat. 29°20′ N. and long. 70°49′ E., 57 miles to the south of Muẓaffargaṙh town, and near the junction of the Indus and Chenab Rivers. It was founded in the early 19th century by the Bukhārī Sayyid Khayr Shāh, from whom it derives its name. See *Imperial gazeteer of India* [2], xv, 216-17. (C. E. Bosworth)

KHAYSH (A.; pl. *khuyūsh*, *akhyāsh*, n. of unity, *khaysha*), a coarse, loose linen made with flax of poor quality and used in the manufacture of sacks, wrappings and rudimentary tents. The Arabic dictionaries only mention, in its literal sense, this meaning; Dozy (*Suppl.*, s.v.) renders it by "canevas; linon; serpillière; treillis", and de Goeje (*BGA*, iv, 355) remarks that this linen is manufactured in Ṭabaristān. Sometimes, the expression *ʿArab al-khaysh* is used to designate the Bedouins (Quatremère, *Mém. géogr. ethi st. sur l'Égypte*, Paris 1811, il, 218).

However, this term clearly designates a means of obtaining a certain freshness of air, without the texts in which it appears being always explicit, for example when Ibn al-Faḳīh (*Buldān*, 88; tr. Massé, 108) says that the Cordovans have no need of *khaysh* in summer. In a certain number of mentions, the use of the expressions *fī khaysh* or, better still, *bayt khaysh* (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Bukhalāʾ*, 187; idem, *Rasāʾil*, ed. Hārūn, i, 393) leads one to think that it has the meaning of a summer room. Ṭ. al-Ḥādjirī (the editor of *Kitāb al-Bukhalāʾ*, 322) puts forward the view that *khaysh*, in this sense, is the Persian *kāshān* "a summer room" and it is probable that the usage comes in fact from Persia. Al-Muḳaddasī (449) says that he saw at Shīrāz some *buyūt al-khaysh* "where water runs constantly, brought by pipes which encircle the room, reaching it from high up". Perhaps the walls were bare, but they may also have been covered with *khaysh*; in any case, al-Ṭabarī (iii, 418) recounts that al-Manṣūr had a pavilion hung with *khaysh* "that was constantly moistened; his successors preferred mats of palm leaves" (Gaudefroy-Demombynes and Platonov, *Monde musulman*, 381; cf. Mez, *Renaissance*, 354-60: *ḳubbat al-khaysh*).

Finally, the word *khaysh* designates another process that can be identified with certainty when it is used in connection with the verb *ʿallaḳa* "to hang up" (al-Djāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, i, 82; al-Bayhaḳī, *Maḥāsin*, 394): in this case, it means a kind of fan, of which a detailed description will be found in Dozy (*Suppl.*, s.v.); al-Sharīshī, (*Sharḥ*, ii, 313; cf. al-Ghuzūlī, *Maṭāliʿ*, i, 65; Miskawayh, i, 167; Mez, *loc. cit.*; M. Canard, in *AIEO Alger*, vi (1942-7), 177, n. 79) speaks in the same way of a *mirwaḥat al-khaysh* and says of this apparatus that it "has the form of a ship's sail; it is hung from the ceiling and a cord is attached to it to set it in motion; it is moistened with water and sprinkled with rosewater. When anyone wishes to take a siesta or sleep at night, he pulls the cord and the apparatus moves back and forth the whole length of the house, directing a fresh, perfumed breeze on to the sleeper". In fact, young slaves were appointed to work the *khaysh*, whose use, which seems to have made its first appearance in ʿIrāḳ from the 1st/7th century, has not disappeared in that country, where it is, however, designated by the Indian name *pānka* (see *Lughat al-ʿArab*, ix (1931), 621-3).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(Ch. Pellat)

KHAYYĀM [see ʿUMAR KHAYYĀM].

KHAYYĀṬ (A.) "tailor", "dressmaker". In classical Arabic literature, tailors formed a group of skilled artisans who made the clothing for all social classes in the Near East. A maxim attributed to the Prophet runs *ʿamal al-abrār min al-ridjāl al-khiyāṭa wa-ʿamal al-abrār min al-nisāʾ al-ghazal* "the occupation of pious men is tailoring, and that of pious women is spinning. Though this saying is of dubious authenticity, it does establish a division of labour between men and women, and it furthermore links piety with the tailor's craft. It is accordingly not surprising to note that, in the ancient history of the Islamic community, there were numerous Muslim jurists who worked as tailors for their daily bread; and it might well be concluded that it was these very men who ensured for this saying a wide circulation in order to create a favourable image of their profession.

Numerous tailors and other skilled workers were employed by the caliphs and their viziers in the state workshops (*dar al-ṭirāz* [see ṬIRĀZ], whilst independently-employed tailors usually worked in little workshops in a particular street or in the markets of Islamic towns. Some pious but poor tailors worked inside mosques (cf. al-Makkī, *Ḳūt al-ḳulūb*, Cairo 1961, ii, 562; Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, Hyderabad 1357, v, 132). The proverbial expression *abnāʾ al-daraza* (lit. "sons of sewing"), current in the ʿAbbāsid period, referred to the tailors of Kūfa, who had taken part in the revolt of Zayd b. ʿAlī, great-grandson of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, against the Umayyads (120-2/738-40). According to al-Thaʿālibī, it was applied to the lowest classes (*sifal*) and the dregs of the population (*suḳḳāṭ*), and this is evidently the oldest literary mention about the introduction of Shīʿism amongst the artisanal population of ʿIrāḳ.

We have no authentic information enabling us to state that there existed guilds of tailors in the early Islamic Near East. However, some proofs do exist, at least in theory, which allow one to conclude that certain of the urban *khayyāṭūn* formed associations (*sharika*) with their colleagues living in the same area. Some associations of artisans (*sharikat al-ṣanāʾiʿ*) existed amongst other groups of workers, such as the dyers (*ṣabbāghūn*), the fullers (*ḳaṣṣārūn*) and the goldsmiths (*ṣāgha*); this must have been a case of the usual type of grouping-together amongst artisans. The only proof which we have comes from a solitary nomination of a tailor to the office of *raʾīs ʿalā 'l-khayyāṭīn* made by the ʿAbbāsid vizier Ibn al-Furāt (d. Rabīʿ II 312/July 324); this must relate to the tailors employed in the Baghdād *dār al-ṭirāz*.

Tailors, whether free men or slaves, were well-paid. According to al-ʿAbbās b. al-Ḥasan, vizier to al-Muktafī (289-95/902-8) and to al-Muḳtadir (295-320/908-32), "when an artisan like a tailor (*khayyāṭ*) works with silk brocade (*dībādj*), he earns a thousand *dīnār*s a day, but when he works only with *kūhī* (cloth of inferior value), he gets then *dirhams*"; even allowing for exaggeration, this assertion permits us to see how much certain tailors might earn. According to some sources, a slave tailor paid over to his master as *ḍarībat al-ʿabd* (payment for securing manumission), a payment which was handed over in instalments, two *dirhams* out of his daily wage; hence this was clearly quite a high one. A comparative study of workmen's wages in the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsid periods leads one to think that tailors enjoyed a good standard of living and had considerable resources, and this is confirmed by a tale of the *Thousand and one nights*. In addition to his normal wages, a tailor could supplement his income by hiring out clothing, e.g. *ṭaylasāns*, to specific people.

The literary sources of the ʿAbbāsid and Mamlūk periods also combine to show that the social status of the *khayyāṭūn* was higher than that of all other groups of artisans. We find further proof of this in the fact that the customary law of *kafāʾa* requiring social compatibility in marriage was applied with less strictness in regard to them than for any other groups or workers.

The manuals of *ḥisba* [*q.v.*] enumerate certain fraudulent practices current amongst tailors and lay down the requisite measures for stopping them and for protecting the public interest. They require, for instance, that these artisans should weigh precious materials at the moment at which they are handed over to them, and that the left-overs and off-cuts should be returned to the original owner when the garment is completed, at the same time as they exhort them to fulfil the orders as quickly as possible, thus leading one to think that these orders were not always done expeditiously within the corporation of tailors. The Syrian Ibn Ṭūlūn (880-953/1473-1546), writing at the end of the Mamlūk period and beginning of the Ottoman one in Syria, stresses the basic theological principle that tailors should not use silk for men's garments, although this is permissible for women and children. This echoes a tradition based on the authority of ʿAlī b. Ṭālib, which Ibn Ṭūlūn thought fit to recall in connection with the professional responsibilities of tailors, and leads one to think, amongst other things, that there was a distinct and strong Shīʿī influence discernible amongst the Arab tailors of the Near East.

Bibliography: Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī, *Kitāb al-Aṣl*, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, ms. of Ḥanafī *fiḳh*, 34, fols. 57-77; Saḥnūn, *Mudawwana*, Cairo 1905-6, xii, 42-3; Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 343-44; Wakīʿ, *Akhbār al-ḳuḍāt*, Cairo, 1366/1947, i, 133, Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-muḥāḍara*, Beirut 1971, i, 66-7; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-taṭfīl*, Damascus 1346/1927, 82-3; Thaʿālibī, *Arbaʿ rasāʾil*, Istanbul 1301/1883, 203; idem, *Khams rasāʾil*, Istanbul 1301/1883, 27; idem, *Thimār al-ḳulūb*, Cairo 1908, 215-6; idem, *Khāṣṣ al-khāṣṣ*, Beirut 1966, 83; al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabāʾ*, Beirut 1961, ii, 463; *Alf layla wa-layla*, ed. Muḥammad Ḳaṭṭāh al-ʿAḍawī, Bulak, 1926, i, 95 ff.; Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Ḳawl al-nabīl bi-dhikr al-taṭfīl*, ms. Chester Beatty 4770, fols. 48-9; Ibn Ḳudāma, *Mughnī*, Cairo 1947, v, 1-5; Ibn Bassām, *Nihāyat al-rutba fī ṭalab al-ḥisba*, Baghdād 1968, 78; Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *Maʿālim al-ḳurba*, ed. R. Levy, Cambridge, 1937-8, 137-40; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, ff. 214a-214b; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Lubāb fī tahdhīb al-ansāb*, ed. H. al-Ḳudsī, Cairo, 1347, i, 397-8; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Naḳd al-ṭālib*, ms. Chester Beatty, 3317, fol. 50a, idem, *Ḍawʾ al-sirādj fī mā ḳīla fī 'l-nassādj*, ms. Chester Beatty, 3317, fols. 127-9; A. von Kremer, *Ueber das Einnahmebudget des Abbasiden Reiches vom Jahre 306 H./918-919*, Vienna 1877, 68 ff.; R. B. Serjeant, *Materials for a history of Islamic textiles up to the Mongol conquest*, in *Ars Islamica*, ix (1942), 78; R. Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le Protectorat*, Casablanca 1949, 335; Khalīl al-ʿAẓm and Muḥammad Saʿid al-Ḳāsimī, *Dictionnaire des métiers damascains*, Paris 1960, i, 130; T. Fahd, *Les corps de métiers au IVe/Xe siècle à Bagdād*, in *JESHO*, viii (1965), 195; A. L. Udovitch, *Labour partnerships in early islamic law*, in

JESHO, x (1967), 65-80; H. J. Cohen, *The economic background and secular occupations of Muslim jurisprudents and traditionists in the classical period of Islam*, in *JESHO*, xiii (1970), 16-61; M. A. J. Beg, *The social history of the labouring classes in Iraq under the ʿAbbāsids*, unpubl. Ph. D. thesis, Cambridge 1971, 400 ff.; idem, *A contribution to the economic history of the Caliphate: a study of the cost of living and the economic status of artisans in Abbāsid Iraq*, in *IQ*, xvi (1972), 140-67; E. Ashtor, *Prix et salaires*, index. (M. A. J. Beg)

AL-KHAYYĀṬ, Abū ʿAlī Yaḥyā b. Ghālib, astrologer and pupil of Māshallāh [*q.v.*], died *ca.* 220/835. He was known to mediaeval Christendom as Albohali (vars. Alghihac, Albenahait, etc.), and should not be confused with the Andalusian astronomer Abū Bakr Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad b. al-Khayyāṭ. The *Fihrist*, 276 (Cairo edn., 385-6) attributes to him a *K. al-Masāʾil* [*fī aḥkām al-nudjūm*] and a *K. al-Mawālīd*, which are both extant, together with the following works, now lost: *K. al-Madkhal*, *K. al-Maʿānī*, *K. al-Duwal*, *K. Taḥwīl sinī 'l-mawālīd*, *K. al-Manthūr*, *K. Ḳaḍīb al-dhahab*, *K. Taḥāwīl sinī 'l-ʿālam* and *K. al-Nukat*. A *K. Sirr al-ʿamal* and *Fawāʾid falakiyya* have further been preserved. Al-Khayyāṭ's fame in mediaeval Europe stems from the *K. al-Mawālīd*, a work on judicial astrology which also contains horoscopes for illness, frequent citations from Ptolemy and Hermes on the pars fortunae, etc. Two Latin translations were made of it, one by Plato of Tivoli (Plato Tiburtinus) at Barcelona in 1136, and the other by John of Seville (Iohannes Hispalensis) in 1153; the latter translation was printed at Nuremberg (1546, 1459) under the title *Albohali de iudiciis nativitatum liber unus* and probably retranslated into French. Al-Khayyāt is often cited as a secondary authority by the European schoolmen, and he seems to have been used, through John of Seville's version, by Leopold of Austria (floruit *ca.* 1271), for his *Compilatio de astrorum scientia*.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 250, S I, 394; Suter, *Mathematiker*, 9-10; Sarton, *Introduction*, i, 569, ii, 170, 178; F. J. Carmody, *Arabic astronomical and astrological sciences in Latin translation*, Berkeley 1956, 49-51; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, ix, 204.

(H. Suter — [J. Samsó])

AL-KHAYYĀṬ, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿUthmān, theologian and jurist, *ca.* 220/835—*ca.* 300/913, foremost representative of the Baghdād school of the Muʿtazila at his time. He still remembered Djaʿfar b. Mubashshir (died 234/849), whom he had asked certain questions on a much-debated exegetical problem (cf. Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Muʿtazila*, 76, ll. 5 ff.), but he seems to have received his main theological training from two members of the following generation about whom we know little, sc. ʿĪsā b. al-Haytham al-Ṣūfī and Abā Mudjālid Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḍarīr al-Baghdādī, an influential *mawlā* of the caliph al-Muʿtaṣim (d. 268/882 or Dhu 'l-Ḳaʿda 269/May 883), both of them pupils of Murdār and Djaʿfar b. Ḥarb (d. 236/850-1), Abū Mudjālid being also a pupil of Djaʿfar b. Mubashshir (cf. *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*, iv, 95 f.; Kaʿbī, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, ed. Fuʾād Sayyid, 74 l. 22). To Abū Mudjālid he seems to have owed his interest in and his relatively tolerant attitude towards *ḥadīth*. His juridical knowledge procured him the discipleship of members of different *madhāhib*, among them the famous Shāfiʿī Ibn Suraydj (d. 306/918; cf. Ibn al-Murtaḍā, 129, ll. 16 f. and Ḳāḍī ʿAbd al-Djabbār, *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl*, ed. F. Sayyid 301, ll. 1 ff., here together with a Mālikī and a Ẓāhirī). His theological activity was determined by problems inside his own Baghdādī school (see below), above all by the shock caused through the books of Ibn al-Rāwandī, a co-disciple of his in the school of ʿĪsā b. al-Haytham al-Ṣūfī. He was very well informed about the history and the doxographical tradition of early Islamic, and especially about Muʿtazilī *kalām*. His authority seems to have been relatively unquestioned (cf. the remarks by Ibn al-Nadīm and by Abū Zayd al-Balkhī in Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mīzān*, iv, 8, apu. ff.); only Djubbāʾī, who simultaneously tried in Baṣra to restructure the Muʿtazilī system by going back to the ideas of Abu 'l-Hudhayl, attacked him in a book against his doctrine of the pre-existence of the body (see below; cf. Baghdādī, *al-Farḳ bayn al-firaḳ*, 165, ll. 3 ff. and Dāwūdī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-mufassirīn* [ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad ʿUmar], ii, 190, l. 4). His main disciples were Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Ṣaymarī and especially Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Kaʿbī al-Balkhī (d. 317/929 or 319/931), who through their antagonism towards Djubbāʾī's son Abū Hāshim, both stressed their difference from the Baṣrī school.

Works: (a) Eight books against Ibn al-Rāwandī, namely refutations of his *K. al-Tādj*, his *K. al-Dāmigh*, his *K. al-Zumurrudh*, his *K. Naʿt al-ḥikma*, his *K. al-Farīd*, his *K. Ḳaḍīb al-dhahab* and his *K. Imāmat al-mafḍūl*, none of which are preserved (cf. Ibn al-Nadīm in *WZKM*, iv (1890), 223 apu. ff., and *ZDMG*, xc (1936), 302 [without explicit reference to al-Khayyāṭ]; Ibn al-Ḳāriḥ, in al-Maʿarrī, *Risālat al-Ghufrān*, ed. Bint al-Shāṭiʾ 35, ll. 4 ff.; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vi, 100 l. 1), and a refutation of his K. *Faḍīḥat al-Muʿtazila*, known under the title of *K. al-Intiṣār* and probably finished shortly after 269/822 (ed. H. S. Nyberg, Cairo 1927; re-edited with a translation by A. N. Nader, Beirut 1957; for the date of composition, cf. Madelung in *Le Shīʿisme imâmite*, 14). (b) Refutation of the *K. al-Djārūf* by Abū Ḥafṣ al-Ḥaddād (cf. *Fihrist*, ed. Fück in *Muh. Shafi Pres. Volume*, 71, ll. 10 f.; for the contents, cf. Van Ess, *Erkenntnislehre des Īcī*, 223). (c) *K. al-Radd ʿalā man athbata khabar al-wāḥid* (cf. *Fihrist*, quoted by Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-mīzān*, iv, 9, l. 3), mentioned and corrected by Kaʿbī in his *K. Ḳabūl al-akhbār* (cf. ms. Cairo, Dār al-kutub, *Muṣṭalaḥ* 14 m, p. 2, ll. 5 f.). (d) Refutation of the *K. al-ʿAks* by ʿAbbād b. Sulaymān (cf. *Fihrist*, in *ZDMG*, xc (1936), 302). (e) Refutation of a *K. al-Burhān* (= Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics*?; cf. *Fihrist*, *loc. cit.* [both (d) and (e) only under the assumption that Fück's identification of the passage is valid]). (f) A book on *al-istidlāl bi 'l-shāhid ʿalā 'l-ghāʾib*, mentioned by Ḳāḍī ʿAbd al-Djabbār in his *Muḥīṭ* (167, l. 14 ʿAzmī = 165, l. 4 Houben). Identical with (d) or (e)? (g) A vast amount of doxographical and biographical material taken up by Kaʿbī in his *K. al-Maḳālāt* and in his *Balkhiyyāt*, partly through oral transmission during his courses with Khayyāṭ in Baghdād, partly through a series of *quaestiones* (*masāʾil*) which he sent to his teacher from Balkh and which were further treated by Ḳāḍī ʿAbd al-Djabbār (cf. Ḥākim al-Djushamī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, ed. F. Sayyid, 368, ll. 12 f.).

Doctrines: In Khayyāṭ's time, the main accent of theological discussion in the Baghdādī school had shifted from problems like the relation between God's essence and his attributes, the status of the believer and the nature of the Ḳurʾān (taboo since the time of the *miḥna*), to the question of God's relation to the world, of creation and annihilation. Khayyāṭ

tries to preserve a certain self-determinedness of the created world in relation to God's almightyness: God cannot interfere with the laws of nature (cf. Ash͟ʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, 314, ll. 3 ff.), perhaps even not by a *kh͟arḳ al-ʿāda* as the Baṣrī school believed. The qualifying momentum (*mukh͟aṣṣiṣ*) for an action lies in the action itself, not in the agent (cf. Ṣāliḥ al-Maḳbalī, *al-ʿĀlam al-sh͟āmikh͟*, Cairo 1328, 21 ff.). The order of causality is guaranteed through *tawallud* (cf. *Intiṣār*, ed. Nader, 60, ll. 11 ff.). Similarly, God has no power to do injustice (cf. *Intiṣār*, 22, l. 4). For the same reason, Kh͟ayyāṭ is able to hold an extreme position concerning the much-debated thesis brought up by the Baṣrī Muʿtazilī al-Sh͟aḥḥām that "the possible in the state of its non-presence in the world, has some reality" (cf. R. M. Frank, in *Atti del III Congresso di Studi Arabi e Islamici*, Ravello 1966, 324 ff.). The potentially existent (*maʿdūm*) is, insofar it is known by God and comprised by His power, not only "something" (*sh͟ayʾ* = ὄν), but also "body" (*d̲j̲ism*), *i.e.* it is *maʿlūm* and *maḳdūr ʿalayh* in its corporeality as composed of substance and accidents. Through its accidents it possesses already in its pre-existence all qualities, with the exception of createdness (*makh͟lūḳ* or *muḥdath͟*, which are added through the fact of creation) and movement (because a body is not moving in the moment of its coming-into-existence; cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, v, 42, ll. 12 ff.; Bagh͟dādī, *al-Farḳ bayn al-firaḳ*, 164, ll. 13 f.; Rāzī, *Muḥaṣṣal*, 38, ll. 14 f.). Incompatible with the possible as not-yet-existent is also the quality of permanence (*baḳā*). In this case, however, Kh͟ayyāṭ concluded that *baḳāʾ* is no separate quality or accident at all, but only an expression for the continuance of being. This meant that annihilation, too, does not result from God's withdrawing the quality of *baḳāʾ* and subsequent disintegration of the different parts of the body, as it was frequently believed, but through direct conversion into non-existence (*iʿdām*; cf. Abū Rash͟īd an-Nīsābūrī, *al-Masāʾil fī 'l-kh͟ilāf*, in A. Biram, *Die atomistische Substanzenlehre aus dem Buch der Streitfragen zwischen Basrensern und Bagdadensern*, Berlin 1902, text, 58, apu. ff., and 69, l. 4 f.; also al-Malāḥimī, *al-Fāʾiḳ fī uṣūl al-dīn*, fol. 154b. with special reference to the death of human beings).

The theory seems not yet to be fully developed in *Intiṣār*, § 79, and is passed over in silence in *Intiṣār*, 23, ll. 2 ff.; on the other hand, it is not easy to differentiate it from the ideas of Sh͟aḥḥām (cf. Ash͟ʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, 504, ll. 16 ff.). D̲j̲ubbāʾī attacked it on the basis that it implies the eternity of bodies (and matter, because bodies are material, whereas atoms and accidents are not, as long as they are not put together?; cf. Bagh͟dādī, *Farḳ*, 165, ll. 3 ff.). Kh͟ayyāṭ, however, did not apparently react against D̲j̲ubbāʾī, but against the older Baṣrī Muʿtazilī Abu 'l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. Muslim al-Ṣāliḥī, an adherent of Ṣāliḥ Ḳubba (from whom he seems to have got his *nisba*). Ṣāliḥī rejected the *maʿdūm*-theory (cf. Ash͟ʿarī, *Maḳālāt*, 501, ll. 8 ff. and Bagh͟dādī, *Farḳ*, 163, apu. ff.) as well as *tawallud* (cf. Ash͟ʿarī, 233, ll. 3 f.); he stressed God's power to interfere with the laws of nature (cf. Ash͟ʿarī, 309, ll. 12 ff., and esp. 310, ll. 9 ff.; also 570, ll. 7 ff.).

Kh͟ayyāṭ differed from Ṣāliḥī in yet another point about which his discussions with him are expressly attested (cf. Ibn al-Murtaḍā, 72, ll. 16 f.), sc. concerning *ird̲j̲āʾ*, *i.e.*, the definition of belief and the eternity of punishment for the grave sinner. Kh͟ayyāṭ upheld the intransigent and moralistic outlook of *al-waʿd wa 'l-waʿīd* which he may have inherited from the ascetics among the Bagh͟dādī Muʿtazilīs (*ṣūfiyyat al-Muʿtazila*), in whose circle he had grown up, and which remained the view of the majority of the school; it is for this reason that he rejects, *e.g.* the intercession of the Prophet (*sh͟afāʿa*; cf. Mufīd, *al-Fuṣūl al-mukh͟tāra* [8] i, 47, ll. 7 ff.). The contrary attitude, centering around the idea of final remission for Muslim sinners or at least for some of them, according to God's free decision, was, however, quite frequent at this time. It seems to have had its roots in the theology of the influential "D̲j̲ahmī" theologian Bish͟r al-Marīsī (d. 218/833), and was taken over also by another Muʿtazilī contemporary of Kh͟ayyāṭ, al-Nāsh͟iʾ al-akbar (d. 293/906; cf. Van Ess, *Frühe muʿtazilitische Häresiographie*, 144).

Kh͟ayyāṭ considered the caliphate (*imāma*) as necessary by reason, not only by revelation (cf. Ibn ʿArafa, in *Ḥawliyyāt D̲j̲āmiʿat Tūnis*, ix (1972), 190). The sovereign may act freely according to his *id̲j̲tihād* as long as he thinks to serve the benefit (*ṣalāḥ*) of the community. This is how some irregularities of ʿUth͟mān may be explained (cf. Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, *Sh͟arḥ Nahd̲j̲ al-balāgh͟a*, iii, 34, ll. 6 ff.). ʿAlī had the highest qualities among the *Ṣaḥāba*, but as he did not object to the caliphate of his predecessors, the *Ṣaḥāba* must have been right in not electing him then. The reasons for his and for their behaviour are unknown (cf. Ibn al-Murtaḍā, 86, ll. 12 ff., and *Sh͟arḥ Nahd̲j̲ al-balāgh͟a*, i, 7, ll. 6 ff.). In the first civil war, ʿAlī acted in legitimate performance of *d̲j̲ihād*, but the *Ṣaḥāba* among his opponents, sc. ʿĀʾish͟a, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr, will be exempt from divine punishment because they repented (cf. al-Sh͟aykh͟ al-Mufīd, *al-D̲j̲amal*, Nad̲j̲af 1382/1963, 28, ll. 3 ff.). There is, however, no excuse for his other enemies, especially Muʿāwiya and ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ (cf. *Intiṣār*, 74, ll. 8 ff.). The agreement of the contemporaries (*ahl al-ʿaṣr*) may be considered a convincing argument (*ḥud̲j̲d̲j̲a*) even if a few of them dissent (cf. Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, *al-Muʿtamad*, 486, ll. 14 ff., a reflection of the situation of the Muʿtazila after the *miḥna*). The community is infallible when it transmits *ḥadīth͟* from the Prophet (cf. *Intiṣār*, 72, ll. 3 f.), but isolated traditions (*āḥād*) have to be rejected (cf. Bagh͟dādī, *Farḳ*, 165, ll. 10 f.). The Prophet is infallible when he speaks as a lawgiver, because God demands obedience towards his commandments; in other cases, he may commit light sins which do not entail eternal punishment and do not cost him the solidarity of his adherents (cf. *Intiṣār*, 71, ll. 16 ff.). In *kalām*, only the Muʿtazilī are competent (cf. *ibid.*, 43, ll. 6 ff.); in spite of numerous disagreements in minor details (cf. *ibid.*, 79, ll. 5 ff., 106, ll. 1 ff. etc.), they are held together through the *uṣūl al-kh͟amsa* (cf. *ibid.*, 93, ll. 2 ff.).

Bibliography: (a) additional sources for the biography: *Taʾrīkh͟ Bagh͟dād*, xi, 87; Ḳāḍī ʿAbd al-D̲j̲abbār, *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl*, ed. F. Sayyid, Tunis 1974, 296, ll. 4 ff.; Samʿānī, *Ansāb*, v, 250, ll. 9 ff.; Ibn Ḥad̲j̲ar, *Lisān al-mīzān*, iv, 8 f.; Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Muʿtazila*, 85, ll. 12 ff.; *GAL* S I, 341; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām*, iv, 122 (taken over by Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿd̲j̲am al-muʾallifīn*, v, 213). (b) for the doctrine: M. Horten, *Die philosophischen Systeme der spekulativen Theologen im Islam*, Bonn 1912, 376 ff.; A. S. Tritton, *Muslim theology*, 155 ff.; Ash͟ʿarī, *Maḳālāt al-islāmiyyīn*, 353, ll. 6 ff. (cf. the corresponding doctrine of Nāsh͟iʾ in *Frühe muʿtazilitische Häresiographie*, 127); *Intiṣār*, 89, ll. 11 ff., and Ibn al-Murtaḍā, 86, ll. 1 ff. (doctrine of free will); *Intiṣār*, 83, ll. 7 ff., 84, ll. 6 ff., 85, ll. 5 ff., and 87, ll. 5 ff. (God's know-

ledge has no predetermining effect); Maḳdisī, *al-Badʾ wa ʾl-taʾrīkh*, ii, 121, ll. 12 ff. (definition of man). (J. van Ess)

AL-KHAYZURĀN bint **ʿAṬĀʾ** al-**DJURASHIYYA**, a former slave of Yemenī origin (on the Djurash, see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 278), who was freed, and then was married to al-Mahdī, to whom she bore three children, Mūsā (al-Hādī), Hārūn (al-Rashīd) and a daughter called al-Bānūḳa (Ibn Ḳutayba, *Maʿārif*, 380). According to a tradition given in particular by al-Djahshiyārī (*Wuzarāʾ*, 136), she suckled al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā b. Khālid al-Barmakī, whilst al-Faḍl's mother provided milk for Hārūn; this kind of alliance through co-lactation would accordingly explain the devotion shown to her by Yaḥyā b. Khālid, together with whom she ended up doing the work of government during the first three years of al-Rashīd's reign, i.e. until her death in 173/789.

During the caliphate of al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85) she played a more obscure part but, even so, the strong influence which she held over him can be seen from his designation of Mūsā as the heir presumptive from 159/775-6 and then of Hārūn in 166/782-3; furthermore he excluded from the succession all other sons, especially those borne by his Hāshimī bride Rayṭa, daughter of al-Saffāḥ (Ibn Kuṭayba, *ibid.*). Although Mūsā seems to have submissive to his mother during his childhood, traditions agree in stressing that Hārūn was the preferred son. Al-Khayzurān accordingly schemed to exclude the older son from the caliphate, and al-Mahdī may even have decided to change the order of succession in favour of Hārūn before he died suddenly in Muḥarram 169/August 785.

Immediately after the caliph's death an army mutiny broke out in Baghdād. Al-Khayzurān is accused of having started this disturbance in order to put Hārūn on the throne, but it does not seem to have had a political nature, for the troops were complaining simply of not having received their salary. It rests on no more than the fact that she, with al-Rabīʿ b. Yūnus, made the arrangements to appease the mutineers (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 544-7). When Mūsā became caliph under the name of al-Hādī she tried to dominate him, or at least to involve herself in state affairs and to assume a political role, but her older son gave her no scope to work. He told her sharply that she would have to stop receiving the dignitaries who made state visits to her, he threatened to take severe measures against her visitors, and he ordered her to mind her own business. According to one tradition, he even tried to poison her (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 570; Ibn Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *Fakhrī*, ed. Dérenbourg, 262). The young caliph resorted to extreme measures; he imprisoned Hārūn and Yaḥyā and even gave orders to put them to death but, thanks to the intervention of al-Khayzurān with the appointed executioners, the two condemned men were saved. In such circumstances, the sudden death of al-Hādī in Rabīʿ I 170/September 786 could not have failed to arouse suspicion, and there was no hesitation in accusing the queen-mother of having had him suffocated by her minions (*Fakhrī*, 261; Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 68) in order to ensure the success of the faction over which she had become the leader and to rid herself of a son who refused to be manipulated. According to al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, vi, 282 = § 2486), al-Hādī called his mother to his bedside and drew his last breath while holding her hand, not without first having declared that Hārūn should rise to the throne immediately. Even this if scene really occurred, there was no witness present and probably the declaration attributed to al-Hādī is a complete fabrication. He had in fact provided enough proof to show that he wanted to remove his brother from the succession and to replace him by his son Djaʿfar for such words to be regarded with suspicion. Djaʿfar, who could have been no more than ten years old, was put in a safe place and forced to recognise his uncle (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 569). Historians naturally see the hand of al-Khayzurān in this event, but she was after all only following the wishes of al-Mahdī.

After the accession of her favourite son to the throne of Baghdād, it is conceivable that she may have envisaged executing the dignitaries who had supported al-Hādī (al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 490). However, she did not complete the scheme and was content to exercise effective power with the help of Yaḥyā al-Barmakī, though not without thwarting the wishes of al-Rashīd when the opportunity came.

Chroniclers vie in stressing the enormous fortune amassed by al-Khayzurān, and she engaged in some undertakings of public interest. It is particularly noted that she bought the house in Mecca in which the Prophet was thought to have been born, had it restored and turned it into a mosque. She is frequently cited in *adab* literature and it must also be mentioned that ʿUtba, the beloved of Abu ʾl-ʿAtāhiya, was one of her slaves.

Bibliography: As well as the references cited, see Djāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, ii, 269; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 45; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 274, 276; Ṭabarī, index; Djahshiyārī, *Wuzarāʾ*, index; Ibn al-Athīr, index; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *ʿIḳd*, index; Maḳdisī, *al-Badʾ wa ʾl-taʾrīkh*, iv, 124; Ibn al-Saʿī, *Nisāʾ al-khulafāʾ*; Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, index; Suyūṭī, *Mustaẓraf*, Beirut 1963, 24-5; N. Abbot, *Two Queens of Baghdad*, New York 1946; D. Sourdel, *Vizirat*, index; Farouk Omar, *The ʿAbbāsid caliphate*, Baghdad 1969, 334-43 and index. (Ed.)

KHAZAF (a.), ceramics. The radical transformation of ceramics under the rule of Islam took place chiefly in areas where their production had long been established, such as near the vital river beds of Mesopotamia, Egypt and Transoxiana, as well as on the banks of ancient inland seas, lakes and the shorter rivers of Syria and Iran. Pre-Pharaonic beakers, bowls from Jericho, jugs from Eridu, ewers from Sialk, all point to early skills in shaping and painting. By the 20th century B.C. in Egypt, the glassy potential of certain minerals led to the firing of a ceramic body, often called Egyptian faience, made from a mixture of natron or plant ash and powered quartz from pebbles. A glaze of similar composition, but previously pulverised, and often coloured turquoise, was added to the shaped body and might be painted with a black pigment. In Assyria, glazing started as early as the 12th century B.C., rhytons from Ziwiheh probably go back to the 8th century B.C. and the glazed friezes from Babylon and Susa are well-known examples. Under Parthian and Sasanian rule, the same area and adjacent lands produced a large series of vessels, including coffins, with a coarse sandy body and an alkaline glaze often coloured turquoise with copper oxide. Coloured lead glazing became standard in the Eastern part of the Roman world from the 1st century B.C., probably at about the same time as in China, but with neither influencing the other at that stage. The moulded shape, as well as the dark copper green colour, tended to imitate metalwork. It is difficult, prior to the zenith of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate in the 3rd/9th century, to distinguish any new ceramic production. At Khirbat al-Mafdjar [*q.v.*], the Umayyad complex near Jericho, pre-Islamic and lead glazed shapes are found in the undisturbed level

below the rubble caused by the earthquake of 128/746.

Problems of archaeology, classification and technique. Although archaeological missions have long worked in Western Asia, it is only recently that the Islamic levels have been examined scientifically, rather than being discarded before reaching the classical and prehistoric levels. Since the Islamic levels are the most easily accessible, they are often found disturbed either by more recent buildings or by unofficial excavations. Most of the ceramic finds belong to pit and sewer fillings and only rarely to sealed levels. Too few excavations have yet been fully published to permit anyone without an intimate knowledge of the material to gain a clear understanding of the development of Islamic pottery. Thus the crucial publication of the finds from Sāmarrā in 1925 has conditioned most subsequent studies. Although other Islamic towns are as important from the ceramic point of view, they lack proper archaeological records. Apart from the Ḳalʿat Banī Ḥammād (1913 and 1965), Baalbek (1925), Susa (1928 and 1974), Miletus (1935), al-Minā (1938), Antioch (1948), Ḥamāt (1958), Lashkari Bāzār (1963), Apamea (1972), and Nīshāpūr (1974), the specialist must be content with preliminary reports such as those of Baṣra, Wāsiṭ, Ctesiphon, Ki<u>sh</u>, Iṣṭa<u>kh</u>r, Rayy, Sīrāf, Ta<u>kh</u>t-i Sulaymān, Kangavār, Iznik and Tarsus. In order to reduce considerably the time lag between excavation and publication, the whole study of the ceramics is best done in the field; photographs, profiles, descriptions of bodies with Munsell chart number and basic tests with chemical and microscopical examination should thus be included.

In such a vast area as the Islamic world, there has been a tendency in ceramic studies to rely on historical, and more particularly, dynastic classifications, with names of towns used in a rather arbitrary manner and subdivisions based on colours and decorative motifs. As a result it has been found more convenient to restrict such terminology and to bear in mind the wide spread of a technique at one given time, while concentrating on terminology and technical problems. When seen in the context of world ceramics, the Islamic potter has contributed fundamental glazing techniques in the field which, in turn, have made certain European developments possible. The compulsion to create a white background for decorative motifs led the craftman to evolve various formulae in glazing which would allow for whiteness, firm outline to the colour decoration and substitutes for the precious metalwares forbidden by the Faith. Chronologically, three methods of producing whiteness exist in early Islamic pottery: first, an opaque white glaze on a yellowish body; second, a white slip under a transparent and clear lead glaze, usually on a pink body; and third, a composite white body called soft paste and not unlike the Egyptian Faience, with a transparent clear glaze. Lustre painting, chiefly with copper oxide, can be added in a possible second firing at a lower temperature and in a reducing atmosphere in the first and third cases. The origins of lustre painting on ceramics are still unclear; the earliest glass painted in this manner is datable to 183/779 and was excavated in Fusṭāṭ. It is as well to remember that the glass blower and the potter often work in neighbouring areas of the bazar. Subdued minai colours may also be added using the muffle kiln. Standard variations in the decoration are produced by mechanical devices: moulding, combing, incising of the leather-hard body as well as incising through a white slip before glazing, a technique usually referred to as *sgraffiato*. The colour effects rely on the use of certain metalic oxides which fuse at similar temperatures as those required for the glazes: green and turquoise from copper, purple from manganese, blue from cobalt, all shades of brown from iron, and yellow from antimony or arsenic. Finally, the last technical step in Islamic pottery, is the controlled use of underglaze painting, which came into its own in the 7th/13th century and has been the dominant decorative technique ever since. A large variety of vessels and pottery bodies were made throughout Islam, as well as wall and dome revetments of baked bricks, glazed tile mosaics and tiles.

Early development of Islamic pottery. By the middle of the 3rd/9th century, a striking departure from the pre-Islamic shapes takes place in the creation of a visual reproduction of the plain porcelain from China datable to the 3rd—early 4th/9th—early 10th century. Numerous sherds of original bowls have been found in Mesopotamia with everted, straight or lobed rims and narrow or broad base rings. They are first mentioned in the *Taʾrī<u>kh</u>-i Masʿūdī* of Abu 'l-Faḍl Bayhaḳī [*q.v.*] as gifts by the governor of <u>Kh</u>urāsān to the caliph Hārūn al-Ra<u>sh</u>īd. Most of the Islamic copies are decorated with sparse, often spongy-looking cobalt-blue motifs: they consist of palmettes, loose calligraphy and stylised leaves, sometimes with added copper-green runs on an opaque white glaze. At times, the glaze, which might be an underfired alkaline one, is made grey by the addition of minute specks of manganese oxide. In other cases, dense compositions, not unlike the patterns of Byzantine mosaics, fill the cavetto of the short-lived polychrome lustre painted bowls and dishes; dashes and circles or both and even plain *sang-de-bœuf* lustre, decorate the outside. The 139 square tiles around the *miḥrāb* of the Sidi ʿOḳba mosque in Ḳayrawān, *ca.* 248/862, provide a fascinating pattern book; the tiles with more complex designs in polychrome lustre were imported from Mesopotamia, whereas the simpler ones with bichrome designs could well have been made in the area. Monochrome lustre decoration on bowls, usually with simple compositions of animals, birds and even human beings silhouetted against a stippled background, have been found from one end of the Islamic world to the other throughout the 4th/10th century, including at Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ. The shape is usually that of the porcelain bowls already mentioned.

A monochrome lustre painted bowl in Cairo with traditional palmette and tree design bears an inscription in the name of <u>Gh</u>aban, the commander-in-chief of al-Ḥākim, who died in 403/1013; it seems to mark the end of a fairly abstract style. After this period, more freely-handled lustre painting, often incised through the lustre on to the tin-opacified white background, points to the traditional realism of the local Egyptian Christians with fish patterns, or representations of a priest, as well as a definite revival of Hellenism in the arts of Eastern Mediterranean with scenes of banquets or dancers, often painted in reserve. Such a new departure coincides with a change of body and shape away from earlier imitations of Chinese porcelain and formal designs of palmettes or animals. The simple flairing walls of bowls with either straight rims or everted, flattened ones have a coarser, gritty body; the glazed base ring remains narrow and occasionally the base bears the signature of a potter or pottery workshops. Earlier signatures are found inside the cavetto, such as that of Ibrāhīm, or inside the base ring in the case of Muslim. In Romanesque churches during the early period of

Italian commercial activities before and during the time of the Crusades in Syria, Fāṭimid lustre bowls had been embedded in the outer fabric of walls to adorn the structure of new churches in Lombardy and in the republic of Pisa. Excavations at the Ḳalʿat Banī Ḥammād in the Maghrib have brought to light cross-shaped tiles painted in monochrome lustre of the 5th/11th century.

Besides vessels with cobalt or lustre painting, early moulded wares have been found on various Mesopotamian sites, at Fusṭāṭ, and also below the collapsed structures abandoned by the last Zoroastrians in Takht-i Sulaymān, dated 331/943. Details, not unlike those of *terra sigillata*, and beaded geometric band compositions on the larger surfaces, are all covered with lead glaze, often coloured green or yellow; shapes vary from flat dishes, some with small feet, to bowls with vertical walls, and small cups. Other vessels of the same shapes, but not moulded, have a similar fine pinkish body with a vivid yellow and green colour scheme. Contrary to Sarre's theory, life continued in Sāmarrā after the return of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs to Baghdād in 278/892. The mint worked until as late as the middle of the 4th/10th century, while the potters continued even beyond that time. Their production, although less spectacular, emphasises technical research in the use of metal oxides for runs, splashes and spots, with an increasing proportion of lead in the closer fitting glaze; the body colour changes from pale salmon to pink, the potting becomes thicker and the profiles less graceful. Such production is also common to Susa, Iṣṭakhr, Rayy and Nīshāpūr amongst other places. In Egypt, wares of the Fayyūm indicate a better control of the runs; excavations of Aghlabid and Zīrid towns of the Maghrib have brought to light deep bowls with straight vertical rims and simple animal decoration inside in yellow, green and manganese; the latter two colours are found in Umayyad Spain on an opaque background starting in the 4th/10th century.

The uses of slip. By the 5th/11th century, true Islamic shapes had evolved on the Iranian plateau and in Transoxiana: large dishes with flattened rims, and at the earlier stage, bowls with a wide inside across the bottom and flaring walls. At this point, the second method of producing whiteness appears in the use of a white clay slip which hides the pink body. According to the visual impact required, the potter would paint the slip with plain metallic oxides in order to obtain variegated runs of colour, or else he would thicken the oxides with slip in order to prevent running under the transparent lead glaze. The first group has often been equated with T'ang three-colour funerary ceramics. It has now been proved that such a luxurious production in China virtually ceased after the An Lu-shan rebellion in 756 A.D., and in any case, could not have been the object of international trade. A more likely parallel could be found in the production of Northern kilns under the Liao dynasty in Southern Manchuria (907-1124 A.D.).

A second group, making full use of the slip technique, has been in turn labelled Nīshāpūr or Samarḳand wares according to the quality of design and execution. Recent publications have made it difficult to be so definite, since similar wares appear in Khurāsān, Transoxiana as far as Frunze and Sīstān throughout the Sāmānid, Ghaznawid and Ghūrid periods, by which latter time the production had become rather simplified and mechanical. It in fact exists to this day in the Uzbekistan SSR. Early on, superb examples of calligraphy, such as blessings and prove.bs, elaborate palmettes and textile designs, stand out against a white or colour slip background. A particular instance is the use of human representations on simpler bowl shapes from the area of Nīshāpūr. The Zoroastrian survival with the *Gabri* or fire worshippers, has long been overstressed at the expense of the thriving Nestorian and Syrian Christian communities of the region. This could partly explain the appearance of concrete scenes, the falconer on horseback and the more prosaic birds and horned quadruped compositions. Later, abstract and heraldic slip painting of a rather coarse kind also decorated bowls and cups under the Mamlūks and the Ottomans before the fall of Constantinople. A more refined type of slip decoration was occasionally used on Ṣafawid and Ottoman ceramic shapes in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries.

A third group, that of *sgrafiatto* wares, technically runs parallel in time with the two previous ones. The incised pattern through the slip into the pink body is designed either visually to counterbalance a splashed decoration, or later, it seems, to stand out as the sole ornament under a clear lead glaze, with the occasional green run, or with the glaze sometimes coloured green with copper oxide. In the latter case, the incision can be narrow as in metalware, or broader not unlike *champlevé*, in which case large areas of slip are lifted out; the contrasting shade of the naked body is often made even darker by painting in black or brown. The potters of Ādharbāydjān seem to have produced the best specimens of *sgraffiato*, as emphasised by the excavations of Takht-i Sulaymān, and finds from the area of Garrūs, Aghkand, Riḍāʾiyya and Āmul in Māzandarān. Less inspired animal designs with narrow incisions, have come from Rayy, Nīshāpūr, Iṣṭakhr, Sīrāf and western Afghanistan. There has been a tendency to date *sgraffiato* wares rather early, whereas it seems now more likely that if one is to relate the best of slip painted wares to the latter part of the Sāmānid rule, then *sgraffiato*, technically speaking, has to be placed later during the rule and more specifically the decline of the Great Saldjūḳs (429-590/1038-1194), in particular under Toghrïl III in Hamadān and the thriving regencies of Atabegs such as the Ildegizids (531-622/1147-1225) [*q.v.*], both courts providing suitable conditions for a renewal of original ceramic production under their realm.

Although it was at its best in north-west Persia and was only used for a relatively short period, *sgraffiato* technique was subsequently produced throughout the Caucasus and Eastern Turkey as shown in the excavations of Ānī and Dvin. On the whole, the incised designs of diaper patterns or fanciful birds and animals, and also of figures, convey an impression of haste rather than of skill, although the latter do not lack humour. Either the lead glaze is colourless or made green with copper, or else the typical scheme of purple, yellow and green is used in an uncontrolled way. The technique seems to have spread to Cilicia, known at the time as Lesser Armenia, and to areas ruled over, if intermittently, by the Crusaders in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D. The better-known production is that of Cyprus, with high-footed deep bowls or drinking cups; human décor, usually incised through the white slip under a colourless lead glaze, is unlike the heraldic Mamlūk cups of the 7th/13th century and onwards, although the shapes belong to the same répertoire. It is not yet clear when and where *sgraffiato* started in Byzantium, but it certainly reached Europe in the late Middle Ages and flourished in Renaissance Italy.

Soft paste. It could be suggested that the second

half of the 6th/12th century was the very period which must also have witnessed the last of the three methods of producing whiteness. It is described by Abu ʾl-Ḳāsim in his by now famous treatise of 700/1301, and consists of a man-made body; the ratio of ingredients between body and glaze is such that they adhere closely together. This fine white soft paste (also called frit) proved to be the ideal material to reproduce local metal and glass shapes, as well as the delicate Chinese northern white wares and the Ch'ing-pai (Ying Ching) porcelain of the south in the 6th/12th century. Never again were beakers and bowls to be so light and elegant; the shapes, when moulded or carved, remain pure white or might have a coloured glaze. A short-lived group of pitchers and bowls, called silhouette wares, is sparsely decorated with single animal or human figure at the centre; the thick design in black sharply contrasts with the white background; occasionally the transparent glaze is coloured turquoise. *Lakabi* (painted) wares are also shaped out of the same hard composite body with raised outlines for the broad designs of animals, so as to prevent the colour from running. On vertical shapes the result is less satisfactory. It is likely that these latter wares were produced in northern Mesopotamia as well as in north-west Iran.

On-glaze painting: *Mīnāʾī*. In the last resort, it is the paint brush which lends itself to the most fluent and versatile decoration; on the new white body of various shapes, from low stands to moulded vessels, the potter paints either in lustre or *mīnāʾī* (enamel) on the glaze, or in black and blue under a transparent glaze. Both *mīnāʾī* and lustre techniques require a second firing in a muffle kiln at a lower temperature. The more intricate manner of *mīnāʾī* painting, although varied and subtle in colour, failed to survive beyond the 7th/13th century. The best two examples are an undated slender beaker with scenes from the story of Bid̲j̲en and Manīd̲j̲a in the *S̲h̲āhnāma* of Firdawsī, and a large dish with a vivid battle scene datable to the early 1230s A.D. on the basis of the names written alongside the main figures. A simpler bowl, with a seated figure and two attendants on a turquoise background, is dated 640/1242. Soon after this, the colour scheme deteriorates and the body, at times, reverts to earthenware. Only echoes of the best *mīnāʾī* survive in the 8th/14th century.

Lustre painting. A fragment of a lustre painted ewer in the British Museum, the earliest dated Persian piece so far known (575/1179), has a large band of seated figures, separated from a lower arabesque by a frieze of racing quadrupeds. Although Persian lustre painting has been traditionally divided into two main schools, Rayy and Kās̲h̲ān, it might be that after the great feud in Rayy between Sunnī and S̲h̲īʿī communities in 582/1186-7, the latter group fled to the more congenial atmosphere of Kās̲h̲ān. All other dated lustre pieces so far known are subsequent to that event, and a number of them, whether vessels or tiles, emphasise with relevant calligraphy and Kās̲h̲ānī signatures of whole dynasties of potters, the significant S̲h̲īʿī trend of the town, whence the name of Kās̲h̲ī [*q.v.*] for tiles. The Kās̲h̲ān style evolves from large figures and single fantastic animals to more crowded garden scenes and to dishes with radiating panels, often with cobalt outside and the odd spot inside, no more than a kiln mishap. The most controlled composition in lustre painting occurs on a *miḥrāb* dated 623/1226, once in Kās̲h̲ān and now in the Staatliche Museen of Berlin; it is made up of large moulded tiles.

Not too great importance should be attached to the Mongol invasions with regard to a possible interterruption of ceramic production. That there was a slowing down, as may be noticed from less frequent dating on lustre star tiles, is undeniable, but production of such a basic item, as well as luxury wares, soon picked up, in particular under the firm rule of the Il-k̲h̲ānid Abaḳa (663-80/1265-82). The star and cross tile decoration and moulded frieze of his palace in Tak̲h̲t-i Sulaymān and similar wall coverings in holy places, often within easy reach of Kās̲h̲ān, point to a slow transformation, if not degradation, in the brushwork and colour scheme through the 8th/14th century. Moreover, lustre painting still enhanced vessels with a new type of décor shared with the tiles: fabulous birds, dragons and gazelles, as in the bowl dated 668/1269, or stylised blossoms in the cavetto of a dish dated 676/1277. Quotations from the Ḳurʾān or the *S̲h̲āhnamā* often frame the central theme, regardless of the function; cobalt lines may be used for emphasis of geometric compositions, so are gold leaf and red and white outlines on a turquoise or dark blue (*lād̲j̲vard*) glazed background.

Although the more versatile production of lustre undoubtedly comes from Kās̲h̲ān, including the group of vessels found buried in large jars in Gurgān, the so-called Raḳḳa wares extending up to 656/1258 make up a typical group of Syrian ceramics; blue and lustre combine in décors of calligraphy, stylised leaves, arabesques and the occasional figure or animal on basins, shallow dishes with everted flattened rims, globular jars and small hollow rectangular stands. Lustre was still occasionally used under the Mamlūks, especially on handsome drug jars from which sprang the Italian albarello. A late specimen of a lustre tile from Persia bears the date of 891/1486. From the mid-12th century A.D. onwards, the Spanish potter developed an original lustre production which culminated in the 15th century in large dishes and grand ewers with intense patterning; it was exported all round the Mediterranean. Fragments from Malaga and Manises workshops have been found in Fusṭāṭ. Technically, some of the best lustre pieces were to be found in 16th century A.D. Gubbio, the work of Maestro Giorgio. A short revival of lustre painting on ceramics in Persia under the Ṣafawids is known from a series of bowls and bottles of soft paste with bold branch and flower decoration in a reddish tint of lustre.

Tile mosaics and cuerda seca. At first, turquoise glazed bricks often made up inscriptions in the 6th/12th century through K̲h̲urāsān and Ād̲h̲arbāyd̲j̲ān; tile mosaics (faience mosaic) came into their own in 7th/13th century Anatolia. One of the earliest uses of more than one colour appears on the entrance to Kay-Kāʾūs I's tomb in his hospital of Sīvas (614/1217-18). The inner dome of the Karatay *madrasa* in Konya (650/1251-2) illustrates the technique at its best, with a colour scheme of blue, turquoise and dark purple-black. In the Sirçali *madrasa* (640/1242) the glazed work is signed by a craftsman with a *nisba* from Ṭūs. Although Tabrīz buildings of the Mongol period no longer exist, tile mosaics do cover part of Öld̲j̲eytü's mausoleum in Sulṭāniyya. The final phase starts with the Muẓaffarids, especially in Yazd and Iṣfahān, with the introduction of green and brown colours with the addition of white. The patterning of unglazed bricks with glazed ones to simulate courses of bricks (*bināʾī* technique) also increases the visual effects as well as the use of various insets of mosaics or *terra cotta* in panel compositions. The bulk of the production was sponsored by the Tīmūrids, seen at its best in Harāt and Samarḳand. Later examples

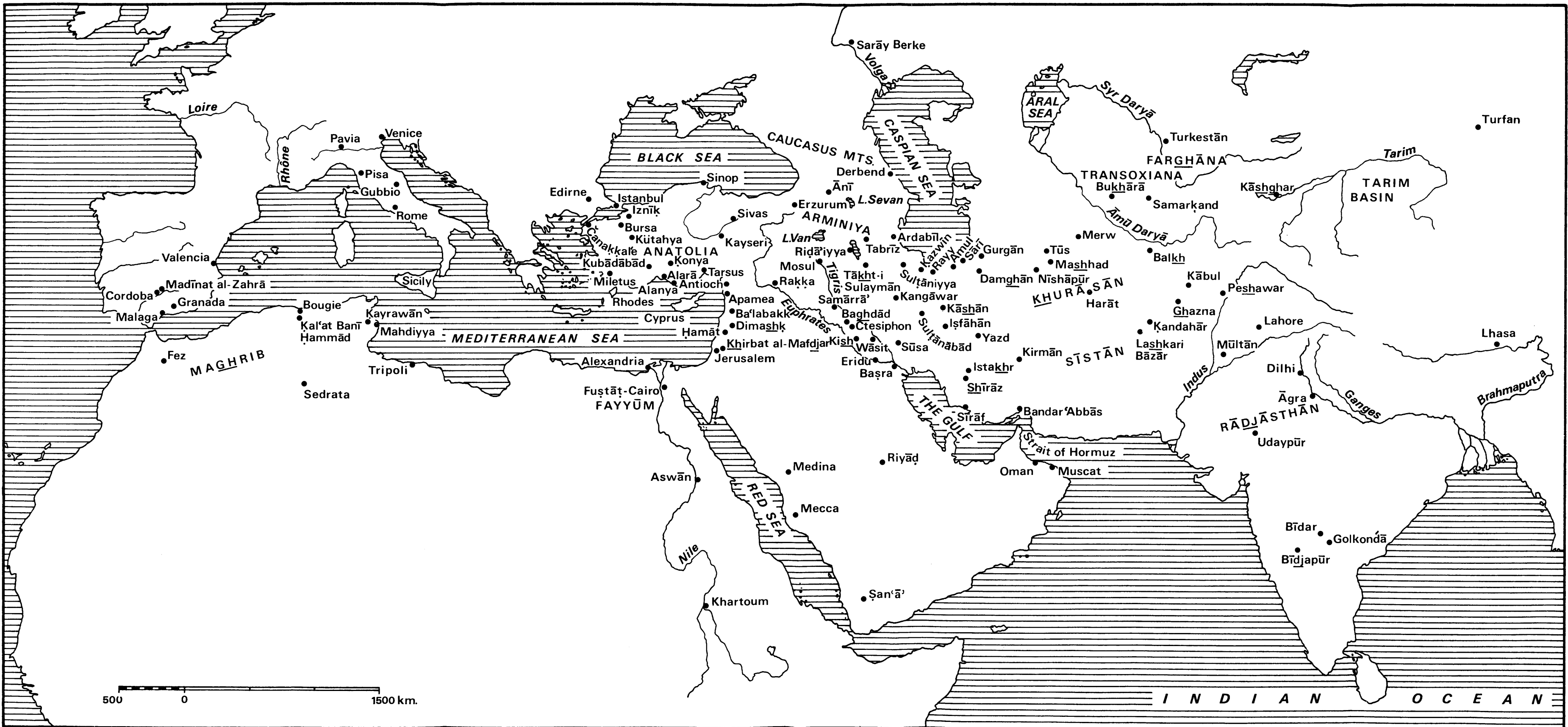
are those of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu in the so-called blue mosque in Tabrīz (870/1465) and at Iṣfahān, followed by the early buildings of the Ṣafawid era in Ardabīl, Iṣfahān and Kirmān. The Çinili Kösk in Istanbul (877/1472-3) relates to the *bināʾī* revetments in Harāt. Some of the best tile mosaic works of North Africa and Spain are datable to the late 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries A.D. Spasmodic attempts at glaze tiling and tile mosaics were made in the first half of the 9th/15th century in Cairo. In the Indian subcontinent also, five colourful tombs in Multān bear dates from 547/1152 to 724/1324, and glazed bricks were used in the Bahmanī complex of buildings at Bīdar; tile panellings were included in Rajput buildings of the 18th century A.D.

A Sevillian document of 1558 A.D. mentions *cuerda seca* for the first time; however, it is now used to describe a technique which prevents the glaze colours flooding into each other during the firing; the barrier consists of a purple line of paint with an added greasy substance which vanishes in the firing. The technique was already used in Achaemenian Susa; there are some examples at Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ; it came into full use in 8th/14th century Persia in order to imitate tile mosaics at a smaller cost. Examples are known from Tīmurīd Samarḳand, the Yeşil mosque and tomb in Bursa, the Selimiye (928/1521) and the Ahmet Paşa mosque (*ca.* 961/1554) in Istanbul. Ṣafawid buildings from the 11th/17th century onwards used the technique extensively, as did those of the Ḳādjārs. There are a few examples in Lahore in conjunction with tile mosaics. The best-known remain those of Spain.

Underglaze painting. When the mediaeval potter discovers, often by accident, a new technique, it spreads rapidly in an already mature form. It is difficult to determine where underglaze painting came into being either on earthenware or soft paste, but by the first half of the 7th/13th century this last and major break-through was well-mastered; it gradually superseded earlier methods of decoration and became established over the centuries through a series of changing styles. Prior to the *Pax mongolica*, Persian underglaze painting in black or blue or in both under a transparent glaze, often coloured turquoise, either recalls the arabesques and figures scene from the lustre répertoire or reveals new motifs of flowing water weeds, fish or sharply contrasted striations. Both genres are well illustrated in the so-called Gurgān material. Some soft paste bowls recall similar shapes in glass with the same slender splayed foot, although the T-shaped rim only occurs in ceramics. Other shapes include double-shell pitchers, one dated 612/1215, the ewers with phoenix heads, sweet-meat dishes, globular jars and a series of small figurines, including birds, animals, musicians, riders and mothers suckling their babies. In the so-called Raḳḳa wares, the Syrian potter developed during the same period a less contrived style of painting on dishes with flattened everted rims: typical court figures, riders, aquatic birds, compositions of arabesques, dragons' heads and palm tree leaves. Similar treatment of motifs exists on the eight-pointed star tiles in the palace of Ḳubādābād in Anatolia *ca.* 633/1236, as well as on simpler cross and star tiling under a turquoise glaze in other official buildings of the sulṭāns of Rūm in Kayseri, Aspendos, Alarā and Alanya.

The Pax mongolica. In the same way as the final extension of ʿAbbāsid rule filled a political vacuum early in the 3rd/9th century and thus made possible the creation of one area of influence, so, after a period of strife and weakening foreign influences in cosmopolitan Syria, the Mongol era was one of stability and brought about decided contacts with China along both sea and land routes, even as far west as Europe, as is proved by the Chinese silk dalmatic of Pope Benedict XI dated before 1304 A.D. Through the rich Kārimī and other seagoing merchants, and many of the sinicised retinue of the Ilkhānid court of Tabrīz, alien decorative themes, drawn at first from large quantities of celadons, textiles and no doubt commercial paintings and block prints, triggered off the new Islamic style in the most recent technique of underglaze painting from Cairo to Sarāy Berke. The transition from two-dimensional textiles to three-dimensional vessels implied skilful adaptation of the foreign motifs to a totally Islamic system of distribution. Two motifs new to ceramics stand out: the spiky lotus and leaf already picked up in miniature painting and enamelled glass, and the ogee panels, well-known from Islamic carved stone, stucco and metalwares. An intense leafy background, a general impression of grey, and the stylised imitation of the petal design on the outside of celadons, characterise the so-called Sulṭānābād types. At their best, the main themes under a clear glaze are set in relief by a thickness of white clay also outlined in a greenish brushstroke on a pale manganese slip. Fillings of pale cobalt may warm the compositions of phoenixes or cranes in flight, cantering gazelles and sedate geese or Mongol courtiers. The earlier and later wares rely more on a white background, with greater emphasis on traditional geometric divisions, radiating panels filled with crosshatching, groups of four dots, dotted circles, zigzag patterns or calligraphy.

Transition. By the middle of the 8th/14th century, the new blue and white Chinese porcelain of the Yüan period had started to reach the Islamic world in as great a quantity as the long-favoured Lung-ch'üan celadons (also called Ghūrī or Martabani). In the same way as the latter was faithfully imitated, including the saucer base, so the potter took over the new bi-chrome treatment, without appreciating, it seems, that it was in fact the product of imported cobalt from Persia as well as a new experiment in export wares especially designed for the Islamic market by the Chinese potters, in shapes and in a style totally alien to their own taste. Traditional motifs were reorganised on the larger surfaces of dishes in concentric circles and lobed panels possibly akin to early so-called Sulṭānābād panelled bowls and certainly to metalwares easily available in the large colonies of Muslim merchants established from the 3rd/9th century onwards in South China ports. Not only in Persia, but also—and perhaps even more—in the Mamlūk territories, variations on the Chinese lotus pond were produced in quantity, as gradually the running of the cobalt was controlled by the introduction of an added layer of frit over the soft paste body.

In the first half of the 9th/15th century, Chinese export blue and white compositions, although still preserving a certain geometric quality, gradually reverted to a more delicate and restrained treatment of the surface. The Islamic potter, prior to his Iznik follower in the 10th/16th century, picked up the trend and adapted the arabesque of flowers and the peony blossoms, dragons and waves to his own taste, using in turn, classic scroll, meander band or diaper pattern, with petal panels on the outside of bowls and dishes. He seems to have been undaunted by the raids of Tīmūr and the internal strife in both Mamlūk and Ottoman lands at the turn of the century. It

should be emphasised that throughout the 9th/15th century, from Sīstān and Farghāna to the Mediterranean, this imitative production never overtook the more traditional decorative approach of radiating motifs and panels, either in blue and white or when black was added on the mediocre soft paste body. Such an approach is apparent on early so-called Kubači wares, dated to the second half of the century: the well-controlled panels or circular compositions are painted in black under a turquoise coloured glaze. So-called Miletus wares are now known to have prevailed in the early stages of the Ottoman rule in Iznik, among other sites, as well as at Miletus. They differ in that the body is red earthenware, but the visual impact often remains geometric with little of the white slip left undecorated. More background is visible when debased Chinese motifs of flowers or birds appear on a field of scattered shapeless leaves. Only the more elaborate Mamlūk wares carry a signature such as that of Ghāʾibī or his atelier.

To this period also belong several series of tiles, also under-glaze painted and hexagonal in shape. The decoration recalls either elements of the early 9th/15th century A.D. Chinese blue and white dishes which display geometric blossom compositions or a bunch of flowers, or else the geometric of the transition period. The tiles in Murād II's mosque in Edirne (*ca.* 843/1440) could have been made in Iznik like related ones a century later; they are neatly finished and the largest in dimension of the series. The Damascus group, including the tiles of the mausoleum of Tawrīzī (*ca.* 833/1430), is more freely painted with occasional purple and a turquoise border. Egyptian examples, hardly recalling Chinese themes, draw on architecture and bold vegetal motifs.

Ottoman rule. On the whole, the Ottoman potters of Asia Minor produced soft paste vessels with a fine white slip under a transparent lead glaze for the metropolis; and to a lesser extent, those of Syria, Egypt and North Africa also drew on the same technique and on a fund of designs from the *nakkāsh khāne*, the special studio of court designers. Around the turn of the 9th/15th century, they borrowed from book-bindings and illuminations for the controlled, if austere, dark blue and white arabesque variations of stylised flowers and palmettes on dishes and deep bowls with a splayed foot. The lay-out of the ewer signed by Ibrāhīm of Kütahya (916/1510) is already less dense in design. By 923/1517, the final conquests of Selīm I had made available a large booty of Chinese stonewares and blue and white procelains. The last crucial impact of Chinese (*Khatāyī*) wares in the area, resulted in the close imitations of early 15th century A.D. Ming dishes, such as blossom and vine compositions. Strictly speaking, the word *chinoiserie* applies only to the 18th century A.D. European stylistic interpretation of Chinese motifs. For the Ottoman potter, rim borders could be either 8th/14th or 9th/15th century wave pattern. The so-called Golden Horn group also belongs to this first period and was presumably inspired by the flimsy spirals of official *tughrā*s; sherds first found in Istanbul gave it the label; more have now been excavated in Iznik. A broken bottle in this style bears an Armenian dating which corresponds to 1529 A.D. The long-vexed problem of Armenian craftsmanship has now been resolved by the study of archives which indicate participation and production of the non-Muslim minorities at most stages of Ottoman history. The mosque lamp from the Dome of the Rock (956/1549) is the only dated piece of Iznik; it could well be one of the last examples of the first group, also known as the Ibrāhīm of Kütahya group; pale turquoise and black relieve the blue shades.

The tile restoration on the Dome of the Rock ordered by Sulaymān I in 952/1545 constituted a new point of departure for Ottoman ceramics as well as for the building programme pursued by the Sultan, his entourage and his successors. *Cuerda seca* was totally replaced by underglaze painted tiles, approximately 24 cm. square. The colour palette, also applied to dishes and jugs, reached daring tones of blue, green and occasionally purple, with at its best, contrasting pure white and luscious red in relief made of Armenian bole (a red local clay) well-mastered under the transparent lead glaze of unfailing quality. Such technical development was combined with a renewed répertoire of available blossoms from the Anatolian plateau, and thus forms a completely new second group. At first pale green was used as well as the blue, and the compositions on the dishes were still enclosed in panels and roundels; however, the plants soon burst out of their frames into the cavetto, often to the exclusion of borders of debased waves (often called ammonites) or earlier clusters of small tulips on the rim. A considerable number of large tile panels are dated by the new mosque into which they were built: the Sulaymāniyya (965/1557), the Rustam Pasha mosque (968/1561), the Sokollu mosque (979/1571), the Piyāle mosque (981/1574) and various parts of the Saray. In a short-lived group of dishes and pots, the potter experimented also with dark slip background and sparse light-coloured decoration. In Syria and Egypt, a number of monuments bear witness to the active part played by the local potteries, although the colour scheme of both vessels and tiles did not include the famous sealing-wax red.

International trading with Italy, in particular, allowed for exchanges in shapes and patterns: *tondini* with large rims and tankards. By the 18th century A.D., figures, and buildings with dates and boats, increased the vocabulary of a less elegant production, and these make up the third group of Ottoman ceramics, also known as Rhodes pottery. These dishes and jugs were intended to be traded in public places such as the international silk market of Bursa, rather than to meet the special orders of high-ranking officials or foreign ambassadors except in the case of a few examples of dated pieces. The decline in prosperity, and therefore that of orders, affected the production of Iznik. A new factory was started in the Tekfur Saray of Istanbul in 1136/1724 and this resurrected, for a while, some of the past achievements of Iznik, including the famous red. Kütahya survived better and its 18th century A.D. production is well known by a series of dated pieces ranging in fact from 1716 to 1843. A most important group of tiles dated 1718-19, intended for restoration work in the Holy Sepulchre, are now in the Convent of Saint James in Jerusalem. The vivacity of the colour treatment on cups and saucers, bowls and incense burners, bottles and eggs, contrast with the remarkably simplified brush work of the potters from Çanakkale in the middle of the 18th century A.D. Sailing boats and buildings, giraffes, fish and fowl, briskly fill the shallow dishes and bowls (*čanaks*); later, complicated shapes restricted the painting. From 1893 to 1920, a porcelain factory was sponsored by the Porte, but could not compete with European china. Iznik production has now become fully industrialised.

Later Persian treatment. After the collapse of the Ak Koyunlus, it took some time for the Ṣafawid rule to become established, since it had to resist pressures from both the east and the west. In the 10th/

16th century, the capital was moved first to Tabrīz, then to Ḳazwīn and finally to Iṣfahān in 1006/1597-8, by which time the frontiers were more secure, the new sea route by the Cape had proved itself and the European East India companies felt strong enough to open new markets. It is difficult to locate precisely the ceramic production of the time, despite some indications given by foreign embassies, travellers and merchants; Mas̲h̲had, Kirmān, S̲h̲īrāz and Yazd are mentioned. Iṣfahān must have been a great centre, too, although there is no reference other than to the tiled monuments. Be this what it may, the Persian potter of the 10th/16th century A.D. reacted to the impact of Chinese celadon and blue and white porcelain much the same way as his Ottoman counterpart; a substantial amount must have been available to provide inspiration, besides the specimens looted by the Ottomans and those in the collection of S̲h̲āh ʿAbbās I which he donated to the shrine of Ardabīl in 1015-16/1607-8. The blue and white blossom compositions and the wave border were re-interpreted on a soft paste body, as well as the polychrome Anatolian flower compositions down to the bent branches and the *saz*. Yet the zodiac dish of 971/1563 illustrates the regular recurrence of the geometric division of surface. Eventually a stylised répertoire of impressionistic vegetal and animal designs was developed on jars, bowls and dishes, the shape of which owed little to the outside world. The less dramatic visual impact was probably due to a reduced contrast in the colours and relative control of the firing and the irregular quality of the glaze.

Although a few examples of so-called Kubači wares were found in that remote town of the Caucasus, it is not clear where in fact they were made; the early fortunes of the Ṣafawī capitals eventually led them to Iṣfahān. The unusual compositions break away from controlled geometric; sketches of human busts verging on caricature, are more usual than animals or unidentifiable plants. Turbaned youths, foreign merchants and sailors, suitable females, enliven the répertoire. Large tiles show more delicate brush work on a white or beige background not unlike that of the mosque of S̲h̲ayk̲h̲ Luṭf Allāh in Iṣfahān (1028/1618); on the smaller tiles and dishes, the yellowish transparent lead glaze tends to crackle and the clay used for red colouring is never as effective as the Armenian bole. The same red is also found in patterns and outlining devices on vessels attributed to Kirmān in the 11th/17th century.

Besides emulating large export celadons and Chinese monochrome bowls and ewers, with moulded or carved designs, the Persian potter remained, in essence, faithful to his predilection for blue and white, contrary to his Ottoman counterpart who abandoned it fairly soon. Patterns of the Chia-ching (1522-66) and Wan-li (1573-1619) reigns were swiftly adapted, with a partiality for wild birds and animals, ludicrous landscapes and garden genre scenes, totally misunderstood. A few dates and potter's marks have been recorded such as the tassel mark. In most of the painting a black outline holds in the various shades of cobalt wash. At its best and most original, the production takes the shape of a large dish with a very white soft paste body; a carved arabesque in the cavetto surrounds a medallion densely filled with wild beasts or birds and foliage. A possible added reason for the continued production of Persian blue and white was the greed of the European market for the export porcelain, all the more so when the Chinese ports closed from 1659 to 1682 and replacements had to be found. Kirmān within reasonable distance of Bandar ʿAbbās (Gombrun) on the Gulf certainly rose to the occasion and imitated *Kraak porselein* with its panelling in the cavetto and central themes of flowers or bird on a rock. A number of 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries dated pieces show the gradual deterioration in the decorative treatment with a few exceptional pierced wares, imitation of celadons, humouristic *kalyāns* and slip-painted wares on a dark background, often called Gombrun wares, the Persian version of similar Ottoman specimens, in both cases, copies of Chinese originals.

Some of the best underglaze painting remains that of the continuous tile programme undertaken in Iṣfahān, and later under the Zands and the Ḳād̲j̲ārs in S̲h̲īrāz, Kirmān, Tehran and Simnān. The introduction of *famille rose* colours brought a new flavour to flower compositions in mosque and *madrasa* tile panels from the end of the 18th century. It is also reflected in bowls of the 19th century, in which attempts to imitate European porcelain only preserve a certain Persian flavour. To this day, ceramics are a living tradition in Iran and all Islamic lands, more for practical purposes than as a distinctive part of the artistic production of the period.

Unglazed wares. Undaunted by the passage of time, the large storage jar with lid, and the jug which allows its water content to keep cool through slow evaporation, are a permanent product of the potter's workshop. It would require more systematic studies to appreciate their various shapes, volumes of content and ornament. Although decoration can be produced by incising or by painting on the leatherhard body, the best visual effects come from the use of dies and moulds, either as a complete half of a flask, two identical halves being luted together by a central band with the addition of handles and neck device, or in the shape of stamps. The best examples seem to have been produced from the 4th/10th to the 8th/14th century from the Mediterranean to Afg̲h̲ānistān and Transoxiana. Specifically Egyptian is a large series of surviving filters where the pierced area is made to represent calligraphy, animals or geometric patterns. From northern Mesopotamia come some of the best applied, incisal and stamped large jars for storage. Aeolipiles, spheroconical shapes, still remain a puzzle; about 10 cm. long, they are heavy for their size, not very porous and with a small opening; their shape prevents them from spilling over; some have incised patterns, calligraphy or even turquoise glaze inlays. Earthenware stands were early made in the shape of an hourglass or of a square with a circular recess in the centre for holding a large tray; later, these were made of metal, but were never higher than 20 to 30 cm. Various shapes of lamps, lampstands and candle sticks would complete the household requirements.

Bibliography: *General*.—K. A. C. Creswell, *A bibliography of the architecture, arts and crafts of Islam*, Cairo 1961; also the *Supplement*, Cairo 1973, for the publications in the Soviet Union; E. Atil, *Ceramics from the world of Islam*, Washington DC, 1973; G. Fehérvari, *Islamic pottery*, London 1973; *Islamische keramik Catalogue*, Düsseldorf 1973; Keramos, No. 64 (April 1974), Berlin, in conjunction with the above; T. Mikami, *Islamic pottery mainly from Japanese collections*, 2 vols., Tokyo 1962-4.

Technique.—J. Allan, *Some observations on the origins of the Medieval Persian faience body*, in *Percival David Foundation Colloquy*, No. 4 (1974); M. Centlivres-Demont, *Une communauté de potiers en Iran*, Wiesbaden 1971; H. Hodges, Artifacts, London 1964; C. Kiefer, *Les céramiques silicieuses*

d'Anatolie et du moyen orient, in *Bulletin de la société de céramique française* (1956); H. E. Wulff, *The traditional crafts of Persia*, Cambridge, Mass. 1966.

China and Islam.—J. Carswell, *Six tiles*, in *Islamic art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York 1972; M. Medley, *Chinese ceramics and Islamic design*, in *Percival David Foundation colloquy, No. 3* (1973); J. A. Pope, *Chinese porcelain from the Ardebil shrine*, Washington DC, 1956; D. Whitehouse, *Some Chinese and Islamic pottery from Siraf*, in *Percival David Foundation colloquy, No. 1* (1971).

Turkey.—O. Aslanapa, *Anadoluda Türk çini ve keramik sanati*, Istanbul 1965; G. Öney, *Türk devri çanakkale seramikleri*, Ankara 1971; K. Otto-Dorn, *Turkische Keramik*, Ankara 1957; T. Öz, *Turkish ceramics*, N.D., Turkey.

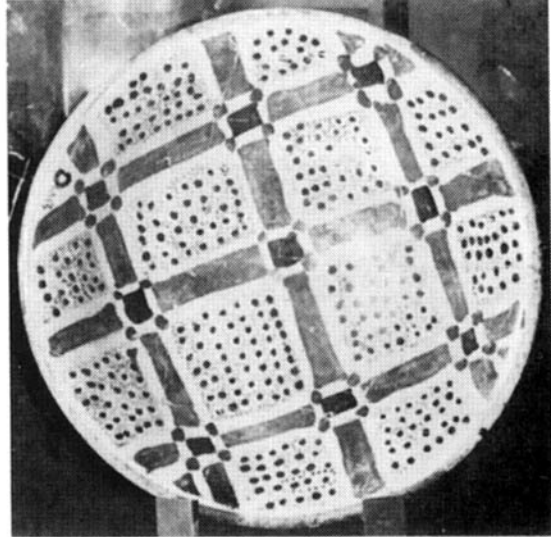
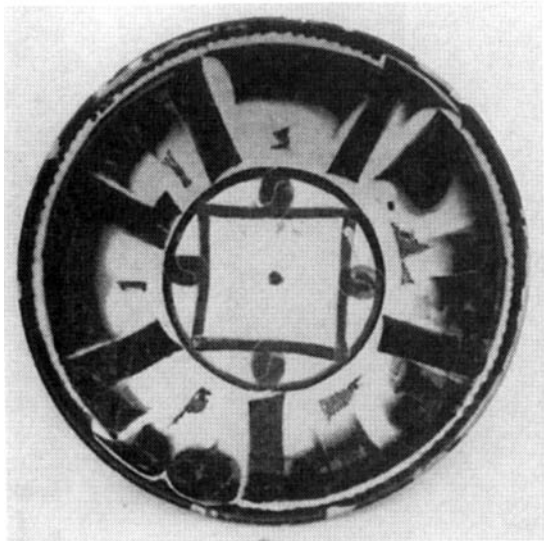
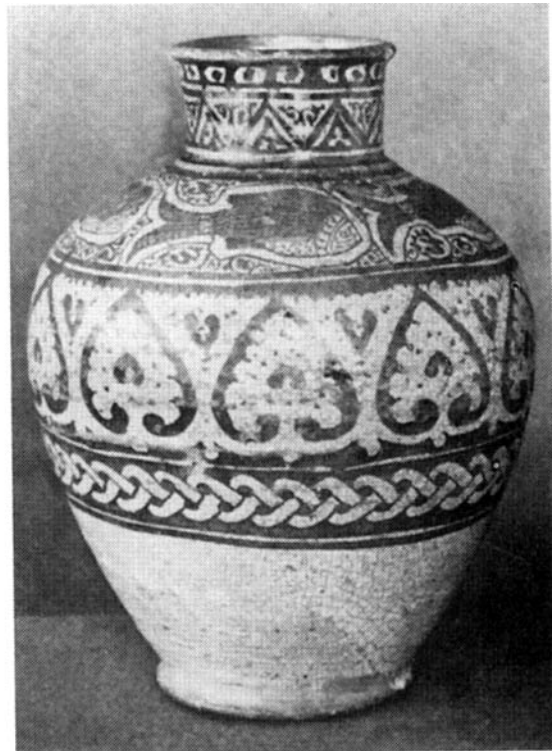
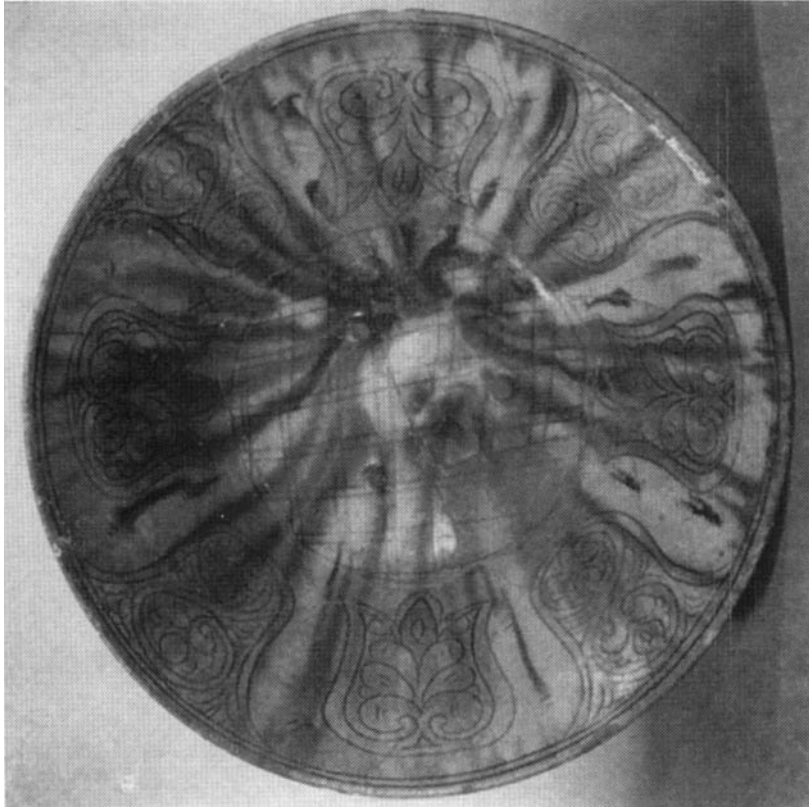
Special studies.—M. Bahrami, *Gurgan faiences*, Cairo 1949; D. C. Baramki, *The pottery of Khirbet el Mefjer*, in *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine*, x (1942); Y. Crowe, *Certains types et techniques de la céramique de Suse*, in *Atti del VII convegno internazionale della ceramica 1974*; D. Duda, *Spanisch-Islamische Keramik aus Almeria vom 12 bis 15 Jahrhundert*, Heidelberg 1970; J. C. Gardin, *Céramique de Bactres*, Mémoires de la DAFA No. 15, Paris 1957; idem, *Poteries de Bamiyan*, in *Ars Orientalis*, ii (1957); idem, *Lashkari Bazar*, ii, Mémoires de la DAFA No. 18, Paris 1963; I. Luschey-Schmeisser, *The tile cycle of Hasht Bihisht in Isfahan* No. 14, *Reports and memoirs*, ISMEO Rome, in the press; E. and R. Naumann, *Ein kösk im Sommerpalast des Abaqa Chan auf dem Tacht-i Sulaiman und seine Dekoration*, in *Forschungen zur Kunst Asiens. In memoriam K. Erdmann*, 1969; J. M. Rogers, *Apamea, the mediaeval pottery*, in *Colloque Apamée de Syrie, Bilan des recherches archéologiques 1969-1971*, 1972; M. Rosen-Ayalon, *Ville royale de Suse. IV. La poterie islamique*, 1974; U. Scerrato, *Islamic glazed tiles with moulded decoration from Ghazni*, in *East and West*, xiii (1962); R. Schnyder, *Mediaeval incised and carved wares from north-west Iran*, in *Percival and David Foundation colloquy, No. 4* (1974); R. Naumann, D. Huff, R. Schnyder, *Takht-i Suleiman, Bericht über die Ausgrabungen 1965-1973*, in *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, i, (1975); O. Watson, *The Masdjid-i ʿAlī, Quhrūd*, in Iran, xiii (1975); C. Wilkinson, *Nishapur*, New York 1974. See also the bibliography to FAKHKHĀR. (YOLANDE CROWE)

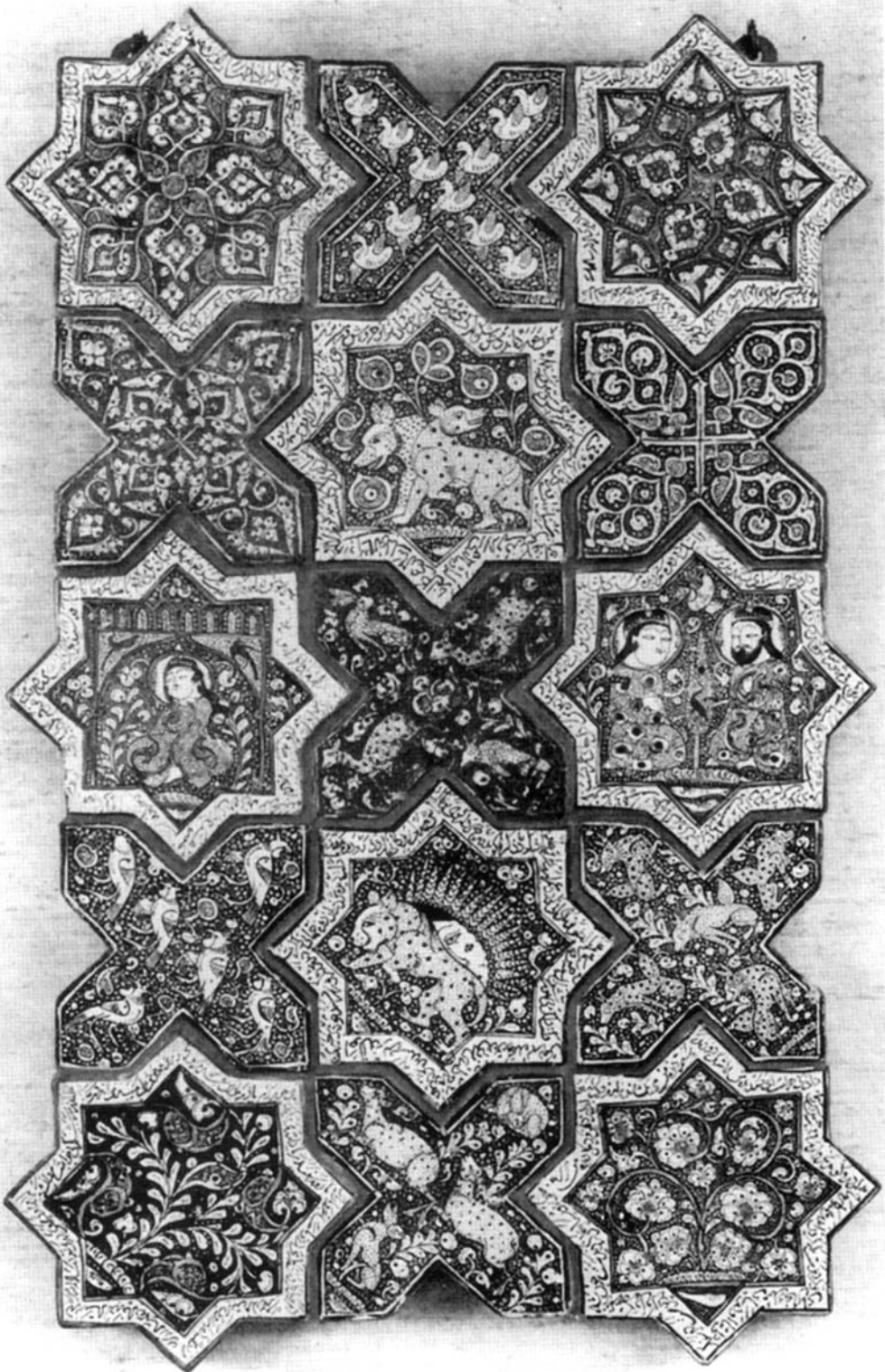
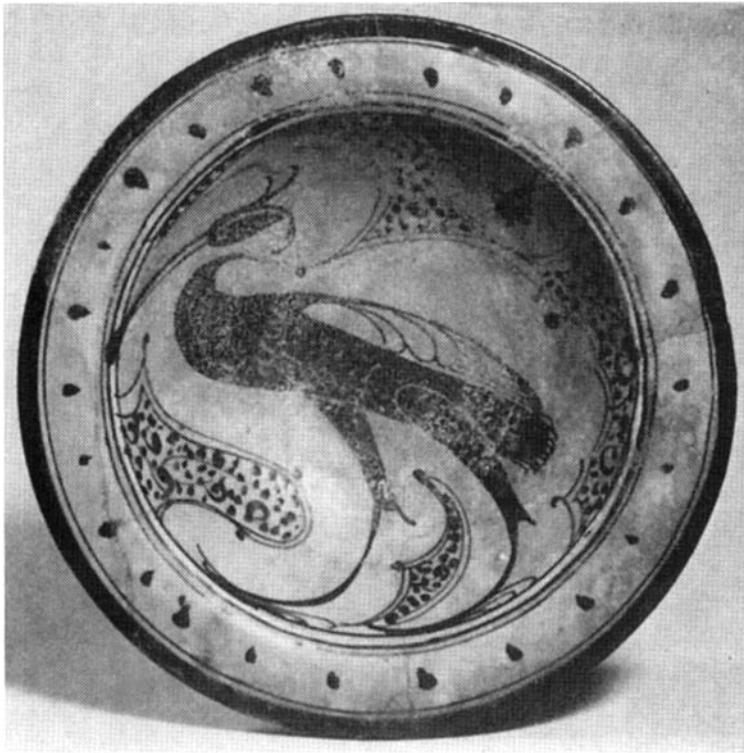
KHAZʿAL KHĀN, IBN ḤĀDJDJĪ DJĀBIR KHĀN, Shaykh of Muḥammara, born *ca.* 1860, died 27 May 1936. On the death of Shaykh Ḥādjdjī Djābir Khān in 1881, leadership of the Muḥasayn tribe, the great bulk of which resided in Persian territory, passed to Mizʿal Khān, Shaykh Djābir's fifth son. His rule became unpopular on account of his meanness and avarice and on June 2 1897 Mizʿal and his nephew ʿAbd al-Djalīl were shot dead, as they were disembarking from a boat at Fallāḥiyya, by three negro slaves. A large number of Arabs under Salmān b. Manṣūr, a cousin of Khazʿal, were, however, on hand to give further support if necessary in the assassination attempt. It seems that Khazʿal approved the murder, even if he did not actually instigate it. (A. T. Wilson: *A précis of the relations of the British Government with the tribes and sheiks of Arabistan*, Calcutta 1912, ch. iv). Mizʿal left no sons. Khazʿal quickly took charge of affairs and was later confirmed as Shaykh by tribal election. The Persian Governor General of ʿArabistān, Sardār Akram, opposed Khazʿal's candidacy and endeavoured to have a cousin of Khazʿal's called ʿAbūd appointed as Shaykh. He failed in this attempt and Khazʿal's position was confirmed by the Shāh in April 1898 when the *laḳab* of Muʿizz al-Salṭana, which had also been held by his predecessor, was conferred upon him (J. G. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, ʾOmān and Central Arabia*, Calcutta 1915, i/2, 1744-1754).

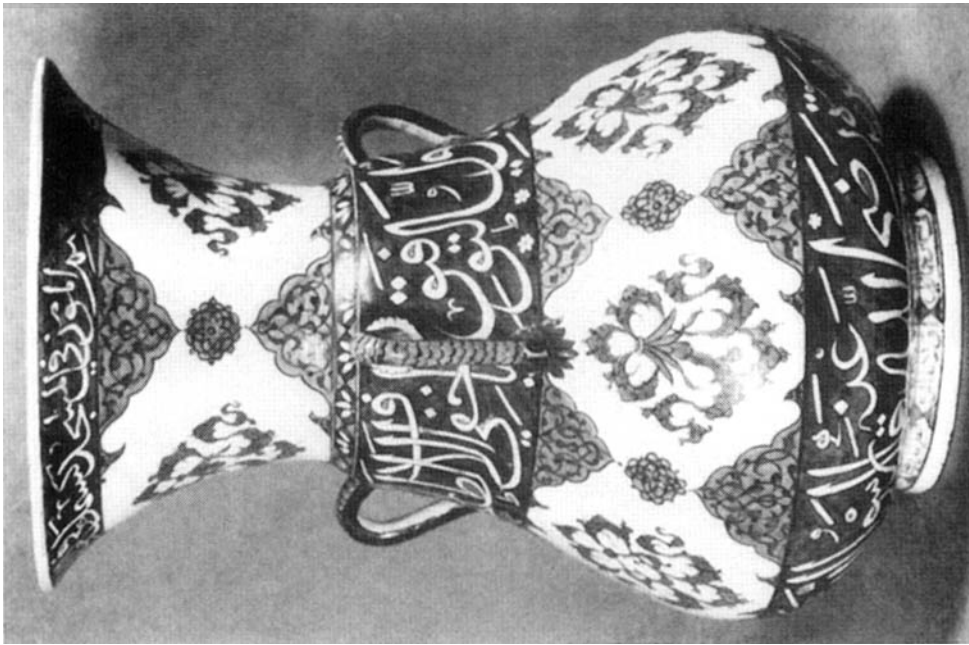
Khazʿal followed with great success his brother's policy of endeavouring to extend the area over which the Muḥasayn held sway. The subjugation of the Kaʿb (Čaʿb) tribe was completed during 1897 and in the autumn of 1898 Khazʿal mounted a successful expedition against the Bāwiyya tribe in the area between the Kārūn and Djarrāḥī rivers. By 1904 the Shaykh had the *de facto* power to nominate the governors of Ahwāz and Mʿashūr and the central government was reported to exercise little authority south of Band-i Ḳīr (Major E. B. Burton to Government of India, Rawalpindi Feb. 28 1904, in F.O. 416/17). The weakness of the central government was also revealed by the fact that the collection of arrears of taxation from the Banī Ṭuruf could be undertaken in 1903, and again in 1905, only with the support of Khazʿal and his armed followers.

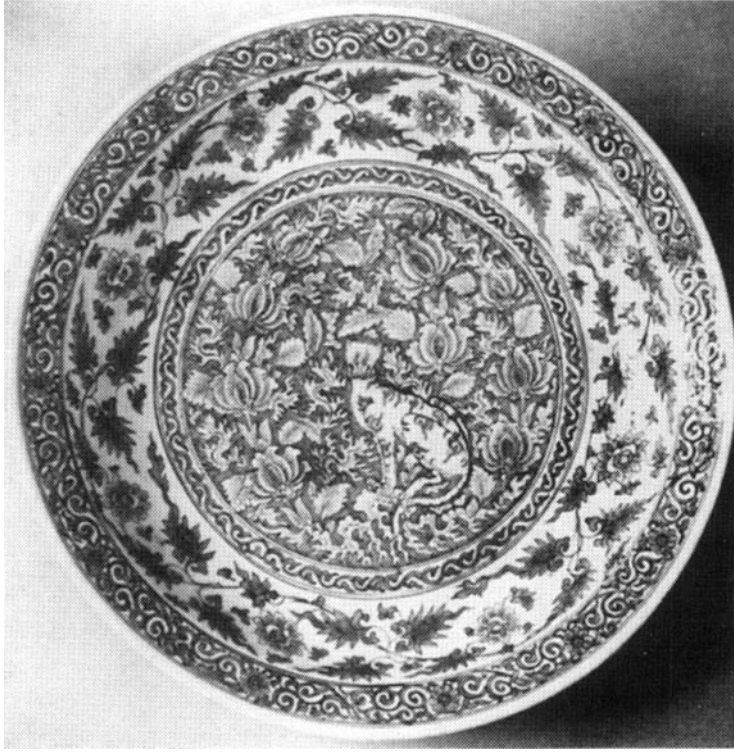
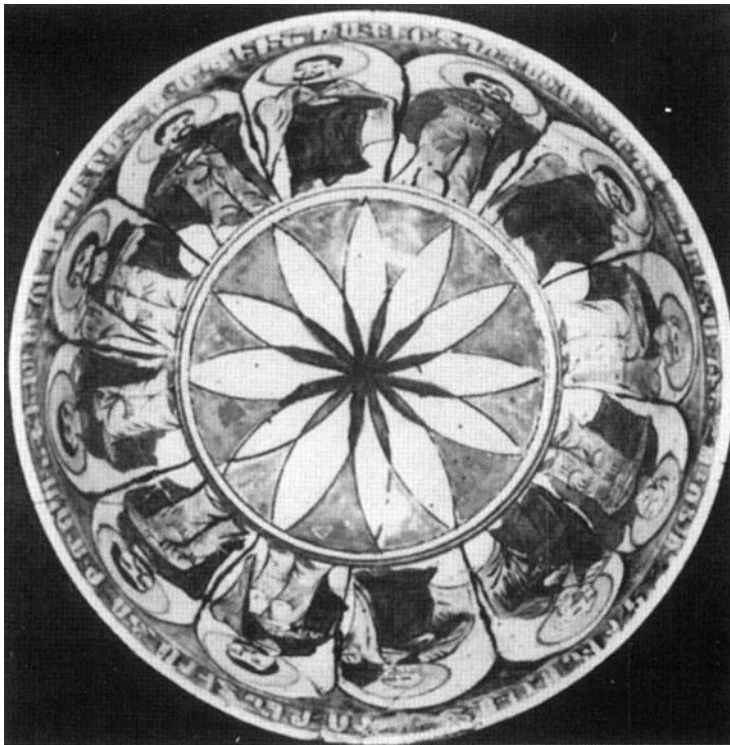
When the Persian government proposed to introduce Belgian customs officials into ʿArabistān in 1902, Khazʿal objected strongly, fearing that his power over his followers would be weakened as the degree of central government control increased. Wilson agreed that any attempt to impose new taxes on the Arab tribes of the area would have caused serious unrest and could have resulted in the deposition of Khazʿal unless he was successful in defending the tribes' traditional rights. (Wilson, *op. cit.*, ch. v). One of Khazʿal's advantages in the subsequent negotiations was the fact that he owned a large area of land in Turkish ʿIrāḳ, and could realistically threaten to leave Persian territory together with his followers. More important reasons for Khazʿal's success in the negotiations over the introduction of the Belgians were, however, the degree of support which he received from the British diplomatic mission in Tehran and the number of armed followers which he could call upon. A. H. Hardinge, the British Minister in Tehran, estimated that he could put 20,000 armed men into action against the central government if he so wished. (Hardinge to Lansdowne No. 57, 12 April 1901, marked confidential, in F.O. 60/636). In May 1902 the authorities in Tehran agreed that the Shaykh should receive a salary as the Director-General of Customs in ʿArabistān and that the Belgian official who was to be appointed should accept the Shaykh's orders with regard to the dues to be paid by the local Arab inhabitants (see H. J. Whigham, *The Persian problem*, London 1903). In 1903 the Shaykh received three important *farmāns* confirming his land holdings and proprietary rights in ʿArabistān from Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh.

It was because Khazʿal possessed such local power, because he was suspicious of Russian designs in the Persian Gulf, and because he made serious endeavours to reduce the level of piracy in the waters under his control, that his friendship was regarded highly by local British officials (see the despatch by Major E. B. Burton cited above). After the discovery of oil at Masdjid-i Sulaymān in 1908, Khazʿal's friendship became even more important, for the pipeline that was necessary to carry the oil to a deep water port had to cross his territory as well as that of the Bakhtiyārī. Khazʿal granted the necessary wayleaves in 1909 and also leased land for the building of a refinery and loading jetties at Ābādān (see S. H.

1. Bowl, W: 13.8 cms, H: 6.5 cms, cobalt blue on opaque white glaze. Susa, 3rd/4th/late 9th/10th c. *Iran Bastan Museum Tehran*, No. 3077. *Service photographique du musée Iran Bastan.*

2. Bowl, W: 27 cms, H: 7.5 cms, polychrome lustre on opaque white glaze. Egypt, 3rd/late 9th c. *Islamic museum, Cairo*, No. 4176.

3. Dish, slip painted under transparent colourless glaze. Khurāsān, 5th/11th c. "Enjoy feasting in good health". *Museo d'Arte Orientale di Roma*, No. 1974.

4. Jar, H: 30.5 cms, monochrome lustre, Egypt 5th/11th c. Victoria and Albert Museum, London No. C. 48.1952 *Crown copyright Victoria and Albert Museum.*

1. Dish, W: 26 cms, H: 7.2 cms, *sgraffiato* design with yellow, green and purple runs; transparent colourless glaze. Nīshāpūr 5th/11th c. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Museum excavations 1937 and Rogers Fund.*

2. Ewer with zoomorphic spout, H: 36 cms, carved slipped design filled in black under transparent green-tinted glaze. Ādharbāydjān, 6th/12th c. *Musée du Louvre,* Paris No. 7247.

Panel of lustre painted tiles, W: 78.5 cms, H: 49.5 cms. Kāshān, 665/1267. *Musée du Louvre*, Paris, No. 6319.

1. Dish, W: 26,6 cms, H: 7.6 cms, black design under transparent turquoise glaze. Syria, early 7th/13th c. *Freer Gallery of Art*, No. 47.8, *Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art*, Washington DC.

2. Bowl, W: 19 cms, H: 9.5 cms, thick white slip design on grey ground under transparent colourless glaze. Iran, early 8th/14th c. *Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, No. 65.1669. *Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Fund: Charles B. Hoyt Bequest.*

1. Drug jar, H: 27.5 cms, blue and dark green design under transparent colourless glaze. Syria, 717/1317. *Museo di Capodimonte*, Naples, Coll. De Ciccio, No. 5.

2. Mosque lamp, H: 38.1 cms, blue, turquoise and black underglaze painting. Iznik, 956/1549. *British Museum*, London.

1. Dish, W: 45 cms, blue and black design under transparent colourless glaze. Iran, *ca.* 1000/1600. *Museum für Kunsthandwerk Frankfurt/M.*

2. Bowl, W: 18.5 cms, H: 11.8 cms, polychrome underglaze painting. Kütahya 1718-9 A.D. *Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire*, Bruxelles, No. 3170-II.

Jar, H: 77.5 cms, unglazed, stamped decoration. Spain 8th/14th c. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, No. C. 400.1888. *Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum.*

Longrigg, *Oil in the Middle East*, London 1961, 19-20). The Shaykh also assisted the British after Turkey joined the First World War. In 1910 the Shaykh had been made Knight Commander of the Order of the Indian Empire (K.C.I.E.) in recognition of his friendliness towards British interests.

After the end of the war and with the rise to power of Riḍā Khān, the situation began to change. The official British promises of support for Khazᶜal had been made dependent on his recognition of his obligations towards the Persian government. While that government was weak the issue was largely academic, but when Riḍā Khān began to extend the power of the central government the problem became a pressing one. Khazᶜal probably expected greater British support than he received. He was encouraged by London to seek an agreement with Riḍā Khān (see G. Waterfield, *Professional diplomat: Sir Percy Loraine of Kirkharle Bt.*, London 1973, chs. 6-9 for details and further references to the British diplomatic archives on this complex issue). In Nov. 1923 Khazᶜal came to an arrangement with the central government over the payment of taxes (A. C. Millspaugh, *The American task in Persia*, New York 1925, 216-36), but Riḍā Khān's expedition in the spring of 1924 against the Lurs to the north alarmed Khazᶜal. He refused, with good reason, to go voluntarily to Tehran and in August he stated that he would resist Riḍā Khān by force if necessary. British intervention failed to bring about a reconciliation. The *farmāns* of 1903 were revoked by the Shāh and in September Khazᶜal accused Riḍā Khān of violating the laws of Persia and of acting as a usurper. This outburst lost Khazᶜal the sympathy of the British government which had begun to realise that British interests lay in the creation of a strong central government in Persia (R. M. Burrell, *Britain, Iran and the Persian Gulf: some aspects of the situation in the 1940s and 1930s*, in D. Hopwood (ed.), *The Arabian Peninsula: society and politics*, London 1972). Khazᶜal offered an apology for his statement in Dec. 1924, but Riḍā Khān was by now determined to extinguish the Shaykh's power. Military preparations were made by the Persian army during the winter of 1924, and on 19 April 1925, Khazᶜal was arrested on board a boat at Muḥammara. He was transferred to Tehran and kept there under virtual house arrest until his death.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the text, M. J. A. Saldanha, *Précis of Persian ʾArabistān affairs*, Simla 1904; *Administrative Reports on the Persian Gulf Residency and Muscat political agency*, Calcutta 1873 onwards; A. T. Wilson, *Southwestern Persia, a Political Officer's diary 1907-1914*, London 1941; E. R. Durand, *An autumn tour in Western Persia*, London 1902; V. Chirol, *The Middle Eastern question*, London 1903; Mahdī Bāmdād, *Tārīkh-i Ridjāl-i Īrān*, i, Tehran 1966.

(R. M. Burrell)

KHAZAR, a nomadic people in the South Russian steppes who flourished in the early Islamic period. The Khazar tribal union emerged in the course of the 6th century A.D. in the aftermath of a series of migrations of nomadic peoples from Inner and Central Asia. With the collapse of the European Hun state in 454 A.D., some of the nomadic elements of Attila's horde withdrew to the Pontic steppe zone. They were joined here, *ca.* 463 A.D., by waves of Oghur tribes which had been driven from Western Siberia and the Kazakh steppe by the Sabirs who, in turn, had been forced to migrate to the Kazakh steppe from their Central Asian homeland by the expansion of the Avar (Juan-juan, Uar-Hun) tribal confederation (on the history of these migrations, see K. Czeglédy, *A nomád népek vándorlása napkelettöl napnyugatig* ("The Migrations of nomadic peoples from East to West"), Budapest 1969). The Sabirs themselves arrived in the North Caucasian steppelands and Volga region in the opening decades of the 6th century. When Avar (Juan-juan) hegemony in Mongolia was overthrown by the Türks (Türküt, Kök Türks) in 552 A.D., elements of the Avars (or perhaps the Hephthalites, whose tribal union was composed of kindred Uar-Hun tribes) migrated westward and entered the Volga-Pontic steppe zone after 557 A.D. where they subjugated some of the Oghur tribes. Avar dominion in this region was short-lived, for they were soon forced to migrate, together with some of their Oghur subjects, to Pannonia (*ca.* 567 A.D.), by the advent of their enemies, the Türks.

Although there are indications in Armenian sources (see *The History of the Caucasian Albanians by Movsēs Dasχuranḉi*, tr. C. J. F. Dowsett, Oxford 1961, 70) and Arab sources (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. De Goeje, 194; al-Yaᶜḳūbī, *Historiae*, ed. Houtsma, i, 200-4) that would appear to give evidence of a Khazar presence in the Volga delta and in the Caucasus prior to the middle of the 6th century (see D. M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton 1954, 20-22, and M. I. Artamonov *Istoriya Khazar*, Leningrad 1962, 116-7, for an evaluation of these sources. The Khazars have nothing to do with the *Akatzir/Akatir*, *Khotzir* etc. who figure in Byzantine and Syriac sources during this period, see O. Maenchen-Helfen, *The World of the Huns*, Berkeley 1973, 427 ff.); it is only under the aegis of the Türks that the Khazar tribal confederation (most probably an amalgamation, by this time, of Hunnic, Sabir, Oghur, Türk and other nomadic, Altaic elements) fully emerges on to the historical scene. It cannot be determined, at present, whether a tribe named "Khazar" actually existed prior to the conquest and organisation of the Volga-North Caucasian-Pontic steppe nomads by the Türks. It may well be that the Khazar tribal union was a creation of the Türks and the name of this new tribal grouping was then anachronistically ascribed, by our early sources via local, oral historical tradition, to those earlier tribes which ultimately came to compose it. In many of our early accounts, the ethnonyms Khazar and Türk are interchangeable. In any event, it is under Türk leadership (the *Djebu Khakᶜan* of Movsēs Daskhurantsᶜi, the *Djibgha* of the *Kᶜartᶜlis Tsᶜkhovreba*, Ζιέβηλ of the Byzantine writers, perhaps to be identified with the *T'ong Yabghu* of the Western Türks, see J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1903, 394, 498) that the Khazars figure prominently in the Perso-Byzantine wars of the first third of the 7th century. The Khazars, acting as allies of Byzantium, relieved the Sāsānid pressure on Heraclius (610-41) by devastating Persian holdings in Transcaucasia. In 626, the *Djabghu Ḳaghan* and his nephew, the *Shad* (Shatᶜ in the Armenian sources) ravaged Caucasian Albania and in the following year turned on Georgia whose capital, Tᶜbilisi, fell to them in 628 (Daskhurantsᶜi, tr. Dowsett, 81-8, *Kᶜartᶜlis Ts'khovreba*, ed. S. Ḳaukhčᶜishvili, Tᶜbilisi 1955, i, 225, 374-5). The Khazar-Byzantine alliance cemented during these wars remained, although subject to occasional buffetings, the cornerstone of the Byzantine defence network against the nomads of the Eurasian steppes until the 10th century.

Türk overlordship in the western half of their

realm had been steadily weakening during the first half of the 7th century as the result of internecine strife. With the submission of the Western Türk (On Oḳ) to the Chinese in 659, it came to an end. Two Türk successor states emerged in the western sector of the Eurasian steppes, the Khazar Ḳaghanate (perhaps under a scion of the ruling clan of the On Oḳ, the Nu-shih-pi as suggested by Artamonov, *op. cit.*, 170-1) and the Bulghar-Onoghur/Onoghundur state (a tribal union composed largely of Oghur elements led by the Dulo, the rivals of the Nu-shih-pi in the On Oḳ confederacy. The Bulghar ruling clan may also have had Attilid affiliations, see O. Pritsak, *Die Bulgarische Fürstenliste und die Sprache der Protobulgaren*, Wiesbaden 1955, 36-8). The inevitable conflict that broke out between the two (reported, with mythic overtones, in Theophanes, Nicephorus Patriarchus and the Letter of the Khazar ruler, Joseph) ended with the defeat of Pontic (Magna) Bulgaria (Παλαιὰ Βουλγαρία) in the 670s. In the course of this struggle, and perhaps even earlier, some Bulghar (the name may be etymologised in Turkic as meaning "the mixed ones", see Gy. Németh, *A honfoglaló magyarság kialakulása* ("The Formation of the Hungarians of the Conquest Period"), Budapest 1930, 95-6) elements migrated to the Volga-Kama region founding Volga Bulgharia. Another horde, under Asperukh, made its way to Byzantine Moesia and established Danubian Bulgharia there *ca.* 679. Other Bulghar tribes remained in the eastern Pontic steppe zone under Khazar rule.

The Khazars were now undisputed masters of the western Eurasian steppelands. Their hold over the North Caucasus, however, was contested by the Arabs who had begun to penetrate this region by 21/641-2. This was the first thrust in a series of wars that spanned a century. Much of the campaigning centered on gaining possession of Bāb al-Abwāb (Derbend) [*q.v.*], a strategically-important town guarding the approaches from the steppe zone to Transcaucasia, and the Khazar cities Balandjar (Balangar, probably of ethnonymic origin, cf. the "Barandjār" mentioned in Ibn Faḍlān, *Kniga Akhmeda ibn Fadlana o ego puteshestvii na Volgu v 921-922 gg.* ("The Book of Ibn Faḍlān on his Journey to the Volga"), tr. and facs. ed. A. P. Kovalevskiy, Kharkov 1956, 323 (f. 207b), or Z. V. Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, in *Abh. KM*, xxiv/3 (1939), Arabic text, 30, or tr. M. Canard, in *AIEO Alger*, xvi (1950), 107, who were found in his day in Volga Bulgharia) and Samandar. Al-Masʿūdī (*Tanbīh*, ed. de Goeje, 62) states that Balandjar was at one time the Khazar capital. He contradicts this statement in the *Murūdj* (ii, 7, ed. Pellat, i, 211-2) where he makes Samandar the early Khazar capital. These cities may have been the winter and summer quarters of the Khazar ruling clan, hence the confusion in al-Masʿūdī. The Khazar capital was later removed to the less exposed (to Arab raids) Volga delta where the city of Atīl [*q.v.*] developed. The exact location of the Khazar North Caucasian cities has yet to be determined. T. Lewicki, *Ludy Daghestanu i północnego Kaukazu w oczach średniowiecznych pisarzy arabskich* ("The Peoples of Daghestan and the North Caucasus in the eyes of Mediaeval Arab Writers") in *Przegląd Orientalistyczny*, No. 2 (46) (1963), 93, and Z. V. Togan, *Umumî Türk tarihine giriş*, Istanbul, repr. 1970, i, 57, place Balandjar west of the Sulaḳ river, at the ruins of Endere. Togan identifies Samandar with present day Kizlyar. V. F. Minorsky, *A History of Sharvān and Darband*, Cambridge 1958, 106, however, believes it was located at or near Tarḳu in the North-Eastern Caucasus, not far from present-day Makhač-ḳala. Like Balandjar, the name Samandar may be of ethnonymic origin.

Balandjar was first attacked in 22/642 (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2667-8; ed. Cairo 1963-70, iv, 158), in the course of which the Arabs may even have penetrated into the Khazar hinterland. Minor Arab raiding continued until 32/652 when ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Rabīʿa al-Bāhilī, disregarding a standing caliphal order to the contrary, led a large force on Balandjar where he was defeated and killed (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2889-91, ed. Cairo, iv, 304-5; for a full discussion of this and other Arabo-Khazar campaigns, see the detailed treatment in Dunlop, *op. cit.*, chs. iii-iv, and also ḲABḲ).

While the Arabs were caught up with domestic affairs, the Khazars raided Caucasian Albania several times in the period *ca.* 661-664 and again in the 680s (as reported in the Armenian historians Daskhurantsʿi, Asołig and Łewond). In 681-2, the ruler of Albania, Varaz-Trdat, sent the bishop Israyēl to Varačʿan, the capital of the North Caucasian "Huns", who were, at this time, ruled by "Alpʿ Ilitʿuēr" (* Alp Il-teber/tever), a Khazar vassal (or perhaps a representative of the royal clan; this is implied in the Turkic title *il-teber* and was a practice common in the nomadic world). The detailed description of North Caucasian "Hunnic" shamanism given in Daskhurantsʿi's account of Israyēl's mission is extremely valuable as it sheds some light on the religious practices that were, undoubtedly, present amongst the Khazars as well. The worship by these "Huns" of "Tʿangri Khan", the cult of the sacred forest, worship of fire, thunder and lightning and the funeral practices described in Daskhurantsʿi (tr. Dowsett, 155-6, 161) all conform in general and in many of their specific traits to the descriptions of Türk shamanism in Chinese sources and later accounts of Turkic shamanism as practised up to the present century. The Islamic geographers (cf. Ibn Rusta, 139; for a discussion of these sources, see B. N. Zakhoder, *Kaspiyskiy svod svedenii o vostočnoi evrope*, Moscow 1962, i, 146-7) note that the Khazar pagans practise a religion "similar to that of the Turks" (Gardīzī specifically states that it resembles that of the Oghuz/Ghuzz, *i.e.* shamanism).

During this same period, the Khazars apparently came into possession of most of the Crimea, except for Kherson which remained under a Byzantine administration. From here, they began to play an important rôle in the domestic politics of the Byzantine empire in connection with the ill-fated reign of Justinian II (685-95, 705-11).

In the opening years of the 2nd/8th century, the Arab-Khazar struggle for hegemony in the North Caucasus quickened in pace. In 95/713-4, Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik retook Bāb al-Abwāb which had, apparently, changed hands several times in the preceding years, and drove deep into Khazar-North Caucasian "Hunnic" territory. Difficult but indecisive fighting continued until 112/730 when Djarrāḥ b. al-Ḥakamī, who alternated command of this important theatre of operations with Maslama when the latter's services were needed elsewhere, was defeated and killed by the Khazars under the command of "Bārdjīk (so Balʿamī, Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī, *Kitāb al-Futūḥ*, Ms. Topkapî, Aḥmed III, 2959, ii, ff. 180a-188b, has *Bārsbīk*. The relationship of Bārdjīk/Bārsbīk to *Pʿarsbitʿ* (in Łewond, *Patmutʿiwn*, ed. Ezeantsʿ St. Petersburg 1887, 101) noted

as the "mother of the Ḳaghan", is unclear), son of the Khāḳān", at Ardabīl. Perhaps with a view towards strengthening the resolve of the Khazars, a Byzantine-Khazar marriage alliance was arranged in which Constantine (later Constantine IV Copronymous), son of Leo the Isaurian, married Čiček, the daughter of the Ḳaghan, *ca.* 732-733. Their son, Leo IV (775-780), was known as "the Khazar".

The decisive campaign came in 119/737, when Marwān b. Muḥammad (called *Murvan Ḳru*, "Marwān the Deaf", in Georgian sources), through a clever ruse was able to advance deep into Khazar territory, by-pass the Khazar capital, Atīl, on the lower Volga and catching the Ḳaghan unawares pursue him into the land of the Finno-Ugric Burṭās, a subject people of the Khazars. Here, the defeated Ḳaghan agreed to become a Muslim and a subject of the caliph (the campaign is described in Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī, al-Balādhurī, Balʿamī and Ibn al-Athīr). Al-Balādhurī, 208, reports that Marwān settled 20,000 Ṣaḳāliba families from Khazar territory in Khākhīṭ and had Khazars transplanted to the steppe zone in the province of al-Lakz between Samūr and Shābirān. Continued Khazar submission, however, was contingent on a strong Arab presence (*i.e.* an army of occupation). This was an impossibility and consequently, the conversion and submission of the Khazar Ḳaghan was short-lived. Leo III's victory over the Arabs some three years later, at Acroinon, in addition to further weakening the Umayyads, undoubtedly enabled the Ḳaghan (if he had not already done so) to break free of Arab overlordship.

Thus, despite Marwān's brilliant generalship, Arab rule was not and never would be firmly established on the Volga or even in the somewhat more accessible Dāghistān where, in the 4th/10th century, Khazar rule reached almost up to the wall of Derbend [see DĀGHISTĀN]. In effect, the Khazars and Arabs had fought each other to a standstill in the Caucasus. Although the campaign of 119/737, unlike the Arab advance defeated by Charles Martel at Tours several years earlier, was successful, the results were similar. The Caucasus and the Pyrenees became the border zone between the Arab world and Europe.

The Khazars, whose raiding was resumed by the second half of the century and was combined with the frequent revolts of the Christian peoples of Transcaucasia, gave little peace to the Arabs in that region; never again, however, did they constitute a serious threat to the Arab possession of Transcaucasia.

The caliph al-Manṣūr (136-58/754-75), undoubtedly in an attempt to better relations with the Khazars, *ca.* 760 ordered Yazīd b. Usayd al-Sulamī, the governor of Armenia, to marry a daughter of the Khazar Ḳaghan (her name is given only as *Khātūn*, a title; the name of the Ḳaghan appears to have been **Baghātur*, cf. Ibn Aʿtham al-Kūfī, ii, f. 241b). The marriage was arranged (the bride bringing a dowry of 10,000 dirhams) but her death in childbirth and that of her child shortly after (Balādhurī, 210) perhaps served as the cause for two large-scale Khazar raids into Transcaucasia in 145/762-3 and 147/764-5. The name of the commander of the Khazar forces is given in al-Ṭabarī, iii, 328, Cairo ed., viii, 7, as "As Tarkhān al-Khwarazmī" and in al-Yaʿḳūbī as "Ras" (*Historiae*, ii, 446; John Rylands, Arabic Ms. 231 (801), f. 152a) or "Rāsh" (Cambridge QQ10, f. 192a) Tarkhān. Łewond (*Patmutʿiwn*, ed. Ezeantsʿ, 132) has "Raž Tʿarkhan". These names and the *nisba* "al-Khwārazmī" point to an Iranian origin. Following Minorsky, *Hist. of Sharvān and Darband*, 147, we may conclude that this commander was drawn from the As/Aorsi (cf. "al-Arsiyya", the Muslim bodyguards of the Khazar Ḳaghans "from the region of Khwārazm" who were long-time residents of Khazaria, having settled there not long after the rise of Islam, al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 10, ed. Pellat, i, 213) who were part of the mass of Iranian (Alan-As-Aorsi) nomads living east of the Caspian sea in territories subject to the Khazars. The "Arsiyya", as Muslims, were granted the right to remain neutral whenever the Khazars were engaged in warfare with Islamic peoples.

In 780 A.D., the Georgian prince, Nerse, attempted to enlist the aid of the Khazars in his continued struggle with the Arabs. He was, on this occasion, politely refused. This refusal probably stemmed from a brief anti-Byzantine shift in Khazar policy. This is clearly evident in 786 when the Khazars aided Leon II, the ruler of Abkhazia (Apʿkhazetʿi), and a grandson of the Khazar Ḳaghan, to secure the independence of Apʿkhazetʿi and Egrisi (= mediaeval Western Georgia) from Byzantine suzerainty (*Kʿartʿlis Tsʿkhovreba*, i, 251). This re-orientation may have been the product of Khazar-Byzantine disputes in the Crimea (perhaps associated with the anti-Khazar revolt of John of Gothia, see Artamonov, *op. cit.*, 252-5). The last major Khazar incursion into Arab holdings in Transcaucasia occurred in 183/799 (detailed discussion in Dunlop, *op. cit.*, 183 ff.,) Georgia proper (*Kʿartʿli*) being the principal victim. This invasion, according to al-Ṭabarī, ii, 647 ff., was brought about by the failure of a proposed matrimonial alliance between the daughter of the Khazar king and the Barmakid al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā (cf. above i, 1034 and ii, 732). It may also have been a diversionary tactic to relieve the Byzantines (presuming that Khazar-Byzantine relations had returned to their normal state of co-operation in the face of a common foe), who were then able to induce the caliphate to make peace.

The conversion of the Khazars to Judaism has been the subject of a sizable literature, often of a conjectural or polemical nature. The date of the conversion—if, indeed, there is one specific date that marked the acceptance of Judaism by large numbers of Khazars—has not yet been firmly established (cf. the exhaustive discussion of this question and a critical evaluation of the Islamic and Hebrew sources, including the much debated "Letter of King Joseph" and the Cambridge Document, in Dunlop, *op. cit.*, chs. v-vi). It is most probable, that, following al-Masʿūdī (*Murūdj*, ii, 8; ed. Pellat i, 212), the Khazar king, "his entourage and the Khazars of his tribe" (*i.e.* the ruling clan or tribe or the ethnic Khazars, if such indeed existed, as opposed to the non-Khazar tribes who were under Khazar overlordship), had become Jews during the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd (170-93/786-809). The comments of Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, ed. de Goeje, 298, writing *ca.* 290/903, that "all of the Khazars are Jews, for they have recently converted" is undoubtedly based on earlier tradition (Dunlop, *op. cit.*, 109; T. Lewicki, *Żródła arabskie do dziejów słowiańszczyzny*, Wrocław 1969, ii/1, 121). Al-Iṣṭakhrī, ed. de Goeje, 220, 224, notes that the Khazars are Muslims, Christians and Jews, the latter forming the smallest group but including the king and his court, *i.e.* the royal clan. He also reports that the Ḳaghanate resided in a certain family (this is in keeping with Türk tradition) and could be passed on only to Judaised members of this family. This latter claim and his story of the young Muslim Khazar barred from the throne because of his religion is not typical of the religious

indifference usually manifested by the Altaic, nomadic peoples of this time, and may well be a pious fabrication.

The extent of Khazar Judaism and the degree to which it may have influenced the subject peoples and neighbours of the Ḳaghanate (cf. the rather Judaic names of the sons of Seldjuk) is the subject of some speculation. The view, originating with Firkovič and advanced in one modified form or another by L. Rásonyi, *Tarihte türklük*, Ankara 1971, 115-6, and A. Zajaczkowski, *Ze studiów nad zagadnieniem chazarskim* ("Studies on the Khazar Problem"), Cracow 1947, 61-6; idem, *Karaims in Poland*, Warsow-The Hague-Paris 1961, 16 ff., amongst others, that the Khazars adopted Karaite rather than Rabbinic Judaism has been forcefully countered by Z. Ankori, *The Karaites in Byzantium*, New York-Jerusalem 1959, 64-79.

At some time in 861, Constantine (later St. Cyril, the "Apostle to the Slavs") led a Byzantine mission to Khazaria, the ostensible purpose of which was to participate in a religious debate at the court of the Ḳaghan. The real motivation behind the embassy undoubtedly had to do with the 860-1 Rus' raid on Constantinople and questions of joint Khazar-Byzantine cooperation against this new foe. According to the *Life of Constantine* (*Constantinus et Methodius Thessalonicenses, Fontes*, ed. F. Grivec, F. Tomšić, Zagreb 1960), some Khazars asked to convert to Christianity and were allowed to do so.

The later reports of the conversion of the Khazar Ḳaghan to Islam after the collapse of the Khazar state in 354/965 (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 418; Ibn Miskawayh, ed. and tr. Amedroz-Margolioulh, text, ii, 203, v, 223, and al-Muḳaddasī, ed. de Goeje, 361). In the latter the adoption of Islam as the result of the campaigns of al-Maʾmūn (Abu 'l-Abbās Maʾmūn b. Muḥammad) ruler of Gurgāndj and later (after 995) of all Khwārazm [see KHWĀRAZM-SHĀHS] may well be historical. Prior to 354/965, Islam had adherents not only amongst subject peoples (cf. in particular the Volga Bulghars) but amongst the Khazars as well. Atīl, according to al-Iṣṭakhrī, 220, had 10,000 Muslim inhabitants. Al-Balādhurī, 203, tells of the Khazars who were settled by Bugha the Türk in 240/854-5 in Shamkūr (Shankʿor) because of their interest in Islam and security. Confirmation of Bugha's activities in this area (warfare against the Khazars and Alans) is found in Münedjdjim bāshī (Minorsky, *Hist. of Sharvān and Darband*, Arabic text, 3, tr. 25) and in the *Kʿartʿlis Tsʿkhovreba* (i, 256-7) which further notes that he settled 300 Khazar families in "Shankʿor" (no mention is made of their Islamic affiliations), but then came under the suspicion of the caliph who feared he "was taking council with the Khazars, his tribesmen" (*tomtʿa mistʿa*, which can also be translated as "his kinsmen") and relieved him of his post. Bugha's campaign about this time, against the Georgian mountaineers, the Ṣanariyya (in Georgian *Tsanar*) which led to an unsuccessful attempt on their part to enlist the aid of the Byzantines, Khazars and Ṣaḳāliba, should be viewed in light of the above.

The conversion of the Khazars to Judaism was no obstacle to continuing Khazar-Byzantine cooperation, especially in view of the unstable situation that was developing in the steppes. In 838 (for the dating, see I. Sorlin, *Le problème des Khazares et les historiens soviétiques dans les vingt dernières années*, in *Travaux et Mémoires*, iii (1968), 436 n. 51), the Byzantines assisted in the construction of the fortress Sarkel/Sharkil on the Don which was built as a defence (probably for Byzantine Crimea) against the Hungarian tribal union, or elements of it, and the Pečenegs who were beginning to cause problems for the Khazars and ultimately the Byzantines (Ibn Rusta, 143; Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperii*, ed. and tr. Gy. Moravcsik - R. Jenkins, Washington 1967, ch. 42; Theophanes Continuatus, ed. Bonn, 122 ff.; Scylitzes, ed. Bonn ii, 129-30; for a full discussion of this question see P. B. Golden, *The migrations of the Oğuz*, in *Archivum Ottomanicum*, iv, 1972).

During the caliphate of al-Wāthiḳ (227-32/842-7), two Arab embassies were sent to Khazaria, one led by Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khwārazmī and the other that of Sallām the Interpreter (al-Muḳaddasī, 362; Ibn Khurradādhbih, 162 ff.; Ibn Rusta, 149).

Khazar-Arab hostilities in the North Caucasus continued during the course of the 3rd/9th century on a reduced scale. Münedjdjim bāshī (in Minorsky, *Hist. of Sharvān and Darband*, text, 4, 17, tr. 26, 46) speaks of warfare that, apparently, persisted from Radjab 288/August 901 to *ca.* 300/912. The name of the Khazar ruler who figured in these campaigns is given as *K-sā* (or *T-n/z K-sā*) *b. B-ldjān* (cf. *Blučʿan*, the name of a Khazar commander mentioned in the *Kʿartʿlis Tsʿkhovreba*, i, 249-50).

Khazar power was now on the decline. As with all nomadic tribal unions, there were continual centrifugal tendencies on the part of individual clans or tribes to break away from the power of the Ḳaghan. The first signs of serious internal difficulties of this nature may be seen in the revolt of the Kabars (whose name may be etymologised in Turkic as "rebel", see Németh, *op. cit.*, 236-7) some time in the second half of the 9th century (Const. Porphyrogenitus, *op. cit.*, 174). The Hungarian tribal union (to which the Kabars attached themselves), which had, in the early 9th century, been hostile and had later become an ally (the Árpád dynasty came to power under Khazar auspices, Const. Porph., 172) had now been replaced in the Pontic steppes by the Pečenegs. Moreover, elements of the turbulent Oghuz tribal union which had been allies of the Khazars against the Pečenegs were now under pressure from tribes to their east. They began to push towards the Volga, occasionally crossing it in search of winter pasturage (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 19; ed. Pellat i, 218) and skirmishing with Khazar patrols. Another new factor was the unification, *ca.* 885, of the Eastern Slavic tribes, some of whom had been tributaries of the Khazars, under the Rus' who were drawn to the Volga because of the lucrative trade that passed through Atīl. A series of daring Rus' raids into the Caspian lands of Islam began in the last quarter of the 9th century. Two large-scale raids took place in 298/910 and 299/911-2 (on the dating, see S. Aliev, *O datirovke nabega rusov, upomyanutikh ibn Isfandiyarom i Amoli*, in *Vostočnïe Istočniki po istorii narodov iugo-vostočnoi i tsentralʿnoi evropy* ("Eastern Sources on the History of the Peoples of South-Eastern and Central Europe"), ed. S. Tveritinova, Moscow 1967, ii, 316-21). Al-Masʿūdī reports another raid after the year 300/912-3 (Aliev, *op. cit.*, places this raid after 310/922).

Khazar willingness to allow the Rus' access to the Volga route in order to carry out these raids may perhaps be related to the hostilities between the Arabs and the Khazars in the Caucasus recorded in Münedjdjim bāshī (see above). In the raid reported by al-Masʿūdī, the Ḳaghan is said to have given his assent on the condition that the Rus' give him half of the booty. The Ḳaghan was unable, however, to prevent the slaughter of the returning Rus' by

Khazar Muslims who were enraged at the activities of the former against their co-religionists (*Murūdj*, ii, 10, 18-23; ed. Pellat i, 213, 218-21). The devastating Rus' raid on Bardhaʿa/Partaw [see BARDHAʿA], in Ādharbāydjān in 332/943-4 (Daskhurantsʿi, tr. Dowsett, 224; Ibn Miskawayh, ed. Amedroz-Margoliouth, ii, 62-7; al-Maḳdisī, *K. al-Badʾ wa'-taʾrīkh*, ed. Huart, iv, 66-7; Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 134-5) undoubtedly played a rôle in the ensuing reorientation of Khazar policy with regard to the Rus'. In his letter (written probably in the 960s) to Ḥasday b. Shaprūt, the Khazar ruler Joseph remarks that he is no longer willing to give the Rus' passage down to the Volga, adding "I war with them. If I left them (in peace) for one hour, they would destroy the entire land of the Ishmaelites up to Baghdād" (P. K. Kokovtsov, *Evreysko-Khazarskaya perepiska v X veke* ("The Jewish-Khazar Correspondence in the 10th Century") Leningrad 1932, 102).

Khazar exclusion of the Rus' from the Volga route was probably one of the causes of the war of 354/965 recorded in the Rus' chronicles (*Polnoe Sobranie Russkikh Letopisei*, i, 65, ix, 31). According to this very laconic account, the Rus' ruler, Svyatoslav, "overcame the Khazars and took their city and Běla Veža" (= Sarkel). Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, ii, 392-3, who heard of this several years after the event and places it in 358/967, states that the Rus' sacked Bulghar and Khazarān (a section of Atīl). Both of these accounts ignore the role of the Oghuz (Ghuzz). Ibn Miskawayh, text, ii, 209, tr. v, 223, and Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 418, report that in 354/965, the "Turks" attacked Khazaria. These "Turks" could only have been the Oghuz (the *Torki* of the Rus' chronicles and *Ṭurḳ* of the Anonymous Hebrew Khazar Cambridge Document) who undoubtedly entered into an alliance with Svyatoslav, just as they would later do with his son and successor, Vladimir I, in 985 against Volga Bulgharia. According to Islamic sources, the Ḳaghan appealed to the Khʷārazmians for aid and the latter drove off the "Turks" Khʷārazmian-Oghuz hostility at this time is reported in al-Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār al-bāḳiya*, ed. Sachau, 236, and confirmed by archaeological evidence, cf. S. P. Tolstov, *Po sledam drevnekhorezmiyskoy tsivilizatsii* ("On the Tracks of Ancient Khʷārizmian Civilization"), Moscow-Leningrad 1948, 249), in return for which they demanded the conversion of the Ḳaghan to Islam (see above). Although the destruction, according to Ibn Ḥawḳal, was considerable, it is not clear just what the Rus' gained. Sarkel probably came into their possession, but Atīl, and hence control over the Volga, probably remained in the hands of the Khazars who had now become a Khʷārazmian protectorate (this might explain why Svyatoslav, apparently blocked here, was willing, in 968, to embark on a campaign in the Balkans to gain possession of Bulgaria and the Danubian trade routes). Ultimately, it did become an Oghuz holding (they appear to be there in strength in the 12th century, cf. the "40 tribes of the Ghuzz" mentioned there by Abū Ḥāmid al-Gharnāṭī (*Abū Ḥāmid al-Granadino y su relación de viaje por tierras eurasiáticas*, ed. and tr. C. E. Dubler, Madrid 1953, 5).

Khazar Jews are mentioned as coming to the court of Vladimir I in 986 in connection with the religious debates that are alleged to have preceded his conversion to Christianity. The account, however, rather suspiciously parallels the story of a religious debate which preceded the conversion of the Khazars to Judaism, see Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 7 ff. Indeed, it may have been inserted in the Rus' chronicle to support Rus' claims to succession to the Ḳaghanate. The tradition of a Rus' Ḳaghan is already known in the 9th century (cf. the "Chacanus Rus" of the *Annales Bertiniani* and the "Rūs Khākān" of Ibn Rusta), and repeated in the 11th century *Slovo o zakone i blagodati* of Ilarion who pointedly refers to Vladimir I and the then reigning Yaroslav (d. 1054) as "kagans".

In January, 1016, a territory called "Khazaria" in Scylitzes (ed. Bonn, ii, 464) which was ruled by a certain Georgius (presumably a Christianised Khazar) "the Tzoulé" (this form Τζουλῆ, found in the 12th century Vienna Ms., Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Hist. Gr. 35, f. 132a and in the 13th century Vatican ms. 977, f. 287a, is to be preferred to the "Tzoulus" of the Bonn ed.) was attacked and conquered by a joint Rus'-Byzantine force in which "Sphengus, the brother of Vladimir, who was the brother-in-law of the Emperor" (Basil II, cf. γαμβροῦ τοῦ βασιλέοη of the mss. cited above and not "brother" as in the Bonn ed.) led the Rus' forces. The identity of "Sphengus" and the location of "Khazaria" have not been convincingly demonstrated thus far (it has variously been suggested that Sphengus is Mstislav, a son of Vladimir I, see G. Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, New Haven 1948, 75 and that "Khazaria" is to be found in the Crimean peninsula, Tmutorokan' or in the North Caucasus. Mstislav was, indeed, in the Tmutorokan' region *ca.* 1022 and, according to the Rus' chronicle, he led a force of Khazars and Kasogians in 1023 against his brother Yaroslav).

Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 279, notes that the Kurd Faḍlūn, ruler of Gandja, attacked the "Khazars" in 421/1030 but was defeated and slain by them. This was Faḍl b. Muḥammad of the Shaddādid dynasty, cf. above i, 660 and ii, 975 and V. F. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, London 1953, 40 ff. The "Khazars" mentioned here are probably a misprint for either the Abkhaz or Djurz (Georgians), both of whom had hostile relations with the Amīrs of Gandja. Münedjdjim bāshī, in Minorsky, *Studies*, text. 11, tr. 17, states that the Abkhaz attacked Arrān and were beaten off by Faḍl of Gandja in 417/1026. The *Kʿartʿlis Tsʿkhovreba*, i, 296, tells of Georgian warfare with the rulers of Gandja in the early 1030s. Finally, a raid from Gandja against the Khazars is very improbable on geographical grounds.

Münedjdjim bāshī, in Minorsky, *Hist. of Sharvān and Darband*, text. 24, tr. 51, reports that in 456/1064 "the remnants of the Khazars, consisting of three thousand households, arrived in Ḳahtan (which Minorsky, *Hist.* 107, identifies with Khaydaḳ, lands now occupied by the Turkic Ḳumuḳs in Dāghistān) from the Khazar territory. They rebuilt it and settled in it".

In 1079 and 1083 A.D., the Khazars are again mentioned in the Rus' chronicles in connection with events in the principality of Tmutorokan' where they appear to have wielded some power (*PRSL* i, 204-5). Individual Khazars took service with the various Rus' princes. Thus, *s.a.* 1106 A.D. we read of an Ivan Kozarin ("the Khazar"), the *voevoda* of Kiev who drove off a Polovtsian (Coman) attack (*PRSL*, ix, 140). A Hungaro-Latin source (Thuroczi, cap. 500) mentions a "princeps Bissenorum (= Hung. *Besenyö* "Pečeneg") nomine Kazar", which would indicate that Khazar elements had joined the Pečeneg union. Documents from the Cairo Geniza purport to tell of messianic movements in "Khazaria" in the 11th and 12th centuries. The reference, here, however, was probably to events in the Jewish communities in the Crimea which was regularly called "Khazaria" or "Gazaria" in later Greek and Latin

sources (see Dunlop, *op. cit.*, 254-6, and Artamonov, *op. cit.*, 444).

As with many steppe empires, Khazaria did not suddenly vanish, although it appeared to, but rather it gradually melted back into the steppe. The nomadic elements were undoubtedly incorporated into the Pečeneg, Oghuz and ultimately Coman-Ḳïpčaḳ tribal confederations (this would probably explain the presence of the Hebrew loanword *Shabbat* in Coman-Ḳïpčaḳ: *Shabat kün*, Ḳaračay-Balḳar: *Shabat K'ün*, cf. also Čuvash: *Shâmat*). The collapse of Khazar power after 345/965 had severe consequences for Byzantium which—as the orientation of Constantine Porphyrogenitus' *De Adm. Imp.* would indicate—was already seeking to establish a new balance of power in the steppe zone in the 940s-950s. With Khazaria now unable to blunt the thrusts of oncoming nomadic invaders, Byzantium's Balkan borders and, even more crucial, the Crimea, Constantinople's eye into the steppe, were extremely vulnerable. The volatile Oghuz tribal union in the steppes to the east of Khazaria which had hitherto been held in check by the Khazars (cf. the Oghuz prisoners held by the Khazars as reported in Ibn Faḍlān, ed. Togan, text 16, tr. 31) or allied with them (in joint operations against the Pečenegs, cf. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Adm. Imp.*, 166), now began to break up. Some elements entered the Pontic steppe and ultimately caused disturbances in the Balkans. Another faction, led by Seldjuk set off, in the decades following 354/965, that chain of events that led to the Turkish conquest of Anatolia.

The Khazar Ḳaghanate at its zenith was a vast, multi-religious, multi-national state (Ibn Faḍlān, ed. Kovalevskiy, 313, ed. Togan, 44, reports that there were 25 subject peoples who sent hostages to the Ḳaghan's court) which, in addition to the tribes that formed the Khazar union, included the Volga and Pontic Bulghars, the Burṭās and other Finno-Ugrians (including at one time the Hungarians), the "Huns" of the North Caucasus as well as the aboriginals of that region, the Iranian Alan/As of the Caspian steppes and North Caucasus and various Eastern Slavic tribes. Its borders extended to Kiev in the west, the Volga Bulghar realm in the north (near present-day Kazan'), the steppes of Khʷārazm in the east and the Crimea and the northern Caucasus in the south. The Ḳaghanate, in its political and economic organisation, evidences all of the characteristics of other, Altaic, nomadic tribal empires of the period. It was presided over by a ceremonial Ḳaghan (probably of Türk-Ashina origin, descent from the Türk royal clan being one of the main criteria for the assumption of the Ḳaghanal title), while the actual governance of affairs was in the hands of the *shad* (the *ishā/ishād* of the Ibn Rusta-Gardīzī tradition) or the *Beg* (cf. the πέχ of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Adm. Imp.*, 182, the *Bek-Yilik* of the al-Iṣṭakhrī, - Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, ii, 390, tradition). Ibn Faḍlān (ed. Togan, text. 43-4) calls him the "Khāḳān B-h" who he notes, was assisted by the "K-nd-r Khāḳān" and Djāwshīgh-r". This system is a variant of the well-known Turkic dual kingship. The ceremonial Ḳaghanate, described by the Islamic geographers (who regularly distinguish between the Khāḳān and the "king"), has parallels in the Turkic world. The earliest precedent for this particular evolution of the Ḳaghanate may be seen in the institution of the *I K'e-han* (**eb Ḳaghan* "House Ḳaghan" of the Türks themselves) noted in Chinese sources. Seen in this light, Artamonov's speculations (*op. cit.*, 275 ff.) associating this institution with the judaicisation of Khazaria and the alleged *coup d'état* of Obadiah in the early 9th century, are to be dismissed. Many of the ancient Türk traditions which underscored the shamanic aspects of the Ḳaghanal office, were preserved by the Khazars. Thus, the ritual of the ceremonial strangling of the Ḳaghan at his investiture (al-Iṣṭakhrī, 224), during which the new Ḳaghan on the verge of losing consciousness is asked to state the length of his rule (should he exceed it, he is killed; Ibn Faḍlān notes that the Khāḳān may rule no more than forty years) is identical to the ritual practised by the Türks as described in Chinese sources (Liu Mau-Tsai, *Die Chinesischen Nachrichten zur Geschichte der Ost-Türken (T'u-küe)*, Wiesbaden 1958, i, 8).

The Khazars, or at least the "royal" or core tribes, continued to practice a modified form of nomadism, wintering in their cities (which were large conglomerations of nomadic yurts, hence little archaeological evidence has survived) and passing the summer in the steppes (al-Maḳdisī, iv, 66). Agriculture and fishing were also practised. (On the nomadism of Western Eurasia, see Gy. Gyorffy, *A honfoglaló magyarok települési rendjéröl* ("On the Settlement Pattern of the Conquest Period Hungarians"), in *Archaeologiai Értesitö*, xcvii (1970), for a description of this system as practised by the Ārpádid Hungarians. On the material culture of the Western Eurasian nomads, see S. A. Pletneva, *Ot kočeviy k gorodam* ("From nomadic encampments to cities"), Moscow 1967). The importance of fishing in Khazaria is confirmed by al-Iṣṭakhrī who notes that isinglass was the only product made by the Khazars themselves. Khazaria exported to Byzantium and the lands of Islam large quantities of furs, obtained as tribute from subject peoples, but imported the material for clothing from Gurgān, Ṭabaristān, Ādharbāydjān and Rūm. The *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, tr. Minorsky, 161, indicates that livestock breeding, as might be expected, was practised and was one of the numerous exports of Khazaria. But, unanimously with our other sources, the *Ḥudūd*, 162, notes that "the well-being and wealth of the King of the Khazars are mostly from the maritime customs". Khazaria took ample advantage of its favourable geographical position lying astride the great commercial arteries between east and west, north and south. The Ḳaghans of Atīl, like the Volga Bulghar ruler, took a tithe on all trade passing through their territory. Nomadic empires (cf. the Türks and their relationship with the Soghdians) regularly encouraged trade because of this lucrative source of revenue. According to al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 22, ed. Pellat, i, 220, the Khazars had no sea-going vessels; yet according to Hilāl al-Ṣābī (ed. Amedroz, 217, below), the dams built at Derbend were intended as a defence against the ships (*marākib*) of the Khazars. There is some evidence to indicate that the Khazars minted their own coins. These were imitations of contemporary Arabic coins with many mistakes. Some, apparently, bore Turkic runic inscriptions; see A. A. Bïkov, *O Khazarskom čekane VIII-IXvv.* ("On Khazar Minting"), in *Trudi gosudarstvennogo ermitaža*, xii (1971).

With regard to Khazar urban sites, our sources present a number of Khazar toponyms, few of which can be located or given etymologies with absolute certainty. In addition to Balandjar and Samandar (see above), we may note Atīl, the name of the Volga and the Khazar capital located in its delta. L. N. Gumilyov, *Otkrïtie Khazarii*, Moscow 1966, has recently advanced the thesis that the Khazar capital

was submerged by a rise in the level of the Caspian and consequently hopes of finding this largely "tent" city are slim. The al-Iṣṭakhrī - Ibn Ḥawḳal tradition reports that it was divided into two parts (al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 7, ed. Pellat, i, 212, and the Letter of Joseph, Kokovtsov, *op. cit.*, 74-5, 102, say it was divided into three parts), a western (called "Khazarān" in Ibn Ḥawḳal and in Ibn Rusta, 165, who elsewhere, see below, reports a different tradition) in which the king lived (al-Iṣṭakhrī, 220, Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. Kramers, ii, 389) and an eastern part. Another tradition, that of Ibn Rusta - Gardīzī - al-Bakrī and al-Marwazī, going back to al-Djarmī via al-Djayhanī, calls the Khazar capital **Sarïghshin* (*Sarïgh* = common Turk. "yellow") whose relationship to "al-Bayḍāʾ" ("the White City"; *Sharïgh* in some Bulgharo-Oghuric dialects denotes "white") is unclear. It should be borne in mind that "white" cities and fortresses in this region are not toponymical rarities and may have taken their name from the coloration of the bricks used in their construction. The later *Saḳsïn* may be a garbling of this name. Within *Sarïghshin* is another city: *H-bn-l-ʿ* or *Khamlīkh* (Ibn Rusta, 139; al-Muḳaddasī, 51, 355; Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-Buldān*, i, 730, 793, ii, 471; *Ḥudūd*, Tumanskiy ms. f. 38b (*Ḥ-m-dj*), Ibn Khurdādhbih, 124, 154-5), all of which may be corruptions of **Khan Balïḳ* "The Khan's City" (cf. "Cambaluc" of Marco Polo for Peking). The relationship of this form to the city **Ḳutlugh*, Turk. "blessed, fortunate" (Gardīzī, Oxford, Bodl. Ouseley 240, p. 474; *Ḥudūd*, Tumanskiy ms. f. 38b; cf. also the *Ḥ-thl-gh*, *Ḥ---l-gh* of al-Bakrī and al-Marwazī), which may be either a separate and distinct city or the same city repeated in the not-always-critical compilations that form the bulk of our sources for the Khazars, is not clear. Marquart (*Streifzüge*, 18), Lewicki (*Źródła arabskie*, i, 29, 115) Zajączkowski (*Ze studiów*, 50) and Minorsky (*Ḥudūd*, 454) have suggested that *Khamlīkh* was the eastern part of Atïl. The anonymous *Risāla fī 'l-Aḳālīm* (Köprülü Ms. 1623, f. 209b) notes that Sarïghshin was located "in the plain". The Khazar fortress Sarkel/Sharkil which appears only in Byzantine and Hebrew sources and is curiously absent in the Arabo-Persian accounts, has occasioned a considerable literature. The *kel/kil* of Sarkel is probably from Iranian *gil* ("house, dwelling", see J. Harmatta and K. Czeglédy in *Magyar Nyelv*, xlix (1953), 178-83, 177 respectively). *Sar* may be viewed as either common Turkic *Sarïgh/Sarï* ("yellow") or Bulgharo-Oghuric *Sharïgh/Sharï* ("white" in some dialects). Byzantine sources (Theophanes Continuatus and Constantine Porphyrogenitus) translate it as "White Dwelling". It may well have been the Rus' "Bĕla Veža" ("White Fort") and perhaps the Arabic al-Bayḍāʾ, but there are numerous problems associated with this (see above). It was located on the Don river, near the Tsimlyanskaya stanitsa (and is now submerged); since this lay in Pontic Bulghar lands it may well have borne a Bulgharic name. This does not imply, as some have claimed, that the Khazars necessarily spoke Bulgharic. Other toponyms associated with Khazaria (although not necessarily having a Khazar population) are *Varačʿan* in the lands of the north Caucasian "Huns" (it is, perhaps, to be connected with the *Warthān* of al-Yaʿḳūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 381. The mss. Cambridge, QQ10, f. 175b and John Rylands, Arabic 231 (801), f. 139b, have *W-r-ān*; the Letter of Joseph, Oxford, Christ Church 193, f. 18a has *V-rsān/V-rshān*. Minorsky, *Hist. of Sharvān and Darband*, 93-4, emends al-Yaʿḳūbī's form to **Warshan* and connects this with Varačʿan), *Suwār* (in the north Caucasus and Volga Bulghar lands, undoubtedly from the ethnonym *Sabir*), *Ḳïshūī* (?) and *B-gh-nd*.

The religious situation in Khazaria was quite complex. In addition to Jews (whose numbers grew due to the migration of their co-religionists from Byzantium as the result of the persecutions of Romanus Lecapenus (919-44) reported in al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 8, ed. Pellat, i, 212, and the Khazar Cambridge Document, Kokovtsov, *op. cit.*, 35, as well as from the Islamic lands) and Khazar converts, there were large numbers of Muslims and Christians as well as pagans of various types (Turkic, Slavic and Finno-Ugrian). In Atïl there was a principal mosque with a lofty minaret and 30 mosques. In the year 310/922-3, the Khazar ruler received a report that in a Muslim country a synagogue had been destroyed (the name given in Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam*, ii, 440 is not clear; cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 4, 477 ff.). He therefore had the minaret destroyed and the *muʾadhdhin* killed. He left the mosque unharmed for fear that all the synagogues in Muslim lands would be destroyed.

The question of Khazar ethnic affiliations remains one of the most difficult aspects of Khazar studies. Given the context in which the Khazar state came into being, we may properly look to the Altaic, or more specifically, perhaps, to the Turkic world for an answer (al-Masʿūdī's comment, *Tanbīh*, ed. de Goeje, 83, that the name *Khazar* is Iranian and in Turkic is *Sabīr* is undoubtedly a garbling of the fact that elements of the Sabirs formed one of the constituent tribes of the Khazar confederation. Both names may be explained in Turkic with the meaning "nomad", "wanderer", see Németh, *A honfoglaló*..., 37. This might also account for al-Masʿūdī's confusion). Unfortunately, we do not, as yet, possess any texts in the Khazar language (a recently discussed Hebrew document from the Cairo Geniza, see Cambridge, ms. T-S 12.122, which may have been written by Khazar Jews in Kiev, has an inscription in a variant of the Türk runic script which was used by many of the nomadic tribes of Central Asia and Eurasia. It has yet to be satisfactorily deciphered. Moreover, it consists of one word and hence can hardly be considered decisive). It is generally accepted that Khazar must have been, broadly speaking, Altaic; whether this was common Turkic or a form of Bulgharo-Oghuric is still the subject of polemics. Our sources provide little guidance here. Thus, al-Iṣṭakhrī, ed. de Goeje, 222, in one passage, remarks that Khazar does not resemble Turkic, Persian or any other language. Elsewhere (p. 225), he states that it is similar to Bulgharic. Al-Bīrūnī (*al-Āthār al-bāḳiya*, ed. Sachau, 42) remarks that the Bulghar and Suwār speak a language which is a mixture of Turkic and Khazar. This would seem to contrast Turkic and Khazar and perhaps place Khazar in the Bulgharo-Oghuric grouping. But one must bear in mind the compilatory nature of our sources, which undoubtedly compounded the complexities of the linguistic situation in Khazaria where common Turkic, Bulgharo-Oghuric, Finno-Ugric, Iranian and Slavic were spoken. Individual Khazar words, names, titles, hydronyms and toponyms scattered in Arabic, Persian, Hebrew, Byzantine, Rus', Armenian and Georgian sources cannot fully answer this question because of the obvious difficulties of interpretation and the paucity of their number (depending on what one is willing to consider Khazar, there are, roughly, some fifty known Khazar words). Khazar titles are invariably Turkic or an-

cient Inner Asian loanwords long associated with Turkic: *Ḳaghan*, *Khatun*, *Alp* (both a name and title, as is true of many names in Turkic), *Baghatur*, *Beg*, *Tegin* (*Ir-tigin*), *Djabghu*, *Il-teber*, *Shad*, *Tarkhan*, *Tarmač* (*Tolmač*), *Tudun* and *Yilik* (*Ilik*). Other titles (or perhaps names) are problematic, cf.: *Balgitzes* (*Belgiči*? *Balïḳčï*), *B-l-shtsī* (*Bolushčï*?), *Tzoulē* (*Čulï*?), *Djāwshīgh-r*, *K-nd-r*, *Salīfān*. Similarly, some Khazar personal names are clearly Turkic, cf.: *Avči* (*Awč'i*), *Bulan*, *Čiček*, *Čorpan*, *Ḳadhïr* (*Khatᶜir*), *Barsbek*/*Pᶜarsbitᶜ*), while others pose numerous difficulties of interpretation: *Bārdjïk* (if it is not a corruption of *Barsbek*, see above), *Bāshtwā*, *Blučᶜan*/*Buldjān*, *Čᶜatᶜ Kasar*, *Čᶜat'n*, *Ibuz(s)er Gliaban(r)*, *(T-n)K-sā*, *Papatzys*, **Yazïr Bulāsh*, *Ziebēl*. A few names show Iranian influence (cf. *Hazār Tarkhan* and perhaps *Kundādjïḳ*, with the Turkic dimunitive suffix *-djïḳ*). Of the tribal names, we know only *Khazar* (*Kᶜazar*), *Kara Khazar* and *Kabar*/*Kavar*. The clan name *Ānsā* (*Ḥudūd*, ms. Tumanskiy, f. 38b), if it is not a corruption of Ishā/Ishād, may well be a garbling of the Türk *Ashina*. Of the nomina, we know only the obviously Arabised *al-djdāda* (Ibn Aᶜtham al-Kūfī, Topḳapï, Aḥmed III 2956/ii, f. 192b), a kind of tent-cart. With the possible exception of Sarkel (if it is to be read as Sharkil), none of these forms shows specific Bulgharo-Oghuric characteristics (*i.e.* *Turun* for *Tudun*).

Another major question of Khazar studies, for which there is as yet no ready answer, is the relationship of the Khazars to the origins of Eastern European Jewry.

Bibliography: Partial bibliographies of the Khazar question are found in: A. Yarmolinsky, *The Khazars; A Bibliography*, in *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, xlii (1939); and his later *The Khazars: (an annotated) Bibliography*, in *ibid.*, lxiii (1959); B. D. Weinryb, *The Khazars, an annotated Bibliography*, in *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore, Library of Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion*, vi (1963); Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, Berlin 1958, i, 83 ff.

The major works on the Khazars are M. I. Artamonov, *Očerk drevneyshey istorii* ("Outline of the Most Ancient History of the Khazars"), Leningrad 1936 and his later *Istoriya Khazar*, Leningrad 1962 which is useful from the archaeological standpoint. A. Zajączkowski, *Ze Studiów nad zagadnieniem chazarskim* ("Studies on the Khazar Question"), Cracow 1947, is important from the Turcological viewpoint, but rather weighted in favour of Khazar-Karaim ties. D. M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton 1954, an excellent outline of Khazar history with detailed treatment of Arabic, Hebrew and Byzantine sources. P. B. Golden, *Q'azar Studies, An historico-philological Inquiry into the Origins of the Q'azars*, in *Monographs on Medieval Eurasia*, i, Lisse-Budapest, forthcoming, is a detailed treatment of the Khazar "Sprachreste" with emphasis on the Turcological aspects of the Khazar question. Z. V. Togan's "Hazarlar" in *İA* is fanciful and at times uncritical.

The major Arabic sources for the Khazars are, in addition to the geographers of the *BGA* series; al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*; al-Dimashḳī, *Cosmographie*, ed. F. Mehrens, St. Pb. 1866, Ibn Aᶜtham al-Kūfī, *Kitāb al-Futūḥ*, Istanbul, Topḳapï, Aḥmed III 2956 (extracts can be found in Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht* and A. N. Kurat, *Muhammad bin A'sam al-Kûfî'nin Kitāb al-Futūḥ'u*, in *Ank. Üniv. Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi*, vii (1949); Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī 'l-Ta'rīkh*, 1851-76; Ibn Faḍlān (see the Kovalevskiy and Togan editions cited in the text); al-Idrīsī, *Géographie d'Édrisi*, tr. A. Jaubert, Paris 1836-40; al-Maḳdisī, *Kitāb al-Bad' wa'l-Ta'rīkh*, ed. C. Huart, Paris 1899-1919; al-Ḳazwīnī, *Kosmographie*, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1848; *Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks and India*, ed. and tr. V. Minorsky, London 1942; Münedjdjim bāshï (excerpts in Minorsky, *Studies*, and *Hist. of Sharvān and Darband* cited in text; mss. are Istanbul, Nūr-i ᶜOthmāniyya 3171-2, Topḳapï, Aḥmed III 1954, i-ii, Bāyazīd ᶜUmūmī Kütüphanesi, Veliyüddīn 5019-20, Süleymāniyye, Esᶜad Efendi 2101-2103; al-Ṭabarī, *Kitāb Akhbār al-Rasūl wa 'l-Mulūk*; al-Yaᶜḳūbī, *Historiae*; Yāḳūt, *Muᶜdjam al-Buldān*, and the Judaeo-Arabic work of Yehuda hal-Levi, *Book of Kuzari* (*Kitāb al-Khazar*), tr. H. Hirschfeld, New York 1946. The Armenian sources are extremely important: Łewond, *Patmutᶜiwn*, ed. I. Ezeantsᶜ, St. Petersburg 1887, tr. as Ghévond, *Histoire des guerres et des conquêtes des Arabs en Arménie*, by V. Chahnazarian, Paris 1856; Movsês Daskhurantsᶜi (Kałankatuatsᶜi), *Patmutᶜiwn Ałuanitsᶜ*, ed. M. Emin, Moscow 1860, now available in the excellent translation of C. Dowsett (see text above). Movsês Khorenatsᶜi, *Histoire d'Arménie*, ed. and tr. P. E. Le Vaillant de Florival, Venice 1841 and the *Geography* ascribed to him, *Géographie de Moïse de Corène*, ed. and tr. A. Soukry, Venice 1881. The most important Byzantine sources for the Khazars are Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio* (see text above), which gives a detailed analysis of the situation in the steppes in the mid-10th century; Nicephorus Patriarchus, *Breviarium*, ed. J. Bekker, Bonn 1837; *Georgius Cedrenus, Ioannis Scylitzae ope*, ed. J. Bekker, Bonn 1839; Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, Leipzig 1883; Theophanus Continuatus, *Historiae*, ed. J. Bekker, Bonn 1838. The Georgian compilation, the *Kᶜartᶜlis Tsᶜkhovreba* (see text above), contains valuable supplementary material on Khazar activities in the Caucasus, but is generally unconcerned with events outside of Georgia proper. P. K. Kokovtsov's *Evreysko-Khazarskaya Perepiska* (see text above) contains critical editions of the Khazar Hebrew Correspondence and the Cambridge Document with an exhaustive commentary. Of Persian works, Balᶜamī's translation and re-working of al-Ṭabarī is extremely useful as he adds many details missing in the Arabic original. The work is available (in full) only in H. Zotenberg's translation, Paris 1867-74. The ms. of M. Minovi's facsimile edition, Āstān-i Ḳuds 7481 (*Ta'rīkh-i Ṭabarī*, Tehran 1345/1926-7). unfortunately has lacunae in many important passages relating to the Khazars. The mss. in the Bodleian at Oxford (Elliot 376, Fraser 131, Ouseley 249, Ouseley 360) and the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Pers. 63, Pers. 162, Pers. Suppl. 162A, Pers. 163, Pers 164) should be consulted. Important excerpts from Gardīzī are found in V. Bartol'd, *Otčet o poezdke v srednyuyu aziyu s naučnoy tsel'yu*, in *Zapiski Imp. Akad. Nauk* vii/4 (1897), and in the collection *A magyar honfoglalás kútfői* ("Sources on the Hungarians of the Conquest Period), ed. and tr. Gy. Pauler, S. Szilágy, Budapest 1900. The Khazar section of the Cambridge Ms. (King's College 213) of Gardīzī

is, regrettably, damaged and difficult to read; the Oxford Ms. (Bodleian, Ouseley 240), is probably derived from it and should be used. The Rus' chronicles (*Polnoe Sobranie Russkikh Letopisey*, i, *Lavrent'evskaya letopis'*, Moscow, reprint 1962, and ix, *Nikonovskaya Letopis'*, Moscow, reprint 1965) make occasional references to the Khazars.

Important collection of sources (texts, translations and commentaries are: Ch. Fraehn, *Ibn Foszlan's und anderer Araber Berichte über die Russen älter Zeit*, St. Petersburg 1823; A. Ya. Garkavi (Harkavi), *Skazaniya musul'manskikh pisateley o slavyanakh i russkikh* ("The Accounts of Muslim Writers on the Slavs and Russians"), St. Petersburg 1870, and his *Skazaniya evreyskikh pisateley o khozarakh i khozarskom tsarstvě* ("The Accounts of Jewish Writers on the Khazars and the Khazar Kingdom"), St. Petersburg 1874; A. Kunik - V. Rosen, *Izvěstiya al-Bekri i drugikh avtorov o Rusi i slavyanakh*, St. Petersburg 1878-1903, and the more recent F. Kupfer - T. Lewicki, *Źródła hebrajskie do dziejów Słowian i niektórych innych ludów środkowej i wschodniej Europy* ("Hebrew Sources on the Hist. of the Slavs and some other Peoples of Central and Eastern Europe"), Wrocław-Warsaw 1956, and T. Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie do dziejów Słowiańszczyzny*, ("Arabic Sources for the Hist. of the Slavs"), i-ii/1, Wrocław-Cracow 1956-69; the latter is still in progress. An interesting discussion of the sources of the "Caspian Codex" can be found in B. N. Zakhoder's two-volume study *Kaspiyskiy svod svedeniy o vostočnoy evrope* (cited in text above). Analyses of specific problems of Arabic sources relating to Eastern Europe in general and Khazar problems can be found in J. Marquart, *Ein Arabischer Bericht über die arktischen Länder aus dem 10 Jh.*, in *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, iv (1924); idem, *Kultur- und sprachgeschichtliche Analekten*, in *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, ix (1929); T. Lewicki, *Ecrivains arabes du IX^e au XVI^e siècle traitant de l'ambre jaune de la Baltique et de son importation en pays arabes*, in *Folia Orientalia*, iv (1962-3). S. G. Klyashtornïy, *Drevneyshee upominanie slavyan v nižnem povolžě* ("The Oldest Mention of the Slavs in the Lower Volga Region"), in *Vostočnïe Istočniki*, ed. Tveritinova (1964), i; A. P. Novosel'tsev, *Vostočnïe istočniki o vostočnïkh slavyanakh i Rusi VI-IX vv* ("Eastern Sources on the Eastern Slavs and Rus' VI-IX cents."), in *Drevnerusskoe gosudarstvo i ego meždunarodnoe značenie* ("The Ancient Russian State and its International Significance"), ed. A. P. Novosel'tsev, V. T. Pashuto *et al.*, Moscow 1965; F. Kmietowicz, *The Term Rāḏānīya in the Work of Ibn Ḫurdāḏbeh*, in *Folia Orientalia*, xi (1969).

The Hungarian scholar, K. Czeglédy, in addition to his important monograph (cited in the text) has contributed a number of very useful articles on various aspects of Khazar history and culture: *Egy bolgar török yiltavar méltóságnév* ("The Bulghar Turkic title Yiltavar"), in *Magyar Nyelv*, xl (1944); *Egy kazár méltóságnév* ("A Khazar title"), in *Magyar Nyelv*, xliii (1947); *A kazár kil-kel eredete* ("The Origin of Khazar kil-kel"), in *Magyar Nyelv*, xlix (1953); *Herakleios török szövetségesei* ("The Turkic Allies of Heraclius"), in *Magyar Nyelv*, xlix (1953); *Nyugati türk eredetü méltóságnevek* ("Titles of Western Türk Origin"), in *Névtudományi vizsgálatok* ("Onomastic Studies"), ed. S. Mikesy, Budapest 1955; *Khazar Raids in Transcaucasia in A.D. 762-764*, in *Acta Orientalia Hungarica*, xi (1960); *A korai kazár történelem forrásainak kritikájához* ("A Critique of Contemporary Sources for the History of the Khazars"), in *A Magyar Tudományos Akademia, nyelv-és irodalomtudományi osztályának közleményei* (Communications of the Linguistic and History of Literature Section of the Hung. Acad. of Sci.), xv (1960); *Bemerkungen zur Geschichte der Chazaren*, in *Acta Orientalia Hungarica*, xiii (1961); ΤΕΡΜΑΤΖΟΥΣ, in *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientarum Hungaricae*, x (1962). Hungarian interest in Khazar history, which was so intimately intertwined with their early history, has always been strong. Most major works dealing with early Hungarian history (*i.e.* prior to their occupation of Pannonia) have something to say regarding the Khazars. The collection of articles under the heading *A Magyarság östörténte* ("Hungarian Proto-History"), ed. L. Ligeti, Budapest 1943, contains valuable contributions dealing with Khazar and Hungaro-Khazar problems from Czeglédy and T. Halasi-Kun.

The Khazar problem has engendered a rather large specialised literature. Some of the more important articles are: H. H. Howorth, *The Khazars, were they Ugrians or Turks?*, in *Travaux de la troisième session du Congrès International des Orientalistes*, St. Petersburg 1876; S. Patkanov, *Über das Volk der Sabiren*, in *Keleti Szemle*, i (1900); J. Thúry, *A Khazar isa méltóságnév* ("The Khazar title Isha"), in *Keleti Szemle* iii (1903); J. (Gy.) Moravcsik, *Proiskhoždenie slova* Tzitzakion ("The Origin of the word Tzitzakion), in *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, iv (1913); V. Minorsky, *The Khazars and the Turks in the Ākām al-Marjān*, in *BSOS*, ix (1937-9); Gy. Németh, *A magyar népnév, a magyar törzsnevek, a kazár népnév* ("The ethnonym Hungarian, Hungarian tribal names, the ethnonym Khazar"), in *Magyar Nyelv*, xxxiv (1938); Z. V. Togan, *Völkerschaften des Chazarenreiches im neunten Jahrhundert*, in *Korösi Csoma Archivum*, iii (1940); M. I. Artamonov, *Belaya Veža*, in *Sovetskaya Arkheologiya*, xvi (1952); H. Schönebaum, *Zur Kabarenfrage*, in *Aus der byzantinistischen Arbeit der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik* (*BBA* 5, 1957); M. I. Artamonov, *Sarkel-Belaya Veža*, in *Trudï volgo-donskoy arkheologičeskoy ekspeditsii, Materialï i Issledovaniya po Arkheologii SSSR*, lxii (1958) (Works of the Volga-Don Archaeological Expedition, Materials and Researches on the Archaeology of the USSR); see also there the article of I. I. Lyapushkin, *Pamyatniki saltovo-mayatskoy kul'turï v basseyne r. Dona* ("Monuments of the Saltovo-Mayats Culture in the Don river basin"); N. Ya. Polovoy, *O marshrute pokhoda russkikh na Berdaa i russko-Khazarskikh otnosheniyakh v 934 g.* ("On the Route of the Russian Campaign on Bardhaʿa and Russo-Khazar relations in 943"), in *Vizantiyskiy Vremennik*, xxv (1961); T. Lewicki, *ʿArïsuʾ, Un nom de tribu énigmatique cité dans le lettre du roi Khazar Joseph* (*X^e siècle*), in *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique*, iii/1 (1962); O. Pritsak, يوار *Yowár und* Καβαρ *Kāwar*, in *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher*, xxxvi (1965); P. B. Golden, *The Q'azaro-Hungarian Title* ∽ *Personal name* يلك ∼ 'Ιέλεχ in *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi*, i (1975); *idem, The People* نوكرده, in *ibid.*

On the Turkic runic script and inscriptions that

may have Khazar connections, see: A. M. Shčerbak, *Neskol'ko slov o priyomakh čteniya runičeskikh nadpisey, naydennîkh na Donu* ("A Few Words about the Methods of Reading the Runic Inscriptions Found on the Don"), in *Sovetskaya Arkheologiya*, xix (1954); idem, *Znaki na keramike i kirpičakh iz Sarkela-Beloy Veži* ("Signs on the Ceramics and Bricks from Sarkel-Bela Veza"), in *Materialî i Issledovaniya po Arkheologi SSSR* ("Materials and Researches on the Archaeology of the USSR"), lxxv (1959); idem, *Les inscriptions inconnues sur pierres de Khoumara (au Caucase du Nord) et le problem de l'alphabet runique des Turcs Occidentaux*, in *Acta Orientalia Hungarica*, xv (1962); Gy. Németh, *The Runiform Inscriptions from Nagy-Szent-Miklós and the Runiform Scripts of Eastern Europe*, in *Acta Linguistica*, xxi (1971).

In addition to some of the works cited in the text, there is a relatively large body of literature dealing with the history of the peoples and cultures of the Eurasian steppes which has a bearing on a number of problems of Khazar studies. The following is by no means exhaustive, but should provide a good guide to the study of the area as a whole: N. I. Ashmarin, *Bolgarî i Čuvashi* ("The Bulgars and the Chuvash"), Kazan' 1902; Z. Gombocz, *Die Bulgarisch-Türkischen Lehnwörter in der ungarischen Sprache*, in *Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, xxx (1912) (extremely important); J. Marquart, *Über das Volkstum der Komanen*, in W. Bang and J. Marquart, *Osttürkische Dialektstudien*, which appeared in the *Âbh. der Königl. Gesell. der Wiss. zu Göttingen* (Phil.-hist. Kl.), N.F., xiii (1914); Z. Gombocz, *Arpádkori török személyneveink* ("Our Turkic Personal names of the Árpád Period"), in *Magyar Nyelv*, xi (1915); I. Berlin, *Istoričeskie sud'bî evreyskago naroda na territorii russkago gosudarstva* ("The historical Fate of the Jewish People in the Territory of the Russian State"), Petrograd 1920; V. V. Bartol'd (Barthold), *Mesto prikaspiyskikh oblastey v istorii musul'manskogo mira* ("The Place of the Caspian Region in the History of the Muslim World"), first appeared in Baku 1925, now republished in V. V. Bartol'd, *Sočineniya* ("Works"), ii/1, Moscow 1963; J. Moravcsik, *Zur Geschichte der Onoguren*, in *Ungarische Jahrbücher* x (1930) (important); C. A. Macartney, *The Magyars in the Ninth Century*, Cambridge 1930 (useful); F. László, *A kagán és családja* ("The Ḳaghan and his Family"), in *Kőrösi Csoma Archivum*, iii (1940) (important for understanding of the structure of Turkic states); P. Pelliot, *Quelques noms turcs d'hommes et de peuples finissant en -ar*, in *Œuvres Posthumes*, ii, Paris 1949; O. Pritsak, *Stammesnamen und Titulaturen der Altaischen Völker*, in *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher*, xxiv (1952) (very important); H. W. Haussig, *Theophylakts Exkurs über dir Skythischen Völker*, in *Byzantion*, xxiii (1953); G. Vernadsky, M. de Ferdinandy, *Studien zur ungarischen Frühgeschichte*, Munich 1957; G. Fehér, *Zur Geschichte der Steppenvölker von Südrussland 9-10 Jhr.*, in *Studia Slavia*, v (1959); K. V. Trever, *Ocerki po istorii i kul'ture kavkazskoy Albanii* ("Essays on the History and Culture of Caucasian Albania"), Moscow-Leningrad 1959; B. A. Vasil'ev, *Problema burtasov i mordva* ("The Problem of the Burtas and the Mordva"), in *Voprosî etničeskoy istorii mordovskogo naroda, Trudî instituta etnografii* ("Questions of the Ethnic History of the Mordvin people, Works of the Institute of Ethnography"), lxiii (1960); A. P. Smirnov, *Železniy vek čuvashskogo povolž'ya*, in *Materialî i Issledovaniya po Arkheologii SSSR* ("The Iron Age in the Chuvash Volga region, Materials and Researches on the Archaeology of the USSR"), xcv (1961); B. Ögel, *Islâmiyetten önce Türk kültür tarihi*, Ankara 1962 (useful survey of the archaeological material); V. F. Gening, A. Kh. Khalikov, *Rannie bolgarî na Volge* ("The Early Bulgars on the Volga"), Moscow 1964 (important); G. Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, ii, Wiesbaden 1965 (important study, contains detailed discussion of a number of Khazar words that appear in Persian sources); T. Halasi-Kun, *The Caucasus, an Ethno-Linguistic Survey*, in *Studia Caucasica*, i (1967); L. N. Gumilyov, *Drevnie Tyurki* ("The Ancient Türks"), Moscow 1967 (useful, but often fanciful study); Gy. Németh, *A Baskir földi magyar öshazáról* ("On the Ancient Hungarian Homeland in the Bashkir Country"), in *Élet és Tudomány*, xiii (1966) (brief, but very important); I. Boba, *Nomads, Northmen and Slavs*, The Hague-Wiesbaden 1967 (important, iconoclastic, but not always convincing); J. Wiesner, J. V. Farkas *et al.*, *Die Kulturen der eurasischen Völker*, Frankfurt-am-Main 1968; A. Kollautz, H. Miyakawa, *Geschichte und Kultur eines völkerwanderungszeitlichen Nomadenvolkes (Die Jou-jan der Mongolei und die Awaren in Mitteleuropa)*, Klagenfurt 1970 (important); A. N. Kurat, *IV-XVIII yüzyıllarda karadeniz kuzeyindeki Türk kavimleri ve devletleri*, Ankara 1972 (brief, not always critical).

(W. Barthold — P. B. Golden)

KHĀZIN (a.), usual pl. *khuzzān* (the pl. *khazana* is found in the Ḳur'ān in XXXIX, 71, 73, etc. for the angels who guard Paradise and Hell), literally, "he who keeps safe, stores something away", a term of mediaeval Islamic administration for certain members of the financial departments (on which see bayt al-māl and, for Ottoman times, also khazîne) and also of the chancery. It was used in ʿAbbāsid times, for there was prominent in the early 4th/10th century Mu'nis al-Khāzin (so-called in the sources to distinguish him from the commander of the guard Mu'nis al-Muẓaffar [*q.v.*], an associate of the vizier Ibn al-Furāt's in a kind of regency council, *al-sādāt*, set up when al-Muḳtadir regained the throne in 296/908 after the failure of Ibn al-Muʿtazzi's putsch; Sourdel has suggested that Mu'nis may have been the treasurer of the personal revenues (*māl al-khaṣṣ*) of the caliph (*Le vizirat ʿabbāside*, ii, 387-8, 742). But the term *khāzin* could equally be used at this time for quite menial and lowly members of the caliphal household; in his detailing of the budget for 306/918-19, Hilāl al-Ṣābi' enumerates the wages of such servants as those who kept the stores of bedding (*khuzzān al-farash*) and the one who kept the supply of candles (*khāzin al-shamʿ*), these being classed with the attendants of the private chambers and the audience hall, the porters, etc. (*Wuzarā'*, ed. ʿAbd al-Sattār Farādj, Cairo 1958, 23).

We have some information from treatises on finance and administration in Egypt about the term's usage there under the Fāṭimids, Ayyūbids and Mamlūks. According to Ibn al-Mammātī (d. 606/1209 [*q.v.*]), the *khāzin* was a secretary in the *Dīwān al-Māl* who collected the taxes paid in kind (*ghallāt*) and stored them in the state granaries and warehouses, giving out receipts (*barā'āt* [see barā'a.

i]) for these, and also securing the repayment (*murtadji*ʿ) of advances to the cultivators of seed (*taḳāwī*); he kept an inventory of the holdings, for which he was strictly accountable, and then issued the produce when required (A.S. Cooper, *Ibn Mammati's rules for the ministries: translation with commentary of* Qawanin al-Dawawin, Univ. of California, Berkeley, Ph.D. thesis 1973, unpublished, 238, 244; Cl. Cahen, *Contribution à l'étude des impôts dans L'Égypte médiévale*, in *JESHO*, v (1962), 269-70 (citing Makhzūmī); Hassanein Rabie, *The financial system of Egypt, A.H. 564-741/A.D. 1169-1341*, London 1972, 160-1). An extension of this function of storekeeper is that of keeper of books or librarian (*khāzin al-kutub*), whose duties included the careful guarding of books and their issue only against pledges of the equivalent value (Subkī, *Muʿid al-niʿam wa-mubīd al-niḳam*, ed. Muḥ. ʿAli al-Nadjdjār *et alii*, Cairo 1367/ 1948, 111, and see further, KHIZĀNA).

However, the term was also used simultaneously in Egyptian administration for an official in the chancery or *Dīwān al-Inshā*ʾ who acted as registry clerk and archivist in the department. According to the *Ḳānūn dīwān al-rasāʾil* of Ibn al-Ṣayrafī (died 542/1147 [*q.v.*]), the head of the *Dīwān* had under him seven secretaries for various specialist jobs plus two non-specialists, the *khāzin* and the *ḥādjib* or doorkeeper of the office. Whilst not required to possess the encyclopaedic knowledge of *adab* and of administrative procedures required of the *kātib*, the *khāzin* had to be a man of intelligence and the highest probity, for he kept the record of all incoming and outgoing chancery documents, placing copies of all letters sent out plus the originals of those received in a file or portfolio (*iḍbāra*, pl. *aḍābīr*) for each separate month. Hence if he was susceptible to corruption, he coud easily abstract confidential documents, and Ibn al-Ṣayrafī accordingly states that "the guiding reins of the whole *dīwān* are in his hands" (cited in Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*, i, 135-6, cf. W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Hamburg 1928, 22, 39, 89).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

AL-**KHĀZIN**, ABŪ DJAʿFAR MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤUSAYN AL-KHURĀSĀNĪ, astronomer and mathematician, originally from Khurāsān (not to be confused with al-Khāzinī [*q.v.*]). He was a protégé of Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibn al-ʿAmīd (d. 359/ 969-70), minister in Rayy of the Buwayhid Rukn al-Dawla (326-66/937-76), and died between 350/961 and 360/971.

Amongst his purely mathematical works, the *Fihrist*, 282, ed. Cairo 393, and Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, 396, ed. Cairo 259, cite a *Kitāb al-Masāʾil al-ʿadadiyya* (now lost), whilst Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *K. Shakl al-ḳaṭṭā*ʾ Istanbul 1891, 148-51, mentions the *Maṭālib djuzʾiyya, mayl al-muyūl al-djuzʾiyya wa 'l-maṭāliʿ fi 'l-kūra al-mustaḳīma*, which contained a demonstration of the theorem of the sine for right-angled spherical triangles. According to the *Fihrist*, 266, ed. Cairo 371, he wrote a commentary on the *Elements* of Euclid, but the only part of this which survives, in several manuscripts, is the commentary on the opening of Book X. Abū Naṣr Manṣūr, *Risāla fī taṣḥīḥ ma waḳaʿa li-Abī Djaʿfar al-Khāzin min al-sahw fī zīdj al-ṣafāʾiḥ*, in *Rasāʾil Abī Naṣr ilā 'l-Bīrūnī*, Hyderabad 1948, 3, speaks of "his book on the *Elements* of geometry", and we know that he set forth a defective proof of the fifth postulate of Euclid; ms. 1014 Leiden contains the reply of Abu 'l-Djūd Muḥammad b. al-Layth to a geometrical problem set out by al-Khāzin. Moreover, it was possibly our al-Khāzin who demonstrated, with a method closely connected with Hero's procedure in his *Dioptra*, the formula of this latter author for finding out the surface of a triangle as a function of its sides. By using conic sections, he resolved the so-called equation of al-Māhānī ($x^3 + a^2b = c\,x^2$).

One of his best-known atronomical works is the *Zīdj al-ṣafāʾiḥ* (table of the plates of the astrolabe?), which he wrote for Ibn al-ʿAmīd (al-Bīrūnī, *Taḥdīd nihāyat al-amākin*, in *RIMA*, viii (1962), 119-20); two brief chapters concerning astronomical instruments in ms. Berlin 5857 may conceivably belong to this work, which Ibn al-Ḳifṭī considered as the finest and most splendid on the subject. According to al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, 326, in this work the author adequately sets forth the theory of the trepidation of the equinoxes along an 8° arc. The same author, in an obscure passage of the *Tamhīd al-mustaḳarr li-taḥḳīḳ maʿnā 'l-mamarr* when he deals with the question of the transit in depth (comparison of the vector radii of two consecutive planets, each in relationship to its own maximum and minimum distance), states that al-Khāzinī dealt correctly with the problem in his *Zīdj al-ṣafāʾiḥ*, although he was mistaken in another, unspecified work; he also sets forth the criticisms levelled by al-Khāzin against Abū Maʿshar on this topic (*On transits*, tr. M. Saffouri and A. Ifram, comm. by E. S. Kennedy, Beirut 1959, 85-7, 172). Abu 'l-Djūd Muḥammad b. al-Layth reproduces (ms. Leiden Or. 168 (4)) al-Khāzin's assertion in the *zīdj al-ṣafāʾiḥ* rhat he could calculate the chord of an angle of 1° provided that it were possible to trisect the angle. Abū Naṣr Manṣūr devotes the *risāla* mentioned above to the correction of certain errors made by al-Khāzin in this work. It can accordingly be deduced that the *Zīdj al-ṣafāʾiḥ* included at least two *maḳāla*s, together with a third one in which the author dealt with the following topics: a method for determining the ascendant, when the degree of the "midpoint of the heavens" was known but the oblique ascension was unknown (*R. fī taṣḥīḥ...*, 4-14); the way of determining the meridian when the degree of the sun is known (15-33); the determining of the azimut of the *ḳibla* "by means of the instrument" (*bi 'l-āla* = astrolabe?, 33-9); the movement of the apogees (39-42); and in a spherical triangle, if the sides are known, the angles are also known, and vice-versa. This last topic was one of those about which he corresponded with Ibrāhīm b. Sinān (42-9).

Al-Khāzin also wrote a commentary on the *Almagest* in which he gave information about the value of the obliquity of the ecliptic (23°35′) obtained by the Banū Mūsā at Baghdād in 254/868 (al-Bīrūnī, *Taḥdīd*, 95), and also about the observations, likewise made at Baghdād in the year 212 of the Yazdigirdī era/844 A.D. by Khālid al-Marwarrūdhī, ʿAlī b. ʿIsā al-Ḥarrānī and Sanad b. ʿAlī, in the course of which the length of the spring and summer was determined (al-Bīrūnī, *al-Ḳānūn al-masʿūdī*, Hyderabad 1954, ii, 653; on this work, see also al-Ṭūsī, *Shakl al-ḳaṭṭā*ʾ, 123). In another work, now lost and which had the title *Sirr al-ʿālamīn*, al-Khāzin probably set forth his theory according to which the heavenly spheres are solid, and developed the earlier ideas of Ptolemy's *Planetary hypotheses*; this latter theory was later set forth by Ibn al-Haytham and al-Kharaḳī [*qq.v.*]. Al-Khāzin was furthermore the author of a *al-Madkhal al-kabīr ilā ʿilm al-nudjūm*,

in which were set forth two methods of determining the *ʿalāmat Muḥarram* (sc. the day of the week corresponding to the 1st Muḥarram in any given year, cf. al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār*, 202-3). In an unspecified work, he tried to pin down exactly the date of the Jewish Passover in the year of Jesus's crucifixion (idem, *Ḳānūn*, i, 332). Finally, we know that in a *Kitāb fī 'l-abʿād wa 'l-adjrām*, he gave the diameters of stars between the first and the sixth magnitudes, but without specifying whether these calculations were his own personal ones or how he had arrived at then (*ibid.*, iii, 1312).

Al-Khāzin seems to have been an astronomer who made practical observations. He is associated with one or more determinations of the obliquity of the ecliptic; according to al-Bīrūnī, *Taḥdīd*, 98, he was present when Abu 'l-Faḍl al-Harawī made his observations in 348/959, which gave the value $\varepsilon = 23°40'$. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Nasawī also speaks of the determining of ε made by al-Khāzin and a certain number of colleagues, by means of a circle *ca.* 4 m. (in diameter?), but does not mention any date or place; according to yet another source, al-Khāzin measured ε at Edessa in 359/970. At all events, al-Khāzin and Ibrāhīm b. Sinān were both advocates of the idea of a progressive diminution of the obliquity of the ecliptic caused by the movement of its poles round "a point" (al-Bīrūnī, *Taḥdīd*, 101). It is also of interest to mention that according to al-Bīrūnī, *Āthar*, 258-9, *Taḥdīd*, 57-8, and *Ḳānūn*, 630-2, al-Khāzin wrote a *maḳāla* in which he put forward the idea of a solar model different from that of Ptolemy, and without having recourse to eccentrics or epicycles: viz., the sun goes round the centre of the universe in a path which is circular but moving with irregular speed, and a point situated on the line of the apsides and different from the centre of the universe is the centre of the uniform movement of the sun. This system finds its justification in the fact that, according to al-Khāzin, Ptolemy failed to observe any change in the apparent diameter of the sun in the course of the year. The same system was set forth by Henry of Hesse (1325-97) in his *De reprobatione ecentricorum et epiciclorum* (cf. Claudia Kren, in *Isis*, lix (1968), 269-81), but it is not easy to see any possible connection between the two authors. Finally, one may note that Ibn Khaldūn in his *Prolegomena*, tr. de Slane, i, 111, tr. Rosenthal, i, 115, tr. Monteil, i, 114, gives al-Khāzin's determination of the latitudes corresponding to the seven climates.

Bibliography: in addition to the works cited in the article: Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, i, 382, ii, 584-5, iii, 595, vi, 170; Suter, *Mathematiker*, 58; Brockelmann, S I, 387; Sarton, *Introduction*, i, 664; Y. Dold-Samplonius, *al-Khāzin*, in *Dict. of Scientific Biography*, vii, New York 1973, 334-5; F. Sezgin, *GAS*, v, 298-9; E. Wiedemann, *Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, ii, Hildesheim 1970, 498, 503, 633; G. Jacob and E. Wiedemann, *Zu ʿOmer-i-Chajjām*, in *Isl.*, iii (1912), 56 (al-Khāzin and the fifth postulate of Euclid); G. P. Matvievskaya, *Učenie o čisle na srednevekovom Bližnem i Srednei Vostoke*, Tashkent 1967 (ch. 6 studies the commentary of al-Khāzin on Book X of the *Elements*); H. Suter, *Über die Geometrie der Söhne des Mūsā ben Schākir*, in *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, Ser. 3, vol. iii/1 (1902), 271; M. Clagett, *Archimedes in the Middle Ages*, i (Madison 1964), 353 (both on al-Khāzin and Hero's formula); F. Woepcke, *L'Algèbre d'Omar Alkhayyâmī*, Paris 1851, 2-3 (al-Khāzin and al-Māhānī's equation); Aydın Sayılı, *The observatory in Islam*, Ankara 1960, 103-4 (al-Khāzin as an astronomical observer); J. Millás Vallicrosa, *Assaig d'història de les idees fisiques i matemàtiques a la Catalunya medieval*, Barcelona 1931, 50-2 (al-Khāzin and Ibn al-Layth). (J. Samsó)

KHAZÎNE (a. *Khazīna*), state treasury.

In Turkish, the word *khazīne* acquired a meaning close to this at least in the 7th/13th century (*Taniklarile tarama sözlüğü*, Ankara 1967, iii, 1907) and it was widely used from the 9th/15th century onwards to mean "a place where official and/or private money, jewels and various valuables were kept" (Muṣṭafā ʿAlī, *Mewāʾid ül-nefāʾis fī ḳawāʾid ül-medjālis*, Istanbul 1956, 117; Ö. L. Barkan, *Osmanlı imperatorluğunda ziraî ekonominin hukuki ve mali esasları*, i, *Kanunlar*, Istanbul 1943, 370). The word in popular usage gradually took the form of *khazne*, and came to be used as a place for storing any kind of goods or for storing water (Aḥmed Wefīḳ, *Lehdje-i ʿOthmānī*, Istanbul 1293, i, 547).

In Ottoman government organisation, the *khazīne* was the place where the state's cash and resources were kept; hence there could be only one *khazīne* in existence at the time the state organisation first developed. However, at a later stage of development, there were two treasuries, an inner (*enderūn*) treasury and an outer (*bīrūn, tashna*) treasury. The inner treasury was kept in the Harem section of the Palace, and was a reserve treasury; it was guarded by the Treasury Wardens (*khazīne ḳoghusu*) inaugurated by Sultan Meḥemmed Fātiḥ and comprised at that time three officers (Aḥmed Refīḳ, *Fātiḥ devrine ʿāʾid wethīḳalar*, in *TOEM* (1339), 5); their number was increased to sixty at the end of the 10th/16th century. Both the inner and the outer treasuries were maintained by the body of treasurers, who were directed by a Head Treasurer (*Bash Khazīnedār*). Between the years 933-4/1527-8 there were 10 officers, including the Head Treasurer, working in the inner treasury, and 9 people, including the head treasurer, employed in the outer treasury (Ö. L. Barkan, *H.933-934 (M. 1527-1528) mali yılına ait bütče örneği*, in *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, xv (Istanbul 1956), 309, 322). In the official and other documents of this time the term *khazīne-i ʿāmire* denoted the principal, *i.e.* outer, state treasury (Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 359-61, 363, 399).

The Inner Treasury was located near the guard room in the palace; during the middle years of the 11th/17th century it was managed by a group of about 110 officials, with a Head Treasurer and a Superintendent of the Treasury (*Khazīnedār ketkhüdası*) as his assistant (Hezārfen Hüseyin Čelebi, *Telkhīṣ al-beyān fī Ḳawānin-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*, ms. Bibliothèque Nationale, f. 18 b). In 1185/1772 there were 157 people with a Head Treasurer and an assistant Superintendent of the Treasury at their head (İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, 316), whereas at the end of the 12th/18th century the Treasury was supervised by the Superintendent of the Treasury, with the head clerk of the Treasury under him; the seal of the Treasury was kept by the Superintendent of the Treasury and its key with the head clerk. When it was required to extract something from the Treasury, the Sultan's permission was obtained and it was opened in the presence of a number of clerks, the operation being registered on the spot and an entry being made in the main register. The officials working in the Treasury were under strict control, and could not fill their own pockets while working.

Thus at this time the supervision of the Treasury was done by the Superintendent and the *aghas* of the Treasury, whilst the requisitions upon and the stocks contained in the Treasury were recorded by the clerks of the Treasury (*Taʾrīkh-i ʿAṭāʾ*, i, 198, 199; for the stocks and a description of the Inner Treasury, see J. B. Tavernier, *Nouvelle Relation de l'Intérieur Sérail du Grand Seigneur*, Paris 1675, 109 ff.). After an Ottoman sultan came to the throne, he would go to the Treasury and inspect the deposits personally. This was an important ceremony, in which the interior palace personnel would take part, and the head clerk of the Treasury would present a register, showing details of the Treasury deposits, to the sultan before he entered the Treasury (Čelebizāde ʿĀṣim, *Dhayl-i Rāshid*, Istanbul 1282, 19; *Taʾrīkh-i ʿAṭā*, i, 254-6).

The Outer Treasury was under the management of the Head Treasurer, as a member of the Exchequer or *Khazīne-yi ʿĀmire*, who was directly responsible to the *Defterdār* or Minister of Finance. The actual expenditure of the State was made from this Treasury. In 933-4/1527-8 there were in the *Khazīne-yi ʿĀmire* 9 treasurers, under the *Defterdār*, 32 clerk and 23 apprentices, comprising respectively the *djamāʾat-i kātibān-i Khazīne-yi ʿāmire* and the *djamāʿat-i shāgirdān-i Khazīne-yi ʿāmire*, and who were attached to the various offices, such as those of the *rūznāmedji* (the office in charge of financial transactions), the accounts office of Rumelia and that of Anatolia, etc. (Barkan, *op. cit.*, 324-6). In 975/1567-8 the clerks of the Exchequer numbered 30 (Barkan, *H. 954-955 (M. 1547-1548) mali yılına ait bir osmanlı bütčesi*, in *İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, xix (Istanbul 1960), 330). However, not all of the state's wealth in cash was in the Treasury; for example the records of the 955/1548 budget show that the cash amounted to 36,021,027 *aḳčes*, of which 25,021,027 *aḳčes* were kept in the Treasury, and 11,000,000 *aḳčes* were kept in the cellars of Yedikule; the silver and gold coins were mostly in purses, and other things were kept loose (Barkan, *ibid.*, 235); for the stocks of the Treasury in 975/1567-8, see 291). From the end of the 10th/16th century onwards, it became difficult for the Exchequer or *Khazīne-yi ʿāmire*, that is the Exterior Treasury, to meet expenses, and it was therefore strengthened by transfers from the Inner Treasury. Such situations occurred at the time of military campaigns, and a memorandum was drawn up during the reign of Meḥemmed III (1003-12/1595-1603) showing that the practice of reinforcing the Outer Treasury from the Inner Treasury when there was difficulty in paying the troops dated from the time of Süleymān the Magnificent. However, Meḥemmed III came strongly to criticise his *Defterdār*, because there was not only cash being paid out from the Outer Treasury, but also, as was the case with the Inner Treasury the money intended for presents, such as robes of honour and ceremonial swords; these latter were if necessary also taken from the Inner Treasury (Orhonlu, *Osmanlı tarihine ait belgeler; Telhisler (1597-1607)*, Istanbul 1970, 33-4, 109). These financial subsidies from the Inner to the Outer Treasury at times of crisis had to be returned later. In actual fact, the Inner Treasury had come into existence from the surplus of the Outer Treasury; in other words, the surplus income of the Outer Treasury was placed in reserve as an income from the Inner Treasury, and it was in turn obliged to meet the expenses of the Outer Treasury. For instance, the surplus of the annual income from Egypt formed the income of the Inner Treasury; likewise when there was surplus money in the Outer Treasury, it was transferred to the Inner Treasury in order to prevent excessive expenditure. The other sources for the income of the Inner Treasury came from the customs of Baghdād and the estates of those dying without heirs. (Rāshid, *Taʾrīkh*, Istanbul 1282, i, 359-60; Fīndīklīlī Meḥmed Agha, *Silaḥdār Taʾrīkhi*, ed. Aḥmed Refīḳ, Istanbul 1928, ii, 306; *Taʾrīkhi Sāmī Shākir Ṣubḥī*, Istanbul 1198, 43a; also see Halil Sahillioğlu, Siviş *year crises in the Ottoman Empire*, in *Studies in the economic history of the Middle East*, ed. M. A. Cook, London 1970, 242 ff.).

The annual income of a province sent to the capital was also called *Khazīne*. For example, the money sent from Egypt was called the *Irsāliyye Khazīnesi* or Forwarding Treasury (see S. J. Shaw, *The Budget of Ottoman Egypt 1005-1006/1596-1597*, 1968, 13-14). The various provinces of Rumelia and Anatolia also sent the surplus of local income to the capital, and the amount sent was termed *Khazīne*, such as the Treasury of Baghdād, the Treasury of Erzurum, etc. However, when the budget of a province was overstrained by political disturbance or war, with more troops under arms than the province could support, the deficit would be met by a supplementary *Khazīne* sent out from Istanbul or from the neighbouring provinces (Sahillioğlu, *Osmanlı idaresinde Kıbrıs'ın ilk yılı bütçesi*, in *TTK, Belgeler*, iv (Ankara 1969), 2-4; for the subsidies sent from Istanbul to certain provinces, and from the provinces to Istanbul in 1213/1798, see Halis Cinlioğlu, *Osmanlılar zamanında Tokat*, Tokat 1951, 16). Moreover, the taxes collected in a province were also called a "treasury"; at the same time, the financial office which assumed the responsibility for this was termed "the provincial treasury" (*wilāyet khazīnesi*). The use of the word "treasury" in this way indicates that it was used as the equivalent of "finance" in general or of the financial department (*defterdārlīḳ*). For example, tax policy in Aleppo was determined according to the registers kept in "the treasury of Aleppo", that is, in the finance office (Barkan, *Kanunlar*, 142, 209).

The money brought to the *Khazīne-i ʿāmire* was examined by the official in charge of weighing and assaying (*wezzān, weznedār*), who decided whether there was any spurious coinage and whether the total was correct. The money put into or taken out of the treasury was registered and recorded by the clerks sitting in a row behind the *defterdārs*, and at their side were the weighers and assayers, who would count and fix the value of the money. The equipment of the latter included braziers and an iron oven, as well as scales and balances. After being weighed, the money would be put into bags and these bags would be taken to the treasury which was beside the assembling room before the *Dīwān-ī Humāyūn* (J. Chesneau, *Le Voyage de Monsieur d'Araman*, ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1887, 237-8; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948, 369-70).

The word "treasury" gradually came to be used from the end of the 10th/16th century onwards with a more diffused meaning in Ottoman usage. Thus the collected monies set apart for the supplying of a fortress garrison (*e.g.* that of Egri in 1011/1602) was called a "treasury" (see Orhonlu, *op. cit.*, 39-41, 43, 52). In time of war, the money required for every kind of the soldiers' needs, and the state treasury containing the treasury registers were sent along with the army under the title of the "army treasury" (*Ordu Khazīnesi*). The army treasury was transported

in chests on camels, and was kept under the guard of Janissary cavalrymen in the Treasury tent at halting places. It was therefore necessary that the *defterdārs* should accompany the Sultan and the Grand Vizier on campaigns, taking with them the treasury registers in order to record the daily expenditure in detail. The treasury registers, together with the army treasury, were kept in the Treasury tent (Ferīdūn Bey, *Münshe'āt al-selāṭīn*, Istanbul 1274, i, 589-90; Naʿīmā, *Ta'rīkh*, Istanbul 1280, i, 94; cf. Fīndīklīlī Meḥmed Agha, *Nuṣret-nāme*, simplified version by İsmet Parmaksızoğlu, Istanbul 1962-4, i, 171, 281, 294, 299-300). In order to give an idea of the size of the army treasury, one may note that there were 26 trains of camels assigned to carry the treasury for the army commanded by the Vizier Lālā Muṣṭafā Pasha during the Persian campaign of 986/1578 (Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Kâmil Kepeci tasnifi, Ruus defteri, no 232, p. 397).

The Interior Treasury was still richer in money and goods than the *Khazīne-i ʿĀmire* at the end of the 12th/18th century. Even at this period, there was very little aid given from the inner treasury to the *Khazīne-i ʿĀmire* or Outer Treasury, except in time of wars and financial crises. Nevertheless, these subsidies were credits and were returnable, as was the case in earlier times. In times of crisis, confiscation was often resorted to whenever the state treasury was in financial straits; these confiscations were usually of the wealth of officials, see Cavid Baysun, *İA*, art. *Müsadere*.

The losses of territory by the state during the various wars necessitated a reorganisation of the inner and outer treasuries. The need to find a new source of income led to the foundation of the "new receipts treasury", *īrād-i djedīd khazīnesi*. Some sources of income were assigned to the new treasury, and whenever there was an annual surplus of more than 10 purses from the income of the state lands and the Ḥaramayn, it was also transferred to this treasury. The "new receipts treasury" consequently grew richer than the state treasury, which was deprived of some of its income, so that further reorganisation became necessary (Djewdet, *Ta'rīkh*, Istanbul 1309, vi, 272-3; ʿĀṣīm, *Ta'rīkh*, ii, 356). The "new receipts treasury" continued its existence, despite its ups and downs, during the reign of Selīm III (see Enver Ziya Karal, *III. Selimin Hatt-ı Humayunları*, Ankara 1946, 89, 92-3), but it was abolished after he was deposed (Başbakanlık Arşiv Genel Müdürlüğü, Hattı Humayun Vesikaları, no. 19418). As a result, part of the "new receipts treasury" 's income was stopped and the rest transferred to the treasury of the mint, the *ḍarbkhāne-yi ʿāmire khazīnesi*, which was a branch of the inner treasury. Thus state expenditure was met, as before, from the state treasury, and the surplus income was transferred to the inner treasury, the latter once more serving as a reserve treasury giving subsidies to the outer treasury in times of war or crisis. In the 19th century, changes began to be made in the Ottoman financial system. From 1820 onwards, about 15 of the Anatolian *sandjaḳ*s began to be governed by lieutenant-governors or *mütesellim*s, without the appointment of provincial governors or *wālī*s, and of *mutaṣarrīf*s in the *sandjaḳ*s, and the income assigned to the *wālī*s and *mutaṣarrīf*s was registered as income to the *muḳāṭaʿa* treasury, which was the treasury for the *niẓāmiyye* or new army. After the abolition of the Janissary corps and the *tīmār* system, the financial department was in 1834 divided into two, the *khazīne-yi ʿāmire*, and the *manṣūra khazīnesi*, which supervised the income and expenditure of the Imperial army (*mühimme-yi ʿaskeriyye*). At the death of Maḥmūd II in 1255/1839, there were the *khazīne-yi ʿāmire* and exchequers for the *muḳāṭaʿa*, the munitions manufacture (*bārūd-khāne*) the *awḳāf*, the *Ḥaramayn* and the *ẓahīre* in existence. With the establishment of separate ministries and government offices, it appears that branches of the treasury such as the dockyard, the arsenal, the kitchen, the *ẓahīre* and the *Ḥaramayn* acquired a more definite shape. Each one of these branches of the treasury had an *emīn* or superintendent, and a treasury assistant (*ketkhüdā*) (Muṣṭafā Nūrī Pasha, *Netāyidj ül-wuḳūʿāt*, Istanbul 1329, iv, 114-5, 118).

Formerly there was a special imperial treasury (*djeyb-i humāyūn khazīnesi*) for the private expenditure of the sovereign, and then in 1839 the office of the Sultan's privy purse (*Khazīne-yi khāṣṣa dā'iresi*), in charge of the palace income and expenditure, was established. Because the property owned by the ruler was at this time all transferred to the state treasury, this office, which was made into a ministry, looked after the part of the estates and property left to the sovereign on condition of paying tax. The ministry of the *Khazīne-yi Khāṣṣa* continued in existence until 1908.

The Ministry of Finance was founded on 28th February 1838 and the financial matters, which were then in chaos, were more centralised. During the first months of ʿAbd al-Medjīd's reign, the Finance Ministry was abolished and divided into the financial department of the exchequer (*neẓāret-i khazīne-yi ʿāmire defterdārlighī*) and that of the *muḳāṭaʿa* treasury, but the Ministry of Finance was re-established in 1840 (Meḥmed Thüriyyā, *Nukhbet ül-weḳāyiʿ*, Istanbul 1298, i, 48-9, 63, 72).

In 1871 it was decided to divide the ongoing expenditure into two headings for the annual budget (*devletiñ muwāzane defteri*), the first was for specified and private expenditure for every government office, and the other was for the general expenditure incurred in the Ministry of Finance. For the first heading, there were included the Sultan's privy purse, the military treasury, the treasury of the dockyards for naval expenditure, the appropriation for the salaries of judges and *Sharīʿa* matters, the *awḳāf* treasury, the appropriation for internal domestic affairs, the appropriation for foreign affairs, the financial appropriation for the finance organisation abroad, the appropriation for trade and public works, and the appropriation for public education. Apart from the privy purse treasury or *khazīne-yi khāṣṣa*, every ministry and office was required to submit a register in the following year showing its annual expenditure and the payments for unexpected outlays which had been taken from the financial treasury (*māliyye khazīnesi*) for details, see *Dustūr*, 1st Series, Istanbul 1289), ii, 70 ff.); the provinces were also to submit a budget and send the registers of balance, which they had pepared, to the financial treasury.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the article, see Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1945, index; idem, *Osmanl, devletinin merkez ve bahriye teşkilâtı*, Ankara 1948, 362 ff.; Kātib Čelebi, *Düstūr ül-ʿamel*, Istanbul 1280, 133-5; Thos. Thornton, *The present state of Turkey*, London 1809, ii, 3-4, 46; Muṣṭafā Kesbī, *ʿIbret-nümā-yi devlet*, Ali Emiri kütüphanesi, *Tarih kısmı*, no. 484, ff. 61b-62a; M. Belin, *Essais sur l'histoire économique*

de la Turquie, Paris 1864; Henry Granville, *Observations sur l'état actuel de l'empire Ottoman*, ed. A. S. Ehrenkreutz, Ann Arbor 1965, 34; Defterdār Meḥmed Pas̲h̲a, *Neṣāyiḥ ül-ümerā we 'l-wuzerā*, ed. and tr. W. L. Wright, Princeton 1939, 46-62; W. Eton, *A survey of the Turkish empire*, London 1799, 39 ff., 50 ff.; P. Rycaut, *The present state of the Ottoman empire*, London, 1668, 36, 57; Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic society and the West*, London 1950-7, i/1, 78, 128, 136, 149, i/2, 9-10; von Hammer, *Staatsverfassung*, repr. 1963, ii, 25-6, 168 ff.; M. Baudier, *Histoire général du Serrail et de la Cour du Grand Seigneur des Turcs*, Paris 1632, 96 ff.; M. Z. Pakalın, *Osmanli tarihi deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1971, i, 785-94; A. du Velay, *Essai sur l'histoire financière de la Turquie depuis le règne du Sultan Mahmud II jusqu'à nos jours*, Paris 1903; L. Fekete, *Die Siyāqat-schrift in der türkischen Finanzverwaltung*, Budapest 1955, i, 98-101. See also K̲h̲ıḍır Ilyās, *Leṭā'if-i Enderūn*, Istanbul 1276; the author was educated in the palace and worked in the treasury, and in his book mentions occasionally the workings of the *enderūn* treasury during the period 1812-30. (C. Orhonlu)

al-K̲H̲ĀZINĪ, Abu 'l-Fatḥ ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (or Abū Manṣūr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān or Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Manṣūr), astronomer and physician who lived in Persia at the opening of the 6th/12th century. He is occasionally confused with Ibn al-Hayt̲h̲am, al-K̲h̲āzinī and other authors bearing similar names and writing on the same topics. He was in origin a young Greek slave of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, treasurer of the court in Marw; his master took it upon himself to give him the best possible education, but we have virtually no biographical details, and we merely know that he was a man of austere morality, that he had some pupils and that he enjoyed the patronage of the Sald̲j̲ūḳ sultan Sand̲j̲ar b. Malik-S̲h̲āh (511-52/1117-57).

He wrote the following works: (1) *al-Zīd̲j̲ al-muʿtabar al-sand̲j̲ari al-sulṭānī*, astronomical tables dedicated to Sand̲j̲ar and based on his personal observations, of which he made a résumé in 525/1130. These were utilised, either directly or indirectly, by the Byzantine scholars George Chrysococces (in Trebizond, *ca.* 1335-46) and Theodore Meliteniotes (in Constantinople, *ca.* 1360-88). In the contents of these works one always finds the ephemerides of the pseudo-planet Kayd. (2) *Risāla fī 'l-ālāt* (or *al-ālāt al-ʿad̲j̲ība al-raṣadiyya*) on astronomical instruments. (3) *K. Mīzān al-ḥikma*, written in 515/1121. This is a basic work on the hydrostatic balance, whose varieties are classified here according to the number of scales or pans; there is a defective but useful edition of Hyderabad 1359/1940. It comprises eight discourses (*maḳālas*) divided into chapters (*bābs*) and subdivided into sections (*faṣls*), and contains a series of theorems deriving from the classic works of Archimedes, Euclid and Menelaus; it describes the areometer of Pappus; it uses frequently the works of Muslim predecessors like T̲h̲ābit b. Ḳurra, Abū Sahl al-Ḳūhī, al-Asfizārī, al-Rāzī, ʿUmar K̲h̲ayyām, and above all, al-Bīrūnī, whose picnometer it describes; it touches upon traditional problems, like the determining of the law of alloys or the well-known one of the chess-board (calculation of a geometrical progression); and it explains the use of proportions and above all describes al-K̲h̲āzinī's hydrostatic balance [see mīzān] which was superior in its accuracy to all those constructed by his predecessors. The concept of weight which emerges from his work stems clearly from Archimedes, and according to his definition (1, l. 1) it is the force inherent in solid bodies which causes them to move, of their own accord, in a straight line towards the centre of the earth and towards this centre alone; this force, in turn, depends upon the density of the body. Al-K̲h̲āzinī also has some idea of the influence of temperature on density, and his tables of specific weights are in general correct.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S I, 902; Sarton, *Introduction*, ii/1, 216; Suter, 122 (no. 293), 226; Bayhaḳī, *Tatimma*, Lahore 1935, 161-2. There is a basic study by R. E. Hall, in *Dictionary of scientific biography*, vii, New York 1973, 335-51, s.v. Amongst the works mentioned above, only the *Mīzān al-ḥikma* has been edited (Hyderabad 1359/1940 and Cairo 1947); see on it N. Khanikoff, *Analysis and extracts of* Kitāb mīzān al-ḥikma... *by al-Khāzinī in the twelfth century*, in *JAOS*, vi (1859), 1-128, and E. Wiedemann, *Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, Hildesheim 1970, indices. (J. Vernet)

al-K̲H̲ĀZIR, a right-bank affluent of the Greater Zāb river [see Zāb], which drains the *kūra* of Nak̲h̲la, to the east of Mawṣil; locally, it is called Barrīs̲h̲ū. It was on the banks of this river that there took place, on 10 Muḥarram 67/6 August 686, a decisive battle between Ibrāhīm b. Mālik al-As̲h̲tar [*q.v.*] and ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād [*q.v.*]. After having suffered a defeat at ʿAyn Warda [*q.v.*], ʿUbayd Allāh made for ʿIrāḳ with his army, but was intercepted by the forces of Ibn al-As̲h̲tar, who was fighting in the name of al-Mūk̲h̲tār [*q.v.*]. According to tradition, ʿUmayr b. al-Ḥubāb al-Sulamī, who commanded the right (or left?) wing of Ibn Ziyad's army, wished to get vengeance for the defeat suffered at Mard̲j̲ Rāhiṭ [*q.v.*] by the tribes of Muḍar. Since he had formerly been Ibn al-As̲h̲tar's secretary, he met the latter secretly and betrayed his own leader. Thanks to this act of treachery, Ibn al-As̲h̲tar defeated Ibn Ziyād, who was killed in the fighting together with several other Syrian leading figures. Another battle of very minor importance took place at Maʿrūba on the banks of the K̲h̲āzir in 293/905-6, see Canard, *H'amdanides*, 342.

Bibliography: Yāḳūt, *s.v.*; Ṭabarī, index; Masʿūdī, *Murūd̲j̲*, index; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, Cairo 1353/1938, 1012-13; see also Kalb b. Wabara, ʿUbayd Allāh b. Ziyād. (Ed.)

K̲H̲AZNADĀR, K̲H̲ĀZINDĀR, variants of *k̲h̲izānadār*, "Keeper of the treasury" in Mamlūk usage. It is a compound of Arabic *k̲h̲izāna*, meaning treasury, and Persian *dār*, meaning keeper; according to Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī (*Ṣubḥ*, v, 463) "fast-talking scribes" transferred the *alif* from the second to the first syllable and dropped the *tā' marbūṭa* from *k̲h̲izāna*, thereby producing *k̲h̲āzindār*, which is the form found most frequently in Mamlūk texts.

According to Ibn Tag̲h̲rībirdī (*Nud̲j̲ūm*, Cairo, vii, 183-4) the *k̲h̲izānadār* was one of several offices that Sultan Baybars al-Bunduḳdārī either introduced or transformed, assigning them to military personnel. In addition to the *k̲h̲āzindār*, these included the *dawādār*, *amīr āk̲h̲ūr*, *sarāk̲h̲ūr*, *suḳāt*, *d̲j̲āmadāriyya*, *ḥud̲j̲d̲j̲āb*, *ru'ūs al-nuwab*, *amīr silāḥ*, *amīr mad̲j̲lis* and *amīr s̲h̲ikār*. The context in which this passage occurs would suggest that Baybars made these innovations under the influence of Mongol practice. During the Fāṭimid period this official was called *ṣāḥib bayt al-māl*, according to Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī (iii, 481).

Although the term was used in Mamlūk times for any person who served as keeper of treasuries—to the caliph, for example, or to an *amīr*—it refers in par-

ticular to the officer who acted in this capacity for the Mamlūk sultan in Cairo. Originally the office was given to an *amīr* of forty, but later was upgraded and was filled by an *amīr* of one hundred. The office ranks as twelfth among the twenty-five positions listed by Ḳalḳashandī as reserved for military personnel in attendance on the sultan. Furthermore, the *khāzindār* was almost certainly overshadowed by the civilian *nāẓir al-khāṣṣ*, who, during his heyday in the Baḥrī period, often exercised almost complete control over the sultan's financial affairs. The primary duties of the *khazindār* were custodianship of the sultan's treasuries (cash and otherwise) and distribution of gifts on certain ceremonial occasions. These duties were at times divided among three keepers. The *khāzindār al-ṣinf* was responsible for the sultan's precious fabrics (brocades, embroideries, silks), gold saddlery, and furs; this official worked in conjunction with the *nāẓir al-khāṣṣ*. The *khāzindār al-ʿayn* had custody of the sultan's jewels; since these were kept in the harem, this functionary was a eunuch. The *khāzindār al-kīs* was responsible for distributing alms to the needy during royal processionals and to the sultan's guests on ceremonial occasions. In Damascus the viceroy appointed four eunuch *amīr*s as *khizāndāriyya*; they were responsible for the royal robes of honour and other gifts stored there.

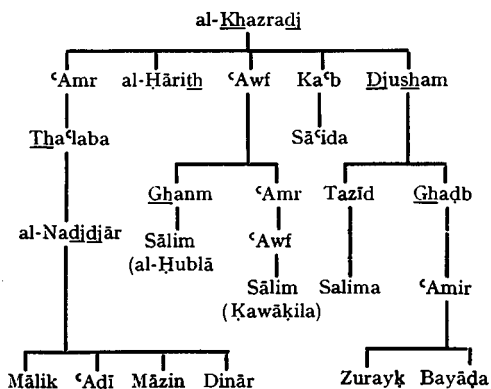
In Ottoman Egypt, the *khazīnedār* was in charge of the Imperial Treasury, and variants of this title were given to similar officials elsewhere in the Ottoman empire. *Khazānadār* and *khazīnadār* were also used as titles for officials in India under the Dihlī sultans and the Mughals.

Bibliography: M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, lx-lxi; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nudjūm*, Cairo vii, 182-6; Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, iii, 481, iv, 20, 21, 186, 191, v, 92, 457, 462-3; I. H. Qureshi, *The administration of the Mughul empire*, Karachi 1966, 235; idem, *The administration of the sultanate of Delhi*, Lahore, 1944, 65; Stanford J. Shaw, *The financial and administrative organization and development of Ottoman Egypt, 1517-1798*, Princeton 1962, index.

(D. P. LITTLE)

KHAZNADĀR, MUṢṬAFĀ [see MUṢṬAFĀ KHAZNADĀR].

AL-**KHAZRADJ**, one of the two main Arab tribes in Medina. With the other tribe, al-Aws [*q.v.*], it formed the Banū Ḳayla in pre-Islamic times and the Anṣār [*q.v.*] or "helpers" (sc. of Muḥammad) under Islam. The ancestors of al-Khazradj are given under al-Aws. The following are the main subdivisions of the tribe:

- al-Khazradj
  - ʿAmr
    - Thaʿlaba
      - al-Nadjdjār
        - Mālik
        - ʿAdī
        - Māzin
        - Dīnār
  - al-Ḥārith
  - ʿAwf
    - Ghanm
      - Sālim (al-Ḥublā
    - ʿAmr
      - ʿAwf
        - Sālim (Ḳawāḳila)
  - Kaʿb
    - Sāʿida
  - Djusham
    - Tazīd
      - Salima
    - Ghaḍb
      - ʿAmir
        - Zurayḳ
        - Bayāḍa

Al-Khazradj and al-Aws settled together in Yathrib or Medina after leaving the Yemen, and for a time were subordinate to the Jews there. The leader in gaining independence from the Jews was Mālik b. al-ʿAdjlān of the clan of Sālim (Ḳawāḳila) of al-Khazradj. It is doubtful, however, whether at this time al-Khazradj was thought of as a unity, for the effective units seem to have been certain subdivisions, which may be called "clans". It was groups of these which were involved in the feuds in Medina before the *hidjra*. In the Constitution of Medina (Ibn Hishām, 341-4) there is no mention of al-Khazradj but only of its five clans: al-Nadjdjār, al-Ḥārith, ʿAwf, Sāʿida and Djusham.

In the period before the *hidjra*, one of the prominent men among al-Khazradj was ʿAmr b. al-Nuʿmān of Bayāḍa. He gained some advantages over the neighbouring clan of Zurayḳ, and later appears to have been involved along with al-Ḥārith in fighting against some clans of al-Aws. Hostilities increased until about 617 there took place the battle of Buʿāth [*q.v.*] in which ʿAmr b. al-Nuʿmān with support from al-Nadjdjār and some nomads defeated various groups of Awsīs and others under Ḥuḍayr b. Simāk. Both leaders were killed. Two important Khazradjīs, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy of B. al-Ḥublā and ʿAmr b. Djamūḥ of Salima, were neutral at this period. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ubayy [*q.v.*] hoped, before the coming of Muḥammad, that he might have become "king" of Medina.

The Khazradjīs seem to have been more numerous and more enthusiastic Muslims than the Awsīs; 10 at the first ʿAḳaba agreement as against 2; 62 at the second ʿAḳaba agreement as against 11; 9 *nuḳabā'* as against 3; 175 men at Badr as against 63; 228 women named by Ibn Saʿd as against 121.

Khazradjī poets included Ḥassān b. Thābit of Maghāla of al-Nadjdjār [*q.v.*], Kaʿb b. Mālik of Salima [*q.v.*] and ʿAbd Allāh b. Rawāḥa of al-Ḥārith [*q.v.*]. Many descendants of the last were later found in Spain. During the Umayyad period, the Khazradjīs mostly supported the ruling dynasty, but al-Nuʿmān b. Bashīr, governor of Ḥims, threw in his lot with ʿAbd Allāh b. Zubayr.

Bibliography: al-Samhūdī, *Wafā' al-Wafā'*, Cairo 1908, i, 116-40 (also Beirut 1971, i), summarised in F. Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Stadt Medina*, Göttingen 1860, 32-40; idem, *Khulāṣat al-Wafā'*, Mecca 1316; Ibn al-Athīr, i, 492-511; J. Wellhausen, *Medina vor dem Islam*, in *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, Berlin 1889, iv/1; A. P. Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*, Paris 1847, 646-90; W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 151-71.

(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

AL-**KHAZRADJĪ**, ḌIYĀ' AL-DĪN ABŪ MUḤAMMAD ʿABD ALLĀH B. ʿUTHMĀN AL-MĀLIKĪ AL-ANDALUSĪ, the author of a long poem which contains a versified treatise on Arabic metrics. This poem, entitled *al-Rāmiza al-Shāfiya fī ʿilmay al-ʿarūd wa 'l-ḳāfiya*, is popularly known as *al-Kaṣīda al-Khazradjiyya*.

The *Khazradjiyya* is a didactic poem of 96 verses composed in *ṭawīl* metre containing the essence of al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad's theory of metrics, and was thus originally meant to be learnt by heart. Many manuscript versions of this work have been preserved, but nevertheless almost nothing is known about the author. He is mentioned by Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa (see bibliography), who gives no information however concerning his life, but he appears to have been active during the 7th/13th century in the western regions of Islam. His work became widely known in the East as a result of numerous commentaries which appeared subsequently.

In the West, the interest of orientalists in the *Khazradjiyya* seems not to be justified by the rather

small intrinsic value of the poem concerned, it being only one of many similar compilations of the theory of Arabic metrics (see the list of similar works from the 4th/10th until the 12th/18th century in ʿARŪḌ). The acquaintance of western orientalists with the *Khazradjiyya* can be ascribed to the early text edition by Ph. Guadagnoli in his *Breves Arabicae linguae institutiones* (Rome 1642), 286-329, and the much later edition an translation by R. Basset in his *La Khazradjyah* (Algiers 1902), which unfortunately contains many inaccuracies and printing errors which are not always corrected. Basset in the Introduction to his edition (*La Khazradjyah*, VII) wrongly assumes the author of the *Khazradjiyya* to be identical with a certain Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Khazradjī al-Sāʿidī mentioned by al-Makkarī (*Analectes*, Leiden 1871, i, 590).

Concerning the contents of the poem one may observe the following. If one compares one of the earliest known versified treatises dealing with metrics, for example that of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi (d. 328/940) in his *al-ʿIkd al-farīd* (Cairo 1305, iii, 146 ff.) with al-Khazradjī's poem, then it becomes clear that there is no essential difference in the subjects treated, which together form the theory of Arabic metrics (*ʿarūḍ*). However, apart from this general identity in subjects treated, the *Khazradjiyya* is distinguished by its extensive use of separate Arabic letters, these either serving as abbreviations to denote various rhythmic feet (represented by mnemonic words, like *faʿūlun, mafāʿīlun* etc.), or—in their numerical values—as numbers indicating the different metres (*ṭawīl, madīd*, etc.). Accordingly, this method of treating the theory of metrics made the use of commentaries indispensable for a better understanding of the text.

The contents of the *Khazradjiyya* can be summarised as follows: Vv. 1-2 definitions of metres and rhythmic feet; 3-9 the syllables as formative elements in a rhythmic foot; 10-12 the circles which al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad invented for his graphic representation of the Arabic metres, and the 16 metres contained in al-Khalīl's circles; 13-17 general definitions; 18-24 simple and complex elision (*ziḥāf*); 25-51 exhaustive treatment of all possible changes in rhythmic feet; 52-79 application of the rules given in vv. 25-51 to certain well known verses in particular; 80-96 a discussion on rhyme (*kāfiya*) and all possible deficiencies of rhyme.

In conclusion, some commentaries on the *Khazradjiyya* are mentioned below in chronological order: Abu 'l-Kāsim al-Sharīf al-Andalusī al-Sabtī al-Gharnāṭī, d. 760/1359 (Brockelmann I, 312, S I, 545); Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Bakr b. Marzūk al-Khaṭīb al-Tilimsānī, d. 781/1379 (Brockelmann, II, 239, S II, 335); Abu 'l-Kāsim al-Fattūḥ al-Ṣanhādjī al-Zammūrī, his commentary finished in 816/1413 (Brockelmann, I, 312, S I, 545); Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Damāmīnī, d. 827/1424 (Brockelmann, II, 26, S II, 21); Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Kurashī al-Basṭī al-Kalaṣādī, d. 891/1486 (Brockelmann, II, 266, S II, 378, does not mention his commentary, but al-Makkarī, *Analectes*, i, 936 does); Abū Djaʿfar Aḥmad b. Dāwūd al-Balawī al-Gharnāṭī, his commentary finished in 908/1502 (neither he himself nor his work mentioned by Brockelmann, but mentioned in Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa ed. Flügel, iv, 203); and Zayn al-Dīn Zakariyāʾ al-Anṣārī al-Samaykī al-Shāfiʿī, d. 926/1520 (Brockelmann II, 100, S II, 117). In addition to the above-mentioned works, other commentaries exist: see lists in Brockelmann, I, 312, S I, 545. Bibliographical details of editions of commentaries can be found in the Introduction of Basset's *La Khazradjiyyah*.

Bibliography: Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, iii, 340, iv, 201, 203, 536; G. W. Freytag, *Darstellung der arabischen Verskunst*, Bonn 1830, 37-38. Editions of the *Khazradjiyya* (in addition to the works by Guadagnoli and Basset mentioned in the article): *Madjmūʿ min muhimmāt al-mutūn*, Cairo 1328/1910, 505-13; edition and commentary by al-Damāmīnī, with a second commentary added in the margin by Zakariyāʾ al-Anṣārī, Cairo 1323/1905. (P. SMOOR)

AL-KHAZRADJĪ, MUWAFFAK AL-DĪN ABŪ 'L-ḤASAN ʿALĪ B. AL-ḤASAN AL-KHAZRADJĪ AL-ZABĪDĪ, called IBN WAHHĀS, South Arabian historian who wrote under the Turkish Rasūlid dynasty [*q.v.*] in the Yaman, d. late 812/early 1410 aged over 70.

The biographical dictionaries give virtually nothing on his life, except that Sakhāwī states that he met him in Zabīd and that his ancestor Ibn Wahhās had been praised for his learning by the commentator Zamakhsharī. According to Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, Khazradjī wrote three histories of the Yaman, impelled, so he says, by the prevailing disregard for the study of history. One was in annalistic form, apparently *al-ʿAsdjad al-masbūk wa'l-zabardjad al-maḥkūk fī man waliya al-Yaman min al-mulūk*. One dealt with events dynasty by dynasty, *al-Kifāya wa'l-iʿlām fī man waliya al-Yaman wa-sakanahā fī 'l-Islām*, of which the best-known part is *al-ʿUkūd al-luʾluʾiyya fī akhbār al-dawla al-rasūliyya* (ed. and tr. Sir J. W. Redhouse and Shaykh Muḥ. ʿAsal, *GMS*, iii, Leiden-London 1906-18). This is for earlier times very much a compilation, drawing on authors like Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Djanadī and his *K. al-Sulūk*. The fulsome eulogies in it of the Rasūlids, and its comparatively late date, have led G. R. Smith to compare it unfavourably as a source for Rasūlid history with the earlier historian of the Yaman Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥātim al-Hamdānī, who wrote *ca.* 694/1295 the *K. al-Simṭ al-ghālī al-thaman fī akhbār al-mulūk min al-Ghuzz bi 'l-Yaman* (see *GAL* I, 394). A further point of significance is the virtual identity of Khazradjī's *al-ʿUkūd al-luʾluʾiyya* with the *Fākihat al-zaman... fī akhbār man malaka al-Yaman* of the Rasūlid monarch al-Malik al-Ashraf Ismāʿīl b. al-ʿAbbās (778-803/1377-1400); it is difficult to tell which of the two was written first, see Mingana, *Catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, cols. 406-10, and *GAL* S II, 236-7. The third one was in biographical dictionary form, complementing Djanadī's work, compiled at the behest of al-Malik al-Ashraf, and called *Ṭirāz aʿlām al-zaman fī ṭabakāt aʿyān al-Yaman* or *al-ʿIkd al-fākhir al-ḥasan fī ṭabakāt akābir ahl al-Yaman*. Kaḥḥāla further mentions a local history of Zabīd and Aden, the *Mirʾāt al-zaman fī taʾrīkh Zabīd wa-ʿAdan*, and Khazradjī's poetry was also collected into a *dīwān*.

Bibliography: Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, v. 210; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt*, vii, 98-9; Ḥādjdjī Khalīfa, ed. Flügel, ii, 159, ed. Cairo, i, 310; Kaḥḥāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʾallifīn*, vii, 61-2; Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, v, 83-4; H. C. Kay, *Yaman, its early mediaeval history*, London 1892, pp. xv-xviii; F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*[2], Leiden 1968, 312, 443, 485-6; G. R. Smith, *The Ayyūbids and Rasūlids—the transfer of power in 7th/13th century Yemen*, in *IC*, xliii (1969), 175-88; M. L. Bates, *Yemen and its conquest by the Ayyubids of Egypt (A.D. 1137-1202)*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 23-5. (C. E. BOSWORTH)

AL-KHAZRADJIYYA. [See AL-KHAZRADJĪ].

KHAZZ [See ḤARĪR]